

A short account of some particulars concerning Domes-day book, with a view to promote its being published / By a member of the Society of Antiquaries of London [i.e. P.C. Webb] Read at a meeting of the Society, 18 December, 1775; and ordered to be printed.

Contributors

Webb, Philip Carteret, 1700-1770.
Society of Antiquaries of London.

Publication/Creation

London printed : [publisher not identified], 1756.

Persistent URL

<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/jzc9xuea>

License and attribution

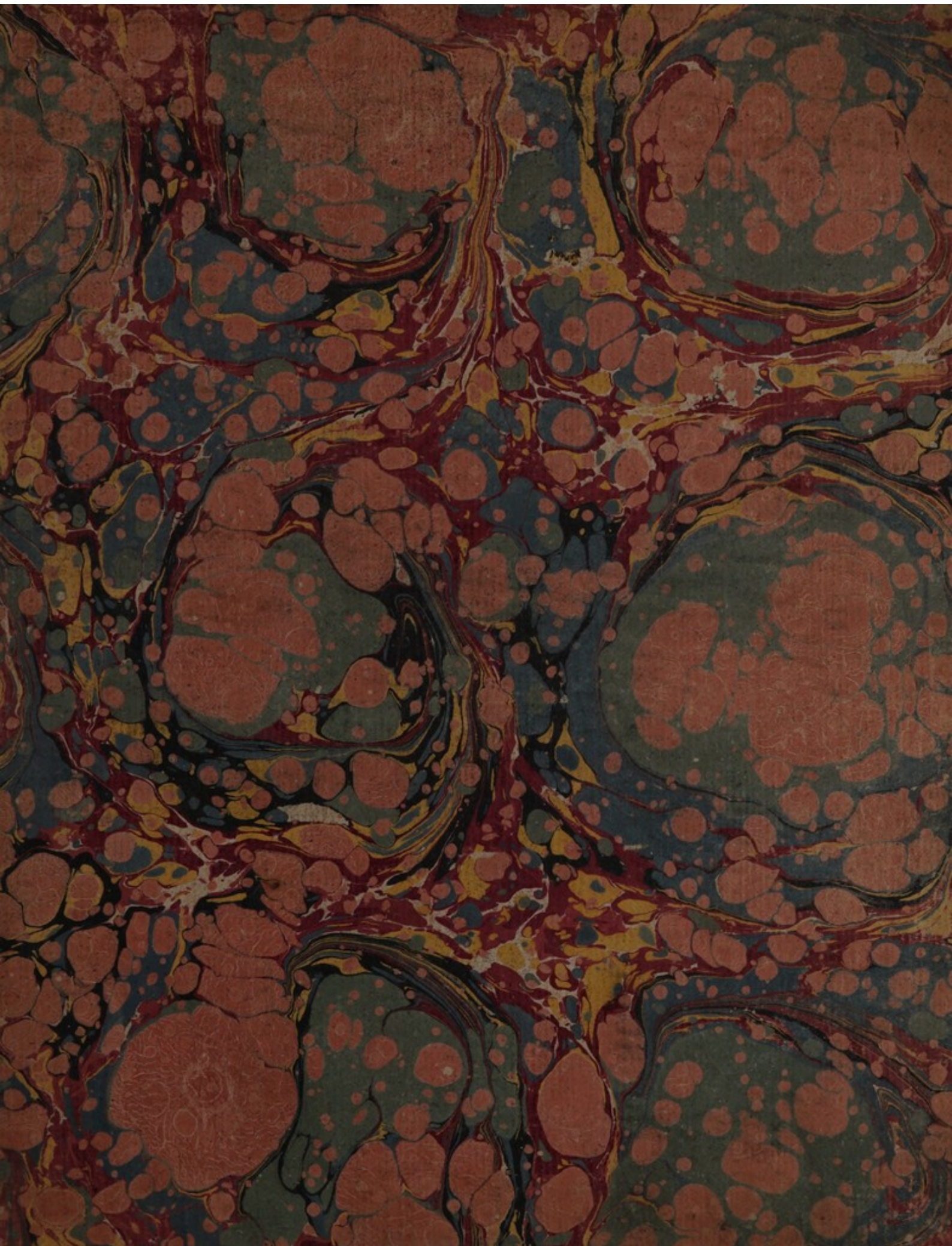
This work has been identified as being free of known restrictions under copyright law, including all related and neighbouring rights and is being made available under the Creative Commons, Public Domain Mark.

You can copy, modify, distribute and perform the work, even for commercial purposes, without asking permission.

**wellcome
collection**

Wellcome Collection
183 Euston Road
London NW1 2BE UK
T +44 (0)20 7611 8722
E library@wellcomecollection.org
<https://wellcomecollection.org>





54600/3

m

4/2

Robt Hamilton

59075

CI

A
SHORT ACCOUNT
OF
SOME PARTICULARS
CONCERNING
DOMES-DAY BOOK,

With a view to promote its being Published.

By a Member of the *Society of Antiquaries of London.*

Philip Cartaret Webb Esq^r F. R. S. A.

Read at a Meeting of the SOCIETY, 18 December, 1755; and
ordered to be printed.

L O N D O N,

Printed in the YEAR MDCCLVI.

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF

SOME PARTICULARS

CONCERNING

DOMES-DAY BOOK

With a view to promote its being published.

By a Member of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Printed and Sold by W. Woodcock, at the Sign of the

Red Lion, in St. Martin's Lane, near the Theatre Royal, in the Strand, London.



LONDON

Printed in the Year 1800.

(1)

A

SHORT ACCOUNT
OF
SOME PARTICULARS
CONCERNING
DOMES-DAY BOOK,

With a view to promote its being Printed.

Read at a Meeting of the SOCIETY, 18 *December*, 1755.

IN the Chapter-house at Westminster, in the receipt of the king's Exchequer, are preserved two volumes in manuscript called DOMES-DAY, which, without question, are the most ancient and most venerable records that now exist in this or any other kingdom. Mr. Selden, in his preface to Eadmerus, p. 4. speaking of DOMES-DAY, says, Neque puto alibi in orbe Christiano actorum publicorum autographa, quorum saltem ratio aliqua habenda est, extare, quae non saeculis aliquot hisce cedunt.

This work (as the Red book of the Exchequer informs us) was begun in the year of our Lord 1080, and was completed in the year 1086, as appears from the concurrent testimony of ancient writers, and from an entry written at the end of the second volume in a large coeval hand in capitals, in the words following :

“ ANNO MILLESIMO OCTOGESIMO SEXTO AB INCARNATIONE
“ DOMINI, VIGESIMO VERO REGNI WILLI, FACTA EST ISTA
“ DESCRIPTIO, NON SOLUM PER HOS TRES COMITATUS, SED
“ ETIAM PER ALIOS.”

2 ACCOUNT OF SOME PARTICULARS

In this work, which contains a general survey of the greatest part of England, are set forth, under their particular counties, rapes, laths, and hundreds, an account of the cities, towns, vills, etc. in each county; how much arable land, pasture, meadow, and wood every man had; the extent or value of them in the time of Edward the Confessor and at the making the survey; how many men and of what condition, each town, etc. contained, with many other particulars hereafter expressed.

Towards the beginning of each county there is a catalogue of the capital lords or great land-holders, who possessed any thing in it: beginning with the king, and then naming the great lords, according to their rank and dignity.

The first volume (which is a large folio finely written on 382 double pages of vellum, in a small but plain character, and in double columns on each page) contains the description of thirty one counties by name in the following order.

Chent,	fo. 1.	Grentebr'scire,	fo. 189.
Sudsex,	fo. 16.	Huntedunscire,	fo. 203.
Sudrie,	fo. 30.	20. Bedefordscire,	fo. 209.
Hantscire,	fo. 38.	Northhantscire,	fo. 219.
5. Berrochescire,	fo. 56.	Ledecestrescire,	fo. 230.
Wiltescire,	fo. 64.	Warwicscire,	fo. 238.
Dorfete,	fo. 75.	Staffordscire,	fo. 246.
Sumerfete,	fo. 86.	25. Sciropescire,	fo. 252.
Devenescire,	fo. 100.	Cestrescire,	fo. 262.
10. Cornualgie,	fo. 120.	Derbyscire,	fo. 272.
Midelfexe,	fo. 126.	Snotingh'scire,	fo. 280.
Herefordscire,	fo. 132.	Roteland,	fo. 293, 367.
Bockinghamscire,	fo. 143.	30. Eurvicscire,	fo. 298, 379.
Oxenfordscire,	fo. 154.	Lindesig, or Lincolnshire,	fo. 336. divided into the
15. Glowecest'scire,	fo. 162.	west reding, north reding,	
Wiricestrescire,	fo. 172.	and east reding.	
Herefordscire,	fo. 179.		

The

CONCERNING DOMES-DAY BOOK. 3

The other volume (which is in quarto, is written on 450 double pages of vellum in single columns, and in a large, but very fair, character) contains the counties of,

Eſſex,	fo. 1.
Norfolk,	fo. 109.
Suffolk,	fo. 281. to the end.

Part of the county of Rutland is included in that of Northampton, and part of Lancaſhire in the counties of York and Cheſter.

Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmorland, and Durham are not comprehended in this ſurvey.

The occaſion of making this ſurvey, its antiquity and authority, will beſt appear from the following paſſages, tranſcribed from records and our beſt hiſtorians.

The author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, who wrote in the time of Hen. II. book I. cap. xvi. gives this account of it.

Speaking Of William the conqueror — “ *Demum ne quid deeſſe videretur ad omnem totius providentiae ſummam, communicato conſilio, discretiſſimos a latere ſuo deſtinavit viros per regnum in circuitu. Ab hiis itaque totius terrae deſcriptio diligens facta eſt, tam in nemoribus, quam paſcuis et pratis, nec non et agriculturis, et verbis communibus annotata, in librum redaeta eſt; ut videlicet quilibet jure ſuo contentus, alienum non uſurpet impune. Fit autem deſcriptio per comitatus, per centurias, et hydas: praenotato in ipſo capite regis nomine, et deinde ſeriatim aliorum procerum nominibus appoſitis, ſecundum ſtatus ſui dignitatem, qui videlicet de rege tenent in capite. Apponuntur autem ſingulis numeri ſecundum ordinem ſic diſpoſitis, per quos inferius in ipſa libri ſerie, quae ad eos pertinent, facilius occurrunt. Hic liber ab indigenis DOMES-DEI nuncupatur, id eſt, dies judicii, per metaphoram. Sicut enim diſtriſti et terribilis examinis illius noviffimi ſententia, nulla tergiverſationis arte valet eludi: ſic cum orta fuit in regno contentio de his rebus quae illic annotantur; cum ventum fuerit ad librum, ſententia ejus infatuari non poteſt, vel impune declinari. Ob hoc nos eundem LIBRUM JU-*

4 ACCOUNT OF SOME PARTICULARS

“ DICIARIUM nominavimus ; non quod in eo de praepositis aliquibus
 “ dubiis feratur sententia ; sed quod ab eo, sicut a praedicto judicio,
 “ non licet ulla ratione discedere (a).”

The Saxon chronicle, published by bishop Gibson, expresses the occasion and manner of making this survey in the following words.
 “ Post haec, tenuit rex *magnum concilium*, et graves sermones habuit
 “ cum suis proceribus de hâc terrâ, quo modo incoleretur, et a qui-
 “ bus hominibus. Mittebat idcirco per totam Anglorum terram in
 “ singulos comitatus suos servos, quibus permisit scrutari quot *hyda-*
 “ *rum* centenae essent in comitatu, quidque rex ipse haberet terrarum
 “ et pecudum in eo comitatu ; et quantum census annui deberet
 “ percipere ex eo comitatu. Permisit etiam describi, quantum
 “ terrarum ejus archiepiscopi haberent, et dioecesani episcopi, ac ejus
 “ abbates, ejusque comites ; et ne longior in hoc sim, quid aut quan-
 “ tum unusquisque haberet, qui terras possideret in Anglorum gente,
 “ sive terrarum, sive pecoris, quantumque illud pecuniâ valeret. Tam
 “ diligenter lustrari terram permisit, ut ne unica esset *hyda*, aut *virga-*
 “ *ta* terrae, ne quidem (quod dictu turpe, verum is factu turpe non
 “ existimavit) bos, aut vacca, aut porcus praetermitterebatur, quod non
 “ is retulerat in censum : omniaque postea scripta ad eum affereban-
 “ tur (b).

Ingulphus abbot of Croyland, a contemporary author, gives this account of it : “ Totam terram descripsit, nec erat *hida* in tota Anglia, quin
 “ valorem ejus et possessorem suum scivit ; nec lacus nec locus aliquis,
 “ quin in regis rotulo extitit descriptus, ac ejus reditus et proventus,
 “ ipsa possessio et ejus possessor regiae notitiae manifestatus, *juxta tax-*
 “ *atorum fidem*, qui *electi de qualibet patria territorium proprium descri-*
 “ *bebant*. Isti penes nostrum monasterium benevoli et amantes, non
 “ ad *verum* pretium nec ad *verum spatium* nostrum monasterium li-
 “ brabant, misericorditer praecaventes in futurum regiis exactionibus et
 “ aliis oneribus, *piissima* nobis benovelentia providentes.— In illo vero
 “ descripti sunt, non tantum totius terrae comitatus centuriae, et decu-

(a) Dialog. de Scacc. page 30, 31. published by Mr. Madox.

(b) Chron. Saxon, p. 186. anno 1085.

“ riae, fylvae, faltus, et villae univerfae; fed in omni territorio, quot
 “ carucatae terrae, quot jugera, et quot acrae, quae pafcua et paludes,
 “ quae tenementa, et qui tenentes continebantur (c).”

In the efcheat rolls of Ed. III, the occafion and manner of making this furvey and its authority are declared (almost in the very words of the author of the Dialogus de Scaccario, before quoted) to be, “ ut
 “ quilibet jure fuo contentus, alienum non ufurpet impune; praeno-
 “ tato in ipfo capite regis nomine; ac deinde feriatim aliorum proce-
 “ rum nominibus appofitis fecundum ftatus fui dignitatem, qui, viz.
 “ de rege tenent in capite. — Qui quidem liber DOMES-DAY nun-
 “ cupatur, id eft, *dies judicii*, — quia cum orta fuerit in regno conten-
 “ tio de hiis rebus quae illic annotantur, cum ventum fuerit ad librum,
 “ fententia ejus infatuari non poteft, vel impune declinari.” Rot.
 Efcaet. 30 Ed. III, Effex cited by Spelman, title DOMES-DAY.

The annals of Waverley give this account of it, — Mifit rex Willielmus juftitios fuos per unamquamque fcyram, id eft, provinciam Angliae, et inquirere fecit per jusjurandum quot hidae, id eft, jugera uni aratro fufficientia per annum, effent in unaquaque villa, et quot animalia: hinc autem fecit inquire quid unaquaeque urbs, caftellum, vicus, villa, flumen, palus, filva, reddit per annum; haec autem omnia in chartis fcripta delata funt ad regem, et in thefauros repofita ufque hodie fervantur — Rex tenuit curiam fuam in natali apud Glouceftre, ad Pafcha apud Wintoniam, ad Pentecoftem apud Londoniam: — deinde accipiens *hominium* omnium terrariorum Angliae cujuscunq; feodi effent, juramentum fidelitatis recipere non diftulit (d).

A very learned judge, now living, in his difcourfe *concerning tenures*, gives his opinion of the occafion of making this furvey, in the following words: “ It is very remarkable that Will. I, about the 20th year of
 “ his reign, juft when the general furvey of England called Domes-

(c) Ingulphus, printed among the Scriptores Ang. vol. i. p. 80, 81.

(d) Annales Waverlienfes, p. 133.

“ day book is supposed to be finished, and not till then, summoned
 “ all the great men and landholders in the kingdom, to London and
 “ Salisbury, to do their homage and swear their fealty to him; by
 “ doing whereof the Saxon chronicler supposes, that at that time, the
 “ *proceres, et omnes praedia tenentes, se illi subdidere, ejusque facti*
 “ *sunt Vasalli.* So that we may reasonably suppose, *First*, that this *gene-*
 “ *ral homage and fealty* was done at this time (nineteen or twenty years
 “ after the accession of William I,) in consequence of something
 “ *new*, or else that engagements so important to the maintenance and
 “ security of a new establishment had been required long before;
 “ and if so, it is probable that *tenures* were then *new*, inasmuch as
 “ homage and fealty were and still are mere *feudal* engagements,
 “ binding the homager to all the duties and observances of a feudal
 “ tenant.

“ *Secondly*, That as this general homage and fealty was done about
 “ the time that *Domes-day book was finished*, and not before, we may
 “ suppose, That that survey was taken upon or soon after our ancestors
 “ consent to tenures, *in order to discover the quantity of every man's fee,*
 “ and *to fix his homage.* This supposition is the more probable, because
 “ it is not likely that a work of this nature was undertaken without
 “ some immediate reason, and no better reason can be assigned why it
 “ was undertaken at this time, or indeed why this survey should be
 “ taken at all, there being at that time extant a general survey of the
 “ whole kingdom made by Alfred (*d*).”

Will. I, appears to have considered the finishing this Survey, as an event of great importance, and probably intended to have made *the completing it the commencement of a new aera*, a charter granted by him soon after to the abbot and church of Westminster, of eight hydes of land in Piriford in Surrey, having this remarkable date, *Post descriptionem totius Angliae* (*e*).

(*d*) Sir Martin Wright's introduction to the *Law of tenures*, p. 52. to p. 57.

(*e*) Madox *Formulare Angl.* p. 238. n°. 396, and plate i. n°. 1. The original grant is now in the archives of the collegiate church of Westminster.

The authority of DOMES-DAY in point of *tenure*, hath never been permitted to be called in question; for instance, when it hath been necessary to distinguish, whether lands were held *in ancient demesne* or in what other manner, recourse hath always been had to Domes-day book, *and to that only*, to determine the doubt. If lands were set down in that book under the title of *terra regis*, or if it was said there, *rex habet* such land, or such a town, it was then determined to be the king's ancient demesne. If the land or town was therein set down under the name of a private lord or subject, then it was determined to have been at the time of the survey the land of such private person, and *not ancient demesne*.

The tallages formerly assessed upon the king's tenants in *ancient demesne*, were usually *greater* than the tallages upon persons in the *counties at large*; and therefore when persons were wrongfully tallaged with those in ancient demesne, it was usual for them to petition the crown to be tallaged *with the community of the county at large*: upon this the king's writ issued to the barons of the Exchequer to acquit the party aggrieved of such tallage, in case, upon search of *Domes-day book*, the barons found the lands were not in ancient demesne (f).

The care originally taken for the preservation of this survey, *the same as was taken of the king's seal*, is an additional proof, of the consequence and importance this record was deemed to be of to the publick.

The Dialogus de Scaccario says, “ Liber ille [Domes-day] sigilli “ regis comes est individuus in thesauro (g).”

Until of late years it has been kept under *three* different locks and keys, one in the custody of the treasurer, and the others of the two chamberlains of the Exchequer, and was not to be opened but on paying a fee of 6s. 8d. It is now deposited in the chapter house at Westminster, among other valuable records in the custody of Mr. Morley, whose readiness to oblige the members of this society with the inspection of this, and other records in his office, without fee or reward, it would be want of candour not to mention.

(f) Madox Firma burgi, p. 5, 6. Hist. of the Exchequer, 499, 500.

(g) Lib. i. cap. xv. p. 30.

The writing of this MS. after near seven hundred years, is perfectly legible. And in Hickes's Thesaurus, vol. i. p. 144, and in some other books, specimens are to be seen of the character in which it is written.

In page 122. of the preface to a Collection of discourses of several learned English antiquaries (who were early members of this society) Mr. Hearne, after inserting a table of the abbreviations used in this record, adds, " he hath often wished this record were printed *entirely*, " there being no survey of any other country whatever equal to it. " The ancient Roman itineraries have been always valued, and that " deservedly. Yet they are trifles in comparison of this most admirable " survey, done with such an exactness, and so much diligence, as " would be hardly credible, were it not certain that the Normans " resolved to make the best use of their conquest, and to secure every " inch of ground to themselves. There are accounts of some whole " counties printed from this book, and they are very good specimens " of the intire work, and cannot but make those that are in love with " our antiquities, the more earnestly to *desire all of it (b).*"

I sincerely concur with Mr. Hearne in this *desire*; and with a view to excite the lovers of antiquity to undertake the publishing this valuable record, I have taken the liberty to point out to the society such of the many helps and assistances I at present recollect, either *in print or manuscript*, which, I imagine, will lessen the expence, and greatly facilitate the completing so laudable and desirable an undertaking; not doubting but other members of this society, of which there are numbers more equal to the task, will, by their communications, render what is here attempted, more useful and perfect.

Bishop Nicholson, in his preface to the second edition of his English historical library, published in 1714. says, there was then in the Harleian library copies of DOMES-DAY, the Liber Rubeus et Niger of the Exchequer.

Dr. Gale, in his appendix to the Scriptorum Hist. Anglicanae, vol. iii. p. 795. says, Sir John Trevor had an accurate transcript of DOMES-DAY book, which copy the Doctor had made use of. This is now in the hands of Mr. Arthur Trevor.

(b) Preface to the Collection of discourses published by Mr. Hearne, p. 122, ^{123.}
The

The Lord Somers, it has been said, was at the expence of having DOMES-DAY copied, and properly attested; but what is become of this copy, or whether it is now in being, is not known. It must however be admitted, that this inestimable remain of antiquity, *with regard at least to its public use and authenticity*, runs every hour the risk of being irretrievably lost, should a fire happen in the neighbourhood of the Chapter-house, as formerly happened in the Cottonian library, to which accident that part of the Chapter house where it is kept, is by its situation much more liable.

In the king's Remembrancers office in the Exchequer, there is a manuscript called DOMES-DAY; but this is only an epitome or abridgment, and not a copy of the original in the Chapter-house (*i.*)

A copy of one of the returns or inquisitions, from which DOMES-DAY BOOK was compiled, is still extant.

In an ancient MS. which Mr. Selden calls *Breviarium villarum et fundorum, quorum proprietarii erant antistes et sodales Elienses*, written in a character as ancient as that of DOMES-DAY BOOK, and which Dr. Gale calls the *Liber Eliensis*, there is a Copy of the Inquisition, for part of Cambridgshire, and the isle of Ely, with this title:

“ Hic subscribitur inquisitio terrarum, quomodo barones regis in-
 “ quifiverunt: Videlicet per sacramentum vicecomitis scirae, et omnium
 “ baronum, et eorum francigenarum, et totius centuriatus, presbyteri,
 “ praepositi; \bar{v} i villanorum uniuscujusque villae. Deinde quomodo
 “ vocatur mansio, quis tenuit eam tempore Regis Edwardi, quis
 “ modo tenet, quot hidae, quot carucatae in dominio, quot homi-
 “ nes, quot villani, quot cottarii, quot servi, quot liberi homines,
 “ quot sochemani, quantum silvae, quantum prati, quot pascuorum,
 “ quot molendini, quot piscinae, quantum est additum vel ablatum,
 “ quantum valebat totum simul, et quantum modò, quantum ibi
 “ quisque liber homo vel sochermanus habuit vel habet. Hoc totum,

(*i.*) In the Cotton Library, Julius C. I. 1. and Faustina XI. 2, are copies of this abridgement, and there is a like Abridgement preserved in the Tally Court in the Exchequer.

“ tripliciter ; scilicet tempore Regis Edwardi, et quando Rex Wil-
 “ helmus dedit, et quomodo fit modo, et si potest plus haberi, quam
 “ habeatur.

The names of the jury in each hundred, are expressed after this manner.---“ In *Trepesslau* hundredo juraverunt homines, scilicet Ra-
 “ dulfus praepositus hujus hundredi, Willelmus de Caleio, Radulfus
 “ de Barentona, Theodbaldus homo Hard, Standard de Havekeftune,
 “ Godriz de Fulmere, Alvuricus de Treppesslau, Sigar Dapifer, et om-
 “ nes alii Franci et Angli de hundredo juraverunt (*k*).”

Some of the Particulars the jury were charged to inquire of, were thought unnecessary to be inserted in the two volumes, framed out of the Returns ; which will account for the different descriptions different writers give of the contents of this survey, some of them saying, it contained an account of every particular the jury were charged to enquire of, and others, more correctly, confining it to such things only, as were extracted from the returns, and transcribed into the work in question.

In the Cotton library, Vitellius C. viii. 13. there is a MS. written on 14 membranes of vellum, on one side only ; which is thus described in the catalogue ---“ Pars libri censualis vocati DOMES-DAY, continens descriptionem Cantii. Characteres antiquo et *temporibus Regis W. I. competente.*

Mr. Casley, in the Appendix to the catalogue of the MSS. in the king's library, plate 15, hath given a short specimen of the character of this MS. and p. 358 he says, this is one of the rolls *out of which probably Dooms-day was made.*

At the bottom of the first page of this MS. there is the following note, written in a modern character, through which a line is drawn,
 “ Pars L. DOMES-DAY. NB. in scaccario liber ille DOMES-DAY,
 “ qui continet Norfolciam, etc. *hac litera scribitur*, et hac forma com-
 “ ponitur ; unde conjicere fas est, hoc fragmentum fuisse alterius libri

(*k*) Selden. praefat. ad Eadmerum, p. 15. Cotton library. Tib. A.VI. 4. Registrum honoris de Richmond, App. p. 5.

