Chapter 10
The conduct of the survey: the fieldwork phase

Even in 1086, the survey was not quite the only thing on people's minds. That very year, bishop Rotbert of Hereford was working on a tract which he hoped would persuade his readers that it was not the year 1086 after all – that in fact it was already the one thousand one hundred and eighth year since the Incarnation. This theory did not originate with Rotbert: as he was careful to explain, it originated with a monk of Mainz, Irish by birth, Marianus by name. (As Marianus himself had pointed out, the difficulties with the conventional chronology had been recognized already by Beda.) Marianus had died in 1082; bishop Rotbert took up the cause. His contemporaries were not convinced, but this tract of Rotbert's did not disappear altogether. Some people read it; during the twelfth century at least two scribes were told to make a copy of it; and those two copies survive. The tract would be, for modern readers, of very little interest, were it not for the fact that Rotbert allowed himself, at the end of one of his chapters, to indulge in an entirely irrelevant digression. This present year, he says, the year mistakenly supposed to be the year 1086, is the twentieth year of king Willelm, the same year in which, by order of the king, there has been made a survey of the whole of England.

Hic est annus uigesimus Willelmi regis Anglorum, quo iubente hoc anno totius Angliae facta est descriptio.

After the twelfth century, this passage seems to have been entirely lost sight of until it was discovered and put into print by Stevenson (1907).[1]

Thus, from Rotbert's own words, we know that this is a strictly contemporary account of the survey, written before the end of 1086. His last sentence is a rather cryptic remark about the disturbances which occurred in the aftermath of the survey – *Et uexata est terra multis cladibus ex congregatione regalis pecuniae procedentibus* – and that cannot have been written, it seems to me, till July or so at the earliest.[2] We can count ourselves fortunate, not only to possess this account, but also to know for certain when (to within a few months) it was written, and by whom it was written. But it is not very long or very detailed. Because he is wandering from his theme, Rotbert rations himself to less than a hundred words (91 words, to be precise); and he assumes that his readers will know nothing in advance. The things which he chooses to tell us, therefore, are the most elementary things: for somebody who might wish to learn about the survey, these are the first things to know. Because of the surviving documentation, we are, as it happens, not nearly as ignorant as Rotbert expected us to be. For the most part he tells us nothing that we cannot work out for ourselves.

It also has to be said that we do not know, with any exactitude, how closely bishop Rotbert had been involved in the workings of the survey. There are no personal touches (not that one would expect there to be) in this short account. It is certain that Rotbert would have been expected to attend the meeting of the king's court in Gloucester at which the survey was discussed (see below), as well as the synod which followed; it is not quite certain that he did actually attend. It is not known that he served as one of the investigators; it is not known that he did not. But there were four counties where his church owned land – Herefordshire, of course, plus Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and Shropshire – and for these four at least he had no choice but to participate. As far as we know, bishop Rotbert was given no reason to complain that he and his church had been unjustly treated.

For us, the chief significance of Rotbert's account lies in the next-to-last sentence. This is where we find the explicit statement – immediately recognized by Stevenson (1907, p. 75) as 'the greatest addition to our knowledge of the Survey' resulting from his discovery – that the operation proceeded in two stages:

Alii inquisitores post alios et ignoti ad ignotas mittebantur prouincias, ut alii aliorum descriptionem reprehenderent et regi eos reos constituerent.

One team of investigators produced a written report (the word for which is *descriptio*); a second team of investigators was then sent to check this report and to notify the king of any misconduct that might come to light on the part of the

[1] As far as I am aware, no further copies have been found. With only two copies, neither of which is uniformly better than the other, Stevenson had no option but to pick and choose between them. (Among the variants cited by Stevenson, there are, by my count, four places where A is obviously better than B, eight places where B is obviously better than A.) In one place I am inclined to think that Stevenson made the wrong choice. It seems to me that B's *tuguria tantum habentibus*, 'those just owning huts', should be preferred to A's *tuguria tantum habitantibus*, 'those just occupying huts': it makes for a sharper contrast with *domos et agros possidentibus*, 'those possessing houses and arable land'.

[2] This remark found its way, in shortened form, into the additions made at the end of a copy of Marianus's chronicle; and from there it found its way into the chronicle compiled soon afterwards by the monks of Worcester (Stevenson 1907, pp. 76-8, ed. McGurk 1998, p. 44). Hence it was known to historians long before Stevenson's discovery of the source text. Torn from its context, however, it did not make much sense. I discussed this sentence previously (above, p. 66) and have nothing further to say.

first team. Rotbert's language is emphatic – he makes the point twice (*alii post alios, . . . alii aliorum*), in case anyone missed it the first time – and there cannot be any doubt as to his meaning. He tells us, moreover, that the second team consisted of men who had no stake in the counties which they were investigating. In a neatly turned phrase (which works well in Latin but is not easy to imitate in English), Rotbert tells us that they were sent to counties which they did not know and where they were themselves not known (*ignoti ad ignotas mittebantur prouincias*).[3] That is explicit. That the opposite was true for stage 1 – that the original survey had been carried out by local men – is not stated in so many words; but it is certainly implied. Rotbert assumed that his readers would be capable of seeing the intended contrast for themselves. As far as his modern readers are concerned, that expectation seems first to have been met by Barlow (1963, p. 285).[4]

An anonymous chronicler, writing in English, left us another account of the survey which is arguably also contemporary. The only surviving copy of the English text is a manuscript written at Peterborough in the 1120s (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud 636),[5] but it is clear, from allusions in various Latin chronicles, that copies of an English chronicle not very different from this one were quite widely available. At least one of those copies – the copy (possibly borrowed from Canterbury) which became the exemplar for the Peterborough copy – would have been, if it had survived, of greater value than this one.

Because this copy was written in a single stint, as far as 1121, and because there is, after 1079, no other English manuscript with which it can be compared, the evolution of the text has to be traced by looking for internal evidence. There is only one point which seems at all significant here. In describing the events of 1086, the author twice makes a point of telling us that he does not know – only God does – what the sequel will be.[6] Moreover, the annal for the next year begins, uniquely, by writing out the date in English, at full length.[7] Though the author is apparently still the same man,[8] it seems clear that there is some discontinuity in the text at the end of the annal for 1086; and that seems to imply that his account of the survey is a strictly contemporary account, written in 1086–7. It is thus to be treated with the same respect as bishop Rotbert's account. But the tone of it could hardly be more different. Instead of the stiff, unemotional remarks which we get from Rotbert, here we are given the impressions of somebody still recovering from the shock of seeing the surveyors in action.

Towards the end of his annal for 1085, this author tells us that at Christmas the king held court at Gloucester for a period of five days (perhaps 23–27 December 1085).[9] One early item of business was the appointment of three new bishops; then the king and his council turned to the question of the survey. About this, we are told (in words which have been very frequently quoted), there was 'much deliberation and very deep discussion'. After this meeting, presumably without delay, the survey got started; and this is how the chronicler describes it:

> Then he sent men of his over all England into every shire and had them find out how many hundred hides there were in the shire, and what the king himself owned in the way of land and livestock on the land, and what customs he ought to have from the shire in any twelve-month period. He also had it recorded how much land his archbishops owned, and his bishops and his abbots and his earls, and (though I am making too long a tale of this) what or how much each man who was a tenant of land in England owned, in the way of land and livestock, and how much money it was worth. So very closely did he have it investigated that there was not one single hide, not one yard of land – not even (it is shameful to tell it, but he did not think it shameful to do it) one ox or one cow or one pig was left out – that was not set down in his record. And all the records were brought to him afterwards.[10]

[3] Rotbert's language is classical Latin: he uses the word *prouincia* (twice) in preference to *comitatus*. Stevenson seems to hesitate briefly (at first he translates *prouincias* as 'districts'); but then he cites a passage from Hemming's cartulary (below, p. 116) where it is clear that *comitatus* and *prouincia* are synonymous.

[4] It is worth noting, perhaps, that the passage was misconstrued by Stenton (1943, p. 609 = 1971, p. 618).

[5] Published in facsimile by Whitelock (1954). Plummer's (1892–9) edition, though it needs to be checked against the facsimile, is still valuable. The concluding stretch of text, from 1070 onwards, was printed again by Clark (1958, 1970); there is now a new edition of the entire chronicle (Irvine 2004). Several translations into modern English are available: except where I indicate otherwise, the passages quoted below are taken from Swanton's (1996) version.

[6] The aetheling Eadgar, thinking himself unfairly treated by the king, has gone off on some adventure of his own: 'May the Almighty God give him honour in the future'. The weather has been uncommonly bad this year: 'May God Almighty remedy it when it be his will' (Swanton 1996, p. 217).

[7] 'One thousand and eighty-seven years after the birth-time of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the twenty-first year that William ruled and governed England, as God granted him, . . . (Swanton 1996, p. 217). This annal runs on into the author's obituary of Willelm I, an attempt to draw up a balanced account of the good things and bad things which ought to be remembered about him. (He writes, he says, as someone who has looked upon the king, and lived in his court for a time; but the looking, it seems clear, was only done from a distance.) Here he reverts very briefly to the survey: Willelm was king of England, 'and by his astuteness it was so surveyed that there was not one hide of land in England [of which] he did not know who had it or what it was worth, and [which was not] afterwards set down in his record' (p. 220). The wording echoes that of the previous passage (*thet næs an hid landes, . . . on his gewrit gesett*), but the indignation has faded: the word *geapscip*, though I gather that it often carries a negative charge ('crookedness, craftiness'), is here intended as a compliment ('shrewdness'), not a reproach. Anyone who needs to sum up the survey in a single sentence might do worse than think of quoting this one.

[8] In speaking of the famine of 1087, he refers back ('as we already told') to his remarks about the bad weather of 1086.

[9] 'And afterwards the archbishop and ordained men had a synod for three days.' This has to be read as a parenthesis: the business of which we hear next was conducted at the king's court, not at the archbishop's synod.

