

THE ANNUAL ROUND AT QUARRENDON IN THE YEARS AROUND 1400

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An interrogation of Quarrendon's account rolls for the years from 1390 to 1410 has revealed information about much more than the annual income and expenditure associated with the running of the manor. In particular, many details of the built environment and the activities that took place there have been found. Some of the activities are mentioned year after year and reveal the unchanging rhythm of an annual round, while others prove to be the source of significant change. The mixture of continuity and change provides a narrative from which emerges a sense of Quarrendon's importance at the time as a centre from which power was projected and as a significant economic influence on a rather wide surrounding area.

INTRODUCTION

Change was in the air at Quarrendon in the decades immediately before and after 1400. The direct consequences of the Black Death were still being felt and the changes it had set in motion were still being worked out. Fortunately, there are records for Quarrendon that cover this period and allow it to be examined in some detail in the form of a run of annual account rolls that covers all but four of the years of these two decades (Marshall 2020). This article examines a few of the regularly reported activities and events of the time to illustrate the annual round, to show how some things were changing while other stayed the same, and to demonstrate how these documents unwittingly tell us much about the appearance and the area of influence of Quarrendon.

Since Quarrendon's demesne farm, the farm reserved by the lord of the manor for his own use, is the setting for everything dealt with here, its activities and its success at generating wealth for the lord of the manor are first described. After that the change made by the lord of the manor to leasing the demesne farm rather than working it himself is explored. This was, in itself, a significant change, which added to the ongoing volatility to produce further change. Then the presence at Quarrendon of the lord of the manor's Great Horses is examined: they were, among other things, a vehicle for displaying status and power, and their presence at Quarrendon imparted something of these attributes to the place. After that, an analysis of the annual campaign to maintain the buildings and

infrastructure of the manor provides a good deal of information about the buildings themselves and, for example, the bridges that were so necessary to communication in Quarrendon's watery landscape. The annual campaign also provides information for the final topic, the places with links to Quarrendon, in the form of, for example, the places that were the source of the materials needed to make necessary repairs.

The aim of this work is to produce an outline account of what Quarrendon was like in the years around 1400 as well as to indicate what was happening there. Although the manor was primarily a source of income, this approach brings out something of Quarrendon's importance at the time as both a source of power and an economic influence, an unlikely prelude to its modern status as a 'deserted medieval village'.

THE DEMESNE FARM

The account rolls reveal that the demesne farm was very active in the final decade of the fourteenth century, generating significant income from growing crops and grazing sheep. They show that the farm was, in essence, a centre for production and wealth generation.

Table 1 shows the area of land cultivated, the crops grown and the amounts harvested for the years in which the accounts provided that information. The amounts harvested are given in quarters and bushels. The quarter was a quarter of a hundredweight, that is, 28 pounds. The bushel,

TABLE 1 Details of the harvest in the years from 1390 to 1394

	1390	1391	1392	1393	1394
Area cultivated (in acres)	not given	not given	401	398	319½
Crops (quarters and bushels)					
Wheat	none	4q & 2b	10q	none	34q
Barley	73q & 2b	147q	90q	60q & 2b	259q
Oats	3q & 2b	8q & 4b	7q	none	'general corn'
Peas	71q & 4b	none	82q	none	89q & 3b
Dredge	none	none	none	50q & 4b	136q & 4b
Malt	76q & 4b	240q & 6b	108q	110q & 6b	429q & 6b

although probably familiar as a measure of bulk, was also a measure of weight, with 8 bushels to the quarter. Dredge was a mixture of barley and oats. The table also shows the amount of malt made each year. This was, of course, made from barley, but clearly not entirely from that year's crop.

