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Horses for Work and Horses for War: The Divergent Horse Market in Late Medieval England

by

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Dedicated to the memory of my Grandfather, Bernard Ronald Claridge

Abstract

This thesis explores the ways in which horses were bought, sold, traded and otherwise exchanged in late medieval England. The first chapter involves the comparison of two large estates ca. 1300 in England, one in the north of the country and one in the south, and how they dealt with issues of horse procurement and disposal, mostly for agriculture, revealing in the process their connection to the market and with prevailing managerial mentalities. The second chapter examines the wealth of material surviving in calendar form from the royal chancery over the period from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries and explores the trade of elite horses. Together these two substantive chapters endeavor to see how the movement and exchange of horses in medieval England might be revealed through these two specific case studies.

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Currency Equivalencies

£1 = 20*s*
1*s* = 12*d*
£1 = 240*d*
1 mark = 13*s* 4*d* or 160*d* or £2/3

Introduction

Rivaled perhaps only by the medieval knight, horses evoke some of the most familiar images associated with England in the Middle Ages. While the man atop the horse has received much scholarly attention,[1] the study of the animals themselves has largely slipped through the historiographical cracks, particularly in terms of how horses were bought, sold and traded in medieval England.

To date, there have been no scholarly attempts to describe or elucidate the horse trade in medieval England. As such, the secondary literature underpinning this study is limited and composed of a variety of works that have approached the horse trade rather obliquely. Chief among these are three works by John Langdon: a 1982 article on the economics of horses and oxen, a further *Past and Present* article of 1984 on horse hauling, and most significantly his 1986 monograph *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation*.[2] All of these works focus on the evolving dynamic between horses and oxen in medieval England and together still stand as the most comprehensive corpus of literature on the roles of agricultural horses in this context. Langdon's engagement with the issue of horse trading was limited, but one observation is especially relevant to this present study. Langdon commented that the emergent role of horses on medieval farms increased the complexity of interactions between farmers and the medieval

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

[2] John Langdon, "The Economics of Horses and Oxen in Medieval England" *Agricultural History Review* Vol.30, No.1, 1982, 31-40; John Langdon, "Horse Hauling: A Revolution in Vehicle Transport in Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century England?" *Past & Present*, No.103 (May, 1984), 37-66; John Langdon, *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation: The Use of Draught Animals in English Farming from 1066-1500* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986).

market.[3] This was in large part due to the low prices for which horses could be had at the time, allowing even relatively poor peasant smallholders to own horses.[4] As Joan Thirsk had done before him,[5] Langdon likened the medieval horse trade to the more contemporary car trade; with horses available at almost any price point, cheap draught animals were made available to peasants just as the lower-end used car market does for low-income people today.[6]

Langdon's work on horses and oxen has been followed by a number of studies of medieval agriculture which address the roles of horses in medieval farming. Most significant here are Kathleen Biddick's *The Other Economy: Pastoral Husbandry on a Medieval Estate* and David Stone's more recent *Decision Making in Medieval Agriculture*.[7] Biddick's work focused on all aspects of the pastoral sector in medieval England, including sheep, swine and poultry in addition to horses and bovines. Building in part on Langdon and Biddick, Stone's study looked at the agency of demesne managers in relation to economic rationality as they made the myriad of decisions involved in managing the agricultural enterprises of a medieval demesne (the lord's own farm on the manor, as opposed to the lands of his/her peasant tenants). In her study of demesne horse herds, Biddick observed that in the case of cart-horses, the demesnes in her sample departed from the normal policy of producing animals internally through breeding, instead looking to the market for these animals as

[3] Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 272.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Joan Thirsk, *Horses in early modern England: for Service, for Pleasure, for Power* (the Stenton Lecture for 1977; published Reading, 1978), 24.
[6] Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 272-3.
[7] Kathleen Biddick, *The Other Economy: Pastoral Husbandry on a Medieval Estate* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989); David Stone, *Decision Making in Medieval Agriculture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

needed.[8] In managing the plough-horses of the estate, however, the custom of internal breeding for their supply was generally adhered to. This particular observation augmented the earlier work of Langdon and offered more insight into how demesne horses were procured in the Middle Ages. David Stone took this thread further still, and explained how demesne managers on the manor of Wisbech Barton, in 1349, took the decision to cease the purchase of horses and to rely on internal production as a cost-saving measure.[9]

The works of Biddick and Stone also departed from Langdon in terms of methodology. While Langdon chose to sample manors from across England, in an effort to obtain data that could be representative on a national level, the latter two works chose to focus on narrower geographical foci. Biddick's work looked solely at the estate of Peterborough Abbey, while Stone further narrowed his study to a lone manor belonging to the Bishop of Ely. The narrower foci of these two works, especially in the case of Stone, have illustrated some of the nuances of medieval farming that affected decisions about horse production and/or purchase which are not possible in a wider survey like Langdon's.

Studies of medieval warfare and knighthood as well as more general works on medieval horses also touch on issues of horse exchange and circulation. While primarily intended to analyze the composition of armies in Edwardian England, Andrew Ayton's 1994 monograph *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* provides an array of data

[8] Biddick, 116-7.
[9] Stone, 114.

about warhorses.[10] Ayton used muster rolls and horse inventories as an access point to the nature of late medieval armies and, as such, provides the most comprehensive source of information about the value of warhorses and some indications as to the mechanisms by which these animals were bought and sold. Along the same lines, R.H.C. Davis's *The Medieval Warhorse* traces the evolution and development of purpose-bred warhorses in medieval Europe.[11] Perhaps most significant for this study is the assertions that both works make about the nature of the medieval aristocratic class. Among the elite of medieval society, warhorses were more than simply utilitarian beasts. These animals were ascribed significant social value and this feature of medieval society heavily influenced the ways in which medieval aristocrats, informed by the medieval values of chivalry, interacted with the horse trade.[12]

Ann Hyland's work *The Horse in the Middle Ages*,[13] is much more a work intended for enthusiasts of the Middle Ages and horses in general that a rigorous academic monograph, and offers little in the way of systematic analysis. Hyland does not engage with any of the literature discussed here and the book has most merit in the wide array of anecdotal material that she brings together. As a survey of some of the primary evidence used by other authors, the book provides a decent entry point for someone embarking on an exploration of the medieval horse trade, but has little to offer outside that.

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[10] Andrew Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994).

[11] R.H.C Davis in *The Medieval Warhorse*: *Origin, Development and Redevelopment* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989).

[12] See: Davis, 70; Ayton, 7.

[13] Ann Hyland, *The Horse in the Middle Ages* (Gloucestershire, Sutton Publishing, 1999).

Finally, the work that perhaps most closely approximates the scope of this thesis is Peter Edwards' *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Steward England*.[14] Building on the earlier brief and exploratory work of Joan Thirsk,[15] Edwards uses an exploration of toll books in offering a comprehensive story about all aspects of the horse trade in early modern England, from breeding, to private and sanctioned dealing and even the 'black market' for stolen horses. The toll books that form the basis of this study were a sixteenth-century development, established by an act of parliament of 1555[16] and no comparatively concentrated or comprehensive source exists for the medieval period. The social status ascribed to horses play a central role in Edwards's study, and this is a commonality between his work and that of Ayton and Davis for medieval England. Edwards argues that the emergent middle class of Tudor and Steward England, along with the new applications for horses as power for carriages substantially increased the demand on equine resources in England, which in turn saw a number of innovations in the production of horses and the regulation of the horse trade. Edwards's monograph unfortunately is not a model that can be imitated for a similar study of the medieval period; the fair, market, and toll book evidentiary base that informs his study simply does not exist for the Middle Ages, and any exploration into the nature of the medieval horse trade has to make use of far more disparate sources.

[14] Peter Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stewart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). A further useful survey, but for a period later than this study is Rick Szostak, *The Role of Transportation in the Industrial Revolution: A Comparison of England and France* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991). See also T.C. Barker, *The Rise and Rise of Road Transport: 1700-1990* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1993).

[15] Thirsk, *Horses*, *passim.*

[16] Edwards, 55.

In any case, the medieval horse trade has also to be positioned within a thriving theoretical framework for the period, currently dominated by three main models: a demographic, or Malthusian model, a Marxist, class-based approach, and a commercialization analysis, loosely based on the eighteenth-century writings of Adam Smith, all recently summarized very usefully by John Hatcher and Mark Bailey.[17] The commercialization model best suits this present study, as an exploration of one of the most central medieval commodities in horses. To a lesser degree, the class-conflict model is also important, not as much in terms of the exploitation of peasants by medieval lords, but in seeing the great gulf between these two estates in medieval English society during the later Middle Ages (ca. 1200 – ca. 1400).[18]

[17] John Hatcher and Mark Bailey, *Modeling the Middle Ages: The History and Theory of England's Economic Development* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). For Marx's original writing, see: Karl Marx, *Capital, a Critique of Political Economy*, ed. F. Engles (London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1979). For more recent examples of Marxist scholarship on medieval economy and society, see: Rodney Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381* (London: Methuen & Co., 1973) and Guy Bois, *The Crisis of Feudalism: Economy and Society in Eastern Normandy c. 1300-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), as well as Robert Brenner, "Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe" *Past & Present* 70 (1976): 31. This article sparked what has come to be know as "The Brenner Debate" which consisted of a series of articles arguing for and against Marxist approaches to the economic history of Europe. Many of these articles are published in a single volume: T.H. Aston and C.H.E. Philpin, eds., *The Brenner Debate* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987). For Malthus' original text see T.R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population* ed. D. Winch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). A more recent example is M.M. Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society: An Economic History of Britain in the Middle Ages* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1972). For a modern edition of Adam Smith's text, which forms the basis of commercialization theory, see: Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976). For recent examples of this model see: *A commercializing economy: England 1086 to c. 1300* eds. Richard H. Britnell and Bruce M.S. Campbell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

[18] For a summary of Marxist approaches to the economy and society of medieval England see Hatcher and Bailey, 66-120. Christopher Dyer also comments on this 'gulf' in medieval England. See: Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the later Middle Ages: Social Change in England 1200-1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 16-20.

Within this general theoretical framework, it is already clear that there are key puzzles about horses, such as Langdon's finding of the surprisingly high use of them by peasants.[19] Accordingly, this thesis is reluctant to hold to any particular theoretical line but wishes to see how the movement and exchange of horses might be revealed through two specific case studies. The first of these involves the comparison of two large estates ca. 1300 in England, one in the north of the country and one in the south, and how they dealt with issues of horse procurement and disposal, mostly for agriculture, revealing in the process their connection to the market and with prevailing managerial mentalities. The second case study examines the wealth of material surviving in calendar form from the royal chancery over the period from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. This case study supplies much useful information about elite horse movements and exchange. It is not claimed that either of these case studies, or both of them together, provides anything like a comprehensive view of the 'horse world' in medieval England, but the exercise should highlight many of the important issues that affected it.

[19] See: Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 172-253.

Chapter 1:
Horses for Work: A Case Study of Two Great Medieval English Estates ca. 1300

Where did medieval manors get their horses, and how did they deal with them? While it has been argued that '[o]n balance, manors sold grain but bought livestock',[20] manorial horse procurement was, as we shall see, a much more nuanced and complicated issue. The buying and selling of agricultural horses in medieval England is a topic that has only been approached indirectly by a number of historians studying tangentially related topics. For this present study, as mentioned, the most significant of these authors is John Langdon, who has looked closely at the changing roles of horses in medieval agriculture.[21] Kathleen Biddick has also touched on the medieval horse trade in her work on the pastoral economy,[22] while more recently, David Stone has assessed medieval agricultural decision making in his study of Wisbech Barton, including the choices made about horse procurement and management. [23] All of these works assess aspects of medieval agriculture that can be seen and measured directly, and in so doing catch glimpses of how horse movement and marketing in medieval England functioned. Particularly in assessing the horse trade, this present investigation is largely a work of inference, which requires that one peer around corners in an effort to see

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

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

[22] Kathleen Biddick, *The Other Economy: Pastoral Husbandry on a Medieval Estate* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989).

[23] David Stone, *Decision Making in Medieval Agriculture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

how the market for agricultural horses functioned in medieval England. Using evidence from the demesnes, or lords' personal farms, of two large medieval estates, the bishopric of Winchester and the earldom of Lincoln,[24] both for around the year 1300 and together covering much of England, this chapter will look at the ways in which each estate seemingly interacted with the medieval English horse trade in showing how agricultural horses were managed and marketed in medieval England.

Sources

The majority of data in this chapter has been furnished by manorial accounts. These accounts were administrative records drawn up by a representative of the lord for each manor, and served to justify every transaction concerning the demesne on the manor. Large medieval estates such as the bishopric of Winchester and the earldom of Lincoln, which were comprised of over fifty individual manors each, contained demesne lands that, on average, accounted for thirty percent of a manor's total acreage, the rest being held by mainly peasant tenants.[25] These accounts recorded not only the major agricultural endeavours of the demesne such as crop growing and consequent wages paid to labourers, but also other concerns like the costs of repairing buildings and farm

[24] This estate is more commonly known today as the Earldom of Lincoln; however, the estate had not yet been declared a Earldom in 1295-6 and therefore it will be referred to here as an earldom.

[25] The size of demesnes varied widely from estate to estate and manor to manor. Therefore, there is no 'usual' or 'standard' size of demesne. In a study of Hundred Rolls of 1279-80 from Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and Warwickshire , E.A. Kosminsky calculated that of over half a million acres under cultivation, 31.8 percent was demesne, 40.5 percent was villein land and 27.7 percent was held by free tenants. See: E.A. Kosminsky, *Studies in the agrarian history of England in the thirteenth century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), 89.

implements. Manorial accounts also detailed the livestock kept on the demesne, from horses and oxen to sheep and chickens, and how these animal stocks were augmented or reduced over the course of the account year.[26]

This case-study in particular is largely facilitated by the fact that the manorial accounts for both of these estates were enrolled; the individual accounts for each manor (comprising the estate) were collected and copied into a larger roll of several membranes, in which state they have survived for more than seven hundred years. These enrolled accounts give a 'snapshot' view, providing not only the precise numbers of horses present on each estate for a year-long period, but also illustrating how the respective populations of horses changed over the course of a year. For a project such as this, enrolled manorial accounts are a natural choice for source material. The bishopric of Winchester in particular offers historians an unparalleled collection of enrolled accounts. These accounts, referred to as 'pipe rolls', survive for 191 years from 1208-9 to 1453-5,[27] giving insight into the bishopric's estate management for a period of more than two hundred years.[28] In addition, four of the pipe rolls have been published in printed

[26] Most manorial accounts used harvest years as the standard temporal unit. Unless interrupted by the death of a reeve or something similar, these accounts usually use the autumn harvest as terminal points and run from michaelmas to michaelmas, or September 29 to September 29 of the following year.

[27] This last account in the series covers two years.

[28] "The Winchester Pipe Rolls and Their Historians," *The Winchester Pipe Rolls and Medieval English Society* ed. Richard Britnell (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 1-2. These enrolled accounts are referred to as 'Pipe Rolls' because of their resemblance to a section of pipe when rolled up. The kings of England kept similar accounts of royal revenues which were known as royal pipe rolls (*pipas*) during the medieval period. While the Winchester Pipe Rolls contained different information than the royal pipe rolls, they were likely coined with the same term due to their similarity in physical appearance. More recently, Hubert Hall upheld the term 'pipe roll' for the Winchester material when he used the term for a published account of 1208-9. The terminal date of 1453-5 given here marks the last Winchester account that was drawn up in enrolled form. After 1456, the bishopric recorded data in a different format, which still contains much useful information for historians.

form: Hubert Hall transcribed the 1208-9 roll and N.R. Holt did the same for the 1210-11 account, while Mark Page translated two pipe rolls for 1301-2 and 1409-10.[29] The earldom of Lincoln, the estate of Henry De Lacy, earl of Lincoln, does not boast the same continuous number of extant records, but two estate-wide enrolled accounts for the years 1295-6 and 1304-5 survive in The National Archives at Kew, London.[30] Of these two rolls, the 1295-6 account survives in much better condition than its later counterpart, and has, accordingly, been employed here. Thus, this study utilizes the 1295-6 accounts of the earldom of Lincoln in their original manuscript form and the translated 1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll (along with microfilm of the original accounts), which together provide a sample that covers much of England at the beginning of the fourteenth century (see Appendix 1).

The earldom of Lincoln was a northern estate centred in Lancashire but with a total of 94 manors distributed over fifteen counties.[31] The bishopric of Winchester was comprised of 57 manors in seven counties across the south of England, with the bulk of its lands, 29 manors, in Hampshire.[32] Of the 151

[29] Hubert Hall, ed., *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester for the Fourth Year of the Pontificate of Peter des Roches, 1208-09* (London: P. S. King & Son, 1903); N.R. Holt, ed., *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964); Mark Page, ed. and trans., *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2* Hampshire Record Series Vol. XIV (Winchester: Hampshire County Council, 1996); Mark Page, ed. and trans., *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1409-10* Hampshire Record Series Vol. XVI (Winchester: Hampshire County Council, 1999).

[30] The 1295-6 account can be found at: The National Archives: Public Record Office (TNA:PRO) Kew, London, UK DL29/1/1 while the 1304-5 account can be found at TNA:PRO DL 29/1/2. I am grateful to Professor John Langdon who photographed these accounts and has graciously allowed me to use the photographs for this thesis.

[31] Four of these manors were located in Denbighshire in Wales and, as this study only looks at England, have been excluded.

[32] Mark Page, ed. and trans., *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2* Hampshire Record Series Vol. XIV (Winchester: Hampshire County Council, 1996), xii.

manors between the two estates, 93 had horses in their respective years; 52 for the Winchester estate, while only 41 on the Earl of Lincoln's lands (see Map 1). [33] While there is some overlap between the two estates, with both estates having manors in the same five counties,[34] the northern versus southern orientation was pronounced enough to allow a reasonable comparison of the distribution and movement of horses in two very separate parts of the country.

An investigation into the procurement methods of agricultural horses merits some discussion of the types of horses normally found in medieval agricultural settings.[35] Unfortunately, outside of the specific nomenclature used in the accounts, this is an area for which the sources are often vague. Medieval horses were most often described by the jobs that they performed. The most significant delineation between horse types listed in manorial accounts is that between 'cart-horses' and the more general terms of *affrus* or *stottus* (anglicized as 'affer' and 'stott', respectively) or even simply *equus*. Cart-horses were regularly referred to explicitly as *equus carectarius* (or the plural *equi carectarii*),

[33] In constructing this map the manors of the bishopric of Winchester were taken directly from the map in the Page volume. See: Mark Page, ed., xiii. No similar map is currently available for the earldom of Lincoln, and its manors had to be mapped by the author. The manor names were taken directly from the manuscript and cross-referenced with the Gazetteer of British Place names, which provides a comprehensive list of historic English place names (see: www.gazetteer.co.uk). The gazetteer provides Ordinance Survey coordinates for these historic places, which were translated to traditional latitude and longitude coordinates and plotted on Google Earth, using the Historic Counties Trust plugin (see: www.county-borders.co.uk), which overlays the historic (i.e. pre-1974) county boundaries, without which it would have been very difficult to accurately place some of the manors. The locations of Pennehille and Standene, both in Lancashire in 1295-6, as well as Thorley, in Lincolnshire, could not be determined, and therefore do not appear on this map.

[34] Both estates had manors in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Wiltshire, Somerset and Oxfordshire.

[35] The standard reference source for these terms is the appendix of John Langdon's *Horses Oxen and Technological Innovation*. See: John Langdon, *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation: The Use of Draught Animals in English Farming from 1066-1500* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986), 293-7.

Map 1:
Manors with Horses – Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2 and
Earldom of Lincoln 1295-6

and these were specialized animals used exclusively for pulling carts. These *equi carectarii* were usually, if not always, male horses.

The other types of horses regularly encountered in medieval accounts are *Affri* and *stotti;* these terms are most often associated with plough beasts, and here translated as such, but these were also 'all-purpose' horses which performed a variety of work in addition to ploughing, such as harrowing and even occasionally cartage.[36] The terms 'affer' and 'stott' were used to describe both male and female horses (in these cases the Latin term *affra* is used),[37] although female horses were more often referred to less ambiguously as *jumenta* (literally 'beast of burden' in Latin) and clearly understood in the documents as 'mares'. The term *stottus* was a rarer regional term, most frequently found in the records of south-east England, and rarely in the records of northern manors. *Runcini* or rounceys are infrequently found amoung livestock as they were generally employed as riding horses or packhorses. Young horses are almost universally referred to with the term *pullanus* (plural *pullani*); this word is often translated as 'colt' but is likely better understood as 'foal' as the use of the term often encompasses young horses of both genders. These terms were at times used in a confusingly interchangeable way in the manorial accounts themselves, and in these instances

[36] Thus, the binary understanding of *equus carectarius* as 'cart-horse' and *affrus* and *stottus* as 'plough-horse' is too simplistic and should be avoided. For example, in the generally excellent translation of the 1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll, editor and translator Mark Page used the above binary understanding in translating the terms *equus carectarius* and *affrus*. However, the manor of Taunton in Somerset, recorded no *equii carectarii* in 1301-2, but began the year with 2 *affri*, added one further *affrus* during the year, and ended the account with a total of 3 *affri*. The purchased *affrus* is accounted for in the 'cost of carts' section as "In one horse bought for the cart 17*s*." In this case, translating *affri* as 'plough-horse' is incorrect, as at least one was being employed on the demesne as a cart-horse, or at least a milti-purpose animal which fulfilled a variety of tasks.

[37] In many cases, other contextual information from the accounts must be used to determine the sex of affers and stotts. In most cases the Latin used in the accounts was highly abbreviated and left out the endings of the Latin terms which could otherwise be used to determine the sex of the animal in question.

one must look further into other sections of the account to determine the gender of such animals.[38]. Outside of this information, we know very little about the physical characteristics of these different types of horses, or about what made one type of horse more valuable than another. The prices and comparative values of different horses will be discussed later in this chapter, but it is probably safe to assume that the value of these horses was based in large part on the amount and type of work the animal could contribute to the manorial economy and that more expensive animals held some advantage in terms of strength, stamina or training.

Demesne Horse Demography[39]

The vast majority of horses on the bishopric of Winchester were employed for traction and transport. Among adult horses, the estate differentiated between *affri* and *equii carectarii*; the former were used primarily as plough beasts, while the latter were employed in the hauling of carts. This contrasts sharply with the earldom of Lincoln's horse stocks, which maintained a higher proportion of plough-horses, also called *affri*, but seemingly did not employ specialized cart-horses. The Lincoln estate, did, however, manage a stud farm at Ightenhill in Lancashire, which was used for breeding *runcini*, or riding horses, for the Earl's

[38] The term *pullanus* is one of the few not discussed in Langdon's appendix. Latham gives both 'colt' and 'foal' as possible translations, and indicates that *pultrella* had been used in 14th century documents to describe fillies (generally understood as female horses under the age of four or five years), although this term is not found in any of the Winchester or Lincoln accounts. See: R.E. Latham, ed. *Revised Medieval Latin Word List From British and Irish Sources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 382. One example of the term *pullanus* encompassing young horses of both sexes is Downton manor, on the Bishop of Winchester's estate, where of three *pullani*, one was promoted to cart-horses that year, while the other two were promoted to mares. See: Page, *WPR*, 69.

