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Anglo-Norman Defence Strategy in Selected English Border and Maritime Counties, 1066 - 1087

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Kay Richardson B.A. (Hons) M.A.

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Abbreviations

ANS	Anglo-Norman Studies
BIHR	Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
DB	Domesday Book (Phillimore edition)
EcHR	Economic History Review
EHR	English Historical Review
Exon.	Liber Exoniensis
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
VCH	Victoria County Histories

I

Introduction

During his reign, William I faced recurring threats to the security of his kingdom, necessitating the development of an effective and comprehensive defensive strategy. In coastal regions, there was the danger of enemy attack from Scandinavia, Ireland and, to a lesser extent, the continent. In border counties, the Normans had to deal with the hostile and at times blatantly aggressive activities of the Scottish and Welsh. In addition, there was the threat of internal opposition to the Conqueror's rule in all regions of England, especially in the late 1060s when Norman authority had only recently been imposed and was thus at its least secure.

The Anglo-Norman lordships created in the wake of the Norman Conquest, and the authority wielded by those in control of them, has long attracted the attention of Domesday scholars. Prior to the publication of Stenton's study of *The First Century of English Feudalism* in 1932, the territorial blocks prevalent on the continent in the eleventh century were seen to be a rare feature of Anglo-Norman England. For some, the loose lordships established in England after 1066 allowed the Conqueror greater control over his barons, reducing their ability to act independently of the crown and hence enhancing the security of the kingdom.[1] For others, loose lordships were a remnant of the Anglo-Saxon past rather than a deliberate post-Conquest creation, resulting from the piecemeal redistribution of land after the Conquest, often on an antecessorial basis. Although it was recognised that earldoms did undergo changes under the Conqueror, becoming increasingly focused on a single county, and that in some areas, most notably in Sussex, tenurial arrangements had distinctly military overtones, the general consensus was that settlement patterns in England represented a marked break from continental tradition.[2] Ella Armitage's analysis of early Norman castles in 1912 provides a clear espousal of this view, in particular her statement that

> in England the reasons for the erection of mottes seem to have been manorial rather than military; that is, the Norman landholder desired a safe residence for himself amidst a hostile peasantry, rather than a strong military position which could hold out against skilful and well-armed foes.[3]

Stenton's study gave fresh impetus to the debate, placing far greater emphasis on the military characteristics of a number of key Anglo-Norman lordships, deliberately

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[1] See for example, Ballard, who stated that the Conqueror "was most careful that none of his subjects should possess a compact block of territory in which he could raise forces for a possible rebellion". Ballard, *Domesday Inquest* (London, 1906), 96.
[2] The rapes of Sussex were clearly identified by Round and Salzmann as post-Conquest military creations as early as 1905. They stated that "whatever was the origin of the rapes as districts, as lordships they owed their existence to the Norman Conquest alone". Round and Salzmann, 'Introduction to the Sussex Domesday', *VCH Sussex*, i, 354.
[3] Armitage, *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* (London, 1912), 85.

formed to aid the process of conquest and settlement. He wrote of castleries being "a territory rather than a mere group of fees, as a well-defined district within which the whole arrangement of tenancies was primarily designed for the maintenance of the castle".[4] By 1959 Reginald Lennard was able to declare that "historians have indeed long recognised that on the frontiers of the Conqueror's realm the feudal geography was largely determined by strategic considerations".[5] In Wightman's account of the Lacy family estates, the military role of the honours of Pontefract and Weobley was clearly demonstrated. Pontefract was said to form "an almost solid rectangle of over five hundred square miles", and was clearly not a loose lordship formed irrespective of the stringent military needs of the north.[6] Le Patourel, in *The Norman Empire,* emphasised that compact blocks of land were formed in many parts of the kingdom, perhaps representing "the fighting units in the Norman armies taking up positions for further advance" with an immediate short term purpose "associated with the period of conquest".[7] Fleming, in her study of *Kings and Lords in Conquest England,* noted that the "metamorphosis of aristocratic landholding" was evident throughout the kingdom, with territorial consolidation especially pronounced in areas such as Kent, Sussex, Cornwall, Shropshire, Cheshire and southern Lancashire.[8] Such lordships, she claimed, had their precedent in Normandy rather than in the "great landed conglomerations of the pre-Conquest era", which is in stark contrast to the pre-Stenton tradition.[9]

