

"A LAND FULL OF DRINK AND DRINKERS"  
ASPECTS OF THE WINE TRADE IN LATE  
TWELFTH-AND EARLY THIRTEENTH-  
CENTURY ENGLAND

BY

BURAK DEMİR

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE INSTITUTE  
FOR GRADUATE STUDIES IN ECONOMIC  
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY

BILKENT UNIVERSITY  
THESIS SUPERVISOR PAUL LATIMER  
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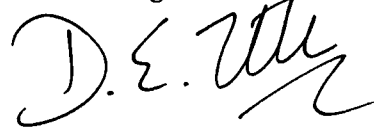
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## Abstract

English wine trade in late twelfth-and early thirteenth- century is not thoroughly examined by the scholars of the economic history of medieval Europe. This period witnessed an increase in the commerce of wine between England and France. Troubles on the continental possessions of England somehow affected the course of the wine trade, but never decreased the flow of wine fleets through the Channel. The government of King John paid a particular attention to this voluminous trade and tried to control it. Regulations and also privileges aiming to increase the volume of the wine trade and, hence the revenues from this commerce were imposed on wine merchants. These operations caused an increase in the trade and in the consumption of this valuable commodity of the Middle Ages in England.

## Özet

İngiltere'nin 12. yüzyıl sonları ve 13. Yüzyıl başlarında Fransa ile yaptığı şarap ticareti akademik olarak derinlemesine incelenmemiştir. Bu dönem İngiltere ile Fransa arasında şarap ticaretinin artışına tanıklık etmiştir. İngiltere'nin Fransa'da sahip olduğu toprakların doğurduğu problemler şarap ticaretinin seyrini kısmen etkilemiş ancak Manş denizi üzerindeki şarap filolarının akışını hiçbir zaman azaltmamıştır. Kral John hükümeti bu muazzam ticarete ayrı bir önem vermiş ve kontrolü altında tutmaya çalışmıştır. Ticaret hacmini ve dolayısıyla gelirlerini artırmaya yönelik yasal düzenlemeler ve ayrıcalıklar şarap tüccarına tanınmıştır. Bu uygulamalar Ortaçağın bu değerli içeceğinin İngiltere'de hem ticaretinin hem de tüketiminin artmasını sağlamıştır.

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### List of Abbreviations

- Rot. Chart.*     *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1199—1216*, ed. Hardy, T.D. (Record Commission, 1837)
- Rot. Lib.*       *Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Praestitis, regnante Johanne*, ed. T. D. Hardy (Record Commission, 1844)
- Rot. Nor.*       *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1200—1205; also 1417—1418*, ed. T. D. Hardy (Record Commission, 1835)
- Rot. Obl*        *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londinensi asservati, temp. Regis Johannis*, ed. T. D. Hardy (Record Commission, 1835)
- RLC*            *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. T.D. Hardy, 2 vols (Record Commission, 1833-1844)
- RLP*            *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. T.D. Hardy (Record Commission, 1835)
- PR*              *The Great Rolls of the Pipe of the Reign of Henry II, the Reign of Richard I, etc* (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1844--)

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# Chapter I

## Introduction

The wine trade in the High Middle Ages is one of the least studied topics in the economic history of medieval Europe. Historians of late medieval and modern history have concerned themselves with the history of wine making and wine consumption, viticulture, wine prices and trade from the fourteenth and fifteenth century onwards, and even with the use of wine as an apparatus to prevent worker rebellions in seventeenth and eighteenth century European cities, such as Venice.<sup>1</sup> In spite of rare but precious works of some medieval economic historians, studies on the high medieval wine trade seem to be overshadowed by those on the later wine trade. Although almost all of the general surveys on the medieval economy necessarily mention wine as among the most important traded goods, specific pieces of work are rare and especially for the period before the fourteenth century where the patchy sources do not allow a thorough examination of all aspects of wine trade. However, there is still much to be done with the sources at hand, for at least some aspects of the wine trade of the High Middle Ages.

The importance of the wine trade in the studies of late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century economic history of England has not been

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\* "A land full of drinks and drinkers" is derived from *sic repleta est terra potu et potutaribus* (and thus the country was filled with drink and drinkers) of Roger of Hoveden in *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedene*, edited by William Stubbs, vol 4, 1871 (London: Longmans, 1868-1871) pp 99-100.

<sup>1</sup> R. C. Davis, 'Venetian Shipbuilders and the Fountain of Wine', *Past & Present*, 156 (1997), 55-86.

thoroughly examined though not ignored. This thesis aims to look into certain aspects of the English wine trade in the context of French wine exports to England, during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In so doing it will attempt to explain the economic regulations imposed on the wine trade by the government of King John. Also to be considered is the increasing demand for imported wine in England that can be derived even from the patchy sources concerning the period.

In Michael Postan's words 'with the exception of grain and fish no other comestible product was more indispensable to medieval diet, or was carried in larger quantities than wine'.<sup>2</sup> This assessment indicates the importance of wine trade in England, where wine had not traditionally been consumed as much as had been in the Mediterranean. Scholars have argued that wine played a much greater part in the international trade and in the life of English people than it has done in modern times.<sup>3</sup>

Although Edward Miller and John Hatcher approach with scepticism the superficial impression conveyed by the records from the period that the prominent import was wine, they assert that wine imports were of

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<sup>2</sup> Michael Postan, 'The trade of medieval Europe: The North', in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, edd. M. M. Postan and H. J. Habakkuk, 5 vols (Cambridge: University Press, 1987), II, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Alan David Francis, *The Wine Trade* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1972), pp. 9-10. Yves Renouard, 'Le grand commerce des vins de Gascogne au Moyen Age', *Revue Historique*, 221, (1959), pp. 265-304. E.M. Carus Wilson, 'The Effects of the Acquisition and the Loss of Gascony on the English Wine Trade' in *Medieval Merchant Venturers*, ed. by E.M. Carus Wilson (London: Methuen, 1967), pp. 265-78.

considerable importance.<sup>4</sup> Particular studies on medieval wine trade address the subject in various ways. Alan Francis represents the history of the English wine trade in the context of the interaction of the economic and political structures determining its fortunes. Although his book concerns the changes in viticulture and the wine trade in England from the beginning to the present day, he seeks to blend together an understanding of the processes of social and economic change in particular places and at particular times, such as the Anglo-Gascon wine trade and the political alliances of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>5</sup> Paul Unwin concentrates on the historical geography of viticulture and wine trade but also pays attention to the structure of medieval wine trade in Europe in general.<sup>6</sup>

André Simon gives the best account of the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century English wine trade as much for the earlier as for the later periods. He presents a considerable amount of statistical data about the wine trade, at least that which was available at the time of his book's publication, 1906. He argues that King John was willing to encourage the consumption of wine through price policies imposed by governmental intervention with the aim of increasing the fiscal revenues that would arise from wine

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<sup>4</sup> Edward Miller and John Hatcher, *Medieval England, Towns Commerce and Crafts: 1086-1348* (London: Longman, 1995), p. 185.

<sup>5</sup> See particularly chapter one, in Francis, *The Wine Trade*.

<sup>6</sup> P. T. H. Unwin, *Wine and the Vine : an Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade* (London: Routledge, 1991)

imports.<sup>7</sup> This argument will be discussed below in Chapter Three, related to the regulations on the wine trade.

As for the primary sources for the study of the wine trade in late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century England, they almost totally consist of various rolls produced by the Angevin kings of England. The Pipe Rolls, which were the Exchequer records of audit, contain various entries concerning wine.<sup>8</sup> The amercements against the wine assizes owed by wine merchants to the Treasury are recorded in these rolls. It is also possible to encounter records of amercements and fines in the form of tuns of wine in these rolls. They also include payments to merchants for the purchase of the king's wine, or payments for the transportation of wine to royal castles or households. The money paid to the Treasury from the sale of the king's wine is also accounted for on the Pipe Rolls. They also give some indication of the personnel involved in the administration of the king's wines.

The Rolls of Letters Patent announce royal acts of the most diverse kinds, including grants and leases of land, appointments to offices, licences and pardons, denizations of aliens and presentations to ecclesiastical benefices.<sup>9</sup> They include, for our purpose, letters of protection and safe conducts for the wine merchants, renewals of dues and customs on the wine

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<sup>7</sup> A. L. Simon, *A History of the Wine Trade in England* (London: Wyman & Sons, 1906) See particularly vol. 1, chapter V., pp. 69-89.

<sup>8</sup> *The Great Rolls of the Pipe of the Reign of Henry II, the Reign of Richard I, etc* (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1844-)

<sup>9</sup> *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1201—1216*, ed. T.D. Hardy (Record Commission, 1835)

trade, or exemptions for particular merchants or merchant groups from these dues, orders concerning the seizure of the wines of merchants, and even orders for the transportation of the king's wine from one place to another.

The Rolls of Letters Close contain for the most part routine writs addressed by the king to individuals, folded or closed up, giving royal instructions for the performance of various acts like the observance of treaties, the levying of subsidies, the payment of salaries, the provision of household requirements and so forth.<sup>10</sup> Numerous payments are made for wine purchases for the king's use, gifts of wine to his faithful men and orders for transportation of the king's wine are recorded in Letters Close. For most of John's reign and part of Henry III's reign they include writs which would later have been enrolled in the Liberate Rolls.

The Liberate Rolls, of which few survive from early in John's reign, are really, at this time, rather like the early Close Rolls, though the title would suggest writs ordering payment. Later, these would indeed form a separate series. They concern the orders to the exchequer to make payments on behalf of the king, but also other writs.<sup>11</sup> These expenditures concern an infinite variety of matters and obviously we can find orders of payments for the purchases of wine for the king's use, as well as other references to wine.

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<sup>10</sup> *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. T.D. Hardy, 2 vols. (Record Commission, 1833)

<sup>11</sup> *Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Praestitis, regnante Johanne*, ed. T.D. Hardy (Record Commission, 1844)

On the Fine Rolls were entered the sums of money or other property offered to the king by way of fine for having writs, grants, licences and pardons of various kinds.<sup>12</sup> There is evidence here of offers of wine to the king in return for a particular charter or writ.

The Charter Rolls are enrolled copies of royal charters confirming perpetual grants of lands, liberties, privileges and immunities, such as the permission to establish guildhalls for merchants and have certain privileges.<sup>13</sup>

The Norman Rolls contain letters and grants of the Kings of England almost exclusively related to the provinces. They also include offers of wine to the king by way of fine in return for certain writs and charters as was in the Fine Rolls.<sup>14</sup>

Some information on wine might be found in private charters issued during the period. However, relatively few of the great number of these charters, edited and unedited, contain information on the wine trade. Any attempt to examine all of them would certainly be an exhausting and too demanding a study for a master thesis. Therefore, they are ignored.

It is worth mentioning that by the beginning of the thirteenth century, references concerning wine in the Angevin governmental records

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<sup>12</sup> *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londinensi asservati, temp. Regis Johannis*, ed. T.D. Hardy (Record Commission, 1835)

<sup>13</sup> *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1199—1216*, ed. T.D. Hardy (Record Commission, 1837)

<sup>14</sup> *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1200—1205; also 1417—1418*, ed. T.D. Hardy (Record Commission, 1835)

## Chapter II

### Patterns of the Wine Trade

The aim of this chapter is to describe England's wine trade and domestic wine production in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. As England did not export wine, by trade I mean the import of wine into England, the only source that supplied her demand for good wine, and to a limited extent the internal trade, though sources for that are limited. The areas including England's continental possessions, making wine for export to England will be examined and related to the chronology of their relationship to the Angevin Empire. The prices of the local and imported wines, and the factors which affected the price of wine will be considered. Also to be considered is the structure and the organisation of this precious and luxury commodity's trade, which flourished during the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.

Early evidence of the presence of wine in England is provided by the tombs of Belgic chieftains from the first century B.C. A silver Roman wine cup and an amphora suggest that wine had a certain significance in the life of a chieftain who had been buried with these two items.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, England's demand for wine has been considerable throughout her history. Wine was a common daily drink consumed in varied places, from aristocratic tables in great households such as the king's, to monastic establishments, to the taverns either for the middle or the lower ranks of society. It is, however,

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<sup>15</sup> Francis, *The Wine Trade*, p. 1.

not very meaningful to argue that the imported wines were consumed by the lower ranks of the society since not even the middle and upper classes could easily afford good imported wines. There was a strong correlation between wealth and the wine consumed. For example, while a model late fifteenth-century knight was expected to spend only two percent of his £100 income on wine, a magnate of the same period spent 20 per cent. Nevertheless, there were exceptional cases like that of another late fifteenth-century knight, Hugh Luttrell's expenditure of 23 per cent of his income on wine.<sup>16</sup> It is worth mentioning that good quality wine was a luxury good, not only in England but everywhere in Europe in the Middle Ages.

The demand for wine of those on limited budgets was met by home produced supplies, which were much cheaper than the imported wines and available throughout the country. Although the information on the quantity of the home produced wine is lacking, it is, for our purpose, worth noting that vines were cultivated in England. In the Domesday Book 40 vineyards were specifically mentioned and four of these were noted as having been recently planted. Later on, in the monastic records of the first half of the twelfth century, there are several references to new vineyards, mentioning

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<sup>16</sup> Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 55-56. Any accurate figure on the correlation between the expenses on wine and the income is unfortunately unavailable for the late twelfth and early thirteenth century but I would suggest that the percentage would be more or less the same, if not more.



the abundance of crop.<sup>17</sup> William of Malmesbury when describing the Vale of Gloucester says that it has 'a greater number of vines than other parts of England, yielding abundant crops of good quality'.<sup>18</sup> He was probably exaggerating by saying that the quality was good, but his assertion at least suggests that English wines were being drunk, if not by the *gourmets* or later on by the Angevin dynasty which was familiar with continental wines. Peter de Blois, the well-known letter writer and courtier of Henry II, said concerning the production of the English vineyards, that they should be drunk with *les yeux fermés et les dents serrées* (eyes closed and teeth clenched).<sup>19</sup>

The picture of the condition of English vineyards is open to debate for the thirteenth century. We find references concerning the decaying of vineyards. Let us take the example of Worcester. Domesday Book records one newly planted vineyard, and we know of others planted in the twelfth century. In the middle of the thirteenth century, however, the Priory of Worcester noted two surviving vineyards, but implied that there had once been others by references to land 'where vines once grew'.<sup>20</sup> According to Carus-Wilson the process was similar in other counties but there are also

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<sup>17</sup> Carus-Wilson, 'The Effects of... ', p. 267.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, p. 268 citing *Willelmi Malmesbriensis Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, pp. 291-2.

<sup>19</sup> Renouard, 'Le grand commerce...' p. 268 from *Petri Blesensis Epistolae*, Ep. xiv, ed. J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, CCVII (1855) p. 47.

<sup>20</sup> Carus -Wilson, 'The Effects of ...', p.268.

other references to other vineyards that existed in the thirteenth and even in the fourteenth century, such as those of Northfleet and Teynham in Kent.<sup>21</sup> However, the product yielded from these vineyards was a sour one and it needed to be sweetened with other sorts to make it drinkable. There is evidence from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that blackberry wine was mixed with it.<sup>22</sup>

Although the quality of the product is highly debatable, it is clear that English viticulture does not seem to have been in serious decline till the fourteenth century. Francis summarises the discussion: according to one view this was perhaps because of the climatic conditions in England between 1150 and 1300, which were more favourable than ever before or than they became later, but another view is that there were cold winters and wet and stormy summers even during the period. Thus, in spite of that bad weather, the temperature in the late summer was a little higher and frosts were less and that these were the main factors favourable to the English viticulture.<sup>23</sup> According to this debate climatic conditions somehow helped the existence, if not the flourishing, of English viticulture.

It is also worth noting that most of the domestic production was probably consumed by its producers, or perhaps the lords of its producers, without ever being introduced to the market. Therefore, it is not surprising

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<sup>21</sup> Dorothy Sutcliffe, 'The Vineyards of Northfleet and Teynham in the Thirteenth Century' *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 46 (1935), 140-49.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>23</sup> Francis, *The Wine Trade*, p. 5.

that we lack information on domestic wine prices and encounter almost only the prices of imported wine in the records. What we can suggest is that the production of English vineyards still supplied the market to some extent, since we can find references to it, though not frequent ones.<sup>24</sup> The records probably understate its importance but they suggest that, as the demand for French and other overseas wine increased, this satisfied most of the market demand, while the domestic product may have been declining by the thirteenth century. It is not possible to estimate the aggregate domestic production of wine and compare it to the quantity of imported wine. Besides, as to the quantities of wine imported into England in the late twelfth-and early thirteenth-century, it is not possible to make more than vague approximations, or even those. Estimates of wine imported into England suggest that, by the opening of the fourteenth century, England was importing wine worth £60,000, which amounted to one third of its aggregate imports.<sup>25</sup>

England's most important partner in this voluminous trade was certainly France. The main wine producing regions of France were at the same time the main regions exporting wine into England. As Postan says, 'wine of some repute was grown everywhere' in France.<sup>26</sup> But during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the most reputable wines in the

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<sup>24</sup> Sutcliffe, 'The Vineyards of ...' pp. 140-149.

<sup>25</sup> Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England*, p. 182.

<sup>26</sup> Postan, 'The trade of medieval Europe...' p. 172.

English market were those of Poitou, Anjou, 'French' (Île-de-France) and Auxerre and, for the latter part of this period, those of Gascony.<sup>27</sup>

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Poitou was in the dominions of the Angevin Empire and its most important trading port was La Rochelle. Wine imported into England under the name of Poitevin wine was largely from the ancient vineyards of La Rochelle, but Poitevin wine could be imported from any port between the Loire and Gironde rivers. In 1177, a chronicle tells about the ships carrying wine from the land of Poitou.<sup>28</sup> In 1200, Poitou wine was what John ordered the bailiffs of Southampton to buy and transport to Marlborough: '*doleum (tun) de forti vino Pictavensis*'.<sup>29</sup> But Poitou wine was sometimes named under a particular place where it was produced. The commercial vineyards of Aunis and Saintonge, which had been planted in the twelfth century, close to La Rochelle, carried on their business with England.<sup>30</sup> From the product of the Isle of Oléron, which was close to the Isle of Ré that was next to La

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<sup>27</sup> Dion argues that the Bordeaux wines of Gascony were after the wines of Poitou, Anjou and the Ile-de-France in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Roger Dion, *Histoire de la Vigne et du Vin en France des origines au XIXe siècle* (Flammarion, 1977), pp. 356-360.

<sup>28</sup> *ibid*, p. 355. Dion cites the chronicle of Robert du Mont, the abbey of Mont-Saint Michel from Dom Martin Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France* 24 vols, (Paris, 1738-1904) XIII, 321b.

<sup>29</sup> *Rot. Lib.*, p. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Yves Renouard, *Bordeaux sous les Rois d'Angleterre*, (Bordeaux, 1965) p.57 and Dion, *Histoire de la Vigne et du Vin*, p. 360.

Rochelle, King John bought 30 tuns of wine named as wines of Oléron in 1212.<sup>31</sup>

The County of Anjou, which had been inherited by Henry II on the death of his father, Geoffrey, in 1151, also profited from commercial wine growing. Although Anjou was not situated by the sea, this was not a disadvantage for the transportation of the yield due to the river Loire. Anjou wines destined for export were produced largely below the city of Angers, along the river that leads to the sea.<sup>32</sup> Anjou wine travelling down the river and across the Channel reached aristocratic tables such as the queen's in 1200 when John ordered that a tun of best Anjou wine should be bought for her use.<sup>33</sup> The quantity of Anjou wine bought for royal consumption was not always that moderate. In 1215, forty-eight tuns of Gascon and Anjou wine were bought in Southampton for the king's own use.<sup>34</sup> Generously enough, John ordered that ten tuns of good Anjou wine should be sent to the Earl of Salisbury in 1204.<sup>35</sup> However, we know that John did not always offer only the best quality Anjou wines but also wine of Blanc (*vinum de Obblenc*) to favour his faithful subjects such as Hugh de Neville and John fitz Hugh who

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<sup>31</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 126

<sup>32</sup> Dion, *Histoire de la Vigne et du Vin*, p. 278.

<sup>33</sup> *Rot. Lib.* p. 7

<sup>34</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 217b

<sup>35</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 3

received a tun each of Blanc wine.<sup>36</sup> John, too, was offered two tuns of Anjou wine by way of fine in 1200.<sup>37</sup>

Wine known as 'French' indicates a particular area, not the whole dominions of the King of France. It was used to refer to the wines produced in the central region of the basin of the river Seine, and more precisely those, which were produced along the navigable rivers of the Île-de-France, including those of Beaune.<sup>38</sup> The navigation of the Seine brought to Rouen, the important cross Channel trading city of Normandy, casks of wine not only from the Île-de-France but also from Auxerre, which was located at the borders of Burgundy. There are instances where these two different kinds of wines appeared consecutively in the documents as '*vini de Francia et de Aucerre*'.<sup>39</sup> Auxerre wine was probably the 'most noble wine' of the Middle Ages and the nobility was sometimes required to pay its amercements due to the Treasury in terms of Auxerre wine. The earl of Leicester and the Justiciar of King John, Geoffrey fitz Peter owed one and two tuns of Auxerre wine respectively to the Treasury.<sup>40</sup>

There was a small import of wine from Germany. The records mention, for a few instances, wines imported from Germany or merchants

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<sup>36</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 220.

<sup>37</sup> *Rot. Obl.*, p. 94.

<sup>38</sup> Dion, *Histoire de la Vigne et du Vin*, pp.219-220 and Roger Dion, 'Le commerce des vins de Beaune au Moyen Age', *Revue Historique*, 216 (1955), 209-221.

