THE TEMPLAR LANDS IN LINCOLNSHIRE IN THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY

JOSEPH MICHAEL JEFFERSON, B.Sc., M.A.

Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

July 2016

Abstract

The focus of the study is the Templar estates in Lincolnshire during the first four decades of the fourteenth century. Within this context, two themes are explored in some detail. The first theme is that of the characteristics of Templar farming and estate management as illustrated by the accounts of 1308-13 following the arrest of the Templars. The second theme is that of the fate of the former Templar properties between 1312 and 1338.

The introduction gives a brief historical background to the Templars followed by the aims of the thesis and a description of the primary sources. The historiography places the present research within the context of both Templar research and that of medieval agriculture.

In chapter one, the distribution of Templar properties within the Lincolnshire landscape is discussed. Based upon archaeological and documentary evidence the physical characteristics which were common to the Lincolnshire preceptories are defined. Further, those aspects which were individual to a preceptory reflecting its size and function are identified.

The following three chapters concentrate on different aspects of Templar agriculture in Lincolnshire, placing them within the context of other studies of medieval agriculture. Arable farming, livestock other than sheep and sheep farming are discussed in some detail.

Chapter five explores the nature of the personnel who worked on the Templar estates and those who were dependent upon them; the priests and the corrodiaries. In addition it follows the fate of the Lincolnshire Templars following their arrest in 1308. Further, it identifies the beneficiaries of Edward

II's patronage using Templar property. Chapter six considers the tortuous transfer of the former Templar estates to the Hospitallers and the extent to which that was successful.

The thesis is supported by extensive appendices which are themselves tabulations and calculations based upon primary sources.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr David Marcombe without whose inspiration I would never have embarked upon such an extended study of the Templars in Lincolnshire. I owe a huge debt of gratitude to my supervisors, Dr Richard Goddard and Dr Gwilym Dodd, without whose expert advice and good humoured encouragement, I would have fallen by the wayside long ago.

Throughout my studies I have been supported by my family. My daughters Anna and Lucy have had much more faith in me than I had. Finally, I would like to express my special thanks to Sue, my wife, for being there when the going was difficult as well as when things were working out.

Abbreviations

AHR	*The Agricultural History Review.*
CCR	*Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in The National Archives.*
CPR	*Calendar of the Patent rolls preserved in The National Archives.*
EcHR	*The Economic History Review.*
Inquest	B. A. Lees, *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: the Inquest of 1185 with Illustrative Charters and Documents* (London, 1935).
Knights Hospitallers	L. B. Larking ed. and J. M. Kemble intro., *The Knights Hospitallers in England: being the Report of Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for A. D. 1338*, Camden Society First Series, 65 (1857).
TNA	The National Archives, Kew, U.K.

Unless otherwise stated, all manuscript sources are from The National Archives, Kew, U.K.

Contents

Abstract		i
Acknowledgements		iii
Abbreviations		iv
Contents		v
Introduction		1
0.1	The background of the Templars	1
0.2	The aims of the thesis	3
0.3	The context	6
0.3.i	Primary sources	6
0.3.ii	Secondary sources: Templars in England and the fate of their estates	10
0.3.iii	Secondary sources: Templar estates, agricultural practice and estate management	25
0.4	Conclusion	37
Chapter 1	**The Lincolnshire landscape, the Templar estates and preceptories**	39
1.1	The relationship between topography and Templar property	39
1.2	The preceptories	55
1.2.i	The evidence of the inventories of deadstock, goods and chattels	60
1.2.ii	The enigma of accommodation	69
1.2.iii	Churches and chapels	71
1.2.iv	Domestic and agricultural buildings and fishponds	75
1.2.v	Mills and perimeters	81
1.3	Conclusion	84
Chapter 2	**Crops and meadow**	88
2.1	Overview	88
2.2	Arable acreage and crop value per acre	100
2.3	Meadow	107
2.4	Sowing rate	109
2.5	Crops stored at the grange and their usage	113
2.5.i	Grange store	113
2.5.ii	Seed	116
2.5.iii	Animal feed	117
2.5.iv	Payment of the *famuli*	119
2.5.v	Maslin and multure	122
2.5.vi	Pottage	123
2.5.vii	Bread	124
2.5.viii	Sale of crops	126

2.6	Conclusion	127
Chapter 3	**Livestock excluding sheep**	130
3.1	Plough teams	130
3.1.i	The number of ploughmen per plough team	131
3.1.ii	The number and composition of plough teams	132
3.1.iii	Arable acreage per plough team	135
3.1.iv	The relative values of oxen and plough horses	138
3.1.v	The influences on decision making	140
3.2	Cattle	142
3.3	Carthorses	148
3.4	Swine	152
3.5	Conclusion	160
Chapter 4	**Sheep farming.**	165
4.1	The Templar flocks	166
4.1.i	The sheep	166
4.1.ii	Flock composition	175
4.1.iii	Fecundity	182
4.1.iv	Sheep diseases	187
4.2	Management of the flocks	193
4.3	Wool, leases and Edward II	205
4.4	Sheep in the accounts of 1311-13	216
4.5	Conclusion	220
Chapter 5	**The people: workers, dependents and beneficiaries**	223
5.1	The workers: people engaged in agriculture, estate maintenance and management	223
5.2	The dependents: clerics, corrodiaries and Templars	235
5.2.i	Clerics	235
5.2.ii	Corrodiaries	238
5.2.iii	Templars	241
5.3	Asset stripping and the beneficiaries	254
5.4	Conclusion	272
Chapter 6	***Ad providam* and its aftermath**	276
6.1	Differing perspectives: Edward II, the Hospitallers and Pope Clement V	277
6.2	The transfer of former Templar lands to the Hospitallers 1312-38	282
6.3	The Report of Prior Philip de Thame to Grand Master Elyan de Villanova (Helion de Villeneuve), 1338	306
6.4	Conclusion	326
Conclusion		332

Maps

Map 1	Generalised surface geology of Lincolnshire	40
Map 2	Lincolnshire's natural regions	41
Map 3	Thirteenth century Lincolnshire coastline and unreclaimed wetlands	42
Map 4	Lincolnshire Domesday settlements	43
Map 5	Lincolnshire Domesday woodland	44
Map 6	The distribution of Templar landholdings in Lincolnshire in 1185	47
Map 7	The distribution of Templar landholdings in 1185 in relation to the coastline and wetlands of 1300	48
Map 8	Relative areas of Templar landholdings by settlement in 1185	49
Map 9	The distribution of former Templar preceptories and landholdings in 1308-9	51
Map 10	The distribution of Templar churches and mills in 1185	52
Map 11	The distribution of former Templar preceptories, members, churches and mills in 1308-9	53
Map 12	Approximate area characterised by long-woolled sheep in the Middle Ages	168
Map 13	The distribution of Hospitaller properties in 1338	308
Map 14	The distribution of Hospitaller arable land in demesne in 1338	313
Map 15	The distribution of Hospitaller meadow in demesne in 1338	314
Map 16	The distribution of pasture and woodland in demesne in 1338	315
Map 17	Hospitaller churches, chapels and mills in 1338	323
Map 18	Hospitaller income from each settlement where they held property in 1338	327
Map 19	Divided proportional circles showing gross income and percentage net income for commanderies and former preceptories in 1338	328

Illustrations

Fig. 1	Conjectural plan of Temple Balsall, based on records from 1308, 1541and 1759	63
Fig 2	General site plan of South Witham preceptory, showing all the buildings of phases 2 and 3, with earthworks	64

Fig. 3	Artist's impression of the site of South Witham preceptory in the early thirteenth century	65
Fig. 4	Artist's reconstruction of Temple Bruer preceptory. View from the south-east	66
Fig. 5	The site of the Templar preceptory at Willoughton.	67

Bibliography 340

Primary sources: manuscripts 340

Primary printed sources 340

Secondary sources 341

Unpublished theses 366

Unpublished research 366

Websites 367

Appendices

Appendix 1 Inventories of deadstock on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire 1308-1313

Appendix 2 Rent, church and manor court income as a percentage of receipts, 1308-9 and 1311-13

Appendix 3 Larder, dairy and dovecote contents on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire 1308-1313

Appendix 4 Arable acreage in seed

Appendix 5 Sowing rates/ values/ meadow acreage 1308-1313

Appendix 6 Mean sowing rates per acre and mean crop values per acre

Appendix 7 Crop usage by manor on the Temple Bruer estate and at Aslackby

Appendix 8 Crop usage by crop type on the Temple Bruer estate and at Aslackby

Appendix 9 Composition of maslin, 10 January 1308 - 28 September 1308

Appendix 10 Sale of grain at Michaelmas, 29 September and Lammas Day, 1 August

Appendix 11 Plough teams on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire 1308-1313

Appendix 12 Relationship between plough teams and arable acreage 1308-1312

Appendix 13 Relative values of oxen and plough horses on the former Templar estates 1308-1313

Appendix 14 Bulls, cows and calves 1308-1313

Appendix 15 Carthorses on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire 1308-1312

Appendix 16 Boars, sows, porkers and piglets 1308-1313

Appendix 17 The Lincolnshire ex-Templar flock by preceptory and account 1308-1313

Appendix 18 Lincolnshire ex-Templar flock at Michaelmas 1308 showing the incidence of murrain as a percentage of the grand total

Appendix 19 Lincolnshire ex-Templar flock at Michaelmas 1308 showing the incidence of murrain as a percentage of sheep type

Appendix 20 Lincolnshire ex-Templar flock at specified times in 1309 by preceptory

Appendix 21 Ewes, lambs, twins and fertility rates at Michaelmas 1308 by preceptory

Appendix 22 Extant accounts of former Templar properties in Lincolnshire, 10 January 1308- 8 December 1313

Appendix 23 Commutation of customary labour on the ex-Templar estates 1308-1313

Appendix 24 Expenditure on weeding, mowing and haymaking, 10 January 1308- 28 September 1308

Appendix 25. Expenditure on threshing, winnowing and harvesting, 10 January 1308-28 September 1308

Appendix 26 Pensioners' donations, pensions and conditions

Appendix 27 Pensioners included in the accounts of William de Spanneby for Michaelmas 1308

Appendix 28 Templars imprisoned in Lincoln Castle and included in the accounts of William de Spanneby for Michaelmas 1308. Templars included in the calendar of close rolls entry of 16 July and doing penance in the Diocese of Lincoln

Appendix 29 Expenditure on pensioners as a percentage of total expenditure and total receipts

Appendix 30 Summary of accounts of the former Templar lands in Lincolnshire 1308-1309

Appendix 31 Rent as a percentage of total expenditure 1308-1313

Appendix 32 Income and expenditure on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire in 1338

Appendix 33 Templar holdings in Lincolnshire in 1308 and Hospitaller holdings in 1338

Appendix 34 Former Templar property which was listed in the Report of Philip de Thame as not being in the hands of the Hospitallers in 1338

Appendix 35 Land acreage in demesne on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire in 1338

Appendix 36 Fixed rent as a percentage of gross income and total land income in 1338

Appendix 37 Churches and chapels from which the Templars derived income in 1185 and 1308 and which had been transferred to the Hospitallers by 1338

Appendix 38 Mills from which the Templars derived income in 1185 and 1308 and which had been transferred to the Hospitallers by 1338

Introduction

0.1. The background of the Templars

On 15 July 1099 the besieged city of Jerusalem fell to Christian forces. This successfully concluded the First Crusade. The victor of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon, had steadfastly refused to be crowned king, but after his death on 18 July 1100, his succession was in dispute. On Christmas Day 1100, Godfrey's brother, Baldwin of Edessa, was crowned in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, as the King of the Latins in Jerusalem, having outflanked the ambitious Daimbert, Patriarch of Jerusalem who also wished to rule. Nineteen years later, a confraternity of nine Frankish nobles led by the Champagnois, Hugh de Payens, and the Picard, Godfrey de Saint Omer took vows of chastity, obedience and poverty before the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Warmund de Picquiny. The small band was given a base within the palace of King Baldwin II which was believed to be on the site of the Temple of Solomon, now occupied by the al-Aqsa mosque. This was the inauspicious beginning of the Order of the Poor Knights of the Temple of Solomon, the Knights Templar, whose duty it was to ensure the safety of travellers, on the pilgrim routes from the coast to Jerusalem and from Jerusalem to Jericho. The knights received ecclesiastical recognition at the Council of Nablus in 1120. Between 1127 and 1129, Hugh de Payens toured Western Europe seeking both recruits to the Order and financial support. The recruiting drive reached England in 1128 and ended, in January 1129, at the Council of Troyes, presided over by a papal legate, which confirmed the foundation of the Order and provided a Rule. In

attendance was the hugely influential Bernard of Clairvaux who later wrote *De Laude novae militae* in support of the emergent order of military monks.

Throughout the twelfth century there was continued military activity in the Holy Land which required the presence of an expensively maintained armed host. To support the crusading movement in the Holy Land funds had to be raised in western Christendom. Medieval religious thought saw the quality of life after death as being conditional upon how time on earth had been spent. Central to this belief was the time which a soul spent in purgatory. By donating money or land to religious orders, or, more grandly, founding a monastery, an individual could pay for intercessionary prayers to be said on behalf of them, their antecedents and descendants, so reducing their time in purgatory. As a result, the twelfth century saw a burgeoning of monastic patronage in England, particularly of the Cistercian Order to which the Templars were closely related. The Templars added a different dimension to religious patronage as a military order of monastic knights in the vanguard of crusading in the Holy Land. The opportunity for military monastic patronage was seized with some enthusiasm, particularly in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, the two English counties where the Templars held land most extensively.

The tide began to turn against the Christian forces in the Holy Land on 4 July 1187 with the crushing defeat at the Horns of Hattin, at the hands of the Saladin, followed by the loss of Jerusalem on 2 October in the same year. Patronage of the Templars depended upon their military success, which through medieval eyes, demonstrated God's blessing. Defeat was the manifestation of God's displeasure, and with it, the devaluation of the Templars' ability to intercede on behalf of a patron. Whilst the Templars

continued to increase their prestige and wealth during the thirteenth century, due to the exercise of their financial acumen, the extent of patronage fluctuated. The fall of Acre in May 1291, followed three months later by the Templar evacuation of Tortosa and Athlit, meant that the Order no longer had a foothold in the Holy Land. The Templars established a base on the island of Ruad, off the Syrian coast, from which to continue operations; it was, however, merely a temporary halt to their retreat and the Templar garrison was massacred in 1302. The Templars had lost their reason for existence. The wealth of the Order and its exemption from taxes, which were acceptable when it was in the vanguard of Christian forces in the Holy Land, increasingly became the object of secular envy. The Templars in France were arrested by Philip IV on Friday 13 October 1307, on the basis of a litany of fallacious charges, and in England, by Edward II on 10 January 1308. Although Edward bore no ill will against the Order, he bowed to the pressure applied by both the Pope and, his soon to be father in law, Philip IV, to follow the French example and arrest the brethren. The impact of the arrests of the brethren was cataclysmic in both France and England. From being a military order with extensive estates, enormous wealth and the prestige which went with being royal bankers, effectively, the Templars ceased to exist.

0.2. The aims of the thesis

C. Tyerman states that 'it is essential to the understanding of the significance of the crusades that their European and local dimension be appreciated, an aspect long neglected'.[1] The Templar estates in England have not, until

[1] C. J. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095-1588* (Chicago, 1988), p.1.

recently, been the subject of extensive research. Templar scholars have tended to concentrate on the military aspects of the Order rather than the extent and organisation of their estates in England. Conversely, students of medieval agriculture have concentrated on the records of secular and ecclesiastical estates other than those of the Templars. The Templar estates have fallen between two stools. Currently there is little published work on either Templar agriculture in England or the transfer of former Templar properties to the Hospitallers and only one paper and an M. A. dissertation dealing with these themes in Lincolnshire.[2] This thesis begins to redress the balance.

The purpose of the thesis is to pursue two interlinked themes regarding the Templar lands in Lincolnshire. The first theme is that of the nature and organisation of the agriculture on the Templar estates immediately after the arrest of the Order in January 1308. The assumption is that the accounts covering the first year after the arrest of the Order reflect an agricultural enterprise which was unchanged from that of the Templars - the same assumption upon which H. J. Nicholson bases her considerations with regard to Garway and South Wales.[3] This places the Templars' Lincolnshire estates in the wider context of the study of medieval agriculture and technology and in so doing makes a contribution from a hitherto untapped source. The second theme is that of the fate of the Templar estates in Lincolnshire and the tortuous process of their transfer to the Hospitallers, however incompletely, between

[2] J. M. Jefferson, 'Edward II and the Templar Lands in Lincolnshire', in *L'economie templiere en Occident: Patrimoines, commerce, finances* ed. by A. Baudin, G. Brunel and N. Dohrmann (Langres, 2013), pp. 295-321; J. M. Jefferson, 'The Lost Treasure of the Templars: the Templar Lands in Lincolnshire and What Happened to Them 1185-1560' (M. A. dissertation, University of Nottingham, 2007).

[3] H. J. Nicholson, 'The Templars in Britain: Garway and South Wales', in *L'economie templiere* ed. by Baudin, Brunel and Dohrmann, pp. 323-36.

1312 and 1338. This integrates the fate of the former Lincolnshire estates into the web of national and international politics which ranged from the antipathetic relationship between Edward II and Thomas of Lancaster to the conquest of Rhodes by the Hospitallers in the eastern Mediterranean.

Whilst the initial distribution of Templar property, outlined in chapter one, depends upon the Inquest of 1185 for its veracity, the thesis concentrates on the fourteenth century.[4] In particular, it focuses on the thirty years from 1308, when the Templars in England were arrested, to 1338 when the Report of Philip de Thame enrolled an inquest of Hospitaller properties in England which included the former Templar lands.[5] The period includes the entirety of the tumultuous reign of Edward II and the first eleven years of the reign of his son Edward III, ending on the eve of the Hundred Years War.

The two themes are addressed through eight major research questions which are as follows:

- What property did the Templars hold in Lincolnshire in 1308?
- What was the nature of the Templar estates and their preceptories?
- What did the Templar estates produce and how?
- How were the Templar estates managed and who were the *famuli* who worked on them?
- How did the nature of former Templar estate management change between 1308 and 1312?

[4] B. A. Lees, ed., *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: the Inquest of 1185* (Oxford, 1935).

[5] L. B. Larking and J. M. Kemble, ed., *The Knights Hospitallers in England: being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for A.D. 1338*, Camden Society, 65 (London, 1857).

- Who were the Templars that were arrested on the Lincolnshire estates in 1308 and who were the corrodiaries who continued to live at the preceptories after the arrest of the Order?
- How and to what extent were the Templar lands transferred to the Hospitallers between 1308 and 1338?
- To what degree does a comparison of the accounts of 1308 and the Report of 1338 illuminate the extent to which the former Templar lands in Lincolnshire were transferred to the Hospitallers?

0.3. The context

As this thesis concentrates specifically on the eight research questions cited above, it is not intended to expound upon an all-enveloping historiography of the military orders, merely those works which are relevant to this research. In accordance with the themes of the thesis, the historiography is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the primary sources which provide the basis for the research. The second part deals with the military orders, the emergence of research into their English estates and the transfer of the Templar estates to the Hospitallers. The third part concentrates on the medieval agricultural literature, the context of the current research into the nature and operation of the Templar estates.

0.3.i. Primary sources

The Inquest of Templar property in England was commissioned in 1185 by Geoffrey FitzStephen.[6] The 1935 transcription and commentary by B. A. Lees gives a detailed account of the extent and value of Templar holdings throughout

[6] *Inquest.*

England from which Lincolnshire data can be extracted. In addition she identifies the benefactors of the Templars and the tenants of the Order. The importance of the Inquest and of Lee's contribution to Templar studies cannot be overemphasised. This remains the only published inquest of Templar holdings in England and, as such, is a starting point for any study of Templar estates in England. However, it has never been used as a basis for a spatial and quantitative analysis of Templar holdings within one county, except in an M.A. dissertation on Lincolnshire.[7]

The Report of 1338 was commissioned by Philip de Thame, Prior of the Hospital in England, at the behest of Grand Master Elyan de Villanova.[8] The Report, transcribed and edited by L. B. Larking with a commentary by J. M. Kemble was published in 1857. It is an inventory of the Hospitaller lands in England, including the former Templar properties which had been transferred to the Hospitallers and those which were known not to have been. It is the only primary source detailing Hospitaller property in England until the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535, and as such is crucial to any pursuit of the fate of the Templar estates, but surprisingly little use has been made of it.[9]

M. Gervers' the *Prima Camera: Essex,* offers a transcription and introduction to each document in the cartulary of the Hospitaller estates in Essex.[10] Gervers provides a commentary which is a model for the analysis of the holdings and operation of the estates of a military order within the confines

---

[7] Jefferson, 'Lost Treasure'.

[8] *Knights Hospitallers*.

[9] J. Caley and J. Hunter, ed., *Valor Ecclesiasticus, 1535,* 4 (London, 1821).

[10] M. Gervers ed., *The Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England: Part 2: Prima Camera: Essex* (Oxford, 1996).

of one county. Most importantly, he considers the difference in the impact upon the Essex landscape of the Templars and the Hospitallers, concluding that the Templars were much more involved in agriculture than were the Hospitallers.[11] No similar study has been published regarding the estates of a military order within an English county.

Central to the research are the accounts pursuant upon the arrest of the Templars on 10 January 1308 and the confiscation of the Order's property by the King. Three rolls of the King's Survey survive in The National Archives, namely E 358/18, E 358/19 and E 358/20 which cover the entirety of the Templars' English province.[12] Each roll consists of membranes which are roughly sewn together in pairs and inscribed on each side. Within the three rolls there are 69 sides of membranes which constitute an incomplete record of the accounts of the Templar manors of Lincolnshire from 10 January 1308 until 8 December 1313. The accounts - E 358/18, E 358/19 and E 358/20 - are not available in published form.

The significance of the accounts is that they provide a detailed list of the income and expenses of the Templar manors and an inventory at the moment of sequestration. The inventories itemise all that was moveable and saleable. Livestock are listed by age, gender and state of health. Standing crops are enrolled by acreage; stored grain by volume. All items of valuable deadstock are listed; of particular interest are the inventories of the individual buildings within the domestic range such as the larder and kitchen. In addition, agricultural equipment is itemised besides the contents of a smithy and

[11] Ibid., pp. xcix-cxii.

[12] The National Archives, *Accounts for the Lands of the Templars, Confiscated by the Crown*, E 358/18, E 358/19, E 358/20.

carpenter's workshop. Personnel are enrolled by task, few by name. The wealth of information gives a detailed picture of the nature of Templar agricultural practice and estate management in 1308. Further, as it was not until the papal bull *Ad Providam* was issued on 2 May 1312 that the former Templar lands were granted to the Hospitallers, in the interim they were held by the King under attainder. The accounts illustrate how Edward II approached the management of the Templar estates through the agency of his officers. They show how farming practice changed, and the extent to which the estates were farmed out through the exercise of royal patronage.

Until recently, the most effective use of the accounts has been made by E. A. Gooder both in *Temple Balsall* and in her contribution to the archaeological report on South Witham.[13] Currently, Professor H. J. Nicholson is working on the accounts for the Welsh Marches and the south west and has published a paper on the the Templars at Garway and in South Wales.[14] The King's Survey remains the only body of accounts available which gives an indication of agricultural practice and management on the Templar estates immediately after the arrest of the Order in 1308 and a partial picture thereafter until December 1313. Further, when compared with the Report of 1338, the fate of the former Templar estates can be explored on the basis of evidence rather than supposition.

---

[13] E. A. Gooder, *Temple Balsall: the Warwickshire Preceptory of the Templars and their Fate* (Chichester, 1995); E. A. Gooder, 'South Witham and the Templars: the Documentary Evidence', in *Excavations at a Templar Preceptory: South Witham, Lincolnshire 1965-7*, by P. Mayes (Leeds, 2002) pp. 80-95.

[14] Nicholson, 'Garway'.

0.3.ii. Secondary sources: Templars in England and the fate of their estates

The Templars have attracted sporadic interest over the preceding two centuries. General histories have usually made little reference to the Templars in England. Studies of the Templars in England have pursued themes other than that of the agriculture practised on the estates of the Order. The fate of the Templar estates has received more attention. However, as the following historiography amply illustrates there is no body of literature of which Templar agriculture and the fate of the Templar estates are the central themes.

C. G. Addison published a sympathetic history of the Templars in 1842.[15] This frequently cited work draws widely on primary sources and makes substantial references to the Order in England. He includes a comprehensive list of Templar properties in England, county by county. However, for Lincolnshire, although the 'manors of La Bruere, Roston, Kirkeby, Brauncewell, Carleton, Akele, with the soke of Lynderby Aslakeby' are listed, Willoughton is omitted.[16] The preceptory of Willoughton was at least as important as Temple Bruer, indeed, G. F. Tull cites Willoughton as 'the richest of English rural Templar houses'.[17]

Addison not only deals with the suppression of the Order in England in 1312, but also the disputatious nature of the disposal of their properties. He cites the King making 'munificent donations to his favourites and friends' from the former Templar property as though it was his to dispose of at will.[18] He

---

[15] C. G. Addison, *The History of the Knights Templar* (London, 1842, rep. Kempton, Illinois 2001).

[16] Ibid., p. 95.

[17] G. F. Tull, *Traces of the Templars* (Rotherham, 2000), p. 107.

[18] Addison, *Knights Templar,* p. 283.

refers to Pope John fulminating excommunication against those who held Templar property which ought to have been transferred to the Hospitallers as late as 1322.[19] Of particular importance to the current work is the account of 'the struggle between the heirs of the donors on the one hand and the Hospitallers on the other' to lay claim to the lands and properties formerly belonging to the Templars.[20] Following the papal bull of 2 May 1312, all Templar lands should have been transferred to Hospitaller ownership, but as Addison stresses, this did not occur.

C. Perkins was the first scholar to concentrate specifically on the Templars in England. He develops the theme of the relationship between the Templars and medieval English society leading eventually to the arrest of the Order in 1308.[21] Within Lincolnshire and Yorkshire he refers to the Templars' withdrawal of various lands from tax liability but adds that the secular lords also had privileges and that the churchmen had 'practically the same array of exemptions'.[22] In other words, there was no special grievance against the Templars on the part of the King [Edward I], or the great lords, merely a general move towards restricting the grants of mortmain.[23] This eventually led to the Statute of Mortmain in 1279, the implications of which will be fully discussed later. Similarly, Perkins suggests that the considerable jurisdictional privileges enjoyed by the Templars were no more than those used by both lay and

[19] Ibid., p. 285.

[20] Ibid., p. 286.

[21] C. Perkins, 'The Knights Templar in the British Isles', *EcHR*, 98 (1910), 209-30.

[22] Ibid., p. 218.

[23] Ibid., p. 219.

ecclesiastical lords for private advantage.[24] E. J. Martin later went further, stating that 'it [private jurisdiction] was the rule rather than the exception under the Feudal System'.[25]

As late as 1305, the Templars were still 'rounding out their estates by further acquisition'.[26] Whilst acquisitiveness and pride may have contributed to the eventual demise of the Order, Perkins is of the opinion that, more significant, was the secrecy with which the Templars conducted their affairs.[27] Although secrecy set the Order apart from other lay and ecclesiastical landholders, there was a further point at issue which Perkins did not pursue. When the Christian forces in the Holy Land were in the ascendant, the medieval belief system suggested that it was with God's approval. However, the converse was also true. When Acre fell in 1291, this was seen by the medieval mind as a manifestation of God's displeasure. As the Templars were in the vanguard of Christian forces, so the view went, then, their behavior must have been responsible for His displeasure. I would suggest that as the Templars were thought to have incurred the wrath of God, then public support for the Order would have drained away very quickly.

Perkins' paper of 1909-10 is based entirely upon primary sources which include the Report of Philip de Thame.[28] He gives a summary of the wealth of the Order prior to its arrest and follows this with an account of the transfer of

---

[24] Ibid., p. 221.

[25] E. J. Martin, 'The Templars in Yorkshire', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 29 (1929), 368-70.

[26] Perkins, 'Knights Templar', p. 222.

[27] Ibid., pp. 226-7.

[28] C. Perkins, 'The Wealth of the Knights Templars in England and the Disposition of it after the Dissolution', *The American Historical Review*, 15 (1909-10), 252-63.

the former Templar lands to the Hospitallers. For the first time, the inventories of former Templar manors are scrutinised providing a key to their nature. Perkins concludes that 'by 1338 their [the Hospitallers'] efforts had been rewarded with considerable success and they had obtained at least nominal possession of most of the Templar estates except those deeded to the Despensers and the king'.[29]

The transfer followed the suppression of the Order, in 1312 which Perkins describes as having precipitated a 'wild orgy of plunder'.[30] E. Simon was more explicit, stating that: 'When finally the Hospitallers came into what remained, the moveable goods had gone and the rest was so deteriorated by reason of neglect and freelance depredations as to be more burden than gain'.[31] Perkins' summary of the transfer of Templar lands to the Hospitallers is oversimplistic and dependent upon a too literal interpretation of the Report of 1338. He gives no consideration to the extent of pastureland nor does he compare the number of Templar manors in 1308 with that which had been transferred to the Hospitallers by 1338. Both of these aspects are crucial to the understanding of the transfer of the Templar estate. Nonetheless, over a century later, the issues first raised in Perkins' groundbreaking papers are still to be fully explored, not least the transfer of Templar lands to the Hospitallers. There is therefore considerable scope to build on this initial work, which this thesis does with regard to Lincolnshire.

---

[29] Ibid., p. 263.

[30] Ibid.

[31] E. Simon, *The Piebald Standard* (London, 1959), p. 286.

A. M. Leys' offers an analysis of the financial role of the King's Chamber, after the forfeiture of the Templar lands in England, following the arrest of the Order in 1308.[32] Ley's view is unequivocal in that Edward II was induced to arrest the Templars because of the 'financial possibilities' which this presented and that he intended to make the most of them.[33] I would argue that Leys' initial premise is flawed and that the financial possibilities were a consequence of the arrest of the Order rather than a determinant. Whilst Edward II doubtless welcomed the windfall of Templar properties subsequent to the arrest of the Order, there were other factors in play. They were: his imminent marriage to Isabella; his relationship with her father, Philip IV of France who had already arrested the French Templars; and the threat of excommunication from Clement V if he did not arrest the Templars. These were more weighty considerations in early 1308 than the penurious state of the Exchequer.

Leys refers to the appointment of keepers of the Templars' lands who were ordered to pay the proceeds of the estates to the King's Chamber, not to the Exchequer.[34] She notes that many of the keepers were actually chamber and wardrobe officials like William de Spanneby, Keeper of the Templar Lands in Lincolnshire. The keepers were responsible to the chamber, the chamber responsible to the King, so in effect the King had direct fiscal control over the Templar estates.

---

[32] A. M. Leys, 'The Forfeiture of the Lands of the Templars in England', in *Oxford Essays in Medieval History presented to H. E. Salter*, ed. by F. M. Powicke (Oxford, 1934), pp. 155-63.

[33] Ibid., p. 155.

[34] Ibid., p. 156.

Edward's dire financial situation is identified by Leys as the reason why the King was so reluctant to relinquish the Templars' estates. He points out that the income was needed to support 'a badly managed and often needy household, the victualling of his troops in Scotland, or the discharge of a debt to some pressing foreign merchant', a situation which did not change until the 1320s.[35] When eventually Edward did order his keepers to give up the Templars' lands in November 1313, not only was there a 'general scramble' but also powerful lords, like Thomas of Lancaster, claimed estates on the grounds that they were the heirs of the original donors which accords with Perkins' view.[36] The King himself kept as much as possible as his escheat, a view which was later endorsed by M. C. Barber.[37] Barber states that 'The extent of 1338 shows that the Order still had not laid its hands on much of the Templar property. The king himself was amongst the usurpers'.[38]

Leys stresses the continuing difficulty endured by the Hospitallers in attempting to lay claim to the former Templar estates: 'in despair they fell back on the more effective weapon of bribery'.[39] She points out that in 1324 Prior Thomas Larcher granted lands to the King, to Hugh le Despenser the Younger, to chancery clerks, exchequer barons and justices of the King's Bench to facilitate the transfer of former Templar lands to the Hospitallers.[40] Martin was much less sympathetic toward Larcher, describing him as the 'spendthrift Prior

---

[35] Ibid., p. 161.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] M. C. Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 237.

[39] Leys, 'Forfeiture', p. 162.

[40] Ibid.

of the Hospital'.[41] Martin's view was in accord with that expressed much earlier by J. M. Kemble, namely that Larcher's dealings had 'burthened the Order [Hospitallers] to a very remarkable degree.[42] Much more recently J. S. Hamilton points to the 'astute use of bribery … by the prior Thomas Larcher'.[43] History has given Larcher a very mixed reception. I feel that he was much more astute than some have given him credit for. The case for a re-evaluation is argued in chapter six.

In his article on the Templars in Yorkshire Martin asserts that the nature of benefaction to the military orders was not the same as that to other monastic orders, where a benefactor might found a house and endow it with lands.[44] He states that in the Templars' case, benefactions were made to the Order as a whole and the establishment of local preceptories was at the discretion of the Master.[45] T. W. Parker, however, states that 'many preceptories were in fact manors transformed by the grace of their donors into religious houses' which is at variance with the centralised benefactions asserted by Martin.[46] Parker adds the caveat that 'little is known about the preceptory'.[47] A study of the nature of preceptories is offered in the next chapter.

---

[41] Martin, 'Templars in Yorkshire', p. 373.

[42] *Knights Hospitallers*, p. lix.

[43] J. S. Hamilton, 'King Edward II of England and the Templars', *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307-1314)*, ed. by J. Burgtorf, P. F. Crawford and H. J. Nicholson (Farnham, 2010), pp. 223-4.

[44] Martin, 'Templars in Yorkshire', p. 376.

[45] Ibid.

[46] T. W. Parker, *The Knights Templar in England* (Tucson, 1963), p. 20.

[47] Ibid.

In her paper on the Templars in Yorkshire, J. E. Burton restricts her study to the twelfth century.[48] In it, she concurs with Martin that the benefactors of the Templars came from across the social spectrum which is at one with my findings for Lincolnshire. She states that 'the general picture is one of the Templars relying on modest benefactions to build up their property'.[49] She cites the examples of Temple Newsam and Ribston, both of which developed as a result of grant, sale and exchange, exactly the process by which the Lincolnshire estates were consolidated and enlarged.[50] Burton notes that endowments continued throughout the thirteenth century, and points to the estates of 1308, at the moment of the arrest of the Templars, as being more extensive than those recorded in the Inquest of 1185. [51] In Lincolnshire, the same was true.

Martin gives a summary of each Yorkshire preceptory; however, he offers little analysis of agriculture.[52] He observes that, following the suppression of the Order, 'the rapidity with which the values of their [the Templars'] land fell when placed under other management is a testimony to their efficiency', however, he explores the issue no further.[53] Based upon a much more thorough review of Templar estates, Parker states that the Templars were efficient in their agricultural practices 'perhaps earlier and to a greater extent than other

[48] J. E. Burton, 'The Knights Templar in Yorkshire in the Twelfth Century: a Reassessment', *Northern History. A Review of the History of the North of England and the Borders*, 27, (1991) 26-40.

[49] Ibid., p. 37.

[50] Ibid., p. 29, p. 38.

[51] Ibid., p. 38.

[52] Ibid., p. 366.

[53] Ibid., p. 371.

lords'. [54] The first accounts of the Templar lands in Lincolnshire following the arrest of the Order in January 1308 support Martin's and Parker's view that the agricultural economy of the Templars was indeed efficiently organized.[55] The short term profiteering of the King's agents following the arrest of the Templars had a deleterious effect on their former estates thereafter. Like Martin, Burton explores neither with the nature of Templar agricultural practice nor the management of their estates.

Parker's research, published in 1963, deals exclusively with the Templars in England.[56] His references to the work of Perkins demonstrate how little research had been devoted to the Templars in England in the intervening forty three years. Parker stresses the variety of the Templar estates. He cites the Templars 'maintaining the speciality of the region' further adding that 'economic activity depended upon the resources and customs of the area'.[57] Whilst Templar agriculture was attuned to, rather than imposed upon a local area, nonetheless, innovative improvements were introduced as in the Lincolnshire example.

Parker notes that Templar land was divided into arable, pasture, garden and waste with an emphasis on 'vast areas of pasture'.[58] The general supervision of an estate was in the hands of a preceptor who could delegate manors to a sergeant as in the case of the manors of Claxby and Tealby on the Willoughton

[54] Parker, *Knights Templar in England*, p. 54.

[55] E 358/18.

[56] Parker, *Knights Templar in England*.

[57] Ibid., p. 52, p. 21.

[58] Ibid., pp. 51-2.

estate in Lincolnshire.[59] In addition, land could be rented out to lay lords.[60] Parker refers to the Templars owning mills and having fishponds on all the larger estates, both of which were prominent features of the Templar estates in Lincolnshire.[61] Further, he gives succinct descriptions of each of the five Lincolnshire preceptories; Eagle, Willoughton, Aslackby, Temple Bruer and South Witham.[62]

In the closing decade of the twentieth century concern was expressed at the lack of research into the local and regional operations of the Templars within England. In 1991, Burton expressed the view that 'with few exceptions little attention has been paid to the local interests and activities of the military orders in the twelfth century, conceding that one exception is the work of T.W. Parker.[63] In the preface of *The New Knighthood*, published in 1994, Barber states that 'it is not comprehensive; in particular, there remains considerable scope for examination of the order in specific regions', work which is still outstanding.[64] Whilst Barber's primary focus was not that of the Templar estates in England, he clearly points to the need for more specific regional studies. This thesis is just such a regional study; it addresses the nature of the Templars and their estates in Lincolnshire within the context of the political framework of the early decades of the fourteenth century.

In H. J. Nicholson's explanatory history of the Templars, she is unequivocal

---

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid., p. 54.

[62] Ibid., p. 35.

[63] Burton. 'Knights Templar in Yorkshire, pp. 26-7.

[64] M. C. Barber, *The New Knighthood*, (Cambridge, 1994), p. xvii.

with regard to the fate of the Templar estates.[65] She asserts that Edward II seized Templar property as did families who had donated land to the Order; the King gave Templar land to his friends, used it to help finance his Scottish campaigns and was most reluctant to relinquish control to the Hospitallers.[66] Subsequently, she re-affirms that 'the king found many uses for the Templar properties'.[67] Nicholson adds considerable weight to the growing consensus of academic opinion that there was not a wholesale transfer of Templar land to the Hospitallers.[68]

G. O'Malley raises further doubts regarding the wholesale transfer of Templar lands to the Hospitallers; referring to the Report of 1338, he cites 'estates worth a supposed 1,145 marks per annum that were still in the hands of lay possessors. Most of these were never to be acquired and the extent of the order's landed estate underwent only minor variations thereafter'.[69] Part of the difficulty which the Hospitallers encountered was the piecemeal nature of some of the Templar lands. The complexity of this fragmentation is well illustrated in Lincolnshire where 'in 1303, the Templars held forty-seven different knights' fees or fractions of a fee from twenty-three different lords, a figure which includes only those lands held by military tenure', hence the opportunity for usurpation by the descendants of the original patrons; a point first raised by Addison in 1842.[70]

---

[65] H. J. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: a New History* (Stroud, 2001), p. 231.
[66] Ibid.

[67] H. J. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial: The Trial of the Templars in the British Isles 1308-1311* (Stroud, 2009), p.79.

[68] Nicholson, *New History*, p. 231.

[69] G. O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue 1460-1565* (Oxford, 2005), p. 60.

[70] Barber, *Trial of the Templars*, p. 237.

The belated publication, in 2002, of P. Mayes' archaeological report on the excavations at South Witham, in Lincolnshire, provided the first detailed recording of the buildings which constituted a Templar preceptory and how it had developed.[71] E. A. Gooder contributed a chapter which supplements the archaeological interpretation with an analysis of documentary evidence and in so doing provides a much fuller image of the operation of the preceptory.[72] She argues that whilst South Witham was in existence in 1185, it did not become a preceptory until 1220, by which time it had a chapel and so the religious offices could be performed.[73] Following the sequestration of the Templar estates in 1308, Gooder states the accounts only included buildings if their contents were recorded or if they needed money spent on repair.[74] Nonetheless, she is categorical that the buildings would have included a dairy, granary, hay barn and almost certainly an ox house, sheep house, stable for cart horses, pig sties, windmill and a disused watermill.[75] Gooder adds that the same would be expected of the larger preceptories of Temple Bruer and Willoughton.[76]

On the basis of an analysis of the accounts of 1308-9, Gooder concludes that the total profit of the South Witham estate was more than might 'normally be expected' due to the short term exploitative approach of the King's officials.[77] The point is illustrated by the absence of young cattle in 1309 to replace plough

---

[71] P. Mayes, *Excavations at a Templar Preceptory: South Witham, Lincolnshire 1965-67* (Leeds, 2002).

[72] Gooder, 'South Witham', in *Excavations*, by Mayes, pp. 80-95.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid., p. 84.

[75] Ibid., p. 89.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid., p. 87.

oxen.[78] The same short term sale of stock to maximize income prevailed throughout the Templars' former estates in Lincolnshire.

Gooder concludes that the accounts of 1308 illustrate the progressive agriculture of the Templars, first noted by Parker.[79] She cites the centralised administration of the sheep flocks, the emphasis on leguminous crops, the replacement of rye with wheat and the mutual help between manors as evidence.[80] All of these aspects of Templar agricultural practice, which were evident in Lincolnshire, are explored in subsequent chapters of this thesis. In addition, Gooder provides one of the few comparisons which are available, with the preceptory of Temple Balsall in Warwickshire, again based upon documentary evidence.[81]

D. Mills' *The Knights Templar in Kesteven* is notable as the only publication which gives a description of the preceptories and aspects of the Order's estates in that part of Lincolnshire.[82] However, it is not intended to be analytical and neither does it pursue the fate of the Templar lands after their sequestration. A much more analytical approach is adopted by M. Gervers with regard to the Hospitallers' estate in Essex.[83] His reference to the lack of royal patronage of the Hospitallers in twelfth century England goes some way to explain the difference between the size of the Hospitaller and Templar estates in Essex and

---

[78] Ibid., p. 88.

[79] Ibid., p. 92; Parker, *Knights Templar in England*, p. 54.

[80] Gooder, 'South Witham' in *Excavations*, by Mayes, p. 92.

[81] Gooder, *Temple Balsall.*

[82] D. Mills, *The Knights Templar in Kesteven* (Lincoln 1990, rev. and rep. 2009).

[83] M. Gervers, '*Pro defensione Terre Sancte*: the Development and Exploitation of the Hospitallers' Landed Estate in Essex', in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. by M. C. Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 3-20.

by implication elsewhere. Gervers deals in some detail with the problems associated with the management of territorial acquisitions which were small and widespread and suggests that 'the Hospitallers, unlike the Templars, do not appear to have had enough capital to lease or purchase extensive nucleated manors'.[84] Where the estate was large enough, it would appear that the Hospitallers did actively farm the land, however, they were 'predominantly farmers of rents and tithes'.[85] M. M. Postan further states the importance of rental income on the estates of the military orders.[86] Gervers' paper was a milestone not only because it dealt with the Hospitallers' estates within one county but because it drew a distinction between the active involvement of Templar estate management and the more distant managerial approach of the Hospitallers. A distinction which became evident in Lincolnshire as former Templar lands were transferred to the Hospitallers.

Whilst there are other publications on the trial of the Templars, notably the seminal work of Barber, cited above, Nicholson's, *The Knights Templar on Trial* is the only publication concentrating exclusively on this subject in Britain.[87] In this, Nicholson discusses the general nature of a Templar house before dealing in detail with the sheriff's inventories of 1308 for the commandery of Foulbridge, North Yorkshire.[88] Further, she explores the relationship between Edward II and the former Templar estates emphasising

[84] Ibid., p. 11.

[85] Ibid., p. 19.

[86] M. M. Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society: an Economic History of Britain in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972) pp. 92-3.

[87] Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial.*

[88] Ibid., pp. 72-5.

the ways in which the King exploited the Order's possessions which she had highlighted in *The Knights Templar*.[89] Not least, she identifies the significance of the Templar wool clip in paying off inherited debts to Italian merchant houses. In addition, Nicholson itemises the *famuli* enrolled in the accounts for Faxfleet, the Templar preceptory on the north bank of the Humber.

The relationship between Edward II and the Templars is further explored by J. S. Hamilton who concentrates on the political machinations surrounding the arrest of the Templars and the trial of the Order.[90] Hamilton argues that the trial and suppression of the Templars were 'far from cataclysmic' citing the repeated delays of Edward II as having a mitigating effect.[91] However, it is difficult to see how the overnight collapse of one of the great military and financial institutions of the medieval period can have been anything other than cataclysmic. S. Phillips gives a much fuller consideration of the transfer of former Templar estates to the Hospitallers by reference to an example where this was successful, New Temple, London, and examples in Yorkshire where it manifestly failed, Faxfleet, Temple Newsam and Temple Hirst.[92] He concludes that 'it appears that the Hospitallers eventually gained most of the [Templars'] lands, including some of those still out of their possession in 1338'.[93] However, whilst Phillips cites a number of examples of former Templar properties which were not transferred to the Hospitallers, he does not

[89] Nicholson, *Knights Templar*, p. 231.

[90] Hamilton, 'King Edward II of England and the Templars', in *Debate on the Trial*, ed. by Burgtorf, Crawford and Nicholson, pp. 215-24.

[91] Ibid., p. 224.

[92] S. Phillips, 'The Hospitallers' Acquisition of the Templar Lands in England', in *Debate on the Trial*, ed. by Burgtorf, Crawford and Nicholson, pp. 237-46.

[93] Ibid., p. 245.

compare the properties listed in the accounts of 1308 with those in the Report of 1338.[94] Phillips does concede that 'successful acquisition of the Templars' goods required the assistance of crown officials' implying that favourable leasing to crown officials, or indeed bribery, may have lubricated the wheels of property transfer as Leys had unequivocally stated.[95]

The foregoing survey of Templar literature highlights the absence of substantial studies of the agricultural practice on the Templar estates in England. There is limited evidence of analysis of the primary sources and even less evidence of qualitative and quantitative comparison between the primary sources. Where former Templar estates are discussed, it is their place as pawns in the political machinations of the early fourteenth century, which is of interest. Templar agriculture is seriously under-researched. This thesis is intended to address the issue with regard to Lincolnshire.

0.3.iii. Secondary sources: Templar estates, agricultural practice and estate management

There is a considerable body of published work on aspects of medieval agriculture, both monastic and secular. However, there is an absence of publications on Templar agriculture, without which, the study of medieval agriculture is incomplete. This is particularly the case as the Templars were substantial landholders in England during the twelfth, thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. What follows is a historiography of medieval agriculture to which this thesis makes a contribution.

The second volume of *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* ranges

---

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid., p. 246.

widely over aspects of medieval agriculture, much of the content contributed by H. E. Hallam, the editor.[96] Hallam proposes that in the early fourteenth century, Lincolnshire was divided into two agricultural regions, the highlands and the lowlands.[97] Highland Lincolnshire, which encompasses the Wolds specialized in wheat, barley and sheep.[98] The western fen edge grew wheat and barley except where it was wet or silty where oats were favoured.[99] The siltlands of Holland grew oats, maslin, and legumes, the latter particularly in the wapentake of Skirbeck.[100] These are broad generalisations, as the 1308-1313 accounts of the estates of the former Templars amply illustrate. However, they do give some notion of the changes in agricultural emphasis determined by topography.

J. G. Hurst discusses the nature of agricultural granges and, uniquely, places the preceptory of South Witham within the context of monastic granges elsewhere.[101] He concludes that 'no standardized grange can be devised as this would have depended on the date, monastic order, and the use of any particular property'.[102] C. Platt arrives at the same conclusion asserting that Cistercian granges 'can have yielded very little to standardisation'.[103]

---

[96] H. E. Hallam ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, 2, *1042-1350* (Cambridge, 1988).

[97] Hallam, 'Farming Techniques: Eastern England', in *Agrarian History*, ed. by Hallam, p. 307.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid.

[101] J. G. Hurst, 'Rural Buildings in England and Wales', in *Agrarian History*, ed. by Hallam, pp. 888-97.

[102] Ibid., 889.

[103] C. Platt, *The Monastic Grange in Medieval England* (London, 1969), p. 71.

Whilst confining his study to the monastic granges in Yorkshire, T. A. M. Bishop indicates that the monastic estates had reached their maximum extent and greatest efficiency in most vills by 1279 when the Statute of Mortmain was enacted.[104] Bishop suggests that not only did the statute hinder the alienation of lay land to the monasteries - as it was intended to do - but it also prevented the monasteries from rearranging or consolidating their property.[105] S. Raban takes the point further.[106] She suggests that as the forcible repossession of land became unacceptable, then statutary limitation on the extension of ecclesiastical holdings emerged as a response.[107] However, Raban points out that despite the Statute of Mortmain, Thorney Abbey continued to acquire land through the dealings of Robert Clapton, nephew of the abbot, and William de Spanneby.[108] The impact of the Statute of Mortmain would have been far-reaching on the Templar estates where purchase and exchange of parcels of land had aided their consolidation and efficiency. William de Spanneby who was shortly to become the Keeper of the Templar lands in Lincolnshire would have been fully aware of the statute's consequences as a result of his previous involvement in land acquisition at Thorney.

No consideration of medieval agriculture is complete without substantial reference being made to the singular contribution of B. M. S. Campbell. Campbell developed a statistical methodology based upon a huge Norfolk data

---

[104] T. A. M. Bishop, 'Monastic Granges in Yorkshire', *The English Historical Review,* 202 (1936), p. 199.

[105] Ibid., p. 198.

[106] S. Raban, *The Estates of Thorney and Crowland: a Study in Medieval Monastic Land Tenure.* (Cambridge, 1977).

[107] Ibid., p. 89.

[108] Ibid., p. 72.

base. As a consequence, he is able to comment authoritatively on all aspects of medieval agriculture and has been cited frequently in the present thesis. The synthesis of his research is presented in *English Seigniorial Agriculture.*[109] In particular the chapters on pastoral and arable production are essential to any understanding of medieval agriculture.[110] Campbell's approach is more analytical than that of either Hallam or R.Trow-Smith, nonetheless, he deals not only with the broader patterns of agricultural types but also with the practical aspects of farming.[111]

Research into arable farming has been thematic. In his consideration of Winchester yields, J. Z. Titow discusses the extent and productivity of the demesne.[112] He suggests that manuring, marling, the introduction of new crops, particularly legumes, and the adoption of new systems of rotation would have contributed to enhanced productivity.[113] As the availability of manure was directly proportional to the number of livestock, then the density of application could only be increased by either increasing the number of livestock, or reducing the area to which it was applied. W. Harwood Long suggests that weediness of the soil could have been one of the major determinants of poor arable productivity.[114] D. Postles emphasizes the importance of both weeding and summer ploughing as a means of controlling weeds and so enhancing crop

---

[109] B. M. S. Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture 1250-1450* (Cambridge, 2000).

[110] Ibid., pp. 102-247.

[111] Hallam, *Agrarian History*; R. Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700* (London, 1957).

[112] J. Z. Titow, *Winchester Yields: a Study of Medieval Agricultural Productivity* (Cambridge, 1972).

[113] Ibid., pp. 30-1.

[114] W. Harwood Long, 'The Low Yields of Corn in Medieval England', *EcHR*, 2nd ser., 32, 4 (1979), 459-69 (pp. 467-9).

productivity.[115] Campbell further concludes that grain productivity could be aided by intensive sowing which would have helped to smother the weeds.[116] D. Stone stresses that the implementation of each of these stratagems to maintain soil fertility was as a result of policy decisions rather than happenstance.[117] J. N. Pretty argues that productivity was not the primary aim of medieval manorial agriculture, often being sacrificed in the interest of both stability and sustainability.[118] However, Pretty concedes that by the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, direct farming was declining.[119] The evidence from the Templar estates in Lincolnshire points to the striking of a balance between profitability and sustainability. The balance was destroyed by the exploitation of the estates by the King's officers after the arrest of the Order in 1308.

K. Biddick states that throughout the thirteenth century the See of Winchester 'endured a vacancy in every generation'.[120] Whilst the estates of the bishopric were in the King's hands, the bulk sale of livestock and grain, including seed grain, resulted in 'serious reductions of the factors of production and consumption'.[121] She adds that for the newly elected abbot to re-establish

---

[115] D. Postles, 'Cleaning the Medieval Arable', *AHR*, 36 (1988), 130-43.

[116] B. M. S. Campbell, 'Agricultural Productivity in Medieval England: some Evidence from Norfolk', *EcHR*, 43, 2 (1983), 379-404.

[117] D. Stone, *Decision Making in Medieval Agriculture* (Oxford, 2005), pp.63-70.

[118] J. N. Pretty, 'Sustainable Agriculture in the Middle Ages: the English Manor', *AHR*, 38, 1 (1990), 1-19.

[119] Ibid., p. 19.

[120] K. Biddick, 'Agrarian Productivity on the Estates of the Bishopric of Winchester in the Early Thirteenth Century: a Managerial Perspective', in *Land, Labour and Livestock: Historical Studies in European Agricultural Productivity*, ed. by B. M. S. Campbell and M. Overton (Manchester, 1991), pp. 95-123.

[121] Ibid., p. 103.

'simple pre-vacancy production levels required both cash and time'.[122] The exploitation of estates which fell into the hands of the King was commonplace, it was by no means restricted to the former properties of the Templars in Lincolnshire.

C. C. Thornton suggests that on the Bishop of Winchester's Taunton manor, there was a strong correlation between local soils and crop yield.[123] He concedes the overriding importance of environmental factors in determining agricultural productivity, but adds that stratagems could be employed to maintain soil fertility as cited above.[124] He further points out that a high value crop such as wheat could be sown on less fertile soil because its market value would compensate for the lower yields.[125] These considerations would have been as applicable on the Lincolnshire estates of the Templars as they were on the Somerset manor of the Bishop of Winchester.

R. Trow-Smith's general history of livestock husbandry to 1700 places medieval farming practice within the chronology of agricultural development.[126] In particular, he concentrates on the mechanics of medieval farming with an emphasis on sheep rearing. He accords to medieval stock managers a far greater understanding of their tasks than would have been the case had agriculture been in a state of stasis.

D. L. Farmer provides an introduction to the significance of stock on the

---

[122] Ibid.

[123] C. C. Thornton, 'The Level of Arable Productivity on the Bishopric of Winchester's Manor of Taunton', in *The Winchester Pipe Rolls and Medieval English Society* ed, by R. Britnell, ed., (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 121.

[124] Ibid., p. 123.

[125] Ibid., p. 121.

[126] Trow-Smith, *Livestock Husbandry.*

medieval manor through his consideration of livestock prices in the thirteenth century.[127] He asserts that almost invariably oxen were bought in a condition fit to work in a ploughteam. However, oxen were sold either when they were surplus to requirements or when exhausted and fit only for slaughter. The price reflected the condition of the beast.[128] Similarly, carthorses were of better quality than ploughhorses and commanded a higher price.[129] Finally, Farmer states that the sale of livestock was an 'unimportant and incidental part of their [the manors'] economy compared with the sale of grain'.[130] Whilst relative prices of livestock are considered in the present thesis, of more interest is the relative significance of oxen and horses to medieval farming technology.

J. Langdon establishes beyond doubt that by the end of the thirteenth century horse hauling had replaced ox hauling as the primary means of vehicular transport.[131] He cites the 'radical improvements in horse traction' literally enabling the greater speed of the horse to be harnessed.[132] Greater speed allowed increased distances to be covered, enabling access to a wider range of markets, with the possibility of higher prices for produce.[133] He states that for oxen, haulage was a secondary activity to ploughing where replacement by horses was a much more gradual process.[134] Further, Langdon argues that the

---

[127] D. L. Farmer, 'Some Livestock Price Movements in Thirteenth-Century England', *EcHR*, n.s., 22, 1 (1969), 1-16.

[128] Ibid., p. 6.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Ibid., p. 14.

[131] J. Langdon, 'Horse Hauling: a Revolution in Vehicle Transportation in Twelfth and Thirteenth Century England?', *Past and Present*, 103 (1984), 37-66.

[132] Ibid., p. 40.

[133] Ibid., p. 62.

[134] Ibid., p. 48.

introduction of horses into ploughteams increased the speed of ploughing but did not improve the crop yield.[135] However, with increased speed came the opportunity for more frequent ploughing to suppress weeds and the possibility to free labour for other tasks.[136] Langdon regards the introduction of the horse as a draught animal as a technological revolution in medieval agriculture.[137] As the following thesis will illustrate, this was a revolution which the Templars had embraced on their Lincolnshire estates.

The pig was ubiquitous on medieval manors but Farmer states that there are 'almost no records of the purchase of pigs' implying that pigs were reared for consumption on the manor and that a sufficiency was produced.[138] K. Biddick's conclusions relating to pig husbandry on the Peterborough Abbey estate are in broad agreement.[139] She finds that pigs were intensively managed.[140] She adds that 'there is little evidence to suggest extensive pig management based on pannage […] existed on the Abbey estate in the early twelfth century'.[141] Further, she states that extensive pig herding would have been incompatible with coppiced woodland.[142] Pig rearing was not practised on a large scale on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire. It did produce bacon for the larder

---

[135] J. Langdon, *Horse, Oxen and Technical Innovation. The Use of Draught Animals in English Farming from 1066 to 1500* (Cambridge, 1986), p.266.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Langdon, 'Horse Hauling', p. 64.

[138] Farmer, 'Some Livestock Price Movements', p. 9.

[139] K. Biddick, 'Pig Husbandry on the Peterborough Abbey Estate from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century A.D.', in *Animals and Archaeology*, 4, Husbandry in Europe, BAR International Series 227, ed. by J. Clutton-Brock and C. Grigson (Oxford, 1985), pp. 161-77.

[140] Ibid., p. 166.

[141] Ibid., p. 168.

[142] Ibid., p. 166.

and income from sales, although the latter was insignificant compared with that from wool.

Wool was of paramount importance to the economic wellbeing of medieval England. It was a commodity which was central to the politics of the period under scrutiny. As a result, much research has concentrated on the wool trade, the staple and tax revenues, rather than the characteristics of medieval sheep and the mechanics of sheep farming. Whilst the work of E. Power gives an insight into the economics of the wool trade it does little to inform the reader of the practice of sheep farming.[143] T. H. Lloyd later pursued a similar theme as did A. R. Bell, C. Brooks and P. R. Dryburgh. [144] However, M. L. Ryder's research concentrates on the attributes of medieval sheep and the quality of wool which elsewhere has been so easily, and not always correctly, assumed.[145] Only J. P. Bischoff has published specifically on medieval fleece weights and sheep breeds.[146] Bischoff's major contribution to the understanding of medieval sheep farming was to establish that the sheep were small, as were the fleeces. C. Dyer's paper which explains the form and function of sheepcotes, offers the means by which sheep survived the winter as a result of enlightened

[143] E. Power, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History* (Oxford, 1941).

[144] T. H. Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1977); A. R. Bell, C. Brooks and P. R. Dryburgh, *The English Wool Market c. 1230-1327* (Cambridge, 2007).

[145] M. L. Ryder, 'The Animal Remains found at Kirkstall Abbey', *AHR*, 7 (1959), 1-5; Ryder, 'Livestock Remains from Four Medieval Sites in Yorkshire', *AHR*, 9 (1961), 105-10; Ryder, 'The History of Sheep Breeds in Britain', *AHR*, 12 (1964), 1-12; Ryder, 'Medieval Sheep and Wool Types', *AHR*, 32 (1984), 14-28.

[146] J. P. Bischoff, 'I cannot do't without counters': Fleece Weights and Sheep Breeds in Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Century England', *Agricultural History*, 57, 2 (1983)143-160.

husbandry.[147] The following thesis both defines Templar sheep and analyses the nature of sheep farming on the Lincolnshire estates of the Order immediately following the arrest in 1308.

Agricultural management is not a modern concept. Both secular and monastic estates of the medieval period could be significant commercial enterprises requiring managerial decisions in both policy and practice. At least three contemporary sources of advice were available to the medieval practitioner, namely the *Seneschaucy*, *Walter of Henley* and the *Husbandry.* [148] The *Seneschaucy* was written *circa* 1276 and *Walter* possibly as late as 1285.[149] The *Seneschaucy* outlined the responsibilities of the offices of the personnel within the estate administration.[150] *Walter,* however, restricted his comments to the management and farming of a manorial unit based upon arable farming and stock rearing.[151] Significantly, each thesis is centred on accounting.[152] The accounts provided a tool whereby the efficiency of the workforce could be scrutinised along with the profitability of land management.[153] It is just such accounts which enable the analysis of the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire. The advice which *Walter* proffered, in pursuit of profitability, was progressive and not necessarily commonly accepted practice.[154] However,

---

[147] C. Dyer, 'Sheepcotes: Evidence for Medieval Sheep Farming', *Medieval Archaeology*, 39 (1995), 136-64.

[148] D. Oschinsky, *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting* (Oxford, 1971).

[149] Ibid., p. 75.

[150] Ibid., p. 76.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Ibid., p. 77.

[153] Ibid., p. 156.

[154] Ibid., p. 183.

his influence is manifest in the farming practice of the Templars.

Accounts provided data which informed decision making, and in turn, recorded the outcome of decisions. D. Stone researches the nature and importance of decision making in medieval agriculture, repeatedly returning to the theme that medieval agriculture was not a random affair.[155] He indicates the strategic difference between the winter sown cash crops and the spring sown fodder crops.[156] Stone points out that crop sales were staggered according to market prices.[157] Thus, valuable wheat was sold just before harvest, when there was the greatest shortage and prices were highest.[158] The acreage devoted to winter sown cash crops depended upon the ability of the reeve to anticipate the market price at the time that the crop would be sold.[159] Stone illustrates how the same attention to detail was applied to stock farming. He cites that at Wisbech, whilst sheep farming for wool was the major element of the pastoral enterprise, income was also generated by the leasing of ewes for milking.[160] Overall, Stone proposes convincingly that farm managers responded to market trends when making their decisions and were not afraid to experiment with new techniques. The picture which he draws of a medieval farm manager is that of a man whose interest was in progress, productivity and profit not that of an individual who was moribund. It is notable that M. Mates suggests that where the husbandry manuals such as *Walter* remain silent then the lords 'relied upon

---

[155] Stone, *Decision Making.*

[156] Ibid., p. 47.

[157] Ibid., p. 49.

[158] Ibid.

[159] Ibid., p. 53.

[160] Ibid., p. 50.

[…] the local wisdom of the neighbourhood' which varied from one part of the country to another.[161] Whilst Mates' view points to regional variations in agriculture, it hardly suggests a progressive approach. The initial accounts of the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire reflect the active management which Stone describes.

There is no Templar equivalent to the study of the estate of the Benedictine Abbey of Crowland by F. M. Page.[162] Page defines the personnel who were involved in the organisation of the Crowland estates. The steward had overall responsibility and spent much time travelling between manors so as to supervise operations, his burden being particularly heavy at Michaelmas when the end of year accounts were due and he was visited by auditors.[163] The reeve was responsible for the day by day running of a manor.[164] The main burden of agricultural work fell upon the permanent staff, the *famuli.*[165] This hierarchical system of manorial organisation is immediately recognisable as that which prevailed on the Templar estates in Lincolnshire.

Page's definition of the *famuli* is of particular relevance. He suggests that theirs was a full-time occupation, they did not have holdings of any size, and significantly, they were the only class of the manorial population which depended upon its profession rather than land tenure.[166] These specialist labourers included the likes of ploughmen, carters, shepherds, cowherds and

---

[161] M. Mate, 'Medieval Agrarian Practices: the Determining Factors', *AHR*, 32, 22-31.

[162] F. M. Page, *The Estates of Crowland Abbey: a Study in Manorial Organisation* (Cambridge, 1934).

[163] Ibid., p. 30.

[164] Ibid., p.73.

[165] Ibid., p. 104.

[166] Ibid., p. 105.

swineherds.[167] He further asserts that the heavier agricultural work was not performed by the services of the villeins other than during the autumn harvest when all hands were needed.[168] M. M. Postan is in complete accord with Page regarding the nature of the *famuli.*[169] He makes a further important observation that 'records are singularly silent about servants residing on the demesne or the demesne buildings which could have housed them', adding that 'the inevitable presumption therefore is that the labourers 'keep' no longer took the form of the common bread and the collective habitation in the lord's household'.[170] Gooder refers to the Yorkshire preceptory of Temple Hirst as having had a dormitory to accommodate the *famuli* in the same way that the *conversi* were accommodated on a Cistercian estate.[171] The *famuli* of the Templars' Lincolnshire estates perfectly fit the definition described. However, as discussed in detail in the following chapter, there is no evidence to suggest that the Templar preceptories had dormitories in Lincolnshire, echoing the silence identified by Postan.

0.4. Conclusion

The historiography cited above is selective rather than comprehensive, it is the literature which is most germane to the research embodied in this thesis. It is manifest that within the literature there is a lacuna of some considerable size. Little has been published on the Templar estates in England and no attempt has

[167] Ibid.

[168] Ibid.

[169] M. M. Postan, 'The Famulus: the Estate Labourer in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *EcHR*, supplements 2 (Cambridge, 1954).

[170] Ibid., p. 15.

[171] Gooder, 'South Witham', in *Excavations*, by Mayes, p. 92.

yet been made to analyse the farming on the former Templar estates or their fate within the parameters of an English county. This means that both the studies of the Templars and of medieval agricultural are incomplete. Until recently, Templar scholars have concentrated on the military and political aspects of the Order, mainly in the Holy Land and Europe. Students of medieval agriculture have shown little interest in Templar estates. As a result of this schism, the primary sources which reveal the nature of Templar agriculture have been underutilised. Notably, there is no published comparison between the Inquest of 1185, the accounts of 1308-13 and the Report of 1338.[172] As a consequence, there has been no study of the changing nature of agriculture on the Templar and former Templar estates. Where Templar estates have been studied, it is within the context of the political machinations involved in their transfer to the Hospitallers. Further, without a detailed comparison of the former Templar manors enrolled in the accounts of 1308 and those listed in the Report of 1338, then any assessment of the properties transferred to the Hospitallers by 1338, is based upon incomplete evidence. The following thesis aims at addressing both the nature of Templar agriculture and the fate of the Order's estates within the county of Lincolnshire.

[172] *Inquest*; E 358/18, 19, 20; *Knights Hospitallers.*

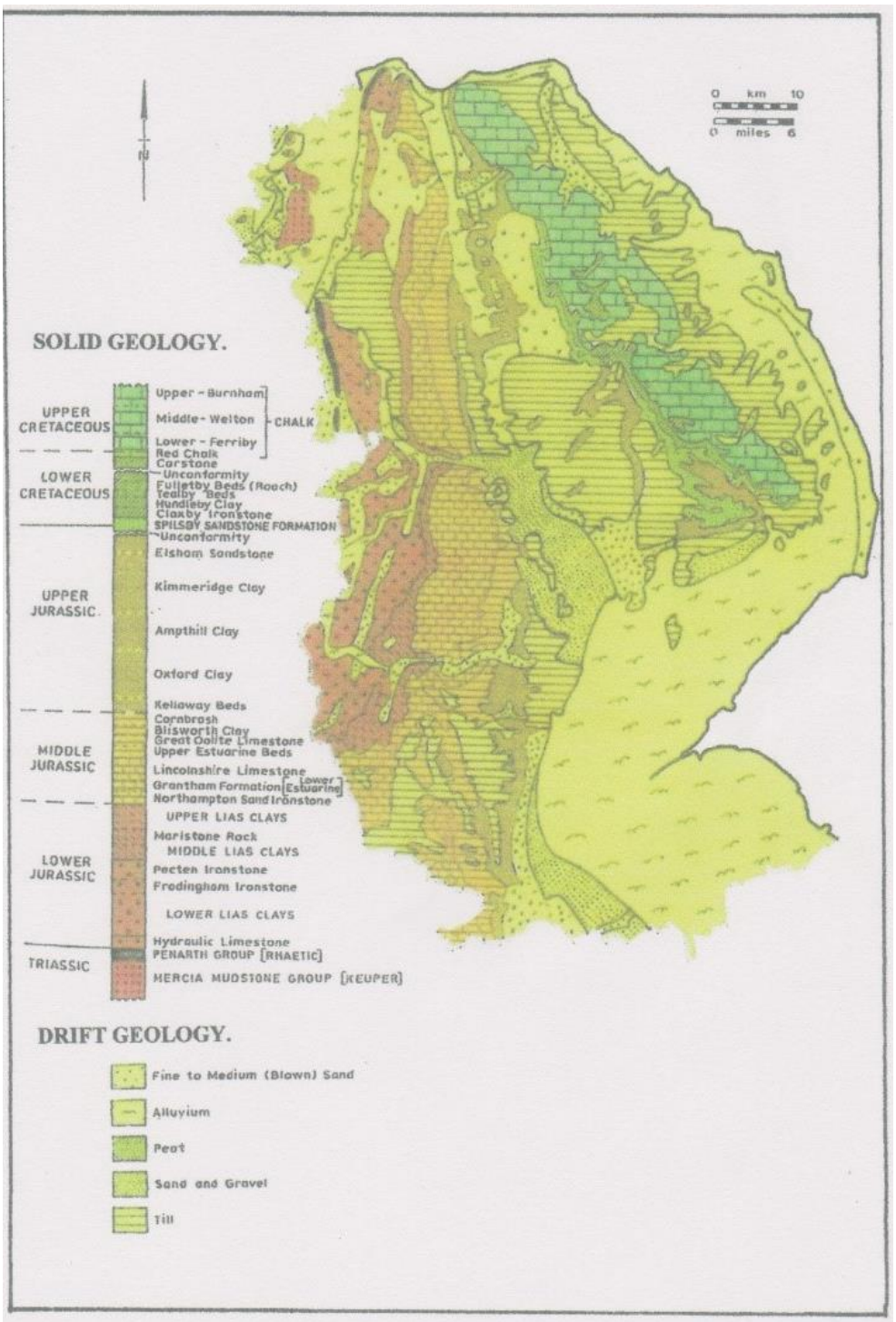
Chapter 1

The Lincolnshire landscape, Templar properties and preceptories

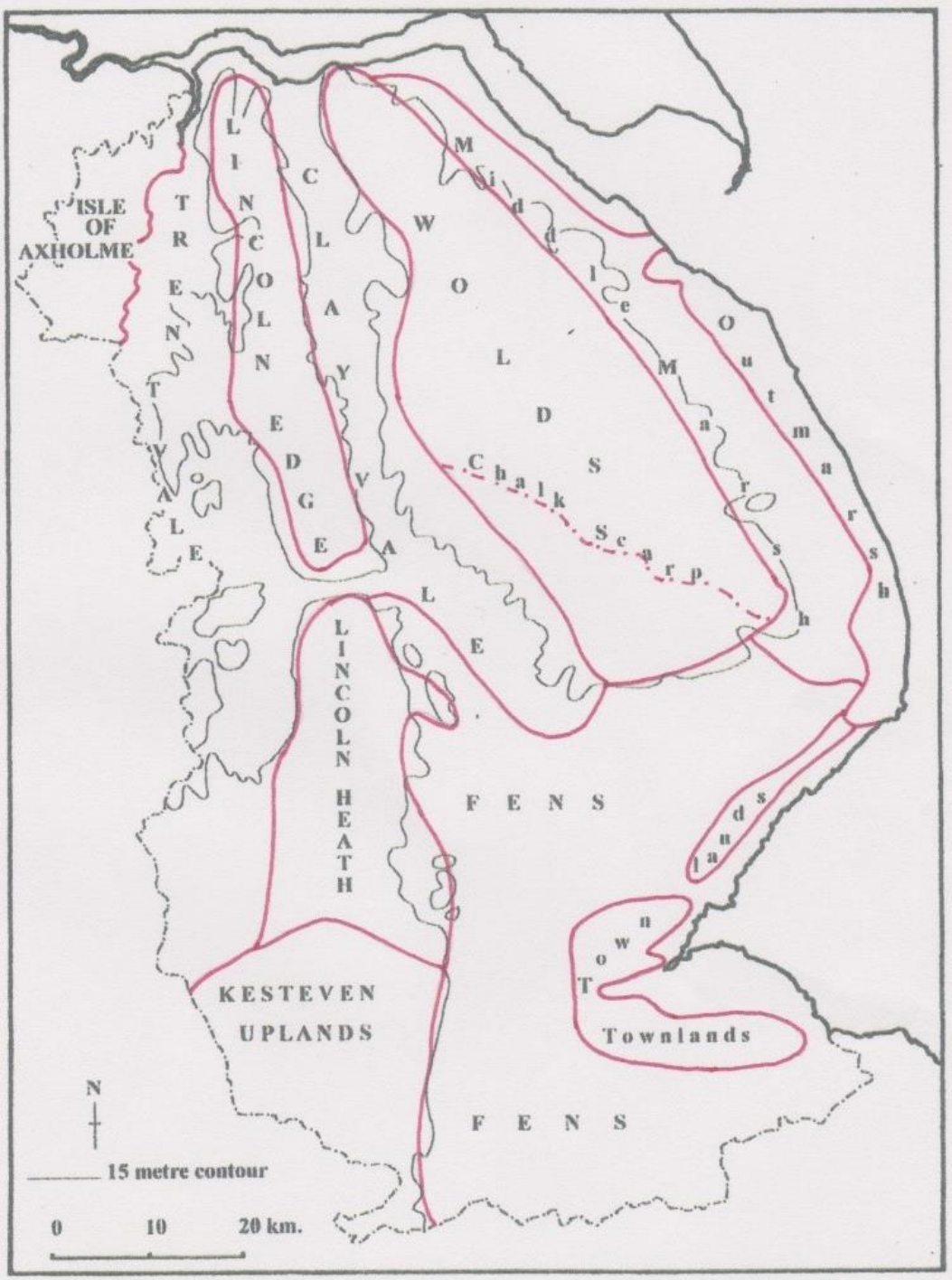
This chapter initially examines the topography of Lincolnshire and establishes the nature of the landscape which would have been inhabited by Templars and Hospitallers in the late twelfth to early fourteenth centuries. Within the context of landscape, the distribution of the Templar holdings, as itemised in the Inquest of 1185, is considered and compared with that of the properties which fell into the hands of Edward II following the arrest of the Order on 10 January 1308. Using archaeological and documentary evidence, the second section of chapter one explores the relationship between the functions of the Lincolnshire preceptories and their physical layout, to determine both their common elements, and the aspects of their differences, which created their individuality in the early years of the fourteenth century.

1.1. The relationship between topography and Templar property

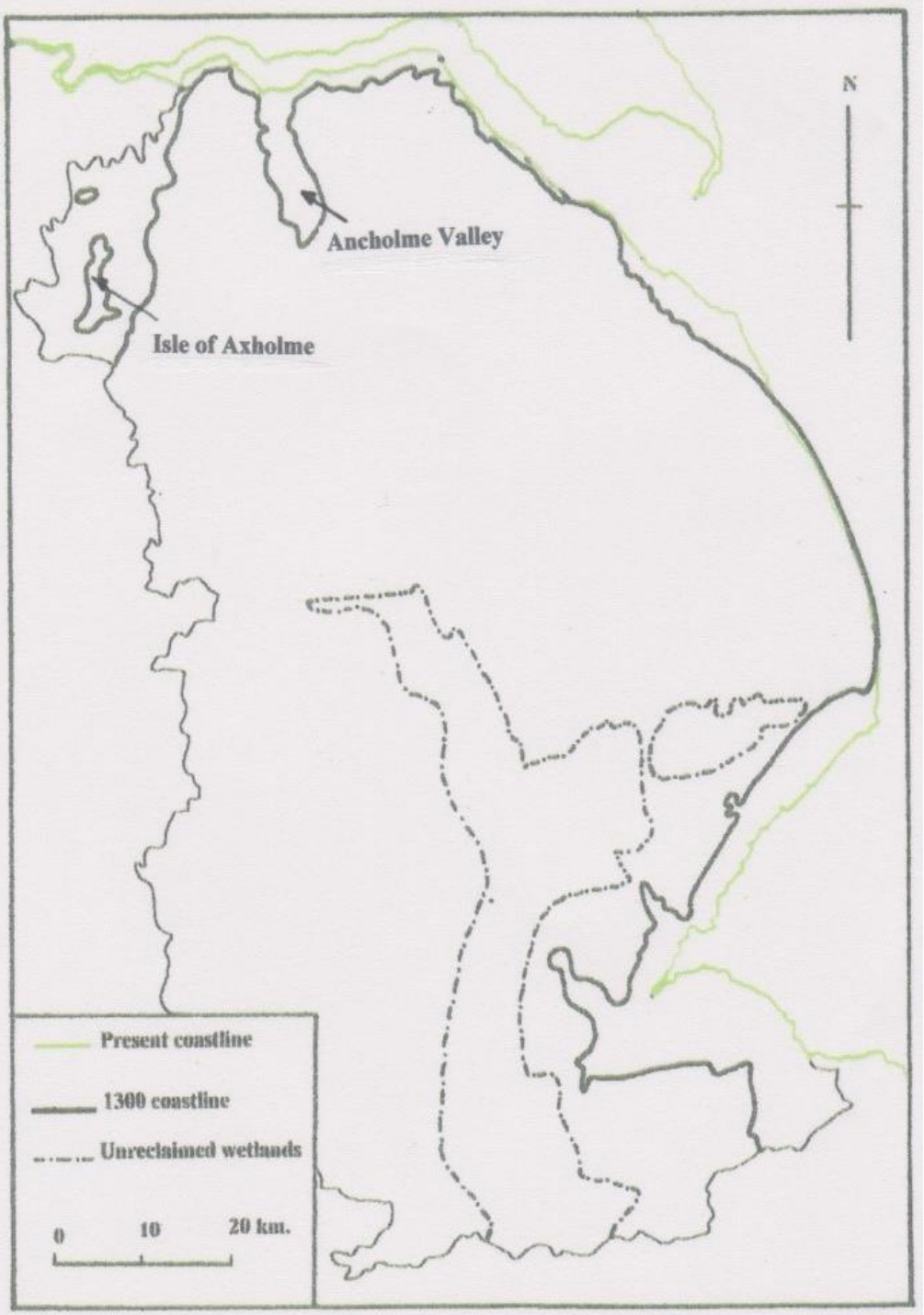
The landscape of Lincolnshire is built of sedimentary rocks principally of Jurassic and Cretaceous age all of which dip uniformly in an easterly direction (map 1). These Mesozoic rocks are extensively overlain with Pleistocene glacial drift deposits. The resultant topography consists of two west facing scarps, the Jurassic limestone scarp of Lincoln Edge and Lincoln Heath, overlooking the Trent Vale, and further east, the Cretaceous chalk scarp of the Lincolnshire Wolds (map 2). Separating the two escarpments is the Central Clay Vale. To the east of the Wolds is the Middle Marsh and the Outmarsh and



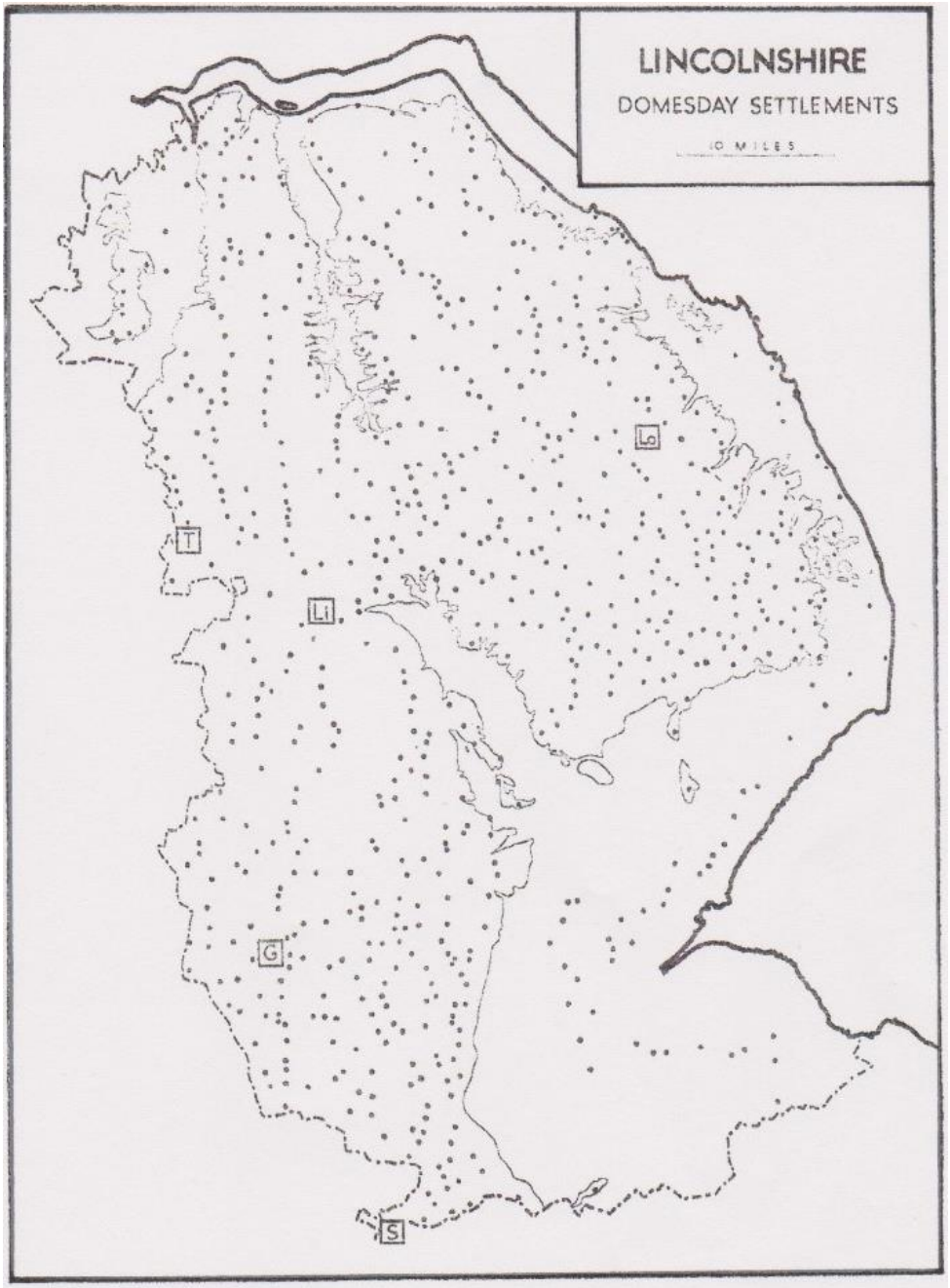
Map 1. Generalised surface geology of Lincolnshire (after Aram, 1993).



Map 2. Lincolnshire's natural regions (after Robinson, 1993).

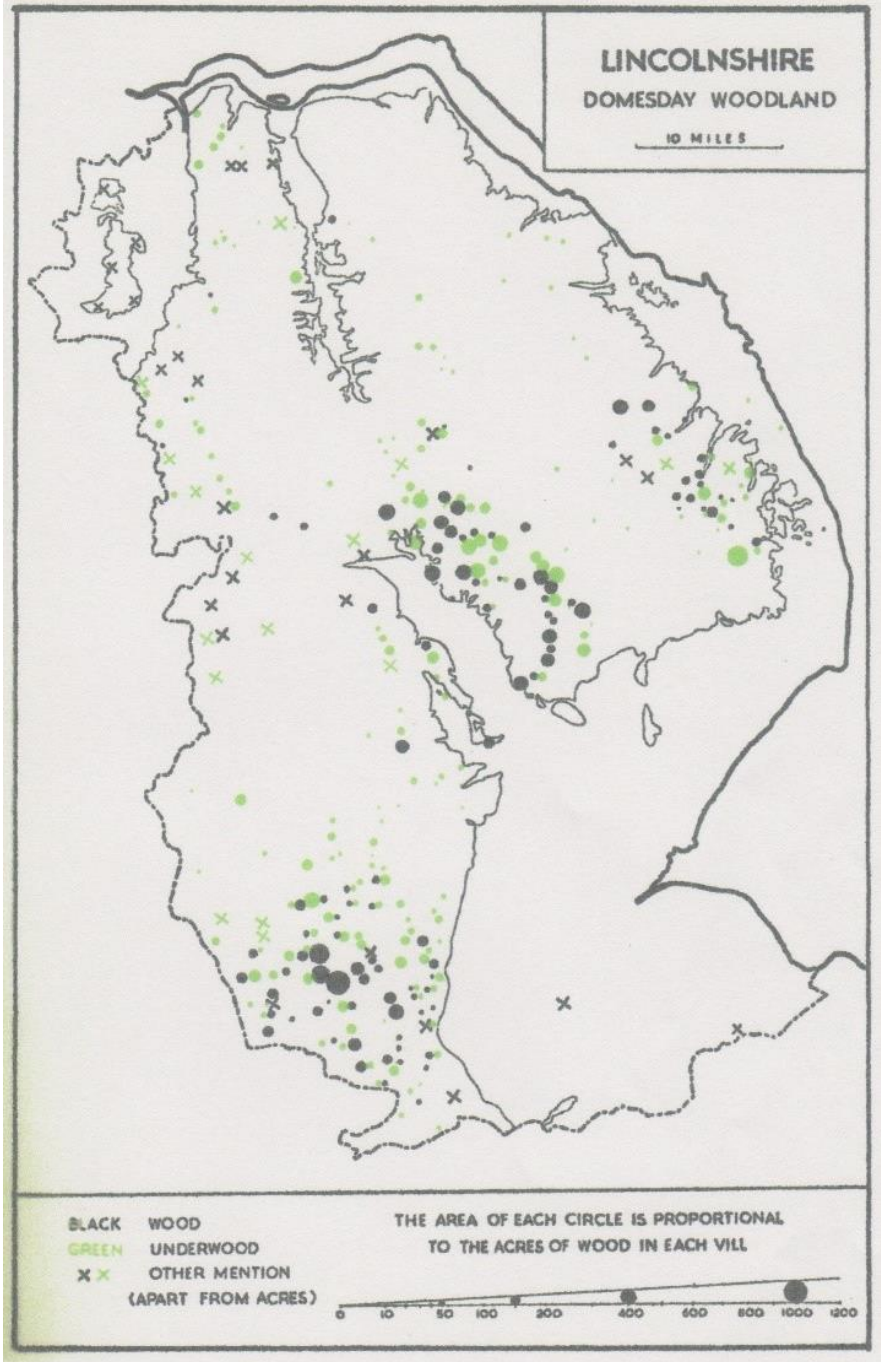


Map 3. Thirteenth century Lincolnshire coastline and unreclaimed wetlands (after Robinson, 1993).



Map 4. Lincolnshire Domesday settlements (from H. C. Darby, *The Domesday Geography of Eastern England* [Cambridge, 1952], p.35).

Places with burgesses are indicated by initials: G, Grantham; Li, Lincoln; Lo, Louth; S, Stamford; T, Torksey.



Map 5. Lincolnshire Domesday woodland (from H. C. Darby, *The Domesday Geography of Eastern England* [Cambridge, 1952], p. 61).

to the south, the Fens much of which, along with the Central Clay Vale was still unreclaimed wetland by the end of the twelfth century. The thirteenth century was characterised by dramatic rises in sea level which 'overwhelmed the offshore banks and combined with tidal surges to reshape the coastline', particularly in the south where the Wash was much more extensive than now (map 3).[1] In northern Lincolnshire, on the south bank of the Humber estuary, the Ancholme Valley was a tidal inlet, as yet unreclaimed, and the Isle of Axholme was surrounded by marshland and tidal flats.[2] Finally, the Fens of the south were penetrated by the Townlands, a sinuous silt bank which was of particular importance during the medieval period as the only part of the Fens with significant settlement.

The agricultural potential of the lands within Lincolnshire varied according to the relationship between soil cover and contemporary technology. The inherent fertility of a heavy clay soil could not be utilised because the ploughing technology was inadequate for the task. As a result, the settlements recorded in the Domesday Survey of 1086 largely ignored the Central Clay Vale, much of the northern Trent valley and the wetlands in the south of the county (map 4). The lighter calcareous soils of the scarplands were a much more attractive proposition, particularly where they were associated with glacial till and woodland cover such as in the southern Wolds and the Kesteven Uplands (map 5).

At the time of the Inquest undertaken by Geoffrey Fitz Stephen in 1185, the Templars held property in 167 settlements in Lincolnshire. The distribution of

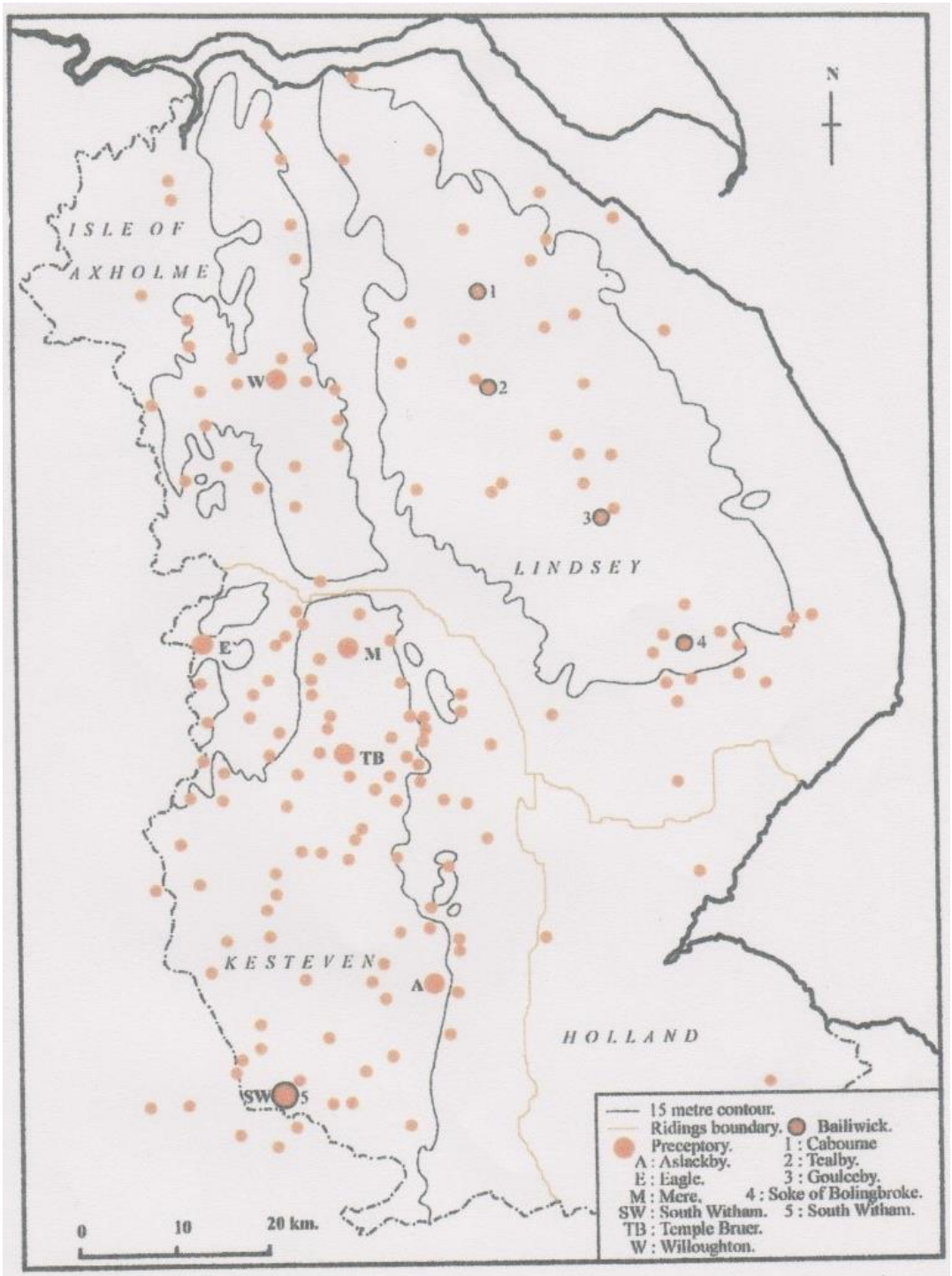
---

[1] D. Robinson, 'Drainage and Reclamation', *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire*, ed. by S. Bennett and N. Bennett (Hull, 1993), p. 72.

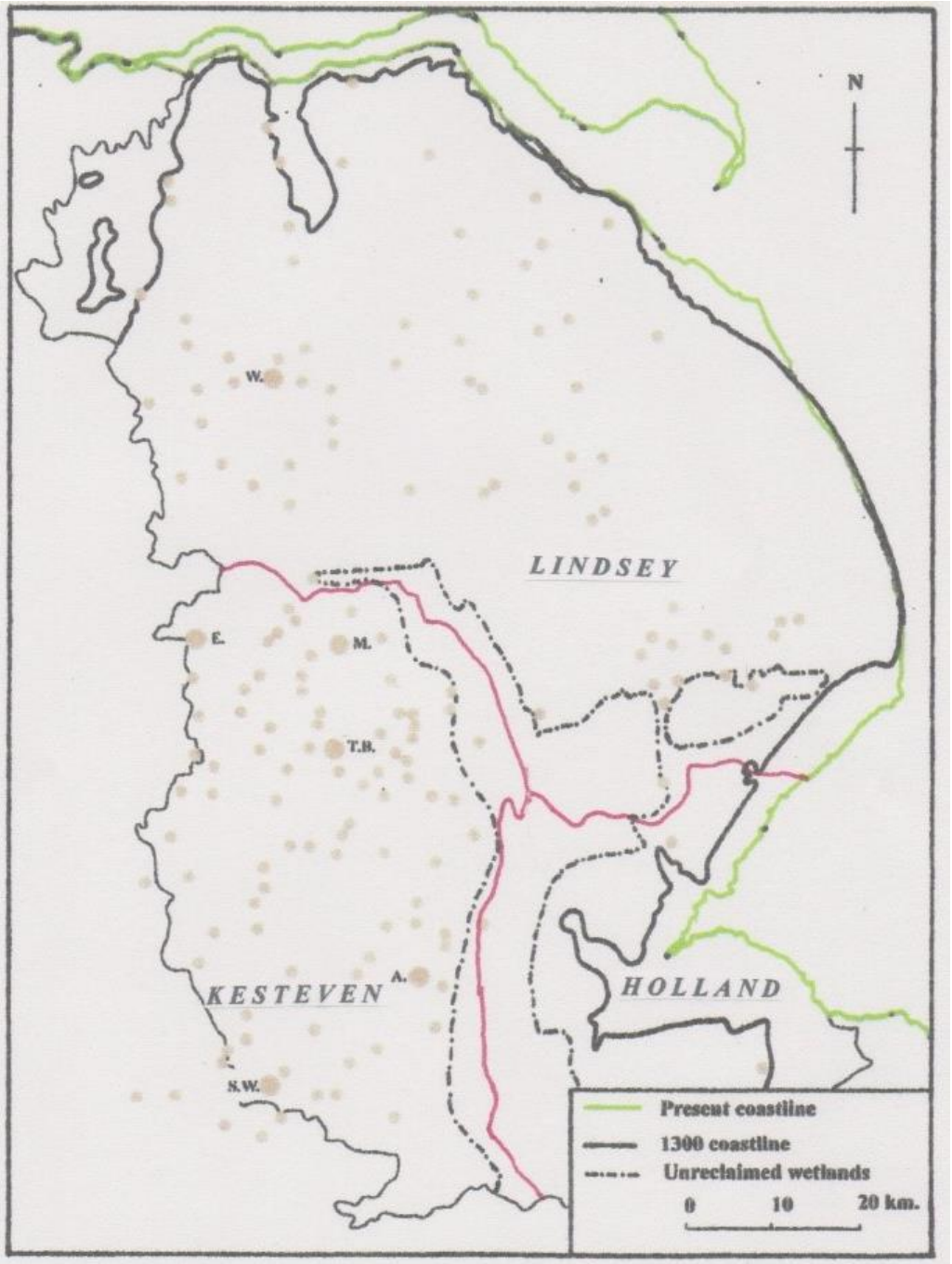
[2] Ibid.

Templar holdings in 1185 shows a pattern which is not dissimilar to that evident from the Domesday Survey of 1086, in particular, the avoidance of clay and the concentration of settlement on the upland (map 6). A comparison of the distribution of Templar lands with that of unreclaimed wetlands shows that whilst there were holdings on the margins of wetlands, no settlement penetrated further (map 7). The pattern of Templar holdings on the uplands was by no means uniform. Other than a marked concentration in the southern Wolds and a minor grouping around Goulceby, Templar property in the chalk Wolds was scattered. North of Lincoln, the pattern of Templar property on Lincoln Edge was diffuse with a slight concentration around Willoughton where there were holdings at the foot of the limestone scarp. South of Lincoln there was a far greater density of Templar property on Lincoln Heath, particularly in the vicinity of Temple Bruer. The Kesteven Uplands also had a greater density of Templar holdings than the Wolds. As map 6 illustrates, the parts of Lincolnshire vary in size considerably. Lindsey, the largest by far, had the most widespread pattern of Templar properties. Lindsey had one major organisational centre, the preceptory of Willoughton but in addition there were the minor bailiwicks of Cabourne, Tealby, Goulceby and Bolingbrook, all located in the Wolds. The greatest concentration of holdings was in Kesteven (map 8), the density of which was reflected in the number of preceptories, of which there were four, namely, Temple Bruer, Eagle, South Witham and Aslackby.

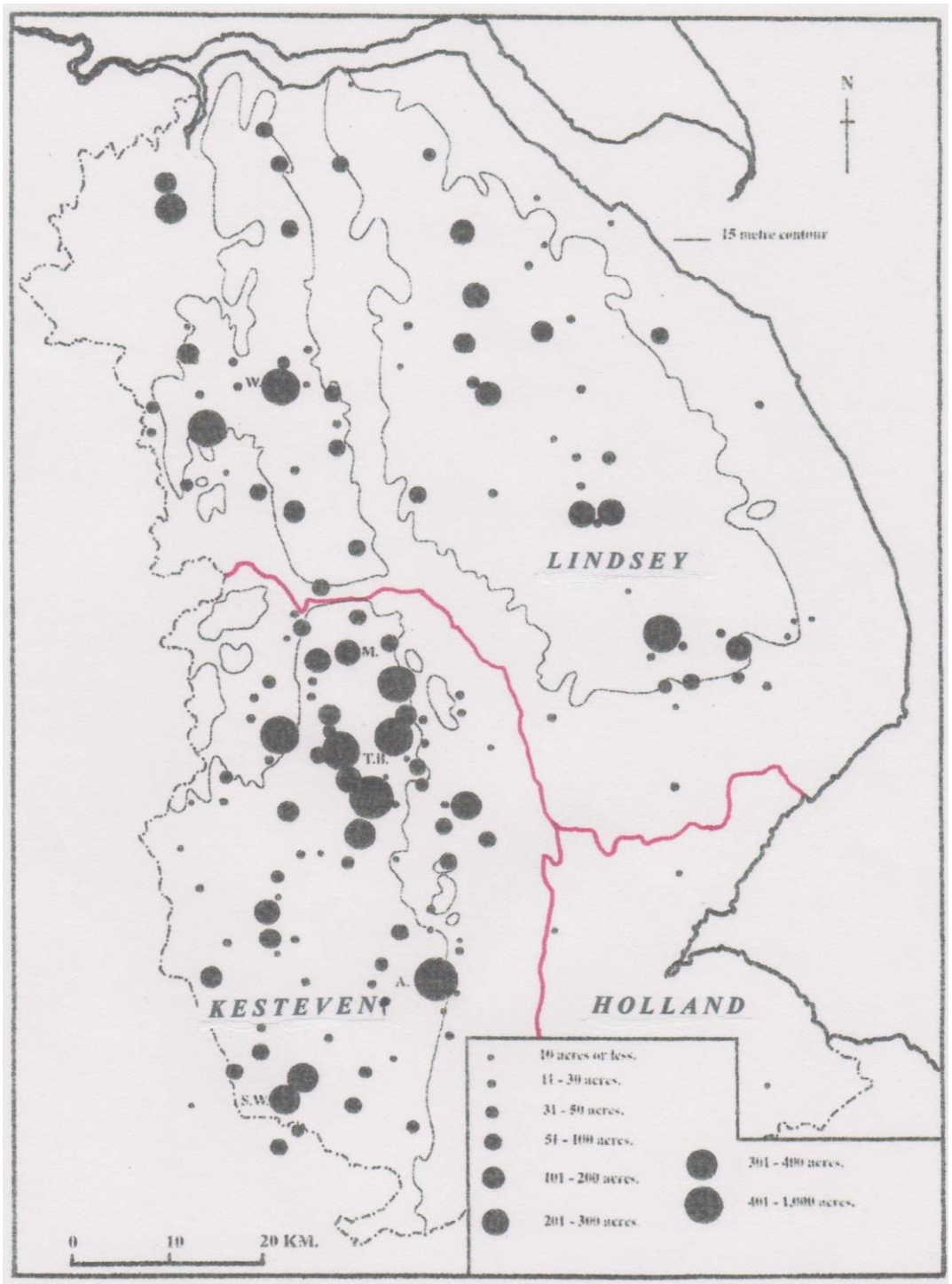
The consolidation of Templar holdings during the thirteenth century meant that by the time the Order was arrested in January 1308 the number of vills in



Map 6. The distribution of Templar landholdings in Lincolnshire in 1185.



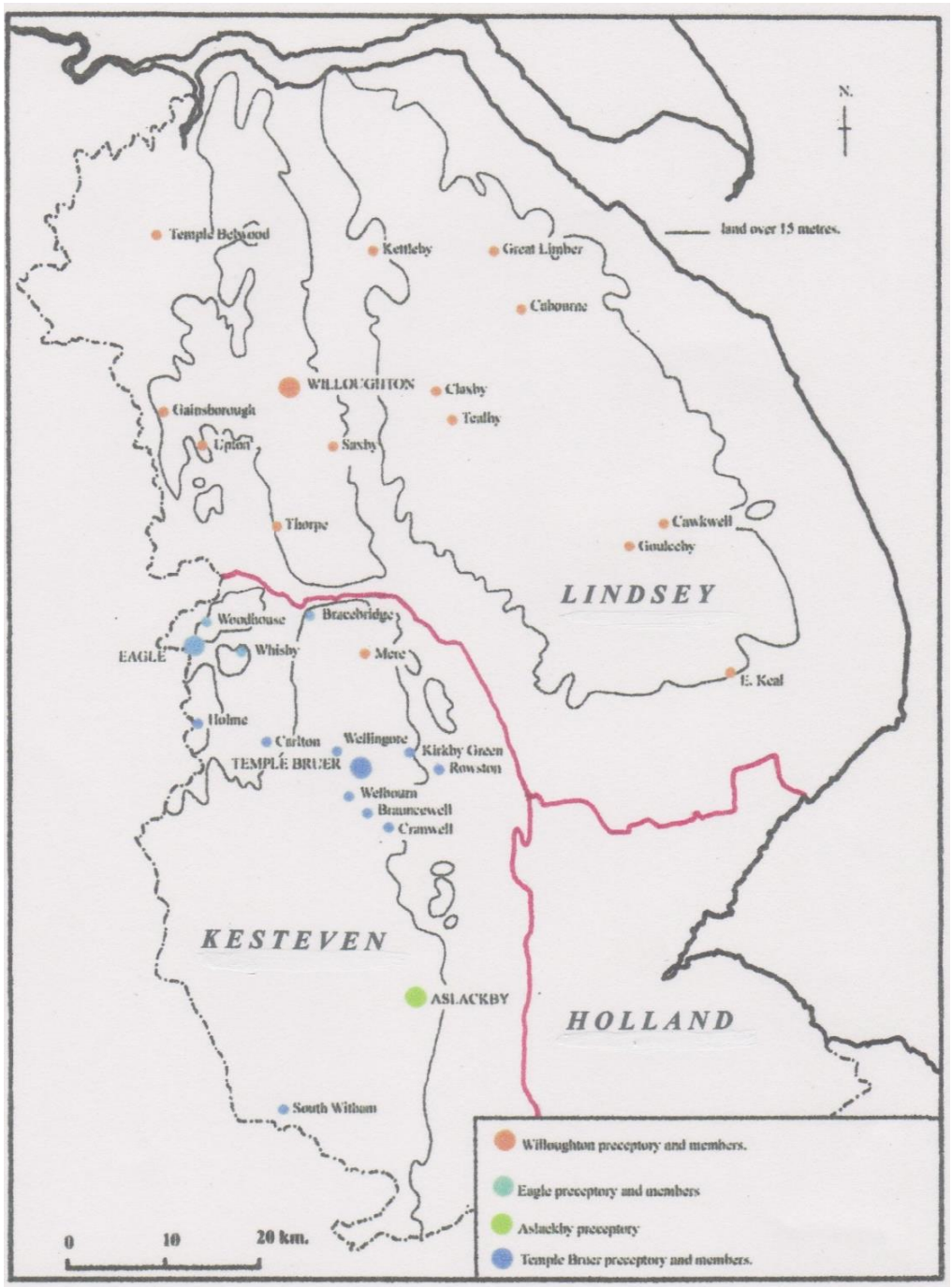
Map 7. The distribution of Templar landholdings in 1185 in relation to the coastline and wetlands of 1300.



Map 8. Relative areas of Templar landholdings by settlement in 1185.

which the Templars held land had been substantially reduced (map 9). Notwithstanding the reduction in the number of holdings, the distribution pattern was similar to that of 1185 with the absence of property on the heavy clay lowlands and a concentration on the lighter more cultivable soils of the limestone and chalk uplands. By the early fourteenth century the Templars' estates in Lincolnshire had become more efficient operations by land acquisition and exchange. In addition, the number of estates and preceptories had been reduced. By 1308, Mere was an integral part of the Willoughton estate, if indeed it ever had been a separate preceptory, and the preceptory of South Witham and its estate had been absorbed by Temple Bruer.

