

**The horse, the rider, the word**  
—  
**A Frame Semantics approach**  
**to Middle English equestrian terminology**

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To whom it may concern



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## **Table of figures**

Fig. 1: Conceptual field.....	10
Fig. 2: Semantic frame.....	11
Fig. 3: Word-meaning in semantic frames.....	12
Fig. 4: Taxonomy of frame attributes and values.....	13
Fig. 5: Semantic frames in a historical perspective.....	22
Fig. 6: Encyclopaedic knowledge bridging the time gap.....	23
Fig. 7: Body parts of the horse.....	205
Fig. 8: Semantic frame with generic reference to horses.....	206
Fig. 9: Semantic frame for <i>hors</i> in generic use.....	206
Fig. 10: Semantic frame for <i>stede</i> in generic use.....	206
Fig. 11: Semantic frame for <i>mere</i> in generic use.....	206
Fig. 12: Semantic frame for <i>capel</i> in generic use.....	206
Fig. 13: Semantic frame with reference to immature horses.....	206
Fig. 14: Semantic frame for <i>fole</i> used for an immature horse.....	206
Fig. 15: Semantic frame for <i>colt</i> used for an immature horse.....	206
Fig. 16: Semantic frame for <i>filli</i> used for an immature horse.....	207
Fig. 17: Semantic frame with reference to mature horses.....	207
Fig. 18: Semantic frame for <i>mere</i> for a mature horse.....	207
Fig. 19: Semantic frame for <i>hors</i> for a mature horse.....	207
Fig. 20: Semantic frame for <i>stot</i> for a mature horse.....	207
Fig. 21: Semantic frame for <i>gelding</i> for a mature horse.....	207
Fig. 22: Semantic frame with reference to horses for mounted combat.....	208
Fig. 23: Semantic frame for <i>stede</i> used for a horse for mounted combat.....	208
Fig. 24: Semantic frame for <i>hors</i> used for a horse for mounted combat.....	208
Fig. 25: Semantic frame for <i>courser</i> used for a horse for mounted combat.....	208
Fig. 26: Semantic frame for <i>destrer</i> used for a horse for mounted combat.....	208
Fig. 27: Semantic frame for <i>fole</i> used for a horse for mounted combat.....	208
Fig. 28: Semantic frame for <i>blanke</i> used for a horse for mounted combat.....	208
Fig. 29: Semantic frame with reference to horses for travel.....	209
Fig. 30: Semantic frame for <i>palefrei</i> used for a horse for travel.....	209
Fig. 31: Semantic frame for <i>amblere</i> used for a horse for travel.....	209
Fig. 32: Semantic frame with reference to multi-purpose horses.....	209
Fig. 33: Semantic frame for <i>rounci</i> used for a multi-purpose horse.....	209
Fig. 34: Semantic frame for <i>hakeneie</i> used for a multi-purpose horse.....	209
Fig. 35: Semantic frame with reference to horses not suited for riding.....	210
Fig. 36: Semantic frame for <i>capel</i> used for a horse not suited for riding.....	210
Fig. 37: Semantic frame for <i>somer</i> used for a horse not suited for riding.....	210
Fig. 38: Semantic frame for <i>jade</i> used for a horse not suited for riding.....	210
Fig. 39: Semantic frame with reference to horses by their country of origin.....	210
Fig. 40: Semantic frame for <i>arabi</i> used for an Arabian horse.....	210
Fig. 41: Semantic frame for <i>frisoun</i> used for a Frisian horse.....	211
Fig. 42: Semantic frame for <i>genet</i> used for a Spanish horse.....	211
Fig. 43: Semantic frame for <i>poleine</i> used for an Apulian horse.....	211
Fig. 44: Semantic frame with reference to a horse's height.....	211
Fig. 45: Semantic frame for <i>hakeneie</i> used to express height.....	211
Fig. 46: Semantic frame for <i>nagge</i> used to express height.....	211
Fig. 47: Semantic frame for <i>hobi</i> used to express height.....	211
Fig. 48: Semantic frame for <i>sadel</i> used for a riding saddle.....	212
Fig. 49: Semantic frame with reference to the front part of the saddle.....	212
Fig. 50: Semantic frame for <i>sadelboue</i> .....	212

Fig. 51: Semantic frame for <i>arsoun</i> .....	212
Fig. 52: Semantic frame for <i>pomel</i> .....	212
Fig. 53: Semantic frame for <i>skirte</i> used for the saddle skirt.....	212
Fig. 54: Semantic frame for <i>gerth</i> used for the saddle girth.....	213
Fig. 55: Semantic frame for <i>stirop</i> used for stirrups.....	213
Fig. 56: Semantic frame with reference to the use of spurs.....	213
Fig. 57: Semantic frame for <i>sporen</i> used for applying spurs.....	213
Fig. 58: Semantic frame for <i>priken</i> used for applying spurs.....	214
Fig. 59: Semantic frame for <i>smiten</i> used for applying spurs.....	214
Fig. 60: Semantic frame for <i>brochen</i> used for applying spurs.....	214
Fig. 61: Semantic frame for <i>striken</i> used for applying spurs.....	214
Fig. 62: Semantic frame for <i>bridel</i> used for a horse's headstall.....	215
Fig. 63: Semantic frame for <i>reine</i> used for the reins.....	215
Fig. 64: Semantic frame for <i>bite</i> used for the horse's mouthpiece.....	215
Fig. 65: Footfall pattern of the walk.....	216
Fig. 66: Footfall pattern of the trot.....	216
Fig. 67: Footfall pattern of the right lead gallop.....	216
Fig. 68: Footfall pattern of the pace without suspension phase.....	217
Fig. 69: Footfall pattern of the amble.....	217
Fig. 70: Semantic frame with reference to equine motion.....	217
Fig. 71: Semantic frame for <i>pase</i> used for unspecific motion.....	217
Fig. 72: Semantic frame for <i>gon</i> used for unspecific motion.....	218
Fig. 73: Semantic frame with reference to the walk.....	218
Fig. 74: Semantic frame for <i>walken</i> used for the walk.....	218
Fig. 75: Semantic frame for <i>softe / esi / litel pase</i> used for the walk.....	218
Fig. 76: Semantic frame with reference to the trot.....	218
Fig. 77: Semantic frame for <i>trot</i> and <i>trotten</i> used for the trot.....	218
Fig. 78: Semantic frame with reference to an ambling gait.....	219
Fig. 79: Semantic frame for <i>amble</i> and <i>amblen</i> used for an ambling gait.....	219
Fig. 80: Semantic frame for <i>pase</i> used for an ambling gait.....	219
Fig. 81: Semantic frame with reference to the gallop.....	219
Fig. 82: Semantic frame for <i>rennen</i> used for the gallop.....	219
Fig. 83: Semantic frame for <i>walop</i> and <i>walopen</i> used for the gallop.....	219
Fig. 84: Semantic frame for <i>priken</i> used for the gallop.....	220
Fig. 85: Semantic frame with reference to ostentatious movement.....	220
Fig. 86: Semantic frame for <i>prauncen</i> used for ostentatious movement.....	220
Fig. 87: Semantic frame for <i>priken</i> used for ostentatious movement.....	220
Fig. 88: Semantic frame for <i>priken</i> and <i>prauncen</i> used for ostentatious movement.....	220
Fig. 89: Semantic frame for <i>trippen</i> used for ostentatious movement.....	220
Fig. 90: Semantic frame with reference to turning.....	221
Fig. 91: Semantic frame for <i>turnen</i> and <i>returnen</i> used for turning.....	221
Fig. 92: Semantic frame with reference to the career.....	221
Fig. 93: Semantic frame for <i>rennen</i> used for the career.....	221
Fig. 94: Semantic frame for <i>comen / gon togeder</i> used for the career.....	221
Fig. 95: Semantic frame for <i>walopen</i> used for the career.....	221
Fig. 96: Semantic frame for <i>springen</i> used for the career.....	221
Fig. 97: Semantic frame for <i>smiten</i> used with reference to kicking.....	222
Fig. 98: Semantic frame with reference to jumping.....	222
Fig. 99: Semantic frame for <i>lepen</i> used for jumping.....	222
Fig. 100: Semantic frame for <i>sterten</i> and <i>stertlen</i> used for jumping.....	222
Fig. 101: Semantic frame for <i>skippen</i> used for jumping.....	222

## **Table of contents**

1. Introduction.....	3
1.1. Research question and localisation of the topic.....	4
1.2. Survey of previous scholarship.....	4
1.3. Structure of the book.....	6
1.4. Definition of terminology and typographic conventions.....	7
2. Methods.....	9
2.1. Theoretical framework.....	9
2.1.1. Frame Semantics.....	10
2.1.2. Prototype Theory in Frame Semantics.....	15
2.1.3. Lexical gaps in Frame Semantics.....	17
2.1.4. Semantic change in Frame Semantics.....	18
2.1.5. Expert language in Frame Semantics.....	20
2.1.6. The historical perspective in Frame Semantics.....	22
2.2. Collection of the source material.....	24
2.2.1. The <i>Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse</i> .....	24
2.2.2. Selection of search terms and corpus analysis.....	25
2.2.3. Additional material – the <i>Boke of Marchalsi</i> .....	26
2.3. Processing of the source material.....	27
3. Aligning medieval and present-day conceptual fields.....	28
3.1. The socio-cultural background of Middle English.....	28
3.2. Authors and recipients of Middle English texts.....	30
3.3. Encyclopaedic knowledge about riding in medieval England.....	31
3.3.1. Practical aspects of medieval riding.....	31
3.3.2. Theoretical renderings of equestrian knowledge.....	33
4. Types of horses.....	36
4.1. Generic terms.....	36
4.2. Differentiating horses by sex and age.....	41
4.2.1. Immature horses.....	41
4.2.2. Female mature horses.....	49
4.2.3. Male mature horses.....	51
4.3. Horses for diverse purposes.....	58
4.3.1. Horses for warfare, tournament and hunting.....	59
4.3.2. Comfortable horses for travel.....	74
4.3.3. Multi-purpose riding horses.....	77
4.3.4. Horses not suited for riding – but yet ridden.....	80
4.4. Distinguishing horses by country of origin.....	84
4.5. Distinctive outward characteristics of horses.....	89
4.5.1. Height.....	89
4.5.2. A summary of desirable physical properties of a riding horse.....	91
4.5.3. A brief remark on coat colours.....	94
4.6. Character traits in horses – A synopsis.....	95

5. Controlling horses and the use of supportive equipment.....	97
5.1. The rider's seat and the saddle.....	97
5.2. Aids with legs and spurs.....	105
5.3. Aids with reins and bit.....	116
5.4. Aids with the rod or whip and the voice.....	122
6. Gaits.....	123
6.1. Short introduction to the biomechanics of equine locomotion.....	123
6.1.1. Differentiating the gaits.....	123
6.1.2. Heritability and natural gait tendencies.....	125
6.1.3. Trained gaits.....	127
6.2. Summary of the development of English gait terms.....	128
6.3. Motion without specification of gait or stride frequency.....	129
6.4. Walk – lateral four-beat.....	135
6.5. Trot – diagonal two-beat.....	138
6.6. Ambling gaits – lateral two- and four-beats.....	141
6.7. Gallop – asymmetrical three- or four-beat.....	146
7. Manoeuvres.....	158
7.1. Show-off movements.....	158
7.2. Turning.....	162
7.3. Starting off at high speed and frontal attack.....	167
7.4. Rearing and kicking.....	173
7.5. Jumping.....	176
8. Conclusion.....	181
References.....	184
1. Primary sources.....	184
2. Dictionaries and databases.....	187
3. Secondary sources.....	188
Appendices.....	205
1. Glossary of equestrian terms.....	205
2. Illustrations.....	206
2.1. Generic.....	206
2.2. Sex and age.....	206
2.3. Purpose.....	208
2.4. Country of origin.....	210
2.5. Height.....	211
2.6. Equipment.....	212
2.7. Gaits.....	216
2.8. Manoeuvres.....	220
3. Index of terms and orthographical variants.....	223
4. Results of the CMEPV search.....	228
4.1. Search terms.....	228
4.2. Semantically sorted results.....	233



## **1. Introduction**

Horses –

Their image and imagination tightly linked to human life, their presence ancient and contemporary,

so mystical yet tangible, mankind's fascination and means to many ends.

Ever both influenced and influence, a mirror to their age.

A timeless well for those who listen.

Life in the 21<sup>st</sup> century with all its technology and urbanisation is an age mostly coping without the presence of the horse. Life in the Middle Ages would stand and fall with the service of the horse, human fate and fortune being entangled with its presence. Maybe kingdoms were not literally given for horses, but certainly they were conquered, defended and administered on horseback – the machinery of feudal society was fuelled by horsepower. Hence any attempt to recall, reassess and reconstruct medieval life cannot hope to succeed without taking into consideration the role of the horse.

Despite all that, Tomassini (2014: 17–18) is right in stating that hippology (i.e. the study of the horse) and history widely ignore each other. Mutual consultation for specific questions appears to increase, yet collaboration on basic matters and on a larger scale seems to just come out of the fledgling stages. This book therefore aims to try out such a collaboration starting in the field of the Middle English language. Being herself a medieval historian, linguist, hippologist and riding instructor the author of this book easily found a common denominator to which all areas of expertise could contribute in an effort to produce something that could be helpful in scholarly debate: riding as the closest and best accounted for human-horse interaction.

To take the edge off the previously boldly postulated ignorance between hippology and history, one has to acknowledge that such avoidance is most certainly due to the complexity of both areas of research in themselves. Hippology in particular can hardly be carried out without a considerable degree of practical familiarity with the subject. At this point this book steps in to offer insights into the world of equestrianism which would otherwise have to be dearly bought with time and money, as well as blood, sweat and tears. In short, one of the purposes of this book is to acquaint the so-inclined reader with the intricacies of equestrianism in order to assist in approaching a horse-based culture like that of medieval England.

More specifically, this book is interested in discovering the linguistic representation of a horse-fuelled culture, in particular the vocabulary, and thus works in the field of historical semantics. What Stroud (1976: 334) summarises neatly as “[t]o read the works properly we must know what the words meant for the authors”, presents challenges for a semanticist that lie not only in coping with the temporal distance limiting the source material but also in bridging a conceptual distance separating whole worlds of mindsets. The gap between societies being run by horsepower versus oil and electricity has been addressed but is only the most prevalent in the context of this book. Other aspects like social hierarchy, belief and living conditions have to be accounted for just as much. From whatever angle one wants to approach the meaning of words from different historical stages, one needs to find a *tertium comparationis* or a whole structure of carefully linked comparable invariables. Providing exactly the tools for such a reference point, the concept of Frame Semantics<sup>1</sup> was chosen as the methodical backbone and research subject in itself of this project. Since the application of Frame Semantics to a historical stage of language has not been practised extensively yet, this book is also a methodological test run.

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<sup>1</sup> The reasons for this choice can only be explained alongside introducing the concept of Frame Semantics in detail. Please see chapter 2.1, pp. 9ff.

### **1.1. Research question and localisation of the topic**

The research question of this book or its main aim is testing the functionality of Frame Semantics for historical stages of a language on a larger scale than by analysing single words, single meanings, single actions or single objects. To do so, the question of how to provide the required conceptual background for analysing semantic frames and particularly comparing them across time is fundamental. This is where semantics, hippology and history meet and contribute to shed light on how practical and theoretical aspects of horse riding are rendered in the Middle English language.

This book should be understood as just one step into the vast terrain of discovering the semantics of Middle English animal-related terminology. As such it cannot hope to present the already narrowed area of hippology adequately. Consequently the subject of investigation requires further focusing, which is done by selecting riding as a very prominent activity with horses. This selection is both due to the author's personal expertise as well as the fact that medieval sources are least sparse on this subject. Basically, the scope of this book is hence limited to the conceptual field<sup>2</sup> of {RIDING} with regard to the area of semantic reference. Within this field the species of the mount used for this purpose is limited to horses to keep the extent of this research manageable and excludes, with some necessary exceptions, donkeys and mules as well as strictly any non-equid species used for riding.

Furthermore, this book is meant to provide tangible help for those interested in interpreting Middle English texts but not so firm in their hippology. Hence, there is little use in striving to discuss all or even as many words as possible that were used in connection to horses, not even all those used to describe just the act of riding. Instead, the focus is on those that require explanation from an equestrian background and can only thus unfold their full potential for interpreting medieval literature.

The geographical restriction of this book's field of research is dictated by the availability of written and digitally searchable Middle English texts<sup>3</sup> and can hence be described as covering all Middle-English-writing regions. The boundaries of language and even more so those of equestrianism are fluent, especially in an area like the British Isles. Yet it seems appropriate to use the term *England* for further reference to the geographic region in which this research project is located, since in fact most of the sources used are from what is now England. Matters are similar regarding the time span that will be covered. The period from the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century is mainly dictated by the availability of source material, see p. 25.

### **1.2. Survey of previous scholarship**

The role of horses in the Middle Ages has been the subject of various research projects and publications in many different disciplines throughout the past decades, if not centuries. In this endeavour, scholarly attention has predominantly focused on the iconic warhorse in its many facets. The following enumeration can be regarded as a cross section of mostly anglophone research on warhorses and mounted warfare: Ayton (1994), Bachrach (1988), Bennett (1995), Clauss (2009, 2011), Davis (1983, 1988, 1989), DiMarco (2008), Friedrich (2001), Gilbey (1899), Gillmor (1992), Gleß (1980), Hyland (1994, 1998), Jacob (2016), Pöppinghege (2009), Sidnell (2006) and Sinclair (2008).

Another area in which horses appear in the Middle Ages is their use in transport, which has been studied extensively by Langdon (1984, 1986) for England and less specifically by Lopez (1956), Mortensen (2000) and Ohler (2004).

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<sup>2</sup> For the definition of *conceptual field* see p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> For the discussion of the source material see pp. 24ff.

Veterinary medicine has been investigated by only a few, with Smith (1976) yet being most comprehensive regarding medieval England, while Dunlop & Williams (1996) and Karasszon (1988) take a more global perspective. The focus on horses becomes evident for particular questions either in articles like Keiser (1995), as part of an extensive study discussing the broader context of horses like Prévot & Ribémont (1994) or as an explanatory note in the edition of a medieval veterinary treatise by Svinhufvud (*A Late Middle English Treatise on Horses*. Svinhufvud (ed.) 1978).

Large-scale studies covering several or all aspects of medieval everyday life with horses are rare, Hyland (1999) is fundamental in this respect. The same is true for Prévot & Ribémont (1994) with their focus on medieval France, who cover all areas of practical horsemanship, also including a comprehensive study on the horse in the French language. The anthology by Andenmatten et al. (2015) offers a wide range of articles on various details of both the real and the symbolic horse without touching linguistic matters. Jacob (2016) published a collection on the history of horses with the medieval section featuring a contribution by Arloth (2016a) about the impact of the horse on medieval agriculture and on Charlemagne and equestrianism (Arloth 2016b). For the Viking age Weigand (2008) is certainly the most comprehensive study, considering the whole spectrum of horse-related topics and analysing them with hippological precision.

Regarding more particular aspects of horses and riding, Clark (2004) provides an archaeological approach towards equipment used in England and Gelbhaar (1997) offers a similar but narrower overview of equipment from Germany together with helpful explanations and considerations based on experimental archaeology. Gladitz (1997) dedicates a whole book to the matter of horse breeding in the Middle Ages, covering the most influential geographical areas.

More into the thematic direction of this book, riding techniques seem to increasingly move into scholarly focus with Tomassini (2014) analysing Italian riding on a large scale, also including the medieval era. Forgeng (2016) presents detailed hippological explanations in addition to his edition and translation of *The Book of Horsemanship* by Duarte I of Portugal, just as Tobey & Deigan (2014) do for their translation and edition of Federico Grisone's late-medieval or early-renaissance *The Rules of Riding*. Jenéy (2015) recently contributed a summarising article on horses and equitation in Classen's vast *Handbook of Medieval Culture* (2015a).

On the hippological side Krischke (2010, 2015) contributes considerably by researching and spreading knowledge about historical riding techniques. Now a little older but yet unique is the article by Gillmor (1992) on the training of horses for war and tournament. In parts of her publication Hyland (1999) addresses the technical facet of equitation as well, drawing from the well of her practical experience.

Early on the timeline of hippological publications, as early as 1771, Berenger (1771b, 1771a), Gentleman of the Horse to His Majesty King George III, collected information on the art of riding in two volumes. In 1861, the Prussian officer Gräfe (*Die Haltung und der Sitz des Reiters*. Albrecht & Durand, et al. (eds.) 1991) traced the development of the rider's seat throughout the history of written riding instructions from 1555 onwards. A little later von Oettingen (*Über die Geschichte und die verschiedenen Formen der Reitkunst*. Albrecht & Durand, et al. (eds.) 2003) writes an overview of the history of the art of riding, incorporating a brief passage on the time between Xenophon, the most renowned hippological author of Antiquity, and de la Guérinière publishing his groundbreaking treatise in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The interplay of horses and riding with language seems to have been treated so far in rather selective analyses. Only the monumental work of Prévot & Ribémont (1994) provides an analysis of medieval French vocabulary for horse-related topics embedded within a broad discussion of the real world context. Gaitzsch (2011) follows a similar interdisciplinary approach covering the very

broad range of horses in Indo-Germanic cultures. In a way the opposite, in discussing a very focused fragment of equestrian language are studies like Segelcke (1969) for the Middle High German verb *rîten*, Sayers (1994) for the Old French verb *s'esterchir*, and Weigand (2002), who explores the use of terms for special gaits in the Middle High German court epic *Erec* by Hartmann von Aue. Weigand employs the results obtained from literary studies, linguistics, sphragistics, art history and biomechanics to prove that Enite's horse is ambling and neither trotting nor pacing. In doing so, he encouraged the idea of doing the same on a larger scale for the English-speaking part of the medieval world.

For England and English, linguistic approaches to the horse-world in general and a historical perspective in particular have yet to be written. For now, Stroud (1976) touches upon riding in his analysis of chivalric terminology in late medieval literature, while Davenport (1973) elaborates on the exclamation "Whoa!" in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Dent (1959) analyses Chaucer's horse terminology in detail and there is a variety of equestrian readings of Chaucer like Delasanta (1968), Feinstein (1991), Lester (1982), Rowland (1971: 112–140) or Gillam (1987). The article by Turville-Petre (2013) on horses in alliterative poetry crosses paths with this book in several ways, since it partly examines the same vocabulary. Further inspiration came from a lexical field study by de la Cruz Cabanillas & Tejedor Martínez (2002), which focuses on metaphorisation and uses a lexical field that is limited to the names of the species, the adult animals and the offspring. In a similar direction but thematically further away from this book is Schubert (2015), who investigates equine phraseology and metaphorisation processes from a diachronic perspective.

The considerations Kay (1997) presents about the connection between vocabulary and material culture were an illuminating starting point for the development of the method this book tests. The advantages of a Cognitive Semantics approach in lexicography that Kay (2000: 62–64) mentions further encouraged the idea to take steps in that direction, finally leading to Frame Semantics.

From the area of Corpus Linguistics, Kreyer (2015) should be mentioned. He conducted a study based on data from the BROWN Corpus to discuss the use of the lexeme *horse* as an indicator of cultural change in early modern to present-day literature.

Studies in Frame Semantics discussing either horses or historical stages of language, however, are seemingly the proverbial needle in a haystack. In fact, no publication on horses or riding or any faintly related topic could be found. Regarding the diachronic dimension of Frame Semantics only Fried (2008) researching morphosemantic change in Czech by analysing the participle *věřící* provided a singular point of reference. The scarceness of documented attempts combined with the promising theoretical background are all the more reason to test Frame Semantics on a broader field in historical semantics.

### **1.3. Structure of the book**

The structure of this book falls in two major segments, a theoretical part outlining the methods and backgrounds and a more practical part containing the application of the methods to the Middle English riding vocabulary.

The theoretical part first introduces the method of Frame Semantics and discusses the applicability to historical stages of language in chapter 2. An introduction to the source material used for this book follows, as well as a description of how the material was approached and processed to gather interpretable data. In chapter 3 the theoretical part also includes a historical overview of England in the 13<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, particularly focusing on the production and reception of Middle English literature and on practical and theoretical equestrianism.

The practical part, chapters 4 to 8, contains the analysis of the Middle English equestrian vocabulary starting with the types of horses. This chapter is subdivided in generic terms, the distinction between sexes and age, the purposes horses serve, the countries of origin, defining outward features and character traits.

In chapter 5 the communication between rider and horse and the use of equipment are in focus, discussing the rider's seat and the saddle, the aids with legs and spurs, reins and bit as well as rod, whip and voice.

Chapters 6 and 7 deal with various forms of movements. In chapter 6 the gaits of horses and their specifics in nature and language are analysed, including a detailed introduction to the biomechanics of horses' motion and an overview of how the English terminology developed before the single gaits are examined. Chapter 7 studies manoeuvres and complex forms of motion, discussing the details of showing off, turning, starting off at high speed and frontal attack, rearing and kicking as well as jumping.

The conclusion summarises and assesses the observations made regarding the applicability of Frame Semantics for accessing the semantics of Middle English vocabulary in general and equestrian terminology in particular.

Each of the analytical chapters is subdivided in an introduction to the encyclopaedic knowledge underlying the chapter, followed by general remarks on the group of terms as well as a brief section on the etymology and morphological links. Then the detailed semantic differentiation is presented.

The Appendices, see pp. 205ff., feature a glossary of equestrian terms as well as a large number of illustrations and diagrams. For facilitated reference between the Middle English original texts and the chapters of this book an index of orthographical variants is included alongside a breakdown of the absolute numbers resulting from the analysis of the data from the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*.

#### **1.4. Definition of terminology and typographic conventions**

Especially in a book on semantics, it is crucial to set a precise framework of technical terms that serve to describe the semantics of the expressions that are up for discussion.

For the Frame Semantics terminology, most of the following definitions are taken from the glossary of FrameNet (International Computer Science Institute Berkeley 1997-).

A *lexeme* is “a word in a given part of speech instantiated by one or more word-forms, e.g. the lexeme bring has the word forms bring, brings, bringing, brought” (FrameNet Glossary: s.v. *lexeme*).

A *lemma* is “a unit made up of one or more lexemes seen as bearing one or more senses” (FrameNet Glossary: s.v. *lemma*).

The expression *lexical unit* refers to “a pairing of a lemma and a frame – i.e. a ‘word’ taken in one of its senses” (FrameNet Glossary: s.v. *lexical unit*).

And a *multi-word expression* is “a lexical unit that consists of more than one lexeme” (FrameNet Glossary: s.v. *multi-word expression*).

Moreover, with regard to Frame Semantics, the noun *aspect* refers to the subordinate concept of a conceptual field, whereas *attribute* expresses the subordinate categories of a semantic frame.

*Exemplar* is used here as a technical term for a real-world representation of a concept, while *example* is employed as a general term.

In this book the noun *sense* is used as the linguistic technical term to refer to the semantic dimension of a word whereas *meaning* is more general.

The noun *co-text* denotes the linguistic environment of a word, while *context* refers to the extra-linguistic environment of a word, or as Rojo López (2002: 314) phrases it “the mental contribution of the person who interprets an utterance”.

For an accessible structure the book adheres to the following orthographical conventions:

Lexical units used as linguistic evidence are italicised, e.g. *lexical unit*.

Single quotation marks enclose the sense of a word, e.g. ‘sense’.

A semantic frame is capitalised and enclosed in square brackets, e.g. [SEMANTIC FRAME].

Frame attributes and values are given in square brackets, e.g. [attribute].

Structural invariants and constraints are capitalised, e.g. RELATION.

A conceptual field is capitalised and enclosed in curly brackets, e.g. {CONCEPTUAL FIELD}.

Aspects as subordinate categories of conceptual fields are given in curly brackets, e.g. {aspect}.

## **2. Methods**

### **2.1. Theoretical framework**

In its general view on what language is, this book is based on the principles of Cognitive Linguistics as defined by Geeraerts (e.g. 2006 or 2010). The most fundamental notion in this theory is that the core of language is meaning, or in other words, that language's purpose is to communicate information, as Geeraerts (2006a: 3) presents it. According to Geeraerts (2006a: 3–6), Cognitive Linguistics is defined and can be distinguished from other functional theories by the following four basic assumptions:

1. Linguistic meaning is perspectival.
2. Linguistic meaning is dynamic and flexible.
3. Linguistic meaning is encyclopaedic and non-autonomous.
4. Linguistic meaning is based on usage and experience.

Regarding the first aspect, Geeraerts (2006a: 4) explains in two very concise sentences: “Meaning is not just an objective reflection of the outside world, it is a way of shaping that world. You might say that it construes the world in a particular way, that it embodies a perspective onto the world.” Language and human perception of the world are thus inseparably linked, which is a crucial factor for this book's attempt to reconstruct the meanings of Middle English equestrian terms. There is no doubt that the available medieval source material is not an objective account of medieval riding. This subjective perspective the medieval producers of texts took to present their material is highly informative and can contribute to our understanding of both the mechanisms of language and the underlying conceptual ideas. We will discuss the relation of meaning and concepts more extensively in the chapter on Frame Semantics, pp. 10ff.

The dynamics and flexibility of linguistic meaning can be regarded as reflections of the changes in the world we live in. Thus, exploring historical developments both in language and in the cultural surroundings is an excellent way to trace the development processes and gain deeper insight into their intermingling network of connections. With this analysis of the equestrian vocabulary I hope to demonstrate the benefits and constraints of a retrospective interpretation of conceptual ideas. Equestrian vocabulary seems to be a promising subject because it was once an inseparable part of medieval societies' need for expressing information but appears to be a rather marginal note from a modern viewpoint. Bridging this temporal gap means finding a way to provide access to the social environment of the Middle Ages and the respective consequences for linguistic expression. To properly understand the mutual dependency of the social, cultural and the linguistic the last two of the aforementioned four features defining Cognitive Linguistics are fundamental.

Number three from the list of assumptions is the encyclopaedic and non-autonomous nature of linguistic meaning, which Geeraerts (2006a: 4–5) phrases like this:

The meaning we construct in and through the language is not a separate and independent module of the mind, but it reflects our overall experience as human beings. Linguistic meaning is not separate from other forms of knowledge of the world that we have, and in that sense it is encyclopedic and non-autonomous: it involves knowledge of the world that is integrated with our other cognitive capacities.

For the purpose of studying the larger concepts behind the word meanings of equestrian vocabulary, this assumption provides the crucial theoretical framework, since it is exactly encyclopaedic knowledge that gives us the key to accessing the meanings of medieval words.

The notion that linguistic meaning is based on usage and experience, the last defining characteristic from the list, is closely connected to the previous aspects of encyclopaedic knowledge and non-autonomy. Therefore it is equally important for this book. Only by presuming that language is

always experienced through actual language use and not an abstract idea of language, the enterprise of analysing meaning in its actual use in medieval texts gains relevance at all.

### **2.1.1. Frame Semantics**

Within the general framework of Cognitive Linguistics, there is a wide range of possible theoretical approaches for analysing meaning. For the specific purposes of this book, the model of Frame Semantics<sup>4</sup> as introduced by Fillmore (2006) seems to provide the most fruitful background. It offers an applicable balance between an established structure to categorise the findings and an inherent flexibility, which is required to deal with historical stages of language.<sup>5</sup>

Fillmore (2006: 374) uses an analogy to illustrate his overall idea: whereas Compositional Semantics focuses on dissecting meaning in small units and putting them together again to analyse and predict larger units, Frame Semantics considers words to be like a set of tools. To investigate such tools, one may examine their outward appearance, which in the case of words is their phonology and morphology. However, this analysis does not reveal anything about the purpose of their use, the motivations of the people who use them and these people themselves. Frame Semantics aims exactly at gaining insight into this larger context of words. So does this book in investigating how meaning shapes and is shaped by its linguistic, cognitive and social context; or to use Fillmore's (2006: 374) words:

With respect to word meanings, frame semantic research can be thought of as the effort to understand what reason a speech community might have found for creating the category represented by the word, and to explain the word's meaning by presenting and clarifying that reason.

The model of Frame Semantics is based on the observation that human communication functions via reference to shared cognitive scenes or conceptual fields.<sup>6</sup> A conceptual field is a mental assembly of concepts and is created by abstracting experience of the physical world, which may be everything our sense faculties process, like images, smells, tastes, feelings, sounds and forms of communication. In Fig. 1 this process of creating a conceptual field is depicted in a schematised way as a first step to facilitate understanding the individual constituents of Frame Semantics.

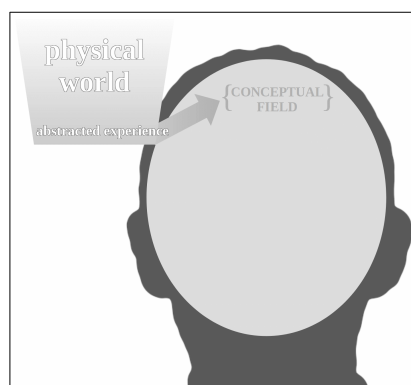


Fig. 1: Conceptual field

The real-world representations of a concept are called *exemplars* and are highly individual for each person. An exemplar of the conceptual field {TREE} may for one individual be “the apple tree outside my kitchen window”, while an exemplar for another individual may be “the palm tree shading my siesta spot”. The important aspect for communication is, that there is a certain amount of congruity in individuals' conceptual fields based on shared or similar experience. The more alike the living conditions of individuals are, the more details, i.e. concepts, in their conceptual fields they usually have in common. To give a brief example for considerably differing conceptual fields, we may compare the conceptual fields for {HORSE KEEPING} of a present-day leisure-rider and that

<sup>4</sup> Busse (2012) and Ziem (2008) are exceedingly comprehensive resources for obtaining bundled information on Frame Semantics.

<sup>5</sup> Busse (2012: 533–786) provides a complex and detailed definition of semantic frames and their constituents, discussing every element meticulously.

<sup>6</sup> Fillmore (2006) uses *cognitive scene*, but in the following we will employ Barsalou's (1992) more detailed terminology and therefore his term *conceptual field*.



of a medieval stable boy. The one most likely associates horses with free time and the high-gloss coat of her horse whereas the other may think of hard work and lots of dirt all around, to pick out only two aspects. The conceptual fields of medieval and present-day stable staff, for instance, may presumably vary much less.

Fillmore (2006: 373) argues that word-meaning cannot be properly understood if the conceptual field the word-meaning refers to is unknown. We may suppose that the meaning of the expression *open stable*<sup>7</sup> would not be understood by the medieval stable boy unless the modern leisure-rider explained all the concepts around it, such as the wish to house horses according to their natural needs. Considering the idea that linguistic expressions are like tools, we see that the tool *open stable* itself is useless for the exemplary medieval person. Living in a world where horses are housed in small tie stalls, he lacks information on how this tool is appropriately used, who uses it and why. These necessary surroundings of information, cognitively processed encyclopaedic knowledge which connects single word-meanings, are where semantic frames come in.

According to Fillmore (2006: 381–386), a semantic frame can be seen as the structuring medium between word-meanings and conceptual fields. Figure 2 shows one way of illustrating the relation between the conceptual field and semantic frame as a structuring medium. One may imagine the semantic frame's function as being a mental representation of a stereotypical situation, like a mental film scene. This stereotypical situation is in itself an assembly of several concepts. These individual concepts define each other, so to describe and understand one of them one needs to be familiar with one or more of the connected concepts. Therefore, theoretically speaking, it would be required to understand each of these concepts to thoroughly understand the semantic frame. Practically speaking, however, the number of concepts is infinite and so are the boundaries of a semantic frame. The semantic frame as such is unconsciously created by an individual by abstracting recurrent experience of real situations, just like a conceptual field. Hence the conceptual field and the semantic frame are naturally based on the same source of input: the physical world the individual lives in and the individual's perception of it.

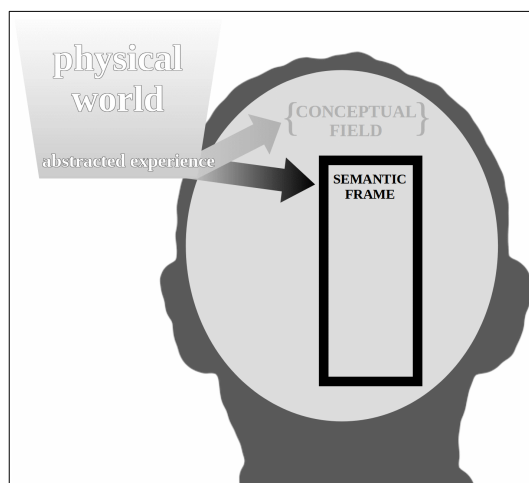


Fig. 2: Semantic frame

<sup>7</sup> An open stable is a form of housing horses in which the animals are kept in groups of varying size in a fenced area within which they are allowed to roam freely. Shelter, food and other facilities can be frequented by the horses as they wish, although especially food may be rationed. This form of housing can provide the most species-appropriate environment for domestic horses.

The function of semantic frames is to categorise word-meanings according to underlying conceptual fields. Figure 3 is a schematic depiction of the process how a semantic frame assigns word-meanings to certain areas of a conceptual field. The word itself can be regarded as part of the physical world, be it spoken or written. Its meaning, which is the individuals perception of the word is a mental entity particular to the individual. Words, or more generally linguistic expressions, evoke at least one semantic frame when uttered and are understood only in reference to the semantic frame. For a successful linguistic transaction it is thus mandatory that both sender and recipient share the same or at least very similar frames.

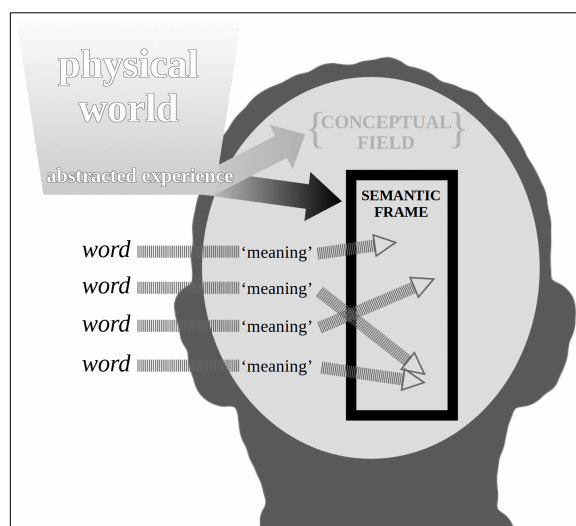


Fig. 3: Word-meaning in semantic frames

Reconsidering our previous example, it becomes clear that, given that the present-day leisure-rider and the medieval stable boy should ever meet, the modern person's use of the term *open stable* will evoke different frames. The stable boy might conclude that the stable in question is apparently not closed as would be normal for him, but he is unlikely to get the idea of free-roaming horses within a fenced area that the modern term implies. Or, to turn the example around, the modern rider will most likely have highly negative associations of cruelty to animals when hearing *tie stall* whilst the medieval stable boy will simply consider it his normal workplace. The encyclopaedic knowledge based on the living conditions of the two persons in this example are different; and so are their conceptual fields and semantic frames and thus their understanding of word-meanings.

In the case of historical semantic research, the focus should therefore be on gathering as much encyclopaedic knowledge as possible to reconstruct a hypothetical medieval conceptual field, access the structuring frames and finally comprehend the word-meanings. The “very tight connection between lexical semantics and text semantics, or, to speak more carefully, between lexical semantics and the process of text comprehension” that Fillmore (2006: 384) points out is a perfect basis for our analysis of medieval equestrian vocabulary. The original texts are our main sources and should on that account be exploited as efficiently as possible without too much abstraction or inapplicable attention to detail. Using the concept of semantic frames seems a worthwhile means as a medium to avoid the extremes of going too much into detail and losing the general picture or generalising too much and losing the intricate details.<sup>8</sup>

To successfully apply the model of Frame Semantics, some further thoughts on the components of frames are helpful, since these are what the analysis of the original texts shall fill with information. We will follow the structure and terminology of Barsalou (1992) here, who further developed and expanded Fillmore's ideas, adding more theoretical accuracy and more flexibility and dependency on context; see esp. Barsalou (1992: 21). In his model, semantic frames are made up of three groups of components, namely attributes and values, structural invariants, and constraints.

Barsalou (1992: 30) defines “an attribute as a concept that describes an aspect of at least some category members.” Attributes are hence the small components of semantic frames used to refer to the small components of conceptual categories, although they should not be regarded as solid and

<sup>8</sup> Other approaches such as the theories of lexical or semantic fields neither provide the required connection to the mental aspects nor the flexibility to outline and explain the dynamics of meaning, especially in a diachronic perspective. A very concise summary of arguments for favouring Frame Semantics above diverse semantic field theories can be found in Fillmore & Atkins (1992: 76–79).

universal. It is important to be aware that there is an infinite number of aspects the human mind can create for any individual conceptual field because one can always think of a more detailed description of its aspects. Similarly, there is an infinite number of attributes belonging to a semantic frame. Out of this vastness of possible attributes, members of the same semantic frame need not necessarily share any attributes but usually do. More detailed attention is paid to the characteristic family-resemblance in the chapter on prototype theory in Frame Semantics (esp. p. 15). For now, we can illustrate this concise and abstract definition with our horse keeping example once more. The semantic frame [HORSE KEEPING] may feature, among infinitely many others, the attributes [medical care], [housing] and [nutrition]. All these concepts are not attributes when standing for themselves, only in the particular case that they specify aspects of some members of the semantic frame [HORSE KEEPING] do they become attributes of this category. For example, {housing} alone is nothing but a concept when considered in isolation. Only if it is seen in relation to the semantic frame [HORSE KEEPING], e.g. thinking of providing shelter with free access to all facilities like water, forage, resting areas and pasture in an open stable, it becomes the attribute [housing] of the semantic frame [HORSE KEEPING]. Other members of the same frame may or may not share this attribute. For instance, one might have a different aspect of [housing] in mind when picturing a tie stall or a stable with boxes.

To further specify attributes of semantic frames, values are required. “Values are subordinate concepts of an attribute. Because values are subordinate concepts, they inherit information from their respective attribute concepts.” (Barsalou 1992: 31) In our example [shelter], [ability to move] and [social contact] may be values for the attribute [housing]. We may also state that values can be attributes for further values. So [roam freely] may be one value for the attribute [ability to move] of [open stable] whereas it may be [tied up with no room to lie down] for [tie stall]. To carry this attribute taxonomy<sup>9</sup> further, we may assign the attribute [roam freely] more specific values such as [roam freely within a sandy paddock], [roam freely within a pasture] or [roam freely with access to both paddock and pasture]. In this way we are able to glimpse at how finely branched attribute taxonomies can get and understand thereby why there is a potentially endless number of them for each frame. Yet, within the masses of possible attributes we find some that seem to occur frequently and are necessary to understand the concept at all. Barsalou (1992: 34–35) terms them core attributes and we will come back to them later in our discussion of prototypicality (esp. p. 16). Figure 4 below visualises what a small and schematic section of a taxonomy of attributes and values within a semantic frame may look like. Bold black print symbolises core attributes and values while additional attributes and values are put in bold grey print.

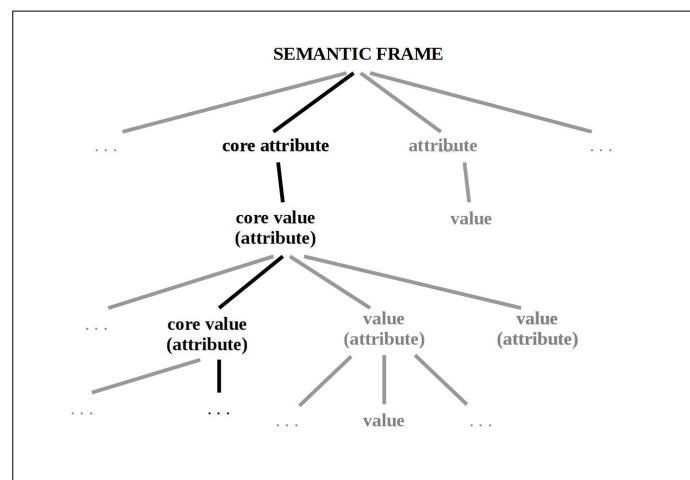


Fig. 4: Taxonomy of frame attributes and values

<sup>9</sup> For more details on attribute taxonomies and attribute frames see Barsalou (1992: 32–33).

Two components of semantic frames remain to be introduced: structural invariants and constraints. Structural invariants are relations between core attributes of frames. Following Barsalou (1992: 35), they “generally hold across most exemplars of a concept, providing relatively invariant structure between attributes”. In our horse keeping example, the general understanding that animals in captivity need protection from the elements because they cannot roam freely to find shelter themselves, can be seen as the structural invariant relating many exemplars of the semantic frame [HOUSING OF HORSES]. We may imagine, for instance, exemplars like a tie stall with roof, four walls, no windows and compartments for twelve horses; or a box stall with roof, four walls, windows and compartments for two horses; or an open stable with roof, three walls, access to a sandy paddock and room for eight horses which are all linked by the relation DOMESTIC HORSES NEED PROTECTION. In this way, structural invariants “capture normative truths about relations between attributes”, as Barsalou (1992: 37) states, meaning they describe what real-world experience proves to be valid. For example, the relation between attributes like [shelter], [ability to move] and [social contact] may be seen as NATURAL NEEDS OF EQUINES. Each observation of real-world members of this species will verify that these needs actually occur.

Another form of relations are constraints, as Barsalou (1992: 37–40) names them. The fundamental assumption to understand constraints is that attribute values in frames tend not to vary boundlessly but depend on each other. Constraints are responsible for attribute values varying only within the limits of a certain system; or differently phrased, they are the forces behind the symptom of attribute values’ interdependency. Barsalou (1992: 34–35) differentiates between four types of constraints: attribute constraints, value constraints, contextual constraints and optimizations.

“Attribute constraints are rules that constrain attribute values globally.” (Barsalou 1992: 37). If we take our attributes [ability to move] and [shelter], we may construct a constraint like: if a facility to provide shelter becomes more closed, the horse’s ability to move becomes more restricted. Barsalou (ibid.) emphasises that “attribute constraints need neither be logical or empirical truths” but “often represent statistical patterns or personal preferences, which may be contradicted on occasion.” In horse keeping one may, for example, think of an exception like a very large stable building with various entrances which provides both closed shelter and much room to move.

According to Barsalou (1992: 37–39), value constraints “are specific rules that relate particular sets of values locally.”. For instance, we may have a look again at our semantic frame [HORSE KEEPING] with attributes like [housing] and [nutrition]. The attribute [housing] can take the value [ability to move] with the subordinate value [tied up in a stall] while [nutrition] can take values like [feeding by humans] with a subordinate value [individual feeding]. The particular value [tied up in a stall] constrains a relation like FACILITATES to the value [individual feeding] because the horses are tied up individually and can hence be fed separately.

Both attribute and value constraints can appear as contextual constraints “when one aspect of a situation constrains another, such as physical constraints in nature” or when we deal with “cultural conventions” (Barsalou 1992: 39). The context of the semantic frame [HORSE KEEPING IN WESTERN EUROPE] may for example constrain the values for the attribute [forage], being itself a value of [nutrition], to aspects such as [hay] and [straw], while they may vary in other parts of the world.

The last type of constraint in semantic frames is optimization, which Barsalou (1992: 34–35) defines as reflecting “an agent’s goal” constraining “the values of various attributes”; “Whereas contextual constraints typically require that values *satisfy* them, optimizations typically require that one value *excel* beyond all others. [...] People often attempt to optimize multiple goals simultaneously for an attribute.” Since this is a highly personal aspect we are not able to deal with it in analysing Middle English semantics, considering that we know nothing or vanishingly little about the personal aims and ideas of the individuals who produced the texts.

### **2.1.2. Prototype Theory in Frame Semantics**

In the characterisation of Frame Semantics, we have at some stages encountered that attributes within a frame apparently differ in their importance to define a concept. Some attributes seem to be more common, some more characteristic and some more contextual than others; the concept of core attributes and values was introduced. Also, we have stated that members of the same category need not necessarily share any attributes at all, but they usually do. A highly useful and influential way to explain these observations is prototype theory.<sup>10</sup>

In the description of what prototype theory proposes, we will stick to the widely respected model by Geeraerts (e.g. 1989, 1997, 2006b, 2010) for reasons of consistency. In addition, what has previously been said about Frame Semantics will be interwoven in the discussion of prototype theory to show that these frames are prototypical categories, as Barsalou (1992: 47–51), amongst others, postulates. The following list of the four typical characteristics is a slightly condensed form of the enumeration given in Geeraerts (1989: 592–593).

1. Prototypical categories cannot be defined by means of a single set of criterial (necessary and sufficient) attributes.<sup>11</sup>
2. Prototypical categories exhibit a family-resemblance structure, or more generally, their semantic structure takes the form of a radial set of clustered and overlapping meanings.
3. Prototypical categories exhibit degrees of category membership; not every member is equally representative for a category.
4. Prototypical categories are blurred at the edges.

The first characteristic is easily explained by regarding the semantic frame [HORSE]. We may think of a list of defining attributes which members of the frame need to exhibit to be counted as horses, like [mammal], [big], [hooves], [two ears], [four legs], [coat], [mane and tail], [neighs], [can be ridden], [eats grass], etc. On closer examination, however, we are faced with serious problems to maintain such a rigid set of criteria which allows only binary answers for telling apart a horse from a non-horse. Is a small horse, e.g. a miniature pony, no horse? Is a horse with a missing ear, leg or tail still a horse? What if a horse is not ridden? Or if it feeds just on pellets? Do donkeys and mules not share many attributes mentioned above and yet they are no horses? What we can conclude from these thoughts is that some members of the semantic frame [HORSE] apparently feature more of these attributes and some fewer. Moreover, members of other semantic frames may have attributes in common with the frame [HORSE] but nevertheless be no members thereof. As we have seen, the same is true for attributes and values of semantic frames. It is impossible to find a fixed and universal set of attributes or values to define a frame or attribute.

The second characteristic from Geeraerts' list, family-resemblance, is the key structure to reconcile the difficulties in naming definite aspects for a category while yet being able to assign some exemplars to it and dismiss others. The idea goes back to Wittgenstein (*Philosophical Investigations*. Schulte (ed.) 1953: §§ 65–88) and indicates that members of conceptual categories are connected to each other similarly to how we are connected to our relatives. Each member shares at least one but usually more aspects with at least one but usually more co-members of the category. We have encountered the same observation for semantic frames, attributes and values (see p. 13). To explain the idea a bit more tangibly, we can refer to the questions raised in the previous paragraph and construct some family-resemblances. A miniature pony shares attributes like [mammal], [hooves], [two ears], [four legs], [coat], [mane and tail], [neighs] and [eats grass] with

<sup>10</sup> It would be disproportionate to lay out the details of the history and different specifications of prototype theory in the context of this book. For further reading see e.g. Schmid (2000), Geeraerts (1989, 1997).

<sup>11</sup> Geeraerts uses *attribute* to describe the characteristics of a conceptual category, but we will maintain the terminology established in the previous chapter and speak of *aspects* as features of conceptual categories and *attributes* as features of semantic frames.

an English thoroughbred, but not [big] and [can be ridden]. Relating the English thoroughbred to a German warmblood having suffered a severe head injury that damaged ears and jaw, one may only find [mammal], [big], [hooves], [four legs], [coat], [mane and tail] as common aspects but not [two ears], [neighs], [can be ridden] and [eats grass]. Nevertheless, they are all horses because each exemplar shares some attributes with the others. But what about donkeys and mules? They may display very similar attributes to horses on a general level but not when examining the details of certain attributes such as [length of ears], [voice] or [colour of coat].

This leads us to the third characteristic of prototypical categories, the degrees of category membership.<sup>12</sup> The most popular experiments to find out how typical certain members of a category are are probably those conducted by Rosch (1975) amongst others for {FURNITURE}, {BIRD}, {FRUIT} or by Labov (1973) for {HOUSEHOLD RECEPTACLE}. There is some discussion about whether the most typical member of a category is explicitly the prototype or whether a prototype is rather an implicit concept without taking explicit form.<sup>13</sup> With Barsalou (1992: 47) we will circumvent this theoretical and rather philosophical problem by just referring to more or less typicality amongst exemplars.

Barsalou (1992: 47–50) also gives three factors which determine how typical an exemplar for a given semantic frame is. The same theoretical framework holds true for the typicality of attributes. The more typical an attribute of a frame is, the more likely it is to be perceived as a core attribute (ibid.: 35). The first factor is frequency of attribute values amongst several exemplars. A donkey, for example, has the value [bray] for the attribute [voice] and is thus rendered atypical amongst exemplars of horses who all [neigh]. The second is proximity to an ideal value, which is closely connected to the principle of optimization we touched upon earlier (see p. 14). In the semantic frame [RACE HORSE], for instance, values like [very fast] for attributes like [running] will render the exemplars exhibiting them typical members of the frame. This is only valid, however, if for a person who is conceptualising {RACE HORSE} the most crucial aspect is {being fastest}. The last factor influencing typicality is co-occurrence information. We have seen that from abstraction of countless exemplars humans form conceptual fields and semantic frames as references for facilitated processing of information, to put it in a simple form. Co-occurrence information is information about attributes and values statistically occurring together. For [HORSE] we may assume [hooves] and [mane and tail] usually appear together. In case one encounters an exemplar of a category and gets only part of the relevant attribute values, the semantic frame can supply the missing information. Hearing someone talk about his *four-hoofed friend* we automatically evoke a mental picture including [mane and tail], to use a very plain example.

Furthermore, it is crucial, in particular for this book, to note that the ranking according to typicality within conceptual categories is highly influenced by cultural conventions. Icelanders will supposedly tend to recognise smaller, gaited types of horses as typical horses, English their English thoroughbreds and Texans maybe quarter horses. The same is understandably true if one investigates different historical periods.

The last characteristic of prototypical categories given by Geeraerts, the fact that prototypical categories are blurred at the edges, is one of the most obvious features distinguishing prototype theory from Lexical Field Theory, to mention only one structuralist approach.<sup>14</sup> In this, once more, we may recognise semantic frames as prototypical categories. Their attributes are thus members of

<sup>12</sup> Barsalou names four general factors regulating category membership which need not be mentioned in detail here but can be found in Barsalou (1992: 50–51).

<sup>13</sup> For more on the prototypical notion of prototypes see Geeraerts (1989: 592ff.). On the fact that it gets harder to detect global prototypes the more abstract categories get and the alternative to focus on local prototypical areas see Schmid (2000: 48) and Taylor (2003: 48–55).

<sup>14</sup> On Lexical Field Theory see e.g.: Trier (1973), Lutzeier (1981), Tóth (2001), Lehrer (1993). Nerlich & Clarke (2000: esp. 145) provide a concise comparison of Frame Semantics and Field Semantics.

a prototypical category, since we have seen earlier that they have no clear-cut edges and intermingle or overlap with other attributes even of other frames. In our semantic frame [HORSE], [mule] would be a very marginal member and there could be lengthy discussions about whether it can be regarded as a member at all or not. There is no way of finding a universally valid solution to this membership question, since different people from different cultural surroundings in different situations will produce different results regarding the inclusion or exclusion of marginal members of a conceptual category; biologists will presumably judge the membership of [mule] in the semantic frame [HORSE] differently from riders, artists or children.

In sum, understanding prototype theory provides valuable information on some aspects of Frame Semantics that would otherwise have been difficult to apply in practice. Especially the concept of typicality with its weighting of attributes and values according to certain criteria is helpful in the analysis of the Middle English riding vocabulary.

### **2.1.3. Lexical gaps in Frame Semantics**

This chapter is dedicated to the question how lexical gaps can be explained in the light of Frame Semantics since this phenomenon is part of examining the semantics of Middle English equestrian vocabulary. Fischer (2000)<sup>15</sup> provides a handy outline of what lexical gaps are and how their existence can be explained, and we will follow him in understanding that lexical gaps “may be postulated when the lexical structure of a language provides evidence that there is a concept which might or should be lexicalized but is not” (ibid.: 2). The underlying assumption is thus, like in Frame Semantics and prototype theory, that the lexical structure of a language reflects a conceptual structure the users of the language have in common.

To detect gaps in the lexicon, Fischer (2000: 3–6) proposes the application of three tools on the basis of the sense relations hyponymy, antonymy and synonymy: proportional series, hierarchies and sets of complementaries. To build a proportional series, one needs a set of at least four elements that are related to each other proportionally in such a way that from any three of them the fourth can be derived. An example from horse terminology would be the set *mare* ‘female adult horse’ – *filly* ‘female immature horse’; *stallion* ‘male adult horse’ – *colt* ‘male immature horse’. In this set *mare* relates to *filly* as *stallion* does to *colt* and *mare* relates to *stallion* as *filly* relates to *colt*. This set can be extended to form a proportional series by adding *horse* ‘generic adult horse’ and *foal* ‘generic immature horse’. One could also add *gelding* ‘male adult horse castrated’ which does neither have a corresponding lexicalized form for the concept {male immature castrated} nor for {female adult sterilised} or {female immature sterilised}, see also Barsalou (1992: 63). Such missing lexicalized items to complete subsets within a proportional series indicate lexical gaps.

Constructing hierarchies, which can be taxonomies or meronomies, can also reveal gaps if one assumes that each lexical hierarchy is based on a corresponding conceptual hierarchy. Lexical gaps then occur, if in a lexical hierarchy one slot or one level is not represented by a lexical item although in the same spot in the corresponding conceptual hierarchy a concept exists. An example Fischer (2000: 8) quotes from Cruse (1986: 151) relates to the conceptual field {LOCOMOTION OF LIVING CREATURES}. Under the hyperonym *move* we find the hyponyms *swim* and *fly* as well as the unlexicalized concept {move on land} which would summarise *run*, *walk*, *crawl*, *hop*, *jump*, etc. Amongst the co-hyponyms *swim* and *fly* we can hence detect a lexical gap for the concept {move on land}.

The last tool to localise gaps to be mentioned here is the assembly of a set of complementaries. Cruse (1986: 198–199) states that “[t]he essence of a pair of complementaries is that between them

<sup>15</sup> An older short introduction is Lehrer (1970).

they exhaustively divide some conceptual domain into two mutually exclusive compartments, so that what does not fall into one of the compartments must necessarily fall into the other". For horses we find the adjective *gaited* 'having a (specified) gait or manner of walking or stepping' (OED: s.v. *gait*, n.1, derivatives), but at least according to the OED no lexicalized form for the complementary concept (for background information see the chapter on differentiating the gaits, p. 123). On the internet, however, forms like *\*ungaited* or *\*non-gaited* appear, which maybe will become fully lexicalized at some point in the future to fill the gap.

According to Fischer (2000: 10–12) we can recognise three cognitive factors to explain the existence of lexical gaps: psychological salience or emotional involvement, perceptual salience and prototypicality. Psychological salience, or in other words relevance in language use to a majority of members of a speech community, considerably increases the chances for a concept to be lexicalized. In addition to close psychological relations out of frequent or profound encounters with concepts, emotional involvement with a concept promotes lexicalization, too. Lexical gaps then, to look at the aforementioned aspects from the opposite angle, occur if a concept is of little psychological relevance to a speech community, be it for practical or emotional reasons, and therefore no need arises for a lexicalized term to express the concept.

Perceptual salience can be seen as a further aspect of psychological salience, since perception and cognitive processes are inseparable. Concepts that are perceived less easily are supposedly less likely to be lexicalized. These considerations become clear taking a look at the gaps we spotted above for the aspects {male immature castrated}, {female adult sterilised} and {female immature sterilised} within the conceptual field {HORSE}. The concept {immature castrated / sterilised} is actually contradictory in itself, since immaturity and the need to prevent procreation are mutually exclusive, at least if the concept {immaturity} includes the aspect {not able to procreate}. For {female adult sterilised} we may take three factors into consideration: first, female sterilisation in horses is not perceivable by sight, whereas missing testicles are; second, the behaviour of fertile and sterilised mares does not differ as obviously as the behaviour of stallions and geldings normally does; third, the sterilisation of mares is rarely executed since its benefits, e.g. easier handling, are negligible whilst the risk of internal surgery is high. On these grounds, the lexical gap for {female adult sterilised} can be explained by the fact that language users rarely perceive real sterilised mares and thus do not need a lexicalized item to refer to the underlying concept.

Prototypicality can explain lexical gaps in cases where a concept is in itself so ambiguous that it is hard to find a prototypical member of the category which can serve as a point of reference for the lexicalized item. Fischer (2000: 12) gives the example of a missing generic term for the concept {cows and bulls} whereas {mares and stallions} can be subsumed as *horses*. He argues that the prominent differences in the outward appearance of cows and bulls, particularly length of horns and the udder, render the task to imagine one prototype capturing both sexes of the species difficult. As a consequence, the concept of {cows and bulls} remains unlexicalized.

#### **2.1.4. Semantic change in Frame Semantics**

This chapter briefly outlines some explanations regarding the motivations for semantic change with a focus on Frame Semantics' view on the topic.<sup>16</sup> For this reason we will mainly follow Blank (1999) here, who relates his empirically derived classification of motivations for semantic change to a cognitive theoretical framework that is compatible with our Frame Semantics approach.

<sup>16</sup> More explanations on semantic change can be found e.g. in Geeraerts (1997), Fillmore (2006: 386–389) and Barsalou (1992: 66–67) from the perspective of Frame Semantics and Prototype Theory and in the very recent volume by Boas & Höder (2018). For approaches from Lexical Field Theory see e.g. Lehrer (1985), Klepanski & Rusinek (2007). More general recent introductions are e.g. Kay & Allan (2015), Hock & Joseph (2009). Crespo (2013) can be consulted specifically for changes in English personal rank nouns during the 12<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.



Blank (1999: 61) argues along the lines of Coseriu (1958) that semantic change functions by innovation of one speaker and the adoption of the innovation by other speakers. Each of these groups, the innovating speaker and the adopting speech community, are led by certain motivations. An innovation is successfully adopted if it is convincing in one of the following three regards. The first is sociolinguistic and has to do with the prestige of the innovator, a factor we will encounter frequently talking about the entering of French words into English. The second is pragmatic and promotes innovations that are helpful for the speech community in actual language use. The third is cognitive and is closely related to the pragmatic side, since a cognitively profitable innovation is usually one that is practically well applicable. Only if an innovation is convincing in one or several of these aspects it becomes lexicalized and thus, particularly in historical semantics, analysable.

The motivations driving innovations can be divided in two parts, the general and the specific ones. The basic assumption to approach general motivations is that “language change is a consequence of inherent characteristics of man’s mind and human social interaction” and “not inherent in language itself” (Blank 1999: 63). It is no coincidence, of course, that this idea provides a link between Blank’s typology to explain semantic change and Frame Semantics, since they are both theories in Cognitive Linguistics. The main aim of language use in general is to communicate successfully in order to reach certain goals. Thus, from the perspective of a speaker, it is crucial to convey as much information as necessary with as little effort as possible. In short, language use has to be efficient from a speaker’s point of view. Looking at the hearer’s side, it is important that the communication is relevant, conveys what the speaker wants and affects the hearer in such a way that they are positively inclined towards the speaker. In short, language use has to be expressive from a hearer’s point of view. Blank (1999: 63–65) then summarises the general motivation for semantic change as a combination of optimising both efficiency and expressivity in an utterance by adopting a linguistic innovation.

In addition to general motivations, we can also distinguish specific motivations for semantic change. This enumeration of the six types of specific motivations is from Blank (1999: 70–82):

1. New concepts (need for a new name)
2. Abstract concepts, distant and usually invisible referents
3. Sociocultural change
4. Close conceptual or factual relations
5. Complexity and irregularity in the lexicon
6. Emotionally marked concepts

According to Blank (1999: 71), confrontations with new concepts, be they due to changes in the outer world or the perception of it, motivate semantic change. If the new concept is relevant and encountered frequently enough, it is lexicalized and not only paraphrased. From a Frame Semantics viewpoint we can infer that changes in a conceptual field entail changes in semantic frames and lexicalizations of the frames. We encounter this motivation in the French influence on Middle English in particular, since many newly introduced concepts entailed changes in the lexicon.

Metaphors and metonymies are mechanisms to render abstract and hard to grasp concepts in a more familiar and tangible way. They can lose their concrete sense over the course of time, leaving only the metaphorical sense and thus blurring the semantic origin, as Blank (1999: 71–72) explains. We can speak of a shift in the underlying semantic frame here, which loses its connection to the original conceptual field the metaphor or metonymy was taken from.

The third specific motivation for semantic change Blank (1999: 72–73) discusses is sociocultural change. Since sociocultural change influences the conceptual fields associated with the concerned sociocultural area, it is comprehensible that such changes also affect the linguistic expression of concepts. It is worth emphasising in this context that sociocultural change is not just a matter of

empirically detectable alteration in the environment. Also, and maybe even more so, it is a matter of the human perception of the world. For the world view and self-perception of an individual, a feeling of change is as real as any verifiable fact and can thus equally be reflected in language.

The fourth motivating factor for semantic change are close conceptual or factual relations. This mechanism is based on the observation that hearers tend to understand words even if they are used with a slightly different sense than usual. However, this works only as long as the two concepts that are referred to are closely related. Should the changed sense prove to be efficient and/or expressive, it is likely the respective word develops polysemy. Within conceptual relations, Blank (1999: 74–77) differentiates “three types of cognitive constellations”. The first is called frame relation and claims that concepts from the same frame tend to be verbalised by only one word, probably owing to the striving for efficiency again. The second constellation is prototypical change, which comprises the facts that either “a word is constantly used to refer to the prototype of the usually designated category” (Blank 1999: 75) or, in contrast, the name of a prototype “is extended to refer to the whole category” (ibid.). The third type of cognitive constellation is blurred concepts. It captures the fact that language users may unconsciously confuse words and categories. For some conceptual fields such confusions may occur regularly amongst the members of a speech community which then can result in a stable semantic change in the respective words. Since this last factor explicitly concerns conceptual relations, there is no need to further stress how these explanations fit in the conceptual system of Frame Semantics.

The same is true for the fifth factor motivating semantic change, complexity and irregularity in the lexicon. For Blank (1999: 77–79), this factor bundles the wishes or needs to reduce lexical complexity, to integrate lexically isolated words into similar classes, to fill lexical gaps and to assign more typical senses to words expressing untypical meanings or untypical argument structures.

The sixth and last motivation Blank (1999: 74–77) elaborates on is to circumvent emotionally marked or taboo words. Depending on the context of the utterance, this is mostly achieved by using euphemisms, dysphemisms or other forms of metaphor and metonymy. These creations can, if they are used successfully and frequently, lead to a permanent semantic change in the words the circumscription is built of. Here the frame semanticist can observe how links connecting different frames can be exploited to fulfil linguistic needs.

This chapter heavily focused on the motivations behind semantic change and less on the mechanisms of change themselves because the conceptual background is better outlined coherently, whereas the actual processes of semantic change can more conveniently be discussed when speaking of the individual Middle English examples.

### **2.1.5. Expert language in Frame Semantics**

Dealing with a topic like Middle English equestrian vocabulary, which belongs to a specialised area of practical application, it is inevitable to address the aspect of expert language.<sup>17</sup>

A fundamental concept to understand the difference between folk and expert categories, as Taylor (2003: 76) for example names and explains them, is the division of linguistic labour. Putnam (1975: 227–229) phrases the theory that within a speech community members or groups of members accept different responsibilities. There are experts for various fields of knowledge contributing to the accuracy of definitions for terms being used in a special sense in their individual field. The folk

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<sup>17</sup> For details on expert categories in Cognitive Linguistics see Faber Benítez (2012), Taylor (2003: 72–77), Geeraerts (2010: 255–257), Fillmore (2006: 390–391), Schmidt (2001). Broader perspectives on expert language can for instance be found in the extensive volumes by Hoffmann et al. (1997) and (1999) or in Roelcke (2005).

users in the same speech community do not normally apply words in their specific senses referring to expert categories because they lack the necessary background knowledge to grasp the full definitions. What they draw on is stereotypes, as Putnam (1975: 229–230 and 148–151) calls them. Geeraerts (1989: 604) describes such a stereotype as “a socially determined minimum set of data with regard to the extension of a category” and remarks that stereotypes are hence very similar to prototypes. One could also say that non-expert users of a language employ simplified or prototypical definitions based on their knowledge derived from education and experience. For the whole of a speech community’s lexicon, the expert definitions serve as reference points to ensure the maintenance of the correct linguistic usage. Conflicts may arise, however, between the expert and the folk usage of a word. The reasons for this can be various. One would for example be that science advances in differentiating a concept with subsequent fine-tuning in lexical expressions for it, while in folk use the traditional definition of the concept is preserved despite the scientific proof that it is obsolete.

From the Frame Semantics position, Barsalou (1992: 64–65) states that experts’ semantic frames include far more attributes and values than non-experts’. Therefore, experts are able to recognise many more exemplars of a category than non-experts do. Barsalou (1992: 65) hence observes that “the key factor in expert knowledge concerns the relation between exemplar density and frame content.” In actual language use it is thus comprehensible that the same word will most likely evoke more or less the same frame in an expert and a non-expert, but the content of the frame and thus the conceptualisation of the individual will vary considerably. In the worst case – seen from the perspective that language use should be efficient and effective – this leads to serious misunderstandings.

An example comes to mind from German horse terminology, which illustrates the difference between expert and non-expert or folk categories. Non-expert German speakers seem to be inclined<sup>18</sup> to use the nouns *Fohlen* ‘foal’ and *Pony* ‘pony’ nearly synonymously. For someone with only a little more expert knowledge this usage provokes misunderstanding. If we analyse the semantic frame [HORSE] to explain the origin of this misunderstanding, the key lies in the attributes [height] and [age]. The attribute [height] can take values such as [big] and [small] for non-experts and various more fine-grained stages for experts. This may include the distinction between the attributes [under 148cm] and [over 148cm] which is the standard measure for bureaucratically distinguishing between German *Pony* [under 148cm] and *Pferd* [over 148cm] in the regulations for issuing horse-passports in Germany. The attribute [age] may be roughly divided into [mature] and [immature] and features a variety of further stages which need not be enumerated here. For a German expert speaker, the noun *Pony* evokes the value [under 148cm] for the attribute [height] and no value or [all ages] for [age]. *Fohlen* may take the value [small] for [height] and [immature] for [age] for the expert. Plainly put: all horses are *Fohlen* at the beginning of their life but never remain in this category, whereas a *Pony* remains a *Pony* throughout its life. The non-expert, on the other hand, is likely to generate for both nouns either only the value [small], being indifferent about the age of the animal, or only the value [immature], maybe with an implied notion of small height. For someone who has nothing to do with horses it is in most cases absolutely sufficient to either discriminate between big and small horses or between mature and immature ones. In contrast, for an expert in the world of horses and riders the difference between the concepts {smallness by breed} or {smallness by immaturity} is an important one.

The relationship between the frame content of modern medievalists and medieval recipients of vernacular texts can supposedly be described in a similar way to the relation between folk and expert categories if we presume that most medieval recipients were more familiar with horses and riding than most medievalists.

<sup>18</sup> This hypothesis has not been linguistically tested but is based on observations of this book’s author.

### 2.1.6. The historical perspective in Frame Semantics

Construction Grammar, which can be considered a branch of linguistic research closely related to the concept of Frame Semantics, has produced a variety of diachronic studies over the last years.<sup>19</sup> For the Frame Semantics approach itself, however, diachronic applications are a rare exception, with Fried (2008), who analyses morphosemantic change in Czech, being the closest that could be detected to the focus of this book. This observation is quite astonishing, since Frame Semantics provides a practical background for accessing historical stages of languages.

Reconsidering the introduction to Frame Semantics (pp. 10ff.), we can expand the diagrams explaining the theory of semantic frames for a single person by including more individuals and adding the historical perspective.

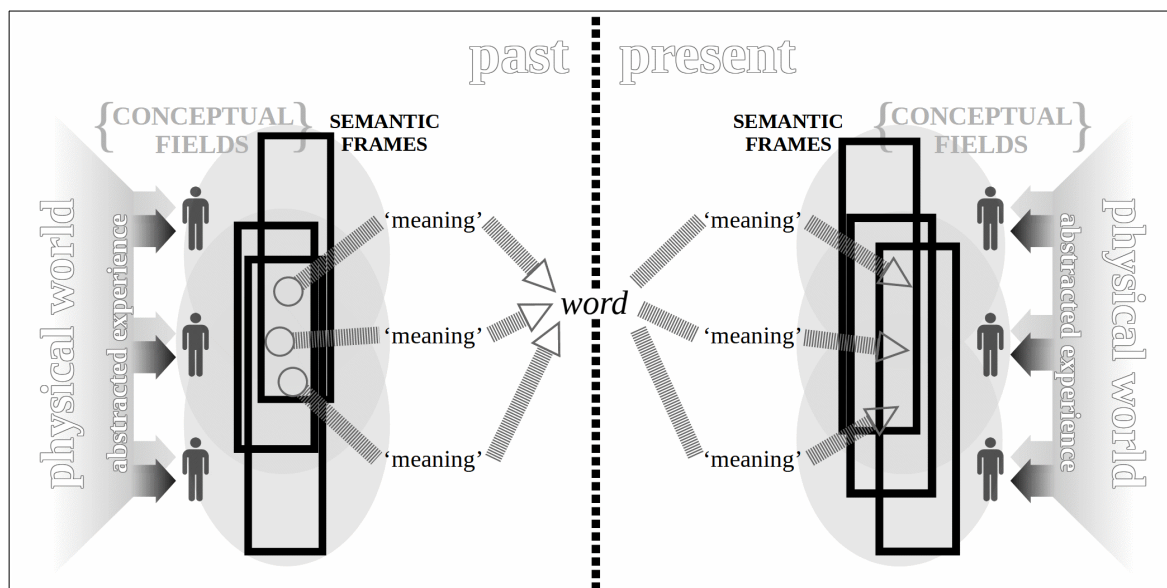


Fig. 5: Semantic frames in a historical perspective

The left half of this diagram shows a simplified illustration of language use in the past. We find several individuals with an individual but related experience of the real world, which is abstracted to individual but overlapping conceptual fields. This concordance is due to the similar living conditions of the individuals on a general level. In language use we find individual but mostly matching semantic frames and word meanings, which are evoked by the use of a certain word or lexical unit. The written form of such a word can bridge the time gap to the right half of the diagram depicting the present day reception.

The present-day recipients, being detached by time and space from the imaginary group in the past, have their own individual experience and conceptual fields that differ considerably from those of the people from an earlier stage in history. Amongst each other, however, the present day group shares considerable parts, just as it was the case for the group in the past. Therefore the semantic frames which they associate with a certain word may be more or less different from the frames of the group or individual who wrote the word down in the past.

Besides the very different living conditions of medieval and present-days individuals, we may also assume that the producers and the recipients of Middle English texts possessed a degree of expert knowledge about horses, which they received mainly by perception and practical experience and sometimes probably also by theoretical studies. More on the group of medieval producers and

<sup>19</sup> Publications on a larger scale are e.g. Hoffmann & Trousdale (2013: esp. part V), Barðdal et al. (2015), Boas & Höder (2018), Fried & Östman (2004), recent articles on the topic are e.g. Fried (2009), Ioannou (2018).

recipients of the source material for this book can be found on pp. 30ff. It is unlikely that we can take any of these sources of expert knowledge for granted in modern recipients of medieval texts.

Hence, to understand the historical semantics of a lexical unit it would be required to adapt the content of the semantic frames Middle English lexical units evoke in modern recipients to the frames the same lexical units may have evoked in their medieval counterparts. A full adjustment would imply that both the present-day and historical semantic frames with their conceptual fields were known to the linguist attempting the adjustment. As we have seen this is impossible, but a good approximation can indeed be achieved. The key lies in another medium besides linguistic evidence as such that bridges the time gap: encyclopaedic knowledge.

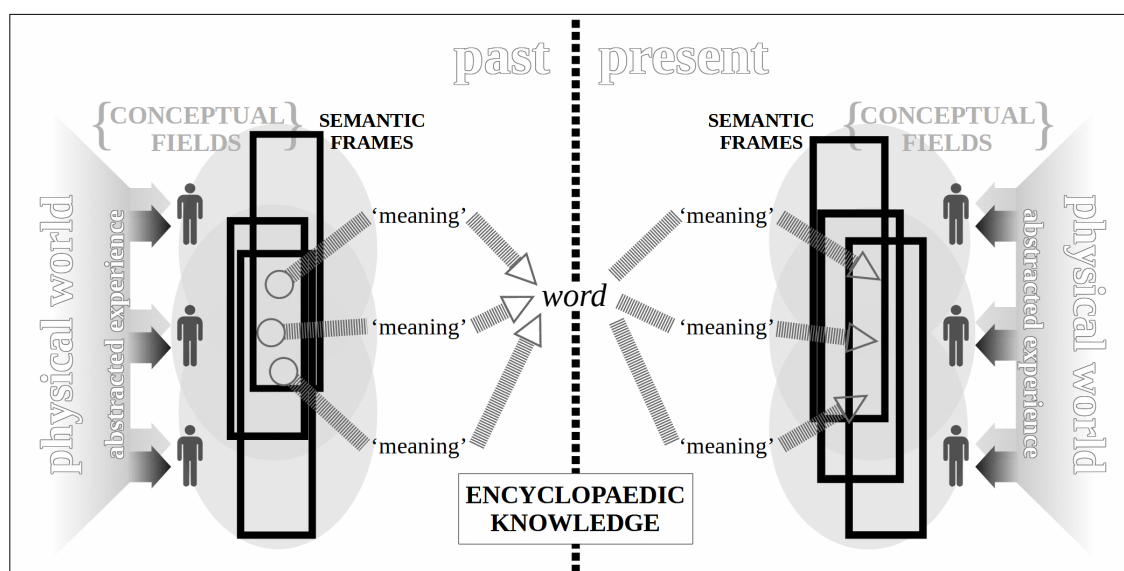


Fig. 6: Encyclopaedic knowledge bridging the time gap

Encyclopaedic knowledge in this case refers to all sorts of surviving evidence from the past which carries information on the historical physical world and human perception of the same. In the case of equestrianism this includes static material objects themselves like equipment and skeletal remains, as well as visual representations thereof like drawings, paintings and sculptures. Such images can also transport information on dynamic processes like the use of equipment and to a certain degree movements but also on the physique and bearing of horse and rider.

These forms of knowledge that are transmitted in an extra-linguistic form are crucial for the attempt to explore historical semantics because all knowledge transmitted via texts inevitably causes circular argumentation, since the interpretation of the meaning of the text would require to know the semantics of the linguistic units employed to convey the content. An external point of reference is therefore mandatory to verify what written sources on the subject, like veterinary treatises or riding manuals, may reveal to back up hypotheses on the semantic frames evoked by certain linguistic units.

The approach of this book is hence to collect as much encyclopaedic knowledge about medieval equestrianism as possible to reconstruct potential medieval conceptual fields. This allows to assimilate the conceptual fields of present-day recipients of medieval texts to the potential medieval conceptual fields. By doing so we may access the structuring frames and finally comprehend the word-meanings expressed by Middle English lexical units.

With its attempt to adjust the semantic frames of one group of recipients to another, this book is similar in aim and procedure to the application of Frame Semantics for the purpose of translation.

Various scholars and research groups are currently working in this field, like Boas (2013), Hasegawa et al. (2014), Rojo López (2002), Rojo López & Valenzuela (1998). Especially when Boas (2013: 149) emphasises that semantic frames are “helpful for translation purposes when it comes to comparing, contrasting, and highlighting cultural differences between words” he touches upon the primary subject of this book. In the field of translation semantic frames are also combined with the concept of cultural scripts as introduced by Wierzbicka,<sup>20</sup> which provides a means to structure such cultural differences and bring them into a comparable form. However, these approaches do not exactly match the aim of this book and are more technical and demand more resources than what the scope of this book could cover, both in terms of source material and human work force, as will be elaborated on in the next chapters.

## **2.2. Collection of the source material**

The process of collecting reliable data for this book resembled solving an equation with two unknowns in many ways. To examine the lexical units that evoke certain semantic frames within the conceptual field of horse riding, the researcher first of all has to find significant text passages rendering riding scenes. However, even where the Middle English texts are accessible via a searchable text corpus, one is in need of concrete search terms for the search engine to produce results. Yet, to gather useful search terms one actually needs text passages to find out which words were used in the texts to describe riding scenes. This is where we have come around in a circle. To successfully collect data all the same, one has to breach this circle at one point for a start, then go all around the circle and finally link the two sides of the breach again not to lose anything substantial. In a metaphorical sense, this is how the collection of data for this book was done.<sup>21</sup>

### **2.2.1. The Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse**

It is essential to point out why the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* (CMEPV) was chosen for this analysis. For Middle English, the linguist actually has two corpora comprising different genres to choose from. One is the second edition of the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*. It contains 1.2 million words and is made up of a selection of 55 text samples taken from various literary genres. The texts cover a time span from 1150 to 1500, dated by the manuscripts they are transmitted in. The corpus assembles a large quantity of information for each text, which explains their seemingly small number. The texts are all parsed and part-of-speech tagged to permit complex queries. Moreover, each text is accompanied by a compilation of data on the philological and historical background of the text and additional bibliographical references.

The other Middle English corpus is the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* (CMEPV) which is a tagged corpus consisting of 146 full texts from all genres dating between the second half of the twelfth and the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>22</sup> In contrast to the PPCME2, the CMEPV also includes manuscript variants of some texts, especially Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*. This is obviously a disadvantage for quantitative research. Since we are more interested in qualitative analysis, though, the considerably larger number of included texts outweighed this disadvantage for the purposes of this book. At the same time, we found the PPCME2 in an unpublished pilot study on a smaller part of the topic insufficient to generate enough satisfactory results, which of course is due to the fact that it comprises hardly more than one third of the CMEPV’s number of texts. The fact that the PPCME2 is much more balanced as well as parsed and part-of-speech tagged is

<sup>20</sup> For English in particular see e.g. Wierzbicka (2006). For the method in general see Goddard (2009), Goddard & Wierzbicka (2004), Wierzbicka (1994).

<sup>21</sup> Doing so, this book loosely follows the approaches proposed by Boas (2013: 132–134) and Strauss (1985: 580).

<sup>22</sup> The data for this book was collected prior to the major update of the CMEPV in 2018.

certainly a general advantage, but since these features do not play a role for the method applied in this book, it was finally the sheer mass of text that tipped the scales in favour of the CMEPV.

It is, however, important to bear in mind the imbalance within the genres, authors and even manuscripts in the CMEPV. Therefore, tempting as it may be, all numbers given in the discussion of corpus results are not to be treated as representative, not even for the written part of the Middle English language. Rather they should be understood as an illustration of frequencies and proportions within this special selection of texts.

### **2.2.2. Selection of search terms and corpus analysis**

The search terms for the corpus analysis were retrieved in various interdependent steps. First, a basic list of relevant Middle English lexical units was generated from the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* and previous unpublished research by the author on the horse vocabulary in Middle English texts. The selection of items for the list was based on a set of restrictions to keep the data acquisition from flooding the banks. The main semantic guideline was to strictly focus on the subjects, objects and actions involved in riding, leaving other connected areas like horse keeping, anatomy and veterinary medicine aside. As expressions for subjects, words referring to horses used for riding were included, no matter whether they were specially bred or trained for it or not. Terms for riders were only considered in the rare situations when they were particularly named in connection to riding to keep the amount of data manageable. As objects of riding only such equipment was recorded that was directly used for controlling the horse, which means that armour was omitted completely. The category of actions comprises words for everything riders and horses did together or each of them individually in the context of riding.

For a clear chronological cut the years 1150 and 1500 were chosen as a frame, starting when the impact of the Norman invasion on culture and language became tangible and ending with the time around the invention of the printing press, which led to new influences on the language. The beginning was also chosen to accord with the restrictions of the CMEPV. The end was, however, harder to define in practice than the beginning. Basically all items were excluded that entered the English language after 1500 according to the dates given in the OED. Such a strict decision is artificial and more or less arbitrary, but it could not be avoided. Borderline cases were carefully assessed as far as possible to decide whether to take them up or not. Geographic variation could not be accounted for separately, but conspicuous features in this respect will be addressed in the discussion.

From the viewpoint of language structure, simple lexemes, derivations, compounds and phrases were generally taken into consideration. The corpus search, however, had to start with simple lexemes and compounds for practical reasons, thus the overall focus of this book is on them rather than on phrases.

In cases of doubt, the following guidelines were applied pursuing the aim to increase the usability of the results. Usability here signifies primarily that the results should be relevant for medievalists interpreting texts with riding scenes or allusions to riding. Hence, the expressions included are those that are either very common or very rare in the texts and thus need special treatment to clarify their semantics, those that have a broad range of meanings that must be differentiated, those that have special meanings in the horse context beside the obvious and are therefore in danger of being misunderstood by non-riders, and/or those that require considerable background knowledge about horse riding to be understood at all.

The orthographical variants of the search terms were generated with the help of the lists of spelling varieties provided by the *Middle English Dictionary* (MED) and the *Oxford English Dictionary*

(OED). As far as possible, both the verb and the noun or adjective of the respective search terms were considered in all inflected forms.

During the corpus search, the list of search terms was constantly adjusted and extended to incorporate the findings from the gathered text passages. Due to this procedure it was possible to collect an extensive account of Middle English equestrian vocabulary within the boundaries of the accessible material. The list certainly makes no claim to be complete, yet it is considered representative enough to serve the purpose of this book.

The corpus search itself was a two-stage process with a computer-assisted and a manual part. In the first step the data was filtered with the help of the CMEPV search engine using the aforementioned list of search terms. This search produced 326617 text passages that could possibly contain relevant information. In a second step, these hits from the computer-assisted search had to be checked manually on their relevance in relation to the aim of constructing semantic frames. As a general rule, cases of doubt were preferentially recorded rather than dismissed to avoid drawing rash conclusions. To ensure traceability, the references to specific examples from the CMEPV are cited in the discussion by the edition the corpus data was taken from. After the second step 12427 occurrences of Middle English equestrian terms remained, sorted and ready for interpretation.

### **2.2.3. Additional material – the *Boke of Marchalsi***

In addition to the corpus analysis, it seems advisable to examine some Middle English riding instructions to have cross-references to experts' writings on the topic. As promising as the idea is, the execution is only feasible on a very limited scale. In fact, only one<sup>23</sup> pre-1500 example of written English riding instructions survives embedded in other instructions on horse-keeping and medical recipes in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. Despite or maybe because of its uniqueness, the *Boke of Marchalsi* is a highly valuable supplement to the results of the analysis of the CMEPV.

According to Scott-Macnab (2015: 529), the *Boke of Marchalsi* is preserved in ten manuscripts, none of which is complete. The partial edition by Odenstedt (1973) is based on MS Harley 6398, now in the British Library, which Odenstedt considers the most complete known manuscript. Odenstedt (1973: lvii–lx) dates this manuscript to the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century by linguistic and palaeographic means and suggests Norfolk as area of origin. The manuscript only contains the *Boke of Marchalsi*, which consists of a shorter part dealing with horse-keeping, breeding and riding and a longer part collecting medical recipes. Since no entire French, Italian or Latin treatises could be identified as possible models, Odenstedt (1973: xxxvii–xli) concludes that the text is no mere translation. He assumes the treatise was either an English compilation based on several French sources or a translation of a now lost compilation of French material assembled in England. In sum, his arguments for this assumption are a number of clear indications of particularly strong influence of French on the language and contents, which are undoubtedly of native English origin.

The part of the *Boke of Marchalsi* we are referring to, the riding instructions, are inserted piecewise among the instructions for feeding, housing and handling of horses. This is due to the chronological approach the author takes in describing all the necessary points that need to be observed in each year of a horse's life. All in all, we find 39 lines of text treating the basic education of a young horse in preparation for riding and 86 lines about the actual riding exercise. The instructions align neatly with the central theme the author pursues in all the advice he gives, especially in the first

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<sup>23</sup> Manuscripts containing information on the veterinary treatment of horses are a little more common, but as they do not feature riding instructions, they are of no interest for this book. For further reading see for instance the editions *A Late Middle English Treatise on Horses*. Svinhufvud (ed.) (1978), *Of Hawks and Horses*. Braekman (ed.) (1986) and *English Hawking and Hunting in the Boke of St. Albans*. Hands (ed.) (1975) or the comprehensive study of Smith (1976). See also Prévot & Ribémont (1994: 321–348).



part of the *Boke of Marchalsi*. He emphasises that reasonable treatment and training to an appropriate degree depending on age and constitution of the horse obviates sickness and premature wear. The small amount of text the *Boke of Marchalsi* provides for our topic can of course not contribute to all areas we will discuss, but the information that can be gathered from it is nonetheless highly valuable.