<sup>39</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 220.

<sup>40</sup> *PR*, 6 *John*, p. 228, 129.

from Lorraine bringing wine to England.<sup>41</sup> However, the evidence on the German wines in England, for that period, was very insignificant compared to the Poitou, Anjou, 'French' and the Gascon wines.

Gascon wines were mostly made from the produce of the vineyards of the Garonne and Dordogne valleys. Although the marriage of Henry II to Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152 added the whole duchy of Aquitaine to the Angevin possessions, there is no evidence that Gascon wines dominated the English market immediately after that time. Renouard's explanation of the delay of the expansion of the Gascon wines into England suggests that it was probably the fact that Eleanor and her son Richard the Lion-heart, who spent much of their time in Poitou, their ancestral lands, preferred the wines of that land to those of Gascony.<sup>42</sup>

The common view, focused on Normandy, but not on Poitou, is that by the loss of Normandy in 1204, the wine trade through Rouen was interrupted and that Gascon wines came to England 'more and more to the fore'.<sup>43</sup> This is obviously true to some extent, but there is evidence that John bought French wine after the loss of Rouen. In 1215 he bought a tun of French wine and sent it to the Tower of London.<sup>44</sup> The same year the

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<sup>41</sup> PR, *14 John*, p. 144; and *British Borough Charters, 1216-1307*, edited by Ballard A. and Tait J. (Cambridge: University Press, 1923), p. 231.

<sup>42</sup> Renouard, 'Le grand commerce...', p. 269.

<sup>43</sup> Carus-Wilson, 'The Effects of ...', p. 266.

<sup>44</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 220b.

purchase of a tun of Orléans wine appeared together with Anjou and Gascon wines in the Rolls.<sup>45</sup> But the purchases in 1212/3 are probably more important, when King John bought wines from the dominions of the French king as well as from his own.<sup>46</sup> The record concerning this purchase shows that 267 tuns of wine came from Gascony, 54 from Orléans and the Île de France, 5 from Anjou, 16 from Auxerre and 3 tuns from Germany:

*Et pro 5 tonellis Andegavensis de prisa, et tribus emptis et pro 45 tonellis vini Gasconiae de prisa et 222 tonellis emptis et pro 2 tonellis Aucerr' de prisa et 14 tonellis emptis, et pro 31 tonellis Franciseis de prisa et 23 tonellis emptis et pro 3 tonellis de prisa de Saxonia, £507 11s.*<sup>47</sup>

This record not only supports the thesis on the quantitative supremacy, if not qualitative, of the Gascon wines in the English market after 1204, but also contradicts the thesis that the predominance of Gascon wines should be linked with the loss of La Rochelle to French in 1224.<sup>48</sup> There is a discernible augmentation of the mentioning of Gascon wines in

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<sup>45</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 185

<sup>46</sup> From Michaelmas 1212 to Michaelmas 1213

<sup>47</sup> *PR*, *14 John*, p. 144. The distinction between prise wines and wines bought will be discussed below in Chapter Three.

<sup>48</sup> Renouard, 'Le grand commerce...' p. 275 and Robert Favreau, 'Les débuts de la ville de la Rochelle', *Cahiers de civilisation Médiévale*, 30 (1987), p. 23



the records after 1204. We know that the merchants of Bayonne bought large quantities of grain in Kent in 1207/8 and we can assume that they brought wines in return for grain.<sup>49</sup> This year, for the first time in the records, a certain man was ordered to pay a tun of Gascon wine, not of Auxerre or another kind, probably in return for a certain right or privilege.<sup>50</sup>

In 1205 John informs the men of Bordeaux that two of his men were ordered to serve for communication between him and the Bordelais.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, in a letter dated 1206 John addresses for the first time the mayor of Bordeaux: '*Rex majori et juratis* (sworn men) ...*de Burdegala*'.<sup>52</sup> Thus, along with the flourishing trade between England and Gascony, Bordeaux's political position in the eyes of the English government gained more importance. In 1207, John ordered that 12 tuns of Gascon wine and 4 tuns of Moissac wine, a particular good quality Gascon wine, that were in the custody of John fitz Jordan, should be sent to Brian de L'Isle or to his man:

*Rex Johanni filios Jordani etc. Mandamus tibi quod  
liberates Briano de Insula vel nuncio suo sexdecim*

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<sup>49</sup> *Interdict Documents*, ed. Patricia M. Barnes and W. R. Powell, (Pipe Roll Society, ns., xxxiv, 1960) pp. 71-2, 76.

<sup>50</sup> *Rot. Nor*, p. 105.

<sup>51</sup> *RLP*, p. 53b.

<sup>52</sup> *RLP*, p. 63.

*tunella de vinis nostris quae habetis in custodio,  
scilicet 12 de vino Wascon, et quatuor de Mussac.*<sup>53</sup>

Later on in the same year, John bought the aforesaid wines from Brian de L'Isle and sent them to various places for his own use.<sup>54</sup> Indeed, there are many examples of John's purchases of Gascon wines in the period of 1213-1215 in the records.<sup>55</sup>

Bordeaux continued this prosperous trade, especially when there was no interruption caused by the wars between the French and English kings. There was a break of the trade between 1283 and 1293, when Philip le Bel occupied the city, but it was resumed when the English regained possession of Bordeaux. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, after the resumption of English rule in Bordeaux in 1303, concerning the prosperous trade of wine, which was the city's main export good in return for her own demands, it is possible to find continuous statistics on the Bordelais wine exports. Although Bordeaux still had a very important place in England's wine imports, there were great fluctuations caused by the endless disputes between France and England. But despite these problems with the English possessions on the continent, the demand for imported wine in England

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<sup>53</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 88b Gascon wines were sometimes named from the region they were grown in Gascony, such as Moissac wine. Moissac wine is also mentioned in *ibid*, p. 89 and, II, p. 371.

<sup>54</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 89.

<sup>55</sup> *RLC*, I, pp. 128, 138, 217 b.

never declined. On the contrary it increased to an even greater level. As I mentioned before, by the opening of the fourteenth century England was importing wine worth £60,000, one third of its aggregate imports.

Table 1 shows the weighted averages of wine purchase prices per tun between 1159/60 and 1253/4.<sup>56</sup> A comparison between the local wine prices and the imported wine prices can be made for the few occasions where English wine prices were indicated in the sources. A purchase at 10s per tun of the English wine in 1183/4 was well below the average weighted purchase price at 25s 7d of the imported wine per tun, whose origin was not recorded.<sup>57</sup> In 1270/1, 6s 8d was received from the sale of a pipe of wine produced upon the manor of Northfleet at Kent.<sup>58</sup> And 66s 8d from the sale of five tuns of wine from the manor of Teynham at Kent again.<sup>59</sup> The average prices of these Kentish wines makes 13s 4d per tun, which was well below all the prices paid for the imported wines in the series. Although these were sale prices and therefore might be misleading, the difference is striking.

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<sup>56</sup> Paul Latimer, 'Early Thirteenth Century Prices' in S. D. Church (ed.) *King John: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1999), forthcoming.

<sup>57</sup> PR, 30 Henry II, p.113.

<sup>58</sup> A pipe makes half a tun: W. H. Prior, *Notes on the Weights and Measures of Medieval England* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Edouard Champion, 1924) p.19 ; R. E. Zupko, *A Dictionary of Weight and Measures for the British Isles: The Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1985), pp 302-304.

<sup>59</sup> Sutcliffe, 'The Vineyards of ...', p. 142.

As for a comparison between imported wines, the evidence providing the prices before the thirteenth century indicates only rarely the origin of the imported wines. Even in the thirteenth century, the evidence identifying the origin of the wine imported into England is quite patchy. Although the prices of most wine purchases were indicated, it would be difficult to argue the same for their origins. Sometime two different kinds of wine were mentioned together, as was in 1215, when 48 casks of Anjou and Gascon wines were bought, thus, although the price paid per tun was indicated as 20s, it is not possible to distinguish how much was paid for each.<sup>60</sup> However, there are instances when we can find the prices paid for Moissac wine from the time of Henry III in 1226, which was sold at a higher price than the other wines imported from Bordeaux. The price of the Gascon wine is given as 32s per tun, while a tun of Moissac wine was bought at a price of 34s:

*...£4 et 16s pro 3 doliis vini Wascon...34s pro uno  
dolio vini de Mussac empto ad opus nostram...*<sup>61</sup>

The prices paid for same the kind of wine in the same year might be different as well. In 1215, 26s 8d paid for a tun Auxerre wine bought at Southampton, whereas a month later 33s 4d paid for a tun of Auxerre wine

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<sup>60</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 217b.

<sup>61</sup> *RLC*, II, p. 118.

bought and sent to the Tower of London.<sup>62</sup> *Ceteris paribus* this was probably due to the transportation costs of the wine purchased. Rarely the transportation costs of casks of wine are recorded separately as when 76s was paid for the carriage of 38 tuns of 'old and new wine' purchased at £80 14s 4d.<sup>63</sup> Casks of wine were sent from Southampton, the largest wine storing port of the king, to almost everywhere. John continually ordered his barons, sheriffs, bailiffs and vintners to transport a certain amount of wine from one place to another. Alexander of Wareham, who was one of his vintners in Southampton, received many orders on the carriage of John's wines from Southampton.<sup>64</sup> In an order sent to the bailiffs of Southampton, John ordered that 13 tuns of wine seized from a wine merchant should be sent to eleven different places.<sup>65</sup>

John's orders for the carriage of wine did not concern Southampton only. London, Portsmouth, Bristol, Sandwich, Newcastle and Boston too, were among the wine trading ports of England. Although Southampton was the main wine trading port and the main city where John kept his wines, the aforesaid ports were also given orders on matters concerning the carriage of wine.<sup>66</sup> Even inland cities such as Oxford, due to her river connection,

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<sup>62</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 217 and p. 220.

<sup>63</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 38.

<sup>64</sup> *RLC*, I, *passim*.

<sup>65</sup> *RLC*, I, p.78.

<sup>66</sup> *RLC*, I, *passim*.

transported John's wine to several places. The earl of Oxford was asked to send a tun of wine from Oxford to Woodstock in 1205.<sup>67</sup> In 1205 King John ordered that 6 tuns of wines located in Bridgenorth should be brought 'immediately' and to be accounted to William of Wrotham, an important royal official.<sup>68</sup>

It is not surprising though that the orders concerning the carriage of wine were often urgent. Casks stored in various parts of the country do not seem to have kept well and yet medieval wine had a short life. Some of the strong southern wines, such as malmsey and the wines of Spain and Portugal, might be kept for a year or two, but that was more than most.<sup>69</sup> Salzman quotes the example that in 1236 the bailiffs of Lincoln reported that they could only get £6 for six casks of the king's wine, which had gone bad.<sup>70</sup> In an order dated November 1212 to the custodian of his wines, King John commanded that 20 tuns of old wine from the previous year should be sent out of Southampton.<sup>71</sup> This looks like a clearing of the royal cellars, which seems to have been regular every autumn.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> *RLC*, I, p.25.

<sup>68</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 45b.

<sup>69</sup> Simon, *A History of the Wine*, pp. 262-63 and L.F. Salzman, *English Trade in the Middle Ages* (London: H.Pordes, 1964) pp. 383-85 Salzman cites from Andrew Borde, *Dyetary* (E.E.T.S) p. 254 :*hyghe wyne, as malmyse, maye be kepte longe*'.

<sup>70</sup> Salzman, *English Trade*, p. 384 from *Calendar of Close Rolls*, p. 311.

<sup>71</sup> *RLC*, I, p.126.

<sup>72</sup> Salzman, *English Trade*, p. 383.

In 1214, an order was given to the reeves and bailiffs of Bristol to send the king a list of all ships belonging to that port capable of holding 80 tuns of wine or more, specifying how many tuns each ship could carry, together with the names and surnames of their owners.<sup>73</sup> It seems evident that wine was used to measure the capacity of all these ships that dropped anchor at the port of Bristol. The use of wine to measure the ships suggests that wine was the main cargo in this port and seemingly in other ports such as Southampton, which was considered to be the main port for the wine trade. The asking of the names and the surnames of the shipowners indicates the establishment of a possible reference list, which is unfortunately unavailable, for several purposes whenever needed, perhaps especially to summon in the time of war.

Wine merchants, whose ships were destined for the ports of England, were subject to non-fiscal regulations apart from the taxes, tolls, amercements and duties they had to face. The government enjoyed the right to enforce its control over merchant ships. One of these arbitrary regulations was the king's right to take possession of all ships required for the national defence or the king's use whenever needed, probably in the time of war.<sup>74</sup>

If any of these ships required for the king's service were on a voyage, their owners were directed in peremptory terms to hasten their

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<sup>73</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 177.

<sup>74</sup> *RLP*, p. 85.

return.<sup>75</sup> Besides, the king issued commands to the bailiffs of the ports to load people or horses to be used in the war, upon the ships in their ports.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, freebooters and pirates too were welcomed if they brought ships to the king's service. For instance, Eustace the monk, 'a notorious Channel pirate', received a loan and safe conduct from the king.<sup>77</sup> There is also an example from the early thirteenth century of the king's right to send the ships belonging to the Cinque Ports into the Channel, with orders to bring into port every ship they might meet.<sup>78</sup>

Another record from the same period shows that not all of the merchant ships were taken into the king's service but, a special permission was needed for those that remained, in order to quit harbour to sail away, and when such permission was granted, precautions were taken that they should not break their journey at any place until they arrived at their destination. The prohibition against dropping anchor in the enemy's country, too, was among these precautions.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> *RLP*, p. 195.

<sup>76</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 133.

<sup>77</sup> W. L. Warren, *King John* (London: Methuen, 1991), p. 304. Warren thinks that Eustace was a notorious pirate but the French perhaps would not think so. He died commanding the French flagship during a sea battle at Sandwich between the French and the English in 1216. D. A. Carpenter, *The Minority of King John* (London: Methuen, 1990), p. 43. For the safe conduct see *RLP*, p. 65.

<sup>78</sup> *RLP*, p. 80.

<sup>79</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 210, 211.



The evidence from the Pipe Rolls illuminates to some extent the identities of the wine merchants. Among the wine merchants who carried on their business in England were carters, cooks, tailors, butlers, dyers, mercers, goldsmiths, masons, clerks, a doctor and a painter and even chaplains.<sup>80</sup> Their surnames allow us to estimate to some extent where they are from. We see the men of Rouen selling wine in Hampshire in 1207.<sup>81</sup> Robert of Barfleur, whose name appears frequently in the Pipe Rolls, sold wine in Wiltshire, Oxford, Berkshire and Hampshire.<sup>82</sup> Also, wine merchants from Chartres, Paris and St Lo selling wine in Gloucester, Hampshire, and Cambridge are remarkable.<sup>83</sup> There are also many more with English placenames as bynames.<sup>84</sup>

Another piece of information on the wine merchants gathered from the records is that not all of them were necessarily men. Women who were mostly the widows of wine merchants were involved in this business too.<sup>85</sup> The names and the surnames in the records suggest that people with various

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<sup>80</sup> PR, *passim*, See table no. 3.

<sup>81</sup> PR, *9 John*, p. 145, 150.

<sup>82</sup> Barfleur is in Normandy, close to Cherbourg. PR, *1 John*, p.177, 227, 258, PR, *3John*, p. 198, PR, *4 John*, p. 3, PR, *5 John*, p. 46, 145, 193.

<sup>83</sup> PR, *8 John*, p. 159, 167, 216.

<sup>84</sup> PR, *passim*, See table no. 3.

<sup>85</sup> PR, *1 John*, p. 177, *2 John*, p. 199, 247, *8 John*, p. 159, *9 John*, p. 145 *bis*, *11 John*, p. 167.

occupations from various places were as much involved in the business of wine as the vintners from various places in England did.

To sum up this examination of the wine trade, it is worth stating that the commercial vineyards of the French, who either were the subjects of the Angevin Empire or of the King of France, supplied the demand for the good wine in England. The dominance of the Gascon wines in the English market occurs by the early thirteenth century following the loss of Rouen, which had been the main trading port that supplied England with the products of the vineyards around the river Seine. However, French wines certainly did not disappear from the English market and their importation continued during the course of the thirteenth century.

King John issued orders concerning the organisation and the structure of the wine trade and supplied them with the attempts to regulate the trade of this commodity This will be examined in the next chapter.

## Chapter III

### Regulations on the Wine Trade and Mercantile Privileges

The wine trade in England during the late twelfth and early thirteenth century was subject to regulations imposed by the government. These regulations will be examined under three headings; the assize of wine, the wine prise and the taxation of the wine trade. Although these regulations appear to be obstacles to the wine trade, they were part of the regular functioning of government, especially that of King John's. On the other hand, lay the privileges granted to wine merchants that went together with the regulations. The evidence from the late twelfth and early thirteenth century allows us for the first time to illuminate the study of such regulations.

The assize of wine was a legislative act by the king fixing the price. In 1199 John decreed an assize of wine which is worth quoting here from Roger of Howden's account of it:

*"Eodem anno Johannes rex Angliae statuit, quod nullum tonellum vini Pictavensis vendatur carius quam pro viginti solidis, et nullum tonellum vini Andegavensis carius quam pro viginti quatuor solidis, et nullum tunellum vini Francigenae carius quam pro viginti quinque solidis, nisi vinum illud*

*ad hoc bonum sit quod aliquis velit pro eo dare circa  
duas marcas ad altius.*

*Praeterea statuit, quod nullum sextercium vini  
Pictavis vendatur carius quam pro quatuor  
denariis, et nullum sextercium vini albi vendatur  
carius quam sex denariis.*<sup>86</sup>

With regard to the document, Angevin and French wines were deemed to be white, whereas the Poitevin wine was red. Literary sources of later periods gathered by Dion prove that either Angevin or French wines were known as the best examples of white wines. Anjou wines were praised in the sixteenth century as *De vins blancs excellentement*. In the description of French wine, a Parisian doctor, in 1588, defines it as *Le vin blanc françois qui est cler et net comme de l'eau, de subtile essence, ni doux ni verdelet, est tenu pour le plus excellent*. However, it is evident that the region produced red wine too, by the fact that the custom of the white wine was higher than the red wine produced.<sup>87</sup> Poitevin wine indicates red wine but according to a document from 1313, 174 tuns of white wine were

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<sup>86</sup> The same year John the king of England ordered that no tun of Poitevin wine should be sold for more than 20s, no tun of Angevin wine for more than 24s, and no tun of French wine for more than 25s, unless that wine was so good that anyone would like to give around 2 marks [26s 8d] at most for it. Besides he ordered that no sester of Poitevin wine should be sold for more than 4d and no sester of white wine for more than 6d: *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedene*, edited by William Stubbs, 4 vols (London: Longmans, 1868-1871), IV, 99-100.

<sup>87</sup> Dion, *Histoire de la Vigne et du Vin*, p. 281, 237, 238-9.

loaded at Tonny-Charente, which was in Poitou.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, the categorisation of the text of the assize suggests that Angevin, Poitevin and French wines imported into England represented the typical examples of their regions.

The relationship between the tun and the sester is not always precise but a sester appears to be equivalent to 4 gallons at that time. Again, in the light of the calculations made for the thirteenth century a tun should contain 252 gallons. The simple division of these numbers would reveal the number of sesters in a tun as 63. But, the measure for the number of gallons in a sester was not fixed and it varied from four to six. The estimates of the number of sesters in a tun also vary from 52 to 64.<sup>89</sup> The Assize fixed the price of Poitou wine at 4d and of white wine at 6d. If one uses the rate of 60 sesters in a tun, maximum prices based on the sester would thus be 20s (240d) for Poitevin wine and 30s (360d) for white wine per tun. However, this calculation was not realistic since according to the assize the maximum price for a tun of Poitou wine was already 20s. Although the wholesale price of a tun of Poitevin wine was 20s, the retail price or perhaps the price for distributive trade, i.e sester price, of the same was 20s as well. That is to say, a merchant buying a tun of Poitou wine for the purpose of retailing was unable to make any profits in the market. This strange regulation explains

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<sup>88</sup> *ibid*, p. 353 from the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Edward II, A.D. 1313-1317*, p. 55.

<sup>89</sup> Prior, *Notes on the Weights*, pp. 30-32. Zupko, *A dictionary of weight*, pp. 374, 423.

the objections of the wine merchants who were not able to tolerate it. Yet, as the text puts, the assize scarcely came into operation and it was quickly revised as we shall see later on. The document goes on as follows:

*Statuit etiam, quod omnia tunella, quae de caetero venient in Angliam, postquam venerint de Rech post tempus praesentis musti sint de mutatione; et hoc statuit teneri ab octavia Sancti Andreaea deinceps : et praecepit ad hoc servandum, in singulis civitatibus et burgis in quibus vina vendantur, duodecim constitui custodes, et jurent quod hanc assisam facient teneri et observari. Si vero vinatorem, qui vinum vendat ad brocam contra hanc assisam invenerint, corpus eius capiat vicecomes, et salvo custodiri faciat in prisona domini regis donec inde habeat aliud praeceptum ; et omnia tenementa sua capiantur ad opus domini regis per visum praedictorum duodecim hominum. Si quis etiam inventus fuerit, qui tunellum vel tunella contra praedictam assisam vendiderit vel*

*emerit, capiatur uterque, et salvo in prisiona  
custodiatur, donec inde aliud praecipatur*<sup>90</sup>

It is clear from the text that both the wholesalers and retailers were subject to the Assize. John's order certainly defines the sanction in case of breach of the Assize. Appointing twelve custodians to keep the assize is normal enough as we will discuss later on in the other assizes.

