

YORK CITY CHAMBERLAINS ACCOUNT ROLLS 1396-1500 (PUBLICATIONS OF THE SURTEES SOCIETY) pdf

1: Select Bibliography of Works on the History of Accounting

Pelloux regrette les publications de certains médias après les attentats contre «Charlie Hebdo».

Wells, Durham University Introduction It cannot be doubted that medieval devotion towards the cults of saints was a physical affair, involving touching, kissing and even crawling as a way of coming into direct contact with the intercessory power of the divine. Few survive, but in the stained glass and illuminated manuscripts of the twelfth through to the fifteenth century, pilgrims are depicted crawling into them, kissing the shrine through its apertures, and bestowing ex voto offerings in the shape of infected or broken limbs. Whilst highlighting the variety of monumental architecture deployed in the space of cult churches, they also demonstrate the importance of the multi-sensory involvement of such locations. This paper will explore the importance of sensory experience throughout the late twelfth to the early fifteenth-century, with a particular focus on the act of bodily participation with the divine, and how this was reflected in the architectural and visual structure of a saintly site. To illustrate the importance of sensory means of veneration towards the cults of saints, several stained glass images from the decorative frameworks of two of the most popular English shrines of the medieval period will be analyzed; one of whom was a very locally venerated saint, and the other who was perhaps the most popular saint in the country for much of the Middle Ages. This complex notion will be explained in two parts: The medieval period was extremely sensory. A significant amount of the analysis also comes from my current Ph. They also allowed for a comparison of the architectural and decorative devotional campaigns of one major Northern and one major Southern pilgrimage church and at different scales of analysis due to their varying religious functions; York being a secular minster and Canterbury, a Benedictine monastery. For in-depth analyses of this topic see for example, C. Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and literacy in late medieval religion* London and Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, ; idem. In *The archaeology of the Reformation* , eds. Beyond the image wars in science, religion, and art, eds. MIT Press, , pp. What happened to Catholic things in a Protestant world? Maney, , pp. Beyond the image wars in science, religion, and art Cambridge, Mass. Carlos, *War against the idols: The reformation of worship from Erasmus to Calvin* Cambridge: Traditional religion in England , New Haven and London: Yale University Press, ; idem. *Reformation and rebellion in an English village* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, Rodopi, , pp. Clarendon Press, , 2 vols. Cambridge University Press, Nelson and Norman Bryson eds. *Seeing as Others Saw* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, , p. Pilgrimage was a personal act and so the intentions for such a journey were extensive, ranging from personal penance, group activity or even simply a quest for an adventure. Medieval concepts of visuality and sensuality have been applied to pilgrimage in the past by Edith and Victor Turner in *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* New York: Columbia University Press, They argue that during pilgrimage people are free from social standing as they move from real into sacred time and space temporarily transcending mundane social participated in such sensory actions, an examination of the development and construction of the sites in which they worshipped is crucial. Evidence from contemporary documentary accounts and from the two- and three- dimensional imagery that adorned churches is particularly important given the crucial role art played in promoting the cults of saints. In simple terms, sensation was the means by which belief was to be experienced. Thus, the devotional experience of these sites provided temporary relief from mundane existence and everyday ritual forms, but did not remove social status or identity as through the development of pilgrimage art and architecture, identity and social status was certainly displayed, projected and understood by the medieval person. Abo Akademi, , pp. The most detailed discussion of medieval visuality and spirituality is Robert S. *The Pilgrimage Experience at Canterbury* When pilgrims arrived at Canterbury Cathedral, they were greeted by monks who escorted them to the chapter house in order to enamour them with the stories of the life and miracles of St. University of Warwick, , p. Brigstocke Sheppard, 7 vols, *Rolls Series*, 67 London: Rolls Commission, , III, p. *Sed de miraculis ejus in Anglia, sacerdotum et bonorum virorum testimonio declaratis, et in capitulo Cantuariensis*