### **2.3. Processing of the source material**

From all the hits for the search terms that actually referred to riding, both a list of absolute number counts and an extensive collection of text passages was assembled. Text passages were recorded for further analysis if they featured one or more equestrian terms and a considerable passage of co-text providing further information on the reference situation. The aim was always to gather as much data as possible in order to analyse the co-text and context of the words to reconstruct semantic frames they possibly evoked.

The raw model for approaching the meaning of the words is based on the definitions from the MED and OED, since the mission of this book is not primarily to find previously unrecorded word meanings.<sup>24</sup> The detailed differentiation of the meanings was then achieved through careful individual analysis of the text samples. Frame attributes and values were derived directly from the co-texts of the words referring to the frame concepts. Additionally, for each individual word further encyclopaedic knowledge was assembled to clarify the context. This was done by cross-referencing to all accessible sources like written manuals, pictures, archaeological finds and real horsemanship, as detailed as possible within the boundaries of this book.

To facilitate orientation and enhance legibility in the presentation of the results, they are discussed semasiologically although they were reconstructed mostly onomasiologically. The semantic frames mostly correspond to the chapter headings and thus provide the first layer of the structure. The lexical realisations of these semantic frames build the next layer and are treated as corresponding to the single concepts within the frame. Therefore, the same words may appear under different headings if they have several meanings evoking several semantic frames. For each concept, here each lexical realisation, a set of possible attributes and values is presented according to the information deduced from the gathered examples from the original texts. To provide the essential encyclopaedic knowledge to understand the items within a frame, each chapter starts with an introduction into the respective topic from the perspective of hippology and other non-linguistic sciences.

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<sup>24</sup> Compare the procedure applied for FrameNet as presented in Ruppenhofer et al. (2016), Boas (2005: 12–17) and the *Special Issue on FrameNet* of the *International Journal of Lexicography* in particular Fillmore et al. (2003). The FrameNet approach is much more fine-grained and universally transferable than what has been done for this book. This is mainly due to the scope and aim of this book, which is not lexicographic.

### **3. Aligning medieval and present-day conceptual fields**

#### **3.1. The socio-cultural background of Middle English**

In order to assimilate the conceptual fields of present-day recipients of Middle English texts to what we may suppose for medieval recipients, some basic background information on how the social and cultural changes in 13<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> century England influenced language use in general and the development of Middle English in particular is crucial. The main events whose consequences will be touched upon are the Norman Conquest as an initiating factor, the loss of Normandy, the rise of nationalist tendencies in England, the Hundred Years War, the Plague, the Peasant Revolt and the reformatory movements in the church. In doing so, this chapter closely follows Crespo's (2013: 17–37) informative survey as well as Baugh and Cable's (2013: 104–151) summary.<sup>25</sup>

After the Norman Conquest in 1066, England was facing a trilingual situation created by the coexistence of native English, religious and scholarly Latin and newly imposed French. French was immediately installed as the official language of administration, which means that it was used by the nobility, only by the Norman conquerors at first but later also by the English. King, court, legislation, jurisdiction and courtly entertainment such as music, theatre and literature employed the French language in both written and spoken form. Latin could keep its traditional authority, whereas English diminished considerably in written literature while simultaneously continuing to be the first language of the majority of the population. English and French, as the two vernaculars accompanying Latin, formed two parallel spheres of language use with many contact points. The English natives had to use French for all their administrative communication, e.g. in legal proceedings. The Norman rulers, or at least their executives, in turn had to establish connections to the people they reigned in order to execute their power properly. As the language of the superiors, French was culturally more prestigious until well into the 14<sup>th</sup> century. For aspiring families from the lower nobility and the higher ranks of the commoners, learning French therefore became a crucial part of imitating aristocratic behaviour and aiming at eventually climbing the social ladder.

Despite the dominance of French in all but the religious literary genres, literature was composed in English during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, like Layamon's *Brut*, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* or the *Ancrene Riwe*. This indicates the existence of a literate group among the English speakers, which most likely comprised the native English nobility, clergy and maybe some laymen. Yet, as far as we can judge from the surviving material, Middle English prose and verse were rather exceptional at that time and stood back in prestige to their French contemporaries.

Baugh and Cable (2013: 164) divide the French influence on the English lexicon in two phases. Before 1250 we find only about 900 loanwords, mostly regarding nobility and the church and frequently with particular Anglo-Norman phonological traits. After 1250, the number of loanwords increased considerably, since now English began to resume dominance and therefore even native speakers of French began to use English. Areas of lexical borrowing broadened and now also included administration, warfare, education and everything connected to courtly culture.

The revival of English as a respected literary language started slowly but steadily after the English crown lost the last territories in Normandy in 1204. Deprived of their foothold on the continent, the nobility in England was forced to focus on their properties and possibilities in the country they resided in. Continuous conflict with France furthered accenting the differences from the continent and eventually reclaiming the English cultural background instead of emphasising the shared

<sup>25</sup> For more on the history of England in the Middle Ages and the relations to France see: Fletcher et al. (2015), Galloway (2011), Cohen (2008), Pryor (2006), Dyer (2005), Goldberg (2004), Pollard (2000), Bates & Curry (1994). For the use and status of the French language in England in particular see Wogan-Browne (2009) and Kibbee (1991). Additional general information on the development of Middle English can be found in: Miller (2012), Minkova & Stockwell (2009), Kastovsky & Mettinger (2001), Damian-Grint (1999), Coleman (1995).

heritage with France. This rise of nationalist tendencies, which affected politics, society and culture alike, led to a reformed bond of nation and language being established by the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Turville-Petre 1996: 8–9). In this process, the English language served as a political tool to strengthen the idea of an individual English nation independent from French supremacy. As a linguistic result, the barrier between French and English gradually fell, first in oral language use in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries and from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards also in writing. French lost its pre-eminence and English spread to all levels of society. In addition, the enmity towards France grew further during the Hundred Years War from 1337 to 1456 and contributed to firmly re-establishing English as a national language.

The first of three severe waves of the Plague hit England in 1348 and not only killed large parts of the population but also provoked profound long-term changes in English society. The lack of workforce in agricultural production and the subsequent drop in tax income increased the high financial pressure on the nobility, who had to continuously support the war in France, and even more so on all others who were also forced to support the military expenses despite their disastrous living conditions. An additional tax, which was to be imposed only on the peasants but not their landlords in order to help fund the ongoing military actions on the continent, was the final spark to cause an uprising in the population. In 1381 the Peasants' Revolt rose as a protest against the exploitation of those already buffeted by all these hardships. The revolt was not only fought by the eponymous peasants but also by townspeople, merchants and even members of the lower nobility. This mixed group of mostly native Englishmen grew into a new political force, which later formed the middle class. They gained influence after the revolts and became a large group of English speaking literates who promoted the use of English as a literary language. Well-known and influential members of this class were for example Geoffrey Chaucer, John Gower and Thomas Hoccleve. The English language's gain in importance on a political level manifested in the opening of Parliament 1362 when the first speech was delivered in English, the speech of removing Parliament that Henry IV delivered in English in 1399, and the introduction of English as official language in the Royal Chancery 1420-1460.

Starting around 1370, change began to affect another aspect of society with the growth of anti-clerical tendencies. These movements were also motivated by the consequences of the Black Death, war, taxation and the excesses of the Catholic Church. As a continuation of the nationalist tendencies, John Wycliffe promoted a reformation and separation from the Church in Rome. This was also the start of a shift from French as the usual language in the higher clergy towards English to emphasise the wish for an English church without much foreign influence. Presumably the biggest step in this development, from a linguistic point of view, was Wycliffe's translation of the Bible in 1382 (cf. Crespo 2013: 23–24, 32–33).

From the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards, another process began to grow and gain strength: the tendency to standardise language. There are various theories<sup>26</sup> on which dialect formed the emerging standard. Here we shall be satisfied with stating that it was a Midlands variety, most likely because most influential producers of texts of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries resided there: mainly the Royal Chancery and to a minor degree also Chaucer, Gower, Hoccleve, and Wycliffe. A major impact can be attributed to William Caxton's efforts and success in printing with a printing press and thus spreading a previously unimaginable amount of texts printed in the South-East Midlands dialect all over England (cf. Crespo 2013: 28–32).

We can summarise with Baugh & Cable (2013: 147) that by end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, English was restored in all social and cultural areas, including court, the church, trade, official and literary

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<sup>26</sup> Some of the more recent: Baugh & Cable (2013: 187–191), Algeo (2010: 119–121), Freeborn (2006: 234–235), Fisher (1996: 36–64), Benskin (1992), Richardson (1980), from the collection of articles by Wright (2000) see especially Keene (2000).

writing. French turned into a high-class language of sophisticated conversation, except for the religious aspect similar to Latin. Its influence on the lexicon shifted as a consequence to the fields of scholarship, medicine and science. Therefore, the majority of texts we will be dealing with in this book are from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. As a consequence, the discussion of equestrian terms will try to trace processes in the lexicon but will mainly find evidence for the later Middle Ages.

### **3.2. Authors and recipients of Middle English texts**

Significant information on the people who originally wrote and read the Middle English texts we analyse in this book is scarce but fundamental to accessing and reconstructing the word meanings. For the purpose of this book, however, it is not important to know exactly who read which piece of Middle English literature. Rather, it is necessary to find out which social group the potential recipients most likely belonged to. From their social status, we may in a next step infer which level of knowledge about horse riding they possibly shared. Furthermore, we can thus gather which information on riding we need to add to adjust our modern understanding of the texts to theirs.

As a starting point, we can state that medieval authors had at least to be able to read, mostly to know the texts of the authorities<sup>27</sup> to draw inspiration from for their own writings. Middle English books were produced by professional writers who inked the words of the authors, not their own ideas.<sup>28</sup> Hence, strictly speaking, neither authors nor recipients had to be skilled in handwriting themselves as long as they had someone at hand to take over this task for them. Therefore, henceforth, when we are speaking of *writing*, we will refer to the act of authors creating texts and not the actual putting down of texts on vellum by writers.

Yet, the assumption that all those receiving Middle English texts must have been able to read does not cover the full spectrum of the medieval reception of literature.<sup>29</sup> A situation that is uncommon for the modern reader but was usual in the Middle Ages is the reading aloud of literary works. Both reading out loud to oneself and to a varying number of listeners was practised and the reader could either be the author, the book owner or any other qualified person present. Due to the high cost for books before the printing press became widely used, it was standard to only have maximally one copy of a text in a household or institution. Reading aloud was an easy way to give several people access to the contents and at the same time save the precious book from being passed through various hands for reading. Additionally, in reading them out, the texts were made accessible for people who themselves were illiterate. This is a crucial point to be considered when we want to talk about groups of recipients and their relationship to riding. There are further reasons for reading aloud and in scholarship one may find vivid discussions about its relation to the tradition of oral storytelling, but since we can only work with written texts in this book, it is not required to go into further details on this matter. Yet, one should bear in mind that theoretically speaking lexical choices may be based on phonetic properties.<sup>30</sup>

To pin down who these people were who could either read themselves or had the opportunity to attend reading sessions, the most decisive factor limiting access to literature and the ability to produce literature was certainly education. In medieval England, education was expensive and most

<sup>27</sup> The function and importance of literary authorities in medieval writing has been discussed extensively, most recently in Boodts et al. (2016) and Kangas et al. (2013) or earlier in e.g. Copeland (1991), Minnis (1988).

<sup>28</sup> Details on the processes of medieval manuscript production can be found in various recent studies like Kwakkel & Thomson (2018: esp. part I), Connolly & Radulescu (2015), Gwara (2015), Johnston & van Dussen (2015), Meale & Pearsall (2014), Wakelin (2014: esp. part I), Briggs (2012), Baswell (2011).

<sup>29</sup> The following paragraphs are a very condensed summary of what is elaborated on in studies like Cannon (2016), Scheffler (2015), Dunphy (2015), Bratu (2015), Hanna (2011), Rigby (2003: esp. part IV, chapters 23 & 25), Courtenay & Miethke (2000: esp. parts 3 & 4). See also Meale & Pearsall (2014), in particular Scott (2014).

<sup>30</sup> For further reading on the oral aspect of medieval literature see e.g. Reichl (2012), Bumke (2008: esp. chapter VII), Chinca & Young (2005), Bradbury (1998), Green (1994), Richter (1994), Erzgräber & Volk-Birke (1988).

of all time-consuming and thus not within reach of people who had to work hard to earn their living. The group of peasants and labourers hence has to be excluded from our discussion. A special case was monastic education, which was also not completely free of charge but nevertheless more accessible for poorer people. Therefore one can assume that at least in the late Middle Ages monks, nuns and other clerics were able to read. In how far they had access to worldly literature is debatable, especially in a monastic context. Yet, since the CMEPV also features religious texts, we will take them into consideration but rather marginally. Members of the higher clergy will be treated as members of the nobility, which they normally were, rather than together with the monastics as long as we are talking about their relationship to horse riding.

The main recipients of Middle English literature were, at least up to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the native English nobility. They, both male and female<sup>31</sup>, were educated in a variety of skills which included reading and riding alike. As mentioned above, illiterate members of the court and other noble households were able to receive Middle English literature as listeners. This may to a certain degree also include household servants, be they on duty during the reading or eavesdropping. During and after the social changes of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the output and intake of vernacular literature spread increasingly and the growing group of authors and recipients now comprised all sorts of people from the newly forming middle class. In particular, this included learned townspeople, merchants, administrative staff, members of the judiciaries, guildsmen and peasants who could afford education, both financially and from the viewpoint of having the required leisure time.

The aspect of money links the groups we identified as producers and recipients of Middle English texts to considering who had theoretical and practical knowledge about horses. Here again, the aim of the presentation in the following chapters is to familiarise the present-day recipient of Middle English texts with the living conditions and experience shaping the conceptual fields of the texts' authors and contemporary recipients.

### **3.3. Encyclopaedic knowledge about riding in medieval England**

#### **3.3.1. Practical aspects of medieval riding**

This chapter provides a solid foundation by summarising some general information on equestrianism in England in the 12<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Details on specific topics will follow at the beginning of each chapter analysing the respective semantic frames and word meanings to help keeping the essential information freshly in mind and avoiding cumbersome jumping back and forth in the pages of this book.

Following up on the discussion of groups of people that possibly had access to the texts, we relate them to the groups of medieval riders<sup>32</sup> by differentiating between people actively and regularly riding themselves and those familiar with horses mostly by eyesight. The active riders can be divided into those owning horses and those riding horses borrowed from others. For the category of horse owners, we can state that people who could afford education and maybe even books could usually also afford horses. During the whole period of Middle English, this was certainly the nobility, the high clergy and the wealthy merchants, joined from the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards by the wealthy members of the newly forming middle class. Depending on their income and field of work, lower clergy and administration staff either had to provide the horses to perform their duties

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<sup>31</sup> For more on female literacy see: Herbert McAvoy & Watt (2015), Olson & Kerby-Fulton (2005), Dinshaw & Wallace (2003), Meale (1996), Bartlett (1995), Wilson (1984).

<sup>32</sup> There seem to be no detailed studies on the relation between readers and riders in the Middle Ages yet, but various scholars have investigated the field of transport and travel from different angles. The following paragraphs are condensed from Classen (2015b), Schmitz-Esser (2015), Ohler (2004: esp. 46–53), Mortensen (2000), Hyland (1999: 123–137), Martin (1976), Lopez (1956).

themselves or used animals owned by their employers. Monastics either walked on foot or used the mounts belonging to their monasteries. It is likely that peasants, labourers and servants who worked with or handled horses were also able to ride. No matter how skilled all these active riders may have been, they certainly possessed more than just the very basic knowledge about horsemanship. The fact that horses naturally belonged to their everyday life resulted in practical knowledge derived from observation and experience. The depth of this practical knowledge, however, was a very individual matter and is hard to assess from a modern point of view.

Even if some of the people we identified as possible producers and recipients of Middle English texts could not ride themselves, they were confronted with horses and riders on a frequent, maybe daily basis. As much as basically all modern Europeans know what cars look like, what they are made for and how they are used, people in medieval England possessed basic knowledge of horse riding. A certain familiarity with something observed continuously from young age onwards can hardly be avoided. So we may attest some basic knowledge about riding to all the potential producers and recipients of the texts we are dealing with. Furthermore, simply because present-day readers of the same texts do not usually encounter horses in their daily lives, they do not possess the same background of experience the medieval recipients had. In terms of Frame Semantics, we may state: the medieval recipients presumably had more detailed semantic frames in mind when talking about riding than the average medievalist has today.

Having found that most likely the majority of Middle English literates was able to ride at least on a basic level, a closer look at the circumstances of their riding is relevant for approximating their connected conceptual fields. The most important occasion at which people in the Middle Ages were riding was travel. The condition of roads, if they were existent at all, was mostly bad, especially in rainy England. Therefore, driving in a cart or coach was burdensome and slow, which made sitting on horseback the more comfortable way to cover distances in an acceptable timespan. Spending long hours and many miles in the saddle automatically builds up experience in handling the mount and understanding its characteristics and needs. In this way, people who were only riding for reasons of transport were familiar with typical equine behaviour and the methods of coping with it and exploiting it for one's own sake.

In addition to travel, knights obviously also rode in battle and in preparation for battle. This form of riding required by far the most skill and intensive training of both horse and rider. Hence, it is safe to assume that knights and their stable masters possessed the deepest practical knowledge of horsemanship throughout the Middle Ages. In tournament the same skills were needed as in battle, since tournament originally was an exercise for war, although it can be regarded as a borderline case between mounted combat and leisure riding. Leisure riding in medieval England subsumes activities performed mainly for reasons of recreation and amusement, such as riding in the field and racing. Tournament and hunting were both entertaining and useful training and in the case of hunting also a means for gathering food. Hunting with weapons and with birds of prey required the second highest level of riding skills next to mounted combat. A lack of skill here did not immediately put the rider in danger of death, but the situation that the rider has only one or no hand free for guiding the horse was the same as in mounted warfare. It is important to note that particularly hawking on horseback was an activity noble women frequently engaged in and that thus skilful equestrianism was by no means a privilege reserved for men, as for instance Stuhmiller (2015: 718) and Fietze (2005: 59–63) point out.

Knowing who rode when and why, we can elaborate on the practical aspects of riding itself. In general, riding a horse in the Middle Ages can be compared to riding a bicycle today. The technique itself and the associated aspects of handling are acquired at a young age, primarily by imitation and a few key instructions. For travelling on horseback, everything one needs to know is best learnt by doing. A practical and comfortable position in the saddle and the ability to absorb shocks is a matter

of trial and error and the best way of steering the mount can be found out by using intuition and trying it on a well-behaved, experienced horse. For most purposes, this level of riding is sufficient and can be reached within a short time of regular practise. This is the basis we can assume for the majority of readers of Middle English texts. Intense training under guidance of an experienced rider is only necessary for mounted combat and hunting. Getting such training was certainly a matter of money because one not only needed a teacher but also time, a training area and most of all horses that were ideally very well trained. This leads us to the conclusion that only wealthy men and women could afford such a riding education.

Women were facing another technical challenge in riding when they rode in a side-saddle. The subject of side-saddles in medieval England has not been researched in detail yet, so we have to refer to the development in continental Europe, which has, however, not received much scholarly attention either.<sup>33</sup> Krischke (2017), recently one of the most learned and experienced experimental historians in the field, assumes with reference mostly to medieval images that during the Middle Ages women were riding with their legs chastely on the same side of the mount and not splayed. In the oldest forms of side-saddles the women were actually sitting on a chair fastened to the mount's back facing sideways. Later the construct became more cushioned, but the factor of looking sideways and not in the direction of movement remained. This did not allow women to actually ride themselves, but their mount always had to be led by someone else. Only in the later Middle Ages, side-saddles were developed in which the rider faced the direction she was moving in and could at the same time keep both legs on one side. In this manner they were able to move independently and take part in riding activities such as hunting and hawking. One has to bear in mind, however, that women always have been riding astride, one leg at each side of the horse, or pillion, on a cushion behind the saddle of a man, as Fleitmann Bloodgood (1959: 1–7) and Gilmour (2004: 84) emphasise. It is very likely that, if they were allowed to, women simply used the method that suited the circumstances of their riding best. What has to remain uncertain for now is just, which method was most frequent in medieval England.

To conclude this overview, the animals that were ridden in medieval England should be considered. Horses were common and, depending on their type, very precious. Not much is known about donkeys in England,<sup>34</sup> but mules were a popular alternative for horses, not only because they were sure-footed, durable and frugal, as Krischke (2015: 32) states. Being infertile, they also lack the difficult behaviour horses sometimes show when they are highly influenced by hormones. How the numbers of horses and mules relate is hard to tell and has not been thoroughly investigated yet. Regarding riding, there are differences between horses and mules, but they are not so essential that we have to consider them as crucial factors influencing the equestrian vocabulary.

### **3.3.2. Theoretical renderings of equestrian knowledge**

Besides the practical knowledge about riding we have associated with the recipients of Middle English texts, there is also the aspect of written information on equestrianism. Riding is a skill only properly obtained by practice and therefore primarily taught orally from master to disciple, as e.g. Duarte I of Portugal (*The Book of Horsemanship*. Forgeng (ed.) 2016: 48–49) and Tomassini (2014: 19; 55) point out. In the early Middle Ages, this kind of knowledge was too ordinary to spend the precious writing materials on, and up to the 15<sup>th</sup> century written riding instructions are rare. Unfortunately, no comprehensive study about treatises on riding and horse-care exists for medieval England. A summary collecting manuscripts written in Latin, French and English would

<sup>33</sup> The most recent scholarly publications elaborating on the subject of the side-saddle are Veauvy et al. (2016) and Smith (2004). From the realm of popular science we find Faltejsek (1998), Owen (1988) and Fleitmann Bloodgood (1959).

<sup>34</sup> For Anglo-Saxon England see Banham & Faith (2014: 83–84).

be enormously helpful in the difficult task of reconstructing theoretical equestrian knowledge. Compiling such a comprehensive collection is regrettably impossible within the scope of this book. Hence the following should be regarded as a rough overview introducing the most influential texts from all over Europe and suggesting how they might have been received in England.

Of the widely read authors from Antiquity such as Aristotle, Simon of Athens and particularly Xenophon on the art of riding and Vegetius, amongst others, on veterinary medicine, little has been specifically traced by scholars through the Middle Ages to judge how much their work affected actual horsemanship in England. One may assume that the knowledge, though maybe not in form of written texts, gathered by Xenophon and Simon of Athens on the training of horses was present throughout the Middle Ages, as Krischke (2015: 24) supposes. The reason was probably not that their ideas were miraculously original. Rather the way they summarised their experience was very complex and comprehensive and at the same time so condensed and essential that it could be applied to practically any horse at any given point in time. More details on the contents of their riding instructions will follow later in the chapters on advanced riding techniques, pp. 158ff.

There is a variety of veterinary texts which, according to Smith (1976: 63–116), circulated in medieval England.<sup>35</sup> The degree of their influence is, however, hard to grasp. What we can pin down is that the knowledge preserved in these books was most likely only accessible and comprehensible for specialists in the field. The majority of Middle English readers and riders presumably either had a very basic knowledge of veterinary matters gained by experience or had people at their service who took care of such tasks. Nevertheless, some of these treatises will be enumerated here to give an impression of how heavily England was influenced by continental writing. The first major medieval veterinary treatise is at the same time the one which was most widely received, copied and referred to all over Europe, as Smith (1976: 76–84) and Dunlop & Williams (1996: 225–228) point out. This treatise titled *De Medicina Equorum* was written around 1250–1256 by Jordanus Rufus under the patronage of emperor Frederick II. It was originally composed in Sicilian or Latin and is a comprehensive account of all the knowledge on the topic gathered from both Western and Arabic sources. Jordanus Rufus was a marshal and confidant in the service of Frederick II in Sicily and, as a typical member of his court, was dedicated to learning and science. *De Medicina Equorum* was so popular that it was very soon, even in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, translated into all major European languages except for English. This is understandable considering all we know about the literary status of English at that time. Smith (1976: 89) argues that the knowledge assembled by Jordanus Rufus was mostly spread to England through the agricultural treatise *Ruralia Commoda* written around 1300 by the Italian Petrus de Crescentiis, that was frequently quoted by English authors. Almost a century later, around 1320, the Italian Lorenzo Rusio based his Latin *Liber Marescalcie Equorum* heavily on Rufus, as both Smith (1976: 94) and Dunlop & Williams (1996: 228–229) show. Rusio's work also spread all across Europe, Smith (1976: 94) assumes it was better known than Rufus' text. In England it became popular only in the 16<sup>th</sup> century through Claudio Corte, an Italian serving as Court Riding Master to Queen Elizabeth I.

Hunting books<sup>36</sup> are another literary genre occasionally dealing with horsemanship. They generally contain no extensive information on riding or the training of horse and rider, but some of them include passages introducing the points of a good horse. The tradition of a poetical description of quality criteria in horses can be traced back to Antiquity. In English texts, we find it for example in a hunting treatise in the *Book of St. Albans* dating 1486 according to Hands (1975), or in MS Cotton Galba E IX, British Library from around 1400. Smith (1976: 107–109) enumerates a variety of other manuscripts containing smaller passages of miscellaneous pieces of knowledge on horses too diverse to be considered individually in this general overview.

<sup>35</sup> For the early modern period see: Curth (2007).

<sup>36</sup> Smets & van den Abeele (2011: 64–71) give a concise overview of hunting literature.



Fight books, instructions on fighting that usually include extensive information about mounted combat, were mostly written in German from around 1400 onwards until culminating in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>37</sup> Proper English fight books from the Middle Ages are not known and it is uncertain if and how the German works influenced England; Boffa (2013: esp. chapter 2, 37–50) provides an overview of the development of fight books and geographical differences. Fight books are closely related to the tournament books we find in large numbers in continental Europe. These books comprise information about all matters of tourneying, including descriptions of the ridden manoeuvres and advice on the training of the horses. No English tournament books are known, but the fact that tournament was an occupation of the high nobility suggests that most likely French treatises<sup>38</sup> on the subject were also read in England, see Moffat (2010) and Taylor (2009: esp. 69). We may thus assume that at least some of the recipients of the Middle English texts were also familiar with for example Geoffroi de Charny's *Demandes pour la Joute, les Tournois et la Guerre*<sup>39</sup> written in 1352 or the 15th-century *Traictié de la Forme et Devis comme on Fait les Tournoys*<sup>40</sup> by René d'Anjou.

On the continent, we find a rich tradition of riding instructions from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards: Manuel Diaz' *Libre de la Menescacha* from around 1424–1436, the highly influential *Livro da Enseñança de Bem Cavalgar Toda Sela* written in 1438 by Duarte I. King of Portugal<sup>41</sup>, the Latin *De Equo Animante* composed by the Italian Leon Battista Alberti from 1468 or Heinrich Münsinger's German *Buch von den Falken, Sperbern, Pferden und Hunden* dating to 1475, to name just a few. The *Boke of Marchalsi* is the only medieval English treatise featuring some information on horse-keeping and riding besides the traditional veterinary contents (see p. 26 in this book and Smith (1976: 109–114)). Since the riding instructions are very short, the treatise's editor Odenstedt (1973: xxxvii–xxxix) does not mention any connections to continental equestrian treatises, probably because the search for sources of the *Boke of Marchalsi* in its entirety or judging its originality amongst medieval veterinary treatises was more than enough of a task.

The first more extensive book on equitation written in English was Thomas Blundeville's *The Arte of Ryding and Breakinge Greate Horses*, published in 1560, which is a translation of Federico Grisone's highly influential *Gli Ordini di Cavalcare*<sup>42</sup> written ten or more years earlier. About 15 years after his first book, Blundeville published an extended revision titled *The Fower Chiefyst Offices belonging to Horsemanshippe*<sup>43</sup>. The next riding instruction of considerable influence and the first originally composed in English is *A New Method and Extraordinary Invention to Dress Horses and Work them according to Nature*<sup>44</sup> by William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, which is even today widely received amongst learned riders. It was first published under the French title *Méthode et Invention Nouvelle de Dresser les Chevaux* in 1658, the English version followed in 1667. These two works are mentioned here although they were created well after the time this book

<sup>37</sup> For more on the German fight books see Gehrt (2014), Forgeng & Kiermayer (2007), Tobler (2002) and editions like Schulze (ed.) (2006–2007), Liechtenauer (*Meister Johann Liechtenauers Kunst des Fechtens*. Wierschin (ed.) 1965). A catalogue of German fight book manuscripts can be found in Leng (2008).

<sup>38</sup> For details on French tournament books see Jaquet (2013, 2012: esp. part III, 173–203).

<sup>39</sup> There appears to be no published edition, only Taylor (1977). See also Forster (2015) and Whetham (2009: esp. chapter 5, 166–196).

<sup>40</sup> This work seems to lack a critical edition, too. An abridged translation is available in René d'Anjou. *Le Livre des Tournois du Roi René de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. Français 2695)*. Pognon (ed.) (1986).

<sup>41</sup> The treatise by Dom Duarte is available in a new English translation accompanied by an extensive commentary in: Duarte I of Portugal. *The Book of Horsemanship*. Forgeng (ed.) (2016).

<sup>42</sup> An edited translation can be found in Grisone. *The Rules of Riding*. Tobey & Deigan (eds.) (2014).

<sup>43</sup> A facsimile print of the 1561 edition is available, confusingly naming Federico Grisone as the author, although Blundeville not only translated but also adapted the original: Blundeville. *A Newe Booke Containing the Arte of Ryding, and Breakinge Greate Horses*. EEBO Editions (ed.) (1561).

<sup>44</sup> Newcastle's work, too, has not been critically edited yet, but there are various facsimile editions, e.g. Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle. *A General System of Horsemanship* (1743 (2012)).

covers because we will at some point draw on them and on the continental European treatises to increase our understanding of medieval riding techniques.

Having aligned the conceptual fields of medieval and present-day recipients as far as possible, the following investigation of potential semantic frames for Middle English equestrian vocabulary can now be built on a solid base.

#### **4. Types of horses**

Today horses are mainly categorised by their breeds, which are families of horses selected to comply with clearly defined and monitored standards that each official breeding society sets up. Usually, the selection was originally based on the need for horses to be able to perform specific tasks and the breeding focused on the geographical area in which the need arose. Depending on environmental circumstances horses from some areas proved to be more promising to breed, for example, big strong draught animals. Other areas produced fast and durable runners, others small, brisk and agile mounts for herding cattle, and yet others smooth-gaited horses for travelling. Over time import and export of horses grew as information about special qualities of breeds spread, and nowadays horses of all breeds are bred around the world irrespective of their geographic origin.

For the Middle Ages we cannot yet speak of breeds as a result of organised and quality-tested selection and mating of animals. Therefore the term *type* seems to be the safer choice for referring to groups of horses sharing certain phenotypic traits in this book. These groups are mainly distinguished by the purpose the horses were employed for, their size and their country or geographical region of origin. A categorisation according to coat colour is possible and was probably in use in the Middle Ages, but since this grouping has no practical relevance for riding this topic will just be touched upon in a short excursus, see pp. 94ff. The distinction between the sexes and the age of horses has nothing to do with breeds or types, but it is a natural classification system. It therefore needs to be discussed in order to complete the picture of the reference structure for horses in the physical world as well as in conceptual and linguistic categories.<sup>45</sup>

For the purpose of accessing the semantic frames evoked by Middle English equestrian vocabulary it is not only crucial to distinguish the outward appearance and sex of horses but even more so to discriminate their abilities and quality to estimate their financial and reputational value.<sup>46</sup> Hence in each of the following chapters the specific signs of quality for the type of horse in question will be elaborated on to capture as much background knowledge as is necessary to understand the distinct features of the horses and the practical and social consequences these features entail.

#### **4.1. Generic terms**

##### **ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE**

Concerning the encyclopaedic knowledge about horses in general, not much needs to be added to basic common knowledge in order to grasp the full meanings of the Middle English terms. One piece of information, however, could be of use for the modern reader of Middle English texts. Nowadays the differentiation between *pony* ‘small horse’ and *horse* ‘big or “normal” horse’ appears to be the roughest possible folk categorisation of the species of *Equus caballus*, amongst riders as well as non-riders. Only below the level of the categories {pony} and {horse} subdivisions like {breed}, {purpose} or {colour} seem to branch out. Unfortunately no scholarly research on this

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<sup>45</sup> Dent (1959: 5–6) provides an overview of Chaucer’s terminology for different categories of horses.

<sup>46</sup> In depth attempts to assess the financial values of different types of horses have been made by Davis (1989: 67) and in great detail Ayton (1994: esp. 50–71). A brief account for Chaucer’s time can be found in Dent (1959: 6).

aspect could be found, which is why the categorisation in {horse} and {pony} has to remain an unproven hypothesis derived from personal observation. For medieval times such a distinction does not become tangible from the sources, so we may generally assume that if nouns denoting types of horses were used in their generic sense, all formats of horses were possible referents. Maybe this is due to the fact that in historical times the difference in size between the smallest and the biggest horses was not nearly as pronounced as it is today after decades of intense efforts in selective breeding to reach all forms of extremes (for more on height see pp. 89ff.).

## GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS

The most common Middle English noun for generic references to horses is certainly *hors*<sup>47</sup>. But we also find *stede* and *mere* in a generic sense as well as *cabel* and *capel*.<sup>48</sup>

## ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

The noun *hors* is a native English word of Germanic origin (OED: s.v. *horse*, n.).

Middle English *stede* evolved from Old English *stéda* ‘a stud-horse, stallion’ which goes back to the Germanic type *\*stōðjon-* (OED: s.v. *steed*, n.). Interestingly the cognate German *Stute* and Swedish *sto*, for example, developed the specific sense ‘female horse’.

The Middle English noun *mere* is a merging of Old English *meorh* ‘horse’ and Old English *mīre* / *mȳre* ‘mare’. The Old English strong masculine noun *meorh* stems from a Germanic base, but according to the OED the further etymology is unclear. The Old English weak feminine noun *mīre* / *mȳre* is a “Germanic feminine derivative of the base of Old English *meorh*. Whereas the masculine word has all but died out in the various Germanic languages, its feminine derivative retains its vigour.” (OED: s.v. *mare*, n.1). The OED lists the forms that go back to Old English *meorh* as  $\gamma$  forms and the forms that go back to Old English *mȳre* as  $\delta$  forms and concludes that “[i]n Middle English, from at least the 13th cent.,  $\gamma$  forms occur in the sense ‘female horse’, while  $\delta$  forms occur in the generic sense ‘horse’.” (OED: s.v. *mare*, n.1).

The nouns *cabel* and *capel* are closely related since they both ultimately stem from Latin *caballus* ‘horse’ (MED: s.v. *cabel*, n. and *capel*, n.). However, the form *capel* has entered English through the Old Norse rendering *kapall* of the Latin original (MED: s.v. *capel*, n.).

## SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

For generic reference the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE] with the frame attribute [species] taking the value [Equus caballus] is essential for understanding the concept, see Fig. 8, p. 206.

In the course of this chapter, the analyses will reveal that there is hardly any Middle English word that undoubtedly refers to just any kind of horse; compare the visual renderings of the results in Appendix 2. Illustrations, p. 206. From a Frame Semantics perspective this is easily explicable. The generic conceptual category {HORSE} is nothing more than an indistinct idea in a person’s mind. In writing a text, for example, the author has a certain more specific concept about the horse in the story in mind, no matter how blurry it maybe. In order to convey this idea to the recipients, the author is forced to choose a word corresponding to the semantic frame he or she has in mind. This is where it gets as concrete as it can get. Since even generic terms have their connotations, the choice requires care not to convey an undesired frame attribute or value. If the association with the

<sup>47</sup> All Middle English lexical units are given in the spelling of their lemmas in the *Middle English Dictionary* for facilitated reference.

<sup>48</sup> Due to the scope and aim of his research with a focus on alliterative poetry Turville-Petre (2013: 166) comes up with a slightly different list of generic terms not including *hors* and *mere* but in addition *blanke*, *courser* and *rounci*.

semantic frame [MOUNTED COMBAT] was utterly inappropriate, for instance, *stede* would probably not be the ideal expression to use. Or if a slight implication of masculinity would perfectly fit the circumstances, *hors* would be a convenient choice. This chapter is hence an attempt to come as close as possible to understanding the fine-grained semantic shadings within the generic terms. In the end it is in all its vagueness a reflection of the multifaceted relation between language and concepts and their individual instantiations.

For *hors* the CMEPV produced in total 5663 hits, of which in 5431 cases it was unclear whether the noun is used in its generic sense or its specific senses ‘male horse’ and ‘warhorse’. The main difficulty in discriminating lies in the fact that in many or even most cases both the generic and the specific senses would logically fit the co-text and context. This is mostly due to the majority of horses being mentioned in the CMEPV texts and also the *Boke of Marchalsi* in their function as warhorses in the wider sense and hence presumably being male, although the co-text may not state this explicitly, see e.g. Gladitz (1997: 158). There is thus always the possibility that the semantic frame evoked by *hors* includes the attribute [sex] with the value [male] and the attribute [purpose] with the value [mounted combat] with an unknown grade of prominence (see the chapters on the specific uses of *hors*, pp. 54ff. and pp. 68ff.).

The use of pronouns can theoretically help in the distinction, but in practice horses are seldom referred to by pronouns because they tend to be mentioned only briefly. Furthermore, the use of pronouns was not as fixed in the late Middle Ages as it is in Modern English and particularly the possessive form of the neuter and masculine, *his*, was ambiguous (see Benson 2008: xxxii; Obst & Schlegel 1999: 131). Therefore the descriptions in this chapter have to remain vague in terms of absolute numbers and proportions and should rather be understood as a general outline.

In only 78 instances from the CMEPV neuter pronouns are used with *hors*, allowing a clear categorisation as generic term. Most of these cases are, however, from the different manuscript versions of Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*. In these they refer to one passage in the *Squire’s Tale* describing the wondrous horse of brass:<sup>49</sup>

- (1) [...] For it so heigh was, and so brood and long,  
 So wel proporcioned for to been strong,  
 Right as it were a steede of lombardye;  
 Therwith so horsly, and so quyke of ye,  
 As it a gentil poilleys courser were.  
 For certes, fro his tayl unto his ere,  
 Nature ne art ne koude hym nat amende [...]  
 And seyde / that it was lyk the Pegasee  
 The hors / þat hadde wynges for to flee  
 Or elles / it was the Grekes hors Synon  
 That broghte Troie to destruccion [...] <sup>50</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 130, Squire’s Tale, l. 191–197; 208–210)

<sup>49</sup> The translations to Modern English in the book are all by the author unless indicated differently. The translations are as literal as possible and place semantic clarity above literary style.

<sup>50</sup> [...] Because it was so high and so broad and long  
 So well proportioned to be strong  
 Right as if it was a steed of Lombardy  
 Therewith so horse-like and so keen of eye  
 As if it was a noble Apulian courser  
 For certainly from his tail to his ear  
 Neither nature nor art could amend him [...]  
 And said that it was like the Pegasus  
 The horse that had wings to fly  
 Or otherwise it was the Greek Sinon’s horse  
 That brought Troy to destruction [...].

Here the artificial nature of the horse apparently renders the attribute [sex] of the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE] insignificant. The value [mounted combat] for the frame attribute [purpose] is clearly present, considering the fact that the horse of brass is directly likened to various types of warhorses. Since the frame attribute [mounted combat] usually constrains the attribute [male] (see p. 52), the clear expression of the neuter may be counted as an indication that *hors* is indeed used in the generic sense here, while the other terms like *stede* and *courser* add the attribute [mounted combat] to the picture. The connection to warhorses may also be the reason why in line 188 the horse of brass is referred to by the masculine pronoun *hym* and not by the neuter (*h*)*it*. In the preceding line we find the pronoun *his* which, together with *courser* in line 186 could evoke such a strong connotation of masculinity that the neutrality of the artificial horse is overridden.

In conclusion we may safely suppose that the frame attribute [species] with the value [Equus caballus] is the only concrete information the noun *hors* evokes when it is referred to by neuter pronouns. Since this attribute-value combination holds true for generic and specific uses of *hors* alike, they can be regarded as core attributes and values. For the unclear cases we may at least say that this attribute-value-set is certainly predominant but may be more or less implicitly accompanied by the frame attribute [sex] with the value [male] or the attribute [purpose] with the value [mounted combat], see figure 9 on p. 206.

For the noun *stede* the situation is very similar to *hors*, with the exception that the use of pronouns could not be traced in a form producing significant results. In Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* we find one passage where *stede* is referenced as *it*:

- (2) His steede was al dappull gray,  
It gooth an ambil in the way  
Ful softly and rounde  
In londe.<sup>51</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 166, Sir Thopas, l. 884–887)

In all other occurrences in the same tale the ambiguous pronouns *him* and *his*, that can both be neuter or masculine, are used. Hence, we cannot be sure whether we are dealing with the generic or specific sense, as both fit the co-text and context. Yet, the neuter could be interpreted as a hint to Sir Thopas' lack of masculinity since heroes usually ride a proud stallion and not just any horse.<sup>52</sup>

No instances could be found in the 1407 corpus hits for *stede* in which the noun is connected to masculine pronouns. So we may carefully conclude that the attribute [male] only plays a very subliminal role. Presumably it is, however, implied if the attribute [mounted combat] becomes more prominent. Yet, the borderline between the generic use and the specific reference to a warhorse is so blurred that we may well speak of a continuum that highly depends on the co-text. The common denominator for the semantic frame evoked by *stede* and thus a core attribute is [species] with the core value [Equus caballus], see figure 10 on p. 206.

In 14% of the 129 appearances of the noun *mere* in the CMEPV the word seems not to be used in its specific sense 'female horse' but as a generic term. Yet again, as for the other assumedly generic terms discussed so far, the distinction is challenging. No instances with neuter pronouns could be found, so this tool could not be applied. Moreover, the question whether the horse referred to by *mere* was ridden or not does not reveal anything because mares were ridden in everyday use just like stallions or geldings. Hence the 14% are to be taken as the number of how many horses termed *mere* are not explicitly marked to be female. This passage from Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*

<sup>51</sup> His steed was all dapple grey  
It goes an amble in the road  
Very softly and easily  
To us [literally 'in land', MED (s.v. *lond*, n., 1.g)].

<sup>52</sup> More on masculinity in *Sir Thopas* can be found in, e.g. Cohen (1998).

exemplifies such a riding scene featuring a supposedly generic use of *mere*:

- (3) FOrth with alle ther cam a poure man in to the Courte and broughte with hym a fayre  
yonge man of xviii yere of age rydyng vpon a lene mare [...] <sup>53</sup>  
(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 102, book 3, chapter 3)

Parallel to the observations for *hors* and *stede*, one may suggest that the noun *mere* could have possibly evoked a semantic frame in which the attribute [sex] takes no concrete value or that the value [female] is present and varies in prominence from the far background to the explicit foreground, gradually shifting the sense of *mere* from specific to generic. Again the frame attribute [species] with the value [Equus caballus] appears as core attribute and value, see Fig. 11 on p. 206.

The noun *cabel* did not produce any results in the CMEPV, but *capel* could be detected 92 times. The *Boke of Marchalsi* includes neither form. The relevant frame attribute to discriminate between the generic and specific use of *capel* is the attribute [purpose], which could either take the value [driving] or none. In 52 cases, again including repetitions from different manuscript versions, there is no direct indication in the co-text that the horse is a draught horse. In Chaucer it is likely that *capel* yet meant ‘draught horse’ (see pp. 81f.), and in other texts this indication might well be present, too. This would repeat the scheme observed in the analyses previously presented in this chapter and *capel* could have evoked the attribute [driving] with varying prominence ranging from a fine connotation within the generic sense to the fully pronounced specific sense.

There is, on the other hand, also a poetic dimension to the noun *capel*, which presumably originates in its Old Norse ancestor being a poetic word expressing the value [Equus caballus] for the frame attribute [species]. 23 instances of this poetic use could be detected in the CMEPV, almost all in texts composed in alliterative verse. Example (4) is from the *Gest Hystoriale* and the context of mounted warfare clearly shows that most likely no draught horse is meant here:

- (4) Troiell þat torfer titly beheld,  
Kayres euyn to the kyng, þat he knew well,  
With all the corse of his caple & a kene speire. <sup>54</sup>  
(*The “Gest Hystoriale” of the Destruction of Troy*. Panton & Donaldson (eds.) 1869, 1874: 323, l. 9893–9895)

The last line appears in exactly the same form several times throughout the text, which emphasises the poetic purpose of the wording. The attribute [driving] may be absent in this and the parallel instances, but instead the notion of a proud warhorse takes over. This may add overt values like [mounted combat] for the frame attribute [purpose] but also more subtle traits such as [noble] for the attribute [character] or [high] for the attribute [financial value]. In conclusion, the semantics of *capel* thus remain hard to grasp and very much dependent on the individual context. Paradoxically, exactly this renders the word itself most generic of all, see figure 12 on p. 206.

<sup>53</sup> At once there came poor man to court and brought with him a handsome young man of 18 years of age riding upon a lean mare [...].

<sup>54</sup> Troiel soon beheld that disaster,  
Turns directly to the King, whom he knew well,  
With all the speed of his horse and a keen spear.

## **4.2. Differentiating horses by sex and age**

### **4.2.1. Immature horses**

#### **ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE**

When talking about actual immature horses, we first of all need to briefly consider their development from birth to maturity. In contrast to human babies, foals are born fully able to stand on their own hooves and follow the herd within the first few hours of their life (Fraser 2010: 145–147; 169). This is absolutely vital for prey and flight animals to ensure the flexibility and thus the safety of the herd. When the foal is about six weeks old, it starts to take in solid food but is lactated for four to six months (Davis 1988: 70–71). After one year, at the latest when the mare gives birth again, the foal has grown into a self-reliant member of the herd. At this time the young horses are already sexually mature, but it takes one or two more years until they really procreate (Merkert 2000: 730). This has to do with the fact that the whole body needs some more time to develop its full potential to be able to cope with the additional strains of procreation, particularly for mares. Aged five to seven, depending on the breed, a horse can be called physically and mentally mature (Martin-Rosset 2005). From then on it has its highest physical capacity until the age of about 12 to 15 when ageing starts to become noticeable (Harrington McKeever 2003; Wiśniewska et al. 2019).

Hence, it is advisable to start riding horses earliest at the age of three, better four to six to prevent irreversible damage to their constitution and prepare them for a long and healthy life in service. This fact is widely ignored in today's equestrian world. This is probably, amongst other reasons, because we now have an abundance of horses in relation to the demand, let alone the real need for horses. In the English Middle Ages the situation was exactly the opposite (details on p. 31), so we can assume that at least for valuable riding horses the time was taken to let them mature before they were ridden, if not for empathy then for long-term economic thinking.

The author of the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century *Boke of Marchalsi* phrases his advice on the subject of when and how to start the training of a young horse like this:

- (5) þus þu shalt kepe hem all þat | sesoun. And þanne þei shul be of þre | 3er and a half.  
And þan þei shul | be-ginne to cast her ferst teeth. And | þan may þu ryde hym fayre  
and softe, | but nowt renne, for his ioyntys | ben tendre and softe.  
þus þu shalt | kepe hym til þat he haue cast eighte | teeth. For he shal haue all cast |  
with-jnne foure 3er and a quarter, yf þat | he bere hem so long. But sikirlych | he shal  
ben euen-toþed with-jnne | fyue 3er. And þan is he hors of age || to do þat an hors  
fallith to do, and | nowt arst.  
And þarfor wanne | he castit ferst his teeth he is in | gret anguich and forberith hys |  
mete. And 3yf þat he be þan trauay-||lid, he shal eueremor be þe mor row | and mor  
smal. And of þat anguis | þat he hauit in hys heued whan | he castith ferst so comyth  
ofteti|me gowte in the igen and blyndyth || hym, and þat is for þe trauayle þat he | had  
in þe castyng. And þerfor non | hors shold be trauaylid til þat he | had ful cast, and also  
for the | tendirnesse of hys joyntis and || of his mary. And þerfor many hors | is  
maymyd, and men wot nowth | how bot for defaut of good kepþing.

(*The Boke of Marchalsi*. Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: 5–6, fol. 3b, l. 14 – fol. 4a, l. 23)<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Thus you shall keep them [the young horses] all that season. And then they should be three and a half years old. And then they should begin to cast their first teeth. And then you may ride him moderately and at an easy pace [MED (s.v. *softe*, adv., 6.a)], but not running, because his joints are tender and soft.

Thus you shall keep him until he has cast eight teeth. Because he shall have cast all within four and a quarter years, if he should bear them so long. But certainly he shall be even-toothed within five years. And then he is a horse of age to do what a horse befalls to do, and not earlier.

And therefore when he first casts his teeth he is in great anguish and refuses his feed. And if he was exercised then, he shall evermore be rougher and smaller. And from that anguish that he had in his head while he first cast often comes a cataract [see Odenstedt(1973: 94)] in the eyes and blinds him, and that is because of the exercise he had during the casting. And therefore no horse should be exercised until he had fully cast, and also for the tenderness of his joints and of his marrow. And therefore many a horse is damaged, and men know not how but for lack of good

The changing of teeth is a reliable measure for determining a horse's age and at the same time its state of physical development.<sup>56</sup> The hardships the young horse undergoes while changing teeth are presented here in addition to the softness of the joints and marrow to support the argument for waiting with the full training until the horse is grown up. This passage confirms thus a certain awareness of a period of adolescence between three and five years of age where the horse is neither immature and not in service for humans, nor adult and in full use. Regarding this overlapping phase of natural development and human use, it becomes intelligible why the meanings of some words for immature horses, *fole* and *colt* in particular, intermingle with those for adults as well.

In none of the instances where Middle English terms for immature horses appear in the CMEPV the respective horses are ridden. If they are ridden and yet named *fole* or *colt*, the co-text proves that the terms were used interchangeably with other expressions such as *hors* or *stede* mostly for metric reasons (see the chapter on generic terms pp. 36ff.). Therefore it seems untenable in the interpretation of such text passages to establish a link between the immaturity of the horse and a possibly reflected immaturity or immature behaviour of the rider in cases where the youth of the horse is not specified explicitly.

### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS

From the discussion of the encyclopaedic knowledge on immature horses we have gathered that there is a transitional area linking the concepts of {immature horse} and {riding horse}. Against this background, it is appropriate to have at least a brief glance at the other terms for immature horses, although this book is limited to the conceptual field of {RIDING}. All in all, this chapter will hence discuss *fole*, *colt*, *poleine*, *stagge*, *yerling* and *filli*.

### ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

The development of the noun *fole* can be traced back through Old English *folā* to Old Germanic *\*folon-* and it is also cognate with Latin *pullus* 'young animal' (OED: s.v. *foal*, n.).

The noun *colt* is first attested in Old English around 1000, where it is used for immature asses and camels, whereas the first reference to a horse is given c. 1300 by the MED (s.v. *colt*, n.). The noun's further etymology is uncertain (OED: s.v. *colt*, n.1).

*Poleine* was borrowed from French and begins to appear in English texts from as late as c. 1445 on (OED: s.v. *poleyn*, n.2; MED: s.v. *poleine*, n.2). It stems from Anglo-Norman *polein* and Middle French *poulain* 'young male horse'<sup>57</sup> which itself has developed from post-classical Latin *pullanus* 'colt, foal' which can be found "frequently from early 12th cent. in British sources" (OED: s.v. *poleyn*, n.2). The Classical Latin origin is *pullus* 'young animal, foal' which establishes a connection to Middle English *fole*.

The term *stagge* is rare in the sense of 'young male horse' and mostly occurs in Northern texts (OED: s.v. *stag*, n.1). The word presumably comes from an unattested Old English weak masculine noun *\*stacga* (*stagga*). It is noteworthy that the Old English term was apparently used to denote 'a male animal in its prime' (OED: s.v. *stag*, n.1) rather than the young. How exactly one branch of this sense narrowed to 'young male horse' is unclear.

*Yerling* was formed by derivation within English and is first attested in 1465, although it appears as early as 1327 in the name *Johannes Yerling* (OED: s.v. *yearling*, n. and adj.).

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keeping.

<sup>56</sup> See Berg & Budras (2009: 145–147), Muyllé (2011), Staszyk (2012: 24–30), Waibl (2000: 688–689).

<sup>57</sup> See also Prévot & Ribémont (1994: 189–190).



The noun *filli* is first recorded in English in the year 1378, but the exact origin of the word is obscure. The OED (s.v. *filly*, n.) suggests that it was probably borrowed from Old Norse *fylja* ‘female foal’ (Baetke 2006: s.v. *fylja*, f.), deriving from *\*fuljôn-*, which goes back to Common Germanic *\*ful-*, *\*fol-*, the same stem from which also Middle English *fole* developed.

## SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

For unspecific reference to immature horses the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE] with the attribute [age] taking the value [immature] is basic for grasping the concept, see Fig. 13, p. 206.

Since the beginning of the records of the English language, the general term for immature horses has been Old English *folā*, Middle English *fole*, Modern English *foal*. Middle English *fole* generally appears to serve the purpose of referring to the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE] with the attribute [age] and the value [immature] but without any further specification of the attribute [sex], although the definition given in the MED (s.v. *fole*, n.) “a mare’s foal [?male only]” suggests some doubts. Out of the 75 hits for *fole* in the CMEPV in all its orthographical variants, only eight contain the word in its sense ‘immature horse’; in the others we find the sense ‘warhorse’ (see pp. 72f.). None of these references imply the sex of the animal. This is no indisputable proof that *fole* is not used for referring explicitly to a male young horse, but from the material at hand we may gain no more certainty.

Although few, the text passages featuring immature horses share one common feature: the young horses are not ridden. In the following passage from an English translation of *Mandeville’s Travels* a burial scene and the grave goods for a Tartar emperor are described. The emperor is apparently not only supplied with riches and groceries but his equestrian needs are met, too:

- (6) And whan the Emperour dyeth, men setten him in a chayere in myddes the place of his tent And men setten a table before him clene couered with a cloth & þere vpon flesch & dyuerse vyaundes And a cuppe full of mares mylk. And men putten a mare besyde him with hire fole & an hors sadeled & brydeled & þei leyn vpon the hors gold & siluer gret quantytee, And þei putten abouten him gret plentee of stree. And þan men maken a gret pytt & a large And with the tent & all þeise oþer thinges þei putten him in erthe. And þei seyn þat whan he schall come in to anoþer world he schall not ben withouten an hows ne withouten hors ne withouten gold & syluer; And the mare schall zeuen him mylk & bryngen him forth mo hors til he be wel stored in the toþer world.

(Mandeville. *Mandeville’s Travels*. Hamelius (ed.) 1919, 1923: 1.167, chapter 27)<sup>58</sup>

Here we find an interesting juxtaposition of *mare*, *fole* and *hors* which illustrates the different symbolic and practical characteristics of different horses in this special context. The *hors* – be it male or not – obviously is intended to be ridden and serve the emperor both as a means to transport his wealth to the afterworld and himself around there. The mare’s purpose is to nourish the emperor and continuously produce offspring to keep him well-horsed. The foal in this case can be seen both as proof of her fertility and as representative for all its siblings-to-be. It is helpful to keep this constellation and division of functions in mind throughout this and the following two chapters.

In the *Boke of Marchalsi* the noun *fole* appears four times, always in the plural. The sex of the young horses is in none of these passages mentioned explicitly. The instructions the book offers aim at the keeping and training of various sorts of horses as the introductory verses state:

<sup>58</sup> And when the emperor dies, men set him in a chair in the middle of his tent and they set a table before him cleanly covered with a cloth and upon it meat and diverse dishes and a cup of mare’s milk. And men put a mare beside him with her foal and a horse saddled and bridled and they lay upon the horse gold and silver in great quantity, and they put around him a great plenty of straw. And then they make a great and large pit and with the tent and all these other things they put him in the ground. And they say that when he shall come into another world he shall not be without a house nor without horse nor without gold and silver; and the mare shall give him milk and bring him more horses until he be well stored in the other world.

- (7) Of folis þat ben 3onge, | wyth-owtyn lesing  
 now I wyl | 3ow telle of here kepyng,  
 how | 3e xal hem fede with hey and with corn  
 and wyslych hem kepe þat þei be nowt | lorn,  
 tyl þat þei ben of age and | mightful at nede  
 a knzght vpon | to ride at euery dowti dede.<sup>59</sup>

(*The Boke of Marchalsi*. Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: 1, fol. 1a, l. 11–19)

According to this passage of the *Boke of Marchalsi*, the young horses are meant to serve knights in all matters, which implies that they were supposedly not only meant for fighting but also for travel, hunting and the like. From this information one may come to the conclusion that the foals then were probably mostly male (see pp. 62 and 52), but this is by far not enough to count as evidence for the sense ‘immature male horse’ to be inherent in *fole*. As a consequence we may conclude that *fole* most certainly carried the core value [immature] for the core attribute [age] if it was combined with the value [not ridden] for the attribute [level of training], irrespective of any value for the attribute [sex], see figure 14 on p. 206. It appears, however, as if riding horses referred to by *fole* were associated with mounted combat, see pp. 72ff.

In Middle English the noun *colt* was used in the sense ‘the young of a horse, ass, or camel’ (MED: s.v. *colt*, n.) being unspecific about the sex of the animal. The development of the Modern English meaning ‘male foal’ cannot be traced in the OED, although the outcome is described in the entry as: “While the young of the horse is still with the dam it is usually called a *foal*; afterwards the young horse is a *colt* to the age of 4, or in the case of a thoroughbred, 5 years, while the young mare is a *filly*.” (OED: s.v. *colt*, n.1). Drawing on the data from the CMEPV, the semantic development can be reconstructed only in bits and pieces as well. What we find is a total of 117 appearances of *colt* in a sense related to horses. Of these, 45 are from the various manuscripts of Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* and do not actually refer to real horses but are used to metaphorically illustrate human characteristics. In most of the cases, the colt’s jolly or lusty behaviour serves as an example for women’s behaviour. This association opens up a new perspective on the question whether *colt* implied masculinity or not and what this respectively reveals about the women characterised thus. But since this book decidedly stops at the border of the metaphorical, the interpretation of this matter will be left to the hands of others.

Despite these metaphors there is no indication whether *colt* referred to the frame attribute [sex] at all, and if so, which value the attribute would take. What is clear is that the value [immature] for the attribute [age] always plays a role and can thus be regarded as a core attribute. Almost all of the hits for *colt* show the noun in connection with youthfulness in a variety of ways. We find the characteristic wildness, untamedness and lack of experience in expressions such as those featured in examples (8) to (11). Examples (8) to (10) seem to be ambiguous concerning the sex of the referent if we consider storminess rather a characteristic of youth than of masculinity.

- (8) And saynt Austyn: «Þe flesh is as a wild colt / þat is to teme with bridel & hunger».<sup>60</sup>  
 (Rolle. *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole*. Horstmann (ed.) 1895-1896: 1.150, Our Daily Work)

- (9) Wynsynge she was, as is a joly colt [...] <sup>61</sup>  
 (Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 49, Miller’s Tale, l. 3263)

<sup>59</sup> Of foals that are young, without lying  
 now I will tell you of their keeping,  
 how you shall feed them with hay and with grain  
 and wisely keep them that they are not ruined,  
 until they are of age and mighty at need  
 a knight upon to ride at every valiant deed.

<sup>60</sup> And Saint Augustin: “The flesh is like a wild colt, that is to tame with bridle and hunger”.

<sup>61</sup> Frisky was she, as is a jolly colt [...].

- (10) And my name ys ek fful kouthē,  
 ffor I am ycallyd ‘youthē’;  
 I passē bothe thorgh thynne & thykke,  
 And I kan wynse ageyn the prykke,  
 As wyldē coltys in Arras [...]<sup>62</sup>

(Lydgate. *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*. Furnivall (ed.) 1899, 1901, 1904: 304, l. 11133–11137)

Example (11) from *The Wars of Alexander* offers more details on this subject.

- (11) Sone as þai wist of his will · þai wistly him sente  
 Ten vncorsayd coltis · þe clenest of þe werd,  
 And as mony to amend · of milk-quyte stedis,  
 Of mony & of mekill quat · mayn giftis.<sup>63</sup>

(*The Wars of Alexander*. Skeat (ed.) 1886: 216, Ashmole Ms. l. 3774–3777)

The passage describes royal gifts as a help in warfare and illuminatingly juxtaposes the young and unspoiled *coltis* and the *stedis*, which are in this case most likely well-trained warhorses. Here we clearly witness the opposition of the concepts {immature} and {mature} but beyond that probably also the shared aspect of masculinity in the two types of horses because, as will be discussed later (p. 52), male horses were preferred or exclusively used as mounts in battle. Considering this, it would make little sense to give away immature mares as a royal gift in times of military need. This leaves us with two possible explanations for the choice of *colt* here. One is that the term is used in the more generic sense ‘immature horse’ and recipients of the text needed no further distinction, since they were – at least theoretically – familiar with the practice of training only male immature horses for combat. The other explanation would be that the noun *colt* had already established the association of both, the value [immature] for the frame attribute [age] and the value [male] for the attribute [sex] which then requires no further specification. This may have happened by the unknown time of composition of the text but likely by the time of the production of the manuscripts that Skeat (ed.) (1886: xxiii) dates mid to late 15<sup>th</sup> century.

In the *Boke of Marchalsi* the noun *colt* is only used once in the following phrase:

- (12) [...] he may seen hors and coltys rennen [...]<sup>64</sup>

(*The Boke of Marchalsi*. Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: 36, fol. 36b, l. 20)

It is likely that both *hors* and *colt* are used in their generic senses here because the focus of the attention in the paragraph is not on the running animals but on the one watching them as part of a cure. This would mean that in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century *colt* still had the more general sense ‘immature horse’ without any reference to the frame attribute [sex]. But since the exact date at which the text was composed is unknown, it is difficult to place this singular occurrence securely on the timeline of the semantic development of *colt*.

In legal texts we encounter a much clearer distinction in the use of *colt*. One of these is an account roll from the year 1408 in which one entry is given in example (13).

<sup>62</sup> And my name is also well known,  
 For I am called “youth”;  
 I pass both through thin and thick,  
 And I can kick against the goad,  
 As wild colts at stud [...].

<sup>63</sup> As soon as they knew his will, they promptly sent him  
 Ten unriden colts, the most splendid of the world,  
 And just as many to amend of milk-white steeds,  
 A multitude and many various outstanding gifts.

<sup>64</sup> [...] he may see horses and colts running [...].

- (13) j. equa, ij. fylles, j. colt trium annorum et ij. staggis<sup>65</sup>

(*The Inventories and Account Rolls of the Benedictine Houses or Cells of Jarrow and Monk-Wearmouth in the County of Durham*. Raine (ed.) 1854: 82)

This passage gives an unambiguous list of horses including their sex and age. It mentions one mare, two fillies, one colt – the *stagge* will be dealt with later in this chapter. For the *colt* the exact age is given, for the others not. The reason is presumably to clarify that the animal is young but almost old enough to be trained, which increases its value (see the part on encyclopaedic knowledge in this chapter, pp. 41f.). Moving on in time, in a will from 1531 we find evidence that *colt* was used for one and two year old horses.

- (14) Item, I bequeth to Mr. John Cornishe parson off Cottisbrok a gray colte of ij. yeres of age [...] Item, I bequeth to Sir Henry bentley a yereling colt [...]<sup>66</sup>

(*Lincoln Diocese Documents*. Clark (ed.) 1914: 246)

Yet the exact mentioning of the age is not the only clue in these two references. The examples feature two more pieces of crucial information: first, the sex of the animal is not mentioned additionally, while the exact age is and second, the exact date of composition of the texts is known. These facts can be seen as a sign that already by the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the frame attribute [sex] with the value [male] was certainly evoked by the noun *colt*, so that the term was understood unambiguously without further clarification even in a legal document. Therefore one may assume that around 1400 but at the latest by the end of the Middle Ages, the semantic narrowing from ‘immature horse’ to ‘male immature horse’ had been completed. For a schematic depiction of the semantic frame evoked by *colt* see figure 15, p. 206.

The noun *poleine* produced no hits in the CMEPV, neither obviously nor questionably in the sense ‘male immature horse’ nor in the more general sense ‘immature horse’. The same holds true for the *Boke of Marchalsi*. This result confirms some doubts about the noun’s semantics, which arise from the quotations given in the MED (*poleine*, n.2) and OED (s.v. *poleyn*, n.2). Both dictionaries draw on one instance, example (15), from Chaucer’s *Squire’s Tale*, MS 667, Holkham Hall, Norfolk, and one, here (16), from Lydgate’s *Praise of Peace*, MS Harley 2255, British Library, London:

- (15) Poleyne [vrr. poleyn, poleynes, puyleyn; Heng: this hors..so heigh was..so quyk of eye, As it a gentil Poyleys courser were].

- (16) Seyn Iohn..sauh ridyng Oon, Fers and proudly vpon a poleyn steede Of colour reed.

The connection to young horses is questionable in these examples, since both horses are apparently not only riding horses but specimen of high quality and training (see the chapters on *courser*, pp. 68f., and *stede*, pp. 64f.). This implies that they are mature, although it is no definite proof. What is striking, however, is the fact that the same passage from Chaucer, only taken from a different manuscript, is used in the MED entry on *Poileis* (MED: s.v. *poileis*, adj.) to illustrate the sense ‘Apulian’. As can be seen from the argumentation in the chapter on horses from different geographical areas (see pp. 84ff.), horse breeds from Italy were highly esteemed in the Middle Ages. This interpretation would fit both examples (15) and (16) very well. Concerning the Chaucer reference, we have the opportunity to easily compare various manuscripts in terms of orthographical variants, which is the only means apart from the co-text to solve this puzzle. The co-text narrates a situation where a king is being presented with a horse made of brass that has miraculous powers. The horse’s characteristics are described in comparison to a variety of quality standards for riding horses, like height, strength, and good proportions (see the chapter on physical properties, pp. 91ff.), which we may assume were familiar to Chaucer’s recipients. Two of these

<sup>65</sup> 1 mare, 2 fillies, 1 colt of three years and 2 stags.

<sup>66</sup> Also, I bequeath to Mr. John Cornishe, parson of Cottisbrok, a grey colt of 2 years of age [...] Also, I bequeath to Sir Henry Bentley a yearling colt [...].

comparisons refer to special types of horses, first to steeds bred in Lombardy and second to our subject of discussion, the *poileis courser* or *poleine courser*. The respective passage reads in full:

- (17) [...] For it so heigh was, and so brood and long,  
So wel proporcioned for to been strong,  
Right as it were a steede of lumbardye;  
Therwith so horsly, and so quyk of ye,  
As it a gentil poilleys courser were.  
For certes, fro his tayl unto his ere,  
Nature ne art ne koude hym nat amende [...]<sup>67</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 130, Squire's Tale, l. 191–197)

The interpretation of *poilleys courser* as 'immature (male) quality riding horse' is possible, but strictly speaking 'immature' and 'quality riding horse' do not go along reasonably, since the higher the education of a riding horse and thus its quality, the older it naturally is. The juxtaposition of two appreciated Italian breeds, from Apulia and Lombardy, however, makes sense and emphasises the classiness of the gift, like Dent (1959: 4) and Rowland (1971: 123) suppose without discussion.

Moreover, two grammatical aspects strongly speak against reading *poilleys* as a variant of *poleine*. One is the morphology of the noun itself, the other is the syntax it is used in. The orthographical variants we find in the other manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* incorporated in the CMEPV are:

*poyleys*

(Chaucer. The Corpus Ms (Corpus Christi Coll. Oxford) of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Furnivall (ed.) 1868-1879: 199, Squire's Tale, l. 195; Chaucer. The Hengwrt Ms of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Furnivall (ed.) 1868-1879: 300, Squire's Tale, l. 195; Chaucer. The Harleian Ms. 7334 of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Furnivall (ed.) 1885: 342, Squire's Tale, l. 195)

*poleys*

(Chaucer. The Cambridge Ms (University Library, Gg. 4.27) of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Furnivall (ed.) 1868-1879: 314, Squire's Tale, l. 195)

*poileys*

(Chaucer. The Lansdowne Ms of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Furnivall (ed.) 1867-1879: 199, Squire's Tale, l. 195)

*poyleis*

(Chaucer. The Petworth Ms. of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Furnivall (ed.) 1868-1879: 222, Squire's Tale, l. 195)

*poleis*

(Chaucer. The Cambridge Ms. Dd. 4. 24. of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Furnivall (ed.) 1901: 317, Squire's Tale, l. 195)

*poilleys*

(Chaucer. The Ellesmere Ms of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Furnival (ed.). 1868-1879: 130, Squire's Tale, l. 195)

Obviously, none of these spellings appears in the list of the MED (s.v. *poleine*, n.2) and OED (s.v. *poleyn*, n.2) for *poleine*. In addition, one may deduce from the consistent absence of <n> in the last syllable that the forms in these passages are no wild misspellings but regular orthographical variants of *poileis*.

<sup>67</sup> Because it was so high and so broad and long  
So well proportioned to be strong  
Right as if it was a steed of Lombardy  
Therewith so horse-like and so keen of eye  
As if it was a noble Apulian courser  
For certainly from his tail to his ear  
Neither nature nor art could amend him [...].

Taking a look at the syntax strengthens this point. The noun phrase *a gentill poilleys courser* clearly consists of the determiner *a*, the adjective *gentill* and the noun *courser*. If we considered *poilleys* a form of the noun *poleine*, we would have two nouns in the noun phrase, which would lead to the assumption that *poilleys courser* is a compound. The subsequent question is how to interpret the s-ending in *poilleys*. If it was a plural ending, the sense of the whole compound would be ‘immature horses’ plus ‘high quality riding horse’ which is hard to merge in a logical manner. On the other hand, if it was a possessive marker, we would end up with ‘high quality riding horse of an immature horse’ or something similar, which again is not logically sound, neither in this specific context nor in any other. If *poilleys* was a form of the adjective *poileis* the phrase *a gentill poilleys courser* would mean ‘a noble Apulian high quality riding horse’, which seems perfectly reasonable. At least for Chaucer we may therefore safely assume that *poileis* meant ‘Apulian’.

In the reference by Lydgate *poleine* the sense ‘immature horse’ works grammatically, but the semantic link to the immaturity of the horse remains unclear. In conclusion, even if *poleine* evoked the frame attribute [age] with the value [immature] it seems to play a very minor role within the group of terms for young horses.

The same applies for the noun *stagge*, which appears in the CMEPV only three times, twice in wills from the Lincoln diocese and once in the *Towneley Plays*. In the *Boke of Marchalsi* the term *stagge* is not used at all. Whilst in the *Towneley Plays* the co-text does not provide further information to secure the attributes and values of the evoked semantic frame, the examples from the wills in the CMEPV and the quotations given in the MED (s.v. *stagge*, n., b) provide clearer indications. Nonetheless, the question whether the value [male] for the frame attribute [sex] is implied is impossible to answer because the only evidence comes from lists of belongings, which mostly do not contain comprehensive explanations of the single items. Only once [sex] is explicitly characterised to take the value [male]. One may conclude that in the other cases the sex either played no role, which is rather unlikely in legal documents, or was somehow incorporated in the term itself. An allusion to masculinity would be comprehensible taking into account the primary sense of *stagge* being ‘adult male deer’.

Concerning the value [immature], we find either a concrete specification of the aspect {age} – in all quotations from the MED (s.v. *stagge*, n., b) where a number is given it is two years – or, in one instance, the adjective *yong* ‘young’ characterising the noun *stagge*. Based on the scarceness of data one may only speculate, but nevertheless an idea that emerges from the aforementioned facts is worth bringing up. What if *stagge* was not a mostly Northern synonym for *colt* or *fole* but instead meant ‘two year old (male) horse’? This could then be the specific form parallel to the generic term *twinter* ‘a stock animal that has passed its second winter, a two-year-old’ (MED: s.v. *twinter*, n.). In the context of this book, however, this delicate question has to remain unanswered.

Semantically closely connected to *twinter* and maybe *stagge* is the noun *yerling* which refers to ‘an animal in its second year’. Despite the fact that the reference to the age of the animal termed *yerling* is generally obvious, there was no way to determine its relation to horses, since neither the CMEPV nor the *Boke of Marchalsi* include any occurrence and the Middle English example from the MED (s.v. *yerling*, n.) and OED (s.v. *yearling*, n., A.1.a) is not specific about the animal it refers to. Hence, unfortunately it has to stay unclear how *yerling* fits into the sex-age-paradigm of terms for horses.

For the denomination of female foals, the introduction of the loanword *filli* to the English lexicon was an incisive factor. Since the term is most likely a rendering of Old Norse *fylja* ‘female foal’ (Baetke 2006: s.v. *fylja*, f.), the presumption is accordingly that the Middle English term is equally only used with reference to female horses. If it could be proven that *filli* is exclusively used for female foals, this would point to an explanation for its borrowing. As there was no lexicalised Old

English term simultaneously evoking the frame values [immature] and [female], *filli* was maybe adopted out of the need to make the distinction of the attribute [sex] more precise. One factor that might have promoted this process could have been the semantic narrowing of the term *colt* to ‘male foal’, as Fischer (2000: 3–9) points out. This would mean that the related pairs for young and adult male horses were basically established, while the female adult form had no correspondent denoting immaturity. Considering this, it becomes comprehensible that a loanword served to complete the sex-age-paradigm.

Unfortunately the CMEPV search produced no results for *filli* at all, and the same is true for the *Boke of Marchalsi*. The two quotations given in the MED (s.v. *filli*, n.) dating 1404 and 1408 are from account rolls and use the term in direct contrast to mature mares and immature stallions.

- (18) Item sunt ibidem 9 equi, vidlt. 4 eque, 3 stag’, 1 fyly, et 1 pullus hujus anni, de quibus 1 studmer cum pullo et 2 flylys pertinent ad luminar’ beate Marie et 1 stagg rubius cortical 4 annorum est in manibus Walteri Cokyn.<sup>68</sup>

(Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham. Fowler (ed.) 1899: 399)

- (19) j. equa, ij. fylyes, j. colt trium annorum et ij. staggis<sup>69</sup>

(The Inventories and Account Rolls of the Benedictine Houses or Cells of Jarrow and Monk-Wearmouth in the County of Durham. Raine (ed.) 1854: 82)

It is remarkable that both texts are basically in Latin but *filli*, here in the spelling *fyly*, is English as well as *studmer* and *stagge* in (18) and *colt* and *stagge* in (19). Apparently the paradigm of naming and discriminating the concepts {immature} and {mature}, {male} and {female} for horses was so well established around 1400 that the Middle English terms, especially *filli*, were more unambiguous than the Latin terms *pullus* or *pullus equinus*, which do not give information about the sex of the animal. Carefully concluding from such a limited set of data we may state that *filli* presumably evokes the frame attribute [age] with the value [immature] as well as the attribute [sex] with the value [female], see figure 16, p. 206.

#### **4.2.2. Female mature horses**

##### **ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE**

The rareness of female horses in Middle English texts and the resulting difficulties in analysing the exact semantics of the words used to name them can be easily explained by having a look at the function female horses had in the Middle Ages. They were primarily kept for breeding, as Davis (1988: 79, 1989: 18) points out, and in this function we find them referred to in most of the texts. This explains, for example, the focus on breeding we recognise in the meanings of the noun *stode mere*. We also find mares in transport and travel, but when mentioned in this context, the sex of the mount rarely played a role important enough for explicit mentioning.

One occasion where the sex of a riding horse really mattered was in warfare and in connected activities such as tournament because western armies preferred male horses for mounted combat, as e.g. Davis (1989: 18) emphasises repeatedly. The general belief is that this is due to the higher potential for aggression in stallions. This is, however, merely a superficial explanation which does not do justice to the complex social behaviour of horses. The crucial point is not that stallions are more aggressive in nature but that it is easier to provoke them to attack physically (see the chapter on male mature horses, esp. p. 51). All horses but mares especially, tend to avoid conflicts by acting foresightedly, as Lubetzki (2019: 48–55) emphasises. In case a conflict arises nonetheless, it is

<sup>68</sup> Also there are 9 horses, apparently 4 mares, 3 stags, 1 filly, and 1 foal of this year, of which 1 stud-mare with foal and 2 fillies belong to the luminar [?] of Saint Mary and 1 red stag [cortal?] 4 years is in the hands of Walter Cokyn.

<sup>69</sup> 1 mare, 2 fillies, 1 colt of three years and 2 stags.

resolved by means of clear communication in order to secure health and safety for all parties involved. Only if all this does not help, there is a very short fight with the least possible physical effort and consequences. This flight focused behaviour, in contrast to fight oriented approaches, is not only what kept horses alive for millennia but also what may render the task of leading a mare in battle less promising than trying the same with a stallion (see p. 62).

In addition to the odds of the inherent peaceful nature of a horse, riding mares in combat is also a severe economic risk for the owner. The collateral hardships of warfare, let alone the danger of getting wounded or killed, have a highly negative influence on the mare's fertility and endanger unborn foals. In using stallions for war, the owner therefore risks just one animal, while riding mares could potentially cost him the value of the mother as well as all her offspring to be.

With this information in mind, we may now turn to some ideas considering the interpretation of female horses in riding scenes, should one ever come across them in a Middle English text. In a strictly patriarchal society as we find it in medieval England, a strong and martial stallion can certainly be considered an archetypical symbol for vigour and virility. These qualities in a horse can be used to reflect the rider's, but one has to be careful with generally assuming the contrary for riding mares.<sup>70</sup> For situations in which a rider is supposed to fight on horseback, for example, one could suggest – of course depending on the individual context – that riding a mare is a sign of weakness. Even if the setting of the scene allows such an interpretation, one has to heed the semantic ambiguity of the term *mere*. On the one hand it can mean 'female horse', which could then be read in a derogatory sense, but on the other hand it can also simply signify 'horse', which has no effeminate or derogatory implication at all. In conclusion, a warning seems to be appropriate to be extra cautious with gendering riding scenes on the basis of assuming the horse to be female.

#### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS

For the differentiation of terms for female adult horses, the amount of data one can refer to is considerably smaller than for their male counterparts. Towards the end of this chapter, we will have a look at some reasons for this phenomenon. But first the two nouns which could be used to specifically refer to female horses, *mere* and *stode mere*, will be examined.

#### ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

The etymology of *mere* has been described on p. 37.

The history of the Middle English noun *stode* as the first element in *stode mere* can be traced back through Old English *stōd* to Germanic *\*stōdo-m*, *\*stōdō* to the root *\*stō-* (OED: s.v. *stud*, n.2). It is worth mentioning that the singular sense 'female horse' was established for corresponding forms like Modern German *Stute* or Modern Swedish *sto*, whereas in Modern English *mare* took over this part and *stud* refers to the collective of breeding horses or the establishment they are kept in. Modern German *Mähre*, however, developed the derogatory meaning 'jade' without keeping any allusion to the animal's sex (OED: s.v. *mare*, n.1).

#### SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

For reference to mature horses the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE] with the attribute [age] taking the value [mature] is fundamental to understand the concept, see figure 17 on p. 207. Female sex is conveyed by the attribute [sex] taking the value [female].

<sup>70</sup> The essays by Feinstein (1991) on the horse in Chaucer's *Reeve's Tale* and by Gillam (1987) on the noun *mare* in Chaucer can be referred to as exemplary analyses of how the assumption of a certain sex for a mount can alter the interpretation of literary texts.



The search of the CMEPV and the *Boke of Marchalsi* revealed no instances of *stode mere* at all and the quotations given in the MED (s.v. *stode*, n.l.f) are mainly instances of the abusive use of the term for women. So we may assume that the compound was not commonly used in writing to refer to a female horse, be it used for riding or not.

The findings for *mere* are also few and most of them represent either the generic sense of the noun or there is no clear indication whether it is generic or specific. The only reliable indication apart from hints from the co-text is the use of feminine pronouns. Yet in all the data from the CMEPV there was no passage dealing with a *mere* extensively enough to use unambiguous pronouns. From all the 129 hits referring to horses only 24 text samples were useful for this study, nine of which are variants of the same phrase from the introduction of the Plowman in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. This example may serve to show the general tendency that the semantic details of *mere* can hardly be determined by the noun's use in the texts.

(20) In a tabard he rood upon a mere.<sup>71</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 22, General Prologue, l. 541)

Since nothing more is said about the mount it is impossible to judge whether *mere* evokes the frame attribute [sex] at all and if so, which values it would take.

Nevertheless, there are five text passages in the CMEPV which allow to deduce some information on the use in reference to a female horse. In almost all of these cases *mere* occurs either in the binomial *meres and foles*, or otherwise together with *fole* or *colt*, or in connection to the aspect {mare's milk}. These observations lead to two general conclusions. First, the co-text and context indicate that *mere* here really evokes the value [female] for the frame attribute [sex] because all the associated actions or features are clearly those of a mother, which also indicates that the frame attribute [age] most likely takes the value [mature], see figure 18 on p. 207. Second, the almost exclusive appearance of the specific meaning in circumstances of motherhood can be seen as a consequence of the idea that mares were primarily seen as a means to produce offspring, not as mounts (p. 49f.).

#### **4.2.3. Male mature horses**

##### **ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE**

For the discussion of the characteristics of stallions, certain remarks have been made in the chapter on mares or will be made afterwards in the chapter on war and tournament (p. 59ff). This leaves us here with room for counteracting some general prejudices on stallions in order to enhance an understanding of the qualities that make them useful for advanced mounted training.

To understand the character of male horses, one should first take a closer look at their natural role in a herd. From a scientific point of view, the hierarchical structures in equine social behaviour are not half as obvious and linear as most riders believe them to be.<sup>72</sup> The apparently most prominent idea is that the alpha male leads the herd and all others follow in a strict order determined by fighting. A more differentiated model involves an additional alpha mare who has mainly advisory capacity. These assumptions are not outrightly false, but they are similarly simplified as stating that women only care for the children while men only earn the living. The latest thorough observations of wild horses have shown a highly complex, flexible and situational system. The framework is that

<sup>71</sup> In a sleeveless overgarment he rode upon a mare [?].

<sup>72</sup> Descriptions and interpretations focusing on linear hierarchies are Heitor et al. (2006a), van Dierendonck et al. (1995), Araba & Crowell-Davis (1994), Rutberg & Greenberg (1990), Keiper & Sambras (1986), Feist & McCullough (1976), Grzimek (1949). More complex patterns are explored in Granquist et al. (2012), Komárková et al. (2011), Heitor & Vicente (2008), Heitor et al. (2006b), Goodwin (2002: 8–9), Mills & Nankervis (1999: 129–134), Houpt & Keiper (1982), Tyler (1972).

one experienced stallion and one or several experienced mares share the task of leading the herd, in larger herds one or several deputy-stallions may assist the main-stallion. Each of them then covers the area of tasks in which they are most competent, as more and more thorough observations of feral horses like those of Lubetzki (2019: 40; 100) or MacDonnell (2003: 21) show.

The primary task of the stallion is mostly everything connected to producing and protecting offspring, as for instance Mills & Nankervis (1999: 149–152) or Lubetzki (2019: esp. 28–32; 76–79) summarise. This means first of all winning one or more mares, keeping them together and fending off rivals. If the stallion is a father, the factor of protecting mares and foals becomes more prominent. In this aspect stallions are indeed more actively involved in various forms of fighting than mares (Miller 1981). From this, one can deduce that male horses tend to be more easily provoked if they feel that their herd or their authority over the females is threatened. This does not mean, however, that each threat is answered with physical aggression. Here the character and experience of the individual determine the reaction.

Horses are capable of expressing a wide range of signals mostly with their body language. The primary goal is always to prevent severe physical damage and unnecessary attention by predators. Therefore the major part of equine communication and also conflict is so subtle that humans do not realise anything is happening at all. As for instance Goodwin (2002: 11) summarises, real fights are only the last solution to a problematic situation and even then the action is taken as efficiently as possible, without any needless risk or effort, which means normally without intent to seriously harm, let alone kill. Yet, the fact that protection is one of the main tasks male horses are responsible for in a herd, it is understandable why male horses are generally speaking more easily forced to engage in combat situations than mares (see also the chapter on warhorses, pp. 62f.).

We now return from the complexities of natural equine behaviour to the simple maths of medieval horse-keeping. For one thing, stallions in contrast to mares can be ridden and sire foals without any losses or risks for the owner. In addition, one stallion alone can produce more offspring than anyone can feed. So what to do with the vast surplus of stallions? Train them for riding. As plain as this reads, it is a tangible fact one should bear in mind when discussing the use of horses in relation to the factors sex and age.

To simplify handling, one may geld those stallions who do not promise exceptional offspring in order to eliminate any trouble testosterone may possibly cause. There is no reliable data available which allows estimating the proportion of castrated and entire horses in medieval England. This lack is most likely due to the ambiguity in the written source material, in which the conceptual aspects {male entire} and {male castrated} are almost impossible to distinguish. An advantage of leaving a stallion entire is the option to breed and thus generate financial gain beyond the value and workforce of the horse alone. The disadvantage, however, is clearly his more or less pronounced hormonal drive. This may be an advantage to motivate a horse to engage in warfare, as mentioned above. The other side of the coin is that the influence of hormones not only enhances aggression but also sexual behaviour. Clauss (2009: 52) quotes some vividly illustrating medieval battle descriptions in which the riding of stallions turned out to be problematic for the fighters because their mounts had entirely different priorities than their riders. Not only in battle but in mostly all everyday situations one has to make very sure that education dominates hormones in equine behaviour, or otherwise one may end up in dangerous situations. Regarding this, one may assume that most of the horses not used for fighting were geldings for reasons of handiness. Yet, the act of castrating is a risk even today, as Kilcoyne et al. (2013) and Getman (2009) point out, and was presumably even more so in the Middle Ages. Thus the risks had to be weighed carefully against the benefits and this book cannot attempt to reconstruct the medieval practice.

Based on these observations we can conclude this chapter with some ideas for interpreting literary scenes featuring male horses. The most fundamental advice is here that the image of aggressive, hard to handle stallions should not misguide the interpretation of the appearance of male riding horses. Generally deducing from masculinity alone that the riders possess particular abilities and courage to tame the beasts is invalid on the basis of the aforementioned facts on equine behaviour. In other words: the fact of riding a stallion in itself does not automatically attest a rider's special virility. Yet, one has to be aware of the prevailing mindset of a medieval patriarchal society, which highly valued masculinity at its best. In this respect, riding a stallion may but need not necessarily emphasise male qualities in the rider, whereas mares and geldings in a literary setting may be counted as hints to a lack of such qualities, as has been stated by Clauss (2011), Cocco (2008), Davis (1983: 4–5, 1989: 18), Delasanta (1968), Miller (2013).

Besides the social line of interpretation, we find another type of situation in which male horses are explicitly characterised as being exceptionally difficult to handle. This allows, depending on the context, two interpretations. One is that the riders are themselves difficult to handle in the sense that they act out of non-virtuous motives, have previously done wrong or show other flaws and sins. The other option is that the riders are so extremely skilled that they can compensate the shortcomings of the horses. In this situation the horses do not mirror the riders' inner life but provide a welcome challenge in which the riders can prove their value. This is then less a matter of the mount's sex than more of character and training of both horse and rider and will as such be discussed later, p. 62.

As we have seen, the matter of a riding horse's sex in Middle English texts turns out not to be the easily accessed treasure trove for interpretation it might seem at first glance. In combination with the intended and actual purpose of horses, however, provides deeper insights and possibilities for interpretation.

#### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS

While discussing the terms for male mature horses it is once more crucial to observe the intermingling senses with the generic terms. Hence, this chapter will again analyse *hors*, here in its specific sense, and additionally *hengest*, *staloun*, *stot* and *gelding*.

#### ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

For the etymology of *hors* see p. 37.

*Hengest* is also a native English noun. Its sense has undergone a variety of changes moving between 'entire male horse', 'castrated male horse' and the generic 'horse' (OED: s.v. *hengest*, n.; MED: s.v. *hengest*, n.).

The noun *staloun*, from which Modern English *stallion* developed, can be found in Middle English texts from the late 14<sup>th</sup> century onward. It has its origin in Old French *estalon* (OED: s.v. *stallion*, n.).

*Stot* is another Germanic noun. The relation to other Germanic words that probably root in the same stem *\*stut-*, being an ablaut of *\*staut-* 'to thrust, push', would explain that the word can mean both 'horse, esp. one used for plowing' and 'bullock' (MED: s.v. *stot*, n.) since both are typical draught animals (OED: s.v. *stot*, n.1; MED: s.v. *stot*, n.).

