

METTINGHAM, SUFFOLK: THE BUILDING OF A RELIGIOUS COLLEGE WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE ACQUISITION AND PRODUCTION OF BOOKS FOR ITS LIBRARY

by JOHN RIDGARD

INTRODUCTION

EVEN BEFORE LICENCE to crenellate was granted by the Crown in 1343,¹ the capital message on the site of Mettingham Castle had for some time been a principal residence of one of the very wealthiest men in early 14th-century Suffolk, Sir Walter de Norwich (I). Appointed a baron of the Exchequer in 1311, Sir Walter served as Treasurer to King Edward II from September 1314 and for this received a performance-related grant in 1315 of 1000 marks, plus 100 marks a year, in order to 'maintain his state more honourably in the king's service'.² His career as a bureaucrat first-class had begun by 1307/8 when he was Remembrancer of the Exchequer, and continued until at least 1324 through a variety of senior offices and commissions. He died in 1329 and was buried in Norwich Cathedral.

In the Subsidy Return for Suffolk of 1327, Mettingham was one of five townships in which Sir Walter was the leading tax-payer. In total, he had substantial properties in nine Suffolk parishes, for which he paid 51s. in subsidy. The Earl Marshal (Thomas of Brotherton), successor to the last of the Bigod earls of Norfolk, was also taxed on nine Suffolk properties in the same Subsidy Return, for which he paid a fraction over 54s. 4¼d., higher by only 7 per cent. Perhaps the most significant comparison to be made between their Suffolk estates was that the Bungay property of the Earl Marshal, including Bungay Castle, refurbished at the close of the 13th century, was rated at exactly half that of Sir Walter's estate at Mettingham. Both men also held substantial properties in Norwich and Norfolk.³

Sir Walter was survived by his wife Catherine de Hedersete. Her account of household expenditure for September 1336 to September 1337 still exists, though damaged in parts, and shows her as dividing her time between a presumably palatial town-house in Norwich; the manor of Blackworth in Stoke Holy Cross; and Mettingham, where she stayed from 16 October 1336 to 13 January 1337. By far the greatest feast celebrated in the period covered by the account took place in Norwich on 20 January, the anniversary of the death of her late (second) husband, Sir Walter. This was attended by 92 guests⁴ at a total cost of £10 18s. 8d.,⁵ about one sixth of all the annual expenditure. Christmas 1336 at Mettingham had been comparatively restrained at a total cost of £1 7s. 3½d.,⁶ attended by 62 guests and family members.

Catherine died in 1341 and was succeeded by her eldest son by Sir Walter, Sir John de Norwich (I) (c. 1299–1362). It was this Sir John who, in August 1343, obtained permission from King Edward III to 'crenellate the dwelling places' of his manors of Mettingham in Suffolk and Blackworth and Ling in Norfolk. Knighted in 1320 and by 1342 a distinguished warrior in his own right, Sir John served as Admiral of the North from 1334 to 1337, and then left for France where he acted as lieutenant to the steward of Gascony. He fought in the campaigns of 1338 and 1339, for which he received an annuity of £50, and with it, probably, the permissions to convert his house at Mettingham and to establish a college of priests in Raveningham church, south-east Norfolk, where the family owned the patronage. He fought at Crécy in 1346. After 1347, he appears to have settled in England and it was in 1350 that he signed the foundation charter and richly endowed his college for the 'Good of his soul and that of Margaret his wife, in honour of God and the Blessed Virgin, St Andrew the Apostle and

All Saints'. Sir John was still moving in the highest circles of national government on commissions as late as 1360, two years before his death.

The castle at Mettingham was built 'from new'. There is as yet neither archaeological nor documentary evidence to show that the original house was demolished, implying that it continued to coexist with, and was situated close to, the new castle. Given the personal status of Sir Walter de Norwich (I), it is extremely likely that this first house was itself a 'strong', if not fortified, residence. The new castle appears to have been a large square enclosure with square towers on each corner, surrounding a court.⁷ Entry was by a drawbridge and gatehouse on the north side, overlooking Mettingham Green. There were commanding views from the top of the gatehouse up and down the Waveney valley as far as Great Yarmouth, 20 miles away to the east. It lay between the medieval boroughs of Bungay (2 miles west) and Beccles (4 miles east), 14 miles south of Norwich.

Sir John was survived for four years by his wife Margaret (d. 1366). Their son Sir Walter (II) having predeceased both his parents in 1360, the estate descended to their grandson, Sir John de Norwich (II). Born in 1351 at Mells in Wenhamston, he married young (twice), but died without an heir in 1373, one year after he came into his inheritance while on campaign in France with his father's cousin William de Ufford. He was to be buried at Raveningham pending the removal of the college to the church of Norton Subcourse nearby to which he bequeathed the sum of £450. The estate, still further enhanced by gifts from other members of the family including Sir Roger de Norwich (d.s.p. 1371),⁸ then passed to Catherine de Brewes, niece of Sir John de Norwich (I). In 1376 she appointed trustees to manage her inheritance and in 1379 became a nun at Dartford Priory in Kent. Her heir was the earl of Suffolk, William de Ufford, nephew of Sir John de Norwich (I).

