

THE FABRIC ACCOUNTS OF
ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL
WESTMINSTER

1292–1396

Edited by TIM AYERS

Transcriptions by MAUREEN JURKOWSKI

The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel,
Westminster, 1292–1396

THE FABRIC ACCOUNTS OF ST STEPHEN'S
CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER, 1292–1396

VOLUME I

Edited by
Tim Ayers

Transcriptions and translations by
Maureen Jurkowski

THE BOYDELL PRESS

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Prof. Tim Ayers

MARC FITCH FUND



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AND</i>	<i>Anglo-Norman Dictionary</i> (online: http://www.anglo-norman.net)
BAA	British Archaeological Association
BL	British Library, London
CVMA	Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi
<i>DMLBS</i>	<i>Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources</i> (online: http://www.brepols.net)
HLRO	House of Lords Record Office
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
IHR	Institute of Historical Research, London
<i>JBAA</i>	<i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i>
<i>JBSMGP</i>	<i>Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters</i>
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
VCH	<i>Victoria County History</i>
w/b	week beginning

INTRODUCTION

The chapel of St Stephen was the most important place of worship in the medieval palace of Westminster, recorded by name from the early thirteenth century.¹ Beginning in 1292, it was rebuilt with great magnificence by three kings of England, Edwards I–III, in a project that lasted a remarkable seventy years (fig. 1a–b). Like other palace chapels, including earlier English examples and the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris,² this one was constructed on two storeys, dominating views of Westminster from the river Thames (fig. 1c). Building work also included accommodation for the community that served St Stephen's. In 1348, Edward III established a new college of canons, replacing the previous royal chaplains.³ Work continued on the provision of houses and facilities for them until 1396, in the reign of Richard II. After the dissolution of St Stephen's college in 1548 its buildings (including the chapel) were put to new uses, and the upper chapel became the meeting place for the House of Commons. In 1834 a great fire swept through the Houses of Parliament, destroying many of the medieval buildings, including the old Commons chamber. Today, only parts of the lower chapel and the canons' cloister survive, buried within the fabric of the modern palace of Westminster.

This great royal foundation may be lost, but the accounts for the construction and furnishing of it survive, preserved today among the records of English medieval royal government in The National Archives at Kew.⁴ Beginning in 1292 and ending in 1396, this is one of the richest collections of fabric accounts for a single building to survive from medieval Europe.⁵ It is these accounts that are published here, comprising over sixty documents.⁶ They survive as rolls of different kinds, all being products of the system of accounting at the Exchequer, constituting a case study in the functioning of the king's works during the long fourteenth century. Some rolls are concerned solely with work on St Stephen's, whereas others include only a few entries that are relevant to the building campaigns. Read alongside surviving antiquarian and other visual sources for St Stephen's, the accounts bring to life not only the character of this major lost building, in its architecture and the remarkable richness of its decoration, but also the process of its creation. Most recently, they played an important part in the digital visualizations of the interior of the upper chapel for the project 'St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, Visual and Political Culture, 1292–1941'.⁷

The accounts also help to situate the chapel within the wider palace of Westminster, which is mentioned often in them. To make the position of the chapel and college clear, they are presented here in a new plan, using detailed measurements given in an agreement of 1394 between the dean and canons of the college of St Stephen, and the abbot and monks of Westminster abbey (frontispiece).⁸ This shows how the palace was constrained by the river Thames to the east, and Westminster abbey to the west. The entrance to the chapel stood between the gable ends of Westminster hall and the lesser hall, with its east end on the river front. To the south lay the Painted Chamber and the privy palace, residence of the Plantagenet kings, and to the north the Receipt of the Exchequer, a site of royal financial administration. During the long building period the site underwent changes. By 1394, a cloister and other buildings stood between the chapel and the Receipt, but the accounts reveal that this space had previously been

¹ *HKW*, i, pp. 510–27; Harper forthcoming; Hillson forthcoming.

² For English two-storey chapels, see Harper forthcoming.

³ Biggs 2016; Harper forthcoming.

⁴ Two items are in the British Library.

⁵ For a survey of surviving European medieval building accounts, see Binding 1993, pp. 130–36. For France, see Mortet and Deschamps 1995.

⁶ The choice of documents is based upon a scoping survey at TNA carried out by Maureen Jurkowski in 2010.

⁷ <https://www.virtualststephens.org.uk/explore> (accessed 5 Dec. 2018); Ayers forthcoming.

⁸ This was kindly made for the volume by John Crook. For an explanation of the process, see appendix 3.

the building site for St Stephen's. While the new chapel was under construction, worship was maintained in another chapel known as 'St Stephen's by the Receipt', which presumably also stood in this vicinity. From the 1350s, the houses of the dean and canons were located to the north of the palace precinct.

The medieval fabric accounts for St Stephen's chapel were among the first examples of this kind of document to appear in print, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁹ Their publication was informed partly by growing awareness of the extent, interest and potential for study of the surviving records of English royal government.¹⁰ But it was also inspired by new interest in a building of national significance, the House of Commons, and its medieval past.¹¹ By this time St Stephen's was proving increasingly unfit for its function. The interior required major changes to accommodate Irish MPs after the Acts of Union in 1800–1801. The chamber was then gutted by the fire of 1834.¹² Both events contributed to the loss of the medieval fabric, yet at the same time they revealed the splendour of the medieval structure and its paintings, which had been hidden behind panelling. The volumes that contain our first transcriptions from the accounts were published in direct response to these revelations and destructions, bringing a new kind of evidence to the understanding of medieval buildings.

From the time of its rediscovery, the chapel was recognized as a major monument for the history of art. The potential of the accounts was also explored. From an early date, they contributed to an understanding of medieval crafts.¹³ They informed argument about the origins of oil painting, for example, when the chapel's paintings, newly uncovered in 1800, were submitted to the first documented use of chemical analysis.¹⁴ For others, they have been evidence for the identity and status of medieval craftsmen, challenging the myth of their anonymity, and supporting the construction of artistic personalities.¹⁵ In the twentieth century the place of St Stephen's was much debated in the development of late medieval English architecture in relation to what had become known as the Decorated and the Perpendicular styles.¹⁶ The accounts supported visual sources for the building and provided important evidence for chronology. In studying St Stephen's, some scholars turned to the documents themselves, while others made do with the nineteenth-century selections and translations. These have proved useful, but they are incomplete and unreliable in many ways.

Many fabric accounts for English medieval buildings have now been published, including a number for the king's works, notably Howard Colvin's edition of the most important examples from the reign of Henry III (1971), and a recent volume on Henry VII's and Henry VIII's Savoy Hospital (2015).¹⁷ A critical edition of the accounts for St Stephen's, to modern standards, is therefore long overdue. A book format was chosen, as opposed to a digital one, for reasons of cost and speed of production. Transcriptions are presented with a parallel translation, to make them accessible to those unable to read Latin, and with a supporting glossary of technical terms. Three further documents relating directly to the creation of the chapel and college are included as appendices, namely extracts from a roll recording loans made by the Riccardi of Lucca towards building in the 1290s; a sheriff's account relating to the supply of an altar stone in 1350; and the agreement made in 1394, mentioned previously. Editorial principles, and some issues arising from the transcription and translation, are set out in an editorial note. To make this substantial collection of sources searchable, the volumes are supported by extensive indices.

The present introduction aims to explain briefly both the records themselves and what can be found in them, signposting some new lines of enquiry. First, it sets out the historiography of the rolls, suggesting their place in the development of writing about art and architecture in the early nineteenth century, in particular. The series of documents are then explained within the working of English royal government, as this changed through the period; they are related to wider developments at the Exchequer, and to the

⁹ Topham 1795, pp. 3–6; Smith 1807, pp. 77–81, 181–221; Brayley and Britton 1836, pp. 88–90, 108–27, 147–201.

¹⁰ Condon and Hallam 1984; Walne 1960.

¹¹ Hill 2016.

¹² Shenton 2012.

¹³ Winston 1867, i, appendix B, pp. 383–87; Salzman 1926–27; Tristram 1955, pp. 48–58, appendix C.

¹⁴ Smith 1807, pp. 222–29; Rees-Jones 1990.

¹⁵ Lethaby 1906; C. Wilson, 'Canterbury, Michael (fl. 1275–1321), master mason', *ODNB*, vol. 9, pp. 945–46.

¹⁶ Lethaby 1906, pp. 220–21; Hastings 1955; Harvey (J.) 1961, pp. 141–50; *HKW*, i, pp. 524–25; Harvey 1978, pp. 44–45;

¹⁷ Wilson 1990, pp. 192–96, 204–206; Binski 1995a, pp. 175–85; Binski 2014, pp. 122–23.

¹⁷ *Building Accounts of King Henry III; Savoy Hospital*.

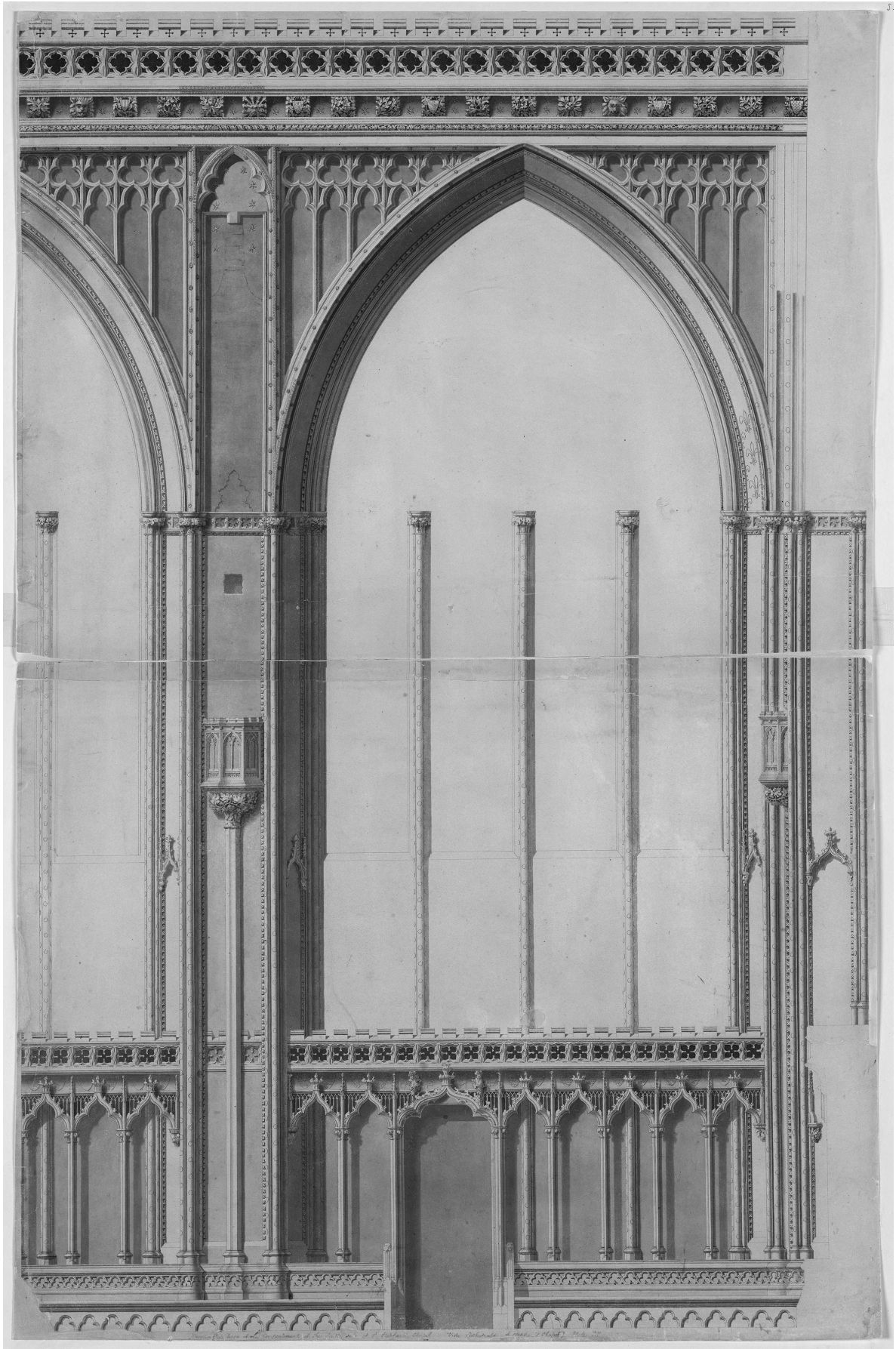


Fig. 1b. John Dixon, 'Eastern bay on the north side of St Stephen's chapel', pen and ink, on paper, 762 x 584 mm, published 1811.

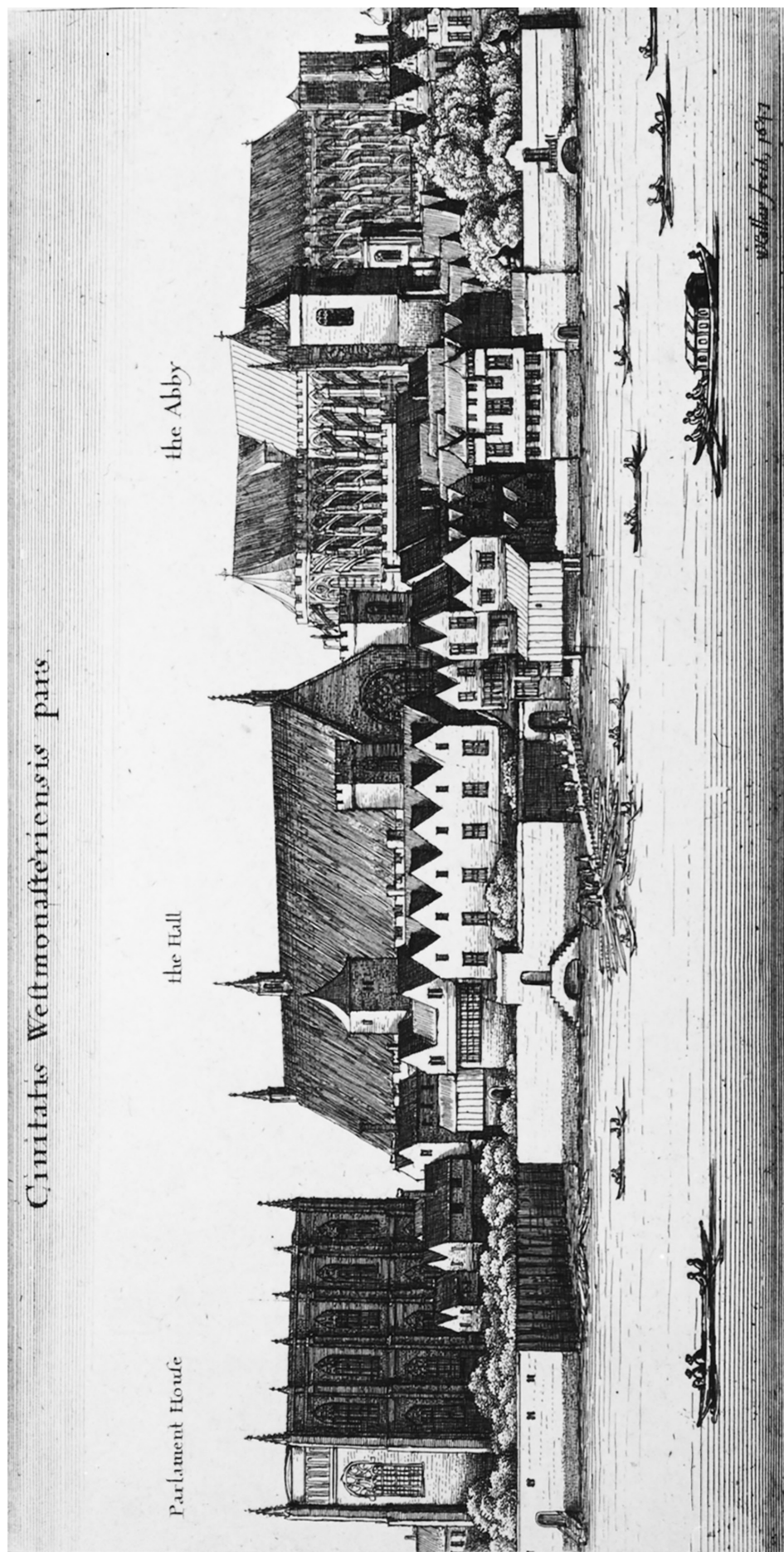


Fig. 1c. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Ciuitatis Westmonasteriensis pars*, etching, 152 x 286 mm, dated 1647.

careers of the clerks of works. A third section explains the kinds of craftsmen who are identified, and their status and organization, including evidence for new practices in recruitment on either side of the first arrival of the Black Death. This is brought into relation with recent study of the building accounts for Windsor castle. The section on materials explains their sources, units of measure and modes of transport, bringing out the particular importance of the city of London. A final section looks at the relationship of the surviving rolls to the building itself, including new observations on the chronology of its construction and decoration. No attempt has been made to assess the design or the art-historical importance of the chapel, however. This requires consideration of the visual evidence, and therefore belongs elsewhere.

Historiography

Publication of the rolls, 1795–1836

Three publications made use of the fabric accounts for St Stephen's chapel between 1795 and 1836, each produced in response to a stage in the rediscovery of the medieval building. Each included increasingly extensive extracts, validating the importance of the chapel. The publication of documentary sources of this kind went hand in hand with a growing interest in the national archives and in making them accessible. This particular combination was new, however. Documents had been used occasionally to interpret medieval art and architecture, but there was no precedent for the scale of this use of accounts for a single building. These volumes mark a moment, therefore, in the development of architectural history.

The earliest of the three books was produced by the Society of Antiquaries. It was prompted by the findings of a committee on the condition of the palace of Westminster that seemed to threaten the survival of the former chapel.¹⁸ The first volume in their 'Cathedral Series', *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of Saint Stephen, Westminster* (1795) was in atlas folio format and cost £2 8 s.¹⁹ Drawings by their draughtsman John Carter were converted into plates by James Basire.²⁰ In a short introduction, the editor John Topham cited the fabric rolls as evidence for the date of the building and its cost, craftsmen and materials.²¹ It has been argued that this was the first medieval building to be published in such detail.²² The association of public records with a building at risk buttressed one kind of preservation with another. There was a history of interest in the publication of government records, including medieval records, such as Rymer's *Foedera* (1704–35), the parliament rolls (1767–77) and Domesday Book (1783).²³ This had been driven by government itself, but similar interests were shared by fellows of the Society of Antiquaries; indeed, the people involved were often the same. With Thomas Astle and Philip Morant, John Topham had been responsible for the six volumes of the parliament rolls.²⁴ All three were fellows. The very idea of a national heritage worth preserving, it has been argued, was pioneered in such publications.²⁵

Earlier in the eighteenth century, medieval records had been used occasionally as sources for the interpretation of art and architecture. Charles Lyttelton, dean of Exeter (1748–62) and later president of the Society of Antiquaries, consulted the fabric rolls for his cathedral towards a study of the building.²⁶ Written and first delivered as a lecture in 1754, this was published only in 1797, as the second volume in the 'Cathedral Series'.²⁷ A fellow antiquary, Richard Gough, cited extracts from wills, indentures and contracts in his *Sepulchral Monuments* (1786, 1796).²⁸ The records of royal government had also been

¹⁸ Crook (J. M.) 1995, pp. 11, 23, 35–37.

¹⁹ Topham 1795. Crook (J. M.) 1995, p. 23. The volume was distributed free to fellows of the society.

²⁰ For John Carter and St Stephen's: Roberts 1986; Crook (J. M.) 1995, pp. 35–37.

²¹ Topham 1795, pp. 3–6. The rolls were nos. 1 and 24.

²² Hill 2016, p. 255.

²³ Condon and Hallam 1984; Hallam 1990, p. 36; Sweet 2004, pp. 280–82.

²⁴ Condon and Hallam 1984, pp. 365–70. For Topham: G. H. Martin, 'Topham, John (1746–1803), antiquary', *ODNB*, vol. 55, pp. 34–35.

²⁵ Sweet 2004, pp. 283–84. For the changing role of the Society of Antiquaries in the development of interest in the conservation of medieval buildings, see Hill 2016, pp. 256–60.

²⁶ *Accounts Exeter Cathedral*, pt 1, pp. xvi–xvii; Sweet 2004, p. 287.

²⁷ C. Lyttelton, 'Some Remarks on the Original Foundation and Construction of the Present Fabric of Exeter Cathedral', in Englefield (H.) and Windham 1797, pp. 1–12. For Lyttelton: Sweet 2004, pp. xvi, 249–53.

²⁸ Gough 1796, i, pt 2, pp. 136 (Black Prince), 167 and n. 5 (Anne of Bohemia and Richard II); Gough 1796, ii, pp. 115–18 (Beauchamp). Gough had recently contributed to the publication of a collection of royal wills: Nichols 1780.

deployed in the history of painting. Horace Walpole's popular *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (1762–71) set out to present the first history of the medium nationally, beginning his account in the middle ages.²⁹ He referred to lost works from the reign of Henry III, including in the palace of Westminster and at St Stephen's, making use of the archival researches of George Vertue.³⁰ He noticed the purchase of oil for painting in fabric accounts as early as the thirteenth century, although he expressed some doubt as to its application.³¹ Walpole's interest in the period, and in the use of documentary sources to substantiate art-historical arguments, was precocious.³² It informed the interest that would later be taken in the painted decoration of St Stephen's, within a wider debate about the origins of oil painting.

J. T. Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster* (1807) was prompted by the discovery of medieval paintings in the House of Commons when wainscoting was taken down to create new seats for Irish MPs in 1800.³³ The book was published in large quarto format and on subscription, the subscription list being headed by the king himself. Smith described and illustrated the paintings, while the antiquary John Hawkins considered the palace in a topographical account, making extensive use of the rolls, which supplied evidence 'of the highest importance and authenticity'.³⁴ Hawkins was the first to make available so much material from the rolls. Having inspected over fifty accounts, he selected eleven from the reign of Edward I, thirteen from Edward III's and one from Richard II's.³⁵ The entries were then digested under diverse headings into more than forty pages, in two columns.³⁶ He used them to establish a chronology for the construction of the building, to identify Master Thomas of Canterbury as the architect, and to highlight the activity of the painters and glass-painters, filling a gap in Walpole's account.³⁷ Demonstrating from purchases of materials that the paintings were in an oil medium, Hawkins also engaged with continental scholarship in exploring their place in the history of oil painting.³⁸ A 'chymist', John Haslam, made the earliest recorded published analysis of paint samples.³⁹ The documents had been presented on the title page as one of the attractions of the work, throwing 'new and unexpected light on the ancient history of the arts in England'.⁴⁰ Although the organization of the extracts makes them difficult to use, their extent was unprecedented for an English building.⁴¹

The publication coincided with a renewed concern for the welfare and accessibility of public records. The present accounts had survived among those of the King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer (the detailed accounts) and of the clerk of the pipe (the pipe rolls).⁴² By the 1790s, both groups of records were housed in or adjacent to the court of Exchequer, on the west side of Westminster hall, at the north end.⁴³ They had probably remained in the palace since the fourteenth century.⁴⁴ After demolition of the former home of the detailed accounts, and the removal of the pipe rolls, these records were dispersed

²⁹ Walpole 1762, i, p. vi, ch. 1 ('The Earliest Accounts of Painting in England'). On the *Anecdotes* and their context, see Brownell 2001, pp. 86–91; Llewellyn 2009.

³⁰ For Vertue, see Myrone 1999; M. Myrone, 'Vertue, George (1684–1756), engraver and antiquary', *ODNB*, vol. 56, pp. 382–84.

³¹ Walpole 1762, i, p. 6.

³² Llewellyn 2009, p. 149. Turning to similar sources, Thomas Pownall's 'Observations on Ancient Painting in England', delivered to the Society of Antiquaries in 1788, cited entries in the sacrist's rolls of Ely cathedral: 'Observations on Ancient Painting in England. In a Letter from Gov. Pownall, to the Rev. Michael Lort', *Archaeologia*, ix, 1789, pp. 141–56 (esp. pp. 150–55). For Pownall, see Sweet 2004, pp. 23–29.

³³ Hill 2016, pp. 260–65.

³⁴ Smith 1807, pp. xii–xiii. For Hawkins: W. W. Wroth, 'Hawkins, John Sidney (bap. 1758, d. 1842), antiquary', rev. R. Riddell, *ODNB*, vol. 25, p. 932.

³⁵ Smith 1807, pp. 177–80.

³⁶ Smith 1807, pp. 77–81, 181–221.

³⁷ Smith 1807, pp. 172–74, 221–23.

³⁸ Smith 1807, pp. 222–29.

³⁹ Smith 1807, pp. 223–26. For the context, see Rees-Jones 1990.

⁴⁰ Smith 1807, title page.

⁴¹ For contemporary reviews, mentioning the accounts, see *The Critical Review. Or Annals of Literature*, 3rd series, xi, 4, 1807, pp. 408, 531–32.

⁴² *Reports Select Committee Public Records* 1800, pp. 144 (no. 13, under 'unarranged accounts', 'Expenses for Repairs and Buildings, Castles, Palaces, Manors, Parks &c.'), 161 ('Return of the Clerk of the Pipe').

⁴³ *Reports Select Committee Public Records* 1800, pp. 140 (detailed accounts), 161 (pipe rolls).

⁴⁴ See 'The rolls'.

around the palace and elsewhere.⁴⁵ The perceived inaccessibility of these and other public records led, in 1800, to the appointment of a select committee to enquire into their state; this then made recommendations about repositories, archival preservation, finding aids, and publication. To implement these, the first of six Record Commissions was established in the same year.⁴⁶ With Thomas Astle, John Topham was asked to make proposals for publications.⁴⁷ Among many other outcomes, it resulted in Francis Palgrave's useful *Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of his Majesty's Exchequer*.⁴⁸ The commissions also made increasingly strong recommendations for the centralization of record storage, culminating in the establishment of the Public Record Office in 1838.⁴⁹ It was there that the rolls would eventually be repaired, labelled, and described.⁵⁰

This concern to increase public access provides a context for the publication of extracts from the accounts, because the officials in charge of the records were sometimes active in disseminating them. The rolls from which Topham had quoted were drawn to his attention by Craven Ord, a fellow antiquary, in the King's Remembrancer's Office.⁵¹ They had been discovered in 1793 during the demolition of 'some old rooms near those where the Court of Exchequer sit'.⁵² Similarly, Smith and Hawkins recorded a special debt to George Vanderzee, also in the King's Remembrancer's Office, who had instigated a new search and helped with transcription.⁵³ He had overseen the removal of the records from their former home in 1793, and again thereafter, and reported on their contents in 1800 and 1837.⁵⁴ He too was involved in the publication of medieval records.⁵⁵ Out of 'zeal for the interests of history, his attachment for the arts, and his friendship for Mr Smith', Vanderzee waived his fee.⁵⁶ For the third volume, the records were again made available without charge, thanks to C. P. Cooper, secretary to the Record Commission.⁵⁷

This was E. W. Brayley and J. Britton's *The History of the Ancient Palace and Late Houses of Parliament at Westminster*, published after the sensational fire of 16 October 1834.⁵⁸ The authors, again fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, were an established team, linking high-quality illustrations with a text. As scholar, editor, and publisher, Britton (1771–1857) had a remarkable record in the publication of medieval architecture,⁵⁹ and his enterprises contributed to widening participation in antiquarian studies during the early nineteenth century.⁶⁰ Appearing in John Weale's Architectural Library, the new offering on the palace of Westminster was in octavo format. By comparison with the previous titles, this one was pitched at a wider audience: 'Calculating on an extensive sale, they fixed a low price on the volume, and they presume to hope that there are readers enough in this class of Literature to secure them against loss.'⁶¹ The book is organized chronologically, with a final chapter relating buildings to illustrations.

⁴⁵ *Reports Select Committee Public Records* 1800, pp. 140–41, 145, 161. For locations and demolitions, see *HKW*, vi, pp. 498–99 and n. 3, fig. 19; Colvin 1966, p. 33, pl. 31. For a view of the site, see *Gentleman's Magazine*, 76, pt 2, 1806, p. 1184. There were further moves: *Papers and Documents* 1837, pp. 298–302 (esp. p. 298, no. 3); *Report Commissioners on Public Records* 1837, pp. 154–55, 160 (no. 12), 161–62, 164 (detailed accounts); pp. 198–200 (pipe rolls). For the locations of records before the establishment of the Public Record Office, see Hallam 1990, pp. 33–39.

⁴⁶ Walne 1960; Cantwell 1991, pp. 1–12.

⁴⁷ *Reports Select Committee Public Records* 1800, p. 505; Condon and Hallam 1984, p. 366.

⁴⁸ Walne 1960, pp. 14–15; *Antient Kalendars*.

⁴⁹ Walne 1960, p. 11. For its structure: Cantwell 1991, pp. 33–55.

⁵⁰ Crook (D.) 1982, pp. 10–11.

⁵¹ Topham 1795, p. 3. For Ord: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 102, pt 1, 1832, p. 469. Ord also had in his possession an account book, which was auctioned after his death (no. 14, in this edition): Cantwell 1991, p. 492.

⁵² Smith 1807, p. xii.

⁵³ Smith 1807, pp. xii, 176–77; *Reports Select Committee Public Records* 1800, p. 142. Hawkins reported consulting records in the Tower of London: Smith 1807, p. 176. On the Tower as a record office, see Hallam 1979.

⁵⁴ *Reports Select Committee Public Records* 1800, pp. 143–45; Smith 1807, p. xii; *Papers and Documents* 1837, pp. 298–302; *Report Commissioners on Public Records* 1837, p. 155.

⁵⁵ *Nonarum Inquisitiones*.

⁵⁶ Smith 1807, p. 176 n. 1. For the payment of fees, see Hallam 1990, pp. 35–36.

⁵⁷ Brayley and Britton 1836, pp. xiv–xv. For Cooper's appointment, and his concern about fees for searches: Cantwell 1991, pp. 2–4.

⁵⁸ Brayley and Britton 1836, p. x. The project had been begun before the fire: Hill 2016, p. 271.

⁵⁹ Crook (J. M.) 1968; J. M. Crook, 'Britton, John (1771–1857), antiquary and topographer', *ODNB*, vol. 7, pp. 713–15.

⁶⁰ Sweet 2004, pp. 266–67, 325–27.

⁶¹ Brayley and Britton 1836, p. xvi.

Among many primary sources, 'given with the most scrupulous attention to names, dates, and references, as the only specific mode of satisfying the critical antiquary and historian',⁶² there are over seventy pages of extracts from the building accounts for the palace and St Stephen's, and commentary.⁶³ Hitherto unpublished accounts were consulted, and new kinds of document.⁶⁴ The documents for the 1290s had been used by Hawkins, but records of Edward II's reign concerning the chapel were now identified for the first time,⁶⁵ and new records were found for that of Edward III.⁶⁶ The extracts were organized more clearly than in *Antiquities*, by regnal year; separate sections on painting and glass painting were similarly organized.⁶⁷ The rolls were used in familiar ways to consider craftsmen, materials and costs, including again the question of oil painting. Inevitably, there are shortcomings. The entries are not always in the right order, and years are sometimes unintentionally combined.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the book made the rolls much easier to consult, both in their organization and extent, and would be used by scholars well into the twentieth century.

A second volume, specifically on St Stephen's chapel, was prompted by its damage and partial demolition after the fire. This time, it was sponsored by the government. The author was Frederick Mackenzie, an experienced architectural draughtsman, who had worked with Britton.⁶⁹ Mackenzie made the fullest use yet of the published rolls for an architectural analysis of the building,⁷⁰ integrating study of the documents with that of visual sources and, above all, the building itself. He recognized the unusual extent of the accounts, but also the gaps, calling attention to known features that are apparently not mentioned, and the difficulty of determining what is being described.⁷¹ In the same year, Robert Willis drew upon the published accounts for his attempt to define a nomenclature for the elements of medieval architecture, again relating descriptions to actual buildings.⁷² He advocated such combinations of sources as part of a wider enterprise to establish an inductive method for the study of architectural history.⁷³ Later publications would pull together these strands. George Gilbert Scott's *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey* (1861), for example, combines the new interest in architectural history and documentary sources, including a transcription of a recently discovered building account for 1253 (and other documents), with explanations by Willis.⁷⁴

It was understood from the beginning that the accounts were important sources for many medieval crafts. In particular, the wealth of information regarding painting and the making of stained glass had been flagged up by Smith and Hawkins, and Brayley and Britton. Here, too, the publication of the evidence led to its rapid incorporation into new art-historical scholarship. Charles Lock Eastlake referred to the accounts in his history of oil painting (1847), picking up on Walpole's use of English medieval government records.⁷⁵ He was not convinced that they added much to an understanding of medieval practice, believing (mistakenly) that the many purchases of oil were for varnishes.⁷⁶ For stained glass, Charles Winston drew attention to the accounts in an appendix to his pioneering *Inquiry into the Difference of Style Observable in Ancient Glass Paintings* (1847).⁷⁷ He used them as evidence for the state

⁶² Brayley and Britton 1836, p. 5.

⁶³ Brayley and Britton 1836, pp. 88–90 (Edward I), 108–27 (Edward II), 147–201 (Edward III).

⁶⁴ Brayley and Britton 1836, pp. xiv–xv, 125 ('chancellor's roll'), 161 (receipts). For this, see also Hill 2016, p. 271.

⁶⁵ They include nos. 14, 16.

⁶⁶ Brayley and Britton 1836, pp. 147–50.

⁶⁷ Brayley and Britton 1836, pp. 170–86.

⁶⁸ Some dates remained uncertain (Brayley and Britton 1836, p. 159, for example); others are incorrect (p. 150, beginning of work).

⁶⁹ S. Fenwick, 'Mackenzie, Frederick (c. 1787–1854), watercolour painter and architectural draughtsman', *ODNB*, vol. 35, pp. 575–76.

⁷⁰ Mackenzie 1844, p. x. For his method and the volume, see Hill 2016, pp. 274–76.

⁷¹ Mackenzie 1844, pp. i, v.

⁷² Willis 1844. There had been earlier, but less rigorous glossaries: Buchanan 2013, p. 151. Willis's appendix provides a useful list of the documentary sources that were then available in print: Willis 1844, pp. 80–82.

⁷³ Buchanan 2013, ch. 4, esp. pp. 149–56.

⁷⁴ Scott 1861, appendix II.

⁷⁵ Eastlake 1847.

⁷⁶ Eastlake 1847, pp. 48–58.

⁷⁷ Winston 1847, i, appendix B, pp. 342–46.

of the art, for the prices of materials and for wage rates. He was also interested in the status of medieval craftsmen, by comparison with that of glass-painters in his own day, during a great revival in stained glass manufacture.

The rolls in scholarship

From the first half of the twentieth century, the accounts were important sources for those studying the economics and processes of medieval building, and other kinds of artistic production. L. F. Salzman's great and enduring survey of *Building in England down to 1540* was first published in 1952, but had largely been completed by 1934.⁷⁸ Grounded in a study of some 1,500 documents, it drew upon those for St Stephen's in establishing the organization of masons and other crafts, design processes, and technical terms.⁷⁹ Salzman also published a calendar and partial translation of entries concerning glass painting in a series of contributions to the *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters*.⁸⁰ The rich accounts for wall painting were tabulated in E. W. Tristram's *English Wall Painting of the 14th Century*, published posthumously in 1955.⁸¹ John Harvey's extensive archival research bore fruit in *English Medieval Architects*, first published in 1954, drawing upon the accounts for biographies of the master masons at St Stephen's, and many other masons and carpenters.⁸² In all of these works, documentary sources helped to challenge the idea that medieval artists were anonymous.⁸³ The careers and working practices of the master masons employed at St Stephen's, especially Michael and Thomas of Canterbury, have continued to be a focus for the research of Christopher Wilson.⁸⁴

More specifically, the nineteenth-century publication of the accounts for St Stephen's was a milestone in the development of interest in the king's works. The theme was central to W. R. Lethaby's pioneering book *The King's Craftsmen* (1906), which engaged with the accounts for the master masons, systems of payment, and organization of the building site.⁸⁵ It was also important to the researches of John Harvey, in establishing the career of his favoured architect Henry Yevele, for example.⁸⁶ This field of study culminated in the magisterial *History of the King's Works*, under the general editorship of Howard Colvin. The two medieval volumes appeared in 1963.⁸⁷ Documentary evidence in the Public Record Office (now The National Archives), and elsewhere, was brought together in a series of chapters and case studies, including sections on the king's administration and its officers, and the king's craftsmen, in the later middle ages.⁸⁸ The accounts for St Stephen's are referenced often. Among the many studies of individual monuments, that on the chapel (by Colvin himself) made the fullest use yet of the documents for an analysis of the building, its decoration, and their chronology.⁸⁹ Elsewhere, Colvin addressed the related issue of court style, questioning the usefulness of this term as a way to understand the place of work done for the king (including at St Stephen's), in relation to that for other patrons and in other places.⁹⁰ A new investigation of the workings of Plantagenet patronage by James Hillson takes the chapel as its case study.⁹¹

⁷⁸ Salzman 1967, p. viii.

⁷⁹ Salzman 1967, pp. 7, 21, 109, 167, 179–82.

⁸⁰ Salzman 1926–27.

⁸¹ Tristram 1955, pp. 48, 53–54, 57–58, appendix C. This remains useful, but the dates are incorrect by one year.

⁸² *EMA*.

⁸³ Fernie 1988, p. 355. For a survey of attitudes to the English master mason, see Hillson 2017b.

⁸⁴ For Michael of Canterbury, see Wilson 1990, pp. 192, 194–97, 203–204; C. Wilson, 'Canterbury, Michael (fl. 1275–1321), master mason', *ODNB*, vol. 9, pp. 945–46; idem, 'Thomas Canterbury (fl. 1323–1335), master mason', *ODNB*, vol. 9, p. 946.

⁸⁵ Lethaby 1906.

⁸⁶ Harvey (J.) 1944, pp. 23–27. For Harvey's own career, see D. Brock, 'Harvey, John (1911–97), architectural and garden historian', *ODNB*, vol. 25, pp. 667–68.

⁸⁷ *HKW*, i and ii.

⁸⁸ *HKW*, i, pp. 161–227.

⁸⁹ *HKW*, i, pp. 510–27. He looked at all of the series of rolls used in this edition, referencing also most of the individual rolls that are included here.

⁹⁰ Colvin 1983.

⁹¹ Hillson 2015; Hillson forthcoming. For court style, court culture and the place of the king's works in the transmission of artistic ideas, see Hillson 2017a, pp. 26–29, 36.

During the twentieth century, St Stephen's also became a key monument for the history of late medieval English architecture, framed initially in relation to the development of architectural styles as defined previously by Thomas Rickman and Robert Willis.⁹² The accounts provided important evidence for arguments about its master masons and the chronology of its design. Lethaby first suggested that the chapel showed characteristics of the Perpendicular style.⁹³ John Harvey and Maurice Hastings then debated the issue in a series of publications and reviews.⁹⁴ For Harvey, in particular, this was about the development of a national style of architecture. During the Second World War neither had access to the original accounts for St Stephen's, but in a later article of 1961 Harvey provided tables of relevant sources for the chapel.⁹⁵ The chronology that he constructed for the building on this basis was soon superseded by Colvin's, but his close reading of the documents remains useful. Christopher Wilson's doctoral thesis, 'The Origins of the Perpendicular Style', returned to the sources, but distinguished between the chronology of the structure and the chronology of the design.⁹⁶ He gave St Stephen's a new place in the development of both English Decorated and the Perpendicular, each responding to French Rayonnant architecture of the thirteenth century. The architectural focus of this debate drew attention away from the lavish painted, glazed and sculpted decoration of the chapel, richly documented in the accounts, that had been such a feature of English architecture in the first half of the fourteenth century.⁹⁷

⁹² Binski 2014, pp. 122–23; Coldstream 2017, pp. 8–10.

⁹³ Lethaby 1906, pp. 220–21. He intended to make a study of the origins of the Perpendicular style, 'looking for sources at St Paul's, elaborate smaller works like the Eleanor Crosses, and St Stephen's Chapel': Lethaby 1930, p. 393.

⁹⁴ Harvey (J.) 1944, pp. 6–7; Hastings 1945; Harvey (J.) 1946; Hastings 1955, esp. p. 166 n. 1; Harvey (J.) 1961, pp. 141–50; Harvey 1978, pp. 44–45.

⁹⁵ Harvey (J.) 1961, appendix 1, pp. 158–60.

⁹⁶ Wilson 1980, pp. 34–78.

⁹⁷ For the neglect of decoration in the 'Decorated style', see Coldstream 2017.

The rolls

The documents published here offer a case study in procedures for accounting in the king's works over the span of a century. The clerks who made them were operating at the heart of royal government, for the buildings housing the Exchequer stood at the north end of Westminster hall, just yards from the chapel (frontispiece). This section outlines the administrative framework within which the documents were produced. It also explains the series of rolls concerned, and the scope of their transcription for the present volume. Finally, it considers the careers of the clerks of works themselves.

The administrative framework

The organization of royal building work changed during the period covered here, but those responsible answered always to the treasurer and the two chamberlains of the Exchequer, under the king.⁹⁸ These were the principal officials for managing royal revenues, receiving and archiving accounts, and presiding over proceedings in the Exchequer court. In broad direction, the expenditure on St Stephen's chapel may be attributed to the king himself, although his personal intervention is explicit only occasionally.⁹⁹ The *alura* between the new chapel and the Painted Chamber was to be constructed 'by the king's command' in May 1325.¹⁰⁰ The documents also occasionally preserve the king's oral instructions, and written interventions in his name, in the form of writs under the privy seal.¹⁰¹ The king's council is recorded sometimes to have intervened.¹⁰² The treasurer's central place in royal government helps to explain Henry Burghersh's role in initiating building work in 1337,¹⁰³ and William of Edington's inspection of new stalls in September 1353, with the king's council.¹⁰⁴ Edington was active at other moments,¹⁰⁵ consistent with his wider role in the establishment of St Stephen's college; he is commemorated in its obit book.¹⁰⁶ The treasurer of the Exchequer also had a right of collation to the chapel and, after 1348, to a prebend in the college in right of his office.¹⁰⁷

It has been argued that the organization of the royal works in the period covered by this volume was characterized by increasing specialization and centralization.¹⁰⁸ By the late thirteenth century a clerk of works was appointed to oversee both the palace of Westminster and the Tower of London, an early example of the administration of several sites by one clerk.¹⁰⁹ Appointments could be made orally, as recorded in 1307, but were usually entered in the fine or patent rolls from 1320, perhaps a mark of the clerks' rising status.¹¹⁰ John of Ditton is the first clerk to be included, in February 1320, in the fine rolls, followed by William de Chaillou in November 1323, in both fine and patent rolls.¹¹¹ Kenebroke appears

⁹⁸ On accountability at the Exchequer, see *HKW*, i, pp. 54–56, 168, 187.

⁹⁹ *HKW*, i, pp. 162–63.

¹⁰⁰ No. 18, m. 13 (w/b 27 May 1325, 'per preceptum Regis').

¹⁰¹ Nos. 14, f. 1 (oral instruction); 48, mm. 3, 7 (writs).

¹⁰² Nos. 26, m. 10 (30 Sept. 1334); 50, rot. 47 m. 1. See also no. 60, rot. C m. 1. For the role of the king's council, see *HKW*, i, p. 164.

¹⁰³ No. 29, m. 1.

¹⁰⁴ No. 41, mm. 1, 3. For other interventions or involvement, see nos. 13, m. 1; 40, m. 7 (w/b 26 Sept. 1351).

¹⁰⁵ Ordering timber in 1348, probably for the roof: no. 38, m. 7 (w/b 25 Feb. 1348). As the outgoing treasurer, he may have secured an increased rate of pay for Edmund of St Andrew, in November 1355: no. 46, m. 3 (w/b 30 Nov. 1355).

¹⁰⁶ BL, Cotton MS Faustina B VIII, f. 6r. For Edington's role, see Biggs 2016, pp. 30–33.

¹⁰⁷ *Cal. Pat.*, 1354–58, p. 430.

¹⁰⁸ *HKW*, i, p. 164.

¹⁰⁹ No. 14, f. 1. *HKW*, i, p. 165. For the Tower, see Ashbee 2006.

¹¹⁰ No. 14, f. 1. Enrolment: *HKW*, i, p. 168.

¹¹¹ Ditton: *Cal. Fine*, 1319–27, p. 18; Chaillou: *Cal. Fine*, 1319–27, p. 243; *Cal. Pat.*, 1321–24, p. 353.

in the fine rolls, but thereafter the patent rolls were used exclusively.¹¹² The term is often stated to be at the king's pleasure, but it was occasionally for life, as a special mark of favour.¹¹³ From the mid-fourteenth century deputies were also employed to purvey materials as work expanded.¹¹⁴ The clerk had an office on site, adjacent to the Receipt of the Exchequer for some of the period (frontispiece), with a lock on the door.¹¹⁵ He received an annual wage, which was calculated as being equivalent to 12 *d.* a day in 1355.¹¹⁶ In 1378, however, a clerkship was created for all of the king's principal residences, and the clerkship for Westminster and the Tower ceased to exist.¹¹⁷

There was joint oversight in accounting, in a long tradition of the viewing of building works.¹¹⁸ In the 1290s Stephen de Knolle was described as the clerk for the works in the Exchequer's *jornalia* rolls,¹¹⁹ but the master mason Michael of Canterbury was responsible for drawing up the first account,¹²⁰ suggesting an association of craftsman and cleric, of the kind found earlier and in contemporary work at Beaumaris castle, for example.¹²¹ The first mention of clerical controllers in the present accounts is in 1307, marking an increasing separation of administrative and technical oversight.¹²² The controller was to compile a counter-roll, as a check on the accounting process, and to vouch for the clerk's account at the Exchequer (see below).¹²³ In the 1350s and 1360s the controller's wage was half that of the clerk.¹²⁴ A controllership with a wider responsibility was created after the establishment of the new clerkship of works in 1378, mentioned previously; a former clerk of works at Westminster and the Tower, William Hannay, was the first occupant of the post.¹²⁵ At the end of our time span, in 1393–95, the master carpenter Hugh Herland is found as the controller for a specific project at the palace.¹²⁶ This goes against the pattern of clerical appointments, but demonstrates again that work for the king could be organized pragmatically.

The period covered by the accounts saw changes in Exchequer practice, in response to the demands of royal spending and a growing volume of business. The presentation of accounts in book format in the early fourteenth century may have been in response to similar innovations in accounting at the wardrobe, which had occupied a central position in the national finances under Edward I.¹²⁷ The second period of chapel construction coincided with reforms at the Exchequer under Walter de Stapeldon (1320–21, 1322–25), and his successors. These reforms contributed a new efficiency to record keeping and organization, in a series of ordinances.¹²⁸ Active enquiry was made into the accounts of past office holders.¹²⁹ Two former clerks of works at the Tower and palace of Westminster, Nicholas of Tickhill and John of Norton, were imprisoned in the Tower before being called to account for outstanding debts in late December 1325.¹³⁰ From this period, an increasing quantity of documentation survives for the

¹¹² *Cal. Fine*, 1327–37, p. 26.

¹¹³ Clerk of works, Walter of Weston; controllers, Robert of Hillam, John of Broughton and Martin of Exning. *HKW*, i, p. 172.

¹¹⁴ Nos. 45–47. First, John Alkeshull, then John Coventry and Thomas Chamberleyne in later rolls for the palace and Tower: nos. 40, 43, 49; *HKW*, i, pp. 170–71.

¹¹⁵ No. 34, mm. 4–5 (from w/b 23 April 1341).

¹¹⁶ Nos. 45, m. 4; 55, rot. 40d m. 1d (1362–63).

¹¹⁷ *HKW*, i, pp. 189–91.

¹¹⁸ *HKW*, i, pp. 164–65.

¹¹⁹ No. 3, m. 1.

¹²⁰ No. 1, rot. 2.

¹²¹ *HKW*, i, pp. 164–65, 396–99.

¹²² No. 14, f. 1 (two controllers).

¹²³ *HKW*, i, p. 169.

¹²⁴ Nos. 45, m. 4 (1355); 47, m. 5 (1357–58); 49, m. 5 (1365–66). At Christmas 1323, the controller also received a *roba*: no. 18, m. 1.

¹²⁵ *HKW*, i, pp. 189–91. He is represented here in a different capacity: on 12 Jan. 1384, he was appointed clerk for the building of a *mansio* for the vicars of St Stephen's, and part of a cloister for the college: *Cal. Pat.*, 1381–85, p. 365; nos. 60, rot. C m. 1; 49.

¹²⁶ *HKW*, i, pp. 164, 529. He too was paid half the wages of the clerk: no. 61, rot. B m. 2 (12 *d.* a day, 1393–95).

¹²⁷ Prestwich 1988, ch. 6, esp. pp. 143–45 (account books). For workloads and changing practices at the Exchequer, see Ormrod 1991.

¹²⁸ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, iii, pp. 848–906 (1323); 931–69 (1326). Tout 1936, pp. 168–83; Fryde (N.) 1979, pp. 98–103; Buck 1983, pp. 170–71; Hallam 1990, pp. 28–29; Phillips 2010, pp. 444–45.

¹²⁹ Buck 1983, pp. 177–85. For the case of Alexander Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin and treasurer of Ireland, see Lydon 2009, pp. 103–107.

¹³⁰ *Cal. Close*, 1323–27, p. 437. On their offices, see *HKW*, i, p. 172.

accountability of clerks.¹³¹ A summary account for the whole tenure of each officer first appears on the pipe roll in 1327.¹³² William of Kelsey's account of 1329 sets down the traditional practices of the masons, including seasonal wage rates and arrangements for holidays.¹³³ While initiatives may have come from the top, both this and the varied formatting of the rolls suggest that clerks of works had a level of autonomy, and could sometimes take the initiative themselves.¹³⁴

The treasurership of William of Edington (1344–56) was a period of further reform, to supply Edward III with the resources that were necessary to mount his French campaigns, and later to negotiate the financial challenges posed by the Black Death.¹³⁵ It coincided with reinvigorated systems for managing building work at St Stephen's, in the 1340s, in the impressment of labour and the purveyance of materials, with close parallels at Windsor castle; taskwork, or work to contract, also became more common.¹³⁶ The Black Death arrived in London in the autumn of 1348.¹³⁷ A detailed account for St Stephen's had ended in early August, after which there is no surviving record until the New Year.¹³⁸ In January 1349, however, the experienced clerk Walter of Weston returned from secondment, and from the second half of this financial year there was considerable activity on St Stephen's.¹³⁹ Subsequently, impressment, purveyance and taskwork increase, and an analysis of wages reveals a developing and flexible response to the recruitment of labour through the 1350s.¹⁴⁰

Specific sources of funding, out of the king's income, appear occasionally. As part of Edward I's wider reliance on Italian bankers, the first stage of building was supported by loans from the Riccardi family in the 1290s; relevant details of their dealings in an enrolled summary account are published in appendix 1.¹⁴¹ Another Italian banker, a new wool custom (presumably the *maltote*) and lay taxation are mentioned in the issue and *jornalia* rolls.¹⁴² In the 1320s, again, customs on wool through the port of London contributed to Edward II's building campaign.¹⁴³ The wool trade also lies behind the money supplied by the merchant John Wesenham in 1347.¹⁴⁴ It was a result of the loan of wool, a form of taxation agreed in April 1347, in which Wesenham was involved.¹⁴⁵

Series of rolls

All of the account rolls and books in this edition were rendered at the king's Exchequer, and most are today housed with the archives of the crown at The National Archives (TNA) in Kew. Two strays are in the manuscripts and rolls collections of the British Library.¹⁴⁶ The rolls and various record series at TNA of which they form a part are described here, together with an explanation of the overall scope of their transcription.

¹³¹ For the expanding Exchequer, see Buck 1983, pp. 170–71.

¹³² No. 21, rot. 41–41d. For the pipe rolls, see 'Exchequer, pipe office, pipe rolls, E 372', below.

¹³³ No. 22.

¹³⁴ On the balance of responsibility, see Tout 1937, ii, p. 189.

¹³⁵ Ormrod 1986; Ormrod 1987, pp. 624–28; Ormrod 1996b; Ormrod 2011, pp. 295–97, 373–77.

¹³⁶ For details, see 'Craftsmen and their work'.

¹³⁷ Ormrod 2011, pp. 357–58; Sloane 2011, pp. 29–42.

¹³⁸ No. 38 (see 'The building and accounts'). For building at the Tower of London, see *HKW*, ii, p. 725; Sloane 2011, pp. 25–26.

¹³⁹ No. 50, rot. 47 m. 1. This summary account records that rolls were made by the clerk and his controller, although neither survives.

¹⁴⁰ For this, see 'Craftsmen and their work'.

¹⁴¹ E 372/143, rot. 35d.

¹⁴² Nos. 6, m. 1b (1294, Lapo Bonicli); 5, rot. 2 m. 3 (13 March 1294, lay 15th); 8, m. 1 (1295, new wool custom). For the *maltote*, see Lloyd 1977, pp. 76–77; Ormrod 1991, pp. 20–21; Rose 2018, pp. 63–64.

¹⁴³ No. 17, m. 1–1d (£80, 2 Oct. 1320; £120, 25 Aug. 1321; £20, 5 Oct. 1322; and £150). For the wool custom in London, see Barron 2004, pp. 93–94.

¹⁴⁴ No. 38, m. 1, 13 Dec. 1347 (£170); 18 Dec. 1347 (£78 0 s. 11 d.). Total: £248 0 s. 11 d. We are grateful to Mark Ormrod for his advice on this.

¹⁴⁵ Harriiss 1975, pp. 450–57; Lloyd 1977, p. 200; Fryde (E.) 1983, ch. x, pp. 11–13. He had led a cartel of merchants in charge of the custom in 1345: Lloyd 1977, p. 199; Fryde (E.) 1983, ch. x, p. 11; Ormrod 2011, p. 257.

¹⁴⁶ Nos. 15, 59.

Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, accounts various, E 101

The majority of rolls compiled by the clerk of works at Westminster and the Tower, and his controller, are now within the series E 101, a large, amorphous series of accounts rendered by various types of royal officials within the different departments of crown government.

General accounting procedure

The clerk was advanced sums of money by the treasurer and two chamberlains of the king's Exchequer to purchase building materials and pay the wages of the workmen employed to carry out the works. There are occasional traces of the clerical processes that followed: payments to a scribe, the purchase of writing materials for indentures in 1347, of a journal or day-book in 1349 (the first evidence for the use of paper in the accounts) and of counters in 1353–54.¹⁴⁷ According to the terms under which the clerk held office, he was then required to account at the Exchequer for his disbursal of these funds.¹⁴⁸ The Exchequer accounting year ran to Michaelmas (29 Sept.) in each year, and the whole of the preceding year was numbered according to the regnal year in operation at its end, in most of the present accounts;¹⁴⁹ during the reign of Edward II, however, it was numbered according to the regnal year in operation at its beginning. In both cases, regnal years and accounting years are not quite the same, therefore. Each clerk began his first roll from his date of appointment, and a reckoning was also made at the end of his term (see below).

All of the accounts are in Latin, but with many abbreviations, and neologisms from Anglo-Norman and (later in our period) English.¹⁵⁰ There has been no study of the process by which the clerks' accounts were submitted, but the final audit of similar accounts required attendance in person at the upper Exchequer at Westminster, not far from the chapel itself.¹⁵¹ Most of the present accounts end at Michaelmas (or at the date when an officer left their post), confirming the date. Many also represent a single financial year. It should be noted that a few do not, however, raising questions about their role in the annual process. Some rolls span more than one accounting year.¹⁵² Two account books also cover several years each.¹⁵³

When the clerk came to render his account, he brought with him a roll of 'particulars of account' (*particule compoti*), together with receipts, acquittances and other evidences to document and support his claim for the expenses listed on his roll.¹⁵⁴ Like some other kinds of Exchequer account, those of the clerk of works were checked 'by the view and testimony' of the controller, at least from the early fourteenth century, as mentioned previously.¹⁵⁵ The next step was the drawing up of a formal account roll (*compotus*). As part of the audit, the controller's scribe also wrote up a corrected, duplicate copy of the *compotus*, known as the 'counter-roll' (*contrarotulus*), adjusting totals and occasionally making corrections to the grammar. Once approved, the clerk's roll was sometimes marked accordingly ('probatur').¹⁵⁶ Of the rolls edited or collated here, nine are identified as particulars of account,¹⁵⁷ seven

¹⁴⁷ Nos. 1, rot. 2 (scribe); 38, m. 2 (w/b 15 Oct. 1347, indentures); 50, rot. 47 m. 1 (1348–49, journal); 40, mm. 12 (w/b 9 Jan. 1352, journal), 18 (12 April 1352, keeping account); 42, m. 3 (counters and journal); 46, m. 5 (w/b 15 Feb. 1356, parchment and paper); 47, m. 5 (journal); 49, m. 2. See *HKW*, i, p. 188 and n. 6.

¹⁴⁸ For example, see the letters patent at the beginning of no. 18.

¹⁴⁹ Cheney and Jones 2000, pp. 22, 45. The issue rolls began at Michaelmas, but referred to the regnal year.

¹⁵⁰ For the development of a hybrid business language, see Wright 2000, 2011, 2013. For use of the vernacular elsewhere, see *Accounts Exeter Cathedral*, ii, p. viii.

¹⁵¹ For a description of the audit of customs accounts at the upper Exchequer, see Morris and Strayer 1947, pp. 194–96. The process may have been similar for other 'foreign accounts', including for building works (see below).

¹⁵² Nos. 18 (clerk), 19 (controller), 24 (controller), 40 (clerk), 41 (carpenters' account). No. 18 runs from Nov. 1323 to Mich. 1325. The entries for the end of the first and the beginning of the second financial year appear to have been drawn up continuously; the break does not occur at the end of a membrane. The roll was annotated in the margin with a running total at the end of the first year, and approved at the end.

¹⁵³ Nos. 14–15.

¹⁵⁴ Giuseppe 1963, i, p. 50.

¹⁵⁵ No. 15, f. 1. For the checking process for customs accounts, see Morris and Strayer 1947, p. 196.

¹⁵⁶ Both *compoti* and particulars are found with annotations to this effect: nos. 23 (*compotus*), 40 (particulars).

¹⁵⁷ Particulars: nos. 29, 34, 38, 40–43, 49; E 101/501/29. Nos. 1–2 are not headed as particulars, but were compiled by the master mason, apparently as working documents, so they may have served this purpose.

as *compoti*,¹⁵⁸ and nineteen as counter-rolls.¹⁵⁹ A few other account rolls without headings cannot be confirmed as either particulars or *compoti*, and in practice they differed little from each other, in any event. In the few instances where both the *compotus* (or particulars of account) and counter-roll are extant, they have been collated,¹⁶⁰ using the text in the best physical condition as the base text.

Once the clerk of works' account had been approved, a summary was enrolled on the Exchequer's official record of audited accounts: the pipe roll (or great roll) (E 372, see below), referred to within the accounts themselves as the 'roll of accounts' ('rotulus compotorum').¹⁶¹ As mentioned previously, the earliest example for the clerk of works at the palace of Westminster and the Tower of London dates to the period after the reforms at the Exchequer in the 1320s.¹⁶² Relatively few summaries of building work elsewhere had been entered on the pipe roll before this time.¹⁶³ Afterwards, the roll became increasingly large. From 42 Edward III (1367–68), therefore, such summaries were instead enrolled on the foreign account rolls (E 364, see below). In theory, a vertical line was drawn through the clerk of works' account to indicate that it had been enrolled; in practice, however, the majority of the rolls that are edited and collated here were not marked in this way.¹⁶⁴ The clerks' accounts were then retained in the King's Remembrancer's office at the upper Exchequer; an original leather storage pouch survives for one of them (fig. 2).¹⁶⁵ Many rolls were still there in the late eighteenth century, as described previously.¹⁶⁶

Structure of the accounts and general scope of transcription

Medieval financial accounts generally followed a standard format. They listed first the payments of money received by the officer responsible and then the details of what he had spent. If the totals of each section were equal, he was declared quit, but if his expenses exceeded his receipts, then he was in arrears; conversely, if his receipts were greater than his expenses, he had a surplus. This system is found in surviving contemporary building accounts for great ecclesiastical corporations, such as Ely and Exeter cathedrals, in this period.¹⁶⁷ Most of the early accounts of the clerks of works edited here did not, however, follow this receipts-and-expenses format; they listed only expenditure. It was not until 1347–48 that the surviving particulars adopted the standard accounts format.¹⁶⁸ Henceforth, they listed both receipts and expenses in the same rolls as a matter of course.¹⁶⁹ The only subsequent *compotus* roll also includes them,¹⁷⁰ but they do not appear in the duplicate counter-rolls.

