

The Trade of Agricultural Horses in Late Medieval England

by

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Abstract

This thesis explores how the medieval English economy was supplied with horse power during the period of 1250-1349. The diffusion of horse power is recognised to have been a major factor in the development of the medieval English economy, increasing labour productivity in farming and the efficiency of overland transport, but the infrastructures through which these animals were produced and distributed is poorly understood. This thesis is the first study that addresses this significant gap in our understanding of medieval English history and it endeavours to answer two questions: how was the country supplied with working horses, and what implications did the trade in these animals have for the economy and society at the time? The first section uses statistical analyses of over three hundred manorial accounts from c.1300 to explore the role of medieval English demesnes (the home farms of lords, as opposed to the lands of their peasant tenants) in the horse trade. The second section uses both quantitative and qualitative methodologies in exploring tax records and manorial court rolls to assess the role of the peasantry in the horse trade. The third section employs a price database constructed from the manorial account sample and is used to establish price levels for agricultural horses and illustrate the structure and nature of the market for the animals.

In Memory of my Mother, Michelle Therese Guenette

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction: Purpose, Context and Approach	1
1.1 Purpose	1
1.2 Research Context	4
1.3 Approach: Sources, Structure and Methodology.....	20
Chapter 2: The Role of Demesnes in the Trade of Agricultural Horses, c. 1300	24
2.1 Introduction	24
2.2 The Sample	27
2.3 Manorial Account Data	30
2.4 Regional Horse Distribution.....	45
2.5 Young Horses.....	50
2.6 Horse Acquisition	52
2.7 Demesne Breeding.....	53
2.8 Patterns of Horse Acquisition	60
2.8.1 Thames Basin	61
2.8.2 East Anglia	67
2.8.3 The Midlands	69
2.8.4 South and south-west	69
2.9 Replacement Rates	70
2.10 Categorical Acquisition Patterns	72
2.11 Seigniorial Perquisites	79
2.13 Conclusions	94
Chapter 3: The Role of the Peasantry in the Trade of Agricultural Horses, Evidence from Lay Subsidies	98
3.1 Introduction	98
3.2 Anecdotal Evidence.....	100
3.3 Lay Subsidy Evidence.....	104
3.4 The 1283 Lay Subsidy Returns from Blackbourne Hundred	107
3.4.1 Composition of Horse Ownership in Blackbourne Hundred	113
3.4.2 Values of Peasant Horses in Blackbourne Hundred	122
3.4.3 Distribution of Peasant Horse Stocks on Blackbourne Hundred	129
3.4.4 Quartile Analysis of Blackbourne Hundred data	131
3.5 Conclusion.....	142
Chapter 4: The Role of the Peasantry in the Trade of Agricultural Horses, Evidence from Manorial Court Rolls	145
4.1 The Sample	153
4.2 Manorial Bylaws.....	155
4.3 Trespass and Damage	160
4.4 Heriots	170
4.5 Conclusion.....	178
Chapter 5: The Market for Agricultural Horses in Late Medieval England ...	179
5.1 The Role of Markets and Fairs in the Market for Work Horses.....	181
5.2 Horse Purchase Locations	189
5.3. Price Data	198
5.4 Regional Prices.....	214
5.5 Conclusions	218
Chapter 6: Conclusion	220

Bibliography	226
Appendices	242
Appendix A: Manorial Account Data	243
Appendix B: 1283 Blackbourne Hundred Lay Subsidy Data	244
Appendix C: Manorial Court Roll Data	245
Appendix D: Price Data.....	246

List of Plates, Maps, Tables and Figures

List of Plates

Plate 2.1: Horses Listed in Stock Account of 1292-3 Account of Maldon, Surrey	30
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List of Maps

Map 2.1: National Demesne Sample ca. 1300	21
Map 2.2: Regional Distribution of Manorial Account Sample	46

List of Tables

Table 2.1: Regional Distribution of Horse Types	47
Table 2.2: Regional Turnover of Adult Horses	71
Table 2.3: Regional Breakdown of Seigniorial Perquisites	81
Table 2.4: Surplus/Deficit of Horse Stocks	93
Table 3.1: Composition of Horse Ownership on Demesne Sample ca. 1300 and 1283 Blackbourne Hundred	117
Table 3.2: Peasant Horse Distribution in Blackbourne Villages, 1283 (Sorted by Mares as Proportion of Total Peasant Horse Stocks)	139
Table 4.1: Number of Horses in Court Roll Trespass Cases	163
Table 4.2: No. of Horses Owned by Peasants of Blackbourne Hundred	164
Table 4.3: Composition of Walsham le Willows Peasant Horses	168
Table 4.5: Walsham le Willows Heriots, 1303-50	176
Table 5.1: Horse Purchase Locations from Manorial Accounts	191
Table 5.2: Significance Testing for Regional Horse Prices	216

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Medieval Horse Market Segmentation	8
Figure 2.1: Composition of Sample: Horse Types	37
Figure 2.2: Composition of Sample: Adult Horses	38
Figure 2.3: Composition of Sample: Working Horses	51
Figure 2.4: Demesne Horse Acquisition: Thames Basin	63
Figure 2.5: Demesne Horse Acquisition: East Anglia	64
Figure 2.6: Demesne Horse Acquisition: Midlands	65
Figure 2.7: Demesne Horse Acquisition: South and South-west	66
Figure 2.8: Methods of External Acquisition: Affers	73
Figure 2.9: Methods of External Acquisition: Stotts	74
Figure 2.10: Methods of External Acquisition: Cart-horses	75
Figure 2.11: Methods of External Acquisition: Mares	76
Figure 3.1: Composition of horse ownership of all Blackbourne taxpayers in 1283	114
Figure 3.2: Ranges, Means and Medians of Horse Values on 1283 Blackbourne Hundred Lay Subsidy	124
Figure 3.3: Distribution of Values of Blackbourne Peasant Horses	125
Figure 3.4: Nominal Values of Horses Owned vs. Total Taxable Wealth of Owner	130
Figure 3.5: Distribution of Horses by Quartiles of Total Taxable Peasant Wealth in the 1283 Blackbourne Hundred Lay Subsidy	132
Figure 3.6: Distribution of <i>Jumentae</i> and <i>Equae</i> in the 1283 Blackbourne Hundred Lay Subsidy	135
Figure 4.1: Proportions of Horses in Court Roll Trespass, Damage and Escape References	169
Figure 5.1: Agricultural Horse Purchase Prices ca. 1300: National Sample	203
Figure 5.2: Regional Purchase Price Ranges for Agricultural Horses ca. 1300	212

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Note on Currency Equivalences and the Citation of Manorial Documents

Currency Equivalencies:

£1 = 20s

1s = 12d

£1 = 240d

1 mark = 13s 4d or 160d or £2/3

Much of the research for this thesis has been conducted using a database of manorial accounts created from manuscripts consulted in over thirty archives and record offices. In addition to the manuscripts listed in the bibliography, the database in its entirety with references to individual manors and repositories can be found in Appendix A and is also available in electronic form from the author upon request.

Chapter 1: Introduction: Purpose, Context and Approach

1.1 Purpose

This study explores the trade of agricultural horses in late medieval England. It is concerned with two questions: how was the country supplied with working horses, and what implications did the trade in these animals have for the economy and society at the time? Before 1200, oxen were overwhelmingly the dominant work animals on both farms and roads in England.¹ By the sixteenth century, however, horses had achieved almost total dominance in the world of work animals, especially in the more commercially-orientated south and east of the country.² This transition in animal power was very significant, since the speed of horses, double that for oxen,³ had critical implications for transport and market transactions, as well as agricultural production. The horse may well have contributed productivity gains to the thirteenth-century economy, and it certainly contributed to its growing commercialization and market integration.⁴ Indeed, it could be argued that horses were vital to this process, allowing goods to be transported with greater efficiency, while also helping to improve agricultural output through increasing the speed at which basic tasks such as ploughing and harrowing were completed.

¹ John Langdon, "Horse Hauling: A Revolution in Vehicle Transport in Twelfth-and Thirteenth-Century England?" *Past and Present* no. 103 (1984), 37-66; *Horses, Oxen and Technical Innovation: The Use of Draught Animals in English Farming from 1066-1500* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986).

² Joan Thirsk, *Horses in early modern England: for Service, for Pleasure, for Power* The Stenton Lecture 1977 (Reading: The University of Reading, 1978); Peter Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

³ The most direct evidence concerning the speed advantage of horses over oxen comes from Asia, where a journey from Azov to Astrakhan took twenty-five days with ox haulage and only ten to twelve days by horse. See: Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 162; "Horse Hauling", 60-64.

⁴ R.H. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society, 1000 – 1500* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

Despite the important contributions that horse power made to the late medieval economy, the infrastructures through which these animals were produced and distributed is poorly understood. Indeed, Campbell commented in his authoritative work on seigniorial agriculture that “little is as yet known about the medieval horse trade.”⁵ In addressing this, there are important questions to answer. Where were agricultural horses produced? Were they produced internally, that is, within the country, or were they imported from abroad? The relatively low prices fetched for farm horses would seem to mitigate against importing them from any great distance, as the costs of transport alone could be prohibitive, but outside of a few anecdotal references discussed below, we have very little in terms of concrete information about the origins of agricultural animals.

Aside from where these horses might have come from geographically, *who* was producing them and *why* did individuals or institutions chose (or chose not) to produce horses for market consumption? We know much about the changing market orientation of demesne farming in this period,⁶ and how geographical constraints could influence the shape and scope of agrarian enterprises.⁷ Whether made by peasant or landlord, the decisions about what products to produce would have been carefully considered and tailored to the strengths and weaknesses of available land as well as environmental conditions and the prevailing state of the market, both on a national scale and locally. Through the work of Langdon and Campbell, we know much about regional horse consumption over the course of the later Middle Ages. If we can identify nodes of medieval horse breeding and marketing, this project will not

⁵ Bruce M.S. Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture 1250-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 126 n.45.

⁶ See: Bruce M.S. Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*; David Stone, *Decision Making in Medieval Agriculture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Philip Slavin, *Bread and Ale for the Brethren: The provisioning of Norwich Cathedral Priory 1260-1536* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2012).

⁷ For example: Mark Bailey, *A Marginal Economy? East Anglian Breckland in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989).

only contribute a better understanding of how the trade of an important commodity functioned, but also add insight into the underlying factors that influenced the decision to (or not to) specialize in horse breeding.

Further from this, where did the horse trade feature in respect to the dichotomous nature of medieval agrarian society? The societal divisions between lords and peasants as well as the demarcation between arable and pastoral agriculture are well established in the literature.⁸ The allegedly low numbers of peasant livestock featured prominently in Postan's view of the medieval English society, a symptom of chronic over-population and pressure on resources which saw the conversion of pasture land into arable and a corresponding lack of manure for use as fertilizer.⁹ Others, however, have pointed to potential issues with his deployment of evidence and have offered data which contrasts the neo-Malthusian perspective.¹⁰ For example, the wide price range in horses might have allowed "the lower orders of society to engage in a reasonably lucrative trade [in horses]".¹¹ Peasant demand for pasture was also significant, at least for certain regions of the country in the early part of the fourteenth century.¹² These insights have been so far restricted to passing statements of an intuitive nature; if this thesis can locate the source of work horses in these paradigms, this will add nuance to our understanding on these fronts.

This study of the horse trade can also contribute to the growing corpus of research on the effects of market integration and commercialization in the medieval

⁸ For example, see: M.M. Postan "Village Livestock in the Thirtieth Century" *Economic History Review* Vol. 15, No. 2 (1962), 220-8; James Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants, and Markets: Inland Trade in Medieval England, 1150-1350* (New York: MacMillan, 1997), 42-54.

⁹ M.M. Postan "The Economic Foundations of Medieval Economy" in *Essays on Medieval Agriculture & General Problems of the Medieval Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 15.

¹⁰ As outlined in James Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants and Markets*, 42-4.

¹¹ John Langdon, "The Use of Animal Power from 1200 to 1800" *Economia e Energia Secc. XIII-XVIII* Istituto Internazionale Di Storia Economica 'F.Datini' Florence: 2003, 218.

¹² Mavis Mate, "The Agrarian Economy of South-East England Before the Black Death: Depressed or Buoyant?" in *Before the Black Death Studies in the 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century* ed. B.M.S. Campbell (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1992), 86-7.

English economy. Most of this literature has focused on the grain market¹³ but we can look at the degree to which the overall market for horses was integrated in this period. Langdon has illustrated how the use of horses, given their advantage in speed over oxen, increased the area in which goods could be both bought and sold, especially by the peasant class, allowing individuals access to previously inaccessible markets and thereby increasing the integration of previously disparate locales.¹⁴ Despite this, we know very little about levels of integration for the market in horses or the livestock market more generally.

Answering the first questions posed here will be the chief aim of this thesis, with the end result being a thorough examination of the late medieval horse trade in England. In addition to this main goal, the latter questions about peasant production, pastoral agriculture and market integration and the motivating decisions behind the production of horses are perhaps the key queries that will allow this thesis to go beyond the important, but relatively narrow, issue of the horse trade and make broader contributions to the field of medieval economic history as a whole.

1.2 Research Context

Historians have long recognized the role of animal power in shaping the development of societies and economies. Perhaps most famously in the European context,¹⁵ Lynn White Jr. espoused the significance of the introduction of the horse both on the battlefield and on the farmer's field.¹⁶ In the years since *Medieval*

¹³ Eric B. Schneider, "Prices and production: agricultural supply response in fourteenth-century England" *Economic History Review* Vol. 67, No.1 (2014): 66-91.

¹⁴ Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 272.

¹⁵ For an example of non-European studies see: Paul J. Smith, *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse: Horses, Bureaucrats, and the Destruction of the Sichuan Tea Industry 1074-1224* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

¹⁶ *Medieval Technology and Social Change* is comprised of three substantive chapters. The first argues that the introduction of the stirrup led directly to the rise of the feudal system in Europe. The stirrup, White argued, allowed knights to be significantly more stable on their mounts, and less easily-

Technology and Social Change was published in 1962, historians have added further case studies and augmentations to White's over-arching theories.¹⁷

More broadly, narratives of global economic history cite the harnessing of animal power as one of the key elements of the Great Divergence, which allowed the European economy to develop much faster than that of the Asian world. Karou Sugihara, for instance, argues that the role of animal power was so pivotal in the Middle Ages that it shaped the entire path of European economic development for the next five hundred years.¹⁸ The European path of economic development, with its reliance on animal power, he posits, led directly to the Industrial Revolution, when animal power was eventually supplanted by other sources of energy.

Marc Bloch first argued that the introduction of the heavy plough to northern Europe allowed for more effective cultivation and increased agricultural production.¹⁹ White took this thread further, positing that further gains were made possible through the increasing employment of draught horses over oxen, facilitated

un-seated in battle. The desire of the Carolingian nobility to effectively mobilize this innovation of military technology catalysed a system of land distribution where property was distributed in return for military service. White's second chapter addressed the role of the horse in agriculture. The third chapter, dealing largely with mechanical developments in the harnessing energy, is less relevant to this thesis. See: Lynn White Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).

¹⁷ For English examples see: John Langdon, "Horse Hauling" and *Horses, Oxen*. For the case of the Low Countries, Bas van Bavel has illustrated how the introduction of horsepower along with the construction of sluices and dikes, which allowed the reclamation of arable land from the sea, were important agrarian technological innovations in medieval Holland. See: Bas van Bavel, *Manors and Markets: Economy and Society in the Low Countries, 500-1500*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 125, 133-6. For a recent assessment of the book in the context of more recent historiography in the history of technology, see: Alex Roland, "Once More into the Stirrups: Lynn White Jr., "Medieval Technology and Social Change." *Technology and Culture* Vol. 33, No. 3 (2003), 574-585.

¹⁸ This is in great contrast to the Asian world, which was much more dependent on human labour and followed a different path of development. See: Karou Sugihara, "The East Asian Path of Economic Development: A Long-Term Perspective" in Giovanni Arrighi, Takeshi Hamashita and Mark Selden, eds. *The Resurgence of East Asia: 500, 150 and 50 Year Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2003), 78-123; "East Asian Path" *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol. 39, No. 34 (August 21-27, 2004), 3855-3858. Kenneth Pommeranz, while allowing that Europe did have more livestock per capita than "most other settled societies" and that "*within a European system of farming* [emphasis his] that livestock constituted such valuable capital equipment that more farm animals generally meant more prosperity", argues that a comparative lack of animal power was less of an inhibiting factor to growth, given that rice cultivation required less animal power than other crops. See: Kenneth Pommeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), 32-3.

¹⁹ Marc Bloch, *Les Caractères Originaux de L'Historie Rurale Française* (Paris, 1955), 49-57.

by the development of technologies such as nailed horseshoes and the horse collar.²⁰ In addition to three-course crop rotation,²¹ these innovations allowed for greater agricultural production per unit of land.

Within the context of medieval history, the knight in armour upon his horse is one of the most familiar images associated with the Middle Ages and the man atop the horse has received much scholarly attention.²² However, only a small corpus of literature is devoted to the mounts themselves. Even less is known about medieval work horses. Despite the importance of the introduction of horses to the medieval English economy and society, there are many cracks in the historiography, particularly in terms of how horses were bought, sold and otherwise exchanged. Historians have systematically overlooked the trade of these animals as an economic and socio-cultural activity. Therefore, the secondary literature on this subject is slight. While most doctoral theses address a niche within a large and well-established body of scholarship, in the case of this project there are no dominant paradigms to subvert, no established orthodoxies to challenge. Instead, this project offers an opportunity to set the terms of debate, to shed light on a hitherto unexplored corner of medieval English history.

What relevant historiography there is for this project is composed of a variety of works that approach the horse trade rather obliquely. These works can generally be separated into two main categories: those that consider mainly agricultural horses, as a part of the wider agricultural economy of England in the Middle Ages,²³ and

²⁰ White Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 57-61.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 69-76.

²² For example see: Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1984); Peter R. Cross, *The Knight in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993); Peter R. Cross, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003).

²³ For Example: Langdon, "The Economics of Horses and Oxen in Medieval England" *Agricultural History Review* Vol.30, No.1, (1982): 31-40; "Horse Hauling"; *Horses, Oxen*. Kathleen

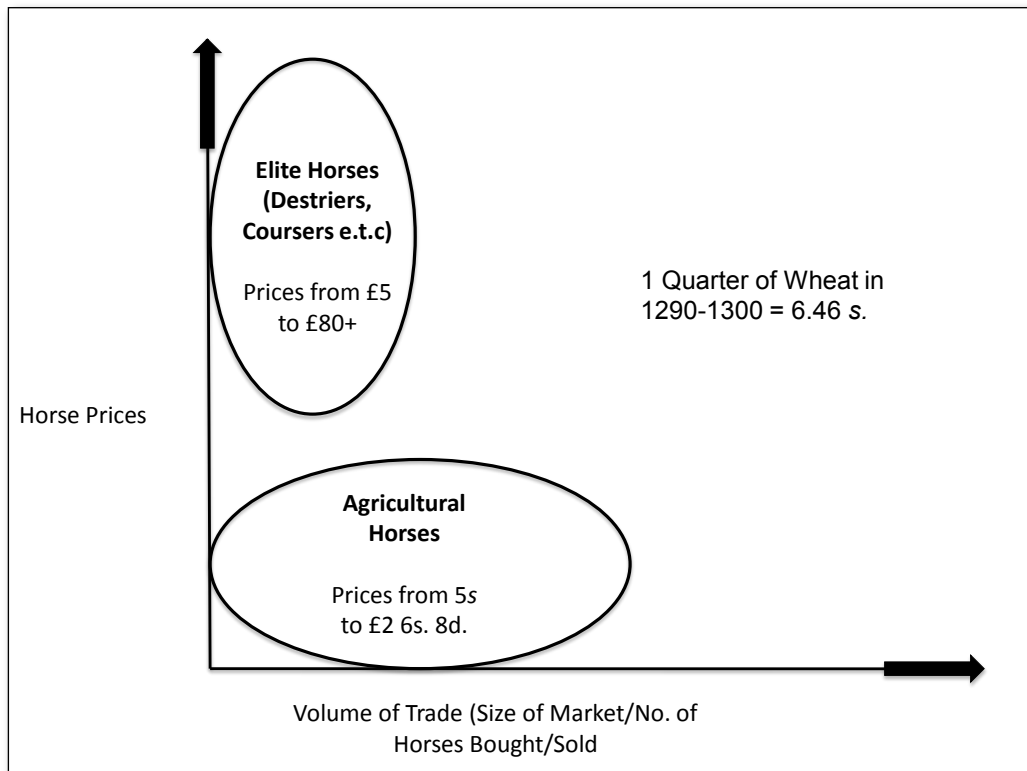
others which consider the more expensive ‘elite’ horses of the ruling classes, most frequently through the lens of medieval warfare.²⁴ This is an important distinction, as these different types of horses moved in markets that were almost mutually exclusive of each other for most of the medieval period. The most significant delineating factor between these market segments was price. Agricultural horses could be purchased for very little and even the most expensive of agricultural horses, usually cart-horses, could be had, as we shall see, for as little as 6 s. The most expensive agricultural horse encountered in our study, an animal purchased by the Peterborough Abbey demesne of Oundle in Northamptonshire cost only £2 6s. 8d. More expensive and exotic horses such as warhorses, coursers (swift horses, most often used for hunting) and palfreys (riding horses, desired for their gentle gait which was easy on riders), a group that I refer to as ‘elite’ horses, were significantly more expensive, generally ranging from five pounds to well over fifty.²⁵

Biddick, *The Other Economy: Pastoral Husbandry on a Medieval Estate* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989); Campbell, *English Seigneurial Agriculture*; Stone, *Decision Making*.

²⁴ Andrew Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994); R.H.C Davis in *The Medieval Warhorse: Origin, Development and Redevelopment* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989). Studies of medieval warfare and knighthood, as well as more general works on medieval horses, also touch on issues of horse exchange and circulation. While primarily intended to analyze the composition of armies in Edwardian England, Andrew Ayton’s work provides an array of data about warhorses. Ayton used muster rolls and horse inventories as an access point to the nature of late medieval armies and provides the most comprehensive source of information about the value of warhorses and some indications as to the mechanisms by which these animals were bought and sold. Along the same lines, R.H.C. Davis traces the evolution and development of purpose-bred warhorses in medieval Europe. Perhaps most significant for this study are the assertions that both works make about the nature of the medieval aristocratic class. Among the elite of medieval society, warhorses were more than simply utilitarian beasts. These animals were ascribed significant social value and this feature of medieval society heavily influenced the ways in which medieval aristocrats, informed by the medieval values of chivalry, interacted with the horse trade. See: Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* 70; Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, 7.

²⁵ For a detailed discussion of ‘elite’ horse prices see: Jordan Claridge, *Horses for Work and Horses for War: The Divergent Horse Market in Late Medieval England*. Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 2009, 49-90, esp. 69-72. The range in ‘elite’ horse prices was significant, ranging from £2 to £40, with an average price of £20. In a sample of ninety-five price data points for elite horses, only seven of these fall below £10 and these are taken as the lower end of the elite market sector. The average of these seven lowest prices is £4.67, which has been rounded up to £5. £5 also seems to be close to the minimum value of warhorses. Many military campaigns in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries only employed horses valued above £5. On occasions when horses of less than £5 were used in battle, they normally only constituted between 4% and 9% of all of the horses involved in the campaign. See: Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, 211-12.

Figure 1.1: Medieval Horse Market Segmentation



Price was not the only thing that separated agricultural horses from ‘elite’ animals. Compared to the movement and trade of agricultural horses, the circulation of elite horses was different in two fundamental ways. First, their trade was much more international in character; while agricultural horses in England were procured from within the country, the trade in destriers, coursers and other elite horses exploited and stretched economic links to the continent and perhaps even to the Middle East.

Obtaining horses from abroad held benefit for members of the aristocratic class, a social group defined in many ways by their largesse.²⁶ Horses imported from outside

²⁶ Christopher Dyer argues that in addition to owning houses with defenses and pursuing a life of leisure that allowed them to avoid physical labour and retail trade and to engage in pastimes like hunting, “the aristocracy would have been recognized by their clothing and horses.” Christopher

England had an exotic quality that would add to the stature of the purchaser. Just as a European car might appeal to consumers in North America today, imported horses from the continent were valued not only for their quality, but also for the status they could bring to a buyer. Accordingly, in the squire's tale, Chaucer's squire lauds the virtues of horses obtained from foreign lands.

Greet was the prees that swarmeth to and fro
To gauren on this hors that stondest so;
For it so heigh was, and so brood and long,
So wel proporcioned for to been strong,
Right as it were a steede of *Lumbardy*;
Therwith so horsly, and so quyk of ye,
As it a gentil Poilleys²⁷ courser were.
For certes, fro his tayl unto his ere,
Nature ne art ne koude hym nat amende
In no degree, as al the peple wende.²⁸

In praising the virtues of horses from two regions in Italy, we see the prestige that mounts from these places held for aristocratic consumers.

Second, this trade in elite horses operated with a different set of guiding principles than that of the agricultural horse trade, not as closely associated with the more conventional laws of supply and demand found near the margin of economic decision-making, but more informed by social norms and expectations that can be elucidated through the numerous ways in which these elite horses were exchanged. The spectrum of dealings involving elite horses was vast, encompassing not only a traditional cash nexus, but also gifts, symbolic payments, and payments in kind. In addition, the movement of these animals transcended not only manorial, estate and even national boundaries, but also traditionally accepted patterns of exchange. In this elite sector of the medieval horse market, the 'trade' of these animals is only part

Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England, 1200-1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 19.

²⁷ From the old French *Poille*, a region in southern Italy known in Italian as Puglia, renowned for producing quality horses.

²⁸ Larry D. Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 171, lines 188-198.

of the story; an understanding of the other social and cultural mechanisms at work in the movement of these horses is necessary to appreciate how they circulated throughout medieval Europe and how medieval society interacted with them.²⁹ As this thesis aims to explore specifically the trade of agricultural horses, it will focus on a sphere of exchange almost entirely separate from that of ‘elite’ horses.

The only work to date that specifically addresses the movement and trade of agricultural horses is found within David Farmer’s “Marketing the Produce of the Countryside” chapter in the third volume of *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*.³⁰ Farmer begins his section on livestock marketing by asserting that

[o]n balance, manors sold grain but bought livestock. Bailiffs and reeves, and those over them [i.e. the lords of manors], were therefore purchasers more often than vendors of livestock at markets, and especially at fairs. Most manors in the arable parts of England lacked enough pasture to raise their own replacement plough beasts, and the earliest accounts show them buying oxen and plough horses from outside [the manor].³¹

This passage, then, can be a starting point for this study. Farmer’s hypothesis that demesnes were net consumers of horses can be tested with the data contained within the following chapters. Farmer raises a number of other points. Drawing a contrast between marketing patterns in grain and livestock, he argued that many demesne managers “bought livestock at places further away than the towns and villages in which they commonly sold their grain.”³² The low cost of transporting livestock facilitated this, he argued, allowing demesne managers to travel to distant markets

²⁹ For a detailed assessment of the segmented market for medieval horses see: Claridge, *Horses for Work and Horses for War*, *passim*. For recent work on gift giving and reciprocity in the medieval English context see: Benjamin L Wild, “A Gift Inventory from the Reign of Henry III” *English Historical Review* 125, No.514, (2010), 529-569; Benjamin L. Wild, “Secrecy, splendour and statecraft: the jewel accounts of King Henry III of England, 1216-72” *Historical Research* 83 (2010), 409-430.

³⁰ David Farmer, “Marketing the Produce of the Countryside 1200-1500” *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* Vol. III, ed. Edward Miller. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, 324-430.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 377.

³² *Ibid.*, 384.

and fairs to procure livestock without worrying overly about the costs involved with driving them home.³³ These venues were often on the periphery of large arable and pastoral zones such as the Welsh hills and northern England more generally.³⁴ While pointing to Abingdon (Berkshire), Thame (Oxfordshire) and Alysbury (Buckinghamshire) as central hubs for livestock purchases,³⁵ Farmer also saw a long-distance trade in horses and other livestock as being firmly established in England by the thirteenth century, postulating that Welsh animals may have been traded along an easterly path with final destinations in Kent and also observing a number of horses moved between Winchcomb (Gloucestershire) and Elham (Kent) by officials of Merton College, Oxford.³⁶

While drawing attention to this long-distance trade, Farmer also notes that many demesnes also obtained livestock locally, and often from their own tenants and other local people, allowing that “for some manors, this may have been a dominant practice, rather than a supplementary one.”³⁷ Livestock could be obtained from local villagers conventionally through purchase, or in some cases through the seigniorial mechanism of heriot, where the lord was entitled to a peasant’s best beast upon his or her death.³⁸ While providing the only available study – albeit a short one – of the medieval horse trade, Farmer’s work still leaves much to be desired. One issue is that Farmer’s evidence is predominantly anecdotal; there is no structural or systematic analysis of his evidence. This thesis relies largely on a source base common to Farmer’s study – manorial accounts – but its results will be presented in less of a narrative fashion. That the historiography of the medieval horse trade is

³³ Ibid., 378.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid., 381.

³⁶ Ibid., 378, 387.

³⁷ Ibid., 384.

³⁸ Ibid., 384-5.

centred on a short passage within a single chapter illustrates the degree to which medieval historians have neglected this topic. The work raises a number of interesting points which will be addressed comprehensively in the following chapters. However Farmer does not make many statements about the scale or significance of the horse trade, which is something that this thesis will endeavour to do.

Beyond Farmer's work, some of the most relevant literature to our present study examines the well-documented transition from ox-power to horse-power on the farms and roads of medieval England³⁹ and the role of horses in both pastoral and arable husbandry.⁴⁰ These works have made many important contributions, now central to our current understanding of the causes of economic expansion in this period, and it is clear that the rise of the horse was itself central in the growth of the medieval English economy. At the centre of this corpus of literature are three works by John Langdon.⁴¹ All of these focus on the evolving dynamic between horses and oxen in their use as draught animals in medieval English agriculture, and together they still stand as the most comprehensive corpus of literature on the roles of agricultural horses in this context. Langdon looked closely at the numbers of oxen and horses employed on demesnes (the lord's own farm with the manor, as opposed to the lands allocated to his/her tenants) in medieval England, and how these numbers changed in proportion to each other over the course of the Middle Ages. He found that, between the Domesday survey of 1086 and the end of his study in 1500, horses had largely superseded oxen as the choice for animal power both on the roads (as cart animals) and in the fields (as plough beasts). This had critical implications

³⁹ Langdon, "The Economics of Horses"; "Horse Hauling"; *Horses, Oxen*.

⁴⁰ Biddick, *The Other Economy*; Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*; Stone, *Decision Making*.

⁴¹ John Langdon, "The Economics of Horses and Oxen"; "Horse Hauling", 37-66; *Horses, Oxen*.

for the economy of medieval England, as the speed advantage of horses over oxen allowed more work to be done in less time.⁴²

Langdon also found that the change from oxen to horses was not uniform. Especially in the case of plough animals, for example, Norfolk, the Chiltern Hills and eastern Kent embraced all-horse plough teams earlier than any other part of the country,⁴³ and while horses were increasingly employed in tandem with oxen in the midlands and the home counties over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, many demesnes, especially in the West and North, never made the change and stuck exclusively with oxen for plough work.⁴⁴ His national samples of English demesnes, which looked at the pre and post plague periods, allow readers to appreciate how the evolving dynamic between horses and oxen existed not in a vacuum, but as one consideration that depended greatly on regional topographies, managerial mentalities and a host of other variables.

Langdon's engagement with the details of horse trading is limited, although he offers one salient observation on this front, commenting that the emergent role of horses on medieval farms increased the complexity of interactions between farmers and the medieval market.⁴⁵ This was in large part due to the low prices for which horses could be purchased at the time, allowing even relatively poor peasant smallholders to own the animals.⁴⁶ As Joan Thirsk had done before him,⁴⁷ Langdon likened the medieval horse trade to the more modern car trade; with horses available at almost any price point. With this wide range in prices, cheap draught animals

⁴² Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 21.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 100-102.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 100-111.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 272.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Thirsk, *Horses in early modern England*, 24.

were made available to peasants just as the lower-end used car market does for lower-income people today.

Langdon's work on horses and oxen has been followed by a number of studies of medieval agriculture which address the roles of horses in medieval farming.⁴⁸ Kathleen Biddick's work has focused on all aspects of the pastoral sector in medieval England, including sheep, swine and poultry in addition to horses and bovines. One of the most significant points Biddick makes is that the pastoral and arable sectors were complementary, and existed in a synergistic rather than an antagonistic relationship. This challenged Postan's thesis that the expansion of arable land, largely in the thirteenth century, came at the expense of pastoral grazing resources, subsequently reducing the number of herds kept in the country. Postan's argument about the link between the pastoral and arable sectors was, Biddick asserts, too rigid, and her book explores the myriad of factors that influenced the fluid relationship between the pastoral sector and the arable. With respect to horses, Biddick makes a number of key observations. First, broadly following Langdon's findings, she notes that the number of horses kept on the estate of Peterborough Abbey trebled between 1125 and the first years of the fourteenth century.⁴⁹ By ca. 1300, the proportion of horses to oxen on the estate had risen to 40-45% up from the 1125 proportion of ~2.5%.⁵⁰ However, this figure is significantly higher than the average of 26.7% (horses to oxen) that Langdon had found for England as a whole in the period of 1250-1320.⁵¹ The growing number of agricultural horses overall, she argued, gave rise to the development of task-specific cart-horses.⁵² With respect to

⁴⁸ Biddick, *The Other Economy*; Campbell, *English Seigneurial Agriculture*; Stone, *Decision Making*.

⁴⁹ Biddick, *The Other Economy*, 116.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid. Cited from: John Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, Tables 11 and 12.

⁵² Ibid.

her overall thesis, Biddick argues that, as horses provided no secondary products (other than horse hide), Peterborough Abbey departed from its usual practice of relying upon internally bred, self-replacing herds and bought its horses on the market.⁵³ However, this was only the case with cart-horses, as the Abbey did, by large, continue to replace its plough horses through internal breeding.⁵⁴ This is a thread which will be taken up in this thesis, exploring whether the practice that Biddick observed (i.e buying cart-horses and breeding plough horses internally) was followed on other demesnes in other parts of the country. The national sample of manorial accounts employed in this study will provide insight into the varying proportions of internally bred vs. purchased horses on a national scale.

Bruce Campbell's *English Seigniorial Agriculture* assesses all aspects of English demesne agriculture in the later Middle Ages, and, in so doing, illustrates the wider spectrum of horse usage by lords and their agents on seigniorial manors.⁵⁵ Campbell's treatment of demesne horses is wider in scope than Langdon's; he incorporates Landon's data sample into his own much larger sample⁵⁶ and also looks beyond the dynamic between oxen and horses as draught animals at the cumulative contribution of horses (as well as all other working animals) to demesne husbandry. Campbell's conclusions support Langdon's work, in that the growing variety of horses recorded during the later Middle Ages reflected their flexibility and meant that the animals became ubiquitous in demesne agriculture across England. He concluded that at the beginning of the fourteenth century only 5% of the demesnes in his exhaustive national sample kept no horses at all.⁵⁷ Campbell found, like

⁵³ Ibid., 116-7.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 117.

⁵⁵ Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, 123-131.

⁵⁶ It should be noted that Campbell incorporated Langdon's data sample into his work. See: Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, Appendix I, n.1.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 123.

Langdon, that the eastern and south-eastern counties employed horses most widely, and, in these areas, demesnes were far more likely to use horses which could be put to a variety of uses (e.g. ploughing, carting, harrowing and as pack animals) rather than specific plough or cart-horses.⁵⁸ His distinct maps illustrate this point clearly, showing, for instance, that specific ‘cart-horses’ are rarely found on Norfolk demesnes, even though the generic ‘affer’ was widespread.⁵⁹ This point, when placed alongside Biddick’s observation of the growth of a separate category of specific cart-horses on the midland manors of Peterborough Abbey, raises the issue of significant regional differences in demesne horse ownership which will feature prominently in this thesis. Campbell also draws attention to the fact that “little is yet known about the medieval horse trade” and that “where the peasantry and demesne managers obtained their working horses is...unknown”.⁶⁰

Building in part on these works, David Stone’s more recent study on manorial decision-making looks at the agency of demesne managers in relation to economic rationality as they made the myriad of decisions involved in managing the agricultural enterprises of a medieval demesne. Stone explores the question of demesne work-horse procurement further still, albeit on a single manor, and explains how demesne managers on the manor of Wisbech Barton, after the Black Death, took the decision to stop purchasing horses entirely and to rely on internal production as a cost-saving measure.⁶¹ A vitally important implication in this finding is that in order to stop all internal horse breeding, the Wisbech demesne managers of Stone’s study were confident in their ability to acquire horses readily via the market. Stone also asserts that, however the beasts were procured, the demesne managers of Wisbech

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 126, n.45.

⁶¹ Stone, *Decision Making*, 114.

Barton seemed to always have “had a clear conception of the numbers of livestock that should ideally be kept on the demesne”⁶² which influenced the ways in which demesne horse herds were managed. Stone’s assessment of demesne horse management very much supports his overall claim that medieval demesne managers were rational thinkers who weighed the variety of variables in coming to decisions about the management of resources. With horses, as with other aspects of the agricultural enterprise, profit was always the main goal and the realisation of the profit motive at times came at the expense of efficiency, as the two considerations were not always mutually inclusive.

The works of Biddick and Stone also diverge from those of Langdon and Campbell in terms of geographic scope. While the latter authors chose to sample manors from across England, in an effort to obtain data that could be representative on a national level, the former two works focus on narrower geographical regions. Biddick’s work looked solely at the estate of Peterborough Abbey, while Stone further narrowed his study to a lone manor belonging to the Bishop of Ely. The narrower focuses of these two works, especially in the case of Stone, have illustrated some of the nuances of medieval farming that affected decisions about horse production and/or purchase which are not possible in a wider survey like Langdon’s. However, while these narrower studies tease out tantalizing glimpses into the ways in which horses were supplied, none provide a comprehensive understanding of how medieval England was supplied with work horses.

Finally, the work that perhaps most closely addresses the proposed scope of this thesis is Peter Edwards’ *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England*.⁶³

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Peter Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). A further useful survey, but for a period later than this study is Rick Szostak, *The Role of Transportation in the Industrial Revolution: A Comparison of England and France*

Building on the earlier brief and exploratory work of Joan Thirsk,⁶⁴ Edwards uses an exploration of toll books to offer an assessment of all aspects of the horse trade in early modern England, from breeding, to private and sanctioned dealing and even the ‘black market’ for stolen horses. The toll books that form the basis of this study were a sixteenth-century development, established by an act of parliament of 1555⁶⁵ and no comparable or direct source exists for the medieval period. The social status ascribed to horses plays a central role in Edwards’ study, and this is a common theme across his work similar to the discussions of ‘elite’ medieval horses in the works of Ayton and Davis.⁶⁶ Edwards argues that the emergent middle class of Tudor and Stuart England, along with the new applications for horses as power for carriages, substantially increased the demand on equine resources in England, which in turn saw a number of innovations in the production of horses and the regulation of the horse trade. On the production side, Edwards argues that the breeding and rearing of horses separated into distinct specializations over the Tudor and Stuart periods, and these, now divergent, aspects of the horse trade began to be carried out in different parts of the country.⁶⁷ In addition, an increase in selective breeding with “the admixture of foreign blood” resulted in an improvement of the native stock of English horses.⁶⁸ The improved organization of the horse market on a national scale also characterized the development of the horse trade in the seventeenth century.⁶⁹ One of the major innovations in the regulation of the horse trade in fact underpins his whole study. The horse toll books that Edwards makes great use of were the result

(Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1991). See also T.C. Barker, *The Rise and Rise of Road Transport: 1700-1990* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1993).

⁶⁴ Thirsk, *Horses in early modern England*, *passim*.

⁶⁵ Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England*, 55.

⁶⁶ Andrew Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994); R.H.C Davis in *The Medieval Warhorse: Origin, Development and Redevelopment* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989).

⁶⁷ Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England*, 23.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

of legislation enacted during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, designed to provide detailed records of horse sales that could aid investigation of, and ultimately curtail, horse thefts in England.⁷⁰ These toll books “often give details about prices, type of animals sold, catchment areas, scale of operations, and even the social classes involved.”⁷¹ Unfortunately, the toll book evidentiary base that informs his study simply does not exist for the Middle Ages because the statutory framework which underpinned their compilation did not exist before the mid sixteenth century, so any exploration into the nature of the medieval horse trade has to make use of far more disparate and fragmentary sources.

While providing a wealth of information about the early modern English horse trade, Edwards’ book falls short in two significant ways. First, with the exception of three useful maps, two which plot the origins of horse buyers who made purchases at the fairs of Shrewsbury and Rothwell, and another which plots all of the horse markets Edwards encountered in his study, as well an interesting figure illustrating the fluctuation in horse prices at Shrewsbury fair, there is little in the way of systematic analysis.⁷² The entire book is written in a narrative fashion, which seemingly introduces and discusses a string of individual pieces of evidence rather than looking at the evidentiary base as a whole. This is a pity, as the horse toll material gathered by Edwards appears to offer considerable potential for a more systematic or quantitative treatment. The second and most glaring shortfall is a lack of engagement with larger social or economic themes. Edwards tells us in great detail about the horse trade itself, but nothing about its significance within the context of the economy or society of England at the time.

⁷⁰ P.R. Edwards, “The Horse Trade of the Midlands in the Seventeenth Century” *The Agricultural History Review* 27, No.2 (1979), 90-100.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England*, 33,37,61.

1.3 Approach: Sources, Structure and Methodology

The absence of any detailed study of the medieval English horse trade cannot be attributed directly to a lack of source material. Late medieval England boasts one of the most prolific source bases for historians. Among these sources, there is a wide array that could potentially be used in a study of the horse trade. However, while source material abounds, the proportion of this material that provides *direct* evidence of the horse trade is somewhat scant. In many cases one must use evidence indirectly and the process becomes somewhat of an exercise of peering around corners. Therefore, a rigorous and well thought-out methodology must be applied to the available sources in order to tease out as much insight from available evidence. One aspect common to the methodologies applied to all evidence employed in the following chapters is the use of sampling, dictated by the sheer volume of available material and the time constraints of writing a PhD.

This project broadly considers three discrete bodies of evidence: manorial accounts, manorial court rolls and lay subsidy returns. Detailed assessments of each source can be found in the introductions of the three substantive chapters (i.e. Chapters 2-5), but will be sketched briefly here. Chapter 2, which examines the role of demesnes in the trade of agricultural horses, uses a national sample of over 300 manorial accounts from across England. This sample covers as much of England as the surviving documents allow, and is concentrated on a relatively narrow range of years around 1300, effectively encompassing the entire decades of the 1290s and the 1300s.⁷³ Since accounts normally ran from Michaelmas (29 September - the traditional end of the harvest) to Michaelmas of the following year, this means

⁷³ This involves virtually all the record offices with manorial accounts in England, from the National Archives (hereafter TNA), London, formerly the Public Record Office, to the various county, cathedral, abbey and palace archives spread throughout the country.

examining accounts in the range from 1289-90 to 1310-11, resulting in a total span of twenty-two years. To avoid double-counting, only one account per manor was taken, normally that closest to the year 1300. This sample is most certainly nearly the most exhaustive possible for the time frame, but its coverage across the country is uneven, being skewed to the south and east of the country with notable ‘empty’ areas such as the Weald south of London, the extreme south-west (Devon and Cornwall) and the northern and western areas of the country generally.⁷⁴ This lopsidedness reflects the survival of suitable accounts across the country as a whole within the temporal scope of the 1300 sample.⁷⁵ As the overall chronological scope of this thesis is 1250-1349, this sample will provide a national snapshot of horse ownership, breeding, sales and purchases on medieval English demesnes in the middle of the period of study.

Chapter 3, which examines the peasant sector, employs Lay Subsidy returns, an extant form of medieval taxation record, which enumerate the numbers and values of horses assessed as part of a tax on moveable property, while Chapter 4 examines the peasantry from another angle using a sample of manorial court rolls. These provide an array of cases that document the interactions between horses and the communities in which they dwelled. In addition to the intensive study of these two sources, the two chapters also consider anecdotal references from the manorial account sample and other sources. For reasons discussed further below, a single lay subsidy return, from the Suffolk hundred of Blackbourne, has been employed. Within the relatively narrow scope of this case study, it is possible to closely examine the numbers, gender and value of horses kept by the peasantry, and also the wealth of these peasant owners. In addition, this analysis allows us to study the ways

⁷⁴ For a map of sampled manors see Map 1.

⁷⁵ For example, see: Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, pp. 82-5; Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, 36-7.

in which peasant work horses were distributed across the hundred, and what implications local topography and environmental conditions had on peasant horse ownership. For instance, the proportion of female to male horses as well as that of young horses to adult horses provides insight into the role the peasant class played in the horse trade. A high proportion of both female horses and young foals and fillies is indicative of breeding activity beyond the level needed only sustaining a population of working animals. These results will be compared and contrasted with the demesne evidence presented in Chapter 2, and will be instrumental in determining whether or not the peasantry could have bred, reared and supplied horses to the medieval market.

Chapter 5, the final substantive chapter, attempts to sketch the contours of the market for agricultural horses. Using what limited data we have on the actual nexus of horse exchange (i.e. where and when horses were bought and sold) tells part of the story, but much of the ‘heavy lifting’ is done by using price data quarried from manorial accounts as an indirect way of reconstructing the market for horses. Together, the analysis of these three bodies of evidence illustrates how the market for agricultural horses was organized, how consumers accessed it and, most significantly, how important formal markets were in the exchange of agricultural horses. The price evidence also facilitates insight beyond the values of work horses. For example, it illustrates the existence of both a primary and secondary market for draught animals. In the primary market, ‘new’ animals were bought near the beginning of their working lives at three or four years, while in the secondary market older animals were bought with less work-life left in them, similar to the used car market of today. The established understanding is that demesne managers drew primarily on the primary (or ‘new’) market, while their peasant tenants were

consumers in the secondary (or ‘used’) market,⁷⁶ this assumption will be tested and assessed in this chapter.

The relative price levels of horses across both horse types and geographic regions also provide critical insight into levels of integration in the horse market. This empirical exercise can provide much-needed nuance to the rough ideas about the structure of the horse market put forth by Farmer, and facilitates comparison with the early modern horse market as described by Peter Edwards. Together, these four substantive sections will provide an intensive study that covers England as a whole but is also sensitive to regional differentiation.

⁷⁶ Langdon suggested that horses were worked intensively on the demesne for a period of five to seven years; at this point, they were exchanged for younger and fitter animals. See: *Horses, Oxen*, 250.

Chapter 2: The Role of Demesnes in the Trade of Agricultural Horses, c. 1300

2.1 Introduction

The horse trade of medieval England – the acquisition, circulation and exchange of horses – involved virtually all sectors of society. In a famous remark about this trade in the early modern period, Joan Thirsk compared it to the modern exchange of automobiles, both in terms of the importance of the commodity to society and the breadth of the industry.⁷⁷ Yet, for all its importance, the trade in horses could be very ‘slippery’, in the sense that it was so ubiquitous that it often evaded detection or record. A unique source in market toll books helped Peter Edwards shed light on the early modern horse trade, but the further one goes back in time the more difficult it is to find written records capable of shedding light upon its distributive mechanisms. Despite the wealth of information about some aspects of medieval horse exploitation - such as their use in agriculture and transport - the information about the trade of the animals is meagre. Consequently, this important subject has attracted little attention from historians and remains shadowy. This thesis is the first attempt to study the horse trade in medieval England and it begins with an exploration of the acquisition and dispersal of agricultural horses (as against their exploitation, so far the main focus of the historical literature) on seigniorial demesnes. Their manorial accounts provide a partial and indirect insight into this business, but nonetheless yield results that are illuminating and instructive of the wider horse trade.

The seigniorial sector is the most well-documented component of England’s late medieval agrarian economy. The records which document the agrarian activity of lords, who held between 25 and 30 percent of agricultural land in England at the

⁷⁷ Thirsk, *Horses in early modern England*, 24.

time,⁷⁸ give us unparalleled insight into the characteristics and productivity of seigniorial agriculture.⁷⁹ This chapter uses manorial accounts, a specific type of seigniorial document that recorded, in very great detail, the business of lords' demesne farms. These accounts contain information ranging from rents received from tenants, the costs of repairs to buildings and farm implements, and wages paid to labourers, to, significant for this thesis, the types and number of animals kept on the farm.

Manorial accounts are very well standardized; they are largely consistent throughout the country and across time, both in the type of information they contain and the format of the documents themselves.⁸⁰ The accounts typically begin with a heading, giving the name of the manor and the year of the account. Many accounts

⁷⁸ Bruce Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, 26. The size of demesnes varied widely from estate to estate and manor to manor. Therefore, there is no 'usual' or 'standard' size of demesne. In a study of Hundred Rolls of 1279-80 from Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and Warwickshire, E.A. Kosminsky calculated that of over half a million acres under cultivation, 31.8 percent was demesne, 40.5 percent was villein land and 27.7 percent was held by free tenants. See: E.A. Kosminsky, *Studies in the agrarian history of England in the thirteenth century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), 89. Bruce M. S. Campbell, "Benchmarking medieval economic development: England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, c. 1290", *Economic History Review* 61 (2008), 940; Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, 58-60.

⁷⁹ The divergence in both the practice and productivity of agriculture between seigniorial demesnes and the lands of peasant tenants has been well established. Research on the agricultural activity of peasants and how it differed from the seigniorial sector is ongoing. For examples see: Alexandra Sapoznik, "The productivity of peasant agriculture: Oakington, Cambridgeshire, 1360-99" *Economic History Review* 66, No. 2 (2013), 518-44; R.H. Hilton, *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 13; Mark Bailey, "Peasant Welfare in England, 1290-1348." *Economic History Review* 51, No. 2 (1998), 228; Eona Karakacili, "English Agrarian Labor Productivity Rates Before the Black Death: A Case Study" *Journal of Economic History* 64, No. 1 (2004), 36; Stone, *Decision-making*, 267-86; Bruce Campbell, "Constraint or constrained? Changing perspectives on medieval English agriculture", *Neha-Jaarboek voor economische, bedrijfs- en techniekgeschiedenis*, 19. This thesis addresses peasant engagement with the horse trade in Chapters four and five.

⁸⁰ The earliest extant manorial accounts are the pipe rolls of the Bishopric of Winchester. This estate was most likely the font of manorial account keeping as an administrative apparatus. The earliest surviving Winchester pipe roll dates from 1208-9, and this roll predates any other manorial accounts by twenty-five years. Nicholas Vincent has posited that their creation and format were linked to Peter des Roches who was elected Bishop of Winchester after serving the crown for many years; des Roches, familiar with the pipe rolls of the royal exchequer, likely introduced this method of account keeping to the Winchester estate. From there the practice of account keeping and the structure of the documents themselves seems to have diffused from Winchester to much of England, so that by the end of the thirteenth century most landlords were engaged in the practice of manorial account keeping and using a standardized format. See: Richard Britnell, "The Winchester Pipe Rolls and Their Historians" in Richard Britnell, ed. *The Winchester Pipe Rolls and Medieval English Society* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 1; Bruce Campbell, "A Unique Estate and a Unique Source: the Winchester Pipe Rolls in Perspective" *Ibid.*, 30-31.

also give the name of the bailiff, reeve or other official who was responsible for the demesne during the accounting year. The front side of the manuscript typically details the income of the manor, while the back side, or dorse, outlines expenditure. Near the end of most accounts is a grange and stock section, which records the yield of the harvest that year, as well as the receipts and losses of grain and livestock and of secondary livestock products such as cheese, eggs and hides.⁸¹

This chapter uses a national sample of 322 manorial accounts from around the year 1300. This sample covers much of the country and facilitates an examination of the ways in which demesnes acquired, managed and marketed agricultural horses in medieval England. The chapter considers one central query: where did seigniorial demesnes – the hubs of commercial agriculture in medieval England – acquire their working horses? A number of related questions revolve around this. First, did demesnes breed and rear significant numbers of horses? If so, was the scale of seigniorial horse breeding sufficient for supplying the whole of England with draught animals or only for meeting the demesne needs? Whatever the scale, was demesne breeding concentrated in particular regions of the country? Secondly, aside from breeding, what other avenues of procurement did demesnes use to acquire horses? Did demesnes regularly purchase horses on the market? Finally, Were demesnes active in the marketing of horses themselves and, if so, were there any regional patterns in such activity?

⁸¹ Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, 27.

2.2 The Sample

In order to address effectively and reliably the questions raised above, a sample of accounts has been chosen concentrated on a relatively narrow range of years around 1300, effectively encompassing the entire decades of the 1290s and the 1300s. The sample must be large enough to be representative, but small enough to be manageable for the purposes of a PhD thesis. Philip Slavin, as part of his on-going project of documenting and digitizing the entire corpus of manorial accounts from the ‘direct farming’ period in England, estimates that over 20,000 manorial accounts are extant, out of around 400,000 that were likely to have been created between 1270 and 1400.⁸² Since accounts normally ran from Michaelmas (29 September - the traditional end of the harvest) to Michaelmas of the following year, this meant examining accounts in the range from 1289-90 to 1310-11, resulting in a total span of twenty-two years. The sample was further narrowed by taking only one account per manor, normally that closest to the year 1300 (1299-1300 was the account-year normally preferred, if it survived),⁸³ to ensure that no “double counting” occurred within the sample.⁸⁴ The search for extant documents which fit within these parameters turned up over 500 manuscripts. Some of these accounts proved unhelpful for the purposes of our study, usually in cases where the demesne did not stock any horses or the manuscript was damaged. Further, only accounts which fully

⁸² Ibid., 33; Philip Slavin, “The Sources for Manorial and Rural History” in Rosenthal, Joel T. Ed. *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources: Using Historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 135. Dr. Slavin, who is currently undertaking to collect and digitize all extant manorial accounts from the ‘direct farming’ period, now estimates that the figure for extant manorial accounts is closer to 25,000-27,000. Philip Slavin, Personal Communication, April 21, 2012.

⁸³ Some exceptions were made if the nearest surviving account to 1300 was in obviously poorer shape than one a little further away in time, or if there was a convenient printed edition available for an alternate year, as in the excellent edition of the 1301-2 bishopric of Winchester pipe roll: *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2*, edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996).

⁸⁴ As this chapter considers the horses enumerated in manorial accounts as a single sample, including more than a single account from any manor could result in some animals being counted twice.

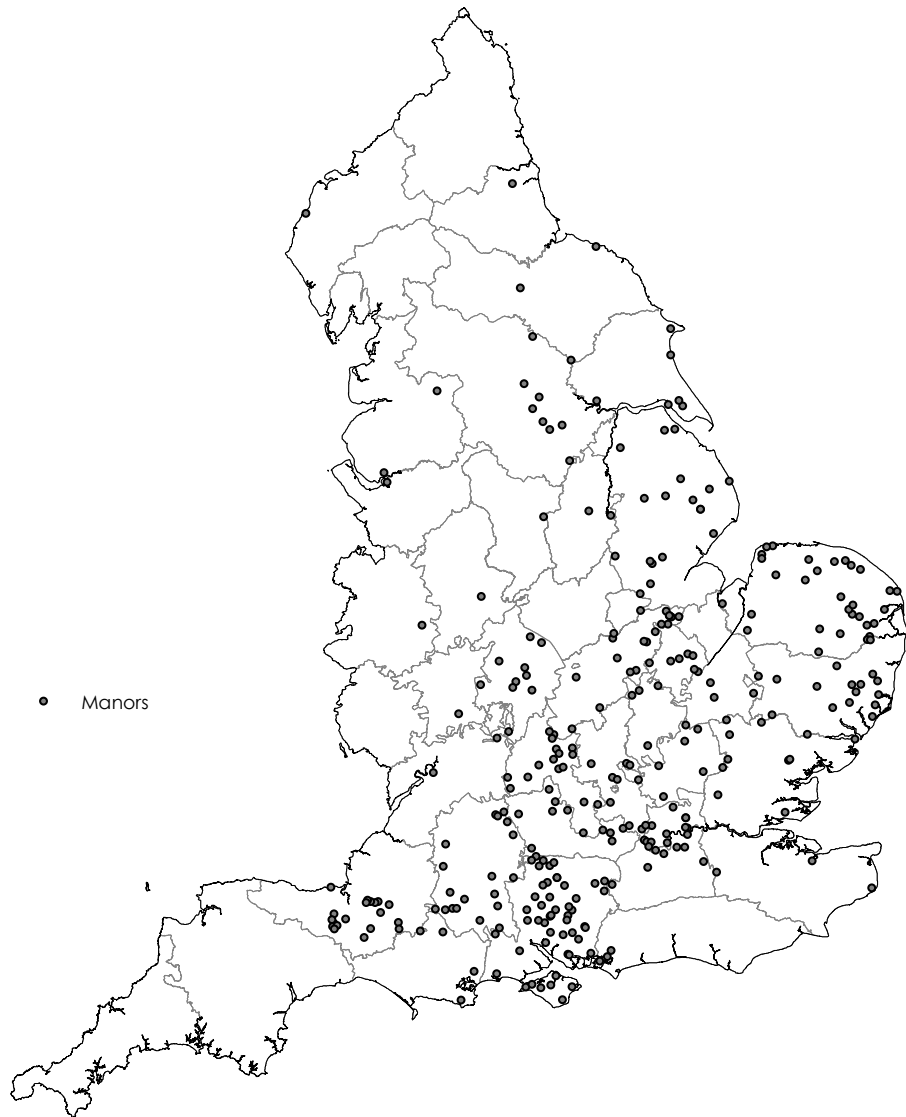
accounted for their horse stocks, with beginning and end-of-year figures as well as additions and subtractions, were deemed eligible.⁸⁵ The end result was a sample of 322 accounts, and hence manors, which forms the basis of our examination of seigniorial involvement in the horse trade.

The sample is biased, due mostly to the imperfect survival of documents, towards the accounts of major ecclesiastical landlords. Lay landlords are generally under-represented and even those lay lords in the sample tend to be owners of large, institutional estates, like those of the De Lacy and Clare families, rather than smaller land owners. As Map 1 shows, the coverage of the sampled manors across the country is also uneven, being heavily skewed to the south and east of the country with notable ‘empty’ areas such as the forest area of the Weald south of London, the extreme southwest (Devon and Cornwall), and the Northern and western areas of the country generally. However, this distribution is likely as good as one can get given the survival of records and, in any case, this distribution correlates broadly with the distribution of population and levels of relative economic development at that time,⁸⁶ which means that our sample can be taken to be reasonably representative of the English economy as a whole.

⁸⁵ Some accounts, especially in cases where the account covers less than a full year, simply have a livestock ‘inventory’, which is not useful for this study. For example, six such inventories are extant from Durham Priory manors for the year 1302. See: Richard Britnell, ed., *Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310*. The Surtees Society Vol. 218 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2014), 200-208.

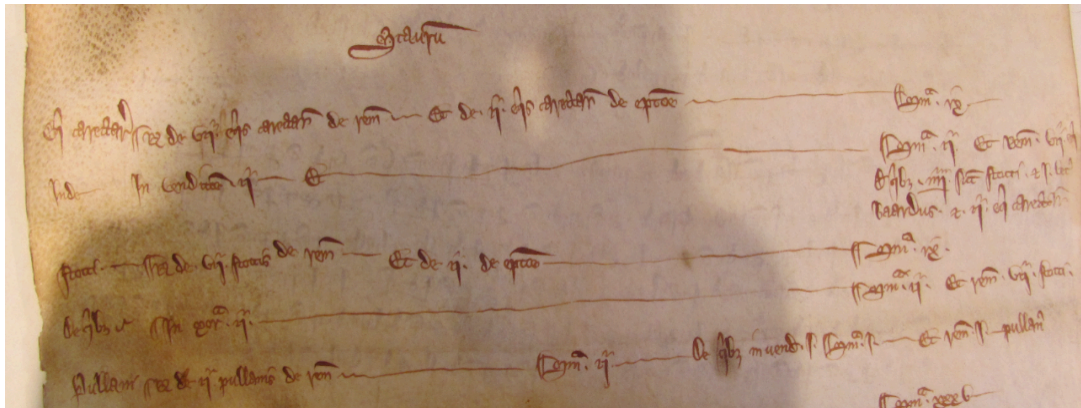
⁸⁶ Campbell, “Benchmarking”, 896-948 (including corrigendum), esp. Table 14, col. C (p. 926).

Map 2.1: National Demesne Sample ca. 1300



2.3 Manorial Account Data

Plate 2.1: Horses Listed in Stock Account of 1292-3 Account of Maldon, Surrey



The first four entries in the stock account give the opening totals, additions and subtractions, and end-of-year numbers for Cart Horses, Stotts and Foals. Source: Merton College Library (MCL), Oxford, 4638 d.

Livestock information is most often contained in a specific section of the manorial account, generally labelled “stock account” (*comptus staurum*) or simply “stock” (*staurum*). This section is almost invariably found on the dorse of the manuscript, near or at the end of the account. These sections enumerate the entirety of a manor’s livestock by category, generally starting with the larger and more expensive animals and proceeding down to the smaller, less expensive and less significant stock. A typical account might begin with horses, proceed to oxen and cows, then sheep and swine, concluding with a few different types of poultry (for an example of horses listed in a stock account, see Plate 1). The underlying structural logic of these stock accounts is illustrated by a source contemporary to their creation. The anonymous estate-management treatise *Husbandry*, likely authored in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, and possibly using the Ramsey Abbey estate as its model,⁸⁷ provided these instructions for demesne managers:

⁸⁷ *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting* Dorothea Oschinsky ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 200-201.

You ought then to see your stock, how much and what kind were kept on the manor during the previous year and appear on the last account. And whether any kind of stock was brought after that into the manor either by gift or by purchase, remittance, heriot, weif [sic] or acquisition, by chance or in any other way. And you ought then to see how many head there are of each kind of beast and of small stock, and of what age they are, so that you can obtain information about those which are of the age of being mated. And see how many male and how many female of each kind of beast or fowl there are so that you may know how to charge the accountant correctly for their issue...”⁸⁸

This section of the *Husbandry* gives us unique insight into not only *how* stock accounts were created, but also *why* this information was important to demesne managers. Not only were lords concerned with keeping track of the raw numbers of animals on their estates, but also with the composition of their manor’s stocks. The *Husbandry* suggests that the age and sex of animals could be used to calculate an index of breeding potential for an array of pastoral resources which could then be measured against real production. This will be discussed further below.

Another purpose of the stock accounts, as with manorial accounts overall, was to keep manorial employees honest, as enterprising shepherds, dairymaids and even reeves themselves could stand to profit by embezzling from the landlord. By demanding that detailed information about their herds be recorded in accounts, lords made it more difficult for manorial officers to carry out fraudulent activity on the demesne. While manorial accounts are very consistent in content and form, the level of detail recorded in stock accounts was not universal. For example, the ages and sexes of animals were generally only recorded sporadically. And even with the safeguard of sophisticated manorial accounting, there were a number of ways that demesne employees could manipulate the records and circumvent the suspicions of the lord’s auditor. One thirteenth-century formulary, possibly written by a bailiff

⁸⁸ Ibid., 423.

with intimate knowledge of demesne accounting, even provided detailed instructions on the myriad ways an individual could use a demesne office to his or her own advantage.⁸⁹ One of the ways this could be done was by simply misrepresenting numbers of animals. Through mechanisms such as over-representing mortality and stillbirths, a shepherd with a flock of 150 ewes could defraud the lord of up to twelve lambs in a single year.⁹⁰ Another example given in the text involves selling the highest quality of lambskins rendered by the lord's flock and using that income to buy a greater number of poorer-quality skins. The fraudulent shepherd then turns over the expected number of skins to the lord (which are now of lower quality than the lord's actual skins) and keeps the surplus skins for himself.⁹¹ The text contains other examples of fraud in the sheepfold as well as explanations about how income can be skimmed from the lord's dairy.⁹² With the capacity for fraud so great, we can appreciate how detailed stock accounts were a necessary safeguard against scheming manorial employees. However, even with the security of keeping detailed accounts, lords were susceptible to fraud and the significance of this should not be underestimated. The twelve lambs mentioned in the first example above would have amounted to a loss of 8 percent for the lord's sheep farming that year, which would not be revealed the demesne's stock account. With this in mind, it is possible, if not likely, that livestock fraud similar to the above examples occurred among demesne horses as well. The sample cannot be easily adjusted for whatever fraud *was* occurring, we must acknowledge that, as detailed as the accounts are, in some cases the figures on the accounts differed from reality. However, horses were likely less

⁸⁹ Martha Carlin, "Cheating the Boss: Robert Carpenter's Embezzlement Instructions and Employee Fraud in Medieval England" in Ben Dodds and Christian D. Liddy, eds., *Commercial Activity, Markets and Entrepreneurs in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), 183-4.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 185.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 189.

susceptible to these kinds of fraud, as the overall size of horse herds was much smaller and the individual animals more distinguishable than other types of stock.

Within the broad category of horses listed in stock accounts, the animals were most often delineated by the jobs that they performed. Horses are usually described as either ‘cart-horses’ or the more general terms of *affrus* or *stottus* (anglicised as ‘affer’ and ‘stott’, respectively), or even simply *equus*. Cart-horses were regularly referred to explicitly as *equus carectarius* (or the plural *equi carectarii*), and these were specialized animals used almost exclusively for pulling carts. These *equi carectarii* were most often male horses.⁹³ The terms *affri* and *stotti* are most often associated with plough beasts, but these were also ‘all-purpose’ horses which performed a variety of work in addition to ploughing, such as harrowing but also cartage.⁹⁴ Stotts were also likely used as riding horses from time to time, as the Reeve in the general prologue of Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* is described as “sat upon a ful good stot”.⁹⁵ The terms ‘affer’ and ‘stott’ were used to describe both male and female horses (in these cases the Latin term *affra* is used),⁹⁶ although female

⁹³ Female horses were seemingly used for carting on some rare occasions. For example, the Winchester Cathedral Priory manor of Houghton transferred one animal from the cart-horse category to the mares of the manor, a clear indication that the horse in question was female. The Bishop of Winchester’s manor of Bishopstoke also lists the lone affer purchased in 1301-2 as a mare in the ‘cost of carts’ section.

⁹⁴ Thus, the binary understanding of *equus carectarius* as ‘cart-horse’ and *affrus* and *stottus* as ‘plough-horse’ is too simplistic and should be avoided. For example, in the generally excellent translation of the 1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll, editor and translator Mark Page used the above binary understanding in translating the terms *equus carectarius* and *affrus*. However, the manor of Taunton in Somerset, recorded no *equi carectarii* in 1301-2, but began the year with 2 *affri*, added one further *affrus* during the year, and ended the account with a total of 3 *affri*. The purchased *affrus* is accounted for in the ‘cost of carts’ section as “In one horse purchased for the cart 17s.” In this case, translating *affri* as ‘plough-horses’ is incorrect, as at least one was being employed on the demesne as a cart-horse, or at least a multi-purpose animal which fulfilled a variety of tasks. A similar situation is found on the Winchester manor of Bishopstoke, where the lone affer purchased in 1301-2 was described in the ‘cost of carts’ section as “1 mare purchased [for] 8s. 7d.” The affers/stotts employed on the manors of Norwich Cathedral Priory were also ‘all-purpose’ draught horses. See: Philip Slavin, *Bread and Ale for the Brethren* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2012), 85.

⁹⁵ *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd edn., ed. Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008; originally Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 33, line 615.

⁹⁶ In many cases, other contextual information from the accounts must be used to determine the sex of affers and stotts. In most cases the Latin used in the accounts was highly abbreviated and left out

horses were more often referred to less ambiguously as *jumenta* (literally ‘beast of burden’ in Latin) and clearly understood in the documents as ‘mares’. The term *stottus* was a regional term, found only in the records of south-east England and East Anglia. *Runcini*, or rounceys, are infrequently found among demesne livestock as they were generally employed as riding horses or packhorses and kept separately in the lord’s stables. On rare occasions these horses may have had roles as harrowing animals on some manors.⁹⁷ Some accounts list horses simply under the general term of ‘*equus*’, but this seems to have been an institutional nomenclature used primarily by the monks of Westminster Abbey,⁹⁸ as of the twenty-four demesnes in our sample which record *equi*, eighteen were manors of the abbey. These horses were also likely to be all-purpose animals similar to the affers and stotts; the *equi* found on the Kentish manor of West Cliffe were used for harrowing⁹⁹ and the two *equi* on the Berkshire manor of Bray were put to ‘diverse jobs of London’.¹⁰⁰

A small number of horses were defined specifically as ‘mill horses’; these animals were either used as engines for horse-mills or used as delivery animals at wind or water mills. For example, the Bishop of Winchester’s manor of Farnham in Surrey kept three mill-horses to drive the manor’s two horse-mills,¹⁰¹ while another of the Bishop’s manors kept a single mill-horse, but this beast was seemingly used as a pack animal working at the manor’s water mill.¹⁰² Finally, there are very rare references to stallions (*stallones*). These animals are generally found only on manors engaged in the breeding of *runcini* or other more elite horses, such as Isabella de

the endings of the Latin terms which could otherwise be used to determine the sex of the animal in question.

⁹⁷ Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 34, 296.

⁹⁸ At least with respect to manorial accounts. As discussed below, the term ‘*equi*’ is also found in lay subsidy returns and manorial court rolls.

⁹⁹ The National Archives (TNA) Kew, London: SC6 889/8; 889/9.

¹⁰⁰ [A]d operum diversum de London, TNA SC6 724/4 m. 5.

¹⁰¹ Page, *Winchester Pipe Roll*, 212, 216.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 196-7.

Fortibus' *equitium*, or stud farm, at Holderness in Yorkshire, and were not a feature of the typical medieval English manor. Interestingly, the earl of Lincoln's stud farm at Ightenhill in Lancashire, which also produced riding horses, did not stock any stallions. In this case, it is likely that the stud farm trusted upon an external "stud service" to inseminate its mares. When breeding draught horses, reeves may have also utilized similar stud services from outside the demesne.

Within individual stock categories, young animals of different ages are usually listed in separate subcategories. Young horses are almost universally referred to by the term *pullanus* (plural *pullani*); this word is often translated as 'colt' but is likely better understood as 'foal', as the use of the term often encompassed young horses of both sexes. These terms were at times used in a confusingly interchangeable way in the manorial accounts themselves, and in these instances one must look further into other sections of the account to determine the sex of such animals.¹⁰³ Manors containing a significant number of young horses, often categorized them according to age, with animals born that year (*de exitu*, literally 'of issue') separated from those in their second and third years. Horses above three

¹⁰³ The most comprehensive source for the various terms used to describe medieval horses is an appendix in Langdon's *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation*. See: Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 293-6. The term *pullanus* is one of the few not discussed in Langdon's appendix. Latham gives both 'colt' and 'foal' as possible translations, and indicates that *pultrella* had been used in 14th century documents to describe fillies (generally understood as female horses under the age of four or five years), although this term is not found in any of the accounts in our sample. See: R.E. Latham, ed. *Revised Medieval Latin Word List From British and Irish Sources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 382. One example of the term *pullanus* encompassing young horses of both sexes is to be found at Downton manor, on the Bishop of Winchester's estate, where of three *pullani*, one was promoted to cart-horses that year, while the other two were promoted to mares. See: Page, *Winchester Pipe Roll*, 69. Langdon does note the confusing case from the account book of Beaulieu Abbey from ca. 1270 which describes the stages of maturity used to describe animals in the accounts. For horses, it says the following: *Pullani equorum primo compoto postquam nati sunt pullani vocantur, secundo compoto vocantur superannales, tercio compoto vocantur affri. Quarto compoto coniungunter masculi cum masculis, femelle cum femellis et efficientur equi vel equi*. Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 294 n.5. Cited from: S.F. Hockey, ed., *Account-Book of Beaulieu Abbey* Camden Society Fourth Series, xvi, 1975, 51. Langdon interpreted this as instructions to account for young horses as affers before being moved to the adult categories of "equi" but noted that this practice was not followed on any actual accounts, even those of Beaulieu Abbey. Our analysis of stock accounts supports Langdon's opinion that affers were always adult horses. A further discussion of young horses can be found below.

years of age usually graduated to one of the adult categories.¹⁰⁴

By 1300, demesne managers from across England stocked an array of specialized agricultural horses distinguished by occupation, age and sex. In some cases, the differences between categories were largely nominal, as with affers and stotts; the animals in each respective group were very similar. Horses in occupation-specific categories like cart horses mill horses, were more specialized, especially in terms of their training and the work that they performed, and were clearly and uniquely demarcated from other types of horses. The composition of demesne horse stocks is significant for this study in establishing the numbers of horses kept on seigniorial farms, and as will be illustrated below, the levels of female and young horses as an indicator of horse breeding potential in the seigniorial sector.

¹⁰⁴ This progression is clear from studying sock accounts. However, the same pattern has been observed by David Stone in his detailed analysis of the manor of Wisbech Barton. See: Stone, *Decision-Making*, 114.

Figure 2.1: Composition of Sample: Horse Types

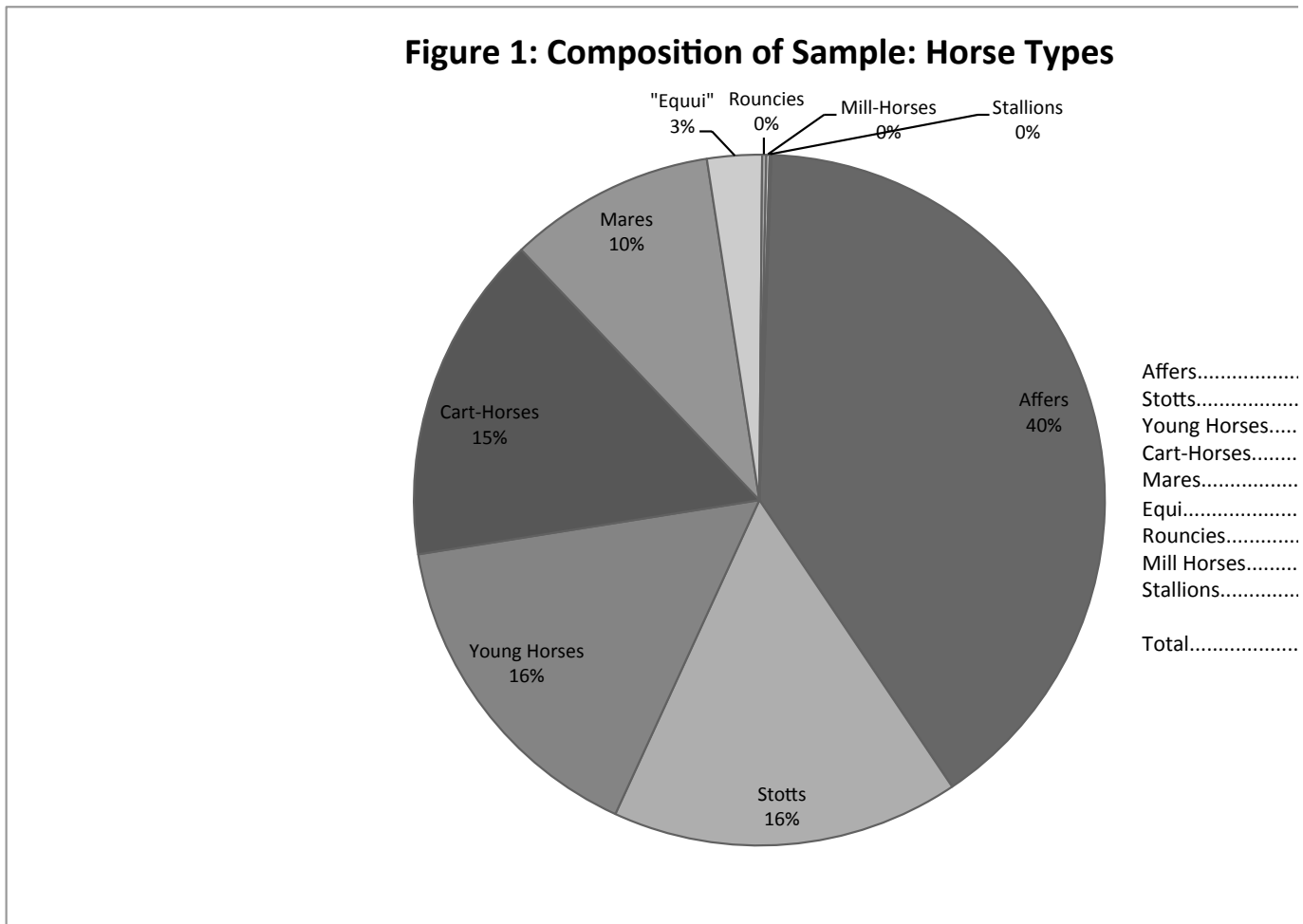
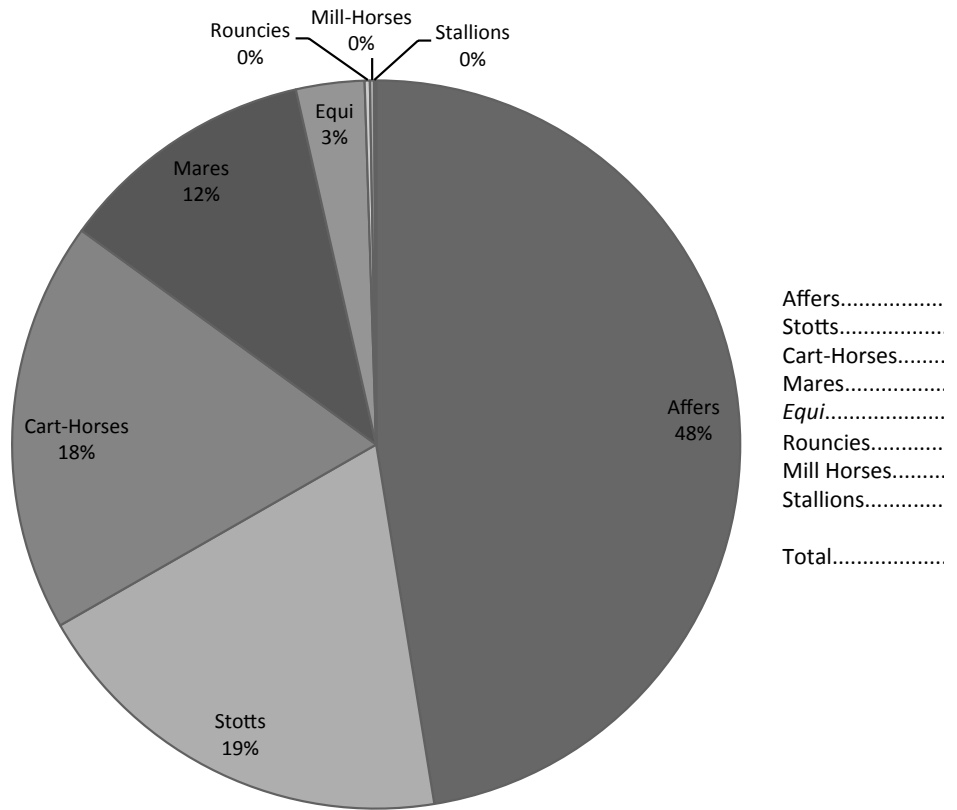


Figure 2.2: Composition of Sample: Adult Horses

Figure 2: Composition of Sample: Adult Horses



Altogether the sample of 322 accounts contains data for about 2650¹⁰⁵ horses.