“ partem,

“ partem, jam olim deperditi; quae hic habentur, in libro DOMES-DAY majori in folio conservantur.

But upon a careful perusal of this MS. and comparing it with DOMES-DAY, it appears,

That the hand writing is more modern, than that of either of the volumes of DOMES-DAY, and probably not older than the reign of Henry II. and that

It is a verbatim copy of great part of DOMES-DAY, for the county of Kent, transcribed so literally, that in two or more places, the marginal references are, by the mistake of the copier, transcribed and incorporated into the text; and instead of its being one of those rolls, out of which, as Mr. Casley fancies, DOMES-DAY was made, or of being a fragment of an original volume of DOMES-DAY, the rest of which is now lost: it is clearly one of those rolls or copies from DOMES-DAY, which it was usual in ancient times for great lords and others, to have made for their private use, and in which, only particular parts, and not the whole county were transcribed. What there is in this MS. is a very exact copy of parts of the survey, but many paragraphs in most of the chapters are entirely and ex professo omitted.

Dr. Gale gives this account of these kind of rolls---“ Ex his duobus voluminibus solebant regni proceres suas possessiones excerpere; et quae sparsim disjectae per varias regni partes disseminabantur in unum ordine comportare. Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis suos tenentes hinc collegit, sed in rotulo descripsit; quod fecisse eum conjicio, ante quam hi duo codices extarent. Abbatiae fere omnes suos redditus hinc desumpserunt, et in libros digesserunt. Croylandensis, Elyensis, Wigorniensis liber in hoc genere adhuc servantur. Comites idem factitarunt; vidimus comitum Richmundiae et Norfolciae terrarum ex DOMES-DAY descriptiones. Hinc etiam ortum suum habuit liber ille *Feodorum militum*, quanquam, tractu temporis, ex novis inquisitionibus multum diversus evasit (c).

(c) Script. Angl. vol. iii. app. p. 795.

Parts of DOMES-DAY already printed.

In the appendix to Dr. Brady's introduction, p. 1. et sequent. there is printed a list of all the great landholders taken from DOMES-DAY.

In the appendix to the 3d vol. of Dr. Gale's *Scriptores Hist. Anglicanae*, Page 759 to 778. the *Jura et Consuetudines Anglo-Saxonicae*, in each county are printed from DOMES-DAY.

In the *Registrum Honoris de Richmond*, a *Transcript* of what relates to that honour, which in DOMES-DAY makes part of Yorkshire, is printed p. 1. to p. 20.

In the appendix to Morton's *Natural History of Northamptonshire*, p. 1. to p. 46. there is printed a transcript of such part of DOMES-DAY, as relates to that County.

In Sir Henry Chauncey's antiquities of Hertfordshire, there is a transcript of DOMES-DAY for that county, with a translation thereof into English.

In Sir Peter Leicester's *History of Cheshire*, there is printed a transcript of what concerns that county.

In *Hemingi Chartularium*, published by Mr. Hearne, there is printed a transcript of what relates to the church of Worcester.

Mr. Morant, in his antiquities of Colchester, hath printed a transcript of so much of DOMES-DAY as relates to that borough.

And in the *Descriptions of some few other counties* transcripts or translations of such parts of DOMESDAY, as relate to those particular counties, are also printed.

It is proper, however, to remind the Society, that many of these printed transcripts are faulty, and that all of them will require to be minutely compared, and carefully re-examined with the original.

Parts of DOMES-DAY in manuscript in public or private hands.

The number of manuscript copies of separate or detached counties or parts of DOMES-DAY in publick or private collections is considerable; such of them as are come to my knowledge, are mentioned in the following list, which is, with the greatest deference, submitted to the perusal and consideration of the Society, *not as a work in any manner perfect*, but as capable of being greatly enlarged and corrected by every individual member of this learned body.

A list of such transcripts or copies of parts of DOMES-DAY, as now are, or lately were, in the following collections.

- Kent.* 1. A copy of DOMES-DAY for this county is said to be in the hands of the representatives of Dr. Harris, who published the first vol. of the history of Kent.
2. In the Cotton Library. “ Pars libri censualis, continens
“ descriptionem Cantii, caractere antiquo — Vitellius,
“ C. VIII. 13. (k).

Suffex.

Surrey.

Hampshire.

Berkshire. In the Ashmolean Coll. Oxford “ Liber censualis Willi-
“ elmi Conquestoris, vulgo DOOMS-DAY BOOK, viz. Ber-
“ rochescire — Chirogr. Ashm. 822. Cat. Manuscript.
“ Angliae, par. 1. p. 348. N^o. 8087.

Wiltshire.

Dorsetshire. In the hands of Mrs. Horner of Melbury; and a copy

(k) Vid. ante p. 10.

from Mrs. Horner's copy is in the hands of the Rev. Mr. Hutchins, Rector of Wareham.

Somerſetſhire. 1. In the library of the cathedral church of Exeter, "A transcript of DOMES-DAY BOOK, for the county of Somerſetſhire. — Cat. MS. Angliæ, Par. II. p. 56. N^o. 2093."

2. A transcript of DOMES-DAY for this county, is in the hands of Mr. Henry Strachey.

Devonſhire. In the library of the cathedral of Exeter "A transcript of DOMES-DAY BOOK for the county of Devonſhire." — Cat. MS. Angliæ, Part II. p. 56. N^o. 2093.

Mr. Mark Cephas Tutet, a member of this ſociety, hath a transcript of DOMES-DAY for great part of this county.

Cornwal. In the library of the Cathedral of Exeter. "A transcript of DOMES-DAY BOOK for the county of Cornwall (1)." — Cat. MS. Angliæ, Part II. p. 56. N^o. 2093.

Middleſex.

Hertfordſhire. In the hands of Dr. Vernon a member of this Society.

Buckinghamſhire. In the hands of Mr. Brown Willis, a member of this Society.

Oxfordſhire. Ashmole Coll. Oxford, "Liber Cenſualis Wilhelmi Conqueſtoris vulgo DOMES-DAY Book — pars Oxenfordſcire." — Cat. MS. Angliæ, Part. I. p. 348. N^o. 8087.

Gloceſterſhire. In the library of the ſociety of Lincoln's Inn, given them by Sir Mathew Hales.

The life of Sir Mathew Hales, p. 120.

(1) It has been ſaid, but upon what foundation I am not informed, that this MS. in the Library of the Cathedral of Exeter, is not a Transcript of DOMES-DAY, but of the *Return* from which DOMES-DAY for great Part of the Counties of Dorſet, Somerſet, Devon, and Cornwall was compiled.

Worceſterſhire.

Worcestershire. In Jesus College Oxford, among the MSS. of Edward lord Herbert of Cherbury.

“A transcript on a parchment roll, containing all the matters in DOMES-DAY, relating to Worcester and Worcesterhire (1).” Cat. MSS. Angliae, Tom. I. Par. II. Page 70. N^o. 2122.

Herefordshire. In the library of the Society of Lincoln’s Inn. Sir Matthew Hales’s MSS.

Cambridgeshire.

Huntingdonshire.

Bedfordshire.

Northamptonshire. Sir Thomas Cave, among Mr. Bridges’s papers.

Leicestershire. Mr. Mores, a member of this Society.

Warwickshire. Sir William Dugdale’s MSS. in the Bodleian library Oxford. “Exemplar libri de DOMES-DAY pro comitat^u Warwicensi tantummodo, p. 1. Exemplar brevis registri de DOMES-DAY pro Com. praedict. p. 49.—“Abbreviationes verborum in libro de DOMES-DAY,” p. 59. Cat. MSS. Angliae, Tom. I. Par. I. p. 292. N^o. 6492. 2 A. 2.

Staffordshire. 1. In the library of Mr. Chetwynd of Ingestry, “Two books in folio, being collections of deeds, &c. towards the history of Pirehill hundred, one of them having a transcript of DOMES-DAY BOOK, so far as concerns Staffordshire.”—Cat. MS. Angliae, Tom. II. p. 105. N^o. 4045.

2. In the Bodleyan library, among the MSS. collections of that learned antiquary Roger Dodsworth.

“Ex libro vocato DOMES-DAYE, Staffordshire. Cat. MSS. Angliae, Tom. I. p. 218. N^o. 5037. This I take to contain only extracts, and not to be a copy.

(1) This is said to be mislaid.

16 ACCOUNT OF SOME PARTICULARS

3. In the Ashmole collection.

“ Transcripta quaedam ex libro DOMES-DAY, in Staffordshire.”—Cat. MSS. Angliae, p. 343. N^o. 7841.

4. “ Virorum nomina ex libro DOMES-DAY et locorum “ in Staffordshire. In the Ashmole collection.” Cat. MSS. p. 333. N^o. 7459.

5. “ Liber censualis Willielmi Conquestoris, vulgo “ DOMES-DAY BOOK, viz. Staffordshire.”—In the Ashmole collection, Cat. MSS. Angliae, p. 348. N^o. 8087.

6. Dr. Vernon, a member of this Society, hath a correct transcript of DOMES-DAY for this county.

Shropshire. Mr. Mytton.

Cheshire. Mr. Dodesworth's MSS. in the Bodley Library.

1. “ Cestrescire ex DOMES-DAY BOOK.” Cat. MSS. Angliae, Tom. I. p. 222. N^o. 5054 8.

2. “ Tenurac in Com. Cest. e Libro DOMES-DAY.” Cat. MSS. Angliae, p. 209. N^o. 5005. 31.

3. Transcript of Cheshire DOMES-DAY. Cat. MSS. Angliae, p. 212. N^o. 5017. 16.

In the Ashmole collection, Oxford.

4. “ Liber Censualis Wilhelmi Conquestoris, vulgo DOMES-DAY BOOK, viz. Cesterscire.” Cat. MSS. Angliae, Tom. I. p. 348. N^o. 8087.

5. Mr. Booth, a Member of the Society, hath Sir Peter Leicester's printed copy collated with the Original.

Notinghamshire. In the Bodley Library “ ex Libro DOMES-DAY. “ Snotinghamshire.”

Cat. MSS. Angliae, Tom. I. p. 226. N^o 5065. 7.

Rutlandshire.

Yorkshire. 1. Dr. Drake of York.

2. Dr. Nathanael Johnson of Pontefract. “ A transcript “ of

“ of DOMES-DAY for Yorkshire.” Cat. MSS. Angliae, Tom. II. p. 101. N^o. 3866.

Mr. Dodefworth’s MSS. in the Bodley Library.

3. “ Terra Regis in Com. Ebor. ex Libro DOMES-DAY,” Cat. MSS. Angliae, Tom. I. p. 229. N^o. 5086. 8.
4. “ Aliqua de Com. Eborum ex Libro de DOMES-DAY.” Cat. MSS. Angliae, p. 231. N^o. 5093. 6.

Richmondshire. Part of Yorkshire.

Mr. Dodefworth’s MSS. in the Bodley Library.

1. “ Hic incipiunt terrae et villae cum carucatis et longitudine et latitudine earundem villarum infra Richmondshire, quae quondam ante Conquestum fuerant Edwini Comitis, et quas Will. Angliae Conq. dedit Nepoti suo Alano Comiti Britanniae diu ante extructionem castri seu villae de Richmond. Ex Libro DOMESDAY.” Cat. MSS. Angliae, Tom. I. p. 204. N^o. 4188.

In the Library of the Earl of Carlisle.

2. “ DOMES-DAY BOOK, A. D. 1086. Richmondshire.” Cat. MSS. Angliae, Tom. II. p. 14. N^o. 617.

Lincolnshire. Mr. Dodefworth’s MSS. in the Bodley Library. “ Ex tracta e Libro de DOMES-DAY sub tit. Com. Lincoln.” — Cat. MSS. Angliae, Tom. I. p. 212. N^o. 5017. 11.

Essex.

1. Mr. Booth, a Member of this Society.
2. Mr. Dodefworth’s MSS. in the Bodley Library. “ Ex Libro DOMES-DAY, Essex.” — Cat. MSS. Angliae, p. 221. N^o. 5049. 21.

Norfolk.

1. Earl of Carlisle’s Library.
“ DOMES-DAY BOOK for Norfolk.” — Cat. MSS. Angliae, Tom. II. p. 14. N^o. 617.
2. Peter Le Neve’s MSS.
“ A Copy of DOMES-DAY BOOK, so much as concerns Norfolk, on velom, the same character and very
C “ old.”

“old.” — Cat. MSS. Angliae, Tom. II. p. 87.
N^o. 3533.

3. A transcript among Mr. Blomfield's Papers.

Suffolk.

1. Earl of Carlisle's Library.

“DOMES-DAY BOOK for Suffolk.” — Cat. MSS. Angliae, Tom. II. p. 14. N^o. 617.

In the Bodley Library Mr. Dodesworth's MSS.

2. “EX LIBRO DOMES-DAY de Com. Suffolc.” Cat. MSS. Angliae, Tom. I. p. 220. N^o. 5046. 17.

Copies or Extracts of DOMES-DAY, which it does not appear to what Counties in particular they belong.

Earl of Carlisle. Cat. MSS. Angliae, Tom. II. pag. 14. N^o. 618.

“DOMES-DAY BOOK, Volumen alterum;” this possibly may be a copy of the *first* or *larger* volume.

Henry St. George, Clarencieux. Cat. MSS. Angliae, Tom. II. p. 112. N^o. 4236. “DOMESDAY for *several* Counties.”

Sir William Dugdale's MSS. in the Bodley Library.

“Analecta quaedam e vetusto Codice MS. vulgariter
“nuncupato DOMES-DAY BOOK, penes Thefaur. et
“Camerar. Scaccarii remanente. — In analectis
“describuntur terrae antiquitus pertinentes ad Stem-
“mata Nobilitatis Anglicae in agris, 1. Cantiano, p. 1.
“2. Suffexiensi, p. 5. 3. Bercheriensi, p. 9. 4. De-
“vonienfi, p. 11. 5. Cestrenfi, p. 15. 6. Eborac-
“censi, p. 19. 7. Wilsetensi, p. 28. 8. Dorsetensi,
“p. 30. 9. Sumerfetensi, p. 31. 10. Cornubiensi,
“p. 33. 11. Scrobberienfi, p. 35. 12. Effexiensi,
“p. 41. 13. Suthfolciensi, p. 47. 14. Surreiensi,
“p. 56. 15. Hamtunenfi, p. 57. 16. Staffordiensi,
“p. 60. 17. Middlesexiensi, p. 61. 18. Oxoniensi,
“p. 62.

CONCERNING DOMES-DAY BOOK. 19

“ p. 62. 19. Cantabrigieniſi, p. 64. 20. Hertfordienſi, p. 67. 21. Buchinghamenſi, p. 70. 22. Gloveſtrenſi, p. 74. 23. Wigornienſi, p. 76. 24. Herefordienſi, p. 77. 25. Bedfordienſi, p. 80. 26. Northamtunenſi, p. 83. 27. Notinghamenſi, p. 88. 28. Derbienſi, p. 92. 29. Northfolcienſi, p. 95. 30. Warwicenſi, p. 105. 31. Lincolnienſi, p. 108. 32. Leiceſtrenſi, p. 117, to p. 124. “ ——— Liber totus ipſius Dugdalii manu conſcriptus “ eſt.” ——— Cat. MSS. Angliæ, T. I. p. 292. N^o. 6491.

Dr. Th. Gale's MS. “ Transcriptum Libri dicti DOMES-DAY, quantum “ ad Elienſe Monasterium pertinet.” Cat. MSS. Angliæ, Tom. II. p. 192. N^o. 6185.

Cathedral of Canterbury. Cat. MSS. Angliæ, T. II. p. 224. N^o. 7199. “ Extract de DOMES-DAY BOOK, De terris Arch. et Monach. Cant (*m*).

Cotton Library. 1. “ Collectanea ex Libro DOMES-DAY.” Vitellius F. 12.

2. “ Epitome Libri Cenſualis, DOMESDAY in Scaccario “ repositi et ſcripti A. 1086.” Julius C. I. 1.

3. Vitellius. C. IX. 23. “ Praefatio Arthuri Agard in expli- “ cationem verborum obſoletorum et inuſitatorum, “ quae in libro cenſuali nuncupato occurrunt: in qua “ de etymologia verbi DOMES-DAY, librique uſu et de “ modo, quo collectus et digeſtus fuit, agitur (*n*).

“ 26. Arthur Agard's account of DOMES-DAY, its an- “ tiquity,” &c.

Ant. a Wood. Cat. MSS. Angliæ, Tom. I. p. 366. N^o. 8525. “ Quae- “ dam ex Libro DOMES-DAY.”

Cat. MSS. Angliæ, Tom. I. p. 364. N^o. 8494. “ Verba “ abbreviata in Libro DOMES-DAY per Fran. Tate.”

(*m*) This is printed in the appendix to the first part of Mr. Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, published by Mr. Batteley, p. 44 to 51.

(*n*) Printed in the appendix to the Registrum honoris de Richmond, p. 1.

Ashmole MSS. Oxford. "Nomina tenent. de Rege Willh. Con-
 " questore per singulos Regni Comitatus, quemadmo-
 " dum habentur in Libro vocato DOMES-DAY,
 " in Scacc. Rem. script. A. 1686. Chirogr
 " Rob. Glover Fecial. Somersfet." Cat. MSS. Angliae
 Tom. I. p. 328. N^o. 7298.

It is probable some of the MSS. copies of DOMES-DAY, mentioned in the foregoing List, are mislaid, and not now to be met with in the collections above referred to; and that others of them, which in the catalogues are called copies, may, on perusal, appear to be only abstracts, or abridgments: and it is equally probable, that many other copies of the whole, or parts of this valuable work, not mentioned in the preceding list, will appear to be in other collections.

Mr. Agard, in his preface to the obsolete words in DOMES-DAY, mentioned in the preceding page, assigns an additional reason for the Conqueror's making this survey——" Conquestor sub ipso suo ingressu
 " regnum hoc, annuo tributo (Danegelt vocatum) taxatum invenit;
 " ——pro quo colligendo, Rex Ethelredus totum regnum in hidas
 " divisit, quarum singulae sex solidos persolvere tenentur —— Cum
 " vero Rex Willielmus illud aliquando majoris, aliquando minoris
 " emolumenti esse in comperto habuisset, optimum esse duxit, ut in-
 " quisitio per totum regnum haberetur, qua dignosceret, quantum
 " singula oppida, villae, et hamletta *numerare* tenerentur; et ut in
 " libro DOMES-DAY scriberetur his verbis, pro V Solinis, Hidis, vel Ca-
 " rucatis se defendit, quod aequae valet ac si diceret, pro tot Solinis,
 " Hidis, vel Carucatis Danegelt persolvit.

The author of the notes to the *Register* of original writs, p. 14. b. says DOMES-DAY was made in the time of Edward the Confessor; and that all the lands which were in the hands of Edward the Confessor, at the time that book was made, are ancient demesne, and that the lands which were then in any other hand are frank-free. His words are,

“ Fait assavoir que le liure de DOMES-DAY fuit fait en temps de
“ Seint Edw. le Roy, et tous les terres que furent en le main de dit
“ Seint E. all temps que le liure fuist fait sount auncien demene, et
“ les terres que furent adonques en auter main sount frank fee.”

There is a Nota Bene to the same purport in the *Natura Brevium*.

Fitzherbert hath adopted this mistake, by transcribing the whole sentence, with a small variation, into his *New Natura Brevium*, p. 16. b.

I am sensible how much I have trespassed on the time and attention of the Society, by this very long paper; but if it shall, in the smallest degree contribute to induce the lovers of British Antiquities to undertake the printing *DOMES-DAY BOOK*, I shall not despair of their forgiveness.

Great Queen-street,
29 Nov. 1755.

P. C. W.

CONCERNING THE BOMBING AT BOSTON
The following is a list of the names of the persons who
were present at the meeting on the evening of the
17th of August, 1868, at the Boston Convention.
The names of those who were present at the meeting
at the Boston Convention, on the 17th of August,
1868, are given in the following list.

I am sorry to hear that you have been
ill, and hope you will soon be
able to attend the meeting at
Boston, on the 17th of August,
1868. I shall be glad to
see you there.

F. C. W.

Received of the
Boston Convention

59075(2)

A
SHORT ACCOUNT
OF
DANE GELD:
WITH
SOME FURTHER PARTICULARS
RELATING TO
Will. the Conqueror's SURVEY.

By a Member of the *Society of Antiquaries of London.*
Philip Carteret Webb Esq^r

Read at a Meeting of the SOCIETY, 1 *April*, 1756 ; and
ordered to be printed.

L O N D O N,
Printed in the YEAR M D C C L V I.

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF

D. ALAN G. B. D.

WITH

BY

ALFRED

WILLIAMS



A

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF

DANEGELD, &c.

THE particular attention your Lordship and the Society were pleased to shew to the paper I had the honor to lay before you the 29th Nov. 1755, containing an account of some particulars relative to Domes-day book, hath encouraged me to prosecute my inquiries, and I flatter myself that what I have now further to offer on that subject will not be displeasing to the Society.

The learned Dean of Exeter, to whom this Society is under great obligations for his repeated antiquarian communications, in the paper he laid before the Society, the 22d Jan. 1756, concerning the Exeter MS. says, The common opinion is, that Danegelt was a tax of *one shilling* upon every hide of land in England, waft-land, as he supposed, excepted. In my former paper, p. 20. I transcribed a passage from Mr. Arthur Agard, which implied, that Danegeld was, in its original institution, a tax of six shillings on every hide of land. As I shall be always diffident of any opinion I may be thought to have adopted, that shall appear in the least degree different from that of a person much more conversant with things of this sort than myself, I thought it not improper to bring this matter to a closer examination. The result of this inquiry I have now the honor to lay before the Society, from which, I apprehend, it will appear that Mr. Gale, the learned Dean, and myself, were under a mistake as to this matter; and that Danegeld was *originally* neither *one* Shilling,

nor *six* Shillings, but a tax of two Shillings per Hide. The inseparable connection there is between the Domesday survey and Danegeld, will induce your Lordship and this learned Body to excuse the trouble I give you of this second paper; they will be of opinion the subject at least is worthy their consideration.

I.

1. DANEGELD, or, as it is called by the Saxons, *hepegeld*, *heregildum*, i. e. "tributum militare seu navale," began to be collected in the reign of king Ethelred about the year 991, as some writers suppose, *ob pacandos Danos patriam infestantes*, or, according to others, about the year 1012 or 1013, for the hiring Danish or other ships, soldiers, and mariners, to oppose the incursions of our foreign invaders. It was originally an annual tax of two shillings on every hide of arable land in the kingdom; and was in its nature a land-tax, and is the first stated tax of that kind mentioned in our historians. It was called Danegeld, as being originally agreed to be paid to the Danes, and, like many other things, continued to retain the name long after it became appropriated to uses intirely different. Mr. Tate in a list, inserted by Mr. Camden, in his *Britannia*, p. 226. and by Sir Henry Spelman, in his *Glossary*, p. 292. makes the number of hides of land in England amount to 243,600, consequently the gross produce of this tax at two shillings per hide, would at that rate amount to 24,360 l. a very great sum to be annually raised at that period. Edward the Confessor suspended the payment of this tax during part of his time. In the reign of Will. I. it was in one instance increased to *six shillings*, and in that of W. Rufus to *four shillings* for each hide. In the reign of Henry I. it was *three shillings*, and in the reign of king Stephen *two shillings* per hide. It continued to be collected as low as 21 Hen. II. and probably later.

2. There were two kinds of payments made in the reign of Ethelred to the Danes; the one *tributary* to purchase peace, and put a stop to their depredations; these could not be annual, being in their nature *ex re nata*, accidental and occasional, and were raised not by any

any stated tax, but in the best manner the necessity and urgency of affairs would permit. — The other were *stipendiary*, or *subsidiary* payments, made annually, in consequence of treaties, whereby the Danes contracted to furnish the English with a fleet of ships of war, sometimes more, sometimes less, for the defence of the English coasts, for which the English agreed to pay them a stated annual subsidy. For the raising this, the tax called Danegelt, which was an annual land-tax, was first introduced.

3. Some of our earliest historians, for want of distinguishing these two different kinds of payment, place the original of the tax in question as early as the year 991, when the tributary payment to the Danes commenced; other writers have been of opinion this tax was originally collected not to furnish money to the Danes, but to defray the expence of guarding our coast against *their invasions*.

