

EXETER DOMESDAY BOOK

INTRODUCTION TO THE LATIN TEXTS

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EDITOR'S NOTE

This document explains the editorial process and the decisions made in extending and presenting this text in two formats. Although the editor has received some help and advice from members of the Project team, in particular from Professor Julia Crick and Dr. Chris Lewis, as well as from members of the Project's advisory board and others, he has worked almost entirely on his own. Thus the responsibility for these texts is his alone and does not imply the agreement of other members of the Project team with any individual decision.

THE ALTERNATIVE VERSIONS OF THE LATIN TEXTS

Two versions of the Latin text are here offered: the **Semi-Diplomatic text** and the **Plain text**. The **Semi-Diplomatic text**, though extended, is intended to be very close to the manuscript, indicating clearly its detail and the editorial process. The **Plain Latin text** is derived electronically from the Semi-diplomatic text. Its purpose is to make searching easier and to enable a less cluttered reading by those who are mainly interested in content rather than form. The **Semi-Diplomatic text** is the primary version and essential to those wishing to understand the wider aspects of this text. What follows immediately concerns the **Semi-Diplomatic text**. The simplifications that have produced the **Plain Text** are given in a separate section at the end. The translation can be used with both texts.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following are used:

DB: Domesday Book, as a whole; the Domesday process and Survey, the Domesday corpus of texts specified below.

EDB: Exon, or Exeter Domesday Book

GDB: Great Domesday Book

LDB: Little Domesday Book

TO: The Exon *Terrae Occupatae*

THE SEMI-DIPLOMATIC TEXT

INTRODUCTION

Since there is a single manuscript source (Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3500), there is no need for a traditional *apparatus criticus* and this allows the production of a semi-diplomatic edition, that is, an edition which almost fully reproduces the text as found in the MS with its errors and corrections, but subject to a few simple conventions.

The text as found in the MS is heavily abbreviated, even more so than Great Domesday Book (GDB), despite EDB's longer and lazier formulae, some words being reduced to a single letter (for example, *b* for *bordarios*). Once a text begins to be expanded, judgement has to be exercised and compromises made. There is an inevitable tension between simply reproducing what is in the MS (as Barnes-Ellis did in their 1816 printed edition) and producing a readable and usable text by expanding each word (where the correct expansion is not always obvious) in which corrections have to be made to the original, omitted words inserted, redundant words marked for deletion and incomplete sentences noted. The intention here has been to be as faithful to the original as possible without making its use unduly difficult for the reader.

The **Plain Text** is a possible and important secondary output but the master text is here presented in such a way that the reader is able to see all the editorial interventions that have produced it. With some editions, even modern ones, of mediaeval texts, the reader is asked to take too much on trust, because editors have not "shown their working" or explained their methods. Yet the reader should not be shielded from the difficulties and choices of constructing an accessible text. Thus material that is marked by the scribe for deletion is included, excess letters and words that should also have been so marked are included but indicated and errors such as *borbarios* (188b3, for *bordarios*) are not corrected but annotated. However capitals are used in the text in the modern way, and while its punctuation is reproduced, it has been amplified, so as, for example, to mark the ends of sentences.

CONVENTIONS USED IN THE TEXT

REFERENCES

Folio References

Folio numbers indicate recto (r) or verso (v). There are usually three different sequences of numbers applied at different times to the head of the page in the manuscript (see Concordance). The numbers here used are those written in the centre at the head of each folio during the preparation of the edition of Ralph Barnes and Sir Henry Ellis published by the Record Commission in 1816. In the MS itself the letters **r** and **v** are not used and there are no numbers written on the versos. Most blank folios were also numbered and are here included in text and translation.

References to individual entries

References such as 156a1, 334b3 indicate the folio, the recto (a) or the verso (b) numbered from the top to the bottom in a straight numerical sequence. Headings are allotted separate numbers in this sequence. Separate entries are generally indicated by scribes with a paraph ('gallows-sign'). In this text (as in the translation) any paraph-sign is given a number, whether or not there is text following it, and even if the material, where it is present, really belongs to a previous entry.

Numbers are also applied to what are evidently separate and complete entries without paraphs, whether in the body of the text or in the margin, and also to whole erased entries. Usually the first entry under a heading is without a paraph.

The scribes themselves are inconsistent: sometimes a separate entry lacks a paraph, while they hesitate as to whether to mark additional information about a manor added in the margin with a paraph or nor. Where a marginal jotting or *aide-*

mémoire is, or could be thought to be, in a contemporary hand, it is numbered but additions which are certainly later (such as those identifying the estates of the Bishopric of Exeter with their then place-name forms) are ignored.

Marginalia which consist of whole entries (usually marked by a paraph) are inserted in the sequence in the appropriate place, relying on the GDB order in a few uncertain cases.

LINEATION

The end of each line of the MS is marked by a | symbol, but the extended text does not reproduce each line separately, owing to the varying size of the word-extensions and the incorporation of an interlineation within the line. Any word split by a | is hyphenated whether the hyphen is in the Latin text or not.

For clarity, in this version of the text each new entry is begun on a new line, whereas in the MS many entries follow directly from the previous one on the same line.

FONTS

Roman Letters are those which appear in the MS

Italic letters are extensions of the Latin implied in the MS by abbreviation signs. The signs themselves disappear. In cases where a pair of *puncti* surround a single letter (often the initial of a Place or Personal name, or a frequently used noun, such as *.g.* for *gildum*), these *puncti* are treated as indicating abbreviation and, in line with normal editorial practice, are not reproduced. Occasionally a single *punctus* appears to be used in the same way and is treated as such.

MAJUSCULES AND MINUSCULES

Their use in the MS appears to be capricious. There is a tendency to capitalize proper names, but it is inconsistent, while a scattering of capitals is found among the remaining (ordinary) words. Sometime *rex* appears as *Rex* and *gildum* as *Gildum*, both especially so in the Geld Accounts.. Some sentences begin with a capital, but this is rare. These variations are not only between scribes but in the usage of individuals. For the same letter the forms of the capital and the small often differ, and versions of capitals reduced in size ('small capitals') are sometimes used.

