

I. MINISTERIAL PROCEEDINGS

A. ROYAL SURVEYS, INQUISITIONS AND ASSESSMENTS

THE very miscellaneous collection of official documents that have been grouped for the purpose of diplomatic study under the above heading will be found to follow, more or less closely, a general plan of official procedure. In the first place, we should expect to find an 'originating writ' in the shape of a royal precept, but this is often wanting in early documents or is replaced by a historical narrative or by an official heading. In some cases, such as inquisitions *ex officio* and judicial presentments, the Return is made without a special precept. Secondly, there should be found, as an Appendix or schedule to the Writ, certain directions for the enquiry which in later times were given in the shape of 'Articles' or 'Chapters' (No. 57), but which may be compendiously expressed in a *Forma Inquisitionis* (No. 15 (*b*)) or recited in a mere preamble (No. 19). In other cases, however, these instructions are given *seriatim* in the Writ itself (No. 41). This should also contain a direction as to the date and place of delivery of the Return, and a memorandum of execution was in later times more frequently endorsed upon the Writ by the returning officer with a description of the form and extent of the accompanying Return 'in the Schedule' (No. 27).

This Return, the third feature of an Inquisition, represents the verdict, recognition, or presentment of the Jurors whose names should form part of the 'Record.' Naturally the latter was of varying aspect and bulk, and it is known by various titles according to the subject of the Writ. For the purpose of the present compilation, however, these Records have been classified according to their Constitutional or Economic characteristics. Moreover an attempt has been made in at least one of the following sections to show the connexion of the actual Returns (which have usually been regarded as isolated Records) with related documents. In this way the student will be enabled to realize both the initial Ministerial

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Proceedings connected with individual cases and the sequel in the shape usually of Judicial Proceedings or even of a mere Statement of Account.

It will be easily realized that the arrangement of the following documents is intended to follow the broad outlines of the development of feudal taxation from the primitive theory of a royal revenue derived from the proceeds of royal estates, through the successive devices of the assessment of hides and ploughs and knights' fees, to the more scientific and general levy in the shape of a land tax and property tax based upon a tithe or other poundage.

But the royal Inquisition itself may also be made to serve other ministerial purposes which cannot always be clearly distinguished from the well-known aspect of the 'original writ' as a judicial agency. Thus we have to deal with a large group of feudal inquisitions of a legal or constitutional character; and we must find a place, in this section, for the most extensive and, in some respects, the most important class of ministerial Records—the Accounts of the Exchequer,—a continuous series of official documents that reaches from the middle of the 12th century to the middle of the 19th.

(a) AGRARIAN SURVEYS

In spite of any variation in the constitutional and economic conditions which affected the Anglo-Saxon and the Frankish agrarian systems respectively, we might reasonably have expected to find some traces of a periodical agrimensuration in connexion with the administration of the royal domains in this country before the 11th century. The failure to make any such discovery is possibly due to the non-survival of a collection of Old English royal archives, for the muniments actually preserved by certain churches do not afford any precise information on this point. Even the Anglo-Saxon law-books that were so carefully reconstructed during the Anglo-Norman period have not appended any formulas analogous to those which have survived amongst the Frankish capitularies.

At the same time a few monastic surveys in the nature of state-papers may be found before the Norman Conquest, and one of these (No. 3)¹ is clearly of the conventional agrarian type seen in the Frankish capitularies and reproduced in Anglo-Norman revenue-rolls or fiscal inquisitions (Nos. 52 and 15 (b)). But, although we can

¹ This Beddington Survey has been universally accepted as an authentic document though it should be noticed that neither the source nor the form are beyond suspicion.

Agrarian Surveys

3

recognize the conventional formulas of an inventory of crops and stock in English Exchequer records of the late 11th and 12th centuries, it is only with the series of 'Royal Extents' in the 13th century (No. 11) that we find a complete parallel to the survey of a Frankish imperial villa under the Carolingian dynasty, and the corresponding official formulas are found only amongst the Edwardian statutes 'of uncertain date' (No. 10).