The figures show that barley was the most consistently grown crop, probably because much of it was used to make malt, which was, weight for weight, significantly more valuable than the barley itself. In 1392, for example, barley sold at 2 shilling a quarter while malt fetched 3 shillings. The accounts of that year also record that '*a woman was paid a stipend of 2 shillings for drying and making malt*'. Wheat and oats were grown in small amounts: unusually, the 1394 accounts record the harvesting of 259 quarters of '*general corn*' which, since they also record a specific amount of wheat, has been taken to mean barley and oats. Dredge would seem to have been an innovation in 1393 and, outdoing the usual motivation for its introduction which was to increase the reliability of the harvest return, it obviously thrived. Peas were grown in some quantity, in alternate years, perhaps as part of a crop-rotation system.

In 1392 and 1393 the crop yields were calculated and recorded: wheat and peas gave 2 bushels per acre while barley, oats and dredge produced 4 bushels per acre. What use was made of this information is not clear, but the yields are all puny when judged by modern standards.

The large amounts of malt made every year (remember, 80 quarters make a ton!) contributed significantly to the income generated by the farm. The positively huge amount made in 1394 may well represent the using up of stored barley with an eye to a coming event that is to be described in the next section.

Turning from growing crops to grazing sheep, Table 2 shows the annual wealth-producing output of that activity.

A 'fleece' means all the wool shorn from one sheep. To illustrate this, in 1391 it was recorded that the wool from 282 sheep was '*shorn and washed*', as well as that 282 fleeces were sold. A '*clove*' is a weight of wool, corresponding fairly closely to the weight of 5 fleeces. In 1392, the 47 cloves of wool sold came from 271 sheep, so that it took an average of 5.8 fleeces to make a clove, rather more than the norm. The following year it was reported that 239 fleeces '*made 48 cloves*', which gave an average of 5.0 fleeces per clove, a much better return from a year when the weather must have been more suitable for sheep. The 42½ cloves of wool sold in 1390 would have come from store, and so consisted of wool that was not sold in previous years: the 5 cloves sold in 1394 consisted of the wool that was shorn but not sold as fleeces. 'Broken' wool is the wool recovered from the shearing floor at the end of a day's work. It was not weighed, but was sold for whatever it would fetch. A 'sheepskin' was the skin of a sheep still covered

TABLE 2 Sales of wool and sheepskins in the years from 1390 to 1394

	1390	1391	1392	1393	1394
Sheep shorn	291	282	319	267	318
Wool sold					
fleeces	291	282	0	0	291
cloves	42½	0	47	48	5
'Broken' wool	12d	12d	8d	none	6d
Sheepskins	12	14	5	31	31
ewes' skins	none	none	6	none	none
Lambskins	none	16	44	34	2

in wool to judge by the 31 sold in 1393, which were actually recorded as '22 sheepskins and 9 plucked sheepskins', with 'plucked' meaning 'shorn'. The sheep in question were almost certainly the aged sheep that were culled that year.

The numbers show that throughout these years the flock contained around 300 sheep to be sheared, and that in each year a very high proportion of the newly shorn wool was sold.

The account rolls show that growing crops and grazing sheep were the major activities of the demesne farm. A quick calculation shows that the former made a larger contribution to the farm's income. In 1392, for example, the contribution from the sales of corn, peas and malt was:

10 quarters of wheat at 2/4d a quarter	£1/3/4d
90 quarters of barley at about 2s a quarter	£9/14/6d
7 quarters of oats at 20d a quarter	11/8d
82 quarters of peas at about 22d a quarter	£7/8/4d
88 quarters of malt at about 2/11d a quarter	£12/14/0d
TOTAL	£30/11/10

In the same year the contribution from the sheep grazing was:

47 cloves of wool at 21d a clove	£4/2/3d
Broken wool	8d
5 sheepskins	13d
6 ewes' skins	12d
4 lambskins	12d
TOTAL	£4/6/2

The greater income from growing crops is rather deceptive, as even a brief examination of the costs involved shows. They included the following:

For 4 plough-oxen 2 plough-horses 4 ploughs and various associated equipment	52/6d
For hoeing the lord's corn	31/10d
For reaping, binding and collecting the corn on 401 acres of land through customary works paid at 4d a day	£10/17/2½
For 7 men hired for 8 days to bring the sheaves to the carts	9/4d
For 8 carts hired for 8 days at 14d a day to carry the corn to the barn	9/4d
For 12 men hired for a day to stack the corn	3s
For 89 gallons of ale bought for the various workers	11/1½
Hayward's stipend	6/8d
TOTAL	£17/1/0d

The oxen and horses were needed to replace the animals which, worn out in the previous year, had to be replaced. The payments for customary works are interesting. Normally, they would have been provided as part of the services that the customary tenants were required to provide, along with rent, for the land they held. But at Quarrendon in 1395, as the account rolls dutifully recorded for many years after, this provision had been exchanged for a fixed payment to be paid annually at the view of frankpledge. Subsequently, although they still had to carry out their customary works when required,

the tenants were paid for their hoeing, reaping and stacking.

Clearly, in this year, growing corn generated more income than grazing sheep, although the expenditure associated with it was much higher. When the general farm overheads, such as those connected with maintaining the farm buildings, keeping the ditches clear, keeping the manor house in good repair and paying the manor's officials, were factored in, whether for corn-growing or any of the farm's other income-generating activities, the amount by which its income exceeded expenditure was further reduced. This all helps to show that, even in a good year, it was no simple matter to generate income from a manor.

EVENTS, ACTIVITIES AND INFLUENCE

The Change to Leasing

In the circumstances, the next development concerning the demesne farm was not surprising. It was leased in either 1395 or 1396. The uncertainty arises because the account rolls for both 1395 and 1396 have not survived, although the roll for 1397 has and reveals that by then the farm was being rented for £22 a year. One motivation for the change was that it provided a reliable income rather than an unreliable one dependent on, among other things, the weather and the market. It should also be said that by this time the renting of demesne farms was being adopted by many of the great landlords, in part because of the availability of comprehensible accounts which could reveal the often precarious state of a manor's finances (Bolton 1980, 40–42; Harvey 1999, 25–37).

No copy of the terms of the lease has survived, but it is apparent from subsequent developments that exactly what was being rented had not been made clear. Who should pay for repairs to the farm buildings was a continuing matter of contention. Although the repairs were first discussed by the tenant farmer and the lord of the manor, and were then undertaken and paid for by the farmer, there were still disputes when the farmer claimed his expenses. After some years, the tenant farmer's claims were routinely allowed, a practice that had become the norm across the country for the common-sense reason that it was in the interests of all concerned to keep the farm buildings in good order (Bolton 1980, 224–5).

In addition, many small matters had not been

considered. For example, in the accounts of 1407 an entry concerning a payment to the Crown, which had been pending for the previous few years, was crossed out and explained by the addition of '*because [this is a matter] for the tenant farmer*'.

The main point here is that both before and after the demesne farm was leased, its mixed farming regime successfully produced crops and their by-products as well as wool and sheepskins, although when the lord of the manor farmed his own land his income could be meagre due, as we have seen, to the overheads associated with running the manor. When the farm was leased, the tenant farmer had neither the burden of these overheads nor did he incur significant labour costs. The reasons for the latter were twofold. First, the tenant farmers were often representatives of the great landlords, who had their own people at their disposal. The first tenant farmer was William Aldebury who, in 1397, held the farm for the Duke of York. In the following year, he held it for the Earl of Northamptonshire. Secondly, even after the farm was first leased, it was possible to raise 'gang-labour' as this entry from the 1415 accounts shows:

In food and drink for 54 men from Quarrendon and the surrounding district coming by custom for 1 day with 27 ploughs to plough and to sow beans, peas, and vetch over 53 ridges contained in 26½ acres of land 8/6d

The Earl of Warwick, in common with the other great landlords, showed considerable resilience and ingenuity in surviving the period after the Black Death (Bolton 1980, 210–222; note the reference to the Earl of Warwick on page 221).