*et quod nullum vinum ematur ad regretariam de vinis  
quae applicuerint in Anglia.*<sup>91</sup>

To 'rack' the wine was a peculiar process often used in the Middle Ages. The freshly pressed, unfermented juices of grapes, which was known as 'must' had to be left for a while in the casks to ferment. Through the fermentation process a quantity of scum would come to the surface of the

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<sup>90</sup> 'And he also ordered that every tun (of wine) that comes to England from outside, after coming from Reth (probably Rouen) after the time of the present must shall be affected by the change. And he ordered this to come into force from the octave of St Andrew's day (the week after 30 November i.e. 8 December) onwards and ordered this, so that this might be enforced, in every single city and borough, in which the wines were being sold, 12 custodians to take an oath that they will make this assize to be kept and observed. If indeed, they will have found a vintner selling wine against this assize, let the sheriff seize him and put him to be guarded safely in the prison of the lord king till he has another order concerning the matter and all his belongings (i.e. wine) should be taken for the use of the lord king under the supervision of the abovesaid twelve men. Also if anyone is found, who has either sold or bought a tun or tuns against the aforesaid assize, let them both (i.e. seller and buyer) be seized and being kept safe in prison till it is decreed otherwise': *Chronica*, pp. 99-100.

<sup>91</sup> 'No wine shall be bought to be racked, concerning the wine that will have arrived in England': *Chronica*, pp. 99-100.

cask. After the completion of the fermentation process in the cask, the scum was taken off and the lid could be put on it and then the 'new wine' was ready. These kind of wines were not sent promptly to catch the market and were left to be settled and racked off the lees and exported in the spring. The racked wine was clearer and maturer than that of the most recent vintage and fetched a higher price at the market.<sup>92</sup> John, by the Assize, orders that no wine should be bought for the purpose of racking it. There is no evidence of the reasons why this has been ordered. However, the Assize rarely came into operation and it was revised:

*Sed hoc primum regis statutum vix inchoatum, statim est adnihilatum; quia mercatores hanc assisam sustinere non poterant. Et data est eis licentia vendendi sextercium de vino albo pro octo denariis, et sextercium de vino rubio pro sex denariis; et sic repleta est terra potu et potutaribus".<sup>93</sup>*

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<sup>92</sup> Salzman, *English Trade*, pp. 380-81.

<sup>93</sup> 'But when this first order of the king scarcely came into operation, it was immediately decreed to be null and void because the merchants were not able to tolerate this assize. And licence was given to them to sell for 8d per a sester of white wine and for 6d a sester of red wine; and thus the country was filled with drink and drinkers': *Chronica*, pp. 99-100.



Roger of Howden states the revised prices of red and white wine at 6d and 8d respectively, and says that these new prices filled the land with drink and drinkers. If the wine were sold at the prices set by the Assize, the country might have been full of drunks and drunkards. The revised maximum prices, based on the calculation made by the rate of 60 sesters in a tun, would be 30s for white wine and 40s for red wine. However, the revised prices given by the account changed only the retail prices and apparently, they favoured the retailers, for they allowed a bigger chance to make a profit.

Simon argues that John decided to fix the maximum price of wine so that the cheapness of this commodity might induce a greater part of the community to make use of it.<sup>94</sup> But, it is likely that lower maximum prices simply led to too little wine being imported whereas higher maximum prices encouraged wine merchants to import. Low prices would surely induce a greater part of the community to the consumption of wine only if they could have found wine merchants willing to sell wine at the prices set by the Assize. But, as we shall see, even the revised prices were also so intolerable to wine merchants most of the time that many of them did not comply with the Assize and were amerced for selling wine against it, i.e. at higher prices.

As for the history of the assizes in England, it is worth mentioning that the wine assize was not introduced first by John. The Pipe Rolls of 1176/7 of Henry II and afterwards show amercements by the king's justices

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<sup>94</sup> Simon, *A History of the Wine*, pp. 78-9.

imposed on those who sold wine contrary to the assize, but we lack the price of wine set by the earlier Assize.<sup>95</sup> Although we have the weighted average prices of wine per tun for the reign of Henry II, we lack the prices imposed by the early Assize. However, establishment the new assize in 1199 may imply that there was a change in the assize price.

The assizes by the kings of England were not imposed on wine alone, but also on bread and ale and on cloth. A charter to Tewkesbury from the second half of the twelfth century names the assize of bread and beer:

*Et quod omnes burgenses qui burgagia vel  
dimidium burgagiam tenerent et qui panem vel  
cervesiam venderent semel ad le laweday annuatim  
as la Hokeday et ibi amerciati essent pro assisa  
fracta si amerciaturi essent per presentationem  
duodecim*<sup>96</sup>

The establishment of 'twelve men' as juries concerning the breach of the assizes is frequent in the Angevin period. They were called sometimes *custodes assisae*: custodians of the assize, or *duodecim burgenses*: twelve

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<sup>95</sup> PR, 22 Henry II, pp. 126, 184.

<sup>96</sup> All the burgesses who held burgages or half-burgages and sold bread and beer, should come once a year to the lawday at Hokeday and should be there fined for breach of assize, if they should be fined, by the presentation of twelve (custodian) *British Borough Charters 1042-1216*, edited by Adolphus Ballard (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1913), p. 158.

burgesses or simply, as above, *duodecim*: twelve. It is possible to find indication of these juries, on the matters concerning the breach of the assize, in the documents from the second half of the century, whereas they were named vaguely in the first half of the century. In a charter addressed to Newcastle from early twelfth century, the amercement concerning the sale of bread and beer was to be given by the common advice of the burgesses: *communi consilio burgensium puniatur*.<sup>97</sup> In another instance from the same period, still for the assize of bread and beer, the order is vaguer as to the enforcers of the amercement: *justitia de ea fiat*.<sup>98</sup>

Cloth was subject to similar regulations and the Assize of Cloth issued by Richard I in 1197 was designed to regulate the length and breadth of the cloth imported into England.<sup>99</sup> For instance, in a charter addressed to Egremont in 1202, the assize of the dyers, weavers and fullers had to be fixed by twelve burgesses and, in case of a breach, 12d was to be paid to the lord.<sup>100</sup> Also, a charter issued by Alexander, king of Scotland, concerning the assize of cloth of his grandfather David and his own, proves that the use of this legislative act was not restricted only to the kings of England.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> *British Borough Charters*, ed. Ballard, p. 158.

<sup>98</sup> Let the justice be done in this matter. *ibid.*, ed. Ballard, p. 157.

<sup>99</sup> *Chronica*, p. 33.

<sup>100</sup> *British Borough Charters*, ed. Ballard, p. 160.

<sup>101</sup> *ibid.*, p. 170.

It is obvious that the assizes of bread, ale and wine regulated the prices hence aimed to fix the profit to be made from the commerce of these goods, the assize of cloth established standards for imports and in both cases all the assizes supplied the Treasury with the amercements against the assizes.<sup>102</sup> This financial tool existed before the reign of King John and obviously he, too, enjoyed this tool. However, the assize of wine during his reign is particularly notable. The Pipe Rolls of John contain amercements for the breach of the wine assize greater in number and in value than ever before. Furthermore, the years 1206 and 1207 witness a great temporary increase in the number and the value of the amercements.<sup>103</sup> The total value of amercements for selling wine against the assize was £ 73 16s 8d in 1205, but increased to £ 521 12s in 1206. This easily exceeds all previous levels. This equals an increase of nearly seven times and the high level of amercements continue for the year 1207 at £ 495 13s.<sup>104</sup> There is also an increase in the same years in the number of different people being amerced for selling wine against the assize. While in 1205 only 26 people were amerced, in 1206, the number increased to 152 and then went down a little

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<sup>102</sup> A charter issued at Winchester clearly defined the profit to be made from the sale of bread as 4d or 3d out of every quarter. *British Borough Charters*, ed. Ballard, p. 159.

<sup>103</sup> The year 1206 indicates the Exchequer Year Mich. 1205- Mich. 1206 as well as the other years indicate the Exchequer Year they belong to.

<sup>104</sup> See chart no. 1

to 116 in 1207.<sup>105</sup> For a better examination of these figures it might be helpful to look at the average value of the amercements per person.

At the beginning of John's reign, the average amercements ranged between half a mark and four marks, apart from a few exceptions. Out of 119 amercements following the wine assize of 1199, in 1200, only one out of 71 was over four marks; in 1201, three out of 24; in 1202, three out of 66; in 1203, eight out of 104; in 1204, two out of 21 and in 1205, four out of 26 entries.<sup>106</sup>

In 1199 Geoffrey of Winchelsea was amerced a considerable sum of 10 marks in Sussex and although he paid nothing to the treasury, his name does not appear again in any assize fines for the next eleven years.<sup>107</sup> But there were those more frequently amerced too, like Brian the vintner who was fined 100s in Nottinghamshire & Derbyshire and paid 30s of it in 1200; 60s in London & Middlesex of which he paid one mark in 1202; 3 marks of which he paid 10s again in Nottinghamshire & Derbyshire in 1204. The next year he was amerced 30s of which he paid one mark in Derbyshire, and 16s 4d of which he paid nothing to the treasury, in Nottinghamshire & Derbyshire in 1206.<sup>108</sup> Some of the merchants are amerced in several counties even in the same year. Robert of Barfleur, who was another

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<sup>105</sup> See chart no. 2

<sup>106</sup> See chart no. 3

<sup>107</sup> PR, *1 John*, p. 126

<sup>108</sup> PR, *2 John*, p. 16; PR, *4 John*, p. 289; PR, *6 John*, p. 165; PR, *7 John*, p. 225; PR, *8 John*, p. 79.

frequently amerced in the early years of John's reign, was amerced in Wiltshire, Oxford and Berkshire in 1199.<sup>109</sup>

Among the debtors of exceptional amounts before 1206, there were the vintners of London who first appeared in the Roll of 1200/1 for a sum of 40 mark but since the number of the people involved in this group was not indicated in the Roll we cannot be sure whether this was really a large amercement per capita or not. Actually, their debts remained unpaid until 1208 and then disappear without any indication of a payment, but this is probably a mistake by the clerk who noted down the amercement, because in 1202 their debt was transferred and paid to Geoffrey fitz Peter, the Justiciar. By his own writ, Geoffrey and the vintners of London were quit.<sup>110</sup> In the following page, it is indicated that Geoffrey fitz Peter owed 40 marks that he got from the vintners of London and which was demanded in Wiltshire.<sup>111</sup> Thus there is the possibility of a superficial increase for 40 marks in the sum of 1202 and afterwards, but this is inadequate to explain the great change that occurred in 1206 and 1207, even when this 40 mark is excluded from the total amercements on wine sellers.

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<sup>109</sup> PR, 1 John, pp. 177, 227, 258; PR, 3 John, p. 198; PR, 4 John, p. 3; PR, 5 John, p. 46.

<sup>110</sup> *In the. Nichil. Et G. f. Petri 40 m per breve ipsius G. De quibus ipse G. debet respondere sicut infra annotatur. Et Q. [S.]* PR, 4 John, p. 288.

<sup>111</sup> *G. f. Petri debet xl m. quas recepit a vinitariis Lond' sicut supra continetur. De quibus respondet in Wiltescir'* PR, 4 John, p. 289.

The breaches of the wine assize in 1206 were so numerous that in some counties the roll contained a separate heading called *Amerciamenta Vinitariorum*.<sup>112</sup> Out of 145 punishments, 17 were in Devon, 23 each in Lincolnshire and Hampshire, 24 in Wiltshire and 27 in Sussex.<sup>113</sup> One of the Oxford vintners, Henry, who was also frequently amerced, was amerced in 1201, 1202, 1203 and 1204 for small amounts in Oxford, was fined for 40 marks in Staffordshire and was the individual most severely amerced for that year.<sup>114</sup> He was followed by John the chaplain of Baldock in Hertfordshire with 30 marks, but the chaplain was pardoned by the writ of the King thanks to the Templar Knights.<sup>115</sup> The largest sum of the year was the punishment of the vintners of Exeter for 101 marks of which they paid 75 to the treasury.<sup>116</sup>

Chart no. 3 gives the account of the debts over 4 marks and as we have already mentioned, with the exception of 1203 when 8 people were amerced over 4 marks, the distribution of the amercements among those amerced was more or less constant until 1206. When we come to that year, we see 31 merchants amerced over 4 marks; 31 out of 145 total

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<sup>112</sup> PR, 8 *John*, p. 188 for Wiltshire.

<sup>113</sup> See Table no. 2h

<sup>114</sup> PR, 3 *John*, p. 212; PR, 4 *John*, p. 207; PR, 5 *John*, p. 190; PR, 6 *John*, p. 111; PR, 8 *John*, p. 114

<sup>115</sup> *In thes. Nichil. Et in pardonis fratribus militie Templi 30 m per breve R. et per libertatem carte R. Et Q.E.* PR, 6 *John*, p. 236

<sup>116</sup> PR, 6 *John*, p. 142.

ameracements made in several counties, but mainly in Devon, Lincolnshire, Hampshire and Sussex, where the ameracements were made frequently regardless of the greatness of the amount.<sup>117</sup> Another interesting point for that year was that the average ameracement asked from those 31 merchants was almost three times bigger than the average debt per person in the same year. Those 31 merchants are fined £291 in a range from 5 marks to 40 marks maximum, if we exclude the 101 marks asked from the vintners of Exeter. Moreover, the £291 asked from the 31 people out of 145 is more than the half of the £ 521 12s that was total amount of ameracements of 1206

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The great increase that happened in 1206 persisted in the following year. That year the enormous ameracement asked from *Willelmus Hardel et ceteri*, from London & Middlesex, for £100 with 100 marks of the debt paid to the treasury, dwarfed all previous ameracements and payments.<sup>119</sup> This amount placed the average debt per entry for 1207 in the first rank on Chart no 2. Besides that extraordinary ameracement, the reasons for which are obscure given the evidence from the Pipe Rolls, other ameracements were considerable too, as in the previous year. 22 out of 116 were fines for 4 marks or more. Similarly, those 22 people are fined £317 6s 8d, which was 64% of the total ameracement that was £ 495 13d in 1207. But it is worth

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<sup>117</sup> See chart no. 3 .

<sup>118</sup> For the debts per entry see chart no. 4, the total sum of ameracements see chart no. 1.

<sup>119</sup> PR, 9 *John*, p. 52.



mentioning here that the word 'people' may be misleading. Pipe Roll entries mention a group of people, not always individuals, for these extraordinary fines, as was for William Hardel etc. The other four biggest amercements of that year were for a group of people like Matthew de Bello etc., Monser de Winchelsea etc., the Vintners of London again, and the Vintners of Exeter, who were asked for 19, 45.5, 40 and 25 marks respectively. Thus the accounts do not tell us the number of the people amerced. But besides that, the earl of the Isle of Wight from Hampshire was fined for 25.5 marks alone and Henry fitz Eve from Staffordshire rendered account of 15 marks alone.<sup>120</sup> The accounts of the vintners of London and Exeter are the remains of previous debts, that is to say they did not render a new account for that year, but as we have already mentioned for 1206, even the exclusion of these great debts from the total sum of amercements would not make them fit the pre-1206 pattern.

The remaining debt from the amercements against the breach of the assize in 1207 was £370 18s 2d. This unpaid sum to the Treasury, which should have been left for the next financial year, does not fit the total amercements for 1208, which was only £184 6s. It seems that the difference between the two sums was somehow pardoned or payments were noted under a different title.<sup>121</sup> The remaining debts at £33 6s 8d of *Willelmus*

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<sup>120</sup> PR, 9 *John*, pp. 9, 145.

<sup>121</sup> It is worth restating that the Pipe Rolls were records of audit, not of receipt. Thus they do not reflect the true amount paid to the Treasury for the financial year. The receipt rolls provide such evidence only partially during the reign of Henry III and regularly afterwards.

*Hardel et ceteri*, £26 13s 4d of *Henricus vinitor*, £17 of *Comes de Insula* all disappeared, as well as many other relatively smaller debts.<sup>122</sup> However, this does not suggest that the amercements of 1208 were consisted of the previous debts. Most of the amercements of the year 1208 were new entries but their total sum was by far below the total sum of the previous years. It is appropriate to argue that the exceptional amercements of the period between Mich. 1205- Mich. 1207 did not continue, both in terms of the size and the number of the amercements and the pre-Mich.1205 pattern was seized.

In order to find some explanations or at least to originate some questions for a better understanding of John's governance and finance, the extraordinary changes during 1206 and 1207 need to be examined through the political and economic conditions of the period. They gain more importance, when considered in the context of the politically and financially troubled reign of John, for these amercements were among the sources of revenue for the treasury. The detailed study of Barratt gives an account of the sources of revenue of John.<sup>123</sup> King John's campaigns to recover his continental possessions demanded considerable financial supply. Barratt, summarises the debate on the strength of John's financial position, by referring to Gillingham who argues that the finances of Philip were not superior to those of John, whereas Holt argues that by 1204 the resources of

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<sup>122</sup> See table no. 2e.

<sup>123</sup> Nick Barratt, 'The revenue of King John', *English Historical Review*, 111 (1996), 835-55.

the Capetians were already outstripping those of the Angevins. His assessment of the crucial period before 1204 is that 'John's revenue was shrinking in real terms, although more information is needed if a comparison with the Capetian position is to be attempted' and he also argues that John attempted to increase his revenue followed 1204.<sup>124</sup>

The amercement revenue from the breaches of the wine assize is worth considering and probably was so for John. The proportion of the assize revenues within the eyre revenues shows an increase in 1206 and 1207.<sup>125</sup> The enormous increase of the assize revenues in 1206 should be linked to an attempt to raise some quick cash that continued for the next year as well. Substantial revenues from the amercements of 1206 and 1207 are the outcomes of a one-off attempt since they did not last after 1207 nor did they exist, in such a great sum, between 1199 and 1206.

We see many different wine assizes during the reign of Henry III. However these were local assizes and did not concern the whole country. For instance, in 1221 an assize concerning Worcester set the price of wine per sester without distinction between the red and the white wine:

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<sup>124</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 835, 854. References to J.C. Holt, 'The Loss of Normandy and Royal Finances' in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich*, edd. J. C. Holt and J. Gillingham (Cambridge, 1984) pp. 92-105; and J. Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire* (London, 1984) pp. 65-76.

<sup>125</sup> Table no. 3

*Et preceptum est eis quod similiter custodiant assisam vini  
ita quod si quis vendat vinum contra assisam scilicet ultra  
octo denarios de sextario tam albi vini quam rubei*<sup>126</sup>

In 1229 maximum price set at Wallingford and Oxford was at 10d per sester and at Oxford again in 1230,1231,1232 and 1235 at 12d per sester without distinction of colour.<sup>127</sup>

London in late 1236 set the maximum price for red at 10d per sester and maximum for the French white wine at 8d a sester.<sup>128</sup> In early 1237 an order to Cornwall and Norfolk and Suffolk set the maximum price for red wine at 8d per sester and for white French wine at 6d per sester, while in the other places the prices set were 10d and 8d respectively.<sup>129</sup> It is also worth noting the distinction between the French white wine and the non-French white wine indicated in the documents. This indicates a possible discrimination against the French wine, which had not existed during the reign of King John.

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<sup>126</sup> 'And they are commanded that they should likewise keep the assize of wine, so that if anyone sells wine contrary to the assize, namely above eight pence per sester, as well of white wine as of red, those coroners shall take that wine into king's hand and sell it by that assize and keep the money safely in their hand to the use of the lord king': *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre being the Rolls of Pleas and Assizes for Lincolnshire 1218-9 and Worcestershire 1221*, edited by Doris Mary Stenton, Selden Society, 53 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1934), pp. 610-11

<sup>127</sup> Close Rolls, i, (1227-31) pp. 192, 230, 389, 576, 593, ii, (1231-4) pp. 134, 142, 326-7

<sup>128</sup> *ibid*, iii, (1234-7) pp. 386, 407, 512

<sup>129</sup> *ibid*, iii, (1234-7) pp. 413, 522-3

The revision of the prices in 1224 is a national wine assize since it was not addressed to any particular place:

*.. quod vinum album vel vinum Andegaviense non vendatur plusquam ad viiii denarius nec vinum rubeum plusquam ad decem denarius.*<sup>130</sup>

Unlike in the earlier national Assize, the price of the red wine exceeded that of the white. Either the taste of the Angevin dynasty had changed or perhaps more likely, politics had influenced the wine trade between French and English.

The second regulation on the wine trade I wish to deal with is a medieval custom imposed on wine merchants in England, known as the wine prise or the "prisage" of wines. In Latin it was called *prisa vini* which meant "the taking of the wine". The origin of the word is probably the Old French *prise*, that was Latinised as *prisa*, which was derived from the French verb "prendre" meaning to take. In practice, the wine prise was the king's right to take wine from a cargo bringing wine to England.

This operation appears for the first time around 1150, in the regulations for the wine merchants of Lothariagia (Lorraine) coming to London. The document in Old French decrees:

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<sup>130</sup> That no tun of white wine as well as of Anjou wine should be sold more than 8d, nor the red wine for more than 10d. *RLC*, II, p. 631.

*And if it is a large vessel, they will take two tuns behind the mast, and one before, the best for as much as they sell the mean. And the mean for as much as they sell the worst. And if it is a hulk or other boat, one tun before and another behind, the best for as much as they sell the mean. And the mean for as much as they sell the worst.*<sup>131</sup>

This document indicates that the king was to take a fixed amount of wine according to the size of the ship. In the case of a large cargo, the king might take two tuns of wine behind the mast where the better quality of wine was preserved from the harm of the sea and one tun before the mast where the lesser quality of wine was kept. The king would take from the best quality of wine in any case. If he took the best of the lesser quality, he would get average quality of wine and if he took the best of the better quality, he would get the very best. It seems a humble and merciful behaviour not to take the very best three tuns of the cargo since at least a tun was taken from the average quality of the bulk, but perhaps the average wine would be for the king's servants rather than himself.