Animals typically fell into nine categories as described above; Figure 2.1 shows the distribution of horses throughout these categories.¹⁰⁶ Figure 2.2 gives the proportions of the sample with the 403 young horses removed, leaving only adult animals. These will be discussed further below. The vast majority of the horses in our sample were working animals in stotts, affers and cart horses; it is this core group that impacted upon the agrarian economy most directly. There are a number of riding horses in the sample which never worked on demesne farms and were therefore not directly involved in demesne agriculture. The distinction is an important one, because manors that stocked both riding and draught horses often treated the management of each group rather differently. For example, on the estate of Peterborough Abbey, Biddick observed that “the demography of the herd of riding horses kept [at Eye park] contrasted sharply with the strategies for keeping cart-horses and workhorses on the estate.”¹⁰⁷ Managers of Peterborough Abbey demesnes kept relatively few young workhorses; the total estate-wide levels never rose above 30 percent.¹⁰⁸ In managing the Abbot’s herd of riding horses kept in the park at Eye, however, young animals accounted for a far greater proportion, between 60 and 70 percent of all horses.¹⁰⁹ On Peterborough demesnes, therefore, the proportion of young horses was linked directly to the level of breeding activity.

Among working horses, where numbers of young animals were low, the level of

¹⁰⁵ As will be explained in more detail later, since the number of horses on any given manor changed over the year, the overall sample has two discrete totals: one for the beginning of the year, and a second for the end of the year. In this sample, the total beginning and end figures were 2591 and 2576, respectively.

¹⁰⁶ There are some instances where discretion must be used in categorizing horses, either where an animal could potentially be placed in two categories, or where a further subcategory might be created. For example, the 1307 account for Stallingborough, Lincolnshire, lists an *affr’ carect’*, or “cart affer”. This animal was listed in the ‘Affer’ category. Further discussion of such seemingly anomalous cases can be found below.

¹⁰⁷ Biddick, *The Other Economy*, 119.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 118.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 119-20.

breeding activity was relatively small, while the intensive breeding of *runcini* at Eye resulted in a much more significant presence of young horses.¹¹⁰

A similar divergence in management practices can be observed in other *runcini* stud farms in our sample, particularly in terms of the number of mares. Differentiating working from non-working mares is made somewhat difficult by the fact that the accounts do not explicitly differentiate between working and brood mares (i.e. used for breeding). However, a number of indicators from other sections of the accounts give the impression that female horses often served the dual purposes of draught animals and as brood mares. For example, the Winchester manor of Morton in Buckinghamshire had two male and two female horses at the end of the 1301-2 accounting year. Both horses were listed in the *affer* category. The account notes explicitly that there were no foals [born] that year because both female horses were sterile, an indication that the animals were expected to be used for draught and breeding.¹¹¹ This is in opposition to the practice of *runcini* stud farms which stocked large numbers of mares which were used only for breeding and not at all involved in demesne agriculture.

In our sample, the Earl of Lincoln's stud farm at Ightenhill was home to forty-two non-working mares, and the park in Eye in Northamptonshire (a manor included in both our sample and Biddick's study of Peterborough Abbey), kept twenty-eight *runcini* mares.¹¹² When these particular mares are removed from the sample, along with the three mature *runcini* (one and Ightenhill and two at Eye),

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Page, *Winchester Pipe Roll*, x.

¹¹² A third stud farm in our sample, the Holderness *equitium* of Isabella de Fortibus, may also have stocked non-working brood mares, but as there are no *runcini* found on this stud, we can not be as certain about the nature of these horses as we are with those at Ightenhill and Eye. The Holderness mares have been included in the 'working horse' sample.

young horses and two stallions,¹¹³ we arrive at a figure of 2156 working horses, or just over 80 percent of all horses in the total sample. As we are most interested here in the ways in, and the extent to, which medieval English demesnes interacted with the horse trade, we will not remove these non-working horses from all consideration. While these animals may not have contributed directly to the agricultural enterprises of demesnes, they were still part of the overall profile of demesne investment in horses and interaction with the market for the animals.

Affers were by far the most common type of horse found on English demesnes. The general trend in the literature has been to adopt a binary understanding of agricultural horses, assigning them to one of two categories: cart-horses or plough-horses. “Cart-horse” (*equi carectarii*), was a medieval term used in manorial accounts whereas the singular term of “plough-horse” was not actually part of the contemporary nomenclature. Rather, the term “plough-horse” is an umbrella term that has been used by modern historians to describe all non-cart-horses, most frequently affers and stotts but also *equi*. While stotts and affers worked primarily as plough animals, they could also be put to other tasks, like harrowing and even carting.¹¹⁴ Therefore, these animals might be better described as general “all purpose” horses rather than single-purpose plough beasts.¹¹⁵ The same is true for stotts and *equi*; the *equi* especially were seemingly used for many different draught applications.¹¹⁶ When stotts (40 percent), affers (16 percent) and ‘*equi*’ (3 percent)

¹¹³ Foals were generally too immature to be put to work (but were most likely being trained to do so). Stallions, acted simply as stud horses as the rambunctious behaviour of intact stallions likely make them unsuitable for draught work. If we assume that female animals were in fact dedicated breeding stock and did not work on the demesne, the is proportion of working horses would fall to 75 percent.

¹¹⁴ One stott on the manor of Great Hallingbury in Essex was transferred to the cart horses during the year, British Library Egerton Charter, 8346.

¹¹⁵ For example, an equus on the Kent manor of West Cliffe in 1302-3 was explicitly noted in the account as being used for harrowing. TNA SC6 889/8.

¹¹⁶ This has largely been determined through similarity in prices. See Chapter 5.

are added together, these general-purpose horses accounted for 59 percent of the total sample.

In terms of a sex ratio, the number of female horses in our sample is underestimated if calculated using only the categories above. This is due to the fact that the accounts often failed to provide sex-specific categories. In some instances, scribes provided explicit categories for female horses, such as on the four Yorkshire manors of Little Humber, Holderness, Easington and Burstwick which used the category “*pullani feminae*” to denote female foals.¹¹⁷ In other instances, specific categories like “cart mare”¹¹⁸ and “mare of the mill”¹¹⁹ could be used; in these cases, the specific categories were likely employed because female horses were being used for work typically associated only with male animals.¹²⁰ However, these sex-specific categories are a rarity in manorial accounts and many female horses were often simply lumped into the general categories discussed above. At the Berkshire manor of Brightwell, for instance, all eleven of the manor’s affers were female.¹²¹ In the stock account, the horses in question were listed under the “affer” heading, but described as female in the text (*fem’* or *feminae*). In some accounts, the feminine *affra* could be used to denote female affers,¹²² however, none of the accounts in our sample used this category, and even in cases where all the affers were female, as with Brightwell, the category heading in the stock account usually used a gender-ambiguous abbreviation of *affr’*.

Some manors were in the habit of providing a sex breakdown of horses in the end of year total, but this practice was not universally adhered to. Using the end-of-

¹¹⁷ Little Humber: TNA SC6 1079/15, m. 4r-4d; Holderness: TNA SC6 1079/15 m.5d; Easington: TNA: SC6 1079/15 mm. 2r; Burstwick: TNA: SC6 1079/15 m. 7r-7d.

¹¹⁸ *jumentis [sic] carectar[i]*. Fletchamstead, Warwickshire: TNA SC6 1039/11 m. 1r-1d.

¹¹⁹ Brightwell, Berkshire: Page, *Winchester Pipe Roll*, 199.

¹²⁰ Cart-horses, for example, were often, but not always, male.

¹²¹ Page, *Winchester Pipe Roll*, 193,199.

¹²² Langdon, *Horses*, 294.

year data that we do have, we can measure a minimum degree of female under-representation, finding that at least 108 of the 1069 affers in our total sample, or just over 10 percent, were female. The available end-of-year data for foals also gives us some insight into under-representation of fillies among the young horses, with at least twenty-three female horses, or 6 percent of the total. Three of the four stotts at the Merton College manor of Cheddington were also female,¹²³ and, in sum, these figures raise the total proportion of female horses in our overall sample to 15 percent, up from the 10 percent figure calculated above using the scribes' nominal categories only. As not all manors provided a sex breakdown in the end of year total, the proportion of female horses may actually have been greater than this, and the figure of 15 percent should be considered as a more likely minimum rate. The overall population of working horses in England was likely to have been equally distributed between females and males. As we can only identify ~15 percent as female, it leads to a further question. Were closer to 50 percent of demesne horses in fact female but are obscured in our figures because the scribes were not interested in recording sex carefully? Or, did demesne managers systematically remove female horses from their stocks at an early age (by, for example, selling them off) leaving a greater proportion of male horses? David Stone has demonstrated that demesne managers did take decisions on the sex composition of their horse herds,¹²⁴ but uncovering such nuances required the close study of long runs of accounts. The reality is likely to have been somewhere between these two possibilities; some demesne managers may have preferred male work horses and managed their herds accordingly, but our static sample does not allow us to answer this question with confidence.

¹²³ Merton College Library, Oxford. 5537 (3ms.)

¹²⁴ Stone, *Decision Making*, 114.

A close inspection also reveals a degree of fluidity and inconsistency in the categorization of horses. If we delve deeper into the Brightwell account, we find that all eleven of these female affers were sold off during the year. In the “sale of stock” section of the account, all eleven animals are referred to as “mares”.¹²⁵ This naturally raises the question of why the same horses could be categorized as affers in one instance, and as mares in another, even within the same account. Perhaps the category of “mare” was meant, at least in theory, to denote breeding mares or breeding-capable “brood” mares.¹²⁶ What becomes immediately apparent is that there was no standardised convention in categorizing horses; the practice differed from estate to estate and manor to manor.

Our sample illustrates that, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, cart-horses comprised 15 percent of all horses on English medieval demesnes. However, a few estates kept a considerably high proportion of horses for the express purpose of hauling. Over one third of all horses were used for carting on the Midlands estate of Peterborough Abbey.¹²⁷ Peterborough Abbey was exceptional in this respect, as our sample shows cart-horses comprising 19.1 percent of total demesne horse populations in the Midlands region, only slightly higher than the national average.

Cart-horses were more specialized and more expensive than affers and stotts. Many cart-horses may have been stronger, fitter and generally more robust than affers and stotts, which could be put to some light hauling, but much of their higher

¹²⁵ Page, *Winchester Pipe Roll*, 193-4.

¹²⁶ The 1279 hundred roll contains an entry for Alwalton, a Peterborough Abbey manor in Huntingdonshire, which lists a specific fine for the sale of ‘brood’ mares by villeins. Regarding the obligations of one Hugh Miller, which entailed works preformed for the Abbot of Peterborough, as well as contributing wheat, oats, poultry and eggs, this villein was also required to pay a fine of 4 d. to the Abbot “if he sells a brood mare in his court yard” for a price of 10 s. or more. If he sold a mare for less, no fine was required. J.H. Robinson, trans, University of Pennsylvania. Dept. of History: *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European history*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1897) Vol. III: 5, 4-8. I am grateful to Alex Sapoznik for directing me to this entry.

¹²⁷ Biddick, *The Other Economy*, 118.

value was also down to a skill premium, added through a combination of superior temperament and additional training. Affers and stotts were most frequently employed drawing ploughs and harrows, and while skill was required by both the beasts and the ploughmen, usually a team of two, one *tentor* holding the plough and a second *fugator* urging the horses on with a whip, there was more margin for error on the field than on the road. Cart-horses, in addition to the strength and stamina required to draw heavy carts, needed to be trusted with precious cargo in busy environments. An uncooperative or flighty plough-horse might make for slow and laborious work, but a skittish cart-horse could be far more costly.

2.4 Regional Horse Distribution

Regional patterns of demesne horse ownership can be examined more closely by dividing our main sample into five geographical regions: East Anglia, the north, the south and south-west and the Thames basin.¹²⁸ Some striking differences in the makeup of demesne horse stocks are immediately apparent; table 1 illustrates the regional variation in horse ownership. The sample is broken down into individual horse categories across the five regions. The final row combines the categories of offer and stott into a single plough-horse category¹²⁹ for ease of comparison.

¹²⁸ The regions are defined as follows: East Anglia: Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, Suffolk; The Thames Basin: Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Middlesex, Oxfordshire and Surrey; The South and South-west: Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Somerset, Sussex, Wiltshire; The Midlands: Cheshire, Derbyshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Rutland, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire; The North: Cumberland, Durham, Lancashire, Northumberland, Westmorland and Yorkshire. Dividing the country into such regions involves some judgment calls. For example, Essex could easily (and often is) considered part of East Anglia; however it was economically more closely tied to London and the Home Counties and has been included in the Thames Basin region here.

¹²⁹ This distinction is made while noting that not all offers and stotts were strictly plough animals. See pg. 8, n.18.

Map 2.2: Regional Distribution of Manorial Account Sample

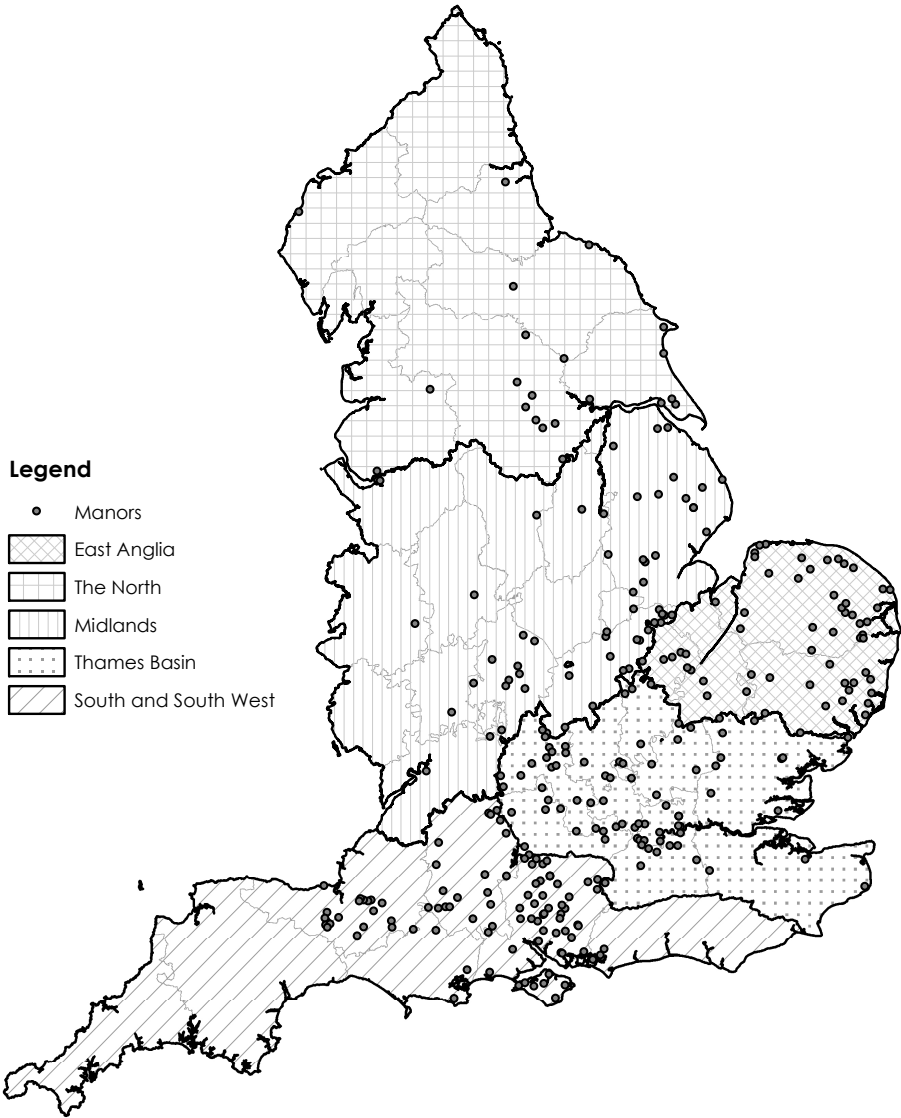


Table 2.1: Regional Distribution of Horse Types

	East Anglia		Midlands		North		South and South-west		Thames Basin		National	
	No. of Horses	% of Total	No. of Horses	% of Total	No. of Horses	% of Total	No. of Horses	% of Total	No. of Horses	% of Total	No. of Horses	% of Total
	265	56.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	154	22.9	419	100.0
	77	16.4	221	40.6	60	18.9	402	62.5	309	45.9	1069	40.6
es	70	14.9	104	19.1	4	1.3	115	17.9	104	15.5	397	14.9
	29	6.2	140	25.7	143	45.0	73	11.4	32	4.8	417	15.9
	28	6.0	61	11.2	106	33.3	52	8.1	22	3.3	269	10.3
	0	0.0	2	0.4	3	0.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	0.2
	0	0.0	17	3.1	0	0.0	1	0.2	48	7.1	66	2.5
	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.1
s	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	0.6	4	0.1
	469	100.0	545	100.0	318	100.0	643	100.0	673	100.0	2648	100.0
orses otts)	342	72.9	221	40.6	60	18.9	402	62.5	463	68.8	1488	56.5

Source: manorial account database.

Many regions had a dominant type of horse which comprised a clear majority. On a national level, affers and stotts were the most common type of horse kept by demesnes. The 1488 animals (1069 affers and 419 stotts) comprised 56.2 percent of all the horses in our sample. Regionally, however, there was significant variation in the numbers of these animals (most frequently employed as plough-horses), ranging from only 18.9 percent in the North to over 70 percent in East Anglia. Affers and stotts were almost as numerous in the Thames Basin region, comprising there 68.8 percent of all horses in that region. These proportions correlate broadly with those areas of the country which had embraced horse ploughing most thoroughly. The north and midlands regions stand out in our sample as having significantly fewer affers and stotts, and this is best explained by the predominance of ox ploughing which persevered in those regions into the fourteenth century.¹³⁰ In the only regions which stocked both types of horses, East Anglia and the Thames Basin, proportions of stotts and affers were polarized. Stotts were more common in the former region, accounting for more than half of all working horses, and less than a quarter in the latter.

However, the distinction between the two was largely nominal. John Langdon has argued that there was little difference between stotts and affers, with ‘stott’ simply being an alternative term for the same type of horse.¹³¹ Our data supports Langdon’s view, as of the 251 demesnes in our sample which stocked stotts or affers, none stocked both types of horse. In Cambridgeshire, two manors stocked affers, the Earl of Lincoln’s manor of Grantese and the Crowland Abbey manor of Oakington, while the other two Cambridgeshire manors in our sample, Ditton Valence and Kennet, kept stotts. In the case of the earldom of Lincoln, whose

¹³⁰ See Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 110-111.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 296-7.

manors were spread across much of England, from Lancashire in the North to Dorset in the South as well as the aforementioned East Anglian manor, the custom was to use the term of *affer* for all of its plough and multi-purpose horses, no matter what local custom prevailed. Both *stotts* and *affers* could also be found in Suffolk, though the distribution was skewed towards the former term. The same trend holds for all of East Anglia, as only seven manors in the region listed *affers* while forty-one recorded *stotts*. The opposite was true for the Thames Basin, where *affers* were the predominant animal. Here fifty-three demesnes stocked *affers* and only fifteen kept *stotts*. The distinction was seemingly one of nomenclature, the decision about categorical title seemingly down to institutional custom or perhaps even managerial or scribal preference; *stotts* and *affers* were the same beast. When considered together as a single category, the proportions are very similar, as *affers* and *stotts* comprised 72.9 percent of all horses in East Anglia and 68.8 percent in the Thames Basin.

The North stands out for having a much higher proportion of young horses (*pullani*) than any other region, and this could be indicative of more active horse breeding in that part of the country. However, given the small size of our northern, sample we cannot be too sure of the significance of this particular finding, especially as many of these young horses came from a single place. The high proportion of young horses was bolstered by sixty-two young *runcini* kept at the Earl of Lincoln's stud farm in Ightenhill in Lancashire.¹³² The stud farm also inflated the proportion of mares in the region. While these riding horses were not likely to ever work on the demesne, they were still an important part of the earl's manorial enterprise, in that he

¹³² If the sixty-seven *runcini* foals are removed the total number of young horses falls to sixty-seven from 129, or from 52.4 percent to 27.2 percent.

devoted finite resources to the production of riding horses.¹³³ Looking at the estate's pastoral enterprise, Atkin has argued that the Lincoln estate was "geared towards a cash economy".¹³⁴ However, the accounts for Ightenhill do not record any of these riding horses being sold in 1295-6, so the horse stud farm was seemingly not a for-profit enterprise in the same way that the estate's vaccaries were.¹³⁵

2.5 Young Horses

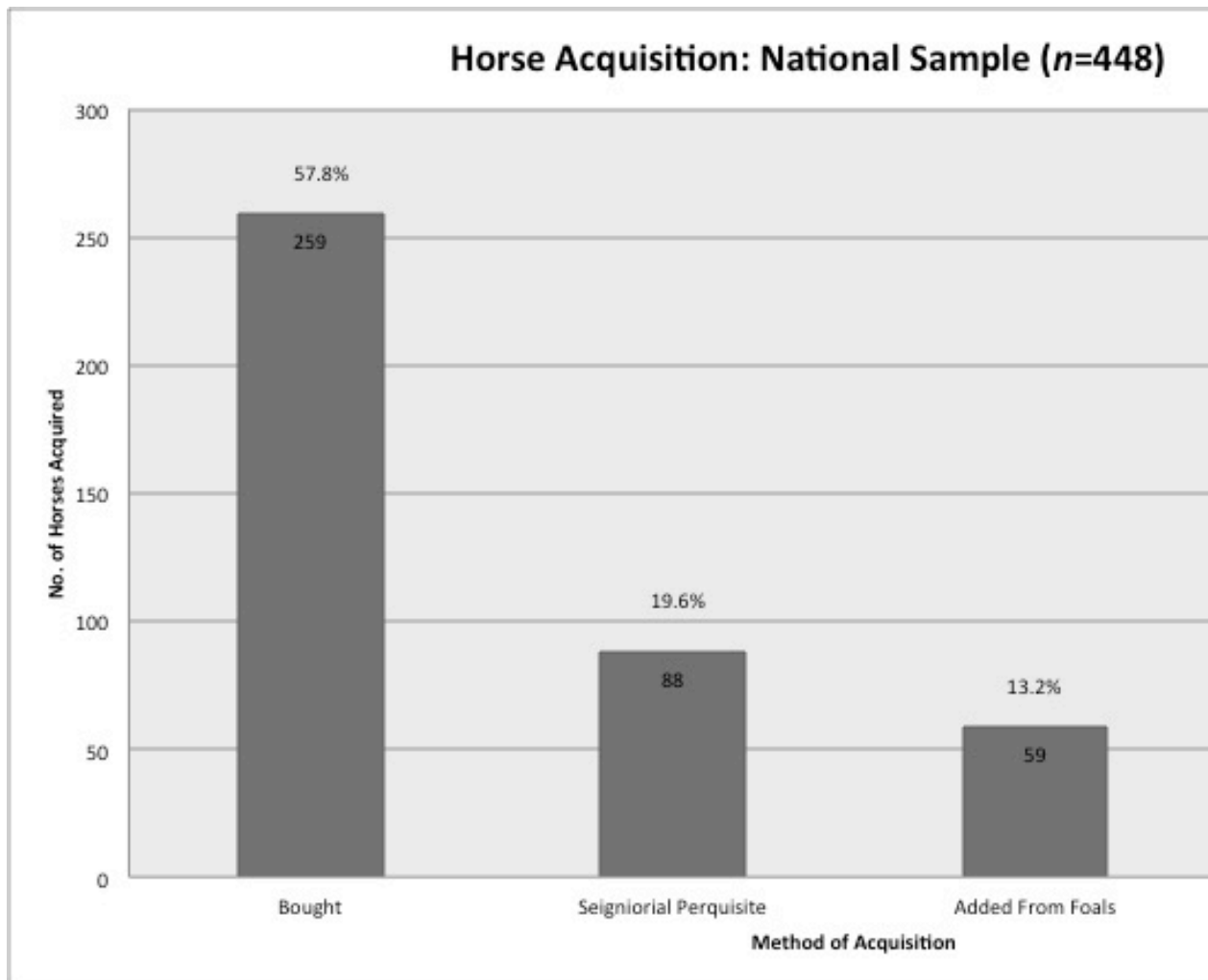
Young horses were most prominent in the midlands and the north, comprising 25.7 and 45 percent of total horse stocks in those regions. These figures are, however, skewed by anomalous practices on the *runcini* stud farms of Peterborough Abbey and the earldom of Lincoln; the demesnes of the former estate make up a significant portion of the Midlands subsample, and the number of foals in the north is substantially inflated by the earl's stud farm at Ightenhill in Lancashire. Proportions of young horses in East Anglia and the Thames Basin are low, accounting for only 6.2 percent and 4.8 percent of total stocks in those regions. Young horses comprised 11.4 percent of stocks in the South and South-west; this region seems to be a middle ground between areas where young horses were scarce, East Anglia and the Thames Basin, and where they were more plentiful, in the north and in the midlands. Breeding will be discussed in more detail below, but at this point the data suggests that areas which were home to a high proportion of young horses, like the midlands and the north, were more actively breeding horses, while the Thames basin and East Anglia, by this metric, were less engaged in horse breeding.

¹³³ For example his expansive cattle raising activity spread across twenty-seven vaccaries on his estate. See: M.A. Atkin, "Land Use and Management in the Upland Demesne of the De Lacy Estate of Blackburnshire c. 1300" *Agricultural History Review* 42 (1994), 2.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1,2.

¹³⁵ It is perhaps possible that surplus *runcini* could have been sold from the earl's stable at some later stage and therefore not recorded in the accounts.

Figure 2.3: Horse Acquisition: National Demesne Sample



2.6 Horse Acquisition

Having looked at the overall populations of horses in our sample, we must now examine the ways in which these populations varied spatially and exactly how, and to what degree, demesnes interacted with the medieval horse market. Through this, we can make some inferences about regional specialization in horse breeding and marketing, while also assessing the relative strength of the market for horses in different parts of the country.

How did the 322 demesnes within the sample acquire their horses? Figure 2.3 illustrates the avenues of procurement used by managers of the demesnes in the sample. The *Husbandry* offers some insight into the methods of acquisition available to demesne managers; the author suggests an array of acquisition methods: “by gift or by purchase, remittance, heriot, weif [sic] or acquisition, by chance or in any other way”.¹³⁶ Many of these avenues of procurement were used frequently by demesnes in our sample. However, the author implies no hierarchy or even an indication of preferred ways of obtaining working horses. Rather, the list was left open-ended. This is perhaps an indication that the author of the *Husbandry* was well aware that horses could arrive on a demesne in myriad ways, including many which fell outside the list provided. The wide range of procurement mentioned in the *Husbandry* perhaps indicates that the author recognized that a number of factors, such as regional variation in the strength of the horse market, or the year-to-year fluctuation in the availability of heriot animals, could influence the ways in which demesne managers acquired working horses from one year to the next. The evidence from our sample reinforces the view that demesne managers used an array of

¹³⁶ *Walter of Henley*, 423.

methods to acquire working horses. They frequently employed those described by the *Husbandry* as well as others which the author did not mention. The most direct way of providing manors with horse power was to purchase the animals. The precise ways in which horses could be purchased for the demesne will be discussed further below, but buying horses was, on average, the preferred method of horse acquisition and was the most direct way in which demesne managers interacted with the medieval horse market. Of the 448 horses acquired via external sources, 259, or 57.8 percent, were purchased on the market. The magnitude of the number of purchased horses is significant in that it clearly indicates that there *was* a strong market for horses and can also be seen as an indication of a high degree of commercialization in this section.

2.7 Demesne Breeding

Demesnes also bred and reared horses themselves. Common sense would lead us to suppose that this was an important source of animals. After all, breeding programmes could have provided demesnes with (comparatively) cheaper horses than those purchased at market by cutting out any price premium that horse dealers or other middlemen would add in making their own profits. As mares and foals accounted for a significant proportion of horse stocks on medieval English manors; as the internal breeding of horses was something that demesne managers could ostensibly have controlled quite closely; and as horses played a central role in the agrarian enterprise of many demesnes, then it is logical to suppose that landlords and their reeves were committed to ensuring their manors possessed a secure supply and a robust stock of horses from an internal breeding programme.

The author of the *Husbandry* treatise commented on breeding rates, asserting that mares should produce one foal each year; in cases where this target was not met, demesne managers were to provide specific reasons for the shortfall:

The reeve ought to answer for the issue of the mares of the manor, that is to say for each mare one foal in the year. And if there is any mare which has no foal an inquiry ought to be made whether this is due to bad keeping or lack of food, too much work or through lack of a stallion, or whether the mare is barren and that the reeve could have changed her – and in time – for another but did not do so. In these cases he [the reeve] ought to be charged fully for the foal or the value.¹³⁷

A 1:1 foal-to-mare ratio was perhaps an ambitious goal, given that mares are generally only capable of carrying a single foetus. In rare cases a mare can carry twins, but both foals are rarely carried to term and these pregnancies are dangerous to the mother.¹³⁸ The consensus of modern veterinary science is that equine pregnancy is an eleven-month term, with mares coming back into season one month after giving birth.¹³⁹ *Husbandry* offers a similar timeframe, stating the gestation period to be 49 weeks.¹⁴⁰ In an ideal scenario, then, a mare would be able to produce a foal at roughly the same time every year, but this leaves no margin for changes in diet, health or other circumstances in terms of meeting the foaling goal as set by the *Husbandry* treatise.

Perhaps the implicit assumption in this one-foal-per-mare threshold is that competent demesne managers would provide sufficient care for mares so that they could regularly produce offspring, while also being swift to replace sterile mares with healthy ones. The *Husbandry* evidently informed the policy of many lords who insisted that their reeves provide compelling reasons in the stock account for any

¹³⁷ Oschinsky, *Walter of Henley*, 423.

¹³⁸ Paul McGreevy, *Equine Behaviour: A Guide For Veterinarians and Equine Scientists* (Edinburgh: Elsevier, 2012), 232.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 245.

¹⁴⁰ Oschinsky *Walter of Henley*, 427.

deficit of foals in a given year. When mares produced fewer foals than expected, explanations in the accounts often mirrored the circumstances discussed in the *Husbandry*, namely, overwork, poor nutrition or sterility. The Bishop of Winchester's manor of Ivinghoe, in Buckinghamshire, records that there were "no foals this year because the female [affers] were feeble and sold."¹⁴¹ While the reeve of Ivinghoe was apparently motivated to remove the sterile animal from the stock, this was not the case for the manager of Michelmersh, one of the Winchester Cathedral Priory manors, as its 1298-9 account recorded that there were no foals in that year "because the mares were sterile."¹⁴²

Overwork may have been a significant factor in the sterility of mares. An illustrative example, though drawn from outside our sample, is found in the 1366-7 account for Chalvington in Sussex, stating that the mare had no foals that year "because of great labour".¹⁴³ Recent veterinary studies have established that increased levels of exercise have a negative impact on a mare's ability to conceive. Increased activity levels can have detrimental effects on fertility even in the earliest stages of pregnancy.¹⁴⁴

Contrary to the suppositions of common sense, and despite the advice of the author of the *Husbandrie*, our sample reveals that the proportion of internally-bred horses was actually quite small. A total of fifty-nine internally-bred horses was added to the adult stocks in our sample, accounting for only 13.2 percent of total additions.¹⁴⁵ Not only did internally-produced horses trail behind purchased animals

¹⁴¹ Page, *Winchester Pipe Roll*, 158.

¹⁴² *nichil quia jument[ae] fuerunt sterilia*. Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Michelmersh 1298-9, 2 mm.

¹⁴³ [*P*]ropter magnum laborem. East Sussex Record Office, SAS CH 257. Cited from: Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 296 n.18.

¹⁴⁴ R.L. Smith, et. al., "Impact of moderate exercise on ovarian blood flow and early embryonic outcomes in mares" *Journal of Animal Science*, 2012, 90, 3776-7.

¹⁴⁵ As young horses will be dealt with in more detail below, the present discussion only considers adult horses. The foals discussed here are limited to maturing foals, usually in their third year, which

by 45 percent, internal breeding was actually only the third most important method of horse acquisition at the national level. When these factors are considered, it seems that internal horse breeding was to some degree a ‘hit and miss’ endeavor, possibly hampered by the poor health and sterility of overworked mares. The frequent infertility among demesne mares is also a phenomenon observed by Stone for the manor of Wisbech Barton.¹⁴⁶ The secondary source of horses for demesnes was actually seigniorial perquisites, as many demesnes were able to procure horses through seigniorial channels such as heriots, strays and waifs as well as, in some cases, the confiscated chattels of criminals.

Individual demesnes also frequently acquired horses through internal transfers, which occurred in two ways. This mechanism functioned primarily through estate-level transfers of horses, where animals were moved from one manor to another to balance the estate’s horse power needs. Horses were also reclassified within the manor’s own stocks. In addition to the 448 horses added to the demesnes, a further eighty-one animals were transferred internally. In these instances, the lord was not acquiring new animals, but was simply manipulating his stocks across all or part of his estate to ensure that each manor, and, in the case of categorical reclassifications, each category had a requisite profile of horses.

Internal transfers are typically found on large institutional estates, which contained a sufficiently large number of proximate manors to make such a system work. For example, in 1300-1, the manor of Framlingham in Suffolk, the centre of Roger Bigod’s large estate, received two stotts specifically from “the reeve of

were added to the adult stock of working animals. Given the typical three year development cycle for young horses, it is possible that some of the foals which graduated to the adult stock in our sample were actually not born and raised on the same demesne that we see, but rather were acquired in a previous year. However, as we will see below, demesnes very rarely purchased immature working horses (only two cases of this in our entire sample), so the margin for error here is very low.

¹⁴⁶ Stone, *Decision Making*, 114.

Hoo”¹⁴⁷, another manor on the Bigod estate, while the Lincolnshire manor of Bolingbroke, part of the earldom of Lincoln, received two offers simply “from the sergeant of the court of Bolingbroke”.¹⁴⁸ These internal transfers allowed larger estates to take advantage of the diverse resources supplied by many manors spread widely across the country, rather than individual demesnes attempting to be self-sufficient.¹⁴⁹ Peterborough Abbey used such inter-estate transfers to maintain its plough teams throughout its twenty-three manors,¹⁵⁰ as did the abbot of Westminster, Bicester Priory and Oseney Abbey.¹⁵¹

On these larger estates, an animal could even be transferred to a demesne from another office of the estate. An example can be drawn from the Earl of Lincoln’s estate where ten offers were acquired by the manor of Colham in Essex “from the stable of the Earl”.¹⁵² A further example is drawn from outside our sample but is particularly illustrative of how complicated the practice of internal transfer could be. In 1409-10 the Bishop of Winchester’s manor of Crawley purchased a single horse from the estate’s hospice “without price”.¹⁵³ Even though this transaction was explicitly labelled a purchase (using the term *empto*) this was clearly an internal transfer and the scribe seemingly used the phrase *sine precio* so that this would be understood in the account. For especially large estates, like the bishopric of Winchester noted above, but also for larger lay estates like the ones of Henry de Lacy and Roger Bigod, where central administration could not keep its eye on all matters at all times, some regulatory guidelines likely existed, either formally or

¹⁴⁷ [R]ecepti de preposito de Hoo. TNA: SC6 997/12, m. 2.

¹⁴⁸ [E]t de ii de servient[is] lib[er]e cur de Bolingbroke TNA:DL 29/1/1, m. 8.

¹⁴⁹ Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, 135.

¹⁵⁰ Biddick, *The Other Economy*, 81-90, 117-18.

¹⁵¹ Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, 135.

¹⁵² [E]t de x de stabil com[it]is TNA: DL 29/1/1, m. 11 d.

¹⁵³ *In i equo empto hospitio domini sine precio*. Cited from: Norman Scott Brian and Ethel Culbert Gras, *The Economic and Social History of an English Village: Crawley, Hampshire A.D 909-1928* Harvard Economic Studies Vol. XXXIV (New York: Russell & Russell, 1930), 298.

informally, to ensure that the estate's horse power needs were considered before any other outlets of horse disposal were taken. A formalized set of such guidelines from Canterbury Cathedral Priory, entitled "Of Horses Sold to Other Obedientiaries and Not Outside Persons", lays out the exact procedure by which horses should be "sold" internally before being offered for sale outside the institution.¹⁵⁴ Only the largest estates had the requisite resources to approximate to self-sufficiency, and, as we shall see below, even estates that were large enough to maintain their own stock of working horses chose not to do so and relied instead on other methods of procurement.

The category 'added internally (from other category)' refers to those occasions when a horse was reclassified from one category to another on the same manor. Twenty-two such transfers occurred in our sample, but the rationale behind the movements were not always the same. In some instances, horses were re-tasked from, for example, work as carting animals to other jobs. This occurred in 1298-9, when one horse was transferred from the cart-horse category to the affer category at Enford in Wiltshire.¹⁵⁵ The reverse could also occur, as happened on the Ramsey Abbey manor of Elton in 1305-6, when one affer was transferred to the cart-horses.¹⁵⁶ On other occasions these inter-manorial transfers were little more than an accounting mechanism; the Yorkshire manors of Little Humber and Burstwick both

¹⁵⁴ *De equis vendendis aliis obedientiariis non extraneis personis*. R.A.L. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 216. Obedientiaries were officers of monastic communities and usually charged with a specific duty. For example, an almoner and a cellarer were common obedientiary offices in medieval English monasteries. For more on this see: Barbara Harvey, *The Obedientiaries of Westminster Abbey and Their Financial Records c. 1275-1540* Westminster Abbey Records Series III (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002); H.W. Saunders, *An Introduction to the Obedientiary & Manor Rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory* (Norwich, Jarrold and Sons, 1930). For a collection of printed primary source examples of obedientiary accounts see: G.W. Kitchin, trans. and ed., *Comptus Rolls of the Obedientiaries of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester: From the Winchester Cathedral Archives* (London, Simpkin & Co., 1892).

¹⁵⁵ Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Stockton 1298-9.

¹⁵⁶ TNA:SC6 874/12, m.3.

transferred foals born during the accounting year (*pullani de exitu*) to the separate category of “female foals” (*pulltrelae femelle*).¹⁵⁷ This did not represent any significant change in the type of work these horses did on the manor, especially as immature horses they would not be expected to contribute to work on the demesne for at least a further two years. The ways in which horses were regularly transferred between groups indicates that the categories used to describe them were not particularly rigid.¹⁵⁸ In addition, the animals themselves must have had a reasonably wide range of aptitudes and abilities to be able to perform a wide variety of tasks on the demesne. The most common inter-category transfer was from cart-horses to affers and stotts, with exactly half of transferred horses being moved in this way. Movement in the other direction, from affers or stotts to cart-horses was also possible, with four affers and one stott in our sample moving to cart duties. Perhaps most surprising is the single rouncey transferred from the stud farm of Peterborough Abbey’s manor of Eye to the same manor’s group of cart-horses. Rounceys were usually kept entirely separate from the working stock, being much more expensive horses more suited to riding than heavy farm work, and it was likely a dire need for cart-horses on the manor, due to a particularly high mortality rate in 1300-1, when four of the five incumbent animals died, that prompted this exceptional move. As cart-horses were the more specialized and more expensive animals on the demesne, and also generally fewer in number than either affers or stotts (cart-horses were usually used in teams of two or four, while plough teams could often be a large as

¹⁵⁷ Little Humber: TNA: SC6 1079/15 m. 4r-4d; Burstwick: TNA: SC6 1079/15 m. 7r-7d.

¹⁵⁸ In addition to moving or re-categorising horses in the accounts, there are some indications of misunderstanding or even disagreement about how certain horses were to be categorised. For example, the St. Swithun’s Priory manor of Overton in Wiltshire records two affers in the stock account, but a close inspection reveals that the animals were originally named as cart horses. A later revision of the account, perhaps by an auditor, saw ‘*eq car*’ scratched out and ‘*affr*’ inserted above. See: Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Overton 1298-9, m. 3.

eight),¹⁵⁹ we might hypothesize that work in the affer or stott categories, either at the plough or in other tasks like harrowing, could have been a sort of proving ground for potential cart-horses, where the strongest and most suitable horses could be later graduated to the status of cart-horse. However, our data indicates that this was not the case, as it was in fact more common for horses to move from the cart-horse category to either the affer or stott groups. This suggests that demesne managers purposely over-recruited cart-horses, with those animals eventually found unsuitable for the cart later being transferred to the other categories. An apt analogy here might be that of professional sports teams which, at the beginning of the season, invite their entire pool of players to a training camp where talent and fitness are evaluated. At the end of this evaluation period, the best players are selected for the top team and those not making the cut eventually filter down to teams in lower divisions, and are categorised accordingly.

2.8 Patterns of Horse Acquisition

While the national sample shows a clear hierarchy of horse acquisition methods, their profile varied considerably from region to region. To illustrate, we will look at the patterns of acquisition across all five regions, focusing only on external methods of procurement (ignoring the animals circulating within manorial or estate stocks). On a national level, demesnes added a total of 448 new horses in the single years for which data were taken. The number of acquired horses in our sample ranged from only seven animals in the north to 147 in the Thames Basin. 131 new horses were acquired by demesnes in the south and south-west, 103 in the midlands and sixty in East Anglia. Combined, the average number of horse acquisitions was ninety

¹⁵⁹ See Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 62-74; 118-127.

animals per region, but with an extremely high standard deviation of 56.8. The low number of acquisitions in the north, a function of our small sample of only thirty-three demesnes, makes it difficult to make any significant conclusions about acquisitions in the region, and therefore they will not be discussed at length. The sample size of acquired horses in East Anglia is admittedly also small (i.e. less than 100), but still large enough to merit analysis and discussion here.

The purchase of horses was the dominant method of acquisition in all of our regions, but this trend was much more pronounced in some areas. The breeding of horses was relatively unimportant nationally but, here too, we can see regional differentiation. East Anglia and the Thames Basin stand out as the most prolific regions of demesne horse purchases, as over 70 percent of new work horses in both regions were purchased. Purchasing was somewhat less dominant in the south and south-west where only 48.9 percent of horses were bought, and was weakest in the midlands, where only 36.9 percent of new horses were acquired via the market. Horse acquisition in the Midlands was more evenly distributed across procurement routes, which is likely to reflect a combination of a greater amount of breeding and rearing activity on demesnes in this part of the country with a weaker market for horses. Our sample of demesnes from the North of England rendered only seven horse acquisitions, and is therefore too small from which to draw any significant conclusions.

2.8.1 Thames Basin

The Thames Basin region, centred around London, stands out for the high proportion of purchased horses at just over 70 percent, but also for how comparatively *unimportant* other methods of procurement were for the region. The

second most significant method of horse acquisition was that of seigniorial perquisites, but only nineteen animals were acquired through perquisites, or just under 13 percent. The internal breeding of animals was even less of a contributor with only 6 percent of horses coming to the demesne via maturing foals. With London at its centre, the Thames Basin was the most commercially active region of the country, and the profile of horse acquisitions suggests that, under these conditions, demesnes in this region chose to purchase working horses rather than breed them themselves. We have observed this trend at the national level, but it is especially pronounced here.

Figure 2.4: Demesne Horse Acquisition: Thames Basin

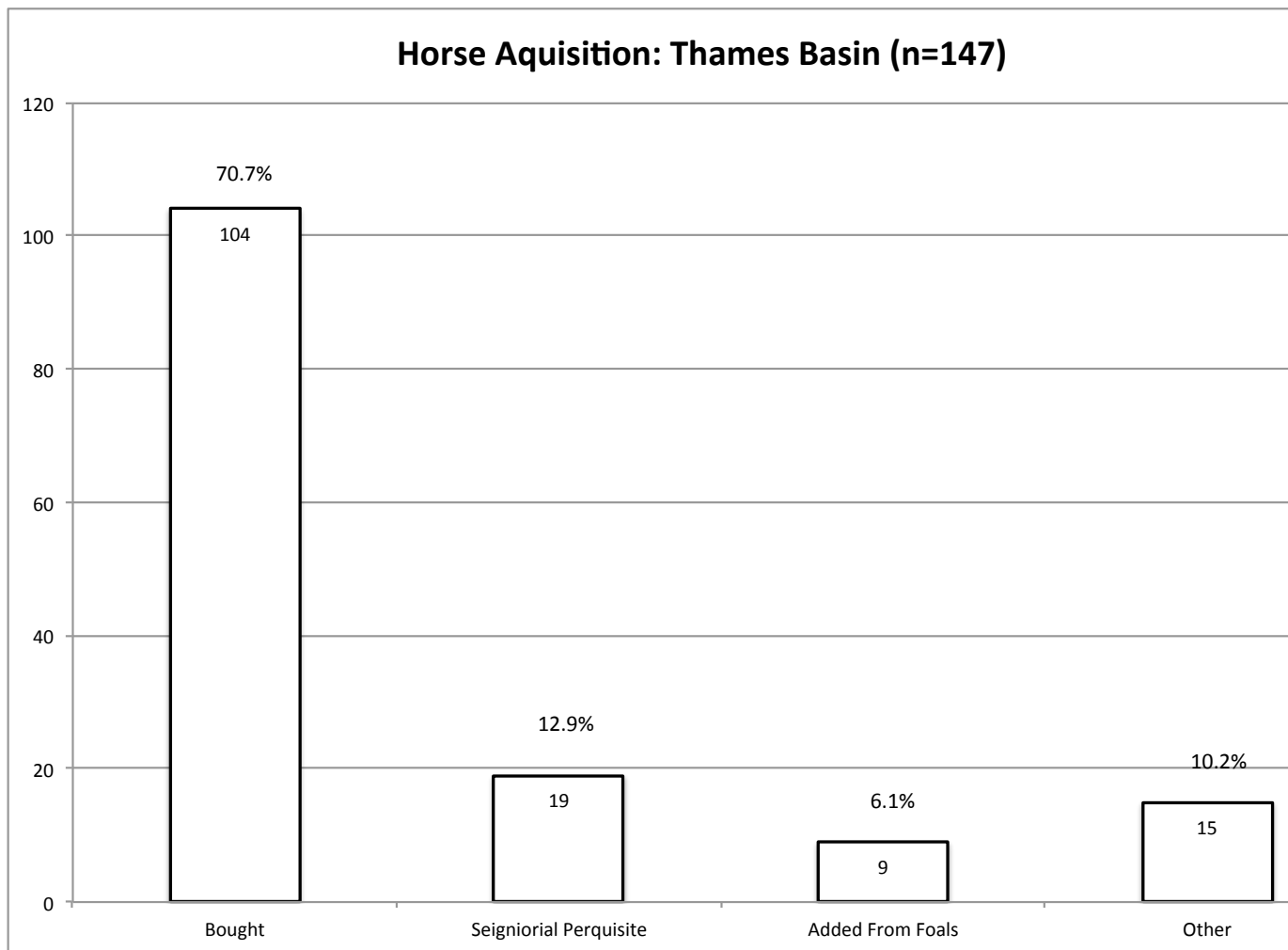


Figure 2.5: Demesne Horse Acquisition: East Anglia

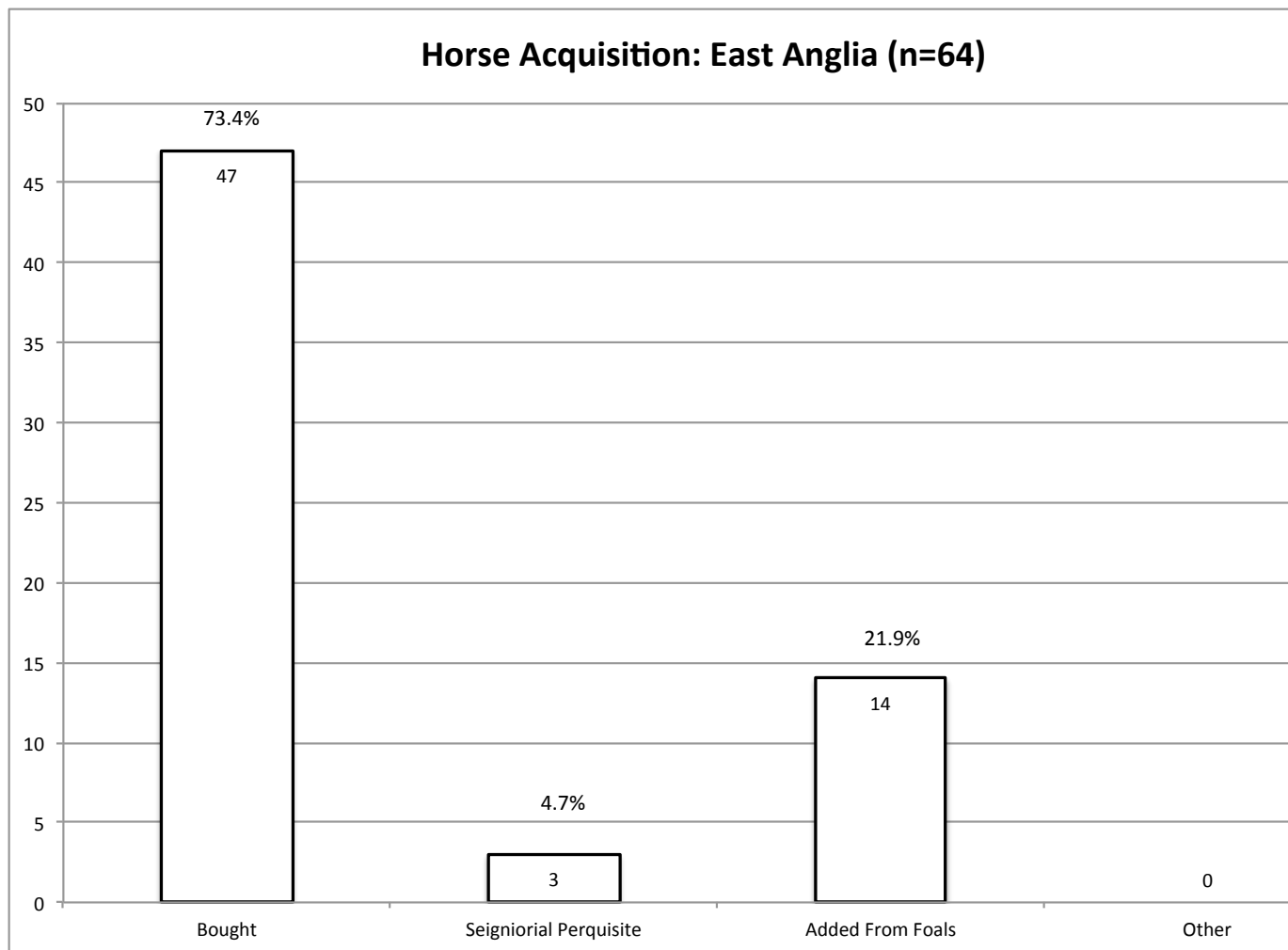


Figure 2.6: Demesne Horse Acquisition: Midlands

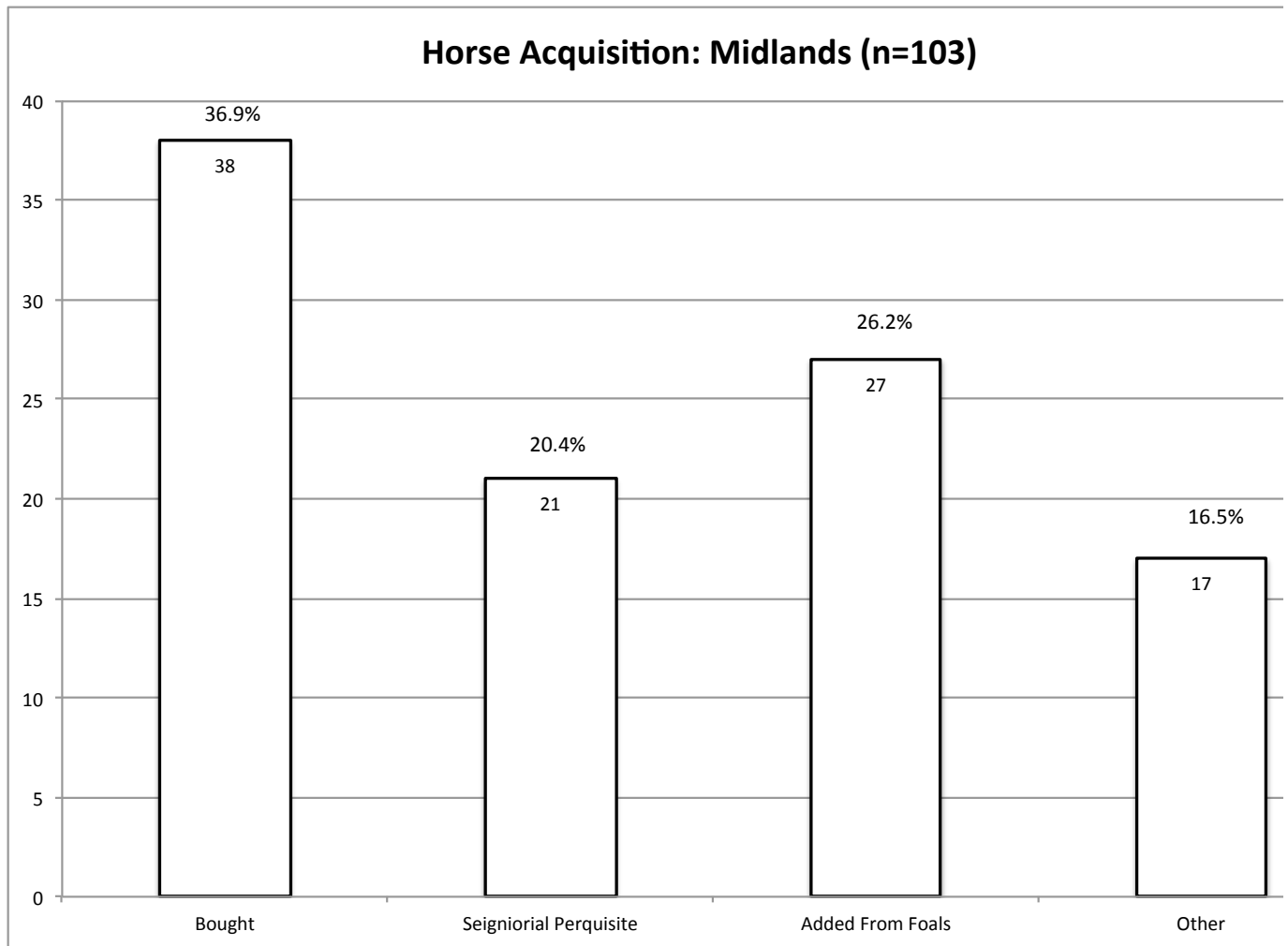
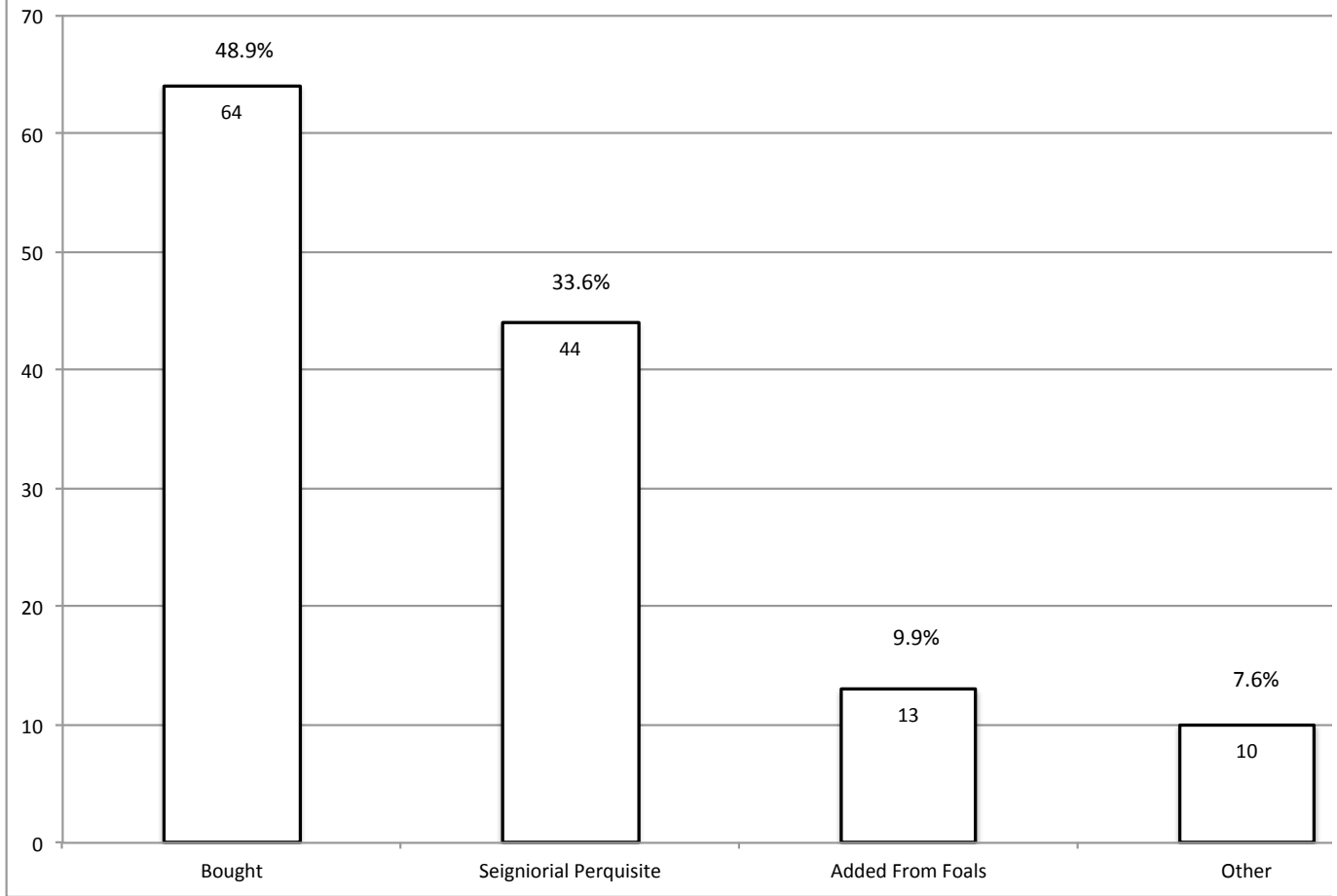


Figure 2.7: Demesne Horse Acquisition: South and South-west

Horse Acquisition: South and South-west (n=131)



2.8.2 East Anglia

The preference for horse purchasing was even more pronounced in East Anglia, where almost three-quarters of demesne horses were purchased on the market. Compared with the Thames Basin, internal breeding was more significant here while seigniorial perquisites played less of a role. The conspicuously low number of heriots rendered on the East Anglian manors in our sample likely pulled down the total number of horses acquired via seigniorial perquisites. The limited contribution of heriots is surprising, considering that horses comprised an estimated 45 percent of all peasant draught animals by ca. 1300 in England, and as high as 75 percent in East Anglia.¹⁶⁰ Yet Norwich Cathedral Priory, which owned twelve manors within the East Anglian sample, recorded no horse heriots on its demesnes. Langdon and Biddick have argued that East Anglian landlords did not collect heriots following the deaths of customary tenants in any great quantities.¹⁶¹ It is possible that ‘light-touch’ villeinage in this region meant that heriot was not payable on some manors, but given Bailey’s assertion that animal heriots were still relatively common in East Anglia into the fourteenth century,¹⁶² it is more likely that the low numbers of horse heriots in the sample are evidence that cash payments were routinely rendered

¹⁶⁰ Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 205.

¹⁶¹ Langdon observed a low number of post Black Death heriots in East Anglia. See: Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 196-7. In her study of land transfers in late medieval Norfolk, Jane Whittle also observed that no heriots were paid by outgoing tenants on any of the manors she studied in Norfolk. She suggests that in both Norfolk and Suffolk heriots were either paid by the incoming tenant instead of an entry fine, or no heriot was paid at all. This seems to have been a regional anomaly in East Anglia, as in most other places in England, the lord charged heriot to the outgoing/deceased tenant as well as an entry fine to the incoming tenant. See: Jane Whittle, *The Development of Agrarian Capitalism: Land and Labour in Norfolk 1440-1580*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 67, n.108.

¹⁶² Mark Bailey, “Villeinage in England: A Regional Case Study, c.1250-c.1349” *Economic History Review* 62 no. 2 (2009): 430-457; Mark Bailey *The Decline of Serfdom in Late Medieval England: From Bondage to Freedom* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014).

by tenants as heriot in lieu of livestock, and that tenants avoided heriot through a variety of local customs and practices.¹⁶³

The distinct preference of demesnes in East Anglia and the Thames Basin to purchase horses over other means of acquisition is closely linked to the degree to which demesnes in these regions shifted from oxen to horses as draught animals around the year 1300.¹⁶⁴ We might also surmise that horse breeding activity was relatively unimportant here, as the commercial force of London as well as the high market density of East Anglia meant that farmers would have been compelled to specialize in the production of other goods which would benefit most from close market proximity.¹⁶⁵ By not engaging in the breeding of horses themselves, demesnes in these regions would have been especially reliant on the market to provide workhorses. The high proportion of purchased horses in these two regions suggests that the market for horses was both well-established and easily accessible to demesne managers by 1300.

¹⁶³ Bailey, "Villeinage in England", 430-457.

¹⁶⁴ In looking at the increasing prevalence of all-horse plough teams over the period of 1250-1420, Langdon found that horse ploughing was most actively and completely embraced in East Anglia and the Home Counties. Of the sixty-five demesnes in his sample that utilized all-horse ploughing between 1250 and 1420, only six of these were outside the Thames Basin and East Anglian regions. Langdon attributes the establishment of all-horse demesnes in Norfolk and the Chiltern Hills to the particular suitability of horses for ploughing in these areas. The light and sandy soils in Norfolk could be easily worked by horses, while the thin and often stone-ridden soil of the Chilterns was precisely the type that presented difficulties for oxen, who could easily slip on the stones. Mixed plough teams, which made use of both horses and oxen, were also largely concentrated in these two regions. By 1300, demesnes in these regions, above all others in England at the time, had embraced horses to a greater degree than other parts of the country. Horses also accounted for just under half of peasant draught animals at the dawn of the fourteenth century, but like demesnes, the preference for horses was strongest in the south and east of the country. In East Anglia horses accounted for 75 percent of all draught beasts, while in the Home Counties the figure was 55 percent. See: Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 100-111, esp. 102-3 and 108-9; 205.

¹⁶⁵ In Johan von Thünen's theoretical model of the ideal distribution of agricultural activity relative to a market centre, perishable products like dairy produce would benefit most from being produced close to market. Goods with high volume relative to value, like grains, could be produced further from the market and still be profitable, but were still most ideally suited to the immediate hinterland of market centers. In this model, little can be gained from producing livestock near markets, and they are relegated to the areas furthest from markets. For an English translation of von Thünen's original text see: Johann Heinrich von Thünen, *Von Thünen's isolated stat : an English edition of Der Isolierte Staat*. Ed. Carla M. Wartenberg, Trans., Peter Hall, Ed. (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1966). For a recent explication of von Thünen in the context of medieval economic history see: John Hatcher and Mark Bailey *Modelling the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 132-3.

2.8.3 The Midlands

The market for horses was weakest in the Midlands. Of all the five regions, the Midlands showed the least preference for buying work horses. Purchasing horses was still the primary method of acquisition here, but only by 11 percent over internally-bred animals. The breeding of horses was most pronounced on Midlands demesnes, with over a quarter of all horses graduating to the adult stocks from the demesnes' own young horses. By the seventeenth century, horse breeding and rearing were thriving economic activities in the Midlands,¹⁶⁶ with the Severn Valley and the Vale of Trent both home to intensive breeding and rearing of horses.¹⁶⁷ Our data suggest that this characteristic was already established in the region by the fourteenth century. It is difficult to say whether a relatively weak market for horses forced demesnes in this region to rely on internal production, or if the geography of the region was more suited to profitable horse rearing which diminished the need to rely as heavily on the market as demesnes in other regions did.

2.8.4 South and south-west

The South and south-west region comprises Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Hampshire (including the Isle of Wight) and Sussex.¹⁶⁸ The patterns of acquisition in this region mirrored the national average most closely. Just under half of all adult horses were acquired through purchase, and one third were funnelled to the demesne through seigniorial perquisites. At 33.6 percent of all acquisitions, the proportion of seigniorial perquisites was higher here than in any other region. This was likely

¹⁶⁶ Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England*, 23.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁶⁸ The South and south-west region also includes Devon and Cornwall, but there are no demesnes from either of these counties in our sample.

driven by the large number of heriots exacted by lords in this part of the country. Thirty horses were taken as heriot, and these would have accounted for 23 percent of total acquisitions on their own, double the proportion added from foals; only the Thames Basin produced fewer horses internally. It seems that perhaps the commercial orientation we have postulated for the Thames Basin and East Anglia was also a factor for demesnes in this region, but was more modest in its effects on horse procurement. The South and south-west region displays the same low figures for internally-bred animals, and, while fewer horses were purchased here than in London's hinterland, this could have been due to the seemingly abundant flow of heriots and other perquisites into demesnes in the region which provided significant numbers of animals and reduced the need to go to the market.

Analysis of horse acquisition across the five regions illustrates that the market for horses was strongest in the Thames Basin and East Anglia, and significantly weaker in the midlands. The market was also a less important source of horses in the north, and therefore less established there, but our data sample for that region is too small to be certain. In places where demesnes relied more heavily upon internally-bred horses, such as the midlands, it is likely that the region was more suitable for horse breeding and rearing than other regions, and that market forces were comparatively weaker.

2.9 Replacement Rates

With such variance in our sample of horse acquisitions we might also examine the proportion of turnover, looking at the numbers of acquired demesne horses relative to the size of overall horse stocks in the specific regions. This will allow us to compare the raw acquisition figures more effectively.

Table 2.2: Regional Turnover of Adult Horses

Region	Adult Horses Rem. From Prev. Year	Adult Horses Acquired	Adult Horses Rem. at End of Year	Diff. over Year	% of Turnover (Acquired/Rem. from Prev.)
East Anglia	452	60	440	-12	13.3%
Midlands	387	103	405	18	26.6%
North	131	7	117	-14	5.3%
South and South-west	596	131	570	-26	22.0%
Thames Basin	662	147	641	-21	22.2%
Total	2228	448	2173	-55	

Source: Manorial Accounts Database

Up to this point, we have used end-of-year figures from the accounts when assessing the makeup of demesne horse populations, while here we will use figures from the beginning of the accounting period, and compare those with the number of horses acquired by demesnes during the course of the year. Dividing the number of acquired horses by the beginning-of-year totals gives us a proportion of horse turnover, which we have computed here for all of our regions. The Thames Basin and the South and south-west each have a turnover proportion of 22 percent, while the Midlands demesnes were slightly higher at 26.2 percent. East Anglia, by comparison, added only sixty animals, equivalent to 13.3 percent of total demesne stocks in the region. While the regional sample size of our acquisition figures varies considerably, the figures are much more uniform when we look at these figures as a proportion of total adult horse stocks. We can see clearly that the rather low number of horses acquired by demesnes in East Anglia was not simply a function of the size

of our East Anglian sample, but that turnover among demesne horse stocks in this region was actually one-third less than for the Thames Basin and the South and south-west, and 50 percent less than that of the Midlands demesnes.

2.10 Categorical Acquisition Patterns

In terms of acquisition patterns within individual categories, demesne managers showed a clear preference for buying cart-horse stocks, as just under 80 percent of cart-horses were purchased at market. An even higher proportion of stotts, just under 90 percent, were purchased, although this was mostly a consequence of the concentration of this particular category of horse in the Thames Basin and East Anglia regions, where purchasing was the dominant mode of horse acquisition across all horse categories. The acquisition of affers was less skewed towards purchase. Almost 50 percent of these animals were purchased, while a further quarter were acquired through seigniorial perquisites. Demesne breeding was also more pronounced among affers, with 15 percent of adult animals being bred internally.

Figure 2.8: Methods of External Acquisition: Affers

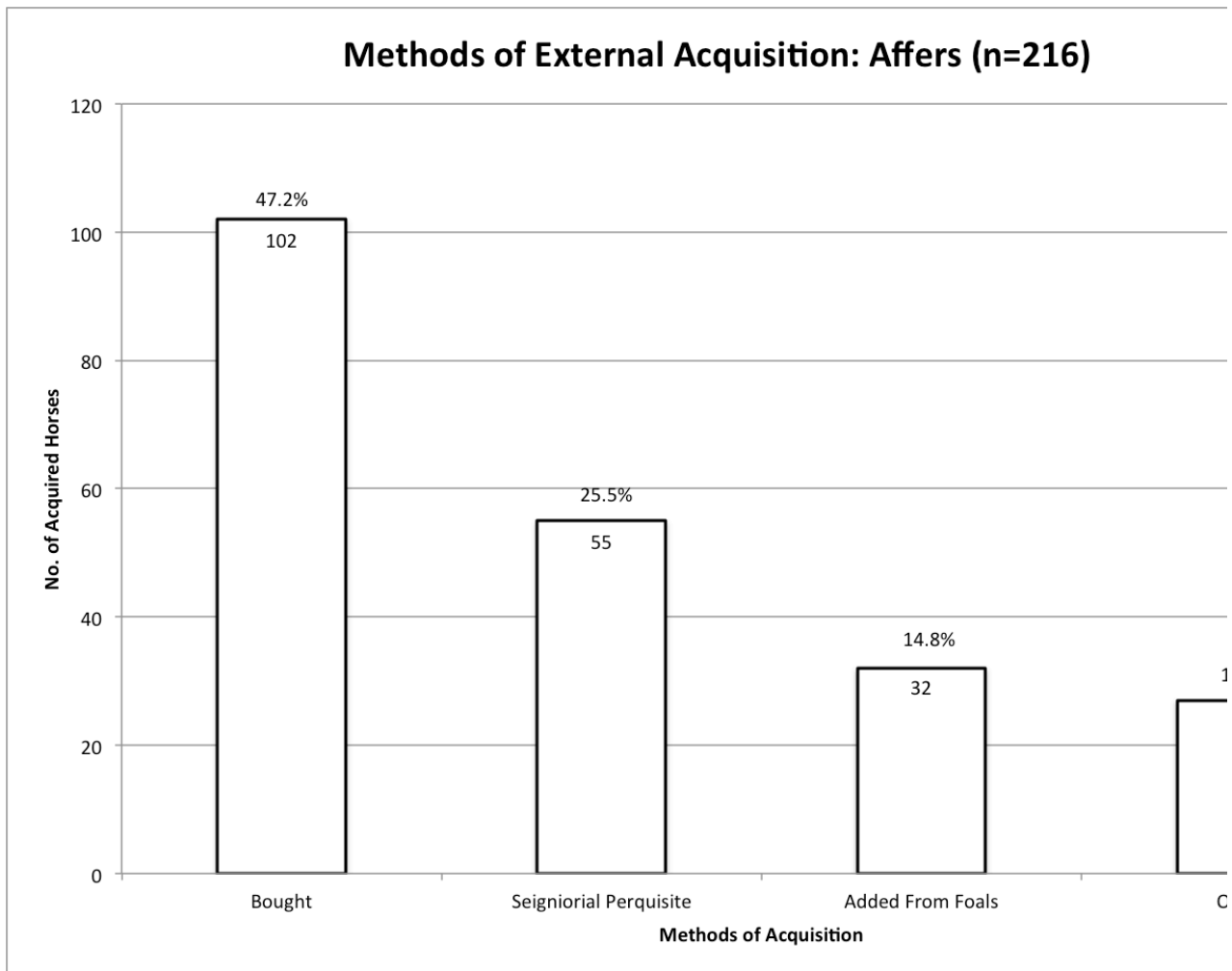


Figure 2.9: Methods of External Acquisition: Stotts

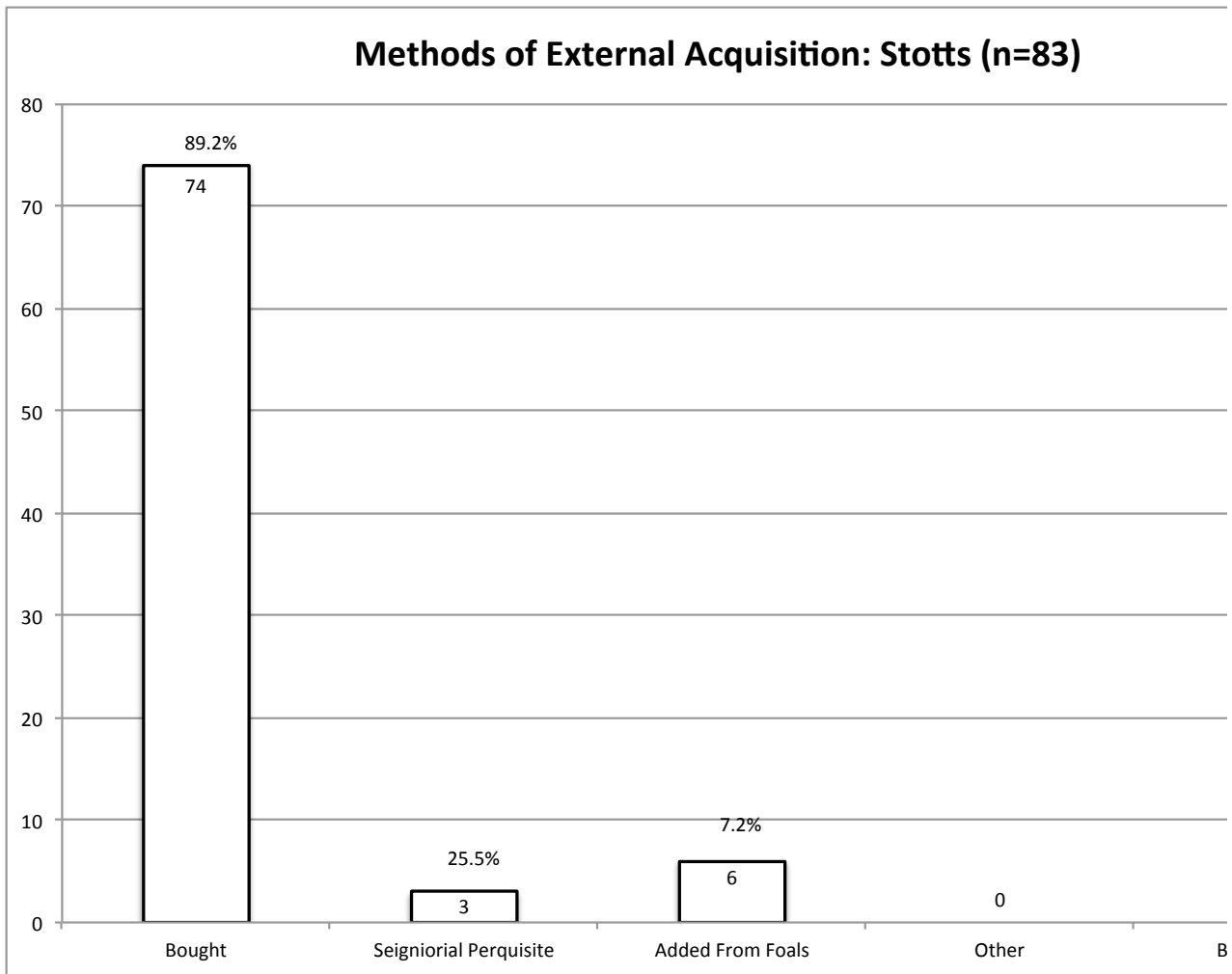


Figure 2.10: Methods of External Acquisition: Cart-horses

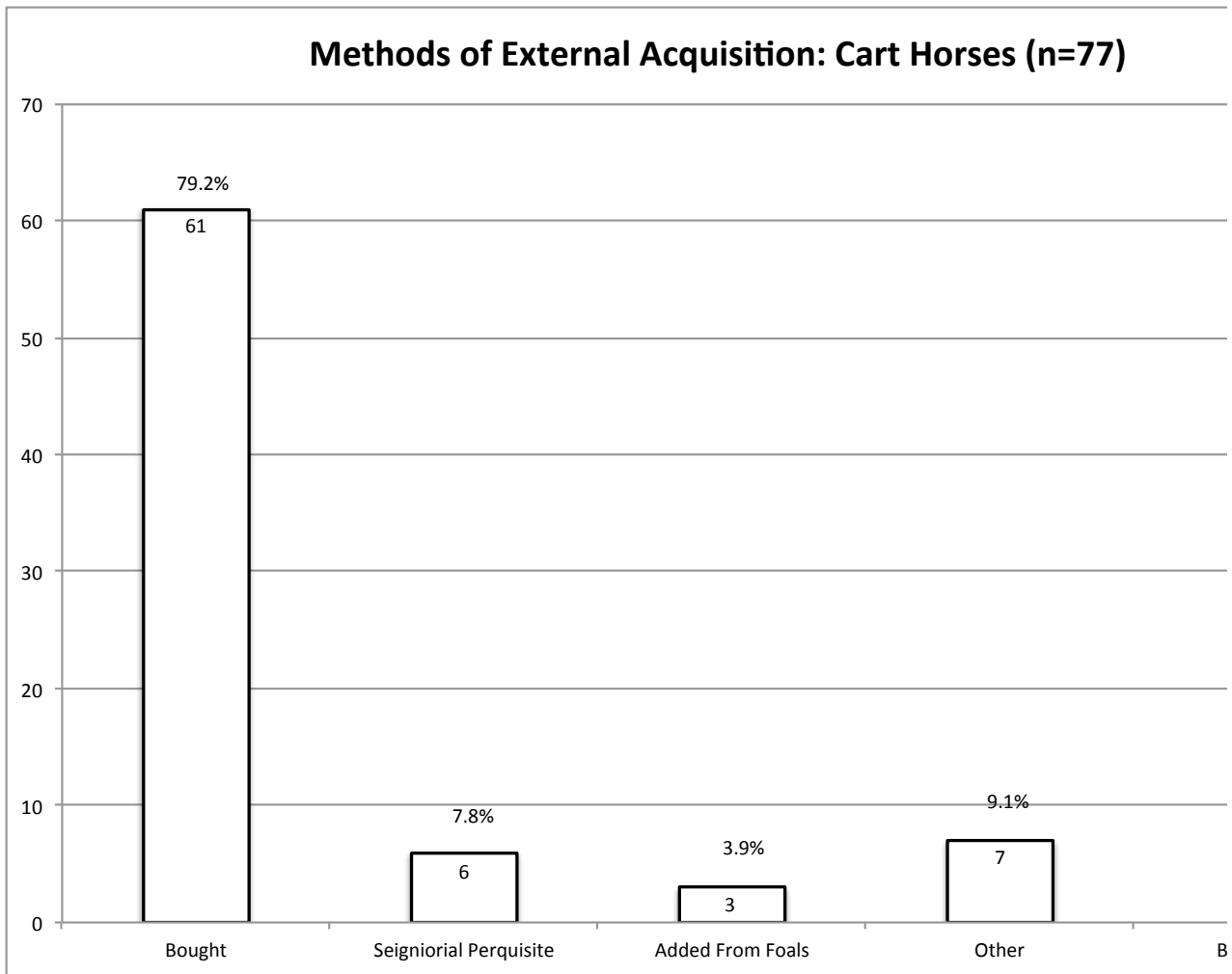
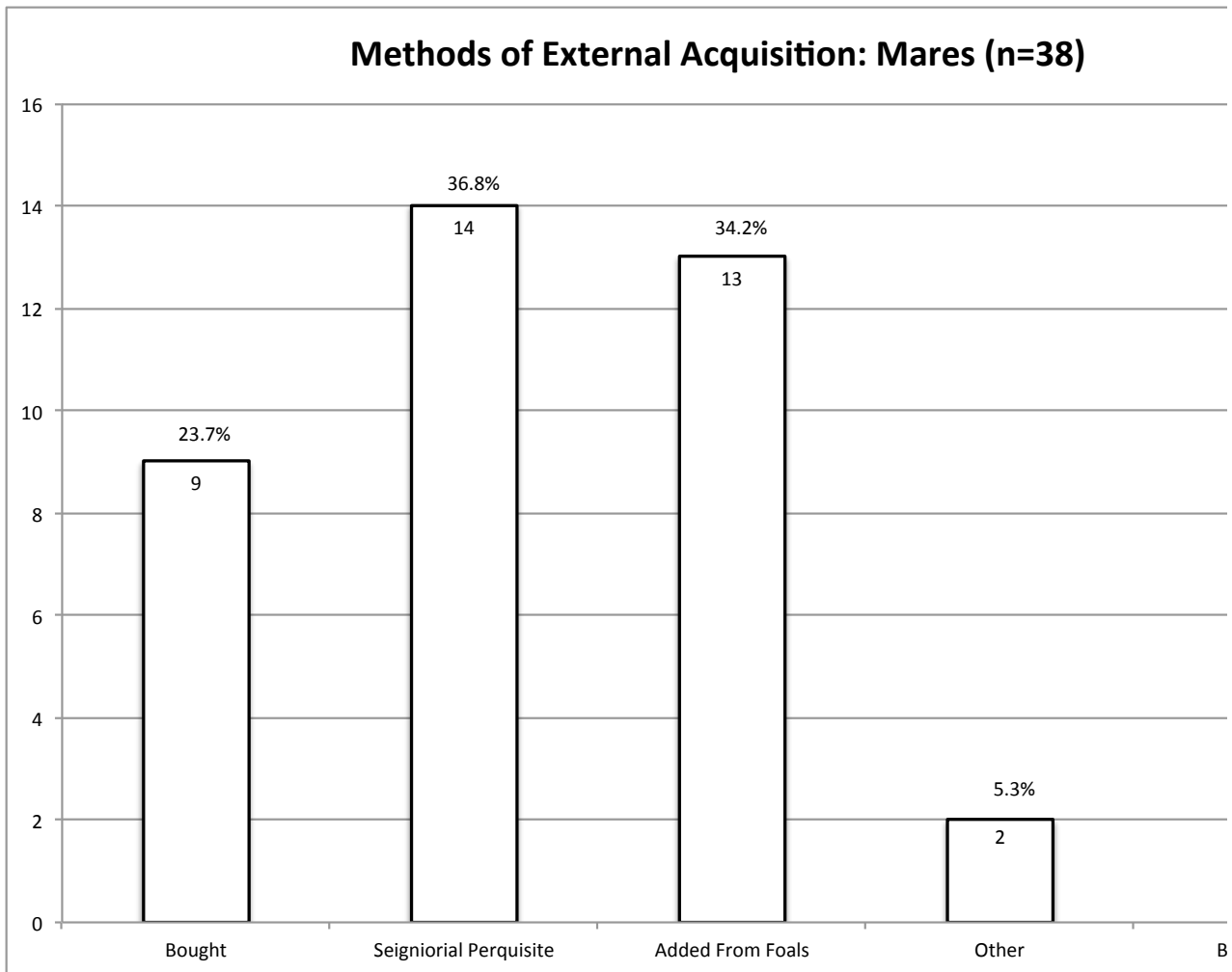


Figure 2.11: Methods of External Acquisition: Mares



The findings from our sample deviate in some significant ways from the findings of other research on horse management based on studies of a single estate or manor.¹⁶⁹ For example, Biddick found that Peterborough Abbey pursued two strategies of horse acquisition, by purchasing cart-horses on the market but replacing its affers through internal breeding and rearing.¹⁷⁰ David Stone observed that reeves of Wisbech made a dramatic shift in horse procurement, deciding after the Black Death to stop buying male horses on the market and instead use internally-bred mares for ploughing, carting and harrowing.¹⁷¹ While the manors in our sample confirmed that the preference for purchasing cart-horses was indeed a national phenomenon, with just under 80 percent of these animals purchased on the market and less than 4 percent bred and reared internally, they reveal that both the Peterborough preference for rearing affers and the post Black Death policy of Wisbech were atypical; nationally, demesnes also preferred to buy affers, as internally-bred affers were outnumbered by those purchased on our demesnes by more than 3:1.

