DOING THINGS BESIDE DOMESDAY BOOK

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Domesday Book is the collective name attached to two different bodies of text. Colloquially known as "Great" and "Little" Domesday, they represent successive documentary phases of the inquest undertaken by agents of William the Conqueror in 1086.[1] The more famous (also known as "Exchequer Domesday") is a condensed edition of the inquest's results. The other is an earlier artifact (a "circuit survey" in the parlance of Domesday historiography) comprising more detailed information gathered from the East Anglian shires of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex.[2] In the past decade or so, a growing body of scholarship has established that analogous surveys of England's other regions were also prepared and eventually became the exemplars abbreviated and anthologized by Great Domesday's chief scribe. Thereafter, however, only the surveys contained in Little Domesday were preserved, perhaps to make up for these specific counties' absence from Great Domesday.[3]

I gratefully acknowledge the detailed comments supplied by anonymous reviewers, the insights of colleagues and students at the Universities of Illinois and Stockholm, and the help of the individuals and institutions named below.

This article is dedicated to the memories of three influential teachers: Malcolm Parkes and Patrick Wormald, who sparked my interest in the textual history of Domesday Book a long time ago; and the late James Campbell, whose advice and warm support are keenly missed.

[1] The manuscripts, held in The National Archives at Kew, are designated E 31/2/1-2 and E 31/1/1-3, respectively. Although "Domesday" is an anachronism, I retain its usage when referring to the canonical texts produced by the royal inquest, as well as to the inquest itself. Hereinafter, Great Domesday Book will be abbreviated as GDB, Little Domesday Book as LDB.

[2] Ian Taylor has persuasively argued that LDB was "a separate enterprise" from Great Domesday, compiled hastily in advance of the expected invasion of that region by Cnut IV of Denmark: "Domesday Books? Little Domesday Reconsidered," in David Roffe and K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, eds., *Domesday Now: New Approaches to the Inquest and the Book* (Woodbridge, 2016), 137-153. One can accept this argument, as I do, while also contending that similar surveys were made for other regions, too; see below.

[3] The best short introduction to this emerging scholarly consensus – which does not yet account for his own new research (see note 16, below) – is that of Stephen Baxter, "The Making of Domesday Book and the Languages of Lordship in Conquered England," in *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in Medieval England, c.800-c.1250*, ed. Elizabeth M. Tyler (Turnhout, 2011), 271–308. To date, the most authoritative study of GDB's codicology and paleography is that of Frank Thorn and Caroline Thorn, "The Writing of Great Domesday Book," in Elizabeth M. Hallam and David Bates, eds., *Domesday Book* (Stroud, 2001), 37–72. Thorn and Thorn argued that there was no intermediary step between the collection of briefs and the writing of GDB, but they did not fully account for the evidence of the *libelli* now at Exeter (see below): "Writing of Great Domesday," 63-7. An older generation of Domesday scholars had argued that the scribe of GDB would have worked from a fair copy of such data, notably V. H. Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book* (Oxford, 1961) and R. Welldon Finn, *The Domesday Inquest and the Making of Domesday Book* (London, 1962). In 2000, a new phase of inquiry was opened by David Roffe's *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book* (Oxford, 2000) and continued in his *Decoding Domesday* (Woodbridge, 2007). However, the most surprising and persuasive analysis of the documentary process is by an outsider to Domesday studies, whose work informs my own in many respects: Colin Flight, *The Survey of the Whole of England: Studies of*

The reasons for this absence, and the timeframes of these two copying campaigns, remain mysterious. Until quite recently, 1086 was the accepted dating of the entire documentary project, from the collection of data to the writing of Great Domesday.[4] But if we acknowledge that this codex was based on (now lost) surveys, its execution must have stretched well beyond the lifespan of the Conqueror, who died on 9 September 1087. Even if the scribes of both the Great and Little Domesday texts were working concurrently, it is unlikely that William saw the completion of either before he sailed for Normandy in October of 1086 – never to return to his conquered realm.

Questions about Domesday's compilation and purpose have been asked and variously answered since the time of its inception.[5] But still other questions need to be asked about the texts that provided the models and tools for its making— "Domesday satellites," as they have been called. Domesday historians have shown little interest in these texts as sources in their own right; nor have their physical formats or the distinctive circumstances of their negotiation and preservation attracted much notice.[6] Instead, adopting a taxonomy derived from nineteenth-century literary philology, historians have deployed *sigla* or code names (*e.g.* "Bath A," "Evesham K") to detach these "satellites" from their local manuscript settings and launch them into orbit around Domesday. For philologists, this strategy worked to create isolated textual variants that could be duly sorted into modern generic categories and then fixed into literary canons and nationalist narratives.[7]

For Domesday historians, the result has been the creation of a *sui generis* charismatic mega-text. When released from its centrifugal pull, however, these so-called satellites – and Domesday Book itself – can be recontextualized as complex, mediated organisms instigated by specific historical actors, mostly unnamed and sometimes not literate; shaped by the particular embodied, material, social, and practical circumstances of their use and reception.[8] Freed from the demands of teleology, all of these texts emerge as tangible manifestations of wider and deeper phenomena which the king and his agents could harness, but not control.

This article focuses on the oldest surviving textual artifacts associated with the royal inquest and its codification. While many "Domesday satellites" are closely contemporaneous with the inquest, some even predating it, the vast majority survive only in later manuscript compilations that do not preserve evidence of their original composition and purposes. However, there are two related *corpora* that do provide such information.

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the Documentation Resulting from the Survey Conducted in 1086, BAR British Series 405 (Oxford, 2006).

[4] It is still the date accepted by many Domesday historians, including Sally Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgement* (Oxford, 2014), 97 and *passim:* see also below.

[5] For an outdated but still accessible introduction, see Elizabeth A. Hallam, *Domesday Book through Nine Centuries* (London, 1986). Guides to this long historiography can be found in recent studies: Harvey, *Domesday*; Roffe and Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Now*.

[6] This despite H. R. Loyn's plea to examine "the posthumous life of the information collected in the regions," in "Domesday Book," *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies,* ed. R. A. Brown (Ipswich, 1979), 121–130 at 126; see also his "The Beyond of Domesday Book," in J. C. Holt, ed., *Domesday Studies* (Woodbridge, 1987), 1–13; and Baxter, "Making of Domesday Book," 281-2. Sally Harvey was an early proponent of a more holistic view: "Domesday Book and Its Predecessors," *The English Historical Review* 86 (1971): 753–773.

[7] Carol Symes, "The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays: Forms, Functions, and the Future of Medieval Theatrer," *Speculum* 77 (2002): 778-831; eadem,"Manuscript Matrix, Modern Canon," in Paul Strohm, ed., *Middle English* (Oxford, 2007), 7-22.

[8] I expand this argument in a forthcoming book, *Mediated Texts and Their Makers.*

The first, known as "Exeter Domesday" or *Liber Exoniensis*, is an extraordinary trove of the inquest's raw data, digested into 103 individual parchment *libelli.*[9] These small booklets or quires (measuring on average 17x28 cm) were produced by a team of scribes, probably working in the royal scriptorium at Winchester.[10] As their layout and multiple hands testify, the booklets' scribes were tasked with organizing and recopying a variety of materials: geld accounts pertaining to the assessment and payment of royal taxes; testimonials supplied by the king's tenants-in-chief and the realm's religious houses; and the written "returns" of public transactions in shire courts and sworn assemblies at the regional (hundred, wapentake) and local (city, vill) levels, as well as records of unresolved disputes aired on those occasions.[11] The *libelli* now at Exeter contain entries for the southwestern shires of Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, with some entries for neighboring Dorset and Wiltshire. Presumably, the inquest's scribes produced thousands of similar booklets for other regions of the realm, booklets which have long since perished – as have the mountain of parchment scraps, single sheets, rolls, and other materials (wax? wood? bark? cloth?) on which their source texts were inscribed.[12]

The Exeter booklets survive because they were preserved by someone, for some reason. One likely candidate is a former royal clerk, William de Warelwast (d. 1137), who began his service under William II Rufus (r. 1087-1100) and thereafter became a close advisor to his brother and successor, Henry I (r.1100-1135). [13] Elevated to the bishopric of Exeter in 1107, he may have deemed the West Country data to be useful in his new office. In any case, these *libelli* found their way to the cathedral treasury and remained living texts there for several centuries, continuously updated and amended as the canons tracked changes in their holdings and in the neighboring region at large. We can even tell that the booklets remained unbound and stored alongside other artifacts because, for a long time, a spear-head lay rusting on top of one splayed cover, leaving an indelible mark on the parchment.[14] In the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, the booklets were haphazardly assembled into a codex. In 1816, they were disassembled and rebound in a different order, after which a

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[9] Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3500, abbreviated hereafter as Exeter Q[uire number]. I am very grateful to Miss Ellie Jones and her staff for enabling my access to this manuscript, and to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral for granting permission to publish select images.

[10] Like Flight (*Survey*, 64-65) and others, I argue that Winchester was the major worksite for the inquest's documentation; the evidence I present here adds weight to that interpretation. Teresa Webber has identified some scribes as Salisbury-trained, but they could well have been on loan to the chancery, as was the Durham-trained Domesday scribe: see her "Salisbury and the Exon Domesday: Some Observations Concerning the Origin of Exeter Cathedral MS 3500," in *English Manuscript Studies* 1, ed. P. Beal and J. Griffiths (Oxford, 1989), 1-18. Pamela Taylor, like Harvey (*Domesday*, 90-96), envisions a decentralized process of redaction at various episcopal sites throughout the kingdom: "The Episcopal Returns in Domesday," in Flight and Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Now*, 197-217 at 200-201; again, the evidence I offer makes that unlikely. For an older view, see A. R. Rumble, "Domesday Manuscript Studies and *Scriptoria*," in Holt, *Domesday Studies*, 79-99.

[11] See below, notes 35-39 and 161.

[12] On the variety of materials used, especially for ephemeral and pragmatic texts, see Simon Franklin, *Writing, Society and Culture in Early Rus, c. 950-1300* (Cambridge, 2002); Warren Brown et al., eds., *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013); Jonathan Wilcox, ed., *Scraped, Stroked, and Bound: Materially Engaged Readings of Medieval Manuscripts* (Turnhout, 2013). See also below and **Figure 23.**

[13]Suggested by Flight, *Survey*, 55. On William's career, see Frank Barlow, "Warelwast, William de (d. 1137)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), online edn, May 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/view/article/28731] [accessed 27 Aug 2016].

[14] Exeter Q85, fols. 436v and 430r.

printed edition was published.[15] They were finally disbound in 2011 and are currently being digitized and studied by a team of paleographers and historians under the leadership of Professor Julia Crick (King's College, London).[16] My analysis is based on my own examination and imaging of the disbound manuscripts, undertaken in September of 2014.[17]

The second of the oldest extant "Domesday satellites" is miniscule by comparison: a fragment of worn, rolled-up parchment. **<Figure 1>** Although directly inspired by the recording strategies revealed by the Exeter *libelli*, it was created in the opposite corner of the kingdom: Staffordshire, vast tracts of which had not been included in the royal inquest. This roll is closely related to another local artifact which, as I have discovered, stands as an even earlier witness to the inquest. Both were made at the Benedictine monastery of Saints Mary and Modwena at Burton-upon-Trent. The hitherto unknown witness is an endorsement added to the abbey's Anglo-Saxon foundation charter and Latin royal diploma, both originally drafted in 1004 but recopied, between 1066 and 1085, on a single parchment sheet. The endorsement, datable to 1094, is a list of the abbey's manors derived from the royal inquest – but not from Great Domesday.[18] **<Figures 2a-b>** It therefore witnesses the (lost) surveys for Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and Warwickshire. In or after 1098, this list was copied onto the first segment of the roll, which J. F. R. Walmsley identified as a "Domesday text" in 1977.[19]

The roll now consists of three narrow strips of parchment, ranging from 55 to 63 mm in width, securely sewn together and measuring 89.3 cm in length. At the time of its making, however, it was at least four times longer. For a decade or more, it functioned as a working draft survey of the abbey's lands undertaken at the behest of Burton's fifth abbot, Nigel,

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[15] A. Farley and H. Ellis, eds., *Libri censualis vocati Domesday-book, additamenta ex codic. antiquiss. Exon' domesday. Inquisitio eliensis. Liber Winton. Boldon book* ([London, 1816). See Flight, *Survey*, 38-39.

[16]On the project, "The Conquerors' Commissioners: Unlocking the Domesday Survey of SW England," see http://www.exondomesday.ac.uk/ [accessed 6 May 2018]. The results of the investigation are projected to be available online soon. I am grateful to Professor Crick and her colleagues, especially Professor Stephen Baxter, for their reports delivered at the 35th annual meeting of the Haskins Society at Carleton College on 5 November 2016.

[17] While drawing on Flight's *Survey*, my argument departs from his at many key points, as noted below. Flight, in turn, built on V. H. Galbraith's *Making of Domesday Book* and *Domesday Book: Its Place in Administrative History* (Oxford, 1974); he also expanded the argument of R. Weldon Finn, *The Liber Exoniensis* (Hamden, 1964).

[18] Staffordshire Public Record Office (SRO) D603/A/Add/1. The will of Wulfric Spot and its confirmation by Æthelred II have been edited and translated many times, most authoritatively by P. H. Sawyer in *Charters of Burton Abbey* (Oxford, 1979), xv-xx and 48-56. They are numbered 1536 and 906, respectively, in Sawyer's *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968), now updated and available online at http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/1536.html [accessed 14 July 2016]. I am grateful to Mr. Tim Groom, Senior Archivist at the Staffordshire Record Office, for facilitating my access to materials, providing additional images, and measuring this document (personal communication, 6 October 2016).

[19] SRO D603/A/Add/ 1925, formerly Anglesey 1925. I appear to have been the only person to examine it since J. F. R. Walmsley published "Another Domesday Text," *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1977), 109–20 at 114. Walmsley surmised that both lists had, as their source, a "pre-Domesday" text of some kind (111). He also correctly noted a relationship between the charter's dorsal inscription and the list on roll. However, he never examined the charter itself, relying instead on the edition of Charles G. O. Bridgeman, "The Burton Abbey Twelfth Century Surveys," in *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, ed. The William Salt Archæological Society (London, 1916), 209–300. Bridgeman, for his part, omitted the ploughland and geld figures for the manor of Appleby, probably because they are almost illegible on the charter's dorse. Walmsley, following Bridgeman, thus wrongly concluded that the two lists were not identical: see also below.

between his arrival in May of 1094 and his death on 3 May 1114.[20] The results of this survey were then fair-copied and eventually preserved in the abbey's thirteenth-century chronicle and cartulary (London, British Library MS Loan No. 30, fols. 28-36), alongside another survey made by Nigel's successor, Abbot Geoffrey II, between 1114 and 1118.

In 1905, after consulting an incomplete edition of the cartulary, the influential historian J. H. Round concluded that the survey attributed to Nigel ("Burton B") could not have been made during his abbacy because it includes references to tenants whose lands were granted by his successor. [21] Having never seen either the roll or the cartulary, Round did not know that the latter includes additions made when the text of the roll was fair-copied after Nigel's death. Walmsley, struggling to honor Round's mistaken judgment, nonetheless showed that surviving portions of the roll closely match the corresponding entries of "Burton B," minus these later amendments. He even astutely characterized the roll as "a twelfth-century miniature of the Domesday procedure [. . . an] in internal survey, or *descriptio*, of the Burton Abbey estates."[22] Yet he did not fully realize that the roll's entries had been made incrementally over a period of many years, although he did recognize that one entry explicitly references the death of Nigel, thereby providing a *terminus ante quem*.

Here, I will show that Nigel himself was the conduit for the information gleaned from the Domesday inquest, which appears in the charter's endorsement and on the roll. As former sacristan of the royal New Minster at Winchester, he would have had access to the records of the inquest – *libelli* like those now at Exeter, and also shire surveys – before he left for Staffordshire in 1094.

My analysis of these humble but invaluable artifacts makes several contributions to our knowledge of the textual scaffolding that undergirds Domesday Book. First, the Exeter *libelli* are material witnesses to the flexible yet exacting mechanisms of data collection and transcription that made the royal inquest possible. Second, the Burton texts shed new light on the near-immediate reception of those documentary techniques at a remote abbey. Third, evidence derived from all of these texts supports the hypothesis, advanced most notably by David Roffe, that Great Domesday was not the premeditated outcome of the inquest but a later project, possibly not initiated – and certainly not completed – until after the Conqueror's death.[23] But I go further, arguing that aspects of this evidence point to some further selective revision of Great Domesday at a still later stage, perhaps as late as the accession of Henry I in 1100. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, these texts provide material proof that the Conqueror's motives for ordering the inquest, and the uses which he and his advisors envisioned for it, are not the only motives and uses that matter. Participation in this documentary initiative – which Stephen Baxter has called "the most remarkable multilingual

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[20] The date of Nigel's death is reported in the fragmentary H text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle preserved in London, British Library Cotton Domitian A.ix. See The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle online http://asc.jebbo.co.uk/ (accessed 2 June 2018): "Þa ðar æfter gefor se abbod Nigel on Byrtune on ðone dæg .v. Nonas Maii." Hereinafter cited as ASC H-text.

[21] J. H. Round, "The Burton Abbey Surveys," *The English Historical Review* 20 (1905): 275-289 at 276. His source was George Wrottesley, "An Abstract of the Contents of the Burton Chartulary," in *Collections for a History of Staffordshire, Vol. 1, Part 5*, ed. William Salt Archaeological Society (London, 1884), 1–104. The problem was compounded by a later fifteenth-century scribe who attributed Nigel's survey to Geoffrey II, and vice-versa. Round's erroneous dating was subsequently accepted and propagated by Bridgeman and Walmsley, among others – including Robert Bartlett, who mistakenly credits Abbot Geoffrey II with overseeing both surveys, in his edition and translation Geoffrey's *Life and Miracles of St Modwena* (Oxford, 2002), xii.

[22] Walmsley, "Another Domesday Text," 114-115.

[23] Building on the conjectures of earlier historians, Roffe suggested 1088-9 in *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*; in *Decoding*, he entertained the possibility of a still later timeframe; see below.

event in the history of England"[24] – enabled hundreds of thousands of individuals and communities to air grievances and to make their own ideas of law and justice a matter of public record.[25] It also empowered them to manipulate the inquest's documentation to serve their own needs.

For a long time, Domesday's very monumentality and the seductive richness of the data to be mined from it have obscured the fact that it is not a singular text, but a collaborative and highly contingent one. These contingencies were masked in the making of Great Domesday precisely because it was meant to be a formidable fiction of royal will and Norman control.[26] The earliest reference to it, datable to a decade or more after the inquest, called it "the king's book" (*liber regis*).[27] In the early decades of the twelfth century, it was also called "the book of the treasury" (*liber thesauro*),[28] "the book of the king's treasury" (*liber thesauri regis*),[29] or "the book of Winchester" (*liber de Winton.*).[30] The name by which we know it comes from the *Dialogus de Scaccario* (Dialogue of the Exchequer, *c*. 1179), an insider's account of protocols written after the royal bureaucracy's removal to Westminster, which occurred in or shortly after 1141.[31] According to its author, Richard FitzNeale (d. 1198), "This book is called *Domesday* in the native [English] parlance because from it, as from [the Last] Judgment, it is impossible to escape for any reason."[32] In the present day, Domesday is indeed inescapable, a text so sacred that it has been reproduced only in Latin facsimile; no modern critical edition has yet been made.[33] If the "Domesday satellites" have been ill-served by a lack of attention, our understanding of Domesday has been limited, too.

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[24] Baxter, "Making of Domesday," 272. See also M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307*, 3rd edn (Chichester, 2013), 24-37.

[25]As Robin Fleming has amply documented, in *Domesday Book and the Law: Society and Legal Custom in Early Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1998), especially 56-67; and eadem, "Oral Testimony and the Domesday Inquest," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 17 (1994): 101–22.

[26] George Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure, 1066-1166* (Oxford, 2007), especially 41-42.

[27] As in a charter of William II, datable to 1096-1100: V. H. Galbraith, "Royal Charters to Winchester," *English Historical Review* 35 (1920), 382-400 at 388-389 (no. XII).

[28] As in 1111, when it was invoked by Abbot Faritius of Abingdon to prove a claim: H. W. Carless Davis et al., eds., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154* (Oxford, 1913), vol. 2, 104 (no. 1000).

[29] As in an undated entry in the Abingdon cartulary, derived from a text made during the reign of William Rufus: see note 83 and discussion below.

[30] As in the addendum to GDB (fols. 332va–333ra) datable to c. 1107x1142. See David X. Carpenter, "Robert de Brus," Charters of William II and Henry I Project, University of Oxford, 8 October 2013 https://actswilliam2henry1.files.wordpress.com/2013/10/h1-robert-de-brus-2013-1.pdf [accessed 26 August 2016].

[31] Kenji Yoshitake, "The Place of Government in Transition: Winchester, Westminster and London in the Mid-Twelfth Century," in Paul Dalton and D. E. Luscombe, eds., *Rulership and Rebellion in the Anglo-Norman World, c.1066-c.1216* (Farnham, 2015), 61–75.

[32] *Dialogus de Scaccario*, ed. Stephen D. Church (Oxford, 2007), 96 and 98: "Hic liber ab indigenis "Domesday" nuncupatur [. . .] quo ab eo, sicut predicto [die]]iudicio, non licet ulla ratione discedere" (my translation).

[33] There are two standard version of the Latin text: the Phillimore edition is based on that prepared by Abraham Farley (d. 1791) using Record Type, a pseudo-medieval typeface; the Alecto Historical Editions present a black-and-white facsimile of the manuscript and an English translation on facing pages. For a critique of this persistent antiquarianism, see David Roffe, "McLuhan Meets the Master: Scribal Devices in Great Domesday Book," in Roffe and Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Now*, 81-109 at 108. On the ongoing effort to create a searchable Latin text, see J. J. N. Palmer, "A Digital Latin Domesday," in Roffe and Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Now*, 61-80.

BISHOP WALKELIN AND THE KING'S BRIEFS

In the early months of 1086, a team of scribes was recruited to deal with a massive influx of information resulting from an ambitious survey of William the Conqueror's English realm. "So narrowly did he have it done," opined the keeper of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle at Peterborough, "that there was not even a single hide, not one yard of land, no not even – shameful as it is to tell, though not thought shameful to him to do it – an ox nor a cow nor a pig that was left out and not set down in his writing." The undertaking had been decided the previous Christmas, during a meeting of the king's *witan* (council) at Gloucester, where there had been "much deliberation and very deep speech" (*mycel geþeaht 7 swiðe deope spæce*). The catalyst was the prospect of imminent invasion by Cnut IV of Denmark. Although this threat never materialized, King William raised an army that spring and laid waste to attractive targets in East Anglia; meanwhile, the inquest was phased in with extraordinary dispatch.[34]

Over the summer, the work had advanced far enough that William convened a great council on Lammas Sunday (2 August), the traditional "feast of first fruits." It was held at Salisbury, where the king met "all the landholding men that were of any worth from all over England, whosoever's men they were, and all bowed to him and were his men and swore him solemn oaths that they would hold to him above all other men."[35] The first fruits celebrated on this occasion had almost certainly been harvested nearby, the royal capital at Winchester, where the royal treasury and writing office were housed.[36] For months, the scribes had been organizing mountains of writings and recopying them into booklets full of *breves*, "briefs" or writs pertaining to individual landholdings. Some of these texts were responses to a set of questions put by the king's agents.[37] Some were rolls representing tens of thousands of jurors' sworn presentments taken down in shire, regional, and local courts.[38] Other writings were based on affidavits and inventories from the land's great lords, bishops, and religious houses, compiled from their own reckonings and the archival evidence of charters in their possession, double-checked by another set of agents.[39]

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[34] I. Taylor, "Domesday Books?," 141-143.

