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# An Early Oxford Riot: Oseney Abbey, 1238

*David L. Sheffler*

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## **The Crime**

On the 23rd of April 1238, a group of Oxford students traveled the short distance from the university to Oseney Abbey. Earlier that day they had sent gifts to the papal legate, Cardinal-Deacon Otto, who was staying at Oseney Abbey during his visit to Oxford. The students, who appear to have expected an audience, were dismayed when they were curtly rebuffed. Tempers flared and the situation became violent when the legate's chief cook poured boiling water on a poor Irish clerk who had come to beg alms. One of the students, according to Matthew Paris a Welshman, shot the offending cook with an arrow, killing him on the spot. Alarmed by the clamour of the ensuing melee, the legate withdrew to the church tower, where he waited until nightfall before fleeing to the safety of the king.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the fact that the case is well documented (accounts of the incident appear in numerous chronicles, and both the Close Rolls and Patent Rolls contain related entries) the Oseney riot itself has been discussed by historians generally only in passing.<sup>2</sup> This is particularly surprising given the number of names that appear in connection with the early years of Oxford's history, the notable personalities involved, and the tumultuous period in which the riot occurred. Moreover, a close analysis of the riot, its aftermath, and its participants, yields insights into the university's relationships with ecclesiastical and lay authorities, the living arrangements of students and masters, and the later careers of individuals who studied at Oxford in the first half of the thirteenth century.

**Historical Background**

The twenty-four years between the reopening of Oxford in 1214 and the riot of 1238 were critical for the university. Beginning in 1214, the university received a series of privileges that served to establish its legal status as a corporate institution, and defined the relationship between the scholars and secular authorities more clearly. As in Paris fourteen years earlier, these privileges were granted in the wake of violent clashes between the scholars and the town.<sup>3</sup> In 1209, several Oxford students were hanged for their involvement in the killing of a townswoman. In protest, the masters and scholars abandoned Oxford for nearly five years.<sup>4</sup> They returned, in 1214, only after the papal legate, Nicholas de Romanis, brokered a settlement between the masters and the town. Included in the agreement were provisions for the control of rents, and an annual indemnity paid by the town on behalf of the scholars.<sup>5</sup> Finally, and most important, the legate confirmed the right of the scholars to be tried exclusively in ecclesiastical courts, giving them effective immunity from secular authority.<sup>6</sup>

This was, of course, hardly the end of conflict between the scholars and the citizens of Oxford. Indeed, the explosive growth of the university in the years following 1214 clearly increased opportunities for friction, both intra- and extramural.<sup>7</sup> The growing need to enforce scholarly discipline is clearly reflected in the earliest university statutes. Dating from sometime before 1231, these statutes required that every scholar matriculate under a regent master, who, in theory at least, would help to ensure the good behaviour of his scholar.<sup>8</sup> The privileges granted by Henry III in 1231 offer further evidence of the perceived need to restrain a restless and expanding student body. These writs, which also provided the first official recognition of the corporate status of the university, reiterated earlier university statutes requiring that scholars matriculate under recognized masters. In addition, they granted the chancellor the right to use the prison in Oxford and to call on the assistance of the sheriff during periods of unrest.<sup>9</sup> As a result, by the time of the Oseney riot the university had emerged as a recognized corporate body with attendant powers and privileges, powers and privileges which were sorely tested in the weeks and months following the violence.

The offence committed by the scholars was particularly troubling given the political turmoil Henry III faced in early 1238. In the months preceding the riot, the king's brother and many of the magnates had

rebelled. According to Matthew Paris, only the Earl of Kent adhered to the king, ‘and no fear was entertained of him, both because he had sworn never to carry arms, and also on account of his old age . . .’.<sup>10</sup> Although the brothers were reconciled quickly, thanks in part to Otto’s mediation, the underlying political tensions remained. Under such circumstances, Henry could hardly have been expected to accept the scholars’ attack on the legate with equanimity. That in the end the royal response was restrained is a remarkable testament to the prestige and strength Oxford had attained by the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

### Motives

Since the time of Matthew Paris, the blame for the riot has rested heavily on the shoulders of the ‘numerous and troublesome’ Irish clerks.<sup>11</sup> However, the outbreak of violence likely had much more to do with concerns over access to benefices, and the advancement of careers than the oft-cited ‘Celtic temperament’, or indeed any particular regional concern. According to the Tewkesbury Chronicle the students had come to Oseney to present business at the legate’s court.<sup>12</sup> They announced their intentions in advance, sending gifts to the legate in the morning and arrived at Oseney later that day.<sup>13</sup> The chronicles do not state the precise nature of the business they wished to present. However, the legate was often presented with appeals for preferment and, as noted above, earlier legates had been instrumental in securing many of the most important university privileges.<sup>14</sup> Such a scenario helps to explain the violent reaction of the students. It was not simply that they felt slighted. They were denied access to a highly influential court, at which they believed they had every right to be heard, and on which their hopes for advancement may have depended.

According to Matthew Paris, the students’ anger was further exacerbated by outrage over the ‘despoiling’ of the English Church for the benefit of foreigners. He reports that the rioters were heard shouting, ‘where is that simoniacal usurer, that plunderer of revenues and thirster for money, who perverts the king, subverts the kingdom, and enriches foreigners with spoil taken from us?’<sup>15</sup> Leaving aside the mob’s fictive eloquence, there are other reasons for taking Matthew Paris’s account *cum grano salis*. First, Paris frequently indulged his anti-foreign sentiments,

portraying the Italian clergy in a particularly unflattering light. Second, it is likely that his account, written many years after the events of 1238, was shaped by later efforts to exclude foreigners from positions of power within the kingdom.<sup>16</sup>

Nevertheless, there is some evidence of more generalized anti-Roman and anti-foreign sentiment in the years preceding the riot. Both Matthew Paris and Roger Wendover report popular anger directed at non-English clerics, including the seizing of crops belonging to the Italian clergy in England in 1232.<sup>17</sup> Even the Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, who did not object to the appointment of foreign clerics *per se*, expressed concern about their ability to fulfil pastoral obligations and the perception by others that they had received their positions through special favours.<sup>18</sup>

In addition, resentment towards the legate himself seems to have been building since his arrival in 1237.<sup>19</sup> Otto's grant of a thirtieth from ecclesiastical revenues to Henry III cannot have been very popular with the English clergy,<sup>20</sup> and his condemnation of pluralists at his council later that year was a source of considerable dissent.<sup>21</sup> As a result, Matthew Paris's assertions that the scholars were motivated, at least in part, by anti-foreign sentiment, cannot be dismissed lightly. It is quite possible that the initial outbreak of hostilities brought to the surface latent anti-Roman feelings, which contributed to the escalation of violence.<sup>22</sup>

Whatever their motives for the attack, Henry III was outraged. The Oxford clerks had violated the king's peace and assaulted a fully empowered papal legate who had proven himself a valuable ally. Otto had been a source of critical support during the recent quelled revolt, and had been instrumental in advancing the king's interests.<sup>23</sup> According to Matthew Paris, on at least two occasions the legate was recalled to Rome but remained in England at Henry's request. The offence is further compounded if one can accept Matthew Paris's assertion that the murdered cook was the legate's brother.<sup>24</sup>

### **Punishment**

The initial response to the riot was swift and severe. The legate placed Oxford under interdict, and the king dispatched the Earl of Warenne to

restore order and to arrest the perpetrators. Twenty-two named individuals were arrested and imprisoned at Oxford, and in the Tower of London.<sup>25</sup> According to the Tewkesbury Annals, Odo de Kilkenny and many others, including the sons of magnates, were vilely treated by their captors. This set off a dispute among the people and clerics 'some saying it was just, others that it was not'.<sup>26</sup> Matthew Paris reports that they were excommunicated, deprived of their incomes and delivered to London in carts like common robbers.<sup>27</sup>

Seven days after the incident, the king issued an order that no clerks be allowed to leave Oxford until a complete investigation could be made.<sup>28</sup> On the 7th of May, he ordered all masters and clerks who held ecclesiastical benefices to provide letters patent in the presence of the king's agents Robert Bacun<sup>29</sup> and John de Regate. Those clerks who were not regent masters or did not hold benefices were required to provide pledges for their conduct. If such could not be found they were not to depart Oxford.<sup>30</sup>

However, the king and legate seem to have softened their stance toward the university and the rioters. This was due in no small part to the intervention of the bishops, especially of Grosseteste, who had strong ties to Oxford.<sup>31</sup> The legate met with the bishops in London on the 17th of May to discuss the incident and the 'perilous condition of the clergy'. In the end, Otto agreed to grant his mercy if the scholars participated in a penitential procession.<sup>32</sup> Two days after the London meeting, many of the scholars imprisoned in Oxford and London, including Odo de Kilkenny, were released to ecclesiastical authorities. Approximately one week later, the legate lifted the interdict and restored the university to his favour (excepting those who had been personally involved in the attacks).<sup>33</sup> On the 15th of July, he urged the scholars involved to present themselves for penance, adding that they need not fear for either their freedom or their belongings.<sup>34</sup>

The treatment of the scholars clearly illustrates the careful distinction between laymen and scholars. Even in such a serious incident the students were turned over to ecclesiastical authorities relatively quickly.<sup>35</sup> The wording of the orders to release the prisoners underscores this distinction, always including the stipulation '*si clerici sint*'.<sup>36</sup> The difference in status seems to have had a significant impact on the length of stay in prison as well. More than three months after Odo de Kilkenny was ordered released from the Tower of London, his servant William Joscelin still languished there.<sup>37</sup>

### Later Careers

The later careers of some of the participants also suggest that in the end the official response to the riot was mild. Several of the students arrested went on to have successful, even noteworthy careers. Foremost among these was Odo de Kilkenny himself, who played a central role in the events leading up to the disturbance. Odo was clearly the best known of those involved; indeed he is the only one arrested who appears by name in the chronicles. At the time of his arrest he was rector of Brantingham in Yorkshire, a position he held until his death in 1260, and he was obviously a man of considerable substance.<sup>38</sup> In 1241, a scant three years after the riot, he served as the agent of the dean of the chapter of Lincoln in his dispute with Bishop Grosseteste.<sup>39</sup> In 1244, he appeared as the king's advocate in the court of the King's Bench.<sup>40</sup> Some fifteen years later he was party to the dispute between Oseney Abbey and the dean and chapter of Lincoln over the chapel of St George-in-the-Castle.<sup>41</sup> Odo's service to the royal court suggests that he may have been a relation of *magister* William de Kilkenny, who was active in Oxford in the 1230s and served as the king's clerk and proctor in Rome before becoming bishop of Coventry and royal Chancellor. Documents associated with the riot strongly suggest that Odo had a relative of this name, including a reference to the release of Odo's belongings to a William de Kilkenny.<sup>42</sup>