While purchase was most common for stotts and cart-horses within our sample, other avenues of procurement were more frequently pursued for other types of horses. Only 19 percent of mares, for example, were purchased on the market. 34.2 percent were bred internally and the most significant source of mares was seigniorial perquisites, an avenue that provided demesnes with 36.8 percent of acquired mares. Seigniorial perquisites are discussed in further detail below, but most of the mares acquired in this way were funnelled from the peasantry to the demesne through the mechanisms of heriot and strays; an indication that mares constituted a significant proportion of peasant horse stocks. Demesnes very rarely

¹⁶⁹ Biddick, *The Other Economy*, 117.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Stone, *Decision-Making*, 114.

purchased foals. 152 of the 184 foals, or 82.6 percent acquired by demesnes in our sample were bred internally. In addition, both mill-horses acquired by the Bishop of Winchester's manors of Brightwell and Farnham were purchased for 16 s. ¼ d. and 11 s. 4 d., respectively.¹⁷² With only two mill-horse acquisitions in our sample, it is impossible to say if purchase was the most typical method of acquisition for this class of equines, but perhaps demesne managers preferred to buy animals with mill experience rather than bend new horses to the specific tasks they required: powering horse mills and carrying both threshed and unthreshed grains.

The preference for purchasing certain types of horses was even more pronounced in certain areas of the country. 93 percent of stotts acquired in the Thames Basin region were purchased, compared with 74 percent purchased in East Anglia, the only other region where stotts are found. The preference for purchasing cart-horses was less regionally variable. Ranging from 79 percent in the Thames Basin to 63 percent in East Anglia, all regions showed a clear inclination towards buying these horses over other methods for procurement, but no region stands out from the rest as a clear leader in this regard. Cart-horses were the elite horses on medieval demesnes and a clear price premium was paid for them. The skill premium that increased the value of these horses will be discussed in detail in chapter 5, but it was a combination of strength, temperament and training that distinguished cart-horses from other equines.

Purchases were the major method of procurement, which meant that all forms of horses must have been widely and commonly available in most parts of the country. Thus the sample underlines unequivocally the importance of a horse market in supplying English demesnes around 1300. However, the sample also reveals that

¹⁷² Page, *Winchester Pipe Roll*, 196, 213.

manorial accounts provide very few insights into the nature of the market, or the people who supplied it. Most entries relating to the purchase of horses state simply how many horses were purchased and the prices paid for them. They seldom provide any details about where, when, how or from whom the horses were acquired. The absence of such information means that the manner of acquisition was regarded as so commonplace, obvious or banal as to be unworthy of any additional written explanation for the benefit of the auditors, because manorial accounts usually went to great lengths to explain any expenses which seemed either anomalous or out of the ordinary. Ironically, what was commonplace and banal for medieval demesne managers is of especial interest to the medieval historian. Thus we have to use other sources to attempt to reconstruct the market for horses, which are explored in Chapter 5.

2.11 Seigniorial Perquisites

The 'seigniorial perquisites' category contains those horses which entered the demesne through the various feudal obligations owed by the manor's tenants. Such perquisites from our manorial account sample are enumerated in Table 2.3. One such source was heriots. This was a death duty, in the form of the best beast, upon the death of a villein tenant, or in some places upon any surrender of customary land.¹⁷³ The high value of horses relative to other forms of livestock meant that they were often regarded as a deceased tenant's 'best beast' and thus rendered as a heriot. Nationally, heriots were the most significant type of seigniorial perquisite in terms of demesne horse acquisition, accounting for 58 percent of all such perquisites; horse

¹⁷³ Mark Bailey, *The English Manor c.1200-c.1500*. (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2002), 244.

heriots are not uniform across the country, but many demesnes actually received the beasts and added them to their own stock, rather than accepting a cash equivalent. Demesnes in the South and South-West and Thames Basin regions received most horse heriots in our sample, while East Anglian and midland demesnes relied less on this method of horse procurement. Northern demesnes collected no horse heriots at all, although the small and narrow sample size there may not be representative in this regard.

The rate at which horses became available to demesnes through heriots was obviously not within the manor's control. There was no guarantee of the number of deaths of livestock in any given year, nor that the 'best beast' would always be a horse: many heriots were fulfilled with oxen; and the Bishopric of Winchester also recorded heriots of beehives and axes in 1301-2, an indication that some tenants lacked not only a horse (or an ox), but any kind of livestock at all.¹⁷⁴ The collection of heriots also depended upon administrative efficiency, the number of liable tenants and local custom. The low number of horse heriots on East Anglian demesnes does not reflect the absence of tenant-owned horses in East Anglia, given Langdon's estimate that horses comprised 75 percent of all peasant draught animals by ca. 1300.¹⁷⁵ It is possible that cash payments were being rendered by tenants in lieu of livestock, or they were avoiding heriot through a variety of local customs, but animal heriots were still relatively common in East Anglia into the fourteenth century.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Page, *Winchester Pipe Roll*, 153, 305.

¹⁷⁵ Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 205.

¹⁷⁶ Bailey, "Villeinage in England", 430-457; Mark Bailey *The Decline of Serfdom*, 258-261.

Table 2.3: Regional Breakdown of Seigniorial Perquisites

	Seigniorial Perquisites		Of Which Heriots		Of Which Strays	
East Anglia	2	2.5%	2	2.5%	0	0.0%
Midlands	18	22.2%	3	3.7%	14	17.3%
North	1	1.2%	0	0.0%	1	1.2%
South and South West	40	49.4%	30	37.0%	11	13.6%
Thames Basin	20	24.7%	12	14.8%	3	3.7%
Total	81	100%	47	58%	29	36%

Source: Manorial Accounts Database

Another seigniorial source of horses was stray animals.¹⁷⁷ Like heriots, this was a regionally varied phenomenon, but still accounted for 36 percent of horses acquired through perquisites nationally. The origin of these stray horses is somewhat of a mystery. Were they stray in the modern sense of the term, that is, fully domesticated animals that had wandered off from their owners? Or were they wild or feral horses that were captured for subsequent use as draught animals? Esther Pascua argues that the distinction between wild and domestic animals in the medieval period was not as sharp as it is today. Citing French sources, she describes horses, along with hogs, as the best examples of medieval ‘semi-domesticated’ animals.¹⁷⁸ Interestingly, one example that she mentions in support of this statement was the practice of sending mares to the forest to foal, with the foals being left in the forest until needed.¹⁷⁹ There is some evidence from England that supports Pascua’s claims. St. Leonard’s forest in Sussex was said to contain both feral horses and wild deer in the Middle Ages.¹⁸⁰ These feral horses may have survived into the sixteenth century, when many such strays were mentioned in the forest.¹⁸¹ In addition, the place-name of Horsham in Sussex may have been an allusion to the practice of rearing horses on the forest edge from as early as the tenth century.¹⁸² By 1438, there was even a fair in St. Leonard’s forest, which may have originally been

¹⁷⁷ The right of strays, or waifs, was the right held by some lords, under certain circumstances, to seize stray or wandering animals. After the requisite conditions were met, usually involving keeping the animal for a year and a day, the animal became the property of the lord and could either be added to the demesne livestock or sold. A variety of Latin terms was used to describe stray horses in manorial accounts, and the terminology could vary from region to region. In the accounts studied here, the most common terms encountered are the Latin *vagabundus* and the anglicized *stray*. For a definition of the former see: Latham, *Medieval Latin Word List*, 504.

¹⁷⁸ Esther Pascua, “From Forest to Farm and Town: Domestic Animals from ca. 1000 to ca. 1400” in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Middle Ages* ed. Bridgette Resl (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 81-3.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ T.P. Hudson ed, “A History of the County of Sussex” *Victoria County History Vol.6, Part 3, Bramber Rape (North-Eastern Part) Including Crawley New Town*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press for The University of London Institute for Historical Research, 1987), pg. 13 n. 86. Accessed via *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/sussex/vol6/pt3> Accessed September 12, 2014.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

founded for the purpose of selling feral horses.¹⁸³ From our sample, a similar phenomenon seems to have been occurring on the Winchester manor of Rimpton in Somerset, which charged a herbage fee for the grazing of 68 plough-horses and 28 bullocks which were “sold in the wood between Hockday (May 1st) and Lammas (August 1st).”¹⁸⁴ It is unclear as to where these horses and bullocks originated, whether they were stray or feral animals or simply the animals of peasants, but it seems to be evidence of the same kind of informal sale which occurred in St. Leonard’s forest before it was incorporated into a chartered fair. The Canterbury Tales also makes direct reference to stray horses, in this case, specifically mares. In the Reeve’s tale, set near Trumpington in Cambridgeshire, a miller stealthily unties the horse of his customers, scholars from King’s Hall, in order to distract them while he grinds their grain:

And to the hors he goth hym faire and wel;
 He strepeth of the brydel right anon.
 And whan the hors was laus, he gynneth gon
 Toward the fen, ther wilde mares renne¹⁸⁵

Soon after, the Miller’s wife comes to the scholars and exclaims: "Allas! youre hors goth to the fen / With wilde mares, as faste as he may go."¹⁸⁶ The scholars hastily depart to recover their horse, and the miller is free to pilfer some of the students’ grain.

The 1210-11 Winchester Piper Roll also contains some references to what might have been feral horses. Many demesnes on the estate recorded *equi silvestres*,¹⁸⁷ a term which has been translated to mean “wild”, “woodland” or

¹⁸³ Ibid., n. 96.

¹⁸⁴ Page, *Winchester Pipe Roll*, 41.

¹⁸⁵ Larry D. Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 81, lines 4062-4065.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., lines 4080-4081.

¹⁸⁷ For example, see Bishopstoke and Twyford. N.R Holt, ed. and trans., *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1210-1211* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964), 30, 15.

“unbroken” horses.¹⁸⁸ The Latin term *silvestris* or the variation *silvaticus* are both associated with wood and woodland, with the latter term given as meaning “wild”.¹⁸⁹ These terms are not used in the 1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll, and it is unclear if the strays referred to in our sample are of a similar nature to the “wild” horses noted in 1210-11, but, whatever their precise origins, the evidence suggests that stray horses had played a role on Winchester demesnes since at least the early thirteenth century.

These pieces of evidence make a strong case for the stray horses in our sample actually being stray or feral horses. No sustained research has been conducted on the legal status of these feral horses, although, with respect to the feral horses in St. Leonard’s forest, it has been argued that “it [was] not clear whether the horses were considered to belong to the lord.”¹⁹⁰ Feral or wild deer, for instance, were always considered to be the property of the lord of the forest in which they resided,¹⁹¹ and, outside of private forests, all deer were considered to be the property of the king. If there were no specific laws or statutes attributing ownership of these feral horses to specific lords or institutions, these horses would have been an attractive alternative to other forms of horse acquisition, with likely no cost being incurred with their addition to the demesne. There would have, however, been additional costs associated with turning stray feral horses into useful draught animals. These horses would have needed to be broken and given sufficient training to function as part of the working stock of horses.

¹⁸⁸ H.R. Hallam has translated this term to mean “wild” and “woodland” and “unbroken”. See: Hallam “Farming Techniques: Eastern England”, 294, 355.

¹⁸⁹ Hallam cites Holt’s transcription of the 1210-11 Winchester Pipe Roll when referring to “wild” and “woodland” horses. Holt gives *equis silvestribus* as the full Latin term for these cases. Hallam discusses “unbroken” mares when referring to demesnes on the Isle of Ely and gives *equas silvaticas* as the Latin term. Both *silvestribus* and *silvaticas* are given in Latham’s *Medieval Latin Word List* as derived from the same root *silv/a*, while *silvaticas* is given as meaning “wild”. In this sense, Hallam may have taken “wild” to mean unbroken rather than “untamed” or “undomesticated” but I would argue that both senses of the term may be applicable. See: Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word List*, 440.

¹⁹⁰ Hudson, “Sussex”, 13

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

There is, however, the likelihood that some ‘stray’ horses were horses which were impounded or taken by the agents of the lord, perhaps for trespassing, and if remaining unclaimed after a pre-determined period of time became the property of the lord, which is how they enter the manorial accounts of the demesne. The fourteenth-century legal treatise *Britton* lays out in great detail the mechanisms by which stray, or waif animals could be impounded, and, if left unclaimed, seized.¹⁹² Given the fourteenth-century origins of this particular treatise, it is likely a good reflection of the legal ramifications surrounding the issue of strays for our data sample around ca. 1300. As part of a longer section on “treasure-trove, wrecks, waifs and estrays”¹⁹³ the treatise has this to say:

As to those things lost and found above ground, if the owner demand them within the year and day, and can prove them to be his property, they shall be delivered to him; so likewise to him who lost the things, provided he can prove the loss; and if the things are not claimed within the year and day, and the finder has caused them to be cried and published in the neighbouring markets and churches, then the finder may keep them.¹⁹⁴

Following the above is a more specific explanation of the law surrounding waifs and strays:

Waifs or estrays, not challenged within the year and day, shall belong to the lord of the franchise; but if the lord did not cause the best so found to be publicly cried in manner aforesaid, then no time shall be run against the owner of the thing or beast, to bar him from replevying it whenever he pleases; and if the lord avow it to be his own, the person demanding it may either bring an action to recover his beast as lost, in form of trespass, or an appeal of larceny, by words of felony; and if the lord by either preceding be

¹⁹² F.M. Nichols, ed. and trans. *Britton: The French Text Carefully Revised with an English Translation Introduction and Notes*. 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1865), 66-67; 216. The precise origins of this treatise are unclear. Edward I may have, during his reign, “conceived the design of reducing the laws of England to certainty by a written exposition, and for this purpose he composed, with the assistance of some of his judges a book of laws.” This assertion was made by a judge who presided during the reign of Henry VI, more than a hundred years after the reign of Edward I. However, Nichols asserts that, authorship aside, the legal treatise attributed to Edward I is most certainly *Britton*. See: *Britton*, xvi-xvii.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* Vol.1, 66.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 67.

found guilty of a tortuous detaining, he lose his franchise of estray for ever after.¹⁹⁵

These entries in *Britton* indicate that there was, at least by the fourteenth century, a well-established precedent in England for the seizure of stray beasts. A later agricultural treatise, Fitzherbert's *Book of Husbandry*, lays out specifically the seizure and impound process surrounding stray animals. This comes from the sixteenth century, almost 200 years beyond our period of study, but the process for impounding stray animals was likely broadly similar to the medieval system:

And if thy horse breake his tedure, and go at large in
euery mans corne and grasse, than commeth the pynder,
and taketh hym, and putteth hym in the pynfolde, and
there shall he stande in prison, without any meate,
unto the tyme thou hast payde his raunsome to the pynder,
and also make amendes to thy neyghbours, for distroyenge
of theyr corne.¹⁹⁶

In the scenario described by Fitzherbert, the task of seizing and impounding stray horses (and very likely other livestock, as manorial court rolls suggest that cattle were found stray even more frequently than horses) was performed by a 'pynder' (a title relating to the pound where strays were impounded). Medieval records make no references to a specific 'pounder'; the job likely fell to the reeve or other manorial official. Despite this one difference, both the process for impounding animals and the impetus for doing so are clearly laid out. Concerns over damage to crops in the community, either through trampling or consumption, drove the creation of a system of impounding where wandering horses were taken to a central pound and kept until an owner arrived to claim the beast. The reclamation process involved not only the payment of a fine, but also restitution to any neighbours whose crops might have been damaged. The process is quite similar to the way in which automobiles are

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 67-8. Further to this point, the *Britton* treatise describes the franchise of waif and stray among the various ways that property can be lawfully acquired. See: *Britton* Vol. 1, pg. 216.

¹⁹⁶ Master Fitzherbert, *The Book of Husbandry*, Rev. Walter Skeat, ed. (London: Trübner and Co. for The English Dialect Society, 1882), 100.

towed away and impounded as a result of parking or traffic offences. In these cases, the owner of the car is forced to pay a fee to retrieve the car as well as for the original offence for which the car was towed.

It seems this right could be extended to inanimate objects as well. A 1291-2 account for Ospringe, in Kent, recorded stray ploughshares among the dead stock.¹⁹⁷ Of course, there is a marked difference between how laws and customs like the ones described above were prescribed ‘on the books’ and how or when these were enforced on particular estates and manors.

The ability to impound and seize stray property was enfranchised, and, if the privilege was abused, could theoretically be revoked. A case from the king’s court in 1382 suggests that the franchise of waif and stray was tied to the view of frankpledge, a right associated with the holder of the leet court. This was the argument made in 1382 by William de Garton, who argued that, in his capacity of reeve for the prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, he lawfully impounded a mare belonging to Sir John Crophill “for safekeeping and proclaiming it as the custom is,”¹⁹⁸ according to the view of frankpledge that his lord, the prior, held as a tenant-in-chief of the king. The court in fact determined that this was not in accordance with the custom and fined William 100s for his transgression,¹⁹⁹ an amount that was intended to be punitive, as 100s would have been an astronomical price to pay for such a horse (which William would presumably have surrendered anyway).

¹⁹⁷ TNA: SC6 894/7; “*idem reddit de xxviiij vomeribus rec[eptis] de redd[itus] ass[isae] unde j de streys...In vend[itis] xxvij quor[um] j de streys*. I am grateful to John Langdon, who initially brought this reference to my attention.

¹⁹⁸ Morris S. Arnold, ed. *Select Cases of Trespass from the King’s Courts 1307-1399* (London: Selden Society, Vol. 103, 1987), 252.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

The customs and laws governing strays and waifs created a murky world, which is most clearly illustrated by a number of instances where landlords were forced to defend their right to impound stray and waif animals. For example, Crowland Abbey's right to claim strays was contested in *Quo Warranto* proceedings several times in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in 1281, 1299 and 1329.²⁰⁰ Writs of *Quo Warranto* were essentially lawsuits made by the crown against people or institutions who were thought to have encroached on the crown's property, whether it be physical property or some other right or privilege; *Quo Warranto* meant literally, "by which warrant?"²⁰¹ The King's attorneys had many different writs at their disposal, and often chose the most appropriate ones for individual cases.²⁰² The attorneys of Edward I, however, employed writs of *Quo Warranto* especially frequently.²⁰³ An illustrative example of such a writ that questioned the claim to strays and waifs was issued by Edward I in 1293 to one Robert Corbet:

Edward by the grace of God, King of England [etc.], to the sheriff of Shropshire, greeting. Summon by good summoners Robert Corbet, to be before our justices itinerant at Stafford on the morrow of the Purification of the Blessed Mary, prepared to show by what warrant he claims to hold pleas of the crown and to have waif in his manor of Bedford. And you shall have there the summoners and this writ. Witness myself, at Chester, 9 January in the 21st year of our reign.²⁰⁴

There were a number of privately-held franchises and liberties by the fourteenth century, as over the reigns of nine kings and more than three hundred years since the Norman conquest and its effective 'resetting' of land ownership in England, a vast array of privileges had either been granted to or usurped by a host of individuals and institutions. The resultant topography of privately-held franchises was convoluted

²⁰⁰ Frances M. Page, *The Estates of Crowland Abbey: A Study in Manorial Organization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), 17.

²⁰¹ Donald W. Sutherland, *Quo Warranto Proceedings in the Reign of Edward I: 1278-1294* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 1.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* Sutherland notes the following: "this writ is sewn to a membrane in the King's Bench roll for Easter term 1293, by an entry relevant to the case which it began." TNA: KB 27/136, rot. 35d.

and multi-layered. As Durham was a palatinate, the rights of the bishop of Durham trumped those of the crown in many cases. Officers of the crown had no jurisdiction in his territories, and crimes committed there were against the bishop, not the king.²⁰⁵ Extensive privileges like those of the bishopric of Durham were exceedingly rare, however. More common were liberties like that of warren, where the holder held the right to prevent others from hunting certain animals in his lands, the rights to hold markets and fairs or ‘return of writs’ where the holder was given the office of carrying out all royal orders as applied to the area of the franchise.²⁰⁶

As with “return of writs”, many liberties allowed their owners the ability to perform some function that would normally have been limited to the king or royal officers, and it was under this type of franchise that the right to impound strays and waifs fell. The franchise of waif and stray, as well as the related right of treasure trove, as discussed above in *Britton*, were royal privileges. Therefore, the king was entitled to any stray animal found and left unclaimed.²⁰⁷ However, franchises of waif and stray, as well as treasure trove, could be granted to individuals and this allowed a holder of the franchise to override the king’s right and claim stray property for himself.

As with many of the franchises, the passage of time brought both confusion and royal mistrust over the validity of individual entitlements to waif and stray. Crowland Abbey’s right to the franchise was apparently still being contested as late as 1476, when the matter was put before the king’s justice, John of Warwick.²⁰⁸ In this instance, the estate’s right to impound stray animals was argued to fall under the purview of “view of frankpledge, and its appurtenances, waifs and strays, and

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 2.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 2-3.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 4.

²⁰⁸ Frances M. Page, *The Estates of Crowland Abbey: A Study in Manorial Organization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), 17.

infangthef' which the estate contested had been exercised in the county "from time immemorial without interruption".²⁰⁹ The abbey was arguing here that the right to impound waifs and strays was part of the overarching packet of privileges associated with a different franchise: holding the view of frankpledge. The additional right of *infangthef*, essentially the right to prosecute and hang felons, was also argued here to fall under the frankpledge purview. Like that concerning strays, this privilege could potentially be lucrative for the holder of the franchise, as the chattels of hanged criminals fell directly to the holder, in this case the abbot of Crowland.

Many of the manors contained within our sample were held by landlords who also exercised the leet jurisdiction within which the manor was located, and therefore had the right of waif and stray. The Earl of Lincoln seemingly held the privilege of *infangthef* as well. In 1295-6, the Earl of Lincoln's demesne at Colham in Essex acquired a windfall of eight affers through an array of seigniorial perquisites. In addition to the more 'standard' perquisites of two strays and one heriot, a further five horses were added to the demesne as 'chattel'. Three were specifically given as the chattels of hanged men,²¹⁰ while the other two animals were simply listed as 'chattel' with no more specific details.

In most cases, one lord in each vill had the right to impound stray animals, but had to meet certain conditions in order to proclaim them as his own. Once a stray was received the lord's officials may have chosen to sell it immediately to generate revenue for the leet court, or they may have passed it on to the demesne. The administration of this perquisite could have carried costs of its own, however. Impounded horses would have needed to be fed, supervised and cared for, and all of these endeavours would have carried an associated cost. Nevertheless, the

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ TNA, DL 29/1/1 m. 11d.

cost/benefit ratio must have been favourable on some estates, as the earldom of Lincoln, for example, utilized these stray horses as the primary method of adult horse acquisition on demesne lands.

The significant role that seigniorial perquisites played in the overall scheme of demesne horse acquisition is striking, because it indicates the extent to which demesne acquisition of horses was dependent upon variable and unpredictable sources largely outside the control of the estate. Neither the number of horses acquired through these sources, nor their quality, could be guaranteed. Thus the uncertainty of acquiring horses through seigniorial perquisites compounded the uncertainty of breeding horses on the estate, which may suggest why these demesnes were so dependent upon the market if they were to ensure that they maintained a consistent level of working animals.

Our data suggests that a lord's right to impound and seize stray animals was enforced more frequently and strictly by some lords than others. Some lords may not have possessed the requisite privileges that would allow them to acquire strays or heriots. In this case, the regional breakdown of seigniorial perquisites may not be the best way of looking at this issue. The ability to obtain horses through seigniorial perquisites was dependant on two factors. First, the lord's ability to obtain horses via perquisites seemingly depended in many cases on whether or not the lord held a franchise that allowed him to take, for example, stray or waif horses. The right to hang felons was also a franchise held by only a few lords, and this would have been necessary in order to claim the chattels of hanged thieves, for instance. The right to claim heriots was the most ubiquitous feudal right held by landlords, but, even if most lords were entitled to the beasts of their tenants, local custom often mitigated against the right to heriots materializing as demesne work-horses.

2.12 The Role of Demesnes in Facilitating Horse Trading

Some demesnes, however, may have acted as middlemen or horse dealers. Using John Langdon's demesne life figures, which chart the average working life of horses in the seigniorial sector, we can see that, on a national level, demesnes acquired more horses than they would have needed to maintain their stocks. Langdon calculated that the average working life on demesnes for cart-horses and plough-horses was seven and 5.5 years, respectively.²¹¹ We can infer from this that, for cart-horses, one in every seven animals would, on average, require replacement in any given year, while one out of every 5.5 affers and stotts would also require replacement. We have assumed that the same working life of 5.5 years applied to all other categories of horses (excluding cart animals). From this, we can compare the number of horses 'needing' replacement against the number of animals actually acquired by demesnes in our sample. The results of this are displayed in Table 2.4.

²¹¹ Langdon, "Economics of Horses and Oxen", 36.

Table 2.4: Surplus/Deficit of Horse Stocks

East Anglia			Midlands				North		
No. of Horses 'Needing' replacement	No. of Horses Acquired	Surplus/Deficit Horses	No. of Horses	No. of Horses 'Needing' Replacement	No. of Horses Acquired	Surplus/Deficit Horses	No. of Horses	No. of Horses 'Needing' Replacement	No. of Horses Acquired
48	42	-6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	7	-8	210	38	55	17	24	4	4
11	5	-6	95	14	25	11	4	1	0
5	4	-1	61	11	11	0	99	18	3
0	0	0	8	1	2	1	2	0	0
0	0	0	13	2	5	3	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
79	58	-21	387	67	98	31	131	24	7
South and South-west			Thames Basin				National		
No. of Horses 'Needing' replacement	No. of Horses Acquired	Surplus/Deficit Horses	No. of Horses	No. of Horses 'Needing' Replacement	No. of Horses Acquired	Surplus/Deficit Horses	No. of Horses	No. of Horses 'Needing' Replacement	No. of Horses Acquired
0	0	0	147	27	41	14	412	75	83
78	91	13	345	63	59	-4	1088	198	216
17	19	2	102	15	28	13	398	57	77
8	18	10	19	3	2	-1	253	46	38
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	2	2
1	0	-1	45	8	13	5	61	11	18
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	4	1	2	1	4	1	2
104	128	24	662	116	145	29	2228	390	436

Source: Manorial Account Database. *No. of Horses 'Needing' Replacement* Column calculated using John Langdon's demesne-life figures. See: ¹ Langdon, "Economics of Horses and Oxen", 36.

We can see from the table that demesnes in England had a net surplus of forty-six horses, about twelve percent over the minimum number of animals needing replacement. All of our regions also ran individual surpluses, except for the case of East Anglia, which seemingly did not acquire enough horses to meet minimum demand. Many of these surplus horses were likely acquired through seigniorial perquisites, and were either simply ‘flipped’ for cash or displaced an incumbent animal which was either older or less fit. In so doing, many demesne managers, either consciously or unconsciously, acted as horse dealers themselves.

2.13 Conclusions

What do demesne accounts reveal about the extent of the horse trade and its regional variety in England in 1300? We have established here that the majority of demesnes were consumers of horses and invested relatively little in breeding them. David Farmer’s generalization that most medieval demesnes purchased livestock and sold grain²¹² is upheld by our demesne horse data, although we have seen that the methods of horse procurement varied greatly from region to region. An important insight that our data has offered is the sheer range of horse acquisition options available to demesne managers. Our study has shown that purchasing horses was far and away the avenue of procurement most often used by a demesne to acquire horses, but other methods of procurement played vital roles in maintaining the work horse stocks on medieval English manors. Campbell has argued that “when estates and demesnes could not breed sufficient replacement animals they had no other

²¹² David Farmer, “Marketing the Produce of the Countryside, 1200-1500” in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales Vol.III 1348-1500*. Edward Miller, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 377.

recourse but to buy them.”²¹³ While this might have been true for livestock in general, and with cattle and sheep in particular, the attitude of most demesne managers to horse acquisition was to go to the market first, and to use other methods of procurement to supplement the horses they purchased. While demesne horse procurement was, as we have seen, a nuanced and complicated issue, the results from an extensive survey of manorial accounts from across England reveal that lords generally relied, as Farmer suggested, upon the market for the acquisition of their working horses. We have seen that the seigniorial perquisites of heriots and strays were often more heavily relied upon to supply demesnes with horses than internal breeding. For most demesnes, the breeding of horses was only a tertiary method of acquisition, so we might argue that it was not a case of whether demesnes and estates *could* breed a sufficient number of replacement horses, but rather if they *wanted* to invest in breeding horses at all. It has been well established that the spread of horses in the thirteenth century contributed to the commercialization of the economy, and our data reveals how this phenomenon in turn created a stronger market for horses in some areas of the country, like the Thames Basin and East Anglia, than others like the midlands and the north.

In addition to the shift from oxen to horses, and the subsequent development in the horse market, the influence of commercialization around London and in East Anglia likely made purchase the most logical option for demesne managers in these areas. Although the estimates of demographers vary considerably, the population of England fell somewhere between 4.75 and six million people by 1300.²¹⁴ England

²¹³ Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, 135.

²¹⁴ Much of this debate on demographic growth is related to differing interpretations of Domesday Book. For an introduction to the topic, see: R.H. Britnell, “Commercialisation and economic development in England, 1000-1300”, in R. H. Britnell and B. M. S. Campbell eds., *A commercialising economy. England 1068 to c. 1300* (Manchester, Manchester University Press 1995), 9-12. For a more recent discussion which suggests a two-phased model of growth, see: John Langdon

had also experienced significant urban growth in the post-conquest period, especially during the thirteenth century, and 15 percent of the population lived in towns ranging in size from fewer than 2000 inhabitants, to 60000 in London.²¹⁵ London was the dominant market force in England by 1300, with a population at least twice as large as its nearest rival. These burgeoning urban populations, however, were oriented towards trades and crafts rather than agriculture, and urban involvement in agriculture was mostly confined to its marketing and consumption. Urban populations had to rely on the market to provide their sustenance, which was produced in the countryside and brought into towns and cities.²¹⁶ In order to facilitate this, England experienced a proliferation of markets and fairs that very closely paralleled the country's urbanization. Between the beginning of the thirteenth century and the Black Death a century and a half later, the number of formal markets and fairs in England grew from around 500 to over 2000.²¹⁷ East Anglia boasted an exceptionally dense network of markets by the fourteenth century, and was probably unparalleled elsewhere in the country at this time.²¹⁸ Urban growth and the

and James Masschaele, "Commercial activity and population growth in medieval England" *Past & Present* 190 (2006), 54-68. In their reconstruction of long-run GDP for England and Holland, Broadberry et. al. estimate a population of 4.75 million in England by 1290. See: S. Broadberry et. al. *British Economic Growth 1270-1870* (Working Paper) www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/economics/staff/academic/broadberry/wp/britishgdplongrun8a.pdf (accessed November 15, 2013). Richard Smith has suggested a higher ceiling of six million. See: R.M. Smith "Human Resources" in G.Astill and A. Grant, eds. *The Countryside of Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 97-8.

²¹⁵ Campbell, "Benchmarking", 11-18, 36. Christopher Dyer has suggested that 20% of England's population lived in towns by 1377, but his higher estimate is a factor of his higher estimation of populations of around 750 people for the smallest towns, whereas Campbell has estimated a figure of 340. See: Christopher Dyer, "How urbanized was Medieval England?" in J. M. Duvosquel and E. Thoen eds., *Peasants and Townsmen in Medieval Europe*. Studia in honorem Adriaan Verhulst (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju, 1995), 174-176; Christopher Dyer, 'Small towns 1270-1540', in D. M. Palliser ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2000), 506, 510.

²¹⁶ Slavin, *Bread and Ale*, 1.

²¹⁷ Samantha Letters, *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516*. <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>. See also: Slavin, *Bread and Ale*, 2.

²¹⁸ Medieval Norfolk had approximately 140 markets, giving the county "a higher density [of markets] than anywhere else in the country." Suffolk also had a high density of markets; if all its medieval markets existed concurrently, there would have been one market for every nine square miles. David Dymond, "Medieval and Later Markets" in Peter Wade-Martins, ed. *An Historical Atlas*

proliferation of markets both contributed to increasing specialization in production, as individuals and institutions used whatever comparative advantage they possessed to focus more energy on the production of specific goods. Our evidence suggests that horses were purchased most frequently in the areas of England where commercial forces were strongest. On the one hand, we might expect this, as the market for horses, like other goods, is likely to thrive in the most commercially-oriented areas where markets were most integrated. In this respect, we can see horses both driving the process of commercialization, as Langdon has suggested, but we also see clear evidence of this commercialization in the horse market itself. What the evidence also suggests is that commercialization and demesne horse production were perhaps inversely proportionate. In cases where demesnes adapted to increasing market orientation in England by specializing in the production of specific goods for the market, be it grain, wool or dairy products, the evidence from our seigniorial sample suggests that the breeding of work horses was not a specialization that the seigniorial sector invested in. While our study of horse prices in Chapter 5 will shed further light on this issue, our data here suggests that the market for horses was likely a more regional one, rather than a fully-integrated national forum of exchange.

of Norfolk (Norwich: Norfolk Museums Service, 1993), 76-7; For market density data in other counties, see: Richard H. Brittnell, "The Proliferation of Markets in England, 1200-1349" *Economic History Review* 34, No.2 (1981), 210; B.M.S. Campbell and K. Bartley, *England on the Eve of the Black Death: An Atlas of Lay Lordship, Land and Wealth, 1300-49* (Manchester, 2006), pp. 299-312. See also: Samantha Letters, Online Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England Wales to 1516 <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>.

Chapter 3: The Role of the Peasantry in the Trade of Agricultural Horses, Evidence from Lay Subsidies

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focused primarily on seigniorial evidence and established that demesnes did very little horse breeding; the internal production of working horses was often a secondary or tertiary form of horse acquisition behind the purchase of animals on the market and, on some demesnes, acquisitions through feudal perquisites. Overall, the demesnes in our study did not breed enough horses to meet their own demand, let alone an adequate surplus that could have supplied the total demand for draught horses of medieval England. If this pattern was typical of the majority of demesnes, then an obvious question follows: if demesnes were not producing these animals, who was? As the results of the second chapter have eliminated the seigniorial sector as England's source of work horses, attention must turn to the other sector of medieval English society: the peasantry.²¹⁹ Accordingly, this chapter will use a number of sources to examine the peasantry and their potential as suppliers of horses within the medieval English agrarian economy.

The most significant obstacle to this line of inquiry is one of evidence. Although the peasantry occupied between two-thirds and three-quarters of the land under cultivation in medieval England ca. 1300,²²⁰ they have left significantly fewer surviving sources than their seigniorial counterparts. While landlords drew up

²¹⁹ 'Peasant' is often a blanket term used to describe what was in reality a very heterogeneous group of people. However flawed, the term peasant is the best 'catch-all' term that we have to describe a mixed group of both free and villein tenants as well as any landless individuals who may have lived in a community.

²²⁰ In a study of Hundred Rolls of 1279-80 from Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and Warwickshire, E.A. Kosminsky calculated that of over half a million acres under cultivation, 31.8 percent was demesne, 40.5 percent was villein land and 27.7 percent was held by free peasants. See: E.A. Kosminsky, *Studies in the agrarian history of England in the thirtieth century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), 89.

accounts relating to their own demesne farms, and those have survived in great quantities, peasants produced few, if any, such documents, and none have survived. Those sources concerning peasants which have survived are also more tangential. By and large, extant documents which record the economic activities of peasants were drawn up by other people for other purposes, such as taxation, and therefore provide partial glimpses rather than direct insights.

The main difficulty for this approach, then, is finding suitably robust sources that can provide insight into the nature and extent of peasant engagement in the breeding, rearing and trade of agricultural horses. While there are no extant sources on the peasantry that approach the scope or scale of the manorial accounts used elsewhere in this thesis, the aim in this chapter is to assemble a body of evidence which can then be compared against the demesne data. Accomplishing this requires the assemblage of an array of disparate sources. Therefore, this chapter will focus initially on snippets of anecdotal evidence about peasant livestock from various sources before moving on to a highly detailed, empirical, study of one high-quality local source: the 1283 lay subsidy return from the Blackbourne hundred in Suffolk. The Blackbourne subsidy is one of few medieval sources that contain high-resolution peasant data capable of sustaining quantifiable analysis. The analysis of this source will be followed by an examination of manorial bylaws from across England and a case study of manorial court rolls in Chapter 4. The exploration of this body of evidence, with both statistical methods and qualitative assessment, provides significant results which will be used for comparison with the data of the previous chapter.

3.2 Anecdotal Evidence

A limited number of anecdotal references occur in manorial accounts and elsewhere, which provide suggestive evidence about peasant engagement in horse breeding, rearing and trading. The problem with such anecdotal evidence is that it occurs arbitrarily, and therefore is scarce and unpredictable, and it also lacks a wider context in which the information can be analysed. Such evidence is therefore a useful starting point, but must be assessed within the context of more robust structural analyses of accompanying sources.

As a starting point, let us return to the 1310-11 manorial account from Fletchampstead in Warwickshire discussed in Chapter 2. This account lists in the expenses of the demesne “two foals bought from a certain man of the homage.”²²¹ “The homage” in its narrow sense could relate to the peasants required to perform suit of court on the lord’s manor or, in a wider way, to all those who were required to present themselves at the tithing courts or tithing sessions of the vill: that is, all males of twelve or older within the wider Fletchampstead community.²²² Either way, this is a reference to a peasant of Fletchampstead selling two young horses to the lord’s demesne. However, as this is the lone reference of this kind encountered in all of the manorial accounts examined for this thesis, how this snippet of information is interpreted is another matter. On its own, the reference could be regarded as either typical or atypical: that is, it may be representative of many other such sales, for which no explicit confirmation was recorded because it was so commonplace. Alternatively, it is possible that the scribe or official thought the acquisition of foals from this source so unusual that it merited noting specifically on the account.

²²¹ “[I]n ii pullo empto de quodam hominum de homagium.” TNA: SC6 1040/21 m1^r.

²²² Phillipp R. Schofield, “The Late Medieval View of Frankpledge and the Tithing System: An Essex Case Study” Zvi Razi and Richard Smith, eds., *Medieval Society and the Manor Court* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996), 408.

Considered alongside the data explored in this chapter, however, the former scenario is most likely.

Other chance references also suggest that peasants were engaged in selling horses. The 1279 hundred roll²²³ includes in its assessment the Peterborough Abbey manor of Alwalton in Huntingdonshire. Outlined in the roll are the manor's free tenants and resident villeins, and, for the latter, their individual holdings are listed and their obligations to their lord (in this case the abbot of Peterborough) are detailed. One villein, Hugh Miller, held a virgate of land for a rent of 3 s. 1d. In addition to this cash payment, he was required to work for a specified amount of time during the year, undertake certain carrying services and provide the demesne with a small amount of oats for seed (this payment in kind was very likely based on his occupation as a miller), along with poultry and eggs. In addition to these rents in cash, labour and kind, Hugh Miller was also required to pay the lord a fine in the event that he sold any mares for more than 10 s.²²⁴ Regulations on other manors similarly forbade villeins from selling certain livestock without their lord's leave. The bishop of Ely stipulated specifically that villeins on his manors could not sell male colts and oxen of their own rearing without permission from the lord or bailiff.²²⁵ Such specific stipulations were fairly common aspects of villeinage,²²⁶ but

²²³ The hundred rolls were the result of an inquiry of Edward I into land tenure and royal rights throughout England. For a thorough examination of the purpose, contents and implications of this source see: Sandra Raban, *A Second Domesday? The Hundred Rolls of 1279-80* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 1-37.

²²⁴ “[I]f he sells a brood mare in his court yard for 10s. or more, he shall give to the said abbot 4d., and if for less he shall give nothing to the aforesaid.” Edward P. Cheyney, “English Manorial Documents” in *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European history Vol. III*, edited by J.H. Robinson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1897), 5. Originally cited in: *Rotuli Hundredorum*, Vol. II, 658-9. I am grateful to Alex Sapoznik for drawing my attention to this reference. It should be noted, however, that an examination of the Hundred Roll volume was undertaken in an effort to verify the original Latin term for “brood mare” as used in the translation. However, it seems there may be some discrepancies, specifically in terms of page numbers, between the translation and the printed Latin source, as the specific reference was not immediately apparent within the range of pages given by Cheyney.

²²⁵ Farmer, *Marketing the Produce*, 385.

the purpose of such regulations is difficult to pin down. Lords may have intended to use such rules to protect their right of heriot or to simply give the lord a preemptive ‘right of first refusal’ for livestock on the manor. However, fines for selling prohibited livestock were minimal, often only 1d. or 2d., so such regulations might also be seen rather as an acknowledgement of a fairly regular activity from which the lord stood to profit. In any event, these regulations and taxes are an acknowledgement of tenant horse (and livestock) breeding.

Demesne purchases of stock from the local community were also seemingly a regular occurrence in at least some parts of the country. In Suffolk, for instance, Framlingham castle, the seat of the Bigod family, procured livestock from a number of nearby communities. The demesne of Loudham also acquired fourteen cows from local individuals in 1372.²²⁷ In the case of Loudham specifically, the parson of the nearby community of Ufford supplied the demesne with two bovates.²²⁸ In such cases, demesne managers and the lords they represented likely thought it good practice to buy livestock from local peasants. In many ways it could be seen as a proto-protectionist policy designed to provide tenants with income to pay rents and benefit the local economy. This was not a phenomenon unique to East Anglia, as the Bishop of Winchester also often created market opportunities for tenants on his manors.²²⁹

²²⁶ Such incidents of villeinage are named as reasons for inquiry, as on St. Paul’s manors c. 1320 and at Cuxham (Oxfordshire) in 1310. See: William Hale, ed. *The Domesday of St. Paul’s of the year M.CC.XXII : or, Registrum de visitatione maneriorum per Robertum Decanum, and other original documents relating to the manors and churches belonging to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul’s, London, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries* Camden First Series LXIX (London: Camden Society, 1858), 157; P.D.A. Harvey, ed., *Manorial Records of Cuxham, Oxfordshire circa 1200-1359*. (London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1976), 632.

²²⁷ Mark Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk: An Economic and Social History 1200-1500* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press), 172.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ Richard Britnell, “Introduction” in Richard Britnell, ed., *The Winchester Pipe Rolls and Medieval English Society* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 18.

Another anecdotal reference reinforces the idea that horse rearing was a common peasant activity in the medieval world. The thirteenth-century French *exemplae* of Jacques de Vitry contain a parable about a woman who planned to use the profits from a range of different activities to eventually purchase and rear a young horse:

An old woman, while carrying milk to market in an earthen vessel, began to consider in what way she could become rich. Reflecting that she might sell her milk for three pence, she thought she would buy with them a young hen, from whose eggs she would get many chickens, which she would sell and buy a pig. This she would fatten and sell and buy a foal, which she would rear until it was suitable to ride. And she began to say to herself “I shall ride that horse and lead it to pasture and say to it ‘Io! Io!’” While she was thinking of these things she began to move her feet and heels as if she had spurs on them, clapped her hands for joy, so that by the motion of her feet and the clapping of her hands she broke the pitcher and the milk was spilled on the ground, and she was left with nothing in her hands.²³⁰

What is significant for this study is not the lesson which the story means to impart, but rather the context in which it is told. The story was meant to reflect the banalities of medieval life, a setting to which medieval audiences could immediately relate. This particular example therefore illustrates that the notion of a single woman of relatively humble wealth buying a young horse and rearing it herself was not at all unfamiliar to thirteenth-century congregations.

At minimum, these references illustrate that livestock was regularly procured from outside the seigniorial system and that local people, of whom some were peasants, were raising and selling livestock. The parable taken from Jacques de Vitry provides an illustration of a French peasant who hoped to become engaged in the rearing of horses, and English manorial records support this idea and suggest further that these peasants may have regularly supplied demesnes with horses and other livestock. What the anecdotal evidence cannot tell us, however, is the scale of

²³⁰ Thomas Crane, ed. *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones vulgares of Jacques de Vitry* Folk-Lore Society Vol. 26 (London: 1890), 154-5.

such activity. Just how common was peasant horse rearing? Where did this kind of activity fit within the household and family economies of medieval peasants? To address these questions more systematically, we must look closely at the nature of peasant horse ownership to see what potential for horse breeding and rearing existed off the demesne. This will be examined here through an investigation of a form of lay subsidy tax returns, which are a particularly rich source for peasant livestock information.

3.3 Lay Subsidy Evidence

Tax records are some of the few extant sources that allow insight into the material lives of medieval English peasants. Lay subsidies, a form of tax on the laity imposed by the crown, are suitably robust sources that can be explored systematically and statistically for information about peasant horse ownership, and their possible engagement with breeding and rearing. These were a royal tax, devised in the later medieval period and levied on personal property. The original principle for this type of taxation evolved from the crusade tithes of Henry II and occasional taxes imposed by Richard I and John.²³¹ During the reign of Henry III this form of taxation was deployed with more regularity and was levied four times in 1225, 1232, 1237 and 1269. This carried on under Edward I, who imposed lay subsidies in 1275 and 1283,²³² and the subsidies continued to be levied, in various forms, into the sixteenth century.²³³ Not all of these subsidies generated sources capable of sustaining the type of methodological inquiry central to this study, because only pre-1334 lay

²³¹ J.F. Willard, *Parliamentary Taxes on Personal Property 1290 to 1334* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1934), 3.

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ For example, see discussion of Tudor subsidy rolls in: S.A. Peyton, "The Village Population in the Tudor Lay Subsidy Rolls" *English Historical Review* 30, No. 118 (1915): 234-50.

subsidy returns recorded comprehensive lists of the moveable goods and property—and therefore livestock—of individual peasant taxpayers. Even these survivals are rare, because they represented not the final tax assessment lists but some ‘rough copy’ listings of information upon which the final tax assessments were based..

The administrative process that led to the creation of these sources functioned as follows: when subsidies were assessed, tax assessors examined the eligible movable property owned by every individual in a community. If the total value of any individual’s property failed to meet the prescribed minimum (e.g. the exemption limit was half a mark, or 6s. 8d. worth of goods for the 1283 lay subsidy),²³⁴ the individual would be excused from the tax and his or her moveable property would not be recorded at all. All individuals whose total wealth was above the minimum, however, would have, in theory, the details of their property recorded in an itemized list, with the quantities and values of moveable goods. These itemized lists, called local assessment rolls, were then forwarded to the chief taxation official for the county, where a new list was drawn up, listing each individual and the tax they owed, but omitting, at this stage, the details about the moveable property upon which their tax was based. In these late thirteenth-century subsidies, property eligible for taxation was generally described as “moveable goods”; literally those belongings that could be moved from one place to another, and therefore excluding land as well as buildings and other permanent structures.²³⁵ Other items were exempted from various iterations of this tax. The war-horses, armour and jewels of the gentry were exempted from subsidies,²³⁶ and, generally speaking, those goods that were vital to

²³⁴ Edgar Powell, ed. *A Suffolk Hundred in the Year 1283, the Assessment of the Hundred of Blackbourne for a Tax of One Thirtieth, and a Return Showing the Land Tenure There* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1910), xii.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ Although these exemptions only applied in rural areas. These goods were, at least in theory, eligible for taxation in cities, boroughs and towns. See: Willard, *Parliamentary Taxes*, 77.

the livelihood of the peasantry, such as farm implements, bedding, and cooking vessels were exempt.²³⁷ Pertinent to our study, riding horses were also exempt from the 1283 lay subsidy.²³⁸ These early assessments have been employed fruitfully previously,²³⁹ and are useful for our study because they list the moveable property of villagers, assigning a value for each item. It was upon the total value of an individual's property that a fractional tax was then levied. As much of taxable peasant wealth was held in the form of livestock, these early lay subsidies provide, in relatively high resolution, a picture of the scale and composition of peasant horse ownership.

Due in large part to increasing problems with tax evasion, the crown began in 1334 to levy the tax using a different method. Under this new system, the community was taxed on a fixed lump sum each time the tax was levied, and the community determined itself how much each individual residing within the community had to contribute.²⁴⁰ In this new paradigm, even the intermediary local rolls ceased to provide comprehensive information about property ownership. Therefore, we are forced here to rely on the surviving local assessment rolls of earlier subsidies.

²³⁷ Ibid., 77-8. The rules for exemption were not always consistent. Utensils and vessels were taxed in Buckinghamshire subsidies of 1327 and 1332. See: A.C. Chibnall, ed., *Early Taxation Returns* Buckingham Record Society Vol. 14 (Buckinghamshire, 1966), 2.

²³⁸ Postan, "Village Livestock", 220.

²³⁹ Postan used the Blackbourne subsidy in addition to two others, one for the *banlieu* of Ramsay Abbey from 1291 and a 1225 return from South Wiltshire, in a short study of how peasant pastoral farming differed from that of the demesne. See: Postan, 'Village Livestock', *passim*. John Langdon studied the proportions of horses and oxen listed in eighteen different tax assessments. See: Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 188.

²⁴⁰ For a detailed assessment of the evolution of these taxes see: H. Jenkinson, ed. *Surrey Taxation Returns*, Surrey Record Society No. 18, 1922, v-vi.

3.4 The 1283 Lay Subsidy Returns from Blackbourne Hundred

Several lay subsidy returns are extant for the period of this study.²⁴¹ In order to make the use of these records manageable given the time constraints of a doctoral thesis, a single subsidy return has been chosen for examination here. Of the many candidates, a return from the 1283 tax of a thirtieth²⁴² from Blackbourne Hundred in Suffolk was chosen. This particular subsidy was used to fund Edward I's second Welsh war.²⁴³ This subsidy return has been transcribed and tabulated by Edward Powell, but to ensure accuracy this volume was checked against the original manuscript.²⁴⁴ The data contained within the Blackbourne hundred returns is rich

²⁴¹ For example, see: Powell, *A Suffolk Hundred*, J.A. Raftis and M.P. Hogan, eds. *Early Huntingdonshire Lay Subsidy Rolls* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1976), A.T. Gaydon, ed., *The Taxation of 1297*, Bedfordshire History Record Society Vol. 39 (Bedford, 1959), 1-73. W. Brown, ed., *The Yorkshire Lay Subsidy, 25 Edward I*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Records Series 16 (York, 1894); P.D.A Harvey, ed., *Manorial Records of Cuxham, Oxfordshire* Oxfordshire Records Society Vol. 1 (Oxford, 1976), 712-14; A.C. Chibnal, ed., *Early Taxation Returns* Buckinghamshire Records Society Vol. 14 (Buckinghamshire, 1966).

²⁴² Powell, *A Suffolk Hundred*. Wiltshire: TNA: E 179/242/47; A small number of other early assessments also itemize moveable property, such as examples from Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire and Kent. For Ramsay Abbey material see: British Library Additional Charter 34759; For Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire and Kent see: Fred A. Cazel and Annarie P. Cazel, eds. *Rolls of the Fifteenth of the Ninth Year of the Reign of Henry III for Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire and Wiltshire and Rolls of the Fortieth of the Seventeenth Year of the Reign of Henry III for Kent* (London: The Pipe Roll Society, 1983). Cited from: Michael Postan, "Village Livestock in the Thirteenth Century" *The Economic History Review* Vol.15, No. 2 (1950): 220.

²⁴³ Powell, *A Suffolk Hundred*, ix.

²⁴⁴ The original returns consist of many manuscripts drawn up by a number of different scribes. They can be found in TNA: E179/242/41. There are some errors and anomalies in the Powell volume which have been checked against the original manuscript and corrected. The volume erroneously lists two different types of foals: *pulli* and *pullani*. This likely arose from a paleographic error in interpreting the original manuscript entries. The full masculine and feminine forms of the Latin word for foal are the singular *pullanus* (male) and *pullana* (female) and the plural *pullani* and *pullanae*. In most cases these words are abbreviated in the manuscripts to either *pullan'* or, more frequently, simply *pull'*. Powell interpreted these differing abbreviations as separate categories, and, a customary from Bury St. Edmunds (British Library MS. Harley 1005, f. 84.) for reference, inferred that these indicated foals of different ages. In fact, the different scribes who compiled the individual membranes for each manor simply used different forms of abbreviation (even individual scribes can be inconsistent in abbreviation within the same document) for the singular term for foal. The Blackbourne subsidy returns do not differentiate between foals of different ages at all, and we must assume that those horses described as foals were under three years of age, which, as discussed in Chapter 2, was the typical point at which young horses were promoted to adult categories. Powell also differentiated between *equi*, which he described as male horses, and *equae* [medieval scribes often used the syncopated first declension nominative plural form of 'e', as opposed to the more familiar classical form of 'ae'.] which he assumed to be female animals. This is another distinction which is seemingly unique to the Blackbourne returns, having not been encountered in any manorial accounts, which exclusively use the term *equi* as a category which could include both male and female horses.

and multi-faceted. They contain much highly-detailed information on the numbers and types of horses owned by Blackbourne peasants, data which is of primary interest for this project. Even among other early lay subsidy returns, the Blackbourne subsidy is particularly rich, leading Postan to comment that “even a superficial comparison with other tax assessments of the same area will be sufficient to show that the assessment of 1283 was much more comprehensive – i.e. netted in more households and persons – than almost any other pre-nineteenth century assessment for tax known to historians.”²⁴⁵ However, the nomenclature used to classify horses in the subsidy material is not completely similar to that of the manorial accounts. This is a methodological obstacle that had to be overcome. The returns also delineate (as manorial accounts generally do) between horses of different ages, and such information can provide data on, for instance, the proportion of mares and young horses to that of adult male animals, which can be used as a way to determine the potential peasants of Blackbourne had for breeding horses. However, as riding horses were exempt from this particular tax assessment,²⁴⁶ the lay subsidy returns will not provide comprehensive data on the full extent of peasant horse ownership, and we must be aware of this limitation. Given the fluidity of distinction between plough-horses and cart-horses, we must also ask how riding horses were distinguished from non-riding animals by the tax assessors, and consider as a possibility that the numbers of agricultural horses were under-represented due to fraudulent declarations by their peasant owners. As we are restricted to the earlier subsidies, these records are also limited in their temporal and geographic scope, and consequently, cannot be studied as extensively as the manorial accounts.

However, having checked this against the original manuscript as well, it is apparent that horses in the female *equa* category are given as *equa* in the returns, so the scribes did in fact differentiate between male and female horses on the Blackbourne returns.

²⁴⁵ Postan, “Village Livestock”, 220.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

Questions of accuracy and representativeness are the most significant issues surrounding the use of lay subsidy data in general, and the 1283 Blackbourne assessment, in particular. While the accuracy of lay subsidies has been the subject of some skepticism,²⁴⁷ the Blackbourne returns have benefitted from intensive checking and cross-referencing by scholars over the years.²⁴⁸ As the pre-1334 subsidies were based upon the value of moveable property and included an exemption for the poorest segment of society, those with moveable property valued at less than half a mark were exempt from taxation in 1283. Therefore, the local assessment rolls reflect only a proportion of the actual numbers of inhabitants in any given community, likely somewhere between the wealthiest two-thirds to three-quarters of inhabitants.²⁴⁹

There are also questions of the accuracy of assessment among inhabitants who *were* taxed. Specifically in the case of livestock, it has been estimated that the numbers of animals were routinely under-counted, most likely as a form of tax evasion through the collusion of tax payers and the tax collectors. In the specific case of the Blackbourne assessment, the number of peasant horses may have been under-assessed.²⁵⁰ For example, the 1302 Recognition (*Recognitiones*) of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds allows us to check the accuracy of livestock listed in the 1283 Blackbourne assessment. Recognition was a seigniorial due paid by villein tenants

²⁴⁷ Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 182-5.

²⁴⁸ M.M. Postan, "Village Livestock", 220-8. Postan went beyond 'superficial comparison' by undertaking a number of comparative exercises with other contemporary manorial documents from the same area. A comparison of the Blackbourne subsidy with manorial accounts of Hinderclay revealed that "little less than three-quarters of the names of peasants in the near-contemporary records of Hinderclay will be found among the 41 taxpayers in that village in 1283..." The accuracy of the Blackbourne subsidy is further corroborated by thorough comparison with the 1302 *Recognitiones* listings. However, Langdon has argued that Postan "would appear to have been overly optimistic in his assessment." Langdon contends that the 1283 Blackbourne returns under assessed peasant livestock numbers, and especially horses by 15 percent or more. See: Postan, 'Village Livestock', 220-3; Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 184; Langdon, *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation*, PhD Thesis, Chapter 4, n.54 (pp. 318-20).

²⁴⁹ Langdon estimates that the Blackbourne assessment may have excluded 30 – 35 percent of the actual number of heads of household in some villages. See: *Ibid.*

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

in acknowledgement of the accession of a new lord, in this case a newly-elected Abbot of Bury St. Edmund's Abbey, Thomas of Tottington, who was elected in 1302.²⁵¹ Recognition was, like the lay subsidies, based on moveable property, although, in this case, only that of unfree peasants, rather than all inhabitants in the community. Bury St. Edmunds was located within Blackbourne hundred and, as livestock was a significant component of unfree peasant wealth, it is therefore possible to compare the animals enumerated in both sources.²⁵² At first glance, there is little difference between the animal lists given in the 1283 assessment and those in the *Recognitiones*. For example, the stock of seven Rickinghall villagers - Richard Aylemer, William Waryn, Thomas Waryn, Robert Othin, Henry le Brun, Walter Mercator, and Warren Sutor - are listed in both the 1283 subsidy and the 1302 *Recognitiones*. Eighty-three animals were listed for these seven peasants in the 1283 subsidy and ninety-six in the 1302 Recognition tax. Given the nine-year interval between the two assessments, the numbers of animals seem reasonably similar at 11.9 animals per individual in 1283 and 13.7 in 1302. However, what is more significant is the much greater incidence of tenants in the *Recognitiones* listed as owning two horses than those in the 1283 Blackbourne subsidy, where the majority of peasants were listed as owning only a single beast. For example, of the forty-eight tenants on the manors of Rickinghall Inferior and Coney Weston listed as having draught animals in 1302, one had two horses and three oxen, another had two horses and two oxen, one had four oxen, one had one horse and two oxen, three men had three horses each, eighteen had two horses, twenty had one horse, and three had a

²⁵¹ 'Houses of Benedictine monks: Abbey of Bury St Edmunds,' in *A History of the County of Suffolk*: Volume 2, ed. William Page (London: Victoria County History, 1975), 56-72. Accessed December 15, 2015. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/suff/vol2/pp56-72>.

²⁵² Mark Bailey, *The Decline of Serfdom*, 47-8, 262-4.

single ox - a proportion of horses over oxen of 83.3 per cent overall.²⁵³ Altogether the data from the *Recognitiones* suggests that it was as likely for a man to have two horses as one. However, in the thirty-three villages of the 1283 assessment, 501 peasant taxpayers were taxed as having one horse, and only 142 as having two. The implication is that the tax assessors in 1283 may often have excused peasants one of their horses.²⁵⁴ It does not seem that this happened in every case. If we assume that the real proportion of tenants having two horses as against those having only one was the same in 1283 as that indicated by the *Recognitiones*, then the underassessment in the number of horses would be about 15 per cent. It may even have been more if one considers the cases where peasants having no horses in the assessment might in actuality have had one, and so on.

It is possible to examine this from another angle. A 1304 tax assessment for Cuxham in Oxfordshire indicates that, on average, tenants on that manor owned one offer each. However, an examination of trespass cases in Cuxham court rolls contemporary to the assessment indicates that the figure might have been closer to two offers per tenant.²⁵⁵ A more detailed examination of court-roll trespass cases is undertaken later in this chapter which sheds further light on this issue.

There is also clear evidence that the Cuxham assessment was not immune to deliberate, fraudulent under-assessment of moveable property in the community; Cuxham manorial accounts record bribes of up to ten shillings given to the tax

²⁵³ Powell, *A Suffolk Hundred*, pp. 78-80, 89.

²⁵⁴ Reminiscent of the Cuxham case above. John Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 182-3.

²⁵⁵ This is derived from Paul Harvey's small survey of trespass presentments in the manorial court rolls of Cuxham. Harvey's survey contains thirty-six trespass cases, of which eighteen concerned horses. Of these eighteen horse trespass cases, fifteen were instances where two horses were involved (two further cases involved four horses and a final case cited only a single horse). Taken at face value, this is at odds with the 1304 lay subsidy, where most peasants were assessed as owning only a single horse. See: P.D.A Harvey, *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village: Cuxham 1240-1400* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), Appendix VI. See below for a comparison of these horse trespass cases with those of other courts.

collectors “so that they might be lenient in their assessment”.²⁵⁶ However, it should be noted that this was a bribe paid by the Cuxham demesne which had significantly more resources for bribes and for which a lenient tax assessment stood to save considerably more than the average peasant would have gained from similar fraud.

While under-recording the raw numbers of livestock was one way to reduce a peasant’s overall tax burden, under valuing individual animals was another means of achieving the same end. As the prices attributed to horses (and other livestock) in the subsidies were valuations, or appraisals, rather than reflections of actual market values, they were more vulnerable to fraudulent manipulation than price data taken from market transactions. Therefore, caution is warranted when using price/value data taken from subsidy returns. This is also explored in more detail below.

The discussion above has attempted to outline both the potential of lay subsidies for assessing peasant involvement in horse ownership, and also the many methodological difficulties in harnessing the potential of the material. Compared to manorial accounts these sources present more methodological issues in both the interpretation of the sources and the reliability of information derived. While the numerous issues with lay subsidy material in particular have caused some historians to dismiss them entirely,²⁵⁷ with the acknowledgement of the source’s limitations it is still possible to glean a wealth of useful information from this material. As, even if the absolute accuracy of the assessment is doubted, the precise nature and scale of its limitations are known. Within the bounds of this study, the use, in tandem, of a careful analysis of a specific lay subsidy return and a particular sample of court rolls

²⁵⁶ P.D.A. Harvey, *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village*, 105. The discrepancy might be explained by the exclusion of riding horses as taxable property, as was the case in the 1283 tax of 1/30. For more on the corruption and collusion between tax collectors and tax payers, see: J.F. Willard, *Parliamentary Taxes on Personal Property 1290 to 1334* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1934), 210-18.

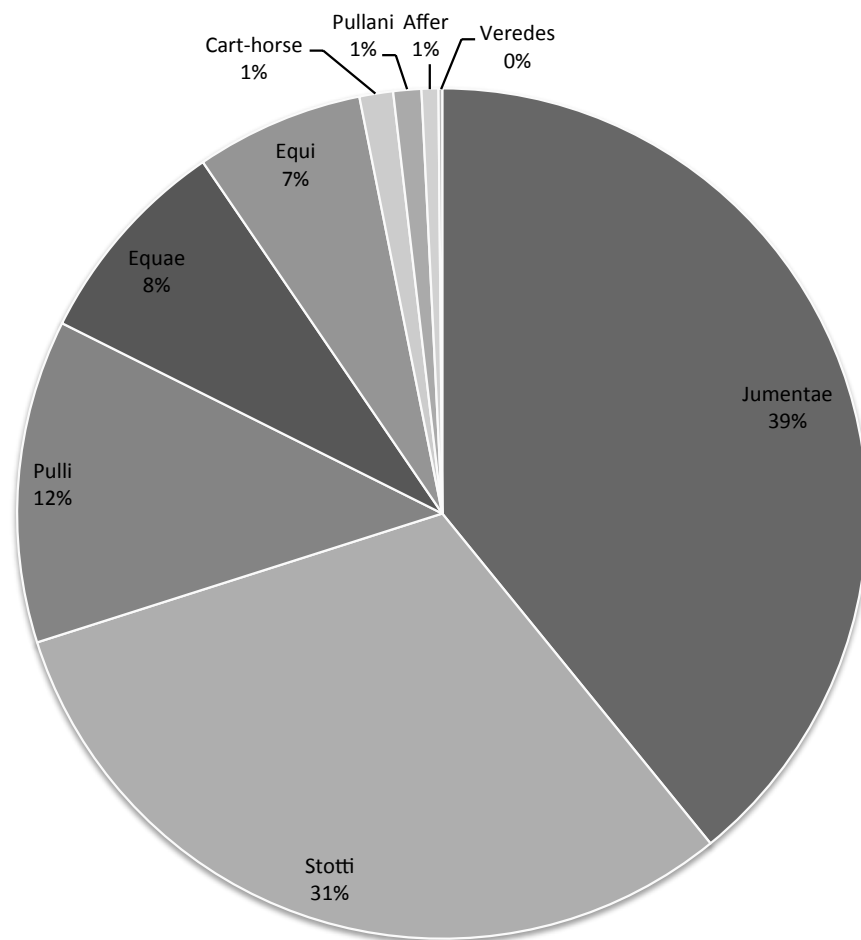
²⁵⁷ Louis F. Salzman, “Early Taxation of Sussex, Part II”, *Sussex Archaeological Collections* Vol. 19 (1962), xcix.

will allow fruitful analysis of peasant horse ownership and horse-related activities, from which we can reliably extrapolate their involvement in the horse trade.

3.4.1 Composition of Horse Ownership in Blackbourne Hundred

What distinguishes this present analysis from earlier studies of the 1283 Blackbourne lay subsidy is the way in which the data is used. While the raw numbers of horses will be discussed briefly, where the lay subsidy material is most useful is in giving an indication of the potential that peasant farms - and by extension peasants themselves - had for horse breeding and rearing. Therefore, one of the key pieces of information that the lay subsidies can provide is the proportion of female and young horses kept by the peasantry. Much like the 'snapshot' view that the demesne sample from chapter one provided, the Blackbourne thirtieth provides a good indication of the types of horses owned by the peasantry at a single point in time. Figure 3.1 gives the composition of horse ownership of all those taxed in the hundred in 1283.

Figure 3.1: Composition of horse ownership of all Blackbourne taxpayers in 1283



Using the categories employed in the local assessment rolls (and later compiled by Powell), the subsidy enumerates horses by using largely the same categories as the manorial accounts, but also provides specific categorical distinctions between male and female horses. The convention of the manorial accounts was to record horses by type, using masculine nouns like *affri* and *stotti*. If the animals enumerated within these categories were further distinguished by sex (a practice not universally adhered to) it was through an addendum at the end of the entry. The Blackbourne subsidy, however, has separate categories for horses of each gender. Therefore, the local rolls enumerated both male *equi* and female *equae*²⁵⁸ along with the traditional female category of *jumentae*. In addition to the familiar categories of cart-horses (*equi carectarri*), affers (*affri*), stotts (*stotti*), mares (*jumentae*), “*equi*” and foals (*pullani/ae*), the Blackbourne subsidy uses another distinct category, *veredes*, which were not encountered in accounts. Given their values and the contexts in which they were owned, it seems likely that these animals were cart-horses; the distinction between the two types may be similar to *stott* and *affer* where two categories are used to describe similar animals. In any case, the anomaly is not overly important as only two of these horses were recorded, both in a single community. To facilitate comparison with data from the manorial account sample, these categories must be integrated with those with which we are already familiar. Therefore, the female *equae* have been grouped in with mares, the *veredes* have been added to the cart-horses category, and the incorrectly demarcated *pulli* and *pullani* (see note 243 above) have been combined into a single ‘foals’ category.

Demesne property must also be removed from the Blackbourne data. As the lay subsidy was levied on all individuals who owned moveable property exceeding

²⁵⁸ *Equae* being the syncopated medieval version of the first declension nominative plural *equae* of classical Latin.

6s. 8d.,²⁵⁹ the original local returns recorded the property of both peasants and demesnes. As the purpose here is to assess the peasantry, demesnes and their property must be sifted out before any analysis can be undertaken. This is not always a straightforward task. In some vills lord is easily identified. In Ashfield Magna, for instance, the demesne is easily identifiable as the lands of “Dominus W. Criketot” and is therefore easily removed. Similarly, the livestock of “Dominus Edmund de Hemgrave” represents demesne holdings on the manor of Barnham. On the manor of Culford, the property of the Abbot of Bury St. Edmund’s is also easily identified as a demesne holding. The difficulty arises when none of those listed on the tax lists are clearly identified as a seigniorial lord. On some occasions the types and value of property point towards seigniorial ownership (e.g. the ownership of large numbers of livestock or expensive cart-horses), but only those individuals who could definitively be proven as lords were excluded and, therefore, some demesnes may still be contained within the ‘peasant’ sample.²⁶⁰ In other vills, the poorest inhabitants of the hundred, whose total moveable property was valued below this threshold, would have been overlooked by the subsidy assessors and therefore they do not appear in the tax lists. The resultant distribution of horses, along with our demesne sample from Chapter 2, is given in Table 3.1.

²⁵⁹ Powell, *A Suffolk Hundred*, xx.

²⁶⁰ I have largely followed Langdon’s methodology for determining seigniorial or peasant status here, that is, only removing those entries which can be clearly identified as demesnes. However, our final figures differ; Langdon determined there were forty-five demesne taxpayers in the Blackbourne subsidy, while I have only excluded forty two, meaning that there is a possibility that my sample contains a small number of demesnes. Others have used different approaches, using a defined criterion of property ownership to filter out demesnes. For example, assuming any entry with more than ten horses to be a demesne. I do not feel that applying such an arbitrary rule is appropriate for this present study.

**Table 3.1:
Composition of Horse Ownership on Demesne Sample ca. 1300 and 1283
Blackbourne Hundred**

	Demesne Sample	%	Blackbourne Hundred	%
Affers	1031	40.0	9	0.7
Stotts	419	16.3	349	27.3
Young Horses	403	15.6	184	14.4
Cart-horses	397	15.4	4	0.3
Mares	249	9.7	641	50.2
Equi	66	2.6	88	6.9
Veredes	0	0.0	2	0.2
Rouncies	5	0.2		
Mill Horses	4	0.2		
Stallions	2	0.1		
Total	2576	100.0%	1277	100.0%

The types of horses owned by demesnes (as illustrated by the demesne sample from Chapter 2) and peasants are broadly similar, and what differences exist can be easily explained. The notable distinctions between the two samples are the absence of rouncies, mill-horses and stallions on peasant holdings. The lack of rouncies can be explained simply. As riding horses, they were exempt from the 1283 thirtieth. Even if some peasants did own single-purpose riding horses, the tax assessment omitted them and they would not have been recorded.²⁶¹ However, as we have seen from the demesne evidence, riding rouncies were almost exclusively owned by wealthy individuals, and therefore the chance that the Blackbourne peasantry owned a significant number of riding horses is low. Stallions were quite rare on demesnes, accounting for well less than 1 percent of total stocks; the only two stallions in the demesne sample were found on the earl of Lincoln's stud farm at Ightenhill, which itself was used for breeding rouncies for the earl's stable.

²⁶¹ Powell notes the absence of riding horses in the Blackbourne assessment and notes that *chiuauchure* were specifically exempted from the tax assessment. *Chiuauchure* is described in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, a fifteenth-century English-to-Latin dictionary as a horse "vor ridinge". The *runcini* documented in the manorial accounts were also riding horses; the two terms most likely describe a single class of horse, as do stott and offer. See: Powell, *A Suffolk Hundred*, xxiv.

Specialized breeding stallions were, then, not kept by demesnes for the purposes of breeding working horses, and the peasantry were seemingly able to also breed without owning any stallions. In the absence of stallions on most demesnes and peasant holdings, insemination could have been conducted through a ‘stud service’ of some sort, where an intact male horse was brought in for the sole purpose of impregnating female horses. There is, however, no record of such activities in manorial accounts. It is more likely that un-gelded male horses were common among demesne and village livestock, and it is these animals that were used for breeding. Thomas Tusser’s treatise on husbandry offers insight into pre-modern gelding practices. Though recorded in the sixteenth century, many of the practices discussed were broadly similar to the agricultural techniques of the medieval period. Tusser gives a clear indication that gelding was preferred for only certain horses, and many working animals were likely left intact:

Thy coltes for the sadle, geld yong to be light:
for cart doe not so, if thou iudget a right.
Nor geld not, but when they be lusty and fat:
for there is a point, to be learned in that.

Geld marefoles but titts, ere and nine dayes of age:
they die els of gelding, some gelders wil gage.
But marefoles, both likely, of bulke and of bone:
kepr such to bring coltes, let their gelding alone.²⁶²

The absence of any mention of horse gelding in manorial accounts, combined with Tusser’s assertion that at some work horses were left intact, suggests that stallions were not required to sustain stocks. Even a small number of intact male horses would have been sufficient for breeding on both demesne and peasant farms, and this must have rendered specialized stallions unnecessary.

²⁶² Thomas Tusser, *A Hundredth Good Points of Husbandry*, (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1973), 53-4.

Mill-horses, as specialized animals working either as the engines of horse-mills or as pack animals, are also understandably absent from peasant stocks, as milling was largely the purview of the seigniorial sector ca. 1300, and horse mills would even then have constituted only a small proportion of overall tenant milling.²⁶³ With these exceptions, then, the core categories of horses present on both demesnes and amongst the peasants of Blackbourne hundred are the familiar affers, stotts and cart-horses, as well as mares, *equi* and young horses.

Where the horse stocks of demesnes and Blackbourne peasants diverge is in the relative proportions of different types of horses. While affers were more common than stotts in the demesne sample (40 percent vs. 16 percent), peasants on Blackbourne Hundred manors owned significantly more stotts. (26 percent to 0.7 percent). As discussed in Chapter 2, ‘stott’ was a regional term only encountered in East Anglia and the Thames Basin regions, so we would expect stotts to outnumber affers here. If the affer and stott categories are combined into a single ‘plough-horse’ category for comparison, we find that 56.3 percent of demesne horses were plough beasts (40 percent affers + 16.3 percent stotts), while only 27 percent of Blackbourne horses were plough animals (0.7 percent affers + 26.3 percent stotts).

How might this difference be explained? The surest way to approach this question would be a comparison of the total sown acreages for both demesnes in the sample and for Blackbourne peasants. This would facilitate the calculation of an acres/plough-horse figure that would further illuminate the difference in numbers of plough animals. Unfortunately, while this data could be easily obtained for demesnes, the 1283 lay subsidy taxed peasants only on moveable goods, and therefore does not provide information on the size of peasant land holdings (from

²⁶³ Tenant mills accounted for only 9.6 percent of mills ca. 1300 in Langdon’s survey of mills in medieval England. See: John Langdon, *Mills in the Medieval Economy: England 1300-1540* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 220.

which it would still be difficult to reliably estimate sown acreages), we have no corresponding data for the Blackbourne peasants.

We are left, then, with only the raw numbers of horses to consider. One possible explanation is that Blackbourne peasants relied more heavily upon ox power than horse power as source of animal traction. This could explain the lower proportion of horses relative to the demesne sample. However, only 387 oxen (*boves*) were listed in the subsidy for the whole of Blackbourne hundred, as compared to 1220 adult horses, meaning that adult work horses outnumbered oxen on peasant farms by more than 3:1. These figures are a clear indication that the horse was the predominant beast of burden on peasant lands, which echoes Langdon's finding that horse ploughing was embraced by East Anglian peasants to a greater degree than in any other part of the country.²⁶⁴

The relative specialization of different types of horses, as well as peasant choices for animal traction, impacted upon both the proportions of both plough and cart-horses on Blackbourne peasant holdings. This is the most reasonable explanation for the differing proportions of plough horses on demesnes and peasant holdings. We have already discussed in Chapter 2 the rather specialized role of cart-horses on demesnes, in that they were used exclusively for carting while affers and stotts often performed a number of different roles. Cart-horses comprised 15.4 percent of demesne stocks but only 0.3 percent of peasant-owned animals on Blackbourne hundred,²⁶⁵ indicating a monumental gap in cart-horse ownership between the seigniorial sector and the peasantry. As is discussed in Chapter 2, cart-horses were the most expensive type of agricultural horse, whose cost was likely

²⁶⁴ Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 205 Table 29.

