

## I. WHAT WAS AETHELBERT ALL ABOUT?

- a. To work the church into the society?
- b. To make it clear, as the missionaries were telling him, that it's ok to accept money to settle the feud?
- c. Because the Irish and (somewhat later) the English were writing Penitentials? Extracts from an Irish penitential of c. 800:

"Ch.5 *Of anger*. 2 Anyone who kills his son or daughter does penance twenty-one years. Anyone who kills his mother or father does penance fourteen years. Anyone who kills his brother or sister or the sister of his mother or father, or the brother of his father or mother, does penance ten years: and this rule is to be followed to seven degrees both of the mother's and father's kin — to the grandson and great-grandson and great-great-grandson, and the sons of the great-great-grandson, as far as the finger-nails.... Seven years of penance are assigned for all other homicides; excepting persons in orders, such as a bishop or a priest, for the power to fix penance rests with the king who is over the laity, and with the bishop, whether it be exile for life, or penance for life. If the offender can pay fines, his penance is less in proportion."

This is, of course, a typical *wergeld* system converted into penances.

"Ch. 4 *Of envy*. 5. There are four cases in which it is right to find fault with the evil that is in a man who will not accept cure by means of entreaty and kindness: either to prevent someone else from abetting him to this evil; or to correct the evil itself; or to confirm the good; or out of compassion for him who does the evil. But anyone who does not do it for one of these four reasons, is a fault-finder, and does penance four days, or recites the hundred and fifty psalms naked."

- d. Because when people learn how to write, one of the first things that they do is write down their customary folk laws?
- e. Because he wanted to impress people with a written document called 'law'?
- f. An expression of value but not a solvent of controversies?
- g. The beginnings of breaking out law and turning it into a specialized activity in a way in which we can see it?

## II. FEUDALISM

### 1. The feudalism debate as it applies to England.:

- a. Did William I bring feudalism to England?
- b. Did Henry II consciously or unconsciously destroy it?

### 2. Feudalism:

- a. A type of economy, built around the manor, in the model, though not always in reality, the manor is coextensive with the vill, with open fields, lord, priest, free tenants, serfs and a lord's court to manage it all.
- b. A type of society characterized by multiple relationships of dependency, lord and man (vassal) with mutual obligations of support, particularly military, summed up in the ceremonies of homage and fealty.
- c. A pyramidal structure of government, based on landholding in which the king rules his tenants-in-chief, they their vassals down to the peasant.

- d. A pyramidal system of land holding whereby all land is held of the king for service usually knight's service and the tenants in chief parcel out the land to subtenants for service, knight's and other things. In England the principal free tenures are:
  - i. knight's service—the provision of one or more knights (or a fraction thereof) for a fixed period of the year
  - ii. serjeanty—the performance of a specific military duty, like carrying the king's banner in battle or guarding a castle
  - iii. socage—the provision of a fixed amount of agricultural produce
  - iv. frankalmoign—the provision of prayers, a tenure of the church

The tenant also owes incidents, the principal ones of which are:

- i. suit of court—the obligation to attend the lord's court when summoned
  - ii. aid—the obligation to come to the lord's monetary assistance when he is captured, or when he knights his eldest son, or when he marries off his daughter
  - iii. wardship—when the tenant dies and his heir is underage, the land will be taken into the lord's hands until the heir reaches majority
  - iv. marriage—when the tenant has a daughter who is an heiress (and perhaps even when she is not), the lord may dictate whom she shall marry; the lord may also dictate whom the tenant's widow may marry
  - v. relief—if the heir is of age, he must pay the lord in order to enter into his inheritance
  - vi. primer seisin—when the tenant dies, the lord may take his lands into his own hands pending the application of heir for seisin
  - vii. escheat—if the tenant commits felony or dies without a known heir, the land returns to the lord
- 3. The broader social and economic pattern exists all over Europe in the M.A., but in a number of other societies as well. The governmental pattern does not fully exist in England (nor any place else). The pattern of landholding certainly does exist in England; the question is when did it start.
  - 4. Elements of late 11th and 12th century feudalism that do not seem to have existed in Anglo-Saxon times:
    - a. The castle
    - b. Knight's service
    - c. The court of the honour (the court baron), the middle rung in a group of courts that may be schematized like this:
      - i. manorial—the court for unfree peasants, and, perhaps, for certain free peasants
      - ii. feudal—the court for the lord's tenants who hold by one or another of the tenures mentioned above
      - iii. public—the ancient courts of the shire, hundred, and borough and the nascent central royal courts

### III. DOMESDAY BOOK

- 1. Why does the Anglo-Saxon chronicler regard what William did as shameful?

