

## Chapter 6

### An epitome of DB-Ke

Of the documents copied into manuscript C1 by the original scribe (above, pp. 36–7), the one which he chose to put last is a long and tedious list (5vc–7ra) which aims to answer three questions. Who are the barons holding land from the king in Kent? Which manors does each of them own? And for how many sulungs is each of these manors assessed? Two other copies of the same text are known, later and less reliable than the one in C1, but (as I shall argue shortly) not derived from it. Like C1, they both originated in Canterbury.

This text has no title. I propose to call it  $\varepsilon$  (which, if the reader wishes, can be taken to be short for ‘epitome’). At least in the version known to us,  $\varepsilon$  is manifestly a Canterbury text. That is clear, not just from the provenance of the surviving copies, but also from one negative fact: it excludes the lands of the archbishopric (the lands of the archbishop and his knights, the lands of the archbishop’s monks, the lands of the bishop of Rochester). In some sense, therefore, it must be true that  $\varepsilon$  was complementary to a pre-existing Canterbury text which already contained the same sort of information for the archbishop’s own lands. It was not desired to duplicate that information: what  $\varepsilon$  contains is what that other text did not contain.

Almost without exception, every item of information reported in  $\varepsilon$  can be matched with an entry in DB-Ke. Long stretches of text consist of nothing but statistical data – personal names, place-names, numbers of sulungs and yokes – of which it can only be said that they are mostly in factual agreement with DB; but here and there the text includes properly constructed clauses and sentences which provide an adequate basis for textual comparison. The very first paragraph (5vc38–45) will tell us where we stand:

*Rex tenet derteford. Hoc manerium se defendit pro i sull’ et dim’. De ipso manerio ablata est hageli, que se defendit pro dim’ sull’. Hanc terram tenet hugo de port, et liiii agris terre.*

When this is collated with the corresponding paragraphs in DB-Ke (2va3–30), it becomes clear at once that there is some textual relationship existing between  $\varepsilon$  and DB. The wording of one text is influenced by that of the other. Given that, there are only two possible explanations: either  $\varepsilon$  (or some form of  $\varepsilon$ ) existed first, and DB was expanded from it; or else DB existed first, and  $\varepsilon$  was contracted from it. Though several historians have managed to persuade themselves otherwise, this second explanation is obviously the

right one.<sup>1</sup> The evidence will be discussed in more detail below, but it will do no harm to state the conclusion now. There are some extraneous elements, which help to give this text such slight interest as it possesses. In bulk, however,  $\varepsilon$  is derived from DB-Ke.

The copy of  $\varepsilon$  in C1 is typical of this scribe’s work (above, p. 36). It looks as if it was written very slowly and very carefully. There are a few of his pig-headed readings (such as 6vb1 *Fremgaham* with *m* for *ni*, 6vc8 *Bernuelinges* with *nu* for *m*), and several heavy-handed corrections which look as if they may have been reproduced from the exemplar. (Not counting slips of the pen, only one correction is definitely not inherited: at 6va33 the scribe miscopied *ii* as *iii*; but then he (or somebody) noticed the mistake and put it right by erasing the third minim.) One unsatisfactory feature of this copy, also quite possibly derived from the exemplar, is its inconsistent format. The scribe begins by starting a new paragraph for each section of the text, a new line for each item of information; but he soon abandons that plan. Most of the text is written out in a more or less continuous stream, and readers are left to navigate through it by themselves. Here and there, the scribe leaves a blank line or inserts a coloured initial, as if to mark the beginning of a new section; but these divisions seem to be quite arbitrary, more distracting than helpful.

As for the other two copies, these are they:

C5 = Canterbury, Dean and Chapter, Reg. P, fos. 29v–33r (early thirteenth century), badly damaged around the edges

T1 = London, Lambeth Palace Library 1212, fos. 170r–172r (late thirteenth century).

<sup>1</sup> As far as I know, the first hint that  $\varepsilon$  might not derive from DB occurs in a paper by Douglas (1936, p. 254). (At that time the text was still unpublished, except in Neilson’s (1932b) translation, but Douglas was already acquainted with the manuscript.) He changed his mind later on (Douglas 1944, p. 27), but the hint was pursued by others (Sawyer 1955, Hoyt 1962, Kreisler 1967, Harvey 1971, 1975), with dire results. The crux of the argument is supposed to be this. In DB we are told that Upper Delce belongs to Willelm Tahum’s son (8va10); in  $\varepsilon$  we are told that it belongs to Willelm Tahum (6vb37); therefore  $\varepsilon$  is earlier than DB. It is hard to know what to say about an argument as fatuous as this. Perhaps one might start by asking for an answer to this question: What was the name of Willelm Tahum’s son? Unless we can be sure that his name was not Willelm, we cannot be sure that ‘the son of Willelm Tahum’ and ‘Willelm Tahum’ were not the same person. (In 1242 ‘the heir of Willelm de Swantone’ held half a knight’s fee in Swanton; in 1253 ‘Willelm de Swantone’ held the same half fee; are we supposed to infer from this that time had been running backwards?)

| (C1)      | A1   | C5      | T1      |      |                                   |     |
|-----------|------|---------|---------|------|-----------------------------------|-----|
|           | 201v | 28v     | 166v    | 88   | Johnson and Cronne 1956, no. 756  | (1) |
|           | 201v | 28v–9r  | 170r    | 89   | Brett and Gribbin 2004, no. 16    |     |
|           |      | 29r–v   | 170r    | 90   | <i>De Derenta, ii sull' . . .</i> | (2) |
|           |      | 29v–33r | 170r–2r | 91   | $\varepsilon$ (first copy)        |     |
|           |      |         | 172r–v  | 92   | schedule of monks' farms          |     |
| (1ra–vb)  |      |         | 172v–3r | 93–6 | lists of churches                 | (3) |
| (1vc)     |      |         | 173r    | 97   | list of Romescot payments         |     |
| (2rb–c)   |      |         | 173r–v  | 98   | epitome of $\alpha$               |     |
| (2va–5rc) |      |         | 173v–6v | 99   | $\alpha$                          | (4) |
| (5va)     |      |         | 176v    | 100  | excerpts from DB-Ke               |     |
| (5va–c)   |      |         | 176v–7r | 101  | schedule of archbishop's farms    |     |
| (5vc–7ra) |      |         |         | 102  | $\varepsilon$ (second copy)       | (5) |
| (7rb–c)   |      |         | 177r    | 103  | list of archbishop's knights      |     |

Table 18. Additions made at the end of the lost cartulary, C3, as represented in the three surviving copies, A1, C5 and T1. Notes: (1) Items 88–9 are the last two paragraphs in Fleming's (1997) edition of C3/C5. The numbering of the items is hers for these two, mine from item 90 onwards. (2) This is the list printed from T1 by Hoyt (1962); I have commented on it already (above, pp. 92–4). (3) Printed from C1 below (chapter 8). (4) Printed from C1 above (chapter 2). (5) Attested only by the corrections added to T1's copy of item 91.

In both manuscripts,  $\varepsilon$  forms one component of a very much larger text – a twelfth-century cartulary compiled from an assortment of documents preserved in the Christ Church archive (Appendix I). More precisely, it is one of a succession of documents which look as if they were added at the end of the cartulary, on various occasions (Table 18). As far as we can judge,  $\varepsilon$  was not included in the original compilation, and hence does not occur in the earliest surviving copy of C3, a twelfth-century manuscript from Saint Augustine's (A1): it was added to the cartulary later, perhaps not until the early thirteenth century, and hence occurs only in the two more recent copies (C5 and T1).

As soon as one starts collating C5 and T1 with C1 and DB, it becomes obvious that C3's copy of  $\varepsilon$  was a rather inaccurate copy. Since its errors are of no interest, all I have done is to tabulate some sample variants which tend to prove the point (Table 19).<sup>2</sup> These variants are not all equally convincing; some of them, taken one by one, would not be convincing at all. But taken together they amount to proof that there were numerous errors occurring in C3 (and therefore in C5 and T1) which do not occur in C1. In C3's defence, however, it ought to be said that all the errors are small ones; there are no large mistakes.

These questions are of slight importance. They would hardly be worth discussing if there did not also exist a small class of variants tending to prove that C3 was not copied from C1. In two places at least, C3 has a better reading. (1) At 6ra45, where C1 has *pro i sull'*, C3 has *pro i iugo* –

and it is C3 which agrees with DB (12rb47). Furthermore, the subtotal given at 6ra50 will not work out correctly unless we read *iugo* here. The indications are, therefore, that *sull'* was an error originating in C1. (2) In this same subtotal, where C1 has *et iii uirg'*, C3 has *et iii uirg'* – and again it is C3 which is right. The only rods that enter into this total are the *iii uirge terre* in Eastry hundred listed at 6ra41, and that numeral is given as *iii* by C1, as well as by C3 and DB. Again the signs are that *iii* was an error originating in C1. These are the only straightforward instances; there are some smaller details (in the spelling of place-names, for example) which might be thought to point in the same direction, but I would not think of relying far on them.