Accounts for expenses

The basic information in the expenses sections of these accounts remained the same across the period. The vast majority proceeded chronologically, on a week-by-week basis, listing first the purchases of materials made, often giving the names of the suppliers and sometimes where they were bought, together with the number and/or weight of the materials, the price per unit and the total price. This was then followed by the wages paid to the workmen over the week.¹⁷¹ In all the accounts, both earlier and later, wages were listed in a hierarchical order, by craft, with the highest rates of pay first.

¹⁵⁸ *Compotus*: nos. 14–16, 18, 22–23, 58.

¹⁵⁹ Counter-roll: nos. 19, 24–28, 30–32, 35, 37, 45–47, 59; E 101/468/3, E 101/469/2, E 101/469/9, E 101/470/19.

¹⁶⁰ Namely, no. 16 (*compotus*) with E 101/469/2 (counter-roll); no. 18 (*compotus*) with E 101/469/9 (counter-roll); no. 20 (*compotus* or particulars) with E 101/468/3 (counter-roll); no. 23 (*compotus*) with E 101/469/12, mm. 1–14 (counter-roll); no. 37 (counter-roll) with E 101/501/29 (particulars); no. 38 (particulars) with E 101/470/19 (counter-roll).

¹⁶¹ No. 55, rot. 40d m. 1d, for example.

¹⁶² For the crisis in accounting during the previous reign, see Ormrod 1991, pp. 23–28, 32.

¹⁶³ *List of Foreign Accounts*, pp. 111–25.

¹⁶⁴ Four particulars of account (nos. 29, 34, 36 and E 101/501/29), one *compotus* (no. 23), and one counter-roll (no. 35) were marked as enrolled.

¹⁶⁵ No. 58. For purchase of a bag: no. 49, m. 2.

¹⁶⁶ See 'Historiography'.

¹⁶⁷ *Accounts Exeter Cathedral; Sacrist Rolls of Ely*.

¹⁶⁸ No. 38.

¹⁶⁹ See, for example, nos. 40–42, 49. The one exception is no. 43. It does not include receipts, but it was probably anomalous: it covered a short period of time and was rendered posthumously.

¹⁷⁰ No. 58.

¹⁷¹ For the working week, see 'Craftsmen and their work'.



Fig. 2. Leather bag for no. 58.

The form and layout changed, however. The accounts for expenditure on the chapel in the 1290s look very different from those rendered in the reigns of Edward II and Edward III. The earlier accounts appear on rotulets sewn together at the top, in Exchequer fashion (fig. 3).¹⁷² Even though these rotulets expressly state that they record the expenses of the building of St Stephen's chapel, other expenses at the palace of Westminster also appear; these have been omitted in the present edition. Wage payments were written on separate rotulets from purchases of materials, although the scribe gave both rotulets relating to the same week (or weeks)¹⁷³ the same number, so that there were originally two rotulets numbered as rot. 1, for example. Whereas the accounts from the 1290s list workmen in a two-column format (labelled in this edition as 'a' and 'b'), with the rates of pay and the number of days worked by each within the week bracketed together, later accounts appear in paragraph form. The earlier accounts also contain many annotations, often relating to the payment of the workmen – the most common being 'per [manus] m[agistri]', indicating that a workman, or group of workmen, was paid by the master mason directly. This may suggest that the documents had had a practical use, before submission at the Exchequer. The layout is different from that adopted for some other contemporary royal building accounts. In those for work at Builth (1280) and Caernarfon (1295) castles, for example, wages over several weeks are presented either on a single membrane, or on membranes sewn head-to-tail.¹⁷⁴

Two of the extant *compoti* of the clerk of works from the reign of Edward II, both for expenditure on building work in the palace of Westminster, the Tower of London and the king's mews at Charing Cross, were bound up as books (nos. 14–15; fig. 4). As mentioned previously, the codex form had been used since at least 1286 for the accounts of the royal wardrobe, where many of the treasurers and other officers had been trained.¹⁷⁵ By 1319, however, the clerk of works' accounts had abandoned this format. Henceforth all of the surviving particulars, *compoti* and counter-rolls take the form of rolls of membranes, sewn together end-to-end, in Chancery fashion (fig. 5).¹⁷⁶ Wages and purchases appear in alternating sections, which give the dates worked by each of the workmen, and information about the weight, quantity, and unit prices of the materials purchased, and their provenance. This information is more precise than in the earlier accounts.

During the major building work on the chapel between 1323 and 1343 many of the account rolls were dedicated solely to expenses concerned with this project, but over time they gradually became subsumed into the clerks' accounts for building expenses at the palace of Westminster and Tower of London, as a whole. The last dedicated roll is for 1342–43.¹⁷⁷ Wherever it has been possible to determine that entries do not relate to expenditure on the chapel or college of St Stephen, or on the related temporary chapel of St Stephen's by the Receipt in the palace, they have been omitted from this edition. Conversely, a few rolls were dedicated to particular aspects of the work at St Stephen's, such as that for the carpentry of the stalls in the early 1350s, compiled some time later.¹⁷⁸ Similarly, accounts for timber felled in the king's forest of Tonbridge from 1323 to 1326, for use in the chapel, were also rendered separately.¹⁷⁹

There was some variety in the formatting of the accounts after 1347–48, probably due to the training and preferences of the individual clerks, as mentioned above. The inclusion of receipts from that date – coinciding with Peter of Bridgnorth's term as Walter of Weston's deputy – has already been mentioned. Weston's successor as clerk, Robert of Campsall, followed Bridgnorth's format initially, but his final account, for 1353–54, was organized in a new way.¹⁸⁰ It begins with receipts, but then lists purchases by type, wages by craft, and store accounts (by type of object), not in chronological order, but covering the whole year of the account. The rolls produced during the term of his successor Thomas of Stapleford

¹⁷² See below, for the similar format of the pipe rolls.

¹⁷³ Some of the accounts for 1294–96 covered longer periods: table 9.

¹⁷⁴ Builth: E 101/485/23. Caernarfon: E 101/486/8.

¹⁷⁵ Tout 1937, i, p. 47; ii, pp. 214–15; *Book of Prests*, p. xii.

¹⁷⁶ Tout 1936, p. 174.

¹⁷⁷ No. 35.

¹⁷⁸ No. 41. This account includes also the master carpenter's receipts at the Exchequer to pay for the wages of the workmen under his direction. For receipts generally, see below.

¹⁷⁹ Nos. 18–19. The former account has been collated with its counter-roll, to which a timber account is attached. For a felling account for the building works at Windsor in 1344, see Munby 2007, pp. 50–51, appendix C, doc. 4.43.

¹⁸⁰ No. 42.



This is Michael of Canterbury's first account for rebuilding the chapel, w/b 28 April 1292.

Nonis p Septimana precedente apud Vestm.

Wille de Hlonden. l'he de pypmgs. Velle de dambury. Immon de case. Colte de
grikenesht. Jeth de werlthmsted. Mew de l'eddon. wilm de drachfen a
Jeth de coumb. ix. com. opm de enalland gresso pears de cecam
as d'as opm de aslam. apm de p. c. pears. m. d. q. cccc. m. pears en
enalland recipient deneg p mams. Wille de Hlonden c l'he de pypmgs. v. 8. y. 8. ob.

magis iacob de leuathim fabro assignato ad superintendendū smātas quācones fabricarū
 lēu omibz loaz pēos qd mch pūit dūb. hic pēo ad cam p carner p tra sūi de libat.

Mano de Loupim fabro reparata foyes m fabrica de lous e foyes alia necessaria
 p. m. dies. e di. no denar q mamos foyes foyes
 e m. d. of.

[illegible]

Fig. 4. No. 14, f. 1r, showing the beginning of Nicholas of Tickhill's account book, from 7 August 1307.

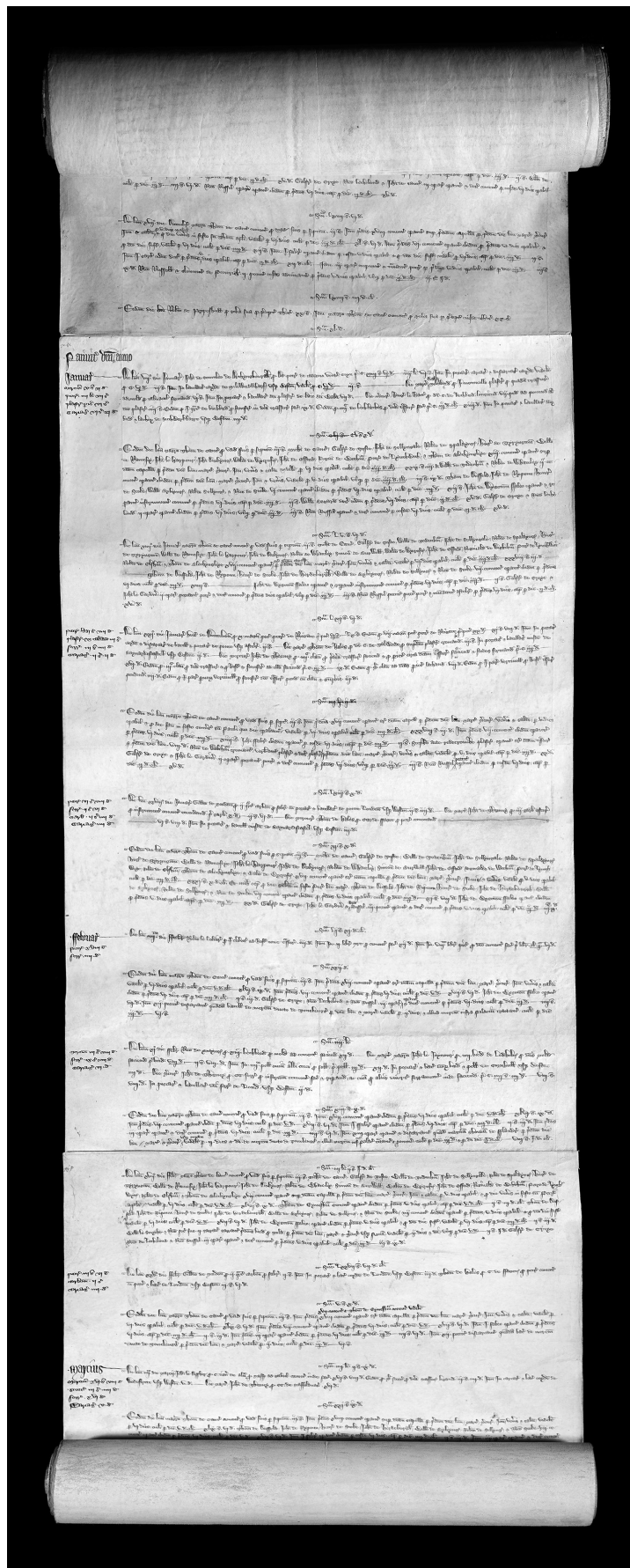


Fig. 5. No. 18, mm. 9–10, showing membranes stitched end-to-end in the account of William de Chaillou, Christmas 1324 and New Year 1325.

return to the format of the 1330s: receipts were presented in a separate roll,¹⁸¹ and expenses set out by week, with purchases preceding wages.¹⁸² The surviving accounts for expenses were drawn up by his controller Adam of Chesterfield, but the separate roll of receipts had been drawn up earlier by Stapleford himself, suggesting a previous decision to follow this kind of organization. Since the 1330s, Stapleford had been acting clerk for Walter of Weston,¹⁸³ so this may be the result of his previous experience.

The controller's roll for June 1357 to June 1358, during the clerkship of William of Lambeth, then returns to a more synthetic treatment:¹⁸⁴ it combines receipts and expenses, and the latter are divided by wages over the period, subdivided by craft, and followed by types of materials and their transport costs. A similar organization is found in no. 49. The two final account rolls edited here, a *compotus* of the clerk William Hannay¹⁸⁵ and a counter-roll of the controller Hugh Herland,¹⁸⁶ both from the 1390s, are organized in a comparable fashion, although the latter covers only expenses. In later rolls, an increasing amount of taskwork is presented in a separate section at the end.

Store accounts

Whenever a clerk of works left office, he concluded the final account of his expenses with a store account (*mortuus staurum*), or inventory of all the materials and tools of which he had taken possession initially, as well as those purchased during his tenure. After listing these items, he indicated what portion had been used up, followed by a list of what remained. Store accounts usually end with a statement that he had delivered custody of these items to the new clerk, who would be liable to account for them in future. A few of those edited here appear on the dorses of particulars of account or *compotus* rolls, but most are at the end of summary enrolled accounts (see E 372, below).

The first store account was rendered in 1327, when William de Chaillou left office.¹⁸⁷ We also have that rendered by William of Kelsey, his successor but one, in 1329.¹⁸⁸ It is similar to Chaillou's account, so they have been collated here. Kelsey's successor, Walter of Weston, rendered store accounts on four separate occasions – in 1332, 1340, 1344 and 1346 – the first three perhaps coinciding with periods when his office was performed by a deputy (see above). They are similar in content and have therefore been collated.¹⁸⁹ Weston's fourth account, uniquely, was rendered only for the items in store, many of which had been finally brought into use. It survives both in the form of a 'particulars of account' and as a counter-roll; they have been collated.¹⁹⁰ A fifth and final store account covering the period to 20 June 1351, rendered posthumously by Weston's executors, and preserved in a summary enrolled account, also appears on its own.¹⁹¹

Weston's deputy from 1347 to 1348, Peter of Bridgnorth, did not render a store account, but his particulars for that year ended with an account of the lead that he had expended,¹⁹² as did those of Weston's successor Robert of Campsall, for 1351–52.¹⁹³ Campsall died in office in 1354 and, accordingly, his final account contains a store account at the end.¹⁹⁴ Thomas of Stapleford, Campsall's successor, also appended a store account to his *compotus* for his final year in office, 1355–56, preserved in the counter-roll of his controller Adam of Chesterfield.¹⁹⁵ Further store accounts survive in enrolled summaries and particulars of account of the clerks who succeeded Stapleford: William of Lambeth

¹⁸¹ No. 44.

¹⁸² Nos. 45–46.

¹⁸³ *Cal. Close*, 1333–37, p. 235 (15 July 1334); *Cal. Close*, 1337–39, p. 41 (18 March 1337).

¹⁸⁴ No. 47.

¹⁸⁵ No. 58.

¹⁸⁶ No. 59.

¹⁸⁷ No. 21, rot. 41d m. 1d.

¹⁸⁸ No. 22, m. 2d.

¹⁸⁹ No. 23, m. 1d. The collated rolls are E 372/185, rot. 39d m. 2d; E 372/189, rot. 49d m. 2d.

¹⁹⁰ No. 37.

¹⁹¹ No. 50, rot. 47d m. 1d.

¹⁹² No. 38, m. 12d.

¹⁹³ No. 40, m. 26d.

¹⁹⁴ No. 42, mm. 2d–4d. This was duplicated in an enrolled summary account for his whole period of office, rendered by his executor: no. 51, rot. 37d m. 1d.

¹⁹⁵ No. 46, mm. 1d–2d.

(1356–61) and William of Sleaford (from 1361), who held office when the chapel was completed.¹⁹⁶ To judge by the plethora of surviving store accounts from 1356 to 1366, they may have been drawn up annually by that time.

The store account rendered after William of Lambeth's death is notable in recording his delivery of liturgical and other items to the dean of St Stephen's college in 1361, attested by an indenture drawn up between Lambeth and the dean.¹⁹⁷ Unusually, the actual indenture also survives, along with Edward III's privy seal writ ordering Lambeth to deliver the goods, and another indenture attesting that Lambeth had handed over the items remaining in the store to his successor.¹⁹⁸ They are part of an original file of writs and indentures submitted to the Exchequer in support of Lambeth's account, all written in Anglo-Norman.

Two later store accounts, covering the period 1393 to 1396, also survive.¹⁹⁹ However, few items in these accounts – and, indeed, in any store account after 1351 – were certainly to be used for the building of the chapel or college of St Stephen. Only relevant items have been included here.

Accounts for receipts

Receipts were listed in a separate account from expenses in the clerks of works' accounts before 1347–48, as noted above. Far fewer of these accounts have survived; only two are edited here, in whole or in part.²⁰⁰ Fortunately, the contents of many of the lost lists have been preserved in the enrolled summary accounts in the pipe rolls and foreign account rolls (see below), from which extracts are included.

The earliest individual roll is no. 17, an account of monies paid out of the Exchequer to the clerk of works over the period 1320–22, including building works at St Stephen's. The monies were released, or delivered, to the clerk of works John of Ditton under the system of writs of *liberate*, whereby the king instructed the treasurer and chamberlains of his Exchequer, by writs issued under his great seal, to pay specified amounts to Ditton. He appeared at the Exchequer, or sent someone in his place, whenever he needed funds to pay suppliers of materials and workmen's wages, until the full amount authorized under a given writ was exhausted. He would then apply to procure a further writ. The use of writs of *liberate* dwindled over time;²⁰¹ subsequent lists of receipts make no mention of them, stating only that the clerk received the monies from the treasurer and chamberlains. This first roll probably indicates when Edward II ordered the resumption of work on St Stephen's, and sheds light on the administrative procedure followed, so it has been edited in full.

Most of the other accounts for receipts have been edited only in part. Usually, they list only the amounts delivered to the clerks of works on specific dates, for the works at the palace of Westminster as a whole. On occasion, however, they state that payments of money have been delivered directly to workmen known to have been employed at St Stephen's, and where these occur such entries have been included. Otherwise, we have extracted only the total sums paid to the clerks from these lists of receipts and/or the enrolled copies of them. This is the case both for the earlier accounts of receipts (and the copies preserved in the enrolled accounts), and for the receipts that appear in the particulars of account dating from after 1347–48. The receipts listed in the particulars of the clerk of works Robert of Campsall for the year 1351–52 are an exception.²⁰² Many individual entries give valuable details of payments made to craftsmen working on St Stephen's at a time of intense activity, and the sum total at the end is lacking. These entries have therefore been included.

While accounts of receipts survive in both the enrolled accounts (E 372 and E 364) and detailed accounts for the period 1320 to 1396, records of receipts by the clerks of works for the first period of building, from 1292 to 1297, must be sought in other record series, E 403 and E 405 (see below).

¹⁹⁶ Nos. 49, m. 6; 52, rot. 40d m 1d; 53, rot. 46 m. 2; 54, rot. 40 m. 1; 55, rot. 40d mm. 1d–2d; 56, rot. 52 m. 1; 57, rot. 48 m. 1.

¹⁹⁷ No. 53, rot. 46 m. 2

¹⁹⁸ No. 48, mm. 1, 3.

¹⁹⁹ Nos. 59, 61.

²⁰⁰ Nos. 17, 44.

²⁰¹ Giuseppe 1963, i, p. 20. For the decline of the *liberate* writ and the rise of the privy seal writ, see W. M. Ormrod, 'Edward III's Government of England, c.1346–65', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1984, pp. 93–97.

²⁰² No. 40, m. 1.

Exchequer, pipe office, pipe rolls, E 372

As mentioned above, the pipe rolls were the official record of the audit of accounts made before the barons of the Exchequer. They were prepared by the treasurer's clerk, known as the clerk of the pipe, and a duplicate of each was made as a check by the clerk of the chancellor of the Exchequer.²⁰³ They take the form of large rotulets, usually of two membranes joined end-to-end, written on both sides, and later sewn together at the head. Most of the rotulets are devoted to the sheriffs' accounts of their county farms, and of the casual revenue derived from various forms of amercements and feudal incidents. The shire accounts are followed by what were termed 'foreign accounts', that is, of income and expenditure from outside the king's ordinary revenue. The clerks of works' accounts are therefore always found towards the end of these rolls.

Structure of the accounts and general scope of transcription

The enrolments of the clerks of works' accounts all follow the same basic format, with some slight variation tailored to their individual contents. First, they list chronologically all the clerks' receipts from the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer for the works at the Tower, providing a total at the end, followed by his receipts from the same for the works at the palace of Westminster. When works at the chapel of St Stephen were particularly substantial, as in the period of William de Chaillou's enrolled account for his full term of office, from 1323 to 1327,²⁰⁴ a list of his receipts for works at the chapel followed separately from those for other works at the palace of Westminster, but later enrolled accounts did not distinguish between receipts for palace and chapel works.

While the receipts sections reproduced the receipts accounts in full, the clerk's expenses were presented in summary form and organized, moreover, in a wholly different fashion to the *compoti* and particulars. Expenditure at the Tower, palace, and chapel were again separated, but within each only the total amount spent on each broad category of materials, total transport costs, and the full wages bill for all workers within the period were listed. Where an enrolled account covered more than one year, as in no. 21, the account for each year followed one upon the other in the same format. At the end of these annual summaries – often on the dorse – there appeared the clerk's store account for the materials and tools in his possession at the beginning of his term of office and what remained when he left, or at the end of the accounting period.

These enrolled accounts are useful, therefore, in filling gaps where neither an account roll nor counter-roll has survived. They have chiefly been deployed here in such cases, especially for the last decade of work on the chapel – from 1356 to 1366 – for which only one counter-roll and one set of particulars survive.²⁰⁵ Indeed, enrolled accounts are the main source for this period.²⁰⁶ Although these summaries are not as informative as the original expenses accounts, the addition of receipts sections and regular store accounts provide something not always found in surviving originals.

Since their purpose here is to compensate for missing clerks' account rolls, the expenses sections have been reproduced selectively, even where they include expenditure on St Stephen's chapel. From no. 51, the enrolled summary of the account rendered by the executor of the will of Robert of Campsall for the latter's whole period of office (from 21 June 1351 to 20 Sept. 1354), for example, only the expenses for the year Michaelmas 1352 to Michaelmas 1353 have been edited, since Campsall's particulars of account for the other two years of his tenure are extant.²⁰⁷ The receipts sections, and some of the store accounts in these enrolled accounts, as noted above, have also been reproduced only in part.

²⁰³ The latter now form the series Exchequer, pipe office, chancellor's rolls, E 352, which has not been consulted.

²⁰⁴ No. 21, rot. 41–41d.

²⁰⁵ Nos. 47, 49.

²⁰⁶ Nos. 52, rot. 40d; 54, rot. 40; 55, rot. 40d; 56, rot. 52; 57, rot. 48.

²⁰⁷ Nos. 40, 42.

Exchequer, pipe office, foreign accounts, E 364

Structure of the accounts and general scope of transcription

By the Exchequer ordinances of 1323, 1324 and 1326, the sheriffs' accounts and 'foreign accounts' on the pipe rolls were ordered to be made into two discrete rolls.²⁰⁸ Separate enrolment was already being made of some of the more voluminous accounts by the time of these ordinances, but it was not until 42 Edward III (1367–68) that a regular series of foreign accounts was formed; the clerks of works' accounts were henceforth enrolled there.²⁰⁹ They appear in a similar format to the enrolled accounts in the series E 372, but each rotulet was labelled with a letter, as a means of identification.

Two accounts of the clerks of works appointed by Richard II to oversee building works at the college of St Stephen survive only in an enrolled form within the E 364 series, and they have been edited here. The enrolled account of William Hannay gives details of receipts and expenses in building a *mansio* and part of a cloister, from 1384 to 1385,²¹⁰ augmenting Hannay's extant original *compotus* for building the same residence from 1389 to 1394.²¹¹ The enrolled account of John Godmanstone is for his receipts and expenses for building works at the palace of Westminster from 1393 to 1395, including the cloister and a bell-tower, ending with a store account.²¹² It complements the surviving counter-roll of his controller Hugh Herland for the following year, in which further expenses on the bell-tower are recorded.²¹³ In this edition, we have extracted only the totals from the receipts sections of the enrolled accounts. Hannay's expenses are edited in full, but only the relevant entries from Godmanstone's expenses and store account have been included.

Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt, issue rolls, E 403

As mentioned above, the account rolls of the 1290s contain only the expenses of the master mason and clerk of works, and there are no enrolled accounts from which the clerk's receipts can be extracted. In order to ascertain how much money he received from the Exchequer to meet his building expenses it is necessary, therefore, to consult two other record series.

The first of these comprises the issue rolls, or pells of issues (E 403). They list payments made out of the revenues of the crown by the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer. While there are sometimes gaps in the survival of these rolls (see below), duplicate and sometimes even triplicate copies are frequently extant,²¹⁴ because separate rolls were kept by the treasurer and each of the two chamberlains.²¹⁵ The rolls cover either Michaelmas and Hilary terms together,²¹⁶ or Easter term on its own.²¹⁷

Structure of the rolls and general scope of transcription

The issue rolls are usually in membranes sewn end-to-end and written in two columns. Each column gives details of the individual payments made, the reasons for them, and names of any persons receiving the money ('by hands of') on behalf of the individuals for whom it was intended. They often, but not always, reveal the dates on which each payment was made. Many are labelled with a heading on the dorse of the first membrane, which enabled easy identification of the roll when it was rolled up. Only entries relating to the building of St Stephen's chapel have been transcribed and edited here.

²⁰⁸ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, iii, p. 860. For the context, see Ormrod 1991, p. 32.

²⁰⁹ Giuseppe 1963, i, pp. 73–74.

²¹⁰ No. 60, rot. 3 m. 1.

²¹¹ No. 58.

²¹² No. 61, rot. 2 m. 2.

²¹³ No. 59.

²¹⁴ As, for example, E 403/95, 97, 98, triplicate rolls that have been collated in this edition (no. 8).

²¹⁵ Giuseppe 1963, i, p. 98. For the use of regnal years, for dating, see Cheney and Jones 2000, p. 22.

²¹⁶ See, for example, no. 7.

²¹⁷ Nos. 4, 6, 8.

Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt, *jornalia* rolls, E 405

The second record series consulted to trace the receipts of the clerk of works comprises the *jornalia* rolls (E 405), which were created by the treasurer William of March in 1293.²¹⁸ These rolls, useful for plugging gaps in the surviving series of issue rolls, contain entries of the total amounts of both the receipts and the issues of the Exchequer, day by day and week by week, and were compiled by the chamberlains of the Exchequer in each term. They provide, essentially, a daily log of the money flowing into and out of the Exchequer. Occasional duplicates survive, since both chamberlains compiled their own rolls.²¹⁹ Like the issue rolls, they cover either Michaelmas and Hilary terms together,²²⁰ or Easter term on its own.²²¹ One anomalous roll, for August to September 1296,²²² has most of its entries crossed through, and the accuracy of the contents is therefore in doubt, but no issue roll survives for this period, so it has been included here.²²³ As a rule, *jornalia* rolls have been consulted only where issue rolls are lacking. This record series was abandoned in the early fourteenth century, when consolidated rolls for issues and receipts were adopted.²²⁴

Structure of the rolls and general scope of transcription

The *jornalia* rolls were usually sewn together at the top into two rotulets: a short, covering rotulet of one membrane, followed by a rotulet of several membranes sewn end-to-end. They were invariably written in a two-column format. The left-hand column listed the total receipts each day and the right-hand column recorded individual issues out of the Exchequer on the same dates, listing the amounts, reasons for the payments and names of any persons receiving the money ('by hands of') on behalf of the individuals to whom the issues were made. At the end of each week, both total receipts and total issues for that week are given. Like the issue rolls, the *jornalia* rolls are sometimes labelled with headings on the dorse of the first rotulet, which can be seen when the document is rolled up. Only entries relating to the building of St Stephen's chapel have been transcribed and edited here. The dates of each payment are taken from the left-hand column and the entries of the payments themselves from the right-hand column.

Clerks of works and their careers

From the 1290s until 1378, as we have seen, the same clerks of works and controllers were responsible for both the palace of Westminster and the Tower of London, answering at the king's Exchequer. A list of these officers is provided in table 1. Few had university degrees, differing in this from more senior colleagues in royal government, but they brought remarkably diverse experience to these positions.²²⁵ Their careers throw light upon recruitment, working practices and rewards for clerks of this kind.

Stephen de Knolle, the earliest clerk to appear in this collection of accounts, was in office during the first phase of rebuilding under Edward I. He was identified by Howard Colvin as one Stephen de Cnulle, or Knulle, who had been in charge of work at Builth castle (Brecknocks.) in 1282–83.²²⁶ Colvin associated the toponym in the *liberate* rolls with Knill in Herefordshire, just across the border in England. In the

²¹⁸ Ormrod 1991, pp. 24–25.

²¹⁹ For example, E 405/1/2 and E 405/1/3, which have been collated (no. 5). E 405/1/2 was compiled by the chamberlain William of Pershore, whose name appears at the head of the roll.

²²⁰ Nos. 3, 5, 11.

²²¹ No. 12.

²²² No. 10.

²²³ Note, however, that a comparison of a similarly crossed-through *jornalia* roll (E 405/1/4) and an issue roll covering the same period (E 403/90) reveals that the former omitted some payments and misdated others.

²²⁴ Ormrod 1991, pp. 32–33. They ceased to be made in 10 Edward II: Giuseppi 1963, i, p. 103.

²²⁵ HKW, i, pp. 172–73. University degrees: Emden 1957, i, p. 408 (Adam of Chesterfield); 1958, ii, p. 1373 (a John of Norton, fellow of Merton college); 1959, iii, pp. 2025–26 (a Walter of Weston). Only the first identification is certain. A Walter of Weston, rector of Kings Cliffe (Northants.), was granted licences to study in the early 1320s: *Reg. Burghersh*, iii, nos. 2, 196, 344.

²²⁶ HKW, i, pp. 296 and n. 12, 510; TNA, C62/58, 59, 60.

entry for Builth in the pipe roll for 1282–83, however, Stephen appears as 'Stephen de Knolle'.²²⁷ The spelling of toponyms can be very variable, as the present accounts demonstrate throughout. It is certainly an attractive possibility that the two Stephens were one and the same person, bringing his building experience in Wales to Westminster and London in the 1290s. There is evidence for administrative continuities with Edward I's castle building at St Stephen's: it will be argued that the impressment of labour, which underpinned that vast Welsh endeavour, was used there.²²⁸ In the same decade, Knolle was responsible for castle works at the Tower.²²⁹

The second major phase of building work, in the reign of Edward II, was led by William de Chaillou, who had been appointed by the king's letters patent in November 1323.²³⁰ The careers of royal clerks in our period have been studied within networks defined by family and political allegiance.²³¹ The toponym may relate Chaillou to the Gascons Arnaud and Bertrand de Caillau, nephews of Piers Gaveston, Edward II's favourite.²³² If so, it was probably not a coincidence that Chaillou lost his office (16 March 1327) soon after the deposition of the king who had nominated him.²³³ A successor, William of Kelsey (1329), may be related to the chancery clerk Robert of Kelsey, whose rise to power has been associated with the new regime of Queen Isabella and Roger Mortimer.²³⁴ Other clerks belonged to clerical dynasties at this time. Kelsey's immediate successor, John of Ferriby (1329–31), a wardrobe clerk, had risen with his relative Richard under the patronage of William of Melton, archbishop of York (1316–40) and treasurer of England (1325–26, 1330–31).²³⁵

The longest-serving clerk of works was Walter of Weston, appointed by the young king Edward III for life on 23 January 1331; he would be in post for twenty years.²³⁶ Previously, he had been responsible for the writing office of the court of Gascony, and it is likely that he was related to the constable of Bordeaux (1327–30), John of Weston.²³⁷ There were other Westons in Edward's government, some also perhaps relatives, including Philip, the king's almoner and confessor, and later a surveyor and auditor of his chamber.²³⁸ The building of St Stephen's was completed in Walter's time, but he was not always present. In July 1334, he was appointed deputy keeper of the Channel Islands, and he was embarking to take up this office in autumn 1338;²³⁹ in June 1343 he was appointed as a keeper. From July 1342, and again between Michaelmas 1346 and January 1349, his position as clerk of works was undertaken by deputies (table 1).²⁴⁰ In May 1347, returning to Gascony, he was made deputy constable of Bordeaux.²⁴¹ After the arrival of the Black Death, however, Weston returned to Westminster to pick up the reins as clerk of

²²⁷ E 372/127, 'other accounts'.

²²⁸ See 'Craftsmen and their work'.

²²⁹ *HKW*, ii, p. 723.

²³⁰ *Cal. Pat.*, 1321–24, p. 353.

²³¹ Wilkinson 1929, pp. 178–79; Grassi 1970; McHardy 2006, pp. 49–50.

²³² Tout 1936, p. 12 n. 1, 75–76, 199; Hamilton 1988, p. 76, 88; Phillips 2010, p. 182. We are grateful to Paul Dryburgh for this suggestion.

²³³ No. 21, m. 2.

²³⁴ McHardy 2006, pp. 47–48, 49. For the political links of chancery clerks, see Wilkinson 1929, pp. 178–79. William of Kelsey may be the clerk of this name, rector of Boothby Graffoe and Navenby (Lincs.), who later served Adam de Lymbergh, chancellor of Ireland: *Cal. Pat.*, 1330–34, p. 269 (1 April 1332); *Reg. Burghersh*, iii, nos. 955, 1051, 1185, 1265, 1355, 1979–80.

²³⁵ Grassi 1970, pp. 22–23, 29; Butler 1951, p. 66. For the family, see Tout 1928, iii, p. 215; Tout 1928, iv, p. 79 and n. 5 (Richard and Melton); Tout 1930, v, pp. 77 nn. 2 and 5, 111. A William of Ferriby was the archbishop's clerk, and guardian of his heir: *Reg. Melton*, i, no. 379 (30 Oct. 1319); *Reg. Melton*, iii, no. 257 (5 Dec. 1335); Sainty 1983, p. 194.

²³⁶ *Cal. Pat.*, 1330–34, p. 44.

²³⁷ TNA, C 61/39, m. 3 (no. 81, 15 May 1327) (<http://www.gasconrolls.org/en/> (accessed 4 Sept. 2018)). John of Weston, constable of Bordeaux: Tout 1933, vi, p. 68; TNA, C 61/39, m. 3 (no. 78, 15 May 1327) (<http://www.gasconrolls.org/en/> (accessed 4 Sept. 2018)). A John of Weston had previously been constable of the Tower of London: Phillips 2010, p. 507.

²³⁸ Philip of Weston: Tout 1928, iv, pp. 107, 264, 268–69. For Westons in John of Eltham's household, see Dryburgh 2016, p. 41.

²³⁹ *Cal. Close*, 1333–37, p. 235 (15 July 1334); *Cal. Pat.*, 1338–40, p. 158 (25 Oct. 1338); *Cal. Close*, 1337–39, pp. 221 (3 Dec. 1337), 544 (24 Oct. 1338, provisions), 560 (15 Nov. 1338, ships); *Cal. Fine*, 1337–47, p. 334 (25 June 1343, keeper). In the late 1330s, the Channel Islands were attacked by the French: Ormrod 2011, pp. 189, 204.

²⁴⁰ *Cal. Pat.*, 1340–43, pp. 484–85 (21 July 1342); no. 50, rot. 47 m. 1.

²⁴¹ TNA, C 61/59, m. 11 (no. 18, 9 May 1347) (<http://www.gasconrolls.org/en/> (accessed 4 Sept. 2018)).

works. His appointment to the clerkship for life shows that this position was itself a reward, and his subsequent career demonstrates the flexibility that could be required of royal servants.

The decoration of the chapel was completed in the 1350s and early 1360s under the direction of the clerks Robert of Campsall (1351–54), Thomas of Stapleford (1354–56), William of Lambeth (1356–61), and William of Sleaford (from 1361). These men also came with diverse experience, and family connections. Lambeth has been identified as an officer of the king's chamber in the 1350s, receiving luxury goods for the king.²⁴² It is possible that he was related to the Sir William of Lambeth (Lambhuth), who had fought in the king's division at the battle of Crécy (1346), among the knights.²⁴³ Sleaford would later be keeper of the privy wardrobe and was probably related to John of Sleaford, keeper of the great wardrobe from 1371.²⁴⁴ Turning to the controllers, Adam of Chesterfield's family occupied the post of treasurer's clerk of the Receipt in the Exchequer for nearly thirty years;²⁴⁵ he was the controller of works at Westminster and the Tower from 1355.

Stapleford's career throws light upon the place of St Stephen's within a system of administrative and clerical patronage, both before and after the establishment of St Stephen's college in 1348. He was made a chaplain of St Stephen's in September 1336, collated to it by the king's treasurer (Henry Burghersh, bishop of Lincoln); the treasurer had the right of appointment to such a chaplaincy, according to later letters patent.²⁴⁶ Stapleford had already been acting as clerk of works in Weston's absence; he was also his attorney.²⁴⁷ The position may have been a reward, therefore, in part at least. Stapleford's involvement with the chapel continued intermittently for another twenty years. In late July 1348 he again became deputy clerk of works.²⁴⁸ Finally, in 1354, he was made clerk in his own right. By this time, the treasurers' patronage of a chaplaincy had been cut off by the foundation of St Stephen's college, but a prebend in the new foundation was apparently to be within their gift.²⁴⁹ Stapleford will have lost his former position by this time. There is no direct record of his appointment to a prebend, but a later entry in the patent rolls states that he had held one.²⁵⁰ Whether this was the treasurer's prebend or not, the appointment was undoubtedly a reward for his long service to the crown.

Other clerks and controllers received prebends in the college, including Martin of Exning, Adam of Chesterfield, William Hannay, Walter of Weston, and William of Sleaford, who was appointed dean in 1369.²⁵¹ Lambeth was already a prebendary when he became clerk of works, suggesting that he was in favour.²⁵² They all belong to a wider group of canons who had served as king's clerks.²⁵³ A number of our clerks of works were also rewarded elsewhere, including a few prebends in cathedral churches.²⁵⁴ Several of these were contested, however; by contrast, positions in the royal foundation at Westminster were secure, as well as remunerative. There is some evidence for the attachment of the clerks to the institution that they had helped to create. Adam of Chesterfield gave St Stephen's expensive liturgical books, and, according to the college's surviving obit book, both he and Sleaford endowed commemoration there.²⁵⁵ Chesterfield's was to be on 26 December, St Stephen's day.

²⁴² Tout 1928, iv, p. 331 and n. 3.

²⁴³ Wrottesley 1898, p. 36.

²⁴⁴ *Cal. Pat.*, 1370–74, pp. 53 (28 Feb. 1371), 155 (24 Nov. 1371). Tout 1928, iv, p. 384.

²⁴⁵ Tout 1928, iii, p. 248 and n. 2; Sainty 1983, p. 195.

²⁴⁶ *Cal. Pat.*, 1334–38, p. 316 (26 Sept. 1336); *Cal. Pat.*, 1354–58, p. 430 (3 Aug. 1356).

²⁴⁷ *Cal. Close*, 1333–37, p. 235 (15 July 1334); no. 33, rot. 39 m. 1.

²⁴⁸ *Cal. Pat.*, 1348–50, p. 128 (28 July 1348).

²⁴⁹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1354–58, p. 430 (3 Aug. 1356). For Edington's involvement, see Biggs 2016, p. 32 n. 54.

²⁵⁰ *Cal. Pat.*, 1354–58, p. 430 (3 Aug. 1356).

²⁵¹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1348–50, p. 446 (15 Jan. 1350, Weston); *Cal. Pat.*, 1350–54, p. 60 (1 April 1351, Exning); *Cal. Pat.*, 1367–70, p. 249 (18 May 1369, Chesterfield); *Cal. Pat.*, 1389–92, p. 493 (29 Oct. 1391, Hannay); *Cal. Pat.*, 1364–67, p. 96 (20 Feb. 1365), and 1367–70, p. 249 (17 May 1369, Sleaford). For these appointments, see also Biggs 2016, pp. 32 and n. 57, 144–45, appendix 3.

²⁵² *Cal. Pat.*, 1350–54, p. 200 (16 Jan. 1352). He had licence also to hold a canonry and prebend in the royal free chapel at Bridgnorth (Salop.): *Cal. Papal Letters*, 1342–62, p. 346 (15 Oct. 1349).

²⁵³ For the canons of the college and careers in the king's administration, see Biggs 2016, ch. 5, esp. pp. 140–49, appendix 3.

²⁵⁴ John of Ditton: *Fasti*, London, v, p. 61. Robert of Hillam: *Fasti*, Bath and Wells, viii, p. 77 (contested prebend). William of Lambeth: *Fasti*, Exeter, ix, p. 33; *Fasti*, Hereford, ii, p. 30. Walter of Weston: *Fasti*, Chichester, vii, p. 28 (quickly revoked, *Cal. Pat.*, 1343–45, p. 201).

²⁵⁵ BL, Cotton MS Faustina B VIII, fols. 7r, 9v–10v, 16v–18r.

On a broader view, geography was important in determining the careers of these royal servants.²⁵⁶ A large region in south Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and Lindsey (Lincs.) has been identified as fertile ground for the recruitment of royal clerks in the second half of the thirteenth and the fourteenth century, comprising over 200 names, especially in the chancery, but also other parts of government.²⁵⁷ It has been argued that senior royal administrators who were also senior clergy within the archdiocese of York recruited many of these people; such groups may also have become self-perpetuating, whether within families or through other kinds of local connections.²⁵⁸ While toponyms are not an infallible guide to origin, it is striking that those for many of the present clerks also lie within this region: Campsall and Hillam (West Riding, Yorks.), Ferriby (North Ferriby: East Riding, Yorks.; South Ferriby: Lincs.), Kelsey (North and South, Lincs.) and Stapleford (Notts.).²⁵⁹ John of Ferriby and William of Kelsey have already been noted as belonging to clerical families, the former linked closely to Archbishop Melton.²⁶⁰ Other clerks of works in the present volume may have been recruited within similar patronage networks.

It is likely that the local knowledge of these clerks also contributed to the recruitment of craftsmen for the St Stephen's project. During Campsall's tenure John Barneby, father and son, first appear in the accounts on a high rate of pay.²⁶¹ The elder John may have been the painter John Bernetby who had worked at Thornton abbey, in Lindsey, in 1341.²⁶² Similarly, when Stapleford was licensed to impress craftsmen in August 1355 a local man was recruited for work on the stalls, one Edmund of St Andrew, an Augustinian canon of Newstead priory (Notts.), just twenty miles from Stapleford.²⁶³ On 15 August the sheriff of Nottingham was ordered to deliver Edmund's tools to Westminster.²⁶⁴ From mid-October he was at work.²⁶⁵ Many of those working with him also have toponyms that suggest connections in this area.²⁶⁶ Back in their locality, other royal clerks have been identified commemorating themselves and commissioning furnishings that express a devotional interest in the new feast of Corpus Christi.²⁶⁷ It has been argued that this was shared by a group of senior royal clerks in the reign of Edward II, perhaps in emulation of the high-status clerics with whom they came into contact there.²⁶⁸ Here, again, relatively wealthy clerks within the king's administration supported the work of craftsmen in their region.²⁶⁹ At Westminster, the accounts reveal that the feast had been adopted in the calendar by June 1324 (table 4).

While most of the officers in these rolls had risen as king's clerks, a few are described differently. John le Convers is referred to in May 1291 as keeper of the palace of Westminster, receiving money for work there, and later as a king's serjeant and yeoman.²⁷⁰ During the 1290s he compiled other accounts of his own, but he is also found in the present accounts buying chalk, valuing Purbeck marble, and supplying piles.²⁷¹ The name suggests that he was a Jewish convert; there were a number of others in the king's

²⁵⁶ Wilkinson 1929, p. 178.

²⁵⁷ Grassi 1970; McHardy 2006, p. 48.

²⁵⁸ Grassi 1970, pp. 15–27.

²⁵⁹ Chesterfield (Derbys.) and Sleaford (Lincs.) are not far away. Thomas of Stapleford is described as Thomas de Burton of Stapleford in 1336 (*Cal. Pat.*, 1334–38, p. 316), and was later presented to the church of Barton by Nottingham, adjacent to Stapleford, Notts.: *Cal. Pat.*, 1343–45, p. 127 (14 Oct. 1343).

²⁶⁰ Grassi 1970, pp. 13, 22–23, 29 (Ferriby); 31 (Kelsey).

²⁶¹ No. 42, m. 4 (by Michaelmas 1353).

²⁶² Tristram 1955, p. 33. His name may refer to Barnetby le Wold (Lincs.), although there are other possibilities in the region: Barnby in the Willows (Notts.); Barmby on the Moor and Barmby on the Marsh (Yorks.).

²⁶³ See 'Craftsmen and their work'.

²⁶⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1354–60, p. 143.

²⁶⁵ No. 46, m. 2 (w/b 19 Oct. 1355).

²⁶⁶ Grantham (Lincs.); Sherwood and Warsop (Notts.); Beverley, Drax and Patrington (Yorks.). *HKW*, i, p. 521.

²⁶⁷ Sekules 1986, pp. 123–24 and n. 46; Sekules 1990, pp. 84–88.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 87–88.

²⁶⁹ Sekules 1983; Binski 2014, pp. 97–98. Sekules attributed the work at Navenby to William of Herlaston, keeper of the privy seal (p. 163). A successor as rector, in May 1331, was William of Kelsey: *Reg. Burghersh*, i, no. 296.

²⁷⁰ *Cal. Close*, 1288–96, p. 171 (keeper); *Cal. Close*, 1296–1302, p. 473 (27 Oct. 1301); *Cal. Close*, 1302–1307, p. 244 (12 March 1305). He is mentioned as an adviser regarding repairs to accommodation around the lesser hall in a memorandum of work between 1307 and 1311: no. 13. For king's yeomen, see Campbell 1960, p. 9.

²⁷¹ No. 1, rots. 2 (chalk), 24 (marble), 80 (piles). For other accounts relating to Convers, see E 101/468/2, 4, 9.

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service at this period.²⁷² The Jews had been expelled from England very recently, in 1290. Peter of Bridgnorth, one of Weston's deputies in the 1340s, is probably the king's yeoman of this name who was granted a pension for life in August 1348 as building work on the chapel neared completion.²⁷³ On 18 October 1347 Bridgnorth, his controller Exning and one John Alkeshull had been authorized to purvey materials for the chapel (table 7). Alkeshull appears often again, and he is also described as a king's yeoman.²⁷⁴ From this date, purveying became increasingly important in the king's works, leading to the presence of a specialist purveyor in the accounts.²⁷⁵

²⁷² Mundill 1998, pp. 100–102, 275–76. For the *domus conversorum* on Chancery Lane, London, founded by Henry III, see Adler 1899–1901; Mundill 1998, pp. 49, 68, 100–102. A John le Convers is among several converts named in wardrobe accounts for 1294–95, supporting the king's activities in Wales: *Book of Prests*, pp. 85 (Alexander le Convers, clerk); 66, 68, 74 (John le Convers).

²⁷³ *Cal. Pat.*, 1348–50, p. 134 (6 August 1348). He may be the Peter of Bridgnorth, king's clerk, for whom a benefice was to be reserved in 1333: *Cal. Papal Letters*, 1305–42, p. 378.

²⁷⁴ *Cal. Pat.*, 1354–58, p. 313 (24 Oct. 1355, grant of 6 *d.* a day for life).

²⁷⁵ See 'Craftsmen and their work'.

Craftsmen and their work

The fabric accounts record the recruitment and organization of craftsmen, their terms of employment, and the human scale of a great royal building project as it developed over a century. Generated by the formidable administrative system outlined in the previous section, the rolls document not only the financial commitment of the Plantagenet kings, but also the human resources that they could draw upon, including their household and master craftsmen at the Tower of London; as we have seen, the site was administered by the same clerk of works as the palace of Westminster until 1378.²⁷⁶ The project benefited throughout from the skilled workforce in and around London, but in other respects it demonstrates the geographical reach of royal recruitment. A comparison with fabric accounts for the major project at Exeter cathedral suggests that recruitment there was more local.²⁷⁷ Later in the period, the St Stephen's project made use of impressed labour, increasingly. Very occasionally, there is evidence that the king's authority was challenged by his craftsmen.

The entries for wages give names to the people involved. This has encouraged the construction of artistic personalities for over a century, supporting arguments for the art-historical importance of master craftsmen such as Michael of Canterbury, William Hurley, and William Ramsey.²⁷⁸ It has also been argued that the presence of certain leading masons at St Stephen's facilitated the spread of architectural and artistic ideas.²⁷⁹ Indeed, these masons have dominated the architectural history of the period. The accounts list hundreds of other craftsmen, however, only some of whom appear in John Harvey's biographical dictionary of medieval masons and carpenters.²⁸⁰ By bringing these names into relation with sources for other sites, there may be potential to explore the wider movement of people, and their familial, patronage, and other networks, towards a better understanding of how medieval crafts functioned. Reference is made often here, for example, to the well-documented building works at Windsor castle.²⁸¹

This section first introduces recruitment and working practices at St Stephen's, and then the people involved in different crafts. The accounts are important sources both for these crafts individually and for their interaction, in the design of the chapel, in collaborative working, and even occasionally in work across craft boundaries.

Recruitment and working practices

In the 1290s and the first half of the fourteenth century recruitment was probably the responsibility of the master craftsmen and the clerk of works, although the accounts are silent on the matter. In their study of the king's prerogative power to recruit labour, Knoop and Jones showed that impressment was employed at Westminster and elsewhere from the mid-1340s.²⁸² It was used increasingly after the Black Death for masons, carpenters, painters, glaziers and tilers (table 2), perhaps because labour was scarcer than previously.²⁸³ The instructions to recruit were directed sometimes to the king's clerk, but also to leading craftsmen. Knoop and Jones observed that the highest occurrence of impressment, generally,

²⁷⁶ Travel between them was costed at 8 *d.* a week in 1357–58: no. 47, m. 5.

²⁷⁷ *Accounts Exeter Cathedral*, ii, p. xxiii.

²⁷⁸ See 'Historiography'.

²⁷⁹ For St Stephen's as a site for creative exchange, for patrons and craftsmen, see Hastings 1955; Wilson 1990, pp. 192–96, 198–99, 202–206; Binski 2014, p. 96.

²⁸⁰ *EMA*. There is no equivalent publication for painters or glaziers in England.

²⁸¹ Brindle and Priestley 2005, esp. p. 223 (for their potential).

²⁸² Knoop and Jones 1937b, pp. 62–64. See also Knoop and Jones 1937a; Knoop and Jones 1967, pp. 80–85. For the king's works, see *HKW*, i, pp. 180–85. For Windsor, see Brindle and Priestley 2005, p. 205.

²⁸³ Knoop and Jones 1937b, p. 64; *HKW*, i, p. 182.

was in the second half of the 1350s and first half of the 1360s, coinciding with the completion of St Stephen's and major royal building work in the upper ward at Windsor castle.²⁸⁴

It has been argued that the right to impress goes back to the common duty to perform military service, and that Edward III turned a military obligation into a broader one.²⁸⁵ There may be evidence here, however, for impressment in the first phase of work on St Stephen's from 1292. Edward I had relied upon such labour to build his Welsh castles, and continued to do so.²⁸⁶ A rotulet recording wages at St Stephen's in the week beginning 13 October 1292 includes, with the list of masons and carpenters, the counties from which they had come, and an abbreviated marginal comment, 'lic' or 'li', perhaps for *licentia*, or 'licence' (table 3).²⁸⁷ The absence of these craftsmen from the next surviving account for wages (week beginning 27 October) shows that they had left the site at the end of the building season. The marginal comments may therefore have indicated that each had a licence to depart. In the early 1360s orders for impressment to work at Windsor castle required that the masons so recruited should not withdraw without licences, for the benefit of the king's officials in the masons' counties of origin.²⁸⁸ The Windsor accounts include counties of origin for some masons.²⁸⁹ The similar references to licences and counties at Westminster in 1292 may suggest that impressed labour was being managed in a similar way.

Rates of pay followed an established pattern through the year, in many accounts. The 'customs of ancient usage' applying at Westminster were set down by a new clerk of works, William of Kelsey, as he compiled his entries through 1329;²⁹⁰ they are published here in full. As elsewhere, the year fell into two parts. In the autumn, as hours of daylight decreased and the weather became unfavourable for laying stones and mortar, the number of masons decreased, and so did wages, increasing again in the spring.²⁹¹ Kelsey recorded the dates of transition, 2 February (Candlemas) and 1 November (All Saints).²⁹² Carpenters, labourers and some other groups followed the same regime. The hours of the working day were also marked by the ringing of a bell, purchased in 1325, probably the one hanging by the Receipt of the Exchequer in 1327.²⁹³ Very occasionally, the accounts mention night working.²⁹⁴ From the week beginning 12 May 1292, labourers were employed to drain the foundations of the new chapel, seven days a week, by day and night.²⁹⁵ Some special payments are also recorded: the *arcagio* for the masons at the completion of the eastern gable in 1333, 'by ancient custom', and another gift to the painters in 1353–54, perhaps again at the close of a stage of work.²⁹⁶

The extent of the working week was dictated by the ecclesiastical calendar and local practice, both in the king's works and elsewhere.²⁹⁷ At St Stephen's, the calendar is similar to that in operation at Westminster abbey in 1253 (table 4), with a few additions, such as the new feast of Corpus Christi, which was established in the early fourteenth century.²⁹⁸ The week was composed potentially of six working days (excluding Sunday), but some contained major feast days. Kelsey recorded that these holidays were allocated alternately to the king (who did not pay for the masons' day off) and to the

²⁸⁴ Knoop and Jones 1937b, pp. 66–67 (graph, p. 66). For Windsor, see Knoop and Jones 1937a; Wilson 2002; Brindle and Priestley 2005; Brindle 2018b.

²⁸⁵ HKW, i, pp. 181–82.

²⁸⁶ Taylor 1961, pp. 105–22; Edwards 1946, pp. 59–61.

²⁸⁷ No. 1, rot. 14. A cost is given for these items.

²⁸⁸ *Cal. Close, 1360–64*, pp. 21 (13 April 1360), 178–79 (16 April 1361). For a discussion of their possible purpose, see Knoop and Jones 1937a, pp. 356, 358.

²⁸⁹ Brindle and Priestley 2005, pp. 214, 218–19.

²⁹⁰ No. 22, m. 1 (Feb.).

²⁹¹ Salzman 1967, pp. 58–59; Knoop and Jones 1967, pp. 104–106.

²⁹² No. 22, m. 2.

²⁹³ Nos. 18, m. 15 (w/b 8 July 1325); 21, rot. 41d m. 1d. Bells: Salzman 1967, pp. 61–62.

²⁹⁴ Salzman 1967, p. 62.

²⁹⁵ No. 1, rot. 4 (w/b 12 May 1292); still in rot. 11 (w/b 14 July 1292).

²⁹⁶ Nos. 24, m. 23 (w/b 19 July 1333); 42, m. 3 (made by order of the treasurer's clerk Roger of Chesterfield). See also no. 31, m. 7.

²⁹⁷ Salzman 1967, pp. 65–67; Knoop and Jones 1967, pp. 106–107; *Building Accounts of King Henry III*, pp. 10–11. For Exeter: *Accounts Exeter Cathedral*, ii, p. xxiii.

²⁹⁸ Jones 2015, fig. 4. For Corpus Christi, see Rubin 1991, ch. 3, esp. pp. 199–204. For the calendar during work on a royal project in the early 16th century, see *Savoy Hospital*, pp. 22–23.

masons (who were paid, without working).²⁹⁹ His claim that this was customary practice is confirmed by evidence that such a system had been applied at Westminster abbey in 1253, and elsewhere.³⁰⁰ Here, it is evident during the 1290s in the weekly headings that set out the working days ('dies operabiles'), but also the feast days for which wages would or would not be paid, and occasionally more specifically that a feast is 'the king's' or 'the masons'.³⁰¹ In August 1360 the system was reiterated in a writ of privy seal setting out rates of pay.³⁰² The great feasts of Easter and Pentecost could involve unpaid holidays of up to a week, and more at Christmas (see table 9, for example). Fewer feasts were involved in the calculation of the working year at Exeter cathedral.³⁰³

During the building and decoration of the chapel, to about 1360, wages were usually paid by the day, although this is not always explicit in the way that totals are presented, especially in the 1290s.³⁰⁴ By contrast, the master craftsmen in charge were generally paid by the week and throughout the year, including major holidays. Changing rates for masons, carpenters, painters, glaziers, and labourers at St Stephen's are tabled here (table 5a-c).³⁰⁵ The king's wages tended to be as high as those offered by other patrons, where evidence has survived, in the century before the Black Death.³⁰⁶ The masons could apparently exercise some power collectively. In January 1332 they went on strike for two days, fearing for their wages; it is reported that the treasurer himself intervened to reassure them that they would be paid 'for the past and future time'.³⁰⁷

The accounts span the period before and immediately after the Black Death, which arrived in London in autumn 1348.³⁰⁸ Strikingly, seasonal wage rates were suspended for both craftsmen and labourers in the roll of particulars for 1351–52, the first of its kind to survive from the following period (table 5c).³⁰⁹ Standard rates were paid throughout the year to masons, painters, glaziers, and labourers. They are higher than those set out in the statute of labourers, issued in February 1351,³¹⁰ but close to the higher seasonal rates that the king had paid in 1347–48 and previously (table 5b). In this, they may be consistent with his declared aim to maintain wages, in principle, at the same levels as in 1346–47.³¹¹ This strategy was not sustained, however. For masons and labourers, seasonal rates had returned by 1353–54, although the dates of transition were different from those applying previously, and from each other.³¹² For both, the period of lower wages was longer than it had been, but the rates of pay had increased. The painters continued to be paid at standard rates throughout the year.

In the next surviving roll of particulars, for 1355–56 (no. 46), the terms have changed again, and the rates have crept up further for the masons (table 5c). The former dates of transition, All Saints and Candlemas, have been reasserted for the wages of both craftsmen and labourers. The writ of August 1360, mentioned previously, instructs the clerk of works to hire craftsmen, giving rates of pay and terms for feast days.³¹³ The rate for masons and carpenters is 6 *d.* or less a day, and for labourers 3 *d.* or 4 *d.* seasonally. In 1395, equally, the clerk was charged to employ craftsmen and labourers and to pay them at daily rates of up to 6 *d.*, notwithstanding a recent ordinance made in the king's parliament at Cambridge.³¹⁴ In the years after the Black Death there was concern that craftsmen would abscond,

²⁹⁹ No. 22, m. 2 (February); Salzman 1967, p. 66. Master craftsmen were treated differently (see below).

³⁰⁰ *Building Accounts of King Henry III*, p. 10. Salzman 1967, p. 66.

³⁰¹ No. 1.

³⁰² No. 48, m. 7. *HKW*, i, p. 185.

³⁰³ *Accounts Exeter Cathedral*, ii, p. xxiii.

³⁰⁴ For wages, see Salzman 1967, ch. 4.

³⁰⁵ Knoop and Jones 1967, pp. 108–15.

³⁰⁶ Knoop and Jones 1967, p. 109.

³⁰⁷ No. 23, m. 5 (w/b 13 Jan. 1332).

³⁰⁸ Sloane 2011, pp. 29–33.

³⁰⁹ No. 40.

³¹⁰ *Statutes of the Realm*, i, pp. 307 and 312 (item 3). *HKW*, i, p. 184; Ormrod 2011, pp. 359–62.

³¹¹ *Statutes of the Realm*, i, pp. 308 (item 5), 311 and 312 (item 3).

³¹² No. 42, mm. 4–5. The wages for masons and labourers are not presented in the transcription, as they were not working explicitly on the chapel, but they are included in table 5c for purposes of comparison.

³¹³ No. 48, m. 7.

