

THE BURY ST EDMUNDS ABBEY SHRINE-KEEPERS' ACCOUNTS, 1520/21 AND 1524/25

by DAVID SHERLOCK

THE SHRINE-KEEPERS OR *feretrarii* at Bury St Edmunds Abbey looked after one of the most famous shrines in medieval England.¹ Their duties were set out in a customary of the abbey and confirmed by Pope Alexander IV in a bull of 1256: two monks were to guard the body of St Edmund day and night on account of the crush of pilgrims (*propter populi peregrinationis causa confluentiam*). They were to be excused from eating and sleeping with the other monks and they had their own accommodation immediately south of the abbey quire.² The two are to be seen in their watching chamber in a famous painting of the shrine in John Lydgate's *Life of St Edmund* (see front cover). One of them is holding a large red book (red for martyrs?), surely the splendid book of the miracles of St Edmund written by Herman the Archdeacon and inscribed by Henry Kirkestede, the librarian, as belonging to the keepers of St Edmund's shrine: *Liber Feretrariorum Sancti Edmundi* [the book of the keepers of St Edmund's shrine].³

Six shrine-keepers are known to us by name but accounts survive for only two pairs, Simon Bardwell and John Finningham for Michaelmas 1520 to Michaelmas 1521, and John Finningham and Robert Langham for the same period, 1524 to 1525.⁴ The first of these accounts seems always to have been in Bury St Edmunds and was noted in the Historical Manuscripts Commission's report of 1895 as one of the corporation's manuscripts in the guildhall, whilst the other accounts went to the National Archives, presumably via the Augmentation Office.⁵ The later accounts are about forty lines shorter than those of 1520/21, but the headings of contents in each are much the same and many of the names of rent payers and monastery people occur in both. One noticeable difference is that the later accounts refer to only about a quarter of the amounts of wax, either paid in rent or bought, as the earlier ones. Had the abbey been stockpiling wax candles, was it burning fewer candles, or was 1524/25 a bad year for bees? The two accounts, albeit four years apart, are here reunited, transcribed, translated and edited.

The shrine-keepers did much more than simply guard the shrine and manage pilgrims. They were, in some respects, church sacrists in the modern sense of the word, as well as being responsible for some of the duties one might have expected the abbey's sacrist and cellarer to have performed in the town.⁶ There was income from rent to be collected, some of it in the form of wax for candles. There was money from pilgrims given at the rail in front of St Edmund's shrine and at the other chapels received at various festivals; while the outlays included the cost of singers, of chapel guardians (*custodes*), of looking after pilgrims, the administration of St Edmund's goblet to pilgrims, the purchase of foodstuffs and wines for celebrations and recreations during Advent. As nowadays, a lot of celebrations took place before Christmas, partly because St Nicholas' day fell on 6 December, when the boy-bishop performance began, and partly because St Edmund's day itself was on 20 November. St Edmund's sword had to be cleaned and mended and the shrine repaired. The high altar was cleaned and vestments were mended. A cook was paid for the pittance. A monk was given 10s on receipt of his doctorate of theology. Men who turned up with a camel were paid a penny while a monk from St Katherine's monastery, Mount Sinai, was given 12d. The shrine-keepers paid themselves £4 each year.

The accounts add more to what is known from pictorial and documentary sources about the appearance of the shrine. Of the former, the best known are the pictures of the shrine in Lydgate's *Life of St Edmund*, but these were made about twenty-five years before the huge fire of 1465 which partly destroyed it, the flames:

licking up the presses (*armaria*) and the seats, the projecting images of the angels, and the huge hanging crucifix that almost touched the holy martyr, and reduced them all to glowing embers. The wooden cover of the shrine, when the rope that held it up was burnt through, fell down upon the shrine in flames: so that the martyr, though walled about on every side with fire, as in an oven, remained scatheless.⁷

From this account it is evident that the shrine in the 1520s could not have looked like the one in Lydgate's earlier pictures. But in its subsequent and final incarnation it was still a splendid structure, bedecked with gold and precious objects and surrounded with candles. The ropes which had burnt through were presumably replaced because there is mention in the first accounts of a windlass, so the canopy could still have been raised. Perhaps the iron railings, the 'rails', seen in the background of Lydgate's picture survived. There is mention of other ironwork too. Planks and nails were still being made for hanging jewels above the shrine. At the dissolution, some fifteen years later, Thomas Cromwell's men reported that 'they had found a rich shrine very cumbrous to deface'.⁸

The shrine-keepers' two accounts are also of interest for the names of townsfolk and their trades, and of streets and buildings. A number of the owners of tenements are known from wills and other documents, such as the lay subsidy returns of 1524 (the same year as the second set of accounts). A dozen names are also in the First Ministers' Account of the Court of Augmentation of 1539 and there are names of modern streets and places already known from abbey sacrist's rentals.⁹ These include Churchgate, Guildhall, Mustow, South and Whiting Streets, Looms Lane and Cattlemarket. Amongst the different traders mentioned are a brazier, brewer, chandler, embroiderer, fishmonger, goldsmith, locksmith, pewterer, surgeon-barber and weaver. Villages in the locality which are also mentioned include Bardwell, Eye, Finningham, Freckenham, Great Barton, Langham, Nowton, Pakenham, Rede, Stansfield and Woolpit, three of these being presumably the birthplaces of shrine-keepers. Office holders in the abbey are named, some being obedientiaries not in Thomson's 1982 list, and monks who lived on to see the dissolution of the abbey in 1539, their names found in the list of pensions granted to them by the Court of Augmentation.¹⁰ Mention is also made of lesser men, such as the clerks, cooks and servants.

Offerings 'at the rails' of St Edmund's shrine in the two accounts amounted to £32 12s and £26 10s (plus rents from property and from candle wax, but not counting income from the chapels of St Robert and the relics). Not surprisingly, there are no exact parallels for these amounts elsewhere in England in the sixteenth century, but some comparisons can be made thanks to Nilson's analyses of offerings at cathedral shrines. At the shrine of St Etheldreda in Ely Cathedral, the sacrist's rolls record even greater offerings of £39 2s 8d and £36 17s 8d for 1509/10 and 1516/17 respectively. Offerings at the shrine of St Hugh in Lincoln Cathedral in the first thirty years averaged a little over £3 1s per annum, whilst those at the shrine of St Cuthbert in Durham Cathedral in the four recorded years of the early 1500s came to £7 10s. At the shrine of St Edward the Confessor at Westminster Abbey, the average for the nineteen years up to 1521 was a little over £4. Like Bury these cathedrals had other saints' shrines too for pilgrims to donate to.

No comparative figures are available from the sixteenth century for the shrine of St Thomas Becket at Canterbury Cathedral, the most famous shrine in England.¹¹ Whilst this is

unfortunate, a customary compiled in 1428, concerned with the management of Becket's shrine does survive. It comprises eleven folios and contains a great deal more information than the bare figures in the two accounts from Bury St Edmunds compiled nearly a century later.¹² Becket's shrine had two keepers who slept near to the shrine. John Vyel and Edmund Kyngyston called themselves *feretrarii sive custodes* [shrine-keepers or custodians] and they were assisted by two secular clerks. Their duties included sweeping the pavement of the shrine precinct as a precaution against infection from the trampling of pilgrims' feet. Before the feast of Becket's translation on 7 July, the jewels and ornaments on the shrine had to be cleaned. There are details regarding shrine security measures and the searching of the precinct each night before locking up. Both pilgrims and feretrars were offered a daily 'ploughman's lunch' of bread, cheese and beer, in contrast to the lavish Christmastide pittance at Bury St Edmunds when the monks were served with a confection of marzipan, sugar and spices with various wines and strong ale. The customary at Canterbury has other valuable information about ceremonies, the procurement and use of candles and worship at the shrine by the monks themselves. I have added details from Canterbury to my notes on Bury St Edmunds where they seem relevant.

In this edition of the two Bury shrine-keepers' accounts, the translations face the original Latin. As far as possible, abbreviated Latin words have been expanded to make grammatical sense. The headings in the margins of the accounts are printed in italics. Words crossed out in the original are in arrow brackets < > and editorial insertions are in square brackets []. Numbered references to the notes at the end are to be found in the English translations.

THE ACCOUNTS OF JOHN FINNINGHAM AND SIMON BARDWELL, 1520/21
(SA/B, A6/1/17)

Compotus dompnorum Johannis Fynnyngham et Simonis Berdwell feretrariorum monasterii Sancti Edmundi a festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno regni regis Henrici octavi xij^o usque ad idem festum anno revoluto.

Remanentia. In primis predicti respondent de xxvijs iiijd remanentibus in pixide de anno ultimo elapso. Et de octo libris cere.

Summa xxvijs iiijd et viij libre cere.

(5) *Arreragia.* Et de viijd receptis de Ricardo Sparowe de Stansfeld pro arreragiis redditus assignati xij acris terre jacendis in villa de Rede vocata Redcrofte vel Stubbynge.

Summa viijd

Redditus cere. Et de xviijd receptis de Stephano Draper de Berdwell pro annuo redditu trium librarum cere assignato tenemento suo situato in vico boreali ville Bury St Edmundi quondam Johannis Joell. Et de xijd receptis de priore monasterii de Eye (10) pro annuo redditu duarum librarum cere. Et de octo libris cere receptis de manibus Jacobi Eton' ballivi episcopi Roffensis pro annuo redditu assignato manerio dicti episcopi situato in villa de Freknham [*sic*].

Summa ijs vid et viij libre cere.