The castle was still held in trusteeship in 1381, the year of the Great English Rising, and was the scene of a major incident on Tuesday 18 June that year involving a rebel army five hundred strong, drawn principally from the villages and towns of the mid Waveney valley. Two of the trustees were named as Sir John de Plays and Roger de Boys. Both these men were related by marriage to the Stapleton family, benefactors of Ingham Priory in Norfolk, itself a significant centre for the production of sophisticated architecture, and book crafts. Sir Roger was a member of the Boys of Norwich family, to whom a silver cup was bequeathed by Margaret the wife of Walter de Norwich (II), Catherine's cousin. It is possible that the conveyance of the castle to Earl William had not been completed when the rebellion erupted.

As sheriff of Suffolk, Earl William was the leading member of the panel of justices commissioned by the Crown to identify the rebels of Suffolk in late July 1381. The commissioners mentioned the attack on Mettingham Castle three times in their findings. Firstly, they reported that the insurgents had taken away '£40 in cash, silver, brass and pewter bowls and other utensils, doors, windows, beds and weapons to the value of £1000'; they had also 'removed and cut up charters, muniments, surveys and court rolls then kept in the castle'. Secondly, they had taken goods and chattels, viz. gold and silver worth £40, and other goods and chattels such as jewels and arms worth £20. Thirdly, they had taken silver bowls and other goods and chattels worth £20. Even allowing for exaggeration and possible duplication, the total of £1120⁹ remains a useful statistic in estimating the value of the de Norwich household on the day it was ransacked. In view, however, of a recent incident at Castle Rising in Norfolk in 1377, when it was found that the constable of the castle had forced the tenants to put their goods in the castle in alleged anticipation of a French invasion, the possibility that this may have happened at Mettingham also, but in 1381, at least merits consideration.

Four Mettingham men were named by the de Ufford commission as members of the rebel army, Peter Garnays, Walter Coseler, his son Richard, and Richard Coseler senior. In the reprisals which followed in late June 1381, Walter was sentenced by the itinerant panel of justices to be decapitated. His severed head was to be displayed on the pillory in Bungay market place. Before Mettingham, the rebel army had attacked the property of Walter Duke at Brampton, where another Coseler (John – parish of origin not stated) was listed as among the insurgents.¹⁰

The castle may not have been seriously damaged in the rebellion. Documentary evidence suggests that guests of high social rank were being entertained there in or before 1395. Before that, the

decision had been taken by a new group of trustees, which again included Sir John Plays and Sir Roger de Boys, to move the Ravensingham college into the castle. For this in early July 1382 they paid to the king the considerable sum of £866 13s. 4d.¹¹ During the protracted move to Mettingham from Ravensingham, allegedly opposed by the nuns of Bungay Priory, the college was temporarily accommodated first in Norton Subcourse church and later in Norton rectory. Determining the precise date when Mettingham College itself came into existence is therefore problematical. It was, however, in 1399 that John Wilbey felt able to describe himself as 'Master of Mettingham College' although, as already suggested, the premises were habitable several years before that date. Following the death of Earl William without male issue in 1382, patronage of the college had passed to Sir John Plays and then by 1392 to Robert de Willoughby, son of de Ufford's eldest sister. By 1403, William de Willoughby held the advowson: it was this family, from Eresby in Lincolnshire but by now with a Suffolk base at Parham, which was to take a substantial part in consolidating the future of the college.

An extensive building programme began which included, *inter alia*, the construction of a much larger chapel and a cloister. These works were made all the more urgent by the recent decision to increase from 8 to 13 the number of brethren. Furnishing the chapel was a notably expensive and protracted business lasting more than 20 years. There was, for example, the design of the choir-stalls to consider, necessitating an excursion in 1413–14 by the Master, chaplain John Waryn and Richard Buk (the carpenter) to Lynn and Castle Acre to look at the stalls there. Given the very substantial swings in the level of annual expenditure on the chapel, it cannot be suggested with any confidence that there had been a recent general decline in spending at the point where, in 1425, a most unfortunate gap in the series of Masters' Accounts commenced.

A prominent feature of expenditure was the provision of service books for the college library. The acquisition and production of these books was, arguably, the most interesting of the themes which may be extracted from the surviving series of the Masters' Accounts. It is inconceivable that the college had not been provided with books by the De Norwich family, by their heirs or by other benefactors, before the move to Mettingham. There is a specific reference to one such volume, a mass-book sold to the sacrist of Norwich by the college in 1414–15¹² for 6s. 8d.: this had previously belonged to Roger de Norwich (d.s.p. 1371). Another volume also falls into this category: Egerton MS 1066 in the British Library.

According to a note inserted by a previous owner, the celebrated Norfolk historian the Revd F. Blomefield (1705–1752), BL Egerton MS 1066 had been given to the college by William Pepyr, vicar of Mettingham from 1377 to 1428.¹³ It was described as a 13th-century psalter by M. R. James, writing in 1895.¹⁴ Among additions later written into the psalter was a Kalendar containing the obits of the Holbrook family 'entered in the 15th century'. M.R. James noted 'the line-filling of grotesques, beasts and fishes' and considered that 'such pictures as there are in our MS are of the finest style and in minuteness unsurpassed'.