ecclesiae publice recitatis, magnus codex conscriptus exstat.. Kessinger Publishing Co, although fictional amuse themselves with attempts to decipher the meanings of the windows. This may not have been the case for the later fourteenth to early sixteenth-century as documents do not provide any clues as to whether this practice was continued. It must also be stressed that parishioners or pilgrims were not usually invited into chapter houses as they were reserved strictly for chapter or parliamentary business, as was the case at York Minster whose similar duality with Westminster meant that it served as a meeting place for Parliament, the Northern Convocation and even the City government. An Architectural History c. English Heritage, , pp. It would appear that even after the remodelling was completed in , pilgrims would enter via the south-west porch, process up the north side of the south aisle and enter the south transept via an iron gate at the east end of the south aisle. It is passing through stations within the cathedral, beginning at an altar in the north transept where Thomas Becket was martyred in This part of the route is particularly significant. Even though here the pilgrims may not have yet viewed the miracle windows placed upstairs , they were processing through the exact space where those miracles were experienced and initially recorded. As such, they were experiencing the sanctity of Becket through the architectural surroundings which still remained venerated even after the translation of the body to the shrine above in Finally, the pilgrims emerged from the darkness of the crypt and ascended into the light-filled Trinity Chapel which housed the shrine of Becket. Surrounding this section of the route were twelve windows of the ambulatory of Trinity Chapel, and nearby at its apex, was the light-filled Corona Chapel, which featured the head reliquary of Becket. Both the iconographic choice of the windows, in addition to the complex pilgrim route around the building, indicate the participation of the monastic community in arousing the hope of a miraculous cure by St. Thomas; the primary purpose of the pilgrimage to Canterbury. However, Tim Tatton-Brown suggested that the south transept could be entered directly from a door in the south wall which led out to the lay cemetery and from entering via this door, pilgrims could process down the crossing tunnel into the north transept. I do not believe this to be the case. The south transept door may have been used as an entrance during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries before the construction of the tunnel as it would appear that once the crossing area was walled off, the south-west porch was made the official entrance to the cathedral. Harvard University Press, , pp. See also, Anne F. Brill Academic Press, , p. The Corporeal Aspect of Medieval Cults of Saints Many of the Trinity Chapel windows promote the importance of a physical connection with the shrine, and hence, Becket himself. In the cure of Petronella of Polesworth, she is depicted suffering from epilepsy, coming to the tomb to be cured. Every part of the medieval stained glass at Canterbury has been recorded and examined in detail by Madeline H. Oxford University Press for the British Academy, In another panel of the same window, Ethelreda of Canterbury who suffered from a malarial disease known as Quartan fever and is depicted as noticeably pale due to the loss of blood cells caused by her illness fig. At Canterbury, the blood of Becket was mixed with holy water from the church as it was thought that even diluted, the blood held miraculous properties. As such, the necessity of visiting his tomb over useless medical and, most importantly, non-spiritual treatments is promoted repeatedly throughout the scenes, particularly in the inscriptions. The holy mixture is proven to be the effective remedy as in the final scene, Hugh is shown to be cured. Once again, the scene serves to highlight the ineffectiveness of surgeons and physicians. In her study, Sarah Blick found that two ampullae designs attributed to the cult of Becket, actually imitated the iconographic compositions of the glass panels. Scala, , p. These small objects were filled with holy water or oil associated with the saint. For a detailed discussion of the few surviving St. London, , Brian Spencer noted that in England ampullae were the chosen memento, often sold in town shops or stalls by the gates of the cathedral as in the example of Canterbury and York, until they were overtaken by pilgrim badges in the fourteenth-century. See Spencer, Pilgrim Souvenirs, p. Richard Barrie Dobson Gateshead: For a detailed discussion of pilgrim objects see: The association between these ampullae and the glass can be explained by their intended function. This process was the means by which the votives offered at devotional locations or the souvenirs that many pilgrims left with were instilled with the sanctity of the saint. They were the physical embodiment of devotional promises. Thus, evoking the authenticity of the stories

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contained in these windows required an action related to the body to be performed through use of at least one sense. Brill Academic Press, forthcoming The distinction between votives and souvenirs must be noted. Votive objects or ex votos were offerings of largely any medium e. The presence of discarded ex votos around a cult site proved its efficacy and so pilgrims were encouraged to present such gifts so that once left, their presence would continue the credulity of the cult. The most common form of souvenir was the pilgrim badge or brooch; made of lead or pewter they depicted either a miniature of the shrine itself or they carried depictions of the saint or instruments of martyrdom, many of which had pins or clips in order for the pilgrim to display evidence of their peregrinations on their hat or cloak. Woodbridge, , pp. William Window, York Minster, England, 15th century. In fact, emphasis on the corporeality of the cults of both Becket at Canterbury and St William of York is reaffirmed in the few glass panels that the saints appear in. In the majority of the scenes, Becket and William directly touch recipients, displaying their presence both visually and physically. William window at York Minster c. As Anne Harris correctly identified, Becket and William are presented as hands-on saints. This can be seen in the depictions of ex voto offerings which were made at their shrines, where physical offerings were expected to result in physical healing. At Canterbury, the panels depicting the cure of Robert of Cricklade n IV who became lame when in Sicily show his crutch, cloak and shoes as ex votos. Ashgate, , p.

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2: Books by R.B. Dobson (Author of Rymes of Robyn Hood)

*York City Chamberlain's Account Rolls (Publications of the Surtees Society) [R.B. Dobson] on www.enganchecubano.com *FREE* shipping on qualifying offers. Sixteen Latin accounts, including two concerning litigation with the abbot and convent of St Mary's on the vexed issue of the many fishgarths which were obstructing river traffic on the Ouse.*