To be more precise about the quantity taken from the ships it is necessary to note the outline of the general development of wine prices.

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<sup>131</sup> Norman Scott Brien Gras, *The Early English Customs System* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1918), p. 37.

Gras divides its development into three periods. In the first phase, that he calls the *undefined prise*, the king was taking whatever wine he wanted, as he thought best. The second phase, covering the period from about 1150 to about 1190 or 1200, he calls the *early definite prise*. And the third phase, from about 1190 or 1200, the *recta prisas*. He defines the difference between the second and the third phases, arguing that in the second phase the size of the ships were indicated as large and small, whereas in the third phase the size of the ships was indicated in tuns. While the king in the second phase took three tuns from a large vessel and two tuns from a small ship, in the third he took one tun from a small cargo, of between ten and twenty tuns, and two from a cargo of twenty tuns and over, and none if the cargo was below ten tuns. Another difference between the two phases is that while the official value of the best wine in the second phase was the market price of the medium sort, and the medium wine the market value of the poorest, it was the same for both kind of wines in the third phase.<sup>132</sup>

The evidence from the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, that is Gras's third phase, *recta prisas*, suggests that the wine prise was applied to wine merchants more frequently than ever before. This is because of the increase the amount of wine imported to England. In 1196, Henry de Casteillon, rendered account for £28 2s 6d, concerning the wine taken *ad prisam* and sold.<sup>133</sup> In 1197, Simon de Hampton (Southampton) owed £10

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<sup>132</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 38-40

<sup>133</sup> PR, 8 *Richard*, p. 21

for the wine of the king that was taken *de prisa* in Southampton by the writ of the king and again £28 2s 6d was paid to the Treasury *de vinis captis ad prisam venditis* <sup>134</sup>

By the time of King John the accounts for wine prises, as well as the other accounts related to wine, increased in number more than ever before. In 1202, under the supervision of Robert and Radulf Molendarius, both responsible for all matters concerning the wine of the king, £20 13s 8d was paid to the merchants whose wine was taken.<sup>135</sup> In a decree issued in April 1206, John ordered that all of the wines that reached London should be taken as *prisam nostram* i.e. *recta prisa*, but the total amount and the price paid is not indicated.<sup>136</sup>

The amount of the wine taken by the king or his officers is not always indicated but there are some detailed entries of the amount of wine taken *de prisa* and also of the price paid by the king. In 1198, 31s 2d was paid for a tun of wine taken at Southampton and sent to Oxford.<sup>137</sup> In this case the cost of sending the wine to Oxford was included in the price paid. The same year, £42 paid for 42 tuns of wine seized.<sup>138</sup> The price paid for

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<sup>134</sup> PR, 9 Richard, p. 17.

<sup>135</sup> PR, 4 John, p. 79.

<sup>136</sup> The wine that could be reached English ports in April seem to be of the racked wines, which normally have been imported in spring, after the products of the usual vintage reaching the English market in January. RLP, p. 63.

<sup>137</sup> PR, 10 Richard, p. 12.

<sup>138</sup> *ibid*, p. 44.



this prise seems to be the average price paid for all seizures apart from particularly good wines such as Auxerre for which £26s 8d was the normal prise price. Thus, it can be argued that since the price paid by the king to wine merchants, was below the market prices, the difference constituted a tax on the wine trade.<sup>139</sup> In fact, in the early years of this practice the average wine prices were not much different from the prices paid for the wines taken *de prisa*. But, when the market prices went up, especially by the beginning of thirteenth century, this practice represented a tax on wine merchants since the official valuation remained the same. A single entry in Bristol shows that a sum of 15s per tun was paid for the wine seized.<sup>140</sup> But, it is not likely that this was a standard price for the port of Bristol, the purchases in 1200 indicate that 20s per tun was paid for wine, although it is not indicated that they were *de prisa* wines.<sup>141</sup> In another instance from the port of Bristol in 1201, £19 12s paid for the proper purchase of 9 tuns of wine (26s 6d per tun), but their transportation cost to Worcester was included in the sum.<sup>142</sup>

The prise of wine as a means of supplying wine, the best of it, to the king was however not enough for John's requirements. There are plenty of records of wine purchase for the royal household and for castles. It is not

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<sup>139</sup> See Table no. 1.

<sup>140</sup> PR, 12 John, p. 111.

<sup>141</sup> PR, 2 John, p. 126.

<sup>142</sup> PR, 3 John, p. 53.

always easy to distinguish whether they were proper purchases or prises, but the prices paid for the wine give us a clue. However, both proper purchases and prises hold an important place in the economical affairs of King John. The account of the Master Serlo and Radulf the miller in Hampshire in 1201/2 details the receiving of 717.5 tuns of wine, though whether by purchase or prises, is not indicated. Such an amount was excessive even for John and all his servants, and 568 tuns of it were sold in several towns for a price of £692 11d and £300 34s 1d paid to the treasury by Serlo and Radulf. Out of 149.5 tuns of wine remaining after the bargain, 119.5 tuns of wine were distributed among the favourites of the king either by his own or by the Justiciar's writ. It is also accounted for the remaining 30 tuns being sent to several places to be used in king's service.<sup>143</sup>

It is evident from this account that King John did not limit himself to the seizure and consumption of wine but he was also interested in the business of the wine trade directly to raise his royal revenues. Besides, many tuns of wine were obtained by means of amercements and seizures under all sorts of pretext. One of the most strange and amusing examples of this practice happened in 1210. The Bishop of Winchester was amerced a tun of good wine, for not reminding the king to give a girdle to the Countess of Aumâle.<sup>144</sup> Also, in 1205 the earl of Leicester was amerced or owed a tun of Auxerre wine, to finalise an agreement between himself and the Bishop

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<sup>143</sup> PR, 4 *John*, pp. 82-84.

of Lincoln.<sup>145</sup> The bishop of Norwich owed 20 tuns of wine for putting Rigald the soldier into prison, who had been released before.<sup>146</sup> In another instance John displays that he has a distinguished taste and orders that if the wine at the Bristol port is good, 20 tuns should have been seized.<sup>147</sup>

Wine taken *de prisa* was sometimes granted to certain favourites of the king. We know that the custodians of the king's wine in Southampton were ordered to give a tun of wine *de prisa nostra* to Alan Basset in 1205.<sup>148</sup> In a similar grant made in 1215, the custodians were ordered to give 20 tuns of wine *de prisa nostra* to Henry de Ortiay and Johh de Cunde.<sup>149</sup> Henry III, too, granted wine out of his prise, for instance in 1239, the church of St. Peter in Westminster was granted a yearly tun of wine out of the king's prise of London.<sup>150</sup> The next year the abbot and the convent of the place of St. Edward were granted a tun of wine to celebrate the mass *ad conficiendum Corpus Christi*.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> PR, 11 John, p. 145.

<sup>145</sup> PR, 6 John, p. 228.

<sup>146</sup> PR, 6 John, p. 244.

<sup>147</sup> RLC, p. 173b.

<sup>148</sup> RLC, p. 59b.

<sup>149</sup> RLC, p. 220.

<sup>150</sup> *Calender of Charter Rolls preserved in the PRO vol I Henry II AD 1226-1257* (London: Mackie and Co. Ltd, 1903), p. 244.

<sup>151</sup> *ibid*, p. 251.

To sum up the examination of this practice around the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, it is worth restating that the prise of wine did not appear to be a direct taxation of the wine merchants around the 1150s. When the official price was determined as 20s per tun at the time, it was not much if any below the market price and as Gras states, especially if the price of the best were to be averaged with the one of medium quality wine. The *recta pris*a became a tax because the market price of the wine had increased while the official prices had remained the same during the thirteenth century. Then this difference constituted the tax.

The prise of wines, along with the other means of seizure, remained a way of taking the best wine for the king's supply, and of course a tax on wine merchants during the reigns of the later kings of England. In 1302, it was commuted into a money payment of 2s per tun by the merchants of Aquitaine, and by aliens in general in 1303. This rate seems to be a very good deal for the king, if it did not cut out other wine dues. We can assume that a ship having a capacity of 80 tuns would pay 160s, enough for 8 tuns of wine for the old prise price, whereas the old system had seized only 2 tuns of wine *de pris*a and presumably paid the merchants the prise price. However, we lack the information on the relationship between this money payment due and other wine dues. This commuted payment, later called "butlerage", was apparently collected down to the nineteenth century, 5 July 1809.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Gras, *The Early English Customs*, p. 42.

Taxes imposed on the wine merchants constitute another matter that can be examined among the regulations on the wine merchants. In an order issued in 1214, it was decreed that customs imposed on all the merchants carrying wine and salt from Gironde to Bordeaux, should be maintained as they had been in the time of Richard I.<sup>153</sup> The customs that had been carried out during the previous reign were not detailed in the document but we know that John managed to profit from the wine trade, through scavage and the wine custom besides the abovesaid wine prise and wine assize.

Scavage constituted a tax on general merchandise imported into England and was also therefore imposed on wine but, as Gras comments, whether the wine due was only one item separated from scavage or was in addition to it is not clear.<sup>154</sup> The wine custom was frequently imposed from 1150 to 1303 but its later development is obscure. Gras takes its definition from the evidence of the Patent Rolls for the year 1254 as 'customs of pence imposed upon every tun in the divers ports' that were to be paid by the merchant importing wine.<sup>155</sup> Along with the prise of wine, the wine custom constituted the main wine due in the thirteenth century. There is evidence on the collection of the revenues from custom and all tolls of wine.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> *RLP*, p. 113.

<sup>154</sup> Gras, *The Early English Customs*, p. 34-37.

<sup>155</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 35-6.

<sup>156</sup> *RLP*, p. 185.

In 1203, King John added a new duty called the Fifteenth of Merchants. It was a tax on goods exported or imported, i.e the goods in foreign trade. The evidence from the Pipe Rolls proves that this tax was collected.<sup>157</sup> However, Gras argues that it was withdrawn sometime between 1207 and 1210 and relates the decline of this tax to the end of the struggle in the continent, which no longer required quick cash revenues.<sup>158</sup> But we know that the continental problems did not end, at least until 1217, and the Treasury required quick cash revenues. The dubious history of the Fifteenth of Merchants does not allow us to make exact assessments on its relationship to King John's aim to raise quick cash revenues.

Apart from the taxes imposed on the wine merchants, arbitrary regulations were also imposed on wine merchants. In 1293 the merchants of Lorraine were bringing Moselle wine to London. They were not allowed to sell their wines in smaller quantities than half-casks and were subject to strange regulations such as they were not permitted to buy more than three pigs to eat.<sup>159</sup>

In spite of these duties on wine merchants, the evidence from the thirteenth century proves that England's wine imports in the thirteenth century continued regularly. The wine assize, which had been strictly

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<sup>157</sup> For example, the rolls of 1203/1204 contain a separate heading called *Compotus de Quindena Mercatorum*: The Account of the Fifteenth of the Merchants. PR, 4 John, pp. 218-219.

<sup>158</sup> Gras, *The Early English Customs*, p. 50.

<sup>159</sup> *British Borough Charters*, edd. Ballard A. and Tait J., p. 231.

carried out during the reign of John, the abundance of wine prise and all sorts of regular and irregular taxes on wine merchants did not slow down the wine imports into England. One reason for that is the privileges given to wine merchants.

We have seen that John was anxious to regulate the wine trade, an important source of revenue for the kingdom, by issuing orders to be strictly carried out, such as the wine assize that supplied the Treasury with revenues from the amercements against it, or the wine prise and the taxation of wine trade, which added to the revenues from the wine trade. As an other side of his policy aimed rather at furthering the development of the wine trade, John granted many privileges to wine merchants, as well as exemptions and protection from dues.<sup>160</sup> During his reign, wine merchants, especially those of Bordeaux were enabled to operate more freely in the English market and had opportunities to escape from all the sorts of regulations mentioned above.

It is worth mentioning that John's personal attitude towards wine and its trade was significant in the efforts to further the commerce of this commodity, as well as its financial contribution to governmental resources. Concerning the sum of £116 15s to be paid to the merchants from Poitou and Gascony from the seizure of their wines in 1204, he ordered his Justiciar, Geoffrey fitz Peter, to pay this sum immediately and that they

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<sup>160</sup> Although what was paid in return for these privileges was not noted in these records, it will not be wrong to assume that a certain offer was made to have such privileges.

should be paid well so that a lot of wine could be brought into England; otherwise there could be a shortage of wine.<sup>161</sup> Although it is not indicated whether his worries on the shortage concerned the profits to be had from the wine trade in general or concerned his own requirements, it is possible that these two were interrelated. A possible shortage in the wine trade would certainly affect the profits from the taxes, as well as limiting the supply of the best wine through the wine prise. Given the seizures via the wine prise and the purchases *ad opus nostram*, it seems that good wine always reached John's table. Yet this is not surprising for a man who ordered his featherbed, with its linen sheets, rugs and fur coverings, his portable urinal and his bathtub to be carried with him during his expeditions.<sup>162</sup>

It is evident from the documents that John ordered his attendants to inform him on matters concerning wine. In a letter of 1214 to a certain P. de Cancell, he says that he did well to inform him of the arrival at Bristol of the wines of the merchant who was in Bordeaux while he was in Bordeaux too. And he orders that if the wines there were good, he should send him the merchants to make a treaty between himself and them.<sup>163</sup> It seems that the wines of these merchants were extremely good because John bought 120 tuns of Gascon wines that the Bordelais merchants brought the next year.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> *Rot. Lib.*, p. 60.

<sup>162</sup> Holt, *King John*, p. 136.

<sup>163</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 173b.

<sup>164</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 193b.



The best example of the royal purchases at abundant level is the account of the Master Serlo and Radulf Molendarius in Hampshire in 1201/2. This details the receiving of 717.5 tuns of wine, though whether by purchase or prise is not indicated. Of this excessive amount, 568 tuns were sold in several towns for a price of £692 11d. Out of the 149 and 1/2 tuns of wine that remained after the bargain, 119 and 1/2 tuns were distributed among the favourites of the king, either by his own or by the Justiciar's writ, and the remaining 30 tuns were sent to several places to be used in the king's service.<sup>165</sup>

Among the factors that increased the demand for, and hence the trade in, imported wine were the privileges granted to the wine merchants. In fact, these kind of grants did not appear first in the reign of King John. In 1157, Henry II had granted the Cologne merchants permission to carry on their business according to their proper customs, which enabled them to compete in the English market. The privileges given by Henry II were renewed by Richard I.<sup>166</sup> In 1214, John also renewed the charter that allowed the Cologne merchants to pay 2s per year for their guildhall in London and to be free from all customs in the town.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> PR, 4 *John*, pp. 82-3.

<sup>166</sup> W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (Cambridge: CUP, 1910), p. 194.

<sup>167</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, p. 194.

Simon argues that by the accession of John to the throne, foreign merchants of every country received the right to have safe conduct and the guarantee to be treated in the same way that the English merchants were treated in the countries from which such merchants came.<sup>168</sup> Even right after the loss of England's continental possessions the subjects of France were allowed to enter England with their wares upon paying a duty of tenth on their goods.<sup>169</sup>

The merchants from Gascony received the right to have safe conduct and to come freely to England with all their merchandise and stuff, in 1204.<sup>170</sup> Later on in the same year a similar protection was given to the merchants from Poitou and Perigord, too, so that they should come and sell their merchandise in England.<sup>171</sup> Although the wines from Gascony at that time were poorer in quality than those from Poitou (as aforesaid), the Gascon merchants received the right to have a safe conduct at the same time, or even earlier, than the merchants of La Rochelle.<sup>172</sup> This grant of safe conduct to the Bordelais merchants was repeated in 1213 but this time the merchants from La Réole were also granted safe conduct for their

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<sup>168</sup> Simon, *A History of the Wine*, p. 72.

<sup>169</sup> *RLP*, p. 42.

<sup>170</sup> *RLP*, p. 34b. It is not necessarily indicated in the letter that these merchants carried wine into England but the main cargo from Gascony was doubtless wine.

<sup>171</sup> *RLP*, p. 43b.

<sup>172</sup> This supports the thesis on the rise of Gascon wines in England after the loss of Normandy mentioned in pp. 18-20 in Chapter II.

business in England.<sup>173</sup> Moreover, in 1214 John exempted the citizens of Bordeaux from all customs on wine that had been produced in their own vineyards and on other goods registered in the city.<sup>174</sup>

In 1216, John named the merchants of Poitou and Bordeaux together and repeated that he had conceded their right to have safe conduct and to bring all of their merchandise freely into England and guaranteed that no custom dues should be taken from them.<sup>175</sup> Dion points to the rivalry and competition between La Rochelle and Bordeaux. He notes that in 1241 the Bordelais were accused of always hating La Rochelle: *semper habent Rupellam in odio*.<sup>176</sup> However, the reason for the concern of the Bordelais is presumably related to the rights and privileges they received from the kings of England and the domination of their wines in the English market by the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

A certain grant first made by John and renewed by Henry III in 1220 only concerned the Bordelais wine merchants.<sup>177</sup> The citizens of Bordeaux who have been protected by John had advantages in the English market due to the maximum liberties on their wine business, the protection against the

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<sup>173</sup> *RLP*, p. 114.

<sup>174</sup> Renouard, *Bordeaux sous les Rois d'Angleterre*, p. 54, 60. Renouard refers to *Livre des Coutumes*, p. 524.

<sup>175</sup> *RLP*, p. 190.

<sup>176</sup> Dion, *Histoire de la Vigne et du Vin*, p. 365.

<sup>177</sup> *RLC*, II, p. 425.

severe and unjust wine dues and exemption from wine custom. Therefore we can argue that these privileges granted by John to the wine merchants, encouraged the wine trade destined for England, since these privileges enabled the merchants, first of all, to access the market easily and compete equally or even 'more equally' in the case of the Bordelais merchants.

But not all his Gascon subjects were granted the exemption of all fees and tolls levied on wines. The merchants who sent their wines from La Réole, Moissac or any other wine growing areas, to be shipped from Bordeaux, were subject to the customs of wine collected in Bordeaux. In 1216 John decreed that the revenue from these customs on wine should be paid to certain three merchants in Gascony to make the collection of this tax less objectionable for Gascon merchants.<sup>178</sup>

Also to be considered are the exemptions from the wine prise. Merchants demanded royal protection and John granted his personal protection, at least from repeated prise. For instance, in 1204 he ordered that two ships of Alan de Sorham in which were the wines belonging to Osbert de Kileboe, should be under royal protection and that no prise should be taken from these wines besides the king's *recta prisa*. In the same year similar protection was granted for two other ships, one of them carrying the wine of Geoffrey fitz Peter, the Justiciar of the king, from Anjou.<sup>179</sup> Gerard le Santier gave two tuns of wine to have the King's Letters that would save

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<sup>178</sup> *RLP*, p. 185.

<sup>179</sup> *RLP*, p. 38.

him from the prise other than *recta prisa* to bring a shipload wine to England in 1210.<sup>180</sup> The wine prise was generally accounted for at the Exchequer, by the chamberlains of the king and Simon argues that the chamberlains of the king levied a prise of their own besides the *recta prisa* for which they had to account at the Exchequer.<sup>181</sup> The grants concerning the exemptions from the prise besides the *recta prisa* strongly support this argument, however it is not clear how this certain prise, taken besides *recta prisa*, was named.

John also granted releases of the merchant ships seized at the ports. In 1212, he ordered that the ships of William fitz Hervey loaded with 100 tuns of wine in Bristol and of Geoffrey fitz Michael loaded with 120 tuns of wine in Winchelsea should be released and given safe conduct.<sup>182</sup> These two ships were probably summoned to be used in the king's service but they were released for a reason, or in return of a certain gift, though neither is indicated in the document.

It is obvious that the privileges given to the wine merchants, whose bulk increasingly consisted of Bordelais merchants, stimulated the flow of imported wine into England and temporarily increased the revenues from all sorts of dues on wine imports during the reign of King John. It is, however, worth mentioning that the long-term outcome of these acts is debatable.

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<sup>180</sup> *RLP*, p. 188.

<sup>181</sup> Simon, *A History of the Wine*, p. 74.

<sup>182</sup> *RLC*, I, p. 120.

After his death, King John had left behind him many creditors, among whom were the wine merchants mainly from Gascony. To pay the debts of John, the revenue arising from the royal dues at Bordeaux and other taxes in Gascony were devoted but this source was limited and soon exhausted.<sup>183</sup> King John had granted the revenues from all fees and tolls on the wines to be shipped from Bordeaux to three merchants, as was previously mentioned. The total amount due to the wine merchants from Bordeaux was 1080 marks, i.e £720 out of which only 600 marks i.e £400 could have been paid by the Treasury.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Simon, *A History of the Wine*, p. 91.

<sup>184</sup> *RLC*, II, p. 481.

## Chapter IV

### Conclusion

In this thesis I have attempted to examine the wine trade in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries of the "land full of drink and drinkers". England's considerable demand for the imported wine was the main factor that helped the flourishing of this trade by the early thirteenth century. However, not all the drinkers in the country could afford the good imported wines and they had to be satisfied with the production of English vineyards, which have always a bad reputation.

