

## Chapter 5

# Commentary

It is hard to see what limit can be fixed for a commentary on the records of the survey of Kent. If Larking had continued as he started – with a note on the etymology of the name ‘Dover’ (1869, p. 149) – his commentary would have run to many hundred pages. For my part I regret very much that he did not continue and complete it; but there is a limit on how much can usefully be said by any single person, even by someone as attuned to the subject as Larking. (We might all get on a little faster, perhaps, if editors stopped thinking that their readers expected them to hammer down every nail.) It seems to me a sensible rule – a point of etiquette if nothing more – that a commentary should not exceed the length of the text being commented upon. On one aspect of the evidence, the identification of the place-names, I aim for exhaustive coverage. For the rest, I pick and choose. If I am sure that I have something constructive to say, I allow myself to say it; if not, I hold my peace.

For obvious reasons, this commentary is organized around DB-Ke, the only surviving record of the survey which was intended to cover the entire county. Parallel passages from  $\alpha$  and B/xAug are cited in the appropriate places, if they provide some extra information, or some help in understanding DB; for more detailed comparison, the reader should make use of the concordances appended to the relevant chapters. (The same applies to  $\varepsilon$ , for what little  $\varepsilon$  is worth.) By analogy with the surviving D booklets, it seems fairly certain that the contents of DB-Ke’s preliminary section (1ra–2rb) would have been placed at the end of D-Ke. The DB scribe preferred to put them at the beginning; I have preferred to put them back at the end. This is, in any case, the order of business which I would recommend for anybody new to the subject: start with the main text and save the preliminaries for later.

The adjustments to the lester and hundred headings suggested in Table 1 are taken for granted here. Except where there is some room for doubt, I make no further comment.

I have thought that it might be helpful to mark the identifications which differ significantly from those in the Phillimore edition. For this purpose I have put small asterisks in the margin – which I hope will be visible enough for those readers who wish to find them, but not too distracting for those who prefer to ignore them.

### Index

2rb50–7) ‘Here are listed those holding lands in Kent.’ Apart from the king himself, this is a list of all the people who hold any land

in this county directly from the king. In comparison with other counties of similar size, the number of such tenants is small, because here it was being assumed that every piece of land was, in the absence of definite proof to the contrary, held from the earl of Kent, i.e. from the bishop of Bayeux (below, p. 170).

The ordering of the chapters does not conform exactly to the sequence that we might expect. From the way in which the DB scribe arranged the chapters in other booklets, it is not hard to work out what rules he had in mind (Flight 2006, pp. 137–40); but he did not always apply these rules strictly, and in DB-Ke, perhaps because the number of chapters was small, he allowed himself some laxity. In an ideal ordering, chapter 13 (Albert the chaplain) would follow chapter 8, and chapter 10 (the count of Boulogne) would come before chapter 9.

### 1. Land of the king

The king had kept only four manors in Kent for himself; but one of them (Dartford) was large, and another (Milton) was gigantic. A fifth manor (Wye) had ceased to be the king’s only recently, when it was given to the abbot of Battle (11vb40).

2va3) ‘King Willelm holds Tarentefort.’ Dartford TQ 5474. Including Woolwich TQ 4379, Chislehurst TQ 4469, Sutton TQ 5570, Wilmington TQ 5372, and Kingsdown TQ 5763.

3) ‘for one sulung and a half.’ Just once, the scribe tries Latinizing the word for ‘sulung’ (*pro uno solino et dimidio*); having tried it, he decides against. After this it is always a French word, *solin* in the singular, *solins* in the plural.

12) ‘seventy pounds by weight, one hundred and eleven shillings (at the rate) of twenty pence to the ora, and seven pounds and twenty-six pence by count.’ The treasury had a number of tricks for insulating the king (as landowner) from his failure (as king) to maintain the value of the currency. ‘By weight’ presumably meant what it says: the cash was weighed, pound by pound, not counted out, penny by penny. ‘Twenty pence to the ora’ meant a surcharge of 25 per cent. (An ora was a fifteenth of a pound, so theoretically 16 pence. ‘Twenty-five pence to the ounce’ or ‘fifteen pence to the shilling’ would have meant exactly the same thing, but the first formula was the conventional one.) The most stringent rule was ‘refined and weighed’, which in Kent applied to payments from Milton (2vb10) and Canterbury (2ra15).

15) ‘The men of the hundred (of Axstone) testify (this).’ A statement obtained by the second team of commissioners from the local jury. Do they know of any assets which ought to belong to this manor lost since the time of king Edward? Yes, they do. In particular, they report some dubious transactions on the part of the TRE sheriff of Kent, Oswald. From the language used here – ‘lost the sheriffdom’ – it would seem that he was removed from office some time before the death of the king; but he did not lose his lands till later. Confiscated from him, they were given *en bloc* to Hugo de Port. By 1086, Hugo had acknowledged that he held his

lands in Kent from the bishop of Bayeux; but I would guess that this was not initially the case. The manor of Hawley mentioned here (line 21) is described in chapter 5 (6ra3).

2va34) ‘King W(illelm) holds Elesford.’ Aylesford TQ 7258.

40) ‘Of this manor Ansgot holds next to Rochester as much land as is worth 1680 pence.’ Not identified. Ansgot was the owner of Great Delce (8va15).

42) ‘Also the bishop of Rochester, in exchange for the land on which the castle sits, has as much of this land as is worth 208 pence.’ Not identified. The Rochester sources say nothing about this exchange – nothing about the land that was lost, nothing about the land that was acquired in compensation.

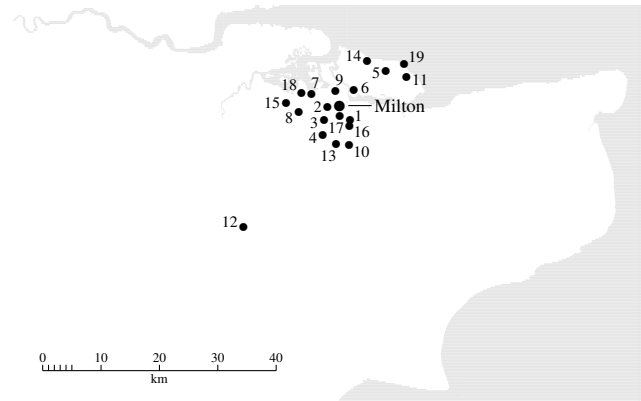
That silence is a warning. When William Camden came across this passage in DB – it is mentioned for the first time in the fourth edition of the *Britannia* – he took it to prove that the castle at Rochester had been built by the king (Camden 1594, p. 246), not, as he had previously (and rightly) assumed, by the bishop of Bayeux (1590, p. 248). At first sight, it does suggest that; but a single sentence in DB, purposely worded in a neutral manner, is not enough to prove the point. It is perfectly possible that bishop Odo had given this land to the church of Rochester, in the belief that the land was his to give, and that the commissioners themselves had discovered that it was not – that in fact that it was properly part of the manor of Aylesford. (The same reading would apply to the land in Ansgot’s possession.) It seems to me that every statement in DB which directly affects the king should be read as if it ended with a question mark: ‘This is how things are: is the king willing to let them stay as they are?’ In this instance, the silence of the Rochester sources is a strong hint that the king was *not* willing to let things stay as they were.

The itinerant justices who visited the county in the thirteenth century had greater powers than the commissioners who carried out the survey. They were there to try cases, not just to discover and ascertain the facts. Even so, in any case which concerned the king – a plea of *Quo warranto*, for instance – their judgment was only provisional. The report of their proceedings had to end with a clause reserving the right of the king to reopen the case, whenever he felt so inclined: *saluo iure regis, quando inde loqui uoluerit*, or something to that effect (often shortened to *saluo iure regis et cetera*, because, though it had to be said, it almost went without saying).

2va46) ‘King W(illelm) holds Middeltune.’ Milton (Regis) TQ 9065. By far the largest single manor in Kent. As well as a dozen villages surrounding Milton, it included nearly the whole of the isle of Sheppey; it also included a tract of territory in the Weald (most of Marden TQ 7444 and part of Goudhurst TQ 7237) which came to be called Marden hundred. Almost all the constituent places are known to have had churches of their own at the time of the survey.

2vb3) ‘The men of the Weald pay fifty shillings in lieu of guard duties and carrying duties.’ (I note in passing that ‘cartage’ is not a good translation for *avera*: one had to show up with a pack-horse, not a cart.)

6) ‘Of this manor Hugo de Port holds 8.25 sulungs which TRE were (associated) with the other sulungs in (the payment of) customs.’ The situation is (despite some corruption of the text) more clearly explained in B/xAug: ‘Of these 80 sulungs Hugo de Port holds 8.25 sulungs from the bishop of Bayeux’, and that leaves 71.75 sulungs to carry the burdens formerly carried by 80 (A4-17v4–9). Hugo’s share is separately described by four paragraphs



1 Bapchild	8 Hartlip	14 Minster
2 Bobbing	9 Iwade	15 Rainham
3 Borden	10 Kingsdown	16 Rodmersham
4 Bredgar	11 Leysdown	17 Sittingbourne
5 Eastchurch	12 Marden	18 Upchurch
6 Elmley	13 Milstead	19 Warden
7 Lower Halstow		

Figure 4. Places included in the description of Milton.

in chapter 5 (9rb1–15, where the assessments that are given add up to 8.375 sulungs, half a yoke more than the total reported here). All of this land belonged to Oswald (the sheriff) TRE; now it held by the bishop of Bayeux, and by Hugo from him. (This is how things are: is the king willing to let them stay as they are?)

10) ‘one hundred and forty pounds by fire and weight.’ In theory, that is, the treasury would melt down the coins, skim off the dross, and weigh the pure silver that was left: if the king was entitled to a pound, he was entitled to a pound’s weight of silver, however many coins that might take. But probably this never happened. (In the twelfth century, the most that the treasury did was test a sample.) On the evidence of an entry in DB-Sx – *l lib’ ad arsuram et pensum quae ualent lxx lib’* (fo. 16rb) – this formula was taken to mean a surcharge of 30 per cent.

2vb21) ‘King W(illelm) holds Faureshant.’ Faversham TR 0161, including Sheldwich TR 0156. Like Milton church (2vb16), Faversham church had been given to Saint Augustine’s (Bates 1998, no. 81); DB fails to mention this.

The entire manor passed out of the king’s domain in 1148, when it was given by king Stephan to the abbey which he and his wife had founded here. After 1154, not without some delay, his successor decided to let the donation stand (GREx 1156:65).

## 2. Land of the archbishop of Canterbury

The chapters describing the lands of the archbishopric (including chapter 4) are important not just for their content. This is where we can see most clearly how the survey text evolved from one version to the next. Trying not to repeat what I have said before (above, pp. 18–20), I summarize my thoughts on the subject with the help of a diagram.

In the B text the paragraphs covering the archbishop’s manors would have been listed in cadastral order, alternating with paragraphs for other people’s manors. Our only good clue to the wording used in B is the selection of extracts made for Saint Augustine’s, which includes one of the manors in question here (5ra9). Each paragraph, it seems, started something like this: ‘In the hundred of C— the archbishop has a manor N— and it is of the

food of the monks of Holy Trinity' (B/xAug/A4-19v15). The lests were indicated too, but I do not have any clear idea how these indications were fitted into the text.

Working from B, the C scribes compiled two booklets: one (C-1) for the manors held by the archbishop and his men, the other (C-2) for the manors assigned to the archbishop's monks. Doing only what they had done many times before, the C scribes would have made sure that these booklets included the cadastral indications (lests as well as hundreds) that were required. It was easy for them to decide which paragraphs belonged in C-2, provided that the B text included the necessary clause ('it is of the food of the monks' or something similar). But if that clause had been omitted, or if it was overlooked, a paragraph which ought to be copied into C-2 would be copied into C-1 instead – and that, I suggest, is how we should explain the fact that one of the monks' manors (Mershams) is, in DB, mistakenly listed among the archbishop's manors (3vb47).

Working from C, the D scribes decided to distribute the contents of C-1 into three separate sections: one (D-1) for the manors held either wholly or partly in domain, a second (D-2) for the manors held by the bishop of Rochester, and a third (D-3) for the manors held by the rest of the archbishop's knights. D-1 was basically a fair copy of C-1 – the scribe had only to omit the paragraphs reserved for the other sections – and the cadastral headings were reproduced successfully (as they were in D-4, an unaltered fair copy of C-2). D-2 and D-3 were concatenations of excerpts, and the scribe or scribes responsible did not make any serious attempt to supply the new cadastral headings made necessary by this reorganization of the text: in these two sections, the lest headings were uniformly absent, and the hundred headings only sporadically present. It was at this stage, I think, while the D text was being written, that some misunderstanding resulted in a serious mistake. The paragraph describing the manor of Teynham ought to have been included (the whole of it) in section D-1. That did not happen. What happened instead was that one of the constituent subparagraphs was included in section D-3, and the rest of the paragraph was lost.

Working from D, the DB scribe was responsible for one more blunder. Not understanding that the bishop of Rochester was one of the archbishop's tenants, he thought that section D-2 was out of place; so he decided that it ought to be moved and made into a separate chapter. D-1 and D-3 became DB-1 and DB-2 (ch. 2); D-4 became DB-3 (ch. 3); and D-2 became DB-4 (ch. 4).

Along these lines, I think, we can understand not just how the text changed its shape, but also how some of its errors came about. It is a great help, of course, that copies survive of a contemporary description of the archbishop's manors, text  $\alpha$ , drawn up (as I suppose) by the archbishop's own officials (above, p. 44). We also have a copy (C1, fos. 5va–c) of a schedule of the payments due from the archbishop's domain manors (from all of them, not just the ones in Kent), and this, though not of much relevance here, does give us some useful hints. Thanks to the survival of these documents, we have some means of knowing what DB ought to say, and thus of comparing what it ought to say with what it actually says.

Since 1070 – the previous archbishop having been deposed by the pope's legates and put into prison by the king – the church had been governed by a monk from Italy named Lanfranc, thoroughly competent, and thoroughly trusted by king Willelm. (Before this, Lanfranc had been the first abbot of the monastery founded by duke Willelm, as he then was, in Caen.) With the king's help, the

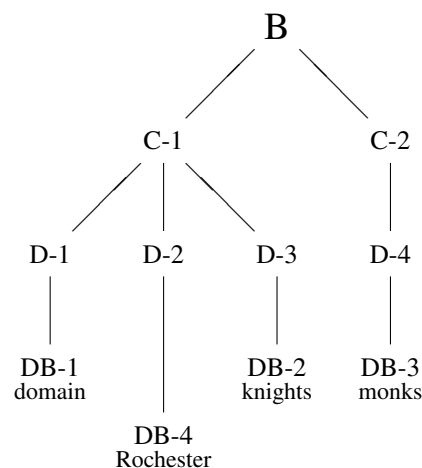


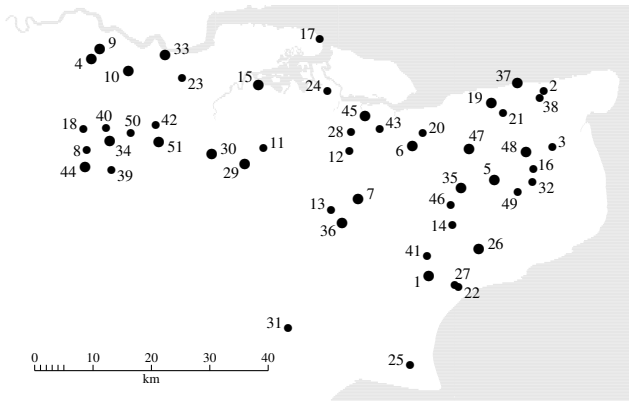
Figure 5. Evolution of the survey text as represented by chapters 2–4 of DB-Ke.

new archbishop was able to recover numerous manors and pieces of land which had passed into private hands (doc. 3). He rebuilt his cathedral church, and the monastery which was attached to it; he founded two hospitals and a church near Canterbury; after 1075 he took control of the bishopric of Rochester, reconstructing that church as well, and founding a new monastery next to it.

In return for the lands which he held from the king, the archbishop was required to supply the king, when the king asked for them, with sixty knights, properly armed and equipped. Like other barons, the archbishop found it convenient to distribute this load among his tenants, requiring some quota of knight's service from them, in return for the lands which they held from him. Surprising as it may seem, obligations of this sort were not among the matters which the survey was designed to investigate, and exact information is not to be looked for in DB.

(A list of the archbishop's knights – which, mostly, can be read as a description of the situation existing in the 1090s – was one of the documents added by later scribes at the end of manuscript C1 (above, p. 39). A later version of this list, extensively revised and annotated, was discovered and printed by Colvin (1964); and this, mostly, can be read as a description of the situation existing in the 1160s. I make use of this evidence in identifying some of the places referred to by DB, but do not discuss it any further than that.)

Lanfranc died in 1089, three years after the survey. Over the next 25 years, the archbishopric was in the king's hands for periods which add up to more than half of the time: in 1089–93, until a new archbishop was appointed, in the person of Anselm; in 1097–1100, while Anselm was in exile; in 1103–7, while he was in exile for the second time; and in 1109–14, while the see was vacant again. During these intervals, the king's agents who were managing the property thought only of short-term profits. Since they were aiming to raise as much money as possible for the king, while the opportunity lasted, they might be inclined to strike bargains with the church's tenants which would not be profitable in the longer run; and a passage in Edmer's *Historia novorum* seems to be complaining that this is what they did (ed. Rule 1884, p. 26). On the other hand, for as long as the archbishop remained in his hands, the king had a personal interest in making sure that the church's rights were exerted to the furthest extent, if not even a little further; and in that sense these periods of royal control may actually have helped to consolidate the church's authority over its possessions.



1 Aldington	18 Halstead	35 Petham
2 All Saints	19 Herne	36 Pluckley
3 Ash	20 Hernhill	37 Reculver
4 Bexley	21 Hoath	38 St Nicholas
5 Bishopsbourne	22 West Hythe	39 Sevenoaks
6 Boughton	23 Ifield	40 Shoreham
7 Charing	24 Iwade	41 Smeeth
8 Chevening	25 Lydd	42 Stansted
9 Crayford	26 Lyminge	43 Stone
10 Darenth	27 Lympne	44 Sundridge
11 Detling	28 Lyminge	45 Teynham
12 Doddington	29 Maidstone	46 Waltham
13 Egerton	30 East Malling	47 Westgate
14 Elmsted	31 Newenden	48 Wingham
15 Gillingham	32 Nonington	49 Womenswold
16 Goodnestone	33 Northfleet	50 Woodlands
17 Grain	34 Otford	51 Wrotham

Figure 6. Lands of the archbishop of Canterbury.

This chapter is the only one which starts with a preliminary section – two paragraphs taken out of the cadastral frame (probably by the DB scribe himself). The main text begins at 3ra19.

3ra3) ‘In the city of Canterbury the archbishop has twelve townsmen and thirty-two plots of land ... and one mill.’ The corresponding passage in  $\alpha$  (C1-2va32–7) is part of the description of the manor of Westgate (3va44). Putting the two passages together, we discover that this property was owned collectively by the priests of Saint Gregory’s church – a new establishment set up by archbishop Lanfranc on a site outside Northgate. (Its original purpose is explained by Lanfranc’s obit (Gibson 1978, p. 228); the church was refounded some forty years later as an Augustinian priory.)

The word which I translate as ‘plot of land’ is something of a puzzle. In doc. 2 it is *mansio*. In  $\alpha$  it is *mansura*, once *mansura terrae* (C1-2va49). In B/xAug, it is usually *mansura* or *mansura terrae* (e.g. A4-22r19); but alternatively it may be *mansio* or (once only and perhaps by error) *mansio terrae* (19r22). In DB the spelling oscillates between *mansura* and *masura*; here again we find the expression *mansura terrae*, as if it seemed necessary for the meaning to be made specific. As the word is used in these texts, however, it always means the same thing, regardless of whether the word *terrae* is attached to it or not: a *mansura* is a plot of land in a city or town (Canterbury, Rochester, Dover). To some degree it can be used interchangeably with *burgensis* (the sort of person expected to own such a plot) or with *domus* (the sort of building expected to stand on such a plot). (The corresponding English word was *haga*, which occurs as a gloss in doc. 2 and several times also in DB.) As far as I can see any sense in this, *mansura* is a hybrid word. In people’s minds it was certainly connected with

*mansio*; but it was also connected with *mensura*. It meant a measure of land (one plot marked out from the neighbouring plots) which was also a place to live and build a house on.

3ra7) ‘Sandwich lies in its own hundred.’ Apart from what it tells us about Sandwich, this paragraph is textually important, because versions of it survive in  $\alpha$ 1 (C4-71vb2–8),  $\alpha$ 2 (C1-3vb48–c10) and B/xAug (A4-21r16–v2), as well as in DB.

13) ‘In the year in which this survey was made, Sandwich paid fifty pounds by way of farm.’ The DB scribe thought it necessary to specify the year (he hesitated over the wording that he should use) because he wanted his readers to understand that the information was already out of date. From the second version of text  $\alpha$ , we can see what he was getting at: ‘Last year it paid fifty pounds ... and this year it it supposed to pay seventy pounds’ (C1-3vc4–7). So the statement was true at the time when the survey was conducted, in the middle of one financial year, but – as far as the DB scribe could tell – was no longer true at the time when he was writing, in the middle of the next.

3ra19) ‘The archbishop of Canterbury holds in domain Tarent. Darenth TQ 5671.

22) ‘To this manor belong five townsmen in Rochester paying 80 pence.’ The connection persisted. In the 1180s, when one such piece of land in the city was given to the monks of Rochester, archbishop Baldwin confirmed the grant ‘saving the service due to the manor of Darenth’ (Cheney and Jones 1986, no. 303). In the 1220s, after the monks had got possession of the whole manor of Darenth (in exchange for Lambeth), some of the citizens of Rochester were still paying the same rent that had been paid at the time of the survey (*pro quibusdam masagiis in Rofa in medio quadragesime vi sol’ et viii d’*, R3, fo. 72v, cf. Thorpe 1788, p. 7, from R4).

24) ‘... and ten shillings.’ This phrase, ostensibly part of the current value (‘fifteen pounds and ten shillings’), seems rather to be a fragment of a clause which is found complete in  $\alpha$ : ‘And ten shillings Ricard has of it inside his castle’ (C1-3rc43–4), i.e. the lowy of Tonbridge.

Text  $\alpha$  tells us explicitly that the next two manors, Otford and Sundridge, are in a hundred called *Codesede* (C1-3rc14). In the thirteenth century, without doubt, they belonged to Codsheath hundred; but so did Kemsing, which in DB seems to be firmly placed in Helmstree hundred (6vb5). We might think of inserting a hundred heading here, assuming that it was accidentally omitted. Alternatively we might think that DB is right as it stands, and that Otford and Sundridge were (whatever the archbishop might think) regarded by the commissioners as part of Axstone hundred. Or we might think of transposing the heading for Helmstree hundred (3ra42), on the assumption that it got itself misplaced in DB (and Kemsing then would cease to be a problem). It is hard to decide which solution is the best.

3ra26) ‘The same archbishop holds Otefort in domain.’ Otford TQ 5259. The manor included Shoreham TQ 5261, Halstead TQ 4861, Woodlands TQ 5761, Chevening TQ 4857, Sevenoaks TQ 5354, and a large tract of land in the Weald, where two-thirds of Summerden hundred belonged to the archbishop.

30) ‘Of this manor three thegns hold one sulung and a half.’ Here and later, the DB scribe saw an opportunity to shorten the text by amalgamating two or more sub-paragraphs; and that, by and large, is what he chose to do. For the details we have to go back to  $\alpha$ , where these three thegns are identified by name (C1-3rb48–52).

(All three of them turn out to be foreigners. The DB scribe did not think it absurd to use the Latinized English word *teignus* for a Frenchman. But he did not make a habit of it.)

‘What Haimo holds of it.’ Probably Chevening – but only if the tenant is Haimo the sheriff (or, not impossibly, his son).

‘What Rodbert the interpreter and Gosfrid de Ros hold of it.’ Possibly Robert held Halstead (which, with Preston TQ 5262 in Shoreham, belonged later to a family named de Maleville). Goisfrid held Lullingstone (repr. Castle Farm) TQ 5263 in Shoreham (Hasted 3:6): there is no doubt about that. (He also held some land in Wrotham (3rb27).)

3ra36) ‘The same archbishop holds Sondresse.’ Sundridge TQ 4854. Though they disagree slightly about the amount of it,  $\alpha$ , DB and the schedule of farms (C1, fo. 5va) all say that this manor is paying a farm of twenty odd pounds in addition to providing the archbishop with one knight. (None of them explains the reason for this abnormal arrangement.) Around 1170, when we hear of it next (Colvin 1964, p. 15), Sundridge was connected with two manors – Sibton and Eythorne – which had belonged to Robert son of Watso in the 1080s. But it is doubtful how that connection came about.

3ra43) ‘The same archbishop holds Bix.’ Bexley TQ 4973.

3ra49) ‘The same archbishop holds Erhede.’ Crayford TQ 5175. The place has changed its name twice. *Erhede* is a good DB spelling of the original name (not to be mistaken, though sometimes it has been, for Erith); after c. 1100 it came to be called Erde (below, p. 242); after c. 1500 it acquired its modern name.

At the time of the survey, Crayford was paying the archbishop twenty-one pounds, seemingly by way of farm (C1-5vb). Though his name is not mentioned in either  $\alpha$  or DB, the manor was probably held by Hugo de Port (who, here as elsewhere, would have stepped into the shoes of Oswald (C1-3rb28), the TRE sheriff of Kent). He was certainly in possession in the 1090s, but by then the tenure had been changed to knight’s service. Crayford descended to Hugo’s son Henric (R1, fo. 198v) and beyond (Colvin 1964, p. 30), with the rest of the barony of Port.

\* 3rb6) ‘The same archbishop holds in domain Metlinges.’ East Malling TQ 7057. There is no doubt about it: East Malling belonged to the archbishop; West Malling belonged to the bishop of Rochester and is listed in chapter 4 (5va36).

3rb12) ‘The same archbishop holds in domain Norfluet.’ Northfleet TQ 6274, including Ifield TQ 6570.

3rb20) ‘The same archbishop holds Brotham.’ Wrotham TQ 6159, including Stansted TQ 6062. The spelling ‘br’ for ‘wr’ occurs in the hundred heading as well as in the main entry, and again at 8vb41; evidently it is not just a momentary slip. I take it to be a French-speaking scribe’s attempt to represent the difference that he could hear between [wr] and [r]. A writ of Henric I, as it was copied into Rochester’s cartulary (R1, fo. 187r–v), spells the name *brotham* again; the rubric supplied by the scribe (who was fluent in English) has *uurotham*.

Changing his mind, the DB scribe keeps the Wrotham sub-paragraphs separate; but he still lumps the values together.

25) ‘Of this manor Willelm the dispenser holds one sulung.’ Probably part of Yaldham TQ 5858 in Wrotham (Hasted 5:15). The tenant seems to be the man who is called Willelm de Wrotham in the list of the archbishop’s knights (C1-7rb).

27) ‘Of the same manor Goisfrid (de Ros) holds from the archbishop one sulung.’ Part of Yaldham TQ 5858 in Wrotham, the manor called East or Great Yaldham (Hasted 5:15). For this and other land (3ra30), Goisfrid owed the service of one knight (C1-7rb). He gave tithes from Yaldham to the monks of Rochester (R1, fo. 189v). Unlike the manors held by Goisfrid from the bishop of Bayeux (6ra46), these lands did not pass to Eudo dapifer. When they are next heard of, they belong to Willelm Malet (d. 1170).

29) ‘Of the same manor Farman holds one yoke and a half from the archbishop.’ Text  $\alpha$  says ‘one sulung and a half’ (C4-71rb8 = C1-3rc25); since Farman has three ploughs at work here,  $\alpha$  is probably right. Possibly this is Ightham TQ 5956 – but only on the grounds that Ightham ought to be mentioned somewhere and does not seem to be mentioned anywhere else. Farman does not occur in the list of the archbishop’s knights: by the time that this list was compiled, Ightham probably belonged to Willelm son of Radulf (Colvin 1964, p. 16).

3rb36) ‘The same archbishop holds Meddestane.’ Maidstone TQ 7655, including Detling TQ 7958.

41) ‘Of this manor three knights hold from the archbishop four sulungs.’ Changing his mind again (but this time the decision sticks), the DB scribe amalgamates three sub-paragraphs. The details are in  $\alpha$  (C1-3ra49–54):

‘Radulf has one sulung.’ Preston TQ 7258 in Aylesford. The tenant is Radulf son of Turald (as is clear from doc. 1, and from later evidence connecting Preston with the barony of Talebot).

‘Willelm, bishop Gundulf’s brother, has two sulungs.’ Detling, or part of it. (Gundulf was bishop of Rochester (below, p. 169); the fact that he had a brother named Willelm is recorded only here.)

‘Anschitil de Ros has one sulung.’ Cossington TQ 7459 in Aylesford.

Detling and Preston (‘not far from the river Medway’) both appear in the list of manors restored to Christ Church by Willelm I (doc. 3).

48) ‘The monks of Canterbury have every year from two men of this manor twenty shillings.’ There are two passages in  $\alpha$  which seem to correspond with this (C1-3ra54–b3, 4vc43–8), but they differ from one another, and from DB, in some significant respects. The statement most consonant with later evidence is this: ‘Wulfric and Cole hold Burgericestune; there is half a sulung there, and from it they pay 100 pence to the altar of Holy Trinity; this half-sulung is included in the ten sulungs of Maidstone’ (C1-4vc). Without doubt, the place in question is Burston (repr. Buston Manor) TQ 7150 in Hunton (Hasted 5:151); the identification was first made by Kilburne (1659, p. 151). The monks of Christ Church continued to receive an annual payment of 100 pence from Burston (below, p. 166).

3va2) ‘The same archbishop holds Gelingham.’ Gillingham TQ 7868, including Grain TQ 8876.

7) ‘Of this manor a certain Frenchman holds land for one plough.’ Part of Gillingham, the manor called West Court TQ 7769 (Hasted 4:231). Text  $\alpha$  has this: ‘What Anschitil de Ros and Rodbert Brutin own (is worth) forty shillings’ (C1-3ra38–40). Anschitil drops out of the picture in DB: this anonymous Frenchman is sure to be Robert Brutin. There is a matching item in the list of the archbishop’s knights: ‘Robert Brutin, half’ (C1-7rb). A man called ‘Ricard Brutin of Gillingham’ gave tithes from this place to the monks of Rochester (R1, fo. 191r).

3va12) ‘The same archbishop holds Roculf.’ Reculver TR 2269. As the name is used here, it means something larger than the parish but much smaller than the thirteenth-century manor of Reculver. It is fairly sure to have included Hoath TR 2064; it may also have included the adjoining part of Thanet, All Saints TR 2767 and St Nicholas at Wade TR 2666. The manor is one that had been lost until Lanfranc got it back (doc. 3); there is no hint of that, however, in DB.

\* 3va20) ‘The same archbishop holds Nortone in domain.’ Herne TR 1865 under another name. DB’s *Nortone* is a slip of the pen: the name ought to be ‘Northwood’ (C1-2vc17, cf. C1-5va). This name – or this description, *bi norþan wude*, ‘to the north of the wood’ – seems to have covered the whole strip of open country, north of the Blean, from Seasalter across to Reculver. It could be applied to Whitstable; it could be applied to Swalecliffe; it could also be applied, as this entry proves, to a place in Reculver hundred. By the thirteenth century, the manor of Northwood had ceased to exist, and there is only one possible explanation for that: it must have been amalgamated with Reculver. So the place called ‘Northwood’ in 1086 – ‘Archbishop’s Northwood’ (C1-1vc) – must be one of the places which were included in the manor of Reculver later on. By elimination, that has to mean Herne.

As Harold Gough points out to me, it is only by adding the two assessments together – 8 sulungs for Reculver, 13 sulungs for Northwood – that one can come even close to the assessment of 26 sulungs reported in the charter of king Eadred (Sawyer 1968, no. 546) which granted this estate (Reculver in the widest sense) to Christ Church. As far as the mainland is concerned (some of the sulungs were in Thanet), the scope of the grant was fully worked out by Gough (1992): its limits seem to coincide very closely with the outward boundaries of Reculver, Hoath and Herne. Apparently the estate became divided into two equal parts, one of which (Reculver in a narrow sense) was lost for some length of time but eventually recovered. (Its assessment was reduced by 5 sulungs, somewhere along the line.) In the twelfth century, the parts were reunited, and the name Reculver could then revert to its tenth-century meaning.

From the schedule of the archbishop’s farms, we discover that the monks of Christ Church were getting a payment of eight pounds from Northwood (*et de hoc gablo habent monachi viii lib*’, C1, fo. 5vb). The payment continued; but by 1179 it was being described as ‘eight pounds from Reculver’ (*de Raculfre octo libras sterlingorum*, Holtzmann 1936, no. 181). Perhaps it should also be noted, by the way, that a cash payment of 140 pounds from the manors of Reculver and Boughton under Blean is said to have been allocated by archbishop Lanfranc to the two hospitals which he had founded near Canterbury (Cheney and Jones 1986, no. 96, cf. GREx 1167:201); but there is no word of that in either  $\alpha$  or DB, presumably because it was not the king’s business to know how the archbishop’s income was disposed of.

27) ‘Of this manor (of Northwood) Vitalis holds from the archbishop three sulungs and one yoke and twelve acres of land.’ More details in  $\alpha$ : ‘Of these sulungs Vitalis of Canterbury has one sulung and one yoke (on the mainland), and in Thanet a sulung and a half; he also has in Macebroc twelve acres, and half a sulung from the archbishop (called) Et ezilamerth’ (C1-2vc21–6). (The end of this sentence is hard to construe; I punctuate after ‘acres’ and take *Et* to mean *Æt*, but the name ‘ezilamerth’ is still a puzzle.) The history of this holding is well documented (MacMichael 1963, Colvin 1964, Urry 1967). Its centre was at Stourmouth TR 2562 (the church of which was given by Vitalis’s son to the

monks of Rochester); the land in Thanet was part of Sarre TR 2665. ‘Macebroc’ is a lost place called Makenbrook (TR 1767 approx.) in Herne (for help in fixing the location of which I am indebted to Harold Gough).

