new histories were published, covering the same period, and written with an attractiveness of style to which Cratippus, if he be P, could make no claim. The work is in no sense literature; to readers sufficiently familiar with the facts related it would not even be interesting, for its sole merit is its painstaking investigation of detail, and that by itself has never been popular in any age or country. P is an historian of whom it was certain that little would be heard, and the little we should expect to hear of him is precisely what we have heard of Cratippus.

W. A. GOLIGHER.

The Domesday 'Ora.'

THERE would seem to be still considerable doubt felt as to the number of pence in the Domesday *ora* when that term is used without qualification. My attention was called to the matter when Mr. Charles Johnson, of the Public Record Office, was writing the introduction to the Norfolk portion of Domesday for the *Victoria County History* and consulted me on the subject. His own leaning was towards the *ora* of 20 pence, but eventually he adopted the 16 pence unit, giving in a footnote my reasons for its adoption.¹

Just recently Professor Tait, in his valuable introduction to the Shropshire portion of Domesday for the same work, has written—

It may be mentioned that the frequent appearance both in the 'valets' of manors and the 'renders' of mills and fisheries of sums of 1s. 4d., 2s. 8d., 5s. 4d., 10s. 8d., &c., clearly shows the prevalence alongside the Old English reckoning by pounds of the Danish reckoning by the ounce (*ora*) of 16d. and the mark of 10s. 8d. The *ora*, indeed, is three times mentioned by name, though without indication as to whether it was an ounce of 20d., such as was customary in Worcestershire and elsewhere, or one of 16d.²

It may, therefore, be useful to put together some pieces of evidence which have led me to the belief that the Domesday *ora* (where the term is unqualified) was a customary *ora* of 16d., and was well understood to be such. The *locus classicus* for this usage is the entry on Ickleton, Cambridgeshire, where Domesday Book has *valet xxii den.*, which the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigie* equates by *Haec terra valet ii horas.*³ This equation may doubtless 'be applied to the entry that the 'landgable' of Cambridge was *vii. lib. et ii. oras et duo den.*⁴

When writing on Domesday in *Feudal England* I laid great stress on the equations in these texts as proof that where terms or phrases were used indifferently the scribes can have been in no

¹ *Victoria County Hist. Norfolk*, II. 85. There are several entries of two *oras* in this county.

² *Victoria County Hist. Shropshire*, I.

³ *Inq. Com. Cant.* p. 41.

⁴ D.B. i. 189.

doubt as to what their meaning was. My next example is taken from Staffordshire. With the two very early Burton Abbey surveys I have already dealt in the pages of this Review (xx. 275 ff., 1905). For our present purpose they afford a perfect equation:—

Hanc terram, idest Acovram et Hanc tenet Ormus pro xx oris
Ylum, tenet Ormus ad firmam pro et cum ea etiam Ylum, &c.⁸
xxvjs et vijd.

In the charter of Abbot Nigel enfeoffing Orm at Okeover the render is given as *xx oras*;⁹ in that of his successor Roger to Orm's son Ralf it is expressed as *duas marcas argenti*.⁷ My third instance should be more familiar, being cited in Ellis's *Introduction to Domesday* (i. 166–7) and in Blount's *Tenures*.⁸ It is an extract from a plea of Mich. 37 Hen. III, in which the men of (East) Bergholt, Suffolk (on the Essex border), allege, *quod tempore Regis II avi domini Regis nunc solebant habere talem consuetudinem quod quando maritare solebant filias suas, solebant dare pro filiabus suis maritandis duas horas, quae valebant xxxij denar*.⁹ Thus it had become necessary at this late date (after the middle of the thirteenth century) to gloss the word *ora*. In the same county the Dunwich man who neglected the summons to attend the hundred court was fined *de ii. oris*, according to Domesday (ii. 312), which records values at Dunwich of 2s. 8d. (32d.), 16s., 6s. 8d., and 4s.

