

WINCHESTER STUDIES

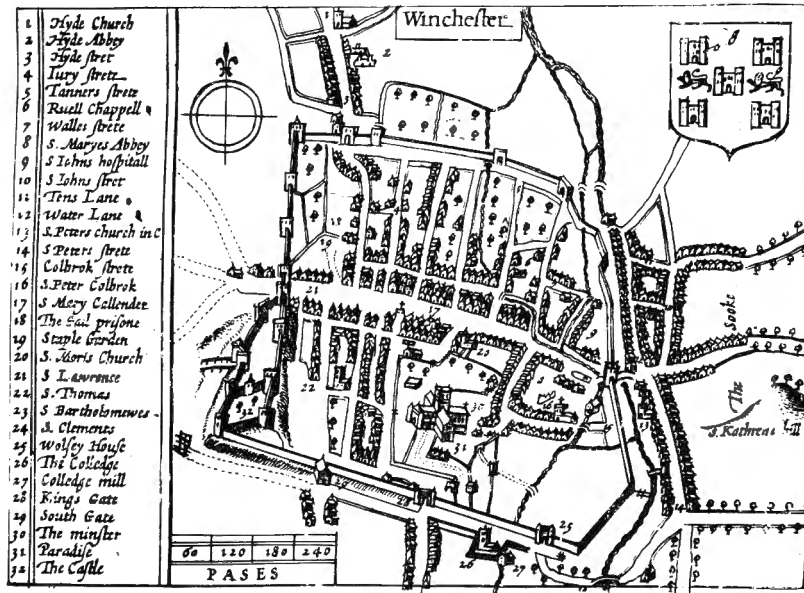
General editor: Martin Biddle



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SURVEY
OF
MEDIEVAL WINCHESTER

FRONTISPIECE I



a. Winchester in 1611 (Speed).



b. Aerial view of central Winchester from the south in 1953.

The grid of medieval streets is clearly visible and the extent of the built-up area as shown is not much greater than c. 1300.

WINCHESTER STUDIES · 2

SURVEY OF MEDIEVAL WINCHESTER

DEREK KEENE
with a contribution by
ALEXANDER R. RUMBLE

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Part I



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IN MEMORY OF
W. A. PANTIN

GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

This is a book which many believed could not be written. Twenty years ago the topography of the medieval town seemed to be out of reach. The evidence for the reconstruction of tenement patterns as they changed through time did not survive, it was believed, except in very special cases. Without such evidence there could be no hope of recovering the tenurial, economic, social, and political geography of medieval towns. And without such hope, urban topography would be of merely antiquarian interest.

Foremost among those who took a more optimistic view was Dr. W.A. Pantin, Fellow of Oriel, whose work on Oxford buildings and on the edition of H.E. Salter's *Survey of Oxford* was in great part the inspiration and model for this work. For some, Salter's and Pantin's work on Oxford, like that of Willis and Clark in their *Architectural History of the Colleges of Cambridge . . .*, was possible only because the survival of an exceptional number of medieval corporations had preserved a quite exceptional quantity of records relating to many or even most of the tenements in the town. Similar work might be possible in a few other places, for example in towns such as Norwich where the registration of deeds was practised and the records have survived, but such towns and cities would be the exception.

When working on the medieval village of Seacourt, near Oxford, in 1958 or 1959, I first met Billy Pantin through the kindness of Professor E.M. Jope. It was Martyn Jope's work on Oxford beneath the pavements, their joint work on the standing monuments, and Pantin's work on the muniments which provided one of the strongest influences on the work at Winchester as it developed from 1961 onwards.

In the summer of 1964 the city archivist, the late Tom Atkinson, lent me F.J. Baigent's transcripts from British Library MS. Stowe 846, a register of deeds enrolled in the city court and sealed with the city seal from 1303 to 1427 and later (see below, pp. 15-19). With this loan came the realisation that the records of city, cathedral, college, the civic hospital of St. John, and other medieval foundations, might make it possible to do for Winchester what Salter had begun and Pantin was completing for Oxford. It was therefore natural to turn to Billy Pantin for advice, encouragement, and if possible as a link to Oxford historians, trained in his approach and sympathetic to his ideas, who might be willing to take on part of what was all too clearly a vast enterprise.

Dr. Derek Keene takes up from this point the story of the genesis of this book in his own preface. What we have both written will, we hope, demonstrate the abundant reason for the dedication of this second volume of Winchester Studies.

It will be clear to what extent Derek Keene has built on the foundations Pantin laid for a study of this kind, and to what degree he has erected a structure which in comprehensiveness of approach and depth of analysis has, in the way of such things, surpassed its founder's warmest expectations.

That this was possible is due in first place to the sense of purpose and dedication with which, over some fourteen years, Derek Keene devoted himself single-mindedly to the task. It is due also in high measure to the conditions which made this possible within the framework of the Winchester Research Unit, and especially in the years from 1969 to 1975 to the support of the Unit by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the Pilgrim Trust, the British Academy, the Winchester City Council, the Hampshire County Council, and the Department of the Environment. From 1975

until early in 1979 the project was supported by the Social Science Research Council (from 1984 to be known as the Economic and Social Research Council), as Dr. Keene explains in his preface.

The publication of a work on this scale in the traditional printed and bound format alone appropriate to serious historical and archaeological scholarship has been made possible by a generous subsidy from the Hayward Foundation, and has been brought to completion by the skill and dedication of the Oxford University Press and in particular of Mr. John Cordy.

MARTIN BIDDLE

*Christ Church
Oxford*

Advent 1983

General Editor's Preface to the Reprinted and Open Access Edition

Since 2021, volumes in the *Winchester Studies* series have been made available in facsimile of the original out-of-print editions. Developments in digital technologies now enable academic publishing to reach wider audiences with options to read online or print on demand. From the earliest days of the development of technology to enable online publication, we have been exploring options for digitising our volumes, while maintaining close attention to the quality of reproduction, especially of our large scale and complex illustrations. Those familiar with our volumes will understand and appreciate the care that has been taken with the illustrations. The team at Archaeopress have ensured important facets like scale and pagination are maintained throughout each volume. It is only through the expertise, dedication, and enthusiasm of Archaeopress and their team that this attention to detail and accuracy in digital reproduction has been achieved, and for that we are very grateful.