Once the college chaplains were reasonably settled at Mettingham, references to books in the Masters' Accounts became more frequent. In the early accounts, 1379–1400,¹⁵ such references were buried in the tangle of 'small expenses': establishing a precise date for some items is hazardous. By 1393, nevertheless, it is clear that Hugh the Scriptor, the chaplain known later as Hugh de Dunstone, had already been supplementing his annual 'pension' by writing books for the college. The comparatively early point in the building programme when glass was fitted to the window in his chamber by Adam le Glaswrythe may reflect the importance attached to Brother Hugh's work. During this early phase, also, there were references to parchment bought at Norwich for 18d.; John Luminour de Norwich, the illuminator, being paid 3s. 4d. for repairing a mass-book; and the purchase of paper at 4d. per quire. Two boys were sent to school at Beccles, of whom one later became a chaplain at the college and writer of books.

As the building work progressed, the Masters' Accounts became more ordered in format and the references to book production much more numerous. References in the half-yearly account from 28 October 1402 to 17 June 1403¹⁶ began to set the pattern for future years although book-related items were entered under 'small expenses' rather than, as later, in 'costs of the chapel':

Item paid for 36 skins of vellum for writing books	12s.
Item paid for writing books	2s.
Item paid for writing a mass-book	12d.
Item paid for writing 4 mass-books	3s.
Item paid to Hugh Dunstone for writing one book	12d.
Item in 21 skins of vellum purchased for writing a book	7s. 9d.
Paid to the goldsmith at Beccles for 2 clasps of silver for 1 book	2s. 11d.
Paid to William scriptor for writing books	12d.
Given to Brother Thomas for service books at various times	10s.

The account for 1403–4 showed the principal ‘scriptor’, Brother Hugh Dunstone, to be in steady employment. Not the least interesting feature of the entries in this year was the difference in price between ‘velum’ at 4d. and 5d. per skin, and parchment at 2d. per skin. They were clearly either different products, one half the price of the other, or very different grades of the same product:

Paid to Hugh Dunstone for writing 2 quires ¹⁷	2s.
Paid to Hugh de Dunstone for writing 1 quire	12d.
Item paid for 4 skins of velum	16d.
Item for 2 skins of parchment	4d.
Item paid for 4 skins of velum bought	16d.
Item paid for 3 skins of parchment	6d.
Item paid for 4 skins of velum	16d.
Item for writing 1 quire viz. to Hugh Dunstone	12d.
Item paid for writing 1 quire	12d.
Item paid to Hugh Dunstone for writing 1 quire	12d.
In 1 skin of velum bought	5d.

In the Master’s Account for 1404–5 the costs of writing books were divided between the panel dedicated to ‘small expenses’ and the new panel, ‘costs of the chapel’.¹⁸ Hugh de Dunstone had been joined by another chaplain, John Knyf, in writing quires. John Knyf, however, was employed in writing a mass-book. Brother Thomas de Heddenham, possibly from a religious house unspecified and taking his name from a village about five miles north of Mettingham on the Norwich road, was paid for illuminating a Processional of St Sithe, the patron saint of maids and domestic servants.

The account for 1405–6 ([no. 4], fols 27–32)¹⁹ again recorded the writing of ‘quiers’ in full flow with John Knyf, rather than Hugh Dunstone, perhaps undertaking the more intricate work involved in the making of a missal. There was a remarkable purchase of 46 skins of vellum and 8 skins of parchment for 16s., but with no indication as to where they were purchased. The college was a mile away from the river Waveney with the running water needed for processing animal skins and it is unlikely that this manufacture was undertaken in the college itself on a significant scale.

In 1406–7 (no. 5, fols 33–38),²⁰ the illumination of a mass-book was completed and the first reference to an art material, yellow (saffron), employed in the illumination mentioned. The artist was not named but it appears that John Knyf was solely responsible for writing in the text. A finished volume, in this instance a *Legendary of the Saints*, was purchased for 21s. 8d. from an unspecified source.

Finished books purchased in 1407–8 (no. 6, fols 29–44),²¹ were a ‘codex’ or law-book and what appear to be two mass-books of secular provenance. A silver key was bought for a breviary (*portiforium*). Hugh Dunstone continued writing his quires. It is of passing interest that no books were included among the items purchased from the executors of Master John Felbrigg.

In 1408–9 (no. 7, fols 45–50),²² the finishing touches were put to the small psalter by chaplain John Waryn. A gradual was illuminated and bound. Calf-skin was bought for its cover from Roger Qwawe (of Bungay): it was necessary to spend money on security while it was worked upon. An antiphoner

was written at considerable expense. Hugh Dunstone laboured, as always, at writing quires, the ink for which cost 4d. The increase in activity may be attributable to another visit by the bishop of Norwich.

The year 1409–10 (no. 8, fols 51–56)²³ was notable for the high level of building work taking place at the college. Expenditure on books was comparatively light. Hugh Dunstone continued his work and expenditure on vellum was above average. This may have been caused by the presence of another ‘scriptor’, Ralph Screvener. A pound of ‘vermilion’, was purchased for 18d. Vermilion and cinnabar are slightly different forms of mercuric sulphide, and are extremely toxic to humans.

Wine spent by the hospice-keeper against the visit by the archbishop of Canterbury in 1410–11 (no. 9, fols 57–62)²⁴ explains why a high level of book-production occurred. Hugh Dunstone wrote two quires for a psalter: it was unusual for mention to be made of what volume he was actually engaged upon. John Knyf, chaplain, was again engaged on more expensive work than was Brother Hugh, this time on an antiphoner for which, so the order of listing within the panel suggests, 80 letters of gold were purchased, preceded by copperas, gum arabic and gall (for ink), the essential ingredients for making a high-quality permanent black ink.