We are trying to identify errors in what is generally a very good copy with the help of what was generally a rather bad copy; so it is not surprising that the results we get are meagre. Even so, I think that they suffice to prove the point – that C3 was not copied from C1. Given that, given that the converse is also (quite certainly) true, we are entitled to infer the existence of a lost copy, say  $\varepsilon'$ , from which C1 and C3 both derive (Fig. 16). From  $\varepsilon'$  the text was copied into C1, with very few errors (only two that we can detect); and later it was copied into C3, with many small errors but no large ones. From C3 it was eventually copied twice again, into C5 and later into T1.

Reconstructing the text of  $\varepsilon'$  means choosing between C1 and C3/C5/T1, wherever they disagree. In principle C1 and C3 are of equal value; in practice they are not. C1 is an early copy, surviving just as it was written; C3 is a relatively late copy, demonstrably not a very good one, surviving only in proxy form as two even later copies (one of which is damaged and partially illegible). On points of substance we can usually decide between C1 and C3 by referring to

<sup>2</sup> In making this selection I insist on C5 being legible, and on C5 and T1 agreeing more or less exactly, so that C3's reading is definitely known. I also require there to be a parallel passage in DB, so that we have some basis for deciding, from the textual evidence alone, whether C1 or C3 is right.

|       | C1                            | C3/C5T1               | DB-Ke                             |
|-------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 6ra14 | i sull' et i iug'             | i sull'               | unum solin et unum iug'           |
| 18    | Waruuintune                   | Garwintune            | Waruuintone                       |
| 30    | ii sull' et dim'              | ii sull'              | duobus solins et dimid'           |
| 6rc1  | Macheuet                      | Machefeld             | Macheheuet                        |
| 2     | i iug'                        | i sull'               | uno iugo                          |
| 32    | Fredenestede                  | Frede                 | Fredenestede                      |
| 45    | Piuentune                     | Pinnenentune          | Piuentone                         |
| 6va16 | dim' iug' minus               | i iug' minus          | dimidio iugo minus                |
| 38    | ii sull' et dim' et dim' iug' | ii sull' et dim' iug' | ii solins et dimidio et dim' iugo |
| 46    | iii iug'                      | iiii iug'             | iii iugis                         |
| 51    | Hastingeleg                   | Astingeleg            | Hastingelai                       |
| 6vb5  | vi sull'                      | v sull'               | vi solins                         |
| 34    | Hertange                      | Bertange              | Hertange                          |
| 39    | Hou                           | Honwe                 | Hou                               |
| 52    | lx et iii                     | xlxiii                | lxiii                             |
| 6vc24 | tenuit                        | tenet                 | tenuit                            |
| 25    | Azorrot                       | Azor                  | Azor Rot                          |
| 34    | Bertrannus                    | Bretrammus            | Bertrannus                        |
| 43    | Radulfus filius Ricardi       | Radulfus              | Radulfus filius Ricardi           |
| 7ra2  | hundred de cert               | hundrede cert         | hund' de Certh                    |

Table 19. Selected variants resulting from errors in C3/C5T1.

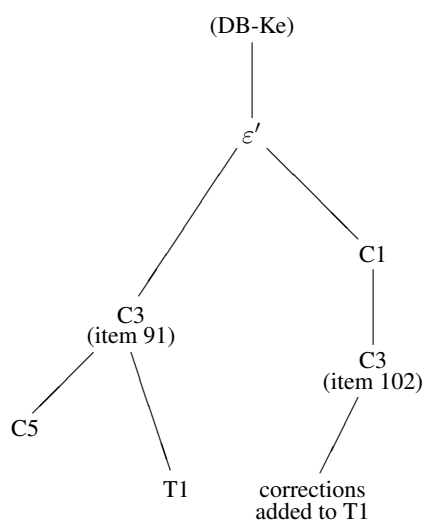


Figure 16. Stemma for the epitome of DB-Ke.

these copies are item 91 (copied into C3 directly from ε') and item 102 (copied into C3 together with the rest of C1). When the main scribe of T1 (the man who did most of the work) made his copy of C3, he transcribed the first item automatically; but then, when he came to item 102, he recognized it as a repeat of item 91 and declined to transcribe it again. If that had been the end of the story, we should not have been sure that the second copy existed. (In other words, we should not have been able to say which scribe omitted ε: the scribe who copied C1 into C3, or the scribe who copied C3 into T1.) But there is a coda which proves the point for us: a second scribe (the man who supplied the finishing touches to T1) went to the trouble of collating the two copies, and some readings taken from item 102 were added by him to his colleague's copy of item 91.<sup>4</sup> Because they were derived, at second hand, from a manuscript which happens to survive, these added readings have no textual value; from our point of view, they tend only to confuse the issue.

the parallel passage in DB (or by some other criterion); and almost always, as we have seen, the verdict is in favour of C1. But there are many points of detail which cannot be decided.<sup>3</sup>

There is one final complication, but we need not spend much time on it. Some time after C3 was copied into C5, somebody copied the whole of C1 into C3 (except perhaps for the batch of late twelfth-century documents at the end). By the late thirteenth century, C3 had thus come to contain two copies of ε. As I list the contents in Table 18,

<sup>3</sup> For instance, it happens more than twenty times that C3 has the preposition *pro* – as in *Haslo pro vi sull'* – and C1 does not have it. Each time we are left in doubt whether *pro* was added by C3 or omitted by C1.

Apart from abbreviation, the creation of ε involved extensive reorganization. For that reason, I think, the man who created it deserved to be called its author. To construct a paragraph like this one:

*Hugo de port t'n' Hageleg pro dim' sull', Eisce iii sull', Dideleg et Somniges pro dim' sull', Pellesword pro dim' sull', Resce pro ii sull' et dimid', Offeham pro i sull', Aln-*

<sup>4</sup> Kreisler (1967) was first to see that some of the corrections in T1 were taken from an C1-like copy of the same text. At 6ra45, this second scribe replaced the reading *iugo* derived from C3 (which is right) with the reading *sull'* derived from C1 (which is wrong). So the copy being used to check the text was C1-like in the specific sense that it shared this error of C1's.

*odentune pro iii sull', Tunestele pro iii sull' et dim', Cert pro ii sull', Tanges pro ii sull', Stependune pro i sull' dim' iug' minus, Nordtune pro iiiii sull', Herst pro ii iug', Pesinges et Piham pro ii sull', Eawelle pro iii sull', West-cliu pro ii sull', Soltune pro i sull'* (6va8–20),

what the author had to do was to scan through the relevant chapter of DB-Ke (i.e. chapter 5) looking for an entry which starts with an 'H'.<sup>5</sup> (The DB scribe had made the initials conspicuous, precisely for the purpose of aiding in a search of this kind.) If this 'H' was a Hugo, and if this Hugo was the right Hugo, he extracted the data he needed from this entry – the place-name and the number of sulungs. Then he checked to see whether the next entry began with an 'I', for *Isdem Hugo*. If it did, he dealt with that entry in the same way; if it did not, he resumed his scan in search of the next 'H'. In this paragraph, the order of the items agrees with the order of the corresponding entries in DB; but that is not always the case.<sup>6</sup> The author, it seems, was unconcerned whether he preserved the DB sequence or not. If he found it convenient to keep the order, he kept it; if he did not, he had no qualms about changing it.

As anyone who tries repeating the experiment will find, this is a wearisome task, easy enough to describe, but hard to execute without making mistakes. Nevertheless, very few of DB's entries fail to reappear in  $\varepsilon$ . Some of the omissions are surprising. The important manor of Ospringe, for example, is prominently present in DB (10ra34), but absent from  $\varepsilon$ . (We would expect to find it at 6vb12–18.) It is not to be assumed that all of  $\varepsilon$ 's omissions are simple blunders; as with some of the manors which are surprisingly absent from DB (such as Teynham and Newington), there may have been some temporary doubt regarding the status of Ospringe which caused the author to hesitate. But mistakes may have been made, by the author or by subsequent copyists. With a highly repetitive text like this, it is very easy to lose one's place, skipping from one entry to the next.

As well as some risk of an entry being omitted, there was also some risk of an entry being duplicated – listed somewhere, and then, by error, listed again somewhere else. Three definite instances of duplication occur. (1) An entry in DB reports that the abbot of St Augustine's holds a manor called *Esmerefel* in Wye hundred, and that a man named Ansketil holds this manor from the abbot (12rb34). In  $\varepsilon$  we find a matching entry in the place where we expect

<sup>5</sup> The entries in DB which went to make up this paragraph in  $\varepsilon$  can be found at 6ra3, 6ra36, 7rb41, 7vb48, 9rb1, 10ra19, 10rb31, 10vb33, 11ra26. The last batch of entries (beginning with *Eawelle*) is included here by error: the Hugo who owned these places was Hugo nephew of Herbert, not Hugo de Port.