*Martin Biddle
March 2023*

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This book has been a long time in the making. Its origin can be traced to early in 1965, when the now General Editor made a crusading visit to Oxford to lecture on the Winchester excavations. In the course of that visit it became clear that Winchester offered an exciting opportunity for bringing the evidence of the written records to bear on the topography and archaeology of a medieval city. Under the supervision of the late W.A. Pantin, who was then editing the second part of Salter's *Survey of Oxford*, two fiefs within the walls of Winchester were created as subjects for postgraduate research. My own area included the sites being excavated in Lower Brook Street, and one of my aims was to identify the owners and occupiers of the structures then being exposed with the trowel. Work on the records soon revealed that it would be possible to map and to reconstruct the social geography of later medieval Winchester on an extensive scale. Martin Biddle's faith in the outcome enabled me to set forth on this larger enterprise at the Winchester Research Unit. My co-feoffee, Ian Fisher, eventually moved on to work in Scotland and generously assigned his estate in Winchester to me.

The scope and potential of the project were enlarged by stages as the Survey evolved into a comprehensive documentary examination of secular life in Winchester during the later Middle Ages, continuing, so far as possible, the story begun in the first volume of Winchester Studies. The task has had its difficult moments, when I have been sustained by W.A. Pantin's infectious enthusiasm for both monuments and muniments, by the memory of that enthusiasm, and by the confidence of the General Editor and the Winchester Excavations Committee. The completion of the Survey, and indeed its extension into topics which had hardly been envisaged at the outset, was made possible by a grant from Social Science Research Council (HR 3458/1).

This Survey has involved a good deal of teamwork, and I wish to record my deepest gratitude to those who have worked with me at various stages. Flora Moxon (now Flora Unter) extracted much of the information from the medieval account rolls of the city and St. John's Hospital. Pamela Peskett undertook an extensive mining operation among the city's leases covering the period from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Alex Rumble, in addition to contributing Appendix I, arrayed much of the material in Part III and devised many of the principles of its organization. Tim Lomas made a substantial contribution towards completing the text of Part III and analysing its contents. I am especially grateful to Colin Taylor, whose perceptive work on the city court rolls and other sources underlies much of what I have written in Part I, particularly in Chapters 8 and 9.

Many of the ideas in this book have been sparked off, both consciously and unconsciously on my part, as a result of discussions with friends and colleagues, in particular other contributors to Winchester Studies. I have learned much of sixteenth-century and later Winchester from discussion with Adrienne Rosen and have benefitted from her generosity in allowing me to cite her thesis and other material. Professor Christopher Brooke kindly read Part I in typescript and has provided valuable comments and much support.

From the successive Winchester City Archivists, the late Tom Atkinson and Austin Whitaker, I have received a great deal of kindness and practical assistance. During the interregnum between

them Robin McCall, at that time the penultimate Town Clerk of Winchester, allowed me to range freely in the city's archives: I owe much to this formative experience and to its author's help in other ways. At the Hampshire Record Office, the County Archivists, Eleanor Cottrill and Margaret Cash, have been good friends both to this Survey and to the work of the Winchester Research Unit in general, and Roger Davey gave particular and scholarly assistance. Thanks are due to other custodians of Winchester archives for permission to use the records in their care: the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral, the Warden and Fellows of the College, the Trustees of the Hospital of St. Cross, and several private owners who are mentioned in footnotes at the appropriate point. At the Cathedral Library I received particular help from the late Beatrice Forder, and at Winchester College from Peter Gwynn, Roger Custance, and John Harvey. Dick Sawyer was helpful concerning St. John's Hospital. Outside Winchester, I have received special help from members of staff at the British Library, the Bodleian Library, the Public Record Office, St. George's Chapel, Windsor, Lambeth Palace, and Church House, Milbank.

A book of this size presents formidable problems of production. Here special thanks are due to June Lloyd, for undertaking the greater part of the typing, and to Eileen Power who, while employed at the Winchester Research Unit and to an even greater extent afterwards, assisted with the final preparation of the text and its passage through the press. Isabel Syed prepared an index to Part I which constitutes the greater part of the completed Index. Members of staff at the Oxford University Press have been kind and ingenious in their assistance. During the latest stages, the mode of production has been a domestic one. At this time my family put up with far more than they deserved and contributed far more than they knew. My thanks to them cannot adequately be expressed.

The book was largely written between 1976 and the early part of 1979. Where possible, references to discoveries concerning Winchester made since the time of writing have been incorporated in the text, but it has not been possible to take account of recent writing which might be relevant to the more general aspects of interpretation. This is perhaps as it should be, for, like some of the sources upon which it is based, this Survey is the record of an intricate and intensive journey, and accounts of journeys do not benefit from an excess of afterthought in their composition. Like many of the best journeys, this one has been memorable for the people, medieval and modern, encountered along the way.

DEREK KEENE

Crawley
November 1983

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Frontispiece I. (at front of Volume 2.i)

- a.*** Winchester in 1611 (Speed)
- b.*** Aerial view of central Winchester from the south in 1953

Frontispiece II. (at front of Volume 2.ii)

- a.*** Winchester in 1750 (Godson)
- b.*** The north-eastern quarter of the walled city *c.* 1870

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(Copyright: Frontispiece Ib, Aerofilms Limited; Plate IIa, Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; Plates IIIb, Vc, and VIa, City of Winchester)

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Drawn by Elaine Hyde, Keith Speller, Vivien Vibert, and Deborah Cunliffe; Frances Rankin helped with final corrections

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The list is a key to the short titles and other abbreviations used in this volume. It is not a bibliography, for abbreviations have normally been used only when a title occurs more than five times in the text. For the abbreviations used to denote properties and places described in this Survey, see below, p. 459; and for the shortened forms used in Part III, see below, p. 1139.