It is difficult to say what happened on the demesne farm after it was leased because, apart from receiving the rent, the compilers of the accounts had no interest in what happened there. However, the accounts of 1415 give us a sense of that activity because they record the lack of a tenant. In that absence, the lord of the manor again farmed the land himself. It seems reasonable to assume that he farmed it in much the same way that a tenant farmer would have, especially as it turns out that much of the arable land had been converted for grazing (Marshall 2020). The record shows that 127 acres were ploughed, sown for various crops and harvested. Reference to Table 1 shows that this

is one third of the area harvested in 1392, which means that this single, far from perfect indicator suggests that in rather less than 20 years the tenant farmers had reduced the area used for growing crops by something like 250 acres while increasing that for grazing sheep by a similar amount.

In retrospect, the decision to lease the demesne farm appears predictable. By the time of the first surviving court roll, that of 1396, and probably earlier, a number of the manor's possessions and rights had already been leased, in particular, the dovecote, the rabbit warren and the rights to the fishing from *'the banks of the streams and all the dykes surrounding the manor'*. Leasing the demesne farm was a natural extension of these activities.

The Great Horses

Great Horses, also known as destriers, were used by Anglo-Norman knights in tournaments and jousts as a form of display and also to train for battle. These are both nicely illustrated in Figure 1, which shows Sir Geoffrey Luttrell on one of his Great Horses in an illustration from the Luttrell Psalter (Brown 2006). Richard II encouraged the holding of tournaments, although he viewed them as occasions for display rather more than as training exercises. During his reign, tournaments were held at Westminster, Smithfield and Windsor, and jousting took place regularly on Garter Day at Windsor (Saul 2011, 112–3). Richard Beauchamp, the Earl of Warwick and lord of the manor of Quarrendon is known to have taken part in tournaments and jousts, and his great horses were kept at Quarrendon (Whitbread 2003).

The accounts for 1390–91 record payment of a wage of 21 shillings to 'the keeper of the horses' as well as the wages of Simon Deye and John Higgele and the cost of fodder and medication for the horses. The total amount spent on looking after the horses was £5/0/4d. The accounts for the following four years are more forthcoming in that they name the keeper of the horses and provide details of the time he spent at the manor, during which he may have taken the horses to tournaments. The particulars are as follows:

- 1391 A section headed 'Costs for grooms, servants and boys' contains the entries:
For the care of Peterkyn du Prake who was here with 10 of the Lord's great horses from August 4 until the eve of Michaelmas,

*that is for 56 days at 3d per day – 14s
For the care of Simon Deye, Haus Couchman and William Turnour who were here with the said horses for the same time each at 2d per day – 28s*

- 1392 A section headed 'Costs for the lord's Great Horses' contains the entries:
*For care of Peterkyn who was here for 56 days from Michaelmas to the feast of St Clement Pope while looking after the lord's great horses at 3d a day – 14s
For care of Simon Haversham Simon Deye and John Norman who were here for the same time each at 2d a day – 28s*
- 1393 A section headed 'Costs for the lord's Great Horses' contains the entries:
*For care of Peterkyn the custodian of the lord's great horses who was here for the 62 days starting from the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary at a cost of 3d a day – 15s 6d
For care of Simon Haversham and one or other of Simon Deye and John Norman who were looking after the said horses for the same time at a cost of 2d a day – 20s 8d*
- 1394 A section headed 'Costs of wages' contains the entries:
*Peterkyn du Prake on the payroll to look after 4 great horses from the Feast of St Thomas until 26 January for 37 days – 9/3
Simon Deye and John Higgele on the payroll to look after the horses for the same time 12/4*

These excerpts show that Peterkyn du Prake was the keeper of the lord's Great Horses at Quarrendon and that he had a team of grooms to help look after them. One reason for keeping them at Quarrendon would have been the high-quality grazing to be had in its meadows. Hay cut in certain named meadows was used for their fodder or litter in each of the years mentioned. In the years from 1391 to 1393 Peterkyn and two or three of his grooms looked after the horses for the two months or so of their stay. The person named among the travelling grooms of 1391 as *Haus Couchman* was probably the House Coachman who, one might imagine, was roped in at the last moment because one of the grooms was unable to make the journey. There can be little doubt that the horses were to take part in a tournament or even in a series of tournaments.