The remaining luckier and wealthier minority of the population had the opportunity to drink good wine, which was almost totally supplied by France apart from insignificant quantities from Germany. The commercial dominance of Rouen, carrying French wine to England during the course of the twelfth century was replaced, after the loss of Normandy in 1204, by Bordeaux, which imported Gascon wines to England. Therefore, the rise of Gascon wines in the English market should not be linked to the loss of La Rochelle in 1224, the most important trading port for Poitou wines.

However, the evidence from the sources suggests that John's continental losses did not stop the trade of wines grown in these areas, though they changed the quantitative importance of these wine-supplying regions. By the early thirteenth century Gascon wines reaching the trading ports of England were sent to many places in the country and dominated the English market.

The means of control over the wine trade occurred in many ways. The king enjoyed the right to take possession of merchant ships during the time of war and this affected the flow of the wine fleets, albeit indirectly. Fiscal regulations on the wine trade as a mean supplying the Treasury was often used and more strictly to increase royal revenues followed 1204. Evidence of the amercements against the breaches of the wine assize supports the idea that the government needed quick cash profits to supply the finances of the war. The wine prise benefited the king in two ways. Firstly, he was supplied by the best wine through this right and secondly the amount of the wine taken *de pris*a enabled him to get into the business of wine trade and sell it in the market.

The privileges granted to wine merchants aimed to increase the supply of wine and hence its trade and the revenues to be raised from the commerce. It is highly possible that the offers in return for these privileges constituted either fiscal or non-fiscal gains for the government. All the sorts of tolls, customs and dues as a consequence of the increasing wine trade also added more to the revenues of the government.

The evidence on wine in the sources becomes increasingly available during the reign of King John. The increase in the existence of the evidence on wine in the sources, however, might not account for all the increase of the demand for wine. These figures do not perfectly tell that the demand for imported wine had increased throughout the country, but indicates that, at least, as far as the king and his followers are concerned, the demand had



increased. However, even the most sceptical approach to the evidence would have to accept this increase and admit that England indeed had thus been filled '*potu et potutaribus*'.

Table 1

Wine Prices 1159/60 - 1253/4

Year	Weighted Av. Price per Tun	Year	Weighted Av. Price per Tun
1159/60	(17s 0d)	1215/16	36s 4d
1166/7	(41s 0d)	1217/18	(39s 2d)
1172/3	(24s 0d)	1218/19	(40s 0d)
1173/4	(24s 0d)	1220/1	32s 9d
1174/5	36s 7d	1226/7	29s 6d
1175/6	(32s 2d)	1227/8	30s 10d
1176/7	(26s 5d)	1228/9	29s 5d
1180/1	(20s 10d)	1229/30	34s 0d
1183/4	25s 7d	1230/1	41s 9d
1184/5	24s 5d	1232/3	33s 2d
1186/7	(25s 0d)	1236/7	41s 10d
1187/8	(33s 4d)	1237/8	45s 11d
1189/90	24s 1d	1238/9	28s 7d
1193/4	30s 4d	1239/40	28s 5d
1199/1200	37s 9d	1240/1	36s 3d
1200/1	43s 6d	1241/2	34s 4d
1201/2	(50s 0d)	1242/3	36s 1d
1202/3	52s 11d	1243/4	38s 3d
1203/4	50s 3d	1244/5	34s 4d
1204/5	70s 9d	1245/6	37s 7d
1205/6	55s 1d	1246/7	40s 8d
1206/7	36s 10d	1247/8	33s 6d
1207/8	37s 3d	1248/9	30s 7d

1208/9	31s 8d	1249/50	34s 5d
1209/10	33s 0d	1250/1	31s 5d
1210/11	37s 3d	1251/2	32s 11d
1211/12	38s 1d	1252/3	36s 2d
1213/14	30s 0d	1253/4	37s 0d
1214/15	36s 7d		

Figures in brackets are taken from a single entry.

		Table 2a					Paid to the Treasury						
1199													
PLACE NAME	PERSON	DEBT	M*	S*	D*	Total	M	S	D	Total	Owed	Page	
Northumb.	Galfridus Bunch	d	1	0	0	160				0	160	7	
Northumb.	Henricus de la More	d		10		120				0	120	14	
Northumb.	Aluredus de Clatrecote	rc	0.5	0	0	80			40	40	40	15	
Rutland	Johannes de Stanford	d	1	0	0	160				0	160	20	
Glou./Bristou	Alwoldus clericus	rc	0.5			80			40	40	40	29	
Gloucest.	Michael de Mora	d	0.5			80				0	80	30	
Gloucest.	Michael de Mora	d	0.5			80				0	80	30	
Gloucest.	Michael de Mora	d	0.5			80				0	80	30	
Yorkshire	Radulfus homo Godwini de Lincoll	d	0.5			80				0	80	39	
Yorkshire	Serlo f. Wlsi	rc	0.5			80		4		48	32	40	
Yorkshire	Simon de Sezuals	d	0.5			80				0	80	41	
Yorkshire	Robertus socius eius	d	0.5			80				0	80	41	
Yorkshire	Henricus de Tikehull'	d		11	4	136				0	136	42	
Yorkshire	Ricardus f. Henrici	d	0.5			80				0	80	42	
Yorkshire	Simon Joie	d	2			320				0	320	44	
Yorkshire	Nicolaus Faierfox	d		20		240				0	240	44	
Yorkshire	Tomas caretarius	d	2			320				0	320	44	
Yorkshire	Ricardus archiepiscopus	d	1			160				0	160	44	
Yorkshire	Johannes f. Daniel	d		4	8	56				0	56	46	
Surrey	Ricardus de Wodeton'	d	0.5			80				0	80	58	
Surrey	Robertus coc		0.5			80				0	80	58	
Kent	Eustacius gris	d	2			320				0	320	61	
Kent	Odo de Dunwiz	d		20		240				0	240	68	
Kent	Stephanus Dikere	d		40		480				0	480	68	
Kent	Leffelin de Heia	d	2			320				0	320	68	
Kent	Salomon f. Osberti	d	2			320				0	320	68	
Kent	Galfridus de Lewes	d	2			320				0	320	68	
Kent	Gerardus Finkerel	d	3			480				0	480	68	
Kent	Robertus le Seintier	d	0.5			80				0	80	68	
Shropshire	Johannes vinitor	d	0.5			80				0	80	78	
Worcester.	Willelmus Calle	rc	0.5			80			40	40	40	84	
Worcester.	Martinus cambiator	rc	0.5			80			40	40	40	84	
Worcester.	Robertus de Hallele	rc	0.5			80			40	40	40	84	
Essex & Hert.	Reimundus frater Galfridi	d			40	40				0	40	94	
Essex & Hert.	Rogerus de Ascwell	d	0.5			80			40	40	40	101	
Essex & Hert.	W. vinitor de Nieweport	d	0.5			80				0	80	101	
Essex & Hert.	Ricardus de Clara	d	0.5			80				0	80	101	
Buck. & Bed.	Willelmus vinitor	d	0.5			80				0	80	114	
Buck. & Bed.	Petrus vinitor de eodem villa	d	0.5			80				0	80	114	
Buck. & Bed.	Salomon homo decani	d	0.5			80				0	80	114	
Sussex	Edwardo f. Gundwini		1			160				0	160	126	
Sussex	Ricardo de Husewit		1			160				0	160	126	
Sussex	Simone Einulf			20		240				0	240	126	
Sussex	Willelmus homo Geruasii de Hanton'	d		20		240				0	240	126	
Sussex	Walterus f. Turston	d		20		240				0	240	126	
Sussex	Godofridus de Winchelsea	d	10			1600				0	1600	126	
Sussex	Benedictus Brunus de Hasting	d	1			160				0	160	126	
Sussex	Robertus vir Berte	d	1			160				0	160	126	
Sussex	Manasses vinitor de Winchels'	d		20		240				0	240	126	
Linconshire	Ricardus Pollard	d		2		24				0	24	135	
Linconshire	Philippus de Brecham	d	2			320				0	320	136	
Cam. & Hun.	Andreas de Winepol	rc	1			160		6	2	74	86	157	
Cam. & Hun.	Ebrardus frater eiusdem	rc	0.5			80		2		24	56	157	
Cam. & Hun.	Absalon f. presbiteri		5			800	5			800	0	157	
Cam. & Hun.	Baldewinus Werrierl'	rc	0	20	0	240		4		48	192	157	
Cam. & Hun.	Simon Parvus de Huntend	rc		20		240			40	40	200	157	
Cam. & Hun.	Ricardus de Winepol	d	0.5			80				0	80	160	
Cam. & Hun.	Adam Beket	d	0.5			80				0	80	160	
Cam. & Hun.	Alexander serviens	d	0.5			80				0	80	160	
Cam. & Hun.	Baldewinus homo Alberci Ruffi	d	0.5			80				0	80	160	
Cam. & Hun.	Dogget garcio Wurrierl	d	0.5			80				0	80	160	
Cam. & Hun.	Martinus garcio Simonis Parvi	d	0.5			80				0	80	160	
Staffordshire	Walterus f. Willelmi		2			320				0	320	167	
Staffordshire	Ricardus f. Musse		1			160				0	160	167	
Staffordshire	Aluredus serviens Gileberti		0.5			80				0	80	167	
Wiltshire	Stephanus Hodi	rc		40		480		24		288	192	175	
Wiltshire	Walterus de Wike	rc		20		240		2	6	30	210	176	
Wiltshire	Gerardus de Soreb'	rc		10		120		5		60	60	176	
Wiltshire	Rogerus f. Radulfi de Divisis	d		40		480				0	480	177	
Wiltshire	Eva Vidua	d		20		240				0	240	177	
Wiltshire	Stephanus de Crikelade	d	1			160				0	160	177	
Wiltshire	Reginaldus f. Johannis	d	1			160				0	160	177	
Wiltshire	Galfridus de Neweton'	d		20		240				0	240	177	
Wiltshire	Martinus f. Jone	d		40		480				0	480	177	
Wiltshire	Robertus de Barbef	d		40		480				0	480	177	
Wiltshire	Galfridus Peverel	d	1			160				0	160	177	
Cornwall	Gileberto de Triverrev			9		108				0	108	183	
Devon	Ricardus de Cnullehull'	rc	1			160				0	160	194	

Oxford	Petrus de Bristo	d	2			320			0	320	222
Oxford	Adam Vinitor	d		4	4	52			0	52	227
Oxford	Robertus Bodin	rc	0.5			80		40	40	40	227
Oxford	Robertus Piedurs	rc	0.5			80		40	40	40	227
Oxford	Robertus de Barbef	rc	0.5			80		40	40	40	227
Oxford	Ricardus f. Ailwi	d	0.5			80			0	80	227
Oxford	Reginaldus careles	d	0.5			80			0	80	227
Warw.&Leice.	Waldinus Crede	rc		3	8	44		12	12	32	248
Berkshire	Robertus de Barbef		2			320			0	320	258
Berkshire	Willelmus f. Frieborn'	d	0.5			80			0	80	258
Norf.&Suffo.	Philippus de Brecham	d	2			320			0	320	268
Norf.&Suffo.	Rogerus taillur	rc		40		480		40	40	440	283
Norf.&Suffo.	Gerberya de Gerrem'	rc		100		1200	13	4	160	1040	283
Norf.&Suffo.	Reinerius vinitor	rc	0.5			80		20	20	60	283
Norf.&Suffo.	Simon f. Hildebrand	rc	1			160	0.5		80	80	283
Norf.&Suffo.	Bernardus f. Hervei	rc		40		480		5	60	420	283
Norf.&Suffo.	Johannes Hereman	rc	1			160		5	60	100	283
Norf.&Suffo.	Lemerus de Sancto Edmundo	rc		10		120		3	36	84	283
Norf.&Suffo.	Ricardus f. Walteri	d	0.5			80		2	24	56	284
Norf.&Suffo.	Alexander f. Gilberti	rc	1			160	0.5	0	80	80	284
Norf.&Suffo.	Ricardus Hurel de Lenn		5			800			0	800	285
Norf.&Suffo.	Race vinitor	d		40		480			0	480	285
Norf.&Suffo.	Stephanus Estrensis	d	1			160			0	160	285
Norf.&Suffo.	Nicolaus serviens Rogeri le taillur	d	0.5			80			0	80	287
Norf.&Suffo.	Russellus serviens Simonis f. Hilde.	d	0.5			80			0	80	287
Norf.&Suffo.	Walterus serviens Bernardi	d	0.5			80			0	80	287
Norf.&Suffo.	Hubertus serviens Johannis	d	0.5			80			0	80	287
Norf.&Suffo.	Vmfridus f. Ricardi	d	1			160			0	160	287
Norf.&Suffo.	Amisius serviens eius	d	0.5			80			0	80	287
Norf.&Suffo.	Willelmus frater Lemer'	d	0.5			80			0	80	287
Norf.&Suffo.	Alexander de Sancto Edmundo	d	1			160			0	160	287
Norf.&Suffo.	Willelmus serviens Alexandri	d	0.5			80			0	80	287
Norf.&Suffo.	Manasses de Ponte	d		20		240			0	240	287
Norf.&Suffo.	Johannes f. Liv	d	0.5			80			0	80	287
Norf.&Suffo.	Edmundus f. Edmundi	d		10		120			0	120	287
Norf.&Suffo.	Willelmus Crassus	d		10		120			0	120	287
Norf.&Suffo.	Matheus f. Willelmi	d	1			160			0	160	287
Norf.&Suffo.	Willelmus de Sancto Edmundo	d	1			160			0	160	287
Norf.&Suffo.	Reginaldus f. Roberti de Dunewiz	d	1			160			0	160	288
Norf.&Suffo.	Willelmus Turduse	d	0.5			80			0	80	288
Norf.&Suffo.	Walterus Cai	d	0.5			80			0	80	288
M= Mark											
S= Schilling											
D= Penny											

		Table 2b				Paid to the Treasury						
1200												
PLACE NAME	PERSON	DEBT	M	S	D	Total	M	S	D	Total	Owed	Page
Nott.&Derby.	Willelmus f. Lueue	r.c	1			160		10	8	128	32	15
Nott.&Derby.	Elyas de Wirkeshop	r.c	1			160	0.5			80	80	15
Nott.&Derby.	Brianus vinitor	r.c		100		1200		30		360	840	16
Nott.&Derby.	Petrus le Bel	r.c	1			160		3		36	124	16
Nott.&Derby.	Willelmus de Wirkeshope	d	3			480				0	480	17
Nott.&Derby.	Willelmus de Barbefle	d	2			320				0	320	17
Nott.&Derby.	Teobaldus de Notingam	d	0.5			80				0	80	17
Oxford	Petrus de Bristo	d	2			320				0	320	22
Lincolnshire	Simon pincerna	r.c		20		240	1			160	80	82
Lincolnshire	Clemens vinitor	r.c		20		240			12	12	228	82
Lincolnshire	Hugo de Burton	r.c	0.5			80	0.5			80	0	85
Yorkshire	Serlo f. Wulsi	r.c	0.5			80	0.5			80	0	102
Yorkshire	Thomas caretarius	d	2			320				0	320	105
Yorkshire	Johannes f. Daniel	r.c		4	8	56		2	8	32	24	106
Yorkshire	Ricardus de Morisco	r.c	4			640	2			320	320	112
Yorkshire	Willelmus mercator	r.c	1			160	0.5			80	80	116
Gloucester.	Philippus f. Reginaldi	r.c	0.5			80		3		36	44	123
Gloucester.	Reginaldo Carles		0.5			80				0	80	127
Gloucester.	Micael de Mora	d	0.5			80				0	80	123
Gloucester.	Ricardus burgensis junior	r.c	0.5			80			40	40	40	123
Norfolk&Suffolk	Philippus de Brecham	d	2			320				0	320	134
Norfolk&Suffolk	Stephanis Lestreis	r.c	1			160		5		60	100	145
London&Middl.	Rogerus Alewi de Uxebregg'	d		20		240				0	240	152
Wiltshire	Stephani Hodi	r.c		16		192		6		72	120	159
Wiltshire	Walterus de Wike	d		17	6	210				0	210	159
Wiltshire	Rogerus f. Radulfi de Divisis	r.c		40		480		5		60	420	159
Huntingdonsh.	Andreas de Winepol	r.c		7	2	86				0	86	165
Huntingdonsh.	Baldewinus Werriell	r.c		16		192		2		24	168	167
Huntingdonsh.	Adam Beket	d	0.5			80				0	80	167
Warwi&Leices.	Waldinus Crede	r.c		2	8	32			20	20	12	178
Warwi&Leices.	Waldinus Crede	r.c	1			160		2		24	136	182
Warwi&Leices.	Johannes f. Pagani	r.c		10		120		5		60	60	183
Hampshire	[Robertus juvenis]		1			160	0.5			80	80	
Hampshire	[Willelmus de Haue]hunt	r.c	2			320		10		120	200	
Hampshire	Elyas Westman	r.c	1			160	0.5			80	80	197
Hampshire	Philippus Brito	r.c	0.5			80			40	40	40	197
Hampshire	Rogerus de Monasterio	d		40		480				0	480	198
Hampshire	Umfridus de Insula	d	1			160				0	160	198
Hampshire	Henricus Salamon	d		10		120				0	120	198
Hampshire	Johannes Wrote	d	0.5			80				0	80	198
Hampshire	Wido Clericus	d	0.5			80				0	80	198
Hampshire	Tomas f. Margerete	d	0.5			80				0	80	198
Hampshire	Willelmus Franc'	d		10		120				0	120	199
Hampshire	Johannes de Basing'	d	1			160				0	160	199
Hampshire	Willelmus de Sancta Maria	d		40		480				0	480	199
Hampshire	Ricardus Hatesalt	d	1			160				0	160	199
Hampshire	Bertram Le Specier	d	0.5			80				0	80	199
Hampshire	Odo parvus	d	0.5			80				0	80	199
Hampshire	Willelmus Carettarius	d	0.5			80				0	80	199
Hampshire	Richerius vinitor	d	0.5			80				0	80	199
Hampshire	Constancia	d	0.5			80				0	80	199
Hampshire	Osbertus clericus	d	1			160				0	160	199
Surrey	Robertus coc		0.5			80				0	80	217
Sussex	Gilebertus de Winton	r.c	0.5			80		2		24	56	247
Sussex	Johannes Luve		2			320				0	320	247
Sussex	Baldewinus de Ponte		2			320				0	320	247
Sussex	Walterus Scottus	d	1			160				0	160	247
Sussex	Reginaldus de Stoninges	d	0.5			80				0	80	247
Sussex	Willelmus Beaudehors	d	0.5			80				0	80	247
Sussex	Anfridus de Stoninges	d	0.5			80				0	80	247
Sussex	Walterus vinitor	d	0.5			80				0	80	247
Sussex	Hawisa que fuit uxor Snelgar'	d	2			320				0	320	247

Sussex	Rogerus parmentarius	d	1		160				0	160	247
Sussex	Hugo de Rothomag	d	0.5		80				0	80	247
Staffordshire	Walterus f. Willelmi	r.c	2		320		23	4	280	40	252
Staffordshire	Ricardus f. Musse	r.c	1		160		8	4	100	60	252
Staffordshire	Hugo f. Refuldi	r.c	0.5		80			40	40	40	252
Staffordshire	Aluredus serviens Gileberti	r.c	0.5		80			40	40	40	252
Buck. & Bedfor.	Willelmus vinitor	d	0.5		80				0	80	262
Buck. & Bedfor.	Salamon homo decani	d	0.5		80				0	80	262
Buck. & Bedfor.	Adam de Limberi	d	2		320				0	320	263

		Table 2c					Paid to the Treasury						
1201													
PLACE NAME	PERSON	DEBT	M	S	D	Total	M	S	D	Total	Owed	Page	
Gloucester	Micael de Mora	d	0.5			80				0	80	43	
Wiltshire	Stephanus Modi	r.c		10		120		6		72	48	78	
Wiltshire	Walterus de Wike			17	6	210				0	210	78	
Wiltshire	Rogerus f. Radulfi de Divisis	r.c		15		180		10		120	60	78	
Sussex	Gilebertus de Winton			4	8	56				0	56	86	
Sussex	Hugo de Rothomago	r.c	0.5			80			20	20	60	86	
Nott. & Derby.	Brianus vinitor	r.c		70		840		10		120	720	94	
Hampshire	Willelmus de Havehunt	r.c		16	8	200	0.5			80	120	108	
Hampshire	Richerius vinitor	r.c	0.5			80		3	6	42	38	109	
Hampshire	Contancia	r.c	0.5			80		3	6	42	38	109	
Hampshire	Osbertus clericus	r.c	1			160		2		24	136	109	
Hampshire	Villata de Hattel	r.c	1			160	0.5			80	80	109	
Camb. & Huntin.	Andreas de Winepol	r.c		3		36			18	18	18	122	
Yorkshire	Johannes de Lisures	r.c	0.5			80		3	8	44	36	154	
Yorkshire	Simon tinctor	r.c		100		1200		5		60	1140	155	
Yorkshire	Radulfus Orwite	r.c	0.5			80			40	40	40	156	
Berkshire	Robertus de Barbeflue	d	2			320				0	320	198	
Oxfordshire	Petrus de Bristou	d	2			320				0	320	207	
Oxfordshire	Henricus vinitor	r.c		20		240		5		60	180	212	
Surrey	Robertus coc	r.c	0.5			80				0	80		
Warw. & Leices.	Waldinus Crede	d		11	4	136				0	136	238	
Warw. & Leices.	Johannes f. Pagani	d		5		60				0	60	238	
London & Middl.	Rogerus Alewi de Uxebrigg'	d		20		240				0	240	262	
London & Middl.	Vinitarii Lond'		40			6400				0	6400	263	