3va33) ‘The same archbishop holds Piteham.’ Petham TR 1351, including Waltham TR 1148 and Elmsted TR 1144.

39) ‘Of this manor Godefrid and Nigel hold one sulung and a half and a yoke.’ The holdings are described separately in  $\alpha$  (C1-2vb22–7):

‘Of these sulungs Godefrid the steward has half a sulung ... namely Suurling.’ Swarling TR 1352 in Petham.

‘... and Nigel has one sulung and one yoke of land.’ Whiteacre TR 1147 in Waltham. In the list of the archbishop’s knights Nigel (or a descendant of his) appears as Niel de Huatacra (C1-7rb).

By choosing to add these two sub-paragraphs together, the DB scribe commits himself to some arithmetic. He has no trouble with numbers, or with pounds, shillings and pence; but sulungs and yokes are another matter. Here he is adding ‘half a sulung’ to ‘one sulung and one yoke’; and the answer that he gets, though right in its way, is not correctly expressed. It ought to be ‘one sulung and three yokes’. Similar solecisms occur below. The scribe knew – what he could see at once, from the text in front of him – that a yoke was smaller than a sulung; but he shows no sign of knowing what fraction of a sulung it was. Even where he ought to do it, he never performs a carry which would prove that he was counting four yokes to a sulung. That is why he ends up with expressions like ‘one sulung and six yokes’ (3vb3), instead of ‘two sulungs and a half’, or ‘five sulungs and a half and three yokes’ (3vb44), instead of ‘six sulungs and one yoke’. It is clear from this (but not just from this) that the DB scribe was not acquainted with Kent.

42) ‘Of these (nine pounds) the monks get eight shillings a year.’ The payment came (and continued to come) from Swarling, ‘which belongs to the monks’ clothing’ (C1-2vb24), i.e. to the chamberer’s department.

3va44) ‘The same archbishop holds Estursete in domain.’ Westgate (repr. Westgate Court) TR 1458, in the western suburb of Canterbury. The hundred which DB calls by the same name was conterminous with the manor; it was later called Westgate hundred, and that name was current before 1109 (Brett and Gribbin 2004, no. 19).

3vb3) ‘Of this manor five men of the archbishop’s own one sulung and six yokes.’ The holdings are noted individually in  $\alpha$  (C1-2va9–22, 38–46); the DB scribe keeps Haimo’s separate (line 7) but amalgamates the others.

‘Of these seven sulungs Godefrid the steward has one sulung from the archbishop, (namely) Tenitune.’ Thanington TR 1356. Godefrid occurs twice in the list of the archbishop’s knights, apparently because he was, temporarily, in possession of someone else’s lands as well as his own (as might happen, for instance, if he had custody of an under-age heir). In one entry he is called Godefrid de Mellinge: this covers Thanington and lands in Sussex (including part of the manor of South Malling) which descended to his heirs. In the other he is called Godefrid de Tanintuna: this covers lands at East Lenham (4va2), Hunton (4vb36) and Swarling (3va39) which followed different trajectories (Colvin 1964, p. 17).

‘Also Vitalis has of them one yoke.’ Not identified.

‘Robert de Harges holds of them one yoke of land.’ Not identified.

‘Also Ægelward holds three yokes in Natinduna.’ Part of Nackington TR 1554.

‘Albold holds of the said sulungs one yoke, (namely) Wic.’ Wyke TR 1758 in St Martin’s parish (Hasted 11:160, Colvin 1964, p. 37).

7) ‘Of the same manor Haimo the sheriff holds half a sulung from the archbishop.’ Part of Milton TR 1255.

4ra10–18) ‘The same archbishop holds a village which is called Saint Martin. It belongs to (the manor of) Estursete and lies in the same hundred.’ This paragraph has got itself misplaced in DB (see below): it ought to be somewhere here. It refers to the tract of land east of the city which was (and continued to be) part of Westgate hundred.

11) ‘It defended itself for one sulung and a half.’ In fact for one sulung only, as is clear from  $\alpha$  (C1-2va23) and from what DB says below (line 17). Half of it was held in domain, the other half by Radulf (called ‘the chamberlain’ in  $\alpha$ ). Because the paragraph is out of place, DB has lost sight of the fact that this sulung counts as one of the seven sulungs of Westgate.

Another detached portion of this manor (and of this hundred) was the place which used to be called Harwich TR 1066 (before the name Whitstable shifted itself to this place, leaving the old village to be called Church Street instead). Harwich is the subject of a paper by Baldwin (1993) which, unfortunately, is flawed by a basic error. The author failed to realize (and the experts whom he consulted failed to explain to him) that in Kent (as also in Sussex) the English word ‘borough’ was used in two different senses – not just different but antithetical senses. The very fact that Harwich was a *borga* (i.e. a subdivision of a hundred) is proof that it was not a *burgus* (i.e. a town). Nevertheless, there is probably some value in Baldwin’s suggestion that Harwich superseded Seasalter (5ra15) as a port for Canterbury. Seasalter has the status of a town without the appearance of one; Harwich has the appearance without the status. Possibly Harwich was a new town, established on a site acquired by one of the archbishops, fronting on a sheltered inlet (later a lagoon, then a marsh, and now a golf course), which never reached the point of being formally recognized as a *burgus*. It did, for a time, have a church of its own (below, p. 234); but at some uncertain date the parish was merged with Seasalter – which is why the Seasalter/Whitstable boundary zigzags as it does.

Whitstable itself is not mentioned in DB, but may be silently included in the entry relating to Kingston (9vb35). From that we discover that Kingston had formerly belonged to archbishop Stigand; and possibly the case could be made that Stigand – who is never given credit for much – deserves to be recognized as the founder of Harwich.

3vb10) ‘The same archbishop holds in domain Burnes.’ Bishopsbourne TR 1852.

3vb16) ‘The same archbishop holds in domain Boltune.’ Boughton under Blean TR 0458, including Hernhill TR 0660.

3vb23) ‘The same archbishop holds in domain Cheringes.’ Charing TQ 9549, including Egerton TQ 9047.

23) ‘It defended itself for eight shillings.’ An uncorrected slip of the pen: the scribe wrote *sol’* for *solins*.

24) ‘In domain there is one sulung.’ Absent-mindedly, so it seems, the scribe includes an item of information which otherwise he always omits. From this hint, helped out by analogy, we may gather that the D-Ke text said something along these lines: ‘8 sulungs,

land for 40 ploughs, 1 sulung and 4.5 ploughs on the domain, 7 sulungs and 27 ploughs for the men, another 8.5 ploughs can be made’. If the DB scribe had followed his usual policy, that would have been reduced to this: ‘8 sulungs, land for 40 ploughs, on the domain 4.5 ploughs, the (villains and bordars) have 27 ploughs’, and so on. Losing concentration, he wrote *In dominio est unum solin* – and having written it, he let it stand.

3vb29) ‘The same archbishop holds Pluchelei.’ Pluckley TQ 9245. At the time of the survey, this manor was paying a farm of twenty pounds (C1-3ra29); and the absence of this payment from the schedule of farms (C1, fos. 5va–c) is a hint that the schedule is of slightly later date. By the 1090s, Pluckley had been granted out. It was held by Willelm Folet, as two knight’s fees (Colvin 1964, pp. 22–3); and it continued with his descendants (or, at least, with men who used the same surname).

3vb34) Probably here, certainly somewhere, a block of text has gone missing: a heading for Teynham hundred and a paragraph describing Teynham TQ 9663. A sub-paragraph concerning a half-sulung in Sheppey is included in the following section (4va2) – where Teynham hundred comes next after Calehill hundred – but the main entry has been lost.

Teynham was an important manor (this was where the archbishop had his vineyard), and its omission makes a large hole in the map. Only the basic facts are reported by  $\alpha$ : ‘Teynham is a manor of the archbishop’s; in the time of king Edward it defended itself for 5.5 sulungs; similarly now; it is appraised at 50 pounds’ (C1-2vc51-4). In the thirteenth century the churches of Lynsted TQ 9460, Doddington TQ 9357, Stone TQ 9861 and Iwade TQ 9067 were all regarded as chapels dependent on Teynham.

3vb35) ‘The same archbishop holds Wingheham in domain.’ Wingham TR 2457. Another large manor, including Ash TR 2858, Goodnestone TR 2554, Nonington TR 2552, and Womenswold TR 2250.

41) ‘Of this manor Willelm de Arcis holds one sulung in Fletes.’ Fleet TR 3060 in Ash (Hasted 9:209). Willelm was lord of Folkestone (9va16). Some documents from Christ Church refer to this holding as *Ratebourc* (doc. 1), meaning Richborough; that is just a different name for the same place. The whole area inside the walls of the Roman fort was included in the manor of Fleet (*Feet of fines*, p. 5).

44) ‘Of the same manor five men of the archbishop’s hold five sulungs and a half and three yokes.’ Text  $\alpha$  has the details (C1-2vb5–11):

‘Vitalis has one sulung.’ Walmestone TR 2559 in Wingham.

‘Wibert and Arnold have three sulungs.’ Probably Goss Hall TR 3058 and Knell TR 2860, both in Ash (Colvin 1964, p. 26).

‘Heringod has one sulung less ten acres.’ Probably Overland TR 2759 in Ash (Colvin 1964, p. 27). The DB scribe seems to have counted this holding as three yokes; perhaps that is what his source text said.

‘Godefrid the crossbowman has one sulung and a half.’ Probably Ratling TR 2453 in Nonington (Colvin 1964, p. 25). Not the same man as Godefrid the steward (3vb3).

3vb46) ‘In Longbridge hundred.’ There is a difficulty with the cadastral headings here. DB seems to say that we are still in Eastry lest, but that is sure to be wrong; a lest heading must have gone missing. Later on, the whole of Longbridge hundred was in Shrewinghope lest, which, by and large, is Wiwarleth lest under

another name. In DB some parts of Longbridge hundred – including Kennington (12vb25), Sevington and Ashford (13ra13) – are certainly reckoned to belong to Wiwarleth lest, and possibly that is the heading which we ought to supply here too. It is also possible, however, that the southern part of Longbridge hundred – just like the southern part of Bircholt hundred (4ra3) – fell within Limwar lest at the time of the survey, only later being added to Wiwarleth lest. That is what text  $\alpha$  seems to be telling us: speaking of Mersham, it says that ‘this manor lies in Limwar leth in the hundred of Longbridge’ (C1-4rb36–7). Since DB is certainly defective as it stands, and since  $\alpha$  is explicit, I supply the heading accordingly.

3vb47) ‘The same archbishop holds in domain Mersham.’ Mersham TR 0539. Not one the archbishop’s domain manors. It is missing from the list of farms (C1-5va–c); and  $\alpha$  (C1-4rb28) seem to prove that it should properly have been listed among the monks’ manors in chapter 3. In the thirteenth century, Mersham was supplying the monks with provisions for fourteen days (C4, fo. 69vb).

4ra2) ‘In Limwar lest, in Bircholt hundred.’ This is the southern part of Bircholt hundred – the part which belonged to the archbishop, the part which was in Limwar lest. The northern part of it was in Wiwarleth lest (13vb22).

4ra3) ‘The same archbishop holds Aldintone in domain.’ Aldington TR 0736, including Smeeth TR 0739. The manor also included extensive lands in the Weald and in the Marsh. (Lydd TR 0420 was originally part of Aldington; its connection with the Cinque Ports is a later complication.)

4ra10–18) This whole passage is misplaced: it ought to be part of the description of Westgate (3vb9). By some accident it came to be inserted here, in the middle of the Aldington paragraph. It is hard to understand how or when this dislocation occurred. (In DB the stray paragraph is exactly one column too late, but I do not see how that can be significant.) One possible conjecture might run something like this. Aldington’s lands in Romney Marsh, which later we find being called Saint Martin’s hundred (GREx 1199:68), might perhaps have already been called Saint Martin’s at the time of the survey; though this fact is not mentioned in  $\alpha$ , it might perhaps have been mentioned in the survey text; and that note might – perhaps – have been misread as an instruction to insert the Westgate sub-paragraph here. (This conjecture arose from my reading of an article by Robertson (1880); but he was starting from the opposite assumption – that  $\alpha$  is wrong and that DB is right as it stands. Misled by Somner’s description, he thought that  $\alpha$  consisted of edited extracts from DB (Robertson 1880, p. 352).) But I doubt whether we can be sure of anything, except that somebody blundered.

4ra19) The interrupted paragraph resumes: ‘In Romenel there are four score and five townsmen who belong to the archbishop’s manor of Aldington.’ Old Romney TR 0325.

This and all other passages that mention Romney appear to relate to Old Romney. There is nothing to indicate what sort of settlement existed (if any did) on the site of (New) Romney TR 0624. The name ‘Old Romney’, *Vetus Rumenel*, once it starts to occur, proves that both places existed, and that the new one was already the more important of the two: the expectation was that people would take *Rumenel* to mean (New) Romney unless they were told otherwise. By the early thirteenth century, the name *Vetus Rumenel* was appearing frequently; but I have no note of its occurrence before the 1160s (GREx 1165:109). Provisionally it look to me as if (New) Romney was a new town created by one of the early twelfth-century archbishops.

21) ‘Of the same manor of Aldinton there lies in Limes half a yoke and half a rod.’ Lympe TR 1134, including West Hythe TR 1234.

A rod is one quarter of a yoke, one sixteenth of a sulung. There is no piece of arithmetic to prove the point, but the pattern is clear enough: we hear of half-yokes, but not of any smaller fraction; we hear of one rod and three rods, but not of any larger number. So this is the way to count: one rod, half a yoke, three rods, one yoke, one yoke and one rod, one yoke and a half, one yoke and three rods, half a sulung, and so on. (If one is counting with half-rods, i.e. with thirty-seconds of a sulung, there is another point to watch out for. One does not say ‘three rods and a half’: the rule is to round up and then subtract. So the right thing to say is ‘one yoke less half a rod’ (7/32), ‘half a sulung less half a rod’ (15/32), ‘three yokes less half a rod’ (23/32), ‘one sulung less half a rod’ (31/32).)

23) ‘There are seven priest there who pay 1740 pence.’ A mysterious statement, and we get no help from  $\alpha$  in making sense of it. Apparently Lympe church is a minster on the verge of extinction. The ‘seven priests’ are never heard of again; the church became an ordinary parish church, on a par with the churches formerly subordinate to it (below, p. 228).

26) ‘Of the same manor (of Aldington) the count of Eu holds Estotinghes as one manor.’ Stowting TR 1241. (DB ignores the fact that Stowting was in Stowting hundred, but has headings which refer to this hundred four times elsewhere.) In  $\alpha$  the tenant is named as Willelm de Arcis (C1-2vb34); possibly he held the manor at farm from the count. Nothing much is known about this place before the thirteenth century, when Stephan Harengod (d. 1257) held the hundred of Stowting from the king and the manor of Stowting from the countess of Eu.

4ra32) ‘The same archbishop holds in domain Leminges.’ Lyminge TR 1640. According to doc. 3, ‘the minster of Lyminge with the lands and customs belonging to the same minster’ had been lost until they were given back to Christ Church by Willelm I; but we are given no hint of that in either  $\alpha$  or DB.

38) ‘Of this manor three men of the archbishop’s hold two sulungs and a half and half a yoke. Again we find the details in  $\alpha$  (C1-2vb50–4):

‘Rodbert son of Watso has, of these (seven sulungs), two sulungs in feod.’ Sibton TR 1541 in Lyminge. By around 1170 the manor belonged to Thomas son of Thomas son of Bernard (Colvin 1964, p. 15), continuing with his descendants (who adopted *fiz* Bernard as their surname). They also held Eythorne (5rb22) and Sundridge (3ra36).

‘Rodbert de Harges has half a sulung.’ Probably Waddenhall TR 1248 in Waltham, in Stowting hundred (Hasted 9:321); but the known connections of that place point towards Petham (3va33), not towards Lyminge.

‘Osbert Pasforera has half a yoke.’ Not identified.

One sulung of ‘almsland’ in Romney Marsh, mentioned here by  $\alpha$  (C1-2vb54–c9), is listed by DB at the end of chapter 3 (5rb43).

4ra43) ‘The same archbishop holds Newedene.’ Newenden TQ 8327. In  $\alpha$  we are told that Newenden was formerly dependent on Saltwood; it is listed among the monks’ lands for that reason (C1-4rc20). It was lost; it was recovered by Lanfranc (doc. 3), but not reunited with Saltwood, nor given back to the monks.

No church is mentioned, either by DB or by the lists printed in chapter 8. Probably Newenden was part of the parish of Sandhurst



(d16), only later becoming a small parish by itself. Both churches were in the archbishop's gift in the 1270s (T1, fos. 183v–4v).

### Land of his knights

The next stretch of text – which has all the properties of a separate chapter except that it lacks a number – covers those manors which were each held entirely by one of the archbishop's men. The cadastral headings are more than usually defective, but the defects are easily mended.

\* 4rb2) 'Ansgot (de Rovecestre) holds from the archbishop Forn- ingeham.' Charton TQ 5566 in Farningham (Hasted 2:518). The name by which this manor came to be called was derived from the Cheritone family, who took their name from Cheriton TR 1836. Willelm de Cheritone was a nephew and one of the heirs of Willelm fiz Helto, Ansgot's grandson (below, p. 262); he is known to have been in possession of this manor by 1184 (Moore 1918, vol. 1, pp. 182–3, Kerling 1973, p. 149, *Curia regis rolls*, vol. 12, p. 503).

4rb9) 'Radulf son of Unspac holds Elesford from the archbishop.' Eynsford TQ 5465. Radulf's descendants used the surname de Einesford; they were men of some importance.

\* 4rb17) 'Malger holds from the archbishop three yokes in Orpin- ton.' Little Orpington (repr. Mayfield Place) in Orpington (Hasted 2:103). The place was in Helmstree hundred (4vb1).

4rb23) 'Haimo the sheriff holds from the archbishop Briestede.' Brasted TQ 4655. Text  $\alpha$  puts Brasted in Westerham hundred; later evidence says the same.

4rb30) 'The count of Eu holds from the archbishop Olecumbe.' Ulcombe TQ 8449. Ulcombe was in Eythorne hundred.

\* 4rb37) 'Radulf son of Turald holds Boltone from the archbishop.' Boughton Monchelsea TQ 7749. The identification is certain. As DB says, this half-sulung was counted towards the six sulungs of the monks' manor of Hollingbourne (4vb19).

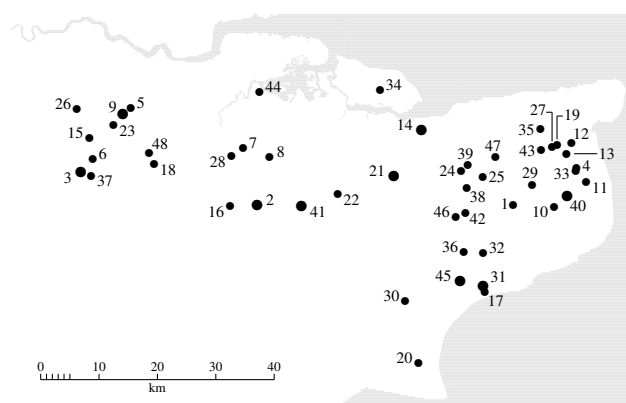
Possibly here, certainly somewhere, we would expect to find some mention of the manor of Wootton TR 2246 – in Barham (Kinghamford) hundred, in Borwar (Saint Augustine's) lest. This was one of the places given back to Christ Church by Willelm I (doc. 3). The later evidence relating to Wootton was pieced together by Colvin (1964, pp. 25–6); as I read it, the upshot is that in the 1090s Wootton would have belonged to a man named Radulf ('of Eastry', as he is called in the list of the archbishop's knights). But there is no visible trace, in either  $\alpha$  or DB, of either Wootton or Radulf.

4rb43) 'Ricard the archbishop's man holds from him Levelant.' Leaveland TR 0054.

4rb46) 'The same Ricard holds from the archbishop Grauenel.' Graveney TR 0562.

4va2) 'Godefrid the steward holds from the archbishop Lerham.' East Lenham TQ 9051 in Lenham (Hasted 5:427), in the part of the parish which belonged to Calehill hundred. (Lenham itself was in Eythorne hundred; it belonged to Saint Augustine's (12ra10).)

\* 4va7) 'The same Godefrid (the steward) holds from the archbishop in Sheppey half a sulung.' Stonepit TQ 9869 in Eastchurch. In the sixteenth century this part of Eastchurch parish was still in Teyn- ham hundred (Lambard 1576, p. 33). The corresponding sentence



1 Barham	17 Hythe	33 Statenborough
2 Boughton	18 Ightham	34 Stonepit
3 Brasted	19 Knell	35 Stourmouth
4 Buckland	20 Langport	36 Stowing
5 Charton	21 Leaveland	37 Sundridge
6 Chevening	22 East Lenham	38 Swarling
7 Cossington	23 Lullingstone	39 Thanington
8 Detling	24 Milton	40 Tilmanstone
9 Eynsford	25 Nackington	41 Ulcombe
10 Eythorne	26 Little Orpington	42 Waddenhall
11 Finglesham	27 Overland	43 Walmestone
12 Fleet	28 Preston	44 West Court
13 Goss Hall	29 Ratling	45 Westenhanger
14 Graveney	30 Ruckinge	46 Whiteacre
15 Halstead	31 Saltwood	47 Wyke
16 Hunton	32 Sibton	48 Yaldham

Figure 7. Lands of the archbishop's knights.

in  $\alpha$  (where the tenant is called Godefrid de Melling) is part of the paragraph for Teynham, the rest of which is missing from DB. As far as the land in Sheppey is concerned,  $\alpha$  adds only one fact: 'Osward held this (half) sulung from the archbishop in the time of king Edward' (C1-3ra4).

Land at Stonepit, valued at 960 pence, was recovered by arch- bishop Ricard in 1177 (GREx 1177:203). It had lapsed to the king in 1165, with other lands of Radulf Picot's (GREx 1165:108). I do not know how it had come to belong to him.

4va10) 'Osbern son of Letard holds one yoke from the archbishop in Bocoland.' Probably Buckland TR 3156 in Woodnesborough (Hasted 10:130). In  $\alpha$  this yoke is mentioned just briefly, in a sort of footnote attached to the Eastry paragraph (C1-3vb45); there may have been some doubt about its status. Tithes from a place called Buckland, presumably this place, had previously been given by Osbern to Saint Augustine's (Bates 1998, pp. 352–3).

4va40) 'Willelm (Folet) holds from the archbishop Tileman- stone.' Tilmanstone TR 3051. This and Willelm's other lands near Eastry are involved in some obscurity. The corresponding stretch of text in  $\alpha$  differs significantly between one version and the other (C4-71va31–40, C1-3vb24–44); it was, apparently, only in the second version that Willelm's name was mentioned. None of these lands continued with his descendants. By the 1170s, Tilmanstone was linked with the barony of Crevequer (Colvin 1964, p. 11).

4va12) 'Willelm Folet holds from the archbishop Flenguessam.' Probably Finglesham TR 3353 in Northbourne (Hasted 9:595); but the identification depends only on the resemblance of the name. Finglesham, later, like the rest of Northbourne, belonged to Saint Augustine's.

4va14) The same Willelm (Folet) holds Estenberge from the archbishop.' Statenborough TR 3155 in Eastry (Hasted 10:111).

4va16) 'These lands.' Referring to 4va12 and 4va14. The value clause covers them both.

4va17) 'Hugo de Montfort holds from the archbishop Salteode.' Saltwood TR 1535, including the town of Hythe TR 1634. From Hugo this manor descended to his son, Robert de Montfort, who gave Saltwood church to the monks of Le Bec, for the subordinate priory of Saint-Philbert-sur-Risle (Brett and Gribbin 2004, no. 34, cf. Saltman 1956, no. 297). After Robert's death, archbishop Anselm got possession of Saltwood and restored it to the monks (Brett and Gribbin 2004, no. 17). But that is not even nearly the end of the story.

The town of Hythe is mentioned only twice in DB. All we are told is that there were 225 townsmen belonging to Saltwood (line 22) and six belonging to Lyminge (4ra36).

\* 4va25) 'Willelm de Eddesham holds from the archbishop Berewic as one manor.' Westenhanger TR 1136 under another name (a name which survives as Berwick TR 1235 in Lympne). The history of Westenhanger was thoroughly muddled by Philipott (1659, pp. 302–3); Hasted (8:68–72) added to the confusion; and versions of his account are still in circulation (e.g. Martin and Martin 2001). There was only one manor here, with a name which was variably spelt and misspelt: a good thirteenth-century form would be *Ostringehangre*. Between the 1160s and the 1240s it was held from the archbishop by the family of Auberville (whose principal holding was the second-tier barony of Swingfield); through Joanna de Auberville (who had also inherited a share of the second-tier barony of Eynsford) the right descended to her son (by her second husband), Nicol de Crioil (d. 1303).

4va30) 'Robert de Romenel holds from the archbishop Langport.' Old Langport (lost) in Lydd TR 0420 (Hasted 8:425). The exact site of the manor is not known to me. Hasted puts it 'at the eastern part of this parish, near New Romney,' and gives the name of the current owner. Perhaps someone can find an estate map.

4va40) The paragraph added here is marked for insertion before 4va12 (see above).

### 3. Land of the archbishop's monks

Because of a decision made by the C scribes (above, p. 18), the paragraphs describing the manors assigned to the Canterbury monks came to form the contents of a separate chapter in DB. (Because of an error committed by the C scribes, one manor which ought to have been listed here – Mersham (3vb47) – came to be included in chapter 2 instead.) As we find them described in  $\alpha$ , the monks' manors are classified further: some of them are earmarked 'for the monk's food' (i.e. they belong to the cellarer's department), some 'for their clothing' (i.e. the chamberer's department). That information seems to have been carried forward into the B text – but these were internal arrangements, of no concern to the king, and DB says nothing about them.

The existence of this separate chapter reflects an understanding that the monks were, to some significant extent, independent from the archbishop. Perhaps not at first, but at any rate after he had appointed his own man as prior, archbishop Lanfranc seems to have allowed the monks to manage their own affairs. A letter of his, surviving accidentally, makes it clear that he regarded the monks' manors as belonging in a separate category from his own (Clover and Gibson 1979, p. 170); but the division was not recorded in any

formal document. After 1103, the monks of Rochester had a charter sealed by the king, archbishop and bishop which explicitly put them in possession of some of the church's manor. (By the 1140s, the bishop of Rochester was being sued by the monks of Rochester for flouting the terms of this charter.) The monks of Canterbury had no similar charter. (They did acquire a copy of the relevant sections of DB (above, p. 92), but it is doubtful what weight that evidence would have carried before the late twelfth century. Until then, DB did not have any special status. If it was read at all, it was read as a description of how things happened to have stood at the time of the survey, not as a prescription for how things ought to stand.) In any case, the devil is in the details. Were there some items of business about which the archbishop had to be consulted? Did he have some right of veto? If the monks were mismanaging their property, was the archbishop entitled to intervene? In the end, it means little to say that the monks were independent. The question is: in what respects? to what degree?

From the monks' point of view, these questions became especially acute when the archbishopric was in the king's hands – as it was bound to be from time to time, whenever an archbishop died; as it might also be on other occasions, if the king and the archbishop fell out. When the king's agents moved in to manage the archbishop's manors, should they, or should they not, take possession of the monks' manors too? As might be expected, the king's agents took one view, and the monks took the other. But there was nothing that the monks could do, beyond feeling sorry for themselves. It was archbishop Willelm (1123–36) – whose election the monks had bitterly resented because he was not a monk himself – who first attempted to provide them with some protection. In 1126, when he obtained a papal privilege for the monks, he saw to it that the text included a clause prohibiting 'that wicked and detestable custom' by which their property was exposed 'to devastation and plunder' after the death of an archbishop (Holtzmann 1936, no. 9). Could Lanfranc not have done something similar, fifty years before?

There is one minor point which seems worth noting. A subsequent privilege, dated 1179, confirming the possessions of the chamberer's department, includes a list of cash payments which came from ten manors in Kent (plus one in Essex) outside the monks' domain (Holtzmann 1936, no. 181, repeated in no. 250). All the same items occur in a schedule of incoming payments headed 'Gablum maneriorum' (C4, fos. 69vb–70ra, cf. T1, fos. 172r–v). Since some of them match up exactly with payments noted in DB, perhaps the reader may like to see the whole list: Reculver (120 pence), Farningham (1440), Burston (100), Berwick (240), Graveney (240), Swarling (96), Warehorne (240), Kennington (243), Hunton (1440), Pett (25). (I cannot say why the Christ Church monks were in receipt of a payment from Kennington (12vb25).)

4vb2) 'The archbishop of Canterbury holds Orpintun.' Orpington TQ 4666. A large manor, including St Mary Cray TQ 4768, Hayes TQ 4066, Downe TQ 4361, and Knockholt TQ 4658. Part of Orpington is listed separately in chapter 2 (4rb17), because it was held by one of the archbishop's knights.

In  $\alpha$  the Orpington paragraph ends with a sort of footnote: 'And of these same sulungs Dirman has half a sulung at Keston' (C1-4vb41). Part of Keston TQ 4162 continued to belong to the monks – they got nothing from it, as far as I can see, except a payment of 120 pence (C4, fo. 69vb) – but I cannot fix the site of it.

4vb9) 'The same archbishop holds Pecheham.' East Peckham TQ 6652.

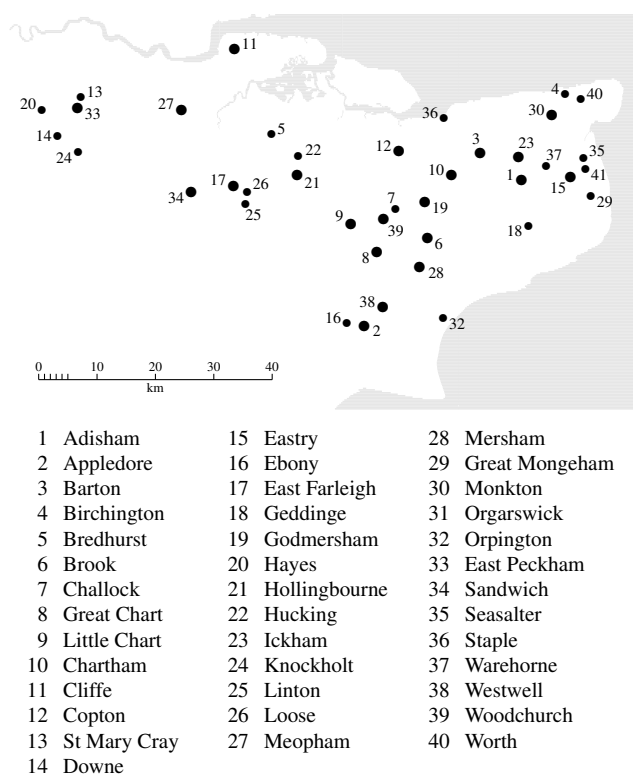


Figure 8. Lands of the archbishop's monks.

13) 'Of the land of this manor a man of the archbishop's holds half a sulung.' Part of Stockenbury TQ 6749 in East Peckham (Lawrence 1983). The circumstances are more clearly explained in  $\alpha$ : Edric, who held this half-sulung from king Edward, used to pay his geld (*scottum*) at East Peckham; but he did so of his own volition, not because the land belonged to Holy Trinity or the monks (C1-4vb1-6).

15) 'Of the same manor Ricard de Tonebrige holds two sulungs and one yoke.' Probably in or near Yalding TQ 6950. Three places are mentioned in doc. 1 as being in dispute between the archbishop and Ricard (called simply that, but certainly to be identified as Ricard son of Gislebert). In the past they had been owned by Adalred – evidently Æthelred of Yalding (14rb3) – and now they were owned by Ricard; but it is stated that Adalred had held them from the archbishop (meaning Stigand) and implied that Ricard ought to do the same – either that or else relinquish possession. This entry in DB tells us what the outcome was: Ricard retained possession (seemingly in gavelkind), as the archbishop's tenant. But it is clear that there was still some friction. In DB this holding of Ricard's is valued separately from the archbishop's; and  $\alpha$  complains that 'Ricard has never paid tax for these two sulungs and this yoke during the time that he has owned them' (C1-4va9).

4vb19) 'The same archbishop holds Hoilingeborde.' Hollingbourne TQ 8455, including Bredhurst TQ 7962 and Hucking TQ 8458. A thirteenth-century list still counts six sulungs for Hollingbourne (Brooks 1994, p. 368): that includes two sulungs at Goddington TQ 8654 in Harrietsham and half a sulung at 'Archbishop's Boughton', i.e. Boughton Monchelsea TQ 7749. This half-sulung is listed separately in chapter 2 (4rb37).

23) 'To this manor belongs half a sulung which has never paid tax. The bishop of Bayeux holds this from the archbishop by (payment of) gavel.' Not identified.

4vb25) 'The same archbishop holds Mepeham.' Meopham TQ 6466.

4vb31) 'The same archbishop holds Ferlaga.' East Farleigh TQ 7353, including Linton TQ 7550 as well as Hunton TQ 7249 and Loose TQ 7552 (see below). East Farleigh itself was in Rochester diocese; so was Hunton. Later evidence puts Linton and Loose in Canterbury diocese: Linton was a parish by itself, Loose church was a chapel of Maidstone. There may have been some adjustment of the diocesan boundary here. (A small detached portion of East Farleigh (TQ 7651) is shown on the six-inch map: this is the only isolated portion of either diocese.)

36) 'Of the land of this manor Godefrid holds half a sulung in feod.' The tenant is Godefrid the steward (C1-4va37), and the land he held was Hunton (C1-4vc35).

40) 'What Abel the monk holds.' The facts are spelt out in  $\alpha$ : 'And what Abel the monk holds of it by order of the archbishop is appraised at six pounds' (C1-4va32). And again: 'Loose is the monks' manor, and (it is earmarked) for their clothing. It defended itself for one sulung, which Abel the monk holds, and he pays a farm to the monks. This sulung belongs in the six sulungs of (East) Farleigh' (C1-4vc21).