FIGURE 1 Sir Geoffrey Luttrell on his Great Horse

Whitbread (2003, 320–321) gives a list of tournaments from these years for which accounts have survived. They include jousts held at Smithfield in October 1390 ‘between English knights [...] and the Knights of the Garter, and foreign knights including William Count of Ostravant’; ‘Jousts between twelve English knights (dressed as monks) and all-comers’ held at Westminster in 1394; and ‘Jousts between Richard Beauchamp and Colard Fynes held at Calais in 1399’. Opportunities were certainly available, and the horses could have been taken from Quarrendon to any of the places mentioned during their two-month stay.

In 1394 the horses stayed in Quarrendon, and Peterkyn and his grooms were put on the payroll for that period. (This simply means that their wages for this period appeared in the Quarrendon accounts rather than in someone else’s.) Perhaps

they were taken to a nearby tournament. Windsor, with its annual jousts, was, after all, not far away.

The visits of the Great Horses were never subsequently accounted for in such detail, but the horses were still sent annually to Quarrendon. The accounts for 1430, for instance, recorded the cost of their stabling.

Tournaments and jousts were fine occasions for display, demonstration of status and the assertion of power. A tournament provided opportunities for the participants to exhibit any or all of these attributes. In similar vein, the stabling of the Great Horses at Quarrendon brought with it the same associations.

The Annual Maintenance Programme

Each year a maintenance programme was carried out, which was always necessary but often proved

expensive. It was one of the overheads that made it so difficult to make a profit from the manor. Here, the main point of interest is the range of buildings that are named in the accounts as a consequence of their being repaired, for this provides the information needed to create a picture of the built environment of the manor. The relevant aspects of the maintenance campaigns of the five years starting in 1390 are as follows:

1390. The maintenance costs included payments for the purchase of 1500 tiles to repair the buildings in the manor damaged by the Great Wind; to a roofer for covering the roofs of the granary and other damaged buildings; to a tiler for repairing the roof of the Tiled Barn; and to a man for plastering the sides of the dovecote.

1391 Repairs were made to the bridge over the moat surrounding the manor house, the barn next to the bridge (which had a broken beam and wall plate), two bays in the Tiled Barn, the gate to the manor and the capping of the walls in the barnyard. New walls were built in the Hayrick Yard, and 1500 tiles were bought to renew the roof above the lord's rooms in the manor house.

1392 The Tiled Barn received considerable attention. Its roof was stripped and covered with newly-made shingles, a thousand of which had been made for this purpose; the windows were raised; two beams above the door were replaced by new ones; and the rafters were fastened to the side rails, that is, to the horizontal beams at the top of the side panels, (see the diagrams in Alcock NW *et al* (1996) or in Harris R (2001), where they are called wall plates). In addition, the wall of the cowshed was repaired, as was the wall of the sheep-house, which was also re-plastered, and the bridge at Cockyngstool was made safe so that the hay from the meadows of Westmede could be carried across it. Finally, and without explanation, a man was hired to saw an ash tree into planks as required to make three tables with a total length of 250 feet.