²⁶⁵ This may be an over estimate if any demesnes have erroneously remained in the Blackbourne sample. Considering only the demesnes we have excluded from our Blackbourne peasant sample, the proportion of cart-horses on Blackbourne demesnes was 10 percent.

prohibitive to peasants of more modest means, and investment in specialized cart-horses was something that most peasants were either unable or unwilling to make.²⁶⁶

As cart-horses were relatively more specialized than plough-horses (stotts and affers), with a distinct skill premium, plough-horses perhaps held a similar skill premium over mares, which could fulfill the dual roles of draught work and breeding. Therefore, the evidence suggests that Blackbourne peasants often chose to own mares in preference to male plough horses, which explains the lower proportion of peasant plough-horses and also the higher proportion of mares. This phenomenon is even more pronounced when peasant horse ownership is compared to the wealth of individual horse owners and on a village-by-village basis, both analyses discussed below.

The peasants of Blackbourne hundred also stocked comparatively more *equi* than demesnes (6.9 percent to 2.6 percent). As the precise nature of these horses is somewhat more ambiguous than in the other categories (see discussion Chapter 2) it is difficult to assess the significance of this difference. Langdon grouped the *equi* encountered in both lay subsidies and heriots in with cart-horses,²⁶⁷ but his justification for doing so is not entirely clear. If we were to group the *equi* in both the demesne sample and for the Blackbourne hundred in with cart-horses the proportion of cart-horses would rise to 18 percent on demesnes and 7.2 percent on Blackbourne manors; in either scenario the proportions are similar, with demesnes owing 2.5 times the number of cart horses than Blackbourne peasants.

²⁶⁶ Even so, the proportion of peasant cart-horses is especially low on Blackbourne manors. Unfortunately, Langdon did not separate cart-horses from affers and stotts in his detailed study of draught animals in lay subsidies, so we cannot compare our figures with subsidies from other parts of England. Langdon did, however, assess peasant cart-horse ownership using heriot data. Given that cart-horses were, on average, significantly more valuable than either affers or stotts, it would have been to the peasants' advantage to disguise cart-horses as lesser and cheaper animals. Peasants on Blackbourne manors may have, through either evasion or collusion with the tax assessors, caused the numbers of these animals to be under-recorded.

²⁶⁷ Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 203, Table 28.

3.4.2 Values of Peasant Horses in Blackbourne Hundred

Having looked at the ways in which the composition of peasant horse stocks differed from that of the demesne, we must next consider the values of peasant horses compared to demesne animals. Figure 3.2 gives the ranges in value of a subsample of 722 Blackbourne peasant horses. In the creation of this subsample, only single values were taken, eliminating any instances where two or more horses were valued together, and thereby avoiding the inclusion of any average prices in the sample. As discussed above, it is important to distinguish between these valuations of peasant horses and the demesne purchase prices. Values taken from the Blackbourne subsidy are notional values assigned by tax assessors and not prices determined by a competitive market.

The distribution of horse values is given in figure 3.2. Assessors of the 1283 subsidy tended to appraise horses at intervals, and, as a result, most are bunched around specific points, as illustrated in Figure 3.3. The values of horses were even more closely clustered than the figure shows, as the vast majority of horses were assessed at discreet values at whole shilling intervals. For example, of the 164 horses whose value fell between 3.00 s. and 3.49 s., 155, or 95 percent, were valued at 3.00 s. Similarly, of the horses valued between 2.50 s. and 2.99 s., forty-three (88 percent) were valued at 2.50 s. This same trend is broadly applicable to all of the price strata illustrated in Figure 3.3. It seems that tax assessors imposed a rather rudimentary hierarchy of value to the horses (and other livestock as well) counted in Blackbourne communities, rather than spending unnecessary time determining more accurate values for individual animals. This makes using individual values on their own quite difficult, but the sample as a whole is still very instructive.

Figure 3.2: Ranges, Means and Medians of Horse Values on 1283 Blackbourne

Hundred Lay Subsidy

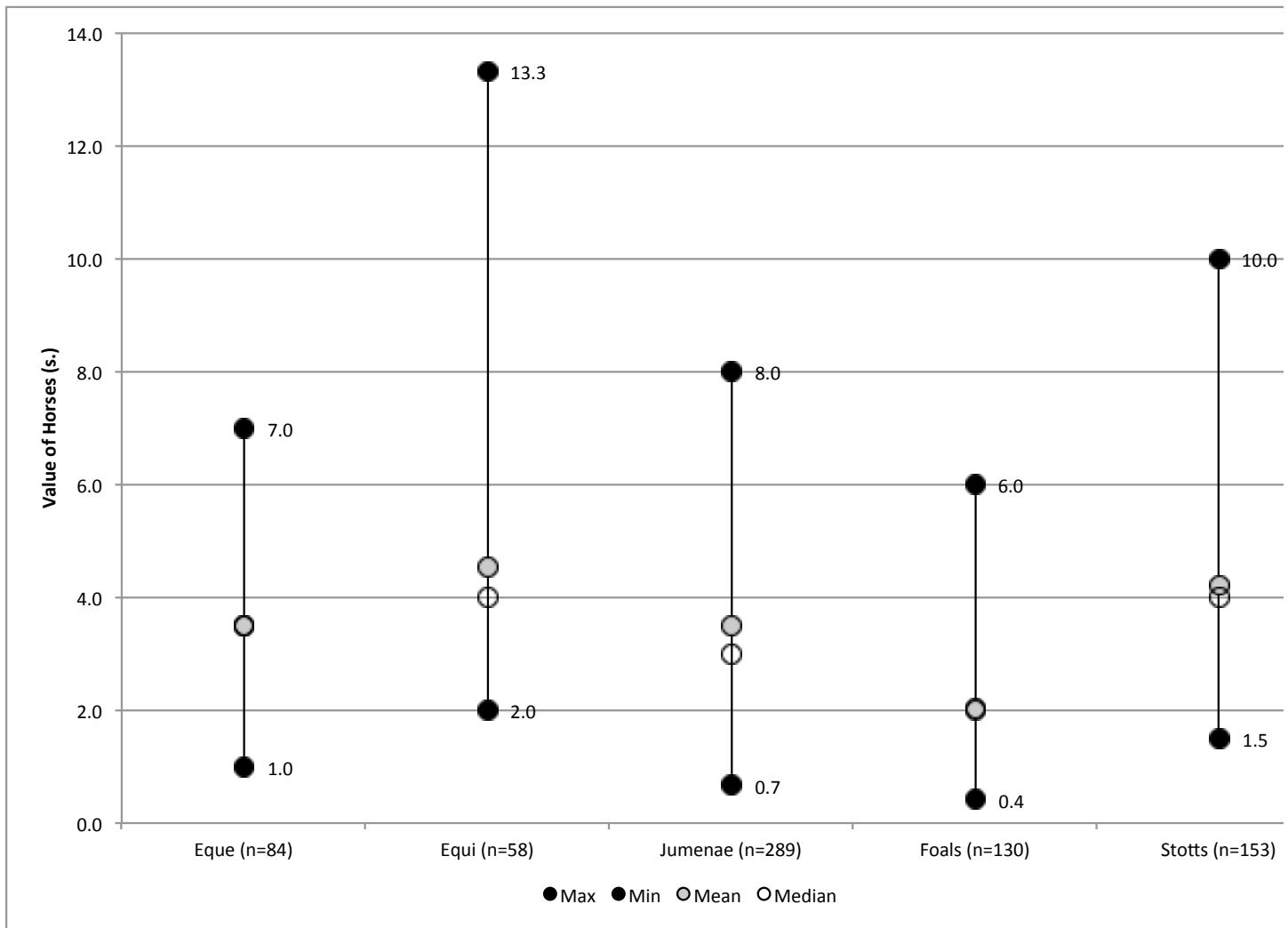
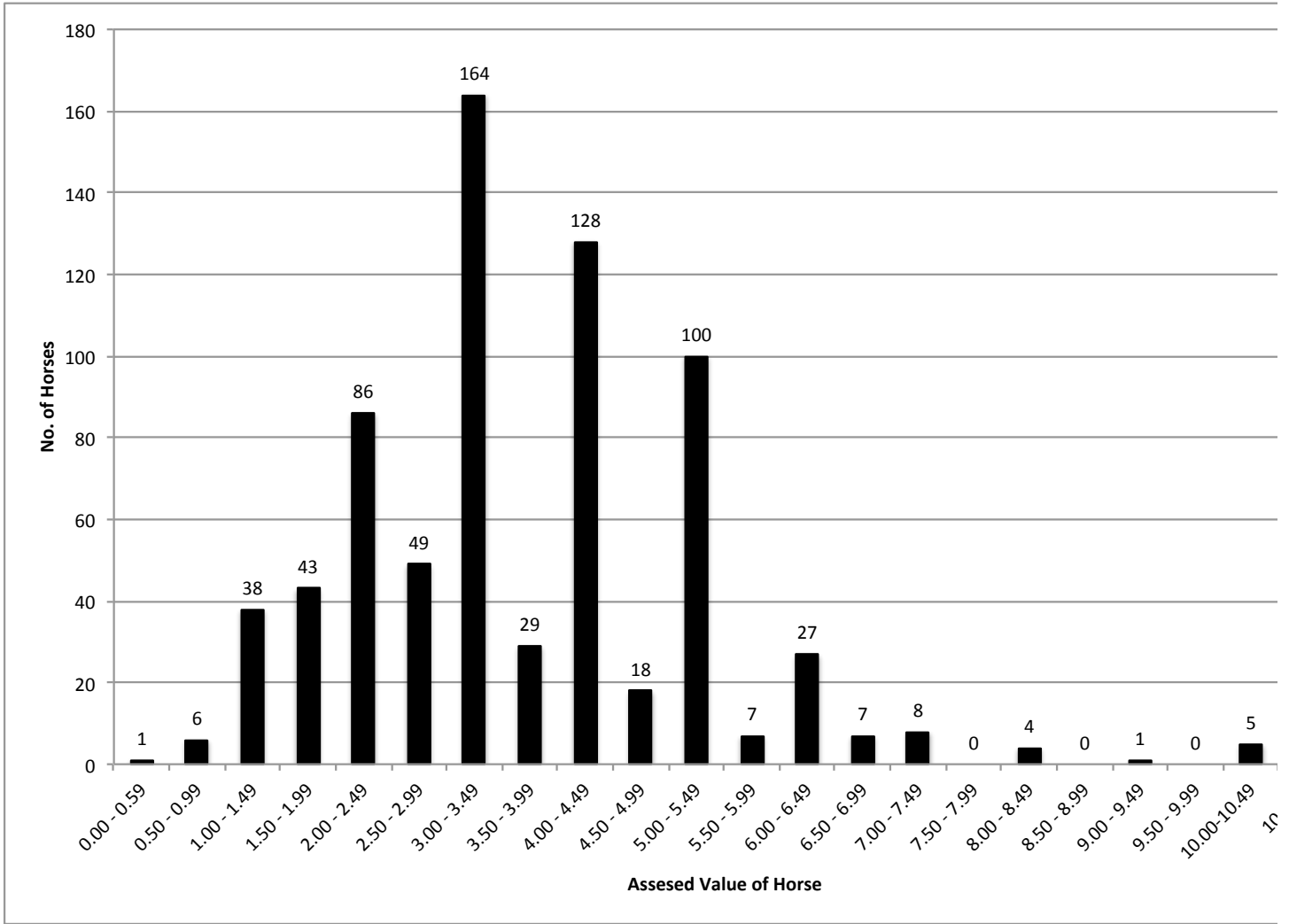


Figure 3.3: Distribution of Values of Blackbourne Peasant Horses (n=722)



In general, peasant horses on Blackbourne villages were valued significantly lower than demesne animals. For example, demesne stotts in East Anglia were purchased at prices ranging from 5.5s. to 30s. Peasant-owned stotts on Blackbourne villages, however, ranged in value from 1.5s to 10s. This is a substantial difference in value. Langdon has argued that peasant horses were, compared to demesne animals, of advanced age and generally poorer quality, often afflicted with blindness or other work-limiting factors,²⁶⁸ and our subsidy value data supports the idea that peasant horses were, by and large, inferior to demesne stocks.

3.4.3 Breeding Potential

Judging by the proportions of young and female horses owned by the peasantry, their potential for horse breeding and rearing was significant. The close analysis of seigniorial horse stocks of Chapter 2 determined that, on average, demesnes were net consumers of horses; they did not breed enough horses to sustain their own demand and instead relied on other sources to provide them with working animals.²⁶⁹ The situation of the peasantry, so far as it is represented by the Blackbourne data, is entirely different. The number of mares on demesnes accounted for just under 10 percent of total horse stocks, while the proportion of female horses amongst Blackbourne tenants was substantially higher at 51.1 percent. These figures require further qualification. The true proportion of female horses in our account sample is under-represented in manorial accounts if measured only by the number of *jumentae*, due to the tendency of scribes to lump affers and stotts of both sexes into the same

²⁶⁸ Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 250.

²⁶⁹ These calculations were based not on the proportion of young horses on demesnes, but on the number of horses which graduated from 'young' categories into the ranks of adult working animals, a more precise metric for determining the rate of internal breeding on demesnes. The lay subsidy data does not tell us how many young horses were on the cusp of reaching maturity; this must be projected from the numbers of female and young horses kept by peasants.

categories. However, even if we were to assume that half of all demesne affers and stotts were female, the total proportion of female horses on demesnes would still trail the Blackbourne peasantry by over 10 percent.²⁷⁰

What breeding capacity can be conjectured from this large proportion of female horses? The peasants of Blackbourne hundred owned 638 female horses, and, in theory, this would also mean 638 viable brood mares, but as we have seen in demesne evidence, medieval horse breeding was often hampered by sterility in female horses. If we make a modest assumption that half of these female horses were sterile, then that leaves a viable breeding pool of 319 mares. In addition to levels of sterility in the population of mares, length of pregnancy was also a factor. The author of the anonymous *Husbandry* treatise suggested that the gestation period of mares was forty-nine weeks,²⁷¹ so mares could have conceivably been bred every year. However, one foal per year was unlikely to have been sustainable over any significant period of time. It is perhaps most sensible to assume a breeding rate of one foal every three years, mirroring the development cycle of the demesne. This would have allowed peasants to keep one young ‘trainee’ horse alongside mature animals while limiting the work and responsibility of maintaining and rearing to one young horse at a time. If we take the 319 mares available for breeding as posited earlier and project that they were bred on average every three years (319/3), this would result in 106 new foals bred by Blackbourne Hundred peasants every year.

²⁷⁰ The calculation is as follows: All categories are divided by two. (E.g. Affers (1031/2 = 515.5); Stotts (419/2 = 209.5); *Equi* (66/2 = 33); Rouncies (5/2 = 2.5); Mill Horses (4/2 = 2) 515.5 + 209.5 + 33 + 2.5 + 4 = 1011.5). This then gives 1011.5 potential female horses. This figure is then divided by the total number of demesne horses (1011.5/2576 = 39.3 percent), giving an upper limit of 39.3 percent female to male sex ratio on demesnes.

²⁷¹ Dorothea Oschinsky, ed. *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 427.

Thus, the pool of peasant horses would have enabled them to breed a significant number of young animals every year, even by a conservative projection.²⁷²

If this figure is taken as a reasonable minimum projection of peasant horse breeding potential, the figure of 106 foals per year would have been sufficient to create a surplus of horses that could have not only maintained the horse stocks of the Blackbourne peasantry, but also perhaps supplied demesnes and the local market as well. We can test this further, moving from projections to real figures. Using the number of foals enumerated on Blackbourne peasant farms, it is possible to estimate the size of such a surplus. The 1283 assessment recorded 184 foals on peasant farms. If we use the same three-year development cycle, then sixty-one (184 foals/3 years) foals would have needed to be replaced each year (assuming that one-third of all young horses were reaching maturity in any given year). The projection of 106 new foals born, exceeds this by forty-five animals, or 74 percent.

How reliable is this projection? The same exercise can be undertaken with the demesne sample to facilitate comparison. Starting with the 249 mares enumerated in the accounts, the eighty-eight from dedicated stud farms are removed,²⁷³ leaving 161 mares in total. Given that this figure is likely an under-representation of the total number of female horses in the demesne sample, it is (conservatively) assumed that all 161 were fertile and viable for breeding. If these mares were bred once every three years, the demesnes in our sample could have produced, by our projection, fifty-four foals ($161/3 = 53.67$) in a single year. In reality, the demesnes actually doubled this projection, as 108 foals were born to demesnes in our sample, again excluding the stud farms mentioned above. The fact

²⁷² If, as discussed above, the Blackbourne subsidy under-recorded peasant horses, the reality of peasant breeding potential may have been even higher.

²⁷³ Taken from end-of-year manorial account totals, these are forty-two from the Earl of Lincoln's Lancashire stud at Ightenhill, eighteen from Isabella de Fortibus' Yorkshire *Equitium*, and twenty-eight from Peterborough Abbey's *runcini* herd at Eye park.

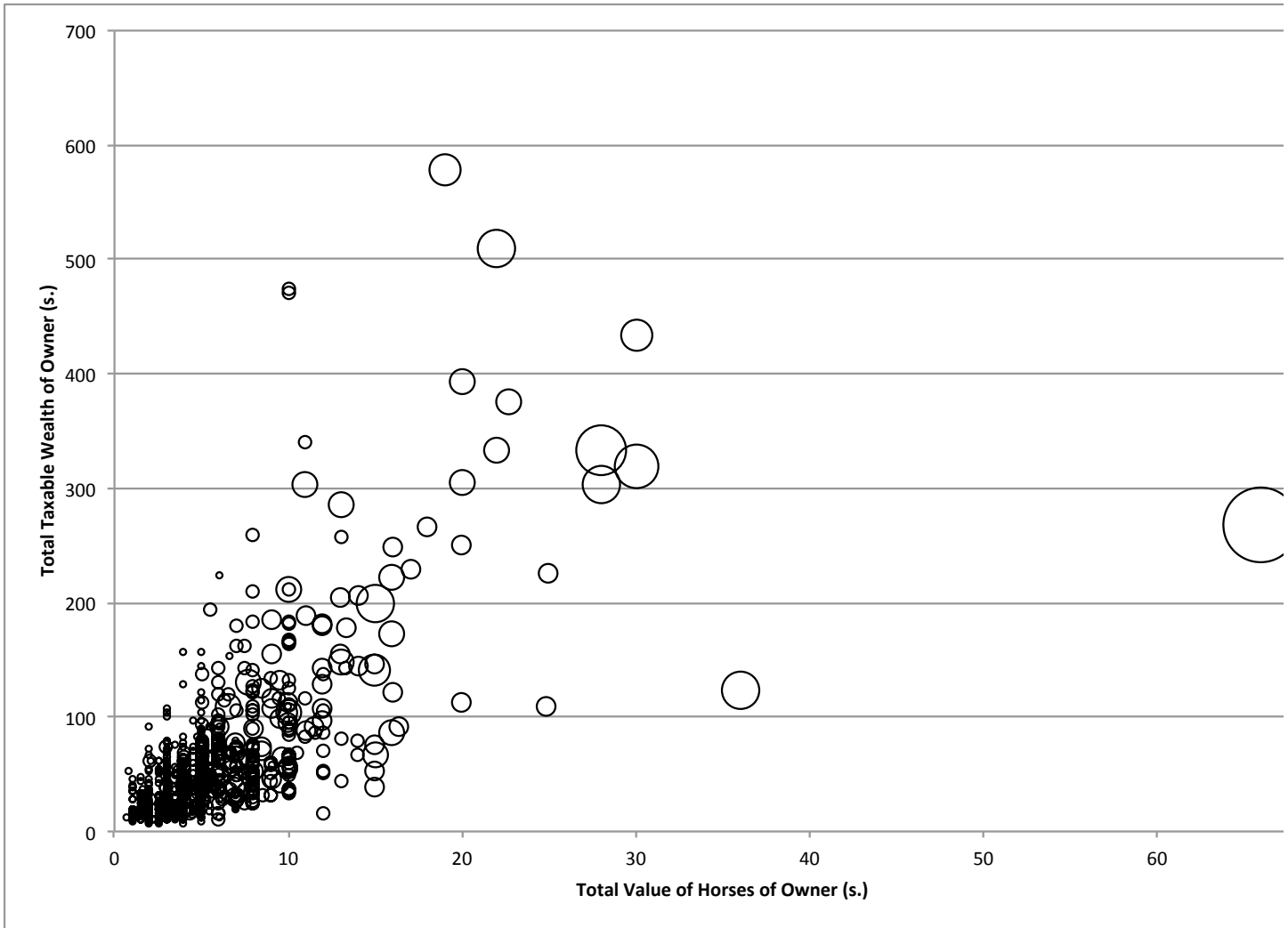
that demesnes in our sample eclipsed the same conservative projection applied to Blackbourne peasants, despite, as Chapter 2 has illustrated, ultimately not collectively breeding enough young animals to sustain their own demand, suggests that the Blackbourne peasantry, and perhaps by extension, peasants across medieval England, could have easily created the surplus of horses required to supply the medieval market.

3.4.3 Distribution of Peasant Horse Stocks on Blackbourne Hundred

This exercise has projected the breeding potential of the horses owned by the Blackbourne peasants as a whole, but these peasants were a very heterogeneous group, and the subsidy material can provide further insight into how horse breeding was organized within these communities. Was horse breeding the likely purview of any identifiable sub-group, or were a wide range of peasants potentially engaged in horse breeding and rearing as an economic activity? Further, is there any trace of commercial or at least large-scale breeding among the peasantry, or were horses generally produced on a smaller scale?

To look at this more closely, the Blackbourne vills have been taken and analyzed peasant-by-peasant in terms of numbers of horses owned, their value, and the total value of taxable property for each individual, as a proxy for overall wealth. Figure 3.4 illustrates the relationship between total taxable wealth against the value and number of horses owned. In this figure, the sample of Blackbourne peasants is plotted, with the total value of horses owned by each of the 810 horse owners in the hundred on the x-axis to and the total taxable wealth of each horse owner taxable on the y-axis; the number of horses owned by each individual, which ranged from one to twelve animals, is represented by the size of the bubble plotted at each coordinate.

Figure 3.4: Nominal Values of Horses Owned vs. Total Taxable Wealth of Owner (n = 810)

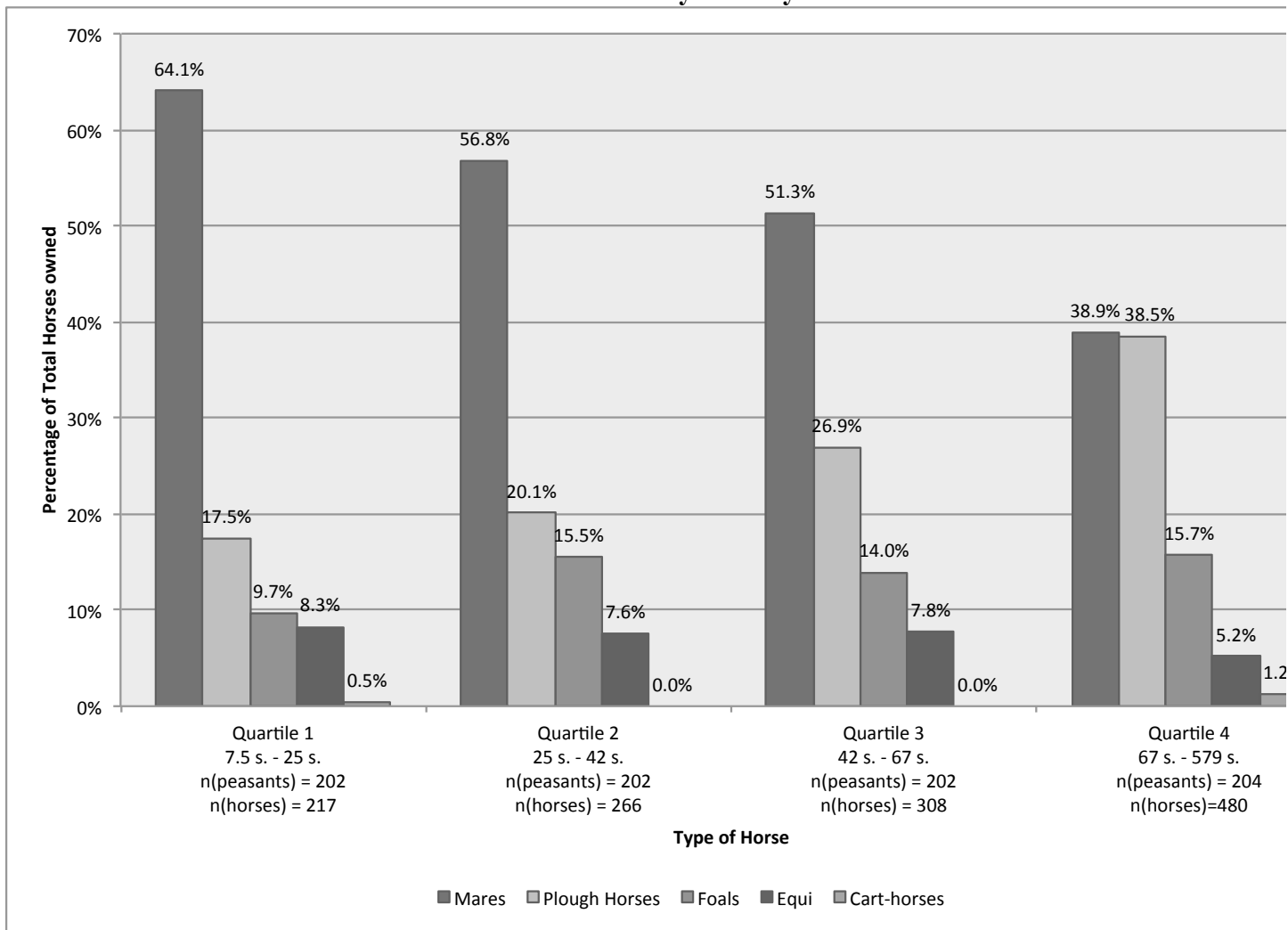


682 of the horse owners in the sample (84.2 percent) had total moveable property valued at less than 100s. and 10s. or less invested in horses. It is clear that most horses were concentrated in this lower left quadrant of the graph, indicating low-value animals and owners of relatively humble means. For a number of these individuals their animals were likely ‘convenience horses’ which served a range of purposes for their owners. This is especially clear when looking at individuals who, judging by their surnames, seemingly worked outside of the arable sector. People like Alexander Bercarius, a shepherd living in Rushford, who owned a single mare valued at 3s., or Richard Piscator, a fisherman from Rickinghall, who owned a stott valued at 3s. 4d. Ralph Faber, a smith from Hinderclay, owned a mare worth 5s. Adam Molendinarius, a miller from Norton, owned a single stott, likely a pack animal perhaps used for delivering milled flour. At Elmswell, one Peter Clericus was assessed as owing a lone foal, valued at 1s. Peter may have been planning on raising the foal himself, in the same way as the woman in the de Vitry example discussed earlier.

3.4.4 Quartile Analysis of Blackbourne Hundred data

Horse ownership was not spread evenly across the Blackbourne peasantry. If the group of peasants taxed in the 1283 subsidy is divided into quartiles according to total taxable wealth, different profiles of horse ownership between each segment become clear. Of the 814 horse-owning peasants listed in the Blackbourne subsidy, in 810 cases it was possible to derive data for both horse ownership and total taxable wealth. These 810 peasants were divided into four quartiles. As 810 does not divide into four equal parts, the first three quartiles are comprised of 202 peasants, while the fourth quartile (wealthiest peasants) contains 204 individuals.

Figure 3.5: Distribution of Horses by Quartiles of Total Taxable Peasant Wealth in the 1283 Blackbourne Hundred Lay Subsidy



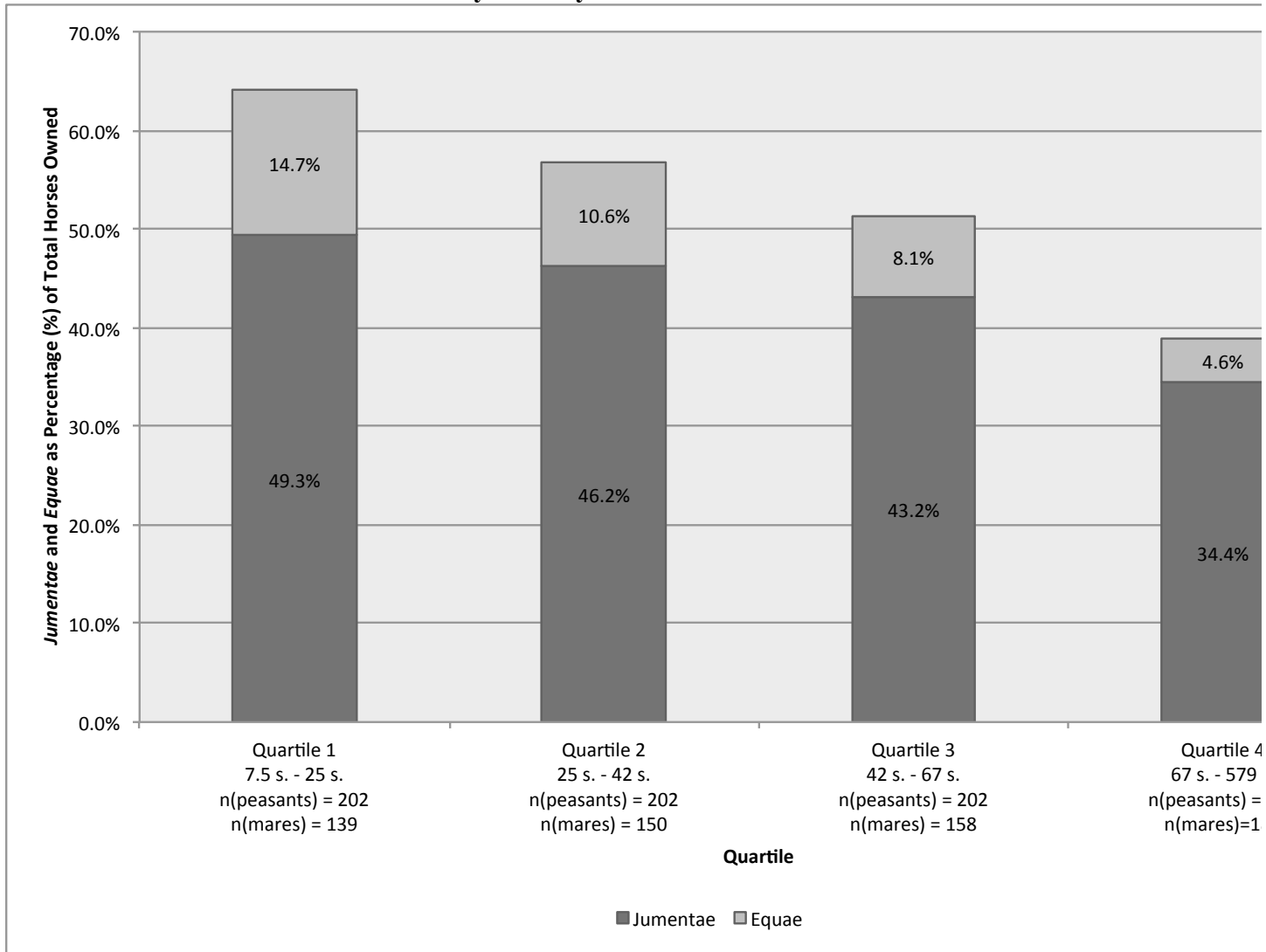
The distribution of horse types for each quartile is given in Figure 3.5. Quartile 1 contains the poorest 202 horse-owning peasants. Total taxable wealth in this quartile ranged from individuals who were assessed at 7.5 s. to 25 s. In total, peasants in this quartile owned 217 horses, just over one horse per individual. Wealth in the second quartile ranged from 25 s. to 42 s., and horse ownership was slightly greater, with the 202 peasants owning 266 horses (1.32 horses/individual). A steady increase in the number of horses is apparent for peasants in the third quartile, who owned 308 animals (1.52 horses/individual), with wealth ranging from 42 s. to 67 s. The fourth quartile stands out from the rest in both the scale of wealth of the 204 peasants and the number of horses owned by the wealthiest Blackbourne peasants. While there were modest increases in wealth between the first three groups, the fourth quartile contained a number of significantly wealthier individuals who were assessed as having total moveable wealth ranging from 67 s. to 579 s. Therefore, the wealthiest Blackbourne peasant was assessed as having seventy-seven times the amount of moveable wealth compared with the poorest peasants in the assessment. This greater wealth also brought with it an increased number of horses, with 480 animals between the 204 individuals in the fourth quartile. This works out to 2.35 horses per individual, over twice the number of the first quartile.

Some interesting trends emerge when looking at the distribution of horses in this way. The most striking aspect of this analysis is the different number of mares owned by peasants in the four quartiles. Compared to other types of horses, mares were most numerous in the first quartile (the least wealthy peasants in the assessment) and less plentiful in each successive quartile. Mares accounted for over two-thirds of all horses in the first quartile, but comprised 57 percent in the second quartile, 51 percent for the third and only 39 percent among the wealthiest

Blackbourne peasants. The poorest peasants had a tangible preference for mares over other types of horses, but this preference becomes less significant for wealthier peasants.

This inversely proportionate relationship between wealth and mare ownership can be broken down further. The two types of female horse enumerated in the Blackbourne subsidy, *jumentae* and the *equae*, have been discussed above. These two types of female horse have been to this point combined into a single ‘mares’ category, but it is worthwhile here to momentarily consider each category individually. The proportions of both *jumentae* and *equae* for each quartile are given in Figure 3.6.

Figure 3.6: Distribution of *Jumentae* and *Equae* in the 1283 Blackbourne Hundred Lay Subsidy



In addition to the declining proportion of female horses overall, the proportion of *equae* relative to *jumentae* is largest in the first quartile at 14.7 percent, but the size of this sub-group of mares also shrinks in each successive quartile, and *equae* account for only 4.7 percent of mares in the fourth quartile. *Equae* were also generally valued at less than *jumentae* by Blackbourne tax assessors. The mean value for *jumentae* (i.e. including animals from all four quartiles) was 4.79 s., while the mean value of *equae* was almost a full shilling less at 3.84 s.

It is hard to know precisely what the terminological distinction between 'jumentum' and 'equa' signifies, but given the relatively low value of *equae* versus *jumentae* the former may have represented non-breeding - perhaps elderly - female horses. That the greatest proportion of them was found in the poorest quartile might support Langdon's point that relatively low-value, elderly horses would tend to migrate to more humble households²⁷⁴ but the numbers here are hardly robust and 'equae' were only found in a few villages.

An opposite trend is apparent for plough-horses (affers and stotts). Returning to Figure 3.5, plough-horses accounted for fewer than one in five peasant horses in the first quartile, but this figure rises steadily in each wealthier quartile, accounting for 20 percent in the second quartile, 27 percent in the third and 39 percent of all horses owned by the wealthiest peasants in the fourth quartile. This is most likely an indication of the skill premium that plough-horses held over other horse types. Wealthier peasants were likely to have more extensive lands than their poorer neighbors and therefore greater draught needs. These needs were met by an increasingly large investment in more specialized plough horses.

²⁷⁴ Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 250-1; John Langdon, "The Economics of Horses and Oxen", 40.

The differing proportions of foals are more difficult to explain. Young horses accounted for 10 percent of peasant animals in the first quartile. The proportion is greater for the second quartile at 16 percent and the wealthiest two quartiles owned a similar proportion of young horses (14 percent for the third quartile and 16 percent for the fourth). With the highest proportion of mares, peasants in the first quartile would have had the greatest potential for breeding horses, yet this group has the lowest proportion young animals listed in the subsidy assessment. If peasants in this quartile were breeding mares at the conservative rate of one foal every three years (assuming again that only half of the mares were fertile), we would expect sixty-nine foals in that quartile.²⁷⁵ However, there were far fewer foals (21) enumerated. Sterility may have impacted upon the ability of mares in this group to breed. If the poorest peasants generally owned horses of lower quality, it holds that the sterility of mares may have been greatest as well. Another possibility is the rate at which peasants in the first quartile disposed of excess foals. If we assume that the level of material wealth as measured by moveable property was roughly correlated to the amount of land held by individual peasants, then we can make an attendant assumption that the poorest peasants held less land than peasants of the other quartiles (or perhaps had no land at all). Land-poor peasants had less land available to provide space and sustenance for the animals, but, more importantly, less need for horse traction. Given these modest traction requirements, the majority of foals bred by peasants in this quartile could have been sold for cash.

²⁷⁵ 139 mares were owned by peasants in the first quartile. If it is assumed that half of these mares were fertile, there would have been seventy viable brood mares ($139/2 = 69.5$, rounded to 70). If it is then assumed that viable mares produced foals every three years, then this would result in an average annual cohort of twenty three foals ($70 \times .33 = 23.1$). Assuming that peasant horse development mirrored the demesne in terms of three years of immaturity before foals graduated to the adult ranks, then the annual cohort is multiplied by three ($23.1 \times 3 = 69.3$) estimate the total number of foals that would have been present among peasants in the quartile.

There is further evidence that traction requirements informed peasant decisions about horse ownership. If the lay subsidy data is broken down village-by-village, we can observe remarkable polarization in terms of the types of horses owned by Blackbourne peasants. This is illustrated in Table 2. The table is sorted according to the proportion of mares owned by peasants in each village. Significant here are the first five entries in the table. Collectively, peasants in Wordwell, Honington, Ingham, Fakenham Magna and Culford had an extremely strong preference for owning mares over other types of horse, with female horses accounting for three-quarters or more of all peasant horses in each village. At the opposite end of the spectrum, other villages, like Norton and Ashfield Parva, showed an equally strong preference for plough-horses; male plough animals comprised 84 and 76 percent of peasant horses in these two places, respectively. This polarization implies that female horses, and therefore the vast majority of breeding capacity, were concentrated in specific villages. Peasant-bred horses likely flowed from these villages to other localities and perhaps even to more distant markets.

Is this discovery simply a random variation in the data, or was there something about these particular communities that would have led peasants to own significantly more mares than other types of horse? The answer likely lies in soil types and the area of available heathland. The vills of Culford, Honington, Ingham, Fakenham Magna and Wordwell all lay within the Breckland region of East Anglia, places which were characterized by a small proportion of arable land and vast tracts of low-grade heathland pasture.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁶ Mark Bailey, *A Marginal Economy?*, 35-6.

Table 3.2:
Peasant Horse Distribution in Blackbourne Villages, 1283 (Sorted by Mares as
Proportion of Total Peasant Horse Stocks)

	No. of Mares	% of Mares	No. of Foals	% of Foals	No. of Plough-horses	% of Plough-horses	No. of 'Equi'	% of 'Equi'	No. of Cart-horses	% of Cart-horses	Total No. of Horses
n = 25)	25	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	25
(n = 40)	33	82.5	7	17.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	40
= 27)	22	81.5	5	18.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	27
Magna (n	14	77.8	3	16.7	0	0.0	1	5.6	0	0.0	18
= 21)	16	76.2	5	23.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	21
n (n = 48)	36	75.0	1	2.1	11	22.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	48
n = 36)	26	72.2	0	0.0	10	27.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	36
= 32)	22	68.8	5	15.6	5	15.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	32
= 41)	27	65.9	13	31.7	1	2.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	41
Parva (n =	9	64.3	0	0.0	5	35.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	14
l (n = 44)	28	63.6	7	15.9	9	20.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	44
n = 62)	39	62.9	18	29.0	3	4.8	2	3.2	0	0.0	62
= 70)	44	62.9	13	18.6	13	18.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	70
= 27)	16	59.3	3	11.1	8	29.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	27
n = 12)	7	58.3	2	16.7	0	0.0	3	25.0	0	0.0	12
e (n = 23)	12	52.2	3	13.0	6	26.1	2	8.7	0	0.0	23

Table 3.2 (Continued):
Peasant Horse Distribution in Blackbourne Villages, 1283 (Sorted by Mares as
Proportion of Total Peasant Horse Stocks)

	No. of Mares	% of Mares	No. of Foals	% of Foals	No. of Plough-horses	% of Plough-horses	No. of 'Equi'	% of 'Equi'	No. of Cart-horses	% of Cart-horses	Total No. of Horses
n = 80)	40	50.0	14	17.5	21	26.3	3	3.8	2	2.5	80
= 35)	17	48.6	0	0.0	9	25.7	9	25.7	0	0.0	35
(n = 35)	16	45.7	19	54.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	35
(n = 55)	25	45.5	9	16.4	20	36.4	0	0.0	1	1.8	55
= 22)	9	40.9	2	9.1	11	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	22
n = 22)	9	40.9	2	9.1	11	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	22
(n = 41)	16	39.0	2	4.9	4	9.8	19	46.3	0	0.0	41
oston (n =	15	38.5	6	15.4	11	28.2	7	17.9	0	0.0	39
n (n = 29)	11	37.9	5	17.2	12	41.4	1	3.4	0	0.0	29
Ixworth (n	13	34.2	9	23.7	4	10.5	12	31.6	0	0.0	38
= 72)	24	33.3	4	5.6	44	61.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	72
agna (n =	9	32.1	1	3.6	18	64.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	28

e Willows	29	31.2	11	11.8	26	28.0	24	25.8	3	3.2	93
irva (n =	6	24.0	0	0.0	19	76.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	25
(n = 63)	15	23.8	9	14.3	34	54.0	4	6.3	1	1.6	63
wft (n =	4	14.3	2	7.1	20	71.4	1	3.6	1	3.6	28
= 31)	4	12.9	1	3.2	26	83.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	31

Source: *A Suffolk Hundred in the Year 1283*, Ed. Edgar Powell (Cambridge, 1910).

The arable land was comprised of very light soil. In contrast, Ashfield and Norton lay on heavier loams at the other end of Blackbourne Hundred, where tracts of heath and pasture were much smaller. These differences in soil type and pasture ground had two significant implications for horse rearing. First, ploughing on the Breckland's light soils would have been less onerous than on the loams, and therefore could be accomplished with mares.²⁷⁷

Second, the vast heathlands with extensive common rights to graze horses provided ample and excellent pasture ground to rear horses. Indeed, peasant ownership and grazing of sheep on these heaths was tightly regulated, which would have encouraged the peasantry to focus upon horses.²⁷⁸ Using damage presentments in medieval manorial court rolls, which revealed the dominance of horses over any other form of peasant livestock, Mark Bailey speculated that some parishes in the Breckland might have contained a pool of replacement horses for other areas of East Anglia.²⁷⁹ Our detailed analysis of the Blackbourne material confirms this speculation. It has shown that female horses were not obviously distributed among particular sub-groups within the peasantry, but they were concentrated among villis where soils were lightest and the extent of heathland pastures was greatest. Mares could cope with ploughing the light and easily-tilled soils at the heart of the Breckland and young horses could be reared on the surrounding heaths. The by-product of soil type and available heaths was the ability of these communities to act as horse-breeding hubs.

²⁷⁷ I am grateful to Professor Tom Williamson for sharing his ideas on this point. His arguments about the significance of soils in explaining landscape and agrarian development are developed fully in Williamson, *Shaping Medieval Landscapes, Settlement, Society, Environment* (Macclesfield: Windgather Press 2003).

²⁷⁸ Bailey, *A Marginal Economy?*, 65-85; Mark Bailey, "Sand into Gold: The Evolution of the Foldcourse System in west Suffolk, 1200-1600" *Agricultural History Review* Vol. 38, (1990), 41-55.

²⁷⁹ Bailey, *A Marginal Economy?*, 94, 165; *Medieval Suffolk*, 81.

3.5 Conclusion

The systemic and quantitative analysis of horse rearing in demesne accounts points, largely through negative evidence, to the peasantry as the major source of horses in medieval England. What little anecdotal evidence can be gleaned from the same sources, and from Jacques de Vitry, all reinforces this observation. Unfortunately it is impossible to test this idea directly using sources from peasant farms, because they do not exist. Consequently, the historian is forced to subsist on scraps of anecdotal evidence from accounts and other sources. The fullest and most robust source of information about peasant livestock is provided in local assessments of peasant wealth drawn up for the purposes of pre-1334 lay subsidies. This chapter has selected the best surviving example of such material, the 1283 return for Blackbourne Hundred, and subjected it to detailed and novel statistical analysis.

This exercise has suggested tentatively that, as a group, the peasantry had the capacity for creating horse surpluses that could have supplied animals to a local market which was likely patronized by both demesnes and other peasants alike. The potential for horse breeding, as indicated by ownership of female horses and foals, was not concentrated in the upper echelons of the peasantry, but was rather spread throughout the ranks of individuals. Although the gender bias in peasant horse ownership indicates greater rearing *potential* in this sector than in the demesne sector, there is no direct indication of large or even medium-scale horse breeding in this sample. Of course, the sample may be atypical of peasant farms in general, or may not even properly represent the scale of peasant rearing in this area. But, taking the evidence on face value, it would indicate that any horse breeding and rearing on peasant farms was not a strong specialism, but it was an activity which was an adjunct to a regime of mixed farming, that is, in concert with the cultivation of crops.

In the pre Black Death period, most peasant holdings in England were relatively small, perhaps less than fifteen acres on average.²⁸⁰ In East Anglia, where our lay subsidy sample is derived, the average peasant holding was even smaller, less than five acres in size.²⁸¹ The small size of these holdings limited the ability of peasants to accumulate the significant capital investment required for specialization in horse breeding, as did the limited availability and relatively high cost of suitable grazing land.²⁸² However, this did not deter *all* breeding activity. While breeding horses on a large or even medium scale was a capital-intensive endeavour, the capital investment required to own one or two horses was relatively low. The decision to invest in horses was chiefly due to productivity gains that the animals provided as draught animals, but the distribution of mares and foals suggests that breeding capacity was a secondary factor in peasant horse ownership, especially on more modest holdings. Therefore, the breeding of horses does not seem to have been a specialist endeavor, but rather an ancillary activity, with households engaging in horse breeding as a way to maintain their own stocks, but also to supplement family income through the sale of surplus animals. The scale of such activity in England as a whole remains murky. As an outer marker, peasant horse breeding might be seen as similar to brewing and spinning, in terms of widespread, but supplemental economic activities defined by low capital requirements and modest profits.²⁸³ With the small average size of holdings, most peasant farms would not have the need or

²⁸⁰ See Kominsky, *Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the Thirtieth Century*, 216, 223; Postan, *Medieval Economy and Society*, 143-5.

²⁸¹ B.M.S. Campbell, "Population Change and the Genesis of Commonfields on a Norfolk Manor" *Economic History Review*, Vol. 33, No.2,(1980): 177; Edward Miller and John Hatcher, *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348* (London: Longman, 1978), 144.

²⁸² For example, the Suffolk manor of Hundon, where pasture commanded a price of 1s. 6d. per acre and arable only 4d. M.M. Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society: An Economic History of Britain 1100-1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 60. See also Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, 84-6.

²⁸³ Bennett describes the medieval ale industry as "a small-scale, low-investment, low-profit, low-skilled industry". Judith M. Bennett, *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World: 1300-1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 34.

the means to employ more than one or two horses, so any extra animals were likely to have been sold on to neighbours.

Chapter 4: The Role of the Peasantry in the Trade of Agricultural Horses, Evidence from Manorial Court Rolls

In addition to the lay subsidies discussed above, court rolls are another source that should provide useful information on peasant involvement in the horse trade. Court rolls represent the largest corpus of manorial documents; accounts and court rolls share a common origin, as the earliest written records of manorial court proceedings in England are found within the manorial accounts of the bishopric of Winchester.²⁸⁴ and, as the 1208-9 accounts for the bishopric are the earliest known surviving manorial accounts, the bishop and his estate administrators are likely to have been innovators in the creation of written records for both year-to-year demesne accounting and manorial court proceedings. The efflorescence of both manorial accounts and court rolls began in the middle of the thirteenth century and continued throughout its latter stages. Razi and Smith have commented that “after 1250 the idea of account-keeping, if practice is reflective in the patterns of surviving documentation, spread rapidly, especially in the 1270s and 1280s.”²⁸⁵ The same overall trajectory can be seen in surviving court rolls, as “from the 1260s, and especially the 1270s, a very noteworthy increase in numbers [of surviving court rolls] is observable”.²⁸⁶ The creation of manorial accounts was an artefact of the direct management of demesnes by landlords, and the surviving corpus of manorial

²⁸⁴ Zvi Razi and Richard Smith, *Medieval Society and the Manor Court*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, 38-9 citing P.D.A. Harvey, *Manorial Records* (British Records Association, Archives and the User no. 5. London, 1984), 42. Beginning in 1209, a *Purchasia* section was created in the accounts for each Winchester manor. Within this section was a detailed list of fines and amercements that had been levied by a manorial court. Their inclusion in the accounts has been argued to suggest that a dedicated source for recording court proceeding had not yet been created. See: Razi and Smith, 39, citing W.O Ault, “The Earliest Rolls of Manor Courts in England”, *Studia Gratiana* 15 (1972), 511-14. For a comprehensive discussion of the origins and development of court rolls as written records, see Razi and Smith, “The Origins of the Rolls as a Written Record, a Puzzle” in *Medieval Society and the Manor Court*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1-68.

²⁸⁵ Razi and Smith, “The Origins of the Rolls as a Written Record, a Puzzle”, 39, citing P.D.A. Harvey, ed. *Manorial Records of Cuxham*, (London: Oxfordshire Records Society no. 50 joint publications series no. 23, Her Majesty’s Stationary Office for Historical Manuscripts Commission), 1976, 18.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 40.

accounts mirrors overall trends in demesne management. That is, the accounts begin to appear in the early thirteenth century as direct exploitation was being adopted, and the numbers of surviving documents decline at the end of the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth, as lords began increasingly to farm their demesnes out for cash rents.²⁸⁷

Court rolls were created by the same institution – seigniorial lords – as the manorial accounts, but the nature of these documents, both in the rationale behind their creation and their scope for use in this thesis, is very different. While lords compelled their demesne managers to create accounts as a way of ensuring that their assets were being properly managed, the business and the records of the manorial court were of direct interest to the peasantry. In the first instance, lords “regarded manor courts as a medium to channel, satisfy and profit from the growing litigious behaviour of their free peasants”, but also to “ensure that seigniorial rights over their dependent peasantry were properly enforced.”²⁸⁸ Therefore they contain regular information about certain types of peasant activities, especially agrarian activities, and chance references to other types of activity.

The utility of manorial court rolls to historians is greatly enhanced by the consistency of their format and content across the country,²⁸⁹ which facilitates comparison across time and place: an attribute which they share with manorial accounts. One advantage court rolls have is that they are extant today in much greater numbers than manorial accounts. This differential survival rate is probably due to two factors. The first is simply the frequency with which the records were created. While accounts were generally made only once every year, court information was recorded at every court session, which could range from only a few

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 42, citing Harvey, *Manorial Records*, 5.

²⁸⁸ Mark Bailey, *The English Manor*, 168.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 167.

times a year to once every three weeks.²⁹⁰ Secondly, among medieval villagers and their successors, court rolls were thought to be the more important of the two types of document, as the court rolls were muniments containing important legal information about titles to land, personal status and codified precedents in matters of custom. Therefore, the documents often needed to be consulted many years after they had been written. In some cases, physical evidence on the documents themselves reveals the use of, or reference to, court rolls after they were originally created.²⁹¹

So what can manorial court rolls contribute to our study of peasant involvement in the horse trade? In the first instance, the types of horse-related cases that occur in court rolls are illustrative of the types of issues which medieval courts were charged with curtailing, and in turn reflect the interests of seigniorial lords and the concerns of the wider community. Therefore, horse-related infringements upon bylaws or other customs can give a general impression of how the animals fit into the everyday affairs of medieval communities in terms of general intersections between the manorial court (and therefore the wider community) and peasant horses. In addition, inter-peasant cases for debt, damage and detention often contain more detailed information about horse trading and activity. The cases were less likely to come forward, and scribes were often not concerned with writing up the details. But when they do, the information can be very useful.

In addition to this illustrative material, an examination of court rolls allows us to take additional measurements of the composition of peasant horse ownership that can be examined alongside the lay subsidy figures discussed above. This can be

²⁹⁰ Slavin, 'Manorial and Rural Sources', 136.

²⁹¹ For example, many court rolls from the Suffolk manor of Walsham-le-Willows contain evidence of their later use in the form of tags stitched onto the rolls, marking particular entries. See: Ray Lock, ed., *The Court Rolls of Walsham Le Willows 1303-50*, Suffolk Records Society Vol. 41 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998), 5.

done in three ways, given how information in the court rolls generally falls into a corresponding number of categories. First, the rolls often contain information on the impounding, proclaiming and sale of stray horses, which offers a second opportunity for analysis. The phenomenon of stray horses as seen through manorial accounts was discussed in detail in Chapter 2, but the enumeration of stray horses only occurred in accounts after the animals had been in the lord's hands for a year and a day and their ownership was transferred to the demesne, and therefore they form only a fraction of the total number of stray (and allegedly stray) beasts encountered on the manor on an annual basis. Court rolls, on the other hand, can give a much more comprehensive picture, providing insight into the entire process of dealing with stray horses, from the original sighting of wandering animals, to their impounding and advertising, and finally to their sale or transfer to the demesne. Some court rolls contain considerably more references to stray animals than others; courts from Wakefield are particularly rich in stray-related cases.²⁹² An examination of stray horse cases should reveal a cross-section of peasant horse ownership that can be used as another proxy for estimating the composition and size of peasant horse stocks overall. This with the caveat that some types of horses were more likely to escape than others, which might skew the overall proportions of horses enumerated in stray cases, although this could be instructive in itself in terms of providing insight on how horses were managed on the manor.

Damage and trespass cases are another matter which manorial courts frequently dealt with. Most broadly, these were cases where tenants were fined for having their livestock on some part of the lord's property without permission. An

²⁹² K.M. Troup, ed. *The Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield: from October 1338 to September 1340* The Wakefield Court Roll Series of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society Vol. XII (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1999). For example, the 1338-40 Wakefield Court Roll recorded eleven entries concerning stray horses.

examination of presentments by the elected jury for animal transgressions, including damage in demesne corn and pastures, as well as communing transgressions can provide aggregate information about types of peasant horses, as well as the relative importance of horses in comparison to other livestock.²⁹³ The agricultural arrangements on the manor are important in determining the amount of information about this matter. Courts of manors where open field agriculture was practiced are likely to be the most informative, because transgressions concerning common fields were most likely to occur in such places. This is especially true of irregular open field systems, where animals tended to wander over the unenclosed strips and where patches of fallow pasture ground existed alongside sown strips.²⁹⁴ In contrast, areas of enclosed fields confined livestock more effectively, which means that their court rolls are less likely to register incidences of wandering animals: in places such as these, references are likely to be confined to overstocking of communal pastures rather than corn damage.

Another potential avenue for analysis are heriots. These were death dues levied by landlords upon the death of a customary tenant, and were often paid with a 'best beast' which, in many cases, was a horse. The procedure for collecting heriots is discussed further below, but these references provide a further method of measuring peasant horse stocks and are particularly useful in providing data on the hierarchy of value for peasant horses, a useful point of comparison to horse values from the lay subsidy material. If some types of horse were surrendered more frequently than others, it would be a good indication of the relative values of particular horses and also how peasants chose to invest in the animals.

²⁹³ For an assessment of these transgressions and others see: Warren O. Ault, "Open-Field Husbandry and the Village Community: A Study of Agrarian By-Laws in Medieval England" *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* New Series 55, No. 7 (1965): 1-102.

²⁹⁴ For a discussion of such arrangements through the lens of village bylaws, see: Ault, "Open-Field Husbandry", 31-3.

For all the potential of court rolls for analyzing peasant livestock, the systematic utilization of the material is tricky, and harnessing the information within them requires a robust method. The disparate nature of court roll entries can be unwieldy, and court roll data is much more difficult to quantify than the data in manorial accounts. A primary obstacle is the format of the documents themselves. While accounts were drawn up in a specific way that facilitates the easy location of relevant information (for both contemporary users and later readers), court rolls constitute a record of actual proceedings and this is reflected in the layout of the documents. While the rolls follow a basic organizational paradigm, for instance, essoins, or excuses for nonappearance, are usually listed at the beginning of a roll (and this is largely because the court itself likely dealt with these first before proceeding to other matters), the only reliable way to accurately retrieve specific data is by stripping them from the rolls by the demanding and time consuming method of reading through them in entirety.

Another issue is the number of different ways in which horse-related entries can be appraised. Simply counting the numbers of cases involving horses is methodologically problematic, because one single transgression could result in several entries over multiple courts in the rolls. Many factors could delay a manor court decision; defendants could essoin, or excuse themselves from a court if they found pledges who would vouch for them; cases were also delayed if the court deemed more investigation was necessary or an enquiry should be held;²⁹⁵ in some cases, a higher authority was required to make a judgment, and all these factors could cause cases to be delayed several times, with each deferral often being entered into the court roll. For instance, William the Parker was charged with abusing his office

²⁹⁵ For example, see Henry de Wells vs. William Cook in a case of detained chattels, where both parties requested a further enquiry. Lock, ed. *The Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows: 1303-50*, 220.

as parker on the manor of Wakefield; among his many alleged infractions was the unauthorized pasturing of his own horses and those of others in the park of Wakefield. This single case was deferred multiple times until the Earl of Warenne arrived to deal with the matter and thus the matter was recorded in the rolls of multiple courts.²⁹⁶ Another example from the Wakefield rolls concerns stray horses. Warin de Marchiden was amerced 12d. at a court on Friday in Whit week (June 7 in 1275), for the escape of two stotts and a foal,²⁹⁷ but was required to return to court again on June 29 with pledges to prove that the three horses were actually his²⁹⁸ and therefore the same case appears twice in the rolls. Such instances of multiple entries must be noted so as not to double count single transgressions (irrespective of how many roll entries the case created).

Once data has been quarried from the rolls, analysis and interpretation must be done carefully, as the representativeness of the information in the rolls is not always certain. The vocabulary used in the rolls is one potential pitfall. The terms deployed by scribes were not always consistent, and later translations (where edited versions of court rolls are used) are even less so.²⁹⁹ Some entries will refer specifically to horses (e.g. *equi, pulli, jumentae*), but other times the blanket term ‘beasts’ (*averae*) is used. While the context of the documents usually points to these ‘beasts’ being cattle, we cannot be completely certain that the term did not cover horses in some instances as well. This is especially true in cases where scribes abbreviated entries to save space and time, as in a 1297 Wakefield court which lists ten separate consecutive amercements for escaped horses. While the first entry

²⁹⁶ William Paley Baildon, ed. *The Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield Vol. 1 1274-1297*. The Wakefield Court Roll Series of the Yorkshire Archeological Society Vol. XXIX (Leeds: Yorkshire Archeological Society, 1901), pp. 92, 99, 103.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 126.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 134.

²⁹⁹ For example, first volume of Wakefield court rolls contain erroneous translations of *affer*, incorrectly translating this to mean cart-horse. See: Baildon, ed. *The Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield Vol. 1.*, 18, 97.

records that one Thomas de Thoreton was fined 4d. for the escape of two horses in a place called Schakeltonstall, the remaining nine entries simply list the names of other individuals and their pledges with the phrase “for the like”.³⁰⁰ How is this to be interpreted? If taken literally, it would indicate that all ten of the listed individuals were fined for the escape of two horses. This seems unlikely when put in the context of all escape cases, especially since the amercements for the nine others ranged from 3d. to 9d. As the amount of the amercement usually related directly to the number of escaped animals (and perhaps also the amount of damage done), it seems likely that the variance in fines is indicative a range of escapes of different numbers of animals. Therefore, in this context, “the like” most certainly simply referred to escaped animals in the most general sense, and in cases where the number and type of animals is required, entries like these must be disregarded.

A particular methodological issue is the significance assigned to trends found in court roll data. Like the lay subsidy material, representativeness of the information in the rolls is a concern. For example, it has been argued by K.M. Troup that, on the manor of Wakefield, the increase in citations for the escape of animals in the early 14th century³⁰¹ reflects a rise in the total number of animals kept by tenants over this period, reflective of a peasant response to poor conditions for arable farming at the time and a corresponding shift in their agricultural enterprises to the pastoral sector, leading to an increased number of animals on the manor.³⁰² This is a compelling argument, and could well be correct. However, it is also possible that the rise in citations for escaped animals simply reflects a tightening of enforcement of

³⁰⁰ Baildon, ed. *The Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield Vol. 1*, 300.

³⁰¹ Troup, ed. *The Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield: from October 1338 to September 1340*, 75, 86, 133, 152, 157, 173, 191, 210, 249.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, xv.

this particular by-law, and not a real increase in the physical number of animals on the ground.

In the context of the above examples, it is clear that conclusions from the court roll material must be drawn carefully. However, despite difficulty in interpreting the material, it is possible to gain useful insights. For example, even if the evidence from trespass and damage cases is not entirely reliable as a direct measurement of actual horse populations on a single manor, it can still be deployed comparatively with the same information from other manors, or with the lay subsidy material discussed above, to illustrate relative differences from one place to another. Thus court rolls can be used as an additional check upon the accuracy of lay subsidy data while also providing a secondary method of measuring numbers and types of peasant horses. Each thread of court roll evidence offers insight into peasant horse ownership and management. None are perfect. References to stray horses and trespassing animals are likely skewed. Only a fraction of heriots involve horses and even then the single most valuable horse owned by a given individual. Despite these flaws in the evidence, each offers a layer of evidence which, together with the lay subsidy material, can provide a reasonably well-rounded picture of peasant horses.

4.1 The Sample

This section will consider a sample of court roll evidence, looking quantitatively at the intersections between the manorial court (and therefore the interests of both the lord and the wider community) and peasant-owned horses. Most frequently, these cases involve various forms of trespassing against manorial lords, but a small number of inter-peasant cases for debt, damage and detention are found in the

sample. The groundwork for this will be laid by a survey of manorial bylaws,³⁰³ which provide a broad context in which the case-studies can be situated. This will be followed by a more quantitative analysis of court roll entries, first considering escape and damage cases and then cases involving stray horses, which will provide another metric, next to the lay subsidy evidence discussed above, for measuring peasant horse ownership.

In order to make this component of the study manageable, but still with adequate breadth, a limited sample of three manors dating from around c.1300 has been selected to explore the potential for uncovering information about peasant horse rearing from court rolls, and to complement the evidence from manorial accounts considered earlier. The sample has been selected for its quality, the length and detail of the courts, and their regional diversity. Two volumes of rolls for Wakefield, in Yorkshire, cover the period of 1274 to 1309.³⁰⁴ Two additional volumes of printed rolls from Walsham-le-Willows in Suffolk are also available, and these span from 1303-1399; however, as the scope of this thesis is limited to the pre-plague period, only the first volume, with courts from 1303-50, has been utilized here.³⁰⁵ The third set of court records in our sample is from the Worcestershire manor of Halesowen. Court rolls for this manor have been transcribed for the period of 1272-1307 in three volumes.³⁰⁶ I have restricted the scope for this chapter to the

³⁰³ See: Ault, "Open-field Husbandry."

³⁰⁴ William Baildon, ed., *Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield Vol I: 1274 to 1297*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series Vol. 29 (Leeds: J. Whitehead and Son for The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1901); William Baildon, ed., *Court Rolls of the Manor of Volume II: 1297-1309*, Yorkshire Archeological Society Record Series Vol. 36 (Leeds: J. Whitehead and Son for The Yorkshire Archeological Society, 1906).

³⁰⁵ Ray Lock, ed., *The Court Rolls of Walsham Le Willows: 1303-50*, Suffolk Records Society Vol. 41 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998).

³⁰⁶ *Court Rolls of the Manor of Hales Part I, 1272-1307*, eds. John Amphlett and Sidney Hamilton. (Oxford: James Parker and Co. for The Worcestershire Historical Society, 1910); *Court Rolls of the Manor of Hales Part II, 1272-1307*, ed. John Amphlett. (Oxford: James Parker and Co. for The Worcestershire Historical Society, 1910); *Court Rolls of the Manor of Hales, Part III: Containing Additional Courts of the Years 1276-1301 and Romsley Courts 1280-1303* ed. Rowland Alwyn Wilson. (London: Mitchell Hughes and Clarke for The Worcestershire Historical Society, 1933).

third volume, which contains records from courts held between 1276 and 1301. Confining the Halesowen sample to this volume allows an examination of a comparable amount of material to the other two manors without overly narrowing the temporal scope. The Wakefield and Walsham le Willows rolls have been translated into English, while the three Halesowen volumes have been transcribed in Latin.³⁰⁷ Together, these rolls provide reasonable coverage of manorial courts across England both temporally and spatially. In the first instance, the sample will be examined to establish whether any meaningful or quantifiable information can be extracted from a single court roll series, and then compared to establish whether any regional differences emerge. The Halesowen sample is the smallest of our three manors with a total of eighty-three courts. The Walsham le Willows rolls contained 155 courts while the two volumes of Wakefield rolls contained 192 courts. Altogether, an examination of these rolls turned up 226 horse-related references between the three manors. 111, or 49 percent of these cases, are from the Wakefield court rolls, while 101 cases (45 percent) are from Walsham le Willows courts. The number of Walsham le Willows references is bolstered by the fact that it was the only one of the three manors to record heriots. The Halesowen volume produced the fewest horse cases, with only fourteen, comprising 6.2 percent of the sample.

4.2 Manorial Bylaws

Before delving into the more technical study of the court rolls themselves a survey of manorial bylaws will provide a useful context for this analysis. Many of the court-

³⁰⁷ The Wakefield and Walsham le Willows rolls have been translated into English, while the three Halesowen volumes have been transcribed in Latin. Therefore, unless otherwise noted, any translations from Wakefield or Walsham le Willows are those of the respective editors, translations from the Halesowen court rolls are my own. In these latter cases I have provided the original Latin in the relevant footnotes.

roll infractions that will be examined below were transgressions against village bylaws that governed the many facets of open-field farming.³⁰⁸ While court rolls are filled with amercements and fines levied upon villagers for an array of transgressions, the rolls themselves infrequently record the specific rules that individuals had broken; in most cases these are simply implied.³⁰⁹ For example, the frequency of fines for ‘trespass’, ‘damage’ or ‘escape’ found in the court roll sample (discussed further below) suggests that there were likely established bylaws that governed these issues,³¹⁰ but the rolls themselves do not spell out the specifics. When court roll entries are examined closely, it becomes clear that ‘trespass’, ‘damage’ and ‘escape’ were, in practice, very similar offences, but the enforcement and usage of broadly similar rules varied from manor to manor and resulted in different terminologies. The specific bylaws of individual manors were infrequently written down, but W.O Ault’s broad survey of the court rolls of thirty-one manors from across England has collected a number of bylaws, providing a cross section of these agrarian edicts which can offer a general overview of the regulations of open-field manors.³¹¹

Ault’s study unearthed 195 statutes used to manage open-field farming, and thirty-three of these, or 17 percent, were specific to horses. Close to one in five of these bylaws, then, were used specifically to govern horses on the manor. The bylaws surveyed by Ault are also very instructive in terms of reflecting the specifics of horse-related concerns that medieval communities shared. As many of the issues experienced on medieval manors were likely very similar to present-day problems

³⁰⁸ Ault contends that “...whenever an open-field husbandry was practical there were customary rules for its control whether or not reference was every made to them in the roll of the manor court...” W.O. Ault, *Open-Field Farming in Medieval England: A Study of Village By-laws* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1972), 19.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Ibid.

with horse management, the circumstances that necessitated the enactment of specific bylaws can be inferred. A 1430 bylaw from Warboys in Huntingdonshire prohibited foals from ‘following the carts in autumn’ under pain of a 12d fine.³¹² The edict was reaffirmed and broadened in 1440, declaring that ‘no one shall have foals following carts or loose in the field...’³¹³ Recent studies have documented the phenomenon that newborn horses tend to cling to their mothers. The process of weaning and separating maturing foals presents difficulties, as newly-separated foals will often make attempts to return to their mothers for several days or even weeks after separation, especially if they can still hear or smell them.³¹⁴ Similar difficulties on medieval manors, encountered when attempts were made to put mares back to work after giving birth, were likely the catalyst for these two bylaws.

Many other bylaws concerned the management of pasture, and these had significant implications for horses and other livestock. Pasture was the primary source of sustenance for large livestock, as most grains were grown for human consumption and rarely fed to animals.³¹⁵ As the main resource for feeding livestock, and therefore horses, pasture was a commodity in high demand and required close regulation. On many manors, peasants had common rights to pasture their animals on fallow fields and on meadow land once the hay had been mown. Pasturing was also allowed in some cases on sown fields, but generally only after the

³¹² Ault, *Open-Field Farming*, 124, no. 138.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 127, no. 146.

³¹⁴ Urszula Żurek and Janusz Danek, ‘Foal Rejection - Characteristics and Therapy of Inadequate Maternal Behaviour in Mares’ *Annals of Animal Science* Vol. 12, No. 2, (2012), 141.

³¹⁵ Ault, *Open Field Farming*, 40. In the broad context of medieval Europe, Pounds has argued that ‘the distinction between bread and fodder-crops was neither precise nor generally observed.’ Norman J.G. Pounds, *An Historical Geography of Europe, 450 B.C. – 1330 A.D.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973, 371. In medieval England more specifically, pasture was the preferred method of feeding livestock, and the amount of crops grown as fodder was often inversely proportionate to the availability of suitable pasture land. See: Campbell, *English Seigneurial agriculture*, 229.

crop had been gathered.³¹⁶ In the cases of both meadow and sown fields, bylaws existed to ensure that villagers did not allow their animals to graze before the hay crop had been mowed and carried away. This is illustrated by a 1362 bylaw of Great Horwood, Buckinghamshire, which decreed that “all the lord’s tenants free and customary agree that no one of them shall have any of his animals pasturing in the sown field other than his beasts of the plough until the common meadows are mown...”³¹⁷ Evidence of the enforcement of bylaws like these can be found in our sample of court rolls, and these suggest that villagers willingly flouted these edicts and trespassed with their horses on their lord’s property. In 1300, Agnes Emes was placed in the mercy of the Halesowen manor court for tying an affer in the lord’s pasture while Thomas Henry was similarly found to have had two affers in the lord’s wood.³¹⁸ Agnes and Thomas were only two of eleven individuals charged with livestock trespasses at the court of August 3rd, 1300. An array of other people was accused of trespassing with cattle and pigs in the lord’s hay, pasture, herbage, and oats.³¹⁹ Other bylaws governed the specific eligibility of particular animals to graze on communal pasture land. Priority was given to cows and other “great beasts” and therefore, in certain places, lower-priority animals like pigs, calves, and even sheep were prohibited from pasture land.³²⁰

As with the lay subsidy data discussed above, more significant are the proportions of horse types in these bylaws. Of the thirty-three horse bylaws in Ault’s survey, only two concerned adult male horses (*equi*), while four dealt with mares

³¹⁶ Howard Levi Gray, *English Field Systems* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915), 47.

³¹⁷ Ault, *Open Field Farming*, 104.

³¹⁸ Agnes Emes: “[P]ro uno affro ligato in pastura domini.” Thomas Henry: “[P]ro duobis affris in bosco domini.” Wilson, ed. *Court Rolls of the Manor of Hales, Part III*, 123.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ Pigs were barred from pasturing at Chedgrave in Bedfordshire by a 1302 bylaw, while calves were prohibited at Abbot’s Ripton in 1492. See: Ault, *Open Field Farming*, 41. Pigs are notoriously omnivorous, and could be sustained through forest foraging, where they would eat acorns and other items, while calves were perhaps still able to live off the milk of their mothers and were perhaps therefore restricted from pasture.

(*jumentae*) and five discussed mares together with their young foals. The remaining twenty-two bylaws dealt exclusively with young horses (*pullani/ae*). Many foal bylaws were simply designed to keep the young horses out of common grain fields.³²¹ Some manors prohibited foals from the fields either for a specific window of time around harvest season, or simply until the grain was cleared.³²² These statutes were put in place to protect grain from animal damage, as indicated by a case from 1351 when ten men were fined 4d. each for letting their foals trample growing grain.³²³ In some places, the animals were allowed in the fields, provided they were tied up. In other cases, bylaws required foals to be either tethered or ‘herded’, likely meaning watched by a horse herd who would supervise the animals.³²⁴

These proportions indicate that much more legislation was required at the village level to manage foals than any other type of horse, while suggesting that adult male horses, on the other end of the spectrum, required relatively little management, or at least significantly fewer formal bylaws.

The high number of foal bylaws is not in itself proof that young horses outnumbered adult animals on medieval manors. Foals may have been significantly more difficult to manage than adult animals so perhaps even a small number could have necessitated a disproportionate amount of local legislation. However, these figures are a further indication of a significant baseline number of young horses on manors in general, showing that young horses were a significant presence, at least within the temporal boundaries of Ault’s survey.³²⁵

³²¹ Ault, *Open Field Farming*, 24, 86, 122.

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Ault, “Open-field Husbandry”, 47.

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Within Ault’s survey, bylaws specific to foals range from 1306 to 1534.

4.3 Trespass and Damage

Animal trespass cases were among the most common infractions found in the court roll sample and within the context of the Halesowen rolls the editor of the printed volume, Alwyn Wilson, commented that “[o]f all offences perhaps the most frequent was trespass by animals, usually in the lord’s crops of meadows.”³²⁶ In our court roll sample, a total of 115 cases of damage, trespass and escape relating to horses was recorded. The individual rolls in the sample tended to use different terminologies for what were similar offences. None of the Halesowen entries supplied a particular term; trespassing animals were simply described as being somewhere on the lord’s property. For example, four individuals were in mercy at a court in 1301 for having their foals in ‘the lord’s corn’.³²⁷ The vast majority of Wakefield cases used the term ‘escape’ (*evasione*), as was the case when Matilda, the wife of Robert, son of Hugh de Loftus, was in mercy of the court in 1275 for the “escape of two horses”.³²⁸ However, while the Halesowen and Walsham rolls regularly provide data on where trespassing or ‘escaped’ animals had been found (and were therefore implied to have done damage), the Wakefield rolls never provide this information. Walsham court scribes used the term ‘damage’ (*dampnum*). An example of this is a case from 1316 where one Alice of Fornham did damage in the lord’s wood with a cow.³²⁹ Despite the differences in Latin nomenclature (or lack of a specific term, as in Halesowen)

³²⁶ Wilson, ed., *Court Rolls of the Manor of Hales, Part III*, xxvii.

³²⁷ “*Ricardus le Coc pro duobis pullanis, Nicholas de Marisco pro uno pullano, Thomas ate Pyrie pro uno pullano, Walterus de Cackemore pro uno pullano in blado domini...*” Wilson, ed., *Court Rolls of the Manor of Hales, Part III*, 156.

³²⁸ “*Matilda uxor Roberti filius Hugonis de Loftus pro evasione duorum equorum, in misericordia*” *Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefiled*, Vol. I, 47

³²⁹ “*Alicia de Fornham fecit dampnum in bosco domini cum vacca*” Lock, ed., *The Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50*, 30. The original Latin is only given for a single court in the Walsham volume which contained no horse damage cases. I have cited the case of damage with a cow here only to clarify the Latin terminology used in the rolls. The reference is not included in the overall trespass/damage sample.

for these offences, it is clear from the context of the documents that these were similar transgressions.

In total, ten such cases (8.7%) were found in Halesowen rolls, forty-two (36.5%) in Walsham le Willows and sixty-three (54.8%) from Wakefield. While in most cases these are incidents where owners of animals were brought before the court for trespasses against their lord's property, in some cases custodians of the lord's stock (such as ploughmen or cowherds) could be amerced for damage done with the lord's own beasts. In our sample, these cases of trespass with the lord's stock are found only in the court rolls of Walsham le Willows. For example, in a Walsham court from 1345, Robert Balone, the driver of the plough (probably a *famulus*; plough teams were managed by two individuals, a *tentor* who steered and controlled the depth of the plough, and a *fugator* who drove the plough beasts)³³⁰ was amerced 3d. for damage done in the lord's wood with the stotts of the manor.³³¹ A similar incident involved one Stephen Bronn who in 1319, while charged with keeping the lord's stotts, caused an estimated damage of four bushels in the lord's oats worth 12d. He was amerced 15d. for this transgression.³³² As we are interested in peasant livestock, these trespass cases with the lord's livestock have been removed from our damage and trespass sample. A total of six such references to trespass or damage with the lord's horses are recorded in the Walsham rolls. With these references excluded from the sample, the number of Walsham references falls to 36.

On some occasions individuals were accused of allowing the animals of their neighbors to trespass. At a 1276 court of Halesowen, Roger Ketel assured the court that he would make amends if it was proven that his son had allowed beasts of his

³³⁰ For a detailed description of the two types of ploughmen, see: Jordan Claridge and John Langdon, "The Composition of *Famuli Labour on English Demesnes c. 1300*" *Agricultural History Review* 63, no. 2 (2015):195-6.

³³¹ Lock, ed., *The Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows: 1303-50*, 284.

³³² *Ibid.*, 87.

own and his neighbors' beasts to escape.³³³ In the Walsham-le-Willows rolls, forty-two of sixty-three horse-related cases, or 71 percent, were either damage or trespass incidents. In Halesowen and Wakefield about half of all horse cases were damage or trespass.³³⁴ A few repeat-offenders trespassed with some regularity. This example is drawn from outside our court roll sample, from a later series of Walsham le Willows rolls where Walter Payn was accused of trespassing in the lord's corn with his horses and cows at High Hall on at least three occasions between 1338 and 1344.³³⁵ One Walter Osbern was similarly accused four times of trespassing in 1324, 1338 and 1339 in a number of his lord's fields: in the meadow and hay, in the oats and twice in the wheat.³³⁶

What light can these damage and trespass cases shed on peasant horse ownership? As a starting point, this data can be used to sketch a picture of the numbers of horses typically kept by peasants. This can then be used to test the accuracy of the figures and representativeness of the livestock enumerated in the lay subsidies discussed above. In addition, earlier in this chapter, in a discussion of the degree to which the livestock enumerated in lay subsidies reflected reality, a brief reference was made to a comparison of the 1304 tax assessment for Cuxham, in Oxfordshire, with contemporary court rolls from the same manor. In his assessment of lay subsidy material, Langdon illustrated that the subsidy figures indicated that, on average, tenants on that manor owned one affer each.³³⁷ However, Harvey's small collection of trespass presentments in Cuxham court rolls contemporary to the assessment suggests that the figure might have been closer to two affers per tenant.

³³³ "Rogerus Ketel invenit plegios quod si possit probari quod filius eius fecit ascapiare namyam de et averia suea et aliorum sua fatuitate, quod pater suus debet emendare illud..." Wilson, ed., *Court Rolls of the Manor of Hales*, Part III, 35.

³³⁴ Halesowen: 11/20 (55 percent); Wakefield: 63/128 (49 percent).

³³⁵ Lock, ed. *The Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows: 1303-50*, 228, 237, 275.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 95, 228, 231.

³³⁷ Langdon, *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation. PhD Thesis*, Chapter 4, 318-20, n.54.