Apart from actual equations we have, as observed above by Professor Tait, strong inferential evidence as to the Domesday *ora*. Thus under Stanway, adjacent to Colchester, we read—

Ingelricus abstulit i feminam Brictevam tenentem xvij acras, et reddebat unoquoque anno huic manerio xxxii nommos.¹⁰

Compare with this a Norfolk entry—

Ad Holt est additus i liber homo Ketel . . . de xxx acris . . . et valet ii oras;¹¹

or this one—

Reddit unoquoque anno preposito regis sub Rogero Bigot ii oras.¹²

I entirely agree with Professor Tait as to the evidence of mills, the Domesday payments from which, in my experience, often represent multiples of the 16 pence unit; but I do not know upon what ground he asserts that an *ora* of 20d. 'was customary in

⁸ *Staffordshire Collections*, vol. v pt. i. pp. 21, 27.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 30. ⁷ *Ibid.* p. 40. So too in the original charter, preserved at Okeover.

⁸ Ed. Halliwell, p. 24.

⁹ In spite of quoting this record Ellis definitely asserted, in his text, of the *ora* that 'in the Domesday Survey . . . it is used for the ounce, or twelfth part of the nummular pound.' He cites however a glossary, which he assigns to Dugdale, in which the two values of the *ora* are clearly differentiated.

¹⁰ D.B. ii. 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.* ii. 112 b This entry appears again on ii. 128.

¹² *Ibid.* ii. 277.

Worcestershire and elsewhere.' Domesday does not prove the fact, and indeed the entry *ii molini qui reddunt vii oras*¹² suggests the mill unit of 16*d.* We have two mills *de xvi sol.* at Kidderminster, one *de viii sol.* at Martley, one *de iiii sol.* at Bishops Lench, and another at Pershore, and so on. Towards the end of the survey of Worcestershire *oras* become more frequent. On fo. 177 we meet with a *salina de ii oris*, and on 177 b there are several examples. At the foot of the first column there are two successive entries, of which the first has *molinus de iiii oris* (i.e. 4 shillings), and the second *molinus de iiii solidis et salina ad Wic de iiii solidis*. Opposite these in the second column we meet with *salina reddens iiii oras* (i.e. 4 shillings). On the same page we have (at Droitwich) *una domus de xvi den.*; also *salina de v oris, vii salinae reddentes xiiii oras, v salinae reddentes c mittas salis et v oras, molinus de iiii solidis* (i.e. 3 *oras*), and at the end of the survey (in Droitwich) *v salinae reddentes xxi sol. et iiii den.* (i.e. 16 *oras*). I think we may fairly conclude that this Worcestershire *ora* had a meaning which was well known and was the customary *ora* of 16*d.*

To continue the quotation from Professor Tait, he thus enumerates the three occurrences of the Domesday *ora* in Shropshire:—

Mullgat Ford and Eardington rendered 8½ *oras* and 3 *oras*, and at High Ercall it was the custom before the Conquest, when the countess visited the manor, to bring her 18 *oras* of pennies.

It is significant, I think, that these instances are all found within two columns of the record. But, as to the two first villis, it was not they but their mills which rendered respectively 8½ *oras*¹⁴ and 3 *oras*; and when we find, on the same page as Eardington, two successive entries in which the mills render 10*s.* 8*d.* (i.e. 8 *oras*) and 8*s.* (i.e. 6 *oras*), with two others beneath them in which the render is 32*d.* (i.e. 2 *oras*) and 4 shillings (i.e. 3 *oras*), we cannot hesitate, I think, to reckon the customary *ore* in Shropshire also as 16*d.* With regard to High Ercall, which had been held by Earl Eadwine, and where *per consuetudinem, veniente comitissa in m[anerium], afferebantur ei xviii orae denariorum*, it is particularly interesting to note that, in Herefordshire, the manor of Kingsland, which his brother Earl Morcar had held, had the same custom.

*Prepositus huius maneri consuetudinem habebat T. R. E., ut, veniente domina sua in m[anerium], presentaret ei xviii oras denariorum ut esset ipsa laeto animo.*¹⁵

J. H. ROUND.

¹² D.B. II. 174.

¹⁴ If we read, as Professor Tait does, *dimidia* with the *iii oras*. But the ½ *ora* is so peculiar that I should rather prefer to read *dimidia* with *piscaria*, which follows it.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* I. 179 b.