[39] The term 'demography' is used here as an assessment of the distribution of horses throughout the two estates and the changes of the horse populations in each of the account years studied.

stable, and these animals comprised a significant number of the estate's total stocks. In addition to these main constituents, the bishopric of Winchester also employed a limited number of mill horses at Brightwell and Farnham manors in Berkshire and Surrey, respectively. These horses were likely used either for driving horse-mills or perhaps as delivery animals for watermills and windmills.[40]

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, specialized cart-horses were still a relatively new phenomenon, although their use was becoming increasingly more common. Before ca. 1100, virtually all vehicle-hauling tasks were performed by oxen, and Domesday book records several instances of oxen working in this capacity.[41] It is not until the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries that horses began to assume a significant role in cartage, and even then this transformation was not comprehensive across England.[42] Langdon found that horse hauling was far more common on demesnes in the south and south east of England in the period of 1250-1320, where horse hauling easily outstripped that of oxen. The most significant advantage of employing cart-horses over oxen was that of speed, with the pace of horse-hauling being generally twice that of ox-hauling.[43] This attribute would have been especially helpful in the south of the country where the greater proliferation of markets (relative to the north) as well as the ever-present consumer demand of London would reward the ability to move goods more quickly. Over the same period in the north, however, horse-hauling

[40] Langdon, *Horses, Oxen*, 117-8; John Langdon, *Mills in the Medieval Economy: England 1300-1540* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 156-7.
[41] John Langdon, "Horse Hauling: A Revolution in Vehicle Transport in Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century England?" *Past & Present*, No.103 (May, 1984), 41-2.
[42] Ibid., 46.
[43] Ibid., 60.

did not supersede ox-hauling, as both forms of cartage were still carried out in relatively equal proportions.[44] These regional differences seem to be reflected in our data sample (see Table 1).

The bishopric of Winchester, situated primarily in the south of England (see Map 1), had a large contingent of dedicated cart-horses, with 83 animals comprising 27% of the estate's total adult horse stocks at the end of the 1301-2 accounting year. In comparison, the earldom of Lincoln seemingly did not keep any horses as dedicated cartage beasts. The marked lack of *equi carectarii* on the Lincoln estate suggests two things. Given Langdon's observation that horse hauling did not catch on in the north with the same vigour that it did in the south,[45] it is likely that the demesnes of the earl of Lincoln's estate still relied most heavily on ox-power for cartage tasks. This was likely due, at least in part, to the less active and less integrated economy in the north of the country, where the speed advantage of cart-horses over oxen would not be as important. Further, the absence of dedicated cart-horses indicates that, for whatever amount of horse-hauling that was performed on the estate, the earldom of Lincoln's demesnes did not invest in specialized hauling horses, but likely rather utilized affers as 'all-purpose' work horses, used mainly for ploughing, but also for other tasks like harrowing, marling, carting and pack-horse work. One important factor that may have contributed to the estate's reliance on oxen for cartage was the readily available supply of oxen on the estate.

[44] Ibid., 50.
[45] Langdon, "Horse Hauling", 54.

Table 1:

Adult Horse Stocks on the bishopric of Winchester and the earldom of Lincoln[46]

	Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2	Bishopric of Winchester % of Total	Earldom of Lincoln 1295-6	Earldom of Lincoln % of Total	Category Total	Total Sample % of Total
Cart-horses	83	*27%*	0	-	83	*16%*
Affers	209	*67%*	172	*79%*	381	*72%*
Riding Horses	0	-	1	*<1%*	1	*<1%*
Mares	17[47]	*5%*	46	*21%*	63	*12%*
Mill Horses	4	*1%*	0	-	4	*<1%*
Total	**313**	-	**219**	-	**532**	

[46] The figures in this table were taken from the year-end totals for both the Bishopric of Winchester and the Earldom of Lancaster in their respective years. Thus, these figures represent the number of horses left on the estates at the end of the accounting year(s) after all additions and subtractions to demesne horse stocks had been accounted for.

[47] The figure of 17 mares represents those which were described explicitly and primarily as *jumenta*. The Bishopric of Winchester account did record at least three further mares in 1301-2, two of which were grouped with the cart-horses and one further which was described as a "mare of the mill." These mares have been recorded in the cart-horse and mill horse categories, respectively.

In 1295-6, the estate contained 27 vaccaries, farms dedicated to the production of cows, dairy products and oxen rather than arable produce.[48] These vaccaries raised a number of animals that were sold directly at local markets,[49] but they also supplied the other demesnes of the estate with oxen for use as draught animals.[50] The lack of specialized cart-horses on the earldom of Lincoln, in contrast to the significant proportion of cart-horses on the bishopric of Winchester estate, seems to echo Langdon's findings of a more ox-oriented hauling world in the north; however, with his estimate that between three-quarters and four-fifths of demesne hauling was performed by horses by ca. 1300 across England as a whole,[51] an estate completely devoid of specialized cart-horses, such as the earldom of Lincoln seems to have been, would have been somewhat anomalous.

When the adult stocks of both our estates are combined, 11% of these horses were explicitly referred to as *jumenta,* or mares. In terms of the absolute proportion of female to male horses, this figure is most likely an underestimate. The proportion of male to female horses was recorded on some manors of each estate at the end of the year, but this practice was not universally adhered to. For example, in the stock section of the account for Bishopstoke, one of the Bishop of Winchester's manors in Hampshire, the lone horse purchase for 1301-2 was recorded simply as an "affer" without any information about the gender of the animal.[52] However, a closer inspection of the account reveals that this particular

[48] M.A. Atkin, "Land Use and Management in the Upland Demesne of the De Lacy Estate of Blackburnshire c. 1300" *Agricultural History Review* 42 (1994), 2.
[49] Ibid.,7.
[50] Ibid.,14.
[51] Langdon, *Horse Hauling*, 54.
[52] *WPR*, 281. For another similar case, see pg.7, n.15.

horse was actually a mare purchased for use as a cart-horse.[53] Even in those horses explicitly referred to as mares, the figures require further explanation. The earldom of Lincoln had a much greater proportion of adult female horses than the bishopric of Winchester, with respective percentages of 21% and 5%. The role of the mares on each estate was, however, quite different. 42 of the 46 mares on the Lincoln estate were used for the breeding of riding horses, as opposed to the mares on the Winchester estate, which served a double role, acting both as work animals as well as breeding new working stock.

Young horses were more prominent on the earldom of Lincoln than on the Winchester estate, but the nature and purposes of these young animals was very different. The bishopric of Winchester recorded 37 young horses at the end of 1301-2, which comprised 11% of total horse stocks, while one-third of the earldom of Lincoln's stocks, 93 animals, were young horses. However, exactly two-thirds of these foals on the Lincoln estate were immature *runcini*, bred exclusively on the manor of Igthenhill. These 62 young horses seemingly never worked as draught animals but instead stocked the Earl's stable of riding horses. In comparison, all of the young horses on the Winchester estate, if they survived to adulthood, would be used to replace working animals on the demense. If the young riding horses from Igthenhill are excluded, the proportion of young horses on the Lincoln estate falls from 30% to 10%, a figure which is comparable to the bishopric of Winchester's 11%.

The roles of both mares and young horses will be assessed further below in terms of their contribution to the augmentation of demesne stocks, but in terms

[53] *WPR*, 279.

of basic horse management, we can make some useful deductions. The bishopric of Winchester kept a number of dedicated cart-horses on its estate, a practice which the Lincoln estate did not follow. This was likely due to the specific policies of both estates, with the geographic location and its consequent economic ramifications playing a role in these decisions, as well as the Lincoln estate's easy access to oxen. The earldom of Lincoln also had a greater proportion of both young horses and mares on its estate, but these horses were not kept for use as demesne work horses, as they were on the Winchester estate. Rather, they were employed to provide the next generation of riding horses, for the earl's stable.

Table 2:

Horse Stocks on the bishopric of Winchester and the earldom of Lincoln – Including Young Horses[54]

	Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2	Bishopric of Winchester % of Total	Earldom of Lincoln 1295-6	Earldom of Lincoln % of Total	Category Total	Total Sample % of Total
Young Horses	37	*11%*	93	*30%*	130	*20%*
Cart-horses	83	*24%*	0	-	83	*13%*
Affers	209	*60%*	172	*55%*	381	*58%*
Riding Horses	0	-	1	*<1%*	1	*<1%*
Mares	17[55]	*5%*	46	*15%*	63	*10%*
Mill Horses	4	*1%*	0	-	4	*<1%*
Total	**350**		**312**	-	**662**	

[54] The figures in this table were taken from the year-end totals for both the Bishopric of Winchester and the Earldom of Lancaster in their respective years. Thus, these figures represent the number of horses left on the estates at the end of the accounting year(s) after all additions and subtractions to demesne horse stocks had been accounted for.

[55] The figure of 17 mares represents those which were described explicitly and primarily as *jumenta*. The Bishopric of Winchester account did record at least three further mares in 1301-2, two of which were grouped with the cart-horses and one further which was described as a "mare of the mill." These mares have been recorded in the cart-horse and mill horse categories.

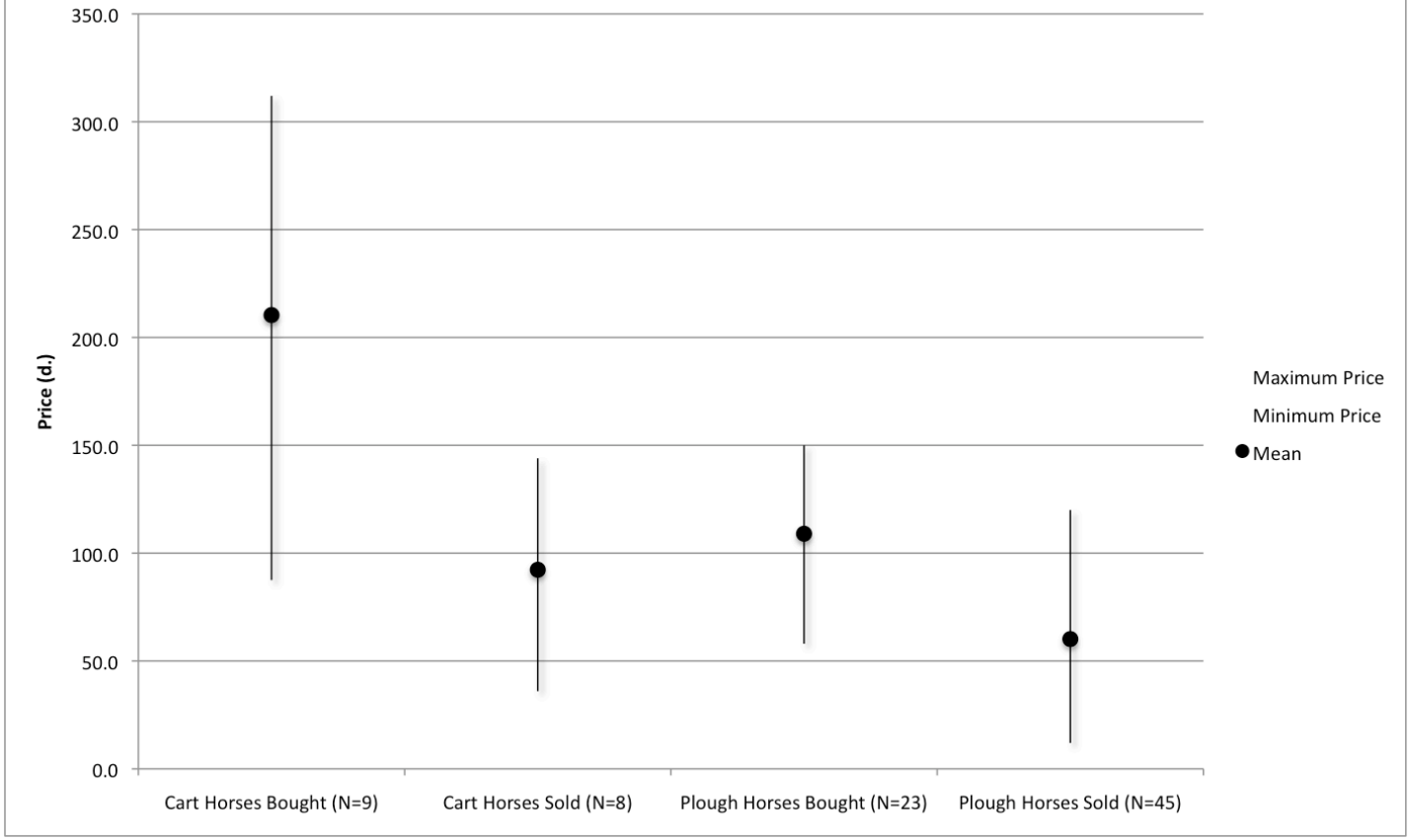
Prices of Work Horses

Purchase and selling prices for horses were frequently recorded in the accounts. Price was the determining factor in delineating not only work horses from war horses and other more 'elite' horses, but also in differentiating between cart horses and plough horses, which, as noted above, were most frequently designated as 'affers'. As commodities, the versatility that made horses valuable was oddly accentuated by the fact that they had no value as meat. Due to Christian dietary taboos, horsemeat was not generally eaten in medieval Europe, and this was certainly true in England.[56] This was significant for the prices of work horses, as it essentially capped the prices of agricultural horses market at one pound or slightly higher and led to a relatively steep decline in the price of horses over their lifetimes, since an old horse was only worth its hide. Of the accounts in our sample, specific price data for horses are only available from the Bishop of Winchester's accounts, as the scribes on the earldom of Lincoln lumped all stock prices together, making it impossible to see exactly what prices they paid for individual horses. Figure 1 illustrates the differences in purchase and sale price ranges of both cart-horses and plough-horses on the bishopric (see also Appendix 2).[57]

[56] Harold Barclay has traced this dietary restriction to a papal decree against the practice of consuming horse flesh, as it was considered a pagan practice. Citing Francis B. Gummere, *German Origins: A Study in Primitive Culture* (New York: Scribner, 1892) pg. 40. Harold Barclay, *The Role of the Horse in Man's Culture* (London: J.A. Allen, 1980), pg. 74-75, 133. While Barclay does not specify exactly which pope he is referring to, the date of 732 suggests strongly Pope Gregory III, who reigned from March 731 to November 741.

[57] The use of the term 'plough horses' is accurate here, as all of the price data for 'plough horses' has been taken from 'cost of plough' sections

Figure 1: Ranges and Means for Purchase and Sale Prices of Cart and Plough Horses on the Bishopric of Winchester in 1301-2



What is immediately apparent is the disparity in price between cart and plough horses. Using average purchase prices, which are the most comparable indicators of value, as the prices for sold animals most often represented decrepit horses were near the end of their working lives, cart-horses purchased on the bishopric of Winchester cost almost twice that of plough-horses, with an average price of 210 *d.* as compared to 109 *d.*. In terms of what demesnes could recoup in selling horses, the range was rather narrower. The average cart-horse sold for 92*d.*, while plough horses went for 60*d.* on average, a gap of only 32 *d.* compared to the 101 *d.* disparity in purchase prices. The most expensive cart-horse cost £1 5 *s.* which would have been a significant amount of money for the majority of the population, about half a year's salary for a skilled worker,[58] but paled in comparison to warhorses and other elite horses, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, regularly cost upwards of fifty pounds.

Cart-horses also deprecated at almost twice the rate of plough-horses. Using John Langdon's method of calculating yearly depreciation figures, we can use the price data from the 1301-2 Winchester pipe roll to get a rough idea of the depreciation rates for both types of horses. Langdon used the accounts of seven manors that had good runs of accounts in consecutive years to determine the average demesne work-life of both cart-horses and plough horses. By dividing the average number of demesne horses by the average number replaced each year, he arrived at an effective demesne work-life of 7 years for cart-horses and 5.5

[58] A skilled building worker, such as a carpenter or stone mason earned "2*d* per day in 1250, 4*d* in 1400 and 6*d* in 1500." Thus, such a worker, working six days per week, fifty weeks per year, would have earned £2.5 for a year's work in 1250 and £5 in 1400. Dyer, *Standards of Living*, xv; 71.

years for plough horses.[59] We can take these figures and divide them into the difference between the average purchase price and average sale price for the horses, assuming that horses were purchased near the beginning of their useful work-lives (usually three or four years old) and sold near the end.

Cart-Horses

$$\frac{210.4\ d. - 92.3\ d.}{7 \text{ years}} = 16.9\ d.$$

Plough Horses

$$\frac{109\ d. - 60.2\ d.}{5.5 \text{ years}} = 8.9\ d.$$

This shows us that, at least on the Bishop of Winchester's estate, which may generally be representative of the situation in the south of England, cart-horses depreciated an average of 16.9 *d.* annually, compared to the more modest 8.9 *d.* for plough-horses. The sample size of our price data is admittedly small, but gives us at least a rough idea of the price decline for work horses over their lifetimes in England ca. 1300.

Changes in Demesne Horse Populations

While we have looked at the aggregated populations of horses on each estate, the ways in which these populations changed over the course of the year reveals some significant insights into how each estate interacted with the medieval horse market. Here we can apply a simple formula used in the demographic

[59] John Langdon, "The Economics of Horses and Oxen in Medieval England" *Agricultural History Review* Vol.30, No.1, 1982, 35-6.

calculations of human populations, generally called the 'demographic bookkeeping equation', which makes use of births, deaths, immigration and emigration as factors when considering the growth or decline of a population.[60] The formula operates in the following fashion:

Change in Population = [Births – Deaths] + [Immigration – Emigration]

Turning this equation from human populations to that of horses requires a decision of which values to insert into the above formula. The deaths of horses are recorded clearly in the accounts, and these values could be substituted into the formula without question. With respect to filling the 'births' category, the value used here is the number of adult horses which were added from foals on both estates. While these added foals were not born during the years in question, the estate most likely had produced them internally in the previous years. By using the added foals here, we can factor in the three-year development of young horses on these demesnes.[61] In filling the 'immigration' category, all horses bought or otherwise added by the estates, including strays, heriots (to be explained later) and the confiscated chattle of criminals are conceived of as immigrants to the estates, and used in that capacity in the formula. With respect to the 'emigration' category, this part of the formula is constituted almost solely through the sale of horses, the single exception being the one horse taken by the assessor of the

[60] For information about this formula, see: "Demographic Balancing (or bookkeeping) equation" in *US Census Bureau: Coverage Measurement:Definitions* accessed March 25, 2011, http://www.census.gov/coverage_measurement/definitions/

[61] It is of course possible that some of the horses that were added from foals in 1295-6 and 1301-2 were *not* produced internally on these estates, but brought in to the estate as young horses. However, the percentage of such animals is quite low. No young horses were brought into the Bishop of Winchester's estate in 1301-2 by any means, and only three were added to the Earldom of Lincoln in 1295-6, two of which were acquisitions through stray and the other was received from the reeve.

fifteenth from the manor of Esher in Surrey, part of the Bishop of Winchester's estate. With these values inserted into the demographic bookkeeping formula, the resulting equations for both estates look like this:

bishopric of Winchester

$$[9_{\text{added from foals}} - 27_{\text{died}}]+[(5_{\text{stray}}+22_{\text{heriot}}+1_{\text{from Bishop}}+36_{\text{bought}}) - (71_{\text{sold}}+1_{\text{taken by assessor}})] = -26$$

earldom of Lincoln

$$[11_{\text{added from foals}} - 23_{\text{died}}]+[(15_{\text{stray}}+6_{\text{heriot}}+14_{\text{bought}}+20_{\text{acquired other}}) - (48_{\text{sold}})] = -5$$

At this point our data indicates that both estates experienced a net loss of horses over the course of the years studied; the bishopric of Winchester experienced a more significant net loss of 26 horses than the Lincoln estate, which, in net terms, lost 5 horses in 1295-6. David Farmer has studied the bishopric of Winchester's demesnes for much of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and his figures do in fact show a steady reduction in the number of horses between 1302 and 1313.[62] The reduction in the dumber of demesne horses could have been the result of a decline in the scale of agricultural production over the course of that 11-year period. The net loss experienced by bishopric of Winchester in 1301-2 was just over five times that of the earldom of Lincoln in 1295-6, but without studying any additional years, it is difficult to say how significant the contraction

[62] Farmer recorded data from September for 1302, 1305, 1309 and 1313. The population of horses for those years, in order, was 327, 280, 265, and 272. David Farmer, "Woodland and pasture sales on the Winchester manors in the thirteenth century: disposing of a surplus or producing for the market? in Richard H. Britnell and Bruce M.S. Campbell, eds. *A commercializing economy: England 1086 to c. 1300* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 115.

of these horse stocks was beyond that.[63] Nevertheless, this exercise gives us a general picture of how the populations of horses on these estates might be analyzed over time, which, if done over longer periods, might provide insight into how they interacted with the horse trade in medieval England.

Horse Acquisition: Breeding Programs

One of the most revealing things from this analysis, though, was how horses were acquired, as shown in Figures 2 and 3. The two estates in our case study acquired work horses through different avenues and in varying degrees. While both estates acquired a similar number of adult horses over their respective years, the Lincoln estate spread its adult horse additions over much more diverse methods. Over the year of 1295-6, the demesnes of the earldom of Lincoln acquired 66 adult horses through nine different avenues of procurement. This is in comparison to the bishopric of Winchester, which added 73 new horses to its demesnes, the acquisition of these horses falling into only five different categories. We can see that the two estates displayed an especially great amount of differentiation in how they acquired horses outside of breeding internally.

[63] While outside the scope of this chapter, it would be possible to assess the 1304-5 account for the Earldom of Lincoln to see how the population of horses had changed since 1295-6.