The noun *gelding* is first recorded in English in 1380 in the sense 'castrated horse' and is a borrowing from Old Norse *geldingr* meaning the same (OED: s.v. *gelding*, n.1; MED: s.v. *gelding*, n.).

## SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

For reference to mature horses the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE] with the attribute [age] taking the value [mature] is the basis for comprehending the concept, see figure 17 on p. 207. Male sex is conveyed by the attribute [sex] taking the value [male].

It has been mentioned at various points in this chapter on the differentiation of horses according to sex and age that the discrimination of male and female horses in medieval texts is rarely obvious. In summary, the reasons for this observation are basically connected to the fact that most of the surviving texts deal with horses in travel or warfare in the widest sense. Considering this, one may infer that in the first situation, travel, it was mostly irrelevant which sex the mount had, as long as it was qualified for transporting the rider from one location to another. In warfare, on the other hand, the horses were well-nigh without exception male. One can thus conclude that in texts describing such scenes, the authors as well as the recipients were expecting the horses to be male. Hence, there would not have been a need to explicitly outline this fact by lexical means, which, at least from a modern point of view, results in fluent boundaries between the specific and the generic use of certain terms.

The most complex lexical unit in this regard is certainly *hors*, which developed the specific sense indicating masculinity sometime around the 15<sup>th</sup> century according to the OED (s.v. *horse*, n.). In the CMEPV *The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun* proved to be an earlier example for the use of the specific sense, but due to the structure of the corpus no solidly founded statements about a timeline can be made. As has been shown in the chapter on the generic terms (pp. 36ff.), discriminating the generic and the specific uses of the noun *hors* is nearly impossible.

Within the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE] the attribute [sex] is, in comparison to other aspects evoked by the noun *hors*, a little more accessible because the use of pronouns at some points allows to gather information on the sex of the referent. It is worth noting at this point that *hors* in Old English had a neuter grammatical gender. Hence one can exclude the possibility that the use of the masculine pronouns is due to an influence of traditional grammatical structures and confirm the predominance of natural sex. The CMEPV data shows that if *hors* was referred to or substituted by a pronoun the masculine form occurs with 143 hits twice as often as the neuter pronoun with 78 hits. However, with regard to the mass of appearances of the noun *hors* in the CMEPV, the instances of pronoun use taken together amount to only 4% of the total of hits.

To make any statement about the frame attribute [sex] we have to assume that the horses described with masculine pronouns are indeed male, while in the cases with neuter pronouns the sex of the animal apparently does not matter for conveying the plot or the content of the text. Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* are particularly consistent in this separation, but others such as the *History of the Sons of Aymon* show the same inclination. Two examples from Chaucer are given here for an impression of his use of pronouns for horses and shall serve as starting point for discussing more general observations. Example (21) is from the *Knight's Tale* and features the warhorse of Arcite, one of the main protagonists. The reference is part of a tournament scene and thus a typical example for an elaborate appearance of horses, especially stallions.

- (21) Out of the ground a furie infernal sterte,  
From pluto sent at requeste of saturne,  
For which his hors for fere gan to turne,  
And leep aside, and foundred as he leep [...] <sup>73</sup>  
(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 43, Knight's Tale, l. 2684–2687)

<sup>73</sup> Out of the ground an infernal fury rushed  
From Pluto sent at request of Saturn  
Because of which his horse turned in fear  
And leapt aside and stumbled as he leapt [...]

Here the use of the masculine pronoun for the horse correlates with the situation of mounted combat in which both author and recipients would most likely expect all participants to be male. Therefore *hors* in this case clearly evokes the value [male] for the frame attribute [sex] belonging to the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE].

The implication of masculinity in *hors* also seems to play a role in the use of pronouns in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. The horses there are generally referred to by masculine pronouns unless it is made explicit that the respective animal is female. An explanation for the choice of the specific masculine instead of the generic neuter might be the type of horse the riding instructions in the treatise are directed at. The method described in the treatise is applicable “yf þat he be hors of armes or pal| fray” (*The Boke of Marchalsi*. Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: 6–7, fol. 4b, l. 11), so if the horse is a warhorse or a palfrey. At least for the part of the riding instructions and the assumption that the referents of *hors* were warhorses, the fact that the value [male] for [sex] is evoked, hence the use of masculine pronouns is comprehensible. Yet why the author of the treatise uses the masculine pronouns throughout his entire work, even in the medical part, is subject to speculation. For example, one may suspect that, since the majority of riding horses were probably male (see p. 52), people were more used to handle and talk about stallions and geldings. Because this is hardly verifiable, there is no need to elaborate on this and other suspicions about the topic here.

The last example illustrates how much the prominence of the frame value [male] in the semantic frame evoked by *hors* depends on the context and at the same time demonstrates how the use of the noun and pronouns can adapt to the needs of the plot:

- (22) He looketh up and down til he hath founde  
 The clerkes hors, ther as it stood ybounde  
 Bihynde the mille, under a levesel;  
 And to the hors he goth hym faire and wel;  
 He strepeth of the brydel right anon.  
 And whan the hors was laus, he gynneth gon  
 Toward the fen, ther wilde mares renne,  
 And forth with wehee, thurgh thikke and thurgh thenne.<sup>74</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 57, Reeve’s Tale, l. 4059–4066)

In the second line of this passage, the horse is just an unspecific means of transport and is hence referred to by the neuter pronoun. As soon as the plot evolves around the horse being untied and fleeing, however, the horse becomes significant for the story. To logically fit the action, the horse is then addressed by the masculine pronoun because the value [male] needs to be evoked for the frame attribute [sex] to make it plausible why the horse runs away after the mares.<sup>75</sup> It appears as if the noun *hors* itself was not perceived to convey the value [male] for the attribute [sex] sufficiently.

The matter of a horse’s significance for the plot briefly touched upon in this text passage leads to another, yet rather vague tendency we can observe throughout the CMEPV texts: horses with names or otherwise extraordinary mounts are more likely to be referred to by masculine pronouns. This, however, goes hand in hand with the fact that exceptional horses in the stories are all warhorses and therefore the [male] for the attribute [sex] is implied. Moreover, the special status of these horses, be they named or not, earns them more screen-time in the story, which results in

<sup>74</sup> He looks up and down until he has found  
 The Clerk’s horse where it stood tied  
 Behind the mill under a bower of leaves  
 And to the horse he goes gently  
 And strips off the bridle right away  
 And when the horse was loose he starts to move  
 Towards the fen where wild mares run  
 forth with wehee through thick and through thin [...]

<sup>75</sup> A detailed analysis of the horse in the Reeve’s tale can be found in Feinstein (1991).

longer text passages and more complex links in the syntactic structure. This results in the need to refer back to the horse by using pronouns which would not be necessary if the horse was so insignificant that it is merely mentioned once in a short notice.

Thus we may conclude that when the noun *hors* stands alone, we can merely ascribe a co-text induced implication of masculinity to it while the use of pronouns or other means is required to express the aspect {sex} unambiguously, see figure 19 on p. 207. Because of this ambiguity we may not attempt to give rough numbers reflecting the general proportion of the specific and the generic meanings of *hors*.

In Middle English, ***hengest*** supposedly kept the Old English meanings ‘a horse, steed’ (MED: s.v. *hengest*, n.), but the analysis of the CMEPV produced only one hit that was not referring to the legendary leader Hengest but a to real horse. The passage is from a list of heirlooms in *Layamon’s Brut* and gives no further information on the animal except that it is good and strong:

(23) Ich bi-tæche þe anne hængest; godna & strongna.<sup>76</sup>

(Layamon. *Layamon’s Brut*. Brook & Leslie (eds.) 1963, 1978: 92, Caligula Ms. l. 1771)

The adjective declension suggests that *hengest* is grammatically masculine which strongly suggests but not necessarily entails that the referent is biologically also male. Since the *Brut* is considered a rare example of the transitional period between Old and Middle English, this gives an impression how *hengest* had been used decreasingly since Old English times and gradually fell out of the sex-age-paradigm for horses. This observation agrees with the fact that the term became utterly obsolete in Modern English (OED: s.v. *hengest*, n.).

The first noun that was exclusively used for male horses appears to be Old English *stéda* ‘a stallion, an entire horse’ (Bosworth-Toller: s.v. *stéda*, n.). It is remarkable that Middle English *stede* has not retained the Old English senses but instead signifies ‘a splendid, noble, spirited horse; a riding horse; a war horse, charger’ (MED: s.v. *stede*, n.2) (for more details see pp. 64ff.). The semantic change in *stede* from Old to Middle English can potentially be associated with the Anglo-Norman noun *estalon* ‘a stallion, a male horse’ (*Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (AND): s.v. *estalon*, s.) which was adopted as Middle English ***staloun*** ‘a stallion’ (MED: s.v. *staloun*, n.). It would be significant to know whether the meaning ‘stallion’ for *steda* / *stede* faded out at about the same time when *staloun* came into use, but on the basis of the available data it is not possible to give well-grounded evidence for an interrelation of the semantic change in *stede* and the borrowing of *staloun*.

The CMEPV produced only five hits for *staloun* and they conform to the examples given in the MED (s.v. *staloun*, n.) and OED (s.v. *stallion*, n.). The Wycliffe examples show the close but hard to differentiate semantic link to the first uses of *staloun* in written sources with the meaning ‘a begetter’, referring to humans. In Gower the reference to a real horse is more obvious, but since both texts were produced roughly at the same time there is no way to trace a chronological development. The generic and specific sense of *stede* is in most cases not clearly separable, which prevents statements on the process of extinction of the ‘male horse’ branch of the noun’s meanings. Finally, considering that even the *Boke of Marchalsi*, which is at least partly based on a French text, does not feature *staloun*, we may conclude that the noun was rare in Middle English and only later developed its full significance in the sex-age-paradigm for horses.

For ***stot*** we find only 13 references in the CMEPV that might allude to horses, nine are the same sentence from different manuscripts of Chaucer’s *General Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales*, three are different versions of the same passage from *Piers Plowman* and one is from *The Owl and the Nightingale*. In *Piers Plowman* (Langland. *The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman*. Skeat (ed.) 1867, 1869, 1873: 356, B-Text, l. 262) it is unclear whether the term actually refers to

<sup>76</sup> I bequeath to you a hengest, good and strong.

bullocks or horses because in the paragraph before the use of *stottis* we find oxen given as a gift. Nothing in the co-text disambiguates the use or the species of the *stottis*. Thus this instance cannot be counted as evidence for the sense ‘a stallion’.

The passage from Chaucer featuring *stot* for reference to a horse is reproduced as example (24).

- (24) This reve sat upon a ful good stot, That was al pomely grey and highte scot.<sup>77</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 23, General Prologue, l. 615–616)

Despite the brevity of the mention, this sentence reveals some crucial information about the semantic frame *stot* evokes. The fact that the name of the mount is Scot indicates the male sex of the animal and from its use as a riding horse we may deduce that horse was most likely considered mature (for more on *stot* ‘horse used for ploughing’ see pp. 82f.).

In the quotation from *The Owl and the Nightingale*, example (25), the co-text proves that *stot*, or in this case the plural *stottes*, is connected to the value [male] for the frame attribute [sex].

- (25) vor none dor no leng nabideþ,  
ac eurich upon oþer rideþ:  
þe sulue stottes ine þe stode  
boþ boþe wilde & mere-wode.<sup>78</sup>

(*The Owl and the Nightingale*. Atkins (ed.) 1922: 44, l. 493–496)

The typical springtime behaviour of stallions, being *mere-wode* ‘lustful after mares’ (MED: s.v. *mere*, n.1, 2.c) in a *stode* ‘group of mares’ (MED: s.v. *stode*, n., d), is evidence enough for this particular text passage to conclude that *stot* alludes both to the frame attributes [sex] with the value [male] as well as the attribute [age] with the value [mature]. At least for the data at hand, we may thus conclude with a semantic frame as sketched in figure 20 on p. 207. The scarcity of data, however, calls for caution in generalising these finds and the safest conclusion is that *stot* seems to play a marginal role in the Middle English lexicon’s differentiation of the sex and age of horses.

To complete the discussion of terms for male horses, an expression for the concept {castrated male horse} is the only missing aspect. Around 1385–1395, so at the same time when *staloun* is first documented, the Old Norse noun *geldingr* ‘castrate, eunuch’ (Baetke 2006: s.v. *geldingr*, m.) is first attested as a loanword in the Middle English form *gelding* ‘gelded horse’ (MED: s.v. *gelding*, n.). The explanation for this could be that both nouns were borrowed to enhance semantic differentiation within the group of male adult horses, as Görlach (2002: 149) and Scheler (1977: 87) observe. Unfortunately the development of *gelding* can only be traced fragmentarily in the CMEPV. Of the 13 hits the search produces nine are from the *General Prologue* of Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*, three from the *Stonor Letters and Papers* (Kingsford (ed.) 1919) and one from the *Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London* (Furnivall (ed.) 1882). Whilst the Chaucer references are chronologically earliest, the will of Sir Roger Salwayn of York dates 1420 and the Stonor documents c. 1470 and 1475.

In Chaucer (e.g. Chaucer. Robinson (ed.). *The Canterbury Tales* 1957: 23, General Prologue, l. 691) *gelding* is used in combination with *mere* and other features to emphasise the Pardoner’s effeminate appearance. Here the context of lacking masculinity together with the comparison to horses and the use of *mere* clarify that *gelding* most likely evoked the frame attribute [sex] with the values [male] and [castrated]. In the legal documents and letters the word is used without any further description or explanation of the horses’ sex. These findings together with the fact that there

<sup>77</sup> This Reeve sat upon a very good stot, that was dapple grey and was called Scot.

<sup>78</sup> For no animal waits any longer,  
But everyone rides upon the other:  
The very stots in a group of mares  
Are both wild and lustful after mares.

is no other meaning in the context of horses attested for *gelding* (OED: s.v. *gelding*, n.1) can be taken as an indication for the semantic stability of the noun. For the schematic illustration of the semantic frame see figure 21, p. 207.

Having stated the lexical need for its borrowing and the semantic stability of *gelding*, some questions still remain: when and how did the Norse word actually enter English and why does it appear so late? Finding answers mostly requires educated guessing, especially concerning the circumstances of the borrowing from Norse. There are some inconsistencies that demand attention. As we have seen, the word is first attested in written English around 1400, so well after the period of considerable Norse influence on the language. Moreover, right from its supposedly first appearances on, the meaning seems to be totally stable and so self-evident that the word can be used without further specification in legal documents.

A possible explanation, which takes all these factors into consideration, is that *gelding* may have been adopted much earlier in spoken language than written sources attest, maybe even in Old English times. The lack of written proof can probably be explained by having a look at real horse-keeping. The process of castration is even today a surgical intervention with considerable risks, see Getman (2009: 374). One may easily imagine how much higher these must have been during the Middle Ages, so it is likely that castration was not as frequently practised as it is today. Additionally, once a stallion is gelded there is no way of bringing him back if one should ever be in need of a sire to cover mares. Particularly in cases where the qualities of a horse only show after some time of training and work experience, it is a pity if the animal proves exceptional but is already castrated and cannot produce similarly useful offspring.<sup>79</sup> To avoid the risks of gelding and yet have the advantages of a sexually inactive animal, which is much easier to handle in general and notably in interaction with other horses, mules have been used for various tasks at least since Antiquity, as e.g. Klapdohr (2015: 12) notes. Hence geldings presumably did not appear in early writing because they were either rare in the physical world or played no role important enough to be mentioned in the literary world. Around 1400, however, as everyday documents and legal texts were increasingly written in the vernacular, as well as more and more texts survived in general, *gelding* finally made its way into the records of the English language.

#### **4.3. Horses for diverse purposes**

The structure of this chapter is meant for discussing the categories of riding horses and mirroring a rough hierarchy of status and financial value of the single categories at the same time. The connection between the quality of the horse and the status of the rider has been addressed frequently in scholarly debate, see Ayton (1994: 224–231), Clauss (2011), Davis (1983: 4–5), Delasanta (1968), Friedrich (2001), Gladitz (1997: 143–161), Houwen (1994). The order of presentation here is from the top downwards, starting with expensive, noble warhorses and closing with comparatively cheap horses that are not specifically bred or sometimes even trained for riding.

Horse racing receives no detailed treatment in this book for several reasons, the first being that, according to Hyland (1999: 36) horse races were supposedly not as common and popular in medieval England as they became in later times. At least, and this is the second reason for omitting the topic here, the written records only scarcely provide information on the practice or theory of horse racing and all its associate areas like breeding, equipment and training. Furthermore, racing a horse is quite different from everyday travel or the advanced training for martial purposes. Since the sources do not provide a sufficiently large amount of data, the considerable effort to elaborate on merely the essential aspects of horse racing would not have been worthwhile.

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<sup>79</sup> In the modern horse sporting industry promising stallions are often left entire not to lose the opportunity to make more money out of the animals once they turn out to be successful in competition.



### **4.3.1. Horses for warfare, tournament and hunting**

#### **ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE**

To a certain degree this chapter is meant to counteract the stereotype of the huge warhorse-tank running over the opponent's front-line, which seems to prevail in association with knights and horses.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, instead of trying to reconstruct distinct types of horses for war, tournament and hunting on the shallow basis of the historical sources, we will analyse the topic from a slightly different angle. By taking previous approaches to categorising medieval horse types, e.g. Ayton (1994: esp. 62–68) and Clark (2004: 7), as a basis, this chapter focuses on the properties and skills horses need to fulfil their tasks in these areas and thus approaches typical identifying features from the functional angle. The functional aspect that connects the equestrian activities of warfare, tournament and hunting is that they demand the highest education, physical fitness and mental stability of the riding horse.

The need for exceptional abilities<sup>81</sup> in the horse for mounted combat and hunting is primarily due to the fact that all these activities are adverse to a horse's natural behaviour as an animal of prey and flight, as e.g. Bennett (1995: 33) phrases very overtly. Horses tend to avoid confrontations among themselves and are by nature afraid of loud and sudden noises, confusing situations in crowded places without escape paths and last but not least the smell of blood and death. To use a horse in armed encounters nonetheless, proper training to overcome or weaken the instinctive behaviour of evasion is essential, as particularly Bennett (1995: 37), Gillmor (1992) and Hyland (1999: 111–113) emphasise.

For further discussion, we should bear in mind that real medieval horses were actually far less frequently in action on the battlefield, tournament ground or on the hunt than their reflections in literature and art suggest – a topic which is discussed in studies like Bachrach (1988: 183–198), Bennett (1995: 31), Sidnell (2006: 321–322). In general, such events took place only sporadically and for the individual the frequency of participation varied depending on countless factors. Since the written sources mostly narrate exceptional, noteworthy events, one may get the impression that the horses were doing nothing but fighting and running all day long. In fact, however, each knight had an entourage of horses with him of which each served a different purpose: some were for man-to-man combat, some for raids or hunts, others for travelling. In this way none of the horses, especially not the well-trained and expensive ones, were exhausted needlessly for tasks less qualified mounts could also fulfil, as Davis (1988: 79, 1989: 25–26) or Dinzelbacher (2000b: 199–200) discuss. Yet, this luxury of choice was reserved for those few who could afford keeping horses for each specific purpose. The more limited the resources of the rider, the fewer horses were affordable and the more functions the single horses had to serve (see more on multi-purpose horses on pp. 77ff.).

A brief introduction to the particular requirements of the specific situations of battle, tournament and hunting will provide the necessary basic background knowledge for discussing the details of the horse's abilities and functional relations. The details of medieval cavalry are a matter of constant scholarly debate<sup>82</sup> and their proportion within the armies varied considerably throughout the Middle Ages. This book cannot go into the details of military development, but there is no need

<sup>80</sup> In the late 1980s and 1990s historians like Bachrach (1988), Gillmor (1992), Hyland (1994, 1998), Ayton (1994) and Bennett (1995) made efforts to construct and spread a differentiated picture of the medieval warhorse based on careful analysis of the sources and practical equestrian knowledge to deconstruct the romantic fairytale image.

<sup>81</sup> De la Guérinière (Reitkunst. Albrecht & Durand, et al. (eds.) 1996: 169–170) summarises the traits sought after in cavalry horses from an early-modern perspective.

<sup>82</sup> For details on the tactical use of the cavalry and its development over time see: Clauss (2009: esp. 50–56), Jarymowycz (2008: 39–54), Sidnell (2006: 303–330), Dinzelbacher (2000b: 798–202), Hyland (1998: esp. 27–47, 1994: esp. 95–105), Gelbhaar (1997: 259–261), Ayton (1994: esp. 26–28), Gillmor (1992), Davis (1989: 11–29), Bachrach (1988: 183–198), Meyer (1982: 126–175), Morris (1914).

to do so either, since the standards the horses had to meet depended on their field of action irrespective of the composition of the armed forces in general. If horses were used in direct military confrontation and not only for troop transport, there were three arms usually employed by the rider: lance, spear and sword.<sup>83</sup> Archery on horseback played a disputed role in western medieval cavalry. According to Ayton (1994: 18–19; 57), Clauss (2009: 55), Davis (1989: 26–27) and Meyer (1982: 137–138; 162) archers were mainly just riding to their place of action and dismounting for the real fight. The sword was reserved for close combat, the spear could be used either in close combat or thrown from a distance and the lance was a tool to break the opponent's lines. For practical reasons the sword was usually combined with either the lance or the spear in order to avoid being unarmed in case of losing the weapon wielded first. In addition, a shield could be carried. The number of necessary and optional arms confronts rider and horse with the challenge of managing numerous implements simultaneously. Imagining this task makes it obvious that the knight essentially had to rely on his horse to be effortlessly manageable, simply because he had no capacities to permanently concentrate on the mount.

Duarte I of Portugal dedicates large parts of his 1438 book on horsemanship to describing the most efficient techniques for using weapons on horseback (Duarte I of Portugal. *The Book of Horsemanship*. Forgeng (ed.) 2016: 101–136). The quintessence is that a good rider can use a good horse as an amplifier for the impact of his weapon. To achieve this, it is crucial that rider, horse and weapon can interact instantaneously and controllably. Only in this way can the high investment in equipment and education for rider and horse really pay off in serious battle. The choice of weapon and also armour determines which type of horse suits the situation best. The two key characteristics in this respect are the horse's physical strength and agility, which are inversely proportional in the sense that the stronger a horse is, the less agile it tends to be and vice versa. The more specialised the use of a riding horse is supposed to be, the more exactly the rider has to heed the proportion between strength and agility to choose the most effective mount for his needs.

What has been pointed out for warhorses generally holds true for the use of horses in tournaments, too. In mass close combat, melee, the fighters were armed with lance plus sword plus shield or spear plus sword plus shield, whereas in the iconic jousting the lance was the only weapon, accompanied by a protective shield. The hypothesis that tournament primarily served as a preparation for warfare has been challenged<sup>84</sup> and it seems plausible that in England at least from the early 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards, as Barker (1986: 14; 17–44) suggests, the tournaments, the equipment used and probably also the horses have become mostly separate from real fighting and developed into a sport.<sup>85</sup> Within the field of tournament, the different types of competitions again underwent specialisation, also in the selection of horses. Barker (1986: 13) observes a change from melee battle dominating the 12<sup>th</sup> and most of the 13<sup>th</sup> century to the preference of jousting in the later Middle Ages. Melee horses have to be strong to use their body mass, but even more so agile and moveable to turn quickly and allow the rider to reach superior positions in attacking or retreat. For jousting, on the other hand, the horses can be more massive to increase momentum and need not be particularly versatile because they basically only have to run straight along the tilt. As simple as this sounds, these horses had to be exceptionally bold because they had to literally face the opponent. They also had to take all the shock of the inevitable collision and, which is yet more demanding, do so repeatedly without starting to avoid the danger, see Barker (1986: 173–175).

<sup>83</sup> More on weapons and armour in cavalry can be found in Mondschein (2015, 2011: 98–115), Clements (2007), Sidnell (2006: 313–317), Ascherl (1988), Nickel (1988: esp. 218–226), Meyer (1982: 147–152), and Moffat (2013), Fallows (2010), Barker (1986: 179–180) for weapons in tournament.

<sup>84</sup> For detailed discussions of the purpose of tournaments see Barthélemy (2008), Zotz (2002), Neumeyer (1998), Ayton (1994: 33–37), Gillmor (1992: 16–20), Nickel (1988: esp. 214), Barker (1986), Meyer (1982: 162–165).

<sup>85</sup> For more details on the development of the tournament, particularly in England, see Barker (1986) and Damen (2012), Edington (1998), Denholm-Young (1969), Cripps-Day (1918). Crouch (2006), Hyland (1999: 99–115), Nickel (1988) and the miscellany by Fleckenstein (1985) provide a geographically broader overview.

Hunting horses were most likely lighter than the specialised mounts for close combat, depending on the kind of prey that was hunted and the weapons used.<sup>86</sup> For hunting big game with a spear or a sword the proportion between agility and strength had to be balanced because the horse had to be flexible enough to pursue the game through rough terrain and strong enough not to falter from the impact of the weapon on the quarry. As a rough rule, one can state that the lighter the prey, the lighter the horses could be. Sure-footedness and stamina, however, were the most prominent measures of quality<sup>87</sup> in hunting horses, since the pursuit of game took place cross-country, traversing all sorts of obstacles, and could last for hours.

Like warriors, hunters – and huntresses – have to handle other things than only their horse, namely their weapons and in falconry also their birds. In his mid-13th century treatise *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus* the emperor Frederick II points out that a horse for falconry should be nimble, docile and dauntless, as Gladitz (1997: 173) presents it. All forms of work on horseback are characterised by the necessity to lead the reins with just one hand (see the chapter on the reins, pp. 116ff.), but falconry is the only activity in which the reins are held with the right hand while the bird sits on the left. The reason is that the falconer has to tend to the intricate cap on the fragile bird's head with the right hand not to damage either of them. In doing so, the rider not only has to be skilled enough to guide the horse with both hands equally well but without any contact to the reins at all in the moments when the bird needs attention. This calls for the highest level of communication between rider and horse.

In general, establishing a cross-species communication between rider and horse is the basis of all riding, otherwise any attempt to handle a horse, let alone ride it, would be in vain (see the chapter on the aids pp. 97ff.). This communication is very individual in practice, although a range of different useful approaches has been established throughout history. The details of the methods to establish such a communication are not relevant here but the demands the result has to meet are. If a horse is ridden with the purpose to attack either a military opponent or game, the most crucial point is that the horse strictly and immediately executes the rider's commands. This necessarily includes that the horse understands what the rider wants, that it is physically able to perform the task and that it is willing and mentally able to respond.

The movements a horse has to perform in pursuing, attacking and escaping an opponent – be it a human or game – are highly complex motion patterns (see the chapter on manoeuvres, pp. 158ff. and Bachrach (1988: 183–198)) that additionally need to be retrievable under challenging to life-threatening circumstances. Therefore, most of the processes need to be automated both in horse and rider or else the manoeuvres will inevitably fail for lack of time. In armed encounters, success and failure are a matter of split seconds, so the participants must react immediately without reconsidering and consciously executing the single steps of motion. To acquire a wide and thus effective repertoire of dependably retrievable motion patterns requires years of constant training. First, the single steps need to be established, then more and more difficult combinations can evolve and finally all that has been achieved in a training ground has to be transferred to different and increasingly distracting and complex situations.

The estimations of a time span to reach a safe level of education for a horse used in battle or tournament can vary considerably depending very much on the physical condition and skill of both horse and trainer and the frequency and quality of training. From practical experience one to three years of intensive training, including the basic riding education, can be considered reasonable to

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<sup>86</sup> For details on medieval hunting see: Stuhmiller (2015), Crane (2013: 101–119), Smets & van den Abeele (2011), Almond (2009), Bord & Mugg (2008), Dasler (2008), Fietze (2005), Paravicini Bagliani & van den Abeele (2000), Dinzelbacher (2000b: 185–189), Rösener (1997), Cummins (1988), Warmbier (1959). For England see: Thomas (2007), Sykes (2006), Oggins (2004), Hyland (1999: 90–97), Rooney (1993), Hands (1975).

<sup>87</sup> See also the early-modern view of de la Guérinière (Reitkunst. Albrecht & Durand, et al. (eds.) 1996: 274–283).

produce a horse which is able to perform safely in exigent mounted activities. Educating a supreme mount for man-to-man encounters will certainly take longer. Hence, the time for the training alone, leaving aside the investment in staff, equipment and infrastructure for exercise, explains why skilled horses were a rare and valuable good. Ayton (1994: 194–251; esp. 195–196), for instance, gives a good overview of prices for different horses, as well as Barker (1986: 174), Hyland (1994: 80–81, 1998: 29–30), Meyer (1982: 152) and Prévot & Ribémont (1994: 34–45).

Even if the horse theoretically understands all the actions it is required to carry its rider through, it would nevertheless be more of a risk for the rider than a support if the horse lacked good physical fitness. Why fighting on horseback is demanding for the horse's body will be explained in more detail in the chapters on manoeuvres, pp. 158ff. Here it is sufficient to remember that the horses need to shift quickly and frequently between acceleration, deceleration and changes of direction. All of this has to happen on mostly uneven ground like churned battlefields or cross-country in the fields or woods and the action is most of the time not predictable, so the body has to be prepared for anything at any time. Moreover, the horse not only carries its own weight but a rider plus riding equipment, arms and occasionally armour. This is highly demanding both for the strength and the stamina of the animal and would ruin the mount immediately if it was not adequately prepared. The preparation of a warhorse is a matter of time and resources, which exceeds the investment in a horse for travel by far because the travelling horse can literally exercise on the road and can be used as needed after just a short period of building up. For obvious reasons of safety the method of learning by doing is hardly feasible in warfare. In tournament and hunting, instead, one may assume that inexperienced horses would probably have been allowed to take part non-competitively and according to their levels of skill as a method of training. Such practices are not yet proven for the Middle Ages, though. They might perhaps have been too common and too plain to be described in writing, since no heroic deeds could be expected from youngsters going along with the experts.

From these descriptions of the required abilities of horses used in armed encounters we may infer some information on the physical build of these animals. Goodall (1984: 164–165) and Bennett (1995: 26) comprehensibly characterise the animals as cob-types. This means the horses were basically of a compact format with a round and muscular build based on robust hooves and legs so that they had no trouble carrying a lot of weight and at the same time operating in a small radius (see the chapters on height, pp. 89ff. and physical properties, pp. 91ff.). This basic type could vary in different directions to adapt to human needs: a little lighter and more agile, for example, for tasks requiring more flexibility but yet strength like melee combat or hunting big game, lighter and faster for pursuing quick prey or scouting missions, stronger and more massive for shock action in tournament jousting or on the battlefield, especially when plate armour was worn.

The last fundamental trait of a horse meant to work with weapons was surely its mental stability. Fearful, skittish or panicking, but also non-compliant or stubborn mounts are generally dangerous to ride on but especially precarious in hostile encounters. A knight or hunter can only battle one opponent at a time and if this one opponent is his own horse, the chances for success in the greater strife vanish. Therefore three mental aspects have to be considered that make a proper horse at arms: character, trust and training.

Like with humans, we find cowards and daredevils amongst horses and we may safely suppose that medieval knights preferably chose the brave characters for mounted combat. It is important to note that aggression in this respect is a very tricky trait that should not be confused with spirit. Aggression is a reaction to triggers and can rarely be really checked and exclusively called upon at will. Hyland (1994: xii and 1999: 110–111) suggests that using several stallions in groups triggered their natural aggression to fight rivals, which then was encouraged on purpose in situations like melee fights by “[t]raining and severe biting [...] yet with the overriding control of the knight”. From a practical perspective this seems to be irresponsibly risky because it is highly doubtful that

the fuelled aggression could really be directed at the opponent by will of the rider and was not unleashed against the own ranks on account of the hormone-driven horses. Male horses indeed have a tendency to possess more fighting spirit and aggression than females because it is their natural task to protect their herd (see chapter on male mature horses, pp. 52ff.). This can be useful for training them to fight alongside their riders but can also be problematic if it gets out of control (see the chapter on rearing and kicking, pp. 173f). Taking all this into consideration, we may conclude that the ideal character of a horse in warfare, tournament and hunting is bold and fearless but at the same time manageable and not overly aggressive.

Boldness is something one can easily strengthen in a horse by habituation but only if the animal trusts its rider. Without trust the training would just make the horse more frightened because if someone the horse does not consider trustworthy brings it into a frightening situation, the horse will find confirmation that it should better not follow the one who put it into this situation. Forcing the animal to endure the procedure aggravates the horse's mistrust and will eventually lead to the horse turning against the human. Depending on the horse's character this happens sooner or later, but a horse ruled by fear instead of trust is never entirely safe – a piece of advice which has been elaborated on by Xenophon (*Reitkunst*. Widdra (ed.) 2007: 85, 11.6) and later particularly by de la Guérinière (*Reitkunst*. Albrecht & Durand, et al. (eds.) 1996: 273).

The mental training aims at getting the horse used to the loud noises, sudden movements, irritating sights and scary smells that go along with fighting, wounding and killing.<sup>88</sup> Horses would normally run away from all this but can be taught to tolerate surprisingly much. Achieving this demands time, staff and equipment but is essential to getting as safe a mount as possible. If a horse cannot bear the turmoil, panic will override all trained education and the instincts will take over, leaving the rider dangerously helpless. Thus, mental stability in being obedient and fearless while opposing danger instead of fleeing is a crucial trait in horses for armed encounter and can be regarded almost as a priceless life insurance for the rider. It is hence understandable why riders in general but especially warriors form a close relationship with their mounts. Clauss (2009: 47–48) gives examples for knights who are portrayed to mourn the loss of their horses like a human companion's. This emotional component is, alongside with the financial value of well-trained riding horses an aspect that should not be underestimated in the discussion of horses in war, in tournament and on the hunt.

## GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS

The semantically broadest and most common Middle English nouns to describe horses for armed encounters are *stede* and *hors*. The nouns *courser*, *destrer* and *justere* are a bit more specific in their meanings and the nouns *fole* and especially *blanke* are poetic expressions with ambiguous semantics but a clear connection to fighting on horseback. The noun *roile* was included in this discussion but proved not to doubtlessly refer to a warhorse, maybe not a horse at all. To complete the picture the words *rennere* and *huntere* were tested in the CMEPV to discover whether they were used for horses, but no results could be found.

## ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

For the etymology of *stede* see p. 37, for *hors* p. 37.

The noun *courser* is a borrowing from French, which is first attested in English in 1300 and ultimately originates in Latin *cursum* 'running, run, race, course' (OED: s.v. *courser*, n.2). For the

<sup>88</sup> Methods to toughen horses are for example described in Grisone (*The Rules of Riding*. Tobey & Deigan (eds.) 2014: 363–371) and Blundeville (*A Newe Booke Containing the Arte of Ryding, and Breakinge Greate Horses*. EEBO Editions (ed.) 1561: book 3, chapter 19, fol. Diiiib–Dvb).

French noun *courser* the AND (s.v. *courser*, s.) gives the meaning ‘charger’.<sup>89</sup>

**Destrer** entered the English language from Old French *destrier* via Anglo-Norman *destrer*. It appears in the written sources from c. 1290 onwards. The word goes back to the full Latin form *equus dextrarius* which describes a warhorse “being led by the squire with his right hand” (OED: s.v. *destrer* / *destrier*, n.).

The noun **justere** was taken over from Anglo-Norman *justour* sometime in the 1300s and primarily names ‘one who jousts or fights on horseback with a spear, in battle or (esp. in later use) in tournament’ but can also refer to the horse engaged in such activities (OED: s.v. *jouster* / *juster*, n.).

For the etymology of **fole** see p. 42.

**Blanke** goes back to Old English *blanca* / *blonca* which basically means ‘white horse’ but became a poetic expression for horses in general (OED: s.v. *blonk*, n.)

The Middle English noun **roile** is of unknown origin and is listed in the OED (s.v. *roil*, n.1) with the first record in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century and the meaning ‘inferior horse’. In the MED (s.v. *roile*, n.), however, the entry gives the sense ‘a war horse, charger’ which renders the investigation of this term potentially worthwhile.

## SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

For reference to a horse used in mounted combat, the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE] with the attribute [purpose] taking the value [mounted combat] is most significant for grasping the general layer of the concept. As figure 22 on p. 208 shows, a broad range of connected core attributes and values is required to access the essence of the concept.

The semantic differentiation of the terms that assumedly evoke frame attributes referencing the qualities of riding horses we discussed in the previous section on encyclopaedic knowledge has to rely on the immediate co-text determining the horses’ purpose in this very moment. It is often the case that the same horses are described with different terms depending on the portrayed action and the poetic circumstances, as well. In this chapter’s analysis the frame attribute [purpose] of the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE] is in the foreground. The value which is most relevant here will be labelled [mounted combat] for convenience although it references a horse for fighting, either in real or tournament combat or on the hunt.

To apply the frame value [mounted combat] in a practical manner to the text passages we have to assume that horses featured in scenes of battle and tournament were indeed perceived and conceptualised as {WARHORSE} unless explicitly stated differently, as we will also see in the chapter on horses that are not suited for riding, pp. 80ff. In hunting scenes the frame value [mounted combat] in the aforementioned sense is applicable to a certain degree, but it highly depends on the exact task of the horse. If a hunting horse is ridden in a spear, lance or sword attack it performs just like a warhorse. If it is used for archery, the basic requirements are similar and in falconry the task shares the least but yet a considerable amount of the fundamental qualities with warhorses. The lowest common denominator, the set of core aspects innate in the majority of horses linked to the conceptual field {WARHORSE} are: {build} with the subordinate aspect {robust}, ‘training’ with subordinate aspects like {advanced} and {skilled}, {character} with subordinate aspects like {bold} and {spirited}, {sex} with the subordinate aspect {male}, as well as the abstract aspects {quality} and {financial value} both with subordinate aspects like {high}.

The attempt to distinguish the specific, purpose related meaning of **stede** is just as intricate as singling out the generic usages was. Therefore the assessment of this noun ultimately has to remain

<sup>89</sup> For the French vocabulary for warhorses see Prévot & Ribémont (1994: 173–183)

vague despite the fact that it is with 1407 hits in the CMEPV the second most frequent word for a horse type. We will analyse *stede* ahead of the more common *hors* because *stede* seems to have a more pronounced connection to the aspect {mounted combat} than *hors*, as for instance the entry in the MED (s.v. *stede*, n.2, 1.) suggests: “(a) A splendid, noble, spirited horse; a riding horse; (b) a war horse, charger”. Since theoretically even in battle scenes the noun *stede* could be used generically it is impossible to definitely discriminate between the generic and specific use and therefore no fixed numbers can be provided here. Instead, we will collect a set of frame attributes and values which are likely to apply if the *stede* in the text operates in a fighting situation. Such a flexible and co-text-based guideline seems to be the most feasible approach at hand.

We will start the examination of *stede* with the basic frame attribute [purpose] taking the value [mounted combat]. There is no need to present various illustrative examples for fighting scenes here since they will recur several times throughout the rest of the book. A crucial scenario in this context is, however, the description of how a knight changes mounts from travelling to fighting since this clearly points out the function of the *stede* as primarily combat related. In (26) the knight exchanges his mule for a *stede*:

- (26) Of the mewle he downe starte  
 And toke hys stede wyth gode herte.  
 All hys harnes he toke well ryght  
 And arrayed hym, as a doghty knyght, [...] <sup>90</sup>  
 (*The Romance of Guy of Warwick*. Zupitza (ed.) 1875-1876: 28, l. 975–978)

- (27) [...] and than thei lefte theire palfreyes and lepe vpon stedes covered in maile that thei hadde ther so good and so feire that no man neded to seche better in no londe. <sup>91</sup>  
 (*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 260, chapter 16)

In (27) we can observe another typical contrasting juxtaposition which is created by using *stede* to refer to a riding horse for a knight and *palefrei* for a travelling horse (for more on *palefrei* see pp. 75ff.). In example (28) the contrast is highlighted further by the rider of the *stede* being the king and the rider of the *palefrei* being the queen, paralleling the highest rank amongst humans with the highest-ranking types of horses in the military and civilian sector.

- (28) [...] And whanne þe King come to þe gate of &te Brygge of London, þere þay presentid hym with a mylke-white stede, sadelled and brydilled, & trapped with white cloth of golde and red parted togadir, and þe Quene a palfraye alle white, trappid yn þe same aray with white and rede [...] <sup>92</sup>  
 (*The Brut*. Brie (ed.) 1906, 1908: 2.347)

This adds a certain notion of masculinity to the *stede* which is rooted in the fact that military and other forms of fighting were a male domain, both regarding the riders and the horses, as we have seen in the section on encyclopaedic knowledge in this chapter and the chapter on male horses, p. 52. Hence we do not need to consider the frame attribute [sex] with the value [male] at length here, but the simple reminder should be sufficient that masculinity usually seems to be implied in the specific purpose of the horse and is sometimes directly expressed by the use of masculine pronouns for the horse.

<sup>90</sup> He jumped down from his mule  
 And took his steed with good heart.  
 All his fighting equipment he took well right  
 And arrayed himself, as a valiant knight [...].

<sup>91</sup> [...] and then they left their palfreys and leapt upon steeds covered in mail that they had there so good and fair that no man needed to search better ones in any land.

<sup>92</sup> [...] And when the King came to the gate of the Bridge of London, there they presented him with a milk-white steed, saddled and bridled and adorned with trappings of white cloth of gold and red joined together, and the Queen a palfrey all white, adorned with the same array of trappings with white and red [...].

The matter of the horse's skills and training will be elaborated on later in this book (pp. 158ff.) so one short example from the 14<sup>th</sup> century version of the *Romance of Guy of Warwick* seems to be enough to illustrate this aspect in connection to the noun *stede*:

- (29) Her steden þai turned snelle,  
 & to-gider þai smiten wiþ gode wille [...] <sup>93</sup>  
 (*The Romance of Guy of Warwick*. Zupitza (ed.) 1883, 1887, 1891: 176, Auchinlek Ms. l. 3053–3054)

This passage establishes the connection between *stede* and the frame attribute [level of training] which then evokes values like [advanced] because quick manoeuvres in battle are impossible without proper preparation, as we have gathered from analysing the practical aspects of mounted fighting. Hence, we can conclude that if the frame attribute [purpose] takes the value [mounted combat] it constrains the attribute [level of training] to taking values like [advanced].

Similarly the attribute [character] is usually linked with values such as [bold], [spirited] and the like if the horse that is referred to also evokes the value [mounted combat] for the frame attribute [purpose]. In some texts, like the *Chronicle* by Peter Langtoft we find narrations of bold horses facing dangerous situations like crossing a deep river which give insight into the horse's character:

- (30) þe stede he had asaied, & knew þat he was gode,  
 In to þe watere he straied, & passed wele þat flode. <sup>94</sup>  
 (Peter of Langtoft. *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle*. Hearne (ed.) 1725: 219)

Crossing a river requires a considerable amount of courage and sure-footedness of a horse since the current and the subsoil are difficult to assess in advance and the threat to slip or to bog is omnipresent. Keeping balance and avoiding a fall is much more challenging with a rider on top. Considering such practical aspects, the following lines from *Le Morte Arthur* draw a more intense picture of the mental requirements in a warhorse. This scene glimpses at the horrors of battle by describing the horses not only crossing a river but wading in pools of blood:

- (31) [...] Stedys that were bolde and snelle  
 A-monge hem waden in the blode [...] <sup>95</sup>  
 (*Le Morte Arthur*. Bruce (ed.) 1903: 67, l. 2234–2235)

In this example the frame value [bold] is phrased supplementary to the noun *stede* although this value was supposedly evoked by the noun itself. Yet in the given situation it is understandable that the boldness of the horses is highlighted additionally.

As we have observed in the discussion of the encyclopaedic knowledge about warhorses, another quality of such mounts is that the attribute [build] takes values like [robust] because otherwise the horses would not survive the demands of their riders. This is, however, hard to pinpoint in specific text passages and can rather be gathered from the descriptions of horse's duties on a larger scale. The frame attribute [height] taking the value [great] is closely connected to, although most likely not necessarily constrained by the attribute [build] with the value [robust] since small horses can be sturdy, too. In passages like those given as examples (32) and (33) the use of adjectives like *gret*, *heigh* and *mighti* adds the aspect of {great height} to the picture.

- (32) [...] And thre feyre stedys grete and hye  
 (Feyrer sye neuyr man wyth eye:  
 All be as whyte, as any snowe:

<sup>93</sup> Their steeds they turned swiftly,  
 And they clashed together readily [MED (s.v. *god wille*, phr., 2.c)].

<sup>94</sup> He had tested the steed and knew that he was good,  
 Into the water he strayed and passed that river well.

<sup>95</sup> [...] Steeds that were bold and swift  
 Waded amongst them in the blood [...].



Feyrer may no man knowe) [...] <sup>96</sup>

(*The Romance of Guy of Warwick*. Zupitza (ed.) 1875-1876: 16, l. 539–542)

- (33) And furth anon was brought Grissell his stede,  
A myghti hors and very sure atte nede [...] <sup>97</sup>

(*Generydes*. Wright (ed.) 1873, 1878: 105, l. 3301–3302)

Besides the description of physical features, example (33) shows another noteworthy aspect which is the augmentation of *sure* evoking values like [reliable] for the frame attribute [character]. The emphasis on this trait can be interpreted as a sign that *stede* in general referred to a reliable and thus valuable horse but that this particular mount was exceptional in this respect. The question of the value and quality of a horse is naturally a highly individual topic, but in particular for working and more so fighting animals reliability is a fundamental criterion. If *stede* names a mount performing tasks in war, tournament and hunting the frame attribute [quality] most likely takes the value [high].

The *Boke of Marchalsi* (Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: fol. 11a l. 9 and 14) uses the noun *stede* only two times but tellingly in a paragraph describing geographical areas in which one can find warhorses of finest quality. Yet due to the brevity of the passages no further information can be deduced on the specifics of the word. From Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, in contrast, we get a lavishly poetic description of the glory of riding a *stede*:

- (34) The grete emetreus, the kyng of inde  
Upon a steede bay trapped in steel,  
Covered in clooth of gold, dyapred weel,  
Cam ridynge lyk the God of armes, mars. <sup>98</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 38, Knight's Tale, l. 2156–2159)

The allusion to Mars, the god of war, clearly emphasises the reference of *stede* to a highly skilled warhorse and at the same time underlines the enumeration of material valuables horse and rider are adorned with. In this respect not only the financial value of the mount becomes evident but also its reputational value. As we have discussed earlier, it is comprehensible that horses possessing the specific range of elemental properties and having undergone extensive training to fulfil their duty in fighting were expensive, see p. 62. We can hence assume that *stede* in its specific use by itself evoked the value [high] for the frame attribute [financial value] and therefore also for the attribute [reputational value]. In some rare cases the high price is mentioned explicitly to distinguish the horse from others like in the 15<sup>th</sup> century version of the *Romance of Guy of Warwick*:

- (35) Faste he pryckyd þorowe þe ooste  
On hys stede, þat moche coste. <sup>99</sup>

(*The Romance of Guy of Warwick*. Zupitza (ed.) 1875-1876: 106, l. 3719–3720)

In sum, the noun *stede* in its specific sense could be shown to evoke the core attribute [purpose] with the core value [mounted combat] which constrains the core attribute [sex] with the core value

<sup>96</sup> [...] And three fair steeds, great and high  
(No one has ever laid eyes upon any fairer:  
All were white, just as snow:  
Fairer may no man know) [...].

<sup>97</sup> And forth right now was brought Grissell his steed,  
A mighty horse and very sure at need [...].

<sup>98</sup> The great Emetreus, the King of India  
Upon a bay steed, dressed in steel armour  
Covered in cloth of gold / woven well with ornaments  
Came riding / like the god of arms Mars [...]

<sup>99</sup> Vigorously he pricked through the host  
on his steed that cost much.

[male], the core attribute [build] with the core value [robust], the core attribute [level of training] with the core value [advanced] and the core attribute [character] with values like [bold] and [spirited]. All these attributes and values contribute to the more abstract core attributes [quality], [financial value] and [reputational value] with the core value [high]. The frame attribute [height] presumably not necessarily evokes the value [great], although the association might have been subliminal. Figure 23 on p. 208 summarises these results.

For the noun *hors* basically the same observations hold true that we made for *stede* with the one exception that in *hors* the association with the attribute [mounted combat] for the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE] is probably less prevalent, with the generic sense being in the foreground. This is, however, a hypothesis based on the examination of the 5663 hits from the CMEPV and more a matter of personal impression than reliable numbers. The reason is, again, that the specific and generic senses cannot be clearly separated in the vast majority of cases. Since the similarities to the use of *stede* are so pronounced there is no need to go through all the single aspects again, compare figures 23 and 24 on p. 208.

Instead, some cases shall be discussed which foreground the differing features of *hors* and *stede*. In the MED (s.v. *hors*, n., 2.c, d) the phrasal constructions *heigh hors*, *gret hors*, *hors of armes* or *hors of were* can be found to express the frame value [mounted combat] in the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE]. These phrases are very rare in the CMEPV despite the mass of hits for *hors*, and for *stede* such constructions are not known at all. Taking the mere existence of phrasal constructions with *hors* for describing warhorses into account supports the hypothesis that the conceptual field {WARHORSE} is distinctly more present in *stede* than in *hors*. Thus, *hors* may require additionally verbalised information to disambiguate the frame attribute [purpose], while this connection is inherent in the noun *stede* itself. Since the phrasal constructions with *hors* seem not to be particularly common in written Middle English the noun *hors* itself given in the specific co-text of a battle scene very likely alludes sufficiently much to the concepts associated with {WARHORSE} to convey the author's intention.

As a conclusion we may thus suppose that if *hors* is used in the context of warfare, tournament and hunting, the noun evokes the frame attribute [purpose] with the value [mounted combat] with all its connected attributes and values: the attribute [sex] with the value [male], the attribute [build] with the value [robust], the attribute [level of training] with the value [advanced] as well as the attribute [character] with values like [bold] and [spirited]. As a consequence, the more abstract attributes [quality], [financial value] and [reputational value] take the value [high], see figure 24, p. 208. Those specific attributes and values are ostensibly less prominent in the semantic frame evoked by *hors* than in the frames of other terms referring to the frame attribute [purpose] with the value [mounted combat]. No outstanding and unique frame attributes for *hors* could be discovered. Hence, one may go so far as to argue that *hors* never loses its generic aspect entirely. Therefore it appears to be used preferably when either the exact type of horse is not crucial for the scene, or the co-text and context are so unambiguous that no further specification is needed, or the poetic environment constrains the choice of words.

The noun *courser* with reference to a type of horse is with 192 hits in the CMEPV<sup>100</sup> and two in the *Boke of Marchalsi* far less common than *hors* and *stede* but its semantics are more tangible since the text passages revealed no generic sense. Instead, the respective horses are all involved in martial activities, although not only directly for combat but also for related errands requiring particular strength and speed.

<sup>100</sup> Most hits are from Caxton's *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, the high number in the latter being mostly due to the incorporation of the various manuscript versions of the text in the CMEPV.

As the general characteristics of warhorses have been established in detail, the focus is here on some examples to discuss how the noun *courser* is embedded in the narration of fighting scenes. Example (36) is a passage from *Melusine* in which the horse referenced by *courser* is clearly shown to be performing a course or charge, the very action which is supposedly the reason for its name:

- (36) Thanne camme there Raymondyn that satte on a fayre & strong courser, alle in whyte,  
& at hys first cours he ouerthrew the Erle of Forestz [...]<sup>101</sup>

(*Melusine*. Donald (ed.) 1895: 55, chapter 17)

Beyond the basic perception of the *courser* as {hors for mounted combat} with all the attributes and values established at the beginning of this chapter, some more aspects could be singled out that seem to be evoked by *courser* specifically. One of them is the agility of the horses that is, as we have seen in the section on the practical aspects in this chapter, a feature of warhorses that varies in prominence. The following scene from Caxton's *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* narrates an unusual field of work for the protagonist's horse since the mount plays a supportive role in the knight's amorous endeavours. Despite the adverse aims in love and war the exact same skills that are necessary on the battlefield come in handy in snatching a kiss off a lady, as well.

- (37) Blanchardyn seeyng the oure and the poynt that he sholde furnysshe hys enterpryse  
that ful sore he desyred to fynysse, smote hys courser wyth the spore for to kysse her  
as he furth by her went, wherof happed, by þe bruyt that his hors made, that she loked  
bakward for to se what he was that so hastely rode after her. And so well it fortunod  
Blanchardyn that bothe theyre mouthes recountred, and kyst eche other fast [...]<sup>102</sup>

(Caxton. *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*. Kellner (ed.) 1890: 41, chapter 11)

Judging from the success of the described action in this example it seems as if *courser* evokes a value like [fast] for the frame attribute [motion] belonging to the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE]. This aspect becomes more pronounced in text passages in which the horses are supposed to perform errand runs as those in examples (38) and (39).

- (38) He called to him his Messanger  
And bad him take a good Courser  
And [ride] to Priamus, the kyng,  
And telle him this tydyng: [...]<sup>103</sup>

(*The Laud Troy Book*. Wülfing (ed.) 1902-1903: 87, l. 2937–2940)

- (39) He on a courser, startlynge as the fir,  
Is riden into the feeldes hym to pleye [...]<sup>104</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 31, Knight's Tale, l. 1502–1503)

Dent (1959: 4) observes that *courser* is “used [...] by Chaucer to denote the fastest horse he could think of”. Hyland (1998: 30), furthermore, acknowledges that the word from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards meant ‘a racehorse’ (OED: s.v. *courser*, n.2, 1.b) and weaves the threads of swiftness and military ability together by characterising the medieval *courser* as a warhorse “of a lighter stamp”. Judging from the data at hand this assessment seems adequate since the capabilities of running at

<sup>101</sup> Then there came Raymondyn who sat on a splendid and strong courser, all in white, and at his first course he overthrew the Earl of Forestz [...].

<sup>102</sup> Blanchardyn seeing the hour and the point that he should furnish his enterprise that he desired sorely to finish, struck his courser with the spurs in order to kiss her as he passed her by, whereby it happened, by the noise that his horse made, that she looked backwards to see who he was who rode so hastily after her. And Blanchardyn was so fortunate that both their mouths met and kissed each other firmly [...].

<sup>103</sup> He called to him his messenger  
And asked him to take a good courser  
And ride to Priamus, the King,  
And tell him these news: [...].

<sup>104</sup> He on a courser, leaping as the fire,  
Is ridden into the fields to fight playfully [...].

high speed and manoeuvring flexibly correlate with a lighter, less sturdy type of horse (see p. 62).

One more aspect that crystallised from the scrutiny of the text passages is the apparent link between *courser* and the part of the concept {WARHORSE} that focuses on the mounts outstanding quality, as Turville-Petre (2013: 158; 164) notes. This notion is to a certain degree inherent in the noun *courser* itself but is occasionally emphasised by adjectives like *god*, *faire*, *riche*. That *courser* implicitly evokes the value [high] or even [highest] for the attribute [quality] is closely linked to but not necessarily constrained by the attribute [purpose] taking the value [mounted combat]. As we have seen, such an indication has to refer to a horse of exceptional build and skill because otherwise the horse would not stand the demands of fighting. Besides this predominant reason there are several passages illustrating that horses referred to by *courser* were bred in regions that were famous for their premium riding horses. One of these examples is the description of the horse of brass in Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*:

- (40) [...] For it so heigh was, and so brood and long,  
So wel proporcioned for to been strong,  
Right as it were a steede of lumbardye;  
Therwith so horsly, and so quyk of ye,  
As it a gentil poilleys courser were.  
For certes, fro his tayl unto his ere,  
Nature ne art ne koude hym nat amende [...]<sup>105</sup>  
(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 130, Squire's Tale, l. 191–197)

A similar reference can be found in the *Boke of Marchalsi* where the word *courser* is also used in a description of where to find high-quality mounts, see *The Boke of Marchalsi*. Odenstedt (ed.) (1973: fol. 11b, l.10 and 12b l. 14).

The concept {high quality} which is pervasive in the semantic frame of *courser* goes hand in hand with the value [high] for the frame attribute [financial value] as becomes especially evident in enumerations of riches like the following from *The Brut / The Chronicles of England*.

- (41) For the Maire hym-self was clothed in rede Crymsyn velwett, and a grete velwet hatte furred royally, and a girdell of gold aboute his mydell, and a bawdrik of gold aboute his neck, trillyng doun behynde hym; and his .iiij. hensmen on .iiij. grete Coursoures foloyng hym, in oon sute of a good aray, in rede, all spangled in siluer; and then all the Aldermen in gownes of scarlet, with sangwyn cappes.  
(*The Brut*. Brie (ed.) 1906, 1908: 2.462)<sup>106</sup>

From his research in the Edwardian era, Ayton (1994: 63) confirms that a *courser* is indeed an expensive horse, “second only to the destrier in value”, as he phrases it. Before we continue with the discussion of the mentioned *destrer* as a horse type for fighting, we need to draw a conclusion on the aspects of the semantic frame we found to be expressed by the noun *courser*, see figure 25, p. 208. First of all *courser* evokes the frame attribute [purpose] with the core value [mounted combat] along with the adherent cluster of the core attribute [sex] with the core value [male], [level of training] with the core value [advanced], as well as the attribute [character] with values such as [bold] or [spirited] and the attribute [build] with the value [robust]. Closely linked to these but

<sup>105</sup> Because it was so high and so broad and long  
So well proportioned to be strong  
Right as if it was a steed of Lombardy  
Therewith so horse-like and so keen of eye  
As if it was a noble Apulian courser  
For certainly from his tail to his ear  
Neither nature nor art could amend him [...].

<sup>106</sup> For the mayor himself was clothed in red crimson velvet, and a great velvet hat furred royally, and a belt of gold about his middle, and a sash of gold about his neck, trailing down behind him; and his three attendants on three great coursers following him, in an ensemble well equipped, in red, all spangled in silver; and then all the aldermen in gowns of scarlet, with blood-red headdresses.

specific for *courser* is the frame attribute [motion] with the value [fast]. On a more abstract level we find once again the characteristic core attributes [quality], [financial value] and [reputational value] with the values [high] or even [highest].

For the horses referred to by the noun *destrer* Dent (1959: 5) states that they were “stallions by definition, because only entire males of certain heavy breeds were used as war-horses in the age of chivalry”. While we can agree on the aspect of masculinity, the conceptualisation as {heavy} certainly requires further examination for the reconstruction of a semantic frame. Gladitz (1997: 158) provides a more differentiated list of characteristics including “‘high-crested necks’ [...] fine conformation, full quarters and handsome size”. These physical properties agree perfectly with the features we have discussed in the section on encyclopaedic knowledge about horses for fighting (pp. 59ff.). This congruency is of course only logical since the characteristics are dictated by the function the horse has to serve but in the written sources these attributes are barely traceable.

The search in the CMEPV produced only 30 hits for *destrer*, nine of which are different manuscript versions from Chaucer’s *Sir Thopas*, and no examples could be found in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. From the remaining instances not much information on the type of horse can be gathered except that the mounts seem to be suitable for fighting:

- (42) Thenne descended Raymondin fro the destrer as appertly as he had be vnarmed, and sette hym in the chayer abydyng after his aduersary. It is trouth that long after that came Olyuer, right wel & nobly armed, and sett on a moche ryche destrier / and wel he semed man of grete fayttes / and so was he / & before hym came Josselin, his fader, on a palfray, and made reuerence to the kinge & hys Barons.<sup>107</sup>

(*Melusine*. Donald (ed.) 1895: 82, chapter 19)

Deducing from the co-texts of this example and similar passages, the horses seem to be noble and valuable since they are ridden in a parade revering the king and high nobility. The aspect {financial value} is of particular interest to Gladitz (1997: 158) and Ayton (1994: e.g. 63) who show that the *destrer* was presumably the most expensive horse and only affordable for very few. This is related to the fact that horses of the required physical excellence have always been rare, especially in combination with a sound mindset. Moreover, the high prizes are a sign that they were also well trained, as we discussed earlier in this chapter, pp. 61ff.

The specifics of the size of the *destrer*, Gladitz (1997: 158) argues, hardly can be given in exact measures, but he assumes that the *destrer* was large in relation to other horses of his time. The fact that amongst the 30 results from the CMEPV the noun *destrer* is six times accompanied by the adjective *gret* is remarkable since for the other nouns for horse types no such proportionally high accumulation could be detected. In one of these examples from *Mandeville’s Travels* the text employs the height of a *destrer* to describe an even greater, almost monstrous animal:

- (43) And þere ben also of oþer bestes als grete & more gretter þan is a destrere, And men clepen hem LOERANCZ [...]<sup>108</sup>

(Mandeville. *Mandeville’s Travels*. Hamelius (ed.) 1919, 1923: 1.193, chpt. 32)

In absolute terms this indication is not precise at all since the foreign, mythical animal is a poor reference point. Nonetheless, we are informed that the greatness of the *destrer* was apparently obvious enough to provide a reasonable comparison for the medieval recipients of the text.

<sup>107</sup> Then Raymondin descended from the destrier as soon as he had been unarmed, and sat himself in the chair waiting for his adversary. It is true that long after that Olyuer came, very well and nobly armed, and sitting on a very rich destrier / and he well seemed to be a man of great deeds / and so he was / and before him came Josselin, his father, on a palfrey, and made reverence to the King and his Barons.

<sup>108</sup> And there are also other beasts as great and greater than a destrier is, and people call them loerancz [...].

From the limited amount of data we can just conclude that the noun *destrer* supposedly evoked the core attribute [purpose] with the value [mounted combat] and its previously established cluster of core attributes and values, see figure 26, p. 208. Moreover, the attribute [height] with the value [great], as well as the attributes [quality], [financial value] and [reputational value] with the value [highest] seem to be more pronounced in the noun *destrer* than in the other terms for warhorses.

For the noun *justere* there were no hits in the CMEPV referring to a type of horse but only instances describing persons who joust or as the respective verb phrasing the action of doing so. The *Boke of Marchalsi* contains no application of *justere*, either. There are, however, three quotes from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century *King Alexander* that are mentioned in the MED (s.v. *justere*, n.). Interestingly, the editor glossed them all with *destrer* from another, assumedly more reliable, manuscript version (OED: s.v. *jouster* / *juster*, n., b). Considering the fact that none of the horses mentioned in these quotations is actively involved in jousting, we have to presume that the semantic frame evoked by *justere* is, if used for warhorses at all, probably similar to what we observed for *destrer*.

For the noun *fole* the distinction between the sense ‘immature horse’ (see pp. 43ff.) and ‘warhorse’ is primarily based on the frame attribute [purpose]. This means that the frame attribute [age] presumably evokes the value [immature] in those instances in which the animal is not working, mostly as a riding horse, or when its immaturity is overtly stated in the text. Reversely, those instances in which the horse performs adult tasks supposedly evoke the value [mature]. In the CMEPV analysis these examples make up almost 90% of the all in all 75 hits, whereas the *Boke of Marchalsi* consistently features the sense ‘immature horse’.

Most of the results from the CMEPV featuring adult horses are descriptions of armed activities or knights riding and *fole* therefore seems to evoke the value [mounted combat] for the frame attribute [purpose]. Turville-Petre (2013: esp. 161–164) discusses that in poetic texts *fole* is semantically very close to other terms for warhorses, especially to *stede*. The nouns could be applied almost synonymously depending on poetic circumstances, so *fole* could be chosen for instance in cases where *hors* or *stede* would not fulfil the requirements to keep the rhyme and metre. The following two examples illustrate how various lexical units are used for one and the same horse:

- (44) The same & þe selue tyme · as says me þe text,  
 Fro þe cuntre of capadose · come a kyd prince  
 To kyng philipp þe fers · & hym a fole bryngez;  
 A grett horse & a hoge · a hegh & a wilde,  
 A store & a styf stede · stalwortly bondyn [...]<sup>109</sup>  
 (*The Wars of Alexander*. Skeat (ed.) 1886: 27, Dublin Ms. l. 741–745)

- (45) Þe fole þat he ferkkes on fyn of þat ilke,  
 Sertayn,  
 A grene hors gret and þikke,  
 A stede ful stif to strayne,  
 In brawdren brydel quik [...]<sup>110</sup>  
 (*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Tolkien & Gordon (eds.) 1967: 6, Passus 1)

<sup>109</sup> The selfsame time as the text tells me,  
 From the country of Cappadocia comes a renowned Prince  
 To King Philipp the fierce and brings him a foal;  
 A great horse and a huge, a tall and a wild,  
 A strong and a mighty steed securely bound [...].

<sup>110</sup> The foal that he urges on fine of that same [colour],  
 Certainly,  
 A green horse great and stout,  
 A steed very fierce to restrain,  
 Quick in pulling the bridle [...].

We may therefore assume that the frame attributes and values we gathered for *stede* and *hors* are most likely also evoked by *fole*, see figure 27 on p. 208. If we consider the aspect {immaturity} and a possible connection to {WARHORSE} there is a slight possibility that even in the sense ‘warhorse’ an allusion to the horse’s youth or immaturity is present. This would mean that *fole* despite evoking the core attribute [purpose] with the value [mounted combat] may implicitly evoke the value [immature] for the frame attribute [age], just as *hors* even in its generic sense may faintly allude to the value [male] for the frame attribute [sex]. The corpus data, however, does not provide sufficient material to safely test this hypothesis.

**Blanke** is one of the few originally Old English poetic terms in our discussion. The noun could be found 98 times in the CMEPV, exclusively in alliterative verse and appeared mostly in the forms *blonk* or *blonke*. It comes as no surprise that *blanke* is not employed in the *Boke of Marchalsi* which is far more pragmatic than poetic. The co-text in which the noun is used always narrates some form of armed activity, which strongly suggests that the value [mounted combat] for the frame attribute [purpose] plays a major role in the semantic frame that is connected to the noun *blanke*. Yet, in poetic use it is more challenging to pinpoint the specific frame attributes and values because the factors rhyme and metre significantly influence the choice of words.

- (46) [...] Cleues hym with Collbrande clenlyche in sondyre;  
He broches euen thorowe þe byerne and þe sadill bristes,  
And at þe bake of þe blonke þe bewells entamede.<sup>111</sup>  
(*The Alliterative Morte Arthure*. Krishna (ed.) 1976: 100, l. 2201–2203)

- (47) A[lexander] als belyfe · es armyd vp Clene,  
Bownez hym on hys blonnke · þe best vnder heuen,  
þat was þe bald bucyfall · as þe buke tellez,  
A fole worth fyfty of þat · at in þe flude drownyd.<sup>112</sup>  
(*The Wars of Alexander*. Skeat (ed.) 1886: 179, Dublin Ms. l. 3029–3032)

In example (47) the same horse is referred to both by *blanke* and *fole* depending on the metrical rules of the lines they appear in. From these two and most of the other passages from the CMEPV we can gather that the noun *blanke* most likely evokes values such as [noble] for the attribute [character] or [high] for the attributes [quality], [financial value] and [reputational value]. The fact that the horses are acting on battleground alone is reason to suppose that they are of good quality, as has been discussed throughout this chapter. Yet, the exact type of horse regarding characteristics like for instance {build} and {motion} cannot be deduced from the source material. Thus, it is not the specific expression of a certain physical ability in the horse which distinguishes *blanke* from other terms for types of riding horses. Besides the pronounced poetic dimension, which is distinctive for *blanke*, also the fact that the noun seems to have no generic application sets it semantically apart from the otherwise very similar *stede* and *hors*.

In sum and in accordance with Turville-Petre (2013: esp. 160–167) who elaborates extensively on the usage of horse terminology in alliterative poetry, we can say that the usage of *blanke* primarily followed poetic requirements. Nonetheless, the noun’s semantics always keep the connection to the core value [mounted combat] for the core attribute [purpose] and foregrounds the frame attribute [character] with the value [noble] and the value [high] for [quality], [financial value] and [reputational value], see figure 28 on p. 208.

<sup>111</sup> Cleaves him with Collbrande [his sword] cleanly asunder;  
He broaches evenly trough the man and the saddle breaks,  
And at the back of the horse the intestines are laid open.

<sup>112</sup> Alexander, as I believe [?], is armed up cleanly,  
gets himself ready on his horse, the best under heaven,  
That was the bold Bucyfal, as the book tells,  
A foal worth fifty of that, that drowned in the flood.

The noun *roile* could only be detected in four instances in the *Gest Hystoriale* but nowhere else in the CMEPV nor in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. Three of these passages are given as the only quotes for the noun in the MED (s.v. *roile*, n.), so we may carefully assume that *roile* was not commonly used in Middle English literature to refer to a riding horse. The connection to warfare is implied by the co-text in all four passages because they are all battle scenes. Since in the *Gest Hystoriale* the horses referred to by *roile* are all mounts for noble knights, no connection can be established to the senses ‘an inferior horse’ nor ‘a breed of draught horse originating in Flanders’ which the OED (s.v. *roil*, n.1) lists for the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The small number of examples, however, does neither allow detailed conclusions about the semantics of *roile* nor tracing a possible semantic change.

#### **4.3.2. Comfortable horses for travel**

##### **ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE**

The aspect of travel on horseback and especially the differences in quality of the horses used for this purpose was very relevant in the Middle Ages, at least among those individuals who could afford to ride at all.<sup>113</sup> The experience of covering long distances riding several hours a day on rough roads almost inevitably leads to the preference of a certain type of mount. For the rider’s comfort it is desirable that the horse has a smooth manner of moving without producing too much shock with every step. The jolts resulting from the hooves landing on the ground is usually the least when the horse is walking and increases with tempo and change of gait, especially in the trot (for more on the gaits see pp. 123ff.). In walk, however, the horse is not only most comfortable but also slowest. This poses the two inversely proportional characteristics {speed} and {comfort} between which a balance needs to be found for a good travel mount. It is important to know, that there is one exception to the rule that faster motion gets less comfortable: if the mount is capable of special gaits called ambling gaits (for details on the gaits and the ability of horses to perform them see pp. 141ff.). In sum, these gaits are characterised by a motion pattern with more contact to the ground and no suspension phase, which makes them considerably smoother for the rider. This manner of moving has the advantage that the animals can move faster on rough terrain because they have always at least one hoof, most of the time more, on the ground for better balance and surer footing.

It is understandable that such traits combining swiftness, safety and comfort were much sought after in horses for travel on medieval roads. Yet, since only few horses and mules were able to amble (see pp. 141ff.) they were of high financial value and hence reserved for financially strong travellers, as Ayton (1994: esp. 50–71), Gladitz (1997: 157–158; 173–174), Hyland (1999: 27–36) and Davis (1989: 67) explain. The rarity of such mounts and their financial value combined with their outstanding convenience for the rider made them luxury goods and thus status symbols. As such their appearance or absence in texts is a noteworthy feature for interpretation.

Besides the aforementioned physical aspects a similarly important internal trait of a comfortable riding horse is that it needs to be reliable and easy to handle in all sorts of situations that might occur on the road. This includes the ability to cope with various ground conditions like slopes, water, mud, ice, stones and other obstacles, as well as frightening encounters like fire and unknown objects, especially when they are large or moving. In the best case the horse has to pass these without hesitation and much effort of the rider. It should also be compatible with other horses, either those ridden by travelling companions or in the stables at the inns. If horses are difficult to handle in such situations, for example because they bite or kick, they are troublesome for the traveller and hence of inferior quality. This piece of information may appear quite subtle and may only apply to few scenes in medieval texts but if it does, it adds valuable depth to the interpretation.

<sup>113</sup> For an overview of the circumstances of medieval travel see Classen (2015b: esp. p.1524–1525) and Schmitz-Esser (2015).



## GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS

There are two characteristic Middle English terms denoting comfortable riding horses: *palefrei* and the explicitly gait-related *amblere*.

## ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

The noun *palefrei* is a borrowing from Anglo-Norman French *palefrai*<sup>114</sup> and is recorded in the English language from as early as around 1225 onwards. The French noun goes back to post-classical Latin *palafredus* ‘horse for travelling’ which was frequent from the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards also in British sources (OED: s.v. *palfrey*, n.).

The noun *amblere* is derived from the verb *amblen*, the etymology of which is given on p. 141.

## SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

For reference to horses used for travelling the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE] with the attribute [purpose] taking the value [travel] is crucial for apprehending the general layer of the concept. Figure 29 on p. 208 illustrates the variety of connected core attributes and values that are necessary to understand the essence of the concept.

In the analyses of this chapter we will focus on gaited horses because they play an important role in Middle English texts due to their high financial and reputational value. If other horses are characterised as being exceptionally comfortable without an explicit mention of gaitedness, the associations of quality and value are supposedly less important for the plot. As a result, the information that the horse is nice to sit on is presumably sufficient for the recipient and we find less potential for interpretation. Therefore such cases are omitted from the following discussion.

The noun *palefrei* describes the epitome of an excellent travelling horse and is as such with 212 hits in the CMEPV quite frequent. The concept to which the noun is linked seems to be constant throughout the time period which this book covers and supposedly also all the way back to its origin in classical Antiquity. The reason might be that the general practice of travelling on horseback did not change considerably throughout the centuries, which also leaves the basic prerequisites concerning the mount unchanged.

Starting with the frame attribute [purpose] for the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE] the noun *palefrei* apparently evokes the value [travel], as can be observed in passages like the following:

- (48) [...] thei hadde chosen v of the beste horse that thei cowde fynde in all the court, and hem thei made to be ledde with hem with v gromes on foote, and thei hadde v palfreyes right goode that thei dide ride on hir iourney; and whan thei were all redy thei lept on their palfreyes, and ride oute at the yat of Bertone [...]<sup>115</sup>

(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 509, chapter 27)

There are only very few instances in which the noun is used for a horse performing some other duty than carrying a rider on a journey. If so, the co-text either indicates that there is exceptional need, e.g. to fight on the back of a *palefrei*, or poetic reasons dictated the choice of word. In the above quote we can also observe that the palfreys are apparently very well-behaved animals that can easily be used in groups with other horses, in this case the riderless warhorses. In such a scenario both the riders and the grooms afoot would be in serious trouble if the horses were not obedient and agreeable with one another. We may therefore add the frame attribute [character] with the value

<sup>114</sup> Details on the French noun can be found in Prévot & Ribémont (1994: 183–184).

<sup>115</sup> [...] they had chosen 5 of the best horses that they could find in all the court, and they made them be led with them with 5 grooms on foot, and they had 5 right good palfreys that they rode on their journey; and when they were all ready they lept on their palfreys, and rode out at the gate of Bertone [...].

[easy to handle] as being evoked by the noun *palefrei*.

From the CMEPV data one can also gather that *palefrei* refers to no ordinary means of transport but a luxury version. This becomes obvious in quotations like (49) in which we find an enumeration of several riches including a palfrey, a warhorse and other worldly goods. Here the display of splendour serves to remind the recipient that one cannot keep any of them in death:

- (49) [...] þine palefreis, & steden,  
& al þi purpris  
þou ne shalt wiþ þe beren [...]<sup>116</sup>

(*Altenglische Dichtungen des Ms. Harl. 2253*. Böddeker (ed.) 1878: 236, l. 29–32)

It is comprehensible that a travelling horse, which serves its rider during many more hours than a specialised warhorse, is a valuable resource if it proves reliable. This ability comes with a good breeding and training and is thus mostly a matter of money. We can therefore add the combination of the frame attributes [quality], [financial value] and [reputational value] with the value [high] for the quality travelling horses just as we did for the quality warhorses.

In the *Boke of Marchalsi* the noun *palefrei* is used twice, on fol. 4b l. 11 and fol. 11a l. 16. In the first passage the *palefrei* is contrasted with the *hors of armes*, a combination we have discovered talking about the *stede* as a warhorse (p. 65f.). This confirms the notion of a similar status of the warhorse in the military sector and the palfrey for civilian tasks. The second appearance is in the chapter on regional varieties in breeds and does not offer any definite information on the type of horse. Dent (1959: 5) remarks that the *palefrei* is often the mount of a lady, as for instance in (50).

- (50) He sette hir on a palfrey, þat zongling,  
Better no bistrode neuer no king.<sup>117</sup>

(*The Romance of Guy of Warwick*. Zupitza (ed.) 1883, 1887, 1891: 342, Auchinlek Ms. l. 6401–6402)

Yet, the *palefrei* is neither exceptional nor unbecoming as a riding horse for men, as we can observe in examples like (51). This passage underlines that the *palefrei* is not meant to be used in fighting. Nonetheless, as shown in this case, sometimes the mount may have been very close to the action.

- (51) Beues of is palfrai alizte  
& drouz his swerd anon rizte [...]<sup>118</sup>

(*The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*. Kölbing (ed.) 1885, 1886, 1894: 120, version A, l. 2541–2542)

If we consider the fact that in approximately half of the text passages women are mounted on palfreys, we can come to the conclusion that it was indeed important for women in the Middle Ages to have reliable, easy to handle and smooth-gaited horses. This is not because they were per se weaker riders, but mostly because they were probably riding in a side-saddle that did not provide much flexibility or influence on the horse (see p. 33). So for them it is extremely important that their horse is compliant in all respects or else journeys would have been greater hardships than they were on a high-class mount.

- (52) [...] And by cause of her delyciouse custume and tendernes of her selff, she rydeth the  
lytyl paas vpon her swete and softe palfraye [...]<sup>119</sup>

(Caxton. *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*. Kellner (ed.) 1890: 38, chapter 9)

<sup>116</sup> [...] your palfreys and steeds,  
And all your purple garments  
You shall not bear with you [...].

<sup>117</sup> He sat her on a palfrey, that young man,  
A better one never bestrode a king.

<sup>118</sup> Beues alighted from his palfrey  
And drew his sword immediately [...].

<sup>119</sup> [...] And because of her elegant manner and tenderness of herself, she rode the little pace upon her sweet and soft palfrey [...].

This example is one of many illustrating that the manner in which one travels on a *palefrei* is usually a convenient one, resulting from the particularly smooth gait of the mounts. It is noteworthy that neither the amble as such nor the softness of motion is commonly explicitly mentioned. Yet, because the co-texts of the text passages usually present a notion of special ease, we may assume that the value [comfortable for rider] for the frame attribute [motion] is evoked by the noun *palefrei* itself and thus implied in the type of horse. Gladitz (1997: 157) assumes this comfort stemming from the gaitedness of the horses, but this could not be confirmed beyond doubt with the data at hand. There are only two passages from the CMEPV combining *palefrei* and *amblen*; in all other cases the exact gait the horses use is indefinable. We may, however, add the values [swift] and [sure footed] to the frame attribute [motion], that are clearly present in the sources, and leave [gaited] aside.

Concerning the link to *amble*, Dent (1959: 5) proposes the theory that the *palefrei* is usually not gaited but that the “*amblere* was simply a class of palfrey whose speciality was the gait known as ambling”. There is, however no tangible back-up for this hypothesis, probably because such a categorisation is very hard to prove without the help of any contemporary statement on the matter. Since no leads on this question could be found in the data at hand, we will treat the *palefrei* and the *amblere* as two distinct types of horses sharing many characteristics.

In sum, see figure 30 on p. 209, we found that the noun *palefrei* most likely evokes the frame attribute [purpose] with the core value [travel] as well as the core attribute [character] taking the value [easy to handle]. Moreover, [quality], [financial value] and [reputational value] can be regarded as core attributes and tend to taking the core value [high]. Finally, we may safely state that the attribute [motion] is assigned the core value [comfortable for rider], as well as values like [swift] and [sure footed], although we cannot be certain about the value [gaited].

For *amblere* the CMEPV produced 15 hits, most of which are manuscript variants of the same passage describing the Wife of Bath in the *General Prologue* of Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*. As the number of occurrences is so small and the semantic link of the noun to the verb representing the ambling gaits is so fundamental, there is no need for a separate discussion since all details can be gathered from the discussion of the verb *amblen* on pp. 141ff. For the noun it suffices to summarise the frame attributes and values to provide an overview, see figure 31 on p. 209: the core attribute [purpose] takes the core value [travel] which entails the attribute [character] with the value [easy to handle]. For the attribute [motion] we can once more assign the values [comfortable for rider], [swift] and [sure footed] and, other than for *palefrei*, certainly also the core value [gaited]. Due to the exceptional level of comfort for the rider in the ambling gaits, the noun *amblere* presumably evokes the core attributes [quality], [financial value] and [reputational value] with the value [high].

### **4.3.3. Multi-purpose riding horses**

#### **ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE**

Since horses were in general an expensive good throughout the Middle Ages, many people could only afford to buy and keep one at a time, if they could afford it at all. To get the most benefit of such an investment, it is important that this one horse can be used for several purposes like long travels, short errand runs or even pulling a cart or carrying cargo. Such animals are bred and trained only for basic practical tasks and are no specialists of any kind. Therefore they vary considerably in their type, some being heavier and some lighter, some showing more ability for carrying a rider, others being more talented in pulling a cart. Therefore we cannot pin down specific physical properties like height and build, but we can assume that these animals tend to be sturdy and frugal to be able to endure their tasks. Concerning their character we may suppose that they should be

dutiful and reliable at best and manageable at least. All in all, the convenience of a multi-purpose horse for riding hence varies considerably depending on the individual type of the mount.

#### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS

For a riding horse without special skills we may suppose that generic terms were used. For the discussion of the generic terms see pp. 36ff. In this chapter we will analyse the nouns *rounci* and *hakeneie*, both of which distinctly seem to express versatility in a type of horse.

#### ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

The noun *rounci* appears in Middle English sources from c. 1300 onwards. The word stems from Anglo-Norman *rouncie*, *runci*, *runcin*, Anglo-Norman, Old and Middle French *roncin*, Old French *ronci* in the sense ‘horse used for carrying burdens’.<sup>120</sup> It is an adaptation of post-classical Latin *runcinus* / *roncinus*, which according to the OED (s.v. *rouncy*, n.1) appears frequently in British sources from the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

The origin of *hakeneie* is obscure. The noun could possibly stem from “the name of *Hackney*, formerly a village in Middlesex (now a borough in London; 1198 as *Hakeneia*, 1236 as *Hakeneye*), probably with reference to supply of horses from the surrounding meadows” (OED: s.v. *hackney*, n. and adj.) and is first recorded in English writing in 1299.<sup>121</sup>

#### SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

For reference to a horse that is employed for riding in general, without a specific purpose, the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE] with the attribute [purpose] taking the value [riding] is enough for understanding the concept, see figure 32 on p. 209.

The OED (s.v. *rouncy*, n.1) defines the *rounci* by its purpose as ‘a horse, esp. one used for riding, a steed’. Dent (1959: 6) takes a more type-oriented viewpoint and describes *rounci* as “derived from a French word meaning stallion, but in Chaucer’s usage it seems to indicate a cob”.<sup>122</sup> This medium-sized, robust type of horse is indeed what we can most likely imagine as an ideal all-round horse. Fittingly for this assumption, Gladitz (1997: 157) points out the strength of the *rounci* by remarking on its exceptional bearing capacity compared to its height.

There are only 28 hits for *rounci* in the CMEPV and none in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. Of the results from the CMEPV nine instances are again different manuscript versions of Chaucer’s description of the Shipman in the *General Prologue* to his *Canterbury Tales*:

- (53) A Shipman there was / þat woned fer by west  
ffor ought þat I wot / he was of Dertemouthe  
he rod vp-on a Rouncey / as wel as he coude [...] <sup>123</sup>  
(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 21, General Prologue, l. 388–390)

The Shipman’s successful participation in the pilgrimage despite his apparently limited riding skills are a valuable indication that his horse is probably a gentle mount causing no trouble for its rider. There are no other text passages proving this character trait, but with due caution we can yet assign

<sup>120</sup> For a discussion of the French term see Prévot & Ribémont (1994: 184–185).

<sup>121</sup> For the French borrowing of the term see Prévot & Ribémont (1994: 195–197).

<sup>122</sup> Turville-Petre (2013: 164) notes the ambiguity between *rounci* sometimes referring to inferior riding horses and sometimes to horses ridden in battle without mentioning the option of an all-round mount.

<sup>123</sup> A shipman there was, who lives far to the west  
For all that I know, he was of Dartmouth  
He rode upon a rouncey, as well as he could [...].

the value [easy to handle] to the attribute [character] as being evoked by *rounci*.

In most of the CMEPV texts the noun *rounci* is used for a riding horse, usually for travel, without any further specification of the mount. There is one passage in which the horse referred to by *rounci* is not journeying but used to execute the punishment of dragging someone on the ground behind a horse or causing several horses to run in different directions and tearing apart the body tied to them.

(54) I salle do him hang hie, or drawe with runcys.<sup>124</sup>

(Peter of Langtoft. *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle*. Hearne (ed.) 1725: 177)

Such a task demands a certain dauntlessness of the horse, but whether this is a trait of the individual or the type is impossible to tell. The only assumption from the general picture of a horse being used for everyday riding tasks is that it should not be too shy, which would otherwise cause the rider inconvenience. None of the text passages, however, provides clear evidence on this matter. This could be due to the fact that for medieval riders and recipients of texts it was natural to associate a riding horse with a certain level of mental stability because otherwise the mount would hardly be useful. If we assumed this prerequisite, we might add the value [mentally sound] to the frame attribute [character].

Judging from the texts in the CMEPV we may suppose that the frame attributes [quality], [financial value] and [reputational value] would usually evoke the value [medium], but from some examples emphasising the quality of the mounts we can gather that it could also take the value [high]. High value, however, needed to be expressed with an adjective since the notion seems not to be prominent in the noun itself, as example (55) illustrates.

(55) [...] & gode palefrays he gaf to clerkes;

Bowes, arewes, he gaf to archers,

Rounsyes gode vnto squiers [...]<sup>125</sup>

(Mannyng. *The Story of England by Robert Manning of Brunne*. Furnivall (ed.) 1887: 399, l. 11420–11422)

The scarceness of data unfortunately allows no further insight into the semantics of the noun *rounci*. Yet we may, with due caution, suggest the following set of frame attributes and values as a guideline to interpret the meaning of the noun *rounci*, see Fig. 33 on p. 209: the core attribute [purpose] usually takes the core value [riding], the core attribute [character] most likely evokes values like [easy to handle] and [mentally sound], the core attributes [quality], [financial value] and the closely linked [reputational value] supposedly circle around the core value [medium].

The sense of the noun *hakeneie* is defined by the MED (s.v. *hakeneie*, n.) as ‘a small saddle-horse, often one let for hire’, while the OED does not mention the height of the animal but gives ‘a horse used for general-purpose riding’ (OED: s.v. *hackney*, n. and adj., 1.a) and ‘a horse used for hire’ (OED: s.v. *hackney*, n. and adj., 1.b). From the dictionary entries and Hyland (1998: 27) it seems thus as if the noun *hakeneie* serves more or less the same purpose as *rounci*. The aspect of {height} will be elaborated on at a later point in this book, see pp. 90f.

*Hakeneie* does not appear in the *Boke of Marchalsi*, but the search of the CMEPV produced 52 hits. Nine of them are again the same passages from the *Canterbury Tales* in different manuscript versions and the overall majority is from Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*. The role of the *hakeneie* as a horse for general riding purposes like travelling and errands is prominent in these texts.

<sup>124</sup> I shall hang him high, or draw him with rouncies.

<sup>125</sup> [...] and good palfreys he gave to the clerks;  
Bows, arrows, he gave to the archers,  
Good rouncies to the squires [...].

- (56) Thenne fourthe with alle kyng Arthur alighte & vnarmed hym / & took a litill hakney / & rode after sire Launcelot [...]<sup>126</sup>

(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 769, book 18, chapter 24)

In examples like (56) it becomes evident that the *hakeneie* is not suited for battle but used before or after, or in this case as soon as the rider is disarmed.

- (57) And thenne he mette with a yoman rydyng vpon an hakney the whiche led in his hand a grete stede blacker than ony bere [...]<sup>127</sup>

(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 646, book 14, chapter 4)

Here the *hakeneie* is not only used to transport the rider from one location to the next but also to help the rider lead a warhorse while it is not on duty. This requires a stable, reliable character of the riding horse not to cause trouble on the road for the rider. As a result we can assume that *hakeneie* evokes the frame attribute [character] with values like [easy to handle] and [mentally sound].

Moreover, two instances found in the CMEPV indicate that the *hakeneie* could also be ambling.

- (58) He toke the letter, and forth he yode,  
On an ambelynge hakeney [...]<sup>128</sup>

(*The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*. Kölbing (ed.) 1885, 1886, 1894: 60, version X, l. 1012–1013)

Since evidence for the feature of gaitedness is based on very little data, we may only carefully suggest that the attribute [motion] may take the value [gaited]. However, the value [gaited] is most likely not directly inherent in the semantic frame of the noun alone.