After this (Christmas 1085), the king had much thought and very deep discussion with his

council about this country – how it was occupied or with what sort of people. Then he sent his men over all England into every shire and had them find out how many hundred hides there were in the shire, or what land and cattle the king himself had in the country, or what dues he ought to have in twelve months from the shire. Also he had a record made of how much land his archbishops had, and his bishops and his abbots and his earls – and though I relate it at too great length – what or how much everybody had who was occupying land in England, in land or cattle, and how much money it was worth. So very narrowly did he have it investigated, that there was no single hide nor virgate of land, nor indeed (it is a shame to relate but it seemed no shame to him to do) one ox nor one cow nor one pig which was there left out, and not put down in his record; and all these records were brought to him afterwards,

2. What's in it?
  - a. Boroughs
  - b. Tenants-in-chief
  - c. Manors
  - d. *Clamores* (a separate section only in 3 of the 31 counties in Great Domesday)
3. What was this book all about? (Outline of four theories.)
  - a. Maitland--no register of title, a geld book
  - b. Galbraith--a document of feudal tenures
  - c. Fleming--disputes settlement
  - d. Sally Harvey--a reassessment on the basis of ploughlands

For a survey of these theories and more see <https://www.domesdaybook.net/domesday-book/purpose-of-domesday-book>.

4. How was it compiled? The importance of the satellites. There are about a half a dozen of them of which the most comprehensive is the 'Little Domesday Book' covering the counties in East Anglia (Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex), which never got integrated into the 'Great Domesday Book'.

In class skip Herefordshire and go to Huntingdonshire.

(A) HEREFORDSHIRE (For a photographic reproduction of the original, see <https://opendomesday.org/book/herefordshire/01/>. The translation is that of [Carl Stephenson](#) and [Frederick George Marcham](#) *Sources of English Constitutional History* [1937] as are the notes except where the contrary is indicated.)

In the city of Hereford, in the time of King Edward [TRE],<sup>1</sup> there were 103 men dwelling together inside and outside the wall, and they had the customs hereunder noted.<sup>2</sup> If any one of them wished to leave the city, he could, with the consent of the reeve, sell his house to another man who was willing to perform the service owed from it, and the reeve got the third penny from this sale. But if any one, because of his poverty, could not perform the service, he gave up his house without payment to the reeve, who saw to it that the house did not remain vacant and that the king did not lose the service. Every entire messuage (*integra masura*) inside the wall rendered 7½*d.*, and [also] 4*d.* for the hire of horses; and [the holder] reaped for three days at Marden<sup>3</sup> and spent one day gathering hay wherever the sheriff wished. Whoever had a horse went thrice a year with the sheriff to the pleas and the hundred [court] at Wormelow.<sup>4</sup> When the king engaged in a hunting expedition, one man customarily went from each house to serve as a beater (*ad stabilationem*) in the wood. Other men, who did not have entire messuages, found guards for the [royal] hall when the king was in the city. On the death of a burgess who served with a horse, the king had his horse and arms.<sup>5</sup> From him who had no horse, when he died, the king had either 10*s.* or his land, together with the houses [on it]. If any one, overtaken by death, had not divided what he possessed, the king had all his chattels (*pecunia*). These customs were had alike by those living in the city and by those dwelling outside the wall, except that an entire messuage outside the wall rendered only 3½*d.* The other customs were common [to both groups].

Any man's wife who brewed inside or outside the city gave 10*d.* according to custom. There are six smiths in the city, each of whom gave 1*d.* for his forge. Each of them made 120 shoes (*ferra*) from the king's iron, and to each of them 3*d.* was customarily paid on that account, and these smiths were quit of all other custom. Seven moneyers were there; one of them was the bishop's moneyer. When the coinage was changed, each of them gave 18*s.* to obtain the dies, and from the day on which they returned each of them gave the king 20*s.* for one month.<sup>6</sup> When the king came to the city, the moneyers made for him as many pennies as he wished—that is to say, of the king's silver. And these seven had their *sac* and *soc*. When any moneyer of the king died, the king had 20*s.* as relief.<sup>7</sup> But if he died without having divided his cash (*censum*), the king had all of it. If the sheriff went into Wales with an army, these men [of Hereford] went with him. But if any one was summoned to go and did not do so, he paid 40*s.* fine to the king.

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<sup>1</sup> [TRE is the Domesday abbreviation for “in the time of King Edward” (*tempore regis Edwardi*). CD]

<sup>2</sup> On the interpretation of the following entries, see especially Round, in *Victoria History of the County of Herefordshire*, I, 263f.

<sup>3</sup> A nearby royal manor.

<sup>4</sup> This was south of Hereford, toward the wild region of Archenfield. On such a trip the sheriff needed an armed escort.

<sup>5</sup> The heriot of the ordinary thegn in Canute, II, 71 (above, p. 24). Cf. the moneyers of Hereford, the Welshmen of Archenfield, and the thegns of Nottinghamshire in the following passages.

<sup>6</sup> Presumably a pound a month, for relatively large sums were reported from mints elsewhere.

<sup>7</sup> The Anglo-Saxon heriot. See n. 9 [above].