<sup>6</sup> For example, in the paragraph listing the lands of Radulf de Curbespine (6rc38–52) the items correspond with entries in DB at 11vb10, 7va40, 11vb15, 9vb32, 9vb15, 7va33, 8rb38, 10va45, 10vb9, 11ra49, 8rb44, 11rb11, 11va40, 11va48, 9vb18. There is some doubt about the last item, which again I take to have been included by error: the yoke mentioned in DB belonged to a different 'R' – Rannulf de Columbels, not Radulf de Curbespine.

to find it, among the lands of the abbey (6ra43); but we also find this place listed among the lands of Anschitil de Ros (6rb50). A comment is attached to the latter entry pointing out that this item has been listed twice.<sup>7</sup> (2) DB has an entry for a nameless manor in Eastry hundred held from the bishop of Bayeux by a man named Osbern (11vb1). This manor is listed twice in  $\varepsilon$ , both among the lands of Osbern Paisforere (6rc16) and among the lands of Osbern son of Letard (6va30). Because DB supplied no place-name,  $\varepsilon$ 's author thought it necessary to include some descriptive phrase, and in both places the phrase that is used is in verbal agreement with DB: 'holds a manor from the bishop'. (3) Among the lands of Folbert (de Dovre), one of the items listed in  $\varepsilon$  is *Dudeham pro i sull'* (6vb7). That comes from DB, where the name is spelt *Dodeham* (10va15). Without doubt, the place in question is Luddenham, and the 'D' is a scribal error. But  $\varepsilon$  has another entry for Luddenham, and here the name is spelt correctly, *Ludenhham pro i sull'* (6vb6). It seems that somebody checked through this paragraph, expecting to find an entry for Luddenham, failed to recognize the *Dodeham* entry as the one which he was looking for, and decided to supply the item that he thought was missing.

These instances of duplication are all instructive – the third especially so, because it proves that somebody working on this text had access to another source of information, and used that source, once at least, for correcting an error that he thought he had found in  $\varepsilon$ . For us, that introduces some doubt. Where  $\varepsilon$  and DB disagree on some point of fact, by and large we are going to assume that  $\varepsilon$  has fallen into error; but there is a chance that  $\varepsilon$  may have been deliberately corrected, by someone who knew (or thought he knew) that the facts were misreported by DB. It appears, furthermore, that some guesswork went into the making of  $\varepsilon$ ; and the author has the advantage of us here. We cannot tell that he is guessing – rather than reporting what he knows to be true – so long as his guesses are right; and even if he guesses wrongly, we will not be able to catch him at it unless he contradicts himself, or unless he is contradicted by other evidence.

Despite these ambiguities, it is clear that there are some particles of information occurring in  $\varepsilon$  which do not derive from DB. Apart from the *Ludenhham* entry, there are two entries in  $\varepsilon$  which would be expected to correspond, but do not correspond, with whole paragraphs in DB: among the lands of Adam son of Hubert, *Eluentune pro i sull'* (6rb33); among the lands of Osbern Paisforere, *In hertege i iug' et dim'* (6rc18).<sup>8</sup> Other details supplied by  $\varepsilon$  include an assessment missing from DB (6vb26) and a name for a manor which is nameless in DB (6vb51). Finally, a

<sup>7</sup> But that did not prevent it from being counted twice, by whoever added up the numbers (see below).

<sup>8</sup> The second item was regarded by Hoyt (1962, p. 194) as a garbled version (duplicating 6vb34) of an entry in DB (11rb51), but that seems very unlikely; I do not see how the first item could be explained away (assuming that one wished to do so).

few items which do derive from DB are listed under headings where nothing in DB would justify them being listed. Sometimes we can be sure that  $\varepsilon$  is wrong; sometimes we cannot decide; but in one instance at least we can be sure that  $\varepsilon$  is right. The manor of Boxley, in DB, is reported to be temporarily in the possession of Robert Latiner (8vb34). In  $\varepsilon$ , however, as Hoyt (1962, p. 196) pointed out, it is listed among the domain manors of the bishop of Bayeux (6rb51). That has to be correct, because Boxley was one of the manors held by the bishop in right of the earldom of Kent (Flight 1998); but neither we nor the author of  $\varepsilon$  could discover this by reading DB. The author must have had some other means of knowing where Boxley ought to be listed; and he must have been willing to act on that knowledge, regardless of what DB said or failed to say.

One feature of  $\varepsilon$  that is not derived from DB is derived from  $\varepsilon$  itself – more precisely, from an earlier version of  $\varepsilon$ , distinguished from the existing version precisely by the absence of this feature. Somebody started working through the text, adding up the itemized assessments and recording subtotals at intervals. But apparently he did not complete the task: subtotals cease appearing halfway through. (In  $\varepsilon$  as we have it, these subtotals have been integrated into the main text; perhaps they were originally added in the margins.) For us, they are helpful in more than one way, most obviously because they provide some check on the accuracy of the transmitted text, so far as the numbers are concerned.

It is certain, then, that some additional information was incorporated into  $\varepsilon$ , somewhere along the line between DB and  $\varepsilon'$ . Where this information came from is another question. Some of it might have come from a written source, unaffected by the errors of DB; some of it might have come from local knowledge; but how can we hope to decide? The question needs to be asked, even so, because it links up with other questions relating to the history of this text. When and where did  $\varepsilon$  originate? How far did it change its shape in the period of time before we first catch sight of it? In particular, did there ever exist a version of this text which included – what the surviving version does not include – the lands of the archbishopric? We are not going to know what value we can place on  $\varepsilon$  unless we can find some answer to these questions.

I propose to cut the knot by arguing, straight away, that  $\varepsilon$  originated in the king's treasury. There are three points which seem to me to favour this conclusion; I see none which count against it.

First, there is this sentence (6rb8–9) covering the lands of the church of Saint Martin's of Dover:

*Tota terra sc'i martini de douere se defendit in cent pro xx et iiii sull'.*

Though the wording is not derived from DB, the information could have been, and presumably was: one merely has

to add the 21 sulungs in Eastry lest to the 3 sulungs in Limwar lest (DB-1va12–14). (Alternatively, if one looks more closely, one can find the total, 24 sulungs, reported later on (2rb33).) The striking fact is the inclusion of the words 'in Kent'.<sup>9</sup> This phrase is triply superfluous. The canons of Saint Martin's did not own any land outside Kent; if they had done so, that land would not have been assessed in sulungs; and in any case it would not have been necessary to allude to the fact in a text which deals exclusively with this one county (and which reminds us of that in every line, as often as it speaks of sulungs and yokes). Nobody from Kent would have thought of saying 'in Kent'; whoever composed this sentence had larger thoughts on his mind.

Second, in dealing with two of DB's chapters, the author of  $\varepsilon$  reorganized the entries. He worked through the chapter twice. On the first pass he extracted the information he wanted for the manors held in domain; on the second pass he did the same for the manors held by subtenants. There is nothing in  $\varepsilon$  to explain this, but the result makes it clear what has happened: the extracts both from chapter 7 (Saint Augustine's) and from chapter 9 (Hugo de Montfort) have been deliberately reorganized in this way. In DB-Ke itself, in chapter 2, the same thing has happened: the lands held by the archbishop's knights have been separated from the lands held by the archbishop in domain and moved to the end of the chapter. A government scribe, thinking that this was a useful distinction to make, applied it to this chapter. The author of  $\varepsilon$  had the same idea and put it into practice on chapters 7 and 9.<sup>10</sup> From government's point of view, that distinction made a difference: when a baron died, or if he lost his lands, the domain manors would fall into the king's hands, but the other manors would not.

Third, in his handling of sulungs and yokes, the author of  $\varepsilon$  commits the type of error that we also meet in DB. In places where several entries have been condensed into one, the DB scribe is found using odd expressions – 'one sulung and six yokes' (instead of 'two sulungs and a half'), 'five sulungs and a half and three yokes' (instead of 'six sulungs and one yoke') – which betray his ignorance of Kentish matters. Similar solecisms occur in  $\varepsilon$ , both in the text derived from DB and in the subtotals which came to be interpolated into it. Here and there, two quantities which are stated separately in DB have been added together, and that has resulted in expressions like 'half a sulung and one yoke' (instead of 'three yokes') or 'four yokes' (instead of 'one sulung'). As for the subtotals, whoever worked them out did certainly understand that four yokes made one sulung; the answers that he got were arithmetically correct, but they were not expressed as they should have been.<sup>11</sup> Someone

<sup>9</sup> It is an odd fact that the words *in cent* are omitted from Douglas's transcription, which is otherwise close to perfect.

<sup>10</sup> Whether this distinction should be made or not is a question which the DB scribe did not resolve. In DB-Ke, the lands of the bishop of Bayeux (chapter 5) are all listed in a loosely cadastral order, the domain manors not being separated from the rest. In DB-Ox, by contrast, the bishop's domain manors have been brought to the head of the chapter.

<sup>11</sup> It appears that he had his abacus set up with a column for counting half-

who could speak of ‘half a sulung and one yoke’ or of ‘two yokes and a half’ was not someone from Kent.