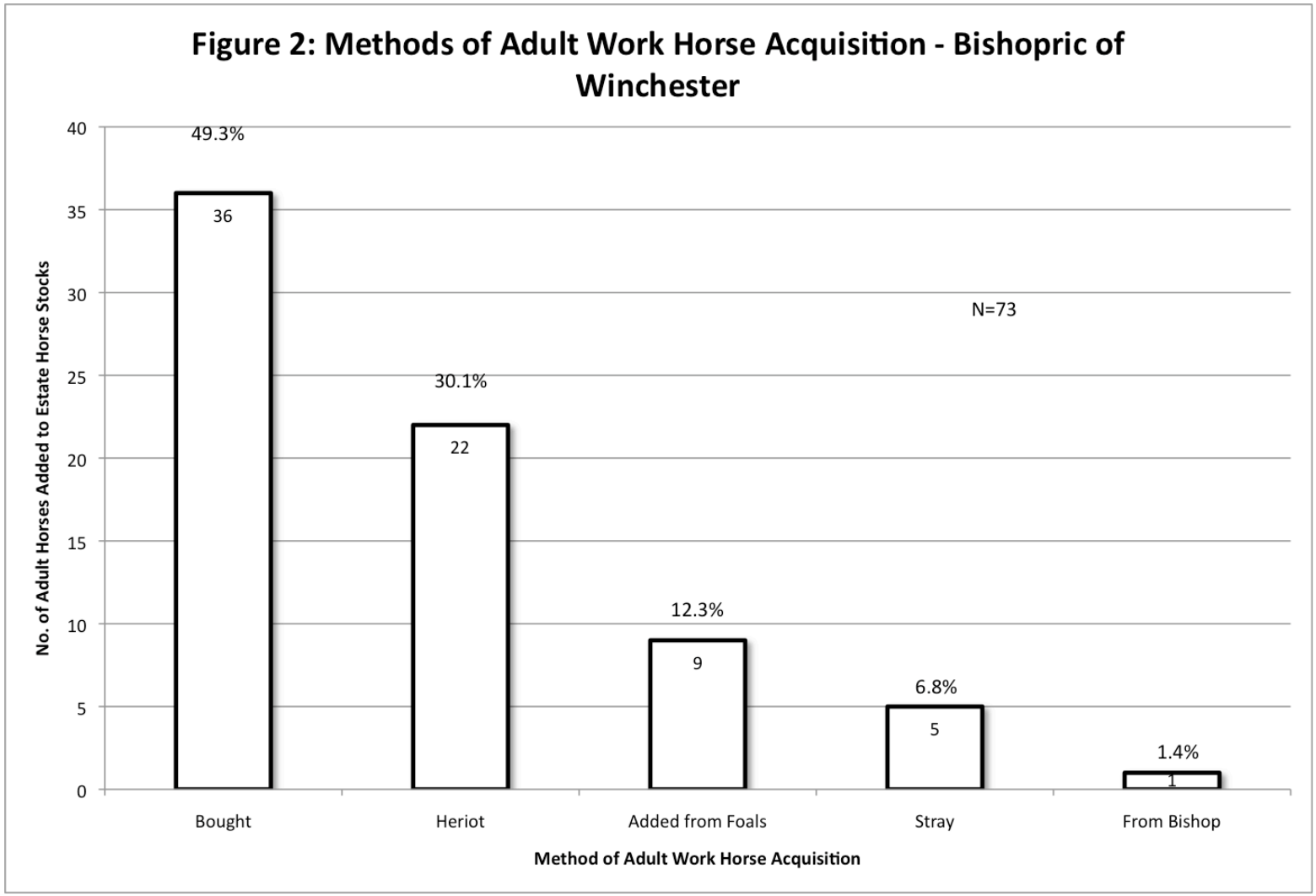


Figure 2: Methods of Adult Work Horse Acquisition - Bishopric of Winchester
No. of Adult Horses Added to Estate Horse Stocks
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
49.3%
36
30.1%
22
12.3%
9
6.8%
5
1.4%
1
N=73
Bought
Heriot
Added from Foals
Stray
From Bishop
Method of Adult Work Horse Acquisition

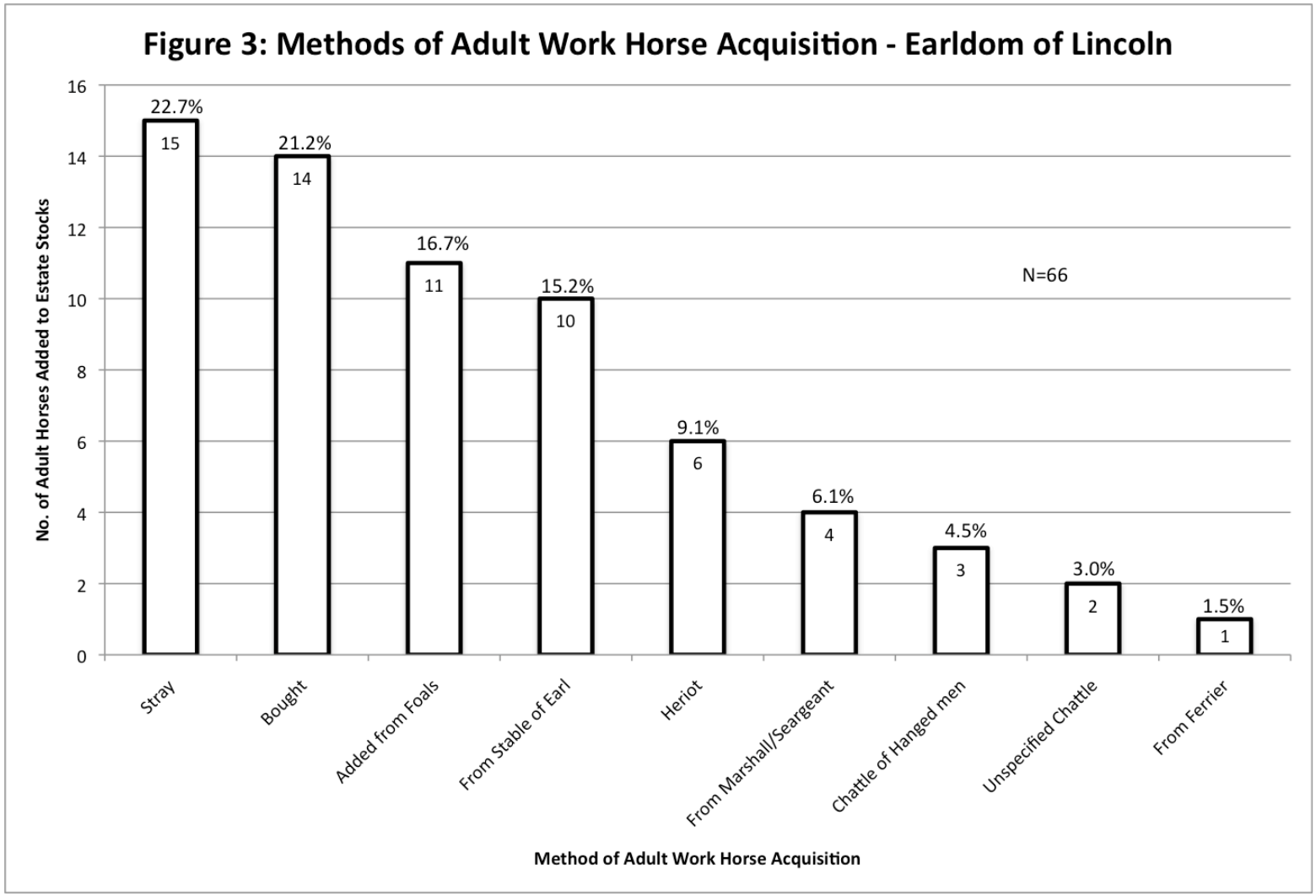


Figure 3: Methods of Adult Work Horse Acquisition - Earldom of Lincoln
No. of Adult Horses Added to Estate Stocks
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
22.7%
15
21.2%
14
16.7%
11
15.2%
10
9.1%
6
6.1%
4
4.5%
3
3.0%
2
1.5%
1
N=66
Stray
Bought
Added from Foals
From Stable of Earl
Heriot
From Marshall/Seargeant
Chattle of Hanged men
Unspecified Chattle
From Ferrier
Method of Adult Work Horse Acquisition

With respect to raising horses, horses bred internally represented 12.3% of total adult horse additions on the bishopric of Winchester, making it only the third most significant avenue of horse procurement on the estate by a fair margin. On the earldom of Lincoln, it was also the third most significant contributor to horse stocks at 16.7% of total additions, but more in line with the other major methods of acquisition, the purchase of horses and addition through strays.

The internal breeding of horses is somewhat of an anomaly with respect to the other mechanisms of horse acquisition. Estate (and demesne) managers would have had some degree of agency in the production of horses through breeding, in that they could purposely encourage or discourage it. However, outside the earl of Lincoln's Lancashire manor of Ightenhill, which functioned as a specialized stud farm for the production of riding horses,[64] the mares on all other manors functioned as both breeding and work animals. As David Stone observed concerning the reeves of Wisbech manor, part of the Bishop of Ely's estate in Norfolk, they "opted after the Black Death to use mares for ploughing, harrowing, and carting. Their main aim in doing this was presumably to reduce costs by maintaining horse numbers through breeding rather than purchase."[65] This was in contrast to the pre Black Death policy on Wisbech of using male horses as draught animals.[66] Stone argued that this decision was largely a cost-saving measure, which saved the manor on average 26*s.* a year, as the manor had spent over £24 on purchasing horses before 1348, and this was cut to under £2 for the

[64] TNA:PRO UK DL29/1/1, m.2.
[65] David Stone, *Decision Making in Medieval Agriculture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 114.
[66] Ibid.

period of 1349-75.[67] It appears the Lincoln estate was already doing this before the Black Death.

Demesne and estate managers on the bishopric of Winchester may well have been taking the same decision to use mares as draught as well as breeding stock, in order to maximize the utility of these horses. However, if this was the case, 1301-2 must have been part of a transitional phase in this process, as the number of adult horses purchased vastly outweighed the number added from the internally-produced pool of foals. A number of demesnes recorded that they had "no foals [that] year" because the mares were either sterile or too old, as on the manor of Ivinghoe in Buckinghamshire, where it was recorded that there were "no foals this year because the mares were feeble and sold [sic]."[68] Similarly, the manor of Bishopstoke recorded that not only did two mares die that year before they were able to give birth to foals, but also that the remaining mare did not foal because she was sterile.[69] When these factors are considered, it seems that, particularly in the case of the bishopric of Winchester, that internal horse breeding was to some degree a 'hit and miss' endeavor, possibly hampered by the poor health and sterility of overworked mares.[70] The frequent infertility among demesne mares is also a phenomenon observed by Stone for the manor of Wisbech.[71]

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[67] Ibid.
[68] Page, *WPR*,158.
[69] Ibid., 281.
[70] In these references of the sterility of mares, it is always the mare which is recorded as being sterile. One wonders if, in these cases, the mare in question was bred with more than one stud horse to determine that it was in fact the mare that was sterile. If this was not the case, some of these mares may have not foaled because the stud horse employed was in fact sterile.
[71] Stone, *Decision Making*, 114.

In these terms, internal horse breeding could be seen as only a semi-reliable form of horse acquisition where estate managers had some agency and ability to encourage or discourage horse production, but were hampered not only by the fact that foals took around three years to reach an age where they could work and contribute to the manor's agricultural enterprises as draught animals, but also by the fact that there was no guaranteed year-by-year supply of foals from the mares of the estate. The former factor would have necessitated that reeves and other demesne managers plan ahead at least three years in planning and projecting their stocks of horses, while the latter consideration meant that reeves would often need to supplement their stocks of adult horses in any given year by other means.

The evidence contrasts with previous interpretations about horse management policies on medieval demesnes. In terms of demesne management, David Stone has argued that "the chief means of replacing livestock in this period was through reproduction."[72] While this may have been true for Wisbech Barton, the manor from which Stone derives most of his evidence, or possibly for East Anglia more generally, this was clearly not the case on either of the estates studied here. Kathleen Biddick has stated that the estate of Peterborough Abbey generally bought cart- horses on the market but produced plough horses internally.[73] On the bishopric of Winchester, the only one of our estates which stocked cart-horses, purchased cart horses did outnumber internally bred animals 10 to 1, but purchased plough horses also outnumbered internally produced

[72] Stone, 150.
[73] Biddick, 150.

plough horses 4 to 1.[74] The cases of these two estates also suggest that the oft-stated notion that demesnes were self-sustaining is not wholly accurate. If the bishopric of Winchester was forced to rely upon adult horses promoted from foals as the sole method of horse stock augmentation in 1301-2, the estate would have fallen short by a fair margin. The same is true on the earl of Lincoln's estate, which promoted twelve fewer horses that year than perished through disease. Given that both estates only utilized working mares for breeding, not specialized breeding stock, perhaps internal production was considered a somewhat supplementary source of horses on these estates, simply used to fill the gaps left by other more prominent methods of horse acquisition.

Horse Acquisition: Buying Horses

The purchase of horses represents one of the most straightforward and direct interactions with the medieval market, and both of the estates in this case study dealt with the purchase of horses differently. We can see from the figures that on the Winchester estate, the purchase of horses was far and away the most significant method of horse acquisition, representing exactly 49.3% percent of all horses acquired in 1301-2. This was much higher than on the earldom of Lincoln, which acquired only 21.2% of its horses through purchase. The large amount of horses purchased by the Winchester estate may have been due in part to the estate's difficulty in successfully breeding horses internally. However, the fact that they did acquire such an amount through purchase is significant for this

[74] The Winchester estate bought 10 cart horses and graduated 1 from foals; it also purchased 24 plough horses while graduating only 6.

study, as it indicates strongly that there *was* a supply of horses available for purchase from elsewhere, upon which the bishopric of Winchester relied heavily. Unfortunately, the accounts give few indication as to where or how these horses were purchased. The Winchester manor of Harwell in Berkshire indicated that one cart-horse was purchased from Abingdon for the price of £1 6*s*, but this is the lone reference of this kind. Abingdon was also located in Berkshire, roughly eight kilometers due North of Harwell. While there was no chartered market or fair there, it was a place where the presence of merchants had been noted as early as 1086.[75]

Most entries that detail the purchase of horses state simply that a certain number of horses were acquired through purchase, along with the number of any other horses added by other means. As these accounts usually went to great lengths to explain any expenses which seemed anomalous or out of the ordinary, it is possible to deduce that the sources of these purchased horses was considered at the time to be so banal, or at least so far out outside the scope of the concerns of the reeve, that is was not worth recording any further details. But, without further information, it is difficult to say where the majority of these horses were purchased. They could have been acquired from weekly markets or livestock fairs, or they could have been acquired from individuals outside of any market or fair environment. It is also possible that some of the horses purchased by individual demesnes were bought from other demesnes of the estate. As many of the demesnes that comprised the two estates in this study sold a number of horses

[75] "Abingdon" in *The Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516*, Samantha Letters, ed. http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html Accessed March 27, 2010.

during the year, these could have conceivably been 'sold' to other demesnes. However, as both estates also 'transferred' horses between demesnes (21 on the Lincoln estate and two on the Winchester demesnes), it is difficult to see why horses would be recorded as transferred internally between manors on some occasions, but characterized as bought and sold in relation to other demesnes.

Horse Acquisition: Acquiring Horses Through Feudal Dues

Outside of purchasing horses, demesnes also acquired horses through the feudal obligations of their tenants, a practice which was very prevalent on the Earl of Lincoln's estate. One such source was heriots. This was a death duty, a form of tax where the lord, upon the death of a tenant, took the tenant's best beast, which was often a horse.[76] This particular feudal method of acquisition was especially prevalent on the Winchester estate, which added just over thirty percent of its adult horses through this tax in 1301-2, which, behind the purchase of horses, was the second most significant method of horse procurement on the estate. The rate at which a reeve or other demesne manager could expect to receive horses through heriots could therefore be roughly indexed to the mortality rate of the tenants of the manor, or the least those tenants that owned horses. It was not guaranteed, however, the 'best beast' would always be a horse; many heriots were fulfilled with oxen and the Bishopric of Winchester also recorded heriots of beehives and axes in 1301-2, an indication that some tenants lacked not

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

only a horse (or an ox), but any kind of livestock at all.[77] The lord was entitled to an animal of his choosing, and the proportion of horses chosen with respect to other animals, such as oxen, could be instructive in determining the horse's position in the estate's hierarchy of animal value.

Another one of these 'feudal' sources was that of stray animals. The earldom of Lincoln acquired 15 such horses, just under 23% of its total additions that year. This is a significant proportion in its own right, but the fact that more horses were acquired through strays than were bought or bred internally is very remarkable. The acquisition of stray horses was not a phenomenon restricted to the Lincoln estates, as the bishopric of Winchester obtained four horses through strays in 1301-2, although accounting for only 6.8% of total horse additions.

The nature of these stray horses is somewhat of a mystery. Were these animals actually stray in the modern sense of the term? Were they wild or feral horses that presented themselves for capture and subsequent use as draught animals? Esther Pascua argues that the distinction between wild and domestic animals in the medieval period was not as sharp as it is today. Citing French sources, she describes horses, along with hogs, as the best examples of medieval 'semi-domesticated' animals.[78] Interestingly, one example that she mentions in support of this statement was the practice of sending mares to the forest to foal, with the foals being left in the forest until needed.[79] There is also some evidence from England that supports Pascua's claims. St. Leonard's forest in Sussex was

[77] *WPR*, 153, 305.
[78] Esther Pascua, "From Forest to Farm and Town: Domestic Animals from ca. 1000 to ca. 1400" in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Middle Ages* ed. Bridgette Resl (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 81-3.
[79] Ibid.

said to contain both feral horses and wild deer in the Middle Ages.[80] These feral horses may have survived into the sixteenth century, when many such strays were mentioned in the forest.[81] In addition, the place-name of Horsham in Sussex may have been an allusion to the practice of rearing horses on the forest edge from as early as the tenth century.[82] By 1438, there was even a fair in St. Leonard's forest, which may have originally been founded for the purpose of selling feral horses.[83] With respect to our sample, a similar phenomenon seems to have been occurring on the Winchester manor of Rimpton in Somerset, which charged a herbage fee for the grazing of 68 plough horses and 28 bullocks which were "sold in the wood between Hockday (May 1st) and Lammas (August 1st)."[84] It is unclear as to where these horses and bullocks originated, whether they were stray or feral animals or simply the animals of peasants, but it seems to be evidence of the same kind of informal sale which occurred in St. Leonard's forest before it was incorporated into a chartered fair. The Canterbury tales also makes direct reference to stray horses, in this case, specifically mares. In the Reeve's tale, set near Trumpingdon in Cambridgeshire, a miller stealthily unties the horse of his customers, scholars who have come from King's Hall to have their corn ground, in order to distract them while he grinds their grain:

> And to the hors he goth hym faire and wel;
> He strepeth of the brydel right anon.
> And whan the hors was laus, he gynneth gon
> Toward the fen, ther wilde mares renne [85]

[80] T.P. Hudson ed., "A History of the County of Sussex" *Victoria County History* Vol.6, Part 3, pg. 13 n. 86.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid., n. 96.
[84] Page, *WPR, 41.*
[85] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales* (New York: Anchor, 1961), 85.

Soon after, the Miller's wife comes to the scholars and exclaims: "Allas! youre hors goth to the fen / With wilde mares, as faste as he may go."[86] The scholars hastily depart to recover their horse, and the miller is free to pilfer some of the students' grain. These pieces of evidence make a strong case for the stray horses mentioned in the Lincoln and Winchester accounts actually being stray or feral horses. No research has been conducted on the legal status of these feral horses; with respect to the feral horses in St. Leonard's forest, "it [was] not clear whether the horses were considered to belong to the lord."[87] Feral or wild deer, for instance, were always considered to be the property of the lord of the forest in which they resided,[88] and outside of private forests, all deer were considered to be the property of the king. If there were no specific laws or statutes attributing ownership of these feral horses to specific lords or institutions, these horses would have been an attractive alternative to other forms of horse acquisition, with likely no cost associated with their addition to the demesne. There would have, however, been peripheral costs associated with turning stray feral horses into useful draught animals. These horses would have needed to be broken and given sufficient training to function as part of the working stock of horses.

There is, however, another possibility. These 'stray' horses may actually have been horses which were impounded or taken by the agents of the lord, perhaps for trespassing, and after a pre-determined period of time, if left unclaimed, became the property of the lord, which is why they enter the manorial

[86] ibid.
[87] Hudson, "Sussex", 13
[88] Ibid.

accounts of the demesne. This was the argument made in 1382 by William de Garton, who argued before the king's Court that, in his capacity of reeve for the prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, he lawfully impounded a mare belonging to Sir John Crophill "for safekeeping and proclaiming it as the custom is,"[89] according to the view of frankpledge that his lord, the prior, held as a tenant-in-chief of the king. The court in fact determined that this was not in accordance with the custom and fined William 100*s* for his transgression,[90] an amount that may have included damages as 100*s* would have been an astronomical price to pay for such a horse (which William would presumably have surrendered anyway).

This seems an indication that certain lords held the right to impound stray animals, but had to meet certain conditions in order to proclaim them as their own. Both the Earl of Lincoln and the Bishop of Winchester were tenants-in-chief and would have held the view of frankpledge that William de Garton cited as the right that allowed him to impound and keep a horse in the name of his lord. With this right, sheriffs and reeves of both estates would have been able, in theory, to impound horses that strayed from their owners. If this was the case, the manor may have acted as a catchment area for these stray horses, essentially funneling them to the demesne. If this were the true source of these 'stray' animals, than there would have been a significant cost associated with acquiring these horses for use on the demesne. Impounded horses would have needed to be fed, supervised and cared for, and all of these endeavours would have carried an

[89] Morris S. Arnold, ed. *Select Cases of Trespass from the King's Courts 1307-1399* (London: Selden Society, Vol. 103, 1987), 252.
[90] Ibid.

associated cost. Nevertheless, especially on the earldom of Lincoln estate, the cost/benefit ratio must have been favourable for the reeves, as they utilized these stray horses as the primary method of adult horse acquisition on demesne lands.

Another significant source of horses on the earldom of Lincoln was through the acquisition of the chattel of criminals. The earldom acquired five adult horses in this manner, three being the chattel of hanged men and two listed simply as 'chattel' with no further description. These horses represented 7.5% of total acquisitions in 1295-6. If the chattel of hanged men and stray horses are taken together, the number of horses acquired through these methods account for over thirty percent of total horse acquisitions on the earl's estate in 1295-6. When horses acquired through heriots are factored in, this climbs to 39.3% of total adult horse additions on the Lincoln estate. This is significant, because it seems like these methods of horse acquisition would not be completely reliable, as the numbers of stray horses that might present themselves for capture or the number of tenants that will die in a given year could not be predicted with accuracy; nor can men be counted on to commit crimes and subsequently present themselves for hanging. The uncertainty of breeding horses internally was compounded by the uncertainty of acquiring horses through feudal dues, which may suggest that the market was even more important in ensuring that demesnes could maintain a consistent level of working animals.

Selling Horses

Demesne horses were only sold, as a rule, when they were close to the end of their working lives. The exceptions to this rule may have been those animals acquired through strays and heriots, which could often simply 'pass through' the demesne, being sold as quickly as they were received. The acquisition of horses was also often met by a reciprocal displacement of other horses which had already been incumbent on the manor. Especially in the Winchester accounts, acquired horses are frequently displaced by the reciprocal sale of an equal number of horses *in the same year*. In many of these cases, it is stated explicitly in the account that horses received as heriots were sold that year, essentially 'flipped' for cash once they came into the demesne. Of the 22 horses received through heriots, 8 were sold within the year, and were never employed on the demesnes at all. Of the eighteen manors of the bishop of Winchester's estate that acquired horses through heriots, eleven sold a reciprocal number of horses in the same year. This practice occurs with enough frequency that it seems unlikely that it is a coincidence. We could suggest that these Winchester demesnes, and quite possibly others, were 'flipping' many of the horses that they obtained; in these instances, replacing horses for demesne agricultural production may have been a secondary concern.