³¹⁴ No. 61, rot. 2 m. 2.

which sometimes occurred;³¹⁵ the authority to impress labour also often included powers of coercion. The volatility in the Westminster accounts demonstrates both the higher wages that craftsmen could command, and the efforts of the administration to reassert control. If the king paid generously to maintain craftsmen at other sites in later years, as it has been argued, St Stephen's may have set an early precedent.³¹⁶

Payment by the task (according to a contract) could limit fraudulent accounting, control costs (especially in times of financial uncertainty) and pass on recruitment to the contractor.³¹⁷ The use of taskwork at St Stephen's fits a wider pattern within the king's works. At a time when the king had deployed the method for castle building in Wales, for example, it is found occasionally on the chapel in the 1290s.³¹⁸ It is rare in the 1320s and 1330s, but contracts of this kind were made for a whole new chapel and chamber in the privy palace at Westminster in 1342–43.³¹⁹ For St Stephen's, a contract for a vault was made with the mason Philip of Chard, according to a lost indenture, later in the decade.³²⁰ After the Black Death, the accounts for 1351–52 and 1357–58 include a few taskwork entries.³²¹ In both documents there is a substantial purchase of sculptures from William of Patrington; in the latter he was paid wages for some of the same period, a mixed solution to the problem of controlling costs and quality, found also at Windsor.³²² There, the clerk of works William of Wykeham (1356–61) has been identified as a key figure.³²³ At St Stephen's, the taskwork contracts were recorded together in the accounts, and, as elsewhere, this became a common way of operating. An enrolled summary account for 1361–62 lists a larger number of jobs at task, including work on the stalls for the first time.³²⁴ In the accounts for 1389–94, concerning the building of accommodation for the vicars, it is the preferred method for paying masons, carpenters, and other craftsmen.³²⁵

Masons and sculptors

The masons were at work on the chapel between 1292 and 1348, with breaks. From 1351, porches and buildings for the college were mostly the objects of their efforts. In the lists of wages the masons appear first, sometimes with their master (*magister*) at the head. These were Michael of Canterbury (1292–97, and 1322), Thomas of Canterbury (1323–34), William Ramsey (1337–48), and John Box (from 1350).³²⁶ In the detailed accounts for the chapel in the 1290s Michael is named only in the heading for the very first week, as his payment was recorded elsewhere.³²⁷ He appears with the clerk of works, for example, in a surviving *jornalia* roll for 1292–93.³²⁸ In mid-December he received an advance of 60 s. for his wages, probably since the beginning of the year (eleven weeks). The same and more had been paid to other leading masons under Edward I,³²⁹ but this was double the annual income of Master Roger, who was in charge of work on the eastern arm at Exeter in 1299–1300, at 30 s. a term.³³⁰ In the rolls dedicated entirely to the chapel between 1323 and 1325, Michael's successor Thomas of Canterbury is paid just 3

³¹⁵ HKW, i, p. 184; Knoop and Jones 1937a, pp. 357–59; Knoop and Jones 1967, p. 110; Brindle and Priestley 2005, pp. 214–15.

³¹⁶ HKW, i, pp. 184–85.

³¹⁷ HKW, i, pp. 186–87; Knoop and Jones 1936; Byng 2017, pp. 250–56 (for contracts in a parish context). For 13th-century practice: *Building Accounts of King Henry III*, pp. 8–9.

³¹⁸ No. 1, rots. 25–26 (w/b 22 Dec. 1292 and w/b 19 Jan. 1293).

³¹⁹ HKW, i, pp. 534–35.

³²⁰ *Antient Kalendars*, i, p. 164.

³²¹ Nos. 40, m. 27d (William of Patrington); 47, m. 5 (Patrington, Henry Bradley, John Maidstone).

³²² Brindle and Priestley 2005, pp. 215–16.

³²³ Brindle and Priestley 2005, p. 215.

³²⁴ No. 54, rot. 40 m. 1.

³²⁵ No. 58, m. 1.

³²⁶ EMA; C. Wilson, 'Canterbury, Michael (fl. 1275–1321), master mason', *ODNB*, vol. 9, pp. 945–46; idem, 'Thomas Canterbury (fl. 1323–1335), master mason', *ODNB*, vol. 9, p. 946.

³²⁷ No. 1, rot. 2 (w/b 28 April 1292). I am grateful to Christopher Wilson for discussing Michael's presence in the accounts.

³²⁸ No. 3, m. 2 (Dec. 1292).

³²⁹ Salzman 1967, pp. 69–70. On site at Westminster, the long-serving king's painter Walter of Durham was usually receiving 7 s. a week, at this time: E 101/468/6 (no. 1, entries not transcribed here).

³³⁰ *Accounts Exeter Cathedral*, i, pp. 11, 13, 14, 15; ii, p. xix. Roger was also provided with a house, however.

s. a week throughout the year, and he also received a *roba*, or suit of clothes, annually.³³¹ This weekly rate was doubled when he returned after 1331, his new pay being 'by order of the lord treasurer and his council'.³³² Ramsey is not paid in the rolls during his tenure, because his wages came directly from the Exchequer during his time as chief surveyor of the king's works south of the Trent (from 1336), but he was receiving 7 s. a week and the *roba*.³³³ In 1351–52 Box received the same rate for his responsibilities at Westminster and the Tower.³³⁴ In spite of the Black Death, therefore, the master mason was paid at a similar rate to senior craftsmen some sixty years earlier.³³⁵

The contributions of the different master masons to the design of the chapel have been disputed.³³⁶ It is not in the nature of fabric rolls, as by-products of an accounting process, to describe such work directly. They do, however, provide some evidence for the master's direction of the project. In March 1337 Master William Ramsey is to provide 'ordinatio et avisiamantum' ('direction and advice', or perhaps 'judgement'), common terms for planning, ordering, and authoritative control.³³⁷ The accounts also record materials and equipment purchased to this end.³³⁸ There are entries for the making of the master mason's lodge, a tracing table, a tracing floor, and a tracing house (all confusingly referred to as a *trasura*), where designs could be drawn out on a surface of plaster of Paris; the tracing house was renewed on several occasions.³³⁹ These references appear often at the start of building, or a new stage in it. There are also purchases of boards for the cutting of moulds or templates, so that designs could be transferred to the masons for the cutting of stones, and of canvas for the making of 'false moulds', which were sent to guide the working of stones at the quarries.³⁴⁰ Other essential tools of their trade that were acquired include measuring rods and (probably) a plumbline, and rules and squares.³⁴¹

Leading masons sometimes worked for other clients, or on other buildings for the king. It is not surprising, therefore, that the master mason at St Stephen's often had a warden or overseer (*apparitor* or *apparilator*) to act as his deputy.³⁴² In the 1290s another Michael of Canterbury stood in for his namesake, confusingly, receiving the unvarying sum of 3 s. 6 d. a week.³⁴³ From November 1331, Thomas of Canterbury also had a warden called Michael of Canterbury, but on a daily wage at seasonal rates.³⁴⁴ During the tenure of William Ramsey, who will often have been absent about his other responsibilities, Nicholas de Alyngton and John of Ramsey are named as *apparilator*.³⁴⁵ In the 1350s Thomas Gloucester was John Box's deputy, at 6 d. a day.³⁴⁶ In the 1390s Walter Walton was deputy to Henry Yevele.³⁴⁷

³³¹ No. 18, m. 1 (w/b 21 Nov. and 19 Dec. 1323). Salzman 1967, p. 47. Michael had received the *roba*, too, in March 1322: no. 17, m. 1. For the *roba*, see HKW, i, p. 174 and n. 8.

³³² No. 23, m. 1 (w/b 27 May 1331). HKW, i, pp. 514 n. 4, 515 n. 3.

³³³ No. 29, m. 1; *Cal. Pat.*, 1334–38, pp. 272, 305 (1 June 1336). In 1347–48, he was receiving the same amount: no. 38, m. 3. A summary account of his career, revealing that his pay was often in arrears, was made for his daughter and executrix Agnes Ramsey: E 101/501/28. I am grateful to Christopher Wilson for drawing this to my attention.

³³⁴ No. 40, m. 17.

³³⁵ Salzman 1967, p. 71.

³³⁶ See 'Historiography' and 'The building and the accounts'.

³³⁷ No. 29, m. 1. HKW, i, pp. 174, 207–208. For *consilium* and *ordinatio*, see Binski 2014, pp. 51–54, 63, 66. The Anglo-Norman terms *ordenance* and *descrecion* are used for the work of master carpenter, master mason and clerk of works in no. 48, m. 7.

³³⁸ For the design process, see Salzman 1967, pp. 14–22.

³³⁹ No. 1, rots. 2, 80 (lodge). No. 18, mm. 1 and 2 (w/b 21 Nov. 1323 and 26 Feb. 1324; boards for a tracing board, with trestles), 10 (w/b 7 and 21 Jan., 3 Feb. 1325; making a tracing house, with plaster floor). No. 23, mm. 1 (27 May 1331; tracing house), 8 (w/b 20 July and 17 Aug. 1332; *trasura*). No. 34, m. 2 (w/b 8 Jan. 1341; tracing house). No. 35, m. 5 (w/b 7 July 1343, tracing surface). For the various meanings of *trasura*, see Harvey (J.) 1961, pp. 164–65.

³⁴⁰ For example, nos. 1, rots. 16 and 73 (boards), 47 (canvas); 18, mm. 1 (16 Jan. 1324; canvas), 2 (w/b 19 and 26 March 1324; boards).

³⁴¹ Nos. 1, rots. 18 (w/b 3 Nov. 1292, measuring rods), 80 (w/b 5 May 1292, line); 18, m. 2 (w/b 5 March 1324, a tun, for rules and squares).

³⁴² This was common practice: Salzman 1967, p. 53.

³⁴³ No. 1, from rot. 5 (w/b 16 June 1292). I am grateful to Christopher Wilson for his advice on this.

³⁴⁴ No. 23, from m. 3 (w/b 12 Nov. 1331), 5½ d. or 6 d. a day, according to season.

³⁴⁵ Alyngton: no. 35, from m. 1 (w/b 30 Sept. 1342). Ramsey: nos. 35, from m. 4 (w/b 12 May 1343); 36. In 1347–48, John is paid a fixed wage of 3 s. 6 d. a week: no. 38, m. 3.

³⁴⁶ Nos. 45, from m. 1 (w/b 27 July 1355); 47, m. 1 (1357–58, 4 s. a week). *EMA*.

³⁴⁷ No. 59, m. 6; *EMA*.

The construction of the chapel provided work for hundreds of masons. Just once, in October 1292, a rotulet lists counties of origin for sixty-two of those who were probably about to return home (see above), providing an overview of their places of origin (table 3).³⁴⁸ The largest groups came from Dorset and Kent, but others from the north-west (Lancashire), west (Glamorgan), and south-west (Cornwall). The geographical range may be compared to that for the origins of masons working on Edward I's Welsh castles.³⁴⁹ The names in the accounts often include reference to a place. There are risks in the interpretation of such toponyms, as it is not certain what connection is implied, but it is likely that the names were supplied usually by the people themselves. Across the accounts, the vast majority of toponyms are English, but there are a few in the 1290s from Wales and Scotland, where the king was at war, or closely engaged politically. Geographical concentrations of toponyms have been explained in terms of the master mason: Colvin suggested that the many Kentish place names to be found in the 1290s were as a result of Michael of Canterbury's leadership.³⁵⁰ In autumn 1342 the small team included several East Anglian toponyms, which may reflect Ramsey's connections in the region.³⁵¹ As suggested above, the master mason probably played a role in managing recruitment, and in maintaining continuity of skilled labour across building phases; eleven out of the forty masons employed in March 1333 had worked at St Stephen's in the 1320s, including Master Thomas of Canterbury himself, and his deputy Michael.³⁵²

There is much evidence for masons' careers. One is described as an apprentice and others as 'young', learning their trade at a lower rate of pay.³⁵³ Most must have trained elsewhere, and the turnover of names shows that masons moved around often. Toponyms for the sites of the Eleanor Crosses, in the 1290s, could suggest experience in recent royal works;³⁵⁴ others, such as Exeter and Wells, perhaps other major building projects.³⁵⁵ Experience in quarries may explain such names as Barnack (Northants.), Bletchingley (near the Reigate quarries, Surrey), and Prat (a family documented at Wheatley quarry, Oxon.), or the men from Boulogne in October 1292 (site of a quarry used in the 1290s).³⁵⁶ There was also local recruitment, in a city that provided much work for masons, including a long and overlapping programme of work on St Paul's cathedral.³⁵⁷ Several masons have documented London connections, such as Richard of Lynn,³⁵⁸ Reginald de Whitham,³⁵⁹ and Simon of Pavenham.³⁶⁰ The names of Joye, Sellynge, and Terrington are found both here and among the cutters and stonelayers in the 1356 regulations for the trade of London masons.³⁶¹ William Ramsey came of an East Anglian family of masons, but he worked at St Stephen's in 1323–25 before rising to become master at St Paul's, and the king's chief mason.³⁶²

The family nature of the craft is apparent across the accounts, in the employment of masons who were fathers and sons (such as John le Harpur, senior and junior (1290s), or the Thomas of Bletchingleys (1320s)),³⁶³ and (less certainly) in many shared toponyms. At the top of the craft, John Ramsey was

³⁴⁸ No. 1, rot. 14 (w/b 13 Oct. 1292).

³⁴⁹ Taylor 1961, pp. 106, 108–109, 118–22, maps on pp. 107, 111.

³⁵⁰ *HKW*, i, p. 511.

³⁵¹ No. 35: Norwich, Toft, Eye and perhaps others, including Alynngton (*EMA* (Ailynngton)).

³⁵² No. 24, mm. 18–19.

³⁵³ Apprentice: no. 23, m. 1 (w/b 17 June 1331, John le Bakere). 'Iuvenis': no. 23, m. 5 (w/b 3 Feb. 1332, John Colyn, polisher).

³⁵⁴ Geddington (Northants.) and Harby (Notts.), for example: no. 1, rot. 9 (w/b 30 June 1292).

³⁵⁵ Richard of Exeter: no. 18, from m. 14 (w/b 10 June 1325). John of Wells: no. 1, from rot. 5 (w/b 16 June 1292).

³⁵⁶ John of Barnack: no. 1, from rot. 5 (w/b 16 June 1292). Prats: no. 1, from rot. 30 (w/b 23 March 1293). Bletchingleys: nos. 1, from rot. 60 (w/b 9 Aug. 1294); 18, from m. 1 (w/b 21 Nov. 1323). Masons from Boulogne: no. 1, from rot. 80 (w/b 5 May 1292). For the quarries: Reigate, Tatton-Brown 2001b, fig. 1; Wheatley, Arkell 1947, pp. 37–38. For this, see Knoop and Jones 1967, pp. 67–70; Brindle and Priestley 2005, pp. 218–19.

³⁵⁷ Morris 1990, pp. 75–77.

³⁵⁸ No. 23, from m. 8 (w/b 31 Aug. 1332); *EMA* (Lynne).

³⁵⁹ No. 18, from m. 8 (w/b 1 Oct. 1324); *EMA* (Wytham). The place is spelt variously in the accounts.

³⁶⁰ No. 23, from m. 8 (w/b 3 Aug. 1332); 24; *EMA* (Pabenhham).

³⁶¹ For the regulations, see Knoop and Jones 1967, pp. 224–26. Joye: no. 18, from m. 15 (w/b 1 July 1325); *EMA*. Sellynge: nos. 18, from m. 3 (w/b 23 April 1324); 20, 23–25; *EMA* (Sallynge). Terrington: nos. 18, from m. 8 (w/b 1 Oct. 1324); 20. A Thomas of Gloucester is also named in the regulations, probably John Box's deputy at St Stephen's: *EMA*.

³⁶² No. 18, from m. 1 (21 Nov. 1323); *EMA*; C. Wilson, 'Ramsey, William (d. 1349), master mason', *ODNB*, vol. 45, pp. 981–82.

³⁶³ Harpur: no. 1, from rot. 52 (w/b 29 March 1294, together). Bletchingley: no. 18, from m. 3 (w/b 7 May 1324, together).

almost certainly related to William, just as Thomas of Canterbury is likely to have been related to the Michaels.³⁶⁴ Other examples include the Bals across the 1290s, 1320s, and 1330s.³⁶⁵ The presence of a Joye, a Shockerwick, and Weldons, the names of master masons at Exeter and Wells, Worcester and St Paul's cathedrals respectively, may suggest the wider experience of such families.³⁶⁶ Besides Ramsey, the project employed other masons who were or would become eminent elsewhere, such as Thomas of Witney (later master mason of Exeter and Wells cathedrals) in the 1290s;³⁶⁷ and Simon of Pavenham (already prominent in the city of London) in the early 1330s. These senior figures are included in Harvey's biographical dictionary, but many other names remain to be explored.³⁶⁸

In their working practices the masons fell into two broad groups, as elsewhere: the cutters, who shaped the stones, and the stonelayers, who laid them, but the clerks of works did not always register the difference, and did so differently at different times.³⁶⁹ The stonelayers are often distinguished as *cubatores* in the 1290s (combined on one occasion with *asseditores*, or 'stonesetters', as a synonym).³⁷⁰ They appear as *positoires* in later accounts, but are identified more rarely. The term *cementarii* is often used not only for cutters but also for all masons:³⁷¹ in the summer of 1324, for example, when there were over fifty on site (table 10).³⁷² As elsewhere, it is likely that many turned their hand to a variety of work, depending on need and season; stonelaying usually ceased in the winter months. Many marblers are recorded, to work the Purbeck stone that was such a feature of the building. In the accounts for the 1290s, toponyms and family names from the Isle of Purbeck (Dorset) may be for specialists of this kind, as quantities of the material were then acquired;³⁷³ the term *marmorarius* is used from early 1324.³⁷⁴ One marbler is still working in 1342–43, perhaps on the west gable.³⁷⁵ Some named individuals may be related to suppliers of the material in London and Dorset.³⁷⁶ Specialist polishers are also mentioned often.

The chapel was lavishly decorated with carved stonework. The highly paid mason Adam of Norwich is described as a 'cementarius et talliator', (seasonally, 6 *d.*/5 *d.*), in autumn 1342, perhaps for his particular skills in cutting and carving.³⁷⁷ A similar term is used for carpenters, *talliatores*, working on the stalls in spring 1356.³⁷⁸ A mason John Davy is paid for the 'sculpacio petrarum' from May 1348, at 6 *d.* a day.³⁷⁹ Image makers are also specified, occasionally; an *imaginarius* called Dominic was paid in 1294–95 at the same high rate as the warden (7 *d.* a day).³⁸⁰ Other people were paid for specific images. In the second week of September 1333 Master Richard of Reading received 66 *s.* 8 *d.* for images of St Edward the Confessor and St John the Evangelist for the 'front' of the (probably eastern) gable, made at task.³⁸¹ In 1355–56 Richard Lakenham was paid as an outside supplier for sculptures of the Virgin Mary and St George.³⁸² The toponym suggests an East Anglian origin, but he is recorded elsewhere as a marbler

³⁶⁴ EMA.

³⁶⁵ Nos. 1, from rot. 14 (w/b 13 Oct. 1292); 18, 23–24. Also Richard Balle: no. 47, m. 2 (from 29 Jan. 1358).

³⁶⁶ Shockerwick: no. 18, from m. 2 (w/b 13 Feb. 1324). Weldon: nos. 1, from rot. 14 (w/b 13 Oct. 1292); 18, 20. For the master masons, see EMA.

³⁶⁷ No. 1, from rot. 14 (w/b 13 Oct. 1292); Morris 1991.

³⁶⁸ For the potential of such accounts, for Windsor castle, where some 880 masons are named, see Brindle and Priestley 2005, p. 223.

³⁶⁹ For the terminology and its uses: Knoop and Jones 1967, pp. 73–80.

³⁷⁰ No. 1, rot. 30 (w/b 23 March 1293).

³⁷¹ The term *lathomus* occurs just once, in 1292: no. 1, rot. 4 m. 2 (w/b 12 May 1292).

³⁷² In the summer of 1325, by contrast, a group of *positoires* is identified.

³⁷³ Corfe is found often, for example, in no. 1. For this, see Knoop and Jones 1967, p. 132.

³⁷⁴ No. 18, from m. 1 (w/b 16 Jan. 1324). In the 1320s, the marblers are from the Bonville, Goose, Canoun (Kanoun), Peny and Shoreham families: nos. 18, 20, 23, 24. The polishers are Burgoyne, Colyn, Foket, Poltimore, Scot and Vicary.

³⁷⁵ No. 35, from m. 1 (w/b 30 Sept. 1342, William de Rymeston).

³⁷⁶ See 'Materials and the building site'.

³⁷⁷ No. 35, from m. 1 (w/b 30 Sept. 1342).

³⁷⁸ No. 46, from m. 8 (w/b 11 April 1356), at two daily rates, 8 *d.* and 10 *d.*, and 3 *s.* 4 *d.* a week. Robert Burwell and John Havering were responsible for carving ('sculpantis') the seats of the stalls from 9 Jan. to 29 May 1353: no. 41, m. 3.

³⁷⁹ No. 38, from m. 9 (w/b 5 May 1348). It may simply refer to 'hewing'.

³⁸⁰ No. 1, from rot. 63 (w/b 23 Aug. 1294); rot. 78 (w/b 18 April 1295, *imaginarius*).

³⁸¹ No. 24, m. 25 (w/b 13 Sept. 1333, 'que quedem ymages poni debent in fronte gable capelle'); EMA (under Farleigh).

³⁸² Nos. 45, m. 1 (w/b 10 Aug. 1355, Virgin Mary, 66 *s.* 8 *d.*); 46, m. 8 (w/b 11 April 1356, St George, 60 *s.*).

in London;³⁸³ Henry Lakenham, also documented as a marbler and maker of monuments in London, may have been his son, in a family business.³⁸⁴

The best documented maker of images at St Stephen's is William of Patrington, whose contribution was very substantial.³⁸⁵ He first appears in 1351, in a summary account.³⁸⁶ Then, in the particulars for the following financial year, 1351–52, there is the aforementioned list of the sculptures made at task, many for tabernacles in the chapel.³⁸⁷ He found at least some of the stone himself.³⁸⁸ He is described once as a *cementarius*, but it is likely that he also carved in wood. By comparison with leading image makers on the continent, working in France and Flanders later in the century, this was probably unusual.³⁸⁹ From January 1356 a William of Patrington was paid for work on the stalls, listed among the carpenters, at the high rate of 12 *d.* a day.³⁹⁰ He was still being paid in 1357–58, now described as a *talliator*, when his work also included the making of eleven *ymagines* for the stalls, at task.³⁹¹

Carpenters

Carpenters designed and made the roof and vault of the upper chapel (1324–25, 1347–48), and the stalls (1350s and early 1360s).³⁹² They were also responsible for many temporary but essential structures to accommodate worship, the clerical community, and the craftsmen themselves, and helped to make scaffolding, throughout the period. Liturgical furniture was sometimes made by the carpenters, too.³⁹³ They are usually entered in the accounts immediately after the masons.

The king's master carpenters sometimes appear, including Robert of Colebrook and Thomas of Houghton in the 1290s.³⁹⁴ By March 1325, Master William Hurley had been appointed to oversee the new timber fabric, which included a roof and *volta*, or vault.³⁹⁵ Like the master mason, he is described making moulds for his team, as a central feature of his responsibilities.³⁹⁶ He had already been at Tonbridge (Kent) the previous June, overseeing work on the felling and preparation of timber.³⁹⁷ He was accompanied there by the clerk/controller and Thomas of Canterbury, in a rare glimpse of their close and essential collaboration. He is paid substantially more than Thomas (12 *d.*). He was not on site permanently (appearing only occasionally in the accounts), delegating to an overseer both at Westminster and Tonbridge.³⁹⁸ On 1 June 1336 Hurley was appointed chief surveyor of all works of carpentry in the royal castles south of the Trent, for life, receiving 12 *d.* a day and an annual livery.³⁹⁹ He was still in charge at Westminster when the roof was finally installed, by August 1348.⁴⁰⁰ Surviving the arrival of the Black Death, he is recorded at work on the stalls from July 1351.⁴⁰¹ In the present accounts, William

³⁸³ Blair 1980, p. 67.

³⁸⁴ Blair 1980, pp. 67–71.

³⁸⁵ *HKW*, i, p. 521.

³⁸⁶ No. 50, rot. 47 m. 2. He collects money on 30 May and 21 June 1351.

³⁸⁷ No. 40, mm. 1, 27d (1351–52).

³⁸⁸ No. 40, mm. 16 (w/b 19 March 1352), 27d. William's toponym is shared with the master mason of York minster (Robert of Patrington, from 1369), referring to a place in Yorkshire, where a large church was built in the 14th century: Maddison 1989; *EMA*.

³⁸⁹ Nash 2007, pp. 43–45.

³⁹⁰ No. 46, from m. 4 (w/b 19 Jan. 1356).

³⁹¹ No. 47, mm. 1 (*talliator*, at 12 *d.* a day), 5 (images, at 8 s. each).

³⁹² 1324–25: nos. 18–20. 1347–48: no. 38. 1350s and early 1360s: nos. 40–41, 46–47, 53–54.

³⁹³ No. 40, from m. 11 (w/b 5 Dec. 1351, armoire).

³⁹⁴ No. 1, from rot. 39 (w/b 24 Aug. 1293, Colebrook); from rot. 4 m. 1 (w/b 12 May 1292, Houghton). *HKW*, i, pp. 216–18.

³⁹⁵ Nos. 18, m. 11 (w/b 11 March 1325); 20, from m. 4 (w/b 10 Feb. 1326). *HKW*, i, pp. 218–19; *EMA*.

³⁹⁶ No. 18, from m. 12 (w/b 15 April 1325).

³⁹⁷ No. 19, m. 1 (from w/b 4 June 1324).

³⁹⁸ Nos. 18, from m. 13 (w/b 3 June 1325, William of Underdown); 19, m. 1 (w/b 2 July 1324, John atte Lake).

³⁹⁹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1334–38, pp. 272, 305–306.

⁴⁰⁰ No. 38, m. 3.

⁴⁰¹ No. 40, mm. 4 (from w/b 25 July 1351), 17, 27d.

Herland was Hurley's *apparilator* by 1347–48, and succeeded him,⁴⁰² compiling an account for stalls in or after 1356.⁴⁰³ In 1351–52 their wages were 12 *d.* and 8 *d.* a day, respectively.⁴⁰⁴ Herland was still the king's master carpenter at Westminster in 1362–63.⁴⁰⁵

The accounts demonstrate the diversity and versatility of this workforce. Among the king's carpenters there was a close connection between civil and military works. Houghton, who made a gin to drive in piles for the chapel in 1292, made engines of war elsewhere, and was sometimes described as an *ingeniator*.⁴⁰⁶ From May to December 1325 a team of carpenters from the royal household, led by Robert of St Albans, worked on the chapel and its new *alura*, presumably making the timber roofs. They were paid for seven days a week, at 4 *d.* a day.⁴⁰⁷ The group had developed perhaps out of the need for a flexible response within the king's household to the demands of war.⁴⁰⁸ In the 1320s, they were active on other projects in the London area, including La Neyt nearby, a manor house belonging to the abbot of Westminster, appropriated by Edward II, and La Rosere in Southwark, opposite the Tower of London.⁴⁰⁹ Their presence at St Stephen's is a mark of the king's personal engagement with the project. After the rejection of the first set of stalls for the chapel, in 1353, from autumn 1355 a new team of carpenters was employed under the direction of the Augustinian canon Edmund of St Andrew, known as the 'black canon' or sometimes the 'canon carpenter'.⁴¹⁰ By order of the treasurer, his wages were raised to a substantial 10 s. 6 *d.* a week in late November.⁴¹¹ Other carpenters, like William of Fulbourn and John of Glatton in the 1330s and early 1340s, were employed to undertake less important but regular work at the palace, or for particular jobs.⁴¹²

The carpenters and sawyers were paid wages at varying daily rates, usually with a seasonal variation. The accounts also describe incidentally many processes in the working of timber, notably for the chapel roof and vault. An account for work at Tonbridge documents the bringing of tools from Southwark, the felling of oaks, and the scappling and sawing of timber.⁴¹³ At Westminster, boards were bought for cutting templates, as we have seen. In early 1326 there are payments to mark up and dismantle the roof before storage, suggesting that it had been assembled on the ground, at least in part.⁴¹⁴ By contrast, preliminary work for the roof of Hugh Herland's great hall at Westminster, at the end of the century, was done off site near Farnham (Surrey).⁴¹⁵ Carvers (*talliatores*) are identified for work on the stalls, including William of Patrington for the second set (see above) and Robert Burwell, who was paid for sculpting the seats ('sculptantis cedilia') on the first.⁴¹⁶ Occasionally apprentices are identified, such as the two carving bosses for the vaulting in October 1347.⁴¹⁷

The carpenters' toponyms sometimes fall into regional groupings, such as those from the eastern counties at work on the first set of stalls (1351–53).⁴¹⁸ Some may have worked at Ely cathedral, where Hurley held a senior position; the surviving accounts for Ely name only a few of the carpenters employed there, but two have the Burwell toponym, found here.⁴¹⁹ More certainly, a small group with

⁴⁰² EMA. He may first appear at St Stephen's in 1332, cutting templates (no. 23, m. 8 (w/b 17 Aug.)). For his role as *apparilator*, see nos. 38, m. 3 (1347–48); 40, mm. 17, 27d (1351–52). He was in charge by Mich. 1353: no. 42, m. 4. A Master John of Herland, carpenter, was at work on site in 1329: no. 22, m. 8 (July 1329); EMA.

⁴⁰³ No. 41.

⁴⁰⁴ No. 40, m. 17. Richard Wilton also served as Hurley's overseer at this time: no. 40, m. 4 (w/b 25 July 1351); EMA.

⁴⁰⁵ No. 55, rot. 40d m. 1d.

⁴⁰⁶ No. 1, rot. 4 m. 1 (w/b 12 May 1292). Taylor 1950; HKW, i, pp. 216–17.

⁴⁰⁷ No. 18, from m. 13 (w/b 13 May 1325). They did not always work for seven days.

⁴⁰⁸ HKW, i, pp. 179–80.

⁴⁰⁹ HKW, i, p. 508. For La Rosere, see Phillpotts 2009, pp. 60–62, 75–76. For La Neyt, see Tatton-Brown 2015, pp. 7–8, fig. 1.

⁴¹⁰ No. 46, from m. 2 (w/b 19 Oct. 1355); EMA.

⁴¹¹ No. 46, m. 3 (w/b 30 Nov. 1355). In 1357–58, similarly, he was paid 18 *d.* a day, for 364 days in the year: no. 47, m. 1.

⁴¹² In Jan. 1341, the carpenter Fulbourn was employed to renew the tracing house, at task: no. 34, m. 2 (w/b 8 Jan. 1341). Glatton worked on a pentice, porch, scaffolding and the *trasura* in 1342–43: no. 35.

⁴¹³ No. 19, m. 1 (w/b 11 June 1324, tools).

⁴¹⁴ No. 20, m. 4 (w/b 10 Feb. 1326), 'signanti meremium volte et illud meremium disiungenti', and following.

⁴¹⁵ HKW, i, pp. 529–30.

⁴¹⁶ No. 41, m. 3 (9 Jan. to 29 May 1353); EMA.

⁴¹⁷ No. 38, m. 2 (w/b 15 Oct. 1347).

⁴¹⁸ No. 41. They include Burgate (Suffolk), Burwell (Cambs.), Glemsford (Suffolk), Havering (Essex), Lynn (Norfolk), Massingham (Norfolk), Walsingham (Norfolk).

⁴¹⁹ *Sacrist Rolls of Ely*, ii, pp. 98 (1339–40, John), 194 (1359–60, Robert).

toponyms from the north-east Midlands and south and south-east Yorkshire worked (with others) on the second set of stalls under Edmund of St Andrew, an Augustinian canon of Newstead priory (Notts.) in that region.⁴²⁰ The major carpentry work at Windsor castle from the 1340s engaged craftsmen who worked also at Westminster, again under Hurley and Herland.⁴²¹ Refurbishment of St George's chapel at Windsor began in 1350, ahead of the furnishing at St Stephen's.⁴²² John Glemsford was working on the new stalls there from April 1350, at 6 *d.* a day, before appearing at St Stephen's in August 1351 at the same rate.⁴²³ He then disappears in July 1352, perhaps to fulfill his contract to build the timber-framed canons' lodgings at Windsor.⁴²⁴ Robert Burwell also worked on the two sets of furnishings.⁴²⁵

Metalworkers

Smiths were essential to the building process, for the regular repair and sharpening of the masons' tools, and for the provision of structural ironwork. The king's own smiths were often employed, such as James of Lewisham in the 1290s.⁴²⁶ Their wider duties and experience were determined, again, by the diverse demands of the king, especially in support of his military activities. For the works at St Stephen's, the location of the smith was probably decided by the size of the workforce. In the accounts for the 1290s and 1320s, when many masons were employed, smithing was probably done at a forge on site in the palace.⁴²⁷ After 1331, however, it was put out first to John, a smith in the town of Westminster, and then to Walter of Bury, to whom tools were taken often.⁴²⁸ Bury was the king's chief smith, based at the Tower of London, with a responsibility for armaments.⁴²⁹ In 1336, contemporary with the equivalent appointments of Ramsey and Hurley, he was made chief smith in all castles south of Trent, as well as at the Tower, at 12 *d.* a day.⁴³⁰ He was supplying ironwork and mending tools for St Stephen's in 1342–43.⁴³¹ His son Andrew succeeded him at the Tower in November 1345, and was still making ironwork for the chapel in 1353–54.⁴³² Katherine the smith, who appears in 1347, was Walter's widow, standing in for her son while he was campaigning with the king in France.⁴³³ Andrew's successor, Master Stephen atte Tower or atte Marsh, was still supplying the chapel in 1365–66.⁴³⁴

Labourers

The labourers, porters, and scaffolders worked in close concert with all of these craftsmen; in June 1324 they were paid for an extra day to keep up with the masons.⁴³⁵ During the building season the number of men remained stable, depending upon the scale of the building work, because reliable maintenance was crucial to progress and the safety of the site. The accounts record them standing at the windlass, for example, to lift materials on to the scaffold. Some specific tasks required larger numbers, such as the unloading of timber from New Hythe and Tonbridge, delivered to the king's bridge by boat in 1324–25.⁴³⁶ Over the winter, numbers declined.

⁴²⁰ No. 46: Beverley, Drax and Patrington (Yorks.), and Newstead (Notts.). No. 47: Grantham (Lincs.), Sherwood (Notts.), Warsop (Notts.). *HKW*, i, p. 521.

⁴²¹ For the work, see *HKW*, ii, pp. 872–73; Munby 2005; Munby 2007.

⁴²² Saul 2018, p. 89.

⁴²³ E 101/492/27, from m. 2 (w/b 26 April 1350); no. 41, from m. 2 (w/b 15 Aug. 1351).

⁴²⁴ *HKW*, ii, p. 874; Munby 2005, p. 232.

⁴²⁵ *HKW*, ii, p. 873; E 101/492/27, m. 2 (w/b 26 April 1350, Robert Burwell).

⁴²⁶ *HKW*, i, p. 512; ii, p. 1051. For Lewisham, see Geddes 1999, pp. 163–64.

⁴²⁷ Nos. 1 (a variety of smiths); 18, 20 (John de Wigeton, smith).

⁴²⁸ No. 23, m. 3 (w/b 30 Sept. 1331, John, at Clowson bridge); from m. 8 (w/b 3 Aug. 1332, Bury).

⁴²⁹ *HKW*, i, pp. 222–23; ii, p. 1051.

⁴³⁰ *Cal. Pat.*, 1334–38, pp. 272, 305–306.

⁴³¹ No. 35, from m. 2 (30 Sept. 1342).

⁴³² *HKW*, i, pp. 177 (*Cal. Pat.*, 1343–45, p. 572), 222; ii, p. 1051. For his work in 1353–54: no. 42, m. 2.

⁴³³ No. 38, from m. 2 (w/b 15 Oct. 1347); *HKW*, i, pp. 222–23.

⁴³⁴ No. 49, m. 2. *HKW*, i, pp. 223–24; ii, p. 1051.

⁴³⁵ No. 18, m. 4 (w/b 11 June 1324), 'propter expedicionem cementariorum'.

⁴³⁶ No. 18, from m. 5 (w/b 18 June 1324).

There are recurring names across many years, suggesting continuities in these responsible, if relatively unskilled, jobs. Geoffrey Cray, listed as a labourer, porter, and scaffolder at 3½ *d.* a day (in the building season) in 1324 is likely to be the man of the same name performing the same work at the same pay in 1334.⁴³⁷ Outside the building season he is described performing tasks as a labourer, a porter, and a barrowman. His toponym suggests the London region (Cray, Kent; now Greater London), which is unsurprising, but others suggest an origin further afield, probably indicating the movement of casual labour to the capital, and its availability.

Painters

The accounts are exceptionally rich for the craft of painting.⁴³⁸ Concerted work on decorating the chapel began once it had been largely finished and roofed, by August 1348, and continued into the early 1360s. A summary account records the buying of painting materials in 1348–49 (table 8), and on 18 March 1350 Hugh of St Albans, master of the painters appointed for the works, was charged with John Athelard and Benedict Nightyngale to recruit craftsmen in the south-east, the Midlands, and East Anglia, respectively (table 2).

Hugh was in charge over a long period. In the next surviving roll of particulars he was responsible for the *ordinatio* of the work of the painters, drawing images, as well as painting himself, at 12 *d.* a day, the usual rate for a master.⁴³⁹ The 'royal' paper that was purchased in January and September 1352 was to be used for designs.⁴⁴⁰ The process of drawing and the drawings themselves (for both painters and glaziers) are described by the verb *protractare*, and its derivatives (*protractatio*, *protractatura*).⁴⁴¹ Hugh was almost certainly the Hugh Peyntour of London who made his will in June 1361; this offers insights into the possessions, devotional interests and family of a leading craftsman and citizen.⁴⁴² Hugh was briefly eclipsed in the summer of 1355, when John Barneby, father and son (the toponym perhaps from Lincolnshire), are recorded at work, probably for some specialist task; the father is paid at the exceptional rate of 2 *s.* a day.⁴⁴³ But Master Hugh is again the senior painter from September.⁴⁴⁴ He does not always work a full week, probably suggesting his commitments elsewhere.

The accounts reveal that others, including a Master John Cotton, assisted with drawing and design, in a collaborative process different from that of the masons and carpenters, but similar to that of the glaziers (see below).⁴⁴⁵ Cotton was also paid at the rate of 12 *d.* a day. Recent technical analysis of the paintings that survive from the chapel in the British Museum, by infra-red reflectography, has found differences in the underdrawing of the various scenes, and in the painting itself, which may be explained by this collaborative way of working.⁴⁴⁶ As usual, the painters were paid at varying rates, down to the paint grinders (4½ *d.* a day). These rates remained the same throughout the year in 1351–52, but later varied seasonally (table 5c). Although the recorded numbers of painters declined over time, some appear throughout the 1350s, including Gilbert Puckridge and William Maynard, who were presumably key members of the team; in 1357–58, Maynard is present for longer than Master Hugh, at 11 *d.* or 12 *d.* a day, seasonally.⁴⁴⁷

⁴³⁷ Nos. 18, mm. 1 (w/b 21 Nov. 1323, 3 *d.* a day), 2 (w/b 6 Feb. 1324, 3½ *d.* a day); 26, mm. 1 (w/b 17 Jan. 1334, 3 *d.*), 2 (w/b 7 Feb. 1334, 3½ *d.*).

⁴³⁸ The most important have been published in tabulated form: Tristram 1955, appendix C.

⁴³⁹ No. 40, mm. 3 (w/b 4 and 11 July 1351, drawing and *ordinatio*), 4 (1 Aug. 1351, painting). Hugh le Peyntour first appears receiving money in Feb. 1351: no. 50, rot. 47. No. 40, mm. 12 (2 Jan. 1352), 26 (w/b 3 Sept. 1352).

⁴⁴⁰ No. 40, mm. 12 (w/b 2 Jan. 1352), 26 (w/b 3 Sept. 1352). The term *regalis* (royal) probably refers to the size of the sheet; it is found among sizes inscribed ('realle') on a slab dated 1389, recording paper sizes in Bologna (44.5 by 61.5 cm): Albro 2016, pp. 83–85. For paper used for drawing in the Burgundian accounts, see Nash 2008, p. 165.

⁴⁴¹ Binski 2014, p. 65.

⁴⁴² *Calendar of Wills*, ii, pp. 106–107 (dated 11 June 1361; entered July 1368).

⁴⁴³ No. 45, from m. 1 (w/b 27 July 1355) to m. 2 (w/b 30 Aug. 1355).

⁴⁴⁴ No. 46, m. 1 (w/b 28 Sept. 1355).

⁴⁴⁵ No. 40, m. 3 (w/b 4 July 1351).

⁴⁴⁶ Howard et al. forthcoming.

⁴⁴⁷ No. 47, m. 2.

Many toponyms of the painters fall within the geographical range described by the impressment order (table 2).⁴⁴⁸ More specifically, it has been argued that similarities in style between paintings at St Stephen's and Ely cathedral, now known only from drawings, could be explained by an exchange of painters between the two sites.⁴⁴⁹ Two unusual names, Janyn Godmered (just once) and Leuen Tassyn, are of uncertain origin.⁴⁵⁰ Tristram noted the wider careers of several artists, including Gilbert Prince, who became a warden of the painters' guild of London, representing them on the common council of the city, and served as king's painter to Richard II.⁴⁵¹ A female painter, Alice Couper, appears once, in May 1352.⁴⁵²

Painting processes are mentioned often in the entries for individual craftsmen, from drawing to the priming of surfaces, and the painting of walls, tabernacles, string courses, and sculpture. The laying of gold leaf and the placing of tin-relief ornament were also the responsibility of the same group of painters over a long period.⁴⁵³ Many purchases relate to processes, too, including a muller and plate for grinding pigments, earth vessels for heating size, and squirrel tails, pig bristles, and the quills of auks, peacocks, and swans for brushes.⁴⁵⁴ The walls of the building were completely decorated, so scaffolding was paid for across the period, from June 1351 to September 1352, sometimes specifically to be shared with the glaziers.⁴⁵⁵

Glaziers

Evidence for the glazing of the chapel first appears in the summary account for 1349.⁴⁵⁶ In March 1350 the glass painters were also to be impressed and recruited by John of Lincoln, 'master of the glaziers' (table 2).⁴⁵⁷ The earliest roll of particulars for the decoration of the chapel, and the richest, is no. 40, recording work from the first week that it covers, in June 1351, to March 1352.⁴⁵⁸ Entries for the wages of the glaziers appear after the painters. At this time they were led by Master John of Chester. Like the master mason and the master painter, his work included drawing (*protractatio*), but on whitewashed tables; he was paid 7 s. a week, and later 12 d. a day.⁴⁵⁹ Like the painters, other 'master glaziers' work with him, at the same daily wage.⁴⁶⁰ Many other glaziers were paid at a variety of lower rates, which are related in the accounts to different stages in the making process; the division of work is more clearly set out than in any other English medieval source.⁴⁶¹ The rates of pay remained the same throughout the year 1351–52. Work continued on glazing at a low level of activity later in the 1350s.⁴⁶²

The major glazing project in the early 1350s brought together a substantial workforce. At the beginning of the first surviving roll of particulars, in late June 1351, there were already thirty-two glaziers working on site, rising to forty-one in mid-October, and falling away to eighteen at the end of work, in the following March.⁴⁶³ The toponyms suggest wide recruitment, including cathedral cities (Chester, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln), but also regional concentrations. There is a strong representation of places in Essex and East Anglia, perhaps a result of impressment there and/or networks of the craftsmen in

⁴⁴⁸ *Cal. Pat.*, 1348–50, p. 481.

⁴⁴⁹ Lindley 1995, pp. 132–35.

⁴⁵⁰ No. 40, m. 7 (w/b 19 Sept. 1351). Tassyn's first name is spelt variously. Giles Flemyng, who appears once, could be of continental origin: no. 40, m. 20 (w/b 7 May 1352).

⁴⁵¹ Tristram 1955, pp. 54–55, appendix D; Englefield (W.) 1923, p. 221. King's painter: *HKW*, i, p. 227.

⁴⁵² No. 40, mm. 19–20 (w/b 7 May 1352).

⁴⁵³ For example, no. 40, mm. 2 (w/b 20 June 1351, priming), 8 (w/b 17 Oct. 1351, laying gold leaf), 18 (w/b 12 April 1352, placing tin-relief ornament), 19 (w/b 7 May 1352, painting angels and tabernacles).

⁴⁵⁴ For example, nos. 40, mm. 6 (w/b 5 Sept. 1351, feathers), 16 (w/b 26 March 1352, pots); 50, rot. 47 m. 2 (muller). For brushes, see Nash 2010, p. 165.

⁴⁵⁵ No. 40, from mm. 2 (w/b 20 June 1351). For sharing: from m. 12 (w/b 9 Jan. 1352).

⁴⁵⁶ No. 50, rot. 47 m. 1.

⁴⁵⁷ *Cal. Pat.*, 1348–50, p. 484.

⁴⁵⁸ No. 40, m. 2 (w/b 20 June 1351) to m. 15 (w/b 5 March 1352).

⁴⁵⁹ No. 40, mm. 2 (w/b 20 June 1351, weekly rate), 4 (w/b 25 July 1351, daily rate). For whitewashed tables, see Marks 1991, p. 269; Tura 2014.

⁴⁶⁰ No. 40, m. 2 (w/b 20 June 1351): 5 'magistri vitriarii'.

⁴⁶¹ Marks 1993, pp. 34, 36, 44, 50.

⁴⁶² No. 46, from m. 1 (w/b 28 Sept. 1355).

⁴⁶³ No. 40, mm. 2 (w/b 20 June 1351), 8 (w/b 17 Oct.), 15 (w/b 5 March 1352).

charge. A few names can be connected with less well-known centres of glass painting, such as Thame (Oxon.).⁴⁶⁴ The project has been seen as a point of artistic exchange across crafts. John Athelard worked on the chapel as a glazier, but he was also responsible for recruiting painters in 1349, and paid among them in spring 1352, for drawing, painting angels and tabernacles, and laying gold leaf, so he worked across different kinds of painting.⁴⁶⁵ St Stephen's may have been a training ground and a point for the diffusion of artistic ideas. Simon of Lynn is documented subsequently at Ely, in the later 1350s, as part of ongoing exchanges with the Fenland cathedral.⁴⁶⁶

To complement the careful description of the division of labour, the accounts contain a wealth of other detail about production processes, whose progress can also be followed through time. Canvas was bought for filling empty windows, at the beginning, and ropes for the installation of finished panels, towards the end.⁴⁶⁷ From January 1352 there is reference to scaffolding.⁴⁶⁸ Portable whitened tables were central to the design and construction of the glazing in stages.⁴⁶⁹ Ale is bought for washing them, and nails for holding pieces of glass securely in place during assembly of the glass mosaic, to be held within a net of lead comes. There is a distinctive vocabulary for joining the pieces (*coniungere, congelare*) and soldering the leads together (*consolidare*). Tallow was bought for soldering. Materials are mentioned for the making of glass paint and silver stain, and for grinding and mulling them.⁴⁷⁰ Firewood was bought for both plumbers and glaziers, presumably for melting lead to cast comes, and for the glass-firing kiln, to fix glass paint and silver stain.⁴⁷¹

As with the carpenters, so with the glaziers there is a contrast between arrangements for the very extensive, high-profile and rapidly completed work on the chapel itself in 1351–52, and those for smaller glazing projects at the palace, such as the temporary chapel of St Stephen by the Receipt, or the chaplains' chamber.⁴⁷² For these, a London glazier was often employed, one John of Walworth, who is also recorded at work elsewhere in the palace.⁴⁷³ For smaller projects of this kind, the glass was made in London and transported to Westminster for installation.⁴⁷⁴ Similarly, painted glass for Edward III's sister foundation of St George's chapel at Windsor was made at Westminster from March 1352, immediately after work had finished at St Stephen's, and carefully packed and transported up river by boat.⁴⁷⁵ The accounts therefore document what may have been a relatively common practice elsewhere, the making of glass in one place for installation at another.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁶⁴ Ayers 2013, i, pp. 75–76.

⁴⁶⁵ No. 40, from m. 18 (w/b 16 April 1352). Salzman 1926, p. 16; Tristram 1955, p. 289.

⁴⁶⁶ No. 40, from m. 2 (w/b 20 June 1351). For his presence at Ely: Woodforde 1933, p. 62.

⁴⁶⁷ Nos. 50, rot. 47 m. 1–2 (canvas); 40.

⁴⁶⁸ No. 40, from m. 12 (w/b 9 Jan. 1352).

⁴⁶⁹ No. 40, from m. 2 (w/b 27 June 1351).

⁴⁷⁰ Nos. 50, rot. 47 m. 2; 40, m. 10 (w/b 21 Nov. 1351).

⁴⁷¹ Nos. 40, m. 2 (w/b 20 June 1351, *talwode*), 9 (w/b 7 Nov. 1351). For firewood, see Galloway, Keene and Murphy 1996.

⁴⁷² Chamber: no. 32, m. 3 (w/b 17 Jan. 1340). Chapel: no. 34, m. 1 (w/b 13 Nov. 1340).

⁴⁷³ Salzman 1928, p. 119, nos. 18–20.

⁴⁷⁴ No. 32, m. 3 (w/b 17 Jan. 1340). On this occasion, he also supplied the ironwork.

⁴⁷⁵ E 101/492/28, from m. 9 (w/b 12 March 1352); E 101/495/7. I am grateful to Steven Brindle for sending me transcripts. The entries are summarized in Salzman 1928, pp. 120, 188, but the years are incorrect.

⁴⁷⁶ Ayers 2013, i, pp. 11, 75–82.

Materials and the building site

The rolls provide very rich evidence for building trades, including the sources of materials, suppliers, and methods of transport. Taken together, the accounts also allow some assessment of changing prices in a period spanning the arrival of the Black Death in England (table 6). Just as great ecclesiastical corporations could draw upon their own material resources for building, so the clerks and master craftsmen of the king's works could draw upon timber from the royal forests, and stores and equipment closer to home, from the Tower of London.⁴⁷⁷ For other materials, the accounts reveal a constant effort to locate them, maintain delivery, and reduce costs, in the frequent switching of suppliers. It will be shown that, in the 1320s and 1330s, relationships with certain favoured traders seem to have been established. Purveyance, or the king's pre-emptive right to purchase materials, was used extensively from the 1340s (table 7), although similar practices had been employed earlier.⁴⁷⁸ In later accounts purveyors take their place among those receiving wages.⁴⁷⁹

Some materials, particularly stone, were purchased from distant sources. In other respects, however, the proximity of Westminster to London makes this a case study in the economic relationship between a seat of royal government and a great medieval city and its suburbs.⁴⁸⁰ Building in such cities was a major outlay for rulers, from Paris to Avignon and Naples, in the fourteenth century.⁴⁸¹ London supplied expensive materials from far away, but also others that were local and relatively cheap, made available through local suppliers or those with bases in the metropolis.⁴⁸² Documentary sources for the medieval city may reveal more about the people and their businesses; wills survive for several suppliers and craftsmen.⁴⁸³ The number of female traders, some of them widows, both before the Black Death and after it, may be explained by their particular legal and economic position within the city.⁴⁸⁴

This section looks first at materials individually, to explain what can be found in the accounts, and then at the building site where they were brought together in Westminster.

Stone

After wages, stone was the single most expensive item of expenditure on the chapel, during building, as a summary account for 1323–26 reveals (table 11a).⁴⁸⁵ The choice and sourcing of it can be glimpsed, and the project may itself have shaped such sources. John of Christchurch was paid for inspecting and clearing a quarry at Taynton (Oxon.) in September 1293.⁴⁸⁶ Sources changed over time, in response to the nature of the building work and availability. In the 1290s the stones purchased in England were Reigate and Taynton, Kentish ragstone (from Aylesford, in Kent, initially perhaps only rubble for wall cores), and Purbeck marble.⁴⁸⁷ Quarries on the continent are identified as Boulogne, Caen, and

⁴⁷⁷ For Exeter, see *Accounts Exeter Cathedral*, ii, pp. xiii, xv–xvi.

⁴⁷⁸ For purveyance, see *HKW*, i, pp. 170–71.

⁴⁷⁹ See 'The rolls'.

⁴⁸⁰ For London and its suburbs, see Barron 2004; Carlin 1996 (Southwark); Rosser 1989 (Westminster). For the relative importance of London and consumer demand, see Dyer 1994, pp. 258–74.

⁴⁸¹ Spufford 2002, ch. 2, esp. pp. 67–73. For studies of this phenomenon in Paris: Lorentz and Sandron 2006, ch. 5; Cohen 2015, esp. chs. 1, 4, 5.

⁴⁸² For the relative importance of luxury goods in the medieval economy, see Dyer 2011, esp. pp. 236–38 (London).

⁴⁸³ *Calendar of Wills*, i, pp. 308 (Joan Hurel), 370 (Adam of Corfe), 406 (John of Winchester); ii, pp. 106–107 (Hugh Peyntour).

⁴⁸⁴ Barron 1989; Barron 1994a.

⁴⁸⁵ For stone and its supply: Knoop and Jones 1967, pp. 9–13, 41–43; Salzman 1967, ch. 7; Parsons 1990; Parsons 1991.

⁴⁸⁶ No. 1, rot. 45 (w/b 14 Sept. 1293). For the Taynton quarries, see Arkell 1947, pp. 54–64.

⁴⁸⁷ No. 1. For Kentish rag: Salzman 1967, pp. 128–29; Worssam and Tatton-Brown 1993; Tatton-Brown 2016. In later accounts the term *urnel* is also used for ragstone: no. 46, m. 8 (w/b 18 April 1356). Taken from harder beds, this was squared up into blocks: Tatton-Brown 2016. I am grateful to Tim Tatton-Brown for his advice. For Reigate and Purbeck, see below.

Herquelingue.⁴⁸⁸ In the 1320s and 1330s the main sources were Caen, Reigate, and Purbeck, with Kentish ragstone. Purchases of Caen stone ceased in the late 1340s, probably as a result of war with France. Instead, new English sources were explored by the king's clerks of works and purveyors. The variety of suppliers is indicative of a thriving trade; some were middlemen (occasionally women) with a base in London. There are diverse units of measure, by the boatload and cartload (for ragstone and Reigate), by the laid foot and by the number of stones.⁴⁸⁹ Occasionally, the entries elaborate on the terms of a purchase, 'for stone and breaking it' or 'with carriage', which was included in the unit price for some stone.⁴⁹⁰ Delivery was usually by water.⁴⁹¹

The accounts are important sources for these quarries. Reigate stone, a sandy limestone from just over the North Downs in Surrey, was preferred from the beginning, in keeping with past practice at Westminster; it was also widely employed elsewhere in the king's works.⁴⁹² It was still being used for the cloister in 1355–56.⁴⁹³ Advantage was taken of its carving qualities to make tabernacles and window tracery (forms),⁴⁹⁴ and, in spite of poor weathering, it was used for walling. Large numbers of parpents, or through-stones, were supplied in the 1290s, and in the 1320s for the *alura*.⁴⁹⁵ Surviving stones from the filling of a lower window at the east end of the upper chapel, now in the British Museum, have been identified as Reigate.⁴⁹⁶ There were many named suppliers: three in a single week in August 1294; six in July 1325.⁴⁹⁷ Then, in April 1332, the master mason made an arrangement with Thomas Barnack of Lambeth, *rokarius*; in the following years he is the sole supplier in this account, simplifying lines of supply.⁴⁹⁸ The stone was carried by cart to the Thames, and then onwards by boat; there is also mention of transport from Battersea in later accounts.⁴⁹⁹ These refer sometimes to supply by the Prophete family.⁵⁰⁰

The creamy white limestone from Caen in Normandy, easily carved and more durable than Reigate, had been popular in England since the Conquest.⁵⁰¹ For St Stephen's, under Michael of Canterbury's leadership, it was ordered from the beginning. Canvas was bought to make false moulds, or templates, so that stones could be cut at the quarry.⁵⁰² Specific purchases include capitals, but it was also supplied as *gobets*, or large blocks.⁵⁰³ In the 1320s Caen stone was again cut to canvas templates (January 1324), and supplied as 'mould pieces' (moulded stones), *gobets* and quoins.⁵⁰⁴ An inventory of 1327 records its use for courses or tables of various kinds, parapets, corbels, and window mullions and sills.⁵⁰⁵ A variety of suppliers are described, some stated to be merchants of Caen, like John de Sene or Robert Vallery,⁵⁰⁶ but many with English toponyms or names, suggesting a lively cross-Channel trade and, by the 1320s, the importance of London for this. In September 1324 stone was bought from four different suppliers in

⁴⁸⁸ For Herquelingue, outside Boulogne, see *HKW*, i, p. 511 n. 6. For Boulogne stone, see Salzman 1967, pp. 137–38. For Caen, see below.

⁴⁸⁹ See 'Editorial note', for a discussion.

⁴⁹⁰ For example, no. 1, rots. 2 (w/b 28 April 1292, 'pro petra et fracto'), 15 (w/b 20 Oct. 1292, 'cum cariagio').

⁴⁹¹ Knoop and Jones 1967, pp. 45–48. See also 'Transport', below.

⁴⁹² For Reigate stone, see Salzman 1967, pp. 129–30; Tatton-Brown 2001b (for Westminster abbey, p. 190).

⁴⁹³ No. 46, mm. 4 (w/b 21 Dec. 1355), 8 (w/b 28 March 1356).

⁴⁹⁴ In the inventory of items in store, compiled in 1327: no. 21, rot. 41d m. 1d.

⁴⁹⁵ For example, nos. 1, from rot. 13 (w/b 13 Oct. 1292); 18, from m. 13 (w/b 3 June 1325).

⁴⁹⁶ Van Geersdaele and Goldsworthy 1978, p. 12.

⁴⁹⁷ Nos. 1, rot. 61 (w/b 16 Aug. 1294); 18, m. 16 (w/b 29 July 1325).

⁴⁹⁸ No. 23, m. 6 (w/b 27 April 1332). For an earlier supply from Lambeth: no. 18, m. 4 (w/b 18 June 1324).

⁴⁹⁹ Nos. 45, m. 2 (w/b 30 Aug. 1355); 46, m. 1 (w/b 19 Oct. 1355); 47, m. 5 (1357–58). For Battersea, see Tatton-Brown 2001b, pp. 193–94. In the first period of building, Richard de Brugis may be connected with this site (no. 1, rot. 29 (w/b 23 March 1293)): Tatton-Brown 2001b, p. 193.

⁵⁰⁰ Tatton-Brown 2001b, p. 198. Thomas Prophete: no. 35, m. 1 (w/b 14 Oct. 1342). John Prophete: nos. 40, m. 26 (w/b 27 Aug. 1352); 45, m. 2 (w/b 30 Aug. 1355). In Jan. 1360, he and Philip Prophete were made masters and keepers of the quarry at Merstham and Chaldon, near Reigate, for the supply of stone to Windsor castle: *Cal. Pat.*, 1358–61, p. 313.

⁵⁰¹ Salzman 1967, pp. 135–37; Tatton-Brown 2001a, esp. p. 312; Tatton-Brown 2007, pp. 56–57.

⁵⁰² No. 1, rot. 47 (w/b 15 March 1294).

⁵⁰³ No. 1, rots. 25 (w/b 22 Dec. 1292, capitals); 47 (w/b 15 March 1294, *gobets*).

⁵⁰⁴ No. 18, mm. 1 (w/b 16 Jan. 1324, canvas); 3 (w/b 9 April 1324, 'molde peces').

⁵⁰⁵ No. 21, rot. 41d m. 1d.

⁵⁰⁶ No. 18, mm. 3 (w/b 14 May 1324, Sene), 16 (w/b 29 July 1325, Vallery; a person of this name had supplied stone to Westminster in 1290: Salzman 1967, p. 135).

the city.⁵⁰⁷ On occasion the wharves from which it was shipped are also named.⁵⁰⁸ Among them is Hurel's wharf, taking the family name of widow Joan Hurel, a supplier in March 1324; her will survives.⁵⁰⁹ In 1334 Caen stone was also acquired from the queen's foundation of St Katharine's by the Tower, taking advantage of a local stock within the royal reach.⁵¹⁰

New sources of stone were sought in the early 1340s, probably because war with France was making cross-Channel trade more difficult.⁵¹¹ In the north, 'Pontefract' stone was bought from Walter of White Hill in 1342–43, apparently on the intervention of the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer.⁵¹² This was probably the hard Magnesian limestone from the Stapleton quarry, nearby, bought from the same man for Windsor castle in 1344.⁵¹³ It would be used subsequently for many projects in the south of England.⁵¹⁴ Stone is also recorded to have been acquired in the south and west from 1347–48. In August 1347 William of Abbotsbury, mason, was empowered to purvey stone at Beer (Devon) (table 7).⁵¹⁵ Over the next year stones arrived from Beer and Portland (Dorset), from multiple suppliers.⁵¹⁶ Beer stone was a hard chalk, used particularly for vaults and fine carving;⁵¹⁷ it was also employed later for construction of a cloister.⁵¹⁸ In March 1350 further stone was purveyed from quarries near Abbotsbury and Windsbatch (Dorset).⁵¹⁹ Both Beer and Portland stones were shipped for the fourteenth-century work at Exeter cathedral, appearing in the fabric accounts, and Beer stone became the most popular freestone in late medieval Devon.⁵²⁰ Portland is a hard Jurassic oolite, used more sparingly at Exeter, but again for carving, including bosses, capitals, and bases.⁵²¹

At St Stephen's, 'Egremond' stone from a quarry near Totternhoe (Beds.), close to Dunstable, was favoured for sculpture during the furnishing of the chapel.⁵²² Totternhoe stone is a greenish-grey, compact, fine-grained limestone.⁵²³ This had been employed previously at St Albans abbey, Windsor castle and elsewhere.⁵²⁴ William of Patrington is paid for a stone 'at Dunstable' for making a patronal image of St Stephen in March 1352, and 'Egremond' stones are bought for other sculptures.⁵²⁵ In August and September 1355 a mason called Thomas of Canterbury was appointed to go there for three weeks to buy twenty cartloads (table 7).⁵²⁶ He was more than successful. Shortly afterwards, John Quariour was paid for the delivery of twelve and then fourteen cartloads (the latter specifically for images).⁵²⁷ Previously, four Reigate stones had been bought for making images, two of them to go on the exterior 'front' of the chapel.⁵²⁸

⁵⁰⁷ No. 18, m. 7 (w/b 10 Sept. 1324). For stockpiles of Caen stone in London, in the 1340s: Tatton-Brown 2007, p. 56.