[10] I translate this passage rather loosely; there are tighter translations to be found, such as Swanton's (1996, p. 216), if that is what the reader would prefer. Anyway the sense is clear; and it would be unwise to argue anything from nuances in the wording. (In particular, the last sentence has

Though there is nothing here that we cannot work out for ourselves from other evidence, an eye-witness narrative, written down within a year or two of the event, has to have some special value. Though we might have preferred a little less indignation, a little more information, the account seems perfectly reliable, as far as it goes. But it was not written by somebody who had seen the workings of the survey from the inside: it is the report of a horrified observer.[11]

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Even if the chronicler had not heard of it before, the decision to conduct a survey had probably been made well in advance of the meeting at Gloucester.[12] By December 1085, the king was not asking his councillors whether they agreed that the survey was a good idea. That had already been settled; it was too late now for anyone to ask the question put by Joab to king David: *Sed quid sibi dominus meus rex uult in re huiuscemodi?* (2 Samuel 24:3).[13]

The business of the meeting was to discuss the implementation of the policy; and essentially that means two things. For the country as a whole, the king and his council had to agree on a final list of the questions to be asked. For each county, they had to appoint a panel of commissioners to carry out the hard work. The men appointed would not have been chosen unless the king trusted them; but they were being given power which they might be tempted to abuse, and no doubt it had already been agreed – and made known to everyone concerned – that the survey of each county would be verified eventually by a second team of commissioners. Some deadlines would also have had to be settled – most urgently a deadline for the submission of the B text, in its unverified form. Those decisions having been made, the survey could begin at once; and presumably it did. It was the middle of winter, to be sure, but the king did not expect anyone to delay doing their duty on account of some inclement weather.

As they departed from Gloucester, the commissioners entrusted with the survey of B—shire would have carried with them a copy of the schedule listing the questions that they were required to ask. They would (even in the eleventh century) probably have needed some written authorization – a letter addressed to all the barons of B—shire, French and English, ordering them to obey the commissioners' instructions as if they came directly from the king; a letter to the sheriff of B—shire, ordering him to put himself and his agents at the commissioners' disposal. Some scribes would certainly have accompanied the commissioners, but nothing is known about them.

From what bishop Rotbert says (from what he says explicitly about the second teams, and from what he thus implies about the first teams), we can be certain that the commissioners were local men – men who knew and were known by the barons of the target county. Beyond that we can be sure of almost nothing. In Wiltshire and presumably elsewhere, the commissioners were expected to collect belated payments of geld (above, pp. 67–8): for that reason they make an occasional appearance in the Wiltshire geld account as 'Walter and his companions'. That proves (if we need it to be proved) that the survey of each county was conducted by a team, not by one man; but apparently one man was understood to be in charge. It seems that this Walter must be Walter Gifard,[14] whom we shall meet again in Worcestershire (below, p. 116). Walter held only one manor in Wiltshire – but did hold it in domain (DB-Wi-71va) – and perhaps we may suspect that he would not have been put in charge of the survey here unless he was also in charge of the survey of some other nearby county where he owned a larger block of property.[15] The commissioner named S— to whom Lanfranc wrote a letter (below, p. 114) was certainly concerned with more than one county (if we can be sure, as I assume we can, that Lanfranc was being exact). These are just straws in the wind, but they suggest that we ought to allow for the possibility that one team of commissioners may sometimes have been responsible for two or more (presumably adjoining) counties. Eventually, with much effort and some luck, we may be able to work this out a little further, but as yet we do not even know what sort of evidence is going to be admissible.

It will, I fear, always be a struggle to find anything sensible to say about stage 1 of the survey – the stage which ended with the completion of the B text in its original (unverified) form. To make any progress, we shall have to learn how to filter out those changes in the written record which were made during stage 2 of the fieldwork phase, and then during all three successive stages of the compilation phase. (And we shall have to begin by unlearning

no deep meaning. It is just the author's way of wrapping up the paragraph: he began with the king, and so now he ends with the king. With dismal regularity, one finds it being assumed that 'afterwards' means 'at Salisbury on 1 August'. The chronicler does not say this; nor does he imply it.)

[11] By appending this account to his account of the meeting at which the decision was made, the author runs on into the early months of 1086, following the story through to its conclusion. The next annal begins by telling us where the king was at Easter (5 April 1086); but quite possibly the author is fetching back in time as he starts a new line of narrative.

[12] Except for the coincidence in date, there is nothing to suggest that the survey was a consequence of the invasion scare of 1085. But the scare is what brought the king back to England; if he had stayed longer in Normandy, the survey would presumably not have happened till later – in which case it might not have happened at all.

[13] Joab was advising against the proposal to count the people of Israel. The king overruled him. Joab and his colleagues went off to conduct the census: nine months and twenty days later they returned to Jerusalem and Joab reported the final figure to the king. Then the pestilence began . . . .

[14] The only other Walter occurring in Wiltshire is Walter (here and usually called Walscin) de Dowai. He held two manors in this county, but neither of them in domain (72ra), and I take that to be enough for us to rule him out.

[15] The head of Walter's barony was Long Crendon in Buckinghamshire, and this was the county where he held the largest number of manors (DB-Bu-147ra–8ra). One cannot get from Buckinghamshire to Wiltshire without passing through at least one other county. I merely mention these facts; I draw no conclusions from them.

many wrong ideas – above all the idea that properties of B can be instantly inferred from properties of DB.) For one county, Cambridgeshire, we know what the B text looked like – not with regard to its external appearance, but with regard to its internal structure. In the form in which it survives (above, pp. 89–91), B-Ca is some distance away from its original form: it includes passages added by the second team of commissioners; it excludes all paragraphs referring to the manors held by the king as the successor of king Edward. (On top of this, the copy is not a very accurate one; on top of that, part of the copy has been lost.) But those are not the problems which concern us here. We are asking how the B text was put together in the first place. How did the facts pass from the people who knew them to the people who wanted to know them? That is what we should like to know.

The commissioners responsible for the survey of Kent,[16] at some early stage in their proceedings, sent out a questionnaire. We do not know how widely it was distributed; we only know that a copy of the questionnaire was addressed to archbishop Lanfranc; and we know this because a copy survived of the document drawn up in response. It was one of a batch of documents which seem all to have originated in the archbishop's chancery: except for one comment which cannot have been added till after Lanfranc was dead, they can all be assumed to date from before May 1089. After that, they came into the hands of the monks of Christ Church (or of Holy Trinity, to use the name which Lanfranc would have preferred). The originals were, one assumes, an unprepossessing batch of business records, of various sizes and shapes. It was the monks who decided to promote them to the status of holy writ by having them copied out (seemingly by a professional scribe) on eight huge sheets of parchment (Canterbury, Cathedral Library Lit. E 28).[17] They did this (I suppose) because it soon became alarmingly obvious that the king – Willelm II by now – had no intention of allowing a new archbishop to be appointed within the foreseeable future. Almost four years elapsed before Lanfranc's successor was chosen, another nine months before he showed his face in Canterbury. During all that time, the archbishopric was in the king's hands, and the monks were dependent on the benevolence of the king's agents. We are told, in a vague but heartfelt remark, that they 'suffered many hardships'.[18]

One document is chiefly of interest here, the one which takes up the largest amount of space (fos. 2va–5rc).[19] It consists of a manor-by-manor description of the lands in Kent which belonged to the archbishopric of Canterbury, in the largest sense of the word. There are three segments: the first covers the lands held by the archbishop himself (or in some cases by his knights); the second the lands held by the monks of Christ Church; the third the lands held by the bishop of Rochester.[20] Here I propose to concentrate on the first segment (fos. 2va–3va), leaving the others to be dealt with (I hope) in another context.

The order in which the manors are listed here is largely the same as in another document which had got itself included in the same collection, a schedule of the farms and other payments due to the archbishop from his domain manors (fo. 5va–c).[21] This order was one which made sense to the archbishop's officials, not to anyone else (Table 34). The first 18 paragraphs cover the manors in Kent, the last eight the manors elsewhere (Surrey, Middlesex, Sussex, in that order). Five manors listed in the longer text (their names are printed bold) are missing from the schedule of farms, for the simple reason that none of them was held in domain;[22] otherwise the ordering is (except for Sundridge)

[16] We have no clue who they were, unless it is to be inferred, from the fact that Adam son of Hubert was a member of the second team which visited Worcestershire (below, p. 116), that he (like Walter Gifard) had also been a member of one of the first teams. If so, Kent is the county in which he would be most likely to have served.

[17] This manuscript has come to be known, unaptly, as the 'Domesday Monachorum', an eighteenth-century joke which we should not feel compelled to repeat at every opportunity – or ever. It was published in facsimile by Douglas (1944) and is described and discussed in a valuable paper by Cheney (1983). Though Douglas (as far as I can see) omitted to mention this fact, the facsimile is only two-thirds the size of the original – two-thirds linear, so less than half by area. (The dimensions of the facsimile have sometimes been quoted as the dimensions of the original; let the reader beware.) The leaves are ruled for three columns and 54 lines. The coloured initials (red, blue, green, purple) are original; the scribe left spaces for document and paragraph headings but never got round to supplying them.

[18] Though the text known to historians as the 'Acta Lanfranci' includes some passages of pseudo-history aimed at Saint Augustine's (in this version it dates from about 1120), it is mostly based on a reliable text written after but perhaps not long after the arrival of Lanfranc's successor. The concluding paragraph, covering the period from May 1089 till December 1093, has a contemporary ring to it. *Post obitum Lanfranci caruit aecclesia Christi pastore iiii^or^ annis, mensibus ix et diebus ix, in quibus multa aduersa perpessa est. Anno uero dominicae incarnationis millesimo xciii datus est pontificatus Cantuarberiae Anselmo beccensi abbati ii nonas martii, uiro probo, bono, apprime erudito, et sui temporis nominatissimo. Venit autem Cantuariam vii kalendas octobris, multis eum causis rationabilibus detinentibus quod prius uenire nolebat, et sacratus est ii nonas decembris* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173, fo. 32v, published in facsimile by Flower and Smith 1941).

[19] In this document and the one before it (fo. 2rb–c), rubrics were inserted later by a different scribe. They have no particular claim to be authentic: the man who wrote them could have invented them extempore, and his place-name spellings, which usually diverge from those in the original text, suggest that this is precisely what he did.

[20] It was pointed out by Urry (1967, p. 26) that a copy of another version of this text, lacking the third segment, occurs in an early thirteenth-century Christ Church register (Canterbury, Dean and Chapter, Reg. K, fos. 70rb–2va). This version has been very heavily reworked, losing most of its value in the process; but there are some indications, as Urry observed, that it was not derived from Lit. E 28. As for the third segment, a version of this was copied into the cartulary compiled at Rochester in the 1120s (Strood, Medway Archives and Local Studies Centre, DRc/R1, fos. 209r–10r). All this evidence I hope to discuss in detail at some future date.

