

THE PROPERTY OF THE EARL OF ARUNDEL, 1397

BY L. F. SALZMAN

THE FitzAlans, Earls of Arundel, were among the wealthiest and most powerful nobles in medieval England. To his ancestral estates in Shropshire and the Marches, or Welsh Border, John FitzAlan, as son of one of the sisters and coheirs of Hugh d'Aubigny, last Earl of Arundel of that line, added in 1243 the Honor of Arundel in West Sussex, with various estates in other counties. His great-grandson Edmund married Alice, sister and in her issue heir of John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey and Lord of Lewes. Earl Edmund was a faithful adherent of King Edward II, and while trying to raise troops for the king was captured by the forces of Queen Isabelle and Roger Mortimer and beheaded at Hereford in 1326. His lands were bestowed upon Edmund, Earl of Kent, who was himself attainted and executed by Mortimer's orders in 1330. This violent and treacherous action sealed the doom of Mortimer, who in his turn was seized and executed by order of the young King Edward III. In the following year Richard FitzAlan, son of Edmund, was restored to his father's earldom and estates of Arundel.

This Earl Richard was a man of valour and apparently of ability, as he held with credit a succession of appointments with the royal armies, at sea as admiral, and on political missions. In 1321 his father, to strengthen his own political standing, had married Richard, then aged only 7, to Isabel, the equally young daughter of Edward II's favourite, Hugh Despenser the younger. By 1345 the earl had tired of his wife, whose political associations were not helpful to his ambitions, and had fallen in love with Eleanor, widow of John Beaumont and daughter of the powerful Henry, Earl of Lancaster. Accordingly he addressed to the Pope a petition for the annulment of his marriage. In this he stated, truly, that

he had been a mere child at his marriage. He went on to assert that when he reached puberty he denounced the marriage but was forced by threats and blows to cohabit with Isabel, as a result of which a son, Edmund, had been born, but declared that he had never afterwards treated Isabel as his wife. He did not explain how he had come to have two daughters by her, nor why he had taken no steps, after his father's death, to have the marriage dissolved.¹ It was, however, unnecessary for a man of his wealth to bother about such trifles, and the Pope promptly annulled the marriage, thereby bastardizing Edmund de Arundel, and the earl married Eleanor.

During his life Earl Richard invested much of his wealth in buying, directly or in reversion, some twenty manors, as well as smaller estates, in Sussex.² These included: Bilsham; Woolbeding, Pinkhurst, La Fure, Overfold, and West Hampnett; Cocking; East Hampnett; Storrington; Lyminster; Treyford; East Angmering; Cudlow; Sullington; South Stoke; Islesham; Nutbourne; Tortington; half Cootham; and a third of Poling. Besides these investments he was able to lend great sums to the king, and in 1370 Edward III acknowledged that he owed the earl £20,000, beyond various sums which he had already repaid.³ Nor was the king by any means his only debtor. After his death, on 24 January 1376, an inventory of his wealth in money and goods⁴ includes a list of outstanding debts. This begins with 1,000 marks⁵ due from 'Madame la Princesse' (presumably Joan of Kent, widow of the Black Prince), for which she had pledged a jewel (*un nouche*). Twenty-two other names follow, including the Abbot of Battle (150 marks), the Abbot of Durford (90 marks), the Prior of Hardham (100 shillings), Sir Edward St. John (60 marks), and '*Mons^r D'arundell quore est*', i.e. his son, who had succeeded him as earl (150 marks).

¹ G. E. C., *Complete Peerage* (2nd ed.), I.

² *Suss. Rec. Soc.* XXIII, see Index.

³ Tierney, *Hist. of Arundel*, 239.

⁴ Harl. MS. 4840, f. 395.

⁵ A mark was 13s. 4d., or two-thirds of a pound.

Besides these debts there were:

In money in the Keep (<i>le haut Tour</i>) of Arundel	43,981 marks
In the hands of Sir John d'Arundell, a balance of	8,486 „
In London, in coffers at St. Paul's, with parcels delivered to Sir Philip Despenser	17,150 „
In the parts of the (Welsh) March, a balance of	16,471 „
In the March, received between 13 July and the day of his death	2,959 „
In the hands of John Phot of London, a balance of	241 „
Received by Sir William Herdewyk of Mons ^r John atte Wode for the farm of Kynevare	24½ „
Received by the same from Richard Beorton of Salop, given to him to buy wine	45 „
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Total of hard cash (<i>deniers secks</i>)	90,359 marks ¹

[Various sums due for crops and goods in the March]

Due from divers bailiffs and reeves at Reigate	219 marks
From the Receiver of the Lordship of Lewes	821 „
„ „ „ „ „ Arundel	984 „
Due from the present lord of Arundel for corn sown or to be sown, or bought for 'liveries' of servants in the three lordships; with £69. 18s. 0½ <i>d.</i> received from Sir Robert atte Grave after his account was closed	1,339 „
At Arundel are pieces of lead, making 12 fothers, at 110s. the fother	90 „
Found at Arundel in vessels of gold, silver-gilt, and silver—beyond what was given and devised by my Lord in his life—as appears by the inventory at Reigate 10 March 1377 (<i>anno 51</i>)	1,722 „
The wool in the March, Surrey and Sussex, since sold by John Phot, amounts in all—less the quarter part given by my Lord to the said John Phot—to	3,062 „
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Grand total	17,830 marks
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	108,367 marks

The earl's will,² made at Arundel Castle on 5 December 1375, contained bequests amounting to a little over 19,000 marks. These included a maximum of 500 marks to be spent on his tomb and comparatively simple funeral in the Chapter-house of Lewes Priory; 300

¹ Odd shillings and pence, omitted from the items above, account for the apparent inaccuracy of the total.

² Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 94-96.

marks for purchase of lands to be given to that priory for the support of two monks celebrating daily in the chapel of St. Thomas there, or in the Lady Chapel on the north side of the priory church; 1,000 marks to endow a chantry of six priests and three choristers in the chapel of the castle of Arundel; and 400 marks to buy rents of £20 yearly for the poor of Shropshire and Sussex.¹

Richard, the new Earl of Arundel, eldest son of the late earl by his second wife, therefore inherited, besides great estates, some 90,000 marks, or £60,000, worth in modern money, at a conservative estimate, about two million pounds. Through the death of John de Warenne, the last Earl of Surrey of his line, in 1347, he inherited the earldom of Surrey and wide estates in that county and in the Rape of Lewes. He therefore held the three castles of Arundel, Lewes, and Reigate. In spite, however, of his being appointed a member of the young King Richard II's council, he showed little patriotism, and when the French were ravaging the coast of Sussex in 1377 he left the castle of Lewes undefended and, in reply to an appeal for help by the townsmen, told them that if they would pay the cost he would let them have 400 cavalry troopers.² In the following year his un-military slackness led to the failure of the Duke of Lancaster's expedition against St. Malo; and in 1380 he deliberately withheld assistance from the town of Winchelsea when assaulted by the French.³ All this may well account for the fact that during the Peasants' Rising of 1381 insurgents broke into the castle of Lewes and did a certain amount of damage. The earl gained popularity in 1387 by the spectacular capture of the great wine fleet from La Rochelle, and other naval successes. He at once became prominent as one of the group of nobles, later known as the Lords Appellant, who attacked and, through the 'Merciless Parliament' of 1388, destroyed the king's inner circle of favourites headed by Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland. A nominal reconciliation took place between the king and the earl,

¹ No trace of any such charity appears to be known.

² *V.C.H., Suss.*, i. 511,

³ Tierney, *op. cit.* 243,

who was granted a pardon for his actions. In 1394, however, the insolent behaviour of Earl Richard at the funeral of Queen Anne of Bohemia roused King Richard to such fury that he struck the earl to the ground.¹ By 1397 the king was strong enough to strike at his enemies: the Earl of Arundel was arrested, the pardons previously granted to him were declared invalid, he was proclaimed a traitor, and on 21 September was beheaded, meeting his death with a courage which gained him the sympathy of the populace.² His possessions were seized into the king's hands and his lands granted to royal favourites. In Sussex the castle and Honor of Arundel fell to John de Holand, Duke of Exeter, and those of Lewes to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Nottingham, who had married Earl Richard's daughter.

One result of this forfeiture was that a number of inventories of the earl's property were drawn up, two of which contain particulars of his Sussex estates: (A) the original extents made before the Escheator;³ and (B) a slightly condensed copy of these contained in the Enrolled Escheator's Accounts for 22 Richard II.⁴ Much of (A) is unfortunately illegible; (B) is in good condition, but omits the acreages of arable, meadow, and pasture belonging to the demesne, or home farm, which are given in (A), the pasture being usually stated in terms of the number of cattle and sheep which it could maintain. These extents I have analysed for grain and livestock in the tables that follow, and I have also translated the entries dealing with farming utensils.

Looking at these figures it is obvious that as a rule they represent a rough estimate, to the nearest round figure, though occasionally, usually with small quantities, the exact figure was known. In West Sussex the prices vary slightly, whereas in East Sussex they are uniform for each grain, and for wheat and barley are higher in East than West. A noticeable feature is the predominance of barley; the only entry of rye occurs under Pallingham, where the other corn crop, oats,

¹ Ramsay, *The Genesis of Lancaster*, II. 294.

³ P.R.O. reference, C. 145, no. 269.

² *Ibid.* 328-9.

⁴ E. 357, 13/3.

Grain (stated in quarters)

	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Pease	
<i>West Sussex</i>					
Poling	10 at 4s. 6d.	10 at 3s. 4d.	3 at 2s.	6 at 4s.	
Lymminster	15 at 5s.	20 at 4s.	10 at ,,	8 at ,,	
Heen	10 at ,,	18 at 3s. 4d.	5 at ,,	5 at 3s.	
'Felde'	10 at ,,	18 at ,,	5 at ,,	5 at ,,	
'Aveneles'	10 at ,,	20 at ,,	10 at ,,	10 at ,,	
North Stoke	6 at ,,	20 at ,,	5 at ,,	6 at ,,	
Pallingham			20 at 1s. 4d.		Rye 5 at 2s.
South Stoke	4 at 4s. 4d.	20 at 3s. 8d.	2 at 2s.	2 at 2s. 8d.	
Offham	3 at ,,	20 at ,,	2 at ,,	2 at ,,	
Westbourne	20 at 4s. 8d.	20 at ,,	12½ at ,,	6 at ,,	
Stansted	4 at ,,	5 at 3s. 4d.	3½ at ,,		
Northwood	6 at ,,	10 at ,,	10 at ,,		
West Marden					
with Compton	15 at ,,	30 at ,,	15 at ,,		
Up Marden	12 at ,,	30 at ,,	20 at ,,	2½ at ,,	
Singleton		40 at ,,			
Treyford	10 at ,,	10 at ,,	15 at ,,		
Shopwyke	20 at ,,	20 at ,,		10 at ,,	
Easthampnett	13 at ,,	15 at ,,		6 at ,,	
Tortington	6 at ,,	20 at 2s. 8d.		8 at ,,	
Westhampnett	16 at ,,	20 at 3s. 4d.	6 at ,,	8 at ,,	
Cocking	5 at ,,	5 at ,,			
Woolbeding			5 at ,,		
Preston		20 at ,,			
Woollavington	16 at ,,	12 at ,,	20 at ,,	3 at ,,	
Total	211	403	168¾	87½	
<i>East Sussex</i>					<i>Hay (cartloads)</i>
Allington	30 at 5s.	31 at 4s.	7 at 2s.	4 at 3s. 4d.	1 at 2s.
Houndean	50 at ,,	80 at ,,	1½ at ,,		8 at ,,
Kingston	27 at ,,	72 at ,,		5 at ,,	3 at ,,
Northeast	65 at ,,	110 at ,,	1 at ,,	5 at ,,	4 at ,,
Rodmell	20 at ,,	41 at ,,	4 at ,,	1 at ,,	6 at ,,
Meeching	20 at ,,	55 at ,,	5 at ,,	¾ at ,,	9 at ,,
Clayton and Pyecombe	30 at ,,	18 at ,,	10 at ,,		11 at ,,
Keymer	28 at ,,	16 at ,,	60 at ,,	2½ at ,,	16 at ,,
Ditchling	50 at ,,	50 at ,,	24 at ,,	2½ at ,,	
Middleton	5 at ,,	24 at ,,			
Rottingdean	30 at ,,	90 at ,,	8¾ at ,,	[?]	5 at ,,
Brighton	30 at ,,	30 at ,,	2 at ,,		
Patcham	65 at ,,	150 at ,,	15 at ,,	3 at ,,	4 at ,,
Cuckfield			40 at ,,		20 at ,,
Saddlescombe	50 at ,,	85 at ,,	6 at ,,	2½ at ,,	4 at ,,
Total	500	852	184	25¾	91