Sir Henry Spelman describes Danegeld to be, “Tributum Anglis
“indictum, aliàs ob *pacandos* Danos, aliàs ob *arcendos*.” And a little
lower, “Tributum annuum 48,000 librarum, ab omni populo era-
“dendum, Danegeldum proprie nuncupatum.” Glossary, p. 161.

The author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario* hath the following chapter written expressly on the subject of this tax.

“XI. QUID DANEGILDUM, ET QUARE SIC DICTUM. Insula nostra
“suis contenta bonis peregrinis non eget. Hanc igitur merito dixere
“prios, *Divitiisque sinum, deliciisque larem*. Propter haec innumeras
“ab exteris injurias passa est; quia scriptum est; *Furem preciosa signata*
“*sollicitant*. Circumjacentium enim insularum praedones, irruptione
“facta, maritima depopulantes, aurum, argentum, et quaeque pretiosa
“tollebant. Verum cum rex et indigenae bellicis apparatus instructi in
“suae gentis defensionem instarent, illi fugas aggrediebantur aequoreas.
“Inter hos itaque pene praecipua et semper prior ad nocendum
“erat bellicosa illa et populosa gens Dacorum; qui praeter com-
“munem raptorum avaritiam acius instabant, quia aliquid de antiquo
“jure in ejusdem regni dominatione vendicabant, sicut Britonum
“pleniùs narrat historia.”

“ Ad hos igitur arcendos a regibus Anglicis statutum est, ut de
 “ singulis hidis regni, jure quodam perpetuo, *duo solidi* argenti sol-
 “ verentur in usus virorum fortium, qui, perlustrantes et jugiter
 “ excubantes maritima, impetum hostium reprimerent. Quia igitur
 “ principaliter pro Danis institutus est hic reditus, Danegildum vel
 “ Danegildus dicitur. Hic igitur annuâ lege, sicut dictum est, sub
 “ indigenis regibus solvebatur, usque ad tempora regis Willelmi
 “ primi de gente et genere Normannorum. Ipso namque regnante,
 “ tam Daci quam caeteri terrae marisque praedones hostiles co-
 “ hibebant incurfus, scientes verum esse quod scriptum est, *Cum*
 “ *fortis armatus custodit atrium suum, in pace sunt ea quae possidet.*
 “ Noverant autem etiam quod acerrimae virtutis homines impunitas
 “ non ferunt injurias. Quum ergo *diu* solvisset terra sub ejusdem
 “ regis imperio, noluit hoc ut annum solvi, quod fuerat urgente
 “ necessitate bellicae tempestatis exactum, nec tamen omnino propter
 “ inopinatos casus dimitti. Raro igitur temporibus illius, vel suc-
 “ cessorum ipsius, solutus est: hoc est, cum ab exteris gentibus bella
 “ vel opiniones bellorum insurgebant. Verùm, quocunque tempore
 “ solvatur, ab ipso liberi sunt qui affident ad Scaccarium. Vicecomites
 “ quoque ab hoc quieti sunt de dominiis suis, propter laboriosam
 “ ejusdem census collectam.”

Mr. Selden in his *Mare Clausum*, lib. ii. hath given us a chapter
 express on the subject of Danegeld, from which I have transcribed
 such parts as contain his opinion concerning it.

“ Tributum, seu stipendium Danegeldum dictum, ad rem navalem
 “ et territorio marino tuendo quotannis pendebatur. — Originem
 “ habuit tributum hoc sub Ethelredo rege. Scilicet is a Swano
 “ Danorum rege miseras tandem redactus in angustias, pace ab eo
 “ empta, etiam ex foedere conduxit puppes Danorum 45, quae
 “ regnum suum in mari excubando tutarentur, stipendia, quae ex
 “ tributo hoc conflarentur, in commeatus annuatim accepturae. Quod
 “ ut ritè intelligatur, advertendum est ex *Historia Anglo-saxonica*,
 “ tributum seu censum Danis persolvi sub id tempus solitum non
 “ unius fuisse generis. Aliud erat tributum seu pecuniae vis, quâ
 “ pacem

“ pacem interdum Anglo-saxones ab illis insulam graviter infestantibus
 “ redimebant: aliud vero, quod classi Danicae, ad tutandum mare
 “ orasque defendendas maritimas conductae, ut stipendium praesta-
 “ batur. — Neque quotannis pendi solebat hoc genus primum, sed
 “ pro re nata subinde praestitum est. — Quod vero secundi generis
 “ erat classi Danicae, ut dictum est, conductae solvendum, id an-
 “ nuum fuit. Nec certa pecuniae quantitate finiebatur, sed quanta
 “ classiariorum victui et vestitui sufficeret. — Utrumque autem
 “ praestationis, quam diximus, genus, Daneꝝelb, Danegeldum seu
 “ Danageldum, id est, tributum Danicum, dicebatur. — Secundum
 “ vero, quod pro classiariorum com meatu solutum est, itidem eadem
 “ voce indigitabatur, tum quia ex foedere Danico natum, tum quia
 “ Danicae classi marino territorio tuendo conductae pendi solitum.
 “ Unde et idem retinuit nomen tam sub ipsis regibus Danicis, veluti
 “ Canuto, Haroldo I. Hardecanuto, quam sub Anglo-saxonibus seu
 “ Anglicanis. — Apud Matthaeos Westmonasteriensem et Parisien-
 “ sem annua stipendii hujus Danici pensio triginta octo millibus
 “ librarum aestimatur. Quod sane temere nimis ab eis scriptum est.
 “ Nec melius illi, quibus triginta millibus librarum taxatur illa
 “ pensio, velut Chronici Melrocentis auctori. Nam qualicumque census
 “ ratione, pro temporum varietate, tributum ipsum regi penderetur,
 “ certissimum videtur stipendia classi Danicae praeberi solita adeo
 “ incerta fuisse, ut nunc ampliora multo, nunc angustiora, pro
 “ navium et classiariorum numero tutelae marinae idoneo (quod nec
 “ aliter evenire potuisse credendum est) praestarentur.” Selden.
 Opera, vol. iv. p. 1317. to 1322.

4. In order to determine which of the abovementioned opinions ought to be adopted, it will be necessary to compare the different accounts our historians have given of this matter with each other. For this purpose I have transcribed such of them as appeared to me to be material, in the author's own words, and as near as could be in a regular order of time: by this means the Society will have the whole before them in one view.

H. Hunt,

H. Hunt. Hist. lib. v. p. 205. a. “Edelredi regis anno decimo tertio (A. D. 991.) primum statuerunt Angli, concilio infausto Siricii archiepiscopi, quod ipsi censum Danis persolverent, quatenus a rapinis et caede cessarent, et dederunt eis decem mille libras. Hoc autem malum usque in hodiernum diem [tempore regis Stephani] duravit, et diu, nisi Dei pietas subveniat, durabit. Regibus namque nostris modo persolvimus ex consuetudine, quod Danis persolvebatur ex ineffabili terrore.”

Florent. Wigorn. p. 609. A°. 991. “Quo insuper anno Sirici Dorobernensis archiepiscopi, et ducum Aethelwardi et Alfrici consilio Danis tributum, quod erat 10 millium librarum, *primitus* datum est, ut a crebris rapinis cremationibus et hominum occisionibus, quas circa ripas maris frequenter agebant, desisterent, pacemque firmam cum eis tenerent.” — Simeon Dunelmensis, p. 196. Matth. Westm. p. 169. And Roger Hoveden, p. 245. b. say the same, in almost the same words.

Chronicon Saxon. p. 126. “Anno 991. hoc anno decretum est primum jam ut solveretur tributum Danicis viris propter magnos horrores quos incusserunt incolis maritimis. inprimis nempe x millia librarum. Illud concilium constituit Siricus archiepiscopus.”

Chronicon Johannis Brompton, abbatis Jornalensis (a). “Anno Ethelredi regis xiii. — Angli infausto concilio Sirici Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, ut Daci a rapinis et caedibus cessarent, censum pravum eis solvere statuerant. Quibus x millibus librarum *primo* pro tributo datis, hoc malum usque in *hodiernum diem* in Anglia, et *diu, nisi Dei pietas subveniat, durabit*. Nam regibus nostris *modo* (b) consuetudine solvimus quod Danis tunc ex terrore ineffabili solvebatur. *Secundo* vero solvebatur eis tributum 16 millium libra-

(a) Decem Scriptores, p. 879.

(b) From hence it appears, this part, at least, of this chronicle was wrote while Danegeld was a subsisting tax, and therefore much earlier than the reign of Edward III. as low as which Mr. Selden, in his preface to the Decem Scriptores, hath shewn a part of it which answers to the year 1069 was wrote; others suppose the author wrote about the year 1198. Vide Tanner de Scriptoribus Angl.

“rum; *tertio* 24 millium librarum; *quarto* 30 millium librarum;
 “*quinto* 40 millium librarum, donec tandem pecunia deficiente iterum
 “tenderent ad rapinas.”

Ran. Higden, in his Polychronicon (*c*), mentions a third payment of 20,000 l. omitted by Brompton, and both these authors state these payments, which, according to Higden, amount to 140,000 l. as being paid the same year.

Ra. de Knighton de Eventibus Angliae (*d*), agrees with Higden as to the number and quantity of the payments, and adds they were made annually; but with respect to the time when the five last payments were made, these writers are all mistaken.

Knyghton's words are; “Interea, Dunstano mortuo, Dani venerunt
 “in Angliam quasi in quolibet portu Angliae; unde nesciebatur qua
 “parte illis occurrerent; unde consilio Sirici archiepiscopi successoris
 “Dunstani tributum *annuum* solvunt. *Primo anno* x. mil. libr.
 “*Secundo anno* xvi mil. *Tertio anno* xx mil. *Quarto anno* xxiv
 “mil. *Quinto anno* xxx mil. tandem xl mil. donec pecunia de-
 “ficiebat in Anglia. Et tunc redierunt iterum ad rapinas.”

It appears by the Saxon chronicle, and other historians, that the first tribute of 10,000 l. was paid A°. 991. — The second of 16,000 l. A°. 993, or 994. — The fourth of 24,000 l. A°. 1001. — The fifth of 30,000 l. A°. 1007.

5. The Danes renewing their ravages, Ethelred determined to levy a large fleet and army to oppose them. This he did by an occasional land-tax, then introduced for the first time; every three hundred and ten hides of land being taxed with providing a ship, and every eight hides with finding a soldier, armed with a head-piece and breast-plate. But these preparations, like all the former of this weak and unfortunate prince, proving unsuccessful, he was reduced A°. 1011. to sue for peace; and accordingly by a treaty concluded A°. 1012. between him and the Danes, in consideration of 8000 l. as the Saxon

(*c*) Gale's Scriptores Angl. vol. iii. p. 270.

(*d*) Decem Scriptores, vol. ii. p. 2315.

Chronicle, and Henry of Huntingdon, say, or rather, as most other authors mention, of 48,000 l. paid them by the English, the Danes agreed to put an end to the war, and to furnish Ethelred with forty five ships of war, for the future protection of his kingdom from foreign invasions, which were to be paid and maintained by the English.

“ Anno millesimo septimo, rex Anglorum Egelredus, primatum
 “ suorum consilio nuncios ad Danos legans, iis mandavit, quòd
 “ sumptus et tributum eo tenore illis dare vellet, ut à rapinis desiste-
 “ rent, et pacem cum eo firmam tenerent; cujus postulationi con-
 “ senserunt, et *ex eo tempore* de tota Anglia sumptus illis dabatur, et
 “ tributum, quod erat 36,000 librarum, illis persolvebatur.” Hoveden, p. 246. b.

Saxon Chronicle, p. 142. A°. 1012. “ Quum primum tributum
 “ esset persolutum, et pax juramentis firmata, dispersus est late exer-
 “ citus. Tum subditæ sunt regi de classe [Dacorum] XLV naves,
 “ quæ ei pollicitæ sunt se hanc terram defensuros, *modo is illis victum*
 “ *et vestitum subministraret.*”

Hen. Huntingdoniensis (e), A°. 1012. “ Tunc vero rex nimis sero
 “ pacem fecit cum Dacorum exercitu, dans eis 8000 librarum. —
 “ Subdiderunt autem se regi 45 puppes Danorum, promittentes quod
 “ Angliam tuerentur, rex vero inveniret eis victum et vestitum.”

Hoveden (f), Anno 1012. “ Perfidus dux Edricus Streona et
 “ omnes Angliæ primates ante Pascha Lundoniae congregati sunt,
 “ et ibi tam diu morati sunt quousque tributum Danis promissum,
 “ quod erat 48 mille librarum, persolveretur. — Post hæc tributo
 “ soluto, pace juramentis firmata, Danica classis, ut prius erat con-
 “ gregata, longe lateque dispergitur; sed cum rege quadraginta
 “ quinque naves remansere *eique fidelitatem juravere*, et adversus ex-
 “ teros Angliam se defensuros, eo tenore promiserunt, ut eis victum
 “ regimenque praeberet.”

6. What the expence of maintaining this fleet amounted to is not mentioned by any of these writers. The Saxon Chronicle, A°. 1040.

(e) P. 207. a.

(f) Hoveden, p. 247. b. 248. a.

p. 156. takes notice that 11,048 l. was paid that year for 32 ships. At that rate the expence of 45 ships would amount to about 15,500 l. For want therefore of more exact information, we may reasonably suppose that a sum of upwards of 15,000 l. was by this treaty become a stated charge on the kingdom, necessary to be annually provided for.

Ingulfus, Brompton, the Chronicon of Peterborough, and other authors affirm, the payment of Danegeld, as a stated tax, began in the year 1012 or 1013; probably in the treaty between Ethelred and the Danes, in imitation of what had been done by Ethelred A°. 1008, it was stipulated that the expence of these ships should be raised by an annual tax on land.

In 1013, Ethelred retired to Normandy, and whether in the *first* instance this tax was collected by his authority, or by that of his successor Swane, who was this year acknowledged by all the people, *tanquam verum regem*, is uncertain; Henry Huntindoniensis, p. 207. A°. 1013. “Swanus rex Dacorum venit — et ab omni populo habebatur pro rege, *jussitque dari per Angliam victum et censum exercitui suo.*”

Hoveden, p. 248. a. A°. 1013. “Mense Julio rex Danorum Swanus cum valida classe ad Sandicum portum est appulsus — qui ad suam classem reversus, ab omni populo Anglorum rex appellabatur et habebatur. Quod cum vidisset rex Ethelredus — Normanniam devehitur, et a Ricardo comite honorifice suscipitur. Interea Swanus tyrannus, suae classae sumptus affluenter parari et tributum fere importabile *solvi praecepit.*”

7. A°. 1014. Swane died, and the Danish fleet elected Canutus king in his room; the English thereupon recalled Ethelred, who died in 1016. and was succeeded by Edmund, who, after several victories over the Danes, was the same year totally defeated by them, with the loss of most of the English nobility, and reduced to agree to pay tribute to the Danes; soon after which he died; and upon his death A°. 1017. Canutus the Dane, became king of England, and the next year the Danish army, after receiving a tribute of 72,000 l. or

as Henry of Huntingdon says, 82,000 l. from the kingdom in general, besides 10,000 l. or as others say, 10,500 l. from the city of London, returned to Denmark, leaving forty of their ships in English pay.

Canutus died in 1036, and was succeeded by Harold, who died in 1039. During these two reigns, which comprehend a space of above twenty two years, a fleet of Danish ships of war were constantly kept in English pay; eight marks being the hire or wages annually given to each rower, and twelve marks to each captain or master. — In 1039, upon the death of Harold, Hardacnute succeeded him, who kept this year sixty two Danish ships in English pay, at the before mentioned rate.

A°. 1040. There was paid 21,099 l. for tribute, and afterwards 11,048 l. for the pay of thirty two ships; this is the last payment made to the Danes. The proofs of what is here advanced are set forth in the next section.

8. Florent. Wigorn. p. 619. A°. 1018. “Hoc anno de tota Anglia
“ 72 millia et de Lundonia 10,500 librarum exercitu Danorum sunt
“ persoluta, et cum rege Canuto 40 naves remansere, ceterae vero
“ Denemerciam sunt revectae; Angli et Dani apud Oxenefordam de
“ lege regis *Eadgari* tenenda concordēs sunt effecti.

Saxon Chronicon, p. 151. A°. 1018. “Hoc anno solutum fuit
“ istud tributum per totam Angliam gentem, nempe LXXII, millia
“ librarum; praeter id quod cives Lundenses persolverunt, nempe
“ IX. millia librarum. — Deinde Danici exercitus pars reversa est
“ ad Denemerciam, XL autem naves remansere cum rege Canuto.
“ Dani etiam et Angli concordēs facti sunt apud Oxnafordam.

Matth. Westm. p. 207. “Anno gratiae 1022. Angli et Dani in
“ colloquio apud Oxoniam celebrato, de legibus regis *Edwardi primi*
“ tenendis concordēs effecti sunt; unde eisdem legibus, jubente rege
“ Cnutone, ab Anglica lingua in Latinam translatis, tam in Dania
“ quam in Anglia propter earum aequitatem a rege praefato observari
“ jubentur.”

Henry Huntington. p. 208. b. "Cnut rex Anglorum fecit per
" Angliam mirabilem censum reddi, scilicet LXXXII mille lib. praeter
" undecies mille lib. quas Londonienses reddiderunt."

Saxon Chron. A°. 1309. p. 156. "Hoc anno deceffit Haroldus rex
" — ejuſque diebus ſoluta ſunt tributa XVI navibus, unicuique
" nempe remigi VIII marcae, prout factum eſt Canuti regis aetate —
" Hoc ipſo item anno venit Hardecanutus ad Sandwicum, VII diebus
" ante mediam aeſtatem, et ſtatim ſuſceptus eſt tum ab Anglis tum
" Danis: verum ob id poſtea proceres ejus multa mala ſunt paſſi.
" Tum decretum eſt ut ſolverentur LXII navium ſingulis remigibus
" VIII marcae."

Flor. Wigorn. p. 623. "Octo marcas unicuique ſuae claſſis remigi,
" et duodecim unicuique gubernatori *de tota Anglia* praecepit rex
" [Hardecanutus] dependi, tributum videlicet tam grave, ut VIX aliquis
" id poſſet perſolvere."

Saxon Chronicon, A°. 1040. p. 156. "Hoc anno fuit tributum
" militare [Depegeold] ſolutum, nempe XXI millia librarum et
" XCIX librae, et poſtea ſolutae fuerunt XXXII navibus, XI millia
" librarum et XLVIII librae.

Mr. Selden, *Mare Clauſum*, p. 1317. ſays this laſt ſum of 11,048 l.
was paid for building 32 ſhips, "ſcilicet 32 navibus conſtruendis, quod
" ſcribit Huntingdonienſis," which is a miſtake; Henry of Hunting-
don's words are; "Anno ſecundo Hardecnut redditus eſt cenſus
" exercitui Dacorum, ſcilicet 21,000 lib. et 89 lib. et poſtea ſunt
" redditae 32 puppibus 11,000 lib. et 48 lib." p. 209. a.

9. A°. 1042. Hardicnute died, and was ſucceeded by Edward the
Confefſor, who put a ſtop to all future payments from the Engliſh to
the Danes, as well tributary as ſtipendiary. He continued neverthe-
leſs to collect Danegeld from the ſubject until the year 1051, when,
as Ingulphus and other authors ſay, he abſolutely repealed it. The
laſt time he collected it, was, ad navigium faciendum, as appears from
a writ of Will. I. which directs the boundaries and jurisdictions of
the biſhop of Worceſter and the abbot of Eweſham, to be "ſicut

“erant die qua *novissime* tempore regis Edwardi geldum acceptum
“fuit ad navigium faciendum.” Heming Cartular. vol. i. p. 78.

“Rex Edwardus Anglos a gravi tributo, quod Danegeld dicebatur,
“trigesimo octavo anno ex quo pater suus Ethelredus primus id
“Danicis soldariis solvi mandarat, integre absolvit (*g*).

“Anno Domini 1051, Rex Edwardus Anglos a gravi tributo
“solvit, quod eis pater suus propter Danorum soldarios imposuerat (*b*).

“Anno Domini 1051, cum terra non daret solita fertilitate
“fructus suos, sed fame plurimos habitatores devoraret, in tantum
“ut bladorum caristia et panis inopia multa hominum millia
“morerentur: misericordia motus super pauperes, piissimus rex
“Edwardus tributum gravissimum, quod Danigeld dicebatur, omni
“Angliae in perpetuum relaxavit (*i*).” The inducement for this
is curious and diverting. “Ferunt quidam regem sanctissimum,
“cum dictum Danigeld cubicularii sui collectum in regis cameram
“intulissent, et ad videndum tanti thesauri cumulum ipsum addux-
“issent, ad primum aspectum exhorruisse, protestantem se daemo-
“nem super acervum pecuniae saltantem, et nimio gaudio exultan-
“tem prospexisse. Unde pristinis possessoribus jussit statim reddere,
“et de tam fera exactione ne iota unum voluit retinere, quin in
“perpetuum remisit, anno scilicet xxxviii, ex quo, tempore regis
“Ethelredi patris sui, Swanus Rex Danorum suo exercitui illud solvi
“singulis annis *imperavit*.”

Ailredus Abbas Rievallis, in his history of the life and miracles of
Edward the Confessor, makes no mention of this pretended apparition,
but gives the following account of the abolishing the tax in
question (*k*). “Tributum illud gravissimum quod tempore patris sui
“primo classi Danicae pendebatur, post modum vero *Fisco regio*
“annis *singulis* inferebatur, regia liberalitate remisit, et ab onere hoc
“importabile in perpetuam Angliam absolvit.”

(*g*) Chronicon Petri Burgi, p. 42.

(*b*) Chronicon Johannis Brompton. p. 943.

(*i*) Ingulph. Script. Angl. vol. i. p. 65.

(*k*) Decem Scriptores, vol. i. p. 383.

Rad. de Diceto Abbreviationes Chronicorum, p. 457. A^o. 1051.
 “Rex Edwardus absolvit Anglos a gravi vectigali tricesimo octavo
 “anno ex quo pater suus rex Egelredus primitus id Danicis solidariis
 “solvi mandavit.” Hoveden, p. 253. a. says the same.

Chronicon Johannis Brompton. p. 943. “Anno Domini 1051.
 “Rex Edwardus Anglos a gravi tributo solvit, quod eis pater suus
 “propter Danorum soldarios imposuerat”.

Florent. Wigorn. p. 626. “A^o. 1051. Rex Edwardus absolvit
 “Anglos a gravi vectigali 38 anno ex quo pater suus rex Ethelredus
 “primitus id Danicis soldariis solvi mandaravit.”

Ranulph. Higden. Polychronicon, p. 278. A^o. 1050. “Edwardus
 “rex absolvit Anglos a gravi tributo, quod pater suus Egelredus
 “Danicis solidariis solvi fecerat, et jam per XL annos duraverat.”
 Henr. de Knyghton, p. 233. uses the same words.

Matthew of Westminster, the Chronica of Mailros, and a few other historians, say, the subsidy or tribute, paid to the Danes for their ships, was a stated sum of 30,000 l. or 38,000 l. a year; but this is a mistake, probably not of the writers, but owing to the inaccuracy of the copyist or transcribers.

Chronica de Mailros (1), “Anno 1051. Rex Edwardus absolvit
 “Anglos a gravi vectigali, id est, xxx librarum et viii anno ex
 “quo pater suus rex Egelredus primitus Danicis id soldariis solvi
 “mandaverat.”

Matth. Westm. p. 219. “Anno Gratiae 1051. Rex Edwardus a
 “vectigali gravissimo Anglos absolvit, quod patre vivente, Danicis
 “stipendiariis triginta octo millium librarum solvi consuevit.”

An ancient MS. chronicle in my custody, which formerly belonged to the priory of Hickling in Norfolk. “Anno 1051. Edwardus
 “rex absolvit Anglos a gravi tributo, id est xxxviii librarum xxxviii^o.
 “anno ex quo pater suus rex Ethelredus primitus Danicis id soldariis
 “solvi mandaravit.”

(1) Scriptores Angl. vol. i. p. 157.

Hoveden, p. 246. b. says it was 36,000 l. a year.

An annual tax of near four shillings on each hide of land would have been necessary to pay 38,000 l. a year to the Danes, and there is no mention in history until long after this period of any tax of that sort.

10. These payments to the Danes could not avoid being extremely oppressive and grievous to the people; they were rendered more so by the manner in which they were collected. If a person did not pay the sum assessed within three days after the time appointed for paying it, the owner was liable to be turned out of his estate, and whoever would pay the tax for him put into the possession of it. This proved the source of great fraud and oppression, as will appear from the following extracts from the Liber Wigorniensis.