Further biographical information is available for three other clerks arrested following the riot. The first, Walter de Aylesbury, held several benefices between 1223 and 1240. These included the rectorship of Chalfont St Peters in Buckinghamshire, which he resigned in 1239, and the rectorship of South Newington. At the time of his appointment to the latter position he is called *magister*.<sup>43</sup> The second, John de Brideport was rector of Upper Heyford in Oxfordshire from 1245–7, and appears as the physician to William Valence in 1258.<sup>44</sup> A third clerk, *Magister* Peter de Gosington (Cusington) was notably successful in procuring benefices. He served simultaneously as Rector of Burton Overy (1258), Rock Worcester (1263) and Haltham-on-Bain (1264). In 1263 he received a papal dispensation for multiple benefices with cure of souls. He seems to have maintained his connections with the university throughout his life and is listed as the donor of a manuscript to Balliol College, presumably left to the college at his death in 1276.<sup>45</sup>



### Living Arrangements

Beyond the evidence relating to the later careers of university students, the documents created in response to the riot also illuminate the living arrangements and lodging patterns of Oxford scholars prior to the foundation of the colleges.<sup>46</sup> In the months following the riot, the king dispatched his men to Oxford to record the names and residences of many of the scholars, and to collect the statements of those willing to go surety on behalf of clerks implicated in the riot. In some cases the officials recorded the specific location of individual houses; in others it is often possible to make reasonable guesses as to their location.<sup>47</sup>

The documents record the landlords of some fifty scholars and unnamed *socii*.<sup>48</sup> Approximately thirty-seven lived outside the north gate in the parishes of St Giles and St Mary Magdalen. The heaviest concentration of scholars appears to have been in the northern suburbs east of St Giles and north of Horsemonger Street, an area that would come to house many of the universities academic halls and colleges, including Balliol and Durham colleges. Some eighteen lived in tenements held by a single landlord: Osmund Molendarius.<sup>49</sup> Ralph Godenave rented rooms to five scholars, most likely in his property located near the intersection of St. Giles and Horsemonger (the future Sparrow Hall).<sup>50</sup> Another twelve to fourteen students had rooms in houses located along the road to St. Giles.<sup>51</sup>

Only four students can be identified with lodgings within the city walls, all of these near the Church of St Mary.<sup>52</sup> Clearly most students chose lodgings outside the city proper, close to Northgate and Smythgate. This location had two significant advantages. First, it was close to the schools, which were concentrated between St Mary's and Smythgate. At the same time, its location outside the walls meant cheaper rents than in the more crowded walled sections of Oxford. Those associated with the university who could afford to live within the walls were often masters.<sup>53</sup>

The students also tended to group together along familial or regional lines. Richard, Daniel, and Alan de Kildelou (Killaloe) lived together in the house of Richard le Barbur. Ralph Godenave rented rooms to five students from the marches of Wales. Roger and Peter Scoticus lived together, as did William and John de Hoyland.<sup>54</sup> By grouping together in this manner, the students were able to share expenses, and, equally

important for students far from home, had a valuable network of support.

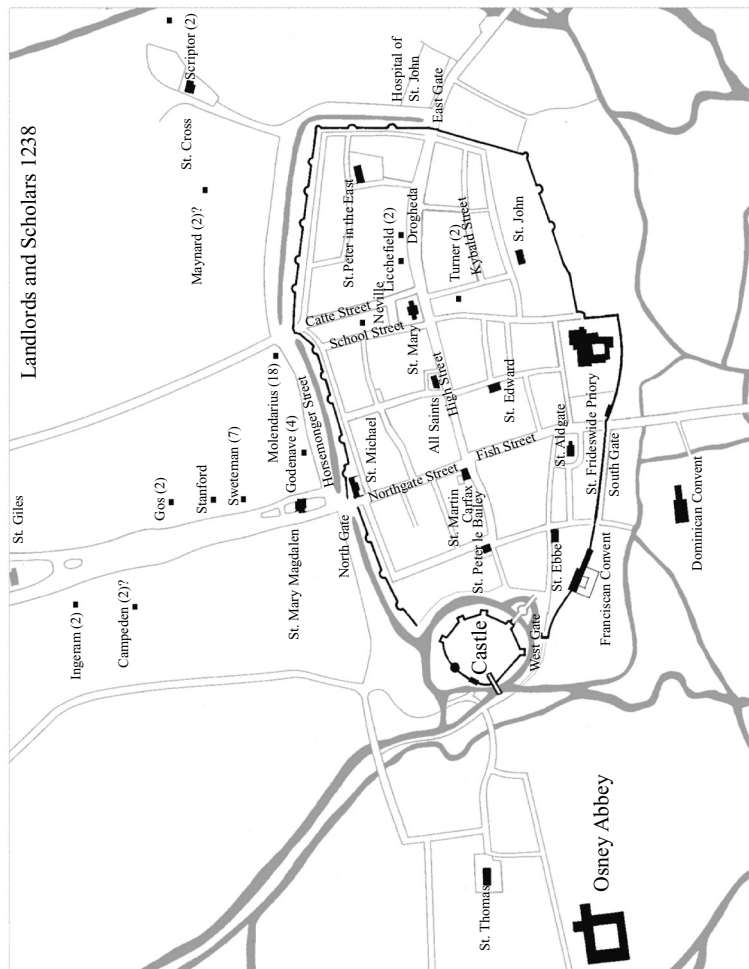
Nevertheless, it should be noted that those implicated in the Oseney riot do not appear to have come exclusively from any particular region. This fact suggests that the students participating in the riot were bound together by their identification with the university and that older attributions of the violence to one particular regional group are inaccurate.

The landlords themselves were drawn from various groups within the city. Some, like Osmund Molendarius, had substantial holdings and a considerable number of tenants. In some cases, students rented rooms from their masters. This appears to have been the case for Roger and Peter Scoticus, who lodged with *magister* William Lichfield, and possibly for Richard de Camail.<sup>55</sup> In addition, landlords belonged to the professions that directly serviced the university community. In particular we find among those who provided lodging to students a barber, necessary for the maintenance of the clerical tonsure, and a scribe.

The documents also reveal an additional layer of connections. Clerks implicated in the riot who were not regent masters or did not hold a benefice were required to find pledges for their good conduct. In some cases, the relationship between the clerks and those who stood surety for them is clear. Ralph Godenave and Gilbert Compeden appeared on behalf of their tenants, as did Walter Galle.<sup>56</sup> In other cases, however, one can only speculate as to the nature of the relationship. It is likely that *magister* William Drogheda who stood surety for Richard de Camail was the student's master, and perhaps his landlord.<sup>57</sup> This could also be the case with *magister* Robert de Lichfield,<sup>58</sup> *magister* Reyner de Stokes,<sup>59</sup> and *magister* Simon de Neville,<sup>60</sup> who stood surety for Richard, Daniel, and Alan Kildelou respectively.<sup>61</sup> David de Dudelig de Dublin stood surety for two fellow Irishmen.<sup>62</sup> In addition, a large number of students found citizens of Oxford who were willing to stand surety for them, suggesting that relations between the town and the students could be more amiable than is commonly assumed.<sup>63</sup>

## Conclusion

The documentation gathered in the aftermath of the Oseney riot provides some of the earliest and most detailed evidence relating to Oxford's



■ Name of landowner with number of tenants in parentheses

university community. It also provides an opportunity to observe the practical application of university privileges that had been won a scant twenty-four years earlier. The riot having occurred during such an unsettled period, it is telling that the rights of the university and its scholarly community were largely upheld. In addition, the documentation relating to the riot provides a wealth of valuable information that sheds light on the living arrangements, social background, and careers of some early students at Oxford. Although we know much less about the fate of the individuals than we would like, the names themselves, linked to a specific place and time, are at least a starting point. Further research may reveal more about the intricate connections that no doubt existed between the students involved in the riot, as well as the connections between the students and those who stood surety for them. Even lacking this, the riot at Oseney and the official response provide an opportunity to observe the complex interactions of episcopal, lay, and papal authority during the early years of the Oxford University.

## Appendix I

### *Clerks named in connection with the Oseney Riot*

Aylesbury, Hugh de: Buckinghamshire. Lived in one of the houses of Osmund Molendarius with Walter de Aylesbury, Hugh de Birchmoor, John de Bridesthorn, another John also from Bridesthorn, Robert Bracy de Stanes, Robert de Sandrig, and Lawrence de Eston, all of whom were from Buckinghamshire, Osmund Molendarius and Richard Furnarius stood surety for these eight, 11 June 1238 [*CCR* 1237–42, 135]. A Hugh de Aylesbury is also listed as living in the house of Walter Galle with Ralph Wokind and Walter de Burewardscot, it is not clear if this is an error or a different Hugh de Aylesbury. [*CCR* 1237–42, 135]. Ordered released from the prison in Oxford to the bishop of Lincoln or his representative by order of the king, 8 July 1238 [*CCR* 1237–42, 72].

Aylesbury, Walter de: Buckinghamshire. Lived in one of the houses of Osmund Molendarius with seven other students. One of eight clerks for whom Osmund Molendarius and Richard Furnarius stood surety, 11 June 1238 [*CCR* 1237–42, 135] (see lists under Hugh de Aylesbury). Ordered released from the prison in Oxford to the bishop of Lincoln or his representative by order of the king, 8 July 1238 [*CCR* 1237–42, 72]. *Magister* by 1240. Rector of Chipping Norton, presented by Eynsham Abbey, Oxon. Withdrew 1223.