1202		Table 2d					Paid to the Treasury						
PLACE NAME	PERSON	DEBT	M	S	D	Total	M	S	D	Total	Owed	Page	
Berkshire	Robertus de Barbeffue	d	2			320				0	320	3	
Berkshire	Willelmus f. Andree de Scaccario	r.c	2			320	2			320	0	11	
Berkshire	Tomas de Hanton	d	1			160				0	160	11	
Berkshire	Ricardus Richeman	d	0.5			80				0	80	11	
Berkshire	Willelmus de Lond'	d	1			160				0	160	11	
Berkshire	Henricus f. Roberti	d	0.5			80				0	80	11	
Berkshire	Hugo vinitor	r.c	5			800	1			160	640	11	
Berkshire	Rogerus de Warengef	r.c		35		420		12		144	276	11	
Surrey	Joscelinus le Verreis	r.c	2			320				0	320	15	
Surrey	Rogerus Francigeno	r.c	2			320	2			320	0	15	
Surrey	Homines de Kingeston	r.c		20		240		20		240	0	15	
Surrey	Willelmo Baret		0.5			80	0.5			80	0	15	
Warwi.&Leices.	Waldinus crede	r.c		11	4	136		2		24	112	36	
Yorkshire	Reginaldus Casteloc	r.c	2			320	0.5			80	240	61	
Yorkshire	Gotte Scate	r.c	1			160			12	12	148	61	
Yorkshire	Stephanus de Killum	r.c	1			160			40	40	120	61	
Yorkshire	Serlone f. Willelmo		0.5			80				0	80	63	
Hampshire	Willelmus de Havenhunt	d		10		120				0	120	73	
Hampshire	Villata de Hattel'		0.5			80				0	80	74	
Dorset&Som.	Hamo Banet	d	0.5			80				0	80		
Nottingham.	Elyas de Werkeshop	d	0.5			80				0	80	102	
Nottingham.	Galfridus tinctor	d	0.5			80				0	80	102	
Wiltshire	Stephanus Hodi	r.c		4		48		4		48	0	122	
Wiltshire	Walterus de Wike	r.c		17	6	210		2	6	30	180	122	
Wiltshire	Rogerus f. Radulfi	r.c		5		60		5		60	0	122	
Camb.&Hunt.	Andrea de Winepol				18	18			18	18	0	133	
Camb.&Hunt.	Adam Beket	r.c	0.5			80			40	40	40	133	
Sussex	Gilebertus de Winton'	d		4	8	56				0	56	140	
Sussex	Hugo de Rothomago			5		60				0	60	140	
Cornwall	Robertus mercator	r.c	1			160	0.5			80	80	168	
Cornwall	Oliverus de Aqua	r.c	0.5			80			40	40	40	168	
Cornwall	Nicolaus f. Toraldi	r.c	1			160	0.5			80	80	168	
Gloucesters.	Micael de Mora	d	0.5			80				0	80	175	
Nott.&Derbys.	Brianus vinitor	r.c		60		720	1			160	560	192	
Oxfordshire	Petrus de Bristou	d	2			320				0	320	205	
Oxfordshire	Henricus vinitor	r.c		15		180				0	180	207	
Lincolnshire	Constancius	r.c	0.5			80			40	40	40	230	
Lincolnshire	Ricardus de Nieweport	r.c	1			160	1			160	0	230	
Lincolnshire	Hamo f. Lamberti	r.c	1			160			40	40	120	230	
Lincolnshire	Willelmus f. Alani	r.c	1			160	0.5			80	80	230	
Lincolnshire	Hamo f. Alani	r.c	0.5			80			40	40	40	230	
Lincolnshire	Nicolaus f. Seulfi	r.c	0.5			80			40	40	40	230	
Lincolnshire	Robertus Wippegar	r.c		20		240		10		120	120	232	
Lincolnshire	Gilebertus Cubb'	r.c		20		240	0.5			80	160	232	
Lincolnshire	Rannulfus Scadiyev	r.c	1			160	0.5			80	80	233	
Lincolnshire	Robertus clericus	r.c	1			160	0.5			80	80	235	
London&Middle.	Rogerus Alewi de Uxebrigg'	d		20		240				0	240	288	
London&Middle.	Vinitarii Lond'	r.c	40			6400				0	6400	288	
London&Middle.	Vinitarii Lond'		40			6400				0	6400	288	
London&Middle.	Tomas vinitor	r.c	2			320	0.5			80	240	288	
London&Middle.	Johannes Pimerich	r.c	2			320	0.5			80	240	288	
London&Middle.	Rogerus Enganet	d	3			480				0	480	288	
London&Middle.	Martinus King	d	1			160				0	160	288	
London&Middle.	Willelmus Baschet	d	1			160				0	160	288	
London&Middle.	Willelmus del Plaseiz	d	1			160				0	160	288	
London&Middle.	Jordanus Parvus	d	1			160				0	160	288	
London&Middle.	Johannes Gule	d	1			160				0	160	288	
London&Middle.	Gilebertus de Paris	d	1			160				0	160	288	
London&Middle.	Willelmus de Belvaco	d	1			160				0	160	288	
London&Middle.	Willelmus le wimplier	d	1			160				0	160	288	
London&Middle.	Rogerus homo Petri Busfical	d	1			160				0	160	289	
London&Middle.	Wiganus vinitor	d	1			160				0	160	289	
London&Middle.	Brianus vinitor	d	1			160				0	160	289	
London&Middle.	Henricus de Gardino	d	1			160				0	160	289	
London&Middle.	Ricardus de Limoges	d	1			160				0	160	289	
London&Middle.	Robertus de Besencurt	d	3			480				0	480	289	

1203		Table 2e					Paid to the Treasury					Owed	Page
PLACE NAME	PERSON	DEBT	M	S	D	Total	M	S	D	Total			
London&Middle.	Vinitarii Lond'		40			6400					0	6400	9
London&Middle.	Tomas vinitor		0	20		240					0	240	10
London&Middle.	Johannes Pimerich			20		240					0	240	10
London&Middle.	Rogerus Enganet		3			480					0	480	10
London&Middle.	Robertus de Basencurt	d	3			480					0	480	10
Wiltshire	Walterus de Wike			15		180					0	180	15
Kent	Reginaldus vinitor	d	0.5			80					0	80	26
Kent	Ernaldus de Sudwere	d	1			160					0	160	26
Kent	Henricus f. Willelmi	d	1			160					0	160	26
Warwick.&Leices.	David vinitor	r.c	2			320			40	40	280	37	
Warwick.&Leices.	Rogerus capallanus	d	3			480					0	480	38
Warwick.&Leices.	Willelmus f. Mathei	d	0.5			80					0	80	38
Warwick.&Leices.	Robertus de Yspania	d	0.5			80					0	80	38
Berkshire	Robertus de Barbeflu	d	2			320					0	320	46
Berkshire	Henrico f. Roberti		0.5			80					0	80	48
Cornwall	Oliuerus de Aqua	r.c			40	40	0	2	0	24	16	82	
Gloucestershire	Micael de Mora	r.c	0.5			80	0.5				80	0	60
Northumb.	Nicolaus capellanus de Wullour'	d	2			320					0	320	88
Northumb.	Radulfus f. Reginaldi	d	0.5			80					0	80	89
Bedfordshire	Simone f. Laurici		1			160					0	160	95
Bedfordshire	Herebertus Pedemerie	d	0.5			80					0	80	95
Bedfordshire	Salamon homo Decani	d	0.5			80					0	80	95
Lincolnshire	Ricardo de Nieweport		0.5			80	0.5				80	0	101
Lincolnshire	Radulfo Lothain		0.5			80	0.5				80	0	101
Lincolnshire	Johanne le Villein		0.5			80	0.5				80	0	101
Lincolnshire	Josceio tinetare		0.5			80	0.5				80	0	101
Lincolnshire	Alexander f. Costard	r.c	3			480	1			160	320	102	
Lincolnshire	Yus vinitarius	r.c	1			160			40	40	120	102	
Lincolnshire	Willelmus Elye	r.c	1			160	0.5				80	80	102
Lincolnshire	Const' de Nova Terra	r.c	0.5			80			40	40	40	102	
Lincolnshire	Osbertus frater Warnerii	r.c	0.5			80			40	40	40	102	
Lincolnshire	Tomas de Arund'	d	5			800					0	800	102
Lincolnshire	Robertus de Ponteise	d		20		240					0	240	102
Lincolnshire	Johannes de Sta(npes)	d	1			160					0	160	102
Lincolnshire	Robertus de Wappinbir'	r.c		10		120	0.5				80	40	115
Lincolnshire	Jacobus f. Anke	r.c		20		240		16	8	200	40	120	
Essex&Hertford.	Johannes Pimerich	r.c		10		120		5		60	60	131	
Essex&Hertford.	..... F. Galle	r.c	3			480	0.5				80	400	137
Essex&Hertford.	Osbertus camerarius	r.c	1			160			40	40	120	137	
Essex&Hertford.	Tomas f. Seilly	r.c	2			320			0	0	320	137	
Essex&Hertford.	Tomas pistor	r.c	0.5			80			40	40	40	137	
Hampshire	Richerio vinitario			3	2	38					0	38	143
Hampshire	Hugo de Dunton'	r.c	1			160	1			160	0	145	
Hampshire	Ricardus de Leircestr'	r.c	2			320	0.5				80	240	145
Hampshire	Galfridus le taillur	r.c		20		240	0.5				80	160	145
Hampshire	Robertus Danichevalier	r.c	2			320	1			160	160	145	
Hampshire	Odo de Brist'	r.c	2			320	0.5				80	240	145
Hampshire	Samson f. Willelmi	r.c	1			160	0.5				80	80	145
Hampshire	Robertus de Barbeflu	d	4			640					0	640	145
Hampshire	Willeimus Gervas'	d	4			640					0	640	145
Hampshire	Willelmus Grei	d	1			160					0	160	145
Hampshire	Galfridus vinitor de Aulton'	d	2			320					0	320	147
Hampshire	Galfridus vinitor de Aulton'	d		20		240					0	240	147
Hampshire	Adam juvenis	d	1			160					0	160	147
Hampshire	Willelmus caretarius	d	1			160					0	160	147
Hampshire	Willemus Halfrund	d	1			160					0	160	147
Hampshire	Robertus Turpin	d	1			160					0	160	147
Hampshire	Johannes de Cristeschurch	d	1			160					0	160	147
Hampshire	Simon de Niewobir	d	2			320					0	320	147
Dorset&Somerset	Hamo Bonet	d	0.5			80					0	80	155
Derbyshire	Hamo Bonet	r.c	3.5			560					0	560	168
Derbyshire	Elyas de Werkeshope	d	0.5			80					0	80	170
Derbyshire	Galfridus tinctor	d	0.5			80					0	80	170
Northa.	Philippus Tuoldin	r.c	1			160			40	40	120	183	
Northa.	Ricardus vinitor	d	1			160					0	160	183
Northa.	Radulfus de Rochella	d	0.5			80					0	80	183
Oxford	Henricus vinitor			5		60					0	60	190
Oxford	Malgerus vinitor	d		10		120					0	120	193
Oxford	Radulfus Kepeharm	d	0.5			80					0	80	193
Oxford	Robertus de Barbeflu	d	1			160					0	160	193
Oxford	Robertus mercerius	d	0.5			80					0	80	193

Oxford	Tomas f. Edwi	d	1		160				0	160	193
Oxford	(Tomas)c Bonechose Judeus	d		100	1200				0	1200	193
Oxford	Benedictus parvus	d		1	12				0	12	193
Oxford	Hakelinus frater Ysaac	d		1	12				0	12	193
Oxford	Melinus Judeus	d		1	12				0	12	193
Oxford	Joppin f. Ysaac	d		1	12				0	12	193
Sussex	Radulfo Balluford		5		800				0	800	196
Sussex	Alano f. Tovi		6		960				0	960	196
Sussex	Edwino f. Brummanni		0.5		80				0	80	196
Sussex	Radulfo Levesque		1		160				0	160	196
Sussex	Rogerus le Wis	d	0.5		80				0	80	196
Sussex	Willelmus Buillin	d	0.5		80				0	80	196
Sussex	Gascelinus Juvenis	d	0.5		80				0	80	196
Sussex	Tomas frater Heimer'	d		20	240				0	240	196
Yorkshire	Willelmus de Fieling [sic]	d		100	1200				0	1200	209
Yorkshire	Robertus f. Lemmer	d	2		320				0	320	210
Yorkshire	Tomas f. Yuonis	d		100	1200				0	1200	210
Yorkshire	Petrus f. Wale	r.c	3		480	20		240	240	217	
Yorkshire	Benedictus de Ebor'	r.c	0.5		80	2		24	56	217	
Yorkshire	Hugo f. Ailsi	r.c	0.5		80	3		36	44	218	
Yorkshire	Willelmus f. Rogeri	r.c	5		800	60		720	80	221	
Yorkshire	Robertus clericus	r.c		20	240	10		120	120	221	
Lancaster	Simon f. Ambrosii	d	0.5		80				0	80	233
Lancaster	Alexander nepos Radulfi	d	0.5		80				0	80	233-4
Lancaster	Robertus f. Arnwi de Cestr'	d		100	1200				0	1200	234
Norfolk&Suffolk	Philippus de Gaiton'	r.c	3		480	2	1	25	455	245	
Norfolk&Suffolk	Johannes f. Walteri	r.c		20	240	10		120	120	246	
Norfolk&Suffolk	Willelmus crassus	r.c	1		160		40	40	120	246	
Norfolk&Suffolk	Johannes Gule	d	0.5		80				0	80	247
Norfolk&Suffolk	Amicus de Norw'	d	1		160				0	160	247
Norfolk&Suffolk	Hugo de la mare	d	1		160				0	160	247
Norfolk&Suffolk	Walterus Waite	d	1		160				0	160	247
Norfolk&Suffolk	Willelmus Becke	d	3		480				0	480	247

		Table 3f											
1204		Paid to the Treasury											
PLACE NAME	PERSON	DEBT	M	S	D	Total	M	S	D	Total	Owed	Page	
Essex&Hertford	Johannes de Lond'	r.c	1			160	0.5			80	80	30	
Essex&Hertford	Ricardus f. Elye	r.c		10		120	0.5			80	40	30	
Cornwall	Oliverus de Aquo	r.c			16	16			16	16	0	38	
Lincoln	Alexander Costard	r.c	2			320	0.5			80	240	54	
Lincoln	Johannes de Stanpes	r.c	1			160	0.5			80	80	54	
London&Middlesex	Vinitarii Lond'		40			6400				0	6400	96	
London&Middlesex	Tomas vinitor	r.c		20		240	0.5			80	160	97	
London&Middlesex	Johannes Pimerich			20		240				0	240	97	
London&Middlesex	Rogerus Enganet	d	3			480				0	480	97	
Oxford	Henricus vinitor	d	0.5			80				0	80	111	
Hampshire	Willelmus cum barba	r.c		20		240		6		72	168	127	
Hampshire	Adam juvenis	r.c	1			160	0.5			80	80	127	
Shropshire	Johannes vinitor de Bruges	d	0.5			80				0	80	158	
Nott. &Derbyshire	Brianus vinitor	r.c	3			480		10		120	360	165	
Dorset&Somerset	Hamo bonet	d	0.5			80				0	80	180	
Yorkshire	Willelmus de Fieling	d		100		1200				0	1200	199	
Yorkshire	Robertus f. Lefmar	d	2			320				0	320	199	
Yorkshire	Tomas f. Yuonis	d		100		1200				0	1200	199	
Norfolk&Suffolk	Willelmus crassus	r.c		10		120			40	40	80	240	
Norfolk&Suffolk	Johannes f. Walteri	d		10		120				0	120	240	
Wiltshire	Walterus de Wike	d		15		180				0	180		

		Table 2g											
1205		Paid to the Treasury											
PLACE NAME	PERSON	DEBT	M	S	D	Total	M	S	D	Total	Owed	Page	
London&Middlesex	Vinitarii Lond'	d	40			6400	0			0	6400	7	
London&Middlesex	Tomas vinitor	r.c	1			160	1			160	0	8	
London&Middlesex	Johannes Pimerich	d		20		240				0	240	8	
London&Middlesex	Rogerus Enganet		3			480				0	480	8	
Yorkshire	Robertus f. Lefmar	d	2			320				0	320	47	
Yorkshire	Tomas f. Yuonis	d		100		1200				0	1200	47	
Shropshire	Johannes vinitor	r.c	0.5			80			40	40	40	89	
Sussex	Hanserus de Winchelseia	d	10			1600				0	1600	110	
Sussex	Petrus clericus	d		20		240				0	240	110	
Sussex	Leindegar'	d	1			160				0	160	110	
Sussex	Willelmus de Blangi	d	2			320				0	320	110	
Sussex	Ricardus de Binesham	d	2			320				0	320	110	
Sussex	Henricus Pedman	d	3			480				0	480	110	
Sussex	Pelerin	d	2			320				0	320	110	
Sussex	Nicolaus f. Andr'	d	5			800				0	800	110	
Sussex	Walterus Scot	d		100		1200				0	1200	110	
Sussex	Robertus Bacheler	d	1			160				0	160	110	
Sussex	Wudedoc	d	2			320				0	320	110	
Sussex	Willelmus de Beldehors	d	1			160				0	160	110	
Sussex	Brunkil	d		100		1200				0	1200	110	
Hampshire	Adam Juvenis	d	0.5			80				0	80	125	
Staffordshire	Robertus Gallicus	d	0.5			80				0	80	158	
Lincoln	Alexander f. Costard	r.c	0.5			80			12	12	68	215	
Derbyshire	Brianus vinitor	r.c		30		360	1			160	200	225	
Derbyshire	Willelmus de Belveiz'	r.c	3			480				0	480	231	
Derbyshire	Henricus Fine	r.c	3			480			40	40	440	231	

1206		Table 2h					Paid to the Treasury				Owed	Page
PLACE NAME	PERSON	DEBT	M	S	D	Total	M	S	D	Total		
Gloucester	Philippus f. Reginaldi	r.c	0	40		480	1			160	320	14
Honour of Glouce.	Osberti f. Algari			40		480				0	480	18
London&Middles.	Vinitarii Lond'	d	40			6400				0	6400	57
London&Middles.	Rogerus Enganet	d	3			480				0	480	57
London&Middles.	Willelmus f. Andree	d		100		1200				0	1200	58
London&Middles.	Johannes caretarius de Stones	d		40		480				0	480	58
Sussex	Manserus deWinchelsea	d	10			1600				0	1600	62
Sussex	Petrus clericus	d		20		240				0	240	62
Sussex	Leidengarus	d	1			160				0	160	62
Sussex	Willelmus Blangi	d	2			320				0	320	62
Sussex	Ricardus de Binesham	d	2			320				0	320	62
Sussex	Henricus Pedman	d	3			480				0	480	62
Sussex	Pelerin	d	2			320				0	320	62
Sussex	Nicolaus f. Andree	d	5	0		800				0	800	62
Sussex	Walterus Scot	d	0	100		1200				0	1200	62
Sussex	Robertus Bacheler	d	1			160				0	160	62
Sussex	Wudedoc	d	2			320				0	320	62
Sussex	Willelmus beldehors	d	1	0		160				0	160	62
Sussex	Brunkil	d	0	100		1200	0			0	1200	62
Sussex	Willelmus Erdecche	r.c	10	0	0	1600	10	0	0	1600	0	63
Sussex	Snelling de Lewes	r.c	10			1600	10			1600	0	63
Sussex	Reginaldus larimier	r.c		40		480		20		240	240	63
Sussex	Willelmus Peterfeld	r.c	0	40		480		20		240	240	63
Sussex	Johannes Bonet	r.c		40		480	0.5			80	400	63
Sussex	Matheus de Bello			100		1200				0	1200	63
Sussex	Bartholemeus de Bello		0.5			80				0	80	63
Sussex	Walterus de Bello			100		1200				0	1200	63
Sussex	Radulfus aurifaber		0.5			80				0	80	63
Sussex	Alexander de Bello			40		480				0	480	63
Sussex	Willelmus Scot		5			800				0	800	63
Sussex	Nicolaus Agodeshof		0.5			80				0	80	63
Sussex	Sefrid Barun			40		480				0	480	63
Sussex	Johanne Luve		20			3200				0	3200	63
Sussex	Willelmo Luve			40		480				0	480	63
Hereford	Ricardus F. Emeline	r.c		40		480		40		480	0	67
Hereford	Johannes Noldecrist	r.c		40		480	2			320	160	67
Nott.&Derbyshire	Brianus vinitor			16	8	200				0	200	79
Nott.&Derbyshire	Rogero de Bevercote			20		240				0	240	79
Nott.&Derbyshire	Roberto de Sancto Quintino		0.5			80	0.5			80	0	79
Nott.&Derbyshire	Willelmus de Belveiz	r.c	3			480	0.5			80	400	82
Nott.&Derbyshire	Henricus iire	r.c		36	8	440				0	440	82
Lincolnshire	Jordanus f. Simonis	r.c		40		480	0	40		480	0	102
Lincolnshire	Clemens vinitor	r.c	0	40		480	0.5			80	400	102
Lincolnshire	Hugo vinitor	r.c	0	40		480			40	40	440	102
Lincolnshire	Hugo de Scriveleb'	d		40		480				0	480	102
Lincolnshire	Galfridus f. Eustacii	d		40		480				0	480	102
Lincolnshire	Alanus frater persone de Langeton	d		40		480				0	480	102
Lincolnshire	Johannes f. Ducti	d		40		480				0	480	102
Lincolnshire	Radulfus Crespeis	d		40		480				0	480	102
Lincolnshire	Willelmus f. Scheidwar'	d		40		480				0	480	102
Lincolnshire	Robertus f. Walteri	d		40		480				0	480	102
Lincolnshire	Robertus Pret	d		40		480				0	480	102
Lincolnshire	Hugo tallator	d		40		480				0	480	102
Lincolnshire	Alexander f. Costard	r.c	5	8	68			12	12	56	106	
Lincolnshire	Johannes f. Roberti	d		40		480				0	480	106
Lincolnshire	Yuo	d		40		480				0	480	106
Lincolnshire	Alexander Costard	d		40		480				0	480	106
Lincolnshire	Reinerus f. johannis	d		40		480				0	480	106
Lincolnshire	Robertus de Punteise	d		40		480				0	480	106
Lincolnshire	Tomas de Arundel'	d		40		480				0	480	106
Lincolnshire	Nicolaus vinitor	d		40		480				0	480	106
Lincolnshire	Gilbertus f. Pening	d		40		480				0	480	107
Lincolnshire	Baldewinus prepositus	d		40		480				0	480	107
Lincolnshire	Petrus f. Berengarii	d		40		480				0	480	107
Shropshire	Johannes vinitor	r.c			40	40			40	40	0	110
Shropshire	Willelmus frater Nigelli	d	5			800				0	800	111
Shropshire	Rogerus de Paris	d	4			640				0	640	111
Staffordshire	Robertus Gallicus	r.c	0.5			80				0	80	113
Staffordshire	Henricus f. Eve	r.c	15			2400				0	2400	114
Staffordshire	Henricus vinitor	d	40			6400				0	6400	114
Staffordshire	Robertus le macun	d	3			480				0	480	114