All in all we can sum up the following list of characteristics evoked by *hakeneie*, see figure 34 on p. 209: the core attribute [purpose] takes the core value [riding], the core attribute [character] takes values like [easy to handle] and [mentally sound]. Consequently, the triad of the core attributes [quality], [financial value] and [reputational value] presumably takes the core value [medium].

#### **4.3.4. Horses not suited for riding – but yet ridden**

##### **ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE**

Not all horses that are ridden are necessarily specifically bred and well-trained riding horses – neither today nor ever in history.<sup>129</sup> We will therefore have a very brief look at the significance for the rider if his or her mount was originally intended to serve a different purpose. The consequences depend strongly on the rider's skills and the character of the horse, but there are some general features we can gather to provide an overview.

It is natural that a horse not being especially bred for riding is usually less qualified in performing the task than a horse that is selected for riding qualities. These qualities comprise strength to bear the weight of the rider, smoothness of gait, swiftness, endurance and a good character. The first two of these are particularly important and mostly separate the wheat from the chaff when it comes to judging the ability of a riding horse. Swiftness, endurance and a good character are traits that may certainly be found in draught horses, too. However, since their main task is to push forward into the harness to move their weight and that of their load they are usually not built to lift upward as they should do with a rider on top. Their inclination to push forward rather than carry results in a more rugged gait jolting the rider. As a consequence, horses of a draught type easily develop problems

<sup>126</sup> Then immediately King Arthur alighted and unarmed himself and took a little hackney and rode after Sir Lancelot.

<sup>127</sup> And then he met with a yeoman riding upon a hackney who led in his hand a great steed blacker than any bear [...].

<sup>128</sup> He took the letter and rode forth  
On an ambling hackney [...].

<sup>129</sup> Hyland (1999: 39–48) elaborates on the equine tasks of hauling, ploughing and carrying and Arloth (2016a) provides a recent and concise summary of the horse's use in agriculture.

with their backs and forelegs if one lets them try to carry the rider in the same way they would push a cart, as Branderup (2013: 70) explains.

The more obviously a horse in Middle English texts is not suited for riding but yet ridden, the lower we may assume the reputation of the rider on its back. The financial value of the horse mostly corresponds to its quality as a riding horse, so the less riding quality the lower the price. Gladitz (1997: 156), for instance, remarks that the value of a draught horse was less than that of a packhorse and considerably less than that of a riding horse. With caution, due to the lack of representative data, we may hence conclude with the rough guideline that the more a horse resembles a riding horse type, the higher its value was supposedly perceived.

## GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS

This chapter discusses the most commonly used terms for horses not specifically bred for riding, which includes the nouns *capel*, *somer*, *stot*, *jade* and *aver*.

## ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

For the etymology of *capel* see p. 37.

*Somer* is, according to the OED (s.v. *summer*, n.2) a borrowing from Anglo-Norman *summer*, Anglo-Norman and Old French *sumer* / *somer* being a variant of Anglo-Norman and Old French *sumier* / *summier* / *soumier*, as well as the Middle French form *somier* and the Old French, Middle French *sommier* all in the sense ‘packhorse’. The French terms stem from post-classical Latin *saumarius* ‘packhorse’, which can be found frequently in British sources from the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The first Middle English records date around 1300.

For the etymology of *stot* see p. 53.

The noun *jade* has a highly disputed and ultimately unclear etymology (OED: s.v. *jade*, n.1).

For *aver* the MED (s.v. *aver*, n.) suggests the Old English noun *eafor* ‘draft horse’ as etymon for the Middle English form, while the OED (s.v. *aver*, n.) traces a Romance development through Old French *aveir* / *aver* ‘possession, property, stuff, stock, cattle, domestic animals, beasts of burden’ as a substantive use of the verb *aveir* / *avoir* from Latin *habēre* ‘to have’. In Anglo-Latin we find *avera* / *averia* ‘beasts, cattle’ and *averius* / *affrus* / *affer* ‘beast of burden, draught-horse’. For ‘draught horse’ the OED (s.v. *aver*, n., 3.) lists only Latin sources before 1500.

## SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

For reference to horses that are not bred for the specific purpose of riding but are yet ridden the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE] with the attribute [purpose] may take any value except for [riding] to grasp the basic concept. Details that are entailed in the notion of not being fit for riding can be numerous, as is outlined in figure 35 on p. 210.

For *capel* it is difficult to determine whether the noun is used in its specific sense ‘cart horse’ although the animal is ridden because we have seen that the word has a generic sense as well (see pp. 40f.). In 40 out of 92 hits in the CMEPV *capel* seems to denote a draught horse or beast of burden and almost all of them are from Chaucer. We will thus go along with Dent’s (1959: 6) assessment that Chaucer uses *capel* in its specific sense ‘cart horse’. This assumption is, for example, useful for the interpretation of the characterisation of the Cook in the *Manciple’s Prologue* of the *Canterbury Tales*, see example (59).

- (59) He hath also to do moore than ynough  
 To kepen hym and his capul out of the slough;  
 And if he falle from his capul eftsoone,  
 Thanne whal we alle have ynogh to doone  
 In lifyng up his hevy dronken cors.<sup>130</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 224, Manciple's Prol., l. 63–67)

The text is all in all very clear about the shortcomings of the Cook, drunkenness being only the most obvious. Hence it is not surprising that the horse he is mounted on (or falling from) is not of highest riding horse quality. If we suppose that the word *capel* used for the mount does not evoke the frame value [riding] for the attribute [purpose] but [driving] instead, the choice of word emphasises the churlishness of the rider. Unfortunately this is the only example that could be found in the CMEPV and *capel* does not appear in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. Thus, we can only conclude that it is very rare to be sufficiently sure whether an author used *capel* in its specific sense evoking the frame attribute [purpose] with the value [driving] for a riding horse. A scrutiny of the author's use of the noun in other co-texts is mandatory to draw any conclusions. If a *capel* is ridden in a text by an author for whom one can prove the connection between *capel* and the frame attribute [driving], the use of a draught horse for riding can be interpreted as an obvious hint at the rider's lower status – be it morally or socially. A semantic frame would look like figure 36 on p. 210.

The search for *somer* produced 36 hits in the CMEPV and none in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. All evidence, both historical and literary, shows clearly that the *somer* was a pack-horse, as e.g. Gladitz (1997: 155) points out. The typical task of such a type of horse is described characteristically in the following passage from *Merlin*, example (60).

- (60) [...] and this squyer trussed on a somer his armes, and his robes, and money I-nough,  
 and whan he hadde all made redy, the childe lepte vpon an ambeler, and departed fro  
 thens with-oute lenger a-bidinge [...]<sup>131</sup>

(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 521, chapter 27)

The *somer* is an indispensable part of a knight's or squire's life because they need to transport all their heavy equipment on their travels. Their precious riding horses, here an *amblere*, are not to be burdened with all this additional weight lest they be damaged. Moreover, such overloading of one single mount would have slowed down the travel pace considerably.

Yet, from the data at hand, there are no descriptions to be found in which a *somer* itself is ridden. Hence we can merely conclude that the value [carrying] for the frame attribute [purpose] is apparently very strongly associated with the noun *somer*. Should one come across a text passage in which a *somer* serves as a riding horse, one can be certain that this discrepancy between intended and applied purpose of the horse has to be taken into careful consideration for an interpretation. A semantic frame for the noun *somer* could look like figure 37 on p. 210.

For *stot* we find 13 references in the CMEPV that possibly allude to horses. Nine are the same sentence from different manuscripts of Chaucer's *General Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales*, three are different versions of the same passage from *Piers Plowman* and one is from *The Owl and the Nightingale*.<sup>132</sup> Only in Chaucer *stot* refers to a horse that is ridden, see example (61).

<sup>130</sup> He also had more than enough to do  
 To keep him and this capel out of the mud;  
 And if he fell from his capel again,  
 Then we will all have enough to do  
 In lifting up his heavy drunken body.

<sup>131</sup> [...] and this squire packed on a somer his arms, and his clothing, and enough money, and when he had made everything ready, the young man leapt upon an ambler, and departed from that place without longer abiding [...].

<sup>132</sup> The passages from *Piers Plowman* and *The Owl and the Nightingale* are discussed in the chapter on the generic use of *stot*, pp. 56f.



(61) This reve sat upon a ful good stot, That was al pomely grey and highte scot.<sup>133</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 23, General Prologue, l. 615–616)

Apparently the mount was not of worst quality, but we can deduce no further information on the type of horse from this single example. Therefore we can add no specifics to the definitions ‘a horse, esp. one used for plowing; also, a stallion; also, the name of a horse’ (MED: s.v. *stot*, n.) and ‘a horse. In Old English ? one of an inferior kind’ (OED: s.v. *stot*, n.1). So in the end, if a riding horse is denoted by the noun *stot*, we cannot access the semantic frame it might evoke.

The sense of the noun *jade* is given as ‘a cart-horse, hack’ in the MED (s.v. *jade*, n.) and the OED (s.v. *jade*, n.1) provides a long list emphasising the depreciatory senses ‘a contemptuous name for a horse; a horse of inferior breed, e.g. a cart- or draught-horse as opposed to a riding horse; a roadster, a hack; a sorry, ill-conditioned, wearied, or worn-out horse; a vicious, worthless, ill-tempered horse’. In the CMEPV only nine examples of the noun’s use could be detected and in the *Boke of Marchalsi* the term is not present at all. All CMEPV hits are different manuscript versions of the same lines narrating an utterance by the Host in Chaucer’s *Prologue of the Nun’s Priest’s Tale* from the *Canterbury Tales*, here given as example (62).

(62) Be blithe, though thou ryde upon a jade.  
What thogh thyn hors be bothe foul and lene?  
If he wol serve thee, rekke nat a bene.<sup>134</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 199, Knight’s Interruption of Monk’s Tale, l. 2812–2814)

The additional characterisation of the mount as *foul and lene* clearly expresses the depreciatory sense of *jade* and emphasises the Host’s contempt for the Nun’s Priest. The Host, however, also states that as long as the horse is serviceable, other shortcomings should not bother its owner. We have to keep in mind, however, that this passage is likely meant ironically and thus the Host’s derision is expressed by stating that the *jade* is a fit riding horse for the Nun’s Priest. Since we have no comparable text passages we can just pin down that the noun *jade* obviously evokes the value [low] for the frame attribute [quality] and consequently both the attributes [financial value] and [reputational value] also take the value [low], see figure 38, p. 210. Whether the inferior quality as a riding horse is due to the *jade* typically being a horse for driving a cart or due to other features remains unclear since specific statements on aspects like {height}, {build}, {type} or {character} cannot be made at this point.

For *aver* neither the CMEPV nor the *Boke of Marchalsi* yielded any results. Gladitz (1997: 155) describes the *aver* or *affer* as the “cheapest of all horses” and names ploughing, hauling and carrying as their typical field of work. Once more we have to conclude that if ever a text should appear in which such a horse type is potentially ridden, the concrete co-text and context will have to tell how to interpret this peculiarity. However, the general guideline applies here that terms for horse types evoking primarily values other than [riding] for the frame attribute [purpose] can be taken as a hint underlining the lower status of the rider.

Finally we will discuss one case in which a horse is indeed suited for riding but not suited for the purpose it has to serve in the given context. In the following example from Hue de Rotelande’s *Life of Ipomydon* the knight is equipped with all sorts of deficient gear like rusty armour, a charred helmet and a crooked spear.

(63) [...] Armure he toke þat was rusty,  
And horsyd hym on an old rouncy;

<sup>133</sup> This Reeve sat upon a very good stot, that was all dappled grey and was called Scot.

<sup>134</sup> Be happy, though you ride upon a jade.  
What if your horse is both foul and lean?  
If he will serve you, heed not a bean.

An helme as blak as any panne,  
A crokyd spere he toke hym than.<sup>135</sup>

(Hue de Rotelande. *The Lyfe of Ipomydon*. Ikegami (ed.) 1983: 60, l. 1645–1648)

To complete the embarrassing appearance of the knight, he is not even mounted on a proper warhorse but on a mount referred to as *rounci*. As we have seen above (p. 78f.), this noun evokes the attribute [purpose] with the value [riding], the attribute [character] with values like [easy to handle] and [mentally sound] and the attributes [financial value] and [reputational value] with the value [medium]. The value [mounted combat] is nowhere to be found in this semantic frame. In addition the animal is also characterised as being of old age and hence most likely in a wretched condition. The knight is therefore horsed equivalently to his other equipment: none of it is entirely useless but of the lowest possible quality for performing any deeds in combat. This instance illustrates again how subtle and carefully chosen equestrian terms can influence the perception of the recipient – given he or she has access to a very similar semantic frame to that of the author.

#### **4.4. Distinguishing horses by country of origin**

##### **ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE**

The distinction of horses by their country of origin is nowadays one of the most common ways of categorising horse breeds and types. It manifests in the official organisation of the various breeds in strictly regulated societies. In the Middle Ages the breeding standards were not that fixed, but nevertheless certain types of horses could be assigned to certain regions in which they were bred. The variation in horse types largely depends on the different geographical and climatic circumstances under which horses from different regions live. For instance, barren, stony land produces small, stringy horses with hard hooves while wet, muddy land is home to broader horses with softer and wider hooves, to name just two extremes.

Some geographical areas are predestined to provide horses with more natural ability for one or another task in human service. Ploughing in heavy soil, for instance, requires a horse with broad build to pull the heavy weight and wide hooves to have sure footing while producing that much tractive power. Riding horses, in general, preferably have hard hooves and a stable build to compensate for the increase in wear caused by the additional weight of the rider. Although hooves can be shod to reduce wear<sup>136</sup> there is no permanent way to prevent bones, tendons, muscles and tissue from long-term damage. Careful training can help but only within the boundaries set by the innate physical capacities of the individual. Therefore, a reliable physical structure has always been the key point for the selection of riding horses.

In Europe, mainly the Iberian peninsula has been a source of quality riding horses as well as parts of Italy, Northern Africa, the Near East and Hungary. As a rule of thumb those are all areas with mountainous, rough and mostly dry terrain because they favour the selection of light, wiry and sure-footed horses. The continental North-Western Europe, France, the Low Countries, Germany, Scandinavia as well as the British Isles have instead been home to different broader and heavier types of horses.<sup>137</sup> The *Boke of Marchalsi* (Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: 15–20, fol. 11b–13b) treats the topic of recommendable areas to buy horses from extensively, generally favouring horses from mountain regions for their aforementioned qualities. For the description of British horses see (64).

<sup>135</sup> [...] Armour he took that was rusty,  
And horsed himself on an old rouncy;  
A helmet as black as any pan,  
A crooked spear he took then.

<sup>136</sup> Clark (2004: 75–123) gives a detailed account of horseshoes in medieval England.

<sup>137</sup> Davis (1989: 49–67), Goodall (1984: 166–183) and Davis (1983: 12–18) provide concise overviews of the different areas of horse breeding.

- (64) Of Yngland, || and of Herland, and of Scotland ben good | hors to bere man and harneis, bot not | hors of armys. And thei ben fatte, and þat | is her confusion. But þei ben godee in | her oune land to ber harneis and far|del.<sup>138</sup>

(*The Boke of Marchalsi*. Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: 15, fol. 13a, l. 5–10)

The clear favourites regarding warhorses are, according to the *Boke of Marchalsi*, Spanish horses “[...] for þei be || folid in heyze cuntre and in hard | lond.”<sup>139</sup> (*The Boke of Marchalsi*. Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: 20, fol. 13b, l. 10–11). This opinion is by far not unique to this text, but can be traced throughout history amongst expert recommendations regarding useful horses for fighting and other types of work from the saddle.<sup>140</sup>

We may assume that usually only warhorses and very high quality riding horses were imported to England since the cost and risk of such a transaction was tremendous considering the means of transport and veterinary care, as is shown for instance by Hyland (1994: 99; 1998: 20; 1999: 11–25) and Gladitz (1997: 164–165). So the indication that a mount is from a foreign country automatically implies a high financial and reputational value and respectively hints at an elevated status of the rider.

## GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS

This chapter only discusses lexicalised examples for reference to horses from a certain country and leaves out paraphrases like *hors from / of xxx*, which would have surpassed the capacities of this book. For interpretation, however, a paraphrased expression of a horse’s country of origin can be treated similar to the lexicalised items, in this case the nouns *arabi*, *frisoun*, *genet* and *poleine*.

## ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

*Arabi* entered Middle English before 1225 via the Anglo-Norman noun *arabie* ‘person of Arab descent, Arab horse’ which itself was borrowed into French from the Arabic adjective ‘*arabī* ‘Arab, Arabian’ (OED: s.v. *Araby*, n. and adj.).

The noun *frisoun* is also of Romance origin being a borrowing from Old French *frison* which developed out of late Latin *frison-em* ‘a Frisian’ and is recorded in English from the late 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards (OED: s.v. *Frison*, n.1).

Middle English *genet* stems from French *genet*, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century also *ginet* which originates in Spanish *jinete*, *ginete* ‘a light horseman who rides *a la gineta*’.<sup>141</sup> The OED (s.v. *jennet*, n.1) explains: “In French and English (also in Italian *gianetto* (masculine), *gianetta* feminine) transferred from the horseman to his horse, a sense unknown to Spanish dictionaries until quite recently. [...] Dozy derives the Spanish word from Arabic *Zenāta* ‘a great Berber nation noted for the valour of its cavalry’; other conjectures have been made.”. For Middle English it is unclear when and how the sense ‘a small Spanish horse, a jennet’ (MED: s.v. *genet*, n.2) developed from the denomination of the rider.

For the etymology of *poleine* see p. 42, for the sense relating to the geographic origin see p. 46.

<sup>138</sup> From England, and from Ireland, and from Scotland are good horses to bear man and harness, but not horses of arms. And they are fat, and that is their ruin. But they are in their own land to bear harness and baggage.

<sup>139</sup> [...] because they are foaled in high country an in hard land.

<sup>140</sup> The quality of Spanish horses has been pointed out by Tomassini (2014: e.g. 21), Hyland (1998: 2–3), Gladitz (1997: 164–165) and Davis (1983: 16–17). Goodall (1984: 185–210) devotes a whole chapter to the Spanish horse and its influence on other breeds.

<sup>141</sup> For details see p. 98 and Duarte I of Portugal. *The Book of Horsemanship*. Forgeng (ed.) (2016: 27; 60).

## SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

For reference to horses from different countries the frame [TYPE OF HORSE] with the attribute [country of origin] can take any value alluding to a country or geographic area, see Fig. 39, p. 210. Other core values vary according to the value assigned to the attribute [country of origin].

The ten hits in the CMEPV for *arabi* are evenly distributed amongst the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup>-century versions of the *Romance of Guy of Warwick*, *Sir Beues of Hamtoun* and the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*.

- (65) Thay kaire to þe karyage and tuke whate them likes,  
Kamells and cokadrisses and cofirs full riche,  
Hekes and hakkenays and horses of arnes,  
Howsyng and herbergage of heythen kynges;  
They drewe owt of dromondaries dyuerse lordes,  
Moyllez mylke whitte and meruayllous bestez,  
Olfendes and arrabys and olyfauntez noble,  
Þer are of þe Oryent, with honourable kynges.<sup>142</sup>

(*The Alliterative Morte Arthure*. Krishna (ed.) 1976: 102, l. 2282–2289)

In the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* the *arabi* is listed amongst other precious horses, white mules and marvellous oriental beasts like camels and elephants. The noun *arabi* apparently not only evokes the frame attribute [country of origin] with the value [Arabia] or more vaguely [Orient] but in consequence also a value like [exotic] for the frame attribute [commonness].<sup>143</sup> The exclusiveness to the Westerner and the fact that a horse referred to by *arabi* appears in a description of the luxury possessions of oriental kings and high lords can be counted as a clear indication that the noun evokes the connected frame attributes [quality], [financial value] and [reputational value] with the value [high] or even [highest].

In the 15<sup>th</sup>-century version of the *Romance of Guy of Warwick* the notion of exceptional financial value is not that pronounced. Instead, we get to know the horse's area of operation.

- (66) The constabull goyth away fleynge  
And be hys flanke þe blode downe rennyng.  
Harrowde hym folowed vpon a rabyte,  
And he euyr fleynge and dyscowmfyte,  
And Harrowde hym ouyrtakyth  
And hys helme on hys hedde he crakyth.<sup>144</sup>

(*The Romance of Guy of Warwick*. Zupitza (ed.) 1875-1876: 315, l. 10953–10958)

In this scenario of a chase the *arabi* seems to be fast enough to overtake the fleeing Constable's horse, but it is also tough and agile enough to carry its rider in the following fight on horseback. So at least for this example we can assign the value [fast] to the frame attribute [motion] and possibly

<sup>142</sup> They turned to the vehicles and took what they like,  
Camels and basilisks [or crocodiles] and very rich chests,  
Hacks and hackneys and warhorses,  
Tents and pavilions of heathen kings;  
They deprived several lords of their dromedaries,  
Milk white mules and marvellous beasts,  
Camels and Arabian horses and noble elephants,  
Which are from the Orient, with honourable kings.

<sup>143</sup> On the oriental influence on western equestrianism see: Hyland (1998: 54–57) and (1999: 21).

<sup>144</sup> The Constable went away fleeing  
And by his flank the blood running down.  
Harrowde followed him upon an Arabian,  
And he ever fleeing and defeated,  
And Harrowde overtook him  
And cracked his helmet on his head.

also the value [mounted combat] to the attribute [purpose] for the semantic frame evoked by *arabi*. In many other text passages these attributes would theoretically fit the co-text, too, but are unfortunately not really tangible. In *Sir Beues of Hamtoun* we find a phrase characterising the *arabi* in a different manner:

- (67) Heraud lep on a rabyte  
 Bat was meche, & noþing lite,  
 Rod out of þe toun.<sup>145</sup>

(*The Romance of Guy of Warwick*. Zupitza (ed.) 1883, 1887, 1891: 644, Auchinlek Ms. Stanza 41, l. 1–3)

The adjective *much* could here either be understood as signifying ‘large’ or ‘of great value’ (MED: s.v. *much*, adj., 3. and 6.) and respectively *nothing lite* could be understood as either ‘not small’ or ‘not worthless’ (MED: s.v. *lite*, adj. 1, 2. and 4.). Both would make sense, yet the aspect of financial and reputational value seems to be a little more likely because it is backed up by information we have gathered from other uses of *arabi*. The association with exceptional height, on the other hand, is not paralleled in other Middle English texts and is originally not a characteristic feature of Arabian horse breeding, as Weigand (2008: 41) remarks. The *Boke of Marchalsi* (Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: 17, fol. 11B, l. 11) mentions Arabian horses in passing as good mounts in a sentence following a statement on horses from Tharsia that are described as good *coursers* despite their small size. Whether the information on the Tharsian horses’ build and ability is similar to the features of the Arabians, however, remains ambiguous in the text.

From the small amount of data we can ultimately only suggest that the noun *arabi* very likely evokes the core attribute [country of origin] with the values [Arabia] or [Orient]. The value [exotic] for the core attribute [commonness] seems to constrain the values [high] or [highest] for the attributes [quality], [financial value] and [reputational value]. The value [fast] for the frame attribute [motion] and the value [mounted combat] for the frame attribute [purpose] are possible but cannot be confirmed sufficiently. Figure 40 on p. 210 provides a schematic overview.

The noun *frisoun* is rare with a total of only nine hits in the CMEPV and no appearance in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. The latter does, though, mention horses from Frisia as being viable *rouncis* (*The Boke of Marchalsi*. Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: 19, fol. 12B, l. 16–17). This idea that *frisoun* is referring to a multi-purpose mount can also be observed in other examples such as the following single use of the noun in the *Laud Troy Book*.

- (68) Thei brought forth bothe Mule and Fryson,  
 Hobby, stede, and gode rounsi [...]<sup>146</sup>

(*The Laud Troy Book*. Wülfing (ed.) 1902-1903: 192, l. 6506–6507)

For neither of the horse types a specification is given, but all these mounts are supposed to carry the Trojan host into battle. They may not all be special warhorses but from what we have gathered so far, the nouns used to enlist the mounts are all connected to multi-purpose horses at least. Due to the lack of comparable material from the same text, however, the question of an exact differentiation between these terms for horse types has to remain unanswered.

In the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* we find another single mention of a *frisoun* in a scene heavily laden with terms for horse types. Here the mount denoted by *frisoun* is portrayed in a display of military richness and its appearance seems to underline the wealth and valour of its rider, see example (69).

<sup>145</sup> Heraud leapt on an Arabian  
 That was large [or: of great value] and not small [or: not worthless],  
 Rode out of town.

<sup>146</sup> They brought forth both mule and Frisian  
 Hobby, steed and good rouncey [...].

- (69) Bot a freke all in fyne golde, and fretted in sable,  
Come forþermaste on a freson, in flawmande wedes;  
A faire floreschte spere in fewtyre he castes,  
And folowes faste on owre folke and freschelye ascryez.<sup>147</sup>  
(*The Alliterative Morte Arthure*. Krishna (ed.) 1976: 77, l. 1364–1367)

Both the fact that *frisoun* refers to the mount of the leader and the depiction of the warrior's splendour strongly imply that the semantic frame evoked by *frisoun* in this case may contain the attribute [purpose] with the value [mounted combat] rather than just general [riding]. In both cases the frame attributes [quality], [financial value] and [reputational value] presumably take the value [high], at least. Whether this is due to the foreign origin of the horse or its skills as a warhorse remains unclear. Similarly, in the Scottish alliterative poem *Arthur at Tarn Wadling* the noun *frisoun* always denotes a worthy warrior's horse, yet the co-text reveals no further specifics.

All in all, the scarcity of data only allows to assign the core value [Frisia] to the frame attribute [country of origin]. Information on the commonness or exclusiveness of Frisian horses could not be gathered from the texts. Presumably both [mounted combat] and [riding] can be evoked for the attribute [purpose]. For the core attributes [quality], [financial value] and [reputational value] we can suggest a range of values between [medium] and [high], see figure 41 on p. 210.

Although Spanish horses demonstrably have been held in high esteem<sup>148</sup> throughout the history of Western European military equestrianism, it is astonishing that we find only one occurrence of the noun *genet* in the CMEPV and none in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. Neither could other terms referencing the Iberian Peninsula as region of origin for particular types of horses be detected. The singular occurrence of *genet* is from Caxton's *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* and makes use of the noun in the description of the lavish and exotic wedding gifts offered to the hero and heroine.

- (70) Some presented him with stately coursers and Iennets of seruice, some with ships of huge and mightie burthen, some with Pearles and Iuels of inestimable value.<sup>149</sup>  
(Caxton. *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*. Kellner (ed.) 1890: 210, chapter 54)

This brief mention allows us to gather two crucial points of information. The first is obviously that the noun *genet* evokes the values [high] or [highest] for the frame attributes [quality], [financial value] and [reputational value] since gifts of minor quality would certainly not suit the situation of a noble wedding. The second characteristic is that *genet* is specified by *of servise*, which vaguely implies that the mount was trained for riding and maybe ready for mounted combat. We can thus carefully add the frame attribute [purpose] with the values [riding] and [mounted combat], although we get no further information on the horse type. The value [Spain] for the attribute [country of origin] cannot be proven from the co-text of this single occurrence but has to be taken as given, especially since no other passages could be found for comparison. The rareness of written instances may well mirror the fact that the *genet* is an exotic rather than a common mount. In the light of these findings, a semantic frame for *genet* could look like figure 42 on p. 210.

The noun *poleine* has already been discussed in the context of young horses where it could be shown that the word apparently rather evokes the value [Apulia] for the frame attribute [country of origin] and not verifiably any notion of immaturity. For a detailed argumentation see pp. 46f. And for a schematic depiction of the semantic frame see figure 43 on p. 210.

<sup>147</sup> But a warrior all in fine gold, and adorned with sable fur,  
Comes foremost on a Frisian, in sparkling armour;  
A fair brandished spear he couches,  
And follows closely on our people and eagerly cries out.

<sup>148</sup> De la Guérinière. Reitkunst. Albrecht & Durand, et al. (eds.) (1996: 51) and Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle. A General System of Horsemanship (1743 (2012): 21–23).

<sup>149</sup> Some presented him with stately coursers and jennets of service, some with ships of huge and mighty loads, some with pearls and jewels of immeasurable value.

## **4.5. Distinctive outward characteristics of horses**

### **4.5.1. Height**

#### **ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE**

The height of historical horses has always been a highly debated topic, and the general assumption that medieval horses, especially warhorses, were huge beasts does not live up to scrutiny. The most important key fact in this regard is that size does not necessarily matter when it comes to the functionality of riding horses. The thought that the heavier the rider is, the larger the horses needs to be is an oversimplification causing misinterpretation of historical sources and in consequence misconception of historical contexts. In fact, it is not sheer height but rather a general stability of build and the strength of back and limbs in particular that count for a strong riding horse. Since larger horses tend to either have longer, weaker backs and soft limbs or are so brawny and stiff that they can barely move faster than at a walk over long distances, the ideal riding horse is somewhere in the middle balancing the factors height, strength and agility.

By now, scholars have reached a securely evidenced frame within which the average height of medieval horses ranges: around 1,10m to maximum 1,60m measured at the withers.<sup>150</sup> The general rule of thumb is that towards the end of the Middle Ages horses were bred larger and heavier than in the earlier centuries. This produced considerably more pronounced differences between the various types of horses in the late Middle Age then developing into the continuously more sharply defined breeds. For modern recipients a cob of about 1,45 to 1,50m height and sturdy build is the safest and most accurate image of a medieval horse one can have in mind, as Goodall (1984: 164–165) and Bennett (1995: 26) have suggested.

#### **GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS**

As in the chapter on the terms for horses from different countries, here we will also just take into account lexicalised items and no phrasal constructions for reasons of feasibility. Since exceptionally large horses were usually warhorses and we have discussed their terms of reference in detail on pp. 63ff., we will here focus on the smaller types and analyse the nouns *hakeneie*, *nagge* and *hobi*.

#### **ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS**

For the etymology of *hakeneie* see p. 78.

The origin of *nagge* is unknown, the MED (s.v. *nagge*, n.) suggests a relation to the verb *neighen* ‘to whinny’.

The noun *hobi* is supposedly a native English word. Concerning its etymology the OED (s.v. *hoby*, n.1) states that “[i]n all probability it is the by-name *Hobin*, *Hobby*, variant of *Robin*, *Robbie*”. Explanations as to how this by-name has become a horse type are not given.

#### **SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION**

For reference to horses by their height the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE] needs to feature the attribute [height] with any value to sufficiently convey the concept, see Fig. 44 on p. 211.

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<sup>150</sup> This range is what scholars seem to agree on: Banham & Faith (2014: 82–83), Krischke (2010: 29) and (2015: 27), Sidnell (2006: 320), Rech (2006a: 183–184), Clark (2004: 22–32), Dinzelbacher (2000b: 199), Hyland (1994: 85–86) and (1999: 104–105), Bennett (1995: 21–22), Davis (1988: 69) and (1989: 21–23), Bachrach (1988: 174–179). Weigand (2008: 69–76) gives an exceptionally detailed account for the early Middle Ages.

We have discussed the purpose-related semantics of the noun *hakeneie* (see pp. 79f). Yet, the definition of the MED (s.v. *hakeneie*, n.) as ‘a small saddle-horse, often one let for hire’ suggests the inclusion of this noun in the analysis of height-related terms, as well. The frame attribute [purpose] taking the value [riding] is traceable in the 52 hits for *hakeneie* in the CMEPV. The matter of the frame attribute [height] with the value [small] being evoked by the noun *hakeneie* itself is harder to grasp, however.

All in all only five quotations suggest that the value [small] for the frame attribute [height] is evoked for the semantic frame [TYPE OF HORSE]. Of these five quotations the passages reproduced here as examples (71) to (73) shall serve as representative illustration.

- (71) Also, I will that wilȝam tebly hafe a nax for wer with the hede and a hande of yrne & one of my Smalest haknes.<sup>151</sup>  
(*Lincoln Diocese Documents*. Clark (ed.) 1914: 51)
- (72) Whanne kyng Arthur and the two kynges sawe hem begyn waxe wrothe on bothe partyes / they lepte on smale hakeneis / and lete crye that all men shold departe vnto their lodgyng [...]<sup>152</sup>  
(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 50, book 1, chapter 11)
- (73) Thenne fourthe with alle kyng Arthur alighte & vnarmed hym / & took a litill hakney / & rode after sire Launcelot [...]<sup>153</sup>  
(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 769, book 18, chapter 24)

In all these cases the association to small height seems to be generated by the accompanying adjective rather than the noun *hakeneie* itself. Hence the potential semantic frame (see Fig. 45, p. 211) for the noun has to remain hypothetical, especially considering the frame attribute [height].

The CMEPV features *nagge* five times, the *Boke of Marchalsi* not at all. All the same, we can detect certain parallels to *hakeneie* in these few examples. The mount denoted by *nagge* seems to be used for riding and is maybe small. In two instances, one of them is given in (74), the height is explicitly expressed by an accompanying adjective. Due to the scarcity of data, it has to remain unclear in how far the value [small] for the frame attribute [height] is inherent in the noun itself or whether it has to be specified additionally.

- (74) And whan he was well arrayed / he wente to kyng Yons courte vpon a lytyll nagge.<sup>154</sup>  
(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 133, chapter 5)

Another text passage from the CMEPV addresses a different aspect of the abilities that might be connected to *nagge* since it becomes clear that the respective horse is ambling.

- (75) [...] it semed to as many as bihelde him / that he sate as easely as he had ben vpon a litil amblyng nagge [...]<sup>155</sup>  
(*The Three King's Sons*. Furnivall (ed.) 1895: 185)

The factor of gaitedness would render the *nagge* somewhat similar to a miniature version of the *palefrei*. Yet again, for lack of more comparable examples it is ambiguous whether the value [gaited] for the frame attribute [motion] was inherent in the semantic frame evoked by *nagge* itself or not. In the end, we can only conclude that *nagge* quite certainly evokes the frame attribute

<sup>151</sup> Also, I will that William Tebly has an axe for war with the head and a handle of iron and one of my smallest hackneys.

<sup>152</sup> When King Arthur and the two Kings saw them become angry on both parties, they leapt on small hackneys and let shout out that all men should depart to their lodgings.

<sup>153</sup> Then immediately King Arthur alighted and unarmed himself and took a little hackney and rode after Sir Lancelot.

<sup>154</sup> And when he was well arrayed, he went to King Yon's court upon a little nag.

<sup>155</sup> [...] it seemed to everyone who beheld him that he sat as easily as if he had been upon a little ambling nag [...].



[purpose] with the value [riding] and presumably also the frame attribute [height] with the value [small]. The matter of gaitedness has to remain hypothetical. Figure 46 on p. 211 illustrates a possible semantic frame for *nagge*.

For the noun *hobi* the CMEPV produced only four hits and in the *Boke of Marchalsi* it is not used at all. Most instances in the CMEPV are from wills, as the one given in example (76).

- (76) Also I will þat sir Robert Shottesbroke, knynght, haue þe sorde hors; and litil Hans þe hoby [...]<sup>156</sup>

(*Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London*. Furnivall (ed.) 1882: 53)

The enumeration leaves some room for speculation about who exactly *little Hans* might be. If Hans was the name of the hobi we could count it as an indication of the horse's small size. If it was the name of the designated owner of the *hobi* who is characterised as being little, it is a longer shot assuming the bequeathed mount was likewise small. The indication is in both readings vague, but unfortunately enough, example (76) is the one quote providing the most information on the type of horse named *hobi*.

In the enumeration of mounts from the *Laud Troy Book* we have analysed for *frisoun*, see example (68) on p. 87. In that passage the noun *hobi* appears together with *stede* and *rounci* which does not provide any definite information on the height of the animal, yet it strongly suggests its purpose as riding horse.

In addition to the presumed small size of the *hobi*, Hyland (1998: 32) elaborates on its origin in Ireland and the military role the *hobi* played with its rider, the *hobelar*, in rapid skirmishes. In example (68) this use in warfare could be a reason for the grouping together with *stede*. The gaitedness Hyland also mentions can neither be confirmed nor dismissed from the data at hand.

So all in all the results for *hobi* are meagre (see Fig. 47, p. 211). We can barely attest for the attribute [height] taking the value [small] and the attribute [purpose] with the value [riding], but it is impossible to reconstruct any other characteristics of this type of horse.

#### **4.5.2. A summary of desirable physical properties of a riding horse**

We have encountered a variety of general as well as specific qualities of riding horses depending on the kind of duty they serve. The aim of this chapter is not to elaborate on all the lexical units that could possibly be used to describe such physical abilities of a horse. Instead the idea is to provide a summary enabling the reader to judge the quality of a riding horse by recognising and interpreting some key characteristics when they are phrased in Middle English texts.

The idea that the physiognomy of a being is related to the being's character and that thus certain outward characteristics can provide information on the personality is probably as old as humanity itself.<sup>157</sup> For horses in particular, scholars like Hands (1972: 232) in her assessment of horse-dealing lore attribute relations between looks and character to superstition. Linda Tellington-Jones (e.g. 2008), however, has introduced the physiognomical way of approaching equine personalities to present-day equestrianism and could confirm through decades of collecting data that there is indeed a correlation between physical features and character traits. Taking the medieval concept of interpreting a horse's interior from outward signs should hence be taken seriously and not lightly be discarded as some backward misconception.

<sup>156</sup> Also I will that Sir Robert Shottesbroke, knight, has the reddish-brown horse; and little Hans the hobby [...].

<sup>157</sup> For a recent introduction and overview of physiognomy see Lindauer (2013). For an evaluation of Latin physiognomy from a medieval perspective see Ziegler (2007). Schmidt (2011) discusses the physiognomy of animals for the 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries from a German perspective.

In the Middle Ages the symbolic connection between inner and outer world was omnipresent and physiognomy as a component of this interpretation of the world has been discussed by Houwen (1994) and Ziegler (2007). Regarding previous scholarship specifically on the physiognomy of horses, Gladitz (1997: 189) concentrates mainly on the Arab tradition of judging the physique of horses, while Hyland (1994: 86–87) touches on the Persian viewpoint. Prévot & Ribémont (1994: esp. 274–282; 293–295) give an extensive account of the medieval encyclopaedic statements on the matter from a French perspective. Hands (1972: 233–234) analyses a short Middle English passage from Bodleian Library, MS Wood empt. 18 (SC 8606) that can be also found in a little extended form in the *Boke of Marchalsi*:

- (77) An hors of good entayle shal haue | a litil hed, grete, rownd izen, short | erin, large front, large noyes-tirles, | and large iowis, and narwe be-twene || þe iowis, long nekke and wel-rising, | aparti cambrend, euyn bak, large | brest with braun hangende, gret braune be-neþe the sholdris with-owte, | large sidis, brod legis and large, and grete || senwis, short pastrown and gret, | euer þe gretter þe betir it is, hey colrounale, large croupe, large garet, || þe hose of e pyntil wel forward, | the ballokes wel-hangginde, þe lesse | þat þei ben, the betir it is, þe hepis | wel trussid with large braune, short || har and nowt row, þe shorter þat | it is, þe betir it is.  
A hors þat haluith þis entayle ne shal not faile | þat he ne shal ben good, of wat har so | he be.

(*The Boke of Marchalsi*. Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: 15–16, fol. 10b, l. 11–fol. 11a, l. 9)<sup>158</sup>

Most of the properties named in this passage are less symbolic than simply sound considering the demands on a riding horse: large nostrils for breathing adequately at exertion; a long arched neck going well upward for flexibility and facilitated lifting of the chest; an even back in combination with large and muscular breast, shoulders, hips and hind-quarters to lift chest and rider and of course sturdy legs. These are all features enabling a horse to bear a rider without getting damaged too easily. The last sentence mentioning the coat colour as having no or minor influence on the quality of a riding horse is a noteworthy detail and is subject of the next chapter, pp. 94ff.

The text passage from the *Boke of Marchalsi* is one of many manifestations of a set of recurring characteristics sought after in riding horses that is traceable in written texts from Antiquity onwards.<sup>159</sup> The explicit composition of traits and the details vary, but the overall criteria have been constant over the millennia. In the appendix to his book on the medieval warhorse Davis (1989: 132) includes a version of the properties by Jordanus Rufus. Hands (1972: 234–235) seems to be unique in tracing this flexible set of characteristics through time, whereas Scott-Macnab (2017) elaborates on the detail of a *dry hede*.

We find a more extensive 15<sup>th</sup> century list of the properties of horses in MS Cotton Galba E IX, fol. 113b which also contains the Middle-English *Harrowing of Hell* and the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.

- (78) The horse hath xxv propertes, þat ys to say: He hath iiii off a lyon, iiii of an ox, iiii off an asse, iiii off an hare and iiii of a fox, and v of a woman.  
After a lyon, prowde-herted, brode-brestid, iiii good legis, and a stowte stern.  
After the ox, out(?) -ribbed, low-brawned, schort-pasterd and well Ifed.  
After the asse, well-mouthid, well-wyndyd, streght-bakked (?) and rownd-foted.

<sup>158</sup> A horse of good physique shall have a little head, great, round eyes, short ears, large forehead, large nostrils, and large jaws, and narrow between the jaws, long neck and well-rising, somewhat arched, even back, large breast with suspending [?] muscles, great muscles beneath the shoulder on the outside, large sides, broad legs and large, and great tendons, short pastern and great, ever the greater the better it is, high coronary band, large croup, large withers, the sheath of the penis well forward, the testicles well-hanging, the smaller they are the better it is, the hips compactly formed with large muscles, short hair and not rough, the shorter it is the better it is.  
A horse that has this physique shall never fail to be good, of whatever [? colour of] hair he may be.

<sup>159</sup> Renaissance examples for a similar list of desirable properties are Grisone (*The Rules of Riding*. Tobey & Deigan (eds.) 2014: 89) and Blundeville (*A Newe Booke Containing the Arte of Ryding, and Breakinge Greate Horses*. EEBO Editions (ed.) 1561: book 1, chapter 3, fol Aivb–Aviia).

After the hare, steep yen, wyght off fote, tornyng on litell grownde, ii god filets.  
 After the fox, prik-eryd, fayr-sided, shorte trottyng, and a litell hed.  
 After a woman mery of chere, brod-buttokyd, and esy to lep on, good at long-rynnyng,  
 and steryng vnder a man.  
 Hedded as an ox;  
 Tayled as fox;  
 Comly as a kyng;  
 Nekkyd as a dukyng;  
 Mowythyd as a kliket;  
 Witted [as] a wodkok;  
 Wyllled as a wedercoke.<sup>160</sup>

(*The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus*. Hulme (ed.) 1961: xxv)

This enumeration is less sober and factual than the passage from the *Boke of Marchalsi* but more a narrative and figurative mnemonic. Nevertheless, the named facts are reasonable and comply with the timeless ideals of a riding horse, complementing the other examples with the important criterion of hard and round hooves. In addition to the physical aspects this text also touches upon the subject of desirable gait (see pp. 123ff.) and character traits (see pp. 95ff.). Another outstanding point in this passage is the mention of turning on little ground, a skill that was particularly important for warhorses as we will discuss in detail in the chapter on manoeuvres, pp. 162ff.

With all these enumerations at hand we can have a look at an example applying some of these features in a narrative context. The following passage is from the Caxton's *Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce, Charles the Grete*, so also from the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

- (79) [...] Thus ymagynyng that he myght not flee, Anone was claryon vpon the sayd coursour, whyche ranne faster and more swyftlyer than a grehounde; the whyche coursour was alle whyt on the one of hys sydes as a flour delys, & on that other syde as rede as fyre enflammed, The tayle after the facion of a peacock, the croupe behynde somewhat reysed & dropped, as smal as of a partryche; grete thyes & short feet, & platte & rounde, wyth lytel eeres; the mane of the necke whyt, his nosethrylles large & ample; he was tofore moche brode, & had eyen grene & clere, a lytel heed, a brode fronte, with a smal mosel;<sup>161</sup>

(*Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce, Charles the Grete*. Herrtage (ed.) 1880-1881: 150–151, book 2, part 3, chapter 2)

After a characterisation of the horse's ability to run very fast and a slightly fantastic portrayal of its coat colour, the description of the mount's physique is very close to the examples we have

<sup>160</sup> The horse has 25 properties, that is to say: he has 4 of a lion, 4 of an ox, 4 of an ass, 4 of a hare and 4 of a fox, and 5 of a woman.

After a lion, proud-hearted, broad-breasted, 4 good legs, and is a stout fighter.

After the ox, round-ribbed, low-muscled, short-pasterned, and well fed.

After the ass, well-mouthed, well-winded, straight-backed and round-footed.

After the hare, prominent eyes, agile on foot, turning on little ground, 2 good tendons [? MED (s.v. filet, n. 4.a)].

After the fox, prick-eared, fair-sided, short trotting, and a little head.

After a woman, cheerful in countenance, broad-buttocked, and easy to leap on, good in the long run, and moving under a man.

Headed as an ox;

Tailed as fox;

Stately as a king;

Necked as a duckling;

Mouthed as a latch [MED (s.v. cliket, n.1) or 'rattle' (MED: s.v. cliket, n.2)];

Witted as a woodcock;

Willed as a weathercock.

<sup>161</sup> [...] Thus imagining that he might not flee, Claryon was at once upon the said courser, which ran faster and swifter than a greyhound; this very courser was all white on one of his sides as a fleur-de-lis and on the other side as red as flaming fire, the tail after the fashion of a peacock, the croup behind somewhat raised and dropped, as slim as of a partridge; great thighs and short feet, and well-formed and round, with little ears; the mane of the neck white, his nostrils large and abundant; he was very wide in the front and had green and clear eyes, a little head, a broad forehead, with a small muzzle [...].

discussed before. The sheer amount of similarities strongly suggests that Caxton was familiar with the traditional lists of properties. In most of the cases in which one may encounter details on the physical traits of a riding horse, the extent of the enumeration will probably not be on such a large scale. Rather one may read about small ears here or an arched neck there, interspersed in the narration of other matters. These are, nonetheless, key terms and phrases opening up the concept {quality riding horse} with the whole spectre of criteria distinguishing the value of an exceptional from an ordinary mount.

#### **4.5.3. A brief remark on coat colours**

Scientifically speaking, the colour of a horse's coat does not have anything to do with its abilities in being a riding horse, at least no connection appears to be proven so far.<sup>162</sup> Yet, both in the history of practical riding and in literature the coat colour has always had a significant symbolic character.<sup>163</sup> The 16th century riding masters and authors Grisone (*The Rules of Riding*, Tobey & Deigan (eds.) 2014: 89) and Blundeville (*A Newe Booke Containing the Arte of Ryding, and Breakinge Greate Horses*. EEBO Editions (ed.) 1561: book 1, chapter 3, fol Aivb–Aviia), for instance, link coat colours to the system of the four humours and the respective character traits. For the sake of completeness we will hence summarise the most noteworthy aspects of this subject in the form of a short excursus.

Hyland (1994: 87) states that “dark bay and dun horses are frequently tougher than other animals, and their black hooves are exceptionally hard, especially those of dun horses” without naming detailed sources to support this claim. Similarly, Tellington-Jones (2008: 5–6) reports from her decades of collecting material on the relation between inner and outer characteristics of horses that bay horses are generally more manageable and chestnuts a little more sensitive.

For hard facts about medieval horses' coat colours we cannot refer to any extensive studies covering England or the British Isles. For the early Middle Ages Weigand (2008: 87–89) has given a comprehensive account with a focus on Scandinavia, but the gap in time and space is too large to deduce much for post-Conquest England. Prévot & Ribémont (1994: 242–249 and 278–279) have researched the coat colours in French literature and in encyclopaedias throughout the Middle Ages and have found that shades of black and brown were most favoured since they were believed to be a sign of good quality in the horse. Gladitz (1997: 238–240) seems to be unique in providing numbers regarding the frequency of coat colours in 13<sup>th</sup> century military records. The colour ‘bay’ is leading, closely followed by ‘black’ including ‘black brown’ and only a little less frequently ‘grey’ and ‘pied’. Particularly the fact that pied horses<sup>164</sup> were by far more common than chestnut-coloured ones is remarkable. We have to heed, however, that these numbers are only a small detail of the entire picture and may well reflect a fashion or a particular phase in the horse market.

The rareness of entirely white horses as represented in Gladitz (1997: 238–240) is comprehensible since white horses in the strictly genetic sense are extremely rare. Sponenberg & Bellone (2017: 4–5; 137–241 esp. 239–241) explain the different genetic mutations resulting in a white appearance of a horse's coat as an overlay of the basic dark colours by varying degrees of added white. Only a very specific alignment of genes causes a horse to be born with white hair and light skin and remain white throughout their life. Most horses with a white coat are born any other colour and whiten more or less completely with ageing. The biological scarceness of white horses makes them

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<sup>162</sup> A concise and recent overview of colour genetics in horses is Sponenberg & Bellone (2017: esp. 132–135).

<sup>163</sup> For a more general overview of colour symbolism see: Meier-Staubach & Suntrup (2012), Meier (2001) and Gage (1999: esp. 67–97).

<sup>164</sup> For more on the allegorical meaning of multi-coloured horses see Dinzelbacher (2000a: 240). For the genetics part see Sponenberg & Bellone (2017: 165–241).

exclusive and highly valuable from an economic point of view. Moreover the colour white in particular is highly symbolic and associated with concepts like {purity}, {light}, {integrity} and {perfection}. This is a crucial factor limiting the social group of appropriate riders of white horses even further and correspondingly strongly influences the choice of a mount's colour for literary personages.<sup>165</sup>

To round off this chapter we will briefly summarise the Middle English terms<sup>166</sup> for coat colours and their meanings. For convenience they are sorted not according to their frequency in the written sources but according to shades of colours and their roughly estimated commonness amongst medieval horses.

For the brown shades the most typical is *bai* 'reddish-brown, bay' (MED: s.v. *bai*, adj.) also in the nuances light *bai* and *blak bai* and the horse name *baiard* 'a bay-coloured horse' (MED: s.v. *baiard*, n.1, 1.a). Moreover, we find *sorel* 'light reddish-brown, chestnut-coloured' (MED: s.v. *sorel*, adj.) and *don* 'brownish-gray, dun' (MED: s.v. *don*, adj., 1.a).

The rarer dark coat colours are reflected by the Middle English noun *morel* 'a dusky-coloured horse; the name of a horse' (MED: s.v. *morel*, n.1, 1.a) also used as an adjective meaning 'of a horse: dusky, dark coloured' (MED: s.v. *morel*, n.1, 1.a) or *blak* 'of a black colour, black' (MED: s.v. *blak*, adj., 1.a).

The process of whitening a grey horse undergoes with growing age is reflected in the large variety of terms expressing the in-between stages: *grei* 'ash-colored, flint-colored, dull, gray' (MED: s.v. *grei*, adj. & n., 1.a), *grisel* 'a gray horse' (MED: s.v. *grisel*, n.), *ferraunt* 'iron gray' (MED: s.v. *ferra(u)nt*, adj., 1.a) which can also serve as a name for a horse, *dappel-grai* 'pied or dappled in gray, or a horse of that colour; dapple-gray' (MED: s.v. *dappel-grai*, adj. & n.). For entirely white horses we find the noun *blanchard* 'a white horse, or a name borne by such a horse' (MED: s.v. *bla(u)nchard*, n., 1.a) and the adjective *whit* 'of an animal, a bird, dragon: having white, whitish, or light-coloured fur, fleece, feathers, scales, etc.' (MED: s.v. *whit*, adj., 5) which can also occur in specifications like *whit grei* 'having pale gray hair' or *chalk / milk / papire / swan whit* 'white as chalk / milk / paper / a swan, pure white'.

Mixed coat colours were supposedly also rare and could be phrased by expressions like *whit spekkede / splekked* 'white-spotted, having patches of white hair, piebald', *skeued* 'of mixed colors, piebald' (MED: s.v. *skeued*, adj.) or *liard* 'of a horse: spotted with white or silver gray' (MED: s.v. *liard*, adj. & n., 1.a) which also appears as a name of a horse.

In sum, we can propose the very rough and condensed guideline that bay and chestnut coloured horses were supposedly more common, while entirely black or white and multi-coloured horses always bear the notion of exclusiveness.

#### **4.6. Character traits in horses – A synopsis**

In the preceding chapters we have touched upon the subject of necessary, helpful and unwanted character traits in horses and we will come back to this topic every now and then in the chapters to follow. But since this information is scattered all over the book we will have a short summary here for quick reference.

Some characteristics are universal for horses in human service. We can therefore assume that

<sup>165</sup> On the symbolism of white horses see Märkl (2004: 190–192); on the papal privilege to ride white horses Paravicini Bagliani (2015); on the four horsemen of the Apocalypse Nickel (1977). Giese (2011) assesses the financial value of white animals in general.

<sup>166</sup> Glossaries of coat colours can be found in Gladitz (1997: 238–239) and Davis (1989: 137–138). Dent (1959: 6–7) summarises Chaucer's vocabulary for coat colours. For Old English see Barnes (1960).

whenever we find reference to a horse of good quality – however that concept is expressed – the general characteristics are part of the semantic frame evoked by the respective lexical unit.

The crucial character traits in horses are those connected to safe handling. Horses are by nature peaceful animals, but due to their size and strength they are easily capable of killing or seriously harming humans. So we can imagine characterising aspects like {kind} and {attentive} which are naturally very strong in horses as well as more human-related aspects like {compliant} and {reliable}. Another important factor is the ability of the horse to overcome its instincts of sticking to a herd and the general tendency to avoid pressure and danger by taking flight. In handling horses these two instincts are those affecting and endangering humans the most if horses get unpredictable in their struggle to get back to their herd or leave frightening situations behind. On close examination, most of what humans do to or with horses involves triggering at least one of these instincts. Even in everyday situations horses are confronted with masses of sights, smells and noises that are totally unnatural to them, like closed buildings, fire, all sorts of fabrications and many more. Moreover, we have to keep in mind that humans are predators, but expecting horses to suffer them on their backs without fleeing, although this is the very position from which a predator would kill its prey.

This directly leads us to the requested character traits that are, beyond the general ones, particularly important for riding horses. The ability to overcome instincts is the most fundamental of these because without the horse overcoming the flight reflex no riding can take place at all. For travelling on horseback, one furthermore needs a horse with enough mental stamina to endure the physical demands of the journey itself as well as the constant change of environment. The alteration of circumstances while travelling requires a high tolerance of change, which is not necessarily given in all horses. Another aspect of travel is the company of other horses on the road and in inns which can at times be challenging for horse and rider alike. Hence, a riding horse should ideally also have a high level of compatibility with other horses.

For horses used in warfare, tournament and hunting some additional character traits are relevant. Of course these horses should also be compliant, attentive, reliable and tolerant to change. In fights these traits are more vital for the rider than in any other situation. Good compatibility with other horses is also essential to guarantee that the rider is not more occupied with keeping his horse from fighting companions in arms than battling opponents. The aspect {mentally sound} is closely connected to {able to overcome instincts} and both are enormously important in mounted combat, since fighting opponents on purpose although flight might be possible is unnatural for horses. Thus, horses used in such situations should also possess the characteristics {bold} and {spirited} and the more pronounced these traits are the better the horse is suited for mounted combat. The aspect {aggressive} is less relevant than it seems on first sight because {aggressive} alone strongly impedes {reliable} and {easy to handle}. Instead high potential for aggression produces a form of self-reliance that shifts control from rider to mount. Thus, aggression may indeed be effective against opponents in battle, but is just as perilous for the rider and the company alongside which they fight. If a horse is hence described displaying aggressive behaviour without cooperating with its rider, this is no sign of quality.

We should heed the fact that any expressions of presence or absence of the aforementioned qualities is in Middle English literature usually not only a plain assessment of the horse itself but also, or maybe even more so, a hint at the rider's qualities or deficiencies, as Rowland (1971: 139) discusses for Chaucer, while Crane (2013: 137–168) and Clauss (2011) take a perspective beyond the single author.

## **5. Controlling horses and the use of supportive equipment**

The communication between rider and horse has to be based on an artificially created set of signals that is not natural to either party. Neither can humans learn to really imitate equine communication nor can horses imitate human speech and body language. The two species' anatomy and perception of the environment are simply too diverse. Establishing human-equine-communication is hence like learning a foreign language and takes a considerable amount of time, practice and most of all teaching skill on the part of the human.

This chapter attempts to give a basic understanding of the practical aspects of this human-equine-language and its linguistic representation, mostly by taking into account the equipment used to support the interaction. This is due to the fact that the terms for equipment<sup>167</sup> are accessible in the text corpus as well as in images and archaeological finds<sup>168</sup>. More subtle utterances of communication between rider and horse like sounds or gestures are hardly traceable. Regarding the equipment we will strictly limit the discussion to aspects that immediately concern the act of riding itself. Therefore, all sorts of armour and decorations as well as equipment for horse-care are excluded to stay within the scope of this book.

### **5.1. The rider's seat and the saddle**

#### **ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE**

The rider's seat, meaning the body posture on horseback, is considered to be the primary aid in riding since it is the only tool the rider cannot take away – except by dismounting. It therefore has the most immediate impact on the horse and can be used by the rider as a basis for all other forms of communication.

A basic skill of the rider's seat is a feeling for the motion of the horse and inseparably linked to it the ability to follow the movement without disturbing the flow. This is crucial for the comfort of rider and horse, but even more so it is absolutely necessary for the rider to stay on horseback at all. If riders are not able to accompany the horse's motion they are forced to use equipment or their hands and legs to stay on the horse. This deprives them of the possibility to use their hands for other purposes like wielding a weapon or completing other tasks. The ability to follow a horse's movement is closely connected to the ability to keep one's balance. Balance is the key to successful riding since the basic complication in riding is to bring the different points of weight of horse and rider in accord – and to make things more intricate – keep this balance at all times and in all manoeuvres.<sup>169</sup>

If riders manage to follow the horse's motion and balance, they can convincingly start to influence these two factors with slight shifts in their own motion and balance and teach the horse to follow them. This is the most subtle and at the same time most natural way of controlling a horse since all beings instinctively respond to changes in balance. Horses in particular are used to communicating in this way while they move as a herd. Shifts in balance and direction of motion by leading members cause an adaptation of the rest of the herd. It is therefore easily understandable for horses if riders apply this principle.

<sup>167</sup> Dent (1959: 2–3) gives a brief overview of terms for equipment in Chaucer.

<sup>168</sup> Clark (2004) provides a broad perspective on finds of equestrian equipment in England, especially London, during the Middle English period. Rech (2006b) covers the northern part of Germany over several centuries.

<sup>169</sup> The historical riding masters all elaborate on balance as a basic skill: Xenophon. *Reitkunst*. Widdra (ed.) (2007: 71), Duarte I of Portugal. *The Book of Horsemanship*. Forgeng (ed.) (2016: 63–67), Grisone. *The Rules of Riding*. Tobey & Deigan (eds.) (2014: 107–109), Blundeville. *A Newe Booke Containing the Arte of Ryding, and Breakinge Greate Horses*. EEBO Editions (ed.) (1561: book 1, chapter 5, fol. Biib–Biiib), Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle. *A General System of Horsemanship* (1743 (2012): 30–31), de la Guérinière. *Reitkunst*. Albrecht & Durand, et al. (eds.) (1996: 146–147;152), de la Guérinière. *Barockes Reiten*. Branderup (ed.) (2000: 47), Steinbrecht (2004: 24–29).

The saddle is supposed to serve several purposes, the most commonly known being to help the rider in not falling off too easily. Furthermore, however, the saddle should protect the rider from the horse's movement and the horse from the rider's movement to a certain degree. This aspect is particularly relevant for spending long hours on horseback where comfort for both participants is the priority. As a tool for communication, on the contrary, the saddle should not take away too much of the mutual feeling of motion. Signals the rider gives in the seat should reach the horse and reactions in the horse should be felt through the saddle in the rider's body.

The role of the stirrups in the history of riding has been discussed elsewhere<sup>170</sup> and shall not be repeated here. The essential information is that stirrups are doubtlessly a helpful tool to mount a horse and keep one's balance while riding. In addition, skilled riders are able to use different forms of pressure they put in the stirrups as signals for the horse to move in different forms. In this way the stirrups can be part of a rider's toolbox of aids.

The form of the saddle and the riding technique applied are very closely connected.<sup>171</sup> The rule of thumb is: the more the saddle encases the rider the longer the stirrup straps tend to be in order to enable the rider to press themselves into the saddle by fully stretching the legs. With a less supportive saddle the stirrup straps are usually shorter, the legs bent and the rider has less firm to almost no contact to the saddle standing up in the stirrups.<sup>172</sup> From the Middle Ages onwards the riding technique with long and stretched legs has been called "a la brida" while riding with bent knees has been known as "a la ginetá", as Duarte I of Portugal (*The Book of Horsemanship*. Forgeng (ed.) 2016: 27–29) confirms. The "a la brida" method was the traditional method in the European region while riding "a la ginetá" is said to have its origin in the Eastern steppes.

Concerning the aids the rider gives with the seat, the most fundamental difference between the two styles is the horse's trained reaction to shifts in balance. Riding "a la brida" with the rider sitting close to the horse's back the horse is taught to follow the rider's point of weight in order to keep their collective balance. This is highly favourable in everyday situations not to fall off the horse and even more so in fighting with sword or lance. If the rider points his weapon in the direction of an opponent and leans toward him to strike, the horse follows and supports the movement adding further impetus. On the contrary, the method where the rider is standing in the stirrups above the saddle in the "a la ginetá" style is better suited for actions depending on speed rather than impact. While striking quickly to all sides with a sabre or shooting an arrow it is crucial that the horse's and the rider's movements are somewhat detached. In these cases the horse must not follow the rider's fast changes in balance but steadily keep one direction and speed to prevent the whole joint endeavour from failing.

There is no telling with certainty which of these two riding techniques was prominent in England in the Middle English period. For the purpose of this book, this is, however, no grave impediment. The main factor of both styles is that the more specific the task of rider and horse gets the more fundamental the role of the saddle becomes in aiding the rider. So whenever saddles are mentioned in Middle English texts we just need to find out whether the equipment successfully supports the rider in his task or not. If rider and horse achieve their goal, their communication must have been effective. The mention of a saddle can either underline the functionality of the equipment in its supportive role or point at a dysfunction. Problems with or lack of equipment may either lead to

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<sup>170</sup> Detailed information on the development and use of stirrups can be found in: La Salvia (2011), Kim (2011: 68–73), Curta (2008), Sidnell (2006: 305–314), Hyland (1994: 11–12), Prévot & Ribémont (1994: 145–149), Bachrach (1988: 195–197, 1970), Seaby & Woodfield (1980).

<sup>171</sup> The matter of the side-saddle unfortunately had to be omitted from the following discussion since there is too little reliable information on the topic both on the side of scholarship and medieval sources.

<sup>172</sup> Descriptions and reconstructions of medieval saddles are presented by Viallon (2016), Metz (2006: 120–123), Hyland (2004, 1994: 4–12), Prévot & Ribémont (1994: 137–145). A medieval description can be found in Duarte I of Portugal (*The Book of Horsemanship*. Forgeng (ed.) 2016: 59–62).



failure in completing the task or in a chance for the rider to succeed despite the hindrance and thus demonstrate his exceptional skill.

#### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS

For this chapter only the noun *sadel* will be taken into consideration and not the verb *sadelen* because it is not connected to riding itself but the preparative tasks. Furthermore some functionally important parts of the saddle like *sadelboue*, *arsoun*, *pomel* and *skirte* will be discussed as well as equipment directly attached to the saddle, namely *gerth* and *stirope*.

#### ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

The noun *sadel* is a native English word of Germanic origin (OED: s.v. *saddle*, n.1).

The compound *sadelboue* was formed within English from the elements *saddle* and *bow* and is already attested in Old English, according to the OED (s.v. *saddle-bow*, n.)

For the noun *arsoun* in the sense ‘saddle-bow’ the OED (s.v. *arson*, n.1) states that it is a borrowing from the Anglo-Norman noun *arsun* with the same meaning and is first recorded in English in Layamon’s *Brut*, the first manuscripts of which date c. 1300.

*Pomel* is also from French and the OED (s.v. *pommel*, n.1, esp. 4.a) dates the first appearance in its sense ‘saddle-bow’ to the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, both in French and English.

The noun *skirte* referencing a part of the saddle is recorded from around 1400 onwards but was borrowed from Old Norse *skyrta* ‘shirt’ with a first record in English c. 1330. The OED (s.v. *skirt*, n.) states that the development from ‘shirt’ via ‘skirt’ to ‘flap of the saddle’ is unclear.

Middle English *gerth* is also of Norse origin. It stems from *gjörð* ‘girdle’ and first appears in English written sources c. 1330, according to the MED (s.v. *gerth*, n.) and OED (s.v. *girth*, n. 1).

*Stirope* is a compound with Germanic roots formed within Old English from *stige* ‘climb’ and *ráp* ‘rope’, according to the OED (s.v. *stirrup*, n.).

#### SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

The rider’s seat is hardly ever directly addressed in the Middle English sources. This is comprehensible bearing in mind that the seat is so fundamental for riding that mentioning it explicitly is in most cases redundant. The supportive equipment, however, is at times referred to if it is relevant for the plot.

The most frequent term expressing riding equipment is *sadel* with 398 hits in the CMEPV and two in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. Yet, only few passages reveal information on the saddle’s role in riding, mostly it is a mere reference point for ongoing action. The frame attributes and values connected to *sadel* are various, including limitless specifications of form and material that cannot be generalised and are hard to retrieve from linguistic evidence alone. From archaeological finds we may assume that the semantic frame [SADDLE] evokes values like [high front] and [high back] for the attribute [form] and values like [leather], [wood] and [straw] or [wool] for the attribute [material].<sup>173</sup> The frame attribute [function] supposedly takes the general value [support] but adapts to the respective situations. One example of such a specific situation is the frequent mention of the noun *sadel* to describe the richness of the equipment. In these cases the noun evokes the frame attribute [function] with the value [support] as well as the value [decoration] and connected associations like [quality], [financial value] and [reputational value]. Other examples show that the frame attribute

<sup>173</sup> Archaeological evidence for medieval saddles can be found in: Wagner et al. (2000: 65–67 & plates).

[function] can also take values focusing less on the appearance of the saddle but more on the purpose it was used for:

- (80) [...] she broughte hym to a stable / where stood xij good coursers / and bad hym chese the best / Thenne syr launcelot loked vpon a whyte courser the whiche lyked hym best / & anone he commaunded the kepers faste to sadle hym with the best sadel of werre that there was [...]<sup>174</sup>

(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 785, book 19, chapter 8)

In this example, the noun *sadel* is specified by *of werre* to add the value [in mounted combat] for the attribute [support] to the semantic frame. This detail may entail other attributes and values connected to the form of the saddle classifying it as appropriate for warfare like a particularly high front and back for more support.

A different aspect of the use of a saddle is the reputational value of this piece of equipment in itself. Judging from the text passage from the *History of the Sons of Aymon* given in example (81), not only the material and handicraft of a saddle are perceived to underline the rider's status but maybe yet the very fact of using a saddle at all.

- (81) [...] and whan oger sawe them com, he was wrathe & sory for it / and so went he agen to brayforde, his good horse, & lighted upon him, & swymmed agen over dordonne. and whan he was over, he abode still at the ryver side, & lighted down to therthe / but he had no sadel upon his horse, for the gyrthes brake whan he iusted wyth Reynawde / Whan Reynawd sawe brayforde sadeles, he called to oger, & sayd, 'Oger, com fetch your sadell, for it shall be to you a grete shame yf ye ryde thus [...]'<sup>175</sup>

(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 268, chapter 10)

Since no further instances supporting this aspect could be found, we can only hypothesise that riding without a saddle was probably seen as a sign of disgrace and poverty. On the one hand maybe because it indicates the rider cannot afford even the most basic equipment. On the other hand without a saddle the rider is in direct physical contact with the animal, what may have appeared uncivilised and dirty.

In sum we can state that the noun *sadel* evokes a broad variety of frame attributes and values, see figure 48 on p. 212. These include core attributes like [function], [form] and [material] that could take a limitless number of more or less detailed values as well as [quality], [financial value] and [reputational value]. How many and which of these details are actually evoked by the noun itself and which rather stem from the surrounding co-text is, however, highly variable and therefore impossible to pin down.

The noun *sadelboue* is more concrete in its semantics since it refers to only one part of the saddle, the front part arching above the withers of the horse. The search produced 32 hits for *sadelboue* in the CMEPV and none in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. The texts reveal two common situations in which the *sadelboue* is mentioned, one is in describing the part of the saddle the rider falls on when being wounded by an opponent or even the cause of harm for the rider itself. The other situation is that the *sadelboue* is used for hanging the reins or other equipment on.

<sup>174</sup> [...] she brought him to a stable, where 12 good coursers stood, and asked him to choose the best. Then Sir Lancelot looked upon a white courser which he liked best and at once commanded the keepers quickly to saddle him with the best war saddle that was there [...].

<sup>175</sup> [...] and when Oger saw them coming, he was angry and sorrowful for it, and so he went again to Brayforde, his good horse, and mounted upon him, and swam again over the Dordogne. And when he had crossed it, he abode still at the riverside and dismounted to the ground, but he had no saddle upon his horse, because the girths had broken when he had jousted with Reynawd. When Reynawd saw Brayforde saddle-less, he called to Oger and said: "Oger, come, fetch your saddle, for it shall be a great shame for you to ride thus [...]."

- (82) Out of the ground a furie infernal sterte,  
 From pluto sent at requeste of saturne,  
 For which his hors for fere gan to turne,  
 And leep aside, and foundred as he leep;  
 And er that arcite may taken keep,  
 He pighte hym on the pomel of his heed,  
 That in the place he lay as he were deed,  
 His brest tobrosten with his sadel-bowe.<sup>176</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 43, Knight's Tale, l. 2684–2691)

- (83) [...] and than he drough ner and leide his reyne in his sadilbowe, and threwe his shelde at his bakke and ficched hym in his stiropes, and caught his swerde in bothe handes, and smote the kynge Pignores thourgh the helme [...]<sup>177</sup>

(Merlin. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 589, chapter 29)

(82) and (83) are examples indicating the frame attribute [form] with the value [high], since only if this part of the saddle is higher than the seat it can hurt the rider in unexpected violent movements of the horse or serve to hang equipment like the reins on. Regarding the core attribute [function] the value [hanging equipment] is traceable in the Middle English texts, probably because the saddle-bow is predestined to hold the reins while the rider's hands are occupied with other tasks. The value [securing rider] is usually not explicitly phrased in the co-text around *sadelboue*, most likely because it was obvious for the recipients. We can therefore assume that the value [securing rider] for the core attribute [function] is a core value evoked by the noun *sadelboue*. For a graphic rendering of the possible semantic frame see Fig. 50, p. 212.

For *arsoun* similar observations can be made, rendering the noun mostly synonymous with *sadelboue*. From the data at hand no rules can be deduced in which situations which noun was used. From the 40 hits featuring *arsoun* in the CMEPV<sup>178</sup> the majority describe the wounding of a rider in battle like the following passage from Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*.

- (84) [...] launcelot gaf hym suche a buffet that the arsson of his sadel brake / & soo he flewe ouer his hors taylle that his helme butte in to the erthe a foote and more that nyhe his neck was broken [...]<sup>179</sup>

(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 191, book 6, chapter 7)

In some scenes the purpose of the *arsoun* as such becomes more obvious:

- (85) And the kynge Bohors was also so sore astonyed of that harde encountre, that he lay longe while vpon the arson of his sadill; but well he kepte hym from fallinge, for he was of grette prowess [...]<sup>180</sup>

(Merlin. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 367, chapter 21)

<sup>176</sup> Out of the ground an infernal fury rushed  
 From Pluto sent at request of Saturn  
 Because of which his horse turned in fear  
 And leapt aside and stumbled as he leapt;  
 And before Arcite may take heed,  
 He threw him on the top of his head,  
 That in the place he lay as if he were dead,  
 His breast torn open with his saddle-bow.

<sup>177</sup> [...] and then he drew near and laid his rein in his saddle-bow, and threw his shield at his back and braced himself in his stirrups, and caught his sword in both hands, and struck the King Pignores through the helmet [...].

<sup>178</sup> The noun does not occur in the *Boke of Marchalsi*.

<sup>179</sup> [...] Lancelot gave him such a blow that the arson of his saddle broke, and so he flew over his horse's tail and his helmet plunged into the earth a foot and more that his neck was nearly broken [...].

<sup>180</sup> And the King Bohors was thus so sorely stunned by that hard encounter that he lay for a long while upon the arson of his saddle; but he kept himself well from falling, because he was of great skill [...].

In example (85) the noun *arsoun* supposedly evoked the frame attribute [function] with the value [securing rider] since it is this piece of equipment that helps the rider to stay on the horse and afterwards even continue fighting successfully.

The function [hanging equipment], as we have observed for *sadelboue*, is also relevant for *arsoun*. In the following example from the *Story of England*, however, it is not equipment that is transported hanging on the *arsoun* but the body of a wounded knight.

- (86) [...] He leide hum ouer-þwert hys arsoun;  
 þe knyght was god, þe hors was stronge,  
 He turnde þer-wiþ out of þe þronge [...]<sup>181</sup>

(Mannyng. *The Story of England by Robert Manning of Brunne*. Furnivall (ed.) 1887: 475, l. 13706–13708)

The frame attribute [function] with the value [securing rider] evoked by *arsoun* could here also be seen in an extended application to both the rider and the wounded person. The thus indicated ability of rider and horse to exploit their full potential as well as the equipment in emergency situations clearly emphasises the chivalry of the rider. Figure 51 on p. 212 can serve as a summary for a semantic frame evoked by *arsoun*.

The third noun naming the raised front part of the saddle is *pomel* which appears two times in the CMEPV and not at all in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. Both passages are from *Merlin* and both describe the *pomel* as a place where the knights hang their swords while riding.

- (87) [...] and ther-with brake his spere, and a-noon he leide honde to his swerde that henge  
 at the pomell of his sadell, and drough it oute of the scauberke [...]<sup>182</sup>

(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 523, chapter 27)

This scene illustrates the importance of the sword being literally at hand in the heat of battle, especially when the first weapon of attack, the spear, is spent. The noun *pomel* in such cases overtly evokes the frame attribute [function] with the value [hanging equipment]. Information on the frame value [securing rider] similar to the nouns *sadelboue* and *arsoun* could not be gathered for lack of data. An estimated semantic frame could look like Fig. 52 on p. 212.

The next part of the saddle playing a role in the communication between rider and horse are the skirts, the covers made of leather or cloth protecting from direct contact between the rider's upper thighs and knee and the horse's belly. The skirts are particularly important if the rider is wearing armour that would otherwise wound the horse. If the skirts are too thick and rigid, no aids with the rider's upper leg can reach the horse. If the skirts are too thin and soft, they lose their protective effect. The Middle English noun *skirte* could only be found in the CMEPV, not in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. The two hits from the CMEPV are both in the following passage from *Merlin*.

- (88) [...] also the lengthe of his hauberk henge down be-nethe his feet, and his legges were  
 waxen so short that thei passed not the skirtes of the sadill; and be-hilde and saugh  
 how his hosen of stiell resten in the stiropes, and saugh how his shelde henge toward  
 the erthe, and a-perceyved wele that he was become a duerf [...]<sup>183</sup>

(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 691, chapter 33)

<sup>181</sup> [...] He laid him over his arson;  
 The knight was good, the horse was strong;  
 He turned thereupon out of the thick of battle [...].

<sup>182</sup> [...] and in doing that his spear broke, and he immediately laid hand to his sword that hung at the pommel of his saddle, and drew it out of the sheath [...].

<sup>183</sup> [...] also the length of his hauberk hung down beneath his feet, and his legs had become so short that they did not pass the skirts of the saddle; and beheld and saw how his leg-guards of steel rested in the stirrups, and saw how his shield hung towards the ground, and perceived well that he had become a dwarf [...].

In example (88) the reference to the saddle's skirts serves as a measurement to illustrate how much Gawain has shrunk. The only concrete information we can gather from this example is that the skirts were supposed to be shorter than the rider's legs, which is perfectly logical considering that the rider wants to give aids with his legs. In the case of the dwarf the option of communicating with the horse by sending signals with the legs is therefore gone. We can hence just conclude that the frame attribute [function] evoked by *skirte* assumedly took the value [protecting] but constrains and is constrained by the value [enabling communication], see Fig. 53, p. 212.

While the skirts of a saddle can be regarded as a matter of more or less comfort, the girth or girths holding the saddle in place on the horse's back are essential. The noun *gerth* produces only six hits in the CMEPV and is not used at all in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. This is most likely so because the presence of a girth is usually inherent with the presence of a saddle and requires no separate verbalisation. One reason for mentioning the girths is when extra precautions were taken, like in the following example from the *Laud Troy Book*.

- (89) Eche man thanne his armes craues,  
 Thei bad her zomen and her knaues  
 Dight her hors & sadel hem faste.  
 The sadeles on hem sone were caste  
 With double gerth as thei most nede,  
 To make hem strong thei toke hede [...]  
 (*The Laud Troy Book*. Wülfing (ed.) 1902-1903: 423, l. 14367–14372)<sup>184</sup>

The doubled girthing seems to emphasise the frame attribute [function] with the value [securing rider] which is apparently evoked by the noun *gerth* itself. In situations where something happened to the girths, single or double, this is usually crucial for the story and is hence narrated more extensively. An example for such an event is the following passage from the *History of the Sons of Aymon* in which the breaking of the girths causes severe trouble for the rider.

- (90) [...] and wyth the rennyng that they made agenste eche other, they recounted the one  
 the other so harde wyth theyr sheeldes that reynawde muste nedes falle down to the  
 erthe / wyth his sadle bytwene his thyes / by cause of the gyrtes that brake a sondre  
 [...]<sup>185</sup>  
 (*The Right Plesant and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 391,  
 chapter 17)

Leaving aside frame attributes like [form] and [material], which cannot be deduced from written sources and mostly do not play a considerable role, the core attribute [function] is crucial and the noun *gerth* appears to evoke the core value [securing rider]. Further concrete information cannot be collected from these few examples, so the schematic depiction of the semantic frame in Fig. 54, p. 213 has to remain hypothetical.

A similarly helpful and essential part of the saddle is referred to by the noun *stirope* that appears 109 times in the CMEPV but not in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. In the Middle English texts stirrups are mentioned in the context of mounting a horse, either to state their presence or absence, like in examples (91) to (93).

<sup>184</sup> Each man then requested his weapons,  
 They asked their yeomen and grooms  
 Prepare their horses and saddle them instantly.  
 The saddles were soon cast on them  
 With double girth as they must necessarily,  
 To make them strong they took heed [...].

<sup>185</sup> [...] and with the joust that they made against each other, they encountered each other so hard with their shields that Reynawde must necessarily fall down to the earth, with his saddle between his thighs, because of the girths that broke asunder [...].

- (91) [...] He sterte till his sterep and stridez on lofte [...]<sup>186</sup>  
 (*The Alliterative Morte Arthure*. Krishna (ed.) 1976: 65, l. 916)
- (92) [...] Syr Befyse yn to þe sadull startyth,  
 He towchyd nodur starop nor gyrthe.<sup>187</sup>  
 (*The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*. Kölbing (ed.) 1885, 1886, 1894: 46, footnote, l. 991–992)
- (93) [...] The Ioly and gentyl Olyuer sprange in to the sadle wythoute settinge foot in the styrop [...]<sup>188</sup>  
 (*Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce, Charles the Grete*. Herrtage (ed.) 1880–1881: 48, book 2, chapter 6)

Mounting without stirrups seems to have been perceived as a sign of special skill and has always been a fundamental part of the education in the cavalry – in spite of later interpretations of knights having to be lifted on their horses with cranes. It is easy to imagine how useless a mounted warrior is without being able to mount his horse without elaborate support. The frame attribute [function] evoked by the noun *stirop* thus apparently takes the value [facilitate mounting] and the emphasis on a rider's ability to mount without this help is a means to underline the overall skill and worthiness of the knight performing the action.

Another frame value for the attribute [function] evoked by *stirop* is [securing rider]. This aspect is usually not addressed directly, presumably because it is self-evident. The loss of one or both stirrups, however, can be dramatic and is hence occasionally added to make the action more vivid.

- (94) [...] Þanne he gan to pryke his hors wiþ al þat he myȝte, þennes for to flee; þanne his oon foot slood out of þe styrop, and he was i-drawe by þe oþer foot al aboute þe feeldes and þwart over weies, and al forbled, and at Cornesgate he ȝaf þe signes and tokenes of deth.<sup>189</sup>  
 (Trevisa. *English Translation of the Polychronicon by Ranulph Higden*. Babington & Lumby (eds.) 1882: 7.35, book 7, chapter 12)
- (95) [...] And thanne Vryan smote hym vpon the helmet a grete stroke with all his might / and was the sawdan so sore charged with that stroke that he was so astonyed and amased that he neyther sawe nor herde, and lost the brydel and the steropes, and the hors bare hym where he wold.<sup>190</sup>  
 (*Melusine*. Donald (ed.) 1895: 145, chapter 22)

Example (94) narrates a horror scenario of riders: falling from the horse but getting caught in one stirrup being unable to free oneself while the horse drags one along. In example (95) the rider manages to remain in the saddle despite losing the stirrups. Yet, he seems to be robbed of the control over the horse one can exercise by using the stirrups. This is, however the only slight indication of the stirrups being used for giving aids and steering the horse.

A more frequent function of stirrups is to position oneself more firmly in the saddle for an attack by stretching the legs in the stirrups and pushing oneself firmly into the back part of the saddle.

- (96) [...] and as soone as the spere was spent the kynge Boors redressed hym in his sadell and ficched hym so in his steropes so harde that the Iren bente, and he hilde his swerde

<sup>186</sup> [...] He leapt into his stirrup and mounted [...].

<sup>187</sup> [...] Sir Bevis jumped into the saddle,  
 He touched neither stirrup nor girth.

<sup>188</sup> [...] The vigorous and noble Oliver leapt into the saddle without setting foot in the stirrup [...].

<sup>189</sup> [...] Then he pricked his horse with all that he might, to flee from that place; then one of his feet slid out of the stirrup, and he was drawn by the other foot all about the fields and across roads, and bled to death, and at Cornesgate he showed the signs and symptoms of death.

<sup>190</sup> [...] And then Vryan struck him a great stroke upon the helmet with all his might, and the sultan was so sorely troubled with that stroke that he was so stunned and amazed that he neither saw nor heard, and lost the bridle and the stirrups, and the horse carried him where he wanted.

naked, and clipte his shelde to his breste, and ran to the Geaunte [...] <sup>191</sup>

(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 327, chapter 20)

This method can be regarded as a safety measure, but it is likely that the horse at the same time perceives the action as a sign for the coming attack. Obviously this fighting technique can only work if the stirrup leathers have the appropriate length for the rider, otherwise one would either lose them or lift oneself out of the saddle by stretching the legs. Heeding this fact, successful combat with too short stirrups can be recognised as an emphasis on the special skill of a knight:

- (97) And wyte it, whan he was on horsbacke, he was not well at ease / by cause that the stiropes were to short for hym. But he had other thyng to doo / than to make theim lenger. and whan he was thus set on horsbacke, he made his horse to renne, & helde his spere alowe / and wente & met wyth therle Angenon by suche maner that he put bothe yren and wood thurgh the breste of hym, so that he muste falle doun deed fro the horse to the grounde [...] <sup>192</sup>

(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 237, chapter 9)

Explicitly mentioning the unfitting stirrups before describing the knights heroic deeds characterises the knight as exceptionally apt in riding and fighting.

All in all we can summarise that the noun *stirop* primarily evokes the core attribute [function] with the core values [facilitate mounting] and [securing rider], see Fig. 55, p. 213. Furthermore we may suggest that the value [giving signs] could be involved, too, given that the recipient possesses detailed knowledge about the subtleties of riding.

## **5.2. Aids with legs and spurs**

### **ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE**

Unlike the rider's seat, the signals sent by the rider's legs can be suspended deliberately and hence belong to the category of secondary aids. While the rider's seat has the task to steer the mutual point of weight of horse and rider and thus influence direction and speed, the rider's legs are mostly responsible for controlling the motion of the horse's legs, particularly the hind legs. <sup>193</sup> The hind legs can be regarded as the engine of the horse producing the forces that push the horse forward and carry its weight. The factor of carrying weight is particularly important when the horse is expected to bear the additional weight of a rider. The topic of the statics and dynamics of weight bearing will be elaborated on in the chapter on manoeuvres, esp. p. 158.

With trained signals of the legs the rider can make sure that the horse's hind legs are placed under the point of weight in the appropriate way according to the momentary situation or task. This can either mean positioning them for carrying out certain manoeuvres like turning or jumping (see pp. 162ff. and pp. 176ff.) or putting them to use for any form of acceleration or deceleration.

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<sup>191</sup> [...] and as soon as the spear was spent, the King Boors straightened himself in his saddle and braced himself in his stirrups so firmly that the iron bent, and he held his sword unsheathed, and grasped his shield to his breast, and ran to the giant [...].

<sup>192</sup> And be assured, when he was on horseback, he was not well at ease, because the stirrups were too short for him. But he had other things to do than to make them longer. And when he was thus set on horseback, he made his horse run, and held his spear low and went and met with the earl Angenon in such a manner that he put both iron and wood through his breast, so that he must fall down dead from his horse to the ground [...].

<sup>193</sup> The historical riding master's explanations can be found in: Grisone (*The Rules of Riding*. Tobey & Deigan (eds.) 2014: 119–121), Blundeville (*A Newe Booke Containing the Arte of Ryding, and Breakinge Greate Horses*. EEBO Editions (ed.) 1561: Bdv book 1, chapter 11, fol. Cva–Cviiia), de la Guérinière (*Reitkunst*. Albrecht & Durand, et al. (eds.) 1996: 165–166), de la Guérinière (*Barockes Reiten*. Branderup (ed.) 2000: 55–56), Steinbrecht (2004: 30–33).

The rider's legs can only communicate by pressure and rotation if they are in contact with the horse so that the horse can feel the signal and learn to react to it. As soon as the purpose of the riding, e.g. jousting, requires the rider to secure his seat by stretching the legs away from the horse's belly and clamp himself between the stirrups and the back of his saddle, the legs cannot stay in contact with the horse to give signals. Touching the horse with the legs is also complicated if the rider wears rigid armour and the fact that medieval horses tend to be smaller in relation to the rider than modern warmblood breeds are (see the chapter on height, pp. 89f.). In these cases spurs are an essential tool to substitute the aids with the legs and allow the rider to reach his horse. The long and fierce-looking spurs we encounter in archaeological finds and images from the Middle Ages are fitted to this need.<sup>194</sup> Besides the factor of allowing the rider to touch the horse at all, spurs are also worn to be more precise in giving signs or intensify signals if the horse is not compliant. We can differentiate here between touching the horse with the spurs as a means of communication to cause trained behaviour and hurting the horse with the spurs to trigger its flight reflex and urge it to flee the pain.<sup>195</sup> As with all equipment, the severity of the use of spurs for the horse depends on how the rider handles them. In general, however, spurs with rowels are less fierce since they can roll off the belly of the horse, while pointed spurs strike without deflection.

#### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS

Remarks on the aids given with the legs alone are extremely rare in Middle English texts. Hence this chapter has to concentrate on expressions of the action executed with the equipment named *spore* including the verbs *sporen*, *priken*, *smiten*, *brochen* and *striken*.

#### ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

The noun *spore* is a native English word with a Germanic origin, while the verb *sporen* is only recorded in writing from the 13<sup>th</sup> century on, according to the OED (s.v. *spur*, n.1 and *spur*, v.1).

The Middle English verb *priken* is also of Germanic origin (OED: s.v. *prick*, v.).

*Smiten* is a verb of Germanic origin (OED: s.v. *smite*, v.), as well.

The verb *brochen* is of French origin and according to the OED (s.v. *broach*, v.1) can be found in written sources from 1330 onwards. The OED (s.v. *broach*, n.1) suggests that the verb presumably entered English through the noun *broche* 'a pointed weapon or implement' (MED: s.v. *broche*, n.1, 1.) from French *broche* which derived from Latin *\*brocca* 'spike, pointed instrument'.

*Striken* is again a verb of Germanic origin (OED: s.v. *strike*, v.).

#### SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

For the semantic frame [TO SPUR] we can conclude that the core attribute [action of rider], the connected core value [giving sign to horse] and the core value [with spurs] are essential for understanding the concept, see figure 56 on p. 213.