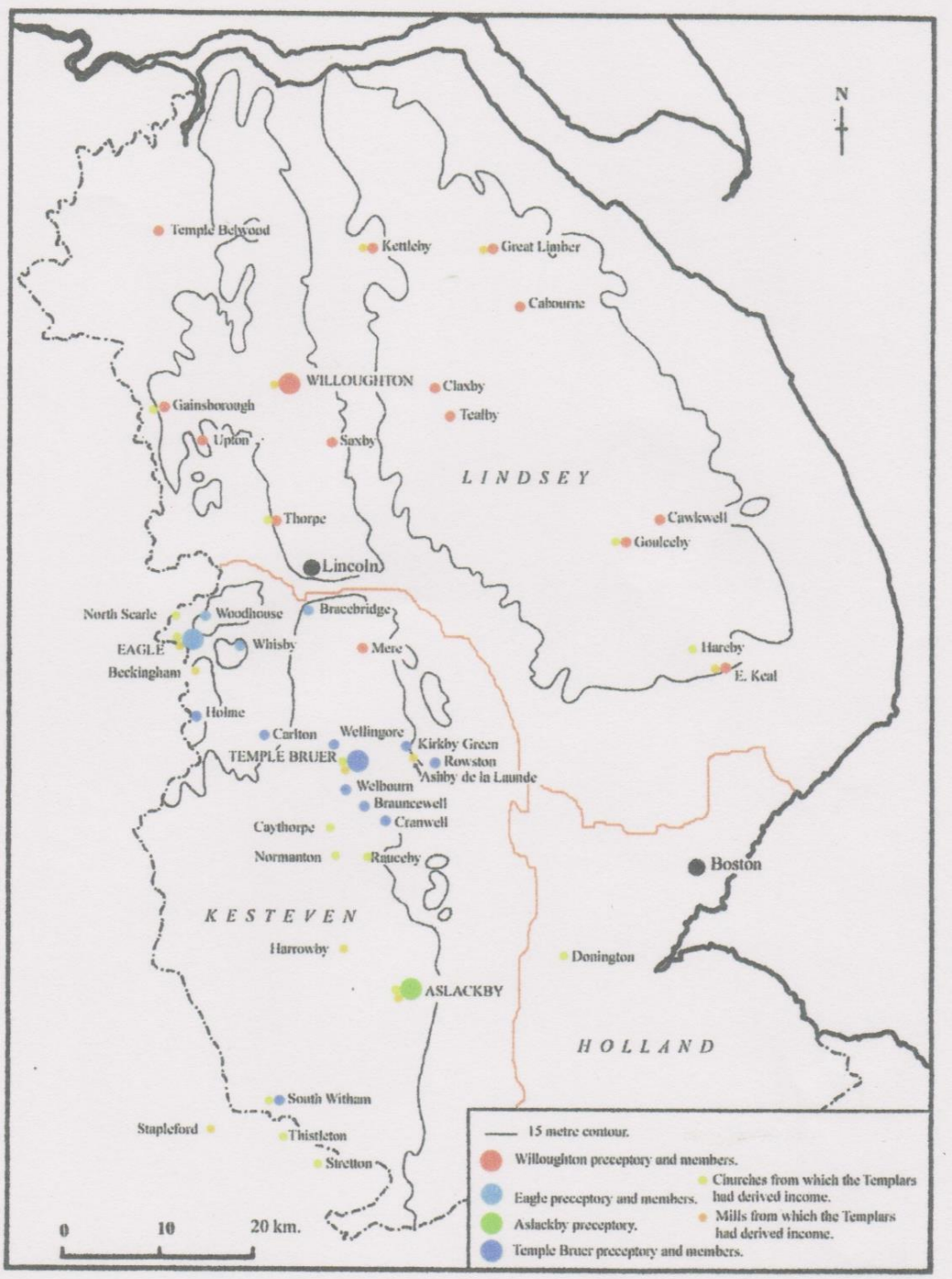
Compared with the consolidation in the distribution of Templar lands between 1185 and 1308, the pattern of churches from which the Order derived income underwent relatively minor change. In 1185 the Templars had a financial interest in seventeen churches within the county and four which were outside its boundaries (map 10). In 1185, the Templars drew income from seven churches in Lindsey. By 1308, the Order had no longer held Althorpe church and the chapel of Burney in Haxey, both on the Isle of Axholme (map 11). There was no Templar church in Holland in 1185 but the accounts of 1308 include the church of Donington which had been acquired in the interim (map 11). In 1185 Kesteven had ten Templar churches, including those at Eagle, Aslackby and South Witham. In addition, there were the out of county churches at Sproxton, Stretton and Marnham (map 10). No church was listed in the Inquest for Temple Bruer. By 1308, the Templars had lost the churches of both



Map 9. The distribution of former Templar preceptories and landholdings in 1308-9.



Map 10. The distribution of Templar churches and mills in 1185.



Map 11. The distribution of former Templar preceptories, members, churches and mills in 1308-9.

Claypole and Cranwell and of the out of county churches, they had lost Sproxton but gained Thistleton. Most significantly, Temple Bruer was enrolled in the accounts of 1308 as having a church, the tower of which is the only Templar building which is extant in the county. In early 1308 the Templars still retained financial interest in sixteen churches in the county.

Of the twenty-three mills enrolled in the Inquest of 1185, only seven were in Lindsey (map 10). There were no Templar mills in the northern Wolds in 1185. The permeability of the chalk would have severely limited the potential number of watermill sites in the Wolds and windmills were not introduced into England until the late twelfth century. Of the sixteen mills in Kesteven in 1185, the greatest concentration of mills was on the Kesteven Uplands in the vicinity of South Witham (map 10). Of the emergent preceptories in 1185, each of Willoughton, Eagle, and South Witham had mills, only Temple Bruer and Aslackby did not. By 1308, the majority of mills were wind powered and the number of mills reduced from that of 1185 as a result of this technological advance. This accords with the 'sudden efflorescence of windmills from the late twelfth century to 1300' described by J. Langdon (map 11).[1] Langdon further points out that by 1300 the windmill was only one relatively new technological development along with the 'introduction of the horse to agriculture'.[2] By the time of the arrest of the Order in 1308, each Lincolnshire preceptory had a mill. J. G. Hurst cites the first documentary evidence of a windmill in England, in a charter of 1170, on a Templar site at Swineshead in

[1] J. Langdon, *Mills in the Medieval Economy: England 1300-1540* (Oxford, 2004), p. 233.

[2] Ibid., p. 8.

Lincolnshire.[3] The Templars were not merely progressive, they were innovative, using their international links to introduce new technology from abroad.

1.2. The preceptories

The preceptory was the administrative heart of the Templar estate and as such reflected both the size of the estate and its function, that of practising mixed agriculture to raise money for the support of the Templar affairs overseas. Any description of the buildings which constitute a Templar preceptory is dependent upon the limited archaeological evidence, mainly the excavation at South Witham. Hurst stresses the significance of the South Witham archaeological evidence due to the rarity of Templar sites, where, following the suppression of the Order in 1312, the buildings were altered or demolished during the early fourteenth century.[4] Similarly, P. Ritook concentrates on South Witham.[5] In addition, there is the more extensive documentary evidence, provided by the inventories of deadstock and records of expenditure on building repairs enrolled in the estate accounts of 1308-9. The combination of the archaeological and documentary evidence is insufficient to provide a definitive picture of the physical layout of a Templar preceptory but is more than enough to enable a reasoned, speculative, extrapolation.

---

[3] J. G. Hurst, 'Rural Building in England and Wales: England', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales:* 2, *1042-1350* ed. by H. E. Hallam (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 854-930.

[4] Ibid., p. 896.

[5] P. Ritook, 'The Architecture of the Knights Templars in England', in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. by M. C. Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 167- 78.

In early 1308, there were four active Templar preceptories in Lincolnshire - Temple Bruer, Willoughton, Eagle and Aslackby. Each preceptory was the centre of the administration of an estate consisting of member manors, with the exception of Aslackby which consisted of a demesne manor and additional rented property. Besides administering the estate, the preceptory acted as the centre for the collection of estate produce, particularly wool. As a result of its estate-wide function, the preceptory could be expected to have had a larger range of buildings with a greater storage capacity than that found on a member manor. The size of the wheat and barley barns which are still extant at Cressing Temple in Essex gives some indication of the storage capacity necessary for a large, operational preceptory.[6] The preceptory manor was typically the most extensive of the manors constituting the estate. The extent of the Templar holdings in Lincolnshire was considerable; as early as 1185, the Order held in excess of 17,000 acres in the county in addition to 23 mills and the spiritual income from 17 churches.[7]

The historical links between the Cistercians and the Templars - the Templars were endorsed by Bernard of Clairvaux - might suggest that the Order would have replicated the standardised system of estate management adopted by the Cistercians. The spiritual and administrative centre of each Cistercian estate was the abbey, associated with which were the granges. Each grange was a farm located on the estate and answerable to the centralised estate

---

[6] A. Tapper, *Knights Templar and Hospitaller in Herefordshire* (Little Logaston, 2005), p. 48. The barley barn dating from 1200-1220 is 120 feet long by 48 feet wide and the wheat barn dating from *circa.* 1260 is 130 feet long and 44 feet wide. Both barns were specifically to store the grain harvest.

[7] J. M. Jefferson, 'The Lost Treasure of the Templars: the Templar Lands in Lincolnshire and What Happened to Them 1185-1560' (M.A. dissertation, University of Nottingham, 2007), p. 7.

administration based at the abbey itself. M. C. Barber points out that 'despite attempts to mould the Templar possessions into a coherent structure, there was no typical preceptory, modelled on a preconceived plan like that of the Cistercians'.[8] Barber based his conclusion upon twelfth-century French evidence; the archaeological and documentary evidence for early fourteenth century Lincolnshire points to the same conclusion. Although there was a degree of conformity in the management of the Templar estates in Lincolnshire, each of the four Lincolnshire preceptories had its own unique physical characteristics. Whilst the preceptories shared elements, each was adapted to its function: Eagle had the only infirmary and Willoughton had the most widespread estate. These differences were reflected in the constituent buildings, precisely as Barber argues.

Whilst there was no standardised approach to the construction of preceptories, nonetheless, there could be a degree of consistency in the design of the constituent buildings, reflecting a common purpose. W. H. St. John Hope refers to the 'numerous inventories of the contents of the preceptories, which show that the buildings included a church or chapel, oft-times a *camera* or set of lodgings, and always a hall and kitchen, with such usual adjuncts as a larder, bakehouse, brewhouse, cellar etc.'[9] For Temple Balsall, the Warwickshire preceptory, E. A. Gooder lists a hall, chamber, chapel, pantry, dairy and larder, buttery and cellar, kitchen, bakery, brewhouse and mills as being included in

[8] M. C. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 262.

[9] W. H. St. John Hope, 'The Round Church of the Knights Templar at Temple Bruer, Lincolnshire', *Archaeologia*, 61 (1908), 177-98 (p. 178).

the inventory of 1308.[10] As with the components listed by St. John Hope, Gooder only itemises those buildings, which, with the exception of the mills and the chapel, were essentially domestic in purpose rather than agricultural. However, the conjectural plan of Temple Balsall shows, in addition, the farm buildings, barns, stables and a dovecote as an enclosed area arranged around a green courtyard (fig. 1).[11] The plan includes 'lodgings (probably for full time-labourers)' which is highly speculative as in Lincolnshire there is neither archaeological evidence nor documentary evidence to support the existence of dormitories for labourers.[12] Further, although the plan of Temple Balsall illustrates lodgings over the parlour, it does not include a guest house which might have been expected given the importance of hospitality as a function of a preceptory.[13]

Whilst it was never a preceptory, Temple Manor, at Strood in Kent, was an estate which was near the main road to the continent and as such offered accommodation to important travellers, not least Templars.[14] S. E. Rigold, who excavated the site between 1951 and 1968, describes Temple Manor as having been in 1185 'a court [with] a complex of timber structures, hall, kitchens, barns and stables', sufficient to accommodate guests and store the produce of the estate.[15]

---

[10] E. A. Gooder, *Temple Balsall: the Warwickshire Preceptory of the Templars and their Fate.* (Chichester, 1995), pp. 70-6.

[11] Ibid., p. 68.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] S. E. Rigold, *Temple Manor* (1962, rev. rep. 1990), p. 11.

[15] Ibid.¸ p.1.

The most comprehensively excavated example of a Templar preceptory is that of South Witham in Kesteven, Lincolnshire. The excavation was completed by P. Mayes in 1967 and the findings published in 2002.[16] The general site plan and the artist's impression of South Witham both show an extensive premises with a full range of domestic buildings including a great hall, brewhouse, dairy, workshop and kitchen (figs. 2 and 3). P. Ball attributes a guesthouse, conveniently situated next to the entrance gate and gatehouse, which would have provided accommodation for travellers as was expected of a preceptory.[17] This would seem more than probable, however, Mayes refers to the same building as the eastern gatehouse.[18] In addition there was a full range of farm buildings providing animal accommodation, including stables and pigsties whilst barns and a granary stored the estate's arable produce. The presence of a smithy indicates that the preceptory had the capacity to fabricate horseshoes and to manufacture and repair carts and ploughs, a point further emphasised by the anvils, hammers and tongs listed in the inventory of deadstock ending at 23 February 1309 (appendix 1).[19]

Although the layout of South Witham was by no means identical to that of Temple Balsall, reinforcing the point that, unlike Cistercian operations there was not a standardised building plan, the buildings did reflect the functional similarity of the two preceptories. Before 1308 South Witham had ceased to be

---

[16] P. Mayes, *Excavations at a Templar Preceptory: South Witham, Lincolnshire 1965-7* (Leeds, 2002).

[17] P. Ball, *The Knights Templar at South Witham* (Stamford, 2002), p.15. The key to both figures 2 and 3 on pages 64 and 65 in the thesis are taken from Ball, pages 18-19 and generally correspond to the enumeration of the text in Mayes *Excavations.*

[18] Mayes, *South Witham*, pp. 32-4.

[19] E 358/18, 14/1 dorse, lines 35-6.

a preceptory. Even so, South Witham continued to rent land from the likes of William de Crescy and Thomas de St Laund and further, to rent out land. At its apogee, South Witham was a less important preceptory than either Temple Bruer or Willoughton, as it was the administrative centre of a smaller estate, albeit with out of county interests.[20] On this basis, it must be assumed that the buildings of Temple Bruer and Willoughton would have been more extensive to provide additional storage and accommodation for the larger estates, but there is no archaeological evidence. Excavations at Temple Bruer have concentrated on the site of the church and there has been no archaeological excavation at Willoughton. However, the artist's reconstruction of Temple Bruer preceptory and the plan of the site of Willoughton preceptory both suggest extensive premises (figs. 4 and 5).[21] The preceptory of Eagle also covered an area in excess of that of the current Eagle Hall indicated by the irregularities visible in the surrounding fields.[22]

1.2.i. The evidence of the inventories of deadstock, goods and chattels

Deadstock constitutes agricultural implements such as ploughs and carts and wagons. Goods and chattels include all items other than deadstock and agricultural produce such as grain. Livestock, that is, beasts are enrolled separately. The inventories of the Templar manors are both discontinuous and incomplete (appendix 1). The first survey was made after Michaelmas 1308

[20] *Ibid.*, lines 41-4. Whilst the Templars and subsequently, Edward II, drew income from a moiety of the church of South Witham, they also enjoyed tithes from the churches of Thistleton and Stretton, both of which are now in Rutland.

[21] D. R. Mills, *The Knights Templar in Kesteven* (Lincoln 1990, rev. 2009), p. 10; P. L. Everson, C. C. Taylor and C. J. Dunn, *Change and Continuity: Rural Settlemement in North-West Lincolnshire* (London, 1991), p. 219.

[22] Mills, *Knights Templar in Kesteven*, pp. 16-17.

and the first inventory for the preceptory of Temple Bruer is in the accounts beginning Michaelmas 1311.[23] Notwithstanding their limitations, the inventories give some idea of the domestic range of buildings to be found at the preceptories and their contents. They do not, however, refer to barns, byres and pigsties (i.e. the agricultural buildings).

The 1311 inventory of Temple Bruer includes the contents of a hall, pantry, buttery, brewhouse, kitchen, dairy, forge and a carpenter's shop (appendix 1). In addition, there were forty quarters of lime in the kiln, valued at fourpence per quarter, which would either have been used for mulching or for making lime mortar.[24] In either case - that of improving the soil quality or of maintaining and erecting stone buildings - it does not suggest that Temple Bruer was in a state of dereliction.

The most remarkable omission is that of the contents of Temple Bruer church which must have had a chalice and paten, a missal and an order of service at the very least. The omission is doubly surprising. Not only is the remainder of the inventory thorough, it also gives the indication that Temple Bruer was well equipped. Ten silver spoons are listed in the pantry in the account ending 2 July 1312, a maplewood mazer in the buttery, along with a goblet, both with silver feet, all of which were high value goods.[25] Gooder states that 'silver spoons were exceptional enough in inventories of that date [1308] to suggest the one-time presence of Templars'.[26] The existence of rare and valuable objects over four years after the arrest of the Order would imply

[23] E 358/18, 38/1 dorse, lines 3-11.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, p. 84.

that the 'decay on the estates' may not have been as general as Gooder argues; were it so, then surely valuable goods would have been sold or indeed stolen.[27]

The inventories of the Willoughton estate for 1308-9 cover both the member manors and the preceptory.[28] The manors clearly had little of substantial value: Temple Belwood had only a small broken pot and a metal dish. However, it is notable that the vessels included in the inventories were made of metal, or, in a minority of cases, of unspecified material, so wooden platters and bowls and clay pots were omitted as being not worthy of inclusion. This further suggests that there was far less building specialisation on the smaller member manors and little expenditure on equipment of any value.

The inventory for Willoughton preceptory enlists only the contents of the chapel and the most immediate domestic buildings, kitchen, bakehouse, brewhouse and dairy (appendix 1).[29] Although the inventory suggests a poorly equipped establishment compared with Temple Bruer, this is unlikely. It is difficult to believe that the absence of a forge and a carpenter's shop in the inventory means that they did not exist. Gooder argues convincingly with regard to the accounts that 'there is no inventory of buildings as such and that they are only mentioned if their contents need recording […] lack of mention is not proof of non-existence'.[30] Despite this assurance, neither a forge nor a carpenter's shop can operate without tools and so their absence may indicate theft or that the inventory was only completed for the domestic range of

---

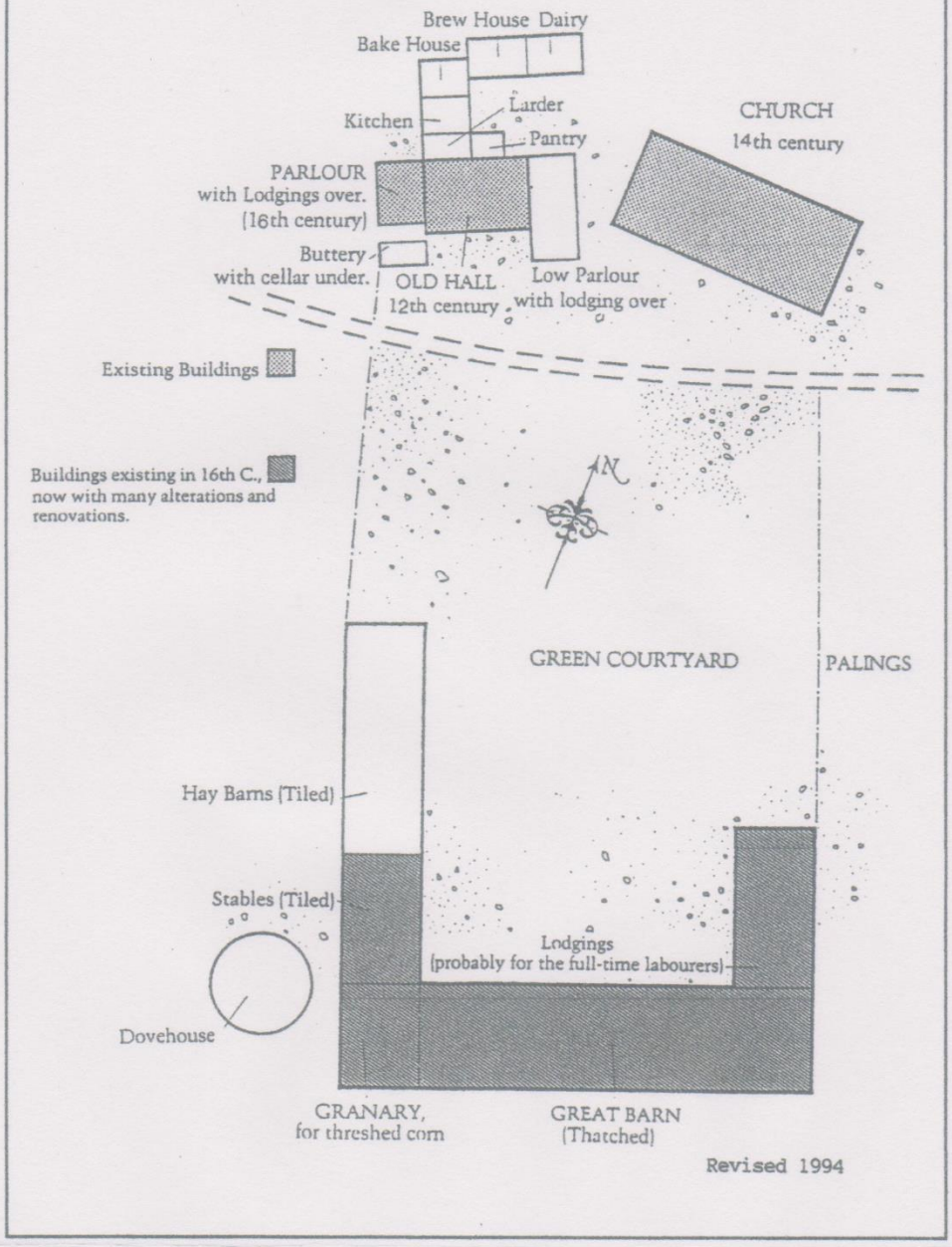
[27] Ibid, p. 85.

[28] E 358/18, 15/1; 15/2; 15/1 dorse; 15/2 dorse.

[29] E 358/18, 15/2, lines 11 – 14.

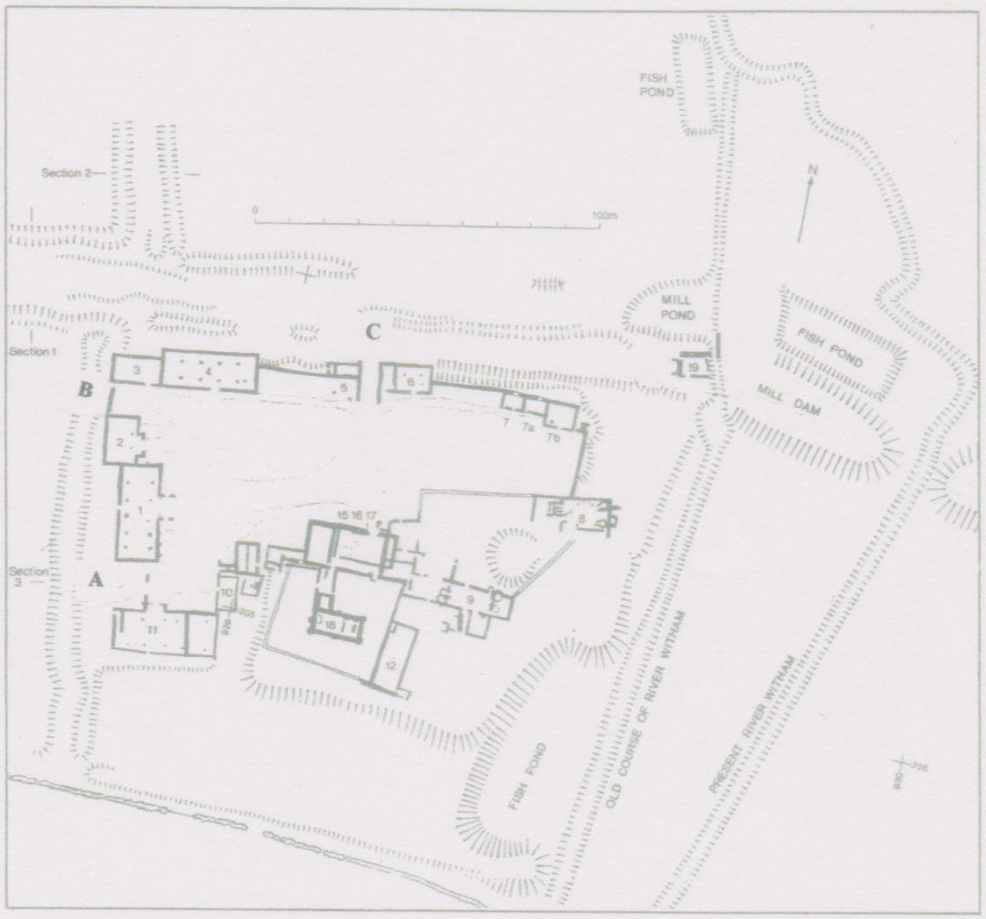
[30] E. A. Gooder, 'South Witham and the Templars: the Documentary Evidence', in *Excavations at a Templar Preceptory: South Witham, Lincolnshire.* 1965-7, by P. Mayes (Leeds, 2002), pp. 80-95 (p.84).

Figure 1.



Conjectural plan of Temple Balsall, based on records from 1308, 1541 and 1759. From E. A. Gooder, *Temple Balsall. The* Warwickshire Preceptory of the Templars and their fate (Chichester, 1995), p. 68.

Figure 2.



Key.

A. Original entrance (pre-ditch).
B. Entrance with bridge (post ditch).
C. Main entrance (post walling of site).
1. Great barn.
2. Animal shed.
3. Animal shed.
4. Grain barn.
5. Gatehouse/guardroom.
6. Guesthouse.
7. Pigsty.
7a. Pigsty.
7b. Workshop.
8. Brewery, dairy and workshop.
9. Kitchen.
10. Stables, granary and smithy.
11. Equipment barn/straw store.
12. Site of secondary hall, demolished during phase 3.
13. Site of building demolished to allow for chapel building
14. Ditto.
15. Early aisled hall later incorporated into great hall.
16. Great hall.
17. Enlargement of great hall during phase 3.
18. Chapel.
19. Watermill fell into disuse during phase 3.

Phase 1: 1185 – 1220.
Phase 2: 1220 – late 13th century.
Phase 3: late 13th century – 1313.

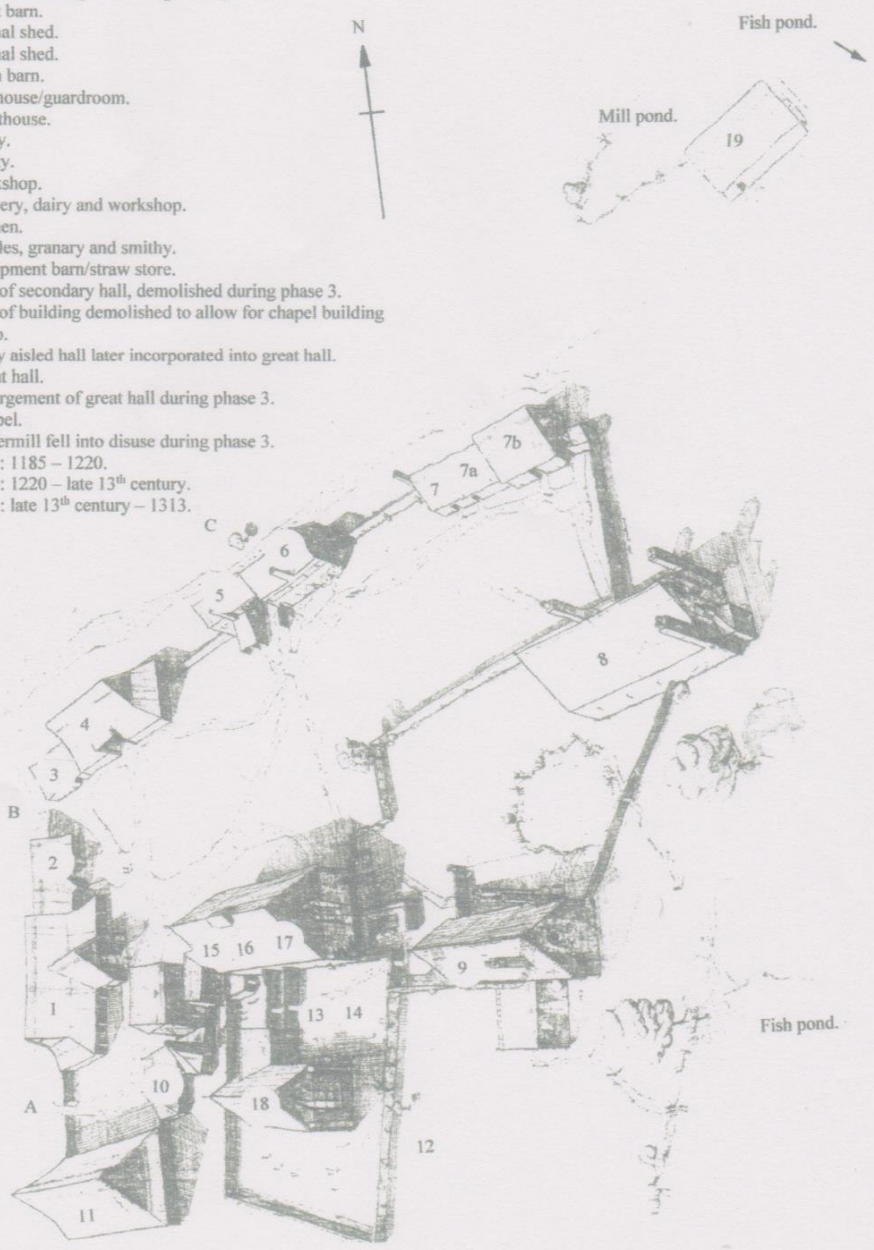
General site plan of South Witham preceptory, showing all the buildings of phases 2 and 3, with earthworks.

From P. Mayes, *Excavations at a Templar Preceptory. South Witham, Lincolnshire, 1965 – 67.* The Society for Medieval Archaeology. Monograph 19, (Leeds, 2002), 4.

Figure 3.

Key.

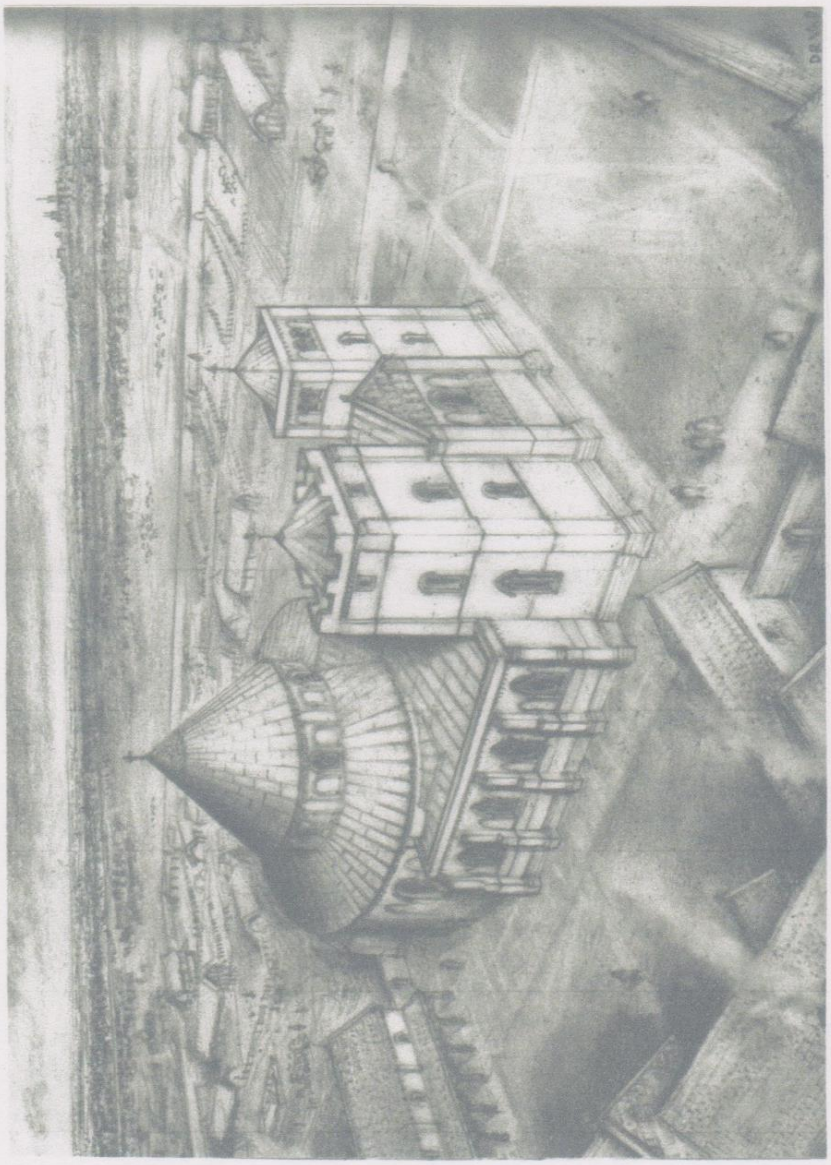
A. Original entrance (pre-ditch).
B. Entrance with bridge (post ditch).
C. Main entrance (post walling of site).
1. Great barn.
2. Animal shed.
3. Animal shed.
4. Grain barn.
5. Gatehouse/guardroom.
6. Guesthouse.
7. Pigsty.
7a. Pigsty.
7b. Workshop.
8. Brewery, dairy and workshop.
9. Kitchen.
10. Stables, granary and smithy.
11. Equipment barn/straw store.
12. Site of secondary hall, demolished during phase 3.
13. Site of building demolished to allow for chapel building
14. Ditto.
15. Early aisled hall later incorporated into great hall.
16. Great hall.
17. Enlargement of great hall during phase 3.
18. Chapel.
19. Watermill fell into disuse during phase 3.
Phase 1: 1185 – 1220.
Phase 2: 1220 – late 13th century.
Phase 3: late 13th century – 1313.



Artist's impression of the site of South Witham preceptory in the early thirteenth century.

From P. Mayes, *Excavations at a Templar Preceptory. South Witham, Lincolnshire. 1965 – 67.* The Society for Medieval Archaeology. Monograph 19, (Leeds, 2002), 56.

Figure 4.



Artist's reconstruction of Temple Bruer preceptory. View from the south-east.

From D. Mills, *The Knights Templar in Kesteven*, (Lincoln, 1990, revised and republished, 2009).

Figure 5.



The site of the Templar preceptory at Willoughton.

From P. L. Everson, C. C. Taylor and C. J. Dunn, *Change and Continuity: Rural Settlement in North-West Lincolnshire*, (1991).

buildings. G. F. Tull refers to Willoughton as 'the richest of English Templar houses'.[31] The accounts certainly show that of the two largest Templar estates in Lincolnshire, Temple Bruer appears to have been the most economically important by 1308, whereas in 1185, Willoughton had been the most important, a status to which it had returned by 1338.[32] Willoughton was subject to much more invasive asset stripping in the first year of sequestration, after the arrest than was Temple Bruer, which explains its initial reduction in status in the hands of Edward II.

Eagle was unusual as it was one of two examples of Templar preceptories in England which were infirmaries, the other example being Denney in Cambridgeshire.[33] The primary function of an infirmary was to care for the old and infirm members of the Order. The inventory of Eagle preceptory, covering the period from Michaelmas 1312 until 6 June 1313, is the most extensive of all the Lincolnshire inventories, encompassing the contents of the house, store room (cellar), pantry, kitchen, dairy, brewhouse, bakehouse, carpenter's shop, forge and chapel with the addition of three carts, four wagons and five ploughs (appendix 1).[34] The inventory includes high status items; mazers and goblets were listed which were old and well-worn, and a table cloth and two chairs, all of which are likely to have survived from the Templar era.[35]

---

[31] G. F. Tull, *Traces of the Templars* (Rotherham, 2000), p.107.

[32] B. A. Lees, ed., *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: the Inquest of 1185* (Oxford, 1935), p. cxci; S. Phillips, *The Prior of the Knights Hospitaller in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2009), p. 21.

[33] Tull, *Traces*, p. 97.

[34] E 358/18, 39/2 dorse, lines 32-49.

[35] Ibid., pp. 34-5.

1.2.ii. The enigma of accommodation

The extent of the domestic buildings at Eagle and the wealth of items listed in the inventory correspond with those of Temple Bruer and in all probability with what existed at Willoughton. The extent of the Eagle estate was smaller than that of either Temple Bruer or Willoughton; its additional function, that of an infirmary, may explain the extensive range of buildings and the size of the inventory, but there is no mention of either a dormitory or infirmary. Tull refers to Denney as having an infirmary which had eleven beds and, as an infirmary, Eagle too would have provided discrete accommodation for the elderly and failing members of the Order, particularly as the last *custos infirmorum*, Br. William de la Forde, had been transferred to Denney from Eagle.[36]

The only reference to a dormitory in any of the accounts is indirect. Amongst the corrodiaries enrolled at Temple Bruer until Easter 1309 is one, Adam le Dorturer, who had a pension of twopence per day until his death on 11 June 1309.[37] It was not uncommon for an individual to be awarded a pension for life in exchange for their offering a service for as long as they were able to do so. In the case of Adam le Dorturer, his name would suggest that he was the obedientiary responsible for a *dorter* or dormitory or had been at an earlier stage in his life, possibly at a different preceptory. If there had been a dormitory at Temple Bruer then this would have pointed towards a similar facility having been at Willoughton, Eagle and Aslackby, each of which employed *famuli* and accommodated corrodiaries.

---

[36] Tull, *Traces*, pp. 98-9.

[37] E 358/18, 19/2, lines 9-10; E358/18, 16/2, lines 29-30.

Whilst St John Hope refers to the 'numerous inventories of the contents of the preceptories', he adds that 'there is no evidence of […] a common *dorter'*.[38] In a more general reference to manorial agriculture, M. M. Postan states that 'records are singularly silent about servants residing on the demesne or the demesne buildings which could have housed them'.[39] As there is neither archaeological nor documentary evidence for the existence of dormitiories to accommodate *famuli*, to suggest their existence would be speculative. However, D. Holloway and T. Colton suggest that, based upon the 1185 Inquest, Temple Hirst in Yorkshire had a large barn and buildings which included a chapel, stables, bakehouse, brewhouse and a dormitory.[40] P. D. A. Harvey suggests that the hall of the manor at Cuxham, Oxfordshire was sparsely furnished and 'was probably used for meals provided for workers on the demesne'.[41] He adds, 'it is not clear what the room over the gate and next to the kitchen were used for, but they may have been the sleeping quarters of the *famuli*'.[42] There is an alternative interpretation. The existence of dormitories on the Cistercian estates to accommodate the *conversi*, the lay brethren, is well established and has been described by both R. A. Donkin and J. E. Burton.[43] There is, however, neither archaeological nor documentary

[38] St. John Hope, 'Round Church', p. 178.

[39] M. M. Postan, 'The Famulus: the Estate Labourer in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *EcHR*, supplements 2, (Cambridge, 1954), p. 15.

[40] D. Holloway and T. Colton, *The Knights Templar in Yorkshire* (Stroud, 2008), p. 4.

[41] P. D. A. Harvey, *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village: Cuxham, 1240 to 1400* (Oxford, 1965), p. 34.

[42] Ibid.

[43] R. A. Donkin, 'The Cistercian Order and the Settlement of Northern England', *Geographical Review*, 59, 3 (1969) 403-16; J. E. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 254.

evidence to suggest that the Templar preceptories had dormitories to provide accommodation for the *famuli,* who were the labour force for the estate. The *famuli* lived outside the preceptory and only went there to work, the only residents being Templars, sergeants and corrodiaries who were relatively few in number and literally left no scar on the landscape.

1.2.iii. Churches and chapels

All preceptories would have needed to accommodate visitors and to provide for both material and spiritual sustenance. Mayes suggests that 'South Witham did not become a preceptory until full provision for the maintenance of a religious life could be made'.[44] An integral part of a preceptory was a church or chapel which provided for the observation of religious services and in addition was an important source of income.

In 1308, Temple Bruer enjoyed the income from the perquisites and obventions of Temple Bruer church together with mortuary payments and a wool tithe (appendix 2).[45] A chaplain was employed to conduct services at the church and a second chaplain to conduct Mass for the soul of Andrew le Mareschal.[46] The church, of which a tower is still extant, on the site of the preceptory of Temple Bruer, was clearly fully active in 1308. Mass was still being conducted for the soul of Andrew le Mareschal in 1312, paid for by the income from tenancies in the vill of Kirkby.[47] The preceptory church was not the only one from which income was derived. In addition, there were the

[44] Mayes, *South Witham*, p. 4.

[45] E 358/18, 19/1 lines 17-19.

[46] Ibid, lines 48-50.

[47] E 358/18, 38/1 dorse, lines 24-5.

pensions of the churches of Caythorpe, Rauceby and Normanton, which were still rendering income in 1312.[48] Caythorpe, Rauceby and Normanton are not enrolled as Templar member manors but ownership of the manor was not a prerequisite for having a financial interest in the church. The income of a church from tithes, pensions, advowsons and burial fees could be substantial and as such attracted secular interest and was frequently diverted into noble purses. Having established ownership of a church's finances, however dubiously, they became a commodity to be bought, sold or given in their entirety or in part. In these cases, church income was diverted from the manors or parishes which they served to those who owned the financial rights. In the cases cited above, the Templars owned only the rights to the church pensions, not any other aspects of church income, nor did they own the manors which the churches served.

In the 1308 account, two chantry chaplains are enrolled in the Willoughton accounts to conduct Mass for the souls of Jordan Foliot and Roger de St Martin, both paid for from the rents of land and tenancies at Saxby and Blyborough.[49] Further, two pounds of wax had been bought to light the chapel.[50] The account of the following year includes an inventory of a chapel (appendix 1).[51] In addition, there was income derived from the fruits and obventions of the churches of Gainsborough, Thorpe, Goulceby and a moiety of the church of

[48] Ibid, lines 12-13.

[49] E 258/18, 17/1, 47-49. In 1212, Jordan Foliot held a knight's fee in Saxby. Roger de St Martin was a tenant of the manor of Blyborough on the Mowbray fee and gave a toft to the Templars. Lees, pp. 101-2.

[50] E 358/18, 15/1, line 23.

[51] E 358/18, 53/1, lines 62-3.

Willoughton which may well have been entirely separate from the preceptory chapel (appendix 2).[52]

The 1308 account for Eagle stipulates the inclusion of the church (appendix 2).[53] A chantry chaplain was paid for by the income from lands and tenements to conduct Mass for the soul of William Bardolf and his ancestors.[54] Thomas de Wigsley, chaplain, was paid a pension of threepence per day and ate at the table of the brothers.[55] He would have followed the usual practice of continuing to perform the religious offices for as long was he was able, but his pension would have been for life. In 1309 income was drawn both from the sheaf tithe of Eagle north field and of the sheaf tithe of Swinderby church, together with the pension from North Scarle church (appendix 2).[56] By 1313, income included that of the sheaf tithe of the church of Eagle, presumably that which had been previously ascribed to the north field and the pension from the church of North Scarle.[57] Mass was still being said for the soul of William Bardolf and Thomas de Wigsley continued to conduct services in the chapel, both chaplains being paid threepence per day.[58] The detailed inventory of the chapel for 1313 includes not only a chalice, paten and an extensive selection of religious volumes but in addition religious relics and crosses kept in a chest under the seals of William de Spanneby and Sir David Graham (appendix 1).[59] The

[52] Ibid., line 14.

[53] E 358/18, 18/1 dorse, line 47.

[54] E 358/18, 18/2 dorse, lines 25-6.

[55] Ibid., lines 13-14.

[56] E 358/18, 15/2 dorse, lines 40 and 44.

[57] E 358/18, 39/1 dorse, lines 48-9 and 52.

[58] Ibid., lines 66 and 68.

[59] E 358/18, 39/2 dorse, lines 46-8.

overall impression is that not only did Eagle have a chapel, but that it was one which was well endowed, perhaps by the families of the very Templars who had ended their days in the infirmary. Further, it suggests that there had been no theft and desecration since the arrest of the Order in January 1308.

The initial account for Aslackby, beginning 10 January 1308, includes a receipt of £3 10s. from the sale of various items of the hay tithe of Aslackby church.[60] Included in the expenses is an allowance for a chaplain to conduct Mass for the soul of John, son of Thomas and Helen, his wife.[61] The chantry was paid for from the income of ten acres of meadow and a rent of £6 2s. 3d.[62] The subsequent account is headed Aslackby and church implying that the church was now a Templar property.[63] In the final account for Aslackby, beginning at Michaelmas 1313, the solitary deadstock inventory includes the contents of a chapel (appendix 1).[64]

In the case of each of the five former preceptories, including South Witham, there is ample archaeological and documentary evidence to conclude that each had an integral church or chapel. Each fulfilled the 'provision for the maintenance of a religious life' and continued to do so after the arrest of the Order.[65] It is notable however that where an individual for whom chantry Masses were performed is identifiable, such as Jordan Foliot and Roger de St

[60] E 358/18, 18/2, line 48.

[61] Ibid., lines 67-8.

[62] Ibid.

[63] E 358/18, 14/2, dorse, line 9. William de Spanneby was Keeper of the Templar Lands in Lincolnshire, and as such, the king's officer. Sir David Graham was the lessee of the Eagle estate.

[64] E 358/18, 55/2, lines 9-10.

[65] Mayes, *South Witham*, p.4.

Martin, they are recorded in the Inquest of 1185 as donors to the Templars. The attraction of a chantry benefaction to the Templars must have diminished. As their military involvement in the Holy Land began to fail, so their power of intercession with the Almighty, on behalf of the souls of the departed, was deemed to be less efficacious.

1.2.iv. Domestic and agricultural buildings and fishponds

In no case, cited above, is there any indication of the extent and nature of the farm buildings, which the excavation at South Witham so clearly showed. However, the inventory of deadstock for South Witham for the period ending on 23 February 1309 does not differentiate between articles in different domestic buildings and, other than that, only lists the contents of the forge separately (appendix 1).[66] The inventory for South Witham does not indicate the extent of the preceptory, or of its agricultural buildings, nor does it suggest the presence of a church, all of which the archaeological evidence revealed. Other than carts and ploughs, the inventories for Aslackby include only the contents of a kitchen, brewhouse and chapel, which is to be expected for the smallest of the Lincolnshire preceptories.

The excavation of South Witham gives a detailed picture of the architectural composition of a preceptory. The deadstock accounts, although incomplete, give an idea of the contents of the domestic buildings and occasionally forges and carpenters' shops where they have some monetary value (appendix 1). The only reference to agricultural buildings is where there had been expenditure on repairs, and even the contents of churches were not always included in the

[66] E 358/18, 14/1 dorse, lines 32-6.

inventories. In these circumstances the notional Templar preceptory must be based upon an extrapolation of function.

To provide food and ale there had to be a larder for the storage of meat, exclusively beef, mutton and bacon and a dairy for the making and storage of butter and cheese as itemised at South Witham.[67] A bakehouse provided the bread and a brewhouse the ale, the latter being stored in the buttery along with wine for high status visitors. Cooking would have been carried out in the kitchen which in all probability would have been in a separate building, as at South Witham, to reduce fire risk. Communal eating would have taken place in a hall, which, practicality would suggest, would have been near the kitchen. Seating arrangements at the trestle tables, as the accounts stipulate, would have been strictly according to status. Amongst the corrodiaries at Temple Bruer, Walter de Thorpe ate at the table of the brothers whilst Henry Jubel ate at the lower status table of the squires.[68] Guest accommodation needed to be provided for visitors, who may have been in a separate guesthouse as at South Witham.[69] There is no evidence of the existence of accommodation for the craftsmen and labourers who were employed at the preceptories, the *famuli*. They must have lived locally, but not within the confines of the preceptory. These then were the functions which had to be catered for in the arrangement of the domestic buildings - functions which Willoughton would have struggled to perform if the deadstock inventories are accurate, so one must assume that much had been disposed of either by fair means or foul.

---

[67] In the accounts, the contents of larders and dairies are enrolled separately from deadstock.

[68] E 358/18, 19/1, lines 68-71.

[69] Ball, *Knights Templar at South Witham*, p.15.

Maintenance of equipment and fabrication necessitated a forge/smithy for horse shoes, tackle and wheel repair and a carpenter's shop for ploughs, carts, wagons and general woodwork. Roofing, although an important part of building maintenance, usually depended upon contracted itinerants rather than *famuli* so there was no dedicated building. Whether or not each manor had its own smithy and carpenter's shop is open to surmise, but it was certainly to be expected of each preceptory. In the account of 1311-12 for Temple Bruer, the contents of the forge include hammers and tongs. In addition, the expenses include the wages of a smith and also the purchase of charcoal.[70] The same account includes both the inventory of the carpenter's shop and the wages of a carpenter; clearly, both the forge and the carpenter's shop were still active four and a half years after the arrest of the Order.[71] This was equally true of Eagle during the following year, 1312-13, where both a smith and a carpenter were employed, each in well-equipped premises.[72] Aslackby, the preceptory of the smallest Templar estate, included no inventory of either forge or carpenter's shop nor is a smith or carpenter listed amongst the waged employees. Perhaps Aslackby did not generate sufficient work to employ skilled craftsmen on a full-time basis and so they were hired as and when the need arose.

No contemporaneous accounts exist for the Willoughton estate because the last Willoughton accounts ended on 30 July 1309.[73] Further, inventories were either incomplete in the first two years after the arrest of the Order, or, as in the cases of Temple Bruer, Eagle and Aslackby, non-existent. The fact that the

[70] E 358/18, 38/2 dorse, lines 9-10; 38/1 dorse, lines 20 and 16.

[71] E 358/18, 38/2 dorse, line 10; 38/1 dorse, lines 23-4

[72] Ibid., lines 43-5.

[73] E 358/18, 53/1.

inventory for Willoughton is entirely restricted to the domestic range of buildings and that the contents of the bakehouse and brewhouse are listed together seems to indicate a perfunctory survey carried out in haste (appendix 1).[74] Listed amongst the employees is a carpenter, but no smith. However, the account for Tealby itemises expenditure on a smith and a carpenter for the repair of carts and ploughs.[75] It is not difficult to imagine that the same smith and carpenter may have travelled from Willoughton, the preceptory of which Tealby was a member manor, to effect the repairs. On the basis of the evidence, it is reasonable to conclude that there were both forges and carpenters' shops at Temple Bruer, Willoughton and Eagle but the same cannot be said with any certainty of Aslackby.

The Templars practised mixed farming and there is no evidence in the accounts of extensive autumn culling which means that livestock needed to be accommodated in winter and that there had to be a sufficiency of fodder to feed them (see chapter 4). Stables and byres would have been necessary for horses and cattle, including the draught oxen. The accounts include expenditure on roof repairs of the byres on the manors of Rowston and Woodhouse during the period beginning Michaelmas 1308.[76] On other manors, roof repairs were made to the grange, a more generic term which does not identify individual buildings. The archaeological evidence from South Witham suggests the use of pigsties, probably for fattening the pigs, or as an alternative to pannage. The 1308 account for the manor of Keal lists, amongst expenses, malt dregs for pig

[74] Ibid., lines 662-5.

[75] E 358/18, 15/1, line 26

[76] E 358/18, 16/1 dorse, line 54; 14/2, line 6.

food.[77] Certainly, bacon was generally to be found in preceptory larders (appendix 3). As many as forty flitches of bacon are listed in the account for Temple Bruer ending at Michaelmas 1308, of which sixteen were destined to help provision Edward II's castles in Scotland.[78] It would appear that this was a flat rate charge at the time, as each of Willoughton, Eagle and Aslackby also handed over to Thomas de Burnham, sometime sheriff of Lincoln, sixteen flitches of bacon for despatch to Scotland.[79]

Barns were the prerequisite for the storage of grains, legumes and hay. In addition, both grain and legumes needed to be threshed and winnowed and the resultant straw and seed stored separately. Equipment storage would not have been overlooked. As the maintenance of carts, wagons and ploughs was an ongoing expense then it would have been sensible, then as now, to protect them from the elements as much as possible, either in a dedicated building, or in spare barn space. Clearly, the amount of storage needed, which determined the size and number of the barns, depended upon the extent of the estate. Above all, sizeable barns would have been integral to any preceptory's range of agricultural buildings. In the cases of both Temple Bruer and Willoughton, substantial storage capacity would have been essential.

A dovecote would have been usual. The sale of doves was common as was their payment as a form of rent. Both Temple Bruer and Eagle list the contents of their dovecotes in the accounts beginning on Michaelmas 1308; two hundred

---

[77] E 358/18, 17/2 dorse, line 45.

[78] E 358/18, 19/2, lines 67-8. Whilst Edward II did not launch a campaign against the Scots until 1310, he did take advantage of lulls in the activity of Robert the Bruce to provision his castles, particularly in the Borders. C. McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces: Scotland, England and Ireland, 1306-1328* (East Linton, 1997), pp. 44-8.

[79] E 358/18, 17/2, line 22; 18/2 dorse, line 65; 18/1 dorse, line 41.

doves at Eagle and two hundred and forty doves at Temple Bruer, were sold at a farthing each, leaving sufficient breeding stock for the following year.[80]

The account beginning 10 January 1308 for Upton, on the Willoughton estate, is the only one which includes fish - three hundred herring - being used as part of the payment for harvesters in autumn, presumably salted herring from Grimsby.[81] The general absence of fish in the preceptory larders does not mean that fish were not consumed, they were raised in fishponds - stews - and consumed fresh rather than purchased externally. South Witham had three such stews, Willoughton had a sizeable moat and Eagle had both stews and a moat, all of which would have been stocked with fish.[82] It is notable that the upkeep of stews was expensive and freshwater fish was considered a luxury.[83] As late as 1485, the fishpond at Temple Balsall provided the bream and tench for a guild feast held in Coventry.[84]

Unlike arable farming, the sheep farming component of the Templars' mixed farming was organised and managed centrally from the preceptory (see chapter 4). It was to the preceptory that the wool merchants would have travelled to buy the wool and to be accommodated. To ensure the best quality of wool and hence optimum price, the estate sheep would have been washed and clipped and the wool baled and stored at the preceptory under close supervision. At the very least, this would have required dedicated storage for

---

[80] E 358/18, 14/1, line 57; 16/2, line 74.
[81] E 358/18, 17/2 dorse, line 2.

[82] Everson, Taylor and Dunn, *Change and Continuity*, pp. 218-20; Mills, *Knights Templar in Kesteven*, pp. 6-17.

[83] C. Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (London, 1994, 2000 ed.), p. 102.

[84] Ibid., p. 110.

the wool, sheep pens for sorting stock and, more probably, there would have been sheepcotes to house sheep in winter as explained by C. Dyer for Temple Guiting, a Templar site in Gloucestershire, and elsewhere.[85] There are four references in the accounts to repairs made to sheepcotes, those for Willoughton and Blyborough, Temple Bruer and Eagle, each in the account beginning Michaelmas 1308.[86] There is no reason to suppose that Aslackby did not have a sheepcote, merely, that during 1308, it was not in need of repair.

1.2.v. Mills and perimeters

Just as sheepcotes were an integral part of the vernacular architecture of sheep farming, so mills were crucial to cereal farming. Whilst a mill was not a prerequisite for a preceptory, there would have been a mill on the demesne manor, otherwise not only would there have been no means of making flour but also no opportunity for generating income, either by charging multage, or by farming out the mill. Elsewhere, M. Gervers says that every Templar estate transferred to the Hospitallers in Essex had at least one mill.[87]

The excavation at South Witham revealed a water mill three hundred metres to the north-east of the preceptory enclosure (fig. 2).[88] Whilst there is no archaeological evidence to suggest the existence of mills elsewhere, documentary evidence is plentiful. The initial account for South Witham, beginning 10 January 1308 includes the expenditure of three shillings on

---

[85] C. Dyer, 'Sheepcotes; Evidence for Medieval Sheep Farming', *Medieval Archaeology*, 39, 136-64 (p. 139).

[86] E 358/18, 15/1, line 20; 16/1, line 57-8; 15/2 dorse, line 50.

[87] M. Gervers ed., *The Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England, Part 2, Prima Camera, Essex* (Oxford, 1996), p. lxxvii.

[88] Mayes, *Excavations*, p. 4.

twelve ells of canvas to repair the sails of a windmill which could well mean that by 1308, the watermill at South Witham had fallen into disuse and been replaced by more recent technology.[89] However, at nearby Woolsthorpe, a watermill was rented out along with a messuage and other tenancies.[90] Gooder suggests that the continued operation of the watermill at Woolsthorpe was due to it being further downstream on the Witham and so having a greater head of water which precluded the need for its replacement by a windmill.[91] Although the former preceptory of South Witham retained control over the demesne windmill, the watermill at Woolsthorpe was more easily managed as a rented property. Elsewhere, the picture was varied.

On the Willoughton estate, in 1308, the windmills of Willoughton, Kettleby and Limber and the watermill of Keal were all farmed out at fixed rentals but tenants did not stand the cost of maintenance.[92] Included in the expenses of Willoughton are two millstones for Kettleby and sailyards and millspindles for both Limber and Keal which were clearly in need of some restoration.[93] Whilst Temple Bruer spent 10s. 8d. on thirty ells of canvas and grease for the repair of windmills at Temple Bruer and Ashby, the mill at *Heriherdeby* was rented out to Robert Gunwardby for life.[94] On the Eagle estate wages were paid to millers at Eagle, Stapleford and Beckingham and thirty ells of canvas bought

[89] E 358/18, 18/2, lines 6-7. Gooder cites 110 ells of canvas as being necessary for a full set of sails for a four sail mill, in which case, the purchase of twelve ells of canvas was for repair, the mill was not dilapidated. Gooder, 'South Witham', in *Excavations*, by Mayes, p. 94, endnote 22.

[90] E 358/18, 18/1, lines 50-1.

[91] Gooder, 'South Witham', in *Excavations*, by Mayes, p. 85.

[92] E 358/18, 15/1, lines 12-13.

[93] Ibid., line 22.

[94] E 358/18, 16/1, line 59, lines 44-5.

for sails; all transactions being enrolled in the account of Eagle.[95] The manor of Bracebridge was exceptional, the income from the fixed rental of its six watermills was granted to the Leper Hospital at Lincoln.[96] Aslackby had a watermill which was farmed out by the King's agents, implying that it had previously been under the direct control of the Templars. It was probably less economic to operate than the windmill, for which 3s. 5d. had been spent on ten ells of canvas, with further expense incurred by the need for two door locks.[97]

Each preceptory then had a mill, at least in close proximity, if not as an integral part of the preceptory buildings, and in the cases of Temple Bruer, Willoughton and Eagle, there are mills accounted at other locations in addition, not always on member manors. There was no standardised approach to the way in which the mills were managed after the arrest of the Order, and, as it is unlikely that immediate changes were made to established practice, the first accounts must reflect the individuality of Templar estate management. However, the archaeological evidence of the existence of barns and a mill at South Witham and the documentary evidence of the earliest post-arrest accounts for Lincolnshire, recording Templar mills and the storage of substantial quantities of grain, do indicate beyond doubt that the Templars 'exploited their own demesne' which is precisely what Gervers established for Essex where the Hospitallers favoured renting their manors.[98]

Finally, both the artist's impression of South Witham and the artist's reconstruction of Temple Bruer each show an enclosing wall, which, given that

[95] E 358/18, 15/2 dorse, lines 56 and 50.

[96] E 358/18, 17/1, lines 16 and 19-20.

[97] E 358/18, 18/2, lines 41, 7 and 5.

[98] Gervers, *Cartulary*, p. cvii.

Temple Bruer had been given royal permission to crenellate in 1306, was probably a usual part of preceptory architecture (figs 3 and 4).[99] St John Hope states that the crenellation of a 'certain great and strong gate […] points to their [the buildings of the preceptory] enclosure by a walled precinct'.[100] As outlined above, both Willoughton and Eagle were moated and were likely to have been walled in addition. Holloway and Colton suggest that the Yorkshire preceptory of Temple Hirst was surrounded by both a moat and 'outer defences' and so it may be that a similar approach would have been adopted in the adjacent county of Lincolnshire.[101] More generally, E. Lord refers to preceptories being 'defended by strong walls and a gatehouse'.[102] In an unpublished paper, H. Fenwick suggests that a moat may merely have marked a precinct boundary rather than having served a defensive purpose and that at both Faxfleet, the Templar preceptory in Yorkshire and Hogshaw, the Hospitaller commandery in Buckinghamshire, the extent of the site exceeded that enclosed by the moat.[103]

1.3. Conclusion

The distribution of settlement in medieval Lincolnshire was determined by the relationship between topography and people. Arable farming was largely restricted to the lighter calcareous soils as the ploughing technology was unable to cope with heavy clay. Further, unreclaimed wetlands were much more

---

[99] *CPR, 1307-13*, p. 14.

[100] St. John Hope, 'Round Church', p. 181.

[101] Holloway and Colton, *Knights Templar in Yorkshire*, p. 29.

[102] E. Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain* (Harlow, 2004), p. 22.

[103] Dr Helen Fenwick presented a paper at The Templar Economy in Britain and Ireland conference at the University of Hull, 26 April 2014, entitled *Recent Archaeological Work on Templar Properties in England.*

extensive than today, particularly in the fenland of the south of the county. Within the limitations set by the landscape, the initial distribution of Templar property recorded in the Inquest of 1185 were small parcels of land which became organised around the preceptories of Willoughton, Temple Bruer, Eagle, Aslackby and South Witham. During the thirteenth century, the Templars were involved in land trading and consolidation of estates in Lincolnshire. By the time the Order was arrested in January 1308 there were far fewer Templar holdings than in 1185 much of the reduction was due to rationalisation so as to increase the efficiency of the estates. Over the same period the Order held both churches and mills. Unlike the number of landholdings, there was little reduction in the number of Templar held churches between 1185 and 1308, but the number of watermills was substantially reduced as they were abandoned in favour of the technically superior windmills.

In the literature, the nature of a Templar preceptory is assumed and where considered at all, the discussion is restricted to the range of domestic rather than agricultural buildings. Although archaeological evidence is not plentiful, based upon the single excavation of South Witham, when teamed with the more abundant documentary evidence then the constituent buildings of a preceptory can be determined because of their function. Each preceptory had a church or chapel in which to perform the religious offices. The existence of a full domestic range of hall, kitchen, larder, dairy, bakehouse and brewhouse depended upon the size of the preceptory, in a smaller preceptory, each function may not have had a dedicated building. The absence of evidence of mass slaughter of livestock in autumn presupposes the existence of byres, stables,

pigsties and sheepcotes along with ample barn storage for grain and fodder. The need to maintain carts, wagons and ploughs meant the existence of both forges and carpenter's workshops besides buildings for storage. In addition, the agricultural buildings included a dovecote and a mill and usually stews for fish rearing. Each preceptory had a perimeter demarcated by a wall, moat or fence which may have been merely to determine the boundary rather than to be defensive. The building which is most notable for its absence is the dormitory. Whilst accommodation must have been provided for the few Templars, sergeants, corrodiaries and guests to enable a preceptory to function there was no dormitory for the *famuli*, the labourers. In the absence of accommodation, we may suppose that the *famuli* lived outside the preceptory rather than within it.

Aslackby did not have an extensive estate but consisted of a demesne manor with no member manors which was dependent for its additional acreage upon rented property. The limited extent of the deadstock implies a much smaller operation than elsewhere, which would have been reflected in a more limited range of buildings.[104] Eagle had a dual function of preceptory and infirmary which was reflected in the greater range of domestic buildings than Aslackby, in addition to which, the deadstock inventory confirms the continuing existence of a sizeable catering capacity as late as 1313.[105] As the preceptories responsible for the management of the most extensive estates, Temple Bruer and Willoughton would each have had a full and extensive range of both

[104] E 358/18, 39/1, lines 40-5. The deadstock inventory for Michaelmas 1311-16 June 1312 is the only one recorded in the six Aslackby accounts.

[105] E 358/18, 39/2 dorse, lines 32-48. The deadstock inventory for Michaelmas 1312-6 June 1313 is the only one recorded in the four Eagle accounts.

domestic and agricultural buildings, as befitted both their function and status. Perhaps the most generally applicable description of a preceptory belongs to Mayes who said of South Witham that 'the site was formed of a number of buildings suited for domestic or agricultural uses, grouped loosely around an extended courtyard'; a description which allows for both the commonality of purpose and the individuality of function manifest in the Lincolnshire preceptories in early 1308.[106] By mid-1309, the preceptories and their estates had been handed over to men of substance by the agents of Edward II and the hand of the Order became less evident.

[106] Mayes, *Excavations,* p.1.

Chapter 2

Crops and meadow

Two major components made up the agricultural economy on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire: arable farming and sheep farming. Of these, sheep farming was centrally accounted by preceptory and is fully discussed in chapter four. Arable farming, on the other hand, was accounted by manor which allows for the development of a comparative picture of arable practice across the former Templar estates of Lincolnshire. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the nature of the Order's arable farming in Lincolnshire.

2.1. Overview

The range of arable crops grown in the early fourteenth century was limited in the extreme, being entirely restricted to grains and legumes. Above all, the complete absence of root crops had far reaching dietary implications for both people and beasts. At its most extensive, the range of crops included wheat, barley, rye and oats and the leguminous crops of peas and beans, sown together or separately. All were consumed by the rural populace whose diet was largely made up of bread and 'boiled pottages or puddings, probably with a base of cereals or legumes'.[1] The bread consumed varied enormously in quality. The refined white bread was enjoyed by the lords and the like of Alice, daughter of Robert de Swinethorpe, whose weekly allowance as a pensioner at Temple

[1] C. Dyer, 'English Diet in the Later Middle Ages', in *Social Relations and Ideas: Essays in Honour of R. H. Hilton*, ed. by T. H. Aston, P. R. Coss, C. Dyer and J. Thirsk (Cambridge 1983, rep.1987), p. 204.

Bruer included seven loaves of white bread, whereas the coarser brown and black bread were consumed by the peasantry.[2] In the case of the *famuli*, even legumes were commonly ground for bread flour.[3] Diet was not only lacking in both variety and vitamin content, it was also a manifestation of social status.[4] A high protein diet was restricted to the knightly, landowning and ecclesiastical classes but largely denied to the peasantry. It was not until the second half of the fourteenth century that the proportion of meat in the harvesters' diet increased significantly.[5] As C. Dyer points out 'to demand more pay and food, the *famuli* had to overcome habits of deference' which were endemic to low social status in the hierarchical society of the fourteenth century.[6] However, the correlation between adequacy of diet and ability to perform manual work was acknowledged and acted upon. It was no coincidence that meat, fish and cheese were stored in preceptory larders and dairies for consumption during the autumn harvest, when large numbers of seasonal labourers were contracted. The Willoughton account covering the period from Easter, 30 March, until 28 September 1308, listed seven ox carcasses, twelve flitches of bacon and thirty wether carcasses in the larder and one hundred and eighty-six stones of cheese in the dairy of which sixty stones were for use in autumn (appendix 3).[7]

---

[2] E 358/18, 19/2, lines 3-4.

[3] The *famuli* were the labourers who worked on the manors and were paid in food – pottage and bread – grain and legumes. No specific financial income is recorded in the accounts other than by task.

[4] Dyer, 'English Diet', pp. 191-217.

[5] C. Dyer, 'Changes in Diet in the Late Middle Ages: the Case of Harvest Workers', *AHR*, 36 (1988), 21-37 (p. 29).

[6] Ibid., p. 36.

[7] E 358/18, 17/2, lines 21-6.

Upon the success of the harvest depended the manorial food supply for the following year. Just as harvesters were furnished with a more nutritious diet, to enable them to perform the heavy manual work of reaping, so the fodder allocation of draught animals was increased, if ploughing was being undertaken. On the Oxford manor of Cuxham, vetches replaced oats in the diet of plough horses during 'periods of high exertion'.[8]

The account for Aslackby covering the period from 16 June 1312 until 28 September of the same year, lists a total of one hundred and fifty-five acres of land in seed, which consisted entirely of wheat, barley, beans and oats. In addition, eighty acres of fallow land are accounted of which twelve were manured and ploughed for the third time.[9] The relative proportions of arable and fallow land, two sown acres to one acre of fallow, clearly point to a three-course rotation, which, it would be reasonable to assume, would be practised throughout the ex-Templar estates in Lincolnshire. D. Roden identifies a similar three-course rotation constituting fallow, winter-sown crops, and spring-sown crops, being practised on tenant farms and demesne holdings in the Chiltern Hills by 1300.[10] Further, on the Kensworth demesne in the Chilterns, in 1152, the acreages were strikingly similar to those at Aslackby - eighty acres of fallow and two sown courses of seventy acres each.[11] However, elsewhere, a three-course rotation was not universally practised. Whilst B. M. S. Campbell states that on most Winchester manors 'between a third and a half

---

[8] J. Langdon, 'The Economics of Horses and Oxen in Medieval England', *AHR*, 30 (1982), 31-40 (p. 39).

[9] E 358/18, 55/1, line 32.

[10] D. Roden, 'Demesne Farming in the Chiltern Hills', *AHR*, 16 (1968), 9-23 (p. 23).

[11] Ibid., pp. 17-18.

of the arable lay fallow each year' he equally points out that in intensively cultivated parts of Norfolk, cropping was continuous.[12] The evidence would point to a three-course rotation on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire but it does not allow for the identification of a field system. However, whilst H. E. Hallam acknowledges the three field system as being representative of thirteenth century Cambridgeshire, he finds the two field system to predominate in Lincolnshire and so was perhaps practised on the former Templar manors.[13]

The first series of accounts of the former Templar preceptories and manors, beginning 10 January 1308 and ending at 28 September 1308, lists the quantities of grain sown and the acreages itemised variously under barley, dredge, oats and the leguminous crops of beans/peas but in no case is either wheat or rye seed recorded (appendices 4, 5). However, the same accounts, ending at 28 September1308, cover the harvest period and record the harvested acreage of wheat and rye which was therefore sown during the winter of 1307-1308. In other words as Campbell asserts, and the former Templar accounts prove for Lincolnshire by their omission, wheat and rye were winter-sown crops.[14]

The Templar accounts covering the period from Michaelmas 1307 until 9 January 1308 are no longer extant but, if the format of the former Templar

---

[12] B. M. S. Campbell, 'Land, Labour, Livestock, and Productivity Trends in English Seigniorial Agriculture, 1208-1450', in *Land, Labour and Livestock: Historical Studies in European Agricultural Productivity*, ed. by B. M. S. Campbell and M. Overton (Manchester, 1991), p. 172.

[13] H. E. Hallam 'Farming Techniques: A. Eastern England', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, 2, *1042-1350*, ed. by H. E. Hallam (Cambridge, 1988), p. 273.

[14] B. M. S. Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture 1250-1450* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 230.

estates accounts beginning at Michaelmas 1308 is a guide, then they would have enumerated the quantities of wheat, rye and maslin which were sown during the period Michaelmas 1307 to 9 January 1308. D. Stone notes that at the Bury St Edmunds Abbey demesne of Hinderclay the introduction of accounts compiled at Michaelmas - rather than at St Margaret's (20 July) - began in 1296 after which it became standard practice elsewhere.[15] Account keeping on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire had adopted the most modern approach towards the identification of expenditure and profitability and 'by implication, the efficiency of demesne management'.[16]

At this point it is possible to conclude with certainty that the form of arable farming practised on the ex-Templar estates in Lincolnshire, as illustrated in the Aslackby account ending 28 September 1312, was a three-course rotation. Further, the universal absence of wheat and rye seed in the accounts beginning 10 January 1308, confirms that they were winter-sown whereas barley, dredge, oats and legumes were sown in spring. The only exception was that of the manor of Temple Bruer, in the account of 10 January 1308 to 28 September 1308, where the area of spring-sown barley was 97.5 acres, but the total harvested area of barley was 142.5 acres, which signifies that the forty-five acres unaccounted for were winter-sown (appendix 4). Campbell proposes that the winter-sown wheat, rye and winter barley, as the most demanding crops, would follow fallow and so gain from multiple ploughing, manuring and nitrogen fixation.[17] The spring-sown crops would have constituted oats,

[15] D. Stone, *Decision Making in Medieval Agriculture* (Oxford, 2005), p. 201.

[16] Ibid., p. 200.

[17] Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p.218.

dredge, barley and legumes as Roden found in the Chilterns.[18] The sowing of both winter and spring crops, which matured at different rates, not only extended the periods of ploughing, sowing, manuring and finally harvesting, but in so doing it reduced the intensive concentration of labour demand, particularly at harvest time.[19]

The maintenance of soil fertility depended upon a limited range of stratagems. The Aslackby account is illustrative of the concentration of manuring and ploughing, on a relatively small proportion of the total fallow land, demonstrating not only careful management of livestock folding, so as to optimise the impact of animal manure, but also a planned rotation of ploughing. On the basis of evidence from Cuxham, Oxfordshire, E. I. Newman and P. D. A. Harvey state, that 'manure was recognized as a valuable commodity by the fourteenth century'.[20] With reference to the estates of the Bishop of Winchester, J. Z. Titow is much more robust, saying that of manuring, marling, the introduction of new crops and the adoption of new systems of rotation, the 'availability of manure is the most crucial factor of all' in its impact upon arable productivity.[21]

The medieval practice of allowing stock to graze on pasture in the daytime, and folding them on arable land at night, was an effective means of transferring nutrients from pasture to arable, and therefore enhancing the fertility of the

[18] Roden, 'Demesne Farming', pp. 17-18.

[19] Campbell, S*eigniorial*, p. 230.

[20] E. I. Newman and P. D. A. Harvey, 'Did Soil Fertility Decline in Medieval English Farms? Evidence from Cuxham, Oxfordshire, 1320-1340', *AHR*, 45 (1997), 119-36 (p. 121).

[21] J. Z. Titow, *Winchester Yields: a Study in Medieval Agricultural Productivity* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 30.

arable acres.[22] However, Newman further raises the issue that the productivity of the grazing lands would decline unless there was a natural replacement of the nutrients transferred by stock when folded on arable land.[23] If nutrient loss was an issue on the grazing lands then it could only be addressed by either adopting a pastoral rotation so as to allow regeneration, or by strictly controlling the grazing density. J. N. Pretty states that the evidence is for no more than 30 per cent of arable land being manured in any given year, in which case, the heavy manuring of wheat reflected its pre-eminence as the most valuable commercial crop.[24] W. Harwood Long stresses the importance of manure, at a time which was devoid of artificial fertilisers, and draws attention to the ratio between the number of livestock producing manure and the arable acreage as a major factor contributing to the level of soil fertility, concurring with Titow.[25] P. F. Brandon refers to the importance of the sheep-fold in maintaining fertility on the manors of the chalk downland and scarp foot of Sussex, a topography not dissimilar to that of the Lincolnshire Wolds, where the agricultural response would have been the same.[26]

The adequacy of manure and the control of its effective distribution by folding livestock was crucial to successful crop production. Both the quantity and quality of fodder for the livestock, and the location and rotation of the folds,

---

[22] Newman and Harvey, 'Soil Fertility', p. 122.

[23] E. I. Newman, 'Medieval Sheep-Corn Farming: How Much Grain Yield Could Each Sheep Support?', *AHR*, 50, 2 (2002), 164-80 (p. 178).

[24] J. N. Pretty, 'Sustainable Agriculture in the Middle Ages: the English Manor', *AHR*, 38, 1 (1990), 1-19 (p. 7).

[25] W. Harwood Long, 'The Low Yields of Corn in Medieval England', *EcHR* 2nd ser., 32, 4 (1979), 459-69 (p. 461); Titow, *Winchester Yields*, 30.

[26] P. F. Brandon, 'Demesne Arable Farming in Coastal Sussex During the Later Middle Ages', *AHR*, 19 (1971), 113-34 (p. 130).

were the result of management decisions made within the parameters set by environmental limitations. Titow refers to decisions made on the Winchester estates as 'practical expedient[s] dictated by specific conditions obtaining in each case'.[27] It is hardly surprising that the likes of *Walter of Henley, Husbandry* and the *Seneschaucy*, treatises on agricultural management, were so influential, offering, as they did, advice on all aspects of agriculture to the fourteenth century agronomist.[28]

The significance of ploughing to the welfare of the arable enterprise is emphasised by the frequency of the occurrence of expenditure on plough repairs in the accounts.[29] Ploughing took place during three seasons of the year, autumn, spring and summer. The autumn and spring ploughing was associated with the sowing of crops - winter-sown wheat and rye and spring-sown barley, oats and legumes - however, the summer ploughing was aimed at the suppression of weeds. D. Postles cites the example of the manor of Portswood, (Hants), on the estates of the Bishop of Lincoln, as being ploughed in the weeks after the Feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist (24 June).[30] He further quotes four demesnes of Peterborough Abbey and manors of Ramsey Abbey as practising 'summer fallow stirring'.[31] Harwood Long states that the duration of the fallow period must be long enough for the land to be ploughed up to four

[27] Titow, *Winchester Yields*, p. 2.

[28] D. Oschinsky, *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting* (Oxford, 1971).

[29] E 358/18, 15/1, line 20; 17/1, line 37.

[30] D. Postles, 'Cleaning the Medieval Arable', *AHR*, 36 (1988), 130-43 (p. 136).

[31] Ibid., p. 138.

or more times so as to kill perennial weeds.[32] The evidence of fallow ploughing in the Aslackby accounts above supports Harwood Long's assertion.[33]

The proportion of the fallow ploughed at any one time was small because of the need to provide fallow pasture for livestock, particularly sheep.[34] Not only did weeds need to be suppressed but stock needed pasture and so a balance had to be drawn between the two demands. Nonetheless, it is abundantly clear that the ploughs were seldom at rest. As the means of maintaining soil fertility were limited, it was crucial that every attempt was made to reduce the impact of thistle, mayweed and sheep's sorrel upon arable productivity.

Another approach to maintaining arable productivity was marling, the application of a mixture of clay and lime, which was 'generally […] regarded as a costly undertaking' and nowhere listed in the former Templar accounts.[35]. Campbell cites the Norfolk example of Hanworth where, in 1284-1285, the cost of digging marl was three shillings per acre and of spreading it fourpence per acre.[36] He argues that the practice of marling would have been 'very expensive when undertaken with hired labour' and as a consequence would either have been carried out by the *famuli* or as part of the customary labour of tenants.[37] In either of the latter two cases, no financial transaction would have taken place and so no record would be included in the accounts. The absence

[32] Harwood Long, 'Low Yields', p. 464.

[33] E 358/18, 55/1, line 32.

[34] Postles, 'Cleaning', p. 142.

[35] W. M. Mathew, 'Marling in British Agriculture: a Case of Partial Identity', *AHR*, 41, 2 (1993), 97-110 (p. 108).

[36] B. M. S. Campbell 'Agricultural Progress in Medieval England: Some Evidence From Eastern Norfolk', in *The Medieval Antecedents of English Agricultural Progress*, 2, ed. by B. M. S. Campbell (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 33-4.

[37] Ibid.

of marling in the accounts of the former Templar estates does not mean that it did not occur, merely, that if it occurred, it would have been carried out by the *famuli*, and so was not recorded as an itemised expense.

V. Wilson describes the soil of the chalk Wolds as 'generally thin and sandy rather than calcareous' and further adds that 'the grain and roots as are obtained from this poor soil are largely the result of much marling and liberal treatment with artificial fertilisers'.[38] Young's *General View* of 1813 cites examples of marling, to great effect, at Gayton near Louth, West Keal and Kelston all within the Lincolnshire Wolds.[39] In the Chilterns where conditions were not dissimilar to those found in the Wolds, 'marling was widely practised'.[40] Templar holdings in the Lincolnshire Wolds were extensive in 1307, and as marling was an established means of soil improvement by the early fourteenth century, it is probable that the practice would have been adopted on the Templar estates. The twenty-one quarters of lime, valued at seven shillings, found in a limekiln at Willoughton, and recorded in the account beginning 10 January 1308, may well have been for marling.[41]

In addition, the planting of legumes enhanced the nitrogenous content of the soil, and so its fertility, besides providing a source of dietary protein.[42] Campbell is unequivocal, stating that with regard to eastern Norfolk, 'large-scale cultivation of legumes was in fact the most prominent of a number of

---

[38] V. Wilson, *British Regional Geology: East Yorkshire and Lincolnshire* (London, 1948), p. 13.

[39] A. Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincolnshire* (London, 1813, rep., Newton Abbot, 1970), pp. 298-9.

[40] Roden, 'Demesne Farming', p. 16.

[41] E 358/18, 15/1, line 17.

[42] Newman and Harvey, 'Soil Fertility', p. 130.

technological innovations'.[43] Further, Titow cites the progressively increasing proportion of leguminous crops on the Winchester estates during the first half of the fourteenth century as being a factor contributing to increasing arable productivity.[44] Of the twenty-two manors on the estates of Temple Bruer and Willoughton for which acreages under seed are recorded in the accounts beginning Michaelmas 1308, only the four manors of Holme, South Witham, Temple Belwood and Mere have no record of legume cultivation (appendix 4).

Manuring, marling and the inclusion of legumes amongst the limited range of crops signified material inputs into the maintenance of soil fertility, whereas ploughing and weeding represented a considerable investment of available labour. Indeed, Campbell stresses that output per acre was highest 'when labour inputs were greatest not when the livestock were most numerous'.[45] Weeding was a constant activity so as to ensure maximum crop productivity. The frequency of the occurrence of weeding, as an item of expenditure in the accounts, would imply that the availability of *famuli* to weed growing crops was insufficient for the task, and, that weeding was deemed important enough to hire additional labour on a regular basis.[46] However, as Postles succinctly points out 'the success or failure of weeding is not illuminated by the accounts'.[47] Similarly, Harwood Long offers that 'there was nothing to indicate how far these operations achieved their purpose'.[48] If, as Titow suggests,

---

[43] Campbell, 'Agricultural Progress' in *Medieval Antecedents*, 2, ed. by Campbell, p. 32.

[44] Titow, *Winchester Yields*, p. 31.

[45] Campbell, 'Land, Labour, Livestock', p. 177.

[46] E 358/18, 19/1, line 33; 16/1, line 60.

[47] Postles, 'Cleaning', p. 137.

[48] Harwood Long, 'Low Yields', p. 469.

manure was in 'chronic short supply' then every effort, however ineffective, had to be made to reduce the extent to which weeds consumed soil nutrition.[49]

Just as frequent ploughing and constant weeding were means of suppressing weeds, so was the manipulation of the seeding rate. In the latter case, the more seed used per acre, the greater the density of the resultant crop so as to suppress the weeds. Postles quotes manors in Norfolk and on the estates of Canterbury Cathedral Priory where heavy sowing of up to eight bushels per acre for oats was used as a means of suppressing weeds.[50] C. C. Thornton observes that on the Bishop of Winchester's manor of Taunton the low sowing rate could have been because of the availability of plentiful unfree labour for large scale weeding. [51] However, he also points out that the low seeding rate could have been as a result of the recognition that the nutrient input was insufficient to support intensive cultivation.[52]

The output of crop, measured in bushels per acre, was then dependent on a number of variables within the compass of the bailiff's managerial control, all of which involved an investment of money, labour or both, the most effective balance of which would produce the maximum yield. As with the sheep farming element of the former Templar estates, the impact of management upon arable farming was crucial in determining productivity. Stone is of the opinion that 'the behaviour of medieval farm managers […] could be sophisticated, rational, and much more 'modern' than historians have

---

[49] Titow, *Winchester Yields*, p. 30.

[50] Postles, 'Cleaning', p. 142.

[51] C. C. Thornton, 'The Level of Arable Production on the Bishopric of Winchester's Manor of Taunton', in *The Winchester Pipe Rolls and Medieval English Society*, ed. by R. Britnell (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 124.

[52] Ibid.

previously given them credit for' implying an understanding of and a considered response to both environmental and economic factors.[53] That is not to say, however, that each manor sergeant responded in a similar way to external factors, or that all were equally successful.

The accounts of the former Templar estates which variously begin at Michaelmas, 1308, 1309, 1311 and 1312 all enumerate, albeit incompletely, the land in seed including the winter-sown wheat and rye. Of these, the most comprehensive accounts are those for the estates of Temple Bruer and Willoughton beginning Michaelmas 1308 and those of Aslackby and Eagle beginning Michaelmas 1311and 1312.[54] Nonetheless, an estimate of the total acreage under the plough for the former Templar estates, based upon the above, would be 3500 acres, which as part of a three- course rotation, would have rendered a working arable acreage of 5250 acres in total.[55]

2.2. Arable acreage and crop value per acre

The distribution of crops and their value per acre sown are illustrated in appendices 5 and 6. As on the Bishop of Winchester's estate at Taunton, wheat was favoured because of the high price which it could command, despite its need for more nutrients than other cereals,[56] Wheat is recorded on each of the

[53] Stone, *Decision Making*, p. 195.

[54] E358/18, 16/1; 16/2; 16/1 dorse; 16/2 dorse; 15/1; 15/2; 15/1 dorse; 15/2 dorse; 39/1; 39/2; 39/1 dorse; 39/2 dorse; 55/1; 55/2.

[55] C.C. Thornton, 'The Determinants of Land Productivity on the Bishop of Winchester's Demesne of Rimpton, 1208-1403', in *Land, Labour and Livestock: Historical Studies in European Agricultural Productivity*, ed. by B. M. S. Campbell and M. Overton (Manchester, 1991), p. 186. 'The amount of land recorded as fallow each year can be translated into an estimate of the total demesne arable acreage by adding an extra 50 per cent to represent the fallow [assuming a three-course rotation]'.

[56] Thornton, 'The Level of Arable Productivity', p. 121.

twenty-eight former Templar manors in at least one account. It was generally the most extensive crop throughout the former Templar estates never falling below thirty-two per cent of the arable acreage on any manor, with the highest proportion being that of 43.2 per cent in the Aslackby account beginning Michaelmas 1311; rather lower than the 'half the arable' recorded at the manor of Cuxham, Oxfordshire.[57] The value of an acre sown with wheat varied from six shillings per acre at Aslackby and Carlton to 2s. 6d. at Brauncewell, but more generally was four shillings per acre. The value of a quarter of wheat which ranged from 3s. 6d. to eight shillings during 1308 did not compare favourably with the average of 7s. 0¼d. per quarter which D. L. Farmer calculates for the same year (appendix 5).[58] The reason for its pre-eminence was as P.W. Hammond states that 'wheat was the most commercially valuable crop since wheaten bread was more desirable than any other kind'.[59]

Whilst wheat was universal, rye, the other winter-sown grain, was much less popular. It was sown on fewer manors - twelve of the twenty-four manors constituting the estates of Temple Bruer and Willoughton in the accounts beginning Michaelmas 1308. In addition, the rye acreage made up only 5.3 per cent per cent of the total arable acreage (appendix 4), 'the modest share of the sown acreage' referred to by Campbell.[60] The manor of Eagle was the exception in the account beginning Michaelmas 1312, rye comprised 18.9 per cent of the total arable acreage (appendix 4). Rye straw was favoured for both

---

[57] P. D. A. Harvey, *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village: Cuxham, 1240 to 1400* (Oxford, 1965), p. 46.

[58] D. L. Farmer, 'Some Grain Price Movements in Thirteenth-Century England', *EcHR*, n.s., 10, 2 (1957), 207-20 (p. 212).

[59] P. W. Hammond, *Food and Feast in Medieval England* (Stroud, 1993), p. 2.

[60] Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p. 220.

fodder and bedding, a factor which could have influenced the 78.5 acres at Eagle (appendix 4). As a breeding station, (see following chapter), Eagle needed to provide fodder and bedding for large numbers of stock and rye would have served that purpose. In some cases, such as at the manor of Wellingore, during the winter sowing of 1308, rye was mixed with wheat and sown as maslin which produced better bread than rye on its own but of lower quality than that made of wheat (appendix 5). Aslackby never included rye in its grain acreage (appendix 4).[61]

Rye was not grown as a commercial crop. There is only one instance, in the entirety of the accounts, where rye was sold, that of 3.5 quarters of rye at Claxby in the account beginning Michaelmas 1308 otherwise, the whole of the rye crop was used for bread making or the direct payment of *famuli* in the form of either seed or maslin. [62] Despite its insignificance as a commercial crop, the value of a standing acre of rye was surprisingly consistent with that of both wheat and barley on the Temple Bruer estate, generally at four shillings per acre, but was much more variable on the Willoughton estate, ranging from four shillings per acre at both Gainsborough and Kettleby to 1s. 3d. per acre at Cabourne (appendix 4). Gainsborough, in the Trent valley and Kettleby, in the Ancholme valley both enjoyed fertile, clay soil and low relief. Cabourne is in a steep-sided Wolds valley where arable farming in the early fourteenth century would have presented much more of a challenge. The greater variety of topography and soil type of the Willoughton estate compared with that of

[61] Where reference was made to a crop of maslin, it invariably meant a mixture of wheat and barley. It was only in the grange inventories where the term maslin was used more broadly, referring to the varied composition of the *famuli* livery.

[62] E 358/18, 15/2, line 40.

Temple Bruer was clearly reflected in the range of standing crop values. As with wheat, the value of rye was below the average calculated by Farmer which was 6s. 9½d. for 1309.[63] However, rye was hardier than wheat and less demanding in nitrogen consumption. Thus, overall, rye was not without advantages and therefore to be considered, certainly as an insurance crop, on less fertile soils where harsh winter frosts might nip the emerging wheat.

With the exception of a crop sown during the winter of 1307 at Temple Bruer (appendix 5), all barley was spring-sown. Although barley was the premier brewing grain, the acreage devoted to the cereal was by no means consistent across the former Templar estates. Whereas Campbell quotes a county wide proportion of just below half the arable land in Norfolk being devoted to barley before 1350, on the combined estates of Temple Bruer and Willoughton, beginning Michaelmas 1308, the barley acreage was 12.2 per cent of the arable total (appendix 4).[64] Only at Aslackby, in the account beginning at Michaelmas 1311, did the barley acreage exceed twenty per cent of the total and this was on the manor with the most restricted range of crops (appendix 4).

Barley was second only to wheat in value, an acre of standing crop having a mean value of 3s. 5½d. compared with the 3s. 7½d. of wheat (appendix 6), again, well below the 5s. 0½d. calculated by Farmer.[65] Overall, it seems that barley was best suited to the Temple Bruer manors, as, with the exception of Welbourn, an acre of barley was uniformly worth four shillings (appendix 4).

---

[63] Farmer, 'Grain Price Movements', p. 212.

[64] Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p. 223.

[65] Farmer, 'Grain Price Movements', p. 212.

On the Willoughton estate, as with both wheat and rye, there was far less uniformity in price. Willoughton, Gainsborough and Kettleby, all on clay soils, had a crop valuation of four shillings per acre. The Wolds manors of Limber and Claxby had a crop valuation of 2s. 6d. per acre and that of Cabourne, the lowest of all at two shillings.

Mixed cropping was a common practice in the early fourteenth century, the most widespread mixtures being barley with oats (dredge) and wheat with rye (maslin).[66] There were two possible reasons for growing mixed crops; the reduction of the chance of complete crop failure and the increased suppression of weeds by the competition between the two grains.[67] The argument in favour of mixed crops was one of sustainability rather than productivity.

In the accounts beginning Michaelmas 1308, dredge was sown in spring on seventeen manors of the total of twenty-eight, of which eight were on the Temple Bruer estate and nine on the Willoughton estate (appendix 4). The proportion of arable land sown with dredge was consistent across the two major ex-Templar estates in the accounts beginning Michaelmas 1308: 17.9 per cent of the arable acreage on the Temple Bruer estate and seventeen per cent on the Willoughton estate (appendix 4). No dredge was sown on the estate of Eagle and members or at Aslackby (appendix 4).

The value of dredge was significantly lower than all single sown grains except oats which were consistently of the lowest value. At Temple Bruer, each of wheat, rye and barley was valued at four shillings per acre whereas dredge was valued at three shillings (appendix 4). The lowest value by far for an acre

[66] Pretty, 'Sustainable Agriculture', p. 5.

[67] Ibid.

of dredge was that of 1s. 2d. at Cabourne. It is also apparent that the value of the standing crop of dredge was not always consistent throughout its acreage on a specific manor. During the growing season of 1309, sixty-two acres were sown with dredge on the manor of Tealby, at the foot of the west-facing scarp of the Lincolnshire Wolds (appendix 4). Of those, forty-six acres of the standing crop were valued at 2s. 6d. per acre and only sixteen acres at 3s. 6d. (appendix 4). The absence of barley and oats at Tealby further points to a soil type which was not ideal for grain, but in the mixed farming economy of the period no alternative was available. At Claxby manor, three miles north-west of Tealby, also a scarp foot location, neither dredge nor oats were sown and the only spring-sown grain was barley, valued at 2s. 6d. per acre, which was 28.6 per cent lower than the mean value of 3s. 6d. for the former Templar estates (appendix 4).

Oats were widespread in the accounts beginning Michaelmas 1308, being grown on sixteen of the twenty-eight former Templar manors (appendix 4). Of the16.2 per cent of the arable land devoted to oats on the Temple Bruer estate - 285.5 acres - two hundred and sixteen acres were sown on the manor of Temple Bruer itself (appendices 4, 5). No other manor on the former Templar estates approached the Temple Bruer oats acreage, the highest acreage elsewhere being that of one hundred and forty acres at Eagle recorded in the account beginning Michaelmas 1312. At both Temple Bruer and Eagle, the acreage of oats exceeded that of wheat - one hundred and thirty-three and one hundred and sixty-nine acres respectively (appendix 4). This was despite the differential between the values of an acre of standing crop for the two grains. In the case of both preceptories however, there were high stock numbers to be

fed necessitating considerable amounts of fodder. Clearly there was a distinction between the low commercial value of oats and their domestic value which was not reflected in monetary terms.

Although Willoughton manor had a much smaller acreage devoted to oats than had that of Temple Bruer, the percentage of each estate devoted to oats - 13.6 per cent and 16.2 per cent respectively - was not as dissimilar as the distribution over the estates. On the Willoughton estate, the accounts beginning at Michaelmas 1308 reveal a substantial variation in the value of the standing crop from manor to manor. As with dredge, Cabourne was the poorest performer with oats valued at 1s. 2d. per acre. The other two Wold manors performed little better, with values of 1s. 4d. at Goulceby and 1s. 6d. at Limber (appendix 5). Cabourne had consistently the lowest value per acre, by a considerable margin, for each and every crop, on any of the former Templar manors (appendix 4). The manor of Kettleby had an unusually high value of three shillings for a standing acre of oats, as with other grains, the manor in the Ancholme valley performed particularly well. The accounts give no prices for a quarter of oats and so no comparison with Farmer can be made.

R. S. Shiel cites the thirteenth century as a period of 'general increase in the importance of legumes as a field crop' stating that by the end of the century peas and beans were widely cultivated but 'rarely on a scale sufficient to have raised [arable] productivity'.[68] On the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire, the growing of legumes, peas, beans and *pulmentum* was second only to wheat in popularity since they were grown on twenty-three of the twenty-eight

[68] R. S. Shiel, 'Improving Soil Productivity in the Pre-Fertiliser Era', in *Land, Labour and Livestock*, ed. by Campbell and Overton, p. 54.

manors (appendix 5).[69] Throughout the former Templar estates, the proportion of legumes grown was variable (appendix 5). However, *pulmentum* was restricted to the heathland, south of the city of Lincoln, where it was grown only on seven manors of the Temple Bruer estate and on the neighbouring manor of Mere which was a member of the Willoughton estate (appendix 5).

2.3. Meadow

There is no evidence in the accounts of mass slaughter of livestock with the onset of winter which means that fodder must have been available for the sustenance of animals throughout the year. The sources of winter fodder were threefold: grain, legumes and hay. The latter depended upon the creation of meadow, which was improved pasture and by no means universally available. Campbell describes the characteristics of meadowland as 'fertile and well-watered grassland combined with good drying conditions in early summer when the meadows were mown'.[70] He further notes that in Lincolnshire, during the early fourteenth century, whilst there may have been at least one acre of meadow to two acres of arable on the fen-edge, in contrast, on the Wolds, there were 'significant numbers of demesnes which lacked meadow altogether'.[71]

Meadow is poorly recorded in the accounts of the former Templar estates beginning at Michaelmas 1308. No meadowland is recorded for Aslackby in 1308, but fifty-one acres of meadowland are recorded during the accounting

---

[69] *Pulmentum* appears in the marginal subheadings of accounts following peas and beans and before oats – see E 358/18, 19/2, line 28. Campbell cites *pulmentum* as being either a mixture of rye and peas or oats and vetch – see Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p. 227. From the accounts it is not possible to be more precise than to say that it was a mixture of legumes and grain.

[70] Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p. 72.

[71] Ibid, p. 73.

year of 1312-1313 (appendix 5). In the accounts covering the period of Easter 1309 until 30 July 1309, five of the Willoughton manors record meadow acreages, they being Willoughton, Tealby, Claxby, Limber and Gainsborough (appendix 5). The Willoughton estate had one hundred and forty-one acres of meadow which meant that the ratio of meadow acreage to arable acreage was one to eight, much lower than the fens and reflecting Campbell's observation that by no means all demesnes in the Wolds had meadow (appendix 5).[72]

The sum of £9. 16s. 4d. is itemised in the accounts beginning Michaelmas 1308 for the mowing of meadow and haymaking on the manors of Temple Bruer, Carlton, Welbourn, Cranwell and Leadenham, but no acreage is given (appendix 5).[73] This included the purchase of eighteen carts of hay for sheep. Neither Cranwell nor Leadenham were member manors of the Temple Bruer estate; the Templars had held land but not the entire manors. In the accounts for Willoughton beginning at the same time, one pound was spent on four cartloads of hay for ewes in Lent when lambing and subsequent feeding would occur.[74] Whilst it was deemed worthwhile to buy additional hay for sheep during lambing, there is no evidence of additional hay, grain or legumes being bought specifically to provide fodder for livestock during winter.

The accounts are woefully wanting in itemising grange stores which were used for fodder and only record the purchase of grains and legumes either for seed or payment of the *famuli.* However, domestic production of fodder crops must have been adequate to sustain livestock through the winter, as the fact

[72] Ibid.

[73] E 358/18, 16/1, lines 60-1.

[74] E 358/18, 15/1, line 24.

remains that there was no mass slaughter of stock in the autumn precipitated by the lack of fodder.

2.4. Sowing rate

The sowing rate of a given crop was determined by its purpose. A heavy sowing rate would produce greater competition between plants and in so doing help to suppress weeds. However, a heavy sowing rate would reduce the productivity of individual plants and in so doing reduce the return on a bushel of seed. Conversely, as a low sowing rate would have reduced the impact upon weeds then the manor would have needed to invest more time and money in weeding to compensate, but the return per bushel of seed would be higher. The sowing rate was the result of the sergeant and reeve responding to their local environment and their response must often have been one of compromise.

The sowing rate of wheat was consistent, ranging from two to three bushels per acre across the former Templar estates (appendix 5), with a mean rate of 2.7 bushels per acre (appendix 6). This was completely in accord with the mean sowing rate for wheat of 2.9 bushels per acre in eastern Norfolk pre-1350 cited by Campbell.[75] The mean sowing rate for rye was the same as wheat if the improbable figure of 6.7 bushels per acre at Tealby is ignored (appendix 6). Campbell cites 2.6 bushels per acre for eastern Norfolk.[76]

Barley was of lower value than wheat per unit weight but demanded a higher sowing rate. However, the value of an acre of standing barley was similar to an acre of standing wheat indicating that the higher sowing rate of barley produced

[75] B. M. S. Campbell, 'Arable Productivity in Medieval England: Some Evidence From Eastern Norfolk', in *Medieval Antecedents*, 3, p. 387.

[76] Ibid., p. 387.

a correspondingly heavier harvest per unit area. The exception was the manor of Kettleby where both wheat and barley were valued at four shillings per quarter. The mean sowing rate of barley was 4.8 bushels per acre, 77.8 per cent more seed per acre than was required for wheat (appendix 6).[77] However, the sowing rate of barley at Claxby was 11.4 bushels per acre which skewed the mean from a figure which would otherwise have been four bushels per acre. The heavy sowing rate at Claxby can hardly have been economic, but the husbandry of the period could provide no answer (appendices 5, 6). Once again, Claxby emerged as a problematic manor. It is clear from the examples above that there was a group of three manors, in the northern Wolds, which had a lower level of productivity than elsewhere and must have posed a problem for the bailiff at Willoughton preceptory.

The mean value of an acre of rye was 3s. 4¾d. making it worth 93.7 per cent of the value of wheat (appendix 6). Whilst the mean sowing rate per acre for rye was slightly heavier than wheat during the winter of 1308, the sowing rate of both grains was identical at three bushels per acre during the winters of 1311 and 1312 (appendix 6). However, in the cases where the value per quarter is quoted then wheat commanded a consistently higher price. In the accounts beginning Michaelmas 1308, at the manor of Rowston, a quarter of wheat was valued at six shillings or, 6s. 8d., whereas a quarter of barley was four shillings (appendix 5). In the same accounts, for each of the manors of Cawkwell, Goulceby, Upton and Temple Belwood the value of a quarter of wheat was six shillings and of a quarter of barley, four shillings (appendix 5).

[77] As indicated in table 3, if the sowing rate of 11.4 bushels per acre at Claxby is included, then the mean would be 4.8 bushels per acre.

Dredge, a mixture of oats and barley, was spring-sown and more versatile than rye as it could be used both in bread making and as a brewing grain. However, the addition of oats to barley had the effect of increasing the mean sowing rate, compared with barley, and reducing the mean value per acre, so that, of the grains, only oats were of lower value (appendix 6).

Oats were the least valuable of all grains with a mean value of 1s.10d. per acre in the account beginning Michaelmas 1308 (appendix 6). They also had the heaviest sowing rate of all crops at 5.7 bushels per acre which Campbell attributes to the need to 'choke out weed growth' (appendix 6).[78] Campbell's sowing rate for pre-1350 Norfolk was 5.2 bushels per acre.[79] There is no clear correlation between the sowing rate of oats and the value of the standing crop. In the account beginning Michaelmas 1308, at the manor of Temple Bruer where the sowing rate was six bushels per acre, the value of the crop was 1s. 6d. per acre whereas at Kirkby, the same sowing rate produced a crop worth two shillings per acre and at Welbourn, a sowing rate of four bushels per acre produced a standing crop worth 1s. 8d. per acre (appendix 5). On the Temple Bruer estate, two hundred and fourteen quarters of oats were sown on three hundred and twenty-eight acres at a seeding rate of 5.2 bushels per acre (appendix 5).

Overall, oats required a significantly higher sowing rate than any other cereal crop for a substantially lower financial return as measured by the value of a standing acre. However, the low commercial value of a standing acre of oats did not correspond with its domestic worth for fodder, pottage and bread.

---

[78] Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p. 226.

[79] Campbell, 'Arable Productivity', p. 387.

In addition, as Pretty points out, oats were more sustainable and more stable than wheat.[80] Further, they were more tolerant of heavy or waterlogged soils such as would have been found in the clay vales of Lincolnshire.[81] Oats were not regarded as high quality grain, as their low commercial value illustrates; however, their ability to grow in difficult conditions and their versatility as a 'cheap foodstuff for the poor and their vital importance as a fodder crop for horses' ensured their acreage.[82]

The mean sowing rate of beans and peas was heavier than that of *pulmentum* - 2.7 bushels per acre compared with 2.3 bushels per acre - and the mean value per acre was lower, 1s. 10½d. for an acre of standing peas and beans compared with 2s. 3d. for *pulmentum* (appendix 6). Of the peas in store at Aslackby, 24 quarters 1 bushel were sown on forty-eight acres at a rate of four bushels per acre whereas, although South Witham had a greater acreage in seed, the fifty-three acres of peas were only sown at a rate of one bushel per acre which would clearly have been much less productive and considerably less successful in suppressing weeds (appendix 5). Overall, both sowing rate and crop value would point to a grain/legume mixture as being more commercially viable than a purely leguminous crop and it would have been interesting to know whether such a mix would have become more widespread on the ex-Templar estates as the fourteenth century progressed. Unfortunately, the absence of accounts leaves this open to conjecture.

---

[80] Pretty, 'Sustainable Agriculture', p. 7.

[81] Thornton, 'Level of Arable Productivity', p. 121.

[82] Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p. 224.

2.5. Crops stored at the grange and their usage

Any attempt at analysing the uses to which crops were put is based upon the accounts of the Temple Bruer estate and those of the preceptory of Aslackby as the accounts of neither Willoughton nor Eagle record crop usage. Appendix 7 identifies crop usage by manor on the Temple Bruer estate and at Aslackby whilst appendix 8 presents the same data by crop type.

Arable farming depends upon the availability of seed for the continuation of cropping into the succeeding year. There are two ways in which this can be achieved, either by storing some of the domestically produced harvest for use as seed or by following the advice of Walter of Henley, to 'chaunge yearely your seede corne', by purchasing seed from elsewhere.[83]

2.5.i. Grange store

The crops stored in the granaries of the former Templar manors and recorded in the accounts had two sources: they were either grown on the manors themselves, or they were purchased. The choice of cultivated crops, their relative acreage and the purpose for which they were grown were not accidental, they were all based on managerial decisions.

A sergeant would have needed to consider which commercial crops were likely to be most successful on his manor, given the limitations set by topography, soil type and drainage, and to have ensured that the maximum viable crop acreage was devoted to commercial crops. This approach, to ensure the greatest productivity and profitability, would have determined both the wheat and barley acreages. The domestic need for food and livery for the *famuli*

[83] Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 325.

and contracted workers and fodder for draught animals, was a further determinant of arable acreage. In the latter case, as with oats, satisfying domestic demand was more important than commercial value.

Where purchases were made, they may have been because of a shortfall in production due, perhaps, to a poor harvest, which left little option but to make unplanned purchases of grain or legumes. Alternatively, it may have made more financial sense to buy relatively cheap grain or legumes so as to free additional acreage for the more commercial crops of wheat and barley. The outcome of these considerations was manifest in the inventories of grange stores and illustrated in appendices 7 and 8.

On the Temple Bruer estate, wheat and barley, the two most important commercial grains were each grown on six of the eight constituent manors. In addition, wheat was bought in at Brauncewell for livery payment and barley bought for seed at Wellingore. With the exception of Wellingore, the sum of the wheat and barley stores was greater than that of any other crop. As can be seen from appendices 7 and 8, although wheat and barley were the main commercial crops, the produce was by no means all for sale. Both grains were also used for livery payment.