In addition there were at Peppering (in Burpham, West Sussex) 'crops' (*vestura*) of wheat on 16 acres, at 2s. 6d. the acre; barley on 16 acres, at 2s.; oats on 7 acres, at 1s. 6d.; and vetches on 10 acres, at 1s. the acre.

seems to have been of exceptionally poor quality.¹ I have used the term 'pease' for the crop which figures

¹ In 1421, after the death of Sir John de Arundel, the demesnes of Pallingham and Dunhurst contained 200 acres of poor (*debilis*) arable, worth only 2d. the acre: Harl. MS. 4840, f. 534.

usually as *vesc'*, sometimes as *pis' et fab'*, and under East-hampnett as *haras*, a word which occurs in other Sussex account rolls but seems to have evaded the makers of glossaries. For some reason hay, measured by the cart-load, is entered only for the East Sussex manors.

Turning to the consideration of the livestock, we find that these are rarely accounted for in West Sussex. On the manors listed above we have at Storrington 4 stots, or farm horses, at 5*s.*; 12 oxen at 10*s.*, a bull and 16 cows at 6*s.*, a young bull (*taurellus*), a heifer (*juvenca*), 2 steers (*boviculi*), and 2 calves at 3*s.* 4*d.*; a boar, 2 sows, and 11 piglets, valued in all at 12*s.*; and at Pallingham a bull and 16 cows at 6*s.* each. There were also three manors for which no grain was recorded but which had livestock. At Pinkhurst (in Slinfold) were 4 oxen at 10*s.*, a bull and 29 cows at 6*s.* 8*d.*; at Hasford (in Wisborough Green) a bull and 22 cows at 6*s.*; and at 'Leghe' a bull and 27 cows at 6*s.* In no single instance is there any reference to sheep, which play so large a part in the East Sussex manors, as may be seen from the following analysis.

<i>Manor</i>	<i>Horses</i>	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Sheep</i>	<i>Swine</i>
Allington	1 mare 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	8 oxen at 12 <i>s.</i>	320 wethers at 12 <i>d.</i>	7 pigs at 2 <i>s.</i> 4 piglets at 10 <i>s.</i>
Houndean	3 stots at 3 <i>s.</i>	18 oxen 8 bulls and cows at 6 <i>s.</i>	266 wethers 370 rams and ewes at 10 <i>d.</i> 224 lambs at 6 <i>d.</i>	
Kingston	1 mare 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	11 oxen	200 wethers	11 pigs 17 piglets at 6 <i>d.</i>
Northease	3 stots at 2 <i>s.</i>	16 oxen 1 bull, 5 cows	320 wethers 267 rams and ewes	17 pigs 24 piglets at 8 <i>d.</i>
Rodmell	1 mare 4 <i>s.</i>	10 oxen	200 wethers 220 rams and ewes	5 pigs 4 piglets at 6 <i>d.</i>
Meeching	3 stots at 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	7 oxen 1 bull, 10 cows	303 wethers 20 rams, 300 ewes 300 lambs	19 pigs 14 piglets at 10 <i>d.</i>
Clayton and Pyecombe	5 stots at 3 <i>s.</i>	19 oxen 2 steers at 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	[? 330] wethers	1 sow and 5 pig- lets, 20 <i>d.</i>
Keymer	3 stots at 5 <i>s.</i>	27 oxen 3 steers at 6 <i>s.</i> 2 yearlings at 4 <i>s.</i> 2 bulls, 47 cows 2 heifers at 3 <i>s.</i> 4 calves at 20 <i>d.</i>	354 hoggets at 8 <i>d.</i>	13 pigs 14 piglets at 10 <i>d.</i>
Ditchling	2 stots at 5 <i>s.</i>	22 oxen 3 steers at 5 <i>s.</i> 2 bulls, 30 cows 4 yearlings at 4 <i>s.</i> 6 calves at 16 <i>d.</i>	510 wethers	9 pigs 15 piglets at 8 <i>d.</i>

<i>Manor</i>	<i>Horses</i>	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Sheep</i>	<i>Swine</i>
Middleton Rottingdean	1 stot 5s.	10 oxen	292 wethers 673 wethers 15 rams, 288 ewes 256 lambs	
Brighton Patcham	1 stot 6s. 8d. 4 stots at 5s.	8 oxen 24 oxen	389 wethers 1390 wethers 30 rams, 640 ewes 433 lambs	14 pigs 20 piglets at 8d.
Cuckfield	3 worn-out stots and a mare, 12s.	14 oxen 1 bull, 30 cows 4 yearlings at 2s. 6d. 6 calves at 16d.		
Saddlescombe	2 mares at 4s.	16 oxen	600 wethers 20 rams, 300 ewes	

Looking at these lists of livestock under their various headings, we may notice that no riding horses (*equi*)¹ are mentioned; the 'stot', a term later applied to cattle, may be defined as a 'utility' horse; and although I have followed the dictionaries by translating *jumentum* as 'a mare', I am inclined to think that it is as likely to mean 'a pack-horse'. Under the head of cattle, oxen are valued throughout at 12s. apiece, bulls and cows at 6s., the dairy value of a cow in the fourteenth century being negligible. Similarly, with the sheep the valuable animal was the wether (*multo*), priced at 12d.; rams and ewes were alike priced at 10d., the usual proportion being apparently one ram to 15 ewes; 'hoggets' (i.e. yearling sheep) occur only at Keymer, at 8d. Lambs, at 6d., occur in four manors, but that none are entered under Northease, Rodmell, and Saddlescombe, where there were breeding flocks, is curious. Attention may be called to the large flocks maintained at Patcham and Rottingdean; and it may be added that total values show that the numbers were reckoned by the 'short hundred' of five score, and not by the 'long hundred' of six score which was often employed in numbering sheep. The number of swine maintained is curiously small, and it is odd that in the wooded district of Cuckfield none are mentioned. 'Pigs' (*porci*) presumably include boars and

¹ There is a note (Foreign Roll, 22 Ric. II, m. C) that Thomas Wodyfeld, sergeant-at-arms, had delivered to the deputy of the Master of the King's horses—4 palfreys, 3 packhorses, 16 horses for 'chariots', and 2 chariots, late of the Earl of Arundel; and that the names and colours of the horses were on a schedule—which I have not been able to trace.

sows and are valued at 2*s.*; two words, *porchetti* and *porcelli*, are used, sometimes bracketed together, for young pigs, the *porcelli* being perhaps sucking-pigs.