⁵⁰⁸ Mileword wharf: no. 18, m. 10 (w/b 7 Jan. 1325). London Bridge: no. 26, m. 1 (w/b 3 Jan. 1334, Robert of Morden).

⁵⁰⁹ No. 18, m. 2 (w/b 19 March 1324). *Calendar of Wills*, i, pp. 308 (1324, Joan), 260 (1316, her husband Geoffrey). For her holding of the property: *Calendar of Letter-Books*, E, p. 62.

⁵¹⁰ No. 26, m. 4 (w/b 4 April 1334).

⁵¹¹ For political and trading relations between England and Normandy, see Ormrod 1994, pp. 199–200.

⁵¹² No. 35, mm. 1 (w/b 21 Oct. 1342), 4 (w/b 24 March 1343), 5 (w/b 28 July 1343). Pontefract was the site of a major castle, held by the house of Lancaster: *HKW*, ii, pp. 781–82. A summary account indicates earlier purchases in 1341–42: no. 39, rot. 49 m. 2.

⁵¹³ Tatton-Brown 2007, p. 59; Gee 1981, pp. 254–55.

⁵¹⁴ Gee 1981, p. 254. Ten tons ('dolia') of Stapleton stone were bought in 1363–64 for Westminster during the 1360s, not necessarily for St Stephen's: no. 56, rot. 52 m. 1.

⁵¹⁵ *Cal. Pat.*, 1345–48, p. 367.

⁵¹⁶ Beer: no. 38, mm. 2 (w/b 15 and 22 Oct. 1347), 5 (17 Dec. 1347), 9 (14 and 28 April 1348), 11 (30 June 1348), 12 (28 July 1348). Portland: no. 38, mm. 4 (w/b 26 Nov. 1347), 5 (17 Dec.), 9 (5 May 1348), 12 (4 Aug. 1348).

⁵¹⁷ Tatton-Brown 1990, p. 78.

⁵¹⁸ Beer: nos. 46, m. 8 (w/b 11 April 1356, cloister); 53, rot. 46 m. 2 (1359–61). Portland: nos. 40, m. 17 (w/b 2 April 1352); 46, m. 3 (w/b 23 Nov. 1355).

⁵¹⁹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1348–50, p. 474.

⁵²⁰ *Accounts Exeter Cathedral*, ii, pp. xiii–xiv. The bosses, ribs and most window tracery in the nave, and the west front are of Beer stone: Allan 1991, pp. 13–15; Allan and Blaylock 1991, pp. 102, 104.

⁵²¹ Allan 1991, pp. 15–16.

⁵²² Roberts 1974, esp. pp. 69–71, figs. 18–19.

⁵²³ Roberts 1974, p. 67.

⁵²⁴ Tatton-Brown 2001c, pp. 120–21; Tatton-Brown 2007, pp. 53–55.

⁵²⁵ Nos. 40, mm. 16 (w/b 19 March 1352), 26d.

⁵²⁶ *Cal. Pat.*, 1354–58, p. 277 (16 Aug. 1355); no. 45, m. 2 (w/b 30 Aug. 1355).

⁵²⁷ Nos. 45, m. 3; 46, m. 1 (w/b 28 Sept. and 12 Oct. 1355, at 6 s. a cartload). Thomas went again: no. 46, m. 1 (w/b 12 Oct. 1355).

⁵²⁸ No. 24, mm. 20, 21 and 24 (w/b 19 April, 10 May and 16 Aug. 1333).

The accounts are a major source for trade in Purbeck marble, in fact a polishable fresh-water limestone full of snails and other fossils, from the Isle of Purbeck (Dorset).⁵²⁹ It was used architecturally in English buildings from the mid-twelfth century, as well as for paving; Corfe was the centre of the latter industry. Purbeck was a feature of the decoration of St Stephen's, for vault shafts in the lower chapel, and for the wall bench and wall arcade in the upper chapel. From the 1290s to the 1350s there are references in the accounts to the purchase of hundreds of feet of shafting, and also to corbels (*sources*), mullions for the great east window, and a pavement. If purchases came from Dorset in the 1290s, the main supplier in the 1320s was Adam the marbler, in London;⁵³⁰ Adam of Corfe ran a business to the north of St Paul's cathedral, in Paternoster Row.⁵³¹ After his death, in 1331, supplies are recorded again to have come from Dorset. Adam's will, dated 9 September 1331,⁵³² shows that he had property there and suggests connections by family and through land holding with some of those probably employed as masons at Westminster; he held land of William of Shoreham, his wife, and others, for example, and his niece was a Bonville.⁵³³ The many named marblers and marble polishers in the accounts represent an important aspect of trade in this material, as their skills were perceived to be particular to it. Of these, the Canouns (also Kanoun) had well-documented links with Dorset. Richard Canoun of Corfe supplied 143 yards of marble in 1332.⁵³⁴ While work was ongoing at Westminster, Canouns were also supplying Exeter cathedral with marble, to 1334, a testimony to the scale of quarrying operations.⁵³⁵ For the upper chapel at St Stephen's, John Canoun is later named as a co-supplier of the marble pavement in 1353–54.⁵³⁶ Tallow was purchased often to polish and bring the marble to a shine.⁵³⁷

Other materials were purchased regularly during building seasons to allow the masons to lay the stones. The accounts are full of entries for sand (acquired by the cartload) and lime, for mortar (priced by the hundredweight, or later the sack).⁵³⁸ In the 1320s a variety of suppliers seem to have competed, but William of Kent was the sole provider in the early 1330s.⁵³⁹ A man of this name had previously sold Reigate stone, and also sold tiles (see below). Later suppliers include John and Alice atte Hache, and Richard Bacoun.⁵⁴⁰ Prices rose in the early 1350s, after the Black Death (table 6).⁵⁴¹ Pitch, resin, and wax are also bought often for cement to join or repair stones.⁵⁴² It is a reminder of such damage that several stones in a store inventory were described as broken, one at the queen's coronation.⁵⁴³

Timber and wood

Wood was used ubiquitously in the building process, from structural timbers and scaffolding, to boards for multiple purposes, tools and firewood.⁵⁴⁴ The most important acquisitions of structural timber for the chapel do not appear as purchases in the accounts, however. During the thirteenth century the king had often given large oaks for great building projects from the royal forests.⁵⁴⁵ These were also the source

⁵²⁹ Blair 1991; Haysom 1998; Hinton 2002. I am grateful to Tim Tatton-Brown for his advice on Purbeck marble.

⁵³⁰ 1290s: no. 1, rot. 24 (w/b 22 Dec. 1292). 1320s: no. 18, mm. 2 (w/b 19 March 1324), 3 (w/b 23 March 1324), 6 (w/b 23 July 1324), 12 (w/b 1 April 1325), 13 (w/b 20 May 1325), 15 (w/b 15 July 1325).

⁵³¹ For Adam of Corfe, and the craft in London, see Blair 1987, pp. 168–69; Blair 1991, pp. 45–46.

⁵³² *Calendar of Wills*, i, p. 370. For an abstract, see Blair 1987, p. 169, appendix A.

⁵³³ William of Shoreham: nos. 18, from m. 1 (w/b 31 Jan. 1324); 23, from m. 1 (w/b 23 July 1331). William of Bonville: no. 23, from m. 1 (w/b 15 July 1331).

⁵³⁴ No. 24, m. 15 (w/b 2 Nov. 1332). A William Kanoun was already at work in the chapel in November 1323: no. 18, m. 1 (w/b 21 Nov. 1323).

⁵³⁵ *Accounts Exeter Cathedral*, ii, pp. xv, 250 (closing account of William Canon, junior).

⁵³⁶ No. 42, m. 2 (with John Mayow).

⁵³⁷ For example, no. 1, rot. 18 (w/b 3 Nov. 1292).

⁵³⁸ Salzman 1967, pp. 149–53.

⁵³⁹ Nos. 23–25.

⁵⁴⁰ No. 31 (all three).

⁵⁴¹ Thorold Rogers 1866, i, pp. 469, 479–83; ii, pp. 450–54.

⁵⁴² Salzman 1967, pp. 153–54.

⁵⁴³ No. 23, m. 1d.

⁵⁴⁴ For the use of timber in building, and medieval industries using wood, see Salzman 1967, chs. xiii–xiv, xvi–xvii; Munby 1991. For carpentry, see Hewett 1985.

⁵⁴⁵ Salzman 1967, p. 240.

for many of the trees used for the roof, vault, and stalls in the upper chapel. The evidence is found either in payments for related activities in the particulars, or in other records. An instruction to fell timber for the chapel in the forest of Pamber (Hants.) appears in the issue rolls for Easter term 1294.⁵⁴⁶ Timber from Tonbridge (Kent), for roof and vault, was unloaded at Westminster from June 1324 to September 1325;⁵⁴⁷ the costs of felling, scappling, sawing, and transport down the river Medway are recorded in separate accounts.⁵⁴⁸ The inventory of roof timbers that were in store from 1326 names many of them, and gives dimensions.⁵⁴⁹ Some were of exceptional size, including sixteen of 50 feet in length, for a bell-tower.⁵⁵⁰ While the chapel roof and vault were being installed, in February 1348, the treasurer bought from John Syward, a leading London merchant, over 600 timbers, costing £170.⁵⁵¹ In 1357–58 timber for the stalls was bought from the prior of Holy Trinity Aldgate, in London.⁵⁵²

Timber of various kinds was also bought for the construction and repair of many essential temporary buildings on site, and for accommodation. Occasionally, the parts of almost a whole building are described, such as the tracing house, or *trasura*, for the master mason, begun in January 1325, including 400 beech laths and 25 boards of the same material for windows, carried from Southwark bar.⁵⁵³ In November 1331 a new stone store was built with oak posts, tie-beams and braces, and laths for partitions.⁵⁵⁴ Oak timbers, boards, and laths for a new house for the king's chaplains were bought from many different suppliers in London and Southwark in 1339, and carried to Westminster from Cornhill and Southwark.⁵⁵⁵ Throughout building work, a variety of boards, planks, and laths are identified variously by material (if other than oak), place of origin or cut of timber, usually priced by number, and delivered from London or Southwark.⁵⁵⁶ Imported Baltic timber was often used (*estriche* and *righolt* boards), including for the master mason's drawing board.⁵⁵⁷ *Estriche* and other boards in oak or beech were also used by the master carpenter and master mason, for moulds or templates.⁵⁵⁸ Beech boards are found for window centring, and for a double door at the entrance to the chapel, all bought from Hugh le Hatter and transported from Southwark bar.⁵⁵⁹ Other doors were to be made 'de bordis regis'; the king's stores could be used for many items.⁵⁶⁰ In the 1340s great names in the London mercantile elite facilitate the supply of boards, including John Lovekyn and John Wesenham.⁵⁶¹ Kingston upon Thames (Surrey), an important river crossing upstream, was also a major site for the purchase and transport of wood objects and timber, both in the 1290s and 1340s, as it had been in the mid-thirteenth century.⁵⁶²

⁵⁴⁶ No. 6, m. 1b.

⁵⁴⁷ No. 18, from m. 5 (w/b 25 June 1324) to m. 19 (w/b 23 Sept. 1325).

⁵⁴⁸ No. 18: E 101/469/9, m. 1 schedule, 'pro capella Regis Westm' et pro camera Regis in Turri London'. No. 19, including wall-plates and posts.

⁵⁴⁹ No. 21, rot. 41d m. 1d.

⁵⁵⁰ For timber sizes, see Salzman 1967, p. 238.

⁵⁵¹ No. 38, m. 7 (w/b 24 Feb. 1348). Syward had been sheriff of London, 1343–44: Barron 2004, p. 330.

⁵⁵² No. 47, m. 4. In 1356, contemporary with the second phase of work on the stalls, 52 oaks felled by Merton priory, formerly intended for Windsor, were redirected to Westminster: Munby, Barber and Brown 2007, appendix C, no. 6, pp. 236–37. Their intended use is not specified, however.

⁵⁵³ No. 18, m. 10 (w/b 7 Jan. 1325, and following).

⁵⁵⁴ No. 23, mm. 3–4 (w/b 18 Nov. 1331, and following).

⁵⁵⁵ No. 31, from m. 3 (w/b 1 March 1339). For the timber trade in Southwark, see Carlin 1996, pp. 170, 283.

⁵⁵⁶ London Bridge: no. 18, m. 2 (w/b 26 March 1324). Southwark: nos. 18, m. 5 (w/b 25 June 1324); 32, m. 4 (w/b 6 March 1340), from the aptly named Edward atte Stake. For a survey of these kinds of wood, see Salzman 1967, pp. 240–47, 249. Many appear in the glossary here.

⁵⁵⁷ Tyers 2010.

⁵⁵⁸ *Estriche* boards: nos. 18, m. 2 (w/b 19 March 1324); 24, m. 20 (w/b 4 May 1333). Other boards: nos. 18, m. 12 (w/b 15 April 1325); 23, mm. 3 (w/b 30 Sept. 1331), 8 (w/b 17 Aug. 1332).

⁵⁵⁹ No. 18, mm. 5 (w/b 25 June 1324, centering), 9 (w/b 3 Dec. 1324, doors). For Southwark bar: Carlin 1996, pp. 24–25.

⁵⁶⁰ No. 20, m. 3 (w/b 18 Nov. 1325).

⁵⁶¹ No. 38, m. 4 (w/b 19 Nov. 1347, Wesenham); from m. 8 (w/b 3 March, Lovekyn).

⁵⁶² No. 1, rots. 7 (w/b 23 June 1292, handcarts), 33 (w/b 3 Aug. 1293, oak), 39 (w/b 24 Aug. 1293, timber), 49 (w/b 22 March 1294, planks). No. 38, mm. 7 (w/b 4 and 25 Feb. 1348), 9 (w/b 5 May), 10 (w/b 12 and 19 May 1348), 12 (w/b 28 July 1348). For Kingston, see *Building Accounts of King Henry III*, p. 13; Galloway, Keene and Murphy 1996, p. 465.

Although a recent study has found little evidence for woodworking crafts in late medieval London, the accounts show that the city was well adapted to the needs of the building trade.⁵⁶³ Throughout the period of building and decoration, scaffolding was required, the poles being usually of alder, and priced by number.⁵⁶⁴ The accounts are also full of related materials, withies or ties, wedges and hurdles, on which the craftsmen stood. In the 1290s the hurdles usually came from Godfrey le Hurdeler, but there was no single source for poles.⁵⁶⁵ In the 1320s, 200 alders were felled at Tonbridge, and ash on a Surrey estate of the king's treasurer.⁵⁶⁶ The rest, however, was provided by suppliers in London's aptly named Wood Street. In June 1324 John le Disshere of Wood Street makes an appearance, and the family dominated the supply of scaffolding-related materials for thirty years.⁵⁶⁷ Between 1331 and 1335 Michael, Nicholas, and Richard le Disshere had a virtual monopoly, bringing materials by boat from city quays.⁵⁶⁸ From 1341 to 1357–58 Agnes le Disshere of Wood Street, perhaps the widow of one of these men, was the main supplier.⁵⁶⁹ The family name suggests the manufacture of dishes; other wood objects, like bowls, shovels, sieves, and trays, were also bought from them.⁵⁷⁰

Metalwork

Just as the king's smiths were often responsible for ironwork for the chapel, so the iron itself was occasionally supplied from the king's stores, as well as sheaves of steel, for edging tools.⁵⁷¹ Much more was bought in. As elsewhere, the material is often stated to have had a continental origin, usually from Spain, but also Bayonne, in Gascony.⁵⁷² Initially it came from multiple suppliers, with both English and Continental names, by boat, and some through London.⁵⁷³ In the 1320s, however, John of Thorney dominated the trade, supplying also steel, nails, and wax for masons' cement, all brought from London.⁵⁷⁴ He was succeeded in the 1330s by Robert of St Albans.⁵⁷⁵ Iron was bought by weight (the pound and hundredweight of 112 pounds); an *auncer* was acquired in April 1324 for weighing both iron and lead.⁵⁷⁶

The most regular demand for iron was in the maintenance (and occasionally the making) of the tools of the masons, carpenters, and other craftsmen employed on the chapel, weekly when work was in full swing.⁵⁷⁷ It was also essential for structural purposes. During the 1320s and 1330s, and the early 1350s, especially, *ferramenta* were made for windows, stabilizing the stonework and providing a fixing point for glazing, including lockets and saddlebars, and iron casements.⁵⁷⁸ Forged *crampons*, *crowes*, *goions*, and *tirauntz* joined stones together, including in the walls of the new *alura* during the 1320s, and in the upper parts of the building, on gables and turrets, into the 1350s.⁵⁷⁹ Iron was also purchased for the machines required on site, such as vernes.⁵⁸⁰ The smiths required fuel for the forge when they were

⁵⁶³ For woodworking crafts, see Barron 2004, p. 70. For traders: *Building Accounts of King Henry III*, p. 13 n.1; Galloway, Keene and Murphy 1996, p. 452.

⁵⁶⁴ For scaffolding, see Fitchen 1961, pp. 15–19, appendix K (esp. pp. 283–86, St Stephen's); Salzman 1967, pp. 318–21.

⁵⁶⁵ No. 1.

⁵⁶⁶ Tonbridge: no. 19, mm. 2 (w/b 2 July 1324), 3 (w/b 10 Sept. 1324). Treasurer's timber: no. 18, m. 3 (w/b 23 April 1324).

⁵⁶⁷ No. 18, m. 4 (w/b 4 June 1324). He had appeared previously in Mich. 1309: no. 14, f. 109v.

⁵⁶⁸ Nos. 23–26.

⁵⁶⁹ Nos. 34, m. 1 (w/b 24 Oct. 1340); 47, m. 5 (1357–58).

⁵⁷⁰ Nos. 26, m. 2 (w/b 31 Jan. 1334); 40, m. 21 (w/b 11 June 1352). Such objects continued to be purchased from Wood Street: no. 47, m. 5.

⁵⁷¹ Iron: nos. 24, m. 15 (w/b 2 Nov. 1332, 'de instauro Turris'); 34, m. 1 (w/b 13 Nov. 1340). Steel: no. 18, m. 1 (w/b 21 Nov. 1323). For the use of ironwork in building, see Salzman 1967, ch. xix. For iron and ironwork: Geddes 1991; Geddes 1999.

⁵⁷² Bayonne: no. 5, rot. 2 m. 2. For sources of iron, see Salzman 1967, pp. 287–88.

⁵⁷³ No. 1, rots. 16, 22, 39, 42, 43, 73. A total of 219½ cwt was bought for the chapel in the surviving accounts for 1292–94 alone. For the iron trade in London, see Keene 1996, pp. 96–97.

⁵⁷⁴ No. 18, from m. 1 (w/b 5 Dec. 1323). For coal, see Galloway, Keene and Murphy 1996, p. 448.

⁵⁷⁵ Nos. 23, from m. 1 (w/b 29 July 1331); 24, 26, 27.

⁵⁷⁶ No. 18, m. 3 (w/b 23 April 1324). For the *auncel* (*sic*), see Connor 1987, pp. 133–34.

⁵⁷⁷ Pickaxes: no. 1, rot. 2 (w/b 28 April 1292). Chisels: no. 23, m. 8 (w/b 27 July 1332). Grozing-irons, for the glaziers: no. 40, m. 2 (w/b 4 July 1351). On craftsmen's tools, see also below.

⁵⁷⁸ Casements: nos. 18, m. 18 (w/b 9 Sept. 1325, *alura*); 43, m. 1 (1354).

⁵⁷⁹ Nos. 18, 23–24, 38, 40.

⁵⁸⁰ No. 24, m. 17 (w/b 1 Feb. 1333).

working on site. In the mid-1320s, for example, Gilbert of Morden sold coal (by weight) from his business at London Bridge, by boat.⁵⁸¹ Prices for iron increased after the Black Death, from 4 s. 8 d. a hundredweight in 1332, to 5 s. 6 d. a hundredweight in 1351 (table 6).⁵⁸²

Metalworking of diverse kinds has been identified as a major commercial activity in late medieval London.⁵⁸³ Locks are recurring items in the accounts. They were of different kinds (*clicket*, *stoklok*), and came from specialist suppliers: Robert le Lokier, in 1324, may be the Robert le Lokiere of nearby Fleet Street in 1337–38, and still in 1343;⁵⁸⁴ in 1348 and 1355 the supplier was a John le Lokier.⁵⁸⁵ Nails were bought in very large numbers, with a great variety of names, some identified by form or material (*deyshednail*, *tynhevednail*) and others by their uses (*cloryngnail*, *lathnail*, *rofnail*, *traversnail* and *wounail*).⁵⁸⁶ They were usually sold by number, and brought from London. Other metalworking crafts in the city were drawn upon. Tin was acquired for relief decoration and for solder, from John Tynbeter, and John and Nicholas Peutrers, for example in 1351–52.⁵⁸⁷ In July 1325 a copper alloy bell was supplied by Robert of Aldgate, presumably from the foundry there.⁵⁸⁸ A gilt-copper weathervane was bought in London to surmount the vicars' hall in 1389–94.⁵⁸⁹

Several of the later rolls contain separate lead accounts, including the summary accounts.⁵⁹⁰ This was a valuable material, sold by weight (the char or fother, wey and clove), usually through London in the earlier rolls.⁵⁹¹ In 1325 John of Winchester, a plumber from Candlewick Street, was responsible for roofing the *alura*.⁵⁹² John's will survives and nominates one Thomas of Canterbury as guardian for his children; it is not certain that this is the mason at St Stephen's, but John's building-related craft makes it a possibility.⁵⁹³ He supplied the lead, as well as casting and laying it. In March 1352, however, the material was purveyed from mines in Derbyshire, through a supplier in Doncaster (table 7).⁵⁹⁴ By comparison with the cost in May 1348, the price had increased, although not as much on this occasion as in following years, and elsewhere, immediately after the Black Death (table 6).⁵⁹⁵

Paint and decoration

In the 1350s and early 1360s the accounts record the painting and decoration of the chapel. The account for 1351–52 is especially rich, but materials are also mentioned in later particulars, and in summary accounts between 1349 and 1363.⁵⁹⁶ At the start of work, in 1349–50, no less than £80 3 s. 5¼ d. was spent on painting materials alone (table 8). This rose to £230 17 s. 10¾ d. in 1351–52; the purchases in the later rolls are on a smaller scale. The accounts have been used to investigate the materials of English medieval wall painting, their sources, and cost.⁵⁹⁷ In detail and the richness of their contents they rival those surviving for the works of the dukes of Burgundy later in the century.⁵⁹⁸ Like these, the Westminster

⁵⁸¹ No. 18, m. 3 (w/b 14 May 1324). For the burning of coal in the city, see Galloway, Keene and Murphy 1996, p. 448; Barron 2004, p. 264. Later, Robert of Morden trades from a similar place (no. 26, m. 1, w/b 10 Jan. 1334) and a William of Morden was there, at Oystergate, in 1343 (*Munimenta Gildhallae*, ii, pt 2, p. 448).

⁵⁸² Sloane 2011, p. 114. For prices of iron, see Thorold Rogers 1866, i, pp. 469–76 (pp. 473–74, for prices after the Black Death), 479–83; ii, pp. 459–70.

⁵⁸³ Keene 1996, pp. 95–102; Barron 2004, pp. 70–73.

⁵⁸⁴ Nos. 18, m. 3 (w/b 30 April 1324); 30, m. 1 (w/b 15 Dec. 1337); 35, m. 6 (w/b 25 Aug. 1343).

⁵⁸⁵ Nos. 38, m. 10 (w/b 2 June 1348); 46, m. 1 (w/b 19 Oct. 1355).

⁵⁸⁶ Salzman 1967, pp. 303–17.

⁵⁸⁷ Tynbeter: no. 40, from m. 7 (w/b 26 Sept. 1351). Peutrers: no. 40, mm. 13 (w/b 6 Feb. 1352), 22 (w/b 28 June 1352).

⁵⁸⁸ No. 18, m. 15 (w/b 8 July 1325). For bell-founding in Aldgate, see Barron 1994b, p. 99; Keene 1996, p. 99.

⁵⁸⁹ No. 58, m. 1. The item has been cancelled, however.

⁵⁹⁰ Nos. 37, m. 2 (1346); 38, m. 12 (1348); 50, rot. 47d m. 1d; 51, rot. 37d m. 1d.

⁵⁹¹ On one occasion, it is weighed there: no. 38, m. 11 (w/b 7 July 1348). For sources of lead, see Salzman 1967, pp. 263–64.

⁵⁹² No. 20, mm. 2–3 (from w/b 12 Nov. 1325). For Candlewick Street and the plumbing trade, see Keene 1996, pp. 99–100.

⁵⁹³ *Calendar of Wills*, i, p. 406 (26 Dec. 1335).

⁵⁹⁴ No. 40, m. 1.

⁵⁹⁵ Salzman 1967, p. 263; Thorold Rogers 1866, i, pp. 598–99, 605; ii, pp. 531–34.

⁵⁹⁶ Particulars: nos. 40, 42–43, 45–47. Summary accounts: nos. 50–53, 55.

⁵⁹⁷ Smith 1807, pp. 222–29; Brayley and Britton 1836, pp. 180–86; Eastlake 1847, pp. 49–50, 55–58; Salzman 1967, pp. 167, 168, 171, 172; Tristram 1955, pp. 57–58; Howard 2003, p. 21.

⁵⁹⁸ Nash 2010.

accounts describe the purchase of the oil medium ('oleum pictorum') and many pigments, including blues (*asur*, *asure simple*, *asure debilis*), ochre, red lake (*cynople*, *cynopre*, *cynopre de Monte Pessalono*, *synopre*), red and white lead, *teynte*, verdigris (Greek green) and vermillion.⁵⁹⁹ The most expensive was red lake, priced at up to 30 s. 6 d. for a half pound.⁶⁰⁰ The blues have been identified as azurite, of different qualities, priced from 6 s. to 18 s. per pound.⁶⁰¹ Paint was bought by weight; a pair of scales was bought to this end in January 1352.⁶⁰² Analysis of surviving painted scenes from the chapel, now in the British Museum, found many of the pigments listed here, and the expensive ultramarine.⁶⁰³

The purchases confirm antiquarian reports that the interior was not only brightly coloured, but also highly reflective. Gold leaf was bought in astonishing quantities, over 70,000 leaves between 21 June 1351 and Michaelmas 1352 alone.⁶⁰⁴ It has been estimated from other surviving monuments that such leaves may have been about 8 or 9 cm square in this period;⁶⁰⁵ if so, then in fifteen months gold leaf was bought to cover up to about 567 square metres. The price varied between 4 s. and 5 s. for a hundred leaves. In later particulars, covering a period of four years and ten months, fewer quantities were purchased, but comprising another 19,475 leaves.⁶⁰⁶ Smaller quantities of silver leaf were also acquired. For the creation of surfaces in gilded relief, extensive quantities of tin foils (sold by the dozen) were bought to adorn architecture and sculpture, as well as to provide grounds and borders for figurative paintings.⁶⁰⁷ They are sometimes described as 'stampi' and 'pryntes'.⁶⁰⁸ Applied relief in several forms can be found on the surviving paintings and architectural fragments from the chapel in the British Museum (backgrounds, *paterae*, strips). The 72 'doublettes' acquired in October and November 1355 for an image of the Virgin Mary, and the further 200 in May 1356, were counterfeit jewels, increasing the illusion of precious materials.⁶⁰⁹

The suppliers included members of the painting team, especially its leader Hugh of St Albans, who was paid for pigments, painters' oil, tin foils, and censers (for sculpted angels), suggesting his wider commercial activities, presumably in London.⁶¹⁰ Prominent among the other suppliers is John Lightgrave, who provided much gold leaf in 1351–52, but also tin foils, pigments (including the most expensive *asur*), and white varnish.⁶¹¹ It is likely that these were also brought from the city, where he is described as a gold beater in March 1351, when he stood surety in an award of guardianship for the daughter of Walter of Stockwell, painter, by Thomas de Bournham, another painter.⁶¹² A further painter, Roger Merry, was also standing surety, suggesting the craft circles in which he moved.⁶¹³ The only name that may imply a continental origin is that of William Alemande/Alemayne, who successfully supplanted

⁵⁹⁹ For discussion of these materials, and their prices, see Howard 2003, pp. 40–50 (azurite), 141–52 (earth pigments), 111–25 (red lake), 125–40 (red lead), 85–95 (verdigris), 97–111 (vermillion), 176–85 (white lead); Salzman 1967, p. 168. For *teynte*, see *Crafte of Lymming*, pp. 148 ('To make colour like gold'), 150 ('To make teynt'), 309. I am grateful to Jo Kirby for this reference.

⁶⁰⁰ No. 45, m. 2 (w/b 17 Aug. 1355). For the range of prices, see Howard 2003, p. 113. For a discussion of the red-lake pigment on surviving paintings from the chapel, recently analysed, see Howard et al. forthcoming.

⁶⁰¹ No. 40, mm. 12 (w/b 2 Jan. 1352, 6 s.), 22 (w/b 2 July 1352, 18 s.). For prices, see Howard 2003, pp. 40–41. For those in the later accounts of the dukes of Burgundy, see Nash 2010, pp. 125–30, table 3.

⁶⁰² No. 40, m. 12 (w/b 2 Jan. 1352).

⁶⁰³ Van Geersdaele and Goldsworthy 1978, pp. 11–12; Howard et al. forthcoming.

⁶⁰⁴ No. 40 (70,650 leaves).

⁶⁰⁵ Nadolny 1999, pp. 143–44; Nash 2010, pp. 133–37, table 4.

⁶⁰⁶ Nos. 42–43, 45–47 and 53, rot. 46.

⁶⁰⁷ For tin-relief decoration, see Nadolny 1999, pp. 140–41; Nadolny 2003 (including consideration of earlier examples at Westminster, pp. 177–78, 180); Tavares da Silva 2003 (manufacture); Nash 2010, pp. 137–41, table 5.

⁶⁰⁸ Nos. 50, rot. 47 m. 2 ('stampi'); 40, from m. 12 (w/b 9 Jan. 1352, 'pryntes'); 46, m. 1 (w/b 19 Oct. 1355, 'pryntes'). For 'emprentes' in the painters' statutes of London, 1283, interpreted as mould-formed ornament, see Nadolny 2003, p. 180.

⁶⁰⁹ No. 46, mm. 2 (w/b 26 Oct. 1355), 3 (w/b 23 Nov. 1355), 10 (w/b 23 May 1356). For the technique, see *Bedford Inventories*, p. 305.

⁶¹⁰ Hugh of St Albans: no. 40, mm. 2 (w/b 4 July 1351, tin foils), 3 (w/b 18 July, oil), 9 (w/b 14 Nov., red lake), 20 (21 May 1352, censers). Gilbert Puckridge: no. 40, mm. 21 (w/b 4 June 1352, feathers), 27 (w/b 17 Sept. 1352, white lead). For Hugh's presence in London, see 'Craftsmen and their work'.

⁶¹¹ For the ways that suppliers in Dijon adapted themselves to the rising and falling demand for luxury items from high-status patrons, see Nash 2010, p. 165.

⁶¹² *Calendar of Letter Books*, F, p. 229. For Stockwell, see Englefield (W.) 1923, p. 23.

⁶¹³ For gold beaters and tin beaters, see Nadolny 1999, pp. 141–43 (referring to John Tynbeter, named here).

Lightgrave as the main supplier of gold leaf in autumn 1351; he also supplied *arnement* for the glaziers.⁶¹⁴ London was the source for gold leaf employed on other great building projects in this period.⁶¹⁵ In the same years, George Cosyn, John Matfrey, the Plomeres (for white lead), and Margaret and Thomas Piebaker were all supplying pigments. As with stone, supplies were acquired from another royal foundation: large amounts of white lead were bought from the Dominican friary at Kings Langley (Herts.) in April 1352.⁶¹⁶ Again, St Stephen's had priority.

Glass

Materials to glaze the chapel were also brought from other sites. There is a reference in the issue roll for Easter term 1294 to the bringing of glass for the chapel from Wells to Westminster.⁶¹⁷ No glazing appears in the accounts at this time, so the glass may have been used elsewhere, ultimately. The glazing of the upper chapel was begun nearly sixty years later.⁶¹⁸ Consistent with instructions to purvey glass in London, Shropshire, and Staffordshire in July 1349 (table 7), and the impressment of glaziers in March 1350 (table 2), purchases of materials and tools appear in summary accounts from 1348–49 (table 8).⁶¹⁹ Further purveyance is recorded in 1351. Glazing stopped in early March 1352,⁶²⁰ but further activity in the chapel is recorded in a later account for 1355–56, and glass was also purchased in this year for a chapel.⁶²¹ Large stocks of coloured glass are also found in the associated inventories, although their use is not specified.⁶²²

Scholars have long recognized the importance of the roll E 101/471/6 (no. 40) for the study of glazing processes and materials, as one of the richest sources to survive from medieval England.⁶²³ Purchases of glass occur between August 1351 and March 1352. It was traded by weight: the pound, the wey or ponder (5 pounds) and the seam or hundredweight (24 weys, 120 pounds), as a clerk helpfully notes to remind himself in October 1351.⁶²⁴ The largest quantities were of white glass, at two different prices, the higher being at 8 *d.* a wey.⁶²⁵ The cheaper, at 6 *d.* a wey, was bought through John Alemayne from Chiddingfold (Surrey), site of the well-known glass-making industry in the Weald.⁶²⁶ The glass to be purveyed in Staffordshire in 1349 was probably also white;⁶²⁷ white glass was supplied from there to York Minster in 1418–19.⁶²⁸ The red and the blue glasses were much more expensive, at 26 *d.* and 36 *d.* a wey, respectively;⁶²⁹ the blue was brought from Candlewick Street in London. It is usually considered, however, that all of the coloured glass employed in late medieval England had been made abroad.⁶³⁰ While blue glass was purchased throughout the period, there is little red in the surviving record; it may be concealed in purchases of glass of unmentioned colour. A *glaucy* glass, at 12 *d.* a wey, remains mysterious, perhaps a greyish blue.⁶³¹

⁶¹⁴ No. 40, mm. 8 (w/b 17 Oct. 1351, gold leaf), 9 (w/b 14 Nov. 1351). A John Alemayne supplied white glass in the same period (see below).

⁶¹⁵ *Accounts Exeter Cathedral*, ii, p. xviii; *Sacrist Rolls of Ely*, ii, p. 98.

⁶¹⁶ No. 40, m. 18 (w/b 23 April 1352).

⁶¹⁷ No. 6, m. 2b. For the context, see Ayers 2004, ii, pp. 499–500.

⁶¹⁸ See 'The building and the accounts'.

⁶¹⁹ No. 50, rot. 47 m. 2.

⁶²⁰ No. 40, m. 15 (w/b 27 Feb. 1352).

⁶²¹ No. 46, from m. 1 (w/b 28 Sept. 1355); m. 8 (4 and 11 April 1356, glass). For the activity, see 'The building and the accounts'.

⁶²² Nos. 46, m. 2d; 52, rot. 40d m. 1d, and later.

⁶²³ Smith 1807, pp. 191–99; Brayley and Britton 1836, pp. 176–80; Winston 1867, i, appendix B, esp. pp. 383–87; Salzman 1926–27; Marks 1991; Marks 1993, ch. 2.

⁶²⁴ No. 40, m. 9 (w/b 30 Oct. 1351).

⁶²⁵ No. 40, m. 4 (w/b 15 Aug. 1351).

⁶²⁶ No. 40, m. 7 (w/b 3 Oct. 1351). Kenyon 1967, ch. 1, esp. pp. 27–29.

⁶²⁷ For medieval glass-making in Staffs., see Marks 1993, p. 30; Welch 1997, pp. 2–4, 28–29, 29–31, 32–37; Welch and Linford 2005, pp. 210–11; Willmott 2005, pp. 46, 53–56.

⁶²⁸ Raine 1859, p. 37.

⁶²⁹ No. 40, mm. 7 (w/b 3 Oct. 1351, red), 10 (w/b 21 Nov. 1351, blue).

⁶³⁰ Marks 1993, pp. 30–31.

⁶³¹ No. 40, m. 7 (w/b 3 Oct. 1351). *DMLBS: glaucus*.

As regards agents, John Gedding organized the supply of white glass from the Weald in October 1351, and had been empowered to purvey glass previously (table 7).⁶³² He is found selling *lymail* (silver filings) for silver stain and *geet* (jet), among other glazing materials.⁶³³ He was sometimes also among the glaziers on site. It is likely that he was based in London, as he is later documented as a master of the glaziers' company in the city (1373); he served alongside John of Brampton, who had been employed to purvey glass for the chapel in July 1349 (table 7).⁶³⁴ Acting with Gedding for the Wealden glass was William Holmere, the most prominent supplier in the 1351–52 account;⁶³⁵ he provides all of the blue glass, brought from London. The names of other suppliers may suggest a continental origin, such as Thomas de Badekewold and Leuen Cracoe.⁶³⁶ Further necessities came from multiple suppliers: the iron-based pigment for glass paint (*arnement*), for example, was supplied by William Alemande, Thomas Boston, John Gedding, and Fulk and Robert Spicer. In every major glazing project there was close collaboration with the smiths, who made the ferramenta that allowed the glazed panels to be fixed in place (saddlebars), and also the glaziers' grozing-irons, as recorded here.⁶³⁷ For the earlier *alura*, the smith made metal frames for glass, perhaps for opening casements.⁶³⁸

Roofing, flooring, and other materials

There was a hierarchy in the purchased roofing materials, the appearance of which must have been visually striking at Westminster. The great hall was covered in shingles, whereas lead was bought for the chapel, including its *alura*, closet, galilee, and cloister.⁶³⁹ Lead was durable and suitable for low-pitched roofs.⁶⁴⁰ The temporary chapel of St Stephen by the Receipt was covered, by contrast, with tiles or stone slates (sold by number) at different times.⁶⁴¹ Tiles were also used for the masons' lodges, the tracing house, and sites for storage.⁶⁴² In the first half of the period they were often carried from Smithfield, just outside the city walls, a centre for the distribution, and perhaps production, of both roof and floor tiles.⁶⁴³ John Flemmyng and Philip Dikeman were suppliers, and later Thomas and Joan Castel.⁶⁴⁴ Thatch with reed or rushes provided cheaper cover, sold probably by number, and occasionally specifically by the sheaf. It was used for the craftsmen's lodges and buildings for storage, and also applied to unfinished wall tops to protect them from frost in winter, and at longer breaks in building work.⁶⁴⁵ Some suppliers have toponyms from downstream of London, such as the Clips of Deptford or Greenwich, delivering on one occasion from Bermondsey, perhaps close to the source of the materials themselves.⁶⁴⁶

William of Kent, based in London, was a significant supplier of tiles in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, selling 3,500 tiles to pave the chapel (perhaps the one by the Receipt) over three weeks in 1336, and the mortar to lay them in, among other products.⁶⁴⁷ The tiling of the lower chapel in 1349–50 may be associated with the order in the patent rolls to bring tiles from Penn (Bucks.) for Westminster and the Tower in May 1350 (table 2).⁶⁴⁸ Penn was a newly flourishing centre of production,

⁶³² No. 40, mm. 2 (w/b 4 July 1351), 9 (w/b 30 Oct. 1351).

⁶³³ No. 40, mm. 2 (20 June 1351, filings), 9 (w/b 7 Nov., jet).

⁶³⁴ Ashdown 1919, p. 19. Brampton: *Cal. Pat.*, 1348–50, p. 388.

⁶³⁵ No. 40, m. 4 (w/b 1 Aug. 1351).

⁶³⁶ No. 40, mm. 4 (w/b 15 Aug. 1351, Badekewold), 7 (w/b 3 Oct. 1351, Cracoe).

⁶³⁷ No. 40, from m. 2 (w/b 4 July 1351, grozing-irons).

⁶³⁸ No. 18, m. 18 (w/b 9 Sept. 1325).

⁶³⁹ Shingles: nos. 15, f. 1v (Mich. term, 1311); 40, m. 27d; 51, rot. 37 m.2; 59, m. 5. Lead: nos. 20, m. 2 (w/b 12 Nov. 1325, *alura*); 38, mm. 10 (w/b 19 May 1348, closet), 11 (w/b 7 July 1348, galilee), 12 (w/b 14 July 1348); 54, rot. 40 m. 1 (cloister).

⁶⁴⁰ On one occasion, it was also used to protect the unfinished structure: no. 14, f. 109v (Mich. 1309).

⁶⁴¹ Nos. 22, m. 3 (April 1329, tiles); 32, m. 4 (w/b 6 March 1340, slates).

⁶⁴² Nos. 16, m. 1 (Mich. 1319, lodge); 32, m. 2 (w/b 3 Nov. 1339, tracing house); 34, m. 1 (w/b 11 Dec. 1340, storage).

⁶⁴³ Cherry 1991, p. 194; Barron 2004, p. 75. For tile production, see Salzman 1967, pp. 229–30; Cherry 1991, pp. 193–200.

⁶⁴⁴ Nos. 16, m. 1d (Mich. 1319, Dikeman); 20, m. 3 (w/b 9 Dec. 1325, Flemmyng); 32, m. 2 (w/b 1 Nov. 1339, Dikeman); 42, m. 3 (Castel).

⁶⁴⁵ Nos. 18, m. 2 (w/b 13 Feb. 1324, from 'La Wilde'); 20, m. 3 (w/b 2 Dec. 1325); 26, m. 11 (w/b 12 Dec. 1334).

⁶⁴⁶ No. 24, mm. 15–16 (w/b 9 Nov. 1332). Also John of Woolwich: no. 34, m. 2 (w/b 22 Jan. 1341).

⁶⁴⁷ No. 28, mm. 1–2 (w/b 19 and 26 Feb., 4 March 1336).

⁶⁴⁸ No. 50, rot. 47 m. 2. *Cal. Pat.*, 1348–50, p. 531.

supported in following years by the supply of large quantities of tiles also to Windsor castle.⁶⁴⁹ Flemish tiles were acquired for the canons' cloister in the 1360s, and it was intended to pave the vicars' hall similarly at the end of the century; they were part of a cross-Channel trade with the Low Countries in goods of many kinds.⁶⁵⁰ For the floor of the upper chapel, 1,200 pieces of Purbeck marble were purchased in 1353–54 at a price of £24, or a little over 4¾ *d.* a slab.⁶⁵¹ In the 1390s marble was also used for a humbler purpose, to pave the kitchen of the college, at 4 *d.* a foot.⁶⁵² Paving may have been an important part of the production of the Dorset quarries (see above).

The laths and wattles of timber buildings were often to be covered with daub, in the accounts. There are also rare references to plaster of Paris. Made of burnt gypsum, it was brought from London (sold by the mount or bushel). It had practical applications, used for a tracing floor in January 1325, and for lining a chimney in the chaplains' house in 1339,⁶⁵³ but it may also have had a decorative function.⁶⁵⁴ It was purchased for the new *alura* in 1325, and to make good defects in the stones of the gable in 1333, and also for the chapel of St Stephen by the Receipt in October 1340, some white and some black, perhaps suggesting a decorative purpose.⁶⁵⁵

Ropes and cables for the lifting machines were bought from London (measured sometimes by weight, but also by length: the fathom, toise, or *brachium*).⁶⁵⁶ They came from the Ropery, on what is now Upper Thames Street, a developing facility in support of the port.⁶⁵⁷ Canvas was bought for aprons, for masons, and in quantity for filling window openings before glazing the chapel in 1349–50, and in 1352–53 (by the ell, a linear measure).⁶⁵⁸ In August 1352 it was acquired for 'covers of the images of the kings', for painting.⁶⁵⁹

Transport

Carriage was a recurring item of expenditure, appearing in every detailed account, but the percentage of the total cost varied according to the materials involved. Transport is sometimes itemized separately in the summary accounts, allowing an assessment (tables 11a–b). At its recorded peak in 1323–24, when much heavy stone and timber were brought to Westminster, transport represented just over 6% of the total cost.

Westminster was served by roads, including King Street towards the Strand and London (frontispiece), but the easiest access was often by water, which was also cheaper.⁶⁶⁰ The river Thames carried many materials to the building site, from upstream at Battersea (stone), Kingston (timber and wood), and Oakley (timber), from Lambeth and Southwark on the south bank, and from downstream at Bermondsey (reed), but above all from the city.⁶⁶¹ The accounts sometimes name the quays and wharfs there to which goods were carried for transport to Westminster by water.⁶⁶² These were surveyed for the mayor and aldermen in 1343, including that used here for stone supply by the Pool of London and the Tower (downstream of London Bridge, and therefore convenient for seagoing vessels), and that for timber, to the south of Wood Street and St Paul's cathedral.⁶⁶³

⁶⁴⁹ Keen 2002.

⁶⁵⁰ Nos. 54, rot. 40 m. 1 (cloister); 58, m. 1 (hall; the item was cancelled). For the trade, see Harding 1995, esp. pp. 163–64. Flemish tiles were also bought for chimneys in 1348: no. 38, m. 11 (w/b 23 June 1348).

⁶⁵¹ No. 42, m. 2. A marble pavement was found in the roughly contemporary cloister at Old St Paul's: Lethaby 1930, p. 393, fig. 2.

⁶⁵² No. 58, m. 1.

⁶⁵³ Floor: no. 18, m. 10 (w/b 7 Jan. 1325). Chimney: no. 32, m. 1 (w/b 19 Oct. 1339).

⁶⁵⁴ Salzman 1967, pp. 155–56.

⁶⁵⁵ Nos. 18, m. 16 (w/b 5 Aug. 1325, *alura*); 24, m. 23 (w/b 2 Aug. 1333, gable); 26, m. 1 (w/b 24 Jan. 1335); 34, m. 1 (from w/b 24 Oct., Receipt chapel).

⁶⁵⁶ Nos. 18, mm. 9 (w/b 5 Nov. 1324), 13 (w/b 3 June 1325); 23, m. 7 (20 July 1332); Salzman 1967, pp. 327–28.

⁶⁵⁷ Milne 2003, pp. 172–73.

⁶⁵⁸ Nos. 50, rot. 47 m. 2; 51, rot. 37 m. 2.

⁶⁵⁹ No. 40, m. 26 (w/b 27 Aug. 1352).

⁶⁶⁰ For the topography by 1300, see Rosser 1989, fig. 4. For the cost of carriage and the relative cheapness of water transport, see Thorold Rogers 1866, i, ch. xxvii, esp. pp. 661–63.

⁶⁶¹ For occupations in Southwark, see Carlin 1996, ch. 7, esp. pp. 171, 280 (building); 173, 178, 181, 283 (transport).

⁶⁶² For the Thames waterfront, its stairs and wharves, see Milne 2003, pp. 127–29, fig. 54.

⁶⁶³ *Munimenta Gildhallae*, ii, pt 2, pp. 444–53.

A boat called a shout was commonly used for Thames traffic.⁶⁶⁴ In summer 1352 shouts transported timber from Oakley (Berks.).⁶⁶⁵ To transport timber from Tonbridge (Kent), down the river Medway and on to Westminster, the king employed John of Old Hythe (Kent), Edmund Dareys of Yarmouth (Norfolk), and Stacyn Valoyn of Artois, in 1324–25.⁶⁶⁶ The accounts describe delivery in Flanders shouts, suggesting the sharing of ships and/or shipbuilding technology across the Channel.⁶⁶⁷ Barges were identified for heavy stone transport.⁶⁶⁸ On one occasion the clerk of works succeeded in borrowing barges from John of Stonor and Edmund Cheyne, keeper of the privy palace at Westminster.⁶⁶⁹ Ships for longer-distance travel are named from time to time.⁶⁷⁰ In 1316 slates were brought from the Pool of London by farcost, a vessel for river, coastal, and cross-Channel trade.⁶⁷¹

Building site

All of these materials were brought together on the building site at Westminster. This occupied a substantial space between the chapel, on its north side, and the Receipt of the Exchequer (frontispiece).⁶⁷² It was close to the rising building, but also conveniently placed for the king's bridge or quay (usually referred to simply as the 'bridge') on the Thames, where materials are often recorded to have been unloaded.⁶⁷³ A bell to alert craftsmen to their working hours, bought in July 1325, is said to have been hung upon the Receipt.⁶⁷⁴ In June 1331 materials were brought 'inside the gates of the clerks', again suggesting proximity to the Exchequer.⁶⁷⁵ In April and May 1341 the masons' lodge, the office of the clerk of works, and a tracing house are described along the east side of this space, 'towards the river', connected by a pence.⁶⁷⁶ Once building had finished, the site was granted in 1356 to the new college of St Stephen, where their cloister survives today.⁶⁷⁷

There is frequent reference to structures for working in and for storage, some certainly to the north of the chapel, as we have seen, but others perhaps elsewhere. From the beginning, in May 1292, lodges were built for both the master and the other masons.⁶⁷⁸ Similarly, in the 1350s, a new lodge was made for the carpenters, to work on the stalls, and another for the masons.⁶⁷⁹ Design work was presumably done in the master mason's lodge, initially, but he later acquired a building with a different name, deriving from this central activity. The first recorded construction of a tracing house is in January 1325;⁶⁸⁰ it was repaired in 1341–42.⁶⁸¹ For extended medieval building projects like St Stephen's, storage was essential. At breaks in the work, cut stones and timber were stowed away in temporary structures, which decayed frequently. In 1297 cut stone and timbers were to be put away;⁶⁸² in Michaelmas term

⁶⁶⁴ Barron 2004, p. 74; Marsden 1996, ch. 3, esp. pp. 91–93 (for identification of a wrecked shout); Harding 1995, pp. 160–61, 162–63. For shipbuilding in London, see Milne 2003, ch. 13.

⁶⁶⁵ No. 40, mm. 22 (w/b 2 July). In 1352–53, from London Bridge: no. 51, rot. 37 m. 2.

⁶⁶⁶ No. 19, mm. 1 (from w/b 18 June 1325, Valoyn), 2 (from w/b 9 July 1325, Dareys), 4 (from w/b 4 Feb. 1325, John). Old Hythe was on the river Medway.

⁶⁶⁷ No. 18, mm. 5 (w/b 25 June 1324), 10 (w/b 11 Feb. 1325), 11 (w/b 18 March 1325). For the exchange, see Harding 1995, pp. 162–63.

⁶⁶⁸ Nos. 24, m. 16 (16 Nov. 1332); 26, m. 4 (w/b 4 April 1334).

⁶⁶⁹ No. 23, m. 6 (w/b 4 May 1332).

⁶⁷⁰ For ships in medieval London, see Marsden 1996.

⁶⁷¹ No. 15, f. 14 (Easter term 1316). For the farcost, see Burwash 1947, p. 123; Harding 1995, p. 161.

⁶⁷² In an indenture, sealed in 1394, between St Stephen's college and Westminster abbey (appendix 3, m. 26), the space was measured as 208 ft 10½ in. (from the north wall of the chapel to the Receipt) by 95½ ft and 2 in. wide (from the east wall of Westminster hall to the exterior of the vicars' houses by the river).

⁶⁷³ For references to the king's bridge: nos. 23, m. 6 (w/b 27 April 1332); 31, m. 8 (w/b 26 July 1339). The term was used for a landing stage elsewhere on the Thames. I am grateful to Tim Tatton-Brown for his advice on this.

⁶⁷⁴ Nos. 18, m. 15 (w/b 8 July 1325, purchase); 23, m. 1d, 'j campana enea pendente supra Receptam'.

⁶⁷⁵ No. 23, m. 1 (w/b 3 June 1331).

⁶⁷⁶ No. 34, from m. 4 (w/b 23 April 1341).

⁶⁷⁷ TNA, SC 8/247/12304.

⁶⁷⁸ No. 1, rots. 2 (w/b 28 April 1292), 80 (w/b 5 May 1292).

⁶⁷⁹ Nos. 40, m. 9 (w/b 14 Nov. 1351, carpenters); 46, from m. 4 (w/b 19 Jan. 1356, masons).

⁶⁸⁰ No. 18, m. 10 (from w/b 7 Jan. 1325). For the *trasura*, see 'Craftsmen and their work'.

⁶⁸¹ Nos. 34, m. 2 (w/b 8 Jan. 1341); 35, mm. 1 (w/b 4 Nov. 1342), 5 (w/b 8 July 1343).

⁶⁸² No. 12, m. 11 (21 Sept. 1297).

1309 stones were to be protected by an earth wall under a porch.⁶⁸³ From 1319 a pentice or pentices against the eastern wall of Westminster hall, on the west side of the building site to the north of the chapel, is mentioned often,⁶⁸⁴ and there were others.⁶⁸⁵ In 1325–26 roof timbers were also laid up for safe keeping in the ‘long stable’, where they remained for two decades.⁶⁸⁶ After the chapel had been covered, the stables seem to have been repaired for use by the king’s war horses.⁶⁸⁷ The site was in constant flux.

While the accounts chart the purchase of individual items and consignments, week by week, the store accounts or inventories record collections of materials in the palace at a particular moment.⁶⁸⁸ From 1327 the sequence of snapshots documents change over time, but also the longevity of some items, which took decades to be used, to wear out, or to be thrown away. Between 1326 and 1346 worked and unworked stone and timber for the chapel sat in store, over twenty years. Here, too, can be found the bell to call the craftsmen to work (called ‘Wyron’), items for melting lead and for the smith’s forge, a saw for cutting stone, vehicles for moving materials and vessels for carrying things, engines for lifting them on to the building, and ladders and scaffolding for working around the chapel structure itself. Many items can be correlated with the accounts.

Of particular interest for the construction process are the machines and engines, or gins, of different kinds.⁶⁸⁹ In the 1290s a machine was made by the king’s carpenter to drive piles for the foundations of the new chapel.⁶⁹⁰ For lifting, the gins included a *brok* and a *verne*, a kind of windlass, brought from the Tower of London, and later further vernes, whose making at Westminster is documented in 1333.⁶⁹¹ The masons were reaching the top of the building. One oak timber for a *verne*, purchased in 1340–41, was 66 feet long.⁶⁹² Perhaps this was the great *verne* that the king ordered to be transferred to the siege of Calais.⁶⁹³ In July 1343 carpenter John of Glatton was working on a machine to support a timber structure that had decayed.⁶⁹⁴ For transport, there was investment in hand-carts or *croudwains*, and also a great *poukwain*, bought for master carpenter William Hurley, for large timbers.⁶⁹⁵

The absences are also significant. Tools of the masons and carpenters were made rarely, although they were repaired very often, which suggests that they brought their own, as elsewhere.⁶⁹⁶ An exception proves the rule: on one occasion hammers were made anew because they had been broken in the lodge, in the king’s service.⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁸³ Nos. 14, f. 109–109v (Mich., 1309); 15, f. 9v (Mich., 1313).

⁶⁸⁴ No. 16, m. 1 (Mich., 1319, construction). Stone: nos. 20, mm. 3–4 (w/b 16 and 30 Dec. 1325); 22, m. 8 (July 1329). Wood: no. 22, m. 6 (June 1329).

⁶⁸⁵ Stone: no. 23, mm. 3–4 (w/b 18 Nov. 1331, ‘inside the gates of the clerks’). Wood: nos. 20, m. 4 (w/b 16 Dec. 1325, and following); 22, m. 4 (April 1329, ‘Les Hales’). A timber store towards the Thames is also mentioned: no. 30, m. 4 (w/b 17 Aug. 1338).

⁶⁸⁶ Nos. 31, m. 6 (w/b 7 June 1339); 32, mm. 1–2 (w/b 19 and 25 Oct. 1339).

⁶⁸⁷ No. 38, m. 7 (w/b 18 Feb. 1348).

⁶⁸⁸ See ‘The rolls’.

⁶⁸⁹ Salzman 1967, pp. 323–27.

⁶⁹⁰ No. 1, rot. 4 m. 1 (w/b 12 May 1292). The remains of such piles were found during excavation: C. Thomas, ‘St Stephen’s Chapel, Palace of Westminster, SW1, City of Westminster, An Archaeological Watching Brief’, Museum of London Archaeology Service, unpublished report, June 1994, pp. 28–29.

⁶⁹¹ Nos. 18, m. 2 (w/b 19 March 1324, *verne*); 24, mm. 17 (w/b 1 Feb. 1333, *vernes*), 19 (w/b 22 March 1333, *brok*).

⁶⁹² No. 39, rot. 49 m. 1.

⁶⁹³ No. 50, rot. 47 m. 2 (under 1350–51).

⁶⁹⁴ No. 35, m. 5 (w/b 8 July 1343).

⁶⁹⁵ No. 18, mm. 3 (w/b 14 May 1324, *croudwain*), 11 (w/b 18 March 1325, *poukwain*), 13 (3 June 1325, *croudwain*).

⁶⁹⁶ *Accounts Exeter Cathedral*, ii, p. xxiv.

⁶⁹⁷ No. 26, m. 2 (w/b 31 Jan. 1334).

The building and the accounts

The accounts record the construction and decoration of an exceptional building over more than seventy years, providing a rich source for the study of English royal patronage of art and architecture.⁶⁹⁸ The disrupted history of the process is an extreme example of the delays that could beset building in the middle ages.⁶⁹⁹ It is also a barometer of royal attention, within the continuing development of Westminster as a palace and a centre of government.⁷⁰⁰ The accounts have limitations as evidence for the building itself. As administrative instruments, they do not set out to describe its design or structure, and some work was funded in other ways. They are important evidence for its chronology, although their interpretation in this respect has been disputed.⁷⁰¹ The edition allows a new evaluation of their character, and of their usefulness and completeness for the study of the building. This section explains which rolls are included, and their interrelationships, what may have been lost, and what the surviving rolls record about the progress of work. It provides a new basis, therefore, for wider art-historical assessments.⁷⁰²

St Stephen's was the most important of several chapels in the palace of Westminster. The first reference to it is in 1205–1206.⁷⁰³ It was probably on its later site, at the heart of the ceremonial palace, between the great and lesser halls, and parallel to the king's great chamber (also known as the Painted Chamber) on the south side (frontispiece);⁷⁰⁴ it was certainly adjacent to one of these halls, as an entry in the close rolls for 7 February 1245 describes a descent from hall to chapel.⁷⁰⁵ Henry III concerned himself with the decoration of St Stephen's.⁷⁰⁶ Other chapels included one dedicated to St John, which is the earliest to be mentioned by name, in 1186–87.⁷⁰⁷ The queen's chapel, to the south of the great chamber and its adjoining hall, may have been dedicated to the Evangelist by 1312, when images of him and the Virgin Mary were repainted;⁷⁰⁸ it is likely that the former was a patronal image.⁷⁰⁹ A chapel known as St Stephen's by the Receipt provided an interim place of worship during reconstruction of the chapel documented here. The Receipt of the Exchequer stood at the north-east corner of Westminster hall (frontispiece). The chapel is first mentioned in October 1308, when statues of St Stephen and the Virgin Mary were painted and gilded.⁷¹⁰ In the same year, it was given a wood window and plastered, suggesting a timber structure; a slate roof was probably bought for it in 1316.⁷¹¹ References to both the chapel and the accommodation of the chaplains who served it are included here.⁷¹²

⁶⁹⁸ For the most recent study, see Hillson forthcoming.

⁶⁹⁹ Trachtenberg 2010, chs 2, 3.

⁷⁰⁰ Rosser 1989, pp. 16–32, 36–38, 39–40; Binski 1996, pp. 4–7, 175–85.

⁷⁰¹ See 'Historiography'.

⁷⁰² Aspects of the building will be discussed in a forthcoming publication by Christopher Wilson. Three doctoral researchers have also been working on the college, the chapel and its paintings, making use of the present transcriptions: Elizabeth Biggs, James Hillson and Jane Spooner.