The horses added on both estates outnumbered those dying by a ratio of around 3 to 1, indicating that most horses passed through without working at all. On many of the demesnes, an ideal number of horses had likely been determined, and when the demesne acquired 'extra' animals through taxes like heriots, these

'extra' horses were likely deemed superfluous and either sold themselves, or used in place of existing, possibly older or less fit horses, which were sold instead. This phenomenon has significant implications for the trade in work horses, as it shows that demesnes may have acted as horse-dealers in their own right, by quickly selling surplus horses as they entered the demesne.

Again using John Langdon's average horse work-life figures,[91] combined with the data from Table 1 (pg. 10), we can get an idea of how many horses each estate absolutely needed to replace, which will, in turn, allow us to see how many horses were 'surplus' animals that were simply sold off. In the case of the bishopric of Winchester, given the 83 cart-horses on the estate's demesnes and an average work-life of 7 years (assuming that 1 of every 7 horses would have needed to be replaced that year) the bishop's estate would have had to replace 12 cart-horses in 1301-2. For plough horses on both the bishopric of Winchester and the earldom of Lancaster, and the mares of the Lincoln estates (209 + 172 + 46 = 427), divided by the 5.5 average work life-span for plough horses (and assuming a the 5.5 year figure is applicable for mares), the resulting figure is 77.64 plough-horses that would have needing replacing that year. Combined with the 12 Winchester cart horses, the resulting figure is roughly 90 horses that had to be replaced to sustain agricultural production on both estates. When we look back to figures 2 and 3, we see that the bishopric of Winchester added 73 horses, while the earl of Lincoln's demesnes added 66 work horses, for a total figure of 139 added horses. This indicates that the two estates received 48 more horses, or 53% more than they needed, a significant surplus which were most likely put straight

[91] Langdon, "Economics of Horses and Oxen", 36.

to market. While neither of these estates acted as breeding centres or producers of horses in that sense, the data indicates that many of the demesnes, or perhaps more specifically, demesne managers, were acting as middle-men of sorts, whose first concern was to manage the demesne's horse stocks efficiently, but in so doing facilitated the trade of work horses.

Conclusions

In relation to the marketing of horses, the estates studied here, and the agricultural enterprises they represented, could be interpreted in a number of different ways and to varying degrees. Neither of these estates directly produced enough horses through breeding to contribute to the horse stocks of medieval England as a whole. In fact, neither estate could keep up with its own demand for horses without other sources of animals. The breeding of horses was clearly a secondary concern on both estates, behind market purchases on the Bishop of Winchester's estate and feudal dues on the earldom of Lincoln. In both cases, the breeding of horses might be seen as little more than a form of insurance against the year-by-year vagaries of the market and potential low returns of 'feudal perquisites'.

The bishopric of Winchester's dependence on the market may suggest that the market for horses was more firmly entrenched in the south of England. Close to a number of markets and fairs, the Winchester estate seemingly relied on the efficiencies of the market economy more than any other method to acquire horses. This engagement with medieval markets may have also contributed to the

bishopric's significant number of cart horses, which were used to transport wool and grain, the most significant products of the estate's demesnes. The strength of the horse market allowed the estate to specialize in wool and grain production, and shifted the responsibility of producing horses mainly to outside sources. In the north of England, the significant number of stray horses acquired on the earldom of Lincoln may represent a more active enforcement of the feudal dues associated with the Earl's right of frankpledge.[92] This allowed the estate to bolster meager production from internal breeding with a large influx of stray horses, and to a lesser extent, the chattel of criminals and heriots.

Both estates were seemingly heavily involved in the selling of horses, a practice which may have transcended the requirements for effective estate management and put the reeves and bailiffs of these manors into the realm of horse-dealers themselves. Given this information, the generally accepted statement that "manors sold grain but bought livestock,"[93] may be revisited. This chapter has laid out the footwork and methodology using only a small portion of the data available for work horses in medieval England. Using the same approach with the mass of accounts that are available to researchers may eventually allow us to make some of these suggestions into more definitive statements about the nature of the agricultural horse movement and marketing and the role of demesnes in these activities.

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[92] Morris S. Arnold, ed. *Select Cases of Trespass from the King's Courts 1307-1399*, 252.

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

Chapter 2: Horses for War: The Exchange of Elite Horses in Medieval England

Compared to movement trade of agricultural horses discussed in chapter 1, the circulation in more expensive and exotic horses such as warhorses, coursers (swift horses, most often used for hunting) and palfreys (riding horses, desired for their gentle gait which was easy on riders), a group that I refer to as 'elite' horses, was different in two fundamental ways. First, it was much more international in character; while the vast majority of agricultural horses in England were procured from within the country, the trade in destriers, coursers and other elite horses exploited and stretched economic links to the continent and perhaps even to the Middle East. Second, this trade in elite horses operated with a different set of guiding principles than that of the agricultural horse trade, not as closely associated with the more conventional laws of supply and demand found near the margin of economic decision-making, but more informed by social norms and expectations that can be elucidated through the numerous ways in which these elite horses were exchanged. The spectrum of dealings involving elite horses was vast, encompassing not only a traditional cash nexus, but also gifts, symbolic payments, and payments in kind. In addition, the movement of these animals transcended not only manorial, estate and even national boundaries, but also traditionally accepted patterns of exchange. For the small segment of society that could afford them, the procurement of these animals was an intensive endeavor that exploited and stretched extra-national economic links to the continent.

In attempting to understand this elite sector of the medieval horse market, the 'trade' of these animals is only part of the story; an understanding of the other social and cultural mechanisms at work in the movement of these horses is necessary to appreciate how they circulated throughout medieval Europe and how medieval society interacted with them.

As one of the main thrusts of this chapter is that the medieval horse trade was not homogeneous, but composed of two discrete market sectors, one for agricultural horses, and one for elite horses, we must set the boundaries for what characterized the elite segment of the medieval horse exchange. One of the most straightforward ways to delineate these market segments is through price, and I have defined the 'elite' sector of the medieval horse market here as horses that regularly cost £5 and more.[94] While £5 was in itself a significant amount of money in the Later Middle Ages, the range of prices of elite horses was so great that high end destriers, used in war and comprising the most expensive of elite horses, were regularly priced at twenty times the average yearly wage of a skilled

[94] If we recall the price sample of agricultural horses of chapter 1, constituting the lower market segment, the highest value ascribed to any of these horses, a cart-horse purchased by the bishopric of Winchester in 1301-2, was 312 *d*., or £1 6 *s*., while the average for purchased cart-horses, the most expensive of work-horses, was just under one pound at 210 *d.* or 17 *s*. 6 *d.* Accordingly, we can likely say that the agricultural horse market, at least as illustrated by our sample from chapter 1, had a price cap of around one pound. While a more detailed discussion of elite horse prices can be found later in this chapter, the range in prices was much more expansive, ranging from £2 to £40, with an average price of £20.35 (The price sample for elite horses involves a number of averaged price values which do not divide into discrete pound/shilling/pence figures, so decimal figures are used here). Of the 95 price data points, only 7 of these fall below £10; just as I have taken the category of purchased cart-horses as the group of agricultural horses of highest value, I have taken this group of seven 'elite' horses as the lower end of the elite market sector. The average of these 7 lowest prices is £4.67, which I have rounded up to £5. [94] £5 also seems to be close to the minimum value of warhorses. Many military campaigns in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries only employed horses valued above £5. On occasions when horses of less than £5 were used in battle, they normally only constituted between 4% and 9% of all of the horses involved in the campaign. See: Andrew Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994), 211, 212.

worker, with their upkeep costing in excess of an unskilled worker's annual wage.[95]

The types of horses that composed the elite market segment also distinguished elite horses from agricultural-grade horses. The pinnacle of the elite horse segment was the *dextrarius*, anglicized as 'destrier' and also known as a 'great horse' or *magnus equus*. The term *dextrarius* is intimately tied with knighthood. While the Oxford English Dictionary defines *destrier* as "A Warhorse, a charger",[96] one of the historical extracts that informs the definition comes from medieval depictions of squires leading their masters' horses with their right hands.[97] The close link between the term *destrier* and knighthood has led to the standard translation of the Latin *dextrarius* to the modern English term *warhorse*.[98] The widespread use of this term in English has led to some confusion in contemporary scholarship. The problem is one of the logical relationship between the Latin term *dextrarius* and its regular English translation into *warhorse.* While most all the *dextrarii* mentioned in medieval sources were likely employed (or had the potential to be employed) as warhorses, not all warhorses

[95] The price of elite horses is illustrated by the following Letter patent of 1248: *"Order to Walter de Arundell to let William de Munrevell have one destrier of the price of 50 pounds of Tours as a gift from the king." Calendar of Patent rolls*, Henry III, 1347-58, 19. It is difficult to offer a reliable conversion factor for converting sums like the one mentioned above into modern monetary figures. However, to provide some perspective, Christopher Dyer provides that a skilled building worker, such as a carpenter or stone mason earned "2*d* per day in 1250, 4*d* in 1400 and 6*d* in 1500." Thus, such a worker, working six days per week, fifty weeks per year, would have earned £2.5 for a year's work in 1250 and £5 in 1400. Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the later Middle Ages: Social Change in England 1200-1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), xv; 71.

[96] "'destrer | 'destrier, n.". OED Online. March 2011. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/51097 (accessed April 27, 2011).

[97] Ibid.

[98] For instance, this is how all of the calendars of chancery documents most frequently translate the term *dextrarius*.

were destriers.[99] Andrew Ayton has likened this problematic assumption to "assuming every saloon car to be a Rolls Royce."[100] Partially in response to this, Ayton suggested that the definition of warhorse be widened from being synonymous with *dextrarius* to include any horse used by a medieval soldier:

> I do not…confine the use of the term [warhorse] to 'great horses' (or destriers), but apply it to all horses listed in inventories, from the moderately valued (but, nevertheless, barded) rouncies of Edward I's reign – the mounts of the rank and file men-at-arms – to the highly priced steeds, coursers and destriers, of the nobility.[101]

Ayton's definition of the term *warhorse* can go a long way to informing our definition of 'elite' horses. Indeed, we can likely conceive of Ayton's warhorses as a sub-section of the elite market segment discussed in this chapter. The above quote also brings up two other types of horses, coursers and rouncies.[102] Coursers occupied the rung just beneath destriers in the group of elite horses; they were less expensive than the great horses, although not substantially so, and were used extensively in medieval warfare as well as as riding animals and for hunting. Conversely, rouncies were, perhaps along with stotts,[103] the only types of medieval horses that could be considered to belong in both the agricultural and elite sectors of the medieval horse market. The higher-quality examples of these types made up the bottom-end of the elite segment, while their lesser brethren were among the more pricey agricultural horses (see Figure 4). The one other

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[99] For an example of this see: Peter Edwards, *The Horse Trade in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 12-13. Andrew Ayton has pointed out this issue of translation. See: Andrew Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994), 23.

[100] Andrew Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994), 23.

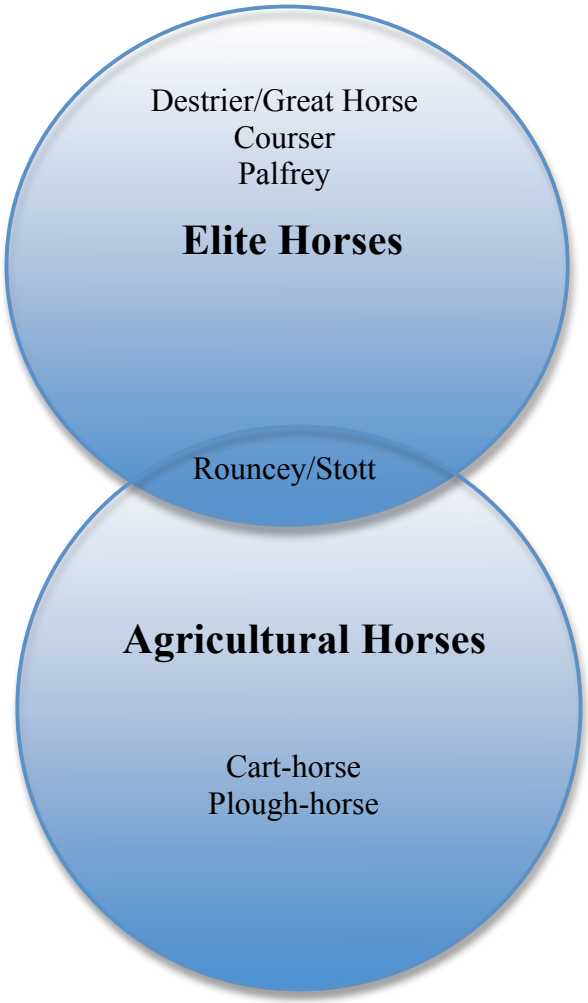
[101] Ibid.

[102] Latin *cursarius* and *runcinus*, respectively.

[103] Latin *stottus*.

type of horse regularly encountered in medieval records is the palfrey.[104] This was a horse renowned for its unique gait, which moved the left and right side limbs together and consequently produced a comfortable ride. The horses were most frequently used for travel rather than warfare, but figured into the elite segment likely at a level just below the coursers.

Figure 4: Market Segments of the Horse Trade in Medieval England



[104] Latin *palfridus*.

Sources

To illuminate the trade/exchange of these animals, this chapter is based largely on a study of the extant records of the medieval English chancery (the secretarial office of the Crown). Of the various records of the chancery, patent rolls have been used most extensively here, although entries from close rolls, fine rolls and liberate rolls have also been utilized. Letters patent were open letters sent from the Crown, often to an array of recipients, delivered unsealed and intended to be widely read. This is in opposition to letters close, which were sent to a more narrow audience sealed and read only by the addressed recipient(s), as they often contained confidential orders from the Crown. All of these records were copied onto large rolls, currently held in the National Archives in London.[105] Most of these records have further been summarized into calendar form and published by Her Majesty's Stationary Office.[106]

For this project the various printed calendars for these chancery rolls were scrutinized for any entries that mentioned horses, a process which produced about two hundred individual entries, as listed in Appendices 4 and 5**.** Although largely anecdotal in nature (that is, not ideal for quantitative analysis), once categorized temporally and thematically, these references amount to a significant body of evidence. There are other important considerations. The patent rolls, along with

[105] The patent rolls are held in the C 66 and C 67 class. C 66 holds the majority of the Patent rolls, and is the larger collection. C 67 holds the supplementary Patent rolls, which contain Letters patent of particular subjects, namely letters concerning royal pardons and grants of protection. The close rolls are held in the C 54 class, while the fine rolls are held in C 60. The liberate rolls can be found in C 62. For more information see: http://www.medievalgenealogy.org.uk/guide/rol.shtml

[106] See: *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (1232-1509), 52 vols. (London: HMSO, 1891-1916); *Calendar of Close Rolls* (1272-1485), 45 vols. (London: HMSO, 1892-1954); *Calendar of Fine Rolls* (1272-1509), 22 vols. (London: HMSO, 1911-1962); *Calendar of Liberate Rolls* (1226-1272), 6 vols. (London: HMSO, 1916-1964).

the close rolls, fine rolls and liberate rolls were documents produced by an aristocratic government, with resources unrivalled by even the largest magnates. Thus, the scale of royal breeding programs and horse purchases, both in quantity and quality, likely has to be considered as the pinnacle of the medieval horse market. That said, the policies and patterns of horse acquisition of the Crown likely influenced, or mirrored, the aristocratic class as a whole in medieval England,[107] and so, the conclusions reached from a study of chancery documents can likely be applied to a much greater group of elite horse consumers. However, in terms of representing the elite segment of the medieval horse market, these sources privilege the role of horses in warfare above all the other roles discussed above. While coursers, palfreys and even destriers were used off the battlefield for hunting, jousting and for travelling, the chancery material used in this chapter is regrettably silent about these uses of elite horses.

Driving the demand for elite horses: medieval warfare

Medieval warfare contributed significantly to the creation and sustenance of the upper segment of the medieval horse market; this was especially true in the tumultuous thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a period when England was almost constantly at war with Scotland, France and Wales. Andrew Ayton has written extensively about the horses of the fourteenth-century armies of Edwardian England (1272-1377), and our present study of chancery materials can shed

[107] This arguments was first suggested by R.H.C Davis in *The Medieval Warhorse*: *Origin, Development and Redevelopment* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 70.

further light on how the military endeavours of English armies interacted with and influenced the elite horse trade.

The demand that warfare placed on the elite sector of the medieval horse trade was constantly in flux. Sudden musterings of armies could place enormous demand on the supply of suitable warhorses, which could have profound, if often only temporary, effects on the market for suitable horseflesh. On some occasions, the mustering of armies produced regional 'horse bubbles' where horse-dealers utilized an opportunity to raise prices in the face of increasing demand. This was the case in France in 1302 when an expedition against the Flemings caused the prices of all types of all elite horses – destriers, rounceys and even palfreys – to rise.[108] Similarly, a complaint was made in the English parliament of 1369 about the "*trop excessive pris*" being charged by horse dealers.[109] The writ does not indicate if a specific military engagement was responsible for these excessive prices, but fears of a Welsh rebellion, Edward the Black Prince's exploits in Spain and the renewal of the Hundred Years' War, all taking place in 1369, could have contributed to this particular rise in demand (although it was also perhaps exacerbated by horse dealers raising prices in anticipation of such demand).

Royal pronouncements concerning the quality of warhorses might also have contributed to price bubbles for elite horses. Thus, in the face of a Scottish invasion in 1322, a letter patent was issued regarding the quality of warhorses

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[108] Cited from: Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, 222; cf: Philippe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages* trans. Michael Jones (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), 96. Originally published in French as *La Guerre a Moyen âge* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1980).

[109] "*pur ce qe les Armurers et Coreours de Chivaux qu vendent les Armurers et Coreours de Chivaux, a trop excessive pris, a grant damage a tout le Roialme…"* Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, 222. Cited from: P.E. Russell, *The English intervention in Spain and Portugal at the time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), 304 n.2. Cf. J. Strachey et. al., eds. *Rotuli Parliamentorum* ii, 300a.

necessary for the anticipated conflict. Beginning by stating that the sheriffs to which the letter was intended should "hasten the business, as the Scots have invaded the realm",[110] it went to instruct that "every man with 20 [pounds] of land [is to] have a horse [worth] 100 *s.*", while "every man with 10 [pounds] of land [is to] have a horse [worth] 40 *s."*.[111] It is difficult to say how stringently such pronouncements would have been obeyed, but if any significant portion of the lesser nobility found themselves without adequate horses in their stables, the regional horse markets might have been prone to increase prices, even if only temporarily.

These 'horse bubbles' could also function in reverse, with regional horse markets becoming flooded with warhorses found superfluous after the conclusion of a military campaign. For example, after the conclusion of the Weardale campaign in 1327, part of the first Scottish wars of independence, the sizable contingent of Hainault mercenaries sold what was likely the great majority of their horses to the English Crown.[112] There are no surviving details of this sale beyond this general statement, but we do know that the Crown in turn sold a number of these horses within England. The Crown sold 407 of the horses for a sum of £920 2*s* 8*d*, for an average price of £2.27, exceptionally low prices even for the most dilapidated warhorses, probably reflecting a 'fire sale' mentality on behalf of the Crown.[113]

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[110] *CPR*, Edward II, 1321-1324, 208.
[111] Ibid., 208-9.
[112] Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses,* 42. The number of horses was at least close to 700, as 672 of these Hainault horses were kept at York, both at the castle and at the archbishop's palace. Cited from: E101/18/5
[113] Ibid.

The practical role of the flagship horse for this upper segment, the destrier, likely reached its pinnacle as a piece of military technology in English armies in the first decade of the fourteenth century. After a humiliating defeat by the Scots at Bannockburn in 1314, English armies began to revise their military tactics, placing new emphasis on men-at-arms and especially archers.[114] Ayton argues that "[a]t the heart of English tactics from the 1330s [there] was a much diminished role for the warhorse. Its battlefield function was usually confined to the closing states of an engagement."[115] The warhorse did not completely fall from grace after this watershed 1314 defeat; it still retained the social and cultural importance noted above, and the role of the great horse in social capacities may have reached its apex after these animals became less desirable for military roles. For example, Richard II rode a £200 destrier at his coronation in 1377.[116] More than forty years after these steeds ceased to be the primary vehicles of medieval English warfare, there was still demand for them in social capacities, even if only for the greater nobility.

However, even if the practical military role for horses did became less important, as reflected in a lessening relevance for elite warhorses, there was an increased demand for somewhat lower-status horses, still very much part of the upper market segment, but only of horses strong enough to carry a man-at-arms, that is, animals of lesser stature, and likely less training and of lower cost, than the *magnus equus*.

[114] Davis, *Medieval Warhorse*, 10.
[115] Ibid., 21.
[116] Ibid., 37.

Driving the Demand for Elite Horses: Social Obligations and Expectations of the Medieval English Aristocracy

Medieval aristocratic life was defined by largesse. Christopher Dyer describes this *modus operandi* of the medieval elite:

> In their own day, the aristocracy would have been recognized by their style of life: their clothing and horses, their houses surrounded by at least token defenses, and above all their leisure, which enabled them to avoid both physical labour and retail trade, and to indulge in such pastimes as hunting.[117]

It was precisely these values, to which the elite and wealthy of medieval England aspired, that fuelled the upper segment of the horse economy. While medieval aristocrats did go to great lengths to live within their means, especially after the 1320s when the incomes from their lands – by far the main source of the class's income – began to decline,[118] "the aim [of this social class] was largely to live economically but not cheaply."[119] To these individuals, horses fulfilled two roles, one of logistical utility, and another of *social* utility. In fulfilling the former need, wealthy aristocrats could look to the lower segment of the horse trade, an ability unique to the wealthy members of medieval society. The barrier separating the two market segments was permeable in only a single direction, allowing those with the means to purchase expensive animals from the upper segment to also act as consumers in the lower sector of cheaper animals.

That said, these transactions would have constituted the small area of overlap between the otherwise separate horse markets, containing the more costly

[117] Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 19.
[118] Ibid., 27.
[119] Ibid., 86.

of the 'agricultural grade' horses. An example of this small 'middle ground' where these two markets overlapped is an allocation of forty marks (£26 3*s*. 4*d*.).[120] for the purchase of cart-horses for the king in 1236, with a provision to spend more if needed.[121] Even if this forty marks were used to purchase fifty horses – and this can safely be considered an upper limit – a price of 10*s* 8*d* would have been paid, on average, for each horse, an amount that would place the animals in the upper echelon of cart-horse prices at the time.[122]

While both quality and quantity of material goods separated the aristocratic class of medieval England from the rest of society, it was chiefly the quantity of these goods which mainly characterized aristocrats.[123] Christopher Dyer illustrates this phenomenon in looking at two different aristocratic households. In 1320, Hugh Audley had between thirty and fifty horses with his household on any given day, while Alice de Bryene, a dowager of a lower echelon of the aristocratic class, usually had between four and eight.[124] Aristocratic households, especially of the more well-to-do magnates, were largely itinerant. The family and household servants would travel around the country, staying at family's own properties throughout England, while also spending time visiting the estates of their fellows. The Audley household would have almost certainly been itinerant for most of the year, while the more modest holdings of Alice de Bryene would have forced her household to be somewhat more sedentary.

