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*Prices from the Durham obedientiary account rolls,
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This paper is a sequel to that published in *Archaeologia Aeliana* in 2010, which covered grain prices at Durham between 1278 and 1367.¹ Both papers are based primarily on the research done on the account rolls and *status* of Durham Cathedral Priory and its dependent cells as part of two research projects, the first funded by the ESRC and the subsequent one by the University of Oxford and the ESRC. Durham prices for this period were included in comparative tables in the book *Changing Values in Medieval Scotland: A Study of Prices, Money, and Weights and Measures* which resulted from the latter project.² Here, however, as in the 2010 paper which published cereal prices, the opportunity is taken to present the Durham prices in their own right and to discuss their regional and institutional context. The prices published here are of livestock, fish, animal and plant produce, and materials. Commodities for which Durham prices have not been published hitherto are included here, namely, lime, iron, lead, and wine (wholesale and retail). Moreover, thanks to a generous grant from the Economic History Society which funded further research, it has been possible to present continuous series of herring and salmon prices.

¹ 'Durham grain prices, 1278-1515', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 39 (2010), 307-327. The article was jointly authored with Ben Dodds and Phillip Schofield. My work covered the period to 1367 and theirs the period from 1368-1515.

² Elizabeth Gemmill and Nicholas Mayhew, *Changing Values in Medieval Scotland: A Study of Prices, Money, and Weights and Measures* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), Chapter 5. The data from Durham are compared with those for Scotland and published series for England. This is with the exception of the salmon prices where the Durham data are the sole comparator with Scotland.

The Durham cathedral archives are famously extensive. They include a large number of manorial accounts as well as those of the obedientiaries and cells on which this study relies.³ The cathedral priory was the largest household north of York and most of the prices presented here were of commodities purchased for use within the monastic households for which the accounting officers were responsible. Food and drink feature prominently in the records, although many other supplies, including livestock intended for working, fuel and building materials, were needed as well.⁴ The Durham bursar (the officer with the greatest purchasing responsibilities) travelled south to Boston fair at the outset of the period to buy imported, manufactured products, such as wine, cloths, furs, spices, wax, and luxury groceries. But successive bursars made use of other locations as well for their purchases of such products, particularly eastern towns and ports closer to home, even though prices farther north for cloth and furs tended to be higher than those payable in Boston. There were, however, other reasons for travelling south. At the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth, the Durham monks were also using Boston as the outlet for the wool they were producing on their estates. The accounts do not, until the start of the fourteenth century, mention the identity of the purchaser, but it is clear in 1303 that the sales were made at Boston fair, suggesting that this was where the most favourable rates were to be had.⁵

³ The detailed online catalogue of the medieval accounting material of Durham Cathedral Priory is part of Durham University Library's Special Collections Catalogue and is at <http://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ead/dcd/dcdmaccs.xml#qxj-3263>

⁴ M. Threlfall-Holmes, *Monks and Markets: Durham Cathedral Priory, 1460-1520* (Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 34, notes in respect of a later period that food and drink represented nearly half of the yearly expenditure of the priory.

Wool production was a significant factor in the monastic economy, bringing in sums that ran into triple figures for some years. But of course income from sales was only one consideration affecting the priory's economic circumstances. We have evidence that the monks were experiencing financial difficulties from the opening years of the fourteenth century. The Durham chronicler Robert de Graystones tells us that the priory had had to pay out huge sums of money to the papal curia in connection with the institution of Prior Richard and the appointment of Prior William de Tanfeld, and the imposition of a papal tax added to its burden. To repay the debts, the monks resorted to borrowing money from merchants, and it is clear that the writer thought that the loans were usurious. Graystones tells us that the new prior did nothing to improve the situation, which was exacerbated by the Anglo Scottish war, pestilence among the animals, and sterility of crops.⁶

Durham's debt problems are indeed borne out by the evidence of the bursars' accounts. In the second decade of the fourteenth century there are entries for the advance sale of wool to local merchants - one or two men each year - and this in fact becomes a familiar story. There was a fine line between an advance sale and a loan, especially when the debts section of the bursar's account records the payment of the actual wool in satisfaction. In 1310-11, there was a receipt of £108 from eighteen sacks of wool; while a delivery in wool to Thomas of Coldingham is recorded under the section 'Payment of Debts'.⁷ The account of 1313-14 makes clear why some of the loans had been raised. The receipts section records £32 from Thomas of Coldingham for eight sacks of wool from stock, £45

⁵ Bursar, 1302-3.

⁶ J. Raine, ed., *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, Surtees Society, 9 (1839), p. 89.

⁷ Bursar, 1310-11(a).

6s. 8d. from William Servat for nine sacks, twelve stones of wool from stock and £10

13s. 4d. from Servat for two sacks of wool from stock. Under the 'Payment of Debts' section (which makes clear that there were other debts in wool payable to Coldingham and Servat as well as those for which the bursar had received cash payments)

Coldingham's eight sacks were delivered to him; the payment of nine sacks, twelve stones to Servat were in settlement of the arrears of the fifteenth granted to the king.⁸

Three further sacks were paid to Servat, two from stock (that is, the ones which had produced the receipt of £10 13s. 4d.) and a further sack bought from Coldingham. These were said to be for a debt of Sir William de Tanfeld and so the entry seems to support Graystones' comment.⁹ Advance sales of wool were risky because the borrower was tied to a fixed price for an unpredictable wool crop, a price likely to suit the creditor who had supplied the loan rather than the debtor. The price would take into consideration the service of providing the loan. Indeed the Cistercians – who of course specialized in commercial sheep farming – were forbidden by their statutes to sell wool more than a year in advance, although this rule seems to have been difficult to enforce.¹⁰

If wool was, as it would appear, an important element in the priory's finances, the behaviour of prices in this period will have had a significant effect on its economic well being. The Durham evidence is patchy until the late 1320s (and indeed the first year for which we have a price is 1292). Prices seem to have been buoyant in the first two decades

⁸ This may have been the fifteenth of 1301, for which, see M. Jurkowski, C.L. Smith and D. Crook, *Lay Taxes in England and Wales, 1188-1688* (Kew, PRO Publications, 1998), p. 25.

⁹ Bursar, 1313-14 (a).

¹⁰ T.H. Lloyd, *The Movement of Wool Prices in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Economic History Review Supplement, 6, 1973), pp. 7 - 8.

of the fourteenth century but to have dropped markedly by the late 1320s and to have stayed low until the end of the period covered here. The downturn in prices after the accounts of the bursar recommence in 1328-9 (which is clearly apparent from the table of wool prices below) implies a decrease in profits prior to the plague which continued after it. In 1347-8 we are told that twenty-one sacks and twenty stones of better wool and three sacks, thirteen stone of lower quality wool remained as yet unsold.¹¹ A decline in receipts from wool will have had its impact on the monks' ability to make ends meet although income from this source was less significant than that from manors and garb tithes.¹²

The level of prices paid for Durham wool were lower than the average calculated by Lloyd for the country as a whole,¹³ but their movement is broadly speaking in line with the trends which he observed, and which he explained in terms of a high demand for wool associated with monetary inflation in the early decades of the fourteenth century followed by a decline in prices. This was caused by deflation and the imposition of taxation on wool exports which merchants sought, until the later 1360s, to pass on to wool growers in the form of lower purchase prices.¹⁴

¹¹ Bursar, 1347-8 (a).