[21] It was noted by Lennard (1959, pp. 119–20) that the coloured initials emphasize the division of this schedule into 26 paragraphs; and he was inclined to infer that it represents a rota of fortnightly payments (p. 131). But I do not see how that can be reconciled with the fact that the list is organized cadastrally, county by county.

[22] In three cases this is clear from DB, where the corresponding entries (Brasted, Eynsford, Ulcombe) have dropped down into a separate sub-

very nearly the same.[23] Thus it seems certain that the longer text was drawn up by one of the archbishop's officials, and that it was based, so far as the order of the paragraphs was concerned, on a list or schedule not very different from the one which survives independently.[24] We may guess that the monks' manors were dealt with in a similar way, but there is no contemporary list of the farms that were payable from them.[25]

By ordering the entries as it does, this text seems to be saying that it originated inside the archbishop's administration. In other respects it seems to be saying that it was drawn up for a purpose decided outside that context – not by the archbishop, but by the commissioners responsible for the survey of Kent. To begin with the obvious point, the lands of the archbishopric extended over nine counties (below, p. 114), but this text deals only with one. (We cannot say whether similar texts were produced for all or any of the other counties; if they were, they failed to survive.) The facts reported are all facts which we know were of interest to the commissioners: of course they were of even greater interest to the archbishop himself, but we do not know that he had any immediate motive for assembling this particular range of facts at this particular time.

In any case it is clear that some textual relationship exists between this Canterbury text and the B text of the survey. The best proof of this comes from the second segment, in the paragraph relating to the town of Sandwich, because, fortunately for us, the monks of Saint Augustine's had enough of an interest in this place to include a version of the relevant entry in their excerpts from B-Ke (below, p. 123).[26] I print the two paragraphs side by side (Table 35),

	schedule of farms	archbishop's manors
1	Westgate	Westgate
	Petham	Wingham
2	Bishopsbourne	Bishopsbourne
3	Wingham	Petham
4	Aldington	Aldington
5	Lyminge	Lyminge
6	Sundridge	Reculver
7	Reculver	Herne
8	Herne	Boughton under Blean
9	Boughton under Blean	Teynham
	Teynham	Charing
10	Charing	**Pluckley**
11	Gillingham	Gillingham
12	Maidstone	Maidstone
13	Northfleet	Northfleet
14	Bexley	Bexley
15	Otford	**Crayford**
16	Wrotham	**Brasted**
17	East Malling	Otford
18	Darenth	Sundridge
		Wrotham
19	Croydon	East Malling
20	Mortlake	Darenth
	Hayes	**Eynsford**
21	Harrow	**Ulcombe**
22	South Malling	
23	Tarring	
24	Pagham	
25	Lavant	
26	Tangmere	

Table 34. Order of the entries in the schedule of farms (Lit. E 28, fos. 5va–c) compared with that in the description of the archbishop's manors (fos. 2va–3va).

so that readers can judge for themselves, but the verdict is not in doubt: one text is derived from (some version of) the other.[27] Either the Canterbury text (or something like it) was one of the sources used in compiling the B text; or else it was extracted from the B text (or something like it), the order of the entries being changed (so we should have to suppose) to bring them into line with a Canterbury text resembling the schedule of farms. From every point of view, it seems to me, the first theory is to be preferred.

chapter (DB-Ke-4rb–va) covering the lands of the archbishop's knights. (The indications are that this subchapter was created by the D scribes.) In the other two cases the same was true, but DB has lost sight of the fact: in the light of later evidence, we can be sure that Pluckley and Crayford were also both out on lease, to Willelm Folet and Hugo de Port respectively (cf. Du Boulay 1966, pp. 364, 338). (There is a mention of Crayford in the schedule of farms, but it forms a sort of footnote to the Bexley paragraph.) Another blunder in DB (probably not the DB scribe's fault) is the absence of an entry for Teynham: to judge from the ordering of the archbishop's knights' manors (DB-Ke-4rb–va), it ought to follow the entry for Pluckley.

[23] But very different from the ordering in DB. Very loosely one might say that the order is back-to-front; but such slight correlation as exists is accidental. DB tends to run from west to east, and this Canterbury text, like the schedule on which it was based, tends to work outwards from Canterbury.

[24] The order is reproduced exactly (except for the omission of Brasted) by another document in the same collection (fos. 2rb–c); but this – despite some suggestions to the contrary – is obviously just an epitome of the longer text, of no independent value.

[25] A later schedule does exist which claims to be describing the arrangements put in place by Lanfranc (Urry 1967, pp. 26–7). But it has no claim to be contemporary – certainly not in this version, which dates from about 1200, probably not in any version remotely resembling this one.

[26] The Canterbury text is careful to state that the farm is in the process of being increased: in the last complete financial year Sandwich paid 50 pounds, but in the current year it is due to pay 70 pounds. Though it has dropped out of the excerpt made for Saint Augustine's (which gives only the current figure), a similar statement must have been included in B-Ke, and eventually also in D-Ke. The DB scribe, in his version of this paragraph, reports only the first figure, but tries to make it clear that the information is already out of date (DB-Ke-3ra). His attempt to explain this has been misunderstood by some historians as proof that DB is one year earlier than the Canterbury text. The mistake originated with Ballard (1920, pp. xix–xx); it was repeated by Douglas (1944), and has been repeated occasionally since.

[27] In this sort of situation, there are only two possibilities to be considered. Historians (when they wish to give the impression that they are thinking logically) often say that there are three: A from B, B from A, or A and B both from X. But when it is not a serious possibility that A as it survives was copied from B as it survives, or vice versa, the existence of X can be taken for granted straight away. The question is whether X was A-like or B-like.

Canterbury, D & C, Lit. E 28, fo. 3vb–c	PRO, E 164/27, fo. 21r–v
Sandwic est manerium sc'ę trinitatis, et de uestitu monachorum, et est læth et hundretus in se ipso, et reddit regi seruitium in mare sicut douera, et homines illius uillę antequam rex eis dedisset suas consuetudines, reddebant xv lib'. Quando archiep's recuperauit, reddebat xl lib' et xl milia de allecibus. Et in pręterito anno reddidit l lib' et allecia sicut prius. Et in isto anno debet reddere lx et x lib' et allecia sicut prius. In tempore E regis erant ibi ccc et vii mansurę. Nunc autem lx et xvi plus.	Sandwich burgum Sc'e Trinitatis est de uestura monachorum, et est hundred in se ipso, et reddit regi seruicium in mare sicut illi de Doura, et homines illius uille, antequam eis rex dedisset suas consuetudines, reddebant xv li'. Et quando archiep'c recuperauit, reddebant xl li' et xl mil' de allecibus, modo uero debent reddere lxx li' et alleces sicut prius. Tempore regis Edwardi erant ibi ccc et vii mansure, modo sunt lxxvi plus. In isto burgo habet Sc's August' unum agrum, et ibi sunt xxx mansure que reddunt monachis iiii mil' de allecibus uel x s', et regi faciunt seruicium in mare si[cut] alii. In isto agro habet eciam Sc's August' unam eccl'iam.

Table 35. Two descriptions of the town of Sandwich.

What this text represents, therefore, is an outline description of the manors in Kent belonging to the archbishopric, compiled on Lanfranc's behalf by one of his administrative assistants, in response to a series of questions asked by the commissioners conducting the survey of this county. At least one copy of this text was in Lanfranc's possession at the time of his death: perhaps a duplicate had been kept on file; perhaps the original had been returned to him, after the commissioners were finished with it.[28] What survives is a copy of that copy.

It is possible – not impossible – that the same questionnaire was circulated among all the barons in Kent who were known or assumed to be holding directly from the king. If so, the archbishop's response would probably have been atypical, because the manors belonging to him had mostly been in his church's uninterrupted possession since the time of king Edward. But there were some exceptions. Taking note of the way in which these exceptions are dealt with here, we can reconstruct the questionnaire in a form which could have been sent out to any baron, not just in Kent but (with one or two words changed) in any other county. It would have looked something like this:

```
for each manor
  what is its name?
  who held it in the time of king Edward?
    from whom?
  who holds it now? from whom?
  how many sulungs did it defend itself for
    in the time of king Edward?
  how many now?
  how much it is worth?
  if any of your men possess parts of this
    manor
      for each man
        how much does he hold?
        how much is it worth?
      next man
next manor

PS - remember to say plainly which hundred
  each manor belongs to
```

If it could be assumed (as it evidently could be, in the case of archbishop Lanfranc) that the owner of every manor would have this much information instantly to hand, a questionnaire of this kind would have been an effective method for assembling an early version of the B text, into which the additional data which the commissioners were planning to collect could be inserted as it became available.[29] To what extent this method was actually used – that is another question.

We have already constructed a list of the questions which shaped the survey of Cambridgeshire, as it is reflected in B-Ca (Table 27). If we subtract from this the questions which Lanfranc has already answered for us (and two questions at the end which belong to stage 2), what we are left with is this:

```
for each manor
  how many ploughs does the land suffice
    for?
  how many ploughs on the domain? how many
    ploughs for the villains?
  how many hides of domain?
  if there are fewer ploughs than the land
    suffices for
      how many more might be made on the
        domain?
      how many more for the villains?
  how many villains, bordars, slaves?
  anybody else worth mentioning?
  how many mills? and what are they worth?
  any other assets worth mentioning?
  how much meadow?
  how much pasture?
  how much livestock -- cows, sheep, pigs,
    horses -- on the domain?
  how much was the manor worth when the man
    who holds it got possession?
  how much was it worth TRE?
next manor
```

These were the facts which remained to be discovered, by whatever means might be employed, before the survey of

[28] There is some slight evidence (above, note 20) that more than one copy of this text found its way into the Christ Church archive.

[29] It is a point to note that – except for special cases like Sandwich – the only value reported is the current value. Apparently that was the only figure being asked for at this stage.

any given county could be brought to completion. And these are the proceedings which were witnessed, somewhere in the country, by the English chronicler; but he was more interested in telling us what a disgraceful business it was than in telling us how it was managed.