The earliest documentary specimens printed here are therefore of a somewhat miscellaneous and disconnected character. The Writ enjoining the survey is not always forthcoming, nor are a Form or Articles of Inquisition necessarily found, the existing document being frequently in the form of an isolated Return. Finally it is important to remember that a close connexion naturally exists between the Agrarian Survey and the Fiscal Inquisition or the Account. Such a connexion may also be found to exist in the case of Feudal or Political Inquisitions in which the state of the agrarian economy is a special subject of enquiry¹.

1 and 2. *Capitulare de Villis* (807).—Chapter 62 of this well-known ordinance of Charles the Great contains an interesting 'form of inquisition' for the survey of the imperial villas. It is not clear whether the formula of a hypothetical survey that follows is actually connected with the above precept, but in any case the group of formulas from which it has been selected possesses an independent value. This survey is closely related to an inquisition printed below (No. 14), but we are concerned here with the agrarian aspect of the subject. The striking resemblance between this inventory of stock and those met with in English 12th and 13th century Accounts (No. 52) will be easily noticed.

3. *Survey of the Manor of Beddington* (901—8).—Apart from the vexed question of the authenticity of the Winchester Cartulary, it is evident that the diplomatic composition of this charter is open to suspicion in its Latin form. On the other hand, the Anglo-Saxon version preserves a preferable reading of the stock entry, and if the document is to be accepted as a contemporary transaction this may perhaps be the true form. This Old English version should also be compared in respect of the description of the stock and crops with the 12th century Account for the bishopric of Lincoln printed below

¹ Many of the Agrarian Surveys have now been thrown out from the official collection of Inquisitions *Post Mortem* to form series of 'Ancient Extents' and 'Miscellaneous Inquisitions.'

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(No. 52 (c)), and with the early 13th century Account Rolls of the church of Winchester itself (No. 52 (a)).

4. *Extent and Hidage (Offlow Hundred) of Burton Abbey* (1004).—A later Burton hidage list will be referred to in another connexion (No. 18 (a)), but here attention need only be called to the royal promulgation of the alleged extent of the estates of the Abbey as conveyed by its benefactor's will. A survey of land in these primitive terms may be regarded as in keeping with the system of 'hidation' in this period¹.

5. *Survey of Whittlesea-mere* (1022).—This 'Charter' is another official promulgation of the extent of the holding of a religious house and may be regarded as an interesting local variant of the conventional Anglo-Saxon Extent. It will be seen from other local inquisitions (Nos. 15 (c) and 53) that the value of such fisheries was considerable.

6. *The Peterborough Survey* (c. 1125).—Reference should be made to Mr Stapleton's edition for the circumstances under which this Extent was made. It may be compared also with the earlier Frankish surveys on the one hand, and with the Christchurch survey of nearly a century later on the other. It will be gathered from Nos. 7, 9, 11 and 13 that it was usual for an Extent and Inventory of stock to be prepared on the occasion of an escheated estate being committed to the custody of a minister of the Crown or even of an exchange or lease effected by a subject.

7. *The Canterbury Survey* (1211).—This Inquisition should be compared with the preceding document (No. 6), and both are closely connected with the feudal inquests which combine an agrarian Extent with a statement as to feudal liabilities (Nos. 35 and 36). It is of interest on account of its early date and the archaic form of the enquiry.

8. *An Extent to ascertain the Valor* (c. 1250).—This is the simplest form of an agrarian Survey, although it may be regarded as an exceptional expedient which was more frequently resorted to in later times for feudal purposes.

9. *The Ospringe Extents* (c. 1240).—These interesting Extents have apparently been preserved by being accidentally copied into the *Testa de Nevill*. The originating Writs have not been traced, but the

¹ Cf. Mr W. J. Corbett in *Transactions R. Hist. Soc.*, N.S. xiv. 187 sq.

Agrarian Surveys

5

inquisitions were evidently connected with some local manorial enquiry in the middle of the reign of Henry III. The judicial aspect of these inquisitions is the subject of a separate document (No. 79), from which it would appear that the enquiry was made by means of Articles which were apparently administered to the jurors in the manor court. This procedure is of interest as an anticipation of the conventional or statutory Articles issued at a later date (Nos. 10 and 36; cf. also No. 57).