In this city Earl Harold<sup>8</sup> had 27 burgesses enjoying the same customs as the other burgesses. From this city the reeve rendered £12 to King Edward and £6 to Earl Harold, and he had in his farm all the aforesaid customs.<sup>9</sup> The king, however, had in his demesne three forfeitures: namely, breach of his peace, house-breaking, and assault by ambush. Whoever committed one of these [offenses] paid the king 100s. fine, whosoever man he was.<sup>10</sup> Now the king has the city of Hereford in demesne,<sup>11</sup> and the English burgesses who dwell there have their previous customs. The French burgesses, however, are quit, through [payment of] 12*d.*, of all forfeitures except the three aforesaid.<sup>12</sup> This city renders to the king £60 by tale in assayed money.<sup>13</sup> Between the city and the eighteen manors that render their farms in Hereford £335 18s. are accounted for, besides the pleas of the hundred and county [courts].<sup>14</sup>

In Archenfield the king has three churches. The priests of these churches undertake the king's embassies into Wales, and each of them sings for the king two masses every week. When any one of them dies, the king customarily has 20s. from him. If any Welshman steals a man or a woman, a horse, an ox, or a cow, on being convicted, he first returns what is stolen and [then] pays 20s. as a fine. For theft of a sheep, however, or of a bundle of sheaves, he pays 2s. fine. If any one kills a man of the king or commits house-breaking, he pays the king 20s. compensation for the man and 100s. as a fine. If he kills any thegn's man, he gives 10s. to the lord of the slain man. But if a Welshman kills a Welshman, the relatives of the slain man come together and plunder the slayer and his kin and burn their houses until, toward noon on the third day, the body of the slain man is buried. Of this plunder the king has a third part, but they enjoy all the rest of it in peace. He, however, who burns a house in another fashion, on being accused of doing so, defends himself by [the oaths of] forty men. But if he cannot [clear himself], he has to pay 20s. fine to the king. If any one conceals a sester of honey out of a customary payment, and is convicted of it, he renders five sesters for one, should he hold enough land to warrant the payment. If the sheriff calls them to the shire court, six or seven of the better men among them go with him [as escort]. He who is summoned [to the court] and does not go gives the king 2s. or an ox; and whoever stays away from the hundred [court] pays the same amount. He who is commanded by the sheriff to go with him to Wales, and does not do so, pays a similar fine. But if the sheriff does not go, none of them go. When the army advances against the enemy, they customarily form an advance guard, and on return [they form] the rear guard. These were the customs of the

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<sup>8</sup> The Normans refused to recognize Harold's title to the throne.

<sup>9</sup> The borough, including the revenues described above, was farmed by the portreeve for £18 a year, two-thirds to the king and one-third to the earl.

<sup>10</sup> The list of crown pleas varied from region to region; cf. the customs of Worcestershire and Nottinghamshire below, and Canute, II, 12[: 'These are the rights which the king enjoys over all men in Wessex: namely, [compensations for] breach of his personal protection *mundbryce*, housebreaking (*hamsocn*), assault by ambush (*forsteal*), and neglect of army service (*fyrðwite*)'.

<sup>11</sup> Earlier there had been three great border earls who enjoyed all regalian rights within their respective territories: Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury; Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester; and William Fitz-Osbern, earl of Hereford. Before 1086, however, the third of these earldoms had been forfeited as the consequence of a rebellion.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the entry for Rhuddlan, below.

<sup>13</sup> [Payment by tale was made by counting out 240*d.* to the pound, as distinguished from payment by weight, when an actual pound of silver was demanded. If, furthermore, sample coins were melted down and an additional sum was thrown in as compensation for proved debasement, payment was said to be by blanch. For a description of this procedure and of the whole exchequer system, see R. L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century*.]

<sup>14</sup> These manors had earlier belonged to Earl William, and so had been brought into a financial organization centering in Hereford.

## Welshmen in Archenfield during the time of King Edward.

Here are set down those holding lands in Herefordshire and in Archenfield and in Wales.

.....<sup>15</sup>

The land of the king. ... The king holds Leominster.<sup>16</sup> Queen Edith held it.  
... In this manor ... there were 80 hides, and in demesne 30 ploughs.<sup>17</sup> In it were 8 reeves, 8 ridingmen, 238 villeins, 75 bordars, and 82 serfs and bondwomen.<sup>18</sup> These together had 230 ploughs. The villeins ploughed 140 acres of the lord's land and sowed it with their own seed grain, and by custom they paid £11. 52*d*. The ridingmen paid 14*s*. 4*d*. and 3 sesters of honey; and there were eight mills [with an income] of 73*s*. and 30 sticks of eels.<sup>19</sup> The wood rendered 24*s*. besides pannage.<sup>20</sup> Now in this manor the king has in his demesne 60 hides and 29 ploughs; and 6 priests, 6 ridingmen, 7 reeves, 7 beadles, 224 villeins, 81 bordars and 25 serfs and bondwomen. Among them all they have 201 ploughs. They plough and sow with their own grain 125 acres, and by custom they pay £7. 14*s*. 8½*d*; also 17*s*. [worth] of fish, 8*s*. of salt, and 65*s*. of honey. In it are eight mills [with an income] of 108*s*. and 100 sticks of eels less 10. A wood 6 leagues<sup>21</sup> long and 3 leagues wide renders 22*s*. Of these shillings 5 are paid for buying wood at Droitwich, and thence are obtained 30 mitts of salt.<sup>22</sup> Each villein possessing ten pigs gives one pig for pannage. From woodland brought under cultivation come 17*s*. 4*d*. An eyrie of hawks is there. ... Altogether this revenue, except the eels, is computed at £23. 2*s*. This manor is at farm for £60 in addition to the maintenance of the nuns. The county<sup>23</sup> say that, if it were freed [of that obligation], this manor would be worth six score, that is to say, £120. ...