¹² An immediate impact of the Black Death, which hit Durham in the late summer of 1349, was that many tithes remained in hand, while a large number of those which were sold were bought by new purchasers: Dodds, 'Durham Priory Tithes and the Black Death between Tyne and Tees', *Northern History*, 39 (2002), 5-24 (p. 18).

¹³ See Lloyd, *Wool Prices*, esp. pp. 39-41. Lloyd includes figures for Durham based on the data in the Beveridge Archive in the London School of Economics. They do not coincide with the figures given in the table below, partly because they were calculated on the basis of a 26-stone sack. In addition, the dating of entries here is based on the cataloguing of accounts carried out subsequent to the researches carried out by the Beveridge team.

¹⁴ T.H. Lloyd, *Wool Prices*, esp. pp. 17 - 20.

The prices for hides may be compared with those for wool, because these too tend to be sales figures although hides arose as a by-product of animals consumed in the priory rather than being produced in their own right for the market. The series is patchy; we have little evidence for the 1320s and no figures for the 1340s. Prices were buoyant in the 1290s and in the first two decades of the fourteenth century but were falling in the 1330s. Post-plague prices were lower yet although there is some evidence of recovery in the mid 1360s.

The local merchants who bought up the priory's wool (and sometimes hides) are also met as suppliers of manufactured and imported goods: Thomas of Coldingham, for instance, who bought the priory's wool in several successive years, is also found as a vendor of wax. This fits in with the conclusion of Constance Fraser that the Durham monks were making increasing use of local merchants, both for purchases of wine and groceries and for sales of wool and grain in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and that these connections superseded their reliance on Boston.¹⁵ Miranda Threlfall-Holmes has shown the increasing dominance in the fifteenth century of merchants of Newcastle as suppliers of imported goods (wine, imported iron, and spices) although spices may have been purchased by local men from London merchants, rather than being imported direct to Newcastle.¹⁶ The combination of circumstances in the early fourteenth century, namely, the credit relations with local merchants as a result of the monks' perceived financial problems, coupled with an expansion in the range of goods available locally

¹⁵ Fraser, 'The Pattern of Trade in the North East of England, 1265-1350', *Northern History*, 4 (1969), 44-66 (esp. pp.50-54).

because of the existence of two such wealthy customers as the priory itself and the bishop of Durham, and perhaps also the difficulties of travel due to the Anglo-Scottish war, make the preference for making purchases more locally not especially surprising. The entries in the accounts do not always tell us where the officers made their purchases, but certainly, those from Boston seem to occur much more sparsely as the period progresses.

There were some items that had always been bought locally because of the difficulties of transporting them back to Durham. Wine tended to be bought closer to home, because the cost of carriage was relatively greater and presumably because there was a risk of its spoiling. The bursar's account for 1329-30 records in detail the cost of twelve tuns of wine bought at Hull and Newcastle 'on occasions'. The wine itself came to £33 18s. 4d., but the cost of carrying it back to Durham, including dues of 'windage' and 'ulnage', came to a further £7 3s. 2d. adding well over 20 per cent to the cost. The most expensive wine was bought in the town, by the gallon, that is by retail. In 1313-14 the bursar explained that he had bought sixty-seven gallons in this way, for presents (*exenniis*) and for visitors within the priory (*supervenientibus*). The cost per gallon was 6½d.; in the same year he had bought four tuns of wine from Andrew de Bruntoft, another local merchant with whom the priory had a lot of dealings; this works out at 2.86d. per gallon. Clearly, buying wine by the gallon was not the economic thing to do, but evidently it was sometimes preferred for convenience.

¹⁶ M. Threlfall-Holmes, 'The Import Merchants of Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1464-1520: Some Evidence from Durham Cathedral Priory', *Northern History*, 40 (2003), 71-87.

The Durham wine prices are of great interest, particularly in revealing the regional effects of the disruption to trade caused by the Anglo-French war. The level of prices is generally higher, both for wholesale and retail purchases, than those farther south, but the fluctuations – both short and longer term - are broadly comparable with those observed by Margery James in her study of the impact of the war.¹⁷ Retail prices at Durham in the early decades of the fourteenth century were higher than assize prices for elsewhere (although assize prices, representing maxima fixed by the authorities, would tend to be lower than actual prices paid). Wholesale prices show an increase in the second decade of the fourteenth century with a marked increase in 1316 and 1317 perhaps relating to the more general harvest difficulties in those years. Figures are scarce for the 1320s because of the loss of bursars' accounts for much of the decade, but by 1330 the retail price and by 1332 the wholesale price had moved up to a higher level. The rise in Durham prices was not replicated farther south and perhaps related to higher transport costs and the incipient war with Scotland. There was a further rise in prices in Durham in the late 1330s as a result of the dislocation of production and export from Gascony in the early years of the Anglo-French war; but prices fell again in the early 1340s following the period of truce. Prices were climbing again in the later 1340s. The wholesale price rose sharply in 1348 (that is, 1348-9), indicating the immediate and devastating impact of the Black Death on the source of supply, even if the plague had not yet reached Durham itself. The retail price in 1349 was high and indeed wine prices stayed at a much higher level for the remainder of the period covered here. The 1360s saw no reversion to the earlier price levels; although the Treaty of Bretigny ushered in a period of peace the

¹⁷ M.K. James, 'The Fluctuations of the Anglo-Gascon Wine Trade During the Fourteenth Century',

recovery of production needed time, and was made more difficult by a further outbreak of plague.¹⁸ Durham prices, both wholesale and retail, were in the last two decades covered here double their levels at the opening of the fourteenth century.

Other commodities bought locally were livestock and fish. Fish – of many varieties, but very regularly dogdraves, herring, and salmon - were consumed in large quantities in the priory. They were bought in Durham itself, and in Hartlepool, Hawthorn, Jarrow, Newbiggin by the Sea, Newcastle, Sunderland and Whitby. Of these, series have been constructed for herring (by the thousand and by the last, reflecting the fact that, up until the 1330s the cellarer purchased in bulk, often from a named individual, as well as on a weekly basis), and for salmon. These varieties were chosen because of the quantity of data available, and because of the contrast between them as commodities: herring were a staple, and hundreds were consumed every week; salmon was also consumed regularly but was purchased by the piece and was – certainly in its fresh form – more of a luxury.

Herring are sometimes described as dried, red (that is, smoked), white, or fresh. It is not possible to establish a clear pattern of difference in price between these, except that, in the period from 1350 and 1363 for which the cellarer's accounts do not survive, the prices are those of red herring bought by the bursar for the prior's larder, and are markedly higher than those from the cellarer's accounts up until 1348. The higher prices seem to have had more to do with the nature of the product and the status of the consumer rather than with the impact of the plague. The evidence of prices for herring by the

Economic History Review, new series, 4.2 (1951), 170-96.

thousand do not reveal clear patterns, except that the figures for the 1330s look higher than those before or after. Prices by the last do however rise by the second decade of the fourteenth century; thereafter they fluctuate and it is difficult to distinguish further patterns other than that rise seems to be sustained up to the 1330s.