It was clearly thought economic to buy a significant proportion of the rye required for the domestic demands of the Templar manors - thirty-seven per cent of the rye store on the Temple Bruer estate - thus allowing a greater proportion of the arable land used for winter sowing to be used for wheat (appendix 5). On the few manors where rye was grown, it was not sown in a sufficient quantity to meet domestic demand and so had to be bought in. Therefore there was a commercial trade in rye, albeit more limited than that in

wheat. Thornton identifies the replacement of the consumption-orientated rye by the much more commercial wheat in the thirteenth century on the Rimpton manor of the Winchester demesne.[84] Wheat was not only the most important commercial crop grown but as Campbell points out, one which was increasingly in demand at the expense of rye for the payment of the *famuli*.

Dredge was a commercial crop and as such was grown on each manor where it was recorded in the granary. The only exceptions were the manors of Holme and Wellingore, on the Temple Bruer estate, where dredge was bought for seed (appendix 8). The manor of Temple Bruer itself also had a sizeable store of dredge malt, sixty per cent of which was sold.

Oats were not grown as a commercial crop. Only 8.1 per cent of the oats store was sold on the Temple Bruer estate and at Aslackby in the accounts beginning 10 January 1308, and the proportion bought was negligible (appendix 8). However, the domestic importance of oats upon the manors where they were grown, in particular Temple Bruer, was such that the total oats store was greater than that of any other crop (appendix 8).

Overall, the demand for beans and peas was considerably greater than the quantity produced on the Templar manors and the shortfall necessitated the purchase of additional supplies. Legumes are to be found in the grange inventory of each of the Temple Bruer manors and that of Aslackby in the accounts beginning 10 January 1308. With the exceptions of Temple Bruer which had only beans in store and South Witham, which has both beans and peas accounted together, elsewhere, only peas are recorded in the grange inventories (appendix 8). Aslackby had 82 quarters 2 bushels of peas, by far

[84] Thornton 'Determinants of Land Productivity', p. 189.

the largest store of legumes, and the grange inventory shows a much greater degree of integration of legumes into the arable economy than elsewhere (appendix 8). At Aslackby, the store of peas was sufficient for the manor's usage, unlike Temple Bruer where 66.9 per cent of the bean store was purchased (appendix 8). The recording of *pulmentum i*s widespread across the granaries of the Temple Bruer estate, all used domestically and with the exception, again, of Wellingore, all grown on the manor.

2.5.ii. Seed

It is clear that the availability of seed as with other crop usages was totally dependent upon the previous harvest. It is particularly noticeable that in the case of both wheat and rye, which would have been sown before 10 January 1308, that no reserve was stored in the granary to be sown during the winter of 1309, were the intervening harvest to fail. All the grain was either used or sold, and as a result, the harvest of 1309 was completely dependent for its seed upon the harvest of 1308. A scrutiny of other crops in the granaries reveals the same pattern, no reserve was retained; the sum of the contents of the granaries equalled the sum of crop usage (appendices 7, 8). A change which is noticeable, however, on four of the Temple Bruer manors, was a shift in emphasis. In each case, the entirety of the pea store was consumed whereas over ninety-four per cent of the store of *pulmentum* was used for seed which could suggest a change in cropping pattern.

The absence of a continuous run of accounts over a significant period means that no conclusive pattern of seed policy is evident. As a result, it is not possible to conclude whether the purchase of new seed was on a regular

cyclical basis, implying a budgetary mechanism, or whether, when it occurred, it was merely a response to the vagaries of fortune.

2.5.iii. Animal feed

The sources of animal feed were limited to hay, oats and legumes. The availability of hay depended upon well-watered meadow for its production, and, as indicated above, this was by no means widespread through the ex-Templar manors. Where meadows were tended and hay produced, the accounts are vague about its usage. Included in the grange inventory for Rowston, beginning January 1308, is a reference to the hay produced from one hundred and eighteen acres of meadow being used for the feeding of sheep '*et aliors animales'*.[85] Where purchases of hay were made, they were exclusively for sheep and lambs, not for the consumption of draught animals.[86]

The grange inventories for oats are not entirely reliable, and as such, a full statistical analysis cannot be attempted. However, it is clear that oats were used as a fodder crop, particularly for oxen. In the accounts beginning 10 January 1308, 28 quarters 3 bushels 1 peck of oats were used to feed fifty oxen at South Witham and 30 quarters 5 bushels at Temple Bruer, 11.4 per cent of Temple Bruer's sum total, where there were forty-two oxen (appendices 7, 8).[87] The amount of fodder issued per animal was variable, on the manor of Kirkby two quarters were used for feeding twelve oxen, a much less generous allocation than at South Witham.[88] Even allowing for the considerable variation in the

[85] E 358/18, 19/1 dorse, line 30.

[86] E 358/18, 16/1, lines 60-1.

[87] E 358/18, 18/2, lines 13-14; 19/2, line 32.

[88] E 358/18, 19/1 dorse, line 48.

issue of fodder between periods of high activity such as ploughing and that of maintenance, there must have been sources of provender at Kirkby which are not evident in the accounts.

As elsewhere, oats were used for horse fodder, at Temple Bruer which had thirty plough horses, 8.8 per cent of the total grange store was used for horse fodder (appendix 8).[89] The expectation was that the issue of oats per plough horse would be far greater than that per ox, one of the reasons for horses being regarded as more expensive than oxen. In fact, on the manor of Temple Bruer, 6.2 bushels were allocated for each plough horse and 5.8 bushels per ox. On the South Witham estate, the rate was 4.5 bushels per ox and only at the manor of Kirkby did the feeding rate fall to 1.3 bushels of oats per ox. No issue of oats to plough horses was listed for South Witham which seems improbable as the manor had six mixed plough teams in 1308 with sixteen plough horses.[90]

Campbell says that, as a fodder crop, the use of dredge was 'decidedly limited', citing a proportion of less than one per cent on manors of Adderbury (Oxfordshire), Hyde (Middlesex) and Wargrave (Berkshire).[91] In each account, the quantity of grain threshed and winnowed is recorded under expenses, but there is only one record of the use to which chaff was put. The account for Temple Bruer beginning 10 January 1308 itemises 23 quarters 4 bushels of dredge chaff, (double entered under oats), as being used as fodder for plough horses (appendix 8).[92] Having first used the grain for bread or brewing, the remaining chaff can have had little nutritional value.

---

[89] E 358/18, 19/2, line 32.

[90] E 358/18, 18/2, line 23.

[91] Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p. 226.

[92] E 358/18, 19/2, line 25.

Aslackby and Rowston were the only two manors which used peas as a fodder crop for carthorses and plough horses, 13.4 per cent and 16.4 per cent respectively of the total grange pea store (appendix 8). The Rowston inventory specifies that the peas were used to feed two carthorses and eight plough horses during sowing, a boost to fodder intake during a busy period.[93] This corresponds to the replacement of oats by vetch at Cuxham when plough horses were being worked hard, referred to above.[94] Aslackby was alone in using peas to feed oxen, 14 quarters 6 bushels to feed twenty four beasts (appendix 8).[95] It is notable that at Aslackby the oats not used for seed were used for the livery of *famuli*, or were sold, but were not used for fodder, (appendix 8). No oats were grown on the manor of Rowston. However, *pulmentum* was, a mixture of grain and legumes, of which 7 quarters 7 bushels were fed to twenty-four oxen. [96]

2.5.iv. Payment of the *famuli*

A surprisingly high percentage of the wheat store accounted in the grange inventories was designated for the payment of labourers and artisans, despite its high commercial value. I. Rush has established that on some of the manors of Glastonbury Abbey, *famuli* were not given high value grain as part of their livery because of the reduction in profit which this would have brought about.[97] This does not correspond with the Lincolnshire evidence and could suggest a

---

[93] E 358/18, 19/1 dorse, lines 19-20.

[94] Langdon, 'Economics of Horses and Oxen', p. 39.

[95] E 358/18, 18/1 dorse, line 8.

[96] E 358/18, 19/1 dorse, lines 21-2.

[97] I. Rush, 'The Impact of Commercialization in Early Fourteenth-Century England: Some Evidence From the Manors of Glastonbury Abbey', *AHR*, 49, 2 (2001), 123-39 (p. 133).

lower degree of commercialisation on the former Templar estates than Rush identifies on Somerset manors. Strikingly, on the manors of Temple Bruer, Welbourn and South Witham, in 1308, a far higher percentage of wheat was allocated for the payment of labourers than was actually sold (appendices 7, 8). Dyer observes that wheat was frequently a significant part of the maintenance agreement between peasants on the transfer of a holding from one generation to the next.[98] The commercial importance of wheat was such that it was almost an item of currency in its own right.

As livery of the *famuli*, wheat is either enumerated as a direct payment or as an integral part of maslin which was for the payment of labourers (appendix 7). At each of the most important wheat producing manors, Temple Bruer, South Witham, Rowston and Aslackby, the quantity of wheat involved in labour payment far exceeded that of any other crop, the implication being that there was growing social pressure from the labouring classes to be paid in high quality grain. This suggests that the trend which Campbell identifies in the second half of the fourteenth century of 'workers […] increasingly demanding and receiving liveries of wheat rather than rye' was already apparent on the Templar estates of Temple Bruer and Aslackby, at least as early as 1308.[99] By 1312, Aslackby recorded the purchase of fish, meat, cheese and milk for the consumption of the autumn harvesters suggesting a significantly enhanced diet for the contracted workers who may have been in a stronger negotiating position than the *famuli*.[100] Conversely, at the manor of Rimpton (Somerset),

[98] Dyer, 'English Diet', pp. 202-3.

[99] Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p. 219.

[100] E358/18, 55/1, line 44.

on the Bishop of Winchester's estate, not only were wage rises to the *famuli* denied during the fourteenth century, but in addition, the policy was to include the least valuable crops in food liveries.[101]

As barley was the prime brewing grain, it could be expected that a substantial proportion would have been retained for malting and subsequent brewing, but this is not evident in the accounts beginning 10 January 1308. It is only in the grange inventories of Aslackby beginning 16 June 1312, and subsequently, that barley malt is itemised. In the first instance, the malt was received from William de Spanneby and was for 'the use of reapers and others in autumn'.[102] One must assume that the barley issued as livery at Temple Bruer was brewed by ale wives and that elsewhere, barley for brewing was subsumed in sales.

Overall, dredge made an important contribution to the medieval diet, both as a brewing grain, second to barley, and as a constituent of pottage - although not itemised in the accounts - the staple food of the *famuli*, and as a consequence, it justified its arable acreage. In addition, the use of dredge as livery for labourers at Temple Bruer was most unusual, given its high value as a brewing grain, exemplified by the sale of twenty-four quarters of dredge malt from the granary at Temple Bruer (appendix 8).[103] However, sixteen quarters of dredge malt were retained for autumn use, most probably for brewing ale during harvest time.[104]

---

[101] Thornton, 'Determinants of Land Productivity', p. 207.

[102] E 358/18, 55/1, line 20.

[103] E 358/18, 19/2, line 35.

[104] Ibid.

2.5.v. Maslin and multure

Maslin was an important component of the payment of the *famuli* as appendices 7 and 8 illustrate. The term maslin normally applied to a mixture of the winter-sown crops, wheat and rye; this was not the case on the former Templar manors in Lincolnshire. Appendix 9 presents the composition of maslin for each of the eight Temple Bruer manors where it is recorded. In the grange inventories of the former Templar manors, maslin is used as a collective noun for all the crops which were employed for the payment of labourers and artisans and as such the content varied from manor to manor. Most unusually, for each manor on the Temple Bruer estate and at Aslackby, legumes were an important component of maslin, often having been bought in for the purpose. Of particular note are the manors of Temple Bruer, Brauncewell and Kirkby (appendix 8). Thus, legumes were an important part of the mechanism for paying labourers, even to the extent of buying all or most of the legumes to enable payment to be made.

A further constituent of maslin was multure, the grain taken in part payment for milling. Hence multure was only used on the manors which had mills - Temple Bruer, Kirkby, South Witham and Aslackby. In all cases, the multure, which could have been in the form of any crop which had been ground at the mill, either contributed to the maslin or was accounted as 'payment to labourers', *in lib. famlors*.[105]

The distinction between 'payment to labourers' and 'maslin' is interesting. It would be easy to assume that the two terms were interchangeable as the maslin was invariably used as payment. However, the distinction lies in the nature of the livery. 'Payment to labourers' was a crop specific payment. The

[105] E 358/18, 19/2, line 37.

manors of Temple Bruer, Brauncewell, Wellingore and South Witham all made 'payment to labourers' of *pulmentum* as a separate entity; only Kirkby used six bushels of *pulmentum* as a component of maslin which was in turn used as livery (appendix 8). The implication is that 'maslin' was the generic term for whatever was available and was used for payment, very probably in the form of mixed seed. The crop specific 'payment to labourers' allowed for far greater versatility of approach such that a sergeant could be paid in wheat besides his monetary income, whereas a labourer, of less consequence, would be paid in what was convenient. Each to his station.

2.5.vi. Pottage

Besides payment made in the form of grain and legumes, payment to the *famuli* could also be in the form of food which was prepared, amongst which was the provision of pottage. Pottage was a kind of soup or stew with grain and/or legumes as the major ingredients. It was essentially liquid in form, and as Dyer points out, 'difficult to transport in quantity'.[106] It is therefore probable that the *famuli,* or contracted harvest workers, would have consumed pottage as an evening meal, eaten collectively, after a day's labour, but not necessarily taken home to share with dependents. In the accounts, pottage is often included in livery payments without specifying its composition. However, oats were the only grains where quantities were specifically itemised for use in pottage, as much as ten quarters at Temple Bruer, 3.7 per cent, of the sum at the grange (appendix 7) and South Witham was the only manor which listed the use of two quarters of peas for pottage (appendix 8). To make pottage more palatable,

[106] C. Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (London, 2000), p. 84.

the use of a condiment was essential, and the purchase of salt was a regular expense, as on the manor of Rowston, where half a quarter of salt was purchased in 1311 for the pottage of the *famuli.*[107]

2.5.vii. Bread

Wheat bread was of the highest quality, and, as such, the most desirable; its consumption was closely related to social status. It is not surprising that it was produced at the preceptory manors of Temple Bruer and Aslackby and the former preceptory of South Witham, although now a member of Temple Bruer (appendix 8). Only Rowston, of the manors which did not enjoy preceptorial status, produced wheat bread and it was the most productive manor on the Temple Bruer estate (appendix 8). Wheat bread would certainly have been produced at the preceptory of Willoughton but as indicated above, the Willoughton accounts do not record crop usage. The King's agents would have operated through the preceptories and would have required food according to their status, in addition to which each preceptory continued to accommodate pensioners who would have expected to be served good quality bread. In the accounts of Temple Bruer beginning at Michaelmas 1308, part of the weekly food allocation of Alice, daughter of Robert de Swinethorpe was seven white loaves.[108]

As a result of its social exclusivity, a relatively small proportion of the grain store was used for the production of wheat bread (appendix 8), 10.9 per cent at both Temple Bruer and Aslackby. Of the bread consumed by the *famuli*, seasonal workers and contracted artisans a high proportion was made of rye.

[107] E 358/18, 38/2 dorse, line 21.

[108] E 358/18, 16/2, line 9.

Consequently, a high proportion of the rye in the respective grain stores of Temple Bruer, Rowston and South Witham was used for bread making, one hundred per cent at South Witham. In addition at both Rowston and South Witham, all the rye used for bread making was bought expressly for the purpose (appendices 7, 8). The clear indication is that the purchase of rye, a winter-sown grain, allowed a greater acreage to be sown with the more valuable wheat. As Aslackby did not grow rye then it had to look elsewhere for the provision of low grade bread.

The use of peas and beans for human consumption in the form of low grade bread or as a constituent of pottage was a well-established, if poorly regarded, component of the diet of the poor, which would include the *famuli* of a former Templar estate. Of the nine manors where peas and/or beans are listed in the grange inventories, five used significant quantities for bread making. Temple Bruer allocated 46.9 per cent of its store of beans for bread making, all of which had been bought in for the purpose (appendix 8). Both Aslackby and the former preceptory of South Witham allocated over ten per cent of their respective stores of peas and beans for bread making, but only South Witham allocated *pulmentum* for bread making which would suggest that the grain constituent of *pulmentum* was rye as oats were not used for flour. Rush states that legumes 'seem to have been a non-essential part of the peasant diet', which was far from what was found on the ex-Templar estates in Lincolnshire.[109]

If bread were produced on each manor then the allocation of wheat, rye, beans and peas for baking is not recorded in each account. The accounts which do identify the usage of grains and legumes for bread are the preceptories of

[109] Rush, 'Impact of Commercialization', p. 134.

Temple Bruer and Aslackby, the former preceptory of South Witham and the manor of Rowston. There was consistency of wheat and legume storage at the preceptories of Temple Bruer, Aslackby and the former preceptory of South Witham, suggesting not only the production of at least two qualities of bread but also, particularly in the case of Temple Bruer, a considerable labour force to consume it. If bread were not produced on all the manors of the Temple Bruer estate, then on those manors where bread is not recorded, it cannot have formed part of the livery of the *famuli*, in which case, they would have been paid in pottage, grain and legumes.

2.5.viii. Sale of crops

Substantial sales of the three commercial crops - wheat, barley and dredge - are recorded in the accounts of the Temple Bruer estate beginning 10 January 1308 (appendices 7, 8). Significant purchases of commercial grains by individual manors such as those of barley and dredge by the manor of Wellingore were unusual in the extreme (appendix 7). No rye was sold, the crop being used exclusively for bread making and for the livery of *famuli* (appendix 8). Of the oats grown on the estate of Temple Bruer and the manor of Aslackby, the proportion sold constituted only 8.1 per cent, 36.8 per cent being used for fodder (appendix 8). Again, the exception was Wellingore where 42.5 per cent of the store of oats was sold. The pattern of crop sales and purchases at Wellingore suggests that there was a mismatch between the crops grown and what the manor required, which would imply that the reeve had made the wrong decisions. Overall, the sale of legumes was insignificant, they, like rye, having been grown for bread making and the payment of labourers.

The sum of crop usage, on the Temple Bruer estate and at Aslackby, largely equated with the sum of the crops stored (appendices 7, 8). Once the immediate demands of seed, forage and payment of labourers and artisans were met, then the remainder was sold. As with the sheep farming element of the mixed agriculture on the former Templar estates, arable farming was a commercial enterprise.

On Lammas Day, 1 August 1308, less than eight months after the sequestration of the Templar estates, a more radical approach was adopted towards crop sales on the Willoughton estate. On seven manors, those of Cabourne, Limber, Goulceby, Cawkwell, Gainsborough, Kettleby and Temple Belwood, all the standing crops were sold (appendix 10). The assured income from the crop sales before harvest, although rarely paid immediately, ensured that the risk of the harvest lay with the purchaser. The same policy was not adopted on the estates of Temple Bruer, Eagle and Aslackby, but as pointed out above, they were in Kesteven where there was less topographical variety and the estates were more compact than was the case with Lindsey and Willoughton.

2.6. Conclusion

The arable farming on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire consisted of a three-course rotation most probably practised as part of a two-field system. A limited range of crops was grown consisting of winter-sown wheat and rye and spring-sown barley, dredge, oats, legumes and *pulmentum*. The most important commercial crops were wheat, barley and dredge whereas rye, oats and legumes were grown largely for domestic consumption or were bought in for the purpose. Manuring, multiple ploughing, extensive weeding, sowing of

leguminous crops and most probably marling were widely employed as means of enhancing soil fertility and suppressing weeds. Similarly, the manipulation of the sowing rate was used to maximise productivity. All of this would suggest that at the time of the arrest of the Order, the Templars had embraced what was best in early fourteenth century agricultural practice.

It is apparent that the differences in topography and soil type across the Templar estates had a profound effect upon productivity. The greater uniformity of production across the Templar manors in Kesteven corresponded with that of the heathland where the Temple Bruer estate was located. The greater variation across the Willoughton estate in Lindsey reflected that the estate was more widespread than the relatively compact estate of Temple Bruer and that it embraced a greater variety of both landscape and soil type. This is manifest in particular in the differences between the Wolds manors, like Cabourne, and those located in the valleys of the Ancholme and the Trent such as Kettleby and Gainsborough.

Within the parameters set by physical limitations, the hand of man is apparent. The consistency of low crop returns at Cabourne may not have been due entirely to its Wolds location as other Wolds manors managed better. Most markedly, the need to purchase both barley and dredge at Wellingore, whilst selling 43.8 per cent of the oats store, points to much less effective decision making than was found at the preceptory of Temple Bruer.

The consistent sale of the entirety of the surplus of each crop on every manor, whilst it maximised short term income, meant no reserve was retained and there was therefore a complete dependence on either seed purchased or prospective seed allocation from the anticipated harvest for the subsequent

year. The sale of all crop surpluses as evident in the accounts beginning 10 January 1308 resulted in a high degree of uncertainty given the vagaries of the climate in the early fourteenth century, the resultant unreliability of the harvests and the impact which that had upon grain prices.[110] The correlation between short-term price fluctuations and the quality of the harvest had previously been established by Titow on the Winchester manors.[111] The sale of standing crops on the Willoughton estate as early as Lammas Day 1308 was a means of realising saleable assets whilst passing on the risk of an uncertain harvest to the crop purchaser.

The acquisition of the Templar estates by Edward II, and his need to raise finance to pay inherited debts, necessitated the implementation of a very short term approach to estate management, involving the sale of crops beyond the normal limit which prudence might dictate. The maximisation of income was of more immediate concern than ensuring the availability of seed corn. It is much more probable that the Templars would have shown far greater circumspection in their sales of grain and legumes so as to ensure long term security of their farming enterprises, a consideration which would not have exercised the King's agents.

[110] M. Mate, 'High Prices in Early Fourteenth Century England: Causes and Consequences', *EcHR*, n.s., 28, 1 (1975), 1-16 (p. 8).

[111] J. Z. Titow, 'Evidence of Weather in the Account Rolls of the Bishopric of Winchester 1209-1350', *EcHR*, n.s., 12, 3 (1960), 360-407 (p. 362).

Chapter 3

Livestock excluding sheep

Essential to the success of arable farming was the part played by draught animals. Plough teams consisting of oxen and/or horses prepared the land for sowing and helped to suppress weeds. Carthorses and oxen, primarily the former, were responsible for the haulage of crops from field to granary and granary to market. Cows produced milk, but more importantly, the bullocks needed for the replacement of ageing oxen in the plough teams. Swine contributed saleable porkers and bacon for the larder. All livestock depended, in large part, upon the success of the annual harvest for their provender, a dependence which they shared with the *famuli* alongside whom they laboured. The following chapter deals with the size and composition of plough teams, the importance of cattle, carthorses and finally swine herding.

3.1. Plough teams

Ploughing in the early fourteenth century was then, as now, one of the defining activities of arable farming. The Aslackby account ending at Michaelmas 1312, listed one hundred and fifty-five acres of arable land under crops and eighty acres of fallow, of which twelve acres had been ploughed and manured for the third time, giving a total arable acreage of two hundred and thirty-five acres.[1] The division of arable land into that which was sown with winter grain, that which was spring-sown and that which was fallow meant that the ploughing period was extended and therefore more manageable. H. S. Bennett says that

[1] E 358/18, 55/1, line 32.

following the autumn ploughing for wheat ploughs were 'busy again soon after Christmas' to enable oats and peas to be sown before Easter.[2] Ploughing was not merely necessary as the precursor to sowing crops, it was also a means of maintaining fertility and controlling weeds which further extended the ploughing season. In its guidance to the manor steward, the *Seneschausy* recommended that 'each plough team ought by right to plough 180 acres in the year, that is to say, 60 acres for winter seed and 60 acres for summer corn and 60 acres for fallow'.[3] On that basis, the steward could estimate how many plough teams were required on his manor and budget accordingly.

3.1.i. The number of ploughmen per plough team

In most cases there were two ploughmen to a plough team, one ploughman would control the plough and the other, enumerated in the accounts either as a ploughman or as a driver, would encourage the beasts using a goad (appendix 11).[4] The Willoughton account ending at 29 March 1309, included in the expenses the wages of six ploughmen (*carucar*) and six drivers (*fugator*), two men to each of the six plough teams (appendix 11).[5] J. Langdon specifies that 'with all but the smallest teams, two men per plough were required, one to hold the plough (*tentor*) and one to drive the team (*fugator*)'.[6] In addition to the ploughmen, it was not unusual, as on the Bishop of Winchester's estates, for

---

[2] H. S. Bennett, *The Pastons and their England* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 259.

[3] D. Oschinsky, *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting* (Oxford, 1971), p. 265.

[4] S. Sancha, *The Luttrell Village, Country Life in the Early Fourteenth Century* (London, 1982), p. 12.

[5] E 358/18, 15/1, line 27.

[6] J. Langdon, *Horses, Oxen and Technical Innovation: the Use of Draught Animals in English Farming from 1066 to 1500* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 123.

customary labourers, wielding mattocks, to break up stony ground 'where ploughing was difficult'.[7]

Where there was an odd number of ploughmen in the accounts, then this was because a head ploughman was employed, as at Willoughton at Michaelmas 1308, Eagle at Michaelmas 1311 and 1312 and again at Temple Bruer at Michaelmas 1311.[8] In each case, a foreman ploughman was employed by the preceptory, which had the largest number of plough teams on its respective estate. However, Aslackby, the only preceptory without member manors, did not enrol a foreman ploughman in any of its accounts which suggests that the role of the foreman ploughman was not just on the preceptory manor but that it included supervisory responsibility for the entire estate of the employing preceptory. If the foreman ploughman had managerial responsibility across a bailiwick in the same manner as did a head shepherd, then, although arable farming was organised and accounted on a manorial basis, there was at least a degree of centralised oversight.

3.1.ii. The number and composition of plough teams

The number and composition of plough teams presented in appendix 11 is based upon two premises, firstly that there were two ploughmen to each plough team and secondly that any plough team would be made up of even numbers of beasts each of which would be harnessed to a double yoke.

The relationship between topography, soil type and the size and composition of the plough teams was apparent throughout the former Templar

[7] C. C. Thornton, 'The Level of Arable Productivity on the Bishopric of Wichester's Manor of Taunton', in *The Winchester Pipe Rolls and Medieval English Society*, ed. by R. Britnell (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 129.

[8] E358/18, 15/1, line 26; 39/1 dorse, line 70; 39/1 dorse, line 62; 38/1 dorse, line 20.

estates in Lincolnshire. The majority of the Temple Bruer estate was restricted to the gently rolling Lincoln Heath, all within Kesteven. The Temple Bruer manors consistently favoured mixed plough teams of either six or eight draught animals. In each mixed plough team, there were two plough horses yoked with either four or six oxen and it is reasonable to assume that the plough horses would have been the lead animals adding some speed to the team (appendix 11).[9]

Unlike the Temple Bruer estate which was compact, the Willoughton estate was widespread and embraced the far greater physical diversity of Lindsey, ranging from the chalk and boulder clay of the Wolds to the heavy clay soils of the Trent and Ancholme valleys. The physical diversity of the Willoughton estate was reflected in the greater variety of both plough team size and composition than was the case at Temple Bruer. In the account beginning 10 January 1308, the plough teams were mixed, consisting of both oxen and plough horses on all but four manors. The exceptions were the manors of Gainsborough, Kettleby, Temple Belwood and Limber.

Of the manors with mixed plough teams, only Cabourne had a single small team of four beasts, two plough horses and two oxen. Cabourne is situated in a particularly steep sided east-west Wolds valley where a smaller mixed team of four beasts may have been more manoeuvrable on the steep slopes. Four miles due north of Cabourne is Limber, on the edge of the Wolds, the only other manor with a four beast plough team but made up entirely of plough horses. It could be argued that at the northern edge of the Templars' estates in

[9] Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, p. 169.

Lincolnshire, the manors of Cabourne and in particular Limber, were being used for progressive experimentation as medieval technology gradually favoured the horse. Campbell points out that that the progress towards all horse farms was more pronounced on the smallest holdings; neither Cabourne nor Limber were large manors with extensive arable acreages.[10] Langdon argues that horses formed twenty-five per cent of working animals during the high farming period of 1250-1320 and that part of this was due to the 'greater participation of horses in ploughing'.[11] H. E. J. Le Patourel suggests, that on the basis of archaeological evidence from Wharram Percy, horses may have been particularly suited for ploughing the shallow, chalky soil of the Yorkshire Wolds; the identical soil type to that found in the Lincolnshire Wolds.[12]

Three manors, Gainsborough, Kettleby and Temple Belwood favoured plough teams of eight oxen (appendix 11). The heavy clay soils of the valleys of the Trent and Ancholme and the Isle of Axholme were better suited to oxen which had greater pulling power than horses. Before drainage by Vermuyden, in the seventeenth century, both the Ancholme valley and the island of Axholme were subject to flooding which, although enhancing fertility, would not have suited horses.[13] Campbell cites oxen as having 'an advantage on heavy soils, where large teams were unavoidable and speed scarcely an option'.[14]

---

[10] B. M. S. Campbell, 'Towards an Agricultural Geography of Medieval England', *AHR*, 36 (1988), 87-98 (p. 91).

[11] Langdon, *Horses, Oxen,* pp. 94-5.

[12] H. E. J. Le Patourel, 'The Use of horses', in 'Animal Remains from Wharram Percy', by M. L. Ryder with notes by J. G. Hurst and H. E. J. Le Patourel, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 46, 42-52, pp. 51-2.

[13] J. Thirsk, 'The Isle of Axholme before Vermuyden', *AHR*, 1 (1953), 16-28.

[14] B. M. S. Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture 1250-1450* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 132.

Adam de Kettleby had a strong association with both Kettleby and Temple Belwood, and clearly applied the same ploughing approach to both manors.[15]

The Eagle estate was unique in that the number of oxen, in particular, was in excess of that required for the number of plough teams. This suggests that Eagle was a breeding station for livestock, a view later supported by the large number of cows and ewes. However, the accounts do not record large scale movement of stock from Eagle to any other estate, neither do they record significant sales of oxen.

3.1.iii. Arable acreage per plough team

The relationship between plough teams and arable acreage is illustrated in appendix 12. There were seventy plough teams which rendered an average ploughed area per team of 41.4 acres. An average figure which is further reduced by the absence of a recorded arable acreage for either Eagle or Aslackby. This is well below the 78.5 sown acres per demesne plough which Campbell cites as the average for lowland England for the period.[16] Even the inclusion of a further 1733 acres of fallow, as a result of the three-course rotation, would still suggest an average of only 61.1 acres per team, a third of the one hundred and eighty acres per team quoted in the *Seneschaucy* and further cited by Langdon for each of the two demesne teams at Cuxham, Oxfordshire.[17]

It is notable that of the Willoughton manors, the four beast plough teams of Cabourne (two oxen, two plough horses) and Limber (four plough horses) were

---

[15] E 358/18, 15/2 dorse, lines 11-12, 14-15.

[16] Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p. 121.

[17] Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 205; J. Langdon, 'The Economics of Horses and Oxen in Medieval England', *AHR*, 30 (1982), 31-40 (p. 39).

able to plough areas of 68.5 acres and 66.75 acres, the highest acreages per plough team on the estate (appendix 11). The success of smaller plough teams, and the use of plough horses at both Cabourne and Limber, proved they had greater speed and manoeuvrability, and each was able to plough a greater area. This further implies the use of lighter ploughs and shallower ploughing. As Langdon suggests, the use of horses relates to the speed of ploughing and so to the number of ploughs needed for a given area of arable land.[18]

Temple Belwood, one of the three manors with plough teams made up of eight oxen, had only twenty-four acres under the plough (appendix 11). Its distance from the manor of Kettleby, also leased by Adam de Kettleby, precluded the two manors sharing a plough team. Further, access to Temple Belwood, on the Isle of Axholme, was most probably by boat. As a consequence, the manor had to support a full team itself, despite the low arable acreage. Although Temple Belwood is the most extreme example of isolation determining the maintenance of a plough team for a small arable acreage, appendix 12 illustrates that on the Willoughton estate, this was by no means a singular occurrence. As a result, the average acreage per plough team, on the Willoughton estate, was considerably less than that on the Temple Bruer estate.

The smallest acreage per plough team was on the manor of South Witham with an average of 20.4 acres (appendix 12). However, it is more than probable that the figure of 122.5 acres of wheat handed over to Stephen de Stanham by William de Spanneby on the manor of South Witham was not the entire arable acreage.[19] In addition, the six plough teams which South Witham maintained

[18] Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, p. 169.

[19] E 358/18, 14/1 dorse, line 37.

would have been used on rented land which would not have been handed over to Stephen de Stanham as part of the lease, so leaving South Witham overstocked with draught animals. The expenses of the account for South Witham beginning Michaelmas 1308, list 3s. 4d. paid to William de Cressy of Claypole for the rental of land and tenancies which the Templars held of him and a further 3s. 4d. paid to Thomas de St Laud for the same purpose.[20] In other words, the 20.4 acres per plough team is not truly representative of the situation on the South Witham manor. Nonetheless, were other former Templar manors to have rented additional land, which would further increase the average number of acres per plough team, then little is recorded under expenses. The manor of Mere lists only 22.5 acres of wheat in the account beginning Michaelmas 1308. In the same account, 181.5 quarters of cereals other than wheat and legumes were threshed and winnowed which implies that, as with South Witham, this was not the total arable acreage and it would not have kept three plough teams and six ploughmen gainfully employed.[21]

Based upon this evidence, not all arable acreage is accounted, certainly rented acreages are not included which partially explains the low average acreage per plough team. More significant is the varied topography and relatively small arable acreages of many of the manors, particularly on the Willoughton estate, each of which was obliged to maintain a plough team, where greater proximity, and more co-operation would have enabled a more efficient solution. Eagle is the only estate where it would seem clear that co-operation between the manors took place, perhaps as a direct result of its

[20] Ibid., lines 14-16.

[21] Ibid., lines 52-3.

compact nature. It would appear that the lack of inter-manorial co-operation meant that a manor needed to maintain a plough team however small the arable acreage, the result of which was a lower arable acreage per plough team than those cited by Campbell and Langdon.[22]

3.1.iv. The relative values of oxen and plough horses

The analysis of the relative values of oxen and plough horses assumes that the valuations are based upon potential sale prices, bearing in mind that the King's agents were interested in the liquidation of assets. The value of an animal would have been determined by its age and condition, which for the plough horse, was far more significant, as the ox enjoyed a much higher residual value at the end of its working life.[23] D. L. Farmer points out that the 'selling prices [of plough horses] fluctuate wildly from manor to manor, area to area and year to year'.[24] Any conclusion based upon the data presented in appendix 13 needs to be treated with circumspection.

The values of draught animals on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire were substantially below the 'national price levels of sales of livestock' cited by Farmer.[25] On the Temple Bruer estate, the mean values of an ox and a plough horse were respectively 51.5 per cent and 49.3 below the national price levels calculated by Farmer (appendix 13). However, based upon Farmer's figures, a plough horse was valued at 48.8 per cent that of an ox.[26] Although

---

[22] Campbell, 'Towards an Agricultural Geography', p. 91; Langdon, *Horses, Oxen,* pp. 94-5.

[23] D. L. Farmer, 'Some Livestock Price Movements in Thirteenth-Century England', *EcHR,* n.s., 22, 1 (1969), 1-16 (p. 6).

[24] Ibid., p. 3.

[25] Ibid., p. 5.

[26] Ibid.

the absolute value of the Lincolnshire draught animals was lower than the national average, their relative value was similar, 46.3 per cent at Temple Bruer, 50.8 per cent at Willoughton, only Aslackby differed. By 1311, the national differential had dropped to 45.1 per cent with which the 41.7 per cent of Aslackby was much more in agreement.[27]

The mean value of draught animals was greater on the Willoughton estate than that of Temple Bruer in 1308, where only the former preceptory of South Witham compared favourably with the Willoughton values. Unfortunately, no accounts survive for Willoughton after 30 July 1309 but those of Temple Bruer show a 67.9 increase in the value of an ox by to 10s 5d by 1311. The trend for plough horse values on the Temple Bruer estates was inconsistent over the same period. However, it is notable that by the summer of 1312 the value of plough horses on at least three of the former Templar manors, those of Rowston, Kirkby and Aslackby had each fallen by 28.6 per cent over the previous four years.

Between 1308 and 1311 the national average price for oxen fell by 6.7 per cent and for plough horses by 13.7 per cent, the same pattern was not evident on the former Templar estates.[28] Despite the inconsistencies of the data, it is manifest that the price of oxen rose against the national trend; the value of an ox at Temple Bruer had increased to 74.5 per cent of the national average by 1311. The local market was strong to support such an increase which may also have represented an adjustment to a previous undervaluation. Underlying the

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

strength of the market for oxen was the uncertainty amongst ploughmen that the future lay with horses, ox teams were traditional.

3.1.v. The influences on decision making

The decision regarding the size and composition of each plough team would not have been arrived at lightly. Having taken into account the environmental issues of soil type and topography which set the parameters, what remained was hard economics. The inputs were the wages of the ploughmen, by no means all of whom are accounted in the *rotuli*, the fodder of the beasts and the dung as fertiliser. The outputs were the extent of the arable area, the speed at which it was ploughed and the residual value of the beast when it was too old to be capable of pulling a plough. Clearly a reduction in the number of plough teams reduced the wage bill but it also reduced the potential arable acreage unless the reduction was due to the transition from oxen to plough horses.

The amount of fodder required was determined both by the number of beasts, and their type. Horses required more and better quality fodder than did oxen, although the differential was less than might have been expected on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire. Walter of Henley states unequivocally, with reference to feedstuffs, that 'the horse costeth more than the oxe'[29] and both required more fodder if they were being worked hard. The addition of horses is generally held to have increased the speed of ploughing and so reduced the time over which high quality fodder was required, but plough horses did not have the traction to plough heavy soils as did oxen. Where the

[29] Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 319.

soil was heavy, Walter noted that 'the horse plough shall stand stille wheare the oxe ploughe wille goe thorowe'.[30]

At the end of its working life, an ox had far greater residual value than a horse as it could be fattened for beef. M. L. Ryder established that of the animal remains found at Kirkstall, the greater proportion of ox bones were from animals between five and ten years old, clearly having been slaughtered at the end of their working lives.[31] The complete change from oxen to plough horses at the manor of Limber represented a decision of such magnitude that Langdon regards such 'policy changes as relatively rare'.[32] Upon it, the wellbeing of the entire manor depended. As Campbell states, concerning the integration of horses in plough teams, 'nor was it a decision which could sensibly be taken without reference to the rest of the husbandry system'.[33] The greater consumption of grain by horses, as opposed to the grass grazing oxen, had an impact both upon arable and pasture.[34]

The former Templar estates in Lincolnshire were at a transitional stage in the early fourteenth century. They were abreast of the technical innovation represented by plough horses but were by no means fully committed to the replacement of the ox. The rate of replacement was clearly influenced by the varied landscape of Lincolnshire and the responses of the manor bailiffs. On the basis of Wisbech evidence, Stone argues that 'medieval demesne officials

---

[30] Ibid.

[31] M. L. Ryder, 'The Animal Remains Found at Kirkstall Abbey', *AHR*, 7 (1959), 1-5 (p. 3).

[32] Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, p. 89.

[33] Campbell, S*eigniorial*, p. 129.

[34] Ibid.

were more flexible and proficient than hitherto thought, but […] the quality of management could vary significantly from one individual to the next'.[35] The range in size and composition of the plough teams reflected the individuality of each manor in its managerial approach to arable farming, in complete contrast to the centralised organisation of sheep farming.

3.2. Cattle

The purpose of cattle on the Templar estates was twofold, firstly to replenish the supply of oxen, which had a working life of five years as draught animals, and secondly for the production of milk. Of the fifteen manors and preceptories for which cattle, other than oxen, are recorded in the accounts beginning 10 January 1308, only six specifically listed a cowherd, or dairyman indicating that he was waged (appendix 14). Elsewhere, the cowherd must have been a member of the *famuli* for whom specific payment was not recorded. The manor of Willoughton had a herd of forty-two cattle, but no cowherd, which seems highly improbable (appendix 14). Similarly, the recording of dairies and dairy produce is uncertain in the accounts beginning 10 January 1308.

Each of the four Lincolnshire preceptories has a dairy recorded, as has the former preceptory of South Witham. Cheese was certainly produced from ewes' milk but the contribution of cows' milk to cheese making is less clear in the accounts.[36] Thus, at the manor of Tealby, no dairy is recorded and yet there was cheese in the larder whilst at Temple Bruer there was a dairy but no cows suggesting that the three hundred and eight cheeses stored therein were made

[35] D. Stone, *Decision Making in Medieval Agriculture* (Oxford, 2005), p. 190.

[36] R. Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700* (London, 1957), p. 119.

from ewes' milk.[37] Perhaps on the manors where cattle were raised but no dairy recorded, there was simply no dedicated building as it is inconceivable that cows were not milked when calves had been weaned. Alternatively, milk may have been sold, although no sales are recorded; however, considerable purchases of milk are recorded - 1180 gallons of milk for 1148 lambs of *tota Ballia Bruer* - in the account beginning 10 January 1308.[38]

For the duration of the period covered by the accounts - that is 1308 until 1313 - no cattle purchases are recorded. However, from an initial total herd of three hundred and eighteen cattle, excluding oxen, in the accounts beginning 10 January 1308, one hundered and twenty-six beasts - forty-one per cent of the total - were sold, of which eighty-eight were calves over a year old (appendix 14). This was undoubtedly the initial sale of moveable assets by William de Spanneby, Keeper of the Templar Lands, as this large scale stock sale was not repeated. Only sixteen animals were sold in the accounts beginning Michaelmas 1308 (appendix 14) and none of them were adult, which retained one hundred and eight breeding cows. The fertility rate was at best fifty per cent - in the accounts beginning Michaelmas 1311 - and at worst thirty per cent - in the accounts beginning Michaelmas 1308. In such circumstances the sale of eighty-eight calves by 28 September 1308 showed little regard for a planned breeding programme which must have existed under Templar management for the regular replacement of ageing ploughing oxen. The point is emphasised by the sale of eighteen two-year old bullocks at Temple Bruer

[37] E 358/18, 16/2, line 59.

[38] E 358/18, 19/1, line 38.

which would have been approaching maturity and so able to join plough teams replacing older beasts (appendix 14).

Considerable stock movement took place between 10 January and 28 September 1308 on the Temple Bruer estate. As appendix 14 illustrates, all the cows from the manors of Kirkby and Rowston were transferred to Holme, suggesting a co-operative effort towards cattle farming. In the subsequent account, all of the cows at Holme were transferred to either Rowston or Temple Bruer. Clearly this was a half yearly stratagem to utilise the best pasture. In the final account for Temple Bruer and members, beginning Michaelmas 1311, no cattle are recorded but the form of the accounts is equivocal. Nonetheless, for Temple Bruer and Rowston at least, the evidence points towards a decline in cattle rearing.

The movement of cattle on the Willoughton estate, like that of Temple Bruer, largely involved mature beasts, particularly cows. Of the twenty-one cows at Willoughton on 10 January 1308, nine were moved to Kettleby along with a bull and four calves. This was obviously to furnish Kettleby with breeding stock to replace bullocks and calves sold from Kettleby before Michaelmas (appendix 14). As with the Temple Bruer estate, the replacement of ageing oxen was being deferred. Cattle rearing at Tealby underwent a similar change to that of Kettleby, where again the sale of cows and bullocks meant that the breeding stock had to be augmented by cows from Limber and Willoughton. Again, at Tealby, the replacement of ageing ploughing oxen was being deferred. This undermining of the Templar policy of planned replacement of ploughing oxen, was most marked at Willoughton itself, where, of the thirteen bullocks, twelve were sold and only one draughted with oxen.

M. M. Postan makes reference to ‘royal commissioners who often administered monastic estates during vacancies [the period between the death of one abbot and the appointment of the next] were ‘‘out for quick profits’’ and apt to make their profit by running down the capital equipment, including the flocks and herds’.[39] The initial accounts of the ex-Templar estates after the arrest of the Order illustrate this point very clearly. The sale of bullocks, which would have become replacements for ageing plough oxen, stripped the manors of continuity in exactly the same way as the absence of reserve grain in the granges introduced uncertainty into the following harvest. The implication is that, having sold stock between 10 January and 28 September 1308 to maximise income, the approach to the management of the former Templar estates was short term with minimal re-investment. Equally, by 30 July 1309, all four Lincolnshire preceptories and their associated estates and members were leased and the plough teams, their maintenance, and the impact upon arable agriculture were no longer the immediate concern of the Crown agents. It would have been the responsibility of the lessee to replace stock so as to enable viable arable farming to continue.

Eagle is a singular case. In January 1308, Eagle had 30 cows, the number being reduced to twenty-four by an outbreak of murrain (appendix 14). Nonetheless, there was an issue of sixteen calves, a fertility rate which was only exceeded by South Witham where there was a one hundred per cent success rate (appendix 14). Eagle had the largest number of cows of any manor, and was the only manor which had three bulls, but no bullocks were enrolled.

---

[39] M. M. Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society: an Economic History of Britain in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), p. 102.

One can only suppose that the murrain which had smitten the cows had decimated the bullocks in the previous year. As none of Eagle's member manors are listed as having cattle, then one must assume that Eagle's large number of breeding stock was to provide the plough teams of Whisby, Woodhouse and Bracebridge besides the replacement of its own stock. What emerges is that Eagle was a cattle breeding station raising oxen sufficient for the needs of the manors on its own estate and perhaps with a wider market. As will be seen in the following chapter, Eagle was a major stock breeding centre for both cattle and sheep on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire.

The absence of records for the two years 1309-1311 is unfortunate as the resumption of the accounts in 1311, for all but Willoughton and its members, shows a changed situation without any transitional evidence. By Michaelmas 1312, the enrolled former Templar herd consisted of one hundred beasts, which, even allowing for the absence of Willoughton accounts represented a considerable reduction (appendix 14). No cattle were recorded on the Temple Bruer estate.

By 16 June 1312, Aslackby had insufficient cattle to provide oxen for its four plough teams despite a considerable increase in fertility rate since 1309. Between Michaelmas 1312 and 28 September 1313 an outbreak of murrain reduced the number of cows from eight to five and by 8 December 1313 all remaining cattle at Aslackby had been sold (appendix 14).

When Thomas de Derby assumed the leasehold of Aslackby manor on 8 December 1313, he had important decisions to make.[40] Prior to the handover, not only had the cattle breeding stock been sold but in addition four oxen had

[40] E 358/18, 55/1, lines 84-5.

been sold, which, with one occurrence of murrain, had reduced the number of oxen to sixteen. Further, between 16 June 1312 and 8 December 1313, the number of plough horses had been reduced from eight to four. Sadly no record survives to show whether Derby restocked the manor so as to restore the four plough teams and the associated breeding programme. If the lease of Aslackby manor was short term, which is probable, then Derby would have been more interested in immediate income than investment and as a result the decline of Aslackby would have continued.

Eagle is again exceptional. It is the only estate to which the litany of decline, evident in the accounts after their resumption at Michaelmas 1311, does not apply. It is clear that the Eagle estate continued to be a well-managed enterprise, a situation which remained unchanged during the short leasehold of Ebulo de Montibus. When the lease of the estate was surrendered to Sir David Graham on 6 June 1313, Eagle manor was fully stocked with cattle (appendix 14). Not only was the cattle breeding programme maintained, so too were the eight plough teams which meant that there would have been no decline in the arable acreage.

The impact of livestock sales, the result of asset stripping by the King's agents or, subsequently, by leaseholders is manifest in the accounts. Once the continuity of the cattle breeding programme was broken by imprudent sales, then ageing draught animals could not be replaced from within the manors. To have maintained the plough teams in such a circumstance would have required investment to buy new stock. However, no such purchases are evident in the accounts. Neither in the case of the King's agents nor the recipients of short term leases on the former Templar manors - both of whom were interested in

short-term income - was there any incentive for more investment than was required for basic maintenance. It was in this reduced condition that the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire, with the exception of Eagle, confronted the Great Famine of 1315. Until the accounts of the former Templar estates for the period 1308-1313, other than for Lincolnshire, are thoroughly researched, it is impossible to be certain that the decline in cattle rearing evident on the Lincolnshire manors is representative of the general picture. It is, however, entirely reasonable to suggest that the decline would have been widespread, and were it so, it would be completely in accord with the situation which K. Biddick identifies each time there was a vacancy of the See of Winchester during the thirteenth century, that of the decimation of livestock by the Crown.[41]

3.3. Carthorses

The data regarding carthorses is limited and as such conclusions need to be drawn with caution. From appendix 15, it is clear that the value of a carthorse was far in excess of that of a plough horse, often being twice the value of a plough horse if not more. In the accounts beginning 10 January 1308, the value of a carthorse on the manor of Temple Bruer was ten shillings whereas a plough horse was worth only 3s. 4d., Similarly at South Witham, a carthorse was valued at eight shillings and a plough horse at four shillings (appendix 15). The value of carthorses was further reflected in the expenditure upon the repair and maintenance of carts, which, like that of ploughs occurs in almost every

[41] K. Biddick (with C. J. H. Bijleveld), 'Agrarian Productivity on the Estates of the Bishopric of Winchester in the Early Thirteenth Century: a Managerial Perspective', in *Land, Labour and Livestock: Historical Studies in European Agricultural Productivity*, ed. by B. M. S. Campbell and M. Overton (Manchester, 1991), p. 103.

account. In the case of both carts and ploughs, the regularity of maintenance expenditure suggests heavy and constant use. In addition, amongst the most frequent expenditures were horseshoes further emphasising the importance of the horse as a draught animal. Langdon argues convincingly that the increasing popularity of horse haulage was made possible by the development of harnesses and the use of horseshoes, both of which were important technological developments, enabling much more efficient haulage than had been the case hitherto.[42]

Whilst carthorses were invariably more valuable than plough horses, the actual value of the carthorses varied considerably. Of the four carthorses enrolled for Eagle in the account of Michaelmas 1312 until 6 June 1313, one was valued at 13s. 4d., and the remaining three at 6s. 8d. each, (appendix 15). A variation in value of one hundred per cent within the stock of one manor could easily be explained by the age and condition of the animals; as strength and stamina declined with age, so did the value of the beast. Thus, the residual sale price at the end of a working life was considerably less than the purchase price of a young working animal. As Walter of Henley succinctly puts it 'when a horse is olde [and worn out] then hathe he nothing but his skynne'.[43] However, the overall trend of carthorse values over the period of the accounts, 1308 to 1313, was one of increase as illustrated in appendix 15.

The two carthorses at the manor of Carlton in the account beginning at Michaelmas 1312, were valued at fifteen shillings and eighteen shillings, both

[42] J. Langdon, 'Horse Hauling: a Revolution in Vehicle Transport in Twelfth and Thirteenth Century England?', *Past and Present*, 103 (1984), 37-66 (p. 40).

[43] Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 319.

between the national price levels for the purchase and sale of livestock cited by D. L. Farmer for the period (appendix 15).[44] Both valuations were considerably higher than those of the carthorses in the account of Michaelmas 1308 until 29 March 1309 where the highest value for a carthorse was that of ten shillings at Tealby (appendix 14). Farmer does not attribute the increase in value of carthorses, in the first decade of the fourteenth century, to their increase in popularity over draught oxen or to the vagaries of harvests and fodder availability, but to fiscal factors.[45] He argues that the importation of large amounts of silver, towards the end of Edward I's reign, to help finance the Scottish wars, had a disturbing effect upon prices resulting in a 'general rise in prices for the harvest years of 1305 to 1310'.[46] M. Mate adds that whilst Edward II and his ministers were aware of soaring prices they neither understood its cause nor were able to solve it.[47] Certainly, the rise in the value of carthorses over the period is evident in the accounts of the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire.

Ox-drawn wagons (*plaustra*) are occasionally accounted in the *rotuli* but with nowhere near the same frequency as horse-drawn carts (*carrectae*). Further, a wagon was of lower value, 6s. 8d., against the ten shillings of a cart at Willoughton in 1309.[48] The replacement of the more cumbersome ox-drawn wagon by the smaller, faster, horse-drawn cart illustrates the growing emphasis

---

[44] Farmer, 'Some Livestock Price Movements', pp. 3-5.

[45] Ibid., p. 16.

[46] Ibid., p. 14.

[47] M. Mate, 'High Prices in Early Fourteenth-Century England: Causes and Consequences', *EcHR*, n.s., 28, 1 (1975), 1-16 (p. 9).

[48] E 358/18, 53/1, line 62.

of speed over carrying capacity.[49] Earlier arrival at a local market might have ensured more advantageous business.

Langdon established that in the east Midlands, including Lincolnshire, during the period 1250-1320, 98.6 per cent of those demesnes assessed had horse- hauled vehicles whereas only 11.4 per cent of demesnes had ox-hauled vehicles.[50] He further points out that the virtual replacement of ox-haulage by horse-haulage, as was evident on the former Templar estates by the early fourteenth century, resulted from the relationship between manor and market.[51] The additional speed of the cart halved the journey time to market and in so doing doubled the range of the vendor for the sale of his goods.[52] The economic advantage of horse-haulage was however by no means a foregone conclusion. Biddick cites the investment in carthorses and transport on the estates of Peterborough Abbey as being in excess of the income from wool sales in the first decade of the fourteenth century.[53] The cost of horse-haulage which included fodder, cart maintenance, horseshoes and tackle and carters' wages was considerable. Langdon points out that the annual oats expenditure on a carthorse alone could be virtually equal to the value of the beast.[54] Campbell argues that the adoption of carthorses proceeded most quickly where there was the greatest gain to be had through increased market involvement, which was

[49] Langdon, 'Horse Hauling', p. 48.

[50] Ibid., p. 50.

[51] Ibid., p. 62.

[52] Ibid.

[53] K. Biddick, *The Other Economy: Pastoral Husbandry on a Medieval Estate* (Berkeley, Univesity of California Press, 1989), p. 120.

[54] Langdon, 'Economics of Horses and Oxen', p. 34.

largely in central and eastern England.[55] Appendix 15 illustrates that it was common, although not prescriptive, for there to be one carter for every two carthorses which suggests that that a cart was generally drawn by two horses. To justify both its value and its operating costs - Langdon cites 23s. 8½d. per year - a carthorse needed to be constantly employed, not dissimilar to today's juggernaut.[56]

It is evident from appendix 15 that there was little trade in carthorses. Few were sold and only Eagle records the purchase of a carthorse in the account beginning 10 January 1308. Further, there was little transfer of carthorses between former Templar manors, only two instances are recorded in the accounts. However, the accounts do identify mares, which implies that horses were raised on the manor where they were bred and that working carthorses were rarely bought from outside.

The purpose of their Lincolnshire manors was to raise money for the Templars and subsequently for Edward II which meant involvement in the developing market economy of the early fourteenth century. The sale of grain would have been facilitated by the more rapid transport to the market, which horse-drawn haulage provided, enabling the best sale price to be gained.

3.4. Swine

There are surprisingly few instances of swine recorded in the accounts of 1308-1313 for the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire, in contrast to the 'very large' numbers quoted for the estates of the Bishop of Worcester in the mid-

[55] Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p. 127.

[56] Langdon, 'Economics of Horses and Oxen', p. 37.

fourteenth century.[57] Those which are recorded were farmed at the preceptories of Temple Bruer, Willoughton, Eagle and Aslackby and the former preceptory of South Witham. Elsewhere, the only manors for which swine are enrolled were at Rowston, Welbourn, Keal and Mere and of those, only Rowston was recorded twice as keeping swine (appendix 16). The numbers of pigs involved give the impression that as part of the overall commercial enterprise, the rearing of swine was incidental. This is in stark contrast to the 1394 pigs recorded in the manorial accounts of the Peterborough Abbey estate for the opening year of the fourteenth century.[58] Even allowing for the fact that the enumeration of pigs was partial, the numbers are small. Only Willoughton, Eagle and Aslackby recorded more than one boar; elsewhere, there was either one boar, or, as in the cases of Temple Bruer and its members, Rowston and Welbourn, no boar at all, clearly an omission (appendix 16). Similarly, the number of sows recorded ranged from one to four on pig rearing manors. No manor had more than four sows. At Temple Bruer, in the account of 10 January 1308- 28 September 1308, of the initial thirteen sows, nine were sold (appendix 16). From one to four sows with either one or two boars was seen as optimum for breeding and sufficient for food requirements and sale. As with the boars, the value of each sow was two shillings in all of the accounts of 1308-1309 where a valuation is given (appendix 16). By 1311-13, there had been a twenty five per cent increase in the value of mature swine, regardless of gender to 2s. 6d., reflecting the inflationary rise in prices during the early years of the fourteenth century

[57] P. W. Hammond, *Food and Fast in Medieval England* (Stroud, 1995), p. 7.

[58] K. Biddick, 'Pig Husbandry on the Peterborough Abbey Estate from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century A.D.', in, *Animals and Archaeology*, 4, Husbandry in Europe, BAR International series, 227, ed. by J. Clutton-Brock and J. Grigson (Oxford, 1985), pp. 161-77 (p. 168).

(appendix 16).[59] Even so, the price of pigs on the former Templar estates was consistently below that of the national average - 2.99s. from 1300-1310 and 3.32s. over the period 1310-1320.[60]

Where a distinction was made, immature animals are recorded in three categories. The age groups are porkers of a year or more in age, some of which may have been draughted with mature animals, piglets of six months old and piglets of the current year's issue. The manorial account rolls of Peterborough Abbey estate record pigs in an identical manner.[61] Then, as now, sows generally farrowed twice a year. Walter of Henley's advice was to look after the sows in winter so as to give them the strength to farrow then 'two tymes in the yeare your sowes will pigge if it be not through evell keeping'; an early appreciation of the efficacy of good stock management.[62]

A comparison of the number of sows and the number of piglets of the current issue for the period of the accounts would suggest that the usual number of births was eight or nine piglets per sow, significantly bigger litters than the five to seven piglets quoted by D. Stone for the Suffolk manor of Hinderclay in the fourteenth century.[63] The *Husbandry* stipulates that a sow ought to farrow twice and 'she ought to bear at least seven piglets'.[64] Stone cites a litter size which exceeded ten piglets per sow as being 'a remarkably high return by

---

[59] D. L. Farmer, 'Prices and Wages', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 2, 1042-1350*, ed. by H. E. Hallam (Cambridge, 1988), p. 788.

[60] Ibid., p. 748.

[61] Biddick, 'Pig Husbandry', p. 163.

[62] Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 335.

[63] D. Stone, 'Medieval Farm Management and Technological Mentalities: Hinderclay before the Black Death', *EcHR*, n.s., 54, 4 (2001), 612-38 (p. 631).

[64] Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 425.

medieval standards' which would suggest that the small, former Templar, Lincolnshire herds, were well managed.[65]

Porkers and piglets were all saleable. As with the consideration of the size and composition of plough teams, the decision as to when to sell pigs and how many to sell was based on profitability. If a piglet were sold in the first few months of life before it had gained substantial weight, its value was eightpence to tenpence (appendix 16). Porkers of a year old, however, were valued at two shillings each in 1308-1309 (appendix 16). Much may have depended upon the quantity of grain and legumes used to feed the swine. On the Peterborough Abbey estate 'the size of a manor's pig herd was significantly associated with the expenditure of grain and legumes on their sustenance and fattening'.[66] Ryder, citing medieval archaeological evidence from Kirkstall, Pontefract, York and Wharram Percy, determines that eighteen months was the age when most pigs were killed.[67] Further, he states that they were on the whole smaller than present day pigs.[68] The *Seneschaucy* is unequivocal in that 'he who will keep pigs throughout the year entirely at the expense of the grange will lose twice as much as he will gain'.[69] As a consequence, the use of stubble, pannage and domestic waste would have been crucial in reducing the cost of pig rearing. The profit margin was determined by the difference between the sale price and the cost of feeding added to the wages of the swineherd. However, as Stone

[65] Stone, 'Medieval Farm Management', p. 632.

[66] Biddick, 'Pig Husbandry', p. 170.

[67] M. L. Ryder, 'Livestock Remains from Four Medieval Sites in Yorkshire', *AHR*, 9, (1961), 105-10 (p. 107).

[68] Ryder, 'Animal Remains', p. 4.

[69] Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 285.

points out, the quality of management, less easy to quantify, had an important effect upon fertility rates, the subsequent weight gain and the consequent increase in value of the growing litter.[70]

The nature of the pig farming on the former Templar estates is speculative because of the incomplete nature of the data. Campbell suggests two kinds of swine husbandry, namely, extensive husbandry involving pannage in woodland areas and intensive husbandry where the pigs would be kept in pens and sties and be fed.[71] He stipulates that there were few areas where pig management was exclusively extensive and except where woodland was very extensive, 'pannage alone offered little more than a seasonal bonus'.[72] The pig husbandry on the home manors of Peterborough Abbey at the beginning of the fourteenth century was intensive, based upon sty feeding, using legumes, poor quality grains and household waste.[73] Perhaps a similar approach was used on the former Templar estates, but if so, then specific use of stores for swine feed is not itemised in the grange inventories.

Only Eagle has an entry for pannage; in this instance, as a source of eighteen shillings rental income in the final account of Michaelmas 1312 - 6 June 1312.[74] However, the renting of pannage at Eagle not only confirmed its existence but by extrapolation would suggest the use of pannage elsewhere. The *Husbandry* by no means restricted pannage to wooded areas, instructing that 'pannage ought to be accounted for because one gives pannage just as much in places

[70] Stone, 'Medieval Farm Management', p. 631.

[71] Campbell, *Seigniorial,* p. 165

[72] Ibid., p. 166.

[73] Ibid.

[74] E 358/18, 39/1 dorse, line 51.

where there is no wood as in places where there is', again suggesting the more widespread existence of pannage.[75] Unless pannage were rented out, then it would not generate a direct income, and, as such, would not be recorded in the accounts. Further, the use of woodland for pannage would be incompatible with woodland management involving coppicing and timber extraction.[76]

For most accounts which listed pigs, a single swineherd was amongst the paid employees which would imply the need for husbandry to ensure the safety of the animals.[77] The *Seneschaucy* is quite clear 'if there were no woods, marsh, or waste where pigs could support themselves without having to be kept entirely with food from the grange, no swineherd ought to be employed'.[78] In other words, swineherds were only to be employed where pannage was a central part of pig husbandry. Were the swine intensively farmed then one might expect a greater number of pigs to justify a dedicated swineherd. In the case of Aslackby, in the account of Michaelmas 1311- 16 June 1312, one sow and five porkers are enrolled as having been sold and eight porkers remained, valued at two shillings each (appendix 16). Clearly the number of pigs would not necessitate a full time swineherd but nonetheless, fourpence was to be paid for their custodianship.[79] The *Husbandry*, suggests that a dairy maid's duties ought to include looking after small stock kept on the manor, which included

[75] Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 435.

[76] Biddick, 'Pig Husbandry', p. 167.

[77] E 358/18, 15/1, line 27.

[78] Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 285.

[79] E 358/18, 39/1, line 14.

sucking pigs, so the responsibility for swine husbandry depended upon circumstances and did not always necessitate the employment of a swineherd.[80]

The most significant difference between the accounts of 1308-9 and those of 1311-13 is the numbers of piglets of issue which remained unsold (appendix 16). In the latter accounts, only Eagle had any sales of piglets of issue, a relatively insignificant five sold of an issue of thirty-six piglets, each valued at sixpence (appendix 16). At Temple Bruer, Rowston and Aslackby, no piglets were sold (appendix 16). Perhaps the existence of substantial numbers of piglets would have helped to make the leasing of the respective manors more attractive, as the piglets would gain in value considerably during their first year, bearing in mind that a mature pig was worth 2s. 6d. in 1311-1313. Campbell cites that pigs which were 'rising two' made the best baconers and porkers for slaughtering.[81] By Michaelmas 1312, the entire herd of pigs at Aslackby was reduced to eight porkers and there are no pigs enrolled at Aslackby thereafter (appendix 16).

The numbers of swine enrolled were not without their omissions or their inconsistencies. Although the manor of Kirkby for Michaelmas 1308 records one wandering pig, it is doubtful whether the recording of all pigs was as assiduous.[82] The suspicion remains that a significant proportion of the porcine population of the former Templar estates - that which was raised by peasants on their own plots - may have gone unrecorded, hence the predominance of manors with no pigs in the accounts. Certainly Dyer points to bacon as being a

[80] Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 425.

[81] Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p. 165.

[82] E 358/1*8*, 16/2 dorse, line 32.

'typically peasant food' and that the better off may have consumed up to two pig carcasses a year which indicates widespread peasant pig-rearing.[83]

The nature of pig husbandry on the former Templar estates is inconclusive. R. Trow-Smith states that 'the economy of [medieval pig] rearing is somewhat obscure'.[84] However, it seems probable that pig rearing on the Templar manors involved both extensive grazing and intensive sty feeding. The employment of swineherds points towards the use of pannage and stubble grazing, both of which were low cost providers of food and both of which required supervision of the pigs. Sty feeding, using grain and legumes from the grange store, was likely for the final fattening of the stock so as to command a higher sale price. If the Peterborough model were followed then legumes would have been the crop most commonly used for pig feed.[85]

The importance of pigs as a valuable source of protein should not be underestimated. Salted bacon was a main staple for the preceptory larders, the only larders for which inventories exist, and were valued at three shillings each in the Eagle accounts beginning 1312.[86] In the same account, seven porkers were slaughtered for consumption over the Christmas period.[87] Similarly, bacon was an important constituent of the diet of the *famuli* and contract harvesters when the usual diet of pottage needed to be enhanced to facilitate the heavy seasonal work of autumn.

---

[83] C. Dyer, 'English Diet in the Later Middle Ages', in *Social Relations and Ideas: Essays in Honour of R. H. Hilton*, ed. by T. H. Aston, P. R. Coss, C. Dyer and J.Thirsk, (Cambridge, 1983, rep.1987), p. 206.

[84] Trow-Smith, *Livestock Husbandry*, p. 126.

[85] Biddick, 'Pig Husbandry', p. 175.

[86] E 358/18, 39/2 dorse, line 26.

[87] Ibid., line 13.

As a non-working animal, a pig depended for its value upon its fecundity and its ability to convert food into weight gain besides the ubiquitous production of dung. In contrast to the value of swine, swans were luxury items to be found only on the tables of the great and good and their value reflected their status. When the manor of Eagle was leased to Sir David Graham on 6 June 1313, included amongst the livestock were four swans, each valued at 3s. 4d. and two cygnets, each valued at 2s. 5d..[88] Each cygnet was worth five times the value of a piglet of the same year of issue.

The nature of the accounts renders the sum of the contribution made by pig rearing to the total commercial enterprise of the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire inconclusive. As suggested above, there were probably far more pigs on former Templar manors than are recorded. However incomplete the data, it is clear that pigs did contribute both to the finances and the food supply of the preceptories, which under the Templars would have had an obligation of hospitality to visitors, besides the sustenance of its regular and seasonal workforce. The output of saleable porkers and piglets, bacon for the larder and dung for the land was a good return on an investment of pannage and the wages of a full time or part time swineherd. Nonetheless, overall, the keeping of pigs was a small cog in the great wheel of the mixed farming enterprise practised by the Templars and thereafter on their estates.

3.5. Conclusion

The following themes emerge from the foregoing chapter, all of which relate to changing circumstances: the developments which were evidently taking

[88] Ibid., line 24.

place within medieval agriculture during the early years of the fourteenth century, the individual responses of manor bailiffs to the changing circumstances in which they found themselves and finally, the impact of the agents of Edward II, upon the former Templar estates, following the arrest of the Order on 10 January 1308.

The symbiotic relationship between livestock and arable farming was central to the mixed agricultural regime practised on the Templar estates in Lincolnshire. Arable land produced foodstuffs for the livestock, draught animals provided traction for ploughing, harrowing and haulage. The change from the exclusivity of plough oxen to mixed plough teams and horse drawn ploughs was manifest on the Templars' Lincolnshire estates where there was a wide diversity of plough team size and composition. Mixed teams were the norm and the change to horse-drawn ploughs was at a transitional stage. The benefit of horse-haulage over ox-drawn wagons, that of speed, was less debatable. The number of carthorses and carts, rather than wagons, illustrates that horse-haulage had been embraced and that the use of oxen as haulage animals was diminishing.

The accounts illustrate, above all, the individuality of approach of the different manors to the changing circumstances which challenged them. This was reflected in the size and composition of the plough teams, the choice and acreage of crops and the uses to which the grange stores were put. Whilst market forces determined that wheat was the most commercial crop, it was relief and soil type which influenced its sown acreage, but the decision was that of the sergeant. Similarly, whilst the long-term trend was towards horse-drawn ploughs, the variety of plough team size and composition on the former

Templar estates shows how each manor responded to the relationship between quality of the land and the attributes of the beast.

The impact of decision making is manifest throughout the accounts, precisely as Stone has promulgated. New ideas such as the horse-drawn plough were tried, and, if successful, were adopted elsewhere. Whilst it was formerly widely held that medieval agriculture stagnated, more recent views suggest that developments did take place, not least, the wider use of the horse for ploughing and haulage as argued convincingly by Langdon.[89] The interaction of livestock, fallow and arable land created the characteristic mixed farming of the medieval period which depended for its evolution not only on the use of more efficient draught animals, but on the advancement of crops. Up to the point of the arrest of the Order, the Templar estates in Lincolnshire were exercising the best agricultural practice for the period.

Whilst sheep were centrally recorded at the preceptory of an estate, where policy decisions were made, it is also clear that local manorial experience had an effect upon pastoral practice. The evidence is conclusive that agriculture was developmental, evolutionary rather than revolutionary, and that decisions were made based upon knowledge and the need to improve and progress. This approach was not peculiar to the Templar estates in Lincolnshire. B. Harrison refers to the picture of 'adaptive and innovative strategies on a few manors within the complex of estates' of St Swithun's Priory, Wiltshire, as does Biddick on some of the demesnes of the Bishop of Winchester. [90] Stone is

---

[89] Langdon, *Horses, Oxen.*

[90] B. Harrison, 'Field Systems and Demesne Farming on the Wiltshire Estates of Saint Swithun's Priory, Wichester, 1248-1340', *AHR*, 43, 1 (1995), 1-18 (p. 18).

succinct ‘there was no lack of commercial acumen in the medieval countryside’.[91]

In any instance where property fell into the hands of a medieval king through a ward who would inherit lands on gaining his or her majority, or the vacancy of an abbey between the death of an abbot and the appointment of his successor, then the income derived from the property was at the king’s disposal. Similarly, if a nobleman was attainted who had committed malfeasance, his lands were at the disposal of the king. Following the arrest of the Templars on 10 January 1308, the Templar estates fell into the hands of Edward II. Beset as he was by the inherited debts accrued from his father’s military campaigning, the moveable assets of the Templar estates provided Edward with a ready source of income.

The approach of Edward II to the former Templar estates was hardly without precedent. Biddick refers to the See of Winchester enduring a vacancy in every generation throughout the thirteenth century during each of which ‘the king physically removed seed grain and livestock which resulted in serious reductions of the factors of production and consumption’.[92] This right of the king ‘allowed the Crown to expropriate estate rents, fines and fees of justice, and agricultural profits, and to use the revenue-yielding resources of fields, herds, pastures and woodlands’.[93] Although Biddick avoids the term asset stripping in relation to the Winchester estates, Thornton has no such

[91] Stone, *Decision Making*, p. 234.

[92] K. Biddick, ‘Agrarian Productivity’, p. 103.

[93] Ibid., pp. 99-100.

hesitation.[94] Stone identifies precisely the same 'asset-stripping for the Crown's benefit' when vacancies occurred in the See of Ely.[95] This point is crucial to the understanding of the accounts of the former Templar estates. It is only the first accounts, beginning 10 January 1308 which are fully representative of Templar agricultural practice. Thereafter, as a result of the asset stripping by the King's agents and the subsequent leasing, the hand of the Templars is less clearly visible on their former estates in Lincolnshire. However, the initial accounts do give a clear impression that the Templar estates in Lincolnshire were fully representative of contemporary agricultural developments.

The policy of Edward II's agents was based upon short term liquidation of moveable assets, as their longer term custodianship was uncertain. Pretty argues that the low agricultural productivity on manorial estates was as a result of the greater emphasis placed upon stability and sustainability.[96] The evidence of the accounts would indicate that, although sustainability may have been the approach of the Templars, it was by no means the prime concern of the officers of Edward II.

---

[94] C. C. Thornton, 'The Determinants of Land Productivity on the Bishop of Winchester's Demesne of Rimpton, 1208-1403', in *Land, Labour and Livestock,* ed. by Campbell and Overton. eds., p. 201.

[95] Stone, *Decision Making*, p. 40.

[96] J. N. Pretty, 'Sustainable Agriculture in the Middle Ages: the English Manor', *AHR*, 38, 1 (1990), 1-19 (p. 2).

Chapter 4

Sheep farming

Much has been written about the medieval wool trade and the monastic contribution to the national flock has been widely discussed.[1] In particular, Donkin gives an insight into the management of Cistercian granges.[2] He highlights flock sizes, the significance of sheep fold and sheep shed in the housing of sheep and the storage of wool, the preparation of wool for sale and the relationship between wool and wealth.[3] There is however no published analysis of the sheep farming practised by the Knights Templar or of their contribution to the wool trade. The present chapter proposes to redress the balance, in part, by offering an analysis of sheep farming on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire in the early fourteenth century, based upon the Crown accounts of 1308-13.

The content of the Crown accounts, E 358/18, E 358/19 and E 358/20 relating to the Lincolnshire estates of the Knights Templar variously covers the period from 10 January 1308, the date of the arrest of the Order, until 8 December 1313 when the last entry is enrolled. In as far as they are complete, the Crown accounts give a comprehensive picture of the livestock, goods and chattels of the Templars' Lincolnshire estates and, by extrapolation, the nature of their operation and management from the very moment of their sequestration

[1] J. E. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994); R. A. Donkin, *The Cistercians: Studies in the Geography of Medieval England and Wales* (Toronto, 1979); T. H. Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1977).

[2] Donkin, *Cistercians*, pp. 82-105.

[3] Ibid.

by Edward II. In the initial accounts, the condition of the estate buildings, the nature and number of livestock, the *famuli,* the employees and contracted tradesmen and the nature of estate operation and management would have been identical to that on 9 January 1308, the day before the arrest of the Templars.

On the basis of the analysis of the Crown accounts, there will be four themes developed within the chapter. The first theme, the nature of the Templar flocks, embraces a number of issues on which the accounts shed some light, including the type of sheep, the composition of the flocks, the rate of reproduction and the incidence of disease. The second theme is that of the management of the flocks, the employment of staff, seasonal activities and the economic significance of wool, cheese and mutton. The third theme to emerge is that of the changes which had occurred by the summer of 1309, as expedited by the King's agents through the disposal of wool, and the farming out of sheep and manors. The fourth theme is that of the sheep in the accounts of 1311-13 which is dealt with as a separate entity because of the discontinuity between the accounts ending in 1309 and the resumption of accounting in 1311.

4.1 The Templar flocks

4.1.i. The sheep

The initial conundrum is what type of sheep did the Templars keep on their estates in Lincolnshire? It is immediately apparent on the basis of research that any notion of the Templar pastures being grazed by long-woolled sheep is completely erroneous. The use of the word breed would imply a far greater degree of differentiation than had in fact occurred by the beginning of the fourteenth century, a fact which underlies R. Trow-Smith's preference for the

term 'regional types'.[4] R. A. Pelham refers to short-woolled and long-woolled sheep, the former being Ryedale type, and the latter, the Lincoln and Leicester types.[5] Pelham states that there is no means of ascertaining the distribution of the 'two breeds' in the fourteenth century other than 'by inference from the types of cloth which are known to have been localised'.[6] However, subscribing his map showing that Lincolnshire and Leicestershire were stocked with long-woolled sheep, is the cautious note 'this distribution is not based upon contemporary evidence and can therefore only be tentative' (map 12).[7]

In her influential study of the medieval wool trade E. Power states that 'It seems fairly safe to assert that there were two of these [different breeds of sheep] distinguished by the length of staple of their wool'.[8] The two breeds cited are 'the small sheep producing short wool' and the 'large sheep [which] produced long wool'.[9] She further subdivides the long wools into two breeds, the Cotswold and the Lincolns which were responsible for the 'great bulk of fine wool exported in the Middle Ages'.[10] Trow-Smith is in accord with Pelham and Power in determining two types of sheep in medieval times, the shortwools of the Welsh Marches and Yorkshire Moors, the Ryedale type, which competed

[4] R. Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700* (London, 1957), p. 160.

[5] R. A. Pelham, 'Fourteenth Century England', in *An Historical Geography of England before 1800*, ed. by H. C. Darby (Cambridge, 1936, rep.1963), p. 244.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., p. 247.

[8] E. Power, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History* (Oxford, 1941), pp. 15-16.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.



MAP 12. R. A. Pelham's map in H. C. Darby ed., *An Historical Geography of England before 1800* (Cambridge 1963), p. 247. Pelham adds 'It must be noted that this distribution is not based upon contemporary evidence and can, therefore, only be tentative.

with the Spanish merino flocks for commercial favour and the longwools 'upon which the great mass of the export trade was founded and which had a monopoly of the medieval market'.[11] The latter category included prototype Cotswold and the 'Lincolns of the heath'.[12]

The first voice to express dissent was that of P. J. Bowden who states unequivocally that 'the production of long-staple wool In England in the Middle Ages was at the most negligible, there being no true, long-woolled breed of sheep in England at this time' adding that 'a clear-cut division between long and short-staple wool […] previous to the eighteenth century did not in fact exist'.[13] M. J. Stephenson supports Bowden in there being an absence of longwools in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries further making the association of short staple with fine, high quality fleeces whereas the later long staple wool was coarser.[14] J. P. Bischoff suggests that the earliest longwool breeds were apparent in the seventeenth century but adds the caveat that 'it seems possible' that in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the 'genetic predecessors of the later longwool breeds' may have existed as a result of selective breeding.[15]

---

[11] R. Trow-Smith, *English Husbandry from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London, 1950), pp. 77-8.

[12] Ibid.

[13] P. J. Bowden, 'Wool Supply and the Woollen Industry', *EcHR*, n.s., 9, 1 (1956), 44-58 (p. 44).

[14] M. J. Stephenson, 'Wool Yields in the Medieval Economy', *EcHR*, n.s., 41, 3 (1988), 368-91 (p. 374).

[15] J. P. Bischoff, 'I cannot do't without counters': Fleece Weights and Sheep Breeds in Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Century England', *Agricultural History*, 57, 2 (1983), 143-60 (p. 147).

In 1343, Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, of the Italian merchant house of Bardi placed Lindsey wool amongst the best in Europe which implies that just as medieval wool merchants differentiated between wool of different qualities, equally, there was some difference between the types of sheep which produced it.[16] Amongst the sheep which produced the best wool were those of Lincolnshire; however, as Bowden points out, the determinant of wool quality was the fineness of the fibre not the length of the staple.[17] Similarly, Pelham suggests that the medieval criterion of wool quality seems to have been merely fineness of texture, implying that staple length was not a consideration.[18]

A corollary of the development of commercial sheep farming was the growth of interest in selective breeding to improve the quality of stock and the extent of profitability, leading to the trade in, and, the mobility of, high quality breeding stock. As early as 1208 and 1210 the Hungerfords, lords of the Downton manor in Wiltshire, were importing Lincolnshire rams and selling an improved 'Lindsey wool' as a result.[19] Besides the inter-regional trade in breeding stock an international trade was already established. Trow-Smith proposes that early Spanish merinos may have contributed to the improvement of Cistercian flocks in Britain.[20]

Sheep breeds may not have been clearly defined in the early fourteenth century but that is not to say that the shepherd did not have a keen interest in the quality of his stock and went to some lengths to improve it. The Chronicles

---

[16] Trow-Smith, *Livestock,* pp.77-8.

[17] Bowden, 'Wool Supply', p. 47.

[18] Pelham, 'Fourteenth Century', p. 244.

[19] Trow-Smith, *Livestock,* p. 111.

[20] Ibid., p. 112.

of St Albans record the high price paid for the importation of continental sheep; in 1274 the country was swept by an outbreak of sheep scab brought in by Spanish merinos.[21] From the initial outbreak of sheep scab until the early fourteenth century, the national flock was subject to 'recurrent and very severe attacks' of the disease.[22]

Trow-Smith considers that longwools were Roman introductions.[23] In a recent paper R. Faith stipulates that Lincolnshire Longwools are the only English breed to have no genetic link to native breeds and as such must have been initially imported, if not by the Romans then perhaps by the Vikings.[24] It is widely held that the Roman imports were the progenitors of all subsequent British breeds of sheep.

Trow-Smith refers to the 'first description' of the 'old Lincoln' as 'white-faced and hornless, thick-legged but slab-sided and growing an 18 inch fleece up to 14 lb in weight'.[25] The Lincolnshire Longwool Breeders Association hold that the key features of the breed were established by the start of the seventeenth century and that by the end of that century crossbreeding of the Old Lincoln and the Dishley Leicester had produced the sheep which we recognise today as the Lincolnshire Longwool, the implication clearly being that earlier sheep were not longwools.[26] Faith cites the evidence of excavations

---

[21] Ibid., p. 113.

[22] M. J. Stephenson, 'Wool Yields', p. 381.

[23] Trow-Smith, *Livestock*, p. 165.

[24] R. Faith, 'The Structure of the Market for Wool in Medieval Lincolnshire', *EcHR*, 65, 2, (2012), 674-700 (p. 683).

[25] Trow-Smith, *Livestock*, p. 165.

[26] Lincoln Longwool Sheep Breeders Association, *Breed History*, <http://www.lincolnlongwools.co.uk> [accessed on 15 December 2012].

of tenth and eleventh century occupation levels at Lincoln indicating the existence of a 'distinctive horned, black-faced sheep […] the Lincolnshire longwool like them was horned'.[27] This description is at considerable variance with that of Trow-Smith.

Merchants contracted to buy wool according to three accepted categories, good, middling and locks, the latter being 'the straggly parts of the fleece which fell from the animal before shearing'.[28] The pricing mechanism of the period established a considerable gulf between the grades.[29] Bell, Brooks and Dryburgh suggest that 'throughout the Middle Ages wool from the Welsh Marches, the Cotswolds and Lincolnshire were clearly of a higher quality [than that which was produced elswwhere]'.[30] Further, they are circumspect in pointing out that 'medieval wool was almost exclusively of a shorter staple than that of modern sheep'.[31]

Overall, the accepted view is that the wool produced in Lincolnshire in the early fourteenth century was of high quality and so of high value. References to medieval sheep still associate Lincolnshire with the longwool type despite a marked lack of any analysis of contemporary data which might yield fleece weights. An extrapolation based upon fleece numbers and overall wool weights recorded in the Crown accounts of the former Templar lands in Lincolnshire

[27] Faith, 'Structure of the Market', p. 683.

[28] A. R. Bell, C. Brooks and P. R. Dryburgh, *The English Wool Market c. 1230-1327* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 29.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., p. 49

reveals that the average fleece weight of the Templar flocks was 1.5 lb, a figure not calculated hitherto.[32]

Next to wool quality, fleece weight was the most important issue to the fourteenth century sheep farmer and this in turn rested upon two determinants, staple length and wool density. The large sheep carrying a fourteen pound fleece cited by Trow-Smith would not have grazed medieval sheep pastures; a fleece weight of 1.5 lb is the product of a sheep which is neither large nor long-woolled[33] Whilst discussing medieval fleece weights, Trow-Smith quotes seven examples 'scattered throughout England and Wales, but omitting the most important areas of Lincolnshire and the Cotswolds. Fleece weights therefore vary from about 1.1 to 2.1 lb'.[34] To this can now be added that the average weight of the fleeces of the Templars' Lincolnshire flock, at 1.5 lb, fell within that range, but not at the heavier end as might have been expected.

B. M. S. Campbell cites the average fleece weight across the Bishop of Winchester's estates at the time as 1.35 lbs.[35] He further adds that the range of fleece weights on the Winchester estates was '1.25-1.75 lbs, and this seems to have been the normal weight range of the predominantly short-woolled medieval fleece'.[36] C. Dyer quotes medieval fleece weights as being 1-2lb.[37] Clearly, in the centre of the range is the average fleece weight of the Templars'

---

[32] Calculation based on a wool sack weighing twenty-six stones and a stone consisting of fourteen pounds.

[33] Trow-Smith, *Livestock,* p. 165.

[34] Ibid., p. 167.

[35] B. M. S. Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture 1250-1450* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 155.

[36] Ibid.

[37] C. Dyer, 'Sheepcotes: Evidence for Medieval Sheep Farming', *Medieval Archaeology*, 39 (1995), 136-64 (p. 155).

Lincolnshire flocks; a fleece with a longer wool staple would be expected to be heavier. A fleece weight of 1.5 lb is quite simply too light to be the product of a long-woolled sheep. Trow-Smith cites the fleece weight of the medieval sheep for the 'heaviest longwool at perhaps nearly 2½ lb and the thinnest shortwools of perhaps less than 1 lb' but this figure seems speculative.[38] By comparison, Arthur Young quotes the average weight of a Lincolnshire Longwool fleece, almost five centuries later, in the late eighteenth century, as 10 lb.[39]

The sheep which emerges from the foregoing discussion as having grazed the Templars' Lincolnshire estates in 1308 was a very small, horned animal, with a short fleece of fine, high quality wool. Perhaps it was a proto-Lincolnshire type, six centuries away from its current incarnation. Further, A. Grant specifies that 'there is no archaeo-zoological evidence to suggest any increase in the size of sheep during the medieval period'.[40]This is the animal which the Templars would have recognised as their own and upon which the reputation of Lindsey wool was built.

The evidence is clear that the wool which was produced in Lincolnshire was amongst the finest and there is no reason to suppose that the sheep which constituted the Templar flock were of any lower quality than those reared in the same county by the Benedictines, Cistercians, Gilbertines or secular lords. However, the proposal that the wool was long staple is ill founded. Having

---

[38] Trow-Smith, *Livestock*, p. 139 footnote.

[39] A. Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Lincolnshire* (London, 1813, rep. Newton Abbot, 1970), p. 412.

[40] A. Grant, 'Medieval Animal Husbandry', in *Animals and Archaeology*, 4, Husbandry in Europe, BAR International series, 227, ed. by J. Clutton-Brock and C. Grigson (Oxford, 1985), p. 183.

determined the nature of the sheep, the next consideration is the nature of the flock.

4.1.ii. Flock composition

The Templar estates were organised around preceptories, each of which was not only a manor in its own right, but in addition, was an administrative centre for a number of subsidiary manors, known as members. In Lincolnshire, in 1308, there were four preceptories, Temple Bruer, Eagle and Aslackby in Kesteven and Willoughton in Lindsey. With the exception of Aslackby, the remaining three preceptories all had members (map 11). All four preceptories record substantial flocks in the Crown accounts of Michaelmas 1308 (appendix 17). Unfortunately, the Crown accounts exercise a system of centralised accounting with regard to sheep, which limits the extent of statistical analysis; a point which will be returned to when considering sheep management. Whilst it is possible to compare the size and composition of flocks between preceptories, it is not possible to quantify across the manors which constitute the members of a given estate. Sheep are as Campbell says, under-recorded.[41]

As the distribution of sheep across the manors of an estate cannot be analysed then the composition of manorial flocks cannot be considered in detail. This denies the opportunity to identify, with certainty, manors operating as breeding stations, those which concentrated on wethers for wool production, or, improbably, those which had no sheep at all. At best, any conclusions regarding the composition of manorial flocks may only be based upon Aslackby, a single manor with no members which provides an exemplar rather than a statistically valid database. Even more speculatively, movement of stock

[41] Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p. 152.

between preceptories might indicate a relative emphasis within a flock, but little more. However, what the Crown accounts do provide is an overall picture of the Templar flocks in Lincolnshire at the very moment of their sequestration by Edward II and the relative importance of the preceptories as sheep farms. It must be established at this stage that, important though sheep farming was to the income of the Lincolnshire preceptories, pastoralism was part of a mixed farming economy. A considerable contribution was made to the preceptorial purse by the sale of grain.

The constitution of a flock was all important as this determined both current productivity and future trends, hence the fear of an outbreak of disease. Current profitability depended upon the ewes' ability to produce wool, lambs and milk for cheese production. Wethers (neutered males) produced heavier fleeces, Campbell cites a wether fleece as being twice as heavy as that of a hogg (male under two years of age) and a third heavier than that of a ewe.[42] In addition, wethers produced mutton but only at the end of their useful lives as wool and dung producers. In every case where a larder inventory is included in the accounts, it contains wether carcasses. At Michaelmas 1308, Temple Bruer had sixty wether carcasses of which thirty-four were for autumn use, Willoughton had thirty carcasses of which twelve were for sale (appendix 3).[43] No ewes or lambs were recorded as larder stock.

The immediate future of a flock depended upon the hoggs and gimmers (maiden females), the two year olds which were to become the rams, wethers and ewes of the following year. They were entering the productive cycle but

[42] Ibid., p. 155.

[43] E 358/18, 19/2, line 66; 17/2, line 29.

neither was producing full weight fleeces. However, they were very much part of the calculation in terms of the following season's woolclip. This was, particularly so if a preceptory had embarked upon a policy of advance contracts committing the estate to providing an agreed quantity of wool, at a fixed date and venue, for a previously agreed sum. At least part of that sum may already have been paid by the purchaser. The numbers of yearling lambs and lambs of the current year's issue gave a basis for flock predictions and therefore of productivity patterns three years hence, which an outbreak of murrain, explained below, could seriously disrupt, with dire financial consequences.

The Crown accounts of Michaelmas 1308 attribute a flock of 12,418 sheep to the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire of which 6325 were held at Temple Bruer, 4169 at Willoughton, 1337 at Eagle and six hundred and sixty-three at Aslackby (appendix 17).[44] By comparison, the fenland Abbeys of Peterborough and Crowland had 16,300 sheep between them in 1303.[45] The Cistercian Abbey of Fountains stocked at least 20,000 sheep during the early fourteenth century.[46] The extensive estates of the Bishop of Winchester stocked up to 35,000 sheep between 1210 and 1454.[47] The Templars' Lincolnshire flock was sizeable but not as impressive as the flocks of the greatest monastic sheep producers in early fourteenth century England. Finally, Campbell cites the size of the national flock in 1310 as 'scarcely less than 20 million and is likely to have been far greater'.[48] Monastic and seigniorial sheep may be

[44] E 358/18 19/2, lines 45-9; 17/2, lines 5-11.

[45] Power, *Wool Trade*, p. 35.

[46] Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p. 158.

[47] Ibid., p. 155.

[48] Ibid., p. 158.

evident in estate accounts, peasants' sheep are untraceable and so 20 million could be a considerable underestimate.

The emergence of estate accounts provided a numerical tool which enabled livestock fertility rates and levels of arable productivity to be scrutinised along with the degree of efficiency of the labour force. For the first time, records were kept, comparisons could be made from one year to the next, conclusions reached based upon reliable data and subsequent decisions made regarding best agricultural practice. The third quarter of the thirteenth century saw the circulation of treatises on husbandry and accounting which provided detailed guidance for estate managers who wished to maximise profitability; amongst the most widely known of such treatises are the anonymously written *Seneschaucy* and the *Husbandry* of Walter of Henley.[49]

Walter of Henley has much to say about the husbandry of sheep but offers no guidance to the medieval sheep farmer regarding the optimum composition of the flock.[50] Further, the absence of any reference to wool in his treatise is surprising, as its pre-eminence in the economy of the period would suggest the need for a lengthy consideration. D. Oschinsky suggests that given the number of copies made of and amendments made to *Walter*, his musings on wool may have been lost somewhere in the process. Trow-Smith points to the purpose of the flock as being the main determinant of its composition, so, although the overall aim of the flock of an estate might be to produce wool for sale, a constituent manor might specialise as a breeding station to replace diseased and

[49] D. Oschinsky, *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting* (Oxford, 1971).

[50] Ibid., pp. 337-9.

unproductive stock over the estate.[51] The priorities of the early fourteenth century estate head shepherd were, in descending order, wool production, fecundity to maintain the flock, milk production for consumption, cheese making and sale and finally, mutton production. Each manor contributed to the overall productivity of the estate but not necessarily in the same way. The constant production of dung was crucial to the arable element of the estate enterprise. Above all, the purpose of the flock was to produce wool for sale and the production of mutton was a last resort after an animal was no longer worthy of 'field room'.[52]

The impact of the medieval economic priorities upon the nature of the flocks was considerable. A modern flock consists largely of ewes, young males having been killed for meat as soon as their carcasses reach the desired weight and quality. In other words, few hoggs live long enough to become wethers, they are killed during their second year. By contrast, a medieval flock had a large proportion of wethers in its number because a wether carried a heavier fleece than a ewe and fleece weight as well as quality determined the income from wool sales. The Crown accounts for 1308 show this clearly. On the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire, 19.8 per cent of the Temple Bruer flock, 26.4 per cent of the Willoughton flock and thirty-three per cent of the Aslackby flock were wethers (appendix 17). Trow- Smith cites the manor of Combe on the estates of the Abbey of Bec in 1306-7 as having thirty-seven per cent of its flock made up of wethers.[53] J. P. Bischoff proposes that 'flocks consisting

[51] Trow-Smith, *Livestock*, p. 149
[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid., p. 149.

solely of wethers were more likely to appear on centralised and commercially organised demesne estates'.[54] Clearly the replacement of wethers which were culled or died of disease depended upon the existence of a breeding flock on another manor on the estate or the purchase of replacement stock from elsewhere.

The Eagle members, the manors of Whisby, Woodhouse and Bracebridge, recorded no wethers at all (map 11). However, 44.9 per cent of the Eagle flock consisted of ewes and 39.8 per cent of lambs (appendix 17). The figures suggest that the Eagle estate was a breeding establishment, which although still a significant wool producer, made a major contribution to flock regeneration. This implies that the Templars organised their sheep farming on an inter-manorial basis signified by the centrality of the sheep accounts for a preceptory and its members. In addition, there was a high degree of co-operation between the preceptories, even to the extent of specialisation of purpose. This is a degree of managerial finesse which far transcends mere manorial flock differentiation, as it points towards a commonality of approach across the Lincolnshire estates, not just across the manors of each separate preceptory.

Unfortunately, no records are extant for the period preceding 10 January 1308 as they would offer an explanation regarding the complete absence of yearlings in the accounts of all four preceptories for the period up to Michaelmas 1308. A combination of an outbreak of murrain coupled with the sale of fit lambs to prevent further infestation would seem to be the most likely probability. The lack of yearlings, which would have been the product of the breeding season of 1307, subsequently had a direct impact upon the much

[54] Bischoff, 'I cannot do't', p. 149.

reduced proportions of the estates' flocks which were made up of hoggs and gimmers in the following year (appendix 17). By the summer of 1309, the number of yearlings at Temple Brier, Willoughton and Eagle was recovering (appendices 17, 18).

The importance of flock regeneration is further reflected in the proportion of the flocks which lambs comprise in the accounts of Michaelmas 1308. At the three preceptories other than Eagle, in no case does the proportion of lambs fall below 23.9 per cent of the total. At Temple Bruer, Willoughton and Aslackby, the proportion of ewes in their respective flocks is 31.8 per cent, 31.4 per cent and 36.6 per cent, showing a high degree of consistency, and in each case exceeding the proportion of wethers. As a wether could be more valuable because it produced a heavier fleece than a ewe, then the higher proportion of ewes could represent a relatively low fertility rate, necessitating a higher proportion of ewes to ensure flock regeneration. This would have emphatically been the case given the complete absence of the issue of 1307 and the pressing need to restock.

Any analysis of the contribution of hoggs and gimmers to the total flock can be problematic. As Trow-Smith points out, sometimes in medieval accounts both gimmers and hoggs are classified as hoggs which might explain the complete absence of gimmers at Temple Bruer in 1308.[55] The proportion of the former Templar flocks comprised of hoggs and gimmers covers the fairly narrow range of 16.5 per cent at Willoughton to twenty-four per cent at Temple Bruer at Michaelmas 1308. However, in the succeeding accounts, in the cases of Temple Bruer, Willoughton and Eagle, the proportion in each case dropped

[55] Trow-Smith, *Livestock*, p. 149, footnote.

to below four per cent of the total flock as hoggs and gimmers were draughted with wethers and ewes respectively, but in the absence of yearlings, the product of the breeding season of 1307, were not replaced (appendices 17,18). Draughting, the practice of herding younger animals with older stock of the same gender, is considered in some detail later.

Aslackby is again the exception, the only preceptory which does not have any members. Further, in the absence of both yearlings and lambs, by 20 February 1309 and subsequently, the number of stock inevitably declined. D. Stone is at pains to include individual decision making as an influence upon the practice of medieval farming.[56] Aslackby does not fare well in the post-Templar period. The decline in flock size from six hundred and sixty-three sheep at Michaelmas 1308 to four hundred and fifty-two on 20 February 1309 and the absence of both yearlings and lambs suggests that they were moved elsewhere before the estate was leased to William le Mareschall (appendix 18). The situation was further exacerbated by liver fluke which had decimated the wethers (appendix 17).

4.1.iii. Fecundity

The limiting factor to any analysis of the fertility rates of the sheep of the Templar estates in Lincolnshire is the inconsistency of the accounts, the primary data, hence any conclusions are speculative. Campbell expresses the opinion that 'counting sheep from manorial accounts cannot be a precise science', a view which the Crown accounts of the former Templar estates prove beyond doubt.[57] There are sixteen accounts of the four Lincolnshire

[56] D. Stone, *Decision Making in Medieval Agriculture* (Oxford, 2005).

[57] Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p. 152.

preceptories covering various periods between 10 January 1308 and 8 December 1313. Of the sixteen, four Aslackby accounts record no lambs and a further three accounts, two for Eagle and one for Temple Bruer, are statistically unreliable as there are arithmetical inconsistencies; as a result, there are nine accounts on the basis of which guarded conclusions may be drawn (appendix 18).

In all of the Crown accounts of 1308-9, the number of sterile ewes is recorded along with the number of lambs born and the incidence of murrain. Trow-Smith describes sterility as rife 'according to medieval accountants' but adds further that the term may have been generic, including incidences of abortion and stillbirth and so covering all occasions where a ewe failed to produce a live lamb.[58] The ability of the ewes to produce lambs successfully was vital to the continuation of the flock and its ability to ensure profitable quantities of wool for sale and less importantly, cheese. The fertility rate was one of the major determinants of the composition of the flock. If low, then more productive ewes were needed to maintain flock numbers which involved culling sterile ewes and replacing them by buying in new stock. Walter of Henley recommended that old and feeble sheep be culled in mid-May, between Easter and Whitsun and secondly at the end of October, the implication being that the medieval shepherd needed to maintain the quality of his flock by regular disposal of poor quality stock.[59] The author of the *Seneschaucy*

[58] Trow-Smith, *Livestock*, p. 150.

[59] Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 185.

recommended that culling should take place three times a year which would involve even closer flock supervision than that suggested by Walter.[60]

The Crown accounts of Michaelmas 1308 show that the fertility rates of the four former Templar estates ranged from 65.4 per cent at Willoughton to 83.0 per cent at Eagle (appendix 19). All of which fall well within the favourable lambing rates of 64-88 per cent for the early fourteenth century cited by Campbell.[61] The success of the lambing season at Eagle, unfortunately later blighted by murrain, would support the idea of it being a breeding station. Stone suggests that 'in this period [the early fourteenth century] the impact of farm management can be seen most clearly in the changing fertility of the ewes'.[62]

The medieval expectation was for each ewe to produce one lamb per year. The anonymous *Husbandry* specifies that 'every cow ought to bear one calf in the year and every ewe one lamb'.[63] Trow- Smith says that 'twin lambs appear to have been unknown or unsought in the medieval period' arguing convincingly that this was due to the inability of a ewe to feed two lambs.[64] He points to the insufficiency of the ewes' diet as being the cause of the problem.[65] Trow-Smith's assertion may indeed be well-based but it is difficult to see how it accords with the evidence of the former Templar estates for the lambing season of 1308.

---

[60] Ibid., p. 287.

[61] Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p. 155.

[62] Stone, *Decision Making*, p. 75.

[63] Oschinsky, *Walter*, 425.

[64] Trow-Smith, *Livestock*, p. 125.

[65] Ibid., p. 151.

Reference to appendix 19 clearly illustrates the disparity between the total number of ewes giving birth in 1308 and the number of lambs born. In the case of each estate, the number of lambs born exceeded the number of births. The mismatch was due to the birth of twins which ranged from 6.8 per cent of total births at Eagle to 24.6 per cent of total births at Willoughton. It would appear that on the Lincolnshire estates, twin births was by no means a rare occurrence. On the Wisbech manor of the Bishop of Ely, Stone refers to 'several occasions in the early fifteenth century [when] a few of the ewes even gave birth to twins', adding in a footnote 'There has previously been no medieval evidence for twinning in sheep'.[66] The statistics supporting the existence of twins on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire are indisputable and may be the first evidence of twinning in medieval sheep. It might be expected that the resistance of the lambs to murrain may have been reduced by the number of twin births and the resultant inability of the ewes to provide sufficient nourishment. However, the data for the lambing season of 1308 shows no such correlation.

Trow-Smith states that female sheep were deemed to be fit for breeding in their third year at which point the gimmers would be draughted with the ewes and presented to the ram.[67] The number of recorded occasions on which the gimmers were not mated on the Lincolnshire estates suggests that they were by no means always robust enough for lambing, again, suggesting dietary deficiency. The ratio of ewes to rams cannot be calculated as rams are not

[66] Stone, *Decision Making*, p. 41.

[67] Trow-Smith, *Livestock*, pp. 125-6.

accounted separately. Trow-Smith suggests that a ratio of one ram to 35-50 ewes would be usual, the lower the ratio, the more successful the fertility rate.[68]

For the lambing season of 1309, no lambs are recorded for Aslackby but the fertility rates for the remaining three preceptories were 76.2 per cent at Eagle, 75.5 per cent at Temple Bruer and at 51.7 per cent at Willoughton, (appendix 18). Were the low fertility rate for Willoughton to be part of a cyclical pattern of highs and lows, then the reason could be the quality of the rams, but only three accounts exist for the preceptory, and so, to venture such a proposal would be speculative in the extreme. Overall, for the two lambing seasons of 1308 and 1309, the fertility rate was 73.2 per cent which means that the Lincolnshire flock on the ex-Templar estates was not replacing itself and so the significance of culling and buying new stock became ever more important if the production of wool was not to diminish. For the period fifteen years later, 1327-33, Stone cites a fertility rate of 99 to 101 lambs per 100 ewes for the Bishop of Ely's manor at Wisbech which was clearly much more successful.[69] In the years preceding 1322, the Crowland manor of Wellingborough had maintained a flock of up to three hundred ewes which had a fertility rate ranging from forty-seven per cent to ninety-eight per cent.[70] As the fertility rate was determined by a number of influences including the quality of the food supply, the incidence of disease, the robustness of the ewes, the virility of the rams and the manorial policy on culling and stock replacement, then it is of little surprise that there were variations between seasons and between manors.

---

[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.

[70] Trow-Smith, *Livestock*, p. 127

From the foregoing discussion it is apparent that other monastic manors and estates had higher fertility rates than those of the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire during the lambing seasons of 1308 and 1309. However, it would be unwise to draw a sweeping comparative conclusion based upon a limited data base, particularly given the vagaries of early fourteenth century climate and the unpredictability of the occurrence of disease. Further it is clear that the rate of fertility was only the first concern of the medieval shepherd, the second, equally important consideration, was the survival of the lambs during their first year of life.

4.1.iv. Sheep diseases

Besides the demands of seasonal activities, the battle against livestock disease was unrelenting. The generic term murrain was used for disease endemic in medieval livestock, be they horses, cattle or sheep. Trow-Smith defines the term murrain as covering 'every source of loss except theft and deliberate slaughter'.[71] If the disease had different manifestations in each species, then the ovine version was almost certainly sheep scab. This is a contagious infestation caused by the mite *psoroptes ovis.*[72] The mite penetrates the skin of the infected animal and causes itching with the resultant gnawing and rubbing by the distressed sheep.[73] Untreated, the disease leads to fleece damage, increasing weakness and eventual death and it is most common in winter and spring, and most significantly, when the sheep have full fleeces.

---

[71] Ibid., p. 129.

[72] Elanco Animal Health, *Scab- the problem* (Basingstoke, 2015)
<http://www.farmanimalhealth.co.uk/sheep-scab> [accessed on 17 January 2016].

[73] Department of Agriculture, *Sheep Scab* (Pretoria, 2001)
<http://www.nda.agric.za/docs/Infopaks/scab/htm> [accessed on 09 May 2012].

The assumption that the ovine version of murrain is sheep scab is widely cited but no statistical evidence is offered to prove the case. In the Crown accounts of Michaelmas 1308, 10.7 per cent **o**f the entire Lincolnshire former Templar flock suffered from murrain, 1333 sheep of a total flock of 12,418 animals (appendices 20, 21). Of the infected animals, 79.5 per cent were stricken before shearing, when the sheep had full fleeces which confirms that murrain and sheep scab were one and the same (appendix 21). In the second series of accounts, those of Easter 1309, 13.4 per cent of the Lincolnshire flock was infested, 1714 sheep of a total of 12,813 beasts (appendix 18).

Inevitably amongst the most prominent groups of sufferers in the flock of each estate were the lambs which were not shorn during their first year and so were prone to infestation. Of a total of 3683 lambs of the former Templar flock at Michaelmas 1308, five hundred and twenty-seven, 14.3 per cent suffered from murrain (appendix 21). Gimmers were even more susceptible, 29.2 per cent of the total gimmers had murrain in the accounts of Michaelmas 1308 (appendix 21).[74] Such a high number of infestations would have been of huge concern as the gimmers constituted the following season's breeding stock of ewes, responsible for the issue of lambs and the continuity of wool production. Overall, despite the variations between the numbers of animals affected by murrain at the four Lincolnshire preceptories, it is clear that the sheep were most prone to infestation during the first two years of life and that before shearing.