Heming. Cartular. vol. i. p. 248. “ — Sicuti factum est temporibus Ethelredi, regis Anglorum, vastante et depopulante hanc patriam pagano rege Danorum, SWEIN nomine, cum maximum et fere importabile tributum tota Anglia reddere cogeretur. Ob hujus itaque tam gravis tributum exactionem, omnia ferè ornamenta hujus ecclesie distracta sunt, tabulae altaris, argento et auro paratae, spoliatae sunt, textus exornati, calices confracti, cruces conflatae, ad ultimum etiam terrae et villulae pecuniis distractae sunt. Simili modo etiam actum est regnante CNU T, filio suo, et adhuc graviora vectigalia superaddita sunt temporibus regni filii CNU T, cujus nomen erat HARDECNU T, qui etiam totam istam provinciam hostile exercitu ferro et igne depopulavit.”

Heming. Cartular. vol. i. p. 277. “ Tempore quo CNU T rex Danorum, hac patria devicta, vectigal importabile toti Anglorum regno imposuerat, ablatae sunt diversae villulae in Uuareuuicscire a monasterii possessione, vi et fraude malignorum Danorum, quorum potentia eo tempore terror erat indigenis hujus patriae. Constituerunt enim, ut, siquid vectigalis ad III^{am}. constituti diei deesset, *quisquis prius pecuniam pro ea solveret, ejus possessioni subjaceret*. Hac calliditate inventa, quisquis aliquam terram de monasterio concupierat, pecunia data vicecomiti, vectigali refugato etiam satis tempestivo, quod male concupierat, pro libitu injuste rapiebat.”

11. The 12th, or in some editions the 11th, of the laws commonly ascribed to the Confessor, which in another place I have proved to be of a more modern date (*m*), gives this account of Danegeld.

“ DE DANEGELDO. Danegeldi redditio propter pyratas primitus
 “ statuta est. Patriam enim infestantes vastationi ejus pro posse suo in-
 “ sistebant. Ad eorum quidem insolentiam reprimendam statutum est,
 “ Danegeldum annuatim reddi, scilicet 12 denarios ex unaquaque hida
 “ totius patriae, ad conducendos eos qui piratarum irruptioni resistendo
 “ obviarent. De hoc quoque Danegeldo libera et quieta erat omnis
 “ ecclesia, et etiam omnis terra, quae *in proprio dominio* ecclesiae
 “ erat, ubicunque jacebat, nihil profus in tali redditione persolvens,
 “ quia magis in ecclesiae confidebant orationibus quam in armorum
 “ defensionibus. Et hanc libertatem tenuit Anglorum ecclesia usque
 “ ad tempora Willielmi regis junioris, qui de baronibus totius Angliae
 “ auxilium petiit ad Normanniam retinendam de fratre suo Roberto,
 “ Normannorum comite, Jerusalem proficiscente. Concessum est ei,
 “ non lege statutum neque firmatum, sed habuit necessitatis causam
 “ ex unaquaque hida 4 solidos, ecclesia non excepta; quorum dum
 “ fieret collectio, proclamabat sancta ecclesia, libertatem suam reposcens,
 “ sed nihil profecit (*n*)”

The passage before cited of Ingulphus, who was a cotemporary author, and in whose copy of the Confessor's laws, as confirmed by the Conqueror, this law is not inserted, furnishes an additional argument, if any arguments are wanting, against the authority and genuineness of the law relating to Danegeld. If Edward the Confessor had for ever abolished Danegeld, it could not have been certified to W. the Conqueror, as a tax subsisting by virtue of a law of that king. The truth is, that this law, attributed to the Confessor, was, as I have observed on another occasion, an interpolation made as late as the time of Hen. II. and is therefore of no authority with regard to the present inquiry.

(*m*) Question concerning the Jews, p. 32, 33.

(*n*) Leges Edwardi. Wilkins, p. 198.

12. It is probable Will. I. collected Danegeld in the second year of his reign. Simeon of Durham, Knyghton, Brompton, and many other of our historians agree, that, upon his return from Normandy, in the year 1067, he levied an insupportable tax upon the people, "Impòrtabile tributum Anglis indixit." How often he collected Danegeld after this period does not appear, except that A°. 1084, or 1086, he encreased it to six shillings per hide, which was three times more than it appears to have ever been assessed at before.

"Anno regis Willielmi xviii (A°. 1084) idem Rex de qualibet "hida terrae in Anglia sex solidos habuit et accepit." — Chron. Joh. de Brompton. p. 2351. Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2352.

Matthew Paris says it was collected A°. 1083, after the survey was made: — "Deinde [that is after the making the survey] de unoquoque aratro, id est, hyda terrae, totius regni sex solidos cepit "argenti." Edit. Watts, p. 9.

Matthew of Westminster, p. 229. says the same, and treats it as a larger tax than usual. — "Deinde senior factus avarior, et de rege tyrannus, de unoquoque aratro, id est, hyda terrae, totius "regni sex solidos extorsit truculenter."

The Saxon Chronicle places the collecting this tax in the same year 1083. p. 185. "Hoc etiam ipso anno [1083.] post Natales, "rex permisit exigi magnum tributum ac grave per totam Anglorum, "terram, id est, pro unaquaque hida duos et septuaginta denarios."

In the Inquisitio Geldi for the five Western counties in the Exeter MS. Danegeld, is throughout computed at six shillings per hyde, and wherever it differs, it is only in small fractions, owing to the mistakes of the writer or copier, which, by the manner in which they at that time expressed their sums and quantities, they were very liable to.

In Wiltshire, in the hundred of Mere (Exeter MS. p. 288.) the Danegeld for 51 hydres is 15 l. 6 s. $51 \times 6 = 306$ shillings.

In Somersetshire, p. 237. b. in the manor of Torlberg, three hydres paid the king 18 s. for this tax, $6 \times 3 = 18$.

In Devonshire, p. 311. a. in Hertiland hundred seven hides paid 2l. 2s. and in Toritone 24 hides are rated at 7l. 4s.

In Dorsetshire, p. 297. a. in Henoltune hundred $14\frac{1}{2}$ hides paid 4l. 7s. $14\frac{1}{2} \times 6 = 87$ shillings.

In Cornwall, p. 304. a. in Winnentone hundred six hides paid 1l. 16s. and in Fanurcone hundred, 304. b. $11\frac{1}{2}$ hides paid 3l. 9s. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 6 = 69$ shillings.

13. In the following imperfect and unintelligible law of Hen. I. Danegeld is supposed to be in his reign 12 d. per hide.

“XV. DE DANEGELDO. Danegildum, quod aliquando ringe manus dabatur. i. $\overline{\text{XII}}$. denar. de unaque hida per annum: si ad terminos non reddatur Wyta emendetur.” Unless you will suppose a mistake in the copy, and that it should be ii. $\overline{\text{XII}}$. denar. twice 12 d. a method of expression not infrequent in ancient MSS. Thus in the Exeter MS. quater xx = 80.

The reading as it stands in the text is unsupported by any other authority I have been able to meet with, and is contradicted by what passed in the ninth year of the reign of Hen. I. (A°. 1114.) who, on marrying his daughter Maud to the emperor, collected Danegeld throughout the kingdom at the rate of *three* shillings per hide “Rex itaque cepit ab unaquaque hida Angliae tres solidos.” Hen. Hunting. p. 379.

A MS. chronicle in Trinity College, Cantab. cited by Mr. Madox, History of the Exchequer, p. 475. says, A°. 1114. “A cel tens fu done Danegeld par mi Engleterre.”

Hen. I. in his thirtieth year, “in redemptionem peccatorum suorum,” promised, “ut septem annis Danicum tributum relaxaret.” Rad. Higden, lib. vii. c. 17.

King Stephen, at his coronation, (A°. 1135.) faithfully promised, among other things, “quod Danegeldum, id est, *duos solidos* ad hidam, quos *Antecessores* sui singulis annis accipiebant, in aeternum condonaret.” Roger of Wendover, Henry of Huntingdon, and

the other authors, who mention this, say he did not keep his promise. In this they are supported by the Revenue Rolls of his reign.

Mr. Madox (History of the Exchequer, p. 475.) says, that, “in the great roll of the fifth year of king Stephen, Danegeld is accounted for in every county, as if it was a settled yearly revenue; that is, in the like words of form, which were then wont to be used in accounting for the settled yearly revenue. Thus the Danegeld for the first year (viz. the immediate year accounted for) was called barely Danegeld, or novum Danegeldum; the Danegeld for the next preceding year, praeteritum Danegeldum; the Danegeld for the third preceding year, vetus Danegeldum, etc.

Mr. Selden in his *Mare Clausum*, lib. ii. cap. xv. takes notice that it appeared by the Exchequer Rolls, that Danegeld had been paid in the reign of Hen. II. and Mr. Madox, by extracts from those rolls, hath since proved it was accounted for in the great rolls of the 2. 3. 4. 5. 7. 20. and 21. Hen. II. I shall transcribe the two last of those extracts.

“Osbertus de Brai, 1 c de xl marcis de misericordia quia prohibuit Danegeldum dari de dominiis. In thesauro liberavit et quietus est.” Mag. Rot. 20. Hen. II. Rot. 9. a. Berckscira.

“Et Heliae ostiario i marcam ad portandas summonitiones de Danegeldo per Angliam per breve regis.” Mag. Rot. 21. Hen. II. Rot. 3. a Londonia et Middlesexa. Hist. Excheq. p. 479. n. i. k.

Ralph Higden in his *Polychronicon*, p. 202. de legibus legumque vocabulis, gives this definition of Danegeld, “Danegeld, id est, Tailagium datum Danis, id est, iii^d. de qualibet bovata terrae.”

Now as eight bovates were equal to a carucate, and as a carucate was generally understood to be the same as a hide, it follows that Danegeld was two shillings, or 24 pence = 8×3 per hide.

The foregoing authorities I apprehend clearly make out what I undertook to prove, that Danegeld was originally and in its institution a tax of *two shillings* on every hide.

Danegeld,

Danegeld, Heregeld, Hidegeld, Hidage, Carucage, were different names for the same tax anciently raised upon land; in its original it was called Danegeld, Heregeld; afterwards Hidegeld and Hidage; and last of all Carucage and Caruage.

Caruca, Carucata, Aratrum, and Hyda, were at that time considered as synonymous, and to express the same quantity of land.

“A°. 1200. Rex Johannes mutuavit regi Franciae xxx millia
“marcarum, pro quibus collectum est *Caruagium* in Anglia, scil. iii s.
“pro quolibet *Aratro*.” Reg. prioratus de Dunstaple, p. 47.

“A°. 1221. Rex Henricus cepit de qualibet carucatu terrae, duos
“solidi.” Chron. MS. prioratus de Hickling.

Sir H. Spelman, in his Glossary, p. 127. defines Carucage to be
“Tributi genus, quod singulis Aratris *communi regni consilio* imponitur.”

MS. Roffen. fol. 138. A°. 1224. 8 Hen. III. “Hoc anno Domini
“regi pro magnis laboribus suis et expensis tam a praelatis quam a laicis
“concessum est per totam Angliam *Carucagium*, de qualibet scil.
“*Caruca* duo solidi.”

Mr. Madox, in his history of the Exchequer, p. 502. 503. hath transcribed several entries from the accompts in the revenue rolls of persons, who, in the 10, 14, and 19 Hen. III. accounted for the arrears of *Carucage*; he is of opinion it was a tax of so much for each carue of land, holden *by base or inferior tenure only*, in which possibly he is mistaken; he admits he found very little about it in the revenue rolls.

II.

By Terra, in Domesday book, and other records relative to this matter, is always understood arable land, in contradistinction to pasture, meadow, wood, etc. which, although described in the survey, their contents are not therein expressed in hides, but in acres, leuca, quadragenarii, etc. which were not charged with this tax, or considered as part of the geldable or arable land.

Thus in the Exeter MS. produced by the Dean of Exeter to the Society, after mentioning the number of hides of arable land, and the amount of Danegeld paid for it, the Survey describes the rest of the lands after this manner :

“ iiii quadragenar’ nemoris in longitudine, et ii quadragenar’ in latitudine — xl agros prati et ii quadragenarias pascuae.”

Cities and towns which had no arable lands, paid Danegeld in proportion to a certain number of hides. Thus Exeter paid quantum v hidae terrae: Salisbury gelded for fifty hides, etc.

*Cities rated
to an equivalent
of so many hides*

III.

Danegeld was not, as has been imagined, a partial tax on a part only of the arable lands of the kingdom, but was universal and extended over the whole.

Mr. Roger Gale, a late learned member, and great ornament of this Society, in the appendix to his *Registrum honoris de Richmond*, is of opinion that the Domesday survey, and consequently the account of the persons paying Danegeld, was confined to the lands *of such as held immediately of the king, and of the church.* — How he has made out a proposition, which he admits to be contrary to the uniform voice of almost every ancient writer, may probably be the subject of a future inquiry.

“ Observabimus primo quod clare constat, reclamante licet grege monachorum nostrorum, vel ex ipso Libro Censuali, omnes terras Angliae in eo nequaquam fuisse descriptas. — *Infinita* pene villarum antiquarum nomina in ea omissa. — Quidni igitur ex eo hoc factum sit, quod *soli tenentes de rege*, et de ecclesia (quae etiam de rege tenebat) eo in *Censu* describerentur, terrae autem quae Anglis remanserunt, iis scilicet *qui non fuerunt in consilio et auxilio contra Willielmum regem*, neutiquam *ad Examen revocatae sint?* ”
Mr. Gale concludes with saying — “ *Contra opinionem per secula stabilitam* imus, sed veritati litamur, librum ipsum et equos iudices appellamus.” *Append. Regist. Honoris de Richmond*, p. 227.

The

The instances in the Conqueror's survey, which mention, that in some few estates the number of hides were not known, and that they never paid this tax, were probably owing to those lands not having been turned up into tillage until after the time of king Ethelred. But, in general, the number of hides belonging to the crown, the king and queen, and their tenants, were enumerated as well as those of the subject. The *Dialogus de Scaccario*, c. viii. p. 23. says, "Cognita summa, quae de comitatu requiritur, ab his qui in comitatu fundos habent, per hydās distribuitur."

The demesne lands, which belonged to the king and queen, and those in the hands of their immediate tenants and fermors, although assessed, did not pay this tax. The reason of which is obvious: it would be paying with one hand what they were to receive with the other.

The estates of many other persons were originally, or in a course of years, exempted from paying it. The *demesne lands* of churchmen and religious houses were excused from it in consequence, either of the eleemosynary grants by which they held their lands from the crown, which were usually granted — "libera ab omnibus secularibus servitiis et fiscali tributo, exceptis expeditione, arcis pontifice extructione." — or "adeo libera in omnibus sicut rex habuit in sua propria manu — or "adeo libera in omnibus sicut mea propria Dominica terra — or "quieta de Geldis, Danegeldis et Hydagiis" — or the like (*o*); or they might be intitled to this exemption by virtue of some general grant antecedent to the commencement of this tax, such as the grant made A°. 694, by Withredus Rex Cantiae, and renewed afterwards in a great council by Ethelbalus Rex Merciorum, in the following words, — "Igitur ex hac die et deinceps concedimus et donamus, etc. ecclesiis regni nostri liberas esse perpetua libertate ab omnibus secularibus servitiis, ab omni debito vel pulsione regalium tributorum, ut possint pro nobis Deo omnipotenti hostias dignas offerre, nostraque peccata abluere immaculatis muneribus (*p*)."

(*o*) Dugd. Monasticon. vol. i. p. 44. 196, etc.

(*p*) Thorne Chron. X, Scriptores, p. 2208.

It appears by the law relating to Danegeld, interpolated among those of Edward the Confessor, about the reign of Hen. II. that the Clergy then claimed their being exempt from this tax as an original right. This exemption only extended to *their demesne lands*, their other estates being charged with it.

Sir H. Spelman, in his *Codex Legum Veterum*, p. 304. hath inserted the following writ for exempting the bishop of Worcester from Danegeld.

“ Breve Regis Hen. I. de non faciendo Episcopum Wigorn.
“ geldare.

“ Henricus Rex Anglorum Waltero de Bello Campo et collectoribus
“ Werecestrescire, Salutem. Precipio vobis ne amodo faciatis
“ Episcopum Wigorniae geldare, etc. Teste. Ep. Sarum apud
“ Winton.”

This writ is imperfectly set forth by Sir H. Spelman; it is copied at large in Heming. Cartular. vol. i. p. 298. “ Henricus rex Anglie
“ Waltero de Bello Campo et coll. Wirecestrescire salutem. Precipio
“ vobis ne amodo faciatis episcopum Wigornie Geldare de terra sua
“ de Wirecestrescira nisi pro ccc et quater xx et vii hidis et dimidia,
“ T. episcopo Sar. apud Wintoniam.”

The demesne lands of the great lords and barons, and others, who held by military service, were in like manner exempted from the paying Danegeld.

The reason of this exemption seems to be, that it was unreasonable that those, whose persons were by tenure employed to serve in the wars, should be doubly charged by paying for their lands to the same service.

Hen. I. in his Magna Charta, c. 2. which, as to this point, was only a renewal of what appears to have been the law and practice in the time of Will. I. confirms this opinion. “ Militibus qui per
“ loricas terras suas deserviunt, terras Dominicarum Carucarum sua-
“ rum quietas ab omnibus geldis et ab omni opere proprio dono
“ meo concedo, ut, sicut benignitas mea propensior est in eis, ita

“ mihi fideles sint; ut sicut tam magni gravamine allevati sunt, ita
 “ equis et armis se bene instruant; ut apti et parati sint ad servitium
 “ meum, et ad defensionem regni mei (q).”

In some instances lands were exempted from paying this tax by the king's particular order. “ Habet abbas de Eovefham v hidas
 “ apud Haurtun Geldentes et x sunt quiete de geldo per brevem
 “ regis.” Heming. Cartular. p. 315.

The barons of the Exchequer, sheriffs of counties, and the assessors and collectors of the tax, were also exempted from paying Danegeld for their demesne lands, or at least for a part thereof.

A few extracts from the Exeter MS. will further explain what is advanced in this section.

“ Dorseta. In hundredo Etheminstre sunt xlvii hide et tantum
 “ terrae habet ibi Sarisberiensis Ep̄s quantum possint arare vi car-
 “ rucae. Inde habent barones in Dn̄o vi hid. et i virgam et vi car.
 “ Inde h't Ep̄s vi Car. et Rogerus Arundellus iii hid. et i virg. et
 “ Bristuinus Prepositus iii hidas. Et de xl hidis i virg. minus, habet
 “ Rex xii libras, xviii denarios, et i obol. (r) minus. Et de dimidia hida
 “ q̄ tenet Urfo de Arnulfo de Hefdine nunquam hūit Rex. W.
 “ Gildum. Et de dimidia hida q̄ tenet Dedemanus de Comite de
 “ Moritonio non hūit Rex Gildum hoc anno. Sed xii solide prae-
 “ scriptorum q̄ deberent esse redditu ad primum terminum non sunt
 “ redditu usque ad postremum. Exeter MS. p. 294. a.

“ In Somersetscira. In hundredo Cumgresbie sunt xix hide.
 “ Inde habet Rex de gildo suo xiii solidos et vi denarios pro ii hidis
 “ et i virga. Et Rex et barones sui habent in suo dominatu v
 “ hidas et i virgam. De his habet Rex iii hidas et dimidiam in
 “ dominio. Et Ordricus iii virgas et Ordulfus dimidiam hide. Et
 “ Alunardus dimidia hida et pro xi hidis, quas tenent villani Regis
 “ de Cumgresbie, non habet Rex gildum. Et pro dimidia hida,
 “ quam tenent villani de ecclesia Cumgresbieni, non habet Rex
 “ gildum. Lxix solid. restant de hoc hundredo ad persolvendum.”
 p. 4. a.

(q) Wilkins, p. 234.

(r) The words *et i obol.* should be rejected.

In the Inquisitio Geldi for Devenescira. “Et pro 1 hida \bar{q} clamant Fegadri se debere habere per consuetudinem non habuit Rex gildum suum. In hundreto de Tantone — Et pro 1 hida “ q^u tenent et clamant Hundremanni per suam consuetudinem non habuit Rex gildum suum.” Exeter MS. 315. a. There are the like customary allowances of one hide to the Fegadri in most of the hundreds.

By means of these several exemptions the produce of this tax was in the time of the Conqueror greatly diminished.

In Somersethire out of 113 hides of land in Witeftane hundred, p. 1. a. Danegeld was answered to the crown for no more than 50 hides. — Out of 104 hides in Camesham hundred, p. 1. b. for only 50 hides. — In Devonshire out of 25 hides in the hundred of Plintone, p. 316. a. it was paid only for 9 hides 1 virgate. — In Dorsetshire out of $34\frac{1}{2}$ hides in Pimpire hundred, p. 299. a. it was answered only for 13 hides. — In Wiltshire out of 52 hides in Stapla hundred, p. 276. a. it was paid only for 14 hides and half a virgate. And in Cornwall out of 44 hides in Pantone hundred, Danegeld was answered for only 8 hides. p. 305. a.

The rectifying this abuse, and the additional hidage that might reasonably be expected from the improvements and increase of arable lands subsequent to the year 1013, were probably further reasons with William the Conqueror for making his survey.

IV.

Sir Henry Spelman, in his Glossary, p. 177. et 291. and in other places, says, “Misit autem rex Gulielmus, ut auctori mihi sunt. Annales “Waverlienses MS. A°. 1083. regni 16. *Quinque* justitios suos per “unamquamque Scyram, id est, provinciam, Angliae, et inquirere fecit “per jusjurandum quot hidae, id est, jugera uni aratro sufficientia “per annum essent in unaquaque villa, etc.”

In the Annals of Waverley, as published by Dr. Gale, in the Scriptorum Angl. vol. ii. p. 133. the number of the justices or commissioners is not inserted. It is probable however the commissioners

or

or justices, that superintended this service in each county, was not less than the number mentioned by Sir Henry Spelman.

The Liber Wigorniensis hath preserved the names of four of the persons, who acted as commissioners on this occasion in the county of Worcester, and some other counties; they were styled Barones Regis, and sometimes Principes Regis.

Hemingi Cartular. vol. i. p. 288. In treating of the hundred called Oswaldes Lau, belonging to the bishop of Worcester, its customs and privileges adds, that the truth of the account there given, “ Testimonium totius comitatus Wireceastre, dato sacramento juris “ jurandi, firmavit — tempore regis Willielmi senioris, coram “ *principibus ejusdem regis*, Remigio scilicet Lincolnienfi episcopo, et “ comite Waltero Giffardo, et Henrico de Fereris, et Adam fratre “ Eudonis dapiferi regis, qui ad inquirendas et describendas possessiones “ et consuetudines tam regis quam principum suorum, in hac pro- “ vincia et in pluribus aliis, ab ipso rege destinati sunt, eo tempore “ quo Angliam idem rex describi fecit.”

In the same book, p. 75. An agreement made between the bishop of Worcester, and the abbot of Evesham, is attested by “ Remigio “ episcopo et Henrico de Fereris, et Waltero Giffardo, et Adam, regis “ principibus, *qui venerant ad inquirendas terras comitatus.*

V.

The jury, from whose inquiries Domesday-book was formed, were impanelled and sworn for each hundred separately. The extracting and classing the substance of their returns under the general heads of Terra Regis, and of this or that religious house, or great lord, or landholder, was a subsequent work, collected out of the Returns after they were transmitted.

Sir H. Spelman was of opinion that these Inquiries, or, as he calls them, Comitatum enarrationes, were all lost (*r*). I have nevertheless the satisfaction to inform the Society, that this is not

(*r*) Codex legum Veterum, p. 292.

fo: and that, in searching for the Liber Eliensis, I have had the good fortune to discover in the Cotton Library, a MS. copy of the Inquisition of the jury, containing their survey for most of the hundreds in Cambridgeshire. This MS. is written on vellum in double columns, and on both sides of the page. It is bound up with the Liber Eliensis, mentioned by Mr. Selden, in his preface to Eadmerus, and begins at p. 76. a. and ends at p. 113. b. It is written in a very fair but ancient character, not coeval with the Survey, but of about the time of Hen. II. It was given by Mr. Arthur Agard to Sir Robert Cotton, and is marked, Tiberius A. vi. 4. Your Lordship and the Society will be of opinion this is a discovery of importance, and what had escaped the observation of Sir H. Spelman, Mr. Selden, and our other Antiquarians.

A part of this valuable morsel of antiquity is already transcribed, and, in a few weeks, I hope to be able to communicate the whole of it to the Society.

In the mean time, your Lordship will not be displeas'd with the following specimen, being a copy of this inquisition, so far as it relates to the manor of Wimple, the estate of an illustrious member of this Society, the present Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.