The most common expressions of aids given with the legs or rather spurs are the noun *spore* and the verb *sporen*. In the *Boke of Marchalsi* we find a very detailed description of how to use the spurs in riding a young horse, see example (98).

<sup>194</sup> Details on the forms of medieval spurs can be found in Clark (2004: 124–156), Gelbhaar (1997: 75–120), Hyland (1994: 17), Prévot & Ribémont (1994: 155–157) and from a medieval viewpoint in Duarte I of Portugal (The Book of Horsemanship. Forgeng (ed.) 2016: 148–150).

<sup>195</sup> On the use of spurs see: Duarte I of Portugal (The Book of Horsemanship. Forgeng (ed.) 2016: 145–151), Grisone (The Rules of Riding. Tobey & Deigan (eds.) 2014: 123–129; 187–193), Blundeville (A Newe Booke Containing the Arte of Ryding, and Breakinge Greate Horses. EEBO Editions (ed.) 1561: book 1, chapter 13, fol. Cviib–Diiia).



- (98) [...] And also þat he be | nowt redyn withþoute spores, for he sho|lde wexe restyf, 3yf he were smetyn | with-oute sporis, and caste be-hynde, and | wexe euel entechyd. And þerfor men || shal don hym to knowe þe spore in | his zouþe. And eche oþer day ride hym | for to lere hym hys alurys, 3yf þat || he be hors of armys. And whan þu | shalt first worþen up on hym, þat | he go a gret paas twey forlong or | þre. And þan take hym with the spores out || of þat paas in-to a trot. And aftir þat | ryde a gret trot al out. And out of þat | trot take hym a cours as þu wylt | iournay al day. And at euery time þat he shal | chaungin hys pas, þat he fele þe || spore, for þerby he shal wetyn the | betir aftirward what he shal don.<sup>196</sup>

(*The Boke of Marchalsi*. Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: 6–7, fol. 4b, l. 15 – fol. 5a, l. 11)

The first advice mentioned in this passage is not to ride the young horse without spurs because then one would have no means to intensify the aid if the horse refuses to react. We can hence suppose that the noun *spore* may evoke the frame attribute [action of rider] with the value [giving sign to horse], in this case probably even with the subordinate value [to intensify]. The second piece of information we can gather from this passage is that the spurs are used to change the horse's manner of moving. Giving aids with the spurs takes place both to initiate a certain movement and to remind the horse to continue in the same motion so long as it is not told differently. To keep carrying out an action so long as no other order is given is a very practical behaviour to teach a riding horse because otherwise the rider would have to continuously signal the horse to go on and would not have enough capacities for any other activities. We can therefore add the values [to cause trained behaviour] and furthermore [to continue] for the frame attribute [giving sign to horse] as being evoked by *spore*, at least for this particular text.

Of the overall 479 hits in the CMEPV 30% are verbs and about 70% nouns. The large number of hits is, however, mostly due to the various manuscript versions of the *Canterbury Tales*. If the noun *spore* is not combined with a verb indicating any action towards the horse, we encounter it either just as a passing mention of the tool or in a description of valuable spurs. There is one exception, though, from the *Tale of Gamelyn* in which the naming of the tool serves to characterise the quality of a riding horse.

- (99) Thou most lene me to nyght a litel cursere  
That is fressh to þe spores on for to ride  
I most on an Erand a litel here be side [...] <sup>197</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Ellesmere Ms of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*. Furnivall (ed.) 1868-1879: 6, Tale of Gamelyn, l. 176–181)

In need of a good horse the knight asks for a horse that is *fresh to the spores* indicating that the mount should be ready to respond to the aids given with the spurs. This implies that the horse has undergone a considerable amount of training and is therefore easy to handle and reliable, which are all helpful traits to successfully complete the errand. This is, however, the only text passage in which the noun *spore* without any verb of action is used to express a form of communication in riding. In the majority of cases the noun *spore* is combined with verbs like *priken*, *stricken*, *smitten* or *brochen*, as we will discuss later in this chapter.

The verb *sporen* is in general less common than the noun, but the most frequent occurrence is in combination with verbs expressing aspects like {attacking} alone or {approaching at high speed}

<sup>196</sup> [...] And also that he not be ridden without spurs, because he would become restive if he was smitten without spurs, and kick behind, and become evil natured. And therefore one shall teach him the spurs in his youth. And every other day ride him to teach him his gaits, if he is a warhorse. And when you shall first mount him, that he goes a great pace two furlong or three. And then take him with the spurs out of that pace into a trot. And after that ride a great trot all out. And out of that trot take him a course as you would journey all day. And every time that he shall change his pace, that he feels the spur, because thus he shall know better afterwards what he shall do.

<sup>197</sup> You must grant me tonight a little courser  
That is fresh to the spurs to ride on  
I have to run an errand here nearby [...].

together with {attacking} in order to indicate the process of a charge in mounted combat. These utterances are very prominent in the *History of the Sons of Aymon* but appear in similar phrasing in other texts, too.

The following three examples, (100) to (102), represent some common ways how these phrases are employed in the narration of fighting.

- (100) And thenne came the duke Benes of Aygremounte, that spored hys horse terryble, and wente and smote Enguerran [...] soo harde, that he ouerthrewe hym deed afore hym [...]<sup>198</sup>

(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 42, chapter 1)

- (101) Reynawd spored bayarde, & Ogyer brayford, their good horses, & ran thone vpon thother so strongly that the erthe trembled vnder their fete [...]<sup>199</sup>

(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 266, chapter 10)

- (102) And whan Orienx saugh that, he spored his steede and smote Agrauain vpon the shelde [...]<sup>200</sup>

(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 265, chapter 16)

In example (100) we find a combination of *sporen*, *gon* and *smiten* that gives a detailed account of the three stages an attack in mounted combat is usually composed of. First the rider launches the action by giving the horse the sign to start off at high speed (for details see pp. 167f.), then horse and rider are in motion towards the opponent until they finally meet him and strike with the weapon. In example (101) stages two and three, moving towards one another and hitting, are summarised in a paraphrase of the phrase *rennen togeder* (see p. 168). Example (102) can be interpreted a little differently, without necessarily assuming that the phase of running against the opponent covers a certain distance. Here the knight could also have used the spurs to ask the horse to perform a manoeuvre like turning on the spot to get a better aim or jump and maybe even kick (see pp. 158ff.). The exact action cannot be reconstructed here, but from the examples analysed for *sporen* so far we can gather that the verb presumably evokes the core attribute [action of rider] with the core value [giving sign to horse] and the subordinate value [to cause trained behaviour]. In the cases above [to cause trained behaviour] seems to take further values like [starting off at high speed] and maybe [turning] or [jumping].

In only a handful of text passages from the CMEPV it becomes clear that the rider causes a specific manoeuvre through a signal given with the spurs. One example should suffice here for illustration since many more are discussed in detail in the chapter on the manoeuvres, pp. 158ff.

- (103) And whan they were all armed and well appareylled, Reynawde lighted vpon Bayarde, his good hors, and spored hym wyth his spores, soo that he made hym to lepe well thyrty foote of length [...]<sup>201</sup>

(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 194, chapter 8)

This instance supports the assumption that *sporen* can evoke the frame attribute [to cause trained behaviour], here with the specific value [jumping].

<sup>198</sup> And then came the Duke Benes of Aygremounte, who spurred his horse terribly, and went and struck Enguerran [...] so hard that he overthrew him dead before him [...].

<sup>199</sup> Reynawde spurred Bayard and Ogyer Brayford, their good horses and charged one against the other so strongly that the earth trembled under their feet [...].

<sup>200</sup> And when Orienx saw that, he spurred his steed and struck Agrauain upon the shield [...].

<sup>201</sup> And when they were all armed and well equipped, Reynawde mounted upon Bayard, his good horse, and spurred him with his spurs, so that he made him leap well thirty feet of length [...].

The aspect {to urge forward} is probably the most common association with the use of spurs. In the discussion of riding scenes, the simple triggering of the horse's flight instinct by causing pain is, however, to be distinguished from communicating signals causing trained behaviour. The attribute [to cause to gallop] that we can use to summarise the instinctive reaction of the horse to the spurs can be evoked as a frame attribute by the verb *sporen*. In such cases the horse's reaction is less elaborate than in executing manoeuvres and is mostly phrased to express the aspect {high speed}, as in the following examples.

- (104) [...] he spored bayarde wyth his spores, & went so fast away that it semed that the tempest had chassed hym [...]<sup>202</sup>

(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 178, chapter 7)

- (105) He sporede his hors, forþ faste  
Wel wende he Wawayn for to ha take [...]<sup>203</sup>

(Mannyng. *The Story of England by Robert Manning of Brunne*. Furnivall (ed.) 1887: 445, l. 12719–12720)

We can therefore summarise that the verb *sporen* seems to express the core frame attribute [action of rider], see figure 57 on p. 213. The core attribute [action of rider] apparently entails the core value [giving sign to horse] with the core value [with spurs]. The values [to cause trained behaviour] and [to cause to gallop] can be regarded as core values, too, since they indicate the purpose or the outcome of the action and are thus necessary to grasp the concept of using spurs. Furthermore, the value [to cause trained behaviour] can take specific values like [starting off at high speed], [jumping] and maybe [turning].

The semantic differentiation of the verb *priken* in connection with horses shows an interesting chaining of semantic associations. From the general meaning 'to pierce or indent with a sharp point' (OED: s.v. *prick*, v. I.) the causative sense 'to urge with a sharp point or spur' (OED: s.v. *prick*, v., I.) developed, which further narrowed to 'to spur (a horse), cause to gallop; spur on' (MED: s.v. *priken*, v., 4.a.b). While *priken* first denoted the action of causing a movement, it then became an expression for the kind of motion itself. In the sense 'of a horse: to gallop' (MED: s.v. *priken*, v., 4.b.a) the animal is the agent, in 'of a person: to ride a horse, esp. at a gallop' (MED: s.v. *priken*, v., 4.b.a) the act of riding is phrased.

With all its different specific senses related to horses and riding the verb appears 410 times in the CMEPV but not in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. The senses 'cause to gallop' and 'gallop' are almost indistinguishable and taken together they amount to around 85% of the hits, as will be discussed in the chapter on the gallop, pp. 153ff. The sense 'moving ostentatiously' is rare and will be discussed on pp. 160ff. In this chapter we are interested in the sense 'to spur' which seems to be inherent in all senses of the word to a certain degree because the distinction between 'cause' and 'reaction' is very blurry. Hence, the sense 'to spur' is hard to grasp concretely, but can approximately be assigned to almost 20% of all the hits for *priken*.

Just as the aspect {to spur} is implied in reference to the motion of the horse, *priken* always appears to evoke a strong association with the horse moving at high speed. Therefore, one way to get more semantically tangible results is to find instances in which the aspect of speed is rendered explicitly by other expressions like *rennen*, for example:

- (106) Poo no lengere he ne abood,  
But þat stede he bestrood;  
He prekyd hys hors al arnende,

<sup>202</sup> [...] he spurred Bayard with the spurs and went so quickly away that it seemed as if the tempest had chased him.

<sup>203</sup> He spurred his horse, forth quickly  
Well he went to have Wawayn taken [...].

As þouȝ þe castel hadde ibrende.<sup>204</sup>

(*The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*. Kölbing (ed.) 1885, 1886, 1894: 86, version A, footnote, l. 33–36)

This is a rare case in which we can conclude with some certainty that *priken* phrases the frame attribute [action of rider] with the value [giving sign to horse] and also [to cause to gallop] if we assume that *rennen* evokes the frame attribute [gait] with the value [gallop] or at least the attribute [speed] with the value [high].

Another possibility to trace the signal given with the spurs is in cases where not only the reaction of the horse is phrased but also the direct consequence of the impact of the spurs on the horse's body. In such instances the frame attribute [giving sign to horse] certainly takes the value [with spurs] because this tool is the main reason for the severe effect on the mount. If the result of the use of spurs is described it is usually done in a drastic way involving a bleeding horse. This may be a means to intensify the effect of the scene but is also realistic considering that spurs are in fact small but sharp and effective weapons.

- (107) He took hys scheeld & hys spere,  
As it semyd a good rydere;  
He prekyd þoo hys goode stede,  
Þat boþe hys sydys begunne to blede.

(*The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*. Kölbing (ed.) 1885, 1886, 1894: 90, footnote, l. 1745–1748)<sup>205</sup>

In (107) *priken* obviously refers to the frame attribute [action of rider] with the value [giving sign to horse] which takes the value [with spurs] and additionally the specification [violently].

Besides the cases analysed so far in which only a scrutiny of the co-text reveals the semantics of *priken*, there are some instances, in the CMEPV seven, of a combination with *spore* that are more obviously referring to the rider giving an aid with the spurs.

- (108) [...] Hys hors wyth þe spurres he prykkeþe  
(That ranne as faste, as fowle, þat flyeth) [...] <sup>206</sup>

(*The Romance of Guy of Warwick*. Zupitza (ed.) 1875–1876: 294, l. 10253–10254)

- (109) And when þe English knafes saw þe scomfiture, and þe Scottis falle faste to the ground, þai priken hir maistres hors wiþ þe Spores forto kepe ham fro perile, and sette her maistres at no force.<sup>207</sup>

(*The Brut*. Brie (ed.) 1906, 1908: 1.285)

In these examples it becomes clear that the frame attribute [action of rider] takes the value [giving sign to horse]. Furthermore, [giving sign to horse] seems to take values like [to cause to gallop] and [with spurs]. These values are presumably inherent in the verb *priken* itself but are additionally foregrounded by the verb *rennen* and the phrase *forto kepe hem from peril* respectively in the case of [to cause to gallop] and the noun *spore* to phrase [with spurs].

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<sup>204</sup> Thus he stayed no longer,  
But mounted his steed;  
He pricked his horse all running,  
As if the castle had been on fire.

<sup>205</sup> He took his shield and his spear,  
As becomes a good rider;  
He pricked thus his good steed,  
That both his sides began to bleed.

<sup>206</sup> [...] His horse with the spurs he pricked  
(That ran as fast as a bird that flies) [...].

<sup>207</sup> And when the English grooms saw the defeat, and the Scots fell instantly to the ground, they pricked their masters' horses with the spurs to keep them from harm, and disregarded their masters.

In Richard Rolle's *Gostly Batayle* we encounter a longer passage using the metaphor of spurs to convey righteous behaviour. Although the aim of the author is religious rather than equestrian, we can observe some details on the practice of riding nonetheless.

- (110) Sporys. Also ye muste haue a peyre of sporys, the whyche muste be sharpe to pryke with youre horse yef nede be, that he stynte nat in hys weye, ffor many horsys be dulle and slowe in theyre iorney but they be pryked. These sporys shalle be loue and drede of gode, whyche among al othere vertues displeyne most the fende and sonnest bryngeth a mane or woman to heuyne-blysse. [...] Now with thyse II sporys pryke youre horse yeff he be dulle and euylle-wylde to goodnes-warde. Furst with the ryghte spore that ys loue; and yeff he wolle nat haste hym in hys iorney, than pryke hyme with the lefte spore, that wylle make hym to sprynge yef he be in the wey off grace.<sup>208</sup>

(Rolle. *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole*. Horstmann (ed.) 1895-1896: 2.427, Gostly Batayle)

In the first sentence we learn that the spurs should only be used in need, meaning if the horse is not compliant. This aspect accords with the encyclopaedic knowledge on the use of the aids. The seat is the primary aid and the other aids, for instance spurs, are applied only if necessary. We can thus add the value [to intensify] to the frame attribute [giving sign to horse] alongside the value [with spurs].

To sum up, see Fig. 58 on p. 213, the verb *priken* apparently evokes the core frame attribute [action of rider] with the core values [giving sign to horse] and more or less prominently also [to cause to gallop]. The attribute [giving sign to horse] seems to take values like [with spurs] and [to intensify], with [with spurs] most likely as a core value. Sometimes [with spurs] can take the value [violently].

With 96 hits in the CMEPV *smiten* in the context of riding is the most frequent verb to indicate signs given with the legs and spurs. For the sense related to the giving of aids no reference could be found in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. In contrast to *priken* with its inherent connection to the frame attributes [high speed] and [with spurs], *smiten* seems to refer only to an act of the rider and carries no information on the motion of the mount or the tools applied. Without going into details this becomes evident in the fact that *smiten* almost exclusively appears in the phrase *smiten with spores* in equestrian contexts. The frame attribute [action of rider] with the value [giving sign to horse] in these cases gains the subordinate value [with spurs] only through the explicit mention of the spurs. Since no details on the manner of communication could be gathered from the data, we will focus on the action of the horse the rider causes by *smiten with spores*. Common reactions of the horse following the sign of the rider are several trained manoeuvres:

- (111) Wip scharp spors þai smiten her stede,  
& sprongen forþ so spark on glede.<sup>209</sup>

(*The Romance of Guy of Warwick*. Zupitza (ed.) 1883, 1887, 1891: 298, Auchinlek Ms. l. 5463–5466)

- (112) This duc his courser with his spores smoot,  
And at a stert he was bitwix hem two [...]<sup>210</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 33, Knight's Tale, l. 1704–1705)

- (113) [...] Blanchardyn seeyng the oure and the poynt that he sholde furnysshe hys enterpryse that ful sore he desyred to fynysse, smote hys courser wyth the spore for

<sup>208</sup> Spurs. Also you must have a pair of spurs, which must be sharp to prick your horse if need be, that he lingers not in his way, because many horses are dull and slow in their journey unless they are pricked. These spurs shall be love and fear of God, which among all other virtues displease the fiend most and soonest bring a man or woman to heavenly bliss. [...] Now with these two spurs prick your horse if he is dull or evil-willed towards virtue. First with the right spur that is love; and if he will not hasten himself in his journey, then prick him with the left spur, that will make him jump if he is in the way of grace.

<sup>209</sup> With sharp spurs they struck their steeds,  
And leapt forth like spark on embers.

<sup>210</sup> This Duke struck his courser with his spurs  
And in a moment was between the two [...].

to kysse her as he furth by her went [...] <sup>211</sup>

(Caxton. *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*. Kellner (ed.) 1890: 41, chapter 11)

- (114) [...] & þe paynym smote hym with the spores moche sharply, in suche wyse that the hors made a leep more than xxx foot longe. <sup>212</sup>

(*Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce, Charles the Grete*. Herrtage (ed.) 1880-1881: 150–151, book 2, part 3, chapter 2)

Remarkably, *smiten* appears to mainly ignite manoeuvres like starting off at high speed, also called career, in examples (111) and (112) and jumps in examples (113) and (114). The details of the performance of such manoeuvres are elaborated on on pp. 167ff. and pp. 176ff. For this chapter we can cautiously suggest that *smiten* evokes the value [to cause trained behaviour] for the frame attribute [giving sign to horse]. The subordinate values of [to cause trained behaviour] are various, [starting off at high speed] and [jumping] appear to be the most common.

The value [to intensify] for the frame attribute [giving sign to horse] is also expressed by the verb *smiten* in examples like the following from *The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*. Even though the spurs are not mentioned, the message conveyed by *smiten* seems to be effective.

- (115) Beues smot is hors, þat it lep  
In to þe se, þat was wel dep. <sup>213</sup>

(*The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*. Kölbing (ed.) 1885, 1886, 1894: 91, version A, l. 1811–1812)

In (116) the horse seems to be understandably hesitant to jump into a lake of unknown depth. The rider's encouraging stroke either convinced the horse or startled it so much that it takes the leap. This method of causing a horse to shock jump can also be used in emergency situations in mounted combat, as the following scene from *Merlin* demonstrates.

- (116) [...] and than he lifte vp the bronde, and ficched hym in the styropes so harde that the Iren bente, and wende to smyte the kynge de Cent Chiualers vpon the helme, and he that douted, and the stroke blenched, and smote the steede with the spores, and the stroke descended be-hynde, and smote a-sonder the trappure of mayle, and thourgh the horse to the erthe [...] <sup>214</sup>

(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 164, chapter 10)

Startling the horse here provokes a sudden leap forward which is supposed to save both knight and horse from the opponent's blow. However, the rescue move succeeds only in saving the rider. Because the action of the horse is not explicitly phrased we can assume that the frame attribute [giving sign to horse] with the value [to cause to gallop] is probably evoked by *smiten with spores*. Yet, this has to remain a hypothesis since no further examples for this use could be found.

All in all, the verb *smiten* in the phrase *smiten with spores* evokes the core attribute [action of rider] with the core value [giving sign to horse]; see figure 59 on p. 214 for a visual summary. Furthermore [giving sign to horse] seems to be associated with the core value [to cause trained behaviour] and its different subordinate values like [starting off at high speed] or [jumping]. The frame attributes [to intensify] and [to cause to gallop] can also be observed but only occasionally. The attribute [with spurs] is presumably not inherent in the semantic frame of the verb *smiten*

<sup>211</sup> Blanchardyn seeing the hour and the point that he should finish his enterprise that he desired sorely to finish, struck his courser with the spurs in order to kiss her as he passed her by [...].

<sup>212</sup> [...] and the pagan struck him with the spurs very sharply, in such a way that the horse made a leap more than thirty feet long.

<sup>213</sup> Beues struck it horse, that it jumped  
Into the lake, that was very deep.

<sup>214</sup> [...] and then he lifted up the sword, and secured himself in the stirrups so firmly that the iron bent, and went to strike the King de Cent Chiualers upon the helmet, and he feared that and avoided the blow, and struck the horse with the spurs, and the blow descended behind and cleaved asunder the armour of mail, and through the horse to the ground [...].

alone. The severity that is evident in the majority of situations in which the phrase *smitten with spores* is used strongly suggests associations of fierceness being inherent in the verb.

In the context of riding the verb *brochen* could be found 34 times in the CMEPV but not in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. Concerning the choice of words, *brochen* seems to be predominantly used in alliterative poetry when it fits the requirements of rhyme and metre. Exactly half of the text passages from the CMEPV are instances in which the verb is featured in the phrase *brochen with spores*, while in the other half the verb stands alone. In general, the choice whether the noun *spore* is added or not seems to depend on metrical rather than semantic criteria.

The verb alone hence appears to incorporate the attribute [with spurs] judging from its basic sense ‘to pierce or slash’ (MED: s.v. *brochen*, v., 1.a) and examples like the following:

- (117) With þat he braides on þe blonke · & broches him in þe syd,  
Bowis him to-ward þe burȝe · as briȝt as ane aungell.<sup>215</sup>

(*The Wars of Alexander*. Skeat (ed.) 1886: 170, Ashmole Ms. 2892–2893)

- (118) With þat he brochis his blonke · þat þe blode fames,  
Sparis out spacly · as sparke out of gledes.<sup>216</sup>

(*The Wars of Alexander*. Skeat (ed.) 1886: 174, Ashmole Ms. 1. 2970–2975)

Example (117) is a passage used frequently in the alliterative *Wars of Alexander* and shows that the frame attribute [action of rider] is evoked with the value [giving sign to horse]. The addition *in the side* indicates that the verb *brochen* also evokes frame values like [with legs] or [with spurs] because these are the parts of the rider reaching the sides of the horse. Example (118) affirms the value [with spurs] being evoked by *brochen* by describing the bloody result of the rider’s action and can be understood as adding the value [violently] to the attribute [with spurs].

The frame value [to intensify] for the attribute [giving sign to horse] that we have observed in several previous analyses in this chapter is supposedly only evoked by the phrase *brochen with spores* and not by the verb itself. Yet, the absence of examples for the intensifying aspect expressed by the verb alone is no ultimate proof that it could not be implied. (120) illustrates the use of the phrase *brochen with spores*:

- (119) And thenne he broched braiford with the spores, and put hymselfe to swymme over  
the ryver.<sup>217</sup>

(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 265, chapter 10)

In this scene the horse hesitates to jump into unknown waters and is forced by the rider’s use of the spurs to do so nonetheless. Hence, we may suppose that the explicit mentioning of the spurs is closely related to the success of pushing through the rider’s demand by amplifying the signal.

The association with high speed, as expressed in the frame value [to cause to gallop] belonging to the frame attribute [giving sign to horse] is apparently not inherent in *brochen* alone but has to be verbalised for instance by adding verbs of motion like *rennen* or *walopen*, see examples (120) and (121).

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<sup>215</sup> With that he hurries on the horse and strikes him in the side,  
Bends him toward the town as bright as an angel.

<sup>216</sup> With that he strikes his horse that the blood foams,  
Rushes out at once like spark from embers.

<sup>217</sup> And then he struck Braiford with the spurs and made him swim across the river.

- (120) And of thother' parte, chassed theym the frenshemen, brochyng wyth ye spore as fast as theyr horses myght renne / somoche that a knyghte that was better horsed than the other were, ouertake Renawde [...]<sup>218</sup>

(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 63, chapter 2)

- (121) And thenne the knight broched hys hors, and waloped toward hys felawes, and recounted to them shortly all thautenture.<sup>219</sup>

(*Melusine*. Donald (ed.) 1895: 130, chapter 21)

Similarly, the value [to cause trained behaviour] for the attribute [giving sign to horse] has to be specified by supplements to the verb *brochen*. The following examples give an impression of the various possibilities:

- (122) Thenne bothe of them went abacke for to take their cours, and turned ayen brochyng their horses wyth their spores [...]<sup>220</sup>

(Caxton. *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*. Kellner (ed.) 1890: 84, chapter 24)

- (123) But the king Zelodyus putte his sheld tofore his brest, & held his spere alowe, and broched his hors with the sporys, & rane vpon the Crysten [...]<sup>221</sup>

(*Melusine*. Donald (ed.) 1895: 231, chapter 31)

- (124) With pat bucifelon hys blonke · he brochys in þe sydez,  
Spryngez forth with a spere · spyllez at þe ganest [...]<sup>222</sup>

(*The Laud Troy Book*. Wülffing (ed.) 1902-1903: 310, l. 10525–10526)

From examples like these we can gather that the frame attribute [to cause trained behaviour] can apparently take values like [turning], [attacking] and [jumping]. More on each of these skilful actions can be found in the chapter on the manoeuvres, pp. 158ff.

In sum, what we can reconstruct for the semantic frame of *brochen* is the core attribute [action of rider] with the core value [giving sign to horse]. The core attribute [giving sign to horse] may entail the value [with legs] or maybe [with spurs]. To secure the attributes [with spurs] and [to intensify] it appears as if the specific information has to be given in the co-text. The same holds true for the attributes [to cause to gallop] and [to cause trained behaviour] with their values which seem not to be inherent in *brochen* itself. Figure 60 on p. 214 is an illustration of the possible semantic frame.

The verb *striken* in the specific equestrian context is rare with only 13 search results in the CMEPV and none in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. two of the hits are from the *Romance of Guy of Warwick*, while the rest is from the *Laud Troy Book*. The nine instances in which the verb is not accompanied by the phrase *with spores* are all from the *Laud Troy Book*. In the passages from the *Laud Troy Book* we encounter most of the frame attributes we have observed for the other verbs in this chapter. For example the core value [giving sign to horse] linked to the attribute [action of rider], in (125) simply initiating covering a distance by riding.

- (125) He strok his stede & to him rode [...]<sup>223</sup>

(*The Laud Troy Book*. Wülffing (ed.) 1902-1903: 230, l. 7801)

<sup>218</sup> And of the other part chased them the Frenchmen, striking with the spurs as fast as their horses might run, so much that a knight who was better horsed than the other troops, overtook Renawde [...].

<sup>219</sup> And then the knight struck his horse and galloped towards his fellows and told them briefly all what had happened.

<sup>220</sup> Then both of them went back to take their course, and turned again, striking their horses with their spurs [...].

<sup>221</sup> But the King Zelodyus put his shield before his breast, and held his spear low, and struck his horse with the spurs, and ran upon the Christian [...].

<sup>222</sup> With that Bucifelon his horse, he strikes in the sides,  
Leaps forth with a spear, slaying in the quickest way [...].

<sup>223</sup> He struck his steed and rode to him [...].



For *striken*, too, the attribute [giving sign to horse] can take the more specific value [with spurs] which again becomes evident in the bloody result of the rider's impact:

- (126) Whan he come ner, he stroke his stede,  
 That he made bothe his sides blede [...] <sup>224</sup>  
 (*The Laud Troy Book*. Wülfing (ed.) 1902-1903: 267, l. 9049–9050)

It appears as if the value [with spurs] was inherent in the verb *striken* since nothing in the co-text overtly phrases the use of spurs and yet the effect of their application is obvious. It is, however, possible that the hitting was done with a rod or whip instead of spurs. Yet, it seems unlikely that the knights in or close to battle carried anything else but reins and weapons in their hands.

Details on the aim intended by [giving sign to horse] is expressed in additional phrases to *striken* and supposedly not inherent in the verb itself. We find examples in which the frame attribute [giving sign to horse] takes the value [to cause to gallop] such as the following.

- (127) [...] He strok his stede and dede him ren;  
 He bar Ector thorow the scheld,  
 But Ector faste his sadel held [...] <sup>225</sup>  
 (*The Laud Troy Book*. Wülfing (ed.) 1902-1903: 147, l. 4976–4978)

The action of galloping itself is expressed by the verb *rennen* and not inherent in *striken*. The lack of more comparable data, however, prevents further assessment of this hypothesis. Other constructions with *striken* illustrate the attribute [to cause trained behaviour], especially in the context of mounted combat, as for instance in (128) and (129).

- (128) He strok his stede amonges hem alle,  
 Some he sclow & some mad falle,  
 He brak her hedes vnder her hode. <sup>226</sup>  
 (*The Laud Troy Book*. Wülfing (ed.) 1902-1903: 405, l. 13749–13751)

- (129) Among that hepe strok he his stede  
 Polidomas that then wolde lede,  
 And dalt ther strokes on eche a side [...] <sup>227</sup>  
 (*The Laud Troy Book*. Wülfing (ed.) 1902-1903: 314, l. 10661–10663)

In both examples (128) and (129) the manoeuvre is executed in a melee situation indicating that the horse was probably moving more or less on the spot (see pp. 162f.), yet it is unclear how exactly.

The two passages featuring the phrase *striken with spores* from the *Romance of Guy of Warwick* unfortunately reveal no details about the exact shape of the action taking place either, but the examples from the *Laud Troy Book* are more telling. In example (130) we can see that *striken* takes the frame attribute [action of rider] with the value [giving sign to horse] and that the combined use with *rennen* adds the value [to cause to gallop].

- (130) Sche strok hir stede with hir spores,  
 Ouer falow & ouer forwes  
 Among the Gregais sche ther rennes—

<sup>224</sup> When he came near, he struck his steed,  
 That he made both his sides bleed [...].

<sup>225</sup> [...] He struck his steed and made him run;  
 He stabbed Ector through the shield,  
 But Ector held firmly on to his saddle [...].

<sup>226</sup> He struck his steed amongst them all,  
 Some he slew and some he made fall,  
 He broke their heads under their mail hood.

<sup>227</sup> Among that heap he struck his steed  
 Palomidias who then wanted to command,  
 And dealt there blows to each side [...].

As dos the fulmard among the hennes.<sup>228</sup>

(*The Laud Troy Book*. Wülfing (ed.) 1902-1903: 479, l. 16277–16280)

- (131) Ector thanne with wrothful herte  
Vpon his hors lepe vp smerte,  
He strok his stede so with his spores  
That he lepe ouer lond & forwes [...]<sup>229</sup>

(*The Laud Troy Book*. Wülfing (ed.) 1902-1903: 310, l. 10525–10528)

Taking examples (131) and (132) together, the phrase *over falwe / lond and forwes* can be interpreted as specifying the attribute [giving sign to horse] with the value [to cause trained behaviour] and the subordinate value [jumping].

With or without the additional phrase *with spores*, the verb *striken* seems to evoke the core frame attribute [action of rider] with the core value [giving sign to horse] and the subordinate and maybe also core value [with spurs], see Fig. 61 on p. 214. Embedded in more complex constructions the verb *striken* can contribute to evoking further values for the attribute [giving sign to horse] such as [to cause to gallop] or [to cause trained behaviour] which itself can take values like [jumping].

### **5.3. Aids with reins and bit**

#### **ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE**

The bit is usually considered to be the tool par excellence to steer a horse. One simple fact, however, should clarify that this is only part of the truth. The bit is fixed in the horse's mouth and thus attached to its head. The head obviously has no legs and therefore cannot move the horse anywhere, so it is illogical to assume that manipulating the head alone can be a means of navigation. The horse, just as any other mammal, can doubtlessly move in a different direction than the one indicated by the point of its nose. The body-part that is really responsible for the direction of motion are the forelegs. The horse's vision allows to see them as well as the surrounding ground while walking. The horse uses its eyesight in combination with the haptic faculties of its hooves to pick a safe path. The hind legs produce the movement and ideally align with the forelegs to follow in their hoofprints. In this way the horse can tread safely even though it cannot directly see where its hind legs land.

Considering this mechanism, the best and most intuitive way to steer a horse is to control the forelegs and the shoulder either by touching the shoulder or the side of the neck with the reins or a stick.<sup>230</sup> The horse will instinctively yield to the pressure and move away from the aid which allows the rider to direct the mount. This is probably the oldest technique in the history of riding and since it uses a basic instinct of the horse it is easy to teach and very effective in use. Additionally, yielding the shoulder towards the desired direction also works in situations of high tension when artificially taught behaviour may be overridden by instinct. Hence, to direct a horse at the forelegs is a relatively secure method.

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<sup>228</sup> She struck her steed with her spurs,  
Over field and over ditches  
Among the Greeks she ran there -  
As does the polecat among the hens.

<sup>229</sup> Ector then with wrathful heart  
Vigorously leapt upon his horse,  
He struck his horse so with his spurs  
That he leapt over field and ditches [...].

<sup>230</sup> Grisone (*The Rules of Riding*. Tobey & Deigan (eds.) 2014: 113), Pluvinel (*The Maneige Royal*. Nelson (ed.) 2015: 70), de la Guérinière (*Barockes Reiten*. Branderup (ed.) 2000: 51–53)

Using a whip or rod is the easiest way to move a horse's shoulders (see p. 122), but in cases of advanced riding the rider usually needs one hand for the reins and at least one hand to fulfil his tasks. Therefore the reins were held in one hand and employed on the side of the horse's neck to indicate the direction instead of using an additional and unwieldy rod. The reins themselves are thus a fundamental tool for communication besides the fact that they also establish a connection between the rider's hands and the bit in the mouth of the horse.

The idea of using a bit to pull the horse in the desired direction is conflicting by nature. It is unnatural and contradictory for a horse to move in the very direction from which the pain inflicted by the rider via the bit comes. Some riding techniques use this method nonetheless, counting on the horse to learn that following the discomfort is what it should do, mostly in order to avoid more pain. The only case in which using the bit can regulate the movement directly is to slow down by causing the horse to avoid the pain coming from the front of its body or pulling its head to its breast and hindering it in its free running.

Although the bit is not the essential tool for directing the horse at will, it serves a crucial yet less obvious purpose. The bits used for advanced riding in the Middle Ages were mostly curb bits.<sup>231</sup> A curb bit is constructed to use leverage by consisting of a mouthpiece with shanks attached to each side. The upper part, being the shorter end of the lever, is attached to the bridle while the lower and longer part is attached to the reins. Moreover, a curb bit has a curb chain connecting the upper parts of both shanks by a chain or leather strap placed in the horse's chin groove. Pulling the reins hence affects the mouth of the horse through the mouthpiece, the chin through the curb chain and the poll through the bridle. It causes the horse to arch its neck and, if the horse is trained skilfully also its back and hind-quarters – a body position in which the horse is in the most efficient shape to carry a rider. More on the biomechanical details can be found in the chapter on the manoeuvres, p. 158. For now it is sufficient to be aware of the fact that the bit was not directly used to determine the direction of movement but rather the manner. Therefore for horses intended to serve purposes requiring advanced skills, medieval curb bits were handcrafted individually to have the ideal impact on the horse's body. Ideal in this case does not mean strongest or fiercest but involves an intricate understanding of the shape of a horse's body in which it can carry a rider best and at the same time move in all required ways.

#### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS

For the headstall of a horse the common Middle English term is *bridel* while for the mouthpiece we encounter the nouns *bite*, *courbe* and *bernacle*. The connection to the rider's hand are the reins, expressed by the noun *reine* and the according action of the rider is referenced by the verb *reinen*.

#### ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

The noun *bridel* is a native English word of Germanic origin (OED: s.v. *bridle*, n.).

The Middle English and Old English noun *bite* has Germanic roots, too (OED: s.v. *bit*, n.1).

The noun *courbe* derived from the French adjective *courbe* 'bent, crooked', but the OED (s.v. *curb*, n.) further explains that the equestrian sense 'chain or strap passing under the lower jaw of a horse, and fastened to the upper ends of the branches of the bit; used chiefly for checking an unruly horse'

<sup>231</sup> Details on the various forms of medieval bits and their use are extensively discussed in Gelbhaar (1997: 197–266). Clark (2004: 43–53) presents archaeological finds from London, Hyland (1994: 12–17) provides a summary and Prévot & Ribémont (1994: 152–155) takes a French perspective. Historical considerations are Pluvinel (*The Maneige Royal*, Nelson (ed.) 2015: 154–168) on the medieval bits used by Pignatelli as well as Grisone (*The Rules of Riding*, Tobey & Deigan (eds.) 2014: 257–289) and Blundeville (*A Newe Booke Containing the Arte of Ryding, and Breakinge Greate Horses*, EEBO Editions (ed.) 1561: book 3, chapter 23, fol. Eia–Fiiiia).

“appears only in English and seems to be a derivative [of the verb] curb v.<sup>1</sup> in the sense ‘that which curbs or bends the horse’s neck’”. The first written record is dated 1449 by the MED (s.v. *corb*, n.)

**Bernacle** is described by the OED (s.v. *barnacle*, n.1) to be apparently a diminutive of the Old French noun *bernac* and is first attested in English written sources of the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, according to the MED (s.v. *bernacle*, n.1).

The noun **reine** and the verb **reinen** are also of French origin with the noun being first recorded in an English text 1297 (OED: s.v. *rein*, n.1) and the verb a little later c. 1330 (OED: s.v. *rein*, v.).

## SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

The noun **bridel** is with 376 hits in the CMEPV the most frequent expression referring to aids given on the neck or head of the horse. In the *Boke of Marchalsi bridel* is used five times and in all cases it refers to the headstall keeping the bit in place without any reference to being used to give aids.

In most text passages from the CMEPV the word is used in a description of luxury equipment providing no information on the riding technique either. However, another scenario in which *bridel* occurs frequently is catching, holding or leading a horse that has lost its rider in a battle by the bridle. The advantage of catching the opponent’s horse is quite apparent since it allows riders who have lost their own mounts to be horsed again and continue fighting. In a very similar way, the bridle could be used to lead someone else’s horse, especially if the person mounted on that horse is not a strong rider or wounded. More negatively, the bridle is also mentioned in the CMEPV texts if a knight grabs his opponent’s horse by the bridle to throw it off balance and thus gain advantage in combat. In all these cases the noun *bridel* seems to evoke the value [leading horse] or [restraining horse] for the frame attribute [function], yet nothing is revealed about the bridle as a means of communication between the rider and his own horse.

The frame attribute [giving sign to horse] becomes evident in passages like the following.

- (132) And whan sche saw come that knyght,  
Sche slaked hir bridel & rayne  
And ran to him with al hir mayne [...]<sup>232</sup>  
(*The Laud Troy Book*. Wülfing (ed.) 1902-1903: 496, l. 16860–16862)

In this instance the aid of giving the reins and loosening the pressure on the bridle signals the horse to increase its speed. We may thus suppose that the whole phrase including *bridel* evokes the frame attribute [giving sign to horse] with the value [to cause trained behaviour] and the subordinate value [accelerating], but *bridel* itself does not convey the crucial information in the statement. The expression *turnen the bridel* is a similar phrase featuring *bridel*. This phrase could be detected six times in the CMEPV (see also the chapter on turning, p. 167) and is one of the most concrete phrasings of aids given by the rider.

- (133) [...] and euer the cristin drough to the foreste so streite and cloos that the saisnes myht  
hem not breke ne perce; and whan thei were euen nygh the foreste thei returned her  
bridelis a-gein her enmyes, and thei com vpon hem fiercely and with a grete nombre  
[...] <sup>233</sup>  
(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 275, chapter 17)

<sup>232</sup> And when she saw that knight coming,  
She loosened her bridle and rein  
And ran to him with all her strength [...].

<sup>233</sup> [...] and always the Christians drew to the forest so straight and close that the Saxons might not break nor pierce them; and when they were evenly near the forest they turned their bridles against their enemies, and they came upon them fiercely and with great numbers [...].

In practice it is indeed the turning of the rider's hand rotating in the wrist that brings one or the other rein closer to the neck indicating a turn in the opposite direction. It is noteworthy in this regard that *bridel* then seemingly has to refer to the whole headpiece including the reins because otherwise the rider would have no means to influence the horse.

Like for the other supportive equipment discussed so far, we can also find instances in which the loss of the bridle or the fact the horses are not reacting to the signals puts the rider or riders in severe danger or at least hinders them in carrying out their tasks. In the following passage from the 13<sup>th</sup> century *Chronicle* by Robert of Gloucester the horses show two typical signs of stress: flight or freeze. This mental state obviously impedes the function of the crucial aspects {giving sign to horse} and the subsequent aspect {to cause trained behaviour}.

- (134) Of trompes & of tabors · þe sarazins made þere ·  
 So gret noyse þat cristinemen · al destourbed were ·  
 Vor hor hors were al astoned · & nolde after wille ·  
 Siwe noþer spore no bridel · ac some stode stille ·  
 & some lepte her & þer · so þat hii were icome ·  
 In wille to fle cristinemen · & bigonne to fle some · [...]<sup>234</sup>

(Robert of Gloucester. *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*. Wright (ed.) 1887: 585, l. 8166–8171)

In conclusion, both the examples confirm that the noun *bridel* alone supposedly evokes the frame attribute [function] with the values [leading horse] and [restraining horse]. None of these could clearly be identified as core attributes and values. In phrases like *turnen the bridel* furthermore the frame attribute [giving sign to horse] with the value [to cause trained behaviour] and subordinate values like [accelerating] or [turning] can be evoked. Figure 62 on p. 215 illustrates a possible semantic frame for the noun *bridel*.

Considering the single parts of the riding equipment having to do with the horse's head and neck, the reins are a crucial tool. They literally connect the rider and the horse via the human's most active and skilled body part for interaction: the hands. This material link can be expressed by the Middle English noun *reine* which produced 92 hits in the CMEPV. In the *Boke of Marchalsi* the noun *reine* refers to the rope a horse is tied with, but no information on leading the horse with the reins is given. The aspect of the noun's semantics that is most interesting for this chapter is of course how it evokes the frame attribute [giving sign to horse]. Details on how the reins were used to influence the horse can only be gathered from the very few text passages providing information on the riding technique.

Moving on from the phrase *turnen the bridel*, a similar expression formed with *reine* can be found:

- (135) With a runisch rout þe raynez he tornez,  
 Halled out at þe hal dor, his hed in his hande,  
 Þat þe fyr of þe flynt flaze fro fole houes.<sup>235</sup>

(*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Tolkien & Gordon (eds.) 1967: 13, Pass. 1)

Here again, the turning of the rider's hand causes the reins to touch the horse more on one side of the neck, to which the trained horse yields and thus turns away from the respective rein. We can hence add to the frame attribute [giving sign to horse] the value [to cause trained behaviour] and

<sup>234</sup> With trumpets and drums, the Saracens made there  
 Such a great noise that the Christians were very disturbed  
 Because their horses were all stunned, and would not be compliant  
 Obey neither spur nor bridle, yet some stood still  
 And some leapt here and there, so that came to them  
 The will to flee the Christians and some started to flee [...].

<sup>235</sup> With a violent jerk he turns the reins,  
 Hastened out the hall's door, his head in his hand,  
 That the fire of the flint flew from horse's hooves.

more concretely the subordinate value [turning]. However, it is the phrase *turnen the reine* which evokes these attributes and values, not the noun *reine* alone.

A similar construction phrases the use of reins to drive the horse faster forward by loosening the reins or slapping them on the horse's neck or shoulders plus urging aids given by the legs or spurs.

- (136) He smytes his stede and slakes his rayne,  
And rod to him as faste a-gayne [...] <sup>236</sup>  
(*The Laud Troy Book*. Wülfing (ed.) 1902-1903: 44, l. 1465–1466)

In such cases the phrase *slaken the reines* appears to evoke the frame attribute [giving sign to horse] with the value [to cause trained behaviour] and the subordinate value [accelerating].

As instances such as the following suggest, using the reins can also serve the opposite purpose by causing the horse to decelerate or stop:

- (137) Whan the kyng and the Duke saugh the saisnes come soche foyson, thei were sore a-  
frayed, and with-drough her reynes and returned bakke a softe paas streite and cloos  
toward the foreste that thei com fro [...] <sup>237</sup>  
(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 275, chapter 17)

Phrases like *drauen the reines* give us a more detailed impression of the specific values the frame attribute [giving sign to horse] with the value [to cause trained behaviour] can take, here they are [decelerating] or [stopping]. From all the instances examined it has to remain unclear how much of the associations with steering a horse are included in the noun *reine* and how mandatory a verb of action is to convey the full extent of the concept {to give aids with the reins}.

Hence we can summarise that in the case of the noun *reine* the core frame attribute [giving sign to horse] is commonly evoked together with the core value [to cause trained behaviour] in phrases combining the noun *reine* with a verb of action but not verifiably by the noun alone, see figure 63, p. 215. The phrase *turnen the reine* expresses the value [turning] for the core attribute [to cause trained behaviour]. The phrase *slaken the reines* appears to evoke the core attribute [giving sign to horse] with the core value [to cause trained behaviour] and the subordinate value [accelerating]. Phrases such as *drauen the reines* link values like [decelerating] or [stopping] to the attribute [to cause trained behaviour].

Focusing on the aids given while riding the verb *reinen* is relevant, too. In the sense 'to guide with the reins' or in any other connection to horses only one occurrence could be found in the CMEPV which is from *Merlin* and reads:

- (138) [...] and whan he was passed the Damesell she reyned hir bridill, and turned the heed  
of hir palfrey [...] <sup>238</sup>  
(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 690, chapter 33)

It appears as if the verb expresses both the action of pulling one side of the horse's neck and mentions the reins as the part of the equipment connecting the rider's hand and the bridle. Further data would be required, however, to confirm this hypothesis.

Regarding the mouthpiece of a horse's headstall the Middle English sources provide astonishingly few data. For the noun *bite* only the quotes given in the MED (s.v. *bite*, n., 4.) and one single reference in the *Boke of Marchalsi* can be used because the horse-related sense could not be traced in the CMEPV. The quotes from the MED do not reveal many details except that the noun could

<sup>236</sup> He strikes his steed and loosens the reins,  
And rode towards him as fast again [...].

<sup>237</sup> When the King and the Duke saw the Saxons coming in such large numbers, they were severely afraid, and withdrew their reins and returned back at a soft pace straight and close towards the forest that they came from [...].

<sup>238</sup> [...] and when he had passed the damsel she reined her bridle and turned the head of her palfrey [...].

refer to the mouthpiece. We can only draw the conclusion that there were apparently hard and soft versions of bits, although we find no indication which forms were judged to be more or less severe. In later periods with more written evidence and even today experts' opinions on the mechanics and use of bits vary extensively. The construction of a bit depends on many complex factors influencing the mildness or severity of its application. Yet, the determining factor remains the rider's hand.

The singular appearance of the noun *bite* in the following text passage from the *Boke of Marchalsi* sheds some light on details of using a bit for riding.

- (139) And also warne hym þat kepyt hym | þat he ne chaunge þe byttis of þe bri|dyl in non maner, for be chaunging || he myghte lese hys aluris and wexe | euel entecchyd, and men ne wetyn | neuere how.<sup>239</sup>

(*The Boke of Marchalsi*. Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: 6–7, fol. 5a, l. 11–16)

First of all we find a confirmation that *bite* names the metal part that belongs in the horse's mouth, while *bridel* refers to the straps holding the mouthpiece on the head. The matter of what exactly the horse should not do with the bit, however, requires more background knowledge. In his commentary Odenstedt (ed.) (1973: 47) suggests that “once the colt has become accustomed to one bit, it should never be replaced by another”, which is basically helpful and logically sound advice, but some linguistic features strongly oppose this interpretation. The pronouns *he*, *hym*, *hys* clearly refer to the horse and not the rider or a groom as they do throughout the treatise. Neither a person within the description nor the reader could be addressed here since the reader is always spoken to by the pronoun *þu* and no rider or groom is mentioned in the vicinity of this statement who could be occupied with the horse's equipment.

In addition, we should have a closer look at the verb *chaungen* which cannot only signify ‘to suffer alteration; change, vary’ (MED: s.v. *chaungen*, v., 1.a) but also ‘to shift or move (sth. from one thing or place to another)’ (MED: s.v. *chaungen*, v., 8.a). This is not the most straight forward sense, but taken together with the other linguistic evidence and the following practical considerations it seems to fit best. The author most likely warns his readers of a habit some horses develop while wearing a bit: they play around the one or several metal pieces in their mouth or push their tongue over the bit or bite on it and hold it between their teeth. This may sound trivial at first, but for the rider this is highly discomforting behaviour robbing him completely of the influence with the bit. Moreover, the concentration on the bit and the occupation with moving it around indeed causes horses to lose their regulated gait, in the *Boke of Marchalsi* expressed by the noun *aluris*, as *The Boke of Marchalsi*. Odenstedt (ed.) (1973: 46, 4b10) convincingly argues. Since this habit is very difficult to break it is absolutely appropriate to include a warning of this kind in an instruction how to ride a young horse.

In sum, the data only reveal that the noun *bite* itself in the context of riding most likely evokes the core attribute [part of bridle] as well as the core attribute [function] with the core value [giving sign to horse]. The attribute [giving sign to horse] probably takes the value [impact] which could take subordinate values ranging between [mild] and [severe], see Fig. 64, p. 215.

Other terms naming the mouthpiece of a horse's bridle could either not be traced at all in the text material at hand or are used metaphorically in restricted contexts. One example is the noun *bernacle* which seems to appear only in spiritual texts and is there employed as a metaphor. The noun *courbe*, which supposedly explicitly refers to the form of bit with shanks used predominantly in advanced riding of the Middle Ages, produced no hits in the corpus at all. One explanation for its absence may exactly be the fact that curb-bits were commonly used for riding, which renders a direct mention redundant. Another idea might be that mouthpieces were not explicitly referred to

<sup>239</sup> And also warn him to prevent him, that he shifts not the bits of the bridle in any manner, because by changing he might lose his gaits and become evil natured, and men never know why.

because their mechanism was so complex that only few really understood it. For the majority of the recipients the outcome of the use of a bit was much more relevant than the mechanical details. The outcome of the use, however, highly depended on the rider and other equipment like reins and bridle attached to the bit, as we have seen above. In this regard, the type of bit itself is probably not crucial enough to be mentioned in written sources, at least not in texts primary dealing with topics other than equestrianism.

#### **5.4. Aids with the rod or whip and the voice**

In the chapter on the bit and reins we have touched upon the rod or whip as a means to move the shoulders of a horse and thus steer.<sup>240</sup> The application of such equipment to urge a horse forward is, however, a more commonly known method and should therefore not be neglected. In the Middle English texts such aids are rarely recorded, which is most likely due to the fact which form of riding is represented in literature. We usually either find riding for transport and parading. In both cases details on how the horse is managed are irrelevant, or the skilled riding of knights in battle, tournament or on the hunt is narrated. In such situations the riders carry weapons and cannot spare one of their hands just to carry a rod or whip. Instead, they are mounted on well-trained horses responding to the signals given through the reins on the neck. Even a push with the shaft of the lance or the hilt of the sword is a handy alternative if there is need to intensify the signal.

Therefore, it is comprehensible that the search for linguistic expressions of such aids in the CMEPV and the *Boke of Marchalsi* produced no results for further analysis. Only one passage from an English translation of the *Polychronicon* by Ranulph Higden accounts for riding with a wand:

- (140) The peple of that cuntre is norischede hardely after thei comme in to this worlde, whiche vse no sadelles in rydenge, neither spurres, neither bootes. Neuerthelesse thei haue a wonde, other a rodde, clenede in the hier parte of it to cause the horses to move and labour in theire honde [...]<sup>241</sup>

(Higden. *Anonymous English Translation of the Polychronicon by Ranulph Higden*. Babington & Lumby (eds.) 1882: 1.353, book 1, chapter 34)

The method is described here as a noteworthy aspect in the description of riding techniques in foreign countries. The use of the wand is mentioned alongside with the absence of saddles, spurs and boots. From this single example we can hardly draw any other conclusions than that the method of using a wand to steer the horse was known in medieval Europe and could hence be used as a reference for pointing out differences in foreign riding cultures.

To close this chapter on the aids only the voice of the rider is left to mention. This is a tool that has probably always played a role in the interaction of humans and animals. Yet, since the voice leaves no direct traces and only vague indirect references in the source material we have from the Middle Ages it is impossible to tell if, why, when or how the voice was used in riding. Explicit mentioning in riding manuals, however, has survived the Middle Ages being passed from Xenophon (*Reitkunst*. Widdra (ed.) 2007: 9–10) to Grisone (*The Rules of Riding*. Tobey & Deigan (eds.) 2014: 207–209) and Blundeville (*A Newe Booke Containing the Arte of Ryding, and Breakinge Greate Horses*. EEBO Editions (ed.) 1561: book 1, chapter 8, fol. Bviiā–Bviiā). So all in all, the voice should not be omitted entirely from the discussion and interpretation of the aids in Middle English texts. It is

<sup>240</sup> For more details see Prévot & Ribémont (1994: 157) and the riding masters: Duarte I of Portugal (The Book of Horsemanship. Forgeng (ed.) 2016: 150–151), Blundeville (A Newe Booke Containing the Arte of Ryding, and Breakinge Greate Horses. EEBO Editions (ed.) 1561: book 1, chapter 9, fol. Bviiā–Cib), Pluvinel (The Maneige Royal. Nelson (ed.) 2015: 68), de la Guérinière (Reitkunst. Albrecht & Durand, et al. (eds.) 1996: 164–166), de la Guérinière (Barockes Reiten. Branderup (ed.) 2000: 55), Steinbrecht (2004: 34–35).

<sup>241</sup> The people of that country are nourished with hardship after they come into this world, which use no saddles in riding, neither spurs, neither boots. Nevertheless they have a wand, or a rod, cleaned in the upper part to cause the horse to move and labour in their hand [...].



therefore advisable to at least keep in mind the idea that controlling a horse is not necessarily and exclusively a matter of physical contact.

## **6. Gaits**

For this chapter the description of the encyclopaedic knowledge has to be more extensive than in the previous chapters because the horse gaits are a complex topic that cannot be broken down into a few paragraphs without omitting crucial information.

### **6.1. Short introduction to the biomechanics of equine locomotion**

#### **6.1.1. Differentiating the gaits**

Locomotion of terrestrial mammals can be described as an interplay of the factors speed, stride frequency and gait (Preuschoft et al. 1994: 156ff.). Speed is generally defined as the function of distance per time. In the context of horses, however, the term is often erroneously equated with gait, which leads to the commonplace but nevertheless wrong assumption that walk is the slowest gait, gallop the fastest, etc. Theoretically speaking, each gait can be performed at any speed level, but more on that later. Stride frequency is the other relative component characterising locomotion and is measured in stride or step per time unit. As in the case of speed, stride frequency is prone to the rash drawing of proportional analogy with gait. Therefore it is important to bear in mind that the increase of stride frequency does not automatically mean an increase in speed or vice versa. Neither is a change in stride frequency necessarily coupled with a change in gait. Gait can be defined as the cyclical movement of the legs in a regular paradigm which is usually characterised by beat and footfall pattern. The typical beat the hooves sound while landing on the ground is a helpful indicator to differentiate between the diverse gaits. As horses are quadrupeds, there are numerous potential combinations of the single legs' actions in relation to one another. The composition of footfall patterns includes not only the single or parallel movement of the four legs but also the option of a suspension phase in which none of the hooves is in contact with the ground. Despite the high number of possible combinations between beat and footfall pattern, only a handful of them are practicable and thus performed.

The gait that is most easily observed is the walk because it is usually carried out at a slow speed and a low stride frequency. The walk is a lateral four-beat gait without a suspension phase in which always at least two feet are on the ground at the same time supporting the body weight (Isenbügel 2010: 620–622), see figure 65 on p. 216. Thus, apart from the stand, horses have their best balance in the walk and therefore use this gait for most of their locomotion. The safe balance makes the walk at low or medium speed the optimal gait for slow but steady wandering and simultaneous food intake. For riding the walk is with most horses the most comfortable gait since it feels smooth due to the lack of a suspension phase. Low speed and sure footedness are features giving the rider a feeling of safety and the fact that the walk is by nature a calm gait assures the rider of being in control.

Since stride frequency and energy cost are directly proportional, animals usually strive to get the maximum storage and recovery of energy and thus prefer moving at a speed and stride frequency within a certain gait that is optimally efficient (Taylor 1985: 254ff.). Hence, if the situation a horse is in changes, the gait may be changed, too, to keep energy cost in a sustainable balance. Indeed, a horse's everyday life requires at times more than peaceful strolling, for instance in situations of flight from a predator or when the need to cover long distances arises. As mentioned before, energy cost increases in direct proportion to stride frequency. This renders the option of enhancing speed by maintaining gait and enhancing stride frequency from a biological point of view very inefficient,

see Griffin et al. (2004: 4218ff.), Heglund & Taylor (1988: 303ff.), Taylor (1985: 258ff.). Moreover, muscle stress and force impact on the bones also grow with a higher frequency, according to Biewener (1998), Biewener & Taylor (1986: 396ff.), Rubin & Lanyon (1982: 192ff.). To avoid physical damage and yet achieve more speed, quadrupeds therefore change gait. In a trot, for example, the speed at which the point of optimal efficiency is reached is higher than in a walk. Therefore it is possible for the horse to move faster without wasting energy or exposing its body to unnecessarily destructive force effects on the limbs. The same is true for the transition between trot and gallop. A quick trot above the level of optimal efficiency stresses the constitution of a horse more than a slow gallop, while speed remains constant or is increased.

The gait most horses switch to when they feel the need to move speedily for longer distances is the trot. The trot is a diagonal two-beat gait with two suspension phases, the diagonal pairs of legs moving synchronously (Isenbügel 2010: 622–623), as can be seen in figure 66 on p. 216. Due to the stiffening of the torso provoked by the diagonal action of the legs, the trot is highly suitable for locomotion on spacious and level ground. In rough and steep terrain, exactly these features and the suspension phases impede sure footing and accident-free prouder-handgrip. The trot may then be carried out in a very slow speed and thereby lose its suspension phase. Especially considering the relatively fragile physique of a horse's legs compared to its weight, it becomes evident why the mechanics of gait are essential for the survival of the species. For the rider the trot is much more physically demanding than the walk because of the jolting movement of the horse's back and the increased speed. The higher the stride frequency and the speed, the less comfortable a horse usually is to sit on. Therefore the trot is a suitable gait for swiftly covering long distances as long as both rider and horse are in a good physical shape, but at least in a quick tempo it is not ideal for comfortable travel.

The gallop is commonly seen as the fastest movement of a horse. And indeed, the footfall pattern of the gallop allows for the most energy-efficient and simultaneously most rapid covering of distance, as e.g. Heglund & Taylor (1988: 309ff.) point out. The gallop is an asymmetrical three-beat gait with one suspension phase (Heglund & Taylor 1988: 623–625). Owing to the asymmetrical footfall pattern, a distinction is made between the left lead and the right lead gallop. Figure 67 on p. 216 illustrates the right lead gallop, the left lead variety is executed laterally reversed. There are two situations in which the three-beat can shift to a four-beat with the diagonal being broken as the pair of legs does not land synchronously but the hind leg a little earlier than the foreleg. One is the school gallop, which will be dealt with in more detail later (see p. 127). The other is the fast racing gallop. Strictly speaking the fast four-beat gait is what is called *gallop* in Modern English, while the three-beat gait is usually referred to as a *canter*.<sup>242</sup> For the study at hand, the matter of beat in the gallop is of minor importance, which is why the term *gallop* is favoured over *canter* in this book to provide one single term for this kind of movement. The choice of *gallop* also acknowledges the fact that *canter* only has been used since well after the Middle Ages (OED: s.v. *canter*, n.3).

According to Heglund & Taylor (1988: 158ff.), the reason why high levels of speed can be reached without a disproportionately sharp rise in energy cost is the fact that the preferred galloping frequency is identical with the resonant frequency of the body. This frequency is higher with light weight and lower with heavy weight. Nevertheless, the gallop is mostly reserved for cases of emergency where speed decides on life or death, as it is not designed for running long distances. There are massive forces occurring at a gallop due to the combination of speed and weight. If the bones, joints, muscles and tendons of a horse were exposed to these stresses over a longer period of time, they would suffer severe damage. For the rider the gallop with its rolling motion is usually easier to sit than the trot. The high speed with its strong physical forces at work as well as the

<sup>242</sup> On the development of the noun *canter* in equestrian language see Dent (1959: 8).

horse's instinctive association of the gallop with flight requires skill on both the rider's and the horse's part to move safely and efficiently in this gait. If this succeeds, however, the gallop can be a powerful tool as will be explained in detail in the chapter on the manoeuvres, pp. 158ff.

So far, those gaits have been discussed that most equids display as natural behaviour and that are most commonly known. There are, however, also the special gaits: the pace, the amble and their varieties. They have their point of optimal energy-efficiency, like the trot, at an intermediate speed. Therefore these three gaits can be grouped as intermediate gaits in contrast to the walk and the gallop marking the extremes.

The pace is most vividly described by comparison to the motion of a camel. It is a two beat lateral gait with or without a suspension phase, depending on the speed (Isenbügel 2010: 627–628). The legs on each side move together, alternating with the pair on the other side, see figure 68 on p. 217. It is, however, common that the lateral pairs do not land exactly at the same time, but the hind leg precedes the foreleg. This might be hardly perceivable but can also be stretched until the pace becomes a four-beat or further until the suspension phase is completely overlaid. In this respect, the pace converges with the amble. Regarding the functionality of the pace on different terrain, the same observations are true for the two-beat variant that have been discussed for the trot and those for the amble apply to the four-beat variant of the pace.

Distinguishing and describing the ambling gaits is probably most demanding because the modern viewing habits do in the majority of cases not include the sight of an ambling gait. Yet, it is significant for the study of medieval riding to be aware of the characteristic features setting the amble apart from other gaits. The amble is a four-beat lateral gait without suspension phase. In many ways it resembles a walk performed at running speed, see figure 69 on p. 217. Besides the aforementioned clear four-beat pattern, shifts may occur either towards the trot or the pace. An amble tending to a trot develops an emphasis of the diagonal phases, whereas a pace tendency stresses the lateral action, see Isenbügel (2010: 625–629). The lack of a suspension phase combined with the option for high speed is what renders the amble and its varieties so valuable, both for the horse itself and for the rider on its back, see Preuschoft et al. (1994: 159–160). For the horse, the amble is a way of moving with considerable speed without losing contact to the ground, an advantage beyond measure in rough terrain. The rider benefits from the sure footedness of his mount as well as from the quick speed that can be sustained for long distances. Moreover, the amble is almost vibration-free and hence exceptionally comfortable for the rider.

### **6.1.2. Heritability and natural gait tendencies**

The theoretical basis on the biomechanics of horse gaits is now laid, but the question of which horses are capable of performing which gaits remains open. Hypothetically speaking, any horse can act out any footfall pattern at any speed and any stride frequency. This is due to the fact that all horses are basically made up of the same structure of bones, joints, tendons, muscles, etc. that can be moved in certain ways. Practically, not all horses show all gaits as a natural behaviour. To a certain degree, however, they may be trained to do so. In this chapter only the natural gaits are discussed. According to their natural ability, horses are categorised as being either three-, four- or five-gaited (Isenbügel 2010: 619). The majority of recent horse breeds is three-gaited using the walk, trot and gallop. Beyond that, there are breeds selected for their special gait tendency that perform four or five gaits. Usually it is the walk, trot and gallop plus either a variety of the pace or the amble. Yet, some breeds and individuals exhibit other combinations like e.g. walk, one or several varieties of pace and/or amble but no trot or gallop. The walk, however is a gait every horse uses. Considering the function and advantages of this gait that have been discussed this is only logical. But why do some horses move in the special gaits while others do not?

Finding the answer to this question is a topical matter in current biology. As recent as 2012 scientist have succeeded in proving the existence of a genetic cause for gaitedness. Andersson et al. (2012) examined a broad range of horses both from gaited and non-gaited breeds comparing phenotype, displayed gait behaviour and DNA-data. In doing so they found a link between the ability to perform special gaits and a mutation in the DMRT3 gene. The horses with the respective gene mutation were natural amblers and/or pacers. From that Andersson et al. (2012: 646) conclude that

Dmrt3 neurons not only have a critical role for left/right coordination but also for coordinating the movement of the fore- and hind legs. The mutation facilitates lateral gaits, ambling and pace, and inhibits the transition from trot or pace to gallop. The type and degree of the mutation determines further whether pace or amble or both are carried out in the phenotype.

The genetic explanation for gaitedness also ratifies what has for a long time only been supposed on grounds of observation: gait tendencies are heritable.<sup>243</sup> For many centuries breeders have used this to improve the performance of their horses. However positive this might be for the quality of modern riding horses, it complicates the search for the reasons why horses developed such a mutation to show special gaits at all. If it was an evolutionary advantage to use one of these gaits, this could be verified by investigating feral horses from different areas in the world and comparing their adaptation to the environment. The quality of sure footedness combined with high speed on rough terrain in the amble could for instance be such an advantage. The age-long selective influence mankind has exerted even on seemingly feral horses does not, however, allow for statements affirming or refuting this hypothesis. From recent feral horses Andersson et al. (2012: 645–646) notice that they usually do not feature gaitedness.

The answer to the question which gaits horses in the Middle Ages showed is hence similarly hard to find. Given that the majority of horses are able to walk, trot and gallop one can assume that medieval English horses did so, too. As for the special gaits, one has to content oneself with the combined information coming from linguistics, art history, history, archaeology and genetics. This book will cover the linguistic part, but other historical disciplines yet have to generate data to complete the picture.<sup>244</sup> Archaeology can unfortunately not directly help in finding gaitedness because the excavated skeletons of gaited horses have no distinctive features to set them apart from others, but they provide material for DNA-analysis.

A first attempt to genetically trace the history of gaited horses has recently been made by Wutke et al. (2016). They analysed 90 samples from equine remains, predominantly domestic horses, dating from 6000BC to the 11<sup>th</sup> century from Europe and Asia. The mutation in the DMRT3 gene was only found in Icelandic horses and two horses from medieval York, dating 850-900. Based on these findings, they hypothesise that gaited horses originate in England and were from there brought to Iceland by the Vikings and later to the rest of Europe and Asia via trade connections (Wutke et al. 2016: R698). However coherent this hypothesis sounds, two samples from the same excavation site and time seem to be too scarce to convincingly prove that England was the cradle of gaited horses. Staiger et al. (2017: 557–558) who carried out a worldwide analysis of contemporary DNA-data of 468 horses conclude that the origin of the genetic mutation cannot be determined with certainty. Nevertheless, the information is substantial for the linguistic analysis since it confirms that already in the early Middle Ages, during Old English times, gaited horses were known in England.

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<sup>243</sup> On the recent distribution of gaitedness worldwide see Promerová et al. (2014).

<sup>244</sup> In an unpublished pilot study I could confirm that medieval English manuscript illuminations picture walk, trot, and gallop as well as amble and pace. From the angle of art history, one may thus carefully conclude that gaited horses were known and appreciated in medieval England.

### **6.1.3. Trained gaits**

Besides the natural predisposition for the special gaits, it is also possible that a horse shows other gaits than walk, trot or gallop because it has been taught to do so. There are basically two ways of training a horse in a gait it does not perform by nature. The healthier and more sustainable but time-consuming method is to establish a good basis of communication with the horse and then explain what is expected to happen and how to get there. To use force is the other way, which, in most cases, turns out to be quicker but usually far less steady and reliable. Concerning the tools that may be applied there are no limits to imagination. Almost anything is possible that promises to achieve the goal, from beating the horse into the desired movement to tying the lateral legs to prevent the transition from walk to trot and provoke a faster four-beat instead. The latter method is mentioned at least as a hint in a 14<sup>th</sup> century educational treatise advising to “sette a colte in aumblyng ringes, he wiill use it whiles thei aren on.”<sup>245</sup> (Geoffroy de la Tour-Landry. *Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*. Wright (ed.) 1906: 9). This indicates that not all medieval amblers were born with that ability, but that means had been established to produce a lateral gait. Yet, the particular medieval training methods lack thorough scholarly investigation and reconstruction. Moreover, it was not possible to detect any further linguistic evidence to discriminate in the texts which gaits were natural or trained.

Especially the amble is a gait that was highly appreciated in the Middle Ages, as many scholars like especially Hyland (1999: 28–29) emphasise. Imagining the often desolate state of roads and pathways and the fact that the only way to cover long distances overland was with the help of horses, it becomes evident why quick and smooth running horses with sure footing on all terrain were much sought after. The comfort of an ambling horse for the rider was well-nigh proverbial and all those travelling on horseback would never have willingly exchanged the conveniences of an amble for a back-breaking and wearisome trot. The demand for gaited horses was thus presumably substantial despite their high sales value (on prices for riding horses see footnote 46 on p. 36). It is possible but has not been proven yet that the number of medieval horses with a natural ability for the special gaits was probably not sufficient to meet the demand. Therefore it is likely that horses with no or minor inherited talent for ambling or pacing were turned into artificial gaited riding horses to supply the market.

Besides teaching horses artificial footfall patterns in addition to their natural motion, one may also train a horse to perform gaits at speeds and with stride frequencies that it would not or seldom choose when running free. The most sophisticated examples can be seen in the school gaits of the Academic Art of Riding. Based on cavalry manoeuvres dating at least back to Antiquity, the great riding masters of the Renaissance and the Baroque managed to enable their horses to perform the walk, trot and gallop at any required speed and stride frequency, even on the spot without forward movement. Originally these trained gaits served the purpose of making a horse versatile and quick in reaction for battle. When the significance of mounted single combat decreased and riding evolved into an art for the pleasure of the upper classes, the perfection of the gaits became a means of representation, as for instance de la Guérinière (*Reitkunst*. Albrecht & Durand, et al. (eds.) 1996: 268–273) describes. Although little is known about the training of horses in the Middle Ages one may suppose that the tradition from Antiquity to Renaissance was not broken in between but is just less consistently recorded.<sup>246</sup> So the walk, trot and gallop on the spot likely have been part of well-educated medieval horse's repertoire.

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<sup>245</sup> [...] put a colt in the ambling rings, he will use it while they are on.

<sup>246</sup> See the concise historical overview in Krischke (2015: 20–34).

## **6.2. Summary of the development of English gait terms**

Considering the chronological development of the medieval English lexicon rendering horse gaits, the following conclusions can be drawn from the data the state of records permits. Generally speaking, the lexicon for horse gaits increased in size from Old to late Middle English, as did the whole English vocabulary. Until the introduction of specialised French gait terms in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, English used universal verbs for terrestrial locomotion also for referring to horses. Distinctions were mainly made with regard to speed and not footfall pattern. With increased literary and scientific attention for the horse and its characteristics, the terminology increased in volume by incorporating loanwords and developing specialised meanings in native terms to meet the requirements of a more and more differentiated consideration of the horse gaits. By the end of the Middle Ages the process of establishing a linguistic reference system had mostly reached the state that is conventional in Modern English.

While Old English appears to have distinguished mostly the two extremes of speed, the introduction of French loanwords brought about the possibility of indicating the exact gaits by distinct terms. However, the state of records plays a role that must not be underestimated. As particularly in the numerous religious texts and in courtly literature and poetry horses are mainly background actors, their movements are all in all more often indirectly implied in the co-text than directly referred to. Hence, the interpretation of these narrative co-texts is extremely important to extract information from the extant data. In special treatises on horses the gaits indeed come to the foreground, but extensive theoretical and scientific interest in horses that can be seen in written sources only sets in towards the end of the Middle Ages. Knowledge about training the gaits, for example, and the corresponding terminology was usually passed on orally and is thus lost for the modern linguist. All the same, the linguistic analysis proved helpful for understanding the medieval assessment of the gaits.

From the linguistic investigation it has become clear that the gaits of a horse can each be indicated by various expressions, as will be elaborated on in the following chapters. This summary aims to provide the overall picture and emphasise the link between the terms and the real gaits.<sup>247</sup> The walk has been rendered by the noun *walk* and the verb *walken* only since the end of the Middle Ages. Before, Old English *gón / gangan* and Middle English *gon* were used as qualifications to Old English *ridan* and Middle English *riden* indicated moderate speed. The gallop, or at least the fastest movement of a horse, has since Old English times been phrased by Old English *ærnan* and *irnan* and Middle English *rennen* accordingly. Only the introduction of the French loanwords Middle English *walop* and *walopen* adds more accuracy in terms of reflecting the three-beat motion pattern. Though *priken* is very flexible in its semantic shading and contextual appearance, it most likely denoting the gallop. The trot is only explicitly referred to by the French loanwords Middle English *trot* and *trotten*. For the ambling gaits as well, French loanwords, Middle English *amble* and *amblen*, are the sole explicit terms. It is crucial to note that none of the intermediate gaits seems to be covered by a specific Old English expression. The noun *pase* served a multitude of purposes to convey tempo and manner of movement, but no link to a specific gait could be established. All gaits can, though, also be implied in the gait-unspecific Old English *ridan* and Middle English *riden* as well as Old English *gón / gangan* and Middle English *gon* together with a qualifying adverbial.

The apparent gaps in the Old English terminology raise speculation about the underlying reasons, especially since Wutke et al. (2016) show that there were gaited horses in England at that time. Did terms exist, but were they not recorded and handed down? Was there no need to express the differences verbally? Were people not aware that a horse's legs in motion perform diverse patterns?

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<sup>247</sup> Dent (1959: 7–8) gives a short summary particularly on Chaucer's terminology.

None of these questions can really be answered satisfactorily from a modern point of view. But the last two suggestions can at least be touched upon. Concerning the awareness for the different footfall patterns one may assume that people in the early Middle Ages were likely to perceive the same motion patterns as later generations did. In addition, the fact that in pictured representations of horses for the Old English period all gaits are displayed renders the state of records and the possibility that there was no need for lexicalised words for the intermediate gaits (trot and ambling gaits) the two most likely explanations.

From the chronology and the cultural circumstances one may assume for the French gait terms that they entered the English language primarily by imposition – with the donor and not the recipient language as an agent. This means that the terms were brought into English by native speakers of French, who imposed terms from their mother tongue on their use of English, see e.g. van Coetsem (1988). As such processes are considered to take place in spoken language first and only later also in written language, this assumption fits neatly into the picture of French gait terms entering English written texts in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. However, it is doubtful that it was exclusively imposition through speakers of French that fully established the gait terms in English. Instead, one may suppose that there must have been a certain degree of willingness to adopt the loanwords amongst the community of English native speakers. Mainly two aspects can be considered to have been promotive for this development. The apparent lack of definite native English gait terms, especially for the intermediate gaits, may have provoked a need to fill the gap. Speaking of a lexical gap in the Old and Early Middle English lexicon must be handled with care, but considering and applying all the tools summarised earlier (see the chapter on lexical gaps in Frame Semantics, pp. 17ff.) to locate lexical gaps in the case of the gait terms, there is no doubt that at least the current state of records leaves such gaps. The loanwords hence served the purpose to complete the native paradigm of reference to equine motion and enhance semantic differentiation (Görlach 2002: 149; Scheler 1977: 87). Why exactly French terms and not, for instance, Norse expressions were the source of choice may result from the general superiority in status of the French language (Scheler 1977: 87–88; Winford 2010: 177–178). Furthermore, the fact that especially in courtly circles, where horses were frequently spoken and written about, the language of discourse was French surely facilitated the continuous use of well-established terms, not as part of the foreign language any more but as loanwords in the native language. This also explains why the application of the French-derived gait terms is not restricted to texts from a French surrounding.

### **6.3. Motion without specification of gait or stride frequency**

#### **GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS**

The most common way how a horse enters into a written text is by serving as a mount for some person playing a role in the story. In this regard it is not astonishing to observe that the motion of horses is most frequently expressed by the verb *riden* and occasionally an adverbial for further definition. Whereas in the examination of the terms for riding in different gaits naturally the interaction of horses and men is in focus, the noun *pase*, the verb *passen* as well as the noun *gate* and the verb *gon* stress the view on the animal itself. In this chapter these lexical units will be introduced briefly in their general meanings which do not provide any specific information about the gait but only the speed or manner the animal moves in. In the chapters following thereafter, phrases built with one of these elements to express a specific gait or motion pattern will be discussed within the respective semantic frames they evoke.

## ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

The verb **riden** is of Germanic origin and its basic sense ‘to be or go on horseback or in a vehicle’ (OED: s.v. *ride*, v., I.) has been stable throughout the history of the English language.

The noun **pace** is partly of French and partly of Latin origin and appears in English texts since around 1300 (OED: s.v. *pace*, n.1). The related verb **passen** is only recorded from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards (OED: s.v. *pace*, v., 2.–4.) in horse-related senses.

Today’s hyperonym *gait* which subsumes *walk*, *trot*, *gallop*, *pace*, *amble*, etc. did not obtain its specialised meaning ‘esp. of a horse: Paces’ (OED: s.v. *gait*, n.1, b) until the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Middle English predecessor **gate** ‘manner of moving or walking, gait.’ (MED: s.v. *gate*, n.2) could not be confirmed to have been used for horse gaits.<sup>248</sup> Hence, one has to leave the noun aside and turn to the verb for more information on the expression of a horse’s motion. The verb **gon** is common also for horses. Like *riden*, *gon* has not changed considerably in describing general movement. However, the graded rendering of the different gaits by the adverbials accompanying these verbs has undergone major lexical developments.

## SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

In most literary contexts narrating riding it is absolutely sufficient to provide an attribute value for the frame attribute [speed] to convey the manner of motion, see figure 70 on p. 217. Since these cases do not require extensive commentary from a hippological perspective, it is enough to just point out some rather general aspects here.

By talking about the aspect {speed} rather than {gait} we can cover a large part of the Middle English specifications of the verb **riden** in relation to the horse’s part in the joint human-equine motion. This is due to the fact that only the introduction of the explicit gait terms of French origin and their combination with *riden* enabled a more detailed depiction of the semantic frame [EQUINE MOTION] by adding the attribute [gait]. To illustrate this, the use of *riden* in the 15<sup>th</sup> century *Boke of Marchalsi* shall serve as an example for the adaptability of the verb to build phrases evoking various attributes from the semantic frame [EQUINE MOTION]. In the treatise there are three cases of *riden* being accompanied by an adverbial specifying the manner of riding:

- (141) And þan may þu ryde fere and softe, but nowt renne, for his joyntys ben tendre and softe.<sup>249</sup>

(*The Boke of Marchalsi*. Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: 5)

- (142) And aftir þat ryde a gret trot al out.<sup>250</sup>

(*The Boke of Marchalsi*. Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: 7)

<sup>248</sup> The MED (s.v. *gate* n.2, 4) lists only one example that is assumed to signify a manner of walking: “The hors of gode entaile schall have [...] large crouper, large gait, the house of the pyntell wele forward.” This passage is part of the description of the features of a good horse and is taken from one manuscript of the *Boke of Marchalsi*. In the edition by Odenstedt (1973: 15) the same sentence reads: “The hors of good entaile shal haue [...] brod legis and large, and grete senwis, short pastrown and gret, euer e gretter e betir it is, hey corounale, large croupe, large garet [...]” It is, however, very doubtful that this is really a reference to the gaits of the ideal horse. Firstly, the spelling *gait* is unique in manuscript D which is quoted in the MED. The orthography in the other manuscripts does not at all trigger the association of a connection to gait. Text T has *garot*, W *gargot* and H1, the one chosen for the edition, *garet*. Odenstedt (1973: 93) gives the translation ‘withers’ in his glossary and backs up his decision with the parallel to the Old French noun *garrot* ‘withers’. Secondly, the adjective *large* is usually not attributed to terms qualifying movement (MED: s.v. *large*, adj.). Moreover, the mentioning of gaits would be completely out of place in this particular sentence since all the other points that are listed refer to the quality of body-parts. In this respect, talking of large withers – which is even today a criterion for the judgement of a good horse’s constitution – appears to be much more apt in this situation than a random remark on locomotion.

<sup>249</sup> And then you may ride him moderately and at an easy pace [see MED (s.v. *softe*, adv., 6.a)], but not running, because his joints are tender and soft.

<sup>250</sup> And after that ride a great trot all out.



(143) And aftirward whan he is eschaufyd þu may ryde hym swythe j-now all þe day.<sup>251</sup>

(*The Boke of Marchalsi*. Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: 8)

A description of how to handle a young horse is featured in example (141), advising that for a horse of only three and a half years it is harmful to be ridden in a fast tempo because the joints and tendons are not yet fully developed. This is, first of all, practically sound since horses are usually only mature and physically grown up at the age of six. From a linguistic point of view, it is interesting to observe that the author does not only distinguish between riding a slow and a quick tempo but also considers the stress on the horse's limbs that increases with an improper selection of the gait by the rider (see pp. 124f.). He does not simply advise to ride slowly but emphasises the gentle manner and the careful handling of the young animal. That the language of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, particularly on a professional level, allows for such a precisely nuanced expression can also be seen from examples (142) and (143). In (142) *riden* is specified by the explicit gait term *gret trot* to minimise the risk that the recipient gets the values for the attributes [speed] or [gait] wrong. This is of utmost importance in this passage because the author explains the gaits the young horse should best be trained in and in which order they are to be exercised. Vague terminology would render the whole piece of advice unhelpful. In contrast, in the passage reproduced in (143) there is no need to be exact about the attribute [gait]. The important advisory part in this expression is that the horse must first be warmed up before one may ride at a quicker tempo for the rest of the day. In which gait this quicker tempo is achieved makes no difference for the meaning of the statement.

A more poetic example illustrating the use of *riden* to evoke different aspects of the frame [EQUINE MOTION] can be found in the English prose version of *Merlin*, which is from the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century as well. This text hence also represents the stage at which the French-derived gait terms have been firmly established and are effectively applied. For enhanced legibility the phrases with *riden* are highlighted in bold print and other expressions of equine motion are underlined:

(144) [...] this yonge squyer that **rode forth** the streight wey after his squyer hilde a grete spere, but he hadde no shelde, and **rode softly**. But er he hadde litill wey **riden** thei that folowe hym ascried hym with high voice, and seide, “Wy! yelde the, and thyn armes, and thyn horse to oure lorde that a-bideth under the hawthorne;” and he herde hem well and vndirstode, but he ansuerde hem no worde, but **rode forth** after his squyer and encresed his paas somewhat, and after that he **rode a walop**; and whan the saisnes saugh that he **rode so faste**, thei priked after, and manaced hym sore, and whan he saugh hem com he turned his horse hede, and a saisne com be-fore alle the other gripinge a grete spere, and hasted hym so faste in his comynge that he failed to smyte this yonge lorde, and he com so faste a-gein hym as his horse myght ronne and smote the saisne thourgh shelde and hauberke, and bar hym to grounde that he hadde no myster of no leche, and than he pulled oute his spere, and **rode forth his wey a grete paas** after lydonas his squyer that wente hym be-fore, for he desired not elles but from the saisnes to passe; and the saisnes priked after faste, for in no wyse thei wolde lete hym so ascape, and he **rode euener at a grete walop** [...] he lefte hem and smote the horse with the spores, and **rode faste** after lydonas [...] [emphasis M.-C.L.]

(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 522–523)<sup>252</sup>

<sup>251</sup> And afterwards, when he is warmed up, you may the ride him swift enough all day long.

<sup>252</sup> [...] this young squire who rode forth straight away after his squire held a great spear, but he had no shield and rode softly/slowly. But before he had ridden a little distance those who followed him called to him with a high voice and said: ‘Wy! Surrender yourself, your arms and your horse to our Lord who dwells under the hawthorn.’ And he heard them well and understood, but he answered them no word but rode forth after his squire and increased his pace somewhat and after that he rode a gallop; and when the Saxons saw that he rode so fast, they pricked after and menaced him seriously and when he saw them come he turned his horse's head, and a Saxon came before all the others grasping a great spear and hurried so much in his advance that he failed to kill the young Lord, and he came so fast against him as his horse might run and smote the Saxon through shield and hauberk, and threw him to the ground that he had no need of a physician, and then he pulled out his spear and rode forth his way in a great pace after Lydonas his squire who went before him, for he desired nothing else but to pass from the Saxons; and the Saxons pricked after swiftly, for in no way they would let him escape so, and he rode even a greater gallop [...] he

The escalation of the action in this fight scene is mirrored exactly in the choice of words and phrases qualifying the joint locomotion of horse and rider. The passage starts with three appearances of the verb *riden* alone and one specification of moderate speed by *softeli*. When the call of the Saxons gets the chase going, the knight increases his riding *pase* a little before breaking into a gallop. Here the use of the explicit gait term can be interpreted as a hint that fighting is near at hand since the gallop was the usual gait for a charge (see p. 167). The Saxons, however, are described to perceive mainly the rise in speed, which causes their *prikinge* in pursuit. In this case both the causative urging on of the horses and the resulting galloping gait may be meant. In the fight the notion of maximum speed is uttered by the use of *as faste as the hors might rennen*. Next, *riden* is intensified by *a grete pase* in order to express the haste of flight. The Saxons also make haste in pursuit by *priken faste*.

The culmination of action and linguistic transformation is reached when the knight in one final effort rides *a grete walop*. Here the combined forces of expressing maximum speed and the explicit naming of the gait in which a horse may achieve this tempo are mustered. The exploitation of such a number of gait-related terms suggests that the author is quite firm in the distinction between biomechanical phenomena and that the recipient could be expected to be equally aware and able to properly understand the semantic frame the author refers to. This requires that the gait terms were common knowledge, at least among the potential recipients of literary works. With regard to the verb *riden* itself, however, it has to remain unsolved in how far the semantic frame [EQUINE MOTION] is evoked and which attributes and values it may take.

About 40% of the results from the CMEPV are instances of *riden* being qualified by a gait term such as *walopen*, *priken* or forms of *pase*. Within those, the combinations of *riden* and *pase* make up the majority of corpus results. As will be shown in the following with the help of several examples, the possibility of flexibly adapting *pase* to the given context supports its frequent use. A glance at only those recorded senses for *pase* and *passen* with a link to horses reveals the vast semantic diversity. The noun *pase* may for instance signify ‘a rate of speed, pace, gait; a manner of walking, characteristic gait; a specific horse gait, the amble’ (MED: s.v. *pase*, n.1, 2.a) and the verb *passen* accordingly means ‘to move, advance; travel; come, go, walk; go by, ride by, travel by; go through’ (MED: s.v. *passen*, v., 1.a.a).

For the gait term the OED differentiates further between the general ‘any one of the various gaits of a horse; esp. a recognized trained gait such as the walk, trot, canter, or gallop’ (OED: s.v. *pace*, n.1, 6.a) and the specialised ‘a distinctive lateral gait, in which the fore and hind legs on one side move in unison, alternating with those on the other. Also called amble’ (OED: s.v. *pace*, n.1, 6.b).

The challenging factor in analysing the semantics of *pase* is that usually the co-text and context are scarcely helpful to distinguish between the specialised term for the horse gait and an expression of a more general sense. In the majority of situations both interpretations are possible and suitable, in particular if *pase* is not further qualified. As these cases of the noun *pase* standing alone do not reveal much about the horse gait anyway, there is no point in raising more speculations. The cases where *pase* is accompanied by adjectives or constructions with *more than* are much more telling and more numerous, too. The MED (s.v. *pase* n.1, 2) attributes all such combinations to the sense ‘a rate of speed, pace, gait; a manner of walking, characteristic gait; a specific horse gait, the amble’. This can generally be confirmed for the part concerning horses, although the verbalisation of the amble as a special gait by the noun *pase* is hard to substantiate in the text material (see pp. 141ff.).

To shed a little light on the complex intermingling semantic frames that can be evoked by *pase*, first of all the appearances of the noun in the sense ‘a manner of walking’ in the context of horses shall be examined. In these cases *pase* itself does not imply any attribute values for [speed] nor for

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left them and struck his horse with the spurs and rode swiftly after Lydonas [...].