*	For the use of asterisks in Part III to denote possible or probable identities between individuals, see below, p. 1136
†	In Part III denotes individuals who appear in the family trees in Appendix II. See below, p. 1135
1840 Survey	WCA, 2/P/E52: written survey of city and St. John's Hospital properties compiled in 1840
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
AN	Anglo-Norman
<i>Anglia Sacra</i>	H. Wharton (ed.), <i>Anglia Sacra sive Collectio Historiarum</i> (2 vols., London, 1691)
[Anon.]	[Anonymous], <i>The History and Antiquities of Winchester</i> (2 vols., Winchester, 1773). On this history, in which the section concerning Magdalen Hospital was written by Richard Wavell, see J. Sturges, <i>Reflections on the Principles and Institutions of Popery</i> (Winchester, 1800), 247-51 and J. M. G. Blakiston, 'Thomas Warton's <i>Description of Winchester</i> and its derivatives', <i>Proc Hants FC</i> 35 (1978), 227-38
<i>Antiq J</i>	<i>Antiquaries Journal</i>
<i>Arch</i>	<i>Archaeologia</i>
<i>Arch J</i>	<i>Archaeological Journal</i>
Atkinson	Tom Atkinson, <i>Elizabethan Winchester</i> (London, 1963)
b.	born
BAA 1845	<i>Transactions of the British Archaeological Association at its Second Annual Congress held at Winchester, August 1845</i> (London, 1846)
Bailey Transcripts	Charles Bailey, <i>Transcripts from the Municipal Archives of Winchester</i> (Winchester and London, 1856)
Bailiff 1	Bailiff of the twenty-four in the city of Winchester [used in Part III only]
Bailiff 2	Bailiff of the commons in the city of Winchester [used in Part III only]

<i>Black Book</i>	W.H.B. Bird (ed.), <i>The Black Book of Winchester</i> (Winchester, 1925)
BL	British Library
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>British Numismatic Journal</i>
BO 1	WCA, S1/Bk: First Book of Ordinances
Book of Enrolments	WCA, Book of Enrolments (for its relationship to Stowe 846, see below, pp. 18-19)
<i>Book of Remembrance</i>	H.W. Gidden (ed.), <i>The Book of Remembrance of Southampton</i> (3 vols., SRS, 27-8 and 30, 1927-30)
<i>Bridbury Salt</i>	A.R. Bridbury, <i>England and the Salt Trade in the Later Middle Ages</i> (Oxford, 1955)
<i>Brokage 1439-40</i>	B.D.M. Bunyard (ed.), <i>The Brokage Book of Southampton. From 1439-40</i> (SRS, 40, 1941)
<i>Brokage 1443-4</i>	Olive Coleman (ed.), <i>The Brokage Book of Southampton, 1443-1444</i> (SRS, 4 and 6, 1960-1)
<i>Brooke English Coins</i>	George C. Brooke, <i>English Coins</i> (3rd edn., London, 1950, repr. 1966)
<i>Brooke London</i>	C.N.L. Brooke and G. Keir, <i>London 800-1216: the shaping of a city</i> (London, 1975)
CA	WCA, 38/BX/CR 1-6: account rolls of the city of Winchester. Those cited as CA are generally the accounts of the city chamberlains
<i>Cal Chart R</i>	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls</i> (6 vols., London, 1903-27). For earlier rolls, see <i>Rot Chart</i>
<i>Cal Close R</i>	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i> (in progress, London, 1892-). For earlier rolls, see <i>Close R</i> and <i>Rot Litt Claus</i>
<i>Cal Fine R</i>	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls</i> (in progress, London, 1911-). For earlier rolls, see <i>Exc Fine R</i> and <i>Fine R</i>
<i>Cal Inq Misc</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous</i> (in progress, London, 1916-)
<i>Cal Inq P M</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i> (in progress, London, 1904-)
<i>Cal Letter Book A, etc</i>	R.R. Sharpe (ed.), <i>Calendar of Letter-Books preserved among the archives of the Corporation of the City of London: Letter-Books A to L</i> (11 vols., London, 1899-1912)
<i>Cal Lib R</i>	<i>Calendar of Liberate Rolls</i> (in progress, London, 1917-)
<i>Cal Papal Letters</i>	<i>Calendar of Papal Letters</i> (14 vols., London, 1894-1961)
<i>Cal Pat R</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i> (in progress, London, 1894-). For earlier rolls, see <i>Rot Litt Pat</i>
<i>Cal Plea & Mem R</i> 1323-64, etc.	A.H. Thomas (ed.), <i>Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls preserved among the archives of the Corporation of the City of London, 1323-1437</i> (4 vols., Cambridge, 1926-43) and P.E. Jones (ed.), <i>Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls preserved among the archives of the Corporation of the City of London, 1437-82</i> (2 vols., Cambridge, 1953-61)
<i>Cal Plea REJ</i>	<i>Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews</i> , i and ii (ed. J.M. Rigg, JHSE, London, 1905-10), iii (ed. Hilary Jenkinson, JHSE, London, 1929), iv (ed. H.G. Richardson, JHSE, London, 1972)