This bibliography is a continuation of those published in R. It has been drawn up upon the same principles and the arrangement is the same. Most items date from but a few fall outside this period. Some works are included which I have not had the opportunity of examining. These are marked f. A general survey, notable for its references to Jewish and East European developments. Essays on 59 accounting authors from the 16th to the 19th centuries not including Pacioli. Benchmarks in accounting history. A brief general account, with the emphasis on Italy and France. A valuable collection of essays mainly in French but also in German, Spanish, Italian and English on accounting and finance in medieval European cities. Analysis of research methods available to accounting historians. Argues that an analysis based upon hypotheses relating to different states of central political power explains historically significant changes in accounting. Review of an early booklet on accounting history. A brief illustrated survey. Accounting change over time within an organizational framework. A reply to Lister item 17 g. Counting and calculating through the ages. Many chapters are of interest to accounting historians. Blair as From One to Zero: Well illustrated; useful bibliography. Arguments against the usefulness of the study of accounting history. Papers by Merino, Yamey, Brief and Jensen. Accounting theory presented with a strong historical emphasis. Chapters 7 The emergence of the arithmetical mentality and 8 Men and mathematics are of interest to accounting historians. Readings in the early practice of double entry with reprints of items 30 c , 34, 62 b , 62 c , 62 d , 63 d , 64 a , 64 b , a , , b and The editor provides a chronological bibliography of selected writings on surviving account books of the 11th to the 19th centuries. A general survey with particular reference to double entry, corporate financial reporting, accounting institutions, and the relationship with economic and business history. Eleven short articles on selected topics in accounting history. American Accounting Association, Detailed and indispensable guide to a leading US journal. A guide to accounting history research with emphasis on the USA and modern history. A Survey London, Croom Helm, The historical background to international and comparative accounting. A history of business economics theory. An entertaining but unoriginal explanation of the abbreviations Dr. Reprints items 28 and Extracts, with an introduction, from the journal of the Scottish Institute Fourth International Congress of the History of Accountancy. Pisa, ETS Editrice, pp. Reviewed in Accounting Historians Journal, Fall Argues with numerous illustrations the importance to accounting history of both factfinding and theorising. Emphasizes the importance of stewardship and the variety of account keeper, content, orderliness, regularity, numeral system, language, form and writing material. Twenty chapters on various aspects some historical of the relationship between art and accounting. Not yet available in English. The tablets thin fragments of wood were mainly used to record military receipts and disbursements at a Roman fort in Britain about A. See also Bowman, A. Transcriptions of accounts kept on clay tablets in the third millenium B. Argues, contrary to other commentators, that Roman accounting could serve as an aid to rational decision making. Accounts recorded on clay tablets, c. A brief account stressing the scarcity of documentary evidence. See also James, T. The role of accounting in the development of writing. A survey of work on Greek and Roman accounting since the classic paper by de Ste. Croix, item Also discusses in some detail a Roman calculation of the profitability of viticulture. A Propos du Papyrus E. Accounting for grain and dates in 18th dynasty ancient Egypt. Despite the title, mainly concerned with Roman accounting. Clay tablets from North Syria dating from c. Most of the tablets are commercial and economic in character. The role of accounting in the evolution of writing in the Middle East c. See also Swanson, G. A study of tablets recording opening and closing balances, and inputs and outputs of commodities, using silver as the unit of account. Argues that ancient Egyptian and

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Babylonian accounting practices are of little interest. Reviewed in *Accounting Historians Journal*, Spring See also item d. The double entry account book in Latin with Roman numerals of a 15th century Genoese merchant. Reproduction of an account book later used as a trade manual. Reproduction of a double entry ledger kept in Constantinople by a Venetian merchant. Based on the copies in the libraries of the Scottish Institute. A well illustrated guide to textual comparison. Distinguishes between money as a unit of account and as a means of payment and discusses the problem of multiple monies of account and the resulting accounting complexities. Includes translations of many accounts in the ledger and four plates reproducing original accounts. A very early example of double entry. Includes a full transcription and reproductions of the cover and seven leaves. Includes translations of the slave accounts. Adjusting, closing and balancing with a balance account but no trial balance. The earliest extant example of the compound entry in Venetian bookkeeping. The background to a 15th century double entry Venetian ledger. Trust accounting in 15th and 16th century Florence. Public sector finance and accounting during a crucial period in French history. Reproduction of charge and discharge accounts in French or Latin relative to the administration of an abbey and its lands. Transcription of papal receipt and expense accounts in Latin. Divers accounts of the French Crown in the early 14th century. In French and Latin. *Recueil des historiens de la France*. Includes transcriptions of the account rolls in Latin for , and A record of cash payments. An example of charge and discharge accounting. Royal household accounts in Latin. Medieval monastic charge and discharge accounts in Latin. Domestic household accounts in Latin. Clear and authoritative with a list of select texts and suggestions for further reading. Medieval accounting documents in English translation. An examination of technical and legal aspects of accounting practice on 13th century lay and ecclesiastical estates. The problem of the excess of expenses over receipts in manorial accounting. An assessment of memoranda of profit recorded by a minority of manorial lords. A follow up to Stone item Reprint of fragmentary accounts in Latin with introduction.

3: Wills and Inventories from the Registry at Durham. Part IV. : Herbert Maxwell Wood :

Note: Citations are based on reference standards. However, formatting rules can vary widely between applications and fields of interest or study. The specific requirements or preferences of your reviewing publisher, classroom teacher, institution or organization should be applied.