Away from Kent, we have evidence of the archbishop's involvement with the survey at a slightly later stage in its proceedings. While the B text was still in a plastic state – still open to last-minute corrections – a letter was delivered to Lanfranc from someone named S— inviting him to comment on a point which, in the B text as it stood, was not as clearly stated as might perhaps be wished. Again we have no idea whether this letter was unique or nearly so, or whether the commissioners were sending out letters like this in large numbers. The only sure fact is that none survive, not even S—'s letter. All that we have is Lanfranc's reply, which (somehow or other) came to be included in a rather meagre collection of his correspondence put together by one of his admirers shortly after his death (ed. Clover and Gibson 1979). Whoever he was, the compiler was so short of material that he could not afford to pick and choose: he included even letters like this one, so brief and so lacking in context that they do not make much sense. The significance of this particular letter (available in print since the seventeenth century) seems to have gone unremarked until Barlow (1963) pointed out that it contains an explicit reference to the survey of 1086.

Something of the gist of S—'s letter can be got from Lanfranc's reply. (A messenger is passing to and fro, but his role in the business is obscure.) S— is responsible for the survey of some number of counties – presumably he would have said which counties they were, but Lanfranc does not bother to repeat the names – including some in which Lanfranc's church owns land. The question he asks is: which of these manors does Lanfranc hold in domain? (Though no doubt it was delicately worded, the point of the question would be that the domain manors are the ones which will fall into the king's hands, when Lanfranc goes the way of all flesh.) As it stands now, says S—, the record does not state which manors belong to the archbishop himself and which belong to his monks. But S— offers to have the text amended, to make this distinction clear, if Lanfranc would like him to do so.

Lanfranc's reply is short and to the point – as short as it could be without being discourteous.[30] He thanks S— for his concern. He answers the question that was put to him: in the counties which S— is responsible for investigating, none of the Canterbury lands are held in domain, all are assigned to the maintenance of the monks.[31] And he concludes with some more polite remarks.

It is difficult to draw any definite conclusions from this. Altogether there were nine counties in which the archbishop held land (Du Boulay 1966, pp. 43–6), and (since Lanfranc speaks in the plural) two or more of these must have fallen within S—'s ambit. From the schedule of farms (above, p. 111), we know that the archbishop's domain manors were distributed over four counties – Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, Sussex – and none of those can be in question; Hertfordshire is also excluded, because none of the manors here belonged to the monks.[32] That leaves us with four counties where the monks owned land but the archbishop and his knights did not: Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Essex, Suffolk. Two or more of these were the counties where S—'s interests intersected with Lanfranc's. Taking a gamble, perhaps we might think of narrowing the choice to one or the other contiguous pair of counties; and in that case the better bet, it seems to me, would be Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire.[33] There were three Canterbury manors here, and all three appear in the list of properties which Lanfranc had recovered for his church;[34] so possibly there might still have been some doubt in people's minds as to what Lanfranc had done with them. In Essex and Suffolk, by contrast, the monks' manors had been continuously in their possession (apart from some small encroachments) since the time of king Edward, and it seems unlikely that anyone would have been uncertain about their status. This does not get us any closer to deciding who S— might have been, but we cannot expect an answer to every question. Nor can we be certain beyond all doubt that S is the right initial: one capital letter, out of context, may easily be miscopied.[35]

From the evidence of the surviving geld accounts, we can be sure that the second instalment of the current geld fell due at a time intermediate between stage 1 and stage 2 of

[30] Barlow detected some fearfulness in Lanfranc's letter; I do not.

[31] *Scias autem in illis comitatibus, quorum exquirendorum tibi cura commissa est, me nichil in dominio habere, sed omnes in illis partibus nostrae aecclesiae terras ad uictum monachorum per omnia pertinere.* The full text is printed by Barlow (1963, p. 289) and, with the rest of the collection, by Clover and Gibson (1979, p. 170).

[32] The land in Hertfordshire was (except for two acres) all held from the archbishop by Anskitil (de Ros); some of it was claimed by Westminster, some of it by Saint Alban's (DB-Ht-133rb).

[33] But in this case it would have to be assumed that S— failed to keep his promise: if DB is an accurate proxy for B, the record was not amended. (That is why Barlow (1963) was deceived into thinking that only Essex and Suffolk would fit the bill. He could not do what we can: consult Du Boulay (1966).) To my mind, this is not an obstacle: reasons can easily be imagined why the opportunity might in the end have been missed. But the only S— to be met with in these two counties is Suain the sheriff, who held one manor in Oxfordshire, not in domain (DB-Ox-160ra).

[34] The manors recovered by Lanfranc, with the king's support, are conveniently listed, county by county, in the Christ Church obit of Willelm I (Le Patourel 1948, pp. 24–6). Haddenham (DB-Bu-143vb) is in a category by itself. This was Lanfranc's personal property, subsequently given by him to the monks of Rochester (Flight 1997, pp. 12–13).

[35] If we ventured to think that 'S' might be wrong, perhaps a mistake for 'G', we would face an embarrassment of possibilities. Since the name Walter was often spelt *Gualterus*, Lanfranc's correspondent might even be Walter Gifard.

the survey. As stage 1 drew to an end, the B text for each county was delivered to the treasury; there it was checked against the geld account; and the result of that checking was a list of queries which the treasury expected to be answered in stage 2. For four counties, the version of the geld account which registers this checking survives in the original (above, pp. 61–6): they are largely the work of scribe alpha (the treasurer's clerk, as I suppose him to have been).

It is not known when exactly the geld instalments were due, or whether the dates were the same for every county.[36] The best evidence comes from Dorset, where scribe alpha records a number of late payments: though the treasury is now in possession of most of this money, he assumes that the commissioners will impose some penalty for the fact that it was not paid on time. There were, it is clear, two 'appointed terms', and in some cases the treasury's complaint is merely that money which ought to have been paid at the first term was not paid until the second. It was presumably a more serious matter that some money had gone unpaid at the second term. The men of Roger de Bello monte have paid 1260 pence for 17.5 hides, but they did not pay till 'after the feast of Saint Mary'.[37] One step worse than that was for the payment not to be made till 'after Easter'; and worst of all was the case of Rotbert de Oilleio, who 'withheld' a sum of money till 'after Easter' and has still not paid it even now.[38] This is good evidence, as far as it goes; but it is very thin, and in some respects not of much help. (We are given no clue as to the date of the first term, but that need not concern us.) Even so, I think it safe to say that in Dorset, and possibly everywhere, the second term ended on Lady Day (25 March), and that a short period followed after that (ending this year on 5 April) during which one could pay the money (as Roger de Belmont's men did) and hope not to incur the full penalty for late payment.

The same deadline, so I am willing to guess, applied to stage 1 of the survey. The commissioners appointed at Christmas would have been told told, before they left Gloucester, that they had exactly three months to get the job done: the finished report for every county was to be handed in to the treasury no later than 25 March. In the nature of the case it would not be surprising if a few reports missed the deadline; provided the delay was slight, provided the commissioners had some good excuse, perhaps the king would not be unforgiving. But the commissioners were, we may be sure, expected to make every effort to deliver their reports on time, especially for those counties which were first in line to be dealt with in stage 2. If these were delayed, the whole programme might be derailed. The king was at Winchester for Easter: we know this because the English chronicler tells us so. He says nothing whatever that implies a connection between this meeting and the progress of the survey. All the same it seems likely that the Easter court provided an opportunity for the king and his council to review the results from stage 1 before finalizing the arrangements for stage 2.

As soon as he had the B text and the geld account, scribe alpha set to work compiling his list of queries for each county in turn. For him too, the urgency would be greatest for the counties which were going to be first in line; once stage 2 was safely under way, he could perhaps afford to deal with the remaining counties in a more leisurely fashion. His list of queries for Dorset was clearly not compiled till Easter was well in the past; and corrections and additions continued being made to it, over some period of time. The final corrections may have been made at the very last minute, perhaps as late as June or July, just before a copy of this text was sent off to the commissioners responsible for this county.

2

Stage 2 of the survey is a little less obscure than stage 1. As we know from bishop Rotbert's account, the basic intention was for each county to be visited by a second team of commissioners, disinterested parties who would monitor the first team's work and report whatever derelictions they might find to the king. In one county – Worcestershire – we know that the team consisted of a bishop and three other men; all four names are recorded.

The story goes something like this. Upon their arrival in Worcester, the commissioners discovered that bishop Wulstan (who had possibly offered them accommodation and would certainly have invited them to dinner) was intending to recruit them into a scheme of his own.[39] One matter much on his mind was an unresolved dispute with the abbot of Evesham (the details of which we may ignore). There had already been a trial, some years earlier, and Wulstan could produce two writs connected with that: a writ ordering the trial to be held, a subsequent writ approving of what had been decided.[40] But he had still not been able to make the abbot comply. Once Wulstan knew who the commissioners for Worcestershire were going to be, he sent a

[36] As far as Berkshire is concerned, there is an explicit statement in DB that the geld was payable in two equal instalments of 3.5 pence, at Christmas and at Whitsun (DB-Be-56va). But the very fact that this information was recorded suggests that it was anomalous; furthermore it is in the past tense. It seems that the men of Berkshire were making a protest: in view of his promise to maintain the laws of king Edward, the king should not demand more than 7 pence a hide, and should let it be paid at the traditional dates. The chances that the king listened to this complaint are small.

[37] *Et pro x et vii hidis et dimidia reddiderunt homines Rogerii de bello monte c et v solidos post festum sanctae Mariae* (ch-Do-20v). The place in question was assessed at 30 hides, of which 12.5 hides were deductible as domain (DB-Do-80rb).

[38] *Sed Rotbertus de oilleio retinuit inde xv solidos usque post pascha*, with the interlined note *quos nondum habet rex* (ch-Do-19v). As is clear from the geld account (but not from DB), Rotbert was farming some of the land which had fallen into the king's hands.

[39] Bishop Rotbert of Hereford owned some land in Worcestershire (DB-Wo-174rb) and is said to have been a close friend of Wulstan's; but his name does not appear here.