Other manorial examples show that after the introduction of murrain in 1272, scab became endemic to the national flock, and thereafter, epidemics

[74] E 358/18 17/2, line 9.

would flare up on a local or national scale followed by lulls. At the manor of East Knoyle in Wiltshire, five hundred and five out of six hundred and thirty-five lambs died of murrain in 1298.[75] During an outbreak of murrain in 1314, the estates of Crowland Abbey lost 3033 out of 10,961 sheep, almost 28 per cent.[76] Again with reference to the Crowland estates, Trow-Smith cites the localised variation in murrain incidences between the manors south of the Wash with a mortality rate of 56.4 per cent and that of the Holland flocks which was 17.8 per cent, the latter figure he classes as 'normal'.[77] If indeed a mortality rate of 17.8 per cent was normal over a wider compass than that of Crowland's Holland flocks, then overall, the flocks of the ex-Templar estates in Lincolnshire were managing well.

Despite the best efforts of shepherds, murrain was a constant threat to the flock. Expenditure on mercury from southern and central Europe, verdigris from the wine growing regions of Europe, bitumen ointment from Scandinavia and other medications for sheep is listed in every account of each preceptory.[78] Donkin refers to tar being bought in large tubs and mixed with grease to make sheep salve.[79] The impact of the disease was disastrous as damaged fleeces were much reduced in value. However, it was usual to sell the sheepskins (with wool attached), pelts (without wool) and carcasses of sheep which had succumbed to murrain.[80] Some of the incidences of mortality may not have

[75] Trow-Smith, *Livestock*, p. 154.

[76] Bell, Brooks and Dryburgh, *Wool Market*, p. 100.

[77] Trow-Smith, *Livestock*, p. 154.

[78] E 358/18, 15/1, line 23.

[79] Donkin, *Cistercians*, p. 88.

[80] E 358/18, 15/1, line 15.

been a direct result of murrain but that of the slaughtering of the animal whilst the carcass still retained some value.[81]

In no account is there an absence of murrain and there is little consistency in pattern. Temple Bruer with the largest flock in both accounts had 8.6 per cent of its flock suffering from murrain at Michaelmas 1308 and 7.8 per cent on 25 July 1309 (appendix 17). The number infected at Willoughton had increased from 11.2 per cent at Michaelmas 1308 to 18.4 per cent at Easter 1309 (appendix 17). Perhaps this would explain the transfer of one hundred and sixty ewes from Temple Bruer to Willoughton so as to increase the number of healthy breeding stock.[82] The inconsistency in the number of animals infested with murrain is precisely that quoted above on the Crowland estates and so was clearly widespread.

It was usual for the sheep farming element of a monastic estate to be centrally managed, and an important element of that could be manorial specialisation. With the associated inter-manorial movement of stock, the outbreak of murrain could have a widespread damaging effect across the entire enterprise. The central accounting of the sheep at the four preceptories in Lincolnshire does not, unfortunately, allow an analysis of the incidence of murrain across the manors of each of the former Templar estates.

The most dramatic increase in diseased sheep was at Aslackby where one hundred and thirty-one of the one hundred and seventy-three wethers were itemised as suffering from rot, *putredine*, in the account covering the period

[81] Trow-Smith, *Livestock,* p. 155.

[82] E 358/18, 15/1, line 59.

from Michaelmas 1308 to 20 February 1309 (appendix 17).[83] Overall, wethers were relatively resistant to sheep scab, consistently referred to as murrain in the accounts, but this was the only recorded instance of rot, which was most probably liver fluke. Campbell makes the point that during the early fourteenth century severe winters and wet springs left pastures sodden and in so doing created ideal conditions for the spread of liver fluke.[84] Stephenson proposes a correlation between liver fluke and 'the amount of rainfall between May and October each year'.[85] Clearly the occurrence of inclement weather points to the use of wet pastures, the danger of which is clearly stated in the *Seneschaucy,* 'the film of the autumn fog and the small white snails between the two feasts of Our Lady [15 August-8 September] will cause them [sheep] to rot and die'.[86] The fresh water snail is a host of the embryo *fasciola hepatica* from which the emergent flat fluke occupies wet grass and is consumed by its final host, the sheep.[87] As a result of infection, the liver of the animal underwent putrefaction and the voided eggs of the fluke renewed the cycle.[88]

The occurrence of liver fluke specifically in wethers at Aslackby suggests the single sex flock management outlined by Power and implicit in the advice offered in the *Seneschaucy*.[89] Trow- Smith cites manors of Wiltsire estates and of Crowland which 'kept only wethers for wool production'.[90] Elsewhere,

---

[83] E 358/18, 14/2 dorse, line 54.

[84] Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p. 417.

[85] Stephenson, 'Wool Yields', p. 382.

[86] Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 275.

[87] Trow-Smith, *Livestock,* p. 157.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Power, *Wool Trade,* p. 7; Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 277.

[90] Trow-Smith, *Livestock,* p. 144.

Bischoff refers to two types of flock on the demesne granges of the de Lacy estates, the grazing flocks of wethers only, and, of the breeding flocks made up of male and female animals of all ages.[91] Although Aslackby was only one manor, that would not preclude the flock being divided on the basis of sex and age, each being folded separately.

Veterinary science was at its most rudimentary in the early fourteenth century and although considerable sums were expended on unctions and medications for the treatment of diseases suffered by sheep, they were at best palliatives and never curatives. At Temple Bruer, the accounts for Michaelmas 1308 show an expenditure of £3 7s. on mercury, verdigris and sheep medication; by contrast, in the same accounts, the cost of washing and shearing 44571 wethers, ewes and hoggs was £1 19s.[92] At a daily rate of twopence, this constitutes two hundred and thirty-four man-days and a washing and shearing rate of one hundred and ninety sheep per day. Further, over the duration of the account from 10 January 1308 until Michaelmas of the same year, the head shepherd for the bailiwick of Temple Bruer together with his servant had a joint income of £3 5. 6d.[93] Although the best available treatment may have been applied to the livestock on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire, the soundest advice in the event of an outbreak of ovine illness was offered by the author of the *Seneschaucy* which was that 'all sheep found to be diseased […] ought to be sold together with the wool'.[94] There was no effective treatment for

[91] Bischoff, 'I cannot do't', p. 149.

[92] E 358/18, 19/1, lines 39-40.

[93] E 358/18, 19/2, lines 53-4.

[94] Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 275.

sheep disease and the only response was that of culling the flock at regular intervals so as to maintain a basis of healthy and productive stock.

4.2. Management of the flocks

Unlike the arable extent of estate management where each manor was accounted separately, sheep farming was organised centrally. This centralised mode of accounting, which attributed all stock to the preceptory, renders the distribution of the flock over the bailiwick impossible to identify but the primacy of the preceptory, as the organisational centre of the enterprise, is manifest. Dyer cites the large Cotswold estates where the flocks were centrally managed under a master shepherd or sheep reeve.[95] Further, he points out that the Cotswold practice was to gather the sheep from all the manors constituting the estate at a central place for the annual June shearing.[96] Although centralised shearing is not explicit in the 1308-9 accounts of the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire, it would have been consistent both with the centralised accounting and the management of Templar sheep farming. The organisation evident on the former Templar estates is precisely that described by Power as the inter-manorial sheep farming practised on large estates from the administrative centre of the demesne farm, or the preceptory, in the Templars' case.[97] Further, she describes a system whereby ewes, wethers and hoggs would each be kept on different manors with inter-manorial stock movement

[95] Dyer, 'Sheepcotes', p. 154.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Power, *Wool Trade*, p. 7.

taking place to replenish depleted numbers or to draught gimmers and hoggs with ewes and wethers respectively.[98]

Movement of livestock between preceptories was by no means unusual and as has been seen above, single sex flock management is repeatedly implied and as Dyer points out 'one can only note the careful categorization of sheep in the manorial accounts'.[99] Willoughton received one hundred and sixty ewes from Temple Bruer before Easter 1309, and, as elsewhere, movement of sheep between preceptories, when recorded, is of flocks, each made up of a single age and sex, which would accord with Power's model.[100] R. H. Britnell cites the same centralised accounting, reflecting a similar polarised organisation for the Holderness flocks of Isabella de Forz and the estates of the Abbeys of Crowland and Peterborough.[101] Sheep and shepherds are only recorded in the accounts of the four Lincolnshire preceptories, not in those of subsidiary manors; as a result, inter-manorial stock movement can only be surmised. Even in the case of the manor of South Witham, which had three dedicated shepherds, they are accounted under the preceptory of Temple Bruer of which South Witham was a member.[102] The only exception is the manor of Rowston, where the sheep which were farmed out to Robert Bernard are accounted separately.[103]

---

[98] Ibid.

[99] Dyer, 'Sheepcotes', p. 150.

[100] E358/18, 15/1, line 59.

[101] R. H. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society, 1000-1500* (London, 1993), pp. 118-19.

[102] E 358/18, 19/1, lines 37-8.

[103] E 358/18, 16/2 dorse, lines 9-10.

The bailiffs of the estates of both Temple Bruer and Willoughton were each paid threepence daily for the period between Michaelmas 1308 and Easter 1309, each incurring a cost of £2 5s. 6d.[104] Bailiffs were responsible for the running of the estate but the head shepherd was responsible for the deployment of shepherds, the welfare of the flock and the organisation of seasonal activities. At Temple Bruer, the head shepherd was also paid threepence per day but this was to cover the expenses of his servant and horse in addition to his own wages.[105] The head shepherd at Temple Bruer was responsible for the deployment of twenty-four shepherds over nine manors and the care of 6325 sheep[106] At Willoughton over the same period, eighteen shepherds looked after 4169 sheep spread over an estate of fifteen manors.[107] The head shepherd at Willoughton was paid twopence a day which equated with the income of John, the collector of rents, fines, obits and perquisites of the manor court.[108] This shows that the head shepherd was an individual of considerable importance in the hierarchy of estate management. If not quite on a par with the estate manager, the bailiff, then he was at least the equal of the collector of rents and fines. Only Aslackby of the four preceptories did not employ a head shepherd. Its three shepherds, only enrolled in the account of Michaelmas 1308, looked after the welfare of a smaller flock, five hundred and eighty-seven sheep. As a

[104] E 358/18, 16/2, lines 3-4; 15/1, line 28.

[105] E 358/18, 16/2, line 6.

[106] Ibid., lines 2, 46-63.

[107] E 358/18, 15/1, lines 27, 53-61; 15/2, lines 1-7.

[108] E 358/18, 15/1, lines 28-30.

preceptory without members, Aslackby had no need for any further management.[109]

The draughting of livestock was practised throughout the former Templar estates. This involved the herding together of younger animals with older stock of the same gender. During the spring of 1309, two hundred and six hoggs were draughted with wethers at Willoughton and one hundred and seventy-eight gimmers (young female sheep) draughted with 1279 ewes (appendix 17).[110] At Temple Bruer, four hundred and five hoggs were draughted with 1208 wethers and seven hundred and fifty gimmers with 1904 ewes (appendix 17).[111] This same sex herding indicates a high degree of flock management and points towards selective breeding, referred to earlier with the movement of Lincolnshire rams to Wiltshire. This further emphasises the importance of the head shepherd in maintaining the quality of the flock and its productivity.

During the spring of 1308, 1543 lambs were born to a flock of 2011 ewes at Temple Bruer.[112] This necessitated the purchase of 1180 gallons of milk to feed them; the following year only four hundred and fifty-one gallons were needed.[113] A ewe would have yielded between thirty and fifty litres of milk during a lactation period of two hundred days.[114] Power refers to 'the pails of milk carried from the dairy for the weakly lambs, and the great earthenware

[109] E 358/18, 18/2, line3; 18/1 dorse, lines 27-32.

[110] E 358/18, 15/1, lines 53-61; 15/2, lines 1-3.

[111] E 358/18, 16/2, lines 34-42.

[112] E 358/18, 19/2, lines 47 and 49.

[113] E 358/18, 19/1, line 38; 16/2, line 1.

[114] J. N. Pretty, 'Sustainable Agriculture in the Middle Ages: the English Manor' *AHR*, 31, 1 (1990), 1-19 (p. 3).

pots in which it was heated'.[115] Dyer suggests that the smaller buildings associated with sheepcotes may have been used in part for the storage of 'containers for the cows' milk sometimes given to lambs'.[116] Assuming that the ewes each produced sufficient milk to suckle one lamb, then other than the incidence of twins, the only reason for milk purchase would be that the lambs could be weaned early, so as to maximise the ewes' milk production for cheese making. Trow-Smith points out that milking often began immediately after lambing, the colostrum processed into cheese or butter and the lambs reared on whey.[117] Bovine milk has a lower fat content than ewes' milk, however, it would have compared favourably with the ovine whey which the lambs would otherwise have been fed with had they been weaned early.

A further consideration is the quality of the bovine stock, which Trow-Smith summarily dismisses as the 'wholly despicable milch cow' of the fourteenth century.[118] However, the cow was primarily the source of the plough oxen, and, only incidentally the source of milk, implying that large quantities of surplus cows' milk would not be available for purchase. If supplementary ovine milk was purchased, then the source of such large quantities is difficult to identify. Both Willoughton and Eagle followed a similar pattern of milk purchase. No milk purchases are recorded for Aslackby which had by far the smallest flock.

The Westminster estate of Stevenage sheds some light on the issue of the sale of ewes' milk.[119] In 1274 on this estate, ewes were farmed out for milk at

---

[115] Power, *Wool Trade*, p. 25.

[116] Dyer, 'Sheepcotes', p. 153.

[117] Trow-Smith, *Livestock*, p. 119.

[118] Ibid., p. 123.

[119] Ibid., p. 126.

twopence per head and as a result, eighteen gallons of milk had to be bought for the lambs at one penny per gallon.[120] There is no record of ewes being farmed out for milk in the accounts of the former Templar estates for 1308-9, but, were that the case, it would explain the need for the purchase of additional milk. Perhaps the size of the ewe flock, 2645 animals at Temple Bruer, necessitated farming out because of the immensity of the milking task. In addition, the sale of ewes' milk at a penny per gallon compared more than favourably with the sale value of cheese, cited at sevenpence per stone below. Clearly milk had to be converted to butter or cheese as a means of preservation, but the sale of milk provided a higher level of profitability. The farming out of ewes reduced the task of milking the manorial ewes to manageable proportions.

Four women were contracted to milk the ewes at Willoughton, presumably after the lambs had been weaned, as the contract also specified that they should help with the harvest.[121] The period during which ewes were milked was very circumscribed; Trow-Smith cites the beginning of milking as 23 April on the Canterbury Priory estates and the first week of April on the Battle manor of Wye in Kent.[122] He further states that 'for both cheese and butter the milk of both cows and ewes was mixed if the milking stock contained both animals'.[123] The *Seneschaucy* is just as precise in naming the end of the milking period as 'the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady [8 Sept.] because they [the ewes] are then slow to mate in the following year and the lambs will be worth less'.[124]

---

[120] Ibid.

[121] E 358/18, 17/1, line 39.

[122] Trow-Smith, *Livestock*, p. 119.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 287.

At Temple Bruer, seventeen women were employed to milk ewes from the Feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross on 3 May 1308 until their contract ended on the Feast of the Nativity of Our Lady, 8 September 1308, coinciding precisely with the dates associated with best practice outlined above.[125] No such contracts are enrolled for either Eagle or Aslackby.

The duties of a dairymaid involved not only knowing how to make and salt cheese, but also the day on which cheese making should begin, and, when the weights and numbers of cheeses being made should increase.[126] Not only were the dates of commercial lactation set, but, in addition, the varying level of milk production during that period was reflected in the weight and number of the weekly cheese output.

The accounts of Michaelmas 1308 show that in the dairies of Temple Bruer and Willoughton there were three hundred ansd eight cheeses weighing 204½ stones and one hundred and eighty-six cheeses weighing 82 stones respectively (appendix 3).[127] Most of the cheese produced was retained for autumn use, when the labour force was increased by the hire of large numbers of harvesters. The surplus was sold, Willoughton cheese being worth sevenpence per stone.[128] There is only one specific reference to ewes' milk cheese which is in the accounts for Tealby, a member of Willoughton preceptory, where eighteen stones of the total of fifty-six stones of cheese were made from the milk of ewes (appendix 3).[129] However, given the preponderance of ewes over cows, 1310

[125] E 358/18, 19/1, lines 44-5.

[126] Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 289.

[127] E 358/18, 19/2, line 69, 17/2, line 32.

[128] E 358/18, 17/1, line 33.

[129] E 358/18, 17/2, lines 47-8.

ewes as against eleven cows at Willoughton, even allowing for the tenfold greater milk yield of a cow, the probability is that ewes' milk cheese was the norm as elsewhere.[130] This would correspond with the lucrative source of income which ewes' milk cheese provided for the Bishop of Winchester during the period.[131]

In the case of all the Templar estates the washing and shearing of the sheep was a major undertaking during summer.[132] In the bailiwick of Temple Bruer, the processing of 4571 sheep cost £1 19s. in 1308.[133] The implication is that at least some shearers were contracted for the task as in addition to Temple Bruer, it was itemised separately for both Eagle and Aslackby.[134] Clearly the absence of a reference to washing and shearing in the Willoughton accounts was an error by omission as wool merchants expected to buy well cleaned fleeces.[135] Accommodation for wool merchants, or their agents, and indeed contracted shearers, would be best and most conveniently afforded at the preceptory. An astute wool merchant would wish to view the processes of washing, shearing and packing in accord with the centralised shearing identified by Dyer in the Cotswolds.[136] The significance of wool and the wool trade to the Lincolnshire preceptories is dealt with in the succeeding section.

---

[130] Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p. 154; Power, *Wool Trade*, p. 25.

[131] Campbell, *Seigniorial*, p. 154.

[132] S. Sancha, *The Luttrell Village: Country Life in the Early Fourteenth Century* (London, 1982), p. 35.

[133] E 358/18, 19/1, line 40.

[134] E 358/18, 18/2 dorse, line 5; 18/2, line 65.

[135] Donkin, *Cistercians*, p. 88.

[136] Dyer, 'Sheepcotes', p. 154.

The accounts do not allow a detailed analysis of folding practice, but it is reasonable to assume that the sheep were folded so as to provide the dung for the fertilisation of arable land. It is equally reasonable to assume on the basis of the foregoing, albeit, indirect evidence, that the folding was differentiated by sex and age. Reference has been made to the insufficiency of the diet of the stock, in the complete absence of root crops, and its impact upon lambing rates, but even here, compensatory steps were taken; Willoughton bought in four cartloads of hay for the ewes during the spring of 1309.[137] If the purchase of hay, when there was a shortage of fodder, was general policy, then the absence of hay purchases across the other three preceptories may point to at least a sufficiency of food supply, given the limitations of the period.

There is no evidence of mass slaughter before the onset of winter, which might have been expected, if the inability of animal husbandry to cope with the winter weather rendered the survival of the entire flock impossible, and so dictated the need for substantial culling. The implication is not only that winter fodder stocks were sufficient to ensure survival, but also that sheep could be housed as and when the winter weather dictated. Stock mortalities were attributed to murrain and the larder inventories list wether carcasses only. The unproductive wethers which were not culled would have been fattened and killed for mutton only after their economic lives were over. There were no incidences of the lighter ewes' carcasses in the preceptories' larders. Presumably, the advice embodied in the *Seneschaucy* had been heeded and the unproductive ewes had been sold, which would have yielded higher returns than their carcasses.

[137] E 358/18, 15/1, line 24.

Dyer is adamant that *bercaria* should be translated as sheepcote meaning the entire sheep-keeping unit including buildings and pasture, not sheepfold 'implying a temporary, open, fenced enclosure'.[138] His references to the sheepcotes of Temple Guiting, the Templar preceptory in Gloucestershire, describe long stone buildings, each sufficient to accommodate up to three hundred sheep, with a cruck framed roof space for hay storage and with associated smaller buildings for storage and paddocks and pens.[139] In Lincolnshire, both the chalk of the Lincoln Wolds and the limestone of Lincoln Edge would have provided accessible building stone for the structures described and the absence of large scale winter culling points to their existence in the absence of archaeological evidence.

In the Willoughton accounts of Easter 1309, expenditure on the repair of the roof of the sheepcote of Blyborough and granges is recorded; similarly, in the accounts of Eagle for 25 July 1309, repair to the sheepcote roof is listed under expenses.[140] Maintenance of the sheepcotes was a recurring expense, four years later in 1313. Eagle incurred further expenditure on sheepcote roof repairs as did Aslackby for repairs both to the roof of the sheepcote and the byre.[141] Dyer refers to the thatched roofs of sheepcotes needing frequent attention.[142]

It would seem clear that the sheep were housed during the winter in accordance with the advice of Walter of Henley 'Looke that your sheepe be

[138] Dyer, 'Sheepcotes', p. 136.

[139] Ibid., p. 140.

[140] E 358/18, 15/1, line 20; 15/2 dorse, line 50.

[141] E 358/18, 39/1 dorse, line 57, 55/1, line 40.

[142] Dyer, 'Sheepcotes', p. 156.

howsed from Martynsdaye [11 November] tille Easter'.[143] On occasions, the carry-over of identical numbers of stock from one account to the succeeding one would further suggest winter housing of sheep, at least if the weather was adverse. Walter adds the caveat to his recommendation for winter housing 'I meane not soe, if the lande be drye and the fold be pitched and used as it ought to bee and in faire weather'.[144] Trow-Smith cites sheepcotes of stone or timber with thatched roofs and with different classes of stock housed separately on the pastoral estates of Wiltshire.[145] The intention clearly was for the flock to survive the winter. The housing of the sheep when the weather was inclement was an important stratagem towards that end. It is interesting to note that as with the Holderness estates of Isabella de Forz, maintenance costs of the former Templar estates were kept down. As one might expect where estates had undergone such a recent and dramatic change in ownership there was no investment in agricultural improvement.[146]

The sheep farming enterprise of the Templar estates in Lincolnshire is fully representative of large scale commercial wool production of the early fourteenth century and is in complete accord with the Cistercian model described by Donkin. Donkin refers to the careful preparation of the Cistercian wool clip; washing the wool before shearing is recorded in every account of the former Templar estates.[147] The supply of wool in bulk, the use of long term

[143] Oschinsky, *Walter*, p. 337.

[144] Ibid.

[145] Trow-Smith, *Livestock*, p. 113.

[146] M. Mate, 'Profit and Productivity on the Estates of Isabella de Forz (1260-92)', *EcHR*, n.s., 33, 3 (1980), 326-34 (p. 328).

[147] Donkin, *Cistercians*, p. 86.

contracts, the possession of numerous toll exemptions, the use of suitable carts and wagons for wool transportation and the availability of unsalaried *famuli*, all of which Donkin attributes to the Cistercians, were equally an integral part of the organisation of the Templar estates.[148] The centralised organisation based upon the preceptory and reflected in the accounting method was the most efficient means of management and suggests the manorial specialisation within the inter-manorial system described by Power. This was in contrast to the manor based arable accounts of the former Templar estates. The concentration on wool production was lucrative and the fleece size compared favourably with that produced by other estates such as those of the Bishop of Winchester. The proximity of Boston must have been advantageous in the pursuit of the international wool trade with which the Templars were engaged, the washing of the wool ensuring that the best price possible was secured. The incidence of murrain was a constant threat and the purchase of sheep medication is recorded in every account. Ewes' milk cheese was produced in quantity and the surplus sold, even the carcasses, sheepskins and pelts of stock which had died of disease were sold to maximise profit. Dyer points out that shepherds were expected to produce a skin for each dead sheep and that this order was enforceable by auditors so as to reduce theft.[149] Above all, sheep farming was a highly lucrative commercial enterprise linked to an international trade network in the early fourteenth century. The early fourteenth century was the apogee of the wool trade where the primary product, wool, was the commodity exported via merchants to European textile manufacturers. Subsequently, the

[148] Ibid.

[149] Dyer, 'Sheepcotes', p. 154.

emphasis changed; with the emergence of a domestic textile industry developed the cloth trade.

4.3. Wool, leases and Edward II

In the early fourteenth century, wool was the most important commodity in the English economy, and as such, the greatest single source of income for the Exchequer. During the financial year of 1306-1307, 41,574 sacks of wool were exported following the conclusion of peace between France and Flanders in 1305.[150] This was the time of 'the greatest boom in the history of the wool trade'.[151]At that time, the Lincolnshire sheep pastures of the great monastic houses were amongst the most productive in England and counted amongst those were the Templar estates of Temple Bruer, Willoughton, Eagle and Aslackby. With the arrest of the Order on 10 January 1308, the attainder of the Templar properties included the sequestration of their flocks by the agents of Edward II.

In the development of the two foregoing themes, the nature of the former Templar sheep and flocks and the management of the sheep during 1308-9, only passing references have been made to the wool trade. Wool was in a unique situation, it was a source of tax, a significant item of international financial exchange and in addition a political chess piece, 'wool, alone among agricultural products, was purchased in bulk by international dealers'.[152] Although Edward II may have been reluctant to arrest the Templars on 10

[150] Lloyd, *English Wool Trade,* p. 99.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Campbell, *Seigniorial,* p. 157.

January 1308, he was not slow to appreciate the value of their estates and their goods and chattels.

The Crown accounts of Michaelmas 1308 are particularly revealing regarding both the sale of livestock and livestock products, including wool. In the Michaelmas accounts of Willoughton, the livestock sales were very low, compared with the number of stock held. Two palfreys were sold, previously the property of Brother John de Grafton, formerly the Preceptor of Willoughton, then languishing in Lincoln Castle.[153] One hundred and eighty-three sick lambs were sold of the 1068 born that year; this sale would have been as a result of the culling process advocated by the treatises above.[154] The total sale of livestock realised £17. 5s. 4d.[155] Equally, the sale of wool was surprisingly small during the first nine months of sequestration. From a flock of 3042 sheep at Willoughton, excluding lambs, only two hundred and eighty-three fleeces and fifty-six pelts were sold.[156] This was an almost negligible wool sale from a preceptory, which, along with Temple Bruer, Eagle and Aslackby, depended upon wool for its income.

The Templars as with other monastic houses dealt in forward contracts in which they would undertake to sell wool in advance of its production at a set price for the coming season or longer. The initial remuneration to the vendor may have been the entire sum agreed, or part, the balance to be paid upon the completion of the transaction. Bell, Brooks and Dryburgh cite the Italian merchant houses of Bardi and Portenare as those with whom the Templar

[153] E 358/18, 17/1, line 31-2.

[154] Ibid.

[155] Ibid.

[156] Ibid.

preceptories of Temple Bruer, Eagle and Willoughton had advance contracts which were still current in 1308.[157]

During the early fourteenth century, the Italian merchant houses not only dealt in commodities, not least wool, but also acted as royal bankers. John Vanne was the agent for the Society of Merchants of the Ballardi of Lucca, one of the foremost mercantile houses of the period. An entry in the close rolls of 20 May 1308 orders 'the treasurer and barons of the exchequer[…]to go through the accounts of John Bellard and John Vanne and their fellows of the society of the Ballardi of Lucca, and to pay them what the late king owed them for money borrowed from them'.[158] In fact, the wool which was enrolled on 28 February 1308 as being passed to the Ballardi of Lucca was precisely that wool which the Templars had contracted to deliver to the Bardi and Portenare.[159] It is not known how much money had changed hands as an advance payment; however, the transfer of the remaining wool contract to the Ballardi meant that the King defaulted on the agreement made by the Templars with the Bardi and Portenare. This was in payment of part of the £200,000 debt which Edward II inherited from his father, Edward I, when he acceded to the throne in 1307.[160] A. Weir refers to Edward II's inheritance as 'a kingdom nearly bankrupted by a war [against the Scots] that looked unwinnable, with a great portion of his future income mortgaged to Italian bankers'.[161]

---

[157] Bell, Brooks, Dryburgh, *English Wool Market*, pp. 157, 160.

[158] *CCR 1307-13*, p. 36.

[159] Bell, Brooks, Dryburgh, *English Wool Market*, p. 160.

[160] M. Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England 1272-1377* (London, 1980), p. 82.

[161] A. Weir, *Isabella: She-Wolf of France, Queen of England* (London, 2005), p. 22.

In the accounts of Michaelmas 1308, John Vanne was in receipt of 3002 fleeces, from Willoughton, weighing 13 sacks and 16 stones in part payment of the King's outstanding debt to the Ballardi.[162] For the same period, Temple Bruer handed over 18 sacks 7 stones of wool to John Vanne, Eagle five sacks and Aslackby 1 sack 21 stones.[163] The wool sacks of Eagle were particularly large, weighing thirty-one stones each rather than the more usual twenty-six stones. Included in the Eagle clip were five hundred and fifty-seven fleeces received from the Sheriff of Nottingham.[164] Further, H. J. Nicholson cites an instruction to the Sheriff of Leicester, issued on 8 May 1308 to have the Templar sheep shorn and sent to Temple Bruer, but they are not listed in the Temple Bruer grange inventory.[165] Clearly, the preceptories in Lincolnshire were being used to collect additional Templar wool from nearby counties in order to repay the King's debt to the Ballardi.

A sack of wool of the period consisted of 220-50 fleeces depending upon the weight of the fleece which averaged 1.5 lb. The sale value of wool in 1308 was fourteen marks per sack at Boston, so the total 38 sacks 18 stones, paid to John Vanne, was valued at £370 3s. 1d.[166] Had the value of the wool forwarded to John Vanne been included in the receipts of the four preceptories then they would have totalled £846 9s. 7d., not £476 6s. 6d. at Michaelmas 1308. It is not possible to say how much of the £846 9s. 7d. would have already been

---

[162] E 358/18, 17/2, line 16.

[163] E 358/18, 19/2, lines 54-5; 18/2 dorse, lines 57-60; 18/1 dorse, line 33.

[164] E 358/18, 18/2 dorse, lines 56-9.

[165] H. J. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial: the Trial of the Templars in the British Isles 1308-1311* (Stroud, 2009), p. 78.

[166] E 358/18, 17/2, line 17.

received by the Templars from the Bardi and Poretenare as a down payment. However, it is clear that at the end of the first accounting period since the attainder of former Templar property, 43.7 per cent of potential receipts had gone directly to the Society of Merchants of the Ballardi in part payment of the King's debts and this was not restricted to Lincolnshire.

In addition to the instruction issued to William de Spanneby, Keeper of the Templar Lands in Lincolnshire and the sheriffs of Nottingham and Leicester, cited above, Nicholson quotes the sheriffs of York, Surrey and Sussex as also being ordered to hand over Templar wool to John Vanne and the Society of Ballardi.[167] The urgency of the debts to the Ballardi is apparent by the immediacy with which the windfall of the Templar wool clip was used for repayment after the attainder of Templar properties.

By Michaelmas 1308, Edward II must have repaid the most pressing part of his debt to the Ballardi as the subsequent accounts for Temple Bruer, Willoughton and Eagle show a return to wool sales. This also signifies that the advance contract between the Templars and the Bardi and Portenare was for one season only, unless the King's default was also a cancellation, as the wool from the former Templar estates returned to the open market.

Between Michaelmas 1308 and 25 July 1309, Temple Bruer had receipts of £165 0s. 2d. for wool sales in excess of 15½ sacks.[168] The total receipts from the sale of wool, fleeces and eight hundred and ninety-eight stock realised £198 18s. 6d.[169] During the same period Willoughton sold wool in excess of 2½

[167] Nicholson, *Knights Templar on Trial*, p. 78.

[168] E 358/18, 16/1, lines 47-51.

[169] Ibid.

sacks for £26 and a further 6 sacks and 6 stones of wool, with an estimated value of £56, were handed over directly to Roger Wyngefeld, the King's clerk.[170] Itemised in the expenses of Willoughton is the purchase of forty-two ells of canvas, to make the six woolsacks, for the delivery of the 1440 fleeces to Wyngefeld, at two hundred and forty fleeces per sack.[171] Eagle sold over three sacks of wool for £28 8s. at the same time.[172] By early 1309, Aslackby had experienced a decline in fortunes, the healthy flock of the estate having been reduced to three hundred and eleven sheep from the previous five hundred and ten animals. The only sales were those of pelts and carcasses of stock which had died of murrain.[173]

In the initial accounts of the four Lincolnshire preceptories for the period 10 January 1308 until Michaelmas of the same year there is no recorded movement of stock between preceptories and no farming out of sheep. In the accounts beginning 30 September 1308 and variously ending in 1309, of a total Lincolnshire flock of 12,813 sheep, 8260 animals, 64.5 per cent of the total had been farmed out on the estates of Temple Bruer, Willoughton and Aslackby (appendix 17). The exception was Eagle which retained its integrity. The singular composition of the Eagle flock which had six hundred and forty-one ewes and seven hundred and ninety-five lambs and yearlings, a combined 92.3 per cent of the estate's flock of 1556 sheep further indicates Eagle's position as a breeding station for the former Templars' Lincolnshire estates as suggested

[170] E 358/18, 15/1, lines 16-17; 53/1, lines 10-11.

[171] E 358/18, 53/1, lines 32-3.

[172] E 358/18, 15/2 dorse, line 43.

[173] E 358/18, 14/2 dorse, lines 54-6.

above (appendix 17). The farming out of ewes or yearlings would have seriously undermined its specialist function.

As early as 20 February 1309, Aslackby was leased to William le Mareschal and with it a flock of two hundred and eighty-one sheep worth £18 10s. 9d.; a much diminished flock as both murrain and liver fluke had accounted for one hundred and forty-one animals (appendix 17).[174] On 30 March 1309, the estate of Willoughton was leased to William de Melton, Keeper of the King's Wardrobe and future Archbishop of York, but during the previous six months there had already been considerable farming out of stock.[175] In the account for Willoughton covering the period from Michaelmas 1308 until Easter 1309, the number of livestock sales, particularly sheep, was again insignificant; sixty-seven wethers, one hundred and sixty-nine ewes and one hundred and five lambs were sold during the half-year period, of a total of 4359 sheep and lambs.[176] However, the low sale number does not include the 3274 sheep and lambs which were handed over to William de Melton, or to Stephen de Stanham, sometime Mayor of Lincoln or Thomas de Burnham, Sheriff of Lincoln until 25 October 1308.[177] In each case, the recipients were men of national stature, like William de Melton, whose political star was in the ascendant, or those of influence within the county of Lincolnshire, such as Stephen de Stanham and Thomas de Burnham. Of these individuals, the greatest beneficiary was the most influential, William de Melton, who received

[174] E 358/18, 14/2 dorse, line 7.

[175] E 358/18, 15/1, lines 4-6.

[176] E 358/18, 15/1, line 14.

[177] A. Hughes ed., *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales*, T.N.A. Lists and Indexes, 9 (London, 1898, rep. New York, 1963), p. 78.

seven hundred and twenty-five ewes, varying in value from 2s. 3d. to 1s. 2d.[178] Stephen de Stanham received three hundred and thirty-six ewes valued at 1s. 3d. each.[179] The least fortunate was Thomas de Burnham whose one hundred and forty ewes had been shorn before being handed over and as such their individual value was reduced to one shilling.[180]

As with the ewes, wethers (neutered males) were also farmed out within the estate of Willoughton. John de Blyborough was given one hundred and twenty wethers and Stephen de Stanham eighty-two, both being in receipt of their respective livestock at the manor of Mere which was the only Kesteven manor to be a member of the Lindsey preceptory of Willoughton.[181] William de Melton received eight hundred and thirty wethers varying in value from 2s. 6d. to 1s. 3d.[182] Lambs doubled in value over their first year, hence being a recipient of lambs involved a substantial financial gain during the succeeding twelve months. The seven hundred and sixty-two lambs, which had been born during the period of the account, varied in value from sevenpence to tenpence each, five hundred and eight of them handed over to either William de Melton or Thomas de Burnham.[183] Of the six hundred and twenty-eight yearling lambs, born the previous year on the Willoughton manors, none was worth less than 1s. 2d. and the one hundred and twenty-two hoggs (males below two years) were worth 1s. 10d. each.[184] Overall, William de Melton was in receipt of a

[178] E 358/18, 15/1, lines 53-61; 15/2, lines 1- 7.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Ibid.

[181] Ibid.

[182] Ibid.

[183] Ibid.

[184] Ibid.

flock worth £233 19s. 4d. The total hand over, including the stock given to Thomas Burnham and others, besides that farmed out to William de Melton, was a flock of 2434 sheep valued at £281 4s. 10d.[185] The numbers of sheep are considerable, the value of the livestock is carefully enrolled in the grange inventory, but significantly, not under receipts as at this stage no payment is recorded for the stock. The final account for Willoughton covers the period from 31 March 1309 until 30 July 1309 on which day after a lease of only four months, William de Melton handed over the lease to Thomas de Burnham. The brevity of the de Melton lease may be explained by the fact that between the end of March and the end of July 1309, the size of the Willoughton flock had been substantially reduced from 4359 sheep to 2426, a 44.3 per cent reduction, by no means all of which can be accounted for by sales (three hundred and forty-one) or murrain (eight hundred). Perhaps de Melton had moved stock to property elsewhere but no such movement is recorded.

A similar pattern emerges for Temple Bruer in the account covering the period from Michaelmas 1308 until 25 July 1309. Of a flock of 6446 sheep and lambs recorded during the financial year 1308-1309, 4705 were farmed out (appendix 17).[186] The three major beneficiaries were Thomas de Burnham, Stephen de Stanham and Robert Bernard. Thomas de Burnham alone received 3662 animals valued at £195 5s. 10d.[187] The total value of the stock handed over was £254 7s. 2d. As with the Willoughton accounts, the value of the livestock is recorded in the grange inventory, no payment is recorded under

[185] Ibid.

[186] E 358/18, 16/2, lines 46-62.

[187] Ibid.

receipts. On 25 July 1309, the Temple Bruer estate was leased to Thomas de Burnham, unfortunately there is no concurrent account which might have shed light on the fate of the sheep, as a result whether or no they disappeared as at Willoughton remains open to conjecture.

On the same date, 25 July 1309, the estate of Eagle, in its entirety, was also leased to Thomas de Burnham.[188] The accounts are less conclusive than those above as no individual stock valuation is given. However, assuming that stock values would be similar to those of Temple Bruer, then Thomas de Burnham was in receipt of 1556 sheep worth an estimated £56 14s. 9d.[189] Five days later, on 30 July 1309, William de Melton handed over the estate of Willoughton to Thomas de Burnham.[190]

Although sheep were accounted centrally on the former Templar estates and arable farming accounted by manor that is not to say that the two aspects of agriculture were not integrated. Just as the sheep were dependent upon hay and legumes for winter feed and being folded upon stubble in summer for their fodder, so arable productivity depended upon the fertility gained from the availability of dung. This being the case then the movement of farmed out stock to a different estate from that where they had been bred would clearly have been detrimental both to the pastoral regime and the arable farming of the depleted estate. The lack of continuity of the Lincolnshire accounts after the leasing of the Templar estates makes any conclusion speculative. However, the Willoughton account for the period of leasehold of William de Melton renders

[188] E 358/18, 15/2 dorse, line 33.

[189] E 358/18, 14/1, lines 44-51.

[190] E 358/18, 53/1, lines 3-4.

eight hundred and forty-eight stock unaccounted for and so presumably moved elsewhere,

It must be stressed that, as stated above, the value of these animals which were farmed out is recorded in the grange inventories, they are not included in the receipts of the respective preceptories. This implies that these were either examples of royal patronage or that payment was deferred. There is no evidence of subsequent payment in the summary of debts for 1309. However, the detailed annotation of the second copy of the accounts listing outstanding debts would have been pointless had not payment been expected.[191]

There are no accounts extant for the former Templar properties in Lincolnshire for the period from July 1309 until Michaelmas 1311. In 1308, after the arrest of the Order, the Pope had issued a bull which entrusted the care of the former Templar estates to 'the patriarch of Jerusalem [Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham], the archbishops of Canterbury and York and the bishop of Lincoln'.[192] They were charged with full papal authority to prevent anyone removing anything from the Templar estates.[193] The arrival of two papal inquisitors in late summer 1309 to review the condition of the former Templar estates in England must have caused Edward II some consternation and presumably the guardian archbishops and bishops were similarly discomfited.[194] It remains debatable whether the visitation of the inquisitors had a bearing on the absence of accounts from 1309 to 1311. It is not unreasonable to assume that, to be thorough, they would have been in England

[191] E358/19; E358/20.

[192] Nicholson, *Knights Templar on Trial*, p. 80.

[193] Ibid.

[194] Ibid.

for some time, perhaps two years, in which case, they may have taken the missing accounts to Rome as proof of their findings. A darker interpretation could be that the missing accounts were hidden or even destroyed on the orders of the King to prevent just such an eventuality particularly as 'Roger Wingfield, the royal clerk who was appointed general keeper of the Templars' English lands saw to it that his own master did not go unrewarded'.[195]

Having first used the wool clip of the former Templar estates to pay off inherited debts to the Ballardi, Edward II ensured that profits were paid into the King's Wardrobe and exercised his patronage to farm out former Templar estates and their stock to men of local, regional or national importance like Stephen de Stanham, Thomas de Burnham and William de Melton respectively. However, as with debts in the wool trade, where repayment could be woefully slow, the men of influence were in no hurry to pay the leases on their newly acquired property, be it sheep or entire estates. The Crown accounts for Lincolnshire recommence in 1311 and the need for haste which they convey for the payment of debts and the finalisation of affairs is almost palpable.

4.4. Sheep in the accounts of 1311-13

By June 1311, Edward II was desperate for money and was obliged to call a parliament which was held during the months of August and September.[196] There was considerable discord in the kingdom not least because of the King's patronage towards the Gascon, Piers Gaveston, which precipitated a group of disenchanted magnates and clerics, the Ordainers, presenting the King with 41

[195] M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399* (Oxford, 1959), p. 292.

[196] M. Saaler, *Edward II 1307-1327* (London, 1997), p. 54.

ordinances on 'Monday next before the Feast of St Michael', 1311.[197] The purposes of the ordinances included the perpetual exile of Gaveston, the restriction of the power of the King and that 'revenues should be paid directly to the Exchequer and that the king's expenses should be met directly out of Exchequer funds'.[198] The latter precluded the payment of monies directly into the King's Wardrobe as had been the case with the revenues from the former Templar estates. The third ordinance specifies 'in order to acquit the king's debts, to relieve his estate, and the more honourably to maintain it […] all sources of profit shall be improved for the benefit of the king until his estate is properly relieved'.[199] The improvement of profit must certainly have included the repayment of outstanding debt. It can hardly be coincidental that, after a two year gap, the extant crown accounts of the former Templar estates of Temple Bruer, Eagle and Aslackby resume at Michaelmas 1311 after the parliamentary publication of the ordinances, to which Edward, however reluctantly, had agreed. One must assume that the accounts for Willoughton have been lost.

The 1311-12 accounts for both Temple Bruer and Aslackby show that virtually all sheep were farmed out other than those which had either been sold or had succumbed to murrain. At Temple Bruer and Aslackby the incidence of murrain was particularly low, 6.3 per cent and 3.1 per cent respectively (appendix 17). By 1311-12, 33.6 per cent of the Eagle flock consisted of wethers, the estate clearly no longer performed the function of a breeding

---

[197] *The Ordinances of 1311*, <http://englandcalling.wordpress.com/the-ordinances-of-1311/> [accessed on 05 October 2012].
[198] Saaler, *Edward*, p. 55.
[199] *The Ordinances of 1311*, <http://englandcalling.wordpress.com/the-ordinances-of-1311> [accessed on 05 October 2012].

station for the former Templar properties. Further, Eagle, was enduring a debilitating localised outbreak of murrain which afflicted 25.3 per cent of the flock and, as a result, no sheep were farmed out (appendix 17). Manifest in the response to the outbreak is the degree of cooperation and coordination which still existed between the former Templar estates four years after their attainder.

The most obvious response to the outbreak of murrain at Eagle was to slaughter badly infected animals. In fact, only twenty wethers and ten ewes were slaughtered; the only recorded incidence of ewes being slaughtered for the larder for autumn use. Healthy sheep were moved away from Eagle to Aslackby. Aslackby had a flock of only two hundred and eighty-six sheep with an incidence of murrain of only 3.1 per cent. The flock was only 44.1 per cent of the six hundred and sixty-three sheep which had made up its number in 1308 (appendix 17). In other words, Aslackby was under-stocked and almost murrain free. The Eagle estate transferred to Aslackby two hundred and sixty-six wethers and one hundred and one ewes, to utilise the spare grazing capacity and benefit from the much reduced risk of infestation with murrain. In addition, a further four hundred and twelve sheep were sold (appendix 17).

At what must have been a later date in the year, when the threat of murrain was considered to have passed, Eagle was re-stocked. In all, four hundred and fifteen wethers and ewes were transferred to Eagle from both Temple Bruer and Aslackby (appendix 17). The evidence is clear that there was an integrated response to a local crisis to prevent it becoming a catastrophe. This is the only example in the accounts where the response to a serious outbreak of murrain can be followed. What it shows above all is that the head shepherds were perfectly able to manage such a situation. Further, the strategy adopted to deal

with the crisis would suggest that this was not the first time that a serious outbreak of murrain had to be confronted.

The subsequent account for Eagle covering the period 30 September 1312 until 6 June 1313 shows a reduction in flock size to 1179 sheep; murrain and its consequences had taken their toll (appendix 17). However, the outbreak of murrain had peaked and the proportion of the flock suffering from the disease was reduced to 13.6 per cent. The impact of stock transfer upon Aslackby was not as favourable as the rate of murrain infestation increased from 3.1 per cent to 10.2 per cent implying that not all the stock transferred from Eagle had been free of murrain (appendix 17). With the exception of the one hundred and seventy-four sheep sold, all the remaining flock at Eagle were now farmed out; clearly the devastation of the murrain outbreak had rendered leasing impossible during the previous year. On 6 June 1313 the estate of Eagle was leased to Sir David Graham and no further accounts exist.

Between 30 September 1311 and 16 June 1312 with the exception of the nine sheep with murrain and the twenty-eight sheep sold, the remaining two hundred and twenty-five sheep, 78.7 per cent of the total Aslackby flock of two hundred and eighty-six sheep were farmed out to William Marmyon (appendix 17). From 16 June 1312, William Marmyon leased the entire estate. In the succeeding two accounts for Aslackby no sheep are itemised as being farmed out which implies that William Marmyon continued to lease the entire estate (appendix 17). The number of sheep accounted at Aslackby at Michaelmas 1313 was two hundred and seventy-eight. When the lease of Aslackby was transferred to Thomas de Derby on 8 December 1313 the number of sheep involved was one hundred and sixty-two, a far cry from the Aslackby flock of

six hundred and sixty-three at Michaelmas 1308 (appendix 17). It would seem probable that somewhere in the transfer of the lease, one hundred and sixteen sheep had failed to materialise. No further accounts exist for Aslackby after 8 December 1313 but given the reduction in the size of its sheep farming operations since 10 January 1308, the auguries were not good.

4.5. Conclusion

During the first months of the sequestration of the Templar estates in Lincolnshire, the management of the sheep farming, the stock and the personnel were the same as those employed by the Templars before their arrest. The sheep were small horned animals with an average fleece weight of 1.5 lb. The wool was fine and of high quality. The sheep were not Lincolnshire Longwools.

The Templar flock was sizeable and probably subdivided between manors on the basis of age and gender with the associated draughting and inter-manorial movement which was typical of estates with centralised accounting and management of sheep farming. Of the four Lincolnshire preceptories, Eagle and its members concentrated on breeding so as to maintain the size and health of the Lincolnshire flock. Only Aslackby, as a preceptory without members, operated with a degree of isolation reflected in the singular approach to stock management.

The level of fecundity of the flock was variable but well within the accepted norm for the period. Whilst twin births were not the norm, as they are today, neither were they rare. Murrain was endemic and the statistical evidence proves beyond doubt that ovine murrain was sheep scab which afflicted sheep before they were sheared. As at Aslackby, liver fluke could also cause

decimation of the flock. There was considerable expenditure on sheep medication and culling of the flock was practised but there is no evidence of mass slaughter before the onset of winter. The purchase of fodder and the constant repair of sheepcotes indicate the intention to ensure the survival of the flock through the winter.

Whilst the production of cheese and butter was important, wool production was paramount. Expenditure on washing and shearing ensured that wool was sold in good condition so as to maximise income. Following the sequestration of the Templar estates on 10 January 1308, Edward II took full advantage of the Templar wool clip from Lincolnshire and elsewhere to repay part of the debt which he owed to the Italian merchant house of the Ballardi of Lucca. It was only thereafter that wool from the former Templar estates returned to the open market.

Within a year of the attainder of Templar properties, estate management practice changed as sheep were farmed out; the Willoughton accounts would suggest that this involved some movement of the leased stock away from the home estate. Subsequently, estates were leased in their entirety so that by 30 July 1309, all four Lincolnshire preceptories and their lands were leased, Temple Bruer, Willoughton and Eagle to Thomas de Burnham and Aslackby to William le Mareschal (appendix 22).

The absence of estate accounts for the period between summer 1309 and Michaelmas 1311 for Temple Bruer, Eagle and Aslackby and their complete absence after 30 July 1309 for Willoughton is enigmatic. There are four possible explanations, two of which have already been offered, firstly that the papal inquisitors took the accounts with them on their return to Rome and

secondly that Edward II either secreted or destroyed the accounts to prevent just such an eventuality. Two more mundane explanations could be that perhaps the accounts were simply lost or indeed never submitted to the King given the turbulent nature of the reign. The recommencement of the accounts in 1311 is in complete accord with the ordinances presented to the King on 5 October 1311 by the barons, particularly given the emphasis of the accounts on the payment of outstanding debts. The accounts of the period after Michaelmas 1311 clearly show the continuing importance of leasing and further give an unusual insight into the response to a localised outbreak of murrain at Eagle.

Overall, the Templars in Lincolnshire did not farm sheep on the same scale as the Cistercian abbeys in Yorkshire, but neither did their Lincolnshire acreage compare with that of the Cistercians in Yorkshire. Nonetheless, the Templars were significant wool producers who adopted the best practice of animal husbandry available to ensure a successful sheep rearing enterprise which was fully integrated with arable agriculture on their mixed farming estates. After 10 January 1308, the beneficiary of the Templars' acumen was undoubtedly Edward II. Only the accounts for Eagle and Aslackby are extant for 1313 and so it is not possible to calculate the size of the entire flock on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire at that time. However, it is evident that in the final account of each of the four preceptories the size of the flock was substantially smaller than it had been when it first fell into the hands of the King.

Chapter 5

The people: workers, dependents and beneficiaries

The foregoing chapters have dealt in some detail with the physical nature of the Templar estates in Lincolnshire and the mixed farming which was practised. They have only dealt incidentally with the three groups of people who were dependent upon the estates for their livelihood or those who benefited from them as a result of royal patronage. Firstly, there were those who were intimately involved with the agriculture, the *famuli*, the craftsmen and the seasonal workers. Secondly there were the clerics, the corrodiaries and the Templars all of whom were dependent on the estates for their wages or pensions. Thirdly, there were those who bought standing crops, or as a result of royal patronage were given livestock or individual manors or even estates at the pleasure of the King. This chapter considers who these people were, what they did and how the sequestration of the Templar estates affected them.

5.1 The workers: people engaged in agriculture, estate maintenance and management

The arduous manual work on the Templar estates was the province of the *famuli* whom Dyer describes as 'full-time servants on manors'.[1] Similarly, Postan refers to *famuli* as 'workmen hired or otherwise retained for continuous service'.[2] H. S. Bennett agrees that the *famuli* were 'a body of servants who were primarily on the manor to cultivate his [the lord's] lands and to tend his

[1] C. Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (London, 1994), p. 77.

[2] M. M. Postan, 'The *Famulus*: the Estate Labourer in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *EcHR*, supplements 2 (Cambridge, 1954), p. 1.

flocks and herds'.[3] More specifically, with regard to the Templars, M. C. Barber defines the *famuli* as 'persons apparently linked to the Order so that they could obtain certain spiritual benefits'.[4] In Lincolnshire, the *famuli* comprised the labourers and craftsmen upon whom the manors of the Templar estates were completely dependent for their operation.

Generally, the accounts refer to the *famuli* en masse and so no individual can be identified by name. Neither can the number of *famuli* on a given estate be more than an estimate as their number is never enrolled; the numbers of livestock are more carefully recorded. The purpose of the accounts was to itemise estate income, expenditure and the value of moveable and therefore saleable property. The *famuli* were only of interest in that they represented expenditure on wages both in cash and kind; the latter usually in the form of grain and pottage.[5] The only *famuli* enrolled individually are craftsmen who, as a result of their trade, were paid at a higher rate than the general mass of labourers and so are accounted separately. Some activities are accounted together such as mowing, haymaking and weeding. As a result it is by no means always possible to establish the number of individuals involved in a particular activity.[6]

The status of the *famuli* varied. Free tenants paid their rent in cash, avoiding the most severe servile burdens of merchet and heriot, fines which the Templars

---

[3] H. S. Bennett, *A Life on the English Manor: a Study of Peasant Conditions 1150-1400* (Cambridge, 1937, rep.1956), p. 83.

[4] M. C. Barber, *The New Knighthood* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 18.

[5] The basis of pottage was oatmeal and sometimes peas and beans. Dyer, *Everyday Life*, p. 90.

[6] E 358/18, 17/1, lines 38-9.

are known to have applied.[7] The villeins, unfree tenants, paid at least part of their rent as customary labour on the demesne. This was rendered either as week works, during each week of the year, or boon works which were performed occasionally as required. In either case, it was an onerous obligation.[8] There were those *famuli* who were permanently employed for specific agricultural tasks such as stockmen and ploughmen. In addition there were the craftsmen such as smiths and carpenters who fabricated, repaired and maintained carts, wagons and ploughs. Included in the expenses of Temple Bruer, at Easter 1309, are the wages of a smith and a carpenter, in addition to the purchase of iron and nails for the maintenance and repair of ploughs and carts.[9]

A further problem in attempting to estimate either the size of the labour force or the daily rate of payment is that the number of days of customary labour is not itemised, unless expenditure was involved, such as the provision of food by the manor. Customary service is accurately recorded, under income, when boon days were commuted for cash (appendix 23). There were two hundred and forty-eight days of autumn customary service which were commuted at 2.9d. each at Temple Bruer by Michaelmas 1308 (appendix 23).[10] The sale of a further eighteen days customary service by 25 July 1309 at Temple Bruer raised 1s 6d.[11] Postan states that before 1348 'the conventional

---

[7] R. H. Hilton, 'Freedom and Villeinage in England', in *Peasants, Knights and Heretics: Studies in Medieval Social History*, ed. by R. H. Hilton (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 180-1. Merchet was payment on the marriage of a daughter or son and heriot was death duty, usually involving the surrender of a best beast.

[8] Bennett, *Life on the English Manor*, p. 106.

[9] E 358/18, 16/2, line 1; 16/1, line 56.

[10] E 358/18, 19/1, line 24.

[11] E 358/18, 16/1, lines 52-3.

valuation of a (short) or half-day work at ½d. and of a (long) or full-day work at 1d. were also those of corresponding wage rates in the mid-thirteenth century'.[12] Dyer cites the daily wage of a late thirteenth century worker as '1d. with food'.[13] In any consideration of income, a daily rate of one penny is taken as the norm; however that does not mean that the commutation of customary labour was at a flat rate. Clearly the rate of 2.9d. for the commutation of a day's labour at Temple Bruer indicates that the sale of freedom was a profitable commodity. The reduction in customary service, evident in the accounts, appears to have been very much in accord with the national trend in which 'money rent was far advanced in 1250 and had almost replaced labour services by *c.*1400'.[14] It was surely the case that a contracted worker laboured to greater effect than did a villein who was reluctantly fulfilling a feudal obligation and would be prepared to pay to escape it were he able to afford to do so.

During the spring and summer of 1308, the *famuli* would have been constantly employed in weeding the arable acreage so as to maximise the harvest of grain and legumes. The accounts for Temple Bruer reveal that £1 12s. 6d. was expended on the weeding of 637.5 acres of grain. An acre must have taken about half a day to weed as the cost was at a cost of 0.6d. (appendix 24).[15] Mowing and haymaking, which were more intensive activities than weeding, took place during the summer before the grain harvest and cost a mean of 5.1d. per acre on the Temple Bruer estate or five man-days per acre at a daily rate of one penny (appendix 24).

---

[12] Postan, 'Famulus p. 42.

[13] Dyer, *Everyday Life*, p. 80.

[14] Ibid., p. 136.

[15] Ibid.

The weeding of the grain would have been a task undertaken by the *famuli*, it would not have been contracted out (appendix 24).[16] In contrast, the autumn harvest was completely beyond the capacity of the *famuli.* At Temple Bruer it cost £13 7s. 7d. to harvest 627.5 acres (appendix 25). At Willoughton, harvest required the expenditure of £9 2s. 6d. for the payment of three hundred and eight contracted harvesters along with that of a tithe collector and various servants.[17] C. Platt refers to both harvest and ploughing as activities which required 'seasonal resources in labour that the permanent establishment, however large, could scarcely be expected to meet'.[18]

Harvesters were contracted in substantial numbers, often with a reaping reeve to oversee the operation. Unlike the *famuli*, the number of harvesters employed is enrolled in the accounts. South Witham employed two hundred and fifty reapers during the autumn of 1308 who received part of their payment in food and drink.[19] The availability of a large rural labour force at harvest time may suggest that there was a high level of rural unemployment, which would have been unsustainable. More probably, individual tenancies were small enough to allow a tenant not only to harvest his own grain, but to boost his income by contracting to reap the demesne harvest in addition. Harvesters were paid cash and were fed, both of which aspects would have provided a welcome improvement to an otherwise marginal existence.

H. E. Hallam proposes twelve acres 'in production' as being necessary to

---

[16] E 358/18, 17/1, lines 38-9.

[17] Ibid., lines 44-5.

[18] C. Platt, *The Monastic Grange in Medieval England* (London, 1969), p. 84.

[19] E 358/18, 18/2, line 10.

support a family of two adults and three children or an equivalent wage.[20] Dyer states that in the east of England 'from Lincolnshire to Kent […] it was not uncommon to find manors where the majority of tenants held 5 acres or less'.[21] Assuming that many more tenants held acreages which were less than ten acres, again insufficient to support a family, then citing Hallam's proposition, the importance of additional paid employment to support family finances cannot be overemphasised.

The arduous nature of the harvest meant that, during the autumn, the diet of the harvest workers was of much higher quality than the usual labourer's diet of pottage and bread. The harvest workers' diet included significant amounts of protein in the form of meat and fish.[22] As the *famuli* were also involved in harvesting, they too enjoyed an enhanced diet. Dyer is quite emphatic that the 'autumn diets can be located at the apex of the wage-earning classes, suggesting that the harvest workers formed an aristocracy of labour, much better off than agricultural workers in normal seasons'.[23] The overriding importance of the success of the harvest encouraged the payment of both cash and an improved diet to the reapers, who were equally aware of how crucial their labour was, but only for the duration of the harvest.

The impact of the harvest upon expenditure, as reflected in the accounts, was substantial as it not only increased the cash wages bill, but in addition, that for food and drink. The account of Aslackby for Michaelmas 1312 includes the

---

[20] H. E. Hallam, 'The Life of the People: A. Peasant Wealth', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, 2, *1042-1350*, ed. by H. E. Hallam (Cambridge, 1988), p. 845.

[21] C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 119.

[22] E 358/18, 55/1, lines 11-13.

[23] C. Dyer, 'Changes in Diet in the Late Middle Ages: the Case of the Harvest Workers', *AHR*, 36 (1988), 21-37 (p. 34).

allocation of 9 quarters 6 bushels of malt - for ale - for the use of reapers and others in autumn.[24] In the same account, the cost of harvesting one hundred and fifty-five acres of grain and legumes was £9 11s. 11d. in cash wages and food for the reapers which included fish, meat, cheese and milk bought specifically for their consumption.[25] At Temple Bruer for the period of Lammas Day 1308 until Michaelmas 1308, £1 13s. 11d. was spent on the food allowance of the *famuli* to be consumed *ad mensam.*[26] This would indicate that at least during the harvest season a meal for the workers was provided in the hall of the preceptory if not during the rest of the year. Dyer suggests that at least one meal per day of the harvest workers was eaten at the lord's table in the hall of the manor house.[27] Not only were contracted harvesters well fed, the *famuli* also enjoyed an enhanced diet during the busy autumn period.

Of all accounts, only those of the manor of Upton specify the purchase of three hundred herrings in addition to the four wether carcasses, seven stones of cheese, one stone of butter and a quarter of an ox bought for autumn food and wages.[28] Hallam suggests that three herrings per man-day would have been normal consumption during harvest, but that otherwise, herrings would not have formed an 'ordinary part of the diet of the *famuli*'.[29] Only the accounts for Temple Bruer allow a calculation of the cost of harvesting an acre of grain,

---

[24] E 358/18, 55/1, line 20.

[25] Ibid., lines 11-13.

[26] E 358/18, 19/1, lines 40-1.

[27] Dyer, 'Changes in Diet', p. 28.

[28] E 358/18, 17/2 dorse, line 1. Gainsborough, on the Trent, a short distance from Upton, was involved in seasonal herring fisheries in the Middle Ages – S. Pawley, 'Maritime Trade and Fishing in the Middle Ages', in *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire*, ed. by S. Bennett and N. Bennett (Hull, 1993), p. 57.

[29] Hallam, 'Life of the People', in *Agrarian History*, ed. by Hallam, p. 836.

and it was variable across the estate but on the two most extensive manors, Temple Bruer and Rowston, the cost was just over fivepence per acre (appendix 25).

It is clear that the *famuli* were fed pottage, bread of generally low quality and were paid in grain and legumes, so much is accounted under expenses. Between 10 January and Michaelmas 1308, £5 3s. 10d. was spent at Temple Bruer on considerable quantities of grain and legumes to be paid to the *famuli* in wages.[30] Several accounts including those of the manor of Tealby include expenditure on salt for pottage.[31] At Temple Balsall, the preceptory in Warwickshire, E. Gooder is unequivocal that the *famuli* 'were paid partly in money, partly in kind, in oatmeal, flour, peas and the like'.[32] Whilst not allowing for the calculation of a daily rate paid to the *famuli*, the accounts establish beyond doubt that the Lincolnshire *famuli* were paid both in cash and in kind as Gooder had found at Temple Balsall.[33]

The Willoughton account covering the period Michaelmas 1308 until Easter 1309 allows a further insight into the makeup of the famuli and their activities. There are thirty-nine individuals listed whose primary tasks are itemised, compared with the thirty-eight generic *famuli* in the previous account.[34] As the numbers so nearly correspond, it is reasonable to assume that they were the same people. On this premise, the *famuli* at Willoughton comprised a carpenter, granger, woodward, cowherd, swineherd, cook, two carters, a foreman

[30] E 358/18, 19/1, lines 34-5.

[31] E 358/18, 17/2, line 33.

[32] E. A. Gooder, *Temple Balsall: the Warwickshire Preceptory of the Templars and their Fate* (Chichester, 1995), p. 31.

[33] Ibid.

[34] E 358/18, 17/1, lines 41-2; 15/1, lines 26-8.

ploughman, six ploughmen and six drivers - two to a team - and eighteen shepherds for the entire bailiwick of Willoughton.[35] In addition, there are those who are itemised individually as having estate-wide responsibility such as the head shepherd of the bailiwick who was paid a daily rate of threepence which included the expense of his lad and his horse.[36]

Above the level of general labourer, the daily wage doubled. The income of a head shepherd, twopence daily at Willoughton, was on a par with the clerk who was collector of rents and tithes.[37] The head shepherd and tithe collector were paid for the responsibilities which they carried, but both a carpenter and a smith were paid for their skill. A carpenter and smith may have been permanently employed on a large manor repairing and replacing ploughs, carts and other items but at a smaller establishment, they would have been contracted as the demand arose. In 1308, the smith and carpenter at Temple Bruer were employed at a daily rate of twopence to make carts, ploughs and horseshoes.[38] Further, a tradesman could have been based at a preceptory, and worked on other estate manors as necessary. The Willoughton carpenter was able to carry out the constant maintenance to carts and ploughs and even to repair the windmills at Keal and Limber and fit new millstones to the mill at Kettleby as no additional contracted labour was employed.[39]

Carpenters and smiths may have been either permanent or contracted employees, but the same did not apply to those employed in building. Roof

[35] E 358/18, 15/1, lines 26-8.

[36] Ibid., lines 28-9.

[37] Ibid., lines 29-30.

[38] E 358/18, 19/1, lines 47-8.

[39] E 358/18, 15/1, lines 21-2.

repairs were a usual part of building maintenance but roofers were itinerant artisans who were invariably contracted. Neither roofer nor mason was enrolled as a permanent employee on any of the Templar manors but throughout the Templar estates roofs were constantly being repaired. Assuming that similar repairs were carried out with the same regularity on all monastic and secular manors then there would have been no shortage of employment for a roofer and his mate. The account beginning at Michaelmas 1311 for the manor of Rowston records the employment of a roofer and his mate for twenty days for the repair of the roofs of the grange, byre and sheepcote and the employment of a mason for repairing the wall of the grange.[40] Similarly, the repair of the roofs of the sheepcotes of Willoughton and Blyborough and of the roof of Willoughton grange required the contracting of an itinerant roofer.[41]

Not all roofs were the same. The account for Temple Bruer beginning Michaelmas 1308 included payment to both a roofer and a tiler suggesting the use of both thatch and tiles as roofing materials.[42] It is likely that tiles would have been used for the roofs of the more substantial buildings and thatch for the buildings of lower status. With reference to the Oxfordshire village of Cuxham, P. D. A. Harvey notes that 'there were both tiled and thatched buildings on the demesne'.[43] He further states that at Cuxham before 1310, of the farm buildings, only the granary and dovecote had been tiled, all others

[40] E 358/18, 38/2 dorse, line 20.

[41] E 358/18, 15/1, lines 20-1.

[42] E 358/18, 16/1, line 58.

[43] P. D. A. Harvey, *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village: Cuxham 1240 to 1400* (Oxford, 1965), p. 37.

were thatched which further indicates the distinction between permanent buildings and those of a less substantial nature.[44]

The *Seneschaucy* stipulates that the primary responsibility of the bailiff was to be loyal and to be 'capable of turning the land to good account'.[45] Routine manorial management was carried out by the reeve and overseen by the bailiff; the term appears to have been interchangeable with that of sergeant. The sergeant referred to in the initial Willoughton account of 1308 is called a bailiff in the subsequent account, but his rate of pay, threepence per day remained the same, implying no difference in responsibility.[46] The income of threepence per day for a sergeant or bailiff appears to have been standard for a preceptory manor in 1308, fifty per cent more than that of a carpenter or head shepherd.[47] The exception is that of South Witham where the initial rate of payment of the bailiff, after the arrest of the Order, was threpence per day. However, after Michaelmas 1308, the rate was reduced to twopence per day.[48]

It was not unusual for a sergeant to have been responsible for two manors if they were in close proximity.[49] Bennett refers to instances where 'officials who oversaw a number of manors were given the rank and pay of a sergeant but there is little to differentiate their duties from those of an ordinary bailiff'.[50]

---

[44] Ibid.

[45] D. Oschinsky, *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting* (Oxford, 1971), p. 269.

[46] E 358/18, 17/1, line 45; 15/1, line 28.

[47] E 358/18, 17/1, lines 45-6.

[48] E 358/18, 18/2, lines 1-2; 14/1 dorse, line 18.

[49] This was true of the following manors: Tealby and Claxby on the Willoughton estate, Rowston and Kirkby and Welbourn and Wellingore on the Temple Bruer estate and Woodhouse and Whisby on the Eagle estate.

[50] Bennett, *Life on the English Manor*, p. 162.

The adjacent manors of Tealby and Claxby, on the Willoughton estate, shared a bailiff who spent time based at each manor. He was paid at the rate of twopence per day and in addition was supplied with a new livery at Christmas valued at ten shillings.[51] Clearly the size of the manors of Tealby and Claxby did not merit a threepenny daily rate for the bailiff. The implication is that just as wage levels of the *famuli* depended on levels of skill and responsibility, the same was true of farm managers and as South Witham illustrated, reassessment by the King's agents resulted in reduced wage levels where that was felt appropriate.

Whilst it may not be possible to identify members of the *famuli* by name nor even their number, it is possible to appreciate the nature of their toil. The society in which they lived was strictly hierarchical, even within their own numbers. Their place in that society was determined above all by free or unfree status which in turn determined the nature of rent. A freemen would pay rent in cash whereas an unfree man would pay rent partly in cash and partly in labour in addition to more onerous obligations associated with the servitude of himself and his family. However, where labour was waged, payment was in cash and kind and income was dependent upon the nature of employ not the status of the employee. There is no evidence in the accounts to suggest that a villein was paid any less than a freeman for performing the same task; villeinage did not have an impact upon wage rates. The quality of food provision, as part of that income, was dictated by seasonal activity; a base rate of pottage, enhanced when hard labour dictated it, by increased quantity and the addition of meat and fish as during the autumn harvest. The *famuli* remain

[51] E 358/18, 15/2, line 23.

nameless but their passing should not go unmarked, the edifice which was medieval society was built upon their labour.

5.2. The dependents: clerics, corrodiaries and Templars

The sergeants, bailiffs, *famuli* and contracted labourers were intimately concerned with the agricultural enterprise which was the former Templar estate. However, the legacy of the Order included the churches and chapels found on the manors and at the preceptories. Chaplains were employed both to conduct regular religious offices and further, where an endowment had been made, to conduct memorial Masses for the donor's soul.

5.2.i. Clerics

There were three clerics at Temple Bruer in 1308. Both the chaplain who held services at the parish church, and the chaplain who conducted Mass for the soul of Andrew le Mareschal and his ancestors, were paid at a daily rate of threepence, whereas the cleric who conducted services at the chapel was paid a daily rate of only one penny.[52] The income for the chantry came from a grant of land and tenancies which had been made to the Templars in the vill of Kirkby.[53] The rate of threepence per day appears to have been usual in 1308, as the same was paid to the two chantry chaplains employed at Willoughton, to conduct Masses for the souls of Roger de St. Martin and Jordan Foliot.[54] Roger de St. Martin had held two knights' fees of Roger de Mowbray in 1166 and had made donations of land to the Templars both at Yawthorpe and Blyborough

[52] E 358/18, 19/1, lines 48-51.

[53] Ibid.

[54] E 358/18, 14/1 lines 4-5.

each of which is within three miles of Willoughton.[55] Jordan Foliot held a knight's fee at Saxby in 1212 and was nephew of William Foliot who during the episcopate of Robert Chesney (1148-1166) had given the church of Saxby to the Gilbertine Priory of St Katherine's without Lincoln.[56] Presumably Jordan Foliot had made a sufficient donation to the Order for Masses to be conducted in perpetuity after his demise.

A chantry chaplain conducted Mass for the soul of William Bardolf at Eagle, provision having been made for the latter by the donation of land and tenements.[57] This would almost certainly have been the William Bardolf who held land in Leicestershire, Sussex, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Norfolk in 1275-6.[58] A chancery inquisition regarding the transfer of the manor of Ruskington, Lincolnshire, from Sir William de Bardolf to his son Thomas was recorded in 1382; clearly the family continued to hold land in the county throughout the fourteenth century.[59] In all cases, the beneficiaries of the chantry Masses had been landowners of sufficient substance to have made donations to the Order large enough to ensure their spiritual well-being *post-mortem.*

Income was not derived solely from the churches and chapels which were either part of the preceptory, or at least the demesne manor. In addition there were receipts from the churches of vills, not all of which were on Templar

---

[55] B. Lees ed., *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: the Inquest of 1185* (Oxford, 1935), p. 101.

[56] Ibid., p. 102*;* N. Bennett, *Lincolnshire Parish Clergy c.1214-1968. A Biographical Register. Part 1: the Deaneries of Aslacoe and Aveland.* Lincoln Record Society (Woodbridge, 2013), p.134.

[57] E 358/18, 15/1, lines 30-1.

[58] C 133/14/7.

[59] C 143/400/10.

manors. The pensions of the churches of Caythorpe, Rauceby and Normanton were still rendering income to Temple Bruer in 1312 but their manors were not part of the former Templar estate (appendix 28).[60]

The level of payment of the chaplain reflected not only the value placed upon the work which he did but also the social status which it accorded him, that of a sergeant and above that of a tradesman. The reliability of the income was, however, not guaranteed. On 5 July 1312, William de Spanneby, 'keeper of the Templars' house of Eicle' was ordered to pay Thomas de Wygesle, corrodiary and chaplain threepence daily for his food and 'to pay him any arrears from the time since his appointment as keeper'.[61] On 25 October 1313, the keeper of the Templars' manor of Willoughton was ordered to pay Nicholas, vicar of Thorpe in the Fallows, five marks yearly to augment his stipend 'and the arrears from the same time from the time of the keeper's appointment'.[62] Failure to pay clerics was by no means restricted to Lincolnshire: on 20 October 1313, Henry de Cobham, keeper of the late Templars' manor of Ewell (Surrey) was ordered to pay Henry de Driffield, the vicar of the church of Ewell, the small tithes of all the beasts in the parish which de Cobham had refused to do since his appointment.[63] The allocation of a stipend did not necessarily mean that the allowance was paid.

---

[60] E 358/18, 38/1 dorse, lines 12-13.

[61] *CCR, 1307-13*, p. 430. Wigsley is today a small settlement three miles north of Eagle Hall.

[62] *CCR, 1313-18*, p. 18.

[63] Ibid, p. 25.

5.2.ii. Corrodiaries

It was usual, for those who could afford it, to make a donation to a monastic house. The benefaction took the form of money or land to be donated therewith or a promissory contract of property to be given to the religious house upon the death of the donor. Benefactions to the Templars were never altruistic, they were an investment in the spiritual or temporal future of the donor. The donation was made in exchange for either a pension (corrody) of accommodation, food and clothing for life, or, for prayers to be said for the soul of the donor after death (appendix 26). In the latter case, the quality of the prayers was all important. The Cistercians were the recipients of benefactions whilst they lived a life of spiritual purity and self- denial. When they became rich, they were deemed to be too worldly for their prayers to be as effective as those of monks who lived a simpler lifestyle and so would-be donors looked elsewhere. The Templars were the recipients of benefactions when they were in the vanguard of successful military operations in the Holy Land. Their wealth was resented in defeat and the prayers of their chaplains considerably devalued.

The corrodiaries were each entitled to a pension, the size of which was dependent upon the extent of the donation which they had made to the Templars, usually in the form of land (appendix 26). Having donated a messuage and twenty-four acres at South Witham to Brother William de la More, who received the donation on behalf of the Order, William Ryvel was granted a corrody at Temple Bruer (appendix 26).[64] He was awarded food for life at the table of the brethren to the value of threepence per day, two marks

[64] E 358/18, 19/1, lines 56-7.

per year for his expenses and one penny daily for his groom.[65] Alan de Swaynton, a corrodiary at Eagle, was awarded food for life at the table of the squires to the value of twopence per day (appendix 26).[66] Evidently Alan de Swaynton's donation to the Templars had been less significant as not only was his ration smaller than that of Ryvel but he also ate at a table of lower status.

There were two female corrodiaries, Agnes, wife of Richard de Weston at Eagle and Alice de Swinethorpe, daughter of Robert de Swinethorpe, who, like his daughter was a corrodiary at Temple Bruer (appendices 26, 27). The nature of the corrody awarded to a woman was entirely different from that of her male counterpart. In the examples quoted above, both Ryvel and de Swaynton ate at a table in the hall, according to their status, their diet determined by the table at which they ate. In the cases of both Agnes and Alice, references to them in the close rolls as late as March 8 1312 are very precise as to their corrodies and further illustrate the relationship between the value of the donation to the Templars and that of the corresponding corrody as outlined in appendix 26.[67] Women corrodiaries would not have eaten in the hall with the men, their allocation of food and accommodation would have been entirely separate. As a result, the allocation of food which constituted the corrody of a female corrodiary is precisely recorded in the accounts, for a male corrodiary, it was sufficient to know at which table he sat as that determined what he ate.

The nature of maintenance agreements on secular manors similarly depended upon the size of the area of land surrendered to the lord by the

---

[65] Ibid.

[66] E 358/18, 19/1, line 73.

[67] *CCR, 1307-13*, p. 408.

corrodiary. Dyer cites the examples of two women from Langtoft, Lincolnshire in 1330-1.[68] Beatrice atte Lane 'was promised 1½ quarters of maslin and 1½ quarters of drage, sufficient for an ample diet of bread and ale' in exchange for twenty-four acres.[69] Sara Bateman who surrendered 4½ acres 'received a quarter of maslin and 4 bushels of barley, the ingredients of a menu of bread and pottage accompanied only by water'.[70] This further implies that female corrodiaries were not unusual across the landowning class of society.

Pensions did not always work out well. Michael de la Grene contracted with William de la More, Master of the Templars, to give to the Order sixty acres of land and eight acres of meadow in Wycumbe (Bucks.) in return for his maintenance in food, drink and robes.[71] He did not receive his pension, re-occupied his land and an order was issued on 5 June 1311 for his lands to be restored to him.[72] Two entries in the close rolls dated 25 November 1311 and 1 December 1312 list twenty-nine individuals with debts outstanding against various keepers of Templar manors. Included amongst the creditors was William, son of Roger de Crescy of Claypol, from South Witham, a pensioner. The calendar roll entry dated 8 March 1312 addressed to the keepers of the Templars' manor of Willoughton ordered that they pay John de Whitenton, clerk, a pension 'it appears by certificate of the treasurer and the barons of the exchequer, he ought to receive for life in consideration of 16 acres of land in Thevylby, a messuage and three acres of land in Methyngby' which he had

[68] Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp. 153-4.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] *CCR, 1307-13*, p. 216.

[72] Ibid.

given to the Order.[73] The implication is that although de Whitenton was due a corrody, he was not in receipt of it. A further thirteen corrodiaries, including ten others based at former Lincolnshire preceptories were included in the same order.[74] The corrodiaries found themselves in exactly the same position as did the clerics, the payment of their allowances was dependent upon the keepers of the Templar manors and they were reluctant to pay.

5.2.iii. Templars

There are seventeen Templars accounted as prisoners in Lincoln Castle in 1308. Included amongst them are the preceptors of Temple Bruer, Aslackby, Eagle and Willoughton (John de Eagle, John de Belsale, Simon Streche and John de Grafton respectively) the priests Ranulph de Evesham, John Waddon and the chaplain, Robert de Bernwell (appendix 28). Three of the eight Templars from Eagle died within a year of their arrest, Geoffrey Joliffe survived only ten days of imprisonment and died on 25 January 1308. The deaths are not surprising as Eagle's function as an infirmary meant that some of the resident Templars would have been old and infirm.

The incarceration of the Templars was by no means administered with a uniform degree of stricture. On 14 December 1309, an order was sent to the Sheriff of Kent to 'arrest all Templars wandering about in his bailiwick, and send them to London, there to be delivered to the constable of the Tower, as the king understands that divers Templars are wandering about in secular habit, committing apostasy'.[75] A further order issued to the Sheriff of York on 12

[73] Ibid., p. 410.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid., pp. 187-9.

March 1310 has more than a hint of royal exasperation.[76] The sheriff was enjoined to 'keep the Templars in his charge in such custody that he can answer for them at the king's order, as the king understands that he permits the Templars whom he lately ordered the sheriffs of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancaster, Nottingham, Derby, Salop and Stafford to send to York castle to be guarded there by the said sheriff to wander about in contempt of the king's order'.[77] This was less than three weeks before the initial interrogation of the Templars in Lincoln.

The interrogations of the Templars imprisoned in Lincoln Castle began in the chapter house of the cathedral on 31 March 1310 and ended on 1 June 1310.[78] The outcome of the interrogations was unsatisfactory for the authorities. John de Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln, was not convinced of the Templars' guilt and 'from then on took no further action on his own initiative'.[79] During the previous year, even the papal commissioners had shown little enthusiasm for the task of enquiring into the charges against the Templars.[80] On 10 December 1310 an order was issued to the Sheriff of Lincoln, Thomas de Burnham, to receive, from the constable of Lincoln Castle, the Templars imprisoned there, and to deliver them to the constable of the Tower of London in accordance with the decision of the provincial council.[81]

---

[76] Ibid., pp. 203-8.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Gooder, *Temple Balsall*, p. 98.

[79] C. Clubley, 'John de Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln 1300-1320' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Hull, 1965), p. 162.

[80] Ibid.

[81] *CCR, 1307-13*, p. 292; C 241/62/185. Sir Thomas de Burnham was Constable of Lincoln Castle in 1309 but may not have been in the following year.

A more rigorous inquisition was conducted in London between 30 March 1311 and 2 April 1311.[82] An entry in Dalderby's register, dated 17 July 1311 states that 'the Templars had been convicted, excommunicated and assigned to various religious houses to work out their penances'.[83] A. J. Forey states that by late summer 1311 'only a handful of Templars in custody were not absolved'.[84]

The frequent apologies for non-attendance at meetings related to the Templars citing ill-health and pressure of work would suggest that Dalderby preferred to send a proctor as representative rather than be personally involved. He was not sympathetic to the proceedings. By 30 July 1311, the Provincial Council at York decided to send the Templars at York to do penance at various monasteries in the York Province; the same was effected in the Canterbury Province.[85] The trial was over and during the autumn of 1311 the Templars were dispersed to ecclesiastical houses. By 1311, of the original seventeen Templars first imprisoned in Lincoln in 1308, four had died, two are unaccounted for, eight were sent to dioceses other than Lincoln and three remained within Lincoln diocese. Simon Streche, late Preceptor of Eagle, was allocated to the Priory of St Katherine's without Lincoln (appendix 28).[86] John

---

[82] H. J. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial: the Trial of the Templars in the British Isles: 1308-1311* (Stroud, 2009), p. 123.

[83] C. Clubley, *The Book of the Memoranda of John de Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln, 1300-1320*, f222v, pp. 422-3. This is a bound, hand typed, transcription and translation of the Register of de Dalderby lodged in Lincoln City Archives. The transcription and translation were completed by Clubley and drawn upon for his doctorate 'John de Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln 1300-1320' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Hull, 1965).

[84] A. J. Forey, 'Ex-Templars in England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53.1 (2002) 18-37, p. 19.

[85] Nicholson, *Knights Templar on Trial*, p. 187.

[86] Clubley, *Memoranda*, f223, p. 423.

de Saddlecombe and Robert de Bernwell proved to be problematic. A letter from the Bishop of Lincoln to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 10 August 1311 informed him that 'his order regarding the Templars had been carried out with the exception of Bros. John of Sadelescumb and William of Barnwell'.[87] The two brethren were 'lying at Boston infirm, and could not be moved without danger to their lives'.[88] The Archbishop was dissatisfied and wished them to be sent to their assigned monasteries of Swineshead and Wardon forthwith. The impasse was resolved by the convenient deaths of Saddlecombe on the Sunday after St. Giles' day and Bernwell on 24 August 1311 at Boston.[89] A letter to the Archbishop dated 14 October 1311 informed him of the demise of the two Templars.[90]

Whilst the Lincolnshire Templars, with the exception of the three examples cited above, were assigned to religious houses outside the diocese, similarly, Lincoln was in receipt of Templars from elsewhere to be assigned to religious houses within the diocese (appendix 28). Included amongst the eighteen Templars who were to do their penance in the Diocese of Lincoln were the former preceptors of Denny (Cambs), William de la Forde, Sandford (Oxon), William de Sautre, Cressing (Essex), Roger Norreis and the former Treasurer of the Order from New Temple, London, John de Stoke (appendix 28). The full list of assignations is given in Dalderby's memoranda, dated 24 August 1311.[91]

---

[87] Ibid., p. 424; Nicholson, *Knights Templar on Trial*, appendix 1, p. 211. Question posed - is Robert de Bernwell and William of Barnwell the same man?

[88] Clubley, *Memoranda*, f223, p. 424.

[89] Clubley, 'John de Dalderby', p. 170.

[90] Clubley, *Memoranda*, f232, p. 442.

[91] Ibid., f232, p. 423.

Not all Templars were welcomed at the house to which they had been assigned. On 1 August 1311, the Prior and convent of St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton were ordered to receive without delay Bro. William of Pocklington who had been assigned to them.[92] Their refusal to accept Pocklington resulted in their excommunication three days later.[93] From 6 August the fruits of appropriated churches were withheld for as long as the excommunication was in place.[94] By 12 August 1311, the Prior and convent of St. Andrew's had yielded and were 'absolved from the excommunication incurred by their disobedience'.[95]

The refusal to accept Pocklington may have been the result of resentment as a result of earlier impositions. On 25 June 1310, along with other religious houses, the priory had been ordered to provide victuals for the support of the King's Scottish expedition.[96] In April 1311, Benedict de Watford, a royal servant of many years standing was granted a corrody by the King, at St Andrew's Priory, consisting of food and clothing, according to his estate, and a suitable chamber within the precinct.[97] All this at the priory's expense, not paid for from the royal exchequer.[98] The order to receive Pocklington on 1 August 1311, albeit from Canterbury, not Westminster, may have been an imposition too far. The memory of the dispute between the priory and the

[92] Ibid., f224, p. 425.

[93] Ibid., f224v, p. 425.

[94] Ibid., f225v, p. 426.

[95] Ibid., f227v, p. 427.

[96] 'Houses of Cluniac Monks: The Priory of St Andrew, Northampton', *A History of the County of Northampton:* 2 (London, 1906), pp. 102-9; *CCR, 1307-13*, pp. 260-9.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Ibid.

Templars over the church of Hardwick which had been presented to the King's court in the octave of All Saints, 1199, may have added further rancour to an already fraught situation.[99] A. J. Forey points out that the 'monasteries to which the brothers were sent were not unused to having individuals thrust upon them by the king or others, nor to protesting against such impositions'.[100] Forey cites reasons why religious houses may have been reluctant to receive Templars. The Templars were accused of serious offences and there were those in England who believed the accusations.[101] They might prove to be difficult inmates and the religious houses to which they were allocated were to be 'responsible for their conduct'.[102]

The penances to which the Templars were subject varied to a degree dependent upon the sins to which they had admitted. However, in all cases, the Templars were enclosed in monastic cells and 'may not go out of the said cells except to the church or cloister at due times to hear the Divine Office, and, once a week, to some places near, within the enclosure of the monastery, for four hours of the day for the purpose of taking purer air'.[103] Effectively the Templars were imprisoned within the confines of the monasteries to which they had been allocated, incarceration which they may have bitterly resented if their admissions had been elicited under duress and they believed themselves to be innocent of all the heinous sins of which they had stood accused.

---

[99] Ibid.

[100] A. J. Forey, 'Ex- Templars in England', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53, 1 (2002), 18-37 (p. 23).

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Clubley, 'John de Dalderby', p. 166.

Roger de Wyngefeld was the custodian of the former Templar lands throughout England but each county had its own keeper, William de Spanneby in Lincolnshire. The King's edict, entered in the close rolls of 16 July 1311 (appendix 28), instructed Roger de Wyngefeld to pay 'out of the Templars' lands in his custody' to various bishops including John, Bishop of Lincoln fourpence daily for the maintenance of each Templar doing penance in their dioceses.[104] The order added tellingly 'as they were wont to receive previously, satisfying them also for the arrears of the same due to them'.[105] A later entry, that of 1 September 1311 was addressed to 'Roger de Wyngefeld, Keeper of the Lands of the Templars in the king's hands, or to his under-keeper in co. York'.[106] One would assume that for the Lincolnshire Templars, any demand for payment received by de Wyngefeld would have been handed on to de Spanneby who would in turn have appropriated payment from the home preceptory of the Templar concerned. Of the Lincolnshire preceptories, only Temple Bruer recorded any Templars in the surviving accounts after 1311. There were nine Templars, all of whom were still awarded fourpence daily from Michaelmas 1311 until 2 July 1312 at a total cost of £41 8s (appendix 29).[107] After the assignation of the Templars to various religious houses at the end of the trial, the bishops of the dioceses in which the penitent ex-Lincolnshire Templars were accommodated would have been paid maintenance which they in turn would have paid to the houses of their dioceses as appropriate. When on 19 December 1311, William de Spanneby, along with

[104] *CCR, 1307-13*, p. 365.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid., p. 372.

[107] E 358/18, 38/1 dorse, lines 43-6.

other keepers of the Templar lands was ordered to pay the receipts from the issues of the Templar estates to the Exchequer 'on the morrow of St. Hilary', Roger de Wyngefeld would have been the recipient.[108]

By 1313, William de Spanneby was no longer the sole Keeper of the Templar Lands in Lincolnshire as Robert de Luthteburgh was 'keeper of certain of the Templar lands in the same county' which included Willoughton.[109] Both were ordered to pay the wages assigned for the maintenance of the Templars doing penance.[110] The Templars for which Robert de Luthteburgh carried financial responsibility (appendix 28) were not included in the accounts of William de Spanneby as he was not responsible for their maintenance. The reliability of de Spanneby's payments of maintenance is challenged by a close roll entry of 20 November 1311 in which he was specifically ordered to pay to the Bishop of Lincoln 'the arrears of the wages assigned for the maintenance of Simon de Streche, a Templar delivered to him to do penance in the monastery of St. Katherine without Lincoln, […] from the time of his appointment as keeper and to continue to do the same'.[111] A final order to William de Spanneby, issued on 20 November 1313, instructed him to pay to the Bishop of Lincoln the wages of Simon de Streche from the time of his appointment, again indicating that payment was in arrears.[112]

The frequency of enjoinders to pay maintenance, recorded in the rolls, would suggest that de Spanneby was by no means alone in his reluctance to

---

[108] *CCR, 1307-13*, p. 391.

[109] Ibid., p. 512.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Ibid., p. 326.

[112] Ibid., p. 26.

meet financial obligations, as a result of which, there were Templars who were reduced to penury. King and Luke go so far as to say that 'the pensions were never paid by the holders of their [the Templars'] forfeited estates'.[113] In the first week of December 1311 alone, orders were issued to the keepers of Templar property in Hertfordshire, Yorkshire, Somerset and Warwickshire regarding the non-payment of the maintenance of thirty-six Templars to the ecclesiastical houses where they were doing penance.[114] Failure to pay wages was not restricted to the Templars and their corrodiaries; a close roll entry of 4 October 1308 ordered the sheriff of Nottingham to pay to five Scottish prisoners in Nottingham castle 'their wages from the time of his appointment as sheriff, and to continue to pay the same'.[115]

The close roll entry of 28 November 1313 unequivocally ordered the transfer of former Templar lands and property to the Hospitallers in the persons of Albert de Negro Castro, Grand Preceptor of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem and Leonard de Tibertis, Prior of Venice.[116] With the transfer of lands and property, however incomplete that may have been, came financial obligations. A close roll entry dated 8 February 1314 ordered the Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England to pay '4d. a day out of the issues of the Templars' lands for the wages of each of the Templars placed in monasteries to do penance'.[117] The final order issued to keepers was to

[113] E. King and H. Luke, *The Knights of St. John in the British Realm* (London, 1924, 3rd ed., rev. and cont., 1967), p. 44.

[114] *CCR, 1307-13*, pp. 383-4, p. 391.

[115] Ibid., p. 77.

[116] *CCR, 1313-18*, p. 8.

[117] Ibid., p. 40.

Alexander de Cave and Robert de Amcotes, 'late keepers of the Templars' lands in the county of York' to pay the arrears of William de Grafton, serving penance in the monastery of Selby was dated 3 January 1314.[118]

By 17 December 1318, Pope John XXII had 'been informed that several former Templars have returned to the secular life, and, regarding themselves as lay folk, wear lay clothing, and some have married, despite the vows which they made on entering the order'.[119] Bishops were enjoined to summon the former Templars to appear before them and to order them to transfer within three months to religious houses of their choosing.[120]

Whilst Pope Clement V may be regarded as a compliant prelate who's actions with regard to the Templars were in response to the initiatives of King Philip IV of France, his successor was of a different nature. Pope John XXII sought greater power and autonomy for the Catholic Church which had been undermined both by Clement V and his predecessor, Benedict XI. John would have seen the random return of former Templars to a secular life as being indicative of a weak papacy, and as such, not to be countenanced, regardless of what his own view towards the Templars may have been.

The return of former Templars to the secular life is in itself an interesting conundrum. They were men who had previously lived life according to the monastic vows of chastity, poverty and obedience, but their Order, which had imposed discipline and given life meaning, no longer existed. They were rudderless in stormy seas. It is uncertain whether the penances, to which the

---

[118] Ibid., p. 35. The close rolls actually name William de Graston which is clearly a misprint.

[119] Clubley, *Memoranda,* f427v, pp. 977-8.

[120] Ibid.

former Templars were subject, were for life in which case they were escapees, or for a fixed duration, after which they may have been discharged from their places of penance. It is also abundantly obvious that the pension of fourpence per day which they had each been granted became increasingly unreliable with the passage of time. Perhaps, in either instance, a return to the secular life was necessitated by the need to survive. If this were the case, then the opportunity to return to the religious life, no longer as a penitent, which might have restored both a structure and a reinstated pension, would have been more than welcome.

By 10 December 1319, twelve former Templars, including Sir Simon Streche, had appeared before the Bishop of Lincoln in accordance with the pope's directive, eight of them referred to as laymen in Dalderby's memoranda (appendix 28). Each was assigned to the religious house where they preferred to live. Only three former Templars wished to return to the houses where they had first been committed to do penance. They were William de Thorpe to Thornton Abbey, William de Burton to Barlings Abbey and William de Chelsea to Kirkstead Abbey. Thomas de Chamberlain who had originally been allocated to Spalding Priory opted to enlist with the Hospitallers. Simon Streche chose to go to Spalding Priory, not St Katherine's without Lincoln where he had initially served his penance. William de Sautre, who had served his penance at North Ormsby Priory chose to return to his home county of Oxfordshire to end his days at Bicester Abbey. There is no record of those former Templars who did not respond to the Bishop's summons and continued to live in the world (appendix 28). The Report of Philip de Thame of 1338 lists

twelve surviving former Templars (appendix 28).[121] Of the twelve, only four, William de Chelsea, William de Burton, Thomas de Standon and Alan de Neusom had any association with the diocese of Lincoln.[122]

The expenditures which the pensioners and prisoners represented were fixed outgoings which were outside the managerial control of the bailiff, and, as an ongoing commitment, had to be accounted within the preceptorial budget. In the initial accounts, almost a third of Temple Bruer's outgoing expenses were on the pensioners (appendix 29). If the maintenance of both pensioners and prisoners are taken into account, together they amounted to 57.5 per cent of total expenditure at Eagle which resulted in an overall deficit of £18 17s. 1d. (appendix 30). With the passage of time, the sums expended on the maintenance of pensioners and prisoners diminished and it would be easy to assume that this was due to mortality. However, it is evident in the accounts that these commitments were not always met and that individuals were called upon to pay outstanding debts. The account ending on 2 July 1312 for Temple Bruer includes only four pensioners of the thirteen listed in the account of 1308 implying that the remaining nine had died in the intervening period (appendix 27). However, the order issued to Ebulo de Montibus, keeper of Temple Bruer, dated 12 October 1312, enjoined him to make payment to a further six pensioners, four of whom had been included in the account of 1308 (appendices 27, 29).[123] They had not died but had been omitted from the accounts and

---

[121] L. B. Larking and J, M, Kemble, ed., *The Knights Hospitallers in England: being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova, for A. D. 1338*, Camden Society, 65 (London, 1857), p. 209.

[122] Ibid.

[123] *CCR, 1307-13*, p. 480.

presumably with the omission came absence of payment. Further, the final account for Aslackby, ending on 8 December 1313, and following a period of leasehold by William Marmyon, outlined non-payment to Robert de Thurgarton, chaplain, Richard de Garway, corrodiary, and of the customary two marks to the Prior of Belvoir.[124]

The evidence of non-payment of financial obligations entered into by the Templars is irrefutable in the cases of the priests' allowances and the corrodies of those who had made provision for a pension by donating to the Templars. In addition, it is clear that the Templars were by no means always paid the allowances which they were due. It is not without significance that attempts to address the question of arrears occurred after 20 March 1310 when the committee of Lords Ordainers was formally elected to reform the royal government and the royal household.[125] On 27 September 1311, the forty-one Ordinances stating the changes which were necessary in the interests of good governance had been publicly read and on 11 October 1311 received the royal assent.[126] It was in this atmosphere of reform and reduction of the King's influence, particularly in terms of his largesse towards his favourites, that the finances of the former Templar estates were reviewed. The Templars were yesterday's men and the payment of their wages to ecclesiastical houses was clearly irksome, likewise the contracts into which the Templars had entered with corrodiaries and chantry priests. The reluctance to pay obligatory

[124] E 358/18, 55/1, lines 74-81.

[125] S. Phillips, *Edward II* (Yale, 2011), p. 171.

[126] Ibid., pp. 176-7.

commitments increased as the former Templar estates became the objects of royal patronage.

5.3. Asset-stripping and the beneficiaries

At the apex of the managerial hierarchy of former Templar property was Sir William de Spanneby, Keeper of the Templar Lands in Lincolnshire, a royal appointee who exercised overall responsibility for the estates.[127] He it was who, above all, was responsible for the accounting of manorial receipts and expenditure, the accounts which bore his name. William de Spanneby was a man of some importance. In 1303, as a royal clerk, the then vacant Abbey of Crowland was 'committed to his keeping'.[128] William de Clapton became Abbot of Thorney Abbey in 1305 and embarked upon a policy of land acquisition which circumvented the 1279 Statute of Mortmain, a policy of which S. Raban says 'there can be little doubt that the abbey was involved in a planned programme of illegal activity at this time'.[129] The two individuals who were employed to implement de Clapton's plan of land acquisition were his nephew Robert and William de Spanneby who was also rector of an abbey living at Stanground in Cambridgeshire.[130]

---

[127] E 358/18, 15/1, line 1.

[128] S. Raban, 'Mortmain in Medieval England', in, *Landlords, Peasants and Politics in Medieval England*, ed. by T. H. Aston (Cambridge, 1987), p. 212. Although no reference can be found regarding the nature of William de Spanneby's employment as king's clerk, his subsequent appointments would suggest that he worked in the Exchequer. Further, he must have been in a senior position otherwise he would never have had Crowland committed to his keeping in 1303, nor become Marshall in the Exchequer in 1306 nor Keeper of the Templar Lands in Lincolnshire in early 1308.

[129] S. Raban, *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church, 1279-1500* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 97.

[130] Ibid., p. 96.

Before the election of William de Clapton as Abbot of Thorney, William de Spanneby was already acting on behalf of the abbey, as noted in a patent roll entry of 5 July 1304, and so would have been of considerable value to de Clapton.[131] In 1306, on the death of Roger le Bygot, Earl of Norfolk and Mareschall of England, the office of Marshall in the Exchequer which he had also held was made over to William de Spanneby, king's clerk.[132] By the time of his appointment as Keeper of the Templar Lands in Lincolnshire in early 1308, William de Spanneby was already well versed both in matters of finance and of ecclesiastical estates and so would have been an obvious candidate for the post. His lack of financial rectitude, as illustrated by his work for William de Clapton at Thorney Abbey, would not have been a major drawback when self-interest was a powerful driving force amongst the ruling class.

The Templar estates of which de Spanneby became custodian in 1308 had evolved during the thirteenth century. The small parcels of land characteristic of the Inquest of 1185 had been consolidated into coherent agricultural estates.[133] The approach adopted by the Templars to their management was that of 'direct or demesne farming' where the Order, through the offices of their bailiffs and sergeants, took complete control over the mixed farming of arable and livestock which characterised their estates.[134] Just as 'consolidated demesne farming [was] the key to a successful grange', the same was even truer

---

[131] *CPR*, July 5 1304, Sterling 'Grant to the abbot and convent of Thorneye, in consideration of a fine made for them at the Exchequer by William de Spanneby, king's clerk that they may hold the hundred of Normancross co. Huntingdon'.

[132] T. Madox, *The History and Antiquities of the Exchequer of the Kings of England* (London, 1711), pp. 720-7.

[133] Lees.

[134] C. Platt, *Medieval England: a Social History and Archaeology from the Conquest to 1600 AD* (London, 1978, rep.1988), p. 45.

of an estate consisting of several manors.[135] The Hospitallers adopted a generally contrary view to the Templars in their approach to their lands, they were content to lease their properties, deriving an assured income without direct managerial involvement. As M. Gervers describes, 'the Templars were staunch manorialists [demesne farmers]: the Hospitallers were predominantly farmers of rents and tithes'.[136]

The initial accounts of the former Templar estates which underwrite William de Spanneby's name give a degree of insight into the Templars' approach to estate management but it was, nonetheless, the beginning of a transitional period, as the agents of Edward II began to impose a managerial style based upon short-term realisation of assets. Farming of demesne land had been but one aspect of the Templar enterprise; their relationship with land had been complex, they both rented out land to their tenants and, on a smaller scale, rented land themselves. In addition, the Order had derived income from churches, not all of which were on Templar manors, and from the proceedings of courts on their manors (appendix 2).

The demesne farming, which the Templars favoured was to change dramatically, beginning with the sale, on Lammas Day 1308, of the standing crop on eight of the ten Willoughton manors and of three churches, although not at Willoughton itself (appendix 10).[137] No standing crops were sold on the Kesteven estates. By Easter 1309, each purchaser handed over a proportion of

---

[135] Platt, *The Monastic Grange*, p. 13.

[136] M. Gervers, ed., *The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England, Part 2, Prima Camera, Essex* (Oxford, 1996), p. cix.

[137] E358/18, 17/2, lines 63-9; 17/1 dorse, lines 10-15, 22-7, 32-6, 39-40, 54-6; 15/1 dorse, line 38; 15/2 dorse, line 26.

the grain which they had purchased for the payment of the manor *famuli.* The provision of food for the famuli was part of the initial sales contracts and the quantities and type of grain would have been specified. Roger Love paid £5 16s. 8d., for one hundred and eleven acres of standing grain and peas, at the manor of Limber, on Lammas Day 1308.[138] However, part of the agreement specified that he provide the food for the *famuli* until the following Lammas Day 1309, and that during that period, he sowed the crops for the harvest of 1309.[139] Roger Love entered into a similar contract with the same obligations at Cabourne.[140]

In the cases of both Limber and Cabourne, the contracts appear to have been terminated early as the livestock, contents of the granary and the arable land sown by Roger Love were all handed over at Easter 1309. During the period between Michaelmas 1308 and Easter 1309, although seven quarters of rye were paid to the *famuli* at Limber at Easter, no such payment is recorded for Cabourne.[141] Perhaps Love was defaulting on the agreements and as a consequence, the manors were reclaimed by the King's agents. By July 1312 Roger Love was a corrodiary at New Temple, London.[142] On 5 July 1312, the keeper of the Templars' manor at Willoughton was ordered to pay Love the

[138] E 358/18, 17/2, lines 64-9.

[139] Ibid.

[140] E 358/18, 17/1 dorse, 10-15

[141] E 358/18, 15/2, lines 60-1.

[142] *CCR, 1307-13*, p. 429.

arrears for his food at the clerks' table and his robe at Christmas for life upon the promise of a bequest of a moiety of his goods to the house at his death.[143]

In the case of the eight Willoughton manors where standing crops were sold, no expenses are recorded, suggesting that maintenance of the manor was the responsibility of the purchaser of the standing crop in addition to the sowing of the crop for the following harvest and the payment of the *famuli*. Effectively, the purchase of the standing crop was tantamount to a short term lease, hence the lessee would be responsible for maintenance during his period of tenure and would wish to keep maintenance expenditure at an absolute minimum. The sale of a standing crop was not an introduction of the agents of Edward II. It is apparent that on the Willoughton estate, the last preceptor, William de Grafton was well acquainted with the practice having sold all the grain of the manor of Cawkwell to John Cat for thirteen marks recorded in the account of Michaelmas 1308 (appendix 10).[144] There was an initial income of 13s. 4d. at Goulceby which was outstanding from the sale of the standing crop – *omnimod blad in terr pdtis crescentibz* - to William de Loughborough (appendix 10).[145] The sale price had been ten marks.[146] The same pertained to the manors of Kettleby and Temple Belwood where standing crops had been sold. The initial sale by William de Grafton stipulated that the sowing of the following year's crop and food for the *famuli* was the responsibility of the purchaser.

---

[143] Ibid. Roger Love had paid for his corrody by promising that half of his goods would be handed over to Willoughton upon his death, however, he was clearly not in receipt of his dues.

[144] E 358/18, 17/1 dorse, lines 22-4.

[145] Ibid., lines 32-6.

[146] Ibid.

The rarity of outright payments points towards the intention of the purchaser to pay for the standing crop from the proceeds of the following harvest. The level of risk incurred by the vendor of wool futures and of standing crops differed markedly.[147] The successful sale of wool futures depended upon the quantity and quality of wool which was handed over to the wool merchant being as prescribed in the sale agreement. The risk for the vendor was always that the contract could not be met because of adverse circumstances such as a murrain epidemic.[148] The sale of a standing crop at Lammas Day carried no such risk to the vendor; he was guaranteed an income, albeit deferred until after the harvest. It was the purchaser who risked inclement weather, poor harvest or a fall in grain prices turning his investment into a loss. On completion of the contract, the entirety of the Willoughton estate was handed over at Easter, 30 March 1309, to William de Melton, who was Comptroller of the Wardrobe to Edward II and a future Archbishop of York.[149] It is significant that the standing crops were sold exclusively on the Willoughton estate, this was not an approach which was adopted by the three Kesteven preceptories.

By Easter 1309, significant policy changes had been implemented to maximise income. In the majority of cases, with the notable exception of Willoughton, manorial receipts had increased and expenditure had been

---

[147] The sale of wool to merchants, on occasions, years in advance of its production, was common practice both on the estates of the Cistercians and the Templars. The risk of fulfilling the wool contract, both in quality and quantity rested upon the vendor who had already been paid. A penalty clause in the contract would have ensured that the purchaser was paid compensation if the vendor could not meet his obligations.

[148] The biggest risk to a wool producer was the outbreak of a murrain or sheep scab epidemic. Murrain was a fly infestation which was debilitating for the animal and ruinous for the fleece. Outbreaks of murrain were both common and unpredictable.