[35] "[S]wa swyðe nearwelice he hit lett utaspyrian. þæt næs an ælpig hide. ne an gyrde landes. ne furðon, hit is sceame to tellanne. ac hit ne þuhte him nan sceame to donne. An oxe. ne an cu. ne an swin. næs belyfon. þæt næs gesæt on his gewrite . . . Syððan he ferde abutan swa þæt he com to Lammæssan to Searebyrig. 7 þær him comon to his witan. and ealle þa landsittende men. þe ahtes wæron ofer eall Engleland. wæron þæs mannes men þe hi wæron. 7 ealle hi bugon to him. 7 weron his menn. 7 him holdaðas sworon þæt hi woldon ongean ealle oðre men him holde beon". The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle online < http://asc.jebbo.co.uk/> (accessed 10 August 2016): E-text (Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud MS 636), entries for 1085 and 1086; hereinafter cited as ASC E-text.

[36] The analysis of Thorn and Thorn supports my argument that the briefs – not a full set of completed surveys and certainly not GDB – were the writings available at this time: "Writing of Great Domesday Book," 70. Even if some of the work was done elsewhere than at Winchester, that would not affect the premise of my argument here: see note 10 and the further evidence presented below.

[37] Known as the *Inquisitio Eliensis* or "Articles of Inquiry," this list is preserved in several later manuscript variants. For a recent edition and translation, see Frank Thorn, "*Non Pascua*," 111-112. Roffe calls this a "cheat sheet" for the Domesday scribe, not a guide for the inquest itself: *Decoding*, 64. Baxter has described it as exemplifying the wording of writs issued to solicit information: "Making of Domesday Book," 277-8.

[38] Roffe has estimated that 60,000 witnesses were probably involved: *Domesday*, 123. See also C. P. Lewis, "The Domesday Jurors," *Studies in the Personal Name in Later Medieval England and Wales*, ed. Dave Postles and Joel T. Rosenthal (Kalamazoo, 2006), 307-339; Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law*.

[39] For the kinds of documents collected, see Baxter, "Making of Domesday Book," 273-284; Harvey, *Domesday*, 56-86. Like Flight, I find no evidence of defined "circuits" in the surviving texts.

Each and every one of these texts would have been unique in appearance and varied as to the detail of its contents, the costliness and size of its material support, and the skill of its scribe(s). Alongside them were still other texts that recorded disputes over land, lawsuits, and complaints against the king's officers.[40] For the inquest had expanded into several simultaneous surveys that relied on existing Anglo-Saxon institutions of governance and the mobilization of the king's own men under the direction of the many powerful Norman bishops who owed their offices to him.[41] Not only did the king have to finance a possible war with the Danes, he had to ensure the loyalty of his barons and mollify his colonial subjects, who could have used the invasion as a pretext for rebellion. After all, England had been under Danish rule in living memory, during the reigns of Cnut the Great and his sons (1016-1041).[42] William had to maximize royal revenues, but he also had to make a show of justice.

The booklets still extant at Exeter reveal that the scribes culling these disparate documents originally allocated one booklet to each landholder in a given shire, adding entries as information became available. This practice, however, was eventually deemed too wasteful of parchment – whose consumption was already profligate enough, since most of the Exeter *libelli* contain multiple empty leaves. Some booklets thus became catch-alls for entries pertaining to many landholders. Others could not contain the extensive properties of the powerful; in such cases, additional gatherings of parchment were added or a fresh booklet mustered to contain the overflow. To ensure that every entry was distinct, a scribe marked the first line with a *paraph* (¶). Then, following a prescribed template, he redacted the information gleaned from a given document into the booklet.[43] The template was designed to produce a snapshot of the holding (1) as it was at the time of the inquest and (2) as it had been *Tempore Regis Edwardi* (*TRE*), "in the time of King Edward" (r. 1043-1066), whose heir William claimed to be. In some shires, this latter moment was captured in a still more precise formula, as the last day on which "Edward was alive and dead" (*E.F.V.7.M*). This anxious insistence on dating the reign of William to the death of Edward (on 5 January 1066) was a calculated attempt to deny the legitimacy of Harold Godwinson, who had been duly elected king of the English and whose death at Hastings on 14 October 1066 was the necessary precursor to William's conquest.[44]

At some point during this process, perhaps in preparation for the oath-taking at Lammastide, the scribes had begun re-arranging and recopying the briefs in order to create a "*descriptio* of all England" as William himself would call it, in a writ issued before his

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[40]Patrick Wormald, "Domesday Lawsuits: A Provisional List and Preliminary Comments," in Carola Hicks, ed., *England in the Eleventh Century* (Stanford, 1992), 61–102; Ann Williams, "England in the Eleventh Century," in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Elisabeth M. C. Van Houts (Woodbridge, 2003), 1–18. On the inquest of the king's officials, see Harvey, *Domesday*, 239-270.

[41] On these institutions, see George Molyneux, *The Formation of the English Kingdom in the Tenth Century* (Oxford, 2015). For Norman reliance on – and abuse of – these structures, see Emma Mason, "Administration and Government," in Harper-Bill and Van Houts, *A Companion*, 103–21. See also David Roffe, "Talking to Others and Talking to Itself: Government and the Changing Role of the Records of the Domesday Inquest," in Roffe and Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Now*, 289-303 at 293-300.

[42] On rebellions and their continuing threat, see Robin Studd, "Recorded 'Waste' in the Staffordshire Domesday Entry," *Staffordshire Studies* 12 (2000), 121–33. On a century defined by conquest, see Robin Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England* (Cambridge, 1991); Garnett, *Conquered England*.

[43] On the working methods of these scribes, see Finn, *Liber Exoniensis*, 23-47; and especially Flight, *Survey*, 42-75.

[44] On the strategic "Invention of 'The Time of King Edward'," see Garnett, *Conquered England*, 9-44. On Harold's contested treatment in the documentary process, see below.

departure for Normandy: a "writing around" of the realm.[45] When all entries in a given booklet had been transferred to the appropriate shire survey, a member of the scribal team often wrote *consummatum est* on the last used leaf, "It is finished" – the last words of Christ (John 19:30) seeming to provide a running sophomoric commentary on the scribes' collective suffering ("My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?") **<Figure 3>** Occasionally, scribes called each other out or indicated where they had quit: "here should be what Jordan has written" (*Hic debet esse hoc quod Jordan scripsit*) or "written up to here: Richard" (*usque huo scripsit . R:*).[46] **< Figures 4-5>** At the foot of one page, a tiny neat hand has jotted a phrase from the story of the wedding feast at Cana, when Christ turned water into wine: *omnis [h]omo primum bonum* ("each man at first [brings out] good [wine]": John 2:10).[47] It looks like a discrete invitation to meet for a well-deserved drink after work. **<Figure 6>**

In the course of these routine tasks, the scribes were constantly having to revise individual entries to account for new sources of information. Missing entries were supplied in margins or inserted between lines. Errors were erased with pumice or, more frequently, crossed out. One day, all of a manor's serfs (*servi*) were instantly liberated and raised to the status of bordars (*bordari*), either because the scribe had initially misread his exemplar or because an updated missive had arrived.[48] **<Figure 7>** The very fact that messiness didn't matter – most booklets were destined to become obsolete, recycled or destroyed – provides rare insights into the working methods of an unevenly trained team comprised of about sixteen regular participants and three acting overseers, with several individuals represented less frequently.[49] Most were Norman or French, judging by their hands, their French-inflected Latin vocabulary, and their eccentric spelling of English names and places.[50] A couple were rather old-fashioned, others very young and inexperienced. Still others were schooled and fastidious, keeping their lines straight and *ductus* even. A few with superior modern training

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[45] David Bates, ed., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I, 1066-1087* (Oxford, 1998), 958–959 (No. 326): writ (still preserved in the Westminster Abbey Muniments) announcing the grant of eight hides in Pyrford (Surrey) to the abbey of Westminster, issued *post descriptionem totius Angliæ*; see Bates' commentary on the dating and further discussion below. Harvey (*Domesday*, 99) misinterprets this as a reference to GDB. On the contemporary meanings of the term *descriptio*, also used in the colophon to LDB, see Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law*, Nos. 296, 533, 906, 1314, 3217; David Bates, "William the Conqueror and His Wider Western World," *Haskins Society Journal* 15 (2006), 73-87 at 83-86; David Roffe, "A Profession of Ignorance: An Insight into Domesday Procedure in an Early Reference to the Inquest," in Dalton and Luscombe, *Rulership and Rebellion*, 45–60. See also notes 77-79.

[46] Exeter Q 79, 406v; Q 81, fol. 414r.

[47] Exeter Q 97, fol. 522v. *Et dicit ei Omnis homo primum bonum vinum ponit, et cum inebriati fuerint, tunc id quod deterius est; tu autem servasti bonum vinum adhuc.* "And he said to Him: Each man at first brings out good wine, and when they are drunk, then it is time for the worse; but you have kept the good wine until now." This marginalium has also been independently examined by Chris Lewis, who came to the same conclusion: http://www.exondomesday.ac.uk/blog/in-the-margins-of-exon-etas-note/ (accessed 9 July 2018).

[48] Exeter Q 83, fol. 419v.

[49] Flight, *Survey*, 42-49. Webber ("Salisbury") estimated the number of regular scribes at fifteen. Neither estimate adequately accounts for all the later additions.

[50] This according to a preliminary report by Julia Crick, who has accounted for some 25 individual hands: see note 16.

vied with one another to see who could make the most pretentious *paraphs*.[51] **< Figure 8>** There may even be a trace of the scribal hand eventually entrusted with editing and copying these texts to create Great Domesday: an English-born or –trained professional recruited from Durham at the behest of its bishop, William of Saint-Calais (r. 1080-1096), the man most likely assigned to the management of the inquest.[52]

Together, these men and boys embodied the human labor, ingenuity, error, wit, fatigue, and frustration that lie behind the confident, uniform façade of Great Domesday, which eventually emerged out of this precarious, compromised, and contested process.[53] One booklet even allows us to watch that process occurring in real time, through an entry added during, or immediately after, the Salisbury council. As many scholars have posited, writings produced by the inquest – perhaps even some of the completed surveys still represented by Little Domesday – were presented to the king on that day and made available for the inspection of "all the landholding men of any worth" assembled there.[54] As such, they also became ritual objects and sureties for oath-taking. During these proceedings, Bishop Walkelin of Winchester (r. 1070-1098), William's own cousin and personal chaplain, discovered that certain manors he claimed from the king had not been included in the briefs. When he loudly made his displeasure known, a scribe not attached to the Winchester scriptorium (his hand is not attested anywhere else in the *libelli*) was ordered to correct the error.

The designated scribe performed this task on the leftover leaves of a booklet otherwise unconnected to Walkelin's estates and, in keeping with the bishop's firm insistence on his rights, did so with scrupulous care: formally ruling the lines (a nicety which few of the regular scribes had time for) and giving his entry a full title, TERRA EPISCOPI WINTONIENSIS INSUMERSETA (Lands of the Bishop of Winchester in Somerset).[55] Four pages later, he concluded with a description of the two small manors that "have been added" to the bishop's lordship.[56] He then supplied an emphatic colophon. **<Figure 9a-b>**

> From these lands, customary dues and service have always belonged / to Taunton. & King W[illiam] conceded these lands for [the church of] St Peter and Bishop Walkelin to have. And this he himself made known at Salisbury in the hearing of the bishop of Durham, to whom he commanded that he should write this same concession in the briefs.[57]

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[51] Also noted by C. Weldon Finn, "The Exeter Domesday and Its Construction," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 40 (1958-59): 360-387 at 364.

[52] The scribe can be seen at work in Exeter Q32, fols. 152v-153v, and Q85, fols. 436r-v. Flight has suggested that he was using blank pages to work through a particularly knotty editorial problem during the redaction of GDB: *Survey*, 76-77. On Bishop William's involvement, see Pierre Chaplais, "William of Saint-Calais and the Domesday Survey," in Holt, *Domesday Studies*, 65–77. Harvey rehearses the evidence for the scribe's identity in *Domesday*, 100-106; and for William's career, 112-114.

[53] Stephen Baxter has astutely argued for a recording process that was both more collaborative and more "chaotic" than most Domesday historians have envisioned: "The Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure in Domesday Book," in *Domesday Book*, ed. Elizabeth M. Hallam and David Bates (Stroud, 2001), 73–102 at 79.

[54] On the incentive for lords to participate in the inquest, and their desire to influence its outcome, see Baxter, "Representation of Lordship," 81-87.

[55] On this distinctive scribe, see N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), vol. 2, 805-806; Chaplais, "William of Saint-Calais," 75.

[56] Exeter Q36, fols. 173v-175v at 175r: "Huic superdictum mansionem fuerunt additae".

[57] Exeter Q36, fols. 173v-175v at 175r-v: see transcription below.

In other words, Walkelin had interrupted the Lammastide ceremony to display his power over the king and his one-upmanship over William of Durham.[58] This dramatic scene was not only played out in public, and then added to the brief, but would also be inscribed *verbatim* in Great Domesday at a later date.[59] <**Figure 10**>

And yet Walkelin's noisy intervention did not actually result in his control over those manors. An undated writ issued by the Conqueror's son and successor in England, William II Rufus, reveals that the bishop's claim was still unrecognized in reality some years later.[60] Later still, a second writ had to be dispatched to the king's agents and subjects in Somerset.

> Know that I have ascertained from William, bishop of Durham, and from my own briefs [*et per breves meos*], that my father conceded *Lidiard* and *Legam*[61] to the church of St. Peter of Winchester and to Bishop Walkelin, and I also make the same concession concerning those manors.[62]

The witnesses were William of Durham and Ranulf "the chaplain": the notorious Ranulf Flambard (*c*. 1060-1128), Durham's right-hand man and a possible "mastermind" behind the inquest.[63] For apparently, the incumbents of these manors had either chosen to ignore Walkelin's claim or had never heard about it; so the shire court was being asked to investigate on the authority of "my briefs": specifically, the addendum made at Lammastide of 1086, still visible today in the Exeter booklet.

This writ presumes a great deal of common knowledge about the inquest while simultaneously revealing that facts on the ground did not always match the written record. In this case, the collective might of the kingdom's most powerful men was being mustered to ensure that Walkelin would get his dues from an insignificant holding valued at 45 shillings, which was still in the *de facto* possession of common Englishmen. Whatever the original aims of the inquest, the new king and his closest advisors were now conveying the message that its written results could be used as proof of title and enforceable sources of law.[64] And yet they were still consulting briefs – the very brief we still have – and not a book.

BEFORE AND BENEATH DOMESDAY BOOK

The Exeter *libelli* witness the laborious process of inscribing a now-vanished cache of preliminary texts (documentary phase I) into briefs (phase II). They also afford glimpses of the briefs' reorganization into surveys (phase III, e.g. Little Domesday) prior to their

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[58] For other episcopal attempts to influence the record, see P. Taylor, "Episcopal Returns," 204-216.
[59] See discussion below.
[60] V. H. Galbraith, "Royal Charters," 388 (No. 8).
[61] Chapel Leigh, Pyleigh, and West Leigh in Lydeard St. Lawrence: see Ann Williams and G. H. Martin, eds., *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation* (Harmondsworth, 1992), 235a.
[62] Galbraith, "Royal Charters," 388 (No. 10), dated between 1091 to 1096: "W[illelmus] rex Anglor[um] I[ohanni] episcopo et W[illelmo] Caprevicecomiti et omnibus fidelibus suis francis et anglis de Sumerseta salute. Sciatis me recognovisse per Willelmum Dunelmensem episcopum et per breves meos quod pater meus concessit lidiard et Legam ecclesie sancti Petri de Wintonia et Walkelino episcopo et ego similiter eadem maneria concedo predicte ecclesie et episcopo in perpetuum habere. T. episcopo Dunelm[ensi] et Ragnulf[o] capellano".
[63]This is Harvey's assessment, though she also canvasses other possible contenders: *Domesday*, 115–130.
[64] This evidence that the briefs were already being used to prove title *before* GDB directly contradicts F. W. Maitland's famous assertion that Domesday Book was "no register of title." See e.g. Paul Hyams, "'No Register of Title': The Domesday Inquest and Land Adjudication," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 9 (1986): 127-41; see also Roffe, *Domesday*, 47, and *Decoding Domesday*, 13-14.

redaction into the text we know as Great Domesday (phase IV).[65] Thanks to Walkelin's intervention, we can bridge the temporal and textual gap between phases II and IV by examining a few of the editorial choices made by the latter's scribe.

ENTRY IN THE BRIEF[66] <**Figure 9a-b**>

Huic supradictæ mansioni sunt additæ ii..
mansiones Lidiardi *7* Lega. quas
tenuit .i. ten*us* parit*er* die E.F.V.7 M. *et* potuit
ire ad que*m*libet d*omin*u*m*.
Wluuard*us* tenet modo.
Lidiarda*m*. *7* redd*it* gildu*m*. *pro* ii. hid*es*. has
posse arare iiii. carr*ucatæ*. Inde h*abe*t v*illa*
vi. uill*anos*. *7* ii. *bord*ar*os*. *7* iii[68]. seruos. *7*
[69]xv.ag*res* nemoris. *7 ix*. a*gres* pasturi. *7*
c. ag*res* pascuæ.
7 ual*et* xl. sol*idi*. *7* q*uando* recepit
tantum d*enarii*. *Et* Aluuard*us* tenet. Lega*m*.
7 redd*it* gildu*m* .p*ro* dim*idum* hid*am*.
Hanc pot*erit* arare i. carr*uactam*. *7* h*abe*t ibi .
i. bordar*um*. *7* iiii. *servos*. *7* xxxiiii. ag*res* nemoris.
7 ii. *ag*res *nemoris*. 7 ii. ag*res* pasture. *7* val*et*.
v. sol*idi*. *7* q*uando* recepit tantum d*enarii*.
De his terris se*mper* iacuerunt consuetudines
servitium // in Tantone. 7 rex. W*illelmus*
concessit istas t*erra*s habendas S*ancto* Petro.
7 Walchelino e*psico*po sic*ut* ipse recognouit
apud Sarisb*ur*ia audiente e*pisco*po
cui p*re*cepit ut hanc ipsa*m*
concessione*m* sua*m* in brevib*us* scrib*er*et.

ENTRY IN GREAT DOMESDAY[67] <**Figure 10**>

Huic modo Tantone addit*æ* s*un*t. ii.
7 hidæ dim*idum* in Lidiard *7* Lega quas
teneb*ant* un*us* tain*us* partier T.R.E. *7* potuit
ire ad que*m*libet d*omin*u*m*.
Modo tenet de ep*isco*po Wluuard*us* 7
Aluuard*us pro co*ncessionem regis
W*illelmus*. T*er*ra. est.v.carr*ucatæ*. Ibi sunt
.vi. uill*an*i. *7* iii. borda*ari 7* iiij. serui. *7*
xi. ac*res* p*astur*i. *7*
. c. ac*res* pastur*æ*. *7* xlix ac*res* silvæ.
Valeb*at 7* valet .xlv. solid*i*.

De his t*er*ris se*mper* iacuer*unt* consuetudines *7*
7 servitiu*m* in Tantone. *7* rex. W*illelmus*
c*on*cessit istas t*erra*s habendas S*ancto* Petro.
7 Walchelino e*psico*po sicut ipse recognouit
apud Sarisburia audiente e*pisco*po Dunelm*en*si.
Dunelmensi. cui pr*ec*epit. ut hanc ipsa*m*
concessione*m* sua*m* in brevib*us* scrib*er*et.

The brief testifies that, during the time of King Edward, Walkelin's disputed manors had been held by an unnamed thegn who "was able to go to whatever lord he wished" (*potuit ire ad quemlibet dominum*), meaning that he had no overlord. It then gives a detailed account of the two manors, treating them as separate entities. In Great Domesday, these manors are conflated and the entry emphatically declares that "Now they, Wulfward and Alvard, hold [this manor] from the bishop by concession of King W[illiam]." We can thus infer that the (lost) survey for Somerset recopied the brief's entry faithfully and that the Domesday scribe later abbreviated it – while still choosing to retain the dramatic vignette of Walkelin's intervention at Salisbury.[70] Discrepancies between the assessed values reported in the brief and in Domesday further indicate the intervention of an intermediary text: at some point, the four carrucates of plowland entered in the brief became five in the king's book, while the count of four serfs in the brief (which had been adjusted to three by erasure) has been restored to four.

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[65] My identification of these phases corresponds to Flight's categorization of B, C, D, and DB texts. However, my evidence shows that each phase was more prolonged than Flight has posited: see below.
[66] Exeter Q36, fols. 173v-175v at 175r.
[67] GDB, fol. 87v. This case is numbered 1355 in Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law.*
[68] Originally iiii – one digit has been erased.
[69] Another erasure.
[70] Here, my analysis of the evidence counters the argument of Thorn and Thorn, who posited that the scribe of GDB worked directly from briefs like those at Exeter: "Writing of Great Domesday."

Indeed, the Exeter *libelli* frequently reveal that data from the inquest, and corrections of that data, continued to be gathered well after the Lammastide oathtaking – even as the surveys (phase III) were being prepared. So much is also signalled by a writ issued *post descriptionem totius Angliæ*, "after the writing around of all England," and probably just before William sailed for Normandy in October of 1086.[71] Although this writ survives in the original, its contents were never redacted into either the briefs or the surveys. Why? Because in it, the king had granted the manor of Pyford (Surrey) to the abbey of Westminster, stipulating that said manor consisted of eight hides. In Great Domesday, where this transaction is explicitly cited as supported by no written evidence, the same manor is said to have been assessed at 27 hides in the time of king Edward; afterward it was assessed at sixteen hides "at the pleasure" (*ad libetum* [sic]) of Harold. This, then, was the amount the monks were claiming: twice the hidage granted by the Conqueror's writ, whose existence in their archive they flatly denied. The local jurors clearly suspected some skullduggery of the sort; Great Domesday reports that "the men of [Godley] hundred have never seen nor heard the writ on behalf of the king attesting to that much."[72] Instead, as David Bates has shown, the monks forged at least two writs in William's name, alleging that he had granted this manor "with that same liberty as Earl Harold held it," omiting any reference to the exact number of hides.[73] The local jurors were not fooled, but all they could do was to call the monks' bluff.

There are countless other instances in which the Domesday scribe was evidently working with partial or misleading information. For example, looking at the briefs' description of the king's manor of Winsford (Somerset), we see that an item has been erased **<Figure 11>**.[74] The corresponding entry in Great Domesday **<Figure 12>** shows that the scribe's exemplar had closed the gap left by the erasure while mistakenly omitting information about the existence of eleven bordars living on this manor, as well as a flock of 52 sheep. Later, the rescued bordars had to be squeezed in above the corresponding line, but the sheep were never recovered.[75]

ENTRY IN THE BRIEF **<Figure 11>**

Inde h*abe*t rex dimidiam hidam .
&. ii. carr*ucatae* in d*omi*nio.
& villani alia*m* t*erra*m &. xiii. carru*catae*.
Ibi h*abe*t Rex. xxxviii. vill*ani* & xi
bord*a*ri. & .ix *servos.* ____. & lii. oues

ENTRY IN GREAT DOMESDAY **<Figure 12>**

De ea e*st* in *domi*nio dim*ídia hida.*
7 ibi.ii.car*rucatae*.
7 ix. serui. ***7* xi bord*ari***
& xxxviij villani cu*m* .xiij. car*rucatae.*
Ibi molin*dinum* redd*it* vi. den*arii* [. . .]