[*Redditus assisi.*]¹³ Et de xijd receptis de Ricardo Goos pro annuo redditu assignato tenemento suo situato in vico vocato Gyldhallestrete in villa de Bury predicta. Et de ijs receptis de Andrea Cranwyse pro annuo redditu assignato tenemento suo situato in vico cocorum (15) ville predictae super cornarium ex parte boreali et abuttante super lez Mustowe versus orientem. Et de jd recepto de relicta Johannis Baker fyshmonger pro annuo redditu assignato tenemento situato in vico vocato Whytyngstrete nuper Willelmi Spenser. Et de xiiiijd receptis de Johanne Longe brasyer pro annuo redditu assignato tenemento dicto in vico australi ville predictae inter tenementum [*blank*] Gyppys ex parte australi et tenementum elemosinarii Sancti Edmundi ex parte aquilone. Et de ijs viijd receptis de Johanne Firmyn pro annuo redditu assignato tenemento situato in dicto vico <inter> iuxta tenementum quondam (20) Rogeri Torold ex parte australi et abuttante super regiam viam vici predicti versus occidentem. Et de xviijd receptis de Thoma Andrew pro annuo redditu unius tenementi quondam Willelmi Leche situati in vico boreale super cornarium Lombeslane ex parte aquilonali et tenementum conventus Sancti Edmundi de feodo officii sacriste dicti monasterii ex parte australi. Et de xiiiijd receptis de Roberto Plandon pro annuo redditu vij acrarum terre quondam pertinentium predicto tenemento jacentium in orientalibus campis ville de Bury predictae in campo vocato Calfordhalk. Et de vjs viijd receptis de Johanne <Henry> Maphylhede (25) pro annuo redditu unius tenementi cum iiiij^o shoppis eidem annexatis prius pertinentium Johanne Henry quondam Willelmi Hylperby dicti in lez Chirchegatestrete inter tenementum quondam Isabelle Aleyn ex parte orientale et tenementum Johannis Betys pistoris vocatum lez Kynghede ex parte occidentale. Et de iijd receptis de relicta Galfridi Reede pro annuo redditu unius tenementi situati in lez Netemarkett ex veteri vocati Morterrowe iuxta tenementum sacriste Sancti Edmundi ex parte boreali. Et de xijd receptis de priore sancti pro annuo redditu unius libre incensi sive frankencense assignato uno tenemento situato in lez (30) Mustow quondam

Translation

The account of Doms John Finningham and Simon Bardwell, shrine-keepers of the monastery of St Edmund, from the feast of St Michael the Archangel in the 12th year of the reign of King Henry VIII to the same feast a year later.

Remainder. Firstly the aforesaid answer for 27s 4d remaining in the coffer from the year just past. And for 8lb of wax.

Total 27s 4d and 8lb of wax.

(5) *Arrears.* And for 8d received from Richard Sparow¹⁴ of Stansfield for arrears paid, being assigned upon 12 acres of land lying in the village of Rede called Redecroft or Stubbing.

Total 8d.

Supply of wax. And for 28d received from Stephen Draper¹⁵ of Bardwell for the annual supply of 3lb of wax assigned upon his tenement situated in North Street of the town of Bury St Edmund, formerly John Joell's.¹⁶ And for 12d received from the prior of Eye Priory¹⁷ (10) for the annual supply of 2lb of wax. And for 8lb of wax received from the hands of James Eton,¹⁸ bailiff of the bishop of Rochester,¹⁹ for annual supply assigned upon the manor of the said bishop situated in the village of Freckenham.

Total 2s 6d and 8lb of wax.

Fixed rents. And for 12d received from Richard Goos for annual rent assigned upon his tenement situated in the street called Guildhall Street in the town of Bury aforesaid.²⁰ And for 2s received from Andrew Cranwyse²¹ for annual rent assigned upon his tenement situated in Cooks' Street²² (15) of the aforesaid town above the corner on the north side and abutting upon Mustow towards the east. And for 1d received from the widow of John Baker, fishmonger, for annual rent assigned upon the tenement situated in the street called Whiting Street, recently William Spenser's.²³ And for 14d received from John Longe,²⁴ brewer, for annual rent assigned upon the said tenement in South Street of the aforesaid town between the tenement of [blank] Gypys²⁵ on the south side and the tenement of the almoner of St Edmund on the northern side. And for 2s 8d received from John Firmyn²⁶ for annual rent assigned upon the said tenement in the street next to the tenement (20) formerly Roger Torold's²⁷ on the south side and abutting upon the King's highway of the aforesaid street towards the west. And for 18d received from Thomas Andrew²⁸ for annual rent of one tenement one time of William Leche²⁹ situated in North Street over the corner of Looms Lane on the north part and the tenement of the abbey of St Edmund [part] of the fee of the office of sacrist of the said monastery on the south side. And for 14d received from Robert Plandon³⁰ for annual rent of 7 acres of land formerly belonging to the said tenement lying in the east fields of the town of Bury aforesaid in the field called Calford Hawe.³¹ And for 6s 8d received from John <Henry> Maphylhede³² (25) for annual rent of one tenement with its 4 shops annexed to them formerly belonging to John Henry, formerly of the said William Hyliperby³³ in Churchgate Street between the former tenement of Isabella Aley³⁴ on the east side and the tenement of John Betys,³⁵ baker, called the Kingshead on the west side. And for 3d received from the widow of Geoffrey Reede³⁶ for annual rent of a tenement situated in the cattle market, called anciently Morter Row,³⁷ next to the tenement of the sacrist of St Edmund on the north side. And for 12d received from the prior of St [Edmund] for the annual supply of 1lb of incense or frankincense assigned upon one tenement situated in (30) Mustow, formerly

Roberti Hecham. Et de ijs receptis de sacrista Sancti Edmundi pro annuo reddito unius tenementi situati iuxta aulam scolare quondam Johannis Hertest. Et jd recepto de hostilario Sancti Edmundi pro annuo reddito unius tenementi situati (35) in lez Mustow sub muro abbacie ex parte boriali. Et de viijd receptis de Ricardo Sparow de Stansfeld pro annuo reddito xij acrarum terre jacentium in villa de Rede vocata Redcrofte vel Stubbyng. Et de jd recepto de eodem Ricardo pro reddito dimidie acre terre jacentis in villa de villa [sic] Stansfeld datum feretro Sancti Edmundi ex devocione pro certis annis.

Summa xxs iiijd

(40) *Firma terre*. Et de vjs viijd receptis de Nicholo Clerk de Nowton pro firma xviiij acrarum terre jacentium in villa de Nowton predicta subtus boscum vocatum Calfhall ex parte orientali dimissis Willelmo Clerk ad terminum iiij^{xx} annorum hoc anno xli^{mo}.

Summa vjs viijd

Recepte de lez rayle. Et de liiij receptis de lez rayle in vigilia Sancti Edmundi. Et de iiij li iij receptis in vigilia octavi Sancti Edmundi. Et de xiijs viijd receptis in vigilia Natalis Domini. Et de liiij iiijd receptis in vigilia Annunciacionis Beate Marie. Et de vjli xviijs (45) receptis in vigilia vigilie Pentecostis. Et de lxxix receptis sabbato post octavum Corporis Christi. Et de iiij li xiijs vjd receptis in vigilia Sancti Jacobi. Et de cs receptis in vigilia Sancti Matthei. Et xxijs viijd receptis in die Sancti Jeronimi. Et de xxij viijd receptis de superiori rayle in vigilia vigilie dicti Sancti Michaelis pro toto anno preterito.

Summa xxxij li xijs

Recepte de capella reliquiarum. Et de xxxvs viijd receptis de capella reliquiarum per totum annum.

(50) Summa xxxvs viijd

Recepte capelle Sancti Roberti. Et de xixd receptis de de [sic] oblacionibus in die Sancti Edmundi. Et de iijd ob' receptis de oblacionibus fratrum gilde Sancti Roberti in die eiusdem. Et de ix d ob' receptis de alijs oblacionibus eodem die. Et de vjd receptis feria secunda Pentecostis. Et de vs xid receptis de pixide ibidem xxvii die Maii. Et de iijs vjd receptis in vigilia Sancti Michaelis.

Summa xiijs vjd

(55) Summa totalis receptorum xxxvij li xviijs ix d

Expense

Visitatio conventus. In visitacione conventus in crastino Sancti Andree Apostoli hoc anno xj li iijs iiijd

Summa xi li iijs iiijd

Liberacio Certa. Liberaciones sex confratribus nostris cantantibus ultimum responsorium in nocte Sancti Nicholai episcopi jd ob'. Item succentori pro quolibet (60) festo principali iiijd per annum, xxd. Item dompno Johanne Cambredghe seniori pro potagio conventus in Quadragesima ijs vjd. Item duobus attornatis feretriarum in choro xxvs viijd cuilibet eorum per annum xiijs iiijd solvendis eisdem ad festa Pasche et Sancti Michaelis. Item in iiij^{or} paribus cirotecarum datas eisdem attornatis xijd. Item dompno Johanni Sprowton custodi capelle

of Robert Hecham. And for 2s received from the sacrist of St Edmund for annual rent of the one tenement situated next to the school hall,³⁸ formerly John Hartest's. And for 1d received from the guestmaster of St Edmund for the annual rent of one tenement situated (35) in Mustow beneath the wall of the abbey on the north side. And for 8d received from Richard Sparow³⁹ of Stansfield for the annual rent of 12 acres of land lying in the village of Rede called Redecroft or Stubbing. And for 1d received from the same Richard for rent of half an acre of land lying in the village of Stansfield given to the shrine of St Edmund out of devotion for certain years.

Total 20s 4d.

(40) *Farm of land.* And for 6s 8d received from Nicholas Clerk of Nowton for the farm of 18 acres of land lying in the aforesaid village of Nowton beneath the wood called Calfhall on the east side demised to William Clerk for 80 years, this year being the 41st.⁴⁰

Total 6s 8d.

*Receipts from the rails.*⁴¹ And for 54s received from the rails on the vigil of St Edmund. And for £4 3s 2d received on the vigil of the octave of St Edmund. And for 13s 8d received on Christmas Eve. And for 54s 4d received on the vigil of the Annunciation of Blessed Mary. And for £6 18s (45) received on the vigil of the vigil of Pentecost. And for 79s received on the Saturday after the octave of Corpus Christi. And for £4 14s 6d received on the vigil of St James. And for 100s received on the vigil of St Matthew. And for 22s 8d received on St Jerome's day. And for 22s 8d received from the higher rail on the vigils of the vigil of Michaelmas for the whole year past.⁴²

Total £32 12s.