[149] R. Hill, 'Melton, William (d. 1340)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/189538> [accessed on 3 October 2014].

reduced (appendix 30). Whilst profitability was undoubtedly assisted by the return of the wool clip to sale, after the initial sequestration to repay debts to the Ballardi of Lucca, sales of livestock and larder contents further increased receipts. In addition, expenditure on maintenance and employment had been reduced wherever possible. Between Michaelmas 1308 and Easter 1309, the sum of expenses at Willoughton had been reduced by 26.9 per cent from £75 3s. to £54 11s. 9d (appendix 30).[150] The apparent progress towards a more efficient enterprise was underlain by factors which would not have been immediately problematic but would certainly have become so. The reduction in maintenance expenditure could not have been continued without a deterioration of both buildings and equipment, a problem which would not necessarily have emerged within a year of the cut-back. Further, the sale of produce and the content of larders and dairies could not have been maintained at the high levels indicated in the accounts during the first year of the King's administration, as reserves would have been so severely reduced, if indeed they remained at all. This was short-term profit making without consideration of long-term consequences.

There was a further issue, that of prises and purveyance. This was the means by which agents of the King were able to purchase goods, by right of the 'royal prerogative', to provide food for the royal household as it moved around the country.[151] However, both Edward I and Edward II extended the use of the system to provision the armies and garrisons in Scotland.[152] Payment to the

[150] E 358/18, 17/1, line 59; E 358/18, 15/1, line 39.

[151] Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 162.

[152] Ibid.

vendor was 'often inadequate and long delayed'.[153] The Temple Bruer account of 28 September 1308 illustrates the point (appendix 3).[154] The larder contained ten ox carcasses, forty flitches of bacon and sixty wether carcasses.[155] Of those, half an ox carcass, four flitches of bacon and thirty-four wether carcasses were allocated for autumn use, the remainder of the larder stock was handed over to Thomas de Burnham for forwarding to garrisons in Scotland.[156] The use of prises was understandably unpopular, but particularly so, when in 1308 and 1309 purveyancing took place on a vast scale to provision Scottish campaigns which never took place.[157] The Templar estates must have been particularly valuable as a source of victuals as they were already in the King's hands and the contents of the preceptory larders could be taken without incurring further debt or indeed the wrath of reluctant vendors of provisions.

By 25 July1309, most of the Temple Bruer and Willoughton flocks had been handed over to individuals in the form of gifts.[158] The value of the animals involved is listed in the grange inventories but in neither the case of Temple Bruer nor Willoughton is there a record of receipt of payments. It is significant that the handover of wethers and ewes to Thomas de Burnham and Robert Bernard at Temple Bruer (3084 sheep in total) was after they had been sheared, rendering to Temple Bruer the income from wool sales.[159] The 2189 sheep at Willoughton were handed over to William de Melton, John de Blyborough and

---

[153] Ibid.

[154] E 358/18, 19/2, lines 65-8.

[155] Ibid.

[156] Ibid.

[157] Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 162.

[158] E 358/18, 16/2, lines 46-62; 15/1, lines 53-61; 15/2, lines 1-7.

[159] E 358/18, 16/2, lines 46-54.

Stephen de Stanham before shearing and so Willoughton gained no income from the sale of their wool.[160] Willoughton had been literally fleeced. M. M. Postan draws attention to the fact that 'the royal commissioners who often administered monastic estates during the vacancies were apt to make their profit by running down the capital equipment, including the flocks and herds'.[161] After the death of Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham, in March 1311, his lands and goods were taken into the hands of the King by William of Gloucester, Escheator beyond the Trent and were drawn upon to make part payment of the debt owed to the Ballardi of Lucca.[162] The practice of selling off the issue of estates and reducing maintenance costs was by no means restricted to the Templar properties in Lincolnshire after the arrest of the Order.

The patronage of the King was a means of garnering support, gaining favour, recognising services rendered and above all ensuring continuing loyalty in turbulent times. The recipients of the King's patronage noted above were at the very least, men of substance and influence within the county and at most an officer of the King himself. William de Melton had been Comptroller of the Wardrobe to Edward II, as Prince of Wales (1304-7), and as King (1307-14), when he became Keeper of the Wardrobe until his election as Archbishop of York in 1316, a post which he held until his death in 1340.[163] De Melton was a pluralist who was in receipt of the income from several ecclesiastical benefices where he was not resident and so royal patronage from the produce

[160] E 358/18, 15/1, lines 46-54*;* 15/1, line 1.

[161] M. M. Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society: an Economic History of Britain in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), p. 102.

[162] *CCR, 1307-13*, p. 311.

[163] Hill, 'Melton'.

of the Templar estates would have been a means of further enhancing his income.[164] Sir Thomas de Burnham had considerable influence in 1307, being both Sheriff of Lincolnshire and Constable of Lincoln Castle and as such fully involved in the issue of the Templars until his death in 1309[165] Stephen de Stanham was the Mayor of Lincoln on a number of occasions, a burgess and merchant of the city and latterly a citizen of London.[166] At the same time, Robert Bernard was the sequestrator of John de Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln, a position which would have made him well aware of the consequences which the arrest of the Templars would have on their estates. Sequestration was Bernard's stock in trade.[167]

By Michaelmas 1309, there had been three significant changes which had taken place on the former Templar estates. First, the sale of standing crops on the Willoughton estate, on Lammas Day 1308, ensured income and minimised risk whilst allowing the investment of prosperous individuals. Second, the reduction of maintenance expenditure and the sale of produce by Easter 1309 emphasised the short-term approach of the King's officers. Third, the exercise of royal patronage in the form of gifts of livestock further exploited the former Templar estates for the benefit of influential men above the social level of those who had bought the standing crops.

---

[164] Ibid.

[165] C 241/55/60. Burnham is today a small hamlet two miles west of Thornton Curtis on the site of a disappeared medieval village. N. Pevsner and J. Harris revised by N. Antram, *The Buildings of England; Lincolnshire* (London, 1964, rep. 2001), p. 762.

[166] C241/63/35; C241/89/33 - The estate of Stephen de Stanham [deceased] was claiming £66 13s. 4d. from Sir Edmund Foliot before Stephen de Stanham, Mayor of Lincoln on 20 June 1320. Obviously the son had followed in the footsteps of the father.

[167] Clubley, 'John de Dalderby', p. 102.

Whilst the recipients of livestock were the beneficiaries of royal patronage, there were others who had a financial interest in the former Templar estates; the landowners who had rented property to the Order. The complexity of land tenure on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire should not be underestimated. There is no evidence of the manors of the Willoughton estate, other than Limber, renting additional land in Lindsey. Yet again, Willoughton was the exception as renting additional acreage was commonplace on the Templar estates in Kesteven (appendix 31). Temple Bruer itself did not rent land and property but some of its member manors did. Kirkby paid rent to Edmund Deyncourt for lands in Scopwick, Blankney, Metheringham, Duston, Marton, Timberland and Billinghay.[168] The Deyncourt family was a well-established member of the Lincolnshire gentry whose chief manor of their fee was at Blankney.[169] Walter Deyncourt is recorded, in the Inquest of 1185, as having given twenty-one bovates and two tofts to the Templars all within close proximity of Blankney.[170]Welbourn paid rent to Isabella de Vesci but the accounts do not specify for what. Isabella de Vesci was custodian of Bamburgh Castle and a close accociate of Queen Isabella.[171] South Witham paid rent to William de Crescy of Claypole for arable land and tenancies; the same individual who was listed amongst the creditors who were owed money from the various former Templar properties in December 1311.[172] Sir Thomas de St

[168] E 358/18, 19/1 dorse, lines 35-6.

[169] *Inquest*, pp. 84-5.

[170] Ibid.

[171] *CCR, 1307-13*, p. 6.

[172] E 358/18, 19/2 dorse, lines 24-5,

Laud was paid rent for tenancies at Witham and Lobthorpe.[173] In 1308 Sir Thomas de Launde held part of the fee of Ingoldsby (Aswardhurn Wapentake), Gonerby (Winnibriggs Wapentake), Skillington (Beltisloe Wapentake) and Claypole (Loveden Wapentake).[174]

Aslackby was a preceptory in 1308 which was unique in that it did not hold any member manors.[175] The preceptory paid rent resolute to Robert de Clifford for land and tenancies which the Templars held of him at Dunsby (appendix 31).[176] Further tenancies were held of William Hateyn at Hawthorpe and of the Priory of Sempringham at Aslackby.[177] In addition sheaf tithes and land tithes of two marks annually were paid to the Priory of Belvoir for the grants which the Prior and convent had made to the Templars.[178] Aslackby compensated for its lack of land ownership by renting land.

The estate of Eagle had three member manors, those of Whisby, Woodhouse and Bracebridge. As with Aslackby, expenditure included the rental of property (appendix 31). Rent resolute was paid to Baldwin Pycot for Bassingham Park.[179] A close roll entry for 25 February 1308 acknowledges that Pycot owed a debt of £20 to John de Drokensford 'to be levied in default of payment,

[173] E 358/18, 14/1 dorse, lines 14-16; *CCR, 1307-13*, p. 388.

[174] C 241/57/71.

[175] E 358/18, 18/2, line 40-18/1 dorse, line 46.

[176] E 358/18, 18/2, lines 50-4. The first Lord de Clifford was a magnate of some considerable importance. He fought with Edward I at Falkirk in 1298 and was rewarded with the governorship of Nottingham Castle. He was killed at Bannockburn, 25 June 1314.

[177] E 358/18, 18/2, lines 50-4.

[178] Ibid., lines 56-7.

[179] E 358/18, 18/2 dorse, lines 1-3.

against his lands in co. Lincoln', obviously a landowner of some standing.[180] A further bovate of arable and four acres of pasture were rented from Alexander de Whisby- presumably at Whisby - and four bovates of land at Scarle from the Priory of Wilsford.[181]

Land had been rented by the Templars to enhance the productivity of their estates which reinforces the view that they were more interested in farming their lands than farming them out. Had they been farmed out it would then have been incumbent upon the tenant to rent additional land under separate contractual arrangements. Renting of land was an extension of the consolidation of the Templar estates which had taken place during the thirteenth century so as to increase their profitability. In 1185, the Templars had held land in one hundred and sixy-seven settlements in Lincolnshire, but of those, 23.2 per cent of the holdings were of less than ten acres.[182] By 1307 they held land in twenty-nine manors, such had been the scale of rationalisation. It is equally apparent that where land had been rented by the Templars in the early fourteenth century, it was close to the manors which they already held, thereby increasing productivity without the penalty of additional travel.

The landowners from whom the Templars had rented land were both ecclesiastical and secular. The Lincolnshire ecclesiastical houses, the Benedictine Priories of Wilsford and Belvoir and the Gilbertine Priory of Sempringham were not of the same size or wealth as either the Benedictine or

---

[180] *CCR, 1307-13*, p. 52.

[181] E 358/18, 18/2 dorse, lines 1-3.

[182] J. M. Jefferson, 'The Lost Treasure of the Templars: the Templar Lands in Lincolnshire and What Happened to Them 1185-1560.' (M.A. dissertation, University of Nottingham, 2007), p.22.

Cistercian abbeys. The Priory of Wilsford would have welcomed the income from the rental as it was a small cell originally endowed to support two or three brethren.[183] Of the secular landlords, Edmund Deyncourt, Sir Thomas de St Laud and Baldwin Pycot were all landowners whose property was restricted to the county, where Edmund Deyncourt and St. Laud, in particular, were men of some influence.[184] However, Isabella de Vesci and Robert de Clifford were figures of national importance and their Lincolnshire holdings would have been part of much more extensive portfolios. Further, a difference in approach is evident between the management of the solitary Lindsey estate, Willoughton, and the three Kesteven estates, those of Temple Bruer, Eagle and Aslackby. Whilst the rental of additional land from both secular and ecclesiastical sources was common practice in Kesteven, in Lindsey, with the exception of the manor of Limber, additional land was not rented at all (appendix 31).

Whilst rental outgoings generally constituted less than 10 per cent of the total expenditure of the former Templar manors where it was practised, in the case of all four Lincolnshire preceptories, over a third of the receipts were derived from rental income in the account beginning 10 January 1308 (appendices 31, 2). However, the sequestration of the wool clip to pay outstanding debts to the Ballardi of Lucca meant that agricultural receipts were substantially reduced and as a consequence the proportion of gross income

---

[183] W. Page, ed., *A History of the County of Lincoln:* 2 (London, 1906), p. 240. The priory was founded by Hugh Wake during the reign of Stephen. The original endowment included the manor of Wilsford and an additional nine bovates of land and the advowson of the church of Wilsford.

[184] N. Bennett, ed., *The Registers of Henry Burghersh 1320-1342:* 3, Lincoln Record Society, 101 (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 159, footnote 448, Edmund Deyncourt died before 8 January 1327, footnote 451, Thomas de Luda, late Treasurer of Lincoln, died before 19 April 1329.

represented by rents was exaggerated. The return to wool sales, in 1309, substantially reduced the proportion of the estates' receipts represented by rental income. These were not simply proportional reductions in rental income following the return of wool sales but were actual reductions in rental income. The accounts indicate a reduction in the number of named individuals to whom land was farmed out. Of the five named tenants paying a combined fixed rent of £10 10s. at Temple Bruer at Michaelmas 1308, none are recorded in the subsequent account.[185] Perhaps the tenants took the opportunity to withhold payment until it was demanded by the new regime, or, it could have been that the fixed rents were terminated whilst they were reassessed and even reallocated.

Fixed rents had the advantage of guaranteeing predictable income for periods up to and beyond the lifetime of the tenant if a further entry fee was paid. The predictability of fixed income points towards long term stability being part of the Templars' financial strategy. The drawback of fixed rents was their inability to respond to inflation. However, the produce of mixed farming on the demesne land of the Templar estates would have been sold at prevailing market prices, providing a counterbalance to the fixed rental income. This equilibrium would have been seriously upset by the initial confiscation of the wool clip and the subsequent farming out of crops and livestock as a result of the exercise of royal patronage.

During 1309, the Templar manors and the estates themselves were farmed out. By 20 February 1309, the Aslackby estate had been handed over to William le Mareschall, that is, livestock, deadstock, and the contents of the

[185] E 358/18, 19/1, lines 27-9.

granary.[186] Three days later, on 23 February 1309, both the manors of South Witham and of Mere had been handed over to Stephen de Stanham.[187] The initial exception to these proceedings was the Eagle estate where the burden of the payment of corrodiaries and the maintenance of prisoners must have made it a less attractive proposition as they accounted for 77.3 per cent of receipts on 28 September 1308, leaving a deficit of £18 17s. 1d (appendix 29).[188] However, by the Feast of St. James, 25 July 1309, Eagle had been taken over by Thomas de Burnham and the Temple Bruer estate had undergone some fragmentation. The stock and standing crop of the estate had been divided between Thomas de Burnham, Stephen de Stanham and Robert Bernard, Thomas de Burnham being the major beneficiary.[189]

In the final account for the Willoughton estate which ends at 30 July 1309 William de Spanneby was paid £5 for the custody of the Willoughton manors for the period from Easter 1309, a rate of almost tenpence per day.[190] The income from rents was a remarkably diminished 4s. 9d., all from the vill of Normanby by Spital.[191] The total income from the preceptory of Willoughton was reduced overall to a paltry £10 4s. 9d. and there was no income whatsoever from the manors which were members of the estate.[192] Further, the expenditure for all the Willoughton manors is centrally accounted in a particularly

---

[186] E 358/18, 14/2 dorse, lines 6-8; CCR, 1307-13, p. 432. An order of 20 July 1311 forbade Nicholas de Segrave to come to parliament with an armed force because of his dissent with William le Mareschal.

[187] E 358/18, 14/1 dorse, lines 5-7.

[188] E 358/18, 18/2 dorse, line 30.

[189] E 358/18, 16/2, lines 34-62; 16/1 dorse, lines 3-4.

[190] E 358/18, 53/1, line 35.

[191] Ibid., lines 6 and 8.

[192] Ibid., line 12.

abbreviated style unlike the previously fulsome account for each manor.[193] However, the grange inventory for each manor is precise in the extreme and includes dead stock for the first time; the entire estate was handed over to Thomas de Burnham on 30 July 1309. This was no longer an account of income and expenditure as had previously been the case, it was much more an evaluation of what remained which was moveable and given the combination of livestock and standing crops which Thomas de Burnham received, there is no doubt that a subsequent account, had it been extant, would have illustrated a considerable increase in income. Thus, by the end of July 1309, all four of the Templar preceptories with their associated estates had been the objects of the King's patronage. The greatest beneficiary was Thomas de Burnham, Constable of Lincoln Castle, who would become sheriff of the county for a second time the following year. However, as with all examples of royal patronage, the exercise of munificence was not in perpetuity but was at the King's pleasure.

By Edward II's second regnal year (8 July 1308 - 7 July 1309), the royal favourite, Piers Gaveston had been banished to Ireland, much against the King's will. As J. S. Hamilton points out, the policy of Edward II during that time 'was centred on obtaining Gaveston's return from exile in Ireland'.[194] Hamilton cites the use of gifts and promises as a means of garnering support for the return of the unpopular Gascon and that these 'very likely included the

[193] Ibid., lines 25-30.

[194] J. S. Hamilton, 'King Edward II of England and the Templars', in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307-1314)*, ed. by J. Burgtorf, P. F. Crawford and H. J. Nicholson (Farnham, 2010), pp. 215-24 (p. 219).

lands and/or wealth of the Templars'.[195] The Lincolnshire evidence shows clearly that the Templar estates were leased, initially, to Thomas de Burnham, one of the most powerful men in the county.

By 1312, the impact of the Scottish wars on the King's patronage became evident and not only in Lincolnshire. On 8 February 1312, Alexander de Cave and Robert de Amecotes, Keepers of the Templars Lands in Yorkshire were ordered to hand over to David, Earl of Athole the goods and chattels of the manors of Etton and Cave of which he had been granted custody.[196] On 1 June 1312, William de Spanneby was enjoined to 'deliver into the king's wardrobe forthwith the £100 that he has in his hands of the issue of the Templar manors of Bruer and Aycle in that county'.[197] On 11 June 1312, de Spanneby was ordered 'to deliver by indenture to Ebulo de Montibus all the king's stock in the Templars' manor of la Bruere, co. Lincoln, which manor the king has ordered him to deliver to the said Ebulo, to whom the king has granted it during pleasure for his good service to the king and his father and in order that he may better serve queen Isabella'.[198] Sir Ebulo de Montibus, was a former custodian of Sterling Castle. On 6 June 1313, Eagle was in the hands of Sir David Graham, a Scottish knight. These examples of royal patronage were rewards for services rendered and insurances of loyalty against the threat of Robert de Bruce.

---

[195] Ibid.

[196] *CCR, 1307-13*, p. 400.

[197] Ibid., p. 424.

[198] Ibid., p. 427.

5.4. Conclusion

The circumstances of the *famuli*, the itinerant craftsmen and the seasonal labourers, those upon whom the operation of the estates depended, probably remained unchanged as the properties passed from the ownership of the Templars to the hands of the King. Their dependence upon the seasons, the success of the harvest and the will of their social superiors remained immutable. Whilst remaining nameless and uncounted, nonetheless, the structures of their lives can be identified through their work, their wages and the social stratification which those imposed.

The clerics, corrodiaries and prisoners were, or in the case of the Templars, had been, of a higher social status than the *famuli*. The clerics, largely unnamed in the accounts, either conducted regular services for the congregation or had specific responsibility to conduct chantry Mass for a deceased benefactor to the Order. In each case the cleric would have been paid an allowance. The corrodiaries, all of whom were identified in the accounts received a pension according to the size of the donation which they had made to the Order for that purpose. The corrodies were either sizeable and did not involve performing services or were dependent on performing service as long as health would allow, after which the pension continued for life, albeit in a reduced form. In each case the pension contract had been drawn up between the corrodiary and the Master of the Order who had been the recipient of the donation. As the close rolls repeatedly illustrate, once the Templar properties had been transferred to the King, following the arrest of the Order, the continued payment of obligations previously contracted with the Templars became problematic. There were numerous orders issued to the keepers of the Templars' lands

throughout the country, to pay the allowances of clerics and corrodiaries including the arrears since their appointments as keepers. This was the case particularly from 1311 onward.

After their arrest, the Templars, who were named in the accounts, were each awarded a daily allowance during their incarceration in Lincoln Castle. Following the end of the trial of the Order, the majority of Lincolnshire brethren were sent to ecclesiastical houses in other dioceses to do penance. Similarly, Templars from elsewhere were sent to ecclesiastical houses in the Lincoln diocese. It was incumbent upon Roger de Wyngefeld, the Keeper of the Templars' Lands in England and through him, the keepers throughout the country to continue to pay the fourpence daily to the appropriate bishops for the keep of the Templars. Again, the frequency with which the keepers were enjoined to pay the arrears of the brethren illustrates that they were reluctant to do so.

Without doubt, the greatest beneficiary of the Templar estates was King Edward II into whose hands they fell after the arrest of the Order on 10 January 1308. He was not slow to sequester the entire wool clip to pay off debts to the Ballardi nor to sell grain, livestock and the contents of the preceptory larders and dairies. The sequence of events thereafter follows a distinct pattern. The sale of standing crops of grain on the Willoughton estate on Lammas Day 1308 not only further realised income by liquidating assets, it allowed the investment of landowners in the former Templar property. By Michaelmas 1309, livestock had been given to influential men in the county like Stephen de Stanham, Mayor of Lincoln, and men of national importance like William de Melton, Keeper of the King's Wardrobe. It is notable that a more exploitative approach

was adopted towards Willoughton than the other three Templar estates. By July 1309, all Templar properties had been the objects of the King's patronage, the chief beneficiary being Thomas de Burnham, one time Sheriff of the County of Lincoln and Constable of Lincoln Castle and as such custodian of the Templars.

The King had used his patronage and the Templar estates as a political tool to exert influence and ensure obligation in Lincolnshire. The estates were given at pleasure until the King chose that the patronage should end. By 1311, the custodians of the former Templar estates had changed, reflecting the changing emphasis of the political picture. The custodian of Temple Bruer was Sir Ebulo de Montibus and that of Eagle, Sir David Graham, both having rendered service in the Scottish wars.

There is no record of William de Spanneby having benefited financially from his pivotal role as Keeper of the Templar Lands in Lincolnshire. The accounts do not record a salary. However, in common with other keepers, there was a reluctance to pay the continuing Templar obligations of clerical wages, corrodiaries' pensions and the allowances of the Templars themselves. One suspects that somewhere between the accounts submitted to the Exchequer under the name of William de Spanneby and the broad acres of Lincolnshire, the keeper made a tidy income. William de Spanneby died in 1318.[199]

On 22 March 1312, Pope Clement V dissolved the Order of the Temple.[200] On 2 May 1312, the papal bull *Ad Providam* was issued which included an instruction that except for properties in the Iberian Peninsula, the assets of the

[199] Bennett, *Registers of Burghersh*, p. 130, footnote 342.

[200] Nicholson, *Knights Templar on Trial*, p. 188.

Templars were to be transferred to the Hospitallers.[201] As the following chapter demonstrates, the transfer of the former Templar lands to the Hospitallers was tortuous and as late as 1338, partial at best.

[201] Ibid.

Chapter 6

Ad Providam and its aftermath

On 2 May 1312, the papal bull *Ad Providam* was issued which granted all former Templar lands to the Hospitallers with the exception of property in the realms of the Kings of Castile, Aragon, Portugal and Majorca.[1] The transfer of former Templar property in England to the Hospitallers, in accordance with the papal edict, was met with some resistance and so began a process of reclamation by the Hospitallers which was to be both tortuous and litigious. The process was still incomplete in 1338, eleven years after the accession of Edward III, following the enforced abdication of his father, Edward II, in 1327. The Report of Philip de Thame, Prior of the Hospital in England to Grand Master Elyan de Villanova in 1338 was intended to clarify the situation by providing an inventory of all Hospitaller lands in England including those which had belonged to the Templars.[2] Between 1308 and 1338, there were three French popes, all based in Avignon, all of whom had an interest in the fate of the former Templar estates, the disposal of which, they regarded as their prerogative.

The purpose of this chapter is threefold. Firstly to review the differing positions of Edward II, the Hospitallers and Pope Clement V as they looked towards the former Templar estates following the suppression of the Order. Secondly, to examine the protracted process of the transfer of the former

[1] M. C. Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 221.

[2] L. B. Larking ed. and J. M. Kemble intro., *The Knights Hospitallers in England: being the Report of Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for A. D. 1338*, Camden Society, 65 (London, 1857).

Templar lands to the Hospitallers, between the spring of 1312 and 1338, setting the Lincolnshire example within the national and international context. Thirdly, to analyse the former Templar properties in Lincolnshire, as itemised in the 1338 Report of Philip de Thame, and, to compare their distribution with that of the properties enrolled in the King's accounts of 1308-12. It is easy to assume that all Templar properties were transferred to the Hospitallers but only a comparison of the former Templar holdings between 1308 and 1338 can establish the extent to which this was true.

6.1. Differing perspectives: Edward II, the Hospitallers and Pope Clement V

When Edward I died on the Solway, on 7 July 1307, his son, Edward of Caernarfon, inherited a realm beset by problems. As S. Phillips put it, there was 'an almost empty treasury and administrative confusion; an intractable war with Scotland; difficult relations with France; growing problems of law and order; and a restless nobility'.[3] The problems were exacerbated by the legacy of resentment which the populace felt due to the widespread application of the system of prises and purveyance, compulsory purchase associated with unreliable payment, which Edward I had used to provision the Scottish war. Edward II employed the same stratagem in 1308 and 1309 to provision a Scottish campaign which never took place, further heightening an already profound sense of grievance.[4]

[3] S. Phillips, *Edward II* (Yale, 2010), p. 124.

[4] Ibid., p. 62.

The inherited debt of £200,000 was of enormous and continuing concern to Edward II.[5] On 25 March 1308, the chancellor was ordered to be at the Exchequer daily to ensure the continued provision of money to the royal household such was the gravity of the situation.[6] The debt was still of the order of £60,000 in the 1320s.[7] The degree of that indebtedness to the Italian merchant houses was substantial and was illustrated by the speed with which the windfall of the Templar wool clip in 1308 was utilised to reduce the King's financial burden to the Ballardi of Lucca. By 1310 Edward II owed the Frescobaldi of Florence a debt in the order of £22,000.[8] In the following year, the Frescobaldi were excluded from England by the Ordainers and declared bankrupt.[9]

The death of Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham and Patriarch of Jerusalem allowed Edward to make a further providential payment to the Ballardi. A letter patent was issued at Berwick on Tweed dated 26 March 1311 which granted 'in part payment of the king's debt to the merchants of the society of the Ballardi of Lucca, of the entire stock, stallions with mares and foals excepted, also of all corn, whether sown in the ground or in the granges, the property in England of Anthony [Bek], Bishop of Durham, deceased, and his jewels, which are in London in their custody; all of which have been taken into the king's hand for appraisement'.[10] The pursuant mandate was given to Henry de Percy,

---

[5] Ibid., p. 129.

[6] M. Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England 1272-1377* (London, 1980), p. 82.

[7] Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 129.

[8] Ibid., p. 163.

[9] Ibid., p. 219.

[10] *CPR, 1307-13*, p. 332.

Keeper of the Bishopric of Durham, Walter de Gloucester, Escheator beyond the Trent and Robert de Woodhouse, Escheator on this side of the Trent. The debt which was owed by the king to the Ballardi alone was in excess of 4000 marks.

In 1312, the King was obliged to levy tallage on towns and royal demesnes, an arbitrary tax which was highly unpopular.[11] In April of the same year, the role of the King's chief financier was assumed by Anthony Pessagno of Genoa who continued as Edward II's principal banker until 1319.[12] Within two years of being designated the 'king's merchant', he had lent sums in excess of £111,000 and been repaid £102,000.[13] Pessagno provided over half of the supplies for the English army at Bannockburn in 1314 and over £21,000 between March and June 1314.[14] The English defeat on 21 June 1314 was not due to lack of provisions.

A further letter patent issued at Lincoln on 1 September 1315 promised payment 'before All Saints' day to the merchants of the Bardi of Florence [of] £3215 15s. 4d'.[15] The payment to the Bardi was in itself a sub-contract of part of the £7084 15s. 4d. which Edward II owed to Pessagno.[16] Money was to be raised from 'the tenth granted to the king by the clergy, the twentieth granted by the commonality, and the fifteenth by the citizens and burgesses of the realm' for the purposes of repaying debt and meeting other expenditure.[17]

---

[11] Prestwich, *Three Edwards*, p. 106.

[12] Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 219.

[13] Prestwich, *Three Edwards*, p. 106.

[14] Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 219.

[15] *CPR, 1313-18*, p. 348.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

The round of debts and the raising of taxes were exacerbated by the expenditure and complexities arising from Edward II's weak governance and the exercise of his munificence towards his favourites. Whilst at Dumfries on 6 August 1307, Edward II issued his first charter, following his accession to the throne, which elevated his friend and 'brother' Piers Gaveston to the Earldom of Cornwall.[18] Gaveston, who had been in exile in Ponthieu until the death of Edward I, had begun his rise to fame and fortune. His influence infuriated the barons, who felt that they had been supplanted by an interloper. This eventually led to Gaveston's execution on 19 June 1312. However, for the first five years of Edward's reign, the wellbeing of Gaveston was uppermost in his mind, to the chagrin of his wife Isabella, and the rancour of her father, Philip IV of France who felt that the honour of his daughter and indeed that of France had been slighted. The continuing Scottish wars, the King's need to support Gaveston, his conflict with the barons, and, in particular Thomas of Lancaster and a difficult relationship with France, not only occupied Edward's thinking but also made huge demands on the Exchequer. The sequestration of the former Templar lands in 1308 not only provided a substantial additional income, but was also a source of livestock and lands, which could be used for the purpose of the king's patronage. In these circumstances, it is not difficult to see why Edward II was reluctant to relinquish control of the former Templar estates.

The priorities of the Hospitallers were somewhat different. After a long and expensive campaign, in 1309, the Hospitallers, under Master Fulk de Villaret, took the island of Rhodes, in the eastern Mediterranean. It was to be their base until 1 January 1523 when they were expelled by Turkish forces of Suleiman

[18] Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 126.

I, the Magnificent.[19] The Master had exacted heavy taxes upon the Hospitaller properties so as to pay for the Rhodes campaign and as a result the Order was in considerable financial difficulty. Further expenses were incurred by the need to defend the island against both the Greeks and Turks, exacerbating an already strained financial situation.[20]

The papal bull *Ad Providam* which was issued by Clement V on 2 May 1312, granted all former Templar properties to the Hospitallers. The decision by the Pope to transfer the former Templar estates to the Hospitallers was directly influenced by the Order's occupation of Rhodes and their need to maintain a base in the eastern Mediterranean so as to prosecute naval warfare against the Turk.[21] Clement was a French pope based at Avignon, who, despite being in thrall to Philip IV, Edward II's father in law, saw the military orders as being responsible directly to the Holy See, and so exempt from secular obligation or control. As a consequence, just as the Templars had been responsible to the Pope, so their lands belonged to the Church and were at the disposal of the papacy. The wish of Clement V, until his death in 1314, was that the Templar lands, with the exception of those in the Iberian Peninsula, were to be transferred to the Hospitallers to help finance their naval campaign in the eastern Mediterranean. To that end, he expended a considerable amount of diplomatic energy, directing both correspondence and legations to England to encourage Edward to release the Templar lands to the Hospitallers.

---

[19] E. King and H. Luke, *The Knights of St. John in the British Realm* (London, 1924, revised and continued 1967), p. 48, p. 97; J. Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers: The History of the Order of St John* (London, 1999), p. 106.

[20] H. J. Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge, 2001 rep. 2006), p. 48.

[21] Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers*, p. 94.

6.2. The transfer of former Templar lands to the Hospitallers, 1312-38

From 10 January 1308 until the issue of *Ad Providam* in 1312, the Templar lands had been in the hands of Edward II. It was usual for the King to escheat the lands of an ecclesiastical house during the vacancy between the death of an abbot and the election of his successor. During the vacancy, the King was able to take full advantage of the produce of the monastic estates including the sale of livestock, crops and moveable goods. If a secular magnate were convicted for treason then his lands were confiscated by the King to be disposed of at pleasure. Whilst the arrest of the Templars had been at the behest of the Pope, it was Edward, through his sheriffs and officers who had given effect to this act and who physically sequestered the lands of the Order. The King may well have felt that with the suppression of the Templars, their exempt status, and with it the alienation of their lands from the Crown, was null and void. Were that the case, then the King was within his rights to retain the Templars' property, or to dispose of it, at will. However, as the arrest of the Templars and the sequestration of their estates had been at the command of the Pope, from the Pope's perspective, it was he who had the right to dispose of their property.

Alienation - that is, the removal of lands form the property market, particularly by ecclesiastical houses - had been an issue for some time. The Statute of Mortmain of 1279 was intended to stop the further alienation of land by the Church. Amongst the reasons suggested for the necessity of the statute was that of the challenge of the Master of the Templars in a case heard in the Trinity Term 1279 during the Yorkshire Eyre.[22] The Templars were involved

[22] S. Raban, *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church 1279-1300* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 20.

in land acquisition throughout the thirteenth century as they consolidated their estates and as a result, legal disputes were not uncommon. The Final Concords of the County of Lincolnshire, which were the final judgements on freehold ownership and land transfers, enrol nineteen disputes over land within the county between 1245 and 1272 each involving the Master of the Templars in England.[23] As early as 1299 the crown may have begun to sell licences to alienate land, in contravention of the mortmain statute, in response to the mounting cost of Edward I's Scottish campaign.[24] Certainly by 1311-12 Edward II was disposing of licences for cash as he struggled to protect Piers Gaveston from the animosity of the magnates.[25]

Since the fall of Acre in 1291 and the withdrawal of Christian forces from the Holy Land, the Templars had lost not only their reason for existence but with it, a great deal of public support. The wealth of the Order and its exemption from taxes had been bearable whilst the Templars were in the van of Christian forces in the Holy Land but they were the cause of resentment when the Order was in retreat. In the climate of the time, the transfer of the former Templar lands to another exempt military order, the Hospitallers, may have been against both the royal will and that of the populace at large. Further, it cannot be assumed that the families of the Templars' benefactors were all content for their donations to be transferred to the Hospitallers: many may have wished to reclaim land which had been donated to the Templars. In the

[23] C. W. Foster ed., *Final Concords of the County of Lincoln*, Lincoln Record Society, 17 (Lincoln, 1920), pp. 5, 16-17, 29, 38-9, 41-2, 56, 64, 95, 100, 140, 161, 165, 196, 213, 216, 248, 259, 271.

[24] Ibid., p. 59.

[25] Ibid., p. 62.

instances of both the king and the families of the benefactors there was a case for the return of the former Templar lands to secular hands.

Clearly the transfer of former Templar lands to the Hospitallers was an issue over which Edward II and Pope Clement V disagreed. The two men were not unknown to each other, certainly on the level of diplomatic correspondence. Whilst Gaveston had been exiled in Ireland from June 1308 until June 1309, Edward had been employing a carefully orchestrated strategy of bribes and concessions to persuade the Pope to revoke the excommunication passed on the Gascon should he return to England.[26] By January 1309, the Pope's nephew had been granted a castle in Gascony, the bishops of Lichfield, St. Andrews and Glasgow had been released from incarceration at the Pope's request and several hundred pounds had been spent on jewels to be despatched to Avignon.[27] Just as Edward sought the good offices of the Pope in the matter of Gaveston and a grant of papal taxation, so Clement hoped for Edward's help in the suppression of the Templars.[28] The views of the two men were not coincident over the fate of the former Templar lands, but each must have had a thorough understanding of the position of the other. However, the potency of the threat of excommunication was sufficient for Edward to be seen to accede to the Pope's wishes, albeit at a pace dictated by regal obduracy.

On 15 May, 1312, a letter from the Pope, with the mandate to transfer all former Templar lands to the Hospitallers, was written to Edward II, the

[26] P. Chaplais, *Piers Gaveston, Edward II's Adoptive Brother* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 44-68; J. R. R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster 1307-1322* (Oxford, 1970), p. 94.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

archbishops, bishops and barons of England.[29] The letter reached England after the death of Piers Gaveston, on 19 June 1312, by which time, the King's relationship with his barons was at breaking point.[30] However, on 1 June 1312, William de Spanneby, Keeper of the Templar Lands in Lincolnshire was enjoined to 'deliver into the king's wardrobe forthwith the £100 that he has in his hands of the issue of the Templar manors of Bruer and Aycle in that county'.[31] By 11 June 1312, he was to 'deliver by indenture to Ebulo de Montibus all the king's stock in the Templars' house of La Bruere'.[32] Edward was acting as though he was acquainted with the content of *Ad Providam* even if he had not yet been in receipt of the papal instructions to relinquish all former Templar property to the Hospitallers.

The royal reluctance to transfer the former Templar properties to the Hospitallers became apparent almost immediately. On 1 August 1312, the Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem was prohibited 'from proceeding further before the next parliament, in the matter of the assignment of the goods of the Templars'.[33] None of the accounts of the estates of Temple Bruer, Eagle and Aslackby for the period after 19 June 1312 indicate an immediate transfer of former Templar lands to the Hospitallers. In fact, quite the reverse: on 2 July 1312, Temple Bruer was handed over to Ebulo de Montibus; on 6 June 1313 Eagle was handed over to David Graham; and on 6 December 1313 Aslackby

[29] H. J. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial. The Trial of the Templars in the British Isles 1308-1311* (Stroud, 2009), p. 118.

[30] Ibid.

[31] *CCR, 1307-13,* p. 424.

[32] Ibid., p. 426.

[33] Ibid., p. 544.

was handed over to Thomas de Derby (appendix 22).[34] On 25 November 1313 a notarial instrument of John Durandi, clerk of the diocese of Albi recorded that Albert de Negro Castro, Grand Preceptor of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem and Leonard de Tibertis, Prior of Venice, 'prayed the king in the name of the master and brethren of the Hospital, to deliver to them all the goods of the brethren of the late order of the Temple in accordance with the pope's grant to their order'.[35] Edward II did not respond cooperatively, 'he protested that the rights of himself and his subjects should not be prejudiced by any restoration of the goods to the Hospitallers if he should make such restitution, and that they could sue for their rights in the same notwithstanding any restoration'.[36] Much rests on the use of the word 'restoration'. It implied that right was on the side of the Hospitallers. In other words, land held by the military orders was by right of papal authority; it was only held by the King under attainder, whilst the transfer to the Hospitallers was taking place.

Understandably, Edward II was unwilling to relinquish any source of income over which he had personal control. However, on 28 November 1313, a mandate was issued to all the keepers of the Templars' lands for the transference of the Templars' property to the Hospitallers in compliance with the papal edict.[37] On the same day, a writ was issued to, amongst others,

---

[34] E 358/18, 38/1 dorse, lines 1-5; 39/1 dorse, lines 40-1; 55/2, lines 8-10.

[35] *CCR, 1313-18*, pp. 87-8. Leonard de Tibertis had already been involved in the negotiations with King Philip IV for the transfer of former Templar property to the Hospitallers. On 21 March 1313, he had agreed, on behalf of the Grand Master to pay the French royal treasury 200,000 *livres tournois* in compensation for claimed losses against royal treasure which had been deposited at the Paris preceptory of the Templars. Barber, *Trial of the Templars*, p. 231.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., p. 52.

Thomas de Derby, in Lincoln, who was 'commanded to receive all his [the King's] animals and goods in the lands, late of the Templars in the county of Lincoln, from the keepers of those lands, and to bring and carry the same to certain places, as is more enjoined on him'.[38] All that was moveable was to be removed according to the King's instruction before any transfer of land was to take place. A statement was issued by Albert de Negro Castro and Leonard de Tibertis on 5 December 1313 which asserted that 'the king of England had handed over to them [the Hospitallers] all the former property of the Knights Templar insofar as he was able, and he had ordered his subjects to restore to them the former Templars' properties that they held'.[39] The insertion of the phrase 'insofar as he was able' in the statement issued by Negro Castro and Tibertis suggests that either the King was not in complete control of all former Templar lands or that he was a exercising a royal ploy to slow down the procedure of transfer.[40] However, where a powerful magnate such as Thomas, Earl of Lancaster had escheated Templar property, it would have been virtually impossible for Edward to transfer it to the Hospitallers even had he wished to do so.[41] Edward did however appear to be acceding to the pope's wishes, whilst still removing moveable goods and livestock, which was common practice on an abbey estate during a vacancy.

Whilst implementing the King's orders to take all that was moveable from the former Templar properties before their transfer to the Hospitallers, the royal

---

[38] Ibid., pp. 44-5.

[39] Nicholson, *Knights Templar on Trial,* p. 189; E 135/1/25.

[40] Ibid.

[41] N. Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II 1321-1326* (Cambridge, 1979) p. 98. Lancaster's estates were worth in excess of £11,000 a year. Edward II retained most of Lancaster's property after his execution in 1322.

agents clearly saw an opportunity for gain. Whilst to an extent the removal of goods and chattels by agents, for their own enrichment, may have been both expected and acceptable; overindulgence in 'intermeddling' was not. Aslackby, the smallest of the Templars' Lincolnshire estates was handed over to Thomas de Derby on 8 December 1313. By 11 December 1313, Derby was ordered not to 'intermeddle' with the goods and chattels of Joan, late wife of Alexander Comyn, Keeper of the Manor of Faxfleet [Yorkshire] and on 5 January 1314, the same order was issued with regard to the goods and chattels of David Graham, Keeper of the late Templars' Manor of Eagle.[42] In both cases, the 'intermeddling' was 'under colour of the king's order' to deliver to him the King's beasts and goods and chattels of the manor.[43] Whilst by no means all the lands of the Templars were being transferred to the Hospitallers as the Pope would have wished, neither were all the moveable goods finding their way to the King. The King's agents were helping themselves to the goods and chattels, further suggesting that he was not in full control of the situation. The formal receipt of all Templar property from Edward II, issued by Albert de Negro Castro on behalf of the Grand Master Fulk de Villaret on 5 December was manifestly premature.

Although the King's authority was partial, he was in possession of the Templars' charters and muniments which meant that he was fully cognisant of the extent of most of their property. In the absence of muniments, the Hospitallers were not as well informed regarding the extent of former Templar lands, which weakened their position considerably when prosecuting a claim

---

[42] *CCR, 1313-18*, p. 33, p. 35. In 1338, the manors of Faxfleet and Cave were still held illegally by Ralph Neville 'of the king's gift'. *Knights Hospitallers*, p. 212.

[43] Ibid.

to property. There is a likelihood that charters may have been stolen or destroyed. The political turbulence of the period allowed the opportunity for powerful individuals to lay claim to Templar property, and for the descendants of original donors of Templar lands to reclaim them on the basis that it was never the intent of their ancestors for their donations to be transferred to the Hospitallers. As Barber points out 'the baronage […] was not inclined to relinquish the hold which it had established during the trial'.[44] The respective claims of Hugh le Despenser the Younger upon Carlton le Moorland and Thomas, Earl of Lancaster upon Saxby were cases in point.[45]

As late as 10 March 1334, a calendar roll entry notes that the Prior of Sempringham had been 'unjustly […] distrained for £450 by reason of a certain commission of the exchequer under his name for all the lands of the said Templars in the town of Carleton, at the prosecution of Hugh le Despenser, the Younger, who held them for his own use, whereof the prior besought the king to provide a remedy'.[46] In a similar circumstance, the Prior of St. Katherine's without Lincoln had paid an annual hundred shillings into the Exchequer, supposedly from the income from former Templar lands, since the arrest of the Order, despite having been ejected after two years by Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. Lancaster 'claimed those lands as his escheat by the annulling of the Order of the Templars, so that the prior could not receive any issues there from that time'.[47] The Prior 'besought the king to provide a remedy'.[48] There was

[44] Barber, *Trial of the Templars*, p. 236.

[45] *CCR, 1333-7*, p. 211, p. 202.

[46] Ibid., p. 213.

[47] Ibid., p. 203.

[48] Ibid.

then a double injustice in that former Templar land was held by priories, not having been transferred to the Hospitallers, only to be confiscated by powerful lords who enjoyed the benefit of the income but left the priors with the expenditure to the Exchequer. Lancaster had been executed on 22 March 1322 at Pontefract and Hugh le Despenser the Younger at Hereford on 24 November 1326 but the legacy of their disputatious acquisitions continued.[49]

It was not as though the Hospitallers had been inactive in their pursuit of the former Templar lands, 'the prior of the Hospital having long sued for delivery of the charters and muniments concerning the possessions of the Templars that are in the treasury'.[50] Had Edward II quitclaimed the former Templar properties, and transferred them all to the Hospitallers, in the way in which the Pope had intended, then most certainly the related charters and muniments would have been relinquished as proof of ownership. The reality of the situation was a far cry from the precisely expressed mandate of 28 November 1313 and the favourable response of 5 December 1313. The Hospitallers found themselves not only lacking the documentary evidence of legal ownership, but as a result, became involved in lengthy and expensive litigation in an attempt to claim that which was rightfully theirs, as they saw it.

On 20 April 1322, John Walewyn, Escheator beyond the Trent was ordered to assign one third of the lands in Willoughton, which had belonged to the Templars, to Ada 'late the wife of Gerard de Chancy'.[51] The fact that the escheator had been ordered to assign Willoughton lands is indicative that they

[49] Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 408-9, pp. 516-17.

[50] *CCR, 1323-7*, p. 501.

[51] *CCR, 1318-23*, p. 483.

were still in royal hands. On 8 May, 1322, John de Whytynton was ordered to give Robert de Silkeston and Henry de Leycestre, who had been appointed auditors of the accounts of the late Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, 'information concerning the land that belonged to the Templars in county Lincoln, and other things that they might require, and concerning the lands that were in the hands of the said rebels'.[52] The 'information' would have related to the deeds and muniments which were in the King's hands, whereas it is clear that at least some of the former Templar lands in Lincolnshire had been in the hands of Lancaster and other rebels and the King was keen to reclaim them. A close roll entry of 15 April 1324, addressed to the keeper of certain lands in the King's hands in Lincolnshire refers to John de Whytynton as a corrodiary of the manor of Willoughton, which had been in the hands of John de Mowbray, but was escheated by the King because of de Mowbray's rebellion.[53] It would seem that de Whytynton had been rewarded with a corrody for his efforts in assisting the auditors of the accounts of Thomas of Lancaster.

Elsewhere, a similarly difficult situation prevailed. In 1322, Piers Deyvill petitioned the King and council for the return of tenements in South Cave (Yorkshire), which the Templars had held in fee of the lordship of his ancestors.[54] The tenements had been in the hands of the King following the arrest of the Templars but when he had 'removed his hand' Deyvill had entered his ancestral tenements from which he had been ejected by John de Mowbray.[55] The lands having been returned to the King's hand following the forfeiture of

[52] Ibid., p. 442.

[53] *CCR, 1323-27*, p. 108.

[54] SC 8/6/261.

[55] Ibid.

Mowbray, Deyvill requested that he might be reseised of them.[56] The response was that because the Hospitallers were suing to have the lands of the Templars he should have to wait until the matter was resolved by due process of law.[57] Clearly, Deyvill, the descendant of the original donor, wished to reclaim what he saw as his inheritance and did not wish it to be transferred to the Hospitallers.

From the viewpoint of the Hospitallers, the situation remained unsatisfactory. This resulted in a further presentation being made to Edward II in 1322 by Thomas Larcher, Prior of the Hospital in England and William Rambureles.[58] This was ten years after the issue of *Ad Providam.* Leo de Villa Nova (Helion de Villeneuve), Master of the Hospital was notified of the presentation, and the outcome, that the King had 'assigned a day to the prior and William in the next parliament because the wisest men of his council were not at that time assisting him'.[59] The priorities of Edward II and Thomas Larcher were at variance. Larcher was committed to the maintenance of the Hospitaller base of Rhodes and the prosecution of naval campaigns against the Turk in the eastern Mediterranean, both of which needed finance from the issue of western European estates. Edward II was heavily involved in trying to reassert his royal power after the demise of Lancaster. There can have been no area of convergence of interest between the two men; the transfer of Templar land remained incomplete; the muniments were still in the Exchequer; the problem remained intractable.

---

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] *CCR, 1318-23*, p. 677.

[59] Ibid.

King and Luke accredit Thomas Larcher, with the help of the Pope and bishops, of obtaining the act of parliament in 1324 'definitely vesting all the English property of the Templars in the Order of St. John'.[60] J. S. Hamilton observes that the statute was only obtained by 'the astute application of bribery not only to the king, but also the Despensers, by the prior, Thomas Larcher'.[61] The unequivocal close roll entry for 26 March 1324 is addressed to all the sheriffs of England. All the 'lands, fees and liberties of the Templars would be assigned to the Prior, on condition that services such as feeding the poor, hospitalities, celebration of divine service and the defence of the Holy Land were maintained'.[62] The act extended to all those who had come into possession of former Templar lands by succession, gift or purchase; the lands were to be surrendered, and Crown officials were to ensure that all knew the ruling.[63]

The context of the act of 1324 is enlightening. During the first fourteen years of his reign, Edward II had generally been on good terms with both the English bishops and the papacy, both of which had mediated between the King and his baronial opponents. By 1321-2 things had changed. The papal appointments to the bishoprics of Hereford, Coventry and Lichfield and Winchester were not the royal nominees.[64] In addition the King was at loggerheads with both the Bishop of Lincoln and the Bishop of Bath and Wells. By 1324 England and France were approaching war over Gascony, Edward needed accord within his

---

[60] King and Luke, *Knights of St. John*, p. 43.

[61] J. S. Hamilton, 'King Edward II of England and the Templars', in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307-1314)*, J. Burgtorf, P. F. Crawford and H. J. Nicholson (Farnham, 2010), p. 215.

[62] *CCR, 1323-7*, p. 91; S. Phillips, *The Prior of the Knights Hospitaller in Late Medieval England*, (Woodbridge, 2009), p. 8.

[63] *CCR, 1323-7*, p. 91.

[64] Phillips, *Edward II*, pp. 448-454.

kingdom and ideally papal support for his cause in the coming conflict. The act to transfer Templar lands to the Hospitallers twelve years after the issue of *Ad Providam* may well have been a royal stratagem to curry papal favour.

An order was issued on 1 July 1324 to the keepers of 'certain lands', amongst whom was Edmund de Assheby in Lincolnshire, in pursuance of the transfer of Templar property.[65] There was a caveat to the order which bore a striking similarity to that which appended the mandate of 28 November 1313, which had also ordered the transfer of Templar lands to the Hospitallers.[66] The caveat stated that 'all moveable goods in the said lands should remain to their owners, and that satisfaction should be made by the Hospitallers for the value of the corn growing in the said lands, or that the owners of the corn may carry the same away and make their profit thereof when the time comes'.[67] In other words before lands were transferred to the Hospitallers everything which could be removed was removed and what remained, like standing crops, the Hospitallers had to pay for.

By 30 August 1324, a demand for £494. 3s. 7d was issued by the King against the Hospitallers, consequent upon the transfer of the former Templar lands. However, the demand had to be postponed until 'the morrow of All Souls […] by reason of the aforesaid lands are still in the king's possession'.[68] The situation was little different to that which pertained in 1313: an order had been issued for the transfer of Templar lands followed by a proviso that crops and moveable goods were not to be transferred without due compensation. Twelve

[65] *CCR, 1323-7*, p. 91.

[66] Ibid., p. 117.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid., p. 219.

years after the papal bull *Ad Providam* had ordered transfer of Templar lands to the Hospitallers, the process remained incomplete.

There were then, two powerful sources of resistance to the statute of 1324: on the one hand, the heirs of the original donors of land to the Templars who had no intention of it being transferred to the Hospitallers, if that could be avoided, and, on the other, the great barons who were not about to cede estates in their possession.[69] The Commons presented a petition in four parts to the King and council in the same year as the statute, 1324, against prevailing injustices - debts levied by the Exchequer despite having been pardoned, the fact that the Commons could no longer petition in chancery for writs but had to address the King directly and the continuing practice of sheriffs to take fees, robes and pensions in contravention of the Statute of Lincoln.[70] The final part of the petition asked 'that the king provide a remedy against the damage that will result if the lands of the Templars are granted to the Hospitallers'.[71]

The petition of Hugh le Tygheler of Lincoln (1324-27) illustrates why the Commons sought redress.[72] The manor of Rowston had been escheated by Adam de Everingham because of the dissolution of the Order of the Temple who had held the manor of him.[73] Adam in turn gave Hugh the manor of Rowston for life, however, the transfer was declared void because of the act of 1324.[74] This was precisely the situation which the Commons feared, that of

---

[69] King and Luke, *Knights of St. John*, p. 43.

[70] SC 8/108/5398. The Commons would have consisted, at least in part, of those of knight's status. In all cases, they would have been landholders.

[71] Ibid.

[72] SC 8/16/775.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

confiscation of property to which they felt they had right of ownership. Three years later, the magnates expressed their dissatisfaction through a petition presented to the King and council.[75] They complained of being 'ousted from the lands which formerly belonged to the Templars'.[76] Further, they claimed that 'as heirs of the original donors, they were entitled to repossess the lands when the Templars were suppressed'.[77] The resentment caused by the statute of 1324 continued well into the reign of Edward III. A further petition of the Commons presented to the King and council in 1330 requested that the statute of 1324 be annulled 'as it was made by deceit by the Despensers who were paid by the Hospitallers, and that those that were ousted by writ because of the Statute be able to recover their land'.[78] Clearly the initial Commons' petition of 1324 had not produced the desired results. There were still those who felt aggrieved, that property, to which they felt that they had a right, had been transferred to the Hospitallers.

Whilst being the beneficiaries of the Templar estates to an extent, not only did the Hospitallers inherit the Templars' financial obligations, they also found themselves as litigants in the expensive pursuit of their transfer and defendants in retaining what they held. One way in which Templar benefactors could legitimately regain lands was to prove that the services enrolled in the act of 1324, those of religion, alms and hospitality, which had previously been provided by the Templars, were not being maintained by the Hospitallers.[79] As

[75] SC 8/159/7946.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] SC 8/79/3938.

[79] Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, p. 8.

late as 6 July 1335, a commission was called to establish whether the Hospitallers had withdrawn the services for the manor of Eagle.[80] It was not until 10 May 1344 that the Hospitallers were exonerated and Prior Philip de Thame allowed to hold Eagle quit of alms and other charges.[81]

By 20 July 1328, the Hospitaller's total income from all former Templar property in England was only £458 1s. 10d, which Phillips attributes to the expense of appeals against the transfer of former Templar land to the Hospitallers under the 1324 statute.[82] However, appeals against the transfer of former Templar property by the descendants of benefactors were not the only determinant which reduced the Hospitallers' income. During his period of tenure as Prior of the Hospitallers in England, Thomas Larcher made a number of transactions which initially seem less than prudent. He had granted corrodies valued at £233 6s. 8d in addition to rent-free land grants.[83]

Larcher was confronted with two major problems; firstly, the Hospitallers were in severe financial difficulties and needed money to repay creditors; secondly, the transfer of former Templar lands and the income which they generated needed to be concluded as expeditiously as possible. The pressing need to pay creditors resulted in the granting of both corrodies and land in exchange for ready money. Whilst this policy produced a short-term inflow of cash, the medium-term effect was the loss of income. Kemble held Larcher entirely responsible for the Hospitallers' parlous state: 'he had greatly burdened the Order by grants of pensions, and c. indiscreetly to obtain ready

---

[80] *CPR, 1334 – 8*, p. 199.

[81] *CCR, 1343-6*, p. 313.

[82] *Knights Hospitallers*, p. 217; Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, p. 5.

[83] *Knights Hospitallers*, p. lix.

money'.[84] A. Luttrell makes reference to 'many pensioners in England where the unrestricted sale of pensions, sometimes to quite wealthy people, could become a business affair, but while it initially produced income the resulting expenditures had by 1328 helped to provoke a financial crisis'.[85] Larcher may, however, have had little alternative. J. Bronstein cites that 'There is evidence that the English commanderies laboured under financial difficulties and to counter them they chose, like the French priories, to alienate property and take loans'.[86] Perhaps Larcher was merely applying the financial practices which had been so widely adopted by the Hospitallers in France during the previous century.

The difficulty lay in implementing the statute of 1324 which enacted the transfer of former Templar estates to the Hospitallers. Phillips suggests that the granting of lands by Larcher was a means of gaining 'the majority of Templar possessions'.[87] The manor of Kettleby, formerly of the Templar estate of Willoughton, consisting of a house, one hundred and eighty acres of land, thirty-two acres of meadow and a windmill was granted to John de Warrene, Earl of Surrey, and his wife for life, rent-free by Thomas Larcher.[88] Also on a rent-free basis, Warenne was in receipt of the manor of Temple Belwood, consisting of a house, eighty acres of land, twenty acres of meadow and a small

---

[84] Ibid., p. 273.

[85] A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Medical Tradition', in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. by M. C. Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 64-81 (p. 79).

[86] J. Bronstein, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land: Financing the Latin East 1187-1274* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 99.

[87] S. Phillips, 'The Hospitallers' Acquisition of the Templar Lands in England', in *Debate on the Trial*, ed. by Burgtorf, Crawford and Nicholson, pp. 237-46 (p. 239).

[88] *Knights Hospitallers*, p. 152.

wood granted by Thomas Larcher.[89] The manor of Aslackby was granted to Richard, son of Petronilla of Boston for an entry fine of half a mark.[90] Whilst these rent-free arrangements are recorded in the Report of 1338, they had been granted by Larcher who died in 1329 and so must have contributed to the low income cited from former Templar properties in 1328.[91] However, had properties, such as those cited, not been granted to the likes of the Earl of Surrey, they may well not have been transferred to the Hospitallers at all. Larcher was at least safe in the knowledge that the income from those Templar properties which had been granted away would be recovered by the Hospitallers, in the long-term, after the death of the rent-free tenant. Warenne was more likely to support the transfer of Templar lands to the Hospitallers if he was a beneficiary for life of Larcher's munificence.

Nine years after the death of Thomas Larcher, there were surviving corrodiaries, to whom he had granted corrodies, receiving their pensions. In addition, there were surviving landholders, who still held land grants rent-free. Had the former Templar lands been transferred to the Hospitallers with more speed and less litigation then there would not have been the need to raise short-term cash at the expense of medium-term income. Further, had bribery not been instrumental in enabling the transfer of Templar property to the Hospitallers, then the granting of lands on a rent-free basis may not have been necessary. As a means to an end, Larcher's strategy was successful; Phillips cites thirty-three

[89] Ibid., p. 153.

[90] *CPR 1330-4*, p. 414.

[91] *Knights Hospitallers*, p. 213. The same Earl Warrene illegally occupied the former Templar manor of Saddlescombe in East Sussex which had an annual income of £66 13s. 4d.

of the forty-six former Templar possessions, where the priors are identifiable, as having been gained during Larcher's period of tenure.[92]

A letter from Edward III, dated 8 March 1329, informed the Pope that Thomas Larcher had been replaced by Leonard de Tibertis who had been Prior of Venice, Procurator-General of the Order at the papal court and had been appointed by Master Fulk de Villaret to serve on the commission sent to take possession of the Templar lands in the west.[93] As Kemble observes, 'Thomas Larcher was suspended or deposed, and Leonard de Tybertis elected *ad interim*'.[94] On 28 August 1329, Thomas Larcher, the former Prior of the Hospitallers in England died, 'old and infirm and quite incapable of dealing with the intricate state of affairs that had arisen'.[95] However, in the light of the evidence cited above, Larcher was not the incompetent that Kemble portrays. He was astute enough to ensure the passage of the statute of 1324 and may have been playing a long game to ensure the eventual transfer of Templar estates to the Hospitallers. Nonetheless, it is Tibertis, formerly Prior of Venice, who had been involved in the transfer of former Templar lands in the West since 1312 and had already shown his considerable financial acumen, to whom Phillips attributes the improvement in the Hospitaller fortunes [96]

A memorandum of 15 September 1330 noted that Richard de Leycestria *et al* announced to the King at Clipston that Thomas Larcher was dead.[97] On the

---

[92] Phillips, 'Hospitallers' Acquisition' p. 239.

[93] *Knights Hospitallers*, pp. lxxi-lxxii; King and Luke, *Knights of St. John*, p. 44.

[94] *Knights Hospitallers*, p. lviii.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, p. 5.

[97] *CCR, 1330-3*, p. 155.

same day, Leonard de Tibertis was presented to Edward III. The meeting heightened the already strained relationship between the King of England and the Order. Tibertis was obliged to do fealty to Edward III. He did this with considerable reluctance, as all priors before him had been exempt from feudal obligation. They had been answerable directly to the Pope; an assertion which Edward III was the first king to challenge.[98] Tibertis was informed on the King's behalf 'that the prior is bound to do fealty to the king both by reason of the lands that the prior and brethren hold, and by reason of the lands of the Hospital, and by reason of the lands that they have newly acquired, and that the prior's predecessors have heretofore done fealty to the king and to his progenitors'.[99] The King was overstating his case and Tibertis was at pains to point out that his bending of the knee did not establish a precedent for the Order and its relationship with the Crown. However, the significance of the act was lost on neither man. Despite the protestations of the Hospitaller, it was clear that a precedent had been established and from that moment the Hospitallers ceased to be an exempt Order, and were answerable to the King, and arguably their lands were no longer alienated. With the bending of the knee came subjugation to the king which made the reclamation of former Templar properties ever more difficult.

The following year, 1331, Tibertis was confirmed as English prior, by the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova (Helion de Villeneuve), for a further ten years.[100] At a point during the early years of the reign of Edward III, a petition

[98] Ibid.

[99] Ibid.

[100] *Knights Hospitallers,* p. lviii.

from the Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England [most probably Tibertis] was presented to the King and council requesting the hand-over of the 'chief of the muniments' which the treasurer and chamberlains had hitherto refused to do.[101] The response was that the muniments were to be delivered to the Hospitallers, or a satisfactory explanation offered, if this was not effected expeditiously.[102]

The extent of the financial problems which Tibertis inherited is suggested by the enrolment of a sale dated 8 July 1333. For the sum of 2681 marks 2s. 11d., the societies of Bardi and Peruzzi, both of Florence, were sold '380 horses, 399 oxen, 572 cows, 137 calves, 1201 pigs, 10,353 sheep, 2620 lambs, 40 sacks of wool, and silver vessels of the weight of 200 marks'.[103] Of the thirty-two manors providing sale items, Gainsborough, Willoughton, Temple Bruer and Brauncewell were on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire. In the same year, 1333, de Tibertis died and Philip de Thame became prior. After the death of de Tibertis, the escheators took into the King's hands all the Hospitaller properties which were only returned to the Hospitallers following the plaint of Philip de Thame. A calender roll entry of 4 January 1334 addressed to the escheator in the counties of Lincoln, Northampton and Rutland says that 'priors or masters did no fealties to the king or his progenitors except only Leonard de Tibertis, the last prior of the Hospital, who lately did a certain fealty to the king under protest that that fealty should not be turned to the prejudice of the Hospital in future times, but the escheator and his sub-

[101] SC 8/294/14654A.

[102] Ibid.

[103] *CCR, 1333-7*, p. 124.

escheator in the said counties nevertheless caused the lands of the prior of that Hospital and those which had belonged to the Templars to be taken into the king's hand by reason of Leonard's death'.[104] The fealty of Leonard de Tibertis, so reluctantly conceded three years earlier, had not been forgotten. The escheators acted as though the fealty of the Order was in effect as the memorandum of 15 September 1330 stated which was not in accord with the close roll entry of 1334.[105]

Three patent roll entries during 1335 are equally contradictory. An entry of 30 June 1335 records the appointment of Thomas de Blaston and Thomas de Sibthorpe as 'assessors and collectors in the lands of the prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England beyond the Trent of the fifteenth granted to the king […] for his service against the Scots and other pressing matters'.[106] A further entry of the same date added Adam de Lymbergh to 'make a reasonable assessment of the lands of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England beyond the Trent for the fifteenth'.[107] Had the king regarded the Order as exempt from taxation, as had been their previous status, then they would not have been called upon to contribute to the fifteenth. The patent roll entry of 20 July 1335 briefly reaffirmed the statute of 1324, stating that all the 'lands, lordships, fees, advowsons and liberties belonging to the lately dissolved order of the Templars were assigned to the prior and brethren of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England, to remain to them and their successors for

[104] Ibid., p. 363.

[105] Ibid.

[106] *CPR, 1334-8,* p. 128.

[107] Ibid., p. 148.

ever'.[108] There was however no mention of the exemption of the Hospitallers from taxation.

As the relationship between Edward III and Philip de Thame developed, particularly after the outbreak of war with France in 1337, it becomes increasingly clear that the King not only expected fealty from the Order, he demanded it. The secular pressure to which de Thame was subject was increasing. In 1337, he was still petitioning for the return of the New Temple in London to the Order, it having been taken by force by Hugh le Despenser the Younger and then transferred into the King's hand after the forfeiture of Despenser.[109] De Thame had sent, at the King's request, ten men-at-arms to Scotland and had maintained them there for half a year. It was stated 'that this grant made of his own free will shall not prejudice the house as a precedent'.[110] The close roll entry of 23 July 1337 further highlights the prior's plight.[111] In it he was prohibited from sending any money or goods out of the realm on pain of confiscation of the lands, goods and chattels of the Order into the King's hands.[112] Further, he was to attend the King's council on the morrow of Martinmas to inform them about the sums which had already been sent.[113] A close roll entry of 4 October 1337 addressed to Philip de Thame demanded that he pay his outstanding debt to the Society of the Peruzzi 'because they have promised at the king's request to pay a great sum of money in aid of his

---

[108] Ibid., p. 158.

[109] *CCR, 1337-9,* p. 72.

[110] *CPR, 1338-40,* p. 11.

[111] *CCR, 1337-9,* p. 240.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid.

expenses', presumably dependent upon receipt of the Hospitallers' outstanding debt.[114]

By 1338 the financial tide had turned: the gross income from the former Templar lands in Lincolnshire alone was £661 18s. 11d whereas ten years earlier the income from all the Templar lands in England which had been transferred to the Hospitallers was £458 1s 10d (appendix 32).[115] The net income of the Hospitallers nationally was £6839 9s. 9d.[116] However, the Hospitallers still had a substantial number of sizeable debts to be honoured, amongst which were £2666 13s. 4d. to Asselin Simonetti of Lucca, £1200 to Blyndus Gyles of Florence and £1000 to John de Oxonia and Walter Nel.[117] The size of these debts is best appreciated when compared with the proceeds of the livestock sale of 1333 which generated a total income of less than £1800. Then, more than ever, it was crucial that the Hospitallers made an inventory of the property to which they laid claim in England, particularly as their claim to the former Templar lands was supported by the French papacy based at Avignon. The close roll entry of 12 January 1339 encapsulates the situation, Elyan de Villanova (Helion de Villeneuve) is informed that the 1041 marks which Philip de Thame had deposited at Clerkenwell and other sums elsewhere 'are taken in support of the charges of the war with France for the king's use'.[118] Edward III was determined that the Hospitallers should bend to his will not least by providing him with financial support rather than the Grand Master,

---

[114] Ibid., p. 186.

[115] *Knights Hospitallers*, pp. 144-61.

[116] Ibid., p. 213.

[117] *CCR, 1337-9*, p. 137.

[118] Ibid., p. 632.

Elyan de Villanova (Helion de Villeneuve), in Rhodes. It was propitious timing that the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to Grand Master Elyan de Villanova (Helion de Villeneuve), ordered by Pope Benedict XII, was completed during the first year of the Hundred Years War with France.

6.3. The Report of Prior Philip de Thame to Grand Master Elyan de Villanova (Helion de Villeneuve), 1338

The Report of 1338 was transcribed by Rev. Lambert B. Larkin with an additional commentary by John Mitchell Kemble; the completed work was published by the Camden Society in 1857. The Report is divided into two parts, the first is the extent of the lands and tenements of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England and the second, the extent of the property which had belonged to the Templars. The latter includes both a list of former Templar property which had been transferred to the Hospitallers and of that which was known not to have been. Each commandery is enrolled along with the sources of receipts and gross income including that from member manors and subsidiary properties.[119] The overall expenditure is itemised after the statement of gross income for each estate. Unlike previous inventories of Templar property, besides the usual inclusion of expenditure on wages, provisions and pensions, the Report of 1338 includes, under expenses, gifts to sheriffs, clerks, bailiffs, ministers of the King and various other lords.[120] The Hospitallers were obliged to buy influence, aid, favour and friendship so as to have 'guarantees

[119] *Knights Hospitallers*, pp. 144-51. Whereas the term preceptory was always used with reference to the administrative centre of a Templar estate, on a Hospitaller estate, the term commandery was used for the administrative centre without exception.

[120] Ibid.

that the Order's liberties would be respected'.[121] Reluctantly, the Hospitallers became involved in national and regional politics. As H. J. Nicholson observes, 'the Hospital could not remain untouched by worldly affairs because worldly affairs would not leave it alone' as the meeting between Edward III and Leonard de Tibertis illustrates.[122]

Prior to the transfer of former Templar property to the Hospitallers, the Hospitallers had a limited presence in Lincolnshire with commanderies at Skirbeck and Maltby.[123] In 1338, Skirbeck had income from a sheaf tithe at Kirkton and a chapel at *Wynstowe* and Maltby drew income from the rental of land in Scamblesby to Roger Martel.[124] Neither Skirbeck nor Maltby had any member manors, and there are no other places listed in the Report where the two commanderies had property.[125] In 1308, the Templars held land, churches or both in fifty-one settlements in Lincolnshire (appendix 33). The Report of 1338 lists forty-eight Lincolnshire settlements in which the Hospitallers held land, churches, or both, of which forty-five were former Templar holdings (map 13). There was a net loss of six former Templar holdings between 1308 and 1338.The reduction was by no means uniform across the former Templar estates. The number of settlements where Willoughton had interests actually increased from nineteen to twenty-three over the thirty year period from 1308 to 1338. Willoughton no longer had property at Dunstal and Blyborough but had acquired land at Waddington, Ingham, Yawthorpe and Stallingborough and

---

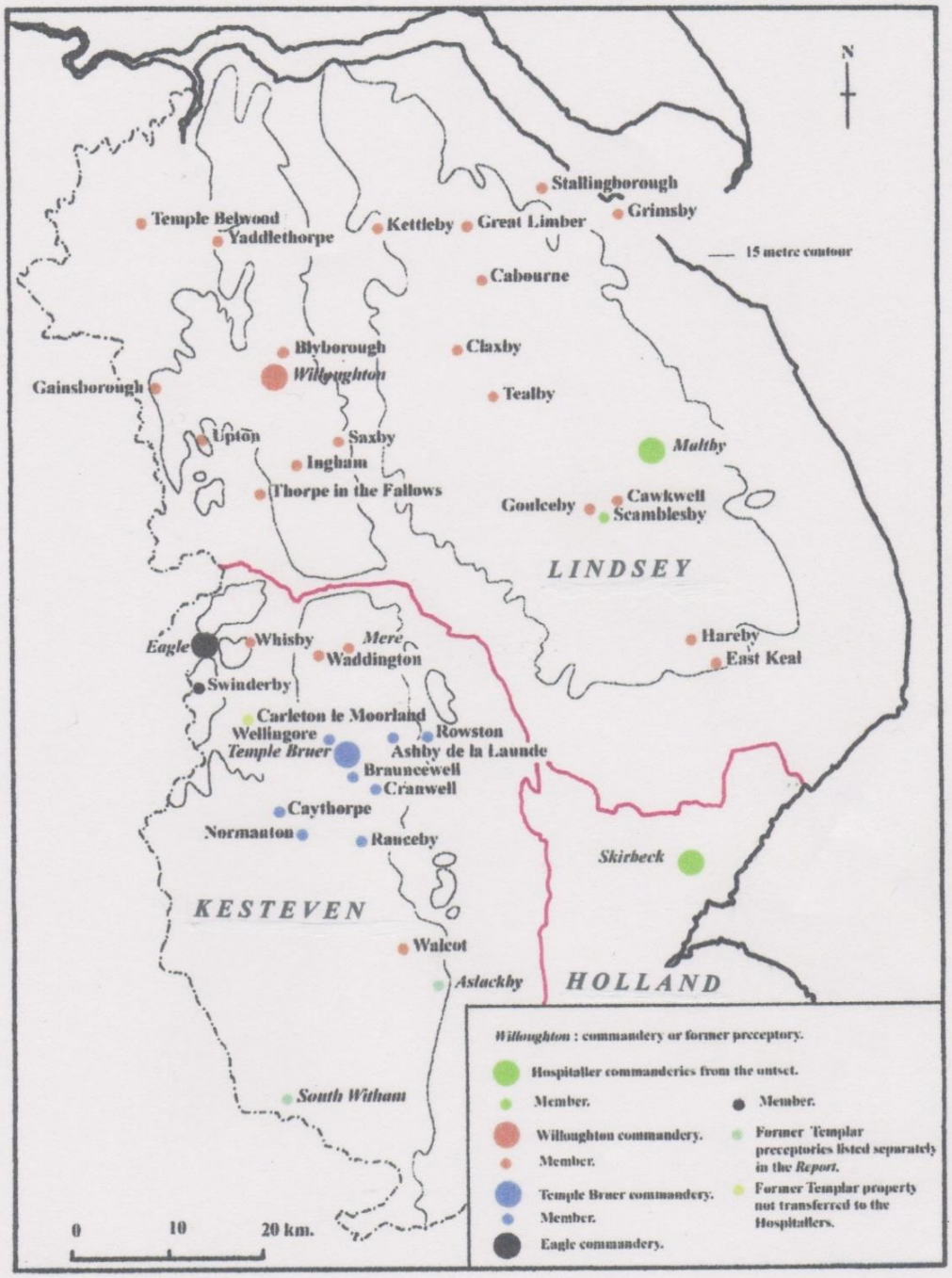
[121] H. J. Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 113.

[122] Ibid.

[123] *Knights Hospitallers*, pp. 57-62.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Ibid.



Map 13. The distribution of Hospitaller properties in 1338.

property in both Lincoln and Grimsby, none of which is included in the accounts of 1308 (appendix 33).[126] Further, Walcot was a member of the Willoughton estate in 1338, whereas in 1308, fixed rent from Walcot was collected at Willoughton for forwarding to the preceptory of Faxfleet on the north bank of the Humber.[127]

Whereas Willoughton and its Lindsey properties appear to have made the transfer to the Hospitallers whilst retaining their integrity, the same is not true of the Kesteven estates. In 1338 the Temple Bruer estate no longer included the manors of Welbourn and Holme but neither were they listed amongst properties which had not been transferred to the Hospitallers (appendix 33).[128] The same is true of property at Navenby, Woolsthorpe, Bytham, Leadenham and *Heriherdeby*, all of which are included in the Temple Bruer accounts of 1308.[129] The Eagle extent for 1338 no longer includes the manor of Bracebridge nor land at Morton but there is the addition of property at Sibthorpe which was rented out for £6 13s. 4d.[130]

Included in the Report of 1338 is a surprisingly brief list of former Templar property not received by the Hospitallers but *occupata per dominum Regem, et alios magnates de terra Anglie* (appendix 33).[131] The Report only identifies one Lincolnshire property as not having been transferred to the Hospitallers, Carlton le Moorland, initially occupied by Hugh le Despenser the Younger.[132]

---

[126] Ibid, pp. 144-53.

[127] Ibid., p. 149.

[128] Ibid.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Ibid., p. 158.

[131] Ibid. p. 212.

[132] Ibid.

Carlton had been a member of Temple Bruer estate in 1308. The Report of Philip de Thame lists only twelve manors and a watermill, in all of England, with a combined annual income of £764 13s. 4d., which had not been transferred to the Hospitallers by 1338 (appendix 34).[133] However, a comparison of the accounts of 1308-12 and the Report of 1338 reveals a different picture. In Lincolnshire alone, there were fifteen settlements from which the Templars drew income in 1308 which are not recorded in the Report of 1338 (appendix 33). Even allowing for the eight settlements which are attributed to the Templars in the Report of 1338, but which are not recorded in the accounts of 1308, there was a far more substantial loss of former Templar property than merely that of the manor of Carlton.

The Report specifically lists former Templar properties, not transferred to the Hospitallers, which were occupied by the King and other magnates. That is, only those of the highest social rank, which would have excluded any person of lower social status who had occupied land which had been given to the Templars by an ancestor. One must assume therefore that, either there was land which had not been transferred to the Hospitallers, of which they were not aware, or, that there was land which they felt was not worth pursuing and therefore not worth recording. Further, there are those lands which are not recorded either in the accounts of the former Templar estates of 1308 or in the extent of the former Templar lands in the Report of 1338. Such a case is that of three bovates of land at Stenigot in Lindsey.[134] The land had been donated

[133] Ibid.

[134] SC 8/91/4529 [c. 1322].

to the Templars by the family of Nicholas de Leke.[135] Following the arrest of the Order, it was occupied, without title, by Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. De Leke petitioned for the return of the land after the forfeiture and subsequent execution of Lancster in 1322. The absence of Stenigot in the Report of 1338 leads one to assume that the petition was successful, and, to wonder how many other donations found their way back into secular hands.

The Report depended for its accuracy upon reference to deeds and muniments, the documentation which provided the proof of ownership. Philip de Thame would not have had access to the accounts of 1308, therefore he did not have a definitive list of the properties which the Templars had held at the moment of their arrest. Any manor for which he had no proof of ownership could not be included in the Report. Similarly, the only properties which were listed as having belonged to the Templars, and not transferred to the Hospitallers, were those for which he had the deeds proving ownership, but was unable to evict the initial occupants and their successors. The likelihood of being able to persuade the Earl of Arundel, Earl of Gloucester, Countess of Pembroke and in the case of watermills at York, Edward III to vacate former Templar properties which they occupied was remote in the extreme (appendix 34).[136] However, it may have been that these properties were necessary concessions so as to facilitate the Hospitallers' pursuit of former Templar properties elsewhere. In any event, it was important to the status of the Order that claim was made to land occupied by the foremost in the land.

---

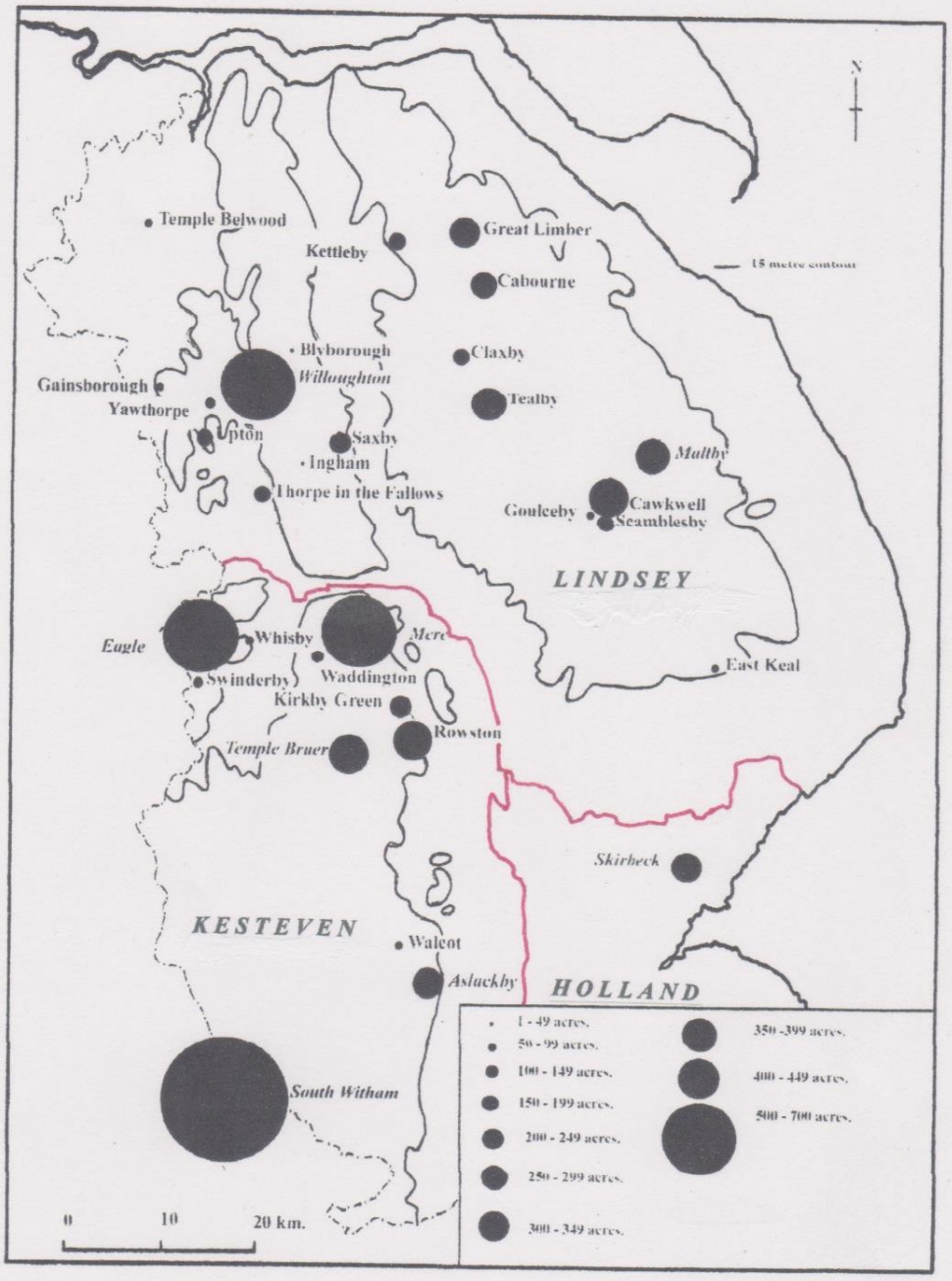
[135] Ibid.

[136] *Knights Hospitallers*, p. 212.

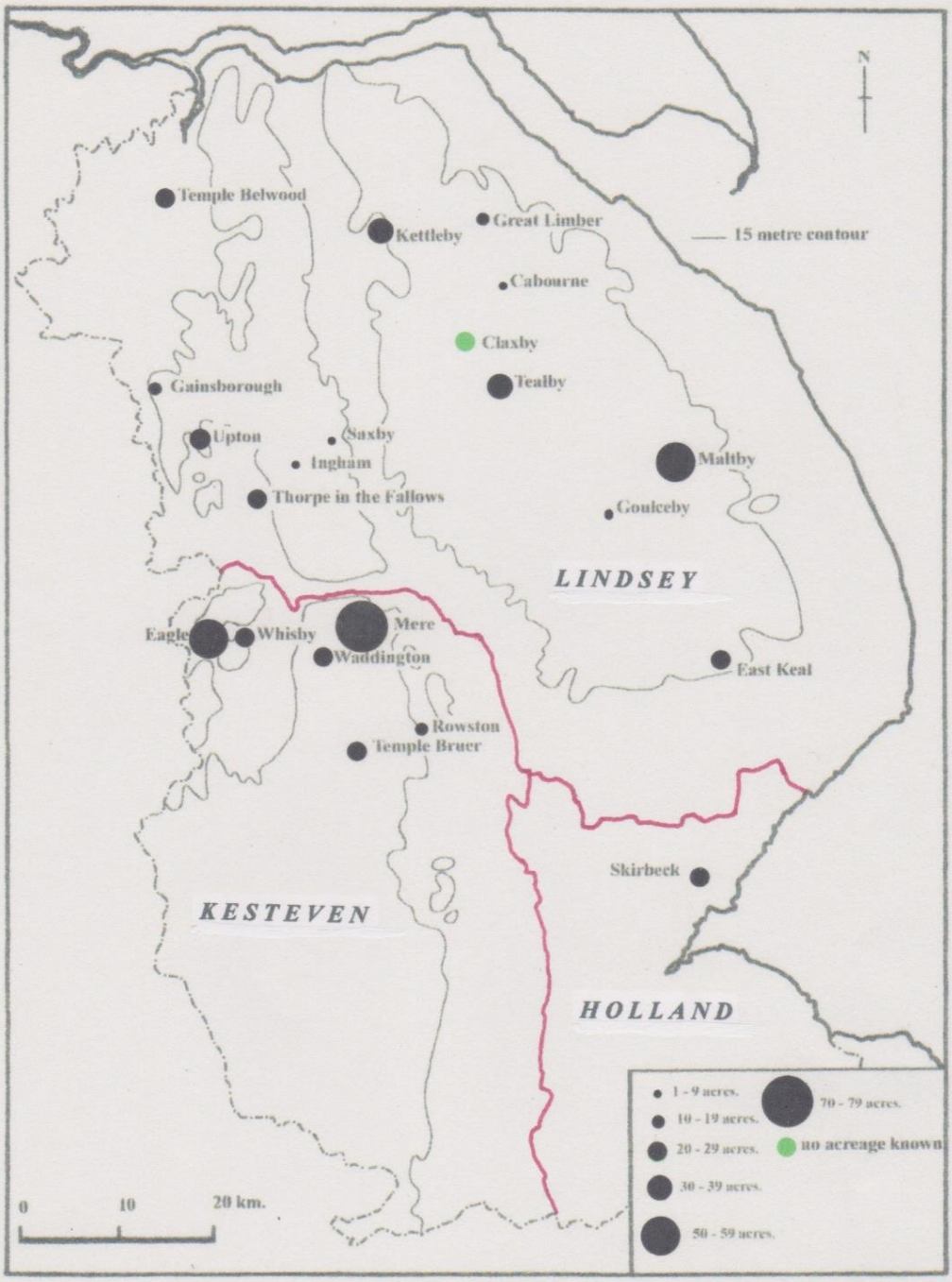
The Report gives a clear indication of the nature of the land which had been transferred to the Hospitallers by 1338, but of equal interest are the omissions. In the Report, references to meadowland, pasture and woodland are quite specific, so generic references to 'land' clearly meant arable. On this basis, on the former Templar estates, there were 3950 arable acres in Lindsey and 4294 acres in Kesteven, giving a Lincolnshire total of 8244 acres of arable land held in demesne (map 14, appendix 35). Of the thirty-six vills where the Hospitallers held former Templar property, fifteen in Kesteven and twenty-one in Lindsey, in only three, Blyborough, Yawthorpe and Ingham, were the demesne holdings less than sixty acres (appendix 35). In all three vills, the land had been acquired after the Templar estates had been sequestered. In seventy-five per cent of the settlements where the Hospitallers held land, the holdings were between sixty and five hundred acres. In the Inquest of 1185, 51.2 per cent of Templar holdings were less than thirty acres and 23.2 per cent less than ten acres.[137] The marked difference between the size of landholdings in 1185 and 1338 is due entirely to the policy of acquisition and consolidation which the Templars pursued throughout the thirteenth century. The Hospitallers were the beneficiaries of the Templars business acumen insofar as they were able to claim their inheritance.

In 1338, the value of arable land was determined by quality. Whereas the norm was between fourpence and eightpence per acre, the poor quality of Lincoln Heath yielded only twopence per acre at Temple Bruer (appendix 35).

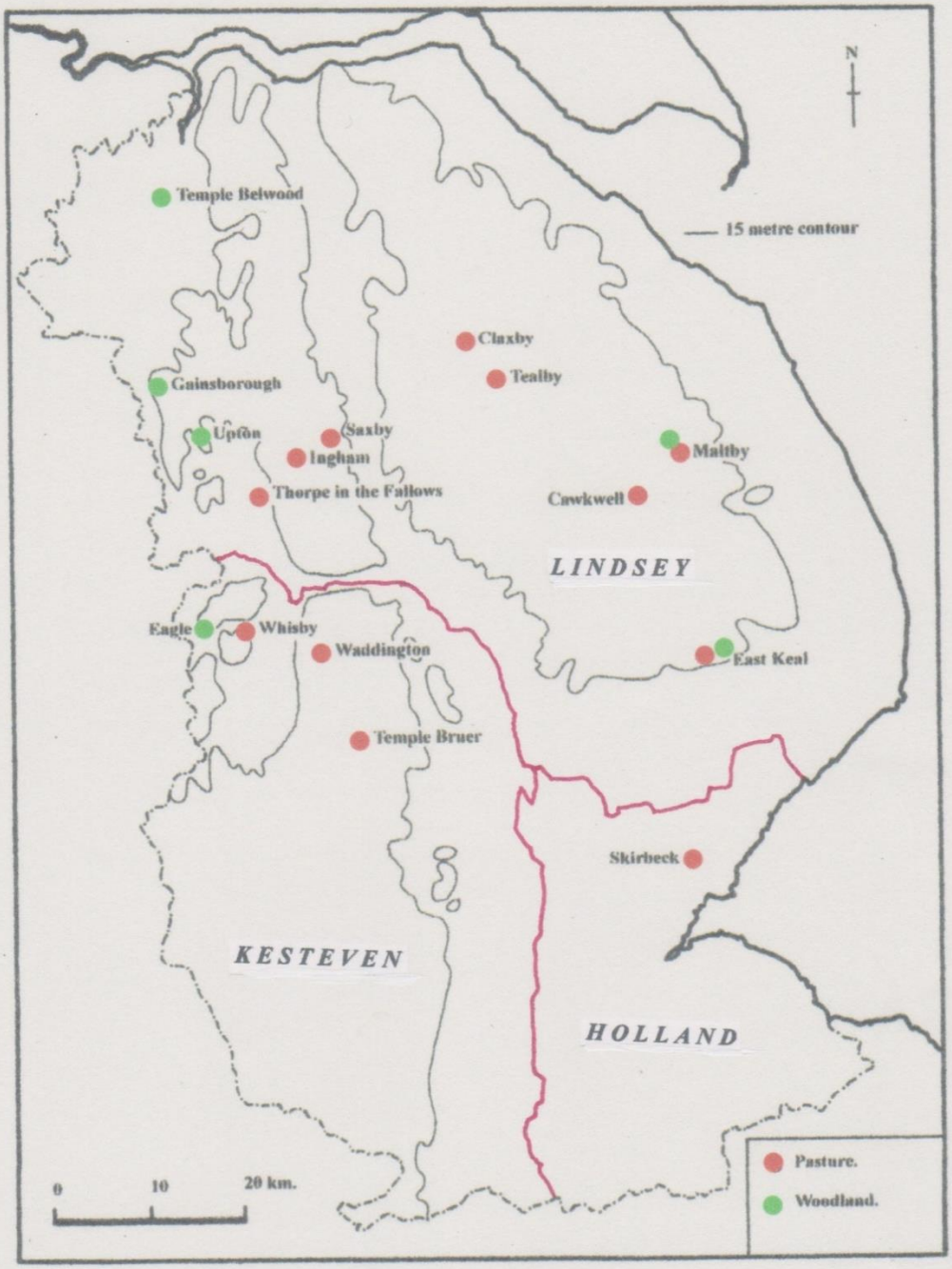
[137] J. M. Jefferson, 'The Lost Treasure of the Templars: the Templar Lands in Lincolnshire and What Happened to Them 1185-1560. (M.A. dissertation, University of Nottingham, 2007), graph 1.



Map 14. The distribution of Hospitaller arable land in demesne in 1338.



Map 15. The distribution of Hospitaller meadow in demesne in 1338.



Map 16. The distribution of pasture and woodland in demesne in 1338.

At the other extreme, the rich southern fenland of Skirbeck, which was never a Templar preceptory, yielded two shillings per acre.[138]

Whilst acreages were invariably recorded for meadowland, the same was not true of either woodland or pasture. H. C. Darby defined meadow as land 'bordering a stream, liable to flood and producing hay', the term pasture 'denoted land available all the year round for feeding cattle and sheep'.[139] There were four hundred and eighty-six acres of meadowland recorded in 1338, on the former Templar estates, of which one hundred acres were in Kesteven and three hundred and eighty-six acres in Lindsey (map 15, appendix 35). The Lindsey total includes one hundred and forty-eight acres which were leased rent free. Of the twenty settlements where there were meadow holdings only those at Mere and Eagle exceeded fifty acres (appendix 35). With the exception of Thorpe in the Fallows which had twenty-nine acres of meadow, the remaining sixteen were all smaller than twenty-five acres (appendix 35). As with arable land, the quality of meadow was reflected in its value. Whilst the usual value of an acre of meadow was two shillings, sixty acres of marsh meadow at Mere could only yield sixpence per acre (appendix 35). The importance of the hay crop cannot be overestimated: meadowland was even more valuable than the very best arable land in the fens. The three hundred acres of arable land at Skirbeck, close to the Wash were valued at two shillings each but even there, the meadow was valued at a penny more per acre.[140]

---

[138] *Knights Hospitallers*, p. 60.

[139] H. C. Darby, ed., *The Domesday Geography of Eastern England* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 60.

[140] *Knights Hospitallers*, p. 60.

Of the ten settlements recorded in the Report as having pasture, only the entry for Caldecot records acreage and income which was one hundred and twenty acres at fourpence per acre (map 16, appendix 35).[141] However, an extrapolation on the basis of fourpence per acre, assuming that the rental value of pasture was less variable than that of either arable or meadow, would render a total pastureland area in demesne in excess of four hundred and thirty-three acres in Lincolnshire, the amount dependent upon the stocking rate at Whisby (appendix 35).[142] This would certainly have been insufficient to graze the number of sheep which are recorded in the accounts of the former Templar estates in 1308. However, the Report does not allow the extent of pastureland which was rented out to be established, nor does it list livestock, which would have at least allowed a comparison with the livestock numbers of 1308. Clearly there must have been far more pastureland rented out than there was held in demesne on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire. Gervers suggests that the Hospitallers 'do not appear to have been greatly involved in pastoral husbandry' and further points out that in Essex, stock which was acquired along with former Templar property was 'leased with the entire holding at term'.[143] The absence of a substantial acreage of pastureland in demesne coupled with the extensive use of fixed rents in Lincolnshire entirely support Gerver's findings in Essex.

---

[141] Ibid., p. 157.

[142] Ibid., pp. xviii-xxii. Fourpence per acre for arable land accords with the lowest valuation of best quality former Templar lands drawn up by Kemble; arable land could reach a valuation of twelve pence per acre.

[143] M. Gervers, *The Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England, Part 2, Prima Camera, Essex* (Oxford, 1996), pp. lxxxv-lxxxvi.

The total acreage of Hospitaller lands held in Lincolnshire in 1338 was of the order of 9383 acres in demesne, excluding the seven hundred and ten acres of Skirbeck, Maltby and Scamblesby, none of which were ever Templar properties (appendix 35). Temple Bruer had five manors included in its estate totalling 3450 acres in demesne whereas Willoughton had twenty-two manors and vills manors totalling 4469 acres; this includes the six hundred and eighty-eight acres of the five manors and camerae which had been granted by Thomas Larcher (appendix 35).The demesne acreage of 1338 represented only 53.6 per cent of the 17,500 acres attributed to the Templars in the Inquest of 1185.[144]

The foregoing discussion is limited to demesne land and that granted by Thomas Larcher because no reference is made in the Report of Philip de Thame to either the type of land farmed out at fixed rent or its acreage. This is surprising, given that the primary purpose of the Report was to produce an extent of Hospitallers' lands, and, the substantial income from fixed rent would suggest that the acreage of land at farm was not inconsiderable. Further, the data relating to pastureland in the Report is far from complete. Similarly, the accounts of 1308-12 give only the arable acreage under crops, not the entire arable acreage, and pastoral acreage can only be extrapolated on the basis of livestock numbers. However, as the primary wealth of the Templars depended upon the income from their estates, it would seem improbable that the acreage of the estates would have been substantially reduced between 1185 and 1308 when the brethren were arrested. The Templars were active participants in the land market, acquiring land during the thirteenth century as the wealth of the Order increased, therefore it is probable that the Templar lands in Lincolnshire

[144] Jefferson, 'Lost Treasure', p. 25.

would have been in excess of 17,500 acres at the opening of the fourteenth century.

The year 1337 marked the beginning of the Hundred Years War with France. Edward III contracted with English merchants that they should take 30,000 sacks of wool from producers and export them to the continent, the King's share of the profit to be devoted to war preparations.[145] Of the 30,000 sacks, 10,700 were to come from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, which hardly suggests an overall reduction in Lincolnshire sheep pasture.[146] In such an assured market, it would have made no economic sense for the Hospitallers to have disposed of former Templar pastures in Lincolnshire, had they been in their hands, whereas the temptation for the King not to relinquish them must have been overwhelming, if they were in his. Further, who better to predict the state of the wool market than the King who was its manipulator. Whilst in possession of charters and muniments relating to former Templar property, the King could retain or dispose of it at will, provided that his response to repeated Hospitaller entreaties to transfer Templar lands was sufficient to satisfy the Pope.

Land which was farmed out at a fixed rental in 1338 constituted a considerable proportion of the gross income of each of the four Lincolnshire preceptories - 30.3 per cent on the Willoughton estate and 53.1 per cent on the Temple Bruer estate (appendix 36). The proportion is even greater if measured against land income and fixed rent only - 46.6 per cent on the Willoughton estate and 81.4 per cent on the Temple Bruer estate (appendix 36). Clearly the

---

[145] H. L. Gray, 'The Production and Exportation of English Wool in the Fourteenth Century', *The English Historical Review*, 39, 153 (1924), 13-35 (p. 24).

[146] Ibid.

Willoughton estate retained more of its land in demesne than did Temple Bruer which implies that Willoughton had a higher degree of integrated estate management. Only a few of the tenants of the properties which were farmed out for a fixed rent were named in the report. The manor of Claxby, consisting of one hundred and sixty acres with meadowland and pasture, was granted for an unspecified fixed rent to Robert Balle.[147] The grant was made by Larcher and the rent to be paid at Willoughton. In Kesteven, Aslackby, no longer a preceptory, and its lands were granted to Henry de la Dale for a fixed rent of £40.[148] By 1338, the former preceptory of South Witham was reduced to a *mesuagium destructum* but the associated eight carucates of land and a moiety of the church retained value and had been granted to Richard de Ty by Larcher for a fixed rent of £26 13s 4d (appendix 36).[149] South Witham was not the only former Templar holding which had fallen into disrepair during the thirty years since the arrest of the Order; on the Willoughton estate, both Limber and Mere were in a ruinous condition but each had valuable land in addition to which Limber had income of twenty shillings. from a windmill and Mere had ten shillings from a turbary.[150] Kemble cites few of the recovered preceptories as being in a fit state to accommodate preceptors of the Hospital; what was true of the preceptories was also evident on the manors.[151] However, the high proportion of income which the fixed rents represented in 1338, 42.1 per cent of gross income, indicates that the rental acreage must have been sizeable. The

[147] *Knights Hospitallers*, p. 148.

[148] Ibid., p. 160.

[149] Ibid.

[150] Ibid., pp. 146-7.

[151] Ibid., p. lviii.

acreage of land farmed out at fixed rents reflected the 63.5 per cent of the total income of land and rents (appendix 36). This accords with Gervers' conclusion that 'the Hospitallers were predominantly farmers of rents and tithes'.[152] Land which had been rented by the Templars to add to their Kesteven estates is not recorded in the Report of 1338 for Temple Bruer, Eagle or Aslackby (appendix 33). As land which was rented by the Templars was not owned by them, and therefore not transferred to the Hospitallers, then it was not within the remit of the Report.

By 1338 the transfer of former Templar churches to the Hospitallers had been completed (map 17, appendix 37). On the Willoughton estate, all five churches, with their associated incomes were in Hospitaller hands.[153] On the Temple Bruer estate, all eight Lincolnshire churches in which the Templars had a financial interest in 1308 were transferred to the Hospitallers, in addition to which there was North Kirkby.[154] Eagle and Swinderby churches were transferred to the Hospitallers, but the pension from the church of North Scarle is not accounted in the Report of 1338.[155] Whilst the Hospitallers drew income directly from the churches cited above, the same was not true elsewhere. The church of Aslackby along with a house and two carucates of land were handed over to Henry de la Dale for a fixed rent of £40 and Donington church was farmed out to Radulph de Bery at a fixed rent of £10 (appendix 37).[156]

---

[152] Gervers, *Cartulary*, p. cix.

[153] *Knights Hospitallers*, pp. 144-9.

[154] Ibid., pp. 154-7, p. 160.

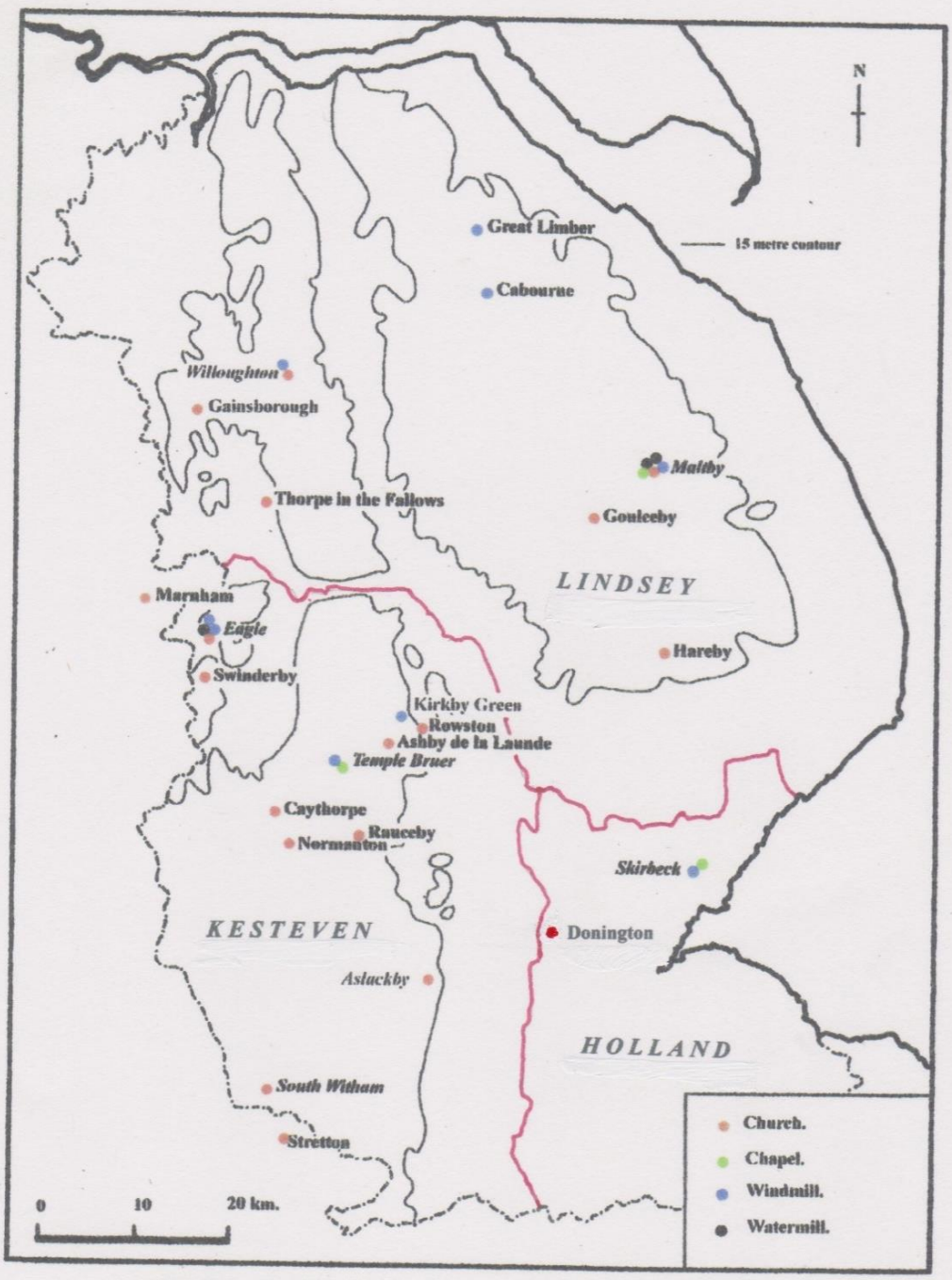
[155] Ibid., p. 157.

[156] Ibid., pp. 160-1.

The transfer of churches would suggest that it was easier to establish financial interest in ecclesiastical property other than agricultural land probably because the muniments were retained by the diocese and so were locally accessible. It is also manifest that the relationship between the Templars and their churches was one of long-term stability as sixteen of those which had been transferred to the Hospitallers by 1338 are recorded as Templar property in the Inquest of 1185 (map 10). Of those recorded in 1185, only the churches of Althorpe and Haxey, on the Isle of Axholme, Claypole and Cranwell were no longer in the hands of the military orders by 1338. The overall income of the church property in 1338 was £162 15s. 4d, not including the church of South Witham, which was 37.0 per cent of the net income of the former Templar properties in Lincolnshire. Of the two original Hospitaller commanderies in the county, both Skirbeck and Maltby each had a chapel but only Maltby included a church in its holdings (map 16).

In January 1308, the Templars had twenty-two mills in Lincolnshire (map 11, appendix 38). Of those, there were nine mills on the Eagle estate six mills on Temple Bruer estate, five mills on the Willoughton estate and two mills at Aslackby. By 1338 there were only ten mills remaining which had Templar associations (map 17). In 1308, the manor of Bracebridge on the Eagle estate had six watermills all of which were farmed out and the fixed rent, granted by charter of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, paid to Holy Innocent's Hospital, Lincoln.[157] Holy Innocent's, known locally as the Malandry, had initially supported ten lepers, but by the early fourteenth century, its 'administration

[157] E 358/18, 17/1, line 16, lines 19-21.



Map 17. Hospitaller churches, chapels and mills in 1338.

had become scandalous'.[158] The virtual absence of lepers in residence, the consumption of endowments by healthy people and the exploitation of his position by the non-resident warden, often a Chancery clerk, seriously undermined its credibility.[159]

Rent was also paid to the Priory of St Katherine, which was adjacent to Holy Innocent's, for lands and tenancies held of the priory by the Templars.[160] In the Report of 1338, there was no entry for Bracebridge, neither the manor nor its water mills, perhaps they had been claimed by the priory.[161] Similarly, the moiety of the windmill at Mere, from which the Templars had derived income in 1308, is not mentioned in the report of 1338.[162] The mill had either been taken over by the holder of the remaining moiety or, as Mere is described in the Report as having a *mansum ruinosum*, the same state of dilapidation could have applied to the mill, in which case it would have fallen into disuse and been of no economic value.[163]

A further omission is that of South Witham mills. In 1308, South Witham drew income from the rent of a watermill at Woolsthorpe, but in addition, there was a windmill as twelve ells of canvas were bought for the repair of the sails.[164] Further expenditure on two locks for the door of a mill imply that theft

---

[158] D. Marcombe, *Leper Knights. The Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem in England, 1150-1544* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 166-7.

[159] Ibid.

[160] E 358/18, 17/1, lines 20-1.

[161] *Knights Hospitallers*, pp. 157-9.

[162] Ibid., p. 147.

[163] Ibid.