- Rector of Chalfont S. Peter's Buckinghamshire, admitted 1224. Vacated 1239. Rector of South Newington, Oxon., presented by Eynsham Abbey [Emden, *Biographical Register*, i, 15].
- Aqua, John de: Seized with Odo de Kilkenny and held in the Tower. However, no evidence was found implicating him in the riot [CCR 1237–42, 53].
- Aundely, Ralph: Lived in the house of Gilbert Compeden with Alexander Gretton. Gilbert Compeden and William Molendarius stood surety for the two, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135]. Ordered released from the prison in Oxford to the bishop of Lincoln or his representative by order of the king, 8 July 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 72].
- Balliol, Engeram de: Allowed to travel freely notwithstanding the royal mandate, Henry Balliol having mainprised to have him (as well as Adam de Buckfeld, Bernard de Hindele, and Robert de Paxton) before the legate when commanded, 12 May 1238 [CPR 1232–47, 219].
- Birchmoor, Hugh de: Buckinghamshire. Lived in one of the houses of Osmund Molendarius with seven others from Buckinghamshire. Osmund Molendarius and Richard Furnarius served as pledges on behalf of Birchmoor and seven others, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135] (See lists under Hugh de Aylesbury).
- Blundus, William: Ordered released from the Tower of London where he was being held with *magister* Odo de Kilkenny and others, 19 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 53].
- Buckland (Bocland), Galfridus de: Received permission to travel and secured the release of his horse which had been seized, notwithstanding the royal edict prohibiting clerks to leave Oxford, 7 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 129]. Likely the same as Galfridus de Bocland who witnessed ca. 1220 the granting of a market stall by Henry Simeon to Robert son of Peter in the drapery (located on Northgate street just north of High street) [Salter, *Cartulary of Oseney*, ii, 46]. In 1240 Galfridus de Bocland also witnessed the sale of a rent to Peter Thorold in St. Mildred's parish (the future Chimney hall). Robert de Oxonia, canon of Suwell diocese of York, also appears as a witness (see below, Robert canon of Suthwell) [Salter, *Cartulary of Oseney*, i, 149].
- Buckfeld (Bokinfeld), Adam de: Northumbria. Son of Robert de Cranteleye. Granted permission to leave Oxford notwithstanding royal decree forbidding all clerks to leave Oxford, Henry de Balliol having mainprised to have him and three other clerks before the legate when commanded, 12 May 1238 [CPR, 1232–47, 219] (see list under Engeram de Balliol). MA by 1243. Rector of West Rounton in Yorkshire, 20 July 1243. Rector of Iver Buckinghamshire (subdeacon), admitted on the recommendation of Adam Marsh O.F.M. in 1249. Canon and prebendary of Lincoln 1264/5 [Emden, *Biographical Register*, i, 297].
- Bracy de Stanes, Robert: Buckinghamshire. Lived in one of the houses of Osmund Molendarius with seven other students. One of eight clerks for whom Osmund Molendarius and Richard Furnarius stood surety, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135] (see lists under Hugh de Aylesbury).

Brackley (Brakele), Simon filius Warini de: Indicted in connection with the riot at Oseney where he had appeared armed with a bow and arrow. Fled Oxford and could not be found, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135]. In 1220 a ‘Simon Brakkele’ (perhaps an uncle?) held a tenement in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen on Horsemonger street [Salter, *Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John*, iii, 317]. This property was later incorporated into Bodin Hall [Salter, *Cartulary of Oseney*, ii, 342]. Possibly the same as *magister* Simon de Brackley subdeacon who was presented by Thomas de Molton to the church of All Saints in Saltfleetby (Lincolnshire) in 1279 [Rotuli Gravesend, *Lincolniensis*, 84].

Bridesthorn, John de: Buckinghamshire. Lived in one of the houses of Osmund Molendarius with seven other students. One of two clerks with this name and eight clerks in total for whom Osmund Molendarius and Richard Furnarius stood surety, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135] (see lists under Hugh de Aylesbury).

Bridesthorn, John de: Buckinghamshire. Lived in one of the houses of Osmund Molendarius with seven other students. One of two clerks with this name and eight clerks in total for whom Osmund Molendarius and Richard Furnarius stood surety, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135] (see lists under Hugh de Aylesbury).

Brideport, John de: Ordered released from the tower of London where he was being held with *magister* Odo Kilkenny and others, 19 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 53]. Rector of Upper Heyford, Oxon., subdeacon, 1246–6; vacated by 1247–48 [Rotuli Grosseteste, 488, 491]. Physician of William de Valence, count of La Marche, and earl of Pembroke in April 1258 [Emden, *Biographical Register*, i, 264].

Brok (Broch’), John de la: Welsh marches. Lived in the House of Ralph Godenave with William de Kenefeg, Richard de Kenton, Gregory de Oggemor, and Statius de Sancto Donato (all of the marches of Wales). Ralph Godenave and Richard de Norwico stood surety for the five, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].

Ordered released from the prison in Oxford to the bishop of Lincoln or his representative by order of the king, 8 July 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 72]; Emden, *Biographical Register*, i, 271].

Buketon, Stephen de: Gloucestershire. Listed among those clerks who had fled, 30 May 1238, [CCR 1237–42, 133].

Burwardscot (Burnardescot), Walter de: Lived in the house of Walter Galle with Ralph Wokind and possibly Hugh de Aylesbury. Richard parson of Saint Clement Oxford and Walter Galle stood surety for the three, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135]. Ordered released from the prison in Oxford to the bishop of Lincoln or his representative by order of the king, 8 July 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 72; See also Emden, *Biographical Register*, i, 307]. Perhaps connected to *magister* Roger de Burwardscot who acquired a tenement at the east end of All Saints in Oxford between 1240 and 1250 [Emden, *Biographical Register*, i, 322].

- Burgo, Hugh de: *Magister* by 1238. Granted permission to leave Oxford, royal order to the contrary notwithstanding, 7 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 128]. Granted three bucks by Henry III for his inception feast as Doctor in Canon Law, 11 November 1260 [Emden *Biographical Register*, i, 307].
- Camail, Richard de: Clerk for whom *magister* William Drogheda stood surety following the Oseney riot. Accused of inciting others against the legate and his *familia*, 11 June 1238, [CCR 1237–42, 135; Emden, *Biographical Register*, i, 342].
- Cassel, John: Lived in the house of John de Ingeram with Walter Yreis (his *socius*) and Henry capellanus de Edwardstone. Missing from Oxford along with Walter Yreis, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 134].
- Cocus, William: Gloucestershire. Missing from Oxford after the riot at Oseney, 30 May 1238, [CCR 1237–42, 133]. (On the same day a William Cocus de Myda is mentioned in a letter to the Earl of Hereford.)
- Colin (otherwise unknown): Eighteen years of age at the time of the riot. Was present during the attack on the legate and had thrown stones at the gate. Surname and patronym unknown, could not be found, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 134].
- Craneford, Simon de: *Magister* by 1238. Ordered released from Tower of London where he was being held with Odo de Kilkenny and others, 19 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 53; Emden, *Biographical Register*, i, 510].
- Croilland, William de: Lincolnshire. *Socius* of Richard de Warwick. Implicated in the riot at Oseney. William de Plumton served as pledge, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 136]. Possibly the same as *magister* William de Croyland rector of Achurch, Northamptonshire 1247–8. [*Rotuli Grosseteste, Lincolnensis*, 238].
- Crumb, Reginald de (*scriptor*): Lived in the house of John Scriptor in the parish of St Cross with Hamo de Strafford. Missing from Oxford, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 134].
- Curry de Scotia, John: Indicted, fled and could not be found, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 134].
- Dukeston, Stephen de: Probably from Herefordshire. Listed among those clerks who had fled, 30 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 133].
- Duyne, Phillip de: Probably from Herefordshire. Listed among those clerks who had fled, 30 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 133].
- Eadwardestone, Henry capellanus de: Probably Norwich. Lived in a house belonging to John Ingeram with two other students (for list see Cassel, John). Was indicted in connection with the riot at Oseney and had left the city, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 134].
- Elias: Lived with a certain John in the house of John le Turnur in Gropelane. Indicted and could not be found, 11 June 1238, [CCR 1237–42, 134].
- Eston, Lawrence de: Buckinghamshire. Lived in one of the houses of Osmund Molendarius with seven other students. One of eight students for whom Osmund Molendarius and Richard Furnarius stood surety, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135]. (See lists under Hugh de Aylesbury).

- Estreleg, Robert capellanus de: Oxfordshire: Resided in the house of Gilbert de Hanneya. Indicted in connection with the Oseney riot. Simon Edtrop (citizen of Oxford) stood surety, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Fercekeyroth, Gregory de: Ordered released from the tower of London where he was being held with master Odo Kilkenny and others, 19 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 53].
- Fundlington, John de: Clerk for whom William rector of Langeton and William Rector of Stokes stood surety (also for Hugh de Welles), 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Glovernia, John de: Gloucester. Clerk who lived in one of the houses of Osmond Molendarius. Indicted in connection with the riot. Osmund Molendarius stood surety, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Gosington (Cusington), Peter de: Leicestershire. *Magister* by 1238. Listed among those clerks who had fled, 30 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 133]. Accused of inciting and aiding the riot. Said to have presented himself to the Bishop of Lincoln before 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 134]. Rector of Burton Overy, Leicestershire 1258. Rector of Haltham-on-Bain, Lincolnshire, 1264. Rector of Rock Worcestershire in 1263. Granted dispensation to hold one other benefice with cure of souls in addition to Rock and Haltham-on-Bain, 4 May 1263 [Emden, *Biographical Register*, i, 531].
- Gretton, Alexander de: Northamptonshire. Lived in the house of Gilbert Compeden with Ralph Aundely indicted in connection with the riot. Gilbert Compeden and William Molendarius stood surety, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Grosseteste, Richard: Released from the tower of London where he was being held with master Odo Kilkenny and others, 19 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 53; Emden, *Biographical Register*, ii, 830].
- Henry: Carlisle. *Socius* of Peter de Karleolo (Carlisle). Given permission to travel, notwithstanding the royal edict restricting travel of Oxford clerks following the Oseney riot. Bishop of Carlisle mainprised for him and for John de Neketon, Michael de Sancto Albano, Geoffrey de Sancta Agatha, his socius, Nicholas, Peter de Karleolo, and Ralph, another of Peter de Karleolo's *socii*, 11 May 1238 [CPR, 1232–47, 219].
- Hereford, Galfridus de: *Filius persone de Bromyard* and brother of John de Brummerd. Accused of participating in the Oseney riot and of beating Thomas Terry de Oxonia whom he believed was a Roman. As of 11 June 1238 could not be found. His brother John and Thomas capellanus de Santo Martino mainprised to have him return and appear before the legate when required [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Hibernia, Reginald de: Had fled Oxford with seven of his *socii* (their names unknown) with whom he had lived in the one of the houses of Osmund Molendarius, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 134].
- Hiberniensis, Christian: Resided with his *socius* Patrick Prodom, Maurice Walensis, Nicholas Hiberniensis and Hugh Norrensis in a house belonging to a certain Sweteman. Indicted 11 June 1238; had fled and could not be