It is not clear whether the DB scribe understood that Abel was a monk. When he uses the abbreviation *m<sup>o</sup>*, he normally expects us to read it as *modo*, 'now'. But it was also accepted shorthand for *monachus*, 'monk', and is occasionally used by the DB scribe in that sense: *Hertaldus m<sup>o</sup> S' Trinitatis* (DB-Mx-128vb), *tenent m<sup>o</sup> S' Nicolai* (DB-Bd-214vb).

4vb42) 'The same archbishop holds Clieue.' Cliffe TQ 7376.

4vb47) 'The same archbishop holds Monocstune.' Monkton TR 2765, including Birchington TR 3069 and Woodchurch TR 3268.

5ra3) 'The same archbishop holds Gecham.' Ickham TR 2258.

8) 'Of the land of this manor Willelm his man holds as much as is worth seven pounds.' Ruckinge TR 0233 (in Newchurch hundred). More details in  $\alpha$ : 'And what Willelm de Hedesham has of it, namely one sulung at Rocinges, is worth seven pounds' (C1-3vc46). This is one of the places recovered by archbishop Lanfranc (doc. 3). The tenant is the same man who held Westenhanger (4va25), but that manor follows a different trajectory. Ruckinge, when next we hear of it, was held from the archbishop, as one knight's fee, by Willelm son of Radulf (i.e. the son of the man who held Eynsford (4rb9) in 1086).

5ra9) 'The same archbishop holds Nordeude.' Northwood (repr. Barton) TR 1558, in the north-eastern suburb of Canterbury. The manor is called 'Northwood' both here and in  $\alpha$  (C1-3vb3); the thirteenth-century scribes who worked on a copy of the latter text show no sign of feeling uncomfortable with this name (C4-71va22). It seems likely, therefore, that *Norgate* (xAug/A4-19v15) was a miscorrection made at Saint Augustine's. But in any case the identification is certain.

5ra15) 'In the same Borwar lest there lies a small town by the name of Seseltre which properly belongs to the archbishop's kitchen, (but, as things stand now,) someone named Blize holds (it) from the monks.' Seasalter TR 0964. From this and the parallel entry in  $\alpha$  (C1-3vc52), it is clear that Seasalter was a special case. It is a borough, though only a small one; it is not in any hundred; by implication it is not assessed for geld (though there is land there for two ploughs). Apparently Seasalter was a town that had died, retaining the name and something of the status that went

with it, despite ceasing to function as a town. I have already noted the suggestion (Baldwin 1993) that trade was diverted to a new port called Harwich which was part of the archbishop's manor of Westgate (3va44).

The tenant's name is (or would be, but for a slip of the pen) Blit-tære in  $\alpha$ /C1 (3vc54). This was also the name of the man in charge of building operations at Saint Augustine's in September 1091: *praestantissimus artificum magister templique spectabilis dictator Blitherus* (Gocelin, *De translatione sancti Augustini*, lib. 1, cap. 9). Presumably the man is the same; but I do not know quite what one can make of that.

\* 5ra21) 'The same archbishop holds Prestetone.' Copton TR 0159 in Preston (Hasted 6:532).

5ra26) 'The same archbishop holds Certeham.' Chartham TR 1055.

5ra32) 'The same archbishop holds Gomersham.' Godmersham TR 0650, including Challock TR 0149.

5ra37) 'The same archbishop holds Certh.' Great Chart TQ 9741.

5ra42) 'The same archbishop holds Litelcert.' Little Chart TQ 9346.

\* 47) 'Of the land of this manor Willelm holds from the archbishop half a sulung.' More details in  $\alpha$ , where the tenant is called Willelm son of Hermenfrid and the land that he holds is called *Pette* (C1-4ra34). This Willelm occurs only once elsewhere, in a list of the archbishop's knights (C1-7rb); there is no entry to match this one in later lists. Despite the name, the place in question is not to be identified with Pett TQ 9649, which was part of the manor of Charing (3vb23). There is only one clue that I can find, and I do not know how far it can be trusted. Philipott (1659, p. 106) speaks of a manor called Pett, somewhere in Little Chart, which belonged at the time to the Darells of Calehill and paid a token rent to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. But Hasted does not mention it.

5rb1) 'The same archbishop holds Welle.' Westwell TQ 9947.

5rb8) 'The same archbishop holds Estrei.' Eastry TR 3154, including Worth TR 3356. Four places described in chapter 2 were or had been connected with the manor of Eastry (4va10-16, 4va40-2).

13) 'And in Getinge the monks of Canterbury hold half a sulung and one yoke and five acres.' Geddinge TR 2346 in Wootton (Hasted 9:369). In Hasted's time this part of Wootton was still considered to belong to Eastry hundred.

5rb18) DB seems to be saying that Adisham is in Eastry hundred – which is not impossible, but on the face of it not very likely. The places just north of Adisham – Ickham (5ra3) and Littlebourne (12ra30) – are both explicitly put in Downhamford hundred, which was part of Borwar (Saint Augustine's) lest; in the thirteenth century the same was true for Adisham. But  $\alpha$  says no less explicitly that Adisham is in Eastry lest, as well as being a 'hundred in itself' (C1-3vc34-6). Apparently there must have been some change in the cadastral pattern here, but it is hard to be sure what was happening.

5rb18) 'The same archbishop holds Edesham.' Adisham TR 2254, including Staple TR 2656 (in a detached portion of Downhamford hundred) and Great Mongeham TR 3451 (in Cornilo hundred).

22) 'Of the land of this manor two knights hold from the archbishop three sulungs.' This is the only paragraph in chapter 3

where the DB scribe had occasion to do what he had already done fairly consistently in chapter 2 – add sub-paragraphs together. The two knights are named and their holdings described in  $\alpha$  (C1-3vc28-34):

'Of these (seventeen) sulungs (of Adisham) Rodbert son of Watso has two, namely Egedorn.' Eythorne TR 2749 (in Eastry hundred), later held, like Sibton in Lyminge (4ra38), by the fiz Bernard family (Colvin 1964, pp. 15-16). This holding became attached to the archbishop's manor of Wingham (3vb35).

'... and Roger holds one (sulung) at Beraham.' Barham TR 2050 (in Barham hundred, as DB calls it, afterwards Kinghamford hundred). The tenant is the man called 'Roger the butler' in the list of the archbishop's knights (C1-7rb); his successors used the surname 'de Bereham'. This holding became attached to the archbishop's manor of Bishopsbourne (3vb10).

5rb28) 'The same archbishop holds Werahorne.' Warehorne TQ 9832. Though  $\alpha$  does not say so, it is not unlikely that this manor had been leased out. Later, the monks got nothing from it except a payment of 240 pence (C4, fo. 70ra).

5rb32) 'In Limwar lest, in Blackbourne hundred.' The 'seven hundreds of the Weald' are a conspicuous feature of the thirteenth-century landscape (below, p. 265), but their earlier history is obscure. Of the seven only three are mentioned in DB: Blackbourne, Rolvenden (9vb7, 11ra5) and Selbritten (4ra42). Whether the others existed or not cannot be said with certainty; but I would be strongly inclined to assume that they did. Only Blackbourne hundred is explicitly assigned to a lest – we are told three times that it belongs to Limwar lest (1va15, 2rb5, 5rb32) – but no doubt the same was true for as many of the others as existed.

5rb33) 'The same archbishop holds Apeldres.' Appledore TQ 9529, including Ebony TQ 9229. Said by  $\alpha$  to be held at farm by Robert de Romanel (C1-4ra41).

5rb38) '(In Wye hundred) the same archbishop holds a manor.' Brook TR 0644. More details, including the name of the place, in  $\alpha$  (C1-4rb51). Like Appledore, this manor was held at farm by Robert de Romanel.

5rb43) '(In Romney Marsh) the same archbishop holds Asmeslant.' Four yokes of land in Romney Marsh, collectively called 'almsland', detached from the manor of Lyminge and assigned to the monks of Christ Church. Text  $\alpha$  has two passages referring to this land, the longer of which spells out the facts like this: 'Of this sulung Willelm Folet has one yoke, namely Sturtune, and of the same sulung the said Robert (son of Watso) has (the other) three yokes, namely Ordgaesuice, Cassetuisle, and Eadraneland' (C1-2vb54-c9). The only straightforward identification here is Orgarswick TR 0830 (in Worth hundred).

5rb47) 'Sandwich is described above; it belongs to the monks' domain.' Referring back to 3ra7.

#### 4. Land of the bishop of Rochester

From the 1070s onwards, the bishop of Rochester was appointed by the archbishop, not by the king. With respect to the lands that he owned, he was one of the archbishop's tenants. For reasons indicated elsewhere (above, p 20), the DB scribe failed to realize this fact: he took it for granted that the bishop of Rochester, like every other bishop, held his lands directly from the king. Throughout this chapter, therefore, the reader needs to remember that DB is inadvertently misrepresenting the situation. Instead of 'The bishop

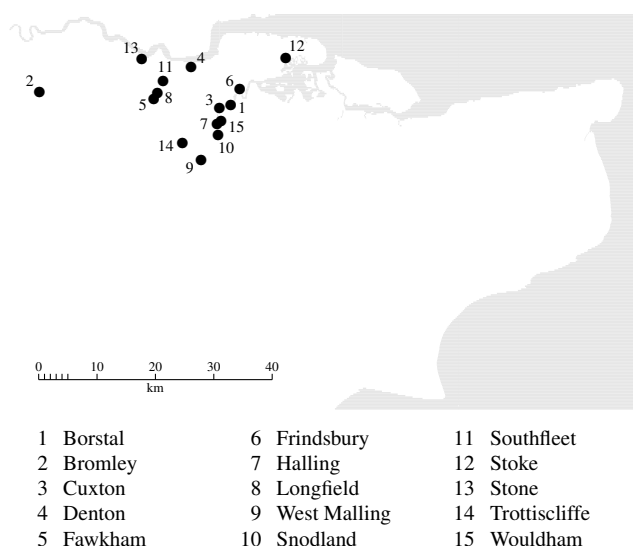


Figure 9. Lands of the bishop of Rochester.

of Rochester holds Southfleet’, the first paragraph ought to say ‘From the archbishop of Canterbury the bishop of Rochester holds Southfleet’; and every other paragraph ought to start: ‘The same bishop holds from the same archbishop ...’. It should also be borne in mind that the cadastral headings for this chapter are abnormally defective (above, p. 19); but those which are missing are easy to restore.

Outside Kent, the bishop owned only manor: Freckenham in Suffolk (D-Sk-381r), recovered for the church of Rochester by archbishop Lanfranc. One other valuable property, the manor of Haddenham in Buckinghamshire (DB-Bu-143vb), was bought by Lanfranc from the king, with the intention of donating it to Rochester; but the purchase had to be renegotiated with Willelm II, and the donation was not finalized till then (R1, fos. 212r–13r).

The bishop at the time of the survey was a monk from Le Bec named Gundulf, appointed by Lanfranc in 1077. Working together (though not as equal partners), the archbishop and bishop rebuilt the cathedral church and established a monastery next to it, like the one which already existed in Canterbury. The first monks are said (reliably, I think) to have arrived in 1083 (R3, fos. 27v, 30v–1r, Flight 1997a, p. 78), and a share of the church’s lands was earmarked for their subsistence. Originally that share consisted of Frindsbury (5vb14), Stoke (5vb28), Southfleet (5va2), Denton (5vb6) and Fawkham (5va17) in Kent, and Freckenham in Suffolk. When Freckenham was found to be too remote, Lanfranc was asked to give permission for a change in this arrangement: the bishop took that manor back, and the monks got Wouldham in exchange for it (R1, fo. 172r–v). By 1103, when the allocation was formally recorded for the first time, in a charter sealed by the king, archbishop and bishop (Johnson and Cronne 1956, no. 363), the monks had lost Fawkham as well – but they had made some gains which outweighed that loss, including the manor of Haddenham. From the point of view of the commissioners conducting the survey, these arrangements were of no interest (above, p. 45), and there is not one word about them in DB.

As the archbishop’s tenant, the bishop was required to provide him with ten knights – these ten being counted towards the sixty knights which the archbishop had to find for the king (C1-7rb). On this topic too, for the same reason, DB is uninformative. If somebody had sat down, twenty years after the survey, and com-

posed a description of the Rochester manors modelled on  $\alpha$ ’s description of the Canterbury manors (above, p. 43), he would have found himself writing quite a number of sentences like this: ‘Of these ten sulungs of Frindsbury, Goisfrid Talebot has half a sulung called Wickham which he holds from the bishop in feod of the land of the monks.’ (The place in question here is Wickham TQ 7267 in Strood, known to have been given to Goisfrid by bishop Gundulf (R1, fo. 186r), presumably not till after 1088.) Unluckily nobody thought of writing such a text, nor anything resembling it. It is arguable, perhaps, that the creation of holdings for the bishop’s knights did not get started before the 1090s; but DB’s silence proves nothing.

5va2) ‘The bishop of Rochester holds Sudffleta.’ Southfleet TQ 6171.

7) ‘... and an ounce of gold.’ The twelfth-century exchequer took an ounce of gold to be equivalent to 180 pence (e.g. GREX 1186:192), i.e. nine times as much as an ounce of silver.

5va9) ‘The same bishop holds Estanes.’ Stone TQ 5774.

15) ‘... and one porpoise.’ The DB scribe wrote this as a French word, *marsein* here, *marseins* (plural) in DB-Sx (17va). At Gillingham, at around this time, a porpoise was reckoned to be worth 48 pence (*et iiii sol’ pro i marsuino* (C1-5vb).

5va17) ‘The same bishop holds Fachesham.’ Fawkham TQ 5968. A manor redeemed by Lanfranc from the king (R1, fos. 172v–3r). The original plan (Lanfranc’s, by the way, not Gundulf’s) was that Fawkham should supply a fortnight’s food for the monks; but that arrangement did not last. When heard of next, this manor was held as two knight’s fees by Godefrid de Falcheham. (That information comes from a list of the bishop’s knights copied into the cartulary by a mid twelfth-century scribe (R1, fo. 217r) – the same man, it seems, who rewrote part of the list of parish churches (220v). The two leaves in question are a sheet which was substituted for one of the original sheets (Flight 1997a, p. 20); so the scribe may have been recopying this list from the sheet which was being discarded.)

5va22) ‘The same bishop holds Langafel.’ Longfield TQ 6069.

22) ‘... and Anschitil the priest (holds) from him.’ This is the only place in chapter 4 where DB takes a second step down the ladder of tenure. The bishop’s tenant is presumably to be identified as Anschitil archdeacon of Canterbury, whose existence is securely attested (e.g. R1, fo. 184v), and who seems to have been responsible for both dioceses. (Anschitil ‘archdeacon of Rochester’ occurs only in spurious documents; though Brett (1996, p. 19) is inclined to believe in him, for my part I feel fairly sure that he is a ghost.) In the thirteenth century and later, the manor of Longfield was regarded as a perquisite of the archdeaconry of Rochester.

5va25) ‘The same bishop holds Bronlei.’ Bromley TQ 4069.

5va31) ‘The same bishop holds Oldeham.’ Wouldham TQ 7164.

5va36) ‘The same bishop holds Mellingetes.’ West Malling TQ \* 6757.

5va41) ‘The same bishop holds Totesclieu.’ Trottiscliffe TQ 6460.

41) ‘TRE it defended itself for three sulungs, and now for one sulung.’ But there was some difference of opinion on this point, as we discover from  $\alpha$ 2 and  $\alpha$ 3 (above, p. 70).

Bishop Gundulf appears to have set his sights on the adjoining land to the west – 1.5 sulungs called Little Wrotham – in Wrotham

hundred. At the time of the survey, it was held by Radulf son of Turald (8vb41). After 1088 it came to belong to Goisfrid Talebot, and he gave it, or half of it, to the church of Rochester. A writ of Henric I, confirming this donation (Johnson and Cronne 1956, no. 647), specifies that only ‘a half of Little Wrotham’ is concerned; but the indications are that both halves were acquired, possibly on separate occasions. (There is no evidence, later on, connecting this place with the barony of Talebot; Rochester’s list of benefactors says flatly that Goisfrid ‘gave Little Wrotham’ (R3, fo. 82r, Thorpe 1769, p. 116); and in 1236 the holding is said to consist of 1.5 carucates (*Feet of fines*, p. 126).) More often than not, it was called Trottscliffe – which is some excuse, perhaps, for the ignorance displayed by Flight (1997a, p. 285). Until the 1270s, it was held as half a knight’s fee from the bishop of Rochester; then, in complicated circumstances (Thorpe 1769, pp. 660–1, Larking 1868, pp 334–8), the tenant was ousted and the bishop got possession. On the map it is represented by Wrotham Water TQ 6259 in Wrotham (Hasted 4:553).

5va46) ‘The same bishop holds Esnoiland.’ Snodland TQ 7061.

5vb1) ‘The same bishop holds Coclestane.’ Cuxton TQ 7066.

5vb6) ‘The same bishop holds Danitone.’ Denton TQ 6673. One of two manors reclaimed for the church by archbishop Lanfranc (doc. 3).

5vb10) ‘The same bishop holds Hallinges.’ Halling TQ 7063.

5vb14) ‘The same bishop holds Frandesberie.’ Frindsbury TQ 7469.

5vb19) ‘The same bishop holds Borchetelle.’ Borstal TQ 7267 in St Margaret’s parish (Hasted 4:164).

5vb24) ‘In Rochester the bishop (of Rochester) owned (TRE) and still owns (now) eighty plots of land which belong to Frindsbury and Borstal, his own manors.’ Apparently a single rent-collector was responsible for all these plots; perhaps a share of the proceeds went to the monks, Frindsbury being one of the manors which came to belong to them.

5vb28) ‘The same bishop holds Estoches.’ Stoke TQ 8275.

33) ‘This manor was and is the bishopric of Rochester’s, but earl Godwin in the time of king Edward bought it from the two men who held it from the (then) bishop. This sale was made without his (the bishop’s) knowledge. Afterwards, however, in the reign of king Willelm, archbishop Lanfranc proved his right to it against the bishop of Bayeux, and the church of Rochester is now in possession of it.’ Stoke and Denton (5vb6) are the two manors said to have been recovered for the church of Rochester by archbishop Lanfranc (doc. 3). The inclusion of this statement about Stoke (taken together with the absence of any similar statement about Denton) suggests that its ownership was still in contention at the time of the survey. I take it that the bishop of Bayeux had not altogether renounced his claim on this manor, and that archbishop Lanfranc and bishop Gundulf seized the opportunity (when the second team of commissioners came round) to have their version of the facts put on record. In 1088, once Odo had forfeited his lands, the case was decided by default in Rochester’s favour.

## 5. Land of the bishop of Bayeux

Apart from B/xAug, this chapter is our best proxy for B-Ke. Allowing for the fact that half of the paragraphs have been omitted (because they belong in some other chapter), allowing for the

fact that the paragraphs which remain have been shortened and reworded by the DB scribe, what we are looking at here is a third-hand copy of the B text for Kent. It is, in principle, still organized cadastrally, lest by lest and hundred by hundred. (If anyone had thought to start reorganizing it along feudal lines, the first step would have been to find the paragraphs relating to the domain manors and collect them together at the front of the chapter; and that has not been done.) On the other hand, the cadastral arrangement is not perfectly preserved here, as it is in B/xAug. In the second half of this chapter, we find ourselves jumping haphazardly between one lest and another. Because the same thing happens in other chapters (in every chapter where there was scope for it to happen), it is clear that this disorder originated in the C text. For one reason or another, the scribes responsible for that version of the text were following an order which was cadastral up to a point, but subject to some disruption. I suggest no specific explanation for this (one would have to begin by deciding whether the phenomenon is peculiar to C-Ke or whether it tended to affect the C text generally); but the result that we see is similar to what we might expect to see if some quires of the B text had got themselves shuffled, before the C text was compiled.

The size of this chapter – it is as long as all the others put together – is one sign of the special status enjoyed in this county by the bishop of Bayeux, by reason of his appointment as earl of Kent. There is another sign of it too. In many counties, the text tails off into a succession of short chapters (or sections of an omnibus chapter) covering the lands of people who owned very little, perhaps just a single small manor, but held what they did own directly from the king. That does not happen here. In Kent the presumption was that every manor (not counting the king’s) was held from the bishop of Bayeux, unless there was indisputable evidence to the contrary. Only a few people could prove that the presumption did not apply to them – the archbishop, three abbots, one priest, four barons – and that is why DB-Ke has relatively few chapters, and why it does not tail off towards the end. (The shape that the text would take, if the bishop were factored out, can be visualized with the help of text  $\varepsilon$  (chapter 6) – or, more concretely, with the help of an early twelfth-century list of the king’s tenants in chief (Flight 2005).)

In the years following the conquest, once the initial grab for land was over, many adjustments were needed before the new order was solidly bedded down. Bishop Odo could not help but be at the centre of things. In eastern Kent his interests collided with those of Hugo de Montfort, in western Kent with those of Ricard de Tonebrige; but it seems clear from DB that compromises had been worked out, well before the time of the survey, and had proved to be stable enough.

After 1070, Odo had many more differences to settle, both with the new archbishop and with the new abbot of Saint Augustine’s. If we focus on the contemporary evidence (ignoring the fictionalized accounts which were current a generation later), we will be struck by the amicable way in which matters of this kind were dealt with. If either party thought it necessary for the facts to be investigated more thoroughly, the case was taken to the county court, or to the hundred court (doc. 1); as far as we know, the bishop was invariably content to abide by the verdict of the court, and to make sure that his men did too, even if the land in question had been stolen from the church long before 1066. He was, after all, a bishop. And he understood how hard it could be for a church to hold onto its possessions when the rule of law broke down.

There was no occasion for DB to mention the fact – which in any case everyone knew – that bishop Odo had been arrested in 1082

and kept in prison ever since. He had not forfeited his lands: the assumption was that he might, one day, be released and reinstated. But all the manors which he held in domain had been taken into the king's hands, and we can see from DB (which did need to mention this) that they are being managed, for the time being, by men who answer to the king.

For the most part, the bishop's men were left in possession of the lands which he had distributed among them. There were some exceptions, however. One of his men, Adelold the chamberlain, had certainly been dispossessed, in or after 1082, presumably because he was implicated in the bishop's crimes. Except for one slip of the pen (7vb30), he is invariably referred to in the past tense: 'Adelold used to hold' (but does not hold any longer). Since we happen to know that he was still alive after 1087 – he was one of the people who, once the king was dead, caused trouble for the nuns of Caen (Haskins 1918, p. 63) – we can safely infer that he had lost his English possessions and been banished from the country. It would be up to the bishop to decide what should be done with these lands; since the bishop was, for the moment, incapable of making decisions, they were (as they should be) in the king's hands meanwhile. Two other men of the bishop's, Turald de Rovecestre and Herbert son of Ivo, seem to be caught in limbo: sometimes they are spoken of in the present tense (which seems enough to prove that they were both alive at the time), sometimes in the past tense. Though the evidence is hard to grasp, it looks as if they had also offended the king, but not as unforgivably as Adelold: they were allowed to keep their lands but told to stay out of England. By the time of the survey, the result was (so it seems) that Turald had transferred his lands to his son, and Herbert his to his nephew.

To allude very briefly to the sequel, the bishop was kept in prison till September 1087, when the king on his deathbed gave orders for his release. (The chroniclers put some gloomy prognostications into the old king's mouth, as of course they would: unlike the king, they knew what was going to happen next.) By the end of the year Odo was back in England, in attendance on his nephew, the new king. To what extent he was able to reestablish control over his lands and his men is far from clear; but at least he did regain possession of his castle at Rochester. The ineffectual rebellions which broke out in the early months of 1088 were, by all accounts, chiefly inspired by him. With the capture of Rochester castle by the king, Odo's career in England was finally brought to an end. He was allowed to return to Normandy, but his title and lands were all confiscated. He was never forgiven, never seen in England again.

After 1088, though some of the bishop's men survived the storm, a large amount of land became available for reallocation: the bishop's domain manors (other than those which belonged to the earldom of Kent), the lands of Adelold the chamberlain, the lands which were confiscated now (so it seems) from several other men (including Turald de Rovecestre's son and Herbert son of Ivo's nephew). Sooner or later (probably very soon), the forfeited lands were given to supporters of the king – some of them unknown in Kent at the time of the survey – whose loyalty had earned them a reward. The scale of this redistribution would not be matched again, except during the reign of king Stephan; and most of the changes which happened at that time were reversed in the reign of his successor.

When the bishop of Bayeux died, in 1097, it was at least faintly possible that the earldom of Kent – the title and the lands annexed to it – might be given to his nephew Willelm, count of Mortain (who was certainly his heir, if there was any inheritance). Appar-

ently count Willelm did make a bid for the earldom, only to be rebuffed by Henric I. Soon afterwards, the battle of Tinchebray (September 1106), where he fought on the losing side and was taken prisoner, extinguished all his hopes. Throughout the twelfth century, the earldom of Kent was left vacant; and the assets which went with it remained in the king's hands, dribbling away over time (Flight 1998).

6ra3) 'From the bishop of Bayeux Hugo de Port holds Hagelei.' Hawley TQ 5472 in Sutton (Hasted 2:353). Previously part of the manor of Dartford (2va21); the value clause includes a surcharge which only the king could demand.

6ra10) 'Helto holds Suinescamp from the bishop.' Swanscombe TQ 6073. Later the head of the barony of Talebot (below, p. 262).

6ra17) 'Radulf son of Turald holds from the bishop Ercele.' Hartley TQ 6166.

6ra21) '(The same) Radulf (son of Turald) holds from the bishop Eddintone.' Part of Dartford, the manor which came to be called Bicknors TQ 5473 (Hasted 2:308), treated as part of Addington (7rb45).

6ra26) 'Ansgot de Rovecestre holds from the bishop Mapledescam.' Part of Maplescombe TQ 5663.

6ra31) 'Adam son of Hubert holds from the bishop Redlege.' Riddle TQ 6163.

6ra36) 'Hugo de Port holds from the bishop Eisse.' Ash TQ 6064.

6ra46) 'Goisfrid de Ros holds (from the bishop) Lolingestone.' Part of Lullingstone TQ 5264, the manor called Lullingstone Ros (Hasted 2:541).

6rb1) 'From the bishop Malger holds Lolingestone.' Lullingstone TQ 5265. The name Lullingstone is 'Lulling's stone': it was not the same place as Lullingstone, 'Lulling's estate', but did tend to get confused with it.

6rb6) 'The same Malger holds in Ferlingeham (from the bishop) half a yoke of land.' Part of Farningham TQ 5466.

6rb11) 'The same Malger holds in Pinnedene half a sulung from the bishop.' Pinden TQ 5969 in Horton (Hasted 2:504).

6rb15) 'Osbern Pastforeire holds in Lolingeston half a sulung from the bishop.' Part of Lullingstone TQ 5264, the manor called Lullingstone Peyforer (Hasted 2:541).

6rb22) 'Wadard holds from the bishop half a sulung in Ferningeham.' Part of Farningham TQ 5466.

6rb29) 'The same Wadard holds from the bishop Malplescamp.' Maplescombe TQ 5663.

6rb33) 'Ernulv de Hesding holds (from the bishop) Ferningeham.' Part of Farningham TQ 5466.

6rb39) 'Anschtill de Ros holds Tarent from the bishop.' Darenth TQ 5671.

6rb45) 'In the same vill the same Anschtill de Ros has a manor from the bishop.' Part of Darenth TQ 5671.

6rb50) 'The same Anschtill (de Ros) holds from the bishop Hortune.' Horton (Kirby) TQ 5668. Anschtill occurs only once outside Kent, holding Tatsfield TQ 4156 in Surrey from the bishop of

xAug	DB	sulungs
	6va16 Erith	10
	3ra49 Crayford	4
	6va23 Howbury	1
17r9	6va28 East Wickham	2.25
17r11	12ra3 Plumstead	2.25
	?	.5

Table 16. Manors in Littleleigh hundred.

Bayeux (DB-Su-31va). Horton was the manor which came to be regarded as the head of the barony of Ros (below, p. 261).

6va6) ‘The same Anschitil (de Ros) holds from the bishop in the same manor half a sulung.’ Part of Horton TQ 5668.

6va10) ‘The same Anschitil (de Ros) holds from the bishop in the same manor one sulung.’ Part of Horton TQ 5668.

6va14) ‘These four manors are now (counted) as one manor.’ It is not clear what this means. ‘Three’ would make sense; ‘five’ would make sense; but which are the ‘four’ manors that we are supposed to be counting? The abnormal wording of 6rb45 should perhaps be taken as a hint that this paragraph was interpolated into the text (conjecturally by the second team of commissioners), and that ‘four’ ought to have been altered to ‘five’ accordingly.

6va15) ‘In Littleleigh hundred.’ If anyone were sanguine enough to think of reconstructing the B text, or of discovering some numerical pattern in the geld assessments, this hundred would be a good place to start. There are only five paragraphs to deal with, three of them in chapter 5, one each in chapters 2 and 7. Without running any serious risk, we can reassemble them into the order shown in Table 16; and from this it will seem quite likely that Littleleigh hundred carried (or had once carried) an assessment of 20 sulungs, divided among three places: 10 sulungs for Erith, 5 sulungs for Crayford (in a wide sense), 5 sulungs for Plumstead (in a wide sense). The only snag is that half a sulung has gone missing, and various explanations might be suggested for that, if it seemed worth making the effort to think them up.

\* 6va16) ‘Robert Latiner holds from the bishop Loisnes.’ Erith TQ 5078. Apparently Erith was one of the bishop’s domain manors, currently being administered for the king by Robert. As in Boxley (8vb34), that seems to have caused some difficulty, reflected by the misplacement of the assessment clause. What happened, I would guess, is that in some version of the text this clause was cancelled (by someone who supposed that a manor in the king’s hands should not have to pay geld) but then written back in again (by someone who was sure that it should), where there happened to be space for it.

6va23) ‘Ansgot (de Rovecestre) holds from the bishop Hou.’ Howbury TQ 5276 in Crayford (Hasted 2:277).

\* 6va28) ‘The abbot of St Augustine’s holds from the bishop of Bayeux Plumstede.’ East Wickham TQ 4676, treated as part of Plumstead (12ra3). A charter of bishop Odo’s, not closely datable, refers to the land described here. Because it ends with a one-line subscription by the king, the text was printed by Bates (1998, pp. 352–3); so I have not printed it again. The donations made and confirmed by the bishop are (i) half of the village of Plumstead, (ii) the land called ‘Smethetone’ (below, p. 183), and (iii) the tithes given to the abbey by some of his men, Adelold *cubicularius*, Osbern son of Letard and Osbern Paisforere. With

regard to East Wickham, the charter does not tell the whole story. It seems clear from the sequel that the bishop’s man, Anschitil de Ros, kept possession of the land by becoming the abbot’s tenant.

6va34) ‘Malger holds from the bishop Rochelei.’ Ruxley TQ 4870.

6va39) ‘Ernulf de Hesding holds from the bishop Ciresfel.’ Chelsfield TQ 4763. Later the head of a small second-tier barony (below, p. 258).

6va45) ‘Adam son of Hubert holds from the bishop Sudcrai.’ St Paul’s Cray TQ 4769. The identification is certain. North Cray and Foots Cray appear below (6vb12, 6vb48); St Mary Cray TQ 4768 does not appear because it was part of Orpington (4vb2); St Paul’s Cray is the place which is later found belonging to the honour of Eudo the steward. In the list of parish churches (chapter 8) this place is called *Rodulfescræi*; presumably this refers to Radulf the butler (6va50).

6va50) ‘The same Adam (son of Hubert) holds from the bishop Wicheham.’ West Wickham TQ 3864. Though DB does not say so, the manor had probably already been granted out to one of Adam’s men, Radulf the butler; St Paul’s Cray (6va45) and Cooling (9ra15) belonged to him as well.

Part of West Wickham was in Surrey at the time, and is described separately there: this is the land in Wallington hundred held for one hide by Adam son of Hubert from the bishop of Bayeux (DB-Sy-31vb). As was first seen by Davis (1934), the county boundary was realigned in 1176, at the instance of Radulf’s grandson (above, p. 4).

6vb5) ‘Goisfrid de Ros holds from the bishop Lasela.’ Kemsing TQ 5558, including Seal TQ 5556. All three of the manors which belonged to Goisfrid de Ros in 1086 – Kemsing, Lullingstone (6ra46), Otham (8rb21) – were subsequently acquired by Eudo the steward (d. 1119). The two smaller manors continued to be held by a family named de Ros, presumably descended from a relative of Goisfrid’s; Kemsing was held by Eudo in domain.

6vb12) ‘Anschitil de Ros holds from the bishop Craie.’ North Cray TQ 4871.

6vb16) ‘The same Anschitil (de Ros) holds from the bishop a second Craie.’ Part of North Cray TQ 4871.

6vb20) ‘These two lands (6vb12, 6vb16) were two manors in the time of king Edward. Now they have been made into one manor.’ Both entries refer to North Cray; it is the first one which mentions the church.

6vb22) ‘The bishop of Lisieux holds from the bishop of Bayeux Grenuiz.’ West Greenwich, meaning Deptford TQ 3777. (East Greenwich, meaning Greenwich TQ 3877, belonged to the monks of Gent, and is silently included with Lewisham (12vb41).)

Gislebert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux (1077–1101), held land from the king in several counties, from the bishop of Bayeux in Kent, Surrey (DB-Sy-31va–b) and Buckinghamshire (DB-Bu-144rb, 145ra bis), and from the bishop of London in Middlesex (DB-Mx-127va). These holdings were Gislebert’s personal property (the church of Lisieux had no claim on them). Most of them are later found belonging to the barony of Maminot, of which West Greenwich was the head (below, p. 257).

6vb29) ‘Haimo the sheriff holds from the bishop Altham.’ Eltham TQ 4274.



\* 6vb34) ‘The son of Turald de Rovecestre holds from the bishop Witenemers.’ Kidbrooke TQ 4076 under another name. DB’s *Witenemers* seems to be a bad spelling of the name which turns up later as Writtlemarsh, and then (from the sixteenth century onwards) as Wricklemarsh TQ 4075 in Charlton (Hasted 1:426, Egan 1993); it survives now only as a street-name. (Though frequently misspelt, by Hasted and others, it does not have an ‘s’ in the middle.)