As with wine, the prices paid in town for fish seem higher than those at markets closer to the coast, at least on the basis of the unit price. There were other costs such as the expenses of agents making the purchases farther afield, and of carriage back to Durham, which, however, seem to have been thought worth paying to enable the cellarer to source supplies from a wider area. Transport back to Durham seems to have been on horseback – indeed the cellarer’s pack horses were often referred to as the ‘fish horses’. In 1344-5 the cellarer’s expenses included 4½d. for a pair of baskets to carry salmon.¹⁹ In February 1349 the cellarer spent 26s. 4d. on three robes for the buyers of fish at Newbiggin, Hawthorn and Sunderland.²⁰

That salmon was a luxury is clear from an entry in the bursar’s record of 1332-3 when five salmon were bought for 12s.6d. (that is, 30d. apiece) and sent to the king of England.²¹ Salmon were eaten throughout the year, but in larger quantities at Christmas and in particular to celebrate the feast of St Cuthbert on 20 March, which fell in Lent when the monks were forbidden from eating meat. The price of fresh salmon fluctuated greatly during the year, being expensive in the winter and early spring, but becoming

¹⁸ James, ‘Anglo-Gascon Wine Trade’, esp. pp. 176-183.

¹⁹ Cellarer, 1344-5, Month 8.

²⁰ Cellarer, 1348-9, Month 5.

much cheaper in the summer months. Salted salmon was far cheaper than fresh, and the price was much less liable to fluctuate seasonally. The monthly accounts for 1347-8 reveal these seasonal levels and trends well: salt salmon were invariably bought for 4d. each, but the cellarer paid as much as 27d. on one occasion for fresh at the end of December. (For Christmas his purchases had included 43 salt salmon at 4d. each.) He splashed out for the feast of St Cuthbert in March, spending £4, 2s. 4d. on 52 fresh salmon (at 19d. each). In the same week he bought 50 salt salmon for just 16s. 8d. Prices of fresh salmon were falling in April, and between May and August were between 7d. and 10.43d each.²²

The differences in prices of fresh and salt salmon and the seasonal variations in the price of fresh salmon might conceivably cancel each other out, except that many of the cellarers' accounts do not cover full calendar years. In 1348-9, for example, we only have cellarer's accounts for months 1 -5, and there are only prices for fresh salmon purchases in January and February – during the expensive time of year. It is not surprising that this produces a high average price for 1348-9 of 17.32d. each.²³ Very often in these accounts, salmon are undistinguished, or the entries for purchase of salt and fresh salmon are combined and it is not possible to see the underlying trend. Even so, it is interesting to observe that the priory chose to buy at least some fresh salmon when it was expensive as well as when it was cheap, and did not 'make do' at such times with the far cheaper salted variety.

²¹ Bursar, 1332-3.

²² Cellarer, 1347-8, Months 1-11.

²³ Cellarer, 1348-9, months 4-5.

Above all, the Durham monks bought large quantities of livestock locally, although it was not unknown for them to travel to Scotland, where a stallion and twenty oxen were bought in 1306-7, or as far west as Penrith, where sixty marts were bought for the prior's larder in 1308-9 or 'Kirby in Kendal' (Kirkby Lonsdale?) where nine oxen were purchased in 1310-11.²⁴ The livestock raised on the priory estates and stock farms were consumed within the priory rather than sold commercially, although occasionally officers would sell those animals surplus to their requirements. The priory supplemented its supply of meat with purchases from the fairs of Durham, Darlington, Corbridge and elsewhere. The bursar was responsible for buying oxen as draught animals for the manors, and for supplying meat for the prior's larder, while the cellarer had to buy meat for the priory as a whole.

A major difficulty when dealing with the purchase and sale of animals is that the terms describing them are generic. Each may refer to one of a number of different kinds of beast. A horse, for instance, might mean anything from one bought for the prior to ride, or to give to the king as a ceremonial present, to the much humbler animal used by the cellarer for carrying fish and meat or the other commodities which he purchased. If we were to put together all the prices of the animals referred to as *equi* in the account rolls, it would seem that prices were fluctuating considerably from year to year, for the simple reason that in one year, more palfreys were bought, and in the next that the cellarer was

²⁴ Bursar, 1306-7 (a), 1308-9 (a), and 1310-11 (a).

replacing his pack horses. Because of the variability of the animals no series for horses has been included here, although the actual figures are copious.²⁵

Horses performed a variety of tasks but at least at Durham they do not seem to have been eaten by the monks. Oxen, however, could be fattened once their working life was over, which was one of the qualities which, according to Walter of Henley's treatise on husbandry from the mid-thirteenth century, made them economical for use as draught animals (although he also recognized that there were circumstances which made horses more effective).²⁶ The Durham obedientiaries seem to have appreciated their twofold value, for oxen were certainly used for working the ploughs on the priory manors, and when they were too old to do that, or if they died of murrain, they were sent back to the priory for the monks to eat.²⁷ Besides, the cellarer delivered the hides to the librarian and the chamberlain (the leather to be used for book binding and for shoes) so that no part of the animal was wasted. Of course, such worn out beasts were still technically oxen, but they were quite different animals from those bought for eating in the first place. In the same way, animals referred to as being grain fattened - *de grano pastis* - were oxen too, but their value was much higher. Hence, in order to reflect the different types of animal referred to in the records, three price series have been compiled. First, there were the draught animals bought by the bursar to be sent to the manors for ploughing. Then there were the animals, also referred to as oxen, bought by the bursar and the cellarer for eating

²⁵ For example, in 1306-7 the bursar bought thirteen horses aside from stallions, affers and mares which were clearly distinguished as such. The cheapest 'horse' cost 12s. and the dearest £5. Bursar, 1306-7 (a).

²⁶ D. Oschinsky, *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 160-164 and 318-319.

in the priory. Then there are animals referred to as marts, strictly speaking, animals slaughtered at Martinmas (11 November) for winter eating - a practice related to the endemic shortage of fodder in the middle ages but meaning more generally animals for eating. Although the word mart could refer to a male or a female animal, the fact that both were bought for the same purpose made it less important to distinguish between the two.

When we are trying to determine what represented a real price, we have to take into consideration the identity of both purchaser and vendor. Many of the animals said in the account rolls to have been 'bought' were actually acquired as a result of a transaction with another obedientiary within the priory. The monastic administration required that officers exchanging commodities in this way should account for them as they did for their other purchases and sales. Even though the transaction was internal within the priory, the individual obedientiary had to balance his books. The cellarer, for instance, had to pay the bursar for livestock he received from the manors or for groceries bought by the bursar at the fairs. The same items will, therefore, appear on the account rolls of more than one official. One consignment of goods, genuinely bought at a fair or market in the first instance, may produce as many as three entries.

The animals produced on the priory manors and consumed by the monks were delivered from the manors to the cellarer, via the bursar. Thus the bursar in 1313-14 accounted for

²⁷ See also R.A. Lomas, 'The Black Death in County Durham', *Journal of Medieval History*, 15 (1989), 127-140 (pp. 132-133), where it is noted that Durham tenants in the mid-fourteenth century tended to have more oxen than horses.