In another case, we can watch the Domesday scribe (or his immediate exemplar) in the act of editing, and even censoring, controversial information. In the briefs, the initial description of Molland (Devonshire) looks complete. **<Figure 13.1>** But when the scribes learned of a place called "Nimete," which had been "adjoined unjustly to the manor" (*adiuncta iniuste mansio*), that datum was added in the right-hand margin of the booklet. **<Figure 13.2>** Still later, an old Anglo-Saxon custom was reported as being observed there, which another scribe dutifully recorded at the bottom of the page. **<Figure 13.3>** In Great Domesday, we find all of this material neatly stitched together – except for a snide observation about that quaint

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[71] Bates, ed., *Regesta*, 958–959 (No. 326). See also note 44.
[72] GDB, fol, 32ra: "Ho*min*es de hund*redis* nunq*uam* audier*unt* nec uider*unt* brev*em* ex parte regis qui ad tant*um* posuisset." Failure to produce a valid writ was a frequent complaint of local jurors: see Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law*, 547b (the Pyrford dispute is No. 1503). See also below.
[73] Bates, ed., *Regesta*, 938-939 (No. 320): "sic liberas sicut Haroldus comes habuit"; cf. 942-943 (No. 322).
[74] Exeter Q20, fol. 98v.
[75] GDB, fol. 86vb.

custom, which the booklet's scribe had included in the lower margin: "This custom did the king not have after the king had England."[76] **<Figure 14>** This disrespectful remark about the king's suppression of English institutions was duly excised from the king's book.

Such instances of documentary negotiation (examples could be greatly multiplied) witness the human error and compromise of any bureaucratic undertaking while strongly indicating that Great Domesday, as we have it, was not an immediate or necessarily foreordained product of the royal inquest. Certainly the making of some surveys stretched into 1087, and possibly beyond the lifespan of the king, who died on 9 September.[77] As Ian Taylor has argued, the king and his agents may have prioritized the "writing around" of the three East Anglian shires (represented by Little Domesday) in the summer or autumn of 1086, as part of the preparations to defend that very region against Cnut's threatened invasion.[78] Thereafter, these writings may have remained separated from the rest of the surveys completed in the ensuing months. By the time the East Anglian surveys were recovered and bound into Little Domesday, Great Domesday had been "completed" without them. Meanwhile, as the colophon added to Little Domesday suggests, the whereabouts of the other surveys was no longer known.

> IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND AND EIGHTY-SIX AFTER THE INCARNATION OF THE LORD, IN THE TWENTIETH OF THE REIGN OF WILLIAM, THIS VERY *DESCRIPTIO* WAS MADE NOT ONLY FOR THESE THREE COUNTIES BUT ALSO FOR OTHERS.[79]

Frequently mistaken as a reference to Great Domesday,[80] the *descriptio* referenced here actually echoes the phrase *descriptio totius Angliæ* in William's grant to the abbey of Westminster in 1086. William expected the inquest's outcome to be a comprehensive survey much more detailed than the edited version we have in Great Domesday.

What, then, became of the other surveys created during documentary phase III, the exemplars used by the Domesday scribe? Were they "all the writings [that] were sent to [William] later," after he sailed for Normandy, as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle reported?[81] If so, they may have traveled back to England with William Rufus when he was urgently dispatched from his father's deathbed, to stake his claim to the throne: they would have been a warrant for his (by no means secure) succession.[82] Or perhaps they had remained at Winchester all along. In either scenario, they were later edited to create Great Domesday.

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[76] Exeter Q20, fol. 95r: "Hanc c*on*suetudine*m* n*on* habuit rex p*ostquam* [ipse] habuit Anglia*m*". Cf. GDB fol. 101ra.

[77] See note 23 and discussion below. The analysis of Thorn and Thorn also supports the premise that the survey was not completed until after William's death: "Writing of Great Domesday Book," 71; so does the study of Chaplais, "William of Saint-Calais." Both Finn (*Liber Exoniensis*, 148) and Flight (*Survey*, 31) also regard GDB as an afterthought, although both assume that its making was roughly contemporaneous with the surveys. C. P. Lewis has argued that GDB was still being copied in 1088, but what his evidence really reveals is the ongoing revision of surveys: "The Earldom of Surrey and the Date of Domesday Book," *Historical Research* 63 (1990): 329-336.

[78] I. Taylor "Domesday Books?" 146-153.

[79] LDB, fol. 450: "ANNO MILLESIMO OCTOGESIMO SEXTO INCARNATIONIS D*OMINI* N*OSTRI* VIGESIMO V*ER*O REGNI WILL*ELMI* FACTA EST ISTA DESCRIPTIO NON SOLUM P*ER* HOS TRES COMITATUS SED ETIAM P*ER* ALIOS".

[80] By contrast, see e.g. Harvey, who takes this as a sign of GDB's "early completion" in 1086: *Domesday*, 97. As Thorn and Thorn also argued, this is a clear reference to the date of the *inquest* – to the completion of either the LDB surveys or to GDB: "Writing of Great Domesday Book," 70.

[81] ASC E-text: "*7* ealle þa gewrita wæron gebroht to him syððan". Thorn and Thorn were also confident that this is not a reference to GDB: "Writing of Great Domesday Book," 69.

[82] On the fraught circumstances, see Garnett, *Conquered England*, 137-139.

Thereafter, it is evident that at least some of these surveys continued to be kept and consulted in the royal treasury. A handsomely illuminated codex, made at the Benedictine abbey of Abingdon in the mid-thirteenth century **<Figure 15>**, preserves a list of the abbey's lands "just as contained in a writing of the king's treasury (*scriptura thesauri regis*) organized by individual hundred": a "writing around" like the surveys in Little Domesday, which are (unlike Great Domesday) organized according to hundreds. Adjacent to this list is an account of those same abbey lands "in another book of the king's treasury (*in alio libro thesauri regis*) written in the time of King William who took England for his empire. It contains an abbreviation of the hides and description of them as follows": here, the codex reproduces a verbatim copy of relevant entries from Great Domesday.[83] The monks of Abingdon had checked their holdings in both the (now lost) Berkshire survey and "another book."

Neither of these tantalizing texts had been included in the abbey's earlier thirteenth-century cartulary. This suggests that compilers of the later cartulary had since discovered an older text containing information gleaned by their distant predecessors, back in the day when it was still possible to consult surveys alongside the book we call Great Domesday. We know that many religious houses copied materials from the royal inquest, or from their own independent surveys, into liturgical texts or cartularies (the distinction is barely relevant) during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The Abingdon cartulary's headings, derived from just such an earlier exemplar, indicate that those who made that earlier text didn't know what to call the "other book" because it had not yet received its iconic name. The description of its having been "written in the time of King William who took England for his empire" seems carefully chosen to distinguish William the Conqueror from his son, William II Rufus. It also suggests that, even if Great Domesday hadn't actually been completed during the Conqueror's lifetime, his imperial fiat was firmly associated with its making.

In sum, the Abingdon cartulary preserves a record derived from a time when it was possible to examine both the individual surveys and Great Domesday simultaneously. That window of opportunity was open so long as <a> the former still existed in the royal treasury and <b> the latter was not yet known as Domesday Book, but <c> was attributed to William the Conqueror rather than to his namesake. We can thus date the Abingdon monks' consultation of these texts to the years between the autumn of 1087 and 1141: after the beginning of William II's reign but before the sacking of the treasury during the civil war between Stephen and Matilda. This was several bureaucratic generations before FitzNeale's teasing reference to a book called "Domesday," in a work that tellingly displays no knowledge of any other records relating to the inquest-- probably because they were no longer extant in the royal treasury in its new Westminster location.[84]

So at least some of the shire surveys remained in active service as reference works, available for inspection at Winchester by interested parties; perhaps some even traveled to meet those parties. This would explain why Great Domesday itself shows so little sign of

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[83] London, British Library [BL] Cotton MS Claudius B vi, fol. 185v: "sicut scriptura thesauri regis continent per hund*redem* singula disposias"; "in alio libro thesauri regis te*m*pore Will*elm*i regis qui angliam suo adquisivit imperio scripto. Abreviatio hidarum & descriptio taliter continetur." These texts, known as "Abingdon A and B," and have been edited by D. C. Douglas, "Some Early Surveys from the Abbey of Abingdon," *English Historical Review* 44 (1929): 618-625. Their references to two sets of writings have long generated confusion: see e.g. Harvey, "Domesday Book and Its Predecessors," 760; Roffe, *Decoding,* 88, and *Domesday*, 111.

[84] Yoshitake, "The Place of Government"; Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 27-29.

use.[85] It may also explain the eventual disappearance of those surveys: wear, tear, and loss. Judging from Little Domesday, their parchment stock was only marginally better than that of the briefs, whose workaday single-column format they imitated. Both these bodies of text were utilitarian, quite unlike the liturgical double-columned format of Great Domesday, with its 382 leaves measuring a lordly 38x46 cm – nearly twice as big as the leaves of Little Domesday (20x28 cm) – and collectively weighing some 8 kilograms (18 pounds).[86]

Extrapolating from the extant East Anglian surveys, which owe their survival to their preservation as proxies for the missing chapters in Great Domesday, we can surmise that each lost shire *descriptio* would have been a slim collection of about 18-20 quires averaging some 160 leaves in all.[87] Loosely stitched together – they were "writing(s)" (*gewrita, scriptura*), not codices – each survey would have been very vulnerable to damage, or easily carried off in a pocket or pouch. As one contemporary librarian complained, "the slimness of these books, it seemed, made them less apt to be noticed and any small thing can so easily vanish by stealth or theft."[88] Another lamented that such booklets "ought to be saved and better cared for and not destroyed."[89] Texts in common use do not have long lifespans.[90] But if they *are* in common use, they will leave traces of their former existence.[91] While some of the "Domesday satellites" derive from Great Domesday, others point to the consultation of surveys. Still others were the products of local initiatives only tangentially related to the royal inquest and, as such, witnesses to the broader documentary practices that made the Domesday project viable in the first place.

A DOMESDAY MICROCOSM: ABBOT NIGEL AND THE SURVEY OF BURTON ABBEY

In 1094, a Benedictine monk traveled north to the Staffordshire frontier. He was coming to be the abbot of Burton, an office for which he was over-qualified. At Winchester, Nigel had been sacristan of the old Anglo-Saxon New Minster – the royal cathedral – during a time of significant stress on that monastic community and its leadership.[92] A few years earlier, in 1091, Ranulf Flambard (the Domesday "mastermind") had been installed as abbot,

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[85] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 153-154, 164-165, 331.

[86] I am grateful to Mr. Jürgen Vervoorst, Head of Conservation at The National Archives, who kindly weighed the second of the volumes at my request, reporting that it tipped the scales at 3.8 kg (personal communication, 21 November 2016). I have multiplied that number by two, but there is no way of estimating the addition weight of the original medieval boards and binding. On Great Domesday as a liturgical book, see Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 282; Carol Symes, "Liturgical Texts and Performance Practices," in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy*, ed. Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton (Aldershot, 2015), 239–67. See also below.

[87] Here and elsewhere, I part company with Flight, who has surmised that all of the surveys were grouped together into similar codices as LDB and that *this* set of volumes was known as "the king's book" until the treasury moved to Westminster, when all but one of these books (LDB) were lost or destroyed: *Survey*, 32-34.

[88]Karin Dengler-Schreiber, *Scriptorium und Bibliothek des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg* (Gratz, 1979), 184: "quia parvitas librorum videbatur minus apta cernentibus, et facile porterat furto vel qualibet surrepcione perire res modica."

[89]Gustavus Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), 157 (No. 122): "que oportet servare et meliorare et non destruere".

[90] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record,* 32-32 and *passim.*

[91] Carol Symes, *"*Popular Literacies and the First Historians of the First Crusade," *Past & Present* 235 (2017): 37-67.

[92] William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1693), vol. 3: 47a-48a. Dugdale's ultimate source, which identified Nigel as "monachus et sacrista Wintoniæ," was the house cartulary and abbatial chronicle now in the British Library (MS Loan No. 30): see above.

after which he speedily engineered the profitable sale of his own office. In 1093, right after Walkelin's new Norman cathedral was consecrated – for which the bishop had so zealously sought the proceeds of manors claimed in 1086 – the New Minster was razed to the ground. The homeless monks were eventually re-settled at Hyde Abbey, outside the city; but Nigel had long since left for fresher air. Indeed, these fraught circumstances help to explain why a man of his stature would take charge of the smallest, poorest, and most remote monastic outpost in the realm prior to the Conquest, in a region ruthlessly despoiled during the Harrying of the North (1069-1070).[93] He was ready for a new career, to which he brought his knowledge of the royal inquest and its documentation.

Housing at most a few dozen monks, the abbey at Burton had been founded in 1002 by a wealthy Mercian thegn known as Wulfric Spot (d. 1010), who had endowed it from his extensive landholdings in the region centered on Offlow (Offa's Law) Hundred.[94] In 1004, Wulfric's Anglo-Saxon will had been confirmed by a bilingual charter of King Æthelred II ("the Unready," r. 978-1016), at which time the king had also approved the choice of Burton's first abbot, Wulfgeat, a monk of Winchester.[95] Since then, all of Burton's abbots had come from the royal Minster.

The tenure of the most recent, however, had been ruinous. Geoffrey Malaterra or Mauland (r. 1085-1094), the first Norman incumbent, had abused his office to rob the abbey of its property for nearly a decade – until his flagrant mismanagement drove the monks to expel him.[96] A few years later, as I can here report, this same Geoffrey would turn up in another Norman colony, Sicily, where he insinuated himself into the court of Robert Guiscard's son, Roger Borsa, to become the family's sycophantic chronicler. Concealing his identity as the disgraced abbot of Burton, he would coyly explain to his new patron, Bishop Angerius of Catania, that he had been born "in parts beyond the Alps" and had recently escaped "an unlucky worldly career in the likeness of Martha" (performing tedious chores like those ascribed to Martha in the gospel of Luke) before being "revived like her brother Lazarus to the happiness of Mary's peace." The monks of Burton would not have recognized their rapacious former abbot in this guise of humble housewifery. (And it will require some further detective work to ensure that he is recognized as the author of this text).[97]

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[93] Christopher Harper-Bill, "The Anglo-Norman Church," in Harper-Bill and Van Houts, *A Companion*, 164–90 at 171.

[94] For a history of Burton, see G. C. Baugh, et al., "Houses of Benedictine Monks: The Abbey of Burton," in *A History of the County of Stafford:* Volume 3, ed. M. W. Greenslade and R. B. Pugh (London, 1970), 199-213. (Bartlett's introduction to Geoffrey of Burton's *Life and Miracles of St Modwena* is focused on the period after 1114.) On Wulfric's career and wealth, see Sawyer, *Charters of Burton*, xxviii-xliii.

[95] On the royal charter and its context, see Simon Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred "The Unready" (978-1016): A Study in Their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980), 188-93; Levi Roach, *Æthelred the Unready* (New Haven, 2016), 186-251.

[96]Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 3: 47b: "Galfridus Mala Terra monachus Wintoniæ successit dicto Leverico, et præfuit monasterio x. annis. tempore Willielmi primi. et Willielmi secondi regum Angliæ. Hic propter dissipationem terrarium cæterorumque bonorum monasterii, inde expulsus est, anno Domini MXciiij. et dicti regis Willielmi secondi septimo."

[97] Goffredo Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri (Bologna, 1928), 1: ". . .. infelici cursu mundano cum Martha habito, ad felicitatem quietis Mariæ cum Lazaro fratre resuscitavi [. . .] a transmontanis partibus venientem." A new edition, by Marie-Agnès Lucas-Avenal, prefers the variant reading "felici cursu mundano," which doesn't make as much sense, either in the context of the gospel story or the rhetorical context of the salutation: *Histoire du Grand Comte Roger et de son frère Robert Guiscard, Vol. I –Livres I & II* (Caen, 2016), 119. Indeed, Geofrey makes another reference to Martha's cares

As sacristan, Nigel had been Winchester's chief liturgist and overseer of the Minster's treasury-archive. If we posit that he was in his 30s when he left, he would have been a young man when the briefs were being compiled and the surveys copied in the royal palace next door. If he had not been a member of the scribal team, at a time when every available hand was surely needed, he was at least in a position to follow the work at very close quarters. He would also have known about Geoffrey's flagrant mismanagement of Burton Abbey; he had almost certainly known Geoffrey himself, as slightly older fellow monk. To prepare for his inspection of the abbey's depleted properties, therefore, the evidence I have uncovered shows that Nigel took the sensible step of consulting the extant documentation of the inquest, in order to assess the extent and value of Burton's lands in 1086 – the year after Geoffrey had taken office: just as William Rufus and his advisors had done when trying to ascertain the d state of Walkelin's disputed manors, a few years earlier.[98]

By this time, though -- the spring of 1094 –Nigel was able to access a more advanced stage of documentation than the king's briefs: he could consult the surveys of the shires where Burton held lands.[99] This can be deduced from the organization of two identical lists of the abbey's holdings copied at Burton during Nigel's abbacy, as well as from information preserved in those lists. In them, the order of the abbey's manors is exactly the same as that in the three relevant sections of Great Domesday; and yet Nigel's source was manifestly *not* this codex, because the geld values assigned to several of Burton's manors reflect a higher assessment than the values ultimately reported in Great Domesday.[100] The information collected by Nigel thus derived from an intermediate phase of documentation, more organized than the briefs but not the same as that redacted in Great Domesday. Moreover, the fact that the latter reflects a *depreciation* of these earlier geld values is congruous with the alienation or theft of abbey property by Geoffrey Malaterra after 1086; the very reason why Nigel was motivated to make a list in the first place, and is yet another indication that the Domesday scribe was having to digest new information years after the inquest.

A similar list from the Worcestershire abbey of Evesham shows that monasteries were in the habit of making this sort of record for their own purposes, independent of any royal inquest.[101] Nigel had probably seen many such texts. And many – in the form of fragile

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and concerns (*curis*) – in contrast to Mary's choice of blessed contemplation (*vero beatae contemplationi*) – in his second epistle, directed to the clergy of Sicily (123). In her introduction to the text (18-28), Lucas-Avenal rehearses the evidence for the author's cognomen, possible origins and associations, and likely sites of earlier monastic training in Normandy: all of which dovetail with what is known about his English career. On the wider context of Geoffrey's departure from England, see Matthew Bennett, "The Normans in the Mediterranean," in Harper-Bill and Van Houts, *Companion*, 87–102; and David Bates and Pierre Bauduin, eds., *911-2011: Penser les mondes normandes médiévaux* (Caen, 2016).

[98]See above.

[99] See also Walmsely, "Another Domesday Text," 111.

[100] The abbey's lists value Darlaston at 30*s*, its reported value *TRE*, which GDB registers as having declined sharply to 10*s* after the Conquest and then rebounding to a value of 27*s*4*d*. The lists also assess Whiston at 5*s*, compared to 4*s* in GDB; and Bedintone at 10*s*, as opposed to GDB's 13*s* *TRE* and revised assessment of 7*s*4*d* in 1086. The manors of Appleby, Winshill, and Stapleton are all listed as valued at £3, analogous to the assessment of 60*s* in GDB.

[101] BL Cotton MS Vespasian B xxiv, fols. 6r-7v. This manuscript was begun in the twelfth century but contains corrections, annotations, and *libelli* added in the thirteenth and fourteenth. Known as "Evesham A," it has been hailed as "stand[ing] at the beginning of the Domesday process": Roffe, *Decoding*, 58. It has been rather intrusively edited by P. H. Sawyer, "Evesham A, A Domesday Text", in *Miscellany*, vol. 1 (Worcester, 1960), 22-36. Another document witnessing this practice is an Anglo-Saxon hidage assessment from Peterborough, made before 1084 and copied into a later

fragments or single sheets – were still in monastic archives in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, when they were being actively copied into cartularies to safeguard them from destruction.[102] Still others, like those from Abingdon discussed above, show that at least some religious houses had been inspired, as Nigel was in 1094, to consult the royal surveys for their own records.[103]

Although these texts look starkly pragmatic in modern editions, it is important to emphasize that they were ritual and symbolic objects as well as administrative and archival ones.[104] In the early 1080s, for example, the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, drew up a schedule of holdings which they probably referenced when supplying information to the king's agents in 1086. Around 1100, they made a deluxe illuminated copy for display on the altar, where their charters and other documents were kept.[105] **<Figure 16>**

It was in just such a context that Nigel and his new community would have gathered around the altar in their (much more modest) church, to inspect Burton's archive in the presence of their parishioners and tenants, and in view of St. Modwena's relics in their portable shrine.[106] At the time, Burton had at least 38 Anglo-Saxon and Latin charters, eight of which still survive in single sheets. Some were genuine; others were recent forgeries datable to the tenure of Abbot Leofric (1050-1085), who had thereby taken all necessary measures to secure the abbey's claims in the face of Norman encroachments during the

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manuscript (London, Society of Antiquaries SAL/MS/60): "a very rare survivor of what may have been very numerous administrative documents in Anglo-Saxon," according to James Campbell, Eric John, and Patrick Wormald, *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. James Campbell (London and New York, 1991), 243. See David Roffe, "The *Descriptio Terrarum* of Peterborough Abbey," *Historical Research* 65 (1992): 1–16. See also Flight's explanation for the Domesday-related texts at Ely: *Survey*, 107.

[102] See Francesca Tinti, "From Episcopal Conception to Monastic Compilation: Hemming's Cartulary in Context," *Early Medieval Europe* 11 (2002): 233-261.

[103] In addition to "Evesham A," BL Cotton MS Vespasian B xxiv contains three more Domesday-related texts: fols. 11r-v ("Evesham F"), copied from Great Domesday; fols.57r-62r ("Evesham K"); and fols. 62r – 63v ("Evesham M"); see also below. The most complete example is the "Herefordshire Domesday" (Oxford, Balliol College MS 30), a copy of the shire's record which was annotated and corrected through the 1160s: V. H. Galbraith and J. Tait, eds., *Herefordshire Domesday, circa 1160-1170* (London, 1950).

[104] Carol Symes, "Liturgical Texts and Performance Practices." On charters copied into gospel books at Canterbury, and on archival practices in general, see the excellent introduction by Nicholas Brooks and S. E. Kelly, eds., *Charters of Christ Church Canterbury* (Oxford, 2013), especially 39-85. In addition to the examples discussed here, many other Domesday "satellites" are liturgical books or are preserved alongside liturgical texts. Examples include the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* (BL Cotton MS Vespasian A xix, fols. 2–27) and the oldest text of the *Inquisitio Eliensis* (Cambridge, Trinity College 0.2.41, fols. 92r-149v).

[105] Canterbury, Cathedral Chapter Library MS Lit. E. 28, fols. 1r-8v. This manuscript compilation, as a whole, used to be known as the "Domesday Monachorum"; this particular text is now called the "Kentish Assessment List": R. S. Hoyt, "A Pre-Domesday Kentish Assessment List," in *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*, ed. P. M. Barnes and C. F. Slade (London, 1962), 189–202. On the larger contexts of its making, see Colin Flight, *The Survey of Kent: Documents Relating to the Survey of the County Conducted in 1086* (Oxford, 2010).

[106] On the liturgical uses of charters and archives, see E. O. Blake, *Liber Eliensis* (London; Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1962), II: 11–12; Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, especially 156-164; Symes, "Liturgical Texts." Abbot Geoffrey II later researched and wrote the saint's vita and a collection of miracles. He also raised funds to rebuild the abbey church in a grander style: Bartlett, *Life and Miracles*, xii-xiii; 2-5; on the location of the shrine: 188-191.

Conquest's brutal aftermath in the North.[107] The most valuable of these charters was an authentic copy of Wulfric's will and the royal diploma confirming it, inscribed together on a carefully cut rectangle of parchment measuring 38.3 x 52.3 cm, handsomely decorated with colored initials and rustic capitals.[108] <**Figure 2** >

Like all foundation charters, this document was designed for audiovisual performance, both at the time of its making and at other times of communal change and affirmation, in order to remind the assembled gathering of their founder's generosity and their duty to safeguard his patrimony and that of their saint.[109] And like all of Æthelred II's diplomas, this one included a dramatic homily: a meditation on the Fall of Man, an exaltation of Christ's sacrifice, and praise for Wulfric's generous endowment of the community for the salvation of sinners. The charter's first dorsal inscription also captured that founding moment and affirmed the document's status as a ritual object.[110] <**Figure 17**>

> . Þis is seo freols boc to þam mynstre æt byrtune þe æthelred cyning æfre ecelice gefroede . gode to lofe. 7 eallon his halgan / to þeorþunge. Spa spa Þulfric hit geedstaðelode . for hine sylfne . 7 for his yldrena sapla . 7 hit mid munecon gesette . þat þær / æfre inne þæs hades menn under heora abbude gode þeopian æfter sanctus benedictus tæcinge . SIC FIAT.
> *This is the free book to the minster at Burton that King Æthelred ever after freed, for the love of God and for the worship of his saints. So just as Wulfric had established it, for himself and for his parents' souls, and has settled it with monks, that there forever these men under their abbot may worship God after the teaching of St. Benedict: SO BE IT.* [111]

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[107] Sawyer, *Charters of Burton*, xiii-xv and liv-lv. Most of these charters predate the founding of the abbey and pertain to the various lands acquired by Wulfric Spot. They were presumably part of his bequest.