Camden OS, NS, and 3rd ser.	Camden Society, old series and new series; Royal Historical Society, Camden third series
Carus-Wilson <i>Merchant Venturers</i>	E.M. Carus-Wilson, <i>Medieval Merchant Venturers</i> (2nd edn., London, 1967)
Carus-Wilson and Coleman	E.M. Carus-Wilson and Olive Coleman, <i>England's Export Trade, 1275-1547</i> (Oxford, 1963)
Caprenter Turner <i>Churches</i>	Barbara Carpenter Turner, <i>Churches of Medieval Winchester</i> (Winchester, reprinted from <i>Hants Chron.</i> , 1957)
Ch Comm	Church Commissioners' records at Church House, London
City Leases	WCA, leases and counterparts for the properties of the city and St. John's Hospital. The leases are now arranged according to the entry numbers in Part II of this Survey; see also OLB
<i>Close R</i>	<i>Close Rolls, Henry III</i> (14 Vols., London, 1902-38). For earlier rolls, see <i>Rot Litt Claus</i> , and for later rolls, see <i>Cal Close R</i>
Colvin <i>Henry III Complete Peerage</i>	H.M. Colvin (ed.), <i>Building Accounts of King Henry III</i> (Oxford, 1971) G.E.C[okayne], <i>The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom</i> (new edn. revised and enlarged by Vicary Gibbs and others, 13 vols., London, 1910-59)
Court Roll	WCA, 34/F/TC 1-7 and 34/BX/TC 7-13: town court rolls
CR	Used in Part III to denote that the source is the city Court Rolls
CRB	Used in Part III to denote that the source is the bills of pleas presented in the city court (WCA, D6/F/TC 19-24 and 34/BX/TC 35)
CS	Camden Society
<i>Curia Regis R</i>	<i>Curia Regis Rolls</i> (in progress, London, 1923-)
d.	died
D & C	The Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral
D & C Enfr	HRO, Eccl 59495-7: register of enfranchisements of D & C properties (2 vols.)
D & C Estate Book	HRO, Eccl 59499: late eighteenth-century list of the Winchester tenements of the D & C
<i>DB</i>	A. Farley and H. Ellis (ed.), <i>Liber censualis vocatus Domesday-Book</i> (Rec Comm, 4 vols., 1783-1816)
<i>DBS</i>	P.H. Reaney, <i>Dictionary of British Surnames</i> (London, 1958)
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>Econ H R</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
Ekwall <i>SNCL</i>	E. Ekwall, <i>Street-names of the City of London</i> (Oxford, 1954; corr. reprint 1965)
Emden <i>Cambridge to 1500</i>	A.B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500</i> (Cambridge, 1963)
Emden <i>Oxford to 1500</i>	A.B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500</i> (3 vols, Oxford, 1957-9)

Emden Oxford 1501-40	A.B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford A.D. 1501 to 1540</i> (Oxford, 1974)
Enfr	WCA, two registers of enfranchisements of city properties, 1814-43 and 1849-65
Enrolments	WCA, Court Roll 34 (34/BX/TC 9): see below, pp. 14-15
EPNS	English Place-Name Society publications
Exc Fine R	C. Roberts (ed.), <i>Excerpta e Rotulis Finium in Turri Londinensi asservati, Henry III, 1216-1272</i> (2 vols., Rec Comm, 1835-6). For other fine rolls, see <i>Cal Fine R</i> and <i>Fine R</i>
Feudal Aids	<i>Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids; with other Analogous Documents, 1284-1431</i> (6 vols., London, 1899-1921)
Fine R	T.D. Hardy (ed.), <i>Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus . . . temp. Regis Johannis</i> (Rec Comm, 1835). For later fine rolls, see <i>Cal Fine R</i> and <i>Exc Fine R</i>
fl.	<i>floruit</i>
fnd	founded
Fr	French
Furley City Government	J.S. Furley, <i>City Government of Winchester from the Records of the XIV & XV Centuries</i> (Oxford, 1923) [titled on spine <i>Winchester Records</i>]
Furley Town Life	J.S. Furley, <i>Town Life in the XIV century as seen in the court rolls of Winchester city</i> (Winchester, n.d. [c. 1940])
Furley Usages	J.S. Furley, <i>The Ancient Usages of the City of Winchester</i> (Oxford, 1927)
Gale	R.C. Gale, <i>The municipal and parochial boundaries of the city and borough of Winchester shewing the streets, the public buildings and a portion of the London and Southampton Railway</i> (Winchester, 1836)
Gk	Greek
Gloucester Rental	W.H. Stevenson (ed.), <i>Rental of all the Houses in Gloucester, A.D. 1455</i> (Gloucester, 1890)
God's House Cart	J.M. Kaye (ed.), <i>The Cartulary of God's House, Southampton</i> (SRS, 19 and 20, 1976)
Godson	Map of Winchester dedicated to the mayor, corporation, and representatives in parliament of the city by William Godson in 1750 (published by Godson at Basing)
Goodman Chartulary	A.W. Goodman (ed.), <i>Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral</i> (Winchester, 1927)
Goodman Goodbegot	A.W. Goodman, <i>The Manor of Goodbegot in the City of Winchester</i> (Winchester, 1923)
Cross Gild Merchant	Charles Cross, <i>The Gild Merchant</i> (Oxford, 1890, repr. 1967)
Hall Law Merchant	H. Hall (ed.), <i>Select Cases concerning the Law Merchant</i> ii 1239-1633 and iii 1251-1779 (Selden Society 46 (1929) and 49 (1932))
Hants Chron	<i>Hampshire Chronicle</i>