£11 received from the cellarer, William of Hexham, for twenty ox carcasses and for £9 1s. 2d. for thirty-eight pigs. These items appear as purchases in the relevant sections of the cellarer's (Hexham's) own account.²⁸ This was, of course, perfectly proper accounting practice but it has a number of implications for constructing price series. Clearly, in order to prevent duplicated entries from distorting a series, only one figure out of the two ought to be used. Duplications are not always easy to spot, however, because an officer was sometimes referred to by his own name rather than by his office; if we do not happen to know that that individual was fulfilling a particular office at the time, the entry may even look like a transaction with a merchant or a tenant. In addition, the periods covered by the accounts of different obedientiaries did not always coincide, so that the bursar might deal with more than one cellarer during the period of his yearly account. And money might not come directly to him, but via the land agent known as the terrar. Another example from Alexander of Lamesley's account of 1313-14 illustrates both of these problems. As well as supplying William of Hexham with thirty-eight pigs, as we have seen, he had supplied the previous cellarer, Henry Wild, with fifteen pigs at 45s. Henry Wild's account stated that 45s. were paid for fifteen pigs received from the terrar, but the bursar was not mentioned. Were it not for the fact that the bursar's account had mentioned him explicitly, we would not be warned of a likely duplication of material.²⁹

There are several potential solutions to these difficulties. One could, for example, use just one set of accounts for commodities, like livestock, which tended to change hands within the priory; or one could leave out all transactions which were obviously between

²⁸ Bursar, 1313-14 (a) and Cellarer, 1313-14.

obedientiaries; or one could construct separate price series for each obedientiary for commodities occurring in more than one set of accounts. The first two options have the disadvantage of ignoring many important data, and the third would be too cumbersome to be practicable. The solution actually adopted in compiling the price series has been to use the entry representing the first time that goods come into the priory, and to omit the subsequent occasions on which such goods occur. Spotting those duplicated entries is not an exact science, but this approach nonetheless has the advantage of including as much valuable evidence as possible. .

This does not of course address the deeper question, namely, whether the prices of goods produced on the monastic estates, when they were transferred from one obedientiary to another, were realistic or whether goods changed hands at a concessionary rate. There are *a priori* arguments on both sides. Each obedientiary was, after all, part of one financial entity, so that, in principle, internal transactions should have no impact on the overall financial situation of the cathedral priory. Nevertheless, each, whether his office was financed by tallied cash advances from the bursar, as was the cellarer's, or by income from the lands, rents, and churches with which his office was endowed, as was, for example, the hostiller's, had to balance his books at the end of each year and in that sense his office was financially self-contained. Moreover, it made sense, when the bursar delivered livestock from the manors to the cellarer, for the cellarer to pay him a reasonable price for it, because the bursar had to replace the stock. There will not, however, have been a need to make a profit from sales to one's colleagues and this may

²⁹ Bursar, 1313-14 (a) and Cellarer, 1312-13.

explain why the prices put on stock from the manors tended to be lower than the prices of animals bought in town or at the fairs. The difference in price was sometimes considerable, sometimes slight, and sometimes not apparent at all. But on the whole, it was cheaper for the cellarer to buy meat from the priory manors than it was for him to buy it commercially. Whether this in turn meant that it was cheaper for the priory to produce its own meat rather than to buy it was a more complex matter. In this connection we may note that the prices put on stock from the priory's own lands were not fossilized. They varied between years and within years. In 1309-10, for instance, the cellarer paid at a different rate for the sheep he bought, according to which part of the priory's estates they came from. Thus, he paid 22d. each for sheep coming from Norham in Northumberland, 8d. each for those from the manors of Bewley and Leeholme, and 12d. each for those from Heworth and Muggleswick. Not only he, but all those who were concerned with his account, could see where he had acquired his cheapest meat.³⁰

In addition to the prices in the accounts, we have some figures from the annual *status* or inventory produced by the Durham obedientiaries and the heads of cells. Goods were not always valued. Even when they were, it is not straightforward to gauge the relationship between these figures and the actual purchase prices, although they can be viewed as a general guide to price levels at the time.³¹ The *status* produced by the cellarer was rather different from the rest, by the very nature of his stock in trade, that is, the meat, fish, and dairy produce with which he supplied the monks. The items mentioned in the *status* which his office produced were nearly always priced, because most of his assets were

³⁰ Cellarer, 1309-10 (b).

short-term consumable goods and the amount remaining each year affected how much he or his successor spent during the subsequent period of account. For instance, if a lot of meat were left over from one accounting year, it would be necessary to buy less in the ensuing period. Therefore what was left over would be offset against the expenditure during the term of account, priced in the *status*, and then taken up in the expenses section of the next account, as though it had been purchased, which in a sense it had been. Where it is possible to trace back the items recorded in these *status* to the entry referring to when they first came into the cellarer's hands it seems clear that the price given for them in the *status* was that at which they had been bought originally unless, like pigs or oxen, they had grown and fattened in the interim in which case they would be worth more. So, the price given in the *status* was either the genuine purchase price, or the estimated value of the goods.

However, for the purpose of compiling an accurate, year-to-year price series, this accounting procedure has drawbacks. For one thing, the actual time at which the goods were bought is only rarely given in the cellarer's *status*; another is that the same goods may occur time and time again. Another source of distortions is that the *status*, and indeed the accounts themselves, could be used for accounting for debts in kind owing to the accounting officers. Robert of Birtley, cellarer in 1311-12, explained (because he needed to account for the hides of animals consumed) that seven marts had been seized for the use of the king (five in his predecessor's time and two in his own time) and that

³¹ Raine, *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, Appendix, pp. xxxix-xl.

fourteen had been carried off by Scottish raiders.³² Of course, these entries are starkly revealing of the effect that the border conflicts had on local communities; if a prestigious ecclesiastical institution was not immune, ordinary people may have suffered far more. The marts seized by the Scots continued to be accounted for in the cellarer's accounts and *status*, at the original prices (10s each), until at least 1318. There was apparently a still more optimistic view taken in respect of those seized by the English king's ministers because these, which were grain-fattened and hence more expensive (26s.8d. each for five and 15s each for two), appear in the accounts right up until 1327-8, when they were at last written off as a bad debt.³³ Perhaps the political events of that year at last prompted this recognition, but the point to be noted is that animals doubtless long since consumed were still being accounted for as long as there was some hope of compensation. It is the very richness of the Durham source, where records survive in detail year after year, which enables us to see what is going on. In reality the effect of the Anglo-Scottish war may well have been to drive up the price of animals such as horses and oxen, particularly in the border regions. Yet, the inclusion year after year of these figures in a price series would have the effect of flattening out such a trend, and would therefore be quite misleading.