Harvey's survey contains thirty-six trespass cases, of which eighteen concerned horses. Of these eighteen horse trespass cases, fifteen were instances where two horses were involved (two further cases involved four horses and a final case cited only a single horse). Taken at face value, this is at odds with the 1304 lay subsidy, where most peasants were assessed as owning only a single horse.³³⁸

What does our sample of trespass and damage presentments, larger than Harvey's and from three different manors spread across the country, indicate about the average number horses owned by peasants? Does it corroborate or dispute his finding (and Langdon's later interpretation)? To compare our data with Harvey's, the total sample of 226 horse-related cases was reduced to only cases of trespass and damage. Further, cases where individuals were charged with trespass violation with the lord's stock were removed. This left 109 horse trespass cases which are broken down in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Number of Horses in Court Roll Trespass Cases

No. of Horses	Wakefield	%	Walsham le Willows	%	Halesowen	%	Total	%
1	41	64.1	15	38.5	8	80.0	64	58.7
1+	3	4.7	19	48.7	0	0.0	22	20.2
2	15	23.4	1	2.6	2	20.0	18	16.5
3	3	4.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	2.8
4	2	3.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.8
Total	64	100.0	35	89.7	10	100.0	109	100.0

The numbers of horses involved in trespass cases are given in five rows in the table. Across the sample of three manors, 58.7 percent of cases involved only a single horse. Single-horse cases were most frequent in Halesowen courts (80 percent), but

³³⁸ See: P.D.A. Harvey, *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village: Cuxham 1240-1400* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), Appendix VI.

the sample size here is relatively small, with only ten trespass cases. Just over two-thirds of Wakefield trespasses were committed with a single animal while 38.5 percent of Walsham le Willows horse trespasses only involved one horse. The court rolls do not always enumerate the precise number of animals involved in a trespass case, but, even in instances where this information is not provided, multiple animal trespasses can be differentiated from single animal transgressions simply by the use of plural nouns. These cases have been recorded in the “1+” row. This was particularly common in the Walsham le Willows rolls, where twenty-one cases simply recorded that ‘horses’ were involved.

How do these figures correspond to our data from the Blackbourne hundred lay subsidy? Table 4.2 provides the peasant horse ownership breakdown from the lay subsidy material.

Table 4.2: No. of Horses Owned by Peasants of Blackbourne Hundred

No. of Horses Owned	No. of Peasants	%
1	485	59.7%
2	243	29.9%
3	57	7.0%
4	16	2.0%
5	4	0.5%
6	4	0.5%
7	1	0.1%
8	1	0.1%
12	1	0.1%
Total	812	100.0%

Just under 60 percent of Blackbourne peasants were assessed as owning only a single work horse. The remaining 40 percent of peasants owned between two and twelve animals. These proportions follow very closely the distribution of horses in trespass presentments from the court roll sample. This data suggests that Harvey's small survey of Cuxham trespass presentments, where over 90 percent (17/18) cases involved multiple horses, is an outlier when compared to the three manors in our sample. Harvey's results may be a function of the small sample size of Cuxham presentments (the manor with the fewest cases in our study, Halesowen, is skewed almost as dramatically towards *single* horse ownership) or perhaps due to peculiarities of tenant horse ownership on Cuxham itself. Another possibility is that some of the Cuxham presentments actually involved demesne stock, as was the case with many Walsham le Willows trespass cases (while demesne horses were removed from our sample); if these were included in Harvey's sample, they would have raised the average number of horses appearing in trespass presentments. In light of this, the accuracy of the lay subsidy material, at least in the case of the Blackbourne return, might be less dubious than previously thought, a fact which strengthens our ability to draw conclusions from the data.

Trespass and damage cases can also be used to measure the composition of peasant horse stocks. This is illustrated in Figure 3.7. In order to make comparisons between the three manors in the court roll sample and with the lay subsidy data some discussion is necessary to explain the methodology used and assumptions made. First, the sum of 'cases' given in each horse category discussed below exceeds the total of 115 given above. This is because some individual cases have been attributed to more than a single category. For example, a 1275 Wakefield case involving William de Barksland, who was in mercy for the escape of a mare and a foal is

essentially counted twice in this analysis, once in the ‘foals’ category and once in the ‘mares’ category. This procedure was followed for all cases in which two specific types of horses were listed in the rolls. Also, in populating the category of ‘horse/s’ I have included animals designated in the court rolls as ‘horse’, ‘affer’ and ‘stott’. Implicit in this the assumption that, when scribes used these terms, they were describing adult male horses. In terms of the use of the term ‘horse’ (*equi*) in the court rolls, all three manors have a substantial number of trespass and damage cases simply attributed to ‘horses’. It is possible that, in these cases, the court simply did not have any more specific information as to the types of horse(s) involved in the particular transgression and used the blanket term of ‘horse’ in lieu of a narrower descriptor. If this happened with regularity, then the group of ‘horses’ enumerated in our sample may contain a number of mares and foals. However, given that the masculine Latin form is generally employed in these situations,³³⁹ coupled with the fact that scribes regularly listed horses in more specific categories (like mare, foal, affer and stott), another interpretation is, in these situations, that the scribes consciously intended these ‘horses’ to be understood as adult male animals. This is the assumption made in the following analysis of court roll trespass and damage cases. In any event, the former scenario would result in an under assessment of all other horse categories, so we might think of the numbers of mares, foals and other specifically named horses as minimum figures.

³³⁹ This is from instances where the original Latin is available in the printed volumes used here. The single ‘horse’ trespass case from the Halesowen volume, entirely transcribed in Latin, uses the masculine form (*Willemus Cromp in misericordia pro equo suo in avena domini*). Wilson, ed., *Court Rolls of the Manor of Hales*, Part III, 67. On the manor of Wakefield, a court from 1274 referred to ‘horse(s)’ in the masculine: “*Qui dicunt eciam [sic – should be ‘etiam’] de articulis presentatis super Willelmum le Parker per Racardum Peny, quod item Willelmus pascebat boves suos, vaccas, bidentes, porcos et equos suos propios, et alios, videlicet, unum equum cuiusdam Baldwini de Seyvile, et unum Equum in acris dicti Willelmi...*” Baildon, ed. *Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield*, Vol. 1, 14.

On both Walsham and Wakefield adult male horses (i.e. ‘horses’, affers and stotts) comprised more than half of the animals presented for damage and trespass. Only 30 percent of Halesowen trespass cases involved adult male horses, but the low number of cases from these rolls (ten in total) makes it difficult to attribute much weight to them. As adult male horses accounted for 35.4 percent of peasant stocks in the Blackbourne lay subsidy,³⁴⁰ proportions of these animals are significantly higher when measured by the metric of trespass cases on Walsham and Wakefield court rolls. There is also dramatic variation in the proportions of trespassing foals on the three manors. 50 percent of trespass cases on Halesowen were young horses, while only 9.1 percent of Wakefield cases involved foals. In between these two poles, foals were involved in 38.9 percent of Walsham horse trespasses. In the case of mares, Walsham had the smallest proportion, only two horses amounting to 5.6 percent, while twenty mares (30.3 percent) appeared in Wakefield trespass cases.

How should this variation between the manors be interpreted? With such inconsistency between the manors, this is a difficult question to answer. One would expect to have found more trespass and damage cases for foals, given the high proportion of foal-related bylaws found in Ault’s survey.³⁴¹ Halesowen had a reasonable reserve of pastures, in the relatively non-commercialised west Midlands. Is its high proportion of foals indicative of a breeding manor, or does this just reflect the likelihood that foals should appear more often in transgressions? Wakefield had much un-reclaimed and common moorland within the manor, so we would expect wild strays to appear more than on Halesowen and Walsham le Willows. There may well have been reserves of horses on the manor, especially if many of the strays enumerated in the rolls were feral animals, but not necessarily specialist

³⁴⁰ Affers (0.7 percent) + stotts (27.3 percent) + cart-horses (0.3 percent) + *equi* (6.9 percent) + *veredes* (0.2 percent) = 35.4 percent. See Table 3.1 above.

³⁴¹ See pp. 161-2 above.

management. Walsham le Willows was the most intensely settled manor in the sample so we would expect either more working adults or a more commercialised approach to horse rearing here.

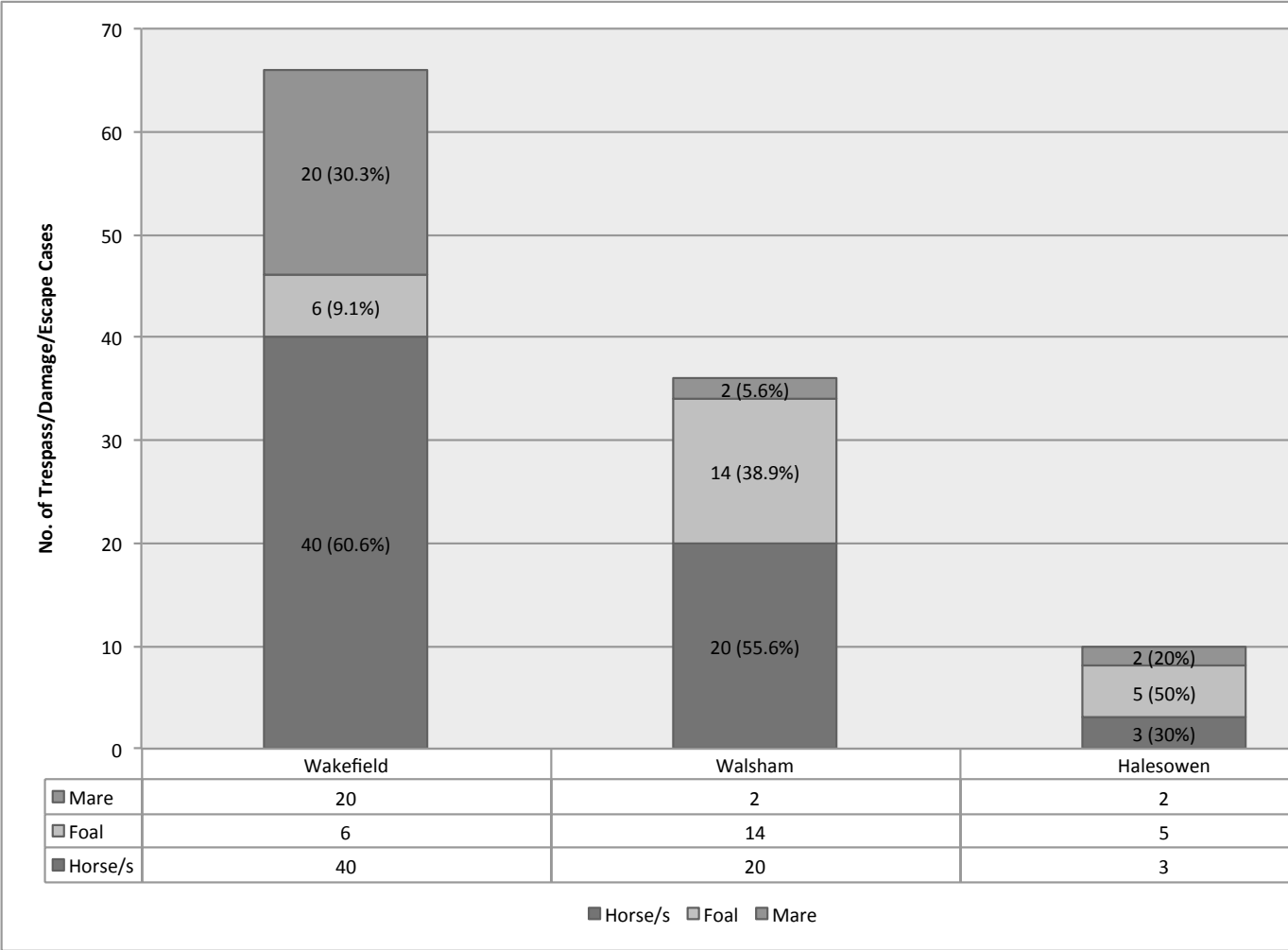
One further exercise that can be performed is to directly compare the proportions of horses in the Walsham court rolls and the lay subsidy assessment from the same vill, contained in the 1283 Blackbourne subsidy. In temporal terms this is not comparing like to like, as the subsidy data is drawn from a single point in time while the court roll data has been gathered from across a forty-seven year span. Furthermore, such a comparison does not allow for changes in the composition of types of horses over time or for changes in the ways that regulations concerning damage and trespasses were enforced on the manor. Putting these concerns aside for a moment, Table 4.3 compares the composition of types of peasant horses through the subsidy material and trespass cases.

Table 4.3: Composition of Walsham le Willows Peasant Horses

	1283 Lay Subsidy		Walsham Court Rolls	
	No.	%	No.	%
'Horses'	53	57.0	20	55.6
Mares	29	31.2	2	5.6
Foals	11	11.8	14	38.9
Total	93	100.0	36	100.0

Figure 4.1: Proportions of Horses in Court Roll Trespass, Damage and Escape

References



There is a striking similarity in the proportion of adult male horses³⁴² in the subsidy data and the court rolls, while the trespass and damage cases tend to pick up more foals and fewer mares than the 1283 assessment did. Many foals may have fallen below the assessment threshold for the 1283 subsidy and the court roll data suggests that foals were more likely to appear in court rolls than in the lay subsidy assessment because of a combination of lay subsidy value thresholds and the tendency of foals to transgress more than other categories of horses. The foals in the court rolls complement the evidence for mares in the lay subsidy and indicate that the Blackbourne subsidy might have underestimated the peasant breeding capacity of Suffolk manors.

4.4 Heriots

A further method of measuring the composition of peasant horse stocks is through heriots enumerated in manorial court rolls. As discussed in Chapter 2 (though in the context of manorial accounts),³⁴³ a heriot was a feudal death due levied by a lord after the death of a villein tenant when the land was relinquished back into the lord's hands. In many cases, a similar fine, often rendered in livestock, was a mortuary, paid to the local church.³⁴⁴ Heriots were most often paid by the surrender of a deceased villein's 'best beast', that is the single most valuable animal among the estate of the dead tenant. The customary logic behind these transactions was to

³⁴² To compare directly with the court roll data, the lay subsidy categories of plough horses (26), *equi* (24) and cart horses (3) from the Walsham le Willows entry from Table 3.2 have been combined in a single 'horse' category here.

³⁴³ Discussed as encountered in manorial accounts. See: Chapter 2, 73.

³⁴⁴ Barbara Hanawalt, *The Ties That Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 114, 240.

acknowledge the lord's theoretical ownership of villeins' chattels while still allowing heirs to inherit property.³⁴⁵

In addition to the lay subsidy material and the cases of damage and trespass discussed above, heriot cases should allow a further way to measure not only the prevalence of horses within the villein segment of the peasantry, but also the composition of these stocks in terms of male, female and young horses. Heriot was one of the most ubiquitous and enduring of servile incidents,³⁴⁶ so, in theory, most court roll series should contain a good stock of information. However, there are a number of mitigating factors which impact upon our ability to extract and use this data. Similar to the lay subsidies, which only recorded those peasants whose total assessed wealth in moveable property exceeded a certain threshold and therefore excluded a significant proportion of the total peasantry, heriots only capture a proportion of the peasantry. As only villein tenants were required to pay heriots, an examination of this source will exclude non-servile tenants and servile non-tenants. Within the subset of the peasantry who owed heriot, not all paid the fine with livestock. Many villeins died without any animals of significant value, and in these cases paid the fine with cash or other chattels,³⁴⁷ while, in some places, heriots were waived if the inheriting or incoming villein paid an entry fine.³⁴⁸ Payment of heriot could also be circumvented through evasive measures; villeins on some manors

³⁴⁵ Bailey, *Decline of Serfdom*, 52. The notion of a lord's ownership of villein property is alluded to in other horse-related cases. Two other aspects of serfdom also involved 'taxes' on livestock. First, some lords could charge a fine on the commercial sale of larger villein livestock, usually draught animals. This was unusual and was confined to ecclesiastical estates. It does not appear to have been routinely enforced even where it was an established custom. For more on the unevenness of the application and implementation of serfdom, see: Bailey, "Villeinage in England", 452-3. Second, tallage on some estates was based on numbers of villein livestock, Bailey, *Decline of Serfdom*, 47-8. However, in neither case are records of villein livestock sufficiently large or numerous to provide useful information on the composition of peasant livestock.

³⁴⁶ Mark Bailey, *Decline of Serfdom*, 53.

³⁴⁷ As was the case on two manors of the bishop of Winchester in 1301-2, where heriots were paid with axes and beehives. Page, *Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2*, 153, 305.

³⁴⁸ Mark Bailey, "Villeinage in England", 446.

surrendered their land to other tenants shortly before they died in order to avoid paying.³⁴⁹ Widespread throughout England by the fifteenth century,³⁵⁰ this tactic was used by villein tenants of Walsham le Willows in Suffolk as early as the fourteenth century. A court held in 1329 ordered the rolls of previous courts to be scrutinized for evidence of whether ‘William Kebbil, John Wyswyf and Peter Sawyer disposed of land before their deaths and therefore do not owe heriots.’³⁵¹ Local officials at times even conspired (likely in collusion with villein tenants) to circumvent payment of heriot. The grave (a manorial official roughly equivalent to a reeve)³⁵² of Osset, part of the manor of Wakefield, was fined 12d. for “concealing the heriot due on the land of Hugh Pees, who died two years ago.”³⁵³ In addition to this fine, the whole township of Osset was amerced 6s. 8d. for this offence, implying that the lord felt the community itself was collectively responsible for the transgression. Over the course of time, cash heriots, as in the Wakefield example above, began to be paid in lieu of livestock with increasing frequency and became more the norm in many places in England by the fifteenth century.³⁵⁴ Unfortunately, this change in practice renders heriots useless for collecting data about peasant chattels. Of the villeins who actually surrendered livestock heriots, only a proportion of these paid the fine with horses. This does not necessarily mean that such villeins did not own horses, just that they owned other livestock of higher value. Horses were expensive and valuable, and therefore would be among the more common

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Lock, ed. *The Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows: 1303-50*, 120. Also cited in: Bailey, “Villeinage in England”, 446.

³⁵² For a detailed explanation of the role of graves in the hierarchy of manorial officials on the manor of Wakefield, which was structured rather differently to other manors, see: William Paley Baildon, ed., *Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield Vol. II, 1297-1309* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1906), xii-xiii.

³⁵³ Ibid., 155.

³⁵⁴ Bailey, *Decline of Serfdom*, 53.

animals used to pay the fine, but could often be trumped in value by oxen or cattle, and these latter beasts were therefore surrendered more frequently as heriots.³⁵⁵

Of the three manors from which the court roll sample is drawn, only one, Walsham le Willows in Suffolk, provides ample and robust evidence of animal heriots for our purposes. Many heriots are recorded in the Wakefield court rolls, but these were invariably paid by a cash sum rather than with livestock. For example, between 1297 and 1309, thirty-three heriots were recorded in the Wakefield rolls, all of them cash payments ranging from 6d. to 34s.³⁵⁶ The Halesowen court rolls are almost silent with respect to heriots. Of the sixty-three courts in the sample from 1276 to 1301, only seven references to heriot are found and all of these were exceptional or abnormal cases. Two references involved inquiries into whether heriot had been paid, or if a villein in question was required to pay at all. One case involved an inquisition into whether a woman who died while married owed heriot,³⁵⁷ while a separate case saw William de la Penne distrained to bring his wife before the court, as she was alleged to have concealed a ‘better beast’ and not paid a heriot upon the death of her former husband. Other cases involved provisions for future heriots in instances where land was transferred *inter vivos*, as with Athelina de Teunhale, a widow, who transferred part of her holding to her son while retaining her own part for the remainder of her life. She was required to provide pledges as surety

³⁵⁵ Inventories of peasant property are occasionally found in the court rolls, and these provide direct insight into the hierarchy of peasant-owned livestock. For example, an inventory of William Lene, who died on October 28, 1329, recorded two oxen, eight cows, one bullock, three calves, two stotts, one mare, one filly, eighty adult sheep (wethers and ewes), twenty-two young sheep (hoggets and gimmers), one sow, eight young pigs and one castrated swine. From this array of livestock, one ox, worth 15s., was given to the lord as heriot. See: Lock, ed. *The Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows: 1303-50*, 133-5.

³⁵⁶ 34s. was given “as a heriot on two bovates [of land] in Sourby, with buildings.” Baildon, ed. *Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield Vol. II, 1297-1309*, 100. This sum is extreme for a heriot. The next largest heriot paid was 13s. 4d. for “22 acres with buildings”, so one wonders if there was an error in transcription, either by the editor of the Wakefield rolls, or perhaps even an error by the original scribe.

³⁵⁷ “*Williemus de Westley dat domino xii denarius ad habendum inquisitionem per totam curiam utrum mater eius que conguata decessit debeat dare herietum anon.*” Wilson, ed., *Court Rolls of the Manor of Hales*, Part III, 58.

for a 5 s. heriot at the time of her (eventual) death.³⁵⁸ In the few cases where it is clear that heriots *were* paid, these were also were paid in cash.³⁵⁹ In the case of Halesowen, it seems likely that the court rolls recorded only disputed and unconventional heriots, while the majority of uncontested and uncontroversial heriots were recorded straight in the manorial accounts and not in the court rolls at all.

Our sample is limited, but the evidence suggests that cash heriots may have been widespread much earlier than historians have suspected. The widespread shift from livestock to cash heriots has been largely understood as a fifteenth-century phenomenon, but the court rolls studied here provide evidence which indicates that the transition had occurred by 1300. In addition, the one manor in our sample where heriots were regularly paid in livestock opposes arguments made about the alleged dominance of cash heriots in East Anglia by the fourteenth century.³⁶⁰ If cash payments were more common, then it further curbs the optimism about what useful heriot data can be gleaned from court rolls in terms of what they can reveal about peasant livestock in general, and horses in particular.

Walsham le Willows provides a clear example of what data can be mined from a suitable series of court rolls. The Walsham sample, which covers 155 courts held between 1303 and 1350, rendered a total of 165 heriots which are broken down in Table 3.6. Of these 165 villein tenants who died, 46, or just under 30 percent, died

³⁵⁸ “*Athelina de Teunhale relicta Ricardi de Teunhal, que partem terre sue dimisit Willelmo filio suo et partem sibi ad vitam suam retinuit, invenit securitatem de quinque solidis reddendis domino post decessum suum nomine herieti...*” Ibid., 93.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 80, 104.

³⁶⁰ Langdon observed a low number of post Black Death heriots in East Anglia. See: Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 196-7. In her study of land transfers in late medieval Norfolk, Jane Whittle also observed that no heriots were paid by outgoing tenants on any of the manors she studied in Norfolk. She suggests that in both Norfolk and Suffolk heriots were either paid by the incoming tenant instead of an entry fine, or no heriot was paid at all. This seems to have been a regional anomaly in East Anglia, as in most other places in England the lord charged heriot to the outgoing/deceased tenant as well as an entry fine to the incoming tenant. See: Jane Whittle, *The Development of Agrarian Capitalism: Land and Labour in Norfolk 1440-1580*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 67, n.108.

without a beast to render to the lord. One Walsham villein, Alice Schetenhait, was especially poor, and lacked not only a beast to surrender, but apparently any chattel of worth. When she died in 1328 holding a cottage from the lord she rendered no heriot because “she had nothing in goods.” Her husband took up the cottage with an entry fine of 4d.³⁶¹

Among those who had livestock when they died, most gave cattle as heriot. Seventy-four of the 119 livestock heriots (62 percent) were bovates (i.e. oxen, cows and calves). This is consistent with the distribution of livestock in Walsham as indicated in the Blackbourne lay subsidy where cattle outnumbered horses by a factor of 2.5. There were roughly two bovate heriots rendered for every horse heriot on Walsham, but as the criteria for lay subsidy assessment (where, in theory, the entirety of a tenant’s livestock was recorded) were substantially different than the procedure by which a heriot animal was chosen (where a ‘best beast’ was taken), it is difficult to compare the relative proportions of horses and cattle enumerated in the two sources.

³⁶¹ Lock, ed. *The Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows: 1303-50*, 111.

Table 3.6: Walsham le Willows Heriots, 1303-50.

All Heriots			Livestock Heriots				Horse Heriots		
Type of Heriot	No. of Heriots	Percent age of Total (%)	Type of Livestock	No. of Heriots	Percent age of Total (%)	Type of Horse	No. of Heriots	Percent age of Total (%)	
Cows	62	37.6	Bovates	Cows	62	52.1	Mares	17	44.7
No Heriot	46	27.9		Oxen	7	5.9	Stotts	14	36.8
Mares	17	10.3		Calves	3	2.5	Fillies	4	10.5
Stotts	14	8.5		Bullocks	1	0.8	Colts	3	7.9
Oxen	7	4.2		Heifers	1	0.8			
Ewes	6	3.6		Mares	17	14.3			
Fillies	4	2.4		Horses	Stotts	14	11.8		
Calves	3	1.8	Fillies		4	3.4			
Colts	3	1.8	Colts		3	2.5			
Bullocks	1	0.6	Sheep	Ewes	6	5.0			
Heifers	1	0.6		Gimmers	1	0.8			
Gimmers	1	0.6							
	165	100.0			119	100.0			
							38	100.0	

Source: Ray Lock, ed. *The Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50*

Where comparisons can be made is in the distribution of different types of horses, as the court roll entries specify what types of horses were rendered for heriot. These are given in Table 3.6. A total of thirty-eight horses was rendered between 1303 and 1350. Mares were the most common horse heriot with seventeen animals, 44.7 percent of all horse heriots. Stotts were the next most common horse heriot. Fourteen of these were surrendered, comprising 36.8 percent of the total. There were also seven young horse heriots, and these were split almost evenly between three colts and four fillies. What does this tell us? For the first half of the fourteenth century, mares were the most-frequently surrendered type of horse in Walsham le Willows. The margin over stotts is small at less than 10 percent, but is nonetheless an indication that mares constituted a significant proportion of peasant horse stocks on the manor.

The proportion of mares found among Walsham horse heriots is broadly similar to the proportion found for the whole of Blackbourne Hundred, where mares comprised 50.2 percent of peasant horse stocks in the 1283 return. As Walsham le Willows lay within the hundred of Blackbourne, we can also compare the horse heriots directly with the 1283 assessment for this one particular community. Here the proportions of horses differ between the 1283 subsidy and horse heriots found in the court rolls. The 1283 subsidy assessed peasants in Walsham as having 93 horses in total and 29, or 31.2 percent, of these were mares whereas 44.7 of Walsham horse heriots were female horses. The proportion of foals is also significantly lower in the lay subsidy when compared to heriots. Young horses account for 11.8 percent (eleven animals) in the subsidy, while the combined total of nine young horses (four fillies and three colts) is almost double at 18.4 percent of Walsham horse heriots. It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions from this, as the subsidy data is taken from a

single point in time, while the Walsham heriot sample is drawn from court rolls that range from 1303-1350. In 1283, Walsham had one of the lowest proportions of mares in all of Backbourne hundred,³⁶² but the composition of peasant horse stocks in the village could well have changed over the course of the next sixty-odd years before 1350.

4.5 Conclusion

The discussion above has attempted to outline both the potential of court rolls for assessing peasant involvement in the horse trade and also the many methodological difficulties in harnessing the potential of the material. Compared to manorial accounts, court rolls present greater methodological issues in both the interpretation of the sources and the reliability of information derived. Despite their barriers to quantification and interpretive difficulty, court rolls have been a mainstay of research by medieval economic historians, while the numerous issues with lay subsidy material in particular have caused some historians to dismiss them entirely.³⁶³ With the acknowledgement of the sources' limitations, however, it is possible to glean a wealth of useful information from the taxation material, especially when it is possible to cross-reference some of the villis covered by lay subsidies with court rolls from the same community, as in this case. Within the bounds of this study, the use, in tandem, of a careful analysis of a specific lay subsidy return and a particular sample of court rolls allows fruitful analysis of peasant horse ownership and horse-related activities, from which we can reliably extrapolate their involvement in the horse trade.

³⁶² See Chapter 3 Table 3.2 above

³⁶³ Louis F. Salzman, "Early Taxation of Sussex Part II", xcix.

Chapter 5: The Market for Agricultural Horses in Late Medieval England

We have hitherto focused on locating the source of work horses in medieval England, and, to a lesser degree, discovering what conditions underpinned the decisions of lords and peasants in breeding, buying and selling horses. The study of manorial accounts in Chapter 2 demonstrated that demesnes purchased most of their work horses in preference to any other method of procurement, and were therefore heavily reliant upon the market for their supply of animals, while Chapters 3 and 4 explored the potential of the peasantry to supply this market. However, the market itself has not yet been explored in any detail. We know demesnes were purchasing horses in significant numbers, and that peasants were likely suppliers, but not *where* or the animals were bought or *how* the actual purchases were transacted. This chapter, then, will begin by exploring the manorial account sample for what information can be gleaned about the market for horses. The actual nexus of horse exchange (i.e. where and when horses were bought and sold) will be analysed as systematically as the data allows, but much of the ‘heavy lifting’ will be done by using price data quarried from the accounts as an indirect way of reconstructing the market for horses. The chapter will then go on to examine a small number of additional sources, including chancery material, such as patent and close rolls, as well as records discussing markets and fairs. Together, the analysis of this evidence will provide insight into how the market for agricultural horses was organized, how consumers accessed it and, most significantly, how important formal markets were in the exchange of agricultural horses.

The picture constructed from this array of sources will be used to answer some more specific questions: was the horse market in medieval England a national

market or something more regional in nature? To answer this, we will use horse price data taken from manorial accounts. This data will be used to see how horse prices varied across the country; the differences in prices can then be used to make inferences about the level of integration in the market for agricultural horses.

Some studies have touched on these questions already. In his exhaustive work on the prices of agricultural commodities in medieval England, Farmer looked at the trade of working horses alongside other kinds of livestock.³⁶⁴ While his study focused largely on the south of England in general, and the bishopric of Winchester in particular, Farmer's general impression was that, by the thirteenth century, the livestock markets in England were relatively integrated, because relatively large purchases of oxen and cows seemed to have little effect on overall price levels.³⁶⁵ Furthering his argument, Farmer also commented that reeves often travelled distances of twenty or more miles to purchase livestock.³⁶⁶ Despite these indicators of integration, Farmer still observed regional variation in livestock prices, although his data was based solely on the prices of oxen.³⁶⁷

The structure of the horse market of England in the early modern period has been explored to a much greater degree than for the Middle Ages. This is facilitated largely by the widespread survival of toll books, a unique source which documents the details of horse transactions for much of the early modern period.³⁶⁸ These toll

³⁶⁴ D.L. Farmer, "Some Livestock Price Movements in Thirteenth-Century England" in *The Economic History Review* Vol. 22, No. 1, April 1969, 1-16; D.L. Farmer, "Prices and Wages" in H.E. Hallam, ed. *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* Vol. II, 1042-1350 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); D.L. Farmer, "Prices and Wages, 1350-1500" in Edward Miller, ed. *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* Vol. III, 1350-1500 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

³⁶⁵ Farmer, "Prices and Wages" *Agrarian History of England and Wales* Vol. II, 750.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 750-1.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 751.

³⁶⁸ In 1555 an Act of Parliament was passed requiring all horse transactions to be recorded by a designated individual (one individual was likely responsible for recording horse transactions at a single nexus of exchange, such as a livestock market or a horse fair) who was to record the names, and origins of both buyers and sellers, as well as specifics about the horse sold, namely the colour, and one distinguishing mark. This information was to be taken for all horses, mares, geldings and

books have been used to reconstruct the horse trade in sixteenth and seventeenth-century England. These illustrate that, by the seventeenth century, many horses were bred and reared by specialized farmers in specific parts of the country and often traded long distances by specialized horse traders, called ‘coursers’. For example, of horses purchased at Shrewsbury fair in 1647, the vast majority of buyers came from Shropshire, but some buyers travelled from further afield, such as the neighbouring counties of Staffordshire and Worcestershire as well as Wales and Warwickshire. Four further buyers travelled from Derbyshire, and one buyer even came from North Oxfordshire (near Banbury), a distance of probably over eighty miles. The lone buyer from Oxfordshire purchased more than ten horses in Shrewsbury, so some economy of scale was likely preferred when such distances were travelled. Buyers travelled even further to purchase horses at Rothwell fair in Northamptonshire between the years 1684 and 1720. Again, natives of Northamptonshire made the majority of purchases, but the fair drew some consumers from as far south as Bognor Regis in Sussex (130 Miles) and as far east as Sandwich in Kent (150 Miles) and North Norfolk (90 Miles). One buyer came from as far north as near Carlisle, a distance of over 220 miles.³⁶⁹ These basic features of the trade ca. 1600 can therefore be used as a reference point for comparison with the market ca. 1300.

5.1 The Role of Markets and Fairs in the Market for Work Horses

No analogue to the early modern toll books is available for our period, so we must piece together fragments of evidence from disparate sources in order to construct a sense of the nature of the market for horses in our period. The starting point must be

colts which exchanged hands. See: Peter Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England*, 55-60.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 33, 37.

the internal evidence of place of purchase in manorial accounts, although such important information is frustratingly rare. One accessible and easily managed source (mainly because of its indexing system) is the Calendars of Patent Rolls, which provide incidental information about the acquisition of horses by the Crown. Crown purchases of elite horses were largely made outside England. Of the thirty-two references found within the patent rolls which give specific origins of purchased horses, only six indicate the purchase of horses from within England itself. In these cases, the king and agents of his wardrobe looked towards English fairs, paralleling the evidence we have from early modern England. The patent rolls do, however, also provide evidence of the royal wardrobe shopping for horses at local markets. Fairs and markets differed in several important ways, particularly in frequency and size. Markets were regular local events, and usually occurred on a weekly basis in a permanent location, as defined by a market charter – a document granted by the king giving permission for the market to take place under specified conditions. Weekly markets were often the venues where staple items were bought and sold. Grains and other produce were regularly traded, along with livestock and dairy products. Fairs were much grander affairs, occurring only once yearly and lasting several days. At the larger fairs, the wares offered were also much more diverse and expansive and often catered to purchases in bulk.³⁷⁰ Fairs like that at St. Ives, held from 1110 at a nearby village called Slepe in Huntingdonshire,³⁷¹ attracted merchants from across Europe, who regularly traded in expensive cloth, spices, and animals such as ferrets and falcons.³⁷² These were commercial centres for all kinds of goods. Ellen Wedemeyer Moore summarized the role of these institutions in the medieval

³⁷⁰ Mark Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, 119.

³⁷¹ Ellen Wedemeyer Moore, *The Fairs of Medieval England: An Introductory Study* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1985), i.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, 52.

economy as “important location[s] for marketing of all kinds: wholesale and retail and international, foodstuffs, livestock, luxury items and everything in between.”³⁷³

The royal household figured prominently in the clientele of large fairs, both within England and abroad, spending annually more than £500 on cloth alone.³⁷⁴

Wedermeier Moore’s characterization of fairs is, however slightly myopic, due in large part to her focus on the fairs of St. Giles (Winchester) and St. Ives in the twelfth century. These fairs, at that time, were indeed grand and attracted international goods and cosmopolitan clientele. However, with a broader view of time and place, fairs can be more simply characterised as “periodic trading events which varied significantly in in size and scope”.³⁷⁵ In reality, fairs could range from small local events to the much larger international occasions like those at Boston, Bury St. Edmunds, King’s Lynn, Northampton, Stamford and Westminster, as well as the aforementioned St. Ives and Winchester (St. Giles) fairs.³⁷⁶ The size and scale of individual fairs were not static throughout the medieval period, as most of the fairs mentioned above had contracted into more local events in the fourteenth century.³⁷⁷

Horses were also regularly present among the available wares at some fairs, but the role of these events medieval horse trade remains somewhat murky. St. Ives fair did have a dedicated horse market for at least some time in the Middle Ages, while Stamford fair in Lincolnshire and Chester fair in Cheshire were two places where the Black Prince regularly bought horses.³⁷⁸ The fair at St. Ives boasts some of the most extensive extant records of medieval fairs, but information on the buying and selling of horses is still relatively scarce. One of the few indications of the

³⁷³ Ibid., 13.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 1.

³⁷⁵ John Lee, “The Role of Fairs in Late Medieval England” in *Town and Countryside in the Age of the Black Death* eds. Mark Bailey and Stephen Rigby (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 408.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Hyland, *The Horse in the Middle Ages*, 71.

existence of a horse market at St. Ives fair comes from the fair court. A case presented in 1291 concerned a Parisian named Thomas Humfrey, who accused John de Flit of breaking a contract that was initially made “in St. Ives, in the horse market.”³⁷⁹ In 1291, a man from London, Edmund ate Noke, seemingly tried to earn money by brokering horse deals at the fair, while another travelled to the fair from Lincoln in 1287 with the aim of selling horse carcasses.³⁸⁰ In the fair court case which describes ate Noke’s presence at the fair, he claimed in two different cases (once as plaintiff and once as defendant, but both likely concerning the same transaction), to be owed a fee of 2 s. for “assuring and purchasing”³⁸¹ a horse for 4 s. This fee seems particularly high, as it would have meant that the buyer paid one and one half times the value of the animal. To justify this fee, ate Noke may have been marketing himself as having an ability to discern quality animals in the lower reaches of the market. More significant for our purposes, however, is that this case describes the purchase of a horse, for a sum of between 4s. and 6s., that was certainly an agricultural animal. Stamford fair, in Lincolnshire, was also an active hub of horse exchange. This fair was originally established by the earl of Warenne in 1205 through a grant from King John,³⁸² and, after the earl’s death, Henry III took ownership of the fair and regularly spent a portion of the profits he earned there on merchandise at the fair itself. In 1247, Henry specifically stipulated that forty marks were to be spent buying horses at the fair for himself.³⁸³

³⁷⁹ ...in villa S. Ionis in foro equorum... See: Charles Gross, ed. *Select Cases Concerning the Law Merchant: A.D. 1270-1638* Vol. 1, Local Courts. Selden Society Vol. 23. (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1908), 43.

³⁸⁰ TNA SC2/178/97; TNA SC2/178/96. Cited in: Wedemeyer Moore, *The Fairs of Medieval England*, 86.

³⁸¹ “assuravit et comparavit” TNA SC2/178/97.

³⁸² Samantha Letters, *Online Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England to 1516* (<http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>): [Norfolk] (Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research: July 15, 2013); Wedemeyer Moore, *The Fairs of Medieval England*, 12-13.

³⁸³ Wedemeyer Moore, *The Fairs of Medieval England*, 13.

Horses numbered among the purchases made by the English government at fairs, be they for the king's personal use, for his itinerant household, or for military endeavours. Royal agents were regularly sent to English fairs to purchase horses, as illustrated by a letter patent of October 18, 1265: "Appointment, during pleasure, of James de Dunstaple to make purchases of horses necessary for the king in fairs of the realm, so that he answer for the said horses."³⁸⁴ This was an office that James de Dunstaple held for at least twenty-one months, as in a second letter, issued on July 7, 1267:

Exemption of John de Dunestaple [sic; presumably James meant], merchant, whom the king heretofore appointed buyer of horses for him in fairs throughout the realm, from prises and all manner of customs, except the due and ancient prises; as long as he attends to that office.³⁸⁵

With the latter letter, James de Dunstaple was given freedom to procure horses for the king essentially unencumbered by tolls or customs. This relaxation of customs and dues for an agent is not uncommon for the period; those transacting business on behalf of the king were often given immunity from such nuisances, and the practice of purveyance, especially in the fourteenth century, was the epitome of such policies.³⁸⁶ However, this particular letter gives an indication that horses purchased

³⁸⁴ *CPR*, Henry III, 1258-1266, 467.

³⁸⁵ *CPR*, Henry III, 1266-1272, 85.

³⁸⁶ Purveyance was the practice of collecting victuals for the Crown, most frequently to supply expeditionary armies. Under this system, sheriffs were sent around the country to purchase grains and other supplies; once purchased the supplies were transported to areas of military need. While sometimes employed to furnish parliament during periods of duress, goods collected through purveyance were regularly transported to ports on the coasts of England and from there to Scotland or the Continent and used to feed English armies fighting there. While producers were almost always paid for these goods, this was essentially a system of forced sale, and some were forced to wait significant amounts of time before receiving payment for their goods. We can see this as an extreme extension of the policies discussed above. Whereas exempting an agent on royal business from certain tolls was likely to expedite efficiency of transactions, purveyance forced royal agents to the 'front of the line' as consumers while also forcing royal transactions through the local economy. For more on purveyance as it pertains to provisioning armies, see: Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: the English Experience* (New Haven, 1996), 257. For a picture of the purveyance system in action see: Jordan Claridge and John Langdon, "Storage in medieval England:

at English fairs were, for most people, likely subject to some degree of customs and tolls. The Chancery did not issue letters patent without reason; the fact that the letter appears can be taken as an indication that this particular agent did encounter some kind of obstacle in the form of tolls or customs charges and, as he was purchasing horses for the king, asked for a future exemption from royal administrators. James de Dunstaple was not alone in acquiring this privilege, as Robert de Parys, a horse dealer, was granted exemption “for life, of toll on all his goods and wares within the realm” for “service in the siege of Berwick-on-Tweed and the war of Scotland.”³⁸⁷

These tolls may also have extended to the transportation system. Bridges and ferries were particularly financed by tolls.³⁸⁸ A letter patent from 1315 illustrates how such tolls could be levied:

Ordinance after inquisition *ad quod damnum* made by the sheriff of York, establishing a ferry for men, horses, carts, corn, and other goods across the Humber between the town of Kyngeston-upon-Hull [*sic*] and the county of Lincolnshire with the following tolls to be taken for the king's use, viz.: ½ *d.* for a man on foot; 1*d.* for a horseman with his horse ; for a cart, with two horses 2*d.*; with three horses 3*d.*, and with four horses 4*d.*; and so for each animal crossing over there 1*d.* for which the keeper of the said town is to answer yearly at the Exchequer.³⁸⁹

These tolls functioned similarly to modern tariffs, like those charging according to the number of axles on a vehicle (seen regularly today on toll-roads and ferries), with a sliding scale indexed to the number and nature of people and animals and vehicles making use of a particular item of transportation infrastructure. These tolls used the

the evidence from purveyance accounts, 1295-1349' *Economic History Review*, Vol. 64, No. 4, 1242-1265.

³⁸⁷ *CPR*, Edward III, 1330-1334, 483.

³⁸⁸ See especially David Harrison, *The Bridges of Medieval England: Transport and Society 400-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), esp. pp. 207-13, and Alan Cooper, *Bridges, Law and Power in Medieval England 700-1400* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), esp. pp. 127-147.

³⁸⁹ *CPR*, Edward II, 1313-1317, 344.

number of horses as a specific way to calculate an appropriate toll, just as modern toll-booths or ferries charge according to a vehicle's number of axles.³⁹⁰

Some letters patent mention specific fairs where horses were purchased, as was the case when safe conduct was granted for agents sent to Stirling Fair in Scotland: "Safe conduct for certain servants whom William son of Glaye, king's yeoman, is about to send to Stryvelyn fair to buy horses and other beasts, and drive them to the parts of Lindsey [in Lancashire]."³⁹¹ Stanford Fair (in Norfolk) was also named explicitly in a letter patent from 1236. In addition to providing evidence about the king's avenues for horse procurement, the entry also illuminates the credit mechanisms at work in royal horse purchases. The royal government could impress upon burgesses and moneylenders for credit, and such loans often lubricated the purchases of the royal wardrobe and royal spending in general:

Request to Thierry Teutonicus, burgess of Stanford [sic]³⁹², to advance money the amount of 40 marks (£26 13s. 8d.) to Richard, the king's marshal, whom the king is sending to the instant [sic]³⁹³ fair of Stanford, to buy horses for the king's carts, if the said Richard shall not have enough, and the king will repay the money a fortnight after Easter.³⁹⁴

³⁹⁰ While the rates for bridges or ferries were well established as above, there could be some flexibility in the amounts charged. For instance, a letter patent of 1337 indicated that tolls for a causeway between the towns of Croyland and Spalding in Lincolnshire could be doubled "in time of flood and wind". *CPR*, Edward III, 1327-1330, 450.

³⁹¹ *CPR*, Edward I, 1272-1281, 159.

³⁹² Likely referring to Stanford Fair in Norfolk, which held a fair by prescriptive right (i.e. by custom rather than by a grant or charter) as early as 1222. See: "Stanford", Samantha Letters, *Online Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England to 1516* (<http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>): [Norfolk] (Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research: March 15, 2014). There is also the possibility that the entry was mistranslated in the calendar, and should read instead as 'Stamford' which was a market in Lincolnshire also known for its horses.

³⁹³ The term 'instant fair' most likely refers to fairs held by prescriptive right rather than through a grant or charter during the time of the letter patent.

³⁹⁴ *CPR*, Henry III, 1232-1247, 139. Ann Hyland cites the same letter patent, although her information was derived not from the patent roll volumes, but a collection of Scottish sources. However, she uses the term 'avers' in her description, an indication that the designation given to these cart-horses in the original Latin - contained in the volume Hyland used - was *Averus* or one of its derivations. This term is sometimes translated as 'cart-horse' but is generally used as a general term that encompasses all work horses of agricultural grade. The recognized source for the clarification of these terms, and the source employed here, is John Langdon, *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation: The Use of Draught Animals in English Farming from 1066-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 293-7.

This is one of the few instances in the patent rolls where it is expressly indicated that the king or his agents purchased lower-order horses, at least from the information contained within the patent rolls, as against more expensive ‘elite’ horses.

By the mid twelfth century, London was also home to a weekly horse market. This market, held on Fridays at “Smooth Field”, later called Smithfield, was described in 1155 by one William Fitzstephen, who surveyed the wide range of horses, from elite animals to more humble beasts, that was available for sale at the fair, describing warhorses and palfreys as well as hackneys, sumpters, farmhorses and unbroken colts.³⁹⁵ Edward the Black Prince regularly patronized this fair, buying horses at Smithfield on several occasions between 1352 and 1359.³⁹⁶

These anecdotal references provide us with an indication that formal venues such as markets and fairs were an important source for horses. While the majority of direct evidence of horse purchases at fairs involves elite animals purchased by the aristocracy, we have seen some indication of lower-order animals also being traded in these venues. In order to address the vital question of whether demesnes acquired their workhorses from similar, or even the same, places, we must turn back to the manorial accounts. In our sample of 322 manors from Chapter 2, there are a handful of references that provide detailed information about where demesne horses and other livestock were purchased.

³⁹⁵ Ann Hyland, *The Horse in the Middle Ages* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 22.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

5.2 Horse Purchase Locations

One of the fundamental questions here is to determine where exactly demesnes were purchasing working animals. Unfortunately, despite meticulously recording the purchases of horses and the prices paid, account keepers were rather less fastidious about recording any additional details. Very infrequently, scribes did add information about specific purchase locations, names of sellers or time of purchase. Frustratingly, even in rare instances where this information is provided, an account usually only gives one of these additional pieces of information; no accounts in the sample provide time, place and seller data for a single purchase.

The earliest indications about the origins of demesne horses come from the early thirteenth century. In 1208-9, the first year for which we have extant pipe rolls for the bishopric of Winchester, we find that the manors of Clare (Somerset) and Merdon (Hampshire) obtained wild or unbroken horses directly from Wales.³⁹⁷ In both cases, each manor received nine Welsh horses, reflecting that these acquisitions are indicative of significant numbers of horses being driven from Wales to southern England; this was seemingly something larger in scale than the purchase of one or two beasts. In the same year, the account for Witney, one of the Bishop's manors in Oxfordshire, recorded 8d. of expenses for sending a groom and his servants to bring a mare from Cardiff; it is at least ninety miles each way between the two towns, for a total round trip of 180 miles.³⁹⁸ If we use this trip as a rough indicator of the cost of moving horses, bringing nine horses from Wales to Merdon and Clare was likely an investment of 5s. or more. These references, then, are reflective of the movement of large numbers of horses from Wales into southern England in the early thirteenth

³⁹⁷ Hubert Hall, ed., trans. *The pipe roll of the bishopric of Winchester for the fourth year of the pontificate of Peter des Roches, 1208-1209* (London, 1903), 6, 36.

³⁹⁸ "In expensis Roberti nuncio et sociorum suorum ducentium equas a Cardif usque Wilteneiam, viii d." See: *Ibid.*, 17.

century.³⁹⁹ The bishopric of Winchester was spread across southern England, and so was well placed to source its horses from many locations, but its particular interest in acquiring horses from Wales seems to identify this areas as an important source of horses, perhaps as part of a seasonal movement.⁴⁰⁰ This suggestion is supported by two anecdotal references to horse breeding and rearing being a significant component of the medieval Welsh economy. Both references are outside the temporal scope of our study, but serve to bookend our period nicely. Gerald of Wales, writing in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, reported that “the horses which are sent out of Powys (Wales) are greatly prized; they are extremely handsome and nature reproduces them in the same majestic proportion and incomparable speed”,⁴⁰¹ while a mid-sixteenth century passage in George Rainsford’s *Ritratto d’Ingilterra* describes the northern border with Scotland and that with eastern Wales as the best places in England to find quality horses.⁴⁰² These areas may well have been productive stock-rearing areas due to there being abundant pasture land in areas where the soil was rather marginal, so there was relatively little pressure on the pasture from agrarian enterprise.

³⁹⁹ “*ix equabus receptis de Wallia*”; “*et de ix equabus quae venerant de Wallia*” See: Hall, 6, 36.

⁴⁰⁰ Farmer suggests this in a discussion of Winchester purchases of Welsh horses. See: Farmer, *Marketing the Produce*, 378-9. Transhumance, or the seasonal movement of livestock between two fixed places is covered extensively by Harold Fox. See: Harold Fox, *Dartmoor’s Alluring Uplands: Transhumance and Pastoral Management in the Middle Ages* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2012), 56, 62, 68-9, 73-4.

⁴⁰¹ Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and the Description of Wales* ed. and trans. Lewis Thorpe. (London: Penguin, 1978), 201, 234; John T. Koch, ed. *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopaedia* Vol. 1, (ABC Clio, 2006), 29.

⁴⁰² Jenkins, *The Horse in Celtic Culture*, 72.

Table 5.1: Horse Purchase Locations from Manorial Accounts

Year	Purchasing Manor	Landlord	County	Quantity	Type of Horse	Purchase Location	Time of Purchase	Market or Fair	Possible Times of Fair	Road Distance (Miles)	Price Paid
1289	Wardley	Durham Priory	Durham	1	Maré	Durham (Co. Durham)	Pentecost (29 May in 1289)	Market and Two Fairs	20 March and 4 September	13	15s. 2.5d.
1289	Wardley	Durham	Durham	1	Maré	Corbridge (Northumberland)	St. John the Baptist (24 June)	Market and Fair	St. John the Baptist (24 June) and Pentecost (29 May in 1289)	22	14s. 1d.
1298-9	Birdbrook	Westminster Abbey	Essex	1	Cart-horse	Bishop's Stortford (Hertfordshire)		Market and Fair	Ascension day (Easter Dependent)	23	33s.
1298-9	Birdbrook	Westminster Abbey	Essex	1	Stot	Hadstock Fair (Essex)		Market and Fair	June 17	12	12s. 6d.
1301-2	Harwell	Bishopric of Winchester	Berks.	1	Cart-horse	Abingdon (Berkshire)		Market and Fair	June 9	6	26s.

Sources: Westminster Abbey Muniments 25401; TNA:PRO SC6/874/4 m. 1r-1d; Mark Page, *Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2*, pg. 202; TNA SC6 992/8 m. 1r-1d; SC6/992/12 m. 1r-1d;

SC6/872/17; TNA SC6 1039/11 m. 1r-1d; Samantha Letters, Online Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England to 1516 (<http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>): [Norfolk] (Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research: April 2, 2014)

Table 5.1 (Continued): Horse Purchase Locations from Manorial Accounts

Year	Purchasing Manor	Landlord	County	Quantity	Type of Horse	Purchase Location	Time of Purchase	Market or Fair	Possible Times of Fair	Road Distance (Miles)	Price Paid
1306-7	Therfield	Ramsay Abbey	Herts.	1	Cart-horse	Baldock (Hertfordshire)		Market and Fair	September 21; August 24	7	12s.
1306-7	Elton	Ramsay Abbey	Hunts.	1	Stot	Oundle (Northamptonshire)		Market and Fair	Ascension (Easter Dependent)	5	14s. 6.75d.
1309-10	Clare	Gilbert de Clare	Suffolk	1	Affer	Boston (Lincolnshire)		Market and Fair	June 17 – September 29	80	19s. 9.5d.
1309-10	Warwick	Crown (Formerly Knights Templar)	Warks.	2	Affer	Birmingham (Warwickshire)		Market and Fair	June 24; Ascension Day (Easter Dependent)	22	14s. (7s. each)
1309-10	Clare	Gilbert de Clare	Suffolk	1	Affer	Reach (Cambridgeshire)		Fair	Rogationtide (Easter Dependent)	22	20s. 0.5d
1322-3	Clare	Gilbert de Clare	Suffolk	2	Affer	Colchester Fair (Essex)		Market and Fair	May 3; July 22; Whitsunday (Easter)	23	30s. 0.5d. (15s. 0.25d. each)

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By 1301-2, however, the pipe rolls cease to record the procurement of Welsh horses, either because the estate had turned to other sources of draught horses, or because the scribes ceased recording these details. However, this early evidence does establish a precedent for long-distance trading of horses by the thirteenth century.

Out of over 400 accounts studied in this project, we are able to derive eleven points of data about purchase location, an illustration of how rare references to places of purchase are in the accounts. In any event, this is hardly a sample size fit for statistical analysis. Table 5.1 shows the eleven points of detailed location data found amongst the horse purchases given in our manorial account sample. We might infer from the paucity of such references that details of purchase location were only given when the circumstances of acquisition were exceptional, and the reeve had reason to believe that an auditor might question his horse purchases. One particular reference suggests this was the case. The former Templar manor of Warwick, in Crown hands in 1309-10, recorded two affers bought at Birmingham, about twenty miles away, for the purpose of carrying hay and grain. The two animals were purchased for the sum of fourteen shillings, but the account explicitly states that this price included a toll paid at some point in the journey from Birmingham to Warwick.⁴⁰³ A forty mile round trip would have been a significant journey. At an average price of less than 7 s. per horse, well below the mean price for affers, it was not likely the quality of these horses that justified the journey. More likely is the fact that, as the demesne began the year with only two cart-horses and no affers at all, at some point in the year, the reeve saw an acute need for hauling, and, being short of suitable animals, recognized that Birmingham represented the closest market where the he could be certain horses would be available for sale. If this was the case, it may explain the

⁴⁰³ *“in ii affris emptione apud Birmingham pro fenum et bladum carandum xiiii s. cum toluro”*
TNA SC6/1039/11 m. 1r.-1d.

rather low price paid for these animals, as they may have been simply a cheap stop-gap rather than animals intended for many years of service on the demesne. In this case, buying horses from Birmingham was likely an exceptional circumstance, which the reeve felt the need to explain in his account.

Elite horses such as destriers and palfreys were often bought and sold at fairs and it seems that lower-grade agricultural horses were also bought at these events, although, in the latter case, the fairs patronised for work horses tended to be smaller regional fairs rather than the larger events frequented by the aristocracy. Some accounts, like the 1298-9 account for Birdbrook, in Essex, a manor of Westminster Abbey, recorded explicitly that the horse in question was purchased at Hadstock fair: an annotation likely intended to explicitly differentiate it from Hadstock market.⁴⁰⁴ References of this kind are not restricted to Westminster Abbey accounts, as the 1322-3 account for Clare, in Suffolk, records the purchase of two affers, along with four oxen, at Colchester fair.⁴⁰⁵ While not noted specifically in the account, the single offer purchased in Reach must have been bought at the annual fair, held at Rogationtide in the Easter season, as Reach did not have a weekly market.⁴⁰⁶ So, of the nine cases for which we have specific purchase data, three, or 33 percent, refer specifically to horses purchased at annual fairs. In the case of other entries, the accounts simply say “*apud*” or “upon” when referencing a specific place-name, so we cannot be certain whether these horses were purchased at fairs or at weekly markets or even more informally. If we look at these remaining six entries, however, we can see that each of these locations was also home to at least one annual fair. We might surmise, then, that the presence of fairs in all these locations is a

⁴⁰⁴ “*ad nundiniam de Hadestok*” Westminster Abbey Muniments, 25401.

⁴⁰⁵ “*ad nundiniam de Colchester*” TNA SC6/992/12

⁴⁰⁶ Samantha Letters, *Online Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England to 1516* (<http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>): [Norfolk] (Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research: April 2, 2014).

strong indication that all of these animals were purchased at one of the annual events.

The timing of the fairs held in these places is another factor that makes them the likely purchase locations. Bailey has argued that, in the case of Suffolk fairs, held most frequently in either June or September, the timing of these events coincided with seasonal buoyancy in livestock trade, especially for young animals.⁴⁰⁷ The timing of fairs in our sample seems to follow this general trend as well. Boston, Hadstock and Abingdon all held fairs in June, while Bishop's Stortford, Colchester, Reach, and Oundle held fairs over the Easter season. Some the purchase places from our data held charters for more than one fair. Colchester, for instance, had been granted charters for three different fairs by 1300, held on May 3rd, Whitsunday and October 9th, respectively.⁴⁰⁸ Birmingham was a similar case, having two chartered fairs, but this still echoes the trend, as these were held in either June or over Easter.

Why do we see such a pronounced seasonal nature in these horse purchases? In the case of working horses, which were infrequently traded as young animals, and were usually three or four years old before they were added to demesne stock, seasonal periods of breeding were likely not an important factor in determining periods of peak trading. Cattle and sheep, however, were often sold as juvenile animals, and the seemingly intense period of horse purchasing in the Spring and early Summer may have been due to horses being lumped in with other livestock when traded at these fairs.

Our data also suggests that the distance travelled to purchase horses could vary considerably. Three purchases were made at places fewer than ten miles from the demesne, while, at the opposite end of the spectrum, the demesne at Clare bought a single offer from Boston, which was about eighty miles away. Four other cases in

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Letters, *Online Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England to 1516*. Accessed April 2, 2014.

our sample record distances of around twenty miles. The five, six and seven miles travelled for horse purchases in the cases of Elton, Harwell and Therfield are roughly within the accepted radius of $6^{2/3}$ miles of a typical day's market journey.⁴⁰⁹ Horse purchases at the other six locations would have taken much longer. Using Bracton's twenty mile figure, the trip from Birdbrook to Hadstock fair, a distance of twelve miles, would have likely taken two days, while the four trips in our sample of around twenty miles would have likely taken three. Travelling from Clare to Boston market alone would have taken eight days, and the trip likely lasted longer if any significant time was spent at the fair. In these cases, we might wonder whether officials from these demesnes travelled such distances to purchase horses alone. In most cases in our sample only a single horse was bought at these places, and never more than two, so these longer distances were not seemingly offset by economies of scale in terms of purchasing several horses, as was the case with the bishopric of Winchester's acquisition of Welsh horses in the early thirteenth century. Given that all the purchasing demesnes here were parts of larger estates, it is possible that the purchase of horses at these fairs was a secondary concern, transacted while at the fair while representatives of the manor, or even of the wider estate, were already there with the purpose of buying a range of merchandise or even perhaps selling some of the manorial produce.

Long trips by officials from smaller scale manors, or even single individuals, were unusual but not unheard of. One example can be drawn from the gaol delivery rolls of Norfolk. In illustrating the slow pace of medieval justice, Barbara Hanawalt

⁴⁰⁹ This distance is given in a thirteenth-century legal treatise, attributed to Henry Bracton, which considered how closely markets should be spaced so that they did not interfere with each other. The logic was that an average day's journey of twenty miles, when divided into thirds to account for the time spent travelling to the market, the time spent at the market conducting business, and the time spent travelling back again, worked out at $6^{2/3}$ miles. See: Bracton, George E. Woodbine, ed. *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae* Vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), 198-9.

describes a case where William of Leake, who hailed from somewhere in Norfolk, was imprisoned in Norwich castle on suspicion of having stolen a mare at Boston fair in Lincolnshire. After two years of imprisonment, a jury from Lincolnshire finally came to Norwich and testified that William had indeed legally purchased the horse at Boston.⁴¹⁰ What the unfortunate case of William of Leake indicates is that he was willing to travel to purchase a horse at Boston. The distance between Norwich and Boston, as the crow flies, is about sixty miles; however, as that most direct route crosses over The Wash, the actual overland distance was probably closer to seventy miles at minimum. William may have lived somewhere in Norfolk closer than Norwich to the Lincolnshire border, perhaps King's Lynn, but he likely travelled further for his horse than either of the buyers in the preceding examples.

5.3. Price Data

The manorial accounts provide information on the prices for horses purchased by demesnes, as well as sums fetched for those sold at market. In the absence of more comprehensive information, this price data can be used to make a number of significant inferences about the nature and extent of that market. Historians of post-medieval England are fortunate to have purchase price data, as well as information about the buyers and sellers of horses, available in a single source,⁴¹¹ whereas medievalists are forced to collect prices from individual manorial accounts. In general, agricultural product prices, including those for livestock, have been

⁴¹⁰ Barbara Hanawalt. *Crime in East Anglia in the Fourteenth Century: Norfolk Gaol Delivery Rolls, 1307-1316* Norfolk Record Society Vol. XLIV (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 1976), 37.

⁴¹¹ Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England*, 55-60.

thoroughly explored by both Rogers and Farmer,⁴¹² although both these studies were more concerned with observing broad trends across an array of goods rather than exploring the prices of horses specifically and in detail.

Our sample of 309 manorial accounts contained data for 448 adult horse acquisitions, and, of these, 259 were purchased on the market (see: Chapter 2, Figure 3.2). These 259 animals were purchased across 142 manors, indicating that 46 percent (142/309) of demesnes in our sample purchased horses in the year for which data was taken. Of these 259 purchases, we were able to derive 142 points of discrete price data, or for 55 percent (142/259) of adult horse purchases found in our sample. East Anglia was under-represented in this sample, and for the purposes of regional analysis (see below) seven additional points of price data were quarried from East Anglian accounts. These were added to the overall sample. The result was a sample of 149 points of price data from between 1289-90 and 1310-11.⁴¹³

Price data, then, can only be derived from just over half of the horse purchases recorded in the account sample. Many reasons contribute to this low retrieval rate. In some instances the manuscripts themselves are damaged; price data is usually found in the “stock purchased” section of the accounts, or sometimes in the “cost of carts” or “cost of ploughs” entries. If these sections are missing, damaged or otherwise illegible, it becomes impossible to get any price information. However,

⁴¹² James E. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England: From the Year After the Oxford Parliament (1259) to the Commencement of the Continental War (1793)* (Vaduz: Kraus, 1963); D.L. Farmer, “Some Livestock Price Movements in Thirteenth-Century England” in *The Economic History Review* Vol. 22, No. 1, April 1969, 1-16; D.L. Farmer, “Prices and Wages” in H.E. Hallam, ed. *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* Vol. II, 1042-1350 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); D.L. Farmer, “Prices and Wages, 1350-1500” in Edward Miller, ed. *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* Vol. III, 1350-1500 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁴¹³ It was possible to augment the price sample in this way, because the issue of ‘double counting’, which was circumvented in the manorial account sample (See Appendix A) by taking only one account from each manor for the period of 1289-90 to 1310-11, was not an issue for price data.

this was relatively rare.⁴¹⁴ The more persistent problem is a function of the way in which scribes recorded purchase prices for livestock. On some manors, like those of the earldom of Lincoln, it was customary to record all livestock purchases as a single lump sum, making it impossible to derive specific price data for any individual animals. Even in accounts where the prices paid for livestock were enumerated by category, scribes often still had a tendency to record purchase prices together. For example, the manor of Sawbridgeworth in Hertfordshire recorded the purchase of three stotts in 1294-5, but the account tells us only that 34 s. 2 d. was paid for all three animals, with no way to know the prices paid for each individual horse.⁴¹⁵ In these cases, the only way to derive discrete price data for individual horses would be to use the average value. This has been discounted, because, as we shall see, the purchase prices of agricultural horses could vary widely. Given such variation, it is clear that average prices derived from lump sums recorded in the accounts are too imprecise to be included in a study seeking to establish subtle variations in price data, and therefore they have been excluded here.

Another methodological issue is accounting for possible inflation or other changes that may have affected price levels from 1289-90 to 1310-11, the span from which the price data was taken. In order to compare the prices of different categories of horses as well as animals from different regions, we must be reasonably certain that other factors (such as inflation) are not distorting the nominal values paid for the animals. One factor that would have influenced price levels was the re-coinage of 1299. Over the course of the thirteenth century, currency debasement, due mostly to

⁴¹⁴ Of the 142 demesnes in our sample that recorded horse purchases, there were only two cases where manuscript damage was a prohibitive factor in collecting price data. The damaged accounts were for one Winchester Cathedral Priory manor of Crondall, in Hampshire, and the Merton College manor of Farleigh in Surrey. See: Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Crondall 1298-9, (4 ms.); Oxford University, Merton College Records 4812 (2 ms.).

⁴¹⁵ “*In iiii stott[i] emp[tione] xxxiiii s. ii d.*” TNA SC6 868/7 (1m.)

coin clipping (the practice of shaving small parts of the edge of coins, which allows the coin to be exchanged at face value while the clipper retains a small amount of precious metal), forced the crown to completely reissue or ‘re-coin’ the currency four times, in 1205, 1247, 1279 and, significant for our study, 1299, when 250,000 foreign coins were melted down and reissued as English pennies.⁴¹⁶ According to Farmer, each of these re-coinages resulted in a fall in livestock prices.⁴¹⁷ Shortly after the 1299 re-coinage, Edward I began to import large quantities of silver to finance wars with Scotland.⁴¹⁸ This dramatic increase in the amount of circulating currency in the early fourteenth century, Farmer argues, caused a wholesale increase in commodity prices.⁴¹⁹ So, in addition to whatever inflation may have occurred over the twenty-two years from which our price data is drawn, changes in currency may have also influenced horse price levels.

With this in mind, it must be taken into account that such fluctuations in overall price levels impacted on the amounts paid for horses in different years. One solution to this methodological dilemma would be to compare only prices for animals bought in the same year. However, as we have seen, useable price data is so disparate that the net would have to be cast much more broadly than would be possible within the constraints of a PhD thesis in order to collect a sample from a single year large enough for analysis. Another route would be to use an established price index such as a ‘basket of consumables’ commodity price series or David Farmer’s index of livestock prices (including affers and cart-horses)⁴²⁰ to adjust the prices in our sample, to inflate or deflate nominal values, ‘pegging’ the price points

⁴¹⁶ David Farmer, “Some Livestock Price Movements in Thirteenth Century England” *Economic History Review* 22 No. 1 (1969), 12-3, especially Figure 3.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴²⁰ David Farmer, “Statistical Appendix” *Agrarian History of England and Wales* Vol. II, 799-806.

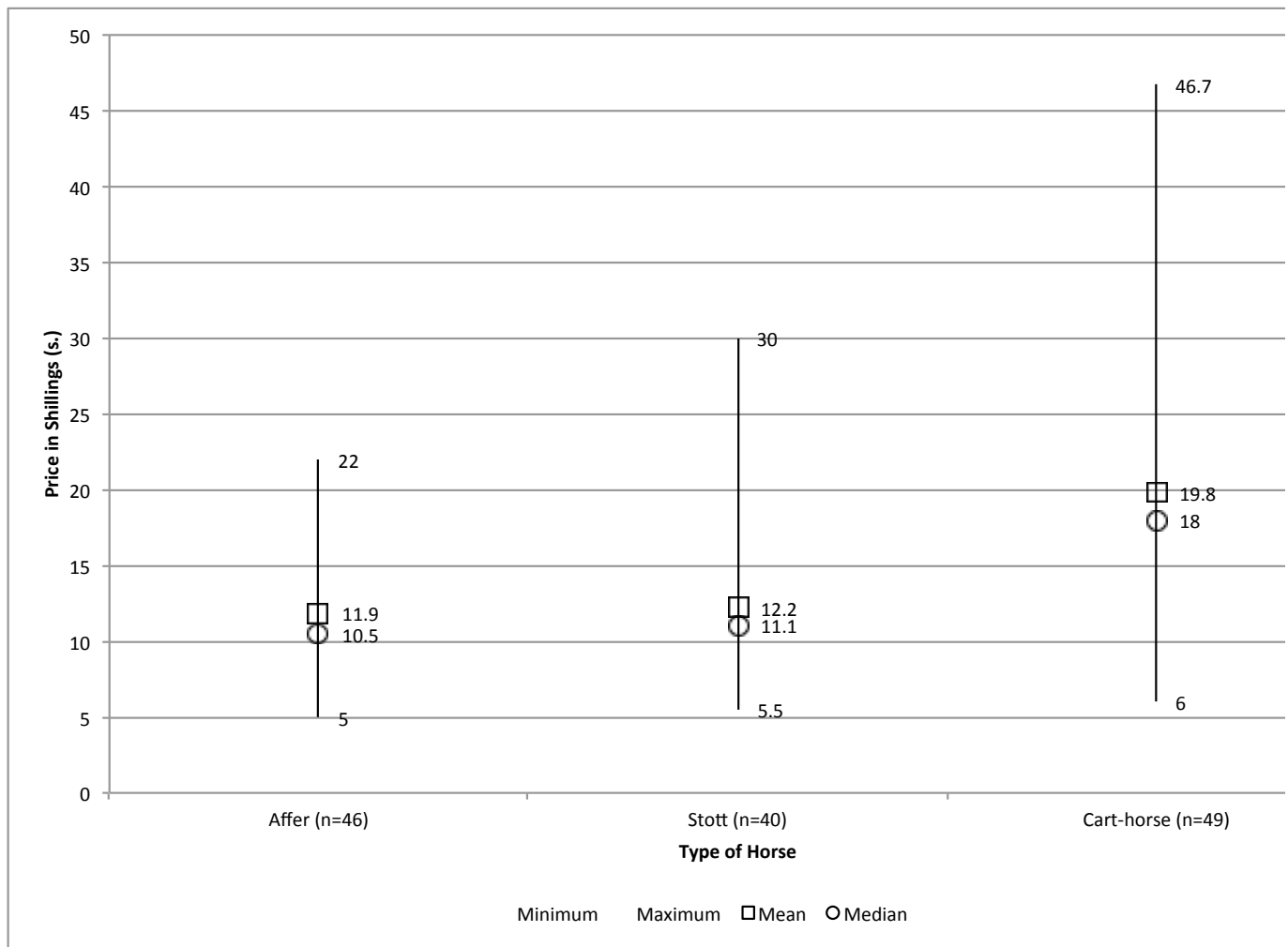
to a single year. This exercise was attempted using the Phelps Brown and Hopkins price index as revised by John Munro.⁴²¹ To carry this out, the price levels from the Phelps Brown and Hopkins basket of consumables for the year 1289-90, the first year in our sample, were taken as a base level price and prices from other years were adjusted according to the index. For example, the Phelps Brown and Hopkins index gives 1291-2 price levels as being 16 percent lower than 1289-90 levels (.84 relative to 1289-90), so horse prices from that year are multiplied by .84, and so on. The adjusted prices are given in Appendix D. However, I felt that the results produced by this exercise were less reliable than the nominal prices. For example, the Phelps, Brown and Hopkins index would have any prices from 1309-10 deflated to 47.6 percent of their nominal values, which would be at odds with both general inflation and Farmer's argument about the increase of currency in circulation at the time. Further, Farmer's detailed livestock price series gives affter prices as being 36 percent higher in 1309-10 compared to 1289-90 and cart-horse prices 86 percent higher over the same period.⁴²² Clearly, these two carefully-constructed price series are at odds with each other. A fundamental issue is that the factors which influenced prices of commodities in the Phelps Brown and Hopkins basket, namely food, drink, fuel and textiles, did not affect livestock prices in the same ways, so a change in the prices of these commodities may not reflect commensurate changes in the prices of horses. Another possibility for adjusting the prices in our sample would be to use David Farmer's aforementioned index of livestock prices. However, as the majority of his data was drawn from the Winchester Pipe Rolls (as well as the estates of Merton College and Westminster Abbey), doing so would essentially index our

⁴²¹ John Munro, *The Phelps Brown and Hopkins 'basket of consumables' commodity price series and craftsmen's wage series, 1264-1700*: Revised by John H. Munro. Accessed June 24, 2014. <http://www.economics.utoronto.ca/wwwfiles/archives/munro5/ResearchData.html>

⁴²² David Farmer, "Statistical Appendix" *Agrarian History of England and Wales* Vol. II, 805.

prices to the average prices of livestock in a small part of country, and would therefore provide uncertain results. Despite the potential for significant issues in using nominal prices, I have felt it most prudent to use them rather than the adjusted Phelps, Brown and Hopkins prices. The problems with nominal prices are known, and I have been accordingly cautious in attempts to compare prices and tentative in conclusions drawn from such comparisons.

Figure 5.1: Agricultural Horse Purchase Prices ca. 1300: National Sample



The prices in our sample are distributed fairly evenly across the three main categories of adult working animals, with forty-six offer prices, forty stott prices and forty-nine cart-horses. Our price sample also contains five *equi* prices, four points of price data for mares, two mill-horses and three prices for foals; the small number of individual price data-points within these latter categories prohibits any reliable statistical analysis, and we have accordingly focussed on the three most significant categories of stotts, offers and cart-horses. The prices for these categories are summarized in Figure 5.1. The vertical line in each category represents the range of prices paid for horses in each category; the mean and median values of purchase prices for each category are also given. Prices for offers ranged from five to twenty-two shillings, with a mean national price of 11.9 s. and a median of 10.5 s.; stott prices ranged from 5.5 s. to 30 s. with a mean of 12.2 s. and a median of 11.1 s., while cart-horse prices had the widest price range in the sample, from 6 s. to 46.7 s. with a mean of 19.8 s. and a median of 18 s.

The price ranges of the three main types of agricultural horse are informative of the relative values of these animals. Most strikingly, the price ‘floor’ for these types of horses was remarkably similar across the three categories. Of all demesne purchases, the lowest-priced category of horses were offers, of which the cheapest examples, both acquired by demesnes in the Thames Basin region,⁴²³ were purchased for 5s.. The lowest-priced stotts and cart-horses were not much more expensive at 5.5s. and 6s., respectively. Cart-horses are generally regarded as being significantly more expensive than plough horses (stotts and offers).⁴²⁴ While our price data shows

⁴²³ One of these offers, purchased on the Earl of Cornwall’s demesne in Sundon, Bedfordshire, was purchased for use as a cart animal, despite being listed as an offer in the stock account. While we have strictly used the categories of the stock accounts in our breakdown, if we were to consider this animal as a cart-horse, it would bring the price floor for cart-horses down to 5s., identical to offers.

⁴²⁴ For example, Campbell characterizes cart-horses as “the more expensive and powerful cart-horse”, while Farmer asserts that “it is clear that reeves were prepared to pay much more for [cart-

a much higher ceiling at the upper end of cart-horse prices, and the most expensive cart animals were considerably more expensive than the highest-priced stotts or affers, it is clear that there was a fair degree of overlap in prices; any of these three main types of agricultural horse could be bought, at least on occasion, for the relatively modest sum of between five and six shillings.

While the prices paid for the cheapest horses in each category were very similar, there was significant difference across categories at the highest end of the price range for each category. The highest price paid for affers in our sample was 22 s., while the most expensive stott was purchased for 30 s. The most expensive cart-horse was bought for 46.7 s. on a Peterborough Abbey demesne at Oundle in Northamptonshire.⁴²⁵ This price was unusually high, even for a cart-horse, and probably marks the outer limit of prices for agricultural horses ca. 1300. As we shall see below, Peterborough Abbey consistently paid higher-than-average prices for cart-horses, and this likely skews our sample of cart-horse prices. Given these high prices at the upper end of the spectrum, the range in prices was greatest for cart-horses at 40.7 s. with a standard deviation of 8.2 s. The price range for stotts was even wider at 24.5 s. with a standard deviation of 5.4 s. In comparison, affers ranged in price only by 17 s. with a standard deviation of 4.1 s. While the range in stott prices was greater than that of affers, the mean prices for both types of horse were very similar at 12.2 s. and 11.9s., respectively. Despite the expansive range in cart-horse prices, the mean price paid for these horses was nearer the lower end of the spectrum at 20.7 s., which supports the idea that the high prices from Peterborough Abbey manors are outliers in this regard. Indeed, it was a small proportion of cart-horses that pushed the upper bound of their price range to near 50 s. Of the forty-nine cart-horse

horses] than plough horses...” See: Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, 127; Farmer, “Prices and Wages” *Agrarian History of England and Wales* Vol. II., 750.

⁴²⁵ Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2399.

purchases in our sample, only seven were purchased for a clear premium over stotts (for 30 s. or more) and six of these animals were purchased on Peterborough Abbey manors.⁴²⁶ The similar mean prices for both stotts and affers confirm the sense gained in the previous chapter that these animals were similar: they were ‘all-purpose’ horses, and essentially the same animal simply identified by different terms in different areas of the country. The similar mean prices for both stotts and affers confirm the sense gained in the previous chapter that these animals were very similar: they were both ‘all-purpose’ horses, and while it is not possible to establish whether they were the same species, they were essentially very similar breeds undertaking similar roles but identified by different terms in different areas of the country.

The greater range of prices for stotts is likely to be a function of the fact that stotts are recorded only in East Anglia and the Thames Basin. These two regions, with their characteristic intensive agriculture and well-developed commercialization,⁴²⁷ would have rewarded the use of horses to a greater degree than all other regions.⁴²⁸ Earlier we postulated that the higher value of cart-horses compared to stotts and affers was due to a skill premium, reflecting greater strength and stamina or perhaps better training or superior temperament. We might also attribute a slight skill premium to stotts over affers, although not as significant as the premium that cart-horses held over both of them. This was not a function of the differences in breeding between stotts and affers, which were unlikely to have been great, but to the skills acquired by stotts through the extra demands placed upon workhorses in these two regions: they were likely to be worked with greater

⁴²⁶ Four cart-horses were purchased at 30s., one at 33 s., one at 44 s. and one at 46 s. See Appendix D for price data.

⁴²⁷ Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, 149.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, 127.

intensity, and obtained finer all-round skills, because of the higher intensity of commerce and agriculture in East Anglia and the Thames Basin. It is well-established that these two regions embraced horse power earlier and to a greater extent than other parts of the country.⁴²⁹ Thus, the wider range in stott prices is perhaps indicative of a market for agricultural horses that was relatively more developed than for very similar horses (affers) in other parts of the country. High levels of demand for agricultural horses in these regions could have stretched prices for them at both ends of scale (a premium for the most skilled) and provided incentives for sellers to offer animals at a wider range of prices.

Entry-level prices were virtually identical for all types of agricultural horses. While cart-horses were generally more expensive, as reflected by the higher mean price in our data sample, they could still be acquired by demesnes quite cheaply, although a cheap cart-horse was probably old, weak or both. Historians have usually assumed that reeves and other demesne managers acquired horses at the beginning of their working lives, at three to four years old, and then discarded them when their performance started to taper off. Demesne managers are thought to have been generally proactive in replacing older horses for younger and fitter ones, thus creating a secondary market of older horses deemed unfit for rigorous work, but still suitable for lighter workloads on the demesne or on other farms. It was at this point in the work-life of agricultural horses that the peasantry were more able and likely to become active consumers within the horse market, because they could afford and make better use of a bargain which was no longer deemed suitable for heavy demesne work.⁴³⁰ Generally speaking, the value of working animals in the agrarian society of medieval England was comprised of three components: the value of the

⁴²⁹ Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 88-96, especially Tables 11 and 12.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, 250.

work the animal could do; the value of its hide; and finally, the value of its meat. With little or no market for horsemeat, the value of horses fell quite considerably towards the end of their working lives. Unlike oxen and other bovines, which could be fattened up and sold as deadstock, a horse was only worth the value of its hide and other secondary products at the end of its life. As Langdon has illustrated, this rapid depreciation allowed horses to become very much the peasant's animal in medieval England.⁴³¹ Larger seigniorial farms would replace older horses as soon as their productivity waned; in most cases these animals were sold off at discounted prices and acquired by peasants who could use them for relatively lighter all-around work, including the draught tasks such as ploughing and harrowing, but also to cart goods to and from local markets and as pack animals, perhaps carrying grain short distances such as to the local mill. Most of the horses sold from these larger farms were referred to as *debilitatis*, a Latin word essentially meaning 'worn out' or lame.⁴³² *Debilitatis* is an imprecise term in these contexts, because it is often impossible to tell if the horse was lame due to injury, or just simply old. While other Latin terms like *veterus* and *senex* are used from time to time specifically to indicate old animals, the term *debilitatis* appears to have been a catch-all term to cover both scenarios.