Receipts from the chapel of relics. And for 35s 8d received from the chapel of the relics for the whole year.

(50) Total 35s 8d.

*Receipts from the chapel of St Robert.*⁴³ And for 19d received from the offerings on St Edmund's day. And for 3½d received from the offerings of the brethren of the guild of St Robert on his day.⁴⁴ And for 9½d received from other offerings on the same day. And for 6d received on the Tuesday after Pentecost. And for 5s 9d received from the collection box there on the 28th day of May. And for 3s 6d received on the vigil of Michaelmas.

Total 13s 7d.⁴⁵

(55) Sum total received £37 18s 9d.

Expenses

Visitation of the abbey. On the visitation of the abbey on the day after St Andrew the apostle this year £11 4s 4d.⁴⁶

Total £11 4s 4d.

Fixed payments. Paid to six of our brethren for singing the last responsory⁴⁷ on the night of St Nicholas the bishop⁴⁸ 1½d. Item paid to the succentor for each of the (60) principal festivals 4d, per year 20d. Item paid to Dom John Cambredge the elder, for abbey pottage in Lent, 2s 6d. Item to two proxies for the shrine-keepers in the choir 26s 8d. to each of them for the year 13s 4d, paid to them at the feasts of Easter and Michaelmas. Item for 4 pairs of gloves given to these proxies 12d. Item to Dom John Sprowton warden of the chapel of St Botolph for the

Sancti Botulphi per annum ijs. Item ij steyreriis ad festa Pentecostis et Sancti Michaeli pro organis trahendis per annum vs. Item Edmundo Denyse hostiario refectorie ad dictos festos pro administracione cippi (65) Sancti Edmundi peregrinis et aliis extraneis per annum viijd. Item Henrico Creme pagetto Callett' ibidem ad dictum festum causa predicta per annum xiijd. Item hominibus et mulieribus de banco ad dicta festa pro custodia baculorum peregrinorum per annum ijs. Item xij iunioribus confratribus nostris pro turribulo portando ad dicta festa xxiijs. Item duobus feretrariis pro suo labore per annum iiij li.

Summa vij li vis vijd ob'.

(70) *Cera empta cum factura.* In xliij libris cere emptis de Willelmo Wyborow precium libre ix d ob', xxxiijs iijd. Item xvj libre cere empte de Roberto Fenkell precium libre viijd ob', xjs iiijd. Item xvj libre cere empte de Johanne Dykman precium libre viijd ob', xjs iiijd. Item pro duobus torchis emptis de dompno Johanne Eye pondere xij libre iij quartarii, precium [*illeg.*] iijs. Item iiij libre cere empte de Roberto Fenkell alia vice ijs. Item soluti Thome Davy pro factura xlv libras cere xxijd ob'. Item soluti Roberto Fenkell pro factura xl libras cere xxd. Item Johanni Dykman pro factura xvj libre cere (75) viijd.

Summa lxvijs jd ob'.

plus in dorso
[verso]

Species et Oo. In zynzebro empto pro domino priore in Quadregesima xiijd. Item pro bonnis emptis pro le Oo xiijd Item pane empto pro vipis paradisi iiijd. Item pro malueseio empto pro dictis vipis iiijd. Item in pane cum speciebus iiijd. Item in malueseio pro camera prioris viijd. Item in farina pro nebulis ijd. Item in bastardo pro eisdem ijd. Item in forti servisia xxijd. Item in clowes pro eisdem jd. Item pro ix libris amigdalorum xxijd. Item pro viij libris rysse xvjd. Item j libra rysse flower iiijd. (5) Item j uncia cinamonii iiijd. Item in clowes jd. Item pro dimidia libra confectionum iiijd. Item quartarium zynzebri vjd. Item j libra et dimidia sucure ix d. Item dimidia lagena mellis viijd. Item soluti Andree Lark coco pro factura pitanciam predictae Oo xiijd. Item pro factura supradictarum nebularum ijd.

Summa xiijs iijd

Vinum emptum pro recreatione conventus. In vino empto pro municionibus domini prioris per annum vjs viijd. Item in vino empto pro recreacionibus conventus (10) et in jantaculis eorundem per vices ut patet per paupirum feretrariorum predictorum xiijs xid.

Summa xxjs vijd

Elemosina data. In elemosina data monialibus de banco septimatim vjd per annum xxvjs.

Summa xxvjs.

Stipendia famulorum. In stipendio Georgii Langham servientis et custodis ad feretrum per annum xljs iiijd. Item in stipendio Johannis (15) Chambyrleyne clerici ibidem per annum xxiijs iiijd. Item in stipendio Thome Brydon defuncti clerici per tria quarteria xvjs vjd. Item in stipendio Thome Jentylman clerici feretri per unum quaterium vs xd.

Summa iiij li viiis.

Dona data. Dati ministrallis in die Sancti Edmundi in ausencia domini abbatis ijs. Item dati coco infirmarie pro assacione ciborum feretrariorum dicto die iiijd. Item datus hominibus

year 2s.⁴⁹ Item to 2 workmen⁵⁰ at the feasts of Pentecost and of St Michael for pumping the organ⁵¹ for the year 5s. Item to Edmund Denyse⁵² usher of the refectory at the said festival for administering the goblet⁵³ (65) of St Edmund to pilgrims and other strangers for the year 8d. Item to Henry Creme page boy of Callett there at the said feasts for the aforesaid reason for the year 12d.⁵⁴ Item to the men and women of the bench at the said feasts for the keeping of the staves of the pilgrims for the year 2s. Item to 12 of our younger brethren for carrying the thurible at the said feasts 24s.⁵⁵ Item to the two shrine-keepers for their work for the year £4. Total £7 6s 7½d.

(70) *Wax bought, with making.* For 42lb of wax bought from William Wyborow at the price of 9½d a pound, 33s 3d.⁵⁶ Item for 16lb of wax bought from Robert Fenkell at the price of 8½d a pound, 11s 4d. Item 16lb of wax bought from John Dykman at the price of 8½d a pound, 11s 4d.⁵⁷ Item for two torches bought from Dom John Eye in weight 12¾lb at the price of [?] 4s.⁵⁸ Item 4lb of wax bought from Robert Fenkell on another occasion 3s. Item paid to Thomas Davy for the making of 45lb of wax 22½d.⁵⁹ Item paid to Robert Fenkell for the making of 40lb of wax 20d. Item to John Dykman for the making of 16lb of wax (75) 8d. Total 67s 1½d.⁶⁰

more on the back
[verso]

Spices⁶¹ and Oo.⁶² For ginger bought for the lord prior in Lent 12d.⁶³ Item for delicacies bought for the Oo 12d.⁶⁴ Item for bread bought for sops steeped in paradise wine 4d.⁶⁵ Item for Malmsey bought for the said sops 4d.⁶⁶ Item for bread with spices 4d. Item for Malmsey for the prior's chamber 8d. Item for flour for wafers 2d.⁶⁷ Item for bastard wine for them 2d.⁶⁸ Item for strong ale 22d. Item for cloves for them 1d. Item for 9lb of almonds 22d. Item for 8lb of rice 16d. Item for 1lb of rice flour 4d. (5) Item 1oz of cinnamon 4d. Item for cloves 1d. Item for half a pound of comfits 4d. Item a quarter of a pound of ginger 6d. Item 1½lb of sugar 9d. Item half a gallon of honey 8d. Item paid to Andrew Lark the cook for making the pittance for the aforesaid Oo 12d.⁶⁹ Item for making the aforesaid wafers 2d. Total 13s 3d.

Wine bought for the refreshment of the abbey community. For wine bought for the supplies of the lord prior for the year 6s 8d. Item for wine bought for the refreshment of the abbey community (10) and for their breakfasts at times as appears in the paper of the aforesaid shrine-keepers 14s 11d.⁷⁰ Total 21s 7d.

Alms given. For alms given to the nuns⁷¹ of the bench weekly 6d for the year 26s. Total 26s.

Wages of servants. For the wages of George Langham, servant and warden at the shrine for the year 41s 4d. Item for the wages of John (15) Chambyrleyn clerk there for the year 23s 4d. Item for the wages of Thomas Brydon deceased clerk for three quarters [of the year] 17s 6d. Item for the wages of Thomas Jentlyman clerk of the shrine for one quarter 5s 10d. Total £4 9s.

Gifts given. Given to the minstrels on St Edmund's day in the absence of the lord abbot 3s.⁷² Item given to the cook of the infirmary for the roasting of food[s?] of the shrine-keepers of

venientibus cum camelo per preceptum domini prioris jd. Item data lardarario et (20) pandoxatori in festo Sancti Edmundi ijd. Item dati episcopo Sancti Nicholai xijd. Item dati servo episcopi Roffensis deferenti viij libras cere pro manerio in Frekenham et aliis firmariis ac tenentibus pro eorum regardis hoc anno per vices vd. Item data ministrallis domini Regis domine principis domini Curson, et aliis ludentibus in aula conventus per preceptum domini prioris ijs iiijd. Item clerico compoti pro compoto scribendo et determinando ijs. Summa ixs iiijd.

(25) *Expense cum famulis.* In expensis cum famulis nostris et aliis extraniis in lez vice ad festa Pasche, Pentecostis, Corporis Christi et Sancti Mathei xd. Summa xd.