- found. David de Dudelig de Dublin stood surety for him and for Patrick Prodom [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Hiberniensis, Nicholas: Resided with Christian Hiberniensis and three others in a house belonging to a certain Sweteman (see list under Christian Hiberniensis), 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Hindele, Bernard de: Granted permission to travel 12 May 1238, Henry de Balliol having mainprised for him and for three others. (See list under Engeram de Balliol for others) for others [CPR, 1237–47, 219; Emden, *Biographical Register*, ii, 937].
- Hoyland, John de: Lincolnshire. Ordered arrested, 30 May 1238, [CCR 1237–42, 133]. Tenant of William Maynard. Fled Oxford with his brother William the day after the riot, still missing 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 134; Emden, *Biographical Register*, ii, 978].
- Hoyland, William de: Lincolnshire. Ordered arrested, 30 May 1238, [CCR 1237–42, 133]. Tenant of William Maynard. Fled Oxford with his brother John the day after the riot, still missing, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 133–34; Emden, *Biographical Register*, ii, 978].
- Illewyk, William de: *Magister* by 1238. Granted permission to leave Oxford 1 May 1238 notwithstanding the royal injunction following the riot at Oseney [CCR 1237–42, 128; Emden, *Biographical Register*, ii, 999].
- John: Resided with a certain Elias in the house of John Turnur. Both were indicted could not be found in Oxford, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 134].
- Karleolo (Carlisle), Peter de: Given permission to leave Oxford notwithstanding the royal edict to the contrary along with six others. (See list under Henry). The Bishop of Carlisle mainprised, 11 May 1238 [CPR, 1232–47, 219].
- Kenefeg, William de: Marches of Wales. Resided in the house of Ralph Godenave along with four others. Indicted in connection with the Oseney riot. Ralph Godenave and Richard de Norwico, citizen of Oxford, stood surety for all five, 11 June 1238 (See list under John de la Brok) [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Kenton(Keneton), Richard de: Marches of Wales. Resided in the house of Ralph Godenave along with four others. Indicted in connection with the Oseney riot. Ralph Godenave and Richard de Norwico, citizen of Oxford, stood surety, 11 June 1238. (See list under John de la Brok) [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Kildelou (Killaloe) Alan de: Indicted in connection with the riot at Oseney. Resided in the house of Richard le Barbur along with Daniel and Richard de Kildelou; there were also other *socii* residing in the same house who were indicted and could not be found. *Magister* Simon de Neville stood surety, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Kildelou (Killaloe), Daniel de: Indicted in connection with the riot at Oseney. Resided in the house of Richard le Barbur along with Alan and Richard de Kildelou and other unnamed *socii*. *Magister* Reynner de Stokes stood surety, 11 June 1238, [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Kildelou (Killaloe), Richard de: Indicted in connection with the riot at Oseney, 11 June 1238. Resided in the house of Richard le Barbur along with Daniel

- and Alan de Kildelou and other unnamed *socii*. *Magister* Robert de Lichfield stood surety. [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Kilkenny, Odo de: *Magister* by 1238. According to Matthew Paris imprisoned first in Wallingford castle and then the tower of London. Ordered released 19 May 1238 [Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, i, 484; CCR 1237–42, 53]. Party to the settlement of a dispute between Oseney Abbey and the dean and chapter of Lincoln, 8 July 1259. Also rector of Brantingham Yorks., 28 July 1237, King's advocate in the court of King's Bench in 1244. Given his later ties to Henry's court it seems likely he was a relative of William de Kilkenny who had a long and distinguished career in royal service, attaining the office of royal chancellor in the 1250's [Emden, *Biographical Register*, ii, 1048].
- Langel, William de: Diocese of Durham. Listed among those clerks who had fled 30 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 133].
- Leicester, Robert de: Ordered released from the Tower of London where he was being held with *magister* Odo de Kilkenny and others, 19 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 53]. Possibly the same as *magister* Robert de Leicester who resigned as rector of Sproxtton portions (Leicester) 1244–45 [Rotuli Grosseteste, *Lincolniensis*, 426] and Robert Leir' subdiaconus presented as rector of Eastwell 1239–40 [Rotuli Grosseteste, *Lincolniensis*, 206].
- Lewes, John de: Ordered released from the Tower of London where he was being held along with *magister* Odo Kilkenny and others, 19 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 53].
- Lichfield (Liccefeld), Thomas de: Ordered released from the Tower of London where he was being held with master Odo Kilkenny and others, 19 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 53]. Possibly the same as the '*magister* Thomas de Liccefeld' commended to the church of Bluntisham by Bishop Gravesend in 1273 [Rotuli Gravesend *Lincolniensis*, 178–9].<sup>64</sup>
- Lichfield (Liccefeld), William de: *Magister* by 1238. Provided lodging for two Scottish clerks at the time of the Oseney riot [CCR 1237–42, 134; Emden, *Biographical Register*, ii, 1145]. Held tenement in St Peter in the East on High Street just west of Queen's Lane from 1233–4 until 1245–6 [Salter: *Cartulary of Oseney*, i, 290–3; Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, i, 138; Emden, *Biographical Register*, ii, 1145]. Rector of Harleston, Northamptonshire, 1228 vacated by Feb. 1241. Canon of St. Paul's, London and prebendary of Holborn, 1229–1231. Rector of Ardeley, diocese of Lincoln, 1241. Rector of the mediety of Brayton 4 June 1246. Granted 5 marks a year by Worcester Priory for legal services. Papal subcollector in England 1256, vacated by 18 February 1257. King's clerk 1257 [Emden, *Biographical Register*, ii, 1145].
- Locard, William: Gloucester. Listed among the clerks missing from Oxford following the riot at Oseney, 30 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 133]. On the same day a William Locard, layman, is also mentioned in a letter to the Earl of Hereford, whether this is the same William Locard is unclear [CCR 1237–42, 133].
- Martinstowe, Nicholas de: Gloucestershire. Listed among those clerks who had fled 30 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 133].
- Mauricius: *Magister*, clerk of the Archbishop of Dublin who came to England in the business of his lord, received permission to travel together with his men 7 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 129].

- Middleton, John de: Fled Oxford before 30 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 133].
- Mortimer, John: Resided with Robert Norrensis in the house of Augustine Gos. Indicted in connection with the Oseney riot and fled before 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 134].
- Neketon, John de: *Magister* by 1238. Granted permission to leave Oxford: Bishop of Carlisle mainprised for him and six others, (See list under Henry) 11 May 1238 [CPR 1232–47, 219]. Rector of Cottesmore, Ruland, in 1228–9, and still in 1229–30 [Rotuli Welles, *Lincolniensis*, ii, 144, 232; Emden, *Biographical Register*, ii, 1342].
- Nicholas: *Socius* of Geoffrey de Sancta Agatha. Given permission to travel 11 May 1238 along with Geoffrey de Sancta Agatha, John de Neketon, Michael de Sancto Albano, Peter de Karleolo, Henry and Ralph (*socii* of Peter de Karleolo). The Bishop of Carlisle mainprised [CPR 1232–47, 219].
- Norrensis, Hugh: Resided in the house of a certain Sweteman with four other students (see list under Christian Hiberniensis), 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Norrensis, Robert: Resided in the house of Augustine Gos with John Mortimer. Listed among the clerks who had left Oxford and could not be found, 11 June 1238, [CCR 1237–42, 134].
- Oggemor, Gregory de: Resided in a house of Ralph Godenave with four other students. Ralph Godenave and Richard de Norwico (citizens of Oxford) stood surety for all five. (See list under John de la Brok) [CCR 1237–42, 135]. Ordered released from the prison in Oxford to the bishop of Lincoln or his representative by order of the king 8 July 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 72].
- Oxonia, Adam de: Ordered released from the tower of London where he was being held with master Odo Kilkenny and others, 19 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 53].
- Oxonia, Peter de: Ordered released from the tower of London where he was being held with master Odo Kilkenny and others, 19 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 53].
- Paxton, Robert de: Clerk. Granted permission to leave Oxford notwithstanding royal decree forbidding all clerks to leave Oxford, Henry de Balliol having mainprised to have him and three other clerks before the legate when commanded. (See list under Engeram de Balliol). [CPR, 1232–47, 219]. *Magister* by 1230. Rector of Fordington, Lincolnshire, 1230–1, vacated by 1232–3 [Emden, *Biographical Register*, iii, 1440].
- Prodom, Patrick: *Socius* of Nicholas Hiberniensis. Resided in the house of a certain Sweteman with Hiberniensis and three others. (See list under Christian Hiberniensis). Indicted left Oxford and could not be found, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Prout, Lucas le: Clerk for whom Durand Hann de Lancavatton, Elyas Parson of Curiton, and Walter de Dorkecester (citizen of Oxford) stood surety [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Ralph: *Socius* of Peter de Karleolo. Given permission to leave Oxford notwithstanding the royal edict to the contrary along with six others. (See list under Henry). The Bishop of Carlisle mainprised, 11 May 1238 [CPR 1232–47, 219].