Push Me, Pull You: Brill Academic Press, , pp. As varied and strange as they were, such votives or ex-votos were a ubiquitous part of pilgrimage devotion in the Middle Ages. Once the gift was placed, it changed the object they had traveled to see, for the ever-growing accretion of objects to the tomb or shrine meant that the once-pristine sacred precinct was flooded with objects all of which symbolized the intense personal and popular devotion of individuals. Votives, by their very nature were interactive. The devotee first made a vow to a divinity, promising them a votive either in response to a boon granted or the wish for a boon to be granted. Then they chose a particularly meaningful votive making it, purchasing it, or donating something they already owned relating, in their minds, to the devotional agreement they made with the saint. From there, they traveled to the place where the divinity was represented by relics or sacred images. Every pilgrim then saw not only the shrine, but the shrine in the context of a multitude of votives, some more dominant than others, but all calling out to the saint and to the viewers who came afterward. They were the physical embodiment of devotional promises. The devotees did not sit back passively, 1 Of course votives were integral to ancient religions and are found throughout the world. Votives have been discussed in a general way, but few scholars have discussed them in terms of a specific site. At Canterbury Cathedral no votives survive, but there are a surprising number of documents miracle accounts, inventories, personal letters, legal cases, polemic screeds, etc. This is especially true because the records tell of votives given from all different classes that reflect the various interests and needs of myriads of pilgrim visitors. Thomas Becket, allowing a glimpse into how individual devotional interaction created and transformed the pilgrimage experience. The sites at Canterbury associated with St. Hatje Cantz, , pp. John Murray, , p. John the Baptist and St. Augustine, apostle of the English, in a marble tomb. The Clarendon Press, , pp. Note votive crown in the background. Every surviving account of this shrine comments on its riches in superlatives: Everything shone and dazzled with rare and surpassingly large jewels, some bigger than a goose egg. Some monks stood about reverently. When the cover was removed, we all adored. The prior pointed out each jewel by touching it with a white rod, adding its French name, its worth, and the name of the donor. The principal ones were gifts from kings. At Canterbury Cathedral, it was the objects rather than actions that most concerned the medieval monks who kept records. These included images of the devotee, candles, objects that no longer tormented their owners worms, cherry pits , and objects no longer needed, such as crutches and shackles. Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe Leiden: University of Chicago Press, , p. Brepols, , p. A wax leg model tells of health problems, while a ruby reflects wealth and the wishes of a sovereign. Whether they presented their votive to the tomb or the shrine, the Canterbury pilgrim either sought a particular blessing from St. Thomas Becket or they wished to give thanks for a favor already granted by vowing to present a gift. They also asked for his help in safeguarding their business affairs, their love life, and their spiritual quests and in return they presented tremendous numbers of ex-votos. Saints like Thomas Becket at St. Foy in Conques demanded gifts, their miracles accounts revealing their insistent saintly requests, often laying out the uncomfortable fate of those who chose to ignore their requests. For the donor who placed the gift him or herself or watched as someone hung it up for them near the shrine, it was a vivid and tactile experience serving as evidence of their individual communication with divinity. Cambridge University Press, , p. A History of the Image before the Era of Art, trans. Some even obtained permission from the Papacy to change the vows. The vow was almost always connected with a specific saint and a specific place where part of their relics resided. See also the essay by Viola Belghaus elsewhere in this volume, who notes that such saintly behavior increased the treasures of those particular churches. Unfortunately, documents regarding the producers and sellers of ex-votos are relatively rare and

none survive from Canterbury, but following records from other sites, we can assume they were primarily produced by chandlers and sold to medieval devotees through their local apothecary. The painting shows a woman looking for cures at a well-stocked apothecary shop. Among the brightly labeled medicine jars are votives in the shape of body parts, an entire figure, and a small horse draped by their strings over a rod. These beeswax animals, body parts, and the figure of a woman found in Exeter Cathedral¹⁴ were all once strung over the tomb of Bishop Edmund Lacy.