Here **Capitals** are used for the first word in what is judged to be a sentence; also for the initial letters of Place-Names and Personal names including bynames which are not occupational (*Maloret* ('the Unfortunate'), but *coquus* ('the cook')) and for headings, whether or not they are so used in the MS. Majuscules found in the MS but which do not fall into these categories are reproduced as minuscules.

This means that everything else begins with a lower-case letter. This includes common nouns such as *abbas*, *abbatissa*, *episcopus*, *comes*, which are sometimes capitalized by the scribes.

This also applies to **Saints**: in cases where *sanctus* is simply 'the saint', to whom land has been given or a church so dedicated, lower case is used. However where

the *sanctus* is part of a place-name (*de Sancto Edwardo* ('of Shaftesbury'), *de Sancto Laudo* ('de Saint-Lô'), *de Sancto Germano* ('of St. Germans'), the 'saint' is capitalized.

In the case of **Numbers** a capital .C. (= 100) becomes .c. and .L. (= 50) becomes .l.; similarly .M. (1000) and .D. (500) become .m. and .d. Where it occurs in numbers the final extended minim is not reproduced as such, so .iiij. etc become .iiii. etc. The *l*, common in sof[idos] as an abbreviation mark but used by a scribe or scribes for the numeral .l. (= 50), is also not reproduced. See also Punctuation below.

Sometimes, in following these conventions, a lower-case letter has to be converted to upper case. A particular difficulty occurs with **U/ u** and **V/ v**. In this text the predominant use is of **V** as a majuscule and **u** as its minuscule. In classical antiquity scribes will have only used capitals (so only **V** in this instance). In the Middle Ages, scribes commonly learned to write more than one type of script, and so potentially they would be familiar with capital **V** and minuscule **u**. Romanesque (Exon-period) scribes experiment with mixed capitals in display script and thus often use **U** and **V** in a single phrase or even word. EDB scribes use **V** as a medial capital thus for *litterae notabiliores*. They have also imported **v** into their minuscule alphabet and use it very specifically: in initial position and in numerals. In numerals, the use of **v** avoids the potential confusion which arises from the two minims of **u**, which might indicate .ii. or .u.. In addition, the EDB scribes anticipate Gothic practice by writing **v** for **u** in initial position, and so differentiating initial **u** from the form of the letter found in other positions.

Here as with Latin accident and syntax there is more fluidity in the Middle Ages and reason to think that **V/u** as a single letter had come to represent two sounds (**w** and **v**), rather as **i** and **j** later become differentiated to represent the two sounds (vocalic and consonantal) previously carried by **i** alone. Thus some scribes may to be using **V/u** phonetically with the result that new pairs (**V/v** and **U/u**) evolve. In applying the conventions concerning capitalisation to this text, it is not always clear what individual scribes would have done. Thus the following policy has been adopted:

Where a **u** has to be made a capital it becomes **V**, while a **V** becomes a **u**. This will be necessary (for example) in a proper name, which appears with a lower-case initial letter in the MS, or where a word has an unnecessary initial capital. An initial **uu** becomes **Vu**. However, where, unusually, a **U** (including a rustic **U**) or a **v** actually occur in the text and the conventions do not require that one becomes a small and the other a capital, they are left as they are, thus *Ulfus* and *villani*.

PUNCTUATION

In the MS the only true and regular punctuator is the full point (.). The comma is used in the manuscript, on the line, to position an interlineation (sometimes with a corresponding comma above at its beginning) and the semi-colon and the colon are used as abbreviation signs (e.g. *s*:[*ed*] and *q̃*:[*uae*]). Just occasionally (as several times in 173a2) the semi-colon is used in the modern way to terminate a clause; such rare occurrences are reproduced in extended text.

The Exon scribes are not consistent within or between themselves. Their use of punctuation shows that Exon was a special case, produced at speed and not properly reviewed. The scribes even abandon their normal range of punctuation, some of

which is distinctive to individuals (for example scribe Eta, traceable in his work in Salisbury manuscripts). Instead they use a simplified system. They are writing in haste and under pressure and so, for example condense the *die qua rex Eduuardus fuit uiuus et mortuus* formula largely to initial letters: *die qua .r. E. f. u. & m.* There are wide variations in this with each word found individually in full form but often in a mixture of full-forms and abbreviations. Some single letters have abbreviation signs, others are preceded and/ or terminated by *puncti*, yet others are naked. Here and elsewhere the scribes add *puncti* where they are unexpected, for example after an ampersand or the Tironian nota (7). In short, the practice of the Exon scribes even individually (for example, scribe Alpha) is neither consistent nor defensible.

In the MS the exact positioning of the full point depends partly on the scribe and partly, it seems, on caprice. Moreover it is difficult to reproduce the concertina-like ebb and flow of MS in an electronic text with fixed spacing. Thus the placing of full points has been standardized.

In view of this, further policies adopted here are that:

All *puncti* which appear in the text are reproduced but with two additions and one deduction. The additions are: (a) they are applied systematically before and after numerals and (b) placed at the end of sentences if they are missing. The deduction is that where *puncti* are thought to be used as abbreviation signs, they are (like other abbreviation signs) not reproduced: see *Puncti as Possible Abbreviation Signs*, below. **Colons, semi-colons and commas** are eliminated where they are marks of abbreviation or insertion. **The semi-colon** is retained if used to end a clause, as in 259b1.

The *punctus elevatus* (:) is treated as an ordinary *punctus* (.).

Each sentence is terminated by a full point, even when one is missing in the Latin.