This seems to me to add up to a fairly convincing case in favour of the view that  $\varepsilon$  was produced in the treasury. There is only one other option, after all: to suppose that  $\varepsilon$  was compiled by somebody from Canterbury – one of the archbishop’s clerks or one of the monks – given unlimited access to DB.<sup>12</sup> It is easy to believe that a visiting scribe might have been given permission to consult DB-Ke, and to copy some passages from it which affected the archbishop directly. Apparently that did happen (above, p. 36). It is not hard to believe that he might also have been allowed to make a copy of  $\varepsilon$ , if  $\varepsilon$  already existed. But it seems very difficult to believe that a visiting scribe would have had the opportunity to make an epitome of his own, or indeed that he would have had any wish to do so. Up to a point, it was desirable to know one’s neighbours’ business: the surviving version of  $\varepsilon$  would not survive if that had not been true. But was it so desirable that one of the archbishop’s clerks (or one of the monks) would have wanted to invest his own time in extracting all this information from DB-Ke? I find it hard to think so.

What happened, I take it, was this. Some treasury scribe was set the task of epitomizing DB-Ke. His remit was to extract every reference to sulungs and yokes (and smaller quantities too, where they occurred), and to organize the information under the names of the tenants who were, or had recently been, in possession of the land in question. In its original form, so we may suppose,  $\varepsilon$  did include extracts from chapters 2–4. Based in Winchester, the author of  $\varepsilon$  would not have been able to draw on local knowledge: any extraneous information incorporated into  $\varepsilon$ , by the author himself or by correctors, would presumably have come from written records available in the treasury.<sup>13</sup> One source which would certainly have been available is D-Ke, the full-scale version of the survey of Kent, the source text for DB-Ke. If occasionally  $\varepsilon$  was checked against D, it might reabsorb a few facts which the DB scribe had omitted.

By this time, the bishop of Bayeux had lost his English estates, and those of his men who had kept their lands were

sulungs alongside the column for counting yokes. With that set-up, the quantity ‘three yokes’ will not occur. Wherever that expression is found in  $\varepsilon$ , it is being quoted from DB.

<sup>12</sup> There is perhaps a third alternative which ought to be considered – that the author of  $\varepsilon$  was working for the sheriff of Kent. I see nothing to be said in favour of this suggestion; the evidence that indicates an ignorance of Kentish matters seems to tell strongly against it.

<sup>13</sup> It has often been said that the spellings of place-names appearing in  $\varepsilon$  have a more conventional look than the simplified spellings of DB; and that is true, to some extent. The impression I get (and impressions are all that one can hope to get, from evidence of this kind) is that the author of  $\varepsilon$  disapproved of the orthography invented by the DB scribe, but understood it well enough to guess at the English names hidden behind the spellings that he found in DB. Often he guessed correctly, and in that case the spelling which he used will resemble that used by local scribes familiar with the name. But often his guess was wrong – and these unsuccessful guesses go to prove that he was guessing all the time.

*Honour of Eudo the steward.* Adam son of Hubert (6rb24–40), Goisfrid de Ros (6rb40–2)

*Barony of Crevequer.* Ansfrid Masleclerc (6rb53–c7), Malger (6rc8–11), Osbern Paisforere (6rc11–18), Rannulf de Columbels (6rc20–4)

*Barony of Maminot.* Radulf de Curbespine (6rc38–52), bishop of Lisieux (6rc53–4), Gislebert Maminot (6rc54–va2)

*Barony of Port.* Hugo de Port (6va8–20), Osbern son of Letard (6va23–31)

*Barony of Talebot.* Radulf son of Turoid (6va32–42), Helto (6va42–4)

*Barony of Peverel of Dover.* Herbert son of Ivo (6vb10–11), Hugo nephew of Herbert (6vb12–18), Herfrid (6vb24–8)

*Honour of the earl of Gloucester.* Haimo the sheriff (6vb51–c3), Vitalis (6vc3–6)

Table 20. Twelfth-century baronies and the corresponding sections of  $\varepsilon$ .

now holding them directly from the king. The transformation of the feudal landscape of Kent which followed from the failed rebellion of 1088 is a subject on which we are very poorly informed; but some of the consequences are reflected in this text.

There were, at the time of the survey, two barons in Kent – Ricard de Tonebrige and Haimo the sheriff – who held some of their lands from the king (chapters 11 and 12 respectively) and some from the bishop of Bayeux. In DB-Ke, despite the fact that the bishop was in prison at the time, the lands which he owned are all still listed as his, and Ricard and Haimo appear as his subtenants (scattered entries in chapter 5). In  $\varepsilon$ , by contrast, the lands which they used to hold from the bishop are listed together with the lands which they have always held from the king. (Here again the author says nothing to explain what he is doing, but the result is its own explanation.)

That is not all. In Table 20 I give a partial list of the baronies existing in Kent in the latter half of the reign of Henric I, around 40 years after the survey, with in each case a list of the tenants who held these lands from the bishop of Bayeux in 1086. (The baronies listed are those – only those but all of those – for which more than one predecessor can be identified in DB.) Comparing this table with  $\varepsilon$ , the reader will find a large measure of congruence. From the ordering of the paragraphs (an ordering which is not dictated by DB), it can be seen that the author of  $\varepsilon$  already had some idea how things had been reorganized, or how they were likely to be reorganized, in the aftermath of 1088.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Not all the bishop’s men became the king’s barons: some became the men of other barons. The author of  $\varepsilon$  seems to be aware that Goisfrid de Ros is now the man of Adam son of Hubert, that Osbern son of Letard is now the man of Hugo de Port, that Vitalis is now the man of Haimo the sheriff. These are all changes that we might expect to see happening, in the light of later evidence.

Apart from the names of the barons and the names of their manors, the only information which interested the author of  $\varepsilon$  was the number of sulungs for which each manor was assessed – the number of sulungs for which it had to pay geld. All questions concerning the payment of geld were supposed to have been settled by the survey of 1086; after 1088, they were at risk of being opened up again. Furthermore, new questions arose – not only but especially in Kent – which would not have been relevant before 1088. Of the manors held by Hugo de Port, for example, which were held in domain, and which were held by his men? Now that Hugo was holding his lands in Kent directly from the king,<sup>15</sup> that distinction became significant, because Hugo would expect to be allowed a share of the geld; but it had not been significant in 1086, and the information that the treasury needed could not be found in the records of the survey.

Without a new survey, the treasury could not know exactly how things were working out on the ground. We cannot expect the author of  $\varepsilon$  to achieve or even to think of achieving the impossible. Being where he was, having the resources that he had, he did what could be done. He produced a sketch showing what DB-Ke would have looked like if the circumstances had been different. If the bishop of Bayeux had lost his lands a few years before the survey, rather than a few years afterwards, this – hypothetically, in rough outline – is the landscape which the commissioners would have discovered.

That is an interesting experiment, and it does not surprise me that archbishop Lanfranc was (so it appears) interested in seeing the result. An emissary of the archbishop's was sent to Winchester, gained access to the original, and made a copy of it. He omitted one long stretch of text (which told him nothing that he did not already know); by deciding to do that he created a new version of  $\varepsilon$ .<sup>16</sup> For the rest he transcribed the text quite accurately, as far as we can judge. Within a few years, this transcript was in Canterbury. There it was copied into C1. And there it survived for some considerable length of time – long enough to be copied once again, into the monks' cartulary – before finally ceasing to exist.

I print the text line for line, as it appears in C1, following the same conventions as for  $\alpha$  (above, p. 46). The sort of tabular format which is used for the first part of the text in C1 is used throughout in C3; but I would guess that this was

an improvement made by the C3 scribe, and that C1 was reproducing  $\varepsilon'$  more exactly, in this as in other respects. In two places (6ra45, 6ra51), C3 has a reading which is demonstrably better than C1's, and I have put these readings into the text, marking them off with square brackets. For the rest, I have not judged it necessary to burden the text with notes reporting all the variant readings to be found in C3 (where C3 can be reconstructed) or in C5 or T1 or both (where it cannot).<sup>17</sup> In theory it is true that some of these readings may be better than C1's; but the better readings are lost in the background noise, and we have no means of filtering them out.

Because so much of the text is just a meagre epitome of DB, I have thought that the reader would be likely to approve if I make some visual distinction between what is second-hand and what is new. As much of the text as was taken from DB is printed here in grey; those elements which were not (or not straightforwardly) derived from DB are printed in black. The reader will thus be able to see them at a glance – and see at a glance that they do not amount to much.

As for the concordances (below, pp. 212–13), I print them with reluctance. It is hard to imagine that much use will ever be made of them; I hope that it will not be. Nevertheless, I suppose that they had better be published, because otherwise somebody may feel obliged to do the work again; and that is a distressing thought to me. This text, though it has some points of interest, does not deserve more than a small share of anyone else's attention.