r. Index to the rolls of Parliament. John Pridden, and Edward Upham, F. A London, , p. With a catalogue of shrines, sanctuaries, offerings, bequests, and other memorials of the piety of our forefathers London, St. Bonaventura, , pp. Richard Barrie Dobson Gateshead: Wax Votive Images From St. Thesis, University of Durham, Initially the pilgrim would place their gift as near to the sacred tomb as possible, as seen by the careful arrangement of votives in a panel from the St. Wolfgang Altarpiece where devout pilgrims have adorned the tomb with votives of a small child, swords, hands, feet, and swords. Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, Gothic: Art of England 1100-1500 London: Hambledon, , pp. Vendor of votive images before the church entrance. Here is where the situation must have been rather tricky for clerics at Canterbury and other sacred sites. Pilgrims needed access to the tomb and to the shrine and both sites needed to appear to their best advantage, but the continual donations of votives would, inevitably, pile up. This necessitated some planning. Should they save every object and if so where and how should it be displayed? To allow uncontrolled growth of votives would eventually obscure the sacred encasement which the pilgrims came to see. Yet while sweeping away the donations and exhibiting a pristine vision of the tomb would make it a more official presentation, it would undermine the impact that piles of votives reflecting the power of the saint. Hardly had he been put in the ground, than the lower people began to place candles there, and certain one-armed people, the crippled and the lame, as well as various other sick people, had themselves carried near the cardinal. Certainly, a hundredweight of candles and more are carried there each day, and there are already so many wax images that they exceed a thousand, of one sort or another. Sutton Publishing, reprint , p. When sailing through a fierce storm and trying to stabilize the ship, Eilwacher of Dover threw one anchor in after another, losing all three that he had. Frightened, he called on Becket to save him and his men. The storm calmed, but it took them three days of searching for dry land. Again Thomas was turned to: This story told by Benedict is recounted by William who notes that if three anchors were lost, they should have offered to the tomb three waxen models so he postulates that only one anchor was actually lost. John Murray, , vol. He then goes through some logical contortions, positing multiple journeys to account for the discrepancy. William Book I, chapter 10; Abbott, vol. Candles Because of this, candles were the most popular votive gift, by far, presented at the tomb and shrine of Becket,²⁰ and the documents are 18 Finucane, p. Zeichen, Bild und Abbild im christlichen votivbrauchtum Zurich: Callwey, , vol. Pilgrims also brought their own candles to be offered, and, according to the miracle accounts, they were believed to offer almost immediate rewards for the devotee. The daughter, spending two days in the Cathedral in shrieking fits, had nothing to offer Becket. The kindly woman took a lump of wax in her pocket and wrapped it around a thin thread and placed it on the tomb lit, whereupon the 21 In particular to celebrate the Feast of St. Thomas, British Library, Add. Art in Plantagenet England, eds. Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski, London: Royal Academy of the Arts, , cat. Such a large candle would be impractical to carry around, so most were coiled, which allowed small portions of the candle to be cut and used as needed. Ethelburga, a local matron, was cured of shoulder pain when she gave to the tomb a candle the size of the thread that measured the length of her arm. Measures were taken not just of length, but of weight, and some wealthy pilgrims donated candles whose heft matched their own body weight. See also William, Book I, chapter 10; Abbott, vol. Stationery Office, , p. Babies and small children were saved by measuring them with a thread and promising to have a candle made of the same length. See also William of Canterbury. Miracula sancta Thome Cantuariensis, ed. Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral, 1887

4: Surtees Society records

York City Chamberlains' Account Rolls, York City Chamberlains' Account Rolls, Volume of Publications of the Surtees Society.

They account for 3s. For 4 ells of cloth as the summer allowance for his clothing. For 4 oaks bought from Thomas Atkynson for making posts to be placed beside the tower of the Friars Minor , between the River Ouse and that tower, one pile per oak. As 3 days wages of John Stede carpenter for installing a stake in Walmgate and another across from the church of All Saints, Pavement 18d. To Robert Egle for transporting 3 sled-loads of timber from the cemetery of the church of St. Wilfrid to a palisade next to the city walls near Walmgate Bar. To John Helproby for transporting 2 sled-loads of timber from the Guildhall to Layerthorpe Bridge , for making a palisade there. To Thomas Loksmyth for repairing and mending various gate-chains, locks, and keys at different locations within the city this year, as one lump-sum payment 6s. As wages of William Kirkeby for the same length of time on the same task. As wages of John Burgh for the same length of time on the same task. To Thomas Eye for the same length of time on the same task. As wages of William Stabler for the same length of time there. As wages of William Hikson there for the same length of time. As wages of John Gollayn for three and a half days there. For iron and nails bought for repairs to the Walmgate and Layerthorpe gates. For one large lock bought for Bootham gate. For one lock bought for the gate beside Layerthorpe. For repairs to the pavement 2s. To Peter Loksmyth for repairing and mending various chains and large staples in Petergate, St. Saviour street, and at the gate of the cathedral church of St. Peter, York, together with 8 lb. As a reward given to Robert Hall for custodianship of Walmgate gate. And to John Gunson for custodianship of Monk Bar. And to Thomas Birkhede for custodianship of Bootham Bar. And to John Nailor for custodianship of Skeldergate gate. Murage is documented primarily through two classes of record. The lists of murage tolls at Northampton , at Kidwelly and at Oswestry provide fairly typical examples of the sums that could be imposed on different kinds of goods. Perhaps some were scooped up during royal audits and lost in later centuries. The Crown was determined that murage proceeds be used for walling and investigated complaints of maladministration of murage. They are mainly in the form of receipt rolls, but some record expenditures; these date to the s and s, during what appears to have been a phase of steady activity on wall construction the main work continuing perhaps to the close of the fourteenth century , and from the s until murage collection ceased in the post-medieval period. In a commission was appointed to audit Yarmouth murage accounts if such there were , perhaps partly the result of uncertainty as to whether any work was being undertaken, combined with the recent threat, in the Statute of Westminster , of punishment of any town that levied murage contrary to the terms of royal licence. Yarmouth obtained a new murage grant in , and was discharged of the annual sum due the Exchequer on the grounds that the townsmen had convinced the king that more than this sum had been spent on the walls. A further setback was experienced in , when floods damaged the walls already built. It is generally assumed that this period marks the beginning of a serious effort to raise walls, but perhaps it could not be sustained, since no further grant was obtained until ; grants continued with regularity through much of the remainder of the century and halfway into the next; by , the completed stretches were in need of repair and an additional grant for that purpose was obtained. The completed circuit was over a mile in length. During the s there were four muragers, described in the records as "collectors and custodians of murage"; since several of the known holders were drawn from the ruling class of the time, it may be doubted that they undertook collection in person, but were more probably supervisors of the work and treasurers of the fund ; they had call on the services of the town clerk and sergeants, to whom they paid 12d. The sergeants appear to have been involved in the actual collecting, at least in the port, probably taking turns on duty between time spent on other tasks for the town. The records of expenses show the muragers: Purchasing and arranging for the transportation of building materials, such as lumber used for example to construct flooring within the towers , lime, stone , huge quantities of tiles , and wafer-iron used to