In the vicinity of numerals the full point is always placed immediately next to them (.xlili.) and missing points are supplied. Typical examples are .xiii. and .clx. Points within a numeral are retained, but the figures closed up thus .cc.lxx. However, where the first figure is a multiplier both figures are begun and ended by points and a gap is left, thus .iiii. .xx. (= 80), .vi. .xx. (= 120). Where an ampersand (&) is included it is treated thus: .xxx. et .iii. while the Tironian *et* (7) is left as such: .cl. 7 .xviii. This consistent use of points is intended to assist with electronic searches for numbers as opposed to letters.

Other points are placed at the end of words rather than midway between one and the next.

Other Insertion Signs, mostly letters of the alphabet are also found which are *signes de renvoi* to link interlineations and marginalia to an exact point in the text. Since, in this edition, both of these are incorporated in their correct places within the appropriate line these symbols are not reproduced.

Puncti as Possible Abbreviation Signs.

Medieval scribes use the *punctus* as a mark of abbreviation, for example .i. for *id est*, .e. for *est* and in this they seem to be following the Roman epigraphical practice of pointing. Norman and Anglo-Norman scribes go further and use .W. or W. for *Willelmus*. Thus charters of William I commonly open with .W. *rex Anglie et dux Normanniæ*.... ('William, ruler of England and duke of Normandy...'). Here the W. manifestly stands for *Willelmus* and for that reason does not need a normal abbreviation sign, though the *puncti* may be being used as one.

Many personal names are thus reduced to a few letters or to a solitary one, thus *Robertus* to *Rob.* or *.R.* and *Ricardus* to *R.* Sometimes the need for extension is marked, as with most other shortened words, with one of a range of normal abbreviation signs, which exist for that sole purpose. For *Ricardus*, the name may appear simply as an *R* with no abbreviation sign, or as *R.* or *.R.* that is, followed by a point or enclosed by points. If the next word is a numeral *ibi habet R. xvi. villanos*, it is often not clear from the positioning of the point whether it belongs with Richard or with the numeral, so it could be edited as *ibi habet R .xvi. villanos* or *ibi habet R. xvi. villanos*, except that a *punctus* will be needed before the *xvi*. This equivocation might appear to be of no great consequence (the convention here adopted being to put the point next to the numeral bearing in mind that most numerals have points fore and aft. However in some contemporary manuscripts, in a way that seems to have become a later norm, the *punctus* after the R (*R.*) would be treated by editors as an abbreviation sign.

In EDB it is normal to write the first occurrence of a personal name in full (*Robertus*) or with sufficient letters and an abbreviation sign (*Roḅ*) to make the name clear (thus distinguishing it from *Rog'*, for *Rogerus* or *Rogerus*), but to represent repetitive following occurrences by a single letter usually surrounded by a pair of *puncti* (*.R.*) sometimes only followed by one (*R.*). This double pointing is also applied to a number of frequently used common nouns: *.a.* (*abbas*), *.c.* (*comes*, *comitissa* or *canonici*, the latter also being represented by *.ca.*) *.g.* (*gildum*), *.m.* (*mansio* or *monachus*), *.r.* (*rex*), *.s.* (*sanctus*) and *.u.* (*uxor*). It is also routinely found in the recurring *die qua rex .E. f. u. et m.* (*for die qua Rex Edwardus fuit uiuus et mortuus*) or its several variations.

Normal editorial practice is to treat these *puncti* as marks of abbreviation, and thus to expand the word and to remove the *puncti*, which is the practice followed here.

However this is not without its difficulties, perhaps being an over-simplified modern convention applied to an older complexity. Firstly the *punctus* is a sign with several uses, and it is difficult to be certain here that it is a mark of abbreviation rather than, say a way of marking and highlighting a single letter which in handwriting with its variable spaces could be read as belonging with a following letter, figure or word. So many *puncti* seem to be medial, centred between words, as if to highlight them, to show where they end and the next begins or to rest a pen. It might thus be similar to the use of *puncti* around numbers: in fact there are many instances of *.E.*, *.W.* (etc.). Secondly, the MS of EDB as a whole is heavily punctuated with many fully written-out words having a *punctus* and examples of all the above words appearing with one or more *puncti* even when there is a normal sign of abbreviation present: for example both *m̄.* and *mortuus.* occur, as well as *.f.* and *.fuit.*, all pointed. Thirdly, in the case of EDB, the practice is not at all uniform. In fact the treatment of *puncti* as a whole, both in terms of absence and excess, is chaotic: some single letters that represent names will have a 'proper' abbreviation signs as well as a *punctus*, some will merely be punctuated, others will have neither abbreviation sign nor *punctus*. As a result it seems impossible in any individual case to decide if a *punctus* is abbreviating or punctuating.

The practical consequences are that, if in *E.* the *punctus* is regarded as an abbreviation sign, the expansion will be to *Eduardus*, and the *punctus*, like other

abbreviation signs, will not appear in the finished text. If however the *punctus* is merely a read as a point, then the expansion will be to E(*duardus*); see Angle Brackets (below).

Nonetheless, it is possible that the scribes had a clear notion but failed to handle the punctuation systematically, The MS shows many signs of haste and pointing cannot have been their greatest concern. Even if the use of *puncti* is splashy, they evidently knew what they were doing, that is shortening words repeatedly used whose extension was not in doubt. So in this edition these words are not regarded as deficient (thus demanding the use of angle brackets) but conscious shortenings, to be extended in the semi-diplomatic text by the use of italic letters.

WORD DIVISION

Prepositions are separated from their dependent nouns where they are fused with them in the MS: thus *indominio* and *demouin* become *in dominio* and *de Mouin* ('of Moyon').