[164] E 358/18, 18/1, lines 50-1; 18/2, lines 6-7.

was an issue.[165] Thirty years later, South Witham was derelict.[166] If the former preceptory had fallen into such a dramatic state of disrepair, then the first buildings to suffer from lack of maintenance would have been the mills. The same fate of gradual deterioration may have befallen the watermill and windmill at Aslackby which are no longer recorded in the Report of 1338.[167] Conversely there were manors where there were additional mills by 1338; Cabourne had gained a windmill as had Temple Bruer.[168] Further, whereas in 1308, Eagle had a windmill with additional mills at Stapleford and Beckingham, by 1338 it would appear that centralisation had occurred as three mills were listed at Eagle only.[169]

Whilst there is no evidence of widespread alienation of former Templar mills both the examples of Bracebridge and possibly Mere would suggest that alienation did occur. The loss of a functional mill at South Witham involved the loss of the income which it would have generated which suggests that an alternative means of milling must have been available. If that meant that tenants milled their own grain, which was not favoured by landholders because of the loss in revenue which it represented, then it further points to the loss of social control already suggested by the ruinous state of the former preceptory. The reduction in the number of Templar mills between 1185 and 1308 was due to the technological advance represented by windpower. The further reduction in

[165] E 358/18, 18/2, line 5.

[166] *Knights Hospitallers*, p. 160.

[167] Ibid.

[168] Ibid., pp. 146, 154.

[169] Ibid., p. 157.

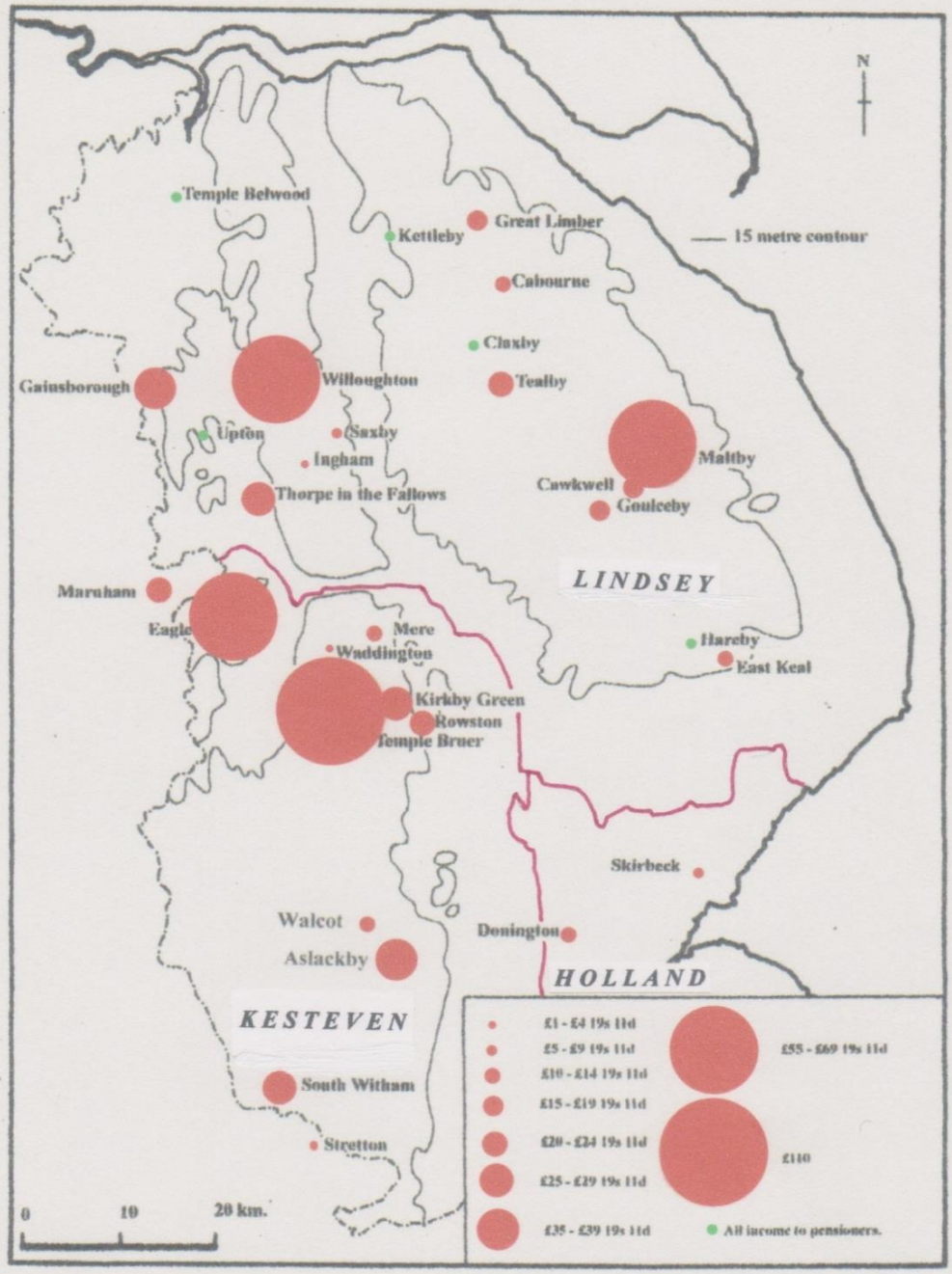
mills between 1308 and 1338 was much more likely to have been due to gradual dilapidation as a result of lack of maintenance.

The contrast between the financial position of Willoughton in 1338 and that on 30 July 1309 could not be more marked. The 1309 account records receipts of £10 4s. 9d. for the entire estate, expenses of £20 1s. 3d. (corrected figures) and a debt of £9 16s. 6d.[170] Despite the loss of income sustained by Willoughton because of rent-free grants, the net income of the estate was £191 4s. 10d. in 1338, greater than that of each of the three Kesteven former preceptories by a substantial margin (appendix 32). Further, Willoughton's expenditure was only 30.1 per cent of gross income whereas it was 41.0 per cent at Temple Bruer and 45.6 per cent at Eagle (appendix 32). A comparison of maps 18 and 19 illustrates the difference in the pattern of income and expenditure between the Lindsey and Kesteven estates in 1338. By 1338, Willoughton had been restored to its previous position as the most important of the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire.

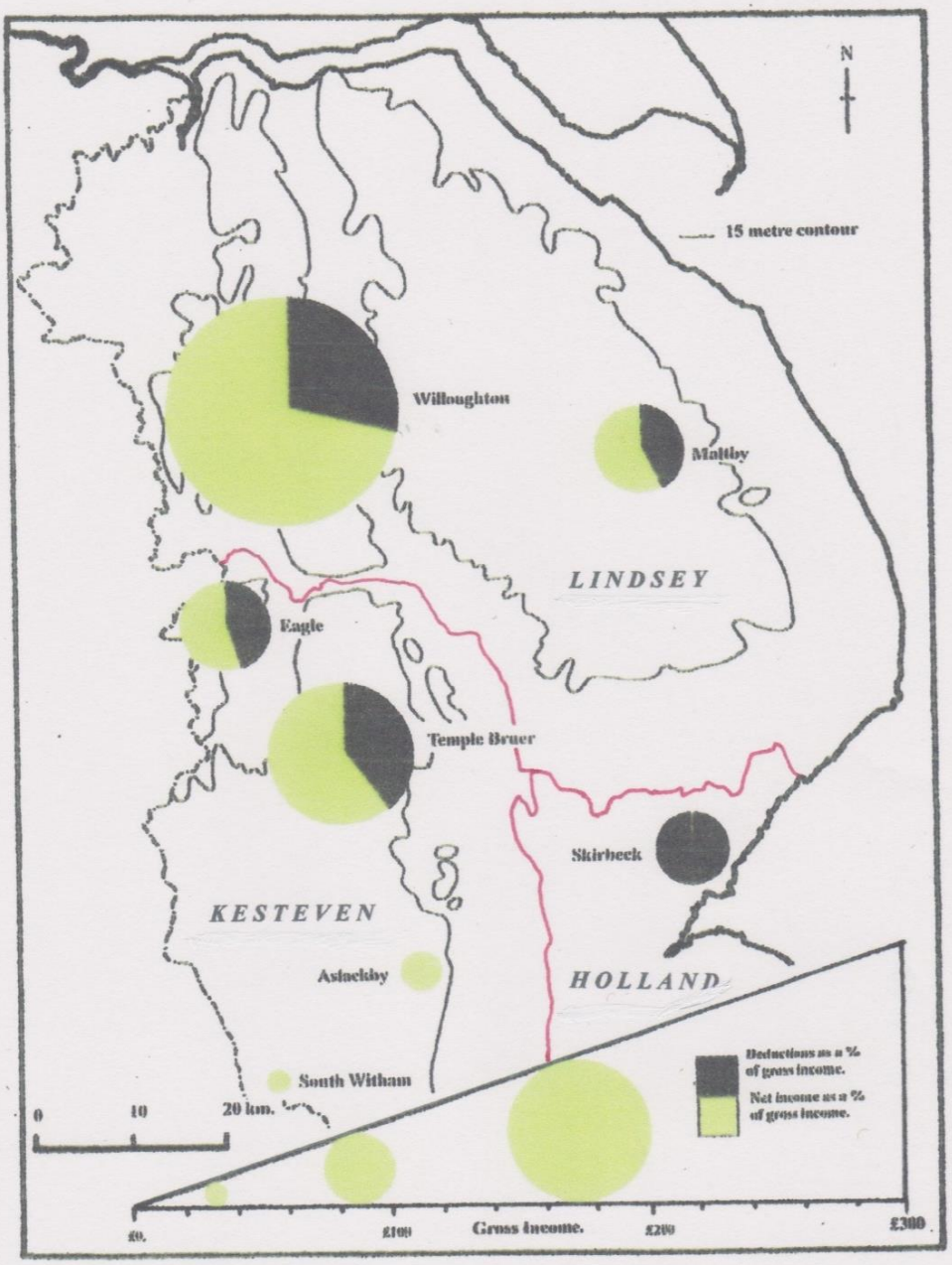
6.4. Conclusion

Twenty six years separated the papal edict *Ad Providam*, issued in 1312 and the Report of Philip de Thame, produced in 1338. Throughout that time, the tortuous process of the transfer of the former Templar lands to the Hospitallers dragged on. It is clear that Edward II appeared to have acceded to the Pope's wishes in transferring Templar property to the Hospitallers. It is equally apparent that the King relinquished Templar property reluctantly, having first stripped the assets, and having employed every nuance of regal obduracy to

[170] E 358/18, 53/1, lines 12, 36.



Map 18. Hospitaller income from each settlement where they held property in 1338.



Map 19. Divided proportional circles showing gross income and percentage net income for commanderies and former preceptories in 1338.

hinder the process. When Edward II was deposed in 1327, the transfer of former Templar lands to the Hospitallers was still incomplete.

Opinion is divided on Thomas Larcher, Prior of the Hospitallers in England. There are those who argue that the issue of pensions and land grants during his priorate was profligate and largely responsible for the financial ills of the Order. Equally, there are those who plead the case that he was using bribery to facilitate the transfer of former Templar properties which could, more readily, be claimed. I subscribe to the latter view. I feel that Larcher was an astute individual, well-versed in the art of diplomacy. He was employing the medium-term issue of land grants *ad terminum vite* of the recipients to ensure the long-term reclamation of property.

After his assumption of power in 1330, following the fall of Roger Mortimer, Edward III adopted a much more forthright approach to the Hospitallers. He demanded the fealty of Leonard de Tibertis, Prior of the Order. This was conceded with extreme reluctance by Tibertis who argued that his fealty did not set a precedent. In fact, a precedent had been set. Whilst Tibertis is generally regarded as the saviour of the Hospitallers' finances, his act of fealty, to an extent, undermined his achievements to the detriment of the Order.

The Report of Philip de Thame, ordered by Pope Benedict XII, was completed during 1338, the year after the onset of the Hundred Years War against France. The purpose of the Report was to produce an extent of the Hospitallers' lands in England. The former Templar lands transferred to the Hospitallers are enrolled separately, as are the former Templar properties known not to have been transferred. To date, little published work refers to the Report of 1338. No published work compares the former Templar properties

enrolled in the accounts of 1308 with those enrolled in the Report of 1338. Such a comparison for the county of Lincolnshire reveals that there were both manors and mills which are enrolled in the accounts of 1308 but are not recorded in 1338. Further, as only the acreage of demesne land is recorded both in 1308 and 1338, there is no extent of land which was rented out. In addition, what little pastureland in demesne is recorded would not have supported the number of sheep farmed on the estates. Hence, a considerable area of pastureland must have been rented out, but the acreage is unknown. Philip de Thame would not have been privy to the accounts of 1308 which would have given him a full list of all properties, which the Templars had held, prior to their arrest. He was dependent, for proof of ownership, upon the deeds and muniments transferred to the Hospitallers from the Exchequer. It is generally held that the deeds to former Templar properties were transferred to the Hospitallers in 1324. The degree to which all the deeds were transferred to the Hospitallers is open to debate. Finally, of the former Templar properties not transferred to the Hospitallers, the Report only lists those which were occupied by the King and other magnates. It does not list any properties which were reclaimed by the ancestors of former Templar benfactors or any land which was lost to illegal occupation which the example of Stenigot, cited above, illustrates.

The foregoing Lincolnshire evidence would suggest that there are serious omissions in the Report of 1338. Not only are properties identifiable in the accounts of 1308 which were not transferred to the Hospitallers by 1338 but the nature of the Report would have allowed for further property not to have been recorded. If the same were true for other counties where the Templars had

held property then the extent of former Templar property which was not transferred to the Hospitallers is far greater than has been thought hitherto.

Conclusion

Over the one hundred and ninety-three years of their existence the Templars played a leading role in the struggle to claim and to hold the Holy Land for Christendom. The cause was ultimately lost with the fall of Acre in 1291. The Templars were not merely a product of their time, they had a profound formative effect upon it. Within the ranks of the Templars were leading diplomats, financiers and royal advisors who were influential in the international politics of the period. This much is widely known. Far less thoroughly researched is how the Templars farmed their estates in the English shires and the fate of their lands after the dissolution of the Order in 1312.

Topography was the major determinant of the pattern of agriculture and settlement in medieval Lincolnshire. Within the parameters set by relief, the initial pattern of Templar land holdings was determined by patronage. Initially, most donations were of small parcels of land. Gradually through the expedient of purchase and exchange, estates were consolidated. On each estate a preceptory emerged both as the chief manor and the administrative centre. The preceptories were Willoughton, in Lindsey; and Temple Bruer, Eagle, Aslackby and South Witham in Kesteven. Each preceptory in its developed form included both a range of agricultural and domestic buildings, a church or chapel, a mill and fishponds. The farm buildings included a full range of byres, stables, pigsties, sheepcotes, dovecotes and barns. In addition there was a smithy and a carpenter's workshop. The domestic range included a hall, kitchen, larder, dairy, bakehouse and brewhouse. A smaller preceptory may not have had an individual building for each function. Notably there is neither

archaeological nor documentary evidence to suggest the existence of dormitories to accommodate the *famuli.*

Each estate practised mixed farming. The arable farming was organised on a manorial basis whilst the sheep farming was centrally organised from the preceptory. Wheat, barley and dredge were grown as commercial crops whilst rye, oats and legumes were grown for consumption on the estates. There was extensive use of manuring, multiple ploughing, weeding, leguminous crops and the manipulation of the sowing rate. These techniques were used to suppress weeds and maintain soil fertility. They testify to the Templars' use of the best agricultural practice available at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The Templars were fully involved in technological development. Horse haulage had been embraced, offering greater speed and flexibility than the traditional ox haulage. The variety in both the size and composition of the plough teams illustrates that the transition to horse plough teams was well under way. Further, it points towards the individuality of manorial decision-making and the adaption of plough teams to suit relief and soil type.

The sheep were centrally accounted at the preceptory. The animal which would have been familiar to the Templars was small and horned. The wool was fine and of high quality and the average fleece weight one and a half pounds. The Templars' Lincolnshire flock was sizeable and inter-manorial movement of stock shows a high degree of cooperation. The Eagle estate concentrated on sheep breeding to ensure the continued size and health of the Lincolnshire flock.

The level of sheep fertility was variable but within the acceptable range for the time. The incidence of twin births was much higher than has previously

been suspected. Murrain or sheep scab was endemic and liver fluke a further risk to the health of the flock. Sheep culling and expenditure on medication was usual, again pointing to progressive agricultural practice. The coordinated response of the Kesteven estates to the outbreak of murrain at Eagle during 1311-12 illustrates the high degree of cooperation which still existed four years after the arrest of the Order. There is no evidence of mass slaughter in autumn indicating that both feed and housing were sufficient to ensure survival through the winter. Whilst ewes' milk was used for the production of cheese, wool was the primary commercial product. The expenditure on shearing the sheep and washing the fleeces at the preceptory ensured that the wool was in the best condition for sale. The accounts also reveal that the Templars sold wool in advance of its production; they dealt in 'wool futures'.

Each estate had a preceptor who was a Templar. Much of the estate management was carried out by a sergeant with daily tasks organised by a reeve. The work of the estate was carried out by a permanent labour force, the *famuli*. In addition, itinerant craftsmen and seasonal workers such as harvesters were hired as the need arose. The *famuli* were paid in cash and pottage with the diet attuned to the rigour of the labour. Wages were determined by both skill and responsibility.

Each preceptory had at least one ordained cleric who performed the religious offices and chantry Masses for the souls of deceased benefactors. Benefactions could also be made in exchange for pensions or corrodies. The pensioners or corrodiaries were of two types. There were those whose donation was sufficient for them to be entirely supported by the resultant pension and

those who worked for bed, board and clothing as long as their health would allow.

Following the arrest of the Order in January 1308, the Templar estates were sequestered by the crown. Within a year, a sequence of changes had taken place. Edward II had inherited a considerable debt from his father which had to be addressed. Initially, the entire wool clip of the Templars' Lincolnshire flock was used in part payment of an outstanding debt to the Ballardi of Lucca. Stock and grain were sold as was the content of preceptorial larders. No account was taken of longer term implications. This was realisation of assets for short-term profit - asset stripping. What followed was a retreat from demesne farming. On the Willoughton estate, the standing crop of grain was sold on Lammas Day, 1 August 1308. This provided an assured income whilst the purchaser assumed the risk of the harvest being successful. Sheep were leased and some of them removed from the former Templar estates. Subsequently, land was leased and by the end of 1309, the Lincolnshire estates in their entirety had been farmed out on short term leases. The income from the former Templar estates was paid into the King's Wardrobe to be spent at the royal will. The estates were to be disposed of at the royal pleasure.

The impact of the sequestration upon the denizens of the Templar estates depended upon status and changed with time. For the *famuli*, the cycle of seasonal labour remained unchanged. For the Lincolnshire Templars there was incarceration, following their arrest, and eventually, for the majority, penance to be served in religious houses outside the diocese of Lincoln. For the corrodiaries, life continued but their due pensions became increasingly difficult

to claim as time progressed as did the fourpence daily allocation of the Templars.

The papal bull *Ad Providam* was issued on 2 May 1312. It contained the demand that Edward II transfer all former Templar estates to the Hospitallers. What ensued was a complicated game of political manoeuvring. The King was reluctant to relinquish the former Templar estates whose income could be used to help finance Scottish campaigns, exercise patronage and buy influence. The Hospitallers needed money to prosecute their naval campaign against the Turk in the eastern Mediterranean. The conquest of Rhodes had all but bankrupted the Order. The Pope felt that the transfer of the former Templar lands to the Hospitallers was a prerogative of the Holy See and that they should not be attainted by the King.

Edward II appeared to accede to the Pope's edict and issued orders for the transfer of the former Templar lands to the Hospitallers whilst stripping them of moveable goods and chattels. The Hospitallers' difficulties were epitomised by the priorate of Thomas Larcher. Larcher is often regarded as a profligate who issued corrodies and rent-free land grants beyond reasonable measure. A more enlightened view is that he raised instant cash to repay pressing creditors and used rent-free land grants as bribes. Bribes to the powerful were crucial to enable the Order to occupy those lands which were accessible to them. Larcher was playing a long game and was not the inept individual as he has, too often, been portrayed.

Larcher's successor, Leonard de Tibertis is credited with saving the finances of the Hospitallers. However, in 1330, he swore fealty to Edward III, albeit with great reluctance. The genuflection had far-reaching effects upon the

relationship between the Hospitallers and the Crown. By 1338, the transfer of former Templar property to the Hospitallers was still incomplete. Prior Philip de Thame commissioned a report to establish the extent of the Hospitaller lands in England. The Report included the Templar lands which had been transferred to the Hospitallers and those which, as far as they were aware, had not.

In Lincolnshire, the former Templar churches and mills were virtually transferred *in toto*. The question of land transfer remains enigmatic. A comparison can be made between the accounts of 1308-13 and the Report of 1338. There is of course no reason to suppose that Philip de Thame had access to the accounts of 1308-13 or that he was privy to all the deeds and muniments of the former Templar properties. In the Report, Carlton le Moorland is cited as the only former Templar manor in Lincolnshire which was not transferred to the Hospitallers. A comparison of the accounts and the Report identifies a further 15 manors which were not transferred (appendix 32). Further, neither the accounts of 1308-13 nor the Report of 1338 allow for the calculation of the acreage which was farmed out at a fixed rent. Equally, in neither case is the acreage of pastureland enrolled. Given the envious eyes of secular lords and the descendants of Templar benefactors, there is certainly sufficient unrecorded land for further alienation to have been expedited. At the very least, a substantial amount of former Templar property in Lincolnshire was not transferred to the Hospitallers but neither is it recorded in the Report of 1338 as having been lost to them.

Little has been published on the Templar estates in England and no attempt has yet been made to analyse the estates of the Order, or their fate, within a

single county.[171] The preceding thesis is the only spatial and quantitative analysis of the accounts of 1308-13 and the Report of 1338 for Lincolnshire. It provides a comparison of the former Templar estates in the county over a crucial, transitional, thirty year period and gives a comprehensive analysis of the Templar estates in Lincolnshire and their fate. However, this represents only one county, albeit a very important county, in the English *langue.*

Much work remains to be done in the analysis and interpretation of the accounts of 1308-13, for the rest of England, to determine whether the findings for Lincolnshire have resonance elsewhere. The challenge is considerable as the translation of the *rotuli,* and subsequent tabulation are only the first tasks in the production of a database which can be statistically analysed. The synthesis can then enrich both the field of military order studies and that of medieval agriculture. The database of the Lincolnshire accounts of 1308-13, presented in the appendices, provides a means for comparison with subsequent research in other counties.

The importance of the accounts of 1308-13 cannot be over-stated. The accounts itemise the Templar properties and the nature of their agricultural practice at the very moment after the arrest of the Order. This illuminates not only the extent and nature of Templar holdings but also sheds light on medieval agriculture during the first decade of the fourteenth century from a hitherto little used source. Without access to a complete translation and analysis of the accounts of 1308-13, for the whole of England, no commentary on the opening decade of the fourteenth century can be considered complete. As yet, 'La

[171] The exception is J. M. Jefferson, 'Lost Treasure of the Templars: the Templar Lands in Lincolnshire and What Happened to Them 1185-1560' (M.A. dissertation, University of Nottingham, 2007).

question du role economique des Templiers est le parent pauvre de l'historiographie des orders militaires'; however, it is an area of Templar research which is increasingly attracting the interest of scholars. [172]

[172] A. Baudin, G. Brunel, N. Dohrmann eds., *L'economie templiere en Occident: Patrimoines, commerce, finances* (Langres, 2013).

Bibliography

Primary sources: manuscript

TNA C 133: *Chancery: Extents of Debts.*

TNA C 143: *Chancery: Inquisitions Taken as a Result of Applications to the Crown for Licences to Alienate.*

TNA C 241: *Chancery: Certificates of Statute Merchant and Statute Staple.*

TNA E 135: *Exchequer: Miscellaneous Ecclesiastical Documents.*

TNA E 358: *Exchequer: Pipe Office: Miscellaneous Enrolled Accounts: Accounts for the Lands of the Templars, Confiscated by the Crown.*

TNA SC 8: *Special Collections: Ancient Petitions.*

Primary printed sources

Calendar of Charter Rolls preserved in The National Archives 1226-1516, 6 vols (London, 1903-27).

Calendar of Close Rolls preserved in The National Archives 1272-1509, 47 vols (London, 1900-63).

Calendar of Fine Rolls preserved in The National Archives 1272-1509, 22 vols (London, 1911-62).

Calendar of Patent Rolls preserved in The National Archives 1232-1509, 52 vols (London, 1891-1916).

Bernard of Clairvaux, Saint, *In Praise of the New Knighthood* (Kalamazoo, 2000).

Cole, H. ed., *Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (1844).

Foster, C. W. ed., *Final Concords of the County of Lincoln*, Lincoln Record Society 17 (Lincoln, 1920).

Gervers, M. ed., *The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England, Part 2, Prima Camera, Essex* (Oxford, 1996).

Larking, L. B. and Kemble, J. M. ed., *The Knights Hospitallers in England: being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for A.D. 1338*, Camden Society, 65 (London, 1857).

Lees, B. A., ed., *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: the Inquest of 1185* (Oxford, 1935).

Oschinsky, D., *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting* (Oxford, 1971).

Parry, Abbot, *The Rule of St Benedict* (Leominster, 1990, rep., 2003).

Shaw, M. R. B., trans., *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades* (London, 1963).

Secondary sources

Adams, H., *Agrarian Landscape Terms: a Glossary for Historical Geography* (London, 1976).

Addison, C. G., *The History of the Knights Templar* (London, 1842, facsimile 1997).

Andrews, D. D., *Cressing Temple: a Templar and Hospitaller Manor in Essex* (Chelmsford, 1993).

Astill, G., and Langdon, J. eds, *Medieval Farming and Technology: the Impact of Agricultural Change in Northwest Europe* (Leiden, 1997).

Aston, M., Austin, D., and Dyer, C. eds, *The Rural Settlements of Medieval England: Studies Dedicated to Maurice Beresford and John Hurst* (Oxford, 1989).

Aston, M., *Monasteries in the Landscape* (Stroud, 2000).

Ault, W. A., 'The Vill in Medieval England', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 126, 3 (1982), 188-211.

Ayscough, F., Thorold, W., Dickens, A. G., 'The Edwardian Arrears in Augmentation Payments and the Problem of the Ex-Religious', *The English Historical Review*, 55, 209 (1940), 384-418.

Baker, J. H. ed., *Legal Records and the Historian* (London, 1978), pp. 29-40.

Baker, R. L., 'The Establishment of the English Wool Staple in 1313', *Speculum*, 31, 3 (1956), 444-53.

Ball, P., *The Knights Templar at South Witham* (Stamford, 2002).

Barber, M. C., 'The Origins of the Templars', *Studia Monastica*, 12 (1970), 219-40.

Barber, M. C., 'Propaganda in the Middle Ages: Charges against the Templars', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 17 (1973), 42-57.

Barber, M. C., *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge, 1978).

Barber, M. C., 'The Social Context of the Templars', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 34 (1984), 27-46.

Barber, M. C., *The Two Cities, Medieval Europe 1050-1320* (London, 1992).

Barber, M. C., ed., *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick* (Aldershot, 1994).

Barber, M. C., *The New Knighthood* (Cambridge, 1994).

Barber, M. C., *Crusaders and Heretics: Twelfth-Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot, 1995).

Barber, M. C. and Bate, K., eds, *The Templars: Selected Sources* (Manchester, 2002).

Barley, M. W., 'Lincolnshire Rivers in the Middle Ages', *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers,* 1 (1936), 1-22.

Barley, M. W., 'Cistercian Land Clearances in Nottinghamshire', *Nottingham Medieval Studies,* 1 (1957), 75-89.

Barley, M. W., *Lincolnshire and the Fens* (London, republished 1972).

Baudin, A., Brunel, G. and Dohrmann, N. eds, *The Knights Templar: From the Days of Jerusalem to the Commanderies of Champagne* (Aube, 2012).

Baudin, A., Brunel, G. and Dohrmann, N. eds, *L'economie templiere en Occident; Patrimoines, commerces, finances* (Aube, 2013).

Beckett, J. V., *The East Midlands from AD 1000* (London, 1988).

Bell, A. R., Brooks, C. and Dryburgh, P. R., *The English Wool Market c. 1230-1327* (Cambridge, 2007).

Bennett, H. S., *The Pastons and their England* (Cambridge, 1922).

Bennett, H. S., 'The Reeve and the Manor in the Fourteenth Century', *English Historical Review,* 41 (1926).

Bennett, H. S., *Life on the English Manor: a Study of Peasant Conditions 1150-1400* (Cambridge, 1967).

Bennett, N., *The Registers of Henry Burghersh 1320-1342: 2,* Lincoln Record Society 101 (Woodbridge, 2011).

Bennett, N., *Lincolnshire Parish Clergy c.1214-1968. A Biographical Register. Part 1: the Deaneries of Aslacoe and Aveland.* Lincoln Record Society (Woodbridge, 2013).

Bennett, S. and Bennett, N. ed., *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire* (Hull, 1993).

Biddick, K., 'Pig Husbandry on the Peterborough Abbey Estate from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century A.D.', in *Animals and Archaeology,* 4, Husbandry in Europe, BAR International series 227, ed. by J. Clutton-Brock and C. Grigson (Oxford, 1985), pp.161-77.

Biddick, K., *The Other Economy: Patoral Husbandry on a Medieval Estate* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

Biddick, K., (with Bijleveld, C. J. H.), 'Agrarian Productivity on the Estates of the Bishopric of Winchester in the Early Thirteenth Century: a Managerial Perspective', in *Land, Labour and Livestock: Historical Studies in European Agricultural Productivity*, ed. by B. M. S. Campbell and M. Overton (Manchester, 1991), pp. 95-123

Bingham, C., *The Life and Times of Edward II* (London, 1973).

Bischoff, J. P., 'I cannot do't without counters': Fleece Weights and Sheep Breeds in Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Century England', *Agricultural History*, 57, 2 (1983), 143-60.

Bishop, T. A. M., 'Assarting and the Growth of the Open Fields', *EcHR,* 6 (1935-6), 13-29.

Bishop, T. A. M., 'Monastic Granges in Yorkshire', *English Historical Review,* 51 (1936).

Bishop, T. A. M., 'A Cistercian Customs Exemption', *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society, Reports and Papers,* new series, 4 (1951-2), 102-8.

Bolton, J. L., *The Medieval English Economy 1150-1500* (London, 1980).

Bond, J., *Monastic Landscapes* (Stroud, 2004).

Borchardt, K., Jaspert, N., Nicholson, H. J. eds, *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe* (Aldershot, 2007).

Boutwood, Y., 'The Physical Landscape of Lincolnshire', in *Occasional Papers in Lincolnshire History and Archaeology: Lincolnshire's Archaeology from the Air*, ed., by R. H. Bewley (Lincoln, 1998), 23-8.

Bowden, P. J., 'Wool Supply and the Woollen Industry', *EcHR*, n.s., 9, 1 (1956), 44-58.

Brighton, S., *In Search of the Knights Templar: a Guide to the Sites of Britain* (London, 2008).

Brandon, P. F., 'Demesne Arable in Coastal Sussex during the Later Middle Ages', *AHR*, 19, (1971), 113-34.

Bridbury, A. R., 'The Farming out of Manors', *EcHR*, n.s., 31, 4, (1978), 503-20.

Britnell, R. H., 'Production for the Market on a Small Fourteenth-Century Estate', *EcHR*, 19 (1966), 380-87.

Britnell, R. H., 'Minor Landlords in England and Medieval Agrarian Capitalism', *Past and Present*, 89 (1980), 3-22.

Britnell, R. H., *The Commercialisation of English Society, 1000-1500* (London, 1993).

Britnell, R. H. 'Boroughs, Markets and Trade in Northern England, 1000-1216', in *Progress and Problems in Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Edward Miller*, ed. by R. H. Britnell and J. Hatcher (London, 1996), pp. 46-67.

Britnell, R. H. ed., *Daily Life in the Late Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1998).

Britnell, R. H., 'Specialization of Work in England, 1100-1300', *EcHR*, n.s., 54, 1 (2001), 1-16.

Britton, E., *The Community of the Vill* (London, 1977).

Bronstein, J., *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land: Financing the Latin East, 1187-1274* (Woodbridge, 1995).

Brooks, E. W., 'The Hospital of Holy Innocents without Lincoln', *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports*, 42 (1937), 157-88.

Brundage, J. A., *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison, Milwaukee, London, 1969).

Brundage, J. A., 'The Lawyers of the Military Orders', in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. by M. C. Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 346-57.

Buck, M., *Politics, Finance and the Church in the Reign of Edward II* (Cambridge, 1983).

Burgtorf, J., Crawford, P. F. and Nicholson H. J. eds., *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307-1314)* (Farnham, 2010).

Burgtorf, J., 'The Trial Inventories of the Templars' Houses in France: Select Aspects', in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars* ed. by J. Burgtorf, P. F. Crawford and H. J. Nicholson (Farnham 2010), pp. 105-15.

Burman, E., *The Templars: Knights of God* (London, 1986).

Burton, J. E., 'The Knights Templar in Yorkshire in the Twelfth Century: a Reassessment', *Northern History. A Review of the History of the North of England and the Borders, 27* (1991), 26-40.

Burton, J. E., *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994).

Burton, J. E., *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069-1215* (Cambridge, 1999).

Butler, L. H. and Given-Wilson, C., *Medieval Monasteries of Great Britain* (London, 1979).

Campbell, B. M. S., 'Agricultural Progress in Medieval England: Some Evidence from Eastern Norfolk', *EcHR*, n.s., 36, 1(1983), 26-46.

Campbell, B. M. S., 'Arable Productivity in Medieval England: Some Evidence from Norfolk', *Journal of Economic History*, 43, 2 (1983), 379-404.

Campbell, B. M. S., 'The Diffusion of Vetches in Medieval England', *EcHR*, n.s., 41, 2 (1988), 193-208.

Campbell, B. M. S., 'Towards an Agricultural Geography of Medieval England', *AHR*, 36 (1988), 87-98.

Campbell, B. M. S. and Overton, M. eds, *Land, Labour and Livestock: Historical Studies in European Agricultural Productivity* (Manchester, 1991).

Campbell, B. M. S., 'Matching Supply to Demand: Crop Production and Disposal by English Demesnes in the Century of the Black Death', *Journal of Economic History*, 57, 4 (1997), 827-58.

Campbell, B. M. S., *English Seigniorial Agriculture 1250-1450* (Cambridge, 2000).

Campbell, B. M. S. and Bartley, K., *England on the Eve of the Black Death: an Atlas of Lay Lordship, Land and Wealth, 1300-49* (Manchester, 2006).

Campbell, B. M. S., *The Medieval Antecedents of English Agricultural Progress* (Aldershot, 2007).

Campbell, B. M. S., 'Benchmarking Medieval Economic Development: England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, *c.* 1290', *EcHR*, 61 (2008), 896-945.

Campbell, G. A., *The Knights Templar. Their Rise and Fall* (London, 1937).

Cantor, L. ed., *The English Medieval Landscape* (London, 1982).

Cantor, N. F., 'The Crisis of Western Monasticism, 1050-1130', *American Historical Review*, 66 (1960), 47-67.

Carus-Wilson, E. M., 'The English Cloth Industry in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries', *EcHR*, 1st ser., 14 (1944-5), 32-4.

Carus-Wilson, E. M., 'The Medieval Trades of the Ports of the Wash', *Medieval Archaeology*, 6-7 (1962-3), 182-201.

Cazel, F. A., 'The Tax of 1185 in Aid of the Holy Land', *Speculum*, 30, 3 (1955), 385-92.

Chaplais, P., *Piers Gaveston: Edward II's Adoptive Brother* (Oxford, 1994).

Clapham, J. H. and Power, E. eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*, 1, *The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1941).

Clark, G., 'Yields per Acre in English Agriculture, 1250-1860: Evidence from Labour Inputs', *EcHR*, n.s., 44, 3 (1991), 445-60.

Clark, J. G., *The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism* (Woodbridge, 2007).

Connell, E. S., *Deus Lo Volt! A Chronicle of the Crusades* (London, 2001).

Constable, G., *Monastic Tithes: From their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1964).

Constable, G., *Medieval Monasticism: A Select Bibliography* (Toronto, c.1976).

Cookson, W. D., 'On the Hospital of Holy Innocents, called Le Malardi at Lincoln; With some Account of Ancient Customs and Usages Touching Leprosy', *Lincolnshire Topographical Society* (1843), 29-42.

Coppack, G., *The White Monks: The Cistercians in Britain 1128-1540* (Stroud, 1998).

Coss, P. R. and Lloyd, S. D., eds, *Thirteenth Century England* 1 (Woodbridge, 1986).

Coulton, G. G., *Chaucer and his England* (London, 2nd ed., 1909).

Coulton, G. G. ed., *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation* (London, 1918).

Coulton, G. G., *Medieval Panorama* (London, 1938).

Countryside Commission, *Countryside Character. Vol. 4, East Midlands: the Character of England's Natal and Man-Made Landscape* (Cheltenham, 1999).

Cownie, E., *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England 1066-1135* (Woodbridge, 1998).

Cronne, H. A., *The Reign of Stephen 1135-54* (London, 1970).

Currie, C. R. J., 'Early Vetches in Medieval England: a Note', *EcHR*, n.s., 14, 1 (1988), 114-16.

Darby, H. C., *The Medieval Fenland* (Cambridge, 1940).

Darby, H. C., *The Domesday Geography of Eastern England* (Cambridge, 1952).

Darby, H. C. ed., *An Historical Geography of England before 1800* (Cambridge, 1963).

Darby, H. C., *Domesday England* (Cambridge, 1977).

Davis, R. C. H., 'William of Tyre', in Baker, D. ed., *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1987), pp. 64-76.

Davis, R. H. C., *King Stephen* (London, 3rd ed., 1990).

Demurger, A., trans. Nevill, A., *The Last Templar* (2002, London, trans. 2004).

Denholm-Young, N., *Seignorial Administration in England* (Oxford, 1937).

Denholm-Young, N. ed., *Vita Edwardi Secundi: Monachi Cuiuisdam Malmesberiensis* (London, 1957).

Denholm-Young, N., *Collected Papers* (Cardiff, 1969).

Dickinson, J. C., *Monastic Life in Medieval England* (London, 1961).

Dodd, G., 'Parliament and Public Legitimacy in the Reign of Edward II', in *The Reign of Edward II: New Perspectives* (York, 2006), ed. by G. Dodd and A. Musson, pp. 165-89.

Donald, M., *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions* (London, 1962).

Donkin, R. A., 'Bercaria and Lanaria', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 39 (1958), 181-202.

Donkin, R. A., ‘Cistercian Sheep-Farming and Wool-Sales in the Thirteenth-Century’, *AHR*, 6 (1958), 2-8.

Donkin, R. A., ‘Settlement and Depopulation on Cistercian Estates during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, especially in Yorkshire’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 33 (1960), 141-65.

Donkin, R. A., ‘Cattle on the Estates of Medieval Cistercian Monasteries in England and Wales’, *EcHR*, 2nd ser., 15, 1 (1962), 31-53.

Donkin, R. A., ‘The Cistercian Order in Medieval England: some Conclusions’, *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)*, 33 (1963), 181-98.

Donkin, R. A., ‘The Cistercian Grange in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries, with special reference to Yorkshire’, *Studia Monastica*, 6 (1964), 95-144.

Donkin, R. A., ‘The Cistercian Order and the Settlement of Northern England’, *Geographical Review*, 59, 3 (1969), 403-16.

Donkin, R. A., *The Cistercians: Studies in the Geography of Medieval England and Wales* (Toronto, 1978).

Donnelly, J. S., *The Decline of the Medieval Cistercian Lay Brotherhood* (New York, 1949).

Donnelly, J. S., ‘Changes in the Grange Economy of English and Welsh Cistercian Abbeys, 1300-1500’, *Traditio*, 10 (1954), 399-458.

Drew, J. S., ‘Manorial Accounts of St Swithin’s Priory, Winchester’, *English Historical Review*, 62, 242 (1947), 20-41.

Du Boulay, F. R. H., ‘Who were Farming the English Demesnes at the End of the Middle Ages?’, *EcHR*, 17, 3 (1965), 443-55.

Duby, G., ‘The Diffusion of Cultural Patterns in Feudal Society’, *Past and Present*, 39 (1968), 1-10.

Duffy, E., *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-1580* (Yale, 1992).

Dyer, C., ‘A Redistribution of Incomes in Fifteenth-Century England’, in *Peasants, Knights and Heretics: Studies in Medieval Social History* ed. by R. H. Hilton (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 192-215.

Dyer, C., ‘English Diet in the Later Middle Ages’, in *Social Relations and Ideas: Essays in Honour of R. H. Hilton* ed. by T. H. Aston, P. R. Coss, C. Dyer and J. Thirsk (Cambridge, 1983).

Dyer, C., ‘Changes in Diet in the Late Middle Ages: the Case of the Harvest Workers’, *AHR*, 36 (1988), 21-37.

Dyer, C., *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200-1520* (Cambridge, 1989).

Dyer, C., ‘The Consumer and the Market in the Later Middle Ages’, *EcHR*, n.s., 42, 3 (1989), 305-27.

Dyer, C., ‘The Retreat from Marginal Land: the Growth and Decline of Medieval Rural Settlements’, in *The Rural Settlements of Medieval England* ed. by M. Aston, D. Austin C. Dyer (London, 1989), pp. 45-57.

Dyer, C., *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (London, 1994, 2nd ed., 2000).

Dyer, C., ‘The English Medieval Village Community and its Decline’, *Journal of British Studies*, 33. 4, *Vill, Guild and Gentry: Forces of Community in Later Medieval England* (1994), 407-29.

Dyer, C., ‘Sheepcotes: Evidence for Medieval Sheep Farming’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 39 (1995), 136-64.

Dyer, C., *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain, 850-1520* (London, 2002).

Edwards, W., *A Medieval Scrap-Heap* (London, 1930).

Everson, P. L., Taylor, C. C. and Dunn, C. J., *Change and Continuity: Rural Settlement in North-West Lincolnshire* (London, 1991).

Faith, R., ‘The Structure of the Market for Wool in Early Medieval Lincolnshire’, *EcHR*, 65, 2 (2012), 674-700.

Farmer, D. L., ‘Some Price Fluctuations in Angevin England’, *EcHR*, 2nd ser., 9 (1956-7), 34-43.

Farmer, D. L., ‘Some Grain Price Movements in Thirteenth-Century England’, *EcHR*, 2nd ser., 10 (1957-8), 207-20

Farmer, D. L., ‘Some Livestock Price Movements in Thirteenth-Century England’, *EcHR*, 2nd ser., 22 (1969), 1-16.

Fleming-Yates, J., *The Knights Templars and Hospitallers in the Manor of Garway, Herfordshire 1086-1540* (Ross-on-Wye, 1995).

Fenoaltea, S., ‘Authority, Efficiency and Agricultural Organization in Medieval England and Beyond: a Hypothesis’, *Journal of Economic History*, 35, 4 (1975), 693-718.

Ferris, E., ‘The Financial Relations of the Knights Templar to the English Crown’, *American Historical Review,* 8 (1902), 1-17.

Forey, A. J., ‘The Military Order of St Thomas of Acre’, *English Historical Review*, 92, 364 (1977), 481-503.

Forey, A. J., ‘The Emergence of the Military Order in the Twelfth Century’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 36 (1985), 175-95.

Forey, A. J., ‘Novitiate and Instruction in the Military Orders During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, *Speculum,* 61, 1 (1986), 1-17.

Forey, A. J., ‘The Military Orders and Holy War against Christians in the Thirteenth century’, *The English Historical Review,* 104, 410 (1989), 1-24.

Forey, A. J., *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1992).

Forey, A. J., *Military Orders and Crusades* (Aldershot, 1994).

Forey, A. J., ‘Recruitment to the Military Orders (Twelfth to Mid-Fourteenth Centuries)’, *Viator*, 17 (1994), 139-71.

Forey, A. J. ‘Towards a Profile of the Templars in the Early Fourteeht Century’ in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. by M. C. Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 196-204.

Forey, A. J., ‘Ex-Templars in England’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 53 (2002), 18-37.

Forey, A. J., ‘Desertions and Transfers from Military Orders (Twelfth to Fourteenth centuries)’, *Traditio,* 60 (2005), 143-200.

Forey, A. J., ‘Could Alleged Templar Malpractices have Remained Undetected for Decades?’ in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars* ed. by J. Burgtorf, P. F. Crawford and H. J. Nicholson (Farnham, 2010), pp. 11-19.

Fox, H. S. A., ‘The Alleged Transformation from Two-Field to Three-Field Systems in Medieval England’, *EcHR*, n.s., 39, 4 (1986), 526-48.

Fraser, C. M., *A History of Antony Bek: Bishop of Durham 1283-1311* (Oxford, 1957).

Frayling, C., *Strange Landscape: a Journey through the Middle Ages* (London, 1995).

Fryde, E. B., *The Wool Accounts of William de la Pole: a Study of Some Aspects of the English Wool Trade at the Start of the Hundred Years War* (York, 1964).

Fryde, E. B., *Studies in Medieval Trade and Finance* (London, 1983).

Fryde, E. B., *William de la Pole: Merchant and King's Banker* (London, 1988).

Fryde, E. B., *Peasants and Landlords in Later Medieval England* (Stroud, 1996).

Fryde, N., *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II 1321-1326* (Cambridge, 1979).

Gasquet, F. A., *English Monastic Life* (London, 1904).

Gasquet, F. A., *Parish Life in Medieval England* (London, 1906).

Gervers, M., 'Donations to the Hospitallers in England in the Wake of the Second Crusade', in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians* ed. by M. Gervers (New York, 1991) pp. 155-61.

Gooder, E. A., *Temple Balsall: the Warwickshire Preceptory of the Templars and their Fate* (Chichester, 1995).

Gooder, E. A., 'South Witham and the Templars: the Documentary Evidence', in *Excavations at a Templar Preceptory: South Witham, Lincolnshire 1965-7* by P. Mayes (Leeds, 2002).

Grabois, A., 'Anglo-Norman England and the Holy Land', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 7 (1984), 132-41.

Grant, A., 'Medieval Animal Husbandry: the Archaeological Evidence', in *Animals and Archaeology*, 4, Husbandry in Europe, BAR International series, 227 ed. by J. Clutton-Brock and C. Grigson (Oxford, 1985), pp. 179-86.

Gray, H. L., 'The Production and Exportation of Woollens in the Fourteenth Century', *English Historical Review*, 39, 153 (1924), 13-35.

Greene, J. P., *Medieval Monasteries* (Leicester, 1992).

Haag, M., *The Templars, History and Myth* (London, 2008).

Halcrow, E. M., 'The Decline of Demesne Farming on the Estates of Durham Cathedral Priory', *EcHR*, 2nd ser., 7 (1954-5), 350.

Hallam, E. M., 'Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27 (1977), 113-32.

Hallam, H. E., 'Goll Grange: a Grange of Spalding Priory', *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports*, 5 (1953-4), 1-18.

Hallam, H. E., 'Population Density in Medieval Fenland', *EcHR*, n.s., 14, 1 (1961), 71-81.

Hallam, H. E., *Settlement and Society: a Study of the Early Agrarian History of South Lincolnshire* (Cambridge, 1965).

Hallam, H. E., *Rural England 1066-1348* (Glasgow, 1981).

Hallam, H. E., 'The Climate of Eastern England 1250-1350', *AHR*, 32, (1984), 124-32.

Hallam, H. E. ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 2, 1042-1350* (Cambridge, 1988).

Hamilton, J. S., *Piers Gaveston Earl of Cornwall 1307-1312: Politics and Patronage in the Reign of Edward II* (Detroit, Michigan, 1988).

Hamilton, J. S., 'Apocalypse not: Edward II and the Suppression of the Templars', *Medieval Perspectives*, 12 (1997), pp. 90- 100.

Hamilton, J. S., 'King Edward II of England and the Templars' in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars, 1307-1314* ed. by J. Burgtorf, P. F. Crawford and H. J. Nicholson (Farnham, 2010), pp. 215-24.

Hammond, P. W., *Food and Feast in Medieval England* (Stroud, 1995).

Harrison, B., 'Field Systems and Demesne Farming on the Wiltshire Estates of St Swithin's Priory, Winchester', *AHR*, 43, 1 (1995), 1-18.

Harriss, G. L., *King, Parliament, and Public Finance in Medieval England to 1369* (Oxford, 1975).

Harvey, B., 'The Population Trend in England between 1300 and 1348', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 16 (1966), 23-42.

Harvey, B., *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993).

Harvey, P. D. A., *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village: Cuxham 1240 to 1400* (Oxford, 1965).

Harvey, P. D. A., 'Agricultural Treatises and Manorial Accounting in Medieval England', *AHR*, 20 (1972), 170-82.

Harvey, P. D. A., 'The Pipe Rolls and the Adoption of Demesne Farming in England', *EcHR*, 2nd ser., 27 (1974), 345-59.

Harvey, P. D. A., 'The English Inflation of 1180-1220', in *Peasants, Knights and Heretics: Studies in Medieval Social History* ed. by (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 57-84.

Harvey, S., 'The Knight and the Knight's Fee in England', in *Peasants, Knights and Heretics: Studies in Medieval Social History* ed. by R. H. Hilton (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 133-73.

Harwood Long, W., 'The Low Yields of Corn in Medieval England', *EcHR*, second series, 32, 4 (1979), 459-69.

Hatcher, J. and Bailey, M., *Modelling the Middle Ages: the History and Theory of England's Economic Development* (London, 2001).

Heale, M., trans., ann. and intro., *Monasticism in Late Medieval England, c. 1300-1535* (Manchester, 2009).

Hicks, M. A., *Who's Who in Late Medieval England* (London, 1991).

Hill, B. D., *English Cistercian Monasteries and their Patrons in the Twelfth Century* (Urbana, 1968).

Hill, R., 'Fourpenny Retirement: the Yorkshire Templars in the Fourteenth Century', in *The Church and Wealth: Papers read at the 1986 Summer Meeting and the 1987 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Studies in Church History, 24, ed. by W. J. Sheils and D. Wood (Oxford, 1987), pp. 123-8.

Hilton, J. W. F., *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1948).

Hilton, R. H., *The Economic Development of some Leicestershire Estates in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1947).

Hilton, R. H., 'The Content and Sources of English Agrarian History before 1500', *AHR*, 3, 1 (1955), 3-19.

Hilton, R. H., *The Decline of Serfdom in Medieval England* (London, 1969).

Hilton, R. H., *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages: the Ford Lectures for 1973 and Related Studies* (Oxford, 1975).

Hilton, R. H., 'Freedom and Villeinage in England', in *Peasants, Knights and Heretics: Studies in Medieval English Social History* ed. by R. H. Hilton, (Cambridge, 1976), 174-91.

Hilton, R. H., ed., *Peasants, Knights and Heretics: Studies in Medieval English Social History* (Cambridge, 1976).

Hilton, R. H., 'A Crisis of Feudalism', *Past and Present*, 80 (1978), 3-19.

Hilton, R. H., *A Medieval Society: the West Midlands at the End of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1983).

Hilton, R. H., *Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism: Essays in Medieval Social History* (London, 1985).

Holloway, D. and Cotton, T., *The Knights Templar in Yorkshire* (Stroud, 2008).

Holt, R. 'Whose were the Profits of Corn Milling? An Aspect of the Changing Relationship between the Abbots of Glastonbury and their Tenants 1086-1350', *Past and Present*, 116, (1987), 3-23.

Hosford, W. H., 'The Manor of Sleaford in the Thirteenth Century', *Nottingham Medieval Studies.* 12 (1968), 21-39.

Hoskins, W. G., *The Making of the English Landscape* (London, 1955, rep. 1985).

Hospitallers' Library Committee, *Six Documents Relating to Queen Mary's Restoration of the Grand Priories of England and Ireland* (1935).

Housley, N. ed., *Knighthoods of Christ* (Aldershot, 2007).

Hunt, E. S., *The Medieval Super-Companies: a Study of the Peruzzi Company of Florence* (Cambridge, 1994, rep.1997).

Hutchison, H. F., *Edward II 1284-1327* (New York, 1971).

Jefferson, J. M., 'Edward II and the Templar Lands in Lincolnshire', in *L'economie templiere en Occident: Patrimoines, commerce, finances*, ed. by A. Baudin, G. Brunel and N. Dohrmann (Langres, 2013), pp. 295-321.

Jewell, H. M., *English Local Administration in the Middle Ages* (Newton Abbot, 1972).

Johnson, S. A., 'Enclosure and Changing Agricultural Landscapes in Lindsey, *AHR*, 11 (1963), 95-102.

Jones, A., 'Harvest Customs and Labourers' Perquisites in Southern England, 1150-1350: the Corn Harvest', *AHR*, 25 (1977), 14-22.

Jurkowski, M. and Ramsay, N. with Renton, S. eds, *English Monastic Estates, 1066-1540: a List of Manors, Churches and Chapels* (Kew, 2007).

Jusserand, J. J., *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages* (London, 1889, rep. 1961).

Kedar, B. Z., *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches towards Muslims* (Princeton, 1984).

Keighley, T., *The Knights Templar and other Secret Societies of the Middle Ages* (Mineola, N.Y., 2007).

Kershaw, I., 'The Great Famine and Agrarian Crisis in England 1315-1322', in *Peasants, Knights and Heretics: Studies in Medieval Social History*, ed. by R. H. Hilton (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 85-132.

Kemp, B. R., 'Monastic Possession of Parish Churches in the Twelfth Century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 31 (1980), 133-60.

King, E. J., *The Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem in England: a Short History* (London, 1924).

King, E. J., *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land* (London, 1931).

King, E. J., *The Rule Statutes and Customs of the Hospitallers 1099-1310* (London, 1934).

King, E. J. and Luke, H., *The Knights of St. John in the British Realm* (London, 3rd ed. rev. and cont. 1967).

Knowles, Dom D., *The Religious Houses of Medieval England* (London, 1940).

Knowles, Dom D., 'Some Developments in English Monastic Life, 1216-1336', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser., 26 (1944), 37-52.

Knowles, Dom D. and Hadcock, R. Neville, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales* (London, 1971).

Langdon, J. 'The Economics of Horses and Oxen in Medieval England', *AHR*, 30 (1982), 31-40.

Langdon, J., 'Horse Hauling: a Revolution in Vehicle Transport in Twelfth and Thirteenth Century England?', *Past and Present*, 103 (1984), 37-66.

Langdon, J., *Horses, Oxen and Technical Innovation: the Use of Draught Animals in English Farming from 1066-1500* (Cambridge, 1986).

Langdon, J., *Mills in the Medieval Economy: England 1300-1540* (Oxford, 2004).

Langdon, J. and Masschele, J., 'Commercial Activity and Population Growth in Medieval England', *Past and Present*, 190 (2006), 36-81.

Lawrence, C. H. ed., *Medieval Monasticism. Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London, 1989).

Lennard, R. V., *Rural England, 1086-1135* (Oxford, 1958).

Lennard, R. V., 'Statistics of Sheep in Medieval England: a Question of Interpretation', *AHR*, 7 (1959), 75-81.

Lennard, R. V., 'The Composition of Demesne Plough-Teams in Twelfth Century England', *The English Historical Review*, 75 (1960), 193-207.

Le Patourel, H. E. J., 'The Use of horses', in 'Animal Remains from Wharram Percy', by M. L. Ryder with notes by J. G. Hurst and H. E. J. Patourel, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 46 (1974), 42-52, pp. 51-2.

Levett, A. E., *Studies in Manorial History* (Oxford, 1938 rep. 1963).

Leys, M., 'The Forfeiture of the Lands of the Templars in England', in, *Oxford Essays in Medieval History Presented to H. E. Salter* ed. by F. M. Powicke (Oxford, 1934), pp. 155-63.

Lincolnshire Museums Information Sheet, Archaeology Series, 25. *The Knights Templar of Temple Bruer and Aslackby.*

Lloyd, S. D., *English Society and the Crusade 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1988).

Lloyd, T. H., *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1977).

Lord, E., *The Knights Templar in Britain* (Harlow, 2002).

Lord, E., *The Templar's Curse* (Harlow, 2008).

Lucas, H. S., 'The Great European Famine of 1315, 1316 and 1317', *Speculum*, 5 (1930), 343-77.

Luttrell, A. T., 'The Aragonese Crown and the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1291-1350.', *The English Historical Review*, 76, 298 (1961), 1-19.

Luttrell, A. T., 'Intrigue, schism and violence among the Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1377-84.' *Speculum*, 41, 1 (1966), 30-48.

Luttrell, A.T., *Latin Greece, the Hospitallers and the Crusades 1291-1440* (London, 1982).

A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Medical Tradition', in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. by M. C. Barber (Aldershot, 1994), 64-81.

Luttrell, A. T., *Studies on the Hospitallers after 1306: Rhodes and the West* (Aldershot, 2007).

Maddicott, J. R., *Thomas of Lancaster 1307-1322* (Oxford, 1970).

Marcombe, D., *The Leper Knights* (Woodbridge, 2003).

Martin, F. J., 'The Templars in Yorkshire', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 29 (1929), 366-85.

Masschaele, J., *Peasants, Merchants and Markets: Inland Trade in Medieval England, 1150-1350* (London, 1997).

Mate, M., 'High Prices in Early Fourteenth-Century England: Causes and Consequences', *EcHR*, n.s., 28, 1 (1975), 1-16.

Mate, M., 'Profit and Productivity on the Estates of Isabella de Forz (1260-92)', *EcHR*, n.s., 33, 3 (1980), 326-34.

Mate, M., 'Agrarian Economy after the Black Death: the Manors of Canterbury Cathedral Priory, 1348-91', *EcHR*, n.s., 37, 3 (1984), 341-54.

Mate, M., 'Medieval Agrarian Practices: the Determining Factors? *AHR*, 32, (1984), 22-31.

Mate, M., 'Pastoral Farming in South-East England in the Fifteenth Century', *EcHR*, 40, 4 (1987), 523-36.

Mathew, W. M., 'Marling in British Agriculture: a Case of Partial Identity', *AHR*, 41, 2 (1993), 97-110.

Matthew, D. L., *King Stephen* (London, 2002).

Mayes, P., *Excavations at a Templar Preceptory: South Witham, Lincolnshire 1965-7* (Leeds, 2002).

McKisack, M., *The Oxford History of England: the Fourteenth Century 1307-1399* (Oxford, 1959).

McNamee, C., *The Wars of the Bruces: Scotland, England and Ireland 1306-1328* (East Linton, 1997).

Mellows, W. T, 'The Estates of the Monastery of Peterborough in the County of Lincoln, *Lincolnshire History*, 3 (1948), 100-14.

Milis, L. J. R., *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men: Monasticism and its Meaning to Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 1992).

Miller, E., 'The English Economy in the Thirteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 28 (1964), 21-40.

Miller, E., 'The Fortunes of the English Textile Industry during the Thirteenth Century', *EcHR*, n.s, 18, 1, *Essays in Economic History Presented to Professor M. M. Postan* (1965), 64-82.

Miller, E., ‘England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: an Economic Contrast?’, *EcHR*, 2nd ser., 24 (1971), 1-14.

Miller, E., ‘Farming of Manors and Direct Management’, *EcHR*, 2nd ser., 26 (1973), 138-40.

Miller, E. and Hatcher, J., *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change, 1086-1348* (London, 1978).

Miller, E. and Hatcher, J., *Medieval England, Towns, Commerce and Crafts, 1086-1348* (London, 1995).

Miller, T. S., ‘The Knights of St John and the Hospitals of the Latin West’, *Speculum*, 53, 4 (1978), 709-33.

Mills, D. R., ‘Enclosure in Kesteven’, *AHR*, 7 (1959), 82-97.

Mills, D. R., *The Knights Templar in Kesteven* (Lincoln, 2009).

Mingay, E., *A Social History of the English Countryside* (London, 1990).

Moore, J. H., ‘The Ox in the Middle Ages.’ *Agricultural History*, 35, 2 (1961), 90-3.

Napier, G., *The Rise and Fall of the Knights Templar* (Staplehurst, 2003).

Newman, E. I. and Harvey, P. D. A., ‘Did Soil Fertility Decline in Medieval English Farms? Evidence from Cuxham, Oxfordshire, 1320-1340’, *AHR*, 45 (1997), 119-36.

Newman, E. I., ‘Medieval Sheep-Corn Farming: How Much Grain Yield Could Each Sheep Support?’, *AHR*, 50, 2 (2002), 164-80.

Nicholson, H. J., *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders 1128-1291* (Leicester, 1993).

Nicholson, H. J., ‘Knights and Lovers: the Military Orders in the Romantic Literature of the Thirteenth Century’ in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. by M. C. Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 340-5.

Nicholson, H. J., ‘Saints or Sinners? The Knights Templar in Medieval Europe.’ *History Today*, 44, 12 (1994), 30-36.

Nicholson, H. J., *Love, War and the Grail* (Boston, 2001).

Nicholson, H. J., *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge, 2001).

Nicholson, H. J., *The Knights Templar: a New History* (Stroud, 2001).

Nicholson, H. J., *The Knights Templar on Trial: the Trial of the Templars in the British Isles 1308-1311* (Stroud, 2009).

Nicholson, H. J., 'The Trial of the Templars in Ireland' in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars* ed. by J. Burgtorf, P. F. Crawford and H. J. Nicholson (Farnham, 2010), pp. 225- 35.

Nicholson, H. J., 'The Templars in Britain: Garway and South Wales' in *L'economie templiere en Occident. Patrimoines, commerce, finances*, ed. by A. Baudin, G. Brunel and N. Dohrmann (Langres, 2013), pp. 323-36.

Nicolle, D., *Knights of Jerusalem: the Crusading Order of Hospitallers 1100-1565* (Botley, 2008).

Oldenbourg, Z., *The Crusades* (London, 1966).

Oliver, G., 'Temple Bruer and its Knights', *Transactions of the Lincolnshire Topographical Society* (1843), 67-86.

O'Malley, G., *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue 1460-1565* (Oxford, 2005).

Oman, C., *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages, 1, 378-1278 AD* (London, 1924).

Ormrod, W. M., *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England 1327-1377* (London, 1990).

Oschinsky, D., 'Medieval Treatises on Estate Management', *EcHR*, n.s., 8, 3 (1956), 296-309.

Owen, A. E. B., 'A Thirteenth Century Agreement on Water for Livestock in the Lindsey Marsh', *AHR*, 13 (1965), 40-6.

Owen, D. M., *History of Lincolnshire, 5, Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1981).

Parker, T. W., *The Knights Templars in England* (Tucson, 1963).

Partner, P., *The Murdered Magicians: the Templars and their Myth* (Oxford, 1982).

Page, F. M., *The Estates of Crowland Abbey: a Study in Manorial Organisation* (Cambridge, 1934).

Page, W. ed., *The Victoria History of England and Wales*, 2, *Lincolnshire* (London, 1906).

Pelham, R. A., 'The Provisioning of the Lincolnshire Parliament of 1301', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, 3 (1951), 16-32.

Perkins, C., 'The Trial of the Templars in England', *The English Historical Review*, 24 (1909), 432-47.

Perkins, C., 'The Wealth of the Knights Templars in England and the Disposition of it after the Dissolution', *American Historical Review,* 15 (1909-10), 252-63.

Perkins, C., 'The Knights Templar in the British Isles', *The English Historical Review,* 25 (1910), 209-30.

Peters, E. ed., *The First Crusade: the Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1971).

Pevsner, N. Harris, J. N. Antram, J., *The Buildings of England, Lincolnshire, 2nd ed.* (London, 2001).

Phillips, Se., *Edward II* (Yale, 2010).

Phillips, Si., *The Prior of the Knights Hospitaller in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2009).

Phillips, Si., 'The Hospitallers' Acquisition of the Templar Lands in England' in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars* ed. by J. Burgtorf, P. F. Crawford and H. J. Nicholson, H (Farnham, 2010), pp. 237- 46.

Platt, C., *The Monastic Grange in Medieval England* (London, 1969).

Platt, C., *The English Medieval Town* (London, 1976, rep. 1988).

Platt, C., *Medieval England: a Social History and Archaeology from the Conquest to AD 1600* (London, 1978 rep. 1988).

Platts, G., *History of Lincolnshire, 4, Medieval Lincolnshire: its Social and Economic History* (Lincoln, 1985).

Postan, M. M., ed., *The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages, The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. 1 (Cambridge, 1941).

Postan, M. M., 'The *Famulus*: the Estate Labourer in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *EcHR,* supplements 2 (Cambridge, 1954).

Postan, M. M., 'Village Livestock in the Thirteenth Century.', *EcHR,* n.s., 15, 2 (1962), 219-49.

Postan, M. M., 'Investment in Medieval Agriculture.', *Journal of Economic History,* 27, 4, *The Tasks of Economic History* (1967), 576-87.

Postan, M. M., 'Chronology of Labour Services', in *Essays in Agrarian History,* 1 ed. by W. E. Minchinton (Newton Abbot, 1968), pp. 73-91.

Postan, M. M., *The Medieval Economy and Society: an Economic History of Britain in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972).

Postan, M. M., *Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy* (Cambridge, 1973).

Postles, D., 'The Perception of Profit before the Leasing of Demesnes', *AHR*, 34 (1986), 12-28.

Postles, D., 'Cleaning the Medieval Arable', *AHR*, 36 (1988), 130-43.

Power, E., *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History* (Oxford, 1941).

Prescott, E., *The English Medieval Hospital* (Melksham, 1992).

Prestwich, M., 'Victualling Estimates for English Garrisons in Scotland during the Early Fourteenth Century.', *The English Historical Review*, 82, 32 (1967), 536-43.

Prestwich, M., 'Royal Patronage under Edward I' in *Thirteenth Century England* 1, ed., by P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbrodge, 1986), pp. 41-52.

Prestwich, M., *The Three Edwards: War and State in England 1272-1377* (London, 1988).

Prestwich, M., 'Miles in Armis Strenuus: the Knights at War', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 5 (1995), 201-20.

Pretty, J. N., 'Sustainable Agriculture in the Middle Ages: the English Manor', *AHR*, 38, 1 (1990), 1-19.

Pryor, F., *Britain in the Middle Ages* (London, 2006).

Raban, S., *The Estates of Thorney and Crowland: a Study in Medieval Monastic Land Tenure* (Cambridge, 1977).

Raban, S., *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church, 1279-1500* (Cambridge, 1982).

Raban, S., 'Mortmain in Medieval England' in *Landlords, Peasants and Politics in Medieval England* ed. by T. H. Aston (Cambridge, 1987).

Read, P. P., *The Templars* (London, 1999).

Reed, G. and Anderson, T. L., 'An Economic Explanation of English Agricultural Organisation in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *EcHR*, 2nd ser., 26 (1973), 134-7.

Rigold, S. E., *Temple Manor*, (London, 1962, revised reprint 1990).

Riley-Smith, J., *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c.1050-1310* (London, 1967).

Riley- Smith, J., ‘A Note on Confraternities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* 44 (1971), 301-8.

Riley-Smith, J., ‘Crusading as an Act of Love’, *History*, 65 (1980), 177-92.

Riley-Smith, J., ‘Peace Never Established: the Case of the Kingdom of Jerusalem’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 5th ser., 50, 1 (1987), 32-60.

Riley-Smith, J., *Hospitallers: the History of the Order of St John* (London, 1999).

Riley- Smith, L. and J., *The Crusades, Idea and Reality, 1095-1274* (London, 1981).

Ritook, P., ‘The Architecture of the Knights Templars in England’ in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. by M. C. Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 167-78.

Roberts, B. K. and Wrathmell, S., *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in England* (London, 2000).

Roden, D., ‘Demesne Farming in the Chiltern Hills’, *AHR*, 16, (1968), 9-23.

Round, J. H., ‘Garnier de Nablous, Prior of the Hospital of England and Grand Master of the Order of Jerusalem’, *Archaeologia,* 58 (1903), 383-90.

Runciman, S., *A History of the Crusades, 1, The First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1951).

Runciman, S., *A History of the Crusades, 2, The Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1952).

Runciman. S., *A History of the Crusades, 3, The Kingdom of Acre* (Cambridge, 1954).

Rush, I., ‘The Impact of Commercialization in Early Fourteenth-Century England: Some Evidence from the Manors of Glastonbury Abbey’, *AHR*, 49, 2 (2001), 123-39.

Ryder, M. L., ‘The Animal Remains Found at Kirkstall Abbey’, *AHR*, 7 (1959), 1-5.

Ryder, M. L., ‘Livestock Remains from Four Medieval Sites in Yorkshire’, *AHR*, 9 (1961), 105-10.

Ryder, M. L., ‘The History of Sheep Breeds in Britain’, *AHR*, 12 (1964), 1-12.

Ryder, M. L., ‘Medieval Sheep and Wool Types’, *AHR*, 32 (1984), 14-28.

Saaler, M., *Edward II: 1307-1327* (London, 1997).

Sandys, A.M., 'The Financial and Administrative Importance of the London Temple in the Thirteenth Century', in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to T. F. Tout* ed. by A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke (Manchester, 1925), pp. 147-62.

Sanello, F., *The Knights Templars: God's Warriors, the Devil's Bankers* (Oxford, 2003).

Salzman, L. F., *English Life in the Middle Ages* (London, 1926).

Sayles, G. O., *Medieval Foundations of England* (London, 1958).

Selwood, D., *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania, c. 1100-1300* (Woodbridge, 2001).

Seward, D., *The Monks of War* (London, 1972).

Siberry, E., 'Victorian Perceptions of the Military Orders', in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. by M. C. Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 365-72.

Siddle, D. J., 'The Rural Economy of Medieval Holderness', *AHR*, 15 (1967), 40-5.

Simon, E., *The Piebald Standard* (London, 1959).

Snape, R. H., *English Monastic Finances in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1926).

Spence, J. and B., *The Medieval Monasteries of Yorkshire* (Helmsley, *c.*1981).

Spufford, M., *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1974).

Spufford, P., 'The Place of Money in the Commercial Revolution of the Thirteenth Century', in *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe* ed. by P. Spufford (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 240-63.

Stafford, P., *The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1985).

Stephenson, M. J., 'Wool Yields in the Medieval Economy', *EcHR*, 2nd ser., 41, 3 (1988), 368-91.

St John Hope, W., 'The Round Church of the Knights Templars at Temple Bruer, Lincolnshire', *Archaeologica*, 61 (1908), 177-98.

Stone, D., 'The Productivity of Hired and Customary Labour: Evidence from Wisbech Barton in the Fourteenth Century', *EcHR*, 2nd ser., 50, 4 (1997), 640-56.

Stone, D., ‘Medieval Farm Management and Technological Mentalities: Hinderclay before the Black Death’, *EcHR*, 2nd ser., 54, 4 (2001), 612-38.

Stone, D., *Decision Making in Medieval Agriculture* (Oxford, 2005).

Tapper, A., *The Knights Templar and Hospitaller in Herefordshire* (Little Logaston, 2005).

Thirsk, J., ‘The Isle of Axholme before Vermuyden’, *AHR*, 1, (1953), 16-28.

Thirsk, J., *English Peasant Farming* (London, 1957).

Thirsk, J., ‘Field Systems of the East Midlands’, in *Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles* ed. by A. R. H. Baker and R. A. Butlin (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 232-80.

Thirsk, J., ‘The Common Fields’, in, *Peasants, Knights and Heretics: Studies in Medieval English Social History*, ed. by R. H. Hilton (Cambridge, 1976) pp. 10-32.

Thirsk, J., ‘The Origin of the Common Fields’, in *Peasants, Knights and Heretics: Studies in Medieval English Social History*, ed. by R. H. Hilton, (Cambridge, 1976) pp. 51-6.

Thornton, C. C., ‘The Level of Arable Productivity on the Bishopric of Wichester’s Manor of Taunton’, in *The Winchester Pipe Rolls and Medieval English Society*, ed. by R. Britnell (Woodbridge, 2003), 109-37.

Titow, J. Z., ‘Evidence of Weather in the Account Rolls of the Bishopric of Winchester 1209-1350.’, *EcHR*, n.s., 12, (1960), 360-407.

Titow, J. Z., ‘Some Differences between Manors and their Effects on the Conditions of the Peasant in the Thirteenth Century’, *AHR*, 10 (1962), 1-13.

Titow, J. Z., *English Rural Society 1200-1350* (London, 1969).

Titow, J. Z., *Winchester Yields: a Study in Medieval Agricultural Productivity* (Cambridge, 1972).

Titow, J. Z., ‘Medieval England and the Open-Field System’, in *Peasants, Knights and Heretics: Studies in Medieval English Social History*, ed. by R. H. Hilton (Cambridge, 1976) pp. 33-50.

Titow, J. Z., ‘The Decline of the Fair of St Giles, Winchester, in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth century’, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 31 (1987), 58-75.

Tout, T. F., *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History* (Manchester, 1914).

Trow-Smith, R., *English Husbandry from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London, 1951).

Trow-Smith, R., *A History of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700* (London, 1957).

Tull, G. T. F., *Traces of the Templars* (Rotherham, 2000).

Tyerman, C., ‘Some English Attitudes to Crusading in the Thirteenth Century’, in *Thirteenth Century England* 1, ed. by P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 168-74.

Tyerman, C., *England and the Crusades 1095-1588* (Chicago, 1988).

Tyerman, C., *God’s War; a New History of the Crusades* (London, 2006).

Upton-Ward, J. M., *The Rule of the Templars* (Woodbridge, 1992).

Vann, T. M., ‘The Assimilation of Templar Properties by the Order of the Hospital’, in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars, 1307-1314*, ed. by J. Burgtorf, P. F. Crawford and H. J. Nicholson (Farnham, 2010), pp.339-46.

Vaughan, R., *The Illustrated Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Observations of Thirteenth Century Life* (Stroud, 1993).

Waites, B., ‘The Monasteries and the Medieval Development of North-East Yorkshire’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* 31(1958), 231-4.

Waites, B., ‘The Monastic Grange as a Factor in the Settlement of North-East Yorkshire’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 40 (1959-62), 627-56.

Waites, B., ‘The Monastic Settlement of North-East Yorkshire’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Review*, 40 (1959-62), 478-95.

Walker, J., ‘Crusaders and Patrons: the Influence of the Crusades on the Patronage of the Order of St Lazarus in England’, in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. by M. C. Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 327-32.

Wallis, J. E. W., *English Regnal Years and Titles: Hand-Lists, Easter Dates etc.* (London, 1921).

Waugh, S. L., *England in the Reign of Edward III* (Cambridge, 1991).

Weir, A., *Isabella She-Wolf of France, Queen of England* (London, 2005).

Weldrake, A., *The Templars and Temple Newsam* (Wakefield, 1995).

White, A., *The Knights Templars at Temple Bruer and Aslackby* (Lincoln, 1981).

White, A. J., 'Medieval Fisheries in the Witham and its Tributaries', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 19 (1984), 29-35.

Williams, A. and Martin, G. H. ed., *Domesday book: a Complete Translation* (London, 1992).

Williamson, T., *Property and Landscape: a Social History of Land Ownership and the English Countryside* (London, 1987).

Williamson, T., *Shaping Medieval Landscapes, Settlement, Society, Environment* (Macclesfield, 2003).

Wilson, V., *British Regional Geology: East Yorkshire and Lincolnshire* (London, 1948).

Wood, S., *English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1955).

Wroot, H. E., 'Yorkshire Abbeys and the Wool Trade', *Miscellanea*, Thoresby Society Publications, 33 (Leeds, 1935, first printed 1930), 1-21.

Unpublished theses

Clubley, C., 'John de Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln 1300-1320' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Hull, 1965).

Jefferson, J. M., 'The Lost Treasure of the Templars: the Templar Lands in Lincolnshire and What Happened to Them 1185-1560' (M.A. dissertation, University of Nottingham, 2007).

Walker, E. J., 'The Patronage of the Templars and the Order of St Lazarus in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', (Ph.D. thesis, University of St Andrews, 1990).

Unpublished research

Willis, P., 'A Gazetteer of Hospitaller and Templar Estates in England'.

Websites.

Department of Agriculture, *Sheep Scab* (Pretoria, 2001) <http://www.nda.agric.za/docs/Infopaks/scab/htm> [accessed on 09 May 2012].

Elanco Animal Health, *Scab- the problem* (Basingstoke, 2015) <http://www.farmanimalhealth.co.uk/sheep-scab> [accessed on 17 January 2016].

R. Hill, 'Melton, William (d. 1340)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/189538> [accessed on 3 October 2014].

Lincoln Longwool Sheep Breeders Association, *Breed History*, <http://www.lincolnlongwools.co.uk> [accessed on 15 December 2012].

The Ordinances of 1311, <http://englandcalling.wordpress.com/the-ordinances-of-1311/> [accessed on 05 October 2012].

Inventories of deadstock on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire 1308-1313.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 – 29 MARCH 1309.

TEMPLE BRUER ESTATE.

Rowston.

1 broken iron-bound cart.
1 wagon – not iron-bound.
1 brass plate.
1 bowl.
1 metal basin.

South Witham.

1 iron-bound cart.
2 iron-bound carts.
2 brass set pots.
3 brass free-standing brass pots.
2 small pots.
2 pans.
1 ewer.
2 large vats.
11 tubs.
3 kinmells.
5 barrels.
2 old tuns.
3 lead vessels – not valued.
Forge.
1 large anvil.
1 small anvil.
1 large hammer.
3 small hammers.
3 pairs of tongs.

WILLOUGHTON ESTATE.

Willoughton.

4 wagons.
4 iron-bound carts.
6 ploughs – not valued.

Chapel.

1 missal.
1 chalice.
1 antiphonary.
1 lives of the saints'.
1 service book.
2 psalters.
1 ordinal.
Robes.
2 surplices.

Kitchen.

4 broken brass set pots.

3 metal pots.
5 brass set pots.
3 brass bowls.
1 brazier.
1 andiron.
1 leather oil flask.

Bake house and brew house.

17 vats.
2 large lead set pots.
3 casks.
12 empty tuns.

Dairy.

1 small lead set pot for milk.

Tealby.

1 iron-bound cart.
1 iron-bound cart.
2 brass pots.
1 metal pot.
2 brass pans.
1 basin

Claxby.

1 brass pan.
1 pan.

Limber.

1 brass pan.
1 metal basin.
2 brass pans.
1 iron-bound cart.

Cawkwell.

1 brass pot.
1 metal bowl.
1 brass pan.
1 cart.
1 ewer.

Goulceby.

1 brass plate.

Gainsborough.

1 cart.
1 brass pan.

Kettleby.

1 brass pan.
1 metal bowl
1 bowl.

Temple Belwood.

1 small broken pot.
1 metal dish.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 – 27 JULY 1309.

Keal.

2 brass pots.
1 metal pot.
2 pans.
1 tripod.
1 pitcher.
1 bill.
1 grater.
1 ewer.
And other vessels.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 – 23 FEBRUARY 1309.

Mere.

1 iron-bound cart @ 5s.
1 iron-bound cart @ 3s.
1 brass pot holding 4 gallons.
3 small pots.
1 metal pot.
2 brass pots.

EASTER, 30 MARCH 1309 – 30 JULY 1309.

WILLOUGHTON ESTATE.

Willoughton.

4 wagons @ 6s. 8d.
4 iron-bound carts @ 10s.
6 carts with gear not valued.

Chapel.

1 missal.
1 chalice.
1 antiphonary.
1 lives of the saints'.
1 service book.
2 psalters.
1 ordinal.
Vestments: robes
2 surplices.

Kitchen.

4 broken brass set pots.
3 metal pots.
5 brass set pots.
3 brass pans.
1 andiron.
1 leather oil flask.

Bakehouse and brewhouse.

17 vats.
2 large lead set pots.
4 tuns.

11 empty tuns.
Dairy.
1 lead vessel for milk.
Tealby.
2 iron bound carts @6s.
1 iron-bound cart @3s.
2 brass bowls.
1 metal pot.
2 brass pans.
1 baker's peel.
1 pig of lead weighing 10 stones @ 4d. per stone.
18 willow posts.
Claxby.
1 brass pot.
1 brass pan.
Limber.
1 brass bowl.
1 metal pot.
2 brass pans.
1 iron-bound cart.
1 broken iron-bound cart.
Cawkwell.
1 brass bowl.
1 metal pot.
1 pan.
Goulceby.
1 brass bowl.
Gainsborough.
1 broken cart.
1 brass bowl.
Kettleby.
1 brass bowl.
1 metal pot.
Temple Belwood.
1 broken brass bowl.
1 metal pot.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 – 2 JULY 1312.
TEMPLE BRUER ESTATE.
Temple Bruer,
2 iron-bound carts @ 9s. 6d.
6 wagons @ 6s. 8d.
9 ploughs with all gear @ 1s.
Hall.
6 boards @ 1s.
1? with ewer ´1s.
Pantry.
10 silver spoons @10d.

1 tin salt cellar.
2 baskets.
3 knives @ 4d.
Buttery.
9 casks.
1 pipe.
3 barrels.
1 iron-bound barrel.
1 iron-bound keg.
2 tin pots.
3 tankards.
2 tuns @ 10s
Maplewood mazer with silver feet @ 10s.
Goblet with silver feet @ 10s.
Brewhouse.
2 lead vessels @ £1.
1 moveable lead vessel @ 6s.
1 large vats.
20 small vats.
2 tubs @ £1
Kitchen.
3 brass set pots @ £1
5 brass pots @ 10s.
3 metal basins @ 1s. 6d.
1 brass pan with feet @ 2s.
1 brass pan with feet @ £1
2 worn out brass pans @ 1s.
1 brazier.
3 tripods.
3 knives.
1 saw.
1 iron spit @ 2s.
Farm buildings.
8 tuns.
3 troughs.
1 board @ 2s.
Dairy building.
8 lead pans each @ 4s.
2 lead set pots with small utensils @ 4s.
Forge.
1 plate.
1 chisel.
2 large hammers.
2 small hammers.
4 pairs of tongs.
1 chisel @ 12s.
Carpenter's shop.
1 large axe.
2 axes.
3?

1 bier.
1 saw.
2? @ 2s.

40 quarters of lime in the kiln @ 4d. per quarter.

Rowston.

1 iron-bound cart @ 10s.
4 ploughs with gear @ 4s.
1 brass pan.
1 metal basin.
1 brass bowl @ 8s.

Kirkby.

1 iron-bound cart @ 6s.
2 ploughs with gear @ 1s.
1 brass pan.

Brauncewell.

1 iron-bound cart @5s.
2 carts @ 1s.
1 brass pan with tripod @ 1s.

Welbourn.

1 brass bowl @ 1s.

Wellingore.

1 brass pan @ 2s.
1 metal basin @ 2s.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 – 16 JUNE 1312.

ASLACKBY ESTATE.

Aslackby.

2 iron-bound carts with all gear @ 10s.
2 iron-bound carts with all gear @ 5s.
4 ploughs with all gear @ 1s 6d.
2 boards with trestles and 1 tablecloth @ 2s.
3 brass 4 gallon pans.
1 brass 3 gallon pans.
2 broken metal basins.
3 broken brass bowls.

1 axe.
2 knives for vegetables.
1 iron spit.

7 tuns.
4 barrels.
2 vats.
2 tubs.
1 trough.
2 knobs.
1 cist.

5 hay forks.
2 shovels.
2 spades.
4 iron hay forks.
1 axe
1 gimlet.

1 chalice with paten @ 6s. 8d.
2 pipes for the altar.
1 missal.
1 ordinal.
1 portable breviary.
1 lives of the saints'.
1 psalter.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 – 6 JUNE 1313.
EAGLE ESTATE.
Eagle.
1 iron-bound cart @ 6s. 8d.
2 iron-bound carts @ 4s.
2 iron-bound wagons @ 6s. 8d.
2 wagons without iron @ 3s.
5 ploughs @ 1s. 6d.

House.
1 ewer.
1 large basin.
1 ewer.
4 boards with trestles.
3 small benches with feet.
2 fixed tables – not valued.
1 old broken bench.
2 chairs.
4 small benches.

Store room (Cellar).
1 tablecloth with cover.
1 piece of canvas.
10 old and broken bowls, goblets and mazers.
2 tankards.
1 pail for an ale feast.
2 small kegs.
2 iron-bound barrels.
7 tuns.
2 barrels for an ale feast.
3 broken cists.
1 salt cellar.
1 pewter pitcher.
1 cupboard.
1 pair of balances.
6 small ?
6 knives for cutting bread.

Pantry.
1 large cist.
1 tub for butter.
1 small cist for oil.
2 bread baskets.
3 casks for flour.
1 handle for hauling a bucket from the well.
1 pair of iron fetters.
2 small tubs for fuel.
Kitchen.
3 set pots – not valued.
1 large brass pan, size 10 gallons, broken and worn.
7 brass pans, size 1 gallon, worn.
4 metal pots.
1 large brazier.
2 small braziers.
1 iron spit.
1 tripod.
3 stools.
1 brass pan for fruit.
1 grater.
1 large knife for meat.
1 knife for cutting vegetables.
Dairy.
1 lead set pot – not valued.
5 lead vessels?
1 churn.
2 tubs.
6 scoops.
1 board.
1 iron tripod.
Brewhouse.
2 lead set pots – not valued.
2 lead troughs.
16 large vats.
6 knobs.
3 tubs.
1?
2 large bowls.
1 pair of tongs.
1 large basket for malt.
3 carrying baskets.
Bakehouse.
3 large troughs.
3 flour baskets.
2 tubs.
2?
2 sieves.
1 strainer of dregs for the malt kiln.

Carpenter's workshop.
2 axes.
3 chisels.
7 gimlets.
2 braziers.
1 tumbrel.
3?
1 chisel.
1 chain.
1 large iron hammer.
2 ? of iron.
Forge.
1 large brazier.
3 small braziers.
5 large hammers.
3 hand hammers.
4 flails.
7 pairs of tongs.
4?
2?
1 forge hammer.
2 pairs of pincers.
2 palettes.
2?
1 pair of bellows.
Chapel.
1 chalice with paten.
2 pipes for the altar.
2 sets of vestments
1 missal.
1 trope.
1 ordinal.
1 antiphonary for the whole year.
4 books.
2 psalters.
1 censer.
2 pewter candlesticks.
2?
And other books with vestments and various sacred relics and crosses at the same place in one chest being under the said of the said David [Sir David Graham] and William [William de Spanneby].

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 – 24 DECEMBER 1312.

Carlton.

1 iron-bound cart @ 4s.
3 ploughs with all gear @ 1s.
1 brass pan.
1 metal basin.
1 tripod.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1313 – 8 DECEMBER 1313.

ASLACKBY ESTATE.

Aslackby.

3 carts.
1 worn cart.
3 ploughs.
1 worn plough.

Kitchen.

2 boards with trestles.
1 trough.
3 brass bowls.
2 metal pots.
2 brass pans.
1 cauldron.
2 cists in the kitchen.

Chapel.

1 chalice with paten.
3 pipes.
1 missal.
1 ordinal.
1 portable breviary.
1 lives of the saints'.
1 psalter.

Brewhouse.

7 vats.
4 barrels.
2 vats.
2 vessels.
1 trough.
2 knobs.

5 forks.
2 boards.
2 mattocks.
4 hay forks.
1 axe.

No other accounts give any indication of dead stock.

Rent, church and manor court income as a percentage of receipts, 1308-1309 and 1311-1313.

10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308.

TEMPLE BRUER ESTATE.

Temple Bruer.

Fixed rents at Temple Bruer.	£5 17s. 10d.
Fixed rents at South Witham and elsewhere.	£73 6s. 8d.
1 lb wax, 1 lb pepper, 4 lbs cumin, 2 geese, 200 eggs.	3s. 7d.
Rent of a toft at Navenby.	£1 0s. 0d.
Fixed rent from Thomas de Burnham.	£5 10s. 0d.
Fixed rent from Stephen de Brauncewell.	£3 0s. 0d.
Fixed rent from Isolda de Wellingore.	£1 0s. 0d.
Fixed rent from Gilbert de Snarford.	10s. 0d.
Fixed rent from Walter Knyth.	10s. 0d.
Rent of a mill at *Heriherdeby* held by Robert de Gunwardeby for life.	6s. 8d.
Sum of rents.	**£91 4s. 9d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£181 9s. 1d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**50.3%**
Pensions of the churches of Caythorpe, Rauceby and Normanton	£10 0s. 0d.
Obventions of the church at Temple Bruer.	£1 7s. 4d.
7 stones of wool of Temple Bruer church.	£2 15s. 0d.
Mortuary payments at Temple Bruer church.	£7 10s. 0d.
Pleas and perquisites of the manor court.	£2 6s. 8d.
Sum of church and court income.	**£23 19s. 0d.**
Church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**13.2%**
Sum of rent, church and court income.	**£115 3s. 9d.**
Rent, church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**63.5%**

Rowston.

Fixed rent paid in the account of Temple Bruer.

Kirkby.

Fixed rent paid in the account of Temple Bruer.

Brauncewell.

Fixed rent paid in the account of Temple Bruer.

Cranwell.

Fixed rent paid in the account of Temple Bruer.

Welbourn.

Fixed rent paid in the account of Temple Bruer.

Wellingore.

Fixed rent paid in the account of Temple Bruer.

Carlton.

Fixed rent paid in the account of Temple Bruer.

South Witham and a moiety of the church.

Fixed rents of free tenants and villeins.	£16 5s. 0d.
2 lbs cumin.	. 2d.
Rent of 1 messuage, 1 watermill and other tenancies in Lobthorpe.	£1 4s. 0d.
Sum of rents.	**£17 9s. 2d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£58. 2s. 7d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**30.0%**
Small tithes of wool and lambs.	13s. 5d.
Pleas and perquisites of court and obits.	19s. 5d.
Sum of church and court income.	**£1 12s. 10d.**
Church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**2.8%**
Sum of rent, church and court income.	**£18 18s. 0d.**
Rent, church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**32.8%**

Temple Bruer including South Witham.

Sum of rents.	**£109 1s. 11d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£239 11s. 8d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**45.5%**
Sum of church and court income.	**£25 11s.10d.**
Church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**10.7%**
Sum of rent, church and court income.	**£134 12s. 9d.**
Rent, church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**56.2%**

WILLOUGHTON ESTATE.

Willoughton.

Fixed rent of free tenants.	£98 9s. 0d.
Fixed rent from Walcot which was paid to Flaxfleet.	£3 0s. 0d.
Rent from John de Wytington for 1 messuage and 1 carucate in Thorpe.	£2 0s. 0d.
Rent from 16 bovates in Tealby, Limber, Cabourne and Dunstall.	£8 4s. 4d.
Rent of 3 lb of pepper and 1 lb of cumin.	3s. 1d.
Fixed rent of Simon son of Nathaniel of Chueswell.	13s. 4d.
Fixed rent of Roger son of Matilda of Yawthorpe.	£2 10s. 0d.
Rent of windmills of Willoughton, Kettleby, Limber and a watermill at Keal.	£1 16s. 8d.
Sum of rents.	**£116 16s. 5d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£181 0s. 10d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**64.5%**
Pensions from the churches of Gainsborough and Hareby.	£2 2s. 0d.
Pleas, perquisites and obits of the manor court.	£7 18s. 0d.
Sum of church and court income.	**£10 0s. 0d.**
Church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**5.5%**
Sum of rent, church and court income.	**£126 16s. 0d.**
Rent, church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**70.0%**

No rent is listed for any of the member manors of the Willoughton estate. It is however reasonable to assume that the Willoughton total of £98 9s. 0d.

covered the entire estate just as the £73 6s. 8d. did for the Temple Bruer estate. Clearly the clerk for Willoughton did not trouble to specify for each manor that the fixed rent was paid into the account of the preceptory unlike the clerk for Temple Bruer.

EAGLE ESTATE.

Eagle and church.

Fixed rents of the manor of Eagle, members and hamlets.	£22 6s. 9d.
Rent paid on St Peter's Day, 29 June for tenancies in Eagle, Scarle and Swinderby.	8s. 8d.
Sum of rents.	**£22 15s. 5d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£62 12s. 10d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**36.7%**
Pension of North Scarle church.	£2 0s. 0d.
Pleas perquisites and obits of the manor court.	£6 12s. 0d.
Sum of church and court income.	**£8 12s. 0d.**
Church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**13.7%**
Sum of rent, church and court income.	**£31 7s. 5d.**
Rent, church and court income as a percentage of receipts	**50.4%**

Bracebridge.

Fixed rents from free and unfree tenants of the manor of Bracebridge.	£2 4s. 0d.
Fixed rent of 6 watermills at Bracebridge.	£1 6s. 8d.
Sum of rents.	**£3 10s. 8d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£5 12s. 8d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**62.7%**

No rental income is enrolled for Whisby or Woodhouse.

Eagle including Bracebridge.

Sum of rents.	**£26 6s. 1d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£68 5s. 6d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**38.5%**
Sum of church and court income.	**£8 12s. 0d.**
Church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**12.6%**
Sum of rent, church and court income.	**£34 18s. 1d.**
Rent, church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**51.1%**

ASLACKBY ESTATE.

Aslackby.

Fixed rent of the manor of Aslackby.	£18 5s. 3d.
Rent of a windmill.	4s. 0d.
1,145 eggs at Easter.	3s. 9d.
Sum of rents.	**£18 13s. 0d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£51 5s. 10d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**36.4%**
Sale of various items of the hay tithe of Aslackby church.	£3 10s. 0d.
Pleas, perquisites and obits of the manor court.	£1 0s. 4d.

Sum of church and court income.	**£4 10s. 4d.**
Church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**8.8%**
Sum of rent, church and court income.	**£23 3s. 4d.**
Rent, church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**45.2%**

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 – 29 MARCH 1309.

TEMPLE BRUER ESTATE.

Temple Bruer.

Fixed rent at Temple Bruer until Easter.	£2 18s. 11d.
Fixed rent at South Witham and elsewhere.	£36 13s. 4d.
Rent of 1 lb wax, 1 lb pepper, 4 lb cumin, 2 geese, 240 eggs.	3s. 7d.
Rent of 1 toft at Navenby.	12s. 0d.
Rent of a mill at *Heriherdeby* held by Robert de Gunwardeby for life.	3s. 4d.
Rent of 58 hens and chickens at Christmas – no sale price given.	
Rent of 2 deer – no sale price given.	
Sum of rents.	**£40 11s. 2d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£315 8s. 8d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**12.9%**
Pensions of churches at Caythorpe, Rauceby and Normanton.	£5 0s. 0d.
Obventions and perquisites of the above churches.	£1 10s. 3d.
Pleas and perquisites of the manor court.	£12 7s. 5d.
Sum of church and court income.	**£18 17s. 8d.**
Church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**6.0%**
Sum of rent, church and court income.	**£58 18s. 10d.**
Rent, church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**18.9%**

Kirkby.

Fixed rent of a market at Kirkby from Michaelmas to Easter.	6s. 8d.
Sum of rent.	**6s. 8d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£6 8s. 9d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**5.2%**

South Witham.

Fixed rents of free tenants and villeins.	£8 3s. 4d.
2 lb cumin.	2d.
Part of the rent of a messuage, a watermill and four pieces of land at Lobthorpe.	£1 0s. 0d.
Customary rent of 180 doves at Christmas.	£1 3s. 9d.
Sum of rents.	**£10 7s. 3d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£33 17s. 8d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**30.6%**
Pleas and perquisites of the manor court.	£1 8s. 0d.
Sum of court income.	**£1 8s. 0d.**
Court income as a percentage of receipts.	**4.1%**
Sum of rent and court income.	**£11 15s. 4d.**
Rent and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**34.7%**

Temple Bruer including Kirkby and South Witham.

Sum of rent.	**£51 5s. 1d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£355 15s. 1d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**14.4%**
Sum of church and court income.	**£20 5s. 0d.**
Church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**5.7%**
Sum of rent, church and court income.	**£71 10s. 1d.**
Rent, church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**20.1%**

WILLOUGHTON ESTATE.

Willoughton.

Fixed rent of free tenants.	£49 4s. 6d.
Fixed rent from Walcot which was paid at Flaxfleet.	£1 10s. 0d.
Land brought under rent.	12s. 6d.
Land handed over for fixed rent.	£5 1s. 8d.
Rent from John de Willoughton who held a tenancy for life.	£1 0s. 0d.
Rent of 2 lb pepper and 3 lb cumin at Easter.	2s. 3d.
Rent of 252 hens and chickens at Christmas.	£1 11s. 6d.
Fixed rent of mills at Willoughton, Kettleby, Limber and Keal.	£1 18s. 0d.
Sum of rent.	**£61 0s. 5d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£140 15s. 1d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**43.4%**
Pension from the church at Gainsborough.	£1 0s. 0d.
Pension from the church at Hareby.	1s. 0d.
Pleas, perquisites and obits of the manor courts.	£1 13s. 8d.
Sum of church and court income.	**£2 14s. 8d.**
Church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**1.9%**
Sum of rent, church and court income.	**£63 15s. 1d.**
Rent, church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**45.3%**

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 – 23 FEBRUARY 1309.

Mere.

Rent from part of a windmill on the manor of Mere.	5s. 6d.
Sum of rent.	**5s. 6d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£2 16s. 3d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**9.8%**

No rental income is enrolled for any other member of the Willoughton estate.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 – 25 JULY 1309.

EAGLE ESTATE.

Eagle.

Fixed rents of the tenants of Eagle and hamlets.	£23 15s. 10d.

Rent of 1 lb of cumin at Easter.	1d.
Rent of 588 hens and chickens at Christmas.	£3 17s. 4d.
Sum of rent.	**£27 13s. 3d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£139 8s. 1d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**19.8%**
Pension of the church of North Scarle.	£1 0s. 0d.
Pleas, perquisites and obits of the manor court.	£7 10s. 3d.
Sum of church and court income excluding the sheaf tithe of Eagle north field and that of Swinderby church.	**£8 10s. 3d.**
Church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**6.1%**
Sum of rent, church and court income.	**£35 13s. 6d.**
Rent, church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**25.9%**

Bracebridge.

Fixed rent of free and unfree tenants until Easter.	£1 2s. 0d.
Rent from 6 mills.	£2 6s. 8d.
Sum of rent.	**£3 8s. 8d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£4 19s. 0d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**69.4%**
Pleas and perquisites of the manor court.	3s. 8d.
Sum of court income.	**3s. 8d.**
Court income as a percentage of receipts.	**3.7%**
Rent and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**73.1%**

No rent is enrolled for the manors of Whisby and Woodhouse.

Eagle including Bracebridge.

Sum of rent.	**£31 1s. 11d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£144 7s. 1d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipt	**21.5%**
Sum of church and court income.	**£8 17s. 2d.**
Church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**5.7%**
Sum of rent, church and court income.	**£39 19s. 1d.**
Rent, church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**27.2%**

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 – 20 FEBRUARY 1309.

ASLACKBY ESTATE.

Aslackby.

Fixed rent.	£1 10s. 0d.
Customary rent of 38 hens and chickens at Christmas.	4s. 9d.
Sum of rent.	**£1 14s. 9d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£91 7s. 7d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**1.9%**
Pleas, perquisites and obits of the manor court.	£4 11s. 6d.
Sum of court income.	**£4 11s. 6d.**
Court income as a percentage of receipts.	**5.0%**
Sum of rent and court income.	**£6 6s. 3d.**
Rent and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**6.9%**

EASTER, 30 MARCH 1309 – 30 JULY 1309.

WILLOUGHTON ESTATE.

Willoughton.

Fixed rents of free tenants at Normanby.	3s. 9d.
Rent from Robert de Otby for a tenancy in Normanby.	1s. 0d.
Sum of rent.	**4s. 9d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£10 4s. 8d**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**2.3%**
Obits.	£2 7s 8d
Pleas and perquisites of the manor court.	2s 0d
Sum of court income.	**£2 9s 8d**
Court income as a percentage of receipts.	**24.3%**

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 – 2 JULY 1312.

TEMPLE BRUER ESTATE.

Temple Bruer.

Fixed rent from free and unfree tenants at Temple Bruer.	£39 12s. 3d.
Fixed rent of 1 messuage at Navenby.	12s. 4d.
Fixed rent of 1 watermill at Henerby.	3s. 4d.
Rent of 1 lb wax, 1 lb pepper and 4 lbs cumin.	1s. 11d.
Rent of 2 geese.	4d.
Rent of 580 hens and chickens at Christmas and 242 eggs at Easter.	£3 13s. 6d.
Sum of rent.	**£44 3s. 8d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£228 5s. 7d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**19.4%**
Pension of the church of Rauceby.	£1 0s. 0d.
Pension of the church of Normanton.	13s. 4d.
Pleas and perquisites of the manor court.	£24 4s. 9d.
Sum of church and court income.	**£25 18s. 1d.**
Church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**11.3%**
Sum of rent, church and court income.	**£70 1s. 9d.**
Rent, church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**30.8%**

No rent is enrolled for any member manors of Temple Bruer estate.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 – 28 SEPTEMBER 1312.

EAGLE ESTATE.

Eagle.

Fixed rent of the free and unfree tenants of the manor of Eagle.	£31 15s. 2d.
Rent of 2 lb cumin and 580 hens at Christmas.	£3 6s. 6d.
Sum of rent.	**£35 1s. 8d.**

Sum of receipts.	**£151 9s. 10d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**23.2%**
Sheaf tithe of total north field.	£5 6s. 8d.
Pension of the church of North Scarle.	£2 0s. 0d.
Pleas and perquisites of the manor court.	£7 17s. 11d.
Sum of church and court income.	**£13 4s. 7d.**
Church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**8.7%**
Sum of rent, church and court income.	**£48 6s. 3d.**
Rent, church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**31.9%**

Bracebridge.

Fixed rents of various tenants at Bracebridge.	£2 4s. 0d.
Rent from a messuage, mill and other tenancies surrendered to farm this year.	£5 6s. 8d.
Sum of rent.	**£7 10s. 8d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£7 10s. 8d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**100%**

Carlton.

Fixed rent of the hamlet of Carlton.	£1 13s. 4d.
Sum of rent.	**£1 13s. 4d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£21 19s. 5d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**7.6%**

No rents enrolled for Whisby or Woodhead.

Eagle including Bracebridge and Carlton.

Sum of rent.	**£44 5s. 8d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£180 19s. 11d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**24.5%**
Sum of church and court income.	**£13 4s. 7d.**
Church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**7.3%**
Sum of rent, church and court income.	**£57 10s. 3d.**
Rent, church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**31.8%**

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 – 15 JUNE 1312.

ASLACKBY ESTATE.

Aslackby.

Fixed rent of free and unfree tenants of the manor of Aslackby.	£9 15s. 5d.
Sum of rent.	**£9 15s. 5d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£66 7s. 5d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**14.7%**
Pleas and perquisites of the manor court.	£8 19. 0d.
Sum of court income.	**£8 19s. 0d.**
Court income as a percentage of receipts.	**13.5%**
Sum of rent and court income.	**£18 14s. 5d.**
Rent and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**28.2%**

16 JUNE 1312 – 28 SEPTEMBER 1312.

ASLACKBY ESTATE.

Aslackby.

Fixed rent of the manor of Aslackby.	£9 16s. 9d.
Sum of rent.	**£9 16s. 9d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£20 13s. 7d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**47.6%**
No oblations or obventions as received by vicar for life.	
Pleas and perquisites of the manor court.	15s. 6d.
Sum of court income.	**15s. 6d.**
Court income as a percentage of receipts.	**3.7%**
Sum of rent and court income.	**£10 12s. 3d.**
Rent and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**51.3%**

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 – 6 JUNE 1313.

EAGLE ESTATE.

Eagle.

Fixed rent of free and unfree tenants of Eagle.	£15 18s. 8d.
Rent of 2 lb cumin and 580 hens at Christmas.	£3 6s. 6d.
Sum of rent.	**£19 5s. 2d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£80 17s. 10d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**23.8%**
Sheaf tithe of Eagle church.	£13 0s. 0d.
Pension from the church of North Scarle.	£1 0s. 0d.
Pleas and perquisites of the manor court.	£6 4s. 3d.
Sum of church and court income.	**£20 4s. 3d.**
Church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**25.0%**
Sum of rent, church and court income.	**£39 9s. 5d.**
Rent, church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**48.8%**

Bracebridge.

Fixed rent of various tenants of the hamlet of Bracebridge.	£1 0s. 0d.
Rent of a messuage, arable land and a mill.	£2 13s. 4d.
Sum of rent.	**£3 13s. 4d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£3 13s. 4d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**100%**

Eagle including Bracebridge.

Sum of rent.	**£22 18s. 6d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£84 11s. 2d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**27.1%**
Sum of church and court income.	**£20 4s. 3d.**
Church and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**23.9%**
Sum of rent, church and court income.	**£43 2s. 9d.**

Rent, church and court income as a percentage of receipts. 51.0%

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 – 24 DECEMBER 1312.

Carlton.

Pleas and perquisites of the manor court.	9s. 0d.
Sum of court income.	**9s. 0d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£24 0s. 9d.**
Court income as a percentage of receipts.	**1.9%**

No rent enrolled for either Whisby or Woodhouse.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 – 28 SEPTEMBER 1313.

ASLACKBY ESTATE.

Aslackby.

Fixed rent of Aslackby manor.	£19 17s. 4d.
Rent of 39 hens and 1,145 eggs at Christmas and Easter.	12s. 2d.
Sum of rent.	**£20 9s. 6d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£100 14s. 7d.**
Rent as a percentage of receipts.	**20.3%**
Pleas and perquisites of the manor court.	£2 8s. 3d.
Sum of court income.	**£2 8s. 3d.**
Court income as a percentage of receipts.	**2.4%**
Sum of rent and court income.	**£22 17s. 9d.**
Rent and court income as a percentage of receipts.	**22.7%**

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1313 – 8 DECEMBER 1313.

ASLACKBY ESTATE.

Aslackby.

Pleas and perquisites of manor court.	10s 9d.
Sum of court income.	**10s. 9d.**
Sum of receipts.	**£21 5s. 3d.**
Court income as a percentage of receipts.	**2.1%**

Larder, dairy and dovecote contents on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire 1308-1313.

10 JANUARY 1308- 28 SEPTEMBER 1308.

TEMPLE BRUER ESTATE.

Temple Bruer.