Expense minute. In duobus quarteriis talwode pro focali ijs vjd. Item pro j novo clave pro le wyndes iiijd. Item solutem Willelmo Standley pro custodia altaris iuxta pietatem Beate Marie per preceptum domini abbatis per annum vjs viijd. Item soluti domino Johanne Yxworthe pro reparacione unius pulvinaris usitati cotidie cum libro ad summum altare iiijd. Item in forti servicia empta (30) in cena domini pro infirmario et capellano Sancte Crucis jd. Item in clavis et spintris emptis pro sepulchro jd. Item soluti Johanni Goldsmith pro factura viij stables et vj clavorum pro jocalibus pependis super feretrum et vj S pro cathena turribuli cotidiani reperandi viijd. Item soluti diversis brevitoribus hoc anno ijd. Item per preceptum domini prioris soluti monacho Sancte Katerine Montis Sinay xijd. Item pro reparacione ij superpellicorum jd. Item soluti Johanni Sakker tegulatori pro reparacione coquine in lez vice ixd. Item soluti Thome Brydon pro clave hostii de le vice iijs. Item soluti pro reparacione ij ferorum (35) circa feretrum Sancti Edmundi ijd. Item pro xxiiij libris candelae de cepo emptis pro expensis feretrariorum precium unius libre jd ob', hoc anno iijs. Item solute barbitonsori feretrariorum vs. Item soluti lotrici summi altaris ijs. Item soluti Thome Nawdon fabro pro reparacione fenestri iunioris feretrarii iiijd. Item pro pergameno paupiro et encausto pro compoto scribendo hoc anno viijd. Summa xxiiijs jd.

Decime et contribuciones. Soluti domino Thome Hessett pro contribucionem facta pro ecclesia Sancti Jacobi xs. Item soluti domino Roberto Lavenham pitanciarario (40) pro dimidietate unius decime concesse domino Regi hoc anno xls. Item solutum dompno Edmundo Rowham pro gradum doctoris theologie suscipiendo secundum antiquam consuetudinem xs. Item per preceptum domini prioris solutum eidem dompno Edmundo ultra predictam summam vjs viijd. Item in contribucionem generalis capituli videlicet jd de marca iijs ixd. Item solutum domino priori pro subsidio domini Howard' vjs viijd. Summa lxxvijs jd.

Expense capelli reliquiarum. Soluti Willelmo Wyborow pro ij libris cere emptis erga festum reliquiarum xixd. Item solutum Thome Davy pro factura (45) v quarteriorum veteris cere et ij librarum nove cere jd ob'. Item pro cirpis hoc anno per vices iijd. Item pro mundificacione gladii Sancti Edmundi iiijd. Item pro reparacione eiusdem gladii hoc anno vjd. Item soluti ij feretrariis pro gladio Sancti Edmundi portando per annum vs. Item soluti dompno Ricardo Stowe precentori hoc anno xxiiijs. Summa xxxjs ixd ob'.

the said day 4d. Item given to the men coming with a camel by order of the lord prior 1d.⁷³ Item given to the larderer and (20) to the brewer on the feast of St Edmund 2d. Item given to the St Nicholas [*day*] bishop 12d. Item given to the servant of the bishop of Rochester bringing 8lb of wax for the manor of Freckenham and to other farmers and tenants for their rewards in this year at various times 5d. Item given to the minstrels of the lord King, the lady princess and Lord Curson, and to others playing in the hall of the abbey by order of the lord prior 2s 4d.⁷⁴ Item to the clerk of the accounts for writing and settling the accounts 2s.

Total 9s 4d.

(25) *Expenses with servants.* For the expenses of our servants and those from outside [*the monastery*] in the street nearby at the feasts of Easter, Pentecost, Corpus Christi and St Matthew 10d.

Total 10d.

Small expenses. For two quarters of firewood for the fireplace 2s 6d.⁷⁵ Item for 1 new nail for the windlass 4d.⁷⁶ Item paid to William Standley for custody of the altar next to the *pietà* of Blessed Mary by order of the lord abbot for the year 6s 8d.⁷⁷ Item paid to the lord John Ixworth for the repair of one cushion used daily with the book at the high altar 4d. Item for strong ale bought (30) on the lord's feast for the infirmary and the chapel of St Cross 1d.⁷⁸ Item for nails and spikes bought for the sepulchre 1d. Item paid to John Goldsmith for the making of 8 supports and 6 nails for hanging jewels above the shrine⁷⁹ and 6 links [?] for the repair of the chain of the daily thurible 8d.⁸⁰ Item paid to divers bearers of mortuary rolls this year 2d. Item by order of the lord prior paid to a monk of St Katherine's, Mount Sinai, 12d.⁸¹ Item for the repair of 2 surplices 1d. Item paid to John Sakker the tiler for the repair of the kitchen at various times 9d. Item paid to Thomas Brydon for a key to the door of the newel stair 3s.⁸² Item paid for the repair of two iron bars (35) around the shrine of St Edmund 2d. Item for 24lb of tallow candles bought for the use of the shrine-keepers at the price of 1½d for one pound this year, 3s.⁸³ Item paid to the barber-surgeon for the shrine-keepers 5s.⁸⁴ Item paid for washing the high altar 2s.⁸⁵ Item paid to Thomas Nawdon the smith for the repair of the window of the lower shrine 4d.⁸⁶ Item for parchment, paper and ink for writing the account this year 8d.

Total 24s 1d.

Tenths and contributions. Paid to Dom Thomas Hessett for a contribution made to the church of St James 10s.⁸⁷ Item paid to Dom Robert Lavenham pittancer (40) for a half of a tenth granted to the lord King this year 40s. Item paid to Dom Edmund Rowham for his degree of doctor of theology receiving 10s according to ancient custom.⁸⁸ Item by order of the lord prior paid to the same Dom Edmund in addition to the aforesaid the sum of 6s 8d. Item for a contribution to the general chapter, namely a penny in the mark, 3s 9d. Item paid to the lord prior for the support of Lord Howard 6s 8d.⁸⁹

Total 77s 1d.

Expenses of the chapel of the relics. Paid to William Wyborow for 2lb of wax bought in preparation for the feast of the relics 19d. Item paid to Thomas Davy for the making of (45) 5 quarters of old wax and 2lb of new wax 1½d. Item for rushes at times 3d. Item for the cleaning of the sword of St Edmund 4d.⁹⁰ Item for the repair of the same sword this year 6d. Item paid to two shrine-keepers for bearing the sword of St Edmund for the year 5s. Item paid to Dom Richard Stow precentor for this year 24s.⁹¹

Total 31s 9½d.

Expense capelli Sancti Roberti. In expensis circa cantantes in capello Sancti Roberti tempore divinarum serviciarum in festo eiusdem ijs ix̄d. Item datum dompno (50) Johanni Eye precentori pro dicta capella iijs iiij̄d.

Summa vjs jd.

Summa omnium solucionum et expensarum xxxvj li xvjs jd ob'.

Et sic remanet officio xxijs vijd.ob.

[*at foot of verso, upside down*]

Compotus dompnorum Johannis Finnyngham et Simonis Bardwell feretrariorum monasterii Sancti Edmundi anno regni Henrici Octavi xij^o.

*Expenses of the chapel of St Robert.*⁹² For the expenses touching those singing in the chapel of St Robert at the time of divine services on his feast day 2s 9d. Item given to Dom (50) John Eye precentor for the said chapel 3s 4d.

Total 6s 1d.

Total of all payments and expenditures £36 16s 1½d.

And so there remains to the office 22s 7½d.

[*at the foot of the verso, upside down*]

The account of Doms John Finningham and Simon Bardwell shrine-keepers of the monastery of St Edmund in the 12th year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

THE ACCOUNT OF JOHN FINNINGHAM AND ROBERT LANEHAM, 1524/25
(TNA, SC6 HENVIII/3397)

Compotus Dompni Johannis Fynningham et Dompni Roberti Laneham feretrariorum a festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno regni Regis Henrici Octavi xvj^o usque ad idem festum proximum sequentem xvij^o.

Redditus cere. Pro octo libris cere de episcopo Rofensse pro manerio suo in villa de Frekneham.

Redditus assisi. De ijs de Andrea Cranwyse pro tenemento suo situato super cornerio versus magnam portam curie abbacie. (5) De xijd de Ricardo Goos pro tenemento suo situato in vico vocato Gyldehallestrete. De jd recepto de Thoma Horsman pro tenemento suo quondam Johannis Baker situato in le Whyghtyng strett. Item recepti de Johannis Mapylhedi pewterer pro annuo redditu assignato tenemento suo cum iiiij^{or} shoppys eidem annexatis situatis in le Chyrchgate strett inter tenementum Isabelle Alyn ex parte orientali et tenementum quondam Rogeri Drewry ex parte occidentali per annum vjs viijd. Item recepti de Ricardo Sparow de Stanfeld pro annuo redditu xij acre terre iacentibus in villa de Rede vocata Rede crofte vel stubbyng pro duobus annis xvjd. Item recepti de (10) eodem Ricardo pro annuo redditu dimidie acre terre iacente in villa de Stanfeld pro annuo denario et sic recepti pro duobus annis ijd. Item recepti de Johanne Longe brasyer pro annuo redditu et assignato tenemento suo situato in vico australi ville de Bury xiiijd. Item recepti de [blank] Derson pro annuo redditu unius sextarii vini rubei assignato tenemento suo situato ex orientali parte vici predicti prope portam australem quondam Johannis Fyrmyng per annum ijs viijd. Item receptum de Thoma Andrew pro annuo redditu assignato tenemento suo quondam Nicholai Tylney chaundler situato in vico boreali super cornerio (15) le Lombeslane ex parte aquiloni et tenementum conventus Sancti Edmundi quondam Johannis Howton de feodo officii sacriste dicti monasterii xviiijd. Item receptum de Roberto Plandon pro annuo redditu vij acre terre in duabus peciis olim pertinentibus tenemento iacenti in campo orientali ville predictae per annum xiiijd. Item recepti de Thoma Coksege pro tenemento suo situato in Marter Rowe alias netmarket nuper Johannis Horne antea Galfridi Rede iuxta tenementum sacriste Sancti Edmundi ex parte australi ijd. Item recepti de priore Sancti Edmundi pro annuo redditu unius libre frankence in censi suo assignato tenemento (20) suo situato in le Mustow quondam Roberti Hecham xijd. Item de hostilario Sancti Edmundi pro annuo redditu et assignato tenemento suo situato in le Mustow sub muro abbacie ex parte boreali per annum jd. Item de Ricardo Wylkyns de Pakneham pro annuo redditu unius tenementi et unius rode terre in villa de Pakneham quondam Benedicti Fordham xijd. Item de sacrista Sancti Edmundi pro annuo redditu assignato tenemento suo situato iuxta allam [sic] scolare quondam Johannis Hartest per annum ijd. Item de priore de Eye recepti pro duobus libris cere annuati redditus xijd. Item recepti de Stephano Draper de (25) Bardwell pro annuo redditu trium librarum cere assignato tenemento suo situato in vico boreali ville de Bury Sancti Edmundi quondam Johannis Joell xviiijd.