<sup>15</sup> According to the regular plan, the king heads the list of landholders and is followed by his barons, first the ecclesiastics and after them the laymen. The lands held by each person in the list are then described in turn, manor by manor.

<sup>16</sup> On this "gigantic manor" see Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 112.

<sup>17</sup> By *caruca* is meant, not merely the plough proper, but also the team of eight oxen. The hide in Domesday is a unit of assessment for geld and other royal services. It was divided into 4 virgates or yardlands, 8 bovates, and 120 acres.

<sup>18</sup> The beadle appears in Domesday as the subordinate of a manorial reeve. The *radcniht* or ridingman seems to have been much the same as a *geneat*[], who appears in Ine 19, and who 'might enjoy relatively high or low status, but was always a man of honorable rank. As described in the later sources, his chief duty was that of riding on errands.'] The *villani* of Domesday, being distinguished from *servi*, were legally free; for it was only later that serfdom and villeinage came to be arbitrarily identified. According to Domesday, the normal villein holding was thirty acres of arable. The bordar or cotter, on the other hand, held only a hut and a garden plot. See especially Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 26 f; Vinogradoff, *Villeinage in England*.

<sup>19</sup> About two dozen eels were counted as a stick. Most of them, obviously, were taken from mill-ponds.

<sup>20</sup> Swine were commonly allowed to run wild in woodland. Rent paid for the privilege was called pannage; see immediately below.

<sup>21</sup> The Domesday league is a mile and half, but these measurements are only rough approximations.

<sup>22</sup> Salt-wiches are a prominent feature of this region; see Tait, *The Domesday Survey of Cheshire*, pp. 39 f. The wood bought at Droitwich was for the furnaces used in connection with salt-pans. The mitt included two ambers of four bushels each.

<sup>23</sup> I.e., the jury that spoke for it.

(A1) [ADDITIONAL ENTIRES FOR HEREFORDSHIRE]<sup>24</sup>

(Latin) *Domesday Book*, I, 179–183b.

In “Cutestornes” Hundred.<sup>25</sup> In the jurisdiction of Ewyas Harold Castle, Earl William gave to Walter de Lacy 4 carucates of waste land.<sup>26</sup> Roger de Lacy his son holds them, and William and Osbern [hold] of him. In demesne they have 2 ploughs; and 4 Welshmen rendering 2 sesters of honey, and they have 1 plough. There they have 3 slaves and 2 bordars. This land is worth 20s.<sup>27</sup>

In “Tornelaus” Hundred. The same Roger holds Ocle Pychard. 6 free men held it as 6 manors [?TRE] and could go where they would. There are 7 hides paying geld. In demesne are 2 ploughs; and 7 villains and 10 bordars and a reeve and a smith with 9 ploughs among them all. There are 12 slaves. Of this land Walter de Lacy gave to St Peter of Hereford<sup>28</sup> 2 carucates of land with the consent of King William, and 1 villain and 1 bordar with their lands. There are in demesne 2 ploughs; and 1 villain and 1 bordar with 1 plough, and there is 1 slave. It is worth 25s. What Roger holds [is worth] 75s. The whole TRE was worth 7/[pounds] 15s.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> [Added and translated by CD. These are part of the holdings of Roger de Lacy who is tenth on the list of Domesday barons in Herefordshire.]

<sup>25</sup> [The hundred names in quotation marks do not correspond to the later hundred names, though they clearly refer to hundred names that existed at the time. CD]

<sup>26</sup> [Earl William is William fitz Osborn, who held the entire county virtually independently right after the Conquest. He rebelled, and King William took the lordship into his own hands. CD]

<sup>27</sup> [Notice that William subinfeudated to Walter; Walter died and his son Roger inherited, Roger has two subtenants on the land. They, in turn, hold part of the land directly (“in demesne” as the phrase goes) and four Welshmen hold the other part of them. The land was waste at the time of the Conquest. It’s now worth 20s annually. Things here are looking a bit up. CD]

<sup>28</sup> [A large parish church in the city of Hereford. CD]

<sup>29</sup> [There is a loss here. What Roger holds and what the parish holds adds up to £5. TRE it was almost £8.]

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#### HUNTINGDONSHIRE

See the original on the screen. <https://opendomesday.org/book/huntingdonshire/01/> is below.



# HUNTEBUNSCIRE.

**I**n burgo ~~Huntesdon~~ ~~Sunt~~ ~~iii. ferlingi.~~

In duob; ferlingis T.R.E. fuer' 7 sunt m.c. xvi. burghenses cōsuetudines om̄s 7 geldū regis reddentes. 7 sub eis sunt. c. bordarii qui adiuvant eos ad p̄solutionē geldū. De his burghensib; habuit sēs benedict' de Ramsey. x. cū saca 7 loca 7 om̄i cōsuetudine. tantē modo glābant T.R.E. hos absente Eustachius p̄uim de abbacia 7 fuit in cū ceteris in manu regis.

Ulf fenise h̄b. x. viij. burghenses. in h̄c Gislebe' de gand cū saca 7 loca. p̄ter glō regis

Abb' de Ely h̄b. i. tōfai cū saca 7 loca. p̄ter glō regis.