Despite the difficulty inherent in constructing price series for livestock arising from accounting methods and variations in the quality and nature of the animals, it is possible to see some clear patterns. On price levels, that of oxen intended for eating tended to be rather lower than that for labouring animals unless they were grainfed. Marts were, on the

³² Cellarer, 1311-12 (b)

whole, cheaper again. Cows fluctuated in price, depending on the purpose for which they were bought – for stocking the manors and to breed or provide milk products or for eating. The prices of all cattle were lower in the 1330s and 1340s, and do not seem to rise discernibly after the Black Death of 1348-9. There is some evidence of a rise in prices from the mid 1360s. The series for sheep is also liable to fluctuate, with higher prices between 1317 and 1329 and a fall in the 1340s. There is no discernible change as a result of the plague, but, as with cattle, there is some evidence of a rise in prices in the 1360s. The picture is in line with at least some of the patterns observed more generally by Farmer, of rising prices until the mid 1320s followed by a drop until 1340 and then a rise from the mid 1360s.³⁴

The evidence of the cheese series, although it is more equivocal and prices are liable to fluctuate, tends to fit with the pattern for livestock, in that there are low prices in the late 1330s and the 1340s, with some evidence of a rise in price in the 1350s perhaps reflecting higher costs of processing after the plague. The impression of lower prices in the 1340s followed by higher post-plague prices is reflected in the series for other commodities, such as iron, lead, salt and canvas, which required processing.

The obedientiary accounts were very pragmatic documents. The individual accountant's overriding concern was to balance his books, and every penny of cash or piece of

³³ Cellarer, 1327-8.

³⁴ D.L. Farmer, 'Prices and Wages', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, II.1042-1350* edited by H.E. Hallam (Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 715-817 (at pp. 745-755) and 'Prices and Wages, 1350-1500' in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, III.1348-1500* edited by E. Miller (Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 431-525, at pp. 432-424 and 455-461.

merchandise that passed through his hands had to be accounted for. The accounts clearly show an awareness of prices. Most obviously, we are often told the price of the individual unit (eg. the quarter of wheat or the individual animal or fish) as well as the total quantity purchased and the total price. When cellarers accounted for their expenditure on marts and sheep, they first gave the price at which the animals had been purchased, then they deducted from the total the profit made on the sale of the hides, fat and offal of those animals which had been slaughtered and eaten. This second total, which was the one carried forward, was sometimes referred to as the real price. We will often find an explanation if goods were lost or destroyed. It is because of this obligation that we learn about the depredations suffered by the priory as a result of the Scottish war, and about anticipated income from tithes which was not received because the land was waste.

The more detailed accounts, such as the cellarer's, differentiate prices of goods bought in different places or from different people, and often provide an explanation as to why expenditure was higher at some times than at others, or why a given price was particularly high or low. Usually, high and low prices are explained in terms of the quality of the goods themselves. Very occasionally, we have remarks on perceived price trends. The cellarer, Robert of Kelloe, accounting finally for a period of six months and two weeks ending in June 1343, observed that whereas a carcass of ox had been sold at only 4s. 6d. five years previously, he had had to pay 5s. 7½d. during the period of his account. He said that a thousand low quality herrings were sold for 5s, and better quality ones for 6s. 8d, which were bought in the previous year for 4s. and 5s on average (*communiter*). He also noted that the prior had stayed in Durham for the period of the

account, apart from three weeks at Bearpark; there had, therefore, been 55 monks in residence during the period of account.³⁵ Ox carcasses and herrings were among the items that the cellarer bought in large quantities, so shifts in prices will have driven up his expenditure.

This sort of comment serves as a reminder that, although the cathedral priory produced much of its own food, it certainly was not immune from changes in prices in local markets. The fact that the prices at which livestock changed hands between obedientiaries were also subject to variety and change shows that they were not fossilized but intended to reflect genuinely shifting values - although their level implies that such transactions were at discounted or profit-free rates. The priory's ability, as a large household, to source some commodities beyond the immediate locality and thus to secure the best rates for purchases may have given them advantage over other, smaller scale, consumers.

As to wool, we know that prices depended on demand from manufacturers and that merchants exporting it paid on the basis of quality and on their anticipated profit margin which in turn depended on their own costs, including taxes. The prices realised for sales of wool, already modest in comparison with those paid elsewhere for wools of better quality, were falling after the 1320s. At the same time, the monks were having to pay more for their wine than those farther south – although consumers everywhere were affected by the disruption in production and transport resulting from the war. Thus the

³⁵ Cellarer, 1342-3, final account.

economic downturn of the fourteenth century may have been felt more keenly in Durham than elsewhere, and the Anglo-Scottish war presented further problems. Prices after the plague show an increase for processed goods that the monks needed to buy, although we need for the longer term impact of the plague to look at prices over the next hundred years. This, of course, is the next project.

Accounts used:

Almoners, accounts and *status*, 1338 or 1339 - 1367-8

Bursar, accounts 1278-9 - 1367-8

Cellarer, accounts and *status*, c. 1300 - 1366-7

Chamberlain, accounts 1334-5 - 1367-8

Granator, accounts ?1295-6 - 1315-16

Hostiller, accounts and *status*, 1318 - 1367-8

Infirmarer, accounts 1353-4 - 1362

Sacrist, accounts and *status*, 1318-1367.

Extracts from the above are available in print, as follows: Fowler, J.T., ed., *Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Priory of Durham, 1303-1541*, Surtees Society, 99, 100, 102 (London, 3 vols, 1898-1901).

The cell accounts used were as follows:

Farne, accounts 1357-8 -1367-8

Finchale, accounts and *status*, 1311-1367

Holy Island, accounts and *status*, 1326 - 1367-8

Jarrow, accounts and *status*, 1303-1367-8

Wearmouth, accounts 1343-4 - 1367-8.

Some of the above accounts are available in print, as follows: Raine, James, ed., *The Charters of Endowment, Inventories and Account Rolls of the Priory of Finchale*, Surtees Society, 6 (London, 1837); *The Inventories and Account Rolls of the Benedictine Houses or Cells of Jarrow and Monk-Wearmouth*, Surtees Society, 29 (London, 1854).

Commodities covered

Animal and plant products: wine (shillings per tun and pence per gallon); cheese (pence per stone), wax (pence per pound), and wool (shillings per sack). Expensive wines such as Rhenish and Cretan and wine said to be of low quality have been omitted. Lambswool has been omitted. Canvas figures given in stones and pecie have been omitted as they cannot be compared with those given in ells.

Fish: herring (shillings per thousand and per last of 10,000); salmon by the piece. Figures measured in other quantities, for example by the cade, are referred to in the footnotes.

Livestock: oxen (divided into (a) labouring/undistinguished and (b) for eating), marts, cows, and sheep (shillings per head). Carcasses of sheep and oxen have been omitted.

Materials: salt (s. per quarter), iron (pence per stone), lead (pence per stone), lime (pence per quarter), and coal (pence per chaldron). Where the records express materials in other quantities, such as the seam or the cartload, these figures have been mentioned in the notes rather than included as part of the main series. Salt and iron prices are for undistinguished salt and iron unless otherwise specified.

Characteristics of entries

The following symbols have been used to describe characteristics affecting a number of entries within each table:

* denotes a figure derived solely from a *status* (which may, therefore, be regarded as a valuation rather than a transaction).

C denotes that carriage is explicitly included in the price.

X denotes that it is carriage is explicitly excluded from the price.

Other factors possibly affecting quality and therefore price are referred to in the notes describing particular entries.