The omission of livestock in the extents of the West Sussex manors must have been due to a different interpretation of what was wanted from that put upon their instructions by the compilers in East Sussex. The true picture can be to some extent restored from another set of returns, extracts from which were copied by Sir William Burrell into his manuscript collections from a 'FitzAlan MS.',¹ the original of which is not at present forthcoming. Burrell, oddly enough, attributed this to the reign of Edward I; but from names that occur in it it seems to date from about 1405. In this the usual formula is, 'There can be maintained (*possunt sustentari*)', but sometimes it runs, 'with stock (*cum stauro*)', followed by the numbers of animals, as follows:

Manor	Horses ²	Cattle	Sheep
Poling	3	18 oxen, 21 cows	200 ewes
Lyminster	3	18 ,, 40 ,,	250 ,,
Pallingham	2	10 ,, 80 ,,	
North Stoke	2	10 ,,	300 wethers
South Stoke	2	9 ,, 20 ,, , 1 bull	250 ,,
Northwood	2	8 ,,	300 ,, , 200 hoggets
Up Marden	3	30 ,, 80 ,,	800 ,, , 300 ,, , 300 ewes
Singleton	3	20 ,,	600 wethers, 400 ewes, 300 hoggets
Shopwick	2	30 ,,	250 ewes
East Hamp- nett	2	10 ,,	200 ,,
West Hamp- nett
Cocking	2	18 ,, 24 cows	200 ,, 300 wethers
Tortington	2	18 ,, 24 ,,	300 wethers
Woolbeding	2	10 ,,	300 ,, 150 ewes
Woollaving- ton	3	28 ,, 24 ,, , 1 bull	700 ,,

While these figures belong to a period probably about ten years later than the inventories with which we are dealing, they help to give a fairer picture of the relative agricultural conditions of the earl's manors in East and West Sussex. On fifteen manors in the west there were,

¹ B.M. Add. MSS. 5687-90.

² The word for a horse is throughout *affr(us)*.

in round figures, some 250 oxen, 300 cows, and 6,600 sheep. On the same number of manors in the East, 200 oxen, 100 cows, and 8,750 sheep. These figures, it must be remembered, are those of stock on the demesne; what numbers were maintained by the tenants we have no means of ascertaining.

In addition to the particulars of grain and livestock we are given in a few instances in West Sussex and in every manor in East lists of farm implements and furnishings. Under Pinkhurst 'a plough and other instruments of husbandry' are valued at 4*s.* The other two West Sussex instances are interesting as indicating something in the nature of hunting lodges. At 'the house (*manso*) called Estdene in the park there' there were 16 table boards, with 11 pair of trestles, 12 forms, and a chair of Flanders—worth in all 10*s.* Also 'an old and worn-out cauldron'—2*s.*, and 3 pieces of old lead for roofing buildings—6*s.* 8*d.* In the manor of Stansted were 10 table boards, 9 forms, 8 pair of trestles, 4 'cup-bordes', a 'Flaunderscheyer', and 4 stools—13*s.* 4*d.* Also 2 'costerelles'¹ containing 16 gallons of verjuice, at 2*d.* the gallon—2*s.* 8*d.*; 4 old andirons (*aundersns*)—3*s.* 4*d.*; and an iron fork—12*d.*

For East Sussex the inventories run as follows:

Allington:—a plough with all the iron furniture (*apparatu*)—4*s.*; a wagon (*plauastro*) with wheels—4*s.*; a vetrop, a pykfork, a courtepot, a shovel (*tribulo*), 2 pair of traces, and a bushel bound with iron—23*d.*

Houndean:—2 ploughs with all furniture—4*s.*; 2 wagons with wheels—5*s.*; a vetrop, 3 harrows, 3 courtpottes—4*s.* 6*d.*; a fork for lifting sheaves, a bushel bound with iron, a shovel, and 2 pair of traces—10*d.*

Kingston:—a plough with 3 iron chains, a wagon with wheels, and 2 harrows—5*s.*; a courtpot, a vetrop, a winnowing-van (*ventilabro*), an iron spade (*vang'*), and a shovel—2*s.*; 26 hurdles (*clad'*), a polysyn, and a sack—3*s.*

Northeast:—2 ploughs with iron chains and other furniture—4*s.*; 2 wagons with wheels—2*s.* 6*d.*; 2 courtpottes, 2 harrows with iron teeth (*cavill'*), a vetrop, a basket (*corbell'*), a pychfork for sheaves, and 2 sacks—4*s.* 6*d.*; 53 hurdles—6*s.* 9*d.*

Rodmell:—a plough with iron chains—2*s.* 6*d.*; a wagon with

¹ A costrel was usually a flattish flask hanging at a man's side. These may have been made to hang on either side of a packhorse.

wheels, a harrow with wooden teeth, a courtpot, a vetrop, an iron shovel, an iron fork for dung, and a fork for sheaves—3s. 4d.; a winnowing-van, a bushel bound with iron, a sack, a pair of traces, a ladder, a basket, a shovel—2s. 6d.; 30 hurdles (*glad'*), a polysyn—4s.

Meeching:—a plough with 3 iron chains—2s.; a wagon with wheels, a vetrop, a courtpot, a fork for sheaves, 2 harrows with iron teeth, an iron shovel, 2 pair of traces, a basket, a bushel bound with iron, 2 sacks, a winnowing-van—4s.; 60 hurdles and a barrel for tar (*tarr'*)—5s.