Ep̄s lincolniensis h̄b in loco castri. i. mansionē cū saca 7 loca. que in abest.

Suuar' com' h̄b. i. mansionē cū domo cū saca 7 loca gēra ab om̄i cōsuetudine. quā in h̄c ludra comitissa.

In loco castri fuer'. x. mansiones ad om̄i cōsuetudines. reddentes p̄annū. xvi. sol' 7 viii. den' ad firmā regis. que in absunt.

P̄ter has fuer' 7 sunt. lx. mansiones Wastz infra has ferling'. que dabant 7 dant cōsuetud' suas.

Et p̄ter has sunt. viij. mansiones Wastz que T.R.E. fuer' plenarie. 7 dabant om̄i cōsuetudines.

In aliis duob; ferlingis fuer' 7 sunt c. xl. burghenses dom' min'. ad om̄i cōsuetud' 7 ad glō regis. 7 isti hab' q̄t. x. hagas p̄ quib; dabant 7 dant om̄i cōsuetudines. De his h̄b s' benedict' de Ramsey x. ii. burghens. T.R.E. Duo ex his fuer' gēra om̄ib; cōsuetud'. 7 xxx. reddider' quisq; x. den' p̄annū. Alij om̄i cōsuetudines fuer' abbis p̄ter glā regis.

In his ferling' h̄b Aluric <sup>uicecom</sup> T.R.E. un' mun'. quā. W. rex postea cecellit uxori ei 7 filiis. Eustachi' in h̄c. quā paup' cū matre reclamant. In his. ii. ferling' fuer' 7 sunt Wastz. xl. iij. mans. que dabant 7 dant cōsuetud' suas. Et p̄ter has in his. ii. ferling' habuer' Borred 7 Lurchil. T.R.E. i. pectun' cū. ii. h̄d. t̄q̄q; 7 xx. ii. burg' cū domib; p̄uenit ad eand' pectun' cū saca 7 loca. que om̄a h̄t in Eustachi'. Unde ipsi reclamant misericordiam regis. Atq̄m ipsi. xx. ii. burg' dant regi om̄em cōsuetud'. Gossfrid' ep̄s h̄t. i. pectun' 7 i. domū de sup' dictis q̄s absente s' benedictio Eustachi'. 7 adhuc reclamant idē sēs. In ipso burgo h̄b Gof' hūnes. xvi. dom' T.R.E. cū saca 7 loca 7 thol' 7 hem. has h̄t in <sup>uicecom</sup> <sup>comitissa</sup>.

**H**untesdon burg' defendebat se ad glō regis p̄ quarta parte de h̄yrfingestā hund' p. l. h̄d. sed in non geldat ita in illo hund'. postq; rex W. geldū monete posuit in burgo. De toto hoc burgo p̄bat T.R.E. de landgable. x. lib. inde comes t̄cia partē habebat. rex du. u. De hoc censu reman' nē sup. xx. mans ubi castrū ē. xvi. sol' 7 viii. denar. int' comitē 7 regē. P̄ter hoc habebat <sup>comit</sup> x. lib. 7 com' x. lib de firmaburg. Aut plus aut min' sic poterat collocare partē suā. Molend. i. redd' regi. xl. sol. comit' xx. sol. ad h̄c burgū iaceat. u. h̄d. 7 xl. ac t̄q̄q; 7 x. ac p̄a. unde parauit rex. ii. partē comes t̄cia. hanc t̄cia coluit burghenses 7 locat' p̄ ministros regis 7 comit'. Infra p̄dictū censū sunt. iii. piscatores. iii. sol. reddentes. In hoc burgo fuer'. iii. monetarii. reddentes xl. h̄d. int' regē 7 comitē. sed in non sunt. T.R.E. reddet' xxx. lib. in similit'

In herstingest' h̄d sē dūq; car' q̄q; de geldo regis. Vtli' 7 socii geldant sc̄m h̄d in breui scriptis. Excepta Broctone ubi geldat abb' cū alijs p̄una h̄d.

~~hic annuati tenentes terras in huntesbunscire.~~

- |                                   |                 |                         |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| <b>I. Rex Willelmus.</b>          | <b>.xvi.</b>    | Suau de Exelle.         |
| <b>.ii. Ep̄s lincolniensis.</b>   | <b>.xvii.</b>   | Rogerus de Luri.        |
| <b>.iii. Ep̄s Constantiensis.</b> | <b>.xviii.</b>  | Emulfus de helding.     |
| <b>.iiii. Abbacia de Ely.</b>     | <b>.xix.</b>    | Eustachius uicecomes.   |
| <b>.v. Abbacia de Gwyland.</b>    | <b>.xx.</b>     | Ludra comitissa.        |
| <b>.vi. Abbacia de Ramsey.</b>    | <b>.xxi.</b>    | Gislebertus de gand.    |
| <b>.vii. Abbacia de Tornj.</b>    | <b>.xxii.</b>   | Albericus de Vep.       |
| <b>.viii. Abbacia de Burg.</b>    | <b>.xxiii.</b>  | Wills filius ansculf.   |
| <b>.ix. Comes Eustachius.</b>     | <b>.xxiiii.</b> | Rannulf' fr' Algeri.    |
| <b>.x. Comes de osw.</b>          | <b>.xxv.</b>    | Robertus faston.        |
| <b>.xi. Comes hugo.</b>           | <b>.xxvi.</b>   | Wills ingania.          |
| <b>.xii. W. Atterius bifard.</b>  | <b>.xxvii.</b>  | Radulfus filius osmund. |
| <b>.xiii. Wills de Warenna.</b>   | <b>.xxviii.</b> | Robertus rex Ricardi.   |
| <b>.xiv. hugo de Bolebech.</b>    | <b>.xxix.</b>   | Tani regis.             |
| <b>.xv. Eudo filius hubert.</b>   |                 |                         |