Shedding further light on this issue, archeological research has uncovered evidence of specific ailments that may have contributed to a rapid decline in health for these working horses. In recent archeological excavations at Market Harborough, in Leicestershire, half of the horse bones recovered came from animals that had been affected with arthritic joint disorders in the hock joints of their hind legs, specifically

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² The most literal interpretations of *debil/itas*, as given by Latham, are "worn-out, weak, or of low grade" See: R.E. Latham, ed. *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List From British and Irish Sources* (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1980), 132.

spavin and infective arthritis. Spavin is still found in modern horses and cattle, where abnormal bone growth causes arthritis in the hock joint. In many cases the joint itself becomes ankylosed, or fused. Infective arthritis is rarely found in the modern period, but the condition causes pitting on the surfaces of bones within the joint. Both of these conditions are associated with hard work and advanced age.⁴³³ However, the arthritic horses affected by spavin would likely have been able to perform slow and/or light work once their arthritic hock joints fused. In this scenario, perhaps some of the debilitated horses mentioned in the manorial accounts experienced these or other similar joint issues, and were quickly sold from the working stock of larger medieval manors for relatively little money. These animals, once recovered, would have had a few additional years of useful work-life left in them, and could be used quite readily on smaller peasant holdings.

This recent archaeological evidence casts some light on the rapid depreciation that work horses seemingly underwent towards the end of their working lives on demesnes.⁴³⁴ The established argument in the literature is that it was this dramatic depreciation which resulted in ‘veteran’ work horses being sold by demesnes and the price point at which poorer peasants could afford to obtain working horses.⁴³⁵ However, our price evidence suggests that it was not only the peasantry who were employing these older, and possibly lame, horses. The prevalence of cheap horses purchased by demesnes for five or six shillings suggests that they were not always buying the youngest and fittest horses. Demesnes could, and did, buy horses on

⁴³³ Ian L. Baxter, “Medieval and early post-medieval horse bones from Market Harborough, Leicestershire, England, U.K.” *Circanea, The Journal for the Association for Environmental Archeology* Vol. 11, No. 2 (1996), 71.

⁴³⁴ Langdon has suggested that horses were worked intensively on the demesne for a period of five to seven years, at this point, they were exchanged for younger and fitter animals. See: *Horses, Oxen*, 250; Langdon, “Economics of Horses and Oxen”, 36.

⁴³⁵ Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 272.

occasion for prices only marginally higher than the cheapest horses that were being sold at the end of their lives.

From all this evidence, it is apparent that both primary and secondary markets for horses existed in medieval England. In the primary market, ‘new’ animals were bought near the beginning of their working lives at three or four years, while in the secondary market older animals were bought with less work-life left in them, similar to the used car market of today. When demesnes bred their own horses, young horses were identified as foals for the first three or four years of their lives and then moved into one of the adult work horse categories. Langdon suggested that when demesne managers entered the market to supplement these home-bred stocks they drew primarily on the primary (or ‘new’) market. Meanwhile, their peasant tenants were consumers in the secondary (or ‘used’) market, buying cheap horses with only a few years of useful work ahead of them and often with significant disabilities such as lameness and blindness.⁴³⁶ There is an inherent logic to Langdon’s argument, because demesnes were more likely to have the capital or cash flow to purchase the more expensive horses which characterised the primary market, whereas the poorer or cash-strapped peasantry were more likely to purchase the cheaper horses which dominated the secondary market.

While this general division may have been the ideal or general model, our price data suggests that demesnes could be active and ready consumers in both primary and secondary markets. Some, like Peterborough Abbey, were consistently in the primary market for the highest-quality cart-horses; while others paid so little for some horses that they were certainly engaged in the secondary market, at least from

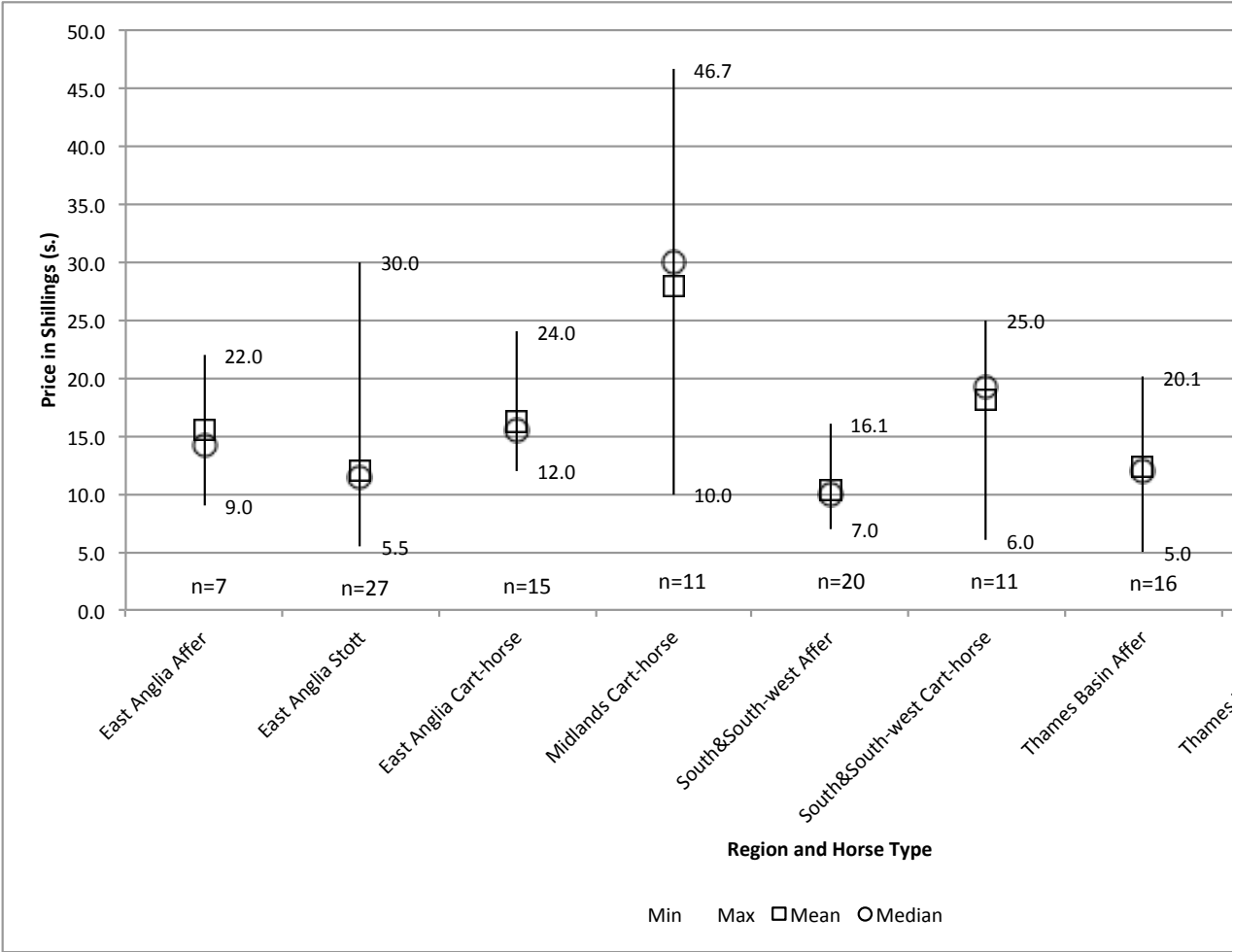
⁴³⁶ Langdon cites a Lay Subsidy assessment from south Wiltshire in 1225 where peasant horses are described as “lame” (*claudus*), blind (*cecus*) or “weak” (*debilis*). As discussed above, many horses in this study were described as *debilis*, but the other two terms were not encountered. Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 250 n.245.

time to time; affers bought by Sundon (Bedfordshire) and Hampstead (Middlesex) for 5 s. were very likely horses with significant ‘miles’ on them. Similarly a cart-horse bought at Stockton (Wiltshire) for 6 s. in 1298-9 must have belonged to the same category. Some demesnes seem to have been engaged with both primary and secondary markets. For example Great Blakenham, a Suffolk manor of the Abbey of Bec, bought two affers in 1297-8. Both horses were explicitly to be used for carting, but the prices paid for the animals differed significantly. One was purchased for 22 s., while only 12 s. was paid for the other.⁴³⁷ A purchase price of 12 s. is very close to the mean price of affers in our sample, while a purchase price of 22 s. indicates a relatively expensive horse. We might infer that the more expensive animal was a purchase in the ‘primary’ market, while the cheaper one was a more dilapidated animal from the ‘secondary’ market.

While demesne managers may have preferred to replace ageing horses with the youngest and fittest animals possible, it is likely that demesne managers often replaced ineffective or ageing horses with others that were only marginally fitter. Clearly, the secondary market was not catering exclusively for peasants and smallholders. Demesnes might have sought a horse from the secondary market for several reasons. Cash-strapped demesnes might have had little choice but to opt for a cheap horse, or demesne managers may have tried to save money on horses in order to allocate it elsewhere. If the draught needs of a demesne were not particularly onerous, older and/or less fit horses may have filled a specialised ‘light work’ function within the horse team. On the other hand, peasants likely entered the primary market on occasion. A fit horse costing 12s. to 15s. bought every five years would not have been beyond the reach of wealthier peasants.

⁴³⁷ Marjorie Chibnall, ed. *The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1968), 173.

Figure 5.2: Regional Purchase Price Ranges for Agricultural Horses ca. 1300



5.4 Regional Prices

Breaking our price data down into regional areas sheds further light on the purchasing patterns of demesnes as well as regional markets for agricultural horses across the country. The regional breakdown yielded 124 prices in nine separate sets across four regions.⁴³⁸ We have a full complement of price data for all three categories of adult horse (offers, stotts and cart-horses) in both East Anglia and the Thames Basin regions. We have only offer and cart-horse data for the South and South-west, and only cart-horse prices for the midlands, as Table 5.3 illustrates.

The remarkable consistency in the mean prices of cart-horses is strongly suggestive of a highly-integrated market for these animals, which, at the very least, stretched from the South and South-West to East Anglia. Mean cart-horse prices in East Anglia, The Thames Basin and South and South-west regions were 17.8, 18.0 and 18.1 shillings, respectively. How do we account for this uniformity in cart-horse prices? One important factor was that these carting animals were regularly travelling away from the manor, carting goods between constituent manors of larger estates and moving produce to and from weekly markets. We might surmise, then, that cart-horses could feasibly have been sold along with their cargo on occasion. If this was the case, the greater range of these particular horses, compared to stotts and offers, might have served to normalize their established price levels at a regional or even national level.

More difficult to explain is the significantly higher mean price of cart-horses in the Midlands. At 27.9s., the mean price paid for cart-horses in this region was 55

⁴³⁸ Three points of price data, present in the categorical analysis of Figure 1, have been removed from the regional analysis of Figure 2. Our sample contained only one point of purchase price data for the north, a single female offer purchased at Rockcliffe in Yorkshire for 8s. Two additional points of price data were excluded from the regional analysis: a female offer purchased on the Peterborough Abbey demesne at Stanwick, in Northamptonshire and an offer bought at Stallingborough in Lincolnshire. Both horses were purchased for 13s. 6d.

percent higher than the mean prices paid in the other three regions. In this case, these higher prices are likely a function of the particular policies of just one estate, Peterborough Abbey, which provided ten of the eleven price points for the Midland cart-horses and therefore dominate the sample. Peterborough demesnes consistently paid a premium for cart-horses throughout the 1300s. Our Peterborough Abbey data is spread evenly between enrolled accounts for 1300-1 and 1309-10, although the two highest prices in this category, cart-horses purchased for 46s 8d and 44 d, were both paid in 1309-10.

Biddick's study of pastoral management on Peterborough Abbey demesnes found that the Abbey acquired new cart-horses almost exclusively⁴³⁹ on the market while generally replacing affers through internal breeding. It seems that any money saved by breeding affers internally was invested in the estate's stock of cart-horses. Indeed, the estate as a whole spent more on cart-horses, in buying the animals and maintaining them,⁴⁴⁰ than it earned through wool sales.⁴⁴¹ Therefore, the outlying high prices in the midlands region likely reflect Peterborough Abbey's policy of purchasing high-quality cart-horses rather than a truly higher level of prices for the region as a whole.

Our hypothesis about the regionalised nature of the market for agricultural horses in c.1300 can be further tested by subjecting the price data samples to tests of significance. Given the relatively small sizes of the regional samples, Student's T testing is the most reliable statistical method for assessing the significance of our

⁴³⁹ Biddick argues that the estate "...bought cart-horses on the market and did not breed them." However, she also acknowledges, as we have illustrated in Chapter 2, that the cart-horse category was flexible, as cart-horses and affers could be swapped between categories. In this case, an internally-bred offer could conceivably be moved to the cart-horse category, a move which would essentially create an internally-bred cart-horse. Therefore, we have remained more cautious than Biddick regarding the assertion that all cart-horses were purchased on Peterborough Abbey demesnes. See: Biddick, *The Other Economy*, 118-9.

⁴⁴⁰ This calculation included cart-horses, their fodder, shoeing and general maintenance as well as the maintenance of carts and the wages of carters. Biddick, *The Other Economy*, 120.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

regional price data. The Student's T test compares the mean of one sample with the mean of another and provides a measure of probability that the two samples come from different populations. The T test gives us a P value between 0 and 1, and this is used to determine the significance of the difference between the two samples. The accepted threshold for significance is the 0.05 level; anything above this is interpreted as not being statistically significant, in that there is a greater than 5 percent chance that the two samples are actually derived from the same population, and any difference observed between the two samples is due to random chance. A P value between 0.05 and 0.01 is interpreted as significant, as there is a 95 percent or greater chance that the differences between two samples are reflections of those samples being drawn from two distinct populations. A P value of less than 0.01 reflects a highly significant result, and we can be more than 99 percent certain in these cases that the two tested samples are drawn from different populations.

Table 5.2: Significance Testing for Regional Horse Prices

Test No.	Sample 1	Sample 2	P Value	Significance Level
1	Thames Basin Stotts	Thames Basin Affers	0.846661378	
2	Thames Basin Plough	Thames Basin Cart	0.006751303	99%
3	South & South-west Plough	South & South-west Cart	1.95407E-05	99%
4	Thames Basin Cart	Midlands Cart	0.013089997	99%
5	East Anglia Stotts	East Anglia Affers	0.281287103	
6	East Anglia Plough	East Anglia Cart	0.022436488	95%
7	East Anglia Cart	Midlands Cart	0.032494756	95%

8	East Anglia Cart	Thames Basin Cart	0.886037102	
9	East Anglia Stott	Thames Basin Stott	0.655948271	
10	National Affer	National Stott	0.573033281	
11	National Plough	National Cart	9.17073E-11	99%

Source: National Price Database. “Plough” Categories are populated with all stotts and/or affers in a region.

So what does significance testing tell us about our price data? Table 5.1 reveals that in tests one, five and ten the differences in prices between stotts and affers are not significant in any of our regions, or on a national scale. The overall distribution of prices suggests that these were similar animals known under different regional labels, as discussed elsewhere in this thesis. The argument that stotts and affers are virtually identical encourages an experiment, in which stotts and affers are combined into a single ‘plough’ category and tested against cart-horse categories. This is undertaken in tests two, three, six and eleven. The resulting P values indicate that the different mean prices of these samples are statistically significant, and most certainly derived from distinct populations. The differences are most pronounced in the Thames Basin and south and south-west regions, both with significance levels of less than 0.01, and somewhat weaker in East Anglia, where the confidence level between plough and cart horses is 0.02, although this figure is well under the accepted threshold of 0.05.

Perhaps most telling are the results obtained from testing our regional samples of cart-horse prices against each other. Looking at the ranges and means of our regional price data, we had suggested earlier that the consistency in mean values for cart-horses across the country suggested that, with the exception of the midlands, the market for cart-horses was rather more integrated than the market for either stotts or affers. Our significance testing supports this. Tests four, seven and eight have compared the mean cart-horse prices from the Thames Basin, Midlands and East

Anglia against each other. The results indicate that cart-horses from both the Thames Basin and East Anglia were unique populations (significant to the 0.05 level) when compared to cart-horses from the Midlands. However, the extremely high P value of 0.89 suggests that East Anglian and Thames Basin cart horses were a single population. The similarity of mean prices in these two regions can perhaps be seen as evidence of very strong market integration for cart-horses between these two regions. This is likely due to two factors. First, the two regions border each other, with Essex and Hertfordshire sharing boundaries with Suffolk and Cambridgeshire. In addition, the high market density of East Anglia combined with the commercial influence of London⁴⁴² make these two regions the most likely places to reward the use of cart-horses. As Campbell has noted, “it is...no surprise to find that adoption of the cart-horse proceeded furthest in those places of the country which stood to gain from a closer involvement with the market.”⁴⁴³ Indeed, Langdon’s study of the shift from ox hauling to horse hauling found that the Home Counties and East Anglia, along with the East Midlands, were the regions which embraced horse hauling most completely.⁴⁴⁴ Similarly, test nine indicates that Thames Basin and East Anglian stotts (the only two regions in our sample which stocked these animals) were likely drawn from a single population.

5.5 Conclusions

⁴⁴² Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, 149.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁴⁴⁴ Langdon, “Horse Hauling: A Revolution in Vehicle Transport in Twelfth and Thirteenth Century England?”, *Past and Present*, No. 103 (1984), 58. In addition to having embraced horse hauling quite early and most comprehensively relative to the rest of the country, it seems that East Anglia continued to specialize in cart-horses well beyond the medieval period. For instance, when Henry VIII sent agents around the country to procure cart-horses for a military campaign in 1512-13, the most valuable, and likely highest quality, animals came from two East Anglian counties, Norfolk and Suffolk, as well as Lincolnshire, which just borders the region. See: Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England*, 31.

This chapter has attempted to sketch the broad contours of the market for agricultural horses around the year 1300. Data on specific loci of exchange are hard to come by, but the limited available evidence from manorial accounts illustrates that at least a proportion of agricultural-grade horses was bought at formal marketing events, namely markets and fairs. Significant distances were travelled to purchase these animals, but nothing in our data approaches the long-distance trade in the thirteenth century between Wales and the Bishop of Winchester's estate or the distances travelled by horse merchants in the early modern period. One key difference is the numbers of horses involved in these examples. The bishop of Winchester imported nine horses from Wales on two occasions in 1208-9 and one horse dealer who travelled over eight miles from Oxfordshire to Shrewsbury in 1647 went home with ten horses.⁴⁴⁵ The numbers of animals purchased in the manorial account references are low; only one or two horses were purchased at a time. Demesne managers likely only travelled great distances to purchase horses when their needs were particularly dire, or perhaps when other business brought them to a market or fair. That these references are few and far between might suggest that demesne managers most frequently bought horses informally from members of the local community, as discussed in Chapter 3, but patronized markets and fairs on occasions where no suitable animals were available locally.

In areas where horse markets were well-integrated, such as the Thames Basin and East Anglia, there was less geographical variation in horse prices, which perhaps

⁴⁴⁵ Hubert Hall, ed., trans. *The pipe roll of the bishopric of Winchester for the fourth year of the pontificate of Peter des Roches, 1208-1209* (London, 1903), 6, 36; Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England*, 33, 37.

negated the need to travel great distances for high-quality animals at reasonable prices.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In 1986 two books were published that could be said to form the boundaries of this present study: John Langdon's *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation*, and Nicholas Russell's *Like Engend'ring Like*.⁴⁴⁶ The former, which has been discussed and referenced throughout this thesis, examined the increasing use of horses in England over the medieval period, especially for draught, while the latter

⁴⁴⁶ Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*; Russell, *Like Endend'ring' Like*.

examined the biological production of the beasts – admittedly mostly concerning the early modern period, but with huge significance for the medieval era. To a large extent, this study can be seen as occupying the space between these two works, that is, between the initial generation of the animals and their exploitation.

At the heart of this thesis is a single question: where did medieval England get its supply of work horses? In addressing this query, this thesis has consulted an array of evidence. The best sources are those for the demesne. The manorial accounts show that demesnes did *not* produce enough horses to meet their own needs, let alone supply the whole economy of medieval England. For demesnes, horse breeding was to some degree a ‘hit and miss’ endeavour, possibly hampered by the poor health and sterility of overworked mares.⁴⁴⁷ In these terms, internal horse breeding could be seen as only a semi-reliable form of horse acquisition where estate managers had some agency and ability to encourage or discourage horse production, but were hampered not only by the fact that foals took around three years to reach an age where they could work and contribute to the manor’s agricultural enterprises as draught animals, but also by the fact that there was no guaranteed year-by-year supply of foals from the mares of the estate. The former factor would have necessitated that reeves and other demesne managers plan ahead at least three years in planning and projecting their stocks of horses, while the latter consideration meant that reeves would often need to supplement their stocks of adult horses in any given year by other means. On a national level, lords and their demesne managers instead relied heavily on the open market to supply their working horses. This finding is

⁴⁴⁷ In these references to the infertility of mares, it is always the mare which is recorded as being sterile. One wonders if, in these cases, the mare in question was mated with more than one stud horse to determine that it was in fact the mare that was sterile. If this was not the case, some of these mares may have not foaled because the stud horse employed was in fact sterile. All of the sources consulted for this thesis are frustratingly silent on this issue.

significant, as it illustrates that there was a well-established and relatively stable market for agricultural horses upon which demesne managers relied. Broadly, the contour of the market for work-horses followed the established narrative of commercialisation in the period. Places like East Anglia and the hinterland of London, dense with both people and markets, showed a higher level of integration and trading activity. The market was weaker in places further from commercial centres, which also tended to be those areas where oxen remained the dominant draught animals well into the fourteenth century.⁴⁴⁸

The main commercial source of horses around c.1300 was the peasant sector, although sources for the peasant sector are not as reliable, detailed or precise. The thesis has explored the potential of a variety of sources for reconstructing the production of horses among peasantry. They are suggestive rather than conclusive. Lay subsidy assessments are the best source, and a detailed study of a single lay subsidy return has illustrated that the peasantry had both the potential and the incentive to produce a surplus of work horses that would have been in excess to their own draught needs. This is significant not only for identifying a potential, if not likely, source of agricultural horses, but also because it has implications for peasant agriculture and production more broadly. The possibility of peasants engaging in horse trading has been suggested previously by Langdon,⁴⁴⁹ and the data presented here provides another body of evidence that points to the same conclusion. Managerial concerns that demesne managers faced would not have weighed as heavily on peasant farmers. In general, their farming operations were smaller, so managing and projecting a breeding program would not have been as large an undertaking as it would have been for demesne managers. Foals could accompany

⁴⁴⁸ Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, Tables 12 and 29, 88, 205.

⁴⁴⁹ Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 273.

their mothers while grazing and even while working in the fields: indeed this is a scene described in a number of manorial bylaws. Peasant horse breeding was not, however, a major specialism of particular regions nor of certain groups of peasants. Peasants who bred for the market did not do so to the exclusion of all other agrarian endeavours. They did so as part of a wider portfolio of mixed farming. Hence the absence of specialization in horse production from the seigniorial sector was also apparent in the peasant sector: it was simply that peasants pursuing a mixed-farming regime produced more surplus horses than did the demesnes. In our Suffolk case study, which utilized the evidence of lay subsidies, peasant horse breeding potential was highest where favourable environmental conditions like light soils and extensive heathland pasture were combined with advantageous institutional circumstances like loosely-regulated commoning rights.

I am arguing in this thesis, therefore, that the horse trade was not a simple connecting mechanism between a horse's birth and its eventual use (and death), but that there was a much more complex interaction between the various stages of the horse industry, and that many of the elements that led to the rise in the use of horses in medieval England had counter-intuitive repercussions for the trade of the animals and for the economy overall. For example, the trade in horses may have contained elements that led to its demise, at least in some parts of England.⁴⁵⁰

In *Like Endend'ring Like*, Russell discusses how the generational production of quality animals might be harmed by any number of factors.⁴⁵¹ It was (and remains) very easy for breeders inadvertently to produce deterioration in the productivity and fertility of stock, so much so that the sole objective of pre-modern breeders was often to hold the status quo and prevent degeneration; the generational

⁴⁵⁰ Specifically the 'polarization' in the late medieval use of horses and oxen. See: Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 97-9, 157, 210-12, 253, 274, 288.

⁴⁵¹ Russell, *Like Endend'ring' Like*, 11-22.

improvement of stock was not easily achievable and often it was not even an attempted goal.⁴⁵² One key puzzle highlighted in this thesis is how little was mentioned of horse breeding in the treatises of the period. The casualness of horse breeding is implied heavily from the manorial accounts, where no special efforts can be detected to take care over reproductive strategies. On the contrary, mares seem to have been bred indiscriminately with any old (anonymous) stallion and then sold when they were no longer of much use. Should we see, then, the medieval trade of agricultural horses mostly one of inferior animals that inevitably fed back into poorer breeding stock at one end and poorer performance at the other? Is this why oxen hung on as long as they did? Something of such a seeming economic good as the horse trade might, in overall terms, have been, at least in the short term, deleterious to the use of the animals. Lack of specialisation went hand in hand with casual breeding, perhaps because notions of selective breeding were unknown or ignored before the early modern period.⁴⁵³ The two traits reinforced the limits to commercial capacity in this sector of agriculture. The shortcomings in the sector might well have acted as a drag upon the medieval economy and perhaps acted as a ceiling to commercialisation.

In many ways this thesis has raised at least as many questions as it has answered. As I was embarking upon this project, the late Richard Britnell cautioned me that this would be a difficult project to complete within the bounds of a three-year PhD. Now at the end of three years of research, I can confirm that his caution was warranted. For the medieval period, there are no seams of evidence easily mined for insights into the trade of agricultural horses; as this thesis has demonstrated, one's net must be cast very broadly in order to uncover the disparate

⁴⁵² Ibid., 12-14.

⁴⁵³ Ibid., 15.

bits of data that occur infrequently in the extant records. In this regard, there are many avenues of further research that can be undertaken for the next stage in turning the thesis into a monograph. The next most obvious task is to expand the temporal bounds of analysis. In the interests of making this research manageable as a doctoral project, the scope of much of the research was limited to the years around 1300. However, over the course of my archival work for this thesis, I also collected a c. 1400 sample of manorial accounts as well as a number of longitudinal case studies of single manors at decadal intervals which were not employed in the thesis. The analysis of this material is an obvious next step. A c. 1400 sample would allow for direct comparison with the material from Chapter 2, which could answer a number of important questions. If the seigniorial sector was not involved in the breeding of horses at the turn of the fourteenth century, was this the case one hundred years later? This additional material will also furnish an augmentation of the corpus of price data used in Chapter 4, which will provide insight into the changing geography of the horse market over the course of the fourteenth century. Additional price data would also allow more sophisticated regression analysis that could take us further than the more rudimentary T testing. Studying additional court roll series and lay subsidy assessments could similarly expand the scope of analysis for the peasant sector.

With the exception of a brief discussion of the ‘segmentation’ of the medieval horse market, this thesis has also ignored non-agricultural horses. While ‘elite’ horses have been studied by a small number of scholars already, comparisons between the trade in war horses and other elite animals, which were often exchanged according to a different set of guiding principles than those applied to agricultural animals, informed in many cases by medieval notions of largesse and chivalry,

would provide a more holistic understanding of the wider horse trade in medieval Europe.

This project has been approached in full awareness of the considerable methodological obstacles involved, in the tangential use of a variety of potentially problematic sources, and has attempted to approach the relevant research questions both quantitatively and qualitatively. There has been no established literature to fall back on and few established orthodoxies to challenge. Rather, this thesis proposes to break new ground in describing the nature of the trade of agricultural horses in medieval England and to set the terms for future debate.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Manorial Account Data

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Entry No.	Manor	County	Region	Year	Eccles/Lay	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Foals	Added Internally (from other category)	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Born (Foals)	Transferred inter-manor	Lost Internally (to other category)	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Circumstances of Loss	Loss Code	Loss Code	Loss Code	Foals Promoted	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference	
1	Iaunton	Somerset	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2																						1 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)		
2	Kingston St. Mary and Nailbourne	Somerset	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	2		1																				1 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)		
3	Kingston St. Mary and Nailbourne	Somerset	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull (24)	1																			1	0	-1	1 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)		
4	Kingston St. Mary and Nailbourne	Somerset	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull (14)	1																						0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)		
5	Kingston St. Mary and Nailbourne	Somerset	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull de Esktu	1																						0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)		
6	Staplegrove	Somerset	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1				1	Heriot	4								1								0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)		
7	Trull and Bishop's Hull	Somerset	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	2														1								-1	1 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
8	Holway	Somerset	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1																						0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)		
9	Poundstord	Somerset	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1																						0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)		
10	Poundstord	Somerset	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull (14)	1																							0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
11	Poundstord	Somerset	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull de Esktu	0										1												1	1 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
12	Rimpton	Somerset	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	2				1	stray	3																	0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
13	Rimpton	Somerset	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull (14)	1																							0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
14	Rimpton	Somerset	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull de Esktu	0										1													1 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
15	Rimpton	Somerset	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull (0-1)	1																							0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
16	Hindon Borough (Sub-manor of East Knoyle?)	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	6															1								5	1 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)
17	Upton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	2																							0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
18	Bishop's Ponthill	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	2																							0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
19	Downton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2																							0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
20	Downton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Jumenta	12		2		2	stray	3								1									15	3 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)
21	Downton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	8		1		1	heriot	4								3									7	1 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)
22	Downton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull (24)	3																				3	0	3	3 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
23	Downton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull (24)	2																							2	0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)
24	Downton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull (14)	6																							6	0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)
25	Downton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull de Esktu	0										2													2	2 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)
26	Bishopstone	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1																							1	0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)
27	Merdon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	4																							4	0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)
28	Merdon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	11		2		1	heriot	4								2									12	1 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)
29	Crawley	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2																							2	0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)
30	Crawley	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	5		1		1	heriot	4									1								6	1 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)
31	Overton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2		1																					2	0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)
32	Overton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	9					1	stray	3																10	1 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)
33	North Waltham	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2																							2	0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)
34	North Waltham	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	16		2												1	2								15	-1 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)
35	Hightclere	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2																							2	0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)
36	Burghclere	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	4																							4	0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)
37	Burghclere	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Jumenta	0					1	heriot	4																0	0 The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)

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Entry No.	Manor	County	Region	Year	Eccles/Lay	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Foals	Added Internally (from other category)	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Born (Foals)	Transferred inter-manor	Lost Internally (to other category)	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Circumstances of Loss	Loss Code	Loss Code	Loss Code	Foals Promoted	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference
38	Eccleswell	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2																				2	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
39	Eccleswell	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Jumenta	0				1	heriot	4								1							0	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)
40	Woodhay	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2																				2	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
41	Woodhay	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	6				1	heriot	4								1						6	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
42	Woodhay	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull de Exitu	0										1										1	1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
43	Ashmansworth	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2																				2	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
44	Ashmansworth	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	4		1												1						4	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
45	Winey	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	3																				3	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
46	Addenbury	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2																				2	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
47	Ivinghoe	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2																				2	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
48	Ivinghoe	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Affrus	10														6						4	-1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
49	West Wycombe	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2																				2	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
50	West Wycombe	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Affrus	12		1		1	heriot	4								2						12	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
51	Morton	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Affrus	9														4	1					4	-1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
52	Wargrave	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2		1																		3	1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
53	Wargrave	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Affrus	4		1	1											1						5	1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
54	Wargrave	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Pull (2+)	1																				0	-1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
55	Wargrave	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Pull (1+)	1																				1	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
56	Wargrave	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Pull de Exitu	0										1										1	1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
57	Culham	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Affrus	7																				7	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
58	Waltham St Lawrence	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Affrus	5		2		1	heriot	4														8	3	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
59	Waltham St Lawrence	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Pull (2+)	2																				0	2	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
60	Waltham St Lawrence	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Pull (1+)	1																				1	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
61	Billingbear	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Affrus	5															1					4	1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
62	Brightwell	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2		1																		3	1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
63	Brightwell	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Jumenta of the Mill	1		1																		1	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
64	Brightwell	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Affrus	11															11					0	-1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
65	Brightwell	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Pull (2+)	1																				0	-1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
66	Brightwell	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Pull (1+)	3																				3	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
67	Harwell	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2		2		2	heriot	4								4						2	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
68	Farnham	Surrey	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2		1																		2	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
69	Farnham	Surrey	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Affrus	2				1	heriot	4														3	1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
70	Farnham	Surrey	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Pull (1+)	1																				1	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
71	Farnham	Surrey	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Pull de Exitu	0										1										0	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
72	Farnham	Surrey	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Mill Horses	2		1																		2	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
73	Farnham	Surrey	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Mill Horses	1																				1	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
74	Berby	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2																				2	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	

Appendix A: Manorial Account Data

Entry No.	Manor	County	Region	Year	Eccles/Lay	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Foals	Added Internally (from other category)	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Born (Foals)	Transferred inter-manor	Lost Internally (to other category)	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Circumstances of Loss	Loss Code	Loss Code	Loss Code	Foals Promoted	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference
75	Fareham	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2																				2	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
76	Fareham	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	5	2													3						4	-1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
77	Havant	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	3														1						2	-1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
78	Havant	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	0				1	heriot	4								1						0	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
79	Bitterne	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	5														2	1					2	-3	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
80	Bitterne	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Jumenta	3														1						2	-1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
81	Bitterne	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1															1					0	-1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
82	Bitterne	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull (1+)	1																				1	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
83	Bitterne	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull (0-1)	1																				1	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
84	Bitterne	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull de Exitu	0										2										2	2	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
85	Bishop's Waltham	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2																				2	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
86	Bishop's Waltham	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	3	1			2	heriot	4								2						4	1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
87	Droxford	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2	1			1	heriot	4								2						2	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
88	Droxford	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	4				2	heriot	4								2						4	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
89	Twyford	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	3																				3	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
90	Twyford	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	13				3	2 heriot, 1 addition	4								1						15	2	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
91	Bishopstoke	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Mare in Cart costs	3	1														2					2	-1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
92	East Meon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2																				2	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
93	East Meon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	18	11													3	9					17	-1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
94	East Meon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull (2+)	2															2					0	-2	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
95	East Meon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull (1+)	1																				1	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
96	East Meon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull (0-1)	2															1					1	-1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
97	East Meon Church	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	3	1																			3	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
98	East Meon Church	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	6	1		1		transferred from cart horses									1						7	-1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
99	Hambledon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2																				2	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
100	Hambledon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	8	1													1	1					7	-1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
101	Bishop's Sutton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	3																				3	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
102	Bishop's Sutton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	7	1		1	heriot	4									3	1					5	-2	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
103	Bishop's Sutton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull (2+)	2															1					0	-2	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
104	Bishop's Sutton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull (1+)	3															1					2	-1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
105	Bishop's Sutton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull (0-1)	2															1					1	-1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
106	Bishop's Sutton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull de Exitu	0										2										2	2	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
107	Cheriton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2																				2	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
108	Cheriton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	13														3	2					8	-5	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
109	Cheriton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull (1+)	2																				1	-1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
110	Beauworth	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	4																				4	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	
111	Atterford	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	2																				2	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)	

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Entry No.	Manor	County	Region	Year	Eccles/Lay	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Foals	Added Internally (from other category)	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Born (Foals)	Transferred inter-manor	Lost Internally (to other category)	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Circumstances of Loss	Loss Code	Loss Code	Loss Code	Foals Promoted	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference				
112	Wield	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	6																							0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)				
113	Wield	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Pull de Exitu	0												1											1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)				
114	Esher	Surrey	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	2	1															1 taken by assessor of 15th		6					2	0	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)			
115	Wolvesey	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.					2	1 from bishop; 1 from heriot		9	4																4	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)			
116	Cam	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	4															1								3	-1	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)			
117	Cam	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	2																2							0	-2	The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2; edited Mark Page (Winchester; Hampshire Record Series, vol. 14, 1996)			
118	Sedgebrook	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Affrus	10	3	1			1 stray	3																		12	2	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1		
119	Sedgebrook	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Pull (2+)	1																								1	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1		
120	Sedgebrook	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Pull	1																								1	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1		
121	Kneesaal	Nottinghamshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Affrus	11		1															3						10	-1	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1			
122	Kneesaal	Nottinghamshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Pull (2+)	1																								0	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1		
123	Ightenhill	Lancashire	North	1295-6	L	Jumentia	32																9	1 given to William de stopham?					42	-10	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1				
124	Ightenhill	Lancashire	North	1295-6	L	Huncini	2																								1	-1	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1		
125	Ightenhill	Lancashire	North	1295-6	L	Pull (2+)	29																								27	-2	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1		
126	Ightenhill	Lancashire	North	1295-6	L	Pull (1+)	22																								14	-5	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1		
127	Ightenhill	Lancashire	North	1295-6	L	Pull de Exitu	0																1	1 tithed		7				21	21	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1			
128	Hatton	Cheshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Affrus	2																								2	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1		
129	Winkes	Lancashire	North	1295-6	L	Affrus	2																								2	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1		
130	Tanshall	Yorkshire	North	1295-6	L	Affrus	6																								5	-1	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1		
131	Kypes	Yorkshire	North	1295-6	L	Affrus	2																								2	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1		
132	Kypes	Yorkshire	North	1295-6	L	Pull de Exitu	1																									1	1	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
133	Allotts	Yorkshire	North	1295-6	L	Affrus	3	1																								1	-2	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
134	Elmsall	Yorkshire	North	1295-6	L	Affrus/Jum	2																								2	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1		
135	Carnesale	Yorkshire	North	1295-6	L	Jumentia	2																									2	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
136	Carnesale	Yorkshire	North	1295-6	L	Pull	2																									2	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
137	Ackworth	Yorkshire	North	1295-6	L	Jumentia/Huncini	3																									2	-1	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
138	Roundway	Yorkshire	North	1295-6	L	Affrus	2																									2	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
139	Ouston	Yorkshire	North	1295-6	L	Affrus	2	1																								3	1	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
140	Sutton-on-Sea	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Affrus	9					1 heriot	4																			9	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
141	Sutton-on-Sea	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Pull (2+)	3																									7	2	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
142	Sutton-on-Sea	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Pull (1+)	5																									5	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
143	Donnington	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Affrus	5	1				4 received from reeve	3																			7	2	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
144	Donnington	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Pull (1+)	0																									1	1	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
145	Wangle	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Affrus	2		1			1 stray	3																			4	2	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
146	Wangle	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Pull (2+)	1																									1	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
147	Wangle	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Pull (1+)	0																										1	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1
148	Wangle	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Pull de exitu	0																										2	2	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1
149	Swanston	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Affrus	11		1																							12	1	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
150	Swanston	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Pull (1+)	1																									1	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
151	Bolton	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Affrus	1					2 from seargent	9																			3	2	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
152	Grewtham	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Affrus	3		2																								3	2	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1
153	Thoresby	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Affrus/Jum	1					1 stray	3																			2	1	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
154	Thoresby	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Pull (2+)	2																									2	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
155	Thoresby	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Pull de Exitu	0																										2	2	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1
156	Protoby	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Affrus	9	1				1 stray	3																			7	-2	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
157	Thoresby	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Affrus	9																										9	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1
158	Thoresby	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Pull (2+)	2																										2	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1
159	Thoresby	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Pull (1+)	2																										2	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1
160	Wath	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Affrus	3		1																								4	1	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1
161	Wath	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Pull (2+)	0																										1	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1
162	Wath	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Pull (1+)	1																										1	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1
163	Hidrok	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Affrus	2		2			1 stray	3																				3	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1
164	Gransale	Cambridgeshire	East Anglia	1295-6	L	Affrus																													

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184	Hensfidge	Somerset	South and South-west	1295-6	L	Pull de Exitu	0										2										2	2	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
185	Charlton	Somerset	South and South-west	1295-6	L	Affrus	3		1			"add" - usually means from foals but no indication of that									1	1					2	-1	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
186	Charlton	Somerset	South and South-west	1295-6	L	Pull (2+)	1																				1	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
187	Kingsbury	Somerset	South and South-west	1295-6	L	Affrus	3				1	from stable of marshal/marshall of earl	9														3	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
188	Kingsbury	Somerset	South and South-west	1295-6	L	Pull de Exitu	0										2										2	2	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
189	Kingsbury	Somerset	South and South-west	1295-6	L	Pullanus	1															1					0	-1	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
190	Trowbridge	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1295-6	L	Affrus	6														1						5	-1	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
191	Trowbridge	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1295-6	L	Pull de Exitu	0										1										1	1	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
192	Trowbridge	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1295-6	L	Pullanus	1																				0	-1	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
193	Bucky	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Affrus	8				6	4 liberated from ? 1 from stable of marshal									4	2					8	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
194	Bucky	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1295-6	L	Pull de Exitu	0											1									1	1	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
195	Middilton	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1295-6	L	Affrus	3																				3	0	TNA: PRO DL 29/1/1	
196	Bowcombe (in Catsbrooke)	Hampshire (Isle of Wight)	South and South-west	1301-2	L	Affrus	4																				4	0	TNA: PRO SC6 984/22 ms. 1r-1d	
197	Whitefield (in Brading)	Hampshire (Isle of Wight)	South and South-west	1301-2	L	Affrus	3													2		1	liberated to attourney	4			0	-3	TNA: PRO SC6 984/22 ms. 4r-4d	
198	Whitefield (in Brading)	Hampshire (Isle of Wight)	South and South-west	1301-2	L	Jumentia	2															2	liberated to attourney	4			0	-2	TNA: PRO SC6 984/22 ms. 4r-4d	
199	Whitefield (in Brading)	Hampshire (Isle of Wight)	South and South-west	1301-2	L	Pullanus	2			2											1	1	2	liberated to attourney	4		0	-2	TNA: PRO SC6 984/22 ms. 4r-4d	
200	Pan (de Purine)	Hampshire (Isle of Wight)	South and South-west	1301-2	L	Affrus	2		1													1					2	0	TNA: PRO SC6 984/23 ms. 8r-8d	
201	Wroxall	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	L	Affrus	2															1					1	-1	TNA: PRO SC6 984/23 ms. 10r-10d	
202	Freshwater	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	L	Equus	2																2	liberated to attourney	4		0	-2	TNA: PRO SC6 984/23 ms. 14r-14d	
203	Thorney	Hampshire	South and South-west	1306-7	L	Affrus	4		1																		5	1	TNA: PRO SC6 985/4 1r-1d	
204	Swanton (in Calbourne)	Hampshire (Isle of Wight)	South and South-west	1306-7	L	Affrus	2				2	herod	4									2					2	0	TNA: PRO SC6 985/4 8r-8d	
205	Bosham	Sussex	South and South-west	1302-3	L	Affrus	6		1																		6	0	TNA: PRO SC6 1020/24 6ms.	
206	Swanton (in Harrod)	Bedfordshire	Thames Basin	1308	E	Eq. Car.	2															2	liberated	4			0	-2	TNA: PRO SC6 741/29	
207	Swanton (in Harrod)	Bedfordshire	Thames Basin	1308	E	Affrus	12															2	10	liberated	4		0	-12	TNA: PRO SC6 741/29	
208	Swanton (in Harrod)	Bedfordshire	Thames Basin	1308	E	Pullanus	3															3	liberated	4			0	-3	TNA: PRO SC6 741/29	
209	Sharnbrook (Little)	Bedfordshire	Thames Basin	1308	E	Affrus	4															4	liberated	4			0	-4	TNA: PRO SC6 741/29 ms. 5-8	
210	Stroughton (Little)	Bedfordshire	Thames Basin	1308	E	Eq. Car.	1															1	liberated	4			0	-1	TNA: PRO SC6 741/29 m.7	
211	Stroughton (Little)	Bedfordshire	Thames Basin	1308	E	Stollus	6																6	liberated	4			0	-6	TNA: PRO SC6 741/29 m.7
212	Stroughton Bray	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1297-8	L	Equus	2			1	proven de quod laquone?	5										1					2	0	TNA: PRO SC6 724/4 5 ms.	
213	Hampstead	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	L	Affrus	6		1																		6	0	TNA: PRO SC6 748/27	
214	Hampstead	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	L	Jumentia	6		1													1					6	0	TNA: PRO SC6 748/27	
215	Hampstead	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	L	Pull (2+)	2																				2	0	TNA: PRO SC6 748/27	
216	Hampstead	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	L	Pull (1+)	2																				2	0	TNA: PRO SC6 748/27	
217	Hampstead	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	L	Pull Exitu	0																				3	3	TNA: PRO SC6 748/27	
218	Wendover	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1296-7	L	Eq. Car.	4																				4	0	TNA: PRO SC6 763/5 1m.	
219	Wendover	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1296-7	L	Affrus	17																1				14	-3	TNA: PRO SC6 763/5 1m.	
220	Westcott	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Affrus	2		1																		2	0	TNA: PRO SC6 763/16 (1m.)	
221	Westcott	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Jumentia	2				1	de Afmcol Received from Lord?	5														2	0	TNA: PRO SC6 763/16 (1m.)	
222	Diton Valence	Cambridgeshire	East Anglia	1301	L	Eq. Car.	1																				1	0	TNA: PRO SC6 766/15 (2ms.)	
223	Diton Valence	Cambridgeshire	East Anglia	1301	L	Stollus	11		1																		11	0	TNA: PRO SC6 766/15 (2ms.)	
224	Kennet	Cambridgeshire	East Anglia	1295-1300	L	Eq. Car.	2																				2	0	TNA: PRO SC6 788/20	
225	Kennet	Cambridgeshire	East Anglia	1295-1300	L	Stollus	3		1																		3	0	TNA: PRO SC6 788/20	
226	Bretty	Cumberland	North	1289-90	L	Jumentia	1															1					1	-1	TNA: PRO SC6 824/14 ms.3	
227	Bretty	Cumberland	North	1289-90	L	Pullanus	2																				2	0	TNA: PRO SC6 824/14 ms.3	
228	Bretty	Cumberland	North	1289-90	L	Pull de Exitu	0																				1	1	TNA: PRO SC6 824/14 ms.3	
229	Chesterford	Essex	Thames Basin	1301-2	L	Eq. Car.	2		1																		2	0	TNA: PRO SC6 837/24	
230	Chesterford	Essex	Thames Basin	1301-2	L	Stollus	10																2				10	0	TNA: PRO SC6 837/24	
231	Dovercourt	Essex	Thames Basin	1300-1	L	Eq. Car.	1																				1	0	TNA: PRO SC6 840/10	
232	Dovercourt	Essex	Thames Basin	1300-1	L	Stollus	7		1																		6	-1	TNA: PRO SC6 840/10	
233	Eastwood	Essex	Thames Basin	1289-90	L	Eq. Car.	2																				2	0	TNA: PRO SC6 840/10	
234	Eastwood	Essex	Thames Basin	1289-90	L	Stollus	18		4																		18	0	TNA: PRO SC6 840/10	
235	Troydon	Essex	Thames Basin	1310-11	L	Eq. Car.	2															3	1				2	-2	TNA: PRO SC6 847/22	
236	Great Hallingbury	Essex	Thames Basin	1301-2	L	Eq. Car.	0					from Stollus	8														1	1	British Library Egerton Roll 8346	
237	Great Hallingbury	Essex	Thames Basin	1301-2	L	Stollus	11		5																		12	1	British Library Egerton Roll 8346	
238	Flamborough	Yorkshire	North	1294-5	E	Jumentia	6																				6	0	British Library Add. Ch. 75459	
239	Risby	Suffolk	East Anglia	1298-9	E	Eq. Car.	1		1														2				0	-1	Suffolk County Record Office, Bury St. Edmunds E315.13/2.5	
240	Risby	Suffolk	East Anglia	1298-9	L	Stollus	3																				4	1	Suffolk County Record Office, Bury St. Edmunds E315.13/2.5	

Appendix A: Manorial Account Data

Entry No.	Manor	County	Region	Year	Eccles/Lay	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Foals	Added Internally (from other category)	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Born (Foals)	Transferred inter-manor	Lost Internally (to other category)	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Circumstances of Loss	Loss Code	Loss Code	Loss Code	Foals Promoted	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference
252	Little Langton	Yorkshire	North	1304		Jumentia	2																				2	0	North Yorkshire County Record Office ZJX 3/2/12 (2ms.)	
253	(West) Stoke	Sussex	South and South-west	1300-1	L	Affrus	1																				1	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1030/8 (2ms.)	
254	Easington	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Affrus	1																				0	-1	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 2r	
255	Easington	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Jumentia	2																				2	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 2r	
256	Easington	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Pull de Exitu	0		2																		2	2	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 2r	
257	Easington	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Pull (2x)	1			1																	1	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 2r	
258	Easington	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Pull (1x)	2																				0	-2	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 2r	
259	Easington	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Pull Femina	0																			2	1	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 2r	
260	Keyingham	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Eq Car.	2			1																	2	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 3f-3d	
261	Little Humber (Parva Humber in Paul, Yorkshire)	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Jumentia	2																				1	-1	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 4f-4d	
262	Little Humber (Parva Humber in Paul, Yorkshire)	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Pull Fem	1			2																	3	2	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 4f-4d	
263	Little Humber (Parva Humber in Paul, Yorkshire)	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Pull de Exitu	0		2												2						0	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 4f-4d	
264	Holderness "Equitum" (Presumably)	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Jumentia	19															1					18	-1	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 m.5d	
265	Holderness "Equitum" (Presumably)	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Pull de Exitu	14																				14	18	4	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 m.5d
266	Holderness "Equitum" (Presumably)	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Stations	2																				2	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 m.5d	
267	Holderness "Equitum" (Presumably)	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Pull Mas	6			7																	13	7	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 m.5d	
268	Holderness "Equitum" (Presumably)	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Pull Fem	8			7																	15	7	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 m.5d	
269	Burstock	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Jumentia	4	1																			5	1	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 ms. 7r-7d	
270	Burstock	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Pull de Exitu	4															1					4	3	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 ms. 7r-7d	
271	Burstock	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Pull Femina	1																				1	1	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 ms. 7r-7d	
272	Ycon (Claton/Cleat)	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Eq Car.	2																				2	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 ms. 8r-8d	
273	Ycon (Claton/Cleat)	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Jumentia	2		2																		2	2	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 ms. 8r-8d	
274	Ycon (Claton/Cleat)	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Pull de Exitu	2																				2	2	TNA.PRO.SCB.1079/15 ms. 8r-8d	
275	Stoke Couray (Stoguryay)	Somerset	South and South-west	1300-1	L	Jumentia	2																				2	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1090/6 ms.7-8	
276	Stoke Couray (Stoguryay)	Somerset	South and South-west	1300-1	L	Pullanus	1																				1	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1090/6 ms.7-8	
277	Hertecote (Harcott? In Seawington St. Mary)	Somerset	South and South-west	1300-1	L	Jumentia	0	1																			0	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1090/6 ms.3-4	
278	Queen's Camel	Somerset	South and South-west	1300-1	L	Jumentia	2																				0	-2	TNA.PRO.SCB.1090/6 ms.1-2	
279	Queen's Camel	Somerset	South and South-west	1300-1	L	Pullanus	3																				0	-3	TNA.PRO.SCB.1090/6 ms.1-2	
280	Flethamstead (in Stoneleigh)	Warwickshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Affrus	4	2																			5	1	TNA.PRO.SCB.1039/11 m. 1r-1d	
281	Flethamstead (in Stoneleigh)	Warwickshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Cart Mare	2					1	coming from? Before foaling														3	1	TNA.PRO.SCB.1039/11 m. 1r-1d	
282	Warwick	Warwickshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Eq Car.	2																				2	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1039/11 m. 1r-1d	
283	Warwick	Warwickshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Affrus	0	2																			2	2	TNA.PRO.SCB.1039/11 m. 1r-1d	
284	Shenstone	Warwickshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Eq Car.	2																				2	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1040/18 M. 1r-1d	
285	Cherew Cotton (S. of Nuneaton)	Warwickshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Eq Car.	2																				2	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1040/18 M. 1r-1d	
286	Studley	Warwickshire	Midlands	1310-11	E	Eq Car.	2																				2	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1040/21 m.5	
287	Wolvey	Warwickshire	Midlands	1310-11	E	Eq Car.	4																				3	-1	TNA.PRO.SCB.1040/21 m.5	
288	Wolvey	Warwickshire	Midlands	1310-11	E	Affrus	6	2																			6	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1040/21 m.5	
289	Harbury	Warwickshire	Midlands	1310-11	E	Equus	2	1																			2	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1040/21 m.2	
290	Harbury	Warwickshire	Midlands	1310-11	E	Affrus	2																				2	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1040/21 m.2	
291	Cubbington	Warwickshire	Midlands	1310-11	E	Eq Car.	2																				2	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1040/21 m.3	
292	Cubbington	Warwickshire	Midlands	1310-11	E	Affrus	2		1																		2	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1040/21 m.3	
293	Cubbington	Warwickshire	Midlands	1310-11	E	Pullanus	2																				2	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1040/21 m.3	
294	Cubbington	Warwickshire	Midlands	1310-11	E	Pull de Exitu	0																				1	1	TNA.PRO.SCB.1040/21 m.3	
295	Ludgershall	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1296-7	L	Equus	1																				1	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1054/23	
296	Ludgershall	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1296-7	L	Affrus	4																				5	1	TNA.PRO.SCB.1054/23	
297	Stratton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1295-6	L	Affrus	2																				2	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.1058/14 M.2	
298	Stratton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1295-6	L	Pull de Exitu	0																				1	1	TNA.PRO.SCB.1058/14 M.2	
299	Oldington (Great) Sutton	Worcestershire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Affrus	1																				0	-1	TNA.PRO.SCB.1070/13 (2ms)	
300	Oldington (Great) Sutton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1																				1	-1	TNA.PRO.SCB.1074/25 m.2	
301	Bungay	Suffolk	East Anglia	1300-1	L	Eq Car.	3	1																			3	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.991/25 (2ms.)	
302	Bungay	Suffolk	East Anglia	1300-1	L	Stotius	2																				2	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.991/25 (2ms.)	
303	Clare	Suffolk	East Anglia	1309-10	L	Eq Car.	5																				4	-1	TNA.PRO.SCB.992/8 4ms.	
304	Clare	Suffolk	East Anglia	1309-10	L	Affrus	29	3		1			from Cart Horses	6													25	-4	TNA.PRO.SCB.992/8 4ms.	
305	Dunningworth	Suffolk	East Anglia	1300-1	L	Eq Car.	1																				0	-1	TNA.PRO.SCB.995/23 (2ms.)	
306	Dunningworth	Suffolk	East Anglia	1300-1	L	Stotius	1		1																		4	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.995/23 (2ms.)	
307	Eye	Suffolk	East Anglia	1298	E	Affrus	4																				4	0	TNA.PRO.SCB.996/12 (6ms.)	
308	Haughley	Suffolk	East Anglia	1298	E	Eq Car.	1	1																			2	1	TNA.PRO.SCB.996/12 m.2r	
309	Haughley	Suffolk	East Anglia	1298	E	Affrus																								

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Entry No.	Manor	County	Region	Year	Eccles/Lay	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Foals	Added Internally (from other category)	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Born (Foals)	Transferred inter-manor	Lost Internally (to other category)	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Circumstances of Loss	Loss Code	Loss Code	Loss Code	Foals Promoted	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference							
329	Weston	Hertfordshire	Thames Basin	1299-1300	L	Stottus	17																						15	-1	INA:PRO SC6 87320 (ms. 2-3)						
330	Eiton (Aylton)	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1305-6	E	Eq Car.	4			1		1 from Ramsay, 1 from Affers	5										2						4	0	INA:PRO SC6 87412 (3ms.)						
331	Eiton (Aylton)	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1305-6	E	Affrus	10	1											1										9	-1	INA:PRO SC6 87412 (3ms.)						
332	Bythorn	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Eq Car.	3																						3	0	INA:PRO SC6 87516 (1m.)						
333	Bythorn	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Stottus	2																							2	0	INA:PRO SC6 87516 (1m.)					
334	Holywell	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1306-7	E	Eq Car.	2																							2	0	INA:PRO SC6 87715 (3ms.)					
335	Holywell	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1306-7	E	Jumentia	4																							5	1	INA:PRO SC6 87715 (3ms.)					
336	Holywell	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1306-7	E	Pur de Exitu	1																							4	3	INA:PRO SC6 87715 (3ms.)					
337	Holywell	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1306-7	E	Pull (1+)	1			1		from foal de xitu						4												1	0	INA:PRO SC6 87715 (3ms.)					
338	Holywell	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1306-7	E	Pull (2+)	2																							1	0	INA:PRO SC6 87715 (3ms.)					
339	Houghton	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Eq Car.	7																							6	-1	INA:PRO SC6 87814 (1ms.)					
340	Houghton	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Stottus	10		1																						10	0	INA:PRO SC6 87814 (1ms.)				
341	Houghton	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Pull (2+)	1																								0	-1	INA:PRO SC6 87814 (1ms.)				
342	Abbot's Nipton	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Eq Car.	6																								6	0	INA:PRO SC6 87814 (1ms.)				
343	Abbot's Nipton	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Stottus	10	3																								10	0	INA:PRO SC6 87814 (1ms.)			
344	Stape (St. Ives)	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1307-8	E	Eq Car.	4																								4	0	INA:PRO SC6 88011 (4ms.)				
345	Stape (St. Ives)	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1307-8	E	Stottus	7					1 Rec de Holywell (Hathlywell) line 322	5																		6	-1	INA:PRO SC6 88411 (4ms.)				
346	(Adonbury) Weston	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Eq Car.	9																								6	0	INA:PRO SC6 88510; 88519				
347	(Adonbury) Weston	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Stottus	9	1																								9	0	INA:PRO SC6 88510; 88519			
348	(Adonbury) Weston	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Pullanus	3																									2	-1	INA:PRO SC6 88510; 88519			
349	Wiston	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Eq Car.	7																								6	-1	INA:PRO SC6 88530 ms. 1-2				
350	Wiston	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Stottus	5		1																						6	-1	INA:PRO SC6 88530 ms. 1-2				
351	Wiston	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Jumentia	1																									1	0	INA:PRO SC6 88530 ms. 1-2			
352	Wiston	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Pullanus	1																									0	-1	INA:PRO SC6 88530 ms. 1-2			
353	Wiston	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Pull Mas	1																									1	0	INA:PRO SC6 88530 ms. 1-2			
354	Wiston	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Pull (2+)	0																										1	0	INA:PRO SC6 88530 ms. 1-2		
355	Wiston	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Pull (1+)	0																										0	-1	INA:PRO SC6 88530 ms. 1-2		
356	Wiston	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Pur de Exitu	0																										0	-1	INA:PRO SC6 88530 ms. 1-2		
357	Warboys	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Eq Car.	6		1																							6	0	INA:PRO SC6 88530 ms. 4-5			
358	Warboys	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Stottus	6																										6	0	INA:PRO SC6 88530 ms. 4-5		
359	Warboys	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Pull (2+)	1																										1	0	INA:PRO SC6 88530 ms. 4-5		
360	Warboys	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Pull (1+)	0					1 Stray	3																			1	0	INA:PRO SC6 88530 ms. 4-5			
361	Ospringe	Kent	Thames Basin	1291-2	L	Eq Car.	2																									3	0	INA:PRO SC6 89417 (2ms.)			
362	Ospringe	Kent	Thames Basin	1291-2	L	Stottus	10	19				2 rec. from reeve and heriot	5																			14	14	INA:PRO SC6 89417 (2ms.)			
363	West Cliffe	Kent	Thames Basin	1302-3	L	Exaus	0		2																								2	2	INA:PRO SC6 89916; 89919		
364	West Cliffe	Kent	Thames Basin	1302-3	L	Stottus	8		3																								3	1	INA:PRO SC6 89916; 89919		
365	West Cliffe	Kent	Thames Basin	1302-3	L	Eq Car.	2																										0	-2	INA:PRO SC6 89916; 89919		
366	King's Langley	Hertfordshire	Thames Basin	1305-6	L	Eq Car.	2																										2	0	INA:PRO SC6 86616 (5ms.)		
367	King's Langley	Hertfordshire	Thames Basin	1305-6	L	Affrus	12	1																									11	-1	INA:PRO SC6 86616 (5ms.)		
368	Edenham	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1299-1300	L	Affrus	4					1 rec de bonis Hois (Will supp. De emp)	5																			3	-1	INA:PRO SC6 90918 (ms. 3r - 5r)			
369	Edenham	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1299-1300	L	Jumentia	3					2 rec. de Nico prat Salm	5																			4	1	INA:PRO SC6 90918 (ms. 3r - 5r)			
370	Folkingham	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1299-1300	L	Eq Car.	4	1																									5	1	INA:PRO SC6 90918 (ms. 14-16)		
371	Folkingham	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1299-1300	L	Jumentia	2																										2	0	INA:PRO SC6 90918 (ms. 14-16)		
372	Folkingham	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1299-1300	L	Pur de Exitu	0																											2	0	INA:PRO SC6 90918 (ms. 14-16)	
373	Holywell (Hellewell)	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1300-1301	E	Eq Car.	2																										2	0	INA:PRO SC6 91014		
374	Boradwell	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1308	E	Exaus	4																											4	0	INA:PRO SC6 95716 (1ms)	
375	Boradwell	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1308	E	Affrus	4																											3	-1	INA:PRO SC6 95716 (1ms)	
376	Kirtlington	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1291-2	E	Affrus	8		1																									6	0	INA:PRO SC6 95914 (m. 2)	
377	Cilton	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1293-4	E	Affrus	5																												5	0	INA:PRO SC6 95728 (2ms.)
378	Cilton	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1293-4	E	Pull (1+)	1																												1	0	INA:PRO SC6 95728 (2ms.)
379	Cilton	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1293-4	E	Pull (2+)	1																												1	0	INA:PRO SC6 95728 (2ms.)
380	(Upper) Heyford																																				

Appendix A: Manorial Account Data

Entry No.	Manor	County	Region	Year	Eccles/Lay	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Foals	Added Internally (from other category)	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Born (Foals)	Transferred inter-manor	Lost Internally (to other category)	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Circumstances of Loss	Loss Code	Loss Code	Loss Code	Foals Promoted	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference
414	Vicarage of Stratton (St. Margaret)	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1298-9		Pullanus	2														2							0	-2	Merton College Records 4309	
415	Vicarage of Stratton (St. Margaret)	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1298-9		Pull de Exitu	0											1										1	1	Merton College Records 4309	
416	Hollywell	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1290-1	E	Eq Car.	7	3			1	Walf	3								1		2 trans. Chetendon.	3				8	1	Merton College Records 4469 (2ms.)	
417	Hollywell	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1290-1	E	Pull de Exitu	0														1							1	1	Merton College Records 4469 (2ms.)	
418	Hampstead	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1289-90	E	Eq Car.	3																1					2	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 32405	
419	Hampstead	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1289-90	E	Affrus	3	1																				4	1	Westminster Abbey Muniments 32405	
420	Westerham	Kent	Thames Basin	1283-4	E	Eq Car.	4																					4	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 26386	
421	Westerham	Kent	Thames Basin	1293-4	E	Fornisesi Equus	0					3 rec de missone dm-2 pullan fuer (heriot?)	5								2							3	3	Westminster Abbey Muniments 26386	
422	Arnewell	Hertfordshire	Thames Basin	1290-1	E	Eq Car.	1																					1	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 26145	
423	Arnewell	Hertfordshire	Thames Basin	1290-1	E	Affrus	6					3 jument rec. de Westminster, 1 jument (cum Pullan) de Halingford foal with mare from Halingford	4	5														10	4	Westminster Abbey Muniments 26145	
424	Arnewell	Hertfordshire	Thames Basin	1290-1	E	Pull de Exitu	0												1									1	1	Westminster Abbey Muniments 26145	
425	Knightsbridge	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1297-8	E	Eq Car.	2																					2	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 16388	
426	Knightsbridge	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1297-8	E	Affrus	9															1						8	-1	Westminster Abbey Muniments 16388	
427	Islip	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1297-8	E	Equus	4	2				rec. de reeve of Olyndone	2	5														8	-4	Westminster Abbey Muniments 14783	
428	Islip	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1297-8	E	Jumenta	0					rec. de reeve of Olyndone	4	5														4	4	Westminster Abbey Muniments 14783	
429	Islip	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1297-8	E	Pullanus	0					rec. de reeve of Olyndone	1	5														1	1	Westminster Abbey Muniments 14783	
430	Iodenham	Gloucestershire	Midlands	1298-9	E	Equus	2					1 rec. de reeve of Olyndone 1 de bowe 1 Rectoris; 2 rec. de reeve Islip	3	9	5													5	3	Westminster Abbey Muniments 25028	
431	Iodenham	Gloucestershire	Midlands	1298-9	E	Jumenta	1																					0	-1	Westminster Abbey Muniments 25028	
432	Oddington	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1297-8	E	Equus	2	1															2 liberated to reeve of Islip	3				0	-2	Westminster Abbey Muniments 14785	
433	Oddington	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1297-8	E	Affrus	4																4 liberated to reeve of Islip	3				0	-4	Westminster Abbey Muniments 14785	
434	Oddington	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1297-8	E	Pull de Exitu	0																1 liberated to reeve of Islip	3				0	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 14785	
435	Knowle	Warwickshire	Midlands	1298-9	E	Equus	0		3														2 Lib. Servientia de Turveston	3			1	1	Westminster Abbey Muniments 27695		
436	Knowle	Warwickshire	Midlands	1298-9	E	Jumenta	4					2 proven de Oakham	5									3						3	-1	Westminster Abbey Muniments 27695	
437	Knowle	Warwickshire	Midlands	1298-9	E	Pullanus	3																					0	-3	Westminster Abbey Muniments 27695	
438	Knowle	Warwickshire	Midlands	1298-9	E	Pull (1+)	4																					4	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 27695	
439	Knowle	Warwickshire	Midlands	1298-9	E	Pull de Exitu	2																					2	-1	Westminster Abbey Muniments 27695	
440	Yeoveney	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Equus	3																					2	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 18841	
441	Yeoveney	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Affrus	4					3 rec. de reeve of Denham	5										1	5				1	-2	Westminster Abbey Muniments 18841	
442	Yeoveney	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Pullanus	2																						1	-1	Westminster Abbey Muniments 18841
443	Pyrford	Surrey	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Affrus	3	1																					2	-1	Westminster Abbey Muniments 27399
444	Pyrford	Surrey	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Pullanus	1																						1	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 27399
445	Burton	Gloucestershire	Midlands	1298-9	E	Equus	2																					2	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 8249	
446	Burton	Gloucestershire	Midlands	1298-9	E	Affrus	2																						2	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 8249
447	Burton	Gloucestershire	Midlands	1298-9	E	Pullanus	1																						1	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 8249
448	Lurweston	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1299-1300	E	Eq Car.	6																						2	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 7781
449	Lurweston	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1299-1300	E	Affrus	6		2														1						7	1	Westminster Abbey Muniments 7781
450	Lurweston	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1299-1300	E	Pullanus	0		1																				1	1	Westminster Abbey Muniments 7781
451	Adenham	Hertfordshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Equus	12															1						13	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 26546	
452	Adenham	Hertfordshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Affrus	12			1													1	1					13	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 26546
453	Brilbrook	Essex	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	2		1																			2	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 25401	
454	Brilbrook	Essex	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Affrus	13																						13	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 25401
455	Kingsbourne	Hertfordshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Affrus	13																						13	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 8788
456	Battersea	Surrey	Thames Basin	1299-1300	E	Equus	3																					3	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 27504	
457	Battersea	Surrey	Thames Basin	1299-1300	E	Affrus	7		1														2						9	-1	Westminster Abbey Muniments 27504
458	Launton	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1299-1300	E	Equus	2																						2	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 15311
459	Launton	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1299-1300	E	Affrus	4																						4	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 15311
460	Stanes	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1299-1300	E	Eq Car.	2																						2	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 18922
461	Stanes	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1299-1300	E	Affrus	2																						2	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 18922
462	Morden	Surrey	Thames Basin	1302-3	E	Equus	2																						2	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 27295
463	Morden	Surrey	Thames Basin	1302-3	E	Affrus	4					1 rec. de reeve Battersea	5																5	1	Westminster Abbey Muniments 27295
464	Hallford	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1300-1	E	Equus	6																6 libat reeve de Codynlon, Morden, Gronelord, Chelsterford	3				0	-6	Westminster Abbey Muniments 27018	
465	Eye	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Equus	9					2 rec. de Latibus? De Pffona	5																11	2	Westminster Abbey Muniments 26866
466	Eye	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Jumenta	3																						3	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 26866
467	Eye	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Pull (2+)	1																						1	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 26866
468	Eye	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Pullanus	2																						3	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 26866
469	Eye	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Pull de Exitu	1					1 de quodam latine?	1																1	0	Westminster Abbey Muniments 2686

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Entry No.	Manor	County	Region	Year	Eccles/Lay	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Foals	Added Internally (from other category)	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Born (Foals)	Transferred inter-manor	Lost Internally (to other category)	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Circumstances of Loss	Loss Code	Loss Code	Loss Code	Foals Promoted	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference
493	Woolstone (Worstone?)	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Pull (1+)	1																				0	-1	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, 1298-9, ms. 12	
494	Woolstone (Worstone?)	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Pull de Exitu	0										2				1						1	1	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, 1298-9, ms. 12	
495	Overton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	2	1														1	to the hands of the prior	3			2	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Overton 1298-9, 3 ms.	
496	Overton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Affrus	2																				2	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Overton 1298-9, 3 ms.	
497	Enford	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	4	1											1								4	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Stockton 1298-9, 2 ms.	
498	Enford	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Affrus	12		1		1	1 henot, 1 from Cart Horses		4							1	2						11	-1	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Stockton 1298-9, 2 ms.
499	Stkstead	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	2		1																		2	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Silkstead 1298-9, 2 ms.	
500	Stkstead	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Affrus	6												1								5	-1	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Silkstead 1298-9, 2 ms.	
501	Mapledurham	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	3	3											3								3	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Mapledurham 1298-9, 2 ms.	
502	Mapledurham	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Affrus	0			3											2						1	1	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Mapledurham 1298-9, 2 ms.	
503	Mapledurham	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Jumenta	3															2					1	-2	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Mapledurham 1298-9, 2 ms.	
504	Mapledurham	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Pull (1+)	2															2					0	-2	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Mapledurham 1298-9, 2 ms.	
505	Mapledurham	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Pull (1+)	2																				2	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Mapledurham 1298-9, 2 ms.	
506	Houghton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	1													1							0	-1	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Houghton 1298-9, 2 ms.	
507	Houghton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Jumenta	3	1	1													1						4	1	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Houghton 1298-9, 2 ms.
508	Michelmersh	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	2	1															lib to curtur				2	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Michelmersh 1298-9, 2 ms.	
509	Michelmersh	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Affrus	0		1			rec: de Curtur		5								1						0	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Michelmersh 1298-9, 2 ms.
510	Michelmersh	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Jumenta	3		1		1	Cumelyng (stray)		3														5	2	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Michelmersh 1298-9, 2 ms.
511	Michelmersh	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Pull (2+)	1																				1	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Michelmersh 1298-9, 2 ms.	
512	Michelmersh	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Pull (1+)	1																				1	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Michelmersh 1298-9, 2 ms.	
513	Michelmersh	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Pull de Exitu	1																				1	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Michelmersh 1298-9, 2 ms.	
514	Long Sutton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	2	1																			3	1	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Long Sutton 1298-9, 2 ms.	
515	Long Sutton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Affrus	7	1														1					7	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Long Sutton 1298-9, 2 ms.	
516	Crondal	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	4	1																			5	1	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Crondal 1298-9, 4 ms.	
517	Crondal	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	11	2														2					11	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Crondal 1298-9, 4 ms.	
518	Easton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	4																				4	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Easton 1298-9, 3 ms.	
519	Easton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Affrus	19	4			3	henot	4								1	4					21	2	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Easton 1298-9, 3 ms.	
520	Wonston	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	2	1													1						2	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Wonston 1298-9, 2 ms.	
521	Wonston	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Affrus	7		1												2	1					5	-2	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Wonston 1298-9, 2 ms.	
522	Wonston	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Jumenta	5																				5	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Wonston 1298-9, 2 ms.	
523	Wonston	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Pull (1+)	1																				1	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Wonston 1298-9, 2 ms.	
524	Chibolton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	2																				2	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Chibolton 1298-9, 2 ms.	
525	Chibolton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Affrus	9				2	1 from prior, 1 ?									1						10	1	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Chibolton 1298-9, 2 ms.	
526	Chibolton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Jumenta	5		1																		6	1	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Chibolton 1298-9, 2 ms.	
527	Chibolton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Pullanus	1																			1	0	-1	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Chibolton 1298-9, 2 ms.	
528	Chibolton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Pull (2+)	1																				1	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Chibolton 1298-9, 2 ms.	
529	Chibolton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Pull (1+)																					0	-1	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Chibolton 1298-9, 2 ms.	