HAR	Carbon-14 date determined by the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority, Harwell, Berks
Harvey <i>Architects</i>	J.H. Harvey, <i>English Medieval Architects</i> (London, 1954)
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
Herbert	J.A. Herbert, <i>City of Winchester: Calendar of Charters</i> (Winchester, 1915)
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
Holtzmann <i>PUE</i>	W. Holtzmann (ed.), <i>Papsturkunden in England</i> (3 vols., Berlin and Göttingen, 1930-52)
HRO	Hampshire Record Office
HRS	Hampshire Record Society
Ingpen	A.R. Ingpen, <i>An Ancient Family</i> (London, 1916)
James <i>Wine Trade</i>	Margery Kirkbride James, <i>Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade</i> (Oxford, 1971)
JHSE	Jewish Historical Society of England
JP	Justice of the Peace for Hampshire [in Part III only]
<i>Kalendars before 1100</i>	Francis Wormald (ed.), <i>English Kalendars before A.D. 1100</i> (HBS, 72, 1934)
<i>King's Works</i>	R. Allen Brown, H.M. Colvin, and A.J. Taylor, <i>The History of the King's Works</i> , i-ii, <i>The Middle Ages</i> (ed. H.M. Colvin, 2 vols. and portfolio, London, 1963)
<i>Kirby Annals</i>	T.F. Kirby, <i>Annals of Winchester College from its foundation in the year 1382 to the present time</i> (London and Winchester, 1892)
<i>Kirby Scholars</i>	T.F. Kirby, <i>Winchester Scholars</i> (London and Winchester, 1888) [for additions and corrections, see the copy in the Warden's Study at Winchester College, annotated by the author and H. Chitty]
<i>Kitchin St Giles Fair</i>	G.W. Kitchin (ed.), <i>A Charter of Edward the Third Confirming and Enlarging the Privileges of St Giles Fair, Winchester A.D. 1349</i> (Winchester Cathedral Records, 2, London and Winchester, 1886)
Knowles and Hadcock	D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, <i>Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales</i> (London, 1971)
<i>I Interim, II Interim, etc.</i>	Martin Biddle, Interim reports on the Winchester excavations 1961-71, in <i>Arch J</i> (<i>I Interim</i>) and <i>Antiq J</i> (<i>II-X Interim</i>) as follows: <i>I Interim</i> (1961 season), <i>Arch J</i> 119 (1962), 150-94 (with R. N. Quirk) <i>II Interim</i> (1962 and 1963 seasons), <i>Antiq J</i> 44 (1964), 188-219 <i>III Interim</i> (1964 season), <i>ibid.</i> 45 (1965), 230-64 <i>IV Interim</i> (1965 season), <i>ibid.</i> 46 (1966), 308-32 <i>V Interim</i> (1966 season), <i>ibid.</i> 47 (1967), 251-79 <i>VI Interim</i> (1967 season), <i>ibid.</i> 48 (1968), 250-84 <i>VII Interim</i> (1968 season), <i>ibid.</i> 49 (1969), 295-329 <i>VIII Interim</i> (1969 season), <i>ibid.</i> 50 (1970), 277-326 <i>IX Interim</i> (1970 season), <i>ibid.</i> 52 (1972), 93-131 <i>X Interim</i> (1971 season), <i>ibid.</i> 55 (1975), 96-126, 295-337
LB	WCA, 42/Bk: ledger books, 13 vols., 1558-1855; see below, p. 33

<i>L & P Henry VIII</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII</i> (21 vols. and addenda, London, 1864-1932)
Lambeth CM	Lambeth Palace Library, Carte Miscellane
Lambeth Reg	Lambeth Palace Library, MS. registers of the archbishops of Canterbury
Lat.	Latin
Latham	R.E. Latham, <i>Revised Medieval Latin Word-List</i> (London, 1965)
Leland <i>Itinerary</i>	L. Toulmin Smith (ed.), <i>John Leland: Itinerary</i> (2 vols., London, 1907)
Lloyd <i>Wool Trade</i>	T.H. Lloyd, <i>The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages</i> (Cambridge, 1977)
LVH	W. de Gray Birch (ed.), <i>Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester</i> (HRS, London and Winchester, 1892)
MacCaffrey <i>Exeter</i>	Wallace T. MacCaffrey, <i>Exeter, 1540-1640</i> (2nd edn., Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1975)
ME	Middle English
<i>Med Arch</i>	<i>Medieval Archaeology</i>
Milne	Thomas Milne's plan of Winchester, dated 1791 and inset in: <i>Hampshire, or the County of Southampton, including the Isle of Wight, Surveyed by Thomas Milne in the years 1788, 89 & 90, executed and published at the private expence of the Proprietor, W. Faden</i> (London, 1791)
Milner ¹⁻³	John Milner, <i>The History Civil and Ecclesiastical, and Survey of the Antiquities, of Winchester</i> (1st edn., Winchester, i (1798), ii (1799)). The second edition, corrected and enlarged to 1809, appeared in that year; and a third edition, with supplementary notes to 1839, was published in 1839.
<i>Monasticon</i>	William Dugdale, <i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> (eds. J. Caley, H. Ellis, and B. Bandinel, 6 vols. in 8 parts, London, 1817-30)
Mottisfont Rental	HRO, Mottisfont Rentals, fos. 68-9: rental of Mottisfont Priory property in Winchester in 1340
MP	Member of parliament for the city of Winchester [in Part III only]
MS.	manuscript
Murage Roll	WCA, Murage Roll: list of landlords and tenants, late fourteenth century
NED	<i>A New English Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1888-1933)
<i>Obed R</i>	G.W. Kitchin (ed.), <i>Compotus Rolls of the Obedientiaries of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester</i> (HRS, London and Winchester, 1892)
ODan	Old Danish
OE	Old English
OF	Old French
OG	Old German
OIr	Old Irish
ON	Old Norse