10. *Extenta Manerii*.—This reputed Statute is well-known as a mediaeval agrarian Formular and affords an instructive comparison with the Carolingian models previously referred to (Nos. 2 and 14). It should be further compared with the Formular for royal Escheats preserved in the Annals of Burton (No. 36). An example of an Extent made on these conventional lines will be seen in the case of the document immediately following (No. 11). Reference may also be made to the conventional forms of an agrarian Account (No. 52), and Stock-lease (No. 13 (*b*)), showing the several assets of the manorial economy (cf. also No. 62).

11. *Extent of the Manor of Pishobury* (1296).—This may be regarded as a typical agrarian Survey, including a separate Return as to the state of the buildings and the stock found at a certain date. An interesting memorandum made at the Exchequer is appended to the Record, describing the circumstances under which this manor was committed to the custody of a royal keeper.

12. *Survey of Holkham Commons* (1584).—This 'Special Commission' is one of a type commonly found in the 16th and 17th centuries, and it may possibly have served a political object akin to that of the Tudor and Stuart inquisitions relating to inclosures (No. 68). Mr H. Gray of Harvard University has kindly identified this Survey with an original plan still preserved at Holkham (*Report of Hist. MSS. Com.*, Var. Coll. IV. 321). The preparation of a plan in connexion with a royal survey is a special feature of these Records in the 16th and 17th centuries.

13. *Extent and Stock-lease of an English farm by an Alien Priory* (1298–9).—Several interesting Extents of lands in England are preserved with the muniments of continental monasteries. In the present case the foreign archives actually supply particulars respecting a certain manor which were purposely omitted in the contemporary Extent among the English Records owing to the fact that it was let to farm.

1. *Precept of Charles the Great for Surveys of the Imperial Villas to be made in every year.* (812.) [Capitulare de Villis, c. 62.]

Ut unusquisque iudex per singulos annos ex omni conlaboratione nostra, quam cum bubus quos bubulci nostri servant, quid de mansis qui arare debent, quid de sogalibus, quid de censis, quid de fida facta, vel freda, quid de feraminibus in forestis nostris sine nostro permissio captis, quid de diversis conpositionibus; quid de molinis, quid de forestibus, quid de campis, quid de pontibus vel navibus; quid de liberis hominibus et centenens qui partibus fisci nostri deserviunt; quid de mercatis; quid de vineis; quid de illis qui vinum solvunt; quid de feno; quid de lignariis, et faculis; quid de axillis, vel aliud materiamentum; quid de proterariis; quid de leguminibus; quid de milio, et panigo; quid de lana, lino, vel canava; quid de frugibus arborum; quid de nucibus, majoribus vel minoribus; quid de insitis ex diversis arboribus; quid de hortis; quid de napibus; quid de wiwariis; quid de coriis; quid de pellibus; quid de cornibus; quid de melle et cera; quid de uncto, et sui, vel sapone; quid de morato, vino cocto, medo, et aceto; quid de cervisa; de vino novo et vetere; de annona nova et vetere; quid de pullis et ovis, vel anseribus, id est aucas; quid de piscatoribus; de fabris; de scutariis, vel sutoribus; quid de huticis, et confinis, id est scriniis; quid de tornatoribus, vel sellariis; de ferrariis et scrobis, id est fossis ferrariciis, vel aliis fossis plumariciis; quid de tributariis; quid de poledris, et pultrillis, habuerint—omnia seposita, distincta et ordinata—ad Nativitatem Domini nobis notum faciant; ut scire valeamus quid vel quantum de singulis rebus habeamus.

[Pertz: *Monumenta Germaniae, Leges* (1835) I. pp. 185–6.]

2. *Formula of an Imperial Survey* (812).—[Beneficiorum fiscorumque regalium describendorum Formulae¹.]

Invenimus in illo fisco dominico, casam regalem cum cameris 2, totidemque caminatis, cellarium 1, porticus 2, curticulam interclusam...infra cameras 2,...mansiones feminarum 3: capellam...alias intra curtem casas ligneas 2, spicaria 4: horrea 2, stabulum 1, coquinam 1, pistrinum 1, curtem...desuper solarium lectum paratum [etc.] Utensilia: concas aereas [etc.]

Conlaboratu: spelta vetus de anno praeterito corbes 20, quae possunt fieri farina pensas 100.