In DB-Ke this is the only place where Radulf son of Turald is referred to as ‘Turald of Rochester’s son’, rather than by his own name. In D-Ex, however, he is ‘Tuold’s son’ more often than ‘Radulf’ (D-Ex-22v–5v); and that seems to me to suggest quite strongly that he held his lands, not in his own right, but as his father’s assignee.

6vb39) ‘Walter de Dowai holds from the bishop Lee.’ Lee TQ 3975. Walter de Dowai (often called ‘Walscin’, a diminutive form of the name) was not one of bishop Odo’s clients. He was an important man, holding manors in several counties directly from the king; and it is strange to find him here, holding just one small manor in Kent as a tenant of the bishop of Bayeux. But in fact, if I read the signs correctly, this was not his only property in Kent. It looks to me as if Walter was holding the manor of Lewisham at farm from the abbot of Gent (12vb41); and this paragraph relating to Lee should, I think, be interpreted in that light, as the expression of some unresolved dispute between the abbot and the bishop of Bayeux. The abbot was claiming (so I suppose) that this half-sulung at Lee was properly part of Lewisham. Until the case could be settled, Walter was in possession of it; but he was recorded provisionally as the bishop’s, not the abbot’s, tenant.

Nothing is heard later of any claim on the part of the abbot. It is said (and seems likely to be true) that Walter’s granddaughter Juliana was still in possession of Lee in the time of king Henry II. By the 1180s, however, the manor had come to belong to the Essex-based baron Gilebert de Montfichet (*Curia regis rolls*, vol. 4, p. 174) – it is, I would guess, a relevant fact that he was married to one of the daughters of Ricard de Luci – and it continued with his descendants, despite a suit brought against them by Juliana’s grandson (vol. 11, p. 516).

6vb43) ‘Willelm son of Oger holds from the bishop Cerletone.’ Charlton TQ 4177. The same man owned a prebend in Saint Martin’s of Dover (1va23); he also occurs as one of the bishop’s tenants in Buckinghamshire (DB-Bu-144va).

After 1088, Charlton was acquired by Robert Bloet (the king’s chancellor until his promotion to the bishopric of Lincoln in 1093) and subsequently given by him to the monks of Bermondsey (Smith 1980, no. 6, Davis 1913, no. 340).

6vb48) ‘The same Willelm (son of Oger) holds from the bishop Crai.’ Foots Cray TQ 4771. The TRE tenant is named as Goduin Fot (7ra2); the place-name is *Fotescrei* in the list of parish churches (chapter 8).

7ra3) ‘Anschitill holds from the bishop Croctune.’ Crofton TQ 4566 in Orpington (Hasted 2:101).

7ra8) ‘Gislebert Maminot holds from the bishop Codeham.’ Cudham TQ 4459. A namesake of the bishop of Lisieux (6vb22), and doubtless a close relative of his. He also held a large manor in Buckinghamshire, that too from the bishop of Bayeux (DB-Bu-144vb). Like bishop Gislebert’s, this man’s lands became part of the barony of Maminot.

7ra13) ‘The same Gislebert (Maminot) holds from the bishop Chestan.’ Keston TQ 4162.

7ra17) ‘Hugo nephew of Herbert holds from the bishop Sentlinge.’ Sandling (or Sentling) in St Mary Cray TQ 4768 (Hasted 2:114). Text  $\alpha$  has a paragraph describing this manor (C1-4vb44), presumably because the archbishop had not altogether despaired of getting it back. But the claim was never made good. With Hugo’s other lands, Sandling resurfaces later as part of the honour of Peverel of Dover.

21) ‘Bonde held it from the archbishop.’ In  $\alpha$  the TRE tenant is differently named: *Ælfgeat* in C1, *Wulfgeat* in C4. (One or other of the coloured initials is wrong. Since a man named *Uluiet* appears in DB as Hugo’s predecessor at two other manors (8rb11, 8rb17), C4 is probably right.)

7ra22) ‘Ansgot de Rovecestre holds from the bishop Bacheham.’ Beckenham TQ 3769.

7ra28) ‘Adam (son of Hubert) holds from the bishop Leleburne.’ Leybourne TQ 6858.

7ra36) ‘Anschitil (de Ros) holds from the bishop Elentun.’ Allington TQ 7457.

7ra42) ‘Haimo the sheriff holds from the bishop Dictune.’ Ditton TQ 7058.

7ra48) ‘Vitalis holds from the bishop Sifletone.’ Siffleton (lost) in Ditton TQ 7058 (Hasted 4:457).

7rb6) ‘Radulf son of Tuold holds from the bishop Aiglessa.’ Eccles (lost) in Aylesford (Hasted 4:432).

7rb14) ‘Hugo de Port holds from the bishop Pellesorde.’ Paddlesworth TQ 6862.

7rb20) ‘The same Hugo (de Port) holds from the bishop Riesce.’ Ryarsh TQ 6759.

7rb26) ‘The same Hugo (de Port) holds from the bishop Ofham.’ Part of Offham TQ 6658.

7rb31) ‘Rannulf de Columbels holds from the bishop Essedene.’ Nashenden TQ 7365 in St Margaret’s (Hasted 4:166). The spelling is bad: a good DB spelling would be *Nessendene*. Local scribes were still writing the name with initial *hn* or *nh* in the second half of the twelfth century.

The manor is correctly placed in Larkfield hundred; only much later did it come to be included in the liberty of the city of Rochester, as that was demarcated in the fifteenth century.

7rb36) ‘Rotbert Latiner holds at farm from the king Totintune.’ Tottington TQ 7360 in Aylesford (Hasted 4:431).

37) ‘of the new gift of the bishop of Bayeux’. There are seventeen entries in chapter 5 which note that the king has possession of some land which might have been expected to belong to the bishop; in nine instances the land is said explicitly to be ‘of the bishop’s new gift’. (The word ‘gift’, no doubt, is a euphemism: the king has requisitioned the land, and the bishop has made no objection.) This entry for Tottington is the only one in which a whole manor is concerned. Elsewhere the king has acquired just some part of the manor, sometimes only a very small part. By and large, the statements referring to these acquisitions of the king’s resemble those which refer to the creation of the lowy of Tonbridge; in fact, in four instances the same manor which has lost

some land to the king has also lost some land to Ricard son of Gislebert.

I do not know that anyone has ever suggested an explanation for these entries. It occurs to me that they may (mostly) relate to the creation of a hunting reserve for the king – specifically the park called Bockingfold (Hasted 5:163). (The name survives as Bockingfold TQ 7044 in Yalding.) The core of this park, I would guess, was a tract of woodland that belonged to the manor of Tottington; but it would also have included outlying portions of numerous other manors, just as the lowy of Tonbridge did. Not much later, both the park and the manor of Tottington would have been given to Haimo the sheriff; and from him they would have descended eventually to Hamo de Crevequer (d. 1263), who is known to have owned them both. (Hamo held Bockingfold in domain; one of his men held Tottington.) This seems a promising idea to me, but it needs to be worked out.

7rb42) ‘The same Rotbert (Latiner) holds in Totintune at farm from the king one yoke.’ Part of Tottington TQ 7360 in Aylesford.

7rb45) ‘Radulf son of Turald holds from the bishop Eddintune.’ Addington TQ 6558.

7va1) ‘(The same) Radulf son of Turoid holds from the bishop Meletune.’ Milton TQ 6573.

7va7) ‘The same Radulf (son of Turoid) holds from the bishop Ledesdune.’ Luddesdown TQ 6666.

7va15) ‘Herbert son of Ivo holds from the bishop Grauesham.’ Gravesend TQ 6373.

7va21) ‘Wadard holds from the bishop Notestede.’ Nurstead TQ 6468.

7va25) ‘Anschitil (de Ros) holds from the bishop Ofefham.’ Offham TQ 6658.

7va33) ‘Radulf de Curbespine holds from the bishop Berlinge.’ Birling TQ 6860.

7va40) ‘The same Radulf (de Curbespine) holds from the bishop Borham.’ Burham TQ 7161.

45) ‘The bishop of Rochester has the houses of this manor; they are worth seven shillings.’ To be read alongside a document dating from c. 1120 (R1, fos. 198v–9v) in which Radulf the clerk, on certain conditions, surrenders the rents from various properties, in and around Rochester, which are paid to him because he has possession of Wouldham church. One of the items is this: ‘From five acres belonging to the church of Wouldham in exchange for the cemetery of Burham, seven shillings and four pence.’ (The tenants are named: they pay 16, 48, and 24 pence respectively.) I take this to mean that bishop Gundulf had allowed Burham church to have its own cemetery, subject to some compensation for Wouldham church, and that these plots of land in the city (with the arable land attached to them) were given to the bishop for that purpose.

7va47) ‘Corbin holds from the bishop Pecheham.’ West Peckham TQ 6452.

7vb2) ‘Ricard de Tonebrige holds from the bishop Haslow.’ Hadlow TQ 6349. This entry and the entry for Tudeley (7vb10) are the visible results of a compromise worked out between Ricard son of Gislebert and the bishop of Bayeux. Ricard has conceded that these two manors are outside the lowy of Tonbridge: they are held by him from the bishop, and they are covered by the regular

system of local government, belonging respectively to Littlefield and Watchlingstone hundreds.

7vb7) ‘Radulf son of Turoid holds from the bishop half a sulung in Estochingeberge.’ Stockenbury TQ 6749 in East Peckham (Hasted 5:102).

7vb10) ‘Ricard de Tonebrige holds from the bishop Tuedeley.’ Tudeley TQ 6245. This is the only explicit mention of a place in Watchlingstone hundred.

7vb13) ‘Hugo nephew of Herbert holds from the bishop Hariardesham.’ Harrietsam TQ 8753. (In 1262, when the owner of this manor leased it to someone else for a term of seven years, he reserved to himself the advowsons of two churches, Harrietsam and Staplehurst (*Calendar of patent rolls 1258–66*, p. 265). I mention this because the history of Staplehurst TQ 7842 is very obscure, and this seems to be one of the earliest known facts.)

7vb19) ‘The same Hugo (nephew of Herbert) holds from the bishop Fereburne.’ East Fairbourne (repr. Fairbourne Manor Farm) TQ 8651 in Harrietsam (Hasted 5:450).

7vb23) ‘The same Hugo (nephew of Herbert) holds from the bishop one yoke of free land in Selesburne.’ Not identified, but probably not far from Goddington TQ 8654 in Harrietsam. A payment due to the prior of Christ Church is said to arise from Goddington and ‘Seldresbourne’ (*Calendar of inquisitions post mortem*, vol. 6, p. 109).

7vb26) ‘The same Hugo (nephew of Herbert) and Adelold the chamberlain hold from the bishop Fredenestede.’ Frinsted TQ 8957. Hugo’s holding is Wrinsted TQ 8955 in Frinsted (Hasted 5:556), with a distant dependency at Ashurst TQ 5139 in Watchlingstone hundred. Adelold’s holding had presumably been confiscated, with the rest of his lands, before 1086. Some time later, it seems to have been divided between Haimo (son of Haimo) the sheriff and Willelm de Albigni. Haimo’s share, Yoke (repr. Yoke’s Court) TQ 8956 in Frinsted, came to belong to the barony of Crevequer; it was held jointly with a manor in Lullingstone (6rb15) by the Peyforer family. Willelm’s share, Frinsted itself, came to belong to the honour of the earl of Arundel; in or shortly before the 1230s, it was owned by a man named Hamo de Wode. The holding disintegrated from the 1230s onwards, as Hamo’s daughters sold it off piece by piece. The owner of Yoke acquired most of the land (*Feet of fines*, p. 138 etc.), but not Frinsted church, which was bought by the owner of Wrinsted (p. 252).

7vb30) ‘Adelold (used to hold) from the bishop Esledes.’ Leeds TQ 8253. Though DB has *ten*, as if for *tenet*, ‘holds’, B/xAug has *tenebat* (17r15); and the past tense is certainly right. It is clear that Adelold had been dispossessed, and that his manors were all, as xAug says of Leeds, ‘in the king’s hands’.

36) ‘Of this manor the abbot of Saint Augustine’s has half a sulung ... in exchange for the bishop of Bayeux’s park.’ The bishop’s park was at Trenley TR 1959 in Wickhambreaux (9rb43). The land given to the abbot in exchange was at Garrington TR 2056 in Littlebourne (12ra36); but I cannot explain how that could be regarded as being ‘of the manor’ of Leeds.

37) ‘The count of Eu has four dens of this manor.’ In Sussex, says B/xAug (17r19).

7vb39) ‘Ansgot de Rovecestre holds from the bishop Audintone.’ Aldington TQ 8157.

- 7vb44) ‘The same Ansgot (de Rovecestre) holds from the bishop Stochingeberge.’ Stockbury TQ 8461. As well as his lands in Kent, Ansgot held the large manor of Preston (Bissett) SP 6529 in Buckinghamshire (DB-Bu-144vb, where he is called Ansgot de Ros). After 1088, Stockbury became the head of a small first-tier barony, which had a rather complicated history (below, p. 262).
- \* 7vb48) ‘Hugo de Port holds (from the bishop) Alnoitone.’ Elnothington TQ 8356 in Hollingbourne (Hasted 5:465, Grove 1985). Later the head of the barony of Port in Kent (below, p. 261).
- 8ra5) ‘Adam son of Hubert holds from the bishop Sudtone.’ Sutton (Valence) TQ 8049.
- 8ra10) ‘The same Adam (son of Hubert) holds from the bishop Certh.’ Chart Sutton TQ 8049.
- 8ra15) ‘The same Adam (son of Hubert) holds from the bishop Sudtone.’ East Sutton TQ 8249.
- 8ra20) ‘The same Adam (son of Hubert) holds from the bishop Bogelei.’ Bowley TQ 8949 in Boughton Malherbe (Hasted 5:411).
- 24) ‘Of this manor (Bowley) a man of Adam’s has one sulung. It is called Merlea.’ Marley TQ 8853 in Harrietsham. (‘A man of Adam’s’, like *unus homo eius* (8va35), not ‘a man (called) Adam’: the name *Adam* is often not declined.) Tithes from Bowley and Marley were given by Adam to Anschitil archdeacon of Canterbury, and by Anschitil to the monks of Rochester; the donation was later confirmed by Adam’s brother, Eudo the steward (R1, fos. 184r–v, 196r).
- 8ra28) ‘The same Adam (son of Hubert) holds from the bishop Languelei.’ Langley TQ 8051.
- 8ra33) ‘The same Adam (son of Hubert) holds from the bishop Otringedene.’ Otterden TQ 9454.
- 8ra39) ‘The same Adam (son of Hubert) holds from the bishop Estselue.’ Old (Middle) Shelve TQ 9251 in Lenham (Hasted 5:434).
- 8ra43) ‘Willelm son of Robert holds from the bishop Westselue.’ New (West) Shelve TQ 9151 in Lenham (Hasted 5:432).
- 8rb1) ‘Hugo nephew of Herbert holds from the bishop Boltone.’ Boughton Malherbe TQ 8849.
- 8rb6) ‘The same Hugo (nephew of Herbert) holds from the bishop Godeselle.’ Wormshill TQ 8857. Medieval spellings of the place-name are strangely variable: sometimes the place is *Wormeselle*, sometimes *Wodneselle*. The DB form seems to be a bad French spelling of the latter name.
- 8rb11) ‘The same Hugo (nephew of Herbert) holds from the bishop Winchelesmere.’ Wichling TQ 9155 under another name. The identification is certain. Except for the ‘n’, DB’s spelling is good: the place was called ‘W(h)icklesmere’ or something similar. The modern name starts appearing in the thirteenth century.
- \* 8rb17) ‘The same Hugo (nephew of Herbert) holds from the bishop Estselue.’ East Shelve (repr. Cobham Farm) TQ 9351 in Lenham (Hasted 5:435).
- 8rb21) ‘Goisfrid de Ros holds from the bishop Oteham.’ Otham TQ 7854.
- 8rb26) ‘Rotbertus Latiner holds at farm Herbretitou. Adelold used to hold it from the bishop.’ Harbilton (lost) in Harrietsham TQ 8753 (Hasted 5:454).
- 8rb31) ‘The same Rotbert (Latiner) holds at farm Brunfelle. Adelold used to hold it from the bishop.’ Broomfield TQ 8352.
- 8rb38) ‘Radulf (de) Curbespine holds from the bishop Turneham.’ Thurnham TQ 8057.
- 8rb44) ‘The same Radulf (de Curbespine) holds from the bishop Fereburne.’ West Fairbourne TQ 8552 approx. in Harrietsham (Hasted 5:452).
- 8rb48) ‘Odo holds from the bishop Gelingeham.’ Grange TQ 7968 \* in Gillingham (Hasted 4:236). Like Bekesbourne (9rb30), Grange came to be connected with Hastings, and was eventually absorbed into the liberty of the Cinque Ports.
- 8va2) ‘Rotbert Latiner holds at farm from the bishop Ceteham.’ Chatham TQ 7568. Though DB does not make this clear, Chatham was one of bishop Odo’s domain manors, temporarily in the king’s hands and being managed by Robert Latiner. More precisely, I think we can be sure that this was one of the manors (like Hoo and Boxley) annexed to the earldom of Kent. While Odo was in possession of Chatham, he gave a small piece of land to the church of Rochester, as a site for the monks’ garden; and the trouble caused later by that donation (docs. 13–14) proves that the manor was only conditionally his. After 1088 (unlike Hoo and Boxley), Chatham became detached from the earldom. At some date it must have been given to Haimo the sheriff; with Leeds (7vb30) and other lands, it passed from him to Robert de Crevequer.
- 8va10) ‘The son of Willelm Tahum holds from the bishop Delce.’ Little (Upper) Delce TQ 7466 in St Margaret’s (Hasted 4:171). Possibly the wording implies that Willelm’s son is under age (10vb21).
- 8va15) ‘Ansgot de Rovecestre holds from the bishop Delce.’ Great (Lower) Delce TQ 7467 in St Margaret’s (Hasted 4:168).
- 8va19) ‘The same Ansgot (de Rouecestre) holds from the bishop Stoches.’ Malmaynes TQ 8175 in Stoke (Hasted 4:39).
- 8va23) ‘The same bishop of Bayeux holds in domain Hou.’ Hoo TQ 7871, including Allhallows TQ 8377, Saint Mary Hoo TQ 8076, (High) Halstow TQ 7775, Shorne TQ 6971, and Cobham TQ 6668. A large manor, held by Odo – as is proved by the twelfth-century exchequer rolls (Flight 1998) – by right of the earldom of Kent. It is not clear who had charge of this manor at the time of the survey. Robert Latiner is connected with Hoo by a slightly later document from Rochester (doc. 14), but may not have moved in till after 1088, when Odo was dispossessed.
- 24) ‘It defended itself TRE for fifty sulungs, and now for thirty-three.’ A charter of Robert Bardulf for the monks of Reading, dating from 1205 or just before (Kemp 1986, no. 400), includes some arithmetic which (as Kemp pointed out) goes to prove that on the manor of Hoo, at that time, people were counting six yokes to one sulung. As far as I know, this evidence stands alone; but it is perfectly explicit. In the light of that, this apparent reduction in the assessment for Hoo could be interpreted as follows. It was agreed that there were 200 yokes here; the question was how one should convert that number into a number of sulungs. Did one apply the rule and divide by four (on the assumption there were four pairs of oxen in a plough-team)? Or did one make an exception for Hoo (where the soil was so heavy that there had to be six pairs of oxen) and divide by six accordingly? From two entries in the exchequer roll for 1130 (Flight 2005, p. 373), it is clear what the answer was: when it came to the payment of geld, there were four yokes in a sulung, and Hoo was no exception.

\* 32) 'Of this manor Ricard de Tonebrige holds half a sulung and woodland for twenty pigs.' Presumably the block of land around Oxen Hoath TQ 6352 in West Peckham (Hasted 5:63) which continued to be regarded as part of the hundred of Hoo.

34) 'Adam son of Hubert holds of the same manor one sulung and one yoke from the bishop.' Not identified.

37) 'Anschitil de Ros holds of the same manor three sulungs.' Not identified.

\* 8va41) 'Adam holds from the bishop one yoke in Pinpa.' Part of Pimpe (lost) in Yalding TQ 6950 or Nettlestead TQ 6852 (see below). This Adam is identified by  $\varepsilon$  with Adam son of Hubert, but I would not rely on that.

8va46) 'Rannulf de Columbels holds from the bishop Ferlaga.' West Farleigh TQ 7153.

51) 'Of this sulung Rainer holds one yoke from the bishop in the manor (called) Pinpe.'

The last subparagraph seems to imply that there ought to be a separate entry for Pimpe. Later evidence would lead us to look for it in chapter 11, but it is not to be found there, nor anywhere else. Pimpe is a lost place, apparently close to the boundary between Yalding TQ 6950 and Nettlestead TQ 6852 (Hasted 5:121). (It is definitely not the same place as Pimp's Court TQ 7552 in East Farleigh (Hasted 4:378): that is a house named after the family who took their name from Pimpe.)

8vb3) 'Haimo (the sheriff) holds from the bishop Nedestede.' Nettlestead TQ 6852.

8vb9) 'Radulf son of Turald holds from the bishop Otringeberge.' Wateringbury TQ 6853.

8vb15) 'Hugo de Braiboue holds from the bishop Otrinberge.' Part of Wateringbury, including Canon Court TQ 6854 (Hasted 5:113).

8vb20) 'Adelold used to hold from the bishop Testan, and Robert now holds (it) at farm.' Teston TQ 7053. Here and in the next paragraph, DB has the past tense, rightly: Adelold has lost possession. Probably the man in charge now is Robert Latiner; but it could be some other Robert.

25) 'Three brothers held this land TRE as three manors; now it (has been made) into one.' A puzzling remark: we have just been told that Teston was held by Edward TRE; so what does 'this land' mean? Possibly a paragraph has gone missing.

8vb26) 'The same Adelold used to hold from the bishop Benedestede, and Robert (now) holds (it) at farm.' Bensted (lost) in Hunton TQ 7249 (Hasted 5:148).

8vb30) 'Rannulf de Columbels holds from the bishop Bermelie.' West Barming TQ 7153.

8vb34) 'Rotbert Latiner holds at farm Boseleu.' Boxley TQ 7758. Another manor held by bishop Odo by right of the earldom of Kent (Flight 1998).

39) 'Of this manor Helto holds half a sulung.' Probably Weaving TQ 7855 in Boxley (Hasted 4:340).

\* 8vb41) 'Radulf son of Turald holds from the bishop Litelbroteham.' Wrotham Water TQ 6259 in Wrotham (Hasted 4:553). The subsequent history of this manor is summarized above, in connection with the paragraph for Trottscliffe (5va41).

8vb49) 'Adam (son of Hubert) holds from the bishop Celca.' Part of Chalk TQ 6872. This is the manor called East Chalk (repr. East Court Manor), the history of which is well documented – and quite distinct from that of West Chalk (see below). East Chalk became separated from the honour of Eudo the steward. It was acquired by Hamo de Sancto Claro (as is proved by GREx 1130:67); with Hamo's granddaughter Gunnora it passed to Willelm de Lanvalein (d. 1180); with Willelm's great-granddaughter Hawisia it passed to Johan de Burgo (d. 1275); and by him it was given to the monks of Bermondsey.

6) 'In Essex there is one hide which rightfully belongs to this manor. Godwin son of Dudeman used to hold it; now Rannulf Pevrel holds it.' Not identified.

The other part of Chalk, the manor called West Chalk, is missing from DB. We know enough about its history to be fairly certain that it was already a separate manor at the time of the survey; by some accident, somewhere along the line, the paragraph describing it got dropped. Also missing from DB is any mention of the part of Strood which became Temple Manor TQ 7368. It seems likely (I think) that this part of Strood was once part of the manor of West Chalk and would therefore have been included in the same missing paragraph. (If not, we are going to have to suspect that more than one paragraph is missing from Shamell hundred.)

Both places were in the king's hands before 1108. Tithes from Strood and Chalk were given to the monks of Rochester by Henric I (Johnson and Cronne 1956, no. 517); it is clear from the sequel that the places in question were what later became Temple Manor and West Chalk. A list of the tithes paid to the monks c. 1220 includes both items: 'of the tithes of the domain of Hugo de Neville in Chalk' we get one half, the parish church the other (R3, fo. 124v); 'from the Templars' grange in Strood' we get the whole tithes of the domain (fo. 125v).

This part of Strood seems to have remained in the king's possession until 1159, which is when it was given to the Templars (GREx 1159:58). By becoming the owners of this manor, the Templars also became the owners of Shamell hundred.

West Chalk became the property of Gervais de Cornhelle, who appears in the exchequer roll for 1165 charged with a share of the cost of the the 'army of Wales' *pro terra de Chalcr* (GREx 1165:106). From Gervais (d. 1183–4) it descended to his son Henric (d. 1192–3), and then to Henric's daughter's husband, Hugo de Neville (d. 1234). From Hugo's son it was bought by Johan de Cobeham (last occ. 1251); after that it continued with Johan's descendants till 1364, when it became part of the endowment of Cobham college.

9ra8) 'The same Adam (son of Hubert) holds from the bishop Hecham.' Lillechurch (repr. Church Street) TQ 7174 under another name. Like East Chalk (8vb49), this manor parted company with the honour of Eudo the steward. It was acquired by Eustachius count of Boulogne (d. 1125), whose daughter Mathildis (d. 1152), the wife of king Stephan, used it to found a priory for their daughter. In the twelfth century the place was always called Lillechurch; the name Higham resurfaced in the thirteenth century, alternating with Lillechurch at first, but eventually becoming the normal name.

The identification seems secure, but there is some reason to hesitate, because Rochester's list of parish churches has separate entries for *Lilecirce* and *Heahham* (i34–5). I do not understand that.

9ra15) 'The same Adam (son of Hubert) holds from the bishop in Colinge one sulung and a half.' Cooling TQ 7575.

9ra21) ‘The same Adam (son of Hubert) holds from the bishop Bichelei.’ Beckley TQ 7074 in Chalk (Hasted 3:462).

9ra25) ‘Radulf son of Turald holds from the bishop Arclei.’ Oakleigh TQ 7274 in Higham (Hasted 3:487). Willelm de Cloville, with his lord Goisfrid Talebot’s assent, gave tithes from this place to the monks of Rochester (R1, fo. 186r).

9ra30) ‘Ansgot de Rovecestre holds (from the bishop) Hanehest.’ Presumably Henhurst TQ 6669 in Cobham (Hasted 3:425). Tithes from that place were given to the monks of Rochester by Gocelin de Henherste (R1, fo. 186r, R3, fo. 82v), but I do not know whose tenant he was. The next recorded owner is Willelm de Lanvalei (GREx 1169:161, R2, fo. 157v): by that time the exchequer seems to have been regarding Henhurst as part of the manor of Hoo (8va23).

9ra34) ‘Ernulf de Hesding holds from the bishop Cliue.’ Part of Cliffe TQ 7376.

\* 9ra38) ‘The same Ernulf (de Hesding) holds from the bishop Hadone.’ Part of Strood TQ 7369, including the manor which came to be called Boncakes (Hasted 3:551). The name used for this place by DB did not survive.

9ra42) ‘Odo holds from the bishop in the same Hadone one yoke.’ Presumably part of Strood TQ 7369.

9ra44) ‘The same Odo holds from the bishop Colinges.’ Part of Cooling TQ 7575.

9ra47) Helto holds from the bishop Melestun.’ Merston TQ 7072.

9rb1) ‘Hugo de Port holds from the bishop Tunestelle.’ Tunstall TQ 8961.

\* 9rb6) ‘The same Hugo (de Port) holds from the bishop Cerce.’ Not identified. There is one (and only one) manor in Milton hundred belonging to the barony of Port which appears to be missing from DB, namely Murston TQ 9264. Is it possible that *Cerce* might be Murston under another name?

\* 9rb8–9) ‘The same Hugo (de Port) holds from the bishop Stepedone.’ A lost place in Eastchurch TQ 9871 called something like *Stapindune*. Around 1200, the monks of Christ Church were receiving a payment of 48 pence a year in lieu of the tithes of this place; the money was paid to them by the monks of Les Dunes (a Cistercian house in West Flanders), who, by that time, were the owners of Eastchurch church. (*De Stapindune, iiii sol’*. *Hos reddunt monachi de Dunes, et sunt in Scapeia decime iste prope Estcherche* (C4, fo. 52Ar).)

9rb9) ‘The same Hugo (de Port) holds from the bishop Tangas.’ Tonge TQ 9364. This became the head of a second-tier barony (below, p. 261).

9rb13) ‘Of these sulungs which Hugo de Port has, Oswald held five for gavel and three sulungs and one yoke and a half which he took away from the king’s villains.’ In Milton hundred (2va46) as at Dartford (2va3), Hugo de Port got possession of the lands which had been held TRE by Oswald the sheriff. DB appears to be saying that some of this land (3.375 sulungs) should by rights be given back to the king.

It follows from the arithmetic that half a sulung less half a yoke equals one yoke and a half, and hence that four yokes make one sulung.

9rb16) ‘Ricard son of Willelm holds from the bishop Borne.’ Patricbourne TR 1855. Later the head of the barony of Patric (below, p. 259).

9rb22) ‘The same bishop of Bayeux holds in domain Hardes.’ Upper Hardres TR 1550.

9rb26) ‘The same bishop holds in domain Stellinges.’ Stelling TR 1448. Later evidence puts Stelling in Stowting hundred; probably it is only listed under Bridge hundred here because it was dependent on Upper Hardres. The abbot of Saint Augustine’s believed that Stelling ought to belong to him (doc. 4); but he seems to have let the claim drop (there is no word of it in DB, nor even in xAug), perhaps in return for the donations made by the bishop (Bates 1998, pp. 351, 352–3).

9rb30) ‘The same bishop holds in domain Burnes.’ Bekesbourne TR 1955.

9rb37) ‘(As to) these three manors of the bishop of Bayeux, Rannulf holds (them) at farm.’ Presumably this is Rannulf de Columbels, the tenant of Lower Hardres (9rb38), who has engaged to look after the bishop’s domain manors close by (Upper Hardres, Stelling, Bekesbourne) and pay a share of the proceeds to the king.

9rb38) ‘Rannulf de Columbels holds from the bishop Hardes.’ Lower Hardres TR 1553.

9rb43) ‘The same bishop holds in domain Wicheham.’ Wickhambreaux TR 2258.

46) ‘There is a park there.’ Trenley Park TR 1959 in a detached portion of Wickhambreaux (Hasted 9:162). Some of the land which went into the park was acquired by the bishop from the abbot of Saint Augustine’s (12ra36). Another 25 acres were acquired from the archbishop, who got four dens in exchange (Bates 1998, pp. 332–3).

52) ‘In addition there belongs to this manor half a sulung of free land.’ Not identified.

9va3) ‘In the hundred (of Canterbury), in(side) the city of Canterbury, Adam son of Hubert has from the bishop four houses, and two (more) outside the city, which pay 96 pence.’

9va6) ‘Haimo the sheriff holds from the bishop Latintone.’ Nackington TR 1554. Despite the bad spelling – a good DB spelling of the name would be *Natindone* (the modern form is a corruption) – there is no doubt about the identification.

9va10) ‘The same Haimo (the sheriff) holds from the bishop half a sulung.’ Probably part of Milton TR 1255.

9va13) ‘The townsmen of Canterbury held these lands TRE, and (continued to hold them) till (after the arrival of) the bishop of Bayeux, who took (the lands) from them.’ Referring to the two half-sulungs held by Haimo (9va6, 9va10). This is a complaint registered with the second team of commissioners by the men of the city.

9va16) ‘Willelm de Arcis holds Fulchestan.’ Folkestone TR 2235, together with all its dependencies (below, p. 249).

This stretch of text (9va16–50) is anomalous: it is the only subchapter contained in chapter 5. It begins with a fancy initial (a ‘U’ overlapped by a ‘V’) of the size which elsewhere is only used for the first entry in a chapter: the scribe is warning us straight away that Folkestone is a special case. Everywhere else in chapter 5, the manors are listed in approximately cadastral order; to find the

manors held by one particular man, we have to scan through the text, just as the compiler of  $\epsilon$  had to do (below, pp. 203–4). But here we find the entire barony of Folkestone brought together and entered under a single heading.

Folkestone had once been a minster, a similar establishment to Saint Martin's of Dover. It was wealthier than Dover – 40 sulungs worth 110 pounds versus 24 sulungs worth 61 pounds – and it possessed one important asset with which Dover could not compete, the shrine of a resident saint. (This was Saint Eanswitha, about whom practically nothing was known, though it was generally agreed that she was the daughter of king Eadbald (d. 640).) By the first half of the eleventh century, the minster had ceased to function, surviving only as a source of income for a well-connected priest. The story as we hear it from the monks of Christ Church (who took the view that the minster's endowment ought to have defaulted to them) is that Folkestone was given by king Cnut (d. 1035) to a priest named Eadsige, and some time later (after Eadsige's promotion to the archbishopric in 1038) sold by him to earl Godwine. Here as elsewhere (at Hoo, for instance), it is unclear from DB what happened to this manor after Godwine's death in 1053; perhaps we may assume that it passed to one of his sons. In any event, it became available for redistribution after 1066.

The minster was not reestablished. Folkestone came to belong to Willelm de Arcis; it was recorded as his in 1086; and it passed to his descendants. In 1095, Willelm's widow and his daughter and daughter's husband were all involved in negotiations with the abbot of Lonlay which led to the foundation of a small priory here; its endowment consisted of a very small share of the endowment of the vanished minster.

Willelm de Arcis was not one of the adventurers who owed their advancement entirely to the bishop of Bayeux. He was an important man in Normandy, taking his name from Arques-la-Bataille in Seine-Maritime; he owned land in Suffolk too which was held directly from the king (D-Sk-431v). It sounds to me as if Willelm was claiming to hold Folkestone from the king, rather than from the bishop. As things stood in 1086, the case had been deferred indefinitely because the bishop was in prison, but Willelm was not prepared to let the matter go unrecorded; and his protest was made forcefully enough to affect the compilation of the survey text. What we would have found in D, I suspect, is a subchapter drafted in such a way that it could be relabelled as a separate chapter, if the case was eventually decided in Willelm's favour; and what we find in DB is a version of that, perhaps quite drastically abridged. (The scribe seems to be determined not to let it overflow into the next column.) Two years later, the bishop forfeited all his English possessions; and that had the incidental effect of settling the Folkestone case.