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

OLB	WCA, Old Lease Book: an early nineteenth-century book in which the leases of city and St. John's Hospital properties are listed and numbered
OS 1869-71	Ordnance Survey map of Winchester at 1:500 scale, surveyed 1869-71. The sheets covering the city and suburbs are: Hants XLI.13.3-5, 7-10, 13-15, 17-20, 22-5; Hants L.1. 2, 3, 7, 8, 12, 13, 17, 18
Palace Survey 1683	Royal Institute of British Architects Library, London, MS. 'Wren Contracts for Winchester New Building', fos. 101-7. For an abstract and related material, see <i>Wren Society</i> 7 (1930), 43-5
Parl Survey	HRO, Eccl. 59492, fos. 21-92: parliamentary survey of D&C properties in the city and suburbs of Winchester, July 1649. There is a contemporary copy in WCL.
Petition 1452	List of decayed streets and demolished churches contained in the citizens' petition to the Lord Chancellor in 1452; for the date and source, see below, pp. 96-7
Pipe Roll 31 Henry I etc.	The printed pipe rolls (PRO, E372) published by the PRS from 5 Henry II onwards (in progress, London, 1884-) and by Rec Comm, 31 Henry I, 2-4 Henry II and 1 Ric I (ed. J.R. Hunter, 1833 and 1844)
Placita de Quo Warranto	W. Illingworth and J. Caley (ed.), <i>Placita de Quo Warranto</i> (Rec Comm, 1818)
Placitorum Abbreviatio	G. Rose and W. Illingworth (ed.), <i>Placitorum Abbreviatio, Richard I - Edward II</i> (Rec Comm, 1811)
Platt Excavations	Colin Platt and Richard Coleman-Smith, <i>Excavations in Medieval Southampton, 1953-1969</i> (2 vols., Leicester, 1975)
Platt Medieval Town	Colin Platt, <i>The English Medieval Town</i> (London, 1976)
Platt Southampton	Colin Platt, <i>Medieval Southampton. The port and trading community, A.D. 1000-1600</i> (London and Boston, 1973)
PN Devon etc.	<i>The Place-names of Devon</i> and other county monographs of the EPNS
Port Book	H.S. Cobb (ed.), <i>The Local Port Book of Southampton, 1439-40</i> (SRS, 5, 1961)
Pollock and Maitland	F. Pollock and F.W. Maitland, <i>The History of English Law before the time of Edward I</i> (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1898, reprinted 1911)
PRBW	MS. pipe rolls of the bishopric of Winchester in HRO; reference is given to the rolls according to the year of the account and to the heading of the individual accounts enrolled, in the form s.a. 1285-6 (Soke), etc.
PRBW 1208-9	H. Hall (ed.), <i>The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1208-1209</i> (London, 1903)
PRBW 1210-11	N.R. Holt (ed.), <i>The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1210-1211</i> (Manchester, 1964)
PRO	Public Record Office, London
Proc Hants FC	<i>Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society</i>
PRS	Pipe Roll Society
RAI 1845	<i>Proceedings at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of</i>

Great Britain and Ireland at Winchester, September MDCCCXLV
(London and Winchester, 1846)

- RCS** Joan Greatrex (ed.). *The Register of the Common Seal* (Hampshire Record Series ii, Hampshire County Council, 1978), being a calendar of WCL, Reg 1
- Rec Comm** Record Commissioners
- Records of Nottingham i** W.H. Stevenson (ed.), *Records of the Borough of Nottingham i* (London 1882)
- Regesta** H.W.C. Davis, R.H.C. Davis, H.A. Cronne, and C. Johnson (ed.), *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum* (4 vols., Oxford, 1913-69)
- Reg Pontissara, etc.** Registers (both MS. and printed) of the bishops of Winchester in chronological order of bishops, as follows:
- Reg Pontissara** C. Deedes (ed.), *Registrum Johannis de Pontissara Episcopi Wintoniensis*, (Canterbury and York Society, London, 19 (1915) and 30 (1924))
- Reg Woodlock** A.W. Goodman (ed.), *Registrum Henrici Woodlock Diocesis Wintoniensis, A.D. 1305-1316* (Canterbury and York Society, London, 43-4, 1940-1)
- Reg Sandale** } F.J. Baigent (ed.), *The Registers of John de Sandale and Rigaud de*
Reg Assier } *Asserio, Bishops of Winchester* (HRS, London and Winchester, 1897)
- Reg Stratford** HRO, MS. register of John Stratford
- Reg Orleton** HRO, MS. register of Adam Orleton
- Reg Edington** HRO, MS. register of William of Edington
- Reg Wykeham** T.F. Kirby (ed.), *Wykeham's Register* (2 vols., HRS, London and Winchester, 1896-9)
- Reg Waynflete** HRO, MS. register of William Waynflete
- Reg Courtney** HRO, MS. register of Peter Courtney
- Reg Langton** HRO, MS. register of Thomas Langton
- Reg Fox** HRO, MS. register of Richard Fox
- Reg Wolsey** F.T. Madge and H. Chitty (ed.), *Registrum Thome Wolsey Cardinalis Ecclesie Wintoniensis Administratoris* (Canterbury and York Society, London, 32, 1926)
- Reg Gardiner** } H. Chitty (ed.), *Registra Stephani Gardiner et Johannis Poynt*
Reg Poynt } *Episcoporum Wintoniensium* (Canterbury and York Society, 37, 1930)
- Reg Whyte** } H. Chitty (ed.), *Registrum Johannis Whyte, Episcopi Wintoniensis*
(Canterbury and York Society, London, 16, 1915)
- Reg Horne** HRO, MS. register of Robert Horne
- Reg Curle** HRO, MS. register of Walter Curle
- Reg Morley** HRO, MS. register of George Morley
- Reynolds** Susan Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns* (Oxford, 1977)
- Rosen** Adrienne B. Rosen, 'Economic and Social Aspects of the History of Winchester, 1520-1670' (Oxford D. Phil thesis, 1975)
- rot.** rotulet
- Rot Chart** T.D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1199-1216* (Rec Comm, 1837). For later charter rolls, see *Cal Chart*
- R**