- Robert canon of Suthwell: Clerk of the Archbishop of York. Given permission (along with Thomas de Stanford and Richard de Hadeston in the service of the Archbishop of York) to leave Oxford and travel to York 1 May 1238 by Henry III [*CCR* 1237–42, 47].
- Sancta Agatha, Geoffrey de: Given permission to travel 11 May 1238, along with John de Neketon, Michael de Sancto Albano, Peter de Karleolo, Henry and Ralph (*socii* of Peter de Karleolo), and Nicholas *socius* of Geoffrey de Sancta Agatha. The Bishop of Carlisle mainprised [*CPR* 1232–47, 219].
- Sancta Agatha, Robert de: *Magister* by 1238, Master of Thomas filius Brienn'. Given permission to travel along with Thomas 5 May 1238 [*CCR* 1237–42, 128]. Possibly chancellor of the University 1256 [*Snappes Formulary*, 322; Emden, *Biographical Register*, iii, 1623]. Archdeacon of Durham in 1265, and still 1267. Official of Lincoln April 1256 [Emden, *Biographical Register*, iii, 1623].
- Sancto Albano, Michael de: Given permission to leave Oxford notwithstanding the royal edict to the contrary along with six others. (See list under Henry). The Bishop of Carlisle mainprised, 11 May 1238 [*CPR* 1232–47, 219]. Renounced rectory of Cosgrove, Northamptonshire [Emden, *Biographical Register*, iii, 1623].
- Sancto Donato, Statius de: Marches of Wales. Resided in the house of Ralph Godenave along with four others from the Marches of Wales. Indicted in connection with the Oseney riot. Ralph Godenave and Richard de Norwico, citizen of Oxford, stood surety for all five, 11 June 1238 (See list under John de la Brok) [*CCR* 1237–42, 135].
- Sandrig (Sondrich'), Robert de: Buckinghamshire. Lived in one of the houses of Osmund Molendarius with seven other students. Arrested in connection with the riot at Oseney. One of eight clerks for whom Osmund Molendarius and Richard Furnarius stood surety, 11 June 1238 [*CCR* 1237–42, 135] (see lists under Hugh de Aylesbury). Arrested in connection with the riot at Oseney. Ordered released from the prison in Oxford to the bishop of Lincoln or his representative by order of the king 8 July 1238 [*CCR* 1237–42, 72].
- Scoticus, Peter: Resided in the house of *magister* William de Lichfield along with Roger Scoticus. Fled Oxford and could not be found, 11 June 1238, [*CCR* 1237–42, 134].
- Scoticus, Roger: Resided in the house of *magister* William de Lichfield along with Peter Scoticus. Fled Oxford and could not be found, 11 June 1238, [*CCR* 1237–42, 134].
- Stanford, Thomas de: Clerk of the Archbishop of York. Given permission to leave Oxford and travel to York with Robert canon of Suthwell and Richard de Hadeston in the service of the Archbishop of York, 1 May 1238 [*CCR* 1237–42, 47]. Possibly the same as a *magister* Thomas de Stanford who purchased a rent of 8d. per annum in 1250 from John Crumpe between the property of Adam de Middleton to the north and Nicholas son of Miles to the south in the parish of St. Giles [*Cartulary of Oseney*, ii, 212; Emden, *Biographical Register*, iii, 1754]. Perpetual vicar of St. Giles 1265 [*Cartulary of Oseney*, ii, 235; Emden, *Biographical Register*, iii, 1754].

- Stanton, Thomas de: Herefordshire. Fled Oxford before 30 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 133].
- Strafford (Stratford), Hamo de: Buckinghamshire. Fled Oxford before 30 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 133]. Lived in the house of John Scriptor with Reginald de Crumb. Still missing from Oxford, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 134].
- Stures, William de: Ordered released from the Tower of London where he was being held with master Odo Kilkenny and others, 19 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 53].
- Terry de Oxonia, Thomas: Richard Segrin and Lawrence Prepositus (both citizens of Oxford) stood surety on his behalf. Thomas was present during the riots and had been beaten by Galfridus de Hereford who had mistaken him for a Roman [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Thomas filius Brienn': Given permission to travel with Robert de Sancta Agatha (Thomas's master) 5 May 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 128].
- Verrur, Hugh le: Clerk who lived in one of the houses of Osmund Molendarius. Indicted in connection with the riot at Oseney, fled and could not be found, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 134].
- Walensis, Maurice: Resided with four other students in a house belonging to a certain Sweteman (see list under Christian Hiberniensis), 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Walton, Adam de: Perchamenarius in Catte street, participated in the riot armed with a bow, fled and could not be found, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 134]. In 1266 an Adam Walton witnessed the granting of a messuage to Simon Scot by Walter de Welles in the parish of St. Peter in the East [*Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John* i, 378; Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, i, 98].
- Warwick (Warrewik), Richard de: Indicted in connection with the riot. *Magister* Robert de Burgo stood surety [CCR 1237–42, 136].
- Welles, Hugh de: Indicted in connection with the riot at Oseney. William Rector of the Church of Langeton, and William Rector of the Church of Stokes stood surety for Hugh de Welles and John de Fundlington, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- William scriptor Roberti de Giffard: Indicted in connection with the Oseney riot, fled and could not be found, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 134].
- Wodkind (Wokendon'), Ralph: Ordered released from the prison in Oxford to the bishop of Lincoln or his representative by order of the king 8 July 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 72; Emden, *Biographical Register*, iii, 2076].
- Yreis, Walter: *Socius* of John de Cassel. Resided in a house of John de Ingeram along with John de Cassel and Henry capellanus de Edwardstone. Missing from Oxford along with Walter Yreis, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 134].

### *Landlords and Pledges*

- Barbur, Richard le: Oxford landlord in whose house Richard, Daniel and Alan Kildelou resided, vouched for his tenants, 11 June 1238 There were also other *socii* residing in the house who had been indicted but could not be found [CCR 1237–42, 135]. Barbers, along with scribes, parchment makers,

- bookbinders, and bakers provided essential services to the university community and were often found in the close proximity to students and schools. That they should also serve as landlords is not surprising [Catto, 'Citizens, Scholars and Masters', 156]. Compare also John Scriptor, and Richard Furnarius (baker) below both of whom rented rooms to scholars
- Brummerd, John de: Mainprised along with Thomas capellanus de Sancto Martino for Galfridus de Hereford [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Compeden (Cumton), Gilbert: Oxford landlord who stood surety along with William Molendarius for his tenants Ralph Aundely and Alexander Gretton, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135]. Likely the same as the Gilbert de Campeden who witnessed the granting of a messuage to John Plumbur by John Ingeram in the parish of St Mary Magdalen on the west side of Broad Street just south of St Giles ca. 1240 [Cartulary of Oseney ii, 291–2; Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, ii, 216].
- Dorchester (Dorkecester), Walter de: Citizen of Oxford, served with Durand Hann de Lancavatton, and Elyas, parson de Curiton as pledge for Lucas le Prout who was indicted in connection with the Oseney riot, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Dudelig de Dublin, David de: Stood surety for Nicholas Hiberniensis and Patrick Prodom (his *socius*), 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Edtrop, Simon de: Citizen of Oxford. Stood surety for Robert capellanus de Estreleg, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Elyas Parson of Curiton: Stood surety for Lucas le Prout with Durand Hann de Lancavatton, and Walter de Dorkecester, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Furnarius, Richard: Stood surety along with Osmund Molendarius for Hugh de Aylesbury (in another list Richard parson of Saint Clement and Walter Galle stand surety for a Hugh de Aylesbury, whether this is an error or a different Hugh de Aylesbury is unclear), Walter de Aylesbury, Hugh de Birchmoor, John de Bridesthorn, a second John de Bridesthorn, Robert Bracy de Stanes, Robert de Sandrig, Lawrence de Eston (all from Buckinghamshire) [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Galle, Walter: Oxford landlord who stood surety for his tenants Ralph Wokind, Hugh de Aylesbury, (A Hugh de Aylesbury also appears as a tenant of William Molendarius it is not clear if this is an error or a different Hugh de Aylesbury) and Walter de Buwardscot along with Richard parson of Saint Clement Oxford, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Godenave, Ralph: Oxford Landlord who stood surety (along with Richard de Norwico) for his tenants William de Kenefeg, Richard de Kenton, John de la Brok, Gregory de Oggemor, and Statius de Sancto Donato (all of the marches of Wales), 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135]. Held tenement just north of Horsemonger Street and west of Broad Street in 1238 [Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, ii, 190; *Mediaeval Archives of Oxford University*, 307]. May have also held property in the parish of St Peter in the East where he appears as a frequent witness to property transactions [Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John, i, 23–4, 27].

- Gos, Augustine: Oxford landlord. His tenants John Mortimer and Robert Norrensis had fled and could not be found, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135] Witness to a grant of land to Ranulf de Brill by Richard Consort ca. 1240 in the parish of St Giles (east side of Broad street just south of St Giles) [Cartulary of Oseney, ii, 198]. In 1279, he held property halfway between St Mary Magdalen and St Giles on east side of the street [Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, II, 201; *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii, 809]. Also witnessed the granting of a tenement to the University by Petronilla and her husband Roger Stacionarius de Oxonia (Addington) in the parish of St Giles just north of the future Balliol Hall ca. 1250 [Mediaeval Archives of the University of Oxford, 320–1; Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, ii, 203].
- Hann, Durand de Lancavaton: Stood surety for Lucas le Prout along with Elyas Parson of Curiton, and Walter de Dorkecester (citizen of Oxford), 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Hanneya, Gilbert de: Landlord of Robert capellanus de Estreleg who was indicted in connection with the riot at Oseney, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Ingeram, John de: Oxford landlord. His tenants John de Cassel, Walter Yreis (his *socius*) Henry capellanus de Eadwardestone were indicted in connection with the riot at Oseney and had fled [CCR 1237–42, 134]. A John de Ingeram (textor) granted a messuage to John Plumber c. 1240 in the parish of St Mary Magdalen on the west side of Broad Street [Cartulary of Oseney, ii, 291, 93; Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, ii, 216].
- Langton, William rector de: Stood surety along with William rector de Stokes for Hugh de Welles and John de Fundlington, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].
- Lichfield, William de: See above under clerks.
- Maynard, William: Landlord of William and John Hoyland, scholars indicted in connection with the Oseney riot [CCR 1237–42, 134]. Possibly the same as the William Maynard who held property in Beaumont in the parish of St Mary Magdalen before 1263 [Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John, ii, 320]. Circa 1240 witness to Geoffrey the Carpenter's granting of all his holdings in Holywell to the Hospital of St John. Other witnesses include John Scriptor and Walter Godenave. Also frequent witness to property transactions in Holywell near the Church of St Cross outside the northeastern walls of the city from the 1230's to 1260's [Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John, ii, 353, 356, 357, 362, 365, 371, *passim*].
- Molendarius, Osmund: Oxford landlord in whose houses at least eighteen students involved in the Oseney riot resided. First House: Hugh le Verrur. Second House: Reginald de Hibernia and seven of his *socii*. Third House: Hugh de Aylesbury (A Hugh de Aylesbury is also listed as residing in the house of Walter Galle, whether this is an error or another Hugh de Aylesbury is unclear), Walter de Aylesbury, Hugh de Birchmoor, John de Bridesthorn, another John of the same name, Robert Bracy de Stanes, Robert de Sandrig, Lawrence de Eston. Fourth House: John de Glovernia. Stood surety with

Richard Furnarius for Hugh de Aylesbury, Walter de Aylesbury, Hugh de Birchmoor, John de Bridesthorn, Another John of the same name, Robert Bracy de Stanes, Robert de Sandrig, Lawrence de Eston. Also stood surety for John de Glovernia, [CCR 1237–42, 134–5]. Held property outside the northern gates of the city on Horsemonger street. Frequent witness to property transactions in this vicinity. Held property just southwest of the future Durham College on the west side of Park Street outside the northern walls of the city [*Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John*, i, 325].