Clayton with Pyecombe:—2 ploughs with all furniture—2s.; 2 wagons with wheels—3s. 4d.; a courte with wheels, very shaky (*valde debil'*)—6d.; 2 harrows with iron teeth—2s.; a fork for lifting sheaves, 2 iron shovels, a vetrop—10d.; a winnowing-van—12d.; a basket—4d.; a bushel bound with iron, a sack—2d.; a polysyn—4d.; 22 hurdles—2s.

Keymer:—2 ploughs with all the wooden furniture—2s. 2d.; 3 wagons, 2 pair of wheels—4s.; 2 courtpottes, 2 forks for sheaves—14d.; 2 iron shovels, 2 harrows with iron teeth, a vetrop—20d.; a bushel bound with iron, a basket—8d.

Ditchling:—2 ploughs with all furniture—2s. 8d.; 3 wagons with 2 pair of wheels—5s.; a courtepot, a fork for sheaves, 2 shovels for dung—4d.; 2 harrows with iron teeth—2s.; a winnowing-van—16d.; 2 pair of traces, a basket, 2 sieves (*crebr'*)—6d.; a bushel bound with iron—6d.; a polysyn, 60 hurdles—3s. 4d.

Middleton:—32 hurdles, a polysyn—4s.

Rottingdean:—a plough with 3 iron chains and other furniture—2s.; a wagon with wheels—20d.; a vetrop—6d.; a courtepot—4d.; a fork for sheaves, an iron shovel, a harrow with iron teeth, a pair of traces, a bushel bound with iron, a basket, 2 sacks, a (?) seedlip (*semimodio*)—3s. 4d.

Brighton:—a plough with 3 iron chains—2s. 6d.; a wagon with wheels—16d.; a courtpot, a fork for sheaves, a shovel, a harrow with iron teeth, a pair of traces, a sack, a basket, 2 sieves, a bushel bound with iron, a (?) seedlip (*seminodio*), a ladder—6s. 8d.; a winnowing-van and 42 hurdles—3s. 4d.

Patcham:—3 ploughs with 9 iron chains and other furniture—4s.; 3 wagons with wheels—5s.; 3 courtpottes, 2 harrows with iron teeth—20d.; 3 vetropes—12d.; 2 forks for sheaves—6d.; 2 iron shovels—4d.; a winnowing-van—12d.; 2 baskets—6d.; a bushel bound with iron—6d.; 2 sacks—8d.; 150 hurdles—12s. 6d.

Saddlescombe:—2 ploughs with iron chains and other furniture—4s.; 2 wagons with wheels—3s.; a courtepot, a vetrop, 2 forks for lifting sheaves, an iron shovel, a bushel bound with iron, a basket, 2 sieves, a sack, a ladder 20 ft. long, and 2 worn-out harrows with iron teeth—4s.

Cuckfield:—2 empty chests—4s. 4d.; 17 table boards with 9 [trestles]—8s.; 21 forms with 3 stools (*scabell'*)—3s.; 2 leaden vessels—13s. 4d.; 2 old brass vessels called 'caudrons'—8s.; a brass jug

(*olla*)—3*s.* 6*d.*; 6 old wooden vessels called 'cumelyns'—2*s.*; 2 mortars—2*s.*; about 3,000 Horsham stones for roofing buildings—13*s.* 4*d.*; firewood (*focali*) [] there—6*s.* 8*d.*; boards (*tabul'*), 'shyngell', and laths—6*s.* 8*d.*; charcoal (*carbonibus*)—3*s.* 4*d.*; 2 iron candlesticks—4*d.*; a plough with all the wooden furniture, 2 long wagons with a two-wheel cart (*biga*)—4*s.*

Little Worth:—6 tables, 8 forms—6*s.*; an empty cask (*pipa*)—12*d.*

These inventories present some interesting and puzzling features. The only hint of any dwelling-house is at Cuckfield, and here there are no beds or household amenities, but rather a suggestion of large-scale picnics or hunting parties. Perhaps the furniture of the farm-houses was always the private property of the farmers and not provided by the landlord. Even the farming equipment, which appears to be listed down to the last sack and basket, is curiously meagre. There are never more than two ploughs, except at Patcham, where there are three, even when the arable ran to 200 or 300 acres; but most of the ploughing was no doubt done by the villeins. It is strange that no spare parts, particularly in the shape of ploughshares, are recorded. Presumably the ox-yokes are included in the *apparatus* of the plough; but the valuation of the complete outfit, rarely more than 2*s.*, seems curiously low when compared with a bushel measure at 6*d.* or a winnowing-van at 16*d.* It might seem unnecessary to list wagons, or wains, as 'with wheels', but both at Keymer and Ditchling we find 3 wains with 2 pair of wheels—'pair' being used in the medieval (and German) sense of 'a set', and here presumably indicating four wheels. Apparently the body of the wain was separate from the carriage, which could no doubt be used as a tug for carting timber and so forth. Here again the values given are strangely low.

There are two words which do not appear in any glossary that I have consulted. The first is the 'court-pot', which was evidently an essential article. In view of the use of 'dung-pot' for a dung-cart, it seems likely that this was a barrow, used perhaps in the court or yard. At Clayton it figures as 'a courte with wheels'; but whether this implies that it usually was or usually

was not wheeled is anybody's guess. Closely associated with it, apparently, was the even more mysterious 'vetrop', which at Rottingdean is valued at the comparatively high price of 6*d.* The only other word that presents any difficulty is the 'polysyn', which from its name (= pole-iron) and its association with hurdles must have been a pitching-iron.

Of the other tools, a pitchfork was essential; a dung-fork occurs occasionally. Shovels are always mentioned, and sometimes noted as 'iron'; a more exact rendering would be 'ironed', for the medieval spade or shovel never had a complete iron blade but only an iron shoe. With one exception, every manor had a bushel measure—always defined as having iron hoops. There was usually a basket, evidently large, being valued at 3*d.* or 4*d.*, and a sack, or even two sacks, but never more. The most surprisingly expensive item was the winnowing-van, which is priced 12*d.* at Clayton and 16*d.* at Ditchling; this was a large flattish basket, shaped like a monster scallop-shell, with a handle on each side, in which the grain was shaken violently in a draught to separate the chaff.