<i>Rot Litt Claus</i>	T.D. Hardy (ed.), <i>Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati</i> (2 vols., Rec Comm, 1833-44). For later rolls, see <i>Close R</i> and <i>Cal Close R</i>
<i>Rot Litt Pat</i>	T.D. Hardy (ed.), <i>Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1201-1216</i> (Rec Comm, 1835). For later rolls, see <i>Cal Pat R</i>
<i>Rot Parl</i>	<i>Rotuli Parliamentorum: the Rolls of Parliament</i> (6 vols., London, 1783)
<i>Roth History</i>	F. Roth, <i>The English Austin Friars, 1249-1538, i, History</i> (New York, 1966)
<i>Roth Sources</i>	F. Roth, <i>The English Austin Friars, 1249-1538, ii, Sources</i> (New York, 1961)
RS	Rolls Series
<i>Ruddock Italian Merchants</i>	A.A. Ruddock, <i>Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600</i> (SRS, 1, 1951)
s.a.	<i>sub anno</i>
<i>St. Catharine's Hill</i>	C.F.C. Hawkes, J.N.L. Myres, and C.G. Stevens, <i>Saint Catharine's Hill, Winchester</i> (Winchester, 1930), separately and in <i>Proc Hants FC</i> 11 (1930)
<i>St. Denis Cart</i>	BL, Add. MS. 15314: cartulary of St. Denis Priory, Southampton. See now, E. O. Blake (ed.), <i>The cartulary of the priory of St. Denys near Southampton</i> (SRS, 24-5, 1981)
<i>St. John's Terrier</i>	'Terrier of Property in Winchester belonging to the Trustees of St. John's Hospital.' There are two copies of this terrier, compiled c. 1880; one is in the boardroom of St. John's Hospital South; the other, which has been used here, in 1977-8 was in the possession of Mr R. Sawyer, Surveyor to the Trustees
<i>Salter</i>	H.E. Salter, <i>Survey of Oxford</i> (2 vols., ed. W.A. Pantin and W.T. Mitchell, in Oxford Historical Society new series 14 (1960) and 20 (1969))
Sawyer (followed by number of charter)	P.H. Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters</i> (London, 1968)
SCM	Muniments of the hospital of St. Cross, Winchester
<i>Selborne Charters</i>	W.D. Macray (ed.), <i>Calendar of Charters and Documents relating to Selborne and its Priory</i> (2 vols., HRS, London and Winchester, 1891-4)
SJR	WCA, 3/BX/SJ 9-13, rental and accounts of St. John's Hospital, Winchester [the rolls are referred to by their dates (for which, see a list compiled by the present author and deposited in WCA), except in the following instances: SJR 1 (rental of 1294); SJR 39 (a hospital account roll of the 1320s, probably 1324-5 or 1327-8); SJR 17-21, 25, 27-8, 32, 35, 122 (accounts of the fraternity of St. John the Baptist); SJR 138 (account of 1553-4 concerning the Winchester properties of dissolved religious houses granted to the city in that year)]
<i>Somer Accounts</i>	WCA, 38/BX/RN 2; rentals and accounts of Henry Somer [see below, p. 24]
<i>Southampton Terrier</i>	L.A. Burgess (ed.), <i>The Southampton Terrier of 1454</i> (HMC, JP 21, and SRS, 1976)

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- Southampton Black Book** A.B. Wallis Chapman (ed.), *The Black Book of Southampton* (3 vols., SRS, 13, 14, and 17, 1912-15)
- Southwick Cart** HRO, Southwick Priory MS. registers, i-iii
- s.n.** *sub nomine*
- Speed** John Speed's plan of Winchester, dated 1611, in his *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (London, 1614)
- SRS** Southampton Record Society or, from 1951, Southampton Records Series
- Stake Roll 25 Edward I** The roll of stake prosecutions for that year included in Court Roll 1 (WCA, 34/F/TC 1)
- Stake Roll 12 Edward III** The roll of stake prosecutions for that year included in Court Roll 1 (WCA, 34/F/TC 1)
- Stake Rolls** Court Roll 4 (WCA, 34/F/TC 1): enrolments of stake prosecutions, deeds, and wills [see below, p. 14]
- Statute** Reference to statutes is given by regnal year and chapter number in order to facilitate reference both to *Statutes of the Realm* (11 vols., Rec Comm, 1810-28) and to the various printed editions of *Statutes at Large*
- Stewards' Book** H.W. Gidden (ed.), *The Stewards' Books of Southampton, 1428-34* (SRS, 35, 1935)
- Stowe 846** BL, Stowe MS. 846 [abstracts of enrolments of deeds in the Winchester city court, c. 1300 to c. 1500, see below, pp. 15-19]
- Subsidy 1327, etc.** Taxation assessments as follows:
 Subsidy 1327 PRO, E179/173/4, mm. 17, 18 [a twentieth of 1327]
 Subsidy 1332 PRO, E179/242/15a, m. 8 [a tenth of 1332]
 Subsidy 1340 PRO, E179/173/13, mm. 6, 7 [a ninth of 1340]
 Subsidy 1430 WCA, 34/BX/SR1/1 [assessment of 1430]
 Subsidy 1435 WCA, 34/BX/SR1/2 [assessment of 1435]
 Subsidy 1436 WCA, 37/BX/SR1/3 [assessment of 1436]
 Subsidy 1446 WCA, 37/BX/SR1/4 [assessment of 1446]
 Subsidy 1464 WCA, 37/BX/SR1/5 [assessment of 1464]
 Subsidy 1515-16 WCA, 37/BX/SR1/6, 7 [assessment of 1515-16]
 Subsidy 1524 PRO, E179/173/172 and E179/174/287 [assessment of 1524]
- s.v.** *sub verbo*
- Tait Medieval Borough** James Tait, *The Medieval English Borough* (Manchester, 1936)
- Tarrage 1417, etc.** Texts of the tarrage survey of 1417 and its later revisions (see below, pp. 25-9), as follows:
 Tarrage 1417 The original survey as surviving in two texts: English (WCA, D3); Latin (WCM 1005)
 Tarrage 1590 BL, Add. MS. 6133 [revision of 1590]
 Tarrage 1604 WCA, 53 [revision of 1604]
 Tarrage 1686 WCA, 53 [revision of 1686]
 Tarrage 1700 WCS, 53 [revision of 1700]
- The State of the Churches of Winchester** Charles Roach Smith, 'Account of the State of the Churches of Winchester at the Period of the Restoration,' *BAA* 1845, 105-15