Next page is <https://opendomesday.org/book/huntingdonshire/02/>

<https://opendomesday.org/book/huntingdonshire/10/> is the land of the thegns of the king, 29 in the list of tenants in chief and an incomplete page

In burgo Hunteddone sunt iiii ferlingi

In the borough of Huntingdon there are 4 quarters.

In duobus ferlingis T.R.E. fuerunt et sunt modo cxvi consuetudines omnes et geldum regis reddentes et sub eis sunt c bordarii qui adiuuant eos ad solutionem geldi. De his burgensibus habuit sanctus Benedictus de ramesyg x cum saca et soca et omni consuetudine tantummodo geldabant T.R.E. Hos abstulit Eustachius per vim de abbatia et sunt modo cum ceteris in manu regis.

In 2 quarters there were T.R.E., and are now, 116 burgesses rendering all customs and the king's geld, and under them there are 100 bordars who help them to pay the geld. Of these burgesses St Benedict of Ramsey had 10 with sake and soke and every custom except that they paid geld T.R.E. Eustace [the sheriff of Huntingdonshire] took them away wrongfully from the abbey and they are, with the others, in the king's hand.

Ulf Fenisc habuit xviii burgenses; modo habet Gilbertus de gand cum saca et soca preter geldum regis.

Ulf Fenisc had 18 burgesses, now Gilbert of Ghent has them with sake and soke except far the king's geld.

...

In the other 2 quarters there were and are 140 burgesses, less half a house, assessed to all customs and the king's geld, and these had 80 haws [a piece of enclosed ground] for which they gave and give all customs. Of these St Benedict of Ramsey had 22 burgesses *T.R.E.* Two of these were quit of all customs, and 30 rendered 10 pence yearly each. All other customs belonged to the abbot, apart from the king's geld.

...

The borough of Huntingdon used to defend itself towards the king's geld for 50 hides as the fourth part of Hurstingstone hundred, but now it does not so pay geld in that hundred, after the king set a geld of money on the borough. From this whole borough 10 pounds came out *T.R.E.* by way of "Landgable" of which the earl had the third part, and the king two-thirds. Of this rent 16 shillings and 8 pence, divided between the earl and the king, now remain upon 20 messuages where the castle is. In addition to these payments the king had 20 pounds and the earl 10 pounds from the "farm" of the borough more or less according as each could make disposition of his part. One mill rendered 40 shillings to the king and 20 shillings to the earl. To this borough there belong 2 ploughlands and 40 acres of land and 10 acres of meadow, of which the king with two parts, and the earl with the third part, divide the rent. The burgesses cultivate this land and take it on lease through the servants of the king and the earl. Within the aforesaid rent there are 3 fishermen rendering 3 shillings. In this borough there were 3 moneyers paying 40 shillings between the king and the earl, but now they are not there. *T.R.E.* it rendered 30 pounds; now the same.

...

Here are noted those holding lands in Huntingdonshire:

1. King William
2. The bishop of Lincoln
3. The bishop of Coutances
4. The abbey of Ely
5. The abbey of Crowland
6. The abbey of Ramsey
7. The abbey of Thorney
8. The abbey of Peterborough
9. Count Eustace
10. The count of Eu
11. Earl Hugh
12. Walter Giffard
13. William of Warenne
- 14- Hugh of Bolbec
15. Eudo, son of Hubert
16. Swein of Essex
17. Roger of Ivry
19. Eustace the sheriff
18. Arnulf of Hesdins
20. The Countess Judith
21. Gilbert of Ghent
22. Aubrey “de Vere”
23. William, son of Ansculf
24. Rannulf, the brother of Ilger
25. Robert Fafiton
26. William “Ingania”
27. Ralph, son of Osmund
28. Rohais, the wife of Richard
29. The king’s thegns

For example,

5. The land of the abbey of Crowland A manor. In Morborne the abbey of Crowland has 5 hides assessed to the geld. There is land for 9 ploughs. There are now 2 ploughs on the demesne on 1 hide of this land; and 16 villeins and 3 bordars have 7 ploughs. There is a church and a priest; 40 acres of meadow; 1 acre of underwood. *T.R.E.* it was worth 100 shillings; now the same.

In Thurning there are 1½ hides assessed to the geld. There is land for 1½ ploughs. The soke belongs to the king’s manor of Alconbury. Eustace holds it now from the abbot of Crowland, and had 1 plough there and 1 villein with half a plough and 6 acres of meadow. *T.R.E.* it was worth 20 shillings; now the same.