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Entry No.	Manor	County	Region	Year	Eccles/Lay	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Foals	Added Internally (from other category)	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Born (Foals)	Transferred inter-manor	Lost Internally (to other category)	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Circumstances of Loss	Loss Code	Loss Code	Loss Code	Foals Promoted	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference
530	Whitechurch	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	2																				2	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Whitechurch 1298-9, 2 ms.	
531	Whitechurch	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Affrus	23	3													3						23	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Whitechurch 1298-9, 2 ms.	
532	Hurstbourne Priors	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	4	1																			4	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Hurstbourne Priors 1298-9, 2 ms.	
533	Hurstbourne Priors	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Affrus	18		1	1	heriot	4								2	3						15	-3	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Hurstbourne Priors 1298-9, 2 ms.	
534	Littleton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Affrus	7													1							6	-1	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Littleton 1298-9, 3 ms.	
535	Littleton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Jumenta	5	1			heriot	4								2							5	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Littleton 1298-9, 3 ms.	
536	Littleton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Pull (2+)	2															2	to Hodgkinton	3			0	-2	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Littleton 1298-9, 3 ms.	
537	Littleton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Pull (1+)	2															2	to Hodgkinton	3			0	-2	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Littleton 1298-9, 3 ms.	
538	Littleton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Pull de Exitu	0										1										1	1	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Littleton 1298-9, 3 ms.	
539	Barton Priors	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	5			1											1						5	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Barton Priors 1298-9, 5 ms.	
540	Barton Priors	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Affrus	43	6												1	5						43	0	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Barton Priors 1298-9, 5 ms.	
541	Little Hinton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	2	1																			3	1	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Little Hinton 1298-9, 2 ms.	
542	Little Hinton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Affrus	2														1						1	-1	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Little Hinton 1298-9, 2 ms.	
543	Little Hinton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Pull de Exitu	0										1										1	1	Hampshire Record Office: Dean and chapter of Winchester Muniments Account Roll III, Little Hinton 1298-9, 2 ms.	
544	Sundon	Bedfordshire	Thames Basin	1296-7	L	Eq Car.	2																				2	0	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.5-12	
545	Sundon	Bedfordshire	Thames Basin	1296-7	L	Affrus	6	1				from East	0														7	1	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.5-12	
546	Great Berkhamstead	Hertfordshire	Thames Basin	1296-7	L	Eq Car.	1																				5	1	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.12-27	
547	Great Berkhamstead	Hertfordshire	Thames Basin	1296-7	L	Affrus	13																				13	0	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.12-27	
548	Ever Cornwall	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1296-7	L	Eq Car.	1	1																			2	1	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.27	
549	Ever Cornwall	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1296-7	L	Affrus	2																				2	0	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.27	
550	Cippenham	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1296-7	L	Eq Car.	2																				2	0	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.31	
551	Cippenham	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1296-7	L	Affrus	6	3													3						6	0	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.31	
552	Isleworth	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1296-7	L	Eq Car.	2																				2	0	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.40	
553	Isleworth	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1296-7	L	Affrus	2	2													1						3	1	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.40	
554	Newport	Essex	Thames Basin	1296-7	L	Affrus	5	2													2						6	0	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.89	
555	Mere	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1296-7	L	Affrus	5	1																			6	1	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.55	
556	Mere	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1296-7	L	Pullanus	1											2									3	2	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.55	
557	Corsham	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1296-7	L	Jumenta	0				heriot	4															0	0	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.89	
558	Corsham	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1296-7	L	Pullanus	1				stray? (estaura)	3									1						0	0	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.89	
559	Watlington	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1296-7	L	Eq Car.	2																				2	0	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.84	
560	Watlington	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1296-7	L	Affrus	12	1													1						12	0	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.84	
561	Rockliff	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Affrus	3	1				stray	3								1						4	1	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.196	
562	Howden	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Jumenta	3																				3	0	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.211	
563	Howden	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	Pullanus	0										1										1	1	Minister's Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall, ed. Midley, pp.211	
564	Combe	Hampshire	South and South-west	1306-7	E	Eq Car.	3																				3	0	English Lands of the Abbey of Bec, ed. Chibnall, pp.154	
565	Combe	Hampshire	South and South-west	1306-7	E	Affrus	8		1													2					7	-1	English Lands of the Abbey of Bec, ed. Chibnall, pp.154	
566	Combe	Hampshire	South and South-west	1306-7	E	Pullanus	3															2				1	0	English Lands of the Abbey of Bec, ed. Chibnall, pp.154		
567	(great) Blakenham	Suffolk	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Affrus	9	2													1						10	1	English Lands of the Abbey of Bec, ed. Chibnall, pp.173	
568	(great) Blakenham	Suffolk	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Pullanus	1																				1	0	English Lands of the Abbey of Bec, ed. Chibnall, pp.173	
569	Causton	Cambridgeshire	East Anglia	1292-3	E	Affrus	7															1					6	-1	Crowland Abbey, Frances W. Page, pp.223-226.	
570	Boroughbury (in Peterborough)	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Eq Car.	2																				2	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
571	Boroughbury (in Peterborough)	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Affrus	23	3												1	1						24	1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
572	Boroughbury (in Peterborough)	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (3+)	3																			3	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
573	Boroughbury (in Peterborough)	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (2+)	4																				4	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
574	Boroughbury (in Peterborough)	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (1+)	3																				3	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
575	Boroughbury (in Peterborough)	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull de Exitu	0										4										4	4	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
576	Eye	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Eq Car.	5	1		1	2	1 from horses of park, 1 from prude? De thurton, 1 from affers	5	5													5	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
577	Eye	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Affrus	4		1																		0	-4	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
578	Eye	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (3+)	1																				1	0		

Appendix A: Manorial Account Data

Entry No.	Manor	County	Region	Year	Eccles/Lay	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Foals	Added Internally (from other category)	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Born (Foals)	Transferred inter-manor	Lost Internally (to other category)	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Circumstances of Loss	Loss Code	Loss Code	Loss Code	Foals Promoted	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference		
579	Eye	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (2+)	1																									
580	Eye "Equi de Parco"	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Jumentia	27		2			3 2 provided Nico? Da sco Marco, 1 from fiskerton	9	5								4						0	-1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
581	Eye "Equi de Parco"	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pullanus	21															2						19	-2	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
582	Eye "Equi de Parco"	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (3+)	6															1	1				4	0	-6	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
583	Eye "Equi de Parco"	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (2+)	12					1 from fiskerton	5															8	-4	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
584	Eye "Equi de Parco"	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull de Exitu	0										15											15	15			
585	Eye "Equi de Parco"	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Huncini	8		2													2	6	1 to cart horses (no cart horses on manor); 5 to hand of the prior?	3			2	-6	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
586	Longhorpe	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Eq Car.	4																					4	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
587	Longhorpe	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Affrus	9																					9	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
588	Longhorpe	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (1+)	1																					1	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
589	Longhorpe	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (2+)	2																					2	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
590	Longhorpe	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull de Exitu	0										2											2	2	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
591	Castor	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Eq Car.	4	1																				5	1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
592	Castor	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Affrus	10					1 de Thorpe (1horpe)	5									2						9	-1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
593	Castor	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull de Exitu	0										1											1	1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
594	Walton (in Peterborough)	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Eq Car.	4	1														1						4	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
595	Walton (in Peterborough)	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Affrus	1		1																			2	1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
596	Walton (in Peterborough)	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Jumentia	1																					1	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
597	Walton (in Peterborough)	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (3+)	1																					1	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
598	Walton (in Peterborough)	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (2+)	1																					1	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
599	Walton (in Peterborough)	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull de Exitu	0										1											1	1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
600	Werrington	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Eq Car.	4	1																				5	1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
601	Werrington	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Affrus	4																1 sent to Thorpe	3					3	-1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
602	Werrington	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (2+)	1																					1	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
603	Werrington	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull de Exitu	0										3											3	3	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
604	Gilnton	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Eq Car.	4	1															1 given to Richard de Croy?	8					4	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
605	Gilnton	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Affrus	3		1			1 From Thorpe	5																5	2	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
606	Gilnton	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Jumentia	2																						1	-1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
607	Gilnton	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (3+)	2																					0	-2	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
608	Gilnton	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (2+)	0					1 Stray	3															1	1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389		
609	Gilnton	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (1+)	2																						2	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
610	Gilnton	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull de Exitu	0										1												1	1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
611	Coleingham	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Eq Car.	3	1																					3	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
612	Scotter	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Eq Car.	5					1 Stray	3																6	1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
613	Walcot	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Affrus	3																						3	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
614	Fiskerton	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Eq Car.	5	1																					5	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
615	Fiskerton	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Affrus	8																						7	-1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
616	Fiskerton	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (2+)	1																						1	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
617	Fiskerton	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull de Exitu	0										1												1	1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
618	Ayston	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Affrus	4					1 from werrington	5																4	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
619	Ayston	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Jumentia	2		1																				2	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
620	Ayston	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (3+)	1																						1	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
621	Ayston	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (2+)	1																						1	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
622	Ayston	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull (1+)	2																						1	-1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
623	Ayston	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Pull de Exitu	0										1												1	1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
624	Oundle	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Eq Car.	3	1																					3	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
625	Oundle	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Affrus	3					1 from Ayston	5																	4	1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389
626	Oundle	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Jumentia	3					1 Stray	3																3	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
627	Oundle	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull (2+)	3																						2	-1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
628	Oundle	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull de Exitu	0										2												2	2	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
629	La Bigg (Biggin Grange)	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Eq Car.	3	2																					4	1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
630	La Bigg (Biggin Grange)	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Affrus	12					2 from Werrington	5																	11	-1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389
631	La Bigg (Biggin Grange)	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Jumentia	3																						2	-1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	
632	La Bigg (Biggin Grange)	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull (2+)	1																						1	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389	

Appendix A: Manorial Account Data

Entry No.	Manor	County	Region	Year	Eccles/Lay	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Foals	Added Internally (from other category)	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Born (Foals)	Transferred inter-manor	Lost Internally (to other category)	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Circumstances of Loss	Loss Code	Loss Code	Loss Code	Foals Promoted	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference	
633	Stanwick	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Eq Car.	3																					3	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2399	
634	Stanwick	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Affrus	5	1													1								5	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2399
635	Stanwick	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull (3+)	1															1							0	-1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2399
636	Stanwick	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull (2+)	1																						1	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2399
637	Stanwick	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull de Exitu	0										1												1	1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2399
638	Whittingborough	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Eq Car.	2	2															2	Sent to Thorpe?	3				2	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2399
639	Kettering	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Eq Car.	3	2															1	Sent to Easton?	3				4	1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2399
640	Kettering	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Jumentia	0				1	Stray	3										1	Sent to Easton?	3				0	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2399
641	Kettering	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull (1+)	0				2	Stray	3																2	2	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2399
642	Cottingham	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Eq Car.	4																						4	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2399
643	Cottingham	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Affrus	4																1						3	-1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2399
644	Cottingham	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Jumentia	3																1						2	-1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2399
645	Cottingham	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull (2+)	1																						1	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2399
646	Cottingham	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull (1+)	0																						2	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2399
647	Cottingham	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull de Exitu	2										2						1						1	1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2399
648	Great Easton	Leicestershire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Eq Car.	3				1	from Kettering	5										1						3	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389 ms 28r-29v
649	Great Easton	Leicestershire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Affrus	6																1		1				4	-2	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389 ms 28r-29v
650	Great Easton	Leicestershire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Jumentia	3				2	1 from Kettering; 1 stray	5	3															5	2	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389 ms 28r-29v
651	Great Easton	Leicestershire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull (1+)	2																						2	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389 ms 28r-29v
652	Great Easton	Leicestershire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull de Exitu	3										2						2						0	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389 ms 28r-29v
653	Tinwell	Hulland	Midlands	1309-10	E	Affrus	3		2																				5	2	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389 ms 29v
654	Tinwell	Hulland	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull (3+)	2																				2		0	-2	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389 ms 29v
655	Tinwell	Hulland	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull (2+)	1																						1	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389 ms 29v
656	Tinwell	Hulland	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull (1+)	1																						1	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389 ms 29v
657	Tinwell	Hulland	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull de Exitu	0										1												1	1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389 ms 29v
658	Warmington	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Eq Car.	6		2														2	Sent to La Bigg	3				6	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389
659	Warmington	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Affrus	1																						1	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389
660	Warmington	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Jumentia	5		1														1		1				4	-1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389
661	Warmington	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull (3+)	4																					3	0	-4	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389
662	Warmington	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull (2+)	3																						3	0	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389
663	Warmington	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull (1+)	4																1						3	-1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389
664	Warmington	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Pull de Exitu	0										3						2						1	1	Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Charter 2389
665	Baltonsborough	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Affrus	1																						1	0	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 1r-2d
666	Street	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Affrus	0		1																				1	1	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 4r-5d
667	Street	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Jumentia	2																						2	0	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 4r-5d
668	Street	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Pull (2+)	1															1							0	-1	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 4r-5d
669	Street	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Pull (1+)	1																						1	0	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 4r-5d
670	Street	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Pull de Exitu	0										2												2	2	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 4r-5d
671	Street	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Pull Lactant	1																						1	0	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 4r-5d
672	Street	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Pull (3+)	1																						1	0	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 4r-5d
673	Walton	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Affrus	3																1	Misplaced to Shapwick?	3				2	-1	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 6r-6d
674	Walton	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Pull de Exitu	0										2												2	2	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 6r-6d
675	Walton	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Pull Lactant	1																						1	0	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 6r-6d
676	Ashcroft	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Affrus	2																						2	0	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 7r-8d
677	Ashcroft	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Jumentia	0				1	heriot	4										1						0	0	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 7r-8d
678	Ashcroft	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Pull (1+)	1																						1	0	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 7r-8d
679	Ashcroft	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Pull Lactant	2																						2	0	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 7r-8d
680	Shapwick	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Jumentia	1				1	from Walton	5																2	1	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 9r-10d
681	Shapwick	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Pull (2+)	2																						2	0	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 9r-10d
682	Shapwick	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Pull (1+)	1																						1	0	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 9r-10d
683	Shapwick	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Pull de Exitu	0										1												1	1	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 9r-10d
684	Shapwick	Somerset	South and South-west	1302-3	E	Pull Lactant	1																						1	0	Glastonbury Abbey Documents 11246, ms. 9r-10d
685	Gateley	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stotius		1														1							1	0	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/13/10
686	Gateley	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Jumentia																							1	0	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/13/10
687	Gateley	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Pullanus																							1	0	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/13/10
688	Unstington	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stotius																						12	0	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/14/8	
689	Hemby	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stotius			3	2																		12	2	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/15/5	
690	Hemby	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Jumentia																	1		2				2	2	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/15/5
691	Hemby	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Pull (1+)																						2	0	-1	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/15/5
692	Hemby	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Pullanus																							1	0	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/15/5

Appendix A: Manorial Account Data

Entry No.	Manor	County	Region	Year	Eccles/Lay	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Foals	Added Internally (from other category)	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Addition Code	Born (Foals)	Transferred inter-manor	Lost Internally (to other category)	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Circumstances of Loss	Loss Code	Loss Code	Loss Code	Foals Promoted	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference
693	Hindolveston	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stollus	9																				7	-2	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/18/12	
694	Hindolveston	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Jumentia	2																				3	1	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/18/12	
695	Hindolveston	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Pull de Exitu	0																				1	1	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/18/12	
696	Hindringham	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stollus	11	1	1																		12	1	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/20/11	
697	Hindringham	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Jumentia	4																				5	1	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/20/11	
698	Hindringham	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Pollanus	2																				2	0	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/20/11	
699	Hindringham	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Pull (Young)	1																				1	0	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/20/11	
700	Marham	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stollus	7	1																			7	0	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/23/8	
701	Eton	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stollus	6																				5	-1	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/8/9	
702	Eton	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Jumentia	6																				4	-2	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/8/9	
703	Eton	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Pull (1+)	2																				2	0	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/8/9	
704	Eton	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Pollanus	3																				3	0	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/8/9	
705	Monk's Grange	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stollus	6	1																			7	1	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/26/9	
706	Plumbobland	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stollus	9																				9	0	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/29/9	
707	Sodsgateford	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stollus	12	4																			12	0	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/33/12	
708	Ipswich	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stollus	3	2																			3	0	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/35/13	
709	Ipswich	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Jumentia	1																				1	0	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/35/13	
710	Ipswich	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Pollanus	1																				1	0	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/35/13	
711	Thornham	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stollus	2	1																			2	0	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/37/7	
712	Sratby	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stollus	4	1																			4	0	Dean and Chapter Norwich 60/15/5	
713	Wardley	Durham	North	1295-1300	E	Affrus	4																				4	0	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 137	
714	Ketton	Durham	North	1295-1300	E	Affrus	6																				6	0	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 142	
715	Ketton	Durham	North	1295-1300	E	Pull de Exitu	0																				2	-2	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 142	
716	Belasis	Durham	North	1302-3	E	Jumentia	6																				4	-2	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 172	
717	Belasis	Durham	North	1302-3	E	Pull de Exitu	0																				3	-3	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 172	
718	Billingham	Durham	North	1302-3	E	Jumentia	8																				3	-3	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 182	
719	Billingham	Durham	North	1302-3	E	Pull (2+)	1																				1	0	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 182	
720	Billingham	Durham	North	1302-3	E	Pull (1+)	2																				2	0	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 182	
721	Dalton le Dale	Durham	North	1302-3	E	Affrus	4																				7	3	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 169	
722	Dalton le Dale	Durham	North	1302-3	E	Pull (1+)	2																				0	-2	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 169	
723	Bearpark	Durham	North	1295-1300	E	Affrus	1																				7	6	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 120	
724	Bewley	Durham	North	1295-1300	E	Jumentia	10																				10	0	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 143	
725	Bewley	Durham	North	1295-1300	E	Pull (1+)	2																				0	-2	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 143	
726	Bewley	Durham	North	1295-1300	E	Pull de Exitu	0																				4	4	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 143	
727	Muggeswick	Durham	North	1295-1300	E	Affrus	1																				1	0	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 151	
728	Pittington	Durham	North	1295-1300	E	Affrus	7																				6	-1	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 128	
729	Ranton	Durham	North	1295-1300	E	Affrus	2																				2	0	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 137	
730	Ranton	Durham	North	1295-1300	E	Pull de Exitu	0																				1	1	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 137	
731	Houghall	Durham	North	1302	E	Affrus	2																				2	0	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 151	
732	Houghall	Durham	North	1302	E	Pull de Exitu	0																				1	1	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 151	
733	Ferryhill	Durham	North	1305-6	E	Jumentia	1																				1	0	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 292	
734	Westoe	Durham	North	1309-10	E	Affrus	4																				3	-1	Durham Priory Manorial Accounts 1277-1310, Ed. Richard Britnell, Surtees Society Vol. 218, 320	

Appendix B: 1283 Blackbourne Hundred Lay Subsidy Data

Appendix B: 1283 Blackbourne Hundred Lay Subsidy Data

Entry No.	Manor	Owner	No. of Animals	Type of Horse	Shillings	Pence	Total Pence	Total Shillings	Average Price	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Pounds)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Shillings)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Pence)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Total Pence)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Total Shillings)
1	Ashfield Magna	Alanus Prepositus	2	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	2.5	2	7	2	566	47.16666667
2	Ashfield Magna	Th. Clerius	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	1	19	6	474	39.5
3	Ashfield Magna	Walter Bercarius	1	Eque	7	0	84	7	7	3	19	7	955	79.58333333
4	Ashfield Magna	R. Peytewyn	1	Eque	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	2	8	7	583	48.58333333
5	Ashfield Magna	Adrid filius Philipi	1	Eque	2	0	24	2	2	2	17	4	208	17.33333333
6	Ashfield Magna	Wodard Gallen	1	Eque	3	0	36	3	3	1	11	0	372	31
7	Ashfield Magna	Ric. Wrenne Senior	1	Eque	4	0	48	4	4	1	2	5	269	22.41666667
8	Ashfield Magna	Dominus W. Criketot	12	Stott	64	0	768	64	5.333333333	43	5	6.5	10386.5	865.5416667
9	Ashfield Magna	Gilbert filius Ande	4	Stott	20	0	240	20	5	15	5	8	3668	305.6666667
10	Ashfield Magna	W. de Botenhale	3	Stott	16	0	192	16	5.333333333	12	8	4	2980	248.3333333
11	Ashfield Magna	I. le Cu	2	Stott	10	0	120	10	5	4	10	9	1089	90.75
12	Ashfield Magna	Edm. Brother	2	Stott	8	0	96	8	4	2	5	2	542	45.16666667
13	Ashfield Magna	Alanus Bacon	1	Stott	3	0	36	3	3	2	5	8	548	45.66666667
14	Ashfield Magna	Elya Folet	1	Stott	7	0	84	7	7	1	2	0	264	22
15	Ashfield Magna	I. Wodard	2	Stott	6	0	72	6	3	3	1	6	738	61.5
16	Ashfield Magna	W. Cockerel	1	Stott	3	0	36	3	3	0	16	9	201	16.75
17	Ashfield Magna	Ric. Wrenne Junior	2	Stott	7	0	84	7	3.5	1	11	9	381	31.75
18	Ashfield Magna	Dominus W. Criketot	3	Carectarii	30	0	360	30	10	43	5	6.5	10386.5	865.5416667
19	Ashfield Magna	Elya de Mikelwood	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	1	4	5	293	24.41666667
20	Ashfield Parva	Ric. De Oldefen	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	2	5	7	547	45.58333333
21	Ashfield Parva	Sarra de Welles	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	3	18	3	939	78.25
22	Ashfield Parva	Caterina de Badewell	3	Stott	12	0	144	12	4	9	1	8	2180	181.6666667
23	Ashfield Parva	Mich. De Bresewrth	1	Stott	4	0	48	4	4	1	13	4	400	33.33333333
24	Ashfield Parva	Godfried filius Reginald	1	Stott	3	0	36	3	3	1	8	10	346	28.83333333
25	Ashfield Parva	Pet. Le Rus	1	Stott	4	0	48	4	4	0	10	0	120	10
26	Ashfield Parva	Johanna de Todenham	1	Stott	3	0	36	3	3	2	6	9	561	46.75
27	Ashfield Parva	Th. Pineful	4	Stott	16	0	192	16	4	4	6	3	1035	86.25
28	Ashfield Parva	Cadandra de Bosco	2	Stott	12	0	144	12	6	4	6	2	1034	86.16666667
29	Ashfield Parva	Walt. Alayn	2	Stott	12	0	144	12	6	2	12	11	635	52.91666667
30	Ashfield Parva	H. de Bosco	1	Stott	3	0	36	3	3	0	19	6	234	19.5
31	Ashfield Parva	I. Manning	1	Stott	3	0	36	3	3	1	9	8	356	29.66666667
32	Ashfield Parva	Prior de Ixworth	2	Stott	8	0	96	8	4	2	2	0	504	42
33	Ashfield Parva	Emme Therin	1	Eque	3	0	36	3	3	2	17	6	690	57.5
34	Ashfield Parva	R. Fullo	1	Eque	3	0	36	3	3	1	14	5	413	34.41666667
35	Ashfield Parva	Edward de Redgrave	1	Eque	3	0	36	3	3	1	3	3	279	23.25
36	Bardwell	Reg. de Brakelond	1	Jumenta	3	4	40	3.333333333	3.333333333	5	13	11	1367	113.9166667
37	Bardwell	Paganus de Brakelond	1	Jumenta	1	0	12	1	1	2	5	3	543	45.25
38	Bardwell	Th. Fil. De Will. De Brakelond	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	5	3	0	1236	103
39	Bardwell	I. Fraunkeleyn	1	Jumenta	1	8	20	1.666666667	1.666666667	1	6	6	318	26.5
40	Bardwell	Walt. Carpenterius	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	12	6	390	32.5
41	Bardwell	I. Claris	1	Jumenta	1	0	12	1	1	18	9	9	225	18.75
42	Bardwell	W. Scuovint	1	Jumenta	3	5	41	3.416666667	3.416666667	1	5	3	303	25.25
43	Bardwell	Ric. Rodlond	1	Jumenta	1	8	20	1.666666667	1.666666667	1	12	9	393	32.75
44	Bardwell	Th. Fil. Petry Symon	1	Jumenta	2	7	31	2.583333333	2.583333333	2	12	6	630	52.5
45	Bardwell	Hugo Manser	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	1	17	9	453	37.75
46	Bardwell	R. filius Albrici	2	Jumenta	6	8	80	6.666666667	3.333333333	2	19	9	717	59.75
47	Bardwell	Ric. Hail	2	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	2.5	3	16	3	915	76.25
48	Bardwell	Walt. Le do Capelanus	1	Jumenta	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	3	16	3	915	76.25
49	Bardwell	Rad. De Berdewelle	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	14	5	3	3423	285.25
50	Bardwell	Adam le Marlur	1	Jumenta	2	9	33	2.75	2.75	1	1	6	258	21.5
51	Bardwell	W. Prepositus	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	5	12	0	1344	112
52	Bardwell	I. Bude	1	Jumenta	3	4	40	3.333333333	3.333333333	1	17	3	447	37.25
53	Bardwell	Dominus de Pakenham	10	Stotti	50	0	600	50	5	10	50	0	3000	250
54	Bardwell	H. filius Nich. De St. Edmund	3	Stotti	16	0	192	16	5.333333333	18	15	6	4506	375.5
55	Bardwell	W. Capellanus de Brakelond	2	Stotti	10	0	120	10	5	8	5	0	1980	165
56	Bardwell	H. Messar	1	Stotti	3	7	43	3.583333333	3.583333333	2	8	9	585	48.75
57	Bardwell	Rad. De Berdewelle	2	Stotti	7	0	84	7	3.5	14	5	3	3423	285.25
58	Bardwell	I. Bude	1	Stotti	3	4	40	3.333333333	3.333333333	1	17	3	447	37.25
59	Bardwell	I. Tatentre	1	Equi	3	0	36	3	3	5	7	3	1287	107.25
60	Bardwell	H. Rust	1	Equi	3	0	36	3	3	1	11	6	378	31.5
61	Bardwell	Alexander Rodlond	2	Eque	3	0	36	3	1.5	3	13	9	885	73.75
62	Bardwell	W. Cuccuc	2	Eque	6	8	80	6.666666667	3.333333333	3	8	0	816	68
63	Bardwell	W. le Do	1	Eque	3	0	36	3	3	2	2	6	510	42.5
64	Bardwell	I. Rastald	1	Eque	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	0	14	3	171	14.25
65	Bardwell	I. Prepositus	2	Eque	6	8	80	6.666666667	3.333333333	5	4	0	1248	104
66	Bardwell	H. filius Nich. De St. Edmund	1	Carectarii	6	8	80	6.666666667	6.666666667	18	15	6	4506	375.5
67	Bardwell	Reg. de Brakelond	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	5	13	11	1367	113.9166667
68	Bardwell	W. Abermont amunt le Bec	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	1	15	6	426	35.5
69	Bardwell	Ric. Hog	1	Pulli	3	5	41	3.416666667	3.416666667	1	5	0	300	25

Appendix B: 1283 Blackbourne Hundred Lay Subsidy Data

Entry No.	Manor	Owner	No. of Animals	Type of Horse	Shillings	Pence	Total Pence	Total Shillings	Average Price	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Pounds)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Shillings)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Pence)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Total Pence)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Total Shillings)
70	Bardwell	Walt. Fulator	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	1	19	3	471	39.25
71	Bardwell	I. Prepositus	1	Pulli	3	4	40	3.333333333	3.333333333	5	4	0	1248	104
72	Bardwell	W. Prepositus	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	5	12	0	1344	112
73	Bardwell	Alicia le Do	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	1	13	9	405	33.75
74	Bardwell	H. Alured	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	3	12	6	870	72.5
75	Bardwell	I. fil. Roberti	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	6	12	6	1590	132.5
76	Bardwell	Ric Cissor	1	Jumenta	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	1	0	0	240	20
77	Bardwell	Isabella de Suneton	1	Jumenta	3	10	46	3.833333333	3.833333333	2	1	3	495	41.25
78	Bardwell	R. ultra aquam	3	Jumenta	9	0	108	9	3	9	19	6	2394	199.5
79	Bardwell	I. filius William	5	Stotti	30	0	360	30	6	21	13	9	5205	433.75
80	Bardwell	I. fil. Roberti	2	Stotti	6	6	78	6.5	3.25	6	12	6	1590	132.5
81	Bardwell	Th. De Hil.	1	Stotti	3	8	44	3.666666667	3.666666667	2	16	6	678	56.5
82	Bardwell	Walt. Despensator	1	Stotti	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	3	1	3	735	61.25
83	Bardwell	Ric. Fil. Ade	2	Stotti	8	0	96	8	4	5	2	6	1230	102.5
84	Bardwell	I. Sproter	1	Equi	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	2	16	3	675	56.25
85	Bardwell	Adam del Bude	1	Eque	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	0	8	9	105	8.75
86	Bardwell	W. Armerand	1	Eque	2	0	24	2	2	1	1	0	252	21
87	Bardwell	I. Scipman	2	Eque	5	7	67	5.583333333	2.791666667	1	15	3	423	35.25
88	Bardwell	Albritus ultra Aquam	1	Eque	3	0	36	3	3	0	14	3	171	14.25
89	Bardwell	R. fil. W de Rikinghale	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	4	12	6	1110	92.5
90	Bardwell	Th. De Hil.	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	2	16	6	678	56.5
91	Bardwell	R. ultra aquam	3	Pulli	6	0	72	6	2	9	19	6	2394	199.5
92	Bardwell	I. Bude de Walsham	1	Pulli	1	10	10	0.833333333	0.833333333	2	13	6	642	53.5
93	Bardwell	W. Crubbe	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	1	2	0	264	22
94	Barnham	I. de Hubston	4	Jumenta	12	0	144	12	3	25	9	11	6119	509.9166667
95	Barnham	Dominus Eadmundus de Hemgrave	3	Jumenta	12	0	144	12	4	7	13	11.5	1847.5	153.9583333
96	Barnham	W. de Thelwetham	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	3	14	2	890	74.16666667
97	Barnham	Galf. Bosard	3	Jumenta	15	0	180	15	5	28	19	0	6948	579
98	Barnham	Herbert Bude	2	Jumenta	10	0	120	10	5	23	11	2	5654	471.1666667
99	Barnham	I. Sephere	2	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	2.5	7	0	8	1688	140.6666667
100	Barnham	Adam Bebel	2	Jumenta	9	0	108	9	4.5	1	16	0	432	36
101	Barnham	Roger Bebel	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	3	15	6	906	75.5
102	Barnham	W. de Playford	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	3	15	6	906	75.5
103	Barnham	Adam Henricus	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	2	10	10	610	50.83333333
104	Barnham	Margareta Bettes	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	3	3	0	756	63
105	Barnham	Helyas del Berne	3	Jumenta	9	0	108	9	3	5	16	2.5	1394.5	116.2083333
106	Barnham	W. Schote	1	Jumenta	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	9	13	6	2322	193.5
107	Barnham	I. Shire	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	0	16	10	202	16.83333333
108	Barnham	Pet. Shire	2	Jumenta	10	0	120	10	5	6	5	8	1508	125.6666667
109	Barnham	W. Shire	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	2	2	10	514	42.83333333
110	Barnham	Adam fil. Reginald	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	3	10	10	850	70.83333333
111	Barnham	R. Choke	2	Jumenta	9	0	108	9	4.5	2	4	0	528	44
112	Barnham	Bette Balram	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	3	4	4	772	64.33333333
113	Barnham	Bette Chote	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	5	13	4	1360	113.3333333
114	Barnham	W. fil. Herbert	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	0	16	0	192	16
115	Barnham	Mabilia de Westgate	3	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	1	6	258	21.5
116	Barnham	Helewys Uxor R. le Reve	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	2	16	0	672	56
117	Barnham	Dominus Eadmundus de Hemgrave	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	7	13	11.5	1847.5	153.9583333
118	Barnham	W. de Thelwetham	2	Pulli	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	3	14	2	890	74.16666667
119	Barnham	Galf. Bosard	2	Pulli	4	0	48	4	2	28	19	0	6948	579
120	Barnham	I. Sephere	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	1	10	0	360	30
121	Barnham	W. Scot	2	Pulli	5	0	60	5	2.5	2	12	6	630	52.5
122	Barnham	Adam Turkild	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	0	19	8	236	19.66666667
123	Barnham	Adam Bebel	3	Pulli	6	0	72	6	2	7	0	8	1688	140.6666667
124	Barnham	W. de Playford	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	3	15	6	906	75.5
125	Barnham	W. Schote	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	9	13	6	2322	193.5
126	Barnham	I. Shire	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	0	16	10	202	16.83333333
127	Barnham	W. Shire	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	2	2	10	514	42.83333333
128	Barnham	Adam fil. Reginald	1	Pulli	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	3	10	10	850	70.83333333
129	Barnham	Bette Balram	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	3	4	4	772	64.33333333
130	Barnham	Bette Chote	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	5	13	4	1360	113.3333333
131	Barnham	Helewys Uxor R. le Reve	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	2	16	0	672	56
132	Barnham	W. Capel	2	Equi	8	6	102	8.5	4.25	1	11	4	376	31.33333333
133	Barnham	I. de Hubston	2	Stotti	10	0	120	10	5	25	9	11	6119	509.9166667
134	Barnham	Bette Balram	1	Stotti	6	0	72	6	6	3	4	4	772	64.33333333
135	Barningham	Ad. Honge	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	2	2	0	504	42
136	Barningham	Nich. Hingreye	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	0	17	6	210	17.5
137	Barningham	H. le Brid	1	Jumenta	4	6	54	4.5	4.5	2	19	7	715	59.58333333
138	Barningham	W. Wybert	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	1	0	252	21

Appendix B: 1283 Blackbourne Hundred Lay Subsidy Data

Entry No.	Manor	Owner	No. of Animals	Type of Horse	Shillings	Pence	Total Pence	Total Shillings	Average Price	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Pounds)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Shillings)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Pence)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Total Pence)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Total Shillings)
139	Barningham	W. Wything	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	2	18	9	705	58.75
140	Barningham	Th. Mercator	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	3	16	10	922	76.83333333
141	Barningham	Galf. Mercator	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	3	7	6	810	67.5
142	Barningham	W. Lyncowhe	1	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	6	2	0	9	489	40.75
143	Barningham	I. Agas	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	0	17	6	210	17.5
144	Barningham	W. Huelot	1	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	6	2	0	3	483	40.25
145	Barningham	Ad. Eadmund	1	Equi	2	0	24	2	2	0	15	0	180	15
146	Barningham	Steph. Capellanus	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	3	18	0	936	78
147	Barningham	Dominus Eustacius Miles	2	Stotti	10	0	120	10	5	9	3	6	2202	183.5
148	Barningham	I. Honge	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	2	1	10	502	41.83333333
149	Barningham	* r Sorel	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	4	1	6	978	81.5
150	Barningham	N. Sutor	2	Stotti	7	0	84	7	3.5	3	8	10	826	68.83333333
151	Barningham	Galf. Mercator	2	Stotti	9	0	108	9	4.5	3	7	6	810	67.5
152	Barningham	Abbas de Langele	3	Stotti	12	0	144	12	4	8	19	6	2154	179.5
153	Barningham	W. Honge	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	1	19	9	477	39.75
154	Barningham	* r Sorel	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	4	1	6	978	81.5
155	Barningham	I. Sorele	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	15	10.5	430.5	35.875	
156	Barningham	Th. Mercator	2	Pulli	4	0	48	4	2	3	16	10	922	76.83333333
157	Culford	Tomas de Pampisworthe	4	Jumenta	10	0	120	10	2.5	10	11	0	2532	211
158	Culford	Abbas Sancti Edmundi	5	Jumenta	20	0	240	20	4	16	18	11	4067	338.91666667
159	Culford	I. Acke	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	2	14	4	652	54.33333333
160	Culford	W. le Heywrd	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	2	19	4	712	59.33333333
161	Culford	H. Overhe	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	6	6	4	1516	126.33333333
162	Culford	Herveus Overhe	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	1	0	252	21
163	Culford	Herveus de la Grene	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	2	4	2	530	44.16666667
164	Culford	Adam Blanat	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	1	12	9	393	32.75
165	Culford	Adam Prepositus	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	4	15	2	1142	95.16666667
166	Culford	Th. Bercarius	1	Jumenta	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	3	14	8	896	74.66666667
167	Culford	Gilb. Hervi	1	Jumenta	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	1	16	5	437	36.41666667
168	Culford	Rand. Bercarius	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	14	2	410	34.16666667
169	Culford	Adam Cuherne	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	3	3	7	763	63.58333333
170	Culford	W. le Heywrd	1	Pulli	4	0	48	4	4	2	19	4	712	59.33333333
171	Culford	Herveus de la Grene	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	2	4	2	530	44.16666667
172	Culford	Adam Prepositus	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	4	15	2	1142	95.16666667
173	Culford	Th. Bercarius	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	3	14	8	896	74.66666667
174	Culford	Adam Cuherne	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	3	3	7	763	63.58333333
175	Elmswell	Th. Primpil	2	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	2	4	15	1	1141	95.08333333
176	Elmswell	Simon Wythevyd	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	3	4	280	23.33333333
177	Elmswell	I. Heruei	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	3	4	10	778	64.83333333
178	Elmswell	Lemmer le Blesster	2	Stotti	10	0	120	10	5	2	16	1	673	56.08333333
179	Elmswell	Th. Primpil	1	Stotti	6	0	72	6	6	4	15	1	1141	95.08333333
180	Elmswell	Martinus de Prato	1	Stotti	4	9	57	4.75	4.75	4	2	1	985	82.08333333
181	Elmswell	Simon de Subbosco	1	Stotti	2	0	24	2	2	1	16	11	443	36.91666667
182	Elmswell	I. Richeman	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	1	13	11	407	33.91666667
183	Elmswell	I. de la Lane	2	Stotti	7	0	84	7	3.5	2	4	6	534	44.5
184	Elmswell	W. fil. Prepositi	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	1	7	1	325	27.08333333
185	Elmswell	W. Piscator	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	0	12	5	149	12.41666667
186	Elmswell	Abbas de Sancto Edmundo	7	Stotti	35	0	420	35	5	32	12	9	7833	652.75
187	Elmswell	I. Heruei	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	3	4	10	778	64.83333333
188	Elmswell	Pet. Clericus	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	0	18	0	216	18
189	Elmswell	Abbas de Sancto Edmundo	2	Carectarii	18	0	216	18	9	32	12	9	7833	652.75
190	Elmswell	Alanus Mariot	1	Equi	8	20	20	1.666666667	1.666666667	1	17	6	450	37.5
191	Elmswell	W. fil. Radulphi	1	Equi	5	0	60	5	5	2	10	7	607	50.58333333
192	Elmswell	I. Bedellus	2	Equi	2	0	24	2	2	0	10	6	126	10.5
193	Elmswell	R. de la Lane	1	Equi	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	0	19	7	235	19.58333333
194	Elmswell	Edmund Celyng	1	Equi	4	0	48	4	4	0	7	6	90	7.5
195	Elmswell	I. Rieueys	1	Equi	2	0	24	2	2	0	13	6	162	13.5
196	Euston	Domina Hela comitissa de Warewik	3	Jumenta	9	0	108	9	3	1	12	4	388	32.33333333
197	Euston	Rog. ad Ecclesiam	2	Jumenta	13	0	156	13	6.5	12	17	6	3090	257.5
198	Euston	W. Gamelyn	1	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	8	5	17	0	1404	117
199	Euston	R. Wigge	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	3	14	5	893	74.41666667
200	Euston	Pet. le Bercher	2	Jumenta	10	0	120	10	5	10	12	4	2548	212.33333333
201	Euston	Margareta Cristian	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	1	9	6	354	29.5
202	Euston	R. Brion	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	3	8	0	816	68
203	Euston	Walt. filius Willelmi	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	10	10	4	2524	210.33333333
204	Euston	Pet. ad Pontem	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	3	15	6	906	75.5
205	Euston	Ric. de Fakenham	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	3	9	2	830	69.16666667
206	Euston	I. Abouen	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	1	6	9	321	26.75
207	Euston	W. Port	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	1	17	1	445	37.08333333

Appendix B: 1283 Blackbourne Hundred Lay Subsidy Data

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208	Euston	W. Alleman	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	0	17	10	214	17.83333333
209	Euston	Margareta Loue	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	0	19	4	232	19.33333333
210	Euston	Pet. fil. Willelmi	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	2	10	7	607	50.58333333
211	Euston	Margareta Keneman	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	1	16	9	441	36.75
212	Euston	W. Wirre	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	0	12	9	153	12.75
213	Euston	W. Keneman	1	Jumenta	4	6	54	4.5	4.5	4	16	1	1153	96.08333333
214	Euston	W. fil. Alexandri	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	2	3	1	517	43.08333333
215	Euston	Bruchine Leueday	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	0	17	6	210	17.5
216	Euston	I. le Ieuene	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	7	3	1	1717	143.08333333
217	Euston	Pet. Keneman	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	12	18	6	3102	258.5
218	Euston	W. Scot	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	15	1	421	35.08333333
219	Euston	W. Gamelyn	3	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	5	17	0	1404	117
220	Euston	R. Wigge	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	3	14	5	893	74.41666667
221	Euston	Pet. filius Roberti	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	1	11	8	380	31.66666667
222	Euston	R. Brion	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	3	8	0	816	68
223	Euston	Ric. de Fakenham	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	3	9	2	830	69.16666667
224	Euston	I. Abouen	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	1	6	9	321	26.75
225	Euston	W. Port	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	1	17	1	445	37.08333333
226	Euston	Galf. Keneman	4	Pulli	13	0	156	13	3.25	7	8	8	1784	148.66666667
227	Euston	Pet. Keneman	1	Pulli	4	0	48	4	4	12	18	6	3102	258.5
228	Euston	W. Wauton	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	3	0	8	728	60.66666667
229	Euston	W. Wauton	1	Stotti	6	0	72	6	6	3	0	8	728	60.66666667
230	Fakenham Magna	Abbas de Tyleceye	2	Jumenta	10	0	120	10	5	23	14	0	5688	474
231	Fakenham Magna	Rad. Gerard	3	Jumenta	9	0	108	9	3	15	4	0	3648	304
232	Fakenham Magna	Galf. Cissor	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	1	19	0	468	39
233	Fakenham Magna	Ric. de Grenegres	2	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	2.5	2	15	10	670	55.83333333
234	Fakenham Magna	Rad. de Grenegres	2	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	2.5	1	12	10	394	32.83333333
235	Fakenham Magna	D. Scot	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	0	18	10	226	18.83333333
236	Fakenham Magna	Alicia Scot	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	0	17	0	204	17
237	Fakenham Magna	Godfridus Rede	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	0	8	248	20.66666667
238	Fakenham Magna	Rad. Gerard	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	15	4	0	3648	304
239	Fakenham Magna	Galf. Vel	2	Pulli	4	0	48	4	2	1	18	6	462	38.5
240	Fakenham Magna	W. * arman	1	Equus	6	0	72	6	6	0	12	0	144	12
241	Hepworth	Egidus de Neketon	4	Stotti	16	0	192	16	4	11	2	6	2670	222.5
242	Hepworth	Amicia domina et W. le Bret fil. ejus	4	Stotti	20	0	240	20	5	11	4	2	2690	224.16666667
243	Hepworth	Dominus I de Rywishale	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	1	10	8	368	30.66666667
244	Hepworth	** phs fil. Willelmi	3	Stotti	15	0	180	15	5	7	5	6	1746	145.5
245	Hepworth	** hs de Cunegeston capellanus	1	Stotti	10	0	120	10	10	5	10	0	1320	110
246	Hepworth	** s de le Wik et Alicia mater sua	2	Stotti	13	4	160	13.33333333	6.66666667	4	12	12	1116	93
247	Hepworth	** de le Wik	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	1	0	0	240	20
248	Hepworth	** Baf	1	Stotti	2	0	24	2	2	1	17	8	452	37.66666667
249	Hepworth	Bernard Overheyre	1	Stotti	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	1	12	2	386	32.16666667
250	Hepworth	***** (1)	1	Stotti	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	2	5	6	546	45.5
251	Hepworth	***** Hel	1	Stotti	2	0	24	2	2	0	14	4	172	14.33333333
252	Hepworth	***** (2)	2	Stotti	13	0	156	13	6.5	4	0	7	967	80.58333333
253	Hepworth	***** Sutor	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	0	17	6	210	17.5
254	Hepworth	***** (3)	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	3	9	4	832	69.33333333
255	Hepworth	***** sutor	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	5	4	2	1250	104.16666667
256	Hepworth	*** Grymesich	2	Stotti	10	0	120	10	5	1	13	6	402	33.5
257	Hepworth	*** Stanton	2	Stotti	5	0	60	5	2.5	2	14	3	651	54.25
258	Hepworth	*** de Redgrave	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	0	0	0	0	0
259	Hepworth	***** (4)	2	Stotti	6	0	72	6	3	4	12	6	1110	92.5
260	Hepworth	***** Id	1	Stotti	10	0	120	10	10	4	7	2	1046	87.16666667
261	Hepworth	***** (5)	2	Stotti	6	0	72	6	3	6	1	6	1458	121.5
262	Hepworth	*** irlly	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	2	4	3	531	44.25
263	Hepworth	Amicia domina et W. le Bret fil. ejus	2	Eque	5	0	60	5	2.5	11	4	2	2690	224.16666667
264	Hepworth	*** Baf	1	Eque	3	0	36	3	3	1	17	8	452	37.66666667
265	Hepworth	*** Rus	1	Eque	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	1	10	0	360	30
266	Hepworth	***** (6)	1	Eque	3	0	36	3	3	1	18	0	456	38
267	Hepworth	*** Mor	1	Eque	1	0	12	1	1	0	18	6	222	18.5
268	Hepworth	*** Clericus	1	Eque	18	0	216	18	1.5	1	4	9	297	24.75
269	Hepworth	*** le Mor	1	Eque	5	0	60	5	5	2	0	0	480	40
270	Hepworth	*** fil. Walteri	1	Eque	2	0	24	2	2	0	8	0	96	8
271	Hepworth	*** sutor	1	Eque	3	0	36	3	3	5	4	2	1250	104.16666667
272	Hepworth	*** de Grymesich	1	Eque	4	6	54	4.5	4.5	3	8	7	823	68.58333333
273	Hepworth	***** ugge	1	Eque	6	0	72	6	6	1	4	4	292	24.33333333
274	Hepworth	*** de Redgrave	2	Eque	9	0	108	9	4.5	0	0	0	0	0
275	Hepworth	*** chard	1	Eque	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	0	10	0	120	10
276	Hepworth	** d uxor Ade de le Mor	1	Eque	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	0	12	6	150	12.5

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277	Hepworth	**** Heyward	1	Equi	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	0	7	6	90	7.5
278	Hepworth	** hs de Cunegeston capellanus	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	5	10	0	1320	110
279	Hepworth	** s de le Wik et Alicia mater sua	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	4	12	2	1106	92.16666667
280	Hepworth	***** (7)	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	1	17	0	444	37
281	Hepworth	***** (6)	1	Pulli	0	0	0	0	0	1	18	0	456	38
282	Hepworth	**** sutor	1	Pulli	0	0	0	0	0	5	4	2	1250	104.16666667
283	Hepworth	*** de Grymesich	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	3	8	7	823	68.58333333
284	Hepworth	**** ugge	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	1	4	4	292	24.33333333
285	Hepworth	**** de Redgrave	1	Pulli	0	8	8	0.666666667	0.666666667	0	0	0	0	0
286	Hepworth	***** (4)	1	Pulli	0	0	0	0	0	4	12	6	1110	92.5
287	Hepworth	***** Id	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	4	7	2	1046	87.16666667
288	Hepworth	** hs de Cunegeston capellanus	1	Equi	13	4	160	13.33333333	13.33333333	5	10	0	1320	110
289	Hepworth	Rad. Burchard	1	Equi	3	0	36	3	3	1	12	3	387	32.25
290	Hepworth	**** sutor	1	Equi	10	0	120	10	10	5	4	2	1250	104.16666667
291	Hepworth	**** de Redgrave	1	Equi	6	8	80	6.666666667	6.666666667	0	0	0	0	0
292	Hepworth	***** (5)	1	Equi	10	0	120	10	10	6	1	6	1458	121.5
293	Hinderclay	Manerium de Hildercl	4	Carectarii	24	0	288	24	6	62	2	4	14908	1242.333333
294	Hinderclay	Walt. de Neve	6	Equi	6	6	78	6.5	6.5	2	5	0	540	45
295	Hinderclay	Ad. le Brethun	2	Equi	7	0	84	7	3.5	2	18	0	696	58
296	Hinderclay	Roger Burgeys	2	Equi	10	0	120	10	5	4	5	0	1020	85
297	Hinderclay	Th. Crane	2	Equi	10	0	120	10	5	2	15	6	666	55.5
298	Hinderclay	W. le Couereur	1	Equi	5	0	60	5	5	0	17	6	210	17.5
299	Hinderclay	H. le Noble	1	Equi	7	0	84	7	7	3	4	3	771	64.25
300	Hinderclay	R. Basylye	1	Equi	5	6	66	5.5	5.5	1	18	0	456	38
301	Hinderclay	W. le Reve	2	Equi	12	0	144	12	6	3	9	9	837	69.75
302	Hinderclay	W. fil. Ade	2	Equi	12	0	144	12	6	5	6	6	1266	105.5
303	Hinderclay	Ad. Faber	2	Equi	8	0	96	8	4	2	5	0	540	45
304	Hinderclay	Ad. Belsond	1	Equi	5	0	60	5	5	2	0	0	480	40
305	Hinderclay	N. Prepositus	2	Equi	9	0	108	9	4.5	1	12	6	390	32.5
306	Hinderclay	Rad. Kempe	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	1	14	6	414	34.5
307	Hinderclay	W. Hubert	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	1	2	6	270	22.5
308	Hinderclay	R. Prepositus	1	Stotti	7	0	84	7	7	2	14	0	648	54
309	Hinderclay	Ioanna uxor Reginaldi filii Gilberti	1	Stotti	9	0	108	9	9	2	17	6	690	57.5
310	Hinderclay	Manerium de Hildercl	9	Stotti	36	0	432	36	4	62	2	4	14908	1242.333333
311	Hinderclay	N. Genty	2	Jumenta	7	6	90	7.5	3.75	2	12	9	633	52.75
312	Hinderclay	Iuliana Cokewald	1	Jumenta	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	0	15	6	186	15.5
313	Hinderclay	H. Benestre	3	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	2	1	0	492	41
314	Hinderclay	Rad. Faber	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	0	15	6	186	15.5
315	Hinderclay	Walt. Carter	2	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	1	5	0	300	25
316	Hinderclay	R. Wisman	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	1	10	0	360	30
317	Hinderclay	Reg. fil. Walteri	2	Jumenta	7	0	84	7	3.5	2	10	0	600	50
318	Hinderclay	W. Mercator	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	1	12	6	390	32.5
319	Hinderclay	Alicia Petit	1	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	6	2	7	6	570	47.5
320	Hinderclay	R. Bishop	2	Jumenta	10	0	120	10	5	1	17	6	450	37.5
321	Hinderclay	Agneta Brethun	1	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	6	1	15	9	429	35.75
322	Hinderclay	Walt. fil. Gilberti	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	3	7	6	810	67.5
323	Hinderclay	Walt. Bercarius	1	Jumenta	7	0	84	7	7	1	12	6	390	32.5
324	Hinderclay	Agneta Brethun	0	Pulli	0	0	0	0	0	1	15	9	429	35.75
325	Hinderclay	Walt. fil. Gilberti	1	Pulli	0	0	0	0	0	3	7	6	810	67.5
326	Hinderclay	Manerium de Hildercl	3	Pullani	4	6	54	4.5	1.5	62	2	4	14908	1242.333333
327	Honington	Th. Atetunhishend	2	Jumenta	7	0	84	7	3.5	3	13	0	876	73
328	Honington	I. le Man	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	2	16	6	678	56.5
329	Honington	W. le Webister	2	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	2.5	2	1	6	498	41.5
330	Honington	D. Wymer	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	6	5	0	1500	125
331	Honington	Matilda Crul	1	Jumenta	1	0	12	1	1	0	15	0	180	15
332	Honington	Galfr. le Hare	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	2	14	0	648	54
333	Honington	Aluredus Troke	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	7	0	324	27
334	Honington	Rad. fil. Iohannis	1	Jumenta	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	1	10	0	360	30
335	Honington	Helcreta relicta quondam Reginaldi	1	Jumenta	0	24	24	2	2	1	2	6	270	22.5
336	Honington	Steph. ate Grene	2	Jumenta	5	6	66	5.5	2.75	3	4	6	774	64.5
337	Honington	D. Pinchun	1	Jumenta	1	0	12	1	1	0	10	0	120	10
338	Honington	Adam Canne	2	Jumenta	3	6	42	3.5	1.75	1	16	6	438	36.5
339	Honington	Rad. le Morman	1	Jumenta	0	8	8	0.666666667	0.666666667	0	12	6	150	12.5
340	Honington	Alicia de Vrode	2	Jumenta	6	2	74	6.166666667	3.083333333	1	7	6	330	27.5
341	Honington	Alicia Faber	2	Jumenta	7	0	84	7	3.5	1	10	0	360	30
342	Honington	Pet. Clericus	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	4	10	0	1080	90
343	Honington	Gilb. Vroman	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	0	15	0	180	15
344	Honington	I. Attemere	1	Jumenta	1	1	13	1.083333333	1.083333333	0	10	0	120	10
345	Honington	Steph. Carpentarius	1	Jumenta	1	8	20	1.666666667	1.666666667	1	9	0	348	29

Appendix B: 1283 Blackbourne Hundred Lay Subsidy Data

Entry No.	Manor	Owner	No. of Animals	Type of Horse	Shillings	Pence	Total Pence	Total Shillings	Average Price	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Pounds)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Shillings)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Pence)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Total Pence)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Total Shillings)
346	Honington	Gundreda Bole	1	Jumenta	2	11	35	2.916666667	2.916666667	0	17	6	210	17.5
347	Honington	Agneta le Bosle	1	Jumenta	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	0	10	0	120	10
348	Honington	Th. Bertolot	1	Jumenta	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	1	12	6	390	32.5
349	Honington	Jacolly fil. Iohannis	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	3	10	0	840	70
350	Honington	Adam Muthrum	1	Jumenta	2	3	27	2.25	2.25	0	10	0	120	10
351	Honington	I. le Man	1	Pulli	0	8	8	0.666666667	0.666666667	2	16	6	678	56.5
352	Honington	W. le Webster	1	Pulli	0	5	5	0.416666667	0.416666667	2	1	6	498	41.5
353	Honington	D. Wymmer	1	Pulli	0	6	6	0.5	0.5	6	5	0	1500	125
354	Honington	Galf. le Hare	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	2	14	0	648	54
355	Honington	Pet. Clericus	2	Pulli	4	0	48	4	2	4	10	0	1080	90
356	Honington	Galf. Cocus	1	Pulli	2	1	25	2.083333333	2.083333333	3	0	11	731	60.91666667
357	Hopton	Dominus Ricardus Capellanus	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	3	12	6	870	72.5
358	Hopton	Rog. fil. Ricardi	1	Stotti	4	2	50	4.166666667	4.166666667	3	0	0	720	60
359	Hopton	Adam Militer	1	Stotti	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	1	13	0	396	33
360	Hopton	Rad. Le Carpenter	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	3	5	0	780	65
361	Hopton	R. Ledo	2	Stotti	6	0	72	6	3	3	7	6	810	67.5
362	Hopton	Moyse de Hoppetun	2	Stotti	4	0	48	4	2	1	7	6	330	27.5
363	Hopton	Walt. Bole	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	2	5	0	540	45
364	Hopton	Gilb. Haylot	1	Stotti	2	0	24	2	2	0	10	0	120	10
365	Hopton	Rad. Moyse	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	2	12	6	630	52.5
366	Hopton	Walt. Moyse	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	4	0	0	960	80
367	Hopton	Hamind Gleue	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	0	15	0	180	15
368	Hopton	Gilb. le Styward	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	1	5	0	300	25
369	Hopton	Walt. de Grancurt	2	Jumenta	10	0	120	10	5	8	7	6	2010	167.5
370	Hopton	Walt. Godfrey	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	15	0	420	35
371	Hopton	Ric. Atetunishende	2	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	1.5	1	10	0	360	30
372	Hopton	N. filius Petri	2	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	2.5	2	16	3	675	56.25
373	Hopton	Pet. Suan	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	5	0	300	25
374	Hopton	Dominus Ricardus Capellanus	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	3	12	6	870	72.5
375	Hopton	I. fil. Radulphi	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	3	7	6	810	67.5
376	Hopton	Th. le Kyng	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	5	0	300	25
377	Hopton	Alicia relicta Salomanis	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	2	7	6	570	47.5
378	Hopton	Paganus de Fonte	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	3	5	0	780	65
379	Hopton	Th. le Pope	1	Jumenta	5	10	70	5.833333333	5.833333333	3	5	0	780	65
380	Hopton	Simon Palmer	1	Jumenta	1	0	12	1	1	0	10	0	120	10
381	Hopton	Saleman fil. Petri	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	2	5	0	540	45
382	Hopton	Stephanus Mug	2	Jumenta	5	6	66	5.5	2.75	2	0	0	480	40
383	Hopton	Matilda Prepositus	2	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	2.5	2	0	0	480	40
384	Hopton	R. Beneyt	2	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	2	2	15	0	660	55
385	Hopton	Adam fil. Hugonis	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	2	15	0	660	55
386	Hopton	Pet. de Cruce	1	Jumenta	1	0	12	1	1	0	15	0	180	15
387	Hopton	Iuliana Lepstone	2	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	2.5	2	7	6	570	47.5
388	Hopton	Reg. Chaunterel	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	2	0	0	480	40
389	Hopton	R. le Supere	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	2	0	0	480	40
390	Hopton	Rad. le Carpenter	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	3	5	0	780	65
391	Hopton	R. Ingelondond	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	1	6	5	317	26.41666667
392	Hopton	Ric. Payn	1	Jumenta	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	0	17	6	210	17.5
393	Hopton	R. fil. Nicolai	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	0	10	0	120	10
394	Hopton	Th. Sarp	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	10	0	360	30
395	Hopton	Th. Guderam	2	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	2	2	17	6	690	57.5
396	Hopton	Muriel filia Petri	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	2	15	0	660	55
397	Hopton	R. fil. David	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	3	2	6	750	62.5
398	Hopton	Galf. fil. Radulphi	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	2	15	0	660	55
399	Hopton	Rad. le Styward	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	0	17	6	210	17.5
400	Hopton	R. de le Forde	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	0	17	6	210	17.5
401	Hopton	Walt. Nevman	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	0	10	0	120	10
402	Hopton	Adam Brun	1	Pulli	4	0	48	4	4	0	10	0	120	10
403	Hopton	Reg. Chaunterel	2	Pulli	2	0	24	2	1	2	0	0	480	40
404	Hopton	R. le Supere	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	2	0	0	480	40
405	Hopton	Rad. Moyse	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	2	12	6	630	52.5
406	Hopton	I. Mercator	2	Pullani	4	0	48	4	2	2	1	3	495	41.25
407	Hopton	Basilia Prepositus	1	Pullani	2	0	24	2	2	0	15	0	180	15
408	Hopton	I. Guderam	2	Pullani	4	0	48	4	2	3	2	6	750	62.5
409	Hopton	Walt. Moyse	1	Pullani	2	0	24	2	2	4	0	0	960	80
410	Hopton	R. fil. David	1	Pullani	2	0	24	2	2	3	2	6	750	62.5
411	Hopton	Matilda de Prato	1	Pullani	3	0	36	3	3	5	0	0	1200	100
412	Hunston	Adam Wolwan	2	Jumenta	10	0	120	10	5	3	7	10	814	67.83333333
413	Hunston	W. Godbarlich	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	1	0	6	246	20.5
414	Hunston	Rad. Cokerel	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	3	0	0	720	60

Appendix B: 1283 Blackbourne Hundred Lay Subsidy Data

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415	Hunston	Gervasius Payn	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	1	15	0	420	35
416	Hunston	Elyas Hog	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	2	5	0	540	45
417	Hunston	W. Ruschel	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	0	17	6	210	17.5
418	Hunston	W. Franceys	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	1	0	0	240	20
419	Hunston	Margareta de Aula	2	Stotti	10	0	120	10	5	9	2	0	2184	182
420	Hunston	I. de Hunterestun	4	Stotti	24	0	288	24	6	15	4	0	3648	304
421	Hunston	Warinus Sare	2	Stotti	10	0	120	10	5	1	17	6	450	37.5
422	Hunston	Simon Munbery	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	1	2	6	270	22.5
423	Hunston	I. de Coveney	2	Stotti	12	0	144	12	6	0	15	0	180	15
424	Hunston	I. de Hunterestun	2	Pulli	4	0	48	4	2	15	4	0	3648	304
425	Ingham	Manerium Prioris et Conventus de S. Edmundo de Hingham	8	Jumenta	28	0	336	28	3.5	42	2	10	10114	842.8333333
426	Ingham	Salaman West	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	4	8	8.5	1064.5	88.70833333
427	Ingham	Walt. del Cros	2	Jumenta	12	0	144	12	6	7	3	9	1725	143.75
428	Ingham	Th. fil. Ade	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	2	12	6	630	52.5
429	Ingham	H. Heyward	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	4	6	10	1042	86.83333333
430	Ingham	Aubericus Carter	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	1	4	0	288	24
431	Ingham	Moris Louin	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	2	12	6	630	52.5
432	Ingham	Brise Heyward	1	Jumenta	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	2	5	3	543	45.25
433	Ingham	R. Trip	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	1	14	8	416	34.66666667
434	Ingham	Ad. Paganus	1	Jumenta	4	6	54	4.5	4.5	1	9	8	356	29.66666667
435	Ingham	H. Paganus	2	Jumenta	10	0	120	10	5	10	4	8	2456	204.66666667
436	Ingham	Abel. Cayim	3	Jumenta	12	0	144	12	4	4	17	0	1164	97
437	Ingham	I. Britwold	1	Jumenta	4	6	54	4.5	4.5	3	14	0	888	74
438	Ingham	Catarina del Cros	3	Jumenta	17	0	204	17	5.666666667	11	9	4	2752	229.3333333
439	Ingham	Walt. del Cros	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	7	3	9	1725	143.75
440	Ingham	Th. fil. Ade	2	Pulli	4	0	48	4	2	2	12	6	630	52.5
441	Ingham	Brise Heyward	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	2	5	3	543	45.25
442	Ingham	H. Paganus	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	10	4	8	2456	204.66666667
443	Ixworth	Prior de Ixworth	2	Stotti	10	0	120	10	5	3	5	4	784	65.33333333
444	Ixworth	I. de Asfeud Capellanus	2	Stotti	12	0	144	12	6	2	11	4	616	51.33333333
445	Ixworth	H. Cissor	2	Stotti	8	0	96	8	4	3	15	0	900	75
446	Ixworth	Th. Andreu	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	1	15	0	420	35
447	Ixworth	R. Sparsto	2	Stotti	6	6	78	6.5	3.25	6	0	0	1440	120
448	Ixworth	R. Brakeberewe	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	2	19	9	717	59.75
449	Ixworth	I. le Mazun	1	Equi	6	8	80	6.666666667	6.666666667	3	9	4	832	69.33333333
450	Ixworth	Aluena quondam uxor Alueredi	1	Equi	4	0	48	4	4	2	16	1	673	56.08333333
451	Ixworth	Edm. de Chipenham	2	Equi	14	0	168	14	7	4	0	0	960	80
452	Ixworth	I. le Co	1	Equi	4	0	48	4	4	1	12	0	384	32
453	Ixworth	Dominus Pet. De Chavent	4	Stotti	22	0	264	22	5.5	14	0	0	3360	280
454	Ixworth	Bartolomaus Bodin	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	2	16	0	672	56
455	Ixworth	Th. Robin	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	2	1	1	493	41.08333333
456	Ixworth	Bernard filius Herberti	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	3	14	6	894	74.5
457	Ixworth	Rad. prepositus	3	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	3	11	6	858	71.5
458	Ixworth	Sarra le Paumer	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	2	3	8	524	43.66666667
459	Ixworth	Th. David	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	2	11	2	614	51.16666667
460	Ixworth	Walt. Scot	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	2	1	0	492	41
461	Ixworth	Th. Ode	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	0	12	9	153	12.75
462	Ixworth	Nich. Andreu	1	Jumenta	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	1	0	1	241	20.08333333
463	Ixworth	I. Robin	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	2	10	4	604	50.33333333
464	Ixworth	Galf. Leg	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	1	6	2	258	21.5
465	Ixworth	I. Baldewyn	1	Jumenta	2	4	28	2.333333333	2.333333333	0	11	4	136	11.33333333
466	Ixworth	Hugo Messor	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	0	1	241	20.08333333
467	Ixworth	I. Luveloc	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	3	2	5	749	62.41666667
468	Ixworth	Rad. prepositus	1	Equi	5	0	60	5	5	3	11	6	858	71.5
469	Ixworth	Walt. Bercarius	2	Equi	10	0	120	10	5	3	3	6	762	63.5
470	Ixworth	Ric. le Neweman	1	Equi	4	0	48	4	4	2	0	0	480	40
471	Knattishall	Ric. apud le tunhesende de Gnateshale	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	3	18	4	940	78.33333333
472	Knattishall	Margareta le Burnevyle	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	6	10	5	1565	130.41666667
473	Knattishall	W. Alstan	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	4	5	293	24.41666667
474	Knattishall	I. filius Basylye	1	Jumenta	3	8	44	3.666666667	3.666666667	0	17	2	206	17.16666667
475	Knattishall	Agneta Baudry	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	3	9	6	834	69.5
476	Knattishall	Th. Awred	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	10	1	361	30.08333333
477	Knattishall	Yve le Swan	1	Jumenta	1	0	12	1	1	0	11	7.5	139.5	11.625
478	Knattishall	W. Hylbert	1	Jumenta	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	5	9	8	1316	109.66666667
479	Knattishall	Botild Seluve	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	6	11	4	1576	131.33333333
480	Knattishall	Ric. de Berthon	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	3	3	7	763	63.58333333
481	Knattishall	Isabella Aleynes	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	0	12	7	151	12.58333333

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482	Knattishall	Ric. Curgys	1	Jumenta	1	0	12	1	1	2	0	10	490	40.83333333
483	Knattishall	W. Hubert	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	3	12	10	874	72.83333333
484	Knattishall	I. Mercator	2	Jumenta	5	8	68	5.666666667	2.833333333	3	5	10	790	65.83333333
485	Knattishall	I. Seluve	1	Jumenta	4	6	54	4.5	4.5	7	3	6	1722	143.5
486	Knattishall	Margareta le Burnevyle	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	6	10	5	1565	130.4166667
487	Knattishall	W. Alistan	1	Pulli	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	5	293	24.41666667
488	Knattishall	Th. le Paumer	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	2	4	3	531	44.25
489	Knattishall	Agneta Baudry	2	Pulli	3	0	36	3	1.5	3	9	6	834	69.5
490	Knattishall	Th. Awred	1	Pulli	0	8	8	0.666666667	0.666666667	1	10	1	361	30.08333333
491	Knattishall	W. Hylbert	3	Pulli	3	0	36	3	1	5	9	8	1316	109.6666667
492	Knattishall	Botild Seluve	3	Pulli	3	8	44	3.666666667	1.222222222	6	11	4	1576	131.3333333
493	Knattishall	Ric. de Berthon	3	Pulli	3	0	36	3	1	3	3	7	763	63.58333333
494	Knattishall	Ric. Curgys	2	Pulli	4	0	48	4	2	2	0	10	490	40.83333333
495	Knattishall	W. Hubert	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	3	12	10	874	72.83333333
496	Knattishall	I. Seluve	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	7	3	6	1722	143.5
497	Langham	W. filius Albriti	2	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	2	3	9	0	828	69
498	Langham	Gundreda de Langham	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	3	13	4	880	73.33333333
499	Langham	Helyas Martyn	2	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	2	2	6	6	558	46.5
500	Langham	Th. Larke	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	1	5	4	304	25.33333333
501	Langham	Gilb. filius Herwi	3	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	2	2	8	6	582	48.5
502	Langham	Rad. filius Nicholai	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	1	2	0	264	22
503	Langham	Rad. Heyrman	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	3	6	6	798	66.5
504	Langham	Ric. le Grom	2	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	2	1	12	0	384	32
505	Langham	Ric. de le Forze	1	Jumenta	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	1	8	2	248	20.66666667
506	Langham	R. Hunfridus	2	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	2.5	2	16	10	682	56.83333333
507	Langham	Adam Schep	2	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	2	1	14	6	414	34.5
508	Langham	R. Hynghold	2	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	2	2	6	6	558	46.5
509	Langham	Walt. Swyn de Hyxwrze	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	1	3	8	284	23.66666667
510	Langham	W. Helle	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	2	6	270	22.5
511	Langham	W. Horen	2	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	2	1	16	10	442	36.83333333
512	Langham	R. Robetel	2	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	2	0	17	8	212	17.66666667
513	Langham	W. de Langham	3	Stotti	14	0	168	14	4.666666667	10	6	6	2478	206.5
514	Langham	Laumbyn de Langham	4	Stotti	22	0	264	22	5.5	16	14	0	4008	334
515	Langham	I. Boude	1	Stotti	6	8	80	6.666666667	6.666666667	7	13	10	1846	153.8333333
516	Langham	Helyas Martyn	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	2	6	6	558	46.5
517	Langham	R. Hunfridus	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	2	16	10	682	56.83333333
518	Livermere Parva	W. le Haukere	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	0	13	0	156	13
519	Livermere Parva	Rob de Risebi	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	2	13	6	642	53.5
520	Livermere Parva	N. de * mere	1	Jumenta	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	0	17	6	210	17.5
521	Livermere Parva	Wlrich le Palmer	1	Jumenta	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	1	1	0	252	21
522	Livermere Parva	I. Capellanus	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	4	17	0	1164	97
523	Livermere Parva	Lete le Gaunn	2	Jumenta	9	0	108	9	4.5	1	11	0	372	31
524	Livermere Parva	W. fil. Ricardi	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	2	2	4	508	42.33333333
525	Livermere Parva	I. de Stonham	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	2	12	0	624	52
526	Livermere Parva	Bertolomaus de Livermere	2	Stotti	13	4	160	13.33333333	6.666666667	7	2	6	1710	142.5
527	Livermere Parva	W. de Livermere	2	Stotti	9	0	108	9	4.5	3	0	6	726	60.5
528	Livermere Parva	Alicia Scot	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	2	0	10	490	40.83333333
529	Market Weston	R. Len Gynnor	2	Equi	6	0	72	6	3	16	12	10	3994	332.8333333
530	Market Weston	Adam Osbern	1	Equi	4	0	48	4	4	3	19	2	950	79.16666667
531	Market Weston	Pet. Medicus	3	Equi	3	7	43	3.583333333	3.583333333	2	15	0	660	55
532	Market Weston	W. fil. Stephani	1	Equi	5	0	60	5	5	2	9	10	598	49.83333333
533	Market Weston	Simon Mercator	1	Equi	3	0	36	3	3	2	10	0	600	50
534	Market Weston	Dominus R. Houel	2	Stotti	4	0	48	4	2	1	10	0	360	30
535	Market Weston	R. Len Gynnor	3	Stotti	13	0	156	13	4.333333333	16	12	10	3994	332.8333333
536	Market Weston	Rad. le Warde	3	Stotti	15	0	180	15	5	3	15	8	908	75.66666667
537	Market Weston	Ric. Asty	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	7	17	4	1888	157.3333333
538	Market Weston	Galf. Onyot	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	1	5	0	300	25
539	Market Weston	W. fil. Thome	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	1	10	0	360	30
540	Market Weston	I. le Rus	1	Stotti	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	1	5	0	300	25
541	Market Weston	Walt. le Hunte	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	0	15	0	180	15
542	Market Weston	R. Len Gynnor	2	Eque	6	0	72	6	3	16	12	10	3994	332.8333333
543	Market Weston	Pet. Godwyne	1	Eque	4	0	48	4	4	1	13	2	398	33.16666667
544	Market Weston	H. Cukuc	1	Eque	3	0	36	3	3	1	19	6	474	39.5
545	Market Weston	Walt. Faber	1	Eque	3	0	36	3	3	1	9	0	348	29
546	Market Weston	Adam Osbern	2	Eque	2	0	24	2	2	3	19	2	950	79.16666667
547	Market Weston	Ric. Cubald	1	Eque	1	0	12	1	1	0	9	4	112	9.333333333
548	Market Weston	Matilda Textrix	1	Eque	3	0	36	3	3	2	0	0	480	40
549	Market Weston	Humfry fil. Nichola	1	Eque	2	0	24	2	2	0	10	0	120	10
550	Market Weston	Ric. Prepositus	1	Eque	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	0	15	0	180	15

Appendix B: 1283 Blackbourne Hundred Lay Subsidy Data

Entry No.	Manor	Owner	No. of Animals	Type of Horse	Shillings	Pence	Total Pence	Total Shillings	Average Price	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Pounds)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Shillings)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Pence)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Total Pence)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Total Shillings)
551	Market Weston	Simon fil. Iohannis	1	Eque	1	0	12	1	1	1	7	6	330	27.5
552	Market Weston	Pet. Poye	1	Eque	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	1	8	6	342	28.5
553	Market Weston	Th. Carpentarius	2	Eque	2	0	24	2	1	7	6	330	27.5	
554	Market Weston	Th. Conild	2	Eque	2	0	24	2	1	3	2	6	750	62.5
555	Market Weston	R. Len Gynnor	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	16	12	10	3994	332.8333333
556	Market Weston	Pet. Godwyne	1	Pulli	0	0	0	0	0	1	13	2	398	33.16666667
557	Market Weston	H. Cukuc	1	Pulli	0	0	0	0	0	1	19	6	474	39.5
558	Market Weston	Walt. Faber	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	1	9	0	348	29
559	Market Weston	Walt. Peper	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	1	8	1	337	28.08333333
560	Market Weston	Ric. Prepositus	1	Pulli	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	0	180	15
561	Norton	Dominus W. de Pakeham	3	Carectarii	24	0	288	24	8	38	1	0	9132	761
562	Norton	Dominus W. de Pakeham	12	Stotti	48	0	576	48	4	38	1	0	9132	761
563	Norton	Dominus Ric de Cokefeud	4	Stotti	8	0	96	8	2	6	11	6	1578	131.5
564	Norton	Galf. Hostiaris	4	Stotti	20	0	240	20	5	19	12	7	4711	392.5833333
565	Norton	W. Fromond	1	Stotti	6	0	72	6	6	4	11	1	1093	91.08333333
566	Norton	W. fil Thome	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	5	3	2	1238	103.1666667
567	Norton	W. Kenteys	2	Stotti	9	0	108	9	4.5	2	17	4	688	57.33333333
568	Norton	I. de Norton	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	1	12	6	390	32.5
569	Norton	I. de Punz	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	1	4	3	291	24.25
570	Norton	Fulco Mariot	1	Stotti	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	1	10	8	368	30.66666667
571	Norton	Adam de Punz	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	1	18	2	458	38.16666667
572	Norton	Th. fil. Ricardi Ballivi	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	3	5	3	783	65.25
573	Norton	Stephanus Molendinarius	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	1	9	3	351	29.25
574	Norton	Adam Molendinarius	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	0	18	5	221	18.41666667
575	Norton	W. Cokeman	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	2	4	1	529	44.08333333
576	Norton	Galf. Coc	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	1	12	5	389	32.41666667
577	Norton	Emma de Punz	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	0	19	0	228	19
578	Norton	Warinus fil. Gilberti	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	0	16	8	200	16.66666667
579	Norton	Symon de Howes	1	Stotti	6	0	72	6	6	3	14	6	894	74.5
580	Norton	W. de Berton	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	2	17	4	688	57.33333333
581	Norton	R. Kete	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	1	16	3	435	36.25
582	Norton	I. Hervi	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	2	9	3	591	49.25
583	Norton	Gilb. fil. Alwyni	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	2	16	11	683	56.91666667
584	Norton	Stephanus Prepositus	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	3	2	1	745	62.08333333
585	Norton	Herveus de Bradefeud	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	6	2	6	1470	122.5
586	Norton	Alicia de Stancehe	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	3	17	3	927	77.25
587	Norton	Rad. de Howes	1	Jumenta	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	0	14	0	168	14
588	Norton	Rad. le Gros	1	Jumenta	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	0	19	3	231	19.25
589	Norton	Warinus fil. Helye	1	Jumenta	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	2	1	7	499	41.58333333
590	Norton	Alicia de Stancehe	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	3	17	3	927	77.25
591	Rickinghall	Dominus Abbas	2	Equi	20	0	240	20	10	44	14	8	10736	894.6666667
592	Rickinghall	Adam fil. Roberti	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	5	4	6	1254	104.5
593	Rickinghall	Adam fil. Petri	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	3	19	6	954	79.5
594	Rickinghall	W. de Ecclesia	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	3	5	3	783	65.25
595	Rickinghall	W. Waryn	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	2	3	9	525	43.75
596	Rickinghall	Th. Waryn	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	16	3	435	36.25
597	Rickinghall	Th. Elys	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	0	16	3	195	16.25
598	Rickinghall	Galf. fil. Hugonis	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	1	8	9	345	28.75
599	Rickinghall	Hugo Schet	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	2	0	6	486	40.5
600	Rickinghall	Adam le Brum	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	0	11	0	132	11
601	Rickinghall	Adam Aylmer	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	3	1	3	735	61.25
602	Rickinghall	W. le Brun	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	6	13	6	1602	133.5
603	Rickinghall	H. le Brun	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	17	6	450	37.5
604	Rickinghall	Eadmundus Crike	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	3	5	6	786	65.5
605	Rickinghall	Gilb. Othin	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	1	3	6	282	23.5
606	Rickinghall	Walt. de Cruce	1	Jumenta	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	1	3	3	279	23.25
607	Rickinghall	I. de Wyndel	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	6	9	321	26.75
608	Rickinghall	I. Bunting	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	2	2	4.5	508.5	42.375
609	Rickinghall	N. Alwyne	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	7	1.5	325.5	27.125
610	Rickinghall	H. Prepositus	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	9	8	0	2256	188
611	Rickinghall	Warinus Sutor	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	3	14	0	888	74
612	Rickinghall	Ric. Sparke	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	1	12	9	393	32.75
613	Rickinghall	Gilb. Wytynng	1	Jumenta	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	0	10	0	120	10
614	Rickinghall	Claricia del Bosco	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	1	16	9	441	36.75
615	Rickinghall	W. Pikele	1	Jumenta	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	0	16	0	192	16
616	Rickinghall	Lucas Pikele	1	Jumenta	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	1	4	1.5	289.5	24.125
617	Rickinghall	Ric. De Ecclesia	1	Jumenta	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	1	10	0	360	30
618	Rickinghall	Gregorius	1	Jumenta	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	1	0	0	240	20
619	Rickinghall	W. de Webstere	1	Jumenta	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	1	3	9	285	23.75

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620	Rickingham	Dominus Abbas	6	Stotti	30	0	360	30	5	44	11	8	10700	891.666667
621	Rickingham	Ric. Aylmer	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	2	19	6	714	59.5
622	Rickingham	Walt. Aylmer	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	7	4	0	6	1728	144
623	Rickingham	Ric. Piscator	1	Stotti	3	4	40	3.333333333	3.333333333	0	14	4	172	14.33333333
624	Rickingham	Adam le Lonke	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	1	10	0	360	30
625	Rickingham	W. le Brun	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	6	13	6	1602	133.5
626	Rickingham	Wyot Godyng	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	2	2	6	510	42.5
627	Rickingham	I. de Wyndel	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	1	6	9	321	26.75
628	Rickingham	N. Alwyne	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	1	7	1.5	325.5	27.125
629	Rickingham	H. Prepositus	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	9	8	0	2256	188
630	Rickingham	Eadmundus Crike	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	3	5	6	786	65.5
631	Rickingham	Gilb. Othin	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	1	3	6	282	23.5
632	Rickingham	Ric. de Cruce	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	2	7	6	570	47.5
633	Rickingham	Adam fil. H. Prepositi	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	0	17	3	207	17.25
634	Rickingham	H. Prepositus	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	9	8	0	2256	188
635	Rickingham	Warinus Sutor	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	3	14	0	888	74
636	Rickingham	Alicia Stillego	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	15	3	6	423	35.25
637	Rushford	Walt. Prepositus	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	6	17	6	1650	137.5
638	Rushford	Walt. apud le Fen	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	1	13	9	405	33.75
639	Rushford	Pet. de Fakenham	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	1	3	255	21.25
640	Rushford	Th. fil. Willelmi	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	1	13	9	405	33.75
641	Rushford	Alexander Bercator	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	0	12	6	150	12.5
642	Rushford	Margareta Bele	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	2	13	9	645	53.75
643	Rushford	Pet. le Clerke	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	2	12	6	630	52.5
644	Rushford	Prior Monacorum Theford	2	Equi	12	0	144	12	6	6	17	6	1650	137.5
645	Rushford	W. apud le Fen	1	Equi	5	0	60	5	5	2	5	0	540	45
646	Rushford	Walt. Prepositus	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	6	17	6	1650	137.5
647	Rushford	Pet. le Clerke	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	2	12	6	630	52.5
648	Sapiston	I. Petyt	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	1	0	5	245	20.41666667
649	Sapiston	Isabel uxor Ad. le Reve	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	7	3	1	1717	143.0833333
650	Sapiston	W. Godeman	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	0	9	6	114	9.5
651	Sapiston	Aluene Godeman	1	Jumenta	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	2	10	3.5	603.5	50.29166667
652	Sapiston	Cecili le Reve	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	5	14	5	1137	114.4166667
653	Sapiston	Hugo Hallowe	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	1	15	2.5	422.5	35.20833333
654	Sapiston	Gilb. Bicce	2	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	2.5	2	10	10	610	50.83333333
655	Sapiston	Leticia le Palmer	1	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	6	6	1	6	1458	121.5
656	Sapiston	Alicia Sugling	1	Jumenta	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	2	10	11	611	50.91666667
657	Sapiston	I. fil. Willelmi	1	Jumenta	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	2	15	0.5	660.5	55.04166667
658	Sapiston	W. Afo	1	Jumenta	1	0	12	1	1	0	12	4	148	12.33333333
659	Sapiston	Osebert Waggard	1	Jumenta	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	0	10	0	120	10
660	Sapiston	Gilb. le Warrrener	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	6	9	6	1554	129.5
661	Sapiston	Ad. le Reve	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	4	14	5	1133	94.41666667
662	Sapiston	W. le Palmer	2	Stotti	7	0	84	7	3.5	8	2	6	1950	162.5
663	Sapiston	Isabel uxor Ad. le Reve	2	Stotti	8	0	96	8	4	7	3	1	1717	143.0833333
664	Sapiston	Ed. Martin	2	Stotti	8	0	96	8	4	5	3	3	1263	105.25
665	Sapiston	Galf. le Calf	2	Stotti	8	0	96	8	4	9	5	5	2229	185.75
666	Sapiston	Isoude le Reve	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	2	13	6	642	53.5
667	Sapiston	Leticia le Palmer	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	6	1	6	1458	121.5
668	Sapiston	Galf. le Calf	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	9	5	9	2229	185.75
669	Stanton	H. de Quakfen	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	2	9	0	588	49
670	Stanton	I. de Dale	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	2	5	2	542	45.16666667
671	Stanton	R. de Dale	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	3	2	2	746	62.16666667
672	Stanton	Ric. de Dale	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	5	5	0	1260	105
673	Stanton	Ric. Faukos	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	0	12	0	144	12
674	Stanton	R. Kat	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	2	10	0	600	50
675	Stanton	Mabilia Sudling	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	10	0	360	30
676	Stanton	Simon Hubert	2	Jumenta	5	6	66	5.5	2.75	2	9	6	594	49.5
677	Stanton	I. Hubert	1	Jumenta	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	1	7	10	334	27.83333333
678	Stanton	Th. Alof	1	Jumenta	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	1	10	0	360	30
679	Stanton	W. le Welp	1	Jumenta	5	6	66	5.5	5.5	0	17	6	210	17.5
680	Stanton	Th. Prior	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	1	9	6	354	29.5
681	Stanton	Walt. le Moliner	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	2	10	0	600	50
682	Stanton	Adam fil. Roberti	3	Stotti	9	0	108	9	3	7	15	8	1868	155.6666667
683	Stanton	Ric. de Dale	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	5	5	0	1260	105
684	Stanton	I. Mercator	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	2	4	8	536	44.66666667
685	Stanton	I. de Hayscroft	2	Stotti	7	0	84	7	3.5	9	0	0	2160	180
686	Stanton	Hugo Collop	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	0	18	0	216	18
687	Stanton	Walt. Kenne Capellanus	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	2	10	0	600	50
688	Stanton	W. Russel	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	4	10	0	1080	90