Words accidentally split are recombined thus *de bentur* becomes *debentur*)

Elements of place-names where separated are not re-coupled. Although some cases are uncertain, it seems that scribes sometimes show a name in its original (two-element) form, before it became a single word, for example (in 465a1) *Tata Wica* (i.e. Tata's *wīc*, for what became Tadwick), *Iodena Wirda* (171a1) which became Edingworth and *Nietes stou* (230b2) which became St Neot, though clearly the name was 'Neot's stow' in 1086. Examples in Latin such as *de Alba Marula* (of Aumale), may actually indicate that the name still meant or had the residual meaning of "White Clay" rather than having become simply a toponym. However, in the case of *SanWinnuc* (201a1) a single word is written, despite the medial capital, and this has been kept. The place is now St Winnow, with the separate element 'Saint' re-asserting itself.

Forms such as *Terra Colgrini* (423b3), *Terra Alwini* (424b3) indicate that they have yet to become a place-name in which any original sense is lost; in fact neither name appears to have had any subsequent history. In such cases the forms are reproduced as in the text. In the case of the name Cornwall, the forms *In Cornubia*, *In Cornugallia* and *In Cornu Galliae* occur. The first two are clearly declined in Latin as single words, but the third, which also no doubt means 'in Cornwall', still reproduces the earlier form, meaning 'In/ on the horn of Gaul/ Wales.'

In the rare cases where a scribe has written a place-name in sections, apparently pausing in his writing of an unfamiliar name rather than marking its etymological elements (as in 101b4: *bot chonoam* and *bot chat uuuo*), this has been ignored.

INDIVIDUAL LETTERS

The digraph æ (which represents a former diphthong originally pronounced as such) is occasionally used in the text and is reproduced.

The e caudata (ę), which is another way of treating the digraph and former diphthong æ becomes *æe*.

However in most cases in this and other medieval texts the Classical æ is usually reduced to a plain **e**, and this is the form used when it is necessary to provide an ending on an unexpanded word.

The ampersand (&) is used in the MS both on its own (= *et*) and as a verbal termination, for example *ten&* and *ual&*. All are converted to *et* in Italic, thus becoming *et*, *tenet* and *ualet*. Where an original *ual&* (which itself would become *ualet*). is altered to the plural by superscription of an *n* (that is to. *ualent*) the transcription employed here is *uale{n}t*.

The tironian nota for et (7) is kept as such.

The Rustic U (Ū/ū) is treated as a an ordinary letter (**U/u**)

U/u and V/v: Where the conventions regarding the use of capitals require that a lower-case letter be converted to upper case a lower case **u** becomes **V**. Where a capital has to become a small, a capital **V** becomes a **u**. **uu** becomes **Vu**. However, where, unusually, a **U** or a **v** occur and the conventions do not require that one becomes a small and the other a capital, they are left as they are; see Majuscules and Minuscules above.

In the case of *uiuus*, the Latin word, containing noo letter **v** is found fully written out 65 times; the abbreviated form beginning in either **u-** or **v-** is very frequent. However with the form that has initial **v-**, the full word (in this case *viuus*) is only found once (in 498a8). All abbreviated forms of the word beginning with **v-** are thus expanded to *v(iuus)* on the assumption that **v** is only used initially in this word.

NUMERALS

Generally in the MS a numeral is surrounded by *puncti* (.iii.). Where missing, they are supplied.

Some numerals have letters after them indicating how they should be read. These additions are written above the line but are not, strictly, interlinear insertions; they are more akin to the upraised final **-s** sometimes found in *acra^s* (here rendered as *acras*). Thus *.xx^{ti}*. (for *uiginti*) appears here as *.xxti*.

In the MS the majority of Roman numerals are written in a traditional way, thus *.xviii.* for 18 *.lxxxiii.* for 83, *.ccdlx.* for 260. However some scribes divide these numbers into more manageable groups either by inserting a medial *punctus* (as in *.cc.xlv. oues. & .l.viii. cap[r]a^s*, 315a5) or an ampersand or Tironian nota, thus *.x. & .viii.*, *.lxxx. & .iii.* and *.cc. & .d. & .lx.* Further, for some large numbers a multiplication sum is given, thus *.iiii. .xx.* (4 x 20 = 80, still used as *quatre-vingt* in French) and *.vi. .xx.* (6 x 20 = 120). These are reproduced as they are in the MS, with the addition, where necessary of points at the beginning and end of the numbers.

Scribes often express 21, 31 etc as *.xxi.*, *.xxxī.* etc, and generally use a plural noun (*.xxi. bordarios* etc.). However, especially when the format *.xx. 7.i.* is used, they seem to be thinking to themselves '20 (hides) and 1 hide' and put the 'hide' (as well as any following relative pronoun), in the singular: *.xx. 7.i. hidā[m] quā[m]* This can often be shown to be the case by the nature of the abbreviation sign, as in 83a1 *.xx. 7.i. uillanū[m]* and 266a2 *.lxī. 7.i. ouē[m]* the abbreviation mark implying a letter m. For the relative pronoun the plural *quas* is normally written out in full. Clear examples of a singular noun are found in 366a2 *.xx. 7.i. animal*, also 383a2 *.xxx. 7.i. animal*. A further example where an abbreviation sign is not involved is *haec terra*

sufficit .xxx. et .i. carrucae, the last word being dative singular. In such contexts the noun is here extended in the singular by default, where the abbreviation sign (if present) does not imply any particular extension.

BRACKETS

Chevrons, ... enclose folio numbers.

Curly Brackets {...} enclose (a) interlined additions to or modifications of words or figures written below them; (b) one or more whole words or figures, including those that extend into the margin. Frequently such interlineations are replacements for a word or words marked for deletion, or an erasure; see Deletions and Erasures below; (c) lines of text which are squeezed in ignoring the normal rulings, or cramped text of normal line length written below the ruled text.

Most interlineations remain within the 'tramlines' of the MS, either ruled or notional, while most marginalia are confined to the margins. However, some interlineations 'cross the line' into the margin, while with some marginalia the scribe has profited by space at the end of a line, to begin within the body of the text. The fact that the right-hand end of some lines are not vertically aligned means that the definition of such interlineations is occasionally fluid. See also Marginalia (above).