Hugh Dunstone completed another two quires for the psalter in 1411–12 (no. 10, fols 63–68),²⁵ an otherwise quiet twelve months so far as books were concerned. In the following year, 1412–13 (no. 11, fols 69–74),²⁶ Hugh wrote a further two quires of the psalter, again incurring outlay on gall, copperas and gum. Chaplain John Waryn wrote two quires for a gradual for 12d., suggesting that, at 40d. per quire, Hugh Dunstone had often been engaged in more intricate work, illumination. Waryn also covered and mended his gradual. Another, highly interesting, outsider was also employed in writing: ‘Magister William de Bungay’. Given that the college sent its own scholars to Beccles for their education, it is unlikely that Magister William was a schoolmaster. If he were another secular ‘scriptor’, his presence merely adds to the growing impression that the Bungay area was not by any means under-supplied with specialists in this field. A thoroughly tantalising entry in the chapel ‘panel’ adds further to the interest in other skilled trades then practised in the town benefiting to some degree from the presence of the college. A John Browdere [embroiderer] was employed to make three images for the chapel. Two years earlier, gold, silver, satin, gum-lac and thread had been expended, apparently on site as if by a local tradesman, for the making of a vestment.

The year 1413–14 (no. 12, fols 75–80)²⁷ was no less interesting than its predecessor. Hugh Dunstone completed another two quires of the psalter; John Knyf wrote seventeen quires for an unspecified volume. The former college schoolboy John de Melton, now a qualified priest, joined the team and earned 13s. 4d. for writing a Book of Epistles. A Book of the Evangelists was illuminated by a person unnamed for 8d. Yet another extra-mural scriptor emerged, John Screvener, who wrote ten quires for a gradual at 4d. each. A painter, John de Bradwelle (near Yarmouth), was paid 3d. for work done in painting the chapel roof.

In 1414–15 (no. 13, fols 81–86),²⁸ the college sold to the sacrist at Norwich for 6s. 8d. the mass-book formerly owned by Richard de Norwich noted previously. Hugh Dunstone wrote a Procession-Book for 5s. 4d. and John de Melton continued the work on the Book of Evangelists, earning 15s. 8d.: this necessitated the purchase of 4 ounces of ‘byys’ [possibly a brown pigment] and a quarter (ounce) of gold at (pro rata) *c.* 8s. 8d. per ounce. Fish ‘soundys’ [bladders] were purchased for 2s. 9d.: the probable application for this was as a gelatinous glue used in the preparation of paint for illuminated manuscripts or for sticking gold leaf to vellum. The college also paid 40d. for making a book of the Stations of the Cross in the church. The year was remarkable for the visit of the college patron Lord Willoughby (a gallon and a half of wine was bought for his arrival) and the transport of building materials and other goods between his base in Lincolnshire and Mettingham. An organ for the college was imported *via* Boston, along with freestone for the chapel *via* Yarmouth and Beccles. A consignment of pheasants and partridges was sent to Eresby, Lincolnshire, in the care of John Boteler, the most senior member of the college staff. Work on the choir stalls was possibly the principal task of the year although, in terms of art-work, the 40s. paid to John Holgate in part payment for making images of the twelve apostles should not pass unnoticed.

The bishop of Norwich came to dedicate the college church in 1415–16 (no. 14, fols 87–92):²⁹ sturgeon, salmon and a dole of red wine were bought by brother John Tovy, the hospice keeper. Expenditure was at such a level that some of the chaplains' pensions fell into arrears. A substantial sum, £1 0s. 9d., was spent on illuminating various books. The artist was a William Lominowr. This may well have been Magister William de Bungay but the evidence is not conclusive. For the first time, Hugh Dunstone did not write: he had been sent to London to talk with Lord Willoughby. Other artwork included 66s. 8d. to Thomas de Jernemutha (Yarmouth) for making 12 apostles and then 40d. for making a 'Wodwyse', a wild-man. Thomas Barsham de Yarmouth made two images for the tabernacles on the high altar.

Not surprisingly, expenditure in the following year, 1416–17 (no. 15, fols 93–98),³⁰ was less hectic. A quire of an unspecified book written by an unspecified scriptor cost 4d. Otherwise, the collection of books was augmented by purchases made from the executors of the rector of Shipmeadow, recently deceased. A manual cost 24s. with a vestment included in the price. For 26s. the college acquired an antiphoner and a half-gradual with musical notation. John de Melton and Thomas Brygge, chaplains, were moved out to Raveningham in a possible economy measure, if not for an unspecified punishment. The college was certainly seeking to raise money from interesting sources, notably selling manumissions to its servants and certain tenants, presumably villeins by blood. John Rabat of Bramfield was paying 25s. per annum in instalments and the upwardly mobile Roger Girling 67s. 8d. towards his father's freedom. Twenty shillings, half a chaplain's annual pension, was raised from Alice Blacsale in arrears of her marriage fee.