⁷⁰³ *Pipe Roll, 8 John*, p. 48.

⁷⁰⁴ *HKW*, i, p. 493. For the palace of Westminster in the reign of Henry III, and the place of the chapel in Richard II's palace, respectively, see Jansen 2015; Biggs 2018, pp. 164–65.

⁷⁰⁵ *Cal. Close, 1242–47*, p. 287. For this, see Wilson 2015, p. 154, n. 7 and fig. 1.

⁷⁰⁶ Hillson 2015, pp. 38–49, 64–72. See also Harper forthcoming; Hillson forthcoming.

⁷⁰⁷ *Pipe Roll, 33 Henry II*, p. 39; *Pipe Roll, 8 John*, p. 48.

⁷⁰⁸ No. 15, f. 3v.

⁷⁰⁹ For such pairings, including in the royal chapel of St Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London, in 1240, see Marks 2004, pp. 61, 73.

⁷¹⁰ No. 14, f. 106.

⁷¹¹ Nos. 14, f. 106 (window); 15, f. 14 (slates).

⁷¹² Nos. 14, f. 109; 15, ff. 1v, 2, 9; 16, mm. 1, 1d. See also E 101/468/2, rot. 9 (Lent 1291), for tiling their chambers.

1292–97. Building: Michael of Canterbury, a new beginning

‘In honour of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and Blessed Stephen the roll begins of costs and expenses [...] relating to the foundation of the king’s chapel in his palace at Westminster.’ So reads the heading that marks the start of rebuilding work on the chapel in the week beginning 28 April 1292, at the top of the second rotulet in a large roll of numbered weekly accounts.⁷¹³ The master mason Michael of Canterbury is named as compiler of this account; the clerk of works, it emerges elsewhere, was Stephen de Knolle.⁷¹⁴ Together with a shorter roll that continues the same numbered sequence, the roll records the expenses of building, intermittently, to 2 September 1296 (table 9).⁷¹⁵ They are largely, but not entirely, devoted to the project. Other contents include work elsewhere in the palace, especially on the great chamber.⁷¹⁶

There are no rolls of receipts for St Stephen’s in this period, but surviving issue and *jornalia* rolls record the money that was paid out of the Exchequer between Michaelmas term 1292 and Easter term 1297 for this purpose, amounting to over £3,500.⁷¹⁷ As a point of comparison, it has been estimated that the construction of Beaumaris castle between 1295 and 1300 cost nearly £11,400, for a building on a larger scale.⁷¹⁸ The king’s projects were funded in part by loans from the Riccardi family, bankers of Lucca, whose enrolled summary account survives (appendix 1).⁷¹⁹ They advanced £1,355 6 s. 8 d. for the new chapel between September 1292 and March 1293.⁷²⁰ By July 1294, however, the king’s relationship with them had ended.⁷²¹ In the military, financial, and political crises of the following years, building at St Stephen’s slowed (tables 9, 10).⁷²² The instruction to end work, dated 4 July 1297, coincided with the most severe crisis of Edward I’s reign.⁷²³ Other building projects continued, however, including Beaumaris.⁷²⁴

The new chapel of St Stephen was to be a two-storey building of five bays. Much can be inferred about the nature and progress of work from the accounts, although specific features of the building are rarely mentioned.⁷²⁵ In spite of losses among the rolls, the pattern of survival offers particular opportunities (table 9). The beginning of the project is well documented. There is also a good survival of rotulets for the summers of 1292–94, when the building season was in full swing; they can usefully be contrasted with those for winter 1292. In the early months, timber was purchased for a lodge for the master mason Michael of Canterbury.⁷²⁶ His forward planning is everywhere evident, in purchasing stone, for example.⁷²⁷ The first mention of Purbeck marble, extensively employed subsequently, occurs in June.⁷²⁸ Scaffolding was purchased and erected as early as July.⁷²⁹ At Christmas 1292 capitals of Caen stone were carved, perhaps for a doorway.⁷³⁰ Throughout the period large quantities of stone continued to be bought. For example, over 2,700 parpents (through-stones) of Reigate stone were paid for in spring and

⁷¹³ No. 1, rot. 2.

⁷¹⁴ For Michael of Canterbury, see ‘Craftsmen and their work’. For Knolle, see ‘The rolls, clerks of works and their careers’, and table 1.

⁷¹⁵ No. 2.

⁷¹⁶ For this, see Binski 1986, pp. 19–21; Wilson 2015, pp. 165–67.

⁷¹⁷ Nos. 3–9, 11–12 (omitting the crossed through entries in no. 10). Howard Colvin arrived at a higher total of £3,941: *HKW*, i, p. 522.

⁷¹⁸ *HKW*, i, p. 402; ii, p. 1029.

⁷¹⁹ Kaeuper 1973, esp. pp. 100–102, 191–94 (castles).

⁷²⁰ Kaeuper 1973, p. 102. The whole account runs between 1 June 1290 and 7 Aug. 1294. An entry in the issue rolls, during Easter term 1294, reveals that funds were made available by one Lapo Bonicli of Pistoia: no. 6, m. 1b. A Lapo Bonichi, a member of the merchant society of the Ammannati in Pistoia, loaned money to Oliver Sutton, bishop of Lincoln, in 1297: *Reg. Sutton*, v, p. 207.

⁷²¹ Kaeuper 1973, pp. 209, 220–27.

⁷²² Hillson 2015, pp. 89–93.

⁷²³ No. 12, m. 5. Prestwich 1988, pp. 412–32.

⁷²⁴ *HKW*, i, p. 402; ii, p. 1029.

⁷²⁵ *HKW*, i, pp. 510–12.

⁷²⁶ No. 1, rots. 2, 80.

⁷²⁷ No. 1, rot. 4 m. 1 (w/b 12 May 1292).

⁷²⁸ No. 1, rot. 7 (w/b 23 June 1292).

⁷²⁹ No. 1, rot. 70 (w/b 7 July 1292).

⁷³⁰ No. 1, rot. 25.

summer 1293.⁷³¹ In 1294 the recorded total is over 5,000.⁷³² Seventeen columns of Purbeck marble, each eight feet long, were bought in August 1293.⁷³³ From March 1294 a machine for lifting was constructed and maintained.⁷³⁴ Glass was acquired from Wells.⁷³⁵ No purpose is given for the timber felled for the chapel in the royal forest of Pamber, but Colvin suggested a temporary roof.⁷³⁶ Timber was also bought for a 'vestibulum', perhaps a vestry, in early 1296.⁷³⁷

If the nature of work is elusive, the scale of the workforce is clearer (table 10). By the end of the 1292 building season there were 145 masons on site.⁷³⁸ There were 157 in the first week of August 1293.⁷³⁹ In 1294 the recorded numbers ranged between 109 and 161, in early October. Yet in this year the number of stonemasons never exceeded fourteen. The proportion of cutters to layers is high, by comparison with the accounts for Westminster abbey in 1253 or for Windsor castle in 1344.⁷⁴⁰ It may suggest a planned accumulation of cut stones, of the kind that would be stored in 1297 and thereafter. At its peak, the total number of masons is also higher than at any subsequent known point in the building of the chapel. It is slightly higher than the maximum number of cutters, marblers, stonemasons, and polishers recorded at Westminster abbey in July and August 1253.⁷⁴¹ The numbers employed on Edward I's Welsh castles could be much larger: some 400 at Beaumaris in 1295–96.⁷⁴² Nor was this concentration sustained through the king's financial crises; by April 1295, there were just twenty-four masons, and twenty-two in August and early September 1296.⁷⁴³ Nevertheless, on the evidence of the resources expended, it is certain that substantial progress had been made by 1297, as others have argued.⁷⁴⁴

1298–1319. Break and maintenance

There are good reasons for agreeing with Howard Colvin that work resumed on the chapel only in or after 1320.⁷⁴⁵ It does not appear in the memorandum of works at Westminster, the Tower, and the mews, between 1307 and 1311, that includes refurbishment of the palace after a fire in 1298;⁷⁴⁶ nor in a summary account of work at these places between 1307 and 1320.⁷⁴⁷ Instead, the clerk of works recorded in his particulars that in Michaelmas term 1309 the pinnacles, buttresses, and window jambs were to be protected with lead;⁷⁴⁸ storage was built for the safe-keeping of cut stones.⁷⁴⁹ To this end, an earth wall was built beneath a porch, which was also roofed.⁷⁵⁰ This wall was rebuilt in Michaelmas term 1313, after it had been knocked down for feasting arrangements during a meeting of Parliament.⁷⁵¹ It is one of several reminders in the accounts that the building site was in a prominent position within the palace.

⁷³¹ No. 1, rots. 29 (w/b 23 March 1293), 35 (w/b 10 Aug. 1293), 37 (w/b 17 Aug. 1293), 45 (w/b 14 Sept. 1293).

⁷³² No. 1, rots. 55 (w/b 12 July 1294), 57 (w/b 19 July), 61 (w/b 16 Aug.), 64 (w/b 30 Aug.), 73 (w/b 27 Sept.).

⁷³³ No. 1, rot. 37 (w/b 17 Aug. 1293).

⁷³⁴ No. 1, rot. 47 (w/b 15 March 1294). Two rotulets are concerned solely with the gins: rots. 76–77.

⁷³⁵ No. 6, m. 2b; Ayers 2004, ii, pp. 499–500.

⁷³⁶ No. 6, m. 1b; HKW, i, p. 511.

⁷³⁷ No. 2, rots. 4–5 (5 Aug. to 2 Sept. 1296). I am grateful to Christopher Wilson for his advice on this.

⁷³⁸ No. 1, rot. 14 (w/b 13 Oct. 1292).

⁷³⁹ No. 1, rot. 34 (w/b 3 Aug. 1293).

⁷⁴⁰ Westminster abbey: *Building Accounts of King Henry III*, table on p. 7; Jones 1998–99, fig. 5. Windsor: Munby 2007, p. 46.

⁷⁴¹ *Building Accounts of King Henry III*, table on p. 7; Jones 1998–99, fig. 5.

⁷⁴² HKW, i, pp. 397, 399.

⁷⁴³ Nos. 1, rot. 78; 2, rot. 5.

⁷⁴⁴ HKW, i, pp. 513, 522; Wilson 1980, pp. 36, 38–40.

⁷⁴⁵ HKW, i, p. 514.

⁷⁴⁶ No. 13. HKW, ii, pp. 1041–44 (appendix D).

⁷⁴⁷ E 101/468/17.

⁷⁴⁸ No. 14, f. 109v.

⁷⁴⁹ No. 14, f. 109v.

⁷⁵⁰ No. 14, ff. 108, 109v.

⁷⁵¹ No. 15, f. 9v.

1320–26. Building: Thomas of Canterbury and William Hurley; upper chapel, roof, and *alura*

The resumption of work coincided with Edward II's moves to take control of government, after the York parliament of 1318.⁷⁵² The relatively limited evidence is a roll of liveries to the clerk of works at Westminster and the Tower, between Michaelmas term 1319 and Michaelmas term 1322, which is published here in full.⁷⁵³ It records two allocations of funds that mention the chapel, the first for £200 (writ of 5 November 1320) and the second for £1,000 (18 May 1321).⁷⁵⁴ The first is also for other work at the palace and the Tower. The second, substantial sum is described as being 'for the works of the new chapel of St Stephen' in the final entry for 23 December 1322. St Stephen's may not have been the only object of work, but purchases included stone for the chapel, and a *roba* for Michael of Canterbury, master mason.⁷⁵⁵ The payments are not evenly distributed through the period. There were no liveries between April and October 1322, when the king's household and the Exchequer were in York;⁷⁵⁶ nor is there any further allocation of money before Easter term 1323, when the roll ends. After the battle of Boroughbridge (16 March 1322), however, Edward II could act with greater freedom to assert his authority. New sources of income and improvements in administrative procedure also put his finances on a much stronger footing.⁷⁵⁷

On 24 July 1323 the king ordered the constable of Tonbridge castle (Kent), keeper of his forest there, to allow William de Chaillou, keeper of his works at Westminster, to take timber for the roof ('cumulum') of the new chapel in the palace, according to an entry in the close rolls.⁷⁵⁸ His determination to complete the building is then apparent in the full records, published here, that survive from the following November. Two consecutive rolls compiled by Chaillou, running between 20 November 1323 and 30 March 1326, are devoted exclusively to expenses upon the chapel.⁷⁵⁹ His controller Robert de Pippishull made two accounts that survive for the felling and transport by water to Westminster of timber from Tonbridge, between 16 May 1324 and the week beginning 7 January 1326;⁷⁶⁰ much of it was intended for St Stephen's (see below). An enrolled summary account for Chaillou's tenure ends with an inventory of the materials and equipment that were handed on to his successor.⁷⁶¹ It is the first of six inventories that were compiled over the next twenty years of disrupted construction.⁷⁶²

The starting date for the earliest roll was determined by the formal appointment of Chaillou in letters patent of 20 November; the earlier entry in the close rolls suggests that he had been at work on the project previously. His arrival may have marked a change in the extent and character of the work, but it was certainly already in train: the masons are cutting stones immediately. The rolls for 1323–25 document intense activity under a new master mason, Thomas of Canterbury.⁷⁶³ The extent of it is illustrated by the number of masons involved (table 10). At the start of work, in November 1323, there were twenty-one masons; at the end of February 1324, forty-two; and towards the end of the building season, in September 1324, sixty-five. The largest number in February 1325 was twenty-six, and in July sixty-six. High levels of activity were maintained almost to the end of this phase. Eleven carpenters and sawyers began work in March 1325, their number rising to a peak of twenty-three in September 1325.⁷⁶⁴

⁷⁵² Tout 1936, pp. 142–83; Phillips 2010, pp. 330–39. For the historiography of Edward II's intervention, and a more cautious reading of roll no. 17, see Hillson 2015, pp. 112–17.

⁷⁵³ No. 17.

⁷⁵⁴ No. 17, mm. 1, 1d.

⁷⁵⁵ The entry for the *roba* is on 18 March 1321.

⁷⁵⁶ Buck 1983, p. 142; Ormrod 2000, pp. 85–86, tables 1, 2.

⁷⁵⁷ Fryde (N.) 1979, ch. 7; Phillips 2010, pp. 419–22. For the economics of building, see Hillson 2015, pp. 139–43.

⁷⁵⁸ *Cal. Close*, 1323–27, p. 9.

⁷⁵⁹ Nos. 18, 20. Duplicate counter-rolls, compiled by his controller, also survive, collated here with Chaillou's accounts: E 101/469/9, E 101/468/3. For Chaillou, see 'The rolls, clerks of works and their careers', and table 1.

⁷⁶⁰ The earlier roll is published in full (no. 19). The later record is duplicated in a schedule attached to the counter-roll E 101/469/9, which has been collated here (no. 18).

⁷⁶¹ No. 21, rot. 41–41d.

⁷⁶² Nos. 22, m. 2d (1329); 23, m. 1d (1332); 33, rot. 39d m. 2d (1340); 39, rot. 49d m. 2d (1344); 37 (1346).

⁷⁶³ *HKW*, i, pp. 207, 514; *EMA*; Wilson 1990, pp. 204, 205.

⁷⁶⁴ No. 18, mm. 11 (w/b 18 March 1325), 18 (w/b 9 Sept. 1325).

From May, they included a team from the *familia regis*, who were paid for seven days a week.⁷⁶⁵ The pattern of expenditure on materials and wages is best expressed in a table (table 11a). The totals in 1323–24 and 1324–25 are not matched again in the surviving records. Nor are there as many masons recorded on site until 1347–48.

The accounts include more references to features of the fabric than those for the previous reign, but remain enigmatic in important respects. It has been argued that references to the 'upper storey' ('superior historia') relate to the upper chapel in this two-storey design.⁷⁶⁶ If so, there is no mention of the clerestory that was part of the design of the upper chapel by the early 1330s (see below).⁷⁶⁷ It seems likely that a clerestory had been planned for the chapel previously, however, as a roof was designed and made for it in the 1320s; this would later be installed (see below). From November 1323 the master mason was designing aspects of the decoration of the building, specifically tabernacles.⁷⁶⁸ Scaffolding was acquired for the north (April 1324) and east sides (March 1325);⁷⁶⁹ the Tonbridge accounts reveal that further scaffolding was acquired in July and September 1324, possibly for other parts.⁷⁷⁰ Windows were under way: iron was purchased and worked for ferramenta (February to November 1324),⁷⁷¹ and tracery parts (form pieces) were supplied (March to October 1325).⁷⁷² The polychromatic character of the chapel's masonry was maintained, with the purchase of Purbeck marble 'for making columns around the chapel'.⁷⁷³ A new stone *alura*, or covered passage, between the chapel and the Painted Chamber to the south, was constructed rapidly from May 1325, at the king's command;⁷⁷⁴ in November, lead was purchased and cast for roofing it.⁷⁷⁵ There is mention of an associated 'new oratory', presumably for royal use.⁷⁷⁶ The chapel was being integrated architecturally into the king's lodgings in the privy palace.⁷⁷⁷

The earliest evidence for activity on the chapel in 1323 is for timber towards covering it, and the design and manufacture of the roof and vault ('volta') are recorded with remarkable completeness in the present accounts. The master carpenter was William Hurley.⁷⁷⁸ The accounts record the felling of timber at Tonbridge and the organization of work at Westminster, where Hurley designed templates for his team. The second Tonbridge account is headed 'for the king's chapel at Westminster and the king's chamber in the Tower of London'; the first, which lacks a heading, also included timber for St Stephen's. The description of some timbers reveals that roof parts were shipped; several are probably identifiable in the later inventory.⁷⁷⁹ At Westminster there are references to the unloading and storage of timber for the roof, from Tonbridge, from June 1324, a month after the first account opens. At Tonbridge work was overseen by Hurley on two visits, in June and July, and September 1324.⁷⁸⁰ In early June he had been joined by Thomas of Canterbury and the controller, probably to coordinate design and delivery. The nature of Hurley's design for the roof and vault is known only in part, from the subsequent inventory of its component timbers.

⁷⁶⁵ No. 18, from m. 13 (w/b 13 May 1325). For craftsmen paid by the king's chamber in this reign, see *HKW*, i, pp. 179–80.

⁷⁶⁶ *HKW*, i, p. 514.

⁷⁶⁷ *HKW*, i, p. 523.

⁷⁶⁸ In Nov. 1323, boards were bought for the design of 'tabernaculi'; a tracing table was supplied in Feb. 1324: no. 18, mm. 1 (w/b 21 Nov. 1323), 2 (w/b 27 Feb. 1324). A *trasura*, or tracing house, was constructed 'ad moldas pro tabernaculis formandis': no. 18, m. 10 (w/b 7 Jan. 1325). Some of these *tabernaculi* may appear later in the inventory.

⁷⁶⁹ No. 18, mm. 3 (w/b 23 April), 11 (w/b 4 March).

⁷⁷⁰ No. 19, mm. 2 (w/b 2 July), 3 (w/b 10 Sept.).

⁷⁷¹ No. 18, from m. 2 (w/b 27 Feb.).

⁷⁷² No. 18, from m. 11 (w/b 18 March).

⁷⁷³ No. 18, m. 12 (w/b 1 April 1325), 'pro columnis circa capellam faciendis'. For other purchases: no. 18, mm. 2 (w/b 19 March 1324), 3 (w/b 23 April), 6 (w/b 23 July), 13 (w/b 20 May 1325).

⁷⁷⁴ No. 18, m. 13 (w/b 27 May), 'per preceptum Regis'.

⁷⁷⁵ No. 20, m. 2 (w/b 12 Nov.).

⁷⁷⁶ No. 18, m. 18 (w/b 9 Sept.).

⁷⁷⁷ For his new 'white chamber' and decoration of the lesser hall, see *HKW*, i, pp. 506, 507, 508.

⁷⁷⁸ No. 18, m. 11 (w/b 11 March 1325).

⁷⁷⁹ The twelve great 'postes' (no. 19, m. 3 (w/b 17 Sept. 1325)) may be among the sixteen for the bell-tower, each 50 ft long, in the inventory (no. 21, rot. 41d m. 1d). Other roof parts in the account include 'courbes' and 'walplates'.

⁷⁸⁰ No. 19, m. 1.

1327–30. Break and maintenance

Building had finished by the end of November 1325, when the scaffolding was struck. Although it is likely that the upper chapel was complete to a substantial height, the accounts and inventory reveal that there was much still to be done. Many stones remained to be cut and/or installed, including tabernacles, corbel-tables and the tracery for six windows. In February and March 1326, Hurley's *volta* and other timbers were disassembled and put into store.⁷⁸¹ Chaillou's summary account shows that no further work was done on the chapel during his term of office.⁷⁸² The fall of Edward II terminated this period of work.⁷⁸³ We can then track the stored materials in the account of William of Kelsey, in 1329;⁷⁸⁴ his account records maintenance of them and of St Stephen's by the Receipt. The inventory appended to the roll compiled by the incoming clerk of works in 1331, in the next reign, shows that none of the inventoried materials had been used in the meantime.

1331–35. Building: closing the east gable

The new clerk was Walter of Weston, whose tenure saw the building through to completion.⁷⁸⁵ A full sequence of rolls dedicated solely to expenditure on the chapel, compiled either by the clerk himself or his controller, survives for work between 27 May 1331 and January 1335.⁷⁸⁶ A summary account for Weston's first nine years in office, to Michaelmas 1340, includes work done on St Stephen's and elsewhere.⁷⁸⁷

The run of rolls that begins in late May 1331 records a third coherent period of work, almost from the beginning of the personal reign of Edward III. It opens with the return of the master mason Thomas of Canterbury, who was involved immediately with design.⁷⁸⁸ In May and June 1331 he is described as drawing in the *trasura*, making templates for the masons. In July and August 1332 the tracing floor was enlarged.⁷⁸⁹ Although the period of work was longer than that between 1323 and 1325, the workforce never attained the same size (table 10). It was at its largest in the winter and early spring of 1333; there were a maximum of thirty-six masons in March, including their overseer and the master. The overall costs of materials and wages may be compiled from the enrolled summary account (table 11b). The concentration of materials and labour, and the speed of work, will have been determined partly by the availability of money, but the declining number of masons could also be explained by the fact that a phase in construction was nearly complete.

This may be confirmed by the focus of activity. Many entries mention work on the east gable, including the acquisition and construction of scaffolding, window tracery, and other stonework.⁷⁹⁰ They culminate in a payment for the closing of the great gable in July 1333;⁷⁹¹ work continued on turrets. In September 1333 two sculptures were also delivered for the 'front gable' of the chapel.⁷⁹² Purchases of materials may imply other activity. A further 429 feet of Purbeck marble shafts for columns had been acquired in November 1332, on which up to ten marblers worked until the following May.⁷⁹³ Other parts of the building to be mentioned include the sides of the chapel (June 1332),⁷⁹⁴ buttresses (February 1333),⁷⁹⁵

⁷⁸¹ For the vault, see no. 20, from m. 4 (from w/b 10 Feb. 1326).

⁷⁸² No. 21, rot. 41 m. 2.

⁷⁸³ *HKW*, i, p. 515.

⁷⁸⁴ No. 22.

⁷⁸⁵ For Weston, see 'The rolls, clerks of works and their careers' and table 1.

⁷⁸⁶ Clerk: no 23. Controller: nos. 24–26.

⁷⁸⁷ No. 33. There is also a parallel summary of liveries for the same period (E 101/469/14), not published here.

⁷⁸⁸ No. 23, m. 1.

⁷⁸⁹ No. 23, m. 8 (w/b 20 July, 17 Aug. 1332).

⁷⁹⁰ *HKW*, i, pp. 515–16, 522 (table).

⁷⁹¹ No. 24, m. 23 (w/b 19 July 1333).

⁷⁹² No. 24, m. 25 (w/b 13 Sept. 1333).

⁷⁹³ No. 24, m. 15 (w/b 2 Nov. 1332).

⁷⁹⁴ No. 23, m. 7 (w/b 30 June 1332).

⁷⁹⁵ No. 24, m. 17 (w/b 1 Feb. 1333).

and a 'lower gable' (July, August 1333).⁷⁹⁶ This was probably at the west end, which was of lower status than the recently finished east end.⁷⁹⁷ Steps were bought for the adjacent stair turret, on the north side, in August 1333.⁷⁹⁸ This was probably the north-west turret, which would imply that the clerestory was under construction: according to Frederick Mackenzie, the stairs in this turret began only at the foot of the clerestory, because it was built over the south-east corner of Westminster hall.⁷⁹⁹ It tends to confirm that the 'upper windows', for which stone was bought in June 1332, were in the clerestory.⁸⁰⁰ An orderly halt to work took place from November 1334, with the dismantling and storage of scaffolding.⁸⁰¹ A surprisingly large number of cut stones were still listed in Weston's inventory of 1340, if this can be trusted.⁸⁰²

1337. Building: William Ramsey

Worship may have become possible around the periphery of the new building. In December 1334, payments were made for roofing new oratories with reed, one between the chapel and the Painted Chamber, and the other at the west end of the chapel, 'where the bell-tower will be'.⁸⁰³ Weston's summary account mentions no further expenditure on the new chapel until the financial year 1336–37.⁸⁰⁴ This resumption, at the instigation of the king's treasurer, is more fully recorded in a short roll that is solely concerned with the chapel, beginning on 5 March 1337.⁸⁰⁵ The project was supervised by a new mason, William Ramsey, described as principal master of the king's works in masonry south of the Trent, an appointment made in the previous year.⁸⁰⁶ No more than six masons worked for just under seven weeks, after which they put their carved stones into store.⁸⁰⁷ No materials were bought and no other craftsmen were paid. The delays in construction of the king's chapel in the second half of the decade have been attributed to the intervention of other priorities, first war with Scotland, and then the beginning of the Hundred Years' War.⁸⁰⁸ From 1332–33 the offices of government had been relocated from Westminster to York, and remained there until 1337–38, when the king's attention turned to France.⁸⁰⁹ A parliament was held at Westminster in March 1337, at which Edward III sought consent for war.⁸¹⁰ These shifts in the king's priorities may account for the halts to work, but do not explain why it was briefly restarted.

1337–40. Break and maintenance

Between 1337 and Michaelmas 1340 we have both detailed accounts and an enrolled summary account for the clerk of works. The summary lacks headings or specific entries for the chapel, although work in previous years had been set out clearly. The detailed accounts of controller John de Broughton, in a sequence surviving almost intact between Michaelmas 1335 and Michaelmas 1340,⁸¹¹ record no building on the new chapel, only the maintenance of the *trasura* and the safe storage of materials.⁸¹² The summary account ends with an inventory of goods that had been brought forward, a list of those used up, and

⁷⁹⁶ No. 24, m. 23 (w/b 26 July and 9 Aug. 1333, 'inferior gabula').

⁷⁹⁷ I am grateful to Christopher Wilson for this suggestion.

⁷⁹⁸ No. 24, m. 23: 'pro vj peciis petre de alia forma minoris precij emptis ad scalam anglie grez de Turri que est pars aquilonis dictarum [sic] gable frontis dicte capelle faciendam'.

⁷⁹⁹ Mackenzie 1844, pp. vii–viii; HKW, i, p. 524.

⁸⁰⁰ No. 23, m. 7, 'pro mold' peciis ad fenestras superiores'.

⁸⁰¹ No. 26, m. 11 (from w/b 28 Nov. 1334).

⁸⁰² E 372/185, rot. 39d m. 2d. See no. 23, m. 1d, with which it has been collated here.

⁸⁰³ No. 26, m. 11 (w/b 12 Dec. 1334, 'ubi campanile erit').

⁸⁰⁴ No. 33, rot. 39 m. 2; 39d m. 1d.

⁸⁰⁵ No. 29.

⁸⁰⁶ *Cal. Pat.*, 1334–38, pp. 272, 305 (1 June 1336); HKW, i, p. 208.

⁸⁰⁷ No. 29, m. 1.

⁸⁰⁸ HKW, i, p. 516.

⁸⁰⁹ Ormrod 2000, table 1; Ormrod 2011, pp. 154, 189.

⁸¹⁰ Ormrod 2011, p. 190.

⁸¹¹ Nos. 28, 30–32.

⁸¹² Removal of timber from a rotten pentice (Aug. 1338): no. 30, m. 4. Repair of the 'long stable' (June 1339), and of the 'great stable' and tracing house (Oct. to Nov. 1339): nos. 31, mm. 6–7; 32, mm. 1–2.

what purports to be a current inventory, very similar to the preceding.⁸¹³ There are occasional references to purchases for the ‘lord king’s chapel’, but these may be for St Stephen’s by the Receipt.⁸¹⁴ There are other references to the maintenance of this. Nails were bought to repair the walls with laths in December 1338.⁸¹⁵ In October 1340 it was being put into better decorative order, with scaffolding on the south side and purchases of plaster of Paris for the walls and white glass to fill three windows.⁸¹⁶ To accommodate those performing the divine office, there are full entries for the building of a timber house ‘by the vine’ for the king’s chaplains, between March 1339 and January 1340.⁸¹⁷

1340–48. Building: installing the roof and vault, the west end

On 30 November 1340, the king returned from the Continent to hold his ministers to account, and to raise further money to pursue war with France, after his naval victory at Sluys (24 June).⁸¹⁸ In the following years the privy palace at Westminster would be transformed at the southern end of the site, including construction of a more private place of worship.⁸¹⁹ This chapel was built between 13 March 1342 (when a contract was made) and spring 1343 (when the windows were ready for glazing).⁸²⁰ The speed of this compares dramatically with the long delays on St Stephen’s, but the rolls suggest that work on the latter resumed before the former, and that it continued in parallel, perhaps as part of a wider plan for the palace.

For this and the following period, the rolls survive only in part, and the work undertaken or anticipated is rarely stated, but it took place in stages. Following on directly from Weston’s previous enrolled summary account, another summary survives between Michaelmas 1340 and Michaelmas 1344.⁸²¹ His particulars, between Michaelmas 1340 and 27 May 1341, record repairs to the masons’ lodge and the tracing house of the master mason, suggesting that these were in use, or about to be used.⁸²² In the same financial year the summary records major expenditure on wages and the purchase of materials for the chapel (table 11c). As neither appears in the particulars, they may have been in another general roll for the latter part of the financial year, or more likely there was a separate roll for the chapel. The summary account for 1341–42 again records substantial work, under a separate heading for the chapel. In these two accounting years, the wage costs were notably high. The controller’s account then survives for the year ending Michaelmas 1343.⁸²³ This is specifically for the chapel, the last of the kind to survive. It records a lower level of activity, the workforce comprising seventeen masons, at most, in March 1343, and eight the following September (table 10). It is possible that they were working on the west gable, which is mentioned in October 1342 and August 1343.⁸²⁴ A damaged roll for part of the following financial year, until Christmas 1343, includes work at a similar level, and on the new chapel in the privy palace.⁸²⁵

There is then a gap in the record, but much was done in this time. Weston is later reported to have submitted accounts until Michaelmas 1346,⁸²⁶ but just one survives, in his own version and that of his controller Martin of Exning.⁸²⁷ In the long succession of inventories, this revealing document sets out how the materials last listed in 1344 had been used up by Michaelmas 1346. All of the roof timbers had

⁸¹³ No. 33, rot. 39d m. 2d. The inventory has been collated with that in no. 23.

⁸¹⁴ No. 30, m. 1 (w/b 15 Dec. 1337).

⁸¹⁵ No. 31, m. 2 (w/b 14 Dec. 1338).

⁸¹⁶ No. 34, m. 1.

⁸¹⁷ Nos. 31, from m. 3 (w/b 1 March 1339, ‘iuxta vineam’, until Sept.); 32, from m. 1 (w/b 30 Sept. 1339, until Jan. 1340).

⁸¹⁸ Ormrod 2011, pp. 227–42.

⁸¹⁹ *HKW*, i, p. 534. On these improvements, see Ormrod 2011, pp. 312–13.

⁸²⁰ *HKW*, i, pp. 534–35.

⁸²¹ No. 39.

⁸²² No. 34, mm. 2 (w/b 8 Jan. 1341, tracing house), 3 (w/b 19 Feb. 1341, and following). For the location of the clerk’s office at other dates: *HKW*, i, p. 200.

⁸²³ No. 35.

⁸²⁴ No. 35, mm. 1 (w/b 21 Oct. 1342, stones and pentice), 6 (w/b 25 Aug. 1343, iron cramps).

⁸²⁵ No. 36.

⁸²⁶ No. 50, rot. 47, m. 1.

⁸²⁷ E 101/501/29 and no. 37, respectively.

been employed, including those for the roof structure, 200 feet of timbers for the vault and others for a 'floor', into which the 'arches and keys' of the vault were to be set. The roll implies a building with a roof. Only the timbers for a bell-tower remained. Almost all of the Reigate and Caen stones, for image tabernacles, windows, and corbel-tables, had also been used. Two hundred pieces of marble had been installed to support or decorate image tabernacles, and on the western porch. Entries in the patent rolls for the impressment of masons and carpenters and the purveyance of materials, regarding unspecified work at Westminster in 1344–46, may be related to the chapel, at least in part (tables 2, 7). Similar measures had been adopted in recent work on the round table at Windsor castle in 1344, where the same master mason, master carpenter, and administrator had been employed.⁸²⁸

A contract is recorded to have been made at about this time with the mason Philip of Chard, 'concerning the vault of St Stephen's chapel, Westminster'.⁸²⁹ It was an item in an inventory of Exchequer records, made in 1346 or 1347, now lost, but published in *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer* (1836).⁸³⁰ Colvin suggested that the missing record could relate to the installation of the timber vault in the upper chapel, but it is worth considering whether it relates to the vault in the lower chapel, as this is the only stone vault in the building itself. It has also been argued on stylistic grounds that the bosses of the lower chapel could date to the 1330s;⁸³¹ the following decade may also be possible. Taskwork by contract had recently been used for the chapel in the privy palace, as mentioned; it is found in the account for 1347–48, and would become increasingly common both at Westminster and elsewhere in the king's works.⁸³² The building accounts for Windsor castle record the construction in this way of a new timber roof for the chapel of St George in the early 1350s, and the building of several stone vaults in the 1360s, although none as elaborate as that at Westminster.⁸³³

From Michaelmas 1346, Weston's role as clerk of works was undertaken by deputies.⁸³⁴ The account of Peter of Bridgnorth, beginning 15 October 1347, covers work at the palace and the Tower for ten months, and includes continuing intensive building on St Stephen's.⁸³⁵ Sixty-one masons were paid for work in various places in the last week of October, under Master William Ramsey and John Ramsey (table 10);⁸³⁶ after a seasonal decline over the winter, numbers rise to fifty-nine specifically on the chapel in late June 1348.⁸³⁷ These are the highest on record since 1325. Some were then working on a galilee adjoining the great hall, which was roofed and leaded.⁸³⁸ So was the king's 'small closet', to the south of the high altar.⁸³⁹ Purchases of structural ironwork (some specifically for the upper chapel) and scaffolding may have been for upper parts of the building, where William Hurley and his deputy William Herland oversaw carpenters at work on the vault ('vousura') from October 1347;⁸⁴⁰ planks

⁸²⁸ Brindle and Priestley 2005, pp. 204–205; Munby 2007, p. 47. The controller at Windsor was Brother John Walrand, who also acted as surveyor at Westminster (table 1).

⁸²⁹ *Antient Kalendars*, i, p. 164, 'Indentura de fousura Capelle Sancti Stephani apud Westm'. It was made between the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer, and Master Philip of Chard, in 20–21 Edward III.

⁸³⁰ Subsequently, an entry in the pipe rolls, dated 14 Dec. 1349, records receipt of £22 'per manus Philippi de Cherde cementarii', for work at the palace and Tower: no. 50, rot. 47 m. 1. This is how payments to contractors are expressed in accounts of the 1350s; the payment to Chard may or may not be related to the lost contract. A John Chard, mason, worked at the palace in 1357–58: no. 47, m. 1.

⁸³¹ Hillson 2016, p. 109.

⁸³² No. 38, m. 5 (w/b 17 Dec. 1347). *HKW*, i, pp. 186–87. For William of Wykeham and taskwork, see Brindle and Priestley 2005, pp. 215–18. See also 'Craftsmen and their work'.

⁸³³ *HKW*, ii, p. 873; Brindle and Priestley 2005, p. 216. The money paid to Chard in Dec. 1349 would probably not, on its own, be enough to pay for the structure. At Windsor, a vault beneath the king's hall, and two vaults within the gate, cost £71 10 s. in 1362–63: Brindle and Priestley 2005, p. 216.

⁸³⁴ No. 50, rot. 47 m. 1, giving a term from Mich. 1346 until Jan. 1349, for accounting purposes. For the deputies, see table 1.

⁸³⁵ No. 38. That of his controller also survives: E 101/470/19.

⁸³⁶ No. 38, m. 3 (w/b 29 Oct. 1347).

⁸³⁷ No. 38, m. 11 (w/b 23 June 1348).

⁸³⁸ No. 38, mm. 11 (from w/b 30 June 1348), 12. In early August 1348, 1,500 laths were bought for the walls ('parietibus'), suggesting that these were either unfinished, or partly in wood: m. 12 (w/b 4 Aug. 1348).

⁸³⁹ No. 38, m. 10 (w/b 19 May 1348). The relationship between the closet, the oratories mentioned in 1325 and 1334, and the chapel of Our Lady of the Pew remains to be fully explained. The standard work on the latter is still Kingsford 1916–17.

⁸⁴⁰ No. 38, mm. 2 (first reference, w/b 15 Oct. 1347), 3 (Hurley).

were purchased for a floor (presumably to go on top), and boards for a 'celura' and a vault, which incorporated bosses ('boses').⁸⁴¹ This was completed by July, when the carpenters moved on to the galilee. This period of work probably resulted in the completion of the vault and galilee.

The close of this phase coincided with Edward III's establishment of new colleges dedicated to St Stephen at Westminster, and to St George at Windsor, on 6 August 1348.⁸⁴² In his charter for the Westminster foundation the king referred to the building, begun by his progenitors and now completed at his own expense.⁸⁴³ In fact, the construction and furnishing of St Stephen's would continue for more than a decade, sometimes in step with work at Windsor. In mid-July, hurdles had been purchased to protect the top ('summitacio') of the chapel, perhaps in anticipation of a break in work. In other respects, however, it continued: fifty-one masons were still busy in the final week, Reigate stone and other materials were purchased. The end of the roll on 10 August marks, rather, a change in the administration of the project. Bridgnorth had been replaced by Thomas of Stapleford, a chaplain at St Stephen's since 1336, on 28 July;⁸⁴⁴ Stapleford may have remained in post until January 1349, although no account survives.⁸⁴⁵ Meanwhile, members of the college worshipped perhaps at St Stephen's by the Receipt. In August 1356 it was stated that this chapel was then in the possession of the new foundation, but it is not clear from the accounts for how long the building continued to be used.⁸⁴⁶

1349–66. Building and furnishing the chapel, college building

In October 1348 the Black Death arrived in London, killing a large proportion of the population, including Thomas Cross, first dean of St Stephen's college, and the abbot and twenty-seven monks of Westminster abbey.⁸⁴⁷ Ramsey, the king's master mason, also died on 3 or 4 June 1349.⁸⁴⁸ For the following period, the documentary evidence is rich but patchy, and the earlier rolls have been studied more fully than the later ones. After 1358 the record is mainly confined to the brief enrolled summary accounts. The surviving detailed accounts all include work at both the palace of Westminster and the Tower, so it has sometimes been difficult to decide whether to include an entry in the edition. The glaziers and painters at St Stephen's chapel are usually easily identified, but carpenters and masons less so. Purchases of materials sometimes coincided with the employment of craftsmen to use them, but the store accounts at the end of many rolls show that they were not always used immediately; those for the chapel, and made objects (but not tools), have been included across the later inventories, as evidence for their use over time. Throughout, references have also been included to accommodation for the new college, initially in a property owned formerly by the earl of Kent, to the north of the outer ward (frontispiece).⁸⁴⁹ All references to cloisters have been included; there was probably more than one.

The first account to concern us is an enrolled summary for Walter of Weston, who was brought back from other duties on 19 January 1349, and died on 20 June 1351.⁸⁵⁰ Given the social and economic disruption caused by the epidemic, it is remarkable that work was initiated so soon, suggesting its importance to the king.⁸⁵¹ Work resumed at Windsor only in April 1350.⁸⁵² By Michaelmas 1349 materials

⁸⁴¹ No. 38, mm. 2 (w/b 15 Oct. 1347, first references to 'celura', bosses and vault), 8 (w/b 24 March 1348, floor).

⁸⁴² For the foundation of St Stephen's college, see Biggs 2016, pp. 34–40; *VCH London*, i, pp. 566–71; Ormrod 2011, p. 312. On St George's, Windsor: Richmond and Scarff 2001; Saul 2005; Ormrod 2011, pp. 303–308; Saul 2018, pp. 87–93.

⁸⁴³ TNA, C 66/225, m. 3.

⁸⁴⁴ *Cal. Pat.*, 1348–50, p. 128. The king's yeoman Peter de Brugge (probably Bridgnorth) was awarded 7½ *d.* a day, for life: *Cal. Pat.*, 1348–50, p. 134 (6 Aug. 1348).

⁸⁴⁵ For his replacement then: no. 50, rot. 47 m. 1.

⁸⁴⁶ *Cal. Pat.*, 1354–58, p. 430 (3 Aug. 1356).

⁸⁴⁷ Harvey (B.) 2000, p. 10; Sloane 2011, pp. 45, 61, 64. For the effect of the Black Death upon the king's administration and upon recruitment, see 'The rolls' and 'Craftsmen and their work', respectively.

⁸⁴⁸ E 101/501/28. I am grateful to Christopher Wilson for the reference.

⁸⁴⁹ John, 3rd earl of Kent (d. 1352). For the history of the property, and the gift of it to Edward III, see Rosser 1989, p. 28; *Cal. Chart.*, 1341–1417, pp. 133–34.

⁸⁵⁰ No. 50.

⁸⁵¹ The Cradle tower at the Tower of London, where work had been going on since 1348, also appears in this roll, as the 'new postern'. *HKW*, ii, pp. 725–26; Sloane 2011, pp. 25–26, 68.

⁸⁵² *HKW*, ii, p. 872; Brindle and Priestley 2005, pp. 206–207; Saul 2018, p. 89.

had been acquired for building work at Westminster (including the chapel), and to decorate the chapel, including paint and glass.⁸⁵³ In 1349–50 the lower chapel was a recorded focus of attention, including the purchase of timber for a screen ('interclausura') and paving tiles.⁸⁵⁴ There was recruitment of painters and glaziers (table 2).⁸⁵⁵ As well as large quantities of materials for painting and glazing (table 8), and scaffolding, canvas was bought to close the window openings and protect the work.⁸⁵⁶ A marble altar stone was purchased (appendix 2).⁸⁵⁷ In 1350–51 there are payments to William of Patrington for images, alongside further major purchases of materials.⁸⁵⁸ First appearances are made by Hugh 'le Peyntour', who would be involved at St Stephen's for a decade, and John Box, Ramsey's successor as master mason at Westminster.⁸⁵⁹ Overall, the costs of materials and labour at Westminster confirm that Walter of Weston oversaw the beginning of considerable activity.

The following clerkship of Robert of Campsall, between 21 June 1352 and 20 September 1354, is documented not only in the enrolled summary account for his tenure,⁸⁶⁰ but also in three detailed accounts.⁸⁶¹ The first is exceptionally full. It runs between June 1351 and Michaelmas 1352, recording work on the adjoining great hall; the ceremonial heart of the palace was now joined to the chapel by an *alura* in stone, probably the stairs that rose against the south gable wall of the hall to the north end of the vestibule.⁸⁶² There are limited references to other work by the masons on preparing the interior for stalls (see below), and on upper parts of the chapel.⁸⁶³ Worship at Westminster was maintained elsewhere, the rolls attest, with purchases of rushes for the floor of a chapel at Christmas and Easter.⁸⁶⁴ In anticipation of worship, an altar and an armoire (or cupboard) for vestments were bought for a vestry; and tiles for the vestry in the lower chapel.⁸⁶⁵

The detailed records of work on the sculpture, painting, and stained glass of the upper chapel have been studied and partially transcribed previously, but are presented here for the first time in full.⁸⁶⁶ They give substance to the dazzling splendour of the interior that was recorded by antiquaries in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. There are glimpses of progress in the work.⁸⁶⁷ Painters were priming ('primacio') the east end of the chapel in June 1351.⁸⁶⁸ Saddlebars were bought for the east window in the same month.⁸⁶⁹ There are payments for the drawing of images throughout the roll, for the painting and gilding of a *tabulamentum*, tabernacles and their images (including angels), images on the walls, the walls themselves and window reveals, and for tin-relief *pryntes* on marble columns. There are many references to scaffolding, for use by both painters and glaziers.⁸⁷⁰ The glaziers must have been at work in the period before the roll begins; a large team is in action in the very first week. They finished in the first week of March 1352. The roll also contains a list of the stone sculptures that were made at task by William of Patrington, including a figure of St Stephen himself.⁸⁷¹

⁸⁵³ No. 50, rot. 47 m. 1. A glazier had been sent out to acquire glass: *Cal. Pat.*, 1348–50, p. 388 (30 July 1349).

⁸⁵⁴ No. 50, rot. 47 m. 2.

⁸⁵⁵ In the account, payments are made towards seeking glaziers and painters: no. 50, rot. 47 mm. 1, 2.

⁸⁵⁶ No. 50, rot. 47 m. 2.

⁸⁵⁷ See also no. 50, rot. 47 m. 2.

⁸⁵⁸ No. 50, rot. 47 m. 2.

⁸⁵⁹ No. 50, rot. 47 m. 2; *EMA*.

⁸⁶⁰ No. 51.

⁸⁶¹ Nos. 40, 42–43. The last of these, compiled by Campsall's successor, runs only from 25 Aug. to 20 Sept. 1354, when Campsall died.

⁸⁶² No. 40, from mm. 12 (w/b 9 Jan. 1352, first reference); 20 (w/b 13 May 1352, 'super emendacionem alure super murum magne aule').

⁸⁶³ For example, no. 40, m. 25 (w/b 13 Aug. 1352, taking down a vice, cramps).

⁸⁶⁴ No. 40, mm. 11 (w/b 19 Dec. 1351), 17 (w/b 2 April 1352).

⁸⁶⁵ No. 40, mm. 11 (from w/b 5 Dec., armoire), 15 (5 March 1352, tiles), 16 (12 March 1352, altar and armoire).

⁸⁶⁶ Salzman 1926–27; Tristram 1955, appendix C; *HKW*, i, pp. 518–19, 521.

⁸⁶⁷ For the stages of work, see Binski 1996, p. 183.

⁸⁶⁸ No. 40, m. 2 (w/b 20 June 1351).

⁸⁶⁹ No. 40, m. 2 (w/b 20 June 1351).

⁸⁷⁰ For example, no. 40, m. 12 (w/b 9 Jan. 1352).

⁸⁷¹ No. 40, m. 27d.

Campsall's detailed account for 1352–53 is missing, but an enrolled summary covers the period,⁸⁷² and that for the final year of his tenure survives.⁸⁷³ The summary includes a large sum for painting materials, specifying both the decoration of sculpture and the painting of the building (table 8); it is dramatically lower, however, than in the preceding year.⁸⁷⁴ The work was changing in nature or scale, or both. Painting continued in 1353–54, including a new master John Barneby, employed at a high daily rate,⁸⁷⁵ but the expenditure on materials is down by more than two-thirds, and there were only six regular painters by September 1354.⁸⁷⁶ A gift to the painters by Roger of Chesterfield, the treasurer's clerk, may mark a milestone in their efforts.⁸⁷⁷ In the same year money was provided for more sculpture, and Purbeck marble was bought for a pavement for the upper chapel; it was put in store, perhaps awaiting progress on the stalls.⁸⁷⁸ Glaziers appear in neither roll, but the purchase of canvas for the windows suggests that there was further work to be done.⁸⁷⁹ There are also entries concerning the casting of two bells, presumably for the bell-tower. The timbers for this, probably in store since the 1320s, were finally put to use.⁸⁸⁰ In both years there is mention of the 'cloister of the chapel', then apparently lying between the chapel and the Painted Chamber.⁸⁸¹ Timber buildings were also under way by the 'curia', or court, of the earl of Kent, which would later be granted formally to the college, in a charter backdated to 1 January 1354.⁸⁸²

The construction of the stalls was a disrupted process over many years, and the accounts are confusing.⁸⁸³ A purchase of timber to this end first appears in the summary account for 1349–50.⁸⁸⁴ In the detailed account for 1351–52 Master William Hurley was in charge, and his deputy William Herland received money specifically for stalls.⁸⁸⁵ A wall in the upper chapel was prepared to receive them,⁸⁸⁶ and a lodge was built for the carpenters.⁸⁸⁷ The making of the stalls seems to be covered only partially, however, as few carpenters are named at the task. Instead, they are the sole focus of another roll, covering the period between 1 August 1351 and 29 September 1353.⁸⁸⁸ Compiled by William Herland, this account was made later, in or after November 1356. It describes William of Edington as the former treasurer; he left office in that month. Curiously, the carpenters named in the account do not coincide with the few who appear in the roll for 1351–52, over the same periods. Herland was responsible for an underspend. The account was enrolled in May 1360, and a reckoning was made with him in July.⁸⁸⁹ Strikingly, the roll describes a moment of crisis in the creation of the stalls. After the treasurer and members of the king's council had inspected them in position, in September 1353, the 'reredos' was sold to the nuns of Barking abbey.⁸⁹⁰ Resumption of work seems to have been deferred until 1355, under different leadership.⁸⁹¹

After a break in the surviving records for expenditure of nearly a year, there are two sets of detailed accounts between July 1355 and June 1356, during Thomas of Stapleford's tenure as clerk of works, both

⁸⁷² No. 51, rot. 37.

⁸⁷³ No. 42.

⁸⁷⁴ No. 51, rot. 37 mm. 1–2.

⁸⁷⁵ No. 42, m. 4. See 'Craftsmen and their work'.

⁸⁷⁶ No. 43, m. 2. In addition, Hugh of St Albans works for just one day.

⁸⁷⁷ No. 42, m. 3.

⁸⁷⁸ No. 42, mm. 1 (sculpture), 2 and 2d (pavement).

⁸⁷⁹ No. 51, rot. 37 m. 2. In July 1354, Campsall was tasked with delivering 4 cwt of coloured glass to the constable of Nottingham castle: *Cal. Close, 1354–60*, p. 27 (10 July).

⁸⁸⁰ Nos. 42, mm. 3d (bells), 4d (bell-tower); 51, rot. 37 m. 2 (bells).

⁸⁸¹ Nos. 42, m. 2d (1353–54); 51, rot. 37 m. 2 (turf, 1352–53).

⁸⁸² Nos. 42, mm. 2–4, 2d; 51, rot. 37d m. 1d. *Cal. Chart., 1341–1417*, pp. 133–34; TNA, SC 8/247/12304 (petition).

⁸⁸³ For the stalls at Westminster and Windsor, see Tracy 1987, pp. 50–51; Brindle 2018c, p. 105.

⁸⁸⁴ No. 50, rot. 47 m. 2.

⁸⁸⁵ Money for stalls: no. 40, mm. 1 (receipts), 17 and 27d (wages for Herland and Hurley).

⁸⁸⁶ No. 40, mm. 15 (w/b 27 Feb., 5 March 1352), 19 (w/b 23 April), 21 (w/b 11 June).

⁸⁸⁷ No. 40, mm. 9–11 (w/b 14 Nov. 1351, first reference), 13, 22.

⁸⁸⁸ No. 41.

⁸⁸⁹ Enrolment: E 372/204, rot. 36. The king pardoned Herland for £23 3 s. 3¼ d. of his outstanding debt: *Cal. Close, 1360–64*, p. 44 (14 July 1360).

⁸⁹⁰ No. 41, m. 1. Colvin confused the order of these events: *HKW*, i, p. 520.

⁸⁹¹ There is no mention of the stalls in Campsall's accounts for 1352–53 or 1353–54.

in the versions of his controller.⁸⁹² A final set, running between June 1357 and June 1358,⁸⁹³ compiled by the controller of his successor William of Lambeth, opens a last window on progress in detail. In the second account, the stalls are restarted under a team led by an Augustinian canon called Edmund of St Andrew, rising from three carpenters in October 1355 to seventeen in May 1356.⁸⁹⁴ His pay was increased in the last week of November 1355, 'by order of the treasurer'.⁸⁹⁵ The stalls were probably framed up in the chapel by June 1356, as the marble pavement had been laid by then, presumably around them.⁸⁹⁶ Pots were bought from St Andrew, perhaps to improve the resonance of the space for singing.⁸⁹⁷ In the next surviving roll, beginning a year later, work was still under way. Timber was acquired specifically for the stalls from the prior of Holy Trinity Aldgate, in London.⁸⁹⁸ The sum of £85 16 s. 9½ d. was spent on wages; thirteen different craftsmen were at work there in June 1357, but only nine in June the following year.⁸⁹⁹ A summary account for Lambeth's term, to November 1361, includes further references to St Andrew's employment on the stalls, and carpenters were impressed in November 1360 (table 2).⁹⁰⁰ There is no reference to a pulpitum, although one is recorded in the fifteenth century.⁹⁰¹

Painting continued across all three accounts, declining ultimately in quantity.⁹⁰² In the first two, for 1355–56, there is a slight increase on previous expenditure on materials (table 8). John Barneby was present until early September 1355, perhaps completing some specialist task. Coinciding with his departure, the number of painters falls from seven in July 1355 to four in September.⁹⁰³ It rises then to eleven in early March 1356, falling back to eight in late May.⁹⁰⁴ Among a relatively limited range of materials, gold leaf predominates, but there is also tin leaf for relief ornament, both sometimes to be used on sculpture.⁹⁰⁵ In the last account a similarly limited range of paints, and metal leaf, is bought, but the total cost has gone down significantly (table 8). There is a smaller group of painters, from two in June 1357, to one in the winter, and five in June 1358; Hugh is paid only in the autumn.⁹⁰⁶ At least two glaziers were also employed in a chapel, presumably this one, in every working week between 5 October 1355 and early June 1356,⁹⁰⁷ and glass was bought for it.⁹⁰⁸

Images of the Virgin Mary, for the lower chapel (probably a patronal image), and of St George, were acquired from an external supplier in August 1355 and April 1356, and imitation gems were bought to decorate the Virgin.⁹⁰⁹ Enamelled gold shoes were bought for an image of St Stephen in February 1356, and tinned ironwork probably for fixing it in 1357–58.⁹¹⁰ Stone was bought for new figures,⁹¹¹ but two unpainted images of armed men languished in store.⁹¹² An image of the crucified Christ with the four

⁸⁹² Nos. 45–46. There are separate rolls for receipts: no. 44 (the only surviving roll for much of the financial year 1354–55), E 101/471/17 (Mich. 1355 to 5 June 1356, containing no reference to the chapel).

⁸⁹³ No. 47.

⁸⁹⁴ No. 46, mm. 2 (w/b 19 Oct. 1355, 3), 10 (w/b 16 May 1356, 17). St Andrew first certainly appears in the week beginning 19 Oct. 1355, but the start of the roll is badly damaged. For St Andrew, see *HKW*, i, pp. 520–21.

⁸⁹⁵ No. 46, m. 3 (w/b 30 Nov. 1355). Edington became chancellor on 27 Nov. The incoming treasurer (from 29 Nov.) was John Sheppey, bishop of Rochester (1352–60).

⁸⁹⁶ The use of the stones is recorded in the inventory: no. 46, m. 1d.

⁸⁹⁷ No. 46, m. 9 (w/b 25 April 1356). For the use of sounding jars, see Tracy 1997, pp. 84–86; Buckle 2010, p. 4.

⁸⁹⁸ No. 47, m. 4.

⁸⁹⁹ No. 47, m. 1 (wages).

⁹⁰⁰ No. 53, rot. 46 mm. 1 (1359–60), 2 (1360–61).

⁹⁰¹ Willis and Clark 1886, i, p. 354.

⁹⁰² This confirms Tristram's general perception: Tristram 1955, pp. 53–54.

⁹⁰³ No. 45, mm. 1 (w/b 27 July), 2 (w/b 7 Sept. 1355).

⁹⁰⁴ No. 46, mm. 6 (w/b 30 Feb. (*sic*)), 10 (w/b 30 May).

⁹⁰⁵ No. 46, mm. 2 (w/b 30 Aug. and 7 Sept. 1355).

⁹⁰⁶ No. 47, m. 2.

⁹⁰⁷ No. 46, from m. 1 (w/b 28 Sept. 1356). The first entry states that one glazier had been named before (and therefore working), presumably in an earlier roll.

⁹⁰⁸ No. 46, m. 8 (w/b 4 April 1356). By June 1356, ten seams of coloured glass were in store: m. 1d.

⁹⁰⁹ Nos. 45, m. 1 (w/b 10 Aug. 1355, Virgin Mary); 46, mm. 2–3, 10 (w/b 26 Oct. and 23 Nov. 1355, 23 May 1356, 'doublettes'), 8 (w/b 4 April 1356, St George).

⁹¹⁰ Nos. 46, m. 5 (w/b 2 Feb. 1356, shoes); 47, m. 5 (fixing).

⁹¹¹ No. 46, m. 1 (w/b 28 Sept. 1355).

⁹¹² No. 46, m. 1d. They could be those in no. 57, rot. 48 m. 1 (1364–65).

Evangelists, ‘standing in the chapel of St Stephen’, presumably a sculpture and possibly the rood, was the object of a lavish purchase of materials for gilding and relief decoration in 1359–60.⁹¹³ An eagle for a lectern was bought in the following year.⁹¹⁴

The identification of related building is more difficult. From at least July 1355 a team of masons was working on the entrance to a chapel, perhaps St Stephen’s, or possibly the ‘chapel by the mill’ (in the privy palace, by the abbey mill), mentioned in September.⁹¹⁵ The two-bay porch that provided access for the college to the lower chapel, on the north side of the chapel at the west end, is a possibility, although this was also worked on in the 1390s (see below).⁹¹⁶ From early November 1355 the masons then worked on a cloister, for which stone and marble were purchased, including 182 feet of marble for steps, so part of it was perhaps of more than one storey.⁹¹⁷ It may be significant that the site of the present cloister, to the north of the chapel, was granted to the college in 1356.⁹¹⁸ In 1357–58, building was also being done on the “Pew” cloister of the lady queen.⁹¹⁹ This was presumably on the privy palace side, although it is not known how it was associated with the queen, or where it stood; the chapel of Our Lady of the Pew was on the south side, adjoining St Stephen’s.⁹²⁰ In 1362–63 the ‘canons’ cloister’ would be paved with Flemish tiles and roofed in lead, sufficient to cover about 960 square feet.⁹²¹ This was presumably on the present site, to the north of the chapel. As regards college accommodation, a timber dwelling was constructed for the dean in 1357–58, at task.⁹²² Among many locks for the doors of the chapel, a *stoklok* was bought in January 1356 with twenty-four keys, perhaps for the community.⁹²³

It is possible that resolutions in inventorying and accounting for the chapel coincided with a change in its status, when it was brought into use. Lambeth’s final reckoning, an enrolled summary account for Michaelmas 1359 to November 1361 (no. 53) records the handing over of various items to the dean of the college, including four chests purchased in 1356.⁹²⁴ The indenture for this transfer, in Anglo-Norman, also survives.⁹²⁵ As we have seen, a summary account for the stalls was part of a settlement of the balance sheet for this difficult part of the project, concluded in 1360. There is evidence that work continued, however. In 1361–62 a summary account mentions taskwork on the stalls, and cramps to fix them.⁹²⁶ Paint and metal leaf for the chapel were still being purchased in 1362–63, and painters were to be recruited in London in June 1363 (table 2).⁹²⁷ The summary accounts for 1363–65 then contain no references to either college or chapel, although painters were at work somewhere.⁹²⁸ A few familiar items were still in store, but furnishing may have been largely complete. In 1365–66 ‘a certain cloister’ was washed in ochre.⁹²⁹ It would be two decades before mention of St Stephen’s is found again.

⁹¹³ No. 53, rot. 46 m. 1 (‘Et in pictura unius crucifixi cum quatuor ewangelistis stantis in capella sancti Stephani’).

⁹¹⁴ No. 53, rot. 46 m. 2.

⁹¹⁵ No. 45, m. 1 (w/b 27 July 1355). No. 46, m. 1 (w/b 28 Sept. 1355).

⁹¹⁶ I am grateful to Christopher Wilson for this suggestion.