<sup>15</sup> The words 'in Kent' are not redundant. In Hampshire and elsewhere, Hugo de Port owned land which he had held from the king since before 1086; in the geld accounts for 1085–6 we find him claiming a deduction with respect to a manor of his in Dorset (Exeter Cathedral Library 3500, fos. 20r, 24r). So Hugo knew the rules; and he would certainly have thought himself entitled, after 1088, to similar deductions with respect to his manors in Kent, so far as they were held in domain.

<sup>16</sup> It is not impossible, however, that the decision to omit this stretch of text was made by the C1 scribe. There is a gap, perhaps a significant gap, at the point where the omission occurs (6ra6–9).

<sup>17</sup> I have transcripts of both manuscripts on file, and anybody who would like to have copies should feel free to ask for them.

|   |    |  |    |
|---|----|--|----|
| ε/C1-5vc  |    | ( S ) ubrihtesweald pro ii sull'.  |    |
|   |    | ( P ) latenout pro i sull'.  | 35 |
| ( R ) ex tenet derteford. Hoc manerium se defendit pro i sull' et dim'. De ipso manerio ablata est hageli, que se defendit pro dim' sull'. Hanc terram tenet hugo de port, et liiii agris terre plus. | 40 | ( P ) restetune pro v sull'.   |    |
|   |    | ( C ) henetune pro iiii sull'.   |    |
|   |    | ( B ) urwaremersce pro ii sull' et iii iug'.   |    |
|   |    | ( I ) n langeport ii sull' et i iug'.  | 40 |
|   |    | ( I ) n estreie hundredret iii uirge terre.  |    |
|   | 45 | ( E ) smerefeld pro i sull'.   |    |
| ( H ) eilesford se defendit pro i sull'.  |    | ( I ) n derendene dim' sull'.  |    |
| ( M ) ildeltune se defendit pro quater xx sull'. Estra hos sunt in dominio iiii sull'. De ipso manerio tenet predictus hugo viii sull' et i *iug(um), que tempore E regis erant in consuetu-          | 50 | ( *R ) apintune pro i *[iug'].   | 45 |
|   |    | ( C ) heringelle pro dim' sull'.   |    |
|   |    | ( E ) luentune pro dim' sull' et dim' iug'. ( B ) odesham pro i sull'.   |    |
|   |    | :  |    |
|   |    | ( T ) ota summa istarum terrarum est c et xl iiii sull' et i iug' et *[iii] uirg' et xvi agros.  | 50 |
|   |    | :  |    |
|   |    | :  |    |
| ε/C1-6ra  |    |  |    |
| dine cum aliis sull'.   |    |  |    |
| ( F ) euersham se defendit pro vii sull'.   |    |  |    |
| ( H ) arum summa terrarum sunt c sull' et i et dimid' et i iugum.   | 5  |  |    |
| :   |    |  |    |
| :   |    |  |    |
| :   |    |  |    |
| ( E ) ccl'a sc'i augustini tenet plumstede, et defendit se pro ii sull' et i iug'.  | 10 |  |    |
| ( L ) enham pro v sull' et dim'.  |    |  |    |
| ( * ) urnes pro i sull'.  |    |  |    |
| ( I ) n langeport est i sull' et i iug' quod semper fuit quietum et sine consuetudine.  | 15 |  |    |
| ( * ) itelburne pro vii sull'.  |    |  |    |
| ( W ) arwintune pro dim' sull' et xlii agris terre.   |    |  |    |
| ( S ) turege pro v sull'.   | 20 |  |    |
| ( * ) anet pro xl et viii sull'.  |    |  |    |
| ( C ) istele pro xii sull'.   |    |  |    |
| ( F ) orwic pro i iug'. Iuxta ciuitatem est dim' sull' quod semper fuit quietum.  | 25 |  |    |
| ( W ) iretune pro i sull'.  |    |  |    |
| ( S ) edling pro vi sull'.  |    |  |    |
| ( I ) n rocinge pro dim' sull'.   |    |  |    |
| ( N ) *or(d)burne pro xxx sull'.  |    |  |    |
| ( M ) *undi(n)geham pro ii sull' et dim'.   | 30 |  |    |
| ( I ) n isto manerio terra monachorum nunquam geldauit sed alia *gelda(b)it.  |    |  |    |
|   |    | ε/C1-6rb   |    |
|   |    | ( E ) ccl'a sc'i martini de bello tenet manerium quod uocatur Wi, quod se defendit semper pro vii sull'.   |    |
|   |    | :  |    |
|   |    | ( E ) ccl'a sc'i wandregisili *de gent tenet liofesham, quod se defendit pro ii sull'.   | 5  |
|   |    | ( T ) ota terra sc'i martini de douere se defendit in cent pro xx et iiii sull'.   |    |
|   |    | :  | 10 |
|   |    | ( W ) yllemus de archis tenet de ep'o folcestane quod se defendit pro xl sull'. Idem ep's baiocensis tenet how quod se defendit pro l sull'. Boxelei pro vii sull'. Harges pro ii sull'. Stellinges pro i iug'. Burnes pro ii sull'. Wicham pro iiii sull'. Ad istud manerium iacet dim' sull' liberę terre. Heleham pro vi sull'. Bildsuidetune pro iiii sull'. | 15 |
|   |    | ( T ) ota summa est c sull' et xv et dim' et i iug'.   |    |
|   |    | Adam filius huberti tenet Redlege pro i sull'. Sudcreie pro i sull'. Wyham pro i sull'. Lilleburne pro ii sull'. In pimpa i iug'.  | 25 |
|   |    | Sudtune pro iiii sull'. Item sudtune pro i sull' et dim'. Cert pro iii sull'. Boclege pro ii sull'. Langelege pro i sull' et dim'. Ottringedene  | 30 |



|   |  |
|---|--|
| pro dim' sull'. Eastselue pro dim' sull'.<br>Eluentune pro i sull'. Celca pro iii<br>sull'. Helcaham pro v sull'. In colinga<br>i sull' et dim'. Bicceleg pro dim' sull'. 35<br>Stanefeld pro ii sull'. Ores pro<br>ii sull'. Item Ores pro i iug'. Fanne<br>pro dim' sull'. In hammolde dim'<br>iug', et in Bellinge i dene de dim'<br>iug'. Gosfridus de ros t'n' Lolingestune<br>pro i sull'. Lausele pro vii<br>sull'. Otteham pro dim' sull' et i iug'.<br>Anscetillus de ros t'n' Tarent pro<br>dim' sull', et Item aliud dim' sull'.<br>Hortune pro i sull', et Item i sull'<br>et dim'. Craie pro dim' sull'. Item<br>Craie pro dim' sull'. Croctune pro i<br>sull' et i iug'. Elentune pro i sull'.<br>Offaham pro i sull'. *Hacris pro i sull'.<br>Eastmeretel pro i sull'. Istud mane-<br>rium t'n' Anscetillus de ros de abba-<br>te. Tota summa est l et ii sull' et<br>dim' et i iug'. Ansfridus masleclerc<br>t'n' Cyldresham pro i sull'. Ernoldin-   | ham pro vi sull', et in quodam alio loco 30<br>t'n' vi agros. Adeloldus camera-<br>rius t'n' Hledes pro iii sull'. Fredenes<br>stede pro i sull'. Testane pro i sull'.<br>Bedenestede pro i iug'. Eastweald<br>pro iii sull'. Tota summa xl et vii<br>sull' et dim' et i iug' et terra iii<br>boum et x et viii agros.<br>Radulfus de curbespine tenet<br>Danintune pro dim' sull'. Boraham<br>pro vi sull'. In braceshela i iug',<br>et ibi prope in quodam manerio xl<br>agros. In poplesheale dim' iug'.<br>In berefredestune i iug'. Ber-<br>linges vi sull'. Torneham iii sull'.<br>Bemundestune pro i sull'. Piuen-<br>tune pro i sull'. In pistinges i iug'<br>et i uirg'. Colred ii sull'. Eawelle<br>iii sull'. Sumetune ii sull'. Fere-<br>burne i sull'. Appletune i sull'.<br>Walmerescore pro ii sull'. 50<br>Eastwelle pro iii sull'. Item i iug'<br>quod olim scottau' in hardes.<br>Ep's de lisois t'n' grenuwic pro ii<br>sull'. Gyllebertus maminot tenet  |
| <i>ε/C1-6rc</i>   | <i>ε/C1-6va</i>  |
| tune pro i sull'. Macheuet pro<br>i iug'. Badesmere pro i sull'.<br>Pirie pro i iug'. Item pirie pro dim'<br>sull'. Hortune pro dim' sull'.<br>Wodnesberga pro ii sull' et iii iug'. 5<br>Endleueberga pro dim' iug'. Soles<br>pro i sull'. In boclande dim' sull'.<br>Malgir t'n' Lolingestune pro<br>dim' sull'. Frenigeham pro dim' iug'.<br>Pinnedene pro dim' sull'. Rocesleg<br>pro i sull'. Osbertus paisforire t'n'<br>Lolingestune pro dim' sull'. Bocland<br>pro iii iug'. Ealdehlosa pro dim' sull'.<br>Palestrege pro iii iug' et xii agris.<br>In maseberga i iug' et x agros. 15<br>In emmetune xv agros. Et i<br>manerium t'n' de ep'o pro i sull'<br>et dim'. In hertege i iug' et dim'.<br>:<br>(R) annulfus de columbes t'n' Sedlin-<br>ges pro i sull' et dim'. Eiscedene<br>pro i sull'. Fernlege pro i sull'.<br>Bermeling pro i iug'. Hardes<br>pro i sull'.<br>Rodbertus latimir tenet Hlosnes 25<br>pro x sull'. Totintune pro dim' sull'<br>et i iug'. Herebrichtestune<br>pro i sull'. Brumfeld pro i sull', et<br>ibi est terra iii boum libera. Cette | Codeham pro iiii sull'. Cestane<br>pro dim' sull'. Summa xxx et ix<br>sull' et dim' iug' et xl agros et i<br>uirg'. Willelmus filius rodberti<br>tenet Westselue pro i sull'. 5<br>Willelmus filius ogeri t'n' Cerle-<br>tune pro i sull'. Craie pro dim' sull'.<br>Hugo de port t'n' Hageleg pro dim'<br>sull'. Eisce iii sull'. Dideleg et<br>Somniges pro dim' sull'. Pellesword<br>pro dim' sull'. Resce pro ii sull' et di-<br>mid'. Offeham pro i sull'. Alno-<br>dentune pro iii sull'. Tunestele<br>pro iii sull' et dim'. Cert pro ii sull'.<br>Tanges pro ii sull'. Stependune<br>pro i sull' dim' iug' minus. Nordtune<br>pro iiii sull'. Herst pro iii iug'.<br>Pesinges et Piham pro ii sull'.<br>Eawelle pro iii sull'. Westcliue<br>pro ii sull'. Soltune pro i sull'. Summa<br>xxx et iiii sull' et ii iug' et dim',<br>et l et iiii agros, que olim fuerunt<br>in derteford. Osbernus filius<br>litardi t'n' Hammes pro i sull'.<br>*Cylle(n)dene pro i sull' et i iug' 25<br>et x agris. In Ecche i iug'.<br>In selling' i iug'. Poplesheale |