Summa xxiiijs vjd.

Firma terris. De Nicholao Clark de Nowton pro xviiij acre terre jacentibus in villa de Nowton et reddit per annum vjs viijd.

Summa vjs viijd.

Translation

The account of Doms John Fynnyngham and Robert Laneham shrine-keepers from the feast of Michaelmas in the 16th year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth up to the same feastday next following in the 17th year.

Supply of wax. For 8lb of wax from the bishop of Rochester for his manor in the village of Freckenham.⁹³

Fixed rents. 2s from Andrew Cranwyse for his tenement situated above the corner towards the great gate of the abbey courtyard.⁹⁴ (5) For 12d from Richard Goos for his tenement situated in the street called Guildhall Street.⁹⁵ For 1d received from Thomas Horsman⁹⁶ for his tenement, once John Baker's,⁹⁷ situated in Whiting Street. Item received from John Mpylhede⁹⁸ the pewterer for annual rent assigned upon his tenement with 4 shops annexed to the same situated in Churchgate Street between the tenement of Isabel Aleyn⁹⁹ on the east side and the tenement formerly Roger Drewry's on the west side for the year 6s 8d. Item received from Richard Sparow of Stansfield for annual rent of 12 acres of land lying in the village of Rede called Rede Croft or Stubbing for two years 16d.¹⁰⁰ Item received from (10) the same Richard for annual rent of half an acre of land lying in the village of Stansfield for an annual penny received for two years 2d. Item received from John Long the brewer for annual rent [*and*] assigned upon his tenement situated in South Street of the town of Bury 14d.¹⁰¹ Item received from [*blank*] Derson¹⁰² for annual rent of one sester of red wine assigned upon his tenement situated on the east side of the aforesaid street near the south gate, formerly John Firmyn's,¹⁰³ for the year 2s 8d. Item received from Thomas Andrew¹⁰⁴ for annual rent assigned upon his tenement, formerly of Nicholas Tylney the chandler, situated in North Street above the corner (15) of Looms Lane on the north side and the tenement of the abbey of St Edmund, formerly John Howton's,¹⁰⁵ [*part*] of the fee of the office of sacrist of the said monastery 18d. Item received from Robert Plandon for annual rent of 7 acres of land in two parcels formerly pertaining to the tenement lying in the East Field of the aforesaid town for the year 14d.¹⁰⁶ Item received from Thomas Coksege for his tenement situated in Marter¹⁰⁷ Rowe alias the cattle market recently John Horne's and previously Geoffrey Rede's¹⁰⁸ next to the tenement of the sacrist of St Edmund on the south side 3d. Item received from the prior of St Edmund for annual rent of one pound of frankincense incense assigned to his tenement (20) situated in Mustow, formerly Robert Hecham's 12d.¹⁰⁹ Item from the guest steward of St Edmund for yearly rent [*and*] assigned upon his tenement situated in Mustow beneath the abbey wall on the north side for the year 1d. Item from Richard Wylkyns of Pakenham for annual rent of one tenement and one rod of land in the village of Pakenham, formerly Benedict Fordham's 12d. Item from the sacrist of St Edmund for annual rent assigned upon his tenement situated next to the school hall, formerly John Hartest's for the year 2d.¹¹⁰ Item from the prior of Eye supply of 2lb of wax received annually 12d.¹¹¹ Item received from Stephen Draper of (25) Bardwell for annual rent of 3lb of wax assigned upon his tenement situated in North Street of the town of Bury St Edmunds, formerly John Joell's 18d.¹¹²

Total 24s 6d.

Land rent. From Nicholas Clerk of Nowton for 18 acres of land lying in the village of Nowton and he pays for the year 6s 8d.¹¹³

Total 6s 8d.

(30) *Recepta de le rayle*. In primis recepti de le rayle in vigilia vigilie Sancti Edmundi xlvijs ob'. Item recepti in octavo Sancti Edmundi de le rayle iij li vs. Item in vigilia Natalis Domini recepti de le rayle xxiijs. Item in vigilia Annunciacionis Beate Marie iij li xvs. Item in vigilia Pentecostis recepti de le rayle v li xs iiijd ob'. Item in vigilia Sancti Johannis Baptiste xls xd. Item in vigilia Assumpcionis Beate Marie iiij li vjs ijd. Item in vigilia Sancti Mathei apostoli ljs xd. Item in crastina Sancti Jeronimi xxxs iiijd.

Summa xxvj li xs vjd.

(35) *Recepta de capella reliquiarum*. <Item in crastino Sancti Jeronimi xixs iiijd>

Summa xixs iiijd.

Recepta de capella Sancti Roberti. In die Sancti Edmundi pro oblacione vd. Item recepti in vigilia Pentecostis ijs viijd. Item in crastino Sancti Jeronimi ijs vjd.

Summa vs viijd.

Summa totalis receptorum tocius anni xxviiij li vijs iiijd capella reliquiarum excepta.

Visitacio conventus. In visitacione conventus in crastino Sancti Andree xj li xvs vjd.

(40) Summa xj li xvs vjd.

Liberacio certa. In primis soluti dompno Johanne Cambrede seniore pro potagio conventus in Quadagesima ijs vjd. Item ij attornatis feretrariorum in choro xxvjs viijd cuilibet eorum per annum xijs iiijd. Item soluti lotrici summi altaris per annum ijd. Item duobus steyereris ad festum Pentecostis et Sancti Michaelis pro organis tractandis per annum vs. Item soluti hostiario refectorii ad dicta festa ministracione ciphi Sancti Edmundi peregrinis per annum viijd. Item pagetto Callett pro eodem ministracione per annum xijd. Item soluti (45) hominibus et mulieribus de banco ad dicta festa pro custodia baculorum peregrinorum per annum ijs. Item barbitonsori vs. Item pro duobus dosenis candelarum de cepo iijs. Item duobus feretrariis pro stipendiis suis per annum iiij ll. Item soluti magistro Sancti Botulphi per annum ijs. Item pro j quarterio de le tallwode soluti xiiijd. Item dati clerico pro compoto examinando et scribendo ijs. Item pro papiro et encausto vjs. Item succentore pro v principalibus festis xxd.

Summa vj li xvs jd.

(50) *Cera empta*. Item in cera empta diversis temporibus hoc anno ut patet in papiro xlvs.

Summa xlvs.

Cera facta. Item in cera facta diversis temporibus hoc anno ut patet in papiro vs iiijd.

Summa vs iiijd.

Species et O. In primis soluti dompno priori pro zinzebro in Quadagesima xijd. Item pro j libra amigdalarum pro le O iiijd. Item viij li rysse xviiijd. (55) Item j libra de le ryse flowre iiij d. Item iiij^{or} uncea cynamomi xd. Item ij uncea zinzebri vd. Item j li et quarteria sucure ix d. Item pottellus mellis xd. Item pro xij lagenis fortis servicie xvijd ob. Item pro croco et servicia jd. Item pro ovibus ijd. Item pro lac vjd. Item pro lena pane vjd. Item j potellus de Mamsyne pro camera prioris viijd. Item pro pomis viijd. Item pro caseo iiijd. Item soluti Andrea Larke pro factura pitancia predicta xijd.

Summa xjs iiijd ob'.

(30) *Receipts from the rail.*¹¹⁴ Firstly received from the rail at the vigils on the vigil of St Edmund 48s ½d.¹¹⁵ Item received on the octave of St Edmund from the rail £3 5s. Item on Christmas Eve received from the rail 23s. Item on the vigil of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary £3 15s. Item on the vigil of Pentecost received from the rail £5 10s 3½d. Item on the vigil of St John the Baptist 40s 10d. Item on the vigil of the Assumption of Blessed Mary £4 6s 2d. Item on the vigil of St Matthew the apostle 51s 10d. Item on the day after St Jerome 30s 4d.

Total £26 10s 6d.

(35) *Receipts from the chapel of relics.* <Item on the day after St Jerome 19s 4d>

Total 19s 4d.

Receipts from the chapel of St Robert. On St Edmund's day for the offering 5d. Item received on the vigil of Pentecost 2s 8d. Item on the day after St Jerome 2s 7d.

Total 5s 8d.

Sum total received for the whole year £28 7s 4d, the chapel of relics excepted.

Visitation of the abbey. On the visitation of the abbey on the day after St Andrew £11 15s 6d.

(40) Total £11 15s 6d.

Fixed payments. Firstly, paid to Dom John Cambredge the elder, for the abbey's pottage in Lent 2s 6d. Item to the two proxies of the shrine-keepers in the choir 26s 8d to each of them for the year 13s 4d. Item paid to the cleaner of the high altar for the year 2d. Item to two workmen at the feasts of Pentecost and Michaelmas for pumping the organ for the year 5s.¹¹⁶ Item paid to the stewards of the refectory at the said feasts for ministering St Edmund's goblet to pilgrims for the year 8d.¹¹⁷ Item to Callett's page for ministering the same for the year 12d. Item paid to the (45) men and women of the bench at the said feasts for looking after the pilgrims' staves for the year 2s. Item to the barber-surgeon 5s.¹¹⁸ Item for two dozen tallow candles 3s. Item to the two shrine-keepers for their wages for the year £4. Item paid to the master of St Botolph for the year 2s.¹¹⁹ Item for 3 months of firewood paid 13d. Item given to the clerk for inspecting and writing the account 2s. Item for paper and ink 6s. Item to the succentor for the 5 principal feasts 20d.