Curly Brackets also enclose any ends of sentences which contain a few words written below the last full line of an entry at the right-hand end of an otherwise blank line.

Angle Brackets ⟨...⟩ They enclose (a) letters or whole words that have been omitted by the scribes but are necessary for the understanding of the text; (b) words or letters which are difficult to read or have to be conjectured, usually caused by damage to or trimming of the MS; (c) letters needed to extend a word but whose absence is not marked by abbreviation signs. Excluded from this category are cases where a *punctus* or a pair of them (usually associated with single letters) appears to be a mark of abbreviation; see Punctuation: *Puncti* as Possible Abbreviation Signs (above)

Because the letter **q** always implies a following letter **u**, the **u** has not been placed in angle brackets, but in italics: thus *qui* rather than *q(u)i*

EDITORIAL ADDITIONS TO THE TEXT

As explained above (Brackets: Angle Brackets) it is sometimes necessary to add to the text. Thus in *Walterus que uocatur...* ('Walter, which is called ...') an antecedent to the *quae* is needed so the text is here expanded to *Walterus ⟨habet mansionem⟩ quae uocatur...*, ('Walter ⟨has a manor⟩, which is called') which is the usual form of words. Latin is by its nature terse and laconic and can assume intelligent readers who can fill in gaps, but not in cases where the grammatical structure is disrupted. However, sometimes, not to supply a phrase can seriously mislead. Thus in 453a2 the unclarified text reads: *Inde habet. Serlo .iii. hidas .v. agros minus. 7 .ii. carrucas in dominio. 7 uillani .ii. hidas 7 .v. agros 7 .vi. carrucas. 7 .viii. uillanos. 7 .ix. bordarios. 7 .ii. seruos* ('Of it Serlo has 3 hides less 5 acres and 2 ploughs in demesne and the

villans 2 hides and 5 acres and 6 ploughs, and 8 villans and 9 bordars and 2 slaves'). The first occurrence of 'villans' here refers to what is held by 'the men' as opposed to the demesne land mentioned just before; the second occurrence refers to villans as a specific class of population in contrast to bordars and slaves, but the text suggests that the first villans have other villans and people as well as (in the rest of the sentence) the animals and resources of the manor under them. This is not so, and the scribes would normally refer back to the lord at this point: 'Of it Serlo has ... and the villans have... and there Serlo has ...'. Thus it is essential to insert (*ibi habet Serlo...*) ('there Serlo has ...') before the 7 .viii. *uillanos*.

However such insertions are only made when essential. The mechanics of writing with pen, ink and parchment and a commendable desire for rapidity mean that Latin can suppress a verb when the sense is more or less clear. Thus in 325a2: *Inde habet Radulfus dimidiam hidam & .i. carrucam in dominio 7 uillani dimidiam hidam & .iii. carrucas*. ('Of it Ralph has half a hide and 1 plough in demesne and the villans half a hide and 3 ploughs.') *habent* ('have') really needs to be understood pedantically from the previous *habet* and inserted after the *uillani*, but it is not essential to do so. More drastically, in 323b2 *Haec ualet .xxx. solidos. & quando. Iuhellus recepit tantundem*. ('This is worth 30 shillings and, when Judhael received it, the same amount.') *ualebat* has to be understood out of *ualet* (even though the tenses are different), but, again, insertion is not crucial.

MARGINALIA

EDB has been marginally annotated over time. In particular at some early period (someone drew attention to the holdings of the bishop and cathedral of Exeter by inserting the then spelling of the place-names. However, only marginalia which are thought to be contemporary with the writing of the MS are included in this edition.

EDB is very much a working text, with additions and corrections interlined apart from extra information written in the margins. The interlineations (text added above or below a line contemporaneously by the scribes, as described under Curly Brackets above) tend to be small additions and corrections while the marginalia sometimes consist of whole entries or additional members of an estates. Additions written in the margins of the MS as part of the original phase of production are marked by a superscript word "margin" in blue against a lighter blue background. Signs used by the scribes to show its relation to the text (*signes de renvoi*), are not reproduced since each marginalium is here inserted in its proper place in the body of the text.

Some scribes have a very 'splashy' approach to keying marginalia into the text and to using the transposition signs. In such cases the marginalium itself is placed where the grammar or sentence structure demands it.

With two exceptions (7b8, 9a7) marginal *d. m.* (for *d(ignum) m(emoria)*) merely occurs at the beginnings or ends of lines and yet it refers to some particular detail in that line, but without exact indication of which. The particular tie-in is mentioned in the Notes and indicated by repositioning the *d. m.* (as 'Worth Noting') in the translation.

Although most interlineations are confined to the body of the text and most marginalia are clearly outside the vertical tramlines, whether ruled in dry point or notional, there are some overlaps in the categories. Sometimes text begun

interlinearly spills, apparently by accident, into the margin as in 266b1 and 360b4. Such cases are treated as interlinear lines, not part interlineation, part marginalium. However, not all margins are clearly ruled and where text is ragged rather than justified, judgement has to be used as to whether a word or words are truly marginal. On the other hand sometimes a scribe (often different from the scribe of the entry to which it is meant to be added) appears to have intended a marginal addition but took advantage of a short line in the text to begin there before extending into the margin; Entries 388b2 and 480a1 are examples of this.. These are treated as marginalia. This distinction is a matter of judgement and best reviewed by readers who can look at the images of the manuscript. What is important is that (apart from the correction of simple mistakes) both interlineations and marginalia draw attention to the late inscription of information, whether arriving after the initial campaign, or missed in the differently arranged document that was used for it. If the scribal hand of the addition is different from that of the main text, this too is significant.