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[120] 1 mark is equal to 13*s* 4*d* or 160*d*.
[121] *CPR*, Henry III, 1232-1247, 139.
[122] Price data from: David Farmer, "Some livestock price movements in thirteenth-century England" *Economic History Review,* New Series, 22 (1969), 2.
[123] Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 19.
[124] Ibid., 71.

These itinerant households would have maintained a core group of horses, and while some of these horses were likely cart horses, pack horses or riding horses called rounceys, a good portion, especially in the case of Hugh Audley's household would have been of the *grand chival* or *magnis equus* class.[125] This core group of horses would have been augmented with the hiring of pack and sumpter horses when the household moved locations. A Crown example from the royal wardrobe, an office which facilitated this aspect of itinerant households, recorded in 1361 the hiring of "horses, carts and carriages, for the carriage of things for the household…"[126]

With respect to social utility, members of the aristocratic class, especially males who most frequently also held roles as knights, would have been expected by medieval society to appear at all times with material belongings that were befitting of their station. A good example of this is the image of Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, a knight who held lands in Lincolnshire, contained within the psalter he commissioned sometime in the early fourteenth century (ca. 1320-1340). (See Plate 1)

[125] Household accounts, which provide the references above, recorded the household's horses and the corresponding amounts of fodder that they required. Aristocratic households were frequently itinerant, and the number of horses employed at any given time was a function of the size of the travelling party. At times when the household was sedentary, the number of horses kept would likely be at it's lowest. However, the stables would have housed the horses of guests at times, and the presence of these horses likely inflates slightly the average size of the household's horse stocks.

[126] *CPR*, Edward III 1361-1364, 57.

Plate 1: Sir Geoffrey Luttrell and Warhorse ca. 1320-1340

Luttrell Psalter, British Library, Add.42130, f.202v

With respect to this image, Andrew Ayton argues:

> this is not a scene taken from life, but rather a celebration of knightly status, and expression, by a member of the chivalrous class, of his position on society. As such, it is only to be expected that Sir Geoffrey would wish to be presented as a mounted warrior on a brightly caparisoned warhorse; indeed, it is just such an image which his peers, and society at large, would expect to see.[127]

[127] Andrew Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994), 27-8.

Members of the medieval English aristocracy, like Geoffrey Luttrell, had many societal obligations and expectations to meet. One of these was to 'look the part', to dress and adorn oneself with appropriate attire and accessories, of which the horse was a vital component. One indication of such motivations is alluded to in a letter patent from 1299: safe-conduct was granted to an unnamed "keeper of three war horses", which were being brought "for the king's riding from Bayonne to England."[128] No indication was given as to the value of these horses, but in this instance, there seems to be no military activity that would necessitate a destrier, and a palfrey may have been a more suitable choice, given its easy-riding gait, for a journey from the south of France, but yet Edward I chose to make the journey with three destriers. This example illuminates the ways in which form could override function among the aristocracy in their horse decision making; the need to live up to social expectations in many ways may have been a primary motivation that drove the upper segment of the medieval horse market, as the aristocratic need for conspicuous consumption ensured a great amount of demand for increasingly expensive horses acquired from renowned horse-producing regions of Europe.

[128] *CPR*, Edward I, 1292-1301, 417. As the calendars of the patent rolls provide only summaries of the letters in English, I do not have the original Latin term used to describe these 'war-horses.' In the context of other similar documents which I have examined in the Latin, the only two likely possibilities would be *dextrarii* or *Magni Equii*. Given that the calendar of patent rolls does employ the English term 'great horse' with some regularity, it is probably a fairly safe assumption that the original document used the term *dextrarii* here.

High-End Horse Acquisition: Horses From Outside England

The king's elite horses were seemingly most often obtained from outside England. Of the patent roll entries queried for this study, 32 give the specific origins of purchased horses, and 26 of these, or just over 81%, indicate the foreign acquisition of elite horses. Procuring elite horses from outside England could be a long and complicated endeavour, and the Spanish mission of Arnold de Garcy poignantly illustrates this. In 1332-3, Arnold, who was the master of the king's horses south of the Trent in England, was sent to Spain in November of 1332 for the purposes of buying horses for King Edward III.[129] Arnold was given £100 from the purse of the king's "chamber",[130] and was instructed to collect a further 1000 marks (£666 13*s.* 4*d.*) while abroad from two burgesses who had a debt to the Crown dating back to the time of Edward II. Arnold was successful in recovering 706 marks, and used this, in addition to the £100 he had brought, to purchase 24 great horses for a total price of £715 13*s.* 4*d.* Upon his return to England 180 days later, Arnold delivered 19 of these horses to the king's stables, as four [sic] of the lot had been taken by the bailiff of the king of Spain.[131] Arnold asked for an allowance of the king for these animals until he could get them back, but was ultimately held responsible for repaying their value, 100 marks, to the exchequer.[132] In terms of price, the average price of the 24 horses would have been £29.84. However, we might consider the four horses

[129] Nellie Neilson, "The King's Hunting and His Great Horses" *The English Government at Work 1327-1336 Vol. 1: Central and Prerogative Administration* (Medieval Academy of America, 1940), 439.

[130] Neilson most likely was referring to the Wardrobe of the king.

[131] This leaves one horse unaccounted for. There is no mention of what happened to the 24th horse.

[132] Neilson, 439.

confiscated by the bailiff of the Spanish king to be a form of custom, or tax. If we factor this into the average price, dividing the total by 19, the average price rises significantly to £37.69, putting these Spanish horses near the very peak of elite horse value.

Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the kings of England as well as many of the wealthier members of the aristocratic class continued to turn to the continent for high-end horses. At certain times, traffic of horses in and out of England caught the attention of royal policy-makers. In 1258, Henry III prohibited the export of horses, apparently worried that this might do "damage to the realm':

> Mandate to Richard de Grey, constable of the castle of Dover and warden of the Cinque Ports, as the King is informed that many are crossing by the said ports with horses for sale to the damage of the realm, which the king will not endure to cause proclamation to be made, and to prohibit, under pain of losing such horses, any to cross.[133]

It is unclear what the exact danger the export of horses posed to England. This letter may well be directed towards the depletion of native horse stocks, and was thereby encouraging the selective breeding of only the best of the king's horses. Conversely, the decision to prohibit the export of horses may have been one based on military concerns. Perhaps the English Crown was worried about the prospects of furnishing their enemies on the continent with horses that could eventually be used against them in battle. This seems to have been the case in 1321, when Mary, countess of Fiffe, was granted safe conduct for her servants, travelling to London to buy "cloths, jewels and other things for her chamber"; on

[133] *CPR*, Henry III, 1247-1258, 644.

the condition that "they take back to Scotland no warhorses or armour."[134] This anxiety about the export of horses was still present later in the fourteenth century, as a letter close from 1364 and 1367 expressly prohibited the export, "without the king's license and special command" of horses, mares, bows and arrows. The only persons falling outside of this policy were "known merchants", who were apparently still allowed to conduct their business as usual.[135]

The motivation behind the proclamation may also have been monetary. If we consider the apparent 'tax' of four horses taken by the king of Spain in the example above, the English Crown may have been positioning themselves to extract similar duties. Whatever the motivation behind these particular prohibitions, they do indicate a level of awareness and interest by the Crown in horse movements generally.

In addition to the dearth of acceptable animals in England, obtaining horses from abroad also held another benefit for members of the aristocratic class. Horses imported from outside England had an exotic quality that would add to the stature of the purchaser. Just as a European car might appeal to consumers in North America today, imported horses from the continent were valued not only for their quality, but also for the status they could bring to a buyer. Accordingly, in the squire's tale, Chaucer's squire lauds the virtues of horses obtained from foreign lands:

[134] *CPR,* Edward II, Vol. 4, 36.
[135] *CCR*, Edward III, Vol. 11, 370.

> Greet was the prees that swarmeth to and fro
> To gauren on this hors that stondeth so;
> For it so heigh was, and so brood and long,
> So wel proporcioned for to been strong,
> Right as it were a steede of ***lumbardye***;
> Therwith so horsly, and so quyk of ye,
> As it a gentil ***poilleys***[136] courser were.
> For certes, fro his tayl unto his ere,
> Nature ne art ne koude hym nat amende
> In no degree, as al the peple wende.[137]

In praising the virtues of both Lombard and Italian horses, we see the prestige that horses from these places held. While the Crown likely acquired foreign horses in part due to the fear of the breeding stock in England becoming too inbred, we can see how medieval aristocrats could be compelled towards the social currency of foreign horses.

Letters patent most frequently use the blanket term 'from [parts] beyond seas'[138] when referring to imported horses. However, there are specific references to horses being imported, for the king's use, from Spain,[139] Sicily,[140] Holland,[141] and France.[142] In the case of imports from Holland, the prices of the horses are not given, but the term *magnus equus* is used specifically, leaving little doubt that these were very expensive warhorses. Agents in Spain were given £1000 from the "issues of Gascony" to purchase horses there, again indicating the higher price

[136] From the old French *Poille*, a region in southern Italy known in Italian as *Puglia*, apparently renowned for producing quality horses.
[137] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, 130.
[138] *de partibus transmarinis.*
[139] For example see: *CPR*, Edward I, 1281-92, 11.
[140] For example see: *CPR*, Edward III, 1334-1338, 166.
[141] For example see: *CPR*, Edward I, 1281-92, 18..
[142] For example see: *CPR*, Edward III, 1345-1348, 333.

level of the animals to be purchased.[143] These purchases could at times transect several administrative levels, as illustrated by a Letter patent from 1256:

> Notification that the king is bound to Daymar Cruset of Pampeluna in 25 marks for a horse bought of him by Peter Chasepork, sometime Treasurer, and by order of the king delivered to William Nevyle, for arrears of his stipends while he was in the king's service in Gascony, as is testified by letters patent of the same Peter, which the said William has surrendered; with promise to pay the same on the Quinzane of Easter.[144]

In this case, the horse in question was purchased in the name of the king, but given to William Neville, a northern baron, in lieu of monies owed. The involvement of royal administrators was not always necessary, as Edward the Black Prince personally purchased two horses from his own lieutenants for the sum of £9 6*s* 8*d* at the battle of Poitiers.[145]

In many cases, merchants and horse dealers were used to procure horses abroad. Such was the case in 1276, when Benevenutus de Bolonia and John le Graunt, merchants, were given safe conduct to bring thirty horses to England, the animals having been previously purchased by Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and the king's sometime lieutenant in France.[146] Similarly, bailiffs in Whitesand, a coastal village in Cornwall in the south-west of England, were asked to allow one Elias de Hauvill to "bring over" five horses for "the king's use".[147] The same permission was granted to Otto de Grandisono, bringing two destriers, Nutus, a merchant of Florence, bringing ten horses, Matthew de Columbariis, who had

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[143] *CPR*, Edward I, 1281-92, 11.
[144] *CPR*, Henry III, 1247-58, 531.
[145] *The Register of the Black Prince,* Vol. IV, 254, f. 145 (1358). Also cited in: Ann Hyland, *The Horse in the Middle Ages* (Gloucestershire, Sutton Publishing, 1999), 71.
[146] *CPR*, Edward I, 1272-1281, 171.
[147] *CPR*, Edward I, 1272-1281, 184.

with him a further twenty horses "for the king's use" and Galvanus de Ferrariis, who brought a further forty horses.[148] In none of these entries are any specific values given, but two of these animals were referred to as 'destriers' a clear indication of substantial value, while the rest were deemed to be simply "horses of value".[149] The patent rolls do give specific price information for six foreign purchase transactions between the years 1242 and 1313, which allows us a small price sample of 41 horses obtained abroad by the Crown (see Table 3).

Some of these merchants seem to have specialized as equine traders, and were regularly employed by the Crown to procure horses from abroad. In 1282, six years after the transaction discussed above, the same Nutus of Florence, this time along with his brother Burges, brought eighty "great horses from beyond seas."[150] William de Tholosa, who, in 1313, provided the 22 Spanish horses given in Table 3, was sent again to Spain in 1314, this time specifically for warhorses.[151]

[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid.
[150] *CPR*, Edward I, 1281-1292, 14.
[151] *CPR*, Edward II, Vol. 2, 102.

Table 3: Price and place of purchase data for 41 Crown purchases of foreign horses: 1242 - 1313

Year	Price in Pounds	Place of Purchase	Year	Price in Pounds	Place of Purchase
1242	[14.50]	Aquitaine	1313	[27.39]	Spain
1242	[14.50]	Aquitaine	1313	[27.39]	Spain
1242	[14.50]	Aquitaine	1313	[27.39]	Spain
1242	[14.50]	Aquitaine	1313	[27.39]	Spain
1242	[14.50]	Aquitaine	1313	[27.39]	Spain
1242	[14.50]	Aquitaine	1313	[27.39]	Spain
1242	[14.50]	Aquitaine	1313	[27.39]	Spain
1242	[14.50]	Aquitaine	1313	[27.39]	Spain
1242	[14.50]	Aquitaine	1313	[27.39]	Spain
1242	[14.50]	Aquitaine	1313	[27.39]	Spain
1242	[14.50]	Aquitaine	1313	[27.39]	Spain
1242	[14.50]	Aquitaine	1313	[27.39]	Spain
1242	[14.50]	Aquitaine	1313	[27.39]	Spain
1242	[14.50]	Aquitaine	1313	[27.39]	Spain
1242	[14.50]	Aquitaine	1313	[27.39]	Spain
1242	26.67	Bordeaux	1313	[27.39]	Spain
1243	14.00	Gascony	1313	[27.39]	Spain
1254	25.00	Tours	1313	[27.39]	Spain
1276	11.10	Gascony	1313	[27.39]	Spain
			1313	[27.39]	Spain
			1313	[27.39]	Spain
			1313	[27.39]	Spain

Note: Prices in square brackets are calculated averages.

Given the great prices of expensive warhorses and the rate at which the English Crown required these animals for war, the Crown engaged often with the medieval credit market. A Letter patent from 1300 acknowledges a debt of £962 11*s* 6*d* to the Society of the Frescobaldi which was loaned to Henry de Lacy, the king's lieutenant in Aquitaine and used partially to compensate knights for horses lost in the war, which were effectively retroactive purchases of warhorses, a mechanism of the elite horse market which will be discussed below.[152] The Frescobaldi were an Italian merchant society which regularly loaned large sums of money to the English Crown, especially during the reigns of the three Edwards (i.e. 1272-1377).[153] While we cannot be sure of what portion of this debt was owed to the reimbursement for horses, the large total sum suggests that it was a significant amount.

As just indicated, in many cases, royal outlays of cash for horses were often retroactive reimbursements for horses lost by individuals while serving the Crown in some capacity. In many cases of this nature, the horses in question were warhorses lost in battle, an example for such being a reimbursement contained in a letter from 1296:

[152] *CPR*, Edward I, 1292-1301, 489. This is the same Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln who held the Earldom of Lincoln discussed in chapter one.

[153] For information about the relationships between the English Crown and Italian bankers see: Adrian R. Bell, Chris Brooks and Tony K. Moore, *Accounts of the English Crown with Italian Merchant Societies, 1272-1345* (List and Index Society, Vol. 331, 2009)

> Acknowledgement of the king's indebtedness to Hugh de Bokesworth, knight, of the county of Cambridge, in nine marks sterling, to be paid, at the coming of the king to London, as compensation for a Bay horse lately appraised for John de Waleys, his yeoman, in the Scotch war, which died in the king's service in that war at the town of St. John, Perth, in July last.[154]

Entries such as this are abundant in the Patent rolls.[155] The late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were a period of almost constant tumult for English royalty and administration, with the nation frequently at war with France, Scotland and Wales. These types of transactions took place so regularly that they became *de rigueur* for expeditionary English forces under the three Edwards (1272-1377). The compensation for horses lost while in the king's service became part of the compensatory package for soldiers serving the Crown, and functioned much like an insurance policy on these horses. The animals were appraised at the beginning of a campaign and the appraised value could be claimed from the exchequer if the horse was lost during the campaign. This process led to the creation of horse inventory documents, which mainly include pre-campaign horse appraisals, and *restauro equorum* accounts, which were lists of the horses lost while on active service.[156] During the reigns of the three Edwards, the period for which this process is most apparent, the mean values for horses claimed during the campaigns covered by this process ranged from £5 to £20, [157] which corresponds

[154] *CPR*, Edward I, 1292-1301, 193. For other similar examples see: Henry III, Vol. 4, 275, 341, 345, 382, 395,

[155] For example, see also: CPR, Henry III, Vol. 3, 275, 276, 323, 341, 345, 382, 395; Henry III, Vol. 5, 16, 112, 224; Edward II, Vol. 1, 287; Edward II, Vol. 3, 161, 215; Edward III, Vol. 9, 56.

[156] Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, 49. For detailed information about this process and these sources see: 48-83.

[157] Ibid. 245, 265, 271.

closely to the lower end of the price range we have postulated for elite horses as a whole.

While warhorses are most frequently mentioned in terms of reimbursements, the Exchequer did on occasion provide reimbursement for other kinds of horses. In January of 1256, a letter patent was issued instructing the exchequer to issue payments to nine different individuals, for amounts ranging from 1 mark (13*s* 4*d*) to 57*s* 5*d*, "for rounceys lost in the king's service in Gascony."[158] While rounceys, which were primarily riding horses, could be had for a wide range of prices, as illustrated above, the price of 57*s* 5*d* is evidence that at least some of the horses in this group of 'lost' animals belonged to the high end market.

The evidence from patent rolls indicates that the English Crown alone was a significant consumer of elite horses outside the island. This is likely due to the fact that England did not have sufficient stocks of elite horses to meet the demand and that those with the means to import exotic horses from the continent would also have done so as a matter of prestige and conspicuous consumption. While kings of England and other magnates did maintain stud farms, and the royal administration took at least some measures to protect the country's native horses stocks, for the expensive warhorses used both in battle and as status symbols, it seems clear that England was a significant importer of these animals.

[158] *CPR*, Henry III 1256-1272 (London: HMSO), 458.

High-end Horse Acquisitions: Horses from Within England

Of the 32 references found within the patent rolls that give specific origins of purchased horses, only six indicate the purchase of horses from within England itself (see appendix 4). In these cases, the king and agents of his wardrobe looked towards English markets and fairs for horse acquisitions. Fairs and markets differed in several important ways, particularly in frequency and size. Markets were regular local events, and usually occurred on a weekly basis in a permanent location, as defined by a market charter – a document granted by the king giving permission for the market to take place under specified conditions. Weekly markets were the venues where staple items were bought and sold. Grains and other produce were regularly traded, along with livestock and dairy products.

Fairs were much grander affairs, occurring only once yearly and lasting several days. The wares offered were also much more diverse and expansive. Some of the larger fairs like St. Ives, held from 1110 at a nearby village called Slepe in Huntingdonshire,[159] attracted merchants from across Europe, who regularly traded in expensive cloth, spices, and animals like ferrets and falcons.[160] In the Middle Ages, fairs were central commercial centres for all kinds of goods. Ellen Wedemeyer Moore nicely summarized the role of these institutions in the medieval economy: "…fairs were an important location for marketing of all kinds: wholesale and retail and international, foodstuffs, livestock, luxury items and everything in between."[161] The royal household figured prominently in the

[159] Ellen Wedemeyer Moore, *The Fairs of Medieval England: An Introductory Study* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1985), i.
[160] Ibid., 52.
[161] Ibid.,13.

clientele of large fairs, both within England and abroad, spending annually more than £500 on cloth alone.[162] Horses were also regularly present among the available wares at some fairs, but the role that fairs played in the medieval horse trade remains somewhat murky. St. Ives fair did have a dedicated horse market for at least some time in the Middle Ages, while Stamford fair in Lincolnshire and Chester fair in Cheshire were two places where the Black Prince regularly bought horses.[163] The fair at St. Ives boasts some of the most extensive extant records of medieval fairs, but information on the buying and selling of horses is still relatively scarce. One of the few indications of the existence of a horse market at St. Ives fair comes from the fair court. A case presented in 1291 concerned a Parisian named Thomas Humfrey, who accused John de Flit of breaking a contract that was initially made "in St. Ives, in the horse market."[164]

Horses also numbered among the purchases made by the English government at fairs, be they for the king's personal use, for his itinerant household, or for military endeavours. Royal agents were regularly sent to fairs to purchase horses, as illustrated by a letter patent of October 18,1265: "Appointment, during pleasure, of James de Dunstaple to make purchases of horses necessary for the king in fairs of the realm, so that he answer for the said horses."[165] This was an office that James de Dunstaple held for at least twenty-one months, as in a second letter, issued on July 7, 1267:

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[162] Ibid., 1.
[163] Hyland, 71.
[164] *…in villa S. Ionis in foro equorum…* See: Charles Gross, ed. *Select Cases Concerning the Law Merchant: A.D. 1270-1638* Vol. 1, Local Courts. Selden Society Vol. 23. (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1908), 43.
[165] *CPR*, Henry III, 1258-1266, 467.

> Exemption of John de Dunestaple [sic; presumably James meant], merchant, whom the king heretofore appointed buyer of horses for him in fairs throughout the realm, from prises and all manner of customs, except the due and ancient prises; as long as he attends to that office.[166]

With the latter letter, James de Dunstaple was given freedom to procure horses for the king essentially unencumbered by tolls or customs. This relaxation of customs and dues for an agent is not uncommon for the period; those transacting business on behalf of the king were often given immunity from such nuisances, and the practice of purveyance, especially in the fourteenth century, was the epitome of such policies.[167] However, this particular letter gives an indication that horses purchased at English fairs were, for most people, likely subject to some degree of customs and tolls. The Chancery did not issue letters patent without reason; the fact that the letter appears can be taken as an indication that this particular agent did encounter some kind of encumbrance in the form of tolls or customs charges and, as he was purchasing horses for the king, asked for a future exemption from royal administrators. James de Dunstaple was not alone in

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[166] *CPR*, Henry III, 1266-1272, 85.