Two small details may take on some significance in this light. First, the DB scribe does not actually say that Willelm holds Folkestone from the bishop of Bayeux: that is implied by the fact that this stretch of text forms part of chapter 5, but generally the scribe makes the point explicit by including the words *de ep'o*, and he does not do that here. Second, the man who compiled an epitome of DB, after the rebellion of 1088, seems to think that Folkestone needs special treatment. When he starts reorganizing the contents of chapter 5, the very first thing he does – even before listing the bishop's domain manors – is to register the fact that Willelm de Arcis holds Folkestone ( $\epsilon$ /C1-6rb11).

20) 'There are five churches there, from which the archbishop gets 660 pence.' This is the only surviving trace of Folkestone's former status as a minster (see below): like Saint Martin's of Dover, it had

paid the archbishop a lump sum for the churches which were under its control. Which five churches these were, I cannot say.

24) 'Of this manor . . .' This begins a sequence of ten paragraphs listing the lands which Willelm has distributed among his men. Not a single place-name is mentioned. Without guidance of that kind, it is (as far as I can see) impossible to make any definite connections between the men who are named here and the men who occur in 1166 as tenants of Willelm's great-grandson.

24) 'Hugo son of Willelm holds nine sulungs of villains' land.' Because this holding is the largest, it ought to be the easiest to identify. Of the holdings recorded in 1166, no single one is comparable in size with this; but there are two relatively large and approximately equal holdings which add up to something of about the size that we are looking for. My guess would be that the second-tier baronies of Swingfield TR 2343 and Cheriton TR 1836 (held in 1166 by Willelm de Albrville and Willelm de Cherintone respectively) were created by halving the land of Hugo son of Willelm (as might happen if a man left no son but two daughters). I see nothing to prove it, however.

29) 'Walter de Appevile holds of this manor three yokes and twelve acres of land.'

31) 'Alvred holds one sulung and forty acres of land.'

33) 'Walter son of Engelbert holds half a sulung and forty acres of land.'

35) 'Wesman holds one sulung.'

37) 'Alvred the steward holds one sulung and one yoke and six acres of land.' Interesting as a piece of arithmetic: if one wanted to say '256 acres', this was the way to say it.

39) 'Eudo holds half a sulung.'

41) 'Bernard de Sancto Audoeno holds four sulungs.' Bernard occurs in Suffolk too, holding Clopton TM 2252 from Willelm de Arcis (D-Sk-431v).

46) 'Baldric holds half a sulung.'

48) 'Ricard holds fifty-eight acres.'

49) 'The whole of Folkestone in the time of king Edward was worth one hundred and ten pounds. When (Willelm) got possession, (it was worth) fifty pounds. Now what (Willelm) has in domain is worth one hundred pounds, (and) what the knights hold (who are) listed above is together worth forty-five pounds and ten shillings.' A striking example of the unexplained fluctuations in value which are sometimes taken as a measure of the impact of the conquest. Folkestone's value had dropped from 26400 pence to 12000 pence, but has now rebounded to 34920 pence, well above its TRE level.

The manor of Newington TR 1837 (below, p. 249) has gone missing from DB, perhaps because there was some doubt as to how it should be listed. In the 1090s it was held by Beatrix, the widow of Willelm de Arcis, not in dower (in which case it would have reverted to her husband's heirs as soon as she died), but apparently as property which she was free to dispose of. It came to belong to her daughter's second husband, Manasser count of Guines (Flight 2005, p. 366); and it continued to belong to the counts of Guines, despite the fact that the counts who succeeded Manasser were not lineally descended from him.

9vb2) 'The bishop of Bayeux holds in domain Alham.' Elham TR 1743. We are not told who is currently in charge of this manor.

9vb8) ‘(In Rolvenden hundred) Adam son of Hubert holds from the bishop one den of half a yoke, which stayed outside Hugo de Montfort’s division; it used to belong to Belice.’ In other words, it used to be attached to a manor in Heane hundred (13rb26) but is now agreed to belong to the feod of the bishop of Bayeux.

9vb11) ‘Ansfrid holds from the bishop in Bochelende half a sulung.’ Not identified. No one has been able to find a Buckland in Stowting hundred. Probably the tenant is Ansfrid Masleclerc, as the compiler of  $\epsilon$  either knew or guessed to be the case (C1-6rc7).

9vb15) ‘Radulf de Curbespine holds from the bishop one yoke in Berfrestone.’ Part of Barfrestone TR 2650.

9vb18) ‘Rannulf de Columbels holds there (in Barfrestone) one yoke which used to pay its geld in (Lower) Hardres (9rb38); till now it has not paid geld.’ An attempt to explain some discrepancy in the geld account for Eastry hundred; but I cannot pretend that it makes much sense to me.

9vb20) ‘Adelold used to hold from the bishop Eswalt.’ Part of Easole TR 2652 in Nonington (Hasted 9:254).

9vb24) ‘Osbern son of Letard holds from the bishop one sulung in Selinge.’ Part of Shelving TR 3056 in Woodnesborough (Hasted 10:125).

\* 9vb27) ‘The same Osbern (son of Letard) holds from the bishop Popeselle.’ Part of Popeshall TR 2847 in Coldred (Hasted 9:389). This is the part which is later found belonging to the barony of Port. It was called Popeshall in the thirteenth century, South Popeshall in the fourteenth. Like the rest of Popeshall, it was in Bewsborough hundred.

\* 9vb32) ‘Radulf de Curbespine holds half a yoke in Popessale.’ Part of Popeshall TR 2847 in Coldred. This is the part which is later found belonging to the barony of Maminot. It was called North Popeshall in the thirteenth century, Popeshall in the fourteenth. (But by then there was a third manor here, later called North or Little Popeshall, which seems to have split off from this one.)

By the twelfth century Popeshall had a church (its site is known) which was regarded as a chapel of Coldred (11ra49). Both churches were given to the monks of Dover by Walkelin Maminot, probably in 1154×61 (Holtzmann 1936, no. 220).

\* 9vb35) ‘Fulbert holds from the bishop Berham.’ Kingston TR 1951. As Ward pointed out (1933, pp. 82–3), the name Barham could be used in a broad sense, and here it refers to Kingston. (Barham itself belonged to the archbishop (3vb10).) But Kingston was a large manor, with a number of outlying members. Hougham is mentioned by name below (because it was causing trouble); Ringwould TR 3548 and Whitstable TR 1166 are probably also covered by this entry (or else they have been omitted). They were certainly both part of the barony of Chilham, and certainly both held in domain; but I have no record of them earlier than 1185, when Johan de Dovre had to pay to regain possession after the death of his uncle Hugo’s widow (GREx 1185:232).

38) ‘There are 25 fish-weirs.’ Possibly at Whitstable.

41) ‘Of this manor the bishop (of Bayeux) gave an outlier to Herbert son of Ivo; it is called Huham.’ Hougham TR 2739. Fulbert is complaining that part of his inheritance was given away by the bishop, during the time that he had custody of it. Apparently Fulbert got Hougham back; it certainly did belong to his descendants.

44) ‘Also of the same manor the bishop gave Osbern Paisforere one sulung.’ Not identified.

46) ‘The whole of Kingston TRE was worth 40 pounds; when the bishop (of Bayeux) got possession (it was worth) the same, and yet it used to pay him 100 pounds.’ As at Chilham (10ra31) and Eastling (10va9), the bishop is accused of overexploiting the manor while it was in his hands.

49) ‘The land of a knight named Rannulf is worth 40 shillings.’ This holding has not been mentioned before; probably that means that Rannulf was given the land by Fulbert, not by the bishop of Bayeux. By elimination, this may perhaps be Tappington TR 2046 in Denton (Hasted 9:361).

50) ‘Archbishop Stigand held this manor. It did not belong to the archbishopric, however, but to the domain farm of king Edward.’ This seems to be an echo of some earlier dispute between bishop Odo and archbishop Lanfranc, decided in Odo’s favour: the manor was found to have been Stigand’s personal property, given to him by king Edward.

10ra1) ‘Vitalis from the bishop holds Soanecliue.’ Part of Swalecliffe TR 1367. Most of Swalecliffe belonged to Saint Augustine’s, and is silently included under Sturry (12ra41); here we find that one piece of it had passed into private hands. The monks still had their eyes on this piece, however, as is clear from the fact that the corresponding entry from B-Ke is included in xAug (A4-20v23).

10ra6) ‘The same Vitalis holds from the bishop one yoke in the same (Whitstable) hundred.’ Not identified.

10ra10) ‘Adam holds from the bishop Ore.’ Oare TR 0063. Another yoke in Oare, also held by Adam, is listed separately below (10rb35). Oare’s history runs with that of Stalisfield (10ra15); despite the distance between them, Oare church was regarded as a chapel of Stalisfield church.

10ra15) ‘The same Adam holds from the bishop Stanefelle.’ Stalisfield TQ 9652. The DB spelling is bad, but the link with Oare (10ra10) makes the identification certain.

The compiler of  $\epsilon$  took this Adam to be the same person as Adam son of Hubert (C1-6rb36). Probably that was a guess, and I doubt whether it was a good guess: there is nothing in the later history of these places to confirm it. After Adam, the next recorded owner of Stalisfield is a man named Hunfrid Canuth, who, before 1108 (R1, fo. 196r), gave a portion of tithes from this place to the monks of Rochester (R1, fo. 190r). That gift was renewed by D(rogo) de Monci (Thorpe 1769, p. 620, from R2, fo. 143v) – who (to my knowledge) is not otherwise connected with Kent.

An entry in the exchequer roll for 1162 proves that Oare by then was owned by the Flemish financier Willelm Cade (d. 1164×6); both Stalisfield and Oare are known to have belonged later to one of Willelm’s sons, Arnold Cade. (French-speaking English scribes were inclined to write his name as ‘Ernulf’ – which presumably means that the final consonant was not being pronounced.) It was Arnold who gave (perhaps sold) both churches to the canons of Saint Gregory’s (Woodcock 1956, no. 32), saving the payment due to the Rochester monks. And it was Arnold who gave both manors to the Hospitallers – which probably means that he used them to secure a loan and lost them by failing to repay it. The Hospitallers were in possession by 1191, as can be inferred from an entry in the exchequer roll for that year (GREx 1191:146).

10ra19) ‘Hugo de Porth holds from the bishop Nortone.’ Norton TQ 9661. This entry also covers Newnham TQ 9557, Boardfield

TQ 9352, Davington TR 0161, and Harty TR 0266. The ‘three churches’ would be Norton, Newnham, and one of the others, possibly Davington.

The TRE tenant, Oswald, is the man referred to elsewhere as ‘Oswald de Nordtone’ (1va6) and ‘Oswald the sheriff’ (2va19); here, as is frequently (but perhaps not always) the case, he has been succeeded by Hugo de Port. It is not to be inferred from this (Green 1990, p. 50) that Hugo succeeded Oswald as sheriff of Kent. Hugo got Oswald’s lands; but the lands did not go with the job. Besides, we know that Oswald had lost the job before 1066 (2va23–4).

This holding became a small second-tier barony, the head of which was no longer at Norton but at Newnham. The first recorded owner, Hugo son of Fulco (also called Hugo de Niwenham), was probably in possession by 1110, when he witnessed a charter of Henric de Port (R1, fo. 198v). Hugo gave Norton church to the monks of Rochester (fo. 190v) – or led them to believe that he had done so. His son, Fulco son of Hugo (also called Fulco de Niwenham), gave Newnham church to the monks of Faversham – or led them to believe that he had done so (Cheney and John 1986, no. 467A). Once the dust had settled, Norton church came to belong to the bishop (not the monks) of Rochester; and the other four churches all came to belong to the prioress and convent of Davington.

10ra25) ‘Fulbert holds from the bishop Cilleham.’ Chilham TR 0653, including Molash TR 0252. After 1088, Chilham became the head of a first-tier barony. Fulbert, who survived for another forty years, was sometimes called ‘de Chileham’, sometimes ‘de Dovre’. The latter surname – apparently derived, not from Dover, but from a village of that name in Normandy, Douvres-la-Délivrande – was the one which his descendants used. In DB, however, Fulbert is always just Fulbert.

31) ‘Now (it is worth) thirty pounds . . . and yet it used to pay the bishop of Bayeux four score pounds and forty shillings.’ As in the entries for Kingston (9vb35), Eastling (10va9) and Luddenham (10va15), it seems to be implied that Fulbert’s manors had been in the bishop’s hands for some time (presumably because Fulbert was under age), and had been made to pay extortionate farms (nearly three times too much, in the case of Chilham).

10ra34) ‘Hugo nephew of Herbert holds from the bishop Ospringes.’ Ospringe TR 0060. After 1088, this became the head of the barony of Willelm Pevrel of Dover.

10ra46) ‘Ansfrid (Masleclerc) holds from the bishop Cildresham.’ A lost place, subsequently part of the manor of Westwood TR 0159 in Preston (Hasted 6:536).

By about 1150, Helto son of Ricard (occ. 1130–66) had come into possession of a one-third share of the lands which had formerly belonged to Ansfrid Masleclerc. By trying to turn Sheldwich TR 0156 into a separate parish, he got into a dispute with the monks of Saint Augustine’s, the owners of Faversham church (below, p. 227). Having failed in that attempt, he appeased the monks by giving them (with his wife’s assent) sixteen acres of land of his domain of *Serichesam* and all the tithes of his domain of *Ernodintuna* (Turner and Salter 1915–24, pp. 507–8). In a slightly later document the names are spelt *Sceldrichesham* and *Ernoldintone* (Morey and Brooke 1967, pp. 405–6). It seems that there may be some connection between *Sceldrichesham* and Sheldwich, but I cannot get a grip on it.

\* 10rb1) ‘The same Ansfrid (Masleclerc) holds from the bishop Ernoltun.’ The same comment as for *Cildresham*.

10rb8) ‘The same Ansfrid (Masleclerc) holds from the bishop Macheheuet.’ Macknade TQ 0260 in Preston (Hasted 6:537).

10rb11) ‘The same Ansfrid (Masleclerc) holds from the bishop Badelesmere.’ Badlesmere TR 0155.

10rb15) ‘(As to) this manor, the abbot of Saint Augustine’s claims it because (his predecessor) owned it TRE, and (the men of) the hundred testify in his favour. But the man’s son (i.e. the son of the TRE tenant) says that his father could turn himself where he wished (i.e. could choose his own lord). This the monks do not agree with.’ More details in B/xAug (A4-18r1), and in a sentence appended to DB’s chapter 7 (12vb37). The sequel is unknown, except that the monks did not get possession of Badlesmere.

This makes a poignant picture: a disinherited Englishman watching from the sidelines while the newcomers squabble over land which ought to be his. Perhaps so – but we cannot be sure that this sentence in DB gives us all the relevant facts. A bastard son, even if everyone knew who his father was, would not have stood to inherit the land, regardless of the outcome of the battle of Hastings.

10rb18) ‘The same Ansfrid (Masleclerc) holds from the bishop Perie.’ Part of Perry TR 0160 in Preston (Hasted 6:539).

10rb21) ‘The same Ansfrid (Masleclerc) holds from the bishop (another) Perie.’ Same comment.

10rb24) ‘Osbern (Paisforere) holds from the bishop Bocheland.’ Buckland TQ 9762. Osbern gave tithes from this place to Saint Augustine’s (Bates 1998, pp. 352–3).

10rb28) ‘The same Osbern (Paisforere) holds one yoke from the bishop (which is now) in the same manor’.

10rb31) ‘Hugo de Porth holds from the bishop Herste.’ A lost place called Hurst (Hasted 6:145), represented on the six-inch map by a detached portion of Murston parish (TQ 9962). The identification is certain.

10rb35) ‘Adam (son of Hubert) holds from the bishop one yoke in Ore.’ Part of Oare TR 0063. The larger part, also held by Adam, has already been described (10ra10).

10rb39) ‘Herfrid holds from the bishop Treuelai.’ Throwley TQ 9955.

10rb45) ‘Herbert (son of Ivo) used to hold from the bishop Nordeslinge.’ Part of Eastling TQ 9656. We are not told who is currently in possession.

10rb49) ‘(As to) these two manors, Herbert son of Ivo used to hold them from the bishop of Bayeux’. Referring back to 10rb39 and 10rb45; but the statement is redundant, as far as the latter paragraph is concerned.

10va1) ‘Turstin de Girunde holds in Bochelande one yoke from the bishop.’ Presumably part of Buckland TQ 9762, but I cannot trace its history. The same Turstin occurs as one of the bishop’s tenants in Buckinghamshire, holding Dunton SP 8224 and Fos-cote SP 7135 from the bishop of Bayeux (DB-Bu-144vb). His descendants are found holding three knight’s fees of the honour of Peverel of Dover – two for the manors in Buckinghamshire, the third for Wrinsted in Kent (7vb26). It is not known when or how they got possession of Wrinsted; but Hamo de Girunda occurs in Kent in 1165, making a payment which represents three knight’s fees (GREx 1165:106).



10va4) ‘Roger son of Anschitil holds from the bishop Eslinges.’ Probably Goodnestone TR 0461 with the name misreported (perhaps through confusion with the following entry). Roger’s name links this manor with Hastingleigh (11vb29), and later evidence establishes a link between Hastingleigh and Goodnestone in Faversham hundred (below, p. 257).

10va9) ‘Fulbert holds from the bishop Eslinges.’ Eastling TQ 9656.

9) ‘It defended itself for 5 sulungs TRE; now (it defends itself) for 2 (sulungs), and has done so since the bishop (of Bayeux) gave the manor to Hugo son of Fulbert.’ This seems to mean that Eastling was originally given to Hugo son of Fulbert, and that from him it has descended to Fulbert. Though this is the only mention of Hugo in DB, he is also mentioned in the records of Saint Augustine’s, in connection with Sibertswold (doc. 5). I take it that he was Fulbert’s father (or possibly his uncle or elder brother).

14) ‘Now (it is worth) four pounds, and yet the bishop used to get eight pounds.’ Taken together with the Chilham entry (10ra25), this seems to mean that the manor was in the bishop’s hands for some length of time, after the death of the original tenant, before Fulbert was given possession.

10va15) ‘The same Fulbert holds from the bishop Dodeham.’ Lud-denham TQ 9963. (In  $\epsilon$  there are duplicate entries for this manor (C1-6vb6–7), one with initial ‘D’ (as in DB), the other with ‘L’ (correctly).)

19) ‘The bishop put it out to farm for ten pounds.’ Another excessive payment demanded by the bishop, while he had Fulbert’s inheritance in his custody.

\* 10va21) ‘Ricard holds from the bishop Rongostone.’ Probably the same as a lost place in Faversham hundred called *Ruggeston*’ in 1242, *Rugeston*’ in 1346. (The identification with Ringlestone TQ 8755 in Hollingbourne, suggested as an afterthought by Hasted (6:568), has nothing to recommend it.)

10va25) ‘Ansfrid (Masleclerc) holds from the bishop Hortone.’ Horton TR 1155 in Chartham (Hasted 7:312).

10va30) ‘Adam (son of Hubert) holds from the bishop Fanne.’ Fanscombe TR 0746 approx. in Wye. (This is the manor held by Muriela de Sumery in 1242, by Johan Sumery in 1346.)

34) ‘Hugo de Montfort holds of (this manor) what is worth twenty shillings.’ Including a den now attached to the manor of Kenardington (14ra9).

There is a group of small manors in this neighbourhood – Aldglose (10vb21), Coombe (10va40), Grove, Fanscombe – of which Hasted (8:29) reports the names but gives no adequate account, perhaps because he could not get access to the archive of Saint Thomas’s hospital in Southwark, to which by that time these manors had come to belong.

The hospital’s records – a useful collection, so far as one can judge from the catalogue – are now in the London Metropolitan Archives; possibly someone might like to take a look at them.

10va35) ‘Wadard holds from the bishop Berchuelle.’ Buckwell TR 0448 in Boughton Aluph (Hasted 7:390).

10va40) ‘The same Wadard holds from the bishop Cumbe.’ Coombe TR 0846 approx. in Hastingleigh. (This is the manor held by Philip de Cumbe in 1242, by Thomas de Cumbe in 1346.)

\* 10va45) ‘Radulf de Curbepine holds from the bishop Betmontestun.’ A lost place called Beamonston TQ 9948 approx. in Westwell (Hasted 7:417).

10vb1) ‘Adelold used to hold from the bishop Dene.’ Dean Court TQ 9848 in Westwell (Hasted 7:420).

3) ‘Of this sulung Radulf de Curbepine holds one yoke and a half, ... and Adelold had (in addition to that) half a sulung and half a yoke.’ Further proof that there are four yokes in a sulung.

6) ‘This land is in the king’s hands.’ Meaning the part not given to Radulf de Curbepine.

10vb9) ‘Radulf de Curbepine holds Piventone of the bishop’s feod, and Hugo (holds it) from him.’ Pivington TQ 9146. The unusual wording (echoed in the next three paragraphs) implies that there is something peculiar about this manor; I think we are expected to understand that Hugo means Hugo de Montfort. But Pivington is later found running with the rest of Radulf’s lands.

10vb14) ‘The same Radulf (de Curbepine) holds three dens which got left out of Hugo de Montfort’s division.’ They used to be part of Hugo’s manor of Postling (13rb14); now they are not.

10vb17) ‘Herfrid holds of the bishop’s feod Essamelesford.’ Shalmsford TR 0954 in Chartham (Hasted 7:308). Another place which was on the borderline between the bishop’s feod and Hugo de Montfort’s division. Later on, though the categories changed, Shalmsford remained on the edge: uniquely here, the honour of Peverel of Dover intersected with the honour of the Constabulary.

10vb21) ‘Osbert holds from Willelm son of Taum Aldelose. Aldglose (lost) in Hastingleigh TR 1044 (Hasted 8:29). Another complicated story, and the report we are given is so condensed that it is hard to make much sense of it. Willelm occurs elsewhere as ‘the son of Willelm Tahum’ (8va10); apparently father and son were both called Willelm, and the father had the surname *taon* (meaning ‘gadfly’). Possibly ‘Osbert’ (who may or may not be the same person as Osbern Paisforere) has the manor in custody while the son is under age.

24) ‘This land is of the feod of the bishop of Bayeux and got left out of his (i.e. Hugo de Montfort’s) division.’ Another place affected by the demarcation between the bishop’s feod and Hugo’s division: TRE it was part of Brabourne (13vb23); now it is separate, and therefore separately assessed.

10vb27) ‘Osbern Paisforere holds from the bishop Palestrei.’ Palstre TQ 8828 in Wittersham (Hasted 8:488).

10vb32) ‘The same Osbern (Paisforere) has twelve acres of land.’ This entry reads like an interpolation, an addition made to the B text by the second team of commissioners. It should perhaps have been attached to the preceding paragraph, as the compiler of  $\epsilon$  appears to have thought (C1-6rc14).

10vb33) ‘Hugo de Porth holds from the bishop Pesinges and Piham.’ Pising (lost) and Pineham TR 3145 in Whitfield (Hasted 9:552).

10vb38) ‘The bishop of Bayeux holds in domain Bilsuitone.’ Bilsington TR 0434. As with Elham (9vb2), we are not told who has custody. After 1088, both manors were given to Willelm de Albigni (below, p. 248).

43) ‘Into this manor the bishop put three dens which were left out of the count of Eu’s division.’ As with Hugo de Montfort’s division, some demarcation had been worked out between the bishop’s

feod and count Robert's division; but this is the only place where we find any mention of it. Since the count held nothing in Kent directly from the king, the presumption is that these dens had been attached to one of his Sussex manors. When they became part of the bishop's feod, the bishop decided to attach them to the manor of Bilsington.

\* 10vb45) 'Rotbert de Romanel holds from the bishop Afettune.' A lost place in Old Romney TR 0325. The name occurs as *Effetone* in the thirteenth century (*Book of fees*, p. 1345); the DB form, odd though it looks, is not seriously wrong.

10vb51) 'The same Robert (de Romanel) has fifty townsmen in the town of Romanel.' Old Romney TR 0325. This paragraph was added at the foot of the column, apparently intended for insertion here.

10vb49) 'The same Rotbert (de Romanel) holds from the bishop in the Marsh half a sulung.' (This paragraph is interrupted by the passage added at the foot of the column: it continues at 11ra1.)

11ra2) 'The same Robert (de Romanel) holds from the bishop half a sulung in the marsh.'

11ra6) 'The same Rotbert (de Romanel) holds from the bishop Benindene.' Benenden TQ 8032. The manor is stated to be in Rolvenden hundred; it is stated to have a church; so the identification can be regarded as certain. But Benenden did not belong to Robert's descendants.

11ra10) '(In Aloesbridge hundred) the same Rotbert (de Romanel) holds from the bishop half a yoke.'

11ra13) '(Also in Aloesbridge hundred) the same Rotbert (de Romanel) holds from the bishop half a den (which used to be part of the manor of Tintentone which Hugo de Montfort holds. . . . This land is outside Hugo's division.' Though called 'half a den', this land is under the plough. It used to be attached to Tinton (13rb42); now it is separate, and part of the bishop's feod. (It ought to have an assessment, but no figure is given.)

11ra18) 'Herbert holds at farm from the king Ringetone; it is of the bishop's feod.' Ringleton TR 2957 in Woodnesborough (Hasted 10:135). Though DB does not say so, this is one of the manors confiscated from Adelold the chamberlain. Tithes from Ringleton, Knowlton (11rb33) and Tickenhurst (11va26) were given to Saint Augustine's by Adelold (doc. 10); at the time, it seems, he was holding all these manors in domain.

11ra23) 'Adam holds of the bishop's feod in Hamolde half a yoke, (and) Riculf holds (it) from Adam. (As for) the other half yoke of Aimolde, Herbert holds (it) from Hugo nephew of Herbert.' Hamwold TR 2855 in Woodnesborough (Hasted 10:132). This reads like an interpolation made by the second team of commissioners, reporting the basic facts for a yoke which had been overlooked. The identification has to be right, but the history of the place is very obscure.

11ra26) 'Hugo holds Ewelle from the bishop.' Ewell TR 2844. This is Hugo, the nephew of Herbert son of Ivo, as is clear from the cross-reference in chapter 9 (13va49), and from the subsequent history of this and the next few places. (The compiler of  $\varepsilon$  mistook this 'Hugo' for Hugo de Port (C1-6va19).) The manor in question here is the one which was subsequently given to the Templars (below, p. 260).

11ra33) 'The same Hugo (nephew of Herbert) holds from the bishop Wescliue.' West Cliffe TR 3444.

11ra38) 'The same Hugo (nephew of Herbert) holds Soltone from the bishop.' Solton TR 3345 in West Cliffe (Hasted 9:422).

11ra43) 'The same Hugo holds in Dover one mill which pays 48 quarters of wheat; it does not belong to any manor.' The same mill complained of by the men of Dover (1ra44).

The word 'ferlingel' occurs only this once in DB-Ke (except that 'ferding' (5rb16) is almost the same). Apparently it meant a larger quantity than a seam; one schedule which I have seen (Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Reg. H, fo. 25v) takes it to be equivalent to 1.75 seams. At that rate, if a seam was 16 bushels, a ferlingel was 28 bushels.

11ra45) 'Ansfrid holds of the bishop's feod in Leueberge half a yoke.' Not identified. No one has found a place of this name anywhere in Bewsborough hundred (or anywhere else, for that matter). Probably the tenant is Ansfrid Masleclerc, as  $\varepsilon$  supposes it to be (6rc6), but that cannot be confirmed.

11ra49) 'Radulf de Curbespine holds Colret from the bishop.' Coldred TR 2747.

11ra54) 'The same Radulf (de Curbespine) holds (from the bishop) Ewelle.' La Cressoniere (repr. Kearsney) TR 2843 in River (Hasted 9:442).

57) 'Of this manor a certain knight holds one sulung from Radulf.' Here and in the next paragraph, DB descends one rung further than usual down the feudal ladder. Probably this means that the commissioners had been especially careful here, so as to make sure that the bishop's feod and Hugo's division were accurately distinguished.

2) 'Hugo de Montfort has the head of the manor.' Hugo's manor is La Riviere (repr. River), as listed in chapter 9 (13vb2); both paragraphs report the same name for the TRE tenant. Apparently what used to be a single manor has been split between Radulf and Hugo.

11rb4) 'The same Radulf (de Curbespine) holds from the bishop Suanetone.' Swanton TR 2444 in Lydden (Hasted 8:129).

7) 'Of this land Robert de Barbes holds one sulung, . . . and someone called Hugo holds one sulung.' In other words, this manor has been split between two of Radulf's men. Probably Hugo is *quidam Hugo* to make sure that he cannot be mistaken for Hugo de Montfort.

11rb11) 'The same Radulf (de Curbespine) holds from the bishop Apletone.' Appleton TR 3447 in a detached part of Waldershare (Hasted 10:57).

11rb15) 'Herfrid holds from Hugo (nephew of Herbert) Broche-stele; it is (part) of the bishop's feod.' A lost place called Borstall (or Brostall) in Ewell TR 2844. It was given to the Templars in 1246 (*Feet of fines*, p. 190). The manor survived as a separate entity – it is called Borestall Banks by Philipott (1659, p. 149), Temple alias Boswell Banks by Hasted (9:434) – but I have not been able to fix the site of it. If anyone has seen an estate map, I hope they will be kind enough to let me know.

11rb19) 'Turstin Tinel and his wife hold at farm from king W(illelm) in Leueberge one yoke and five acres.' The same lost place in Bewsborough hundred of which another half-yoke is listed above (11ra45). The wording of this entry is anomalous; I suspect that it may have been rewritten by the second team of commissioners.

11rb23) ‘Ansfrid (Masleclerc) holds from the bishop Gollesberge.’ Woodnesborough TR 3056. Despite DB’s bad spelling, the identification is certain.

27) ‘In Sandwich the archbishop has thirty-two plots of land belonging to this manor . . . and Adelwold has one yoke.’

30) ‘Five thegns held this manor from king Edward. Three of them lived there permanently. Two of them held two sulungs of it, jointly with the others, but did not live there. When Ansfrid got possession, he made it into one manor.’ This paragraph, partly illegible now, was still fully legible in the 1760s (above, p. 94).

11rb33) ‘Turstin holds from the bishop Chenoltone.’ Knowlton TR 2853. Tithes from Knowlton were among those given to Saint Augustine’s by Adelold the chamberlain (11ra18). As at Tickenhurst (11va26), Turstin is said to hold from the bishop; but it seems more likely that he had been given custody by the king, in the same way that Adelold’s other manors had been put out to farm. (The phrase *decimam totius terre Turstini* occurs in the surviving copies of bishop Odo’s charter (Bates 1998, pp. 352–3), but it should, I think, be construed as a gloss, not part of the original text.)

11rb36) ‘Osbert (i.e. Osbern) son of Letard holds from the bishop Bedesham.’ Betteshanger TR 3152, including Barfrestone TR 2650. ‘Osbert’ here, ‘the same Osbern’ four lines below. The DB scribe oscillates between these spellings of the name, presumably because in French he was pronouncing it [oz’ber], only adding the extra consonant at the moment when he turned it into Latin and wrote it down. (Similarly, because the first ‘t’ in ‘Ro(t)bert’ comes and goes, I would guess that he was pronouncing this name [ro’ber].)

The spelling of the place-name is bad, but the identification is good. Osbern gave tithes from this place to Saint Augustine’s (Bates 1998, pp. 352–3, where the place-name is spelt *Bedesan*).

40) ‘In the same manor ten thegns hold from the same Osbern one sulung and half a yoke.’ Probably this is Barfrestone, divided into several pieces.

11rb43) ‘Ansfrid (Masleclerc) holds from the bishop Soles.’ Soles TR 2550 in Nonington (Hasted 9:256).

11rb47) ‘Radulf son of Robert holds from the bishop Hertange.’ Hartanger (lost) in Barfrestone TR 2650 (Hasted 10:74).

11rb51) ‘Osbern holds from the bishop one yoke and a half in the same (Eastry) hundred.’ Not identified. Possibly Osbern son of Letard, though the compiler of  $\epsilon$  did not think so (6vb34).

11va2) ‘(In Bewsborough hundred) Hugo de Montfort holds from the bishop one sulung of empty land. (It is) outside his division, (even though) it used to belong to the manor of Neventone (13vb7) which he has inside his division.’ Not identified. The entry is out of place, and the wording is anomalous: I think we can be sure that this is an addition made by the second team of commissioners. We are being warned that there is a sulung here which might be mistaken for part of Hugo’s division. That is not the case: uniquely for this sulung, Hugo is the bishop’s tenant.

11va5) ‘Wibert holds half a yoke (in Eastry hundred) which used to belong to the guild of Dover.’ Not identified. This entry again seems sure to have been added by the second team of commissioners.

11va8) ‘Osbern son of Letard holds from the bishop Hama.’ Ham TR 3254.

11va12) ‘The same Osbern (son of Letard) holds from the bishop Cilledene.’ Chillenden TR 2653.

11va17) ‘Alvred holds from the bishop Midelea.’ Not identified. \* (The suggestion that this might be Midley TR 0323 in Romney Marsh has nothing to be said in its favour. Midley was part of the manor of Aghne (repr. Court Lodge) TR 0224 in Old Romney (Hasted 8:441) belonging to the monks of Christ Church; it was connected with Mersham (3vb47), not Eastry.)

11va21) ‘In Summerden hundred.’ The only mention of this hundred in DB, prefixed to a mysterious paragraph which seems to relate to some adjustment affecting the westward limits of the lowy of Tonbridge. It ought to have been included much sooner, under Sutton half-lest. I take it that this entry was inserted into the B text by the second team of commissioners. Perhaps it was jotted down in some convenient space (which happened to be in the middle of Eastry hundred), with the intention, never fulfilled, of rewriting it later in its proper place.

22) ‘Rotbert Latiner holds six acres of land.’ Presumably somewhere in the eastern part of Summerden hundred, which belonged to the manor of Dartford. (The archbishop owned most of the hundred; the king owned this part.)