[The descriptions of the holdings of the king and the lay lords are similar. The serach engines in Open Domesday allow one to list people and places where they held land, or to link places to people.]

28. The land of Rohais, wife of Richard fitz Gilbert

Toseland hundred

A manor. In Eynesbury Robert, son of Wimarc, had 15 hides assessed to the geld. There is land for 27 ploughs. Rohais, the wife of Richard, has 7 ploughs on the demesne there now. In the same place St Neot has from her 3 ploughs on the demesne, and in the same village 19 villeins and 5 bordars have 7 ploughs. There is 1 mill worth 23 shillings, and 1 fishery which is valued with the manor; 65½ acres of meadow. *T.R.E.* it was worth 24 pounds; now it is worth 24 pounds apart from that which is assigned to the food of the monks; which is valued at 4 pounds. William “Brito” holds 2 hides and 1 virgate of this land from Rohais and has half a plough on the demesne; and 3 villeins and 4 bordars have 1 plough. It is worth 30 shillings.

[Per Google AI: Rohais (or Rohese) Giffard, wife of Richard FitzGilbert (of Clare/Tonbridge) in 1086, was a significant Norman noblewoman and landowner recorded in the Domesday Book. Daughter of Walter Giffard, she was married to one of England’s wealthiest tenants-in-chief, holding lands in her own right and surviving him, likely living until at least 1113.]

The *clamores* section is not in Open Domesday. What appears below is downloaded from <https://archive.org/details/DomesdayBookHuntingdonshire/page/n9/mode/2up> and <https://archive.org/details/DomesdayBookHuntingdonshire/page/n11/mode/2up>



**D**icunt hōes qui iurauerūt in humedune. qđ  
geola s' orauit de burgo 7 tñ que ad eā panet  
fuit recte de lormy. sed abb' inuadiant eā bur  
gensiō? R. rex Edw' aut dedit eā Vitali 7 Bernardo  
pōrū suū. 7 ipsi uendiderūt hugoni camerario regis  
Edw'. hugo uendidit eā. 11. pōrū de humedune.  
7 hinc inde sigillū regis. E. Eustachi' in hō eā sine  
libetatore. 7 sine breui 7 sine luitore.  
Eustachi' abstulit pū domū Leueue. 7 dedit  
ogero de lundonia.  
Testificat' ogra hūmū 7 bos fuisse  
sub manu regis Edw' die qua uiuū  
7 mortuus fuit. 7 eos de eo uenisse non de comite.  
Sed dicunt se audisse qđ rex W. debuerit eā  
dare Wallesio.  
De .v. hid' de Broctone dñe qđ tñ sochemanor  
fuit. T. R. E. sed idē rex dedit tñ 7 locā de eis  
s' Benedico de Ramefy. ppo' unū seruiciū qđ  
abb' Aluūm fecit ei in Saxonia. 7 postea sep eam  
Comitat' testificat' qđ tñ Brimor' habuit.  
belehorne fuit Ruelande. T. R. E. 7 panuit ad firmā.  
Tñ Aluūm pōrū testant' fuisse abbū.  
7 intrinq' fuisse tñ pōrū 7 pōrū.  
Tñ Aluūm de Gellinge 7 Emmesforde cel  
rant' fuisse s' Benedico. 7 eal fuisse tñ Aluūm  
in utra sua tñ ratione. qđ post mortē suā debu  
erant pōrū ad geolam. 7 bofiede cū eis. Ipse  
autē Aluūm occisus fuit in bello ap' hastinges.  
7 abb' recepit tñ suā donec Aluūm defuisset eū.  
De .ii. hid' quas Rād fili' Osmundi ten' in Emm  
gesforde. dñe qđ una ex his erat in die. R. E. de dñio  
recte de Ramefy. 7 tñ uoluntate abb' tenere illū.  
De alia hidā dñe qđ Godric' tenuit eā de abbe.  
Sed cū abb' ēet in danemarka. Osmund' pater Rād  
rapuit eā a Sūmo accipitario. cui abb' eā dedit  
pat' ob amorē regis.  
De Sūmerlede dñe qđ tenuit tñ suā de Iuruso  
qui eā sibi dedit. 7 post de filiis ei'. ipsosq' habuisse  
7 locā sup eum.  
Dicunt tñ Aluūm dñe de Westone pōrū fuisse  
mortuū. 7 non panuisse ad benebatone. sed tam