Larder.
10 ox carcasses.
40 flitches of bacon.
60 wether carcasses.
Of which for autumn use: ½ ox carcass.
4 flitches of bacon.
34 wether carcasses.
To Thomas de Burnham for Scotland: 16 flitches of bacon.
9 ½ ox carcasses.
20 flitches of bacon.
26 wether carcasses.

Dairy.
308 cheeses weighing 204 ½ stones plus 60 stones from the manor of Holme.
Sum – 264 ½ stones of cheese of which 114 stones sold and 150 ½ stones for autumn use.
13 stones of butter for autumn use.

Holme.

Dairy.
203 cheeses weighing 75 ½ stones.
Of which 60 stones paid to Temple Bruer and 15 ½ stone sold.
10 stones of butter paid to Temple Bruer.

South Witham.

Dairy.
111 cheeses.
Of which 50 for autumn use and 61sold.

Dovecote.
90 doves sold.

WILLOUGHTON ESTATE.

Willoughton.

Larder.
7 ox carcasses.
24 flitches of bacon.
30 wether carcasses.
Of which for autumn use: 3 ox carcasses.

4 flitches of bacon.
18 wether carcasses.
12 flitches of bacon by the king's writ.
For sale: 4 ox carcasses.
8 flitches of bacon.
12 wether carcasses.

Dairy.

186 cheeses weighing 82 stones plus 56 cheeses from Keal and 36 cheeses from Tealby.
Of which 16 stones of cheese at Saxby and Upton for autumn use, 60 stones at the manor for autumn and 10 stones sold.
7 ½ stones of butter for autumn use.

Tealby.

Dairy.

109 cheeses weighing 56 stones for autumn.
Of which 18 stones of ewes' milk cheese, 7 stones of cheese at Willoughton and 11 stones sold.

Kettleby.

Dairy.

89 cheese weighing 21 stones sold.
2 stones of butter sold.

Keal.

Dairy.

92 cheeses weighing 32 stones.
Of which 20 stones to Willoughton and 4 stones for autumn use and 8 stones sold.
4 stones of butter for autumn use.

Mere.

Dairy.

105 cheeses weighing 35 stones.
Of which 7 cheeses paid to the men who carried hay for 2 days.
59 cheese for autumn use.
39 cheeses sold weighing 12 ½ stones and valued at 7s. 3d.
4 stones of butter for autumn use.

Dovecote.

Doves sold to the value of 3s. 4d.

EAGLE ESTATE.

Eagle.

Larder.

5 ox carcasses.
50 flitches of bacon.
50 wether carcasses.
Of which for autumn use: 1 ½ ox carcasses.
8 flitches of bacon.

37 wether carcasses.
To the sheriff of Lincoln for Scotland: 16 flitches of bacon.
Sold: 3 ½ ox carcasses.
6 flitches of bacon.
13 wether carcasses.

Dairy.

188 cheeses weighing 59 ½ stones.
Of which 12 stones for autumn use and 16 stones sent to Woodhouse and Whisby for autumn use and 31 stones sold.
9 stones of butter.
Of which 3 stones sold and 6 stones for autumn use.

Dovecote.

200 doves sold.

ASLACKBY ESTATE.

Aslackby.

Larder.

20 flitches of bacon.
7 wether carcasses.
To the sheriff of Lincoln for Scotland: 16 flitches of bacon.
For autumn use: 5 wether carcasses.
3 flitches of bacon.
2 wether carcasses sold.

Dairy.

95 cheeses.
Of which 86 for autumn use and 9 sold.
4 stones of butter for autumn use.

Dovecote.

Doves sold to the value of 4s. 4d.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 – 29 MARCH 1309.

TEMPLE BRUER ESTATE.

Temple Bruer.

Larder.

2 flitches of bacon.
1 ox carcass.
22 wether carcasses.
To Thomas de Burnham: 1 flitch of bacon.
½ an ox carcass.
22 wether carcasses.
Sold: 1 flitch of bacon and ½ an ox carcass.

Dairy.

207 cheeses weighing 133 stones.
205 cheeses weighing 132 stones to Thomas de Burnham @ 8d per stone.
2 cheeses sold.

20 stones of butter to Thomas de Burnham @ 12d. per stone.
Dovecote.
Doves sold valued at 2s. 6d.

WILLOUGHTON ESTATE.

No inventories of contents on the Willoughton estate for the dates above.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 – 27 JULY 1309.

WILLOUGHTON ESTATE.

Keal.

Dairy.
78 cheeses weighing 41 stones @ 8d per stone.
8 stones of butter @ 1s. per stone.

EASTER, 30 March 1309 – 30 JULY 1309.

WILLOUGHTON ESTATE.

Willoughton.

Dairy.
30 stones of cheese @ 8d. per stone.
6 stones of butter @ 10d. per stone.
Both cheese and butter handed over to Thomas de Burnham.

Tealby.

Dairy.
20 stones of cheese @ 8d. per stone.
2 stones of butter @ 10d. per stone.
Both cheese and butter handed over to Thomas de Burnham.

Kettleby.

Dairy.
5 stones of butter @ 8d per stone.
Butter handed over to Thomas de Burnham.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 – 25 JULY 1309.

EAGLE ESTATE.

Eagle.

Dairy.
26 stones of cheese sold for 15s.
41 stones of cheese and 8 stones of butter sold for $1 14s. 0d.
Dovecote.
200 doves sold for 4s. 2d.

ASLACKBY ESTATE.

Aslackby.

No inventories of contents of the Aslackby estate for the dates above.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 – 2 JULY 1312.

TEMPLE BRUER ESTATE.

Temple Bruer.

Dairy.
195 cheeses weighing 113 stones @ 8d. per stone.
7 stones of butter @ 10d. per stone.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 – 28 SEPTEMBER 1312.

EAGLE ESTATE.

Eagle.

Dairy.
177 cheeses weighing 64 stones.
Of which 20 ½ stones for autumn use at Eagle, Woodhouse and Whisby and 43 ½ stones sold for £1 5s. 3d.
8 stones of butter sold.
Dovecote.
231 doves sold of which 170 sold for 3s. 6d.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 – 15 JUNE 1312.

ASLACKBY ESTATE.

Aslackby.

Dairy.
30 cheeses weighing 10 stones @ 8d. per stone.
13 cheeses sold weighing 4 ½ stones.
45 stones of butter.
2 stones of butter sold.

16 JUNE 1312 – 28 SEPTEMBER 1312.

ASLACKBY ESTATE.

Aslackby.

Dairy.
10 stones of cheese received from William de Spanneby.

4 ½ stones of produce.
8 stones of cheese bought.
Sum 22 ½ stones of cheese.
Of which 16 stones for the use of reapers and others in autumn.
For the use of the sergeant, woodward and cook at the table for 10 weeks as above.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 – 6 JUNE 1313.

EAGLE ESTATE.

Eagle.

Larder.
7 piglets slaughtered for use at Christmas.
Hens and chickens.
1 flitch of bacon sold.
6 salted flitches of bacon handed over to Sir David Graham @ 3s. each.
Dairy.
43 stones of cheese.
Of which 2 stones paid for the customary service of winter sowing.
9 stones of cheese sold.
32 stones of cheese handed over to Sir David Graham.
6 stones of butter sold.
Dovecote.
54 doves sold.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 – 28 SEPTEMBER 1313.

ASLACKBY ESTATE.

Aslackby.

Dairy.
15 stones of cheese used in autumn.
2 ½ stones of butter used in autumn.

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1313 – 8 DECEMBER 1313.

ASLACKBY ESTATE.

Aslackby.

No larder, dairy or dovecote inventories enrolled.

ARABLE ACREAGE IN SEED. **Appendix 4.**

PRECEPTORY/MANOR	WHEAT	PER ACRE	RYE	PER ACRE	BARLEY	PER ACRE	DREDGE	PER ACRE	OATS	PER ACRE	BEANS & PEAS	PER ACRE	*PULMENTUM**	PER ACRE	TOTAL ACREAGE	TOTAL VALUE
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																
TEMPLE BRUER	112.5		10.0		97.5		182.5		190.0						592.5	
ROWSTON	110.0				48.0		36.0				10.0		63.0		267.0	
KIRKBY	50.0		8.0		22.0	4s. 0d.	13.0	2s. 6d.	13.0	2s. 0d			16.5	2s. 0d.	122.5	
BRAUNCEWELL		58.0			12.0	4s. 0d.	33.0	2s. 6d.	6.0	2s. 0d.			39.0	2s. 0d.	148.0	
CRANWELL																
WELBOURN	43.0				10.0	3s. 6d.	19.0	3s. 0d.					29.0		101.0	
WELLINGORE	48.0		10.0		22.0	4s. 0d.	17.0	3s. 0d.	18.0		3.5		36.0	2s. 6d.	154.5	
CARLTON																
HOLME		10.0					5.0		1.0						16.0	
SOUTH WITHAM					25.0		25.0		160.0		53.0		20.0		283.0	
TOTAL	**395.5**		**60.0**		**236.5**		**330.5**		**388.0**		**66.5**		**203.5**		**1,684.5**	
% OF TOTAL ACREAGE	23.5%		3.6%		14.0%		19.6%		23.0%		3.9%		12.1%		99.8%	
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																
WILLOUGHTON					38.3	4s. 0d.	46.6	3s. 0d.			50.0	1s. 6d.			134.9	
TEALBY																
CLAXBY																
CABOURNE	8.0				7.0		9.0				7.0				31.0	
LIMBER		30.0			16.0		15.0		35.0		15.0				111.0	
CAWKWELL																
GOULCEBY																
UPTON																
GAINSBOROUGH																
KETTLEBY																
TEMPLE BELWOOD																
TOTAL	**23.0**		**15.0**		**61.3**		**70.6**		**35.0**		**72.0**				**276.9**	
% OF TOTAL ACREAGE	8.3%		5.4%		22.1%		25.5%		12.6%		26.0%				100.0%	
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																
KEAL																
SAXBY																
MERE																
W'TON GRAND TOTAL	**23.0**		**15.0**		**61.3**		**70.6**		**35.0**		**72.0**				**276.9**	
W'TON % OF G. T. ACREAGE	8.3%		5.4%		22.1%		25.5%		12.6%		26.0%				100.0%	
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																
EAGLE																
WOODHOUSE & WHISBY																
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																
ASLACKBY					39.0				12.0		48.0				99.0	
TOTAL					**39.0**				**12.0**		**48.0**				**99.0**	
% OF TOTAL ACREAGE					39.4%				12.1%		48.5%				100.0%	

***PULMENTUM** is a mixture of grain and legumes.

ARABLE ACREAGE IN SEED. **Appendix 4.**

PRECEPTORY/MANOR	WHEAT	PER ACRE	RYE	PER ACRE	BARLEY	PER ACRE	DREDGE	PER ACRE	OATS	PER ACRE	BEANS & PEAS*	PER ACRE	*PULMENTUM**	PER ACRE	TOTAL ACREAGE	TOTAL VALUE
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - FEAST OF ST JAMES, 25 JULY 1309																
TEMPLE BRUER	169.0	4s. 0d.	7.0	4s. 0d.	64.0	4s. 0d.	74.5	3s. 0d.	216.0	1s. 6d.			19.0	2s. 6d.	549.5	£77 15s. 0d.
ROWSTON	120.0	4s. 0d.	24.0	4s. 0d.	50.0	4s. 0d.	58.3	3s. 0d.			8.0	2s. 0d.	82.5	2s. 0d.	342.8	£56 11s. 0d.
KIRKBY	50.0	4s. 0d.	6.0	4s. 0d.	30.0	4s. 0d.	26.0	2s. 6d.	11.0	2s. 0d.	1.5	2s. 0d.	20.5	2s. 0d.	145.0	£23 15s. 0d.
BRAUNCEWELL	35.0	4s. 0d.			9.5	4s. 0d.	38.5	2s. 6d.	30.0	1s. 8d.			51.0	2s. 0d.	164.0	£21 6s. 0d.
CRANWELL																
WELBOURN	45.0	3s. 6d.			8.0	3s. 6d.	14.0	3s. 0d.	14.0	1s. 8d.	16.0	3s. 0d.			97.0	£13 16s. 10d.
WELLINGORE	68.0	4s. 0d.			20.0	4s. 0d.	43.0	3s. 0d.			14.0		22.5	2s. 6d.	167.5	£30 12s. 3d.
CARLTON	54.0	6s. 0d.	24.0	6s. 0d.			58.0	4s. 0d.	14.5	2s. 0d.	13.0p 2.0b	3s. 0d.			165.5	£33 14s. 0d.
HOLME	7.0	3s. 6d.					3.0	2s. 6d.							10.0	£1 12s. 0d.
SOUTH WITHAM	122.5														122.5	£21 8s. 9d.
TOTAL	**670.5**		**61.0**		**181.5**		**315.3**		**285.5**		**54.5**		**195.5**		**1,763.8**	**£280 11s. 7d.**
% OF TOTAL ACREAGE	38.0%		3.5%		10.3%		17.9%		16.2%		3.1%		11.1%		100.0%	
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 29 MARCH 1309																
WILLOUGHTON	146.0	4s. 0d.			70.0	4s. 0d.	60.0	3s. 0d.	16.0	2s. 0d.	44.0p	1s. 6d.			336.0	£56 16s. 0d.
TEALBY	42.0	3s. 6d.	6.0	2s. 6d.			16.0	3s. 6d.			16.0p	1s. 8d.			126.0	£18 9s. 8d.
							46.0	2s. 6d.								
CLAXBY	15.0	2s. 0d.	7.5	2s. 6d.	7.0	2s. 6d.					7.5p	11d.			37.0	£3 12s. 6 3/4d.
CABOURNE	5.0	2s. 0d.	10.0	1s. 3d.	1.5	2s. 6d.	11.0	1s. 2d.	34.0	1s. 2d.	7.1p	1s. 2d.			68.5	£4 6s. 2d.
LIMBER	20.0	4s. 0d.	32.0	3s. 0d.	20.5	2s. 6d.			35.0	1s. 6d.	26.0p	2s. 0d.			133.5	£16 11s. 9d.
CAWKWELL	24.0	3s. 6d.			16.0	3s. 6d.	16.0	3s. 0d.			3.0b	1s. 6d.			59.0	£ 9 12s. 6d.
GOULCEBY	6.5	2s. 6d.	8.0	2s. 6d.	4.0	3s. 6d.	6.0	2s. 6d.	6.0	1s. 4d.	2.0	1s. 4d.			32.5	£3 13s. 11d.
UPTON	18.0	3s. 6d.			10.0	2s. 6d.			14.0	2s. 0d.	7.0p	2s. 0d.			49.0	£6 10s. 0d.
GAINSBOROUGH	16.0	4s. 0d.	8.0	4s. 0d.	10.0	0d.	4.0	3s. 0d.	2.0	2s. 0d.	16.0	2s. 0d.			56.0	£9 4s. 0d.
KETTLEBY	24.0	4s. 0d.	11.0	4s. 0d.	18.5	4s. 0d.	8.0	3s. 0d.	14.0	3s. 0d.	6.5	3s. 0d.			82.0	£12 11s. 6d.
TEMPLE BELWOOD	7.5	3s. 6d.			7.5	3s. 6d.	3.5	2s. 6d.	5.5	2s. 0d.					24.0	£3 8s. 0d.
TOTAL	**324.0**		**82.5**		**165.0**		**170.5**		**126.5**		**135.1**				**1,003.5**	**£144 14s. 0 3/4d.**
% OF TOTAL ACREAGE	32.3%		8.2%		16.4%		17.0%		12.6%		13.5%				100.0%	
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 27 JULY 1309																
KEAL	38.0	4s. 0d.	11.0	4s. 0d.	8.0	4s. 0d.	11.0	4s. 0d.	28.0	2s. 0d.	11.0p	2s. 0d.			107.0	£16 19s. 0d.
SAXBY																
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 23 FEBRUARY 1309																
MERE	22.5	3s. 6d.													22.5	£3 17s. 6d.
TOTAL	**60.5**		**11.0**		**8.0**		**11.0**		**28.0**		**11.0**				**129.5**	**£20 16s. 6d.**
W'TON GRAND TOTAL	**384.5**		**93.5**		**173.0**		**181.5**		**154.5**		**146.1**				**1,133.1**	**£165 10s. 6 3/4d.**
W'TON % OF G. T. ACREAGE	33.9%		8.3%		15.3%		16.0%		13.6%		12.9%				100.0%	

*p = peas only, b = beans only.

** *PULMENTUM* is a mixture of grain and legumes.

ARABLE ACREAGE IN SEED. **Appendix 4.**

PRECEPTORY/MANOR	WHEAT	PER ACRE	RYE	PER ACRE	BARLEY	PER ACRE	DREDGE	PER ACRE	OATS	PER ACRE	BEANS & PEAS*	PER ACRE	*PULMENTUM* *	PER ACRE	TOTAL ACREAGE	TOTAL VALUE
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 25 JULY 1309																
EAGLE																
WOODHOUSE **																
WHISBY ***																
BRACEBRIDGE																
TOTAL																
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 20 FEBRUARY 1309																
ASLACKBY																
TOTAL																
EASTER, 30 MARCH 1309 - 30 JULY 1309																
WILLOUGHTON	146.0	4s. 0d.			70.0	4s. 0d.	64.0	3s. 0d.	16.0	2s. 0d.	49.0p	1s. 6d.			345.0	£58 1s. 6d.
TEALBY	42.0	3s. 6d.	16.0	2s. 6d.			16.0	3s. 6d.			16.0p	1s. 8d.			90.0	£13 11s. 4d.
CLAXBY	15.0	2s. 0d.	6.5	2s. 0d.	16.1	2s. 6d.					7.5p	11d.			45.1	£4 9s. 10 1/2d.
CABOURNE	5.0	2s. 0d.	10.0	1s. 3d.	1.5	2s. 6d.	11.0	1s. 2d.	24.0	1s. 2d.	7.1p	1s. 2d.			58.5	£3 14s. 6d.
LIMBER	20.0	4s. 0d.	32.0	3s. 0d.	20.5	2s. 6d.	17.0	2s. 6d.	35.0	1s. 6d.	26.0p	2s. 0d.			150.5	£20 0s. 0d.
CAWKWELL	24.0	3s. 6d.			16.0	3s. 6d.	16.0	3s. 0d.			3.0	1s. 6d.			59.0	£9 12s. 6d.
GOULCEBY	6.5	2s. 6d.	8.0	2s. 6d.	4.0	3s. 6d.	6.0	2s. 6d.	6.0	1s. 4d.	2.0	1s. 4d.			32.5	£3 14s. 5d.
UPTON	18.0	3s. 6d.			10.0	2s. 6d.			14.0	2s. 0d.	7.0p	2s. 0d.			49.0	£6 10s. 0d.
GAINSBOROUGH	16.0	4s. 0d.	8.0	4s. 0d.	10.0	4s. 0d.	4.0	3s. 0d.	2.0	2s. 0d.	16.0	2s. 0d.			56.0	£9 0s. 0d.
KETTLEBY	24.0	4s. 0d.	11.0	4s. 0d.	18.5	4s. 0d.	8.0	3s. 0d.	14.0	3s. 0d.	7.5	3s. 0d.			83.0	£13 6s. 6d.
TEMPLE BELWOOD	7.5	3s. 6d.			7.5	3s. 6d.	3.5	2s. 6d.	5.5	2s. 0d.					24.0	£3 10s. 6d.
TOTAL	**324.0**		**91.5**		**174.1**		**145.5**		**116.5**		**141.1**				**992.6**	**£145 11s. 1 1/2d.**
% OF TOTAL ACREAGE	32.6%		9.2%		17.5%		14.7%		11.7%		14.2%				100.0%	

* p = peas only, b = beans only.
** Woodhouse - 75 acres oats, 6 acres peas accounted for weeding.
*** Whisby - 10 acres wheat, 3 acres 1 rod barley, 30 acres oats accounted for weeding.
* *PULMENTUM* is a mixture of grain and legumes.

ARABLE ACREAGE IN SEED. **Appendix 4.**

PRECEPTORY/MANOR	WHEAT	PER ACRE	RYE	PER ACRE	BARLEY	PER ACRE	DREDGE	PER ACRE	OATS	PER ACRE	BEANS & PEAS*	PER ACRE	*PULMENTUM* **	PER ACRE	TOTAL ACREAGE	TOTAL VALUE
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 - 2 JULY 1312																
TEMPLE BRUER																
ROWSTON																
KIRKBY																
BRAUNCEWELL	33.5	2s. 6d.			7.1	2s. 6d.	21.0	1s. 8d.	12.0	1s. 8d.			56.3	1s. 8d.	129.9	£12 16s. 7d.
WELBOURN	41.0	4s. 0d.					10.0	2s. 0d.	12.0	2s. 0d.	23.0	2s. 6d.	22.0	2s. 0d.	108.0	£15 19s. 6d.
WELLINGORE	54.0	3s. 0d.	13.5 **	3s. 0d.	26.0	5s. 0d.	12.0	2s. 0d.	24.0	2s. 0d.			20.0	2s. 0d.	149.5	£22 4s. 6d.
TOTAL	**128.5**		**13.5**		**33.1**		**43.0**		**48.0**		**23.0**		**98.3**		**387.4**	**£51 0s. 7d.**
% OF TOTAL ACREAGE	33.2%		3.5%		8.5%		11.1%		12.4%		5.9%		25.4%		100.0%	
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 - 6 JUNE 1313																
EAGLE ***	133.0	3s. 6d.	78.5	3s. 0d.	60.0	4s. 0d.			140.0	2s. 6d.	3.0p	2s. 6d.			414.5	£64 18s. 6d.
WOODHOUSE																
WHISBY																
BRACEBRIDGE																
CARLTON																
TOTAL	**133.0**		**78.5**		**60.0**				**140.0**		**3.0**				**414.5**	**£64 18s. 6d.**
% OF TOTAL ACREAGE	32.1%		18.9%		14.5%				33.8%		0.7%				100.0%	
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 - 15 JUNE 1312																
ASLACKBY	67.0	6s. 0d.			38.0	6s. 0d.			11.0	2s. 6d.	39.0	2s. 6d.			155.0	£37 15s. 0d.
TOTAL	**67.0**				**38.0**				**11.0**		39.0				155.0	
% OF TOTAL ACREAGE	0.4				24.5%				7.1%		25.2%				100.0%	
16 JUNE 1312 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1312																
ASLACKBY	67.0				38.0				11.0		39.0b					
TOTAL	**67.0**		**0.0**		**38.0**				**11.0**		**39.0**				**155.0**	
% OF TOTAL ACREAGE	43.2%		0.0%		24.5%				7.1%		25.2%				100.0%	
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1313																
ASLACKBY**															189.0 3 rods	
TOTAL															**189.0 3 rods**	
% OF TOTAL ACREAGE															100.0%	
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1313 - 8 DECEMBER 1313																
ASLACKBY *																

*p = peas only, b = beans only.
** Rye and wheat maslin.
*** No land in seed recorded for Eagle and men Michaelmas 1311 - Michaelmas 1312.
**** 189 acres 3 rods harvested but grains not specified.
* No arable acreage recorded.
** *PULMENTUM* is a mixture of grain and legumes.

SOWING RATES/ VALUES/ MEADOW ACREAGE 1308 - 1313.							Appendix 5.
PRECEPTORY/MANOR	SEED	QUANTITY	ACREAGE	SEED/ACRE	VALUE/ ACRE	VALUE/ QUARTER	YIELD RATIO***
10 JANUARY - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308							
TEMPLE BRUER	WHEAT		112.5*				
	RYE		10.0*				
	BARLEY	48q 6b*	97.5**	4.0b			
	DREDGE	91q 2b	182.5	4.0b			
	OATS	150q 0b	190.0	6.3b			
	BEANS & PEAS						
	PULMENTUM ****						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**372.5**				
ROWSTON	WHEAT		110.0				
	RYE						
	BARLEY	24q 4b	48.0	4.0b			
	DREDGE	18q 2b	36.0	4.65b			
	OATS						
	BEANS & PEAS	3q 0b	10.0	2.4b			
	PULMENTUM ****	15q 0b	63.0***	1.9b			
	MEADOW		118.0				
TOTAL			**267.0****				
KIRKBY	WHEAT		50.0				
	RYE		8.0				
	BARLEY	11q 0b	22.0	4 .0b	4s. 0d.		
	DREDGE	6q 4b	13.0	4.0b	2s. 6d.		
	OATS	6q 4b	13.0	4.0b	2s. 6d.		
	BEANS & PEAS						
	PULMENTUM ****	8q 6b	16.5	4.24b	2s. 6d.		
	MEADOW		50.0				
TOTAL			**122.5****				
BRAUNCEWELL	WHEAT		54.0				
	RYE						
	BARLEY	6q 4b	10.0	4.0b	4s. 0d.		
	DREDGE	16q 4b	33.0	4.0b	2s. 6d.		
	OATS	3q 0b	6.0	4.0b	2s. 0d.		
	BEANS & PEAS						
	PULMENTUM ****	19q 0b	39.0	3.9b	2s. 6d.		
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**142.0**				
CRANWELL****							
WELBOURN	WHEAT		43.0				
	RYE						
	BARLEY	5q 0b	10.0	4.0b	3s. 6d.		
	DREDGE	9q 4b	19.0	4.0b	3s. 0d.		
	OATS						
	BEANS & PEAS						
	PULMENTUM ****		29.0				
	MEADOW		22.5				
TOTAL			**101.0****				

* q =quarters, b = bushels, 8 bushels = 1 quarter.
** Totals exclude meadow acreages.
*** Yield ratio = $\frac{\text{value per acre}}{\text{seed per acre in bushels x value per bushel}}$
**** 125 acres of grain harvested @ 8d per acre.
* Wheat and rye were winter-sown and so not included in seed figures which would have been in the previous account. The acreages here cited are the harvested acreages at Temple Bruer, Ashby and Caldecote.
** The total harvested barley acreage was 142.5 acres, in addition to the 97.5 acres above there was 45 acres of winter-sown barley.
*** In addition, 35 acres of vetch mown for stacking.
**** *PULMENTUM* is a mixture of grain and legumes.

SOWING RATES/ VALUES/ MEADOW ACREAGE 1308 - 1313.							Appendix 5.
PRECEPTORY/MANOR	SEED	QUANTITY	ACREAGE	SEED/ACRE	VALUE/ ACRE	VALUE/ QUARTER	YIELD RATIO***
10 JANUARY - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308							
WELLINGORE	WHEAT		48.0				
	RYE		10.0*				
	BARLEY	11q 0b	22.0	4.0b	4s. 0d.		
	DREDGE	8q 4b	17.0	4.0b	3s. 0d.		
	OATS	9q 0b	18.0	4.0b			
	BEANS & PEAS	7b	3.5	2.0b			
	PULMENTUM ***	13q 0b	36.0	2.9b	2s. 6d.		
	MEADOW		16.5				
TOTAL			**154.5****				
HOLME	WHEAT		10.0 *				
	RYE						
	BARLEY						
	DREDGE	2q 4b	5.0	4.0b			
	OATS	4b	1.0	4.0b			
	BEANS & PEAS						
	PULMENTUM ***						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**6.0**				
SOUTH WITHAM	WHEAT					6s. 8d./8s. 0d.**	
	RYE						
	BARLEY	12q 2b	25.0	3.9b			
	DREDGE	14q 4b	25.0	4.6b			
	OATS	45q 0b	160.0	3.6b			
	BEANS & PEAS	6q 5b	53.0	1.0b			
	PULMENTUM ***	6q 4b	20.0	2.4b			
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**283.0**				
WILLOUGHTON	WHEAT						
	RYE						
	BARLEY	19q 1b	38.3	4.0b	4s 0d		
	DREDGE	30q 7b	46.6	4.0b	3s 0d		
	OATS			4b.0			
	BEANS & PEAS	17q 4b	50.0	2.8b	1s 6d		
	PULMENTUM ***			3.9b	2s 6d		
	MEADOW		63.5				
TOTAL			**134.9 ****				
TEALBY	MEADOW		33.0				
CLAXBY	OATS	2q +2q****					
	PEAS						
	MEADOW		34.0				
CABOURNE*	WHEAT		8.0				
	RYE						
	BARLEY		7.0				
	DREDGE		9.0				
	OATS						
	BEANS & PEAS	1q 0b	7.0		2s 4d		
	PULMENTUM ***						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**31.0**				

* Maslin, a mixture of winter-sown wheat and rye.
** Totals exclude meadow acreages.
*** Yield ratio = $\frac{\text{value per acre}}{\text{seed per acre x value per bushel}}$
**** Oats and peas bought for seed.
* All standing crop sold at Lammas Day, 1 August, 1308.
** Valuation per quarter of wheat stored at the grange.
*** *PULMENTUM* is a mixture of grain and legumes.

SOWING RATES/ VALUES/ MEADOW ACREAGE 1308 - 1313.							**Appendix 5.**
PRECEPTORY/MANOR	SEED	QUANTITY	ACREAGE	SEED/ACRE	VALUE/ ACRE	VALUE/ QUARTER	YIELD RATIO*
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - FEAST OF ST JAMES, 25th JULY 1309							
TEMPLE BRUER	WHEAT	63q 1b	169.0	3.0b	4s. 0d.		
	RYE	3q 0b	7.0	3.4b	4s. 0d.	6s. 0d.	1.6
	BARLEY	40q 0b	64.0	5.0b	4s. 0d.		
	DREDGE	46q 4b	74.5	5.0b	3s. 0d.		
	OATS	162q 0b	216.0	6.0b	1s. 6d.		
	BEANS & PEAS	2b					
	*PULMENTUM*****	5q 3b	19.0	2.3b	2s. 6d.		
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**549.5**				
ROWSTON	WHEAT	30q 0b	120.0	2.0b	4s. 0d.	6s. 0d./6s. 8d.	2.7/2.4
	RYE	6q 0b	24.0	2.0b	4s. 0d.		
	BARLEY	25q 0b	50.0	4.0b	4s. 0d.	4s. 0d.	2.0
	DREDGE	29q 3b	58.3	4.0b	3s. 0d.	3s. 4d.	1.8
	OATS						
	BEANS & PEAS	3q 0b	8.0	3.0b	2s. 6d.		
	*PULMENTUM*****	25q 0b	82.5	2.4b	2s. 6d.	3s. 6d.	2.5
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**342.8**				
KIRKBY	WHEAT	17q 4b	50.1	2.8b	4s. 0d.	6s. 0d.	1.9
	RYE	1q 6b	6.0	2.3b	4s. 0d.		
	BARLEY	17q	30.0	4.5b	4s. 0d.		
	DREDGE	16q 2b	26.0	5.0b	2s. 6d.		
	OATS	8q 2b	11.0	6.0b	2s. 0d.		
	BEANS & PEAS	4b	1.5	2.7b	2s. 0d.		
	*PULMENTUM*****	6q 0b	20.5	2.8b	2s. 0d.	3s. 6d.	1.7
	MEADOW***						
TOTAL			**145.1**				
BRAUNCEWELL	WHEAT		35.0		4s. 0d.		
	RYE						
	BARLEY		9.5		4s. 0d.		
	DREDGE		38.5		2s. 6d.		
	OATS		31.0		1s. 8d.		
	BEANS & PEAS						
	PULMENTUM ****		51.0		2s. 0d.		
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**165.0**				
WELBOURN	WHEAT	30q 0b	45.0	2.5b	3s. 6d.		
	RYE	6q 0b					
	BARLEY	25q 0b	8.0	4.0b	3s. 6d.		
	DREDGE	29q 3b	14.0	4.0b	3s. 0d.		
	OATS		14.0	4.0b	1s. 8d.		
	BEANS & PEAS	3q 0b	16.0	2.0b	2s. 0d.		
	*PULMENTUM*****	7q 7.5b	27.6	2.3b**			
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**124.6**				

* Yield ratio = $\frac{\text{value per acre}}{\text{seed per acre in bushels x value per bushel}}$

** For seed but not accounted in acreage.

*** Hay made at Temple Bruer, Cranwell, Carlton, Leadenham and Welbourn but no acreage accounted.

**** *PULMENTUM* is a mixture of grain and legumes.

SOWING RATES/ VALUES/ MEADOW ACREAGE 1308 - 1313.							Appendix 5.
PRECEPTORY/MANOR	SEED	QUANTITY	ACREAGE	SEED/ACRE	VALUE/ACRE	VALUE/QUARTER	YIELD RATIO****
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - FEAST OF ST JAMES, 25 JULY 1309							
WELLINGORE	WHEAT		68.0		4s. 0d.		
	RYE		14*		2s. 6d.		
	BARLEY		20.0		4s. 0d.		
	DREDGE		43.0		3s. 0d.		
	OATS						
	BEANS & PEAS						
	PULMENTUM *		22.5		2s. 6d.		
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**167.5**				
CARLTON	WHEAT		54.0		6s. 0d.		
	RYE		24.0		6s. 0d.		
	BARLEY						
	DREDGE		58.0		4s. 0d.		
	OATS		14.5		2s. 0d.		
	BEANS & PEAS		15.0		2s. 0d./3s. 0d.**		
	PULMENTUM *						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**165.5**				
HOLME	WHEAT		7.0		3s. 6d.		
	RYE						
	BARLEY						
	DREDGE		3.0		2s. 6d.		
	OATS						
	BEANS & PEAS						
	PULMENTUM *						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**10.0**				
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 23 FEBRUARY 1309 (handed over to Stephen de Stanham)							
SOUTH WITHAM	WHEAT	46q 0b	122.5	3.0b	3s. 6d.		
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - EASTER, 30 MARCH 1309							
WILLOUGHTON	WHEAT	45q 5b	146.0	2.5b	4s. 0d.		
	RYE						
	BARLEY	35q 0b	70.0	4.0b	4s. 0d.		
	DREDGE	40q 0b	60.0	5.3b	3s. 0d.		
	OATS	12q 4b	16.0	6.25b	2s. 0d.		
	BEANS & PEAS	15q 4b	44.0	2.8b	1s. 6d.		
	PULMENTUM *						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**336.0**				
TEALBY	WHEAT	12q 6b	42.0	2.4b	3s. 6d.	4s. 0d.	2.8
	RYE	5q 0b	6.0	6.7b	2s. 6d.		
	BARLEY						
	DREDGE	31q 0b	62.0	4.6b	3s. 6d./2s. 6d.	3s. 6d./4s. 0d.***	1.3/1.5
	OATS						
	BEANS & PEAS	5q 0b	16.0	2.5b	1s. 8d.	5s. 0d.	1.1
	PULMENTUM *						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**126.0**				

* Maslin - mixture of wheat and rye.
** 2 acres beans @ 3s. 0d., 13 acres peas @ 2s. 0d.
*** 16 acres dredge@ 3s. 6d., 46 acres dredge@ 2s 6d.
**** Yield ratio = $\frac{\text{value per acre}}{\text{seed per acre in bushels x value per bushel}}$
* *PULMENTUM* is a mixture of grain and legumes.

SOWING RATES/ VALUES/ MEADOW ACREAGE 1308 - 1313.						Appendix 5.	
PRECEPTORY/MANOR	SEED	QUANTITY	ACREAGE	SEED/ACRE	VALUE/ ACRE	VALUE/ QUARTER	YIELD RATIO*
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 29 MARCH 1309							
CLAXBY	WHEAT	4q 6b	15.0	2.5b	2s. 0d.		
	RYE	2q 3b	7.5	2.5b	2s. 0d.		
	BARLEY	10q	7.0 1 rod	11.4b	2s. 6d.		
	DREDGE						
	OATS						
	BEANS & PEAS	2q 3b	7.5	2.5b	11d.		
	*PULMENTUM***						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**37.0 1 rod**				
CABOURNE	WHEAT		5.0 1 rod		2s. 0d.		
	RYE		10.0		1s. 3d.		
	BARLEY		1.5		2s. 0d.		
	DREDGE		111.0		1s. 2d.		
	OATS		34.0		1s. 2d.		
	BEANS & PEAS		7.0 1 rod		1s. 2d.		
	*PULMENTUM***						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**168.5 2 rods**				
LIMBER	WHEAT		20.0		4s. 0d.		
	RYE		32.0		3s. 0d.	4s. 6d.	
	BARLEY		20.5		2s 6d		
	DREDGE						
	OATS		35.0		1s. 6d.		
	BEANS & PEAS		26.0		2s. 0d.		
	*PULMENTUM***						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**133.5**				
CAWKWELL	WHEAT		24.0		3s. 6d.	6s. 0d.	
	RYE		16.0		3s. 6d,		
	BARLEY					4s. 0d.	
	DREDGE		16.0		3s. 0d.		
	OATS						
	BEANS & PEAS		3.0		1s. 6d.		
	*PULMENTUM***						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**59.0**				
GOULCEBY	WHEAT		6.5		2s. 6d.	6s. 0d.	
	RYE		8.0		2s. 6d.		
	BARLEY		4.0		3s. 0d.	4s. 0d.	
	DREDGE		6.0		2s. 6d.		
	OATS		6.0		1s. 4d.		
	BEANS & PEAS		2.0		1s. 4d.		
	*PULMENTUM***						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**32.5**				

* Yield ratio = $\frac{\text{value per acre}}{\text{seed per acre in bushels x value per bushel}}$

** *PULMENTUM* is a mixture of grain and legumes.

SOWING RATES/ VALUES/ MEADOW ACREAGE 1308 - 1313. **Appendix 5.**

PRECEPTORY/MANOR	SEED	QUANTITY	ACREAGE	SEED/ACRE	VALUE/ ACRE	VALUE/ QUARTER	YIELD RATIO***
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 29 MARCH 1309							
UPTON	WHEAT		18.0		3s. 6d.	6s. 0d.	
	RYE						
	BARLEY		10.0		2s. 6d.		
	DREDGE		14.0		2s. 0d.		
	OATS		7.0		2s. 0d.	3s. 0d.	
	BEANS & PEAS						
	PULMENTUM *						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**49.0**				
GAINSBOROUGH****	WHEAT		16.0		4s. 0d.		
	RYE		8.0		4s. 0d.	4s. 0d.*	
	BARLEY		10.0		4s. 0d.		
	DREDGE		4.0		3s. 0d.		
	OATS		2.0		2s. 0d.		
	BEANS & PEAS		16.0		2s. 0d.		
	PULMENTUM *						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**56.0**				
KETTLEBY	WHEAT		24.0		4s. 0d.	4s. 0d.	
	RYE		11.0		4s. 0d.		
	BARLEY		18.5		4s. 0d.	4s. 0d.	
	DREDGE		8.0		3s. 0d.		
	OATS		14.0		3s. 0d.		
	BEANS & PEAS		6.5		3s. 0d.		
	PULMENTUM *						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**82.0**				
TEMPLE BELWOOD	WHEAT		7.5		3s. 6d.		
	RYE						
	BARLEY		7.5		3s. 6d.		
	DREDGE		3.5		2s. 0d.		
	OATS		5.5		2s. 0d.		
	BEANS & PEAS						
	PULMENTUM *						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**24.0**				
EASTER, 30 MARCH 1309 - 30 JULY 1309							
WILLOUGHTON	WHEAT		146.0		4s. 0d.	3s. 4d.	
	RYE					4s. 10d.*	
	BARLEY		70.0		4s. 0d.		
	DREDGE		64.0		3s. 0d.		
	OATS		16.0		3s. 0d.		
	BEANS & PEAS		49.0		1s. 6d.	4s. 0d.	
	PULMENTUM *						
	MEADOW		72.5				
TOTAL			**345.0****				

* Maslin.
** Totals exclude meadow acreages.
*** Yield ratio = $\frac{\text{value per acre}}{\text{seed per acre in bushels x value per bushel}}$
**** All grains and sheaf tithes sold as a standing crop on Lammas Day, 1 August, 1308.
* *PULMENTUM* is a mixture of grain and legumes.

SOWING RATES/ VALUES/ MEADOW ACREAGE 1308 - 1313.						**Appendix 5.**	
PRECEPTORY/MANOR	SEED	QUANTITY	ACREAGE	SEED/ ACRE	VALUE/ ACRE	VALUE/ QUARTER	YIELD RATIO**
EASTER, 30 MARCH 1309 - 30 JULY 1309							
TEALBY	WHEAT		42.0		3s. 6d.		
	RYE		16.0		2s. 6d.		
	BARLEY						
	DREDGE		16.0		3s. 6d.		
	OATS						
	BEANS & PEAS		16.0		1s. 8d.		
	*PULMENTUM***						
	MEADOW		21.0				
TOTAL			**90.0***				
CLAXBY	WHEAT		15.0				
	RYE		6.5		2s. 0d.		
	BARLEY		16.0 1 rod		2s. 6d.	4s. 0d.	
	DREDGE						
	OATS						
	BEANS & PEAS		7.5		1s. 0d.		
	*PULMENTUM****						
	MEADOW		11.0				
TOTAL			**45.0***				
CABOURNE	WHEAT		5.0 1 rod		2s. 0d.		
	RYE		10.0		1s. 3d.		
	BARLEY		1.5		2s. 0d.		
	DREDGE		11.0		1s. 2d.		
	OATS		24.0		1s. 2d.		
	BEANS & PEAS		7.0 1 rod		1s. 2d.		
	*PULMENTUM****						
	MEADOW		11.0				
TOTAL			**58.5 2 rods***				
LIMBER	WHEAT		20.0		4s. 0d.		
	RYE		32.0		3s. 0d.	4s. 0d.	
	BARLEY		20.5		4s. 0d.		
	DREDGE		17.0		2s. 6d.		
	OATS		35.0		1s. 6d.		
	BEANS & PEAS		26.0		2s. 0d.		
	*PULMENTUM****						
	MEADOW		16.5				
TOTAL			**150.5***				
CAWKWELL	WHEAT		24.0		3s. 6d.	6s. 0d.	
	RYE						
	BARLEY		16.0		3s. 6d.	4s. 0d.	
	DREDGE		16.0		3s. 0d.		
	OATS						
	BEANS & PEAS		3.0		1s. 6d.		
	*PULMENTUM****						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**59.0**				

* Totals exclude meadow acreages.

** Yield ratio = $\frac{\text{value per acre}}{\text{seed per acre in bushels x value per bushel}}$

*** *PULMENTUM* is a mixture of grain and legumes.

SOWING RATES/ VALUES/ MEADOW ACREAGE 1308 - 1313.						Appendix 5.	
PRECEPTORY/MANOR	SEED	QUANTITY	ACREAGE	SEED/ACRE	VALUE/ ACRE	VALUE/ QUARTER	YIELD RATIO
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308							
LIMBER*	WHEAT		30.0				
	RYE						
	BARLEY		16.0				
	DREDGE		15.0				
	OATS		35.0				
	BEANS & PEAS		15.0				
	PULMENTUM **						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**111.0**				
CAWKWELL*	MEADOW		15.0				
GOULCEBY*							
UPTON*							
KETTLEBY*							
TEMPLE BELWOOD*							
TOTAL			**15.0**				
EAGLE	WHEAT						
	RYE						
	BARLEY						
	DREDGE						
	OATS						
	BEANS & PEAS	10q 2b**					
	PULMENTUM **						
	MEADOW		120.0				
TOTAL			120.0				
WOODHOUSE & WHISBY***							
KEAL****	MEADOW		21.0				
SAXBY*	MEADOW		12.0				
MERE	MEADOW		59.5 1 rod				
ASLACKBY	WHEAT						
	RYE						
	BARLEY	19q 3b	39.0	4.0b			
	DREDGE						
	OATS	6q 1.5b	12.0	4.125b			
	BEANS & PEAS	24q 1b	48.0	4.0b			
	PULMENTUM **						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**99.0**				

* All grain sold on lammas Day, 1 August 1308.
** Bought for seed.
***10 quarters of wheat sold for £2 3s 4d i.e. @ 4s 6d per quarter.
**** 1 quarter of beans and peas sold for 2s 6d.
* 1 quarter 4 bushels of wheat sold for 5s @ 3s 4d per quarter.
** *PULMENTUM* is a mixture of grain and legumes.

SOWING RATES/ VALUES/ MEADOW ACREAGE 1308 - 1313.						Appendix 5.	
PRECEPTORY/MANOR	SEED	QUANTITY	ACREAGE	SEED/ACRE	VALUE/ ACRE	VALUE/ QUARTER	YIELD RATIO
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 25 JULY 1309							
EAGLE	WHEAT	33q 0b					
	RYE	19q 4b					
	BARLEY	21q 2b					
	DREDGE						
	OATS	70q 0b					
	BEANS & PEAS	3q 0b					
	*PULMENTUM***						
	MEADOW		38.0*				
TOTAL			38.0				
WOODHOUSE	WHEAT						
	RYE						
	BARLEY						
	DREDGE						
	OATS		75.0				
	BEANS & PEAS		6.0				
	*PULMENTUM***						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**81.0**				
WHISBY	WHEAT	4q 5b	10.0	3.7b			
	RYE	9q 0b	18.0	4.0b			
	BARLEY	2q 4.5b	3.0 1 rod	6.8b			
	DREDGE						
	OATS	20q 5b	30.0	5.5b			
	BEANS & PEAS						
	*PULMENTUM***						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**61.0 1 rod**				
BRACEBRIDGE	WHEAT						
	RYE		3.0				
	BARLEY						
	DREDGE						
	OATS						
	BEANS & PEAS						
	*PULMENTUM***						
	MEADOW						
TOTAL			**3.0**				

* 38.0 acres of meadow inclusive of the manors of Eagle, Woodhouse, Whisby and Morton.
** *PULMENTUM* is a mixture of grain and legumes.

MEAN SOWING RATES PER ACRE AND MEAN CROP VALUES PER ACRE. **Appendix 6.**

CROP	10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308					MICHAELMAS 1308 ***					MICHAELMAS 1311 ****					MICHAELMAS 1312 *****				
	NUMBER OF MANORS WHERE RECORDED	MEAN SOWING RATE IN BUSHELS PER ACRE	NUMBER OF MANORS ON WHICH MEAN BASED	MEAN CROP VALUE PER ACRE	NUMBER OF MANORS ON WHICH MEAN BASED	NUMBER OF MANORS WHERE RECORDED	MEAN SOWING RATE IN BUSHELS PER ACRE	NUMBER OF MANORS ON WHICH MEAN BASED	MEAN CROP VALUE PER ACRE	NUMBER OF MANORS ON WHICH MEAN BASED	NUMBER OF MANORS WHERE RECORDED	MEAN SOWINGING RATE IN BUSHELS PER ACRE	NUMBER OF MANORS ON WHICH MEAN BASED	MEAN CROP VALUE PER ACRE	NUMBER OF MANORS ON WHICH MEAN BASED	NUMBER OF MANORS WHERE RECORDED	MEAN SOWING RATE IN BUSHELS PER ACRE	NUMBER OF MANORS ON WHICH MEAN BASED	MEAN CROP VALUE PER ACRE	NUMBER OF MANORS ON WHICH MEAN BASED
WHEAT	6					24	2.7	12	3s. 7½d.	22	9	3.0	4.0	3s. 10½d.	4	4	3.0	2	3s. 6d.	1
RYE	3					14	3.4 *	7	3s. 4¾d.	12	5	3.0	3.0			3	3.0	1	3s. 0d.	1
BARLEY	11	4.0	9	3s. 11d.	5	20	4.8 **	9	3s. 5½d.	16	6	5.0	3.0	4s. 6d.	3	2	5.0	2	4s. 0d.	1
MASLIN	3					3					1			3s. 0d.	1					
DREDGE	11	4.2	9	2s. 9¾d.	5	17	4.6	7	2s. 8¾d.	18	3			2s. 4d.	3					
OATS	8	4.3	7	2s. 0d.	2	19	5.7	5	1s. 10d.	14	8	5.8	4.0	2s. 4d.	5	2	5.65	2	2s. 6d.	1
BEANS & PEAS	7	2.4	5	1s. 6d.	1	18	3.2	8	1s. 10d.	14	5	2.8	4.0	2s. 3d.	2	3	2.4	2	2s. 6d.	1
PULMENTUM *	6	3.1	5	2s. 2d.	3	7	2.3	5	2s. 2d.	5	4			2s. 0d.	2					

* The mean sowing rate for rye is 2.9 bushels per acre if the sowing rate of 6.7 bushels per acre at Tealby is ignored.
** The mean sowing rate for barley is 4.0 bushels per acre if the sowing rate of 11.4 bushels per acre at Claxby is ignored.
*** The accounts beginning Michaelmas 1308 do not end concurrently.
**** The accounts beginning Michaelmas 1311 only cover 12 manors in total. There are no accounts for the Willoughton estate. The following periods are covered: Temple Bruer estate, Michaelmas 1311 - 2 July 1312, Eagle estate, Michaelmas 1311 - 28 September 1312, Aslackby, Michaelmas 1311 - 16 June 1313.
***** The accounts beginning Michaelmas 1312 only cover six manors, they being the estate of Eagle and the manor of Aslackby. The Eagle accounts cover the period from Michaelmas 1312 until 6 June 1313 and the Aslackby accounts cover the period Michaelmas 1312 until 28 September 1313.
* *PULMENTUM* is a mixture of grain and legumes.

CROP USAGE BY MANOR ON THE TEMPLE BRUER ESTATE AND AT ASLACKBY. **Appendix 7.**

CROP	GRANARY AND GRANGE	%	BOUGHT	%	**SUM**	SEED	%	FEED FOR CART HORSES	%	FEED FOR PLOUGH HORSES	%	FEED FOR OXEN	%	BREAD	%	MASLIN FOR LABOURERS	%	PAYMENT OF LABOURERS	%	POTTAGE	%	SOLD	%	**SUM**
TEMPLE BRUER, 10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																								
WHEAT	137q 2b	100.0			137q 2b									15q 0b	10.9	70q 2b	51.2					52q 0b	37.9	137q 2b
RYE	25q 6b	79.5	6q 5b	20.5	32q 3b									23q 0b	71.0			8q 3b	29.0					31q 3b
BARLEY	135q 0b	100.0			135q 0b	48q 6b	36.1									32q 3b	24.0					53q 7b	39.9	135q 0b
DREDGE	167q 0b	100.0			167q 0b	91q 2b	54.6			23q 4b*	14.1							4q 0b	2.4			48q 0b	28.7	166q 6b
OATS	234q 5b	90.9			258q 1b *	150q 0b	58.1			23q 4b *	9.1	30q 5b	11.9							10q 0b	3.9	17q 0b	6.6	258q 6b
BEANS	12q 0b	33.1	24q 2b	66.9	36q 2b									17q 0b	46.9	19q 1b	52.8							36q 1b
PEAS																								
PULMENTUM *					8q 2b													8q 2b	100.0					8q 2b
MULTURE					13q 5b 1st													13q 5b 1st	100.0					13q 5b 1st
DREDGE MALT	40q 0b	100.0			40q 0b ***																	24q 0b	60.0	40q 0b
BARLEY MALT																								
MASLIN					152q 4b 1st											156q 0b 1st****								156q 0b1st
ROWSTON, 10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																								
WHEAT	55q 5b**	100.0			55q 5b									3q 0b	5.4	16q 2.5b	29.3					35q 2.5b	63.5	51q 5b
RYE	8q 0b	57.1	6q 0b	42.9	14q 0b									6q 0b	42.9	8q 0b	57.1							14q 0b
BARLEY	61q 0b	100.0			61q 0b	24q 4b	40.2															27q 0b	44.3	51q 4b
DREDGE	19q 6b	100.0			19q 6b	18q 2b	92.4															1q 4b	7.6	19q 6b
OATS																								
BEANS																								
PEAS	17q 0b	80.0	4q 2b	20.0	21q 2b	3q 0b	14.1		3q 4b ***		16.5			6q 3b	30.0	8q 3.5b	39.7							21q 1.5b
PULMENTUM *	22q 7b	100.0			22q 7b	15q 0b	65.6					7q 7b ****	34.4											22q 7b
MULTURE																								
DREDGE MALT																								
BARLEY MALT																								
MASLIN					32q 6b											32q 6b*	100.0							32q 6b
KIRKBY, 10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																								
WHEAT	0q 4b	100.0			0q 4b																			
RYE																								
BARLEY	18q 0b	100.0			18q 0b	11q 0b	61.1									7q 0b	38.9							18q 0b
DREDGE	6q 0b	100.0			6q 4b	6q 4b	100.0																	6q 4b
OATS	9q 0b	100.0			9q 0b	6q 4b	72.2					2q 0b **	22.2							0q 4b	5.6			
BEANS																								
PEAS			7q 0b	100.0	7q 0b									3q 6b	53.6			3q 2b	46.4					7q 0b
PULMENTUM *	9q 4b	100.0			9q 4b	8q 6b	94.7											0q 6b						9q 4b
MULTURE					7q 4b									1q 0b	13.3			6q 4b	86.7					7q 4b
DREDGE MALT																								
BARLEY MALT																								
MASLIN					17q 4.5b											17q 4.5b	100.0							17q 14.5b

* Inclusive of 23q 4b of dredge chaff. The dredge chaff is used for feeding plough horses but is also accounted as dredge, hence the double entry.
** 1q of wheat estimated in a stack.
*** Feed for 2 carthorses and 8 plough horses during sowing.
**** Feed for 24 oxen.
* Sum of maslin above.
** Feed for 12 oxen.
*** In addition to the 24 quarters accounted, a further 16 quarters were used in the house in autumn, presumably for ale.
**** Discrepancy of 3 quarters 4 bushels.
* *PULMENTUM* is a mixture of grain and legumes.

CROP USAGE BY MANOR ON THE TEMPLE BRUER ESTATE AND AT ASLACKBY. **Appendix 7.**

CROP	GRANARY AND GRANGE	%	BOUGHT	%	**SUM**	SEED	%	FEED FOR CART HORSES	%	FEED FOR PLOUGH HORSES	%	FEED FOR OXEN	%	BREAD	%	MASLIN FOR LABOURERS	%	PAYMENT OF LABOURERS	%	POTTAGE	%	SOLD	%	**SUM**
BRAUNCEWELL, 10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																								
WHEAT			3q 0b	100.0	3q 0b													3q 0b	100.0					3q 0b
RYE	2q 0b	27.3	5q 2.5b	72.7	7q 2.5b											7q 2.5b	100.0							7q 2.5b
BARLEY	19q 3b	100.0			19q 3b	6q 0b	31.0															13q 3b	69.0	19q 3b
DREDGE	17q 0b	100.0			17q 0b	16q 4b	97.0															0q 4b	3.0	17q 0b
OATS			3q 0b	100.0	3q 0b	3q 0b	100.0																	
BEANS																								
PEAS	1q 4b	27.3	4q 0b	72.7	5q 4b											5q 4b	100.0							5q 4b
PULMENTUM ***	20q 6b	100.0			20q 6b	19q 0b	91.6											1q 6b	8.4					20q 6b
MULTURE																								
DREDGE MALT																								
BARLEY MALT																								
MASLIN					17q 4.5b											17q 4.5b*			100.0					17q 4.5b
WELBOURN, 10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																								
WHEAT	8q 0b **	100.0			8q 0b											7q 2b	90.6					0q 6b	9.4	8q 0b
RYE																								
BARLEY	18q 2b	100.0			18q 2b	5q 0b	27.4															13q 2b	72.6	18q 2b
DREDGE	17q 6b	100.0			17q 6b	9q 4b	53.5															8q 2b	46.5	17q 6b
OATS																								
BEANS																								
PEAS	7q 6b	100.0			7q 6b											7q 2b	93.5					0q 4b	6.5	7q 6b
PULMENTUM ***	9q 6b	100.0			9q 4b	9q 4b	100.0																	9q 4b
MULTURE																								
DREDGE MALT																								
BARLEY MALT																								
MASLIN					14q 4b											14q 4b***	100.0							14q 4b
WELLINGORE, 10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																								
WHEAT	8q 0b ****	100.0			8q 0b											1q 2.5b	16.4					6q 5.5b	83.6	8q 0b
RYE																								
BARLEY	2q 0b	18.2	9q 0b	81.8	11q 0b	11q 0b	100.0																	11q 0b
DREDGE			8q 4b	100.0	8q 4b	8q 4b	100.0																	8q 4b
OATS	20q 0b	100.0			20q 0b	9q 0b	45.0			1q 2b*				6.2							1q 2b	6.2	8q 4b	43.8	20q 0b
BEANS																								
PEAS					0q 7b	0q 7b	100.0																	7b
PULMENTUM ***	13q 0b	54.5	10q 7b	45.5	23q 7b	13q 0b	54.4											10q 7b	45.6					23q 7b
MULTURE																								
DREDGE MALT																								
BARLEY MALT																								
MASLIN					21q 4b											21q 4b**			100.0					21q 4b

* Maslin for payment of 1 carter, 1 ploughman and 1 cook.
** Including stack estimated at 6q 0b.
*** Maslin for payment of 4 ploughmen and 1 servant in the kitchen.
**** Including stack estimated at 5q 0b.
* 1q 2b of oats for 2 carthorses, 6 plough horses and 13 oxen.
** Maslin for payment of 1 carter, 6 ploughmen and 1 servant in the kitchen.
*** *PULMENTUM* is a mixture of grain and legumes.

CROP USAGE BY MANOR ON THE TEMPLE BRUER ESTATE AND AT ASLACKBY. **Appendix 7.**

CROP	GRANARY AND GRANGE	%	BOUGHT	%	**SUM**	SEED	%	FEED FOR CART HORSES	%	FEED FOR PLOUGH HORSES	%	FEED FOR OXEN	%	BREAD	%	MASLIN FOR LABOURERS	%	PAYMENT OF LABOURERS	%	POTTAGE	%	SOLD	%	**SUM**
HOLME, 10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																								
WHEAT																								
RYE																								
BARLEY																								
DREDGE	1q 4b	60.0	1q 0b	40.0	2q 4b	2q 4b	100.0																	2q 4b
OATS			0q 4b	100.0	0q 4b	0q 4b	100.0																	0q 4b
BEANS																								
PEAS					0q 4b																	0q 4b	100.0	0q 4b
PULMENTUM ***																								
MULTURE																								
DREDGE MALT																								
BARLEY MALT																								
MASLIN																								
SOUTH WITHAM, 10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																								
WHEAT	59q 6b	100.0			59q 6b									6q 4b	10.9			33q 6.5b	56.6			19q 3b 1st	32.4	59q 6b
RYE			2q 4b	100.0	2q 4b**																			2q 4b
BARLEY	20q 3b	100.0			20q 3b	12q 2b	60.1															8q 1b	39.9	20q 3b
DREDGE	21q 4b	100.0			21q 4b	14q 4b	67.4															7q 0b	32.6	21q 4b
OATS	87q 3.5b	100.0			87q 3.5b	45q 0b	51.2	9q 0b	10.2			28q 3.5b *	26.7							2q 0b	2.3	4q 4.5b	5.2	89q 0b
BEANS & PEAS					19q 5b	6q 5b	33. 8							2q 0b	10.2			6q 4b	33.1	2q 0b	10.2	2q 4b	12.7	19q 5b
PULMENTUM ***	35q 4b	100.0			35q 4b	6q 0b	16.9							4q 0b	11.3			25q 4b	71.8					35q 4b
MULTURE					8q 3b									2q 0b	23.9			3q 1.5b	38.1			3q 1.5b	38.1	8q 3b
DREDGE MALT																								
BARLEY MALT																								
MASLIN					69 1st													69q 1st**	100.0					69q 1st
ASLACKBY, 10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																								
WHEAT	98q 3b	100.0			98q 3b									8q 6b	8.9	28q 7b	29.3					58q 2b	59.2	98q 3b
RYE																								
BARLEY	54q 4b	100.0			54q 4b	19q 3b	35.6											1q 0b	1.8			34q 1b	62.6	54q 4b
DREDGE																								
OATS	10q 6b	100.0			10q 6b	6q 0b	55.8											1q 4b	13.9			2q 4b	23.2	10q 6b***
BEANS																								
PEAS	82q 2b	100.0			82q 2b	24q 1b	29.3	11q 0b****			13.4	14q 6b*	17.9	9q 0b	10.9	21q 1.5b	25.7					2q 1b 1st	2.6	82q 2b
PULMENTUM ***																								
MULTURE					6q 4b											6q 4b	100.0							6q 4b
DREDGE MALT																								
BARLEY MALT																								
MASLIN					56q 4b 1st											56q 4b 1st	100.0							56q 4b 1st

* Feed for 50 oxen.
** Maslin 'paid equally to the *famuli*'.
*** Sum of oats includes 6b allocated for feed for lambs.
**** Feed for 2 carthorses and 8 plough horses.
* Feed for 24 oxen.
** Used in the house at autumn.
*** *PULMENTUM* is a mixture of grain and legumes.

CROP USAGE BY MANOR ON THE TEMPLE BRUER ESTATE AND AT ASLACKBY. **Appendix 7.**

CROP	GRANARY AND GRANGE	%	BOUGHT	%	**SUM**	SEED	%	FEED FOR CART HORSES	%	FEED FOR PLOUGH HORSES	%	FEED FOR OXEN	%	BREAD	%	MASLIN FOR LABOURERS	%	PAYMENT OF LABOURERS	%	POTTAGE	%	SOLD	%	**SUM**
ASLACKBY, 16 JUNE 1312 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1312																								
WHEAT					24q 6b									9q 4b	38.4	7q 5b	30.1			2q 6b	11.1	4q 7b	19.7	24q 6b
RYE																								
BARLEY																								
DREDGE																								
OATS																								
BEANS*					48q 4b				6q 3b		13.1			4q 3b	9.0	7q 5b	15.7					28q 5b	15.0	48q 4b
PEAS*														***										
PULMENTUM ****																								
MULTURE	4q 0b	100.0			4q 0b											4q 0b	100.0							4q 0b
DREDGE MALT																								
BARLEY MALT	11q 0b	65.7	5q 6b	34.3	16q 6b													9q 6b****	58.2					9q 6b
MASLIN					19q 2b											19q 2b**	100.0							
ASLACKBY, MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1313																								
WHEAT					149q 2b***	25q 2b	16.9							11q 2b	7.5	21q 7b	14.7	4q 5b	3.1			85q 2b	57.1	148q 2b
RYE																								
BARLEY					243q 4b***	32q 7b	13.5															194q 5b	79.9	243q 4b
DREDGE																								
OATS	19q 4b	100.0			19q 4b	2q 0b	10.2					12q 4b	64.1							1q 0b	5.1	3q 4b	17.9	19q 4b
BEANS					173q 3b***	25q 2b	14.6		16q 1b		9.3			3q 7b	2.2	21q 7b	12.6					106q 1b	61.2	173q 1b
PEAS																								
PULMENTUM ****																								
MULTURE					19q 4b											19q 4b	100.0							
DREDGE MALT																								
BARLEY MALT					16q 0b																			
MASLIN					63q 2b											63q 2b****	100.0							63q 2b
ASLACKBY, MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1313 - 8 DECEMBER 1313																								
WHEAT	118q 0b	100.0			118q 0b	25q 0b	21.2									5q 5b	4.8	1q 2b	0.6			63q 1b	53.5	118q 0b*
RYE																								
BARLEY	111q 4b**	100.0			111q 4b																	30q 4b	27.4	111q 4b
DREDGE																								
OATS																								
BEANS																								
PEAS	112q 0b	100.0			112q 0b				1q 3b		1.2					5q 5b	5.0							112q 0b**
PULMENTUM ****																								
MULTURE					2q 2b											2q 2b	100.0							2q 2b
DREDGE MALT																								
BARLEY MALT					11q 0b																			11q 0b***
MASLIN					13q 4b													10q 4b*				77.8	3q 0b	11.1	13q 4b

* 1q 4b of beans and peas for feed for 8 pigs for 3 weeks before autumn.
** Of 19q 2b of maslin: 16q 2b for payment of 3 carters, 6 ploughmen, 2 shepherds, 1 cowherd, 1 miller from 16 June - 28 September - 15 weeks
4b for payment of 1 dairyman/maid for 6 weeks
4b for payment of shepherd's boy for 8 weeks
2q for payment of 2 carters for carrying hay and grain from Feast of Translation of St Thomas, 7 July, until Michaelmas, 29 September - 12 weeks.
*** Produce of tithes of churches and various manors. Of the sum of barley, 16 quarters for malt as below.
**** Of 63q 2b of maslin: 52q per annum for payment of 2 carters, 6 ploughmen, 1 cowherd, 1 miller and 1 woodward
5q 3.5 b for payment of 1 dairyman/maid
2q 4b for payment of 2 caters from Feast of St Barnabas, 11 June, until Michaelmas, 29 September - 15 weeks.
* Of 13q 4b 0f maslin: 10q for payment of 2 carters, 6 ploughmen, 1 reeve, 1 shepherd, 1 miller and 1 woodward from Michaelmas, 29 September, until 8 December -10 weeks.
** 70 quarters including various tithes and 41q 4b of threshed barley. In addition to sales 11q used for making malt as below and 70q in the granary handed over to Thomas de Derby.
*** 4q 3b of beans and peas.
**** For use of reapers and others in autumn, remaining 5 quarters not specified but probably fo the use of the sergeant, woodward and 'all at the table'.
* The sum includes 23 quarters handed over to Thomas de Derby.
** 105 q in the granary handed over to Thomas de Derby.
*** Handed over to Thomas de Derby.
**** *PULMENTUM* is a mixture of grain and legumes.

CROP USAGE BY CROP TYPE ON THE TEMPLE BRUER ESTATE AND AT ASLACKBY. **Appendix 8.**

WHEAT, 10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308

PRECEPTORY/MANOR	GRANARY AND GRANGE	%	BOUGHT	%	**SUM**	SEED	%	FEED FOR CART HORSES	%	FEED FOR PLOUGH HORSES	%	FEED FOR OXEN	%	BREAD	%	MASLIN FOR LABOURERS	%	PAYMENT TO LABOURERS***	%	SOLD	%	**SUM**
TEMPLE BRUER	137q 2b	100			137q 2b									15q 0b	10.9	70q 2b	51.2			52q 0b	37.9	137q 2b
ROWSTON	55q 2b	100			55q 2b									3q 0b	5.4	16q 2.5b	29.3			35q 2.5b	63.5	54q 5b
BRAUNCEWELL			3q 0b	100	3q 0b													3q 0b	100.0			3q 0b
WELBOURN	8q 0b	100			8q 0b											7q 2b	90.6			0q 6b	9.4	8q 0b
WELLINGORE	8q 0b	100			8q 0b											1q 2.5b	16.4			6q 5.5b	83.6	8q 0b
SOUTH WITHAM	59q 6b	100			59q 6b									6q 4b	10.9			33q 6.5b	56.6	19q 3b	32.4	58q 5.5b
ASLACKBY *	100q 0b	100			100q 0b									8q 6b	8.8	28q 7b	28.9			58q 2b	58.3	96q 1b
TOTALS	368q 5b	99.2	3q 0b	0.8	371q 2b									33q 2b	8.9	124q 0b	33.3	36q 6.5b	9.9	172q 3b	46.4	365q 5.5b
RYE, 10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																						
TEMPLE BRUER	24q 6b	78.9	6q 5b	21.1	31q 3b									23q 0b	73.3			8q 3b	26.7			31q 3b
ROWSTON	8q 0b	57	6q 0b	43	14q 0b									6q 0b	42.9	8q 0b	57.1					14q 0b
BRAUNCEWELL	12q 0b	27	5q 2.5b	73	7q 2.5b											7q 2.5b	100.0					7q 2.5b
SOUTH WITHAM			2q 4b	100	2q 4b									2q 4b	100.0**							2q 4b
TOTALS	44q 6b	63	20q 3.5b	37	55q 1.5b									31q 4b	57.1	15q 2.5b	27.7	8q 3b	15.2			55q 1.5b
BARLEY, 10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																						
TEMPLE BRUER	135q 0b	100			135q 0b	48q 6b	36.1									32q 3b	24.0			53q 7b	39.9	135q 0b
ROWSTON	61q 4b	100			61q 4b	24q 4b	39.8													27q 0b	43.9	51q 4b
KIRKBY	18q 0b	100			18q 0b	11q 0b	61.1									7q 0b	38.9					18q 0b
BRAUNCEWELL	19q 3b	100			19q 3b	6q 0b	31.0													13q 3b	69.0	19q 3b
WELBOURN	18q 2b	100			18q 2b	5q 0b	27.4													13q 2b	72.6	18q 2b
WELLINGORE	2q 0b	18	9q 0b	82.8	11q 0b	11q 0b	100.0															11q 0b
SOUTH WITHAM	20q 3b	100			20q 3b	12q 2b	60.1													8q 1b	39.9	20q 3b
ASLACKBY	54q 4b	100			54q 4b	19q 3b	35.6											0q 4b	0.9	34q 1b	62.6	51q 0b
TOTALS	329q 0b	97.2	9q 0b	2.8	338q 0b	137q 7b	40.8									39q 3b	11.6	0q 4b	0.1	149q 6b	40.3	324q 4b

q= quarters, b= bushels.

* The Aslackby account includes a further 2 quarters 4 bushels as 'profit of the merchant'; even so, 1 quarter 5 bushels remain unaccounted for.

** 'Used in the house in autumn'.

*** Payment fo labourers includes pottage.

CROP USAGE BY CROP TYPE ON THE TEMPLE BRUER ESTATE AND AT ASLACKBY. **Appendix 8.**

DREDGE, 10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308

PRECEPTORY/MANOR	GRANARY AND GRANGE	%	BOUGHT	%	**SUM**	SEED	%	FEED FOR CART HORSES	%	FEED FOR PLOUGH HORSES	%	FEED FOR OXEN	%	BREAD	%	MASLIN FOR LABOURERS	%	PAYMENT TO LABOURERS***	%	SOLD	%	**SUM**
TEMPLE BRUER	167q 0b	100.0			167q 0b	91q 2b	54.6			23q 4b	14.1							4q 0b	2.4	48q 0b	28.7	166q 6b
ROWSTON	19q 6b	100.0			19q 6b	18q 2b	92.4													1q 4b	7.7	19q 6b
KIRKBY	6q 4b	100.0			6q 4b	6q 4b	100.0															6q 4b
BRAUNCEWELL	17q 0b	100.0			17q 0b	16q 4b	97.0													0q 4b	2.9	17q 0b
WELBOURN	17q 6b	100.0			17q 6b	9q 4b	53.5													8q 2b	46.5	17q 6b
WELLINGORE			8q 4b	100.0	8q 4b	8q 4b	100.0															8q 4b
HOLME	1q 4b	60.0	1q 0b	40.0	2q 4b	2q 4b	100.0															2q 4b
SOUTH WITHAM	21q 4b	100.0			21q 4b	14q 4b	67.4													7q 0b	32.6	21q 4b
TOTALS	251q 0b	96.4	9q 4b	3.6	260q 4b	167q 4b	64.3			23q 4b	9.0							4q 0b	1.5	65q 2b	25.0	260q 2b
OATS, 10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																						
TEMPLE BRUER	268q 1b	100.0			268q 1b	150q 0b	55.9	15q 6b *	5.8	23q 4b	8.8	30q 5b	11.4					10q 0b	3.7	17q 0b	6.3	247q 1b
KIRKBY	9q 0b	100.0			9q 0b	6q 4b	72.2					2q 0b	22.2					0q 4b	5.6			9q 0b
BRAUNCEWELL			3q 0b	100.0	3q 0b	3q 0b	100.0															3q 0b
WELLINGORE	20q 0b	100.0			20q 0b	9q 0b	45.0			1q 2b	6.25 **							1q 2b	6.3	8q 4b	42.5	20q 0b
HOLME			0q 4b	100.0	0q 4b	0q 4b	100.0															0q 4b
SOUTH WITHAM	88q 0b	100.0			88q 0b	45q 0b	51.1	7q 0b	8.0			28q 3.5b***	32.3					2q 0b	2.3	4q 4.5b	5.2	87q 0b
ASLACKBY	10q 6b	100.0			10q 6b	6q 0b	55.8											1q 4b	14.0	2q 4b	23.2	10q 0b
TOTALS	395q 7b	99.1	3q 4b	0.9	399q 3b	220q 0b	55.1	22q 6b	5.7	24q 6b	6.2	61q 0.5b	15.3					15q 2b	3.8	32q 4.5b	8.1	376q 5b
PEAS AND BEANS, 10 JANUARY 1309 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																						
TEMPLE BRUER (b)	12q 0b	33.1	24q 2b	66.9	36q 2b									17q 0b	46.9	19q 1b	52.8					36q 1b
ROWSTON (p)	17q 0b	80.0	4q 2b	19.9	21q 2b	3q 0b	14.1	3q 4b	16.4 ****					6q 3b	29.9	8q 3.5b	39.6					21q 2.5b
KIRKBY (p)			7q 0b	100.0	7q 0b									3q 2b	46.4	3q 6b	53.6					7q 0b
BRAUNCEWELL (p)	1q 4b	27.3	4q 0b	72.7	5q 4b											5q 4b	100.0					5q 4b
WELBOURN (p)	7q 6b	100.0			7q 6b											7q 2b	93.5			0q 4b	6.5	7q 6b
WELLINGORE (p)	0q 7b	100.0			0q 7b	0q 7b	100.0															0q 7b
HOLME (p)	0q 4b	100.0			0q 4b															0q 4b	100	0q 4b
SOUTH WITHAM (b+p)	19q 5b*	100.0			19q 5b**	6q 5b	33.8							2q 0b	10.2			8q 6b	44.6	2q 4b	12.7	19q 7b
ASLACKBY (p)	82q 2b	100.0			82q 2b	24q 1b	29.3	11q 0b	13.4			14q 6b	17.9	9q 0b	10.9	21q 1.5b	25.8			2q 1b	2.6	82q 1.5b
TOTALS	141q 4b	78.2	39q 4b	21.8	181q 0b	34q 5b	19.1	14q 4b	8.0			14q 6b	8.1	37q 5b	20.8	65q 2b	36.0	8q 6b	4.8	5q 5b	3.1	181q 1b

(b) = beans, (p) = peas.
* Feed for horses of Robert de Carlton and Simon de Therburgh.
** Feed for 2 carthorses , 6 plough horses and 13 oxen.
*** Feed for 50 oxen.
**** Feed for 2 carthorses and 8 plough horses during sowing.
* In the account the grange total is 237 bushels (29q 5b), which is an error, the actual total is 157 bushels (19q 5b) which is used here.
** In additiion there was a further 6 bushels for feed for lambs.
*** Payment ot labourers includes pottage.

CROP USAGE BY CROP TYPE ON THE TEMPLE BRUER ESTATE AND AT ASLACKBY. **Appendix 8.**

PULMENTUM*, 10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMER 1308**

PRECEPTORY/MANOR	GRANARY AND GRANGE	%	BOUGHT	%	**SUM**	SEED	%	FEED FOR CART HORSES	%	FEED FOR PLOUGH HORSES	%	FEED FOR OXEN	%	BREAD	%	MASLIN FOR LABOURERS	%	PAYMENT TO LABOURERS*	%	SOLD	%	**SUM**
TEMPLE BRUER	8q 2.5b	100.0			8q 2.5b													8q 2.5b	100.0			8q 2.5b
ROWSTON	22q 7b	100.0			22q 7b	15q 0b	65.6					7q 7b	34.4									22q 7b
KIRKBY	9q 4b	100.0			9q 4b	8q 6b	92.1											0q 6b	7.9			9q 4b
BRAUNCEWELL	20q 6b	100.0			20q 6b	19q 0b	91.6											1q 6b	8.4			20q 6b
WELBOURN	9q 4b	100.0			9q 4b	9q 4b	100.0															9q 4b
WELLINGORE	13q 0b	54.5	10q 7b	45.5	23q 7b	13q 0b	54.4											10q 7b	45.6			23q 7b
SOUTH WITHAM	35q 4b	100.0			35q 4b	6q 0b	16.9							4q 0b	11.3			25q 4b	71.8			35q 4b
TOTALS	119q 3.5b	91.7	10q 7b	8.3	130q 2.5b	71q 2b	54.7					7q 7b	6.0	4q 0b	3.1			47q 1.5b	36.2			130q 2.5b
MULTURE, 10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																						
TEMPLE BRUER	13q 5b	100.0			13q 5b													13q 5b	100.0			13q 5b
KIRKBY	7q 4b	100.0			7q 4b									1q 0b	13.3			6q 4b	86.7			7q 4b
SOUTH WITHAM	8q 3b	100.0			8q 3b									2q 0b	23.9			3q 1.5b	38.0	3q 1.5b	38.0	8q 3b
ASLACKBY	6q 4b	100.0			6q 4b													6q 4b	100.0			6q 4b
TOTALS	36q 0b	100.0			36q 0b									3q 0b	8.3			29q 6.5b	82.8	3q 1.5b	8.9	36q 0b

COMPOSITION OF MASLIN, 10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308.** **Appendix 9.**

PRECEPTORY/MANOR	WHEAT	%	RYE	%	BARLEY	%	DREDGE	%	BEANS	%	PEAS	%	VETCH	%	MULTURE	%	**SUM**	% TOTAL
TEMPLE BRUER	70q 2b	46.5	8q 3b	5.5	31q 3b	20.8					19q 1b	12.7	8q 2.5b	5.5	13q 5b	9.0	151q 0.5b	40.8
ROWSTON	16q 2.5b	49.8	8q 0b	24.4							4q 3.5b	25.8					32q 6b	8.8
KIRKBY					7q 0b	39.9					3q 6b	21.5	0q 6b	4.3	6q 0.5b	34.5	17q 4.5b	4.7
BRAUNCEWELL	3q 0b	17.1	7q 2.5b	41.6							5q 4b	31.3	1q 6b	10.0			17q 4.5b	4.7
WELBOURN	7q 2b	50.0									7q 2b	50.0					14q 4b	3.9
WELLINGORE	10q 6.5b												10q 7b				21q 5.5b	5.8
SOUTH WITHAM	23q 6.5b	40.4									6q 4b	11.0	25q 4b	43.2	3q 1.5b	5.4	59q 0b	15.9
ASLACKBY	28q 7b	51.0									21q 1.5b	37.5			6q 4b	11.5	56q 4.5b	15.3
TOTALS	160q 2.5b	43.2	23q 5.5b	6.4	38q 3b	10.3					71q 6b	19.4	47q 1.5b	12.7	29q 3b	7.9	370q 5.5b	100.0

* Payment to labourers includes pottage.
** All maslin was for payment to labourers.
*** *PULMENTUM* is a mixture of grain and legumes.

Sale of grain at Michaelmas, 29 September and Lammas Day, 1 August. **Appendix 10.**

PRECEPTORY/ Manor.	Date sold.	Quantity sold.	Sold by.	Bought by.	Price. £ s. d.	Outstanding balance.	Date by which paid.	*Famuli* paid by.	Date by which paid.
WILLOUGHTON.									
Tealby.									
Claxby.									
Cabourne.	Lammas day 1308	31 acres g. and l.*		Roger Love	£1 16s. 8d.		Michaelmas 1308		
Limber.	Lammas Day 1308	111 acres g. and l.		Roger Love	£5 16s .8d.		Michaelmas 1308		
Cawkwell.	Lammas day 1307	All grain	William de Grafton	John Cat	£9 6s. 8d.	£2 0s. 0d.	Michaelmas 1308	William de L'b'rough*	Easter 1309
	Lammas Day 1308	All grain		John Cat	£8 13s. 4d.		Michaelmas 1308		
Goulceby	Lammas Day 1307	All grain	William de Grafton	William de L'b'rough*	£6 13s. 4d.	13s. 4d.	Michaelmas 1308	William de L'b'rough*	Easter 1309
and church.	Lammas Day 1308	All grain		William de L'b'rough*	£6 13s. 4d.		Michaelmas 1308		
Upton.	Michaelmas 1308	All grain in sacks		John de Whittington	£4 0s. 0d.		Easter 1309	John de Whittington	M 1308-LD 1309**
Gainsborough and	Lammas Day 1308	All grain and sheaf		William de Upledene	£33 6s. 8d.		Easter 1309	William de Upledene	Easter 1309
Kettleby.	Lammas Day 1307	All grain	William de Grafton	Adam de Kettleby		£4 13s. 4d.	Michaelmas 1308		
	Lammas Day 1308	All grain		Adam de Kettleby	£12 0s. 0d.		Easter 1309	Adam de Kettleby	Lammas Day 1309
Temple Belwood	Lammas Day 1307	All grain	William de Grafton	Adam de Kettleby		£2 0s. 0d.	Michaelmas 1308		
	Lammas Day 1308	All grain		Adam de Kettleby	£6 0s. 0d.		Easter 1309	Adam de Kettleby	Easter 1309
TOTAL.					£100 6s. 8d.	£9 6s. 8d.			
TEMPLE BRUER.									
Brauncewell.	Lammas Day 1311	All grain		Robert de Swinthorpe	£2 0s. 0d.		2 July 1312		
Welbourn.	Lammas Day 1311	All grain		Robert le Mareschal	£4 6s. 8d.		2 July 1312		
Wellingore	Lammas Day 1311	All grain		Walter de Thorpe	£4 0s. 0d.		2 July 1312		
TOTAL.					£10 6s. 8d.				

* g. and l. = grain and legumes.

* Abbreviation of William de Loughborough.

** Abbreviation of Michaelmas 1308 to Lammas Day 1309.

PLOUGH TEAMS ON THE FORMER TEMPLAR ESTATES IN LINCOLNSHIRE 1308 - 1313. **Appendix 11.**

10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308

PRECEPTORY/MANORS	NUMBER OF PLOUGHMEN	NUMBER OF PLOUGH HORSES	NUMBER SOLD	NUMBER WITH MURRAIN	NUMBER REMAINING	VALUE PER ANIMAL	NUMBER OF OXEN	NUMBER SOLD	NUMBER WITH MURRAIN	NUMBER REMAINING	VALUE PER ANIMAL	NUMBER OF BEASTS PER PLOUGH TEAM*	NUMBER OF PLOUGH TEAMS
TEMPLE BRUER	22	30		1	29	3s. 4d.	42		1	41	6s. 8d.	6 + 4r.	11
ROWSTON	8	10	1	1	8	3s. 6d.	24			24	6s. 8d.	8 - 2h 6o	4
KIRKBY	4	4			4	3s. 6d.	12			12	8s. 0d.	8 - 2h 6o	2
BRAUNCEWELL	4	4			4	3s. 0d.	9			9		6 - 2h 4o 1r.	2
CRANWELL													
WELBOURN	4				4		12		1	11		8- 2h 6o, 6-2h 4o	2**
WELLINGORE	6	6			6	3s. 0d.	13			13	6s. 0d.	6 - 2h 4o 1r	3
CARLTON													
HOLME													
SOUTH WITHAM	12	16	1	1	14	4s. 0d.	50	15		35	6s. 8d.	8- 2h 6o, 6-2h 4o	6***
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - FEAST OF ST JAMES, 25 JULY 1309													
TEMPLE BRUER*	20	29		2	27		43		2**	40		6 + 1r	11
ROWSTON	8	8			8	3s. 6d.	24			24	8s. 0d.	8 - 2h 6o	4
KIRKBY	4	4		1	3	3s. 6d.	12		1	11	8s. 0d.	6- 2h 4o,6- 6o	2****
BRAUNCEWELL		4			4	3s. 0d.	9		1	8		6- 2h 4o	2
CRANWELL													
WELBOURN		4***			4		11	1 to Holme	1	9	6s. 0d.	6- 2h 6o 1r	2
WELLINGORE													
CARLTON		7		2	5	3s. 0d.	17	1	2	14	6s. 0d.	8- 2h 6o 3r	2
HOLME							1	1					
SOUTH WITHAM		14		2	12	5s. 0d.	35			35	10s. 6d.	8- 2h 6o, 6-2h 40	6****
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 - 2 JULY 1312													
TEMPLE BRUER	19	23		1	22	5s. 0d.	33		1	32	12s. 0d.	6	9
ROWSTON	8	8		2	6	1 @ 4s. 0d.	22	2	1	19	8s. 0d.	6- 2h 4o, 6- 6o	4*
						5 @ 2s. 6d.							
KIRKBY	3	4			4	2s. 6d.	11			11	10s. 0d.	8- 2h 6o, 6-2h 4o	2**
BRAUNCEWELL		8			8	7s. 0d.						4 - 4h	2
WELBOURN		4			4	4s. 0d.	8			8	12s. 0d.	6 - 2h 4o	2
WELLINGORE ***		3	2	1			8		1	7	10s. 0d.	6 - 6o 1r	1****

*Plough team numbers are based on the animals remaining after subtracting the number sold and the number with murrain. Where it is consistent, the numbers of horses - h - and/or oxen - o are given as is the number remaining - r .
However, where the balance between the number of horses and oxen is variable, only the number of beasts per plough team and the remainder - r - is given.

** 1 ox remaining. This would certainly have been 2 plough teams each of 2 horses and 4 oxen until one ox contracted murrain.

*** 2 horses and 3 oxen remaining. Of the 6 plough teams, 4 of 8 beasts and 2 of 6 beasts.

**** 1 horse and 1 ox remaining. This would have been 2 plough teams each of 2 horses and 6 oxen until the incidence of murrain.

* Temple Bruer recorded only 20 ploughmen but had sufficient beasts for 11 plough teams which were mixed teams of varying horse/oxen ratios.

** Of the 2 oxen with murrain 1 was slaughtered.

*** All 4 were mares.

**** 3 ox reaining. Of the 6 plough teams, 4 of 8 beasts and 2 of 6 beasts.

* 1 ox remaining. Of the 4 plough teams,1 of 6 oxen and 3 of 2 plough horses and 4 oxen.

** 1 ox remaining. Of the 2 plough teams, 1 of 2 horses and 4 oxen and 1 of 2 horses and 6 oxen.

*** Wellingore reverted to oxen from mixed plough teams.

**** This would have been an 8 oxen team before losing a beast to murrain.

PLOUGH TEAMS ON THE FORMER TEMPLAR ESTATES IN LINCOLNSHIRE 1308 - 1313. **Appendix 11.**

10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308

PRECEPTORY/MANORS	NUMBER OF PLOUGHMEN	NUMBER OF PLOUGH HORSES	NUMBER SOLD	NUMBER WITH MURRAIN	NUMBER REMAINING	VALUE PER ANIMAL	NUMBER OF OXEN	NUMBER SOLD	NUMBER WITH MURRAIN	NUMBER REMAINING	VALUE PER ANIMAL	NUMBER OF BEASTS PER PLOUGH TEAM	NUMBER OF PLOUGH TEAMS
WILLOUGHTON		13		1	12	4s. 6d.	34			34		8- 2h 6o, 6- 2h 4o	6*
TEALBY	3	6			6		12			12		6- 2h 4o	3
CLAXBY	2**	5	12 at Cab'ne	1	3		8	2 at Willoughton		4		6 - 2h 4o, 1r	1
								2 at Thorpe					
CABOURNE		1 from Claxby 2			2		2			2		4- 2h 2o	1
LIMBER	1	10			10							4- 4h 2r	2***
CAWKWELL		4			4		8			8		6 - 2h 4o	2
GOULCEBY + CHURCH.		2			2		4			4		6 - 2h 4o	1
UPTON	2	3		1	2		12		1	11		8- 2h 6o, 5r	1****
GAINSBOROUGH + CHURCH.													
KETTLEBY							16		1	15		8 - 8o, 6- 6o	2*
TEMPLE BELWOOD							8			8		8 - 8o	1
MICHAELMAS 1308 - 28 MARCH 1309													
WILLOUGHTON	13**	13		4	9	5s. 6d.	37	4	1	32	11s. 6d.	6- 2h 4o, 8- 8o, 1r	6
TEALBY	6	6			6	3 @ 4s. 0d.	12			12	10s. 0d.	6 - 2h 6o	3
						3 @ 2s. 0d.							
CLAXBY	2	3			3	5s. 0d.	4			4	8s. 0d.	6 - 2h 6o, 1r	1
CABOURNE		2			2	4s. 0d.	2			2	8s. 0d.	4 - 2h 2o	1
LIMBER		10		1	9	5s. 6d.						4 - 4h, 1r	2
CAWKWELL		4			4	5s. 0d.	8		1	7	10s. 0d.	6- 2h 4o, 4- 2h 2o	2***
GOULCEBY + CHURCH.		2			2	5s. 0d.	4			4	10s. 0d.	6 - 2h 4o	1
UPTON		2		1	1		11			11	8s. 0d.	4 - 4o, 4r	1/2****
GAINSBOROUGH + CHURCH.							8		1	7	10s. 0d.	6 - 6o	1*****
KETTLEBY							15			15	10s. 0d.	8 - 8o, 6- 6o, 1r	2
TEMPLE BELWOOD							8	2		6	7s. 0d.	6 - 6o	1

* Of the 6 ploughteams, 1 of 2 ploughhorses and 4 oxen and 5 of 2 plough horses and 6 oxen.
** 1 ploughman and 1 driver.
*** The 2 remaining plough horses could have been used for harrowing.
**** Normally 2 ploughmen would suggest one plough team in which case the most likely configuration would be 2 horses and 6 oxen.
However, 5 remaining oxen is a high figure implying a configuration allowing for 2 plough teams.
* There would have been 2 plough teams of 8 oxen but murrain reduced 1 plough team to 6 oxen with 1 remaining.
** 6 ploughmen, 6 drivers and 1 foreman ploughman.
*** There would have been 2 plough teams each of 2 plough horses and 4 oxen but murrain reduced 1 team to 2 horses and 2 oxen leaving 1 ox remaining.
**** A notional 2 ploughteams each of 4 oxen with 3 oxen and 1 plough horse remaining.
***** Reduced from a plough team of 8 oxen to a team of 6 oxen and 1 remaining by murrain.

PLOUGH TEAMS ON THE FORMER TEMPLAR ESTATES IN LINCOLNSHIRE 1308 - 1313. **Appendix 11.**

EASTER , 30 MARCH 1309 - 30 JULY 1309

PRECEPTORY/MANORS	NUMBER OF PLOUGHMEN	NUMBER OF PLOUGH HORSES	NUMBER SOLD	NUMBER WITH MURRAIN	NUMBER REMAINING	VALUE PER ANIMAL	NUMBER OF OXEN	NUMBER SOLD	NUMBER WITH MURRAIN	NUMBER REMAINING	VALUE PER ANIMAL	NUMBER OF BEASTS PER PLOUGH TEAM	NUMBER OF PLOUGH TEAMS
WILLOUGHTON		9			9	5s. 6d.	32			32	11s. 6d.	6- 2h 4o, 8- 8o, 1r	6*
TEALBY		6			6	3 @ 4s. 0d.	12			12	10s. 0d.	6 - 2h 4o	3
						3 @ 2s. 0d.							
CLAXBY		3			3	5s. 0d.	4			4	8s. 0d.	6 - 2h 4o, 1r	1
CABOURNE							2			2	8s. 0d.	2- 2o	1
LIMBER		9			9	5s. 6d.						4- 4o, 1r	2
CAWKWELL		4			4	5s. 0d.	7			7	10s. 0d.	6- 2h 4o, 4- 2h 2o, 1r	2
GOULCEBY		2			2	6s. 0d.	4			4	10s. 0d.	6 - 2h 4o	1
UPTON		1			1	6s. 0d.	11			11	8s. 0d.	4- 4o, 4r	2
GAINSBOROUGH							7			7	10s. 0d.	6 - 6o, 1r	1
KETTLEBY							15			15	8s. 0d.	8 - 8o, 6 - 6o, 1r	2
TEMPLE BELWOOD							6			6	7s. 0d.	6 - 6o	1
JANUARY 10 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308													
KEAL		4	0	0	4		12**	0	0	12		8 - 2h 6o	2
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 27 JULY 1309													
KEAL	4	3	0	0	3	5s. 0d.	12	0	0	12	8s. 0d.	6 - 2h 4o, 8 - 8o, 1r	2***
JANUARY 10 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308													
SAXBY							12	0	1	11		6 - 6o, 4- 4o, 1r	2
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - MARTINMAS, 12 NOVEMBER 1308													
SAXBY							11	0	1	10		6 - 6o, 4 - 4o	2
JANUARY 10 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308													
MERE	6	5	1 bought 2	0	3		12	0	0	12		6 - 2h 4o, 8- 8o	3
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 23 FEBRUARY 1309													
MERE		3	0	0	3	3s. 0d.	12	12	0	0		6 - 2h 4o, 8- 8o	3
JANUARY 10 1308 - MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308													
THORPE							(from Claxby) 2	2	0	0	10s. 0d.	2 - 2o	1

* Of the 6 plough teams, 2 of 8 oxen and 4 of 2 horses and 4 oxen, 1 horse remaining.
** 1 ox from Keal church.
*** This is a probable combination of plough teams which would leave 1 horse for harrowing.

PLOUGH TEAMS ON THE FORMER TEMPLAR ESTATES IN LINCOLNSHIRE 1308 - 1313. **Appendix 11.**

PRECEPTORY/MANORS	NUMBER OF PLOUGHMEN	NUMBER OF PLOUGH HORSES	NUMBER SOLD	NUMBER WITH MURRAIN	NUMBER REMAINING	VALUE PER ANIMAL	NUMBER OF OXEN	NUMBER SOLD	NUMBER WITH MURRAIN	NUMBER REMAINING	VALUE PER ANIMAL	NUMBER OF BEASTS PER PLOUGH TEAM	NUMBER OF PLOUGH TEAMS
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308													
EAGLE WITH CHURCH	8	17		11	6		37	1		36		8- 2h 6o, 8o, 10r	4*
WOODHOUSE & WHISBY	6	9		4	5		34			34		8 - 2h 6o, 8o, 15r	3*
BRACEBRIDGE		2	2 to Eagle				2	2					
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 25 JULY 1309													
EAGLE	1**	8 - 2 from Marton			8		43	4	9	30		8 - 2h 6o, 6r	4
WOODHOUSE	6	5			5		27			27		8 - 2h 6o, 8r	3
WHISBY	2	2			2		7			7		8 - 2h 6r, 1r	1
BRACEBRIDGE													
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1312													
EAGLE	9***	15	2 to Woodhouse		11		42	1 to Woodhouse	4	34		8 - 2h 6o, 13r	4
			2 to Whisby					2 slaughtered					
								1 sold					
WOODHOUSE	6	8		2	6		25		1	24		6 - 2h 6o, 6r	3
WHISBY	2	4	2	1	1		8			8		8 - 8o, 1r	1
BRACEBRIDGE													
CARLTON	6	2			2		16			16		6 - 2h 4o, 6o	
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 - 6 JUNE 1313													
EAGLE	** 9	12			12	5s. 0d.	34		1	33	12s. 0d.	8 - 2h 6o, 13r	4
WOODHOUSE		6			6	6s. 0d.	25	2		23	13s. 4d.	8- 2h 6o, 5r	3
WHISBY		2			2	3s. 0d.	8			8	6s. 8d.	8 - 2h 6o, 2r	1
BRACEBRIDGE													
CARLTON ****							16			16	9s. 0d.	8 - 8o	2

* The numbers of beasts remaining assumes 2 ploughmen per ploughteam and ploughteams of 8 animals, mixed if the number of plough horses allow.
** Assumedly only the head ploughman is accounted.
*** 1 head ploughman and 8 ploughmen.
**** The Carlton account ends on 24 December 1312.

PLOUGH TEAMS ON THE FORMER TEMPLAR ESTATES IN LINCOLNSHIRE 1308 - 1313. **Appendix 11.**

PRECEPTORY/MANORS	NUMBER OF PLOUGHMEN	NUMBER OF PLOUGH HORSES	NUMBER SOLD	NUMBER WITH MURRAIN	NUMBER REMAINING	VALUE PER ANIMAL	NUMBER OF OXEN	NUMBER SOLD	NUMBER WITH MURRAIN	NUMBER REMAINING	VALUE PER ANIMAL	NUMBER OF BEASTS PER PLOUGH TEAM	NUMBER OF PLOUGH TEAMS
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308													
ASLACKBY	8	11	* 2		8		27	1	3	23		8- 2h 6o, 6- 2h 4o,1r	4*
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 20 FEBRUARY 1309													
ASLACKBY		8			8	7s. 0d.	23			23	9s. 0d.	8- 2h 6o, 6- 2h 4o,1r	4
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 - 16 JUNE 1312													
ASLACKBY	8	8	2	1	5	5s. 0d.	22		1	21	12s. 0d.	6- 2h 4o, 6o, 2r	4
16 JUNE 1312 - 28 SEPTEMBER1312													
ASLACKBY	6	5		1	4		21			21		8- 2h 6o, 8o, 1r	3
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1313													
ASLACKBY	6	4	2 bought	2	4		21			21		8- 2h 6o, 8o, 1r	3
MICHAELMAS 1313 - 8 DECEMBER 1313													
ASLACKBY		4		1	3		21	4	1	16		6- 2h 4o, 6o, 1r	3

* Of the 4 plough teams, 3 of 2 plough horses and 6 oxen, 1 of 2 plough horses and 4 oxen, 1 ox remaining. All ploughteams would have been of 8 beasts had it not been for murrain.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PLOUGH TEAMS & ARABLE ACREAGE 1308 - 1313. **Appendix 12.**

PRECEPTORY/MANOR	**MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 -***			**EASTER, 30 MARCH 1309 - 30 JULY 1309**			**MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 - ***			**MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 -***			**MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1313 - 8 DECEMBER 1313**		
	NUMBER OF PLOUGH TEAMS	ARABLE ACREAGE	ACRES PER PLOUGH TEAM	NUMBER OF PLOUGH TEAMS	ARABLE ACREAGE	ACRES PER PLOUGH TEAM	NUMBER OF PLOUGH TEAMS	ARABLE ACREAGE	ACRES PER PLOUGH TEAM	NUMBER OF PLOUGH TEAMS	ARABLE ACREAGE	ACRES PER PLOUGH TEAM	NUMBER OF PLOUGH TEAMS	ARABLE ACREAGE	ACRES PER PLOUGH TEAM
TEMPLE BRUER	11	549.5	50.0				9								
ROWSTON	4	342.5	85.6				4								
KIRKBY	2	145.0	72.5				2								
BRAUNCEWELL	2	164.0	82.0				2	129.5	64.5						
WELBOURN	2	97.0	48.5				2	108.0	54.0						
WELLINGORE	3	167.5	55.8				1	149.5	149.5						
CARLTON	2	165.5	82.8												
HOLME		10.0													
SOUTH WITHAM	6	122.5	20.4												
TOTAL	32	1,763.5	54.8				20	387.0	77.4						
WILLOUGHTON	6	336.0	56.0	6	345.0	57.5									
TEALBY	3	126.0	42.0	3	90.0	30.0									
CLAXBY	1	37.0	37.0	1	########	45.0									
CABOURNE	1	68.5	68.5	1	58.5	29.3									
LIMBER	2	133.5	66.8	2	150.5	75.3									
CAWKWELL	2	59.0	29.5	2	59.0	29.5									
GOULCEBY	1	32.5	32.5	1	34.5	34.5									
UPTON	1	49.0	49.0	2	49.0	24.5									
GAINSBOROUGH	1	56.0	56.0	1	56.0	56.0									
KETTLEBY	2	82.0	41.0	2	83.0	81.5									
TEMPLE BELWOOD	1	24.0	24.0	1	24.0	24.0									
KEAL	2	107.0	53.5												
SAXBY															
MERE	3	22.5													
TOTAL	26	1,133.0	43.6	22	994.5	45.2									
EAGLE	4							267.7		4	414.5	103.6			
WOODHOUSE	3	81.0	27.0					227.0		3					
WHISBY	1	61.0	61.0					54.2		1					
BRACEBRIDGE															
TOTAL	8	142.0	35.5****					548.9		8	414.5	103.6***			
ASLACKBY	4						4	155.0**	38.8	3			3		
GRAND TOTAL	70	2,896.5	41.4												

* The end dates vary.

** The account for Aslackby itemises 155 acres of arable land, 80 acres of fallow and 51 acres of meadow. This suggests a three- course rotation. Assuming that the three- course rotation was generally applicable then the acreages for which each plough team would be responsible would be one third greater than those listed above as each team would have ploughed the fallow land besides the arable under cultivation. If 414.5 acres for Eagle and 155 acres for Aslackby were added to the grand total, giving 3,466 acres and a further 1,733 acres of fallow, this would render an overall arable acreage of 5,199 acres for the entirety of the ex-Templar estates in Lincolnshire. Including the fallow, the average acreage per plough team would be 61.1 acres.

*** Given the close proximity of Eagle, Woodhouse and Whisby, had they co-operated over ploughing then the average acreage per plough team would have approximated 69.6 acres.

**** The average acreage for the Eagle estate does not include any acreage for Eagle manor as none was recorded. If a notional 415 acres were to be included then the average would have been 69.6 acres per plough team and the overall average 47.3 acres.

.

RELATIVE VALUES OF OXEN AND PLOUGH HORSES ON THE FORMER TEMPLAR ESTATES 1308 - 1313. **Appendix 13.**

PRECEPTORY/MANOR	**10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308**			**MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 25 JULY 1309**					**MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 - 2 JULY 1312**				
	OX	PLOUGH HORSE	% OF OX VALUE	OX	% CHANGE*	PLOUGH HORSE	% CHANGE*	% OF OX VALUE	OX	% CHANGE*	PLOUGH HORSE	% CHANGE*	% OF OX VALUE
TEMPLE BRUER	6s. 8d.	3s. 4d.	50.0						12s. 0d.	80.0	5s. 0d.	50.0	41.7
ROWSTON	6s. 8d.	3s. 6d.	52.5	8s. 0d.	20.0	3s 6d		43.8	8s. 0d.		4s. / 2s. 6d.	14.3 / -28.6	50.0 / 25.0
KIRKBY	8s. 0d.	3s. 6d.	43.8	8s. 0d.		3s 6d		43.8	10s. 0d.	25.0	2s. 6d.	-28.6	25.0
BRAUNCEWELL		3s. 6d.				3s 0d					7s. 0d.	133.3	
CRANWELL													
WELBOURN				6s. 0d.					12s. 0d.	100.0	4s. 0d.		33.3
WELLINGORE	6s. 0d.	3s. 0d.	50.0										
CARLTON**				6s. 0d.		3s 0d		50.0	10s. 0d.	66.7			
HOLME													
SOUTH WITHAM	6s. 8d.	4s. 0d.	60.0	10s. 6d.	57.5	5s 0d	25.0	47.6					
MEAN* **	6s. 10d.	3s. 6d.	51.26	7s. 8d.	25.8	3s 7d	6.25	46.3	10s. 5d.	67.9	4s. 3d.	51.0****	35.0
	10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308			**MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 29 MARCH 1309**					**EASTER, 30 MARCH 1309 - 30 JULY 1309**				
WILLOUGHTON		4s. 6d.		11s. 6d.		5s 6d		47.8	11s. 6d.		5s. 6d.		47.8
TEALBY				10s. 0d.		4s / 2s		40.0 / 20.0	10s. 0d.		4s. / 2s. 6d.		40.0 / 20.0
CLAXBY				8s. 0d.		5s 0d		62.5	8s. 0d.		5s. 0d.		62.5
CABOURNE				8s. 0d.		4s 0d		50.0	8s. 0d.				
LIMBER						5s 6d					5s. 6d.		
CAWKWELL				10s. 0d.		5s 0d		50.0	10s. 0d.		5s. 0d.		50.0
GOULCEBY				10s. 0d.		5s 0d		50.0	10s. 0d.		6s. 0d.		60.0
UPTON				8s. 0d.					8s. 0d.		6s. 0d.		75.0
GAINSBOROUGH				10s. 0d.					10s. 0d.				
KETTLEBY				10s. 0d.					8s. 0d.				
TEMPLE BELWOOD				7s. 0d.					7s. 0d.				
KEAL				8s. 0d.		5s 0d							
SAXBY													
MERE						3s 0d *							
THORPE	10s. 0d.												
MEAN	10s. 0d.	4s. 6d.		9s. 2d.		4s 5d		45.8	9s. 1d.		4s. 10d.		50.8

* Percentage changes are measured against value in the last previous account for which a value is recorded.
** Carlton is counted as a member of Temple Bruer in the accounts ending 25 July 1309 but as a member of Eagle in the accounts following 29 September 1311.
*** The figures given are the means of manor valuations of animals rather than the sum of the beasts. The mean is given to the nearest penny.
**** Mean percentage regardless of positive or negative change.
* For Mere the account covers the period from 29 September 1308 to 23 February 1309.

RELATIVE VALUES OF OXEN AND PLOUGH HORSES ON THE FORMER TEMPLAR ESTATES 1308 - 1313. **Appendix 13.**

PRECEPTORY/MANOR	**10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308**			**MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 25 JULY 1309**					**MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 - 2 JULY 1312**					**MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 - 6 JUNE 1313**				
	OX	PLOUGH HORSE	% OF OX VALUE	OX	% CHANGE	PLOUGH HORSE	% CHANGE	% OF OX VALUE	OX	% CHANGE	PLOUGH HORSE	% CHANGE	% OF OX VALUE	OX	% CHANGE	PLOUGH HORSE	% CHANGE	% OF OX VALUE
EAGLE														12s. 0d.		5s. 0d.		41.7
WOODHOUSE														13s. 4d.		6s. 0d.		45.0
WHISBY														6s. 8d.		3s. 0d.		45.0
BRACEBRIDGE																		
CARLTON**														9s. 0d.				
MEAN														10s. 3d.		p-		43.9
	10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308			**MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 20 FEBRUARY 1309**					**MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 - 16 JUNE 1312**					**16 JUNE 1312 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1312**				
ASLACKBY*				9s. 0d.		7s. 0d.		77.8	12s. 0d.	33.3	5s. 0d.	-28.6	41.7					

* No prices are given in the Aslackby accounts of 29 September 1312 to 28 September 1313 nor in the accounts of 29 September 1313 to 8 December 1313.