Norwico (Norwich), Richard de: Stood surety along with Ralph Godenave for William de Kenefeg, Richard de Kenton, John de la Brok, Gregory de Oggemor, Statius de Sancto Donato, all tenants of Ralph Godenave originally from the marches of Wales, 11 June 1238, [CCR 1237–42, 135]. Possibly the same as the ‘Richard de Norwic’ who held a tenement in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen on the east side of Broad Street just north of the church of St. Mary Magdalen circa 1235 [Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, ii, 208].

Prepositus, Lawrence: Citizen of Oxford. Stood surety, along with Richard Segrim for Thomas Terry de Oxonia who was indicted in connection with the Oseney riot 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].

Richard parson of Saint Clement Oxford: Stood surety along with Walter Galle for Ralph Wokind, Hugh de Aylesbury, (in another list Osmund Molendarius and Richard Furnarius stand surety for a Hugh de Aylesbury. It is unclear whether this is an error or a different Hugh de Aylesbury) and Walter de Buwardscot [CCR 1237–42, 135]. Admitted as parson of St. Clement, Oxfordshire 1232 [*Rotuli Welles, Lincolnensis*, ii, 37; Emden, *Biographical Register*, iii, 1624].

Sancto Martino, Thomas capellanus de: Mainprised along with John de Brummerd for Galfridus de Hereford [CCR 1237–42, 135].

Scriptor, John: Oxford landlord. Two clerks indicted in connection with the riot, Reginald de Crumb *scriptor* and Hamo de Strafford, lived in his tenement in the parish of St Cross, 11 June 1238, [CCR 1237–42, 134]. A John Scriptor rented property from Philip Molendarius in the parish of St Cross (near the Cherwell) 1230–35, [*Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John*, ii, 352].

Segrim, Richard: Oxford landlord held a large number of properties throughout the city, especially in the northeast and southeast [Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, i, 76, 87, 148, 151, 180, 208; ii, 38, 83, 84, 178; *Cartulary of Oseney*, i, 135]. Stood surety, along with Lawrence Prepositus (both citizens of Oxford), for Thomas Terry de Oxonia [CCR 1237–42, 135].

Stokes, William rector de: Stood surety along with William rector de Langton for Hugh de Welles and John de Fundlington, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135].

Sweteman: Oxford landlord in whose house Nicholas Hiberniensis, Patrick Prodom (his *socius*), Maurice Walensis, Christian Hiberniensis and Hugh Norrensis resided [CCR 1237–42, 135]. Held property just north of St Mary Magdalen on the east side of Broad Street [Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, ii, 197].

Turnur, John le: Oxford landlord rented a tenement in Gropelane to the clerks Elias and John, 11 June 1238, [CCR 1237–42, 134].



*Masters as Pledges*

- Burgo, Robert de: *Magister* in 1238. Stood surety for Richard de Warwick following the riot at Oseney [CCR 1237–42, 136; Emden, *Biographical Register*, i, 310].
- Drogheda, William de: *Magister* by 1238. Stood surety for Richard Camail who was implicated in the Oseney riot, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135]. Leading English canon lawyer of his day. Owned hall north of High street (later Drawda Hall). Left property and theological books to Monk Sherborne priory. Rector of Grafton Underwood, Northamptonshire. Granted indult to hold additional incompatible benefice. Murdered by valet in 1245 at Oxford [Emden, *Biographical Register*, i, 594].
- Lichfield, Robert de: *Magister* by 1238. Stood surety for Richard de Kildelou, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135; Emden, *Biographical Register*, ii, 1144].
- Neville, Simon de: *Magister in Art.* by 1237. Stood surety for Alan de Kildelou following the Oseney riot, 11 June 1238 [CCR 1237–42, 135]. Received 3 bucks from Henry III for his inception feast 21 May 1237 [CCR 1234–37, 445]. In 1252 granted Oseney Abbey a messuage (the future Black Hall) in the parish of St Mary's north of St Mary's on the east side of School Street [Cartulary of Oseney, i, 176; Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, i, 73; Emden, *Biographical Register*, ii, 1350–1]. Rector of Terrington in Yorkshire 2 July 1233 [Emden, *Biographical Register*, ii, 1350–1]. Rector of Slingsby in Yorkshire 1248, and still in 1280, when he was excused from attending synods and convocation on account of age [Cartulary of Oseney, i, 176; Emden, *Biographical Register*, ii, 1350–1].
- Plumton, William de: *Magister* by 1238. Stood surety for William de Croilland a *socius* of Richard de Warwick who was indicted in connection with the riot at Oseney [CCR 1237–42, 136]; [Emden, *Biographical Register*, iii, 1440].
- Stokes, Reyner (Reginald) de: *Magister* by 1238. Stood surety for Daniel Kildelou following the riot at Oseney [CCR 1237–42, 135]. Described by Adam Marsh as 'a physician, a mature and upright man, expert and well-informed in arts and medicine', when he recommended him to Simon de Montfort [Emden, *Biographical Register*, iii, 1784].

## Appendix II

*Clerks Permitted to travel*

Robert canon of Suthwell and Thomas de Stanford, clerks of the archbishop of York, and Richard de Hadeston serving the same archbishop. *Magister* William de Illewyrc, 1 May 1238.

Thomas filius Brienn and *Magister* Robert de Sancta Agatha (his master) 5 May, 1238.

*Magister* Hugh de Burgo, *Magister* Mauricius clerk of the Archbishop of Dublin, Galfridus de Buckland 7 May 1238.

John de Neketon, Michael de Sancto Albano, Peter de Karleolo, and Henry and Ralph his *socii*, Geoffrey de Sancta Agatha and his *socius* Nicholas. Bishop of Carlisle mainprised 11 May 1238.

Engeram de Balliol, Bernard de Hindele, Robert de Paxton, Adam de Buckfeld. Henry de Balliol mainprised 12 May 1238.

### *Clerks released from the Tower of London 19 May 1238*

*Magister* Odo de Kilkenny, *Magister* Simon de Craneford, John de Lewes, William de Stures, Gregory de Fercekeyroth, Thomas de Lichfield, Robert de Leic[ester], John de Brideport, William Blundus, Richard Grosseteste, Peter de Oxonia, Adam de Oxonia.

### *Missing clerks ordered arrested 30 May 1238*

William de Hoyland, John de Hoyland, Hamo de Strafford, William de Langel, Phillip de Dunye, Thomas de Stanton, Stephen de Buketon, Nicholas de Martinestowe, William Cocus, William Locard, Peter de Gosington, Thomas de Stanton, Stephen de Dukeston, John de Middleton.

### *Clerks missing from Oxford 11 June 1238*

William scribe of Robert de Giffard, Simon son of Warin de Brackley, Adam de Walton (perchamenarius in Catestrate), Elias and John (last names unknown), John Curry de Scotia, *Magister* Peter de Gosington, William de Hoyland, John de Hoyland, Hugh le Verrur, Reginald de Hibernia (and seven of his *socii*), John de Cassel, Walter Yreis (listed as John's *socius*), Henry capellanus de Edwardstone, John Mortimer, Robert Norrensis, Roger Scoticus, Peter Scoticus, Reginald de Crumb, Hamo de Strafford, Colin (last name unknown) .

### *Clerks and pledges as of 11 June 1238*

Durand Hann de Lancavatton, Elyam Parson of Curiton, and Walter de Dorchester (citizen of Oxford): for Lucas le Prout.

*Magister* William de Drogheda: for Richard de Camail.

Osmund Molendarius and Richard Furnarius: for Hugh de Aylesbury (Walter Galle and Richard Parson of St. Clement also were recorded as standing surety for a Hugh de Aylesbury), Walter de Aylesbury, Hugh de Birchmoor, John de Bredesthorn, another John of the same name, Robert Bracy de Stanes, Robert de Sandrig, Lawrence de Eston (all from Buckinghamshire).

Osmund Molendarius: John de Glovernia.

*Magister* Robert de Lichfield: for Richard de Kildelou.

*Magister* Reyner de Stokes: for Daniel de Kildelou.

*Magister* Simon de Neville: for Alan de Kildelou.

Ralph Godenave and Richard de Norwico (citizen of Oxford): for William de Kenefeg, Richard de Kenton, John de la Brok, Gregory de Oggemor, Statius de Sancto Donato (all of the marches of Wales.)

David de Dudelig de Dublin: Stood surety for Nicholas Hiberniensis, and Patrick Prodom (his *socius*). They had fled Oxford to Bristol, and David de Dudelig was sent after them.

Richard parson of Saint Clement Oxford and Walter Galle: for Ralph Wokind, Hugh de Aylesbury, and Walter de Burwardscot.

Simon de Edtrop (citizen of Oxford): for Robert capellanus de Estreleg.

Richard Segrim and Lawrence Prepositus: for Thomas Terry de Oxonia.

John de Brummerd and Thomas capellanus de Sancto Martino: for Galfridus de Hereford (filius persone de Bromyard) who has disappeared. John de Brummerd (his brother) and Thomas capellanus de Sancto Martino promise that Galfridus will return to be judged.

Galfridus is also accused of beating the above mentioned Thomas Terry believing him to be a Roman.

Gilbert Compeden and William Molendarius: for Ralph Aundely and Alexander Gretton.

William Rector of the Church of Langeton and William Rector of the Church of Stokes: for Hugh de Welles and John de Fundlington.