[40] The two writs are printed by Bates (1998, nos. 347–8), and by Thorn and Thorn (1982, app. V, 'Worcester H', nos. 1, 3).

messenger in search of the bishop of Coutances, who had presided over that trial, asking him to write a letter setting out the facts; and the bishop (who was probably somewhere in England at the time) obliged.[41] Armed with these documents, Wulstan made the commissioners his accomplices in ambushing the abbot of Evesham. When the abbot arrived, he found himself caught in a situation where he could not avoid coming to terms with the bishop. In the presence of the monks of Worcester, of some of the monks of Evesham (presumably just those who were accompanying the abbot), and of the four commissioners for Worcestershire (*regis principibus qui uenerant ad inquirendas terras comitatus*), a new document was drawn up to celebrate the abbot's discomfiture.[42] The list of witnesses is headed by the abbot of Gloucester, another visitor coopted into Wulstan's scheme;[43] it also includes a monk of Saint-Rémi, presumably acting as his monastery's proctor in connection with the survey.[44]

This dispute with the abbot of Evesham overlapped with a larger question, the extent of the liberties enjoyed by the church of Worcester in the triple hundred of Oswaldslow. At one of the formal sessions convened by the commissioners, this question was brought up and a form of words was agreed: the bishop was satisfied with it, the county was ready to swear to it, and the commissioners were willing to include it in their report to the king.[45] They also allowed the bishop to make a copy for himself – and a copy of that, some years later (after but not long after the death of Willelm I), was included by the church's archivist, a monk named Hemming, in a compilation of documents concerning the possessions of the church of Worcester (BL, Cotton Tib. A. xiii, fos. 119–34). This particular document comes right at the end (fo. 133r–v), followed only by an explanatory paragraph contributed by Hemming himself.[46]

Thus we have three sources of information. Two are strictly contemporary: a letter from the bishop of Coutances to the commissioners for Worcestershire, and the agreement drawn up in the commissioners' presence between the bishop of Worcester and the abbot of Evesham. The third is only slightly later: Hemming's commentary on the Oswaldslow text. It would have been helpful if one of these documents had given us a date or a hint of a date; unfortunately none of them does that. But at least we can be perfectly sure who the commissioners were: Remigius bishop of Lincoln,[47] Henric de Ferieres, Walter Gifard,[48] Adam. None of them owned land in this county: they would not have been chosen if they had. Henric and Walter were important barons, just the sort of men whom we would expect to find entrusted with important tasks like this. The last name is more of a surprise. Hemming tells us, no doubt rightly, that this Adam is Eudo Dapifer's brother – i.e. the same man who occurs in DB as Adam son of Hubert – and he was only a second-tier baron, a tenant of the bishop of Bayeux.[49] Still, with the bishop in prison, Adam was a first-tier baron for the time being; and through his brother he had a personal connection with the king's court.

From what we know about Worcestershire, it does not seem rash to infer that in every county the second team consisted of four men – one bishop and three barons. If we can trust a vague remark by Hemming, the team which dealt with Worcestershire had also dealt or was about to deal with 'a number of other' counties (*in hac prouincia et in pluribus aliis*). There are indications elsewhere that it was indeed the rule that the second team (unlike the first one) should be headed by a bishop – that is, by someone who, as well as being a baron, was also literate in Latin, and could answer for the accuracy of the written record. In Wiltshire the second team appears in the geld accounts as 'bishop Willelm and his colleagues' (above, p. 67): this Willelm is, almost certainly, the bishop of Durham, who appears to have been connected somehow with the survey of Somerset too (above, pp. 71–3). More doubtfully, there is one item of evidence (below, p. 121) suggesting that the bishop of Winchester and the bishop of Coutances may each have dealt with one or more of the counties where the monks of Ely owned land, perhaps even (if we argue from silence) that between

[41] This letter is printed by Bates (1998, no. 350), and by Thorn and Thorn (1982, app. V, 'Worcester H', no. 4). There is evidence which seems to suggest that bishop Goisfrid led the team which visited one or more of the counties where the abbot of Ely owned land (below, p. 121).

[42] This agreement between bishop Wulstan and abbot Walter is printed by Thorn and Thorn (1982, app. V, 'Worcester H', no. 5).

[43] The abbey of Gloucester owned very little property in Worcestershire – just half a hide in Droitwich (DB-Wo-174rb) – but apparently that was enough reason for abbot Serlo to come to Worcester.

[44] His name was Alfwin. Saint-Rémi owned nothing in Worcestershire, but it did possess lands in Staffordshire (DB-Nn-222vb, DB-St-247va) and (one hide only) in Shropshire (DB-Sh-252rb).

[45] Printed by Thorn and Thorn (1982, app. V, 'Worcester F'). The version appearing in DB-Wo (172va) is somewhat shorter, but much of it is word for word the same.

[46] *Hoc testimonium totus uicecomitatus uuireceastre dato sacramento iurisiurandi firmauit … tempore regis Willelmi senioris, coram principibus eiusdem regis … qui ad inquirendas et describendas possessiones et consuetudines tam regis quam principum suorum in hac prouincia et in pluribus aliis ab ipso rege destinati sunt, eo tempore quo totam Angliam idem rex describi fecit.* As I understand him, Hemming is saying that this text was written down in an annex added to B-Wo (the *autentica regis cartula*, as he calls it, using the same phrase twice) and that the annex is (as he knows or supposes) still kept in the king's treasury with the records of the survey (*quae in thesauro regali cum totius Angliae descriptionibus conseruatur*). (I am assuming that the scribe called 'hand 1' by Ker (1948, pp. 57–8) is Hemming. Ker seems to be working towards that conclusion himself, but eventually veers away from it (p. 72), for reasons which do not seem good to me.)

[47] The bishop's retinue included two monks (named Ulf and Rannulf) and one clerk (named Nigel), all of whom witnessed the agreement mentioned above (note 42).

[48] Henric is named before Walter in the agreement. The bishop of Coutances reverses the order, and Hemming does the same. Hemming also calls Walter 'earl': presumably this was true at the time when he was writing, but it was not true at the time of the survey.

[49] His holding was mostly in Kent, but he also occurs in Surrey and Oxfordshire (DB-Sy-31vb, DB-Ox-156rb). (The Adam who occurs in Hertfordshire, thought by Farrer (1925, pp. 293–4) to be the same man, was not: the Ely records call him Adam son of Willelm.)

them they dealt with all six of these counties.

If all of this is right, we have evidence for the involvement of at least four bishops (three English, one Norman) in stage 2 of the survey. Multiplying by three, we may guess that at least twelve barons would have been involved. These are the smallest numbers that seem at all likely; if we double them, the numbers that we get – eight bishops, 24 barons – are probably about the largest numbers that we would be willing to consider.[50] With 32 commissioners and 32 counties, each commissioner (if the workload were evenly distributed) would have to deal with four counties: if we decrease the number of commissioners, the number of counties with which each will have to deal increases. If there were only 16 commissioners (the number that we started with), each would have to deal with eight counties, more or less.[51]

That some division of labour must have been involved seems clear enough from scheduling considerations. Stage 2 did not begin till after Easter; it was completed before the end of July (by which time the C text for every county was already in existence). If a single team were employed, that would imply an average allowance of no more than three days per county. From one angle, that number does not seem unreasonable to me. I do not doubt but that the commissioners transacted their business at a speed which would seem astonishing if one thought of comparing it (as Eyton did) with the proceedings of the itinerant justices of Henric II – still more so if one thought of comparing it (as Maitland did) with the proceedings of the itinerant justices of Henric III. Those analogies seem inappropriate to me. In the late eleventh century, a three-day meeting was a very long meeting.[52] We can take it for granted, I think, that the hundred juries were being shunted in and shunted out with the least possible delay (below, p. 119). A small county, such as Hertfordshire, could quite possibly have been dealt with in one day. An unusually large county, such as Yorkshire, might take more than three days. On the average, however, three days per county might be enough. But this makes no allowance for travel time. If a single team were employed, it would lose a large amount of time transporting itself from one county to the next, on top of the time that it spent conducting business. And that would take too long.

For other reasons too, it is clear that no single team of four commissioners could possibly do the job. Whoever they were, sooner or later they would come to a county where at least of them had to recuse himself, because he was an interested party. Men who were important enough to serve as commissioners – men like the ones whom we have met in Worcestershire – were likely to own land in several counties. Suppose that we have chosen a team to conduct stage 2 of the survey of Worcestershire: the bishop of Lincoln, Henric de Ferieres, Walter Gifard, Adam son of Hubert. There are several counties – though only one adjoining county (Shropshire) – into which we could send the same team.[53] But most counties are precluded.[54] We could send the bishop of Lincoln into Gloucestershire; but if we did, we should have to find a replacement for Henric de Ferieres. We could send the bishop of Lincoln into Wiltshire; but if we did, we should also have to find a replacement for Walter Gifard.

At the same time, the bishop of Lincoln has duties towards his church which are not superseded by his duties towards the king. On his own account – as bishop, not as commissioner – he is sure to want to attend the meeting in Lincolnshire, and probably the meetings in all the other nine counties where his church owns land. It is not clear that his attendance is demanded; but we cannot reasonably deny him the opportunity to be present at any meeting which affects his church's interests. Similarly, we cannot think of making it impossible for Henric de Ferieres to attend the meeting in Staffordshire, or for Walter Gifard to attend the meeting in Buckinghamshire, or for Adam son of Hubert to attend the meeting in Kent. They also have interests to protect, for themselves and their heirs. Such concerns may not be as exalted as the duty owed by a bishop to his church, but we cannot expect a baron to disregard them. If this were the thirteenth century, such men would have lawyers to represent them. In the eleventh century they expect and are ex-

[50] A conjecture of Eyton's (1877, pp. 106–9) implied that 36 commissioners were employed; Ballard (1906, pp. 12–13) thought that 28 might be enough. As far as I am aware, no one has found these numbers inconceivably too large or too small. The reader should understand that I have nothing to say about Eyton's conjecture, beyond what is said between the lines of the present section. (I am not even sure whether it should be taken to refer to stage 1 or stage 2.) In fairness, however, I ought to add that Eyton is not to blame for the harm which his conjecture has done. It was Galbraith (1942) who took a casual suggestion and – seemingly without any serious thought – made an axiom out of it. It was other historians who allowed this axiom to take hold, to the point that any account of the survey had to begin with an intricately detailed mapping of Eyton's conjecture, as it was modified, on a mere whim, by Ballard. There is, I gather, an unpublished essay on this subject among Eyton's papers: anyone who thinks that the conjecture is worth taking seriously might do him and the rest of us the courtesy of starting with that. (Historians who cite an article of Stephenson's (1947) as proof that Eyton was right are admitting one of two things, either that they have not read the article for themselves, or that they have failed to understand it.)

[51] These are only order-of-magnitude estimates, not to be taken literally. It is unlikely that the load was evenly distributed. A more realistic guess might be that there were (bishops included) 20–24 men who visited five or six counties each and 4–8 men who visited one or two counties each, where and when they were needed to make up the number.