Praesenti anno fuerunt de spelta corbes 20; seminavit ex ipsis corbes 10, reliqua repperimus. Sigillis modios 160; seminavit 100, reliqua repperimus. Ordeo modios 450; seminavit 300, reliqua repperimus. Avena modios 200, seminavit totidem. Lardum vetus; de praeterito anno baccones 60; novello de nutrimine baccones 50, cum minucia et unctis; de censu baccones 15, cum minucia et unctis. Sunt simul baccones tantos.

¹ The description of the buildings and furniture, etc., has been abbreviated as well as the latter portion of the stock account.

Agrarian Surveys

7

De peculio. Jumenta majora, capita 44; putrellas trimas 10, bimas 12, anniculos 15, poledros bimos 7, emissarios vel burdones 2, boves 24, vaccas cum vitulis 6, alia animalia 5, porcos majores 90, minores 70, vervices cum agnis 150, anniculos 200, multones 8, capras cum hedis 20, anniculos 16, hircos 5, aucas 10.

Haec est summa de supradictis villis. Sunt in summa: spelta vetus de praeterito anno corbes tantos, unde possunt fieri de farina pensas tantas; frumentum vetus; et sic de ceteris omnibus, praeteritis et praesentibus vel reliquis, numerabis.

[*Monumenta Germaniae, Leges* (1835) I. pp. 179, 180.]

3. *Survey of the Manor of Beddington* (901—8).

In nomine Domini. Ego Denewulfus episcopus indico Edwardo regi, domino meo, de terra illa Beaddinctun de qua egisti apud me ut ego eam tibi commodarem. Unde, mi care, nunc a conventu Wintonie optinui, et apud seniores et apud juniores, quod ipsi bono favore concedunt michi ut eam tibi per cartam tradam quamdiu vixeris, sive ad possidendum sive ad commodandum, alteri cuicumque tibi magis placuerit.

Hujus terre sunt lxx hide et est modo tota bene procurata; que quando dominus meus michi eam tradidit omni pecunia caruit et pauperibus hominibus erat destitutum. Tunc ego ipse pecuniam in ea reparare studui: unde interim pauperes vixerunt, et nunc nos eam tibi libenter concedimus. Set nunc familia ipsa expetit te ut, post dies tuos, loco suo iterum restituatur. Modo habetur ibi pecunia, quantum pro hyeme residuum fuit, ix veteres boves, et iiij, et cxj, veteres porci, et L arietes, preter jus porcorum quos porcarii debent habere, et xx bacones. Non fuit ibi frumenti quid, nisi quantum fuit preparatum ad firmam episcopi. Sunt autem ibi xc acre seminate.

Nunc vero rogamus. [*An obsecration follows in an Epistolary style.*]

[*Add. MS.* 15,350, fo. 96 b (C. S. 618).]

4. *Extent (Hidage) of the Abbey of Burton.*

(a) *Confirmation by King Æthelred II of the will of Wulfric Spot* (1004).

Postquam malesuada veneniferi serpentis [*etc.*] Ego Æthelred rex Anglorum offero ipso Domino nostro Jhesu Christo libertatem monasterii cujusdam, vulgari usu aet Byrtun appellatur (*sic*), ut sit semper, cum omnibus que sibi subjacent villulis, prediis, campis, silvis, pratis, pascuis, aquarum decursibus, piscationum hostiis et cunctis necessitatis humane utensilibus, eterna securitate liberrimum; ut illud nobiles progeniei minister Wlfric extruxit et exstru[ctum] collegio

Select Formulas of

instituit monachico, dominium loci et in eo habitantium mee regali committens dominationi....

Hec autem sunt nomina villarum que prefatus minister ipsi sancto devotissime subegit monasterio. Ærest Byrtun [*as in (b)*].

Scripta siquidem est [*etc.*] anno incarnatione Christi millesimo iii^{to} [*etc.*]. Horum testimonio [*etc.*].

(b) *The Will of Wulfric Spot.*

In nomine Domini. Her swutelath Wulfric his hleofan hlaforde his cwyde.....