⁹¹⁷ No. 46, from m. 2 (w/b 2 Nov. 1355, cloister); m. 5 (w/b 15 Feb. 1356, marble for steps).

⁹¹⁸ TNA, SC 8/247/12304 (petition); *Cal. Chart., 1341–1417*, pp. 133–34 (1 Jan. 1354). For this, see Biggs 2016, p. 35. A new lodge was built for the masons in winter and spring 1356: no. 46, mm. 4–10 (from w/b 19 Jan. 1355).

⁹¹⁹ No. 47, mm. 1 (masons, at work on the ‘claustrum Pue domine Regine’), 4 (stone).

⁹²⁰ Appendix 3, m. 26 (13 Dec. 1394): ‘parva capella contigua dicte capelle sancti Stephani ex parte australi vocata nunc domus capituli et capella de la Pewe’. Kingsford 1917.

⁹²¹ No. 54, rot. 40 m. 1. Salzman estimated that one char of lead could cover c.160 sq. ft (Salzman 1967, p. 263). The six specified chars would cover one walk of the later cloister, which survives on the north side of the chapel (the north and south walks measure about 12½ ft by 75 ft).

⁹²² No. 47, mm. 4 (materials), 5 (taskwork, Henry Bradley).

⁹²³ No. 46, m. 4 (w/b 19 Jan. 1356).

⁹²⁴ Nos. 53, rot. 46 m. 2; 46, m. 6 (w/b 29 Feb. and 14 March 1356). They can be tracked in later inventories.

⁹²⁵ No. 48, m. 1.

⁹²⁶ No. 54, rot. 40 m. 1.

⁹²⁷ No. 55, rot. 40d m. 1d.

⁹²⁸ Nos. 56–57.

⁹²⁹ No. 49, mm. 2 (material), 4 (taskwork). It is possible from the context that this cloister was in the privy palace.

The college: 1384–96

A final group of surviving accounts concerns work on the college buildings in the reign of Richard II. The king's interest coincides with his wider activities at the palace, and his commemoration in the abbey.⁹³⁰ The records fall into two groups. An earlier pair of rolls concerns work led by William Hannay, who was appointed on 12 January 1384 to direct the building of a *mansio* or residence for the vicars of St Stephen's, and a cloister between the chapel and the Receipt of the Exchequer, by order of the king and his council.⁹³¹ By this time he was already controller of the king's works.⁹³² A summary account for 1384–85 records purchases of materials and the wages of various craftsmen.⁹³³ A roll of particulars may then record the bringing of one part of this project to completion.⁹³⁴ It mentions a completed hall, paved with Flemish tiles and perhaps topped by a weathervane; a kitchen paved in marble and with a well; and the construction by carpenters of a buttery and pantry. According to the heading, the document ran from 25 June 13 Edward III to 30 June 18 Edward III. The start date is unusual, as it does not mark the arrival of a new clerk. Colvin dated the roll to 1389–94, that is, by regnal rather than Exchequer year.⁹³⁵ We have followed him, because a new start in summer 1389 would be in keeping with the king's resumption of power in May, after three years of restraint under the 'continual council'.⁹³⁶

A second pair of documents records work under a different clerk, John Godmanstone, in an enrolled summary account and in a controller's roll, running consecutively between November 1393 and Easter 1396.⁹³⁷ The project included the rebuilding of Westminster hall, and also the building of a fourth part of the cloister, a bell-tower, a new porch to the chapel, and steps from the cloister to the upper chapel. The controller was none other than Hugh Herland, master carpenter of the hall's magnificent roof. The porch was probably on the north side of the undercroft, at the west end, possibly extending a previous porch there (see above). If so, the porch, steps, and bell-tower were all built along the east side of the hall, so it is highly likely that the fourth part of the cloister connected them, literally 'adjoining the aforesaid hall', as a west range.⁹³⁸ This is supported by reference to flying buttresses, in relation to the same range, presumably those supporting the east side of the hall.⁹³⁹ In 1396, as the project neared completion, Richard endowed the vicars anew, enhancing his grandfather's original foundation and enjoining them to celebrate perpetually the anniversary of his late wife, Anne of Bohemia, in St Stephen's chapel.⁹⁴⁰

The king's concern for the college contributed also to an important agreement, regarding the rights of spiritual jurisdiction of St Margaret's parish church, between the abbot and monks of Westminster, on the one hand, and the dean and canons of neighbouring St Stephen's, on the other (appendix 3);⁹⁴¹ St Margaret's was under the jurisdiction of the abbot.⁹⁴² The document was sealed by both parties on 10 August 1394, and ratified by Richard's brother, Edmund, duke of York, as keeper of the realm, on 13 December. It is included here in an appendix, with a new plan of the site, because it describes the topography of the college in remarkable detail at the end of the period for which records survive.

⁹³⁰ HKW, i, pp. 527–33; Binski 1995, pp. 199–205; Lindley 1997; Wilson 1997; Spooner 2015; Biggs 2018.

⁹³¹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1381–85, p. 365 (12 Jan. 1384). Cited in no. 60, rot. C m. 1.

⁹³² HKW, i, pp. 189–90; ii, p. 1046.

⁹³³ No. 60.

⁹³⁴ No. 58.

⁹³⁵ HKW, i, p. 526.

⁹³⁶ Ormrod 1996a; Saul 1997, pp. 203–204. I am grateful to Mark Ormrod for this suggestion.

⁹³⁷ Nos. 61, 59.

⁹³⁸ No. 61, rot. B m. 2 ('circa facturam quarte partis unius claustris de novo fieri ordinati ac aule predicte contigui ac de perfectura campanilis ibidem').

⁹³⁹ No. 59, m. 3.

⁹⁴⁰ *Cal. Pat.*, 1391–96, pp. 669–70 (22 Jan. 1396); Biggs 2018, p. 170.

⁹⁴¹ For the dispute, see Biggs 2016, ch. 7; Biggs 2018, pp. 171–74.

⁹⁴² Rosser 1989, pp. 252–53.

TABLES

Table 1. Clerks of works and controllers¹

Clerks of the king's works at the palace of Westminster and Tower of London

Stephen de Knolle, by 4 Oct. 1292,² to at least 21 Sept. 1297³
 Nicholas of Tickhill, from 7 Aug. 1307, to at least 24 Feb. 1308⁴
 John of Norton, by 29 Sept. 1311,⁵ and Mich. term 1319–20⁶
 John of Ditton, from 26 Feb. 1320,⁷ to at least 23 Dec. 1322⁸
 William de Chaillou (Chaylhou, Chaylow), from 16 Nov. 1323⁹ (acting clerk, by 24 July 1323),¹⁰ to 16 March 1327¹¹
 Richard de Kenebroke, from 13 or 16 March 1327¹²
 Robert de Pippishull, from 15 Feb. 1328¹³
 William of Kelsey, from 3 Jan. 1329,¹⁴ to 2 Aug. 1329¹⁵
 John of Ferriby, from 2 Aug. 1329¹⁶
 Walter of Weston, from 23 Jan. 1331,¹⁷ to 29 Sept. 1346, and 19 Jan. 1349 to 20 June 1351;¹⁸ deputies at other times (see below)¹⁹
 Thomas of Stapleford, from 15 July 1334 (deputy for Weston, with others); from 28 July 1348 (deputy)²⁰
 Brother John Walrand, on 20 and 25 Aug. 1346 (deputy for Weston)²¹
 Peter of Bridgnorth, from 8 Oct. 1347 (deputy for Weston)²²
 Robert of Campsall, from 20 or 21 June 1351,²³ to 20 Sept. 1354²⁴
 Thomas of Stapleford, from 21 Sept. 1354,²⁵ to 5 June 1356²⁶
 William of Lambeth, from 6 June 1356,²⁷ to 14 Nov. 1361²⁸
 William of Sleaford, from 14 Nov. 1361²⁹

¹ These lists are based on those in *HKW*, ii, pp. 1045–47.

² No. 3, m. 1.

³ No. 12, m. 11.

⁴ No. 14, f. 1.

⁵ No. 15, f. 1.

⁶ No. 16, m. 1.

⁷ *Cal. Fine*, 1319–27, p. 18.

⁸ No. 17, m. 1d.

⁹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1321–24, p. 353.

¹⁰ *Cal. Close*, 1323–27, p. 9.

¹¹ No. 21, rot. 41 m. 2.

¹² *Cal. Fine*, 1327–37, p. 26 (13 March); no. 21, rot. 41 m. 1 (16 March).

¹³ *Cal. Pat.*, 1327–30, p. 230, for life.

¹⁴ *Cal. Pat.*, 1327–30, p. 343.

¹⁵ No. 22, m. 1.

¹⁶ No. 22, m. 1.

¹⁷ *Cal. Pat.*, 1330–34, p. 44, for life.

¹⁸ No. 50, rot. 47 m. 1.

¹⁹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1340–43, pp. 484–85 (21 July 1342).

²⁰ *Cal. Close*, 1333–37, p. 235 (15 July 1334); *Cal. Close*, 1337–39, p. 612 (27 Oct. 1338); *Cal. Pat.*, 1348–50, p. 128 (28 July 1348).

²¹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1345–48, pp. 167 and 188 (surveyor).

²² *Cal. Pat.*, 1345–48, p. 413.

²³ Nos. 50, rot. 47 (20 June); 51, rot. 37 (21 June).

²⁴ No. 51, rot. 37 m. 1.

²⁵ *Cal. Pat.*, 1354–58, p. 104.

²⁶ No. 52, rot. 40d m. 1d.

²⁷ *Cal. Pat.*, 1354–58, p. 407.

²⁸ No. 53, rot. 46.

²⁹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1361–64, p. 113.

Clerks of the king's works

William Hannay, from 14 Feb. 1378¹

John Blake, from 14 April 1378²

Arnold Brocas, from 3 May 1381³

Roger Elmham, from 6 Jan. 1388⁴

Geoffrey Chaucer, from 12 July 1389⁵

John Gedney, from 17 June 1391⁶

Controllers of the king's works at the palace of Westminster and Tower of London

William of Staverton and John of Norton, by 24 Feb. 1308⁷

John of Norton, from 24 Feb. 1308⁸

Richard Abbot and William de Benton, by 29 Sept. 1315⁹

John de Vyene, by 29 Sept. 1319¹⁰

Robert de Pippishull, by 24 March 1322¹¹

Richard de Kenebroke, from 10 May 1328¹²

Robert of Hillam, from 16 Sept. 1329¹³

John of Broughton, from 28 Dec. 1333¹⁴

Martin of Exning, from 24 May 1342¹⁵

Adam of Chesterfield, from 27 July 1355¹⁶

Controllers of the king's works

William Hannay, from 14 April 1378¹⁷

Richard of Branston, from 20 Feb. 1388¹⁸

William Hannay, from 8 July 1388¹⁹ (successor, from 27 May 1398)

¹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1377–81, p. 113.

² *Cal. Pat.*, 1377–81, p. 197.

³ *Cal. Pat.*, 1381–85, p. 6.

⁴ *Cal. Pat.*, 1385–89, p. 379.

⁵ *Cal. Pat.*, 1388–92, p. 82.

⁶ *HKW*, ii, p. 1045 (d. 14 Oct. 1396).

⁷ No. 14, f. 1.

⁸ No. 14, f. 1.

⁹ No. 15, f. 1.

¹⁰ No. 16, m. 1.

¹¹ No. 17, m. 1.

¹² *Cal. Pat.*, 1327–30, p. 268.

¹³ *Cal. Pat.*, 1327–30, p. 443, for life.

¹⁴ *Cal. Pat.*, 1330–34, p. 488, for life.

¹⁵ *Cal. Pat.*, 1340–43, p. 434, for life.

¹⁶ *Cal. Pat.*, 1354–58, p. 275.

¹⁷ *Cal. Pat.*, 1377–81, p. 197.

¹⁸ *Cal. Pat.*, 1385–89, p. 415.

¹⁹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1385–89, p. 477.

TABLES

Table 2. Orders for impressment in the patent rolls

Most orders describe work on the chapel or college. A few less specific orders may be related to known activity on the chapel at a particular time.

12 July 1345	Walter of Weston, to take in London and elsewhere masons, carpenters and other workmen for the Tower, palace of Westminster and mews at Charing.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1343–45, p. 527
20 April 1346	John Walrand and William Ramsey, to take masons for the palace of Westminster. Also John Walrand and William Hurley, to take carpenters.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1345–48, p. 112
30 July 1349	John of Brampton, to buy in London and the counties of Salop. and Staffs. glass for the king's chapel at Westminster, and to take workmen for the chapel.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1348–50, p. 388
18 March 1350	Hugh of St Albans, to take painters in Kent, Middx, Essex, Surrey and Sussex. Also John Athelard, in Lincs., Northants., Oxon., Warwicks. and Leics.; and Benedict Nightyngale, in Cambs., Hunts., Norf. and Suff.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1348–50, p. 481
28 March 1350	John of Lincoln, to take glaziers and other workmen in Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Middx, Essex, Herts., Oxon., Berks., Norf., Suff., Beds., Bucks., Lincs., Warwicks., Leics., Hants., Som., Dorset, Derbys., Staffs., Salop. and Herefords. Also John of Lincoln, and John Gedding, to buy glass in Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Middx, Essex, Herts., Oxon., Berks., Norf., Suff., Beds., Bucks., Lincs., Warwicks., Leics., Hants., Wilts., Som., Dorset, Derbys., Staffs., Salop., Herefords., Cambs., Hunts., Corn. and Northants.; and to take workmen, glaziers and others.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1348–50, pp. 484, 525
22 May 1350	John de Alkeshull, Richard Gregory and Ralph Hikebidde, to take tilers for the palace of Westminster and Tower, and carriage for tiles from Penn.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1348–50, p. 531
10 June 1350	John Raynold, to take in Essex, Herts., Norf. and Suff. masons and others for the new chapel in the palace of Westminster.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1348–50, p. 584
20 March 1351	John of Brampton and John of Gedding, to buy glass for the chapel in Westminster palace; also to take workmen, glaziers and others for the chapel.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1350–54, p. 57
20 June 1351	For one year, Robert of Campsall, to take in London and elsewhere masons, carpenters and other workmen for the Tower and palace of Westminster.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1350–54, p. 134
28 July 1352	Martin Exning and Hugh of St Albans, to take painters for the palace of Westminster.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1350–54, p. 308
8 Aug. 1354	John of Dunstable and Richard of Wilton, to take carpenters and sawyers in Herts. and Middx for the Tower and Westminster.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1354–58, pp. 95–96
4 Aug. 1355	Thomas of Stapleford, clerk of works at the Tower and Westminster, to take in London and elsewhere masons, carpenters and other workmen.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1354–58, p. 275
16 Aug. 1360	William and Hugh Herland, to take carpenters for Westminster, the Tower and elsewhere.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1358–61, p. 449
17 Nov. 1360	Edmund of St Andrew, master of work on the stalls in the king's chapel at Westminster, to take carpenters, at the king's wages during his pleasure.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1358–61, p. 490
4 June 1363	William of Walsingham, to take painters in London for St Stephen's chapel.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1361–64, p. 345
12 Jan. 1384	William Hannay, clerk of works for the <i>mansio</i> of the vicars of St Stephen's, to take masons and other workmen.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1381–85, p. 365

Table 3. Counties of origin for masons, w/b 13 Oct. 1292

The following counties and places are associated with the names of masons who were about to leave the building site in October 1292 (no. 1, rot. 14).

Beds.	4	Glam.	1	Hunts.	1	London (?)	3	Salop.	1	Sussex	3
Corn.	1	Gloucs.	1	Kent	6	Middx	1	Som.	3	Worcs.	2
Dorset	11	Hants.	3	Lancs.	1	Northants.	3	Staffs.	1	Yorks.	1
Essex	3	Herts.	2	Lincs.	1	Oxon.	1	Surrey	3	'No county'	3
										Boulogne	2
										TOTAL	62

Table 4. Calendar

The following feast days are counted in the calculation of wages. The list has been compiled from rolls of the 1290s (nos. 1–2), the 1320s and 1330s (nos. 18, 22, 25), and the 1340s and 1350s (nos. 38, 40). The absence of feasts from certain rolls may be accounted for by the incompleteness of the roll (especially the 1290s rolls), or the falling of the feast on a Sunday, which was not a working day. A few feasts were added over time, such as that of Corpus Christi.

The calendar may be compared to that employed for the calculation of wages at Westminster abbey, 28 April to 6 Dec. 1253 (E 101/467/1).¹ Taking into account the holiday at Pentecost, and feasts that fell on a Sunday, it is similar. The period from 1 Feb. to 19 April 1253 (Easter Eve) may be reconstructed with less certainty from E 101/467/4 and E 101/466/30; there is reference to four feasts, including those of St Matthias and the Annunciation.²

January	1	Lord's Circumcision (nos. 18, 38)
	6	Epiphany (nos. 18, 40)
	25	St Paul, apostle, <i>conversio</i> (nos. 18, 38, 40)
February	2	Blessed Virgin Mary, <i>purificatio</i> (E 101/466/30; nos. 18, 22, 38, 40)
	22	St Peter, apostle, <i>in cathedra</i> (nos. 18, 38, 40)
	24	St Matthias, apostle (E 101/467/4; nos. 18, 22, 38, 40) (in a leap year, 25 Feb.)
March	25	Blessed Virgin Mary, <i>annunciatio</i> (E 101/467/4; nos. 1, 18, 22, 38)
April	25	St Mark, evangelist (nos. 18, 40) ³
May	1	Sts Philip and James, apostles (E 101/467/1; nos. 18, 38, 40)
	3	Holy Cross, <i>inventio</i> (E 101/467/1; nos. 18, 40)
	6	St John the Evangelist, <i>ante portam latinam</i> (E 101/467/1; nos. 18, 38)
June	11	St Barnabas, apostle (nos. 18, 40)
	24	St John the Baptist, <i>nativitas</i> (E 101/467/1; nos. 1, 18, 22, 38, 40)
	29	Sts Peter and Paul, apostles (nos. 18, 22, 40)
July	7	St Thomas, martyr, <i>translatio</i> (E 101/467/1; nos. 1, 18, 22, 38, 40)
	20	St Margaret, virgin (nos. 18, 40)
	22	St Mary Magdalene (E 101/467/1; nos. 1, 18, 38)
	25	St James, apostle (E 101/467/1; nos. 18, 22, 38, 40)
August	1	St Peter, apostle, <i>ad vincula</i> (E 101/467/1; nos. 1, 18, 38, 40)
	10	St Laurence, martyr (nos. 1, 18, 40)
	15	Blessed Virgin Mary, <i>assumptio</i> (E 101/467/1; nos. 1, 18, 40)

¹ *Building Accounts of King Henry III*, pp. 248–87. For a table, see Jones 2015, fig. 4, on p. 119.

² *Building Accounts of King Henry III*, pp. 224–35, 236–39.

³ The feast is named, but worked on in 1295 (no. 1, rot. 79).

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	24	St Bartholomew, apostle (nos. 1, 18, 40)
	29	St John the Baptist, <i>decollatio</i> (E 101/467/1; nos. 18, 40)
September	8	Blessed Virgin Mary, <i>nativitas</i> (E 101/467/1; nos. 1, 18, 40)
	14	Holy Cross, <i>exaltatio</i> (nos. 1, 18, 40)
	21	St Matthew, apostle (nos. 18, 40)
	29	St Michael, archangel (E 101/467/1; nos. 1, 18, 25, 40)
October	13	St Edward, king and confessor, <i>translatio</i> (E 101/467/1; nos. 1, 18, 40) ¹
	18	St Luke, evangelist (E 101/467/1; nos. 18, 25, 38, 40)
	28	Sts Simon and Jude, apostles (E 101/467/1; nos. 1, 18, 25, 40)
November	1	All Saints (E 101/467/1; nos. 1 (probably, rot. 17), 18, 25, 38, 40)
	2	All Souls (nos. 18, 25, 38, 40)
	11	St Martin, confessor (E 101/467/1; nos. 1, 18, 25, 40)
	20	St Edmund, king and martyr (E 101/467/1; no. 1) ²
	23	St Clement, pope (nos. 38, 40) ³
	25	St Katherine, virgin (E 101/467/1; nos. 1, 18, 25, 38, 40)
	30	St Andrew, apostle (nos. 18, 25, 38, 40)
December	6	St Nicholas, confessor (E 101/467/1; nos. 18, 25, 38, 40)
	8	Blessed Virgin Mary, <i>conceptio</i> (nos. 38, 40) ⁴
	21	St Thomas, apostle (nos. 18, 25, 38, 40)
	25	Christmas (<i>passim</i>)
Movable feasts		
Ascension (Thursday following Rogation Sunday)		
Corpus Christi (Thursday after Trinity Sunday) ⁵		
Easter		
Pentecost (7th Sunday after Easter Sunday) ⁶		

¹ The feast is named, but apparently worked on in 1333 (no. 25, m. 1).

² This feast day is named, but worked on in 1325 (E 101/469/9, m. 1 schedule 1d, collated with no. 18), and not counted in no. 38, m. 4.

³ This feast day is named, but worked on in 1324 (no. 18, m. 9) and 1325 (E 101/469/9, m. 1 schedule 1d, collated with no. 18).

⁴ Not counted in nos. 1, rot. 23; 18, m. 9.

⁵ The first reference is in no. 18, m. 4 (14 June 1324).

⁶ In no. 22 (m. 6), it is explained that the previous week was not worked.

Table 5a. Wages, 1292–1326

Daily rates, unless otherwise stated. Seasonal wage ranges are divided by an oblique.

	No. 1 1292–95	Nos. 18, 20 1323–26
Masons	3 d. to 6½ d./3 d. to 5½ d.	4 d. to 5½ d./3½ d. to 4½ d.
Stonelayers	4½ d. to 5 d. (Feb. to Oct. only)	5 d. to 5½ d. ¹
Master	[Michael of Canterbury] ²	36 d. a wk (Thomas of Canterbury) ³
Warden	3 s. 6 d. a wk (Michael of Canterbury) ⁴	
Carpenters	2 d. to 6 d./4½ d.	4 d. to 5½ d./3 d. to 4½ d.
King's carpenters		4 d. ⁵
Master		12 d. (Hurley)
Warden		6 d. (Underdown)
Smiths	9 d. to 3 s. a wk ⁶	3 d. to 5 d./2½ d. to 4 d.
Labourers	2 d. to 3½ d./2 d. to 3 d.	2½ d. to 4 d./2½ d. to 3 d.
Scaffolders		3½ d./3 d.

Table 5b. Wages, 1331–48

Daily rates, unless otherwise stated. Seasonal wage ranges are divided by an oblique.

	Nos. 23–26 1331–35	No. 35 1342–43	No. 38 1347–48
Masons	2 d. to 5½ d./2 d. to 4½ d.	5 d. to 6 d./4 d. to 5 d.	5 d. to 6 d./4 d. to 5 d.
Stonelayers	5½ d. ⁷		5½ d./4 d. ⁸
Master	72 d. (Thomas of Canterbury) ⁹	[William Ramsey] ¹⁰	7 s. a wk (William Ramsey)
Warden	6 d./5 d. to 6 d. (Michael of Canterbury)	3 s. 6 d. a wk (Alyngton, John of Ramsey)	3 s. 6 d. a wk (John of Ramsey)
Carpenters	4 d. to 5 d./3 d. to 4 d. ¹¹	3 d. to 5½ d./4 d.	4 d. to 6 d./4 d. to 5 d.
Master		[Hurley] ¹²	7 s. a wk (Hurley)
Warden			3 s. 6 d. a wk (Herland)
Smiths	by task	by task	by task
Labourers	2 d. to 4 d./2 d. to 3 d.	3 d./2½ d.	3 d./2½ d.
Scaffolders	3½ d./3 d.	3 d./2½ d.	3½ d. to 4 d./3 d. to 3½ d.

¹ There are specific references to stonelayers only occasionally, during the building season between Feb. and Oct.

² Payments to Michael of Canterbury were recorded elsewhere.

³ Thomas was paid in each week, but nothing at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, or in one week when he was away. He received also a *roba* at Christmas.

⁴ A second Michael of Canterbury was overseer or warden of the works.

⁵ From May to Sept. 1325, carpenters from the king's household were paid for seven days a week, at 4 d. a day.

⁶ Wages are given usually for the week, with no seasonal variation.

⁷ There are specific references to stonelayers only occasionally, in the building season between Feb. and Oct.

⁸ There are just two specific references.

⁹ Thomas of Canterbury was paid the same amount in each week, receiving also a *roba* at Christmas.

¹⁰ Payments to William Ramsey were recorded elsewhere.

¹¹ Carpenters were employed occasionally.

¹² Payments to William Hurley were recorded elsewhere.

TABLES

Table 5c. Wages, 1351–56

Daily rates, unless otherwise stated. Seasonal wage ranges are divided by an oblique

	No. 40 1351–52 ¹	No. 42 1353–54 ²	No. 46 1355–56 ³
Masons	5½ <i>d.</i>	5½ <i>d.</i> to 6 <i>d.</i> /5 <i>d.</i> to 5½ <i>d.</i> ⁴	5 <i>d.</i> to 6½ <i>d.</i> /5 <i>d.</i> to 6 <i>d.</i>
Master	12 <i>d.</i> (Box)	12 <i>d.</i> (Box)	
Warden		6 <i>d.</i> (Gloucester)	3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> to 4 <i>s.</i> (Gloucester)
Carpenters	4½ <i>d.</i> to 6 <i>d.</i>		4 <i>d.</i> to 10 <i>d.</i> /6 <i>d.</i> to 8½ <i>d.</i> (stalls)
Master	12 <i>d.</i> and 7 <i>s.</i> a wk (Hurley)		10 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> a wk (stalls, St Andrew)
Warden(s)	8 <i>d.</i> and 4 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> a wk (Herland)		7 <i>s.</i> a wk (stalls, Drax)
Painters	4½ <i>d.</i> to 10 <i>d.</i>	4½ <i>d.</i> to 11 <i>d.</i>	5 <i>d.</i> to 10 <i>d.</i> /5 <i>d.</i> to 9 <i>d.</i>
Masters	12 <i>d.</i> (St Albans et al.)	2 <i>s.</i> (Barneby) and 12 <i>d.</i> (St Albans et al.)	12 <i>d.</i> (St Albans et al.)
Glaziers	4 <i>d.</i> to 7 <i>d.</i>		6½ <i>d.</i> /6 <i>d.</i>
Masters	7 <i>s.</i> a wk (Chester) and 12 <i>d.</i> (et al.)		
Labourers	3 <i>d.</i>	4 <i>d.</i> /3 <i>d.</i> /3½ <i>d.</i> /3½ <i>d.</i> to 4 <i>d.</i>	3 <i>d.</i> to 4 <i>d.</i> /3 <i>d.</i>
Scaffolder	3½ <i>d.</i> to 4½ <i>d.</i>	4½ <i>d.</i>	5 <i>d.</i> /4½ <i>d.</i>

Table 6. Prices of materials

	1292–96 ⁵	1323–35 ⁶	1347–48 ⁷	1351–52 ⁸	1355–56 ⁹	1357–58 ¹⁰
Lime	3 <i>s.</i> /3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> <i>cwt</i>	3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> /4 <i>s.</i> <i>cwt</i>	4 <i>s.</i> 100 <i>sacks</i>	6 <i>s.</i> /7 <i>s.</i> 100 <i>sacks</i>	6 <i>s.</i> <i>cwt</i>	6 <i>s.</i> <i>cwt</i>
Reigate stone	72 <i>d.</i> <i>hundred</i>	72 <i>d.</i> <i>hundred</i>	price varies <i>cartload</i>	20 <i>d.</i> <i>cartload</i>	3 <i>s.</i> <i>cartload</i>	3 <i>s.</i> <i>cartload</i>
Iron	3 <i>s.</i> /3 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> <i>cwt</i>	4 <i>s.</i> /4 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> <i>cwt</i>		5 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> <i>cwt</i>		5 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i> <i>cwt</i>
Lead	52 <i>s.</i> /58 <i>s.</i> <i>char</i>	60 <i>s.</i> <i>char</i>	50 <i>s.</i> /54 <i>s.</i> <i>char</i>	66 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> <i>char</i>		

¹ No seasonal variation in wages.

² The seasonal variation occurred at Michaelmas and Easter, for masons; and at 14 Oct., 16 March and 14 July, for labourers.

³ The seasonal variation occurred at All Saints (1 Nov.) and Candlemas (2 Feb.).

⁴ The entries for the masons are included here for comparison, but they are not included in the edition, as the masons were not working on the chapel.

⁵ Nos. 1–2.

⁶ Nos. 18, 20, 23–26.

⁷ No. 38.

⁸ No. 40.

⁹ No. 46.

¹⁰ No. 47.

Table 7. Orders for purveyance in the close and patent rolls

7 Oct. 1344	Brother John Walerand or his deputies, to take such carriage as is required for bringing timber purveyed for the palace of Westminster.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1343–45, p. 407
12 July 1345	Walter of Weston, king's clerk, to take craftsmen; to buy timber, stone, etc.; and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1343–45, p. 527
12 April 1346	Brother John Walrand or his deputy to take land and water carriage for conveyance of the timber, stone, etc., purveyed for the palace of Westminster.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1345–48, p. 67
20 and 25 Aug. 1346	Brother John Walrand, surveyor, and Martin of Exning, controller, to purvey stone, brushwood and timber for the palace of Westminster.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1345–48, pp. 188, 167
4 July 1347	Brother John Walrand and John Alkeshull to provide carriage by land and water, for bringing to the palace of Westminster timber, stone, etc., purveyed for the works.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1345–48, p. 349
12 Aug. 1347	William of Abbotsbury, mason, to take stone for the palace of Westminster and to bring it there. Mandate to the abbot of Sherborne for William to carry stone within his manor of Beer (Devon).	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1345–48, p. 367
18 Oct. 1347	Peter of Bridgnorth, surveyor, Martin of Exning, controller, and John Alkeshull, purveyor, to take by land and water stone, brushwood, charcoal and timber, etc., and carriage, for one year.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1345–48, pp. 295, 417
12 March 1349	Walter of Weston, clerk, Martin of Exning, controller, and John Alkeshull, purveyor, to provide stone, brushwood, charcoal, timber, lead, glass, iron, etc., and to bring them.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1348–50, p. 271
30 July 1349	John of Brampton to buy in London, Salop. and Staffs. the glass required for the king's chapel at Westminster, to take workmen, and to bring the glass there.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1348–50, p. 388
8 Oct. 1349	Martin of Exning, clerk and controller, and Robert de Esshyng, mason, to provide stone of Purbeck, Portland, Birelond and elsewhere; carriage; and to imprison anyone opposing him.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1348–50, p. 450
3 March 1350	Robert de Esshyng to take workmen etc. Appointment of John de Alkeshull to take in England stone, brushwood, coals, timber, lead, glass, iron, tiles, etc., for the palace of Westminster, the Tower of London and Windsor castle, and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1348–50, pp. 474, 479
28 March 1350	John of Lincoln, to select glaziers and other workmen etc. Also appointment of John of Lincoln, the master appointed for the workmen in the king's chapel in the palace of Westminster, and John Gedding, to buy glass in Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Middx, Essex, Herts., Oxon., Berks., Norfolk, Suffolk, Beds., Bucks., Lincs., Warwicks., Leics., Hants., Wilts., Som., Dorset, Derbys., Staffs., Salop., Herefords., Cambs., Hunts., Corn. and Northants.; also to take workmen, and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1348–50, pp. 484, 525
20 July 1350	To the sheriff of Devon, to pay Robert de Esshyng, the king's mason and purveyor, 45 s. for stones bought by him in that district and taken to London, and for the same number of stones of the quarry of la Bere (Beer), as many as can be loaded in two ships.	<i>Cal. Close</i> , 1349–54, p. 194

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20 July 1350	To the sheriff of Somerset, to pay for 22 tons of plaster bought for 30 s. by Robert de Esshyng, the king's mason and purveyor, and for Caen stones taken and arrested by him there to be taken to London, and for a marble stone for making an altar in the king's chapel at Westminster.	<i>Cal. Close, 1349–54, p. 195</i>
20 March 1351	John of Brampton and John of Gedding to buy glass required for the chapel in the palace of Westminster; also to take workmen etc, and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat., 1350–54, p. 57</i>
20 June 1351	For one year, Robert of Campsall to take in London and elsewhere craftsmen, as well as timber, stone, etc., and carriage; to imprison anyone opposing him.	<i>Cal. Pat., 1350–54, p. 134</i>
19 Oct. 1351	For one year, John de Alkeshull to purvey timber, stone and tiles for the palace of Westminster, Windsor castle and Calais, and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat., 1350–54, p. 168</i>
8 March 1352	Until Michaelmas, Richard Lewer of Doncaster to purvey lead in Derbys. for the palace of Westminster, and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat., 1350–54, p. 236</i>
6 May 1352	Laurence de Gotham to take carriage for the king's timber of Berkham and other places in Berkshire by land to Oakley, and by water to Westminster for his works there.	<i>Cal. Pat., 1350–54, p. 259</i>
6 Oct. 1352	For one year, John de Alkeshull and Walter Palmer to purvey timber, stone and tiles for the king's workmen in the palace of Westminster, Windsor castle and Calais, and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat., 1350–54, p. 386</i>
18 Feb. 1353	John de Alkeshull to purvey timber, stone, iron, lead, tiles, fuel, etc., for the Tower of London, palace of Westminster, Windsor castle and Calais, and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat., 1350–54, p. 405</i>
6 Nov. 1353	For one year, John de Alkeshull and Walter Palmer to purvey timber, stone and tiles for the king's works in the palace of Westminster, Windsor castle and Calais, and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat., 1350–54, p. 522</i>
17 March 1354	John de Alkeshull to purvey timber, stone, iron, lead, tiling, fuel, etc., for the Tower of London, palace of Westminster, Windsor castle and Calais, and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat., 1354–58, p. 19</i>
8 Aug. 1354	John of Dunstable and Richard of Wilton to take carpenters etc. Also William de Langhurst of Ockelea to have timber purveyed for the palace of Westminster in Surrey carried by land to Weybridge or Kingston upon Thames.	<i>Cal. Pat., 1354–58, pp. 95–96</i>
17 March 1355	John de Alkeshull and William le Frenshe to take timber, stone, tiles, etc., for the king's works in the palace of Westminster, Windsor castle and Calais, and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat., 1354–58, pp. 190–91</i>
2 June 1355	Thomas Chaumberleyn to take carriage for timber bought in Roydon park and elsewhere for the palace of Westminster and the Tower of London; and to imprison anyone opposing him.	<i>Cal. Pat., 1354–58, p. 241</i>
20 July 1355	John de Alkeshull to purvey timber, stone, iron, lead, tiles, fuel, etc., for the Tower of London, palace of Westminster, Windsor castle and Calais, and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat., 1354–58, p. 274</i>
4 Aug. 1355	Thomas of Stapleford, clerk and surveyor, to take craftsmen etc, as well as to buy timber and stone; to imprison anyone opposing him.	<i>Cal. Pat., 1354–58, p. 275</i>

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16 Aug. 1355	Thomas of Canterbury, mason, to buy 20 cartloads of Egremont stone by Dunstable for the works in the palace of Westminster, and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1354–58, p. 277
16 July 1356	John de Alkeshull to provide timber, stone, iron, lead, tiles, fuel, etc., for the Tower of London, palace of Westminster, Windsor castle, etc., and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1354–58, p. 422
29 July 1357	For one year, John de Alkeshull to purvey timber, stone, iron, lead, tiles, fuel, etc., for the Tower of London, palace of Westminster, Windsor castle, etc., and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1354–58, p. 590
1 May 1359	John de Alkeshull to purvey in all counties timber, stone, iron, lead, tiles, fuel, etc., for the Tower of London, the palace of Westminster, Windsor castle, etc.; and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1358–61, p. 195
28 Jan. 1361	Roger de la Roche of Devon to have stone purveyed at Beer for the king's works at the Tower of London and the palace of Westminster, and to bring the stone to the Tower and the palace.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1358–61, p. 519
26 April 1361	Thomas Chamberleyn to purvey stone, timber, lime, tiles, etc., for the palace of Westminster and Tower of London, and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1361–64, p. 2
5 May 1361	John de Alkeshull to take craftsmen etc; to purvey timber, stone, iron, lead, tiles, fuel, etc., and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1361–64, p. 17
14 Nov. 1361	William of Sleaford, clerk, to purvey stone, timber, etc., and take carpenters, masons and other workmen for the said works and the Tower of London, and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1361–64, p. 113
28 March 1362	Thomas Chaumberleyn to purvey stone, timber, lime, tiles, etc., for the palace of Westminster and Tower of London, and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1361–64, p. 178
20 June 1362	John de Alkeshull to take craftsmen etc; to purvey timber, stone, iron, lead, tiles, fuel, wheels, etc., and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1361–64, p. 216
20 July 1362	Robert de Morton to purvey lead in Notts. and Derbys. for the palace of Westminster and elsewhere.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1361–64, p. 230
16 Jan. 1363	John de Alkeshull to take craftsmen etc; to take carriage for timber, stone, iron, lead, etc.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1361–64, p. 279
12 Nov. 1363	Thomas Chaumberleyn to take craftsmen etc; also to purvey stone, timber, lime, tiles, etc., and carriage.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1361–64, p. 420
26 April 1364	John de Alkeshull to take craftsmen etc; to take carriage for timber, stone, iron, lead, tiles, fuel, etc.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1361–64, p. 279
12 Jan. 1384	William Hannay, clerk of the works 'of the buildings of the <i>mansio</i> ' of the vicars of St Stephen's, to take craftsmen, and materials and carriage for them.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1381–85, p. 365
12 Jan. 1386	Robert Kentbury, mason, to purchase and bring stone, chalk, lime, etc. as pertaining to masonry, 'for building the houses to be newly constructed within the palace of Westminster'.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1385–89, p. 71
20 Apr. 1391	Protection for Robert Gameleston, mason, to procure stone in Yorks. and Notts. for works at Windsor and Westminster, to bring the stone to Westminster, and to take craftsmen.	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1388–92, pp. 400–401

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Table 8. Costs of materials for painting and glazing, 1348–61

	<i>No. 50, rot. 47 mm. 1–2 (Walter of Weston, enrolled summary)</i>		
	<i>1348–49</i>	<i>1349–50</i>	<i>1350–51</i>
Painting materials	£2 13 s. 5 d.	£80 3 s. 5¼ d.	£31 9 s. 10 d.
Glass	£9 2 s. 5½ d.	£17 7 s. 9¾ d.	£25 12 s. 3½ d.
	<i>No. 51, rot. 37 mm. 1–2 (Robert of Campsall, enrolled summary)</i>		
	<i>1351–52</i>	<i>1352–53</i>	<i>1353–54</i>
Painting materials	£230 17 s. 10¾ d.	£64 17 s. 7¾ d.	£17 0 s. 19½ d.
Glass	£34 2 s. 10 d.	–	–
	<i>Nos. 45–46</i>	<i>No. 47, m. 5 (Adam of Chesterfield, counter-rolls)</i>	
	<i>1355–56</i> ¹	<i>1357–58</i> ²	
Painting materials	£22 16 s. 3 d.	£6 6 s. ½ d.	
Glass	10 s.		
	<i>No. 53, rot. 46 m. 1 (William of Lambeth, enrolled summary)</i>		
	<i>1359–60</i> ³	<i>1360–61</i> ⁴	
Painting materials	£4 15 s. 8 d.	£5 14 s. 2 d.	

Table 9. Weekly accounts, 1292–96

Items in italics represent rotulets now missing.

Original rotulet no. and date of week beginning	Current rotulet no.	Purchases of materials	Wage payments
No. 1 (E 101/468/6)			
Rotulet 1: 28 April 1292	rot. 2	X	X
Rotulet 2: 5 May 1292	rots. 80–81d	X	X (incomplete)
Rotulet 3: 12 May 1292	rot. 4	X	X (incomplete)
<i>Rotulets 4–7 (covering 4 weeks, 19 May to 15 June 1292)</i>			
Rotulet 8: 16 June 1292	rots. 5–6	X	X
Rotulet 9: 23 June 1292	rots. 7–8	X	X
Rotulet 10: 30 June 1292	rot. 9	--	X
Rotulet 11: 7 July 1292	rots. 70–71	X	X
Rotulet 12: 14 July 1292	rots. 10–11	X	X
<i>Rotulets 13–24 (covering 12 weeks, 21 July to 12 Oct. 1292)</i>			
Rotulet 25: 13 Oct. 1292	rots. 13–14d	X	X
Rotulet 26: 20 Oct. 1292	rot. 15	X	--
Rotulet 27: 27 Oct. 1292	rots. 16–17d	X	X
Rotulet 28: 3 Nov. 1292	rot. 18–18d	X	X
Rotulet 29: 10 Nov. 1292	rot. 19–19d	X	X
Rotulet 30: 17 Nov. 1292	rots. 20–20d, 22	X	X

¹ 27 July 1355 to 5 June 1356.

² 5 June 1357 to 4 June 1358.

³ 'super operibus Regis'.

⁴ To 14 Nov. 1361: 'super operibus Regis tam capelle sancti Stephani [...] quam aliorum [sic] domorum'.

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Rotulet 31: 24 Nov. 1292	rots. 21–22	X	X
<i>Rotulet 32: 1 Dec. 1292</i>			
Rotulet 33: 8 Dec. 1292	rot. 23–23d	--	X
<i>Rotulet 34: 15 Dec. 1292</i>			
Rotulet 35: 22 Dec. 1292	rots. 24–25	X	X
Rotulet 35: 29 Dec. 1292	rot. 25	--	X
Rotulet 35: 5 Jan. 1293	rot. 25	--	X
Rotulet 35: 12 Jan. 1293	rot. 25	--	X
Rotulet 36: 19 Jan. 1293	rot. 26	--	X
Rotulet 37: 26 Jan. 1293	rot. 27	--	X
<i>Rotulets 38–43 (covering 7 weeks, 2 Feb. to 22 March 1293)¹</i>			
Rotulet 44: 23 March 1293	rots. 29–30	X	X
Rotulet 45: 30 March 1293	rots. 29–30	X	X
<i>Rotulets 46–56 (covering 11 weeks, 13 April to 21 June 1293)</i>			
Rotulet 57: 22 June 1293	rot. 12	--	X (incomplete)
<i>Rotulets 58–61 (covering 4 weeks, 29 June to 26 July 1293)</i>			
Rotulet 62: 27 July 1293	rots. 31–32d	X	X
Rotulet 63: 3 Aug. 1293	rots. 33–34d	X	X
Rotulet 64: 10 Aug. 1293	rots. 35–36d	X	X
Rotulet 65: 17 Aug. 1293	rots. 37–38d	X	X
Rotulet 66: 24 Aug. 1293	rots. 39–40d	X	X
Rotulet 67: 31 Aug. 1293	rots. 41–42	X	X
Rotulet 68: 7 Sept. 1293	rots. 43–44d	X	X
Rotulet 69: 14 Sept. 1293	rots. 45–46d	X	X
<i>Rotulets 70–89 (covering 25 weeks, 21 Sept. 1293 to 14 March 1294)²</i>			
Rotulet 90: 15 March 1294	rots. 47–48d	X	X
Rotulet 91: 22 March 1294	rots. 49–50d	X	X
Rotulet 92: 29 March 1294	rots. 51–52d	X	X
Rotulet 93: 5 April 1294	rots. 53–54d	X	X
<i>Rotulets 94–105 (covering 13 weeks, 12 April and 11 July 1294)³</i>			
Rotulet 106: 12 July 1294	rots. 55–56d	X	X
Rotulet 107: 19 July 1294	rots. 57–58d	X	X
<i>Rotulet 108: 26 July 1294</i>			
<i>Rotulet 109: 2 Aug. 1294</i>			
Rotulet 110: 9 Aug. 1294	rots. 59–60d	X	X
Rotulet 111: 16 Aug. 1294	rots. 61–62d	X	X
Rotulet 112: 23 Aug. 1294	rot. 63–63d	--	X
Rotulet 113: 30 Aug. 1294	rots. 64–65d	X	X
Rotulet 114: 6 Sept. 1294	rots. 66–67d	X	X

¹ The original numbers of the surviving rotulets indicate that there was a one-week stoppage some time between 2 Feb. and 23 March 1293, possibly over Candlemas; Easter Sunday was on 29 March 1293.

² The original numbers of the surviving rotulets indicate that there was a five-week stoppage, perhaps between Christmas 1293 and Candlemas 1294. Alternatively, there could have been one or more periods when works slowed, and a single rotulet was used to record purchases and wage payments for more than one week.

³ The original numbers of the surviving rotulets indicate that there was a one-week stoppage, perhaps around Easter 1294 (18 April).

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Rotulet 115: 13 Sept. 1294	rots. 68–69d	X	X
Rotulet 116: 20 Sept. 1294			
Rotulet 117: 27 Sept. 1294	rots. 72–73, 77	X	X
Rotulet 118: 4 Oct. 1294	rots. 74–76	X	X
<i>Rotulets 119–40</i> (covering 27 weeks, 11 Oct. 1294 to 17 April 1295) ¹			
Rotulet 141: 18 April 1295	rot. 78	--	X
Rotulet 142: 25 April 1295	rot. 79	--	X
<i>Rotulets 143–61</i> (covering 37 weeks, 2 May 1295 to 15 Jan. 1296) ²			

No. 2 (E 101/547/18)

Rotulet 162: 16 Jan. 1296	rot. 1	--	X
Rotulet 162: 23 Jan. 1296	rot. 1	--	X
Rotulet 162: 30 Jan. 1296	rot. 1	--	X
Rotulet 162: 6 Feb. 1296	rot. 1	--	X
<i>Rotulets 163–65</i> (covering 15 weeks, 13 Feb. to 27 May 1296) ³			
Rotulet 166: 28 May 1296	rot. 2	X	X
Rotulet 166: 4 June 1296	rot. 2	X	X
<i>Rotulets 167–69</i> (covering 7 weeks, 11 June to 22 July 1296)			
Rotulet 170: 23 July 1296	rot. 3	X	X
Rotulet 170: 30 July 1296	rot. 3	X	X
Rotulet 171: 6 Aug. 1296	rot. 4	X	X (incomplete)
Rotulet 171: 13 Aug. 1296	rot. 4	X	X (incomplete)
Rotulet 172: 20 Aug. 1296	rot. 5	X	X
Rotulet 172: 27 Aug. 1296	rot. 5	X	X

¹ The original numbers of the surviving rotulets indicate that there was a five-week stoppage, perhaps between Christmas 1294 and Candlemas 1295. Alternatively, there could have been one or more periods when works slowed, and a single rotulet was used to record purchases and wage payments for more than one week.

² The original numbers of the surviving rotulets indicate that there was a stoppage of eighteen weeks. Alternatively, there could have been one or more periods when works slowed, and a single rotulet was used to record purchases and wage payments for more than one week.

³ As work slowed, purchases and wage payments for more than one week may have been entered on a single rotulet. Stoppages are also possible.

Table 10. Masons at work

The totals represent the largest number of masons who worked on the chapel in any week of a given month (the month being determined by the first day of the week), in surviving accounts. They include the master mason, when he is named in the weekly account, and all those working on Purbeck marble. They exclude taskwork. Figures in square brackets refer to stonelayers.

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1292					9	63 [25]	54 [25]			145 [49]	60	48
1293	50		150 [55]			121 [243]*	157 [59]	157 [57]	132 [18]			
1294			109 [13]	110 [14]			138 [12]	150 [8]	156 [7]	161 [8]		
1295				24								
1296	31 (4 weeks, Jan./Feb.)					11	20 (2 weeks, July/Aug.)†	22 (2 weeks, Aug./Sept.)				
BREAK IN WORK FROM 1297												
1323											21	21
1324	28	42	49	52	63	58	51	63	65	54	51	25
1325	25	26	26	32	37	64	66	63	53	47	24	1
1326	0	0	0									
BREAK IN WORK FROM 1326												
1331					1	5	15	16	17	18	23	23
1332	19	21	21	21	21	23	22	25	25	29	21	15
1333	32	34	36	28	28	14	16	16	16	12	12	13
1334	12	12	12	13	15	15	15	13	13	13	13	13
1335	2											
BREAK IN WORK FROM 1335												
1337			6	5								
BREAK IN WORK FROM 1337												
1342									12	12	12	12
1343	14	15	17	14	14	8	8	8	8	8	8	9
1347										61†	49	27
1348	28	31	30	26	50	59	57	51				

* rotulet damaged

† also working elsewhere

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Table 11a. Costs of building work, 1323–26 (no. 21, rot. 41 mm. 1–2)

	Nov. 1323 to Mich. 1324	Mich. 1324 to Mich. 1325	Mich. 1325 to March 1326
Materials	£181 17 s. 6½ d.	£118 19 s. 9 d.	£46 16 s. 1¾ d.
Timber	£17 9 s. 11½ d.	£5 8 s. 8½ d.	£1 18 s. 10 d.
Stone	£144 15 s. 7 d.	£88 2 s. 6 d.	£33 3 s. 5½ d.
Mortar materials	£9 7 s. 10 d.	£13 0 s. 11½ d.	
Iron and steel	£8 7 s. 8 d.	£11 1 s. 3 d.	£2 9 s. 4¾ d.
Coal	£1 14 s.	£1 1 s. 4 d.	(incl. mortar/iron/coal)
Transport	£33 1 s. 9½ d.	£24 4 s. 3½ d.	£5 8 s. 1 d.
Wages (all, incl. Tonbridge)	£329 19 s. 6¾ d.	£376 5 s. ¾ d.	£100 19 s. 2 d.
TOTAL	£544 18 s. 10¾ d.	£519 19 s. 2 d.	£153 3 s. 4½ d.
GRAND TOTAL	£1218 1 s. 5¼ d.		

Table 11b. Costs of building work, 1331–35 (no. 33, rot. 39 mm. 1–2)

	May 1331 to Mich. 1331	Mich. 1331 to Mich. 1332	Mich. 1332 to Mich. 1333	Mich. 1333 to Mich. 1334	Mich. 1334 to Jan. 1335
Materials	£18 10 s. 10 d.	£47 7 s. 4 d.	£94 19 s. 3¾ d.	£32 15 s. 11¾ d.	£4 12 s. 9 d.
Stone	£17 17 s. 6 d.	£26 7 s. 4 d.	£61 9 s. 11 d.	£21 10 s. 11½ d.	-
Transport	(included with materials)	8 s. 8 d.	19 s. 1½ d.	20 s. 1 d.	3 s. 1½ d.
Wages (all)	£30 11 s. 9¼ d.	£147 4 s. 8¾ d.	£176 14 s. 6¾ d.	£84 16 s. 10 d.	£32 3 s. ¾ d. (incl. smith)
TOTAL	£49 2 s. 7¼ d.	£195 0 s. 8¾ d.	£272 13 s.	£118 12 s. 10¾ d.	£36 18 s. 11¼ d.
GRAND TOTAL	£672 8 s. 2 d.				

Table 11c. Costs of building work, 1340–43 (no. 39, rot. 49 mm. 1–2)

	Mich. 1340 to Mich. 1341	Mich. 1341 to Mich. 1342	Mich. 1342 to Mich. 1343
Purchases	£83 7 s. ½ d.	£49 15 s. 8 d.	£53 16 s. 7¾ d. ¹
Stone	£51 10 s. 11¼ d. ²	£17 7 s. 2 d. ³	£50 9 s. 4 d. ⁴
Wages	£227 17 s. 9 d.	£203 0 s. 1 d.	£83 11 s.
TOTAL	£312 4 s. 9½ d.	£252 15 s. 9 d.	£137 7 s. 7¾ d.
GRAND TOTAL	£702 8 s. 2¼ d.		

¹ The total includes ironworking.² The total also includes other building materials.³ The total also includes other materials.⁴ The total also includes other building materials.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Language and translation practice

The original language of all the documents edited here is Latin, apart from those that comprise no. 48, which are in Anglo-Norman. They appear here in both their original language and in a modern English translation. We have favoured a literal translation to keep interpretation open.

Some words have been difficult to translate, such as *reparatio*, which occurs often on its own and also in combination with *emendatio*.¹ It is clear from the contexts that its range of meaning is wider than ‘repair’. Sometimes, what appears to be new work is described as *reparatio*, for example. In such cases we have interpreted the word as ‘preparation’, following the range of meanings in the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*. We have usually used ‘repair’ as a default elsewhere. The word *defectus* has usually been translated as ‘defect’, but can also denote something that is missing.

Crossings-out in the original have not usually been included in the translation. We have not translated the sources in the appendices, for reasons of length.

Abbreviations

The Latin of the accounts is heavily abbreviated. For medieval users, this saved space and may have made the accounts more accessible in a multilingual society.² To make them available to the widest modern audience, we have chosen to resolve abbreviations in most cases, in line with those few occasions where the scribes do so themselves. This does not produce absolute consistency across the rolls; the scribes sometimes made idiosyncratic choices and their preferences varied over the 103-year span of the accounts. One of the most problematic (and frequently employed) words, *precium* (price), is a case in point. It occurs throughout the accounts at the end of entries of items purchased and is almost always abbreviated – most commonly rendered as ‘prec’ or ‘pc’. In cases where it was written in full, however, scribal decisions on how to decline it were individual: *precium* is found a few times in early accounts, and *precij* in later accounts.³ We have tended towards *precij* in the later accounts, therefore, while opting otherwise for *precium*.

Another example of differing inflectional choices made by the scribes appears, for example, in ‘pro dicto die festo’ and ‘pro dicto die festi’ (‘for the said feast day’),⁴ but we have extended ‘pro die fest’, where it occurs, as ‘pro die festo’, the more usual choice. Variation also occurs among scribes of different rolls in their choice of the word *scorta* (feminine), *scortex* (masculine), or *scortum* (neuter), a reed used in the construction of scaffolding (translated as ‘withy’), and in their rendering of the word *carbo* (coal) in the singular or plural form. We have tried to reflect these variations accurately as far as possible.

We have not resolved every abbreviated Latin word. Where it is uncertain from the context whether the abbreviation should be resolved in the singular or the plural, we have left it as it stands, and its ambivalence is made clear in the translation by supplying a plural ending in square brackets. Another word which has been left unextended is *Westmonasterium* (Westminster), which was almost always rendered in the abbreviated form ‘Westm’.

¹ Wilson 2015, pp. 164–65, and n. 59.

² Wright 2000, 2011, 2013.

³ See no. 40 (1351–52) for *precij*, written in full; the form of abbreviation used in no. 42 (1353–54) also appears to indicate *precij*.

⁴ Both appear in no. 23, for example.

Other frequently used Latin words have been represented in the Latin texts by modern abbreviated forms, such as ‘li.’ for pounds (in money) and ‘lb.’ for pounds (in weight) (see list of abbreviations below). Months with names that are longer than five letters appear always in the translations in abbreviated form.

Dates

The dates given for each record follow those in the original heading, whether by year or by specific date. They are for the whole roll, therefore, rather than excerpted parts, unless otherwise stated (no. 24, for example). The year is usually an Exchequer year, running from Michaelmas to Michaelmas.⁵ The feast of St Michael (29 September) was a holiday, so work could begin on 30 September. Occasionally, however, the headings include the holiday in the period covered by the roll.⁶ The Exchequer year was usually numbered according to the regnal year at its end; during the reign of Edward II, however, it was numbered according to the one at its beginning. A few oddities in the dating by year have been noted in the introductions to the rolls concerned.⁷

Names and places

Surnames have been left abbreviated in the Latin, but an exception was made for ‘de Cantuaria’ (of Canterbury), often abbreviated in the rolls as ‘de Cant’, because it was the surname in Latin of two master masons – Michael of Canterbury and Thomas of Canterbury. It is always extended fully. Where surnames are toponymic, they have been translated into the modern English place-name, if it is possible to identify the place in question. Where the place-name cannot be identified, the original spelling has been left in the translation, such as ‘de Tichiswold’.⁸ This is true of toponymic surnames, and also of other place-names. Other types of surname appear in the translation as they occur in the original text, but occupational titles that appear in place of surnames – most commonly here ‘Johannes faber’ (‘John the smith’) – have been translated as such. English counties supplied by the editor are those existing before 1974.

First names have been rendered in English forms, except when they are foreign names and the English equivalents are uncertain. In these cases we have left the name in the original. In the accounts of the 1290s, where long lists of workmen’s names appear (in the dative case), the scribe has occasionally chosen to give some first names in the nominative where they are the same in English, for example, *Adam* (instead of the dative form *Ade*), either mistakenly or, more likely, because the name is the same in English. We have rendered the name in the Latin text as the scribe wrote it without a ‘[sic]’, according to the logic that he may have been writing it in English.

Numbers

Superscript abbreviations of cardinal numbers in the original text – usually in hundreds or scores – have been rendered as they appear there, for example ‘iii^{xx}’ (80), but superscript abbreviations of ordinal numbers, for example, ‘v^{ti}’ (5th) have not been rendered in superscript in the transcription.

Units of measure

Materials that were bought by weight included cables, coal, copper alloy, glass, iron, lead, lime, and pigments for painting. Those bought by number included boards, faggots, hurdles, laths, nails, reed and rushes (sometimes explicitly by the sheaf, and perhaps also elsewhere), scaffolding poles, and tiles. Stones were sometimes bought by number (including *gobets*, *parpents*, and *quoins*), but also by other units, including the foot, the shipload, and the ton. In the edition of Henry III’s building accounts it was

⁵ Cheney and Jones 2000, p. 22.

⁶ No. 57.

⁷ Examples include nos. 32, 38.

⁸ See no. 1.

thought that Reigate stone was sometimes bought by weight, but it has since been argued that this is unlikely, as some deliveries would be very small.⁹ In the present accounts, therefore, we have assumed that the many large purchases of Reigate stone were by number; Beer stones were bought in this way.

In translating numerals for quantities, it has seemed simplest usually to give roman numerals as arabic numerals ('245' for 'ccxlv'). The number 'c' has been translated as either '100' or 'cwt' (hundredweight).¹⁰ It varied in value, however, as the clerks of works sometimes noted for their own benefit. In measures by weight, one cwt of iron could be of 100 pounds or 112 pounds.¹¹ For glass, the cwt was of 120 pounds.¹² In measures by number the 'c' could sometimes be 100, but also a 'long hundred' of 120.¹³ The latter was probably the case for *estriche* boards.¹⁴ Different values for the hundred could also be used for the same commodity: in counting iron tools, for example, in accounts for their repair by the smith during the 1330s and 1340s.¹⁵ Inevitably, therefore, the value of 'c' is not always certain.

The words half (*dimidius*) and quarter (*quartrona*) sometimes denote a half or a quarter of a cwt (whether of 100 pounds or more), but also sometimes a half or a quarter of a hundred (whether 100 or a long hundred). This value is not always clear, either. We have therefore spelt out halves and quarters in the translation, in words. Similarly, where a number is given in more than one part ('pro cc et dj. petris'), we have retained the parts in the translation ('200 and a half stones') to avoid misleading the reader.

The term *quadratum*, 'in a square shape' or 'as a square', is used to qualify the dimensions of some timbers, especially in the inventories. In relation to a beam 'grossitudine circiter quadratim iij pedum', for example, the term has been taken to refer to the girth (*grossitudo*), all the way round (each side being of a foot).¹⁶ Elsewhere, it is used to express girth differently, for a timber 'longitudinis ix pedum latitudinis quadratim j pedis et quartrona', that is, for a timber of one and a quarter feet in width (*latitudo*) on each of four sides.¹⁷

Vernacular terms

It is typical of this kind of Latin that it incorporates a large number of words in the vernacular – from either Anglo-Norman or (especially in later accounts) Middle English.¹⁸ Some of these vernacular terms do not have exact modern equivalents. In these cases, they have not been translated, but appear in italics; we have standardized the spelling of some frequently used words. The glossary lists these vernacular terms and provides definitions of them.

The rolls sometimes include a z-like character resembling the Middle English yogh, especially in the 1290s. It is often unclear, however, whether a yogh or a thorn is meant. The character is used extensively for names such as Zorneton, Zorneye and Zormerstone, and in the form 'ze' (as in 'Jack ze Bal'), where a thorn seems likely. We have therefore represented them all with 'z's.

Conventions

Scribal interlineations within the text are enclosed within < >

Crossings-out by the scribe are enclosed within { }

Editorial interventions, including ellipses and membrane numbers, are enclosed within []

All text omitted from the transcription is indicated by [...]

Columns laid out in two columns in the original¹⁹ have been labelled as 'a' and 'b'

⁹ *Building Accounts of King Henry III*; Jones 1998–99, pp. 25, 31.

¹⁰ We have not distinguished between 'cc' and 'ij'.