[167] Purveyance was the practice of collecting victuals for the Crown, most frequently to supply expeditionary armies. Under this system, sheriffs were sent around the country to purchase grains and other supplies; once purchased the supplies were transported to areas of military need. While sometimes employed to furnish parliament during periods of duress, goods collected through purveyance were regularly transported to ports on the coasts of England and from there to Scotland or the Continent and used to feed English armies fighting there. While producers were almost always paid for these goods, this was essentially a system of forced sale, and some were forced to wait significant amounts of time before receiving payment for their goods. We can see this as an extreme extension of the policies discussed above. Whereas exempting an agent on royal business from certain tolls was likely to expedite efficiency of transactions, purveyance forced royal agents to the 'front of the line' as consumers while also forcing royal transactions through the local economy. For more on purveyance as it pertains to provisioning armies, see: Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: the English Experience* (New Haven, 1996), 257. For a picture of the purveyance system in action see: Jordan Claridge and John Langdon, "Storage in medieval England: the evidence from purveyance accounts, 1295-1349 *Economic History Review*, forthcoming. Available for online early view: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1468-0289/earlyview
DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-0289.2010.00564.x

this privilege, as Robert de Parys, a horse dealer, was granted exemption "for life, of toll on all his goods and wares within the realm" for "service in the siege of Berwick-on-Tweed and the war of Scotland."[168]

These tolls may also have extended to the transportation system. Bridges and ferries were particularly financed by tolls.[169] A letter patent from 1315 illustrates how such tolls could be levied:

> Ordinance after inquisition *ad quod damnum* made by the sheriff of York, establishing a ferry for men, horses, carts, corn, and other goods across the Humber between the town of Kyngeston-upon-Hull [*sic*] and the county of Lincolnshire with the following tolls to be taken for the king's use, viz.:½ *d*. for a man on foot; 1d. for a horseman with his horse ; for a cart, with two horses 2*d*.; with three horses 3*d*., and with four horses 4*d*.; and so for each animal crossing over there 1*d*. for which the keeper of the said town is to answer yearly at the Exchequer.[170]

These tolls functioned similarly to modern tariffs, like those charging according to the number of axles on a vehicle (seen regularly today on toll-roads and ferries) with a sliding scale indexed to the number and nature of people and animals and vehicles making use of a particular piece to transportation infrastructure. These tolls used the number of horses as a specific way to calculate an appropriate toll, just as modern toll-booths or ferries charge according to a vehicle's number of axles.[171]

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[168] *CPR*, Edward III, 1330-1334, 483.

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

[170] *CPR*, Edward II, 1313-1317, 344.

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

Some letters patent mention specific fairs where horses were purchased, as was the case when safe conduct was granted for agents sent to Stirling Fair in Scotland: "Safe conduct for certain servants whom William son of Glaye, king's yeoman, is about to send to Stryvelyn fair to buy horses and other beasts, and drive them to the parts of Lindsey [in Lancashire]."[172] Stanford Fair (in Norfolk) was also named explicitly in a Letter patent from 1236. In addition to providing evidence about the king's avenues for horse procurement, the entry also illuminates the credit mechanisms at work in royal horse purchases. The royal government could impress upon burgesses and moneylenders for credit, as was the case with the Society of the Frescobaldi discussed above, and such loans often lubricated the purchases of the royal wardrobe and royal spending in general:

> Request to Thierry Teutonicus, burgess of Stanford [sic][173], to advance money the amount of 40 marks (£26 8*s*.) to Richard, the king's marshal, whom the king is sending to the instant [sic][174] fair of Stanford, to buy horses for the king's carts, if the said Richard shall not have enough, and the king will repay the money a fortnight after Easter.[175]

Given their designation as cart-horses, these horses likely represented animals of lower status, constituting the small area in Figure 4 above where the two segments of the medieval horse trade intersected.[176] This is one of the few instances in the

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[172] *CPR*, Edward I, 1272-1281, 159.

[173] Likely referring to Stanford Fair in Norfolk, which held a fair by prescriptive right (i.e. by custom rather than by a grant or charter) as early as 1222. See: "Stanford", Samantha Letters, *Online Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England to 1516* (http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html): [Norfolk] (Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research: July 15, 2010). There is also the possibility that the entry was mistranslated in the calendar, and should read instead as 'Stamford' which was a market in Linconshire also known for its horses.

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

[175] *CPR*, Henry III, 1232-1247, 139.

[176] Ann Hyland cites the same Letter patent, although her information was derived not from the Patent roll volumes, but a collection of Scottish sources. However, she uses the term 'avers' in her description, an indication that the designation given to these cart-horses in the original Latin -

patent rolls where it is expressly indicated that the king or his agents purchased lower-order horses, at least from the information contained within the Patent rolls, as against more expensive 'elite' horses. By the mid twelfth century, London was also home to a weekly horse market. This market, held on Fridays[177] at "Smooth Field", later called Smithfield, was described in 1155 by one William Fitzstephen, who surveyed the wide range of elite horses were available for sale at the fair, from warhorses and palfreys to hackneys, sumpters, farmhorses and unbroken colts.[178] Edward the Black Prince was also known to regularly patronize this fair, buying horses at Smithfield on several occasions between 1352 and 1359.[179]

The Indigenous Breeding of Elite Horses

While evidence from the chancery suggests that the Crown focused on the continent to furnish itself with warhorses, there is evidence of royal horse breeding within England, although we cannot be sure of the scale of such enterprises. The king of England maintained multiple studs in England, as did some of the larger barons.[180] The royal stud farms were seemingly itinerant, as

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contained in the volume Hyland used - was *Averus* or one of its derivations. This term is sometimes translated as 'cart-horse' but is generally used as a general term that encompasses all work horses of agricultural grade. The recognized source for the clarification of these terms, and the source employed here, is John Langdon, *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation: The Use of Draught Animals in English Farming from 1066-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 293-7.

[177] Langdon, *Horses and Oxen*, 273. Originally cited from: R.B. Dobson, ed., *The Peasant's Revolt of 1381* (London, 1970), 193.

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

[179] Ibid.

[180] The *Equitium Regis* accounts found throughout the E 101 class at the National Archives contain detailed accounts about the king's studs in England. R.H.C. Davis has studied these accounts in depth; see: R.H.C Davis, "The Medieval Warhorse", *Horses in European economic history: a preliminary canter*, ed. F.M.L. Thompson (Reading, 1983), 4-20. For secular horse

the patent rolls do not give consistent or specific locations for any of these studs. The river Trent seemingly acted as an important geographic delineation for the royal studs, as the patent rolls regularly refer simply to the king's stud "on this side of the Trent (i.e. the south side)"[181] or "beyond the Trent."[182] Edward II maintained at least five studs in 1315, in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Southamptonshire, Buckinghamshire and Middlesex,[183] but likely had others north of the Trent. Some of the larger magnates also kept their own stud farms, as was the case with the Earl of Warenne, who kept a stud at Ditchling in Sussex, which he sold to Edward II in 1305.[184] Upon receipt of the stud, the Black Prince asked the Archbishop of Canterbury to loan him a stallion for use on the stud,[185] which may be seen as an indication that England's greatest prelate also maintained a stud farm of his own. The Earls of Arundel also maintained extensive studs in the fourteenth century, as the estate's accounts list six studs in Shropshire between 1313 and 1394.[186]

We do know that the Crown and some of the larger magnates who maintained horse studs strove to use only the best horses to propagate the stocks of native horses, as the stocks in England were seemingly not adequate in terms of quality or quantity to keep up with aristocratic demand, a phenomenon that

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stud account for the Neville Family, see E 101/507/14, A similar account for the earl of Hereford is held in E 101/12/23. For a breakdown of these sources, see: Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*,39.

[181] For example see: *CPR*, Edward III, Vol. 7, 426.

[182] For example see: *CPR*, Edward III, Vol. 11, 30.

[183] *CPR*, Edward II, Vol.1, 369.

[184] Hyland, 18. Cited from: R.H.C. Davis, "The Warhorses of the Normans", *Anglo-Norman Studies X*, (1987), 67-82.

[185] Ibid.

[186] Ibid., 19. Cited from: K. Chivers, *The Shire Horse* (London: J.A. Allen, 1976), 4f.

plagued England well into the early modern period.[187] A letter patent from 1352 illustrates royal attempts to maintain the integrity of such breeding stocks within England during the medieval period:

> Commission to John Brocas and John de Greystock to survey as often as be needful the king's horses and studs in England, to withdraw from the studs all such horses, mares and colts, as it is not his advantage to retain and have them sold by the keepers of the studs…[188]

Elite Horses in the English Gift Economy and as Exchanges in Kind

In addition to trade through markets, elite horses were also exchanged through a parallel gift economy, which functioned alongside the established commercial trade. In this 'gift economy', horses acted as a form of currency and were granted in a variety of social settings, but almost always served to establish or reinforce a reciprocal connection.

The role of gift giving and reciprocity in human societies has received much scholarly attention by both historians and anthropologists since Marcel Mauss's pioneering study.[189] Mauss saw gift economies as a primary feature of non-commercialized economies, drawing evidence from what he described as "archaic"[190] societies, defined in large part by the absence of developed markets and standardized currencies. Mauss argued that these societies had a 'total' gift economy, where reciprocity facilitated all commodity exchange. He also saw

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[187] Joan Thirsk, *Horses in early modern England: for Service, for Pleasure, for Power* The Stenton Lecture 1977 (Reading: The University of Reading, 1978), *passim.*

[188] *CPR*, Edward III, 1350-1354, 275.

[189] Marcell Mauss, "Essai sur le Don. Forme et Raison de l'Échange dans les sociétés archaïques." *L'Ann*ée sociologique, new series, I (1923-24): 30-186. Reprinted in Marcel Mauss, *Sociologie et Anthropologie,* 2nd ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaries de France, 1980), 145-279. This work was first translated into English by Ian Cunnison in 1970 as: *The gift: forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies* (London: Routledge, 1970). Reference will henceforth be made to this English translation.

[190] Mauss, *The Gift*, 1.

these gift economies contracting over time, being slowly replaced by developing market institutions that increasingly rendered the gift economy obsolete. Other anthropologists since Mauss, however, have observed gift economies extending beyond the initial commercialization of societies, giving rise to situations where commercial markets and gift economies existed comfortably with each other with a fair degree of interaction.[191] Arguably, this was the case in medieval England, as the country boasted a well-established, commercialized and integrated money economy by the thirteenth century, yet, as we shall see, still practiced gift economy among the social elite, a situation perhaps no more obvious than in the world of horse exchange.[192]

The vast majority of evidence for royal gifts of horses hails from the patent rolls, and of these, most date to the reign of Henry III (1216-1272). Of the 8 separate reigns spanning the 236 years documented in the calendar of patent rolls,[193] it is only during the reign of Henry III that the records record the Crown making regular gifts of horses. Between 1242 and 1254, the patent rolls and liberate rolls indicate that Henry made 38 separate gifts of horses. All of these were animals of significant worth, ranging in value from 3.5 marks to 60 pounds. Occurring contemporaneously to the Crown's practice of giving away horses, was

[191] See: C.A Gregory, *Gifts and Commodities* (London: Academic Press, 1982); James G. Carrier, *Gifts and Commodities: Exchange and Western Capitalism since 1700* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

[192] Perhaps the commonest gift of the Crown in medieval England was venison. The practice of gifting deer meat was well in place by Henry's reign, and endured long after, but his magnanimous nature carried over into this gifting institution as well. It was common for Henry to give away more than 200 deer in a year, gifted from various parks and chases throughout England. Jean Birrell argues that these gifts of venison were given to mark special occasions, such as knightings, funerals and weddings, and that the use of venison as gifts on these occasions helped ascribe a special status to the meat. See: J. Birrell, "Procuring, Preparing, and Serving Venison in Late Medieval England" *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 177.

[193] The calendars of patent rolls run from1216-1452.

a reverse trend, described in the fine rolls, where horses were given to the king by all sorts of individuals. Recorded from the twelfth to seventeenth centuries, fine rolls recorded fines offered to the Crown. In this context, fines were not punitive, as they are understood today, but instead represented an agreement to pay the Crown a specified amount of money (or other forms of currency, as we shall see) in return for a specific privilege or concession. The earliest extant fine rolls date to Henry III's predecessor and father King John (r.1199-1216), and the reign of Henry III is especially well covered by surviving fine rolls. While the calendar of patent rolls does not record any reasoning or background information about Henry's motivation for giving these horses, the gifts of palfreys given in the fine rolls lay out exactly what was at stake in these exchanges.

Henry III was renowned for his largesse. The motto, "*qui non dat quod habet non accipit ille quod optat*"[194] was integrated into the decoration of royal palaces at Westminster and Woodstock.[195] He fed 100 paupers on most days, only deviating from this practice at times when the queen was at court, on which occasions he fed 150 less-fortunate souls.[196] Many historians have commented on the extent of patronage that characterized the reign of Henry III, exemplified through his generous distribution of lands, offices and wardships.[197] In addition to the gifts of horses considered here, Henry also regularly distributed jewelry, gilded cups, silver plate and elegant clothing to multiple recipients throughout his

[194] "He who does not give what he has does not obtain what he desires."
[195] Benjamin L Wild, "A Gift Inventory from the Reign of Henry III" *English Historical Review* Vol. CXXV, No. 529, 529-569.
[196] Ibid., 534.
[197] Ibid., 536.

reign.[198] Whatever the underpinning motivations, it is not likely a coincidence that the only recorded royal gifts of horses appear during the reign of a king who was more than willing to give (and receive) gifts.

What were the motivations behind these particular gifts? What was at stake in their exchange? In studying the gifts of jewelry and clothing made by Henry III, Benjamin L. Wild has argued that Henry used gifts throughout his reign first to establish and later to furnish relationships with both influential political actors and his own subjects and servants.[199] In these instances, gifts of rings, broaches and jeweled belts were given to a wide array of individuals. Early in his reign, foreign diplomats, Isabella, the king's sister, the clergy, the royal household as well as comital and baronial families could number themselves among the beneficiaries of Henry's generosity.[200] During this period, when Henry was just beginning to rule completely in his own right, [201] gifts to the clergy and powerful families allowed the king "to signal and smooth his political ascendancy."[202]

Foreign dignitaries featured prominently in the inventories of gifts distributed by Henry; most of these gifts were incentives and later, rewards, for brokering the marriage of the king's sister Isabella to Fredrick II, the Holy Roman

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[198] Benjamin L. Wild, "Secrecy, splendour and statecraft: the jewel accounts of King Henry III of England, 1216-72" *Historical Research* Vol. 83 (August, 2010), 409-430.; Benjamin L Wild, "A Gift Inventory from the Reign of Henry III" *English Historical Review* forthcoming. Available for online early view: http://ehr.oxfordjournals.org/content/CXXV/514/529.full.pdf+html DOI: 10.1093/ehr/ceq155

[199] Wild, "Secrecy, splendour", 418; Wild, "A Gift Inventory",530.

[200] Wild, "A Gift Inventory", 536.

[201] Henry was only nine years old when he assumed the English throne from his father, king John, in 1216. He assumed full power 11 years later at age 20. However, the Bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches and the Chief Justicular, Hubert de Burgh still had great influence as Henry's ministers until 1234, when both were removed from office. Thus, 1234 is considered the first year of the 'personal rule' of Henry III. See Wild, "A Gift Inventory", 530.

[202] Wild, "A Gift Inventory", 531.

Emperor.[203] This marriage was a great coup for Henry, as the allegiance with the Holy Roman Empire gave him leverage in the ongoing battle with France over Anjou, Normandy, Poitou and Gascony. Years later, gifts again played a role in the (temporary) resolution of this conflict, as Henry distributed large quantities of rings and broaches to dignitaries in France during his visit in 1259-60.[204] The purpose of Henry's visit was to conclude negotiations for the treaty of Paris, which renounced English claims to all of the territories mentioned above, save Gascony, although this territory was only held as a fiefdom of the King of France.[205] Wild suggests that Henry used these gifts to impress the foreign court,[206] perhaps in an effort to curry favour for the negotiation process.

The evidence from patent rolls seems to suggest that the most extravagant and expensive gift horses moved similarly down the social hierarchy. It is difficult to say with certainty where exactly horses fit in the hierarchy of medieval gift exchange. In a study of the economy of medieval Spain, James Vicens Vives placed horses in a second tier of property value, surpassed only by more moveable and precious items such as chalices and silk brocade.[207] This may fit well with the cases of gift giving in medieval England; while chalices, plate and broaches were exchanged at the highest levels among dignitaries and elite political actors, horses fell into a somewhat lower category in terms of value, but still circulated through patterns of patronage, reward and symbolic payments. In most cases,

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[203] Ibid., 546.
[204] Wild, "Jewel Accounts", 418.
[205] Ibid., 418-19.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Jamie Vicens Vives, *Manual de historia económica de España*. (Barcelona: Edetorial Vicens Vives, 1964), 128. Cited from: Joseph J. Duggan, *The Cantar de mio Cid: Poetic Creation in its Economic and Social Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 23.

these were horses bestowed by the Crown to specific individuals in their service. An examination of some individual cases follows below, but in most instances these gifts seem to have been offered as a reward for exemplary service to the Crown. The largely one-way movement of these elite horses mentioned in the patent rolls was likely owing to the tremendous cost of the animals; only the largest magnates (a group of which the king was chief) could afford to make gifts of these elite horses, which often cost up to thirty pounds. What is perhaps most confusing about the gift horses mentioned in the patent rolls is that these horses were given to individuals of little political consequence. The recipients of these gifts were not earls or other magnates, and this begs the question of what reciprocal relationship existed between the king and those he gave horses to. In many cases, the recipients of gift horses from Henry III were foreign knights, perhaps mercenaries, who fought with the English over contested territory on the continent. This seems to have been that case for Oliver de Chaleys, who received 40 marks in 1243 to "buy a horse of the king's gift."[208] We know little about who

[208] *CPR*, Henry III, 1232-1247, 366.

Table 4: Gifts of Horses from Liberate and Patent Rolls 1241-1254

Liberate Rolls			Patent Rolls		
Year	**Value in Marks**	**Value in Pounds**	**Year**	**Value in Marks**	**Value in Pounds**
1241	30.0	20.0	1242	45.0	30.0
1242	3.0	2.0	1242	45.0	30.0
1242	12.0	8.0	1242	20.0	13.3
1242	3.0	2.0	1242	25.0	16.7
1242	20.0	13.3	1242	7.5	5.0
1242	30.0	20.0	1242	30.0	20.0
1242	25.0	16.7	1243	40.0	26.7
1242	15.0	10.0	1243	15.0	10.0
1242	20.0	13.3	1243	20.0	13.3
1242	30.0	20.0	1243	20.0	13.3
1242	30.0	20.0	1246	20.0	13.3
1244	3.5	2.3	1246	25.0	16.7
1244	20.0	13.3	1248	37.5	25.0
1244	25.0	16.7	1254	37.5	25.0
1244	20.0	13.3	1254	15.0	10.0
1244	15.0	10.0			
1244	60.0	40.0			
1245	20.0	13.3			
1245	10.0	6.7			
1245	30.0	20.0			
1245	20.0	13.3			
1245	20.0	13.3			
1245	30.0	20.0			
1245	15.0	10.0			
Mean	21.1	14.1	**Mean**	26.8	17.9
Median	20.0	13.3	**Median**	25.0	16.7
Mode	20.0	13.3	**Mode**	20.0	13.3
Min.	3.0	2.0	**Min.**	7.5	5.0
Max.	60.0	40.0	**Max.**	45.0	30.0
Range	57.0	38.0	**Range**	37.5	25.0
Standard Deviation	12.0	8.0	**Standard Deviation**	11.7	7.8
Coefficient of Variation	0.6	0.6	**Coefficient of Variation**	0.4	0.4

this man might have been, but another letter patent, from a decade later, ordered that de Chaleys "be, with his men in the king's service to make war against the king's enemies and the town of La Réole [in Aquitaine]."[209] A similar grant was made in 1242 to John de Suneville, of £60, also explicitly for the purchase of a horse for "being in the king's service".[210]

Further, in addition to the generous £60 horse, Henry granted him the further provision that, should "he lose his lands by reason of the king's service", he would be given an annual stipend of £60, until his lands could be restored or the English Crown could grant him lands of equal value to those lost.[211]

In addition to these two references, 36 similar horses were given during the reign of Henry III, ranging in value from 3.5 to 60 marks (see Table 4). The social significance of these gifts is yet unclear, but the same kind of reciprocal relationships seen in Wild's study of Henry III's jewel accounts do not seem to be at work here. In the cases of gift horses, these generous offerings may have been a way to supplement the wages of particularly loyal or successful mercenaries, or perhaps they simply reflected the whim (and fiscal irresponsibility) of a king renowned for his generosity.

The references found within the fine rolls seem to describe another dimension to the exchange of elite horses, in these cases the animals represent a form of payments in kind. The lesser nobility of medieval society participated in this form of exchange through the payment of fines with palfreys. These animals were not in the same class as the horses given by the Crown, but were still

[209] *CPR,* Henry III, 1247-1258, 251.
[210] *CPR*, Henry III, 1232-1247, 344.
[211] Ibid.

expensive enough to be unattainable for most of medieval English society. Palfreys were regularly given to the Crown in return for tangible benefits. In 1241, two palfreys and a cash payment of 200 marks were given as a fine by John Adger, formerly mayor of Winchester, so that he might be forgiven of previous trespasses and released from prison.[212] In the same year, Margaret, the wife of 'Charles of the Wardrobe' gave four palfreys in exchange for the summoning of a jury of novel disseisin that would pursue a quarrel she had with the Bishop of Carlisle over lands Margaret had been recently dispossessed.[213] While the case of John Adger is the only case which involved the exchange of a horse for a person's delivery from gaol, palfreys were regularly given in exchange for the summoning of juries and/or justices, the latter being the case in 1240, when the Abbot of Peterborough gave a palfrey worth 100s. "for having a writ in order that Robert of Lexington and his associates, itinerant justices, inquire concerning the perambulation made between the abbot and Hugh Wake."[214]

Inheritances were also often granted upon the receipt of palfreys, in many cases involving the remarrying of widows. Illustrating such an exchange is was the two palfreys given by William de Stuteville "for having Margaret who was the wife of Robert de Mortimer to wife with all lands and tenements that fall to her by inheritance."[215] Similarly, the five daughters of Stephen de Thornham and their

[212] *Calendar of Fine Rolls*, 25/207. http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk Accessed May 13, 2011.
[213] *CFR*, 25/397.
[214] *CFR*, 24/89.
[215] *CFR,* 4/19.

respective husbands gave five palfreys to Henry in 1219 so that they might all take up their share of his lands after his death.[216]

One of the most significant exchanges involving palfreys was their regular use as a mechanism for securing charters for markets and fairs. These exchanges were frequent in the 1220s, slowed in the 1230s, and ceased altogether by 1232. The first such exchange is described in the fine roll of 1219, where the bishop of Salisbury gave a palfrey for the right to hold a weekly market on Tuesdays in his manor of Wokingham, in Berkshire.[217] The first fair to be established in such a manner occurred in 1219 as well, when the Bishop of Rochester gave the king a palfrey for the right to hold an annual two-day fair at the manor of Freckenham, in Suffolk.[218] Altogether, 26 fairs and 56 markets charters were confirmed in such a manner between 1219 and 1232 (see Appendix 5). Why the practice abruptly ceased in 1232 is unclear. Richard Britnell has illustrated that the establishment of new markets carried on long into the fourteenth century.[219] or perhaps the method of establishment shifted to a different mechanism. What is clear, however, is that these palfreys were used as a form of social currency, as tokens that could bring significant return. Interestingly, of the hundreds of palfrey-gifts described in the fine rolls, only a single horse – the palfrey given by the Abbot of Peterborough – was ascribed a discrete monetary value (in this case 100*s*).[220] Perhaps this was done intentionally so that the Crown could not be held to

[216] *CFR,* 3/119.
[217] *CFR*, 3/78.
[218] *CFR*, 3/362a.
[219] R.H. Britnell, "The Proliferation of Markets in England, 1200-1349" *Economic History Review* New Series, Vol. 34, No. 2 (May, 1981), 209-221. Esp. 210 and 221.
[220] *CFR,* 24/89.

precedent when doling out favour and privileges, and in this method the integrity of the gift gesture, even if given with specific expectations of what would be reciprocated, could be maintained.