[108] Neither original was extant by the time Nigel arrived: probable casualties of Geoffrey's malfeasance. Sawyer has shown (*Charters of Burton*, xiii-xv and xxxvii-xxxviii) that all the charters still extant in the thirteenth century were carefully numbered at that time, with the will and royal diploma assigned a single number. All of these charters were transcribed into the working cartulary begun *c*. 1230 (BL MS Loan 30, also coded as Add MS 89169: see above and note 20) and then into a separate quire of a more finished cartulary made between *c*. 1240 and 1260 (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS Peniarth 390, fols.173-184v).

[109] On the ritual publication of wills, see Linda Tollerton, *Wills and Will-Making in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2011), 5, 56-79, 228-278. On the ceremonial creation and display of royal charters, those of Æthelred in particular, see Levi Roach, "Public Rites and Public Wrongs: Ritual Aspects of Diplomas in Tenth-and Eleventh-Century England," *Early Medieval Europe* 19 (2011): 182-203; idem, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England, 871-978: Assemblies and the State in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013), 78-101; idem, *Æthelred*, 10-11 and *passim.*

[110]The text is edited in Sawyer, *Charters of Burton*, 49-53. This scribe is not included in Donald Scragg's *A Conspectus of Scribal Hands Writing in English, 900-1100* (Cambridge, 2012). The text was translated by Charles G. O. Bridgeman, "Staffordshire Pre-Conquest Charters," in *Collections for a History of Staffordshire* (1916), 69–137 at 115-118 (no. 22); but the translation here is my own. On the homiletic character of Æthelred's diplomas, see Levi Roach, "Penitential Discourse in the Diplomas of Æthelred 'the Unready'," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 64 (2013): 258-276.

[111] Could Nigel, whose name suggests Norman parentage, understand the text of Wulfric's will and the language of the endorsement? Of the 22 Nigels named in Domesday Book, all but six – whose identities are ambiguous – are identifiable as Normans: see K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166* (Woodbridge, 1999), 301-304. Nigel's position at New Minster would, at the very least, have made him familiar with English texts and the spoken vernacular. In any case, it is inconceivable that he would have come to an

What could be more fitting than to mark the occasion of a new abbot's arrival by embellishing this charter with a second endorsement derived from a royal source? For whether it occurred at Nigel's investiture, after his arrival in May, or on a solemn feast like that dedicated to St. Modwena's translation (9 September) – on which Nigel's successor would celebrate a miracle worked in Nigel's day[112] – the list of Burton's manors, derived from the royal inquest, was added to the lower right-hand corner of the same page.

This was done, moreover, in a very particular manner that dictated how the charter would be used over the next few years. Refolding the parchment in thirds, the new abbot (or his scribe) covered the top flap's Anglo-Saxon endorsement with the blank flap of the bottom fold. He then folded the parchment again, horizontally, and copied the list on the resulting blank square (17x18 cm) with the heading *ECCLESIA SANCTA MARIE DE BIRTONE IN STADFORDSCIRE*.[113] <**Figures 18-19**> As the severe discoloration and damage to the parchment teach us, the folded charter and new endorsement were then exposed to a great deal of handling. Additional folds made the square packet into an oblong (9x18cm) and then into a bulky little package (9x9cm) to be carried from place to place, as the monks of Burton introduced their abbot to far-flung tenants and displayed this assemblage of authoritative texts in a material format that could be worn as an amulet or serve as a secondary relic for the swearing of oaths.[114] <**Figures 20**>

In the course of this intensive use, the hard-working charter acquired a third endorsement. Headed "These many hides are in Offlow Hundred" (*Þus fela hyda sind in offa lap hundred*), it represents the monks' own assessment of the hidages in their region, clearly added after the previous endorsement and folding of the parchment, since it is has been copied onto the undamaged middle section of the page and divided into columns in order avoid the vertical creases.[115] <**Figure 21**> Moving clockwise, it traces a mnemonic map of neighboring lordships plotted on a three-leaf clover of roughly equal circuits, averaging 50 miles (80 km) apiece.[116] <**Figure 22**> It can be roughly dated to 1098 or slightly thereafter, because one of the named manors (West Bromwich) passed to Fulk Paginel (Paynel) after the

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English-speaking community (cf. Walmsley, "Another Domesday Text," 113-114) without the means to communicate, or that he could have been such an able leader without that ability.

[112] Bartlett, ed. *Life and Miracles,* 198-199.

[113] The text is edited in Sawyer, *Charters of Burton*, xxxv-xxxvi.

[114] Another elaborately folded parchment sheet, Canterbury Cathedral Chapter Library MS Additional 23, has been described as "the earliest extant multipurpose textual amulet" and dates from the mid-thirteenth century: Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park, 2006), 199 and Figures 5-6; for a thirteenth-century charter repurposed as a talisman, see 186-9 and Figure 4.

[115] On the discrepancies between this list and the hidage assessments derived from Great Domesday, see Charles G. O. Bridgeman, "Notes on the Contents of the Volume for 1916," and "The Hides in Offlow Hundred," *Staffordshire Historical Collections,* Third Series (1919), 127-153 at 131-134. However, it must be noted that Bridgeman's transcription and translation ("Hides," 132) are both incorrect; so is that by W. H. Duignan and W. F. Carter, "King Ethelred's Charter Confirming the Foundation of Burton Abbey," *The Midland Antiquary* 4 (1886)*:* 97-114 at 113.

[116] On similar mapping patterns in the organization of the inquest and GDB, see Flight, *Survey*, 118-119. The manors listed are, in order: [Abbot's] Bromley, Alrewas, Wigginton, Hopwas, Walsall and Wednesbury, Willenhall, *Fulcpi paginel* [i.e. Dudley, Bradley, Aldridge, Great Barr, Rushall, etc.], *Preosterland of Þulfrenehamtun* ["Priests' land at Wolverhampton"], Elford, Harlaston, Thorpe [Constantine], Clifton [Campville], Syerscote, Oakley, Wychnore [i.e. Barton under Needlewood], Ridware, *Rodberdes land* [i.e. Robert, son of Henry de Ferrers: notably Rolleston], *Þe abbud of byrtun* ["the Abbot of Burton"], Shenstone.

death of his father-in-law, William FitzAnsculf, in that year.[117] It was probably this change in lordship that prompted the monks to commit their mental map to writing, or perhaps to transcribe and correct a fragile, older text. A similar aide-mémoire, made at Worcester cathedral in the early twelfth century, was copied onto a small, frail piece of parchment, many times folded, which survives only because it was tucked into a later cartulary.[118] <**Figure 23**>

This third endorsement would be the last addition to the abbey's foundation charter. Shortly after its inscription, the document's active use was evidently recognized as having taken a dangerous toll: constant handling and exposure had almost obliterated the endorsement added after Nigel's arrival, while the parchment's creases had become weakened by repeated refolding. So, after being carefully patched, the charter was folded just three times vertically and once horizontally, to keep the Latin endorsement readily visible. <**Figures 2b and 18**> It was then stored carefully away.[119] Meanwhile, Nigel and his community devised a more portable and far more flexible medium for extending the charter's authority and status as symbol of patrimony: a tightly furled roll, small enough to be carried in a pocket, but with ample room for detailed information to be added and amended over time. Nigel would have seen texts of this kind before, in the form of the hundred and geld rolls submitted during the royal inquest – none of which has survived.

In fact, the remnants of the Burton roll may be the oldest extant medieval roll produced in England. Its two main parchment segments measure 40 and 32 cm in length, respectively, with the latter clearly missing a portion; there would have been, originally, another eight to ten 40-cm segments, for a total length of some four meters. < **Figure 24a-b**>.[120] Either the monks cut down a full sheet of parchment into strips or (more thriftily) cut off the wide margins of an existing codex, a Bible or other large-format liturgical book. (Not only was Burton a relatively poor foundation, its library had been pillaged during the

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[117] The endorsement ascribes eighteen hides to Fulk in total, including three hides in West Bromwich which, in GDB, still belonged to William FitzAnsculf. See Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 484. Sawyer's commentary on this endorsement (*Charters of Burton*, xxxvii) confirms that the hand dates from the very end of the eleventh century. Like the scribe of the first endorsement, this scribe is not included in Scragg's *Conspectus*.

[118] I.e. the same codex containing the *Liber Wigorniensis*: BL Cotton MS Tiberius A xiii, at fol. 153. Another scrap (a fragment of a witness list) can be found at fol. 111. On the complex collation of this codex and its archival context, see Francesca Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: the Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100* (Farnham, 2010), 75-150.

[119] The charter's preservation was later ensured by its being placed inside the wooden bindings of the abbey's earliest cartulary (BL Loan MS 30), which measure roughly 28x19.5 cm (the folded charter, as noted above, is 17x18cm). After the Dissolution, when the abbey's archives were dispersed, this cartulary and the roll fragment, along with half of a single chirograph (SRO D603/A/Add/4) – all made during Nigel's abbacy – came, with the abbey itself, into the hands of the Paget family. In 1815, when Henry Paget was created Marquess of Anglesey after the Battle of Waterloo, the Staffordshire antiquarian S. P. Wolferstan reported that he had seen the folded charter inside the wooden binding of the cartulary at Beaudesert House, one of the Paget family's estates. See his letter "To the Re-editor of the Monasticon Anglicanum," dated 8 August 1815 and published in *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle* 86, part 1 (1816): 28-21 at 19.

[120] This has been determined with reference to the printed text of the survey's (now lost) fair-copy, replicated in BL Loan MS 30 and edited by Bridgeman in "The Burton Abbey Twelfth Century Surveys." I have deduced its length by counting the number of printed lines corresponding to those on the extant roll and, based on this data, estimated the amount of parchment required to contain the remaining entries. The extant portion of the roll accounts for only 20% of the text.

Harrying of the North and there were few writing materials to spare.[121]) Part of the roll's first segment was left blank, to serve as an outer casing for the text, neatly reinforced with a narrow parchment strip two centimeters wide. On this, a later twelfth-century hand has written *Inlanda. & gildu*m *regis*: "Inland and king's geld," indicating that the roll had two main purposes: to record a comprehensive survey of the abbey's demesne (*inlanda*), which had not been subject to the royal inquest,[122] as well as to provide the basis for a new accounting of the geld owed to the king – which, as we noted above, was being recalculated in the aftermath of Abbot Geoffrey's criminal mismanagement. <**Figure 25**> The roll's first entry is the list of abbey lands copied from the charter's Latin endorsement, which had in turn been copied from surveys deriving from the royal inquest.

Accumulated over the remaining years of Nigel's abbacy, the often amended contents that follow that list justify the need for this fungible (if fragile) format. <**Figure 26**> To take one fruitful example, we can see that the original skeleton entry for the manor of Stretton-near-Burton has been augmented by at least four other hands, with still others adding interlinear glosses. <**Figure 27**> In the first entry, a clumsy scribe has noted that a certain Edric holds four bovates of demesne land on which he pays geld. However, as a different hand has added, he owes geld only for one perch (a Roman measurement) and not three. In the second entry, a certain Edwin is recorded as holding two mills for a rent of 25 shillings for three years, while another hand notes that his rent will be raised to 30 shillings after that probationary period. We also learn about a wasteland (*vasta terra*: destroyed or uncultivated land) with four houses on it, eight bovates' worth, except that only two bovates are being farmed by a certain Aschetil—a name later underscored and amended to Aschetil "of the Castle," since the wasteland had now become a fortification. We also find four cattlemen (Lewin Wite, Walter, Alvi, Elric) plus another called Leuric (in nearby Witmere) who has two bovates and four acres under seed as part of his job (*pro officio suo*). All of these men, and their wives, owe one day of service to the abbey. At some later date, it was noted that two more men had moved into the neighborhood, paying rent rather than service: Æilmund the smith (with two bovates for which he owes 16 pence) and Brand (two bovates for 32 pence). Æilmund had clearly cut a deal in exchange for work in his smithy.

The roll thus preseves, in microcosm, a process of data-collection, inscription, and correction comparable to the earliest phases of the royal inquest: the closest we can get to the now lost localized texts (phase I) transcribed into the Exeter *libelli* (phase II) and then discarded. But here it was the abbey's needs, not the king's, that dictated the inquest's agenda and contents. In this case, Burton was the center of its own spatiotemporal universe, in which each manor had its place in a constellation of properties arranged along a series of carefully planned itineraries. <**Figure 28** and **TABLE**> Bromley (now Abbot's Bromley) was the first stop on a journey that continued to the northernmost holdings of the abbey, taking in the westernmost manor at Darlaston and then turning southwest to Pillatonhall before returning to Burton. Across the Trent, visits to the northeastern holdings begin at the farthest remove and work back to the south. Another itinerary starts just across the river from the abbey, tracing a neat circuit beginning and ending at Winshill. A fourth visit to the far southern reaches of the abbey's universe, in Warwickshire, constitutes its own trajectory with local stops at Cauldwell, Appleby, and Austrey before the long haul to Stretton-upon-Dunsmore and Wolston, both of which Nigel had added to the abbey's estates.

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[121] Abbot Geoffrey II claimed that the abbey was looted and partially burned by a local Englishman named Swein Child, but it is clear from his praise of "the most powerful and glorious duke of the Normans" (*uir fortissimus et gloriossissimus dux Normannorum*) and his intimacy with King Henry (see below) that he was not apt to blame William or his men: Bartlett, ed., *Life and Miracles*, 184-185.
[122] Roffe, "Domesday Now," 44-46.

CONCEPTUAL MAPPING OF BURTON ABBEY LANDS

SURVEY ORDER	LOCATION VIS-À-VIS BURTON	DOMESDAY ORDER
	STAFFORDSHIRE	
Burton	the abbey itself	Burton
	immediate neighborhood	
Branston	2.5 miles	Branston
Stretton [near Burton]	2 miles	Wetmore
Wetmore & Horninglow	less than 1 mile	Stretton
	due west	
[Abbots] Bromley	11.2 miles (3:45 hours/foot)	Bromley
	farthest northern holding in Staffordshire	
Okeover	18.8 miles (6:15 hours/foot)	Darlaston
Ilam*	21.6 miles (7+ hours/foot)	_____
	16.8 miles S/SW from Ilam	
[Church] Leigh	[from Burton: 19 miles]	Leigh
Field*	1 mile from Leigh [Burton: 18 miles]	_____
	10 miles due west from Field	
Darlaston	[from Burton: 27 miles (8:45 miles/foot)]	Okeover
	15 miles due south from Darlaston	
Whiston	[from Burton: 28 miles, 9 hours/foot]	Whiston
	4 miles E/SE from Whiston	
Bedintone & Pillatonhall	[Burton: 23 miles (7:45 hours/foot)]	Bedintone
	DERBYSHIRE	
	farthest northern holding in Derbyshire	
Mickelover (*Oufra Magna)*	10 miles from Burton (3 hours/foot)	manor of Ufre
	southward from Mickelover	
Littleover (*Oufra Parva*)	1.4 miles [Burton: 9 miles]	manor of Ufre
Findern	3 miles from Littleover [Burton: 6 miles]	manor of Ufre
Potlock	.5 mile from Findern [Burton: 6.5 miles]	manor of Ufre
Willington	1 mile from Potlock [Burton: 4.7 miles]	manor of Ufre
	crossing River Dove to southern bank	
Stapenhill	just across River Trent from Burton	Appleby
	circling counter-clockwise from Stapenhill	
Brislincote	.5 miles from W/SW from Stapenhill	Winshill
Stanton*	1 mile W from Brislincote	_____
Ticknall	7.2 miles W/NW from Stanton	Brislincote
	circle completed	
Winshill	6.7 miles from Ticknall, 1.8 from Burton	Stapenhill
	moving farther south	
Cauldwell	5.3 miles from Burton (1:45 hours/foot)	Cauldwell
Appleby	8 miles S/SW from Cauldwell	Ticknall
	WARWICKSHIRE	
Austrey	2 miles S from Appleby	Austrey
	farthest southern holdings	
Stretton[-upon-Dunsmore]*+	27 miles from Austrey, 38 from Burton	_____
Wolston*+	2.4 mikes from Stretton	

*Indicates abbey land not surveyed or corresponding to a place in GDB.
+ Indicates manors acquired by Abbot Nigel.

Like the charter's, then, the roll's material and paleographical dynamism show us how it functioned in the lives of its makers during a period of patrimonial renewal. But while the first artifact signals Nigel's momentous arrival and ambitious projects, the second registers his death and the predations it unleashed. Indeed, the grief and anger experienced by the bereft monks are palpably legible in the hand of a consternated scribe who clumsily encroaches on the outer flap of parchment that had, for over a decade, been left blank to protect the furled roll. <**Figure 29**>

The entry just above, placidly routine, records the abbot's acquisition of a new manor, Stretton, of which details were duly supplied by another hand, while a third has added a note about rents:

In Stratona habemus de Alano .iiii. b*ouatas* de Inl*anda* id *est* .Lxv. ac*ra*s. De his habet Gaufrid*us* dapifer .xl. ac*ra*s pro .iii. sol*idis*, *7* Hadewi villan*us* n*oste*r .xxv. acras. pro ii horis [124]	In Stretton we have from Alan[123] four bovates of inland, that is 65 acres. From these, Geoffrey the Steward has 40 acres for 3 shillings and Hadewi our villain [has] 25 acres for 2 *orœ*.[125]

This Geoffrey "the Steward" was a notorious character: the chief of Henry I's new men "raised from the dust," in the words of Orderic Vitalis (1075-*c*.1142).[126] He and Nigel had apparently cultivated a business relationship for some years; an undated and still extant chirograph records that Geoffrey had given the abbot a church at Stapenhill and tithes from Stanton in return for being enfeoffed with the part of that manor.[127] The similar arrangement made for Stretton was designed to a yield a profit from the abbey's most distant manor by dividing its lands between Geoffrey and the abbey's own villain.

However, as the mourning monks now learned, Geoffrey had seized the opportunity of Nigel's death, which had occurred on 3 May 1114,[128] to annex the neighboring small manor of Wolston. So flustered was the scribe at hearing the news that he even forgot to mention the abbot's name, which had to be added later.

Item In Vluri	Item in Wol-
chestonta habebat .N*igellus* A*bbas* similiter.i.carr*ucatam*	ston he Abbot Nigel likewise had 1 carrucate
inlande .*7* unum villan*um*.	of inland and one villain
7 duos bordarios. que omnia abstulit	and two bordars – which were all stolen
ecclesie similiter p*ost* mort*em* ei*us*	from the church likewise after his death
Gaufrid*us* de Glintonia.	by Geoffrey de Clinton.[129]

The repetition of the word *similiter* indicates that other successful seizures of property must have been registered on the missing majority of the roll and then either verified or disproved.

A subsequent survey made under Abbot Geoffrey II, probably prompted by these predations, shows that the monks had tacitly given up all claim to this particular manor by

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[123] Probably Alan Fitz Flaad, a Breton mercenary of Henry I, who came to have extensive holdings in England.
[124] Here, a ¶ has been erased.
[125] The *ora* was a Danish unit of currency, equal to about 2*s*.
[126] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1969), vol. 6, 16 (XI.iv.164): "de puluere . . . extulit."
[127] SRO D603/A/Add/4; see note 119.
[128] See note 20.
[129] I have altered the English translation to capture the dramatic effect of the Latin wording. Grammatically, it reads "all of which Geoffrey de Clinton likewise stole from the church."

1118, since that survey concludes with the entry for Stretton and no mention of Wolston.[130] Not incidentally, Geoffrey II's account of Modwena's miracles, composed at this same time, includes many stories of the saint's righteous punishments inflicted on those infringing upon her property, including "men who committed perjury in order to seize some of the monastery's land" and a certain lord "who had writs from the king in exchange for the promise of money."[131]

In keeping with established tradition, the new Abbot Geoffrey was also a monk from Winchester. Indeed, he had been personally invested with his office by King Henry, at Winchester, on 14 September 1114.[132] While understandably reluctant to criticize the king's men directly, either in the later survey he oversaw or in his miracle narrative, he was at least in an excellent position to share news of the realm in exchange for information about the state of the abbey's affairs. Fortunately for them all, Nigel had been an excellent steward: reversing the losses suffered under his own predecessor, adding new lands in Warwickshire and the uncharted Peak District, and instituting a documentary campaign that made it easy to assess the damages done. When the roll was unfurled, the monks would have told the story of its making and pointed to the recent theft(s) of Geoffrey de Clinton. They would have brought out their copy of the abbey's foundation charter and royal diploma, endorsed with the list of abbey lands derived from the royal inquest – the list which, on the roll, was now separated from the most recent entry by just a few inches of parchment.

Was it their new abbot, fresh from Winchester and the king's presence, who caused a new heading to be added just above that copied list? *SCRIPTURA SICUT CONTINENTUR IN LIBRO REGIS*, "WRITING JUST AS CONTAINED IN THE KING'S BOOK." <**Figure 30**> Or had Nigel himself added it, years earlier, when news of the book's completion reached him? In any case, no one bothered to update the matching list on the charter's dorse. It was only a century later, when all three of its endorsements were copied into the abbey's cartulary, that this list would be headed with a reference to the book's now-fashionable name: *Sic continetur super Domusday apud Wintoniam:* "So much is confirmed by Domesday at Winchester."[133]

THE *DAMNATIO MEMORIÆ* OF HAROLD GODWINSON AND THE DATING OF GREAT DOMESDAY

When the coordinators of the royal inquest decided to mark the beginning of William's reign as the day of King Edward's death, they were re-inscribing a brutal Norman narrative of King Harold Godwinson's illegitimacy. They could not, however, deny that Harold had been a major landowner in England *TRE*; as such, he would have to be named many, many times in the records of the inquest. But *how* should he be named? Important differences among the intermediary texts of the inquest and Great Domesday reveal how the official response to this question changed over time, while the evidence derived from Burton pushes this timeframe into the first decades of the twelfth century.

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[130] Bridgeman, "The Burton Abbey Twelfth Century Surveys," 247.

[131] Bartlett, ed., *Life and Miracles*, 210: "homines qui periurium incurrent ut partem terre auferrent de monasterio [. . .] qui habebat breuia regis ex pollicitatione pecunie." See note 121.

[132] ASC H-text: "Eac [i.e. the Feast of the Exaltation] he geaf þæt abbodrice on Byrtune Goisfri ðe wæs munuc on Ealdan mynstre."

[133] BL Loan MS 30, fol. 3v. After FitzNeale, the first reference to Domesday comes from an entry in the *curia regis* rolls of 1221, in a memorandum "to search in Domesday" (*de quarendo Domusday*): C. T. Flower, Henry N. Ess, and Paul Brand, eds., *Curia Regis Rolls ... Preserved in the Public Record Office,* vol. 10 (London, 1922), 68.

Most immediately, entries in the Exeter *libelli* plainly register conflicting stylistic or political commitments on the part of the inquest's scribes. The majority identify Harold as *Haroldus comes*, "count" or Earl Harold; but at least one entry names him *Haroldus filius* G*odwini*, "Harold son of Godwin," followed by a now illegible phrase.[134] <**Figure 31**> Later, the word *comes* was added to the line above that entry; later still, the entire clause was carefully erased and *Haroldus comes* firmly inscribed in its place. Evidently, the use of Harold's patronymic was controversial, as was the mysterious descriptor. Had a scribe transgressed by assigning Harold his royal title? or belittled him as a usurper? Either way, a stern protocol was imposed, acknowledging Harold's noble status but denying his paternity.