23) ‘Also, of the bishop’s new gift, he has, in the king’s hand, from Ricard son of count Gislebert, (some arable land and some woodland), and from it he pays by way of farm six pounds.’ I am far from sure that I understand the nature of this transaction. Apparently the bishop had held this land from Ricard son of Gislebert, but had relinquished possession to the king. In any case the outcome is that Robert Latiner is managing this property on the king’s behalf.

11va26) ‘Turstin holds from the bishop Ticheteste.’ Tickenhurst TR 2954 in Northbourne (Hasted 9:593). This place follows the same trajectory as Knowlton (11rb33).

11va30) ‘The same Turstin holds from the bishop one yoke in Wanesberge.’ Part of Woodnesborough TR 3056.

11va32) ‘The same Turstin holds from the bishop one yoke in Ece.’ Part of Each TR 3058 in Woodnesborough.

11va33) ‘These two yokes.’ Referring to 11va30 and 11va32.

11va34) ‘Osbert holds from the bishop one yoke and ten acres in Masseberge.’ (Part of) Marshborough TR 3057 in Woodnesborough. If  $\epsilon$  can be trusted (I think it can be), this is Osbern Paisforere (C1-6rc15).

11va36) ‘The same Osbert holds from the bishop fifteen acres in Esmetone.’ Part of a lost place called *Smethetune*, possibly near Shingleton TR 2852 in Eastry. The spelling *Esmetone* has been variously interpreted. I take it to be a syncopated form of *Esmedetone*, which in turn is to be construed as a French form of *Smethetune*. If the name survives at all, it ought to be something like ‘Smeaton’.

The rest of *Smethetune* belonged to Saint Augustine’s, and is silently included in DB’s description of Northbourne (12va23). It is mentioned frequently in the abbey’s records. As was noted by Ward (1933, p. 65), a passage in the twelfth-century *Noticia terrarum* (above, p. 73), associates it with a place called Shrinkling: *Inter smethetune et scrinlinge est unum solin’* (A4, fo. 13r). It is said – and seems to be true – that Shrinkling is the same place as Shingleton (Hasted 10:105).

11va40) ‘Radulf de Curbespine holds from the bishop two sulungs in Walwalesere.’ Waldershare TR 2948.

11va45) ‘Osber(n) son of Letard holds from the bishop one yoke in Ece.’ Part of Each TR 3058 in Woodnesborough.

11va48) ‘Radulf de Curbespine holds from the bishop Essewelle.’ Easole TR 2652 in Nonington (Hasted 9:254).

The parish of Nonington was bisected by a hundred boundary, and that, in this part of Kent, is a rather unusual phenomenon (above, p. 10). Nonington church was in Wingham hundred, but the eastern half of its parish (except for a block of land around Kittington TR 2751) belonged to Eastry hundred. Possibly this might be taken to mean that Easole was a separate parish at the time when the hundreds were formed.

11vb1) ‘Osbern holds from the bishop a manor (in Eastry hundred).’ Not identified. (In  $\varepsilon$  this manor is mentioned twice – not just among the lands of Osbern son of Letard (C1-6va30), but also among those of Osbern Paisforere (6rc16). This is one of the indications which tend to prove that some guesswork went into the compilation of that text.)

11vb5) ‘Ra(nn)ulf de Columbers holds from the bishop Selinges.’ Part of Shelving TR 3056 in Woodnesborough (Hasted 10:125). Probably DB’s ‘Radulf’ is just a slip of the pen (perhaps an anticipation of the next paragraph) – but it not impossible that Rannulf had a relative named Radulf.

11vb10) ‘Radulf de Curbespine holds from the bishop Danetone.’ Denton TR 2146.

11vb15) ‘The same Radulf (de Curbespine) holds from the bishop one yoke in Brochestele.’ A lost place in Ewell TR 2844, already mentioned once (11rb15).

11vb17) ‘Radulf de Curbespine holds forty acres of land (in Bewsborough hundred).’

- \* 11vb20) ‘Rannulf de Valbadon holds half a yoke in Hamestede ... and Rannulf now says that the bishop of Bayeux gave it to a brother of his.’ Not identified, but apparently in Bewsborough hundred. A puzzling little entry, which looks as if it was added by the second team of commissioners. Rannulf’s brother, the previous owner, was named Reinald de Valbadon: he is accused of stealing four acres of *Hemstede* which ought to be Saint Augustine’s (doc. 4). Rannulf himself occurs once more in DB-Ke, as the tenant of a yoke belonging to the manor of Northbourne (12va24).

Rannulf de Valbadon – the same man or another man with the same name – was still holding half a yoke, directly from the king, in about 1120 (Flight 2005, p. 372).

The two paragraphs which follow look as if they got dropped to the end of this chapter, perhaps by accident, perhaps because it had been doubted for a moment whether they were ‘of the bishop’s feod’ or not. The hundred headings were supplied; the lest headings were not. Acrise, no doubt, was in Limwar lest. Hastingleigh, lying to the north of Brabourne (13vb23), was presumably in Wiwarleth lest.

11vb24) ‘Anschitil de Ros holds of the bishop’s feod Acres.’ Acrise TR 1942.

11vb29) ‘Roger son of Anschitil holds of the bishop’s feod Hastinglelai.’ Hastingleigh TR 1044. (Excluding half a sulung which belonged to Hugo de Montfort (14ra15).) Together with Goodnestone (10va4), Hastingleigh became part of the second-tier barony

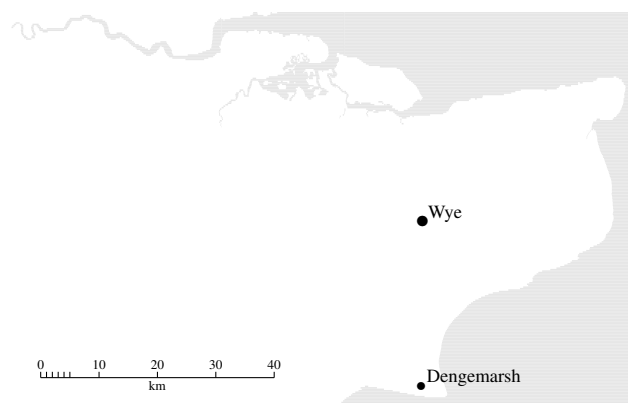


Figure 10. Lands of the abbey of Battle.

of Weston Turville (Buckinghamshire), which itself was part of the honour of the earl of Leicester (below, p. 257).

## 6. Land of the church of Battle

The abbey of Saint Martin of the Battle was founded by king Wilhelm on the site of the victory to which he owed his crown. One valuable manor in Kent became part of its endowment.

11vb40) ‘The abbot of St Martin’s of the place of battle holds a manor which is called Wi.’ Wye TR 0546. A large manor, extending beyond both the parish and the hundred with which it shared its name. Dengemarsh TR 0518 in Lydd was originally part of Wye, though later it came to be regarded as a separate manor.

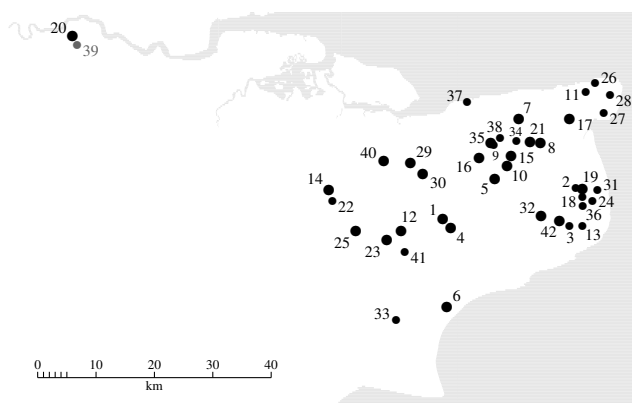
Some useful thirteenth-century documentation concerning the manor of Wye was put into print by Scargill-Bird (1887) and Muhlfeld (1933). DB’s description should be read in light of that.

## 7. Land of Saint Augustine’s church

The monastery founded by Saint Augustine on a site just outside the walls of the city of Canterbury had maintained a continuous existence ever since. In 1070, the previous abbot having deserted his post and fled to Denmark, a Norman monk named Scotland, from the monastery of Le Mont-Saint-Michel, was appointed in his place. Like Lanfranc, he had to steer his church through difficult waters; and there are several surviving documents which illustrate the course he took (docs. 4–8). He also started rebuilding the church itself, on a grand scale. We do not know when the work began; but we do know exactly how far it had advanced by the time of Scotland’s death in 1087.

Except perhaps for some property in London, the abbey owned nothing outside Kent; except for one, all of its manors were in the eastern half of Kent (within the diocese of Canterbury). In return for these lands, the abbot was required to provide the king with fifteen knights, whenever the king might ask for them.

One word of warning. The reader should realize that, in some respects, the history of Saint Augustine’s is highly problematic. The abbey’s own historians – Thomas Sprott, who was writing at the end of the thirteenth century, Willelm Thorne, who revised and continued Sprott’s chronicle a hundred years later – are notoriously unreliable. With regard to what happened in the years just after the survey, following the death of abbot Scotland, much damage has been done by a mischievous piece of pseudo-history concocted by one of the monks of Christ Church in about 1120. To cut



1 Ashenfield	15 Littlebourne	29 Selling
2 Little Betteshanger	16 Longport	30 Shillingheld
3 Bewsfield	17 Minster	31 Sholden
4 Bodsham	18 Little Mongeham	32 Sibertswold
5 Bridge	19 Northbourne	33 Snave
6 Burmarsh	20 Plumstead	34 Stodmarsh
7 Chislet	21 Preston	35 Sturry
8 Elmstone	22 Rayton	36 Sutton
9 Fordwich	23 Repton	37 Swalecliffe
10 Garrington	24 Ripple	38 Westbere
11 Hengrove	25 Rooting	39 East Wickham
12 Kennington	26 St John	40 Wilderton
13 East Langdon	27 St Laurence	41 Willesborough
14 Lenham	28 St Peter	42 Wlatenholt

Figure 11. Lands of the abbey of Saint Augustine.

a long story short, the gist of it is that the abbey's monks – having mutinied once too often – were all evicted, and that monks were brought in from Christ Church to replace them. Camouflaged in excerpts from a genuine text (which, unhappily, does not survive in any better form than this), the narrative was planted in a copy of the 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173, fo. 32v); and there it sat for many years, doing no harm to anyone. (The monks of Saint Augustine's became aware of its existence but did not think it worth refuting.) After the dissolution, however, it came to the attention of a post-medieval generation of historians, who, lacking a medieval sense of humour, took it at face value. From Parker (1572, pp. 99–100) onwards, numerous versions of the story have found their way into the literature, all of them derived, directly or indirectly, from this single manuscript. (Usually the story is given some slight twist, to make it seem a little less incredible: in Parker's version, for instance, only some of the monks are expelled, and the monks who replace them are 'new monks', not monks from Christ Church.) For anyone who knows when their leg is being pulled, the story is obviously fiction. The abbey did not become metamorphosed into a cell of Christ Church. If proof of that is needed, the reader has only to look at the writings of Gocelin – especially at his report on the excavations carried out at Saint Augustine's in 1091, in the time of abbot Wido (1087–93).

12ra3) 'The abbot of Saint Augustine's has a manor by the name of Plumstede.' Plumstead TQ 4578. The abbot also owned East Wickham TQ 4676, but there he held from the bishop of Bayeux (6va28), not directly from the king.

12ra10) 'The same abbot holds Lertham.' Lenham TQ 8952. The spelling is odd, but there is no doubt about the identification.

15) 'Of this manor Robert Latiner holds one yoke.' Possibly Rayton (repr. Chapel Farm) TQ 9050 in Lenham, which showed

some tendency to slip out of the abbey's possession (Johnson and Cronne 1956, no. 1283). (This yoke should apparently be counted separately from the 5.5 sulungs of Lenham; so I infer from doc. 11.)

12ra17) 'The same abbot holds Borne.' Bridge TR 1854. The identification was made by Ward (1933, p. 64), on the evidence of doc. 11.

12ra22) '(In Canterbury hundred) the same abbot holds a manor (called) Lanport.' Longport (repr. Barton Court) TR 1557 outside Canterbury. Portions of this manor in Stowting hundred are listed separately below (12vb20).

12ra30) 'The same abbot holds Liteburne.' Littlebourne TR 2157, including Stodmarsh TR 2260.

35) 'Of this manor the bishop of Bayeux has in his park as much as is worth 60 shillings.'

12ra36) 'The same abbot holds Warwintone.' Garrington TR 2056 in Littlebourne (Hasted 9:152).

36) 'The bishop of Bayeux gave it (Garrington) to him (the abbot) in exchange for his (the bishop's) park.' The park which the bishop had made for himself was at Trenley TR 1959 in Wickhambreaux (9rb43).

12ra41) 'The same abbot holds Esturai.' Sturry TR 1760, including Swalecliffe TR 1367.

12ra48) 'The same abbot holds (Saint Mildred's) manor of Tanet.' Minster TR 3164. This entry covers the whole of the eastern half of Thanet, except for six sulungs which were connected with Chislet (12rb6), not with Minster.

This entry ought to cover Stonar TR 3358 as well; if it does, it suggests that there was no commercial activity there in the 1080s, at least none from which the abbot made a profit. A text originating at Christ Church, the report of a trial held at Sandwich in 1127, describes how a parasitic settlement at Stonar had 'recently' come into existence: huts were built along the shore, and the abbot's men began collecting tolls which ought to have been paid to Christ Church's officers in Sandwich; they also began running an unlicensed ferry, to carry men and goods from Thanet across the river (Stenton 1964, p. 116). A charter of Henric I, confirming the abbot and monks of Saint Augustine's in their possession of Stonar, 'the land and the whole shore as far as the middle of the river', refers back to an earlier trial, in the time of Willelm II, 'between the men of London and the men of abbot Wido' (Johnson and Cronne 1956, no. 1644, citing Davis 1913, no. 372). So the settlement at Stonar seems to have been founded – on land which the abbot claimed as his – by traders from London who wanted to do business in Sandwich without paying the usual tolls.

In B/xAug, not in DB, there is a record of some property belonging to the abbot in Sandwich itself: thirty plots of land and a church (A4-21r23). The church in question is Saint Peter's.

12rb6) 'The same abbot holds Cistelet.' Chislet TR 2264, including Westbere TR 1961. Also a large tract of woodland, from East Blean Wood TR 1864 across to West Blean Wood TR 1664, represented by a detached portion of Chislet parish on the six-inch map. Half of the manor described here was in Thanet, at Hengrove TR 3368 in St John's.

6) 'which defended itself for 12 sulungs.' A passage in xAug (perhaps derived from B-Ke, perhaps an interpolation) says that six of these sulungs are at Margate (A4-20v8); a twelfth-century

list of sulungs has separate but successive entries for Margate and Chislet, 6 and 6.25 sulungs respectively (doc. 11).

The mainland portion of the manor is mapped by Tatton-Brown (1997, p. 138). For identifying the portion in Thanet, the crucial evidence – kindly pointed out to me by Harold Gough – comes from a passage in the thirteenth-century ‘Black Book’ (ed. Turner and Salter 1915–24, pp. 25–6): ‘Furthermore there are at Margate in the parish of Saint John’s five sulungs and fifty acres which belong to Hengrove’ (*Sunt preterea apud Meregate in parochia sancti Iohannis v sullingi et l acre qui pertinent ad Hengraue*). By this time the connection with Chislet seems to have been broken (any payments or deliveries that had to be made were being made either to Minster or to the abbey itself), and the assessment had been adjusted downwards, from 6 to 5.25 sulungs, just as the assessment for Minster had been reduced from 48 to 45.75 sulungs; but it is clear that the Hengrove sulungs were being counted separately from the Minster sulungs. (The due called ‘horsaver’ is payable at the rate of 16 pence per sulung, and the total is reported to be 816 pence: that is the equivalent of  $45.75 + 5.25 = 51$  sulungs.) As late as 1441, in a document printed by Lewis (1723, app. pp. 29–34), Hengrove was still being treated as a separate manor from Minster (and the assessments had been reduced even further by then, to 42.44 and 4.75 sulungs).

9) ‘forty-seven salterns paying fifty seams of salt.’ The word ‘seam’ occurs only twice in DB-Ke, here as a measure of salt, below as a measure of flour (12rb27). In French it was *some*, from the Latin (originally Greek) word *sagma*, ‘pack-saddle’. Some people were aware of that; but nearly always, in writing as well as in speech, this word became merged with *some* from *summa*, ‘sum’.

A seam was properly a measure of weight – it was the load which a pack-horse could carry – but there were rules for converting it into a measure of volume. At Aldington in the 1280s, a seam of salt was equal to 8 bushels (Witney 2000, p. 242). (It could also be converted into money: at Folkestone in the 1260s, a seam of salt was priced at 20 pence (Larking 1860, p. 256).)

12rb13) ‘The same abbot holds a small town which is called Forewic.’ Fordwich TR 1859.

14) ‘King Edward gave two thirds of this town to Saint Augustine. As for the third which had been earl Godwin’s, the bishop of Bayeux granted it to the same saint, with the king’s assent.’ A writ of the bishop’s, addressed to archbishop Lanfranc, sheriff Haimo and others, is the record of this donation (Bates 1998, p. 351).

22) ‘In this town (of Fordwich) archbishop Lanfranc holds seven measures of land which TRE paid service to Saint Augustine. Now the archbishop is depriving him (the saint) of the service.’ A complaint from the abbot: the archbishop’s tenants are refusing to pay their share.

12rb24) ‘Next to the city of Canterbury Saint Augustine has half a sulung which has always been quit (i.e. exempt from paying geld).’

26) ‘In the same place there are four acres of land which four nuns hold in alms from the abbot.’ Urry (1967, pp. 662–3) sees this as the earliest reference to the priory of Saint Sepulchre.

27) ‘one seam of flour.’ Possibly 16 bushels. (At Folkestone in the 1260s there were 16 bushels in a seam of oats (Larking 1860, p. 262).) It is not clear how the nuns were expected to come by this quantity of flour.

12rb30) ‘The same abbot holds Wiretone.’ Wilderton (repr. Pidgeon Cottage) TQ 9957 in Throwley (Hasted 6:453).

12rb34) ‘The same abbot holds Esmerefel, and Anschitil (holds it) from him.’ Ashenfield TR 0947 in Waltham (Hasted 9:324). DB’s spelling of the place-name is better than the modern spelling: the first element is the man’s name Æscmer. In B/xAug the tenant is called Anschitil ‘the marshal’ (A4-18r8). (The compiler of *ε* identified him with Anschitil de Ros (C1-6rb50). Possibly that is right; but the manor did not pass to Anschitil’s descendants.)

12rb37) ‘In Darenden Adam holds from the abbot half a sulung.’ \* A lost place in Wye hundred, mentioned fairly often in the records of Saint Augustine’s, where the usual spelling of the name is *Dernedene*. I have not been able to establish its location.

12rb39) ‘The same abbot holds Setlinges.’ Selling TR 0356.

12rb43) ‘The same abbot holds half a yoke in Rotinge.’ Rooting TQ 9445 in Pluckley (Hasted 7:472).

12rb46) ‘The same abbot holds one yoke (called) Rapetone, and Ansered (holds it) from him.’ Repton TQ 9943 in Ashford (Hasted 7:531). The assessment seems to be misreported by DB. Twelfth-century lists count one sulung here: *Ad Repetune i sulung*’ (doc. 11), *habet Rapetone unum solinum* (A4-13r). Later on, this holding is linked with Little Betteshanger (12vb13).

12va1) ‘Ansfrid (Masleclerc) holds from the abbot Cherinchelle.’ Shillingheld (repr. Shillinghold Wood) TR 0654 in Chillingham (Hasted 7:283). DB’s spelling of the place-name is wild, but the identification is certain; the site is (or was until the 1960s) marked by visible earthworks. B/xAug gives the tenant’s surname (A4-18r11).

12va5) ‘The same abbot holds Norborne.’ Northbourne TR 3352. In the largest sense the manor included (Little) Mongeham (12va27), Bewsfield (12va25), Ripple TR 3550, (East) Langdon TR 3346, Sholden TR 3552, Elmstone (12vb5), the lost *Smettone* (12va23), and ‘other members’ too (of which Sutton TR 3349 was certainly one); so defined, it was assessed at 36 sulungs (doc. 11). But DB has separate entries for several of those places.

10) ‘Of the villains’ land of this manor, Oidelard holds one sulung.’ Oidelard was the abbot’s steward (doc. 8); he also held part of Bewsfield (12va25).

12) ‘Of the same villains’ land, Gislebert holds two sulungs less half a yoke.’ This land was at Sholden and Bewsfield (A4-12r).

14) ‘Wadard holds of this manor three sulungs less sixty acres of the villains’ land.’ Wadard is the same man who held Maplescombe (6rb29) and other places from the bishop of Bayeux. By agreement with abbot Scotland, he had been given (or, more probably, allowed to keep) five sulungs of land ‘around Northbourne’, but only for his own lifetime (doc. 6). Some of that land is recorded here, some of it in the next paragraph. (The rent of thirty shillings, though mentioned twice in DB, covered all five sulungs.) Later, despite the terms of the lease, Wadard’s successor, Manasser Arsic, got possession of the land, but abbot Hugo succeeded in dislodging him (Johnson and Cronne 1956, no. 944). Wadard’s land was at Ripple and East Langdon.

18) ‘Odelin holds of the same villains’ land one sulung.’ Odo called Odelin was one of the abbot’s knights. The land he held was at Sutton (Turner and Salter 1915–24, p. 433).

20) ‘Marcher holds of the same villains’ land what is worth eight shillings.’

21) ‘Osbern son of Letard holds half a sulung . . . of the villains’ land.’ Another man of bishop Odo’s with whom the abbot had had to come to terms.

A subparagraph seems to have gone missing here, relating to a man named Acard who owned land worth twenty shillings (B/xAug/A4-21v11).

23) ‘Rannulf de Columbers holds one yoke.’ This is the land at *Smethetone* which, for a time, was wrongfully occupied by Rannulf (doc. 4). Bishop Odo ‘gave it back’ (Bates 1998, pp. 352–3): in other words, he renounced any claim on the land, as far as he himself was concerned. His man remained in possession, becoming the abbot’s tenant.

24) ‘Rannulf de Valbadon holds one yoke.’ An interpolation in xAug says that ‘this is the land which Simon de Holte holds’ (A4-21v7). Simon de Holt (occ. 1236–58) was the second husband of Emma, daughter and heir of Stephan de Denintone, who took his surname from Denton (11vb10).

25) ‘Also the Oidelard mentioned above (12va10) holds of this manor one sulung; it is called Beusesfel.’ Bewsfield (repr. Church Whitfield) TR 3145. In medieval records the church and parish were always called Bewsfield; Whitfield was the name of a manor in this parish, not recognizably recorded in DB.

\* 12va27) ‘The same abbot holds Mundingeham.’ Little Mongeham TR 3350. (Great Mongeham was part of the manor of Adisham (5rb18) belonging to the monks of Christ Church.)

Probably here, certainly somewhere, there ought to be an entry for Ripple TR 3550. In xAug we find a shortened version of the entry as it appeared in B, and the facts reported there are these: ‘Ripple TRE was held by Wlmer from the abbot and answered for one sulung and a half; now it is held from the abbot by Ansfrid Masleclerc; it pays 100 pence a year to Saint Augustine’s and 100 pence a year to Saint Martin’s (of Dover); the whole manor is worth eight pounds’ (A4-21v22).

In DB, Ripple is mentioned only incidentally (as *Ripe* or *Ripa*) in the description of the lands of Saint Martin’s (2rb17); the main entry has gone missing. The difficulty does not end there, because it seems that there must have been another manor in Ripple, held by Ansfrid Masleclerc from the bishop of Bayeux, which is also missing from DB. It is first heard of in about 1230, when – with other lands which had once belonged to Ansfrid – it was reported to owe a castleguard rent to Dover (120 pence every 24 weeks).

12va38) ‘The same abbot holds Siberteswalt.’ Sibertswold TR 2647. Abbot Scotland had given this manor on a lifetime lease to Hugo son of Fulbert – whom I take to have been the father of Fulbert de Dovre (10va9) – for a rent of twenty shillings (doc. 5). By 1086 Hugo was dead, and apparently the lease had not been renewed in Fulbert’s favour: to judge from this entry (and from the corresponding entry in xAug (A4-22r4)), the manor was in the abbot’s domain at the time. But that was not the end of the story. Sooner or later, Fulbert or his descendants recovered possession of Sibertswold, paying the abbot a rent of 20 shillings (until 1232, when the rent was increased to 24 shillings (*Feet of fines*, pp. 114–15)); they sold the place in 1257 (pp. 286–7).

12va43) ‘The same abbot holds Platenout.’ A lost place called *Wlatenholt*, probably represented by Waddling Wood TR 2946 in Coldred. (The name is ‘Wadholt Wood’ on the first-edition six-inch map; that has been replaced by ‘Waddling Wood’ on the current map.) The identification, first made by Wallenberg (1934), looks sure to be right; but it needs to be worked out a little further.

12va48) ‘In Preston hundred.’ This hundred is a problem. It consisted only of these two manors of the abbot’s, Preston and Elmstone. DB appears to be placing it in Eastry lest (the heading at 12va4 should still apply), but later evidence puts it squarely in Borwar (Saint Augustine’s) lest. There are two possibilities. Either we take the evidence as we find it, inferring that Preston hundred was, at some later date, taken out of Eastry lest and put into Borwar lest. Or else we insert a lest heading here, on the assumption that it was accidentally omitted from DB. It is far from clear to me which option should be preferred. Since some decision is required, I have assumed, provisionally, that DB is right as it stands.

12va48) ‘The same abbot holds Prestetune.’ Preston TR 2460.

1) ‘Of this manor Vitalis holds one sulung and half a yoke.’ The tenant is the same man who held from the archbishop (3va27) and the bishop of Bayeux (7ra48). This land at Preston passed to his son, Haimo son of Vitalis (doc. 11), but I cannot trace it further.

12vb5) ‘Ansfrid holds from the abbot Æluetone.’ Approximately the same as Elmstone TR 2660. In the abbey’s records this name is very variably spelt: at its simplest it resembles the DB form, but forms like *Eluiedetone* and *Ælfgidetone* go to prove that it means ‘Ælfgyth’s estate’. The modern name is different: it derives (the spelling is thoroughly deceptive) from ‘Ægelmer’s estate’.

The tenant is Ansfrid Masleclerc. Together with Ripple, this manor was given to Ansfrid by abbot Scotland (doc. 7), on similar terms to those negotiated with Wadard (doc. 6). In return, Ansfrid donated tithes from five manors held by him from the bishop of Bayeux.

7) ‘with three oxen in a plough.’ The wording is odd, and probably the text is corrupt. I would guess that *in car*’ is a misreading of *iii car*’, and that *iii bobus* was meant as a correction of that.

8) ‘In this manor Ansfrid holds half a sulung of the monks’ domain.’ Possibly this is Elmstone in a stricter sense, i.e. the place to which the name originally belonged.

12vb13) ‘In the lest (of Eastry) and in the hundred of Eastry Saint Augustine has three rods of land.’ This reads like one of the entries added by the second team of commissioners. Apparently this land had been overlooked at first, perhaps because there was doubt which hundred it belonged to. The holding in question can be identified as Little Betteshanger TR 3252 in Northbourne (Hasted 9:591). The early twelfth-century list of sulungs makes a connection between these three rods and Repton (12rb46): ‘Willelm de Rapintune holds three rods in the hundred of Eastry’ (doc. 11). (This proves that DB’s ‘three rods’ is right and that xAug’s ‘three yokes’ is wrong.) In 1242, when Repton belonged to Walter de Dene (*Book of fees*, p. 660), half a fee in Betteshanger was held from him by Petrus de Betlesangre (p. 656). By 1253 we find this holding being counted as part of Cornilo hundred, like the rest of Northbourne.

12vb17) ‘Gaufrid holds Bodesham from the abbot.’ Bodsham TR 1045 in Elmsted (Hasted 8:40).

12vb20) ‘The same abbot holds in Lanport two sulungs and one yoke.’ Several pieces of land in Stowting hundred, regarded as limbs of the manor of Longport (12ra22). The twelfth-century *Noticia terrarum* identifies them by name; the list includes (part of) Elmsted TR 1144 and (part of) Horton TR 1240 (A4-13r).

12vb25) ‘The same abbot holds Chenetone.’ Kennington TR 0245, including Willesborough TR 0241.

25) 'TRE ... it belonged to Borchemeres.' I do not understand what this means. *Borchemeres* is usually supposed to be Burmarsh, the place described in the following paragraph (12vb33); but the names are very differently spelt, and the places are very far apart. Besides, if one place did belong to the other, one would have expected Burmarsh to belong to Kennington (as Dengemarsh belonged to Wye), not vice versa. It seems unlikely to me that *Borchemeres* and *Burwarmaresc* are the same place; at most I might be willing to believe that the names became confused, during the compilation of the survey text.

12vb33) '(In Romney Marsh) the same abbot holds Burwarmaresc.' Burmarsh TR 1032, including Snave TR 0129. The DB spelling is good; the usual twelfth-century spelling was something like *Burwarmareis*. The parallel passage in xAug seems to be saying that Burmarsh is in Blackbourne hundred (A4-24r15), but I do not see how that could possibly be right; I would rather suppose that the text is defective at this point.

12vb37) 'The shire testifies that Bedenesmere used to be Saint Augustine's TRE.' A note relating to the manor of Badlesmere TR 0155 in Faversham hundred, held by Ansfrid Masleclerc from the bishop of Bayeux (10rb11). This is a complaint from the abbot put on record by the second team of commissioners.

## 8. Land of Saint Peter of Gent

The ancient monastery of Saint Peter of Gent (Saint-Pierre-du-Mont-Blandin) owned only one manor in England, and that manor was in Kent. As we discover from DB, the monks had been in possession TRE, and were still in possession at the time of the survey; they remained so (at least in theory) until the fifteenth century. (In  $\epsilon$  the abbey is called 'Saint Wandrille's' (C1-6rb5). It was indeed one of the places which claimed to possess the body of that seventh-century saint, but it was never known by that name, as far as I am aware.)

At the time of the survey, if I read the signs correctly, the manor was held at farm by Walter de Dowai. DB says nothing about that, apparently because arrangements of this kind were regarded as private matters, not needing to be reported to the king; but Walter does occur close by at Lee (6vb39), as a tenant of the bishop of Bayeux. Given that, and given that a link between Lee and Lewisham persists, I think we catch a hint of some unresolved disagreement between the bishop and the abbot of Gent concerning the ownership of that half-sulung. Walter's son Robert, who used the surname de Bantone, did certainly get hold of Lewisham: the abbot had to take him to court to recover possession of the manor (Johnson and Cronne 1956, no. 934). But it was claimed (and seems likely to be true) that Robert had Lewisham given back to him, to hold at fee-farm from the abbot. Robert's daughter Juliana is said to have held Lee, and may have held Lewisham too.

(The evidence from which I piece this story together comes mostly from the record of two lawsuits instigated by Juliana's grandson, Willelm Painel (d. 1228). In 1219 he sued the abbot of Gent, asserting a right to hold Lewisham at fee-farm (*Curia regis rolls*, vol. 8, p. 44); in 1223–5 he sued the owners of Lee (vol. 11, p. 516), who paid him 80 marks to drop the case (*Fet of fines*, p. 84).)

12vb41) 'The abbot of Gent holds from the king Leuesham.' Lewisham TQ 3774, including Greenwich TQ 3877.

Somehow or other, the manor came to be held by Gervais de Cornhelle, who formally renounced any right to it, for himself and his heirs, in 1160×6 (in a batch of three documents summarized by



Figure 12. Lands of the abbey of Saint Peter of Gent.

Round 1899, pp. 504–5). Presumably this means that the monks of Gent had decided to buy Gervais out and take the manor into their own hands. They established a small priory there: I infer that it was founded in the 1160s, but have no proof of its existence before the 1190s.

## 9. Land of Hugo de Montfort

The king's constable, Hugo de Montfort, had acquired a vast estate in England, all of it in the eastern part of the country (below, p. 252). In Kent he had built himself a castle at Saltwood, overlooking the port of Hythe. To provide this castle with a garrison, Hugo had (so it seems) been authorized to get possession of some quantity of land, or number of manors, to be distributed among his knights. Unlike the lowy of Tonbridge, the lands which thus became attached to Saltwood castle did not form a solid block: they were interspersed with lands belonging to other lords. Either at the time or later, after things had settled down, much negotiation had to take place between Hugo and the bishop of Bayeux, before the limits of Hugo's 'division' were adequately defined; there are numerous passages in DB which reflect that process of adjustment. More awkward still, Saltwood turned out to be one of the manors on which archbishop Lanfranc had an undeniable claim. In order to keep possession of it, Hugo had had to acknowledge that he held it from the archbishop; and therefore we find it listed in chapter 2 (4va17).

From the mid twelfth century onwards, there is a respectable amount of surviving documentation relating to the honour of the Constabulary (as Hugo's lands had come to be called). Despite that, the identification of the places named in the following chapter is more than usually problematic. As in other chapters, many identifications are perfectly straightforward; but the ratio of difficult names is higher here than elsewhere. Conversely, some of the places named frequently in later documents are not easy to match up with any of the holdings that we find described in DB. To be brief, it looks as if the honour underwent some fairly extensive reorganization, after the 1080s.

That means, I think, that in dealing with this chapter we need to be especially careful not to jump to conclusions. We should, for example, take warning from some imprudent comments of Ward's (1933, pp. 71–2), where one very dubious identification (of 14vb7 *Neventone*) was used to justify another (of 13rb26 *Belice*).

13ra3) 'Hugo de Montfort holds a manor (called) Estwelle.' Eastwell TR 0047.