*Magister* Robert de Burgo: for Richard de Warwick.

*Magister* William de Plumton: for William de Croilland (*socius* of Richard de Warwick).

### *Clerks released from Oxford 8 July 1238*

Ralph Aundely, Ralph Wodkind, Hugh de Aylesbury, Walter de Aylesbury, Robert de Sandrig, Walter de Burnadescot, John de la Brok, Gregory de Oggemor.

### *Ordered Released 22 August 1238*

Simon de Blacbolloc released from prison at Oxford. William Joscelin (servant of Odo de Kilkenny) ordered released from the Tower of London.

### *Names of Landlords and their tenants*

House of John le Turnur located in Gropelane: Elias and John.

House of William Maynard: William Hoyland, John Hoyland.

Houses of Osmund Molendarius: *First House*: Hugh le Verrur. *Second House*: Reginald de Hibernia and seven of his *socii*. *Third House*: Hugh de Aylesbury

(A Hugh de Aylesbury is also listed as a tenant of Walter Galle), Walter de Aylesbury, Hugh de Birchmoor, John de Bridesthorn, another John of the same name, Robert Bracy de Stanes, Robert de Sandrig, Lawrence de Eston.  
*Fourth House:* John de Glovernia.

House of John de Ingeram: John de Cassel, Walter Yreis (his *socius*) Henry capellanus de Eadwardestone.

House of Augustine Gos: John Mortimer and Robert Norren[sis].

House of *magister* William de Lichfield: Roger Scoticus and Peter Scoticus.

House of John Scriptor: Reginald de Crumb, Hamo de Strafford.

House of Richard le Barbur: Richard Kildelou, Daniel Kildelou, and Alan Kildelou.

House of Ralph Godenave: William de Kenefeg, Richard de Kenton, John de la Brok, Gregory de Oggemor, and Statius de Sancto Donato (all of the marches of Wales).

House of Sweteman: Nicholas Hiberniensis and Patrick Prodom (his *socius*), Maurice Walensis, Christian Hiberniensis and Hugh Norrensis.

House of Walter Galle: Ralph Wokind, Hugh de Aylesbury (a Hugh de Aylesbury is also listed as a tenant of Osmund Molendarius), and Walter de Burwardscot.

House of Gilbert de Hanneya: Robert capellanus de Estreleg.

House of Gilbert de Compeden: Ralph Aundely and Alexander de Gretton.

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## REFERENCES

1. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard (7 vols, Rolls Series, Vol. LVII, London, 1872–3), iii. 481–3. In translation, Matthew Paris, *English History from the Year 1235 to 1273* (3 vols, trans. J.A. Giles, London, 1852, rprn New York, 1968), i. 126–7; Paris's account of the cardinal's reaction is thick with irony. He writes, 'at hearing which the legate was astounded, and struck with fear, which can overtake even the boldest man'. Reports of the riot also appear in Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum sive, ut vulgo dicitur, historia minor. Item, ejusdem abbreviatio chronicorum Angliae*, ed. Frederic Madden (3 vols, Rolls Series vol. XLIV, London, 1866–9), ii. 407–8; *Annales de Theokesberia*, in *Annales Monasticon*, ed. Henry Richards Luard (Rolls Series, Vol. XXXVI, London, 1869; rprn Wiesbaden, 1965); *Chronicon vulgo dictum chronicon Thomae Wykesin*, ed. Henry Richards Luard (Rolls Series, Vol. XXXVI, London, 1869; rprn Wiesbaden, 1965). Matthew Paris generally gives the most detail, although the *Tewkesbury Annals* provide an independent and informative source. The chronicle of Thomas Wykes also provides some information not included

in the others. *The Annales de Burton*, ed. Henry Richards Luard (Rolls Series, Vol. XXXVI, London, 1869; rprn Wiesbaden, 1969) are less useful, and give the wrong year (1237) for the riot. However, they do include immediately after the account of the riot a list of clerical grievances. Most of these complaints concern the rights of clerks to be tried and held only by ecclesiastical authority, and no doubt constitute a reaction to the mass arrest of clerks following the riot: *Annales de Burton*, 254–7.

2. Vivian Green mentions the event in a discussion of ‘troublesome’ nature of the Irish scholars. Vivian Green, *A History of Oxford University*, (London, 1974), 25; Hastings Rashdall, in his classic work on medieval universities, discusses the riot briefly as one of several events that precipitated significant university migrations: Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F.M. Powicke and A.B. Emden (3 vols, London, 1964), iii. 87; The fullest account appears in C.H. Lawrence, ‘The University in State and Church’, in *The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. J.I. Catto (*The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. I, Oxford, 1984), 97–150, 144. In an article in the same volume, Catto uses evidence from the riot for his discussion of the relationship between the scholars and the town and living arrangements among the scholars. J.I. Catto, ‘Citizens, Scholars and Masters’, in *The Early Oxford Schools*, 151–93, 168, 175, 188.
3. In 1200, following a brawl involving German university students and a Parisian tavern keeper, the provost of Paris and a mob of Parisian townspeople attacked a hall where a number of German students were known to lodge. In the ensuing struggle several students were killed, including the Bishop-elect of Liège. In response, the king arrested the provost and others involved in the attack. In addition, the university received a number of royal privileges including the right to have members tried in ecclesiastical rather than secular courts. Much has been written about this event and its role in the legal history of the University of Paris. See Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, i. 294. For a more recent discussion, see Stephen C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: the Schools of Paris and their critics*, 1100–1215 (Stanford, 1985).
4. The suspension of lectures at Oxford is discussed in, among others, Alan B. Cobban, *The Medieval English Universities: Oxford and Cambridge to c. 1500* (Aldershot, 1988), 44; Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, iii. 33–4; M.B. Hackett, ‘The University as Corporate Body’, in *The Early Oxford Schools*, 37–96, 43.
5. As Lawrence has noted, the agreement avoided the use of language that provided official recognition of the corporate status of the Oxford schools. Lawrence, ‘The University in State and Church’, 99. However, it is a clear testament to the growing organization and cohesion of the Oxford masters. Compare Hackett, ‘The University as a Corporate Body’, 43, 48–9.
6. The legatine ordinances of 1214 are printed in *Mediaeval Archives of the University of Oxford*, ed. H.E. Salter, i. 2–10. See also Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, iii. 33–4; Alan B. Cobban, *The Medieval English Universities*, 257–9; Lawrence, ‘The University in

- State and Church', 97–100. The agreement included the stipulation that the city pay the sum of 52s annually into a fund administered initially by the abbot of Oseney and the prior of St. Frideswide. In addition, it stipulated the rents landlords could charge students for the next twenty years. Salter, *Mediaeval Archives*, 203; See Cobban, 45–6 and Catto, 'Citizens, Scholars and Masters', 163.
7. The privileges granted to both Cambridge and Oxford in 1231 specifically mention the 'multitudo studentium', and the many rebellious and incorrigible clerks. *CCR 1227–1231*, 586.
  8. Strickland Gibson (ed.), *Statuta antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford, 1931), 82. 'Item, mandat Cancellarius quod quilibet scholaris habeat magistrum proprium actu regentem...'. These statutes were almost certainly in place prior to 1231: Hackett, 'The University as a Corporate Body', 52. On these statutes see also A.B. Emden, *An Oxford Hall in Medieval Times: Being the early history of St. Edmund Hall* (Oxford, 1927, repr. Oxford, 1968), 17–8.
  9. *CCR 1227–31*, 469, 586–7; Lawrence, 'The University in State and Church', 139.
  10. Matthew Paris, *English History*, 121.
  11. Both Vivian Green and Hastings Rashdall single out the Irish. Rashdall in particular characterizes them as 'numerous and troublesome': Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, iii. 57. Matthew Paris's account also emphasizes the prominent role played by Welshmen, Scotsmen and other 'barbarians' in the riot. Matthew Paris, *Historia minor*, 408. Although the primary figure, Odo de Kilkenny, was from Ireland, most of the clerks arrested with him were not. Among those held in the Tower with Odo de Kilkenny were Simon de Craneford, John de Lewes, Robert de Leicester, John de Brideport, and Adam and Peter de Oxonia, hardly a predominantly Celtic contingent. *Close Rolls of the reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office, 1237–42* (London, 1911), 53 (Hereafter *CCR 1237–42*).
  12. *Ibid.*, 107: 'pro negotiis expediendis in cura ipsius'. For the importance of Otto's court see Dorothy M. Williamson, 'Some Aspects of the Legation of Cardinal Otto in England, 1237–41', *The English Historical Review*, 49 (1944), 145–73, 149–50. Otto settled numerous complaints and was also actively involved in the procurement of benefices for his own *familia* and other supplicants.
  13. Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ii. 407.
  14. This is also suggested in Lawrence, 'The University in State and Church', 103. On several earlier occasions papal legates were instrumental in securing university privileges as settling disputes involving the university. See Hackett, 'The University as a Corporate Body', 46–9.
  15. Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ii. 127.
  16. For a discussion of the growing anti-foreign sentiment during the later part of Henry III's reign and of the statute against aliens see D.A. Carpenter, *The Reign of Henry III* (London, 1996), 260–80.