|  |                            |   |                      |
|--|----------------------------|---|----------------------|
| i sull'. Bedesham pro i iug' et dim', et Ibi idem habet i sull' et dim' iug'. Vnum manerium t'n' de ep'o quod se defendit pro i sull' et dim'. Radulfus filius turoldi t'n' Erclie pro i sull'. Edintune pro *ii sull' et dim'. Wytunemersc pro i sull'. Eiglesse pro iii iug' et alter Edintune pro dim' sull'. Melintune pro i sull' et iii iug'. Lellesdune pro ii sull' et dim' et dim' iug'. Estotingeberga pro ii sull'. Ottringeberga pro ii sull'. Litelwroteham pro i sull' et dim'. Herclie pro i sull'. Healt tenet Suanescamp x sull'. Melestane pro dim' sull'. <b>Summa xxx ii sull' et i iug' et dim' et x agros.</b> Eluredus t'n' Middlei pro iii iug'. Thurstanus t'n' Ticstede pro i sull' et dim'. In Wanneberga i iug', et in Heche i iug'. In Endleuaberga i iug' et v agros. Rogerius filius Anscetilli t'n' Hastingseleg pro i sull'. Eastlinges pro i sull'. Rannulf' de ualbadun t'n' Hamstede pro dim' iug'.              | 30<br>35<br>40<br>45<br>50 | sull'. Trulege pro iii sull'. Ryngestune <b>pro iii sull'</b> . Nordheslinges pro dim' sull'. Rodbertus de rumenel t'n' Offetune pro i sull'. Bennedene pro dim' sull' et dim' iug'. In maresc dim' sull'. Et item in eodem maresc dim' sull', et in Titentune dim' dene. Radulf' filius Rodberti tenet Hertange pro i sull', et Osbernus i iug' et dim'. Et item Ibi Hugo de munford i sull', et Wybert' dim' iug'. Wyll' de Taum t'n' Dele pro i sull' et i iug'. *An(s)god tenet Mapeldrescamp pro dim' sull'. Hou pro i sull'. Becheham pro ii sull'. Aldintune pro ii sull'. Stocingabere pro ii sull'. Delce pro i sull'. Stoces pro ii sull'. Henneherste pro dim' sull'. Arnulf' de hesding ten' Clieue pro dim' sull'. Hadune pro iii iug'. Frenigaham pro iii iug'. *Celest(f)eld pro ii sull'. | 30<br>35<br>40<br>45 |
| <i>ε/C1-6vb</i>  |                            | :<br>Comes eustachius ten' Ostreham pro iiiii sull'. Boctune pro vii sull'. Haymo uicecomes t'n' * <b>Dramwo(r)d</b> pro ii sull' et dim'. In hulewic lx et iii agros. Marcword ii sull'. Blen i sull'. Healteham i sull' et dim'.  | 50                   |
| Wardardus t'n' Fremgaham pro dim' sull'. Meaplesham pro dim' sull'. Notstede pro ii sull'. Bercefeld pro dim' sull'. Cumbe pro i sull'. Folbertus t'n' Bereham pro vi sull'. Cyleham pro v sull'. <b>Ludenhams pro i sull'</b> . Eastlinges pro v sull'. Dudeham pro i sull'. Walterius de doai t'n' Leahei pro dim' sull'. Corbin t'n' Pecham pro ii sull'. Herbertus filius Iuonis t'n' Grauesand pro ii sull' et i iug'. Hugo nepos herberti t'n' Boctune pro ii sull'. Godeshelle pro i sull'. Wincelesmere pro dim' sull'. Eastselue pro dim' sull'. Feresburne pro i sull'. Herietesham pro ii sull'. Selesburne pro i iug' libere terre. Sedlinges pro i sull' et dim'. Odo tenet Colinges pro dim' sull' et <b>in quodam loco</b> i iug' *et iii. Gelingaham pro dim' sull'. Hugo de braiban t'n' Ottringeberga pro ii sull'. Ricardus filius Willelm' t'n' Burnes pro vi sull'. Herefrid' t'n' Brocesele pro i sull'. Scamelesford pro dim' | 5<br>10<br>15<br>20<br>25  | <i>ε/C1-6vc</i><br>Dictune i sull'. Neadesstede iii sull'. Latindune dim' sull' et ibi prope dim' sull'. Vital' t'n' Suealescliue pro dim' sull'. *Siu(I)e(d)etune pro dim' sull' et item i iug'. Rycardus de tonebrig' tenet Hallinges pro ii sull'. Bernuelinges i sull'. Haslo vi sull'. Tiuedeale i iug'. Hugo de *mun(d)ford tenet Estwelle pro i sull'. Hantune i sull'. Eiselle iii iug'. Eastbrige i sull'. Titentune i sull'. Eawelle iii sull'. Diuentune ii sull'. Bradeburne vii sull'. Siburne i sull'. Suanetune dim' sull'. Hestingelege dim' sull'. In tiuegate i iug' et dim'. In Westtune i uirg' terre. In Tipendene dim' iug'. In Titentune dim' iug'. In Maresc de rumenel dim' sull' et i iug'.   | 5<br>10<br>15<br>20  |

|  | Notes |
|--|-------|
| Bilec i sull' et i terram quam tenuit<br>Azorrot T R E pro i sull'   | 25    |
| et alia terra quam Ægelred big<br>t'n' T R E pro dim' sull', et In<br>maresc de Rumemel i sull'  |       |
| dim' uirg' min'. Item ibidem t'n'<br>i iug' et dim' iug'. Main ten'  | 30    |
| Siuledtune pro dim' sull'. Escedes<br>ford pro i sull'. Herueus tenet<br>Blacemannestune pro dim' sull'.   |       |
| Bertrannus t'n' in quodam loco dim'<br>iug' et dim' uirg' terrę. Rogerius  | 35    |
| in maresc de rumemel i iug',<br>et Rodbertus sextam partem i iugi.<br>Rogerius t'n' Postling pro ii sull'<br>et dim'. Herueus Sedling pro i<br>sull'. Alnodus t'n' Hortune pro dim'    | 40    |
| sull'. Wyll' In Orklauestune<br>iii iug' et dim' uirg' terrę.<br>Radulfus filius Ricard' t'n' Rocin-<br>ges pro dim' sull'. Radulf' Hor-<br>tune pro i iug' et dim'. Hugo de           | 45    |
| mendeuile t'n' Estrates pro ii sull'.<br>Herefridus t'n' Poltune pro i<br>sull'. Nigellus t'n' In Aie i iug'<br>et vii agros terrę. Wyll' filius<br>grosse t'n' Bonintune pro i sull'. | 50    |
| Herueus t'n' Otrepol pro i sull'.<br>Healaldus t'n' dim' sull' i uirg'<br>minus, et i dene. Hugo tenet<br><b>In Stretes hundred iii uirg'</b>  |       |
| <br><i>ε / C1-7ra</i>  |       |
| terrę et dim', et Item Alnodus i<br>iug', et In hundred de cert i<br>uirg' terrę quam quędam femina<br>t'n' de hugone, et Alibi xvi<br>agros terrę quos quidam sokemann'               | 5     |
| t'n' de eodem hugone.<br>Ansfridus tenet In Stretes hun-<br>dred i iug', et alibi Rodbertus *(cocus)<br>i iug', et Gyslebertus adhuc i iug',<br>et Idem hugo xiiii agros terrę.        | 10    |