[52] The author who wrote a fictionalized account of the meeting on Penenden Heath in 1072 expected us to be impressed with the fact that the meeting had to last for more than one day – in fact for as much as three days: *Et quoniam multa placita … ibi surrexerunt … quae prima die expediri non potuerunt, ea causa totus comitatus per tres dies fuit ibi detentus* (Le Patourel 1948, p. 22). I note, by the way, that the only reliable account of what happened on Penenden Heath is the document printed (but misinterpreted) by Douglas (1933, pp. 51–2).

[53] These four would be eligible to serve in Yorkshire, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Sussex, Hampshire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, Cheshire, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall. Choose any four barons – and the chances are that the allowable counties will be patchily distributed like this.

[54] It is to Eyton's credit that he recognized this difficulty (Eyton 1877, p. 108), less to his credit that he promptly wriggled out of it. Like everyone else at the time, he was ignorant of bishop Rotbert's account of the survey, and for him that is an allowable excuse.

pected to speak for themselves. But they are also the only men who can be trusted to conduct the survey. If this were the thirteenth century, we could send full-time judges or career officials to carry out a job of this kind. In the eleventh century, we have to rely on the barons; and that puts us into a dilemma. It means that we have to find some way of reconciling the duty which a baron owes to the king with the duty which he owes to himself.

The only acceptable solution, as far as I can see, is for the meetings to be scheduled to occur in rapid succession, without actually overlapping to any significant extent. Things have to be arranged in such a way that we find ourselves, on any given day, in this sort of situation. One team of commissioners is wrapping up its business in county A: the formal sessions are over, but some work still needs to be done on the final report. A second team has just started its proceedings in county B, and will be busy for a few days yet. A third team is already on the spot in county C, talking matters over with the sheriff, making sure that all necessary preparations have been made. And the individuals who will make up a fourth team are already, separately or together, on their way to county D. In a few days' time, the juggernaut will have moved on, and the commissioners who were at work in county A will be mobile again. One or more may have to hurry off to another county where the king requires his services; one or more may have to hurry off to a meeting which he has reasons of his own for attending; and anyone who does not have urgent business can relax, at least for a while.

It needs to be stressed that the logistical constraints which came into play in stage 2 were very different from what they had been in stage 1. There was no room for improvisation: the schedule had to be decided in advance and stuck to. Coordinating the movements of the commissioners – a small number of men who can be trusted to do as they are told – is not the difficult part. It is child's play compared with the job of mobilizing the local juries. About that I say something below; I mention it here only to make the point that the date of each meeting had to be fixed several weeks in advance. If Willelm I's chancery had kept copies of outgoing letters, we should probably be able to map out the advance of the juggernaut day by day. There would be letters addressed to the men of B—shire, letters addressed to the sheriff of B—shire, letters addressed to the individual commissioners; and some of these letters would be sure to tell us when and where the meeting was due to take place. That the chancery was issuing such letters does not seem doubtful to me; but no copies were retained, and the originals had no permanent value which would have made them worth preserving.

Even so, the path of the juggernaut is approximately known (Fig. 12). In his imaginary journey around the country,[55] the DB scribe was following (nearly) the order set by the D scribes; they had been following (nearly) the order set by the C scribes; and they had been following (nearly) the order set by the arrival of the B texts. The order in which the DB booklets were written was approximately the same – not exactly but nearly the same – as the order in which the counties had been dealt with in stage 2. How far the orders differed in detail is more than we can say; but I think we can be sure that the juggernaut began its journey in the far north and ended it in the far south-west.

What this map brings to mind, I think, is a map of a military campaign – perhaps an advance through enemy territory, where the castles need to be cut off and captured one by one. The man who planned this campaign was a man experienced in warfare, a man accustomed to issuing orders – accustomed also to having his orders obeyed, instantly and without question. There was no 'man behind the survey', no man in the shadows acting as the king's alter ego. The king himself was in command.

The commissioners are not the sort of men who travel alone. They need servants with them, to look after themselves and their horses; they need an armed escort. Upon their arrival, they and their retinue will require accommodation, food and drink, fodder. All this, I suppose, was arranged by the sheriff, at the king's expense. Perhaps the sheriff had to account for his expenditure; but no such accounts survive. If the commissioners had found some cause for complaint, with respect to these or other advance arrangements, we might learn what ought to have been done by hearing what had failed to be done; but no such complaints are on record. There is no hint that any sheriff showed himself uncooperative or incompetent.

A team of three scribes, sent out from the treasury, arrives to meet up with the commissioners; they too will need board and lodging. They bring with them the B text for this county, and also at least one other piece of documentation – a checklist of the discrepancies between the B text and the geld account, such as survives in the original for four counties (above, pp. 61–6). The treasury has discovered these discrepancies; the commissioners are to investigate them.

The commissioners and the scribes are both small groups, and their movements would be relatively easy to coordinate. Logistically it would be a much larger problem to bring together all the local participants. This, it seems, must all have been the sheriff's responsibility. Once the proceedings began, he was himself an essential participant; but it was also his job, sufficiently far in advance, to make sure that the word was spread, that juries were selected from every hundred, and that everyone knew exactly where and when they should assemble.

Large numbers of people are involved. In Cambridgeshire, the county of which we know most, there were fifteen hun-

[55] The sequence of DB booklets shown here is slightly different from that which I suggested originally (Table 3). Looking at the evidence again, I have changed my mind about Cambridgeshire (below, p. 141).

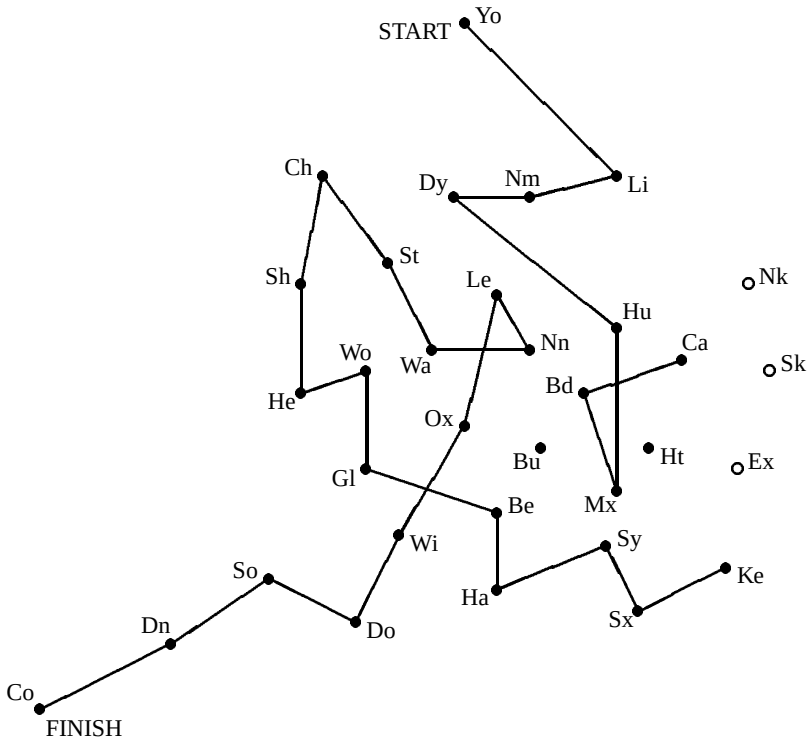

Figure 12. The sequence of DB booklets construed as an approximate map of the progress of stage 2 of the survey.

dreds, one of which was counted as a double hundred. Each was to be represented by a jury of eight men – four Frenchmen, four (French-speaking) Englishmen – and twice that many for the double hundred; so already we have 128 people to organize.[56] Some counties had many more hundreds than this. In Wiltshire, for example, there were 40 hundreds, and so more than 300 jurors had to be brought to the meeting. However many of them there were, their attendance was compulsory, and we can be sure that anyone who failed to show up would have been in very serious trouble.

The king's barons were present too. It is not clear that they were under any obligation to attend; their absence, whether voluntary or involuntary, was not going to bring the proceedings to a halt. But they had to be notified, and they had to be given the chance to attend, if they wished to do so. Probably most of them did wish to, and did attend, especially if they saw any risk of their rights being called into question by someone else. In Cambridgeshire there were about 40 people who would be entitled to attend because they were the king's barons. Again in some counties the number was much larger than this – more than 150 in Wiltshire. Perhaps the sheriff might have a word with some of the smaller people, letting them know that the king would not be offended if they found themselves unable to come. But still there are numerous important people – bishops and abbots, earls and barons – who cannot possibly be discouraged from participating; and they, when they come, will bring their retinues with them.[57]

Once everyone has been brought together – commissioners, scribes, jurors, barons, sheriff – what happens next? How are the proceedings conducted? Suppose that the meeting has just finished dealing with one hundred and is ready to start dealing with the next one. The jurors for this hundred have already been marshalled by the sheriff's officers: now they are brought forward, and their names are called out and written down. It is necessary for everyone to know who they are; it is necessary for the jurors to know that their names are being recorded. They have, I suppose, been thoroughly coached in advance. The section of the B text to which they will have to swear has already been read out to them (in French), behind the scenes, by the scribe who is managing the rehearsal, so that they can settle any doubts or disagreements among themselves before they appear in court.[58] We do not want to waste time, in the formal sessions, watching the jurors squabble. Now they are put on

[56] It is possible in one or two cases that the same man may have served on two juries. I am not convinced that this was so, and in any case it does not make much difference.

[57] Not all of them were men. In Cambridgeshire, for example, the list includes the abbess of Chatteris, countess Judita, and two other women. As far as I can see, there is no clear proof that any woman attended in person.

[58] Here we can find an explanation for the fact that the team consists of three scribes. If rehearsal takes longer than performance, as it presumably does, more than two scribes will be needed to keep things moving. If rehearsal is not allowed to take more than twice as long, three scribes will be enough. At any moment, one scribe will be servicing the formal session, one will be ending his rehearsal of the hundred which is next in line, and one will be beginning his rehearsal of the hundred after that.

their oath to do their duty by God and the king. The relevant section of the B text is then read out again aloud (again in French), so that everyone present will know exactly what the sworn record of the survey is going to say. We cannot let anyone have the chance to plead ignorance, after the event.