17. Roger Wendover reports that in 1231 popular anger at the Italian clergy had grown so strong that a group made up of both nobles and non-nobles threatened to take matters into its own hands. Roger Wendover, *Flores Historiarum* (4 vols, London, 1841–2), iv. 230–1. A year later they appear to have made good on their threats ‘Eodem anno [1232] distracta horrea Romanorum per totam fere Angliam, a viris quibusdam armatis et adhuc ignotis, bonis conditionibus et ad commodum multorum . . .’. Roger Wendover, iv. 240–1. Cf. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, iii. 211.
18. Robert Grosseteste, *Roberti Grosseteste episcopi quondam lincolniensis Epistole*, ed. Henry Richards Luard (Rolls Series, Vol. XXV, London, 1861, rprn Wiesbaden, 1965), 241–2. Grosseteste’s reply to Otto’s attempt to have his clerk Atho appointed to a benefice in the diocese of Lincoln is tactful and charming but his position is clear. He compares Atho to a fruit tree native to warm southern climes, which, though superior to those native to the north, is unable to bear fruit in the more hostile environment.
19. Matthew Paris reports that the legate was recalled by the pope in 1238, ‘timebat enim ne aliquid sinistri ei accideret, eo quod multa immutavit et innovavit’. Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, iii. 404.
20. *Chronicon Thomae Wykesin*, 81–2. See also Dorothy M. Williamson, ‘Some Aspects of the Legation of Cardinal Otto in England, 1237–41’, *The English Historical Review*, 49 (1944), 145–6.
21. This of course was not the first time that such practices had been condemned, but the recent council, and Grosseteste’s reforming zeal, would have given them new vigour. Concerned that these reforms might lead to unrest, Gregory IX wrote to Otto: ‘Eidem mandat qua tenus, si contra quosdam clericos regni Angliae plura beneficia habentes, non possit, propter parentum potentiam, sine turbatione regni et scandalo juxta generalis concilii statuta precedi ad praesens, super pluralitate beneficiorum revocanda supersedeat’. *Les registres de Grégoire IX. Recueil des bulles de ce pape publiées ou analysées d’après les manuscrits originaux du Vatican*, ed. Lucien Auvray, 4 vols. (Paris, 1896–1955), 898–9.
22. One should be careful, however, about overstating the importance of anti-foreign sentiment. John de Brideport, who was arrested along with Odo de Kilkenny, became the private physician of William de Valence in 1258. William was the half brother of the king and perhaps the most hated of the foreigners involved in Henry III’s government. A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (3 vols, Oxford, 1957–9), i. 240. See also Carpenter, *The Reign of Henry III*, 269–70.
23. He had become so closely identified with the king’s policies that resistance to the legate was seen in some circles as resistance to the king. See Williamson, ‘Some Aspects of the Legation of Cardinal Otto in England’, 146.
24. There is good reason to question Matthew Paris’s assertion on this point. Other chronicles refer to the victim only as a member of the legate’s *familia*, as do the Close Rolls. It also seems unlikely that the legate’s brother would be employed as a cook, even if, as Matthew Paris claims, Otto feared poisoning.

25. See appendix II.
26. *Annales de Theokesberia*, i. 107.
27. Matthew Paris, *History of England*, 128.
28. *CCR 1237–43*, 127.
29. Possibly a relation of Roger Bacun. Emden, *Biographical Register*, i. 87.
30. *Patent rolls of the reign of Henry III*, 1232–1247, (London, 1901–13; Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1970), 218. In all, more than one hundred clerks are named in connection with the incident and twenty-five individuals who stood surety for particular students are identified.
31. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, iii. 40–1; It has traditionally been assumed that Grosseteste's ties to the university dated from 1214 at latest, when Archbishop Langton was readmitted to Canterbury and the university reopened. Recently, R.W. Southern has argued that Grosseteste's association with the university did not begin until about the year 1225. R.W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste. The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1992), 69–70.
32. Matthew Paris, *English History*, 128–9: 'All the scholars there assembled should proceed on foot, in company with the bishops, also on foot, from St. Paul's church, which was nearly a mile distant from the abode of the legate, until they reached the abode of the bishop of Carlisle, and from thence should go . . . to the abode of the legate, where they would humbly ask pardon, which would be granted them, and they would become reconciled'.
33. Henry Anstey, *Munimenta Academica or Documents Illustrative of Academical Life and Studies at Oxford*, part I, *Libri Cancellarii et Procuratorum* (London, 1868), 6–7.
34. Anstey, *Munimenta Academica*, 7–8.
35. In the immediate aftermath of the riot the clerks were arrested and held along with laymen under lay authority.
36. *CCR 1237–42*, 53.
37. *Ibid.*, 95. Although he too was ultimately released under fairly generous terms, including the stipulation that 'ad deliberationem suam ei non noceat quod captus fuit pro insultu predicto'.
38. At the time of his arrest he was attended by at least two servants. On May 23 the king ordered the release 'of the horses and all the harness of *magister* Odo de Kilkenny and of his men . . . to master William de Kilkenny or his appointed representative', *CCR 1237–42*, 55: 'Mandatum est vicecomiti Oxonie quod equos et totum hernesium Magistri Odonis de Kylkenn' et suorum et omnes res suas que remanserunt in custodia sua tradi faciat sine dilatione Magistro Willelmo de Kylkenn' vel ejus certo nuntio'.
39. *Roberti Grosseteste episcopi quondam Lincolniensis epistolae* (London, 1861), Letter XCIV, 294. Grosseteste also mentions the agent of the dean of Lincoln in a letter from 1239. Though he is not mentioned by name, it appears likely that this was Odo de Kilkenny.
40. *CCR 1242–47*, 245.
41. H E. Salter, *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey* (6 vols, Oxford Historical Society, vols 89–91, 97, 98, 101, Oxford, 1929–36), iv. 47; Emden, *Biographical Register*, ii. 1048.



42. Emden, *Biographical Register*, ii. 1049. Early in 1238, Cardinal Otto granted William de Kilkenny a dispensation to hold multiple benefices with cure of souls. Shortly after Odo de Kilkenny's release from the Tower of London, his possessions were placed in the care of a *magister* William de Kilkenny or his representative, further suggesting the possibility of a connection between these two men. *CCR 1237–1242*, 55. See note 38, above.
43. Emden, *Biographical Register*, i. 15.
44. *Ibid.*, i. 264. According to Emden he may also be the same as J. de B. who was rector of Axminster in 1277.
45. *Ibid.*, i. 530–31. More speculatively, it is possible to suggest that the *magister* Thomas de Liccefeld who was commended to the church of Bluntisham by Bishop Gravesend in 1273 was the same as Thomas de Liccefeld held with Odo de Kilkenny in the Tower of London. Similarly, the Robert de Leicester *subdiaconus* presented as rector of Eastwell in 1239–40 and the *magister* Robert de Leicester who resigned as rector of Sproxtton Portions in 1244–5, may be the Robert de Leicester arrested and held in connection with the Oseney riot. See appendix I: 'Clerks named in connection with the Oseney riot'.
46. Catto discusses this evidence briefly, concluding that the majority of students identified in the riot lived outside the walls in the suburb of Northgate: 'Citizens, Scholars and Masters', 175. However, he does not attempt to quantify this more exactly or place them in specific tenements.
47. The most important sources are the numerous cartularies relating to Oxford published by the Oxford Historical Society. Also invaluable is H.E. Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, eds. W.A. Pantin and W.T. Mitchell (2 vols, Oxford Historical Society New Series vols. 14, 20, Oxford, 1960–69). See map.
48. In this context a *socius* was usually a poorer student who accompanied one who was better off, often providing menial services in exchange for financial assistance.
49. *CCR 1237–42*, 134; H.E. Salter, *Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist* (3 vols, Oxford, 1914–7), ii. 325, 326.
50. *CCR 1237–42*, 135; Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, ii. 190.
51. These were owned by a certain Sweteman, Augustinus Gos, Gilbert Compeden, and John de Ingeram. The names of the landlords and tenants appear in *CCR 1237–42*, 134; For the likely location of these houses see Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, ii. 197 (Sweteman), 201 (Gos), 216 (Ingeram). A Gilbert Campeden appears as a witness to a property transaction in this neighbourhood, suggesting that his tenement was located nearby. Salter, *Cartulary of Oseney*, ii. 291–2.
52. *Magister* William Licchefeld rented rooms to Roger and Peter Scoticus in the parish of St Peter in the East. *CCR 1237–42*, 134; Salter, *Cartulary of Oseney*, i. 290; Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, i. 138. John le Turner rented to two students, Elias and Johannes, on Gropelane. *CCR 1237–42*, 134; Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, i. 207.
53. The canon lawyer William Drogheda owned a hall north of High Street (The future Drawda Hall). Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, i. 135–6. *Magister* William de Lichfield held a tenement on High Street in the parish of St Peter

- in the East. Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, i. 138. Finally, *magister* Simon de Neville held a messuage on the east side of School street which he granted to Oseney Abbey in 1252 (the future Black Hall). Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, i. 73.
54. See *CCR 1237–42*, 134–5 and Appendix II. Other examples include groups of Irishmen and Scots and eight students from Buckinghamshire: Hugh de Aylesbury, Walter de Aylesbury, Hugh de Birchmoor, Johannes de Bridesthorn, another of the same name, Robert Bracy de Stanes, Robert de Sandrig, and Laurentius de Eston. *CCR 1237–42*, 135. Compare Catto, ‘Citizens, Scholars and Masters’, 175.
  55. *CCR 1237–42*, 134.
  56. *CCR 1237–42*, 135.
  57. Ibid. William Drogheda had perhaps the most interesting career of the individuals named in connection with the riot. He gained fame as the most distinguished canon lawyer in England. He held numerous benefices and left an unfinished work on court procedure. His life was cut short in 1245 when he was murdered in Oxford by his own valet. Emden, *Biographical Register*, i. 594.
  58. Robert de Lichfield is known only in connection with this case.
  59. The physician recommended to Simon de Montfort by the influential Franciscan Adam de Marsh, a close friend of Grosseteste. Emden, *Biographical Register*, iii. 1784.
  60. Simon de Neville served as rector of Terrington, Yorkshire 1233, rector of Slingsby, Yorkshire 1248. 1280 excused from attendance for old age. Emden, *Biographical Register*, ii. 1350.
  61. Other examples include *magistri* Robert de Burgo and William Plumton, who stood surety for Richard de Warwick and William de Croiland respectively. See appendix I. As Catto has pointed out, it is possible that the relationship between these students and the master who stood surety for them is a reflection of the statutes of 1231, which required all students to matriculate under a regent master. Cf. Catto, ‘Citizens, Scholars, and Masters’, 188.
  62. *CCR 1237–42*, 135. The clerks were Nicholas Hiberniensis and Patrick Prodom, his *socius*.
  63. Among the citizens of Oxford who stood surety for clerks were Walter de Dorchester, Simon de Edtrop, and Richard Segrim. In some cases neighbouring landlords were also willing to vouch for clerks. This appears to have been the case with Richard de Norwich. Richard held a tenement near the Church of St Mary Magdalen and stood surety for several students living in the neighbourhood. Appendix I: Landlords, Richard de Norwico. Cf. Catto, ‘Citizens, Scholars and Masters’, 168.
  64. F. N. Davis, C. W. Foster, and A. Hamilton (eds), *Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend diocesis lincolniensis*, (Oxford, 1925), 178–9.