Total £6 15s 1d.

(50) *Wax bought.* Item for wax bought at various times this year, as appears in the paper [*records*] 45s.

Total 45s.

Wax made. Item for wax made at various times this year, as appears in the paper [*records*] 5s 4d.

Total 5s 4d.

*Spices and O.*¹²⁰ Firstly paid to the lord prior for ginger in Lent 12d. Item for 1lb of almonds for the O 3d. Item 8lb of rice 18d. (55) Item 1lb of rice flour 4d. Item 4oz of cinnamon 10d. Item 2oz of ginger 5d. Item 2¼lb of sugar 9d. Item a pottle of honey 10d. Item for 12 gallons of strong ale 17½d. Item for saffron and ale 1d. Item for eggs 2d. Item for milk 6d. Item for leavened bread 7d. Item 1 pottle of Malmsey wine for the prior's chamber 8d. Item for apples 8d. Item for cheese 4d. Item paid to Andrew Lark [*the cook*] for making the aforesaid pittance 12d.¹²¹

Total 11s 4½d.

(60) *Recreacio conventus*. In primis pro recreacione prioris per annum vjs viijd. Item in recreacione conventus et in jantaculis eorum per vices ut patet per papyrum predictum feretrali xxs iiijd.

Summa xxjs xjd.

Stipendia famulorum. In stipendio Johannis Freman servientis et custodis feretri per annum xljs iiijd. Item in stipendio Johannis Chamberlayne clerici ad feretrum per annum xxiijs iiijd. Item in stipendio Thome Jentyelman clerici reliquiarum per annum xxiijs iiijd.

(65) Summa iiij li viijs.

Dona data. Item dati Jacobo Eton ballivo de manerio de Frekneham deferenti viij li cere iiijd. Item dati episcopo Sancti Nicholai xijd. Item soluti sex fratribus pro ultimo responsorii in die Sancti Nicholai jd ob'. Item Nicholao Stanton coco infirmarie pro assacione cibrorum in die Sancti Edmundi iiijd.

Summa xxjd ob'.

(70) *Elemosina data*. Elemosina data monialibus de banco per annum xxvjs.

Summa xxvjs.

Expenses minute. Item soluti diversorum brevitorum pro vj rotulis diversis temporibus ut patet per papirum vjd. Item pro mundacione candelabrarum coram magni altaris iijd. Item soluti ferri faberi pro factura uno haspe cum aliis repacionibus viijd.

Summa xlvijd.

(75) *Decime contribuciones*. In primis soluti dompno Johanni Wolpyt pro j decime domino rege iiij li. Item soluti eidem Johanne Wolpyt tunc pitanciaro pro contribucione generalis capituli videlicet denaria de marca ijs ix.

Summa iiij li ijs ix.

Expense in capella reliquiarum. De duobus libris cere et quarteria empta de Willelmo Wybrow erga festum reliquiarum precium libre vijd summa xvd ob' q'. Item soluti Thome Davy pro factura iiij librarum et quarterie cere ijd. Item solute pro uno novo clave pro hostiis reliquiarum iijd. Item soluti (80) aurifabaris pro factura xxiijs ess' vd. Item pro mundacione gladii Sancti Edmundi ijd. Item solute Johanni broyderer pro reparacione j vestimenti ijd. Item pro cirpis diversis temporibus anni vjd. Item ij feretrariis pro gladio Sancti Edmundi portando diversis temporibus anni vs.

Summa vijs xjd ob' quarta

[verso]

Item soluti precentori ad festum Michaelis Archangelis pro toto anno xjs iiijd q'.

Summa xjs iiijd q'.

Expense in capella Sancti Roberti. In primis in die Sancti Roberti soluti cantoribus ijs xjd. Item dompno Simone Bardwell pro dicta capella hoc anno ijs iiijd.

Summa vjs iiijd.

(5) Summa totalis solutionis istius anni xxxiiij li vijs.

Et sic dicti computantes exeduntur sive superexpenduntur iiij li xixs viijd.

(60) *Refreshment of the abbey*. Firstly for the recreation of the prior for the year 6s 8d. Item for the recreation of the abbey and their breakfasts at times, as appears in the aforesaid paper [records] of the shrine 20s 3d.

Total 26s 11d.

Servants' wages. For the wages of John Freman servant and warden of the shrine for the year 41s 4d. Item for the wages of John Chamberleyne clerk at the shrine for the year 23s 4d.¹²² Item for the wages of Thomas Gentyman clerk of the relics for the year 23s 4d.

(65) Total £4 8s.

Gifts given. Item given to James Eton, bailiff of the manor of Freckenham, for bringing 8lb of wax 4d.¹²³ Item given to the St Nicholas [day] bishop 12d. Item paid to six brethren for the last responsory on St Nicholas' day 1½d. Item to Nicholas Stanton the infirmary cook for cooking of meals on St Edmund's day 4d.

Total 21½d.

(70) *Alms given*. Alms given to the nuns of the bench for the year 26s.

Total 26s.

Small expenses. Item given to divers bearers of mortuary rolls for 6 rolls at various times as appears in the paper [records] 6d. Item for the mending of the candelabrum before the high altar 3d.¹²⁴ Item paid to the blacksmith for the making of one hasp with other repairs 8d.

Total 47d.

(75) *Contributions to tenths*. Firstly paid to Dom John Woolpit for a tenth granted to the lord King £4. Item paid to the same John Woolpit then pittancer for the contribution to the general chapter, namely, a penny in the mark, 3s 9d.

Total £4 3s 9d.

Expenses of the chapel of the relics. For 2¼lb of wax bought from William Wyborow towards the feast of the relics at 7d a lb, total 15¾d. Item paid to Thomas Davy for making 4¼lb of wax 2d. Item paid for a new key for the doors of the relics 3d. Item paid (80) to a goldsmith for the making of 23 esses 5d.¹²⁵ Item paid for the cleaning of St Edmund's sword 2d.¹²⁶ Item paid to John the embroiderer for the mending of 1 vestment 2d. Item for rushes at various times of the year 6d. Item to the 2 shrine-keepers for bearing St Edmund's sword at various times of the year 5s.

Total 7s 11¾d.

[verso]

Item paid to the precentor at the feast of Michaelmas for the whole year 11s 4¼d.

Total 11s 4¼d.

Expenses in the chapel of St Robert. Firstly on St Robert's day paid to the singers 2s 11d. Item to Dom Simon Bardwell penitentiary [confessor] for the said chapel this year 3s 4d.¹²⁷

Total 6s 3d.

(5) Sum total paid this year £33 7s.

And so the said accountants are exceeded or overspent by £4 19s 8d.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Dr David Dymond, Dr Henry Summerson and my editor's two anonymous referees for much help with both the references and the palaeography. Without them I could never have published these accounts accurately, though of course any final mistakes are my responsibility; nor could I have edited the accounts without M.R. James's seminal article of 1895 and the late Dr Antonia Gransden's two histories of Bury St Edmunds Abbey, 2007 and 2015, and her edition of the abbey customary, 1973.

NOTES

- 1 On the shrine and cult of St Edmund at Bury see Gransden 2007, 94–106.
- 2 BL Harley MS 1005, f.119r. printed in Gransden 1973, 63.
- 3 Edwards 2004, f.9r.; Rouse 2004, xlix; Licence 2014.
- 4 Thomson 1982, 99; the others were Robert of Westhorpe, William of Ingham and John .
- 5 Historical Manuscripts Commission (HMC), Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part VIII, 1895, 157–8. I am grateful to Ruth Selman at TNA for information on the 1524/25 accounts which are now in TNA.
- 6 On the office of abbey sacrist and his responsibilities in the town, see Gransden 2015, 102–15; for the accounts of the cellarer who was responsible for provisioning the monastery, see Thomson 1980, 35–9.
- 7 This extract from the *Registrum Hostiliarie* is translated by M.R. James in James 1895, 204–10.
- 8 *VCH*, 67.
- 9 See Hervey 1910a and ASR; for the names in the First Ministers' Account sent to the Court of Augmentation at the dissolution, see Redstone 1909, esp. 321–33.
- 10 Abbot John Reeve, Edmund Rougham, Simon Bardwell, John Woolpit, John Cambridge and possibly others; Yates 1805, 236–7.
- 11 Nilson 1998, 210–31.
- 12 BL Add. MS 59616; the manuscript has not been published but see Turner 1976, 16–23. I am grateful to Nigel Ramsay for this reference. It is a much fuller document than the small single page of the fourteenth-century *Onera Feretrarii Sancti Edmundi* in BL Harley MS 1005 f.44r. Thomson 1980, 142, item 9.
- 13 The absent heading is supplied here from the Latin of the 1524/25 accounts.
- 14 Probate granted in 1521; but there are two Richard Sparrows mentioned under Stansfield in the 1524 subsidy return, Hervey 1910a, 293. See also notes 39 and 100.
- 15 Stephen Draper was a lawyer who acted for Thetford Priory, Dymond 1996, 761. He is in the 1524 subsidy return in Hervey 1910a, 408.
- 16 Probate for John Joell, clerk, was granted in 1518.
- 17 In 1520/21 the prior of this Benedictine priory was Richard Bettys, *VCH*, 76.
- 18 James Eton is in the 1524 subsidy return, Hervey 1910a, 223 and 417; his godfather of the same name was vicar of Freckenham and died in 1507, leaving to him his house and lands, Callard 1924, 224.
- 19 King Alfred gave the manor of Freckenham to the bishops of Rochester, Callard 1924, 26–40.
- 20 Richard Goos is in both accounts, see note 95; in 1524 he was in South Ward, Hervey 1910a, 349.
- 21 Andrew Cranwyse, barber, is also in the 1524/25 accounts, see note 94. He was in East Ward in 1524, Hervey 1910a, 350. He died in 1558 and his will is in Tymms 1850, 148–52. He also had a tenement in Mustow Street, Redstone 1937, 54.
- 22 Cooks Street or Cook Row was part of Abbeygate Street from Angel Hill to Angel Lane. It is mentioned in ASR 1433/34 and is still a street of eating places today.
- 23 Probate for the will of her husband, John Baker, was in 1517, see also below, note 97.
- 24 A John Longe was in South Ward, Hervey 1910a, 349, and in West Ward, 357. I read *brasyer* as *braciator*, a brewer or maltster, as listed in Yates 1805, 204, rather than a brazier.
- 25 Possibly Richard Gyppys who was a juror in a Great Barton manorial court in 1534; I am grateful to Roger Curtis for this information. His probate was granted in 1547. Gipps was the name of a family in and around Bury St Edmunds according to Hervey 1910a, 424–7.
- 26 John Firmyn was a tanner in South Ward in 1524/25, Hervey 1910a, 349 and 424, but died in 1523 so his executors must have paid. He was buried in St Mary's church. His will is in Tymms 1855, 77–8.
- 27 Roger Torold of Southgate Street was buried in St Mary's church and had been granted probate in 1519, Tymms 1854, 25.