5vc53 iugum] with um above o 6ra13] a black b in the margin  
6ra17] a black l in the margin 6ra21] a black T in the margin  
6ra29 ( )ordburne] with d inserted 6ra30 ( )undingeham] with  
the second n inserted 6ra33 geldabit] with b altered from u  
6ra45] a green r in the margin; the initial itself is blue 6ra45  
iugo] C3/C5T1 rightly : sull' C1 6ra51 iii] C3/C5T1 rightly  
: iiiii C1 6rb5 de] with d written over a g 6rb49] Hac ris  
joined with a dash 6va25 Cyllendene] with the first n inserted  
6va33 ii] with a third minim erased 6vb20 et iii] perhaps  
should be et in 6vb38 Ansgod] with s inserted 6vb47  
Celestfeld] with f inserted 6vb51 Dramword] with the second  
r inserted 6vc5 Siuledetune] with l inserted and d altered from  
ll 6vc11 mundford] with the first d inserted 7ra8 cocus]  
written above Rodbertus

Concordance 1  
 $\varepsilon$  / C1 collated with DB-Ke

|       |        |      |             |      |        |      |        |      |            |      |             |
|-------|--------|------|-------------|------|--------|------|--------|------|------------|------|-------------|
| 5vc38 | 2va3   | 32   | 39          | 27   | 8rb26  | 28   | 11rb36 | 25   | 10vb17     | 18   | 14ra15      |
| 46    | 34     | 33   | —           | 28   | 31     | 29   | 40     | 26   | 10rb39     | 19   | 19          |
| 48    | 46     | 33   | 8vb49       | 29   | 8va2   | 30   | 11vb1  | 26   | 11ra18     | 20   | 23          |
| 6ra2  | 2vb21  | 34   | 9ra8        | 30   | 11va22 |      |        | 27   | 10rb45     | 20   | 13vb32      |
|       | 9      | 34   | 15          | 31   | 7vb30  | 32   | 66ra17 |      |            | 21   | 13rb49      |
|       | 12     | 35   | 21          | 32   | 26     | 33   | 7rb45  | 28   | 10vb45     | 22   | 34 + 37     |
|       | 13     | 36   | 10ra15      | 32   | 8vb20  | 34   | 6vb34  | 29   | 11ra6 + 10 | 24   | 26          |
|       | 14     | 36   | 10          | 33   | 26     | 35   | 7rb6   | 30   | 10vb49     | 24   | 30          |
|       | 17     | 37   | 10rb35      | 34   | 26     | 35   | 6ra21  | 31   | 11ra2      | 26   | 22          |
|       | 18     | 37   | 10va30      | 34   | 9vb20  | 36   | 7va1   | 32   | 13         | 27   | 5           |
|       | 20     | 38   | 11ra23      | 38   | 11vb10 | 37   | 7      | 33   | 11rb47     | 29   | 13ra31 + 35 |
|       | 21     | 39   | 9vb8        | 39   | 7va40  | 38   | 7vb7   | 34   | 51         | 30   | 13          |
|       | 22     | 40   | 6ra46       | 40   | 11vb15 | 39   | 8vb9   | 35   | 11va2      | 31   | 25          |
|       | 23     | 41   | 6vb5        | 41   | 17     | 40   | 41     | 36   | 5          | 32   | 50          |
|       | 23     | 42   | 8rb21       | 42   | 9vb32  | 41   | 9ra25  |      |            | 34   | 48          |
|       | 26     | 43   | 6rb39       | 43   | 15     | 42   | 6ra10  | 37   | 8va10      | 35   | 13rb8       |
|       | 27     | 44   | 45          | 43   | 7va33  | 43   | 9ra47  | 38   | 6ra26      | 37   | 11          |
|       | 28     | 45   | 50          | 44   | 8rb38  | 46   | 11va17 | 39   | 6va23      | 38   | 14          |
|       | 29     | 45   | 6va6 + 10   | 45   | 10va45 | 47   | 11va26 | 40   | 7ra22      | 39   | 13va1       |
|       | 30     | 46   | 6vb12       | 45   | 10vb9  | 48   | 30     | 40   | 7vb39      | 40   | 8           |
|       | 34     | 46   | 16          | 46   | 14     | 49   | 32     | 41   | 44         | 41   | 19          |
|       | 35     | 47   | 7ra3        | 47   | 11ra49 | 49   | 11rb19 | 42   | 8va15      | 43   | 24          |
|       | 36     | 48   | 36          | 47   | 54     | 49   | 11rb19 | 42   | 19         | 44   | 29          |
|       | 37     | 48   | 7va25       | 48   | 11rb4  | 51   | 11vb29 | 43   | 9ra30      | 45   | 34          |
|       | 38     | 49   | 11vb24      | 48   | 8rb44  | 52   | 10va4  | 44   | 9ra34      | 47   | 13vb19      |
|       | 40     | 49   | 12rb34      | 49   | 11rb11 |      |        | 45   | 38         | 48   | 44          |
|       | 41     | 50   | 10ra46      | 50   | 11va40 | 53   | 11vb20 | 46   | 6rb33      | 49   | 48          |
|       | 43     | 53   | 10rb1       | 51   | 48     | 6vb1 | 6rb22  | 47   | 6va39      | 51   | 14ra3       |
|       | 44     | 54   | 8           | 51   | 9vb18  | 2    | 29     | 49   | 14ra32     | 52   | 9           |
|       | 45     | 6rc1 | 11          | 53   | 6vb22  | 3    | 7va21  | 50   | 40         | 53   | 13va15      |
|       | 46     | 2    | 18          | 54   | 7ra8   | 3    | 10va35 |      |            | 7ra1 | 14          |
|       | 47     | 3    | 21          | 6va1 | 13     | 4    | 40     | 51   | 14rb21     | 2    | 13vb30      |
|       | 48     | 4    | 10va25      |      |        | 4    | 9vb35  | 52   | 30         | 4    | 13          |
| 6rb1  | 11vb40 | 4    | 11rb23      | 4    | 8ra43  | 4    | 10ra25 | 53   | 34         | 7    | 13va39      |
|       | 5      | 5    | 11ra45      | 6    | 6vb43  | 5    | 10va15 | 54   | 41         | 8    | 43          |
|       | 8      | 6    | 11rb43      | 7    | 48     | 6    | 9      | 54   | 6vb29      | 9    | 46          |
|       | 11     | 7    | 9vb11       | 8    | 6ra3   | 6    | 15     | 6vc1 | 7ra42      | 10   | 49          |
|       | 13     | 8    | 6rb1        | 9    | 36     | 7    |        | 1    | 8vb3       |      |             |
|       | 15     | 9    | 6           | 10   | 7rb14  | 8    | 6vb39  | 2    | 9va6       |      |             |
|       | 15     | 10   | 11          | 11   | 20     | 9    | 7va47  | 3    | 10         |      |             |
|       | 16     | 10   | 6va34       | 12   | 26     | 10   | 7va15  | 3    | 10ra1      |      |             |
|       | 16     | 11   | 6rb15       | 12   | 7vb48  | 12   | 8rb1   | 5    | 7ra48      |      |             |
|       | 16     | 12   | 10rb24 + 28 | 13   | 9rb1   | 12   | 6      | 5    | 10ra6      |      |             |
|       | 17     | 13   | 10vb21      | 14   | 6      | 13   | 6      | 7    | 14rb3      |      |             |
|       | 19     | 14   | 27 + 32     | 15   | 9      | 14   | 11     | 8    | 11         |      |             |
|       | 20     | 15   | 11va34      | 15   | margin | 14   | 17     | 9    | 7vb2       |      |             |
|       | 24     | 16   | 36          | 16   | 10ra19 | 15   | 7vb19  | 10   | 10         |      |             |
|       | 25     | 17   | 11vb1       | 17   | 10rb31 | 16   | 13     |      |            |      |             |
|       | 26     | 18   | —           | 18   | 10vb33 | 17   | 23     | 11   | 13ra3      |      |             |
|       | 26     | 19   | 11va8       | 19   | 11ra26 | 18   | 7ra17  | 12   | 9          |      |             |
|       | 27     | 20   | 11vb5       | 19   | 33     | 18   | 9ra44  | 13   | 21         |      |             |
|       | 28     | 21   | 7rb31       | 20   | 38     | 19   | 42     | 13   | 42         |      |             |
|       | 28     | 22   | 8va46       | 23   | 11va8  | 20   | 8rb48  | 14   | 13rb42     |      |             |
|       | 28     | 23   | 8vb30       | 25   | 12     | 21   | 8vb15  | 15   | 13vb2      |      |             |
|       | 29     | 23   | 9rb38       | 26   | 45     | 22   | 9rb16  | 15   | 7          |      |             |
|       | 30     | 26   | 45          | 27   | 9vb24  | 22   | 9rb16  | 16   | 23         |      |             |
|       | 30     | 27   | 27          | 27   | 27     | 24   | 11rb15 | 17   | 36         |      |             |
|       | 31     | 27   | 7rb36 + 42  | 27   | 27     |      |        | 17   | 40         |      |             |