- 4) 'Three yokes (out of four) are inside Hugo's division. The fourth yoke is outside; it is (part) of the feod of the bishop of Bayeux.'
- 13ra9) 'The same Hugo holds Haintone from the king.' Hampton TR 0743 in the part of Brabourne which belonged to Wye hundred (Hasted 8:22). The record of a lawsuit in 1227 says much about the history of this holding (Maitland 1887, vol. 3, pp. 596–7).
- 13ra13) 'Maigno holds from Hugo Seiuetone.' Sevington TR 0340. The DB spelling is good: it should be read as five syllables, 'se-i-ve-to-ne', meaning 'Sægifu's estate'.
- 13ra17) 'The same Maigno holds from Hugo Estefort.' Part of Ashford TR 0142, possibly East Stour TR 0242.
- 13ra21) 'The same Hugo holds Essella.' Not identified, but possibly part of Ashford. The final *a* is the DB scribe's way of warning us that he has copied the name as he found it, not understanding what English name might be represented by this spelling.
- 13ra25) 'Another Essetesford Maigno holds from Hugo.' Ashford TR 0142. This is the manor which possesses a church.
- 13ra31) '(In Newchurch hundred) the same Hugo holds in Romney Marsh one yoke.'
- 13ra35) 'The same Hugo holds half a yoke ... This land is appraised in Tinton.' Explaining why no value is reported for this yoke: its value is included in the total reported for Tinton (13rb42). (Why Tinton in particular? Because the domain ploughs from that manor are brought over to plough this land.)
- 13ra37) A misplaced entry (it belongs in Bewsborough hundred), curiously botched as well. It starts off with a summary of the facts of the case, as they were recorded by the second team of commissioners, and then runs on into a paragraph of the normal sort.
- 37) 'This (is what) the hundred (of Bewsborough) testifies, and the townsmen of Dover, and the abbot of Saint Augustine's men, and Eastry lest, with regard to the land (called) Etretone.' Atterton (repr. Archers Court) TR 3045 in River (Hasted 9:439). (My translation assumes that *quod* should be emended to *quoad*.)
- 39) 'that Wulwi (called) le Wilde held it in alod TRE.' Wulwi had been one of the canons of Saint Martin's, the owner of the prebend which now belonged to Godric (1vb41). By saying that he held this piece of land 'in alod', the jurors are saying that the canons have no claim on it: it was Wulwi's personal property, not Saint Martin's.
- 13ra42) 'The same Hugo holds Estbrige in domain.' Eastbridge TR 0732.
- 13ra48) '(In Worth hundred) Bertran holds from Hugo half a yoke and half a rod.'
- 13ra50) 'Herveus holds from Hugo Blachemenestone.' Blackmanstone TR 0729. This manor took its name from the TRE tenant.
- 13rb5) 'The same Hugo holds in Romney Marsh one sulung less half a rod.' The phrase 'in Romney Marsh' ought perhaps to have been written as a cadastral heading (as at 5rb43, 12vb32). On that assumption, this manor would not have to be looked for in Worth hundred.
- 13rb8) 'Roger holds from Hugo one yoke in Romney Marsh.'
- 13rb11) 'Rotbert holds from Hugo in the same Marsh a sixth part of a yoke.'
- 13rb14) 'Roger holds from Hugo Postinges.' Postling TR 1439.
- 20) 'Of this manor Radulf de Curbespine has three dens; they are outside Hugo's division'. And therefore we find them listed in chapter 5, as part of the bishop's feod (10vb14).
- 13rb22) '(In Heane hundred) the same Hugo holds half a sulung.' This piece of land is valued jointly with the next one.
- 13rb26) 'The same Hugo holds Belice.' Not identified. Though the place cannot be the same, the name may perhaps be connected with Beachborough TR 1638 in Newington (Hasted 8:202), the first element of which was written 'belch' till more decorous spellings, either 'beech' or 'beach', prevailed.
- 13rb30) '(In Newchurch hundred) the same Hugo holds a (piece of) land.'
- 13rb34) 'The same Hugo holds half a sulung in Romney Marsh.'
- 13rb37) '(In Aloesbridge hundred) the same Hugo holds in the same Marsh one yoke.'
- 13rb40) 'These two lands.' These words do not make sense. Perhaps they were repeated by error (from 13rb29).
- 13rb42) 'The same Hugo holds Tintentone.' Tinton TQ 9832 in Warehorne (Hasted 8:368).
- 13rb49) '(In Blackbourne hundred) the same Hugo holds half a yoke.'
- 13va1) 'Herveus holds from Hugo Sedlinges.' Sellindge TR 0938. An outlying portion of the manor (repr. Sellinge Farm TR 0829) is mapped and discussed by Ward (1936, pp. 24–7).
- 13va8) 'Alnod holds from Hugo Hortone.' Horton TR 1240. After becoming reannexed to the domain, Horton provided the site for a Cluniac priory founded by Hugo's daughter, Adelina, and her third husband, Robert de Ver (d. 1151). Charters recording the donations made by them and their tenants are a valuable source of information about the history of the honour.
- 13va14) 'In the same place (Horton) Alnod holds one yoke from Hugo, but there is nothing there.'
- 13va15) 'The same Hugo holds three rods and a half in the same (Limwar) lest.' Text  $\epsilon$  says, perhaps rightly, that this land is in Street hundred (C1-6vc54).
- 13va19) 'Willelm holds from Hugo Orlauestone.' Orlestone TR 0034. Probably including Shadoxhurst TQ 9737, the church of which, in 1240, was given by Willelm de Ordlawestune to the Trinitarian friars (*Feet of fines*, pp. 153–4).
- 13va24) 'Radulf son of Ricard holds from Hugo half a sulung in Rochinges.' Part of Ruckinge TR 0233.
- 13va29) 'Radulf holds from Hugo Hortun.' Part of Horton TR 1240.
- 13va34) 'Hugo de Manneuille holds from Hugo Estraites.' Street (repr. Court-at-Street) TR 0935 in Lympne (Hasted 8:292)
- 13va39) '(In Street hundred) Ansfrid holds from Hugo one yoke.'
- 13va43) 'Rotbert the cook holds from Hugo one yoke.'

13va46) ‘(In Longbridge hundred) Gislebert holds from Hugo one yoke.’ Apparently in part of Longbridge hundred which belonged to Limwar lest (3vb34).

13va49) ‘Of Etwelle which Herbert son of Ivo holds outside Hugo’s division, the same Hugo holds fourteen acres inside his division.’ Herbert’s manor of Ewell was part of the bishop’s feod (11ra26).

\* 13vb2) ‘The same Hugo de Montfort holds Etwelle.’ La Riviere (repr. River) TR 2943. (Not Ewell except in a large sense, as Ward (1933, p. 70) pointed out.)

\* 13vb7) ‘The same Hugo holds Neuentone.’ A lost place in Bewsborough hundred. Presumably the sulung which has been deducted from the assessment is the one already listed in chapter 5 (11va2). The existence of the church mentioned here is confirmed by an entry in one of C1’s lists (a7). Beyond that we get no help.

13vb13) ‘Inside this division there is a sokeman holding sixteen acres of land.’

13vb15) ‘In the same (Bewsborough) hundred the same Hugo holds one share of Iaonei . . . which did not belong to any manor but is (now) inside his division; it used to be (part) of the king’s domain.’ A very carefully worded paragraph, the meaning of which, even so, is hard to grasp.

13vb18) ‘In the same hundred Fulbert has from Hugo one mill.’ The unfinished sentence in the line above should be taken to refer to this mill.

13vb19) ‘Herfrid holds from Hugo Poltone.’ Poulton TR 2741. The tenant may be the same man who occurs at Throwley and elsewhere (10rb39, 10vb17, 11rb15) as a tenant of the bishop of Bayeux; but Poulton did not follow the same trajectory as his other lands.

13vb22) ‘In Wiwar(leth) lest, in Bircholt hundred.’ Here we have it stated explicitly that Bircholt hundred in in Wiwarleth lest. This is the northern half-hundred (Bircholt Barony, as opposed to Bircholt Franchise), recorded later as part of Shrewinghope lest. Knowing that Brabourne was in Wiwarleth lest, we can be confident that the same was true (as later) for places lying to the north of it – Hastingleigh (11vb29, 14ra15) and Aldglose (10vb21).

13vb23) ‘The same Hugo holds Breburne.’ Brabourne TR 1041.

24) ‘It defended itself for 7 sulungs then, (but) now for 5.625 sulungs, because the other part is outside Hugo’s division and the bishop of Bayeux holds it.’ As we learn from chapter 5, the ‘other part’ included Aldglose (10vb21); but that does not fully account for this reduction.

13vb30) ‘In the hundred of Chart some woman holds from Hugo one rod.’

13vb32) ‘The same Hugo holds half a yoke in Tepindene.’ Tiffenden TQ 9036 in High Halden (Hasted 7:222).

13vb36) ‘(In Street hundred) the same Hugo holds Siborne.’ Not identified. Ward (1935, p. 148) has a tentative suggestion.

\* 13vb40) ‘The same Hugo has half a sulung (called) Suanetone.’ Not identified. Here again, Ward (1935, p. 148) ventures a suggestion. The abbot of Saint Augustine’s thought that a yoke here ought to belong to him (doc. 4).

13vb44) ‘Nigel holds from Hugo one yoke.’ The following phrase, ‘and in Aia (there are) seven acres’, should be read as a parenthesis.

13vb48) ‘Willelm son of Grossa holds from Hugo Bonintone.’ Bonnington TR 0534.

14ra3) ‘Herveus holds from Hugo Obtrepole.’ Otterpool TR 1046 in Lympne (Hasted 8:290).

14ra9) ‘(In Blackbourne hundred and in Newchurch hundred) Herald holds half a sulung less one rod.’ To be identified with confidence as the manor of Kenardington TQ 9732 in Blackbourne hundred, with the land called Cockride (Hasted 8:348) attached to it in Newchurch hundred. From the late twelfth century onwards, the descent of the manor is well documented.

13) ‘In addition he has one den which used to belong to Fane, Adam’s manor.’ Meaning the manor of Fanscombe in Wye hundred belonging to Adam son of Hubert (10va30).

14ra15) ‘The same Hugo holds half a sulung in Hastingelie.’ Part of Hastingleigh TR 1044. The larger part belonged to the bishop of Bayeux (11vb29).

14ra19) ‘The same Hugo holds in domain one yoke and a half in Teuegate.’ (Part of) Evegate TR 0639 in Smeeth (Hasted 8:3). Explicitly in Longbridge hundred here, though later on the whole of Smeeth was in Bircholt Franchise hundred.

14ra23) ‘In the same (Longbridge) hundred there is a rod of land in Suestone.’ Not identified. In  $\epsilon$  we find the place-name transformed into *Westtune* (C1-6vc20); but that was probably just a guess, and in any case gets us nowhere.

## 10. Land of count Eustachius

After 1066, the count of Boulogne acquired a vast estate in England (below, p. 250). In Kent, however, the part of the country closest to Boulogne, he did not gain much of a foothold; there was, one would guess, a policy behind that fact.

14ra32) ‘Count Eustachius holds from the king Oistreham.’ West-erham TQ 4454, including Edenbridge TQ 4446.

14ra40) ‘The same count holds Boltune.’ Boughton Aluph TR 0348.

## 11. Land of Ricard son of Gislebert

Ricard de Tonebrige, son of Gislebert count of Brionne, was an important man both in Normandy and in England. The map of his possessions in Kent – the lands which became the honour of the earls of Clare (below, p. 252) – looks like the fossilized result of an (otherwise unrecorded) episode in duke Willelm’s westward advance through Kent in late 1066. Ricard, it seems, was sent on a foray up the river Medway, with orders to find a good site for a castle and get himself dug in. He reached Yalding, and probably thought of stopping at that point; but then he carried on as far as Tonbridge, and chose to build his castle there. After the conquest had been completed, it came to be understood that every piece of land within a specified distance from the castle (roughly 3–4 miles) had now become Ricard’s property. The territory thus defined was called the lowy of Tonbridge (above, p. 12). Its population stayed in place; but all rents and services due from the local peasants, regardless of to whom they had been paid in the past, were now payable to Ricard.



- |                 |               |                   |
|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 1 Ash           | 10 Hoo        | 18 Otford         |
| 2 Cooling       | 11 Kemsing    | 19 East Peckham   |
| 3 Darenth       | 12 Leybourne  | 20 Ridley         |
| 4 Eccles        | 13 Luddesdown | 21 Southfleet     |
| 5 Eynsford      | 14 Meopham    | 22 Stone          |
| 6 East Farleigh | 15 Milton     | 23 Swanscombe     |
| 7 Farningham    | 16 Northfleet | 24 Wrotham        |
| 8 Frindsbury    | 17 Offham     | 25 Little Wrotham |
| 9 Halling       |               |                   |

Figure 13. Places known to have been affected by the creation of the lowy of Tonbridge.

For the simple reason (so I suppose) that it was not considered to be part of Kent, the lowy of Tonbridge is not described in DB-Ke. But it is mentioned incidentally in many paragraphs, where assets are reported to have been lost to Ricard. Indirectly, the creation of the lowy preserved an interesting snapshot of the pattern of tenure in Kent. If one chose a point in the Weald and drew a circle around it with a radius of 5 km or thereabouts, that circle would include pieces of land belonging to numerous manors in northern Kent. Since the record as we find it in DB is certainly not complete – by and large, it was only the archbishop and the bishop of Rochester who were still nursing a grievance, and even one of the archbishop’s complaints got lost (3ra24) – we are missing some of the complexity of the pattern; but what we can see is remarkable enough. (A similar snapshot was produced, I think, by the creation of a park for the king at Bockingfold (7rb37), but the evidence there is harder to decipher.)

Those lands of Ricard’s which we find described in DB are those which lay outside the lowy. He held two manors directly from the king, and those are listed in this chapter. In addition he owned two manors for which he had acknowledged himself to be the tenant of the bishop of Bayeux (7vb2, 7vb10); and he held some other land too, either from the bishop (8va32) or from the archbishop of Canterbury (4vb15).

14rb3) ‘Ricard de Tonebrige holds Hallinges.’ Yalding TQ 6950, including Brenchley TQ 6741.

14rb11) ‘The same Ricard (de Tonebrige) holds Bermelinge.’ East Barming TQ 7154.

## 12. Land of Haimo the sheriff

Haimo, called ‘the sheriff’, or sometimes ‘the steward’ (because he was, at least nominally, one of the king’s household officers), was not a powerful baron like Hugo de Montfort or Ricard de Tonebrige – but in Kent he was a man of importance. There is no good evidence to fix the date of his appointment as sheriff; from the fact that no other post-conquest sheriff is ever mentioned,

either in the records of the survey or elsewhere, it is probably fair to infer that Haimo was put in charge straight away, as soon as the machinery of government began to function again. He kept the job until he died, a year or two after the survey. (That he was dead by the early part of 1088 can be deduced, I think, from a Rochester document (Davis 1913, no. 451), mistakenly listed by me (Flight 1997a, no. 504) as a writ of Willelm I.)

As sheriff, Haimo was in receipt of payments from Canterbury (2ra15) and from three of the king’s manors (2va14, 2va39, 2vb12); but the sheriffdom (unlike the earldom) did not have any lands annexed to it. The manors listed in this chapter were Haimo’s personal property; he also held at least two manors from the archbishop of Canterbury (3vb7, 4rb23) and five from the bishop of Bayeux (6vb29, 7ra42, 8vb3, 9va6, 9va10).

14rb21) ‘Haimo the sheriff holds from the king a manor.’ Crundale TR 0848. The DB scribe does not know the name of this manor but leaves a space for it;  $\varepsilon$  supplies the name *Dramword* (C1-6vb51). That name survives as Trimworth Manor TR 0649 in Crundale (Hasted 7:373). In the twelfth century it seems to have been used as an alternative name for Crundale. The church is called Crundale in the 1150s (Saltman 1956, no. 36) and 1180s (Cheney and Jones 1986, no. 147), Trimworth in the 1190s (Cheney and John 1986, no. 519, reciting a charter of Hamo de Valoignes), Crundale in an endorsement on this last document. In the fourteenth century it could still be said that Crundale was ‘in Trimworth’, rather than vice versa.

28) ‘Of this manor Hugo de Montfort holds three yokes and a half.’ Apparently a complaint from Haimo; but as usual DB’s language is neutral.

14rb30) ‘There (in Greenwich hundred) Haimo has sixty-three acres of land which belong in Huluiz.’ Part of Woolwich TQ 4379.

14rb34) ‘The same Haimo holds Marourde.’ Mereworth TQ 6653.

14rb41) ‘The same Haimo holds Blehem.’ Blean TR 1260. A shortened version of this paragraph, as it appeared in the B text, is included in the excerpts made for Saint Augustine’s (A4-20v21); apparently the abbot thought he had some claim on this manor, but the claim was never made good.

The arable land (enough for four ploughs) consisted of a clearing carved out of Blean wood, on either side of the road between Canterbury and Whitstable. About Blean wood itself DB has nothing to tell us. I wish that I could say something to fill up the gap, but I hardly know more than was known already to Hasted (9:2). The Blean appears in the record largely as a place from which people in Canterbury could get firewood – an unexciting but indispensable commodity. By the 1520s, when the schoolmaster John Twine settled in Canterbury and started exploring the countryside, foxes and badgers were the only animals left in the Blean which might interest a hunter; but he was told that there had been wild boars there too, not that long before (Twine 1590, lib. 2, p. 101).

## 13. Land of Albert the chaplain

What this chapter describes is the endowment of a dead minster. There are hints of that in DB; but the clearest evidence comes from a somewhat earlier document, the report of an inquiry into the assets of Newington church (doc. 2). Looking at that document – and taking advantage of the hint given at the end of it, that the arrangements existing here bore some resemblance to those existing in the church of Saint Martin’s of Dover – it is not difficult to see that Newington church, at some uncertain point in the past, had

been manned by seven priests, who were endowed accordingly with seven sulungs of land. (In other words, this minster was one-third the size of Saint Martin's.) Each priest was entitled to four 'shares' – perhaps quarterly payments, perhaps payments charged on the individual yokes (either way the shares would come in multiples of four). Two of the priests were nominated by the archbishop, and one by the abbot of Saint Augustine's; the other four, by implication, were nominated by the king (or, possibly, by whoever owned the manor of Milton).

Those arrangements, though still dimly remembered, had long since been allowed to lapse. By the simple expedient of leaving the posts unfilled, the archbishop and the abbot had appropriated twelve of the shares, leasing out the land which went with them. The other sixteen shares, as doc. 2 puts it, were 'theirs who serve in the church'; but it would seem that they all belonged to a man named Swithgar, put in possession by queen Eadgyth (below, 14va3). Probably it was this man's death which prompted the inquiry of which doc. 2 is the outcome.

The result did not satisfy the abbot of Saint Augustine's. At his instigation the matter was brought before a meeting of the county court, and a different conclusion was reached: eight shares, not four, ought to belong to the abbot. A writ from the king ratifies and gives effect to that decision (Bates 1998, no. 88). Though we are not explicitly told this, it seems clear that the abbot's gain was the archbishop's loss: by the time of the survey the archbishop was the owner of four shares (C1-3va10, cf. doc. 3), not of eight as in doc. 2.

As we find it described in DB, Newington is just another manor, involved in some peculiar relationships with the king's manor of Milton, but otherwise normal enough. Not much later, it passed into lay hands: the next owners whose names we know are Radulf Goiz (C1, fo. 7rb, Johnson and Cronne 1956, no. 1157), Avelina (Brett and Gribbin 2004, p. 80), and Ricard de Luci (d. 1179), her son. Sooner or later, the archbishops waived their claim to a share of the proceeds from Newington (not without getting something in return). The monks of Saint Augustine's did not. One of their registers, the 'Black Book' (ed. Turner and Salter 1915–24), has page after page of information about Newington, including much about cheese.

14va2) 'Albert the chaplain holds from the king Newetone.' Newington TQ 8665.

3) 'Sidgar held (it) from queen Eddid.' The man's name is written *Suidgar* in B/xAug (A4-17v15) and should be read, I suppose, as Swithgar. The queen is Eadgyth, king Edward's widow, who died in 1075. I take this as a hint that she had (at least for a while) been in possession of Milton.

5) 'The land which was in domain is (now) at farm.' In other words, Albert has leased it out, because he has no thought of coming to live here.

10) 'To this manor belong four haws in the city of Canterbury and two in Rochester which (together) paid 64 pence.' B/xAug has only this: 'There are two haws in Rochester which the bishop of Bayeux used to hold; (now) they pay to this manor 24 pence' (A4-17v20). The earlier account in doc. 2 is more detailed and slightly different: 'Two haws in Rochester which pay 24 pence. Also three haws in the city of Canterbury on the west side of Eastbridge; (they) and the church which is there pay 30 pence.' Since then, it seems, a fourth haw in Canterbury, paying another 10 pence, had been annexed to Newington. Urry (1967, p. 76) suggested that the church in question was Saint Peter's; I would think that it might rather be All Saints, on the other side of Eastbridge.

12) 'From the manor of Milton there is paid to Newington a custom (in the shape of) 28 weighs of cheese.' Originally intended, no doubt, for the priests' subsistence: four weighs for each of them each year. The cheese was issued at Milton on 1 August (Turner and Salter 1915–24, p. 289).

13) 'From 28 sulungs of Milton there belongs to Newington (a payment of) ten pounds and ten shillings.' Divided by seven, that is 360 pence, about a penny a day.

14) 'From another part, (comprising) nine sulungs, of Milton there belong to Newington 28.5 weighs of cheese.' Doc. 2 confirms that there were indeed two distinct consignments of cheese, but does not mention the extra half-weigh. This second consignment came 'from Sheppey and from *Binnen ea*' (which I can only suggest may perhaps have been another name for Elmley). By the thirteenth century, though these cheeses were still being paid to the court of Newington, the total had decreased: 11 weighs and a fraction were payable on 24 June, another 5 weighs and a fraction on 29 September (Turner and Salter 1915–24, pp. 288–9). From the arithmetic there, it can be proved that a weigh of cheese was equal to 24 pounds. Its nominal value was 72 pence, 3 pence a pound.

21) 'The archbishop gets six pounds from it.' From the lessee of the land which was attached to his four shares. It is clear from B/xAug that the archbishop's holding was being valued separately from Albert's (A4-17va17).

The abbot's eight shares are not mentioned (except by an interpolated sentence in xAug), perhaps because Albert was still contesting that claim, despite the writ cited above. There was certainly some further litigation in the time of Willelm II, but the only record of it is a passing reference – *sicut iudicatum fuit tempore fratris mei in tribus comitatibus apud Suthuercam*, 'as was judged in my brother's time, in a meeting of three counties at Southwark' – in a writ of Henric I (Johnson and Cronne 1956, no. 1157).

## Dover

Ira4–49) The stretch of text that stands first in DB is a survey of the town of Dover, to be read in parallel with B/xAug/A4-22r6–v15. In B the town is called a *burgum*; but the DB scribe consistently calls it a *villa*, which seems for him to denote a status higher than an ordinary *burgum* but lower than a *civitas*. Like the inhabitants of Canterbury and Rochester, the inhabitants of Dover are called *burgenses* (of course they could not be called *villani*), and the plots of land on which their houses stand are called *mansurae* or *masurae*.

4–21) 'Dover in the time of king Edward.' The opening section is all in the past tense: this is how things used to be.

4–8) '(It) used to pay eighteen pounds; of this money the king got two shares and earl Godwin got one share. Separately from this, the canons of Saint Martin's got another half.' Very badly expressed, but in the light of later evidence the meaning is clear enough. The money in question here is not the farm of the town (that is dealt with below): it is the revenue arising from the toll that was paid by people using the harbour. Of this, we are told, one third belonged to the king, one sixth to the earl, and one half to the canons of Saint Martin's. (The sum quoted, 18 pounds, is explicitly the amount shared between the king and the earl; by implication the canons got the same amount again as their share.) After 1088 the earl's share lapsed to the king; after 1139 the canon's share passed to the monks of Saint Martin's priory; from then onwards, therefore, the king and the monks got half each.

The king could, and sometimes did, grant exemption from the toll of Dover; but the exemption applied only to his half, not to the monks' half. A writ of Henric II which spells this out was printed by Larking (1869, p. 5\*, cf. Haines 1930, p. 215). In 1249 the abbot of Le Bec, who was already exempt from paying the king's half of the toll, paid the prior of Saint Martin's 15 marks to get himself, his monks and his men exempted from paying the monks' half as well (*Feet of fines*, p. 229).

9–11) 'The men of the town provided the king with twenty ships once a year for fifteen days; in each ship there were twenty-one men. They did this because he had forgiven them sac and soc.' A crucial episode in the prehistory of the Cinque Ports: through some collective negotiation, the men of Dover had come to an agreement with king Edward. The king would let them keep the money which would otherwise have been paid to him by way of sac and soc. In return, the men of Dover would provide a fleet of twenty ships at their own expense – but only once a year and only for fifteen days. (After that, if the king still needed the ships, he would have to bear the cost himself.)

12–16) 'When the king's messengers came to Dover, they gave three pence in winter and two pence in summer for carrying a horse across. The men of the town supplied a skipper and one other man to help. If anything else was needed, it was hired with his (the messenger's) money.'

16–19) 'From the feast of Saint Michael (29 September) until the feast of Saint Andrew (30 November) the king's truce existed in the town. If anyone broke it, the king's reeve received a communal fine.' This was the herring season – as is proved, for instance, by a charter of archbishop Theobald (Saltman 1956, no. 91). The theory was that at this time of year many of the men of the town would be away from home, fishing in the North Sea (Great Yarmouth came into existence as a seasonal outpost used by ships from Dover and elsewhere); so the king's peace ought to be maintained with extra vigour in their absence.

19–21) 'Anyone who dwelt permanently in the town and paid a custom to the king was exempt from toll throughout the whole of England.'

21–2) 'All these customs existed there when king Willelm came to England.' Referring back to lines 4–21.

23–5) 'At the time of his first arrival in England the town got burnt, and therefore it has not been possible for its value to be computed, (so as to say) how much it was worth when the bishop of Bayeux got possession of it.' The king's biographer, Willelm of Poitiers, makes mention of this fire at Dover (ed. Davis and Chibnall 1998, pp. 142–5), and confirms what we may gather from DB, that bishop Odo was put in charge of the town (pp. 164–5).

25–8) 'Now it is appraised at 40 pounds. The reeve, however, pays 54 pounds from it, to the king 24 pounds of pence which are 20 to the ora, and to the earl 30 pounds by count.' The payment that the reeve is making to the king is subject to a surcharge of 25 per cent (above, p. 157); the payment that he is making to the earl (or would be making to the earl, if the earl were not in prison) is taken at face value.

29–49) The following section is a list of the grievances brought to the commissioners' attention by the men of Dover.

29–44) 'In Dover there are twenty-nine plots of land from which the king has lost the custom (i.e. some payment which ought to be made to him).' In this section the word *mansura* is used interchangeably with *domus*, 'house' or 'building'. These plots or houses are only mentioned because they are causing a problem:

we have no way of knowing what proportion they represent of the total number of houses in Dover at the time. Except in three cases, described in more detail at the end (lines 38–44), the facts are not disputed. It is agreed who owns these houses; it is agreed that the custom has not been paid; the question is whether it ought to have been paid or not. Though this is not said, I think we may assume that these were all new buildings, erected on sites left empty by the fire; so the question would be whether there were any obligations, rooted in the ground, which revived as soon as the sites were redeveloped.

For the moment, nothing can be done towards settling this question, because the men concerned – eleven of them, some owning more than one house – all invoke the protection of the bishop of Bayeux. It was one of the disadvantages of keeping the bishop in prison (where he was, legally speaking, a non-person) that his men could avoid answering for their alleged misdeeds by shifting the blame onto him.

30–7) First the straightforward cases (adding up to 26 houses). Of the men named here, one is a first-tier baron, Hugo de Montfort, holding a house in Dover as the bishop's tenant; four are important second-tier barons; and four are canons of Saint Martin's church. The remaining two, Durand and Modbert's son (called Gosfrid son of Modbert in B/xAug), are not mentioned anywhere else.

31–3) 'Willelm son of Tedald, . . . Willelm son of Oger, . . . Robert Niger, . . . Willelm son of Goisfrid.' These men are all canons of Saint Martin's church, each holding one of the prebends listed below (1va–b). All of them, no doubt, were appointed by bishop Odo.

33–4) 'Willelm son of Goisfrid (has) three (plots of land) on which used to be the gihalla of the men of the town.' B/xAug is more informative: 'Willelm son of Gaufrid has a gidhalla which the men of the town have lost possession of. This (gidhalla) was the king's alms. There are three houses there' (A4-22v2). Presumably this means that there is a merchants' guild in Dover which used to have its own hall (on a site donated, free of charge, by an unnamed king). But the hall has ceased to exist (perhaps because it was burnt down in 1066) and three newly-built houses occupy the site of it.

38–44) Now for the three difficult cases.

38–40) 'Concerning that plot of land which Rannulf de Columbels holds which used to be a certain outlaw's: they (the men of Dover) are agreed that half the land is the king's.' B/xAug puts it like this: 'Rannulf de Columbels has fifteen acres of land (which used to be) a certain outlaw's, from which the king (should have) half the gavel and half the land, as they all say' (A4-22v6).

40–2) 'Hunfrid (called) Loripes (i.e. bandy-legged) holds one plot of land of which half the forfeit was the king's.' A similar case to the previous one, so it seems.

42–4) 'Roger de Ostreham has built a house alongside the king's waterway and till now has withheld the king's custom. There was no house there TRE.' B/xAug has this version: 'Roger de Oistreham has built a house on the waterway and the king's land without permission from anyone; he gets the gavel from it and the king gets nothing.' This Roger is mentioned only here. Ostreham may be Westerham (14ra32); alternatively it may be Ouistreham in Normandy.

44–9) And finally this complaint from the men of Dover, presented in the exaggerated language which was normal in such a case. 'At the entrance of Dover harbour there is a mill which is breaking to

pieces almost all the ships (that pass), by reason of the great disturbance of the sea (that it causes). It is doing very great harm to the king and the men (of Dover). It was not there TRE. Concerning this (mill), Herbert's nephew says that the bishop of Bayeux gave his uncle, Herbert son of Ivo, permission for it to be built.' B/xAug tells the story like this: 'Herbert son of Ivo built a mill at the entrance of the harbour, where ships are all being broken to pieces by reason of the disturbance of the sea currents. Hugo, Herbert's nephew, says that the bishop of Bayeux gave his uncle permission for this. The men of the town, for their part, say that it is causing harm to the king and to his men' (A4-22v8).

48) 'Herbert's nephew.' Proved by B/xAug to be the same person as Hugo nephew of Herbert.

### The king's laws

1rb1-43) 'The king's laws (that are) listed below.' To be read in parallel with B/xAug (A4-24r17-5r5). This stretch of text is hard to get a grip on. As is obvious from the names in lines 19-21, the facts reported are the facts which obtained in the time of king Edward. But here we find them reported in the future tense: if somebody commits a certain offence, he *will* pay a fine to the king. (This is clearer still in the Latin, where the future perfect is used in an 'if' clause like this: 'if somebody *will* have committed such and such an offence'.) Though the jurors are drawing on their knowledge of the past, they are projecting this knowledge into the future. The question which has been put to them has been framed hypothetically. If the king were to decide that the laws of king Edward should be put back into effect (the implication being that they are not in effect at the moment), what would the consequences be? Not to mince words, what profit would the king stand to make?

The jurors' answer, as it was written down, is all the more difficult to understand because it is back to front. It begins with the abnormal cases; the normal cases are left to the end and covered by a single sentence. If we read it in reverse, it makes more sense. There is some range of offences – we are not told what they are – which incur a penalty of 100 shillings (1200 pence). In some circumstances the king will get this money; in others he will not. If the king's officers have apprehended the culprit on the spot – if they have challenged him ('I arrest you in the name of the king') and bailed him to appear in the king's court – the fine will go to the king; otherwise it will go to the lord whose man the culprit is. (It is casually assumed that everyone will have a lord.) Breach of the peace is one exception to the rule, but only because the fine for this offence is heavier, 8 pounds (1920 pence). A more important exception is the one explained to us first: encroachments on the king's highway incur the standard fine, but this money will go the king in every case. Even if the culprit has left the scene without being bailed, the king's officer will pursue him, all the way to his home if necessary, and demand the money from him.

If we imagine all the verbs put into the past tense, this can be read (with only the usual degree of caution) as an account of how things stood in the time of king Edward. It is manifestly *not* to be read as an account of how things stood at the time of the survey.

1-3) '(These laws) are agreed on by the men of four lests, that is, Borwar lest, Eastry lest, Limwar lest and Wiwar lest.' The meeting at which this question came up – a meeting convened by the second team of commissioners – was attended only by these four lests, and that fact had to be recorded. The eastern lests were answerable for the truth of the statements set down; the other three

lests were not. But twice we are told explicitly that the statement being made applies to the whole county (lines 15, 30).

In this county, so it appears, the commissioners departed from the policy followed elsewhere by holding more than one meeting – one for the eastern lests, another (or perhaps two others) for the lests not represented here. There is a remark below which perhaps becomes significant in this context: the men of the eastern lests are not obliged to travel further west than Penenden for a meeting of the county court (line 40). What happened, I suspect, was this. Not wishing to travel further than necessary, the commissioners wrote to the sheriff ordering him to convene a meeting at some place which they had chosen in western Kent; the sheriff replied that he was doubtful whether he could enforce the attendance of people from the more distant parts of the county; and a change of plan ensued.

3-10) 'If anyone makes a fence or ditch by which the king's public road is made narrower, or (if anyone) fells into the road a tree standing outside the road and removes a branch or any foliage from it, for each of these offences he will pay the king one hundred shillings. Even if he has gone home without being arrested or put on bail, the king's officer will pursue him just the same, and the fine of one hundred shillings will be paid.' B/xAug has more details: 'If any man makes a fence or ditch by which the king's road is narrowed, or if he makes a hole in the roadway or sets a post, or if he fells a tree standing within the roadway, or if he fells a tree standing outside the roadway so as to let it fall inside and afterwards removes without permission a branch or any foliage or the tree itself, ...' (A4-24r18).

10-13) 'Concerning breach of the peace: if anyone commits it and is charged with the offence or put on bail (while he is still) on the road, a fine of eight pounds will be payable to the king. If not (i.e. if he is not arrested on the spot), he will be quit towards the king, (but) not towards the lord whose man he is.'