¹¹ For example, nos. 40, m. 4 (w/b 1 Aug. 1351); 58, m. 1 (1389–94). For the cwt, see Connor 1987, pp. 59, 136.

¹² No. 40, m. 4 (w/b 15 Aug. 1351).

¹³ Connor 1987, p. 58; *Building Accounts of King Henry III*, p. xiii.

¹⁴ Salzman 1967, p. 245.

¹⁵ No. 23, m. 4 (w/b 16 Dec. 1331, 100); 35, m. 2 (w/b 30 Dec. 1342, 120).

¹⁶ No. 21, rot. 41d m. 1d.

¹⁷ No. 24, m. 17 (w/b 1 Feb. 1333).

¹⁸ Wright 2000, 2011, 2013.

¹⁹ Nos. 1–2.

List of abbreviations

For all grammatical forms of these words:

cwt	hundredweight
<i>d.</i>	<i>denarius</i> /penny
dj.	<i>dimidius</i> /half (Latin only)
f(f).	folio(s)
lb.	<i>libra</i> /pound (weight, Latin only)
li.	<i>libra</i> /pound (money, Latin only)
m(m).	membrane(s)
ob.	<i>obolus</i> /halfpenny (Latin only)
q.	<i>quadrans</i> /farthing (Latin only)
rot(s).	rotulet(s)
s.	<i>solidus</i> /shilling
<i>unc.</i>	<i>uncia</i> /ounce (Latin only)
Westm'	<i>Westmonasterium</i> /Westminster (Latin only)

PART I: 1292–1319

1292–97. BUILDING

E 101/468/6

28 APRIL 1292 TO 30 APRIL 1295

Account of Michael of Canterbury, master mason of the building works at St Stephen's chapel, for his weekly and fortnightly expenditure on wages and building materials, from 28 April 1292 to 30 April 1295, with large gaps.

Physical description: A roll of 82 rotulets sewn together at the top; most are in good condition, but rots. 12 and 80 are stained and torn, with much loss of text, and rot. 81 has small holes and some loss of text. For each week, the roll contains a long rotulet listing the details of wage payments, written in a two-column (here designated 'a' and 'b') format, and a short rotulet listing purchases of materials, written in one column. The current stitching at the top of the roll is modern and some of the rotulets have been bound in the wrong order, which is evident from the dates and medieval rotulet numbers. The roll has been edited here with the rotulets in the correct order. Despite its length, it is clear that only about a third of the original roll of accounts survives.¹ E 101/547/18 (no. 2), a roll of accounts now comprising five rotulets (see below), was probably once part of E 101/468/6.

Scope of transcription: Although the individual headings of the rotulets state that they are accounts for works at St Stephen's chapel, many payments relate to other works at the palace of Westminster – most notably, the painting of the king's great chamber (Painted Chamber) and gardening. Where it has been possible to determine that payments of wages or purchases of materials do not relate to St Stephen's chapel, they have been omitted. Rotulet 1 contains no payments relating to the chapel and rot. 82 is a stray account, apparently for royal building works in Northamptonshire; both have been left out.

¹ For a reconstruction of the contents of the original roll, see table 9.

[rot. 2]¹

Prima Septimana

In honore dei beate Marie virginis et beati Stephani incipit rotulus de misis et expensis factis circa fundamentum capelle Regis in suo palacio apud Westm' per manus Magistri Michaelis de Cantuar' cementarij viz. a die lune proximo post festum sancti Marce Ewangeliste xxviiij die mensis Aprilis anno regni Regis Edwardi filij Regis Henrici xx

Empciones

Creta

In primis de Johanne Wynour pro j navata crete empta ad fundamentum dicte capelle {empta} per dictum Magistrum Michaellem et Johannem Le Convers precium ij s.: Summa ij s.

De Johanne Menefeld xxviiij die Aprilis pro j navata crete precium ij s.: Summa ij s.

Calx

De Rogero atte Greneche xxix die mensis Aprilis pro ij {navatis crete} centenis calcis uste emptis precium centene iij s.: Summa vj s.

Alicie de Crokreslan' pro cc calcis uste emptis precium iij s.: Summa vj s.

Cyneria

Ricardo de Sutwerk pro ij novis cineris emptis cum cariagio per aquam: Summa xv d.

Eylesford

De Johanne de Eylesford xxix die mensis Aprilis pro j navata grisee petre: Summa vj s. vj d.

Sabulum

Henrico Batelario pro j navata sabulonis ultimo die Aprilis precium vj d.: Summa vj d.

Johanni de Notele pro L carectatis sabulonis pro carectata ob.: Summa ij s. j d.

Johanni le Convers pro L carectatis sabulonis pro carectata ob.: Summa ij s. j d.

Petra Bonon'

Johanni de Erceling' pro j navata petre de Bonon' pro petra et fracto: Summa iij li. vj s. viij d.

{Bonecto de Bon' pro j navata petre de Bonon' pro petra et fracto}:{Erasure}

Sabulum adhuc

Henrico Mar' pro iij batellatis sabulonis emptis ad mortarium {viz. a principio operis usque} ij die mensis Maij pro batello vj d.: Summa xvij d.

Bonon'

Bonecto de Bonon' pro j navata petre de Bonon' continenti cxv petras apreciatas ij die mensis Maij pro petra et fracto: Summa iij li. xiiij s. iij d.

<Pagatus in septima septimana[?]> [left marginal annotation]

Clavi

Ricardo de Chaupes pro iij^c clavorum emptis ad diversa officia pro centena iij d. ob.: Summa xiiij d. per Convers

Calx adhuc

Rogero de Grenehuth' ij die mensis Maij pro ij^c calcis uste: Summa vj s.

Meremium [pro] loggia

De Ricardo Le Cupere pro L tingnis de quercu emptis ad j loggiam inde faciendam ad opus Magistri Michaelis et eorum [sic] cementariorum scilicet ij die mensis Maij {pro} per diversum precium: Summa xv s.

¹ Rot. 1 is an account for the costs and expenses of Master Walter, painter, in the *emendatio* of the painting in the king's great chamber (later known as the Painted Chamber) in the week beginning 28 April 20 Edward I (1292); it has therefore been omitted.

[rot. 2]

First Week

In honour of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and Blessed Stephen the roll begins of costs and expenses made by the hands of Master Michael of Canterbury, mason, relating to the foundation of the king's chapel in his palace at Westminster, namely from the Monday next after the feast of St Mark the evangelist, 28 April in year 20 of the reign of King Edward [I], son of King Henry

[w/b 28 April 1292]

Purchases

Chalk

First, for John Wynour for one shipload of chalk bought for the foundation of the said chapel by the said Master Michael and John le Convers, price 2 s.: Total 2 s.

For John Manfield on 28 April for one shipload of chalk, price 2 s.: Total 2 s.

Lime

For Roger atte Greenwich on 29 April for two cwt of burnt lime bought, price per cwt 3 s.: Total 6 s.

To Alice of Crockers Lane¹ for two cwt of burnt lime bought, price [per cwt] 3 s.: Total 6 s.

Barrows

To Richard of Southwark for two new barrows bought, with carriage by water: Total 15 *d.*

Aylesford

For John of Aylesford on 29 April for one shipload of ragstone: Total 6 s. 6 *d.*

Sand

To Henry the boatman for one shipload of sand on the last day [30] of April, price 6 *d.*: Total 6 *d.*

To John of Notley for 50 cartloads of sand, for a cartload $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*: Total 2 s. 1 *d.*

To John le Convers for 50 cartloads of sand, for a cartload $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*: Total 2 s. 1 *d.*

Boulogne stone

To John of Herquelingue for one shipload of Boulogne stone, for stone and breaking: Total £4 6 s. 8 *d.*

More sand

To Henry Mar' for three boatloads of sand bought for mortar on 2 May, for a boat[load] 6 *d.*: Total 18 *d.*

Boulogne

To Bonectus of Boulogne for one shipload of Boulogne stone, containing 115 stones, valued on 2 May, for stone and breaking: Total £4 13 s. 4 *d.*

<Paid in the seventh week[?]> [left marginal annotation]

Nails

To Richard de Chaupers for 400 nails bought for diverse works, for a hundred $3\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*: Total 14 *d.* by Convers

More lime

To Roger of Greenwich on 2 May, for two cwt of burnt lime: Total 6 s.

Timber [for the] lodge

For Richard Le Cupere for 50 poles of oak bought for making a lodge from them for the work of Master Michael and of his masons, namely on 2 May, at diverse prices: Total 15 s.

¹ Farringdon Without ward, London.

THE FABRIC ACCOUNTS OF ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL

De Hugo Werfyn eodem die pro m lattis emptis ad idem: Summa vj s.

De Johanne Atthelard eodem die pro xxiiij peciis meremij emptis ad idem: Summa v s.

De Johanne Phi[lippi] eodem die pro vij grossis peciis meremij emptis ad idem: Summa {vij s.} <vj s. viij d.>

Cariagium

In cariagio dicti meremij de Sutwerk usque Westm' per aquam: Summa vij d.

Rof

Waltero Caterom ij die Maij pro vj^c dj. j quart' arondinis emptis ad cooperturam hastilarij Magistri Michaelis et eorum [sic] cementariorum in parte pro centena xij d.: Summa vj s. ix d.

Pycoysi

Johanni de Ledes pro ferro ascero et factura vj picoysorum ad muros de petra frangendos precium pecie xij d. iij die Maij: Summa vj s.

Ferrum

Henrico Fabro pro iij gomfis ad ij hostia: Summa iiij d.

Summa empconum xiiij li. iij s. ix d. + Ista summa plus de iiij d. quam deberet[?]

Stipendia diversorum operariorum predicte septimane per iiij dies operabiles

Carpentarij

In stipendiis Roberti Le Hackre carpentarij per iiij dies per diem v d.: Summa xx d.

Alano de Clutisdale per j diem v d.: Summa v d.

Operarij

Hugoni Oyldebef per iiij dies operabiles per diem iij d.: Summa xij d.

Ricardo Bledelawe per idem tempus capienti per diem iij d.: Summa xij d.

Willelmo Le Ferour

Henrico Costard

Galfrido Le Waller

Johanni de Wylton' per R. le Twynere

Ricardo Le Thuynere

Ade de Colewyk

Stephano Attefelde

Nicholao Welland

Walseman

Johanni Le Grom

Roberto Sterling

Willelmo Gilechawe

Johanni de Beverlaco

Waltero Le Heldere

Johanni Lowe

Johanni Le Gardiner

{Roberto de Upo}

Ade de Biflete

Roberto Le Fand

Henrico de Steventon'

Willelmo Drinkpeny

Alexandro Westm'

Ricardo Squyrel

Willelmo de Chidingfold

Jak Arding' per W. Harding'

Willelmo Arding'

Thome Wonder

For Hugh Werfyn on the same day for 1,000 laths bought for the same: Total 6 s.

For John Atthelard on the same day for 24 pieces of timber bought for the same: Total 5 s.

For John Philip on the same day for seven great pieces of timber bought for the same: Total 6 s. 8 d.

Carriage

For the carriage of the said timber from Southwark to Westminster, by water: Total 7 d.

Roof

To Walter Caterham on 2 May for 600 [and] a half of one quarter of reed bought for the roof of the workshop of Master Michael and his masons, in part, for a hundred 12 d.: Total 6 s. 9 d.

Pickaxes

To John of Leeds for iron, steel and the making of six pickaxes for breaking the walls of stone, price per piece 12 d., on 3 May: Total 6 s.

Iron

To Henry the smith for three hinge hooks for two doors: Total 4 d.

Total purchases £13 3 s. 9 d. This total is 4 d. more than it should be

Wages of diverse labourers of the aforesaid week, for the four working days

Carpenters

For the wages of Robert Le Hackre, carpenter, for four days, per day 5 d.: Total 20 d.

To Alan of Clydesdale for one day, 5 d.: Total 5 d.

Labourers

To Hugh Oyldebef, for the four working days, per day 3 d.: Total 12 d.

To Richard Bledlow, for the same period, taking per day 3 d.: Total 12 d.

To William Le Ferour

Henry Costard

Geoffrey Le Waller

John of Wilton by [the hands of] R. le Twynere¹

Richard Le Thuyner

Adam of Colwick

Stephen Attefelde

Nicholas Welland

Walseman

John Le Grom

Robert Sterling

William Gilechawe

John of Beverley

Walter Le Heldere

John Lowe

John Le Gardiner

Adam of Byfleet

Robert Le Fand

Henry of Steventon

William Drinkpeny

Alexander Westminster

Richard Squyrel

William of Chiddingfold

Jack Harding by [the hands of] W. Harding

William Harding

Thomas Wonder

¹ This and the many similar subsequent annotations refer to the agent through whom payment to the workman was made.

THE FABRIC ACCOUNTS OF ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL

Johanni de Stanstede

Philippo Edyman

Johanni Balemound Quilibet per iiij dies operabiles operantes in fundamento capelle sancti Stephani et ad faciendum mortarium et alia diversa quorum quibus per singulos dies ij *d. ob.*: Summa {xxv s.} xxiiij s. ix *d. ob.*

<Roberto de Uppho per iiij dies vij *d. ob.* per diem ij *d. ob.*>

Galfrido Tortar' circa predictam per iiij dies capienti per diem iiij *d.*: Summa xij *d.*

Waltero de Wod[estok] per idem tempus circa idem per diem iiij *d.*: Summa xij *d.*

Godefrido de H[anv]yle circa idem per iiij dies

Johanni de Compton' circa idem per iiij dies

Thome Wodelond circa idem per idem tempus

Thome de Otham per idem tempus

Stephano de Fulham per idem tempus per H. de Palacio

Willelmo Josep' per idem tempus

Ricardo Le Gardiner per idem tempus Quilibet per diem ij *d. ob.*: Summa iiij s. iiij *d. ob.*

Ricardo Fayreweder per ij dies circa predictam capienti per diem iiij *d. ob.*: Summa vij *d.*

Waltero Cok per ij dies circa idem per diem iiij *d.*: Summa vj *d.*

Gregorio Le Tresourer circa idem per ij dies per diem iiij *d.*: Summa vj *d.*

Simoni de Wodhull' per ij dies: Summa v *d.*

Ricardo Lucas per ij dies

Wymark per ij dies

Radulpho Pistori per ij dies Quilibet v *d.*: Summa xv *d.*

Hugoni clerico scribenti hac septimana: xvij *d.*

Summa xl s. ij *d. ob.* + minus de ij *d. ob.*

Summa totalis septimane tam empconum quam stipendiorum: xv li. iiij s. xj *d. ob.*

Ista summa habet errorem de vj *d. ob.* ut supra

[rot. 2d]

Prima septimana pro opere capelle Westm'

[rot. 80]

R[otulus] [torn off] capelle in septimana in qua fuit festum sancti [Johanni ante portam latinam?] [torn off] operabiles

Gresea petra

[Torn off] scop[is] [torn off] fund' per Oyldebof: Summa ix *d.*

[...]rotis [torn off] [...]ng': Summa v *d.*

Willelmo Sacha[...] [torn off] [n]avata grisee petre: Summa v s. vj *d.*

Johanni Fizbon eodem [die] [torn off] [i]iiij s. ix *d.*: Summa iiij s. ix *d.*

Ade Orgon pro j navata gr[isee petre]: Summa vj s.

Meremium

Jak Calvar' eodem die pro diverso meremio ad domum Magistri Michaelis per J.: Summa xiiij s. vj *d.*

In cariagio dicti meremij per aquam per J. Convers iiij *d.*: Summa iiij *d.*

John de Stanstede

Philip Edyman

John Balemound To each, for the four working days, working on the foundation of the chapel of St Stephen and to make mortar and other diverse things, to each of them, for single days, $2\frac{1}{2} d.$: Total 24 s. $9\frac{1}{2} d.$

To Robert de Uppho, for three days, $7\frac{1}{2} d.$, per day $2\frac{1}{2} d.$

To Geoffrey Tortar¹, for the aforesaid, for four days, taking per day 3 $d.$: Total 12 $d.$

Walter of Woodstock, for the same period, for the same, per day 3 $d.$: Total 12 $d.$

Godfrey of Hanville, for the same, for three days

John of Compton, for the same, for three days

Thomas Woodland, for the same, for the same period

Thomas of Otham, for the same period

Stephen of Fulham, for the same period by H. de Palacio

William Joseph, for the same period

Richard Le Gardiner, for the same period To each per day $2\frac{1}{2} d.$: Total 4 s. $4\frac{1}{2} d.$

To Richard Fairweather, for two days, for the aforesaid, taking per day $3\frac{1}{2} d.$: Total 7 $d.$

Walter Cok, for two days, for the same, per day 3 $d.$: Total 6 $d.$

Gregory Le Tresourer, for the same, for two days, per day 3 $d.$: Total 6 $d.$

Simon of Woodhill, for two days: Total 5 $d.$

To Richard Lucas, for two days

Wymark, for two days

Ralph the baker, for two days To each 5 $d.$: Total 15 $d.$

To Hugh the clerk, writing in this week: 18 $d.$

Total 40 s. $2\frac{1}{2} d.$ + less $2\frac{1}{2} d.$

Total of whole week, both of purchases and wages: £15 3 s. $11\frac{1}{2} d.$

This total has an error of $6\frac{1}{2} d.$, as above.

[rot. 2d]

First week for the work of the chapel of Westminster

[rot. 80]

R[otulet] of the chapel for the week in which was the feast of St [John before the Latin Gate?] [6 May] [torn off] working [days]

[w/b 5 May 1292]

Ragstone

[Torn off] scoops¹ [torn off] foundation, by Oyldebof: Total 9 $d.$

[...] wheels] [torn off] [...]ng': Total 5 $d.$

To William Sacha[...] [torn off] [one] shipload of ragstone: Total 5 s. 6 $d.$

To John Fizbon, on the same [day] [4] s. 9 $d.$: Total 4 s. 9 $d.$

To Adam Orgon for one shipload of ragstone: Total 6 s.

Timber

To Jack Calvar¹, on the same day for diverse timber for the workshop of Master Michael, by J.: Total 14 s. 6 $d.$

For the carriage of the said timber, by water, by J. Convers, 4 $d.$: Total 4 $d.$

¹ Or 'shovels'.

Lina

In j lina emptā ad opus magistri et j tribulo pro faciendo [...]: Summa vj *d.*

Sutwerk

Roberto Wytegrom vij die [Maij] apud Sutwerk pro xxiiij planchiis emptis ad domum dicti magistri precium planchie iij *d.*: Summa vj *s.*

Jak Philippi eodem die pro xv peciis meremij emptis ad idem precium pecie vj *d.* ob.: Summa iiij *s.* j *d.* ob.

Thome Mustard eodem die pro xix peciis meremij emptis ad idem: Summa ij *s.* ij *d.*

Cariagium

In cariagio dicti meremij de Sutwerk per aquam v *d.*: Summa v *d.*

Item in cariagio meremij empti de Thome carpentario per J. xiiij *d.*: Summa xiiij *d.*

Petra

Willelmo Acard viij die Maij pro [torn] grisee petre empt' vij *s.* vj *d.*: Summa vij *s.* vj *d.*

Thome clerico eodem die pro j na[vata pet]re grisee iiij *s.* ix *d.*: Summa iiij *s.* ix *d.*

[...] Otewy i[x] [di]e Maij pro j navata petre grisee emptā dj. marce: Summa vj *s.* viij *d.*

[Torn off] Roberto Wytegrom ix die Maij pro vij tignis emptis ad domum magistri: Summa iiij *s.* iij *d.*

Sutwerk

[Torn] Philippo eodem die pro v tingnis parvis emptis ad idem: Summa ij *s.*

Borde

[Torn][...]yco de Holdernesse pro m^l bordis estr' emptis per J. de Hocton' precium centene xiiij *s.* vj *d.*: Summa vij li. v *s.*

<Thome le Sacristeyn pro> {In} cariagio earumdem de Turri per aquam xvij *d.*: Summa xvij *d.*

Gate

Henrico at the Sele pro xij^{xx} gatis emptis ad cub[atores?] precium gate j *d.*: Summa xx *s.* pro cariagio iiij *d.*

Sabulum

Henrico batelario pro ix batellatis sabulonis de Tamis' pro batellata vj *d.*: Summa iiij *s.* vj *d.*

Calx

Willelmo de Crokreslan' pro iiij^c calcis us[te] emptis pro c[entena] xl *d.*: Summa xiiij *s.* iiij *d.*

Reginaldo pistori pro v^c calcis uste emptis ad mortarium pro centena xl *d.*: Summa xvj *s.* viij *d.*

Carecte

In v carectis conductis ad removendam terram extractam de fundamento per iiij dies et dj. {per iiij} quorum quilibet per totam tempus xxviiij *d.*: Summa xj *s.* viij *d.*

{quilibet arr'[?]} vij *s.* p a' [...] ij *s.* iiij *d.* {left marginal annotations}

Sabulum

In lij carectatis sabulonis de Thothull' emptis pro carectata ob.: Summa ij *s.* ij *d.*

Petra

Johanni ad Aquam x die Maij pro j navata grisee petre emptā vj *s.* viij *d.*: Summa vj *s.* viij *d.*

Clavi

Ricardo de Caupes pro iij^c clavis emptis ad officium carpentarie ix *d.*: Summa ix *d.*

Fabrica

In fabrica utensiliorum cementariorum per Godhyne vj *d.*: Summa vj *d.*

Line

For one line [plumbline?] bought for the work of the master and one shovel for making [...]: Total 6 *d.*

Southwark

To Robert Wytegrom, on 7 [May] at Southwark, for 24 planks bought for the workshop of the said master, price per plank 3 *d.*: Total 6 *s.*

To Jack Philip, on the same day, for fifteen pieces of timber bought for the same, price per piece 6½ *d.*: Total 4 *s.* 1½ *d.*

To Thomas Mustard, on the same day, for nineteen pieces of timber bought for the same: Total 2 *s.* 2 *d.*

Carriage

For the carriage of the said timber from Southwark, by water, 5 *d.*: Total 5 *d.*

Item, for the carriage of timber bought from Thomas the carpenter, by J., 14 *d.*: Total 14 *d.*

Stone

To William Acard, on 8 May, for [torn] of ragstone bought, 7 *s.* 6 *d.*: Total 7 *s.* 6 *d.*

To Thomas the clerk, on the same day, for one shipload of ragstone, 4 *s.* 9 *d.*: Total 4 *s.* 9 *d.*

[...] Otewy, on [9] May, for one shipload of ragstone bought, ½ mark: Total 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

[Torn off] to Robert Wytegrom, on 9 May, for seven beams bought for the workshop of the master: Total 3 *s.* 3 *d.*

Southwark

[Torn] Philip, on the same day, for five small beams bought for the same: Total 2 *s.*

Boards

[Torn] [...]yco of Holderness, for 1,000 *estriche* boards bought by J. of Houghton, price per hundred¹ 14 *s.* 6 *d.*: Total £7 5 *s.*

To Thomas le Sacristeyn for the carriage of the same from the Tower, by water, 18 *d.*: Total 18 *d.*

Vessels

To Henry at the Sele for 240 wood vessels bought for the stonecutters, price per vessel 1 *d.*: Total 20 *s.*, for carriage 4 *d.*

Sand

To Henry the boatman for nine boatloads of sand from the Thames, for a boatload 6 *d.*: Total 4 *s.* 6 *d.*

Lime

To William of Crockers Lane for four cwt of burnt lime bought, for a cwt 40 *d.*: Total 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

To Reginald the baker for five cwt of burnt lime bought for mortar, for a cwt 40 *d.*: Total 16 *s.* 8 *d.*

Carts

For five carts brought to remove the earth extracted from the foundation, for four and a half days, for each of them for the whole period 28 *d.*: Total 11 *s.* 8 *d.*

Sand

For 52 cartloads of sand from Tothill bought, for a cartload ½ *d.*: Total 2 *s.* 2 *d.*

Stone

To John ad Aquam, on 10 May, for one shipload of ragstone bought, 6 *s.* 8 *d.*: Total 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

Nails

To Richard of Camps for 300 nails bought for the work of carpentry 9 *d.*: Total 9 *d.*

Forge

For the forging of the masons' tools by Godhyne 6 *d.*: Total 6 *d.*

¹ Perhaps a long hundred (120): Salzman 1967, p. 245.

Meremium

In meremio {empto per Magistrum Thomam ad ingenium inde factum ad ponendos palos in fundamento capelle cum cavillis ferri ad idem et pro factura eiusdem: Summa xxij s. x d.} [...]

In expensis Radulphi de Brenthon' et Johannis Le Convers facientium providenciam de bos[co] palos inde facientium per iij dies apud Langel': Summa ij s. iiij d.

Summa empcionum per septimanam [x?]vj li. iij s. ob. unde xxij s. x d. sunt in livers'[?] cancellatis supra et non debuerunt esse tam ibidem per manus [...] {Rest' solvend' xxx s. vj d.?:}

Stipendia diversorum operariorum precedentis septimane per vj dies operabiles

Cementarij

Gilecto Hertlyngbom per vj dies per diem v d. ob.: Summa ij s. ix d.

Henrico de Thenth' per idem tempus per diem v d. ob.: Summa ij s. ix d.

Hugoni de Zornmerston'

Henrico de Bonon'

Jak Cochoun per idem tempus quilibet per diem v d.: Summa vij s. vj d.

Item j cementario circa reparacionem hostij de petra cum garda per ij dies: Summa x d.

Summa: xij s. x d.

Carpentarij circa facturam domus et log[iam] [torn off] [Ma]gistri Michaelis per vj dies operabiles

Carpentarij

Magistro Johanni de Bekles carpentario [torn off] [per die]m vj d.: Summa iij s.

Alano de Clutisdale

Ricardo Attebrok

Alexandro de North' per idem tempus [torn off] ob. [torn off]

[Johanni?] le Hackre [torn off] per idem tempus

[Torn off]

[rot. 80d]

Adhuc operarij

Henrico de Steventon'

Willelmo Drinkpeny

Alexandro de Westm'

Ricardo Squirel

Willelmo de Chydingfold

Jak Arding'

Willelmo Arding'

Thome Wonder

Godefrido de Hanvyle

Johanni de Stanstede

Philippo Edyman

Roberto Balemound

Johanni de Compton'

Thome Wodelond

Simoni de Wodhull'

Ricardo Lucas

Wymark

Timber

For timber {rest of entry crossed through}[...]

For the expenses of Ralph de Brenthon' and John Le Convers, making provision of wood, for making piles of it, for three days at Langley:¹ Total 2 s. 4 d.

Total of purchases for the week £16? 3 s. ½ d., of which 22 s. 10 d. are in [?] cancelled above and ought not to be there by the hands of [...]

Wages of diverse labourers of the preceding week for the six working days

Masons

To Gilectus Hertlyngbom, for six days, per day 5½ d.: Total 2 s. 9 d.

To Henry of Thanet, for the same period, per day 5½ d.: Total 2 s. 9 d.

To Hugh de Zornmerstone

Henry of Boulogne

Jack Cochoun for the same period, to each per day 5 d.: Total 7 s. 6 d.

Item to one mason for the repair of the stone doorway, with guard[?], for two days: Total 10 d.

Total: 13 s. 10 d.

Carpenters for the making of the workshop and lodge [torn off] of Master Michael for the six working days

Carpenters

To Master John of Beccles, carpenter, [torn off] [per day] 6 d.: Total 3 s.

To Alan of Clydesdale

Richard Attebrok

Alexander of Northampton for the same period [torn off] ½ d.: [torn off]

To [John?] le Hackre [torn off], for the same period

[Torn off]

[rot. 80d]

More labourers

To Henry of Steventon

William Drinkpeny

Alexander of Westminster

Richard Squirel

William of Chiddingfold

Jack Harding

William Harding

Thomas Wonder

Godfrey of Hanville

John de Stanstede

Philip Edyman

Robert Balemound

John of Compton

Thomas Woodland

Simon of Woodhill

Richard Lucas

Wymark

¹ Kings Langley (Herts.), a royal manor.

Radulpho pistori
 Ricardo le Gardiner
 Willelmo de Derlineton'
 Roberto Hering'
 Willelmo de Chaupes
 Rogero de Sutton'
 Waltero de Marchaund
 Galfrido Palmere
 Willelmo de Durham
 Rogero Le Heldere
 Fulco de Knitebri'
 Thome Neuman
 Johanni de Lync'
 Willelmo de Huntingdon'
 Willelmo de Kingeston'
 {R} Nicholao de Glaston'
 Jak Squrbadd[e]
 David de West[m]'
 Roberto de Wodeb'[...]
 Roberto de Walth[am]
 Jak Petevyn
 Johanni le Longe
 [torn off] quorum quilibet per vj dies xv *d.* Summa: lvj s. iij *d.*

[torn off]

[rot. 81]

[torn off]

Tegulatores

[torn off] per v dies per diem vj *d.* Summa: ij s. vj *d.*
 Radulpho de Otteford per iiij dies circa idem per diem iiij *d.* Summa: xvj *d.*
 Simoni plumbario circa idem per v dies per diem iij *d.* Summa: xv *d.*
 Walseman circa idem per idem tempus per diem ij *d.* ob. Summa: xij *d.* ob.

In xvij lb. de stagmine emptis ad souduras precium lb. ij *d.* Summa: iij s.
 In uncto et sepo emptis ad idem j *d.* ob. Summa: j *d.* ob.

Summa: ix s. ij *d.* [...]¹

Carecte

Ricardo cupario pro carecta sua conducta ad cariamdam terram de fundamento per v dies
 Hamoni portario mutarum pro eodem per idem tempus
 Johanni de Nothele pro eodem per idem tempus
 W[illelmo Fran]kleyn pro eodem per idem tempus quilibet ij s. vj *d.* Summa: x s.

[Torn off] [...]ynge pro eodem per iij dies
 [Torn off] [...]rd pro eodem per idem tempus
 [Torn off] [...]lberd pro eodem per idem tempus quilibet xvij *d.* Summa: iiij s. vj *d.*

Summa: xiiij s. vj *d.*

[Operarij]

Ricardo Fayrewed per iiij dies per diem iij *d.* ob. Summa: xiiij *d.*

¹ Entries follow for the purchase of painting materials and for painters' wages.

Ralph the baker
Richard le Gardiner
William of Darlington
Robert Hering
William de Chaupes
Roger of Sutton
Walter de Marchaund
Geoffrey Palmere
William of Durham
Roger Le Heldere
Fulk of Knightsbridge
Thomas Neuman
John of Lincoln
William of Huntingdon
William of Kingston
Nicholas of Glastonbury
Jack Squrbadde
David of Westminster
Robert of Woodborough
Robert of Waltham
Jack Petevyn
John le Longe
[torn off] to each of whom, for six days, 15 *d.* Total: 56 *s.* 3 *d.*

[torn off]

[rot. 81]

[torn off]

Tilers

[torn off] for five days, per day 6 *d.* Total: 2 *s.* 6 *d.*
To Ralph of Otford for four days, for the same, per day 4 *d.* Total: 16 *d.*
To Simon the plumber for the same, for five days, per day 3 *d.* Total: 15 *d.*
Walseman for the same, over the same period, per day 2½ *d.* Total: 12½ *d.*

For eighteen pounds of tin bought for solder, price per pound 2 *d.* Total: 3 *s.*
For grease and tallow bought for the same, 1½ *d.* Total: 1½ *d.*

Total: 9 *s.* 2 *d.* [...]

Carts

To Richard the cooper for having driven his cart to carry earth from the foundation for five days
Hamon the porter of the mews for the same over the same period
John of Notley for the same over the same period
William Frankleyn for the same over the same period to each 2 *s.* 6 *d.* Total: 10 *s.*

[Torn off] [...]ynge for the same for three days
[Torn off] [...]rd for the same over the same period
[Torn off] [...]lberd for the same over the same period to each 18 *d.* Total: 4 *s.* 6 *d.*

Total: 14 *s.* 6 *d.*

[Labourers]

To Richard Fairweather for four days, per day 3½ *d.* Total: 14 *d.*

THE FABRIC ACCOUNTS OF ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL

{Hugoni Oeldebof}
Ricardo de Bledelawe
Galfrido Le Torcher per v dies quilibet per diem iij *d.* Summa: ij s. vj *d.*

Waltero de Wodestok
<Hugoni Oyldebof>
Ricardo Squirel
David de Westm'
Galfrido le Wallere
Johanni de Wilton'
Ricardo le Thuinere
Willelmo Le Ferour
Alexandro de Westm'
Stephano Attefeld
Waltero Marchaund
Nicholao Welland
Jak Arding'
Willelmo Arding'
Thome Wonder
Willelmo Le Notier
Johanni de Beverlaco
Johanni Le Gardiner
Adam de Biflete per v dies quilibet per diem ij *d.* ob. Summa: xix s. ix *d.* ob.

verte in tergo

[rot. 81d] [...]

Summa totalis stipendiorum ex utrique parte: vij li. xj s. iij *d.* [...]

Johanni le Convers super prostracione parlarum in parco de Langele et cariagio earumdem: x [torn off]
Eidem super remocione chordarum apud Turrim numerandarum[?]: iij s. vj *d.*

[rot. 4 m. 1]

Rotulus de expensis et misis factis circa opera capelle Regis apud Westm' in septimana proxima post festum sancti
Johannis ante portam latinam anno regni Regis Edwardi xx per v dies que continet j festum quod est Regis

Empciones

Meremium

In primis in iij tonellis vacuis emptis de Juliana quondam uxore Johannis de Cardullo ad faciendas inde cimas ad
inponendam aquam ad mortarium xiiij die Maij precium tonelli viij *d.* Summa ij s.
Item eodem die in xxxiiij peciis meremij de quercu emptis apud Sutwerk de Willelmo Aldeyn et xvij planks emptis ad
domum Magistri Michaelis per diversum precium: Summa xvj s. vj *d.*

Cariagium

In cariagio eiusdem per aquam usque Westm' iij *d.* Summa iij *d.*

Petra

Item eodem die Johanni de Eylesford pro j navata grisee petre: Summa vj s. vj *d.*
Item eodem die Jak le Brun de Bonon' pro j navata petre dure de Bonon' empta pro petra et fracto xxxiiij s. iij *d.*:
Summa xxxiiij s. iij *d.*
Item eodem die eidem pro j alia navata petre de Bon' xxvj s. viij *d.* Summa xxvj s. viij *d.*

To Richard of Bledlow
Geoffrey Le Torchere for five days, to each per day 3 *d.* Total: 2 *s.* 6 *d.*

To Walter of Woodstock
Hugh Oyldebof
Richard Squirel
David of Westminster
Geoffrey le Wallere
John of Wilton
Richard le Thuinere
William Le Ferour
Alexander of Westminster
Stephen Attefeld
Walter Marchaund
Nicholas Welland
Jack Harding
William Harding
Thomas Wonder
William Le Notier
John of Beverley
John Le Gardiner
Adam of Byfleet for five days, to each per day 2½ *d.* Total: 19 *s.* 9½ *d.*

turn onto the dorse

[rot. 81d] [...]

Sum of total wages on both sides: £7 11 *s.* 3 *d.* [...]

To John le Convers for the felling of piles in the park of Langley and the carriage of the same: x [torn off]
To the same for the removal of measuring[?] cords at the Tower: 3 *s.* 6 *d.*

[rot. 4 m. 1]

Rotulet of the expenses and costs incurred for the works of the king's chapel at Westminster in the week next after the feast of St John before the Latin Gate [6 May] in year 20 of the reign of King Edward [I], for five days, which contains one feast [day], which is the king's
[w/b 12 May 1292]

Purchases

Timber

Firstly, for three empty tuns bought from Juliana, formerly the wife of John de Cardullo, for making tubs from them for putting water into for mortar, on 14 May, price per tun 8 *d.*: Total 2 *s.*
Item, on the same day for 34 pieces of oak bought at Southwark from William Aldeyn and seventeen planks bought for the workshop of Master Michael, at diverse prices: Total 16 *s.* 6 *d.*

Carriage

For the carriage of the same, by water, to Westminster 4 *d.*: Total 4 *d.*

Stone

Item, on the same day to John of Aylesford for one shipload of ragstone: Total 6 *s.* 6 *d.*
Item, on the same day to Jack le Brun of Boulogne for one shipload of hard stone from Boulogne bought, for the stone and breaking, 33 *s.* 4 *d.*: Total 33 *s.* 4 *d.*
Item, on the same day to the same for one other shipload of Boulogne stone 26 *s.* 8 *d.*: Total 26 *s.* 8 *d.*

Minutia

Item eodem die Godefrido le Hirdeler pro viij cleys emptis: Summa xvj *d.*
 Item eodem die Alexandro Westm' pro j cribro empto ad mortarium ij *d.*: Summa ij *d.*
 Eidem pro arcillo empto de Thoma Pente xvj *d.*: Summa xvj *d.*
 Eidem pro candelis emptis ad opus laborancium per noctem in fundamento j *d.* ob

Meremium

Item eodem die Jak Calvar' pro vij lingnis grossis de quercu emptis ad faciendum inde pontem ultra fundamentum pro laborantibus circa palos ponendos in fundamento precium pecie ij s.: Summa xiiij s. <cum> {per} cariagio iiij *d.*
 Item eodem die eidem Jak pro j lingno de quercu empto ad idem: Summa xvj *d.*
 Item eodem die Waltero de Brakle pro ix planchiis emptis precium planchie {ix *d.*} xij *d.*: Summa ix s.

Ingenium

Item eodem die Jak Calvar' pro meremio empto ad ingenium faciendum pro palis in fundamento ponendis per Magistrum Thomam de Octon': Summa xij s. viij *d.*

Ferrum

Item Johanni de Ledes pro iiij grossis cavillis ferreis clavis grossis et aliis diversis ferramentis emptis ad ingenium et ad multonem eiusdem ingenij per dictum Magistrum Thomam vij s. v<ii>j *d.*: Summa vij s. v<ii>j *d.*
 Henrico fabro pro iij ferramentis ad botours iij *d.*: Summa iij *d.*
 Eidem pro fabrica utensiliorum cementariorum per septimanam xv *d.*: Summa xv *d.*

Clavi

Ricardo de Caumpes pro iiij millibus clavis ad lattas emptis ad latitandam domum Magistri Michaelis precium mille vij *d.* ob.: Summa ij s. vj *d.*
 Eidem pro viij centenis clavorum ad planchias emptis precium centene iij *d.*: Summa ij s.
 Eidem pro iij^c clavis maioribus emptis ad idem precium centene iiij *d.*: Summa xij *d.*
 Eidem pro v^c clavis emptis ad opera plumbarie pro centena ij *d.*: Summa x *d.*
 Elie le Coteler pro ij^c parvorum clavorum ij *d.*: Summa ij *d.*

Corde

Eidem pro j parva corda ad multonem et ad ingenium: Summa j *d.* ob.
 Ricardo de Dors' pro ij cordis ad ingenium xxij *d.*: Summa xxij *d.*

Meremium

Item xvj die Maij apud Sutwerk
 Ricardo le Coupere de Croyndon' pro xxxij peciis meremij emptis ad domum Magistri Michaelis per diversum precium x s. iiij *d.*: Summa x s. iiij *d.*
 <Thoma> {Waltero} Caterom eodem [die] pro xxj peciis merenij [*sic*] emptis ad idem: Summa x s.
 Willelmo Le Chapman pro meremio empto ad faciendos inde malettos ad opus lathomorum vj *d.*: Summa vj *d.*

Cariagium

In cariagio dicti meremij empti apud Sutwerk iiij *d.*: Summa iiij *d.*

Sabulum

Henrico Batelario pro viij batellatis sabulonis pro batella {viij *d.*} vj *d.*: Summa iiij s.

Calx

Reginaldo Pistori pro ij^c dj. calcis uste emptis ad mortarium per septimanam precium centene xl *d.*: Summa viij s. iiij *d.* per manus Magistri Michaelis
 Willelmo de Crokereslan' pro iiij^c calcis uste emptis ad idem: Summa xiiij s. iiij *d.*

Grisea petra

Thome clerico xvij die Maij pro j navata grisee petre empta: Summa iiij s. ix *d.*
 Rogero de Hoo eodem die pro j navata petre de Eylesford: Summa iiij s. vj *d.*
 Thome Le Newman eodem die pro j navata grisee petre: Summa iiij s. vj *d.*
 Ad huc Johanni de Eilesford eodem die pro j navata: Summa vj s. vj *d.*
 Willelmo Acard eodem die pro j navata petre: Summa vij s. vj *d.*

Small things

Item, on the same day to Godfrey le Hirdeler for eight hurdles bought: Total 16 *d*.

Item, on the same day to Alexander Westminster for one sieve bought for mortar 2 *d*.: Total 2 *d*.

To the same for clay bought from Thomas Pente 16 *d*.: Total 16 *d*.

To the same for candles bought for the use of those labouring at night on the foundation 1½ *d*.

Timber

Item, on the same day to Jack Calvar' for seven great oak beams bought to make a bridge from them over the foundation for those working on putting the piles in the foundation, price per piece 2 *s*.: Total 14 *s*., with carriage 4 *d*.

Item, on the same day to the same Jack for one oak beam bought for the same: Total 16 *d*.

Item, on the same day to Walter of Brackley for nine planks bought, price per plank 12 *d*.: Total 9 *s*.

Gin

Item, on the same day to Jack Calvar' for timber bought by Master Thomas of Houghton for making the gin for putting piles in the foundation: Total 12 *s*. 8 *d*.

Iron

Item, to John of Leeds for four great iron pins, great nails and other diverse ironwork bought by the said Master Thomas for the gin and for the ram of the same gin 7 *s*. 8 *d*.: Total 7 *s*. 8 *d*.

To Henry the smith for three ironworks for the buttress 3 *d*.: Total 3 *d*.

To the same for the forging of the masons' tools, for the week 15 *d*.: Total 15 *d*.

Nails

To Richard of Camps for 4,000 nails bought for the laths to lath the workshop of Master Michael, price per thousand 7½ *d*.: Total 2 *s*. 6 *d*.

To the same for 800 nails bought for the planks, price per hundred 3 *d*.: Total 2 *s*.

To the same for 300 larger nails bought for the same, price per hundred 4 *d*.: Total 12 *d*.

To the same for 500 nails bought for the plumbery works, for a hundred 2 *d*.: Total 10 *d*.

To Elias le Coteler for 200 small nails 2 *d*.: Total 2 *d*.

Cords

To the same for one small cord for the ram and for the gin: Total 1½ *d*.

To Richard of Dorset for two cords for the gin 22 *d*.: Total 22 *d*.

Timber

Item, on 16 May at Southwark

To Richard le Coupere of Croydon for 32 pieces of timber bought for the workshop of Master Michael, at diverse prices, 10 *s*. 4 *d*.: Total 10 *s*. 4 *d*.

To Thomas Caterham on the same [day] for 21 pieces of timber bought for the same: Total 10 *s*.

To William Le Chapman for timber bought to make mallets from it for the work of the masons 6 *d*.: Total 6 *d*.

Carriage

For the carriage of the said timber bought at Southwark 4 *d*.: Total 4 *d*.

Sand

To Henry the boatman for eight boatloads of sand, for a boat[load] 6 *d*.: Total 4 *s*.

Lime

To Reginald the baker for two and a half cwt of burnt lime bought for the mortar, for the week, price per cwt 40 *d*.: Total 8 *s*. 4 *d*., by the hands of Master Michael

To William of Crockers Lane for four cwt of burnt lime bought for the same: Total 13 *s*. 4 *d*.

Ragstone

To Thomas the clerk, on 17 May, for one shipload of ragstone bought: Total 4 *s*. 9 *d*.

To Roger of Hoo on the same day for one shipload of Aylesford stone: Total 4 *s*. 6 *d*.

To Thomas Le Newman on the same day for one shipload of ragstone: Total 4 *s*. 6 *d*.

Also to John of Aylesford on the same day for one shipload: Total 6 *s*. 6 *d*.

To William Acard on the same day for one shipload of stone: Total 7 *s*. 6 *d*.

[rot. 4 m. 2]

Summa x li. xvij s. x d.

Stipendia diversorum operariorum predicte septimane per v dies

Lathomij

Johanni de Sutone

Gilecto de Hercelingburi

Henrico de Thent

Theobaldo de Bures per v dies quilibet per diem v d. ob.: Summa ix s. ij d.

Hugoni de Shornmerston'

Henrico de Bonon'

Jak Gogoun

Waltero de Sutton' per v dies quilibet per diem v d.: Summa {vj s. iij d.} viij s. iij d.

Waltero de Mondene per v dies per diem iij d.: Summa xx d.

Summa xix s. ij d.

Carpentarij circa domum Magistri Michaelis

Magistro Johanni de Bekles per v dies per diem vj d.: Summa ij s. vj d.

Alano de Clutisdale per idem

Ricardo Attebrok

Alexandro de Northt'

Roberto le Hackre Quilibet per v dies per diem v d. ob.: Summa ix s. ij d.

Johanni de Codeford

Henrico de Ware per v dies quilibet per diem v d.: Summa iij s. ij d.

Summa xv s. x d.

Carpentarij circa ingenia facienda

Willelmo de Kent circa ingenium per ix dies

Ricardo de Hunteresdich per idem tempus

Roberto le Mariscal per idem tempus Quilibet per diem v d. ob.:

Summa {xiij s. ix d.} xij s. iij d. ob.

Ricardo de Passefeld per idem tempus per diem v d.: Summa {iij s. ij d.} iij s. ix d.

[Summ]a xvij s. {xj d.} j d. ob.

Ade Plumbario circa diversas emendaciones plumbarie in divers[is l[ocis?]

[Torn off]

[rot. 4d m. 1d]

{Carectarij

Ricardo le Cupere pro carecta sua carienda terram fundamenti per v dies per diem vj d.: Summa ij s. vi d.

Paulino filio Willelmi Le Ynge pro eodem per iij dies: Summa xvij d.

Jak Edward per idem tempus: Summa xvij d.

Willelmo Waylberd pro eodem per idem tempus: Summa xvij d.

Hamoni Portar' mutarum pro eodem per v dies

[rot. 4 m. 2]

Total £10 17 s. 10 *d.*

Wages of diverse labourers for five days of the aforesaid week

Masons

To John of Sutton

Gilectus de Hercelingburi

Henry of Thanet

Theobald of Bures for five days, to each per day 5½ *d.*: Total 9 s. 2 *d.*

To Hugh de Shornmerstone

Henry of Boulogne

Jack Gogoun

Walter of Sutton for five days, to each per day 5 *d.*: Total 8 s. 4 *d.*

To Walter of Munden for five days, per day 4 *d.*: Total 20 *d.*

Total 19 s. 2 *d.*

Carpenters for the workshop of Master Michael

To Master John of Beccles for five days, per day 6 *d.*: Total 2 s. 6 *d.*

To Alan of Clydesdale for the same

Richard Attebrok

Alexander of Northampton

Robert le Hackre To each, for five days, per day 5½ *d.*: Total 9 s. 2 *d.*

John of Codford

Henry of Ware for five days, to each, per day, 5 *d.*: Total 4 s. 2 *d.*

Total 15 s. 10 *d.*

Carpenters for making the gins

To William of Kent for the gin, for nine days

Richard de Hunteresdich, for the same period

Robert le Mariscal, for the same period To each per day 5½ *d.*:

Total 12 s. 4½ *d.*

To Richard de Passefeld, for the same period, per day 5 *d.*: Total 3 s. 9 *d.*

Total 17 s. 1½ *d.*

To Adam the plumber for diverse emendations in plumbery in diverse places[?]

[Torn off]

THE FABRIC ACCOUNTS OF ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL

Johanni de Nothele pro eodem per idem tempus
Willelmo Frankleyn pro eodem per idem tempus Quilibet ij s. vj *d.*: Summa vij s. vj *d.*

Summa xiiij s. vj *d.* [this whole membrane crossed through three times]

[rot. 4d m. 2d]

Ad huc operarij

Roberto Le Fand

Godefrido de Hanwyle

Simoni de Wodhull

{Ricardo} Lucas le Marny

Willelmo de Derlinton'

Roberto Heryng'

Willelmo de Caumpes

Rogero de Sutton'

Galfrido le Palmere

Johanni de Linc'

Jak Squrbade

Roberto de Wodeburn'

Fykoys per Greb[?] [...]

Johanni Le Ynge

Hugoni de White

Peverel

Willelmo de Fulham

Gilberto de Lynds'

Willelmo de Durham

Waltero Le Eldere

Roberto de Wynton'

Henrico Costard

Simoni Hagyn cum Magistro Thome

Roberto Edward cum Magistro Thome per v dies quilibet [per] diem ij *d.* ob.:

Summa xxv s.

Item iiij operariis vigilantibus et hauriantibus aquam de fundamento per tres noctes et j diem ij s.: Summa ij s.

Hugoni clerico pro stipendiis suis per septimanam xxj *d.*: Summa xxj *d.*

Nicholao de Bedeford et sociis suis servientibus [torn off] [...] magistro: Summa vj *d.*

[Torn off]

[rot. 5]

viiij Rotulus

Rotulus de stipendiis cementariorum carpentariorum et aliorum diversorum operariorum circa opera capelle Regis apud Westm' in septimana proxima post festum beate Barnabe apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi xx per sex dies operabiles

[rot. 4d m. 2d]

More labourers

To Robert Le Fand
 Godfrey of Hanville
 Simon of Woodhill
 Luke le Marny
 William of Darlington
 Robert Heryng
 William of Camps
 Roger of Sutton
 Geoffrey le Palmere
 John of Lincoln
 Jack Squrbade
 Robert of Woodborough

Fykoys by Greb[?] [...]

John Le Ynge
 Hugh of Wight
 Peverel

William of Fulham
 Gilbert of Lindsey
 William of Durham
 Walter Le Eldere
 Robert of Winchester
 Henry Costard

Simon Hagyn with Master Thomas

Robert Edward with Master Thomas

for five days to each [per] day 2½ d.:

Total 25 s.

Item, to four labourers watching and hauling water from the foundation for three nights and one day 2 s.: Total 2 s.

To Hugh the clerk for his wages for the week 21 d.: Total 21 d.

To Nicholas of Bedford and his fellows, serving [torn off] the master: Total 6 d.

[Torn off]

[rot. 5]

Rotulet 8

Rotulet of the wages of the masons, carpenters and other diverse labourers for the work of the king's chapel at Westminster in the week next following the feast of Blessed Barnabas the apostle [11 June] in year 20 of the reign of King Edward [I], for the six working days

[w/b 16 June 1292]

[rot. 5a]

In stipendiis Michaelis apparitoris per septimanam iij s. vj d.

Cementarij

Nicholao de Heyno per vj dies per diem vj d. ob.: iij s. iij d.

Johanni de Stane

Henrico de Tenet

Gilecto

Theobaldo de Bures

Johanni de Crouhurst

Ricardo de Storneye

Johanni de Welles

Johanni de Bernak

Nicholao de Zorneton'

Roberto le Archer

Johanni de Wiltirton'

Ade de Lamerhurst

Waltero de Miklam

Bonecto de Bonon' per vj dies quilibet per diem

v d. ob. <cuilibet ij s. ix d.>:

Summa xxxviii s. vj d.

Thome de Northiham per v dies per diem v d. ob.:

[Summa] ij s. iij d. ob.

Henrico de Bonon'

Jak Goim

Waltero de Sutton'

Hugoni de Zornmerston'

Willelmo de Pabenham

Johanni de Monteacuto¹

Willelmo de Ledes

Warino de Heyham

Roberto de Langele

Johanni de Steventon'

Willelmo de Cantebr' per vj dies quilibet per diem

v d.: Summa xxvij s. vj d.

Waltero de Monden² <per manus Stephani>

Jak de Heyno per idem tempus iij s.:

Summa lxxix s. ob.

Operarij

Michaeli de Maidinstan

Willelmo de Grendon'

Rogerio Hering'

Henrico Sancti Leonardi

Willelmo de Gedington'

Simoni de Reigate

Johanni de Romeneye

Johanni de Stanford'

Johanni de Maidinstan

Willelmo de Otham

[rot. 5b]

Adhuc operarii**In fossato**

Johanni Chesewik

Lucas Marni

Johanni de Beverle

Roberto de Erdebi

Willelmo de Kingesburi

Willelmo de Waltham

Willelmo de Aspele

Johanni Love

Johanni Witlok

Luffenham

Alano Wit of More

Johanni le Grom

Johanni de Helpringham

Gervasio de Essewell

Stephano Turveye

Galfrido de Cleibury

Waltero de Westram

Ade de Coleuyk

Johanni de Rothinge

Johanni de Linc'

Willelmo de Kingeston'

Portitores petre et mortarij

Jocoe

Thome Wonder

Notiere

Willelmus [*sic*] Aurifab'

Waltero le Polet'

Willelmo Arding'

Jak Arding'

Wakeman

Hagino

Jak le Ynge

Godefrido de Hanvile

Laurencio Pistor

Radulpho le Brenere

Scurbadde

Wodebonsewe

Hamo Avie

Roberto de Racton'

Willelmo de Caumpes

Willelmo de Chidingfold

Radulpho ate Nasse

Willelmo Ruscel

Roberto de Waltham

Pursere

Johanni de Bradeueye

Petevino

Johanni le Gardiner

Philippo Woderove

Hugoni de Whit

¹ Named marked with a cross.² Named marked with a cross.

[rot. 5a]

For the wages of Michael, overseer, per week 3 s. 6 d.

Masons

To Nicholas of Aynho for six days, per day 6½ d.: 3 s. 3 d.

To John of Stone
Henry of Thanet
Gilectus
Theobald of Bures
John of Crowhurst
Richard of Sturry
John of Wells
John of Barnack
Nicholas of Thornton
Robert le Archer
John of Wolterton
Adam of Lamberhurst
Walter of Michelham
Bonectus of Boulogne for six days, to each per day
5½ d., to each 2 s. 9 d.:
Total 38 s. 6 d.

To Thomas of Northiam for five days, per day 5½ d.:
[Total] 2 s. 3½ d.

To Henry of Boulogne
Jack Goim
Walter of Sutton
Hugh de Zornmerstone
William of Pavenham
John of Montacute
William of Leeds
Warin de Heyham
Robert of Langley
John of Steventon
William of Cambridge for six days, to each per day
5 d.: Total 27 s. 6 d.

To Walter of Munden by the hands of Stephen
Jack of Aynho over the same period 4 s.:
Total 79 s. ½ d.

Labourers

To Michael of Maidstone
William of Grendon
Roger Hering
Henry of St Leonards
William of Geddington
Simon of Reigate
John of Romney
John of Stamford
John of Maidstone
William of Otham

[rot. 5b]

More labourers

In the ditch

To John Chiswick
Lucas Marni
John of Beverley
Robert of Harby
William of Kingsbury
William of Waltham
William of Aspley
John Love
John Witlok
Luffenham
Alan Wight of More
John le Grom
John of Helpringham
Gervase of Ashwell
Stephen Turvey
Geoffrey of Cleobury
Walter of Westerham
Adam of Colwick
John of Roding
John of Lincoln
William of Kingston

Porters of stone and mortar

Joce
Thomas Wonder
Notiere
William Goldsmith
Walter le Polecer
William Harding
Jack Harding
Wakeman
Hagin
Jack le Ynge
Godfrey of Hanville
Laurence Baker
Ralph le Brenere
Scurbadde
Wodebonsewe
Hamon Avie
Robert of Racton
William of Camps
William of Chiddingfold
Ralph ate Nasse
William Ruscel
Robert of Waltham
Pursere
John of Broadway
Petevin
John le Gardiner
Philip Woderove
Hugh of Wight

Johanni Pik
Willelmo le Prude
Petro de Stanford'
Roberto de Erdebi per vj dies quilibet per diem v
d.: Summa xxxv s.

Edwardo de {Thorp} <Nortf'> per idem tempus: ij s. iij d.

Johanni de Wronge
Stephano de Wilton' per v dies iiij s. ij d.

Summa xlj s. v d.

Carpentarij

Magistro Johanni de Beckles per septimanam: iij s.

Alano de Clutisdale
Alexandro de Northt'
Roberto le Hackre¹
Ricardo de Hereford
Ricardo de Rippele
Ricardo fratris eius per vj dies quilibet per diem
v d. ob.: Summa xvj s. vj d.

Colino de Flore
Henrico de Corneville
Henrico de Ware
Ricardo de Dereford
Willelmo de Schanebrok
Henrico de Dodington' per idem tempus quilibet per
diem v d.: Summa xv s.

Johanni le Leche
Roberto de Lewes²
Galfrido de Kent per ij dies quilibet xj d.: ij s. ix d.

Portepol <mercurij> et socio suo per ij dies xx d.

Summa xxxviiij s. xj d.

Operarij

Ricardo de Bledelaue per vj dies xviiij d.

Ad mortarium

Alexandro de Westm'
Henrico Costard
Colino de Weylond'
Oyldebef
Willelmo le Ferour
Waltero de Wodestok
Squirel
Radulpho de Ponte
Ade de Westm'
Laurencio le Brenere
Hugoni de Angles'

Calabre
Toting
Willelmo Bereston
Simoni de Wodhull'
Willelmo de Haston'
Cleibury
Roberto le Fand
Radulpho le Desere
Swagard
Ricardo de Sutwerk
Balemound
Roberto de Walingford
Willelmo de Westm'
Petro de Bromhull
Ade de Wodhull'
Alano de Blya
Nicholao de Glaston'
Rogerio de Excestr'
Petro Bret
Jak le Northeis
Willelmo Gileknave
Johanni de Oxon'
Brodeye
Peverel
Willelmo de Maidinstan
Willelmo de Bampton'
Stephano de Fulham
Galfrido de Chelhuth'
<Item Waltero de Chivelegh per j diem ij d. ob.>

Summa lxxviiij operarij per vj dies quorum quilibet
capienti xv d.

Summa iiij li. xvj s. {iij d.} <v d. ob.>

Summa patet

Paulino
Ricardo Weri
Ricardo de Wilton'
Jak de Hickling'
Petro de Brenere per v dies quilibet eorum xij d. ob.

Briknoc per iiij dies x d.

Summa v s. ij d. ob.

In stipendiis viij operariorum videlicet Willelmus de
Derlington', Willelmus de Durham, Ricardus le
Twynere, Walterus le Heldere, Teobaldus, Galfridus le
Waller, Walterus Marchaund et Reginaldus le Rok
hauriencium aquam de fossato a die sabbati post
prandium usque ad nonam die sabbati per diem et
noctem quorum quilibet ij s. xj d.: Summa xxiiij s. iiij d.

<Summa xxiiij s. ij d. paci'[?] per manus Stephani clerici>
[left marginal annotation]

¹ Named marked with a cross.

² Named marked with a cross.

John Pik
William le Prude
Peter of Stamford
Robert of Harby for six days, to each per day 5 *d.*: Total
35 *s.*

To Edward of Norfolk for the same period: 2 *s.* 3 *d.*

To John de Wronge
Stephen of Wilton for five days 4 *s.* 2 *d.*

Total 41 *s.* 5 *d.*

Carpenters

To Master John of Beccles per week: 3 *s.*

To Alan of Clydesdale
Alexander of Northampton
Robert le Hackre
Richard of Hereford
Richard de Rippele
Richard his brother for six days, to each per day
5½ *d.*: Total 16 *s.* 6 *d.*

To Colin of Flore
Henry de Corneville
Henry of Ware
Richard of Durford
William of Sharnbrook
Henry of Doddington over the same period, to each per
day 5 *d.*: Total 15 *s.*

To John le Leche
Robert of Lewes
Geoffrey of Kent for two days, to each 11 *d.*: 2 *s.* 9 *d.*

To Portpool, Wednesday, and his fellow, for two days, 20 *d.*

Total 38 *s.* 11 *d.*

Labourers

To Richard of Bledlow, for six days, 18 *d.*

For mortar

To Alexander of Westminster
Henry Costard
Colin de Wellond
Oyldebef
William le Ferour
Walter of Woodstock
Squirel
Ralph de Ponte
Adam of Westminster
Laurence le Brenere
Hugh of Anglesey

Calabre
Tooting
William Bereston
Simon of Woodhill
William de Hastone
Cleobury
Robert le Fand
Ralph le Desere
Swagard
Richard of Southwark
Balemound
Robert of Wallingford
William of Westminster
Peter of Bromhill
Adam of Woodhill
Alan of Blyth
Nicholas of Glastonbury
Roger of Exeter
Peter Bret
Jack le Northeis
William Gileknav
John of Oxford
Brodeye
Peverel
William of Maidstone
William of Bampton
Stephen of Fulham
Geoffrey of Chelsea
Item, to Walter of Chieveley for one day 2 *d.* ob.