It is remarkable that there is not a mention of scythe, sickle, or flail. Apparently even at this late date the whole of the reaping and threshing must have been done by the villeins or hired labourers with their own tools; even in modern times the shepherd's crook has always been his personal property.

Two places, Arundel and Lewes, stand apart. Of Arundel the account is disappointingly slight: there was a castle, worth nothing beyond its upkeep; in the town rents and leases produced 10 marks. Dues (*franche-siae*), view of frankpledge, the court called 'hustenge', tolls, pickage, and fairs produced 60*s.*, the water-mill(s) £10. And there were 100 acres of meadow belonging to the castle worth, at 13*d.* the acre, 66*s.* 8*d.* (*sic*).

At Lewes we have an interesting inventory:

In the Castle of Lewes are 17 'basnettes',¹ at 3*s.* 4*d.*—56*s.* 8*d.*; 2 'ketelhattes'—2*s.*; 11 breastplates (*loricis*), at 5*s.*—55*s.*; 20

¹ Latinized in (B) as *capitibus*.

'jakkes', at 2s.—40s.; 17 pairs of gauntlets of plate, at 4d.—5s. 8d.; 6 crossbows (*arblestes*)—2s.; 4 'gunnes'—26s. 8d.; 3 'hauseres' [(B) 'hausepeis']—12d.; 1 'spryngall' with 5 'takeles' without heads—2s.; 3 hand-mills—6s.; a chest with account rolls—2s.; 2 sets of iron fetters (*veteres*), worn out—4d.; a barrel for (?) packing armour (*pro fraill' de armur'*)—12d.; a bucket (*bokett*) for the well—4d.; 2 bronze jars—13s. 4d.; 2 bronze dishes (*patell'*)—4s.; a 'furnace'—21s.; a lead [vat]—6s. 8d.; a cauldron—3s. 4d.; 2 'aundirnes'—6s. 8d.; a cistern of lead—20s.; a bucket with rope for the well—12d.; 3,000 slates (*sclatston*)—6s.; 2,000 of old 'brodston'¹—6s.; a quarter of 'shotbord'²—8d.; half a quarter of 'dorebord'³—6d.; 100 of 'hertlatthes'³—8d.; new and old timber—6s. 8d.; 500 sawn boards—10s.; a quantity of burnt lime—10s.; and various bits of old lead from roofs of buildings, found in the chapel there—66s. 8d.

Also a weighing-beam (*tronar'*) with bronze weights—namely one weight of 8 cloves,⁴ one of 4 cloves, 8 weights each of 3 cloves, one weight of 2 cloves, and 2 each weighing 1 clove—worth £4; which were of the said Richard, Earl of Arundel, in the Castle of Lewes and were delivered to Thomas Podeye, the king's weighing-officer (*tronatori*) in this county for the weighing of wool, by the king's writ of privy seal of 21 October anno 21.

It is unfortunate that nothing is said of the borough of Lewes; even if, as is possible, all the issues had been leased to the burgesses, one would expect to find the rent mentioned. Even the inventory of the castle is perfunctory: references occur to the well and the chapel, but the latter only as a storehouse. There must surely have been a hall, containing at least tables and forms, and the kitchen presumably was still functioning. One would have liked a methodical inventory, room by room. There was probably nothing in the way of a permanent garrison, but a little armoury was kept for emergencies. The *bacinets*—an egg-shaped, close-fitting headpiece, as shown on the brass of Sir William Fiennes (1403) at Herstmonceux⁵—would be for cavalry, and the kettle-hats—like modern 'tin hats'—for infantry, and they were accompanied respectively by breast-plates and 'jakkes', or coats of defence made of leather with small plates of iron sewn on. No swords or lances or other weapons of offence, except the crossbows, are

¹ 'Broad stone' means stone slabs or slates.

² 'Shotbord' is planed board.

³ 'Hertlatthes' are laths made of heart of oak.

⁴ The clove of wool was 7lb.

⁵ *S.A.C.* LXXVIII. 88.

entered. The mention of guns is interesting, but no ammunition for them is recorded. The springald was a machine resembling a giant crossbow, and the 'takeles' were presumably bolts—unless they were tackles for stretching the machine, and the missing 'heads' were the means of attachment?

Every nobleman kept a supply of armour, not only for his own use but also to equip his retainers, and we have a list of 'the pieces of armour (*hernoyes*) which were of the Earl of Arundel, forfeited to our lord the King and delivered by Stephen Freth' to John Torre'.¹ While it is not expressly stated that they came from Arundel Castle it is reasonable to suppose that they were among the goods and chattels of the earl for the carriage of which from Arundel Castle to Westminster John Brook, Escheator in Surrey and Sussex, supplied eight carts with men and horses, at 26*s.* 8*d.* each.² It will be simplest to give this list in the original French, inserting numbers to facilitate comment.

- (1) In primis 3 pair hernoise p^r jambes enbordurez de laton: pris de ch[ac]un 3*s.* 4*d.*—3 marks.
- (2) Item 9 pair hernoys p^r jambes pleins, un sanz quysshewe—30*s.*
- (3) 6 pair sabatons.
- (4) 1 pair polenis de laton; 1 pair polenis noirs; 2 quysshews oue polenis de laton.
- (5) 1 pair splentes de 3 peces p^r jambes.
- (6) 18 pair gauntz del oueraigne de Loundres; 35 pair gauntz de Flaundes, pris le pair 6*d.*
- (7) 2 paltrons bordurez de laton; 12 pair vambras, 13 pair rerebras de Flaundes, pris le vambras ou le rerebras 13*d.*
- (8) 1 bacynet de Melayn ou le veser et le coler hernois dargent; 1 bacynet de Loundres ou le veser; 5 bacynets de Flaundes de haut cour; 3 bacynets pour courses de guerre; 11 helmes, pris ch^{un} 3*s.* 4*d.*; 4 vailles runde bacynets.
- (9) 5 blanc paletz de Flaundes; 1 palet noir.
- (10) 2 ketelhattes.
- (11) 4 chenebawdes, pris 12*d.*
- (12) 1 aventaill dacer de Lombardye; 1 aventaill dacer de Westfale; 24 aventaill de fer, pris le pece 2*s.* 6*d.*; 6 aventaill veilles et febles, pris le pece 6*d.*

¹ Misc. of Exch. (E. 163), 6/13. For help with the interpretation of some terms I am indebted to Sir James Mann, Master of the Armouries of H.M. Tower of London.