And thys synd tha land the ic geann into Byrtune: th[aet] is acrest Byrtun the th[a] mynster onstent & Straettun [*etc.*] aet thaere Wic & Waededun, & th[a] lyttle land the ic ah on other Niwantune [*etc.*] & th[a] aet Scengtune [*etc.*] twegre manna daeg, ealswa tha foreword sprecath, & Deorlafestun & th[a] thaerto hereth, th[aet] is Rudegeard & min lyttle land on Cotewaltune & Lege, mid eallon tham the thaerto hereth, ac ofre mid tham thaerto hereth, th[aet] is Hilum [*etc.*], & th[a] heregeat land aet Suthtune [*etc.*], & eall seo socna the thaerto hereth, & th[a] land thyderinn aet Willesleage [*etc.*] into Mortune, & th[a] aet Tathawyllan, & th[a] land aet Æppebyg, the ic gebohte mid minum feo, & th[a] aet Westune & Burhtun & seo hid aet Scearnforda into Wigggestane, and th[a] aet Hereburgebyrig [*etc.*] & an hida aet Sceon. And ic geann tham hirede in Tomwyrthin th[a] land aet Langandune, ealswa hi hit aer me to leton & habban, hi thone bryce healfne & healfne tha munucas into Byrtune, ge on mete, ge on mannon, ge on yrfe, ge on eallon thingon; & se Bisceop fo to his lande aet Bubandune, & fon tha munucas into Byrtune, to tham the on tham land is, ge on mete, ge on mannon, ge on eallon thingon; & th[a] land tham Bisceope aet thaere syle.....

And into tham mynstre aet Byrtune an hund wildra horsa, & sexten tame hengestas, & thaerto eall th[aet] ic haebbe on libbandan & on licgendan, butan than the ic becweden haebbe.....

[*Charter of Æthelred II dated 1004, reproduced in the Ordnance Office Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS. Vol. III.*]

(c) *Hidage of Offlow Hundred.*

Thus fela hyda sind in Offalawe hundred. In Bromlege iij hidae; Alrewaes iij hidae; Wigintun & Hopewaes v hidae; Waleshale & Wodnesbyri ij hidae; Wilinhale ij hidae; Fulcwipaginel xvij hidae; Preostes land of Wulfrehamtum viij hidae; the bisceop xxv hidae; Elleford iij hidae; Heorlauestun iiij hidae; Thorp iij hidae; Cliftun viij hidae; Siricescotan ij hidae; Aclea ij hidae; Hwiccenofre ij hidae; Rideware, th[aer] we reste, other half hide; Rodberdes land ix hidae & an half; Se Abbud of Byrtun vj hidae; Scenstan iiij hidae.

[*Ibid. in dorso.*]

5. *Official Description of Whittlesea-mere (1022).*

Hic comprobatur quod Ælfsius abbas de Burch, quartam partem stagni de Witelesmere, cum omnibus aquis et paludibus in circuitu attinentibus, emit ab optimate Regis nomine Thored, data scilicet ei terra de Overtune, et pecunia quantum eis convenerat. Sicque adjunxit istam partem ejusdem stagni illi parti quam Deo amabilis presul Adelwoldus summopere acquisierat ipsi monasterio in Burch [etc.]. Predicta ergo emptio stagni ita confirmata est Lundonie, coram rege Cunut [etc.]. Quod si quis [etc.]. Hujus pacti sunt testes [etc.]. Hic autem ipsarum aquarum vel paludum terminus describitur, ne quis ignorantia ledatur.

Quomodo stagnum quod vocatur Witelesmere cum suis piscuariis, paludibus, et aquis terminatur.