strengthen the wall. One of the muragers, merchant John le Neve, brought boat-loads of stone each year to sell to the project and allowed his quay to be used for unloading construction materials, while another murager, Simon de Halle, is likewise found on several occasions selling the town lumber and iron for the project, and a third, Peter de Cressy, supplied 11d. Norwich merchants also shipped in quantities of brick and stone, so the opportunity was not restricted to local men. Buying tools and equipment, such as a dozen troughs and metal plates for carrying mortar the plates presumably along the lines of a modern mortar hawk or other mortarboard, a vat to hold water used for mixing mortar? Employing certain labourers such as ditch-diggers presumably in relation to a foundation trench for the wall, which archaeology has indicated to have been lined with flagstones, and masons. Renting facilities for their work: A shortfall is indicated, and records of revenues for other years although the periods covered do not correspond precisely to those covered by expenditure records suggest that this was usually the case. We know that modest amounts were also received from bequests by civic-minded citizens, there may have been resort to local taxation as at other towns, and Yarmouth cited its defensive costs in efforts to obtain reductions in its fee farm and national taxes, but we do not know for certain whether other sources were also tapped or if deficits were run into subsequent accounting years. They list revenues from tolls collected at each of the town gates which, judging from a few months of receipts in, added up to an average of about 4s. The Roman fortifications, probably refurbished in the Saxon period, were strong enough to give residents the confidence to make Exeter a regional centre of resistance to the Norman invaders; either the defences or the resolve of the citizens proved, however, insufficient to withstand a prolonged siege by Norman forces in The Conqueror ordered a castle built in the northern corner of the walled circuit, to keep the citizens subdued. Maintenance of the Roman defences gave way in the thirteenth century to a major upgrade, indicated by grants of sums of money from national taxations in and, and royal instructions in the same period for the city authorities to clear away obstructions from the walls and ditch. Authority to collect murage was given in, for a three-year period, and several further grants for longer periods were obtained later in that century. There was a hiatus after, perhaps prompted by an audit of the murage accounts following complaints to the king that revenues were not being applied to the intended purpose. In, prompted by fears of an imminent French invasion, the king authorized the mayor to levy local taxation to support repairs to the gates, walls, and ditch; this was renewed the following year. A tax roll has survived from the first commission, listing householders as taxpayers. Most of the population lived in an area defined by the walled circuit, about a mile and a half in length, beyond which lay the odd small suburb but mostly open fields. Besides work maintaining and strengthening the city gates, particularly in the late fourteenth century and into the fifteenth, work was focused, it has been suggested [Hilary Turner, *Town Defences in England and Wales*, London: The sparsity of evidence from the main city financial accounts regarding murage revenues and expenditures suggests that murage was often separately accounted for at earlier and later periods; a few such accounts have survived from the period between and The royal investigation early in the fourteenth century must have encouraged such a practice; although the petition for an enquiry itself assumes the existence of such accounts, part of the cause for complaint might have been a deficiency in accounting. It may be no coincidence that around this period we begin to hear of an annual inspection of the walls, already a practice by Each newly-elected mayor was, within days of his election, to make a perambulation, accompanied by other officers, members of the city council, and perhaps informally by interested citizens, to see where repairs were needed and identify any encroachments that might jeopardise the integrity of the defences. The city authorities did not rely exclusively on these perambulations; between their occurrences, the leet court could hear presentments of defects, or private citizens might report problems. While the perambulation doubtless formed the basis for planning major work on the defences for that year, minor repairs that became necessary during the year could be initiated by the receivers. Murage was collected, the account reveals, by a pair of collectors operating at the east and south gates, which were the busiest and correspondingly the more impressive of the gates the south gate controlling the road to Topsham, and by individual collectors at the west and north gates. The revenues from murage collected at three of the gates were farmed out for 4s. Two schedules attached to