**D**e una hidā tñ 7 dimidia que fuit Elger.  
dñe hōes qui iurauerūt qđ ipse Alger <sup>et tenuit</sup> de comite Ioffi  
cū saca 7 loca. 7 postea de Walles.  
Unā hidā tñ similat' tenuit Godric' pōrū  
de comite Walles. T. R. E. quā nē Eustachius tenet.  
Dñe terrā Goduini de Westone nichil panu  
isse ad Saxi antecessorē fastionis.  
Testant' hōes de comitatu qđ rex Edw' dedit  
sumelhefer Sūuaro comiti socā 7 sacā. 7 sic ha  
buit harold' comes. pater qđ geldabant in bund.  
7 in hostē cū eis ibant.  
De tñ tñ fuit loca regis.  
De una uirgata tñ Aluūm deule in parten hale  
hō rex Edw' socā.  
Dñe fuisse in loca regis hidā tñ Aluūm quā  
habebat in Cateuorde. nec heroldū comitē habuisse.  
In parua Cateuorde hō idē Aluūm. i. hidā.  
de qua rex Edw' sep habuit sacā 7 locā. tñ aut  
poterat dare cui uoluisset 7 uendere. Sed hōes  
comitallē dñe regē Wallesio tñ dedisse.  
Comitat' testat' qđ tñ pars dimidiē hidge que  
iacet in Estone 7 geldat in Bedesfordshere. panet  
ad Spaldwic wanguū abb' de Ely. 7 sic abb' ha  
buit. T. R. E. 7 post aduentū W. regis. .v. annis.  
hanc Eustachi' ui de ecclā rapuit 7 retinuit.  
Recelestian dñe fuisse 7 ēē. de firma regis Edw'.  
7 quāuis Aluūm uicecomes sedisset in ea uilla tam  
sep reddebatur de ea firmā regis & fili' ei' post eū.  
donec Eustachi' accepit uicecomitatu. nec unquā  
uidq' uel audier' sigillū regis. E. qđ eā foris misisset  
de firma sua.  
Aluūm 7 fīrclamant Eustachiū sibi iniuste tñ  
suā abstulisse. 7 comitat' negat se uidisse sigillū  
uel luitorē qui eū inde salsisset.  
Ea die quarex. E. fuit uiuū 7 mortuus. fuit Gede  
linge Bered' in Almundebere. in firma regis.  
Comitat' testificat' Buchelutiorde fuisse Beruūch  
in pachstone. T. R. E.  
Triginta vi. tñ in branaue qual' Ricard' clamauit  
ad forestā panere. dñe de dñica firma regis fuisse  
nec ad forestā panuisse.  
Grashtā dñe socā regis fuisse 7 esse. nec breuē nec  
luitorē uidisse qui liberat' eā Eustachio.



q̄a iacuer̄ olt̄ in gœcla de Torny. ⁊ eccl̄e fuer̄  
Turchillo tali ratione. qđ post mortē suā debet  
ad eccl̄am redire cū aliis. in hōis de ead̄ uilla.  
hoc dixer̄ se audisse sed non uidisse. neq̄ <sup>fuisse</sup> inter  
/ De t̄ra Iost̄ de Satorde dñe qđ Eric fr̄ ei  
denominauit eā gœcl̄ de Kamey post mortē suā  
⁊ fr̄s ⁊ sororis sue.  
/ De Alcone dñe qđ in die. R. E. t̄ra iacebat  
in gœcla de Burg. ⁊ iacere debet.  
/ De t̄ra Leurie dñe qđ fuit in loca regis.  
sed Remiḡ ep̄s ostendit breuē regis Edw.  
p̄ quē Leuriū cū om̄i t̄ra dederit in ep̄sco  
patū in colig cū saca ⁊ soca.

The *clamores* section.

**Dicunt homines qui iurauerunt in Huntedune quod ecclesia S. Marie de burgo et terra qua ad eam pertinet fuit ecclesie de Torny sed abbas inuadiauit eam burgensibus. Rex Edwardus autem dedit eam Vitali et Bernardo presbiteris suis [somewhat uncertain reading] et ipsi uendiderunt hugoni camerario regis Edwardi. Hugo uero uendidit eam ii presbiteris de huntedune et habuerunt inde sigillum regis E. Eustachius modo habet eam sine liberatore et sine breui et sine saisitore.**

The jurors of Huntingdon say that the church of St Mary of the borough and the land which is annexed to it belonged to the church of Thorney, but the abbot gave it in pledge to the burgesses. Moreover, King Edward gave it to Vitalis and Bernard, his priests, and they sold it to Hugh, chamberlain to King Edward. Moreover, Hugh sold it to two priests of Huntingdon, and in respect of this they have the seal of King Edward. Eustace has it now without livery, without writ, and without seisin.

There are 27 of these in total, though not all of them identify a wrongdoer as clearly as this one does. They all suggest, however, that there are outstanding claims against the current holder of the land.

Not all of the entries in Domesday have a separate *clamores* section. Indeed, only three of them do. Most, however, perhaps all, have remarks like that found at the very beginning of the Hunts. entry: “Of these burgesses St Benedict of Ramsey had 10 with sake and soke and every custom except that they paid geld T.R.E. Eustace [the sheriff of Huntingdonshire] took them away wrongfully from the abbey and they are, with the others, in the king's hand.”

If time, go back and do the city of Hereford.

5. What does what we have just done tell us about the purpose(s) of the domesday survey? Some respectable scholars have differed greatly about the answer to this question.
6. What does it tell us about the changes the Conqueror made? The bottom line here probably should be (particularly if we buy the Sawyer article in *Reassessment*) that the notion of tenure-in-chief may be new and not much else. As we will see in subsequent weeks, however, the notion of tenure in chief turns out to be pretty important.

#### IV. THE CORONATION CHARTER OF HENRY I

For next time read the coronation charter of Henry I, the extracts from the Pipe Roll of Henry I, the extracts from the Dialogue of the Exchequer, and Milsom. I don't know how far we're going to get into Milsom, but we will try to begin.