In septentrionali parte stagni, est aqua nomine Merelade, exiens de amne Nen, ubi terminus septentrionalis est ipsius stagni. Hec vero cum suis paludibus illi adjacet, habens in fine piscuarium unum quod dicitur Æthemuthe. In orientali parte illius sunt duo stagna que vocantur Wellepol et Trendmere. Inter hec stagna est aqua angusta duorum stadiorum longa que vocatur Trendmere Bece, habens in se duo piscuaria. Est etiam ibi aqua angusta, unius miliarii longa, que vocatur Falet, habens in se unum piscuarium. In illa parte inter Witelesmere et Kyngesdelf, ubi terminus est orientalis, est spatium paludis trium miliariorum in latitudine, habens in se aquam angustam que vocatur Thescuf et silvam que dicitur Ragreholt. In australi vero parte illius est aqua angusta trium stadiorum longa que vocatur Scelfremere Bece, habens in se duo piscuaria. In cujus fine est stagnum quod vocatur Scelfremere, habens ad suam australem plagam aquam angustam que vocatur Ubbemere-lade, dimidii miliarii longa. In hujus etiam capite, id est in fine stagni, est unum piscuarium. Ad hujus aque medietatem, in longitudine, est locus e contra in palude qui vocatur Aldwines Barwe, ubi australis est terminus. In occidentali autem parte illius est aqua angusta duorum stadiorum longa que vocatur Trendmere Bece, habens in se unum piscuarium. In cujus fine est stagnum quod dicitur West Trendmere. Sunt in illa parte etiam aque quarum nomina sunt Dreigmere, Wellepol, Withibuscemere, Langemere, Keninges et Musclemere. Est etiam ibi aqua unius miliarii longa usque ad terram, Deop Bece vocata, habens in se unum piscuarium. In hujus aque fine est terminus occidentalis paludum et aquarum ad Witelesmere pertinentium.

[*MS. Soc. Antiq. Liber Niger Mon. S. Petri de Burgo, fos. 19—20*
(*Camden Society's Publications O.S. 47. Appendix, pp. 182—3.*)]

*Select Formulas of***6.** *Survey of the Manors of the Church of Peterborough (c. 1125).*

Hec est descriptio maneriorum Abbatie de Burhc, desicut Walterius Archidiaconus ea recepit et saisivit in manu Regis.

In Kateringes sunt x hide ad geldum Regis. Et de istis x hidis tenent xl villani xl virgas terre. Et homines isti ad opus domini arant de unaquaque virga, ad tremeis, iij acras. Et preter hoc, in yeme, inveniunt iij^{bus} vicibus carrucas ad opus domini, et iij^{bus} ad tremeis, et semel in estate. Et homines isti habent xxij carrucas unde operantur.

Et omnes isti homines operantur iij^{bus} diebus in ebdomada. Et preter hoc reddunt per annum de unaquaque virga, de consuetudine, ij s. et iij obolos. Et L gallinas reddunt omnes homines, et Dc ova et xl. Et preter hoc Ægelricus tenet xij acras, et inde reddit xvj d. cum ij acris prati. Et est ibi unus molendinus cum molendinario, et xx s. reddit. Et viij cotsetes, quisque de quinque acris, et operantur semel in ebdomada, et bis in anno faciunt brasium. Et quisquis istorum dat j d. pro capro; et si habuerit femellam, illa dat obolum.

Et est ibi j bercarius, et j porcarius, qui tenet viij acras. Et in dominio curie sunt iijj carruce de xxxij bobus, et xij vacce cum vitulis, et ij animalia otiosa, et iij avri, et ccc oves, et L porci, et tantum prati de superplus quod valet xvjs. Et ecclesia hujus ville ad altare Abbatie Burgi, ad caritatem Sancti Petri, iijj arietes et ij vacce, vel v s.

Isti sunt redditus maneriorum de Abbatia de Burch.

De Keteringes xxvj libras de firma per annum.....

[*MS. Soc. Antiq. Liber Niger, fo. 12 (ed. Camden Soc., pp. 157–8 and 166).*]

7. *Survey of the Manors of the Priory of Christchurch, Canterbury (12 John).*

Inquisicio facta Prioratus Cantuarie, per preceptum domini Regis, coram Gydone de Chancell[aria] et Simone de Nuers, die Jovis proxima post clausum Pasche, anno regni domini Johannis Regis xij^o; quid et quantum Robertus de Thurnham recepit de instauro per predictum Prioratum, quando recepit custodiam, post obitum Reginaldi de Cornhulla, scilicet ad festum Sancti Michaelis ejusdem anni; et quid et quantum inventum sit in predicto Prioratu ad predictam inquisitionem predicti diei Jovis.....

Nywetone.

Godefridus clericus, capitalis serviens, et Edwardus de la Grave et Radulfus Crispus et Radulfus de Bretewelle, prepositi. Et Willelmus de Brochamtone [*and four others*], juratores, dicunt quod habet in