When it came time to transfer the briefs to the shire surveys, that protocol changed. In contrast to the Exeter *libelli*, the three surviving surveys in Little Domesday almost invariably deny Harold the title of *comes*, referencing him – as well as his father and brother, Tostig – by their first names alone. There are only a few exceptions. In the Suffolk survey, a certain Aelfric son of Wulfgeat is described as having been *commendatus heraldi comiti* (under the protection or patronage of Earl Harold) prior to the Conquest. But in the 56 other cases in which Harold is mentioned as a landholder, he is not named as *comes*.[135] In Norfolk, just one out of ninety references ascribe to Harold his title; in Essex, one of 38.[136] And since these same surveys routinely accord the title *comes* to other English earls, this was a deliberate and calculated denigration.

Moreover, this demeaning practice was initially continued by the scribe of Great Domesday. But then, evidently toward the end of the copying campaign, the protocol changed again, restoring Harold to his status by systematically adding *comes* above his name. This amendment is clearly visible in the Domesday entry corresponding to that in the oft-erased brief, and is repeated for every mention of Harold throughout the entire book.[137] <**Figure 32**> The sole exception is the entry for the king's manor at Hayling (Hampshire), where Harold is designated "E[arl]" but is also described as having "seized" (*abstulit*) the manor after he "attacked the kingdom" (*regnum inuasit*).[138] As part of this corrective project, we can simultaneously track the reversal of a related decision not to identify Harold as the father of a certain Godwin who held two manors *TRE*, since the phrase "*filius Heraldi*" has been restored above Godwin Haroldson's name in both relevant entries, as have Harold's and Tostig's titles in adjacent entries.[139] <**Figure 33**> Earl Godwin himself had his title belatedly restored in all thirteen references to his holdings in Hampshire *TRE*.[140] Again: these were systematic changes to the protocol followed in the previous documentary phase as evinced by

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[134] Exeter Q31, fol. 147v (for the manor of Lullington in Somerset). There may be many more such instances, which will be easier to locate when the digitization campaign and paleographical analysis of these texts is complete (see note 16). When I examined the booklets *in situ*, I had not anticipated the need to perform a systematic search for such evidence.

[135] LDB fol. 444a. This can be verified with reference to John Morris and Alex Rumble et al., eds, *Domesday Book*, vols. 34.1-2: Suffolk (Chichester, 1986), entry 68,1; as well as by counting the references listed in the index (which can be misleading).

[136] LDB fols. 144a and 106b. Cf. John Morris and Philippa Brown et al., eds, *Domesday Book*, vols. 33.1-2: Norfolk (Chichester, 1984), entry 3,2 (manor of Tinstead); John Morris and Alex Rumble et al., eds, *Domesday Book*, vol. 32: Essex (Chichester, 1986), entry B3k.

[137] There are a dozen instances in Somerset alone, including the rubrics on GDB, fols. 100vb and 101ra.

[138] GDB, fol. 38rb.

[139] GDB, fol. 87vb.

[140] E.g. GDB, fol. 44va (entry for Headley).

Little Domesday. They do not affect any other English earl, since no other earls were stripped of their titles, even if they had been stripped of their lands and lives.[141]

These changing perspectives on Harold's memorialization are further evidence that the creation of shire-specific surveys and the copying of Great Domesday happened at different times and served different purposes. They may even reveal that different documentary phases were aligned with the different motives and policies of William the Conqueror, William II, and Henry. In the briefs, Earl Harold is given the honorific to which he was entitled – although, in at least one case, his patronymic was erased: an attempted *damnatio memoriæ* of the powerful Earl Godwin. Pamela Taylor has noted a similar phenomenon in Archbishop Lanfranc's "airbrushing [of] his predecessor [Archbishop] Stigand into oblivion" in his contributions to the inquest. If Lanfranc (r. 1070-1089) taught this technique to William II, it helps to account for the subsequent blanket denial of Harold's title in the surveys, as well as throughout the initial copying of Great Domesday.[142] This policy also reflects the harsh political climate under William Rufus, who was strongly influenced by Ranulf Flambard. Acccording to Orderic Vitalis, Ranulf had gone so far as to declare "that the *descriptio* of all England should be revised" to enable the king's seizure of property. While this need not be construed as the impetus behind the making of Great Domesday, it supports my argument that revisions to the earlier *descriptio totius Angliæ* were not only mooted, but made.[143]

If work on Great Domesday *did* begin before the Conqueror's death in September of 1087 – which is by no means clear, as I showed above – it was almost certainly halted for quite a while in and after 1088, when William of Durham, the inquest's probable overseer, helped to lead a rebellion against William II.[144] Thereafter, the weakened authority of Bishop William (who died in 1096) would have given his successor Ranulf freer rein to rethink the purposes of the project, as Orderic reported. The writ which constitutes the first mention of "the king's book" is datable to this very period, 1096-1100: immediately after Bishop William's death.[145] Moreover, I have shown that Abbot Nigel apparently had no access to such a book in 1094, when he left for Burton; and that word of its existence only reached

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[141] Although the GDB scribe was using a technique similar to that devised for adding patronymics, surnames, and other titles to the witness lists of contemporary charters made in Normandy and northern Francia, his motives for these interlinear additions were clearly very different. Harold and his relatives were being singled out for this treatment. None of the extant Continental examples are commensurate with this practice. Rather, they signal that scribes were using interlineations uniformly, for all witnesses, in order to save space and add ornamentation: see Benoît-Michel Tock, *Scribes, sousscripteurs et témoins dans les actes privés en France (VII^e^-début du XII^e^ siècle)* (Turnhout, 2005), 96-104; and Michel Parisse, "Sur-noms en interligne," in Monique Bourin and Pascal Chareille, eds, *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie moderne. Tome III, Enquêtes généalogiques et données prosopographiques* (Tours, 1995), 7-24. I am grateful to Julia Crick for inviting me to clarify this point.

[142] P. Taylor, "Episcopal Returns," 214-216; Garnett, *Conquered England*, 40-41.

[143] *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 4: 172 (VII.iii.311): "ut totius Angliæ reuiseret descriptionem." Thorn and Thorn warn against reading this as a reference to the impetus behind the making of GDB: "Writing of Great Domesday Book."

[144] Chaplais, "William of Saint-Calais," 65–77; Thorn and Thorn, "Writing of Great Domesday Book," 71. None of the evidence adduced by Harvey points to the completion of GDB in or before that year, as she has argued (*Domesday*, 97-98). For example, her interpretation of the added clarification "of the king's daughter" (i.e. Matilda) to the name of Geoffrey the Chamberlain (GDB, fol. 495b) is clearly explicable as a later addition made in the reign of Henry I, in order to ensure that *this* Geoffrey would not be confused with the new Geoffrey the Chamberlain, Geoffrey de Clinton.

[145] See above, note 27.

Staffordshire sometime after the making of the roll, between 1098 and the autumn of 1114, when Abbot Geoffrey II arrived.

On the basis of all the evidence presented here, its is reasonable to conclude that Great Domesday was largely copied during William II's reign, not that of his father. I further suggest that it was quickly revised after Henry's hasty and controversial coronation, in a diplomatic effort to restore Harold's comital title and those of his male relatives. Like Henry's equally hasty and controversial marriage to Edith-Matilda of Scotland, a direct descendant of Alfred the Great on her mother's side, these were strategic but "desperate" moves to advertise the promises of reform and reconciliation articulated in Henry's coronation edict.[146] That Henry even had some early intention of keeping Great Domesday up to date is indicated by an entry describing the Yorkshire fief of Robert de Brus, "granted after the book of Winchester was written" and added to it after 1107.[147] At the same time, Henry moved to supply the ironic absence of the borough of Winchester from the "book of Winchester," by ordering a *descriptio* of it after 1102.[148]

DOCUMENTING THE TRAUMA OF CONQUEST

Attending to the documention beside Domesday Book exposes the differing agendas of the inquest's architects, and even of its scribes; it also betrays the challenges to those agendas. In a world where texts are mediated in complex ways, many historical actors are able to access and engage the record. Through many of the Domesday "satellites," and in Great Domesday itself, we witness these historical actors individually and collectively pushing back against the predations of Norman rule.

A striking and early record of this comes from the abbey of Evesham: a text now extant in a twelfth-century *libellus* and based on a draft similar to that of Burton's roll. In making a fair copy, its scribe carefully preserved the working format of his eleventh-century exemplar, which had allocated space for interlinear corrections and additions. He thereby reveals that the monks of Evehsham had decided, soon after the Conquest, to keep track of local abuses and seizures of property by the Conqueror's agents. For example, the fair copy records which named English landholders had been displaced by which specific Normans from which specific lands in Westbury-on-Severn. <**Figure 34**>

Milo Crispin tenet Viferdus tenet Nigellus medicus tenet
tenet Brewere.iii.virgata. Optone .i.h*ida*. Merewen .iii. virgate.

Brewere's three virgates were taken by Milo Crispin; Optone's one hide has been taken by Viferd; Merewen's three virgates are now held by Nigel the Physician. We can date this entry to the early years of the Conquest because none of these Normans are listed as holding lands in Gloucestershire at the time of the Domesday inquest, two decades later. Viferd appears nowhere in Great Domesday, having either died or fallen out of favor by 1086, and both Nigel the Physician and Milo Crespin had long since moved on to lucrative estates elsewhere. By contrast, none of the English landholders *TRE* (one of whom appears to be a woman) warrants a mention in Great Domesday. Like the Exeter *libelli*, this local survey also reveals how changes in land tenure were registered and contested in real time. When this record was made, Bernard the priest still held five hides; in Great Domesday, they have passed to Roger

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[146] On Henry's "desperate" situation at this time, see Garnett, *Conquered England*, 106-120 and 138-141.

[147] "Hic est feudum Rotberti de Bruis quod fuit datum postquam liber de Wintonia scriptus fuit": GDB, fol. 333va. See Carpenter, "Robert de Brus," 2.

[148] Frank Barlow, ed., *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday* (Oxford, 1976), 9.

of Berkeley. Meanwhile, the five hides *in Nesse* (Sharpness) which pertained to the manor of Berkeley had, at some point, been "set outside [the manor] in order to build a castle" on the order of Earl William (*quas Willelmus comes misit extra ad faciendam .i. castellum*): a maneuver which Roger hotly disputed, according to the interlinear note (*hanc Rogerus calumpniatur*).[149]

As Robin Fleming and many other scholars have demonstrated, the intimate injuries of a brutal colonial regime were mostly excluded from Great Domesday.[150] Yet the monks of Evesham had begun to note them nearly two decades before the inquest began, and they continued to do so even when that record was closed. It is noteworthy that this once-subversive text was then copied and preserved at the very time when a postcolonial rebuttal of the Norman grand narrative was being constructed by many monastic authors at the turn of the thirteenth century.[151]

Despite the efforts of Great Domesday's tragically implicated English scribe, then, we can still occasionally hear the voices that refused to be silenced by that text. When the keeper of the Peterborough Anglo-Saxon Chronicle penned a satirical obituary for William, he broke into a mocking song that could have been caroled with impunity in the face of uncomprehending Normans.[152] Conversely, as Alan Cooper has shown, professing ignorance or maintaining a strong solidarity of silence was a safer and more subtle way for English jurors to counter the demands of inquisitors. Another was to insist that no writ had ever been "seen or heard" to justify the seizure of property, as we have already noted in the case of Pyrford.[153]

Thinking back to Walkelin's strident claims to manors in Somerset, it is possible that the incumbents Wulfward and Alvard were using one or both of these tactics to avoid surrendering their lands. Any more overt resistance, of course, would have been dangerous. Recent scholarship has emphasized the ongoing trauma of conquest and its aftermath, notably the risks of giving evidence in a closely-watched English court convened by Norman lords.[154] The very constraints of the Domesday inquest ensured that English witnesses could offer only certain kinds of testimony as to "Who held the land in King Edward's day?" and "Who holds it now?" As Sally Harvey observes, "They were not permitted to say who *should* hold it now, or point out that it had been theirs."[155] They were also not asked who held it under King

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[149] BL Cotton MS Vespasian B xxiv, fols.57r-62r at 57v ("Evesham K"): see Figure 34. Compare GDB, fol. 143b, where Roger's complaint is still attached to the hidage supporting Berkeley Castle.
[150] Fleming's *Domesday Book and the Law* catalogues all instances of appeals to law, lawsuits, and disputes over law and custom registered in Domesday: an invaluable resource.
[151] Paul Antony Hayward, "Translation-Narratives in Post-Conquest Hagiography and English Resistance to the Norman Conquest," in *Anglo-Norman Studies,* XXI, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1999), 67–93; Elisabeth Van Houts, "Historical Writing," in Harper-Bill and Van Houts, *A Companion,* 103–21; Garnett, *Conquered England*, 18-23, 44.
[152] The "Rime of King William": ASC E-text, entry for 1087.
[153] Alan Cooper, "Protestations of Ignorance in the Domesday Book," in *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe, 950-1350,* ed. Robert F. Berkhofer III, Alan Cooper, and Adam J. Kosto (Aldershot, 2005), 169–81. On demands for the production of writs as evidence for local literacy, see Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law,* 28-32, and Nos. 14, 17, 19 61-62, 95, 122, 128, 199, 301, 531, 594, 658, 663-664, 766, 809, 863, 1050 1134, 1496, 1510, 1517, 1525, 1527, 1530, 1690, 1753, 1792-1793, 2637, 2692.
[154] In addition to Garnett, *Conquered England,* see Hugh M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity, 1066-c. 1220* (Oxford, 2003); Elaine M. Treharne, *Living through Conquest: The Politics of Early English, 1020-1220* (Oxford, 2012).
[155] Harvey, "A Deed with No Name," in Roffe and Keats-Rohan, eds., *Domesday Now,* 280-288 at 280.

Harold. Moreover, Englishmen were disproportionately subject to trial by ordeal if they perjured themselves or were perceived to offend royal agents. They also had to undergo ordeal if they wanted to press a claim.[156] In most cases, then, the performance of the inquest was a publicly staged and painful liturgy of English acquiescence.

There were, however, some English witnesses who could speak more openly: the burgesses of major cities, who were shielded from reprisal by collective action and their economic power.[157] Although the entry for Exeter preserved in the *libelli* is longer than that in Great Domesday, the Domesday scribe nevertheless reserved a much larger space for it, anticipating the transcription of a more detailed account than he eventually included. And while he softened the most emphatic of the burgesses' complaints, as recorded in his exemplar, he made the substance of one grievance more prominent. In the briefs, a sentence about customary dues had been interrupted with the indignant remark that "in this [city] there were truly 48 houses laid waste after King William had England."[158] The Domesday scribe changes this disrespectful wording to "after the king came to England"[159] – but nevertheless places that key sentence toward the top of the entry, after the list of the king's holdings in the city: a quiet acknowledgment that the castle-building campaigns of the 1070s were still causing resentment and displacement decades later.

In some other major boroughs, the burgesses were so vociferous that their complaints could not be contained in the space allotted by Great Domesday's scribe. In the Lincolnshire section, the entries for Lincoln, Stamford, and Torksey all had be tightly compressed. [160] In the case of York, an extra folio was needed to contain the burgesses' ire.

> In the city of York, in the time of King Edward, besides the shire [district] of the archbishop there were six more shires, one of which has been laid waste for castles. In the remaining five districts there were 1418 inhabited dwellings [. . .] of which there are now in the hand of the king only 391 rendering customary dues, both great and small; 400 not inhabited, the better ones of which render only 1 penny and others less; and 540 so empty that they render mothing at all. And Frenchmen hold the remaining 145.[161]

The burgesses go on to itemize the usurpations of named Normans and to publish the names of Englishmen whose properties had been seized.[162] The burgesses of another important city,

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[156] Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law*, 16-19; Harvey, "A Deed with No Name."

[157] Susan Reynolds, "English Towns of the Eleventh-Century in a European Context," in *Ideas and Solidarities of the Medieval Laity: England and Western Europe* (Aldershot, 1995), VII, 1–12; Harvey, *Domesday*, 242-250.

[158] Exeter Q18, fol. 88: "in hac uero sunt xlviii domus uastatae postquam Willelmus rex habuit Angliam".

[159] GDB, fol. 100r: "postquam rex venit in Angliam".

[160] GDB fols. 336r-337ra. On other places in GDB where the scribe has compensated for a superabundance of information, see Thorn and Thorn, "Writing of Great Domesday Book," 52. See also Roffe, *Decoding*, 44.

[161] 298r-v. "IN EBORACO CIVITATE TEMPORE REGIS EDWARDI præter scyra*m* archiepis*copi*. vi. scyræ. una ex his e*st* uasta tam castellas. In q*u*inq*ue* scyris fuerunt mille *et* quadrigentæ *et* [cc] .xviii. mansiones hosipitatæ [. . .] De sup*ra*dictis om*ni*b*us* mansionib*us sunt m*odo hospitatæ in manu regis reddentes c*on*suetudine*m*: quadrigentæ. [cc] ix.min*us*. int*er* magnas *et* paruas. *Et* .cccc. mansiones n*on* hospitata quæ redunt melior .i. denariu*m. 7* aliæ min*us*. *Et* q*ui*ngentæ *7* xl. mansiones ita uacuæ q*ui*d nil om*n*ino reddunt. *Et* c.xl.v mansions tenent Francigentæ". On the context of this testimony, see Sara Rees Jones, *York: The Making of a City 1068-1350* (Oxford, 2013), 84-91.

[162] This sort of explicit information tends to be edited out of GDB, although it occupies many pages of complaints about *terræ occupatæ* (unjustly seized lands) in the Exeter *libelli*.

Chester, whose region had been devastated in the decade after the Conquest,[163] similarly took advantage of their strategic position, as guardians of Welsh border, to read their urban customs into the record.

The citizens of London, characteristically, took perhaps the strongest stance: either refusing to participate in the inquest at all, or producing so much evidence of defiance that it could not be included in the record. The utter absence of Winchester from the pages of Domesday is explicable – it was the king's own city, after all[164] – but the yawning parchment void of London can be read as an overt act of civic pride and disobedience. London's citizens would remain off the record, the blank columns at the beginning of Middlesex marking their emphatic decision to remain undocumented.[165]

CONCLUSION

"Placed in the royal treasury, [Domesday Book . . .] created a majestic source of law and entitlement."[166] More accurately, it created a fiction of entitlement far more persuasive to modern historians than to medieval participants in the textual practices that enabled it. Both the inquest and its products were akin to the Normans' castle- and cathedral-building campaigns. They were egregious displays of power designed to exhaust the energies of every person in the realm, to say nothing of the environment: free men, literate or not, plus the peasant families, shepherds, cattlemen, butchers, skinners, and tanners who supplied the raw materials. Great Domesday, when completed, impressed as much by its sheer monstrosity, its conspicuous consumption of human and animal resources, as by its contents. And by time it came into being, it was little more than an inert luxury object: a heavy prop in the theatre of power, kept alongside that other great symbol, the royal seal.[167] Unlike the seal, though, it was largely useless to the bureaucrats in the Exchequer, where no one appears to have consulted its fossilized data after the first few decades of the twelfth century. In the 1240s, there was a desultory effort to render it relevant, via a condensed edition known as "the Breviate" (*Abbreviatio*).[168] But it was not until the time of another Edward, *primus post Conquestum* (first after the Conquest), that it became a resource for a king measuring his claims against those of his fractious barons.[169]

Yet even as the king's book became a dead letter, its many "satellites" continued to spin on their own axes, tracing their own spheres of orbit. Looking through them, we see how the glare of Domesday has blinded us to the constellation of documentary shifts, habits, failures, and initiatives that made the inquest possible while simultaneously fueling resistance to its gravitational pull. Doing things beside Domesday Book puts this in a fresh, and radical, perspective.

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[163] S. Matthews, "William the Conqueror's Campaign in Cheshire in 1069-70: Ravaging and Resistance in the North-West," *Northern History* 40 (2003): 53-70.
[164] Barlow, *Winchester*, 5-8.
[165] GDB, fol. 126v.
[166] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 26.
[167] *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 94.
[168] H. B. Clark, "Condensing and Abbreviating the Data: Evesham C, Evesham M, and the Breviate," in Roffe and Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Now*, 247-275.
[169] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 156.

Figure 1. The Burton Abbey roll fragment. (Staffordshire Public Record Office D603/A/Add/1925: reproduced by permission.)

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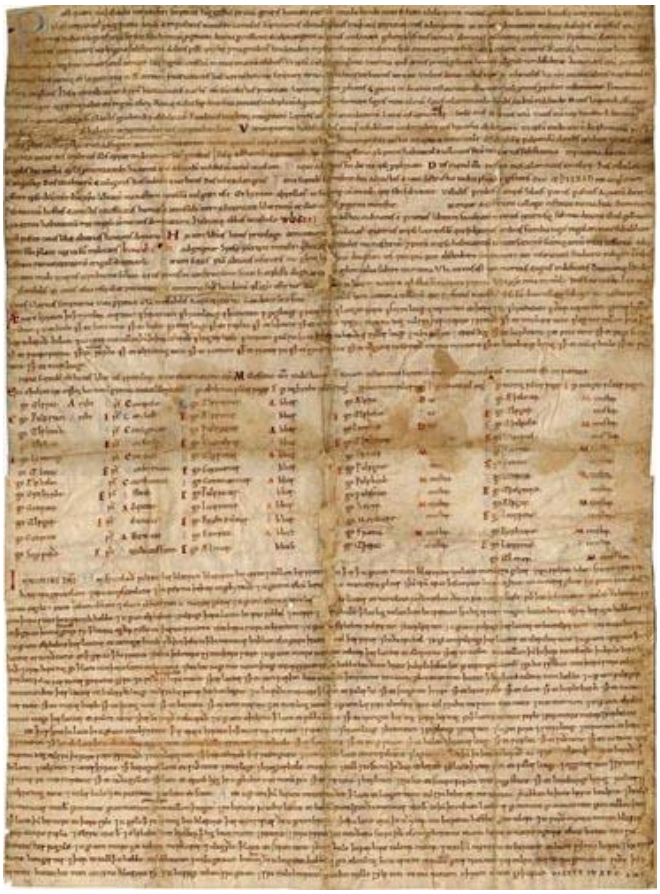
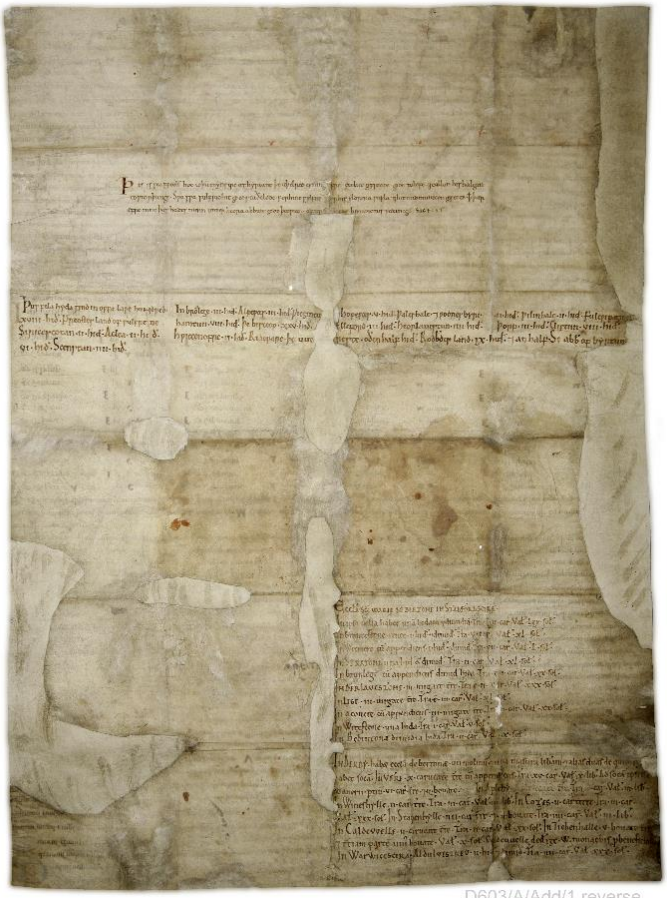
Figure 2a-b. Obverse of Burton's foundation charter/royal diploma and reverse showing three successive endorsements and evidence of extensive handling and patching. (Staffordshire Public Record Office D603/A/Add/1: reproduced by permission.)