1393 The attention to the barn, which was in a bad state by this time, included retiling the roof over the west end; repairing two of its broken bays with 400 purpose-made laths; making another bay using a further 200 laths and then roofing it;

making good the rafters and tying them down with 200 specially prepared withies; making good the roof above the corn stored in the barn where necessary; and replacing two patches of wattle and daub in one of the walls. The lord's stables also needed attention: the roofs had to be thatched, the ridge tiling repaired and a section of wall plastered. In addition, the walls of the sheep-house and the pig sty both needed attention, and a carpenter was hired to repair the bridge damaged by the Great Flood.

1394 No maintenance work was done on the tiled barn because the other barn, the thatched barn, the manor house and the stables were in greater need. The beams, rafters, studs and other structural timbers in the thatched barn were repaired; the walls were plastered; wood was brought from Ballinger to renew the studding; and fittings were bought to make the barn more suitable for storing hay. As well as all this, 2,000 tiles were bought at Penn, no doubt for a floor, although no specific indication of their use was given, even though a barn seems an unlikely location for a Penn-tiled floor. The roof of the manor house was renewed using 2000 tiles bought for that purpose and its stone walls were mended. As part of the work on the stables, an oak beam was acquired and made into wooden door posts and 4 racks to hold fodder were installed. Other work included making an earthen wall between the manor house and the Hayrick yard, and mending the Middle Bridge so that it could safely carry the lord's hay and corn.

There is enough evidence here to reconstruct the complex of buildings close by the manor house. It consisted of a barn (the tiled barn, which was used to store corn), stables and the manor house itself, with the barnyard and the hayrick yard between them. All the buildings were repaired regularly, especially the tiled barn, which would seem to have been rather decrepit. The yards were regularly divided and re-divided by walls in accordance with the year's produce, one purpose of which was to separate the farm animals from the stacks of peas that were made in the yards (before they were threshed, it ought to be said). The descriptions of the various repairs to the buildings reveal details of their construction, which appears to have been conventional.

The second barn, the thatched barn, which was

used to store hay, was not in the central group, and is just one demonstration that the concerns of the maintenance programme extended to the entire manor. The most striking example of this is the concern with the bridges, which Quarrendon's network of streams and ditches made particularly important.

The manor house was carefully refurbished each year. In addition to the details given already, in 1399, John (the) Plumber of Aylesbury was hired to remove all the lead from above the lord's rooms and restore it to its pristine state before relaying it. Subsequently, he was paid a retainer to do the necessary work each year. His retainer was a bushel of wheat. Now, to show that looking over the annual maintenance programme can reveal information about more than buildings and their construction, each year the cost of this bushel of wheat was recorded and was said to have been '*the price according to the market*'. An examination of the price through, for example, the first decade of the fifteenth century shows considerable fluctuations, which must reflect corresponding changes in the weather and the abundance of the harvest.

Connections with other places

Quarrendon was well connected to many places in its immediate vicinity and to a few distant places. The nearer places were connected for reasons that included organisational matters and access to resources, both of which involved the assertion of power. The main reason for relations with more distant places was to have access to their markets.

Quarrendon's most intimate connections were to a group of nearby manors which were held by its lord of the manor, the Earl of Warwick. The group consisted of Addington, Ballinger, Berton, Botolph Claydon, East Aston and Seabrook-with-Cheddington, and representatives from all of them were required to attend the annual view of frankpledge held at Quarrendon. Any failure to attend resulted in a fine. At the view each manor had to report on its performance of manorial duties and the behaviour of its tenants and could, again, be fined for any shortcomings. In this way, the lord of the manor exerted his authority over these manors through Quarrendon.

Other manors held by the Earl of Warwick were mentioned, among them Hanslope and Flamstead to where, on occasion, the compiler of Quarrendon's accounts was summoned to discuss final

adjustments needed before the accounts could be accepted. Flamstead is also mentioned in the 1390s because the lord's hospice there often purchased a sizable number of pigs from the demesne farm at Quarrendon.