“ In hundreto de Werleia — Winepola pro quatuor hidis se
 “ defendit tempore regis Edwardi et modo. Et de his quatuor hidis
 “ tenet comes Alanus duas hidas et dimidiam et dimidiam virgam.
 “ Tribus ê est ibi terra. Una ê et due hide in dominio, et dimidia ê
 “ potest fieri; una ê et dimidia villanis. Duo villani, unus bordarius de
 “ quindecim acris, sex cotarii pratum dimid. Car, duo servi, centum
 “ oves. Inter totum valet septem libras, et quum recepit sex libras,
 “ tempore Regis Edwardi, octo libras. Hanc terram tenuit Ediva
 “ pulchra. Et de his quatuor hidis tenet Humfridus Danslevilla
 “ de Eudone Dapifer unam hidam et unam virgam et dimidiam,
 “ duabus carucis ibi est terra. Ambae carucae in dominio. Unus
 “ villanus, unus servus pratum unius Car, silva ad sepes reficiendas,
 “ centum oves, sex porci, duo runcini, quatuor afini; inter totum valet
 “ centum

“centum solidos, et quum recepit centum solidos, tempore regis
 “Edwardi, centum et decem solidos. Hanc terram tenuit Comes
 “Gurd.” Cotton MS. Tiberius A. vi: 4. p. 109. b. col. 2.

This passage from the Cotton MS. establishes a fact, in which Antiquarians have not been agreed, i. e. how many virges made a hide; since, if two hides and a half and half a virge, and one hide and a virge and a half were equal to four hides, as it appears by this inquisition they were, it follows, that two virges made half a hide, and consequently that four virges were, at the time of the Conqueror's survey, equal to a hide of arable land (s).

The new lights this and the Exeter MS. will throw upon Domesday-book, and upon each other, and the great use they will be of in ascertaining the precise and exact quantity of many of the ancient measures of land, hitherto esteemed incapable of being reduced to any degree of certainty, I shall reserve for a future paper I intend to have the honor to submit to the Society.

P. C. W.

Great Queen-street,
 2 March, 1756.

(s) The like conclusion may be drawn from the Extracts, p. 23. from the Exeter MS.

A D D E N D A.

SECT. 3. p. 5. Holingshed, in his Chronicle, vol. i. p. 239. A^o. 991. speaking of the first tribute of 10,000 l. paid to the Danes, says, “ This money was called Danegylt, or Dane money, “ and was levyed of the people. Although others take that to bee “ Danegylte, whiche was gyuen unto fuche Danes as king Egelred “ afterwardes reteyned in his seruice to defende the lande from other “ Danes and enimyces that sought to inuade his dominions.”

Dr. Brady, in his Treatise of Boroughs, appendix, page 8. describes Danegeld to be “ a *tax*, or money paid, and *imposed*, and “ levied for *defence* of the *nation* against the *Danes*, or rather an “ annual *tribute* paid to them, that they might *abstain* from *rapine*, “ *burning*, and *slaughter*.” See also his history of England, fol. 123.

Mr. Echard, in his history of England, book i. c. iv. p. 99. A^o. 1012. says, “ It appears from the *Saxon laws*, that besides the pay- “ ment of 48,000 l. it was *this year* resolved that a yearly payment “ should be made called *Danegeld*, that is, twelve pence upon every “ hide of land in the nation, for the subsistence of those who were “ to hinder the irruptions of the *Danes* and other pirates; which tax “ continued for about thirty eight years, till it was remitted by “ Edward the Confessor. So that there was two sorts of *Danegeld*; “ the former those five occasional sums formerly recited; the latter “ that continued tax last mentioned. But both sorts alike contributed “ to the ends for which they were paid.”

The Saxon law alluded to by Mr. Echard, is the law De Danegeldo, mentioned page 15. to be *interpolated* in the time of Hen. II. among those ascribed to Edward the Confessor.

SECT. 5. p. 8. Among the Anglo-Saxon laws of Ethelred, published by Lambard in his Archaionomia, there is a treaty supposed to
have

have been made by Ethelred with the Danish army commanded by Anlaf, Justin, and Guthmund, the three Danish generals who invaded England, A°. 991. The tribute of 22,000 l. agreed to be paid to the Danes by this treaty is not reconcileable to what passed at that period.

But if the treaty, printed by Mr. Lambard, be considered not as that made in 991. but as a renewal in 1012. of what Ethelred possibly promised in 991. but had not performed before 1012. it will account for the different commencements our historians give to the tax in question.

Several expressions in the treaty seem to countenance this opinion.

“ Foedus, quod *olim* Ethelredus rex *cum exercitu* Anlavi, Justinī,
“ et Guthmundi Stegeti filii ex sapientum suorum consilio ferit.

“ 1. Imprimis, mundanae pacis *foedus* Ethelredo regi ac omni
“ populo cum exercitu illo, cui pecuniam rex erogavit, stabile ratum-
“ que esto, *ad formulam pactionis* a Sigericio archiepiscopo, Aethel-
“ vardo, et Aelfrico, senatoribus factae, cum *primo* impetrarunt a rege
“ ut *illi* terrae portiunculae, quam sub eo *gubernabant*, pacem *eis* pretio
“ *conciliare* liceret. Siquis igitur posthac navalis apparatus in Angliam
“ *praedam* fecerit, hic nobis auxilium ferat *exercitus*, nosque *ei*
“ (quamdiu in fide manserit) quae ad com meatum suppeditent para-
“ bimus omnia : atque si cum iis qui in Anglia fuerint praedati pacem
“ fecerit, extera natio aliqua nobis atque exercitui cum ea inimicitiae
“ intercedunto.”

“ 8. — Datis quidem exercitui auri et argenti viginti duobus
“ millibus pondo, pacem Angli impetrarunt.”

The *reference* to the formula of the peace made by the archbishop, Aethelwald, and Aelfric [which was concluded A°. 991.] seems to imply that this treaty was made *subsequent* to that time. — The first article begins with a *renewal* of peace between the Danes and the English. — It speaks of the transaction [which happened in 991.] as a thing passed, the terms of which, Ethelred esteemed so very dishonourable, that he recites it not as a treaty he had entered into
himself.

himself, but as a *licence* granted by him to the archbishop and the other two lords, to make peace with the Danes for protecting *their own particular estates*. — “ Ad formulam pactionis a Sigericio “ archiepiscopo, Aethelwardo et Aelfrico facta, cum *primo* impe- “ trarunt a rege, ut *illi* terrae portiunculæ, quam sub eo governa- “ bant, pacem *eis* pretio conciliare *liceret*.”

Ethelred, by the words of this part of the treaty, intended probably to have it understood, that Siricus and his colleagues made the treaty of 991. except as to what concerned their *own* particular estates, *without his authority*: The next expression, — “ quamdiu “ in fide manserit,” — appears to allude to the Danes breach of treaties subsequent to the year 991.

The Latin translations of this treaty, in Brompton and Wilkins, differ materially in several particulars from each other, and from that published by Lambard. By comparing them together, and with the Saxon original, the Society will determine whether my conjectures are well founded or not.

Ðis gýnd ða fríþ mal. 7 ða forþorþ ðe Æþelred Lýnꝰ. 7 ealle his wítan wíð ðone hefe gædon habbaþ. ðe Anlaf. 7 Jurtin. 7 Lufmund stegetan sunu mid wæron:

1. Ðæt ænorc. þ þoruld fríð stande betweoxe Æþelrede Lýnning. 7 eallum his leodwice. 7 eallum ðam hefe ðe se Lýnꝰ þ feoh wealde. æfter ðam formalan ðe Sigeric Arcebiscop. 7 Æþelpearð Ealdorman. 7 Ælfric Ealdorman worhton. Ða hi abædon æt þam Lýnꝰe þ hý mor-ton ðam læppan frýþ gebicgean. ðe hi under Lýnꝰes hand ofer hæfdon: 7 gif ænig sciphefe on Englalande hergic. þ se hæbban heora ealra fultum. 7 se him sculon mete findan. Ðahwile ðe hý mid us beoþ: And ælc ðæra landa ðe ænigne fríþige ðæra ðe Englaland hergic. beo hit utlah wíð us. 7 wíð ealne hefe:

8. — Tpa 7 tpeniꝰ ðurenþ punða goldeþ. 7 weolfeþ. mon gerealde ðam hefe of Ænglalande wíð fríþe: Wilkins, p. 104, 105.

Brompton's translation. " Haec sunt verba pacis et praelocutiones, quas Ethelredus rex et omnes sapientes ejus *cum exercitu* firmaverunt, qui cum Analavo, et Justino, et Gudaermundo Stegiani filio venit.

" 1. Hoc imprimis, ut pax mundi stet inter Ethelredum regem et omnem populum ejus, et omnem exercitum cui rex pecuniam suam dedit, post elocutiones quas Sigericus Archiepiscopus et Ethelredus Aldermannus, et Ealfricus Aldermannus fecerunt, postquam impetraverunt a rege quod possent illis portiunculae pacem emere quam sub manu regis semper habebant. Si navalis exercitus Angliam infestet, ut habeamus eorum omne auxilium, et ministrabimus eis victum quamdiu nobiscum erunt. Et omnis terra quae aliquem eorum manuteneat qui Angliam inquietant, sit exlex apud nos et omnem exercitum."

" 8. — Viginti millia librarum auri et argenti data fuerunt exercitui *de Anglia* pro pace (a)."

Dr. Wilkins's translation. " Hoc est foedus et pactum, quod Aethelredus rex et Sapientes *cum exercitu illo* fecerunt, qui cum Anlavo et Justino et Guthmundo Stegetani filio erant.

" 1. Primum, ut mundana pax consistat inter Aethelredum regem et omnem ejus populum, et exercitum illum omnem cui rex pecuniam dedit post pactiones quas Sigericus archiepiscopus et Aethelwardus et Aelfricus senatores fecerunt, cum impetrarent a rege, ut possent pacem emere illi parti terrae, quam sub regis imperio gubernabant. Et si quis navalis exercitus Angliam infestaret, ut habeamus eorum omnium auxilium, et nos ei debeamus alimenta parare quamdiu nobiscum est. Et quaelibet regio, quae pacem aliquam feriat cum iis qui Angliam infestant, sit exlex apud nos et apud totum exercitum.

" 8. — xxii millia librarum auri et argenti data sunt exercitui *Anglico* pro pace (b)."

(a) Brompton, inter Decem Scriptores, vol. i. p. 899.

(b) Wilkins Leges Angl. Saxon. p. 104.

Each of these three translations appear to be incorrect in many particulars.

Sect. 9. and 10. p. 14. Peter Langtoft, A^o. 1013. p. 44. thus describes the distresses occasioned by this tax.

Now comes Suane eft ageyn with Criste's malison,
 he lond leid to tallage so mykelle on ilk a toun,
 hat noþer erle no baron of alle þer heritage
 Myght not lyue þer on, to gif þer tallage.

And page 54.

Hardeknout did charge þe lond in suilk treuwage,
 hat noþer erle no barone myght lyue for tallage.

Peter Langtoft, in his Chronicle, p. 57. says, this tax was abolished by Edward the Confessor, in consequence of a treaty made between him and the king of Denmark.

Eft Suane, þe Danes kyng, his lond did underfonge,
 & eft untill Edward Suane sent ageyn,
 & prayed him bituex þam þe pes wer certeyn.
 Edward him granted, opon suilk a wise,
 hat neuer þe Dangle for ne non of hise,
 Suld be chalenged for man of Danes lond,
 & Suane, kyng of Danmark, to hat conant him bond.
 þus was þe pes granted with skrite on boþe sides,
 & þe Danes gilde forgyuen, hat neuer eft bitides.

Sect. 13. p. 19. Reg. prioratus de Dunstaple, p. 97. A^o. 1220.
 “ Eodem anno mense Septembri positum est Caruagium per totum
 “ regnum ad opus domini regis. A quo archiepiscopi et episcopi, et
 “ omnes clerici, et omnes viri religiosi *et eorum rustici quieti fuerunt.*
 “ Verumtamen episcopi per suas dioceses collegerunt auxilium ad
 “ opus domini regis ab abbatibus et prioribus, per liberam voluntatem
 “ eorum: et tunc domus de Dunstaple solvit tres marcas.”

Eodem anno [1224.] p. 145. “ Rex obsedit Bedfordiam, in cujus
 “ auxilium venit Cantuariensis archiepiscopus cum episcopis et abbati-
 “ bus

“ bus suffraganeis: et insuper concesserunt ei caruagium, scilicet
“ *dimidiam marcā* de singulis carucis *dominicis*, et duos solidos de
“ singulis carucis tenentium suorum; et duos operarios de singulis
“ hydīs ad machinas exercendas. Sed, ne hoc traheretur alias in
“ servitūtem, dominus rex fecit eis cartas de futuri temporis immu-
“ nitate.” Vide Rot. Pat. 8 Hen. III. Auxilium regi concessum per
clerum Anglie contra Fulk de Breaut inimicum suum, qui Castrum
de Bedford contra regem muniri fecit. *m.* 3.



ERRATA and ADDENDA.

PAGE 1. the last line but 3. dele *Gale*, and insert *Agard*.

1. Mr. Arthur Agard, from an entry in the book of Dunstaple (*a*), supposes the number of hides to be much less, than what Mr. Tate, Sir Henry Spelman, and Mr. Camden mention. The numbers in the book of Dunstaple are not to be relied upon. To mention one only of many reasons that occur in support of that opinion, they state the number of hides in the whole division of *Danelaga*, which comprehends eighteen of the 32 shires, to be only 3200, which must be greatly too low. The author, however, thought it unnecessary to enter further, than he had done, into that subject at present; as from the perusal of the Domesday record, the exact number of hides may with precision be ascertained.

2. An additional evidence that the *first* payments to the Danes were only *occasional*, and not *annual*, or raised by the annual land-tax properly called Danegeld on the subject, may be collected from a charter of Ethelred to the abbey of St. Alban's, dated A. 1006. printed in the additions to Matth. Paris, p. 242. which mentions that Ethelred borrowed 200l. of abbot Leofric, on a mortgage of lands towards raising money to pay the Danes [“ Quando illud grave vectigal Danis exsolvebamus.”] Ingulphus, p. 55. and other writers have passages of the like tendency.

3. Mr. Prynne, and Mr. Lambard, have adopted the mistake, that these first payments were *stated* and *annual*.

Mr. Prynne, in his Vindication, Vol. i. p. 292. says, “ Ethelred purchased his peace with the Danes, by an *annual* tribute of Danegeld, augmented by degrees, from 10,000 to 48,000 l. a *year*, and that by the ill counsel of Siricus.”

(*a*) Hearne's Collection of Curious Discourses, p. 72. and Append. Regist. Honoris de Richmond, p. 9.

It appears from Steph. Birchington's list of the archbishops of Canterbury, published in Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. i. p. 4. that Siricus, from this transaction, obtained the surname of *Danegeld*.

Mr. Lambard, in his *Perambulation of Kent*, p. 135. varies in the account, but as to this point is as much mistaken as Mr. Prynne. He says, "Ethelred charged his people with importable tributes; that he first gave the Danes, at five several payes, 113,000 l. and afterwards promised them 48,000 l. *yearly*." And p. 431. he says, "The Danes received, besides daily victual, 48,000 l. in ready coin, of the subjects of this realm, while their king Swein lived; and 21,000 l. after his death, under his son Canutus."

4. Leland, in his *Collectanea*, Vol. i. hath two passages which have conduced to propagate this mistake, p. 260. — "Siricus archiepiscopus Cantuar. qui Dunstano successit, autor fuit ut vectigal *annuum* decem mil. librarum Danis penderetur."

P. 111. — "Tributum, quod Angli Danis *annuatim* dabant, auctum ad septuaginta duo millia librarum, et eo amplius, *per annum* (b), et sine hoc quod de Londonia dabatur, undecim millia librarum. Tunc qui habuerunt ad tantum tributum solvendum, dabant. Qui non habuerunt, terras et possessiones et alias res irrecuperabiliter perdiderunt. Unde factum est ut Ecclesia de Burch, et aliae multae, multa perdiderint."

Page 29. of the Addenda, dele the word *Anlaf*, and the word *three*.

5. The *title* of the treaty, mentioned in the Addenda, p. 29. appears to be mistaken, and affords a further objection against the treaty itself. The army of Danes that made the descent in 991. when this treaty is supposed to be concluded, by the advice of Siricus, Ethelward, and Alfric, was commanded by Justin and Guthmund, two Danish generals; and not by *Anlaf*, who was king of Norway. *Anlaf's* descent was not till A°. 993. and 994. as the

(b) Vide Hugonis Candidi Coenobii Burgenfis Historia, p. 41. from whence Leland transcribed this passage.

Saxon Chronicle, and all our historians agree. This fact is not reconcilable with the treaty, which is supposed to be made with an army commanded jointly by Anlaf, Justin, and Guthmund.

6. The Saxon Chronicle is mistaken with respect to this period
 “ A°. 991. p. 126. (without naming Justin or Guthmund, or saying
 “ who commanded the Danish army) hoc anno devastabatur Gip-
 “ piwic, et brevi postea fuit Brihtnothus dux interfectus apud Maeld-
 “ dune.” — A°. 993. p. 127. “ Hoc anno venit Unlafus cum XCIII
 “ navibus ad Stane — inde ad Maeldune, ubi adversum eos venit
 “ Byrthnothus dux cum suis copiis, cumque iis depugnabat; verum
 “ ducem istum ibi interfecerunt, et loco stragis dominati sunt,
 “ paxque cum iis facta est, ac eum postea rex in consecratione
 “ suscepit, etc.”

It is not pretended that there were two battles fought at Maeldune, one in 991. the other in 993. or that the Brihtnothus mentioned A°. 991. and the Byrthnothus mentioned A°. 993. are not the same person. It appears, therefore, difficult to account how a person killed in 991. could fight and be killed again in 993.

9. Alured of Beverley, in his Annals, describes the unhappy situation England was in during the reign of king Ethelred in the following words:

“ Quo regnante [Agelredo] totius Angliae status quam variabilis
 “ tam miserabilis extitit. Siquidem Dani, Norwegenses, atque aliae
 “ exterae nationes, qui à tempore gloriosi regis Adelstani, usque ad
 “ tempus istius Agelredi per annos circiter L. ab Anglia abstinerant,
 “ regnante eo reversi, totam fere Angliam in desolationem adduxerunt.
 “ Adversus quos quociens rex Agelredus dimicaturus erat, tociens
 “ Angli aut ducum suorum, qui ex paterno genere Dani erant, dolis
 “ circumventi, aut aliquo infortunio impediti, hostibus victoriam
 “ dederunt. Unde rex Agelredus quos ferro nequibat, eos *argento*
 “ repellere temptavit. Consilio enim Sirici Doroborensis archiepiscopi,
 “ et ducum Angliae, ut à rapinis, cremacionibus, et hominum caedibus
 “ abstinerent, rex Agelredus cum Danis tributa reddendo *foedera pacis*
 “ iniit. Sed ipsi Danica perfidia pejora prioribus addentes, *condiciones*
 “ *pacis*

“ *pacis* femper praevaricati sunt. Primo tributum x millium librarum
 “ perfolutum est. Secundo xvi millium librarum. III. xxiiii mil-
 “ lium librarum. IIII. xxxvi millium librarum. quinto XLVIII mil-
 “ lium librarum. Summa centum xxxiiii millium librarum. Et
 “ cum tanta pecunia eſſet perfoluta, Dani aliquantiſper quieſcentes
 “ ſtimulante avaricia rurfus ad regni vaſtacionem reverſi ſunt. Jam
 “ vero per omnes provincias agris vaſtatis, villis praedatis, civitatibus
 “ crematis, eccleſiis ſpoliatis, clericorum et monachorum aliis ferro
 “ jugulatis, aliis flammis conſumptis, aliis de muris praecipitatis, aliis
 “ ſuſpenſis, matronis cruribus per plateas diſtractis, et demum ignibus
 “ injectis parvulis à matrum uberibus avulſis, aut lanceis exceptis, aut
 “ ſuperacto carro minutatim contritis, Sancto eciam Alfego archiepif-
 “ copo martirizato, et monachis ſuis cum populo decimatim occiſis,
 “ quorum ſumma fuit IIII *monachi* (c) et octingenti viri, ad ultimum
 “ tota fere Anglia praeter Lundonias, ubi rex Agelredus morabatur,
 “ Danorum regi Suano manus dedit. Ipi vero Lundonienses obſides
 “ illi mittentes pacem cum eo fecerunt. Quod cernens rex Ageldredus
 “ reginam Emmam, filiam ducis Normannorum Ricardi primi, ad
 “ fratrem ſuum ſecundum Ricardum comitem Normannorum miſit,
 “ et cum ea filios ſuos Edwardum et Alueredum cum magiſtro illorum
 “ Lundoniensi epifcopo Alwino, et Eliſio abbate de Burch miſit.
 “ Ipſe eciam eos ſecutus Normanniam advehitur.” Aluredi Beverla-
 cenſis Annal. lib. viii. p. 114.

(c) *Lege Mille.*



A N
A C C O U N T
O F A
C O P P E R T A B L E:

C O N T A I N I N G

T W O I N S C R I P T I O N S,

In the G R E E K and L A T I N T O N G U E S.

Discovered in the Year 1732,

N E A R

HERACLEA, in the B A Y of T A R E N T U M,
in M A G N A G R A E C I A:

By PHILIP CARTERET WEBB Esquire, FELLOW of the
ROYAL and ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETIES of LONDON.

Read at a Meeting of the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES of LONDON,
the 13 *December* 1759; and ordered to be printed.

L O N D O N,
Printed in the YEAR MDCCLX.

My Lord WILLOUGHBY of *Parham*,

THE Society, with their usual candour, will, I hope, forgive my trespassing on their time, for a few minutes.

The Commentaries of Mazochius (*a*) upon two large Tables of Copper discovered in the kingdom of Naples, in the year 1732, near Heraclea a town of Magna Graecia, which this Society received the 8th November 1759, from Don Francisco Valetta, Secretary to the Society for illustrating the Antiquities found at *Herculaneum*, merit the Society's serious attention: and we are greatly indebted to Mr. Valetta and Mr. Hollis, two of our body, by whose means this very valuable present was conveyed to the Society.

The respectable antiquity of the Tables, and the importance of the Inscriptions upon them which are the object of Mazochius's work, intitle them to the first place among any Greek or Roman antiquities of this kind hitherto discovered.

The first and most important of the Tables, is *broken into* two; the *first* piece of which is in England, the other is at Naples. It contains on one side a Greek Inscription, relating to lands sacred to Bacchus; on the other side is a Latin Inscription, containing part of a pandect or digest of Roman municipal laws.

(*a*) In folio, in two parts, containing 600 pages, besides the plates. Printed at Naples, in 1754 and 1755, and published in September 1758.

The second Table, which is at Naples, is engraved on one side only, and contains a Greek Inscription relating to lands belonging to the temple of Minerva, nearly of the same antiquity with the first. This Inscription is imperfect, the Table being mutilated, and broken off at the lower end.

Mazochius in this work, hath in several plates, given exact copies of the Greek and Latin Inscriptions of that part of these Tables which is at Naples, made with surprising care and exactness (*b*). The Possessor of the British Table wishes Mazochius had had the like opportunity of copying, with the same exactness, that part which is in Britain.

Both these Tables were discovered in the year 1732, near Heraclia in the Bay of Tarentum, in the Magna Graecia. The first part of the first Table, soon after its being discovered, was carried to Rome, and purchased there at a great price [*caro emptum* (*c*)] by Franciscus Ficoronius, a celebrated Antiquarian of that country. In 1735, it was brought *by an Italian* into England, and sold *there* by him, to Brian Fairfax Esquire, a commissioner of the customs, a lover of antiquities, and Fellow of this learned Society (*d*); soon after his death, it was purchased, by me, of his executors.

Mr. Mattaire, in the year 1736, published the Greek and Latin Inscriptions on Mr. Fairfax's Table, accompanied with a Commentary purely grammatical, which, it must be confessed, does no greater honour to the Table, than to the Grammarian.

Mattaire, in his preface to the Reader, says he had engraved a few Lines of each Inscription. “*Ex quo specimine literarum figura et proportio facilius aestimetur.*” Upon comparing Mattaire's Plate with the Table, it appears, the size or proportion of the letters are not observed, and their form often mistaken. I have therefore, for the satisfaction of the curious, in the annexed plates N^o. 1 and N^o. 2, exhibited a *fac-simile* copy of a few of the first lines of both Inscriptions, of the exact size and form with the original.

(*b*) Mazoch. Prolog. c. v, vi. p. 5, 6.

(*c*) Mazoch. p. 4.

(*d*) Mazochius, p. 3, says, Mr. Fairfax bought it in Italy, and, on his return to England, carried it thither.—Mr. Fairfax never was in Italy.

In 1738, Franciscus Carolus Conradus a Civilian, republished these Inscriptions at Helmstad, with a long Commentary on the Roman Inscription. — Scipio Maffei soon after published it in the third Tome of his *Observation. Literar.* — and in 1740, the learned Muratorius inserted an *Exemplar* of both the Latin and Greek Inscriptions, which he had obtained from Ficoronius while the Table was in his possession, in the *Tomus Alter* of his *Thesaurus Inscriptionum*, p. 582 (e).