13-14) 'Concerning other offences: the same as for breach of the peace, but a fine of one hundred shillings will be paid.' Here and in line 10, the word *emendare* seems to be used in a quasi-passive construction: not 'he (the culprit) will pay the fine', but 'one will pay the fine', meaning 'the fine will be paid'.

14-39) The verbs now shift into the present tense, but we are still being told what was true in the past.

14-16) 'The king has (the right to) these fines over all alodiers of the whole county of Kent, and over their men.' The word *alodiarus* occurs only twice in DB-Ke, here and two lines below; *alodia* or *alodium* turns up occasionally in the main text, always with reference to the time of king Edward. Comparing lines 16-17 with lines 23-4, we may infer that the French word *alodier* was thought apt for those thegns of king Edward's 'who had their sac and soc'. But these words would never gain much currency in England.

16-17) 'And (note that) when an alodier dies, the king gets the relief of the land.' This is to be read as a parenthetical remark, duplicating lines 23-4, not as the start of a new paragraph. As in B/xAug, the sense runs on from 'and over their men' (line 16) to 'except for the land of Holy Trinity' (line 18).

18-19) 'Except for the land of Holy Trinity, Saint Augustine's and Saint Martin's.' These churches have the right to any fines incurred by their men.

19-22) 'Also except for these people ... (a list of eight names). Over these the king has the right to the fine only from their own

heads.’ That is, only for offences which they have committed personally. These are *alodiers* of the highest status, distinguished as such by the fact that they get the fines for offences committed by their men. Godric’s surname comes from Brabourne (13vb23), Siret’s from Chilham (10ra25).

23–4) ‘(The king) gets the relief of the lands of those who have their *sac* and *soc*.’ This is a separate sentence, beginning with a large ampersand. The French word *relief* meant the payment due from an heir before he could get possession.

24–30) ‘And from these lands . . . (a list of sixteen names) the king has the right to the fine for these offences: assault inside a man’s home, breach of the (king’s) peace, robbery on the (king’s) highway.’ A sudden descent into detail. The jurors have been asked a question which they cannot answer in general terms, only by running through a list of the places concerned. I take it that this passage, like lines 39–50, is an attempt to ascertain exactly which rights the king might be thought to have given away, when he gave Wye to the monks of Battle, and which he might be thought to have kept for himself.

The places which can be identified are all in *Wiarleth lest*; except for the last one they are all in *Faversham hundred*. Buckland (10rb24, 10rb28, 10va1), Hurst (10rb31), Oare (10rb35), Harty TR 0266, not mentioned elsewhere in DB, Macknade (10rb8), Perry (10rb18, 10rb21), Throwley (10rb39), Ospringe (10ra34), and Horton (10va25) in *Felborough hundred*.

30–3) ‘Concerning adultery: throughout the whole of Kent the king gets (the fine from) the man and the archbishop gets (the fine from) the woman, except for the land of Holy Trinity, Saint Augustine’s and Saint Martin’s, from which the king gets nothing.’

33–4) ‘Concerning a thief who is condemned to death: the king gets half of his chattels.’

34–5) ‘Anyone who takes an outlaw into his home without the king’s permission: the king gets the fine for this offence.’ DB uses the Latin word *exul*; B/xAug uses a latinized form of the English word, *uthlagus*. ‘Concerning an outlaw: someone who is outlawed, anyone who takes him into his home without permission, . . .’ (A4-24v19).

36–9) ‘From the lands mentioned above, of Alnod Cild and those like him, the king gets guard duty for six days at Canterbury or at Sandwich, and they (the men performing this duty) get food and drink there from the king. If they do not get it, they go away without (incurring any) penalty.’ A misplaced remark referring back to lines 19–22.

39–42) The future tense reasserts itself here.

39–41) ‘If they (the men of these four lests) are summoned to a meeting of the shire, they will go as far as Penenden, not further. If they do not attend, (they will be fined one hundred shillings each).’

41–2) ‘For this offence (failing to attend the shire court) and for all the others, the king will get one hundred shillings.’ Referring back to lines 13–14.

42) ‘Except for breach of the peace, for which the fine to be paid is eight pounds.’ Referring back to lines 10–12.

43) ‘(Except also) concerning the roads, as is written above.’ Referring back to lines 3–10.

1rb44–50) This is marked as a new paragraph, and seems clearly to represent a change of subject. The issue here is what customs

the king may still be entitled to claim from lands belonging to the manor or hundred of Wye, even though the manor itself has been given to the abbey of Battle. It seems to be thought that he is still entitled to ‘inward’ (that word occurs only once elsewhere in DB-Ke, in connection with Milton) – either to the service itself, if he comes into Kent, or else to some payment in lieu of it (in cash or in kind, as the case may be). But the details are very obscure. None of the places named here can be identified.

48–50) ‘These lands belong to Wye. The men of these lands used to guard the king at Canterbury or Sandwich for three days, if the king happened to come there.’ The second sentence is emphatically in the past tense: this is the way things were, not the way they are. In B/xAug the passage continues: ‘And if anyone had failed to stand guard, he would have had to pay a fine to the king of one hundred shillings’ (A4-25r11). This is the reply to a hypothetical question put by the commissioners. In effect, the jurors are admitting that the king would be within his rights to demand a fine from each of these places, with respect to every occasion on which he had visited Canterbury or Sandwich during the last twenty years.

### Alodiers in West Kent

1va1–7) ‘In the lest of Sutton and the lest of Aylesford these people had *sac* and *soc* . . . (followed by a list of fifteen TRE names).’ Some of the proper names are spelt better in B/xAug (A4-25r12–17). Adelold took his surname from Eltham (6vb29), Anschil from Beckenham (7ra22), Azor from Lessness (6va16), Ordinc from Horton Kirby (6va6), Levenot from East Sutton (8ra15), Edward from Teston (8vb20), Oswald (the sheriff) from Norton (10ra19), Alret from Yalding (14rb3). *Cillesfelle* must presumably be Chelsfield (6va39), though Esbern is not mentioned there; *Otrinberge* must presumably be Wateringbury (8vb9, 8vb15), though neither Ulestan nor Levrice is mentioned there. ‘Hazelholt’ is a riddle which I am still not able to solve (below, p. 242). The existence of this list is proof that the commissioners had asked for it; but it is not so clear why the information was thought to be worth having. Apparently it was still an open question how far the new owners of these lands were entitled to the same sort of privileges enjoyed by their previous owners.

### Canterbury

Having decided to use the rest of fo. 1v for a survey of the lands of Saint Martin’s of Dover (see below), the DB scribe starts the next page with an account of the city of Canterbury (2ra2–48). B/xAug has a longer version of it (A4-18r22–19v6), including some passages entirely absent from DB. For guidance in making sense of this whole section, Urry’s (1967) book cannot be too highly recommended.

2ra2–8) ‘In the city of Canterbury king Edward had 51 townsmen paying gavel. . . . Now the townsmen paying gavel are 19 (in number). Of the other 32 that there used to be, 11 were destroyed in (the digging of) the city ditch, and the archbishop has 7 of them and the abbot of Saint Augustine’s the other 14, by way of exchange for the castle.’ The language is misleading: though DB seems to be counting heads, it is really counting tenements. In an urban context, gavel is a ground-rent; the obligation to pay it goes with the ownership of a particular piece of land. The king has lost 32 payments, 11 of them because the plots of land no longer exist (they vanished when the ditch was dug) and the others because the gavel is now being paid to someone else. Seven townsmen have been told to pay their gavel to the archbishop, fourteen to pay it to

the abbot, in compensation for property lost when a site was requisitioned for the castle. From Saint Augustine's a memorandum survives of the payments of gavel acquired by the abbey for this reason (Urry 1967, p. 445). By the reckoning used there, the total was made up of eleven payments, mostly of 10 or 12 pence. In addition – DB does not tell us this – the king gave abbot Scotland two churches in the city, Saint Mary's 'in front of the castle' and Saint Andrew's.

According to B/xAug, the 51 townsmen used to pay a total of 929 pence of gavel (A4-18r23), of which the 32 who have now been lost used to pay 482 pence (19r11). (So the 19 who are left ought to be paying 447 pence between them.)

6) '... the city ditch.' B/xAug has 'the castle ditch' (A4-19r13), which seems to make better sense.

14–15) '(Altogether the city) is now reckoned to be worth 50 pounds, but at present the man in charge is paying 30 pounds refined and weighed and 24 pounds by count.' Though DB does not say this, we can be sure that the payments reported here were respectively the king's and the earl's. By 1156 both payments had been reduced, but they were still being accounted for separately. A sum of 29 pounds of 'white' pennies (which conventionally meant a surcharge of 5 per cent) was included in the farm of the county; a sum of 20 pounds (of pennies taken at face value) was included in 'the farm of the land of the bishop of Bayeux' – which, as this evidence helps to prove (Flight 1998, pp. 73–4), was the farm of the assets annexed to the earldom of Kent.

38) '... outside the city, as far as one league and three perches and three feet.' It appears from B/xAug (A4-19r3) that DB has run together two different dimensions: the first (one league) is a length, measured from the gate of the city; the second (three perches and three feet) is a breadth, measured from one or other side of the road. A league was 12 furlongs; a furlong (which the DB scribe calls a *quarentena*) was 40 perches. As I understand it, therefore, we are being told that the king's prerogative extends over a strip of land on either side of each of the main roads leading out of the city, to a distance of 480 perches from the city gate, and to a distance of 3 perches (plus a fraction) from the road.

How many feet made a perch is hard to say. In Romney Marsh, in the thirteenth century, the standard perch was 20 feet long (Dugdale 1662, p. 19); but the very fact that it seemed necessary to specify the length tends to prove that not all perches were the same. The width quoted in DB may perhaps have been converted from a measurement of three perches taken with a perch which was one foot longer than normal.

38–41) 'If anyone digs a hole or sets a post within the limits of these public roads, inside or outside the city, the king's reeve (is to) follow him wherever he goes and take the fine on the king's behalf.' Very similar to the statement already reported for the county at large (1rb3–10). Here too, though *sequitur* is present (for consistency it ought to be *sequetur*), the other verbs are all in the future tense. (For DB's *palum fixerit*, B has *sudem miserit*, 'puts a stake'.)

45) '... before archbishop Lanfranc and the bishop of Bayeux.' B/xAug/A4 omits the first name (probably by accident) and adds three more names at the end: Hugo de Montfort, the count of Eu, and Ricard son of Gislebert (18v9).

### Rochester

The city of Rochester is disposed of in two lines. Except for the most basic information (how much is it worth?), we are told nothing



1 Borstal	6 Elnothington	10 Nettlestead
2 Burham	7 Frindsbury	11 Newington
3 Chalk	8 Hoo	12 Offham
4 Darent	9 Luddesdown	13 Watringbury
5 Eccles		

Figure 14. Manors owning plots of land in the city of Rochester.

ing about it. The reason for that is simple: the city belonged entirely to the earl of Kent. With the earl in prison, the revenue due to him had defaulted to the king; but otherwise the king had no interest in the place.

In the main text of DB-Ke, a dozen paragraphs mention the fact that some plots of land in Rochester were counted as assets of the manor in question (or had been so counted, until the bishop of Bayeux cut the connection). A joint total of 80 such plots is reported for the two closest manors, Frindsbury and Borstal (5vb24); otherwise the numbers are small. I do not know that there is much to be learned from this map, or from the similar map which might be drawn for Canterbury. (One place would appear on both maps, namely Newington (14va10).) But perhaps it gives a vague idea of the distance over which a small urban centre like Rochester could exert some attraction.

2ra49) 'When he (the bishop) got possession.' Meaning the bishop of Bayeux. That is how the passage was interpreted by Hasted and Larking – more recently also by Eales (1992, p. 31) – and that is how it ought to be interpreted. There are many things that I would cheerfully admit to feeling doubtful about, but I have no doubt about this. From the twelfth-century exchequer rolls, it can be proved that 'the farm of the city of Rochester' was one of the components included in 'the farm of the land of the bishop of Bayeux' (Flight 1998, pp. 78–81). The bishop got possession of Rochester for the same reason that he got possession of Hoo (8va28) and Boxley (8vb34) – because he was earl of Kent.

### Saint Martin's of Dover

The church of Saint Martin in Dover was an ancient minster – how ancient we do not know. Bede does not mention its existence. The story that we hear, very much later, is that the church was founded by king Wictred (who died in 725), on a site that had been chosen by Saint Martin himself; there may be some truth in that. Almost nothing is known about the history of the church – except for the appearance which it makes in the records of the survey – up until the moment when the church itself and all its possessions were given by Henric I to archbishop Willelm (Johnson and Cronne 1956, no. 1736). (The gift was made to commemorate the dedication of Christ Church in May 1130, but the charter was not issued till April 1132.) The archbishop began building a new



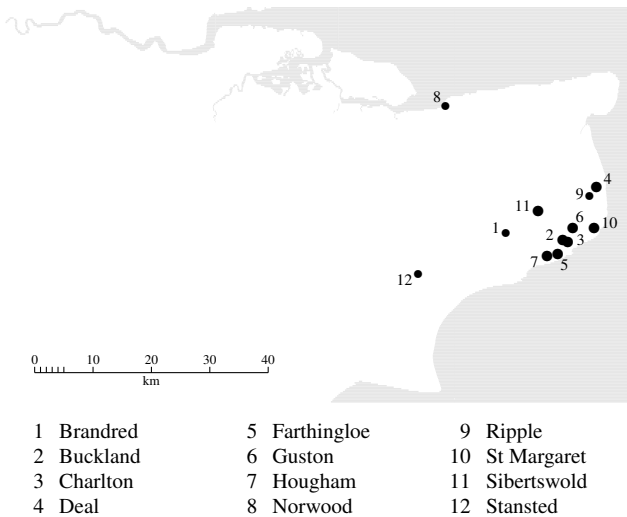


Figure 15. Lands of the church of Saint Martin of Dover.

church, outside the town to the north-west, planning to establish in it a community of regular canons; but he died in 1136 without completing the project.

Three years later, in defiance of his known intentions, a detachment of monks from Christ Church was put in possession of this new church; they formed what came to be called the priory of Saint Martin. The priests who owned shares of the old church were not ousted immediately (as is proved by a document in BL Cotton Claud. D. x, fo. 273v); but they were, by one means or another, made to disappear during the 1140s. (A charter of archbishop Theobald, not later than 1148, speaks of them in the past tense (Saltman 1956, no. 86).) The whole endowment of the old minster, with the church itself, thus passed into the hands of the monks.

As things stood in 1086, the establishment was old, but the building which housed it was not. Though most of the fabric of the church was torn down in the sixteenth century, enough remained of the eastern limb for its design to be worked out and recorded in the 1840s (Plumptre 1861); and the nave was excavated, almost completely, in the 1970s (Philp 2003). The church turns out to have been a large romanesque building, striking similar in plan to the new church built at Saint Augustine's by abbot Scotland, though with a shorter nave. In light of the written evidence, there seems to be no doubt what this means: the church was entirely rebuilt by bishop Odo, after he became its proprietor (less bluntly, its 'patron' or 'advocate'). Presumably that happened quite soon after 1066; and the possibility thus exists that it was Odo – not archbishop Lanfranc, not abbot Scotland – who set the pattern of total demolition and total reconstruction to which other post-conquest bishops and abbots felt obliged to conform.

From later evidence, we discover that there were in fact three churches here, joined together to make a single structure, but otherwise independent from one another. Each of them had its own parish. As well as the church of Saint Martin, which occupied the centre of the building, there were the churches of Saint Nicholas and Saint John the Baptist, which each occupied one of the transepts (*in duabus alis eiusdem ecclesie*, Reg. Winchelsey, ed. Graham 1917–56, p. 888). The priest who served Saint Martin's church had the high-sounding title 'archpriest', but in fact he was just a curate, appointed and paid a stipend by the monks. The other two priests were of higher standing than him; they had to

be formally presented by the prior and convent (who owned the patronage of both churches) and formally instituted by the archbishop, in the same way as the rectors of other parish churches. There is explicit evidence for all this from the fourteenth century onwards (Robertson 1893); allusions to the same arrangement can be found in some earlier documents, dating from the early thirteenth (Major 1950, no. 106) and from the late twelfth century (*ueterem ... ecclesiam beati Martini, cum parochiis ... ad ipsam ... pertinenti[bus]*, Cheney and Jones 1986, no. 125).

Despite its antiquity, despite its location in the centre of a major port, Saint Martin's of Dover seems never to have achieved any special prominence. There was no resident saint, no tomb which might have been thought worth noting in any guidebook for pilgrims. A church of this significance must certainly have had an archive – but not a single document survives. Evidently the monks who arrived on the scene in 1139 did not get possession of the old church's archive. Its loss is the chief reason why the history of Dover – not just the church but also the town – is so thoroughly obscure. But at least it is clear, from the records of the survey, that the minster was in a flourishing condition in the time of king Edward; and that, in itself, is a rather remarkable fact.

Though some encroachments are complained of (2rb40–8), the church's possessions remained largely intact. In the time of king Edward, there were reckoned to be 24 sulungs on which the canons owed geld. (They also possessed some land on which no geld was payable.) Most of their geldable land (21 sulungs) was located in Eastry lest, in Cornilo and Bewsborough hundreds, much of it quite close to Dover; the rest (3 sulungs) was in Limwarleth lest, further away to the west. Apart from their land, the canons had been granted two valuable privileges. They were entitled to a half share of the toll paid by people passing through the port (1ra7–8); and they were also entitled to a one-third share of the toll of the weekly market (2rb21). After 1139, all of these assets came into the hands of the monks of Dover.

Out of this endowment, until the 1130s, the church supported a corporation of secular canons, 22 of them or some such number, each of whom owned a share of the church's profits, which in B and DB is called a prebend. Before 1066, the property was owned and administered communally (1va16), and a prebend consisted (so it seems) of a dividend paid in cash. Since then, however, the bishop of Bayeux had changed things: each prebend now consisted of a portion of the church's land, the proceeds from which were paid directly to the canon who owned it. One prebend was in the archbishop's gift; one was at the disposal of the abbot of Saint Augustine's. But these were just courtesy arrangements: it was the bishop of Bayeux who (until he was imprisoned) controlled the church's affairs.

Twenty years on from 1066, the church's personnel had changed considerably, as one would expect; but there was, even so, a fair measure of continuity (Table 17). In three cases the man owning a prebend has owned it since before 1066; in four cases the man who owns it in 1086 is the son – in a fifth case the brother – of the man who owned it before 1066. Evidently it had been a normal thing, in the time of king Edward, for priests to be married men; for as long as that remained true, there was naturally some tendency for prebends to become hereditary. On the other hand, a majority of the canons are newcomers, to judge from their names; and among them is the man who appears at the top of the list, presumably the head of the community. There has been no purge; but prebends falling vacant have, more often than not, been given to foreign priests. Four of the canons, all with emphatically Norman names (three Willelms, one Robert), can be said for certain to be clients

of the bishop of Bayeux, because their names appear in a list of his men owning houses in the town (1ra31–3). During the last few years, however, because the bishop was in prison, the king would have been within his rights to make an appointment, if any vacancy occurred; and perhaps that may have happened.

After 1088, when the bishop of Bayeux lost all his English possessions, the minster lapsed to the king, Willelm II; sooner or later, the king gave it to Rannulf Flambard. (That is, he gave as much as was his to give, the patronage of the church – the right to appoint a new canon, when one of the prebends fell vacant; the right to enjoy the income from this prebend, for as long as the vacancy might happen to last.) Rannulf retained the patronage after his own promotion to the bishopric of Durham (in May 1099); and copies of two writs of Henric I relating to Saint Martin's survive accidentally at Durham for that reason (Craster 1930, pp. 47, 50–1, Johnson and Cronne 1956, nos. 562, 570). (The reader should be warned that this evidence has sometimes been wilfully misinterpreted.) It was Rannulf's death, in September 1128, which made it possible for archbishop Willelm to put in his bid for the patronage of Saint Martin's.

In 1086, when the survey was conducted, it took two attempts to make sense of Saint Martin's possessions. Because the monks of Saint Augustine's had an interest in these matters, we are lucky enough to possess a version of the text as it appeared in B-Ke, where the description of all of these lands was included under Bewsborough hundred (perhaps with cross-references elsewhere). The report produced at this first attempt was rejected, probably because the numbers did not add up. It seems that one of the prebends had been overlooked (1vb44); with or without it, the number of sulungs listed here was well short of the total of 24 which had to be accounted for. So a further attempt was made, and this produced two things: a corrected version of the report which had appeared in B, and a new report which began by explaining why four sulungs were missing from the original report. These two reports would have been copied into D-Ke, probably at the back of it; the DB scribe preferred to put them at the front, with the other introductory matter, arranging them on the page in such a way as to distinguish them from the main blocks of text. In a word, they look like two overgrown footnotes.

1va11–15) 'In the lest of Eastry the canons of Saint Martin's in the time of king Edward owned 21 sulungs, in Cornilo hundred and in Bewsborough hundred. In the lest of Limwarleth they owned three sulungs, one in Street hundred, the second in Bircholt hundred and the third in Blackbourne hundred.' The sulungs in Eastry lest are mostly accounted for by the following list (1va19–b43). Of the places mentioned by name, Charlton TR 3142, Buckland TR 3042, Guston TR 3244, St Margaret at Cliffe TR 3544, Sibertswold TR 2647, Farthingloe TR 2940 in Hougham, and Hougham TR 2739 were all in Bewsborough hundred; only Deal TR 3651 was in Cornilo hundred. The three sulungs in Limwarleth lest are not dealt with till later (2rb5–13).

16–17) 'In the time of king Edward the prebends were common property; they paid 61 pounds altogether. Now they are shared out individually, through (the agency of) the bishop of Bayeux.' In B/xAug this reads: 'and when the bishop of Bayeux arrived, he divided the prebends among the canons of the church, as it seemed good to him' (A4-22v21–2).

1va18–b43) A list of the separate prebends created by bishop Odo. Comparing this with the parallel stretch of text in B-Ke, as that is represented by xAug, we can see that the DB scribe was doing what he usually did – reorganizing the data and using his own

form of words. For example, in B/xAug the TRE value comes first, *et ualebat tunc x sol' et modo xx sol'*, but in DB the order is reversed (except in the added paragraph at the end), *Val' xx sol', TRE: x sol'*. In the first paragraph the scribe was experimenting. He tried starting the entry like this: 'R— holds a manor as a prebend, it is called C—, and it defends itself for one sulung.' But then he decided to cut things short, and in subsequent paragraphs the wording becomes: 'In C— holds R— one sulung.'

In each paragraph the scribe has put the TRE owner at the end, in a sentence which takes this shape: 'L— held (it) as a prebend.' But that is to misrepresent the situation. L— did not own this sulung; he owned the prebend to which R— has now succeeded, the prebend to which this particular sulung has now been allocated.

It is true, more often than not, that a prebend comprises one sulung of land; but there are many exceptions to the rule. If we take the numbers as we find them in DB, counting 200 acres to the sulung (2rb31) and excluding the added paragraph (1vb44), the total comes to 3697.5 acres, 18.4875 sulungs. There are two adjustments which we may wish to think of making. If we deduct 10 acres from one entry (1vb5) and count three yokes instead of three rods in another (1vb21), we can make the total come to 3800 acres, 19 sulungs exactly; and probably that is the number which we ought to be aiming for. Adding one sulung which seems to have been overlooked at first (1vb44) and one sulung still held in common (2rb2), we get a total of 21 sulungs in Eastry lest, the number initially reported (1va12).

22) 'Lewin held (it) as a prebend.' The name is *Lifwynus* in B/xAug (A4-23r1). To be identified, no doubt, with the man who appears at the head of the Dover community witnessing a charter of archbishop Eadsige, *Leofwine preost and eall se hired on Doferan* (Robertson 1956, no. 108).

1vb5) '... and 25 acres in addition.' We may wish to think of emending 25 to 15, which would reduce the total to exactly one sulung. But the error, if it was one, existed already in the B text (xAug/A4-23v5).

17) 'Willelm the Poitevin.' Not to be identified with the author Willelm of Poitiers (ed. Davis and Chibnall 1998), who would be referred to by his title, archdeacon of Lisieux. (Besides, he tells us himself that he was not particularly well acquainted with bishop Odo; and a passage in which he has occasion to speak about Dover he confuses the town and the castle.)

21) '... three rods.' B/xAug has 'three yokes' (A4-23v16). In abbreviated form, *uirg'* and *iug'*, the words are easily confused. The same discrepancy occurs once elsewhere (12vb13), and in that instance it can be proved that DB's reading is the right one. But a prebend consisting of only three rods seems disproportionately small; and the reported value (720 pence) is the same as that of some whole sulungs. So DB seems sure to be wrong here.

23–4) 'In Bewsborough hundred and in Cornilo hundred ... the abbot of Saint Augustine's holds one sulung.' The land in Bewsborough hundred was part of Guston, as we can discover from B/xAug (A4-23v19); in DB this name has dropped out.

44) 'In Sibertesuald Ulstan son of Ulwin holds one sulung.' This is an added entry, marked for insertion at line 21. By and large it follows the same template that the scribe had used for the preceding entries, but it diverges in two respects: it omits the phrase *in d'nio*, and it treats the value clause differently (instead of *Val' lx sol', TRE: c sol'*, we get *TRE ualb' c sol', modo lx sol'*.) Since this paragraph is missing from B/xAug, it seems likely that the entry originated later than the rest, i.e. not until the further inquiry was made from which the second block of text resulted.

	who owns it now?	who owned it TRE?	acres	
1va19	Radulf de Sancto Sansone	Levwin	200	
23	Willelm son of Oger	Sired	200	
28	Alwi	himself	200	
31	Ulric	Elric	50 + 25 = 75	
35	Sired	his father	200	
39	Radulf	Alric	200	
42	Alred	his father	200	
45	Robert Niger	Esmelt king Edward's chaplain	200	
48	Walter (de Cambremer)	S(with)gar	200	
1vb1	Robert Turbatus	(Swithgar and) Goldstan	100 + 100 = 200	
5	Edwin	himself	100 + 25 + 85 = 210	? 200
11	archdeacon Anschitil	archbishop Stigand	200 + 50 + 50 = 300	
17	Willelm the Poitevin	—	112 + 88 = 200	
21	Adelold	himself	37.5	? 150
24	abbot of St Augustine's	his predecessor	200	
27	Willelm son of Tedald	Derinc son of Sired	125	
30	Sigar	his father	75	
33	Nigel the doctor	Spirites	75	
36	Willelm son of Gaufrid	Sired	200	
39	Baldwin	Edwin (his brother)	200	
41	Godric (latimarius)	(Oswin silvagijs)	200	
44	Ulstan son of Ulwin	his father	200	

Table 17. The prebends of Saint Martin's of Dover, as described in DB-Ke. (Brackets distinguish a few details missing from DB which can be retrieved from B/xAug.)

### More about Saint Martin's

The stretch of text which I have kept till last (2rb1–48) is the stretch which I take to be the latest component of all. (There is nothing corresponding with it in B/xAug.) As I understand the evidence, the second team of commissioners refused to approve the description of Saint Martin's property, as it appeared in the B text. They notified the king accordingly. We might be willing to guess that much; but in fact we happen to know that this is what the commissioners were expected to do in such circumstances, because a contemporary witness, Robert bishop of Hereford, tells us precisely that (Stevenson 1907). Bishop Robert does not inform us what the sequel would be: we are invited to assume that something would happen, but have to guess what it might be. I take it that the king sent somebody to Dover – perhaps one of his officials, from his court or from his treasury – with orders to investigate the matter in detail and make sure that all the relevant facts were properly recorded. Whoever he was, there is nothing to suggest that this person consulted a jury: it seems that he confined himself to interrogating the canons.

His report begins well enough, by identifying the four sulungs which had previously been omitted; but then it degenerates into an incoherent collection of miscellaneous remarks. (In the form in which it survives – as a copy of a copy – some passages float free from any context in which they would make sense.) The original schedule would, I suppose, have been submitted to the treasury. To become part of the official record of the survey, it would have to be copied into D-Ke; and from there it was copied into DB-Ke. The copy in D was presumably (errors aside) an exact reproduction of the original, so far as the scribe could decipher it. The copy in DB may perhaps have differed from D to some extent, but I doubt whether the differences amounted to much. There is little scope here for the DB scribe to edit the text, substituting the formulas that he prefers for the formulas found in D. There are, on the other hand, numerous disjointed remarks which might easily have

been omitted, if the scribe had been intending to shorten the text, but which in fact were not omitted.

One oddity distinguishing this stretch of text is the fact that the word for sulung appears in a Latin form. In the rest of DB-Ke, not excluding the description of the Dover prebends, the DB scribe treats it as a French word. But here the word is Latinized, inconsistently as neuter *solinum* or masculine *solinus*, and declined according to the context. This anomaly, I think, is the DB scribe's way of warning his readers that he is copying this stretch of text as he finds it, without trying to improve it. He is telling us, in other words, that he is conscious of its defects and is not accountable for them.

2rb2–5) 'Of the communal property of Saint Martin's three canons together have one sulung and sixteen acres.' Not identified, but presumably close to Dover. The third canon named here, Sewen, has not been mentioned before.

5–16) 'Concerning Limwarleth lest.' The next paragraphs supply details about the three sulungs in Limwarleth lest referred to in the previous report (1va13–15) but not covered by the description of the prebends – the reason being (as we now discover) that they, like the sulung just mentioned, are still held in common.

5–7) 'One sulung in Blackbourne hundred.' Not identified.

7–11) 'In Street hundred belongs one sulung of Stanetdeste. . . . In Bircholt hundred (belongs) one sulung of Stanestede.' That is, the holding comprises two sulungs, one on either side of the hundred boundary. The property in question is what later became the manor of Poulton Stansted in Aldington: the identification was made by Larking (1869, p. 186, cf. Haines 1930, p. 455). The name Stansted seems to be lost, but Poulton TR 0536 appears on the first-edition six-inch map (to the north of Poulton Wood).

13) 'In Brensete a little piece of land.' Possibly part of Brenzett TR 0027, but that does not seem likely to me.

15–16) ‘The canons of Saint Martin’s have the four sulungs mentioned above as their communal property, both the woodland and the arable land.’ Referring back to lines 2–13.

17–30) The next section consists of a collection of memoranda, in no particular order. The man who drew up this report was aiming to make a note of everything of any conceivable interest to the king; and this is the result.

- \* 17) ‘The land (called) Nordeuode.’ Comprising 50 acres, as we are told below (2rb35). This is what became the manor of Norwood in Whitstable TR 1166: the identification was made by Larking (1869, p. 187, cf. Haines 1930, p. 455). The name Norwood continued appearing in leases of the priory lands as late as the eighteenth century (Haines 1930, p. 138), but seems to have dropped off the map.
- \* 17) ‘... and the land (called) Ripe.’ Comprising 100 acres (2rb34). Part of Ripple TR 3550, from which 100 pence a year was payable to Saint Martin’s (B/xAug/A4-24r2). This evidence seems convincing enough; but there is (as far as I am aware) no subsequent trace of any such payment from Ripple.
- \* 17) ‘... and the land (called) Brandet.’ Comprising 100 acres (2rb35). Brandred (repr. Blandred Farm) TR 2043 in Acrise (Hasted 8:114-15). Identified by Larking (1869, p. 187).

21) ‘The toll of Dover TRE was worth eight pounds; now it is worth twenty-two pounds.’ By exclusion, this seems to refer to the toll of the Saturday market, one third of which belonged to the monks after 1139, and had presumably belonged to the canons before that.

22) ‘Three churches at Dover pay thirty-six shillings and eight pence.’ In the thirteenth century and later, there were three parish churches in Dover which paid a pension to the monks: Saint Mary’s (20 shillings), Saint Peter’s (11 shillings), and Saint James’s (6 shillings). Since those payments add up to 37 shillings, almost the same as the sum reported in DB, it would be hard to resist the conclusion that those were the churches in question. (A possible reference to the pension from Saint Peter’s occurs in the original report (1va25).) The existence of Saint Peter’s and Saint Mary’s is proved by their appearance in the list of parish churches belonging to Saint Martin’s of Dover (below, p. 228); the existence of Saint James’s (which was on the far side of the river) cannot be confirmed until about 1180, but from then onwards it is regularly mentioned together with the other two.

29) ‘From this community the archbishop gets fifty-five shillings every year.’ This payment appears in a list of ‘the archbishop’s Easter customs from priests and churches’ (below, p. 229); until Lanfranc changed things, it had been paid partly in kind.

31-2) ‘In the communal land of Saint Martin there are four hundred acres and a half which make two sulungs and a half.’ This sentence has been much discussed and variously interpreted. I am inclined to cut the knot by assuming that the clause *quae f(ac)iunt duos solinos* was added in the margin of the original, and that the scribe who wrote it used a caret mark, both in the margin and in the body of the text, which looked something like ‘/<sup>d</sup>’. (I am thinking of one analogy in particular – the notation used by scribe mu when he was making additions to a version of the Wiltshire geld account (Darlington 1955, opp. p. 181).) Hypothetically this caret mark was misread as ‘7 d’ and miscopied as *et dimid*, ‘and a half’. On this view, we were (until someone made nonsense of it) simply being told that there are 200 acres in a sulung. If the ideal acre measured 4 by 40 perches, the ideal sulung would be a rectangle measuring 200 perches (5 furlongs) in one direction and 160 perches (4 furlongs) in the other.

32–3) ‘This land (the four hundred acres just mentioned) has never paid anything by way of custom or tax, because the twenty-four sulungs answer for all these things.’ In other words, the canons own two exempt sulungs, in addition to their 24 geldable sulungs.

37–9) ‘All these things, if the canons owned them as it would be right (for them to own them), would be worth to them sixty pounds a year (14400 pence). At present they are only getting forty-seven pounds and six shillings and four pence (11356 pence).’ An attempt to sum up the state of the canons’ finances; but it is hard to see what these numbers mean. The items listed above (lines 2-28) add up to 11495 pence. Possibly some items were altered or inserted, after the total had been calculated.

40–4) Next a list of the encroachments from which the canons claim to have suffered since 1066.

46–8) And finally a note of a twenty-year-old grievance which the canons are hoping to bring to the king’s attention.