- 28 Thomas Andrew was in East Ward in 1524, Hervey 1910a, 350 and 436.
- 29 William Leche was in East Ward in 1524, Hervey 1910a, 351.
- 30 Robert Plandon, weaver, was in North Ward in 1524, Hervey 1910a, 355. His probate was granted in 1559.
- 31 I translate *Calfordbalk* as Calford Hawe following Lilian Redstone's translation in the Ministers' Account of 1539/40, see Redstone 1909.
- 32 John Mapylhede, pewterer, was in West Ward in 1524/25, Hervey 1910a, 57. Probate granted in 1528.
- 33 William Hyliperby was probably an alderman in 1493/94, see Lobel 1934, 28.
- 34 Isabel Aleyne was buried in St Mary's church, to which she bequeathed 20s. Her probate was granted in 1522, Tymms 1854, 77.
- 35 John Betys also occurs in the 1524/25 accounts. He was in West Ward, Hervey 1910a, 424.
- 36 A collarmaker called Geoffrey Rede, granted probate in 1519, was probably her late husband.
- 37 Also called Marc Rowe under 'Fixed rents' here below. See note 108 and see ASR 1433/34. Morter Row occurs in the Ministers' Account of 1540, see Redstone 1909, 322.
- 38 In Schoolhall Street, the name of which now only survives as that of an electricity sub-station near Suffolk Archives, Bury St Edmunds (not Schoolhall Lane off Northgate Street). The street is mentioned in ASR 1295, see Redstone 1909, 206, and ASR 1433/34, 14. The sacrist had responsibility for the school, Gransden 2015, 113–15.
- 39 See above, note 14.
- 40 Nicholas Clerk was worth £10 in goods in 1524, Hervey 1910a, 342 and 429.
- 41 They are called *le rayle* in the later accounts. I cannot find any reference to railings in other abbey documents but in the background of Lydgate's painting of the shrine there is a high and elaborate metal grille, on which, presumably, was fixed a box for offerings. Five lines further on there is mention of a *superior rayle*.
- 42 The feast of the Annunciation falls on 25 March; St James the apostle on 25 July; St Matthew on 21 September; St Jerome, the scholar who translated the Bible into Latin, on 30 September; St Michael the archangel (Michaelmas) on 29 September. In 1520 Easter Day fell on 8 April so Pentecost (Whitsun) fell on 27 May and Corpus Christi on 7 June.
- 43 Robert was a boy murdered in Bury St Edmunds in 1181, allegedly by the Jews, probably on 10 June. He became the focus of a martyr cult although he was never canonised. His chapel was in the south-east apse of the abbey crypt. On the cult of 'Little St Robert' at Bury see Gransden 2007, 117–21. He is mentioned in the *Onera Feretrarii Sancti Edmundi*, see note 12. The chapel of the relics in the previous sentence was tentatively located by M.R. James at the north end of the north transept, see James 1895, 150 and plan opposite 212.
- 44 This is the only reference I can find to the guild of St Robert. The will of John Notyngnam of 1437 mentions a messuage called St Robert's in Spicer Row, perhaps the guild met there, Tymms 1850, 8; ASA 11. I am grateful to Margaret Statham for this reference.
- 45 I make this total 13s 5d. It is over twice the total in 1524/25 and very much more than the 9d received in 1521/22 from the shrine of 'Little St William' in Norwich Cathedral, another boy who was allegedly murdered by the Jews in 1144, see Nilson 1998, 157.
- 46 This considerable expense was probably for hosting the visitation of a papal legate. The visit in 1524/25 cost about the same amount. St Andrew's day is 30 November, so it was on 1 December. St Andrew's chapel lay separately to the east of the abbey church.
- 47 The 1524/25 accounts have *ultima response* instead of *ultimum ritum* here.
- 48 On St Nicholas day, 6 December, it was the custom to elect a boy from amongst the choristers to parody a real bishop. He was dressed in a bishop's robes with a mitre and crosier and allowed to conduct services (except Mass) until Holy Innocents' day, 28 December. See further in the text under 'Gifts given'. Base metal commemorative coins were struck, perhaps for boy choristers' pocket money to be redeemed at the abbey, Rigold 1978, 87–101. St Nicholas' chapel was in the south transept of the abbey church.
- 49 St Botolph founded a monastery at *Ikanho* (Iken) in AD 654, later destroyed by the Danes. Bury Abbey acquired some of his remains in 1095. His chapel was to the south of the quire, leading to the shrine-keepers' house and garden. He shared it with St Jurmin (son of King Anna) and St Thomas. His feast day was 17 June and the feast of his translation, 15 February. On his cult at Bury see Gransden 2007, 111–13 and Gransden 2015, 205–6. John Sproughton is here called *custos* but in the later accounts the anonymous official is called *magister*.
- 50 Two *steyrarii* were paid 12d in a list of servants' weekly wages in the late thirteenth century, see VCH, 69, where the word is not translated. It is derived from *staurarius*, a stockkeeper or store man.
- 51 An organ is mentioned in the earlier customary of St Edmund's in Gransden 1973, 92. In the *Onera*

- Feretrarii* (see note 12) a carpenter and *steirarii* were to be paid when the organ was to be used. In 1512 Butley Priory had *magna organa et mediocra organa* which were *quasi de novo reparata ac bene intonata et sonorata* at the prior's expense and it had another one in the Lady Chapel, Dickens 1951, 28 and 66.
- 52 He could be Edward Denyse, or the Edmund Deny who was granted probate in 1530.
- 53 This was probably a replica of the sacred goblet of St Edmund, miraculously surviving the fire which destroyed most of the shrine in 1178. It was found by the monks, according to Jocelin, wrapped in a half-burned linen cloth, with only the metalwork of the casket in which it used to be kept surviving, Butler 1949, 108.
- 54 I translate *pagettus* as 'page boy' rather than 'personal attendant' because the *Onera Feretrarii Sancti Edmundi* (see note 12) refers to *garcifer sive pagettus*, 'boy-server or page boy' with other references to *pagettus*. I do not know who Callett was. His page boy is also in the 'Fixed payments' of the later accounts.
- 55 The large nineteenth-century *botafumeiro* at St James's, Compostela, requires eight *tiraboleiros* to swing it, so that at Bury Abbey may have been even larger. But *turrib' portand'* could be singular or plural.
- 56 William Wyborow also sold wax to the abbey in 1524/5, he is probably the William Wiborough in West Ward who was worth £160 in 1524, Hervey 1910a, 358.
- 57 John Dykman lived in East Ward in 1526, Hervey 1910a, 351.
- 58 John Eye was cellarer and then sacrist, Thomson 1982, 95 and 97. He heard confessions at the chapel of St Robert. As an obedientiary he presumably had land where he could keep bees.
- 59 Thomas Davy also made wax in 1524/25.
- 60 A total of 179lb (81kg) of wax, plus the torches.
- 61 This is food made with spices. At Ely on St John's day the similar spices were *zucura*, *gingibaro*, *galanga* (an aromatic root) *croco*, *rys ac aliis speciebus*, Chapman (ed.) 1907, 17. At Canterbury, Becket's shrine-keepers bought spices for the brethren at Pentecost and Michaelmas but these had been commuted for money by the time of the customary, Turner 1976, 20.
- 62 *Oo* here and *O* in 1524/25. Given the reference to Lent in the first line, the *Os* could stand for the solemn prayers for Good Friday, each beginning and ending *Oremus*, but given the delicacies for the pittance which follows they are more likely to stand for the seven *Os* of the Great Advent Antiphons, Hughes 1982 nos 907 and 608; *English Hymnal* 734. A further possibility is *Oculi omnium*, from Psalm 145, the first words of a grace before meals.
- 63 The first mention of the prior is in this section, he was Thomas Ringstead, STD. He was given a yearly pension of £30 after the dissolution of the abbey, Yates 1805, 236.
- 64 The Latin might be *bennis*. HMC (see note 5) reads *beornis*.
- 65 Paradise-sops or bread steeped in wine, a good wine judging by the name. Chaucer's Franklin 'wel loved a sop in wyn'. It was an upmarket delicacy.
- 66 Malmsey was a sweet white Mediterranean wine.
- 67 These wafers, or obleys, were a delicacy comprising a casing of flour, egg white, sugar and ginger, all of which are in the ingredients listed here, Gransden 2015, 318.
- 68 A sweet Spanish wine resembling muscatel, which was provided by the sacrist on the feast of the relics. Generally the sacrist provided wine and the cellarer, beer, Gransden 2015, 301.
- 69 Andrew Lark, the cook for the pittance in both accounts, was in East Ward in 1524, Hervey 1910a, 351. His probate was granted in 1550. In 1524/25 a different cook, Nicholas Stanton from the infirmary, was paid 4d for cooking on St Edmund's day.
- 70 At Canterbury, when one of Becket's shrine-keepers was relieved of his duties and rejoined his fellow brethren, he provided wine 'for the increase of recreation', Turner 1976, 21.
- 71 There was no nunnery at Bury St Edmunds. These nuns probably came from St George's nunnery, Thetford, a priory originally founded in memory of a nearby battle between Edmund and the Danes which became a cell of Bury Abbey, *VCH*, 85–6. The nuns perhaps ministered to pilgrims at the shrine. They were paid the same amount in the 1524/25 accounts.
- 72 In 1520 the abbot was absent from Bury while being admitted to the King's Privy Council. He was John Reeve, elected in 1513 and the last abbot before the dissolution in 1539 when he was granted a pension of £30, *VCH*, 66–7.
- 73 Thetford Priory, twelve miles away, was more generous. In the same year it paid a man with a camel (this one?) 1s 4d and in 1524/25 it paid a 'servant of the King with a camel' 8d. Dymond 1996, 391 and 463. They were probably part of a travelling pageant. Not mentioned in Galloway 1980/81, 110–11 and 147–8.
- 74 Henry VIII stayed with Sir Robert Curson in Ipswich in 1522 after Sir Robert and the abbot of Bury had been considering the boundaries of Ipswich, Wodderspoon 1850, 256. The princess here is the future Queen Mary, born in 1516.