BULLS, COWS AND CALVES 1308 - 1313. **Appendix 14.**

PRECEPTORY/MANOR	**BULLS**						**COWS**						**CALVES**						**CALVES OF ISSUE**						**GRAND TOTAL**	**WITH DAIRY (D)**	**NUMBER OF COWHERDS**
	TOTAL	WITH MURRAIN	SOLD	MOVED	REMAINING	VALUE PER	TOTAL	WITH MURRAIN	SOLD	MOVED	REMAINING	VALUE PER	TOTAL	WITH MURRAIN	SOLD	MOVED	REMAINING	VALUE PER	TOTAL	WITH MURRAIN	SOLD	MOVED	REMAINING	VALUE PER			
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																											
TEMPLE BRUER													18		18 - 2 yrs old										18	D	1
ROWSTON	1			1 to Holme			20			20 to Holme															21		1
KIRKBY							4			4 to Holme															4		
HOLME	1			1 from Rowston	1		5	1	9	20 from Rowston	19		14 - 1yr old	1	13				10	1			9		32		
										4 from Kirkby			2 bullocks				2										
SOUTH WITHAM	1		1				9		2		7		12- 2 yr old	1	10		1	3s 0d	9	1	8				35	D	1
													4 - 1 yr old	2	2												
TOTAL	3		1	1	1		38	1	11	24	26		50	4	43		3		19	2	8		9		110	2	3
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																											
WILLOUGHTON	1			1 at Kettleby	1		21			9 at Kettleby			13 - 1 yr old		12		1 draughted*		7	3		4 at Kettleby			42	D	
	1 draughted									1 at Tealby	11- 2 sterile																
TEALBY	1				1		5		3	3 from Limber			8 - 1 yr old		8				4				4		18		
										1 from W'ton	6																
LIMBER							3		3																3		
CAWKWELL																			1		1				1		
KETTLEBY	1			1 from W'ton	1		9			9 from W'ton	9		8 - 1yr old		8				4			4 from W'ton	8		28	D	
													6		6												
TEMPLE BELWOOD							1				1 sterile														1		
TOTAL	4			1	3		39		6	13	27		35		34		1		16	3	1	4	12		93	2	
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																											
EAGLE	2																		16		6		10			D	1
	1 bull calf				3		30	6			24																
TOTAL	3				3		30	6			24								16		6		10		49	1	1
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																											
KEAL	1 drafted				1		10	8	2				3 - 1 yr old		2		1 draughted*									D	
													3 bullocks		3												
													5		5				5	3	2						
TOTAL	1				1		10	8	2				11		10				5	3	2				26		
MERE							2				2		2 - 1 yr old	1	1		1		2		1		1			D	1
TOTAL							2				2		2	1	1				2		1		1		6	2	1
W'TON GRAND TOTAL	5				4		51	8	8	13	29		48	1	45		2		23	3	4		13		125	4	1
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																											
ASLACKBY							11	1			10		3 - 1 yr old													D	1
													4 - 2 yrs old				4										
													11 - 1 yr old	4			7		3				3				
TOTAL							11	1			10		18	4			11		3				3		32	1	1
GRAND TOTAL	11	0	1	2	8		130	16	19	37	89		116	9	88	0	16		61	5	18	4	35		318	8	6

*These beasts are recorded twice as calves which were draughted and as having been draughted with the bulls which suggests that they were two year old bullocks.

BULLS, COWS AND CALVES 1308 - 1313. **Appendix 14.**

PRECEPTORY/MANOR	BULLS						COWS						CALVES						CALVES OF ISSUE						GRAND TOTAL	WITH DAIRY (D)	NUMBER OF COWHERDS
	TOTAL	WITH MURRAIN	SOLD	MOVED	REMAINING	VALUE PER	TOTAL	WITH MURRAIN	SOLD	MOVED	REMAINING	VALUE PER	TOTAL	WITH MURRAIN	SOLD	MOVED	REMAINING	VALUE PER	TOTAL	WITH MURRAIN	SOLD	MOVED	REMAINING	VALUE PER			
MICHAELMAS. 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - FEAST OF ST JAMES, 25 JULY 1309																											
TEMPLE BRUER										6 from Holme	6														0		
ROWSTON	1			1 from Holme***	1					16 from Holme	16	7s. 0d.	9	2	7										10		
HOLME	1		1				19			1 from S. W'ham															20		
							2 draughted			16 to Rowston			2 heifers draughted						9	2	7				11		
										6 to T. Bruer																	
SOUTH WITHAM	1				1	8s. 0d.	7				7	8s. 0d.													8		
TOTAL	3		1	1	2		28			23	29		9****	2	7				9	2	7				49		
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 29 MARCH 1309																											
WILLOUGHTON	1				1	10s. 0d.	11	1			10	6s. 0d.	**4**				4	1s 3d							16	D	1
TEALBY	1				1	7s. 0d.	6				6	7s. 0d.	4				4	3s 0d	2	1			1	0s 9d	13		
GAINSBOROUGH	1				1	7s. 0d.	10			1 from Kotleby	11	7s. 0d.	10				7	4s 0d							21		
																	3	3s 0d	4				4	1s 0d	4		
KETTLEBY	1				1	7s. 0d.	9			1 to G'bro	8	7s. 0d.	8	2			6	2s 0d	5				5	1s 0d	23		
TEMPLE BELWOOD							1 sterile				1	7s. 0d.													1		
TOTAL	4				4		37	1		1	36		26	2			24		11	1			10		78	1	1
EASTER 30 MARCH 1309 - 30 JULY 1309																											
WILLOUGHTON**	1				1	10s. 0d.	10				10	6s. 0d.	**4**				4	1s 4d							15	D	1
TEALBY	1				1	7s. 0d.	6				6	7s. 0d.	4 - 1 yr old				4	3s 0d	2	1			1	0d 9d	13		
GAINSBOROUGH	1				1	7s. 0d.	11				11	7s. 0d.							4				4	1s 0d	16		
KETTLEBY	1				1	7s. 0d.	8				8	7s. 0d.	6 - 1 yr old				6	2s 0d	5				5	1s 0d	20	D	
TEMPLE BELWOOD							1				1 sterile	7s. 0d.													1		
TOTAL	4				4		36				36		14				14		11	1			10		65	2	1
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 25 JULY 1309																											
EAGLE	3		1		2		24	1			23		10				10		16	1			15		53	D	1
TOTAL	3		1		2		24	1			23		10				10		16	1			15		53	1	1
MICHAELMAS 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 27 JULY 1309																											
KEAL	1				1	7s. 0d.	6			1	7	7s. 0d.	10			3 from G'boro	3	3s 0d								D	1
							1 heifer				1	6s. 0d.					7	4s 0d									
TOTAL	1				1		7			1	8		10			3	10								18	1	1
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 23 FEBRUARY 1309																											
MERE							2	2				10s. 0d.	1				1	2s 6d									
TOTAL							2	2					1				1								1		
W'TON GRAND TOTALS*	5				5		46	3		2	44		37	2		3	45		11	1			10		98	2	2
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 20 FEBRUARY 1309																											
ASLACKBY							10				10	5s. 0d.	4 - bullocks	2			2	4s 0d									
													7 - bullocks				7	3s 0d	3				3	1s 6d			
TOTAL							10				10		11	2			9		3				3		24		
GRAND TOTAL	11	0	2	1	9		108	4	0	25	106		67	6	7	3	54		39	4	7	0	28		225	3	3

* Willoughton grand total includes the data for the manors of Keal and Mere which are not listed sequentially with the other manors of theWilloughton estate.
** The accounts for the Willoughton estate beginning Easter 1308 are not included in the grand totals at the bottom of the columns so as to avoid counting Willoughton twice.
***The accounts for Holme do not itemise a bull having been moved to Rowston but do itemise a bull being sold, perhaps it was the same animal. If so then this was the only instance of an animal having been sold from one ex-Templar manor to another.
**** Two heifers counted with the cows.

BULLS, COWS AND CALVES 1308 - 1313. **Appendix 14.**

PRECEPTORY/MANOR	**BULLS**						**COWS**						**CALVES**						**CALVES OF ISSUE**						**GRAND TOTAL**	**WITH DAIRY (D)**	**NUMBER OF CO'HERDS**
	TOTAL	WITH MURRAIN	SOLD	MOVED	REMAINING	VALUE PER	TOTAL	WITH MURRAIN	SOLD	MOVED	REMAINING	VALUE PER	TOTAL	WITH MURRAIN	SOLD	MOVED	REMAINING	VALUE PER	TOTAL	WITH MURRAIN	SOLD	MOVED	REMAINING	VALUE PER			
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 - 2 JULY 1312																											
TEMPLE BRUER																										D	1
ROWSTON																											
HOLME																											
SOUTH WITHAM																											
TOTAL																										1	1
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1312																											
EAGLE	1						22 - 10 sterile																			D	
	1 draughted				2		5 heifers drafted				27		8 bullocks				8 drafted w' oxen										
													5 heifers				5 drafted w' cows										
													17 - 18 months old	5			12 - 1 drafted w' bull										
													9	3			6		12		5		7				
TOTAL	2				2		27				27		39	8			17		12		5		7		80	1	
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 - 15 JUNE 1312																											
ASLACKBY							9 - 6 with calves				9 - 6 with calves	w/calf - 6s 8d	2 bullocks 2 yrs old				2	4s 0d								D	1
													3				3	2s 0d	6 w' cows				6 w' cows				
TOTAL							9				9		5				5		**6**				6		20	1	1
GRAND TOTAL*	2				2		36				36		44	8			22		**18**		5		13		100	3	2
16 JUNE 1312 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1313																											
ASLACKBY							9	1			8		2 bullocks													D	1
													3 draughted				5		6	4			2				
TOTAL							9	1			8		5				5		6	4			2		20	1	1
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1313																											
ASLACKBY							8	3			5		5 - 3/4 yrs old		5											D	1
													5 - 2 dra'ted	2			5		5				5				
TOTAL							8	3			5		10	2	5		5		5				5		23	1	1
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1313 - 8 DECEMBER 1313																											
ASLACKBY							5		5																		
TOTAL							5		5																5		
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 - 6 JUNE 1313																											
EAGLE	2						27	1			26	7s 6d	11 bullocks	3	2		6	6s. 0d.								D	1
													6 bullocks	1			5	3s. 6d.									
													7	2			5	2s. 6d.	18	2			16	1s. 3d.			
TOTAL	2						27	1			26		24	6	2		16		18	2			16		69	1	1

* The grand totals are of the accounts beginning Michaelmas 1311 for the Temple Bruer estate, Eagle and Aslackby. No accounts are extant for Willoughton.

CARTHORSES ON THE FORMER TEMPLAR ESTATES IN LINCOLNSHIRE 1308 - 1312.							Appendix 15.	
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308								
PRECEPTORY/MANORS	NUMBER OF CARTERS	NUMBER OF CARTHORSES	NUMBER SOLD	NUMBER BOUGHT	NUMBER WITH MURRAIN	NUMBER REMAINING	VALUE PER CARTHORSE	VALUE PER PLOUGHHORSE
TEMPLE BRUER	2	6				6	10s. 0d.	3s. 4d.
ROWSTON	1	2				2	16s. 0d.	
KIRKBY		2 mares*						
BRAUNCEWELL	1	2				2		
CRANWELL								
WELBOURN								
WELLINGORE	1	2				2		
CARLTON								
HOLME		1 mare*						
SOUTH WITHAM	2	6				6	8s. 0d.	4s. 0d.
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - FEAST OF ST JAMES, 25 JULY 1309								
TEMPLE BRUER	2	6		1 from Brauncewell**	1	6		
ROWSTON	1	2	1			1*	15s. 0d.	3s. 6d.
KIRKBY	1	2 mares*					6s. 0d.	3s. 6d.
BRAUNCEWELL		2	1 sent to Carlton; 1 to T. Bruer**					3s. 0d.
CRANWELL								
WELBOURN		4 mares*					3s. 0d.	
WELLINGORE		2				2**	10s. 0d.	3s. 0d.
CARLTON		4	2 carcasses		2***	2**	10s. 0d.	3s. 0d.
HOLME		1 mare			1***			
SOUTH WITHAM ***		6	2			4***	2 @ 4s. 0d.	5s. 0d.
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 - 2 JULY 1312								
TEMPLE BRUER	2	4				4****	5s. 6d.	5s. 0d.
ROWSTON	1	2			1	1	8s. 0d.	4s. 0d.
KIRKBY	1	2 mares with colts*					10s. 0d.	2s. 6d.
BRAUNCEWELL *****								7s. 0d.
WELBOURN								4s. 0d.
WELLINGORE								

* Mares are listed where they are identified as such in the accounts.
** Horses moved between ex-Templar manors not actually bought or sold.
*** Dead of murrain.
* Handed over to Robert Bernard.
** Handed over to Thomas de Burnham.
*** The South Witham accounts run from Michaelmas 1308 until 23 February 1309 when the manor and livestock were handed over to Stephen de Stanham.
**** Handed over to Ebulo de Montibus.
***** Two carts are listed in the deadstock of the Brauncewell account each valued at 1s.

CARTHORSES ON THE FORMER TEMPLAR ESTATES IN LINCOLNSHIRE 1308 - 1312 . **Appendix 15.**

PRECEPTORY/MANORS	NUMBER OF CARTERS	NUMBER OF CARTHORSES	NUMBER SOLD	NUMBER BOUGHT	NUMBER WITH MURRAIN	NUMBER REMAINING	VALUE PER CARTHORSE	VALUE PER PLOUGHHORSE
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308								
WILLOUGHTON		6			1	5	6s. 8d.	4s. 6d.
TEALBY	1	3	1			2		
CLAXBY								
CABOURNE								
LIMBER								
CAWKWELL		2				2		
GOULCEBY								
UPTON								
GAINSBOROUGH								
KETTLEBY		2 mares						
TEMPLE BELWOOD		2 mares						
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 29 MARCH 1309								
WILLOUGHTON	2	5			1	4	5s. 6d.	5s. 6d.
TEALBY	1	2				2	10s. 0d.	4s. 0d.
CLAXBY								5s. 0d.
CABOURNE								4s. 0d.
LIMBER								
CAWKWELL		2			1	1		5s. 0d.
GOULCEBY								5s. 0d.
UPTON								
GAINSBOROUGH		2 mares					6s. 8d.	
KETTLEBY		2 colts only						
TEMPLE BELWOOD		2 mares						
EASTER, 30 MARCH 1309 - 30 JULY 1309								
WILLOUGHTON		4					£1 0s. 0d.	5s. 6d.
TEALBY		2				2	10s. 0d.	4s. 0d. + 2s. 0d.
CLAXBY								5s. 0d.
CABOURNE		2				2	3s. 0d.	
LIMBER								5s. 6d.
CAWKWELL		1				1	8s. 0d.	5s. 0d.
GOULCEBY		2				2	6s. 0d.	
UPTON								6s. 0d.
GAINSBOROUGH		2 mares					6s. 8d.	
KETTLEBY		2 mares					8s. 0d.	
TEMPLE BELWOOD		2 mares					6s. 8d.	
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308								
KEAL		2				2		
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 27 JULY 1309								
KEAL		2				2	6s. 8d.	5s 0d
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308								
SAXBY		3 mares				3 mares		
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - MARTINMAS, 12 NOVEMBER 1308								
SAXBY		4 mares				4 mares	8s. 0d.	
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308								
MERE	1	2				2		
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 23 FEBRUARY 1309								
MERE		3	1		1	1	9s. 0d.	4s. 0d.

CARTHORSES ON THE FORMER TEMPLAR ESTATES IN LINCOLNSHIRE 1308 - 1312. **Appendix 15.**

PRECEPTORY/MANORS	NUMBER OF CARTERS	NUMBER OF CARTHORSES	NUMBER SOLD	NUMBER BOUGHT	NUMBER WITH MURRAIN	NUMBER REMAINING	VALUE PER CARTHORSE	VALUE PER PLOUGHHORSE
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308								
EAGLE with church	2	4		1	2	3		
WOODHOUSE and WHISBY	1							
BRACEBRIDGE								
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 25 JULY 1309								
EAGLE	*	6		2 from Marton		8		
WOODHOUSE								
WHISBY								
BRACEBRIDGE	1							
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1312								
EAGLE	2	3				3		
WOODHOUSE								
WHISBY								
BRACEBRIDGE								
CARLTON	1	2				2		
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 - 6 JUNE 1313								
EAGLE and church of Swinderby.	2	4				4	1 @ 13s. 4d.	5s 0d
							3 @ 6s. 8d.	
WOODHOUSE								6s 0d
WHISBY								6s 8d
BRACEBRIDGE								
CARLTON		2				2	1 @ 18s. 0d.	
							1@ 15s. 0d.	

* It is probable that 2 carters were omitted from the accounts.

CARTHORSES ON THE FORMER TEMPLAR ESTATES IN LINCOLNSHIRE 1308 - 1312.							**Appendix 15.**	
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308								
PRECEPTORY/MANORS	NUMBER OF CARTERS	NUMBER OF CARTHORSES	NUMBER SOLD	NUMBER BOUGHT	NUMBER WITH MURRAIN	NUMBER REMAINING	VALUE PER CARTHORSE	VALUE PER PLOUGHHORSE
ASLACKBY	1	1		1 drafted		2		
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 20 FEBRUARY 1309								
ASLACKBY		2				2	10s. 0d.	7s. 0d.
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 - 15 JUNE 1312								
ASLACKBY	1	2				2	13s. 0d.	5s. 0d.
16 JUNE 1312 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1312								
ASLACKBY	1	2				2		
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1313								
ASLACKBY	2*	2				2		
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1313 - 8 DECEMBER 1313								
ASLACKBY		2			1**	1		

* The account includes the wages of 2 carters and 1 cook form the Feast of St Barnabas, 11 June 1312 until 28 September 1313.
** 1 carcass sold.

BOARS, SOWS, PORKERS & PIGLETS 1308 - 1309. **Appendix 16.**

PRECEPTORY/MANORS	SWINEHERDS	**BOARS**				**SOWS**				**PORKERS (year old)**				**PIGLETS (6 months)**				**PIGLETS (of issue)**			
		MURRAIN	SOLD	REM.	VALUE PER	MURRAIN	SOLD	REM.	VALUE PER	MURRAIN	SOLD	REM.	VALUE PER	MURRAIN	SOLD	REM.	VALUE PER	MURRAIN	SOLD	REM.	VALUE PER
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																					
TEMPLE BRUER							9	4	2s 0d						45		1s. 0d.		5	13	
ROWSTON															13				12		
KIRKBY																					
BRAUNCEWELL																					
CRANWELL																					
WELBOURN															3						
WELLINGORE																					
CARLTON																					
HOLME																					
SOUTH WITHAM			1	1	2s. 0d.		4	1	2s. 0d.						17				8	7	
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																					
WILLOUGHTON														1	33	3				16	
TEALBY																					
CLAXBY																					
CABOURNE																					
LIMBER																					
CAWKWELL																					
GOULCEBY																					
UPTON																					
GAINSBOROUGH																					
KETTLEBY																					
TEMPLE BELWOOD																					
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																					
EAGLE	1			1		2	3	4			4			2	19	30		9	0	16	
WOODHOUSE																					
WHISBY																					
BRACEBRIDGE																					
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																					
ASLACKBY	1		2			1	3	2			10	12			18			5	5	11	
10 JANUARY 1308 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1308																					
KEAL*										3	10	2									
SAXBY																					
MERE*											10										
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - FEAST OF ST JAMES, 25 JULY 1309																					
TEMPLE BRUER		1		1				2				4	2s. 0d.			13	2s. 0d.	3		18	
KIRKBY												1**									
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 23 FEBRUARY 1309																					
SOUTH WITHAM			1					1	2s. 0d.											7	10d.
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 29 MARCH 1309																					
WILLOUGHTON	1			2	2s. 0d.			2	2s. 0d.	2		15	2s. 0d.								
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 25 JULY 1309																					
EAGLE	1		1					4		2	21	7				16		4	13	14	
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 20 FEBRUARY 1309																					
ASLACKBY							2				12				11				7		
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 - 27 JULY 1309																					
KEAL							1												8		
EASTER, 30 MARCH 1309 - 30 JULY 1309																					
WILLOUGHTON*												20	2s. 0d.							12	8d.

* Age of pigs not specified.
** 1 wandering pig.

BOARS, SOWS, PORKERS & PIGLETS 1308 - 1313. **Appendix 16.**

PRECEPTORY/MANORS	SWINEHERDS	**BOARS**				**SOWS**				**PORKERS (Year old)**				**PIGLETS (6 months)**				**PIGLETS (of issue)**			
		MURRAIN	SOLD	REM	VALUE PER	MURRAIN	SOLD	REM	VALUE PER	MURRAIN	SOLD	REM	VALUE PER	MURRAIN	SOLD	REM	VALUE PER	MURRAIN	SOLD	REM	VALUE PER
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 - 2 JULY 1312																					
TEMPLE BRUER	1			1	2s. 6d.			3	2s. 6d.			2	1s. 1d.	2	8	8	1s. 1d.	3	5	29	1s. 1d.
ROWSTON																					
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1312																					
EAGLE	1		2	1		1		4		5	17	8			8	4 *		4		28	
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 - 15 JUNE 1312																					
ASLACKBY	1						1				5	8	2s. 0d.								
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 - 6 JUNE 1313																					
EAGLE**	1			1	2s. 6d.			4	2s. 6d.		1	7		1	5	22	1s. 8d.	3	5	28	6d.
16 JUNE 1312 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1312																					
ASLACKBY											8										
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 - 28 SEPTEMBER 1313																					
ASLACKBY		NO PIGS																			
MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1313 - 8 DECEMBER 1313																					
ASLACKBY		NO PIGS																			

* Slaughtered for the larder.
** Eagle recorded the only instance of income from pannage, in this case 18s. The 7 porkers were slaughtered for consumption at Christmas.

THE LINCOLNSHIRE EX-TEMPLAR FLOCK BY PRECEPTORY AND ACCOUNT 1308 - 1313 **Appendix 17.**

PRECEPTORY	TYPE OF SHEEP	TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP	TOTAL NUMBER OF HEALTHY SHEEP	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP BY TYPE	NUMBER OF SHEEP WITH MURRAIN	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP BY TYPE	NUMBER OF SHEEP SOLD	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP BY TYPE	NUMBER OF SHEEP MOVED	NUMBER OF SHEEP FARMED OUT	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP BY TYPE	N.B.
TEMPLE BRUER 10 JAN 1308 - 29 SEPT 1308	WETHERS	1,255	19.8%	1,218	97.1%	37	2.9%	0	0.0%				(i) Gimmers could be included with hoggs
	EWES	2,011	31.8%	1,904	94.7%	107	5.3%	0	0.0%				
	HOGGS	1,516	24.0%	1,357	89.5%	159	10.5%	0	0.0%				
	GIMMERS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%				
	YEARLINGS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%				(ii) 489 sterile ewes
	LAMBS	1,543	24.4%	1,301	84.3%	242	15.7%	460	29.8%				
	TOTAL	**6,325**	**100.0%**	**5,780**	**91.4%**	**545**	**8.6%**	**460**	**7.3%**				
WILLOUGHTON 10 JAN1308 - 29 SEPT 1308	WETHERS	1,100	26.4%	1,035	94.1%	65	5.9%	0	0.0%				(i) 22 ewes died in lamb
	EWES	1,310	31.4%	1,199	91.5%	111	8.5%	0	0.0%				
	HOGGS	348	8.3%	251	72.1%	97	27.9%	0	0.0%				
	GIMMERS	343	8.2%	234	68.2%	109	0.0%	0	0.0%				(ii) 320 sterile ewes
	YEARLINGS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%				
	LAMBS	1,068	25.6%	981	91.9%	87	8.1%	183	17.1%				
	TOTAL	**4,169**	**100.0%**	**3,700**	**88.8%**	**469**	**11.2%**	**183**	**4.4%**				
EAGLE 10 JAN 1308 - 29 SEPT 1308	WETHERS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%						68 sterile ewes
	EWES	600	44.9%	567	94.5%	33	5.5%						
	HOGGS	116	8.7%	110	94.8%	6	5.2%						
	GIMMERS	89	6.7%	84	94.4%	5	0.0%						
	YEARLINGS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%						
	LAMBS	532	39.8%	364	68.4%	168	31.6%						
	TOTAL	**1,337**	**100.0%**	**1,125**	**84.1%**	**212**	**15.9%**						
ASLACKBY 10 JAN 1308 - 29 SEPT 1308	WETHERS	194	33.0%	173	89.2%	21	10.8%	0	0.0%				(i) additional 54 hoggs draughted
	EWES	215	36.6%	193	89.8%	22	10.2%	0	0.0%				
	HOGGS	21	3.6%	4	19.0%	17	81.0%	0	0.0%				(ii) additional 42 gimmers draughted
	GIMMERS	17	2.9%	0	0.0%	17	100.0%	0	0.0%				
	YEARLINGS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%				(iii) 32 sterile ewes
	LAMBS	140	23.9%	110	78.6%	30	21.4%	24	17.1%				
	TOTAL	**587**	4.7%	**480**	**81.8%**	**107**	18.2%	**24**	4.1%				
GRAND TOTAL		**12,418**	**100.0%**	**11,085**	**89.3%**	**1,333**	**10.7%**	**667**	**5.4%**				

THE LINCOLNSHIRE EX-TEMPLAR FLOCK BY PRECEPTORY AND ACCOUNT 1308 - 1313 **Appendix 17.**

PRECEPTORY	TYPE OF SHEEP	TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP	TOTAL NUMBER OF HEALTHY SHEEP	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP BY TYPE	NUMBER OF SHEEP WITH MURRAIN	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP BY TYPE	NUMBER OF SHEEP SOLD	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP BY TYPE	NUMBER OF SHEEP MOVED	NUMBER OF SHEEP FARMED OUT	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP BY TYPE	N.B.
TEMPLE BRUER 30 SEPT 1308 - 25 JULY 1309	WETHERS	1,623	25.2%	1,561	96.2%	62	3.8%	137	8.4%	160 To Willoughton	1,384	85.3%	(i) additional 405 hoggs draughted
	EWES	2,654	41.2%	2,534	95.5%	120	4.5%	373	14.1%		1,979	74.6%	
	HOGGS	202	3.13%	115	56.9%	87	43.1%	115	56.9%		0	0.0%	(ii) additional 750 gimmers draughted
	GIMMERS												
	YEARLINGS	816	12.7%	723	88.6%	93	11.4%	0	0.0%		723	88.6%	(iii) 621 sterile ewes
	LAMBS	1,151	17.9%	1,007	87.5%	144	12.5%	388	33.7%		619	53.8%	
	TOTAL	**6,446**	**100.0%**	**5,940**	**92.2%**	**506**	**7.8%**	**1,013**	**15.7%**	**160**	**4,705**	**73.0%**	
WILLOUGHTON 30 SEPT 1308 - 30 MARCH 1309	WETHERS	1,241	28.5%	1,099	88.6%	142	11.4%	67	5.4%	160 From Temple Bruer	1,210	97.5%	(i) additional 206 hoggs draughted
	EWES	1,617	37.1%	1,474	91.2%	143	8.8%	169	10.5%		1,201	74.3%	
	HOGGS	46	1.1%	0	0.0%	46	100.0%	0	0.0%		0	0.0%	
	GIMMERS	65	1.5%	9	13.8%	56	86.2%	0	0.0%		0	0.0%	(ii) additional 178 gimmers draughted
	YEARLINGS	628	14.4%	365	58.1%	263	41.9%	0	0.0%		355	56.5%	
	LAMBS	762	17.5%	612	80.3%	150	19.7%	105	13.8%		508	66.7%	
	TOTAL	**4,359**	**100.0%**	**3,559**	**81.6%**	**800**	**18.4%**	**341**	**7.8%**	**160**	**3,274**	**75.1%**	
WILLOUGHTON 31 MARCH 1309 - 30 JULY 1309	WETHERS	833	34.3%	820	98.4%	13	1.6%				817	98.1%	(i) wether total includes 3 rams
	EWES	829	34.2%	825	99.5%	4	0.5%				825	99.5%	
	HOGGS	355	14.6%	347	97.7%	8	2.3%				347	97.7%	
	GIMMERS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%				0	0.0%	(ii) 3 rams included in wethers farmed out
	YEARLINGS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%				0	0.0%	
	LAMBS	409	16.9%	394	96.3%	15	3.7%				394	96.3%	
	TOTAL	**2,426**	**100.0%**	**2,386**	**98.4%**	**40**	**1.6%**				**2,383**	**98.2%**	
EAGLE 30 SEPT 1308 - 25 JULY 1309	WETHERS	80	5.1%	80	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%				(i) additional 180 hoggs draughted
	EWES	641	41.2%	583	91.0%	58	9.0%	0	0.0%				
	HOGGS	30	1.9%	20	66.7%	10	33.3%	20	66.7%				(ii) additional 74 gimmers draughted
	GIMMERS	10	0.6%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%	0	0.0%				
	YEARLINGS	364	23.4%	299	82.1%	65	17.9%	60	16.5%				(iii) 139 sterile ewes
	LAMBS	431	27.7%	307	71.2%	124	28.8%	0	0.0%				
	TOTAL	**1,556**	**100.0%**	**1,289**	**82.8%**	**267**	**17.2%**	**80**	**5.1%**				
ASLACKBY 30 SEPT 1308 - 20 FEB 1309	WETHERS	173	38.3%	42	24.3%	131	75.7%	0	0.0%		42	24.3%	131 wethers suffered from liver fluke
	EWES	193	42.7%	183	94.8%	10	5.2%	30	15.5%		153	79.3%	
	HOGGS	86	19.0%	86	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%		86	100.0%	
	GIMMERS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%		0	0.0%	
	YEARLINGS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%		0	0.0%	
	LAMBS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%		0	0.0%	
	TOTAL	**452**	**100.0%**	**311**	**68.8%**	**141**	**31.2%**	**30**	**6.6%**		**281**	**62.2%**	
GRAND TOTAL		**12,813**	**100.0%**	**11,099**	**86.6%**	**1,714**	**13.4%**	**1,464**	**11.4%**		**10,643**		

The grand totals include the Willoughton totals for 30 March 1309 but not those for 30 July 1309 except for sheep farmed out which includes both Willoughton totals.

The grand total of sheep farmed out excluding the total for Willoughton, 30 July 1309 is 8,260, 64.5% of the grand total of 12,803.

THE LINCOLNSHIRE EX-TEMPLAR FLOCK BY PRECEPTORY AND ACCOUNT 1308 - 1313 **Appendix 17.**

PRECEPTORY	TYPE OF SHEEP	TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP	TOTAL NUMBER OF HEALTHY SHEEP	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP BY TYPE	NUMBER OF SHEEP WITH MURRAIN	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP BY TYPE	NUMBER OF SHEEP SOLD	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP BY TYPE	NUMBER OF SHEEP MOVED	NUMBER OF SHEEP FARMED OUT	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP BY TYPE	N.B.
TEMPLE BRUER 30 SEPT 1311 - 2 JULY 1312	WETHERS	1,415	32.4%	1,375	97.2%	40	2.8%	230	16.3%	160	985	69.6%	(i) wethers and ewes moved to Eagle
	EWES	1,437	32.9%	1,364	94.9%	73	5.1%	87	6.1%	100	1,177	81.9%	
	HOGGS	585	13.4%	510	87.2%	75	12.8%	0	0.0%	0	510	87.2%	(ii) 167 sterile ewes
	GIMMERS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0	0.0%	(iii) 15 lambs inc. of church tithe of T.B.
	YEARLINGS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0	0.0%	
	LAMBS	935	21.4%	846	90.5%	89	9.5%	100	10.7%	0	746	79.8%	
	TOTAL	**4,372**	**100.0%**	**4,095**	**93.7%**	**277**	**6.3%**	**417**	**9.5%**	**260**	**3,418**	**78.2%**	
EAGLE 30 SEPT 1311 - 29 SEPT 1312	WETHERS	564	33.6%	497	88.1%	67	11.9%	266	47.2%	*			* See notes below
	EWES	845	50.4%	617	73.0%	228	27.0%	146	17.3%	*			(i) additional 90 hoggs draughted
	HOGGS	38	2.3%	0	0.0%	38	100.0%	0	0.0%				(ii) additional 157 gimmers draughted
	GIMMERS							0	0.0%				
	YEARLINGS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%				(iii) 52 sterile ewes
	LAMBS	231	13.8%	139	60.2%	92	39.8%	0	0.0%				
	TOTAL	**1,678**	**100.0%**	**1,253**	**74.7%**	**425**	**25.3%**	**412**	**24.6%**				
ASLACKBY 30 SEPT 1311 - 16 JUNE 1312	WETHERS	47	16.4%	43	91.5%	4	8.5%	0	0.0%	2	41	87.2%	24 sheep moved to Eagle
	EWES	127	44.4%	124	97.6%	3	2.4%	18	14.2%	10	96	75.6%	
	HOGGS	112	39.2%	110	98.2%	2	1.8%	10	8.9%	12	88	78.6%	
	GIMMERS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0	0.0%	
	YEARLINGS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0	0.0%	
	LAMBS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0	0.0%	
	TOTAL	**286**	**100.0%**	**277**	**96.9%**	**9**	**3.1%**	**28**	**9.8%**	**24**	**225**	**78.7%**	

*** EAGLE:** Wethers - total of 564 includes 44 moved from Aslackby, 140 from Temple Bruer and 90 draughted hoggs of which 266 sent to Aslackby and 20 slaughtered for the larder in autumn.
Ewes - total of 845 ewes includes 111 moved from Aslackby, 100 from Temple Bruer and 157 draughted gimmers of which 101 sent to Aslackby and 10 slaughtered for the larder in autumn.
Hoggs and gimmers - are accounted together. The total of 38 does not include the 90 draughted hoggs or the 157 draughted gimmers so as not to count them twice. The grand total of hoggs and gimmers including draughted animals is 285.

THE LINCOLNSHIRE EX-TEMPLAR FLOCK BY PRECEPTORY AND ACCOUNT 1308 - 1313 **Appendix 17.**

PRECEPTORY	TYPE OF SHEEP	TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP	TOTAL NUMBER OF HEALTHY SHEEP	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP BY TYPE	NUMBER OF SHEEP WITH MURRAIN	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP BY TYPE	NUMBER OF SHEEP SOLD	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP BY TYPE	NUMBER OF SHEEP MOVED	NUMBER OF SHEEP FARMED OUT	% OF TOTAL NUMBER OS HEEP BY TYPE	N.B.
EAGLE 30 SEPT 1312 - 6 JUNE 1313	WETHERS	168	14.2%	155	92.3%	13	7.7%	69	41.1%		86	51.2%	(i) 18 sterile old ewes
	EWES	476	40.4%	402	84.5%	74	15.5%	105	22.1%		297	62.4%	
	HOGGS	306	26.0%	295	25.0%	11	3.6%	0	0.0%		295	96.4%	
	GIMMERS							0	0.0%				(ii) 40 small unwell gimmers not mated
	YEARLINGS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%		0	0.0%	
	LAMBS	229	19.4%	167	72.9%	62	27.1%	0	0.0%		167	72.9%	
	TOTAL	**1,179**	**100.0%**	**1,019**	**86.4%**	**160**	**13.6%**	**174**	**14.8%**		**845**	**71.7%**	
ASLACKBY 17 JUNE 1312 - 29 SEPT 1312	WETHERS	41	18.2%	35	85.4%	6	14.6%						
	EWES	96	42.7%	88	91.7%	8	8.3%						
	HOGGS	88	39.1%	79	89.8%	9	10.2%						
	GIMMERS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%						
	YEARLINGS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%						
	LAMBS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%						
	TOTAL	**225**	**100.0%**	**202**	**89.8%**	**23**	**10.2%**						
ASLACKBY 30 SEPT 1312 - 29 SEPT 1313	WETHERS	78	28.1%	66	84.6%	12	15.4%	0	0.0%				(i) 43 hoggs draughted
	EWES	124	44.6%	103	83.1%	21	16.9%	7	5.6%				
	HOGGS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%				
	GIMMERS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%				(ii) 36 gimmers draughted
	YEARLINGS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%				
	LAMBS	76	27.3%	76	100.0%	0	0.0%	76	100.0%				
	TOTAL	**278**	**100.0%**	**245**	**88.1%**	**33**	**11.9%**	**83**	**29.9%**				
ASLACKBY 30 SEPT 1313 - 8 DEC 1313	WETHERS	66	40.7%	66	100.0%	0	0.0%				66	100.0%	
	EWES	96	59.3%	92	95.8%	4	4.2%				92	95.8%	
	HOGGS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%				0	0.0%	
	GIMMERS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%				0	0.0%	
	YEARLINGS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%				0	0.0%	
	LAMBS	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%				0	0.0%	
	TOTAL	**162**	**100.0%**	**158**	**97.5%**	**4**	**2.5%**				**158**	**97.5%**	

The closing dates of the accounts are those on which the preceptories and estates were leased as follows:

Willoughton leased to Thomas de Burnham 30 July 1309.
Temple Bruer leased to Ebulo de Montibos 2 July 1312.
Eagle leased to David Graham 6 June 1313.
Aslackby leased to Thomas de Derby 8 December 1313.

LINCOLNSHIRE EX-TEMPLAR FLOCK AT MICHAELMAS 1308 SHOWING THE INCIDENCE OF MURRAIN AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE GRAND TOTAL **Appendix 18.**

TYPE OF SHEEP	TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP	% OF TOTAL NUMBER	NUMBER OF HEALTHY SHEEP	% OF TOTAL NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHEEP WITH MURRAIN	% OF TOTAL NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHEEP WITH MURRAIN BEFORE SHEARING	% OF TOTAL NUMBER	NUMBER OF SHEEP WITH MURRAIN AFTER SHEARING	% OF TOTAL NUMBER
WETHERS	2,549	20.5%	2,426	19.5%	123	1.0%	64	0.5%	59	0.5%
EWES	3,736	30.1%	3,463	27.9%	273	2.2%	162	1.3%	111	0.9%
HOGGS	2,001	16.1%	1,722	13.9%	279	2.2%	204	1.6%	75	0.6%
GIMMERS	449	3.6%	318	2.6%	131	1.1%	103	0.8%	28	0.2%
LAMBS	3,683	29.7%	3,156	25.4%	527	4.2%	527	4.2%	0	0.0%
GRAND TOTAL	**12,418**	**100.0%**	**11,085**	**89.3%**	**1,333**	**10.7%**	**1,060**	**8.5%**	**273**	**2.2%**

LINCOLNSHIRE EX-TEMPLAR FLOCK AT MICHAELMAS 1308 SHOWING THE INCIDENCE OF MURRAIN AS A PERCENTAGE OF SHEEP TYPE Appendix 19.										
TYPE OF SHEEP	TOTAL NUMBER OF SHEEP	% OF GRAND TOTAL	NUMBER OF HEALTHY SHEEP	HEALTHY SHEEP AS A % OF TOTAL	NUMBER OF SHEEP WITH MURRAIN	SHEEP WITH MURRAIN AS A % OF TOTAL	NUMBER OF SHEEP WITH MURRAIN BEFORE SHEARING	% OF SHEEP WITH MURRAIN BEFORE SHEARING	NUMBER OF SHEEP WITH MURRAIN AFTER SHEARING	% OF SHEEP WITH MURAIN AFTER SHEARING
WETHERS	2,549	20.5%	2,426	95.2%	123	4.8%	64	52.0%	59	48.0%
EWES	3,736	30.1%	3,463	92.7%	273	7.3%	162	59.3%	111	40.7%
HOGGS	2,001	16.1%	1,722	86.1%	279	13.9%	204	73.1%	75	26.9%
GIMMERS	449	3.6%	318	77.8%	131	29.2%	103	78.6%	28	21.4%
LAMBS	3,683	29.7%	3,156	85.7%	527	14.3%	527	100.0%	0	0.0%
GRAND TOTAL	**12,418**	**100.0%**	**11,085**	**89.3%**	**1,333**	**10.7%**	**1,060**	**79.5%**	**273**	**20.5%**

* Of the total flock, 1 1,333 sheep, 10.7% were affected by murrain
** Of those that were affected by murrain, 79.5% were affected before shearing
*** No lambs are listed as having murrain after shearing as they would not have been shorn in their first year

LINCOLNSHIRE EX-TEMPLAR FLOCK AT SPECIFIED TIMES IN 1309 BY PRECEPTORY. Appendix 20.											
PRECEPTORY	TYPE OF SHEEP	TOTAL NO OF SHEEP.	% OF TOTAL NO OF SHEEP.	NO OF HEALTHY SHEEP.	% OF TOTAL BY TYPE.	NO OF SHEEP WITH MURRAIN B. S.	% OF TOTAL BY TYPE	NO OF SHEEP WITH MURRAIN A. S.	NO OF TOTAL BY TYPE	TOTAL NO OF SHEEP WITH MURRAIN.	% OF TOTAL BY TYPE.
TEMPLE BRUER	Wethers	1,623	25.20%	1,561	96.20%	58	3.60%	4	0.20%	62	3.80%
29 Sept 1308-	Ewes	2,654	41.20%	2,534	95.50%	109	4.10%	11	0.40%	120	4.50%
26 July 1309	Hoggs	202	3.10%	115	56.90%	87	43.10%			87	43.10%
	Gimmers										
	Yearling lambs	816	12.60%	723	88.60%	52	6.40%	41	5.00%	93	11.40%
	Lambs	1,151	17.90%	1,007	87.50%					144	12.50%
	TOTAL	**6,446**	**100.00%**	**5,940**	**92.20%**	**306**	**4.70%**	**56**	**0.90%**	**506**	**7.80%**
WILLOUGHTON	Wethers	1,241	28.50%	1,099	88.60%	142	11.40%			142	11.40%
29 Sept 1308-	Ewes	1,617	37.10%	1,474	91.20%					143	8.80%
30 March 1309	Hoggs	46	1.00%	0	0.00%					46	100%
	Gimmers	65	1.50%	9	13.80%					56	86.20%
	Yearling lambs	628	14.40%	365	58.10%					263	41.90%
	Lambs	762	17.50%	612	80.30%					150	19.70%
	TOTAL	**4,359**	**100.00%**	**3,559**	**81.60%**	**142**	**3.25%**			**800**	**18.40%**
EAGLE	Wethers	80	5.1	80	100%						0.00%
29 Sept 1308-	Ewes	641	41.2	583	91%	52	8.10%	6	0.90%	58	9.00%
25 July 1309	Hoggs	30	1.9	20	66.70%	10	33.30%			10	33.30%
	Gimmers	10	0.6			10	100.00%			10	100%
	Yearling lambs	364	23.4	299	82.10%	60	16.50%	5	1.40%	65	17.90%
	Lambs	431	27.7	307	71.20%					124	28.80%
	TOTAL	**1,556**	**100.00%**	**1,289**	**83.10%**	**132**	**8.50%**	**11**	**0.70%**	**267**	**17.20%**
ASLACKBY	Wethers	173	38.30%	42	24.30%					131	75.70%
29 Sept 1308-	Ewes	193	42.70%	183	94.80%					10	5.20%
20 Feb. 1309	Hoggs	86	19.00%	86	100%						0.00%
	Gimmers										
	Yearling lambs										
	Lambs										
	TOTAL	**452**	**100.00%**	**311**	**68.90%**					**141**	**31.20%**
GRAND TOTAL		**12,813**	**100.00%**	**11,099**	**86.60%**	**580**	**4.50%**	**67**	**0.50%**	**1,714**	**13.40%**

Ewes, lambs, twins and fertility rates at Michaelmas 1308 by preceptory. Appendix 21.																		
PRECEPTORY.	**Total no of ewes.**	**No of ewes with murrain.**	**% of total no of ewes**	**No of healthy ewes.**	**% of total no of ewes.**	**No of sterile ewes.**	**% of total no ewes.**	**Total no of births.**	**% fertility rate.**	**No of lambs born.**	**No of twin births.**	**% of total no of births.**	**No of lambs with murrain.**	**% of no of lambs born.**	**No of lambs sold.**	**% of no of lambs born.**	**No of lambs remaining.**	**% of no of lambs born.**
TEMPLE BRUER.	2,011	107	5.30%	1,904	94.70%	489	24.70%	1,415	70.40%	1,543	128	9.00%	242	15.70%	460	29.80%	816	52.90%
WILLOUGHTON.	1,310	111	8.50%	1,199	91.50%	342*	26.10%	857	65.40%	1,068	211	24.60%	87	8.10%	183	17.1	618	57.90%
EAGLE.	600	33	5.50%	567	94.50%	68	11.30%	498	83.00%	532	34	6.80%	168	31.60%	0	0.00%	364	68.40%
ASLACKBY.	215**	22	10.20%	193	89.80%	32	21.20%	119	68.80%	140	21	17.60%	30	21.40%	24	17.10%	86	61.40%

* The 342 sterile ewes includes 22 which died whilst lambing.
** The 215 ewes includes 42 draughted gimmers which are not included in the fertility calculations.

Appendix 22.

Extant crown accounts of formerTemplar properties in Lincolnshire, 10 January 1308 - 8 December 1313.

TEMPLE BRUER	10 Jan.							29 Sept.									25 July.		Handed over to Thomas de Burnham
WILLOUGHTON	10 Jan.							29 Sept.				30 Mar.					William de Melton 30 July.		Handed over to Thomas de Burnham
EAGLE	10 Jan.							29 Sept.									25 July.		Handed over to Thomas de Burnham
ASLACKBY	10 Jan.							29 Sept.				20 Feb.			Handed over to William le Mareschal				
MONTH	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL
YEAR	1308												1309						

No accounts extant between 30th July 1309 and 29th September 1311
No accounts extant for Willoughton after 30th July 1309

TEMPLE BRUER	30 Sept.									2 July.			Handed over to Ebulo de Montibus																
EAGLE	30 Sept.											29 Sept.											6 June.					Handed over to David Graham		
ASLACKBY	30th Sept.							16 June.			H. o. t. William Marmyon 29 Sep.															29 Sept.			8 Dec.	*
MONTH	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC		
YEAR	1311			1312												1313													

* Handed over to Thomas de Derby.

Commutation of customary labour on the ex-Templar estates 1308-1313.		**Appendix 23.**	
PRECEPTORY/ Manor.	Number of days.	Total income.	Cost per day.
10 January 1308 - 28 September 1308.			
TEMPLE BRUER.	248	£2 11s. 4d.	2.9d.
Rowston.	52	5s. 5d.	1.25d.
Kirkby.			
Brauncewell.			
Cranwell.			
Welbourn.			
Wellingore.			
Carlton.			
Holme.			
South Witham.*	107	17s. 11d.	2.0d.
TOTAL/MEAN.	407	£3 14s. 8d.	2.35d.
WILLOUGHTON.			
Tealby.			
Claxby.			
Cabourne.			
Limber.			
Cawkwell.			
Goulceby.			
Upton.			
Gainsborough.			
Kettleby.			
Temple Belwood.			
Thorpe church.			
Keal.			
Saxby.			
Mere.	20	3s. 4d.	2.0d.
TOTAL/MEAN.	20	3s. 4d.	2.0d.
EAGLE.			
Woodh'se and Whisby.			
Bracebridge.			
ASLACKBY.			
Michaelmas 1308 - Feast of St James, 25 July 1309.			
TEMPLE BRUER.	18	1s. 6d.	1.0d.
South Witham.*		5s 10d	
Michaelmas, 29 September 1311 - 2 July 1312.			
Rowston.		5s. 0d.	
16 June 1312 - 28 September 1312.			
ASLACKBY.		4s. 5d.	
Michaelmas, 29 September 1312 - 28 September 1313.			
ASLACKBY.		4s. 0d.	

* Customary work at South Witham, Lobthorpe and Bytham.

Expenditure on weeding, mowing and haymaking, 10 January 1308 - 28 September 1308. Appendix 24.

PRECEPTORY/ Manor.	Grain acreage for weeding.	Total weeding cost.	Cost of weeding per acre.	Acreage of hay.	Total cost of mowing and haymaking.	Cost of mowing and hay per acre.	Total cost of weed., mow. and hay.
TEMPLE BRUER.	637.5	£1 12s. 6d.	0.6d.				£1 12s. 6d.
Rowston.	194.0	10s. 2.25d.	0.6d.	118.0	£1 19s. 8.75d.	4.0d.	£2 9s. 11d.
Kirkby.	106.0	5s. 7d.	0.6d.	50.0	18s. 5d.	4.4d.	£1 4s. 0d.
Brauncewell.	144.0	5s. 8d.	0.5d.				5s. 8d.
Cranwell.	121.0	6s. 2d.*	0.6d.				6s. 2d.
Welbourn.	72.0	4s. 0d.	0.7d.	22.5	13s. 4d.	7.1d.	17s. 4d.
Wellingore.	98.0	5s 8d	0.7d.	16.5	6s. 8d.	4.8d.	12s. 4d.
Carlton.							
Holme.		6s. 1d..**					6s. 1d.
South Witham.	272.5***	15s. 4d.	0.7d.	157.0	£3 7s. 11d.	5.2d.	£4 3s. 3d.
TOTAL/MEAN.	1,645.0	£4 11s. 2.25d.	0.6d.	364.0	£7 6s. 0.75d.	5.1d.	£11 17s. 3d.
WILLOUGHTON.	n/a			63.5			£2 19s. 8d.
Tealby.	n/a			33.0			£1 2s. 2d.
Claxby.	n/a			34.0			15s. 7d.
Cabourne.							
Limber.	n/a			26.0			11s. 4d.
Cawkwell.							
Goulceby.							
Upton.	n/a			15.0	6s. 0d.	4.8d.	6s. 0d.
Gainsborough.							
Kettleby.							
T. Belwood.							
Thorpe church.							
Keal.	n/a			21.0			£1 17s. 0d.
Saxby.	n/a			12.0			11s. 4d.*
Mere.	n/a	15s. 4d.		59.5	£3 10s. 2d.	14.2d.	£4 5s. 6d.**
TOTAL/MEAN.	n/a	15s. 4d.		264.0	£3 16s. 2d.	9.5d.	£12 13s. 7d.
EAGLE	n/a			120.0	£3 5s. 6d.	6.6d.	£3 5s. 6d.
W'h'se & W'sby.	n/a	11s. 9d.					11s. 9d.
Bracebridge.							
ASLACKBY.							

Where no figures are entered, none are recorded in the accounts.

n/a signifies that weeding is included in the total cost but no acreage is accounted

* The cost includes both that of weeding and of stacking grain.

**The cost includes that of weeding and the hire of two women to milk ewes.

*** Included is 122.5 acres of wheat listed in the following account to compensate for the lack of wheat for seed in the grange in the account ending Michaelmas 1308.

* Included is the cost of oats and salt for pottage.

** Included is the cost of salt for pottage and the price of an ell of canvas for the dairy.

Expenditure on threshing, winnowing and harvesting 10 January 1308 - 28 September 1308. Appendix 25.

PRECEPTORY/ Manor.	Crop threshed and winnowed in quarters.	Total expenditure	Cost per quarter.	Acreage of crops harvested.	Total expenditure.	Cost per acre.
TEMPLE BRUER.	642.0	£4 6s. 3d.	1.6d.	627.5	£13 7s. 7d.	5.1d.
Rowston.	161.0	£1 4s. 10d.	1.8d.	305.0	£6 11s. 4d.	5.2d.
Kirkby.	41.0	4s. 4d.	1.3d.	122.5	£3 16s. 4d.	7.5d.
Brauncewell.	60.5	7s. 10d.	1.4d.	144.0	£4 16s. 2d.	8.0d.
Cranwell.				121.0	£4 0s. 8d.	8.0d.
Welbourn.*	60.25	8s. 7d.	1.7d.	101.0	£3 6s. 7d.	7.9d.
Wellingore.**	59.5	7s. 1d.	1.4d.	98.0	£4 17s. 0d.	11.9d.
Carlton.						
Holme.				10.0	5s. 10d.	7.0d.
South Witham.***	183.0	£1 7s. 1d.	1.8d.	345.5	n/a	n/a
TOTAL/MEAN.	1,207.25	£8 6s. 0d.	1.6d.	1,874.5	£41 1s. 6d.	7.6d.****
WILLOUGHTON.	250.5	£2 8s. 7d.	2.3d.			
Tealby.*	28.0	5s. 2d.	2.2d.			
Claxby.*	28.0	5s. 8d.	2.4d.			
Cabourne.	16.0	1s. 11d.	1.4d.			
Limber.	54.5	7s. 1d.	1.6d.			
Cawkwell						
Goulceby.						
Upton.**	17.0	3s. 3d.	2.3d.			
Gainsborough.						
Kettleby.						
T. Belwood.						
Thorpe church.						
Keal.***	44.0	7s. 7d.	2.1d.			
Saxby.****	30.25	4s. 10d.	1.9d.			
Mere.	43.5	6s. 6d.	1.8d.			
TOTAL/MEAN.	511.75	£5 0s. 7d.	2.2d.			
EAGLE.	242.5	£1 16s. 7d.	1.8d.			
Woodh'se & W'by.	100.25	14s. 6d.	1.7d.			
Bracebridge.						
TOTAL/MEAN.	342.75	£2 11s. 1d.	1.75d.			
ASLACKBY.	217.0	£2 3s. 8d.	2.4d.			

*The price of reaping and mowing includes the hire of 2 carts and the wages of 62 men.

** This includes the cost of hiring carts to carry the grain.

***There is no account of the acreage harvested but 250 harvesters were employed and a harvest reeve. The acreage is that of the land in seed in 1308 added to the standing crop of wheat in 1309.

**** The mean is 5.9d. if Wellingore is discounted.

* There is no account of the harvest other than the 18 harvesters and a harvest reeve employed at Claxby and Tealby costing £1 3s. 0d.

** Although there is no account of harvested acreage , reference is made to food for harvesters.

*** 66 harvesters hired in autumn.

**** Expenses included food, drink and wages for 56 harvesters & harvest reeve @ £2 19s. 3d.

Pensioners' donations, pensions and conditions.

Temple Bruer.

Walter Ryvel of South Witham: to receive for life in the same house 3d. daily for his food, one mark yearly for other necessaries, and an old garment of the brethren at Christmas yearly, 2.d daily for the food of his groom, 5s. yearly for the stipend of his groom, who is to serve in the house; for one messuage and 24 acres of land and meadow in South Witham; and to give them at his death one mark.*

Walter de Thorp: clerk, to receive for life in the same house 3d. daily for his food and one mark yearly.*

Robert de Swinethorpe: to receive for life in the same house 3d. daily for his food and 60s. of yearly pension; for 120 marks that he gave to the Templars.*

Henry Jubel : to receive for life in the same house 2d. daily for his food.**

Robert de Carleton, of Cranwell: to receive yearly in the same house 3d. daily for food and 2d. for the food of his groom, one mark yearly for his robe and one mark yearly for shoeleather.*

Robert le Mareschal of Rowston: to receive for life in the same house 2d. daily for food, 10s. yearly for his robe, and 5s. yearly stipend, and to serve as a free servant in the house as long as he is able, and when he is no longer able, he is to receive only his food.*

William, son of Richard de Temple: to receive in the same house 2d. daily for food, 10s. yearly for his robe, 40d. yearly for his tunic, and 5s. yearly for other necessaries.*

Richard de Mohun: to receive food for life in the same house 2d. daily for food.**

Robert de Everwykshire: to receive for life in the above manor 2d. daily for his groom's food.*

Alice, daughter of Robert de Swinethorpe: to receive for life in that house seven white loaves, three esquires' loaves, five flagons of the better ale of the same house, and seven dishes of meat and fish to be received on Saturday for the following week, and an extra dish of meat or fish of the best course of the brethren at Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, Midsummer, the Assumption, and All Saints, and three stones of cheese yearly, and an old garment of the brothers at Christmas; in consideration of 20 marks that her father Robert de Swinethorpe gave to the Templars and for the release that he made them of 40s. yearly for a pension of 100s.*

Giles de Witham: to receive 2d. daily for his food, 10s. yearly for his robe, and 5s. yearly for his shoeleather, and he is to serve in some free service as long as he is able, and if he is unable, then he is to have only his food for life, and a moiety of his goods are to remain at his death to the said house.*

Adam le Dorturer: to receive food for life in the same house 2d. daily for food.**

Roger de Hegham: knight, to receive an annual pension of five marks.**

Robert de Gunwardeby: clerk, to receive an annual pension of five marks.****

William, son of Roger de Crescy, of Claypole: to receive for ever from the Templars' house of South Witham 10s. yearly rent; for a messuage, two carucates of land, and 20 acres in South Witham, which the Templars held of him by his service.*

Willoughton.

John de Wyntington: clerk, 3d. daily for his food and 20s. yearly for his robe and 20s. for other necessaries, and 2d. daily for his groom's food and 5s. yearly for the other necessaries of his groom in consideration of 16 acres of land at Thevylby, a messuage and three acres of land at Methyngby, which he gave to the above manor, and he is to give 20s. to the manor at his death.*

Peter de Bedford: to receive in the manor of Willoughton 2d. daily for his food, 5s. yearly for his robe, 5s. yearly for other necessaries, and he is to serve as long as he is able, and a moiety of his goods are to remain to the manor at his death.*

Walter de Cawkell: to receive for life 2d. daily for his food, 5s. yearly for his robe, and 5s. for his stipend, and he is to serve in the said manor for as long as he is able, and when no longer able he is to receive his food and 5s. for his stipend only.*

Eagle.

Robert de Gunwardeby: clerk, to receive for life in the manor of Eagle 3d. daily for food at the table of the brothers and 2d. daily for his groom's food at the table of the squires, in consideration of 20 marks and 13 ½ acres of land with the reversion of a dower and 7d. of yearly rent that he gave to the Templars in Stotton… to receive for life from the New Temple, London, a yearly pension of five marks and another pension of 2 ½ marks.***

Thomas de Wygesle: chaplain, to receive food for life at the table of the brothers 3d. daily and 20s. yearly for his other necessaries.**

Richard Nightingale: to receive food for life at the table of the sergeants 2d. daily and 10s. for his yearly stipend.**

Nigel de Northscarle: to receive food for life at the table of the squires and 10s. yearly for his other necessaries.**

Alan de Swaynton: to receive food for life at the table of the squires 2d. daily.**

Richard de Northscarle: to receive food for life at the table of the squires 2d. daily and 10s. yearly for his other necessaries.**

John, son and heir of Richard de Weston: to receive yearly from the manor of Eagle a yearly pension of five marks, in consideration of his release to the Templars of lands in Eagle that they had of the gift of Richard and Agnes his mother.*

Agnes, late wife of Richard de Weston: to receive yearly for life from that manor 10 quarters of whaet, 10 quarters of barley, and at Martinmas two oxen or 20s., four pigs or 12s., six sheep or 9s., five hundreds of faggots or 10s., at the same time and at Easter for necessaries of the

kitchen, five marks yearly for her robes; in consideration of 100 marks that she gave to the Templars and of a wood and 80 acres of land that her husband and she gave to them in Eagle.*

Aslackby.

Richard de Garway: to receive for life in the house of Aslackby 2d. daily for his food, and a robe yearly of the suit of the free servants, and 5s. yearly, and to serve in some free service for as long as he is able, etc.*

Robert de Thurgarton: chaplain, to receive for life 3d. daily for his food, and 20s. yearly for his necessaries, and to serve as chaplain, and a moiety of his goods to remain to the house at his death.*

*As entered in the Close Rolls 1312.

**As entered in the account of William de Spanneby 1308.

**There was a Robert de Gunwardeby recorded as a pensioner both at Temple Bruer and Eagle in 1308. Both entries were for a clerk, however, they differed in the degree of generosity of the provision and that the pension at Temple Bruer was awarded by Hugh de Perando and that at Eagle by Guy de Foresta. By 1311, there was only a Robert de Gunwardeby recorded in the account for Eagle.

Pensioners included in the accounts of William de Spanneby for Michaelmas 1308.

Pensioners (corrodiaries).	Masters who granted pensions.
Temple Bruer.	
Walter Ryvel.	William de la More.
Walter de Thorpe (priest).	William de la More.
Robert de Swinethorpe.	William de la More.
Henry Jubel.	Robert de Turville.
Robert le Mareschal.	Robert de Turville.
William (son of Richard de Temple).	Hugh de Perando.
Richard de Mohun.	William de la More.
Robert de Everwykshire.	William de la More.
Alice de (daughter of Robert de Swinethorpe).	William de la More.
Giles de Witham.	Brian de Jay.
Adam le Dorturer.	William de la More.
Roger de Hegham (knight).	William de la More.
Robert de Gunwardeby.	Hugh de Perando.
Willoughton.	
John de Wyntington.	William de la More.
Peter de Bedford.	Hugh de Perando.
Walter de Cawkwell.	William de la More.
Eagle.	
Robert de Gunwardeby.	Guy de Foresta.
Thomas de Wygesle.	William de la More.
Richard Nightingale.	Robert de Turville.
Nigel de Northscarle.	William de la More.
Alan de Swaynton.	Jaques de Molay.
Richard de Northscarle.	William de la More.
John de Weston.	William de la More.
Agnes (wife of Richard de Weston).	William de la More.
Aslackby.	
Radolph de Thurgarton.	Hugh de Perando.
Richard de Garway.	William de la More.

Pensioners surviving in 1312.

Temple Bruer, entries in the account dated Michaelmas 1311-2 July 1312.
William Revell.*
Robert de Swinethorpe.**
Robert de Everwykshire.*
Alice (daughter of Robert de Swinethorpe).**

Temple Bruer, additional entries in the *Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward II, volume 1,* 12 October, 1312 not included in the account above.
Walter de Thorp.
Robert de Carleton of Cranewell.
William (son of Richard de Temple).
Giles de Witham.
Robert le Mareschal.
William (son of Roger de Crescy of Claypole).

Willoughton, entries in the *Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward II,volume 1,* 8 March, 1312.
John de Whitenton.**
Peter de Beford.**
Walter de Cotewelle.**

Eagle, entries in the account dated Michaelmas 1311- 28 September 1312.
Robert de Gunwardeby.*
Thomas de Wygesle.
Alan de Swaynton.
Agnes (widow of Richard de Weston).*
John (son and heir of Richard de Weston).*

Aslackby, entries in the account dated Michaelmas 1311- 16 June 1312.
Radolph de Thurgarton.*
Richard de Garway.*

*Also included in the *Close Rolls, Edward II,* 8 March 1312.

* Also included in the *Close Rolls, Edward II, volume 1,* 12 and 14 October 1312.

** Spelt as printed but clearly the same three corrodiaries as included in the accounts of Michaelmas 1308 for Willoughton.

Templars imprisoned in Lincoln Castle and included in the accounts of William de Spanneby for Michaelmas 1308.

Preceptory (duration of service, reception).	Diocese of penance.
Temple Bruer.	
John de Eagle, preceptor (20, Eagle).	Salisbury.
Ranulph de Evesham, priest (4, Upleden).	Coventry and Lichfield.
Richard de Bistlesham (10, Willoughton).	Coventry and Lichfield.
Alexander de Halton (15, Cressing).	
Aslackby.	
John de Belsale, preceptor (3, Dinsley).	Worcester.
Richard de Newent (22, New Temple).	Salisbury.
Eagle.	
Simon Streche, knight, preceptor (8, London).	Lincoln.
John Waddon, priest (20, Dinsley).	Worcester.
Henry de la Volee (30, Dinsley).	
Robert de Bernwell, chaplain.	Lincoln.
Robert de Halton, died 29 December 1308.	
John de Saddlecombe.	Lincoln.
John du Vaal, died 15 July 1308.	
Geoffrey Joliffe, died 25 January 1308.	
Willoughton.	
John de Grafton, preceptor (3, Temple Bruer).	Coventry and Lichfield
John de Spaunton (4, Temple Cowton).	Norwich.
Henry le Mareschall, died?	

Templars included in the Calendar of Close Rolls entry of 16 July 1311 and doing penance in the Diocese of Lincoln.

To Roger de Wyngefeld. Order to pay, out of the issues of the Templars' lands in his custody to John, bishop of Lincoln for …Templars lately delivered to him …to place in certain monasteries to do penance, the wages for their maintenance from the day of St. Alban the Martyr last until the next parliament, to wit, 4d. each daily, as they were wont to receive previously, satisfying them also for arrears of the same due to them.

Templars (duration of service, reception).	Home preceptory.	Place of penance ***
Simon Strech.	Eagle (Lincoln).	St Katherine's, Lincoln.
John de Stok.	New Temple (London).	Peterborough.
William de la Forde.	Denny (Cambs).	Ramsey.
William Raven.	Denny (Cambs).	Croyland.
Thomas Chaumberlain.	Upleden (Hereford).	Spalding.
Hugh de Tadecastre.	Denny (Cambs).	Sempringham.
William de Sautre.	Sandford (Oxon).	Ormesby.
William de Burton.	Temple Combe (Som.).	Barlings.
Roger le Norreys.	Cressing (Essex).	Croxton.
Thomas Ludham (11 days, Ewell).*	New Temple (London).	St. Albans.
William de Cheleseye (5, Sandford).*	Sandford (Oxon).	Kirkstead.
Alan de Neusom (6, Ewell).*	Shipley (Sussex).	Revesby.
John de Sadelescumbe.*	Eagle (Lincoln).	Swineshead.
William de Bernewell.*	Eagle (Lincoln).	Wardon.
William de Hedingdon.**		Woburn.
Peter de Otterrringham, Master's attorney (5, Wilbraham).*	New Temple (Lond).	Leicester.
William de Pokelington (3, Ribston).*	Garway (Hereford).	St. Andrew's, Northants.
William de Thorp (6 or 7, Foulbridge).**	Denny (Cambs).	Thornton.

Name spellings are as in the Calendar Rolls.
*Not included in the account of William de Spanneby for Temple Bruer.
* This may be William de Egendon, preceptor of Shipley (14, Dinsley).
** William de Thorpe was once keeper of Wilbraham (Cambs).
*** Places of penance from C. Clubley, 'John de Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln 1300-1320' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Hull, 1965), 165.

Templars included in the account of Temple Bruer, Michaelmas 1311 - 2 July 1312, and doing penance in the Diocese of Lincoln.

Templars (duration of service, reception).	Home preceptory.
Simon Streche, knight, preceptor (8, London).	Eagle (Lincoln).
John de Stoke, priest, Treasurer (17, Balsall).	New Temple (London).
William de la Ford, preceptor 40, Dinsley).	Denny (Cambs).
William Raven (5, Temple Combe).	Denny (Cambs).
Thomas Chamberlain (6, Faxfleet).	Upleden (Hereford).
Hugh de Tadcaster (Faxfleet).	Denny (Cambs).
William de Sautre preceptor (24-5, Dinsley).	Sandford (Oxon).
William de Bourton preceptor (4, Balsall).	Temple Combe (Somerset).
Roger de Nerrys preceptor (16, Dinsley).	Cressing (Essex).

Templars included in the Calendar of Close Rolls entries of 13 February 1313 and doing penance in the Diocese of Lincoln.

To William de Spanneby, keeper of certain of the Templars' lands in co. Lincoln. Order to pay to John, bishop of Lincoln, the wages assigned for the maintenance of -
Simon Strech.
John de Stok.
William de la Forde.
William Raven.
Thomas Chaumberleyn.
Hugh de Tadecastre.
William de Sautre.
William de Burton.
Roger Noreis - *assigned to him to place in certain monasteries to do penance, to wit 4d. each daily from the time of his appointment as keeper, and to continue to pay the same.*
The like to Robert de Luthteburgh, keeper of certain of the Templars' lands in the same county to pay the said bishop the like wages for –
Thomas de Ludham.
William de Cheleseie.
Alan de Neusom.
John de Sadelescoumbe.
William de Bernewell.
William de Hedington.
Peter de Otryngham.
William de Pokelynton.
William de Thorp. – *Templars assigned to him as above.*

Name spellings as in the Calendar Rolls.
From *Calendar Rolls*, *TNA*, *E358/18* and after E. Gooder, *Temple Balsall,* (Chichester, 1995), appendix xi.

Templars who appeared before the Bishop of Lincoln, John de Dalderby, between 1 October 1319 and 10 December 1319 and their choices of religious houses in which to live.

1 October 1319: William de Thorpe (Thorp), former Templar, Thornton Abbey, Lincs.
William de Sawtry (Sautre), acolyte, Bicester Abbey, Oxon.
William de Burton (Bourton), acolyte, Barlings Abbey, Lincs.
Richard de Bisham (Bistlesham), layman, Ramsey Abbey, Cambs.
Alan de Newsom (Neusom), layman, Revesby Abbey, Lincs.
Roger de Hughenden (Hugendon), layman, to the Hospitallers.
Thomas de Chamberlain (Chaumberleyn), layman, to the Hospitallers.

6 November 1319: Thomas de Standon (Staunden), layman and former Templar, Burton Lazars, Leics.
16 November 1319: Walter de Gaddesby, layman and former Templar, Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester.
19 November 1319: John de Cobham, layman and former Templar, Sempringham Priory, Lincs.
7 December 1319: Sir Simon Strech (Streithe), knight and former Templar, Spalding Priory, Lincs.
10 December 1319: William de Chelsea (Chelseye), layman and former Templar, Kirkstead Abbey, Lincs.

The Book of the Memoranda of John de Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln, 1300-1320, f425, 980; f427v, 986-7; f428, 987; f428v,989; f429, 990-1; f430v, 994.

Surviving Templars in 1338.

Henricus de Rouclyf.
Thomas Strech.
Johannes Coffyn.
Willelmus de Chelse.
Willelmus de Burton.
Willelmus de Craucombe.
Walterus de Gadesby.
Thomas de Staundon.
Thomas Totti.
Walterus de Rouche.
Rogerus de Sowe.
Alanus de Neusom.

as listed in L. B. Larking and J. M. Kemble, *The Knights Hospitallers in England: Being the Report of Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova, for A. D. 1338.* (1857), 209.

Expenditure on pensioners and prisoners as a percentage of total expenditure and total receipts. **Appendix 29.**

Preceptory	No of pensioners	Expenditure on pensioners	Total expenditure	% of total expenditure	Total receipts	% of total receipts	No of prisoners	Expenditure on prisoners	% of total expenditure	% of total receipts	Sum of expenditure on pensioners and prisoners	% of total expenditure	% of total receipts
10 January 1308 - 28 September 1308.													
Temple Bruer*	13	£37 14s. 7d.	£127 16s. 2d.	29.5	£181 9s. 1d.	20.7	4	£17 19s. 4d.	14.1	9.9	£55 13s. 11d.	43.6	30.7
Willoughton	3	£10 15s. 5d.	£75 3s. 0d.	14.3	£175 6s. 9d.	6.1	3	£13 2s. 0d.	17.4	7.5	£23 17s. 5d.	31.8	13.6
Eagle	8	£19 9s. 7d.	£87 9s. 11d.	22.3	£68 12s. 10d.	28.4	8	£30 16s. 4d.	35.2	44.9	£50 5s. 11d.	57.5	73.3
Aslackby	2	£6 6s. 3d.	£42 16s. 7d.	14.7	£51 5s. 10d.	12.3	2	£8 14s. 8d.	20.4	17	£15 0s. 11d.	35.1	29.3
Michaelmas, 29 September 1308 - 29 March 1309.													
Temple Bruer**	12	£48 12s. 5d.	£137 9s. 9d.	35.4	£315 8s. 8d.	15.4	4	£19 17s. 4d.	14.1	6.1	£68 9s. 9d.	49.8	21.7
Willoughton***	3	£9 11s. 11d.	£43 16s. 11d.	21.9	£140 15s. 1d.	6.8	3	£14 14s. 0d.	33.5	10.4	£24 5s. 11d.	55.4	17.3
Michaelmas, 29 September 1308 - Feast of St James, 25 July 1309.													
Eagle	9	£28 4s. 6d.	£83 7s. 7d.	33.6	£144 8s. 10d.	19.5	7	£31 6s. 4d.	37.6	21.7	£59 10s. 10d.	71.4	41.2
Michaelmas, 29 September 1308 - 20 February 1309.													
Aslackby	2	£5 6s. 3d.	£27 7s. 0d.	19.4	£91 7s. 7d.	5.8	2	£8 14s. 8d.	31.9	9.6	£14 0s. 11d.	51.4	15.4
Easter, 20 March 1309 - 30 July 1309.													
Willoughton*	3	£3 10s. 9d.	£20 1s. 3d.	17.6	£10 4s. 8d.	34.6	0	0	0	0	£3 10s. 9d.	17.6	34.6
Michaelmas, 29 September 1311 - 2 July 1312.													
T. Bruer **	10	£36 10s. 4d.	£116 10s. 2d.	16	£228 5s. 7d.	8.1	9	£41 8s. 0d.	35.5	18.1	£77 18s. 4d.	66.9	34.1
Michaelmas, 29 September 1311 - 28 September 1312.													
Eagle	5	£26 10s. 4d.	£64 11s. 6d.	41.1	£151 9s. 10d.	17.5	0	0	0	0	£26 10s. 4d.	41.1	17.5
Michaelmas, 29 September 1311 - 15 June 1312.													
Aslackby	2	£6 0s.10d.	£15 18s. 4d.	38	£66 7s. 5d.	9.1	0	0	0	0	£6 0s. 10d.	38	9.1
16 June 1312 - 28 September 1312.													
Aslackby	0	0	£18 11s. 10d.	0	£20 13s. 7d.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Michaelmas, 29 September 1312 - 6 June 1313.													
Eagle	4	£14 13s. 6d.	£33 3s. 0d.	44.3	£80 17s. 10d.	18.1	0	0	0	0	£14 13s. 6d.	44.3	18.1
Michaelmas, 29 September 1312 - 28 September 1313.													
Aslackby	0	0	£28 8s. 5d.	0	£100 14s. 7d.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Michaelmas, 29 September 1313 - 8 December 1313.													
Aslackby***	0	0	£2 0s. 0d.	0	£21 5s. 3d.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

* Alice de Swinethorpe, daughter of Robert de Swinethorpe is probably underaccounted and Walter de Thorpe recorded twice, in which case, the overall expenditure on pensioners is approximately correct.

** Robert de Swinethorpe is not accounted as a pensioner which must be an omission as he occurs in a later account. The total includes the four pensioners enrolled in the accounts of William de Spanneby and a further six listed in the close rolls (appendix 27).

*** Both the total expenditure and the total receipts have been amended as the original totals are incorrect.

* As above. In particular, the sum of expenses was accounted as £8 17s. 0d.. There were negligible sales from Willoughton and no income from member manors but their expenses were costed at Willoughton.

** Robert de Swinethorpe is accounted as a pensioner and so was clearly alive in 1309. The total includes the four pensioners enrolled by William de Spanneby and a further six enlisted in the close rolls (appendix 27).

*** Total sum owed £93 13s. 1d. which included £74 6s. 10d. outstanding from the previous two years. In addition, payments had no been made to the pensioners Robert de Thurgarton and Richard de Garway nor had payments been made to the prior of Belvoir.

Summary of accounts of the former Templar lands in Lincolnshire 1308-1309. **Appendix 30.**

PRECEPTORY/ Manor.	10 January 1308 - 28 September 1308.			29 September 1308 - 30 March 1309.			Difference.	
	Receipts.	Expenses.	Balance.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Balance.	Receipts.	Expenses.
TEMPLE BRUER.	181 9 1	127 16 2	53 12 11	315 8 8	137 9 9	177 18 6	133 19 7	9 3 7
Rowston.	14 0 1	18 18 9	4 0 8	17 15 7	9 15 6	8 0 1	3 15 6	9 3 3
Kirkby.	8 2	6 12 1	6 3 11	6 8 9	3 6 0	3 2 9	6 0 7	3 6 1
Brauncewell.	2 6 1	7 19 2	5 13 1	6 0 0	N/A.	N/A.	3 13 11	N/A.
Cranwell.	3 17 1	4 9 8	12 7	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.
Welbourn.	4 4 5	5 4 10	1 0 5	3 7 6	2 5 2	1 2 3	16 11	2 19 8
Wellingore.	2 1 6	13 4 5	11 2 11	6 6 0	N/A.	N/A.	4 4 6	N/A.
Carlton.	2 9 3	N/A.	N/A.	6 12 6	N/A.	N/A.	4 3 3	N/A.
Holme.	5 4 11	15 11	4 9 0	3 1 5	2 5	2 19 0	2 3 6	13 6
Donington church.	17 6	N/A.	N/A.	37 1 4	10 0	36 11 4	36 3 10	N/A.
South Witham and moiety.	58 2 7	26 12 7	31 10 0	33 7 8	3 8 11	30 8 8	N/A.	N/A.
S. With'm,Thistleton, Stretton ch.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	23 6 9	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.
WILLOUGHTON.	175 6 9	75 3 0	100 3 8	138 5 1	54 11 9	83 13 3	37 1 8	20 11 3
Tealby.	4 8 1	9 12 2	5 4 1	4 8 8	3 15 7	13 0	7	5 16 7
Claxby.	2 2 7	5 1 4	2 18 9	4 13 6	17 4	3 16 2	2 10 11	4 4 0
Limber.	7 1 1	3 19 6	3 1 6	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.
Cabourne	1 19 0	1 7 3	6 8	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.
Cawkwell.	10 15 10	N/A.	N/A.	4 4	N/A.	N/A.	10 11 6	N/A.
Goulceby.	7 6 8	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.
Kettleby.	7 9 3	N/A.	N/A.	12 0 0	N/A.	N/A.	4 10 9	N/A.
Temple Belwood.	2 0 0	N/A.	N/A.	6 16 0	N/A.	N/A.	4 16 0	N/A.
Upton.	7 3	4 18 4	4 11 1	4 0 0	N/A.	N/A.	3 12 9	N/A.
Saxby.	8 0	6 13 7	6 5 7	14 13 9	1 9 6	13 12 2	14 5 9	5 4 1
Mere.	2 16 3	21 1 7	18 0 3	28 9 10	3 16 0	25 3 9	25 13 7	17 5 7
Keal.	4 15 11	8 8 8	3 12 8	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.
Thorpe church.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	5 0 0	7 6	4 12 6	N/A.	N/A.
Thorpe manor.	1 0 0	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.
Gainsborough and church.	26 4 8	2 3 10	24 3 10	33 10 2	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.
EAGLE.	68 12 10	87 9 11	18 17 1	144 8 10	83 7 7	61 1 2	75 16 0	4 2 4
Woodhouse.	w. Whisby.	w. Whisby.	w. Whisby.	12 10 7	6 7 5	6 3 1	w. Whisby.	w. Whisby.
Whisby.	2 5 3	10 12 2	8 6 11	2 14 7	1 0 4	1 14 2	12 19 11	3 5 4
Bracebridge.	5 12 8	1 13 4	3 9 4	4 19 0	16 8	4 2 4	13 8	1 3 4
ASLACKBY and church.	51 5 10	42 16 7	8 9 3	90 17 7	27 7 0	63 10 0	39 11 9	15 9 7

Red indicates that there is either a deficit or that there is a reduction in the account ending 30 March 1309 compared with that ending 28 September 1308.

Rent as a percentage of total expenditure 1308 - 1313.

10 JANUARY 1308 – 28 SEPTEMBER. 1308.

TEMPLE BRUER ESTATE.

Kirkby.

Rent resolute to Edmund Deyncourt for lands in Scopwick, Blankney, Metheringham, Dunston, Marton, Timberland and Billinghay until Michaelmas 1308.		9s. 4d.
Sum of expenses.	£6	2s. 1d.
Rent resolute as a percentage of expenses.		**7.6%**

Welbourn.

Rent resolute to Isabel de Vesci until Michaelmas 1308.		3s. 1d.
Sum of expenses.	£5	4s. 10d.
Rent resolute as a percentage of expenses.		**2.9%**

South Witham and a moiety of the church.

Rent resolute to William de Crescy of Claypole for arable land and tenancies until Michaelmas 1308.		6s. 8d.
Loss of 1 messuage in Stamford held by William Cobbler.		4s. 0d.
Sum.		10s. 8d.
Sum of expenses.	£26	12s. 7d.
Rent resolute and loss of rent as a percentage of expenses.		**2.0%**

WILLOUGHTON ESTATE.

Limber.

Rent resolute for tenancies in Limber until Michaelmas 1308.		13s. 0d.
Sum of expenses.	£3	19s. 6d.
Rent resolute as a percentage of expenses.		**16.3%**

EAGLE ESTATE.

Eagle with church.

Rent resolute to Baldwin Pycot for Bassingham Park until Michaelmas 1308.		6s. 0d.
Rent to the Priory of Wilsford for 4 bovates of land at Scarle.		10s. 0d.
Rent to Alexander of Whisby for 1 bovate of arable and adjacent pasture.		6s. 9d.
Sum.	£1	2s. 9d.
Sum of expenses including Templar prisoners and corrodiaries.	£87	9s. 11d.
Rent as a percentage of expenses including above.		**1.3%**
Sum of expenses excluding Templar prisoners and corrodiaries.	£34	7s. 4d.
Rent as a percentage of expenses excluding above.		**3.3%**

Bracebridge.

Payment made to the Hospital of Holy Innocents without Lincoln from the income of the mills granted by Ranulph, Earl of Chester.	£1	13s.	4d.
Rent to the Priory of St Catherine outside Lincoln for land and tenancies in Bracebridge.			
Sum.	£1	13s.	4d.
Sum of expenses.	£1	13s.	4d.
Rent as a percentage of expenses.		**100%**	

ASLACKBY ESTATE.

Aslackby.

Rent resolute to Robert de Clifford for land and tenancies at Dunsby until the Feast of St Laurence, 10 August 1308.		1s.	6d.
Customary annual payment to the Priory of Sempringham.	£1	0s.	0d.
Payment to William de Hateyn for tenancies held of William le Staunge for fixed rent this year.		16s.	0d.
Payment to William Hateyn for tenancies in Hawthorpe to Easter.			1d.
Payment to the Priory of Sempringham for tenancies in Aslackby.			4d.
Payment to the Priory of Belvoir of sheaf tithes of the manor of Aslackby which the prior and convent granted to the Knights Templar for 2 marks, 1 mark paid annually at Michaelmas.	£1	6s.	8d.
Sum.	£3	4s.	7d.
Sum of expenses including Templar prisoners and corrodiaries.	£42	16s.	7d.
Rent as a percentage of expenses including above.		**7.5%**	
Sum of expenses excluding Templar prisoners and corrodiaries.	£21	3s.	11d.
Rent as a percentage of expenses excluding above.		**15.2%**	

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 – 29 MARCH 1309.

TEMPLE BRUER ESTATE.

Kirkby.

Rent resolute to Edmund Deyncourt for lands in Kirkby and Scopwick until Easter 1309.		4s.	8d.
Sum of expenses.	£3	6s.	0d.
Rent resolute as a percentage of expenses.		**7.1%**	

Welbourn.

Rent resolute to Isabel de Vesci until Easter 1309.		1s.	6d.
Sum of expenses.	£2	5s.	2d.
Rent resolute as a percentage of expenses.		**3.3%**	

South Witham and a moiety of the church.

Rent resolute to William de Crescy for land and tenancies.		3s.	4d.
Rent to Thomas de St Laud for tenancies at Witham and Lobthorpe.		3s.	4d.
Sum		6s.	8d.
Sum of expenses.	£3	8s.	11d.
Rent as a percentage of expenses.		**9.7%**	

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1308 – 25 JULY 1309.

EAGLE ESTATE.

Eagle with church.

Rent resolute to Baldwin Pycot for Bassingham Park until 25 July 1309.		3s.	0d.
Rent to Alexander de Whisby for 1 bovate of land and 4 acres of pasture.		6s.	9d.
Sum.		9s.	9d.
Sum of expenses including Templar prisoners and corrodiaries.	£83	7s.	7d.
Rent as a percentage of expenses including above.		**0.6%**	
Sum of expenses excluding Templar prisoners and corrodiaries.	£26	7s.	8d.
Rent as a percentage of expenses excluding above.		**1.8%**	

Bracebridge.

Part payment of £1 13s. 4d. to the brothers and sisters of the Hospital of the Holy Innocents from the income of mills.		16s.	8d.
Sum of expenses.		16s.	8d.
Payment as a percentage of expenses.		**100%**	

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 – 28 SEPTEMBER 1312.

TEMPLE BRUER ESTATE.

Kirkby.

Rent resolute to Edmund Deyncourt for holdings in feoff at Kirkby.		9s.	2d.
Sum of expenses.	£2	8s.	11d.
Rent as a percentage of expenses.		**18.7%**	

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 – 28 SEPTEMBER 1312.

EAGLE ESTATE.

Eagle.

Rent resolute to Baldwin Pycot for Bassingham Park.		6s.	0d.
Rent to the Priory of Wilsford for 4 bovates of land at Scarle.	£1	0s.	0d.
Sum.	£1	6s.	0d.
Sum of expenses including corrodiaries.	£64	11s.	6d.
Rent as a percentage of expenses including above.		**2.0%**	
Sum of expenses excluding corrodiaries.	£32	2s.	5d.
Rent as a percentage of expenses excluding above.		**4.0%**	

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1311 – 16 JUNE 1312.

ASLACKBY ESTATE.

Aslackby.

Rent resolute to the Priory of Belvoir of sheaf tithes and small tithes of Aslackby manor, £1 6s. 8d. annually, 13s. 4d. to Easter.		13s.	4d.
Sum of expenses including corrodiaries.	£15	8s.	4d.
Rent as a percentage of expenses including above.		**4.3%**	
Sum of expenses excluding corrodiaries.	£9	17s.	5d.
Rent as a percentage of expenses excluding above.		**6.8%**	

MICHAELMAS, 29 SEPTEMBER 1312 – 6 JUNE 1313.

EAGLE ESTATE.

Eagle.

Rent resolute to Baldwin Pycot for Bassingham Park, held until Easter.		3s.	0d.
Rent to the Priory of Wilsford for 4 bovates of arable land at Scarle.		10s.	0d.
Sum.		13s.	0d.
Sum of expenses including corrodiaries.	£33	3s.	0d.
Rent as a percentage of expenses including above.		**2.0%**	
Sum of expenses excluding corrodiaries.	£18	9s.	4d.
Rent as a percentage of expenses excluding above.		**3.5%**	

Bracebridge.

Payment to the Priory of St Catherines for annual rent of the mill at Bracebridge including regnal years 5 and 6.	£1	0s.	0d.
Sum of expenses.	£31	0s.	0d.
Rent as a percentage of expenses.		**100%**	

Income and expenditure on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire in 1338. Appendix 32.					
Commandery, Member, Vill**.**	**Gross income.**	**Expenditure.**	**Percentage of gross income.**	**Net. Income.**	**Percentage of gross income.**
Willoughton.	£57 4s. 2d.				
Gainsborough.	£36 19s. 0d.				
Goulceby.	£18 4s. 0d.				
Cawkwell.	£15 18s. 11d.				
Thorpe in the Fallows.	£29 12s. 11d.				
Ingham.	£2 15s. 6d.				
Cabourne.	£11 6s. 2d.				
Limber.	£17 9s. 7d.				
Saxby.	£6 6s. 8d.				
Mere.	£10 4s. 8d.				
Waddington.	£10 12s. 9d.				
East Keal.	£10 7s. 6d.				
Claxby.	£5 0s. 0d.				
Tealby.	£26 6s. 8d.				
Walcot.	£15 6s. 8d.				
Upton (rent free).					
Kettleby (rent free).					
Temple Belwood (rent free).					
Bottesford (rent free camera).					
Horkstow (rent free camera).					
Hareby(rent free).					
TOTAL.*	**£273 15s. 6d.**	**£82 10s. 10d.**	**30.1**	**£191 4s. 10d.**	**69.9**
Temple Bruer.	£131 7s. 8d.				
Rowston.	£22 15s. 0d.				
North Kirkby**	£24 5s. 0d.				
South Witham.	£26 13s. 4d.				
TOTAL.*	**£205 1s. 0d.**	**£84 0s. 2d.**	**41**	**£121 0s. 10d.**	**59**
Eagle.	**£122 11s. 10d.**	**£55 18s. 4d.**	**45.6**	**£66 13s. 6d.**	**54.4**
Aslackby.	**£40 0s. 0d.**			**£40 0s. 0d.**	**100**
Donington church.	£10 0s. 0d.			£10 0s. 0d.	100
GRAND TOTAL.	**£651 8s. 4d.**	**£222 9s. 4d**	**34.1**	**£428 19s. 0d.**	**65.9**

* The totals are as cited in the Report which do not quite correspond with the addition of the constituents. The corrected totals are gross income of £289 5s. 6d. for the Willoughton estate and £205 1s. 0d. for Temple Bruer.

** Including the pensions of the churches of *Botilbrig* g, Normanton and Rauceby, valued at £6 13s. 4d.

Appendix 33.
Templar holdings in Lincolnshire in 1308 and Hospitaller holdings in 1338.

Places where the Templars held property in 1308.	Ex-Templar property held by the Hospitallers in 1338.	Additional property held by the Hospitallers in 1338 by commandery.
Willoughton.	**Willoughton.**	**Willoughton.**
Walcot.	Walcot.	Yawthorpe.
Tealby.	Tealby.	Ingham.
Claxby.	Claxby.	Grimsby.
Cabourne.	Cabourne.	Stallingborough.
Limber.	Limber.	Lincoln.
Cawkwell.	Cawkwell.	Waddington.
Goulceby.	Goulceby.	Bottesford (camera).
Upton.	Upton.	Horkstow (camera).
Gainsborough.	Gainsborough.	
Kettleby.	Kettleby.	
Temple Belwood.	Temple Belwood.	
Thorpe in the Fallows.	Thorpe in the Fallows.	
East Keal.	East Keal.	
Saxby.	Saxby.	
Mere.	Mere.	
Hareby.	Hareby.	
Dunstal.		
Blyborough.		
Temple Bruer.	**Temple Bruer.**	**Temple Bruer.**
Rowston.	Rowston.	Botolph's Bridge.
Kirkby.	North Kirkby.	
Scopwick.*		
Blankney.*		
Metheringham.*		
Dunston.*		
Marton.*		
Timberland.*		
Billinghay.*		
Brauncewell.	Brauncewell.	
Cranwell.	Cranwell.	
Welbourn.		
Wellingore.	Wellingore.	
Carlton le Moorland.		
Holme.		
South Witham.	South Witham.	
Woolsthorpe.		
Lobthorpe.	Lobthorpe.	
Bytham.		
Leadenham.		
Navenby.		
Heriherdeby.		
Caythorpe.	Caythorpe.	
Rauceby.	Rauceby.	
Normanton.	Normanton.	
Ashby.	Ashby.	
Caldecote.	Caldecote.	
Donington.	Donington.	
Eagle.	**Eagle.**	**Eagle.**
North Scarle.		Sibthorpe.
Swinderby.**	Swinderby.	
Bassingham.***		
Stapleford.		
Beckingham.		
Woodhouse.	Woodhouse.	
Whisby.	Whisby.	
Morton.		
Bracebridge.		
Aslackby.	**Aslackby.**	
Dunsby.		
Hawthorpe.		

* Rented from Edmund Deyncourt.
** Rented from the Priory of Wilsford.
*** Rented from Baldewyn Pycod.

Former Templar property which was listed in the Report of Philip de Thame as not being in the hands of the Hospitallers in 1338. Appendix 34.				
Location.	**Property.**	**County.**	**Occupier.**	**Value.**
Strood.	manor/former preceptory.	Kent.	Countess of Pembroke.	£50
Denney.	manor/former preceptory.	Cambridgeshire.	Countess of Pembroke.	£66 13s. 4d.
Temple Hurst	manor/former preceptory.	Yorkshire.	Countess of Pembroke.	£120
Temple Newsam.	manor/former preceptory.	Yorkshire.	Countess of Pembroke.	included with T. Hurst.
Faxfleet.	manor/former preceptory.	Yorkshire.	Sir Ralph Neville.	£100
Cave.	manor.	Yorkshire.	Sir Ralph Neville.	included with Faxfleet.
York.	watermills.	Yorkshire.	Edward III.	£7 6s. 8d.
Carlton le Moorland.	manor.	Lincolnshire.	Hugh Despenser the Younger	£7 6s. 8d.
Normanton	manor.	Yorkshire.	Lord Roos.	£10
Lydley.	manor/former preceptory with members.	Shropshire.	Earl of Arundel.	£66 13s. 4d.
Penkerne.	manor.	Glamorgan.	Earl of Gloucester.	£20
Temple Guiting.	manor/former preceptory.	Gloucestershire.	Pancio de Controno.	£133 6s. 8d.
Bradewell.	manor.	Oxfordshire.	Pancio de Controno.	included with T. Guiting.
Bisham.	manor/former preceptory.	Berkshire.	Earl of Salisbury.	£66 13s. 4d.
Bulstrode.	manor/former preceptory.	Buckinghamshire.	Abbess of Burnham.	£50
Saddlescombe.	manor/former preceptory.	Sussex.	Earl of Warenne.	£66 13s. 4d.
TOTAL				**£764 13s 4d.**
TOTAL VALUE OF ALL PROPERTY IN THE HANDS OF THE HOSPITALLERS IN 1338.				**£6,839 9s. 9d.**

Data from L. B. Larking ed. *The Knights Hospitallers in England:being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova, for 1338* , Camden Society, 65 (1857), pp. 212-213, with reference to S. Phillips, 'The Hospitallers' Acquisition of the Templar Lands in England', in J. Burgtorf, P. F. Crawford and H. J. Nicholson eds., *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307-1314)* , (Farnham, 2010), pp. 238-239.

Land acreage in demesne on the former Templar estates in Lincolnshire in 1338. **Appendix 35.**

Commandery, Member, Vill.	**Arable acreage.**	**Value per acre.**	**Total value.**	**Meadow acreage.**	**Value per acre.**	**Total value.**	**Pasture acreage.**	**Value per acre.**	**Total value.**	**Total acreage.**	**Total value.**
Willoughton.	500	8d.	£16 13s. 4d.							500	£16 13s. 4d.
Blyborough & Yawthorpe.	28 + 2 tofts.		£1 0s. 8d.							36	£1 10s. 8d.
Gainsborough.	80	1s. 0d.	£4 0s. 0d.	13	2s. 0d.	£1 6s. 0d.				93	£5 6s. 0d.
Goulceby.	59 + 1 croft.			3						82	
Cawkwell.	200 + 3 crofts.			22			unspec. acreage.			282	
Thorpe in the Fallows.	160	1s. 0d.	£8 0s. 0d.	29	2s. 0d.	£2 18s. 0d.	12	4d.	4s. 0d.	201	£11 2s. 0d
Ingham.	1 croft			1			1			22	
Cabourne.	240 + 1 croft.	4d.	£4 7s. 0d.	2	1s. 0d.	2s. 0d.				262	£4 9s. 0d.
Limber.	300	4d.	£5 0s. 0d.	3 freshwater.	2s. 0d.	6s. 0d.				303	£5 6s. 0d.
Stallingborough				10 saltwater.	8d.	6s. 8d.				10	6s. 8d.
Saxby.	224	6d.	£5 12s. 0d.	6	1s. 11d.	11s. 6d.	unspec. acreage.			230	£6 3s. 6d.
Mere.	700	2d.	£5 6s. 8d.	12	1s. 6d.	18s. 0d.				712	£6 14s. 8d.
				60 marsh meadow.	6d.	£1 10s. 0d.				60	£1 10s. 0d.
Waddington.	120	4.3d.	£2 3s. 0d.	22	10d.	18s. 4d.	30	4d.	10s. 0d.	172	£3 11s. 4d.
East Keal.	80.5	1s. 0d.	£4 0s. 6d.	23	2s. 0d.	£2 6s. 0d.				103.5	£6 6s. 6d.
Claxby.	160			unspec. acreage.			unspec. acreage.			160	
Tealby.	350 + 1 croft.	4d.	£7 0s. 0d.	32	2s. 0d.	£3 4s. 0d.	90	4d.	£1 10s. 0d.	492	£11 14s. 0d.
Walcot.	60 with house.	10d.	£2 10s. 0d.							60	£2 10s. 0d.
Upton (rent free).	160			20						180	
Kettleby (rent free).	180			32						212	
Temple Belwood (rent free).	80			20						100	
Bottesford (camera rent free)	100			50						150	
Horkstow (camera rent free)	20			26						46	
Hareby (rent free).											
TOTAL.	**3,949.50**		**£66 13s.2d.**	**386**		**£14 6s. 6d.**	**133**		**£2 4s. 0d.**	**4,468.50**	**£83 3s. 8d.**
Temple Bruer.	800	6d.	£20 0s. 0d.							800	£20 0s. 0d.
	400	2d.	£3 6s. 8d.	20	2s. 0d.	£2 0s. 0d.	180	4d.	£3 0s. 0d.	600	£8 6s. 8d.
Brauncewell.	unspec. acreage.		£2 0s. 0d.								£2 0s. 0d.
Cranwell.	unspec. acreage.		£1 0s. 0d.								£1 0s. 0d.
Rowston.	420	6d.	£10 10s. 0d.	10	1s. 6d.	15s. 0d.				430	£11 5s. 0d.
North Kirkby.	220	6d.	£5 10s. 0d.							220	£5 10s. 0d.
Caldecot.							120	4d.	£2 0s. 0d.	120	£2 0s. 0d.
South Witham	1,280									1280	
TOTAL.	**3,120**		**£42 6s. 8d.**	**30**		**£2 15s. 0d.**	**300**		**£5 0s. 0d.**	**3,450**	**£50 1s. 8d.**
Eagle.	500	6d.	£12 10s. 0d.	50	2s. 0d.	£5 0s. 0d.				550	£17 10s. 0d.
Whisby.	54	4d.	18s. 0d.	20	2s. 0d.	£2 0s. 0d.	for 20 cattle.		£2 0s. 0d.	194	£4 18s. 0d.
							for 400 sheep.		£1 13s. 4d.	100	£1 13s. 4d.
Woodhouse.	300	6d.	£7 10s. 0d.							300	£7 10s. 0d.
TOTAL.	**854**		**£20 18s.0d.**	**70**		**£7 0s. 0d.**			**£3 13s. 4d.**	**1,144**	**£31 11s. 4d.**
Aslackby.	320									320	
KESTEVEN TOTAL.	**4,294**		**£63 4s. 8d.**	**100**		**£9 15s. 0d.**	**300**		**£8 13s. 4d.**	**4,914**	**£81 12s. 0d.**
GRAND TOTAL.	**8,243.50**		**£129.17s.10d.**	**486**		**£24 1s. 6d.**	**433**		**£10 17s.4d.**	**9,382.50**	**£164 16s.8d.**

A toft is taken as 4 acres, a croft as 20 acres and a carucate as 160 acres. South Witham had an ara All pasture estimates are based upon the Caldecot valuation of 4d. per acre.
Grand totals and totals are of available data and as a consequence are lower than they ought to be.
All rent free grants on the Willoughton estate were issued by Thomas Larcher.

Fixed rent as a percentage of gross income and total land income in 1338.						Appendix 36.
Commandery, Member,Vill.	**Fixed rent.**	**Gross income.**	**Fixed rent as a percentage of gross income.**	**Land income only.**	**Land income and fixed rent total.**	**Fixed rent as a percentage of l.i. and f.r. total**
Willoughton.	£16 10s. 2d.	£57 4s. 2d.	28.9	£18 4s. 0d.	£34 14s. 2d.	47.6
Gainsborough.		£36 19s. 4d.	0	£7 6s. 0d.	£7 6s. 0d.	0
Goulceby.	£8 0s. 0d.	£18 4s. 0d.	44	£2 6s. 8d.	£10 6s. 8d.	77.4
Cawkwell.	£6 15s. 7d.	£15 18s. 11d.	42.5	£8 0s. 0d.	£14 15s. 7d.	45.9
Thorpe in the Fallows.	£8 0s. 11d.	£29 12s. 11d.	27.1	£11 2s. 0d.	£19 2s. 11d.	42
Ingham.	£2 1s. 0d.	£2 15s. 6d.	73.6	6s. 0d.	£2 7s. 0d.	87.2
Cabourne.	£5 16s. 10d.	£11 6s. 2d.	51.7	£4 5s. 4d.	£10 2s. 2d.	58.3
Limber.	£10 3s. 1d.	£17 9s. 7d.	58.1	£5 12s. 8d.	£15 15s. 9d.	64.3
Saxby.		£6 6s. 8d.	0	£6 6s. 8d.	£6 6s. 8d.	0
Mere		£10 4s. 8d.	0	£9 4s. 8d.	£9 4s. 8d.	0
Waddington.	£5 18s. 10d.	£10 12s. 9d.	59.4	£3 18s. 0d.	£9 16s. 10d.	60.4
East Keal.		£10 7s. 6d.	0	£6 18s. 6d.	£6 18s. 6d.	0
Claxby.	£5 0s. 0d.	£5 0s. 0d.	100		£5 0s. 0d.	100
Tealby.	£12 4s. 4d.	£26 6s. 8d.	46.5	£11 14s. 0d.	£23 18s. 4d.	52.2
Walcot.	£2 10s. 0d.	£15 6s. 8d.	15.8		£2 10s. 0d.	100
Upton (rent free).	n/a					
Kettleby (rent free).	n/a					
Temple Belwood (rent free).	n/a					
Bottesford (camera rent free)	£14 0s. 0d.					
Horkstow (camera rent free)	£21 0s. 0d.					
Hareby (rent free)	£16 0s. 0d.					
TOTAL.	**£83 0s. 9d.**	**£273 15s 6d.**	**30.3**	**£95 4s. 6d.**	**£178 5s. 3d.**	**46.6**
Temple Bruer.	£62 13s. 8d.	£131 7s. 8d.	47.8	£8 6s. 8d.	£71 0s. 4d.	88.3
Rowston.	£9 1s. 0d.	£22 15s. 0d.	39.8	£11 5s. 0d.	£20 6s. 0d.	44.6
North Kirkby.***	£10 10s. 0d.	£24 5s. 0d.	43.3	£5 5s. 0d.	£15 15s. 0d.	66.7
Caldecot (rent free)						
South Witham.*	£26 13s. 4d.	£26 13s. 4d.	100		£26 13s. 4d.	100
TOTAL.	**£108 18s. 0d.**	**£205 1s. 0d.**	**53.1**	**£24 16s. 8d.**	**£133 14s. 8d.**	**81.4**
Eagle.	**£42 1s. 5d.**	**£122 11s. 10d.**	**34.3**	**£37 11s. 4d.**	**£79 12s. 9d.**	**52.8**
Aslackby.**	**£40 0s. 0d.**	**£40 0s. 0d.**	**100**		**£40 0s. 0d.**	**100**
Donington church.		£10 0s. 0d.				
GRAND TOTAL.	**£274 0s. 2d.**	**£651 8s. 4d.**	**42.1**	**£157 12s. 6d.**	**£431 12s. 8d.**	**63.5**

* including a moiety of the church.
** including the church.
This income was lost by the the Hospitallers to the holders of the rent free grants, Count Warenn at Temple Belwood and Kettleby, Sir Robert de Silkeston at Hareby, Bottesford and Horkstow, Thomas de Sibthorpe at Caldecot. All grants issued for life by Thomas Larcher.
*** Including the pensions of the churches of *Botilbrigg,* Normanton and Rouceby, valued at £6 13s. 4d.

Churches and chapels from which the Templars derived income in 1185 and 1308 and which had been transferred to the Hospitallers by 1338. Appendix 37.			
1185	**1308**	**1338**	**Income in 1338.**
Willoughton.	**Willoughton.**	**Willoughton.**	£8 6s. 8d.
Gainsborough.	Gainsborough.	Gainsborough.	£26 13s. 4d.
Hareby.	Hareby.	Hareby.	2s. 0d.
Goulceby.	Goulceby.	Goulceby.	£6 13s. 4d.
Thorpe in the Fallows.	Thorpe in the Fallows.	Thorpe in the Fallows.	£10 0s. 0d.
Althorp.		Horkstow**	
Burnham in Haxey			
TOTAL.			**£51 15s. 4d.**
	Temple Bruer.	**Temple Bruer.**	£4 6s. 8d.
Caythorpe.	Caythorpe.	Caythorpe.	£6 13s. 4d.
Ashby.	Ashby.	Ashby.	£7 0s. 0d.
Rowston.	Rowston.	Rowston.	£7 0s. 0d.
Normanton.	Normanton.	Normanton.	£1 6s. 8d.
Cranwell.			
Claypole.			
	Rauceby.	Rauceby.	£2 0s. 0d.
South Witham.	South Witham.	South Witham.	n/a
Marnham (Notts.).		Marnham (Notts.).	n/a
Stretton (Rut.).	Stretton (Rut.).	Stretton (Rut.).	n/a
Sproxton (Leics.).			
	Donington.	Donington.	£10 0s. 0d.
	Thistleton (Rut.).		
		North Kirkby.	£3 6s. 8d.
TOTAL.			**£41 13s. 4d.**
Eagle.	**Eagle.**	**Eagle.**	£14 13s. 4d.
North Scarle.	North Scarle.		
Swinderby.	Swinderby.	Swinderby.	£14 13s. 4d.
		TOTAL.	**£29 6s. 8d.**
Aslackby.	**Aslackby.**	**Aslackby.**	£40 0s. 0d.
GRAND TOTAL**			**£162 15s. 4d.**

* The **GRAND TOTAL** is exclusive of those churches for which data is not available.
** Horkstow church was granted to Sir Robert de Silkeston by Thomas Larcher.

Mills from which the Templars derived income in 1185 and 1308 and which had been transferred to the Hospitallers in 1338. Appendix 38.			
1185	**1308**	**1338**	**Income in 1338.**
Willoughton.	**Willoughton.** m.	**Willoughton.** v.	£1 0s. 0d.
Mere.	Mere. v.		
Marrestret.			
	Kettleby. m.	Kettleby. v.	
	Limber. m.	Limber. v.	£1 0s. 0d.
	East Keal. m.		
		Cabourne. v.	16s. 0d.
Halton Holgate.			
Lusby.			
Goulceby.			
Scawby.			
Thorpe in the Fallows.			
		Bottesford a	
		Horkstow v	
	Temple Bruer. m.	**Temple Bruer.** v.	£1 0s. 0d.
Metheringham.			
Welbourn			
South Witham.	South Witham. a. v.		
	Woolsthorpe. a.		
Manthorpe.			
Harrowby.			
Stoke.			
Stainby.			
Harlaxton.			
Denton.			
Palfrey ?			
	Heriherdeby. m.		
	Ashby. m.		
		North Kirkby. a. v.	13s. 4d.
Greetham (Rut.).			
Saltby (Leics.).			
Ollerton (Notts.).			
Morton (Notts).			
Eagle.	**Eagle.** m.	**Eagle.** a. 2v.	£1 10s. 0d.
Stapleford.	Stapleford. m.		
Beckingham.	Beckingham. m.		
Bracebridge.	Bracebridge. 6a.		
Collingham (Notts.).			
Girton (Notts.).			
	Aslackby. a. v.		
22 and 5 out of county	**22**	**10**	**£5 19s. 4d.**

m - mill of unspecified type.

a - watermill.

v - windmill.

6a - 6 watermills.

No distinction between mill types in the Inquest of 1185.

Marrestret on the Isle of Axholme of the fee of Roger de Mowbray.

Palfrey may have referred to a surname rather than a place but there were two mills.

Heriherdeby whereabouts in Kesteven uncertain.

The mills of both Bottesford and Horkstow were granted to Sir Robert de Silkeston by Thomas Larcher and Kettleby granted to Count Warenn.