² Foreign Roll 22 Ric. II, m. G.

- (13) un paunce et 1 brace dont le paunce pur le bordre dun pair
[].
- (14) 6 pesinz, pris le pece 12*d*.
- (15) 30 petitz peces de maile a guyse de voiders, pris 6*d*.
- (16) 64 haberioniis, pris le pece 6*s*. 8*d*.
- (17) 1 [? armure] de maile.
- (18) 2 pair plates couerez de drape, lez bokeles garnye dargent et endorre.
- (19) 1 pair plates febles ; 1 pair plates blankes febles.
- (20) 12 brestplates de Loundres, pris chacun 6*s*. 8*d*. ; 4 brestplates pur turnement ; 16 brestplates de Flaundes.
- (21) 11 vauntplates, 10 grates, 6 coronals.
- (22) 2 [] de fers.
- (23) 1 escut dacer.
- (24) 1 chaunfreyn blanc dacer pur le teste dun cheval.
- (25) 2 testes pur launcegayes ; 3 fers pur launcez.
- (26) 18 jakes de sey et fustiane, pris le pece 3*s*. 4*d*.
- (27) 1 selle pur 1 bastard oue 1 bride et peytrell, enbordure (*sic*) oue lez armes d[arundell ?] ; 4 selles pur turnements dont 3 enbroudez et le quarte peinte ; 1 [] sell pur un femme enbroude.
- (28) 8 brides, 5 pair de strepes, 4 peytrell.
- (29) 12 pair espors endorrez.
- (30) 1 target, 3 escutez.
- (31) 1 (?) tecte pur 1 trappur.
- (32) 6 espeys graunt et petit, pris de chacun 4*s*.
- (33) 1 pair de cutell de birell et hernoises dargent endorrez ; 1 pair de cutels de yuor garnisez oue le armes darundell ; 1 pair de cutels de noix hernoises dargent et endorrez.
- (34) 1 dagger enameles ; 1 dagger de mases herneises dargent et endorre.
- (35) 17 estuffes pur bacynets.
- (36) 3 peces dun trappus batuz.
[on the dorse of the roll]
- (37) 1 cote armur ; 6 skochons ; 6 penselx.
- (38) 1 forser dyuori et get ; 10 liuers de Fraunceys ; 5 forser ; 2 forselettes.
- (39) 70 testes pur dartes.
- (40) 1 pair de cutelx dyuory garnisez dargent.

Here we begin with sets of leg-harness, (1) edged with latten (the type of bronze familiar to us as used for monumental brasses), and (2) plain, one of these lacking the *cuisse*, or thigh-piece. The *sabatons* (3) were laminated shoes ; *poleyns* (4) were knee-caps, usually attached to the *cuisse*s ; and 'splints' was a term for armour built up of horizontal plates for flexibility. Of the gloves, or

gauntlets (6), though the price of those of London workmanship is not given, they were probably superior to the cheap Flemish type. In (7) the *paltrons* were shoulder-pieces, and *vambras* and *rerebras* were plates protecting respectively the forearm and upper arm. Bacinets, as already mentioned, were egg-shaped head-pieces; here (8) we have a fine example of Milanese make, with vizor and collar garnished with silver. The Flemish bacinets *de haut cour* are rather a puzzle, as this phrase indicates their use for jousts, or tournaments, for which purpose the great helm was almost invariably used at this time. The *palet* (9) was a small helmet or skull-cap. *Chenebawdes* (11) Sir James Mann identifies as a variant of *shinbalds*, greaves protecting the shin. In (12) *aventail* can be either equivalent to the *camail*, or tippet of mail hanging from the bacinet, or to a detachable vizor; on the whole the distinction between those of iron and the two, of Italian and Westphalian origin, of steel seems more to favour the second explanation. A *paunce* (13) was armour for the paunch, or lower part of the body; the exact significance of the *brace* is not clear. *Pesinz* (14) were pieces of mail to protect the chin and chest, and *voiders* were gussets of mail to cover armpits and other gaps in the plate. The *haubergeon* (16) or hauberk was a shirt of mail, and the 'sets of plates' (18-20) were suits of plate armour. Four of these were for tournaments, and in (21) we have *vamplates*, the circular plates set on lances to guard the hand, *coronels*, blunt lance-heads used in tournaments, and, probably, *grapers*, similar blunt lance-heads. Following a shield of steel (23) we have (24) a *chamfron*, or head-piece for a horse, and (25) two heads for *launcegays*, which were a kind of javelin, and (26) jacks, or doublets, of serge and fustian. Then come (27) saddles: the first, for a 'bastard' or gelding, complete with bridle and *peytrel*, or breast-piece; the qualifying word for the last item may perhaps be 'aunsien', meaning old-fashioned, but I cannot be sure. Stirrups, gilt spurs, and part of the trappings of a horse follow. In (30) the 'target' was a round shield, usually smaller than the

elongated shield (*escut*). Six swords (32) are followed by sets of knives, with handles of beryl, ivory, or walnut, and two daggers, one with enamelled mounting, and the other of 'mazer', or maple, with silver-gilt garnish. The *estuffes pur bacynets* (35) were presumably cloth linings for bacinets. On the back of the roll are noted (37) an armorial surcoat, six escutcheons, and six pennons; (38) a coffer of ivory and jet; ten *livres* of French money; five other coffers and two small ones; 70 heads for darts; and a set of knives with ivory and silver mounts.

Naturally the earl possessed great stores of furniture other than military; and among these were the 'Goods forfeited by the Earl of Arundel and delivered to Giles Frenssh, keeper of the [? beds] in the Castle of Windsor'.¹ These, which probably came, at least in part, from Arundel Castle, consisted of hangings for beds and halls, or living-rooms. The medieval 'bed', a frequent and valuable object of bequest in early wills, consisted of (1) a 'tester', hanging behind the head of the bed; (2) a 'selour', over the top of the bed; (3) curtains; (4) cushions, or pillows; and (5) rugs and a 'cross-cloth' or coverlet. The 'hall' seems usually to have included a 'back-cloth', behind the high table, and hangings on the other walls. The goods transferred to Windsor were as follows:

First, a bed of white damask embroidered with crowned unicorns (*licornes*), with 7 cushions (*quysshins*) of the same set, 3 curtains, and a [? coverlet] of black tartarin² adorned (*batuz*) with golden crowned letters A, 16 rugs of white colour powdered with crowned letters M, of tapestry work, with 12 cushions of the same set.