GAPS

.... indicate (a) that a sentence breaks off or normal information such as the figure for a particular resource is missing, information which should have been included but was presumably not to hand; (b) the absence of following material when a numbered paragraph appears (c) text which is irrecoverable because of damage to the MS or the application of gall. Erasures are treated separately; see below

Sometimes a scribe appears to rest his pen and then resumes leaving a larger than usual gap which has no other significance. Some gaps are caused by holes in the parchment, or by damage or greasy spots, or as the result of erasure. Here the scribe may have written something wrong or unnecessary and erased it and did not write afresh on the erased and re-prepared surface, Sometimes he interlined instead. In many cases the explanation is not clear.

The aim of the edition is to provide the final readable text as the scribes intended it, so gaps caused by erasure (except those involving whole entries) are not shown in the text. For these and for their nature and the possible readings of the erased material, the reader is referred to the digital images and the comprehensive palaeographical description as well as the Notes appended to this text.

DELETIONS

A single strike through indicates a deletion marked by the scribe as such. In the MS these are usually marked by a continuous or broken underline or by a point below the letter to be removed.

Underlining indicates something which, in the editor's judgement, the scribe should have marked for deletion. These often represent the scribe's writing of one name such as *Rotbertus*, which is then followed by the correct *Walterus*, sometimes interlined, though the scribe has failed to mark the 'Robert' for deletion: thus *hida hida* in 322a2

Similarly accidental repetitions of words are reproduced but the second occurrence is marked as needing deletion; thus *die qua die qua*.

Where a word has been begun but not completed and is subsequently marked for deletion (or should have been), it is given in the complete form apparently intended but not executed, using angle brackets, before being so marked; thus in 300b1 in the 'value-clause' the scribe wrote *tantu*, which presumably stands for the usual *tantundem* (though possibly for *tantum*), then broke off and superscribed the correct amount of money, but without marking the *tantu* for deletion. As a result the present text reads ... *tantu(ndem)*. {.xl. sof[idos].}

ERASURES

---- draw attention to whole erased entries, with or without a paraph. These are allotted a reference number.

There are many other erasures in the MS, of letters, figures, words or phrases. However, none of these is represented in the body of the extended text, as they would clutter it. Moreover it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between an erasure and an area left blank, for example because the parchment was greasy. However, where part or all of an erasure can be read, this is included in the future Notes; see Gaps above

CORRECTIONS

If there appears to be something wrong with the text, for example a misspelling, the substitution of one resource for another (goats for sheep) in error this is discussed in a note rather than being directly corrected in the text. Thus *nansionem* (438b1), for *mansionem*, is not corrected but annotated

There is a difference between evident mistakes and the considerable variations in spelling or usage. No attempt is made to normalise the Latin, so forms such as *quosceti* (121a3, for *cosceti*), which shows the merging of the pronunciation of **q** and **c**, and *villainos* (357a1, for *villanos*), which illustrates the French differentiation of a long vowel (**a**) under a heavier stress accent, are left as they are. They are often significant for judging the Frenchness of the text..

EXPANSIONS

Most expansions of abbreviated Latin words in this text are straightforward and uncontroversial. There is a general uniformity about the choice of words, probably because scribes were expected to adhere to some master-list, matrix or 'house style'. Moreover the majority of words occur frequently and there is usually a fully expressed example in nearby text written by the same scribe to inform any expansion required. Moreover many words only have one form throughout.

In most cases it is clear how an abbreviation is to be extended even if it is drastically shortened, as in the case of *ñ*. for *ñansionem*. In general the abbreviated Latin for a given word has been extended in line with fully extended examples of the same word in that entry or elsewhere by the same scribe. However, individual scribes can have more than one preferred spelling for a word and several ways of abbreviating it; thus the same scribe can write *arare* and *arrare*, *in longo* and *in longitudine*, and when these are reduced to *ar'* or *long'* the expansion must

remain uncertain. In the absence of such consistency, in some cases it is necessary to extend a word in line with the preponderant form in the text as a whole. This especially applies to cases where single consonants are doubled and doubles singled. On the other hand, only scribe Epsilon uses the French 'dark l' in writing *Bauduinus* for *Balduinus*, so in cases where he only writes *B.* the extension is clear.

On the whole scribes are inclined to avoid ambiguity. Thus although there are many words related to 'fish', none is reduced to *pisc'*: in each case enough further letters are included so as to leave no doubt as to the exact word intended.

However the exact extension to be applied to a word is not always certain, and attention is drawn to these cases in the notes. Where there are two related Latin words one shorter than the other as, for example, *molinus* and *molendinus* (for 'mill') *uirga* and *uirgata* (for 'virgate'), it cannot be assumed without more investigation that the shorter abbreviation *mol'* or *virg'* stands for the shorter word, though longer abbreviations *molend'* and *uirgat'* clearly relate to the longer word.

caruca/ carucata and carruca/ carrucata. The form *car'* which may relate to a plough or a carucate, is extended to *caruca/ carucata* respectively; *carr'* to *carruca* or *carrucata*. Although the form *carrucat'* is common, *carr'* or *car'* can also evidently stand for *carrucata*. Thus context alone decides between the exact choice of forms and their translations in each pair.

Eduardus/ Edwardus: Both forms occur though less frequently than *E.* or *Ed.* There does not seem to be a clear pattern of scribal use so the default extension used here is *Eduardus*.

habet/ habuit, reddit/ reddidit, tenet /tenuit and ualet/ ualebat. The abbreviations *hab'*, *redd'*, *ten'* and *ual'* could be extended to their present tenses, or past tenses (imperfects, perfects or even pluperfects), although the perfect is the norm with the first three and the imperfect with the last. This depends mainly on the context: in a given entry the first occurrence of *redd'* is likely to require expansion to *redd[idit]* in 'and it paid geld for 10 hides' referring to the situation in 1066, while in the render of a mill or from swinehards *redd[it]*, ('it pays') is normal, as it is when *reddit* is also used to displace *ualet* ('it is worth'), with 'it pays' as the current value or render in the 'value clause'. The use of the imperfect seems to depend on scribal preference, although the usage of individuals varies. A customary payment is regular by definition and any verb would be expected to be in the imperfect. However both *reddidit per consuetudinem...* ('it paid by custom ...' in the perfect) and *reddebat per consuetudinem...* ('it used to pay by custom' in the imperfect) are used.