the main account detailed the costs of repairs to various of the city conduits, the road at Bolehill, the West Gate, and one of the wall towers. We find much the same items recurring in the weekly expenses: It is not evident from these routine items whether the work in hand involved actual rebuilding of parts of the walls, or simply repairing, shoring up, strengthening, or heightening the Roman fortifications. Much of the larger and better-coursed stones in the surviving sections of wall are considered to be Roman in origin; however, there are stretches considered to be essentially of medieval construction, while towers were built in the Middle Ages to improve defensive capability between the gates. Masons were put to work in two contexts: The above excerpts from the murage account give a sense of the kinds of expenses incurred on wall construction and maintenance. For example, mending locks or purchase of new ones for the various gates or, rather, the doors within them for pedestrian passage were fairly frequent items of expenditure, in repairs to the planking of the bridges at the South and East Gates consumed 4s. Such aspects of work on the defences, mostly minor upgrades or repairs limited to the gates and the facilities within them, were evidently considered not strictly within the scope of the construction process for which murage was permitted, although that position was not consistently maintained. A later generation may have felt all this expenditure worthwhile, when in the forces of pretender Perkin Warbeck approached the city. The authorities there had enough warning to be able to make some arrangements: The city having declined to surrender to the rebels, they assaulted its East Gate and North Gate and set the wooden gates on fire; attempts were also made to scale the walls. But the fortifications were in good repair and could be held by the well-armed defenders, who were also able to raise banks against the burning gates and dig new ditches behind them. After two days of futile assaults and many casualties, the attackers withdrew. LYNN By contrast with the departmentalized accounting at Exeter, work on the defences at Lynn was reported through the main financial accounts of the borough chamberlains. Also unlike Exeter, Lynn did not have the benefit of Roman defences, for it only began to develop into an urban settlement from the late twelfth century. Nonetheless, it seems the planning that went into the layout of the town did not ignore defensive needs, which were met initially by a ditch and bank, with round wooden towers bretasks at strategic i. The defensive line protected the eastern side of the town see map , stretching between the rivers Gay and Nar, on the northern and southern sides, and relying similarly on the River Ouse for protection on the west. In the southern half of the town the defensive line made use of an existing sea-bank, to which a ditch was added; no stone wall was erected along that part. A consequence of choosing this line of defence was that it enclosed a large area of marsh and meadows east of the area where settlement had built up. Within that bounded area, other watercourses, natural known as fleets and artificial, serving primarily internal transportation and industrial needs, must have been felt to offer additional obstacles to hostile forces; this canal system of "watergates" was elaborated during the course of the Late Middle Ages. When a stone wall was put up, it ran along only part of the eastern perimeter, starting from one bank of Purfleet, across from the sea bank, and continuing perhaps as far as the site of the East Gate which, had been preceded by a drawbridge to control access into the New Land. The East Gate and the South Gate were built at the same time as the stone wall; the latter still stands, but as rebuilt in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It seems likely this fortification programme was underway in the second half of the thirteenth century, since an attack on the town in , by the baronial forces opposed to Henry III, was quickly followed by a grant of murage, and a few years later the king ordered action taken against residents who harmed the wall by building against it; a further murage grant came in , renewed in , but this sequence was halted by a royal audit prompted by complaints of maladministration. For most of the fourteenth century, apart from a brief murage grant 3 years in , the burgesses had to rely on their own resources to keep the defences in repair: The power to do so was confirmed in . The difficulty in raising money to keep the defences in a fit state may also explain why the stone wall was not extended along the full line of the older earthwork enclosure.

5: York City Chamberlain's Account Rolls : R. B. Dobson :

Title: York City Chamberlain's Account Rolls Volume of Publications of the Surtees Society, ISSN Volume of York City chamberlains' account rolls, , York (England).

City ordinance of] It is agreed that all Corpus Christi pageants be performed in the places anciently assigned them, and not elsewhere than where advised by the mayor, bailiffs and their officers. If any pageant is presented contrary to this order, the craftsmen responsible for that pageant shall pay 6s. For transporting and bringing back timber for barriers in front of the king, 2s. Towards the performances, 15s. For bread, ale, wine, meat, and a fire for the mayor and reputable men on the day of the play, 18s. To the gatekeeper of Holy Trinity for hosting the pageants, 4d. To minstrels on the feast of Corpus Christi, 13s. For iron nails for repairing the pageants, 5d. For 20 " fursperres " for the barriers before the king, 5s. To Robert Paton for carpentry in making a pageant, two days work, 12d. For the painting of the pageant, 2s. For 19 saplings bought from John de Craven for [making] the barriers, 6s. To William de Barneby carpenter for his work on the same, 4s. Huge expenses and costs are incurred on the play and the pageants of Corpus Christi day, which cannot [all] be acted or performed on the same day as they ought to be , because the pageants are acted in such a large number of locations, to the great damage and annoyance of the community and of outsiders who visit the city on that day for that reason. And that any and all who contravene the aforementioned ordinance and determination shall incur a penalty of 40s. And that if any of the pageants are tardy or dilatory [in progressing from location to location] due to default or negligence of the actors, they incur a penalty of 6s. They implore that these matters be undertaken, or otherwise the play cannot be performed by the community. The places where the Corpus Christi play shall be presented: Peter; eleventh, at the end Girdlergate, at Petergate; twelfth, on the Pavement. It is ordained that banners for the play, [decorated] with the arms of the city, shall be made available by the mayor to the Corpus Christi pageants, for setting up in the locations where the pageants are to be performed. Those same banners must, each year on the day after Corpus Christi, be redelivered at the chamber into the hands of the mayor and chamberlains of the city, for storage during the year to follow, upon penalty of 6s. Extracts from city ordinance of] The mayor, reputable men, and the whole community by unanimous agreement have ordained that all those who receive money for seating upon scaffolding, which they erect in the aforementioned places [i. If they refuse to pay the one-third share or to make some other fair arrangement with the chamber, then the performance will be transferred to some other location selected at the discretion of the mayor at that time and of the city council; no-one being exempted from this ordinance, with the sole exception of a few owners of scaffolds in Micklegate They have therefore unanimously ordained, for the benefit of the community, that the places where the play is performed may be changed, unless those before whose houses performances have previously been presented pay some fee to the community for that personal privilege which they have each year. And that in all years to come, for as long as the play continues to be performed, it shall be presented in front of the entranceways and houses of those who pay the best and largest [fee] to the chamber and show a preparedness to do more for the benefit of the whole community in order to have the play presented there; no favour being shown to any individual for his personal advantage, but taking into consideration only the public benefit of the whole community of York. The respectable gentleman John Moreton, in regard to his house, submitted completely to the decision and ruling of the mayor and council on the matter of the play being performed in front of his residence in Micklegate and other of his properties in the city. Record of the difficulties of the goldsmiths and masons with their pageants,] It should not be ignored but instead committed to memory that the goldsmiths of the city of York have in previous years borne considerable and onerous expenses related to their two pageants in the Corpus Christi play. But now the world has changed for them; they have become poorer than they were in the past, because of the circumstances mentioned above. They have made repeated appeals to the mayor and council for grant of a subsidy that would lighten their insupportable burden. Or, failing that, for release from responsibility for one of their pageants and