The payment in kind of specific fines with palfreys was a more sure process of reciprocity, where the animals were used as a form of currency and given to the Crown with specific expectations about what would be granted in return. The flow of these palfreys was upward in the social structure – offered by vassals to the Crown itself, which differed from the other examples of non-traditional horse exchange discussed here, which saw horses flow down the social hierarchy. When examined together, the evidence seems to indicate several non-traditional methods of exchange for horses in medieval England, with horses flowing both up and down the social hierarchy.

How did Henry's gifts of elite horses compare with the gifts discussed by Wild? Perhaps most significant is the comparative value of the horses to the gifts of jewelry and clothing noted above. The recipients of horses mentioned in the patent rolls seem to have been relatively minor figures in the thirteenth century political landscape. None of the foreign diplomats or baronial families described by Wild in his study of gifted jewels are represented in this particular group of benefactors. Conversely, bishops, mayors and notable magnates all engaged in the offering of palfreys for royal favour, and this process seems to more closely approximate the gift economy of jewels and clothing described by Wild.

Conclusions

The elite horse market in medieval England was dependant upon the military and social obligations of the aristocracy – a group who were more than willing to spend upwards of ten percent of their total incomes on horses.[221] This chapter has endeavored to explain not only how this upper market sector operation logistically, but also what fuelled it. It is argued here that the social requirements of the medieval aristocracy coupled with their military obligations created a demand for great horses, and this in turn, created a market segment completely dissimilar from its lower-order agricultural counterpart. For medieval aristocrats, when making spending decisions, social obligations arguably came before economic rationality, and very much shaped the exchange and movement of upper-class horses.

[221] Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 70.

Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis – by way of case studies – has been to establish ways in which to approach the horse trade of medieval England. The first case study, using manorial accounts, shows movements and prices of work horses, while the second study explores the movements of elite horses through the study of Chancery material. This project has resulted in more of an exploratory work than originally intended. I started with two sources of evidence and approached each with a 'see-what-we-can-see' mentality. Early on, it became clear that the two types of sources were telling remarkably different stories, and had to be approached with divergent methodologies. The manorial accounts lent themselves to quantitative analyses, and this approach has produced a demography of work horses which encompassed much of medieval England. The accounts do not say much about *how* agricultural horses were bought, sold or traded, and we have had to approach this issue rather indirectly through inference rather than explanation. The Chancery material, on the other hand, contains mostly individual and anecdotal entries, which are difficult to look at in any sort of systematic fashion. It also became clear that there were few connections between the results from manorial account analysis and the evidence surfacing through trawling the patent, close, fine and liberate rolls. What has emerged from this is a story of a fragmented horse market in medieval England, constituted by a lower segment of agricultural horses and a separate sector for elite horses.

Chapter 1 has offered insight into the world of lower-end horses, most frequently used in agricultural settings and priced relatively cheaply. Young

plough horses, with several years of working ability to offer, had an average cost of 9*s.* 1*d.*, while comparatively young cart horses, which were generally more expensive, had an average price of 17*s.* 6*d.*. These agricultural horses depreciated rapidly, especially in the case of cart-horses, which cost more initially and had a shorter working life, at least on demesnes. This rapid depreciation was due in part to Christian dietary taboos, which prohibited the consumption of horse-flesh, and thereby reduced the value these animals had to that of their hide and their working potential. When the demesnes in our sample sold these animals, plough horses and cart-horses fetched, on average, 5*s.* and 7*s.* 8*d.,* respectively.

Demesne managers made careful decisions when buying and selling horses, and closely weighed several variables when taking such decisions. The work potential of the animal and its maintenance costs were taken into consideration, and these horses were most likely sold when the former began to decrease against the latter. Neither of the estates in our sample bred enough horses to keep up with internal demand, and in many cases the production of young stock, with risks of disease and infertility of mares, seems to have made the biological option a secondary option to other forms of procurement. In the south of England, as exemplified by the Bishop of Winchester's estate, the primary form of horse acquisition was through the market. This was likely due to the high degree of market integration in the south of the country by ca. 1300, which seemingly facilitated the ready availability of horses for purchase. Conversely, demesnes in the north of the country seem to have relied more on feudal

perquisites, namely strays, heriots and the chattel of criminals, for their supplies of horses.

In any event, the demesnes of both estates took in more horses than they needed for their respective agricultural enterprises. Consequently many horses either passed straight through the demesnes and onto the market, or displaced other horses which were in turn sold themselves. This especially is apparent on the Earl of Lincoln's estate. Thus, we may be able to see demesne managers as *de facto* horse dealers, acting as middlemen, disposing of surplus horses and thereby facilitating their movement throughout medieval England.

Whether demesne managers took on this role of horse dealing purposely is another question. Certainly the first priority of these men was to make decisions that had most benefit for their particular demesne and the lord who governed it, and the disposal of surplus horses may have been regarded at the time as nothing more than prudent management practice. The ability for demesne managers to profit personally from dealing demesne horses was likely limited, but the potential to do so underhandedly may have existed. Looking at the exchange of demesne horses in this way likely problemitizes the generally accepted adage that "manors sold grain but bought livestock",[222] and may allow for us to see demesnes as playing a greater role than previously thought in the medieval horse trade and the livestock trade in particular.

Medieval treatises of estate management suggested that decisions about horses were to be made only by the most experienced and qualified managers on

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

the demesne.[223] The degree to which the accounts justify the sale of horses also seems to indicate that these decisions were not taken lightly.[224] The decisions to buy or sell horses on medieval demesnes seem to have been made very close to the margin of economic decision making with acute awareness of all the factors that impacted the decision, a characteristic which I suggest could be argued for the entire agricultural sector of the horse market in medieval England.

The movement and exchange of elite horses, as discussed in Chapter 2 was almost entirely separate from the lower-end, agricultural sector of the medieval horse market. The horses involved in this sector almost invariably cost upwards of £5, and regularly eclipsed £50 in the fourteenth century. This market segment was driven by the cultural expectations and conspicuous consumption of medieval aristocrats and, therefore, decisions made about the purchase and sale of horses here were made further away from the margin. The exchange of elite horses was manifested in a myriad of ways. Among the examples we have seen here are the use of horses as gifts, horses as payments in kind, and horses exchanged for cash. The practice of offering horses as gifts seems to have approximated similar practices involving jewels and plate, but with somewhat reduced political stakes; the one case outlined seems to involve an expensive horse given as a gift to an especially loyal and/or effective mercenary. The use of palfreys as payments in kind exemplifies the role elite horses could assume as a sort of currency, offered to the Crown with specific expectations as to what would be given in return.

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[223] Dorothea Oschinsky, ed., *Walter of Henley and other treatises of estate management and accounting* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 283.

[224] For example, The account for Ivinghoe manor on the Bishop of Winchester's estate in 1301-2 stated that female plough horses were sold because they were 'feeble'. See: *WPR*, 153.

While neither of these transaction types would fall under the heading of the horse 'trade' in its most strictly defined sense, it nevertheless illustrates some of the ways horses could be exchanged outside of more traditional methods and also provides insight into the cultural value ascribed to the animals.

The elite sector of the medieval horse market was also much more international in character. For the small sample of purchase information we have, which consists exclusively of purchases made by kings of England, foreign-obtained horses far outnumber those procured from within England. This was likely due in part to sub-standard English stocks, a phenomenon noted well into the early modern period,[225] but also to the fact that, especially for the medieval aristocratic class, of which the king was chief, foreign horses likely had far more 'cachet' than domestically-raised ones, and the ownership of such horses would have carried increased social value.

In summary, the evidence of this study seems to indicate that the horse market in medieval England was highly segmented. There are few indications of interactions or overlap between the high-end horses of the aristocratic class and the more pedestrian horses of agricultural grade. This contrasts with what Peter Edwards has argued for the horse trade in Tudor and Stuart England, as he saw a more homogenous market for horses which encompassed a greater swath of English society at the time.[226] The emergent middle class of early modern England may explain this contrast, as this sector was largely absent from medieval

[225] Edwards, 141
[226] Ibid., esp. 142-144.

society.[227] The conspicuous consumption of horses that Edwards saw for all of early modern society[228] seems only evident in the elite horse sector of medieval England. The lower-order horses of the agricultural sector were much more valued for their utilitarian value and these animals should likely be viewed more as tools than anything else in the medieval period.

As I was embarking upon this project, an eminent professor of medieval economic history advised me against pursuing the horse trade as a topic for graduate study. He argued that there was simply not enough direct evidence to support an exploration into the horse trade, and that endeavoring to do so would likely be a frustrating process. At this point, I can say that this advice certainly had a strong element of truth to it, but was also probably over-pessimistic. Two years of research, both here and in England, has not revealed any wealth of sources that easily reveal the mechanisms of the medieval horse trade directly, and we still know relatively little about actual horse transactions in medieval England. As this thesis progressed, it became clear that the horse trade as we would envision it in modern terms – like the car trade today – is very difficult to encompass in its entirety. Conceptualizing the horse trade was a difficult part of this process, and one that remains only partially resolved in the literature.

However, I believe this study has shown that we can elucidate the movement and exchange of horses, which both inform and transcend the 'trade' of these animals in a strict economic sense. It is clear that the exchange of horses was a fragmented activity in medieval England, informed heavily by issues of

[227] Dyer, 16-20.
[228] Edwards, 140.

medieval class and culture. This work has thus become more of an exploratory exercise than one of definitive research. But it is an exercise that is worth doing. Such a process is not simple, and requires that we try to piece the story together through a combination of several indirect sources. In doing so, we essentially are working with silhouettes, and trying to slowly fill these in with what will eventually reveal to a greater extent how horses were bought, sold and otherwise exchanged in medieval England. The present thesis has perhaps started us on the journey, but much more intensive research with a wider body of sources will be necessary for a more textured understanding of the horse trade and its interactions with medieval culture and society.

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Appendix 1: Horses on the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2 and the Earldom of Lancasther 1295-6

Entry No.	Manor	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Colts	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Born (Colts)	Transferred inter-manor	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Promoted to Horses (Foals)	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference	Notes
1	Taunton	Plough Horses	2	1										3	1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
2	Kingston St. Mary and Nailsbourne	Plough Horses	2		1									3	1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
3	Kingston St. Mary and Nailsbourne	Colts	3										1	2	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
4	Staplegrove	Plough Horses	1			1	Heriot			1					-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
5	Trull and Bishop's Hull	Plough Horses	2							1				1	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
6	Holway	Plough Horses	1											1	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
7	Poundisford	Plough Horses	1											1	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
8	Poundisford	colts	1											2	1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
9	Rimpton	Plough Horses	2			1	stray			1				2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	Sold horse was stray
10	Rimpton	Colts	1					1		1				2	1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	2 colts remain/1male aged 1 1/2 years/other female aged 1/2 year. 1 female from this year's offspring/1 2 y.o male sold within/2 females remain - 1 1 1/2 years/other 1/2 year
11	Hindon Borough (Sub-manor of East Knoyle?)	Plough Horses	6								1			5	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
12	Upton	Plough Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
13	Bishop's Fonthill	Plough Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
14	Downton	Cart Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
15	Downton	Mares	12		2	2	stray			1				15	3	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	

Appendix 1: Horses on the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2 and the Earldom of Lancasther 1295-6

Entry No.	Manor	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Colts	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Born (Colts)	Transferred inter-manor	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Promoted to Horses (Foals)	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference	Notes
16	Downton	Plough Horses	8		1	1	heriot			3				7	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
17	Downton	Colts (2Y+)	3										3	0	-3	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	2 colts to mares; 1 to Plough Horsess
18	Downton	Colts (2Y)	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
19	Downton	Colts (1Y)	6											6	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	4 of 6 remaining colts male
20	Downton	Foals	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	"Foals from said mares b/c 10 were sterile"
21	Bishopstone	Plough Horses	1											1	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
22	Merdon	Cart Horses	4											4	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
23	Merdon	Plough Horses	11	2		1	heriot			2				12	1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	"Foals = 0 because no mares here
24	Crawley	Cart Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
25	Crawley	Plough Horses	5	1		1	heriot				1			6	1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
26	Overton	Cart Horses	2	1						1				2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
27	Overton	Plough Horses	9			1	stray							10	1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
28	North Waltham	Cart Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
29	North Waltham	Plough Horses	16	2						1	2			15	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	of 15 remaining, 6 are male
30	Highclare	Cart Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	

Appendix 1: Horses on the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2 and the Earldom of Lancasther 1295-6

Entry No.	Manor	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Colts	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Born (Colts)	Transferred inter-manor	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Promoted to Horses (Foals)	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference	Notes
31	Burghclere	Cart Horses	4											4	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
32	Burghclere	Mares	0			1	heriot			1				0	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
33	Ecchinswell	Cart Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
34	Ecchinswell	Mares	0			1	heriot			1				0	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
35	Woodhay	Cart Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
36	Woodhay	Plough Horses	6			1	heriot			1				6	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	of 6 remaining, 5 male
37	Woodhay	Foals	0					1						1	1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	1 colt from mare
38	Ashmansworth	Cart Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
39	Ashmansworth	Plough Horses	4	1						1				4	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
40	Witney	Cart Horses	3											3	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
41	Adderbury	Cart Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
42	Ivinghoe	Cart Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
43	Ivinghoe	Plough Horses	10							6				4	-6	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	No foals this year b/c the female plough horses were feeble and sold
44	West Wycombe	Cart Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
45	West Wycombe	Plough Horses	12	1		1	heriot			2				12	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	all remaining horses are male

Appendix 1: Horses on the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2 and the Earldom of Lancasther 1295-6

Entry No.	Manor	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Colts	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Born (Colts)	Transferred inter-manor	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Promoted to Horses (Foals)	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference	Notes
46	Morton	Plough Horses	9							4	1			4	-5	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	2 of remaining 4 are male cart horses/no foals this year b/c the mares did not foal
47	Wargrave	Cart Horses	2	1										3	1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
48	Wargrave	Plough Horses	4	1	1					1				5	1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	4 rem from previous were female. 5 remaining at end were also female
49	Wargrave	Colts	1										1	0	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
50	Wargrave	Young Colts	1											1	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	Young Colt is Female
51	Wargrave	Foals	0					1						1	1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
52	Culham	Plough Horses	7											7	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	all horses are male
53	Waltham St. Lawrence	Plough Horses	5		2	1	heriot							8	3	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	of 8 remaining, 1 is male
54	Waltham St. Lawrence	Colts	2										2	0	-2	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
55	Waltham St. Lawrence	Foals	0					1						1	1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
56	Billingbear	Plough Horses	5								1			4	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	of 4 remaining, 2 are male; no foals this year
57	Brightwell	Cart Horses	2		1									3	1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
58	Brightwell	Mares of the Mill	1	1							1			1	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
59	Brightwell	Plough Horses	11							11				0	-11	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	11 female plough horses sold within
60	Brightwell	Colts	1										1	0	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	

Appendix 1: Horses on the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2 and the Earldom of Lancasther 1295-6

Entry No.	Manor	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Colts	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Born (Colts)	Transferred inter-manor	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Promoted to Horses (Foals)	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference	Notes
61	Brightwell	Young Colts	2					1						3	1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
62	Harwell	Cart Horses	2	2		2	heriot			4				2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
63	Farnham	Cart Horses	2	1							1			2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
64	Farnham	Plough Horses	2			1	heriot							3	1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	3 remaining are female
65	Farnham	Colts	1											1	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	remaining colt was from foals
66	Farnham	Mill Horses	2	1							1			2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	mill of la burn
67	Farnham	Mill Horses	1											1	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	mill of medmull
68	Bently	Cart Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
69	Fareham	Cart Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
70	Fareham	Plough Horses	5	2						3				4	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
71	Havant	Cart Horses	3							1				2	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
72	Havant	Plough Horses	0			1	heriot			1				0	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
74	Bitterne	Cart Horses	5							2	1			2	-3	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
75	Bitterne	Mares	3							1				2	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	

Appendix 1: Horses on the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2 and the Earldom of Lancasther 1295-6

Entry No.	Manor	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Colts	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Born (Colts)	Transferred inter-manor	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Promoted to Horses (Foals)	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference	Notes
76	Bitterne	Plough Horses	1								1			0	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
77	Bitterne	Colts	1											1	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
78	Bitterne	Foals	1											1	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
79	Bitterne	Young Foals	0					2						2	2	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
80	Bishop's Waltham	Cart Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
81	Bishop's Waltham	Plough Horses	3	1		2	heriot			2				4	1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
82	Droxford	Cart Horses	2	1		1	heriot			2				2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	of 2 sold horses - 1 sold, 1 deleivered by Lord's order
83	Droxford	Plough Horses	4			2	heriot			2				4	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
84	Twyford	Cart Horses	3											3	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
85	Twyford	Plough Horses	13			2	heriot				1			15	2	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
86	Bishopstoke	Plough Horses	3	1							2			2	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	all horses were and are female. 2 females died before foaling. Also, no foals this year b/c the mare is sterile
87	East Meon	Cart Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
88	East Meon	Plough Horses	18	11						3	9			17	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
89	East Meon	Colts	2								2			0	-2	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
90	East Meon	Young Colts	1											1	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	

Appendix 1: Horses on the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2 and the Earldom of Lancasther 1295-6

Entry No.	Manor	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Colts	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Born (Colts)	Transferred inter-manor	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Promoted to Horses (Foals)	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference	Notes
91	East Meon	Foals	2								1			1	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	remaining horse is female
92	East Meon Church	Cart Horses	3	1					1					2	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	transferred horse to plough horses
93	East Meon Church	Plough Horses	6	1		1	transferred from cart horses			1				7	1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
94	Hambledon	Cart Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
95	Hambledon	Plough Horses	8	1						1	1			7	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
96	Bishop's Sutton	Cart Horses	3											3	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
97	Bishop's Sutton	Plough Horses	7		1	1	heriot			3	1			5	-2	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
98	Bishop's Sutton	Colts	2								1		1	0	-2	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
99	Bishop's Sutton	Colts	3								1			2	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	2 remaining colts are males
100	Bishop's Sutton	Foals	2								1			1	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	remaining foal is female
101	Bishop's Sutton	Young Foals	0					2						2	2	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
102	Cheriton	Cart Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
103	Cheriton	Plough Horses	13							3	2			8	-5	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	of remaining 8, 3 are males
104	Cheriton	Colts	2								1			1	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	remaining colt is male
105	Beauworth	Plough Horses	4											4	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	

Appendix 1: Horses on the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2 and the Earldom of Lancasther 1295-6

Entry No.	Manor	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Colts	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Born (Colts)	Transferred inter-manor	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Promoted to Horses (Foals)	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference	Notes
106	Alresford	Plough Horses	2											2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
107	Wield	Plough Horses	6											6	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	of 6 remaining, 3 are mares
108	Wield	Foals	0					1						1	1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	1 foal from the mare
109	Esher	Cart Horses	2	1								1		2	0	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	1 horse lost - taken by assesor for the fifteenth
110	Wolvesey	Cart Horses	2			2	1 from bishop; 1 from heriot							4	2	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
111	Cams	Cart Horses	4							1				3	-1	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
112	Cams	Plough Horses	2							2				0	-2	1301-2 Winchester Pipe Roll	
113	Sedgebrook	Plough Horses	10	3	1	1	stray			1	2			12	2	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
114	Sedgebrook	Colts (1Y)	1											1	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
115	Sedgebrook	Colts	1											1	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
116	Kneesal	Plough Horses	11	1	1					3				10	-1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	put sex breakdown
117	Kneesal	Colts (1Y)	1											1	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
119	Ightenhill	Mares	52						1		9			42	-10	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
120	Ightenhill	Runcini	2						1					1	-1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	

Appendix 1: Horses on the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2 and the Earldom of Lancasther 1295-6

Entry No.	Manor	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Colts	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Born (Colts)	Transferred inter-manor	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Promoted to Horses (Foals)	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference	Notes
121	Ightenhill	Foals (2 Y)	29								2			27	-2	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
122	Ightenhill	Foals (1 Y)	22								7	1		14	-8	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	I tithed
123	Ightenhill	Foals (de exitu)	22								1			21	-1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
124	Halton	Plough Horses	2											2	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
125	Windes	Plough Horses	2											2	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
126	Tanshelf	Plough Horses	6			2				1				5	-1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
127	Kypes	Plough Horses	2											2	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
128	Kypes	Young Colts	0					1						1	1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
129	Altofts	Plough Horses	3	1						2	1			1	-2	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
130	Elmsall	Plough Horses	2											2	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	2 remaining are female
131	Camesale	Mares	2											2	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
132	Camesale	Foals	2											2	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
133	Ackworth	Mares/Runcini	3								1			2	-1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	described as iiijd affr. Hide of dead one sold for 4d
134	Roundhay	Plough Horses	2											2	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
135	Ouston	Plough Horses	2	1										3	1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	

Appendix 1: Horses on the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2 and the Earldom of Lancasther 1295-6

Entry No.	Manor	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Colts	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Born (Colts)	Transferred inter-manor	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Promoted to Horses (Foals)	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference	Notes
136	Sutton	Plough Horses	9		3	1	heriot			2	2			9	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
137	Donnington	Plough Horses	6	1		1	stray			3				7	1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	of 7 remaining, 2 are female
138	Donnington	Colts	0			1	received from reeve							1	1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
139	Wrangle	Plough Horses	2		1	1	stray							4	2	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
140	Wrangle	Colts	0					2						2	2	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
141	Swaneton	Plough Horses	11		1									12	1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	of 12 remaining, 8 were female
142	Swaneton	Colts	1											1	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
143	Bolingbroke	Plough Horses	1	1		2	from seargent			1				3	2	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
144	Greentham	Plough Horses	3	2										5	2	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	of 5 remaining, 2 are female and one is colt of issue
145	Thorley	Plough Horses	1			1	stray							2	1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	remaining are female
146	Thorley	Colts	2											2	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
147	Brotelby	Plough Horses	9	1		1	stray			3	1			7	-2	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	of 7 remaining, 3 are female and 1 colt of issue
148	Thoresby	Plough Horses	9											9	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
149	Thoresby	Colts (1Y)	2											2	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	I female I male
150	Wath	Plough Horses	3		1									4	1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	

Appendix 1: Horses on the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2 and the Earldom of Lancasther 1295-6

Entry No.	Manor	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Colts	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Born (Colts)	Transferred inter-manor	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Promoted to Horses (Foals)	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference	Notes
151	Wath	Colts	1											1	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
152	Hildick	Plough Horses	2	2		1	stray			3				2	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	2 rem are female
153	Grantesete	Plough Horses	6											6	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
154	Avington	Plough Horses	2											2	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
155	Colham	Plough Horses	10			18	2 unspecified chattal 3 chattal of hung men 1 heriot 2 strays 10 stable of Earl			1	1	19		7	-3	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	19 liberated to 2 different reeves
156	Colham	Colts	1											1	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
157	Edgeware	Plough Horses	2			16	15 liberated from Colham 1 heriot			7	2			9	7	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
158	Winterbourne	Plough Horses	6			3	1 stray 1 heriot 1 stable of ferrier?			5	1	1		2	-4	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
159	Winterbourne	Colts (2Y)	2											2	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
160	Amesbury	Plough Horses	5			4	stray			4				5	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
161	Amesbury	Colts	0			2	stray			2				0	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
162	Aldbourne	Plough Horses	5		1	1	stray			1	1			5	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	stray colt was in 3rd year. Of 5 remaining, 4 are male
163	Kingston	Plough Horses	6		1									7	1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
164	Kingston	Colts (2Y)	3											3	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
165	Kingston	Colts (1Y)	1											1	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	