The choice between *habet* and *habuit* in the Geld Accounts is especially difficult, as there are very few fully written out examples. Thus the form *habet* is only found written out in full in 67a3 and 77a1 (twice), whereas *habuit* written in full is much more frequent but never universal. Has the king 'had' his geld or does he 'have' it? This question is explored in the Notes.

latus and longus/ latitude and longitudo. There are three common ways to give measurements in length and width. The phrases *in longo/ in lato* are common in

GDB, no doubt because of their compactness. In EDB *inter longum et latum* is also occasionally used, but the predominant phrase is *in longitudine... et in latitudine...* The occurrence of what might be thought to be hybrid phrases *in long'... et in latit'...* or *in longit'... et in lat'...* probably means that *in longitudine... et in latitudine...* are intended in both cases. Here where parts of *longus* and *latus* are written out in full (that is, with a case ending), they are reproduced as such; moreover all instances of *in long'... & ... in lat'...* are treated as shortenings of *in longitudine... & in latitudine...*

molinus/ molendinus. Fully written out forms of *molinus* only occur seven times in EDB, six of them in the hand of scribe Theta and once in the hand of the scribe of Great Domesday. Theta writes *mol'* many times as also do scribes Alpha and Beta occasionally. Theta also writes *molend'* (198a3, 256b1, 256b3, 276b1). There is no definiteness here The simplest course, the one adopted here, is to extend *mol'* to *molinus* and *molend'* to *molendinus*.

minus. The Classical Latin construction uses the ablative of measure of difference, so *vi hidas, 3 virgis minus* ('six hides, less by three virgates'). This usage is occasionally found in the text of EDB. Normally, however, the same case is used as that found in the original figure, so *vi hidas, 3 virgas minus*. There is an example of both uses in close proximity in 22a2, 24a1. Where the words dependent on minus lack a termination because of abbreviation they are extended in the same case as the original figure.

sunt and sint. The abbreviations *ṡ* and *sṡ* are expanded to *sunt* and *sunt* respectively where a part of the verb *esse* is clearly intended. However, in reported questions, where both classical and medieval usage varies, the subjunctive *sint* is possible, without a difference in meaning. The same scribe (Alpha) has both forms fully written out in entries 90b2-3 in similar phrases: *nescitur quod (for quot) hidae sunt in ea/ nescitur quot hidae sunt in ea*. Where an extension must be made, *sunt* is the chosen form.

tantundem and nunquam. The etymologically purer forms *tantumdem* and *numquam* are occasionally found, but apparently on no systematic basis, so the forms with medial *n* are used for all expansions where the consonants *n* or *m* are omitted.

Abbreviated forms of *tantundem* are very frequent. The presence of a medial *d* is crucial to the expansion. Forms such as *tantu'* and *ta'tu'* which occur 18 times in all (and sometimes represent 'only' rather than 'as much' are expanded to *tantum*.

uirga/ uirgata. The second of these is adopted as the norm in GDB, but is rare in EDB. In the latter there are also 46 occurrences of *uirgat'* with various case-endings. Thus it is assumed that *uirg'* should always be extended to some case of *uirga*.

DIFFICULT TO READ TEXT

As a whole the MS is extremely legible, despite some scribal eccentricities. However, a few areas of text have been bleached by the sun, have suffered water or other

damage and edge-strips, sometimes containing text, have been trimmed. There are also some brown patches where gall has darkened. This last (oak gall) when applied renders faded text more legible, but then, as it ages, turns dark brown making the text less legible than before. It appears that Ralph Barnes who was responsible for transcribing the MS in Exeter applied this as in some cases his hand has superscribed the newly read text, not always accurately. In virtually every case it is possible to recover and/ or conjecture the content of the lost text. As elsewhere letters that can be read are reproduced in Roman and abbreviations, where indicated, in Italic. Restorations to the text are enclosed in angle brackets (see above). Most are simple deductions but a few are drawn from the corresponding whole passage in GDB. The source and the degree of certainty of the corrections are indicated in the Notes. Where restoration is impossible this is indicated by; see Gaps, above.

DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF THE TEXT

As said above, the master text (E) is the 'semi-diplomatic text' to which this Introduction refers. This was drawn from a precursor, the 'working text' (D) which was made from a photocopy of the Barnes-Ellis text (A) which had been rekeyed (version B) then lightly expanded and converted to Word (version C) before being edited and extended by using high-resolution images of the original. This working text includes all abbreviation signs and *puncti elevati* and encloses in square brackets all material which appears in italics in the semi-diplomatic text.

From the semi diplomatic text (E) here offered is drawn the plain text (F) which is a simplified version, achieved by reducing or modifying the conventions as described below; see The Plain Text.

The availability of these various versions is:

- A. the Barnes-Ellis Text (on the Website).
- B. the rekeyed Barnes-Ellis Text (not available)
- C. the rekeyed Barnes-Ellis text lightly edited and converted to a Word document (not available)
- D. the Working Text (on the Website)
- E. the Semi-diplomatic Text (on the Website)
- F. the Plain text (on the Website)

It is proposed to publish the Plain Text (F) in hard copy with the translation and Notes in due course.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In addition to what is said in the corresponding section of the Introduction to the Translation I am grateful for the advice and encouragement given me by Professors Howard Clarke, John Palmer and Richard Sharpe and by Dr. Ann Williams who have been invaluable members of our Advisory Board.