Calculations of weights and measures

4 quarters = 1 chaldron for salt. A few figures in quarters or in a combination of chaldrons and quarters of coal have been omitted.

1 dicker = 10 hides

30 stone = 1 sack for wool

8 pounds = 1 stone for wax; elsewhere (eg. cheese) 14 pounds = 1 stone

2 pipes = 1 tun (wine)

14 stone = 1 wey (lead).

See also Gemmill, Dodds and Schofield, 'Durham grain prices, 1278-1515', pp. 313-315 for a note on methods used in the compilation of the price series.

Table 1: Plant and animal product prices

Year	Wine: s. per tun	Wine: d. per gallon	Cheese: d. per stone	Wax: d. per pound	Wool: s. per sack	Canvas: d. per ell
1278	51.21	4.00				
1279						
1280						
1281						
1282						
1283						
1284						
1285						
1286						
1287						
1288						
1289						
1290						
1291						
1292	47.07				93.49	
1293	58.48C					
1294						
1295						
1296						
1297					118.22	
1298	47.06C	5.86		9.64 (8.04)	106.40	6.01 (5.66)
1299						
1300	70.95	6.02 (5.13)	7.00	6.00		
1301				6.02 (5.44)		
1302	63.20C				92.10	4.03 (3.61)
1303						
1304						
1305			8.00			
1306	36.32			8.65	126.67 ³⁶	
1307			7.96	6.77		
1308			12.00		103.33	3.59

³⁶ Low quality wool sells for 78.34 this year.

Year	Wine: s. per tun	Wine: d. per gallon	Cheese: d. per stone	Wax: d. per pound	Wool: s. per sack	Canvas: d. per ell
						(3.13)
1309			12.00	6.89		3.00
1310	54.22			6.97 (6.27)	114.67 ³⁷	3.19 (2.98)
1311			8.66	6.48		
1312			8.15	6.00		3.00
1313	59.52	6.48	9.06 (7.75)	6.05 (5.45)		3.00
1314			10.97		113.33	
1315						
1316	86.67	5.83		7.83 (6.90)		3.75
1317	86.95		8.00	7.02 (6.11)	133.33 ³⁸	2.97
1318					128.00 ³⁹	
1319			9.29	7.00		
1320						
1321			7.27	6.46		
1322	61.50			6.00		3.00
1323						
1324	40.00*		5.95	6.00		3.50
1325			6.63*			
1326			7.35	6.57		
1327						
1328	44.00 ⁴⁰		6.43	7.50	85.59 ⁴¹	3.25
1329	56.53X			8.48 (7.70)	80.00*	4.19 (3.62)
1330	61.17X	7.00	9.00	8.00	80.00	4.00
1331						
1332	82.58	8.00		6.92	60.00 ⁴²	4.00
1333		6.29	8.00	6.50	79.85 ⁴³	3.53
1334	70.19X	6.17		6.00	78.65	2.64
1335	66.92X	7.86		6.00	86.67	3.00
1336	81.59	6.68			98.04	3.60 (3.00)

³⁷ Broken wool sells for 66.67 this year.

³⁸ Refuse wool sells for 66.67 this year.

³⁹ Refuse wool sells for 66.67 this year.

⁴⁰ Wine price is from one entry only, in which bursar sells to sacrist.

⁴¹ Refuse wool sells for 53.33 this year.

⁴² Norham wool.

⁴³ Refuse wool sells for 14.25 this year.

Year	Wine: s. per tun	Wine: d. per gallon	Cheese: d. per stone	Wax: d. per pound	Wool: s. per sack	Canvas: d. per ell
1337	96.56	9.31	6.67	6.00	65.56	3.53
1338	104.76	7.30	7.54		64.26 ⁴⁴	
1339	113.52	8.38			73.33	3.00
1340	73.18	8.00		6.00	73.33	3.50
1341	72.99	8.00 ⁴⁵		6.00	79.70	2.81 (2.50)
1342	50.83	6.82	6.17	5.89	79.95	2.00
1343	67.92	6.00	6.00	4.89	85.68	1.73
1344	65.00	6.15	5.96	5.47	83.41	
1345						2.59
1346		9.30		4.50		3.00
1347	72.93	6.00	5.00	5.13	61.93 ⁴⁶	2.49
1348	114.98		5.00	6.39		2.70
1349	137.70	12.85	5.17	7.93 ⁴⁷	53.33	2.74
1350	160.00			8.22	53.32	3.71
1351	159.13C	12.00		7.10	68.74	3.91
1352	151.83 / 161.37C ⁴⁸	12.00		6.81 (5.90)		4.63
1353	135.62C	10.19 / 12.07 ⁴⁹		7.10 (6.23)	70.24	4.36
1354	150.08C	11.88		6.49	64.72	5.71
1355	140.85C	12.98	6.00	6.85 (5.99)		5.50
1356	132.40C	11.14	10.29	6.78		5.50
1357	129.55C	10.41	7.00	7.97	71.23	5.47
1358	112.19C	8.59 ⁵⁰	7.00	8.07	65.91	5.51
1359	102.50C	9.84	6.95	7.69	83.06	4.30
1360	155.00X	12.49	7.07	7.52	63.47	3.84 ⁵¹
1361		10.61	7.00	8.11	63.65	
1362	134.47X	12.72		10.04	65.73	4.06
1363	185.85C	12.18		9.66	82.50	4.77
1364				9.00		5.19
1365	145.71X	12.00		7.51	66.74 ⁵²	4.78

⁴⁴ Includes some Norham wool.

⁴⁵ Wine by gallon figure excludes very low figure from Holy Island.

⁴⁶ Much wool unsold this year.

⁴⁷ Wax includes higher figure from Wearnmouth.

⁴⁸ Wine prices for tun are for white and red wine respectively.

⁴⁹ Wine prices per gallon are for undistinguished and white respectively.

⁵⁰ Wine price per gallon affected by low figure in sale to sacrist.

⁵¹ Includes low price from Hostiller's account.

⁵² Wool sale is for three years' worth.

Year	Wine: s. per tun	Wine: d. per gallon	Cheese: d. per stone	Wax: d. per pound	Wool: s. per sack	Canvas: d. per ell
1366	133.33X	12.00		6.77	80.74	4.52
1367	123.08X	16.07		8.54	79.23	4.36

Table 2: Fish prices

R = red herring

Year	Salmon Pence each	Herring shillings per 1000	Herring shillings per last
1278			
1279			
1280			
1281			
1282			
1283			
1284			
1285			
1286			
1287			
1288			
1289			
1290			
1291			
1292			30.00
1293			
1294			
1295			
1296			
1297			
1298			41.47
1299			
1300	7.00		40.00
1301			
1302	15.19		45.21
1303			
1304			
1305	31.20		43.36
1306	25.41 ⁵³	12.49	
1307	40.78		49.69
1308	80.00 ⁵⁴		63.20
1309			
1310	43.00 ⁵⁵		58.33