Dorset& Somerset	Alexander de Wareham		15						0	2400	132
Devon	Johannes de Asperton	r.c	4						0	640	142
Devon	Ricardus de Porta	r.c	5						0	800	142
Devon	Porteioie	r.c	3						0	480	142
Devon	Johannes f. Osberti Sprigge	d	3						0	480	142
Devon	Johannes de Lamerton'	d	3						0	480	142
Devon	Everwinus de Tavistok	d	3						0	480	142
Devon	Osbertus Bathan'	d	3						0	480	142
Devon	Joscelinus de Hardenesse	d	3						0	480	142
Devon	Baldewinus Sumeri	d	3						0	480	142
Devon	Ricardus de Sede	d	3						0	480	142
Devon	Walterus Gedub	d	3						0	480	142
Devon	Reginaldus clericus	d	10						0	1600	142
Devon	Alexander de Butefard	d	4						0	640	142
Devon	Ricardus curteis	d	3						0	480	142
Devon	Willelmus Niger	d	3						0	480	142
Devon	Galfridus Mal	d	3						0	480	142
Devon	Willelmus prepositus	d	3						0	480	142
Devon	Vinitariis Exon'		101						0	480	142
Hampshire	Willelmus cum barba	r.c	3						80	400	158
Hampshire	Robertus saillant	r.c	3						80	400	158
Hampshire	Adam Tice	r.c	3						160	320	158
Hampshire	Rogerus Turstain	r.c	3						160	320	158
Hampshire	Ricardus Passemer	r.c	3					0	160	320	158
Hampshire	Joslanus	r.c	3					20	240	240	158
Hampshire	Ricardus Bulemer	r.c	3					0.5	80	400	158
Hampshire	Elyas maior	r.c	6						960	0	158
Hampshire	Gundwinus	r.c	6						320	640	158
Hampshire	Adam Juvenis	r.c	3						160	320	158
Hampshire	Tomas Malkier	r.c	3						320	160	158
Hampshire	Reginaldus de Mora	r.c	3					10	120	360	158
Hampshire	Simon de Dunwiz	r.c	3					10	120	360	159
Hampshire	Willelmus de Torleia	r.c	3					20	240	240	159
Hampshire	Johannes de Basinges	r.c	5					2	320	480	159
Hampshire	Jordanus sellarius	r.c	5					30	360	440	159
Hampshire	Milo de Chartres	r.c	10					5	800	800	159
Hampshire	Rogerus Trotard	r.c	4					20	240	400	159
Hampshire	Andreas de Wallop	r.c	4					20	240	400	159
Hampshire	Johannes Brito	r.c	3					1	160	320	159
Hampshire	Petronilla de Hereford	r.c		100				1	160	1040	159
Hampshire	Willelmus speciarius	r.c	3					20	240	240	159
Hampshire	Ricardus de Portesmue	r.c	4					1	160	480	159
Staffordshire	Willelmus aurifaber	r.c	1					10	120	40	164
Devon	Robertus f. Lefmer	d	2						0	320	196
Devon	Tomas f. Yuonis	d		100					0	1200	196
Yorkshire	Willelmus Russel	r.c		40				1	160	320	206
Yorkshire	Walterus repos Heremanni			40					0	480	206
Worcester	Willelmus vinitor		6					3	480	480	
Camb.&Huntingd.	Ricardus Esturnel	d	5						0	800	167
Camb.&Huntingd.	Ricardus de Sancto Laudo	d		40					0	480	167
Camb.&Huntingd.	Absalon f. Sacerdotis			3					0	480	167
Camb.&Huntingd.	Toma Chassede			15					0	180	167
Camb.&Huntingd.	Albericus Longus	d		40					0	480	167
Camb.&Huntingd.	Simon Parvus	d		40					0	480	167
Wiltshire	Herebertus de Calne	r.c	3					1	160	320	188
Wiltshire	Karlo	r.c	3					20	240	240	188
Wiltshire	Gerardus vinitor	r.c	3					1	160	320	188
Wiltshire	Walterus Lufrieh	r.c	6					3	480	480	188
Wiltshire	Henricus Cole	r.c	3					1	160	320	188
Wiltshire	Galfridus de Neweton	r.c	3					20	240	240	188
Wiltshire	Rogerus de Richeburc	r.c	3					20	240	240	188
Wiltshire	Ricardus de Tankaruill'	r.c	5					2	320	480	188
Wiltshire	Hamelinus de Diuisis	r.c	4					2	320	320	188
Wiltshire	Walterus de Wike	d	4						0	640	188
Wiltshire	Ricardus f. Osberti	d	3						0	480	188
Wiltshire	Alexander Mignot	d	15						0	2400	188
Wiltshire	Levenod de Merleberge	d	3						0	480	188
Wiltshire	Micael aurifaber	d	5						0	800	188
Wiltshire	Martinus f. Tome	d	3						0	480	188
Wiltshire	Walterus Pas	d	3						0	480	188
Wiltshire	Alexander serviens	d	3						0	480	188
Wiltshire	Robertus mercator	d	3						0	480	188
Wiltshire	Walterus de Hanton'	d	3						0	480	188
Wiltshire	Ricardus Lumbi	d	3						0	480	188

Wiltshire	David vinitor	d	3		480			0	480	188
Wiltshire	Nicolaus Child	d	3		480			0	480	188
Wiltshire	Baldewinus Ysenbart	d	3		480			0	480	188
Wiltshire	Petrus de Lauinton'	d	10		1600			0	1600	188
Berkshire	Willelmus Carbonel	d		40	480			0	480	224
Berkshire	Robertus Magister	d		40	480		40	480	0	224
Essex&Hertford.	Johannes capellanus de Baldac	r.c	30		4800	30		4800	0	236



1207		Table 2e						Paid to the Treasury					
PLACE NAME	PERSON	DEBT	M	L	S	D	Total	M	S	D	Total	Owed	Page
Shropshire	Willelmus frater Nigalli	d	5		0		800	1			160	640	6
Shropshire	Rogerus de Paris	d	4				640				0	640	6
Staffordshire	Robertus Gallicus	r.c				40	40			40	40	0	8
Staffordshire	Henricus f. Eve	r.c	10				1600	10			1600	0	9
Staffordshire	Henricus vinitor	d	40				6400				0	6400	9
Staffordshire	Robertus le macun	r.c	3				480				0	480	9
Lincolnshire	Alexander Tostard	r.c			4	8	56			12	12	44	11
Lincolnshire	Willelmus de Nieweport	r.c			4		48		2		24	24	11
Lincolnshire	Johannes f. Ducti	r.c			40		480		4		48	432	25
Lincolnshire	Radulfus Crespeis	r.c			40		480		2		24	456	26
Sussex	Monserus de Winchelsea	d	45.5				7280				0	7280	39
Sussex	Sefrid Barun	r.c			40		480		3		36	444	40
Sussex	Matteus de Bello	d	19				3040				0	3040	40
Oxford	Robertus medicus de Norton'	r.c			100		1200		40		480	720	42
London&Middl.	Vinitarii Lond'	d	40				6400				0	6400	51
London&Middl.	Rogerus Enganet	d	3				480				0	480	51
London&Middl.	Willelmus Hardel et ceteri	r.c		100			24000	100			16000	8000	52
London&Middl.	Willemus f. Andree	d			100		1200				0	1200	52
London&Middl.	Johannes caretarius	d			40		480				0	480	52
London&Middl.	Rogerus Enganet	d	4				640				0	640	52
Dorset&Somer.	Matthia preposito		1				160				0	160	59
Dorset&Somer.	Nicolaus Purs	d	3				480				0	480	59
Dorset&Somer.	Alexander de Wareham	d	15				2400				0	2400	59
Yorkshire	Walterus repos Heremanni	d			40		480				0	480	89
Essex&Herf.	Willelmus vinitor	r.c			5	8	68			20	20	48	94
Essex&Herf.	Hugo prepositus	r.c			2		24			12	12	12	94
Essex&Herf.	Henricus Fridai	r.c			40		480		10		120	360	97
Derbyshire	Brianus vinitor	r.c			16	8	200	1		0	160	40	118
Derbyshire	Willelmus f. Roberti de Essebi	r.c	4				640		2	616	640	0	118
Derbyshire	Willelmus de Belveiz	r.c	2.5				400	0.5			80	320	120
Derbyshire	Henricus Fine	r.c	2.5				400	0.5			80	320	120
Hampsire	de Samson f. Willelmi		4				640				0	640	145
Hampsire	Turstanus de Sudhanti		3				480				0	480	145
Hampsire	Willelmo Anglico		4				640				0	640	145
Hampsire	de Matlici de Barbeflue		3				480				0	480	145
Hampsire	Rogero de Rothomago		3				480				0	480	145
Hampsire	Vidua de Roberti militis		3				480				0	480	145
Hampsire	Willelmo Makarel		3				480				0	480	145
Hampsire	Simone de Sancto Laurentio		5				800				0	800	145
Hampsire	Petrus de Lavinton		10				1600				0	1600	145
Hampsire	Comes de Insula		25.5				4080				0	4080	145
Hampsire	Willelmus Gundram	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Hugo aurifaber	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Willelmus caretarius	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Willelmus de Sancto Phileberto	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Herebertus justiciarius	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Galfridus frater Johannes clerici	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Gilebertus socius suus	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Osbertus Petit	d	10				1600				0	1600	150
Hampsire	Robertus Lupus	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Simon quiltarius	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Willelmus pictor	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Seman Barette	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Tomas de Solaris	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Bartholomeus clericus	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Galfidus Ern	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Ricardus mercator	d	5				800				0	800	150
Hampsire	Edmundus tannator	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Willelmus King	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Robertus Patin	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Matildis Tresor	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Warinus cultelarius	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Petrus mercator	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Johannes Trotard	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Willelmus piscator	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Henricus Brito	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Laurentius Tresor	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Moises de Farenham	d	3				480				0	480	150
Hampsire	Radulfus de Rothomago	d	3				480				0	480	150
Buck.&Bed.	Petrus serviens Mobil		0		40		480				0	480	157
Buck.&Bed.	Johannes vinitor		0		40		480				0	480	157

Heredfordshire	Johanne Noldecrist		1			160	1			160	0	159
Heredfordshire	Bertram Carpentario		0		40	40			40	40	0	159
Devon	Porteioie		0	20		240				0	240	182
Devon	Osberto de Banthon'		3			480				0	480	182
Devon	Waltero Godub		3			480				0	480	182
Devon	Willelmo Nigro		3			480				0	480	182
Devon	Vinitariis Exon'		1	16		4000				0	4000	182
Devon	Johannes f. Osberti Sprigge	r.c	3			480	0.5			80	400	182
Devon	Johannes de Lamertone	r.c	3			480	0.5			80	400	182
Devon	Joscelinus de Hardenesse	r.c	3			480	0.5			80	400	182
Devon	Baldewinus Sumer	r.c	3			480	1			160	320	182
Devon	Ricardus de Sede	r.c	3			480	1			160	320	182
Devon	Reginaldus clericus	r.c	10			1600		36	10	442	1158	182
Devon	Alexander de Buteford	r.c	4			640	2			320	320	182
Devon	Galfridus Neel	r.c	3			480	0			0	480	182
Berkshire	Willelmus Carbural			40		480				0	480	187
Worcester	Willelmus vinitor		3			480	2			320	160	199
Wiltshire	Nicolaus Child	r.c	3			480	3			480	0	206
Wiltshire	Walterus Luftric	r.c	3			480	2			320	160	206
Wiltshire	Walterus de Wike	r.c	4			640	2			320	320	206
Wiltshire	Levenod	r.c	3			480		20		240	240	206
Wiltshire	Ricardus Lumbi	r.c	3			480		20		240	240	206
Wiltshire	Baldewinus Ysenbart	r.c	3			480	3			480	0	206
Wiltshire	Johannes f. Willelmi	r.c	3			480	2			320	160	206
Wiltshire	Herebertus de Calne	d	2			320				0	320	206
Wiltshire	Ricardus f. Osberti	d	3			480				0	480	206
Wiltshire	Alexander Mignot	d	15			2400				0	2400	206
Wiltshire	Micael aurifaber	d	5			800				0	800	206
Wiltshire	Martinus f. Tome	d	3			480				0	480	206
Wiltshire	Petrus de Lauinton'	d	10			1600				0	1600	206
Gloucest.	Rogero de Cecilie			40		480		40		480	0	216
Gloucest.	Waltero Britone			40		480		40		480	0	216
Gloucest.	Willelmo Neiru'		4			640	4			640	0	216
Gloucest.	Adam Walense			40		480		40		480	0	216
Gloucest.	Joel Hut	r.c		40		480		20		240	240	216
Gloucest.	Tomas f. Roberti	r.c		40		480	2.5			400	80	216
Gloucest.	Willelmus Brito	r.c		40		480	2			320	160	216
Gloucest.	Rogerus de Paris	r.c	4			640	2.5			400	240	216
Gloucest.	Elyas f. Turebern	r.c	6			960	3			480	480	217
Gloucest.	Petrus la Warre	r.c	3			480	1			160	320	217
Gloucest.	Walterus Guer	r.c	4			640	3			480	160	217
Gloucest.	.... vinitor	r.c	3			480	1			160	320	217
Gloucest.	Ricardus le cordwainer	r.c	10			1600	6			960	640	217
Gloucest.	Rogerus f. ricarsi	r.c	3			480		20		240	240	217
Gloucest.	Alexander f. Geremund	r.c	4			640		20		240	400	217
M=	Mark											
L =	Pound											
S=	Schilling											
D=	Penny											

1208		Table 2f												
PLACE NAME	PERSON	DEBT	M	S	D	Total	Paid to the Treasury				Owed	Page		
							M	S	D	Total				
Essex&Hertfords.	Henricus Fridai	r.c	0	30		360	0	10		120	240	33		
Devon	Johannes f. Osberti Sprigge	r.c	2.5			400	0.5			80	320	67		
Devon	Johannes de Lamerton'	r.c	2.5			400	1			160	240	67		
Devon	Joscelinus de Hardenesse	r.c	2.5			400	1			160	240	67		
Devon	Baldewinus Suneri	r.c	2			320	1			160	160	67		
Devon	Ricardus de Sede	r.c	2			320	1			160	160	67		
Devon	Alexander de Buteford	r.c	2			320	2			320	0	67		
Sussex	Manasses de Winches.	d	45.5			7280				0	7280	71		
Sussex	Matheus de Bello et	d	19			3040				0	3040	72		
Lincoln	Johannes f. Ducti	r.c		36		432		5	4	64	368	86		
Dorset & Somers.	Alexander de Warham	d	15			2400				0	2400	121		
Hamps.(Portesmue)	Samson e f. Willelmi		4			640				0	640	121		
Hamps.(Portesmue)	Turstano de Sudhant'		4			640				0	640	121		
Hamps.(Portesmue)	Willelmo Angelico		4			640				0	640	121		
Hamps.(Portesmue)	Matilde de Barbeff'		3			480				0	480	121		
Hamps.(Portesmue)	Rogero de Rothomogo		3			480				0	480	121		
Hamps.(Portesmue)	de Vidua Robertis militis		3			480				0	480	121		
Hamps.(Portesmue)	Willelmo Makarel		3			480				0	480	121		
Hamps.(Portesmue)	Simone de Sancto Laurentio		5			800				0	800	121		
Hamps.(Portesmue)	Willelmus King	r.c	3			480		10		120	360	124		
Hamps.(Portesmue)	Robertus Patin	r.c	3			480		20		240	240	124		
Hamps.(Portesmue)	Osbertus Petit	d	10			1600				0	1600	125		
Hamps.(Portesmue)	Simon Quiltarius	d	3			480				0	480	125		
Hamps.(Portesmue)	Petrus mercator	d	3			480				0	480	125		
Hamps.(Portesmue)	Johannes Trotard	d	3			480				0	480	125		
Hamps.(Portesmue)	Willelmus piscator	d	3			480				0	480	125		
Hamps.(Portesmue)	Henricus Brito	d	3			480				0	480	125		
Hamps.(Portesmue)	Laurentius Tresor	d	3			480				0	480	125		
Buck.&Bedford.	Petrus serviens Mobilie	d		40		480				0	480	132		
Buck.&Bedford.	Johannes vinitor	d		40		480				0	480	132		
Oxford	Robertus medicus	r.c		60		720				0	720	137		
Oxford	Johannes de Bureford			40		480				0	480	139		
Oxford	Robertus de Lond'		5			800				0	800	139		
Oxford	Johannes de Banebir'			40		480				0	480	139		
Yorkshire	Walterus repos Heremanni	d		40		480				0	480	150		
Yorkshire	Elyas pistor	d	0.5			80				0	80	150		
Yorkshire	Simon de Wainflie	d	0.5			80				0	80	150		
Yorkshire	Simon de Len	r.c		40		480				0	480	151		
London&Middlesex	Vinitarii Lond'	d	40			6400				0	6400	167		
London&Middlesex	Rogerus Enganet	d	3			480				0	480	167		
London&Middlesex	Johannes de Stanes	d		40		480				0	480	168		
Wiltshire	Ricardus f. Osberti	d	3			480				0	480	196		
Wiltshire	Alexander Mignot	d	15			2400		0		0	2400	196		
Wiltshire	Micael aurifaber	d	5			800				0	800	196		
Wiltshire	Martinus f. Tome	d	3			480				0	480	196		
Wiltshire	Alexander Mignot	r.c	15			2400		50		600	1800	196		

1209		Table 2g												
PLACE NAME	PERSON	DEBT	M	L	S	D	Total	Paid to the Treasury					Owed	Page
								M	S	D	Total			
Sussex	Manasses de Winchels'		45.5		0		7280	0	0		0	7280	2	
Sussex	Matheus de Bello et cet...	d	19				3040				0	3040	2	
Berkshire	Willelmus Carburnel	d			40		480				0	480	7	
London&Middles.	Rogerus Enganet	d	3				480				0	480	28	
London&Middles.	Willelmus f. Andree	d			100		1200				0	1200	28	
Norfolk&Suffolk	Rogerus f. Suein'	r.c			10		120		5		60	60	51	
Norfolk&Suffolk	Johannes Plumbarius	r.c			10		120		5		60	60	51	
Norfolk&Suffolk	Eadwardus de Estwal'	r.c			20		240	0.5			80	160	51	
Norfolk&Suffolk	Willelmus f. Turstan	r.c			10		120		5		60	60	51	
Norfolk&Suffolk	Ricardus de Gardino	r.c			10		120			40	40	80	51	
Norfolk&Suffolk	Henricus f. Arnald	r.c			10		120		5		60	60	51	
Wiltshire	Micael aurifaber	r.c	5				800	0.5			80	720	85	
Wiltshire	Martinus f. Tome	r.c			20		240	0.5			80	160	85	
Wiltshire	Alexander Mignot	d		4		40	1000				0	1000	85	
Devon	Johannes f. Osberti	r.c	2				320	0.5			80	240	90	
Devon	Johannes de Lamerton	r.c			20		240	1			160	80	90	
Devon	Joscelinus de Hardenesse	r.c			20		240	1			160	80	90	
Devon	Baldewino Suneri		1				160	1			160	0	90	
Devon	Ricardo Sede		1				160	1			160	0	90	
Nottin.&Derby.	Lucas de Mercinton'	r.c			40		480		40		480	0	116	
Yorkshire	Simon de Len	r.c			26	2	314		17	4	208	106	134	
Shropshire	Willelmus frater Nigelli	d	5				800				0	800	147	
Shropshire	Ricardus de Alreton'	d	0.5				80				0	80	148	
Oxford	Robertus medicus	r.c			50		600		20		240	360	154	
Hampshire	Samsone f. Willelmi		4				640				0	640	167	
Hampshire	Turstano de Sudhant'		4				640				0	640	167	
Hampshire	Willelmo Angelico		4				640				0	640	167	
Hampshire	Matilde de Barbeff'		3				480				0	480	167	
Hampshire	Rogero de Rothomogo		3				480				0	480	167	
Hampshire	de Vidua Robertis militis		3				480				0	480	167	
Hampshire	Willelmo Makarel		3				480				0	480	167	
Hampshire	Simone de Sancto Laurentio		5				800				0	800	167	
Hampshire	Petrus de Lauinton'	d	10				1600				0	1600	167	
Hampshire	Johannes de Basinges	d	2				320		5		60	260	167	
Hampshire	Rogerus Trotard	d			20		240				0	240	167	
Hampshire	Johannes ..	d	0.5				80			40	40	40	167	
Hampshire	Petronilla	d	4				640				0	640	167	
Hampshire	Robertus le saillant	r.c			23	4	280		0	160	160	120	167	
Hampshire	Rogerus Trotard	r.c			20		240		6		72	168	168	
Hampshire(Sudh.)	Samson f. Willelmi	r.c	4				640	0.5			80	560	168	
Hampshire(Sudh.)	Willelmus Anglicus	r.c	4				640	0.5			80	560	168	
Hampshire(Sudh.)	Matildis de Barbeflue	r.c	3				480	0.5			80	400	168	
Hampshire(Sudh.)	Vidua Roberti militis	r.c	3				480	0.5			80	400	168	
Hampshire	Robertus Patin	r.c			20		240		20		240	0	168	
Hampshire	Osbertus Petit	d	10				1600				0	1600	168	
Hampshire	Simon quiltarius	d	3				480				0	480	168	
Hampshire	Johannes Trotard	d	3				480				0	480	168	
Hampshire	Laurentius Tresor	d			30		360				0	360	168	
Northumberland	Willelmus de Lond'	d	0.5				80				0	80		
Essex&Hertford.	Henricus Fridai	r.c			17		204		7		84	120	194	
M= Mark														
L = Pound														
S= Schilling														
D= Penny														

Table 3

Ratio between Eyre Revenues and Assize Revenues 1199-1209

	Eyre Revenue	Assize Revenue	% of total
1199	1,691	98	5.8%
1200	1,927	56	2.9%
1201	456	48	10.5%
1202	2,243	104	4.7%
1203	3,589	136	3.8%
1204	988	52	5.2%
1205	764	74	9.7%
1206	1,711	521	30.5%
1207	682	496	72.7%
1208	628	184	29.3%
1209	3,339	88	2.6%

*Notes*

All totals to nearest £

The percentages are the rate of the assizes to Eyre revenues

Eyre revenue totals are taken from Barratt.