There was only one reference to books in 1417–18 (no. 16, fols 99–104).³¹ Hugh Dunstone was apparently inactive and John Melton was still at Raveningham. A chaplain from outside the college, John Erpys, was paid 6s. 8d. for notating and repairing a gradual. In autumn 1418 Hugh Dunstone also seems to have been transferred out of the college to Raveningham. Both he and John Melton drew their pensions for that quarter and then disaster struck. John Melton's pension for the second term of the year, spring 1419, stopped.

The Master's Account for the year 1418–19 (no. 17, fols 105–10)³² had begun with the sale by the college of two of its books, an unusual occurrence. Alice Gerard of Norwich paid 21s. 8d. for a 'book called a manual' and Thomas Stodhaghe, a lawyer retained by the college, paid 56s. 8d. for an old portifor (breviary). It was the executors of John Melton who sold to the college a quantity of vermilion priced at 12d. The college also bought from them three surplices and a chest worth 10s. 7d. No will has survived and the circumstances surrounding John Melton's death aged 24 could well be seen as suspicious. Accidental poisoning by ingestion or contact with mercury sulphide, his vermilion, is certainly a possibility. He had received treatment to his hand[s] in 1411–12 but this may be quite incidental and perhaps should not be taken as early evidence for damage to his nervous system. His sojourn at Raveningham and the recent arrival there of Hugh Dunstone certainly invite a number of questions.

Melodramatic scenarios notwithstanding, it has to be asked why two of the college's writers were lodged at Raveningham. The existence of the vermilion strongly suggests they were engaged in book production. If this were the case, it appears they were not writing for the college itself. There is a possibility, worthy of note nonetheless, that they were involved in producing books for sale, whether to another monastic institution or to private customers. The nearest monasteries geographically were the abbey of Langley and the priories of St Olaves and Aldeby. Of these, the Premonstratensian abbey of Langley was arguably the nearest although, on the evidence of the Masters' Accounts, contact with Mettingham College was at best occasional. Langley Abbey was nevertheless the place of confinement for the Lollard heretic water-miller, John Skyly of Wainford, in 1429.³³ Barely a mile away, the mill had regular commercial contact with the college. Langley Abbey is thought to have produced or, according to a minority opinion, procured 'from Norwich', the Ranworth Antiphoner, now permanently displayed in Ranworth church. Dates for its production vary from '1400' to the more general '15th century'. The involvement in its production of Hugh Dunstone and John Melton cannot be entirely and absolutely discounted. External chaplains such as Thomas de Hedenham had,

after all, been employed in the production of the college's own books. It was in this year also that Edmund de Bradwelle, painter, was paid £13 5s. 6d. for painting the whole church in addition to the money paid for painting the chapel. It may have been in connection with this that another purchase of fish 'soundys' was made.

Hugh Dunstone returned to Mettingham in 1419–20 (no. 18, fols 111–16), his only recorded work that year being to mark out eight quires for 8d. John Qwave of Bungay again covered the chapel books (2s.). Of singular interest was the purchase for 26s. 8d. from a Thomas Kirkeby of a book of organ music.

In 1420–21 (no. 19, fols 117–22),³⁴ the binding and covering of a portiforium (breviary) at Norwich cost 2s. 3d. Another chaplain, Roger Bowbridge, wrote and repaired three quires of a mass-book for 2s. Binding and covering the mass-book cost 2s. 2d. Two other books were covered by chaplain John Waryn. Hugh Dunstone resumed writing and was paid 20d. for a Calendar.

There was no book production in either 1421–22 (no. 20, fols 123–27)³⁵ or 1422–23 (no. 21, fols 128–31).³⁶ A possible reason may be that resources had been diverted to establishing the library itself, first specifically mentioned in 1423–24 (no. 22, fols 133–38).³⁷ None of the brethren were by then employed in writing. Another secular outsider, Thomas Morys of Metfield, was paid 16s. in part payment for writing a manual. One unusual purchase during this year was the doe-skin bought for the books.

In 1424–25 (no. 23, fols 139–44),³⁸ Thomas Morys was paid another 6s. 8d. for writing the manual and then 5s. in full settlement. Two shillings were paid for notating the manual. The college received 6s. 8d. in part payment from the rector of Ilketshall St. John for a mass-book and paid a total of 5s. 4d. to John Cache, one of the college's chaplains, for five books 'for the library'. None of the brethren appear to have been writing. It may be significant in determining the location of the library within the college that, having just mentioned it for the first time, the Master's Account recorded, only six items afterwards, the employment of Nicholas Mason, who spent six days fitting the cloister door.

At this point in the series, Master John Wilbye died and a break in the accounts lasted until the instalment of William Fraunsham as Master in 1447–48. The loss is the more unfortunate in that the missing years witnessed the trials of local members of the Lollard sect, at least three of whom may have been tenants of the college itself, for example Thomas Herde of Shipmeadow, tailor. That a Lollard cell was based at Wainford mill has already been noticed. It is a matter of considerable interest, therefore, that because the Masters' Accounts have established there was no shortage of both monastic and secular scribes in the area, one of the leading Lollards was John Godsell [*sic*] of Ditchingham on the opposite bank of the river Waveney from Mettingham, parchment-maker. John Godsell confessed, *inter alia*, to allowing 'schools' of Lollardy to meet on his premises where 'books were read'. In addition to the other undoubted financial benefits it brought to the Bungay area, the college may inadvertently have supported members of East Anglia's first nonconformist heretical sect, the Lollards.