⁵³ Entry is cancelled

⁵⁴ Bought in Lent

Year	Salmon Pence each	Herring shillings per 1000	Herring shillings per last
1311	10.13		57.28
1312			60.25
1313	13.08/11.22	4.82	61.62
1314	22.35		60.00
1315	11.99/10.01		80.57
1316		5.06	
1317	6.95/6.00	8.87	43.46
1318		5.86	
1319	6.55/5.57	4.39	97.18
1320			
1321		6.36	50.08
1322			
1323			
1324	4.20	4.76	60.00
1325			
1326		5.94	65.88
1327			68.77
1328		6.50	83.19
1329		5.23	52.49
1330			
1331			
1332			50.00
1333		8.15	63.52
1334			
1335			
1336			
1337		9.67	90.85
1338		7.94	
1339		4.17 ⁵⁶	
1340		5.48	
1341			
1342			
1343		5.68	
1344		5.26	
1345			
1346		6.03	
1347		5.88	
1348		6.38	

⁵⁵ Bought for Christmas

⁵⁶ Single entry

Year	Salmon Pence each	Herring shillings per 1000	Herring shillings per last
1349			
1350	8.00S	12.75R ⁵⁷	
1351		14.00R	
1352		16.00R	
1353			
1354		13.78R	
1355			
1356			
1357			
1358	8.33	10.00R	
1359	8.00S	12.75R ⁵⁸	
1360	9.00S	11.00R	
1361			
1362	11.11	11.50R	
1363		13.09R	
1364			
1365			
1366	9.17		
1367	10.70		

⁵⁷ There is also an entry for white herring at 6.58s per cade. Entries between 1350 and 1363 are taken from the bursar's accounts, as the Cellarer's accounts are missing for this period (except for a fragment for 1350).

⁵⁸ There is also an entry for white herring at 7s. per barrel.

Table 3: livestock prices

All prices given are in shillings.

Key

* = derived solely from a *status* (which may, therefore, be regarded as a valuation rather than a transaction).

() = alternative price when the use of the long hundred is uncertain.

F = an animal is described as grain fed or fattened.

Oxen (1) = labouring/undistinguished.

Oxen (2) = for eating.

Year	Oxen (1)	Oxen (2)	Marts	Cows	Sheep
1278		13.33		9.86	
1279					
1280					
1281					
1282					
1283					
1284					
1285					
1286					
1287					
1288					
1289					
1290					
1291					
1292	16.00				
1293					
1294					
1295					
1296					
1297	10.08				

Year	Oxen (1)	Oxen (2)	Marts	Cows	Sheep
1298	12.24 ⁵⁹				
1299					
1300	13.68	10.64			
1301					
1302	11.87				
1303					
1304					
1305			7.06		0.93
1306	13.29	16.00F			1.29
1307			8.05		0.73
1308	16.77		10.93		
1309	17.89		11.73		1.18
1310	13.24	13.33F		11.00	
1311			10.49		1.35
1312	12.24*		11.80		1.55
1313	14.87	10.50	11.93		0.97
1314	12.46 (10.58)	6.00 ⁶⁰	12.77		
1315	15.00*				
1316	16.14				
1317	18.00*	20.00F	11.37	10.00	1.74 ⁶¹
1318	15.60		11.67		
1319		11.14	7.93 ⁶²	9.52	2.75
1320					
1321			11.95		1.56
1322	15.00				
1323					
1324		12.50	14.14	17.71 ⁶³	2.14
1325	15.15*			15.83* ⁶⁴	2.00* ⁶⁵
1326	13.33*	13.07	10.27	15.00* ⁶⁶	1.77 ⁶⁷
1327			8.93		1.83
1328	13.33		9.73		1.92 (1.67)
1329	17.38		12.04		1.52

⁵⁹ Excludes entry for combined oxen and cows.

⁶⁰ Oxen (2) issued to cellarer by bursar.

⁶¹ Ewes are 2.00 this year.

⁶² Marts issued to cellarer by bursar.

⁶³ One of two cows is grain fed.

⁶⁴ Cows are with calves.

⁶⁵ Ewes are 2.00 this year.

⁶⁶ Cows are with calves.

⁶⁷ Ewes are 2.00 this year.

Year	Oxen (1)	Oxen (2)	Marts	Cows	Sheep
1330	14.33		13.13		0.67
1331					
1332	12.15	10.22	12.00	10.73	1.18
1333	12.79	8.73	9.29	7.41	0.72
1334	10.67	8.83	9.60		0.67
1335	14.54	19.81 ⁶⁸	10.45	10.13	1.41
1336	13.65	12.96 ⁶⁹	10.38	7.50	0.83 (0.70) ⁷⁰
1337	12.22	8.98	7.44	10.82 ⁷¹	1.01
1338	10.37	11.40		7.55	1.09
1339	10.87	16.00F	5.47 ⁷²	5.00 ⁷³	0.50 ⁷⁴
1340	12.15	15.88 ⁷⁵	4.87 ⁷⁶	8.00 ⁷⁷	0.65
1341	12.61	11.64	6.67		0.67
1342	13.48	14.12	6.74	4.46 ⁷⁸	0.50
1343	13.41	9.04 ⁷⁹	8.62		1.42
1344	12.61	13.00 ⁸⁰	9.08	7.50	1.33
1345	11.06		12.00 ⁸¹		0.71
1346	19.00 ⁸²				0.64
1347	12.03	7.79	7.00 ⁸³	6.35	
1348	9.16	8.65	7.00 ⁸⁴	7.33	0.87
1349	8.84	13.00F	3.50 ⁸⁵	3.40 ⁸⁶	
1350	11.89	15.00F	5.00 ⁸⁷		1.15
1351	10.75		7.54	7.84	0.88
1352	9.45		7.32	8.16 ⁸⁸	1.13

⁶⁸ Oxen (2) mainly for prior.

⁶⁹ Oxen (2) all for prior.

⁷⁰ Sheep price includes hoggasters.

⁷¹ Some cows are with calves.

⁷² All marts from manors.

⁷³ One entry only for cows.

⁷⁴ Ewes are same price as sheep.

⁷⁵ Oxen (2): many for prior or as gifts.

⁷⁶ All marts from manors.

⁷⁷ One entry only for cows.

⁷⁸ Cow price includes low Holy Island figure and entry with stots.

⁷⁹ Oxen (2) all for prior.

⁸⁰ Oxen (2) all for prior.

⁸¹ One entry only for marts.

⁸² One entry only for oxen (1).

⁸³ All marts from manors.

⁸⁴ All marts from manors.

⁸⁵ All marts from manors.

⁸⁶ Cow price is of sales from Wearmouth.

⁸⁷ All marts from manors.

⁸⁸ Some cows are with calves.

Year	Oxen (1)	Oxen (2)	Marts	Cows	Sheep
1353	13.05	18.00F	8.35	7.33	1.08
1354	10.02		7.17	7.50	0.67
1355	10.81		9.12	8.46	1.04
1356					0.58
1357	13.00		9.12	8.13	1.09
1358	12.11	9.58	9.00	7.63	1.09
					0.98
1359	12.29	9.98	9.00	7.33	1.01
					1.10
1360	16.67	10.00	4.17 ⁸⁹		1.14
1361		8.50 ⁹⁰		6.14	0.89 (0.86)
1362	10.58	6.82	9.25	7.06	0.93
1363	14.80		8.00 ⁹¹	8.83 ⁹²	
1364	13.72			9.52 ⁹³	1.45
1365	15.81	13.81 ⁹⁴		11.17 ⁹⁵	0.90
1366		11.71 ⁹⁶	12.50	9.00 ⁹⁷	1.83
1367	17.59	14.17 ⁹⁸	14.75	12.11	1.53

⁸⁹ One entry only for marts.