Item [a bed . . .] of white worsted with a selour (*celure*) and 5 side-hangings (*costers*) lined with diaper [of the same] set.

[Item . . .] of scarlet cammoca³ embroidered with 2 golden 'Wode-woses'⁴ [. . .] of the same set, with 3 curtains of sandall, 6 scarlet cushions of cammoca, with 10 rugs of scarlett (*vermaill*) of tapestry work.

Item a bed of bawdekyn⁵ of blue colour powdered with white roses, with 3 curtains of blue tartarin adorned with white roses, with 11 rugs

¹ Exch. K.R. Accts. [E. 101], 403/17.

² A silk material, perhaps from the Near East.

³ A costly material, probably of silk.

⁴ Conventional 'wild men'.

⁵ A silk material, originally made at 'Baldak', i.e. Baghdad.

of blue colour of tapestry work with white horses¹ carrying the arms of Arundel, with 6 cushions of blue bawdekyn powdered with white roses.

Item a bed of striped bawdekyn, with borders of green, with eagles embroidered therein carrying the arms of Warenne (*Garenne*) and Arundel, with 10 rugs of blue and white, with borders of green, with blue eagles carrying the said arms, of tapestry work, with 6 cushions of bawdekyn, striped and with borders as above, with a cross-cloth (*travers*) and 3 curtains of the same set.

Item a bed of bawdekyn of blue colour with red work (*lowerage*), with a half-selour embroidered with 3 golden lions and the arms of Warenne and Arundel, with 3 curtains of blue tartarin, with 10 blue rugs of tapestry work marked with the arms of Warenne and Arundel.

Item a bed of black bawdekyn with complete selour, 3 curtains of black tartarin, with 4 cushions of the same set as the bed, and a cross-cloth of black sandall.²

Item a bed of black satyn with complete selour, 3 curtains of black tartarin, with 4 cushions of the same set.

Item a bed of arras (*daras*), namely a coverlet, and a tester, marked with a castle on each piece, with 3 curtains of green tartarin, and a cross-cloth of green sandall.

Item a hall (*sale*) of 3 pieces of blue colour powdered with scarlet roses, of tapestry work.

Item a hall of 3 pieces with the arms of Warenne and Arundel, of tapestry work.

Item a back-cloth (*doser*) of arras.

Item a hall of 3 pieces of coloured linen diaper (*diasper linge esteigne*).

There is another, much longer, inventory of goods belonging to the Earl of Arundel, printed in Palgrave's *Ancient Kalendars and Inventories* (III. 303-7); but as these were delivered to the Treasurer by Adam Pesale, Sheriff of Shropshire, it is to be presumed that they had been seized in the earl's residences in Clun and Oswestry, and I have therefore not printed it here. The items include hall hangings of tapestry with oaks and birds, or lions, elephants, and figures. The numerous beds include, besides those with armorial designs, one of blue satin with golden falcons and roses, others with golden lions, and a set of red silk embroidered with 'a park'—presumably verdure with wild animals. A coverlet of ermine lined with blue satin is mentioned; a few mat-

¹ The badge of FitzAlan.

² Another silk stuff.

tresses occur, also 'a pair of sheets with a head-sheet of cloth of Reymys (linen of Rheims)', two other pairs of linen sheets, and a few towels of linen, including 'a long towel of Paris make'. There is also 'a covering for the chariot, of tapestry work with lions and black crowned Ms'; this being, no doubt, for a travelling covered vehicle of the type familiar to us from the illustration in the Luttrell Psalter. The inventory also includes a certain amount of silver—dishes, cups, salts, candlesticks, and so forth.

A final glimpse of the earl's splendour can be obtained from his will.¹ This was made in 1393, four years before his death, at 'moun Chastel Phillipp'. Where this castle was is not known, but it may be suggested that it was possibly some country house fitted up for and named after his second wife Philippa Mortimer. To her he left a quantity of plate, silver dishes, cups, salts, bowls, and so forth, including a tall pair of candlesticks, for use at supper in winter, with gilt embattled rims and pendants of his arms; head-dresses of pearls and other jewels; a blue bed embroidered with the arms of himself and of his first wife, Elizabeth de Bohun; a set of hall hangings, made in London, of blue tapestry with his own arms and those of his sons-in-law Thomas Mowbray, Earl Marshal, John, Lord Charlton of Powys, and Sir William Beauchamp, Lord Bergavenny; and the furniture of his travelling chapel. To his eldest son Richard, who died between the date of the will and the execution of the earl, he left such heirlooms as his coronet, a bible in two volumes, a book of the Decretals, a great gold chain, and other jewels and relics contained in a coffer with mountings of silver and gilt lions; also the larger share of his silver plate; his chapel with its furniture of red velvet embroidered with angels and archangels; and various beds and armorial hangings. To his second son, and eventual successor, Thomas, beds, including one of blue silk embroidered with griffons, and hangings of arras, worked with grotesques (*babewynes*). To his daughters there were bequests of other beds and hangings—

¹ Nicholas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 129-34; Tierney, op. cit. 268-75.

some distinguished as 'usually at Reigate', or 'at London'—and jewels, such as a brooch with lions and crowns, and a tablet representing the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, a scene portrayed also on one side of the enamelled pendant bequeathed to the Duchess of Norfolk, the other side bearing a figure of St. Francis. Numerous gifts of cups to his friends complete the bequests of chattels. How many of these eventually reached the legatees we have no way of knowing, but all this pageantry has long since vanished; the goblets and candlesticks have gone the way of the bushels bound with iron, the silken hangings with their pride of heraldry and splendour of golden lions and falcons have perished as completely as the farm sacks and baskets also recorded in the impartial ink of official clerks, and only a faint glimpse of their significance in the life of a great noble of the Middle Ages can be caught by the vision of an imaginative reader.