- 75 This might be the fireplace in the monks' warming house, or fire for the oven for baking communion wafers which was situated very near to the shrine-keepers' house.
- 76 The windlass apparatus, presumably housed above the vaulting of the presbytery, was for hoisting the lid of the shrine.
- 77 A *pietà* was either a statue or an image of the crucified Christ being held by his mother but we are not told where this one was. The Lady Chapel was, by this date, situated in the angle between the north transept and the choir. At St Mary's church, in the south-west corner of the abbey precinct, Robert Hartman bequeathed to the 'lady of pyete' 2lb of wax in 1514, Tymms 1854, 33.
- 78 This chapel, formerly St Peter's, was the southern of the three apsidal chapels at the east end of the abbey church. It once had a copy of the sacred cross venerated at Lucca which Abbot Leofstan (1044–65) had seen there and had caused to be made on his return from Rome, Gransden 2007, 115.
- 79 St Edmund's shrine must have been dripping with precious ornaments by this date, see, for example, the will of John Baret, 1463, who left to it 'my heavy weighing noble which weigheth 20s and my heavy best heart of gold with angels and a ruby ring with four labels of white enamel, the said noble and the said brooch heart of gold to be hung, nailed and fastened upon the shrine at my cost on the advice of my executors where they and the feretrars think and find a place most convenient, to the worship of God and St Edmund', and the will of Walter Rowte, 1510, in which he left 'an old noble which is worth 9s', Tymms 1850, 35 and 246. For some of the other magnificent offerings that hung there, see James 1895, 136.
- 80 The censuring suggests that a daily Mass was said here, as at Canterbury where Becket's shrine and altar were censured daily, Turner 1976, 17.
- 81 St Katherine's remains had been at Mount Sinai monastery in Egypt since the ninth century and her cult was popular in western Europe. Thetford Priory built a chapel to her as late as 1528/29, Dymond 1996, 534. At Bury Abbey, St Katherine's chapel with its own chaplain was in the west front of the abbey church, James 1895, 128; *VCH*, 69, and there were some late medieval wall paintings of her in 'an old town house', Wall 1914, 111. Her feast day was 25 November. Mount Sinai monastery belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church and was since 1517 within the Ottoman Empire. One can only speculate why this monk came all the way to Bury Abbey. Twenty-five years later another monk travelled to Moscow to complain to the tsar about the tax which the Ottomans were levying on his monastery, Eckenstein 1921, 176. Three centuries earlier, in November 1219 during the Fifth Crusade, English knights (including a kinsman of the prior of Bury Abbey) had converted a mosque at Damietta, north of Cairo, into a church and dedicated it to St Edmund, with a wall-painting of his martyrdom, Hervey 1907, 627–35.
- 82 A Thomas Brydon was paid under the 'Servants' wages' given above. Here, he is presumably the locksmith from South Ward who is recorded in the subsidies of 1524 and 1536, Hervey 1910a, 349 and 437. His probate was granted in 1556.
- 83 Lydgate's painting shows tall candles standing at the corners of the shrine. They were of 3lb each and always alight, according to the customary, but the candlesticks will have been different after the fire of 1465, James 1895, 137. At Becket's shrine there were twelve candles each weighing 3lb for special feasts, which were renewed every fourth year, Turner 1976, 20.
- 84 Presumably for their periodic bleeding. The operation was allowed up to five times a year and considered beneficial to health. It was performed in the *aula minorum* near the infirmary, Gransden 1973, 50–51 and 76–8.
- 85 The fourteenth-century ordinal stated that the abbot should wash the high altar with white wine on Maundy Thursday, James 1895, 185.
- 86 I transcribe *fenestri iunioris feretri* as 'window of the lower shrine' which could refer to mending the feramenta in one of the arches of the shrine shown in Lydgate's painting (if these were not blind arches). An alternative reading is *fenestri iunioris feretrarii*, 'window of the junior shrine-keeper'.
- 87 Thomas Hessett was then the cellarer, Thomson 1982, 97. Rebuilding of the nave of St James's church began in 1503 and was completed with a grant of £200 from Edward VI.
- 88 Edmund Rowham was sacrist, Thomson 1982, 95. He is listed as 'Benedictine BD dispensed 14 April 1519' in Venn 1891, 1285. He was given a yearly pension of £20 at the dissolution. At Canterbury, Becket's shrine-keepers gave 5s to each freshman monk going up to Oxford, Turner 1976, 21.
- 89 This was possibly for the very young Henry Howard, future earl of Surrey, who was born in 1516 or 1517; less likely it was for the cost of caring for the aged Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk and victor of Flodden Field, who died in 1524 aged about 80 and was buried in the quire of Thetford Priory.
- 90 On the feast of his translation, 29 April, St Edmund's sword was carried in procession by the keeper of the vestry, the *vestiarius*, according to a fourteenth-century ordinal with directions for services, BL Harley MS 2977 in James 1895, 186. Like his goblet (see note 53) this is unlikely to date from the ninth century! On Edmund's sword, goblet, shirt, 'sinew' and other relics see Weever 1631, 724 and Pinner 2015, 144–57.

- 91 Richard Stow, *precentor*, is not in the list of obedientiaries in Thomson 1982.
- 92 For St Robert and John Eye, see notes 43 and 58 respectively.
- 93 On the bishop of Rochester and Freckenham, see notes 19 and 18.
- 94 On Cranwyse in 1520/21, see note 21.
- 95 Richard Goos owned this tenement in both accounts, see note 20.
- 96 Thomas Horsman was in West Ward in 1524, Hervey 1910a, 357. His probate was granted in 1555.
- 97 On John Baker's widow in 1520/21, see note 23.
- 98 On John Mapylhede in 1520/21, see note 32.
- 99 On Isabel Aleyn, see note 34.
- 100 On Richard Sparow, see note 14.
- 101 On John Longe in 1520/21, see note 24.
- 102 His first name is missing. He is not in Hervey 1910a. A *sextarius* was a liquid measure of about a pint.
- 103 John Firmyn occurs in the 1520/21 accounts, see note 26.
- 104 Thomas Andrew was in East Ward in 1524/25, Hervey 1910a, 350 and 436. Nicholas Tylney, the former owner here, was granted probate in 1552.
- 105 Probably John Howton the brazier of 1524, Hervey 1910a, 424. He sold brass and pewter to Thetford Priory, Dymond 1996, 768. His probate was granted in 1528.
- 106 Robert Plandon is also in the 1520/21 accounts, see note 30.
- 107 This name might be a corruption of *macceraria*, meat market, see note 37.
- 108 Geoffrey Rede is also in the 1520/21 accounts, see note 36.
- 109 In the earlier accounts, the words are *incensi sive frankincense*. Here the words might be read *in censi suo*, 'in his rent', but that would be tautology. The scribe here may have been copying a record which he did not understand.
- 110 On Schoolhall Street, see note 38.
- 111 On the prior of Eye, see note 17.
- 112 Stephen Draper is also in the 1520/21 accounts, see note 15.
- 113 Nicholas Clerk is also in the 1520/21 accounts, see note 40.
- 114 On *le Rayle*, see note 41. For the saints' days, see note 42.
- 115 The *vigiliae* were a service held on the *vigilia*, the eve, of a saint's day.
- 116 On the organ, see note 51.
- 117 On the goblet, see note 53.
- 118 See note 84.
- 119 On St Botolph at Bury St Edmunds, see note 49.
- 120 See notes 61 and 62.
- 121 Andrew Lark also cooked for this meal in 1520/21, see note 69.
- 122 Becker's shrine-keepers were each assisted by a secular clerk, Turner 1976, 17.
- 123 For James Eton, see note 18.
- 124 Presumably this was the replacement for the great candlestick which stood somewhere near the high altar and was said on feast days to burn seven candles of four pounds each. It perished in the fire of 1465, James 1895, 135.
- 125 Links in the shape of the letter S in a chain of precious metal. It is just possible the goldsmith was lengthening a silver collar of esses which had once belonged to John Baret who had been awarded such a collar by the King, see Tymms 1850, 41 and Rimmer 2019.
- 126 See note 90.
- 127 He is presumably the shrine-keeper of 1520/21 promoted to be the sub-prior. He received a yearly pension of £6 13s 8d from the Augmentation Office at the dissolution, Yates 1805, 236.

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Abbreviations

ASR	Abbey Sacrist's Rental for 1295, see V.B. Redstone 'Bury town rental for 1295', <i>Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.</i> 13 (1908), 210–22; and for 1433/4, BL, MS Harley 58, summarised by M.P. Statham in <i>Suffolk Review</i> 4 (2) (1973), 7–15.
BL	British Library.
Probate	Grimwade, M.E., 1984. <i>Index of Probate Records, Archdeaconry of Sudbury</i> , British Record Society.
SA/B	Suffolk Archives, Bury St Edmunds.
TNA	The National Archives, Kew.
VCH	<i>Victoria History of the County of Suffolk, Vol. II. 1909–11</i> . London.