D603/A/Add/1 reverse

Figure 3. A selection of *consummatum est* colophons from the Exeter libelli. (Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3500 [details]: reproduced by permission.)

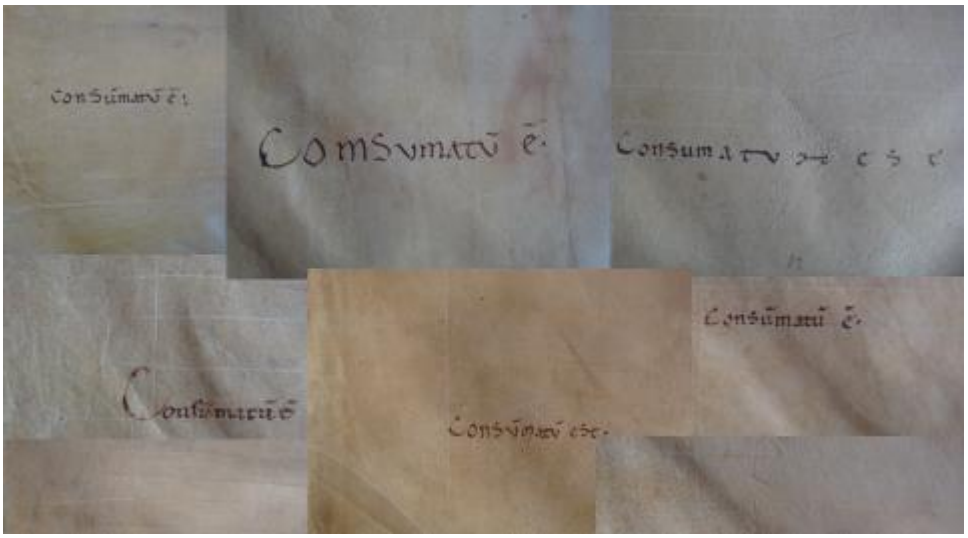


Figure 4. "Here should be what Jordan has written." (Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3500, Q 79, fol. 406v [detail]: reproduced by permission.)

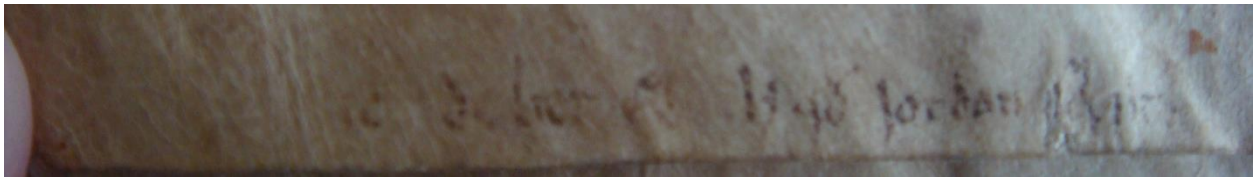


Figure 5. "Written up to here. R:" (Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3500, Q 81, fol. 411r [detail]: reproduced by permission.)

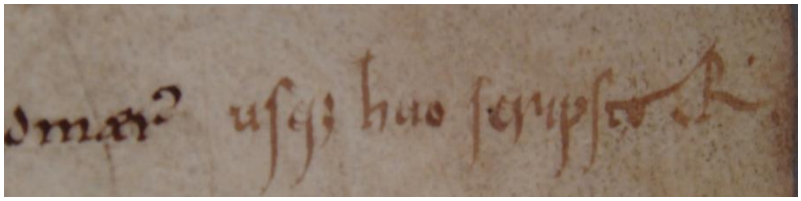


Figure 6. "[O]mnis [h]omo primum bonum." (Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3500, Q 97, fol. 552r [detail]: reproduced by permission.)

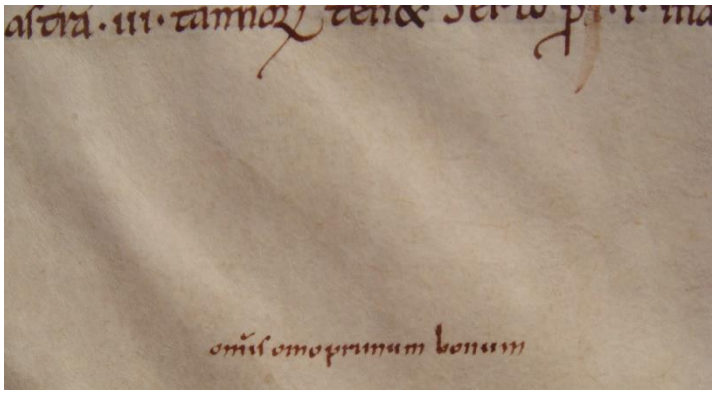


Figure 7. *Servi* become *bordarii*. (Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3500, Q 83, fol. 419v [detail]: reproduced by permission.)

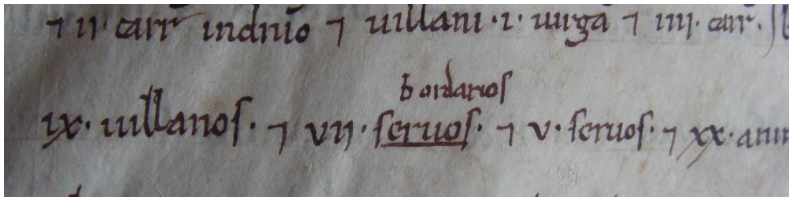


Figure 8. A few pretentious paraphs. (Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3500 [details]: reproduced by permission.)

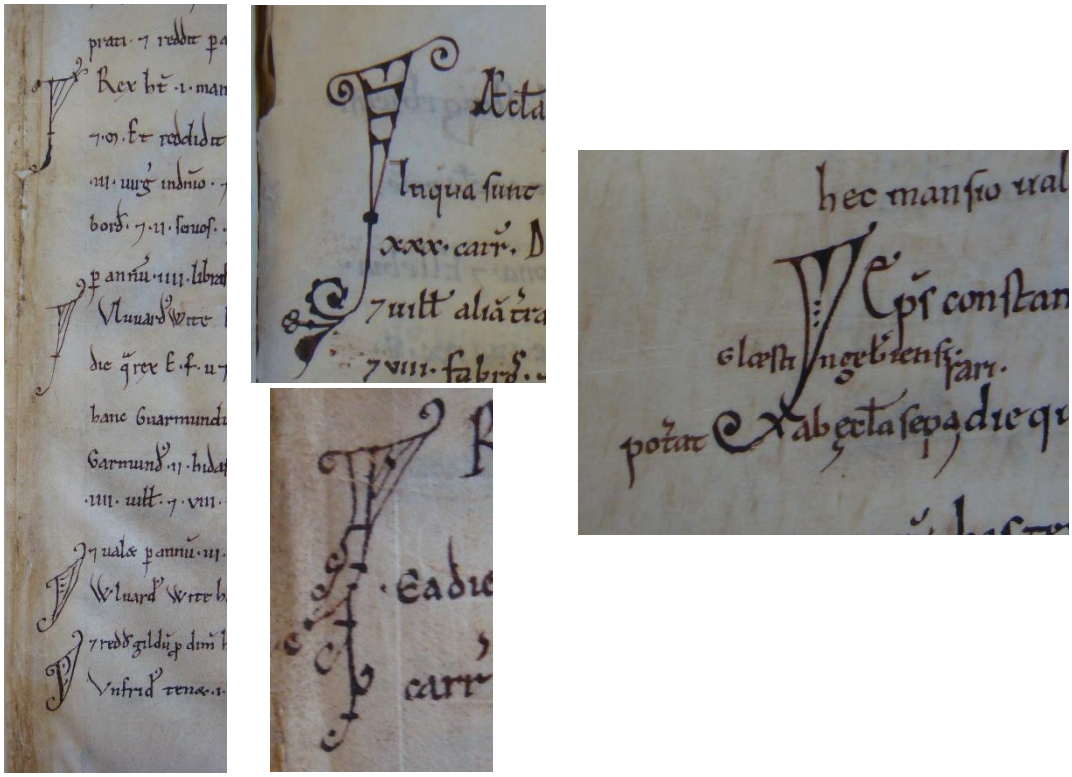


Figure 9a-b. Bishop Walkelin's addition to the king's briefs: *c.* 2 August 1086. (Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3500, Q 36, fols. 175r-v [details]: reproduced by permission.)

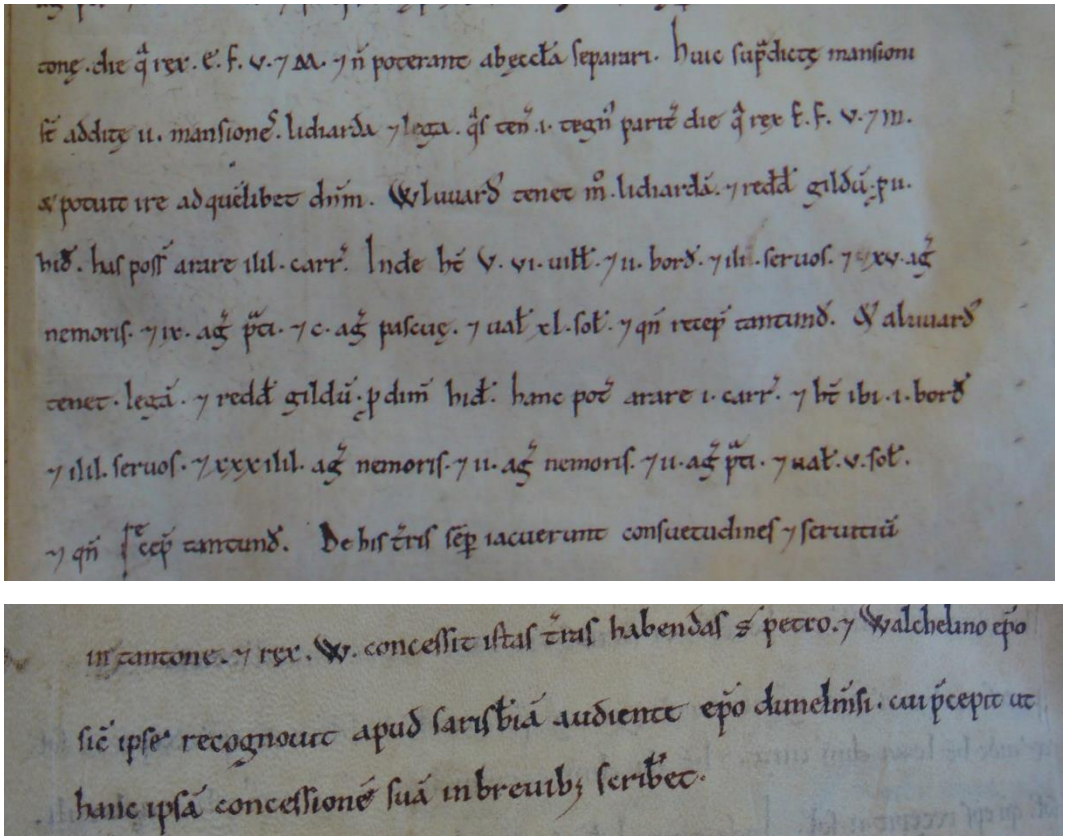


Figure 10. Bishop Walkelin's addition to the king's briefs (cf. Figure 9a-b), as recorded in Great Domesday. (The National Archives E 31/2/1, fol. 87va [detail]: reproduced by permission.)

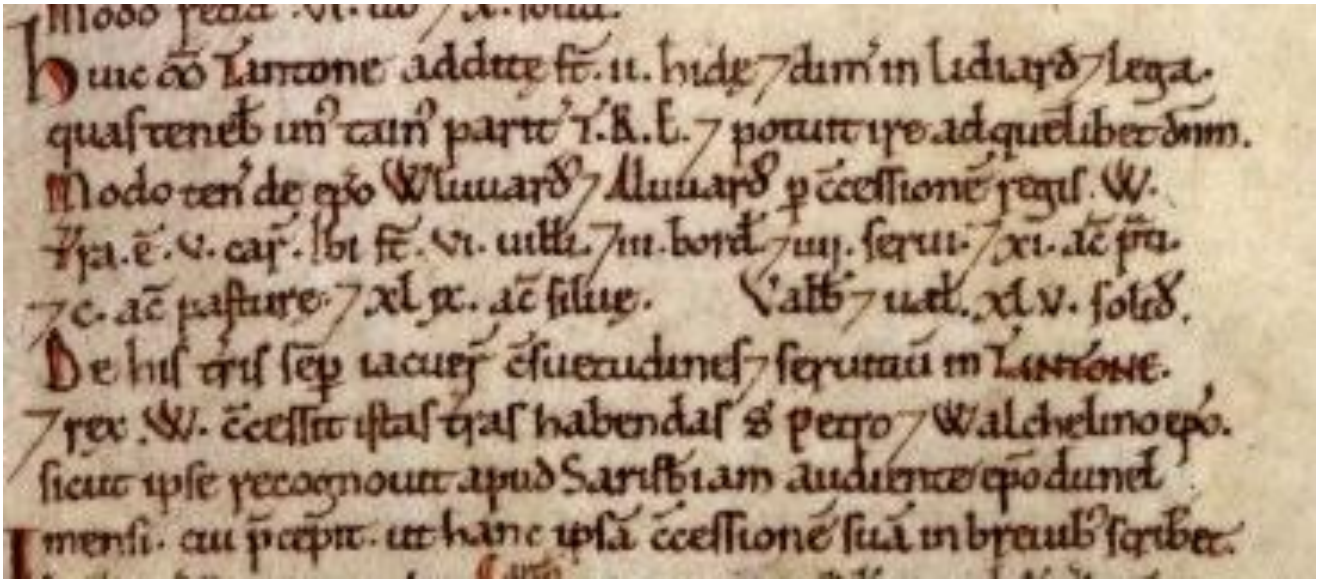


Figure 11. Erasure of information pertaining to Winsford, Somerset. (Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3500, Q 20, fol. 98v [detail]: reproduced by permission.)

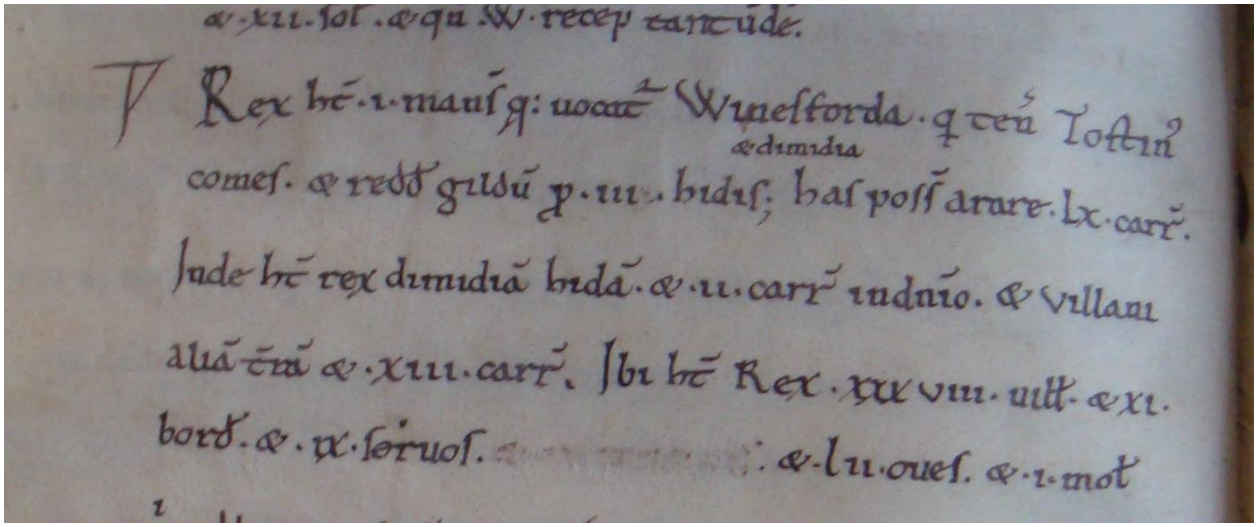


Figure 12. Missing information from the Winsford entry (cf. Fig. 11) belatedly added to the corresponding entry in Great Domesday. (The National Archives E 31/2/1, fol. 86vb [detail]: reproduced by permission.)

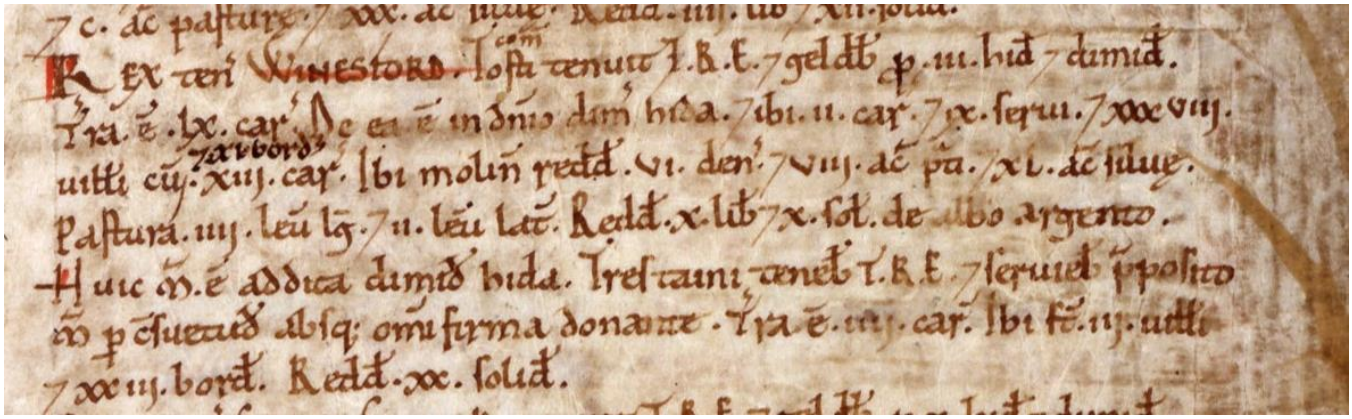


Figure 13.1-3. Accumulated information pertaining to the manor of Molland. (Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3500, Q 20, fol. 95r [detail]: reproduced by permission.)

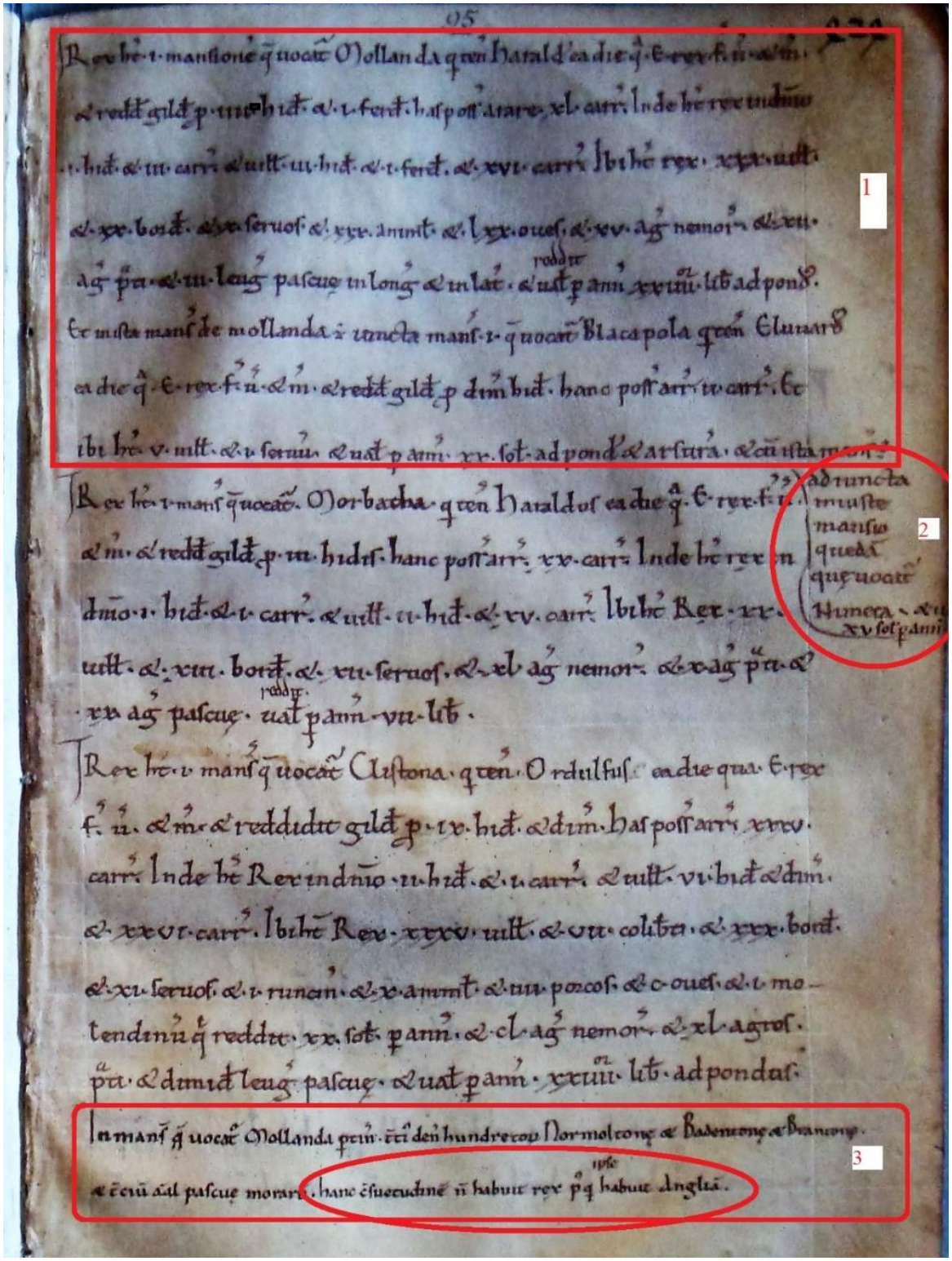


Figure 14. The edited entry for Molland (cf. Fig. 13) in Great Domesday. (The National Archives E 31/2/1, fol. 101ra [detail]: reproduced by permission.)