The rules of the college clearly allowed the brethren to accumulate personal belongings and leave them to whomsoever they pleased in their will. Eleven such wills survive, three of them made by chaplains resident while John Wilby was Master. By far the most interesting of these was made by John Tovy (d. 1431) the keeper of the hospice for many years.³⁹ To the college, Tovy bequeathed a processional. To Margaret Grene he left his psalter with the proviso that it should become college property after his decease. To former chaplain Thomas Brygg, Tovy left a new primer. Neither brother Simon Weston (d. 1428)⁴⁰ nor Roger Bowbrigge (d. 1448)⁴¹ (a future Master of the college) bequeathed any books at all: they were the exceptions. William Brigham (d. 1473),⁴² for example, gave his antiphoner to the college, his 'Turinale' (Hours) to his clerk and his psalter to Agnes Virly, a nun at the nearby convent at Flixton. It is singularly unfortunate for present purposes that no will for the long-lived Hugh Dunstone has survived.

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NOTES

- 1 Suffolk Record Office, Lowestoft, 866/1; *Calendar of Patent Rolls (CPR)* (1343–45), 106.
- 2 *CPR* (1313–17), 279–80.
- 3 Hervey 1906.
- 4 See Woolgar 1992, 176, where a transcript *in extenso* is provided. The word used is ‘fercula’, properly a ‘dish’, rather than a meal or *gucst*.
- 5 Using the Retail Price Index formula devised by L.M. Officer in *Economic History Services: ‘Comparing the Purchasing Power of Money in Great Britain 1286 to 2002’*, at www.ch.net, an equivalent sum of c. £47 per head is indicated in 2004.
- 6 L.M. Officer, *op. cit.*, c. £8 per head in 2004.
- 7 See Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich, J400/14, microfilms of MSS of David Elisha Davy, Wainford Hundred, fol. 212, from a loose paper in Ive’s collections for the Hundred of Lothingland (*sic*): Ive’s source was not indicated.
- 8 British Library (BL), Add. MS 33985, fol. 81. ‘Item receptum de sacrista Norwic. pro missale quondam domini Rogeri de Norwic., vjs. viijd.’
- 9 L.M. Officer, *op. cit.* c. £410,000 in 2004.
- 10 The National Archives, KB 27/489, fol.82/rect.2.
- 11 L.M. Officer, *op. cit.*, c. £ 350,000 in 2004.
- 12 BL, Add. MS 33985.
- 13 Suckling 1848, I, 168.
- 14 James 1895, 98–99.
- 15 BL, Add. MS 40069.
- 16 First account in BL, Add. MS 33985 (fols 1–10).
- 17 Account numbered ‘2’, fols 11–14, 11 June 1403 to 29 Sep. 1403.
Minute expense [small expenses]
Item solutum Hugoni de Dunstone pro ij quaternis scribendis, ijs.
Item solutum Hugoni de Dunstone pro j quaterno scribendo, xijd.
Item solutum pro iiij pellibus de velum, xvjd.
Item pro ij pellibus de pergameni, iiijd.
Item solutum pro iiij pellibus de velum emptis, xvjd.
Item solutum pro ij pellibus pergameni, vjd.
Item solutum pro iiij pellibus velum, xvjd.
Item pro j quaterno scribendo viz Hugoni Dunstone, xijd.
Item solutum pro j quaterno scribendo, xijd.
Item solutum de Dunstone pro l quaterno scribendo, xijd.
In l pelle de velym empto, vd.
- 18 Item solutum domino Hugoni de Dunstone capellano pro scripcione j quaterni, xijd.
Item solutum domino Johanno Knyf capellano pro scripcione j quaterni, xijd.
Item solutum fratri Thome de Heddenham pro illuminatione unius processionalis Sancte Sithe, viijd.
Item solutum domino Hugoni de Dunstone capellano pro scripcione j quaterni, xijd.
Item solutum Johanni Knyf capellano pro scripcione ij quaternorum libri missalis, ijs.
Item solutum domino Hugoni de Dunstone capellano pro scripcione j quaterni, xijd.
Item solutum pro v pellibus percameni, xd.
Item solutum pro xxxj pellibus de velym, xs. iiijd.
Item solutum pro ligacione j libre missalis, viijd.
- 19 Item solutum Hugoni Dunstone capellani pro scripcione ij quaternorum, iijs.
Item solutum Johanni Knyf capellano pro scripcione ij quaternorum, ijs.
Item solutum pro xij pellibus de velum, iijs.
Item solutum pro j quaterno papiri, iiijd.
Item solutum Hugoni de Dunstone pro scripcione j quaterni, xijd.
Item solutum pro xlvj pellibus de velym et viij pellibus parcameni, xvjs.
Item solutum Johanni Knyf capellano pro scripcione ij quaternis pro libro missale, ijs.
Item solutum Hugoni Dunstone capellano pro scripcione j quaterni, xijd.
- 20 Pro quaterno papiri [this item was entered under ‘candle-making costs’ rather than ‘small expenses’].