Chart 1

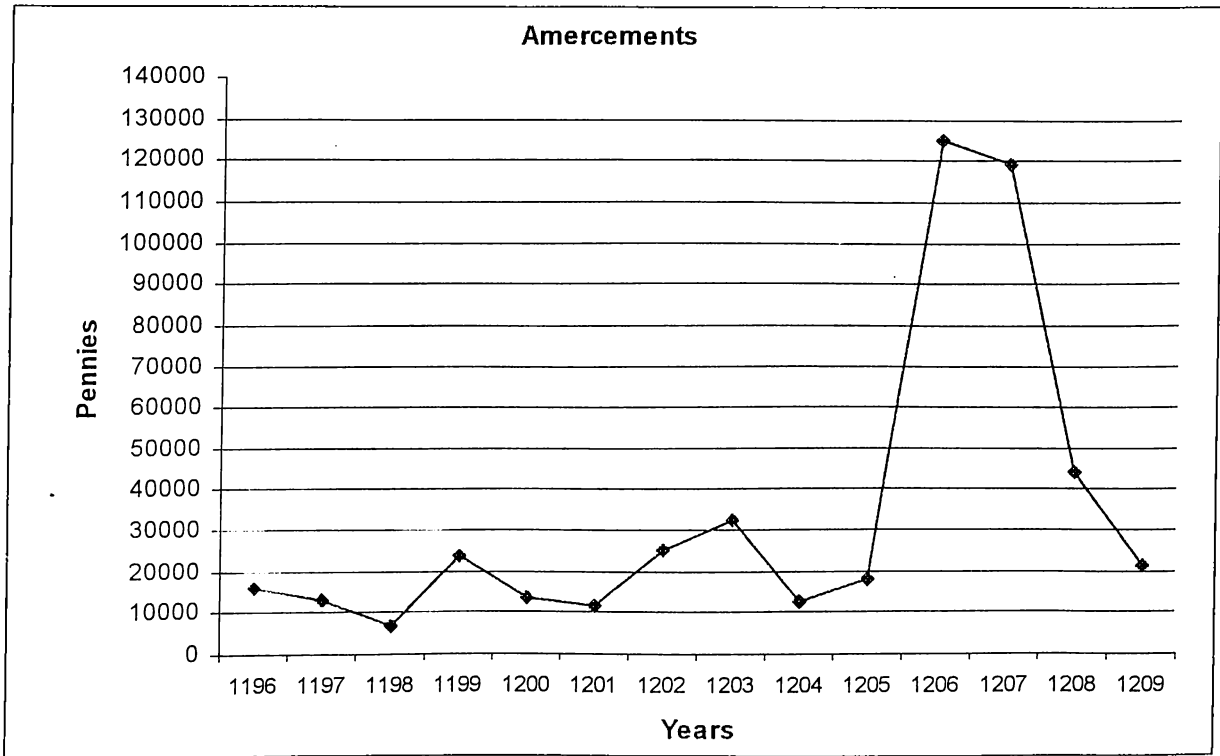


Chart 2

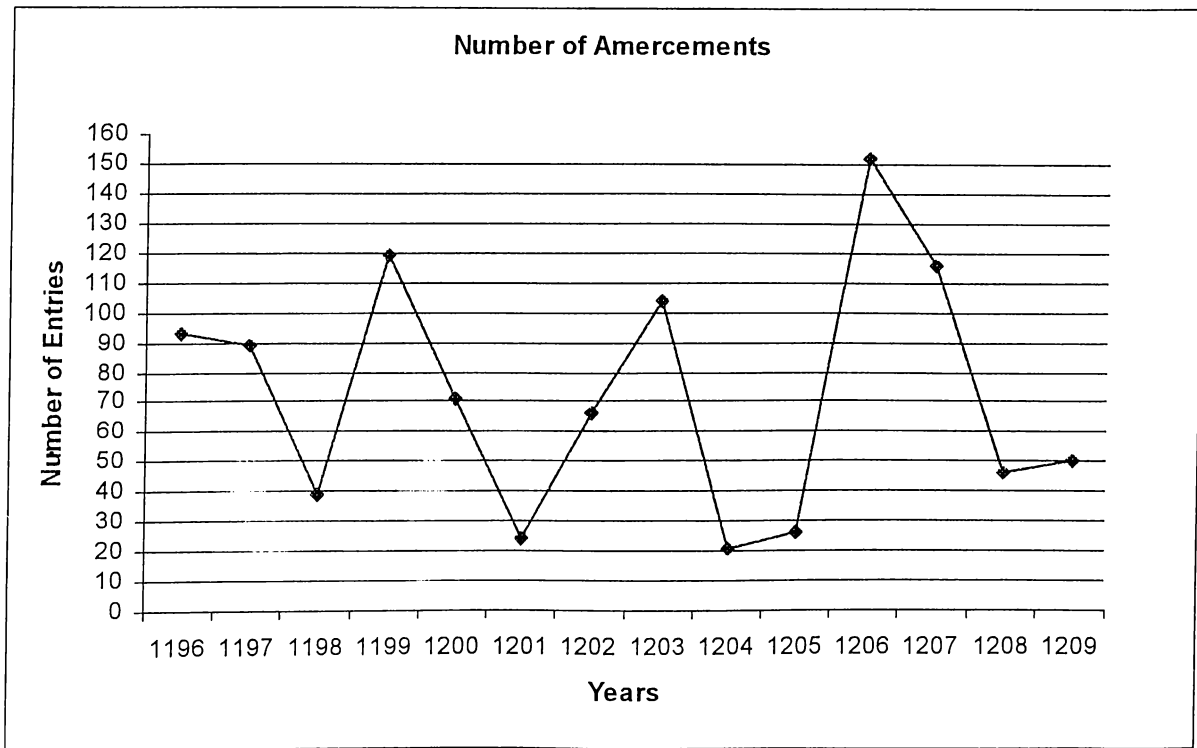


Chart 3

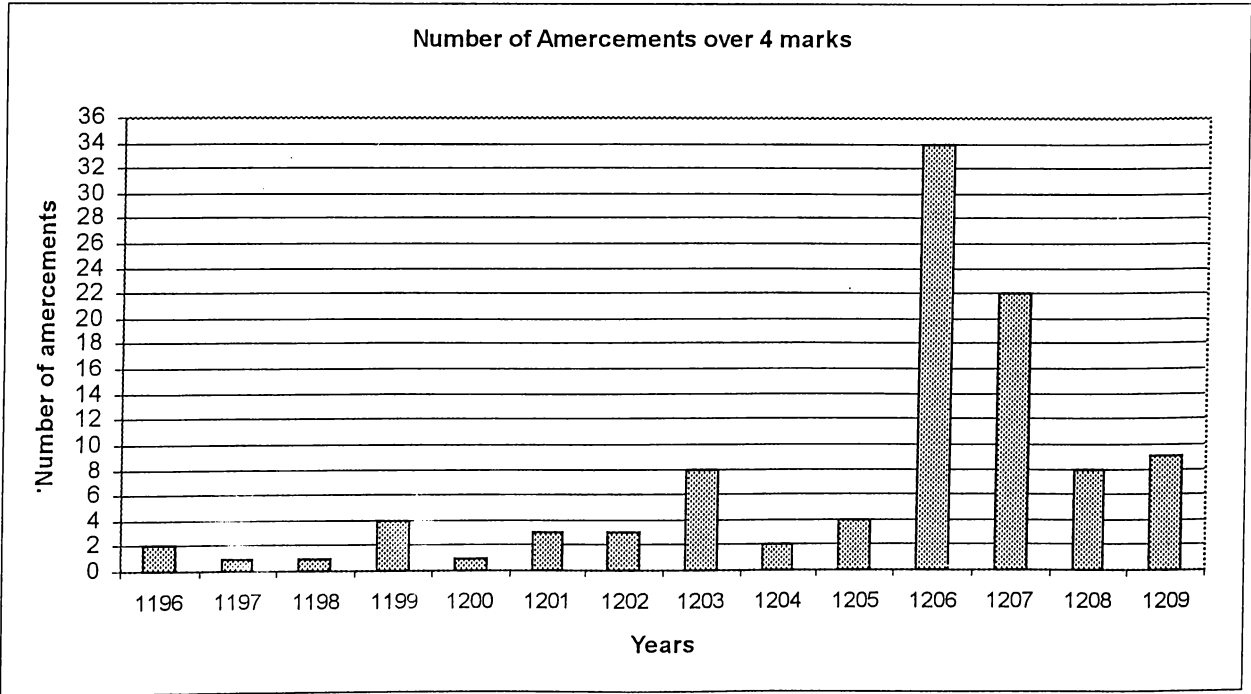
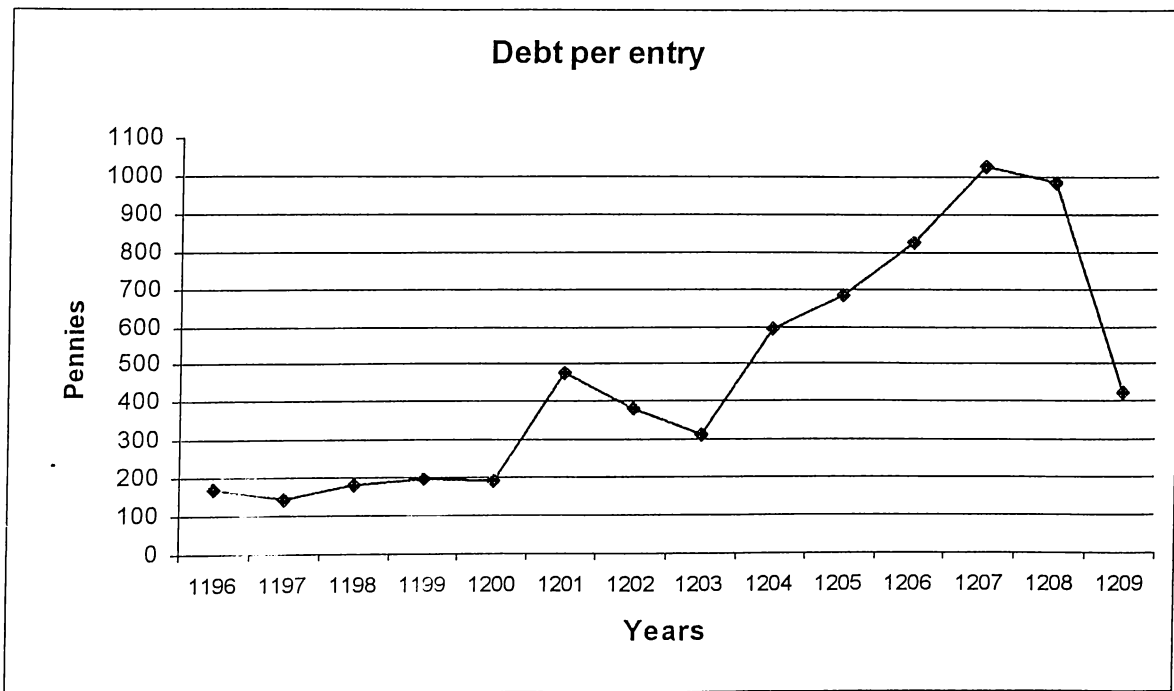




Chart 4







# MAP 1

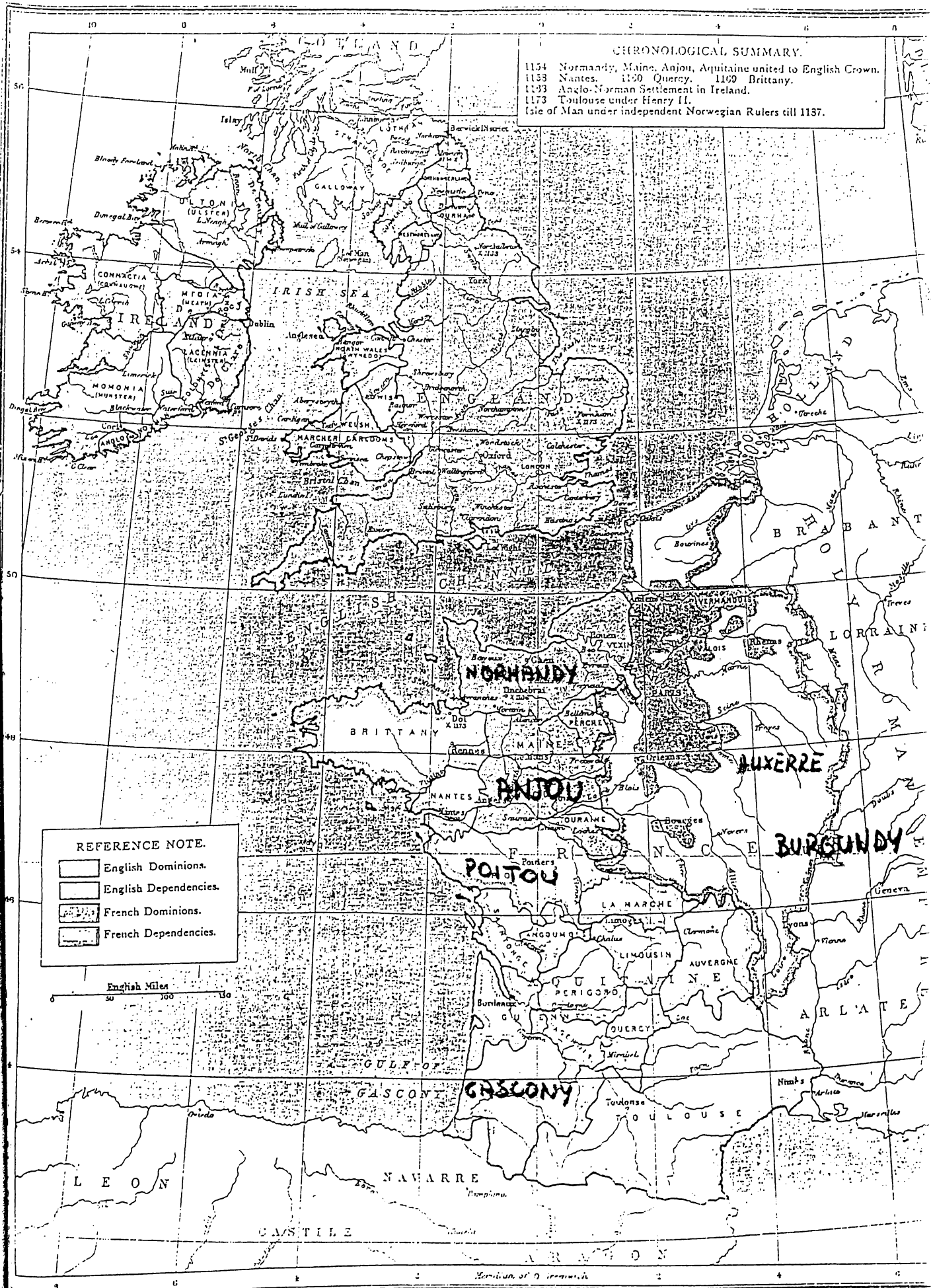
## CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

1154 Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Aquitaine united to English Crown.  
 1153 Nantes, 1150 Quercy, 1169 Brittany.  
 1193 Anglo-Norman Settlement in Ireland.  
 1173 Toulouse under Henry II.  
 Isle of Man under independent Norwegian Rulers till 1137.

REFERENCE NOTE.

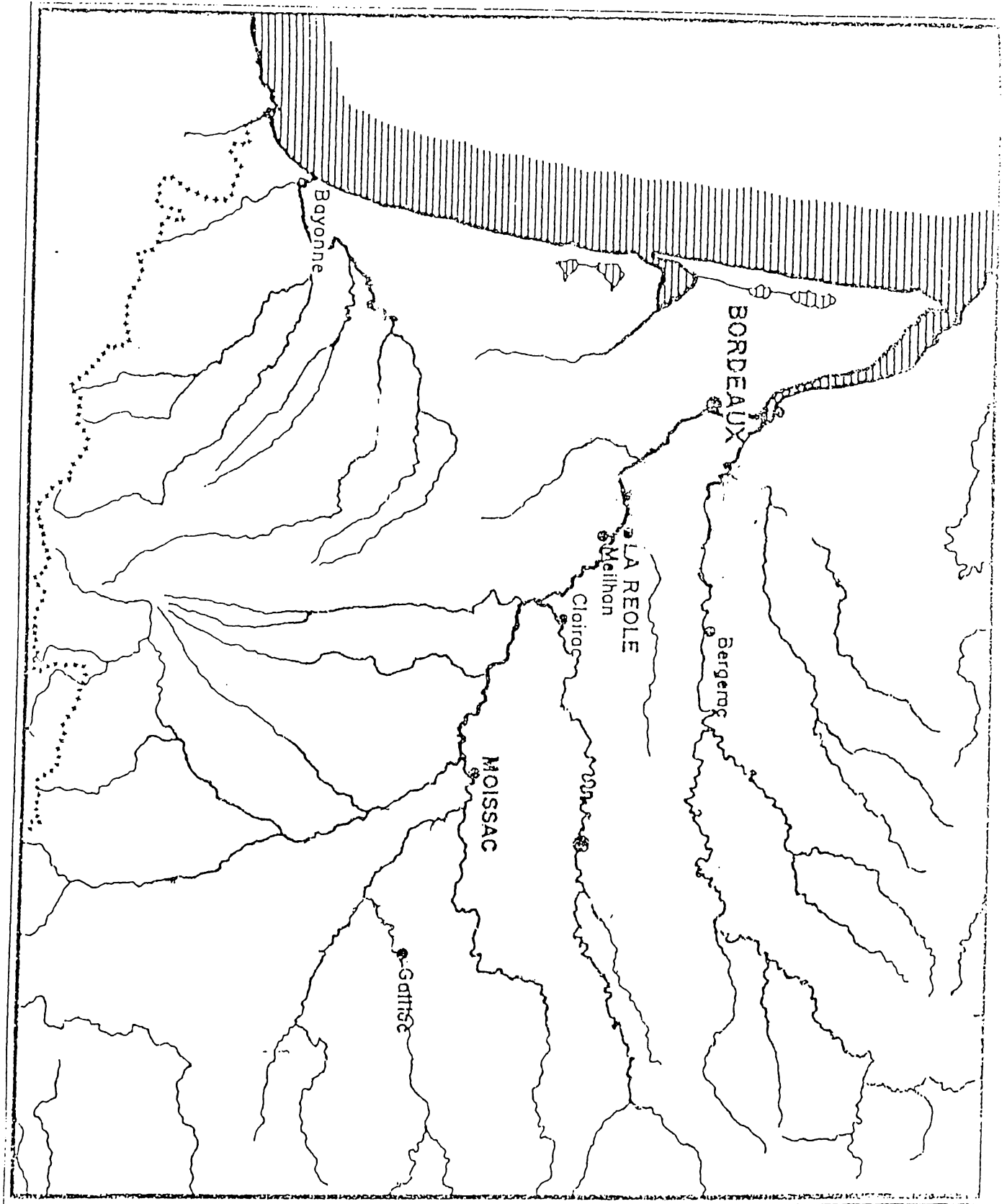
-  English Dominions.
-  English Dependencies.
-  French Dominions.
-  French Dependencies.

English Miles  
 0 50 100



MAP 2





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