Dr Christopher Lewis has worked extensively on the MS and used the present extended text for his own researches as part of the Project and has given much detailed advice on a wide range of issues thanks to his immense knowledge of this field. The extension of the Latin text has been clarified at a number of significant points by reference to the detailed manuscript description prepared by Dr Francisco Alvarez Lopez. Professor Julia Crick and our doctoral Students (Alex Dymond and Lois

Lane) have read parts of the text in detail and commented on them. Just when we despaired of ever getting the one third of a million words of this text proof-read, a *dea ex machina* in the form of a young student of Palaeography and Classics, Astrid Khoo, arrived on the scene. With incredible dedication, selflessness and acuity she read the whole extended text between July and October of 2017, picked up countless errors and made many helpful suggestions.

For part of two sections one headed Majuscules and Minuscules and the other Punctuation, I have gratefully adopted some paragraphs concerning **U/v** and the *punctus* as abbreviator sent to me by Professor Crick. Dr Teresa Webber has also advised (via Professor Crick) on the interpretation of *puncti*.

A QUICK GUIDE TO THE CONVENTIONS OF THE SEMI-DIPLOMATIC TEXT

REFERENCES

Folio References

Folio numbers indicate recto (r) or verso (v) folios of the MS as used in the 1816 edition of Sir Henry Ellis.

All numbered folios are noticed, even when they are blank; these are recorded as [Blank]

References to individual entries

References such as 156a1, 334b3 indicate the folio, the recto (a) or the verso (b) numbered from the top to the bottom in a straight numerical sequence

LINEATION

The end of each line of the MS is marked by a | symbol.

Each new entry is begun on a new line however it is placed in the MS.

FONTS

Roman Letters are those which appear in the MS

Italic letters are extensions of the Latin implied by abbreviation signs and occasionally by single *puncti* or pairs of them.

Capitals are used for the first word in a sentence, for the initial letters of Place-Names and Personal names, and for headings, whether or not they are so used in the MS.

BRACKETS

Chevrons <...> enclose folio numbers.

Curly Brackets {...} enclose an interlineation whether consisting of a letter or figure in correction to a word below, or of one or more whole words or figures, including those that begin between the lines but also extend slightly into the margin.

Angle Brackets ⟨...⟩ enclose letters or whole words that have been omitted by the scribes but are necessary for the understanding of the text; also words or letters which are difficult to read or have to be conjectured, usually caused by damage to or trimming of the MS.

They further indicate the need for the extension of a word where there is no abbreviation sign. For this purpose *puncti* (singly or in pairs) associated with single letters are treated as marks of abbreviation.

Because the letter **q** (except where it stands for a **c**) implies a following letter **u**, the **u** has not been placed in angle brackets, but in italics: thus *qui* rather than *q⟨u⟩i*

MARGINALIA

Material added in the margin contemporaneously by the scribes of the original text is marked by a superscript word "margin" in blue against a lighter blue background. Signs (*signes de renvoi*) used by the scribes to show its relation to the text are not reproduced since each marginalium is here inserted in its proper place embedded in the body of the text. Some marginalia begin in spaces within the part of the folio ruled to receive text, while some interlineations continue by a word or so into the margin; see "Curly Brackets" above.

GAPS

.... indicate that a sentence breaks off, or normal information such as the figure for a particular resource is missing or that the text cannot be read.

ERASURES

---- denote the erasures of whole entries, with or without a 'gallows-sign'. Such whole entries are allotted a reference number.

DELETIONS

A single strike through indicates a deletion marked as such by the scribe.

Underlining indicates something which, in the editor's judgement, the scribe should have marked for deletion.

INDIVIDUAL LETTERS

The digraph æ is reproduced as such.

The e caudata (ę) becomes *ae* (in italics).

The ampersand (&) becomes *et* (in italics).

The tironian nota remains as 7.

The Rustic U (Ū/ū) is treated as an ordinary letter (**U/u**)

U/ u and V/v: Where a lower-case letter has to be converted to upper case (see under Fonts above) a lower case **u** becomes **V**. Where a capital has to become a small, a capital **V** becomes a **u**. **uu** becomes **Vu**. However, where, unusually, a **U** or a **v** occur and the conventions do not require that one becomes a small and the other a capital, they are left as they are

PUNCTUATION

Full points which appear in the text are reproduced, except where they probably act as abbreviation signs, in which case they are removed and the extensions given in Italics as are other letters implied by normal abbreviation signs; see Fonts: Italic Letters and Brackets: Angle Brackets above. Points are also applied systematically before and after numerals and are at the end of sentences if they are missing.

Colons, semi-colons and commas are eliminated where they are marks of abbreviation or insertion. **The semi-colon** is retained if used to end a clause, as in 259b1.

The *Punctus Elevatus* (:) is treated as an ordinary *punctus* (.)

NUMERALS

Generally in the MS a numeral is surrounded by *puncti* (.iii.). Where missing, they are supplied.

Some numerals have letters after them indicating how they should be read. These additions are written above the line but are not, strictly interlinear insertions. Thus .xx{ti}. (for uiginti) appears here as .xxti.

WORD DIVISION

Prepositions are separated from their dependent nouns where they are fused with them in the MS.

Elements of place-names where separated are not re-coupled.

THE PLAIN TEXT

The plain text is derived electronically from the semi-diplomatic one, by simplifying or omitting some of the conventions applied to the latter. Thus the italic letters, which indicate what is necessary to extend a word marked with an abbreviation sign, appear as Roman, as if they had always been part of the text. Whole words marked by the scribe for deletion are still included, as are redundant words which should have been so marked. However, within individual words, letters that have been or should have been marked for deletion have simply been removed. Interlineations and marginalia are still marked as such and whole words needing to be inserted in the text remain in angle brackets. However, where a letter or letters have been added to a defective word, the angle brackets which, in the semi-diplomatic text indicate this addition, have been removed. Ends of lines in the MS are not marked and the text is allowed to run on, but the separation of entries by a blank line is preserved.

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