	[reprint of a pamphlet: <i>A Vindication of the City of Winchester against the Mis-Representations and Aspersions cast upon them in a late printed paper. By way of petition and articles directed to the Right Honourable the House of Peers, in the Business of the Churches of that City. Seriously commended to be thoroughly read and perused by all to whom the said Printed Paper hath or shall come. By a Friend to the City of Winchester. London: printed in the year 1660</i>]
TEPN	S. Ayscough and J. Caley (ed.), <i>Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae, auctoritate Papae Nicolai IV, circa 1291</i> (Rec Comm, 1802)
Titchfield Cart	Welbeck MS. 1.A.2 (BL, MS. Loans 29/55 and 58): register of Titchfield Priory
Trans JHSE	<i>Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England</i>
TRE	<i>Tempore regis Edwardi</i>
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
Turner	Hilary Turner, <i>Town Defences in England and Wales</i> (London, 1970)
Urry Canterbury	W. Urry, <i>Canterbury under the Angevin Kings</i> (London, 1967)
v.	<i>vide</i>
VCH	<i>The Victoria County History of the Counties of England</i>
Veale 'Craftsmen'	Elspeth M. Veale, 'Craftsmen and the Economy of London in the Fourteenth Century' in A.E.J. Hollaender and William Kellaway (ed.), <i>Studies in London History presented to P.E. Jones</i> (London, 1969), 133-51
Veale Fur Trade	Elspeth M. Veale, <i>The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages</i> (Oxford, 1966)
Vetusta Monumenta	Society of Antiquaries of London, <i>Vetusta Monumenta quae ad rerum Britannicarum memoriam conservandam Societas . . . curavit</i> (London, 1747-1893; Indices, 1810, 1897)
Visitation	HRO, Episcopal Visitation (identified by date)
Waverley ann	<i>Annales monasterii de Waverleia</i> , in H.R. Luard (ed.), <i>Annales Monastici</i> ii (RS, 1865), 127-411
WCA	Winchester City Archives, now housed in HRO [for a guide and the system of reference, see T. Atkinson, <i>General Catalogue</i> (1962)]
WCL	Winchester Cathedral Library
WCL, Clerical Subsidy	WCL, in vestibule cupboard: clerical poll tax roll for deanery of Winchester, 1379
WCL Custumal	WCL, in charter chest: thirteenth-century custumal of the manors of the Cathedral Priory
WCL Rec	WCL, volumes entitled 'Records' into which medieval deeds have been pasted
WCL Reg 1, etc.	WCL, registers of the common seal; see RCS
WCM	Winchester College Muniments
Wedgwood	J.C. Wedgwood, <i>History of Parliament 1439-1509: Biographies Volume</i> (London, 1936)

- Wherwell Cart BL, Egerton MS. 2104: cartulary of Wherwell Abbey
- Winchester ann *Annales monasterii de Wintonia*, in H.R. Luard (ed.), *Annales Monastici* ii (RS, 1865), 1-125
- Williams London Gwyn A. Williams, *Medieval London from Commune to Capital* (London, 1963)
- Winchester 1949-60 i Barry Cunliffe (ed.), *Winchester Excavations 1949-60*, i (Winchester, 1964)
- Winchester 1949-60 ii John Collis, *Winchester Excavations 1949-60*, ii. *Excavations in the suburbs and the western part of the town* (Winchester, 1978)
- Winchester 1949-60 iii John Collis (ed.), *Winchester Excavations 1949-60*, iii (forthcoming)
- Winchester Cathedral Documents 1541-7 G.W. Kitchin, and F.T. Madge (ed.), *Documents Relating to the Foundation of the Chapter of Winchester A.D. 1541-1547* (HRS, London and Winchester, 1889)
- Winchester Cathedral Documents: 17th century W.R.W. Stephens and F.T. Madge (ed.), *Documents Relating to the History of the Cathedral Church of Winchester in the seventeenth century* (HRS, London and Winchester, 1897)
- Winchester City Council Deeds Deeds relating to property owned by the city of Winchester, held by the City Secretary and Solicitor's Department
- Winchester Illustrated W.T. Warren (ed.), *Winchester Illustrated* (London and Winchester, 1903)
- Withycombe E.G. Withycombe, *The Oxford dictionary of English Christian Names* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1950)
- Woodward B.B. Woodward, *A History and Description of Winchester* (Winchester n.d., but 1856 or soon after (cf. p. 35))
- WS Winchester Studies
- WS1 Frank Barlow, Martin Biddle, Olof von Feilitzen, and D. J. Keene (ed. Martin Biddle), *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: an Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday* (Oxford, 1976); bold numbers refer to entries in the two twelfth-century surveys of Winchester
- WS3. i Martin Biddle, *Pre-Roman and Roman Winchester: i, Venta Belgarum* (Oxford, in preparation)
- WS4. i Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, *The Anglo-Saxon minsters of Winchester* (Oxford, forthcoming)
- WS4. ii Michael Lapidge, *The cult of St. Swithun*; Alexander R. Rumble, *Anglo-Saxon and early Norman charters relating to the topography of Winchester* (Oxford, forthcoming)
- WS5 Martin Biddle, *The Brooks and other town sites in medieval Winchester* (Oxford, in preparation)
- WS6. i Martin Biddle and Beatrice Clayre, *Winchester Castle* (Oxford, forthcoming)
- WS6. ii Martin Biddle, *Wolsey Palace* (Oxford, in preparation)
- WS7. i Katherine Barclay, *The pottery of medieval Winchester* (Oxford, in preparation)

- WS7. ii Martin Biddle (ed.), *The crafts and industries of medieval Winchester* (Oxford, forthcoming)
- WS8 Yvonne Harvey *et al.*, *The Winchester mint and other medieval numismatic studies* (Oxford, in preparation)
- WS9. ii Pauline Sheppard and Gina Adams, *The animals of early Winchester* (Oxford, in preparation)
- WS10 Jane M. Renfrew (ed.), *The environment and agriculture of early Winchester* (Oxford, forthcoming)
- York Civic Ordinances* Michael Prestwich, *York Civic Ordinances, 1301* (York, Borthwick Papers no. 49, 1976)
- Zachnsdorf WCA, 54/Bk: 22 vols. bound by Zachnsdorf and containing miscellaneous records of the city court