Appendix 1: Horses on the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2 and the Earldom of Lancasther 1295-6

Entry No.	Manor	Type of Horse	Remain From Previous	Bought	Added From Colts	Added Other	Circumstances of Addition	Born (Colts)	Transferred inter-manor	Sold	Died	Otherwise Lost	Promoted to Horses (Foals)	Remain	Difference over Year	Document Reference	Notes
166	Canford	Plough Horses	6	1	1	2	heriot			7				3	-3	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
167	Canford	Colts	0					2						2	2	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
168	Canford	Colts (2Y)	1							1				0	-1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
169	Canford	Colts (1Y)	1											1	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
170	Henstridge	Plough Horses	3							1				2	-1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
171	Henstridge	Colts	0					2						2	2	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
172	Kingsbury	Plough Horses	3			1	from stable of marshall			1				3	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
173	Kingsbury	Colts of issue	0					2						2	2	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
174	Kingsbury	Colts	1								1			0	-1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
175	Trowbridge	Plough Horses	6							1				5	-1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	all remaining are female
176	Trowbridge	Colts of issue	0					1						1	1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
177	Trowbridge	Colts	1								1			0	-1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
178	Buckby	Plough Horses	8			6	4 liberated from ? 1 from stable of marshall 1 stray			1	2			8	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
179	Buckby	Colts of issue	0					1						1	1	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	
180	Middleton	Plough Horses	3											3	0	Duchy of Lancaster 1295-6	

Appendix 2: Horse Prices (Sale)

Manor	No. of horses	Type of Horse	comments	Pounds	s.	d.	total (d.)	total per horse (d.)
Staplegrove	1	affrus			5		60	60
Trull & Bishop's Hull	1	affrus	feeble		6	8	80	80
Rimpton	1	foal	2 year old male		9	3	111	111
Rimpton	1	affrus	female from strays		6	4	76	76
Downton	1	affrus	old and feeble		5		60	60
Downton	1	affrus	old and feeble		4		48	48
Downton	1	mare	old		8		96	96
Downton	1	horse	heriot		8	6	102	102
Downton	1	affrus	heriot		5	6	66	66
Merdon	1	affrus	feeble		4		48	48
Merdon	1	affrus	feeble		4		48	48
Overton	1	equus carectarius	old, feeble, blind		6		72	72
North Waltham	1	affrus	feeble		3		36	36
Burghclere	1	affrus	from heriot		4		48	48
Ecchinswell	1	mare			16		192	192
Woodhay	1	mare	heriot		7		84	84
Ashmansworth	1	affrus	feeble		5		60	60
Ivinghoe	1	affrus	old and feeble		5		60	60
Ivinghoe	1	affrus	old and feeble		5		60	60
Ivinghoe	1	affrus	old and feeble		3	6	42	42
Ivinghoe	1	affrus	old and feeble		3	6	42	42
Ivinghoe	1	affrus	old and feeble		3		36	36
Ivinghoe	1	affrus	old and feeble		3		36	36
West Wycomb	1	affrus	old and feeble		3		36	36
West Wycomb	1	affrus	old and feeble		2		24	24
Morton	1	affrus			6		72	72
Morton	1	affrus			5	6	66	66
Morton	1	affrus			5	6	66	66
Morton	1	affrus			3	4	40	40
Wargrave	1	affrus	old		4		48	48
Bightwell	1	mare			4	6	54	54
Bightwell	1	mare			4	6	54	54
Bightwell	1	mare			6		72	72
Bightwell	1	mare			4	6	54	54
Bightwell	1	mare			6		72	72
Bightwell	1	mare			4	6	54	54
Bightwell	1	mare			3	6	42	42
Bightwell	1	mare			8		96	96
Bightwell	1	mare			3		36	36
Bightwell	1	mare			5		60	60
Bightwell	1	mare			6	8	80	80
Harwell	1	equus carectarius	feeble		8		96	96
Harwell	1	equus carectarius		1	17		444	444
Harwell	1	horse	heriot		13	9	165	165
Harwell	1	horse	heriot		13	9	165	165
Fareham	1	affrus	old		5	6	66	66
Fareham	1	affrus	old		6	8	80	80
Fareham	1	affrus	old		6	8	80	80
Havant	1	equus carectarius	feeble		6		72	72
Havant	1	affrus	feeble heriot		5		60	60
Bitterne	1	equus carectarius	feeble		3		36	36
Bitterne	1	equus carectarius			12		144	144
Bitterne	1	mare	old		8		96	96
Bishop's Waltham	1	affrus	old		8		96	96

Appendix 2: Horse Prices (Sale)

Manor	No. of horses	Type of Horse	comments	Pounds	s.	d.	total (d.)	total per horse (d.)
Bishop's Waltham	1	affrus	feeble heriot		3	4	40	40
Droxford	1	equus carectarius	old		10	10	130	130
Droxford	1	affrus	old		3		36	36
Droxford	1	affrus	old		6		72	72
East Meon	1	affrus	nearly dead		3	4	40	40
East Meon	1	affrus	nearly dead		3	4	40	40
East Meon	1	affrus	nearly dead		3	4	40	40
East Meon Church	1	affrus			4		48	48
Hambledon	1	affrus	feeble		1		12	12
Bishop's Sutton	1	affrus	old		10		120	120
Bishop's Sutton	1	affrus	old		10		120	120
Bishop's Sutton	1	affrus	old		10		120	120
Cheriton	1	affrus	feeble				0	78.67
Cheriton	1	affrus	feeble				0	78.67
Cheriton	1	affrus	feeble				0	78.67
Cams	1	equus carectarius			8		96	96
Cams	1	affrus	feeble		6		72	72
Cams	1	affrus	feeble		6		72	72

Appendix 3: Horse Prices (Purchase)

Manor	No. of horses	Type of Horse	comments	Pounds	shillings	pence	total (d.)	total per horse (d.)
Taunton	1	affrus	affer in cart costs		17		204	204
Merdon	1	affrus			7	6	90	90
Merdon	1	affrus			7	6	90	90
Overton	1	equus carectarius		1			240	240
North Waltham	1	affrus			4	10	58	58
North Waltham	1	affrus			4	10	58	58
Ashmansworth	1	affrus			7		84	84
West Wycomb	1	affrus			10		120	120
Wargrave	1	affrus			7		84	84
Brightwell	1	Mill Horse			16	0.25	192.25	192.25
Harwell	1	equus carectarius		1	4		288	288
Harwell	1	equus carectarius	from Abingdon	1	6		312	312
Farnham	1	equus carectarius			19	3	231	231
Farnham	1	Mill Horse			11	4	136	136
Fareham	1	affrus			10		120	120
Fareham	1	affrus			10		120	120
Bishop's Waltham	1	affrus			9	6	114	114
Droxford	1	equus carectarius			19	1	229	229
Bishopstoke	1	equus carectarius	mare		8	7	103	103
East Meon	1	affrus			9		108	108
East Meon	1	affrus			9		108	108
East Meon	1	affrus			9		108	108
East Meon	1	affrus			9	6	114	114
East Meon	1	affrus			9	6	114	114
East Meon	1	affrus			10		120	120
East Meon	1	affrus			10		120	120
East Meon	1	affrus			10		120	120
East Meon	1	affrus			10		120	120
East Meon	1	affrus			10		120	120
East Meon	1	affrus			10		120	120
East Meon Church	1	equus carectarius			16	7	199	199
East Meon Church	1	affrus			12	6	150	150
Hambledon	1	affrus			12	3	147	147
Esher	1	equus carectarius	Equus in custus carect-		7	3.5	87.5	87.5

Appendix 4: Patent Roll Data

All entires from: ***Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1216-1401.*** **40 vols. (HMSO: 1893-1910)**

Date Range (Years)	Trading of Horses Transactions Acquisitions Orders Payments	Laws about Horses Royal Proclimations Royal Prohibitions	Compensation for Lost Horses	Horses Kept for Military	Horses Stolen	Other Tangentially related to Horses	Patent Roll Volume (e.g. E1 V1 = Edward I, Volume 1 e.t.c.)	Page
1272-1281	King buys horses at stirling fair and drives them to Lindsay						E1 V1	159
1272-1281	Horses coming from continent						E1 V1	171
1272-1281	two destriers coming across channel						E1 V1	184
1272-1281	stirling fair to buy horses						E1 V1	159
1272-1281	horses from contintnet						E1 V1	184
1272-1281	Horse bought in Gascony						E1 V1	132
1281-1292	Horses bought in Spain for King						E1 V2	11
1281-1292	safe conduct for person binging 80 great horses from beyond seas						E1 V2	14
1281-1292	safe conduct for merchants bringing horses from Holland and Sealand?						E1 V2	18
1292-1301			horses lost in battle				E1 V3	193
1292-1301			horses lost at sea				E1 V3	340
1292-1301	payment to frescobaldi		payment to frescobaldi				E1 V3	489
1292-1301				hobelars			E1 V3	490
1307-1313					two mares stolen - pardoned		E2 V1	514
1307-1313						pardon on condition of military service - horses and arms	E2 V1	34
1307-1313						ear lost to horse bite	E2 V1	145
1307-1313						horses killed in robbery - worth 20l	E2 V1	171
1307-1313						ear lost to horse bite	E2 V1	175
1307-1313					pardon for stealing horse for reason of insanity		E2 V1	194
1307-1313			compensation for horses lost in Scotland				E2 V1	224
1307-1313						attacks on warhorses being conveyed	E2 V1	244
1307-1313	king buys horses						E2 V1	265
1307-1313	war horses bought overseas for king						E2 V1	266
1307-1313			horses lost in scotch war				E2 V1	269
1307-1313			horses lost in scotch war				E2 V1	287
1307-1313	sent abroad to buy horses for king						E2 V1	290
1307-1313	sent abroad to buy horses for king						E2 V1	291
1307-1313			horses lost in scotch war				E2 V1	407
1307-1313					100s horse stolen/killed		E2 V1	419
1307-1313						oats for king's palfreys	E2 V1	482
1307-1313		earls keeping horses and arms					E2 V1	490
1307-1313	safe conduct for people bring horses from beyond seas						E2 V1	492
1307-1313						payment for people to keep king's horses	E2 V1	518
1307-1313	description of several horses received						E2 V1	554
1307-1313	description of several horses received						E2 V1	562
1307-1313	sustinence for king's horses						E2 V1	592
1307-1313	22 horses bought						E2 V1	589
1307-1313	333L 6s 8d for horses bought						E2 V1	433
1307-1313	259L 18s 6d for 'wine and horses' purchased for King						E2 V1	265

Appendix 4: Patent Roll Data

All entires from: *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1216-1401.* 40 vols. (HMSO: 1893-1910)

Date Range (Years)	Trading of Horses Transactions Acquisitions Orders Payments	Laws about Horses Royal Proclimations Royal Prohibitions	Compensation for Lost Horses	Horses Kept for Military	Horses Stolen	Other Tangentially related to Horses	Patent Roll Volume (e.g. E1 V1 = Edward I, Volume 1 e.t.c.)	Page
1307-1313						sustenance of king's great horsess and stud	E2 V1	592
1307-1313			horse lost in king's service				E2 V1	287
1313-1317	565 Marks for 12 Horses Bought						E2 V2	302
1313-1317						sustenance of king's great horsess and stud	E2 V2	369
1313-1317						sustenance of king's great horsess and stud	E2 V2	10
1313-1317						sustenance of king's great horsess and stud	E2 V2	113
1317-1321	Horses Bought and delivered to John Page						E2 V3	129
1317-1321			horses lost in king's service in Scotland				E2 V3	161
1317-1321			replacing horses lost in king's service				E2 V3	215
1321-1324						inquiry into theft of studs and horses as well as cattle from Hugh Despenser	E2 V4	153
1367-1370	6 Horses bought						E3 V14	71
1367-1370	3 horses bought 'within realm'						E3 V14	126
1334-1338	sergeants sent to spain and abroad to buy warhorses						E3 V3	52
1334-1338	people sent abroad to buy warhorses and coursers						E3 V3	166
1338-1340						king's mares in park	E3 V4	304
1338-1340						people impersonating king's agents to steal purveyance	E3 V4	361
1338-1340						Investigation for fraud of keeper's of king's stud	E3 V4	538
1338-1340	payment for care of king's horses						E3 V4	547
1338-1340			payment for horse taken				E3 V4	114
1340-1343						purveyance of horses	E3 V5	252
1340-1343						purveyance of horses	E3 V5	272
1340-1343						audit of keeper's of horses	E3 V5	298
1340-1343			confiscates ship given as payment for horses lost				E3 V5	385
1340-1343						audit of keeper's of horses	E3 V5	386
1340-1343						pardon for keeper of horses under suspicion of fraud	E3 V5	519
1340-1343						King's horses moved to Westminster	E3 V5	68
1340-1343						Hay and Litter for King's great horses and stud	E3 V5	69
1340-1343						Purveyors and keepers of horses abusing power	E3 V5	85
1340-1343						Order to Thom de Pronto Fracto to purvery for king's horses behind and beyond trent	E3 V5	103
1343-1345						Order to Thom de Pronto Fracto to purvery for king's horses behind and beyond trent	E3 V6	209
1343-1345						Investigation onto purveryors and keepers of king's horses for abuse of office	E3 V6	287
1343-1345						Investigation onto purveryors and keepers of king's horses for abuse of office; Pronto Fracto specifically named	E3 V6	292
1343-1345						investigation into thomas pronto fracto for above	E3 V6	294

Appendix 4: Patent Roll Data

All entires from: *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1216-1401.* 40 vols. (HMSO: 1893-1910)

Date Range (Years)	Trading of Horses Transactions Acquisitions Orders Payments	Laws about Horses Royal Proclimations Royal Prohibitions	Compensation for Lost Horses	Horses Kept for Military	Horses Stolen	Other Tangentially related to Horses	Patent Roll Volume (e.g. E1 V1 = Edward I, Volume 1 e.t.c.)	Page
1343-1345						appointment of keeper of king's horses and colts	E3 V6	349
1343-1345						appointment of keeper of king's horses and colts	E3 V6	368
1343-1345						appointment of Thom de pronto fracto	E3 V6	439
1343-1345						investigation into pronto fracto	E3 V6	503
1343-1345						appointoment to care for king's horses	E3 V6	520
1343-1345						appointment to purvery for king's horses	E3 V6	527
1343-1345						investigation into pronto fracto	E3 V6	576
1343-1345						sustenance of king's great horsess and stud	E3 V6	485
1345-1348						pardon for keeper of king's horses and tack	E3 V7	210
1345-1348						order to purvery for the king's horses coming from the north to Calais	E3 V7	333
1345-1348	licence to buy horses from scotland and to sell them in England						E3 V7	373
1345-1348						order to purvery for the king's horses in Calais	E3 V7	409
1345-1348						order to care for cart and sumpter horses of the king's household	E3 V7	419
1345-1348						sustenance of king's great horsess and stud	E3 V7	95
1345-1348						sustenance of king's great horsess and stud	E3 V7	294
1345-1348						sustenance of king's great horsess and stud	E3 V7	426
1348-1350						sustenance of king's great horsess and stud	E3 V8	228
1348-1350						sustenance of king's great horsess and stud	E3 V8	1
1348-1350						sustenance of king's great horsess and stud	E3 V8	396
1350-1354						order to survey stud and remove all horses, mares and colts not suitable for service, and to sell them however is most adventageous for the king	E3 V9	48
1350-1354						order to survey stud and remove all horses, mares and colts not suitable for service, and to sell them however is most adventageous for the king	E3 V9	275
1350-1354						keeper of king's horses and stud - taking wage of 6 d per day	E3 V9	33
1350-1354			replacing horses lost in the king's service while in Edinburgh castle				E3 V9	56
1232-1247	40 marks for 1 Horse bought						H3 V3	333
1232-1247	Horse bought in Gascony						H3 V3	361
1232-1247	10 Marks for a horse bought						H3 V3	362
1232-1247	327 marks for 15 horses bought for king's use						H3 V3	314
1232-1247			20 marks for horse lost				H3 V3	366
1247-1258	20 marks from horse bought by king						H3 V4	292
1247-1258			Compensation for Rounceys lost				H3 V4	458

Appendix 4: Patent Roll Data

All entires from: *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1216-1401.* 40 vols. (HMSO: 1893-1910)

Date Range (Years)	Trading of Horses Transactions Acquisitions Orders Payments	Laws about Horses Royal Proclimations Royal Prohibitions	Compensation for Lost Horses	Horses Kept for Military	Horses Stolen	Other Tangentially related to Horses	Patent Roll Volume (e.g. E1 V1 = Edward I, Volume 1 e.t.c.)	Page
1247-1258						Bond for sumpter palfreys	H3 V4	459
1247-1258	Horses bought by King						H3 V4	531
1247-1258		Prohibition of Export of Horses					H3 V4	644
1247-1258	25 Marks for 1 Horse bought						H3 V4	531
1247-1258	20 Marks for a horse bought						H3 V4	349
1247-1258	25 L 'of Tours' for a horse bought						H3 V4	306
1247-1258			horse lost in king's service				H3 V4	345
1247-1258			10 marks for horse lost				H3 V4	275
1247-1258			15 makrs for horse lost in king's service				H3 V4	341
1247-1258			35 marks for horse lost in king's service				H3 V4	395
1247-1258			horse lost in king's service				H3 V4	382
1247-1258			20 marks for horse lost in king's service				H3 V4	323
1247-1258			45 marks for three horses lost in king's service				H3 V4	276
1258-1266			100s for a horse lost				H3 V5	16
1258-1266			5 marks for a lost horse				H3 V5	112
1258-1266			multiple horses lost and compensated for				H3 V5	150
1258-1266			two horses lost				H3 V5	224
1258-1266		allow horses to cross					H3 V5	319
1258-1266			100 s . For horse lost in king's service				H3 V5	16
1258-1266			5 marks for horse lost in king's serice				H3 V5	112
1258-1266			15 marks for horse lost in king's service				H3 V5	224
1266-1272			20l for horses lost				H3 V6	87
1266-1272	purchase order to buy several horses						H3 V6	142
1266-1272			replacing horses lost in king's service				H3 V6	731
1266-1272			100 s. for horse lost in king's service				H3 V6	312
1399-1401	5 marks for horse bought in Ireland						H4 V1	262

Appendix 5: Fine Roll Data

All data from: Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III:
Henry III Fine Rolls Project (http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk)

Year	No. of Palfreys Given	Cash given in addition to palfreys (if any)	Concession or Fine Granted	Document Reference (Year/Entry No.)(e.g. 4/20 = 4 Henry III, 20th Entry)
1218	1		for licence to marry	2/191
1219	1		for having a weekly market	3/78
1219	1		for having a weekly market	3/99
1219	1		for having a weekly market	3/124
1219	1		for having a weekly market	3/125
1219	1		for having a weekly market	3/182
1219	1		for having an annual 2-day fair	3/362a
1219	1		for having a weekly market	3/373
1219	1		for having a weekly market	3/375
1219	1		for having a weekly market	3/427
1219	1		for having a weekly market	3/430
1219	1		for having an annual 2-day fair	3/438
1219	1		for having a weekly market	3/436
1219	1		for having an annual 2-day fair	3/437
1219	1		for having a weekly market	4/6
1219	1		for having a weekly market	4/16
1219	1		for having a weekly market	4/31
1219	1		for having a weekly market	4/40
1219	1		for having a weekly market	4/41
1219	1		for having a weekly market	4/45
1220	1		for having a weekly market	4/108
1220	1		for having an annual 2-day fair	4/111
1220	1		for having a weekly market	4/143
1220	1		for having a weekly market	4/147
1220	1		for having a weekly market	4/157
1220	1		for having a weekly market	4/159
1220	1		for having a weekly market	4/164
1220	1		for having a weekly market	4/180
1220	1		for having a weekly market	4/212
1220	1		for having a weekly market	4/213
1220	1		for having an annual 2-day fair	4/214
1220	1		for having a weekly market	4/221
1220	1		for having an annual 2-day fair	4/238
1220	1		for having an annual 3-day fair	4/256
1220	1		for having an annual 2-day fair	4/257
1220	2		for having a weekly market	4/258
1220	2		for having a weekly market	4/264
1220	1		for having a weekly market	4/265
1220	1		for having a weekly market	5/24
1220	1		for having a weekly market	5/31
1220	2		for having an annual 2-day fair	5/48
1221	1		for having a weekly market	5/150
1221	1		for having a weekly market	5/174
1221	2		for having a weekly market	5/213
1221	1		for having a weekly market	5/240
1221	1		for having a weekly market	5/301
1221	1		for having an annual 2-day fair	6/21
1221	1		for having a weekly market	6/60

Appendix 5: Fine Roll Data

All data from: Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III:
Henry III Fine Rolls Project (http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk)

Year	No. of Palfreys Given	Cash given in addition to palfreys (if any)	Concession or Fine Granted	Document Reference (Year/Entry No.)(e.g. 4/20 = 4 Henry III, 20th Entry)
1222	1		for having a weekly market	6/133
1222	1		for having a weekly market	6/179
1222	1		for having a weekly market	6/180
1222	1		for having a weekly market	6/196
1222	1		for having an annual 2-day fair	6/258
1222	1		for having a weekly market	7/14
1222	1		for having a weekly market	7/52
1224	1		for having a weekly market	8/271
1224	2		for having an annual 3-day fair	8/415
1225	1		for having a weekly market	9/201
1225	2		for having an annual 2-day fair	9/302
1227	1		for confirmation of charter for a weekly market and an annual fair	11/243
1232	1		for confirmation of charter for a weekly market and an annual fair	16/96
1231	10	forgiveness of unspecified amount to 3rd party debtor	for the reduction of annual dues from 100L to 100 Marks for Issak, Jew	15/207
1231	2	100 Marks	to inherit lands	16/17
1232	2		to inherit lands	16/77
1232	1		for 'pone' against 3rd party	16/83
1232	4		to be quit of 300 Marks of debt	16/94
1232	2		for confirmation of having fill 'at fee farm'	16/95
1232	2		for permission to marry 'all but enemies of the king'	17/109
1241	2	200 Marks	for forgiveness of trespass	25/207
1241	4		to summon Jury	25/397
1242	2		for confirmation of gift of manor	26/142
1242	1		for respite from taking up arms for 2 years	26/191
1242	3		for summoning jury	26/210
1242	3	100L + 15 Marks	for confirmation of inheritance of lands	26/394
1242	1		for verdict of 50L	26/555