By and large, it was being assumed that the first team of commissioners had done their job carefully and conscientiously, and the jurors were not expected to have much to say. As a matter of course, they would have to be asked whether they were aware of any mistakes in the text which ought to be put right, or of any facts, omitted from the text as it stood, which the king ought to know about. If their hundred included any land of the king's, they would be required to state what encroachments, if any, they knew about: where the king was concerned, some fair amount of detail might be demanded. The commissioners would have some questions of their own to put to the jurors – some which arose on the spot, some which the treasury had told them to ask, because of conflicting entries in the geld account. That was the main business of the meeting, transacted between the commissioners and the jurors. But there must also have been some opportunity for other people present to put in a claim or make a protest on their own account. The commissioners, it is clear, were under instructions to take note of all cases of disputed possession, and to get some preliminary statement of the facts from the local jury. They were not empowered to settle disputes, but they were required to make a record of them; and that record, once made, was intended to be definitive. We can be sure, I think, that anyone who failed to speak up now would have little hope of being listened to in the future. After that, the jurors were thanked and allowed to depart, and the commissioners (unless they needed a few minutes' recess) were ready to deal with the next hundred straight away.

After the last hundred jury had been discharged, there was still some further business to be transacted. In every county, there was at least one town of which some sort of survey was needed, and apparently a jury of the men of the town was made to swear to that. In every county again, some statement was recorded of any customary arrangements existing in the time of king Edward which ought to be of profit to the present king, and a county jury was required to swear to that. The indications are that matters of this kind were recorded in annexes to the B text; but these annexes, because they fell outside the feodal frame, were roughly handled during the compilation phase (the DB scribe is not alone to blame), and it is sometimes difficult to make much sense of them, in their surviving form. In the main text, the compilation phase did not do so much damage. Even in counties for which nothing but DB is available, those passages which originated in stage 2 of the survey are generally quite easy to recognize, once one has learnt what clues are to be looked for.

Then finally the meeting is over. The local people disperse, variously happy or unhappy with the way that things have worked out. The scribes return to Winchester, taking with them the edited version of the B text. The commissioners and the other barons head off in various directions, wherever the king's orders or their own interests may take them next. And the sheriff breathes a sigh of relief – unless he, too, is hurrying off to another meeting.

We know little about the aftermath. One of the documents which was on its way to Winchester was a new version of the geld account – such as survives in the original for one county (above, pp. 67–8) – replying to the treasury's questions. Prompted by the treasury, the commissioners had discovered numerous cases of geld evasion. Quite frequently it turned out that people had been failing to pay all or some of the geld which was due from land that they owned – by falsely claiming to hold it directly from the king, by falsely claiming to hold it in domain, sometimes simply by not admitting its existence. The peasants had paid; when did peasants ever have any choice but to pay? But the lord of the place, instead of forwarding the money to the collectors, had kept it for himself. In due course justice would have to be done; but the missing money could be collected at once. From a cryptic remark by bishop Rotbert (above, p. 108), it seems that the sheriff was left with instructions to take whatever action might be needed to get hold of this money – from the owner if possible, from his unlucky peasants (who had already paid once) if necessary.

There is one other point which I will mention but not pursue. Given that their time was short and strictly limited, it seems likely that the commissioners would occasionally come across some problem which they were unable to resolve satisfactorily. (Perhaps the original investigators had botched some part of their report; perhaps the local jurors were raising questions which could not be answered on the spot.) If this happened, for whatever reason, the commissioners would presumably notify the king, make their excuses, and recommend that some further investigation should be made, concentrated on this single topic. To what extent was the work of the survey continued and completed by special-purpose inquiries? Was there a stage 3? I ask the question without trying to answer it. But I note that two of the surviving D booklets each end with a block of text which is not listed in the index – in one case an astonishingly detailed survey of the town of Colchester (D-Ex-104r–7v), in the other a list of the lands in dispute between the bishop of Bayeux and Robert Malet's mother (D-Sk-450r).

From Easter onwards, the king's movements are recorded (but only vaguely recorded) by the English chronicler. From Winchester, we are told, the king 'travelled so that he was at Westminster' for Whitsun (24 May), and after that 'he travelled about so that he came to Salisbury' for Lammas (1 August). It was normal for the court to meet at Whitsun, but a meeting at Lammas is something out of the ordinary. The chronicler says nothing to suggest how these movements might have been linked with the survey: in fact

he says nothing at all about this second stage. Apparently the king made a point of letting himself be seen; but he did not interfere with the work of his commissioners. He did not attend any of the county meetings: if he had done so, we should know it. By Whitsun (seven weeks after Easter) the survey would be roughly at the halfway mark, and the juggernaut, it seems, would have been somewhere in south-eastern England at the time. By the beginning of August the survey was already completed, and the meeting which brought the king to Salisbury (and which must have been planned many weeks in advance) was presumably intended to be seen as its culmination. If the chronicler had understood the purpose of this meeting correctly – his account of it has already been quoted (above, pp. 79–80) – the king was asserting his right to the personal loyalty of all his English subjects, a loyalty which transcended the whole hierarchy of feodal relationships mapped out in the written record of the survey. After this, presumably as soon as the meeting was over, 'he travelled into Wight because he wanted to go into Normandy'; having stayed in Wight for some time, perhaps only while he was waiting for a favourable wind, 'he travelled into Normandy'. Though nobody knew it at the time, though the chronicler still did not know it when he wrote these words, the king would never be seen in England again.

There were, no doubt, many good reasons for the king to return to Normandy – but perhaps the thought crossed his mind that it would also be desirable to put some distance between himself and any people who might have cause for complaint about the survey. Already in Salisbury, he had had to deal with a protest from bishop Walchelin, who thought that he had been unfairly treated by the commissioners who visited Somerset (above, pp. 72–3). Walchelin's brother, abbot Simeon of Ely, was also feeling hard done by; but he was slower off the mark, and before he had acted the king was already overseas.

Not that the survey was Simeon's only concern. Three things were troubling him. First, though he had been in office for some years, strictly speaking he was still not the abbot. (A century later, when people were more punctilious about these things, he would have had to call himself the elect of Ely.) To become the abbot, Simeon would have to receive benediction from a bishop; and that was a contentious issue. Ely was in the diocese of Lincoln, nobody doubted that; but Simeon refused to be blessed by the bishop of Lincoln, and the bishop of Lincoln refused to let him be blessed by anyone else. (This is bishop Remigius, the man whom we met in Worcester.) Though not of any practical significance, the impasse was an annoyance: Simeon now thought that he had found a way of escaping from it. The abbey's charters, it seemed to him, could be construed to mean that it was up to the king to decide where the benediction should take place. That seems a rather risky line of argument – what would Simeon have done if the king had agreed with it and then ordered him to be blessed by the bishop of Lincoln? – but Simeon was willing to try it. Second, the bridge at Ely was in need of repair (again), and the people who ought to carry out these repairs were dragging their feet (again). Whoever these people were, it would have suited them if the abbot, losing patience, had done the work himself; but abbot Simeon had no intention of falling into that trap. Rather than set a precedent, he would live with the inconvenience; but the inconvenience could not last indefinitely. Third – and this is where our interests overlap with his – Simeon was displeased with the results of the survey. He seems to have thought that he and Saint Audrey had been fairly thoroughly traduced by the local juries.

An emissary of Simeon's set off in pursuit of the king, caught up with him somewhere, recited the abbot's complaints, and in due course came back to England with a writ from the king addressed to archbishop Lanfranc.[59] The writ ended up in the archive at Ely, and this is what it said:

> Willelm king of the English to archbishop Lanfranc greetings. I want you to look at the abbot of Ely's charters, and if they say that the abbot of the place is to be blessed wherever the king of the country orders it to be done, I command you to bless him yourself. Also see to it that Ely bridge is repaired without delay by those who usually repair it. Find out from the bishop of Coutances, from bishop Walchelin, and from the others who saw to it that Saint Audrey's lands were written down and sworn to, how the swearing was done, who did it, who heard it done, which the lands are, how large, how many, what they are called, and who holds them. Once these things have been noted point by point and written down, see to it that I am promptly informed of the truth of the matter by a report from you; and the abbot's emissary is to come with it.

We do not know the sequel. We do not know for a fact that the writ was ever delivered, or, if it was, that Lanfranc had time to act on it before the king died. If he did, presumably he would have written to abbot Simeon, asking for the charters to be brought to him; but nothing came of that, and Simeon did not get blessed by the archbishop.[60] As for the bridge, Lanfranc would presumably have forwarded the king's order to the sheriff of Cambridgeshire and then forgotten the matter. The third and largest question would demand more thought than that, but what would the outcome be? Suppose that Lanfranc wrote to the bishop of Coutances: what could the bishop say in reply except that he and his companions had followed their instructions, that the proceedings had been properly conducted, and that the details which Lanfranc was asking for could be found (so far

[59] The writ is printed by Bates (1998, no. 127); it can also be found in Hamilton (1876, p. xxi) and Blake (1962, p. 206). Towards the end, I follow Round's lead in starting a new sentence with *His*, not with *fac*. The dating was settled by Round (1895, p. 133). Davis (1913, p. 42), knowing that Simeon was appointed in 1082 and assuming that he was blessed immediately, dated the writ to that year. Galbraith (1942, p. 167) stood by Round's dating at first; later on he changed his mind. A mischievous paper of Miller's (1947) did some harm in its day, but I think it can now be forgotten.

[60] The end of the story was that Simeon eventually backed down, on the advice of his brother, and allowed himself to be blessed by bishop Remigius (Blake 1962, pp. 201–2).

as they could be found anywhere) in the written report submitted some months earlier to the treasury? Suppose that Lanfranc wrote to the treasury officials: what could they do? Given the name of a hundred, they could copy out the names of the jurors; given the name of a manor, they could copy out all or any of the particulars that were recorded. But how could they comply with instructions as vague as these? The king had said that he was expecting a messenger to arrive bringing the archbishop's report, accompanied by the abbot's representative; then he would decide what should be done.[61] But no further writ was issued, and in the absence of that it is impossible to know what action was taken in response to the first writ. At some uncertain date, a scribe from Ely was given access to the B text and allowed to copy any paragraphs of interest to him (above, p. 107); but that is another story.