The Greek and Roman Inscriptions on such of the Tables as are at Naples, are now *first* correctly published by Mazochius, in the work which is so often commended in the present paper. The Neapolitan Tables were about the year 1748, purchased by his excellency *Carolus Guevara*, late minister of the king of Naples at the court of Portugal: Mr. Guevara with the assistance of Mazochius, and with an application as remarkable as laudable, made an exact and *fac-simile* copy of both the Neapolitan Tables. “ Quovis deposito pignore decer-
“ tamus, nusquam aliter, quam quo modo in impressis prelo tabulis
“ exhibetur, in aere scriptum, idque non modo litera sed ne apice mi-
“ nus” (f). Mr. Guevara afterwards presented the original Tables to the king of Naples, in whose collection they are now deposited, among the antiquities discovered in Herculaneum.

The thickness of the Tables at Naples is about one third of an inch, the breadth 15 inches (g).

Mattaire in the preface to his Reader, by an inattention not easy to be accounted for, says, Mr. Fairfax’s Table was near *an inch thick*, and one foot and an half, i. e. 18 inches *wide*. His words are “ Tabulam ex aere, (si recte conjicio) Corinthio, (which is a mistake, “ it being of fine copper) Pollicis fere *crassitudine*, longitudine pedum “ *duorum et dimidii*, unius et *dimidii latitudine*.” — Whereas its exact length is one foot, eleven inches and $\frac{1}{3}$, and its thickness and breadth

(e) Mazoch. p. 4.

(f) Mazoch. p. 5, 6, 7.

(g) Mazochius, p. 2, says, the Neapolitan Table, of which the British is a part, is *one* Neapolitan palm, and something more than *five* inches wide, and about one third of an inch thick.

are exactly the same, as the thickness and breadth of the Table at Naples (*b*).

This strange misrepresentation of the thickness and breadth of the *British* Table, so different from that of the *Neapolitan*, of which Mazochius, from *internal* evidence, was convinced it was originally a *part*, necessarily put the learned Neapolitan under very *great difficulties*.

He at first (p. 166. note 2.) endeavoured to account for this difference from the *different* growth of metals, *vegetatione metallorum*, and therefore supposes, that the *different parts* of the *first* Table, having for so many ages laid buried in strata of *different qualities*, “ *diversimode vegetasse, eaque gratia nunc demum non posse con-
gruere.*” — Not satisfied with this philosophy, he, with more propriety, suspected that Mattaire’s description might not be correct; and therefore calls upon the English Antiquarians to compare their Table with the account he had given of those at Naples, and to communicate the result of that comparison to the Literati at Naples. “ *Verum cum quas Tabulas hic aere expressas habes, eae ne latum quidem capillum a modulis ipsius monumenti differant (nisi quantum ex chartae madefactae primum, deinde exsiccatae, vicibus accidere variationis potuit) liberum Britannis eruditissimis erit, excussum Tabulae exemplum, quod hic repraesentavimus, cum aere suo comparare, ac pro sua humanitate, ecquid deprehensum fuerit, Neapolim nuntiare*” (*i*). This request I have endeavoured to comply with.

The Letters of the Greek Inscription, and several of the Roman are of that kind which Antiquarians call *Gemmatae*; they appear thicker or deeper at each *end*, than in the intermediate parts, owing to the manner in which they were cut or engraved, i. e. by first making a large dot at the extreme parts of the letter, and

(*b*) The exact *breadth* of the Neapolitan Table is ascertained by the *breadth* of Mazoch. Tab. I. Seg. 1, 2, 3. p. 252. So that after the care Mazochius mentions, p. 166, to have been used in taking off the exemplar of the Neapolitan Table, there cannot remain the least doubt of both parts of the Table being of the same *breadth*. This makes it unnecessary to reduce the Roman or Neapolitan palm to the foot of Great Britain, which might be liable to mistake and uncertainty.

(*i*) Mazoch. p. 166. n. (2).

then

then joining those dots by a line, not so deep, with the help of a straight ruler. — Instances of this sort of letters occur frequently on the coins of Philip of Macedon, and some of the Syrian and Aegyptian kings (*k*). The care and accuracy of the engraver of the Greek Inscriptions is so remarkable, “ut raro et vix usquam sculptoris viriculum quam levissime ab orthographia aberraverit.” The same cannot be said of the Latin part, which abounds with the engraver’s mistakes (*l*).

The aera or date of the Greek Inscriptions on these Tables, Mazochius, by a deduction which appears to be conclusive, ascertains to be about the 430th year of Rome; i. e. more than 300 years before the birth of Christ (*m*). This gives an antiquity to the Greek Inscription of more than 2060 years. The date of the Roman Inscription he fixes to be near about the time of passing the *Plotian* or *Julian* law, a period very interesting to the Roman Colonies: this was about the year of Rome 663, or 665, something more than 80 years before the Christian aera (*n*).

The *form* of several of the Greek characters on both Tables, is *singular* and *unusual*; differing remarkably from the most ancient Greek characters hitherto discovered: the two letters \vdash or \sqsubset , Mazochius says, do not occur in any other ancient Inscription, save that the aspirate \vdash is to be seen on an ancient vase of Terra Cotta, in the collection of Felix Mastrillus, a man of quality at Nola, and on some coins of Heraclea, and other Greek colonies, situated on each side of the coast of Italy (*o*).

Mazochius (in a plate inserted p. 124.) hath exhibited the figures and shape of such of the letters in these Inscriptions, as differ from other ancient or modern Greek letters: a copy of this, for the satisfaction of persons who may not have an opportunity to peruse Mazochius’s work, I have annexed in the Plate N^o. 3.

(*k*) Mazoch. p. 123.

(*l*) Mazoch. p. 136.

(*m*) Mazoch. p. 133, 134.

(*n*) Mazoch. p. 382. and p. 488, to 493.

(*o*) Mazoch. p. 7. and p. 122. § 2. and p. 126, to p. 130. and p. 112. note (82.)

The Greek Inscription of this Table is in the Doric dialect, and gives an account of the *dimensions, mensurations, and terms of leasing*, of a large territory of land belonging to the god Dionysius, or Bacchus, part of which had been encroached upon and taken from the temple, by private persons; which, by means of this survey and admeasurement, was recovered back.—The Inscription on the other Table, which, by the names of the public officers, appears to be of nearly the same antiquity, is of the same nature, relative to lands the property of the temple of Minerva — (*p*).

I should intrude too much on the Society's time, were I to attempt to enumerate the many new and surprising helps these Inscriptions furnish for explaining the Grecian antiquity; the discovery of new towns, the forms of new letters, new words and terms of art, the names of office of new magistrates, are only a few among many other interesting particulars, which a careful inspection of these Greek Inscriptions and Mazochius's learned commentary will afford to the curious (*q*).

The Latin Inscription on the back of the first Table appears to be a part of a pandect or collection of the Laws, by which the municipals, or Romans who lived out of Rome, governed themselves; it is not complete: The rest of the pandect was probably contained in some other Tables not yet discovered.

All the ancient Tables or Laminæ of laws, that have been discovered before the present, are, in their nature, confined to one *single law* each; and Mazochius with great reason asserts, that this Table, which contains a part of the pandect of the municipal law, affords more real lights to the knowledge of antiquities than can be collected from all the Tables of Roman laws published by Sigonius, or any that have followed him (*r*). Of this, in the course of his commentary, he has given the most ample and interesting proofs, which justifies the veneration and opinion Mazochius, in several parts of his work,

(*p*) Mazoch. p. 140, 141. (*q*) Mazoch. p. 141. (*r*) Mazoch. p. 290, 291.

expresses for these Tables; that they are, *auro contra non cara, & quovis principe potentissimo digna* (s).

Mr. Guevara upon his becoming possessed of the *Neapolitan* Tables, was desirous of adding the *British* Table to them; and with that view, in the year 1753, he proposed to the present possessor to purchase it. This proposition was not then complied with, the present proprietor intending that this venerable remain of remote antiquity should never go out of Great Britain; he however then *offered* to let an exact or *fac-simile* exemplar be taken of it, in order that it might be published with the others at Naples. The not attending to this offer renders the work of Mazochius less complete and perfect than it might have been, if an accurate copy of the Inscriptions on the *British* Table, *in the original characters*, had been inserted in it.

It appearing, from what Mazochius mentions p. 166. and p. 385. that he was possessed of an apograph of the *British* Table, I expected to have found it engraved among his other plates, and suspected it's not being in the copy sent to the Society might be the error of the binder; Mazochius's words are, "*Specimen scripturae antiquae a Mattaire exhibitum praetermissi, quippe lectori supervacaneum; cui integras Tabulas Heracleenses quam exactissime ad aera autographa, in aes incisas, suis singulis locis contemplari licebit*" (t). But whatever Mazochius might, in 1753 or 1754 (when he wrote the passage last quoted, and about which time the offer for purchasing the *British* Table was making) intend or hope to do with respect to the publishing an exact copy of the Inscriptions on that Table; it appears, from the bookseller's advertisement relating to Mazochius's work, published in Sept. 1758, that the eight large plates inserted in the work, contained copies of the *Neapolitan* Tables only. "*Idem opus Tabulis pluribus in aere incisus instruitur: Inter has vero illae octo maximae tabulae quae aera ipsa, a sum-*

(s) Mazoch. p. 5. § 11. I had omitted, in the description of the Tables, their weight.—The *British* Table weighs 57 Roman pounds, the *Neapolitan* part of the same Table weighs 112 Roman pounds, and the *second* *Neapolitan* Table weighs 107 Roman pounds. Mazoch. p. 4.

(t) Mazoch. p. 144.

“ mo ad imum *pari* prorsus *literarum dimensione formaque*, ad vivum
 “ exhibent, quantilibet pretii sunt.” — Now the *eight* large plates,
 which are of the same breadth as the Tables, relate only to those
 Tables that are at Naples.

But since Mr. Guevara's Tables came into the royal Neapolitan
 collection, his Neapolitan majesty now king of Spain, having ex-
 pressed to his excellency Sir James Gray, his Britannic majesty's envoy
 and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Naples, a desire of add-
 ing the British Table to the others in his collection; the present possessor
 thought *it not decent* for him, whatever regard and affection he had for
 this Table, to refuse to comply with the wishes of so great a prince,
 and so eminent a patron and encourager of the liberal arts; to whom
 literature, and particularly those who cultivate the study of *antiqui-*
ties are so greatly and essentially indebted. I therefore in *September*
last, by the intervention of *Sir James Gray*, made an offer of present-
 ing the British Table to his Neapolitan majesty, now king of Spain;
 into whose possession it will be very soon delivered (*u*).

Your Lordship, and the Society, over which you with so much
 honour preside, will pardon the length of this paper; the singula-
 rity and importance of the subject, and the extreme scarcity of Ma-
 zochias's book, will, I flatter myself, plead my excuse.

PHILIP CARTERET WEBB.

Great QUEEN STREET,
 6 December, 1759.

(*u*) El Duque de Lofada having, in a letter from Zaragossa, dated 15 November
 1759, signified his Catholic majesty's royal acceptance of the Table, it was on the
 12th March, 1760, delivered to the Neapolitan minister in London, in order to its
 being sent to Naples, to be deposited in the king's royal collection of antiquities there.

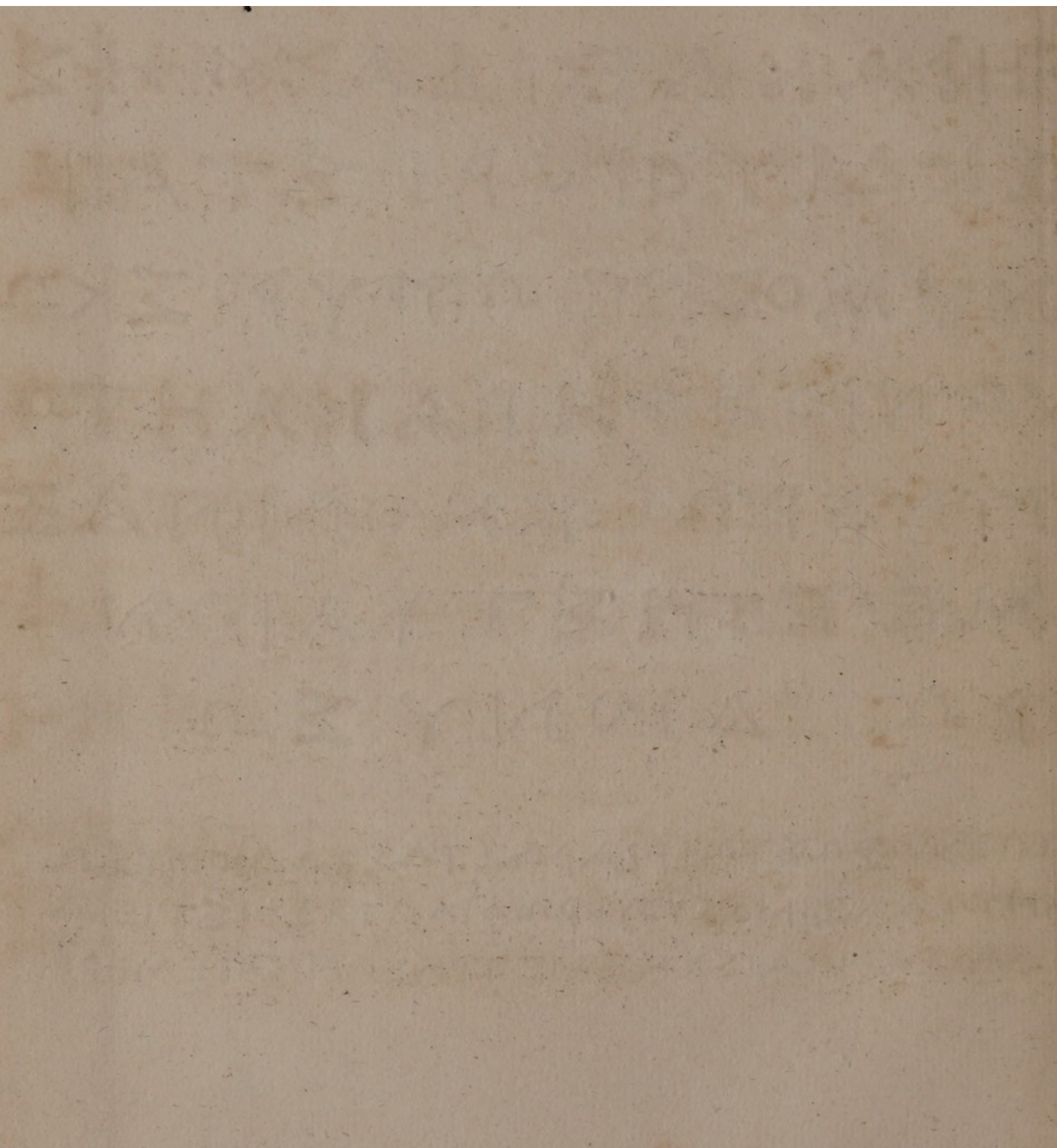
F I N I S.

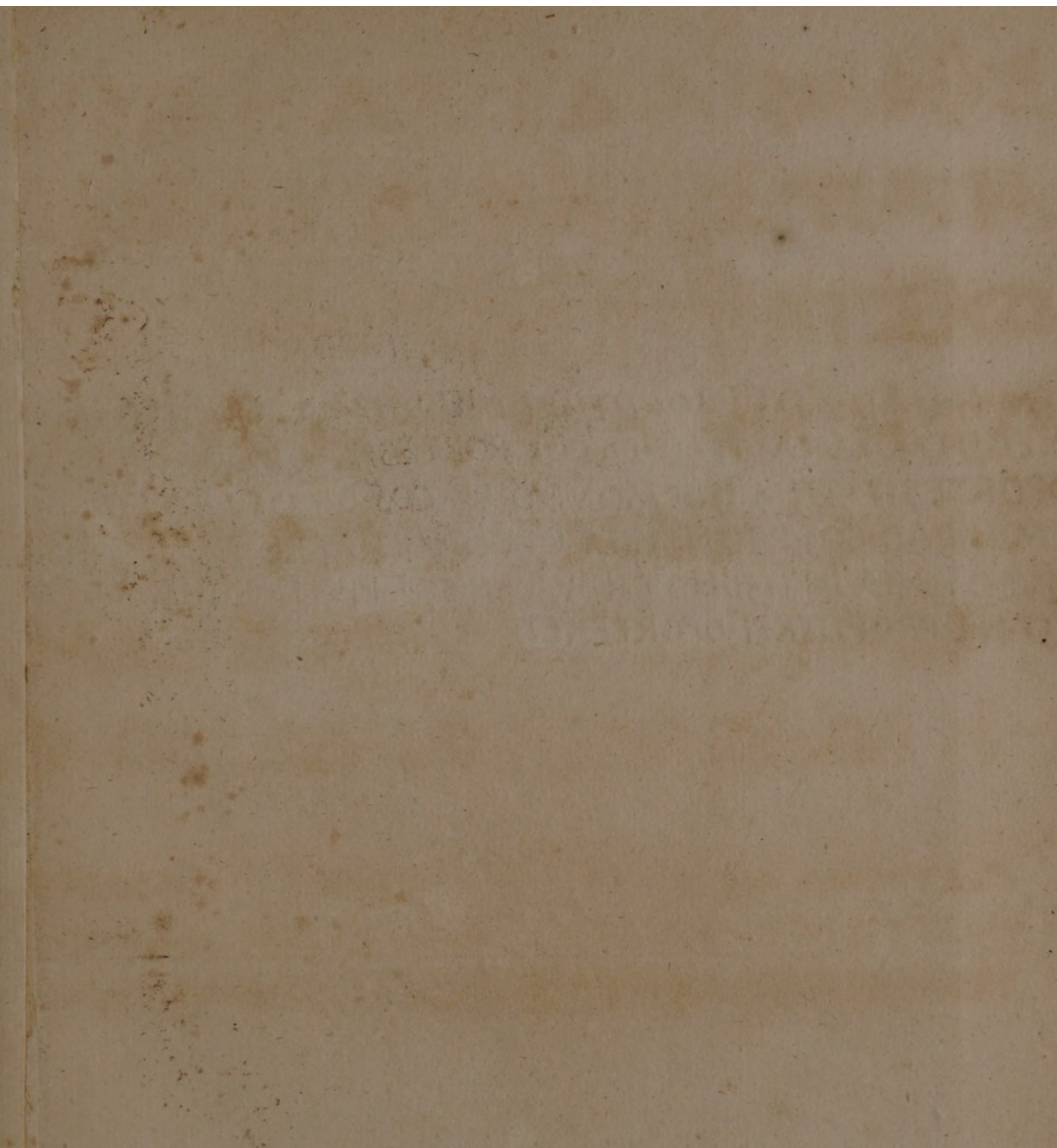
ΕΦΘΡΟΣΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΣ
ΑΠΕΛΛΑΙΟΣΤΑΠΟΛ
ΣΕ ΤΡΙΤΤΟΥΣ ΦΙΛ
ΠΕ ΚΑΡΥΚΕΙΟΝ ΑΠΟΛ
ΑΙ ΠΕΛΤΑ ΔΑΪΙΜΟΣ
ΦΙΛΩΤΑΣΤΙΣΤΙΕΙΩ
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΑΣΙΩΠ

ΑΝΕΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΟΙΟΡΙΣΤΛΙΤΟΙ ΗΑΙΡΕΘΕΝ ΤΕΣ ΕΤ
ΦΙΛΩΝΥΜΟΣΙΩΠΤΥΡΙΣΚΛΑΤΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΗΡΑ
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΑΣΙΩΠΤΥΡΩΚΑΘΑ ΕΙΞΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΤ

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΑΜΗΣ
 ΣΚΑΙΤΟΙΟΡΙΣΤΑΙ
 ΝΥΜΟΣΙΩΠΤΥΡΙΣΚΩ
 ΛΩΝΙΟΣΗΡΑΚΛΗΤΩ
 ΠΥΡΡΩΚΝΟΡΙΝΑΞ
 ΜΕΕΠΙΣΤΥΛΙΟΝ
 ΥΡΩΔΙΩΝΥΣΩ

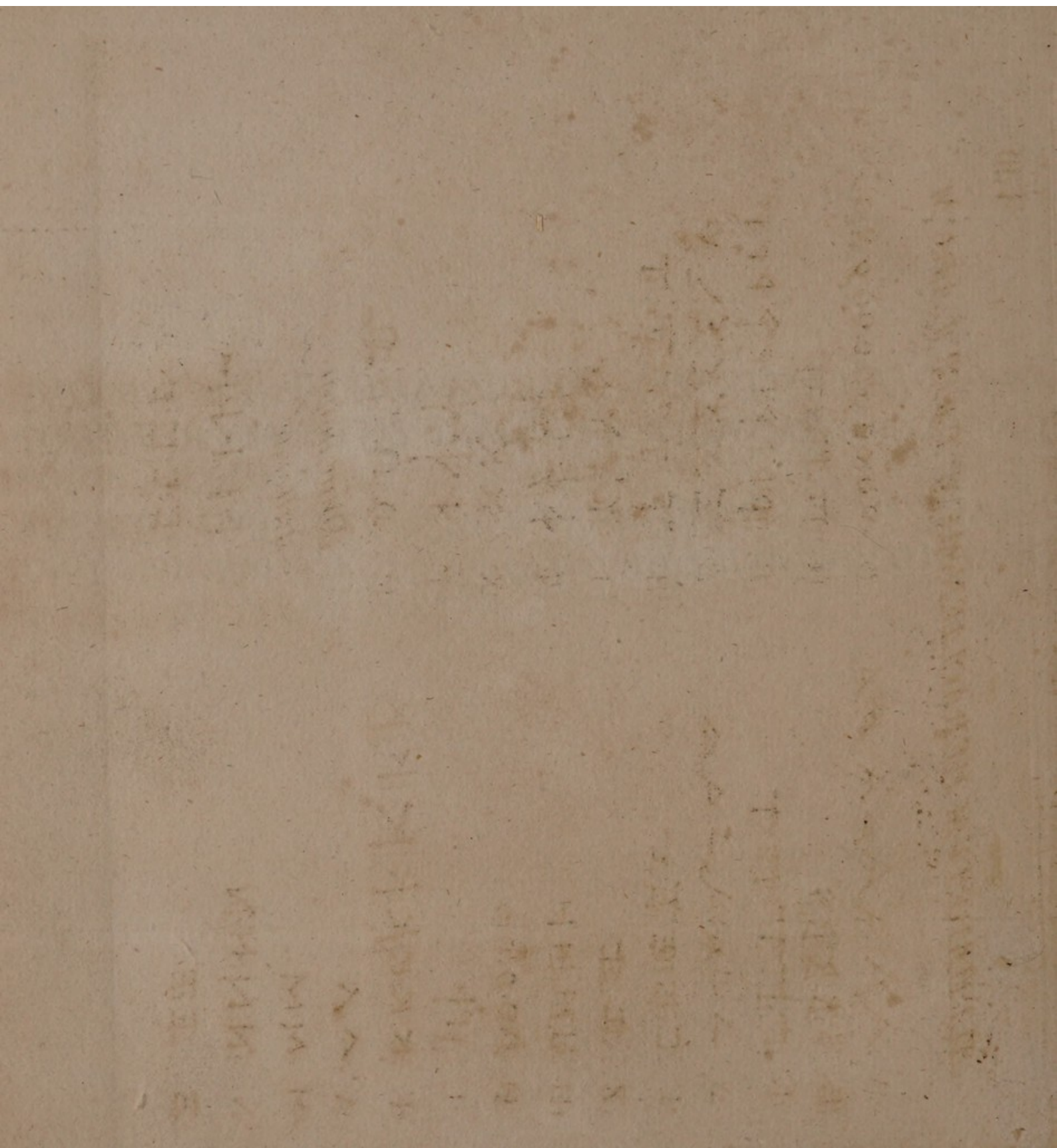
ΙΤΩΣΧΩΡΩΣΤΩΣΗΑΡΩΣΤΩΣΤΩΔΙΩΝΥΣΩ
 ΚΗΤΩΔΑΙΜΟΣΠΥΡΡΩΦΙΛΩΤΑΣΗΙΣΤΙΕΙΩ
 ΕΙΜΩΑΝΚΑΙΣΥΝΕΜΕΤΡΗΣΑΝΚΑΙΕΜΕΡΙ