Concordance 2  
DB-Ke collated with  $\varepsilon$ /C1

|           |       |      |       |         |       |        |       |         |       |       |       |
|-----------|-------|------|-------|---------|-------|--------|-------|---------|-------|-------|-------|
| 2va3      | 5vc38 | 15   | 6vb10 | 44      | 18    | 33     | 6va18 | 13      | 23    | 30    | 7ra2  |
| 34        | 46    | 21   | 3     | 47      | 6va43 | 38     | 6rb20 | 24      | 23    | 32    | 6vc20 |
| 46        | 48    | 25   | 6rb49 | 9rb1    | 13    | 45     | 6vb28 | 30      | 26    | 36    | 17    |
| 2vb21     | 6ra2  | 33   | 6rc43 | 6       | 14    | 49     | 30    | 34      | 43    | 40    | 17    |
| 3ra-5vb   | —     | 40   | 39    | margin  | 15    | 11ra2  | 31    | 37      | 44    | 44    | 48    |
|           |       | 47   | 6vb9  | 9       | 15    | 6 + 10 | 29    | 39      | 27    | 48    | 49    |
| 6ra3      | 6va8  | 7vb2 | 6vc9  | 16      | 6vb22 | 13     | 32    | 43      | 28    | 14ra3 | 51    |
| 10        | 42    | 7    | 6va38 | 22      | 6rb15 | 18     | 26    | 46      | 45    | 9     | 52    |
| 17        | 32    | 10   | 6vc10 | 26      | 16    | 23     | 6rb38 | 12va1   | 46    | 15    | 18    |
| 21        | 35    | 13   | 6vb16 | 30      | 16    | 26     | 6va19 | 5       | 29    | 19    | 19    |
| 26        | 6vb38 | 19   | 15    | 38      | 6rc23 | 33     | 19    | 27      | 30    | 23    | 20    |
| 31        | 6rb24 | 23   | 17    | 43      | 6rb17 | 38     | 20    | 38      | 34    | 32    | 6vb49 |
| 36        | 6va9  | 26   | 6rc32 | 9va6    | 6vc2  | 45     | 6rc6  | 43      | 35    | 40    | 50    |
| 46        | 6rb40 | 30   | 31    | 10      | 3     | 49     | 47    | 48      | 36    |       |       |
| 6rb1      | 6rc8  | 39   | 6vb40 | 16      | 6rb11 | 54     | 47    | 12vb5   | 47    | 14rb3 | 6vc7  |
| 6         | 9     | 44   | 41    | 9vb2    | 19    | 11rb4  | 48    | 13      | 41    | 11    | 8     |
| 11        | 10    | 48   | 6va12 | 8       | 39    | 11     | 49    | 17      | 48    |       |       |
| 15        | 11    | 8ra5 | 6rb28 | 11      | 6rc7  | 15     | 6vb24 | 20      | 40    | 21    | 6vb51 |
| 22        | 6vb1  | 10   | 29    | 15      | 43    | 19     | 6va49 | 25      | 37    | 30    | 52    |
| 29        | 2     | 15   | 28    | 18      | 51    | 23     | 6rc5  | 33      | 38    | 34    | 53    |
| 33        | 46    | 20   | 30    | 20      | 34    | 33     | —     |         |       | 41    | 54    |
| 39        | 6rb43 | 28   | 30    | 24      | 6va27 | 36     | 6va28 | 41      | 6rb5  | 14va3 | —     |
| 45        | 44    | 33   | 31    | 27      | 27    | 40     | 29    | 13ra3   | 6vc11 |       |       |
| 50        | 45    | 39   | 32    | 32      | 6rc42 | 43     | 6rc6  | 9       | 12    |       |       |
| 6va6 + 10 | 45    | 43   | 6va4  | 35      | 6vb4  | 47     | 6vb33 | 13      | 30    |       |       |
| 16        | 6rc25 | 8rb1 | 6vb12 | 10ra1   | 6vc3  | 51     | 34    | 17      | —     |       |       |
| 23        | 6vb39 | 6    | 13    | 6       | 5     | 11va2  | 35    | 21      | 13    |       |       |
| 28        | —     | 11   | 14    | 10      | 6rb36 | 5      | 36    | 25      | 31    |       |       |
| 34        | 6rc10 | 17   | 14    | 15      | 36    | 8      | 6va23 | 31 + 35 | 29    |       |       |
| 39        | 6vb47 | 21   | 6rb42 | 19      | 6va16 | 12     | 25    | 42      | 13    |       |       |
| 45        | 6rb25 | 26   | 6rc27 | 25      | 6vb5  | 17     | 46    | 48      | 34    |       |       |
| 50        | 26    | 31   | 28    | 34      | —     | 22     | 6rc30 | 50      | 32    |       |       |
| 6vb5      | 41    | 38   | 44    | 46      | 6rb53 | 26     | 6va47 | 13rb5   | 27    |       |       |
| 12        | 46    | 44   | 48    | 10rb1   | 54    | 30     | 48    | 8       | 35    |       |       |
| 16        | 46    | 48   | 6vb20 | 8       | 6rc1  | 32     | 49    | 11      | 37    |       |       |
| 22        | 6rc53 | 8va2 | 6rc29 | 11      | 2     | 34     | 6rc15 | 14      | 38    |       |       |
| 29        | 6vb54 | 10   | 6vb37 | 18      | 3     | 36     | 16    | 22      | 26    |       |       |
| 34        | 6va34 | 15   | 42    | 21      | 3     | 40     | 50    | 26      | 24    |       |       |
| 39        | 6vb8  | 19   | 42    | 24 + 28 | 12    | 45     | 6va26 | 30      | 24    |       |       |
| 43        | 6va6  | 23   | 6rb13 | 31      | 6va17 | 48     | 6rc51 | 34 + 37 | 22    |       |       |
| 48        | 7     | 41   | 27    | 35      | 6rb37 | 11vb1  | 6va30 | 42      | 14    |       |       |
| 7ra3      | 6rb47 | 46   | 6rc22 | 39      | 6vb26 | 5      | 6rc20 | 49      | 21    |       |       |
| 8         | 6rc54 | 8vb3 | 6vc1  | 45      | 27    | 10     | 38    | 13va1   | 39    |       |       |
| 13        | 6va1  | 9    | 6va39 | 10va1   | —     | 15     | 40    | 8       | 40    |       |       |
| 17        | 6vb18 | 15   | 6vb21 | 4       | 6va52 | 17     | 41    | 14      | 7ra1  |       |       |
| 22        | 40    | 20   | 6rc33 | 9       | 6vb6  | 20     | 6va53 | 15      | 6vc53 |       |       |
| 28        | 6rb26 | 26   | 34    | 15      | 7     | 24     | 6rb49 | 19      | 41    |       |       |
| 36        | 48    | 30   | 23    | 21      | —     | 29     | 6va51 | 24      | 43    |       |       |
| 42        | 6vc1  | 34   | 6rb15 | 25      | 6rc4  |        |       | 29      | 44    |       |       |
| 48        | 5     | 41   | 6va40 | 30      | 6rb37 | 40     | 6rb1  | 34      | 45    |       |       |
| 7rb6      | 6va35 | 49   | 6rb33 | 35      | 6vb3  | 12ra3  | 6ra9  | 13va39  | 7ra7  |       |       |
| 14        | 10    | 9ra8 | 34    | 40      | 4     | 10     | 12    | 43      | 8     |       |       |
| 20        | 11    | 15   | 34    | 45      | 6rc45 | 17     | 13    | 46      | 9     |       |       |
| 26        | 12    | 21   | 35    | 10vb1   | —     | 22     | 14    | 49      | 10    |       |       |
| 31        | 6rc21 | 25   | 6va41 | 9       | 6rc45 | 30     | 17    | 13vb2   | 6vc15 |       |       |
| 36 + 42   | 26    | 30   | 6vb43 | 14      | 46    | 36     | 18    | 7       | 15    |       |       |
| 45        | 6va33 | 34   | 44    | 17      | 6vb25 | 41     | 20    | 13      | 7ra4  |       |       |
| 7va1      | 36    | 38   | 45    | 21      | 6rc13 | 48     | 21    | 19      | 6vc47 |       |       |
| 7         | 37    | 42   | 19    | 27 + 32 | 14    | 12rb6  | 22    | 23      | 16    |       |       |