Total 78 labourers for six days, to each of them
taking 15 *d.*

Total £4 16 *s.* 5½ *d.*

Total as appears

To Paulin
Richard Weri
Richard of Wilton
Jack of Hickling
Peter de Brenere for five days, to each of them 12½ *d.*

Brecknock for four days, 10 *d.*

Total 5 *s.* 2½ *d.*

For the wages of eight labourers, namely William of
Darlington, William of Durham, Richard le Twynere,
Walter le Heldere, Theobald, Geoffrey le Waller, Walter
Marchaund and Reginald le Rok, hauling water from
the ditch from Saturday after lunch until Saturday at
noon, for the day and night, to each of whom 2 *s.* 11 *d.*:
Total 23 *s.* 4 *d.*

Total 24 *s.* 2 *d.* paid[?] by the hands of Stephen the clerk
[left marginal annotation]

Tulle
Willelmo Paris
Thome de Whit
Elie de Bishop
Roberto atte Ruffe

Baiardi

Ade le Scot
Rogero de Sutton'
Ade de Biflete
Johanni de Buk
Chibolle
Stephano ate Felde
Roberto ate More
Thome le Bere
Hering'
Galfrido le Palmere
Jak de Wilton'
Thome de Otham
Galfrido le {Palmere} Brenere <per manus Stephani>
Willelmo de Denham

Crudewaneri

Gilberto de Linds'
Henrici de Felton'
Willelmo le Tapicer
Willelmo de Somersete
Johanni le Merk
Michaeli de Eilesford
Johanni le Fak
Johanni ate Frith'
Petro de Kerlel
Matheo de Frenigham
Willelmo Wimark
Johanni de Sutwerk
Ade de Stelham

In fossato

Ricardo le Perailour
Ade le Brenere
Ricardo filio Roberti Eiward'
Johanni de Stanstede

Summa xlvij operarij per vj dies quorum quilibet xv d.: Summa lvij s. ix d.
Summa patet

[rot. 6]

vij Rotulus

Rotulus de empconibus factis ad opera capelle die lune ante festum sancti Botulphi et per totam septimanam sequentem anno xx

Petra

Henrico Mauger et Willelmo Bauge pro ij navatis libere petre de Cadamo emptis pro petra et fracto: x li. xij s. iij d.
Ade Orgon pro j batello grisee petre empto: vj s.

¹ Entries follow concerning a garden.

In stipendiis Bledelawe circa j d. per iij noctes x d.

Summa xxx s. ij d. ob.

Stipendij fabrorum operancium

Ricardo de Stebenth' per v dies per diem v d.: ij s. j d.
Reginaldo de Northt' per vj dies per diem iij d.: ij s.
Ricardo de Wethamsted per idem tempus: ij s.
Johanni de Tileteye et Ricardo de Chesham per v dies
quilibet per diem iij d.: iij s. iij d.

Radulpho de Stebenth', Johanni Ruscil et Roberto de
Maidinstan per v dies quilibet eorum per diem iij d.: iij
s. ix d.

Willelmo de Ledes per idem tempus per diem j d. ob.:
vij d. ob.

per manucapcionem Johannis le Convers [left marginal
annotation]

Summa xij s. ix d. ob. [...] ¹

Tulle
William Paris
Thomas of Wight
Elias de Bishop
Robert atte Ruffe

For the wages of Bledlow of 1 *d.* for four nights 10 *d.*

Total 30 s. 2½ *d.*

Barrowmen

Adam le Scot
Roger of Sutton
Adam of Byfleet
John of Buckingham
Chibolle
Stephen ate Felde
Robert ate More
Thomas le Bere
Hering
Geoffrey le Palmere
Jack of Wilton
Thomas of Otham
Geoffrey le Brenere
William of Denham

Wages of the smiths working

To Richard of Stepney for five days, per day 5 *d.*: 2 s. 1 *d.*
Reginald of Northampton for six days, per day 4 *d.*: 2 s.
Richard of Wheathampstead for the same period: 2 s.
To John of Tilty and Richard of Chesham for five days, to each per day 4 *d.*: 3 s. 4 *d.*

To Ralph of Stepney, John Ruscel and Robert of Maidstone for five days, to each of them per day 3 *d.*: 3 s. 9 *d.*

To William of Leeds for the same period, per day 1½ *d.*: 7½ *d.*

by the mainprise of John le Convers [left marginal annotation]

by the hands of Stephen

Total 13 s. 9½ *d.*[...]

Croudwainers

Gilbert of Lindsey
Henry of Felton
William le Tapicer
William of Somerset
John le Merk
Michael of Aylesford
John le Fak
John ate Frith
Peter of Carlisle
Matthew of Farningham
William Wimark
John of Southwark
Adam of Stalham

In the ditch

To Richard le Perailour
Adam le Brenere
Richard son of Robert Eiward
John de Stanstede

Total 47 labourers, for six days, to each of whom 15 *d.*: Total 58 s. 9 *d.*

Total as appears

[rot. 6]

Rotulet 8

Rotulet of purchases made for the works of the chapel on Monday before the feast of St Botolph [17 June] and during the whole week following in year 20 [Edward I] [1292]

Stone

To Henry Mauger and William Bauge for two shiploads of Caen free stone bought, for the stone and breaking: £10 13 s. 4 *d.*
To Adam Orgon for one boat[load] of ragstone bought: 6 s.

THE FABRIC ACCOUNTS OF ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL

Willelmo Acard pro j batello eiusdem petre: vij s. vj *d.*
Johanni de Ponte pro j batello eiusdem petre: vij s.
In j ingressura empta ad opus cementariorum: iiij s. viij *d.*
Johanni de Eilesford pro j batello grisee petre: vj s. vj *d.*

Ad huc [petra]

Henrico Mauger et Willelmo Bauge die sabbati pro j navata petre de Cain: iiij li.

Summa xvj li. v s.

Meremium

Alano Herbert pro xiiij cheveronibus de quercu ad elongaciones hastilarij: iiij s. viij *d.* <per J. Adewin>
Thome Mustard pro xlij peciis meremij emptis ad idem: iiij s. vj *d.*
Roberto Whitegrom pro x peciis de quercu ad idem: v s. v *d.*
In cariagio dicti meremij et carrorum ad Turrem per terram et aquam: viij *d.*

Sabulum

Henrico Batellario et socio suo pro xxiiij batellatis sabulonis: xij s.

Calx

Reginaldo Pistori pro xij^c dj. calcis uste emptis precium [centene] xl *d.*: xlj s. viij *d.*
Alicie de Crokreslane pro ix^c calcis uste emptis: xxx s.

Carbo

In clv quarteriis carbonis marini emptis per Magistrum J. de Ledes ad officium eiusdem precium quarterij vij *d.*: iiij li. {x}x s. v *d.*
<In mesuracione et portagio dicti carbonis scilicet pro quarterio j *d.*: xij s. xj *d.*>
In iiij quarteriis carbonis marini emptis prius: ij s. iiij *d.*
In cariagio dictorum iiij quarteriorum carbonis marini: v *d.*
In iij boketis et una tina emptis ad fabricam Magistri J.: xxij *d.*
In arcillo empto ad idem: j *d.* ob.

Ferrum

Godhine pro utensiliis cementariorum reparandis [pro] gatis et scopis ligandis: ij s. vij *d.*

Summa x li. ix s. vij *d.* ob. [...] ¹

[rot. 7]

Rotulus empcionum in septimana in qua fuit festum sancti Johannis Baptiste anno xx

Petra

Henrico Mauger et Willelmo Bauge pro ij navatis petre de Kain emptis: Summa ix li. vj s. viij *d.*
Johanni Rismond pro j navata petre de Eilesford empta: Summa vj s. vj *d.*
In canobo empto ad exemplaria facienda ad petras de Kain trahendas: Summa ix *d.*
Henrico batellario et socio suo pro xiiij batellatis sabulonis per septimanam: Summa vij s.

Meremium

Johanni A<l>dewin pro xv planchis emptis apud Sutwerk: Summa x s. iiij *d.*
Johanni Attelard pro vj peciis meremij de quercu emptis: Summa iij s.
Thome Mustard de Croindon' pro xxiiij peciis meremij de quercu emptis: Summa iiij s. x *d.*
Eidem Thome pro xxij tingnis emptis ad hastilarium: Summa v s. per S.
Johanni Attelard pro viij peciis de quercu emptis ad idem: Summa ij s. iij *d.* per S.

¹ Entries follow for the purchase of painting materials and for painters' wages.

To William Acard for one boat[load] of the same stone: 7 s. 6 d.
To John de Ponte for one boat[load] of the same stone: 7 s.
For one grindstone bought for the work of the masons: 4 s. 8 d.
To John of Aylesford for one boat[load] of ragstone: 6 s. 6 d.

More [stone]

To Henry Mauger and William Bauge, on Saturday, for one shipload of Caen stone: £4

Total £16 5 s.

Timber

To Alan Herbert for fourteen oak rafters for the enlargements of the workshop: 4 s. 8 d. by J. Adewin
To Thomas Mustard for 42 pieces of timber bought for the same: 4 s. 6 d.
To Robert Whitegrom for ten pieces of oak for the same: 5 s. 5 d.
For the carriage of the said timber and carts to the Tower, by land and water: 8 d.

Sand

To Henry the boatman and his fellow for 24 boatloads of sand: 12 s.

Lime

To Reginald the baker for twelve and a half cwt of burnt lime bought, price [per cwt] 40 d.: 41 s. 8 d.
To Alice of Crockers Lane for nine cwt of burnt lime bought: 30 s.

Coal

For 155 quarters of sea coal bought by Master J. of Leeds for the work of the same, price per quarter 7 d.: £4 10 s. 5 d.
For the measuring and portorage of the said coal, namely for a quarter 1 d.: 12 s. 11 d.
For four quarters of sea coal bought previously: 2 s. 4 d.
For the carriage of the said four quarters of sea coal: 5 d.
For three buckets and one cask bought for the forge of Master J.: 23 d.
For clay bought for the same: 1½ d.

Iron

To Godhine for repairing the masons' tools, [for] reinforcing wood vessels and scoops: 2 s. 7 d.

Total £10 9 s. 7½ d. [...]

[rot. 7]

Rotulet of purchases in the week in which was the feast of St John the Baptist [24 June] in year 20 [Edward I]
[w/b 23 June 1292]

Stone

To Henry Mauger and William Bauge for two shiploads of Caen stone bought: Total £9 6 s. 8 d.
To John Richmond for one shipload of Aylesford stone bought: Total 6 s. 6 d.
For canvas bought for making patterns for drawing Caen stones: Total 9 d.
To Henry the boatman and his fellow for fourteen boatloads of sand, for the week: Total 7 s.

Timber

To John Aldewin for fifteen planks bought at Southwark: Total 10 s. 4 d.
To John Attelard for six pieces of oak bought: Total 3 s.
To Thomas Mustard of Croydon for 24 pieces of oak bought: Total 4 s. 10 d.
To the same Thomas for 23 timbers bought for the workshop: Total 5 s. by S.
To John Attelard for eight pieces of oak bought for the same: Total 2 s. 3 d. by S.

Adhuc [meremium]

Item Johanni Aldewin pro Alano Herbert pro xij cheveronibus emptis ad idem: Summa iij s. ix *d.* per S.

In cariagio dicti meremij de Sutwerk per aquam usque Westm': Summa xij *d.*

In ij curris manualibus emptis cum cariagio apud Kingeston': Summa xij *d.* per S.

Fabrica

{In} <Godhyne> fabrica <pro> utensiliis cementariorum faciendis [pro] gatis et scopis ligandis: Summa ij s. vj *d.*

Summa: xj li. xv s. viij *d.* [...] ¹

Prestitum Magistro Michaeli super petram marmoream de prestito xl s.

Item liberati de remanentibus xxiiij s. iij *d.* et sic solvuntur ista septimana cum prestito xl s. et liberacione facta Stephano ut hic patet: xxx li.

[rot. 8]

Rotulus de stipendiis cementariorum carpentariorum et aliorum diversorum operariorum in septimana in qua fuit festum sancti Johannis Baptiste anno xx circa opera capelle Regis apud Westm' per v dies continenti j festum quod est Regis

[rot. 8a]

Cementarij

In stipendiis Michaelis apparitoris per septimanam: iij s. vj *d.*

Nicholao de Heyno per iij dies: xix *d.* ob.

Johanni de Stone

Henrico de Tenet

Gilecto

Theobaldo de Bures

Ricardo de Stoureye

Johanni de Crouehurst

Johanni de Welles

Johanni de Bernak

Nicholao de Zorneton'

Roberto le Archer

Johanni de Wiltirton'

Thome de Northiham

Ade de Boterwik

Ade de Lamerhurst

Waltero de Miklam

Bonecto de Bonon' per v dies quorum quilibet per diem v *d.* ob.: Summa xxxvj s. viij *d.*

Petro de Mertone

Henrico de Bonon'

Jak Goiun

Waltero de Sutton'

Willelmo de Pabenham

Hugoni de Zormerstone per M.

Willelmo de Ledes

Warino de Heyham

Roberto de Langl'

[rot. 8b]

Ad huc operarij

Scurbadde

Robertus Wodeburwe

Hamo Choye

Roberto de Racton'

Willelmo de Chidingfold

Radulphus Atenasse

Willelmus Ruscel

Robertus de Waltham

Pursere

Johannes de Bradeweye

Petevyn

Johannes le Gardiner

Hugoni de Whit

Calabre

Toting'

Willelmo Bereston

Simoni de Wodhull'

Willelmo de Haston'

Cleibury

Radulpho le Desere

Swagard

Ricardo de Sutwerk

Balemound

Robertus de Walingford

Willelmus de Westm'

Petro de Bromhull'

Ade de Wodhull'

Alanus de Blith'

Nicholao de Glaston'

Rogerus de Eccestr'

Willelmus Gileknav

¹ Entries follow for the purchase of painting materials and for painters' wages.

More [timber]

Item, to John Aldewin, for Alan Herbert, for thirteen rafters bought for the same: Total 4 s. 9 d. by S.
 For the carriage of the said timber from Southwark, by water, to Westminster: Total 12 d.
 For two handcarts bought, with carriage, at Kingston: Total 13 d. by S.

Forge

To Godhyne [at the] forge, for making the masons' tools, [for] reinforcing wood vessels and scoops: Total 2 s. 6 d.

Total: £11 15 s. 8 d. [...]

Advance to Master Michael for marble stone, for the advance 40 s.

Item, delivered from the remainder 24 s. 3 d. And thus are paid this week, with the advance of 40 s. and the livery made to Stephen, as appears here: £30

[rot. 8]

Rotulet of wages of the masons, carpenters and other diverse labourers in the week in which was the feast of St John the Baptist [24 June] in year 20 [Edward I] [1292] for the works of the king's chapel at Westminster, for five days, containing one feast [day], which is the king's

[rot. 8a]

Masons

For the wages of Michael the overseer, per week: 3 s. 6 d.
 To Nicholas of Aynho for three days: 19½ d.

To John of Stone
 Henry of Thanet
 Gilectus
 Theobald of Bures
 Richard of Sturry
 John of Crowhurst
 John of Wells
 John of Barnack
 Nicholas of Thornton
 Robert le Archer
 John of Wolterton
 Thomas of Northiam
 Adam of Butterwick
 Adam of Lamberhurst
 Walter of Michelham
 Bonectus of Boulogne for five days, to each of whom
 per day 5½ d.: Total 36 s. 8 d.

To Peter of Merton
 Henry of Boulogne
 Jack Goiun
 Walter of Sutton
 William of Pavenham
 Hugh de Zormerstone by M.
 William of Leeds
 Warin of Heapham
 Robert of Langley

[rot. 8b]

More labourers

Scurbadde
 Robert Woodborough
 Hamon Choye
 Robert of Racton
 William of Chiddingfold
 Ralph Atenasse
 William Ruscel
 Robert of Waltham
 Pursere
 John of Broadway
 Petevyn
 John le Gardiner
 Hugh of Wight
 Calabre
 Tooting
 William Bereston
 Simon of Woodhill
 William de Hastone
 Cleobury
 Ralph le Desere
 Swagard
 Richard of Southwark
 Balemound
 Robert of Wallingford
 William of Westminster
 Peter of Bromhill
 Adam of Woodhill
 Alan of Blyth
 Nicholas of Glastonbury
 Roger of Exeter
 William Gileknave

Johanni de Steventon'
Willelmo de Cant' per idem tempus quilibet per
diem v *d.*: Summa xxij s. xj *d.*

Radulpho Chaunterel per iiij dies xx *d.* per diem v *d.*

mercurij [left marginal annotation]

Waltero de Cantuar' per v dies per diem iiij *d.* ob.:
xxij *d.* ob.

Waltero de Monden'
Johanni de Heyno per v dies quilibet xx *d.*: iiij s.
iiij *d.*

Robertus [*sic*] {Johanni} Payn per iiij dies: xv *d.*

Summa: lxxij s. x *d.*

Cubatores

Michaeli de Madinstan
Rogerio Hering'
Willelmo de Grendon'
Henrico Sancti Leonardi
Willelmo de Gedington'
Johanni de Romeneie
Johanni de Stanford
Johanni de Madinstan
Willelmo de Otham
Johanni Pik
Petro de Stanford
Roberto de Erdeby
Johanni de Wronge
Stephano de Wilton per iiij dies quilibet xx *d.*:
Summa xxij s. iiij *d.*

Edwardo de {Ch} Norf' per idem tempus: xvij *d.*
Willelmo le Prude per ij dies et dj.: xij *d.*
Robertus [*sic*] de Frendriston' per iiij dies: xx *d.*

Summa: xxvij s. vij *d.*

Carpentarij

Magistro Johanni de Beckles per iiij dies: ij s.

Alano de Clutisdale
Alexandro de Northt'
Roberto le Hackre per idem tempus per diem
v *d.* ob.: Summa v s. vj *d.*

Ricardo de Dereford
Henrico de Ware
Henrico de Dodington' per idem tempus quilibet per
diem v *d.*: Summa v s.

Summa: xij s. vj *d.*

Johannes de Oxon'
Walterus de Chivel'
Brodeye
Peveler
Maximien
Salomon Bade
Rogerus de Cornub'
Willelmus Sterling'
Willelmus de Rugeleye

Fikeys
Johannes de Wendene
Willelmus de Fulham
Walterus le Longe
Jak Deynte

Johannes de Compton'
Johannes Est
Willelmus ad Fontem
Robertus le Porter
Botoun

Willelmus de Madinstan
Willelmus de Bampton'
Gilbertus de Chilterhuth'
Paulino
Ricardo Wery
Jak de Hicklinge
Petro le Brenere
Briknok
Ricardo {Jak} de Wilton'
Ricardo Brid

Johannes Halger Summa lxj operarij per iiij dies
quorum quilibet x *d.*: Summa L s. x *d.*
Summa: L s. x *d.*

James [*sic*] de Berwestede
Ricardo Neweman xiiij *d.* quilibet vij *d.*
Summa: xiiij *d.* [...]¹

In stipendiis xix operariorum die lune in vigilia Sancti
Johannis Baptiste ad discarcandam j navem de Kain
et ad [illegible word] sab[ulonem?] et ad portandas
lapides cementariis cuilibet eorum per dj. diem j *d.*
ob.

liberati Stephano clerico [left marginal annotation]

Summa: ij s. iiij *d.* ob.

Custos aque

In stipendiis viij operariorum custodiencium aquam tam
de die quam de nocte ad diem sabbati post nonam
usque ad diem sabbati ad nonam cuilibet per diem et
noctem v *d.*

Summa: xxij s. iiij *d.*

Et in candelis emptis pro eisdem iiij *d.* ob.

liberati Stephano clerico [left marginal annotation]

¹ The following entries concern a garden, and the tiling of the king's almoner's house.

John of Steventon
William of Cambridge for the same period, to each
per day 5 *d.*: Total 22 *s.* 11 *d.*

To Ralph Chaunterel for four days, 20 *d.*, per day 5 *d.*

Wednesday [left marginal annotation]

To Walter of Canterbury for five days, per day 4½ *d.*:
22½ *d.*

To Walter of Munden
John of Aynho for five days, to each 20 *d.*: 3 *s.*
4 *d.*

To Robert Payn for three days: 15 *d.*

Total: 72 *s.* 10 *d.*

Stonelayers

To Michael of Maidstone
Roger Hering'
William of Grendon
Henry of St Leonards
William of Geddington
John of Romney
John of Stamford
John of Maidstone
William of Otham
John Pik
Peter of Stamford
Robert of Harby
John de Wronge
Stephen of Wilton for four days, to each 20 *d.*:
Total 23 *s.* 4 *d.*

To Edward of Norfolk for the same period: 18 *d.*
To William le Prude for two and a half days: 13 *d.*
To Robert de Frendriston for four days: 20 *d.*

Total: 27 *s.* 7 *d.*

Carpenters

To Master John of Beccles for four days: 2 *s.*

To Alan of Clydesdale
Alexander of Northampton
Robert le Hackre for the same period, per day 5½ *d.*:
Total 5 *s.* 6 *d.*

To Richard of Durford
Henry of Ware
Henry of Doddington for the same period, to each
per day 5 *d.*: Total 5 *s.*

Total: 12 *s.* 6 *d.*

John of Oxford
Walter of Chieveley
Brodeye
Peverel
Maximien
Solomon Bade
Roger of Cornwall
William Sterling
William of Rugeley
Fikeys
John of Wenden
William of Fulham
Walter le Longe
Jack Deynte
John of Compton
John Est
William ad Fontem
Robert le Porter
Botoun

William of Maidstone
William of Bampton
Gilbert of Chelsea
Paulin
Richard Wery
Jack of Hickling
Peter le Brenere
Brecknock
Richard of Wilton
Richard Brid

John Halger Total 61 labourers, for four days, to each of
whom 10 *d.*: Total: 50 *s.* 10 *d.*
Total: 50 *s.* 10 *d.*

To James of Bearsted
Richard Neweman 14 *d.*, to each 7 *d.*
Total: 14 *d.* [...]

For the wages of nineteen labourers on Monday on the
vigil of [the feast of] St John the Baptist for unloading
one ship of Caen [stones] and for [...], sand, and
carrying the stones to the masons, to each of whom for
half a day 1½ *d.*

delivered to Stephen the clerk [left marginal annotation]

Total: 2 *s.* 4½ *d.*

Keeper of the water

For the wages of eight labourers looking after the water
both during the day and at night from Saturday from
noon until Saturday at noon, to each for the day and
night 5 *d.*
Total: 23 *s.* 4 *d.*

And for candles bought for the same 3½ *d.*

delivered to Stephen the clerk [left marginal annotation]

Operarij

Alexandro de Westm'
Oyldebof
Henrico Costard
Colino de Weilond
Willelmo le Ferour
Waltero de Wodestok
Squirel
Radulpho de Ponte
Ade de Westm'
Laurencio le Breile
Hugoni de Angleseye
Tulle
Willelmo de Paris
Thome de Whit
Elias Bishop'
Robertus Aterusse
Ade le Scot
Rogerus de Sutton'
Ade de Biflete
Johanni de Buk'
Chibolle
Stephano Atefelde
Thome le Bere
Hering'
Galfrido le Palmere
Jak de Wilton'
Thome de Otham
Gilbertus de Linds'
Henrico de Felton'
Willelmo le Tapicer
Willelmo de Somersete
Johanni le Merk
Johanni Fake
Johanni Atefrith'
Petro de Kerlel
Willelmo Wymark
Ade de Scolam
Ricardo le Parailour
Ade le Brenere
Ricardo filio Roberti Herward
Johanni de Stanstede
Johanni de Chesewik
Jak Witlok
Roberto le Gand
Lucas Marni
Johannes de Beverlaco
Roberto de Erdebi
Willelmo de Kingesbury
Willelmo de Waltham
Willelmo de Aspele
Johanni Love
Luffenham
Alano Whit of More
Johannes le Grom
Johannes de Elpringham
Gervasio de Essewell'
Stephano Turveye

Carecte

Et in tribus carectis locatis ad cariandam gravellam ad
fundamentum die sabbati per dj. diem xij d.

Fabri

In stipendiis Ricardi de Stebenhethe per septimanam ij s. vj d.

In stipendiis Ricardi de Wethamstede

In stipendiis Ricardi de Kesham

Johannis de Tilinteye per septimanam quilibet ij s.:

Summa vj s.

Radulpho de Stebenhuth'

Roberto de Maidinstan per septimanam quilibet xvij d.:

Summa iij s.

Willelmo de Ledes per septimanam ix d. per manus

Magistri Johannis [left marginal annotation]

Summa: xij s. iij d.

Amer de Borwe

Ricardo Neuman

[torn off]

Labourers

To Alexander of Westminster
 Oyldebof
 Henry Costard
 Colin de Wellond
 William le Ferour
 Walter of Woodstock
 Squirel
 Ralph de Ponte
 Adam of Westminster
 Laurence le Breile
 Hugh of Anglesey
 Tulle
 William of Paris
 Thomas of Wight
 Elias Bishop
 Robert Aterusse
 Adam le Scot
 Roger of Sutton
 Adam of Byfleet
 John of Buckingham
 Chibolle
 Stephen Atefelde
 Thomas le Bere
 Hering
 Geoffrey le Palmere
 Jack of Wilton
 Thomas of Otham
 Gilbert of Lindsey
 Henry of Felton
 William le Tapicer
 William of Somerset
 John le Merk
 John Fake
 John Atefrith
 Peter of Carlisle
 William Wymark
 Adam de Scolam
 Richard le Parailour
 Adam le Brenere
 Richard son of Robert Herward
 John de Stanstede
 John of Chiswick
 Jack Witlok
 Robert le Gand
 Lucas Marni
 John of Beverley
 Robert of Harby
 William of Kingsbury
 William of Waltham
 William of Aspley
 John Love
 Luffenham
 Alan Whit of More
 John le Grom
 John of Helpringham
 Gervase of Ashwell
 Stephen Turvey

Carts

And for three carts hired to carry gravel for the foundation
 on Saturday, for half a day 12 *d.*

Smiths

For the wages of Richard of Stepney for the week 2 *s.* 6 *d.*

For the wages of Richard of Wheathampstead

For the wages of Richard of Keynsham

John of Tilty for the week, to each 2 *s.*:

Total 6 *s.*

To Ralph of Stepney

Robert of Maidstone for the week, to each 18 *d.*:

Total 3 *s.*

To William of Leeds for the week 9 *d.* by the hands of
 Master John [left marginal annotation]

Total: 12 *s.* 3 *d.*

To Elmer of Borough

Richard Neuman

[torn off]

Galfrido de Cleibury
 Walterus de Westram
 Ade de Colewik
 Johannes de Linc'
 Willelmus de Hongeston'
 Joceus
 Willelmus le Notiere
 Willelmus Aurifaber
 Walterus le Polecer
 Willelmo Arding'
 Jak Arding'
 Walzeman
 Simoni Hagin
 Jak le Ynge
 Godefrido de Hanvyle per S.
 Laurencio Pistori
 Radulpho le Brenere

Summa lxxiiij operarij per iiij dies operabiles quorum quilibet x *d.*:
 Summa lxj s. viij *d.*

Summa: lxj s. viij *d.*

[rot. 9]

x rotulus

Rotulus de stipendiis cementariorum fabrorum carpentariorum et aliorum operariorum circa opera capelle Regis
 apud Westm' in septimana proxima post festum sancti Johannis Baptiste per vj dies operabiles anno xx

[rot. 9a]

Cementarij

In stipendiis Michaelis apparitoris per septimanam
 iij s. vj *d.*
 Nicholao de Heyno per vj dies per diem vj *d.* ob.: iij s. iij *d.*

Willelmo le Blound
 Johanni de Stone
 Ricardo de Stureye per M.
 Henrico de Thenet
 Gilecto
 Teobaldo de Bures per M.
 Thome de Northiham
 Johanni de Crouehurst
 Johanni de Welles
 Johanni de Bernak
 Nicholao de Zorneton'
 Roberto le Archer
 Johanni de Wiltirtone
 Ade de Botirwik
 Ade de Lamerhurst
 Waltero de Miklam

[rot. 9b]

Adhuc operarij

Operarij

David le Scot
 Stephano Attefelde
 Thome le Bere
 Rogero de Sutton'
 Ade de Biflete
 Galfrido de Cleiburi
 Chibolle
 Galfrido le Palmere
 Jak de Wiltone
 Brodeye
 Bereston
 Peverel
 Ricardo Weri
 Ricardo de Wilton'
 Ricardo Brid
 Willelmo de Maidinstan
 Willelmo de Bampton'
 Johanni Est
 Calabre

Geoffrey of Cleobury
Walter of Westerham
Adam of Colwick
John of Lincoln
William de Hongestone
Joce
William le Notiere
William Goldsmith
Walter le Polecer
William Harding
Jack Harding
Walzeman
Simon Hagin
Jack le Ynge
Godfrey of Hanville by S.
Laurence the baker
Ralph le Brenere

Total 74 labourers, for the four working days, to each of whom 10 *d.*:
Total 61 *s.* 8 *d.*

Total: 61 *s.* 8 *d.*

[rot. 9]

Rotulet 10

Rotulet of the wages of the masons, smiths, carpenters and other labourers for the work of the king's chapel at Westminster in the week next after the feast of St John the Baptist [24 June, *nativitas*], for the six working days, in year 20 [Edward I]
[w/b 30 June 1292]

[rot. 9a]

Masons

For the wages of Michael the overseer per week
3 *s.* 6 *d.*
To Nicholas of Aynho for six days, per day 6½ *d.*: 3 *s.* 3 *d.*

To William le Blound
John of Stone
Richard of Sturry by M.
Henry of Thanet
Gilectus
Theobald of Bures by M.
Thomas of Northiam
John of Crowhurst
John of Wells
John of Barnack
Nicholas of Thornton
Robert le Archer
John of Wolterton
Adam of Butterwick
Adam of Lamberhurst
Walter of Michelham

[rot. 9b]

More labourers

Labourers

To David le Scot
Stephen Attefelde
Thomas le Bere
Roger of Sutton
Adam of Byfleet
Geoffrey of Cleobury
Chibolle
Geoffrey le Palmere
Jack of Wilton
Brodeye
Bereston
Peverel
Richard Weri
Richard of Wilton
Richard Brid
William of Maidstone
William of Bampton
John Est
Calabre

THE FABRIC ACCOUNTS OF ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL

Bonecto de Bonon'		Totinge
Petro de Mertone	per vj dies quilibet ij s. ix d.:	Roberto de Racton'
Summa xlix s. vj d.		Hugoni de Whit
Radulpho Chaunterel		Lucas Marni
Willelmo de Cantebr'		Stephano Turveye
Henrico de Bonon'		Waltero de Westram
Jak Gogun		Ade de Colewik
Waltero de Sutton'		Joceo
Willelmo de Pabenham		Jak Chesewik
Hugoni de Zornmerstone		Hamoni Choie
Willelmo de Ledes		Willelmo Tapicer
Warino de Heyham		Johanni le Merk
Roberto de Langeleye		Johanni Fake
Johanni de Steventon'		Petro Kerlel
Johanni de Monte Acuto		Ade le Brenere
Hugoni de Corf		Roberto le Fand
Johanni de Chorf per idem tempus quilibet ij s. vj d.:		Roberto de Erdebi
Summa xxxv s.		Johanni Love
Waltero de Cantuar' per vj dies: ij s. iij d.		Luffenham
Waltero de Mondene		Johanni le Grom
Johanni de Heyno	per septimanam iiij s.	Gervasio de Essewell'
Hugoni de Sancto Albano per v dies: ij s. j d.		Willelmo Notiere
Summa: iiij li. xij s. x d.		Thome Wonder
Cubatores		Willelmo Aurifabr'
Michaeli de Maidinstan		Willelmo Arding
Rogero Hering'		Jak Arding
Willelmo de Grendon'		Walseman
Henrico Sancti Leonardi		Simoni Hagin
Willelmo de Gedington'		Jak le Ynge
Johanni de Romenyee		Laurencio Pistor'
Johanni de Stanford		Radulpho le Brenere
Johanni de Maidinstan		Scurbadde
Willelmo de Otham		Willelmo de Chidingfold
Johanni Pik		Radulpho Atenasse
Petro de Stanford		Willelmo Ruscel
Roberto de Erdebi		Roberto de Waltham
Johanni Wronge		Pursere
Stephano de Wilton'		Johanni de Bradeueye
Willelmo le Prude		Petevyn
Roberto de Frendriston'		Jak le Gardiner
Radulpho de Westm'		Simoni de Wodhull'
Lamberto de Malinge		Willelmo de Haston'
Roberto de Winton'		Cleiburi
Johanni de Eilesford		Radulpho le Desere
Willelmo de Aspelesfeld	per vj dies quilibet ij s. vj d.	Ricardo de Sutwerk
Summa: liij s. vj d.		Balemound
Edwardo de Nortf'		Roberto de Walingford
Roberto de Apecroft	iiij s. vj d.	Willelmo de Westm'
		Petro de Bromhull'
		Ade de Wodhull'
		Alano de Blith'
		Botoun
		Nicholao de Glaston'
		Rogero de Eccestr'
		Maximien
		Salomoni le Bolde
		Rogero de Cornub'
		Waltero le Longe

Bonectus of Boulogne		Tooting
Peter of Merton	for six days, to each 2 s. 9 d.:	Robert of Racton
Total 49 s. 6 d.		Hugh of Wight
		Luke Marni
To Ralph Chaunterel		Stephen Turvey
William of Cambridge		Walter of Westerham
Henry of Boulogne		Adam of Colwick
Jack Gogun		Joce
Walter of Sutton		Jack Chiswick
William of Pavenham		Hamon Choie
Hugh de Zornmerstone		William Tapicer
William of Leeds		John le Merk
Warin de Heyham		John Fake
Robert of Langley		Peter Carlisle
John of Steventon		Adam le Brenere
John of Montacute		Robert le Fand
Hugh of Corfe		Robert of Harby
John of Corfe	for the same period, to each 2 s. 6 d.:	John Love
Total 35 s.		Luffenham
		John le Grom
To Walter of Canterbury for six days: 2 s. 3 d.		Gervase of Ashwell
		William Notiere
To Walter of Munden		Thomas Wonder
John of Aynho	for the week 4 s.	William Goldsmith
		William Harding
To Hugh of St Albans for five days: 2 s. 1 d.		Jack Harding
		Walseman
Total: £4 12 s. 10 d.		Simon Hagin
		Jack le Ynge
Stonelayers		Laurence the baker
To Michael of Maidstone		Ralph le Brenere
Roger Hering		Scurbadde
William of Grendon		William of Chiddingfold
Henry of St Leonards		Ralph Atenasse
William of Geddington		William Ruscel
John of Romney		Robert of Waltham
John of Stamford		Pursere
John of Maidstone		John of Broadway
William of Otham		Petevyn
John Pik		Jack le Gardiner
Peter of Stamford		Simon of Woodhill
Robert of Harby		William de Hastone
John Wronge		Cleobury
Stephen of Wilton		Ralph le Desere
William le Prude		Richard of Southwark
Robert de Frendriston		Balemound
Ralph of Westminster		Robert of Wallingford
Lambert of Malling		William of Westminster
Robert of Winchester		Peter of Bromhill
John of Aylesford		Adam of Woodhill
William de Aspelesfeld	for six days, to each 2 s. 6 d.	Alan of Blyth
Total: 52 s. 6 d.		Botoun
		Nicholas of Glastonbury
To Edward of Norfolk		Roger of Exeter
Robert de Apecroft	4 s. 6 d.	Maximien
		Solomon le Bolde
		Roger of Cornwall
		Walter le Longe

THE FABRIC ACCOUNTS OF ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL

Roberto de Hassebi per v dies: ij s. j *d.*
Roberto de Malinge per iiij dies: xx *d.*

Summa: lx s. ix *d.*

Fabri

In stipendiis Ricardi de {Wethamstede} <Stebenhuthe>
per septimanam ij s. vj *d.*

Ricardo de Wethamstede
Ricardo de Chesham
Johanni de Chilintein vj s. per septimanam

Radulpho de Stebenhuth'
Roberto de Maidinstan per septimanam iij s.

Willelmo de Ledes per septimanam ix *d.*

Summa: xij s. iij *d.*

Carpentarij

Magistro J. de Beckles per septimanam iij s.

Alano de Clutisdale
Alexandro de North'
Roberto le Hackre
Henrico Gregori
Ricardo le Marescal
Ricardo de Rippele
Henrico de Corneville per vj dies quilibet ij s. ix *d.*: Summa xix s. iij *d.*

Willelmo de Bedeford
Willelmo Page
Ricardo de Dereford
Henrico de Dodington'
Henrico de Ware per idem tempus quilibet ij s. vj *d.*: Summa xij s. vj *d.*

Johanni de Wandelisworr' per iij dies: xvj *d.* ob.

Summa xxxvj s. ij *d.* ob.

Ad mortarium

Alexandro de Westm'
Hugoni Oildebof
Henrico Costard
Colino de Weilond
Willelmo le Ferour
Waltero de Wodestok
Radulpho de Ponte
Roberto le Porter
Hugoni de Angleis'
Tulle
Willelmo de Paris
Thome de Whit per vj dies quilibet xv *d.* Summa: xv s.

Jak Deinte
Gilberto de Chilhuth'
Briknok
Johanni Alger
James de Berwestede
Ricardo Neueman
Willelmo de Campes
Waltero le Bercher
Willelmo de Denham
Ade de Chertham
Thome le Clerk
Roberto Camerario Summa iiij^{xx} ix operarij per vj dies
operabiles quorum quilibet eorum xv *d.* Summa: cxj s.
iij *d.*

[...]¹

Carectarius

Et in j carecta locata ad cariandos arenam et sabulonem
per iij dies et dj.: xxij *d.*

Et in stipendiis viij operariorum custodiencium aquam
tam de die quam de nocte a die sabbati post nonam
usque ad diem sabbati ad nonam cuilibet per diem et
noctem v *d.*: Summa xxij s. iij *d.*

Et in candelis pro eisdem ij *d.*

[...]²

¹ The following entry concerns the tiling of the king's almoner's house.

² The following entries concern a garden.

To Robert of Ashby for five days: 2 s. 1 d.
To Robert of Malling for four days: 20 d.

Total: 60 s. 9 d.

Smiths

For the wages of Richard of Stepney for the week 2 s. 6 d.

To Richard of Wheathampstead
Richard of Chesham
John of Chillington 6 s. for the week

To Ralph of Stepney
Robert of Maidstone for the week, 3 s.

To William of Leeds for the week 9 d.

Total: 12 s. 3 d.

Carpenters

To Master J. of Beccles per week 3 s.

To Alan of Clydesdale
Alexander of Northampton
Robert le Hackre
Henry Gregori
Richard le Marescal
Richard de Rippele
Henry de Corneville for six days, to each 2 s. 9 d.: Total 19 s. 3 d.

To William of Bedford
William Page
Richard of Durford
Henry of Doddington
Henry of Ware for the same period, to each 2 s. 6 d.: Total 12 s. 6 d.

To John of Wandsworth for three days: 16½ d.

Total 36 s. 2½ d.

For mortar

To Alexander of Westminster
Hugh Oildebof
Henry Costard
Colin de Wellond
William le Ferour
Walter of Woodstock
Ralph de Ponte
Robert le Porter
Hugh of Anglesey
Tulle
William of Paris
Thomas of Wight for six days, to each 15 d. Total: 15 s.

Jack Deinte
Gilbert of Chelsea
Brecknock
John Alger
James of Bearsted
Richard Neueman
William of Camps
Walter le Bercher
William of Denham
Adam of Chartham
Thomas le Clerk
Robert the chamberlain Total 89 labourers, for
the six working days, to each of whom 15 d. Total:
111 s. 3 d.

[...]

Carter

And for one cart hired to carry fine and coarse sand for
three and a half days: 22 d.

And for the wages of eight labourers looking after the
water both during the day and at night from Saturday
from noon until Saturday at noon, to each for the day
and night 5 d.: Total 23 s. 4 d.

And for candles for the same 2 d.

[...]

Elie Bishop' per v dies xij *d.* ob.
Roberto Atterusse per iiij dies x *d.*

Memorandum de [illegible] j *d.* quilibet pari arest' j *d.* [left marginal annotation]

Operarij in fossato iuxta gardinum mundando

David de Westm'
Hering'
Gilberto de Lindis'
Willelmo Wymark
Ricardo le Parailour
Jak Witlok
Willelmo de Kingesburi
Willelmo de Waltham
Willelmo de Aspisleye
Johanni de Linc'
Roberto de Wodeburwe
Willelmo Sterlinge
Alexandro de Eye
Thome de Urleye
Randulpho le Swon
Radulpho de Chilhuthes per vj dies quilibet xv *d.*: Summa xx s.

Galfrido le Brenere per v dies xij *d.* ob.
Jak atefrith' per iiij dies x *d.*
Thome de Otham per v dies xij *d.* ob.
Johanni de Buk' per vj dies xv *d.*

Summa xlj s. ob.

[rot. 9]

[...]

[rots. 70–71]

xj rotulus de empcionibus

Petra

Petro Markis pro ij navatis petre de Bonon' emptis: iiij li.
Jakmino pro ij navatis petre de Bon' emptis: xl s.
Johanni de Ponte pro j batello petre de Eilesford empto: vij s.
Johanni filio Thome pro eodem: v s. vj *d.*
Johanni de Eilesford pro eodem: vj s. vj *d.*
Waltero de Prato pro eodem: ix s.
Johanni Pappe pro eodem: ix s.
Johanni Rismound pro eodem: vj s. vj *d.*
Eilmero pro eodem: iiij s. ix *d.*
Ricardo le Pek pro eodem: vj s.
Summa: viij li. xiiij s. iij *d.*

Calx

Reginaldo pistori pro viij^c calcis uste emptis: xxvj s. viij *d.*
Alicie de Crokreslane pro vij^c dj. calcis uste emptis: {xxiiij s. iiij} xxv s.

To Elias Bishop for five days 12½ *d.*
To Robert Atterusse for four days 10 *d.*

Note [illegible] 1 *d.* to each pair requisitioned 1 *d.* [left marginal annotation]

Labourers for cleaning the ditch by the garden

To David of Westminster
Hering
Gilbert of Lindsey
William Wymark
Richard le Parailour
Jack Witlok
William of Kingsbury
William of Waltham
William of Aspley
John of Lincoln
Robert of Woodborough
William Sterlinge
Alexander of Eye
Thomas de Urleye
Ranulf le Swon
Ralph of Chelsea for six days, to each 15 *d.*: Total 20 *s.*

To Geoffrey le Brenere for five days 12½ *d.*
To Jack Atefrith for four days 10 *d.*
To Thomas of Otham for five days 12½ *d.*
To John of Buckingham for six days 15 *d.*

Total 41 *s.* ½ *d.*

[rot. 9]

[...]

[rots. 70–71]

Rotulet 11 of purchases

[w/b 7 July 1292]

Stone

To Peter Markis for two shiploads of Boulogne stone bought: £4
To Jakmin for two shiploads of Boulogne stone bought: 40 *s.*
To John de Ponte for one boat[load] of Aylesford stone bought: 7 *s.*
To John son of Thomas for the same: 5 *s.* 6 *d.*
To John of Aylesford for the same: 6 *s.* 6 *d.*
To Walter de Prato for the same: 9 *s.*
To John Pappe for the same: 9 *s.*
To John Richmond for the same: 6 *s.* 6 *d.*
To Elmer for the same: 4 *s.* 9 *d.*
To Richard le Pek for the same: 6 *s.*
Total: £8 14 *s.* 3 *d.*

Lime

To Reginald the baker for eight cwt of burnt lime bought: 26 *s.* 8 *d.*
To Alice of Crockers Lane for seven and a half cwt of burnt lime bought: 25 *s.*

Sabulum

Henrico batillario et socio suo pro {ij} xix batellatis sabulonis: ix s. vj *d.* [...]¹

Ferrum

Ricardo de Campes pro iiij <m¹> clavorum ad latts precium m¹ viij *d.* et pro v^c grossorum clavorum precium centene iiij *d.*: iiij s. j *d.*

{Ricardo} <Henrico> Godhine pro reparacione utensiliorum cementariorum [pro] gatis et scopis ligandis: iij s. iiij *d.*

Rof

In j mille arondinis emptis ad hastelarium <Willelmo Simond>: xj s.

Virge

In virgis et hartis ad idem et ad scaffoldum: xvij *d.* per S. [...]²

[rot. 71]

xj Rotulus

Rotulus de stipendiis cementariorum fabrorum carpentariorum et aliorum operariorum in septimana in qua fuit festum beati Thome martiris in translacione per vj dies continenti j festum quod est cementariorum

[rot. 71a]

Cementarij

In stipendiis Michaelis apparitoris per septimanam: iij s. vj *d.*

Nicholao de Heyno per vj dies: iij s. iiij *d.*

Willelmo le Wythe per idem tempus: iij s.

Johanni de Stone

Ricardo de Sturreye

Henrico de Tenet

Gilecto

Teobaldo de Bures

Thome de Northiham

Johanni de Crouehet

Johanni de Welles

Johanni de Bernak

Nicholao de Zorneton'

Roberto le Archer

Johanni de Wiltirton'

Ade de Lamerhurst

Waltero de Miklam

Bonecto de Bonon'

Petro de Merton'

Hugoni de Sancto Albano per idem tempus quilibet
ij s. ix *d.* Summa: xlvj s. ix *d.*

Radulpho Chaunterel

Henrico de Bonon'

Jak Gogun

Willelmo de Pabenham

Hugoni de Zormerstone

Willelmo de Ledes

Warino de Heyham

[rot. 71b]

Adhuc operarij

Operarij

Ade de Westm'

Hering'

Willelmo Wymark

Ricardo le Parailour

Jak Witlok

Willelmo de Kingesburi

Willelmo de Aspele

Roberto de Wodeburwe

Willelmo Sterling'

Alexandro de Eye

Thome de Urleye

Ranulph le Swon

Jak Atefrith

Lucas Marni

Stephano Turveye

Jak Chesewik

Willelmo le Tapicer

Johanni Fak

Ade le Brenere

Roberto de Erdeby

Johanni Love

Luffenham

Johanni le Grom

Waltero le Bercher

Roberto Camerario

Roberto de Waltham

Ricardo de Redinges

Thome de Dorking'

¹ Entries follow for the purchase of tiles to cover a coal store, and of timber for the napery.

² Entries follow for the purchase of painting materials and for painters' wages.

Sand

To Henry the boatman and his fellow for nineteen boatloads of sand: 9 s. 6 *d.* [...]

Iron

To Richard of Camps for 4,000 nails for laths, per thousand 8 *d.*, and for 500 great nails, price per hundred 4 *d.*: 4 s. 1 *d.*

To Henry Godhine for the repair of the masons' tools, [for] reinforcing wood vessels and scoops: 3 s. 4 *d.*

Roof

For 1,000 of reed bought for the workshop, to William Simond: 11 s.

Rods

For rods and withies for the same and for the scaffolding: 18 *d.* by S. [...]

[rot. 71]

Rotulet 11

Rotulet of the wages of the masons, smiths, carpenters and other labourers in the week in which was the feast of Blessed Thomas the martyr, the translation [7 July], for six days, containing one feast [day], which is the masons'

[rot. 71a]

Masons

For the wages of Michael the overseer per week: 3 s. 6 *d.*

To Nicholas of Aynho for six days: 3 s. 3 *d.*

To William le Wythe for the same period: 3 s.

To John of Stone

Richard of Sturry

Henry of Thanet

Gilectus

Theobald of Bures

Thomas of Northiam

John of Crowhurst

John of Wells

John of Barnack

Nicholas of Thornton

Robert le Archer

John of Wolterton

Adam of Lamberhurst

Walter of Michelham

Bonectus of Boulogne

Peter of Merton

Hugh of St Albans for the same period, to each

2 s. 9 *d.* Total: 46 s. 9 *d.*

To Ralph Chaunterel

Henry of Boulogne

Jack Gogun

William of Pavenham

Hugh de Zormerstone

William of Leeds

Warin de Heyham

[rot. 71b]

More labourers

Labourers

To Adam of Westminster

Hering

William Wymark

Richard le Parailour

Jack Witlok

William of Kingsbury

William of Aspley

Robert of Woodborough

William Sterling

Alexander of Eye

Thomas de Urleye

Ranulf le Swon

Jack Atefrith

Lucas Marni

Stephen Turvey

Jack Chiswick

William le Tapicer

John Fak

Adam le Brenere

Robert of Harby

John Love

Luffenham

John le Grom

Walter le Bercher

Robert the chamberlain

Robert of Waltham

Richard of Reading

Thomas of Dorking

Roberto de Langel'
Johanni de Steventon'
Johanni de Monte Acuto
Hugoni de Corf
Johanni de Chorf per idem tempus quilibet ij s. vj d.
Summa: xxx s.

Waltero de Cantuar' per idem tempus: ij s. iij d.
Waltero de Monden'
Johanni de Heyno per idem tempus: iij s.

Waltero de Marewe: ij s. ix d.

Elye de Forneys
Willelmo de Berkamstede
Thome de Wytteneye: vij s. vj d.

Summa: iij li. xij s. iij d. Item ix s. ix d.

Cubatores

Michaeli de Maidinstan per iij dies: xv d.
per M.

Rogero Hering'
Roberto de Esse
Willelmo de Grendon'
Henrico Sancti Leonardi
Willelmo de Gedington'
Johanni de Romeneye
Johanni de Stanford
Johanni de Maidinstan
Willelmo de Otham
Johanni Pik
Petro de Stanford
Roberto de Erdeby
Johanni Wronge
Stephano de Wilton'
Willelmo le Prude
Roberto de Frendriston'
Radulpho de Westm'
Lamberto de Maling'
Roberto de Winton'
Johanni de Eilesford
Willelmo de Apelesfeld
Roberto de Malinge per vj dies quilibet ij s. vj d.
Summa: lv s.

Edwardo de Norcf'
Roberto de Apecroft iij s. vj d.

Summa: lx s. ix d.

Fabri

Ricardo de Stebenth' per septimanam ij s. vj d.

Ricardo de Wethamstede
Ricardo de Chesham
Johanni de Chiltern per septimanam vj s.

Stephano de Fulham
Petro Kerlel
Paulin
Simoni de Wodhull'
Ade de Wodhull'
Willelmo de Denham
Joceo
Ricardo Brid
Willelmo de Bampton'
Radulpho Atenasse
Calabre
Toting'
Waltero de Westram
Ade de Colewik
Hamoni {Ch} Coye
Johanni le Merk
Willelmo de Maidinstan
Roberto le Fand
Balemound
Gervasio de Essewell'
Willelmo le Notiere
Thome Wonder
Willelmo Aurif'
Willelmo Arding'
Jak Arding'
Walzeman
Simoni Hagin
Jak le Ynge
Laurencio le Bakre
Radulpho le Brenere
Scurbadde
Radulpho le Desere
Willelmo Ruscel
Pursere
Johanni de Bradeueye
Petevin
Jak le Gardiner
Willelmo de Astone
Cleiburi
Ricardo de Sutwerk
Roberto de Walingford
Willelmo de Westm'
Petro de Bromhull'
Alano de Blythe
Botoun
Nicholao de Glaston'
Roger de Eccestr'
Salomoni le Bolde
Rogero de Cornub'
Waltero le Longe
Jak Deinte
Gilberto de Chilhuth'
Briknoc
Johanni Alger
James [sic] de Bernestede
Ricardo Neueman
Willelmo de Caumpes
Thome le Clerk

Robert of Langley
 John of Steventon
 John of Montacute
 Hugh of Corfe
 John of Corfe for the same period, to each
 2 s. 6 d. Total: 30 s.

To Walter of Canterbury for the same period: 2 s. 3 d.
 To Walter of Munden
 John of Aynho for the same period: 4 s.

To Walter of Merrow: 2 s. 9 d.

To Elias of Furness
 William of Berkhamsted
 Thomas of Witney 7 s. 6 d.

Total: £4 13 s. 3 d. Item 9 s. 9 d.

Stonelayers

To Michael of Maidstone for three days: 15 d.
 by M.

To Roger Hering
 Robert of Ash
 William of Grendon
 Henry of St Leonards
 William of Geddington
 John of Romney
 John of Stamford
 John of Maidstone
 William of Otham
 John Pik
 Peter of Stamford
 Robert of Harby
 John Wronge
 Stephen of Wilton
 William le Prude
 Robert de Frendriston
 Ralph of Westminster
 Lambert of Malling
 Robert of Winchester
 John of Aylesford
 William de Apelesfeld
 Robert of Malling for six days, to each 2 s. 6 d.
 Total: 55 s.

To Edward of Norfolk
 Robert de Apecroft 4 s. 6 d.

Total: 60 s. 9 d.

Smiths

To Richard of Stepney for the week 2 s. 6 d.

To Richard of Wheathampstead
 Richard of Chesham
 John of Chiltern for the week 6 s.

Stephen of Fulham
 Peter Carlisle
 Paulin
 Simon of Woodhill
 Adam of Woodhill
 William of Denham
 Joce
 Richard Brid
 William of Bampton
 Ralph Atenasse
 Calabre
 Tooting
 Walter of Westerham
 Adam of Colwick
 Hamon Coye
 John le Merk
 William of Maidstone
 Robert le Fand
 Balemound
 Gervase of Ashwell
 William le Notiere
 Thomas Wonder
 William Goldsmith
 William Harding
 Jack Harding
 Walzeman
 Simon Hagin
 Jack le Ynge
 Laurence le Bakre
 Ralph le Brenere
 Scurbadde
 Ralph le Desere
 William Ruscel
 Pursere
 John of Broadway
 Petevin
 Jack le Gardiner
 William de Astone
 Cleobury
 Richard of Southwark
 Robert of Wallingford
 William of Westminster
 Peter of Bromhill
 Alan of Blyth
 Botoun
 Nicholas of Glastonbury
 Roger of Exeter
 Solomon le Bolde
 Roger of Cornwall
 Walter le Longe
 Jack Deinte
 Gilbert of Chelsea
 Brecknock
 John Alger
 James of Bearsted
 Richard Neueman
 William of Camps
 Thomas le Clerk

Radulpho de Stebenth'
Roberto de Maidinstan per septimanam iij s.

Willelmo de Ledes per septimanam ix d.

Summa: xij s. iij d.

Carpentarij

Magistro J. de Beckles per vj dies: iij s.

Alano de Clutisdale
Alexandro de Northt'
Henrico Gregori
Roberto le Hackre
Johanni de Wandeliswore
Henrico de Corneville per idem tempus xvj s. vj d.
qualibet [*sic*] percepit per diem v d. ob.

Ricardo de Dereford
Henrico de Ware
Henrico de Dodington' per idem tempus quilibet per
diem v d. Summa: vij s. vj d.

Summa: xxvij s.

Cooperarij

Galfrido de Berking' et ij garcionibus suis cooperantibus
hastilarij per v dies per diem pro se et garcionibus
suis pro servicio suo xij d. Summa: v s.

Summa: v s.

[...]¹

Operarij ad mortarium

Alexandro de {Northt'} <Westm'> vacat' [left marginal
annotation]

Hugoni Oyldebof
Henrico Costard
Colino de Wellond
Willelmo le Ferour
Waltero de Wodestok
Radulpho de Ponte
Roberto le Porter
Hugoni de Angleis'
Tulle
Willelmo de Paris
Thome de Whit
Elye Bishop per v dies quilibet xij d. Summa: xij s. vj d. ob.

Roberto Atterusse per ij dies: v d.

Baiardi

Ade le Scot
Thome de Otham

Henrico Page
Laurencio le Brenere
Thome de Bello
Hugoni Vyolet
Roberto Sterling'
Petro le Brenere
Ade de Hanwik Summa iij^{xx} xij operarij per v
dies quorum quilibet pro servicio suo
xij d. ob. Summa: iij li. xvj s. x d. ob.

Summa: iij li. xvj s. x d. ob.

Item Johanni Est
Roberto de Racton' per ij dies: x d.

Willelmo de Waltham
Johanni de Linc'
Ade de Romeneye
Thome de Cruce
Gregorio le Tresorer
Waltero Cok per j diem: xv d.

Et in stipendiis viij operariorum custodiencium aquam
tam de die quam de nocte a die sabbati post nonam
usque ad diem sabbati ad nonam cuilibet eorum per
diem et noctem v d.

Summa: xxij s. iij d.

[...]²

¹ The following entry is for tilers, working on a coal store.

² Entries follow for tiling 'in domo domini O'.

To Ralph of Stepney
Robert of Maidstone for the week 3 s.

To William of Leeds for the week 9 d.

Total: 12 s. 3 d.

Carpenters

To Master J. of Beccles for six days: 3 s.

To Alan of Clydesdale
Alexander of Northampton
Henry Gregori
Robert le Hackre
John of Wandsworth
Henry de Corneville for the same period
16 s. 6 d., each received per day 5½ d.

To Richard of Durford
Henry of Ware
Henry of Doddington for the same period,
to each per day 5 d. Total: 7 s. 6 d.

Total: 27 s.

Roofers

To Geoffrey of Barking and his two servants, roofing the
workshop for five days, per day for himself and his
servants, for his service 12 d. Total: 5 s.

Total: 5 s.

[...]

Labourers for the mortar

To Alexander of Westminster vacated [left
marginal annotation]

Hugh Oyldebof
Henry Costard
Colin de Wellond
William le Ferour
Walter of Woodstock
Ralph de Ponte
Robert le Porter
Hugh of Anglesey
Tulle
William of Paris
Thomas of Wight
Elias Bishop for five days, to each 12 d. Total: 13 s. 6½ d.

To Robert Atterusse for two days: 5 d.

Barrowmen

To Adam le Scot
Thomas of Otham

Henry Page
Laurence le Brenere
Thomas of Battle
Hugh Vyolet
Robert Sterling
Peter le Brenere
Adam of Anwick Total 93 labourers, for five days,
to each of whom for his service
12½ d. Total: £4 16 s. 10½ d.

Total: £4 16 s. 10½ d.

Item, to John Est
Robert of Racton for two days: 10 d.

To William of Waltham
John of Lincoln
Adam of Romney
Thomas de Cruce
Gregory le Tresorer
Walter Cok for one day: 15 d.

And for the wages of the eight labourers looking after the
water, both during the day and at night, from Saturday
from noon until Saturday at noon, to each of them, for
the day and night 5 d.

Total: 23 s. 4 d.

[...]

Johanni de Buk
 Stephano ate Felde
 Thome le Bere
 Rogero de Sutton'
 Ade de Byflete
 Galfrido de Cleibury
 Chibolle
 Jak de Wilton'
 Ricardo de Wilton' per v dies: xj s. v d. ob.

Brodeye
 Peverel
 Hugoni de Whit per iiij dies: ij s. vj d.

Bereston per iij dies: vij d. ob.

Maximien per idem tempus: vij d. ob.

Summa: xxix s. ij d.

[rot. 10]

xij rotulus de empcionibus

Petra

Jakemino de Herkeling' pro iij navatis petre de Herkling' pro petra et fracto: x li.
 Johanni de Ponte pro ij batellis petre de Eilesford: xiiij s.
 Willelmo Acard pro j batello de eodem: vij s. vj d.
 Johanni ad aquam pro j batello de eodem: dj. marc'¹ per S.
 Thome Cler' pro j batello de eodem: iiij s. ix d.
 Eidem pro j alio batello de eodem: v s.
 Ade Orgon pro j batello de eodem: vj s.
 Johanni de Eilesford pro j batello de eodem: vj s. vj d.
 Ade Oteiry pro j batello de eodem: vj s. viij d.
 Summa: xij li. xvij s. j d.

Calx

Reginaldo Pistori pro xiiij^c calcis uste emptis precium centene xl d.: xlvj s. viij d.
 Alicie Crokr' pro ix^c dj. calcis uste emptis: xxxj s. viij d.

Sabulum

Henrico Batellario et socio suo pro xxiiij batillatis sabulonis: xj s. vj d.

Meremium

Roberto Wytegram pro j curba empti: vij d. per S.
 In vj^c arondinis emptis ad hastilarium: vj s. vij d.
 In hartis emptis ad idem: iiij d. per S.
 In virgis emptis ad cooperturam hastilarij: {ij s.} xvij d.
 In cariagio: v d. per S.

Ferrum

Ricardo de Caumpes pro m^l clavis ad plumbariam precium centene j d. ob. et pro v^c clavis ad bord[as] precium centene ij d. et pro m^l clavis ad lattas precium viij d.: Summa ij s. ix d.
 Godhine fabro pro utensilibus cementariorum reparandis per septimanam: iiij s. ix d.

¹ Entry marked with a cross.