Aylesbury gets numerous mentions including, for example, in 1392, when the oxen too old for further use were sold '*to two butchers in Aylesbury*', while the next year '*26 hurdles were bought for the sheepfold in Aylesbury*'. In 1394 it was noted that '*a colt was sold in the middle of Thame*'. In subsequent years the accounts mention '*tiles bought from Waddesdon*', '*stone bought in Whitchurch*' and '*wood from Bernwood*'.

Moving further afield, in 1391 two men had to drive a flock of pigs from Quarrendon to London and another from Quarrendon to Warwick, in each case '*for the lord's larder*'.

And, as the final example in this section, there was in 1392 mention of Windsor. The circumstances were that: '*Thomas Greenleaf and Veysy the groom of Nicholas Lillyng stayed here for 13 days in March while Nicholas made an arrest for the Earl of Warwick and took both of the culprits to the castle at Windsor*'.

These examples illustrate that Quarrendon was well connected locally, and also had links further afield. Locally, it was a place of some importance, both in projecting power and in the claims it made on local resources: its area of influence is shown in Figure 2. A number of the connections were to do with markets where the farm produce could be sold, while the links with London and Warwick allowed the lord of the manor to consume the produce of his Quarrendon farm while at his residence in London or at his home base in Warwick. In this way, Quarrendon generated wealth for its lord and helped him be a generous host while in his various residences.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Quarrendon's account rolls contain a wealth of incidental information about matters other than the financial transactions that are their ostensible concern. Reading them carefully reveals much about the place itself, in particular, about its built environment and what went on there. Because there is a run of these rolls covering successive years, it is possible to see which matters were regularly recorded, and so were of significance, and