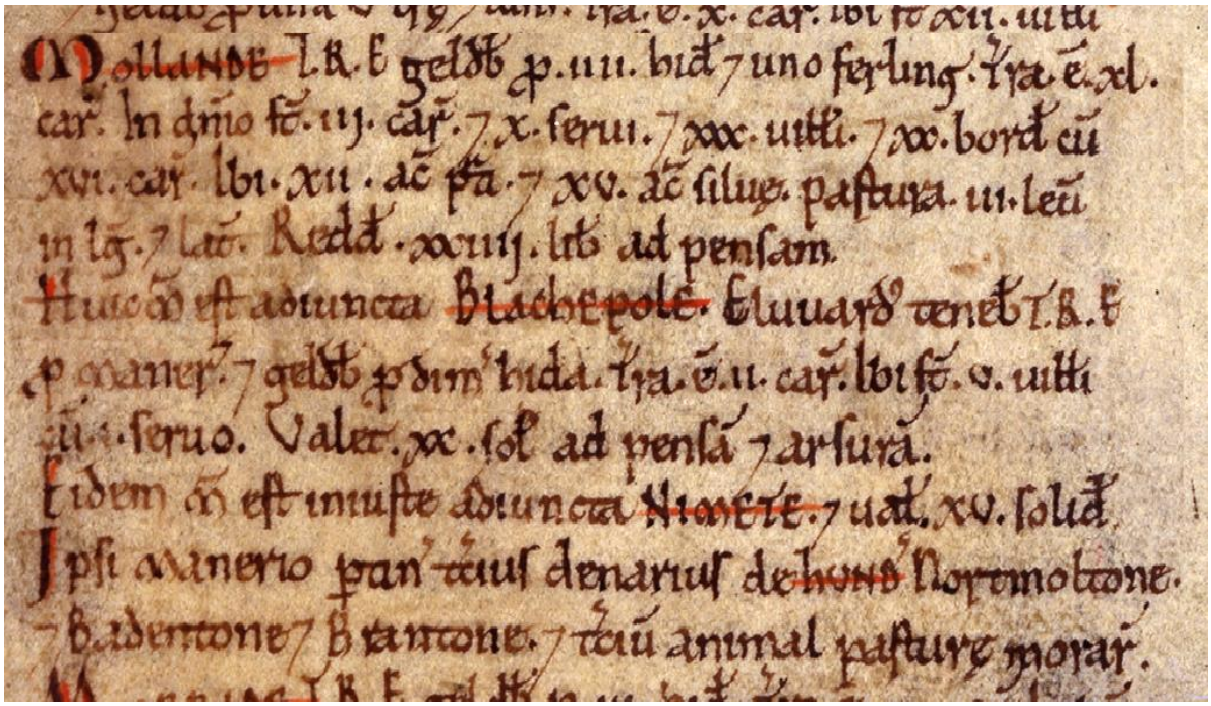


Figure 15. Two separate entries in the thirteenth-century cartulary of Abingdon Abbey, attesting to "writing of the king's treasury" and "another book of the king's treasury." (Image © British Library Board: Cotton MS Claudius B vi, fol. 185v [detail].)

Figure 16. A survey of manors held by Canterbury Cathedral, copied into a liturgical book for display on the altar, *c.* 1100. (Canterbury Cathedral Chapter Library MS Lit. E. 28, fol. 8v: reproduced by permission.)

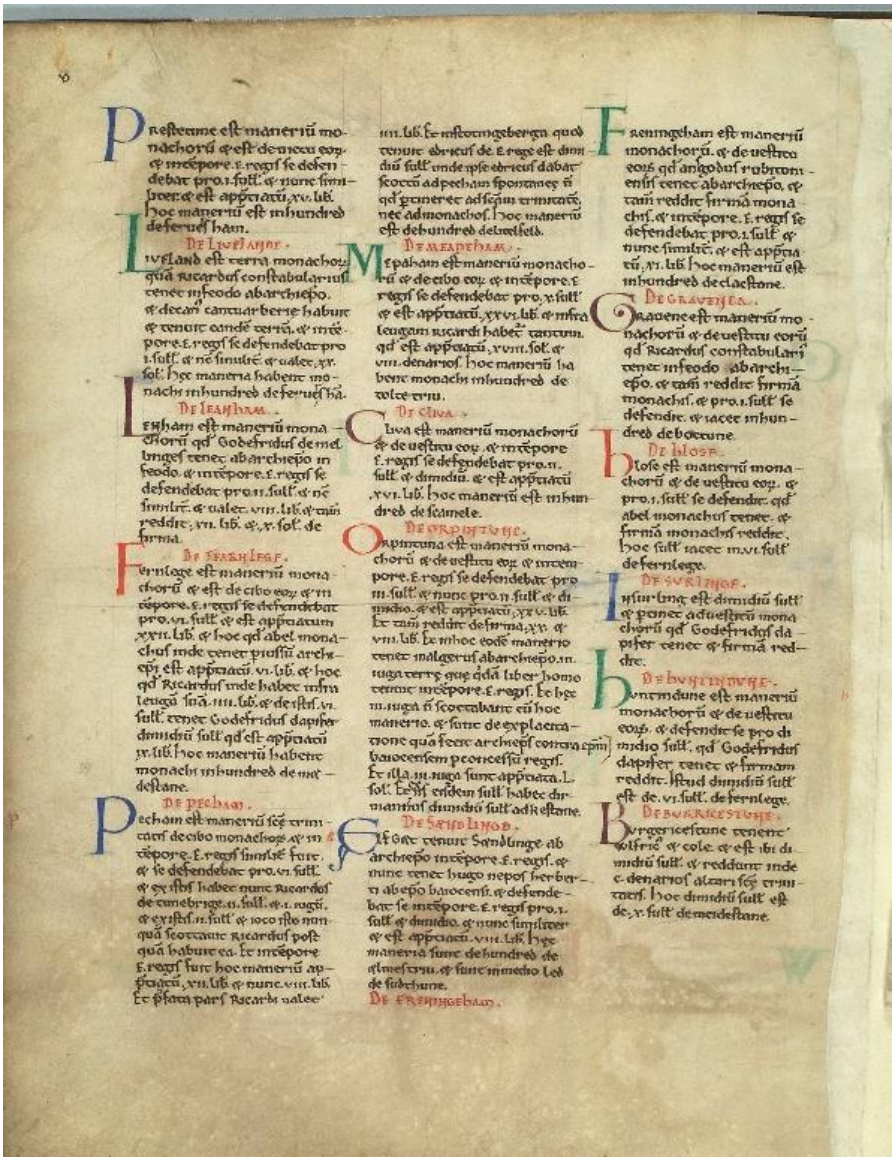


Figure 17. The first dorsal inscription (in Anglo-Saxon) on Burton abbey's foundation charter (cf. Fig. 2b). (Staffordshire Public Record Office D603/A/Add/1 [detail]: reproduced by permission.)

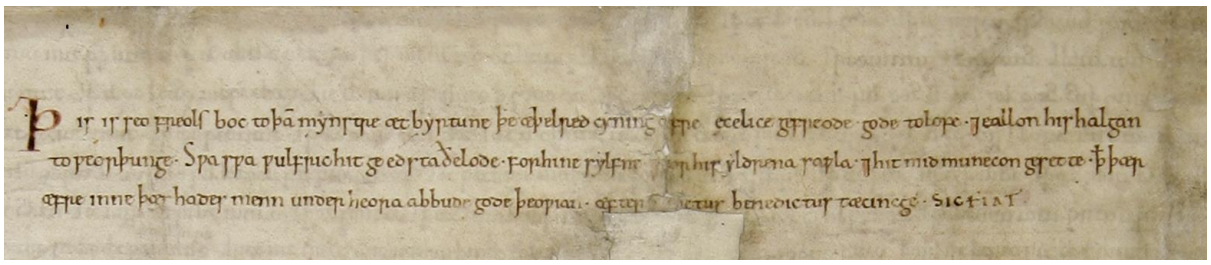


Figure 18. Reconstruction of the successive endorsements and folds of Burton Abbey's charter (cf. Fig. 2b). © Carol Symes.

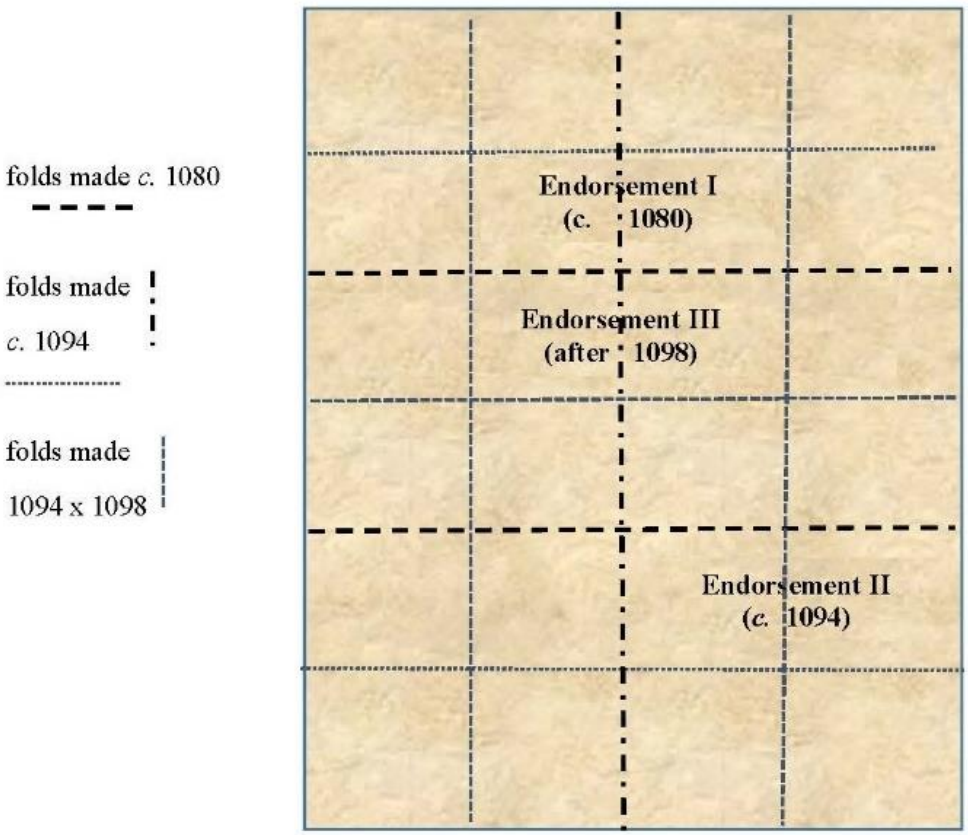


Figure 19. The second endorsement (in Latin) of the abbey's foundation charter (cf. Figure 2b), made after Nigel's arrival in 1094 and derived from (now lost) shire surveys. (Staffordshire Public Record Office D603/A/Add/1 [detail]: reproduced by permission.)

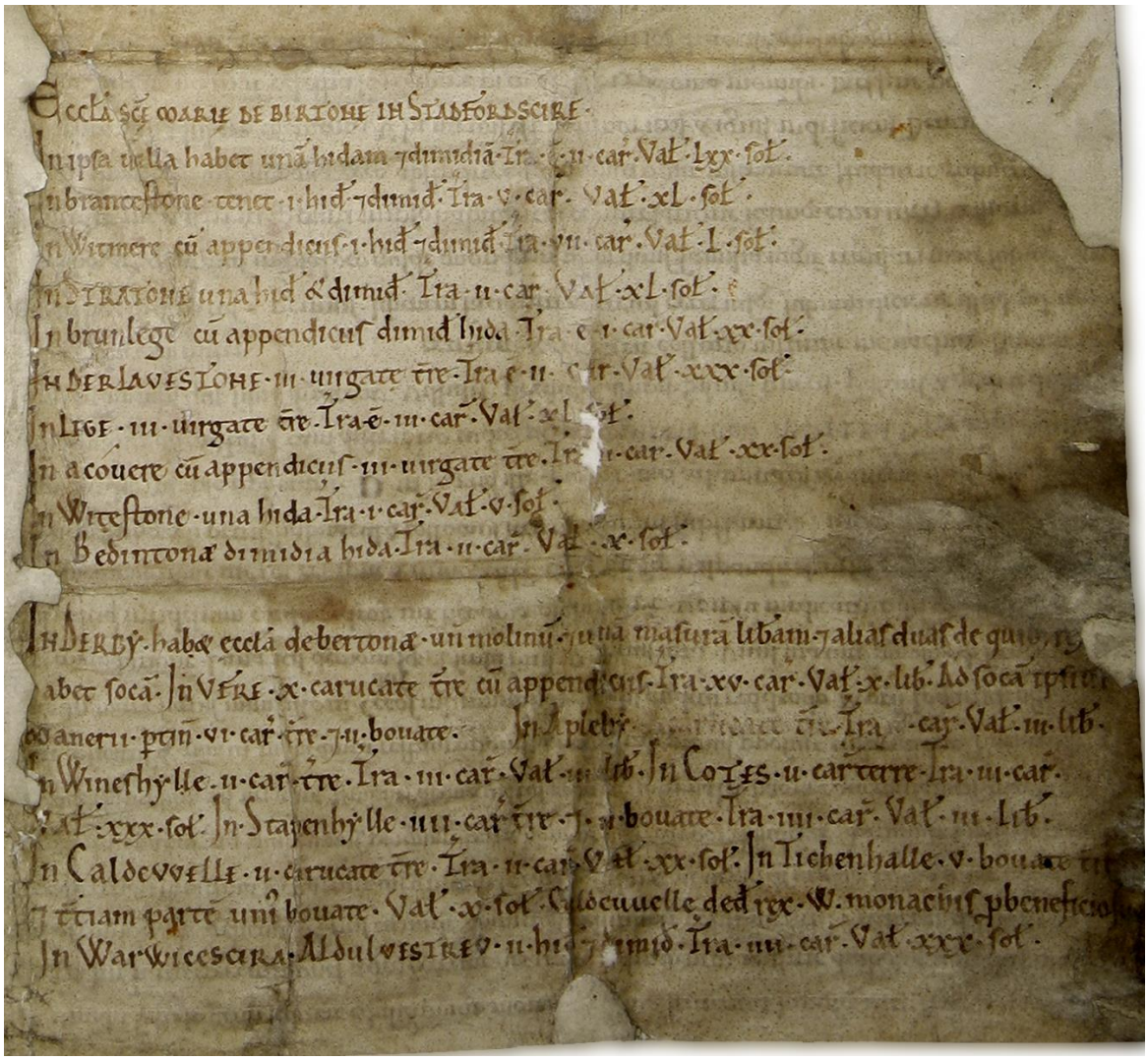


Figure 20. A replica of the folded foundation charter (to scale), showing how extensive handling would have marked the bottom flap – especially the lower right-hand corner – of the dorse. © Carol Symes.

Figure 21. The third endorsement (in Anglo-Saxon) on the abbey's charter (cf. Figure 2b): "These many hides are in Offlaw Hundred." (Staffordshire Public Record Office D603/A/Add/1 [detail]: reproduced by permission.)

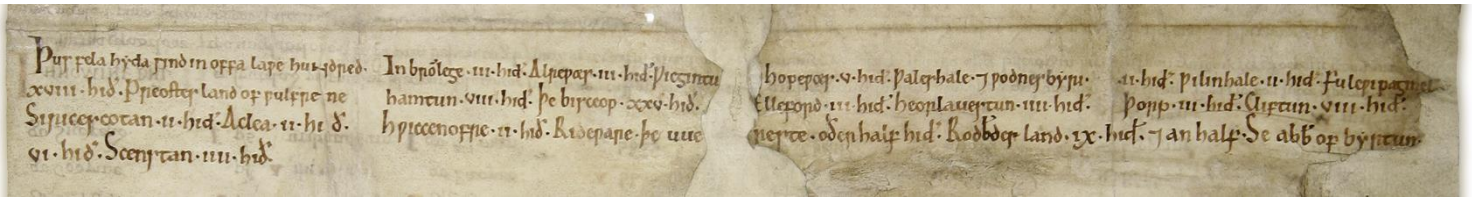


Figure 22. A visualization of the abbey's mnemonic map of Offlow Hundred, as revealed by the charter's third endorsement (cf. Figs. 2b and 21) and showing the relative positions of Burton and West Bromwich ("land of Fulk Paginel"). © Carol Symes.

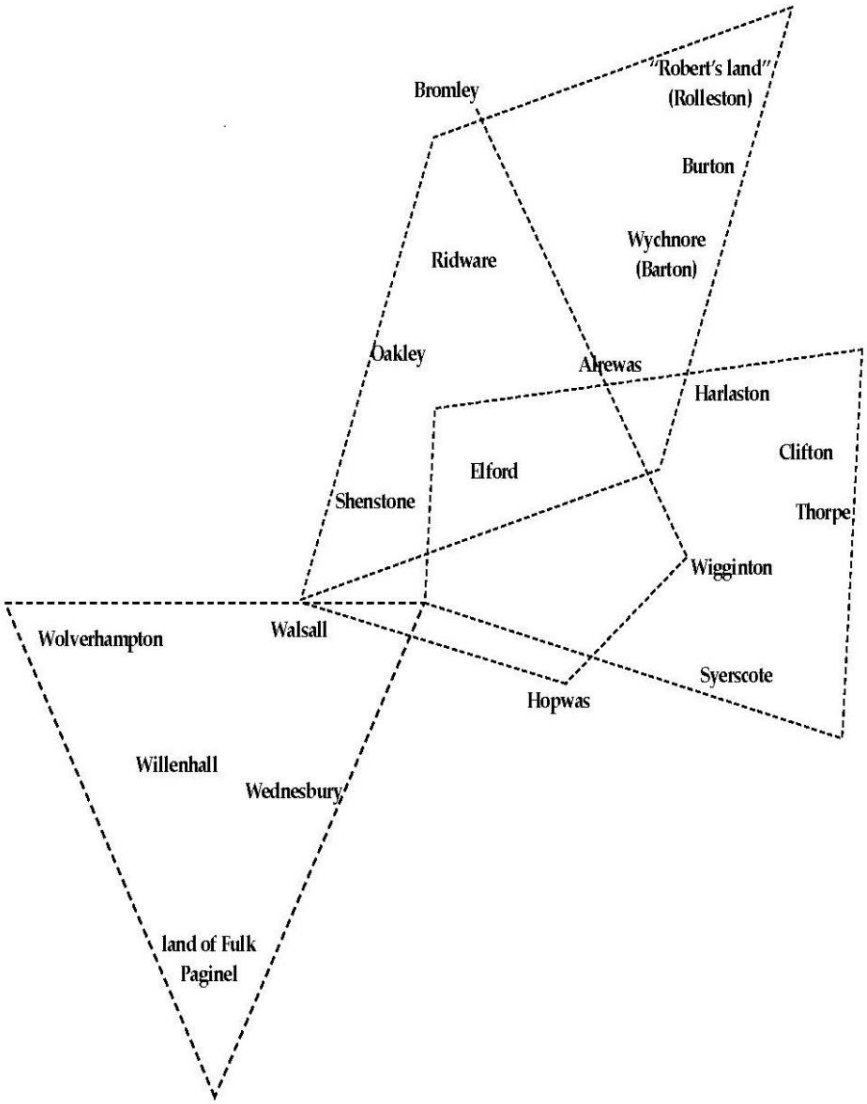


Figure 23. An early twelfth-century list of lands and boundaries of interest to the clergy of Worcester cathedral, preserved in the pages of the *Liber Wigorniensis*. (Image © British Library Board: Cotton MS Tiberius A xiii, fol. 153.)

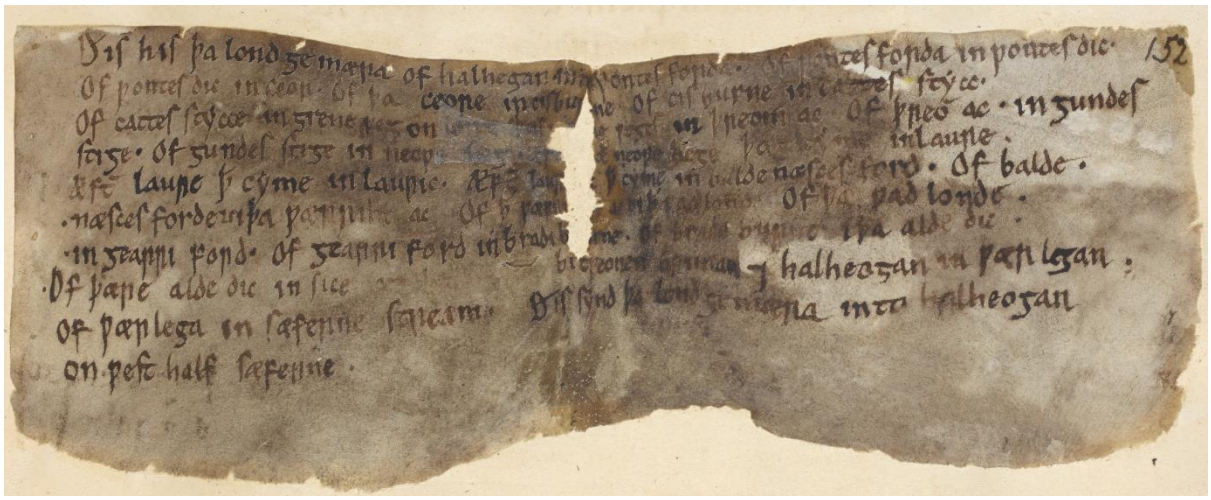
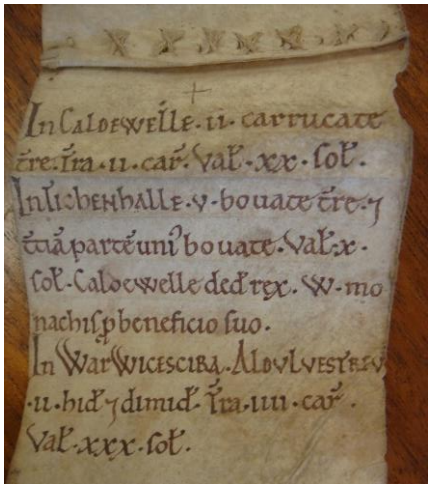


Figure 24a-b. The stitching of the Burton roll's two main surviving segments and the weakened end of the second segment (cf. Fig. 1). (Staffordshire Public Record Office D603/A/Add/1925 [details]: reproduced by permission.)



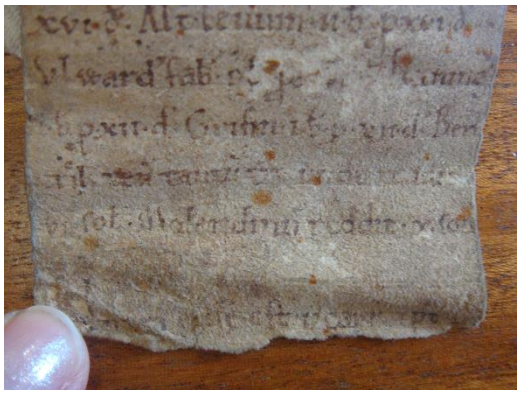


Figure 25. The raveled roll (cf. Fig. 1), with the later archival endorsement "I*n*landa. & geldu*m* regis." (Staffordshire Public Record Office D603/A/Add/1925: reproduced by permission.)

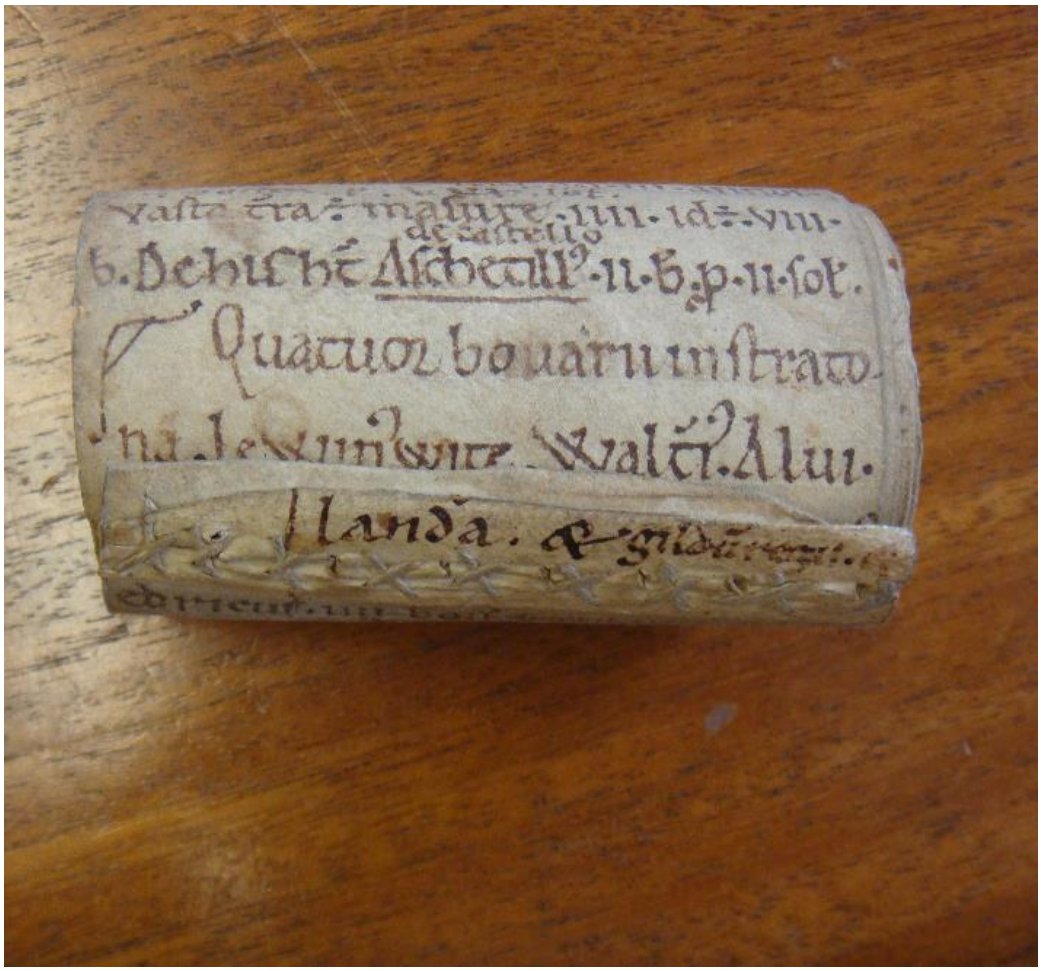


Figure 26. Section of the roll (cf. Fig. 1) showing skeleton entries being filled through successive data-collecting campaigns. (Staffordshire Public Record Office D603/A/Add/1925 [detail]: reproduced by permission.)