[gait]. In this general sense *pase* is almost always accompanied by an adjective describing the mode of motion and thus adding more concrete attributes and values to the frame. As can be seen in examples (145) to (148) this is usually realised in the form of some qualification of the frame attribute [speed]. The combination with the adjectives *faste* as in (145), *weri* as in (146) or *esi* as in (147) is, at least according to the CMEPV, rather rare, whereas instances of *a god / gret pase* like (148) amount to about 22% of the hits in the CMEPV.

(145) Gij ferd fram him a fast pas.<sup>253</sup>

(*The Romance of Guy of Warwick*. Zupitza (ed.) 1883, 1887, 1891: 314, l. 5798)

(146) Slowthe was so slepy he came all behynde / On a dull asse, a full wery pase [...] <sup>254</sup>

(Lydgate. *The Assembly of Gods*. Triggs (ed.) 1895: 19, l. 631–632)

(147) An esy pas rydyng in routes tweyne [...] <sup>255</sup>

(Chaucer. *Troilus and Criseyde*. Windeatt (ed.) 1984: 182, l. 620)

(148) [...] and they byganne for to folowe hym waloping a good paas [...] <sup>256</sup>

(*Melusine*. Donald (ed.) 1895: 21)

While examples (145) to (147) could theoretically also refer to the special horse gait, in (148) it becomes evident that *pase* here implies the speed of the movement but not the footfall pattern. By combining the phrase *a god pase* with the verb *walopen* an exact characterisation of the horse's action is achieved. Yet, *pase* can in all these examples also be interpreted as 'any one of the various gaits of a horse'. In that regard, *god*, *weri* and maybe also *esi* would be used in a qualifying intent and not to quantify [speed].

One passage from the *Boke of Marchalsi* illustrates the different nuances of *pase* in a specific situation:

(149) And whan þu shalt firts worþen up on hym, þat he go a gret paas twez forlong or þre.  
And þan take hym with the spores out of that paas in-to a trot. And aftir þat ryde a gret trot al out. And out of þat trot take hym a cours as þu wylt iournay al day. And at euery time þat he shal chaungin hys pas, þat he fele the spore, for þerby he shal wetyn the betir aftirward what he shal don.<sup>257</sup>

(*The Boke of Marchalsi*. Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: 7)

The *gret pase* that is mentioned as the first gait a horse shall be trained in will be examined in detail later (see p. 157). The second occurrence is a little ambivalent because it can either refer back to the *gret pase* or the sequence may be understood more universally as 'out of that gait into a trot'. The third use of *pase* can definitely be interpreted to express the frame attribute [manner of motion] with no distinguishable further value as it alludes to the fact that a horse may break the gait desired by the rider in any possible direction. So, if the animal tires it might fall in a less wearisome gait, e.g. from the gallop to the trot or from the trot to the walk. On the other hand, particularly young and inexperienced horses may tend to hurry in order to flee the unpleasant burden of the rider and hence start off at a gallop although the rider intends a well-regulated trot or amble, for example.

In sum, one can state that if the noun *pase* evokes the frame attribute [manner of motion] it is abstract and thus rather alludes to the general concept {EQUINE MOTION} than any particular

<sup>253</sup> Gij moved away from him in a fast pace.

<sup>254</sup> Sloth was so sleepy, he came far behind, on a dull ass, a very weary pace [...].

<sup>255</sup> An easy pace riding in two routes [...].

<sup>256</sup> [...] and they began to follow him galloping a good pace [...].

<sup>257</sup> And when you shall first mount him, that he goes a great pace two furlong or three. And then take him with the spurs out of that pace into a trot. And after that ride a great trot all out. And out of that trot pursue a course [see MED (s.v. *cours*, n., 4.c)] as you would journey all day. And every time that he shall change his pace, that he feels the spur, because thus he shall know better afterwards what he shall do.

aspects thereof, see Fig. 71, p. 217. If these aspects are supposed to manifest as frame attributes, they have to be added by qualifying adjectives expressing the concrete realisations of motion.

Similar observations can be made for the verb *gon*. In Modern English *to go* ‘to move on foot at an ordinary pace (opposed to *run*, etc.)’ (OED: s.v. *go* v., I.1.a) is of course no specialised horse term, but its broad sense can include information that and how a horse moves. The aspect of verbalizing equine motion disregarding the biomechanical details becomes evident in those cases in which the Middle English verb *gon* stands without an adverbial. We find instances where the horse moves on its own accord as well as under the saddle and in all cases the unspecific *gon* is apparently deemed concrete enough to convey the message the text was aiming to communicate, while the expression of a specific gait is negligible. It only seems to matter to tell that the horse moves, but there is no point in explaining how exactly. To avoid repetition we may just briefly conclude that the observations regarding frame attributes and values connected to the verb *gon* alone are similar to the conclusions drawn for *riden* and *pase*.

*Gon* apparently does not imply a concrete reference gait. However, since the general opposition to *rennen* ‘move quickly’ holds true for horses as well, it is likely that in the semantic frame alluded to by *gon* the attribute [speed] basically takes values like [moderate] or [slow] which constrains the frame attribute [gait] with the value [without suspension phase]. The expression of increased speed or specific gait was then accomplished by the combination of *gon* with adverbials adding the information the verb in itself does not convey.

That the act of riding can also be paraphrased as ‘to go on horseback’ is a practice already observable in Old English.<sup>258</sup> In Middle English the expression *gon on horsbak* is also in use, but just as the Old English form it carries no implication concerning the attributes [speed] or [gait]. For the same reasons *riden* is not discussed in its forms that do not reveal any information about the manner of riding, neither are the paraphrases of the action with *gon*.

When *gon* collocates with a phrase expressing the idea {to urge on with spurs} the attribute [speed] becomes dominant and takes values referencing an increased level of velocity. All of the altogether 18 hits in the CMEPV for this phrase are from the *History of the Sons of Aymon*, reproducing one example in (150) appears to be sufficiently representing the general idea of this use of the verb *gon*.

(150) [...] he set hande to his swerde, & spored his horse wyth the spores. & went streyght to the pavylion of charlemagn [...]<sup>259</sup>

(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 86)

Furthermore, the verb *gon* can be combined with the explicit gait terms, mostly *gret walop*, *rennen* and *soft pase*, to express a particular way of riding. The number of these phrases in the CMEPV is, however, small and amounts to only six. This suggests that *riden* is preferred in writing about horses and riders in motion because it is in itself more specific.

In conclusion, the verb *riden* and noun *pase* may evoke the attributes [manner of motion], [speed] and maybe even [gait] or [stride frequency] for the semantic frame [EQUINE MOTION], but on their own they do not seem to take specific values for these attributes. Only the verb *gon* seems to carry an inherent implication of slow speed, see figure 72 on p. 217.

<sup>258</sup> This result is taken from an unpublished pilot study I carried out preceding this book that traces the terminology for horse gaits throughout Old and Middle English.

<sup>259</sup> [...] he put his hand to his sword and spurred his horse with the spurs and went straight to the pavilion of Charlemagne [...].

#### 6.4. Walk – lateral four-beat

##### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS

The walk can be regarded as the standard gait in which horses move most of the time, both alone and under the rider – although TV and cinema inform us differently. Moreover, the walk is no gait indicating some special action like the gallop does or different levels of comfort as the trot and the ambling gaits do. It is hence not astonishing that the walk does not necessarily need an explicit reference by a particular lexical unit. However, we find traces in Middle English that the verb *walken* was already developing a specialised meaning in the context of horses. More frequent, however, are instances in which the walk is more or less clearly alluded to by *gon*, *riden* and *pase* or combinations of them with distinctive adverbials and adjectives.

##### ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

The Modern English use of *walk* for a horse's slowest four-beat gait is a convention that fully emerged only in Early Modern times. According to the OED the noun as a gait term is first recorded in 1667 (OED: s.v. *walk*, n.1, 5.a.b) and the verb in 1607 (OED: s.v. *walk*, v., IV.16.a). With the meaning 'to ride a horse; (also) to take air and exercise on horseback' (OED: s.v. *walk*, v., IV.9.c) the verb *walken* can, however, already be found from the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Old English *wealcan* 'to roll, toss' (Bosworth-Toller: s.v. *wealcan*, v.) and *wealcian* 'to roll up, muffle up' (Bosworth-Toller: s.v. *wealcian*, v.) have neither a traceable link to terrestrial locomotion nor to the horse gait, whereas Middle English *walken* could also signify 'to go on foot, walk' (MED: s.v. *walken*, v., 3.a.a) or 'of a rider: to ride' (MED: s.v. *walken*, v., 4.a).

For the etymology of *riden*, *pase* and *gon*, see pp. 130f.

##### SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

For the semantic frame [EQUINE MOTION] to allude to the walk, we can assume that the core attributes [gait] with the core value [without suspension phase] and the core attribute [speed] with the value [slow] are fundamental for understanding the concept, as is illustrated in Fig. 73, p. 218.

For the verb *walken* the specialised meaning 'to go at a walking pace on foot or on horseback' (MED: s.v. *walken*, v., 3.a.b) is documented in the MED with only one passage from the Middle English translation of Vegetius' *De Re Militari*, see example (151).

- (151) Ffirst of alle þing newe chosen kniztes schul be tauzte to kepe degree and ordre in goyng and ryding, for þere nys no þyng þat ouzte so wel to be kaped in iourneyeng of þe oost as þat kniztes kepe wel her ordre of goyng and rydinge, þe whiche may neuere wel be done but ȝif they haue of long vse and exercise lerned now to renne swiftliche and now to walke euene paas.<sup>260</sup>

(Vegetius Renatus Flavius. *The Earliest English Translation of Vegetius' De Re Militari*. Lester (ed.) 1988: 57, l. 18–24)

Here *walken* is contrasted with *swiftili rennen* which first of all conveys the notion of *walken* evoking the frame attribute [speed] with values like being [slow] or [moderate]. A further comparison of the two verbs *rennen* and *walken* in a larger context shows that there is another difference between the two beyond the attribute [speed], namely the attribute [gait] with either the value [with suspension phase] or [without suspension phase]. Someone who is running is moving 'with quick steps on alternate feet, never having both or (in the case of many animals) all feet on

<sup>260</sup> First of all things new-chosen knights shall be taught to keep degree and order in going and riding, because there is nothing that ought to be kept so well in the marching of a host than that the knights keep well their order of going and riding, which may never be well done but if they have learned by continuous use and exercise now to run swiftly and now to walk an even pace.

the ground at the same time' (OED: s.v. *run*, v., I.1.a) whereas walking implies 'to move or travel at a regular and fairly slow pace by lifting and setting down each foot in turn, so that one of the feet is always on the ground' (OED: s.v. *walk*, v., 9). The idea of a flat and even motion is strengthened by the phrase *even pase* that is used to specify the verb *walken*. Concerning the gaits of a horse this indicates that *walken* could either refer to the walk or an ambling gait since these are the ones in which at least one hoof is always on the ground. Yet, these definitions are modern and, at least for horses, no such gait definition could be found in the Middle Ages.

Only two more examples for *walken* denoting equine motion are featured in the CMEPV. They are both from Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*:

- (152) And anon he was ware of a man armed walkynge his hors easily by a wodes syde /  
and his shield laced to his sholdre syttyng on a stronge courser withoute ony man  
sauyng to a page berynge a myghty spere.<sup>261</sup>

(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 176)

In example (152) the adverb *esili* emphasises the unhurried manner of riding. Yet, the sheer implication of comfort presumably adds the value [without suspension phase] to the frame attribute [gait] without getting specific with values like [walk] or [amble].

In (153) the allusion to the value [walk] is a little stronger because the horses described in this situation are strolling freely in rest and probably grazing at the same time. The gait that is most apt and exclusively used for this purpose is the walk (see p. 123).

- (153) Thenne was kynge Marke ware / where they sat al syxe aboute a welle / and ete and  
drank suche metes as they had / and their horses walkyng and somme teyed [...]<sup>262</sup>

(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 430)

This limited number of items is not representative, but it appears as if at least in the instances at disposal *walken* is meant to evoke the value [slow] for the attribute [speed]. We may suggest that *walken* could also imply the value [without suspension phase] for the attribute [gait]. We may hence very carefully infer that in Late Middle English *walken* was probably a bit more specific than *gon*, see figure 74 on p. 218. Specific in the sense that *walken* was presumably not associated with faster movement, whereas *gon* could be modified to cover the whole spectrum of speed levels.

To evoke the frame attribute [gait] with the explicit value [walk], *gon*, *riden* and *pase* have to be accompanied by adverbials or adjectives clarifying in particular the aspects {slow}, {without suspension phase} and {comfortable for rider}. A tiny proportion of five instances in the CMEPV show how *riden* is qualified by the adverbs *softe* 'slowly, at an easy pace' (MED: s.v. *softe*, adv., 6.a) or *sofli* 'slowly, at an easy pace, without haste' (MED: s.v. *sofli*, adv., 7.a). In all scenes featuring this phrase, the horses and riders are moving in an unhurried manner for the purpose of travelling, which is a typical situation to let the horse move in the walk (see p. 123). No similar hits were found in the CMEPV in which *gon* was combined with an adverb to express the walk.

However, there is a number of text passages in which *gon*, three instances, or *riden*, 33 instances, appear in a construction with *pase* and one of the adjectives *softe* 'slow, unhurried; slow-moving; of pace, movement, etc.: leisurely, easy; also, stealthy' (MED: s.v. *softe*, adj., 8.a) or *esi* 'of motion: gentle, slow' (MED: s.v. *esi*, adj., 5). *Gon* only appears together with *softe pase* and for *riden*, too, this construction is prevalent. Only two examples could be found in which *riden* and *esi pase* are used together. The use of adverbials with *pase* clearly predominates in texts with a French background, although towards the end of the Middle Ages the use of such phrases spreads to other

<sup>261</sup> And immediately he was aware of an armed man walking his horse easily by a wood's side, and his shield laced to his shoulder, sitting on a strong courser without any man except for a servant bearing a mighty spear.

<sup>262</sup> Then King Marke noticed where they sat all six about a well and ate and drank such food as they had, and their horses walking and some tied [...].

writings and seemingly became firmly established in the lexicon as being related to equine motion. The following examples illustrate the typical setting in which these phrases are employed.

- (154) [...] And sette hym on his hors and furth they went, As soft a pace as yei myght with hym goo [...] <sup>263</sup>  
(*Generydes*. Wright (ed.) 1873, 1878: 76, l. 2369–2370)

- (155) [...] than passed he ouer hymself with xxxMl saisnes and rode after a softe paas all the nyght and all the nexte day [...] <sup>264</sup>  
(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 289, chapter 18)

In (154) the rider is wounded, which emphasises the need for as gentle a movement of the horse as possible, while the passage in example (155) clarifies that the horse could keep this manner of movement for a very long time. These observations suggest that these phrases evoke the frame attribute [speed] with the value [slow] as well as the attribute [manner of motion] with values like [comfortable for rider] and, especially concerning the night-long riding, the attribute [gait] with the value [without suspension phase] which ensures energy saving motion. With those attributes and values appearing together it is likely that the value [walk] for the attribute [gait] is entailed, too.

In example (156) the use of the definite article before the noun *pase* gives the impression that a specific type of gait is meant here, not the manner of walking in general and that *softe pase* would then be a fixed term for this gait.

- (156) And so thei rode forth the softe pas straitte and clos [...] <sup>265</sup>  
(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 289, chapter 160)

- (157) And whan he had taken ye crowne, he retorned agen towarde the kyng Charlemagne al fayra and softe paas. <sup>266</sup>  
(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 177)

- (158) A softe paas solempnely they ryde. <sup>267</sup>  
(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: Man of Law's Tale 66, l. 399)

Examples (157) and (158) combine the features of softness, moderate speed and representational appearance. There is a lot of evidence in the corpus results for the moderate tempo supposed for *pase*, since about one third of the results for *pase* additionally accent the notion of easy motion.

Having a closer look at example (157), according to Richardson (ed.) (1884: 177) the gait is given as *tout le beau petit pas* in the French original which strengthens the supposition that *softe pase* is a fixed term and suggests that it was probably as such translated from French. The AND (s.v. *pas*<sup>1</sup>, s., 7) translates *le menu / petit pas* as '[equit.] slowly, at a walking-pace'. While the rendering of French *petit* by Middle English *softe* leaves room for doubt concerning a direct transfer from French to English, cases such as the passage in example (159) featuring *litel* plus *pase* make it appear more likely.

- (159) [...] wyte it that bayarde went not the lityll pase, but went lyke a sualowe / for at every lepe that he made, he lept xxx fote of grounde [...] <sup>268</sup>  
(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 258)

<sup>263</sup> [...] and sat him on the horse and forth they went, as soft a pace as they might go with him [...].

<sup>264</sup> [...] the he himself crossed with XXXML Saxons and afterwards rode a soft pace all the night and all the next day.

<sup>265</sup> And so they rode forth the soft pace tight [?] and closely together [...].

<sup>266</sup> And when he had taken the crown he returned again towards the King Charlemagne a very gentle and soft pace [...].

<sup>267</sup> A soft pace they rode solemnly.

<sup>268</sup> [...] mark that Bayard went not the little pace, but went like a swallow, for with every leap he made he leapt over 30 feet of ground [...].

In example (159) the contrast between the *litel pase* and the actual, extremely fast motion of the horse support the assumption that the phrase *litel pase* evokes the value [slow] for the attribute [speed] and maybe [without suspension phase] for [gait] as opposed to the flying associations with the gallop.

In conclusion, in all analysed cases of phrases with the verbs *gon* or *riden* and the noun *pase* qualified by an adjective {travel} is the essential aspect, as we have also observed for the verbs *riden* and *gon* plus the adverbs *softe* or *sofili* alone. Thus, the phrases with *pase* most likely evoke the core attribute [speed] with the core value [slow], the core attribute [gait] with the core value [without suspension phase] and [manner of motion] with the value [comfortable for rider], see Fig. 75, p. 218. It is, once more, not always unambiguous that the value [walk] is explicitly referred to, it could also be a very slow trot without a suspension phase or one of the ambling gaits. Yet, in the majority of cases mentally picturing the walk as a referent gait is a safe assumption that will not mislead an interpretation of the respective text passages.

## **6.5. Trot – diagonal two-beat**

### **GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS**

It is striking that in Middle English texts the explicit gait terms *trot* and *trotten* do not occur with high frequency and paraphrases could not be detected at all. This result fuels the discussion about the commonness of gaited horses in the Middle Ages, since one reason for a lack of linguistic representation of the trot may be the rareness of its use in practical riding. This may be due to the trot with its suspension phase being inferior in comfort for the rider, sure footing and endurance of the horse in contrast to the ambling gaits. A less speculative explanation for the missing mention of the trot in written language may be that it is neither a gait for noteworthy actions like fighting nor deserves a remark for its extraordinary value and benefit for the rider.

### **ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS**

The verb *trotten* is a borrowing of the Old French verb *troter* and is first recorded in English in Langland's *Piers Plowman* from the year 1362 (OED: s.v. *trot*, v.). The noun *trot* first appears a little later, around 1386, in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

### **SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION**

If the semantic frame [EQUINE MOTION] refers to the trot, the core attributes [gait] with the core value [with suspension phase] and the core attribute [speed] with the value [intermediate] are basic for understanding the concept, see figure 76 on p. 218.

The primary meaning of *trot* is quite clear-cut. The MED (s.v. *trot* n.1) gives '(a) A specific horse gait between a walk and a canter; also, the ability to trot; (b) the rate of speed characteristic of a horse's trot' while the OED (s.v. *trot*, n.1, I.1.a) is more biomechanically precise in stating that the trot is 'a gait of a quadruped, originally of a horse, between walking and running, in which the legs move in diagonal pairs almost together, so that in a slow trot there is always one foot at least on the ground, but in a fast trot one pair leaves the ground before the other reaches it, all four feet being thus momentarily off the ground at once'. It has turned out that in the medieval texts from the CMEPV the verbalisation of the trot is explicit as long as the words *trot* or *trotten* are used.

Although *trot*, *trotten* and their derivatives appear only 42 times in the CMEPV and most of the number is due to repeated occurrences in different manuscripts of the same text, the results reveal much about the distinction between the gaits in general and the intermediate gaits in particular.



Example (160) confirms by way of contrast with the verb *priken* (see p. 109) that by *trot* a gait of a slow or intermediate speed is referred to. *Priken* is used to strengthen the notion of a fast ride by pronouncing that the speed of the uttered movement is faster to that of a trot or a pace.

- (160) His hat heeng at his bak down by a laas,  
For he hadde riden moore than trot or paas;  
He hadde ay priked lik as he were wood.<sup>269</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: Canon's Yeoman's Prologue 213, l. 574–576)

In example (161) the verb *trotten* in the imperative is juxtaposed with *amblen* and *passen*, but neither this phrase nor the co-text contain information about the aspects {speed} or {gait}.

- (161) What! amble, or trotte, or pees, or go sit down!<sup>270</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: Wife of Bath's Prologue 84, l. 837–839)

In contrast to these unspecific references, the instruction how to properly train a horse from the *Boke of Marchalsi* contains a detailed account of the differentiation between the gaits of a horse.

- (162) And whan þu shalt first worþen up on hym, þat he go a gret paas twez forlong or þre.  
And þan take hym with the spores out of that paas in-to a trot. And aftir þat ryde a gret  
trot al out. And out of þat trot take hym a cours as þu wylt iourney al day.<sup>271</sup>

(*The Boke of Marchalsi*. Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: 7)

The advice is to start riding a horse at a *gret pase* (see p. 157) and then shifting into a *trot*. The phrasing of the transition indicates that really the gait is changed and not only the speed. Actively taking the horse out of one manner of movement and making it perform another implies that there is a break in between, setting the two states apart, for example with regard to the footfall pattern of the gait. If only a change of speed without an alteration in gait was meant, neither the choice of different terms nor the contrasting by *out of x into y* would be necessary.

On the contrary, it would be clearer to use the same term with an adjective in the comparative or superlative, for example, to express speeding up in the same gait. The quote in example (163) illustrates this subsequently by calling the further speeding-up a *gret trot*, explicitly positioning the referent gait of *trot* and *trotten* somewhere in the middle between the extremes.

Besides the attribute [speed] to which we may assign the value [intermediate], the assessment of the qualities of the trot for the rider are occasionally documented, too. In example (163) the trotting horse is described to be more demanding to the rider's physical abilities than the ambler with its smooth gait. In attributes and values this would mean that the noun *trot* evokes the frame attribute [gait] with the value [with suspension phase] entailing the value [uncomfortable for rider] for [manner of motion]. This is why men who wish to demonstrate their toughness prefer trotters, at least according to the author of the *English Conquest of Ireland*.<sup>272</sup>

- (163) [...] vnnethe he wold ryde any amblynge hors, bot myche trottynge hors, for to  
trauaylle hys body the more.<sup>273</sup>

(*English Conquest of Ireland*. Furnivall (ed.) 1896: 89)

In (163) the horse is not simply trotting but trotting greatly, meaning in a fast manner, which emphasises the suspension phase of the gait and further increases the challenge for the rider. For

<sup>269</sup> His hat hung down at his back by a lace, because he had ridden more than a trot or a pace; he had constantly pricked as if he were mad.

<sup>270</sup> What! Amble or trot or pace [?] or go and sit down!

<sup>271</sup> And when you shall first mount him, that he goes a great pace two furlong or three. And then take him with the spurs out of that pace into a trot. And after that ride a great trot all out. And out of that trot pursue a course [see MED (s.v. *cours*, n., 4.c)] as you would journey all day.

<sup>272</sup> For further implications that might be ascribed to the trot and amble see Bratcher (2005: 107–108).

<sup>273</sup> [...] reluctantly he would ride any ambling horse, but greatly trotting horses to work his body the more.

the adjective *trotting* the connection to the frame attribute [speed] with the value [moderate] or [intermediate] is established by the preceding mention of ambling horses. Furthermore, the co-text references the values [with suspension phase] for the attribute [gait] and [uncomfortable for rider] for [manner of motion]. Thus the value [trot] for the attribute [gait] is restrained since no other natural gait exhibits these features simultaneously.

Despite that, there are also instances in which the value [trot] for the frame attribute [gait] is complemented by adding *softe* or *softe pase* to express the value [comfortable for rider] which is not inherent in the verb *trotten* itself.

(164) And Fals sat on a sisour that softeli trotted [...]<sup>274</sup>

(Langland. *The Vision of Piers Plowman*. Schmidt (ed.) 1978: 21, passus II, l. 165)

(165) [...] he came a softe trottyng paas toward them [...]<sup>275</sup>

(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 564–565)

Here, we encounter both *softe* in the sense ‘gentle, not rough, not violent’ (MED: s.v. *softe*, adj., 3.a) and ‘slow, unhurried; slow-moving; of pace, movement, etc.: leisurely, easy; also, stealthy’ (MED: s.v. *softe* adj., 8.a). In that, examples (164) and (165) can be viewed as further gradings of *trot* and *trotten* to attenuate the value [intermediate] for the attribute [speed] which may entail a change from the value [with suspension phase] to [without suspension phase] for the attribute [gait] (see p. 124). As a consequence the value [uncomfortable for rider] for the attribute [manner of motion] may shift to [comfortable for rider].

Naturally, not only the slower version of the trot can be verbalised but also the faster variety. An example for this is the passage in example (166) that reveals nothing more than an alteration from the value [intermediate] inherent in the noun *trot* to [high] evoked by the adjective *faste*.

(166) Flyngande a faste trot, and on þe folke dryffes.<sup>276</sup>

(*The Alliterative Morte Arthure*. Krishna (ed.) 1976: 115, l. 2757)

So far, the use of the verbal and adjectival form of *trotten* and the noun *trot* have been discussed, but there are two more nominal forms that can be found in the texts. One is the noun *trotter* which is derived from the verb and names the animal performing this gait (OED: s.v. *trotter*, n.). It is employed to set this type of horse apart from gaited horses, especially *amblers*.

(167) Item, ther be bawt for yow iij horse at Seynt Feythys feyr, and all be trotterys, ryth fayir horse, God saue hem, and they be well kepyd.<sup>277</sup>

(*Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*. Davis (ed.) 1971: 259)

The data at hand is, however, too scarce to really deduce explicit frame attributes and values from these examples, so we have to rely on the results from analysing the verb *trotten* and the noun *trot* and assume the same characteristics hold true for the motion defining this type of horse, too.

The verbal noun *trotting* seems to be a little less frequently used than the noun *trot* – as far as this can be judged from weighing ten hits, of which nine are parallel occurrences in the same text but different manuscripts, against one.

(168) [...] a lytel afore mydnyȝt they herd the trottynge of an hors [...]<sup>278</sup>

(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 116)

<sup>274</sup> And False sat on a juryman who softly trotted [...].

<sup>275</sup> [...] he came a soft trotting pace toward them [...].

<sup>276</sup> Rushing in a fast trot and driving on the crowd.

<sup>277</sup> Also, there are bought three horses for you at the fair of St Vitus, and all are trotters, right fair horses, God save them, and they are well kept.

<sup>278</sup> [...] a little before midnight they heard the trotting of a horse [...].

In example (168) again, the passages themselves provide little information on the referent gait and its specifics.

All in all, *trot* and *trotten* consistently refer to the two-beat diagonal gait, although the highly specific aspects {two-beat} and {lateral} do not become obvious from the medieval material but rather from the diachronic perspective. The core attributes and values evoked to represent the gait which could be found are apparently [speed] with the value [intermediate], [gait] with the value [with suspension phase] and [manner of motion] with [uncomfortable for rider], see Fig. 77 on p. 218. The combined appearance of these attributes and values restrains the value [trot] for the attribute [gait]. The value [uncomfortable for rider] can be altered to [comfortable for rider] by adjectives and adverbial constructions either changing the attribute [manner of motion] directly or the value of the attribute [speed] from [intermediate] to [slow].

Whether the frame attribute [trot] could also be evoked by other lexical units or phrases, for example combinations with *pase*, *riden* or *gon* is well-nigh impossible to tell because the distinctive aspects {intermediate speed} and {with suspension phase} would have to be detectable either in the phrase itself or the co-text. No examples suiting this requirement could be found. Thus, not to take any risks in interpreting riding scenes it is advisable to assume the trot as a referent gait only if the motion is explicitly expressed by a form of *trot* and *trotten*.

## **6.6. Ambling gaits – lateral two- and four-beats**

### **GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS**

Like for the trot it was not possible to find any Old English equivalent for any of the various forms of ambling gaits. Of the lexical units to be discussed in this chapter, the French loanwords ***amble*** and ***amblen*** can safely be called explicit gait terms, whereas *pase* is highly ambiguous (see p. 132)

### **ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS**

The verb ***amblen*** originates in French *ambler* which developed from Latin *ambulare* ‘to walk’. Both the verb *amblen* and the noun ***amble*** are first recorded in Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* from c. 1386 (OED: s.v. *amble*, n. and *amble* v.).

For the etymology of *pase* see p. 130.

### **SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION**

For the semantic frame [EQUINE MOTION] to reference ambling gaits, the core attribute [gait] with the core value [without suspension phase], the core attribute [speed] with the value [intermediate], and the core attribute [manner of motion] with the value [comfortable for rider] are necessary to differentiate the concept from other gaits, see Fig. 78, p. 218.

There is not much use in trying to pin down which exact form of ambling gait ***amble*** and ***amblen*** refer to. No medieval written texts could be found that distinctly deal with characteristic details of horse gaits like footfall patterns or beat. Seen from a practical perspective, this is neither astonishing nor a drawback for the purpose of this book. What all ambling gaits have in common is that the rider perceives them as very comfortable and the horse can move in them over long distances and on rough terrain at a considerable speed. To reconstruct the connection between the frame attribute [gait] taking the value [ambling]<sup>279</sup> and the expressions used to evoke them, not much more information is required.

<sup>279</sup> The adjective *ambling* is used here in contrast to the more specific nouns *amble* or *pace* to indicate that all varieties of ambling gaits are included.

The MED (s.v. *amblen* v.) defines the meaning of *amblen* as ‘of a mount: (a) to go an easy pace or gait, amble; (b) *ppl.* walking an easy pace or gait; ?smooth-riding’ and the noun respectively as ‘an easy walking gait’ (MED: s.v. *amble*, n.). From these definitions, one might at first suspect that the gait behind *amble* and *amblen* is the walk, an impression that is promoted by the kinship to Latin *ambulare* ‘to walk’. This association cannot be rejected, yet the medieval texts give strong evidence that a special gait executed at an intermediate speed level and against the usually slow walk.

The attribute [manner of motion] with the value [comfortable for rider] is emphasised in most of text passages featuring a form of *amble* and *amblen*, either by collocating most commonly *softe*, *softli* or *esi* or by paraphrasing the comfortable manner in the co-text. Particularly in these cases stressing the comfort of the rider, *amble* and *amblen* may refer to both the walk or an ambling gait since their shared feature is the lack of a suspension phase. This minimises the vibration for the rider because there are no moments of repulsion or landing of the complete body mass all at once, but there is always at least one leg on the ground to support and balance the weight (Wissdorf 2010: 627).

These features also fulfil what is implied by Chaucer’s use of the adverb *rounde* ‘of a horse’s gait: easily, surely’ (MED: s.v. *rounde*, adv., 4.c) together with *amble* since the gaits without a suspension phase excel both in comfort for the rider and in sure footedness (see p. 125).

(169) It gooth an ambil in the way / Ful softly and rounde [...]<sup>280</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: Sir Thopas 166, l. 884–886)

From examples such as (169), in which the quality of the gait is not given in the co-text of *amble* we may suppose that probably the noun itself conveyed the attribute [manner of motion] with the value [comfortable for rider] as well as the frame attribute [gait] with the value [without suspension phase] and possibly even [ambling]. The explicit naming of these features can then either be regarded as simply descriptive or emphatic. Except for the value [ambling] these criteria would also fit for the walk as a referent gait.

Example (170), however, indicates that it must have been possible to carry out the motion phrased by *amblen* at a higher speed, too.

(170) Guye lepe vpon a moyle amblyng, In the wey he doth him fast ryding.<sup>281</sup>

(*The Romance of Guy of Warwick*. Zupitza (ed.) 1883, 1887, 1891: 374, l. 7119–7120)

As has been pointed out, a really fast tempo is not possible in the walk unless the motion pattern shifts towards that of the trot, the amble or the pace (compare Fig. 65 to 66, 68 and 69 on p. 216 and 217). Taking the semantic connection of *amblen* to French and Latin ‘to walk’ seriously, one may assume that at least in examples stressing speed the reference is to an ambling gait that can also be seen as a running walk and not a trot. One more characteristic feature supporting this assumption is depicted in the following example.

(171) [...] and ful weel religioun mai be likened to the binding aȝen or the holding up bi which a man holdith vp with the bridil the heed of his ambuler, lest perauenture the hors were left to his fredom of the bridil he schulde be in perel forto the oftir spurne, and the wors to throwe him silf and the sitter on him; namelich whanne the sitter knowith weel the same ambuler be freel and prone and redi into stumbling, thouȝ the wey be smothe and euen.<sup>282</sup>

(Pecock. *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*. Babington (ed.) 1860: 525)

<sup>280</sup> It goes an amble in the way, very softly and surely [...].

<sup>281</sup> Guy leapt on an ambling mule. On the way he makes him go fast.

<sup>282</sup> [...] and very well may religion be likened to the binding or holding up by which a man holds up the head of his ambler with the bridle, lest by chance the horse were left to his freedom of the bridle and he should be in peril to stumble, and even worse to throw himself and the rider on him; namely when the rider knows well that the same ambler is weak and prone and ready to stumble, although the way may be smooth and even.

This passage from *The Repressor of over much Blaming of the Clergy* by Reginald Pecock reports that the head of an *amblere* is either bound backwards or held up by the bridle in case the horse tends to stumble or throw itself and the rider to the ground as soon as the reins are loosened. This high position of the head is typical for ambling gaits, both for the inherited and the trained movement and is depicted in figures 68 and 69 on p. 217. This is backup for the theory that *amble* and *amblen* do not primarily evoke the value [walk] for the attribute [gait] but rather [ambling].

Moreover, *amble* and *amblen* can be directly contrasted to the trot and the pace, which clearly assigns their referent to the group of intermediate gaits. One example demonstrating this is from the *Canterbury Tales* where the intermediate gaits are all listed one after another.

(172) What! amble, or trotte, or pees, or go sit down!<sup>283</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: Wife of Bath's Preamble 84, l. 837–839)

Besides the mere juxtaposition of the terms assumedly naming horse gaits, this text passage reveals no further information. More co-text is provided in examples like (173) and (174). Both cases express the difficulty to teach an old trotting horse the amble, which almost appears to be proverbial for not being able to change old habits. In this respect these instances show that the understanding of a distinction between ambling and trotting was widespread enough to successfully employ it in analogies illustrating abstract concepts such as true and false in (173) or the supportive character of religion in (174).

(173) Traw ye that thay þ' have bene fals so many tymes may ever be tru, and that thay that have bene forsworne so often may ever say trawthe? Thenke not þ<sup>e</sup> contrary but it were as harde to make hem tru as for to make an olde trotetere to amble.<sup>284</sup>

(*A Defence of the Proscription of the Yorkists*. Gilson (ed.) 1911: 522)

(174) Hors þat evir trottid, trewlich I jew tell, / It were hard to make hym aftir to ambill well.<sup>285</sup>

(*The Tale of Beryn*. Furnivall & Stone (eds.) 1909: 39, l. 939–940)

These examples position the referent gait of *amblen* on the same level, most likely speed level, as the trot, which impedes the value [walk] to be evoked for the attribute [gait] because [walk] is constrained by [slow] or [moderate] for [speed].

Interestingly, the noun *amble* produces only ten hits in the CMEPV and all of them are from different manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. In all other texts from the corpus the verbal or adjectival use is prevalent. But there is another possibility for reference to the amble in a nominal form. This is the combination of the adjective *ambling* plus the noun *pase* that could, however, only be documented in a single case in Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*:

(175) Soo the mayde rode on by the way a soft ambelynge paas [...]<sup>286</sup>

(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 197)

Here the adjective *ambling* is probably added to clarify that the gait is not an ordinary walk but a particularly soft ambling gait befitting the maiden rider.

For the description of a gaited type of horse with a tendency – natural or trained – for the ambling gaits either the adjectival form of *amblen* or the noun *amblere* were chosen. The adjective often contributes the aspect of gaitedness to a depiction of a horse's outward appearance as in examples

<sup>283</sup> What! Amble or trot or pace or go and sit down!

<sup>284</sup> Do you believe that those who have been false so many times will ever be true and that those who have been perjurers so often may ever tell the truth? Do not think the contrary, but it would be as hard to make them true as it is to make an old trotter amble.

<sup>285</sup> Horses that ever trotted, truly I tell you, it would be hard to make them amble well afterwards.

<sup>286</sup> So the young woman rode along the way in a soft ambling pace [...].

(176) and (177). Such adjectives make up about half of the results from the corpus search for *amble* and *amblen* and seem thus to be the most common way to render an ambling gait in written language.

(176) This markys hath hire spoused with a ryng / Broght for the same cause, and thanne hire sette / Upon an hors, snow-whit and wel amblyng [...]<sup>287</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: Clerk's Tale 105, l. 386–388)

(177) [...] she mounted anon vpon her whyte palfray amblyng [...]<sup>288</sup>

(Caxton. *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*. Kellner (ed.) 1890: 45)

The mere existence of the noun *amblere* for a horse capable of ambling is further evidence that the reference gait must be something not all horses show, which again speaks against the walk (see pp. 125ff.). *Amblere* is frequently accompanied by an adjective or an adverb-verb-construction to convey how comfortable the movement is for the rider.

The attributive adjective *softe* can be found in two of the altogether 16 occurrences of *amblere*, example (178) represents one of them.

(178) [...] and his lady behynde hym vpon a softe ambuler [...]<sup>289</sup>

(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 561)

(179) Upon an amblere esily she sat [...]<sup>290</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: General Prologue 21, l. 469)

In (179) and parallel cases the adverb *esili* describes the pleasant state of sitting on an ambling horse, for instance on a long journey such as the pilgrimage to Canterbury. This advantage is the main reason why ambling horses were highly esteemed in medieval society, as for example Gladitz (1997: 157–158, 173–174) and Hyland (1999: 27–36) discuss. The connected financial and emotional value of such riding horses becomes evident in the narration of situations like those given here as examples (180) and (181).

(180) [...] and my lady, the proude pucelle, offreth you for hym seuen dromadaryes, al charged of fyn golde, and a thousand coursers, and as many amblynge horses and armures, goode and fyn ynoughe for to arme a thousaund knyghtes.<sup>291</sup>

(Caxton. *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*. Kellner (ed.) 1890: 91)

(181) And after my principal is taken, I wul my wyf haf my best ambeler [...]<sup>292</sup>

(*Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London*. Furnivall (ed.) 1882: 57)

Example (180) enumerates the gifts that are given to king Alymodes in exchange for the imprisoned hero Blanchardyn in Caxton's *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*. Among the treasures there are a thousand ambleres. Considering that according to Ayton (1994: esp. 50–71) and Davis (1989: 67) the price of an ambling palfrey could be as high as that of a cheaper destrier, it becomes clear why gaited horses were suitable presents for a king. On a different level, yet similar in principle, the bequest of an *amblere* in (181) demonstrates the husband's appreciation for his wife. The precise phrasing of a horse's gait tendencies in such cases proves crucial for economic purposes.

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<sup>287</sup> This Markys had spoused her with a ring, brought for the same cause and then sat her upon a horse, snow-white and well ambling [...].

<sup>288</sup> [...] she mounted immediately upon her ambling white palfrey [...].

<sup>289</sup> [...] and his lady behind him on a soft ambler [...].

<sup>290</sup> Upon an ambler she sat easily [...].

<sup>291</sup> [...] and my lady, the proud Pucelle, offers you for him seven dromedaries, all charged with fine gold, and a thousand coursers, and as many ambling horses and armours, good and fine enough to arm a thousand knights.

<sup>292</sup> And after the main part of my bequest is taken, I will that my wife have my best ambler [...].

Not only the previous example of the bequest reveals a remarkable correlation between amblers and women, in almost half of the 70 results from the CMEPV, the riders or owners of ambling horses are female. This is obviously a literary reflection of the fact that especially noble women highly appreciated the benefits of an ambling horse. On the other hand, men sometimes seemed to feel uneasy about riding too smooth-gaited a horse because they feared to appear effeminate and maybe consequently preferred trotters to amblers (see p. 139). The implications of gender and horse gait are, however, far too complex to be analysed in detail in this book.

In conclusion, the fact that *amble* and *amblen* could be shown to distinctively evoke the core value [intermediate] for the frame core attribute [speed] clearly distinguishes it from the walk. Amongst the intermediate gaits, the presence of the core attribute [manner of motion] with the value [comfortable for rider] and the closely connected [gait] with the value [without suspension phase] distinguish the referent gait clearly from the trot which suggests that very likely the specific value [ambling] for the attribute [gait] is evoked, too. Figure 79 on p. 219 illustrates a possible semantic frame for *amble* or *amblen*.

It seems as if at the latest towards the end of the Middle Ages the linguistic distinction of two intermediate gait varieties – the trot and some form of amble – was well established. Though *amble* and *amblen* is a French loanword, the expression was not at all exclusively used in literature with a French original background or setting. Geoffrey Chaucer proved to be notably precise in his application of the gait terms.<sup>293</sup> In general the reference to the amble seems to be thoughtfully used in the texts to convey the advantages of this gait and the particular appraisal of horses with the ability to perform it.

While the discussion of *amble* and *amblen* led to some easily applicable advice for interpretation, the case of *pase* is much more complex, as has been noted (see p. 132). Besides the general sense ‘manner of walking’ and various constructions to add more information on the gait, there is some evidence that the noun *pase* itself can also denote a specific type of movement, although it does not become clear exactly which of the gaits is referred to. Notably, the most frequent hits for *pase* are found in texts based on French literature, except for Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*. The use of *pase* can hence often be ascribed to the conventions in the French originals. A detailed comparison of French and English terminology would surely be interesting and maybe reveal more about the real gaits behind the words. For this book, however, such attempts have to remain rudimentary.

Text passages such as the following suggest that *pase* expresses some type of equine movement characterised by intermediate or slow speed.

(182) [...] ffor thei kepte hem-self all-ther hinderest for to diffende the other that feyntly  
were horsed that myght no faster go than a paas [...] <sup>294</sup>  
(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 446)

In example (182) those knights that are not able to go quicker than the *pase* are described as poorly equipped and in need of defence. Whether the gait behind the noun *pase* is the walk, the trot, the amble, the pace or yet a slow gallop is impossible to tell from this instance.

The same is valid for the situation in example (183) where Bayard, the famous warhorse, has been bled various times to feed the family of his knight and is hence seriously weakened. Regardless he shall be ridden, which causes the narrator to phrase the following remark and emphasise the gravity of the feebleness by stating that the horse could barely perform the *pase*.

<sup>293</sup> Dent (1959) has investigated Chaucer’s horse vocabulary and touches briefly on the matter of horse gaits. He particularly raises the topic of the English-specific term *canter* being derived from *Canterbury gallop* (Dent 1959: 7–8). Since this term is, however, a post-medieval phenomenon it is not considered further in this book.

<sup>294</sup> [...] for they kept themselves at the very back to defend the others who were faintly horsed and might not go faster than a pace [...].

(183) [...] but wyte it that bayard was soo feble that he scante cowde goo the pase [...] <sup>295</sup>

(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 438)

Considering the physical constitution of the poor beast one may be fairly certain that the gallop cannot be meant. The walk is a possible referent gait, although it is doubtful if a knight would insist on riding a horse that has difficulty in moving its feet at all. So to assume an intermediate gait for *pase* appears to be a safe compromise.

The considerable amount of 23 instances where *pase* is used to emphasise a faster speed supports this initial assumption. Examples (184) to (187) illustrate how *pase* in constructions with *more than* evokes the value [intermediate] for the frame attribute [speed] in contrast to the actual quick movement the horses perform in the given situations.

(184) And gadrede us togidre alle in a flock, / And forth we riden a litel moore than paas /  
Unto the wateryng of seint thomas [...] <sup>296</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: General Prologue 25, l. 824–826)

(185) Thenne kyng Pellinore armed hym and mounted vpon his hors and rode more than a  
paas after the lady that the knyzt ladde away [...] <sup>297</sup>

(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 113)

(186) His hat heeng at his bak down by a laas, / For he hadde riden moore than trot or paas; /  
He hadde ay priked lik as he were wood. <sup>298</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: Canon's Yeoman's Tale 213, l. 574–576)

(187) What! amble, or trotte, or pees, or go sit down! <sup>299</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: Wife of Bath's Preamble 84, l. 837–839)

In (186) and (187) there is a direct link to the trot allowing for the classification of the *pase* as an intermediate gait. The juxtaposition of *pase* and the specific gait term *trot* in (186) contrasts with *priken* what reveals that the first two types of movement, rendered by *trot* and *pase*, are obviously not considered to be fast enough to cause a hat to be blown away. The verb *riden* is hence characterised quite impressively by using not only one but two gaits as a side-reference to set the superiority of the actual movement apart.

So we can conclude that *pase* may practically refer to all gaits, but that there are some attributes and values indicating that alongside the generic sense, the noun *pase* alone expresses a specific manner of movement. The only specific feature that could be extracted from the source material this is the value [intermediate] for the attribute [speed], see Fig. 80, p. 219. This points toward the hypothesis that *pase* was maybe not intended to name a concrete gait but was yet specific enough to refer to an intermediate gait rather than just to any form gait.

## **6.7. Gallop – asymmetrical three- or four-beat**

### **GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS**

Compared to the intermediate gaits for which the semantic differentiation is in large parts ambiguous, the gallop is a much clearer case. The most common verbs to phrase the action of galloping are *rennen* and *priken* as well as constructions with *riden*. Less frequently we find *walop*

<sup>295</sup> [...] but mark that Bayard was so feeble that he could scantly go the pace [...].

<sup>296</sup> And gathered us together all in a flock, and forth we rode little more than pace, to the brook of St. Thomas [...].

<sup>297</sup> Then King Pellinor armed himself and mounted upon his horse and rode more than a pace after the knight who led the lady away [...].

<sup>298</sup> His hat hung down at his back by a lace, because he had ridden more than a trot or a pace; he had constantly pricked as if he were mad.

<sup>299</sup> What! Amble or trot or pace or go and sit down!



and *walopen*, *lepen*, *cours* and *coursen* and constructions with *pase* and *gon*.

## ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

In the Middle English verb *rennen* the Old English verbs *ærnan*, *irnan* and *rinnan* merged, with the forms with metathesis prevailing (OED: s.v. *run*, v.). The Old English verbs *ærnan* and *irnan* are the only lexical units clearly denoting a horse gait that can be traced throughout the history of the English language. In the *Dictionary of Old English* (s.v. *ærnan*, v., 1.) *ærnan* is defined as ‘to gallop, race (on horseback)’ emphasising the aspect of riding. This is also given in the *Bosworth-Toller* (s.v. *ærnan*, v.), though only in the supplement, while the more general ‘to run’ is listed as the primary sense. The closely connected *irnan* carries the primary sense ‘moving quickly’ (Bosworth-Toller: s.v. *irnan* v., I.1.) with reference to persons and animals. Old English *rinnan* ‘to run’ (Bosworth-Toller: s.v. *rinnan*, v.) is entangled in the same semantic area, but no connection to horse gaits could be proven.

The noun *walop* and the verb *walopen* were borrowed from Old Northern French *\*walop* and *waloper* and are attested from around 1375 onwards (OED: s.v. *wallop*, n.). Today’s form with initial <g> was taken from Old French and is only documented in English since the 16<sup>th</sup> century (OED: s.v. *gallop*, n.).

Middle English *priken* is another verb of Germanic origin (OED: s.v. *prick*, v.).

The verb *lepen* is of Germanic origin and is related for example to German *laufen* ‘to run’ (OED: s.v. *leap*, v.).

The noun *cours* was borrowed from French *cours* with its first occurrence in English c. 1300 (OED: s.v. *course*, n.). The verb *coursen* in connection to horses entered English sometime before 1533 according to the OED (s.v. *course*, v.). The verb is thus a borderline case, but it seemed worth a try to run a corpus search for it nonetheless to find out if an earlier example could be detected after all, especially since the noun *courser* for a fast riding horse is also discussed in this book (see pp. 68f.).

For the etymologies of *riden*, *pase* and *gon* see pp. 130f.

## SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

For the semantic frame [EQUINE MOTION] to express the very basic concept of the gallop, the core attributes [gait] with the core value [with suspension phase] and the core attribute [speed] with the value [high] are fundamental, as is illustrated in figure 81 on p. 219.

The combined senses inherited from the Old English predecessors were kept in Middle English *rennen*, so beyond ‘to run’ also the horse-specific ‘to gallop’ (MED: s.v. *rennen*, v.1, 1.b.) and ‘to ride on horseback, esp. at a gallop’ (MED: s.v. *rennen*, v.2) were retained. Strictly speaking, *rennen* primarily conveys information on speed, evoking values like [high] or [maximum] for the frame attribute [speed] but on first sight no specific values for the attribute [gait]. Nevertheless, the sheer implication that the corresponding action is the fastest movement that can be achieved points strongly towards the gallop as a referent gait (see pp. 124f.). All the same, one must not disregard the fact that theoretically top speed can be reached in the trot, amble and pace, too. As has been pointed out in the chapter on biomechanics, the ability to show these gaits at race-speed depends highly on the breeding and training of a horse. Since the systematic breeding of horses for trotting, pacing and ambling races only started centuries after the Middle Ages, we may safely assume that during Middle English times the gallop was indeed the gait in which horses usually reached their top speed.

From the CMEPV all in all 458 hits for some form of *rennen* in the context of horses could be gathered. These hits can be conceptually divided in {moving quickly} and {charging in mounted combat}, for the latter see pp. 168f. The examples expressing the first aspect can again be split up in instances with focus on the horse as agent and those on the act of riding. In terms of grammatical structure the instances can be grouped in verb, noun or adjective alone and verb plus adverbial with the constructions with adverbials being by far the most common. Towards the end of the Middle Ages these phrases developed a more and more formulaic character, which might well be linked to the influence of foreign terms and the increasingly refined semantic differentiation within the semantic frame of horse gaits.

Three levels of speed can be expressed by *rennen*, depending on the syntactic construction – a phenomenon the Old English sources did not reveal. The following examples demonstrate the possibilities for the horse as active referent.

(188) Þe stedes hom to stable ran [...] <sup>300</sup>

(*The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*. Kölbing (ed.) 1885, 1886, 1894: 31, l. 643)

In cases such as (188), where the verb or the nominalised gerund form is not accompanied by further complements, it seems to be of minor importance to state how exactly the horse moves as long as the recipient gets the idea that the animal put more effort in the covering of a distance than just strolling unhurriedly. Thus, we may assume that the verb *rennen* alone is basically employed to evoke the value [high] for the frame attribute [speed].

(189) [...] and Agravadayns horse ran faste to the wode [...] <sup>301</sup>

(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 569)

The second speed level of *rennen* with the value [very high] for the attribute [speed] is phrased with the verb plus adverbs like *faste* or *swifte* in the positive, as in examples like (190). Besides the verbal use of *rennen*, the adjectival form can also be found in combination with these adverbs:

(190) [...] a swift ernand stede [...] <sup>302</sup>

(*The Romance of Guy of Warwick*. Zupitza (ed.) 1883, 1887, 1891: 534, l. 182,4)

Both forms are quite rare, only five hits for the verb and two for the adjective could be recorded. These do, however, show that the semantic focus is here again on expressing speed, although in a little more stressed form than with the verb standing alone. The gait again seems to be of minor importance for the statement of the sentences.

The passages reproduced here as examples (191) to (193) are characterised by comparative adverbial clauses using the image of natural phenomena to specify *rennen*. The fact that they are all taken from courtly texts of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries is reflected in their poetic and dramatic character. Example (192) is particularly informative because it juxtaposes *rennen* with *walopen*, a combination that could only be found in the *History of the Sons of Aymon*.

(191) Reynawd went for to have passed over the river vpon bayarde, that ran as the wynde,  
& waloped so harde that he made all therthe where he passed to shake vnder hym  
[...] <sup>303</sup>

(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 305)

First *rennen* is compared to the wind strongly implying high speed. But obviously to convey its speed alone is not sufficient to highlight the extraordinary abilities of the horse. The vivid

<sup>300</sup> The steeds ran home to the stable [...].

<sup>301</sup> [...] and Agravadayn's horse ran fast to the woods [...].

<sup>302</sup> [...] a swiftly running steed [...].

<sup>303</sup> Reynaud went in order to pass the river on Bayard who ran as the wind and galloped so hard that he made all the earth shake under him where he passed [...].

description of such a tremendous action that the earth shakes recalls the fact that in the gallop the catapult-like jumps produced by the powerful impulse of the hind legs in alternation with the suspension phase create a thundering rhythm that indeed makes the ground tremble. The fact that the loanword *walopen* is chosen to assure the association with the gallop indicates that *rennen* alone might not have been perceived to be clear enough about the attribute [gait] taking values like [with suspension phase] or [gallop].

In example (192) the opposite of a galloping horse's heavy impact on the ground is alluded to.

(192) And strikes him with spere and pricles, And he ran forth as foule that flies.<sup>304</sup>

(*The Laud Troy Book*. Wülfing (ed.) 1902-1903: 194, l. 6578–6579)

The comparison to the flight of birds pictures the impression that at a fast gallop the suspension phases are that extended that the hooves hardly seem to touch the ground. Coherent as this may sound, it is possible that it was not the flying gallop that was in the mind of the author but once more primarily the notion of speed. That might probably be the reason why he preferred *rennen* over *walopen*, but that cannot be safely reconstructed from a modern point of view.

The association of *rennen* with speed is indisputably prevalent in example (193).

(193) [...] the sayd coursour, whyche ranne faster and more swyftlyer than a grehounde  
[...]<sup>305</sup>

(*Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce, Charles the Grete*. Herrtage (ed.) 1880-1881: 151)

The velocity conveyed by *rennen* alone is threefold multiplied by the combined use of the comparative forms of *faste* and *swifte* and the addition of the parallel to the quick motion of greyhounds. This emphasis on the very high speed in *rennen* is cast in a formulaic phrase that appears frequently in courtly literature: *as faste as the hors might rennen*, as illustrated in (194).

(194) [...] so rode they forth as fast as their horses might renne [...]<sup>306</sup>

(*The Three King's Sons*. Furnivall (ed.) 1895: 76)

In this adverbial phrase the interplay of the verb *rennen* and the adverb – either *faste* or *much* – expresses the value [maximum] for the attribute [speed]. All in all these phrases make up almost a third of the hits for *rennen* in the CMEPV, but especially in *Merlin*, Malory's *Le Morte Darture* and the *History of the Sons of Aymon* they are frequently used. This means of emphasising speed is mostly applied in the narration of battle scenes, either when the armed knights urge their horses in the advance to a fight or in the charge itself. Therefore the adverbial phrases with comparative *faste* and *much* directly lead to the treatment of the results for *rennen* with reference to the act of riding instead of an action by the horse and finally to the expression of the aspect {charging in mounted combat}, see p. 167.

The following examples (195) to (197) demonstrate the use of *rennen* evoking the frame attribute [action of rider] with the value [giving sign to horse] and the subordinate value [to cause to gallop].

(195) And whan he com nygh bothe he and his men lete reine as faste as the horse myght  
hem bere [...]<sup>307</sup>

(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 243)

(196) [...] his hors he makede earnæ þat al þe erþe dunede [...]<sup>308</sup>

(*Layamon. Layamon's Brut*. Brook & Leslie (eds.) 1963, 1978: 554, l. 9810)

<sup>304</sup> And strikes him with spear and spikes. And he ran forth like a bird that flies.

<sup>305</sup> [...] the mentioned courser, which ran faster and more swiftly than a greyhound [...].

<sup>306</sup> [...] so they rode forth as fast as their horses might run [...].

<sup>307</sup> And when he drew near, both he and his men let run as fast as the horses might bear them [...].

<sup>308</sup> [...] he made his horse run that all the earth thundered [...].

(197) *Bei made her hors rennen in rees [...]*<sup>309</sup>

(*Legends of the Holy Rood, Symbols of the Passion and Cross Poems*. Morris (ed.) 1871: 210, l. 240)

There are apparently two options to indicate the impetus of the rider leading to the horse's reaction: *leten* or *maken* together with *rennen*. When the need is felt to provide more information on the manner of motion adverbials are added to either highlight maximum speed as in (195), to conjure up the impression of thunder in (196) or the setting of a race like in (197). It has been pointed out at various earlier stages in this book that each of these three associations – maximum speed, thundering impression and racing – strongly suggest the gallop as referent gait.

The number of examples for *rennen* verbalising the concept {riding at a gallop} in the CMEPV is considerably smaller when leaving out the aspect {charging in mounted battle}. Only 16 instances could be gathered, examples (198) to (200) represent the three groups they can be divided in.

(198) *Somme gon hors earne; somme afote eorne.*<sup>310</sup>

(Layamon. *Layamon's Brut*. Brook & Leslie (eds.) 1963, 1978: 645, l. 11435)

(199) [...] set vpon a myghty courser / they ranne anone after hym and chassed hym sore [...]<sup>311</sup>

(Caxton. *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*. Kellner (ed.) 1890: 203)

(200) *And euere þe eorles bi-vo earnede swiþe.*<sup>312</sup>

(Layamon. *Layamon's Brut*. Brook & Leslie (eds.) 1963, 1978: 697, l. 12390)

In analogy to the examples analysed so far for the horse as agent, here again the verb alone as in (198) carries the weakest allusion to the gallop. The combinations of verb plus prepositional phrase like (199) or verb plus adverb as in (200) put more emphasis on a higher speed level. The suspected continuity from Old to Middle English can at least partially be shown by the examples from *Layamon's Brut*, (198) and (200), dating from the late 12<sup>th</sup> century and thus one of the few records mirroring the transition from Old to Middle English.<sup>313</sup>

To sum up, we may state that the verb *rennen* evokes the core attribute [speed] with the core value [high] within the frame [EQUINE MOTION], see Fig. 82, p. 219. The core attributes can be specified further to [very high] and [maximum] by applying respective adverbials. The value [with suspension phase] for the attribute [gait] is maybe inherent in the verb itself, too. The specific value [gallop] for [gait] can also be grasped with some certainty, especially when the verb is used to describe charging in mounted battle (see also pp. 168ff.).

The noun **walop** 'a gallop' (MED: s.v. *walop*, n.) and the verb **walopen** 'of a horse: to gallop; of a rider: ride at a gallop' (MED: s.v. *walopen*, v.) need to be examined in connection to their French sources. The *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* states that English adopted all semantic categories connected to the verb (AND: s.v. *galoper*, v.) but not all of the noun (AND: s.v. *galop*, s.). Anglo-Norman French distinguishes between *les grants galops* 'at a gallop', *les menus galops* 'at canter' and *les petits galops* 'at a trot' (AND: s.v. *galop*, s.). Judging from the dictionaries it is remarkable that English seemingly only took over the sense of 'gallop' and not that of the other gaits.

To describe the gallop as an action of the horse and not the rider, the use of *walopen* is very similar to *rennen*. The participial form could be found in only one singular passage from *The Alliterative Morte Arthure* given in (201). In this example the use of the French loanword to express the motion of the horse fits and completes the scheme of the alliterative verse.

<sup>309</sup> They made their horses run in race [...].

<sup>310</sup> Some went running on horses, some running on foot [...].

<sup>311</sup> [...] set upon a mighty courser, they ran immediately after him and chased him fiercely [...].

<sup>312</sup> And constantly the noblemen ran ahead swiftly [...].

<sup>313</sup> For a lexicological study on *Layamon's Brut* see e.g. Elswiler (2011).

(201) Swerdez swangen in two sweltand knyghtez, Eyes wyde opyn, welterande on walopande stedez [...]<sup>314</sup>

(*The Alliterative Morte Arthure*. Krishna (ed.) 1976: 98, l. 2146–2147)

The swaying and tumbling of the dying knights on their horses graphically underlines the value [with suspension phase] for the frame attribute [gait] being evoked by the verb *walopen*. The situation of a battle also strongly suggests the value [gallop] for [gait] since the gallop is the typical manner of motion for attacking in mounted fights (for details see p. 167).

Like *rennen*, *walopen* can be accompanied by adverbials to increase the effect of the statement. The adverbial *so faste* can be added to express the value [very high] for the attribute [speed].

(202) And whan he was oute, he sette hymselfe for to goo the waye so grete pase that no horse cowde not have waloped so fast [...]<sup>315</sup>

(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 315)

The elemental power and soundscape of the gait is expressed in (203) evoking the values [with suspension phase] and likely also [gallop] for the attribute [gait]. The respective co-texts in both examples, especially the description of the jumping, drum-like movement of the horse in (203) suggest that the referent gait for the verb *walopen* is probably the gallop for reasons that have been explained in detail before (see pp. 147 and 149).

(203) [...] as of the stour dynnyng and noyse that their horses made treddyng and wallopyng hyghe and harde vpon the grounde, that it semed that all the foure elementes had fought there to-gyder.<sup>316</sup>

(Caxton. *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*. Kellner (ed.) 1890: 162–163)

The investigation of *walop* and *walopen* verbalising the aspect {riding at a gallop} discloses parallels to the use of *rennen*, too. The following three types of phrases can be distinguished: *comen* plus *waloping* as in example (204), *walopen* plus *faste* or *swyftli* like in (205) and *riden*, *comen* or *gon* plus *a walop* as given in (206).

(204) The kyng of kynggez vppe and down rideng, And he anon to hym com waloping.<sup>317</sup>

(*Generydes*. Wright (ed.) 1873, 1878: 106, l. 3324–3325)

(205) [...] broched wyth þe spowrys & swyftli waloppyd that parte [...]<sup>318</sup>

(Caxton. *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*. Kellner (ed.) 1890: 26)

(206) Thenne he rode a wallop tyll he had a syght of the two paelions and the two knyghtes fyghtyng [...]<sup>319</sup>

(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 114)

In none of these instances the co-text allows to draw concrete conclusions with respect to the criteria for the distribution of *rennen* and *walopen*. Even in sources such as the *History of the Sons of Aymon* where both terms are very frequent, no pattern could be identified. In many cases one gets the impression that *walopen* is chosen because the conveyance of the beat and footfall pattern is assumedly significant.

<sup>314</sup> Swords clove the dying knights in two, eyes wide open, tumbling on galloping steeds [...].

<sup>315</sup> And when he was out, he set himself to go the way in such a great pace that no horse could have galloped so fast [...].

<sup>316</sup> [...] as of the loud clamour and noise their horses made treading and galloping high and hard upon the ground, that it seemed as if all the four elements had fought there together.

<sup>317</sup> The King of Kings [was] riding up and down and he immediately came galloping towards him.

<sup>318</sup> [...] broached with the spurs and swiftly galloped that part [...].

<sup>319</sup> Then he rode a gallop until he had sight of the two pavilions and the two fighting knights [...].

From examples like (207) a little more information can be gathered concerning the Middle English whereabouts of the original French differentiation between *petits*, *menus* and *grants galops* – at least for the highest stage. Literal renderings of French *petits* and *menus galops* could not be discovered in Middle English, but the phrase *a gret walop* is apparently a very close loan formation of *grants galops*, both in form and content.

(207) Merlin rode a grete walop oute of the bataile [...] <sup>320</sup>

(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 209)

Against the background of the French terminology and the narrative situations in the texts, it is tolerably secure to state that the expression *a gret walop* implies both the value [high] or [very high] for the attribute [speed] as well as [gallop] for [gait].

Moreover, there are some hints that can be read as signs for the relation of the referent gait of *walop* and *walopen* to the other gaits. The Middle English juxtaposition is not executed by gradation of the term *walop* itself, like in French, but by paraphrases.

(208) Gawein loked and saugh the horse so swyftly renne that he gate grounde sore after hym [...] and than he gan to ride a softer paas, and rode walopinge [...] <sup>321</sup>

(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 512)

In (208) the notion of slowing down the velocity to a gallop strikes the reader a little odd at first because the gallop is usually perceived to be reached by acceleration. This apparent contradiction can be dissolved with the help of the French terms. Two features in (208) strongly speak for *waloping* meaning ‘canter’, paralleling Anglo-Norman French *menus galops*. A *canter* is by definition ‘an easy gallop. “The exertion is much less, the spring less distant, and the feet come to the ground in more regular succession,” than in the gallop proper (Youatt).’ (OED: s.v. *gallop*, n.3). This explains firstly why *waloping* is reached by deceleration because if the horse was running at high speed gallop the tempo can be reduced to a canter and still be a galloping movement. Secondly, the description of *waloping* as *a softer pase* than *swifli rennen* makes sense considering that a slow gallop, a canter, with its rolling movement and reduced suspension phase is very comfortable and pleasant for the rider. So at least in this example *waloping* probably parallels the French expression *menus galops* while *swifli rennen* is similar to French *grants galops*. Example (209) supports this idea of *walop* representing the easy canter and *faste rennen* the high speed gallop:

(209) [...] but rode forth after his squyer and encreased his paas somewhat, and after that he rode a walop; and whan the saisnes saugh that he rode so faste, thei priked after and manaced hym sore and whan he saugh hem com he turned his horse hede, and a saisne com be-fore alle the other gripinge a grete spere, and hasted hym so faste in his comynge that he failed to smyte this yonge lorde, and he com so faste a-gein hym as his horse myght ronne and smote the saisne thourgh shelde and hauberke [...] <sup>322</sup>

(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 522)

Here the knight – *this yonge lorde* – increases his speed, first a little bit and then to a *walop* in such a manner that the observers perceive it as being fast. The pursuing Saxons outpace the knight, which shows that the knight is not as fast as he could have been. Although he rides quickly he at first gallops not at full speed but in a canter. When he charges the Saxons he quickens the tempo to

<sup>320</sup> Merlin rode a great gallop out of the battle [...].

<sup>321</sup> Gawain looked and saw the horse run so swiftly that he got only with great effort after [...] and then he rode a softer pace and rode galloping [...].

<sup>322</sup> [...] but rode forth after his squire and increased his pace somewhat and after that he rode a gallop; and when the Saxons saw that he rode so fast, they pricked after and menaced him seriously and when he saw them come he turned his horse's head, and a Saxon came before all the others grasping a great spear and hurried so much in his advance that he failed to kill the young Lord, and he came so fast against him as his horse might run and smote the Saxon through shield and hauberk [...].

a gallop to be successful in his attack. Since examples (208) and (209) are taken from the same text they are not representative for Middle English in general, but the parallels are noteworthy for the understanding of the linguistic rendering of horse gaits.

Finally, the remark that all the texts featuring *walop* and *walopen* are translations from French literature<sup>323</sup> may well be judged as an explanation for the accumulation of Anglo-Norman French loanwords to parallel the original text.. A detailed comparison to the French originals would at this point once more be very illuminating to clarify the semantic relations.

We can conclude that *walop* and *walopen* seem to evoke the values [with suspension phase] and likely also [gallop] for the frame attribute [gait], maybe as core attribute and values. The noun *walop* and the verb *walopen* alone seem not to express the frame attribute [speed] with the value [very high] or [maximum]. Instead [speed] takes values circling around [high], [moderate] and [intermediate] which are constrained by and constrain the above mentioned specific values for [gait] to distinguish the movement from other gaits at the same speed level. For a schematic rendering of the semantic frame evoked by *walop* or *walopen* see figure 83 on p. 219.

We have discussed the semantic development of the verb *priken* and its specifics with regard to giving signs to the horse. For the verbalisation of a manner of motion, we have to differentiate between the aspects {action of rider} and {action of horse}. The cases where *priken* denotes the horse as agent are particularly valuable for gaining information on the referent gait since the possibility of an allusion to the rider's action can be excluded. Such scenes either accent velocity, as in examples like (210) or picture showy behaviour, as will be discussed later, see p. 160.

(210) His faire steede in his prikyng / So swatte that men myghte him wrynge [...] <sup>324</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: Sir Thopas 165, l. 775–779)

In example (210) the horse's sustained pricking leads to openly displayed signs of exhaustion in the form of excessive sweating. Although Chaucer, especially in *Sir Thopas*, tends to humorously exaggerate,<sup>325</sup> it is perfectly realistic that a horse sweats after a long time running cross-country with a restless knight on its back. Considering the question of the gait behind *priken* the massive fatigue of the horse can be taken as a reference to the gallop as a gait designed for high speed on short distances but not endurance runs. This hypothesis is also backed by the frequent occurrence of *priken* together with adverbial expressions of the value [maximum] for the attribute [speed], like for instance in (211).

(211) [...] als faste as þe hors mot preke [...] <sup>326</sup>

(*Alphabet of Tales*. Banks (ed.) 1904-1905: 225)

Besides the phrasing of an action of the horse, *priken* also verbalises some more shadings of the aspect {riding quickly} with the rider being the agent. First and foremost of these is the plain verb form without any complements affecting the perception of gait. These make up about half of the total hits for *priken* in the CMEPV. In these cases there is only a little hint at high velocity, but the comparison to those instances with highlighted tempo allows differentiated conclusions on the gait.

(212) He prekede in to þe felde þo fulle snelle [...] <sup>327</sup>

(*S. Editha Sive Chronicon Vilodunense*. Horstmann (ed.) 1883: 8, l. 298)

<sup>323</sup> Namely *The Alliterative Morte Arthure*, Caxton's *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*, *Generydes*, *The History of the Sons of Aymon*, *The Laud Troy Book*, *Merlin*, *Melusine*, Malory's *Morte Darthure* and *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*.

<sup>324</sup> In his pricking his fair steed sweated so much that one might wring him [...].

<sup>325</sup> On humour in *Sir Thopas* see: Wright (1997), Tucker (1959), Lawrence (1935).

<sup>326</sup> [...] as fast as the horse may prick [...].

<sup>327</sup> He pricked into the field there very swiftly [...].

(213) And anone the yoman came prykyngne after as fast as euer he myghte [...] <sup>328</sup>

(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 647)

Examples like (212) and (213) show some realisations of adverbials emphasising that *priken* is a quick movement. As has been observed and discussed for *rennen* and *walopen*, the indication of the values [very high] or [maximum] for [speed] can be counted as a sufficient but all the same not authoritative hint that the footfall pattern of *priken* is that of the gallop.

However, there is evidence suggesting that the verb *priken* alone is mostly used for a slow or medium speed variety of the galloping gait. One of them is of a statistic kind: amounting to only 20% of all 358 results for *priken* alluding to a manner of motion the combination of verb plus adverb is not half as frequent as the verb alone. This may signify that in *priken* without the adverbial the expression of maximum speed is not that prominently embedded. Further support for this theory is provided in the remaining CMEPV hits for *priken* that have not been touched upon so far. The combination of *comen* plus *priken* is with 27% very frequent and describes an advancing motion without extra emphasis on velocity. A typical representative of this group is the following:

(214) Wiþ þis come þe douk prikeing [...] <sup>329</sup>

(*The Romance of Guy of Warwick*. Zupitza (ed.) 1883, 1887, 1891: 56, l. 973)

Especially in the *Romance of Guy of Warwick* this variation of *priken* is extensively used, always in almost exactly the same form and position. This recalls the formulaic phrases with *rennen* (see p. 149) even though the sense is slightly different in its emphasis on the action of the rider rather than the speed of the horse.

After all it seems as if *priken* is one of the most frequent verbs to evoke the semantic frame [EQUINE MOTION] but also one for which the referent gait is difficult to pin down. Apparently, *priken* alone, like *rennen*, basically evokes the value [high] for [speed], no matter whether the agent is the horse or the rider, see Fig. 84, p. 219. Adverbials can be added to convey the values [very high] and [maximum] for [speed] but not verifiably for slower versions of the motion. Indications of the values [with suspension phase] or [gallop] for the attribute [gait] can be suspected from various co-texts the verb appears in yet not be proven to be inherent in the verb alone.

For the verb *lepen* the MED (s.v. *lepen* v., 4.a.) hints at the gait by defining the verb as ‘to travel by hops or jumps, bound; rush (to sb. or sth., to a place), run; hasten, hurry; of horses: gallop’. Yet, distinguishing between a jumping and a galloping horse in literary sources is naturally a difficult job. Despite careful investigation of the co-texts around the examples listed in the MED and the results from the CMEPV a clear link between the gallop and *lepen* could not satisfactorily be proven. The two quotes given in the MED, here (215) and (216), are on closer examination quite vague about the frame attribute [gait].

(215) Of trompes & of tabors · þe sarazins made þere ·  
So gret noyse þat cristinemen · al destourbed were ·  
Vor hor hors were al astoned · & nolde after wille ·  
Siwe noþer spore no bridel · ac some stode stille ·  
& some lepte her & þer · so þat hii were icome ·  
In wille to fle cristinemen · & bigonne to fle some · [...]

(Robert of Gloucester. *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*. Wright (ed.) 1887: 585, l. 8166–8171) <sup>330</sup>

<sup>328</sup> And immediately the yeoman came pricking after as fast as he ever might [...].

<sup>329</sup> With this came the Duke pricking [...].

<sup>330</sup> With trumpets and drums, the Saracens made there  
Such a great noise that the Christians were very disturbed  
Because their horses were all stunned, and would not be compliant  
Obey neither spur nor bridle, but some stood still  
And some leapt here and there, so that came to them



In (215) the chaotic scene with the frightened horses and the impulse for flight speak for the gallop. In this case *some stode still* would be employed contrastively to bring out the different reactions of the horses. The adding of *her & per* could also imply that the horses jumped from side to side and did not run away. This is a frequent behaviour in horses when they are somehow hindered in their natural ways, for example by a rider. And indeed the knights surely tried to stop their horses from uncontrollably running from the battlefield. As the transition between jumping in the wish to gallop and actual galloping is fluent, the concepts {to jump} and {to gallop} can both possibly stand behind *lepen* in this case. The same basically applies in example (216).

(216) Þe stede was god & lup a waye, wel fifty fet i-tolde.<sup>331</sup>

(*The English Charlemagne Romances I*. Herrtage (ed.) 1878: 8, l. 243)

Although the action happens in a situation of hasty departure one cannot safely decide on the manner of motion, except that the value [with suspension phase] is very likely considering the long distance the horse is claimed to cover. However, the indication of a measurement does not specify whether this distance was covered in a running or jumping manner. One result from the CMEPV search is a little more precise on the gait referred to by *lepen*:

(217) With lufly launcez on lofte they luyshen togedyres, / In lorayne so lordlye on leppande stedes.<sup>332</sup>

(*The Alliterative Morte Arthure*. Krishna (ed.) 1976: 80, l. 1460)

Here the situation of the charge implies the gallop (see p. 167), but the idea of {jumping horses} is also not altogether unsuitable (see pp. 177f.). Thus, all in all *lepen* has to remain an opaque issue with regard to the exact motion pattern it represents but can probably be considered a more general reference to a jumping action disregarding biomechanical subtleties.

The last remaining term with an assumed relation to the gallop is *coursen*. The MED (s.v. *coursen*, v.) gives the sense ‘to pursue or hound (sb.)’ while the OED (s.v. *course*, v., 5.a) also mentions ‘to run or gallop about, to run as in a race, to career’. Since the OED dates the first occurrence of this verb before 1533 the attempt to run a corpus search and try to find an earlier example seemed promising, but no hits were found for the verb in the context of horses at all. The noun *cours* is used in the *Boke of Marchalsi* in connection to horse gaits:

(218) And out of þat trot take hym a cours as þu wylt iournay al day.<sup>333</sup>

(*The Boke of Marchalsi*. Odenstedt (ed.) 1973: 7)

This passage describes a riding sequence for a young horse suggesting to start slowly with a walk, increasing speed, then changing to a trot, increasing speed again and finally making the horse to do a *cours*. The first sense of *cours* is ‘running (of man or beast)’ according to the MED (s.v. *cours*, n., 1) which would point to a galloping gait. The added *as þu wylt iournay al day* appears slightly contradictory, since, as has been mentioned various times in this book, the gallop is usually not the horse gait designed for travelling long distances or all day long. In this respect the sense of ‘movement from one position or place to another; movement in travel or navigation’ (MED: s.v. *cours*, n., 4.a) fits better. The sentence could hence be read as ‘take the horse from a trot into a gait in which you want to / can journey all day’. This translation does not tell anything concrete about the speed or motion pattern of *cours*, but it implies that the medieval recipient probably knew very well which gait to choose for travelling.

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The will to flee the Christians and some started to flee [...].

<sup>331</sup> The horse was good and leapt a distance, well 50ft. at once, it is told.

<sup>332</sup> With praiseworthy lances raised up they crushed together, in harness so lordly on leaping steeds.

<sup>333</sup> And out of that trot take him a gait that you want to travel in all day.

Of course, the verb *riden* can also be modified to express the gallop. About 40% of the results from the CMEPV are instances in which *riden* is specified by *walopen*, *priken* or forms of *pase*. While *walop* occurs 15 times together with *riden*, especially in texts with a French background, *priken* together with *riden* is recorded only twice. For reasons elaborated on before (see p. 150) in the case of the verb *walopen* it is quite safe to assume that it evokes the values [with suspension phase] and [gallop] for the frame attribute [gait] and that further adverbials would emphasise the attribute [speed] taking values like [high], [very high] or [maximum]. In example (219) the emphasis on [speed] is achieved by adding *as faste as*.

- (219) [...] the whiche rode as fast as the hors might walope [...] <sup>334</sup>  
(*Melusine*. Donald (ed.) 1895: 94)

With *priken* the situation is different because the distinction between the aspects {to spur or urge forward} and {to gallop} is difficult to draw with certainty.

In that, example (220) is indeed an expression of a particular manner of riding and certainly also carries a notion of advanced speed since the concept of {urging forward} already conveys velocity. There is yet no conclusive evidence to suggest the motion pattern underlying *priken* here.

- (220) Forthe he rode prekande, / Tyll he came nerehande. <sup>335</sup>  
(*The Romance of Guy of Warwick*. Zupitza (ed.) 1875-1876: 181, l. 6329-6330)

The remaining part of the corpus results for *riden* can on semantic grounds be split up in two groups. The majority are expressions with the verb and an adverbial indicating high speed in which there seem to be virtually no limits to imagination concerning the form and content of the adverbial. Adverbs such as *hastelie* ‘hastily’, *swithe* ‘swiftly’ and *faste* ‘fast’ are mild means to convey speedy riding. It can be understood from the respective co-texts that the foremost aim of their use is to verbalise the frame attribute [speed] whereas for the narrative purpose there is no need to provide the recipient with further information on the exact gait of the horse.

This observation holds true also for the more complex adverbial phrases attributed to *riden*. A selection of phrases is given below to illustrate the rich diversity in nuances the texts exhibit. They include constructions with *as faste as the hors might* plus verb phrase ‘as quickly as the horse might...’, *a (ful) god spede* ‘a (very) good speed’, *with gret haste* ‘with great haste’, *with gret randoun* ‘with great speed’ and *as faste as the tempest / wind* ‘as fast as the storm’.

- (221) [...] and rode as faste as the horse myght hym bere [...] <sup>336</sup>  
(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 399)
- (222) [...] he rode away a full gode spede [...] <sup>337</sup>  
(*Octovian*. McSparran (ed.) 1986: 165, l. 1481)
- (223) He rode to him with so gret haste / That al his spere In-sunder braste [...] <sup>338</sup>  
(*The Laud Troy Book*. Wülfing (ed.) 1902-1903: 492, l. 16697-16700)
- (224) He rod til hym wiþ gret raundoun [...] <sup>339</sup>  
(*Mannyng. The Story of England by Robert Manning of Brunne*. Furnivall (ed.) 1887: 495, l. 14,272)

<sup>334</sup> [...] who rode as fast as the horse might gallop [...].

<sup>335</sup> Forth he rode pricking, until he came nearby.

<sup>336</sup> [...] and rode as fast as the horse might bear him [...].

<sup>337</sup> [...] and rode away at a good speed [...].

<sup>338</sup> He rode to him with such great haste, that his spear completely broke asunder [...].

<sup>339</sup> He rode to him with great speed [...].

- (225) And thenne Reynawde toke hym vp bitwene his armes, & shewed hym mawgis, that  
cam ridyng vpon bayarde as faste as tempest.<sup>340</sup>  
(*Melusine*. Donald (ed.) 1895: 259)

Apart from the versions of *riden* plus *pase* we have discussed so far in this chapter on gaits there is one more left that deserves mentioning. We have found that *riden more than a pase* most likely expresses an intermediate gait and speed level and *softe pase* a slower movement. The phrase *grete / gode pase* is a way to add the values [very high] or [maximum] for [speed], like in (226):

- (226) [...] mounted vpon horsback and toke his spere in his hand and rode after a grete paas  
as moche as his hors myght goo [...] <sup>341</sup>  
(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 81)

Both the Middle English texts and a look at the AND (s.v. *pas*, n.1) confirm that the primary expression in this phrase is providing the values [very high] or [maximum] for [speed]. Only the fact that most scenes phrased by using this construction are battle scenes point at the gallop as a referent gait because the gallop was usually the gait for attacking (see p. 167).

Like *riden*, the verb *gon* together with an adverbial can be employed to phrase speedy motion. Combinations with *faste* alone, like in example (227) or *faste* in a comparative construction, as in (228) are most frequent in the CMEPV. Comparisons as *like the wind* or *like a swalwe* in (229) are more of an exception. All these phrases have in common that they provide *gon* with the implication of at least the value [high] for the frame attribute [speed].

- (227) In all þys worlde was hors noon, / That so faste myght goon [...] <sup>342</sup>  
(*The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*. Kölbing (ed.) 1885, 1886, 1894: version C, 46, l. 989–990)
- (228) And whan the hors was laus, he gynneth gon / Toward the fen, ther wilde mares renne  
[...] She seyde, alas! youre hors goth to the fen / With wilde mares, as faste as he may  
go [...] <sup>343</sup>  
(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: Reeve's Tale 57, l. 4064–4065; 4080–4081)
- (229) [...] wyte it that bayarde went not the lityll pase, but went lyke a sualowe / for at every  
lepe that he made, he lept xxx fote of grounde [...] <sup>344</sup>  
(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 258)

Moreover, the passage given in (229) incorporates another construction with *gon* that leads away from the mere expression of velocity to the rendering of motion patterns. As we have seen specific gait terms such as *amble*, *rennen* and phrases with *pase* may be used together with *gon* to draw a clearer picture of the action of the horse. The contrasting of the *litel pase* (see p. 137) and the notion of swift and unhindered flight created by the comparison to a swallow as well as the indication of an enormous stride length<sup>345</sup> create a vivid impressive image for a recipient of the text.

For horses without a rider the use of *rennen* together with *gon* is only once documented in the CMEPV. Once more it is a flight scenario that exhibits the use of *rennen* to render the high speed of a gallop and its natural function as a movement for escape (see pp. 124ff.), see example (230).

<sup>340</sup> And then Reynawd took him up between his arms and showed him Mawgis who came riding upon Bayard as fast as the tempest.

<sup>341</sup> [...] mounted on horseback and took his spear in his hand and rode in pursuit at a great pace, as fast as his horse might go [...].

<sup>342</sup> In all this world there was no horse, that might go so fast [...].

<sup>343</sup> And when the horse was loose, he started going toward the fen where the wild mares run [...] She said: 'Alas! Your horse goes to the fen with wild mares as fast as he may go [...].

<sup>344</sup> [...] mark that Bayard went not the little pace, but went like a swallow, for with every leap he made he leapt over 30ft. of ground [...].

<sup>345</sup> The stride length of recent warmblood breeds lies between 4,60m and 6,70m (Wissdorf et al. 2010: 623). In modern English measures 30ft are about 9,10m.

(230) [...] the horses of whom went rennyng vpon the playn, & in to the medowes, the raynnes of their brydels hangyng & drawyng up on the grounde.<sup>346</sup>

(Caxton. *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*. Kellner (ed.) 1890: 163)

In sum, for *gon* as well as *riden* and *pase*, the gallop or at least a movement at high speed was expressed through the connected adverbials or adjectives. In general reference to the gallop, we can observe that the attribute [speed] with values like [high], [very high] or [maximum] seems to be in the foreground, while the attribute [gait] and its specific values are implicit but rarely predominant.

## **7. Manoeuvres**

This chapter is one of those for which the explanation of encyclopaedic knowledge about the practice of horse riding is most obviously needed. Even amongst expert riders and experts on historical mounted combat the manoeuvres performed by knights and warhorses are a subject of constant discussion.<sup>347</sup> Which movements were chosen for which purposes and how exactly they were carried out is only in the process of being investigated thoroughly. For this book we will distinguish rather roughly between certain groups of manoeuvres and not take into consideration the details of the single actions composing the manoeuvres.<sup>348</sup> This would lead too far away from the linguistic sources and into the realm of experimental archaeology and artificial reconstruction. For the interpretation of Middle English texts it is sufficient to know the general features of the manoeuvres, how difficult their performance is and how they could be used for narrative effect.

The groups of manoeuvres taken into consideration are in particular boastful movements, the turning of a horse, starting off at a high speed in a charge, rearing and kicking as a means of attack with the horse actually fighting, and finally different forms of jumps.

### **7.1. Show-off movements**

#### **ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE**

This chapter elaborates on how a rider may show off by presenting the high level of training of a horse, not its strength, speed, unusual colour or exotic origin. The reason for focusing on advanced training is that concepts like {strength of a horse} and {speed of a horse} are very similar, no matter if they are accessed in medieval or modern times. They are thus more obvious to interpret, whereas the concept {training of a horse} has changed considerably over time. Moreover, the connection between advanced horse training and ostentatious behaviour may not be straightforward and providing ethological and hippological background information may be helpful.

Ostentatious behaviour serves different purposes in the communication of horses. It is most prominently displayed by stallions either to impress mares or to demonstrate their qualities in front of rivals. What they do in such situations can be described as an aesthetically enhanced display of their natural abilities, especially their gaits. The key term for this enhancement in motion and its transfer to riding is what riders call *collection*.<sup>349</sup> When a horse moves in collection it takes up more of its weight on its hind legs by bending them and stepping more under the centre of mass. As a consequence, the back and neck are arched upward in an elegant manner and the whole front of the

<sup>346</sup> [...] the horses of whom went running upon the plain and into the meadows, the reins of their bridles hanging and dragging upon the ground.

<sup>347</sup> Krischke (2015: 27–33), Hyland (1999: 104–105; 110–115, 1994: 52–105), Gillmor (1992), Davis (1989: 11–24), Bachrach (1988: esp. 183–198), Meyer (1982: 157–158), Gleß (1980: 58).

<sup>348</sup> On the various options for manoeuvres and their benefits in horse training see e.g. de la Guérinière. *Reitkunst*. Albrecht & Durand, et al. (eds.) (1996: 138–146 229–266; 268–269).

<sup>349</sup> Branderup (2013: 69–95) gives a concise and graphic description of collected movements.

horse is lifted. Thus being lighter, the forelegs are free to be lifted higher and more gracefully. Usually the action takes place with little to no advance forward but the energy being collected and directed upwards in powerful and dynamically rounded motions. Moving in collection requires a lot of strength and energy and is thus only shown for short periods of time and at special occasions. For some horses this manner of moving is easier than for others because their natural anatomic built facilitates collection, yet all horses are able to show it to a certain degree.

Under the rider collection gains more significance than for the horse alone because a basic degree of collection is the most sustainable way to carry the weight of a rider without gradually ruining the forelegs of the horse.<sup>350</sup> This is due to the fact that the rider has to sit closer to the forelegs although they are anatomically less suitable for carrying additional weight than the strongly muscled hind legs. Hence the horse has to learn to bring its hind legs under the weight to lift the rider. In addition, this brings the carrying hind legs closer under the centre of mass which makes it easier for the horse to keep its balance and keep stable when moving in different directions and with different speeds while bearing a rider.

Teaching a horse how to move in collection and building up the necessary physical ability takes time and requires skill. Therefore riding horses that are able to show representative, collected varieties of gaits are both a sign of wealth and of riding skills, as we will later discuss for turning, the career and the school jumps. In those manoeuvres, too, collection plays an important role to make the movements more successful or possible at all. Yet, only in show-off situations collection becomes an end in itself and thus deserves closer examination.

#### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS

To describe the impressive beauty of a horse's movements there are limitless possibilities combining verbs of motion and qualifying adverbials. In this chapter we will only discuss verbs which themselves express a connection to the concept of {ostentation}. The specific verbs that could be found to serve this purpose are *prauncen*, some forms of *priken* and *trippen*.

#### ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

Both the origin of and the connection between the two verbs *prauncen* and the very closely related *pranken* is uncertain. Apparently *prauncen* is first recorded c. 1380 whereas *pranken* appears only around 1450 in Middle English texts (OED: s.v. *prance*, v. and *prank*, v.1).

The etymology of *priken* has been described on p. 147.

*Trippen* originates in Old French *treper*, *triper*, *tripper* 'to strike (the ground) with the foot in sign of joy or of impatience, to leap, dance' and is first recorded in English c. 1380 (OED: s.v. *trip*, v.).

#### SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

To convey the concept of showing-off, the semantic frame [EQUINE MOTION] with the core attribute [purpose of motion] and the core value [ostentation] has to be evoked. A variety of other frame attributes and values can, however, imply showy moves as well, as is sketched in Fig. 85, p. 220.

The search for the verb *prauncen* alone produced only three hits in the CMEPV, but in combination with *priken* there are four more occurrences which will be analysed later in this chapter. When *prauncen* stands alone it seems to be surrounded by an air of commotion and boast like on the brink of a battle, as in example (231), in a pompous leave like in example (232), or when a horse itself reflects upon its important role in leading in harness, as in example (233).

<sup>350</sup> Extensively elaborated on in Steinbrecht (2004: 51–56; 99–111).

- (231) [...] and the stedes to neye and crye and to prauunce vnder knyghtes and bacheleres,  
that the hilles and the medowes resounded all a-bowte.<sup>351</sup>

(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 133, chapter 9)

- (232) His schalk schewed hym his schelde, on schulder he hit lazt,  
Gordez to Gryngolet with his gilt helez,  
And he startez on þe ston, stod he no lenger  
to prauunce.<sup>352</sup>

(*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Tolkien & Gordon (eds.) 1967: 57, Pass. 4)

- (233) As proude Bayard gynneth forto skippe  
Out of the weye, so pryketh him his corn,  
Til he a lasshe haue of the longe whippe,  
Than thynketh he, “though I prauunce al byforn  
ffirst in the trays, ful fat and newe shorn,  
3et am I but an hors, and horses lawe  
I moot endure, and with my feres drawe.”<sup>353</sup>

(Chaucer. *Troilus and Criseyde*. Windeatt (ed.) 1984: 100, book 1, l. 218–224)

In the situations narrated in these passages *prauuncen* seems to evoke the semantic frame [EQUINE MOTION] with the attribute [manner of motion] taking values like [agitated] which is most evident in (232). Especially in (233) the co-text implies a contrast between the fast movement that is starting in this very moment and the more restrained action phrased by *prauuncen*. In example (234) the notion of leading the way and presenting one’s beauty seems to dominate. Regarding the attribute [purpose of motion], the value [ostentation] is strongly suggested by the co-text of examples (233) and (234) but not example (232). Hence this assumption has to remain hypothetical for lack of representative data. What little information we can gather from these three examples suggests *prauuncen* to refer to a motion more or less on the spot but with a high stride frequency which agitated horses show in various situations, see Fig. 86, p. 220. If the movement is carried out in the footfall pattern of a trot its cultivated form is called a piaffe. Yet, in order to pin down more details for the Middle English term, an analysis of its interplay with *priken* is essential.

The verb *priken* has occurred various times in various semantic areas of this book. The situation of showing-off as a branch of the word’s semantics is, however, highly hypothetical. Out of the 410 hits for *priken* only five can be regarded as potentially displaying showy behaviour. Since the sense of the verb is just as hard to define in these cases as it has been in the other semantic branches of *priken* we have observed so far, only one instance remains in which we can safely link the attribute [purpose of motion] for the semantic frame [EQUINE MOTION] with the value [ostentation]:

- (234) [...] A prikede out be-fore is ost,  
For pride and for make bost [...] <sup>354</sup>

(*The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*. Kölbing (ed.) 1885, 1886, 1894: 10, version A, l. 214–215)

<sup>351</sup> [...] and the steeds to neigh and to cry and to prance under knights and squires, that the hills and the meadows resound all around.

<sup>352</sup> His marshal [?] hands him his shield, on shoulder he takes it,  
Strikes at Gryngolet with his gilt heels,  
And he leaps on the stone [?], he stood no longer  
To prance.

<sup>353</sup> As proud Bayard begins to leap  
Out of the way, so pricked him his grain,  
Until he had a lash of the long whip,  
Then he thought: “though I prance before all others  
first in the harness [see MED (s.v. trais, n., 1.)], well nourished and freshly clipped,  
Yet I am but a horse, and horse’s law  
I must endure, and with my fellows draw.

<sup>354</sup> [...] Pricked out before his host,  
For pride and to boast [...].

In example (234) the verb itself seems to be referring to the frame attribute [gait] with the value [gallop] whereas the values [ostentation] or [demonstration of skills] for the attribute [purpose of motion] are transmitted by an additional phrase in the following line. A visual outline of this thought is given in figure 87 on p. 220. One could hence argue that *priken* itself does not convey any notion of a show-off manoeuvre at all – if it was not for the phrase *priken and prauncen*.

The phrase *priken and prauncen* can be found four times in the CMEPV and is in itself a little enigmatic because, as we have seen so far, the exact semantics of both verbs are hard to grasp. What is tangible, though, is that in all situations where this phrase is used it expresses some sort of excited show-off bearing.

- (235) The Goos may gagle / the hors may prike & praunce [...] <sup>355</sup>  
(Lydgate. *The Hors, Goos and the Sheepe*. Furnivall (ed.) 1866: 29, l. 144)

- (236) Pirrus prikes aboute & praunes,  
Fro man to man aboute he launes  
Al his strengthe for to assay [...] <sup>356</sup>  
(*The Laud Troy Book*. Wülfing (ed.) 1902-1903: 491, l. 16687–16689)

- (237) [...] Erth vpon erthe gos in the weye,  
Prykys and prankys on a palfrey. <sup>357</sup>  
(*Die Kildare-Gedichte*. Heuser (ed.) 1904: 213, Earth)

- (238) A courser that he scholde ryde  
Into the feld, anon he bad;  
Wherof this man was wonder glad,  
And goth to prike and prance aboute. <sup>358</sup>  
(Gower. *Confessio Amantis*. Macaulay (ed.) 1901: 2.199, book 6, l. 1188–1191)

The first example, (235), juxtaposes the ostentatious behaviour of the horse with that of a goose. Example (236) directly phrases the purpose of the action to demonstrate the knight's skills whereas in example (237) the context of the action is not elaborated on. Finally, in example (238), the manoeuvre seems to be performed as an expression of joy. What we can collect from these passages is that the phrase *priken and prauncen* appears to evoke values like [agitated] for the frame attribute [manner of motion] and very likely [ostentation] or [demonstration of skills] for [purpose of movement].

With regard to the differences between the movement phrased by *priken* and the movement referred to by *prauncen* we have to take the attribute [gait] into consideration. Especially in the combination of the two verbs it seems likely that the referent gait for *priken* is the gallop or more precisely a collected canter. Horses usually use the trot or the gallop to show off because the lack of a suspension phase in the walk and amble restricts the potential to enhance the expressiveness of the movement considerably. Since the connotation with dancing in *prauncen* (OED: s.v. *prance* v.) suggests a gracefully cadenced trot, it would fit well to assume that *priken* renders the show-off-version of the gallop. We may therefore conclude with the careful suggestion that *priken* may have evoked the value [gallop] for the attribute [gait] and *prauncen* [trot]. Taken together, the two verbs

<sup>355</sup> The Goose may gaggle, the horse may prick and prance [...].

<sup>356</sup> Pirrus pricks about and prances,  
From man to man he leaps  
To test all his strength [...].

<sup>357</sup> [...] Earth upon earth goes in the way,  
Pricks and prances on a palfrey.

<sup>358</sup> A courser that he should ride  
Into the field, he at once asked for;  
Of which this man was very glad,  
And started to prick and prance about.

would then emphasise the values [ostentation], [demonstration of skills] for the frame attribute [purpose of motion] and [agitated] for [manner of motion], see Fig. 88, p. 220.

For the verb *trippen* the CMEPV search produced nine hits, eight of which are from different manuscript variants of Chaucer's *Squire's Tale* and one is from the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*.

- (239) This hors anoon bigan to trippe and daunce,  
Whan that this knyght leyde hand upon his reyne [...] <sup>359</sup>  
(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 131, Squire's Tale, l. 312–313)

- (240) [...] Ȝitt es þe traytoure one londe with tryede knyghttes,  
And all trompede they trippe one trappede stedys [...] <sup>360</sup>  
(*The Alliterative Morte Arthure*. Krishna (ed.) 1976: 140; l. 3712–3713)

In the Chaucer quotation we encounter a construction paralleling *priken and prauncen*. Both examples show situations in which the horses are excited in a way that results in the typical movement with short, agile steps without moving much forward we discussed for *prauncen*. In the first example the agitation is caused by the horse's eagerness to please his master and show off its abilities – although it is a horse made of brass. In the second example the sounding of the trumpets and the general commotion of a parade of a fully armoured group of knights setting out alerts the horses for what may follow soon. This expectant state in the stallions spreads quickly throughout the group due to the sensitivity to changes in the environment that is vital for the survival of flight animals. Moving on the spot can then serve as a displacement activity to help the horse handle the stress by moving its feet. On the other hand, it is also likely that the stallions, goaded by the situation, provoke each other further and further in the heat of the moment resulting in an ostentatious display of strength and flexibility.

Exercising the due caution that is mandatory for concluding from only two occurrences, we may suppose that *trippen* possibly evokes the frame value [agitated] for the attribute [manner of motion] belonging to the semantic frame [EQUINE MOTION], see Fig. 89, p. 220. Whether the attribute [purpose of motion] would rather have the value [ostentation] or [displacement activity] seems to depend strongly on the co-text, but no further information on the gait or other details could be deduced from the data at hand.

## **7.2. Turning**

### **ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE**

On first glance turning seems to be such a basic act in general motion and also in riding that the need to dedicate a separate chapter of explanation to it is not outright obvious. Yet on second thought, one has to acknowledge two timeless aspects of turning a horse under the rider that point out the innate difficulties. First is the observation that however much the rider on horseback may try, in the end it is the horse alone that has to turn its body. So it has to be both willing and physically able to follow the rider's demand. The second fact is that the more the travelling speed increases the more challenging turning gets.

There is no need to go into the details of how to train a horse to be obedient and respond to the aids of the rider here (see the chapters on aids, pp. 97ff.). The physical aspect of being able to turn out of high speed and as quickly or on as little ground as possible, on the other hand, deserves attention

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<sup>359</sup> This horse immediately began to trip and dance,  
As soon as this knight laid hand on his rein [...].

<sup>360</sup> Yet is the traitor on land with chosen knights,  
And all accompanied by trumpets they trip on decoratively armoured steeds [...].



because it is the most central quality of a horse in mounted combat.<sup>361</sup> The consequences for a knight who is unable to turn his mount instantly when required reach from harmless and almost comical – missing the opponent and thrusting sword or lance at thin air instead – to hazardous like running directly into the enemy's weapon.

In such particularly dangerous situations one might argue that the horse's instinct should protect it and thus its rider from harm. This is theoretically true, but there are three factors that may prevent this natural emergency measure from taking effect. The first is that the horse wants and tries to react, but a lack of strength and body coordination or adverse conditions like slippery ground cause its efforts to fail. The second factor is that horses are programmed by nature to take flight in dangerous situations and this instinct is so strong that it can override all other instincts and lead to running in panic regardless of further threats on the escape way (Lansade et al. 2008; McNaughton & Corr 2004). The third factor that can impair the horse's instinct of self-protection is training. To prepare horses for hunting and more so for battle, they have to be hardened against all sorts of noises, sudden movements, frightening smells and views and other facets of fight that turn any sound horse to flight. A mount thus prepared and obedient to its rider has learned to face opponents and will do so unless the rider commands something different. The problem is that every situation takes time to be perceived and processed by the rider and each reaction again takes some seconds to be carried out. In addition, the horse needs time to process and react to new orders, too. Although the timespan can be shortened substantially by routine, it can yet be too long to prevent crashes in the heat of battle.

The general challenge in the combination of rider and horse is balance. On their own, horses are masters in moving on all terrains without hurting themselves or the other members of their herd. The rider on their back, however, is difficult to manage since his centre of mass is clearly above the horse's centre of mass and thus influences the horse's balance although the rider's mass as such might be small compared to the horse's.<sup>362</sup> These difficulties increase with increased weight of the rider, for example due to armour, on rough terrain and in situations where quick changes of direction are vital.

To overcome these intricacies, training is a basic measure to gain as much safety on a horse as possible, be it in everyday travel, leisure, work or fighting. The better the horse's muscles and body coordination are trained to carry the weight of horse and rider, the better it can work against the forces destabilising the balance, even when they are extreme like in sudden turns out of high speed. This is why throughout history horses have been highly valued that are able to turn immediately out of any speed or gait and literally on the smallest spot.<sup>363</sup> If riders appearing in a Middle English text hence perform such spectacular turns, one may safely assume that both they and their horses are well educated and physically trained. This skill can then further be interpreted as a device to emphasise the exceptional quality of rider and horse.

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<sup>361</sup> Gillmor (1992: 7–17) devotes half an essay only to explaining how important the lead change in the gallop – turning from left to right handed gallop and vice versa – was for medieval cavalry.

<sup>362</sup> In this discussion one also has to keep in mind that even the biggest medieval horses were substantially smaller than the warmbloods we are used to see today and therefore the difference between the masses of horse and rider were smaller on average. For a summary on the build of warhorses see Bennett (1995: 19–26).

<sup>363</sup> Comments of the riding masters on the importance of turning can be found in: Xenophon. *Reitkunst*. Widdra (ed.) (2007: 17; 73), Duarte I of Portugal. *The Book of Horsemanship*. Forgeng (ed.) (2016: 125–126), Pluvinel. *The Maneige Royal*. Nelson (ed.) (2015: 73–74; 113–114), de la Guérinière. *Reitkunst*. Albrecht & Durand, et al. (eds.) (1996: 240; 268–269), Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle. *A General System of Horsemanship* (1743 (2012): 58). Grisone. *The Rules of Riding*. Tobey & Deigan (eds.) (2014) actually devotes most of his treatise on how to make a horse turn properly.

## GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS

The action of changing direction is in Middle English rendered by the verbs *turnen* or *returnen*.

## ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

The verb *turnen* is a merger of the two Old English verbs *tyrnan* and *turnian* which are both borrowings from Latin *tornare* ‘to turn in a lathe, round off’ (OED: s.v. *turn*, v.).

*Returnen* originates in the Anglo-Norman verb *retourner* and was in the sense ‘to turn round to face in the opposite direction, to face about’ first attested in English a little before 1470 (OED: s.v. *return*, v.1, 1.8.b).

## SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

For the semantic frame [EQUINE MOTION] to capture the concept of turning on horseback, the core attribute [purpose of motion] and the core value [turning] is crucial, see Fig. 90 on p. 221.

Judging from the results gathered from the CMEPV, *turnen* is with a total number of 106 hits far more frequent than *returnen* with 30 hits.<sup>364</sup> It also seems as if both verbs are used synonymously in the context of describing equine motion. Therefore they are discussed simultaneously in this chapter. Talking about the use of *returnen* and *turnen* in the sense ‘turn a horse’ one must always heed the fact that a certain overlap with *turnen* ‘to tourney, fight in a tournament’ may occur, although the co-text in most cases clarifies the meaning.

The basic turning of a horse in everyday riding is very rarely phrased explicitly in Middle English texts. Since there is little potential for interpretation in such passing mentions, we may leave this aspect aside and turn to some more detailed verbalisations of changing direction on horseback. Descriptions of skilful turning manoeuvres appear in almost every battle or tournament scene and either phrase the purpose to attack by turning or the opposite, to retreat.

When the rider turns his horse to escape his opponents, the verbs *turnen* and *returnen* are mostly accompanied by the infinite clause *to fle* which expresses the frame attribute [purpose of motion] with the value [turning] and the subordinate value [to escape]. Here all that matters regarding the skill of horse and rider is whether they succeed in fleeing the enemy or not, which usually becomes clear in the subsequent lines of text. The success of the manoeuvre itself and the larger co-text of the scene, for example whether the rider returns to the fight or not, then determine how to interpret the action, e.g. as a device to characterise the acting rider. The only generalised conclusion we may pin down for the {retreat} aspect verbalised by *turnen* and *returnen* is that it is safe to assume good skills in both rider and horse if the manoeuvre is effective and the contrary if it is not.

Considering the aspect {attack} the action of turning is a little more complex and thus deserves a more elaborate discussion. Amongst the possible forms of attacks out of a turn we can discriminate two situations: first, turning out of full speed and second, turning on the spot within a mass of other fighters. Both situations are demanding for the rider-horse-pair as we have seen in the paragraphs on the practical aspects of turning in this chapter (p. 162f.). Hence we may suppose that their explicit mention in the texts is probably meant to highlight the qualities of the rider performing them and to increase the theatrical action of the scene. One may observe, however, that none of these aspects seems to be clearly inherent in the verbs themselves. Additional phrases are necessary to supply the reader with the information required to evoke the semantic frame the author intended.

The dramatic effect of spectacular manoeuvres to change direction becomes most evident when they are executed out of full speed. Such scenes make up nearly 30% of the attack scenes in the

<sup>364</sup> There are no instances in the *Boke of Marchalsi* where *turnen* is used for the change of direction in riding.

CMEPV in which the verbs *turnen* and *returnen* are used. A typical representative for a description of a turn out of full speed is reproduced in example (241).

- (241) Achilles folwed and alle hise,  
 He ouer-toke the kyng Philluse;  
 Phillus turned and with him fauȝt,  
 But suche a stroke Achilles him rauȝt  
 With his hondes sicurly,  
 That he fel dede ther sodanly.<sup>365</sup>

(*The Laud Troy Book*. Wülfing (ed.) 1902-1903: 224, l. 7591–7596)

We are shown that the king Phillus is such a skilled rider that he can oppose his followers in the middle of a chase by abruptly turning his horse and attacking them. From this and the other examples found in the CMEPV, we may suppose that the verbs *returnen* and *turnen* usually include the value [skilful] for the frame attribute [manner of motion]. Yet, Achilles, the chaser, is apparently even stronger, most likely due to using the momentum of his galloping horse and deals a deadly blow to the king. This passage thus expresses both the advantage of surprising pursuers with a sudden turn and attack and the disadvantage of losing scope of action while being occupied with the manoeuvre. The fact that the course of action in this example is embedded in a chase taking place in or alongside a battle is common for almost all of the cases in which *turnen* and *returnen* describe an action executed out of high speed.

About 20% of the fighting scenes verbalising a turn out of high speed happen within the context of a feigned retreat and thus provide some information on the tactical use of the manoeuvre.<sup>366</sup> Since these situations do not provide any further information on the semantic frame evoked by *returnen* and *turnen*, there is no need to go into further detail here.

A little more than 70% of the results for attacking scenes featuring *turnen* and *returnen* depict the manoeuvre being carried out on the spot within a mass of fighters, in a melee fight. In this context the value of knight and horse shows in their ability to successfully manoeuvre amongst the press of combatants. Malory, for example, pictures such a manoeuvre in his *Le Morte Darthur* as follows:

- (242) [...] and anone there with alle there cam vj knyghtes / and alle made hem redy to sette vpon sire Launcelot at ones / thenne sire Laūcelot feutryd his spere / and smote the formest that he brake his bak in fonder / and thre of them hytte and thre fayled / And thenne sire launcelot past thorou them / and lyghtly he torned in ageyne / and smote another knyghte / thorough the brest and thorou oute the bak more than an ell [...]<sup>367</sup>

(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 346, book 9, chapter 6)

The manner of Lancelot's turning is characterised as agile and quick which results in his success despite being outnumbered. Here again, we can observe that *turnen* itself seems to be a rather neutral term phrasing the action – besides the value [skilful] which is probably inherent. The full situation of turning a horse amidst various attacking enemies, not losing control and being able to counter the assaults has to be expressed in more than one verb to fully come to life.

<sup>365</sup> Achilles followed and all his [men],  
 He overtook the King Phillus;  
 Phillus turned and fought with him,  
 But Achilles dealt him such a blow  
 With his hands truly,  
 That he fell dead there at once.

<sup>366</sup> On the equestrian details of feigned retreat see Bachrach (1988: 191–192) and Gillmor (1992: 7–17).

<sup>367</sup> [...] and at once at all this there came 6 knights, and all readied themselves to take at Sir Launcelot at once, then Sir Launcelot couched his spear, and struck the foremost so that he broke his back asunder, and three of them hit and three failed; And then Sir Launcelot passed through them, and lightly he turned in again, and struck another knight through the breast and out through the back more than an ell [...].

One particular scenario in which turning is the crucial move is when the knight first charges with lance or spear galloping past the opponent and then turns the horse to attack once more but this time with the sword. Three passages could be found in the CMEPV describing this practice.

- (243) [...] and whan Dodinell hadde parforned his cours he returned with swerde drawn,  
and fonde hym redy hym to diffende.<sup>368</sup>

(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 570, chapter 28)

This example is a concise summary of what the manoeuvre is about and confirms the conclusions drawn from the preceding groups of examples. The verb *returnen* seems to express the action of changing the direction of the mount, but at the same time the fact that Dodinell is ready to defend himself afterwards implies that the turning is executed with a certain degree of skill, allowing the knight to keep focus on the battle.

The contrary situation can be seen in a passage from Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* illustrating the fatal consequences an un-coordinated turn of the horse may entail:

- (244) [...] Out of the ground a furie infernal sterte,  
From pluto sent at requeste of saturne,  
For which his hors for fere gan to turne,  
And leep aside, and foundred as he leep;  
And er that arcite may taken keep,  
He pighte hym on the pomel of his heed,  
That in the place he lay as he were deed,  
His brest tobrosten with his sadel-bowe.<sup>369</sup>

(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 43, Knight's Tale, l. 2684–2691)

Here we find a drastic description of how fundamental keeping control over the horse is for a rider in general and a knight in particular. The passage also expresses the factor of reaction time and the rider's utter helplessness if the horse's instincts override all communication and habituation as we have mentioned earlier in this chapter (pp. 162ff.).

Regarding the syntactic structures of the use of the verbs *turnen* and *returnen*, the analysis has shown that in the majority of cases, c. 50% of all hits from the CMEPV, the verb stands alone. In the other instances we find three different types of common constructions. The largest of these groups is *turnen / returnen the hors* 'turn the horse' with around 60% of the phrasal constructions. The constructions *turnen / returnen the hed (of the hors / stede / palfrei)* 'turn the head of the horse' and *turnen / returnen the bridel* 'turn the bridle' each amount to c. 20%.

Examples (246) to (248) illustrate the use of some of these constructions.

- (245) Gye turned the hedde of hys stede.  
They faght togedur gode spede.<sup>370</sup>

(*The Romance of Guy of Warwick*. Zupitza (ed.) 1875-1876: 54, l. 1875–1876)

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<sup>368</sup> [...] and when Dodinell had performed his course he returned with sword drawn and found him ready to defend him.

<sup>369</sup> Out of the ground an infernal fury rushed  
From Pluto sent at request of Saturn  
Because of which his horse turned in fear  
And leapt aside and stumbled as he leapt;  
And before Arcite may take heed,  
He threw him on the top of his head,  
That in the place he lay as if he were dead,  
His breast torn open at his saddle-bow.

<sup>370</sup> Gye turned the head of his steed.  
They fought together vigorously.

(246) [...] He turned his hors wel smartly  
And smot to him wel hertly [...]<sup>371</sup>

(*The Laud Troy Book*. Wülfing (ed.) 1902-1903: 182, l. 6165–6166)

(247) [...] he tourned brydell to hym ward, and wyth his goode swerde smote hym suche an  
horrible stroke that he cloue him doune to the chynne / and feell ded wyth the  
standarde to the erthe that was not after reysed vp ayen [...]<sup>372</sup>

(Caxton. *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*. Kellner (ed.) 1890: 203, chapter 53)

Combinations with an expression for ‘horse’ or ‘horse’s head’ appear not to differ from the sense of the verb alone, apart from explicitly mentioning that the turn is performed by the mount. The phrase *turnen / returnen the bridel*, on the other hand, can be interpreted more in the direction of ‘steering’ than ‘turning in the opposite direction’. This is, however, more of a hypothesis than a real conclusion since the absolute number of these text passages sums up to only six. In addition to the small number of comparable items, it is difficult in most of the scenes from the Middle English texts to securely determine where which knight is positioned and who turns into which direction.

In conclusion, the verbs *turnen* and *returnen* may be used to refer to different situations of changing direction on horseback, be it in everyday life or in mounted combat. The verbs alone seem to evoke the core attribute [purpose of motion] with the core value [turning] and possibly subordinate values like [to escape] or [to attack], see figure 91 on p. 221. The frame attribute [manner of motion] may take the value [skilful]. Other specifications inherent in the verbs themselves could not be found these have to be expressed by more complex phrases.

### **7.3. Starting off at high speed and frontal attack**

#### **ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE**

In their basic points, the manoeuvres of starting off at high speed, also called career, and frontal attack out of a full gallop are similar to the skilful turning of a horse under the rider. The success of all these manoeuvres depends on the strength of the horse, its ability to keep its balance and, in attacking more than in turning, the trained capability of going against an opponent (see also the chapter on warhorses, esp. p. 59 and pp. 62ff.).

The difference between the career and simply starting to gallop from a halt or any other gait is that in the career the horse pushes off the ground with both hind legs simultaneously, while for the gallop there is always one hind leg pushing more or alone (compare Fig. 67, p. 216). This action generates the maximum acceleration a horse can reach and is therefore ideal as an initial manoeuvre in a charge of mounted knights. The career can either be directly pointed at the enemy, who is then immediately hit with all the momentum the horse can generate or the career serves as an initial booster for a following high speed gallop before reaching the target.<sup>373</sup>

In general, the gallop is the gait of choice for charging<sup>374</sup> for two reasons. The demand for velocity to generate penetration power for an effective attack is obviously one point. The other is that the motion pattern of the gallop itself, irrespective of the tempo, is most suitable for exerting force against targets positioned in the direction of moving. The reason is that the gallop is actually a series of jumps which means that all the body mass – and the passenger on top as well – have to be

<sup>371</sup> He turned his horse very swiftly  
And struck at him angrily [...].

<sup>372</sup> [...] he turned bridle towards him, and with his good sword he dealt him such a horrible blow that he split him down to the chin, and fell dead with the banner to the ground that was not raised up again afterwards [...].

<sup>373</sup> Pluvinel. *The Maneige Royal*. Nelson (ed.) (2015: 138), Blundeville. *A Newe Booke Containing the Arte of Ryding, and Breakinge Greate Horses*. EEBO Editions (ed.) (1561: book 2, chapter 26, fol. Liiia–Lvib).

<sup>374</sup> Gladitz (1997: 157–158) for example refers to the gallop as a gait for charging.

pushed forward at once. In the other gaits, instead, the hind legs work alternately and the rhythm is more even. Only in the gallop the two hind legs give the impulse in quick succession and hence with joined forces. Thereby the gallop gains a powerful transmission of energy in forward direction and is thus perfect to charge against an opponent with a sporting chance of success, as for instance Duarte I of Portugal (*The Book of Horsemanship*. Forgeng (ed.) 2016: 126–128; 131; 133–134) and Grisone (*The Rules of Riding*. Tobey & Deigan (eds.) 2014: 175) indicate.

Exercising manoeuvres like the career demands training of the horse's strength and at the same time a lot of skill on both the part of the rider and the horse to securely aim the unleashed power in the appropriate direction at the appropriate time and with the appropriate intensity to avoid harming oneself more than the enemy. Consequently, the expression of such manoeuvres in Middle English texts can be counted as a display of the respective rider's exceptional abilities.

#### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS

The descriptions of the career and attacking frontally are in practice closely connected and are therefore often named in the same breath in the medieval texts as well. Besides the verbs **rennen**, **gon**, **walopen** and occasionally **comen** combined with adverbs like *togeder* / *ayenes* / *upon*, the verb **springen** is used to render speedy attacks on horseback. The verbs **brochen** and **wenden** were included in the analysis but did ultimately not confirm a semantic connection to the career and mounted frontal attack.

#### ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

For the etymologies of **rennen**, **gon** and **walopen** see pp. 147, 130 and 147.

**Springen** is a native English verb with Germanic roots (OED: s.v. *spring*, v.1.).

The verb **brochen** is first attested in 1330 and was probably formed within English parallel to the French verb *brocher* 'to prick, to spur' (AND: s.v. *brocher*, v.a, 1) after the noun *broche* 'spike' (AND: s.v. *broche*<sup>2</sup>, s., 1) had entered the English vocabulary c. 1305 (OED: s.v. *broach*, v.1 and *broach*, n.1).

The verb **wenden** is also originally English with a long history of form and semantic development (OED: s.v. *wend*, v.1).

#### SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

In order to convey the concept of the career the semantic frame [EQUINE MOTION] necessarily has to contain the core attributes [speed] with the core value [high], the core attribute [purpose of motion] with the core value [attacking] and the core attribute [manner of motion] with the core value [direction] and the subordinate value [frontal], as depicted in figure 92 on p. 221.

Due to the limited scope of elaborations on riding in the *Boke of Marchalsi* nothing about the career and frontal attack can be found there. In the CMEPV, however, the descriptions of these forms of charging are by far the most numerous of all phrased riding manoeuvres.

As briefly mentioned above, verbs such as **rennen** are usually accompanied by prepositions implementing the idea of a collision course of horse and rider. Out of the 188 results for **rennen** in this sense in the CMEPV the 118 combinations with *upon* were most frequent, followed by 35 with *togeder* and 34 with *ayenes*. In that, the expressions for attacking form almost half of the total amount of hits for **rennen**, the other half verbalises the galloping gait (see pp. 147ff.). As could be expected, the distribution of these phrases among the texts reveals a clear accumulation of

occurrences in literature with a courtly setting. Since the semantics of these expressions are straightforward bearing in mind the input from this chapter's paragraph on the corresponding encyclopaedic knowledge, one example for each of the constructions suffices here:

- (248) Reynawd spored bayarde, & Ogyer brayford, their good horses, & ran thone vpon thother so strongly that the erthe trembled vnder their fete [...]<sup>375</sup>

(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 266)

- (249) [...] and þei rennen togidre a gret raundoun, and þei frusschen togidere fulle fiercely [...]<sup>376</sup>

(Mandeville. *Mandeville's Travels*. Hamelius (ed.) 1919, 1923: 117)

- (250) [...] but gaaff the spores to their horses, and ranne the one agenste thother [...]<sup>377</sup>

(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 560)

From these and similar instances found in the CMEPV we may assemble a set of frame attributes and values that appear to be usually evoked by the combination of *rennen* and *upon*, *togeder* or *ayenes*, see also figure 93, p. 221. The core attributes [purpose of motion] with the core attribute [attacking] as well as the core attribute [speed] with the values [high] or [maximum] are crucial for rendering the concept {charging in mounted combat}, since the acceleration is an important benefit of attacking on horseback. Similarly essential is the core attribute [manner of motion] with the value [direction], which in these cases takes the subordinate value [frontal] because if the target is on the course in which the horse aims all its kinetic energy the impact is most powerful. For other manoeuvres like turning, instead, it might be tactically more promising to get the opponent on one side of the horse to better reach him and strike a blow. Taken together with the values [sudden] and [forceful] for the attribute [impetus] the picture of a career or high-speed frontal attack as a way to powerfully unleash the bundled strength of the horse becomes more concrete. From the medieval data it is not exactly clear, however, whether the value for the attribute [initial situation] is [standing], which would imply the career, or [moving], which would mean an acceleration of the initial motion. Here the further co-text has to add the details, if necessary, which the verbal construction alone does not convey unambiguously.

What has been discussed for the combinations with *rennen* can be directly transferred to the phrases *gon togeder* and *comen togeder*. These occurrences are frequent but at the same time in themselves not very precise in rendering the particular details of the action they refer to. In general, this does not pose any problem for storytelling. Especially in longer fight scenes it is redundant to go into every detail in all the many attacks that are narrated. For the story mostly the outcome of the battles and maybe some highlights of heroic deeds are relevant. Whether or not the recipients picture the details in their minds is a matter of individual creativity and experience. Yet, it is worth mentioning that the attributes and values gathered for *rennen* basically hold true for *gon togeder* and *comen togeder*, as well, see Fig. 94 on p. 221. One marked difference is, though, that for constructions with *gon* and *comen* attributes like [speed], [impetus] and [initial situation] are not as overtly pronounced in the combination of verb and preposition alone but require more additional information from the larger co-text.

The rare expressions with *walopen* that allude to the career or frontal attack seem to work like the combinations with *rennen*. Both verbs in themselves convey the attributes [speed] with the values [high] or [maximum] and probably also [gait] with the value [gallop] which in itself can be counted as an indicator for a charge in mounted battle (see p. 167). The two hits from the CMEPV both

<sup>375</sup> Reynawd spurred Bayard and Ogyer Brayford, their good horses, and ran one against the other so strongly that the earth trembled under their feet [...].

<sup>376</sup> [...] and they run together with great speed and they crush together very fiercely [...].

<sup>377</sup> [...] but gave the spurs to their horses and ran one against the other [...].

feature the preposition *toward* and are both from *Le Morte Darthur*, which is a main source for the use of *walopen* in general. Example (251) shows the use of *comen togeder* in the same scene.

- (251) Thenne Plenorius gat his hors / and came with a spere in his hand waloppynge toward  
syr launcelot / and thenne they beganne to feutre their speres / and came to gyders as  
thonder / and smote eyther other so myghtely that their horses felle doune vnder them  
[...]<sup>378</sup>

(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 351, book 9, chapter 8)

Here *waloping toward* is used in the detailed description of the beginning of the encounter where Plenorius is horsed and armed with a spear before taking his course towards Launcelot. In the subsequent action the combination of *comen togeder* is employed, in a moment when the details of the manoeuvre are less important than the thundering impression the action creates. The other example from Malory featuring *walopen toward* likewise gives the action in several steps, see example (252). The first step here is gripping the spear and the second charging.

- (252) Soo syr Ector gate his spere in his hand and wallopte toward syre Laūcelot / and syre  
Launcelot smote hym thorou the shelde & sholder that man and hors went to the erthe  
[...]<sup>379</sup>

(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 204, book 6, chapter 13)

Since we assumed for the verb *walopen* alone to be more precisely referring to the details of the gait, we may carefully suggest for *walopen* plus *toward* that it transfers the biomechanical details of the gait to the situation of attacking. More clearly than for the combinations with *rennen*, we may thus confirm the attribute [gait] with the value [gallop] in addition to the more general [speed] with the values [high] or [maximum], see figure 95 on p. 221.

The verb *springen*, on the other hand, highlights a different aspect of the career which is its jumping character. In the CMEPV we find 13 text passages where *springen* seems to refer to some form of explosive frontal attack. There is the small number of three instances, or in fact three manuscript versions of one passage from *King Horn*, in which *springen* apparently expresses excitement on the part of the horse, see example (253).

- (253) [...] & horn eode to stable  
þer he toc his gode fole  
blac so euer eny cole  
wiþ armes he him sredde  
ant is fole he fedde  
þe fole bigon to springe  
& horn murie to synge  
Horn rod one whyle  
wel more þen amyle [...]<sup>380</sup>

(*King Horn*. Hall (ed.) 1901: 34, Harleian Ms. l. 586–594)

<sup>378</sup> Then Plenorius took his horse and came with a spear in his hand galloping towards Sir Launcelot, and then they began to couch their spears and came together as thunder, and struck each other so mightily that their horses fell down under them [...].

<sup>379</sup> So Sir Ector took his spear in his hand and galloped towards Sir Launcelot, and Sir Launcelot struck him through the shield and shoulder that man and horse went down to the ground [...].

<sup>380</sup> [...] and Horn went to the stable  
There he took his good horse  
Black as coal  
He armed himself with weapons  
And fed his horse.  
The horse began to spring  
And Horn merrily to sing.  
Horn rode a while  
Well more than a mile [...].



Maybe example (253) and the parallel examples refer to a jump on the spot, which would then be a topic for the chapter on jumps. But the co-text rather indicates some forward movement since the action verbalised by *springen* initiates the further ride. This might not exactly be a description of a trained manoeuvre, but it shows that the movement itself is part of the natural behaviour horses show and not artificially constructed. Here the horse in its eagerness to move literally cannot wait to start and channels its energy into the moment of darting off. This is a behaviour that can be observed frequently in horses with a lot of need for movement, in particular when the horse has been stabled for a longer time (Pick et al. 2016: 21–23; 41–49).

In the other examples with *springen*, too, it becomes clear that the attribute [initial situation] is [standing] or [not involved in fighting], which is not that evident in the verbs we discussed previously. The following three examples (254) to (256) give an impression of how the verb is used and how the narration of the career is embedded in the actions of the scenes.

- (254) Whan the knyghtes of the rounde table approched the bataile thei sprongen in a-monge hem so felly, that thei bare down all that thei mette in her comynge, and whan the speres were broken thei drough oute theire swerdes and be-gonne the stour all newe fresshly and full fiercely [...] <sup>381</sup>

(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 215, chapter 14)

- (255) When philip herd of þis fare · grett ferly he thynkez,  
 Ferkez forth with a few folke · & hym in feld metes,  
 Seys þe multitude so much · of men þat he brynges,  
 Brades toward þe burgh on hys blonk · & hys bak shewys.  
 Þan srikes shilly all þe shalkys · & shotes at onys,  
 And pausana þe prince · vpon a proude stede  
 Sprynges forth with a spere · & spedes hym after,  
 And þorow þe bake in-to þe brest · hym berez to þe erth. <sup>382</sup>

(*The Wars of Alexander*. Skeat (ed.) 1886: 45, Dublin Ms. I. 925–932)

- (256) Be-syde hym come þan sir Evwayne,  
 Breme as Any wilde bore;  
 launcelott springis hym ageyne,  
 In Rede armys þat he bare;  
 A dynte he yaff with mekill mayne,  
 Sir Evwayne was vn-horsid thare,  
 That alle men wente he had bene slayne,  
 So was he woundyd wondyr sare.  
 Sir boerte thoughte no-thinge good,  
 Whan Sir Evwayne vn-horsid was;  
 Forthe he springis as he were wode  
 To launcelot, with-oute lees [...]

(*Le Morte Arthur*. Bruce (ed.) 1903: 9, l. 265–276) <sup>383</sup>

<sup>381</sup> When the knights of the round table approached the battle, they sprang in amongst them so fiercely, that they bore down all they met in their coming, and when the spears were broken they drew their swords and began the attack all new, briskly and very fiercely [...].

<sup>382</sup> When Philip heard of this event, he was very astonished, Departed with a few of his men and met him in the field, Saw the great multitude of men that he brought, Hurried towards the castle on his horse and showed his back. Than all the men shrieked shrilly and shot at once, And Pausana the Prince upon a proud steed Sprang forth with a spear and sped after him, And through the back into the breast bore him to the ground.

<sup>383</sup> Beside him then came Sir Evwayne, Fiercely as a wild boar; Launcelot sprang against him, In the red arms he bore;

Examples (254) to (256) show that the frame attributes and values we analysed for the combinations with *rennen*, *comen*, *gon* and *walopen* most likely apply for *springen* in this particular sense, too: the attribute [speed] may take the values [high] or [maximum]; the attribute [direction] takes the value [frontal]; the attribute [impetus] evokes values like [sudden] and [forceful], see Fig. 96, p. 221. For *springen*, unlike for *walopen* and *rennen*, the value [gallop] cannot be ascertained, but the core value [jumping] for the core attribute [manner of motion] is likely to render the movement in some form of leaps. The most distinct aspect evoked by *springen* in contrast to the other verbs is that the attribute [initial situation] obviously entails the values [standing] or [not involved in fighting].

For the verb **brochen** the analysis of the CMEPV produced no hits for the sense ‘of mounted knights: to dash into action, charge (into the enemy)’ as suggested in the MED (s.v. *brochen*, v., 1.c). The quotes from the MED are here reproduced as example (257):

(257) (c) c1380 *Firumb.(1)* (Ashm 33) 3657: Clarioun, þe kyng, Comeþ by-fore faste brochyng On ys stede of Araby.

a1450(a1338) *Mannyng Chron.Pt.1* (Lamb 131) 13093: Þenne broched þe Bretons among þem alle; Man & hors þey dide down falle.

c1540(?a1400) *Destr.Troy* (Htrn 388) 7690: All þes bold with þere batels brochet in swithe.<sup>384</sup> (MED: s.v. *brochen*, v., 1.c)

In the light of the results of this study, these three examples from the MED appear to be borderline cases in which the more general senses ‘to spur a horse’ and ‘to gallop’ blur with ‘to charge’. The aspect of attacking, however, seems to be implicit rather than clearly evoked by the verb *brochen*. In the first quotation *brochen* could logically be understood as ‘to gallop’ with velocity being highlighted by the adverb *faste*. This could hint at a semantic development for *brochen* from ‘to spur’ via ‘to cause to gallop’ to ‘to gallop’, just like we observed for *priken* (p. 109 and p. 153). In the second and third quotations from the MED *brochen* appears to verbalise the concept {breaking ranks in a military encounter}. These considerations are to be taken as suggestions since no definite conclusions considering the semantic frame can be drawn from the little amount of data available.

The verb **wenden** was chosen for the corpus analysis out of curiosity whether the meaning ‘advance toward (sb.); also, go against (sb.), attack’ given in the MED (s.v. *wenden*, v., 2.b.a) is maybe also used in the context of horses, but since the search neither produced results in the CMEPV nor in the *Boke of Marchalsi* this assumption cannot be tested.

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A blow he dealt with great vigour,  
 Sir Evwayne was un-horsed there,  
 That all men thought he had been slain,  
 So very sorely was he wounded.  
 Sir Boerte thought nothing good,  
 When Sir Evwayne was un-horsed;  
 Forth he sprang as if he was mad  
 To Launcelot, truly [...].

<sup>384</sup> Clarioun, the King, came first galloping fast on his Arabian steed.  
 Then the Bretons charged amongst them all; men and horse fell down.  
 All these noble warriors with their troops charged in powerfully.

## 7.4. Rearing and kicking

### ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE

Rearing and kicking are alongside biting the essentials of equine aggressive behaviour<sup>385</sup> and on these grounds have always been tried to suppress in the everyday handling of horses. For training warhorses, however, this behaviour can be useful as long as it is under control. Since kicking cannot harm the rider and is resoundingly effective against any kind of opponent, it may have been taught to horses for fighting in mass close combat, as Clauss (2009: 49–50) and Hyland (1999: 110–111) discuss.<sup>386</sup> It was usually not needed and thus most likely not explicitly trained with horses used for other kinds of fighting disciplines like jousting. However, due to the very high risk for all individuals involved, it is doubtful if and how often kicking was really exercised.

Rearing to stand on the hind legs and occasionally striking with the forelegs is helpful to protect the rider behind the horse's body and attack at the same time. Yet, this action is highly risky for rider and horse: firstly, because the horse is balancing only on two legs with the rider on top and can easily fall over when destabilised; secondly, because the horse exposes its vulnerable abdomen and throat to the opponent. Only if the horse is very skilled in balancing itself as well as the rider and the rider is excellent in choosing the right moment, the manoeuvre can be executed effectively. Since rearing is also a reaction of a horse in fear, it is all the more challenging to teach a horse to do it on command while keeping its physical and mental balance and not reacting on the instincts that might be triggered by the given situation and the movement itself.<sup>387</sup>

The third main form of aggressive behaviour, biting, was usually unwanted in good warhorses because the action could easily get out of hand and harm the rider and his fellows. The reason is that biting is a behaviour that is in stallions connected to various actions on a high energy level and with the involvement of different hormones. Situations in which stallions bite or threaten with their teeth are fighting each other and managing their herd. Moreover, stallions bite the necks of their mates in copulation (MacDonnell 2003: 196). Therefore, biting can arouse a variety of mixed hormones and trigger instinct-ridden behaviour in the stallion and can therefore easily slip the control of the rider. A fact historical and contemporary experts like de la Guérinière (*Reitkunst*. Albrecht & Durand, et al. (eds.) 1996: 270) or Krischke (2010: 29) caution against.

In sum, we can state that a warhorse that is capable of rearing and kicking on demand and only then is a rare good. Due to the immanent risks of encouraging such behaviour in the very horses knights also had to entrust their lives to, one may assume that the majority of knights probably went along without this extra in their mounts' skill set.

### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS

The actions of rearing and kicking, particularly at an opponent in mounted warfare, are not very frequently described in detail in the texts from the CMEPV. The rising on the hind legs<sup>388</sup> is mainly expressed by the verb *areren* and for kicking with the hind legs we find the in general very common verb *smiten* applied for horses as well and the rare verb *kiken*.

<sup>385</sup> For a concise overview see MacDonnell (2003: 128–149).

<sup>386</sup> Grisone (*The Rules of Riding*. Tobey & Deigan (eds.) 2014: 305) comments on unwanted kicking. On trained kicking see Grisone. *The Rules of Riding*. Tobey & Deigan (eds.) (2014: 137; 151–153), Blundeville. *A Newe Booke Containing the Arte of Ryding, and Breakinge Greate Horses*. EEBO Editions (ed.) (1561: book 2, fol Fivb–Fvia).

<sup>387</sup> For more on schooled rearing see for example Branderup (2013: 101), de la Guérinière. *Barockes Reiten*. Branderup (ed.) (2000: 107), de la Guérinière. *Reitkunst*. Albrecht & Durand, et al. (eds.) (1996: 250–251). Grisone. *The Rules of Riding*. Tobey & Deigan (eds.) (2014: 307–309) describes the risk of unrequested rearing.

<sup>388</sup> Sayers (1994) discusses the action of rearing in the context of the Old French verb *s'esterchir*.

## ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

*Areren* is a native English verb of Germanic origin that, however, is only attested in the special sense ‘of a horse: to rear’ from shortly before 1400 onwards (MED: s.v. *areren*, v., 1.b).

The verb *smiten* is also of Germanic origin (OED: s.v. *smite*, v.)

The verb *kiken* is first recorded in English c.1380, but its origin is unknown (OED: s.v. *kick*, v.1).

## SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

In the CMEPV only one example for *areren* could be found in the context of horses and none in the *Boke of Marchalsi*. In Malory’s *Le Morte Darthur* the knight Helyus throws Palomydes from his horse and rides over him repeatedly until Palomydes catches the horse by the bridle. The horse rears and Palomydes gives it a push so that it falls together with its rider. Helyus, however, is such a skilled fighter that he jumps to his feet after this crash and severely wounds Palomydes:

- (258) And there with sir Palomydes was ashamed / & gat the hors of sir Helyus by the  
brydel / & therwith al the hors areryd / & sir Palomydes halp after / & so they felle  
both to the erthe [...]<sup>389</sup>

(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 524, chapter 64)

Here it is obvious that Helyus did not deliberately cause his horse to rear and attack Palomydes who is lying on the ground. Instead, Palomydes scares the horse by rising quickly and grasping the bridle which provokes the rearing as an evasive behaviour. This is exactly what riders usually wish to avoid because instantly the horse’s instincts take over and the rider is neither part of the horse’s instinctive self-protection nor has he any influence on the animal in this particular moment. Hence the semantic frame evoked by the verb *areren* in this single instance does not feature the aspect [aggression] for the frame attribute [trigger] but rather [fear] which entails the values [little] or [none] for the attribute [influence of rider]. This hypothesis is, however, not enough to state any general attributes and values of the semantic frame that would be evoked by the verb *areren*.

From this tiny amount of data one may infer that although rearing is a spectacular movement and could add a lot of drama to the description of fight scenes it was not used much for this purpose in the Middle English texts from the CMEPV. One possible explanation is that in such a manoeuvre the focus would shift from the knight and hero to the horse which could have been deemed unnecessary or inappropriate. Yet, from a more practical point of view, it is likely that rearing as a taught behaviour was rare and thus not part of a typical battle description whereas rearing against the rider’s will happened frequently in frightening situations like a fight and was only of interest for the storytelling if the outcome was exceptional and noteworthy as in the above example.

For the verb *smiten* featuring a horse as an agent, six occurrences could be detected in the CMEPV. One of them is from *The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*, the other five appear in *The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. In *Beues* the hero’s steed Arundel is the one who is kicking, in this case to defend himself from being stolen:

- (259) He went into syr Beuys stable,  
For he wolde the hors vntye,  
And cam a lytel ouer-nye,  
And Arundel also hote  
Wyth his hynder fote he smote,  
That he al to-brake his brayne:

<sup>389</sup> And of this Palomydes was ashamed and took the horse of Sir Helyus by the bridle and because of that the horse reared and Sir Palomydes helped along and so they both fell to the ground [...].

Thus was the kynges son slayne.<sup>390</sup>

(*The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*. Kölbing (ed.) 1885, 1886, 1894: 168, version X, l. 3302–3308)

The sons of Aymon possess a miraculous horse from the land of fairies called Bayard. He is not only the strongest, swiftest and most beautiful horse in the world, he is also very intelligent, loyal and proactive, if necessary, as we can gather from text passages such as the following:

(260) [...] and whan bayarde sawe his mayster a fote, he ran vpon melantis, the horse of Rowland, and smote hym wyth his hinder fete soo grete strokes that he had almost broken his thie / whan rowlande sawe that, he was wrothe for it, & cam towarde bayarde for to have smyte of his hede. And whan Reynawd saw that / he sayd to Rowlande / ‘What wyll ye doo? it is no worship to you to smyte a beest; and yf ye wyll doo ony fayt of armes, com to me & not to my horse, for I shall gyve you strokes ynowe, so moche that ye shall be wery of it or we departe; but kepe well that I slee not you / and leve bayarde in peas, for there is not in all the worlde another so good a beest [...]

(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 302–303, chapter 12)<sup>391</sup>

The warhorses Arundel and Bayard seem to be the only horses in the CMEPV whose actions are described by the verb *smiten*. Interestingly they only do so when they are unmounted, separated from their riders and their riders are unable to solve the situation the horse is in for some serious reason. The aspect that the horse intervenes on its own account only if there is no other solution at hand seems to be crucial for storytelling. Any other action by the horse to aid the hero or solve problems on its own could be interpreted by the recipients as a sign of weakness in the hero. This was probably unacceptable for the medieval mind, especially since the horse as a saviour does not belong to the superior species of man but is an animal, even if it was exceptional amongst its kind. In all the observed cases the verb *smiten* appears to evoke the core attribute [purpose of motion] with the core value [harming opponent] which may take the subordinate value [intentional]. The core attribute [manner of motion] takes the core value [kicking], but no further specifics like [with one hind leg], [with one foreleg] or [with two hind legs] could be discerned, see Fig. 97, p. 222.

Neither the analysis of the CMEPV nor the *Boke of Marchalsi* produced any results for the verb *kiken*. In the quotes given in the MED (s.v. *kiken*, v.1) we find no link to the action being carried out as a manoeuvre in mounted combat either. On these grounds there is nothing more to conclude than that kicking and rearing warhorses seem to play a minor role in Middle English texts. This observation corresponds to the assumption that kicking and rearing were not commonly trained in medieval warhorses in England due to the risks of such manoeuvres outweighing the benefits.

<sup>390</sup> He went into Sir Beues' stable,  
Because he wanted to untie the horse,  
And came a little too close,  
And Arundel so agitated  
He kicked with his hind leg,  
That he crushed his skull:  
Thus was the King's son slain.

<sup>391</sup> [...] and when Bayard saw his master on foot, he ran upon Melantis, the horse of Rowland, and kicked him with his hind feet such hard strikes that he had almost broken his thigh; when Rowland saw that, he was angry about it and came towards Bayard to cut off his head. And when Reynawd saw that, he said to Rowland “What will you do? It is no honour for you to slay a beast; and if you want to have an armed fight, come to me and not my horse, for I shall at once deal you blows, so many that you shall be weary of it before we depart; but heed that I do not slay you and leave Bayard in peace, because there is not in all the world another beast that is so good [...].

## 7.5. Jumping

### ENCYCLOPAEDIC KNOWLEDGE

Considering jumps, we have to discriminate between overcoming obstacles and jumping more or less on the spot. Leaping over obstacles is an action that most likely requires no further explanation since the general quality of the action can easily be judged by the success or failure in passing from one side of the obstacle to the other. Furthermore, it is a movement that is well known also to non-riders because it appears frequently on competition broadcasts, films and other media. It is worth mentioning, however, that if horses have a choice they usually do not jump obstacles but try to surround them. In jumping off and landing on unknown, uneven ground the risk of sliding or stumbling is very high and thus avoided if possible.

The other form of jumps is more related to the actions of rearing and kicking we discussed in the previous chapter as such skips are a form of aggressive or showy behaviour. It is natural for horses to leap in the air and kick at the same time either as a playful sign of joy and overflowing energy or directed at others in mocking or serious fight (MacDonnell 2003: 48; 279–281). Since this book focuses on riding, we will only take into account the cases in which horses perform such jumps under the rider as a trained manoeuvre. Because they had been taught in riding schools, such jumps are now called *schools above the ground* or *school jumps*. Like all trained exercises a horse performs, the jumps have been observed in nature, understood to be useful and then systematically tried to provoke in horses to reshape them as retrievable behaviour. Besides the direct effect of jumping and kicking against an opponent, the school jumps make a horse agile and moveable on the spot and thus enable the rider to manoeuvre efficiently in the thick of battle.

Considering the strength it takes to catapult horse and rider in the air in a standing jump and the aggressive potential<sup>392</sup> behind jumps and kicks, it becomes clear how advanced the training of horse and rider has to be to exercise any of the school jumps. One can discriminate between various forms in which the horse can do such jumps: standing on the forelegs and kicking with both hind legs, standing on both hind legs and jumping with both hind legs, jumping in the air with all fours and pulling the hind legs under the belly, jumping in the air with all fours and kicking with the hind legs, as well as other combinations of jumps, rearing and kicking.<sup>393</sup> For the purpose of this book details on the exact form in which the school jumps are carried out are not necessary. The cultivation and classification of the school jumps has been recorded in writing only starting in the Renaissance<sup>394</sup> and no such treatises remain from the Middle Ages. Hence, we do not know with certainty which jumps might have been performed, let alone how they were taught. Nonetheless, the texts provide evidence that they were executed in the Middle Ages, maybe already as a means to show off riding skills. In any case, controlled jumps under a rider require an enormous level of strength, agility and talent, especially on the part of the horse. Therefore the description of such manoeuvres is always a sign that the mount performing them is of superior quality.

### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GROUP OF TERMS

To express the action of jumping, be it on plain ground or over obstacles, the most usual verb in Middle English seems to be *lepen*. The verbs *sterten* / *stertlen* and *skippen* are far less frequent and for *springen* no reference to the specific manoeuvre could be proven.

<sup>392</sup> For instance, de la Guérinière (*Reitkunst*. Albrecht & Durand, et al. (eds.) 1996: 252) explicitly cautions his readers against the risks of training stallions in such forceful movements.

<sup>393</sup> Grisone. *The Rules of Riding*. Tobey & Deigan (eds.) (2014: 371–375), Pluvinel. *The Maneige Royal*. Nelson (ed.) (2015: 91–105), Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle. *A General System of Horsemanship* (1743 (2012): 69–70), de la Guérinière. *Reitkunst*. Albrecht & Durand, et al. (eds.) (1996: 143–146), de la Guérinière. *Barockes Reiten*. Branderup (ed.) (2000: 43–46), Steinbrecht (2004: 216–219).

<sup>394</sup> One of the first elaborating on this topic is Grisone (*The Rules of Riding*. Tobey & Deigan (eds.) 2014: 135–141).

## ETYMOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL LINKS

For the etymology of *lepen* see p. 147.

The Middle English verb *sterlen* merged the Old English verbs *styrtan* and *\*stiertan* both meaning ‘to fall, to cause to fall’ (OED: s.v. *start*, v.) while Middle English *stertlen* developed from Old English *stearltian* and means ‘to rush, move swiftly; to dash about. Also: to caper, leap, skip’ (OED: s.v. *startle*, v., 2.a).

Little is known about the etymology of *skippen*, except that it is of Germanic origin and is cognate with Middle Swedish *skuppa* / *skoppa* in the sense ‘to spring or jump lightly’ (OED: s.v. *skip*, v.1).

For the etymology of *springen* see p. 168.

## SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION

To impart the concept jumping the semantic frame [EQUINE MOTION] is required to include the core attribute [purpose of motion] with the core value [jumping]. Further attributes and values regarding the manner of motion are optional, as is summarised in figure 98 on p. 222.

According to the results gathered from the CMEPV, *lepen* is the most frequently used verb to describe the act of jumping in the context of horses. In only three instances the verb appears to evoke the value [to overcome obstacle] for the attribute [jumping] being itself a value of the frame attribute [purpose of motion]. One of these passages is from Malory’s *Le Morte Darthur* and the other two refer to the same accident recounted in Ranulf Higden’s *Polychronicon*. In all three quotes, given here as examples (261) to (263), the manoeuvre is portrayed to fail with fatal consequences either for the horse or the rider:

- (261) And as he came by a ryuer in his woodenes / he wold haue made his hors to haue lepte ouer / and the hors fayled footynge / and felle in the Ryuer / wherfore syre palomydes was adrad left he shold haue ben drowned / and thenne he auoyded his hors / and swamme to the land / and lete his hors goo doune by aduenture [...]<sup>395</sup>  
(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 396, book 9, chapter 35)

- (262) After whiche tyme hade soone a disease incurable, other elles for his horse lepynge over a diche oppressede the internalle partes of his bely in somoche þat thei were broken.<sup>396</sup>  
(Higden. *Anonymous English Translation of the Polychronicon by Ranulph Higden*. Babington & Lumby (eds.) 1882: 7.313, book 7, chapter 4)

- (263) In þat heete he took a manere evel þat myzt nouȝt be i-heled, oþer elles whan his hors leep over þe diche, he brak þe entrailles of his fat wombe; þanne leches warned hym þat he schulde deie.<sup>397</sup>  
(Trevisa. *English Translation of the Polychronicon by Ranulph Higden*. Babington & Lumby (eds.) 1882: 7.313, book 7, chapter 4)

It is remarkable that only such few and only negative descriptions of jumping obstacles can be found in the CMEPV. Drawing substantial conclusions from these finds alone is quite inappropriate. Yet, considering some general aspects of jumping on horseback, we may suggest that jumping obstacles outside a riding arena was – and is today by the majority of riders – avoided whenever possible because of its high risk for horse and rider. If the manoeuvre was rare in

<sup>395</sup> And as he came by a river in his madness, he would have made his horse to leap over, and the horse lost footing, and fell in the river; therefore Sir Palomydes was left afraid that he should be drowned, and then he dismounted his horse and swam to the land; and let his horse go down by fate [...].

<sup>396</sup> After which time soon had an incurable disease, or else for his horse jumping over a ditch oppressed the internal parts of his body so much that they were broken.

<sup>397</sup> In that heat he fell into a morbid condition that might not be healed, or else when his horse jumped over the ditch, he broke the entrails of his fat womb; then the doctors warned him the he should die.

practise, it would make sense that there was no reason to reflect it differently in the Middle English texts. What we find instead in these passages is some kind of reminder what happens if a rider overestimates his or his horse's capabilities.

The opposite of failed jumps over obstacles is the skilful display of schooled jumps either on the battlefield or in front of a crowd of spectators. The search of the CMEPV surprisingly produced five such instances despite the fact that until now it is not proven yet whether schooled jumps were already trained in the Middle Ages (see pp. 176f.). None of these text passages is set on the battlefield but instead they narrate situations of parade, presentation and pomp.

- (264) But blanchardyn wyth a glad chere waloped his courser as bruyauntly as he coude thurgh the thykkeste of all the folke / lepyng alwaye here and there, as hors and man had fowgthen in the thayer [...] gyuynge a graciouslye and honourable salutacion to them all where he went forth by.<sup>398</sup>

(Caxton. *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*. Kellner (ed.) 1890: 42, chapter 11)

In example (264) from Caxton's *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* the notion of jumping here and there while greeting the thickly packed crowd in various places suggests a quick movement, maybe forward, maybe sideways or even backward, without covering much ground. This agility would speak for some kind of school jumps rather than galloping which requires more space to accelerate effectively. Nevertheless, especially the combination with walopen may indicate that *lepen* in this case rather refers to the frame attribute [gait] with the value [gallop] which would then need to be accompanied by the subordinate value [collected] to fit the situation of limited space to move. The distinction between a collected gallop almost on the spot and low jumps on the spot is, however, less relevant for interpreting such a description than the fact that any leaping movement amongst a group of people requires highest skill and body control of rider and horse.

The remaining four examples in which *lepen* expresses a manoeuvre to impress onlookers are more clear in pronouncing the jumping aspect:

- (265) [...] & the hors wheron he rode was so plesaunt, that his maister might guyde him as he wold / and he made ij. or iij. lepes fulle manerly / the hors was plesaunt, and the man that was on hym moche more / he was lokod on of many folkes [...]<sup>399</sup>

(*The Three King's Sons*. Furnivall (ed.) 1895: 185)

- (266) [...] and anone came richard, whyche maad hys hors to lepe moche gentylly tofore the kyng, whome he salewed moche humbly.<sup>400</sup>

(*Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce, Charles the Grete*. Herrtage (ed.) 1880-1881: 163-164, book 2, part 3, chapter 6)

- (267) And whan he was on londe, he spored his horse / and made hym to lepe thre or four lepes afore the com pany / and thenne he cam streyghte afore the kyng, and made to hym reverens honourably [...]<sup>401</sup>

(*The Right Plesaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aymon*. Richardson (ed.) 1884: 558-559, chapter 26)

<sup>398</sup> But Blanchardyn with a cheerfulness galloped his courser as fiercely as he could through the thickest of all the crowd, leaping always here and there, as horse and man had flown in the air [after French original given in the edition] [...] giving a gracious and honourable salutation to them all where he passed by.

<sup>399</sup> [...] and the horse on which he rode was so pleasant that his master might guide him as he wanted; and he made 2 or 3 leaps very courteously; the horse was pleasant and the man who was upon him much more; he was looked upon by many people [...].

<sup>400</sup> [...] and soon came Richard, who caused his horse to leap very gracefully before the King, whom he greeted very reverently.

<sup>401</sup> And when he was on land, he spurred his horse and caused him to leap three or four jumps before the company; and then he came straight before the King and revered him honourably [...].



(268) [...] that courser lepte myghtely whan he felte the spores / and he that was vpon hym  
the whiche was the noblest hors of the world strayned hym myghtely and stably [...] <sup>402</sup>  
(Malory. *Le Morte Darthur*. Sommer (ed.) 1889: 755, book 18, chapter 17)

In (265) to (268) the knights demonstrate the quality of their horses and their own ability to handle them in a courtly setting involving noble knights, steeds and spectators. this can be counted as a first indication that the performing horses and riders are potentially the best educated imaginable in their time and that hence the manoeuvres described are potentially the most difficult. Furthermore, the situation of reverently greeting superiors excludes values like [high] for the frame attribute [speed] because otherwise the act of saluting would be discourteously rushed. All the same, *lepen* may evoke the value [gallop] for the attribute [gait] if a collected canter would be the referent gait.

There is, however, one telling detail present in all examples: the manoeuvre is explicitly described to be carried out in a strictly specified and limited number of maximum four leaps in a row. For a collected canter this would be rather unusual since such a short execution of the movement would not bring out its full aesthetic effect. For the school jumps, on the other hand, the limited number of repetitions is typical since they are so demanding for a horse that only very few exceptionally talented horses can even repeat them more than once, as riding masters like Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle (*A General System of Horsemanship*. 1743 (2012): 69–70), Pluvinel (*The Maneige Royal*. Nelson (ed.) 2015: 92) and de la Guérinière (*Reitkunst*. Albrecht & Durand, et al. (eds.) 1996: 248–250) emphasise.

All in all it appears as if *lepen* itself conveyed the value [schooled] for the attribute [manner of motion]. Maybe it included far more details on what the jumps looked like for medieval recipients, but they are unfortunately not retrievable from the sources at hand. The adverbials *ful manerli*, *muche gentilli* and *mightili* seem to only highlight the controlled, refined and expressive quality of the performance but were probably not necessary to capture the act of schooled jumping itself. This leaves us with a rather sketchy potential semantic frame for *lepen* as is given in figure 99 on p. 222.

The verbs *sterthen* and *stertlen* referring to the jumping of a horse could only be detected in their participle forms *stertinge* / *stertlinge* in the CMEPV. Of the 13 hits nine are manuscript variants of the same passage from Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*:

(269) [...] He on a courser, startlynge as the fir,  
Is riden into the feeldes hym to pleye [...] <sup>403</sup>  
(Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*. Robinson (ed.) 1957: 31, Knight's Tale, l. 1502–1503)

Another occurrence is from the Scottish alliterative poem *Arthur at Tarn Wadling*:

(270) One a stirtande stede he strykes one straye;  
his turnynge he talkes with tene [...] <sup>404</sup>  
(*Scottish Alliterative Poems in Riming Stanzas*. Amours (ed.) 1897: 155, Arthur at Tarn Wadling, Thornton Ms. l. 511–512)

The remaining examples (271) to (273) can be found in *Merlin*:

(271) [...] and ther was also the lorde of the white tour, that was a noble knyght and an  
hardy, with vij hundred knyghtes vpon startelinge stedes [...] <sup>405</sup>  
(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 275, chapter 15)

<sup>402</sup> [...] that courser leapt mightily when he felt the spurs, and he who was upon him, that was the noblest horse of the world, controlled him mightily and stably [...].

<sup>403</sup> [...] He on a courser, leaping as the fire,  
Has ridden into the fields to amuse himself [...].

<sup>404</sup> On a leaping steed he turns aside [MED (s.v. *strai*, n., 3b)];  
His turning he takes [?] with pain [...].

<sup>405</sup> [...] and there was also the Lord of the white tower, who was a noble and stout-hearted knight, with 700 knights upon leaping steeds [...].

(272) [...] her sholde ye haue sein the baners and fresh armes glyteringe in the wynde and fresh hauberkes bright shynynge above so many startelynge stedis that made the fier fle from the Calions that alle that it be-heilde made her hertes to reioyse.<sup>406</sup>

(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 281, chapter 18)

(273) Ther sholde ye haue sein many fressh lusty men of armes vpon stronge startelinge stedis, and swyfte rennyng well covered vnder stiell [...] <sup>407</sup>

(*Merlin*. Wheatley (ed.) 1899: 385, chapter 22)

From all these examples we can gather that the motion expressed by *stertlinge* is apparently one shown in situations of pompous parades and seems to be closely connected to an atmosphere of playfulness and celebration. As we have observed for the other verbs in this chapter, the use of *sterten* / *stertlen* within a co-text suggesting limited space to act may be taken as a hint that the expressions refer to a highly energetic movement which is carried out with little or no advance forward. Yet, no clear information can be extracted concerning the specifics of the movement.

The general characteristic that the value [agitated] is evoked for the frame attribute [manner of motion] becomes clear from the various co-texts as well as an idea that the attribute [purpose of motion] most likely takes the value [jumping] being specified further by [ostentation], see Fig. 100, p. 222. Concerning the real manoeuvre *sterten* / *stertlen* allude to, we have to be satisfied with a selection of possibilities ranging from school jumps via collected canter to a full gallop.

The verb *skippen* could only once be confirmed to phrase some jumping motion of a horse, the quote is from Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*:

(274) [...] As proude Bayard gynneth forto skippe  
Out of the weye, so pryketh him his corn,  
Til he a lasshe haue of the longe whippe [...] <sup>408</sup>

(Chaucer. *Troilus and Criseyde*. Windeatt (ed.) 1984: 100, book 1, l. 218–220)

In this moment the horse apparently has an uncontrolled outburst of activity that causes him to jump out of his usual path to which he is returned by feeling the whip. This passage functions as an allegory for Troilus' instinct-ridden or rather love-induced jump out of his righteous path to which he only finds back after fate strikes him with the loss of his lover. From this instance alone it is, however, not possible to conclude anything more than that *skippen* seems to be scarcely used for horses. The value we can suggest for the frame attribute [manner of motion] may be [agitated] and the frame attribute [purpose of motion] most likely takes the value [jumping]. There is no hint that *skippen* conveys a notion of showing-off like we have observed for *lepen* and *sterten*. The semantic frame *skippen* may evoke as sketched in figure 101 on p. 222 is thus highly hypothetical.

<sup>406</sup> [...] here you should have seen the banners and new armour glittering in the wind and the new hauberks shining brightly above so many leaping steeds that made the fire spring from the gravel that all those who beheld it made their hearts rejoice.

<sup>407</sup> There you would have seen many joyful, delightful men at arms upon strong, leaping steeds, and swiftly running well covered under steel [...].

<sup>408</sup> [...] As proud Bayard started to leap  
Out of the way, so much pricked him his grain,  
Until he had a lash of the long whip [...].

## **8. Conclusion**

This book set out to test how and to what extent the methods of Frame Semantics could be applied to a historical stage of the English language and to find out how this approach could deepen the present-day understanding of Middle English semantics. The specific topic for this experiment was the linguistic rendering of the conceptual field {RIDING}, including the wide range of its subordinate aspects consisting of {type of horse}, {controlling}, {equipment}, {gaits} and {manoeuvres}.

Based upon the assumption that word meaning is transmitted most completely if the sender's and recipient's semantic frames are as similar as possible, this book attempted to acquaint the modern recipient with reconstructed medieval conceptual fields and potential semantic frames. The reconstruction used encyclopaedic knowledge as an external reference point that is mostly independent of the transmission of language itself and is therefore able to bridge the time gap between the Middle Ages and the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The context for semantic analysis was established with the help of historical, archaeological and visual sources as well as practical experience and the results of experimental archaeology in the art of riding. Against this background the Middle English texts could be analysed to reconstruct potential semantic frames that could be evoked by the equestrian terminology.

The source material was acquired through a two-stage selection of text samples from the CMEPV. Step one was filtering the corpus by search terms that were run through the corpus' search engine. In the second step the results were checked manually on relevance for the topic. Additionally, the 15<sup>th</sup> century *Boke of Marchalsi* was consulted since it uniquely features riding instructions written in Middle English. For almost all relevant words that had been turned into search terms semantic frames could be reconstructed, at least on a basic level. This can be counted as a considerable success, since despite the sometimes scarce amount of data the method of combining written sources and encyclopaedic knowledge could substantiate what else might have remained merely hypothetical. The resulting semantic frames and the explanations regarding their underlying conceptual fields may now serve as a reference for working with and interpreting any piece of Middle English literature featuring or alluding to the riding of horses.

Some conceptual fields have turned out to be particularly rich regarding the details that could be gathered for semantic discrimination by reconstructing semantic frames. The analysis of the conceptual field {TYPE OF HORSE} can be considered a showcase example for accessing word meaning via semantic frames. The reason is that the medieval practice of distinguishing horses according to practical and tangible characteristics facilitates the conversion of these categories into semantic frames with palpable attributes and values. The concept of {EQUINE MOTION} on the other hand is more intricate and challenging to grasp, especially in written sources. Yet, exactly because of this complexity the investigation of this conceptual field profits greatly from the clear but flexible structure of semantic frames.

From a hippological point of view the conceptual field {MANOEUVRES} yielded exceptional results concerning the manner of motion that is recorded in the written sources. These new insights on the advanced art of riding may help bridging the gap between the well-documented riding performances in Antiquity and then from Renaissance onwards and unveil the still mostly clouded documentation for the Middle Ages. Hence, the Frame Semantics approach has proven to be able to benefit all involved areas of research, especially through establishing links between findings that may otherwise remain in parallel, separate spheres of knowledge.

While today equestrianism is a field characterised by broad female engagement on all levels and in all positions, in riding, training, therapy, research and development of equipment, the role of riding women in the Middle Ages is in the process of being uncovered. Through the research presented in

this book some puzzle pieces could be added, mostly by drawing attention to the idea that in all riding situations except fighting the action can be viewed without a gender distinction. The same is true for equipment, except for the side-saddle, and all aspects regarding the horse and the communication between rider and horse. This is due to the fact that riding is a physical activity that is based on function rather than conceptual thinking and thus abides more by the laws of physics and biology than those of abstract concepts like religion, moral or social categorisation.

From a linguistic point of view some overarching observations are particularly noteworthy. Regarding the etymology of the Middle English equestrian vocabulary, French influence prevails by far over other foreign influences and in areas of specific reference to more elaborate concepts about riding native English words are vanishingly few. Old Norse influence is visible in basic concepts, mostly on biological specifics concerning the differentiation of horses according to sex and age. In that, the Middle English equestrian vocabulary is no exception from the general tendencies in the development of the English language in the Middle Ages.

Geoffrey Chaucer deserves special mention as an author of major importance for the success of this book's approach, first and foremost, because his literature incorporates a large number of valuable renderings of practical, everyday aspects of life that are mostly omitted in other literary works. There is, however, another role Chaucer's writing turned out to play for the investigation of semantic frames. While the incorporation of different manuscript variants in the CMEPV is clearly a downside for working with absolute numbers in quantitative research they are a valuable source for in-depth qualitative analysis. In particular for cases like *poleine*, in which a broad overview of orthographical variants is pivotal for discriminating the word meaning, the various manuscript versions were game-changing.

All in all, the idea that semantic frames might be a useful link to accessing historical semantics has proven to be fruitful. Because the topic of riding is not only very present in medieval culture but also highly material and thus tangible despite all historical differences, the approach via encyclopaedic knowledge was particularly successful. The process of gathering and processing material both on the side of linguistic data as well as extra-linguistic evidence has been undoubtedly resource-intensive and time-consuming. However, the results that enable the reader of this book to look up all essential information on the equestrian meaning and use of words he or she may come across reading Middle English texts have been worth the effort. Thus, working with semantic frames for Middle English equestrian vocabulary has been very encouraging in the way it has provided insight and structure for studying semantics. Now it would be illuminating to see how this approach can be applied to other conceptual fields and research topics.

For similar historical topics in which potential conceptual fields can be reconstructed by using non-linguistic source material for reference and support, the method of accessing word meaning through semantic frames presents itself as a handy approach. In areas lacking such reference material, however, it seems difficult if not impossible to work with semantic frames without getting trapped in a circular argument, since the written texts would then be the source and the aim of the semantic frames and no external point of reference could be consulted for validation. Accordingly, the more abstract research subjects are the less likely an effective application of the methods of Frame Semantics in a historical context seem to be.

In the end, despite all efforts to consider a broad range of reference material of various kinds, the greatest challenge in attempting to access historical semantic frames remains the 21<sup>st</sup> century mind of the investigator. Notably in an area of research as specialised as equestrianism, in which the historical practice is in the process of being discovered and reconstructed, any conclusions drawn should be regarded as hypotheses based on the current state of knowledge. They may and will shift and turn with any fresh insight from any discipline contributing to hippology.

Yet, exactly in this mutability of concepts lies the strength of Frame Semantics, since semantic frames themselves as well as their analysis are highly flexible and adaptable without having to discard all structures and conclusions that have been drawn earlier. Any new idea or better understanding of the past can be included in established findings to gain more precision or a perspective from a different angle, or to add a broader range of associations. In this manner, the semantic frames may grow and alter together with the developments in scholarly debate without losing their foundation – unless, however, the foundation should prove to be entirely inadequate. The flow of history with all its undercurrents, which are constantly reconsidered, reinvented and rewritten *ex post* requires investigation in a fittingly fluent manner without getting dispersed or watered down in the process.

In this spirit, may the outcome of this book be useful for those who currently search for hippological input or provide fertile soil for those who strive to improve the state of understanding presented here in the future.

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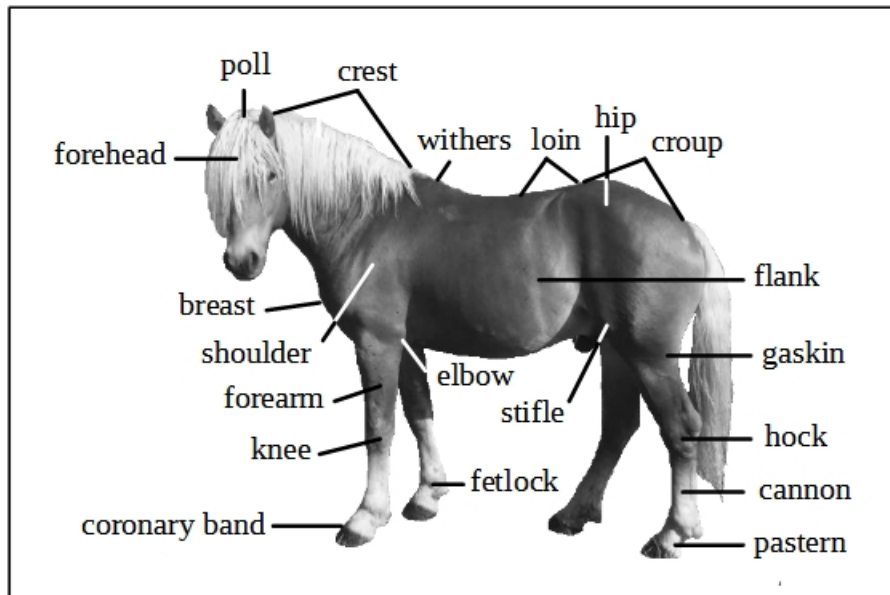
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## Appendices

### 1. Glossary of equestrian terms

Fig. 7: Body parts of the horse



<b>aid</b>	trained signal given by the rider to the horse to provoke a specific reaction
<b>collected</b>	state in which the horse carries most of its weight on the hind legs to discharge the damageable forelegs when burdened with a rider, requires thorough schooling
<b>equestrian</b>	of or pertaining to horse-riding (OED: s.v. <i>equestrian</i> , adj. and n., A.1)
<b>equid</b>	member of the family Equidæ, which embraces horses, asses, mules, zebras, and certain extinct ungulates with undivided hoofs (OED: s.v. <i>equid</i> , n.)
<b>equine</b>	relating to or affecting horses or other members of the horse family (OED: s.v. <i>equine</i> , adj. and n.)
<b>gaited; gaitedness</b>	able to perform one or several special gaits; ability to perform special gaits
<b>haunches</b>	the hind-quarter of a horse, all parts from the croup down to the hooves
<b>hippology</b>	study of horses (OED: s.v. <i>hippology</i> , n.)