⁹⁰ Oxen (2) for prior.

⁹¹ All marts from manors.

⁹² Cows for prior.

⁹³ Some cows with calves, and including bullocks, heifers, etc.

⁹⁴ Oxen (2) for prior.

⁹⁵ Cows for prior.

⁹⁶ Oxen (2) for prior.

⁹⁷ Cows for prior.

⁹⁸ Oxen (2) for prior.

Table 4: Materials

Year	Salt: s. per quarter	Iron: d. per stone	Lead: d. per stone	Lime: d. per quarter	Coal: d. per chaldron
1278					
1279					
1280					
1281					
1282					
1283					
1284					
1285					
1286					
1287					
1288					
1289					
1290					
1291					
1292					
1293	2.50	⁹⁹			
1294					
1295					
1296					
1297					
1298		¹⁰⁰			11.43 (10.11)
1299					
1300		4.00		5.00	12.04
1301		¹⁰¹			
1302			3.44		
1303					
1304					
1305					
1306		4.50	5.09 ¹⁰²	2.43	11.84
1307		4.50			

⁹⁹ There is an iron price of 5.00s. per seam.

¹⁰⁰ There is an iron price of 5.67s per seam.

¹⁰¹ There is an iron price of 8.89s per seam.

¹⁰² There is also a lead price of 51.00s per cartload.

Year	Salt: s. per quarter	Iron: d. per stone	Lead: d. per stone	Lime: d. per quarter	Coal: d. per chaldron
1308	2.17 ¹⁰³	4.50			
1309		3.75		6.00	
1310		4.00	4.12 (3.65)		14.03
1311					
1312		4.32			
1313	1.38	4.40		4.03	14.02
1314		4.73 (4.20)			
1315					
1316		4.71	3.21	3.00	14.93
1317		4.50 (4.10)	3.16 ¹⁰⁴		
1318					
1319		3.92			
1320					
1321					
1322					
1323					
1324		4.00			
1325					
1326		4.00			
1327					
1328					
1329	3.06 ¹⁰⁵	4.85 (4.20) ¹⁰⁶	4.26	3.80	14.28
1330	5.56	4.09 (3.60)	5.52		14.41
1331					
1332					15.53
1333		5.00	¹⁰⁷	3.00	16.41
1334		3.83			16.32
1335		3.92		3.00	15.15
1336		4.55	¹⁰⁸	4.00	15.47
1337		4.60	6.40	4.00	16.01

¹⁰³ Salt of Poitou.

¹⁰⁴ There is also a lead price of 50.00s per cartload.

¹⁰⁵ Salt price is for undistinguished mineral. Coarse salt costs 2.50.

¹⁰⁶ Spanish Iron costs 6.00d.

¹⁰⁷ There is a lead price of 61.50s per cartload.

¹⁰⁸ There is a lead price of 66.67s per cartload.

Year	Salt: s. per quarter	Iron: d. per stone	Lead: d. per stone	Lime: d. per quarter	Coal: d. per chaldron
1338	¹⁰⁹			4.00	14.81
1339				4.00	13.54
1340				4.33	13.70
1341		3.00	3.33	2.96	12.00 ¹¹⁰
1342	2.92	3.00 ¹¹¹	3.21 ¹¹²		12.00
1343	1.66	3.00 ¹¹³		3.00	10.79
1344	1.51 ¹¹⁴	3.99	3.00		9.57
1345	2.25				5.60
1346					
1347	2.93			2.50	9.00
1348				2.50	9.00
1349		5.00		3.00	
1350		7.25	3.89	4.00	9.00
1351		7.19	4.50	4.00	
1352		7.09		4.00	
1353		6.08 ¹¹⁵	5.00	3.95	24.00 ¹¹⁶
1354		6.43 ¹¹⁷	4.94	4.00 ¹¹⁸	
1355		7.88 ¹¹⁹	¹²⁰	4.00	12.00
1356		8.00 ¹²¹		4.00	
1357			5.50	4.00	
1358	3.00	7.84 ¹²²	6.08 ¹²³	4.00	
1359	7.00	8.36 ¹²⁴	7.14 (6.16) ¹²⁵		
1360		10.00 ¹²⁶	¹²⁷	4.00	12.00
1361		9.00	6.88		

¹⁰⁹ Coarse salt is 4.82 s. per quarter.

¹¹⁰ Coal price excludes high price from Holy Island.

¹¹¹ At Holy Island Spanish iron costs 7.00d. and Weardale iron 4.25d.

¹¹² There is a lead price of 42.03 s per cartload.

¹¹³ There is a lead price of 42.04s per cartload.

¹¹⁴ Poitou salt is 1.79s; white salt 4.00s.

¹¹⁵ Spanish iron costs 9.00d.

¹¹⁶ Coal price is one entry from infirmarer.

¹¹⁷ Hard iron costs 7.62 and soft 6.55.

¹¹⁸ There is also an entry for seams of lime at 4.00d.

¹¹⁹ Soft iron costs 8.52d.

¹²⁰ There is a lead price of c. 66.67s per cartload (MS damaged).

¹²¹ Spanish iron costs 11.00d. and Weardale 7.36d.

¹²² There is also an iron price of 12.67s. per 'lade'.

¹²³ There is also a lead price of 120s. per cartload.

¹²⁴ Spanish iron costs 8.50/9.00 d. per stone; Weardale 12.87s per 'lade'.

¹²⁵ Most lead prices this year are in fothers at 83.06s.

¹²⁶ Spanish iron costs 9.50 pence per stone and Weardale 12.75s per 'lade'.

¹²⁷ Lead cost 87.42s per cartload and 84.33s per fother this year.

Year	Salt: s. per quarter	Iron: d. per stone	Lead: d. per stone	Lime: d. per quarter	Coal: d. per chaldron
			6.00		
1362	6.67	8.07 ¹²⁸	6.41 ¹²⁹	3.04	
1363	6.44 ¹³⁰	8.50	6.60 ¹³¹	4.00	15.90
1364				4.00	8.00
1365		8.00 ¹³²	7.62		9.23 ¹³³
1366		¹³⁴		¹³⁵	8.81
1367	4.79	11.50 ¹³⁶	10.66	7.33	7.49

¹²⁸ Spanish iron costs 7.50 d. per stone; there is also a price of 12.00s per 'lade' undistinguished.

¹²⁹ Lead cost 83.33s per fother this year.

¹³⁰ Poitou salt.

¹³¹ Lead cost 116.67s per fother this year.

¹³² Soft' Weardale iron costs 14.50s. per 'lade'.

¹³³ Coal price excludes unusually high figure from Holy Island.

¹³⁴ There is an iron price of 13.83s per 'lade' of soft iron.

¹³⁵ There is a lime price of 12.62d per 'lade'.

¹³⁶ There are also prices of 11.33d. per stone of 'soft' iron and 6.73s. per stone of Weardale iron.