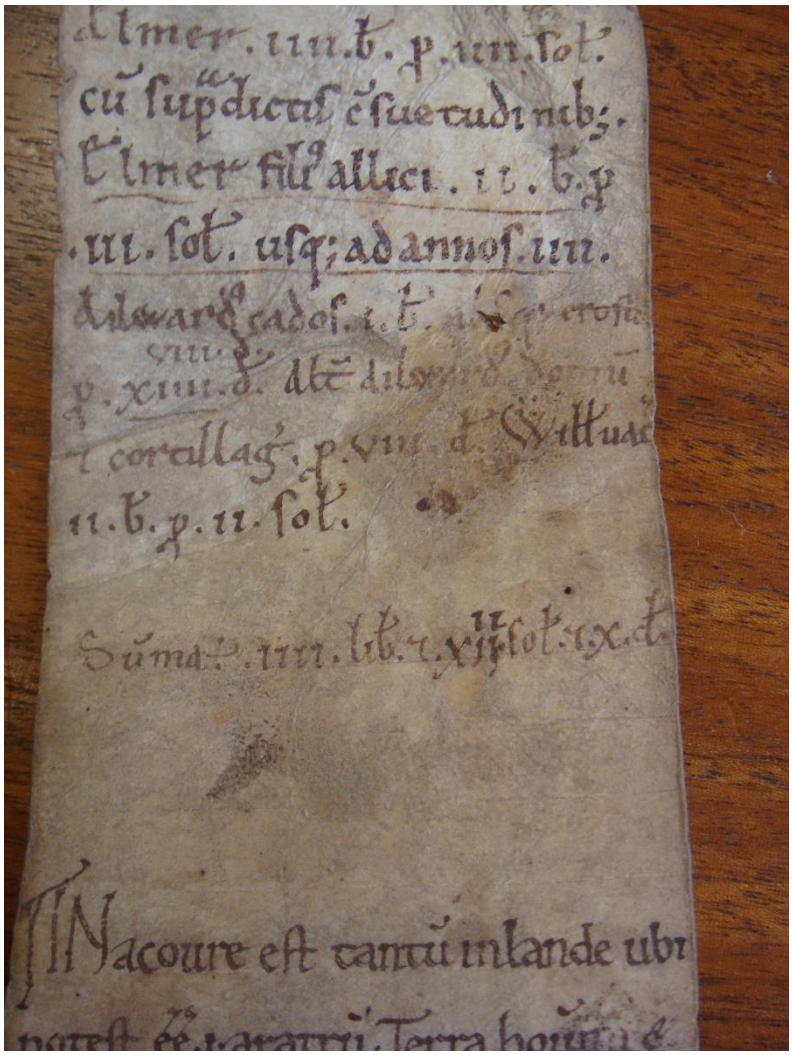
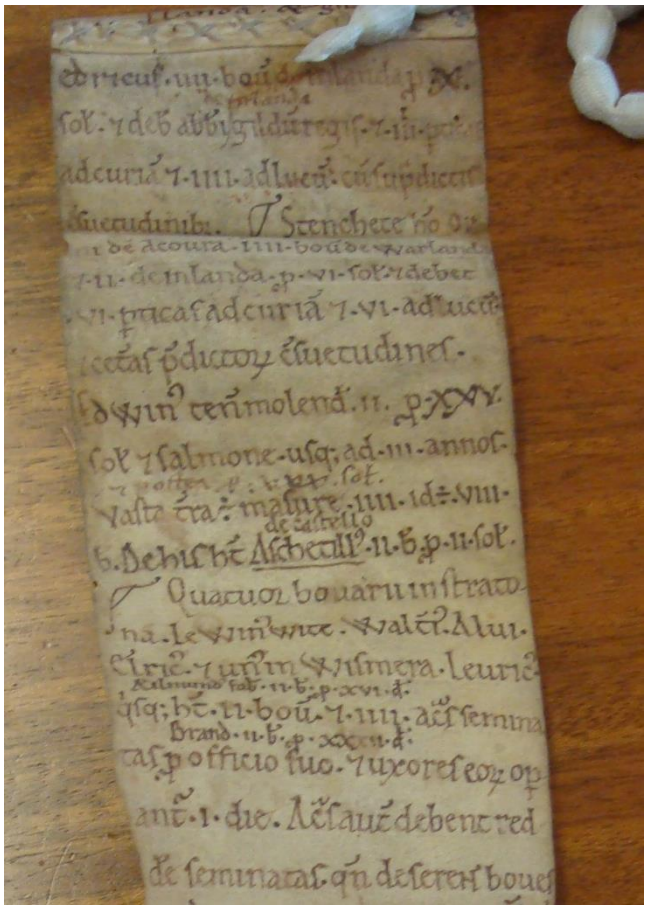


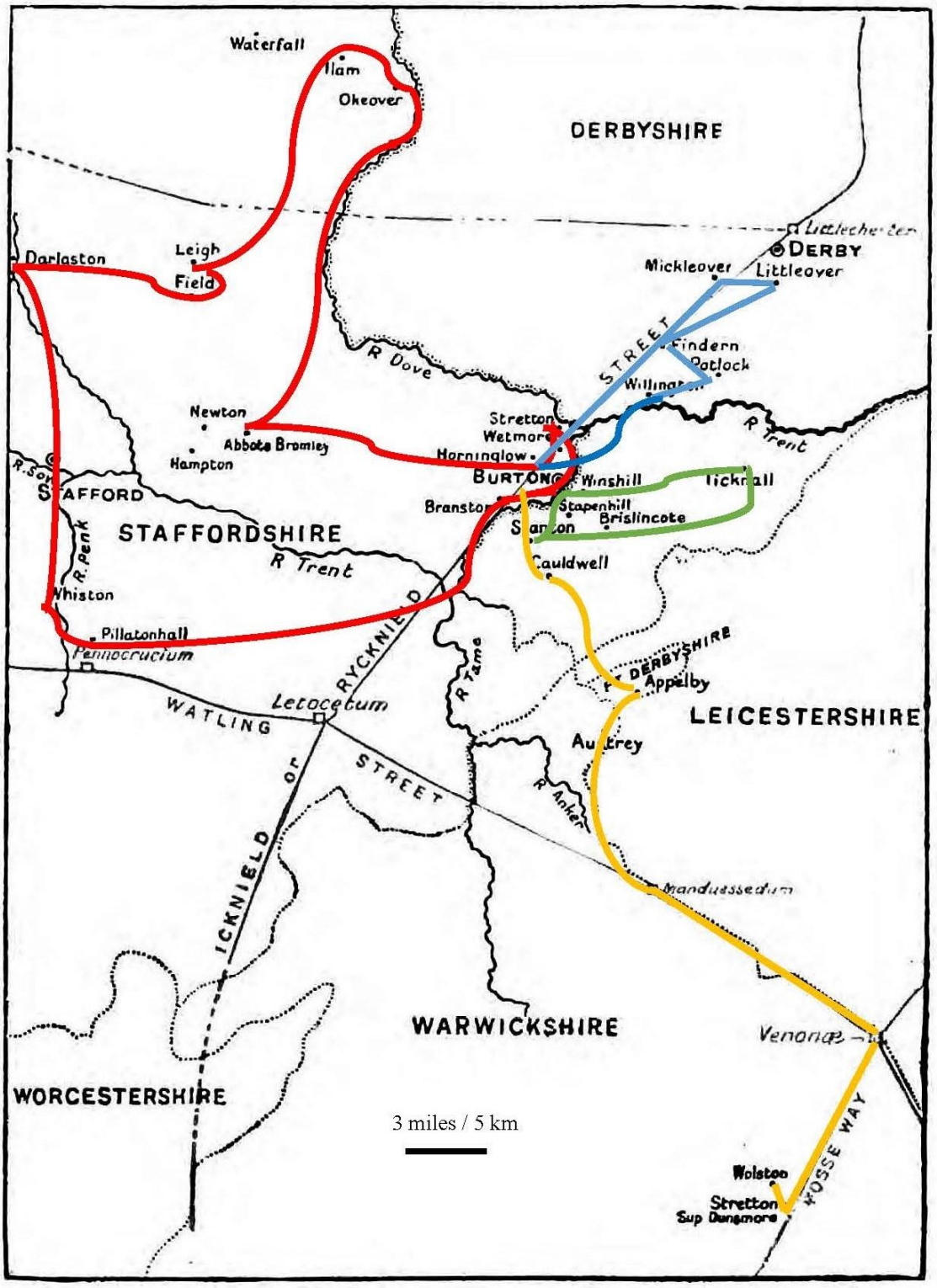
Figure 27. Data on the manor of Stretton-near-Burton, as accumulated over time on the Burton roll (cf. Fig. 1). (Staffordshire Public Record Office D603/A/Add/1925 [detail]: reproduced by permission.)



Edricus .iiii. bou*atas* de inlanda p*ro* .x.
de inlanda i
sol*idis 7* deb*et* abb*a*ti gildu*m* regis *7*.iii. p*er*ticas

Edwin*us* ten*et* molend*ina* .ii. p*ro* .xvv.
sol*idis 7* salmone us*que* ad .iii. annos.
7 postea p*ro*.xxx. sol*idis*.
Vasta t*er*ra *est* masure .iiii.id *est* .viii.
de castello
b*ouate*.De his h*abe*t <u>Aschetill*us*</u> .ii.b*ouatas*
.p*ro*.ii.sol*idi*.
¶ Quator bouarii in Strato-
na. Lewin*us* Wite. Walt*er*us. Alui.
Elric*us. 7* un*us* in Wismera. Leruic*us*.
Æilmund*us* fab*er* .ii. b*ouatas* p*ro* ,xvi. d*enarii***
q*uisque* h*abe*t .ii. bou*atas. 7* .iiii. ac*ras* semina
Brand .ii.b*ouatas* p*ro* .xxxii. d*enarii***
tas p*ro* officio suo. *7* uxores eo*rum* op*er*
ant*ur* .i. die. Ac*ras* au*tem* debent red
d*er*e seminatas q*uando* deserent boves

Figure 28. Map of Burton Abbey lands showing the itineraries revealed by the organization of the roll's entries. Adapted from Charles G. O. Bridgeman, "The Burton Abbey Twelfth Century Surveys," in Charles G. O. Bridgeman, "The Burton Abbey Twelfth Century Surveys," in *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, ed. The William Salt Archæological Society (London, 1916), 209. © Carol Symes.



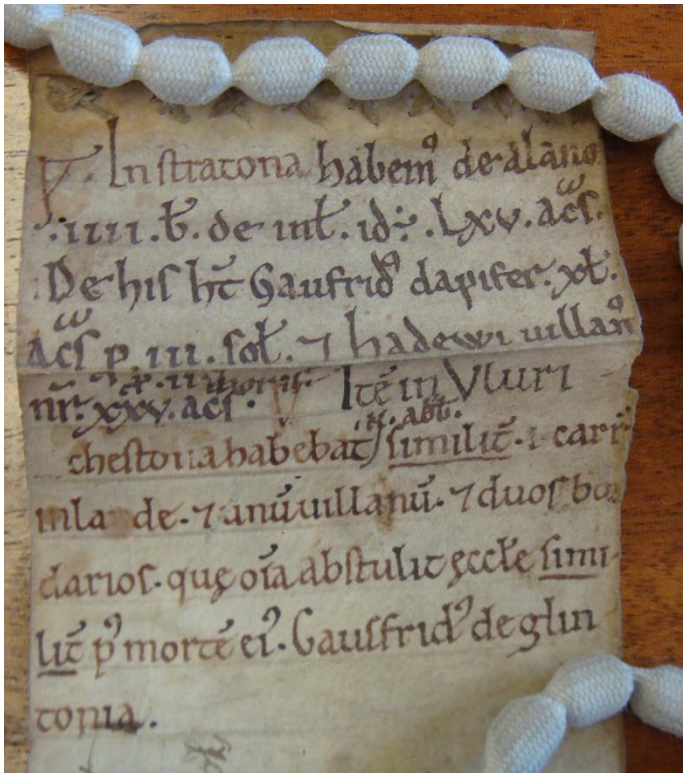


Figure 29. The final entry on the roll (cf. Fig. 1), made after 3 May 1114 and recording the theft of abbey property by Geoffrey de Clinton after the death of Abbot Nigel. (Staffordshire Public Record Office D603/A/Add/1925 [detail]: reproduced by permission.)

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Figure 30. The last entry (top) and first (see detail) with the added description "WRITINGS JUST AS CONTAINED IN THE KING'S BOOK" (cf. Fig. 1). (Staffordshire Public Record Office D603/A/Add/1925 [details]: reproduced by permission.)

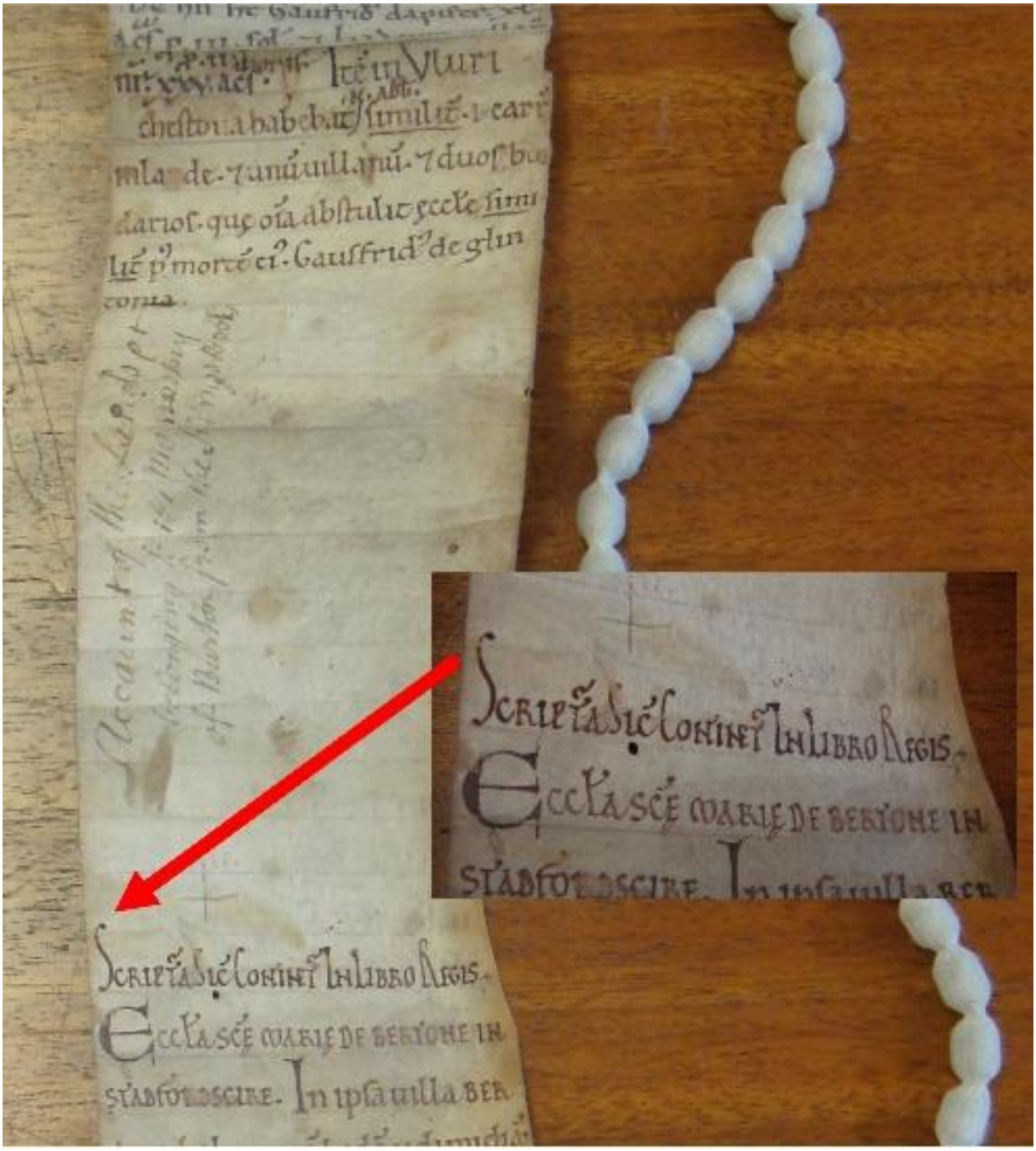

Figure 31. Inscription, erasures, and corrections indicating changes to the naming of Harold Godwinson. (Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3500, Q 31, fol. 147v [detail]: reproduced by permission.)

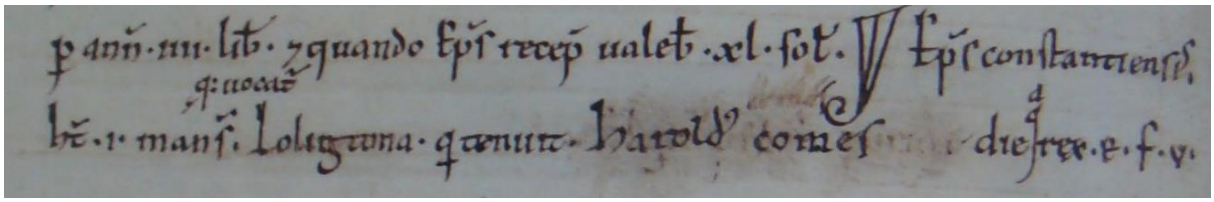

Figure 32. Great Domesday's corresponding entry to that made in the briefs (cf. Fig. 31), showing the restoration of Harold's comital title. (The National Archives E 31/2/1, fol. 88vb [detail]: reproduced by permission.)

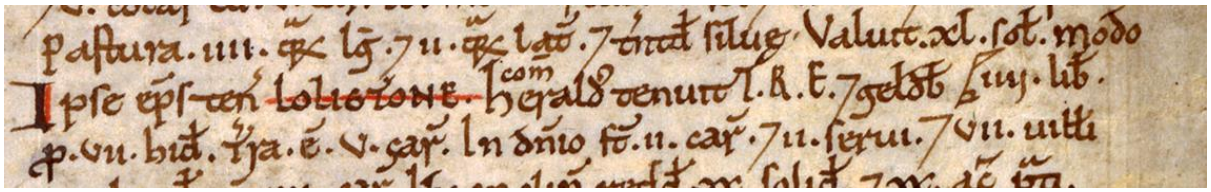

Figure 33. Entries in Great Domesday showing the restoration of Godwin Haroldson's patronymic and the titles of Harold and Tostig Godwinson (cf. Fig. 14). (The National Archives E 31/2/1, fol. 86vb [detail]: reproduced by permission.)

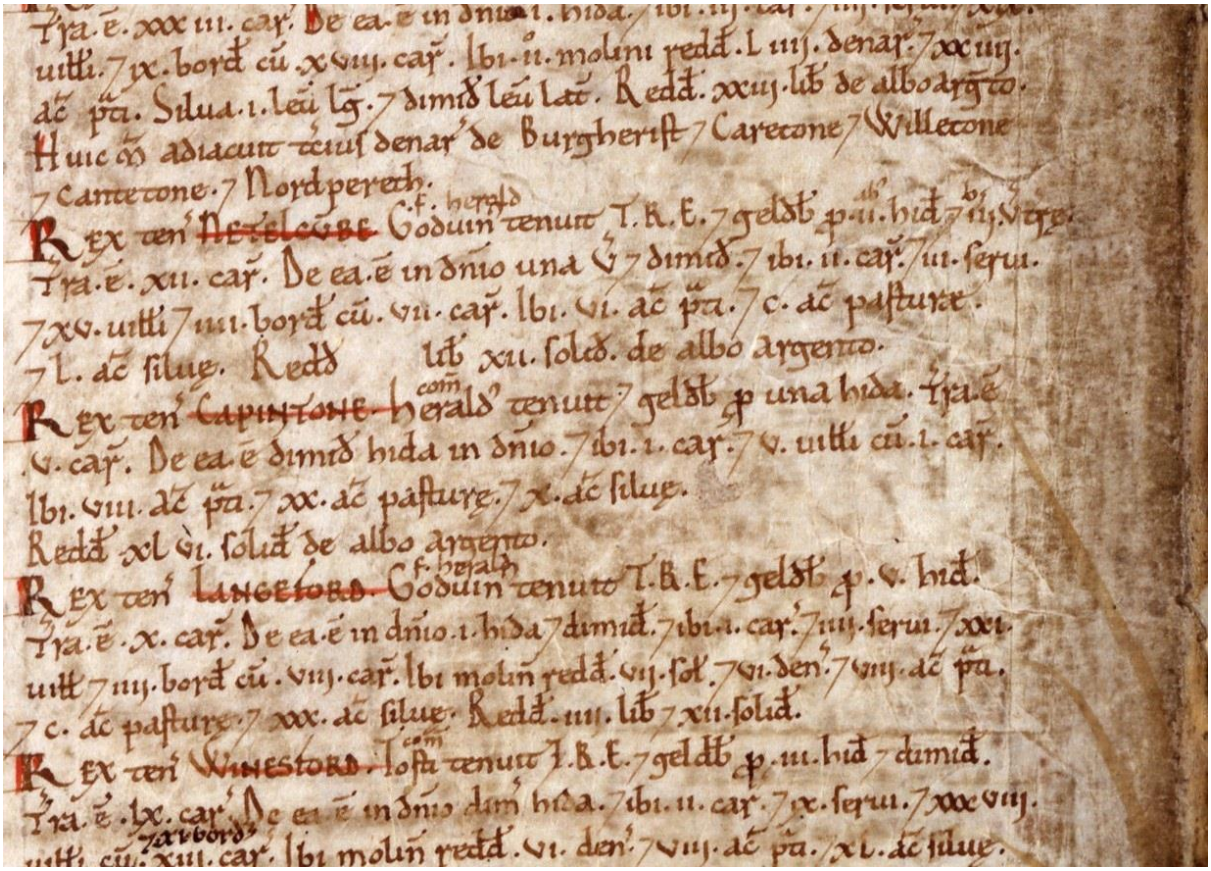

Figure 34. An accounting of Norman depradations in Gloucester as tracked by the monks of Evehsam Abbey in the years immediately after the Conquest, later copied into a cartulary. (Image © British Library Board: Cotton MS Vespasian B xxiv, fols.57r-62r at 57v [detail].)