## 2. Illustrations

**black colour, bold print:** core attributes and values  
**grey colour, bold print:** attributes and values  
grey colour, regular print: subliminal connotations

### 2.1. Generic

Fig. 8: Semantic frame with generic reference to horses

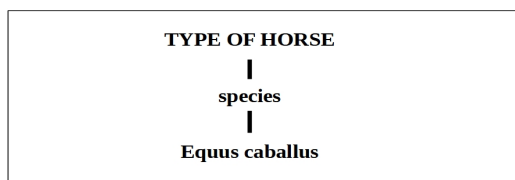


Fig. 9: Semantic frame for *hors* in generic use

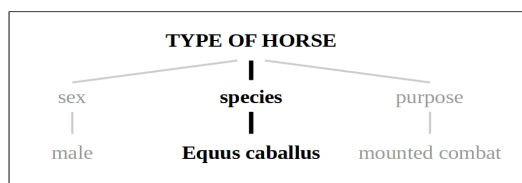


Fig. 10: Semantic frame for *stede* in generic use

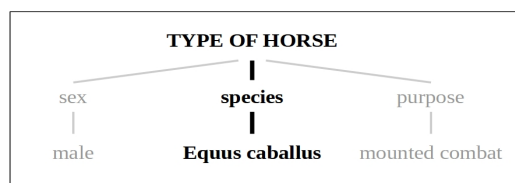


Fig. 11: Semantic frame for *mere* in generic use

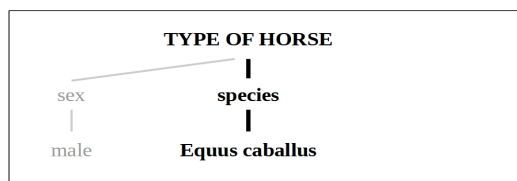
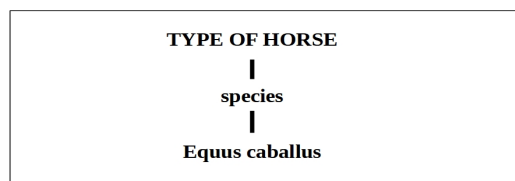


Fig. 12: Semantic frame for *capel* in generic use



### 2.2. Sex and age

#### Immature horses

Fig. 13: Semantic frame with reference to immature horses

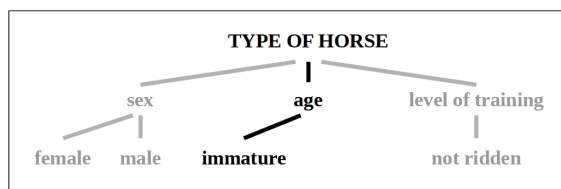


Fig. 14: Semantic frame for *fole* used for an immature horse

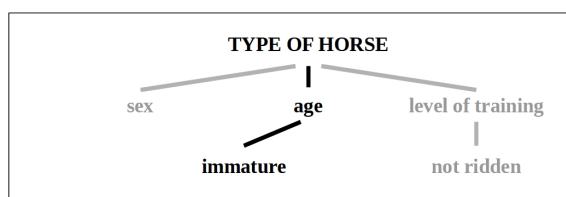


Fig. 15: Semantic frame for *colt* used for an immature horse

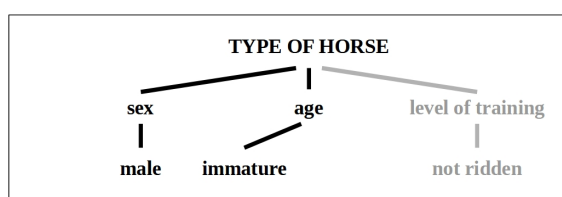
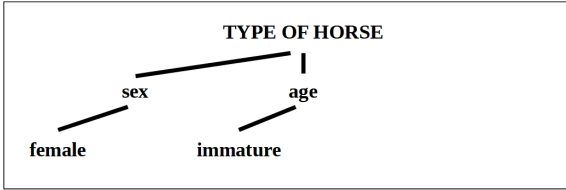


Fig. 16: Semantic frame for *filli* used for an immature horse



**Mature horses**

Fig. 17: Semantic frame with reference to mature horses

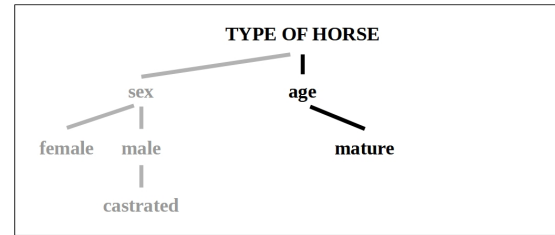


Fig. 18: Semantic frame for *mere* for a mature horse

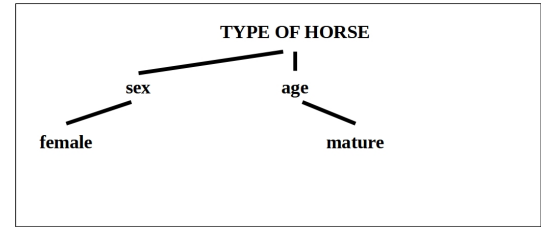


Fig. 19: Semantic frame for *hors* for a mature horse

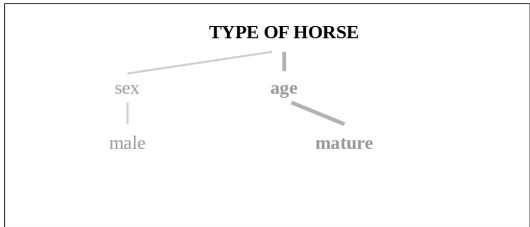


Fig. 20: Semantic frame for *stot* for a mature horse

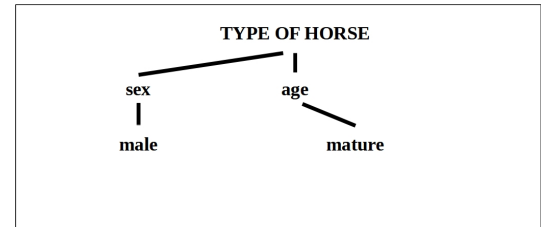
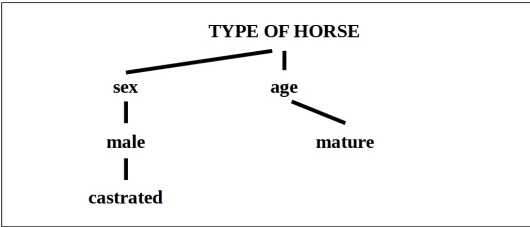


Fig. 21: Semantic frame for *gelding* for a mature horse



## 2.3. Purpose

### Mounted combat

Fig. 22: Semantic frame with reference to horses for mounted combat

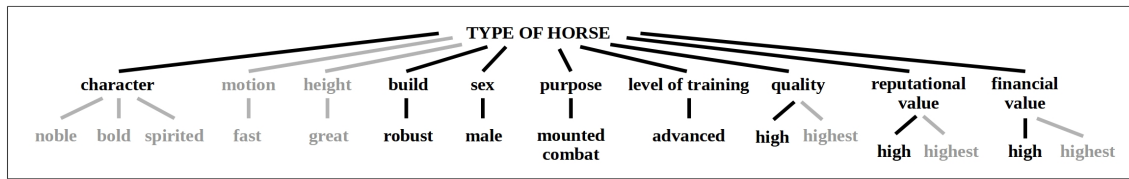


Fig. 23: Semantic frame for *stede* used for a horse for mounted combat

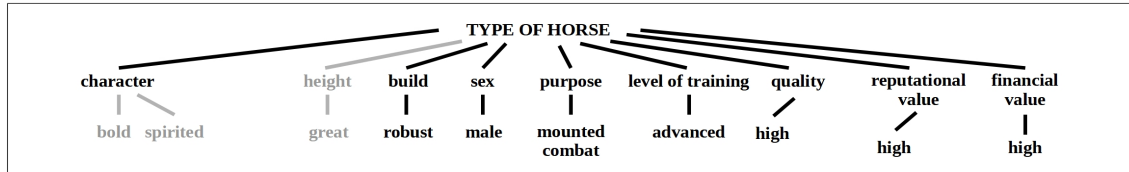


Fig. 24: Semantic frame for *hors* used for a horse for mounted combat

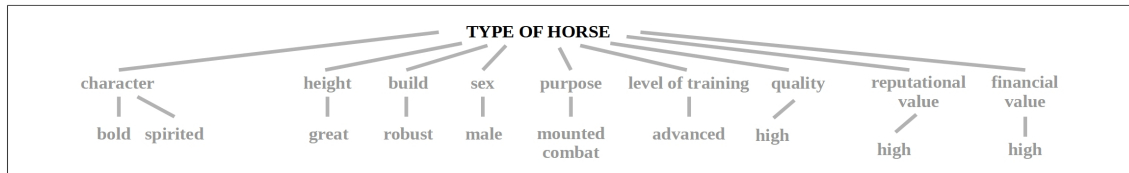


Fig. 25: Semantic frame for *courser* used for a horse for mounted combat

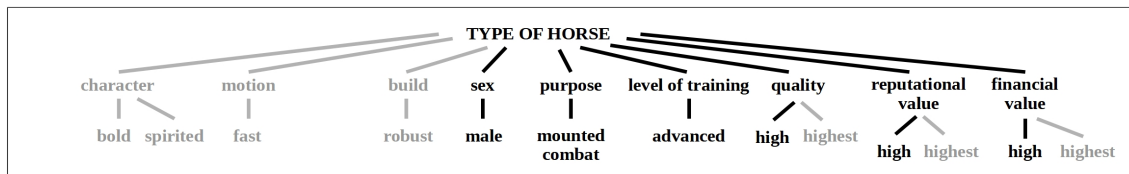


Fig. 26: Semantic frame for *destrer* used for a horse for mounted combat

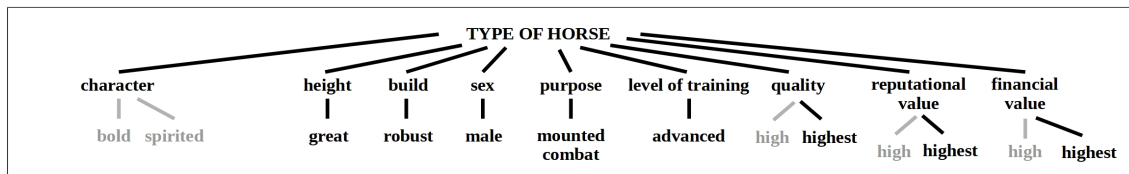


Fig. 27: Semantic frame for *fole* used for a horse for mounted combat

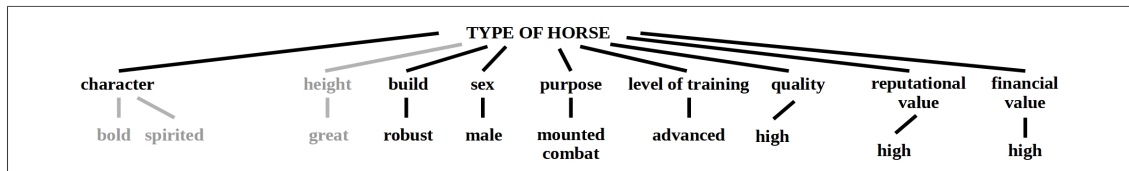
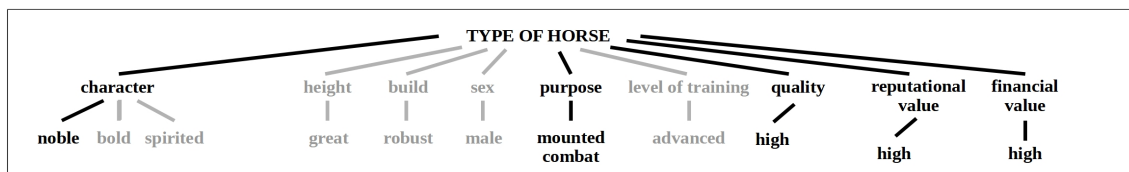


Fig. 28: Semantic frame for *blanke* used for a horse for mounted combat



**Travel**

Fig. 29: Semantic frame with reference to horses for travel

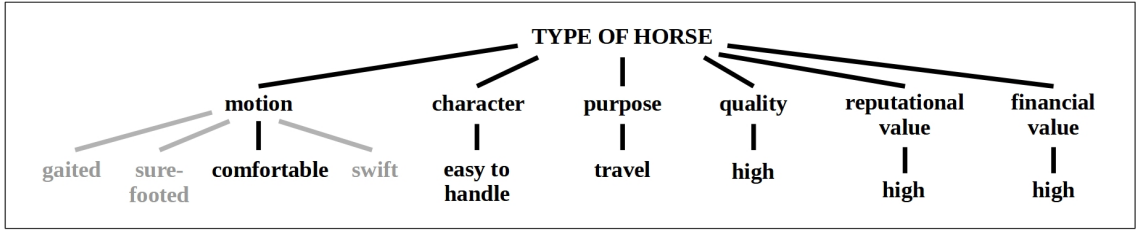


Fig. 30: Semantic frame for *palefrei* used for a horse for travel

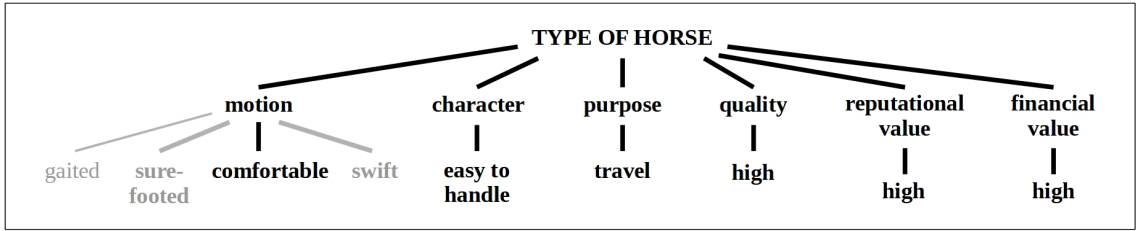
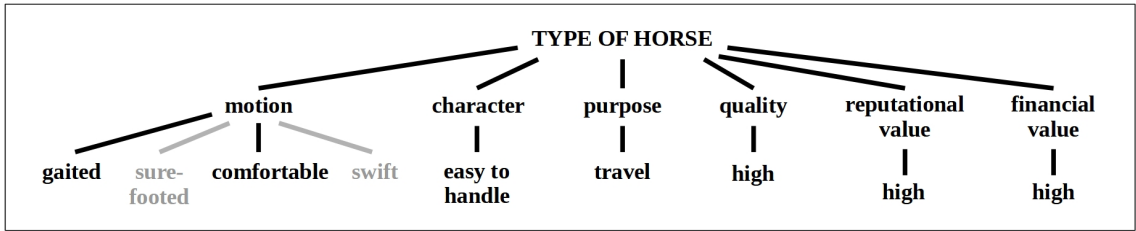


Fig. 31: Semantic frame for *amblere* used for a horse for travel



**Multi-purpose**

Fig. 32: Semantic frame with reference to multi-purpose horses

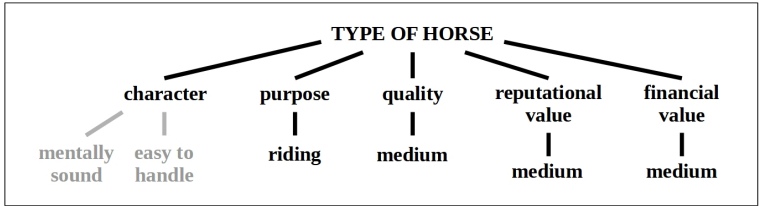


Fig. 33: Semantic frame for *rounci* used for a multi-purpose horse

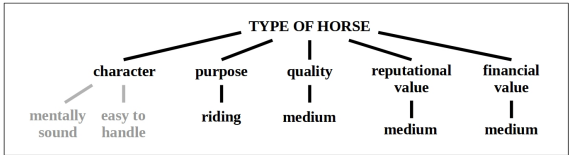
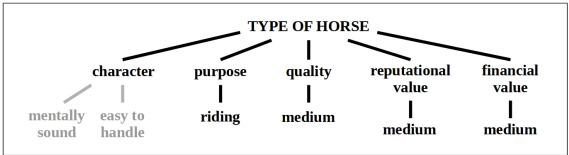


Fig. 34: Semantic frame for *hakeneie* used for a multi-purpose horse



## Not suited for riding

Fig. 35: Semantic frame with reference to horses not suited for riding

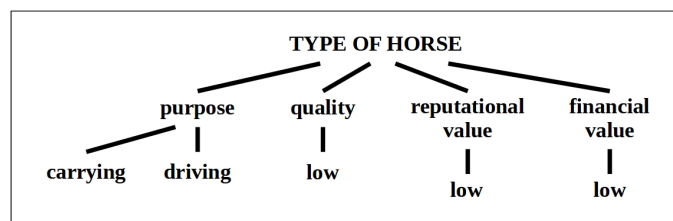


Fig. 36: Semantic frame for *capel* used for a horse not suited for riding

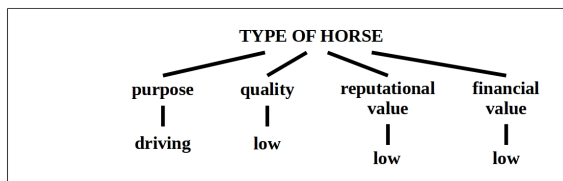


Fig. 37: Semantic frame for *somer* used for a horse not suited for riding

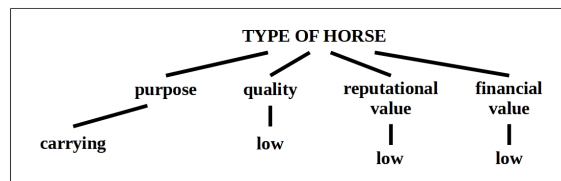
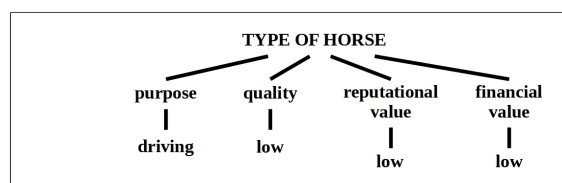


Fig. 38: Semantic frame for *jade* used for a horse not suited for riding



## 2.4. Country of origin

Fig. 39: Semantic frame with reference to horses by their country of origin

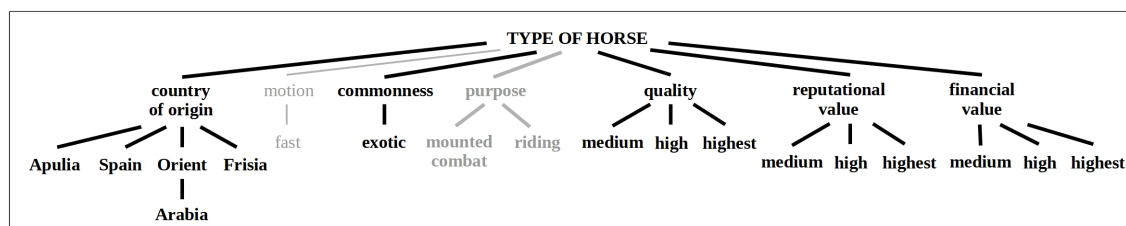


Fig. 40: Semantic frame for *arabi* used for an Arabian horse

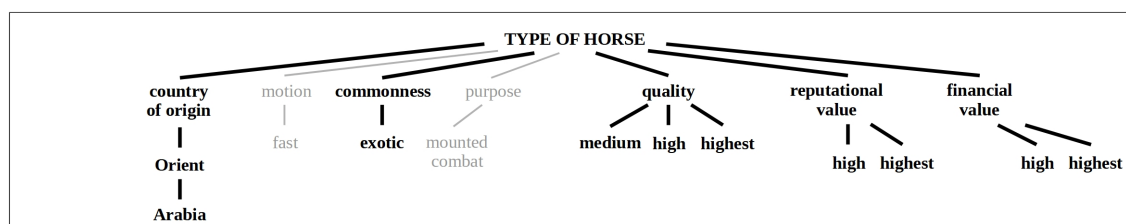




Fig. 41: Semantic frame for *frisoun* used for a Frisian horse

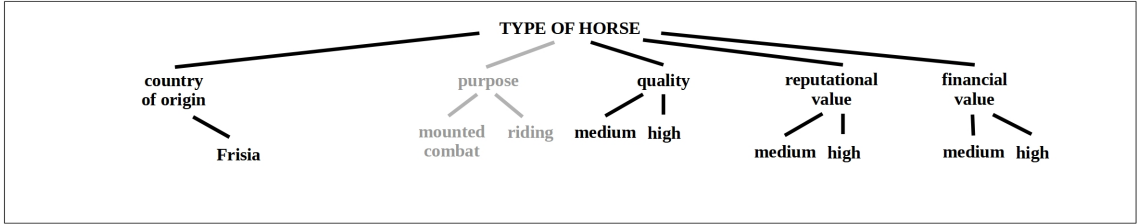


Fig. 42: Semantic frame for *genet* used for a Spanish horse

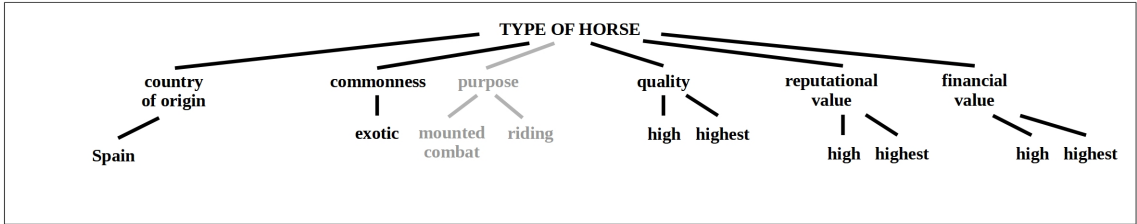
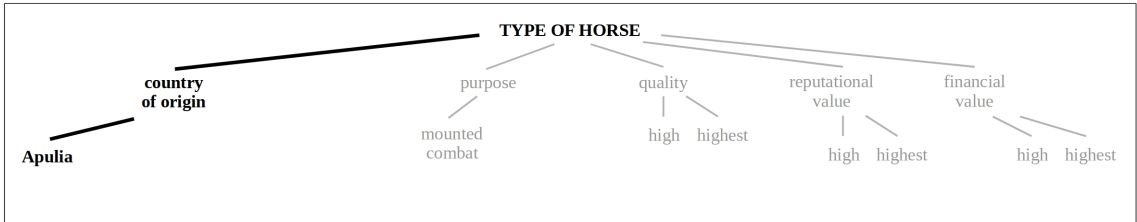


Fig. 43: Semantic frame for *poleine* used for an Apulian horse



2.5. Height

Fig. 44: Semantic frame with reference to a horse's height

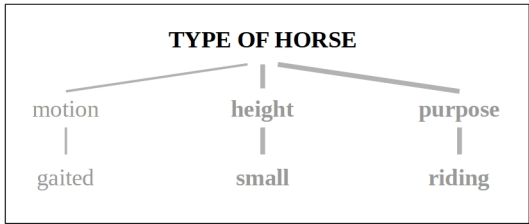


Fig. 45: Semantic frame for *hakeneie* used to express height

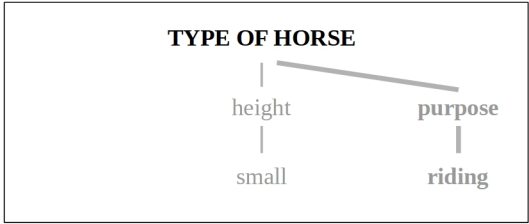


Fig. 46: Semantic frame for *nagge* used to express height

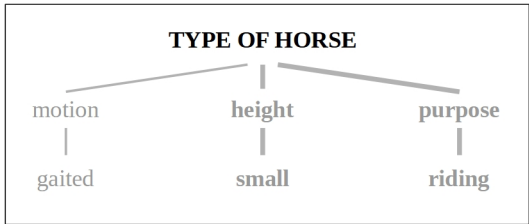
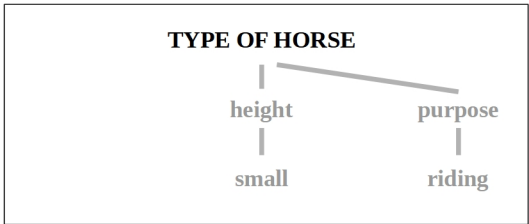


Fig. 47: Semantic frame for *hobi* used to express height



## 2.6. Equipment

### Saddle

Fig. 48: Semantic frame for *sadel* used for a riding saddle

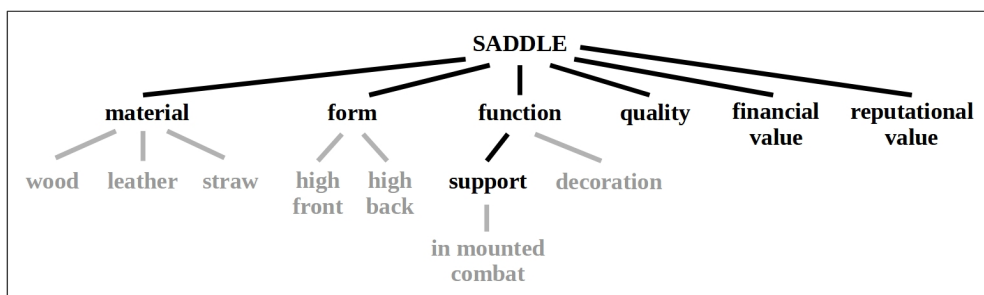


Fig. 49: Semantic frame with reference to the front part of the saddle

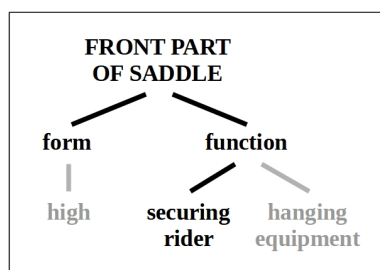


Fig. 50: Semantic frame for *sadelboue*

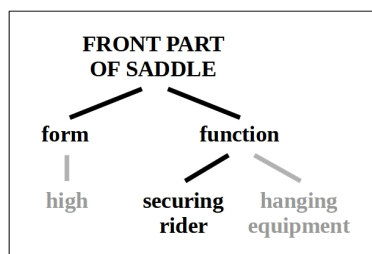


Fig. 51: Semantic frame for *arsoun*

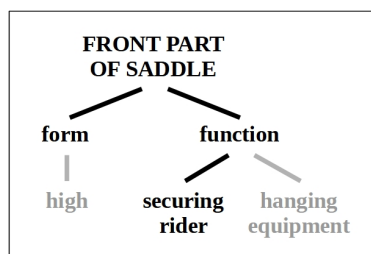


Fig. 52: Semantic frame for *pomel*

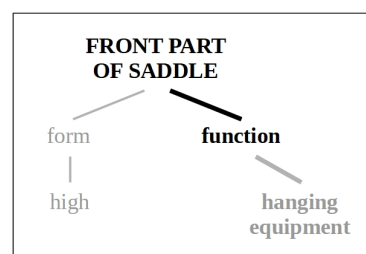


Fig. 53: Semantic frame for *skirte* used for the saddle skirt

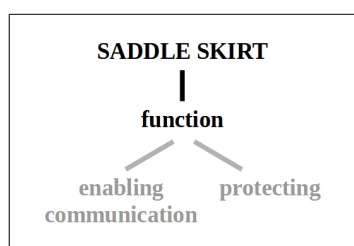


Fig. 54: Semantic frame for *gerth* used for the saddle girth

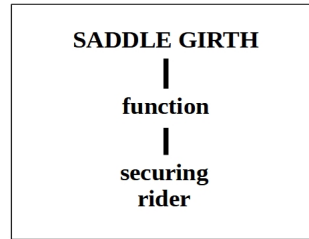
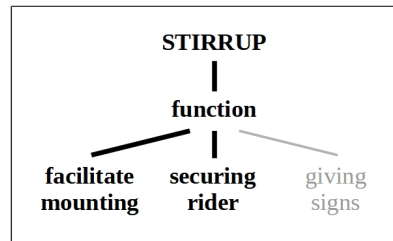


Fig. 55: Semantic frame for *stirrop* used for stirrups



## Spurs

Fig. 56: Semantic frame with reference to the use of spurs

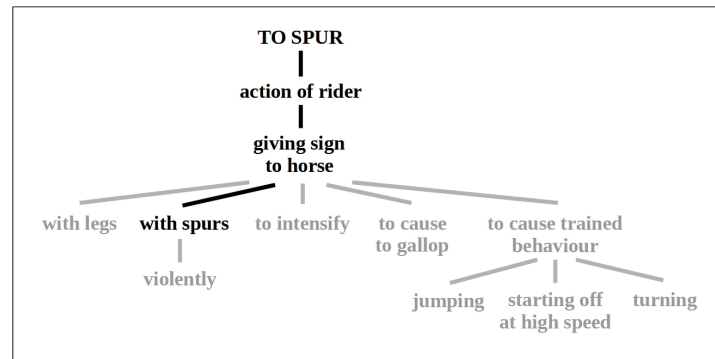


Fig. 57: Semantic frame for *sporen* used for applying spurs

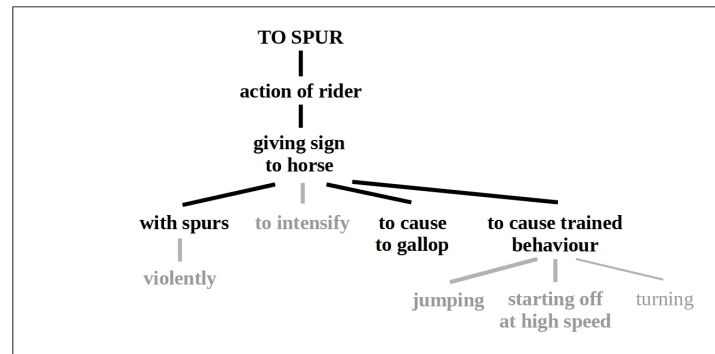


Fig. 58: Semantic frame for *priken* used for applying spurs

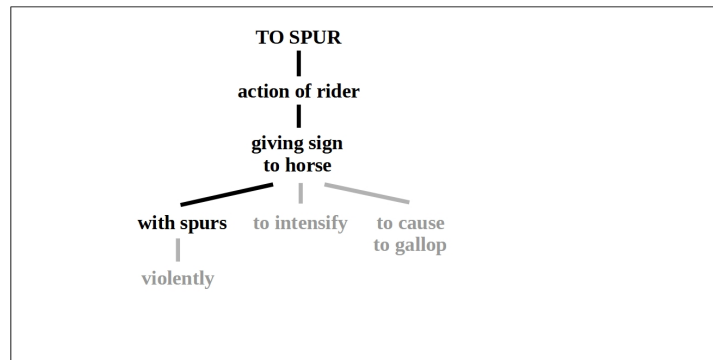


Fig. 59: Semantic frame for *smiten* used for applying spurs

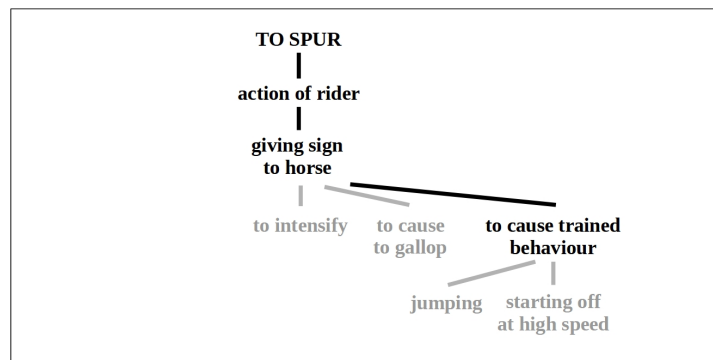


Fig. 60: Semantic frame for *brochen* used for applying spurs

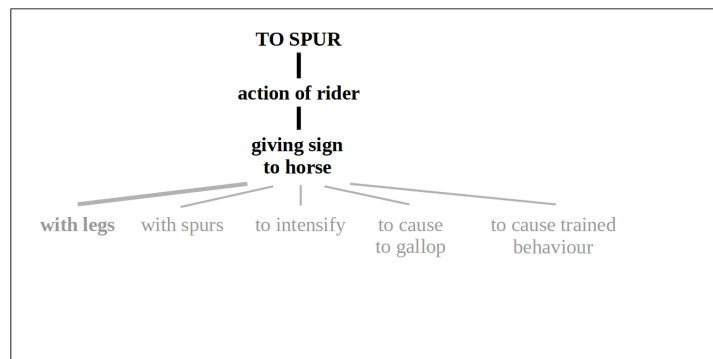
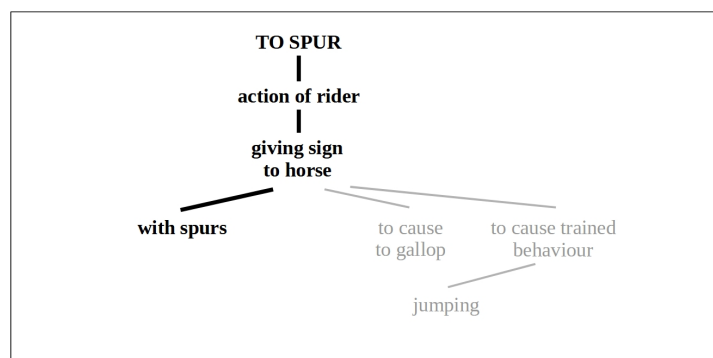


Fig. 61: Semantic frame for *striken* used for applying spurs



**Reins and bit**

Fig. 62: Semantic frame for *bridel* used for a horse's headstall

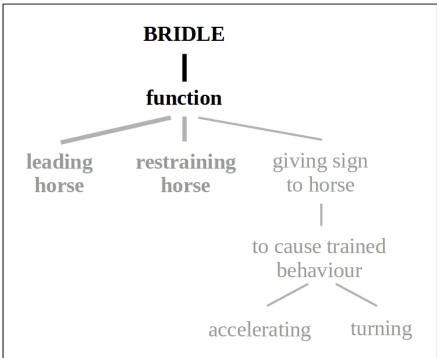


Fig. 63: Semantic frame for *reine* used for the reins

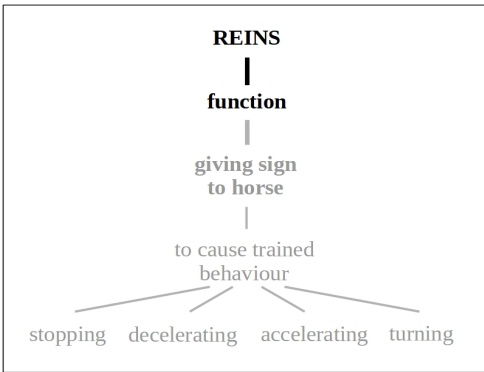
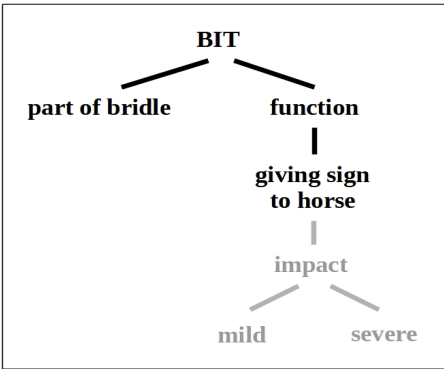


Fig. 64: Semantic frame for *bite* used for the horse's mouthpiece



## 2.7. Gaits

Fig. 65: Footfall pattern of the walk

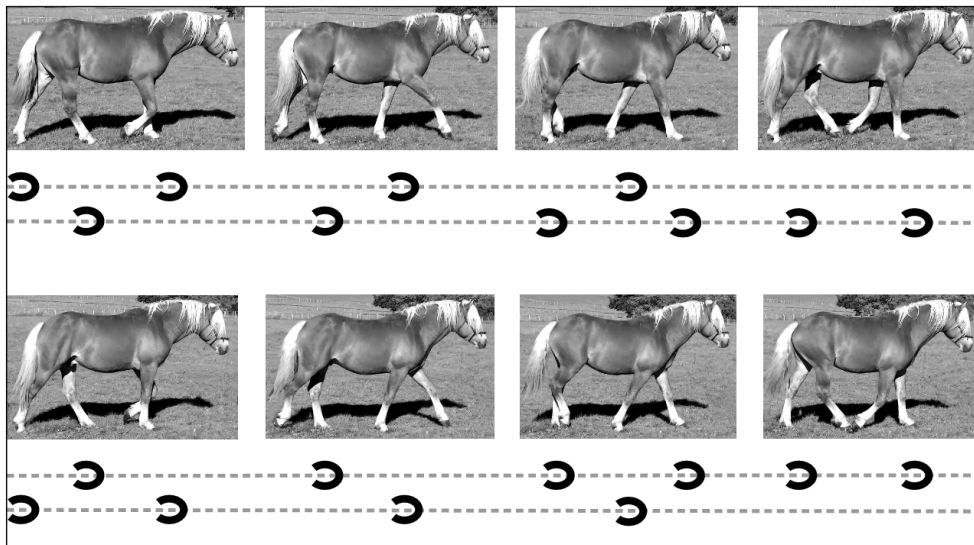


Fig. 66: Footfall pattern of the trot

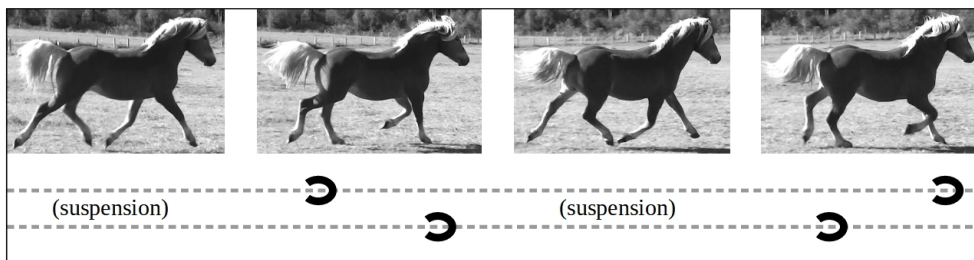


Fig. 67: Footfall pattern of the right lead gallop

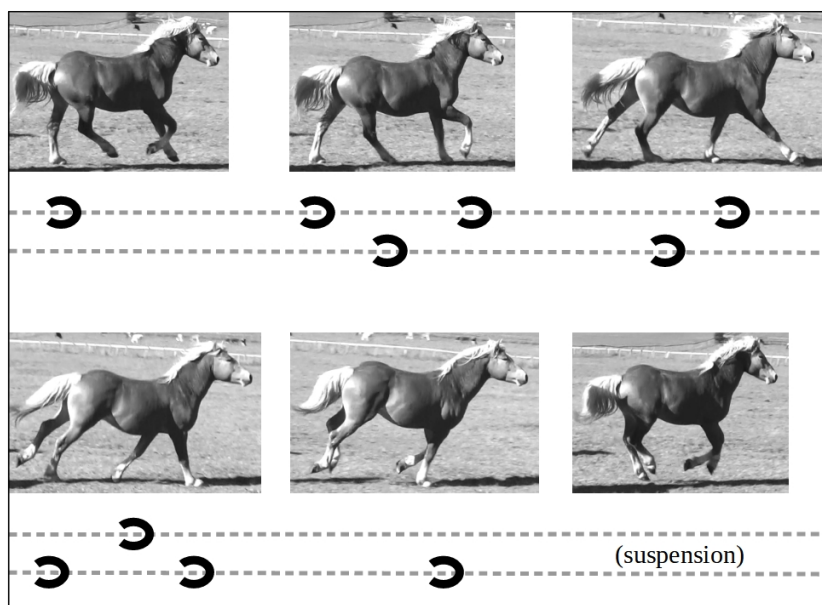


Fig. 68: Footfall pattern of the pace without suspension phase

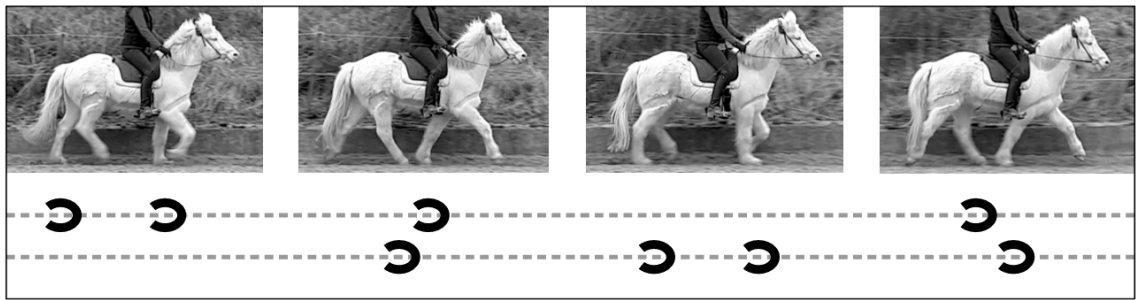
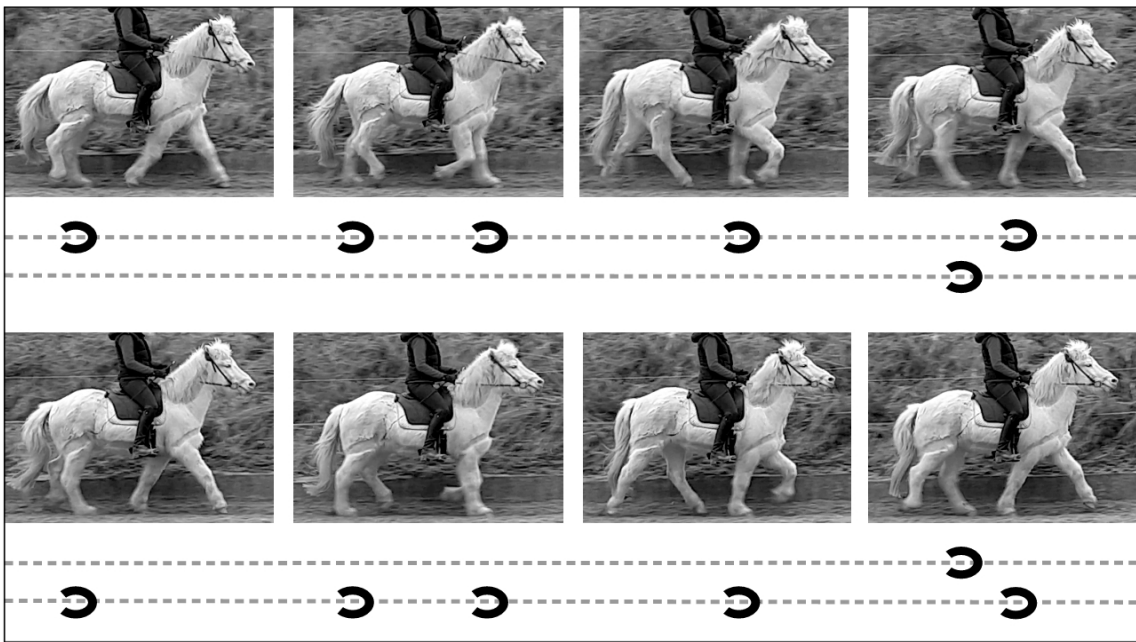


Fig. 69: Footfall pattern of the amble



**Unspecific motion**

Fig. 70: Semantic frame with reference to equine motion

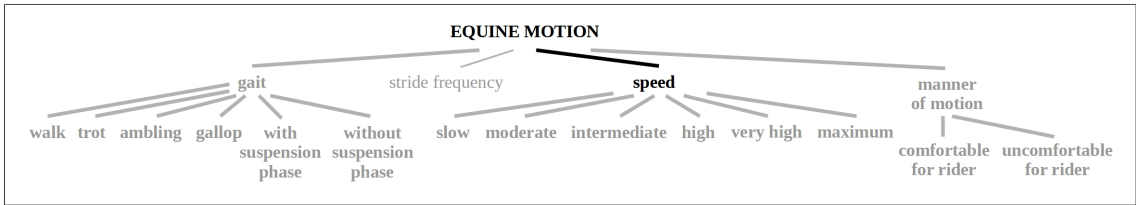


Fig. 71: Semantic frame for *pase* used for unspecific motion

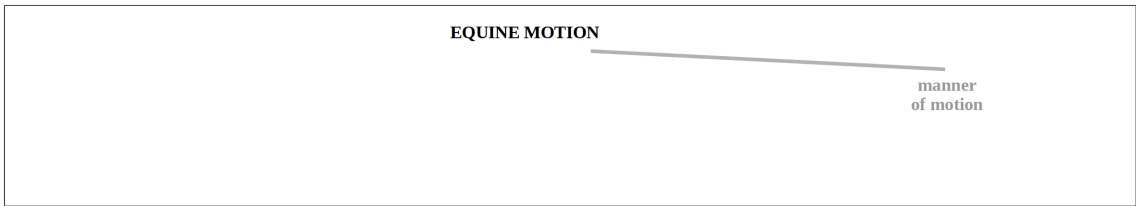
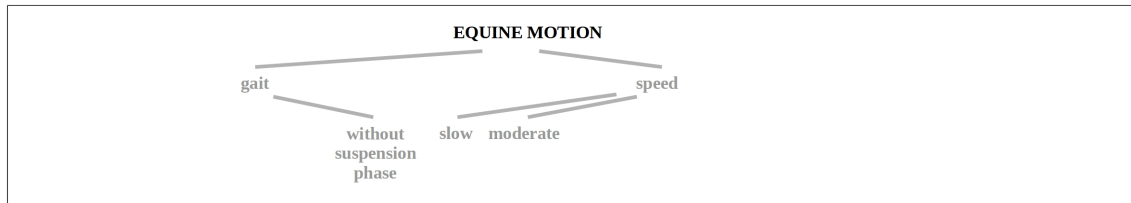


Fig. 72: Semantic frame for *gon* used for unspecific motion



## Walk

Fig. 73: Semantic frame with reference to the walk

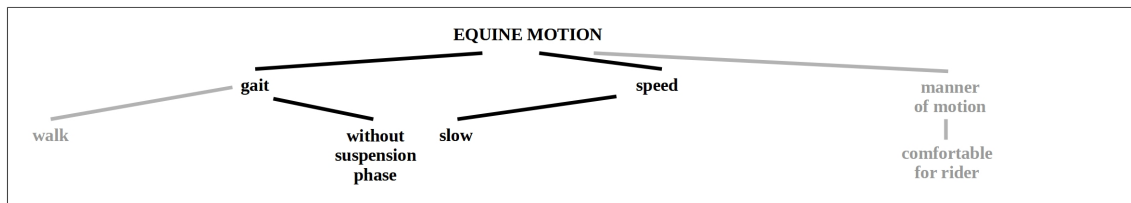


Fig. 74: Semantic frame for *walken* used for the walk

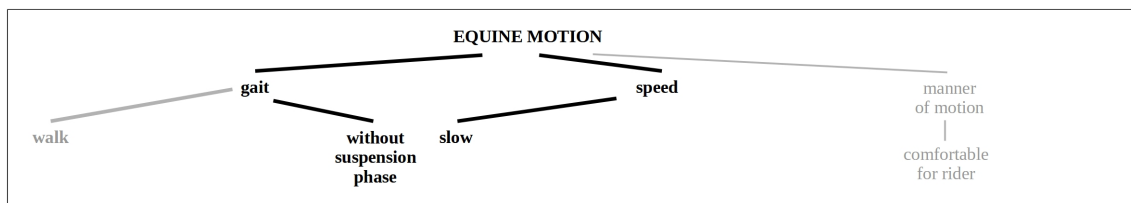
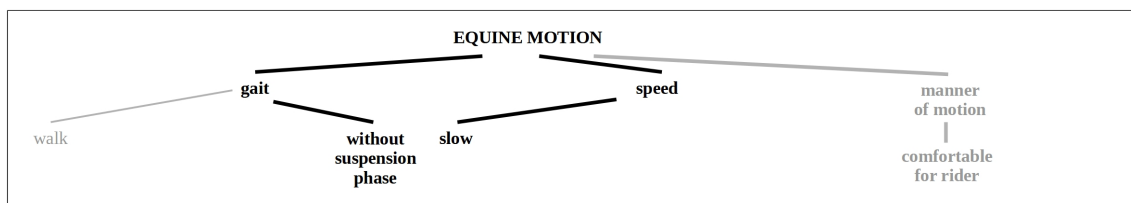


Fig. 75: Semantic frame for *softe / esi / litel pase* used for the walk



## Trot

Fig. 76: Semantic frame with reference to the trot

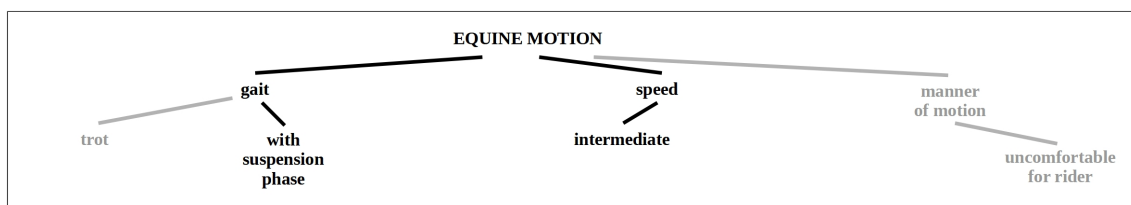
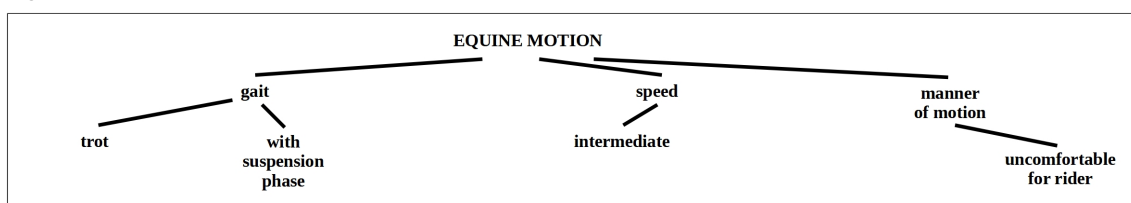


Fig. 77: Semantic frame for *trot* and *trotten* used for the trot





## Ambling gaits

Fig. 78: Semantic frame with reference to an ambling gait

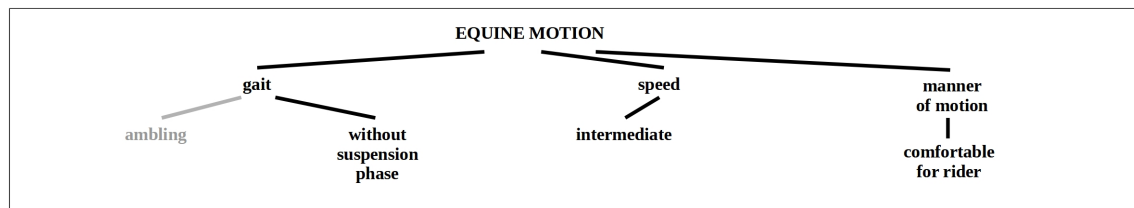


Fig. 79: Semantic frame for *amble* and *amblen* used for an ambling gait

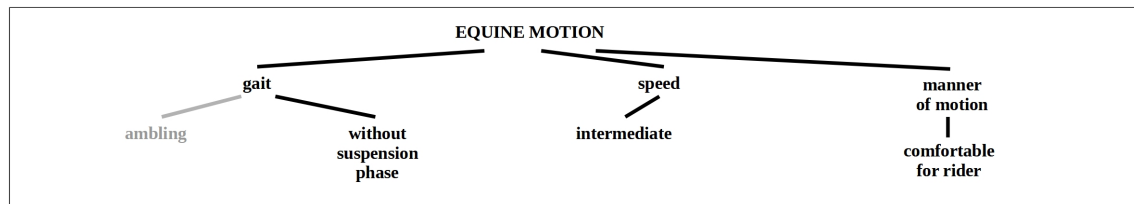
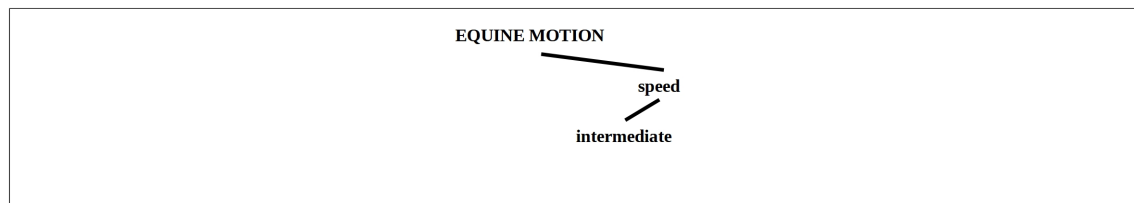


Fig. 80: Semantic frame for *pase* used for an ambling gait



## Gallop

Fig. 81: Semantic frame with reference to the gallop

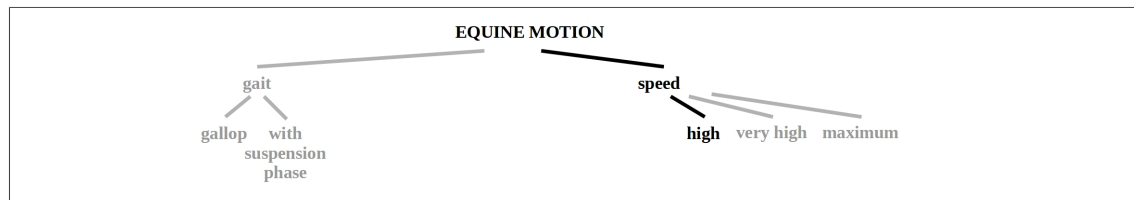


Fig. 82: Semantic frame for *rennen* used for the gallop

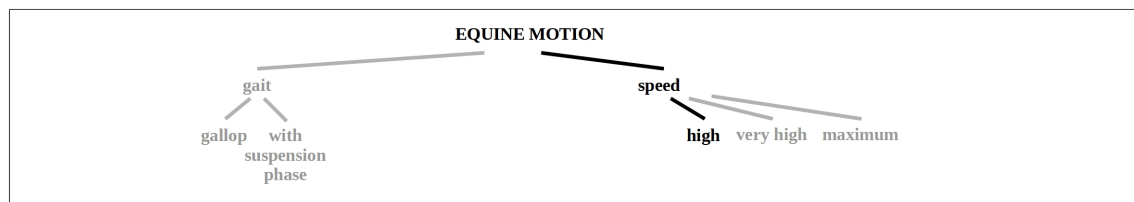


Fig. 83: Semantic frame for *walop* and *walopen* used for the gallop

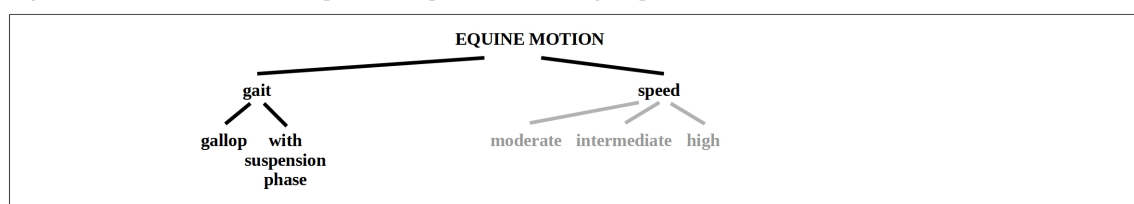
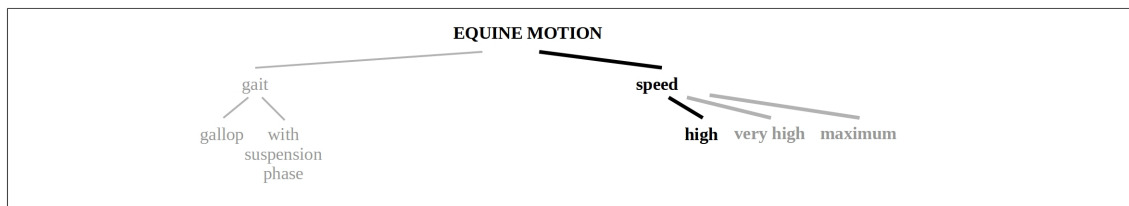


Fig. 84: Semantic frame for *priken* used for the gallop



## 2.8. Manoeuvres

### Show-off

Fig. 85: Semantic frame with reference to ostentatious movement

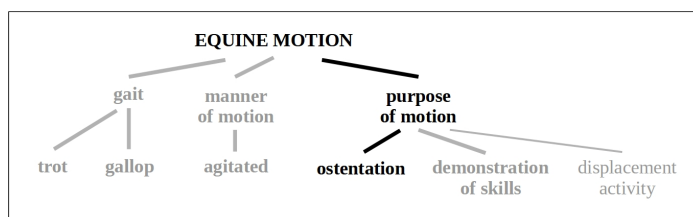


Fig. 86: Semantic frame for *prauncen* used for ostentatious movement

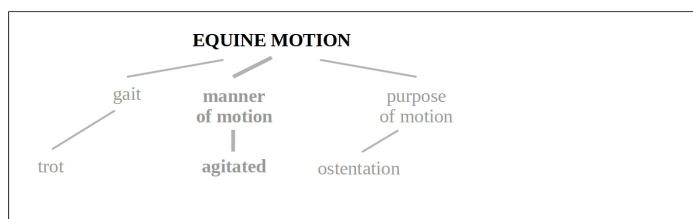


Fig. 87: Semantic frame for *priken* used for ostentatious movement

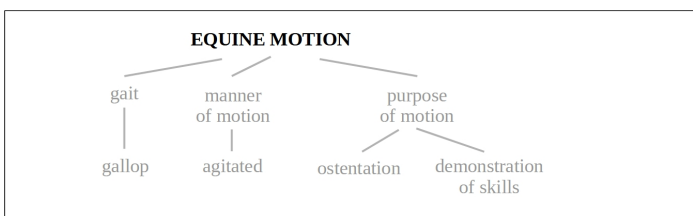


Fig. 88: Semantic frame for *priken* and *prauncen* used for ostentatious movement

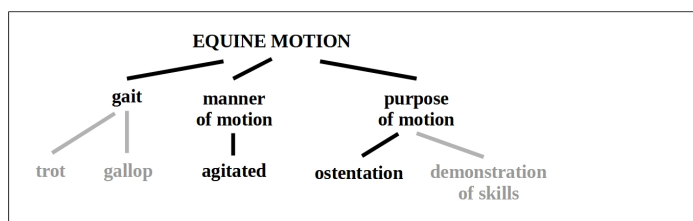
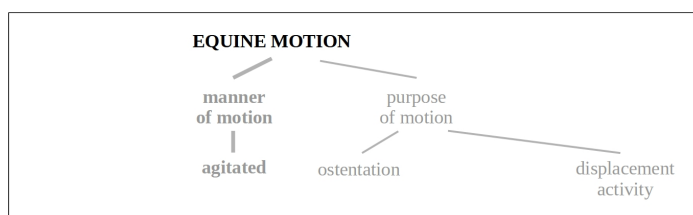


Fig. 89: Semantic frame for *trippen* used for ostentatious movement



## Turning

Fig. 90: Semantic frame with reference to turning

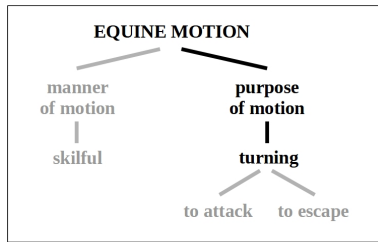
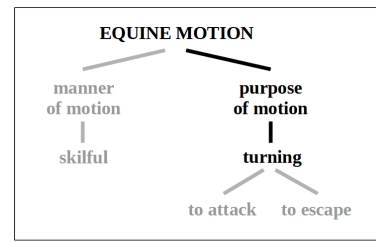


Fig. 91: Semantic frame for *turnen* and *returnen* used for turning



## Starting off at high speed

Fig. 92: Semantic frame with reference to the career

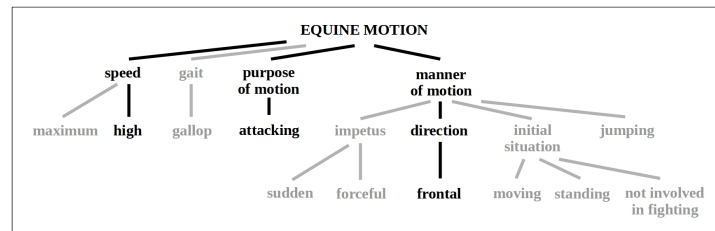


Fig. 93: Semantic frame for *rennen* used for the career

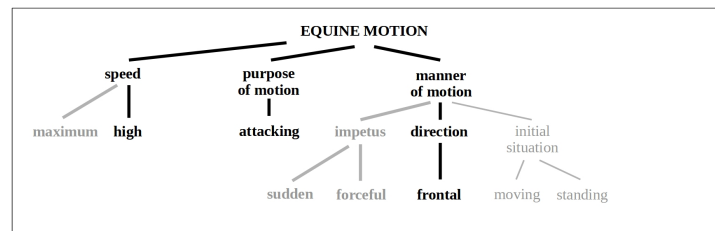


Fig. 94: Semantic frame for *comen / gon togeder* used for the career

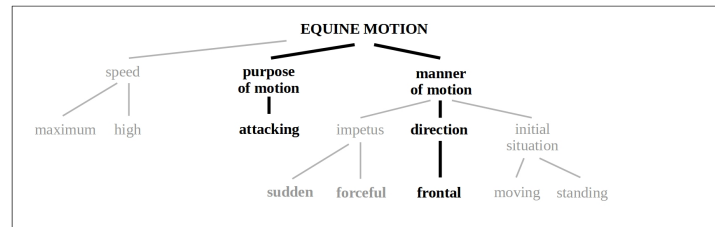


Fig. 95: Semantic frame for *walopen* used for the career

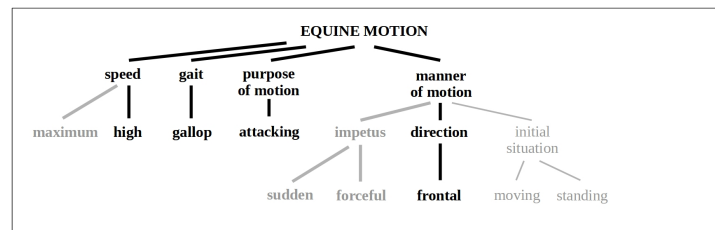
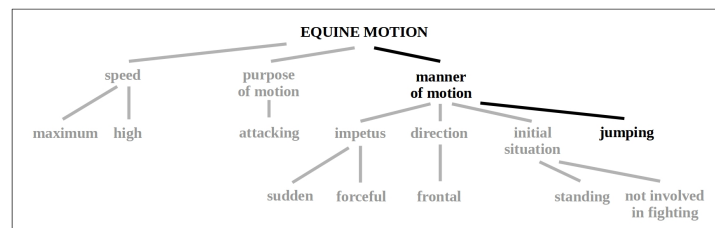
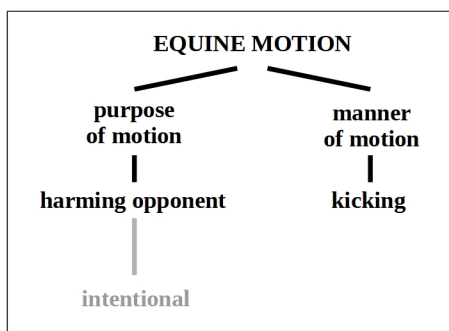


Fig. 96: Semantic frame for *springen* used for the career



## Kicking

Fig. 97: Semantic frame for *smiten* used with reference to kicking



## Jumping

Fig. 98: Semantic frame with reference to jumping

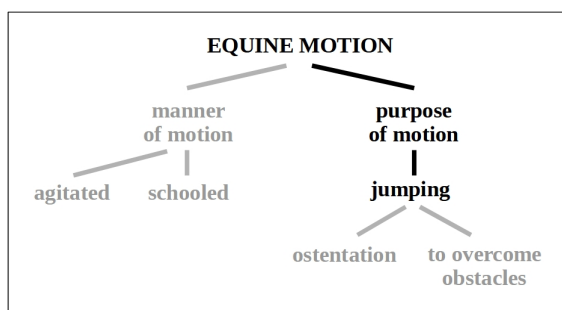


Fig. 99: Semantic frame for *lepen* used for jumping

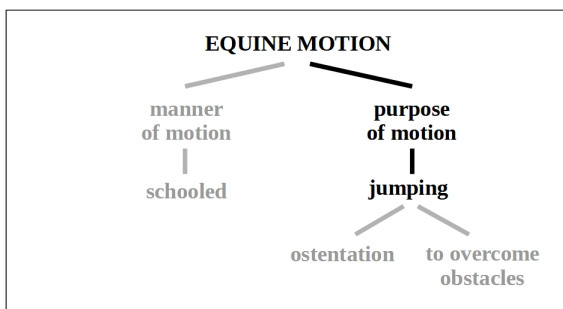


Fig. 100: Semantic frame for *sterten* and *stertlen* used for jumping

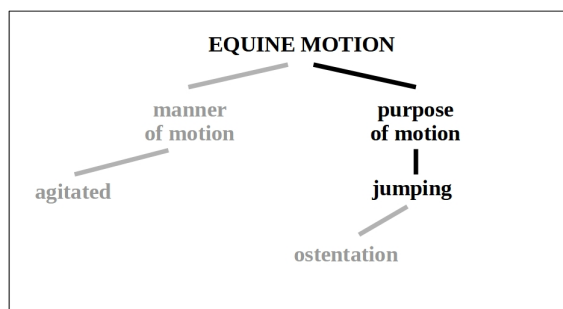
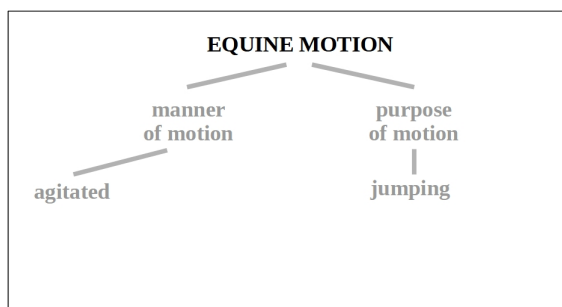


Fig. 101: Semantic frame for *skippen* used for jumping



### **3. Index of terms and orthographical variants**

#### **A**

<b><i>amble; amblen; amblere</i></b> .....	
amb*.....	39, 75, 77, 80, 82, 90, 128, 139ff., 157
aumb*.....	127
<b><i>arabi</i></b> .....	
arab*.....	85ff., 172
arrab*.....	86
raby*.....	86f.
<b><i>areren</i></b> .....	
arer*.....	173f.
<b><i>arsoun</i></b> .....	
arson*.....	101
arsoun*.....	99, 101f.
arsson*.....	101
<b><i>aver</i></b> .....	
affer*.....	83
aver*.....	81, 83

#### **B**

<b><i>baiard</i></b> .....	
bai*.....	95
bay*.....	108f., 137, 146, 148, 157, 160, 169, 175, 180
<b><i>bernacle</i></b> .....	
bernac*.....	117f., 121
<b><i>bite</i></b> .....	
bite.....	117, 120f.
byttis.....	121
<b><i>blanke</i></b> .....	
blank*.....	37, 63f., 73
blonk*.....	73, 113f., 171
blonnk*.....	73
<b><i>bridel</i></b> .....	
bridel*.....	44, 117ff., 121, 154, 166f.
bridil*.....	120, 142
brydel*.....	43, 55, 72, 104, 158, 167, 174
brydil*.....	65
<b><i>brochen</i></b> .....	
broch*.....	73, 106f., 113f., 151, 168, 172

#### **C**

<b><i>cabel</i></b> .....	
cabel*.....	37, 40
<b><i>capel</i></b> .....	
capel*.....	37, 40, 81f.
caple*.....	40
capul*.....	82
<b><i>colt</i></b> .....	
colt*.....	42, 44ff., 48f., 51, 127
<b><i>courbe</i></b> .....	
courb*.....	117, 121

<b>cours; courser; coursen</b> .....	
cors*.....	40
cours*.....	37ff., 46ff., 63, 68ff., 87f., 93, 100, 107, 111, 114, 133, 136, 139, 144, 147, 149f., 155, 161, 166, 178f.
curs*.....	107

## D

<b>destrer</b> .....	
destr*.....	63f., 70ff.

## F

<b>filli</b> .....	
filli*.....	42f., 48f.
fyl*.....	46, 49
<b>fole</b> .....	
fole*.....	42ff., 48, 51, 63f., 72f., 119, 170
folis*.....	44
<b>frisoun</b> .....	
fres*.....	88
fris*.....	85, 87f., 91
frys*.....	87

## G

<b>gelding</b> .....	
geldin*.....	53, 57f.
<b>genet</b> .....	
genet*.....	85, 88
iennet*.....	88
<b>gerth</b> .....	
gert*.....	99, 103
<b>gon; gate</b> .....	
gat*.....	129f.
go.....	107, 133, 139, 145, 157
gon*.....	55, 108, 128ff., 134ff., 138, 141, 147, 151, 157f., 168f., 172
goo.....	137, 146, 151, 157, 177
goon*.....	157
gooth*.....	39, 142
goth*.....	157
went*.....	69, 90, 105, 108f., 112, 114, 131, 134, 137, 148, 157f., 178

## H

<b>hakeneie</b> .....	
hak*.....	78ff., 86, 89f.
<b>hengest</b> .....	
hæng*.....	56
heng*.....	53, 56
<b>hobi</b> .....	
hobi*.....	89, 91
hoby*.....	87, 91
<b>hors</b> .....	
hors*.....	37ff., 45ff., 53ff., 63, 65, 67ff., 72f., 75f., 83, 85f., 91f., 100ff., 107ff., 114, 116, 119, 122, 130ff., 134, 136f., 139f., 142ff., 148ff., 156ff., 160ff., 166f., 169ff., 174f., 177ff.

## J

<i>jade</i> .....	
jade* .....	81, 83
<i>justere</i> .....	
iust* .....	100
just* .....	63f., 72

## K

<i>kiken</i> .....	
kik* .....	173ff.

## L

<i>lepen</i> .....	
leep* .....	54, 101, 112, 166, 177
lep* .....	65, 75, 82, 87, 90, 93, 108, 112, 116, 119, 137, 142, 147, 154f., 157, 176ff.
lup* .....	155

## M

<i>mere</i> .....	
mare* .....	40, 43, 55, 157
mere* .....	37, 39f., 49ff., 57

## N

<i>nagge</i> .....	
nag* .....	89f.

## P

<i>palefrei</i> .....	
palefr* .....	76, 79
palfri* .....	65, 71, 75f., 120, 144, 161, 166
<i>pase; passen</i> .....	
paa* .....	76, 107, 120, 131, 133, 135, 137, 139f., 143, 145f., 152, 157
pac* .....	137
pas* .....	107, 128ff., 132ff., 143, 145ff., 151f., 156ff.
pees* .....	139, 143, 146
<i>poleine</i> .....	
polein* .....	42, 46ff., 85, 88
poleyn* .....	46
puyleyn* .....	46
<i>pomel</i> .....	
pomel* .....	99, 102
<i>prauncen</i> .....	
pranc* .....	161
prank* .....	159, 161
praunc* .....	159ff.
prauns* .....	161
<i>priken</i> .....	
prek* .....	109f., 153, 156
prik* .....	106f., 109ff., 128, 131f., 139, 146f., 152ff., 156, 159ff., 172
pryc* .....	67, 154
pryk* .....	104, 110f., 161
<b>R</b>	
<i>reine; reinen</i> .....	
rayn* .....	118ff., 158

rein*	117ff.
reyne*	101, 120, 162
<b>rennen</b>	
arn*	109
earn*	149f.
ran*	93, 108, 110, 114, 118, 148ff., 169, 175
rein*	149
renn*	41, 45, 55, 63, 103, 105, 108ff., 113ff., 128, 130, 132, 134f., 146ff., 154, 157f., 168ff., 172, 180
ron*	131, 152
<b>returnen</b>	
retorn*	137
return*	118, 120, 164ff.
<b>riden</b>	
red*	107
rid*	44, 46, 57, 67, 69, 75, 107, 128ff., 134ff., 138f., 141, 146f., 151f., 156ff., 179
rod*	69, 78, 80, 87, 90, 114, 120, 131, 137, 143, 146, 149, 151f., 156, 170, 178
ryd*	40f., 76, 80, 83, 100, 107, 110, 122, 130f., 133, 135, 137, 139, 142, 161
<b>rodde</b>	
rodd	122
<b>roile</b>	
roil*	63f., 74
<b>rounci</b>	
rounc*	37, 78f., 83f., 87, 91
rouns*	79, 87
runc*	79
<b>S</b>	
<b>sadel</b>	
sadel*	43, 65, 99ff., 115, 122
sadil*	73, 101f.
sadl*	103f.
sadul*	104
<b>sadelboue</b>	
sadel*	100ff., 166
sadil*	101
<b>skippen</b>	
skip*	160, 176f., 180
<b>skirte</b>	
skirt*	99, 102f.
<b>smiten</b>	
smet*	107
smit*	106ff., 111ff., 173ff.
smoot*	111
smot*	69, 111f., 131, 174f.
smyt*	120
<b>somer</b>	
somer*	81f.
<b>spore; sporen</b>	
spor*	69, 106ff., 119, 131, 133f., 139, 154, 169, 178f.
spur*	110, 122, 142
<b>springen</b>	
spring*	168, 170ff., 176f.



spron*	111, 171
spryng*	111, 114, 171
<b>stagge</b>	
stag*	42, 46, 48f.
<b>staloun</b>	
stalo*	53, 56f.
<b>stede</b>	
start*	69
sted*...	37ff., 42, 45f., 56, 63ff., 72f., 76, 80, 87, 91, 109ff., 114ff., 120, 148, 151, 155, 160, 162, 166, 171f., 179f.
steed*	38f., 46f., 67, 70, 108, 112, 153
<b>sterten</b>	
start*	69, 179f.
stert*	176f., 179f.
stirt*	179
<b>stirop</b>	
sterep*	104
sterop*	104
stiropp*	99, 101ff.
styrop*	104, 112
<b>stode mere</b>	
stod*	49ff.
stud*	49f.
<b>stot</b>	
stot*	53, 56f., 72, 81ff.
<b>striken</b>	
strik*	106f., 114ff.
strok*	114ff.
<b>T</b>	
<b>trippen</b>	
trip*	159, 162
<b>trot; trotten</b>	
trot*	93, 107, 128, 130f., 133, 138ff., 143, 146, 155
<b>turnen</b>	
torn*	93, 119, 165
tourn*	167
turn*	54, 66, 101f., 114, 118ff., 131, 152, 164ff., 179
<b>W</b>	
<b>walken</b>	
walk*	128, 135f.
<b>walop; walopen</b>	
wallop*	151, 170
walop*	113f., 128, 131ff., 146ff., 156, 168ff., 172, 178
<b>wenden</b>	
wend*	168, 172
<b>Y</b>	
<b>yerling</b>	
yerl*	42, 48

## **4. Results of the CMEPV search**

### **4.1. Search terms**

The following list of search terms for each lemma that have been applied to the CMEPV are sorted by the number of hits they produced.

The numbers are given as (number analysed / **number relevant**).

Note: all numbers refer to the pre-2018 version of the CMEPV!

#### ***amble; amblen; amblere* (1001/70)**

amb\* (898/58); aumb\* (21/8); awmb\* (2/2); haml\* (39/1); enamb\* (1/1); hamb\* (33/0); aml\* (7/0); haumb\* (0/0)

#### ***arabi* (873/10)**

raby\* (43/6); arrab\* (29/2); arab\* (736/1); rabi\* (45/1); rabbi\* (14/0); rabby\* (6/0)

#### ***areren* (1985/1)**

arer\* (577/1); rer\* (1052/0); arrer\* (122/0); rar\* (109/0); arrear\* (46/0); arar\* (34/0); rear\* (12/0); arær\* (12/0); rær\* (6/0); reer\* (5/0); arear\* (4/0); rair\* (3/0); erear\* (1/0); rayr\* (1/0); reyr\* (1/0); areyr\* (0/0)

#### ***arsoun* (42/40)**

arson\* (21/21); arsoun\* (16/16); arstown\* (1/1); arsson\* (1/1); harsun\* (1/1); arsun\* (1/0); harson\* (1/0); arsonn\* (0/0); arsyon\* (0/0); harsoun\* (0/0)

#### ***aver* (1436/0)**

afer\* (875/0); affer\* (450/0); aver\* (111/0)

#### ***baiard* (5503/302)**

bay\* (974/293); bai\* (1012/9); bey\* (1801/0); bei\* (1716/0)

#### ***bernacle* (44/10)**

bernac\* (12/10); bernic\* (15/0); bernak\* (6/0); barnac\* (5/0); barnak\* (5/0); bernag\* (1/0); barnec\* (0/0); barnic\* (0/0); barnik\* (0/0); burnac\* (0/0); byrnac\* (0/0); byrnak\* (0/0)

#### ***bite* (1464/0)**

bete (855/0); bit (176/0); byte (145/0); bite (132/0); byt (51/0); bitt (23/0); bitte (22/0); betis (9/0); bits (8/0); betes (7/0); bytte (6/0); bites (5/0); bitis (5/0); betez (5/0); bitez (3/0); bytes (3/0); bytt (3/0); byttes (3/0); bytis (2/0); bittes (1/0); betiz (0/0); bitiz (0/0); bittiz (0/0); bittis (0/0); bittiz (0/0); bitts (0/0); bytez (0/0); bytiz (0/0); byts (0/0); byttez (0/0); byttis (0/0); byttiz (0/0); bytts (0/0)

#### ***blanke* (1788/98)**

blonk\* (91/87); blonnk\* (7/7); blank\* (330/3); blanc\* (1355/1); blond\* (5/0); blannc\* (0/0); blannk\* (0/0); blonnc\* (0/0)

#### ***bridel* (463/376)**

bridel\* (159/149); brydel\* (123/96); bridil\* (65/61); bridl\* (41/20); brydil\* (22/18); brydyl\* (18/12); brydl\* (20/10); brydul\* (8/5); bridyl\* (5/4); bridul\* (1/1); briddl\* (1/0); bryddl\* (0/0)

#### ***brochen* (418/34)**

broch\* (358/32); brusch\* (19/1); brush\* (7/1); bruch\* (34/0); broach\* (0/0)

#### ***cabel* (32/0)**

cable\* (22/0); cabil\* (8/0); cabel\* (2/0); cabyl\* (0/0)

#### ***capel* (185/92)**

capil\* (54/26); caple\* (26/23); capul\* (21/20); capel\* (78/19); capyl\* (5/3); caplu\* (1/1)

**colt** (1806/118)

colt\* (126/114); cold\* (1677/1); colt\* (1/1); cowlt\* (1/1); kowlt\* (1/1); coult\* (0/0)

**courbe** (99/0)

corb\* (82/0); courb\* (14/0); kerb\* (2/0); curb\* (1/0); kurb\* (0/0)

**cours; courser; coursen** (6612/283)

cours\* (1205/264); curs\* (3789/7); cors\* (683/5); kours\* (7/4); courc\* (16/2); coc\* (274/0); couc\* (246/0); cous\* (192/0); cowr\* (96/0); cuc\* (48/0); curc\* (32/0); corc\* (21/0); coser\* (3/0); cuser\* (0/0)

**destrer** (3128/30)

destr\* (3082/19); dester\* (4/3); deistr\* (5/5); dextr\* (37/3)

**filli** (4660/0)

fili\* (1451/0); fyl\* (932/0); filli\* (904/0); feli\* (643/0); fely\* (392/0); felly\* (167/0); felli\* (125/0); filly\* (31/0); fily\* (15/0)

**fole** (5887/75)

fole\* (1542/61); fool\* (1408/11); fowl\* (538/1); folu\* (236/1); foal\* (4/1); foly\* (1417/0); folie\* (440/0); foli (153/0); folis\* (82/0); foil\* (36/0); foyl\* (18/0); fola\* (13/0)

**frisoun** (1609/9)

fres\* (1297/8); frys\* (189/1); fris\* (123/0)

**galop; galopen** (2/0)

gallop\* (2/0); galop\* (0/0)

**gelding** (296/13)

geldyn\* (67/11); geldin\* (50/2); zeldin\* (72/0); gilden\* (49/0); yelden\* (35/0); yeldin\* (11/0); gildin\* (7/0); geldyn\* (3/0); gelden\* (2/0); yildin\* (0/0); yilden\* (0/0)

**genet** (69/1)

iennet\* (1/1); gynnet\* (35/0); genet\* (18/0); jenet\* (5/0); ganet\* (3/0); ienet\* (3/0); gynet\* (1/0); ianet\* (1/0); janet\* (1/0); jannet\* (1/0); gannet\* (0/0); gennet\* (0/0); ginet\* (0/0); ginnet\* (0/0); iannet\* (0/0); jennet\* (0/0); zanet\* (0/0); zannet\* (0/0); zenet\* (0/0); zennet\* (0/0); zinet\* (0/0); zinnet\* (0/0); zynet\* (0/0); zynnet\* (0/0)

**gerth** (1057/6)

gyrt\* (31/4); gert\* (450/2); gart\* (493/0); girt\* (70/0); gurt\* (13/0)

**gon; gate** (106459/88)

went\* (14310/39); gon\* (6655/17); goo (2846/8); go (10597/7); goth\* (1442/7); goon\* (1688/4); ga (896/2); gob\* (717/2); gooth\* (379/2); gi\* (15680/0); gen (8206/0); gan\* (7099/0); yi\* (4401/0); get\* (4372/0); gou\* (3482/0); gat\* (3311/0); ya\* (3286/0); zed\* (3228/0); od\* (2200/0); guo\* (1676/0); yh\* (1272/0); ig\* (1205/0); yed\* (815/5); goi\* (764/0); gei\* (755/0); gai\* (735/0); geo\* (700/0); gea\* (679/0); eod\* (473/0); yg\* (300/0); geet\* (281/0); yod\* (265/0); geth\* (210/0); zeod\* (191/0); ge (179/0); gas (164/0); gaat\* (126/0); gep\* (106/0); goop\* (102/0); gos (100/0); goot (99/0); goos (97/0); got (77/0); gath\* (70/0); gees (64/0); ges (64/0); gaa (32/0); gap\* (23/0); geen\* (20/0); gaas (9/0); gaan\* (3/0); geei\* (2/0); geep\* (2/0); zead\* (2/0); geeth\* (1/0); gooi\* (1/0); gaai\* (0/0); gaath\* (0/0); gaap\* (0/0); gee (0/0)

**hakeneie** (651/52)

hak\* (162/44); hac\* (220/5); hek\* (23/2); haik\* (5/1); hauk\* (239/0); hauc\* (2/0); haic\* (0/0)

**hengest** (950/1)

hæng\* (20/1); heng\* (930/0)

**hobi** (93/4)

hoby\* (5/3); hobby\* (2/1); hube\* (78/0); hobi\* (5/0); hobbi\* (3/0)

**hors** (9687/5663)

hors\* (7282/5657); ors\* (23/2); horis\* (21/2); horc\* (5/2); ros\* (2356/0); hros\* (0/0)

**jade** (30/9)

iade\* (8/8); jade\* (1/1); chade\* (20/0); zade\* (1/0)

**justere** (5000/720)

iust\* (3989/584); just\* (916/64); ioust\* (65/52); joust\* (30/20)

**kiken** (45/0)

kik\* (23/0); kyk\* (12/0); kek\* (8/0); kick\* (2/0)

**lepen** (2959/383)

lep\* (1611/328); leop\* (148/20); lop\* (105/19); leep\* (129/15); lip\* (787/1); lup\* (119/0); hle\* (38/0); leap\* (10/0); lheap\* (5/0); leup\* (4/0); lhap\* (3/0)

**mere** (16532/129)

mare\* (3001/86); mere\* (489/33); meer\* (21/5); meir\* (53/2); mari\* (4496/1); mur\* (1623/1); mery\* (947/1); mary\* (2497/0); myr\* (2177/0); meri\* (863/0); mair\* (333/0); mear\* (20/0); maar\* (5/0); maer\* (5/0); mier\* (2/0)

**nagge** (190/5)

nag\* (190/5); naig\* (0/0); nayg\* (0/0)

**palefrei** (464/212)

palf\* (201/187); palefr\* (24/22); palfer\* (2/2); parfr\* (1/1); parau\* (202/0); parav\* (31/0); paraf\* (2/0); pallefr\* (1/0); palaf\* (0/0); palifr\* (0/0); pallafr\* (0/0); pallfer\* (0/0); pallfr\* (0/0); pallifr\* (0/0); pallur\* (0/0); pallvr\* (0/0); palur\* (0/0); palvr\* (0/0); paulfr\* (0/0); pavlfr\* (0/0); pawlfr\* (0/0)

**pase; passen** (29014/156)

paa\* (388/88); pas\* (17041/47); pac\* (2823/11); pees\* (3384/7); pes\* (2971/1); apas\* (30/1); apac\* (3/1); pec\* (1876/0); pays\* (168/0); pais\* (153/0); apes\* (74/0); peec\* (59/0); apec\* (37/0); apais\* (6/0); apaa\* (1/0); apec\* (0/0); apees\* (0/0)

**poleine** (5/0)

poleyn\* (3/0); polayn\* (2/0); polein\* (0/0); polain\* (0/0); pulein\* (0/0); pulain\* (0/0); puilein (0/0); puilain\* (0/0); puyleyn\* (0/0); puylayn\* (0/0)

**pomel** (133/2)

pomel\* (125/2); pommel\* (5/0); poomel\* (2/0); pumil\* (1/0); poemel\* (0/0); pomal\* (0/0); pumel\* (0/0); pummel\* (0/0); pummil\* (0/0)

**prauncen** (15/7)

praunc\* (5/4); prank\* (3/1); pranc\* (2/1); prauns\* (2/1); prans\* (3/0); pravn\* (0/0); prawn\* (0/0)

**priken** (7184/410)

prik\* (605/249); prek\* (128/96); pryk\* (160/54); pric\* (635/6); pryc\* (145/4); prec\* (5511/1)

**reine; reinen** (3602/92)

reyn\* (716/61); rayn\* (486/19); ren (110/6); reyn (354/3); rein\* (263/1); rain\* (66/1); rean\* (1/1); reigne\* (1053/0); rene\* (320/0); reign (110/0); reen\* (56/0); reygn\* (35/0); reny\* (19/0); reign\* (10/0); raygn\* (3/0); rainie\* (0/0); rainze\* (0/0); rainzie\* (0/0); ranize\* (0/0); raynie\* (0/0); reingze\* (0/0); reingzie\* (0/0); reinze\* (0/0); reinzie\* (0/0); reneze\* (0/0); rengze\* (0/0); renze\* (0/0); renzie\* (0/0); reingye\* (0/0); reynze\* (0/0); ringay\* (0/0); rinze\* (0/0)

**rennen** (15364/458)

ran\* (2483/237); renn\* (1615/161); ron\* (744/33); earn\* (63/6); arn\* (684/10); ern\* (519/4); orn\* (354/1); rynn\* (307/1); rein\* (263/1); yern\* (124/1); eorn\* (72/1); irn\* (43/1); ærn\* (39/1); regn\* (3693/0); roun\* (1517/0); vnne\* (851/0); rin\* (534/0); run\* (454/0); hern\* (250/0); ourn\* (236/0);

rh\* (155/0); yrn\* (89/0); rain\* (66/0); ruin\* (57/0); vrn\* (47/0); urn\* (42/0); hurn\* (29/0); hirn\* (24/0); heorn\* (4/0); uern\* (3/0); reon\* (2/0); revand\* (1/0); oern\* (0/0); urminde (0/0)

**returnen** (1809/30)

return\* (888/22); retourn\* (568/5); retorn\* (352/3); returen\* (1/0); reatorn\* (0/0); retoorn\* (0/0); rettorn\* (0/0); retturn\* (0/0)

**riden** (42743/343)

rod\* (4204/155); rid\* (1979/79); ryd\* (1701/52); rit\* (361/51); red\* (14824/5); rad\* (1284/1); righ\* (10534/0); riȝ\* (7782/0); reid\* (49/0); reod\* (23/0); ried\* (2/0)

**rodde** (4437/1)

rodd\* (150/1); rode (3258/0); rood\* (634/0); rod (359/0); road\* (36/0)

**roile** (27/4)

roil\* (15/4); royl\* (12/0)

**rounci** (116/28)

rounc\* (31/14); rouns\* (8/7); rons\* (8/3); runs\* (48/2); runc\* (15/2); ronc\* (6/0)

**sadel** (800/430)

sadel\* (329/269); sadil\* (66/64); sadyl\* (34/34); sadl\* (307/30); sadul\* (27/27); saddl\* (12/3); saddle\* (14/2); satel\* (4/1); satle\* (7/0); saddil\* (0/0); saddul\* (0/0); saddyl\* (0/0); sædel\* (0/0)

**skippen** (2441/1)

skip\* (120/1); schip\* (1749/0); scip\* (422/0); scep\* (107/0); skyp\* (42/0); skeep\* (1/0) sckip\* (0/0); sckyp\* (0/0)

**skirte** (47/2)

skirt\* (21/2); skyrt\* (14/0); schirt\* (11/0); scurt\* (1/0); scirt\* (0/0); scyrt\* (0/0); skort\* (0/0); skurt\* (3/0)

**smiten** (8099/113)

smot\* (3144/102); smoot\* (514/5); smyt\* (2939/3); smit\* (891/3); smet\* (273/0); smat\* (173/0); smith\* (163/0); smæt\* (2/0); smiet\* (0/0); smight\* (0/0); smiht\* (0/0); smiȝt\* (0/0); smoit\* (0/0)

**somer** (1041/36)

somer\* (908/31); sommer\* (27/5); sumer\* (43/0); sumpt\* (35/0); summer\* (28/0); sommpt\* (0/0); sompt\* (0/0); summpt\* (0/0)

**spore** (862/479)

spor\* (610/415); spur\* (238/59); spoor\* (6/4); spour\* (8/1); spuir\* (0/0); spvyr\* (0/0)

**springen** (1949/50)

spron\* (473/27); sprang\* (182/13); spring\* (633/6); spryng\* (511/3); spreng\* (131/1); sprink\* (8/0); isprung\* (4/0); sprank\* (3/0); spiring\* (2/0); isprong\* (1/0); spyng\* (1/0); isproung\* (0/0); hisprong\* (0/0)

**stagge** (152/3)

tag\* (152/3); staig\* (0/0)

**staloun** (30/5)

stalo\* (6/5); stalu\* (16/0); stalla\* (4/0); stala\* (3/0); stallo\* (1/0); stallu\* (0/0)

**stede** (5291/1407)

sted\* (4359/1227); steed\* (227/169); steid\* (36/8); stied\* (656/3); stead\* (13/0)

**sterten; stertlen** (950/38)

start\* (189/21); stert\* (532/16); stirt\* (172/1); sturt\* (45/0); stort\* (11/0); stard\* (1/0)

**stīrop** (108/106)

stīrop\* (41/41); sterop\* (27/26); styrop\* (26/26); sterep\* (5/4); terap\* (2/2); stirap\* (2/2); stīrep\* (2/2); stirrop\* (1/1); sturop\* (1/1); styrop\* (1/1); sterrap\* (0/0); sterrep\* (0/0); sterrop\* (0/0); stirhap\* (0/0); stirhop\* (0/0); stirip\* (0/0); stirrap\* (0/0); stirrep\* (0/0); stirrhap\* (0/0); stirrip\* (0/0); stirrup\* (0/0); stirup\* (0/0); storap\* (0/0); storop\* (0/0); storrap\* (0/0); storrop\* (0/0); sturrop\* (0/0); styrep\* (0/0); styrrap\* (0/0); stryrrup\* (0/0); styrup\* (0/0)

**stode mere** (7356/0)

stod\* (4032/0); stud\* (1883/0); stood\* (1435/0); stoud\* (6/0)

**stot** (415/13)

stot\* (61/13); stout\* (328/0); stut\* (26/0); stoot\* (0/0)

**striken** (2620/13)

strok\* (1779/12); strak\* (138/1); strik\* (243/0); stryk\* (204/0); strek\* (107/0); stric\* (83/0); streg\* (47/0); strac\* (17/0); stirk\* (2/0)

**trippen** (262/9)

trip\* (201/9); trep\* (61/0)

**trot; troten** (148/42)

trot\* (93/42); trat\* (55/0)

**turnen** (11453/111)

turn\* (8751/62); torn\* (1816/36); tourn\* (607/8); tern\* (69/5); turnd\* (138/0); tuyrn\* (42/0); tirn\* (15/0); teorn\* (8/0); twrn\* (3/0); teurn\* (2/0); torun\* (2/0); tuirn\* (0/0)

**walken** (3643/2)

walk\* (1584/2); wak\* (1795/0); wilk\* (169/0); walc\* (49/0); wolk\* (36/0); weolc\* (8/0); weolk\* (1/0); wolch\* (1/0); wauk\* (0/0); wealc\* (0/0); wealk\* (0/0)

**walop; walopen** (152/49)

walop\* (33/31); wallop\* (13/13); lop\* (105/4); valop\* (1/1); vallop\* (0/0)

**wenden** (11609/0)

wend\* (7935/0); want\* (1281/0); wand\* (726/0); wind\* (526/0); vent\* (370/0); wen (355/0); vend\* (127/0); wenne\* (92/0); wiend\* (92/0); weind\* (59/0); uend\* (17/0); whent\* (12/0); wænd\* (9/0); veind\* (3/0); hwend\* (2/0); whend\* (2/0); wænt\* (1/0); uuend\* (0/0); wenð\* (0/0); wuend\* (0/0)

**yerling** (650/0)

yerl\* (280/0); yearl\* (222/0); gerl\* (85/0); 3erl\* (61/0); 3eorl\* (1/0); 3ierl\* (1/0); erling\* (0/0); erlyng\* (0/0); gearl\* (0/0); geirl\* (0/0); georl\* (0/0); gierl\* (0/0); gærl\* (0/0); yærl\* (0/0); yeirl\* (0/0); yeorl\* (0/0); yierl\* (0/0); yhearl\* (0/0); yheirl\* (0/0); yheorl\* (0/0); yherl\* (0/0); yhierl\* (0/0); yhærl\* (0/0); 3earl\* (0/0); 3eirl\* (0/0); 3ærl\* (0/0)

## 4.2. Semantically sorted results

The following table is meant to provide a compact impression of the absolute numbers of hits in rough semantic categories and should not be taken as evidence in itself without the explanations given in the respective chapters.

The tag “unclear” here means that the exact semantics in the context of riding are ambiguous.

Lemma	Total	Semantic categories									
<i>amble; amblen; amblere</i>	70	gait	55	type of horse	15						
<i>arabi</i>	10	type of horse	10								
<i>areren</i>	1	to rear	1								
<i>arsoun</i>	40	part of saddle	40								
<i>aver</i>	0										
<i>baiard</i>	302	name for horse	302								
<i>bernacle</i>	10	only metaphorical									
<i>bite</i>	0										
<i>blanke</i>	98	type of horse	98								
<i>bridel</i>	376	headstall	376								
<i>brochen</i>	34	to attack	1	to spur	31	unclear	2				
<i>cabel</i>	0										
<i>capel</i>	92	generic	52	cart horse / burden	40						
<i>colt</i>	118	immature generic	58	immature male	3	unclear	57				
<i>courbe</i>	0										
<i>cours; courser; coursen</i>	283	type of horse	192	person	91						
<i>destrer</i>	30	type of horse	30								
<i>filli</i>	0										
<i>fole</i>	75	warhorse	67	immature generic	8						
<i>frisoun</i>	9	type of horse	9								
<i>galop; galopen</i>	0										
<i>gelding</i>	13	castrated male	13								
<i>genet</i>	1	type of horse	1								
<i>gerth</i>	6	part of saddle	6								
<i>gon; gate</i>	88	motion	88								

Lemma	Total	Semantic categories													
<i>hakenēie</i>	52	type of horse	52												
<i>hengest</i>	1	mature male	1												
<i>hobi</i>	4	type of horse	4												
<i>hors</i>	5663	generic	5431	mature male	143	neuter	78	+ <i>high</i>	5	unclear	6				
<i>jade</i>	9	type of horse	9												
<i>justere</i>	720	type of horse	0	person	720										
<i>kiken</i>	0														
<i>lepen</i>	383	to jump	358	to mount	16	to gallop	1?	to jump obstacle	3	schooled	5				
<i>mere</i>	129	generic	18	mature female	13	unclear	98								
<i>nagge</i>	5	type of horse	5												
<i>palefrei</i>	212	type of horse	212												
<i>pase</i>	156	generic	?	gait	?										
<i>poleine</i>	0														
<i>pomel</i>	2	part of saddle	2												
<i>prauncen</i>	7	motion	7												
<i>priken</i>	410	to (cause to) gallop	318	to spur	74	show off	7	+ <i>prance</i>	4	+ <i>spur</i>	7				
<i>reine</i>	92	rein	91	to use reins	1										
<i>rennen</i>	458	to gallop	257	+ <i>together</i>	35	+ <i>against</i>	34	+ <i>upon</i>	118	unclear	14				
<i>returnen</i>	30	to turn	30												
<i>riden</i>	343	to ride	343												
<i>rodde</i>	1	rod	1												
<i>roile</i>	4	type of horse	4												
<i>rounci</i>	28	type of horse	28												
<i>sadel</i>	430	saddle	398	+ <i>bow</i>	32										
<i>skippen</i>	1	motion	1												
<i>skirte</i>	2	part of saddle	2												



<b>Lemma</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Semantic categories</b>									
<i>smiten</i>	113	to kick	6	to spur	96	unclear	11				
<i>soner</i>	36	type of horse	36								
<i>spore</i>	479	spur	334	to spur	139	unclear	6				
<i>springen</i>	50	career	13	excitement	3	motion	34				
<i>stagge</i>	3	type of horse	3								
<i>staloun</i>	5	male mature	4								
<i>stede</i>	1407	generic	?	specific	?						
<i>sterten</i>	38	to jump	38								
<i>stirop</i>	106	part of saddle	106								
<i>stode mere</i>	0										
<i>stot</i>	13	plough horse	9	mature male	1	unclear	3				
<i>striken</i>	13	to cause to run	10	+ <i>spurs</i>	4	unspecific	2				
<i>trippen</i>	9	motion	9								
<i>trot; trotten</i>	42	gait	42								
<i>turnen</i>	111	to turn	64	attack melee	34	attack speed	13				
<i>walken</i>	2	gait	2								
<i>walop; walopen</i>	49	gait	47	+ <i>toward</i>	2						
<i>wenden</i>	0										
<i>yerling</i>	0										