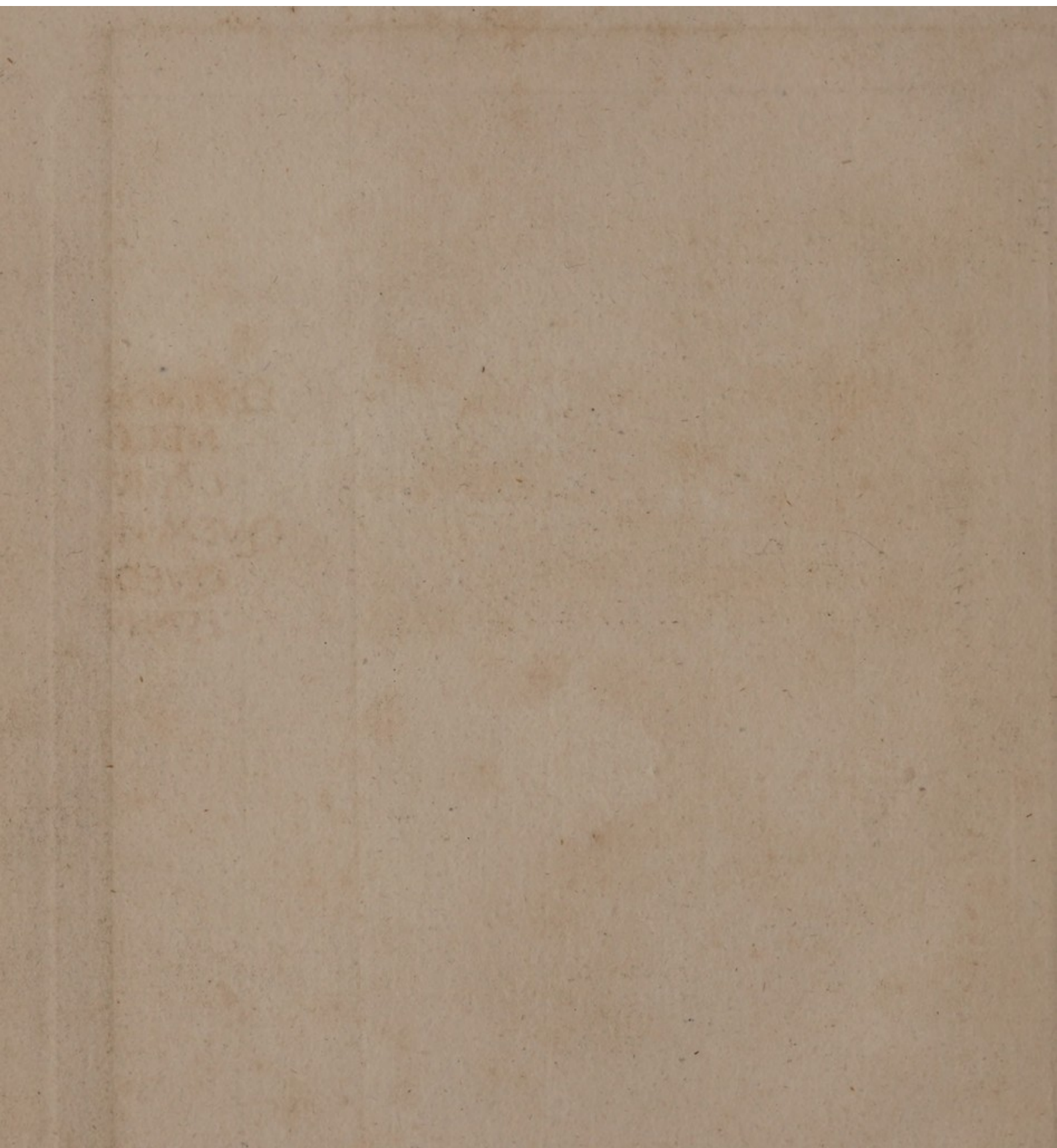


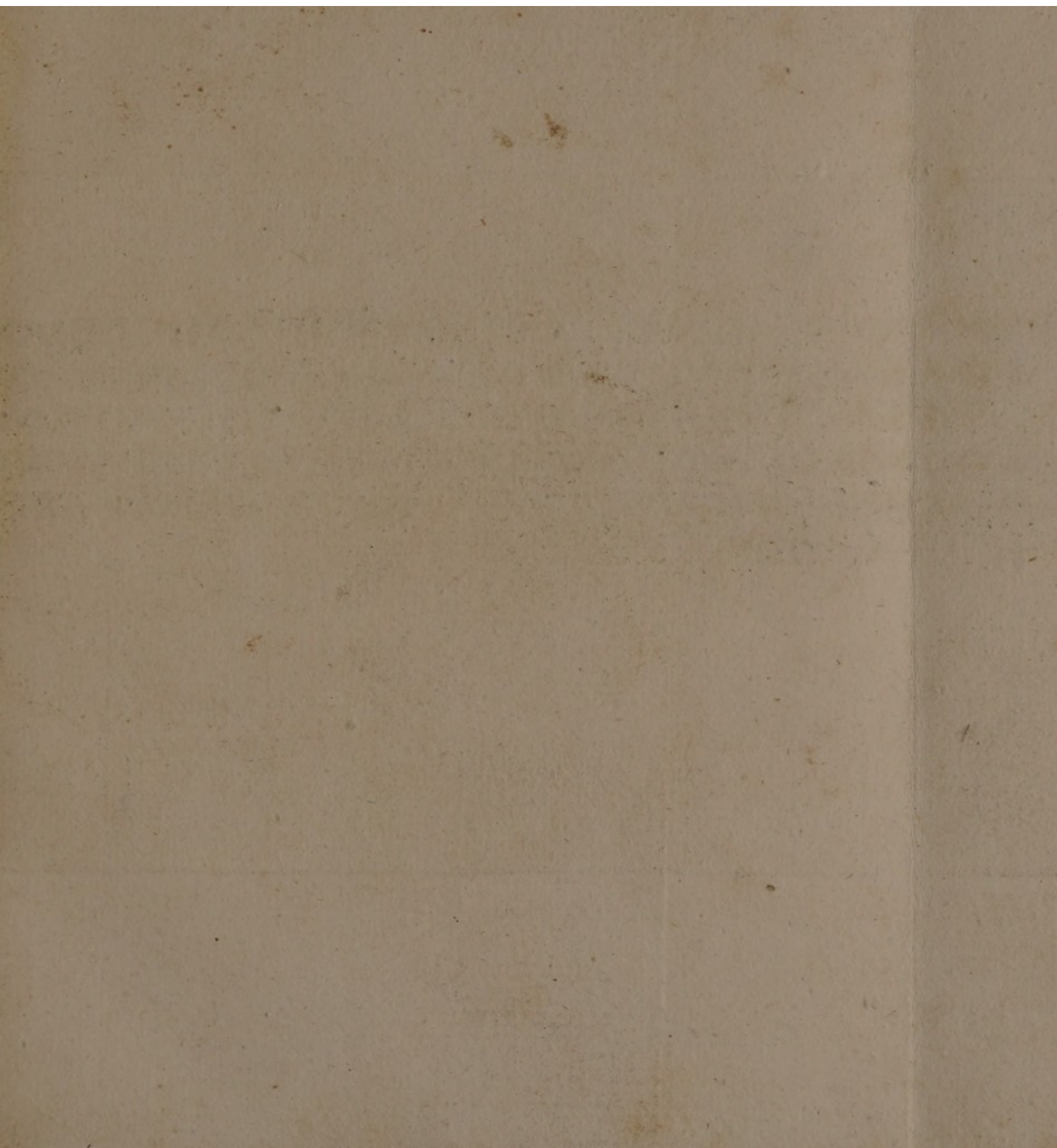


III
QVEM·H·L·AD·COS·PROFITEREI·OPORTEBIT·SEI·IS·QVOM·
NECOTIA·CVRABIT·IS·EAFDEM·OMNIA·QVAE·EVM·QVO
OPORTEBIT·ITEM·ISDEMQVE·DIEBVS·AD·COS·PROFITEMIN
QVEM·H·L·AD·COS·PROFITEREI·OPORTEBIT·SEI·IS·PVP·SEIVEA
QVE·OMNIA·IN·IISDEM·DIEBVS·AD·COS·PROFITEMINO·ITA·VT
EST·H·L·PROFITEREI·OPORTERET

VM·PROFITEREI·OPORTEBIT·ROMAE·NON·ERIT·TVM·QVEI·EIVS
 S·NECOTIA·CVRABIT·SEI·ROMAE·ESSET·H·L·PROFITEREI
 Q·ERIT·TVM·QVEI·EIVS·PVP·V·VE·TVTOR·ERIT·ITEM·EAD·EM
 EI·QVA·EQ·VIBVS·QVE·DIIBVS·EVM·EAM·VE·SEI·PVP·V·VE·NON







QVEM·H·L·AD·COS·PROFITEREI·OPORTEBIT·SEI·IS·QVOM
NEGOTIA·CVRABIT·IS·EAFDEM·OMNIA·QVAE·EVM·QVOM
OPORTEBIT·ITEM·ISDEMOVL·DIEBVS·AD·COS·PROFITEMI
QVEM·H·L·AD·COS·PROFITEREI·OPORTEBIT·SEI·IS·PVP·SEIVCEA
QVEOMNIA·IN·IISDEM·DIEBVS·AD·COS·PROFITEMINO·ITA·V
EST·H·L·PROFITEREI·OPORTERET

Plate I.

Greek
English Fragm.
Greek
Neapolitan Fragm.

Rever

Englis

Neapol

EVM·PROFITEREI·OPORTEBIT·ROMAE·NON·ERIT·TVM·QVEI·EIVS
VS·NECOTIA·CVRABIT·SEI·ROMAE·ESSET·H·L·PROFITEREI
O
V·I·ERIT·TVM·QVEI·EIVS·PVP·V·I·VE·TVTOR·ERIT·ITEM·EAD·EM
I·EI·QVA·EQ·VIBVS·QVE·DIIBVS·EVM·EAM·VE·SEI·PVP·V·I·VE·NON

Plate I.

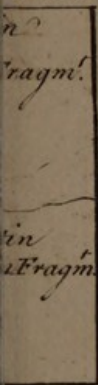
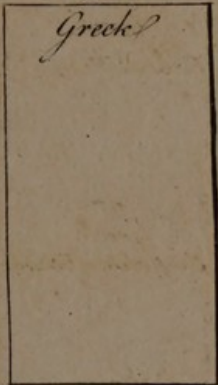


Plate II.





59075(4)

THE
LATIN INSCRIPTION,
ON THE
COPPER TABLE,

Discovered in the Year 1732,

NEAR
HERACLEA, in the BAY of TARENTUM,
in MAGNA GRAECIA,

And published, by MAZOCHIUS, at NAPLES, in the year 1758.

More particularly CONSIDERED and ILLUSTRATED.

By JOHN PETTINGAL, D. D.

Read at a Meeting of the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES of LONDON,
the 1st of *May* 1760; and ordered to be printed.

LONDON, PRINTED MDCCCLX.

THE
LATIN INSCRIPTION
ON THE
COPPER TABLE

Discovered in the Year 1780

BY

MERCATOR, in the Bay of TARENTUM
in MAGNA GRÆCIA

And published by MACHONIUS, in the Year 1788
from an original Copy preserved and illustrated



By JOHN PEARSON

LONDON: PRINTED BY RICHARD CLAY AND COMPANY, LTD., BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

Lord WILLOUGHBY, of *Parbam*,

AN Account of a Copper Table, containing two Inſcriptions, one Greek, the other Latin, diſcovered in 1732, near Heraclea, in the Bay of Tarentum, published by our learned Member Mr. Webb, falling into my hands, I was in hopes to have found in it, among the other circumſtances, relating to the materials, weight, dimensions, &c. of the Table itſelf, a critical and hiſtorical explication of the Inſcriptions, either by Mazochius or Mr. Webb.

But, as there are only ſome general words, relative to this purpoſe, mentioned out of Mazochius, I would, with the favour of your Lordſhip, and the indulgence of the Society, enter into a more particular conſideration of the Latin Inſcription only, endeavour to ſhew the occaſion and import of the law therein contained, and illuſtrate it by a paſſage in Cicero; with an obſervation or two on the date and Stile of it, and on the character of a remarkable ſigle made uſe of in it, rarely, if ever, to be found elſewhere. Upon each of theſe articles, I ſhall be very ſhort.

The words of the Inſcription are to be read thus.

Quem hac Lege ad Conſulem profiteri oportebit, ſi is quum eum profiteri oportebit, Romae non erit, tum qui ejus negotia curabit, is eadem omnia, quae eum, cujus negotia curabit, ſi Romae eſſet, hac Lege profiteri oportebit, item iisdemque diebus ad Conſulem profiteſcino.

Quem hac Lege ad Conſulem profiteri oportebit, ſi is pupillus five ea VQ [pupilla] erit, tum qui ejus pupilli VQve [pupillave] tutor erit, item eademque omnia in iisdem diebus ad Conſulem profiteſcino ita uti ea quae quibusque diebus eum eamve ſi pupillus VQve [pupillave] non eſt, hac lege profiteri oportet.

This

This is a fragment of a Law, enacted by Sylvanus and Carbo, Tribunes of the People, U. C. 663, or the beginning of 64, ordaining that *Strangers, not of Italy*, if they were admitted into the freedom of either of the confederate cities before, or had a dwelling in Italy at the time of making this Law, or had registred their names with the Consul or Praetor, within sixty days, should be free of Rome.

The occasion of this law was this. — After the Social war, L. Jul. Caesar passed a law, to give the freedom of Rome to all those States, that had kept their fidelity to the Romans, at that critical juncture of the Social war. This we learn from Appian lib. 1. *εμφυλ. Ιταλιωτων δε της εν συμμαχεια παραμεινονης εψηφισατο εναι πολιτας*. At the same time, or very soon after, the Tribunes Sylvanus and Carbo passed a law, that *Strangers also* should be admitted to the freedom of Rome upon the conditions above mentioned. “ Quo eodem anno “ *peregrinis etiam aditum quendam ad civitatem Romanam lege Sylv. et* “ Carb. trib. plebis video esse factum; Peregrinos nunc appello omnes praeter Italos.” So says Sigonius, *De antiquo Jure Italiae*, lib. iii. c. 1. — And as the law of the Consul gave the freedom of Rome to the *Confederate States of Italy*, to keep them steady to their engagements by this favour; so the Tribunes, extended it to *Foreigners*, in order to bind them to the Roman interest, as we may suppose, in case there should be any necessity for their assistance in times future.

I have been a little more particular in the history of the occasion, authors, and design, of this Law, because Conradus, who has wrote a long commentary on this fragment, expressly asserts, “ de autore “ et anno quo lex lata est, nihil certi affirmare liceat.” — And indeed it is no wonder, that he has mistaken the main drift of this Law, (as will be shewn hereafter) when he had not the clue of the age and authors of it, to guide him in this enquiry.

However, of this Law our Inscription is a fragment, which relates only to that part of it, which required registring their names, in order to take the benefit of it, before the Consul or Praetor, within 60 days, after the promulgation of the Law.

The

The first clause, in our Inscription, provides, that if he that was required to register his name, in order to take the benefit of the Law, should not happen to be at Rome, at that time, his agent should be admitted to do it for him; provided that he did it within the sixty days prescribed, which are here expressed by *iisdem diebus*, plainly referring to the number of the days specified in a former part of the Law.

The next clause of the fragment provides, that if the person, entitled to register his or her name, should happen to be a *Minor*, then the guardian or tutor should be allowed to do it for them; provided he did it in the same manner, as was required from those, who were not *Minors*.—Such was the general Law, and such were the Provisions in the two clauses of our Inscription.—I shall now endeavour to illustrate them, by a passage in Cicero, in a case that related to Heraclea, the very place where this Table was discovered.

Archias, a native of Greece, and a man of learning, had been admitted to the freedom of Heraclea, a confederate city; notwithstanding which, he had been refused the freedom of Rome, Cicero defends his cause, and cites the Law, under which Archias claimed—

Data est Civitas Sylvani Lege et Carbonis—

SI QVI FOEDERATIS CIVITATIBVS ADSCRIPTI FVISSENT,
SI TVM, CVM LEX FEREBATVR, IN ITALIAM DOMICILIVM
HABVISSENT, ET SI SEXAGINTA DIEBVS APVD PRAETOREM
ESSENT PROFESSI.

Orat. pro Archia Poëta.

All these requisites, the Orator says, met in his Client.

Our fragment therefore seems to be the following part of the Law, proceeding where Cicero stopped:—for as he ends—*Si sexaginta diebus apud Praetorem essent professi*—our fragment goes on: *Quem hac Lege apud Consulem profiteri oportebit, &c.*
. *in iisdem diebus apud Consulem profiteamini*—From whence it plainly appears, that the Conditions mentioned by Cicero, and the clauses in our fragment, are parts of the same Law, and that *in iis-*
dem

dem diebus, in our fragment, undoubtedly related to those *sexaginta diebus*, contained in the condition of the Law, mentioned by Cicero; which perhaps is a part, of *that rest of the Law, to which our Clauses belong*, that Mr. Webb laments is not yet discovered.

It appears hence, that Franciscus Carolus Conradus, who published a long commentary on this Inscription, at Helmstad, 1738, is entirely mistaken at his first setting out, for he says, “*primum caput legis est de recensu populi, frumentationis causa, agendo;*” that this first article, in our fragment, related to a censé of such of the people, as were entitled to receive the Public Corn.—But, according to Cicero, and the Law itself, quoted by him, it seems, that the clauses, in our Fragment, are only so many provisions relating to the due registering their names, within sixty days, as the general Law required.

What led Franciscus Carol. Conradus into the mistake of thinking it a Law *de recensu populi frumentationis causa*, that respected the distribution of the Public Corn, is a Proviso, in the latter part of it, by which *these Strangers* to be made free of Rome, *were not to be admitted* to the privilege of receiving the Public Corn; the Law runs thus —

Quicumque frumentum populo dabunt, dandumve curabit, ne cui eorum quorum nomina hac lege ab Consule, Praetore, Tribuno plebis, in Tabula in Albo proposita erant, frumentum dato, neve dari jubeto, neve finito — Qui adversus ea, eorum cui frumentum dederit, is intra mensem unum, Sestertios quingentos populo dare damnas esto.

The reason for this Exception, that the foreign Freemen should not have a share of the public Corn, I suppose, was to prevent any jealousy or commotion of the people, which would probably have happened, if they had seen strangers introduced to eat that bread, that belonged of right only to natural born citizens.—So that the mention of corn in this law, we see, is only an accidental circumstance, and not the primary intention of it, which was for the admitting of *strangers* to the freedom of Rome, under stated qualifications.

The Age of this Inscription seems to be that of the Law itself, U. C. 663 or 64; and the style and manner of writing is agreeable to that period, *sei* for *si*, *quei* for *qui*, *quojus* for *cujus*, &c. But above all, there is a Sigle remarkable for its singularity in the clause about pupils or orphans; *pupillus sive ea vq erit*—which Sigle I read *Pu*—for as the Roman *C* stands for *Caius*, but when it is reversed *Ɔ* signifies *Caia*, so the first letters *pu* being reversed, they may be supposed to stand for *pupilla*. And indeed the sense directs us to this interpretation of it, for *pupillus sive ea pupilla erit* is a natural reading, which is confirmed by the following words *eum eamve* *.

But there is a difficulty that sticks with me, which is, how the Greek and Latin Inscriptions, which are on each side of the same plate, can be supposed to be of such different dates, as the Greek to be 300 years before Christ, the other 80. It would be more natural to suppose, that they were of the same date, and that the Greek was of the same age with the Latin, that is, not before U. C. 663, 33 years before Cicero's speech for Archias.—And indeed I suspect the Greek Inscription to be an Italian production from the two Sigles or *new letters* (as they are called in Mr. Webb's alphabet) which are found in it.

The *F*, which is called an aspirate, and the \sqsubset , which Mazochius with reason calls a *V*, are both Sigles of Italian Original. The *F* is no more than half the Roman *H*, which is to be seen in 500 Latin Inscriptions, in Fabretti, and others, sometimes one half, sometimes the other, according to the fancy of the workman, thus *F* or J .—But I never remember to have seen it on any genuine Greek Monument, in this signification, and only in these mongril Inscriptions, belonging to the Magna Graecia colonies.

As to the other \sqsubset , which Mazochius sufficiently proves to be *V*, though I think he derives it wrongly from the Beth of the Hebrews, *that* also is of Italian growth, being the true Etruscan *V*, every where found in the Eugubine Tables; with this difference only, that, as the Etruscan character was wrote from right to left, after the manner of the Orientals, this, in our Greek Inscription, is from left to right, according to the Western way of writing. I cannot let this opportunity pass without

* After I had wrote this, I found the same observation had been made by Conradus. observing,

observing, that the Etruscan V Γ is the original of the Digamma Aeolicum Υ , for by removing the lower stroke of the Γ up a little higher towards the middle of the Letter, what was at first Γ , will take the form of Υ , which is that of the Digamma, which was of the same power with the V of the Etruscans.—The progress of this corruption is very discernible, in some antient Etruscan Inscriptions; particularly on the Pateræ Tab. vi, v, ii, iv, in the 1st Vol. of Dempster Etruria Regal. published by the late Earl of Leicester, in the word MINERVA.—In which, Tab. vi, the V is thus formed Γ . Tab. v, Υ . Tab. ii, Υ . Tab. iv, Υ . So that here we see, at one view, the several steps, by which the Aeolic Digamma Υ grew out of the Etruscan Γ , in the manner following, Υ Υ Υ Υ .

As therefore these Sigles, or new Letters, as they have been called, appear to be of the growth of Italy, we may conclude, that the Greek Inscription, in which they are met with, was a production of some of the Settlements in Magna Graecia, mixed with some few Characters in use then among the Latins, and not older than the Law of Sylvanus and Carbo, in Latin, on the other side of the Plate*; for indeed it is hardly conceivable, how two Inscriptions, of such seeming importance, in two different Languages, without any relation to each other, should happen to meet, at the distance of 220 years, on the different sides of the same Plate.

Whatever might have been done, in sepulchral cases, by poor people, in writing one Inscription on the back of another, to save expence, yet it can never be supposed, that the great and rich city of Heraclea could be driven to the same expedient, in so important a case, as preserving a terrar and survey of their sacred Lands, or copying a Law of such consequence, as gave the Freedom of Rome to such of its Inhabitants, as were Foreigners by birth. — Frugality could have no room under these weighty considerations. — And therefore, as these Plates appear to be public Monuments, we may suppose them to

* Maffei conjectures that the Latin was prior to the Greek. *Observazione litterarie de Maffei*, tom. iii. art. 10.

be the diptycs or leaves of the Register, in which these Acts, that related to the community, were copied progressively according to their date. Perhaps this may be better comprehended, by the Reader, from the sketch on the Copper Plate; where Plate I, and its reverse, as low as the fracture, represents the Greek and Latin Inscription on the English fragment; the lower part of which represents the Greek and Latin of the Neapolitan fragment. Plate II, represents a Greek Inscription, without any on the reverse, relating to the Lands of the Temple of Minerva, as the Greek Inscription, on Plate I, specifies the Lands belonging to the Temple of Dionysius.

Now as the Latin Inscription, on the English fragment, begins, *Quem hac lege, &c.* it must be supposed, that the said Law referred to what went before; and, as our Inscription is on the very top of the reverse of the Plate, may we not suppose, that the former part of the Law was written on the lower part of the other side of the Plate, which has been broken off, and is not yet discovered?

This will account for one of the Inscriptions following the other on the opposite side of the same Plate; which nearness of situation may be considered as an argument for the nearness of their date. — But this, as every other part of this Dissertation, is, with great Deference, submitted to the better Judgment of this learned Society.

F I N I S.

N. B. That part of the Law, which is explained p. 6. is here subjoined, according to the original, from whence the Reader, if he thinks it necessary, may correct *ad Consulem*, for *ab Consule*, &c. and may make such other alterations, as he may judge proper.

QVEIQVOMQVE. FRUMENTVM. POPVLO. DABVNT. DANDVMVE.
CVRABIT. NEIQVE. EORVM. QVORVM. NOMINA. H. L. AD. COS.
PR. TR. PL. INTABVLA. IN. ALBO. PROPOSITA. ERVNT. FRUMEN-
TVM. DATO. NEVE. DARE. IVBETO. NEVE. SINITO. QVEI. AD-
VERSVS. EA. EORVM. QVEI. FRUMENTVM. DEDERIT. IS. IN. TR.
M. I. HS. ʒ. POPVLO. DARE. DAMNAS. ESTO.

is the light or leaves of the paper, in which, that is, the
 later to the contrary, were copied progressively according to their
 date. Perhaps this may be better comprehended, by an inspection of the
 the sketch on the Copper Plate; which Plate, and its reverse, at the
 of the figure, represents the Greek and Latin inscriptions on the
 gold fragment; the lower part of which is the Greek inscription
 of the Naxosian fragment. The inscription in Greek letters
 (and, without any on the reverse, relating to the lands of the Temple
 of Athena, as the Greek inscription on Plate I, shows) the latter
 belonging to the Temple of Dionysus.

Now as the Latin inscription, on the English fragment, is
 given, given in fact, &c. it must be supposed, that the Latin in-
 scription, which was written on the lower part of the other side of the
 of the reverse of the Plate, may not suppose, that the former
 part of the Plate was written on the lower part of the other side of the
 Plate, which has been broken off, and is not yet discovered?