- Item solutum Hugoni de Dunstone pro j quaterno scribendo, xijd.
 Item solutum pro illuminatione dimidii libri missalis, xiiijd.
 Item solutum Johanni Knyf pro j quaterno scripto pro libro missale, xd.
 Item solutum pro illuminatione dimidii libri missalis, xijd.
 Item solutum pro croco empto pro libro missale, iiijd.
 Item solutum pro legendis sanctorum, xxjs. viiijd.
- 21 Item solutum Hugoni Dunstone capellano pro j quaterno scribendo, xijd.
 Item solutum pro quaterno papiri, vd
 Item solutum pro clave argenti empto pro parvo portiforio, ijd.
 Item solutum Hugoni Dunstone pro scripcione j quaterni, xijd.
 Item solutum pro j codice, vjs. viiijd.
 Item solutum pro ij pannis damasci et aliis ornamentis emptis de executoribus magistri Johannis Felbrygge, liijs iiijd.
 Item solutum Rogero Qwave pro libr. capelle cooperand., ijd obolum.
 Item solutum pro libro missale ligando et cooperando et pro clausura eiusdem, vd. jd.
 Item solutum pro ij libris missalibus civil., xs.
 Item solutum domino Hugoni pro j quaterno scribendo, xijd.
- 22 Item solutum pro parcameno ixd. obolum.
 Item solutum Rogero Latener de Beclys pro mensa Johannis Meltone et pro clausura j libri, ijs.
 Item solutum pro j quaterno papiri, vd.
 Item solutum pro (inneccione) unius portifori predicti per Johannem Waryn capellanum, xld.
 Item solutum pro velym empto, vjs. viiijd.
 Item solut Hugoni Dunstone pro scripcione j quaterni, xijd.
 Item solutum pro illuminatione j gradalis, xjs.
 Item solutum pro ligacione et custodie eiusdem, ijs iiijd.
 Item solutum Hugoni Dunstone pro scripcione j quaterni, xijd.
 Item solutum Rogero qwave pro j pelle vitulino empto pro gradale, xd.
 Item solutum Hugoni Dunstone pro scripcione j quaterni, xijd.
 Item solutum eidem pro incausto, iiijd.
 Item solutum pro scripcione j antefenarii, liiis. iiijd.
 Item solutum Hugoni Dunstone pro scripcione j quaterni, xiiijd.
 Item solutum Hugoni Dunstone pro scripcione j quaterni, xijd.
- 23 Item solutum pro xij pellibus parcameni, ijs.
 Solutum pro velym, viijs. xd.
 Item solutum Hugoni Dunstone capellano pro scripcione j quaterni, xijd.
 Item solutum pro velym, iijs. ixd.
 Item solutum Hugoni Dunstone capellano pro ij quaternis et dimidio scribendis, ijs. viiijd.
 Item solutum pro libra de vermellione, xviiijd.
 Item solutum Radulfo Screvener, xijd.
 Item solutum pro pellibus coriandis pro libris capelle, vjd obolum.
- 24 Item solutum Johanni Knyf capellano pro xviiij quaternis scribendis unius antefenarii, xijs.
 Item solutum pro coperose, gummte et gall., iijd.
 Item solutum pro iiij/xx literis auri, xxxd.
 Item solutum Hugoni Denstone pro ij quaternis scribendis pro psaltero, xld.
 Item solutum pro xxviiij pellibus de velym, viijs. viiijd.
 Item solutum pro xx pellibus de velym, vs. ijd.
- 25 Rec. dc Rogero de Bowbrygge pro quaterno de velym, vjd.
 Item solutum Hugoni Dunstone Capellano pro quaterno psalterii scribendo, xld.
 Item solutum Hugoni Dunstone Capellano pro quaterno psalterii scribendo, xld.
- 26 Item solutum pro v pellibus parcameni, xijd.
 Item solutum Hugoni Dunstone Capellano pro quaterno psalterii scribendo, xld.
 Item solutum magistro Willelmo de Bungaye pro ij quaternis scribendis, xvjd.
 Item solutum Johanni Waryn capellano pro ij quaternis scribendis pro gradale, xijd.
 Item eidem pro libris cooperiendis et emendendis, xijd.
 Item solutum Hugoni Dunstone Capellano pro quaterno psalterii scribendo, xld.
 Item solutum pro gallo coperose et gummys, viiijd.
 Item solutum pro iij pellibus de velym, xviiijd.
- 27 Item solutum pro vij pellibus parcameni, ixd.
 Item solutum Johanni Knyf capellano pro xvij quaternis scribendis, xjs. vjd.
 Item solutum Hugoni Dunstone capellano pro ij quaternis scribendis pro psalterio, vjs. viiijd.
 Item solutum pro iii quaternis de velym, xiiijd.
 Item solutum Johanni Bradwelle nomine arre pro tecto ecclesie pingendo, iiid.
 Item solutum Johanni Meltone capellano pro epistolario scribendo, xijs. iiijd.