its associated expenses, which grow day by day, since they cannot much longer support the burden of both of the pageants without putting themselves in great difficulty. On the other hand, the masons of the city have been grumbling among themselves concerning their Corpus Christi play pageant, in which Fergus is scourged, because the subject of that pageant does not derive from holy scripture and has provoked shouting and laughter rather than evoked devout feelings. In consequence, arguments, quarrels and fights have occasionally broken out among audience members. Rarely, if ever, could they produce and perform their pageant in daylight, as preceding pageants did. Therefore the masons expressed a strong desire to be released from responsibility for that pageant and assigned a different one, which would be based on holy scripture and could be produced and performed in daylight. To have their wishes fulfilled, both groups petitioned and beseeched the mayor and council for their consent and favour in the matter. Similarly, the masons and their guild should be released from the pageant of Fergus, taking over [instead] the pageant of Herod for which the goldsmiths had formerly been responsible, producing it at their own expense and performing it in a proper fashion that would bring credit to the city, as part of the Corpus Christi play, as often as that play would be performed in the city. DISCUSSION These various extracts are indicative of the amount of trouble and expense the city underwent to organize and present the Corpus Christi play, a burden it shared with the guilds supporting the individual pageants. The use of wagons to create a moveable pageant is not considered typical of similar presentations in other English towns. One recurring problem was regulating the locations for presentations of the pageants. Just possibly some such embarrassment may have occurred when Richard II attended the performance in two weeks after granting the city a new charter. The wagons were stored in one or more communal buildings on Toft Green, in the southwestern corner of the city; these storage sheds came to be known as Ratton Row. It was natural, therefore, for the route of the performances to begin outside the Benedictine priory at the southern end of Micklegate, not far from the town wall; just possibly the pageant scenery was erected on the wagons within the priory walls, and the cavalcade emerged from there. A short distance beyond the bridge up Ousegate, they reached a junction with Coney Street west and Castlegate east, and gave another performance. Turning up Coney Street the name meaning King Street, they stopped en route at the junction with Jubbergate now Market Street, in front of the house of a prosperous merchant and future mayor, and outside the hall that served for large political meetings. After a presentation near the Minster gates, they turned eastwards along Petergate and presented again at its junction with Church Street formerly Girdlergate then continued on until reaching the Pavement a wide paved street where the final presentation was given by All Saints church. From here it was a short distance south via Ousegate to the bridge and the route back along Micklegate. Part of the complaint of the masons seems to point to the problems which occurred with the large number of pageants combined with large number of stations; those coming last in the process were still performing after daylight had faded. As the final pageant, the Last Judgement, was put on by the powerful mercers guild, any complaint they might have had in this regard would have been influential. Provisions about the banners were likewise reiterated. Two additions were made, a few days apart, to this ordinance to capitalize on the benefits to certain private citizens from the stations appointed for performances: A grant in to two fishmongers to have the pageants performed between their properties, on the Ousegate side of the Ouse Bridge, shows that the city received 11s. The resentment felt by the city may have been exacerbated by the occasional complaints from some of the guilds about the burdensome expense to their members of mounting the pageants. The coopers guild, for example, requested the city authorities adopt an ordinance requiring that anyone who set up shop as a master-cooper should straightway pay a fee of 6s. And in several minor guilds requested that their assignments be amalgamated into a single play, towards whose production costs all of the guilds would contribute although arguments soon broke out between these guilds as to the amount of contributions. The plea from the goldsmiths again is testimony of what was perceived as a high expense, although we must allow for some exaggeration from the petitioners. Nonetheless, the play overall remained popular, and performances continued well into the sixteenth century.

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