Appendix B: 1283 Blackbourne Hundred Lay Subsidy Data

Entry No.	Manor	Owner	No. of Animals	Type of Horse	Shillings	Pence	Total Pence	Total Shillings	Average Price	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Pounds)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Shillings)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Pence)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Total Pence)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Total Shillings)
689	Stanton	Hervicus fil. Johannis	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	2	0	0	480	40
690	Stanton	N. de Stanton	4	Stotti	16	0	192	16	4	8	12	0	2064	172
691	Stanton	Th. Mercator	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	3	3	0	0	720	60
692	Stanton	N. Maymond	1	Affri	3	0	36	3	3	1	2	0	264	22
693	Stanton	N. Mariot	1	Affri	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	0	14	8	176	14.66666667
694	Stanton	W. le Heyward	3	Affri	25	0	300	25	8.333333333	11	5	0	2700	225
695	Stanton	R. Kat	1	Pullani	2	0	24	2	2	2	10	0	600	50
696	Stanton	Rad. fil Wynter	2	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	2.5	1	15	2	422	35.16666667
697	Stanton	Adam fil. Fabri	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	2	0	0	480	40
698	Stanton	Th. fil. Petri	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	5	0	300	25
699	Stanton	I. Godyine	1	Jumenta	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	0	18	6	222	18.5
700	Stanton	Adam Gonnyld	1	Jumenta	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	0	18	10	226	18.83333333
701	Stanton	R. Kibelon	1	Jumenta	1	0	12	1	1	0	10	0	120	10
702	Stanton	Pet. le Cromber	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	0	10	0	120	10
703	Stanton	Walt. Case	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	0	10	0	120	10
704	Stanton	Adam fil. Presbuteri	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	1	5	0	300	25
705	Stanton	I. Kanell	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	2	0	0	480	40
706	Stanton	Roger Asspelond	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	4	2	6	990	82.5
707	Stanton	Th. Asspelond	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	3	0	2	722	60.16666667
708	Stanton	Th. Hunfrey	1	Stotti	2	0	24	2	2	1	1	0	252	21
709	Stanton	Adam Esger	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	3	10	0	840	70
710	Stanton	I. Aluric	1	Stotti	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	0	15	0	180	15
711	Stanton	Iulian Aluric	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	3	2	6	750	62.5
712	Stanton	Mabilia Trayleman	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	1	5	0	300	25
713	Stanton	R. Gent	2	Stotti	10	0	120	10	5	3	0	0	720	60
714	Stanton	I. fil. Laurencii	2	Stotti	5	0	60	5	2.5	3	0	0	720	60
715	Stanton	W. Osmund	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	1	8	10	346	28.83333333
716	Stanton	Hervicus Aunger	2	Stotti	6	0	72	6	3	6	0	6	1446	120.5
717	Stanton	Th. Fichel	2	Stotti	6	0	72	6	3	2	15	6	666	55.5
718	Stanton	I. Fichel	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	1	11	6	378	31.5
719	Stanton	Pet. Clericus	1	Affri	3	0	36	3	3	1	5	0	300	25
720	Stanton	I. Ocelin	1	Affri	3	0	36	3	3	2	10	0	600	50
721	Stanton	I. le Wyte	1	Affri	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	0	10	0	120	10
722	Stanton	W. Godechild	1	Affri	3	0	36	3	3	0	10	0	120	10
723	Stanton	W. Sperling	1	Pullani	3	0	36	3	3	1	2	0	264	22
724	Stanton	W. Aluric	1	Pullani	2	0	24	2	2	0	7	6	90	7.5
725	Stanton	I. William	1	Pullani	1	0	12	1	1	1	19	4	472	39.33333333
726	Stowlangtoft	Reg. Peche	4	Stotti	16	0	192	16	4	16	0	0	3840	320
727	Stowlangtoft	W. de Norvico	2	Stotti	8	0	96	8	4	3	2	6	750	62.5
728	Stowlangtoft	Helyseus fil. Odonis	2	Stotti	10	0	120	10	5	6	12	6	1590	132.5
729	Stowlangtoft	R. Haukin	3	Stotti	13	4	160	13.33333333	4.444444444	8	17	4	2128	177.3333333
730	Stowlangtoft	Walt. de Molendino	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	2	12	4	628	52.33333333
731	Stowlangtoft	Roger Cloher	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	3	18	0	936	78
732	Stowlangtoft	Olyva relicta Ricardi	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	1	13	2	398	33.16666667
733	Stowlangtoft	R. Hotir	2	Stotti	8	0	96	8	4	2	7	6	570	47.5
734	Stowlangtoft	I. fil. Elye	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	2	18	0	696	58
735	Stowlangtoft	Reg. de Brakelond	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	1	17	6	450	37.5
736	Stowlangtoft	Ric. de Cruce	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	2	10	0	600	50
737	Stowlangtoft	I. le King	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	2	10	0	600	50
738	Stowlangtoft	Rad. Brythwin	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	0	15	6	186	15.5
739	Stowlangtoft	Reg. Peche	2	Veredes	12	0	144	12	6	16	0	0	3840	320
740	Stowlangtoft	Olyva relicta Ricardi	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	13	2	398	33.16666667
741	Stowlangtoft	Walt. le King	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	2	8	6	582	48.5
742	Stowlangtoft	Warinus Carpentarius	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	1	9	0	348	29
743	Stowlangtoft	W. Custelot	1	Jumenta	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	0	18	6	222	18.5
744	Stowlangtoft	Christiana Langetot	1	Equi	6	8	80	6.666666667	6.666666667	3	5	0	780	65
745	Stowlangtoft	Reg. Peche	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	16	0	0	3840	320
746	Stowlangtoft	Christiana Langetot	2	Pulli	3	0	36	3	1.5	3	5	0	780	65
747	Thelnetham	Dominus Petrus	2	Carectarii	14	0	168	14	7	40	0	0	9600	800
748	Thelnetham	Dominus Petrus	6	Stotti	30	0	360	30	5	40	0	0	9600	800
749	Thelnetham	Domina Sarra	2	Stotti	14	4	172	14.33333333	7.166666667	14	7	6	3450	287.5
750	Thelnetham	Ric. de Douvestoft	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	3	5	0	780	65
751	Thelnetham	Hugo Molendinarius	1	Stotti	7	0	84	7	7	1	2	6	270	22.5
752	Thelnetham	Bartolomaus de Ravestre	3	Stotti	12	0	144	12	4	6	8	0	1536	128
753	Thelnetham	Ric. Corteis	1	Stotti	6	0	72	6	6	3	13	4	880	73.33333333
754	Thelnetham	Pet. Helmer	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	2	7	6	570	47.5
755	Thelnetham	W. Harrou	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	0	15	0	180	15
756	Thelnetham	I. Medicus	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	0	17	6	210	17.5
757	Thelnetham	Martin Medicus	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	1	12	6	390	32.5

Appendix B: 1283 Blackbourne Hundred Lay Subsidy Data

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758	Thelnetham	N. Howard	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	1	7	6	330	27.5
759	Thelnetham	Dominus Petrus	2	Jumenta	20	0	240	20	10	40	0	0	9600	800
760	Thelnetham	Th. le Heue	1	Jumenta	4	6	54	4.5	4.5	0	17	6	210	17.5
761	Thelnetham	Pet. fil. Simonis	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	2	2	6	510	42.5
762	Thelnetham	Rosa relicta	2	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	2.5	2	11	9	621	51.75
763	Thelnetham	Ric. Perot	2	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	2.5	3	6	6	798	66.5
764	Thelnetham	I. Munde	2	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	2	0	19	0	228	19
765	Thelnetham	Galf. Doune	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	0	0	240	20
766	Thelnetham	I. Soutor	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	2	2	6	510	42.5
767	Thelnetham	Pet. de Ressebroc	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	2	17	0	684	57
768	Thelnetham	Goddard Austin	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	1	15	0	420	35
769	Thelnetham	Rogger Soutor	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	1	5	0	300	25
770	Thelnetham	Ric. Franceis	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	10	0	360	30
771	Thelnetham	Pet. Faber	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	0	0	240	20
772	Thelnetham	A. de Rede	2	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	2.5	2	10	0	600	50
773	Thelnetham	H. de Sudstre	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	1	10	0	360	30
774	Thelnetham	W. Bron	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	0	12	6	150	12.5
775	Thelnetham	N. Hoseburn	2	Jumenta	10	0	120	10	5	3	7	6	810	67.5
776	Thelnetham	Ric. Crane	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	2	10	0	600	50
777	Thelnetham	N. Hodhin	1	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	6	2	10	0	600	50
778	Thelnetham	I. Leveric	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	0	10	0	120	10
779	Thelnetham	Margaret de Cruce	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	1	17	6	450	37.5
780	Thelnetham	Adam Robert	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	2	17	6	690	57.5
781	Thelnetham	Ric. de le Hil	2	Jumenta	11	0	132	11	5.5	4	2	6	990	82.5
782	Thelnetham	R. de Forde	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	1	5	0	300	25
783	Thelnetham	Martinus Vrenne	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	0	15	0	180	15
784	Thelnetham	W. le Heir	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	1	15	0	420	35
785	Thelnetham	N. Svein	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	2	1	6	498	41.5
786	Thelnetham	N. Hodhin	2	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	2	10	0	600	50
787	Thorpe by Ixworth	Dominus W. de Pakeham	6	Stotti	30	0	360	30	5	34	3	5.25	8201.25	683.4375
788	Thorpe by Ixworth	Pet. Capellanus	3	Stotti	15	0	180	15	5	1	18	0	456	38
789	Thorpe by Ixworth	Galf. Lowym	1	Stotti	2	0	24	2	2	5	7	6	1290	107.5
790	Thorpe by Ixworth	Walt. Kenne	2	Equi	6	0	72	6	3	3	12	3	867	72.25
791	Thorpe by Ixworth	Walt. Wydye	1	Equi	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	1	5	3	303	25.25
792	Thorpe by Ixworth	Alicia Hubert	2	Equi	5	0	60	5	2.5	2	14	9	657	54.75
793	Thorpe by Ixworth	** uxor Gilb. Burcharde	1	Equi	3	0	36	3	3	0	10	0	120	10
794	Thorpe by Ixworth	Agnes apud le Welle	1	Equi	2	0	24	2	2	0	14	4	172	14.33333333
795	Thorpe by Ixworth	Rad. Symund	1	Equi	3	0	36	3	3	3	12	3	867	72.25
796	Thorpe by Ixworth	Th. de la Dale	2	Equi	7	0	84	7	3.5	4	18	9	1185	98.75
797	Thorpe by Ixworth	Ric. De Bernham	1	Equi	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	2	3	9	525	43.75
798	Thorpe by Ixworth	W. filius Ade	1	Equi	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	2	7	6	570	47.5
799	Thorpe by Ixworth	R. Capellanus	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	0	12	6	150	12.5
800	Thorpe by Ixworth	I. le Neve	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	3	1	0	732	61
801	Thorpe by Ixworth	Alicia uxor D. Fabri	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	0	13	5	161	13.41666667
802	Thorpe by Ixworth	Wymark Sanke	1	Jumenta	2	0	24	2	2	0	11	3	135	11.25
803	Thorpe by Ixworth	I. le Syre	1	Jumenta	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	0	14	9	177	14.75
804	Thorpe by Ixworth	Galf. fil. Rad. Symund	1	Jumenta	2	9	33	2.75	2.75	1	0	0	240	20
805	Thorpe by Ixworth	Galf. Lowym	2	Jumenta	7	0	84	7	3.5	5	7	6	1290	107.5
806	Thorpe by Ixworth	** * le Syre (1)	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	1	19	4	472	39.33333333
807	Thorpe by Ixworth	Ric. De Bernham	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	2	3	9	525	43.75
808	Thorpe by Ixworth	Symon de Gisingham	2	Jumenta	4	6	54	4.5	2.25	2	1	10	502	41.83333333
809	Thorpe by Ixworth	I. le Neve	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	3	1	0	732	61
810	Thorpe by Ixworth	Cecilia uxor D. Fabri	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	1	6	4	316	26.33333333
811	Thorpe by Ixworth	Alicia uxor Poulin felun	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	1	13	2	398	33.16666667
812	Thorpe by Ixworth	Alex. Hubert	1	Pulli	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	1	1	3	255	21.25
813	Thorpe by Ixworth	Galf. fil. Rad. Symund	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	1	0	0	240	20
814	Thorpe by Ixworth	Th. de la Dale	1	Pulli	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	4	18	9	1185	98.75
815	Thorpe by Ixworth	** * le Syre (2)	1	Pulli	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	3	2	0	744	62
816	Thorpe by Ixworth	** * le Syre (1)	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	1	19	4	472	39.33333333
817	Thorpe by Ixworth	W. filius Ade	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	2	7	6	570	47.5
818	Trotson	W. de Thevetham	3	Stotti	20	0	240	20	6.66666667	12	11	0	3012	251
819	Trotson	Galf. Le Marscal	2	Stotti	10	0	120	10	5	5	11	3	1335	111.25
820	Trotson	Humfridus Dusing	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	0	14	0	168	14
821	Trotson	** Wynthive	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	9	2	6	2190	182.5
822	Trotson	** filius Walteri (1)	2	Jumenta	10	0	120	10	5	8	3	2	1958	163.16666667
823	Trotson	** filius Walteri (2)	1	Jumenta	4	6	54	4.5	4.5	1	5	0	300	25
824	Trotson	** * nthard	1	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	6	3	18	1	937	78.08333333
825	Trotson	** * olidur	1	Jumenta	4	6	54	4.5	4.5	3	10	0	840	70
826	Trotson	** * Holmere	1	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	8	1	16	3	435	36.25

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827	Trotson	*** de la Grene	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	0	17	10.5	214.5	17.875
828	Trotson	*** Bolt (1)	1	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	8	1	17	6	450	37.5
829	Trotson	*** Bolt (2)	1	Jumenta	5	6	66	5.5	5.5	1	2	3.5	267.5	22.29166667
830	Trotson	** le Belchawmp	1	Jumenta	5	6	66	5.5	5.5	4	10	11	1091	90.91666667
831	Trotson	** ulfus Linguin	1	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	6	1	13	0	396	33
832	Trotson	*** Suter	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	1	6	3	315	26.25
833	Trotson	** eneswold	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	1	11	3	375	31.25
834	Trotson	Walt. Richer	1	Jumenta	5	6	66	5.5	5.5	2	2	6	510	42.5
835	Trotson	Walt. Gosselin	1	Jumenta	6	6	78	6.5	6.5	1	8	0	336	28
836	Trotson	I. Gosselin	1	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	6	3	4	10	778	64.83333333
837	Trotson	W. de Wilingham	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	4	8	6	1062	88.5
838	Trotson	Pet. Attetunesend	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	1	17	0	444	37
839	Trotson	Th. Holemar	1	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	8	2	5	0	540	45
840	Trotson	N. Robin	1	Pulli	6	0	72	6	6	11	3	9	2685	223.75
841	Trotson	** Wynthive	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	9	2	6	2190	182.5
842	Trotson	I. Gosselin	1	Pulli	4	0	48	4	4	3	4	10	778	64.83333333
843	Trotson	W. de Wilingham	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	4	8	6	1062	88.5
844	Trotson	Pet. Attetunesend	1	Pulli	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	1	17	6	450	37.5
845	Walsham le Willows	Eva de Waleyns	2	Carectarii	16	0	192	16	8	13	8	0.5	3216.5	268.04166667
846	Walsham le Willows	Eva de Waleyns	10	Stotti	50	0	600	50	5	13	8	0.5	3216.5	268.04166667
847	Walsham le Willows	Dominus Roger de Walsham	2	Stotti	8	0	96	8	4	6	2	1	1465	122.08333333
848	Walsham le Willows	Magister Iohannes	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	7	17	6	1890	157.5
849	Walsham le Willows	Prior de Ixwrthe	3	Stotti	20	0	240	20	6.666666667	5	12	8	1352	112.66666667
850	Walsham le Willows	Rad. le Franceys	1	Stotti	6	0	72	6	6	5	16	9	1401	116.75
851	Walsham le Willows	Pet. fil. Roberti	1	Stotti	6	0	72	6	6	3	8	4.5	820.5	68.375
852	Walsham le Willows	W. le Franceys	1	Stotti	5	6	66	5.5	5.5	2	7	10	574	47.83333333
853	Walsham le Willows	Ida Payn	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	2	11	7	619	51.58333333
854	Walsham le Willows	Simon Kembald	1	Stotti	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	1	2	4.5	268.5	22.375
855	Walsham le Willows	W. Bulloc	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	0	15	0	180	15
856	Walsham le Willows	R. le Neve	1	Stotti	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	0	12	4	148	12.33333333
857	Walsham le Willows	Adam Burchard	1	Eque	4	0	48	4	4	2	3	10	526	43.83333333
858	Walsham le Willows	Rad. le Franceys	1	Eque	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	5	16	9	1401	116.75
859	Walsham le Willows	Pet. fil. Roberti	1	Eque	4	6	54	4.5	4.5	3	8	4.5	820.5	68.375
860	Walsham le Willows	Walt. le Sire	1	Eque	4	0	48	4	4	1	12	9	393	32.75
861	Walsham le Willows	R. de Aldewoode	3	Eque	3	0	36	3	3	4	13	0	1116	93
862	Walsham le Willows	Ric. Tirewald	2	Eque	4	0	48	4	2	2	3	6	522	43.5
863	Walsham le Willows	Walt. le Deneys	1	Eque	4	0	48	4	4	1	6	0.5	312.5	26.04166667
864	Walsham le Willows	Ida Payn	1	Eque	4	0	48	4	4	2	11	7	619	51.58333333
865	Walsham le Willows	Galf. Payn	1	Eque	4	0	48	4	4	2	3	8.5	524.5	43.70833333
866	Walsham le Willows	W. Payn	1	Eque	5	0	60	5	5	2	5	8.5	548.5	45.70833333
867	Walsham le Willows	Pet. de Rede	1	Eque	6	0	72	6	6	3	13	1.5	877.5	73.125
868	Walsham le Willows	Th. Hunno	1	Eque	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	0	19	1	229	19.08333333
869	Walsham le Willows	W. le Marler	1	Eque	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	1	3	1	277	23.08333333
870	Walsham le Willows	Th. Osbern	2	Eque	5	0	60	5	2.5	2	12	7.5	631.5	52.625
871	Walsham le Willows	Walt. Osbern	2	Eque	6	0	72	6	3	4	4	1	1009	84.08333333
872	Walsham le Willows	R. le Do	1	Eque	4	0	48	4	4	0	14	0.5	168.5	14.04166667
873	Walsham le Willows	Walt. Rampolye	1	Eque	5	0	60	5	5	2	6	7	559	46.58333333
874	Walsham le Willows	Walt. Wither	1	Eque	4	0	48	4	4	1	3	1.5	277.5	23.125
875	Walsham le Willows	W. Wither	1	Eque	5	0	60	5	5	3	2	5	749	62.41666667
876	Walsham le Willows	R. Pinfal	1	Eque	3	0	36	3	3	3	3	5.5	761.5	63.45833333
877	Walsham le Willows	Reg. Sutor	1	Eque	4	0	48	4	4	1	3	2.5	278.5	23.20833333
878	Walsham le Willows	Aubry uxor W. Margeri	1	Eque	3	0	36	3	3	0	15	3	183	15.25
879	Walsham le Willows	Alicia la Warde	1	Eque	4	6	54	4.5	4.5	2	1	7.5	499.5	41.625
880	Walsham le Willows	R. Helle	1	Eque	5	0	60	5	5	1	15	11.5	431.5	35.95833333
881	Walsham le Willows	Mat. Spileman	1	Eque	4	0	48	4	4	0	15	2	182	15.16666667
882	Walsham le Willows	R. de Aldewoode	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	4	13	0	1116	93
883	Walsham le Willows	Galf. Payn	1	Pulli	1	0	12	1	1	2	3	7	523	43.58333333
884	Walsham le Willows	R. Pinfal	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	3	3	5.5	761.5	63.45833333
885	Walsham le Willows	I. fil. Ricardi	1	Carectarii	3	0	42	3.5	3.5	0	15	0	180	15
886	Walsham le Willows	Pet. Faber	1	Stotti	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	1	3	4	280	23.33333333
887	Walsham le Willows	Ric. le Man	1	Stotti	2	7	31	2.583333333	2.583333333	1	2	6	270	22.5
888	Walsham le Willows	Rad. Helewys	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	2	11	5	617	51.41666667
889	Walsham le Willows	R. Hernyng	1	Stotti	4	6	54	4.5	4.5	2	11	5	617	51.41666667
890	Walsham le Willows	Hunfridus le Man	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	1	12	6	390	32.5
891	Walsham le Willows	Mat. fil Gilberti	1	Equi	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	0	16	3	195	16.25
892	Walsham le Willows	W. Coco	1	Equi	4	0	48	4	4	1	10	1	361	30.08333333
893	Walsham le Willows	R. Pudding	1	Equi	4	6	54	4.5	4.5	1	17	11.5	455.5	37.95833333
894	Walsham le Willows	H. Patel	1	Equi	3	4	40	3.333333333	3.333333333	1	14	2	410	34.16666667
895	Walsham le Willows	Andreas le Typetot	1	Equi	3	0	36	3	3	0	16	1.5	193.5	16.125

Appendix B: 1283 Blackbourne Hundred Lay Subsidy Data

Entry No.	Manor	Owner	No. of Animals	Type of Horse	Shillings	Pence	Total Pence	Total Shillings	Average Price	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Pounds)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Shillings)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Pence)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Total Pence)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Total Shillings)
896	Walsham le Willows	W. Terrewald	1	Equi	5	0	60	5	5	2	15	10	670	55.83333333
897	Walsham le Willows	W. Qualm	1	Equi	4	0	48	4	4	0	19	1.5	229.5	19.125
898	Walsham le Willows	Rad. Pudding	1	Equi	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	0	18	11	227	18.91666667
899	Walsham le Willows	Rad. Helewys	1	Equi	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	2	11	5	617	51.41666667
900	Walsham le Willows	Hugo de le Broc	1	Equi	4	6	54	4.5	4.5	1	9	9	357	29.75
901	Walsham le Willows	Pet. le Man	1	Equi	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	1	7	7	331	27.58333333
902	Walsham le Willows	W. Bercator	1	Equi	3	0	36	3	3	1	7	0	324	27
903	Walsham le Willows	Auice Barel	1	Equi	5	0	60	5	5	2	12	3.5	627.5	52.29166667
904	Walsham le Willows	Annis uxor Iohannis	1	Equi	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	0	18	4	220	18.33333333
905	Walsham le Willows	Gilb. le Do	1	Equi	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	0	16	8.5	200.5	16.70833333
906	Walsham le Willows	Rad. Sare	1	Equi	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	1	1	0	252	21
907	Walsham le Willows	Ric. Helirof	1	Equi	4	6	54	4.5	4.5	0	18	10.5	226.5	18.875
908	Walsham le Willows	I. le Do	1	Equi	2	8	32	2.66666667	2.66666667	0	17	4.5	208.5	17.375
909	Walsham le Willows	Christiana Terrewald	1	Equi	4	6	54	4.5	4.5	1	2	11.5	275.5	22.95833333
910	Walsham le Willows	W. Hulc	1	Equi	4	0	48	4	4	0	17	4.5	208.5	17.375
911	Walsham le Willows	Adam le Syre	1	Equi	4	6	54	4.5	4.5	0	18	5	221	18.41666667
912	Walsham le Willows	Ric. de Cranmere	1	Equi	3	4	40	3.33333333	3.33333333	1	1	7	259	21.58333333
913	Walsham le Willows	Adam Pinchun	1	Equi	4	0	48	4	4	1	10	8	368	30.66666667
914	Walsham le Willows	R. Hawes	1	Equi	5	0	60	5	5	4	10	0	1080	90
915	Walsham le Willows	H. Patel	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	1	14	2	410	34.16666667
916	Walsham le Willows	Andreas le Typetot	1	Pulli	1	4	16	1.33333333	1.33333333	0	16	1.5	193.5	16.125
917	Walsham le Willows	W. Terrewald	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	2	15	10	670	55.83333333
918	Walsham le Willows	Pet. le Man	1	Pulli	1	8	20	1.66666667	1.66666667	1	7	7	331	27.58333333
919	Walsham le Willows	Rad. Wiswyf	1	Pulli	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	0	11	2	134	11.16666667
920	Walsham le Willows	Herebard de Cranmere	1	Pulli	1	4	16	1.33333333	1.33333333	1	10	8.5	368.5	30.70833333
921	Walsham le Willows	Ric. de Cranmere	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	1	1	7	259	21.58333333
922	Walsham le Willows	R. Hawes	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	4	10	0	1080	90
923	Walsham le Willows	Herebard de Cranmere	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	1	10	8.5	368.5	30.70833333
924	Wattisfield	De I. fil domini	1	Eque	4	0	48	4	4	4	8	2.5	1058.5	88.20833333
925	Wattisfield	I. de Seyncler	1	Eque	6	0	72	6	6	0	0	0	0	0
926	Wattisfield	Berard de Bosco	2	Eque	8	0	96	8	4	7	0	2	1682	140.16666667
927	Wattisfield	I. Thurston	1	Eque	3	6	42	3.5	3.5	1	1	9	261	21.75
928	Wattisfield	R. de Herst	1	Eque	5	0	60	5	5	1	7	2	326	27.16666667
929	Wattisfield	Ric. Aylmer	1	Eque	5	0	60	5	5	1	5	6.5	306.5	25.54166667
930	Wattisfield	Ad. de Herst	1	Eque	5	0	60	5	5	1	9	1.5	349.5	29.125
931	Wattisfield	Walt. le Franceys	1	Eque	5	0	60	5	5	1	19	1.5	469.5	39.125
932	Wattisfield	Emma de Baynde	2	Eque	8	0	96	8	4	2	11	5.5	617.5	51.45833333
933	Wattisfield	Walt. Bond	2	Eque	8	0	96	8	4	2	10	10	610	50.83333333
934	Wattisfield	Walt. de le pet	1	Eque	4	0	48	4	4	0	16	4.75	196.75	16.39583333
935	Wattisfield	Rad. Le Iuvene	1	Eque	6	0	72	6	6	3	15	3.5	903.5	75.29166667
936	Wattisfield	Lemmer Bude	1	Eque	4	0	48	4	4	4	11	7	1099	91.58333333
937	Wattisfield	Ad. fil. Galfrid	1	Eque	3	0	36	3	3	1	14	2.25	410.25	34.1875
938	Wattisfield	Walt. de Cruce	1	Eque	4	0	48	4	4	1	17	6	450	37.5
939	Wattisfield	Ric. fil. Agathe	1	Eque	3	0	36	3	3	0	16	4.5	196.5	16.375
940	Wattisfield	Walt. le Boneyr	1	Eque	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	1	6	10	322	26.83333333
941	Wattisfield	Ad. fil. Walteri	1	Eque	4	0	48	4	4	2	4	3.5	531.5	44.29166667
942	Wattisfield	Hen. Hulf	1	Eque	5	0	60	5	5	1	5	0	300	25
943	Wattisfield	Hen. de le Hel	1	Eque	4	0	48	4	4	0	18	5	221	18.41666667
944	Wattisfield	Hugo le Kyng	1	Eque	4	0	48	4	4	1	7	0	324	27
945	Wattisfield	Petro de le Molus	1	Eque	5	0	60	5	5	2	8	9.5	585.5	48.79166667
946	Wattisfield	I. Peche	1	Eque	5	0	60	5	5	2	6	9.5	561.5	46.79166667
947	Wattisfield	De I. fil domini	1	Stotti	6	0	72	6	6	4	8	2.5	1058.5	88.20833333
948	Wattisfield	Gilb. fil. Clerici	2	Stotti	10	0	120	10	5	7	15	9	1869	155.75
949	Wattisfield	R. de Bosco	1	Stotti	6	0	72	6	6	6	3	6	1482	123.5
950	Wattisfield	R. de le Grop	2	Stotti	10	0	120	10	5	4	14	11.5	1139.5	94.95833333
951	Wattisfield	Walt. le Faut	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	2	3	7	523	43.58333333
952	Wattisfield	Ad. Osselyn	2	Stotti	8	0	96	8	4	3	5	0.75	780.75	65.0625
953	Wattisfield	Adam Mercion	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	1	18	1.5	457.5	38.125
954	Wattisfield	Lemmer Bude	1	Stotti	6	0	72	6	6	4	11	7	1099	91.58333333
955	Wattisfield	Walt. de Cruce	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	1	17	6	450	37.5
956	Wattisfield	Hen. Flober	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	2	4	8	536	44.66666667
957	Wattisfield	W. Tucke	1	Stotti	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	1	10	11	371	30.91666667
958	Wattisfield	Th. Le Kyng	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	2	12	7	631	52.58333333
959	Wattisfield	Berard fil. Walteri	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	1	10	8.5	368.5	30.70833333
960	Wattisfield	W. le Cupere	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	1	2	4	268	22.33333333
961	Wattisfield	Rad. de Ecclesia	1	Stotti	5	0	60	5	5	1	7	0	324	27
962	Wattisfield	W. fil. Walteri	1	Stotti	3	0	36	3	3	1	0	0	240	20
963	Wattisfield	Gilb. fil. Clerici	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	7	15	9	1869	155.75
964	Wattisfield	R. de Bosco	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	6	3	6	1482	123.5

Appendix B: 1283 Blackbourne Hundred Lay Subsidy Data

Entry No.	Manor	Owner	No. of Animals	Type of Horse	Shillings	Pence	Total Pence	Total Shillings	Average Price	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Pounds)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Shillings)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Pence)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Total Pence)	Owner Total Taxable Wealth (Total Shillings)
965	Wattisfield	Ad. de Herst	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	1	9	1.5	349.5	29.125
966	Wattisfield	Walt. de le pet	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	0	16	4.75	196.75	16.39583333
967	Wattisfield	Lemmer Bude	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	4	11	7	1099	91.58333333
968	Wattisfield	Ad. fil. Walteri	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	2	4	3.5	531.5	44.29166667
969	Wattisfield	Hen. Hulf	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	1	5	0	300	25
970	Wattisfield	I. Peche	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	2	6	9.5	561.5	46.79166667
971	Wattisfield	Ric. de le Grene	1	Pulli	2	0	24	2	2	2	0	7	487	40.58333333
972	Wattisfield	Eadmundo de Lepham	1	Pulli	1	6	18	1.5	1.5	1	13	4	400	33.33333333
973	West Stowe	W. Parker	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	5	7	8	1292	107.6666667
974	West Stowe	Th. le Paumer	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	5	5	4	1264	105.3333333
975	West Stowe	H. Forche	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	8	2	0	1944	162
976	West Stowe	Walt. de Ponte	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	0	15	0	180	15
977	West Stowe	R. Pig	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	5	9	4	1312	109.3333333
978	West Stowe	Isabel de Cotton	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	4	11	8	1100	91.66666667
979	West Stowe	W. Hulle	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	4	3	6	1002	83.5
980	West Stowe	I. Gervasius	2	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	3	4	16	9	1161	96.75
981	West Stowe	Rand. Capellanus	1	Equi	10	0	120	10	10	5	9	0	1308	109
982	West Stowe	Margareta Honeman	1	Equi	7	0	84	7	7	1	15	8	428	35.66666667
983	West Stowe	Th. le Paumer	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	5	5	4	1264	105.3333333
984	West Stowe	H. Forche	1	Pulli	2	6	30	2.5	2.5	8	2	0	1944	162
985	West Stowe	Margareta Honeman	1	Pulli	3	0	36	3	3	1	15	8	428	35.66666667
986	West Stowe	Magister Hospitalis sancti Salvatoris	2	Stotti	11	0	132	11	5.5	16	19	6	4074	339.5
987	West Stowe	W. Parker	1	Stotti	4	0	48	4	4	5	7	8	1292	107.6666667
988	West Stowe	Ad. Lowe	3	Stotti	15	0	180	15	5	2	13	3	639	53.25
989	Wordwell	R. de Gravele	6	Jumenta	36	0	432	36	6	6	3	4	1480	123.3333333
990	Wordwell	N. Oseburn	2	Jumenta	10	0	120	10	5	4	14	6	1134	94.5
991	Wordwell	W. fil. Gilberti	2	Jumenta	14	0	168	14	7	3	7	2	806	67.16666667
992	Wordwell	Pet. fil. Nicholai	1	Jumenta	6	0	72	6	6	1	7	11	335	27.91666667
993	Wordwell	Laurencius Bosard	1	Jumenta	7	0	84	7	7	1	0	0	240	20
994	Wordwell	W. Baldewyn	2	Jumenta	10	0	120	10	5	2	9	8	596	49.66666667
995	Wordwell	I. atte Tuneshend	2	Jumenta	13	0	156	13	6.5	2	4	8	536	44.66666667
996	Wordwell	W. Nicholas	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	1	3	2	278	23.16666667
997	Wordwell	Andreas Oseburn	3	Jumenta	18	0	216	18	6	13	5	6	3186	265.5
998	Wordwell	Laurencius Wlward	2	Jumenta	8	0	96	8	4	2	8	2	578	48.16666667
999	Wordwell	Pet. Curteyes	1	Jumenta	3	0	36	3	3	2	9	2	590	49.16666667
1000	Wordwell	Simon Godwyn	1	Jumenta	4	0	48	4	4	1	4	0	288	24
1001	Wordwell	Pet. le Rede	1	Jumenta	5	0	60	5	5	1	16	6	438	36.5

Appendix C: Manorial Court Roll Data

Appendix C: Manorial Court Roll Data

Entry No.	Year	Manor	Type of Horse	Court Issue	Place	Owner/Person of Interest	Fine	Reference	Notes
1	1317	Walsham le Willows	colt	trespass	in lord's barley	lord	3d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 61	Reeve trespass w/ lord's colt
2	1321	Walsham le Willows	foal	trespass	lord's pasture	William Fisser of Rickinghall	6d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50,90	damage in lord's pasture w/ a foal
3	1324	Walsham le Willows	foals	trespass	herbage	Peter Robbes		Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50,92	
4	1332	Walsham le Willows	foal	trespass	Mickelmeadow	Adam Sket		Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50,152	
5	1332	Walsham le Willows	mare	trespass	Mickelmeadow	John Hernyng	3d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50,152	
6	1337	Walsham le Willows	colt	damage/trespass	in lord's oats	John Syre	1 sheaf (of oats?)	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50,217	
7	1337	Walsham le Willows	horse	injury		lord	9d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50,217	John Packard, struck lord's horse so that it lost an eye
8	1338	Walsham le Willows	colt	trespass	in lord's meadow and hay	Waster Osbern	3d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 228	
9	1338	Walsham le Willows	colt	trespass/damage	in lord's wheat	Waster Osbern		Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 228	
10	1338	Walsham le Willows	Horses	damage/trespass	in lord's wheat	Walter Payn		Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 228	
11	1339	Walsham le Willows	colt	damage/trespass	in lord's wheat	Walter Osbern	1d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 231	
12	1346	Walsham le Willows	foals	damage/trespass	in lord's oats	John Rolfes	2d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 297	
13	1348	Walsham le Willows	foals	damage/trespass	in lord's oats	William Rector of Wattisfield		Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 314	
14	1335	Walsham le Willows	colt	damage/trespass	in lord's pasture	Richard Kebbil	2d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 183	
15	1336	Walsham le Willows	foal	damage/trespass	in lord's pasture	William Pach	1d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 205	
16	1336	Walsham le Willows	horses	damage/trespass	in lord's pasture	William Patel	3d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 205	
17	1341	Walsham le Willows	colt	damage/trespass	in lord's wood	Robert Cook	2d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 255	
18	1350	Walsham le Willows	colt	damage/trespass	lady's wood	Robert the Farmer	1d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 331	
19	1350	Walsham le Willows	colt	damage/trespass	lady's wood	Wiliam Piers	1d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 331	
20	1329	Walsham le Willows	mares and foals	pasture rental	lord's wood		27d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 122	Memorandum concerning nine mares and foals grazing in the wood at Northawe from the feast of purification until this day, at 3d per head
21	1332	Walsham le Willows	horse	trespass		Robert the Parson of Langham		Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 151	"horse, worth 6s 8d for the trespass". looks like the horse is mentioned just because it was with him while he was in the wood?
22	1332	Walsham le Willows	mare	damage/trespass	lord's meadow	Adam Margery	3d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 151	
23	1318	Walsham le Willows	Stott	damage	lord's rye	Walter Qualm	3d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 75	trespass in lord's rye with a stot in his keeping
24	1319	Walsham le Willows	stotts	damage	lord's oats	lord (in keeping of Stephen Bronn)	15d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 87	the lord's stotts, in the keeping of Stephen Bronn, caused damage in the lord's oats, estimated at 4 bushels, worth 12d., ammerced 15d.
25	1324	Walsham le Willows	stotts	damage	lord's oats	Walter Osbern	3d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 95	
26	1329	Walsham le Willows	oxen and stotts	damage	lord's wheat	Servant of Alexander de Walsham		Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 129	

Appendix C: Manorial Court Roll Data

Entry No.	Year	Manor	Type of Horse	Court Issue	Place	Owner/Person of Interest	Fine	Reference	Notes
27	1345	Walsham le Willows	stotts	damage	lord's wood	Robert Balone, driver of the plough w/ lord's stotts	3d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 284	Robert Balone, driver of the plough, amerced 3d for damage in the lord's wood with the stots of the manor in his custody...
28	1346	Walsham le Willows	stotts	damage	lord's wood	Bartholomew Goche, driver of the plough w/ lord's stotts	6d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 295	
29		Walsham le Willows	stotts	keeping badly		Bartholomew Goche, driver of the plough w/ lord's stotts	6d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 295	...6d because he guarded the stotts badly, and as a result one stott died, by his negligence
30		Walsham le Willows	stott	keeping badly		John Goche	6d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 80	amerced 6d, because he allowed a stott in his keeping, worth 40d, to escape
31		Walsham le Willows	stott	keeping badly		Walter Qualm	6d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 80	a stott, worth 5s., died as a result of his defective custody
32		Walsham le Willows	Stott	keeping badly		Robert Typetot	order to attach	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 245	because he drove a stott, worth 10s., so that it died.
33		Walsham le Willows	Stott	keeping badly		William Blunte	order to attach	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 245	a stott, worth 4s., died as a result of his defective custody
34		Walsham le Willows	Horses and Cows	Damage	lord's meadow	Simon Peyntour	order to attach	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 268	
35		Walsham le Willows	Horses	damage	lord's wood	Robert Banlone (driver)	3d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 268	
36		Walsham le Willows	Horses and Oxen	keeping badly		Robert Banlone (driver)	6d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 268	these must be lord's horses?
37		Walsham le Willows	Horse	Rode lord's horse w/o permission		John Packard	1d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 268	Rode lord's horse w/o permission
38		Walsham le Willows	Horse	attached/distrained		Robert of Reydon		Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 68	
39		Walsham le Willows	Horse	attached/distrained		Gilbert the Miller and Cristina his wife		Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 102	horse worth 1/2 mark, see pg. 105
40		Walsham le Willows	Horses	breaking pound		Walter Deneys	4s	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 102	took away two horses from the pound without leave
41		Walsham le Willows	plough horse	keeping badly		Henry Goche		Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 105	Henry was ordered by the reeve to keep the lord's plough horses; by his negligence, the lord lost a horse valued by the homage at 16s. Reeve liable for this and for 4s from defective ploughing. (Henry also injured an ox in the same entry)
42		Walsham le Willows	horse	attached		John Man		Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 212	
43		Walsham le Willows	horse	attached		Nicholas de Walsham		Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 224	
44		Walsham le Willows	horse	attached		William Wodebite		Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 249	again attached pg. 253.
45		Walsham le Willows	Horse	attached		Thomas Patel		Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 168	Ordered...to attach Thomas Patel to return three horses and a cart worth 30s. Taken for 46s of services owed and withheld.
46		Walsham le Willows	Horses	damage		Robert Godfrey	3d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 87	
47		Walsham le Willows	two horses	damage	in lord's wheat	Adam Noble	3d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 153	
48		Walsham le Willows	horses	damage	lord's pasture	William Godylene and Nicholas Goche	3d each	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 153-4.	
49		Walsham le Willows	horses	damage	lord's herbage	Thomas at the Lee		Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 224-5	
50		Walsham le Willows	horses and beasts	damage	lord's wheat	Walter Payn	order to attach	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 237	also on pg. 244

Appendix C: Manorial Court Roll Data

Entry No.	Year	Manor	Type of Horse	Court Issue	Place	Owner/Person of Interest	Fine	Reference	Notes
51		Walsham le Willows	horses	damage	lord's oats	John Syre and William Payne	3 sheaves	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 263	
52		Walsham le Willows	horse	damage	lord's wheat	William Gudgeon	order to attach	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 269	
53		Walsham le Willows	horses and cows	damage	lord's corn	Walter Payn	order to attach	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 275	
54		Walsham le Willows	horses and cows	damage	lord's meadow	Simon Peyntour		Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 291	
55		Walsham le Willows	horses	damage	lord's oats	Edmund Lene	1 bushel	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 330	also on pg. 333
56		Walsham le Willows	horses	damage	below the warren	William Wither	3d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 219	
57		Walsham le Willows	horse	damage	lord's meadow	Nicholas Goche	6d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 84	
58		Walsham le Willows	Horses and Cows	damage	lord's meadow	Simon Peyntour	6d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 274	
59		Walsham le Willows	horses and pigs	damage	lord's pasture	Richard Lorence	3d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 206	
60		Walsham le Willows	horse	trespass/distrain		Peter Springhold	order to distrain	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 107	taking his horse away against will
61		Walsham le Willows	horse	distrain		Sir Hugh Hovel	order to distrain	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 159	distrained by horse
62		Walsham le Willows	horse	distrain		John Terwald	12d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 257	John Terwald amerced 12d because he allowe dJohn Hawys chaplain to have a horse which had been distrained
63		Walsham le Willows	horse	injury		William Wodebite	1d	Court Rolls of Walsham le Willows, 1303-50, 180	because his horse bit John Man's horse
64	1276	Halesown	horse	distrain		Walterum Geffry		Halesown Part 3, 22	sent horse outside manor to avoid it being taken in distrain
65	1276	Halesown	mare	inheritence		Thomas Colling		Halesown Part 3, 30	wife will have half share of the mare
66	1277	Halesown	cattle	breaking pound		Agnes Ancilla Thomas		Halesown Part 3, 47	also on pg. 50.
67	1279	Halesown		heriot		William de Westley		Halesown Part 3, 58	Decide if heriot is due from woman who died married
68	1281	Halesown		pineresse		Julianam le Pineresse		Halesown Part 3, 81	This might be a pounder or attendant of the pound?
69	1281	Halesown	foal	trespass		Thomas Snode		Halesown Part 3, 91	
70	1281	Halesown		fences on common				Halesown Part 3, 92	Evidence of fence on common fields?
71	1281	Halesown		pound		John Oniot		Halesown Part 3, 106	Denies letting animals out of the pound
72	1299	Halesown	mare	concealed stray?		William Thedrich		Halesown Part 3, 116	Oldbury had concealed Thedrich's mare
73	1300	Halesown	affer	trespass	lord's pasture	Agnes Emes		Halesown Part 3, 123	
74	1300	Halesown	two affers	trespass	lord's wood	Thomas Henry		Halesown Part 3, 123	
75	1300	Halesown		trespass	lord's oats	Thomas de Lynacre		Halesown Part 3, 127-8	Thomas takes 16 sheaves of oats from lord's field to pay for trespass in same oats
76	1300	Halesown	mare	trespass?		Lovecock de la Hethe		Halesown Part 3, 132	
77	1301	Halesown	foal	selling a foal		Henry Simond de Oldebury	distrained	Halesown Part 3, 146	Also 150
78	1301	Halesown	two foals	trespass	lord's corn	Richard le Coc	in mercy	Halesown Part 3, 156	
79	1301	Halesown	foal	trespass	lord's corn	Nicholas de Marisco	in mercy	Halesown Part 3, 156	
80	1301	Halesown	foal	trespass	lord's corn	Thomas ate Pyrie	in mercy	Halesown Part 3, 156	
81	1301	Halesown	foal	trespass	lord's corn	Walter de Cackemore	in mercy	Halesown Part 3, 156	
82	1301	Halesown	horse	trespass	lord's oats	William Crompt	in mercy	Halesown Part 3, 162	
83	1301	Halesown	mare	trespass	lord's pasture	Richard Kampiun	in mercy	Halesown Part 3, 162	
84	1274	Wakefield	mare	horse killed		Jordan son of Thomas De Northuuerum against John son of Roger de Northuuerum	pay for horse and amerced (cordoned b/c poor)	Wakefiled, Vol.1, 81.	Jordan says John chased and drove his mare until it died. Community inquest says it's true.

Appendix C: Manorial Court Roll Data

Entry No.	Year	Manor	Type of Horse	Court Issue	Place	Owner/Person of Interest	Fine	Reference	Notes
85	1274	Wakefield	bay foal	stray		Grave of Rothwell/Lady Aleyasia de Lascy	to produce horse or its value	Wakefiled, Vol.1, 84	Grave came and proved foal to belong to Alysia
86	1274	Wakefield	horse	parker's abuse of office	Park of Wakefield	William the Parker		Wakefiled, Vol.1, 93	Parker accused of pasturing his animals, including a horse, as well as the horse of another
87	1274	Wakefield	cows	concealment	Soureby	Keepers of stock		Wakefiled, Vol.1, 95	keepers concealed cows because they did not know how to describe ages properly
88	1274	Wakefield	cows	marking stock	Soureby	Keepers of stock		Wakefiled, Vol.1, 97	Keepers of stock at Stourby forbidden to sell livestock in Sourby but must be sold at wakefield so that the earl's mark can be seen
89	1274	Wakefield	one heifer, one filly and one cart-horse	strays	Soureby	Keepers of stock		Wakefiled, Vol.1, 97	strays have remained for year and day and more without challenge. Keeper must answer in account
90	1274	Wakefield	bay foal	stray	Birton?	Gilbert de Honley		Wakefiled, Vol.1, 97	came and proved bay foal to be his, found a pledge to produce it within a year and a day or value of 2s.
91	1274	Wakefield	2 cows and bullock	stray?	Soureby	Robert de Marchesden and pledges		Wakefiled, Vol.1, 99	Robert intends to prove that his animals are in custody of Henry de Godeby
92	1275	Wakefield	sheep	stray	Soureby	Nelle de Thoreleye		Wakefiled, Vol.1, 100	had two stray sheep amongst his own and delivered them (to 3rd party) without licence. He denies it.
93	1275	Wakefield	a bay horse and other things	theft	Sandale	John Stel/Thomas son of John de Langefeld		Wakefiled, Vol.1, 104	alleges Thomas took horse from him
94	1275	Wakefield	two cows bullock	stray	Barony	Robert de Marchesden et alia		Wakefiled, Vol.1, 104	Robert proves cows to belong to Bate, his sister's son, were in custody of Henry Godely in Sourby, they are delivered to him
95	1275	Wakefield	heiffer	stray/rescue	Soureby	Richard Hodde	in mercy, fine 2s	Wakefiled, Vol.1, 105	took heiffer, which he says is his, from Earl's custody in forest of Sourby
96	1275	Wakefield	Stray mare	stray	Hyperum	Thomas son of Richard de Coppele	gives 2s to get back	Wakefiled, Vol.1, 110	admit has no share in stray mare
97	1275	Wakefield	stray mare	stray	Soureby			Wakefiled, Vol.1,117	stray mare was sold
98	1275	Wakefield	mare	escape	Holne	Lovecok, son of Agnes de Schepele	12d	Wakefiled, Vol.1,120	escaped mare
99	1275	Wakefield	foal	killed		Peter Brun		Wakefiled, Vol.1,121	Peter kiled a foal of John de Schepley
100	1275	Wakefield	2 stotts and foal	replevying		Warin de Marcheden	12d	Wakefiled, Vol.1,124	
101	1275	Wakefield	2 horses	escape		Maude wife of Robert son of Hugh de Loftus	in mercy	Wakefiled, Vol.1,125	
102	1275	Wakefield	2 stotts	strays				Wakefiled, Vol.1,125	two stray stotts
103	1275	Wakefield	bullock			whie township of Walton		Wakefiled, Vol.1,125	concealed stray bullock
104	1275	Wakefield	horse	escape		John de Halifax	6d	Wakefiled, Vol.1,125	
105	1275	Wakefield	horse	stray	sourby			Wakefiled, Vol.1,125	stray horse sold valued at 7s
106	1275	Wakefield	mare	stray	sourby			Wakefiled, Vol.1,125	stray mare sold 3s
107	1275	Wakefield	2 horses and foal	escape		Warin de Marcheden	12d	Wakefiled, Vol.1,126	
108	1275	Wakefield	2 stotss and foal	stray		Warin de Marcheden		Wakefiled, Vol.1,134	proved were his; will answer 6s in year and day
109	1275	Wakefield	2 stotts	stray		?		Wakefiled, Vol.1,134	proved were his; will answe in year and day
110	1275	Wakefield	4 oxen 2 horses	distrain		Sir John de Heton		Wakefiled, Vol.1,135	4 oxen 2 horses distrained
111	1275	Wakefield	mare	escape		Thomas del Grene	6d	Wakefiled, Vol.1,136	
112	1275	Wakefield	young foal	escape		Richard son of Henry de Rachedale	6d	Wakefiled, Vol.1,139	proved foal to be his
113	1275	Wakefield						Wakefiled, Vol.1,140	
114	1275	Wakefield	2 horses	escape		Alexander de Farnley	6d	Wakefiled, Vol.1,147	
115	1275	Wakefield	horse	escape		Hugh de Staneclyf		Wakefiled, Vol.1,147	

Appendix C: Manorial Court Roll Data

Entry No.	Year	Manor	Type of Horse	Court Issue	Place	Owner/Person of Interest	Fine	Reference	Notes
116		Wakefield	mare	escape		Alkoc del Frith	12d	Wakefiled, Vol.1,147	
117	1275	Wakefield	mare and foal	escape		William de Barksland	in mercy	Wakefiled, Vol.1,155	
118		Wakefield	foal	escape		Elias de Lye	6d	Wakefiled, Vol.1,156	
119	1277	Wakefield	certain stray bay horse	stray		Sir Hugh de Swynlington		Wakefiled, Vol.1,164	proves to be his, horse value 3s
120	1277	Wakefield	mare	escape		Peter de Mallesheved	6d	Wakefield Vol. 1,166	
121	1277	Wakefield	mare	escape		Jordan de Thyckeholyns	6d	Wakefield Vol. 1,167	
122	1277	Wakefield	mare	escape		Adam de Miggeley	6d	Wakefield Vol. 1,167	
123	1277	Wakefield	mare and foal	escape		Wymark de Manedaneholes	6d	Wakefield Vol. 1,171	
124	1277	Wakefield	mare	escape		William son of Alkoc de Sourby	6d	Wakefield Vol. 1,171	
125	1277	Wakefield	mare	escape		William de Notesschaghe	6d	Wakefield Vol. 1,171	
126	1277	Wakefield	horse	escape		Gilbert Denev	6d	Wakefield Vol. 1,171	
127	1277	Wakefield	mare	escape		John the Tanner of Sourby	6d	Wakefield Vol. 1,171	
128	1277	Wakefield	2 mares 2 foals	strays				Wakefield Vol. 1,172	stray mare and foal sent to hatfiled. Also male foal and mare, strays are in custody of grave of wakefield
129	1277	Wakefield	2 horses	escape		Thomas de Thwonge	6d	Wakefield Vol. 1,175	
130	1277	Wakefield	3 horses	escape		John Peronne of Birchewrthe	12d	Wakefield Vol. 1,175	
131	1277	Wakefield	mare	escape		John de Acreland		Wakefield Vol. 1,179	gives 12s for custody of a mare
132	1284	Wakefield	mare	escape		John de Nuteschawe	6d	Wakefield Vol. 1,180	
133	1284	Wakefield	2 horses	escape		Richard de Bosco of Rastrik	4d	Wakefield Vol. 1,184	pledge each other
134	1284	Wakefield	2 horses	escape		mathew de Bosco	4d	Wakefield Vol. 1,184	pledge each other
135	1284	Wakefield	4 horses	escape		Alexander son of Thomas de Rastrik	2s	Wakefield Vol. 1,184	
136	1284	Wakefield	3 horses	escape		Henry Gunhildthwayt	18d	Wakefield Vol. 1,184	
137	1284	Wakefield	horse	escape		William Bateman		Wakefield Vol. 1,186	together with other [total 10] pay 2s 6d
138	1284	Wakefield	2 horses	escape		Gilbert de Hondegate		Wakefield Vol. 1,187	together with other [total 10] pay 2s 6d
139	1284	Wakefield	2 horses	escape		Adam de Hondegate		Wakefield Vol. 1,187	together with other [total 10] pay 2s 6d
140	1284	Wakefield	horse	escape		Thomas de Lofthus		Wakefield Vol. 1,187	together with other [total 10] pay 2s 6d
141	1284	Wakefield	horse	escape		Maude de Lofthaus		Wakefield Vol. 1,187	together with other [total 10] pay 2s 6d
142	1284	Wakefield	horse	escape		Hogge de Heylees		Wakefield Vol. 1,187	together with other [total 10] pay 2s 6d
143	1284	Wakefield	horse	escape		William Bateman		Wakefield Vol. 1,187	together with other [total 10] pay 2s 6d
144	1284	Wakefield	mare	taking		Thomas de Hylton		Wakefield Vol. 1,189	unwittingly took mare
145	1284	Wakefield	foal	proving		Serle de Thorneton		Wakefield Vol. 1,191	proves certain foal to be his, produce it or 12s
146	1284	Wakefield	mare	having		Alan de Staynclfy		Wakefield Vol. 1,192	2s to have his mare, must answer w/in year and day
147	1284	Wakefield	mare	escape		William de Carlecotes	6d	Wakefield Vol. 1,193	
148	1285	Wakefield	mare	theft		Juliana de Thorneton and Richard Drake		Wakefield Vol. 1,195	J complains R stole. Mare warranted to R.
149	1285	Wakefield	mare	escape		Robert del Clyf	6d	Wakefield Vol. 1,201	
150	1285	Wakefield	2 horses	seizure		Simon le Schambarleyn and German the Mercer		Wakefield Vol. 1,205	for debt litigation
151	1286	Wakefield	mare	distrain?		Robert Pes and German the Mercer		Wakefield Vol. 1,219	Pes's mare distrained. Does not come to answer German.
152	1286	Wakefield	mare	escape		Adam de Carlecotes	3d	Wakefield Vol. 1,225	
153	1286	Wakefield	horse	escape		Thomas son of Gilbert de Honneley	3d	Wakefield Vol. 1,225	
154	1286	Wakefield	horse	escape		William Pyleman	3d	Wakefield Vol. 1,225	
155	1286	Wakefield	horse	escape		William Schanne	3d	Wakefield Vol. 1,225	

Appendix C: Manorial Court Roll Data

Entry No.	Year	Manor	Type of Horse	Court Issue	Place	Owner/Person of Interest	Fine	Reference	Notes
156	1286	Wakefield				William Pes and German Mercer		Wakefield Vol. 1,228	Pes wages law and goes quit. See 151 above.
157	1286	Wakefield	mare, foal and two horses	damage		John de Mora and William Prodfof	2s and 8 sheaves	Wakefield Vol. 1,229	William trampled corn w/ horses
158	1286	Wakefield	horse	escape		John de Owendene	6d	Wakefield Vol. 1,230	
159	1286	Wakefield	mare	escape		John Atte tonhende	6d	Wakefield Vol. 1,230	
160	1286	Wakefield	mare	escape		Willecok de Mancaholes	6d	Wakefield Vol. 1,230	
161	1286	Wakefield	mare	lending		William de Saltonstal and Richard de Bosco	2s	Wakefield Vol. 1,231	lending mare to fetch salt without leave
162	1286	Wakefield	mare	taking		Robert the Grave and Richard de Bosco	6d	Wakefield Vol. 1,231	taking R's mare without leave
163	1286	Wakefield	mare	inventory				Wakefield Vol. 1,232	inventory
164	1296	Wakefield	mare	stray proved		Robert son of Ralph, Grave of Aylweston	12d	Wakefield Vol. 1,239	proves a mare valued at 5s and seized at Wakefield to be his, gives 12d for custody
165	1296	Wakefield	horse	taking		Richard del Bothem and Nicholas de Caylli		Wakefield Vol. 1,255	
166	1296	Wakefield	2 mares	escape		William Cubbok	2d	Wakefield Vol. 1,257	
167	1297	Wakefield	horse	escape/stray/seizure		German Filck and Robert son of Robert the Grave et. Al.		Wakefield Vol. 1,279	unjustly taking horse
168	1297	Wakefield	2 horses	escape	Saltonstal	Alcok Brok	4d	Wakefield Vol. 1,291	
169	1297	Wakefield	?			Alcok Lorles	3d	Wakefield Vol. 1,291	
170	1297	Wakefield	?			John son of Enry de Halifac	4d	Wakefield Vol. 1,291	
171	1297	Wakefield	?			William Swaype	3d	Wakefield Vol. 1,291	
172	1297	Wakefield	?			Michael de Wytleye	6d	Wakefield Vol. 1,291	
173	1297	Wakefield	?			William and Henry de Stodley	5d and 3d	Wakefield Vol. 1,291	
174	1297	Wakefield	mare	taken		William the Goldsmith and John de Mora		Wakefield Vol. 1,297	seizure of mare disputed
175	1297	Wakefield	2 horses	escape		Thomas de Thorneton	4d	Wakefield Vol. 1,300	
176	1297	Wakefield	horse	escape		John Moloc	6d	Wakefield Vol. 1,308	
177	1297	Wakefield	horse	escape		Cicely de Honlay	6d	Wakefield Vol. 2, 3	
178	1297	Wakefield	ox	sale/theft				Wakefield Vol. 2,11	sold at wakefield market
179	1298	Wakefield	ox	stray enclosure rules				Wakefield Vol. 2,20	
180	1298	Wakefield	mare	trespass?		Alcok de Boudere	3d	Wakefield Vol. 2,25	for putting a mare in the grass of his own accord
181	1298	Wakefield	horse	inquiry		Adam garcio		Wakefield Vol. 2,30	horse found in his cart [suit withdrawn on pg. 33]
182	1298	Wakefield	ox	sales		various		Wakefield Vol. 2,36	people selling oxen to each other
183	1298	Wakefield	horse	killed		Gelle Quintin and Richard de Ker	damages 21d, fine 12d	Wakefield Vol. 2,44	horse killed in the common pasture
184	1298	Wakefield	mare and foal	inventory				Wakefield Vol. 2,46	mare and foal in inventory
185	1298	Wakefield	horse	escape		William de Swynshead	6d	Wakefield Vol. 2,47	many 'for the like' this is good ex. For 'flurry' of escape fines
186	1298	Wakefield	horse	seizure		Richard del Ker vs. Thomas de Stanley	6d	Wakefield Vol. 2,51	sues for twice detaining horse in his own corn
187	1307	Wakefield	2 affers	stray		Sir Thomas de Burgh		Wakefield Vol. 2,67	Sir Thomas retains two affers. He is to be distrained b/c nobody has waif in Earl's liberty except for the earl
188	1307	Wakefield	filly	stray		Grave of Sourby		Wakefield Vol. 2,67	
189	1307	Wakefield	filly	stray		Robert son of John the Grave	6d	Wakefield Vol. 2,70	Gives 6d for custody of filly, thought to be a stray, but proved to be his produce a horse worth 8s thought to be a stray, was in custody of Alcok del Firth
190	1307	Wakefield	horse	stray		John de Lascy		Wakefield Vol. 2,70	
191	1307	Wakefield	horse	escape		Thomas de Owendene	2d		
192	1307	Wakefield	horses	escape		Thomas de Saltonstall and Richard at-town-head	2d each	Wakefield Vol. 2,97	
193	1307	Wakefield	mare	agisted		John Schirlock	6d	Wakefield Vol. 2,112	Mare not agisted in new park

Appendix C: Manorial Court Roll Data

Entry No.	Year	Manor	Type of Horse	Court Issue	Place	Owner/Person of Interest	Fine	Reference	Notes
194	1307	Wakefield	horse	escape	Saltonstal meadows	Enry de Coildelay	6d	Wakefield Vol. 2,113	
195	1307	Wakefield	horse	escape	Saltonstal meadows	Hugh de Mixendene	6d	Wakefield Vol. 2,113	
196	1307	Wakefield	horse	escape	Carteworth	Hugh de Carteworth	2d	Wakefield Vol. 2,119	
197	1307	Wakefield	horse	?		William de Storthes	6d	Wakefield Vol. 2,119	horse kept in le firth'
198		Wakefield	mare and foal	stray		William son of Walter Bate of Castleford	12d	Wakefield Vol. 2,140	proved a stray mare and foal to be his [10s] gives 12d for the escape
199	1308	Wakefield	horse	escape		... son of Ralph	2d	Wakefield Vol. 2,149	
200	1308	Wakefield	foals?	escape		John de Chinkinlay's widow	1d	Wakefield Vol. 2,149	pulli', might be chickens
201	1308	Wakefield	cows	breaking pound		William Swaype	12d	Wakefield Vol. 2,156	good ex. Of pound-breaking
202	1308	Wakefield	various	escapes		various		Wakefield Vol. 2,156	excellent list of escapes!!!
203	1308	Wakefield	3 horses	escape		Thomas de Salsa mara	6d	Wakefield Vol. 2,156	
204	1308	Wakefield	horse	buying stray horse		Robert de Saltonstall	12d	Wakefield Vol. 2,157	
205	1308	Wakefield	horse	buying stray horse		Robert de Saltonstall	12d	Wakefield Vol. 2,157	
206	1308	Wakefield	2 horses	escape		William del Rode	12d	Wakefield Vol. 2,177	
207	1308	Wakefield	filly	stray sold		William de Locwode		Wakefield Vol. 2,177	stray pultra sold for 3s
208	1308	Wakefield	filly	stray sold		John de Wauton		Wakefield Vol. 2,177	two stray pultrae sold for 10s
209	1308	Wakefield	mare	seizure		Adam gerbode v. German Filcok		Wakefield Vol. 2,179	
210	1308	Wakefield	mare	seizure		Adam Gerbode v. Robert the Walker		Wakefield Vol. 2,180	
211	1309	Wakefield	horse	escape		Vicar of Wakefield	6d	Wakefield Vol. 2,193	

Appendix D: Price Data

Appendix D: Price Data

Manor	County	Region	Year	Eccles/Lay	Type of Horse	Bought	Pounds	Shillings	Pence	Total Pence	Total Shillings	Adjusted Munro/Rogers Index Price	Deflated 1290 Price
Hampstead	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1289-90	E	Affrus	1		5		60	5	1.00	5
Sundon	Bedfordshire	Thames Basin	1296-7	L	Affrus	1		5		60	5	0.869702983	4.34851491
Abbot's Ripton	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Stottus	1		5	6	66	5.5	0.752075248	4.13641386
Stockton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	1		6		72	6	0.853083073	5.11849844
Attleborough	Norfolk	East Anglia	1292-3	L	Stottus	1		6	0.25	72.25	6.02083333	0.861283309	5.18564326
Caistor cum Marketshall (Caistor St. Edmund)	Norfolk	East Anglia	1299-1300	L	Stottus	1		6	1.25	73.25	6.10416667	0.620181898	3.78569367
Hindringham	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stottus	1		6	4	76	6.33333333	0.748976614	4.74351855
Malden	Surrey	Thames Basin	1292-3	E	Stottus	1		6	8.25	80.25	6.6875	0.861283309	5.75983213
Ashmansworth	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1		7		84	7	0.893955657	6.2576896
Pan (le Punne)	Hampshire (Isle of Wight)	South and South-west	1301-2	L	Affrus	1		7		84	7	0.893955657	6.2576896
Wargrave	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Affrus	1		7		84	7	0.893955657	6.2576896
Abbot's Ripton	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Stottus	1		7	3	87	7.25	0.752075248	5.45254554
Esher	Surrey	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	1		7	3.5	87.5	7.29166667	0.893955657	6.51842666
Abbot's Ripton	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Stottus	1		7	6	90	7.5	0.752075248	5.64056436
Warboys	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Stottus	1		7	6	90	7.5	0.752075248	5.64056436
Gateley	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stottus	1		7	8	92	7.66666667	0.748976614	5.74215404
Kirtlington	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1291-2	E	Affrus	1		8		96	8	0.838827328	6.71061862
Rockcliff	Yorkshire	North	1296-7	L	affer mare	1		8		96	8	0.869702983	6.95762386
Bishopstoke	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	are in Cart co	1		8	7	103	8.58333333	0.893955657	7.67311939
Nayland	Suffolk	East Anglia	1295-6		Stottus	1		8	9	105	8.75	0.748976614	6.55354537
Haughley	Suffolk	East Anglia	1298		Affrus	1		9		108	9	0.752075248	6.76867723
Ditton Valence	Cambridgeshire	East Anglia	1301	L	Stottus	1		9		108	9	0.893164545	8.0384809
East Meon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1		9		108	9	0.893955657	8.04560091
East Meon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1		9		108	9	0.893955657	8.04560091
East Meon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1		9		108	9	0.893955657	8.04560091
Long Sutton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Affrus	1		9	0.25	108.25	9.02083333	0.853083073	7.69552022
Chesterford	Essex	Thames Basin	1301-2	L	Stottus	1		9	0.25	108.25	9.02083333	0.893955657	8.06422499
Watlington	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1296-7	L	Affrus	1		9	1	109	9.08333333	0.869702983	7.89980209
Bishop's Waltham	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1		9	6	114	9.5	0.893955657	8.49257874
East Meon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1		9	6	114	9.5	0.893955657	8.49257874
East Meon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1		9	6	114	9.5	0.893955657	8.49257874
Malden	Surrey	Thames Basin	1292-3	E	Stottus	1		10		120	10	0.861283309	8.61283309
Folkingham	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1299-1300		Eq Car.	1		10		120	10	0.620181898	6.20181898
Framlingham	Suffolk	East Anglia	1300-1	L	Stottus	1		10		120	10	0.893164545	8.93164545
East Meon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1		10		120	10	0.893955657	8.93955657
East Meon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1		10		120	10	0.893955657	8.93955657
East Meon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1		10		120	10	0.893955657	8.93955657
East Meon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1		10		120	10	0.893955657	8.93955657
East Meon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1		10		120	10	0.893955657	8.93955657

Appendix D: Price Data

Manor	County	Region	Year	Eccles/Lay	Type of Horse	Bought	Pounds	Shillings	Pence	Total Pence	Total Shillings	Adjusted Munro/Rogers Index Price	Deflated 1290 Price
East Meon	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1		10		120	10	0.893955657	8.93955657
West Wycombe	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Affrus	1		10		120	10	0.893955657	8.93955657
Chesterford	Essex	Thames Basin	1301-2	L	Eq Car.	1		10		120	10	0.893955657	8.93955657
West Cliffe	Kent	Thames Basin	1302-3	L	Stottus	1		10		120	10	0.928342776	9.28342776
West Cliffe	Kent	Thames Basin	1302-3	L	Stottus	1		10		120	10	0.928342776	9.28342776
Slepe (St. Ives)	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1307-8	E	Stottus	1		10		120	10	0.831031518	8.31031518
Vicarage of Stratton (St. Margaret)	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1298-9		Jumenta	1		10	0.25	120.25	10.0208333	0.853083073	8.5486033
Vicarage of Stratton (St. Margaret)	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1298-9		Jumenta	1		10	0.25	120.25	10.0208333	0.853083073	8.5486033
Chesterford	Essex	Thames Basin	1301-2	L	Stottus	1		10	0.25	120.25	10.0208333	0.893955657	8.95818064
West Cliffe	Kent	Thames Basin	1302-3	L	Stottus	1		10	6	126	10.5	0.928342776	9.74759915
Dunningworth	Suffolk	East Anglia	1300-1		Stottus	1		10	10	130	10.8333333	0.893164545	9.67594923
Elton (Aylton)	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1305-6	E	Affrus	1		11		132	11	0.79784051	8.77624561
Birdbrook	Essex	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Stottus	1		11	4	136	11.3333333	0.853083073	9.66827483
Farnham	Surrey	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Mill Horses	1		11	4	136	11.3333333	0.893955657	10.1314974
(Aldonbury) Weston	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Stottus	1		11	6	138	11.5	0.752075248	8.64886535
Kennet	Cambridgeshire	East Anglia	1299-1300	L	Stottus	1		11	8	140	11.6666667	0.620181898	7.23545548
Thorney	Hampshire	South and South-west	1306-7	L	Affrus	1		11	8	140	11.6666667	0.918061183	10.7107138
(Great) Blakenham	Suffolk	East Anglia	1297-8	E	cart affer	1		12		144	12	0.869702983	10.4364358
Therfield	Hertfordshire	Thames Basin	1306-7		Eq Car	1		12		144	12	0.918061183	11.0167342
Wooton	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	L	Affrus	1		12	0.25	144.25	12.0208333	0.853083073	10.2547694
Kelveden	Essex	Thames Basin	1300-1	E	Affrus	1		12	0.5	144.5	12.0416667	0.893164545	10.7551897
Kelveden	Essex	Thames Basin	1300-1	E	Affrus	1		12	0.5	144.5	12.0416667	0.893164545	10.7551897
Michelmersh	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	1		12	1	145	12.0833333	0.853083073	10.3080871
Risby	Suffolk	East Anglia	1298-9		Stottus	1		12	1	145	12.0833333	0.853083073	10.3080871
Hambleton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1		12	3	147	12.25	0.893955657	10.9509568
Birdbrook	Essex	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Stottus	1		12	6	150	12.5	0.853083073	10.6635384
East Meon Church	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Affrus	1		12	6	150	12.5	0.893955657	11.1744457
Feering	Essex	Thames Basin	1299-1300	E	Stottus	1		13		156	13	0.620181898	8.06236467
Sedgeford	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stottus	1		13	0.25	156.25	13.0208333	0.748976614	9.75229966
Ditchingham	Norfolk	East Anglia	1299-1300	L	Stottus	1		13	0.25	156.25	13.0208333	0.620181898	8.07528513
Mere	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1296-7	L	Affrus	1		13	4	160	13.3333333	0.869702983	11.5960398
Hampstead	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1289-90	E	Eq Car.	1		13	4.25	160.25	13.3541667	1.00	13.3541667
Martham	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stottus	1		13	4.5	160.5	13.375	0.748976614	10.0175622
(Upper) Heyford	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1291-2	L	Affrus	1		13	6	162	13.5	0.838827328	11.3241689
Stallingborough	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1307	L	Affrus	1		13	6	162	13.5	0.918061183	12.393826
Stanwick	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	afer mare	1		13	6	162	13.5	0.831031518	11.2189255
Ditchingham	Norfolk	East Anglia	1299-1300	L	Stottus	1		13	6.25	162.25	13.5208333	0.620181898	8.38537608
Warboys	Huntingdonshire	East Anglia	1297-8	E	Eq Car.	1		13	7	163	13.5833333	0.752075248	10.2156888
Ever Cornwalls	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1296-7	L	Eq Car.	1		14		168	14	0.869702983	12.1758418

Appendix D: Price Data

Manor	County	Region	Year	Eccles/Lay	Type of Horse	Bought	Pounds	Shillings	Pence	Total Pence	Total Shillings	Adjusted Munro/Rogers Index Price	Deflated 1290 Price
Soham (Earl Soham?)	Suffolk	East Anglia	1300-1		Stottus	1		14		168	14	0.893164545	12.5043036
West Cliffe	Kent	Thames Basin	1302-3	L	Equus	1		14	0.25	168.25	14.0208333	0.928342776	13.0161393
Halvergate	Norfolk	East Anglia	1302-3	L	stott	1		14	1.25	169.25	14.1041667	0.928342776	13.0935012
Clare	Suffolk	East Anglia	1309-10	L	Affrus	1		14	3	171	14.25	0.475886179	6.78137805
Ashwell	Hertfordshire	Thames Basin	1300-1	E	Affrus	1		14	10	178	14.8333333	0.893164545	13.2486074
Ashwell	Hertfordshire	Thames Basin	1300-1	E	Affrus	1		15		180	15	0.893164545	13.3974682
Dovercourt	Essex	Thames Basin	1300-1	L	Stottus	1		15		180	15	0.893164545	13.3974682
Malden	Surrey	Thames Basin	1292-3	E	Eq Car.	1		15	0.25	180.25	15.0208333	0.861283309	12.937193
Bungay	Suffolk	East Anglia	1300-1	L	Eq Car.	1		15	7	187	15.5833333	0.893164545	13.9184808
Woolstone (Worstone?)	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	1		16		192	16	0.853083073	13.6493292
Irthlingborough	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Eq Car.	1		16		192	16	0.475886179	7.61417886
Battersea	Surrey	Thames Basin	1299-1300	E	Affrus	1		16	0.25	192.25	16.0208333	0.620181898	9.93583082
Brightwell	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Jumenta of the M	1		16	0.25	192.25	16.0208333	0.893955657	14.3219146
Monk's Grange	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stottus	1		16	0.5	192.5	16.0416667	0.748976614	12.0148332
Ibstone	Buckinghamshire	Thames Basin	1300-1	E	Eq Car.	1		16	1	193	16.0833333	0.893164545	14.3650631
Bosham	Sussex	South and South-west	1302-3	L	Affrus	1		16	1	193	16.0833333	0.928342776	14.9308463
Houghton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Jumenta	1		16	6	198	16.5	0.853083073	14.0758707
East Meon Church	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	1		16	7	199	16.5833333	0.893955657	14.8247646
Taunton	Somerset	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	1		17		204	17	0.893955657	15.1972462
Vicarage of Stratton (St. Margaret)	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1298-9		Jumenta	1		17	8.25	212.25	17.6875	0.853083073	15.0889069
Haughley	Suffolk	East Anglia	1298		Eq Car.	1		18		216	18	0.752075248	13.5373545
Werrington	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Eq Car.	1		18		216	18	0.893164545	16.0769618
Halvergate	Norfolk	East Anglia	1302-3	L	Eq Car.	1		18	0.5	216.5	18.0416667	0.928342776	16.7488509
Sedgeford	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	Norfolk	Stottus	1		18	6.25	222.25	18.5208333	0.748976614	13.871671
Pyrford	Surrey	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Affrus	1		18	7	223	18.5833333	0.853083073	15.8531271
Malden	Surrey	Thames Basin	1292-3	E	Eq Car.	1		19	0.25	228.25	19.0208333	0.861283309	16.3823263
Hemsby	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stottus	1		19	1	229	19.0833333	0.748976614	14.2929704
Droxford	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	1		19	1	229	19.0833333	0.893955657	17.0596538
Fareham	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	1		19	3	231	19.25	0.893955657	17.2086464
Farnham	Surrey	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	1		19	3	231	19.25	0.893955657	17.2086464
Aldenham	Hertfordshire	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Equus	1		19	6	234	19.5	0.853083073	16.6351199
Clare	Suffolk	East Anglia	1309-10	L	Affrus	1		19	9.5	237.5	19.7916667	0.475886179	9.41858063
Overton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	1		20		240	20	0.853083073	17.0616615
Forngett	Norfolk	East Anglia	1299-1300	L	Stottus	1		20		240	20	0.620181898	12.403638
Feering	Essex	Thames Basin	1299-1300	E	Stottus	1		20		240	20	0.620181898	12.403638
Overton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	1	1			240	20	0.893955657	17.8791131
Clare	Suffolk	East Anglia	1309-10	L	Affrus	1		20	0.5	240.5	20.0416667	0.475886179	9.53755217
Kelveden	Essex	Thames Basin	1300-1	E	Affrus	1		20	1	241	20.0833333	0.893164545	17.9377213
Kelveden	Essex	Thames Basin	1300-1	E	Affrus	1		20	1	241	20.0833333	0.893164545	17.9377213

Appendix D: Price Data

Manor	County	Region	Year	Eccles/Lay	Type of Horse	Bought	Pounds	Shillings	Pence	Total Pence	Total Shillings	Adjusted Munro/Rogers Index Price	Deflated 1290 Price
Holywell	Oxfordshire	Thames Basin	1290-1	E	equi	1		21		252	21	0.692808029	14.5489686
(Great) Blakenham	Suffolk	East Anglia	1297-8	E	cart affer	1	1	2		264	22	0.869702983	19.1334656
Stockton	Wiltshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq car	1		22		264	22	0.853083073	18.7678276
Ashwell	Hertfordshire	Thames Basin	1300-1	E	Equus	1		22		264	22	0.893164545	19.64962
Littleton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Jumenta	1		22	6	270	22.5	0.853083073	19.1943691
Long Sutton	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	1		22	7	271	22.5833333	0.853083073	19.2654594
Risby	Suffolk	East Anglia	1298-9	E	Eq. Car.	1		24		288	24	0.853083073	20.4739938
Harwell	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	1	1	4		288	24	0.893955657	21.4549358
Wonston	Hampshire	South and South-west	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	1		25		300	25	0.853083073	21.3270768
Irthlingborough	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Eq Car.	1		25		300	25	0.475886179	11.8971545
Harwell	Berkshire	Thames Basin	1301-2	E	Eq. Car.	1	1	6		312	26	0.893955657	23.2428471
West Cliffe	Kent	Thames Basin	1302-3	L	Equus	1		26	6	318	26.5	0.928342776	24.6010836
Colingham	Nottinghamshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Eq Car.	1		26	8	320	26.6666667	0.893164545	23.8177212
Laleham	Middlesex	Thames Basin	1304-5	E	EQ CAR	1		27	6	330	27.5	0.784243069	21.5666844
Feering	Essex	Thames Basin	1299-1300	E	Stottus	1		28		336	28	0.620181898	17.3650931
Castor	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Eq Car.	1		30		360	30	0.893164545	26.7949363
Glinton	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Eq Car.	1		30		360	30	0.893164545	26.7949363
Fiskerton	Lincolnshire	Midlands	1300-1	E	Eq Car.	1		30		360	30	0.893164545	26.7949363
La Bigg (Biggin Grange)	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Eq Car.	1		30		360	30	0.475886179	14.2765854
Thornham	Norfolk	East Anglia	1295-6	E	Stottus	1		30	0.25	360.25	30.0208333	0.748976614	22.4849021
Birdbrook	Essex	Thames Basin	1298-9	E	Eq Car.	1		33		396	33	0.853083073	28.1517414
La Bigg (Biggin Grange)	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Eq Car.	1		44		528	44	0.475886179	20.9389919
Oundle	Northamptonshire	Midlands	1309-10	E	Eq Car.	1		46	8	560	46.6666667	0.475886179	22.2080217
Kelsale	Suffolk	East Anglia	1293-4	L	Eq Car.	1		15	6	186	15.5	0.685697431	10.62831
Stoneham	Suffolk	East Anglia	1294-5	L	Eq Car.	1		13	4	160	13.3333333	0.452962326	6.0394977
Stoneham	Suffolk	East Anglia	1304-5	L	Eq Car.	1		12	0	144	12	0.784243069	9.4109168
Walton	Suffolk	East Anglia	1290-1	L	Eq Car.	1		15	0	180	15	0.692808029	10.39212
Walton	Suffolk	East Anglia	1292-3	L	Eq Car.	1		20	0	240	20	0.861283309	17.225666
Walton	Suffolk	East Anglia	1300-1	L	Eq Car.	1		13	4	160	13.3333333	0.893164545	11.908861
Bungay	Suffolk	East Anglia	1300-1	L	Eq Car.	1		15	7	187	15.5833333	0.893164545	13.918481
Cratfield	Suffolk	East Anglia	1292-3	L	Eq Car.	1		15	7.25	187.25	15.604167	0.861283309	13.439608