At Westminster, abbot Gislebert was also feeling aggrieved. His church owned a manor in Surrey which lay partly within the king's forest of Windsor. The manor, Pyrford, was assessed at 16 hides; that seems to have been agreed.[62] The question was: how many hides had been taken into the forest? Even though they still belonged to the monks of Westminster, these hides had become, in a special sense, part of the king's domain; and therefore they were exempt from paying geld. The commissioners surveying Surrey seem to have reported that there were 3 hides inside the forest (that is the number recorded in DB): it followed that geld was due from 13 hides (minus whatever deduction the abbot could claim with respect to his own domain). We do not know quite what action Gislebert took, but we do know what the outcome was: a writ from the king notifying the sheriff of Surrey that he has 'granted eight hides quit', because they are in his forest. In other words, he is telling the sheriff that geld is due only from the other 8 hides. This writ is of exceptional importance because it survives in the original.[63] If only copies survived, the last four words – *post descriptionem totius Angliae* – would doubtless have been suspected of being a copyist's addition; but here we have the clearest proof that this was the survey's official Latin name. Abbot Gislebert's complaint had another visible result, a note added in the margin of Db-Sy-32r, by the DB scribe: *Modo geld' pro viii hid'* (Chaplais 1987, pl. IV (b)).

Complaints from bishops and abbots are the only ones which are likely to have left any trace;[64] but there were, one imagines, earls and barons who also had reasons for feeling disgruntled, and who also had access to the king. If the records were more complete, no doubt it would appear that the king was kept busy fending off complaints of this sort, from people who wanted the written record set straight. Such evidence, however, would still not let us know what we should like to know most of all – what plans the king himself had in mind. If the king had come back to England towards the end of 1087, if he had met with his council at Gloucester again, as he had done two years earlier, the decisions made at that meeting might have told us what the survey was all about. But the king was dead by then.

Stage 2 had brought about some important changes in the content of the B text. The jurors' names, the corrections and additions that were found to be necessary, the notes of current disputes, the new information about the towns and the customs of the county – all of this had to be written somewhere. Thus I revert to a question that I posed before (above, p. 66): in the form in which it was returned to the treasury after stage 2, was the B text the original, with some accretion of new material, or was it a new copy? All that we can do is balance the probabilities. It is possible that the scribes were under instructions to produce a clean manuscript, unmarred by corrections, uncluttered with marginal additions. But we may doubt whether that was necessary. The additions that had to be made did not amount (so far as we can judge) to more than a small proportion of the total text. Given that, and given that time was short, the annotated original – perhaps with some inserted leaves and an extra quire at the end – would probably be thought good enough. The B text was not intended to be kept for all time. It was required immediately as a source (via C) for D; it might have to be preserved for some time, until it was no longer of any conceivable use; but it did not need to be put into a form for posterity to admire. On the contrary, it might be positively desirable if the additions made in stage 2 could be distinguished at a glance, by their

[61] There is no question of a new survey: the king is asking for a copy of the passages from the B text which relate to the lands of Saint Audrey. An annalistic text from Ely – excerpts from a copy of the Worcester chronicle augmented with passages of local interest (Blake 1962, p. 410) – includes an entry which presents the facts in that light: *Willelmus rex fecit describi omnem Angliam, quantum quisque terre … possidebat, atque tunc nostras possessiones… describi iussit, petente Symeone abbate* (Blake 1962, p. 430). The first half of the sentence is derived from the Worcester chronicle; the second alludes to this writ. In the first half *describi* means 'to be described'; in the second it merely means 'to be copied out'.

[62] The local jurors thought it their duty to report that Pyrford had once been assessed at 27 hides, and that they were doubtful whether the reduction – made while the manor belonged to earl Herald – had ever been properly authorized (DB-Sy-32rb). But neither the king nor the abbot seems to have cared about that.

[63] It is reproduced by Bishop and Chaplais (1957, pl. xxiv) and by Chaplais (1987, pl. IV (a)); the text is printed by Bates (1998, no. 326). The date can be bracketed quite closely – not earlier than about May 1086, not later than September 1087 – but not closely enough for the writ to be meshed with the progress of the survey. (I do not think it can be decided whether the king was in England or abroad at the time.) The two men who witness this writ – Willelm bishop of Durham and Ivo Tailgebosc – would not have been disqualified from serving on the team of commissioners which visited Surrey; one cannot say anything more positive than that.

[64] A late narrative from Gloucester preserves the faint echo of another complaint. Three hides at Nympsfield belonging to the monks of Gloucester were, without the abbot's knowledge, written down as part of the king's manor of Berkeley (cf. DB-Gl-163ra). The abbey's chronicler says this: *Anno domini millesimo octogesimo septimo, Rogerus senior de Berkelee in descriptione totius Anglie fecit Nymdesfeld describi ad mensam regis, abbate Serlone nesciente* (Hart 1863, p. 101). (This is the abbot Serlo whom we met in Worcester.) Despite the written record – DB was not corrected – these hides was not lost.

placement on the page and by the writing.[65] It would then be very easy, for example, for the C scribes to compile a record of all pending litigation, such as survives in the original for three counties (above, p. 40): they would merely have to scan through B and copy the marginal entries that were relevant.

Of course it must be true that each B text was taken back to Winchester instantly, as soon as it was ready. There it was used for the compilation of the C text, and possibly also, at a later stage, for some checking of the D text. Then what? Though I was slow to realize this, I see now that the B text did not become redundant once D was in existence. On general grounds, if one stops to think, it seems very unlikely that B was discarded at once; we would surely want to keep it, for the time being, in case any query came up. It is B, after all, not D, which is the sworn record of the survey. More specifically, there is some information in B which has not been transferred into D. The names of the jurors are only to be found in B; and therefore B will have to be kept, for as long as that information has significance – i.e. for as long as there is any chance that the jurors may be accused of perjury. Now, if B is allowed to survive at all, there is a chance that inertia will take over, and that B will be kept indefinitely – no longer because there is any particular reason for keeping it, but because there is no particular reason for throwing it away.

Sooner or later, all at once or piece by piece, the B text did disappear, and it is only by accident that we know anything about it. The only strictly contemporary evidence is an epitome of B-Yo, a fair copy of which was (for some reason yet to be explained) made by the DB scribe, in a quire of similar size and similar format to the quires that he was using for the DB text (PRO, E 31/2, fos. 379ra–82rb). Since I have no understanding of the motives at work here, I do not take this to imply that similar epitomes existed for every county. But possibly they did, and possibly some of them may have left some trace.

The complete B text for Cambridgeshire (and apparently also for Hertfordshire) survived long enough to be carried off to Ely (above, p. 107). Even after that, a sequence of happy accidents had to follow before we could know anything about it. An Ely scribe decided to make a copy; the circumstances which led to the loss of part of this copy did not lead to the loss of the whole of it; Arthur Agarde got hold of the surviving portion and passed it on to Robert Cotton; Cotton decided to shelve it under the bust of Tiberius (where it would only be charred around the edges in 1731) rather than under the bust of Otho (where it would have been burnt to ashes). But first of all the original had to survive in the treasury for some length of time. As I read the evidence, it probably did not move to Ely until the 1130s.

Some extracts from B survived in the archives of the churches for which they were made. I mention two examples – the only two of which I feel able to speak both briefly and with confidence, but perhaps not the only examples to be found.

(1) Compiled for the monks of Ely, the text which I call xEl (above, pp. 97–8) is – demonstrably so for three counties and probably so for all six – a concatenation of excerpts from the B text, overlaid with passages reflecting the results of some more detailed survey. There does not seem to be any good evidence for dating either the extracts or the interpolations, but probably neither layer of text is very much later than 1086.[66] If xEl was compiled in Simeon's time, as seems to have been either known or supposed by a later generation of monks, it (or some version of it) is earlier than 1093.

(2) Compiled for the monks of Saint Augustine's, the text which I call xAug is largely composed of extracts from the B text for Kent.[67] In the only known copy it carries the title *Excepta de compoto solingorum comitatus Cancie secundum cartam regis*, 'Excerpts from the enumeration of the sulungs of the county of Kent according to the king's official record'.[68] This copy is late and full of errors; it was printed, not very accurately, by Ballard (1920). There are, as Ballard saw, some anachronistic passages which have to be regarded as interpolations – some which are glaringly obvious (one of these dates from the middle of the thirteenth century), perhaps some others which are not so easy to recognize. Despite these complications, we can be certain that this text derives from B-Ke, because (with one small exception) the order of the entries is perfectly cadastral – perfectly cadastral twice over, in fact, because Kent was divided into lathes (of which there were seven) as well as into hundreds (of which there were more than sixty).[69] It

[65] To make this concrete, I offer some more empty predictions. If B-Wi survived, it would show a fair amount of marginal annotation, relating to the business transacted in stage 2. This annotation would be the work of scribe ksi and two companions (above, p. 68), and their contributions would rotate, hundred by hundred (above, note 58). Concerning the primary text I have no predictions to make.

[66] It was Round's idea that xEl was compiled in response to the writ addressed to archbishop Lanfranc (above, p. 121). As Miller (1947) saw, that is certainly wrong; but Round's error affects the dating of xEl, not the dating of the writ.

[67] PRO, E 164/27, fos. 17r–25r. This book is a miscellaneous register from Saint Augustine's, mostly written circa 1320; but the opening section (fos. 2r–48r) may perhaps be somewhat earlier than the rest. The xAug text is the work of the scribe who wrote the first part of this section (fos. 2r–27r); neither he nor the next scribe (fos. 27r–48r) occurs elsewhere in the manuscript.

[68] There is no need to emend *Excepta* to *Excerpta*: the verb *excipere* was used frequently in this sense – five times on one (printed) page of the *Dialogus de scaccario* (ed. Johnson 1950, p. 70), for example. (More important is the phrase *compotus solingorum*, the Kent equivalent for *compotus hidarum*.) The title continues: *uidelicet ea que ad ecclesiam sancti Augustini pertinent et est in regis Domesday*. (A later scribe has added *W. conquestoris*. It was Ballard's policy to omit all annotation by other hands; so he does not deserve to be reproached for omitting these two words.)

[69] Luckily for us, the abbot owned some property in every lathe; so the sequence is fully attested: Sutton, Aylesford, Milton, Wiwar, Borwar, Eastry, Limwar. At the time when it was passing through the C scribes' hands, the B text was differently arranged, with Borwar ahead of Wiwar. I am not sure what conclusion should be drawn from that.

is, however, far from certain when the excerpts were made. More or less in agreement with Ballard, I am inclined to think that the likeliest date would be circa 1110, when a new abbot, Hugo I (1107–26), was trying to restore some order to the abbey's affairs after a 14-year vacancy. If that is right, it will mean that B-Ke was still in existence more than 20 years after the survey. But an earlier date is not out of the question.

As these examples prove, there was some period of time during which (if one knew whom to ask) excerpts from B could be obtained – during which, perhaps, they were still preferred to excerpts from D or DB. But the length of this period is, and seems likely to remain, a matter of much uncertainty.