- Item solutum pro j quaterno de velym, iiijd obolum.
 Item solutum pro illuminacione j libre ewangelistorum, xviiijd.
 Item solutuj Johanni Screwener pro scripcione x quaternorum unius gradalis, xld.
 Item solutum pro iiij quaternis de velym, ijs. vid.
 Item solutum pro iiij quaternis de velym, xxxiiijd.
- 28 Item receptum de sacrista Norwici pro missale quondam domini Rogeri de Norwico, vis. viijd.
 Item solutum pro parcaminio, ijs.
 Item solutum Johanni Stodhaghe pro quibusdam indenturis scribendis inter magistrum et Ricardum Shirlok, xxiijd.
 Item solutum pro parcaminio, ijs.
 Item solutum pro quaterno papiri, iiijd.
 Item solutum pro j pelle vituli et pro ij libris cooperiendis, xjd.
 Item solutum pro sowndys piscium, ijs. ixld.
 Item solutum pro ij libris ligandis, iijs. iijd.
 Item solutum Hugoni Dunstone pro scripcione j processonarij, vs. iiijd.
 Item solutum Johanni Meltone capellano pro libro Ewangelistorum scribendo, xvs. viijd.
 Item solutum pro ij unciis de Byys, xxd.
 Item solutum pro I quarterio auri et pro ij unciis de Byys, iijs. xld.
 Item solutum pro j libro facto de stacionibus in ecclesia faciendo, xld.
- 29 Item receptum de Johanne Knyf capellano pro decimis pertinentibus Willelmo Pepyur quondam vicario de Metyngham, viijd.
 Item receptum de Johanne Lowel capellano pro j processonario, vijs.
 Item solutum pro xij pellibus parcaminii et j pelle de velym xxiijd.
 Item solutum Willelmo Lominowr pro diversis libris illuminandis, viijs.
 Item solutum Willelmo Lominowr pro illuminacione ij librorum, xijs. ixld.
- 30 Item solutum pro xiiij pellibus parcaminii, ijs.
 Solutum executoribus domini Johannis Waryn nuper rectoris de Schypmedwe pro j manuale et j vestimento, xxiijs.
 Item solutum eisdem executoribus pro j antiphonario et j graduale notato, xxvjs.
 Item solutum pro xij pellibus de velym, iijs. vjd.
 Item solutum pro j quaterno illuminando, iijd.
- 31 Item solutum Thome Brygge Capellano pro legendo, vs.
 Item solutum Thomas Erpys capellano pro j gradale notando, corrigendo, ligando et cooperiando per ij dies vj [this is an example of an extra-mural specialist being employed to carry out specific tasks; Erpys was not listed as a chaplain of Mettingham College].
 Item solutum Johanni Waryn Capellano pro libris Capelli ligandis clausuris et cooperatoriis emptis pro eisdem, xs. xd.
- 32 Item receptum de Alicia Gerard de Norwico pro libro vocato manual, xxjs. viijd.
 Item receptum pro j antiquo portiforio vendito Thome Stodhaghe, lvjs. viijd.
 Item receptum de executoribus Johannis Meltone capellani pro j tester emptis, vs.
 Item solutum pro vermilion empto de executoribus Johannis Meltone capellani, xijd.
 Item solutum executoribus Johannis Meltone Capellani pro ij superpeliciis et j cista emptis, xs vijd.
 Item solutum pro lx soundys piscium, xjd.
 Item solutum Reginaldo Bowbrygge pro iiij quaternis libri missalis scribendis, ijs.
 Item solutum Johanni Qwave pro ij pellibus vitulinis emptis pro libris cooperiendis, xld.
 Solutum Edmundo de Bradwelle pcyntour pro tota ecclesia pingenda ultra denarios solutos pro capella Cantuarie, xiiij li vs. vjd.
- 33 Westminster Diocesan Archives, MS. B.2, fol. 21v.
- 34 Item solutum pro ij quaternis papiri, vjd.
 Item pro j portiforio ligando et cooperiando apud Norvicum, ijs. iiijd.
 Item solutum Johanni Waryn capellano pro ij libris ligandis, iijs.
 Item solutum Rogero Bowbrygge capellano pro ij quaternis libri missalis et pro eodem libro corrigendo, ijs.
 Item solutum Hugoni Dunstone capellano pro Calendario scribendo, xxd.
 Item solutum pro xij pellibus de velym, iijs.
 Item solutum pro libro missale ligando et cooperiando, ijs. ijd.
- 35 No expenditure on books.
- 36 Item solutum pro auro et bysso, vijs. iiijd.
 No expenditure on books.
- 37 Solutum Item solutum pro vj pellibus de velym, ijs. iijd.
 Item solutum pro ij pellibus de velym, xd.
 Item solutum pro vj pellibus de velym, xxxd.
 Item solutum Thome Morys de Metefeld pro j manuale scribendo, xvjs. viijd. in parte solucionis.
 Item solutum pro iiij pellibus de velym, xxd.
- 38 Item receptum de Rectore Sancti Johannis pro libro missale, vjs. viijd. in parte solucionis.

- Item solutum Johanni Cache pro I libro empto pro librario, xld.
 Item solutum eidem pro iij libris, ijs.
 Item solutum pro j pelle dame empto pro libris, viijd.
 Item solutum Johanni Morys pro j manuale scribendo, vjs. viijd.
 Item solutum eidem in plena solutione, vs.
 Item pro libro manuale notando, ijs.
 Item solutum pro v pellibus de velym emptis pro missale, xxd.
 Item solutum Thome Morys pro libro missale scribendo, xxd.
 Item solutum pro v pellibus de velym, xxd. emptis pro missale.
 Item solutum pro vj pellibus de velym ad missale, ijs per Rogerum.
 39 Norfolk Record Office (NRO), Norwich Consistory Court wills, ref. 73 Surflete.
 40 NRO, NCC, 27 Surflete.
 41 NRO, NCC, 7 Aleyn.
 42 NRO, NCC, 23 Hubert.

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