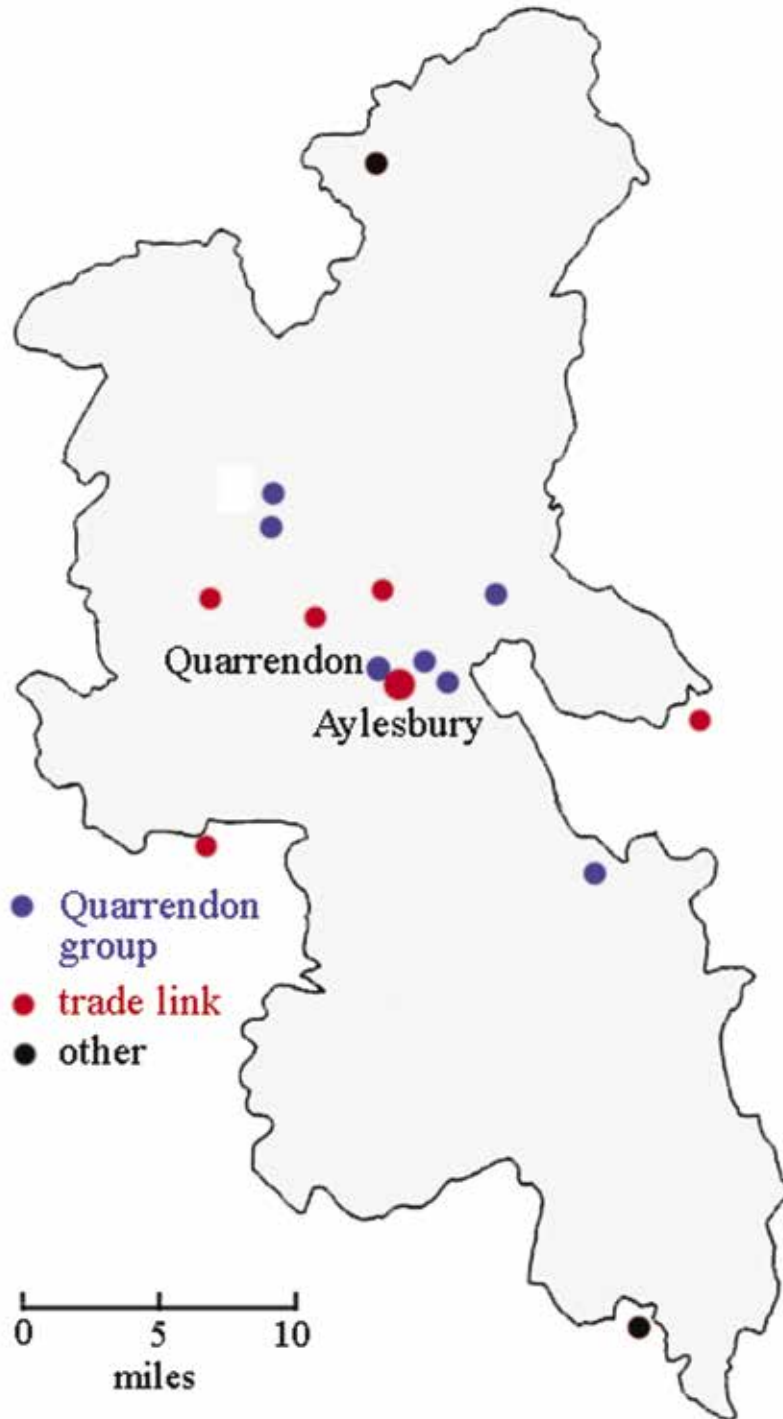


FIGURE 2 Quarrendon's area of influence

how they changed, or did not change, over time, for instance, how a building changed as it was repaired or adapted to a new usage, and how an institution did not change despite the fact that all around it was in a state of flux.

For this paper, the account rolls for the years from 1390 to 1410 have been interrogated and, having located them, the evolution of some of the significant features has been traced. In this way, the history of Quarrendon at the time is sketched as a series of threads which, as it turns out, intertwine one with another.

The first item deals with the demesne farm, which is both the setting for other topics that are dealt with and an institution that changed during the period. The farm is shown to be essentially a production centre based on mixed farming, although it was difficult to make it particularly profitable. This led, probably in 1395, to the decision to lease it, a decision which was followed by further change. The next topic explains that the idea of leasing did not come out of the blue, for other resources, including the dovecote and the rabbit warren, had already been leased for some time. Next, the stabling at Quarrendon of the lord of the manor's Great Horses is described, and the prestige it brought with it examined. After this, the annual programme of maintenance and repair work is explored. It shows that the barns and stables were usually in need of annual repairs, and were also often significantly altered to make them suitable for the activity planned for the following year on the farm; that the manor house was given regular and careful attention, whether or not the need for it was apparent, so as to keep it ready for important visitors; and that items of infrastructure, especially the bridges, were kept in good order. Finally, Quarrendon's links to other places are listed and explored, for they demonstrate the extent of Quarrendon's influence, whether by requiring attendance at court or for reasons of trade.

The various strands described above overlap and interact with each other to form a narrative account of the history of Quarrendon in the period from 1390 to 1410. From this narrative emerges a sense of Quarrendon as a place from which power was asserted, both directly, as in the summons to come to the court, and economically through its purchasing power. Of course, these sources of power were underwritten by, respectively, the status and the wealth of the lord of the manor.

APPENDIX

Referencing the original documents

Quarrendon's annual account rolls that provide the primary sources for this article have been referred to by their year of creation. They are held by the Oxfordshire History Centre and the table in this appendix identifies the original documents by giving their reference code.

TABLE 3 The account rolls

<i>Year</i>	<i>OHC reference</i>
1390/1	E36/10/1/F1/2
1391/2	E36/10/1/F1/3
1392/3	E36/10/1/F1/4
1393/4	E36/10/1/F1/5
1394/5	E36/10/1/F1/6
1397/8	E36/10/1/F1/7
1399/1400	E36/10/1/F1/8
1401/2	E36/10/1/F1/10
1407/8	E36/10/1/F1/17
1415/16	E36/10/1/F1/25
1430/31	E36/10/1/F1/38

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