This will account for one of the inscriptions following the
 other on the opposite side of the same Plate, which may be
 of position may be considered as an argument for the truth of
 their date. — But this, as every other part of the inscription, with
 great evidence, admitted to the truth of the inscription.

F T N I E

M. V. (1) Part of the Plate, which is inscribed with the
 name of the original, from which the Plate, if it be
 to be true, very exactly was copied, but is (as I have said) not
 to be seen, as it is now in the hands of the
 M. V. (2) Part of the Plate, which is inscribed with the
 name of the original, from which the Plate, if it be
 to be true, very exactly was copied, but is (as I have said) not
 to be seen, as it is now in the hands of the
 M. V. (3) Part of the Plate, which is inscribed with the
 name of the original, from which the Plate, if it be
 to be true, very exactly was copied, but is (as I have said) not
 to be seen, as it is now in the hands of the

59075(5)

A
DISSERTATION

UPON THE

T A S C I A,

OR

L E G E N D,

ON THE

BRITISH COINS OF CUNOBELIN and others.

By JOHN PETTINGAL, D. D.

Read at a Meeting of the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES of
LONDON, *March 10, 1763*; and ordered to be printed.

LONDON, PRINTED MDCCLXIII.

A
DISSERTATION

UPON THE

T. A. S. C. I. A.

OR

J. E. G. E. N. D.

ON THE

British Coins of Cunobelin and others.

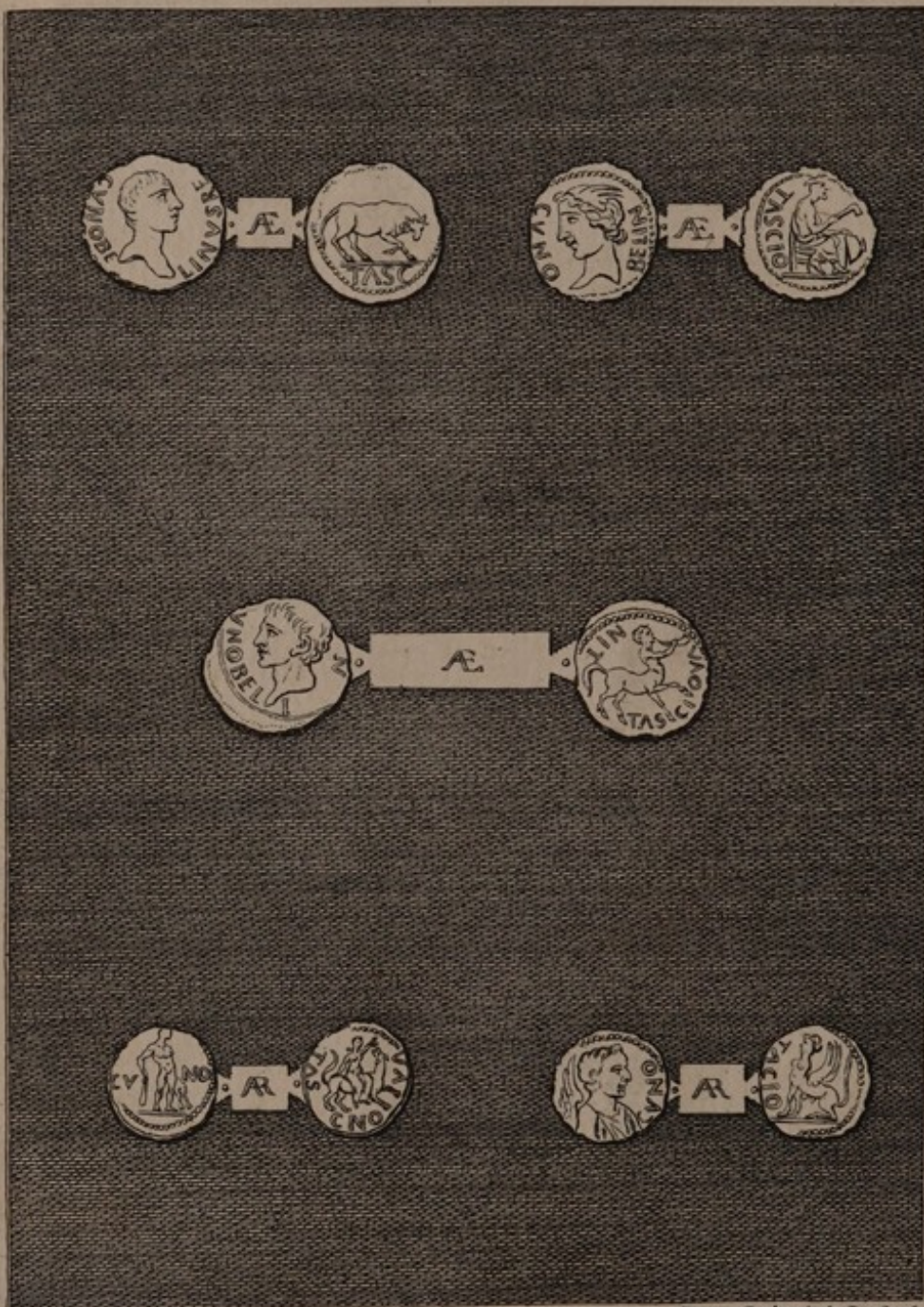
BY JOHN PETTINGAL, D.D.

Read at a Meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London, May 1843, and ordered to be printed.



LONDON, PRINTED MDCCCXLIII.

NVMMI BRITANNICI.



Baire del. et sculp.

Sumptu Societ. Antiq. Lond. 1763.

Ex Museo M. DUANE Armig. S. A. S.

A
D I S S E R T A T I O N
O N T H E
T A S C I A, or LEGEND, &c.

Lord WILLOUGHBY of *Parham*,

WE find many British Coins in the Cabinets of the Curious, particularly those here exhibited, out of the collection of my worthy and learned friend Mr. Duane, of Lincoln's Inn, and in the Plates in Camden's *Britannia* (*Nummi Britannici*) inscribed with the word *TASCIA*, *TASCIO*, *TASCE*, *TASCIE*, *TASC NOVANT*, *TASC VANIT* &c. and as there have been but few attempts of the learned to explain this word *TASCIA*, that of Mr. Camden, from the information of Dr. Powel, a man, as he says, well skilled in the British language, seems to be the most satisfactory.—Upon his authority, he says, that *Tascia* in the old British tongue signified a *Tribute-penny*; and makes a remark of his own, “that perhaps it was so called from *Taxatio*.” This I shall have occasion to take notice of, in the course of these observations.

I shall readily admit the first part, that *Tascia* did relate to the *tribute*, which was first paid by the British princes to the Romans.—And that such a *Tribute* was annually paid appears from *Cæsar De Bello Gallico lib. v. 22.* “*Quid in annos singulos vectigalis populo Romano Britannia penderet constituit Cæsar.*”—This *Vectigal*, I conceive, was called *Tascia* in the British language of the country, from *Tag* the prince or chief, that collected and paid it to the Romans.—Now that *Tag* was a name of eminence among the Britons, plainly appears from hence, that you meet it in the names of their Princes, in the histories that are come down to us:—*Taximagulus*, *Prasutagus*, *Caractagus*, *Togodumnus*, and others. In all which *Tag* or *Tagus* implied the dignity or præminence of the Prince or General. This *Tagus* or *Togus* in the
A Scotish

Scotish Erft language is corrupted into *Tofche*, as *Mac Tofche*, the fon of the lord. — And in the Pictish language, fays Selden, from Skene upon the Regiam Majestatem of Scotland, lib. iv. c. 31, 36, *Tofche* stands for a *Thane*—Titles of Honour, Scotland, cap. 7.— So also in the old Celtic language, which was the fame among the Britons, Gauls, and Germans, these last had their *Tog* in the same signification of dignity—as in the word *Heretog*, a lord or general, which, fays Spelman in his Glossary on the word HERETOG, was from *Here exercitus*, and *togen ducere*; whereas the contrary seems to be the truth, that *togen*, *ducere*, was formed out of *Tog*, *dux* or the general.

We see however, that *Tag* among the Britons, *Tofche* among the Scots, and the German *Tog*, all signified the same honourable dignity, be that what it will.

I thought indeed once that the Irish *Teague* also had the same signification; but, upon farther enquiry, I find on the contrary, in the *Leges Wallicæ*, or Laws of Howel Dda, lib. iv. § 30. that *Teawg* signified villanus, and *Mab Teawg*, filius villani. — and as the Welsh and Irish languages were nearly the same, I suppose, that *Teague*, in the Irish tongue, was of the same import with the *Teawg* of the Welsh, and stood for a slave or bondman.—We may however meet with the corruption of this word *Tag* in *Tighearn*, which among the Irish, as we learn in the *Leges Wallicæ*, stood for Rex, or king. And that this word was known to the antient Britons, in the same signification as to the Irish, we may make no doubt, seeing we meet with it in the names of Vor-tigern and Can-tigern his son, the former of which is to be rendered *the great king*; Vor, for Vawr, was the same as Mawr, or Mor, *great*, and tighearne, *king*.— To this same original *Tag* we may refer the names *Togo*, *Togormo*, in the poem called *Fingal*, and *Tochi filius Outi* in Domesday, Lincolnshire, tit. LINDESIG.

But as the Celtic language, the basis of the British, Irish, Gaulish and German tongues, is supposed by learned men, and that with reason, to come originally from the East, let us enquire, if we can discover the word *Tag* among the Orientals, in the same signification as is appropriated to it in the West.

Xeno-

Xenophon, *Cyropæd.* lib. viii. p. 467. 8^{vo}. edit. Hutchinson, tells us, that Cyrus gave Pheraulas part of his prize, *because he had well marshalled the procession from the palace*, *οτι καλως εδωκεν αυτω, την εκ τῶν βασιλειῶν ελασιν διαλαγευσαι*. Now this word *διαλαγευσαι* is changed in some copies for *διαλασαι* (because the editors could not find *διαταγευσαι* to be of the usual Hellenistic formation, and therefore thought it to be a corruption of the text); but *διαλαγευσαι* most certainly was a word peculiar to the Persians, in whose History it is here and elsewhere to be found [a].

Tag was the name given to the royal tiara, or crown, that the kings or queens of Persia wore upon extraordinary solemnities [b]. It was also a general word for a crown: hence in the Chaldee Targum of Esther [c], *תגי ברישיהון קטרי*, *coronati tagis, seu coronis super capita eorum*. It also signified the same in the Syriac and Ethiopic language. This *Tag*, or *Tiara*, was particularly worn on all occasions by the general of the Persian guards, who, from this constant mark of distinction attending his office and command, was called *Tag*, in the same sense as we sometimes call the person of the sovereign by the name of the *Crown*. In process of time, this word *Tag* came to be used more at large for any chief commander; and when the Persians passed into Europe over the Hellespont, under Xerxes, it was probably then introduced into Thessaly, where their general of horse was called *ταγος*. Jul. Pollux, *Onomastic.* lib. I. *περὶ ἰππαρχων*, says, *ἰππαρχος Θεσσαλων ταγος*—The general of the horse was called by the Thessalians *ταγος*. and thence came by degrees to signify any chief magistrate, and made a part of their name, as Tigranes, Tacfarinas the head of the Banditti in Numidia, mentioned by Tacitus; and Taximagulus among the

[a] Xenoph. *Ελλην.* 5. near the beginning uses *ταγευσεν* and *ταγευειδαι*, *to have the principal command, and to be subject to it*; and this dignity in the same book is called *ταγεια*, *ταγειαν τυραννιδι ομοιαν*. — See likewise Æschylus, *Prometh. vinc̄to*, ver. 96. *τοιονδ' ονεος Ταγος μακαρων εξευρ'* &c. and Persis, ver. 18. *ταγοι Περσων* &c.

[b] See Golius, and Castellus, *Persic. Lexicon* on the word *TAG*, and *Lexicon επαγγλωτ̄ι*. voce *Chald.* *תגא* *Taga Corona.* et *Syr.* *תגא* *coronatus fuit.*

[c] Esther i. 4. ii. 17.

Britons.—Upon which *word* we may observe, that it signifies the great General or *Tag*, and in the *magol* of the Britons we may perhaps find the original of the *mycel* of the Northern nations for *great*, in the same sense with the *μεγας* and *μεγαλος* of the Greeks, the *mag* of the Persians [*d*], and the *Mogul* of the Indians. And in *Maclocunius*, king of Wales about 560 A. D. we see the same word *Magol* or *Magl* for *great*, as in *Taximagl*, *Maglicun* being the same in signification with *Taximagl*: the first signified the great *Tag*, the last the great *Can*, in both which *Magl* implied a superiority of dignity, and may well be supposed to be the original out of which the Northern *mycel* was formed.

It will not seem strange that *Tag*, in use among Western nations for a *General*, should be deduced from a custom and word peculiar to the East, when we consider, that there are other instances in our antient British language of the same kind.—Mr. Camden and Selden observe, that in the words *Cyngetorix*, *Cunobelin*, *Cuneglassius*, *Cuneda*, *Cunedagius* &c. *Cune* seems to stand for some distinction and eminence belonging to the persons in whose name it was found [*e*].—Accordingly Camden derives it from *Cynoc*, chief, in the British tongue, in which he is followed by Selden; but, with deference to such great authorities, I believe both are mistaken, as I have never been able to find such a word as *Cynoc* in that sense, either by enquiry, or my own small knowledge of that tongue.

Can and *Cun* were names of honour and dignity among the antient Britons, Scots, and Irish; and as they were of the same signification, so probably they were of the same original, as the *Chans*, the princes or generals of the East.—Hence we may perhaps learn the true signification of the names of some Scottish and British princes, hitherto not attended to: Malcolm the Great, king of Scotland, was called *Cammore*, or more properly *Canmore* [*f*];—this name Fordun, Scoti-chron. lib. iv. c. 44. renders *grossum caput*, *great head*, whereas indeed it signifies *the great Chan*, or *prince*;—and if Fordun, by his *great head*, understood great prince or chief,

[*d*] See Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Persar. c. 31. and Jer. xxxix. 3. [*e*] Camden, p. 90.

[*f*] In the first Appendix to Nennius, in the XV Scriptorum, edit. Gale, the name Malcolm is called Mailcun.

it would perfectly agree with this account of it.—In confirmation that *Chan* among the Britons and Scots signified prince, general, or some rank of distinction, we need only see it compounded into the names of their princes, preserved in history.—*Duncan* plainly is to be rendered, *the Can of the Dune*, or chief of the hill-country, and is of the same signification with Togodumnus the son of Cunobeline, slain by Aulus Plautius in the time of Claudius—for *Togodun* was the Tag or chief of the hills [*g*].—*Morcan*, among the Britons, was chief or Chan of the coast-country, that was afterwards called *Morcanw̃g* or Glamorgan—*Gwrcan* was the name of a prince of the Silures in that country, as much as to say, Prince of the people—and in short wherever else *Chan* was found in composition, it signified a prince, chief, or general [*b*].

But to return to our argument: We have had as sufficient proof as the nature of this enquiry will admit of, that *Tag*, in the language of the Persians, Syrians, Chaldeans, Theffalians, in that of Numidia, Britain, Ireland, Scotland and Germany, signified a *Prince* or *General*; from whence we have reason to judge that *Tascia* had its name, as it was inscribed on the tribute-money paid by the *Tag* of each province or district, to the Roman Conquerors.—Tab. I. *Nummi Britannici* in Camden, N^o. 7. and 22. we see TASC NOVANT, the tribute of the Novantes or Trinobantes [*i*], with the head of Cunobeline on the adverse. N^o. 9. TASCHE CEARTIC. perhaps the tribute of Caractacus. N^o. 23. TASC VANIT. the tribute of Venutius, without doubt, chief of the Brigantes [*k*].

[*g*] Hence we may amend a name in Tacitus, and instead of COGIDUNUS read—TOGIDUNUS—“Quædam civitates Togiduno regi-donatæ.” Vit. Agricolæ. And in the restored part of the Chichester inscription, for *Cogidubni* we may read *Togidubni*—as *Togidunus* was a name in use at that time, whereas *Cogidunus* is never found but upon this occasion.

[*b*] “*Cantigernus filius secundus Vortigerni.*” Nennii c. 52. “*Ludecan rex Merciorum.*” Afferii Annal. ad an. 827. “*Minocani filius Belinus.*” Nennius, c. 14.

[*i*] The people of the province were called *Novantes*, as appears from this coin, but the inhabitants of the city were called *Trinobantes*, from *Tre*, a *Town* or *City*. So that *Trinobantes* signified the *City of the Novantes*.

[*k*] “*Præcipuus scientia rei militaris Venutius e Jugantum civitate.*” Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. Where, instead of *Jugantum*, it ought to be read *Brigantium*.

And

And I think it is to be observed, that only the coins under the first emperors were inscribed with *TASCIA*; for a little after Claudius, the Britons adopted the arts and manners of the Romans, and struck their money in the Roman stile [1].

After Camden, upon the authority of Dr. Powel, had said, that *Tascia* in the British language signifies a tribute-penny, he adds, “perhaps from the Latin *Taxatio*.” But this conjecture of his is destroyed at once, when we come to consider that *Taxatio* was never used in the sense of *Tribute* or *Taxes* by the Romans of that time, or perhaps any other.

Taxatio was a meer forensic term, and signified “fixing the damage upon the oath of the plaintiff, beyond which the judge could not decree.” In this signification it is used by Quinctilian, Declam. xiii. who, speaking of the detestable practice of using poison, which “leges habere, emere, nosse vetant,” concludes, that the poisoning of his client’s bees was, “crimen, quod non privatam Taxationem formulæ merebatur,” “it was a crime of such sort, that it could not be brought within the common forms of estimation of damages.” In the same sense it is used perpetually in the Digest and Code, and Brissonius thence says, “Taxationes in sententiis, contractibus, et aliis negotiis sunt clausulæ, quibus ejus quod agitur pronuntiatura vis, restringitur, coercetur et temperatur.” De Verb. Significat. verb. TAXATIONES.—And Festus Pompeius, “Verbum *Taxat* ponitur in litibus, arbitro cum præscribitur, quoad ei jus sit statuendi.” So that *Taxatio* was a declaration of damages sustained, upon oath before judgment, to which the judge was confined in case he decreed for the plaintiff.—Hence it is that in our law-proceedings we use the phrase, *taxing* a bill, for reducing it to a just and reasonable estimation.

[1] “Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre,—inde etiam habitus nostri honor, et frequens toga; paulatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea, et conviviorum elegantiam.” Tacit. Vit. Agricola. “Tempore Claudii quievit dari census Romanis a Britannia.” Nennius, cap. 17. And about the same period, “quicquid habere potuisset æris, argenti, vel auri, imagine Cæsaris notaretur.” Ibid.

Festus gives also another sense of the word: "*Taxatores a Scenicis dicuntur, quod alter alterum maledictis tangit.*" — Whence we use that word in the same signification when we say, a man was *taxed* with saying or doing this or that; but we never meet with *Taxatio*, in the sense of a *Tax* or *Tribute*, in any author of the best Latin ages; I may venture, I think, to say, of any age — it being most probably an English word latinized, and perhaps derived from *Tascia*, rather than *Tascia* from it. My reason for thinking so is this: — In the Statute of the Confirmation of the Charters, 25 E. c. 5. and 6. the words, aides, mises et prises are there used to signify, the grants to the king from his people, which he there promises shall not for the future be drawn into precedent. *Mises*, in the English translation, is rendered *Tasks*; or, as Lord C. J. Coke says, 2d Instit. p. 528. "In this act *Mises* are taken for "*Tasks, Taxes, Tallages, or Takings.*" — Which last word is the true signification of *Prises*, and not *Prices* as in the English Statute book. So likewise 2d Instit. Magna Charta, cap. xxviii. he says, "that the Fifteenth granted by Magna Charta is now called the "*Task [m]*". What is this word *Task*, or whence derived? It is not of English original, or ever met with but in acts of Parliament, or among lawyers, and that only upon this occasion: whence then can it be so properly deduced, as from the old British *Tascia*, or *Tasc* as it is sometimes found upon coins, it being the same in sound and signification; for the Fifteenth being a subsidy, it may be very properly called a *Task*, or *Tax*; accordingly Coke above quoted joins *Tasks, Taxes, Tallages, or Takings*, as words synonymous.

As *Tallages* have been mentioned, I would make an observation on that word as we pass, which is, that *Tallages*, in the proper meaning of the word, signifies *Payments* — from the British word *Talu* to pay; and at this day all kinds of levies or payments are called by them *Tâl*, with the addition of what kind, as *Tâl y Brennin*, *the King's tax* — *Tâl y tlaud*, *the Poor's tax*; — so that

[*m*] There are at this day remaining in several parish-chests and other places, books, by which this Fifteenth was collected, and intituled, *Task-Books*.

Tâl signifies in general a *Payment*, from whence we use the word *Tallage*. I know indeed that it is generally supposed, that *Tallage* comes from the Norman *Tailler* to cut, in the sense of the Taillees of the Exchequer, so called from the knotches cut on a piece of wood; — but in answer to that opinion it will be sufficient to observe, that *Talu*, which is pronounced *Taly*, (the British *u* sounding like *y*) to pay, among the Britons, is to be found in the *Leges Wallicæ* of Howel Dda, A. D. 943. long before the Norman *Tailler* was ever known in England [n]. Hence perhaps we may learn the true signification of *Taliæ* in a constitution of St. Lewis king of France, which, in *Tit. de Taliis*, is explained by “*Exactiones et onera gravissima pecuniarum per Curiam Romanam Ecclesiæ nostri regni imposita &c.*” Where we may observe, that it is wrote *Taliæ*, not *Tailliæ*; and Hotoman calls it a feudal word. Whereas the Tax laid on the third estate by Lewis XI. and that by Henry II. were called *Taille* and *Taillon* — not *Tale* and *Talon*. Whence we may be induced to think that *Taliæ* in the constitution was of Gaulish original, and much the same with the Tâl of the Britons, whose language was fundamentally the same with that of Gaul and the Antient Germans, among whose descendants, at this day, we find *txalen* used for *to pay*, which differs from the British *Talu* only in the sibillation.

Lord Coke, above cited, joins to *Tasks* and *Tallages*, *Taxes*, a word used by no nation but the English, to signify contributions paid by the people, for the support of the public; and therefore, by right reason, we ought to look for the origin of that word no where but among ourselves and from our own language; and, to say the truth, it seems to be no other than a corruption of the word *Tasks*, as we have before hinted. — The Greeks indeed used the word *συνλαξίαις* in the same signification — *τελεω συνλαξίαις*, *to pay Taxes*, — *κονωνειν τας συνλαξίαις*, *to take part in the Tax*, — *συνλαγμα συνλαξίαις*, *appointing the Tax*, — are all found in *Æschines's* Oration against *Ctesiphon*, and other Greek writers of the purest age, particularly *Demosthenes* and *Lyfias*. And *Athenæus* calls by that name

[n] *Leges Wallicæ*, lib. I. p. 24. where it is written *dalū*, the *t* and *d* being used for each other.

the portion of corn that the husbandmen of Thessaly paid to the public, whose lands they held by the same tenure, as what the Romans called *Aratio*, and the English formerly *Socage*; which was rendering a particular quantity of corn to the lord or other proprietors of those lands they took in cultivation: but I do not therefore infer, that the English word *Taxes* is derived from thence. It is only pointed out to the observation of the Reader, without any further weight laid on it; and perhaps it would have been thought an omission not to have taken this short notice of the similitude of the Greek word with the English, when we were upon the subject.

The substance of the argument that hath been offered is this.—The meer English word, *Tax*, is perhaps a corruption of *Task*;—*Task* is derived from *Tascia* of the antient Britons, and *Tascia* was the *Vectigal* or tribute, paid by the *Tag* or British prince of each province, to the Roman conquerors.—All which is submitted to the Society, with due deference, as a conjecture only, upon a subject obscure and almost untouched hitherto, and for which the apology of Livy, on a like occasion, it is hoped, will be admitted:—*Quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo affirmet* [o] ?

[o] Liv. Histor. lib. I. sub init.



THE FINEST OR LIONEL

the portion of coin that the husbandmen of the king paid to the
peasants, whose lands they held by the king's tenure, as when the king
means called the king's demesne, and the king's demesne which was
rendering a particular quantity of coin to the lord on other lands
and of those lands they took in cultivation; but I do not recollect
that the English word is derived from France. It is
only pointed out to the attention of the reader without any
that will be told on it, and perhaps we will have been thought an
condition not to have taken this from the fact of the similarity of the
Greek word with the English, when we were upon the subject.

The following of the argument that has been advanced is this—
The word English word, that is perhaps a corruption of the word
is derived from the word of the ancient Britons, and the word was the
word of the Britons, paid by the king or his officers of each province
to the Roman emperor—All which is attributed to the fact
without difference, as a consequence only, upon a subject of
almost unattached interest, and for which the word of the
a like condition, it is hoped, will be admitted.—The word was the
condition was not different [?]

THE FINEST OR LIONEL