A number of English regions have been identified by historians as areas in which defence considerations were of particular significance in the evolving tenurial structure.[10] Along the south coast, Odo of Bayeux's lordship of Kent, the five Sussex rapes and the Count of Mortain's lordship of Cornwall have received considerable attention from Domesday scholars keen to emphasise the measures taken by the Conqueror to improve the security of the kingdom through the organisation of settlement. Along the east coast, too, the compact coastal fiefs in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex are testimony to the importance of defence considerations in the distribution of land. In the midlands, military lordships and castleries were formed in a number of areas, among the most prominent of which were those focused on Belvoir, Dudley, Nottingham, Peak, Stafford, Tickhill and Tutbury. The establishment of the three marcher earldoms of Chester, Shrewsbury and Hereford in the early years of Norman rule, and the extensive authority possessed by those in control of them, provides a clear indication of the importance of defending western England from the Welsh and highlights Norman recognition of the potential for further expansion beyond established borders. The possibility of expanding Norman control northwards was an important factor in the conquest and settlement of Yorkshire and Lancashire, where the creation of a number of extensive castleries and compact military lordships is testimony to the strategic importance of the region in terms of defence against Scottish attack and the suppression of native unrest arising

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[4] Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism 1066-1166* (Oxford, 1932), 192.
[5] Lennard, *Rural England 1086-1135* (Oxford, 1959), 31.
[6] Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy 1066-1194* (Oxford, 1966), 17.
[7] Such lordships, he claimed, were created for offensive rather than defensive purposes, associated with the process of conquest and colonisation. Southern blocks were said to be formed at an early date, blocks in the midlands in the 1070s and northern blocks later. Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (Oxford, 1976), pp.310-12.
[8] Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England* (Cambridge, 1991), 145ff.
[9] *Ibid.*, 147-8.
[10] After a period of neglect, Anglo-Norman landholding patterns have been intensively studied in recent years, and the work of Peter Sawyer, Robin Fleming, David Roffe, Peter Clarke, and most recently Judith Green and Ann Williams, have greatly increased our understanding of the Norman settlement. Its military aspect has also been investigated for some areas, notably by Paul Dalton, John Le Patourel, Christopher Lewis and David Walker.

from the hostility towards Norman rule and a sense of remoteness from the centre of government to the south.

A detailed examination of the tenurial make-up of England in the post-Conquest period reveals the existence of a large number of additional and more localised lordships in areas of strategic significance. The level of historical scrutiny to which such lordships have been subject varies, from lordships such as that of Judhael of Totnes in Devon which have been analysed in considerable depth to more obscure lordships such as that of William son of Stur on the Isle of Wight, which have been subject to little more than fleeting reference.[11] Although it has long been recognised that military considerations were significant in the organisation of settlement in many border and maritime counties, to what extent such considerations shaped the entire settlement of England remains unclear. Fleming hazarded a guess that around 10% of fiefs were of a compact and potentially military nature, but her calculations were based on only a limited number of English regions.[12]

The intention of this study is to address this shortfall and provide a comprehensive study of strategic settlement in a number of key areas, predominantly along the south coast, the Welsh March and the northern border where considerations of defence were especially important, in an attempt to assess more exactly to what extent post-Conquest England was a society organised for war.[13] The evolution of fiefs in these vulnerable areas will be analysed in depth in order to evaluate the role of the king, his tenants-in-chief and their manorial tenants in the defence of the coast, border regions and major lines of communication. The internal organisation of fiefs will be scrutinised, examining levels of subinfeudation and the location of mesne-tenancies in the context of threats to Norman security and the opportunities for expansion open to them. The construction of castles and other fortifications will be considered, based on an analysis of both known sites and potential sites brought to light by contemporary and archaeological evidence. Comparisons with the tenurial situation in 1066 will be made, subject to well-documented reservations regarding the reliability of Domesday Book's information on pre-Conquest landholding, in order to establish whether the changes introduced by the Conqueror amounted to the kind of 'tenurial revolution' propositioned by Fleming. Ultimately, a conclusion will be sought on whether the Conqueror adopted a clear and coherent defensive strategy for settlement along the fringes of the kingdom, implemented from above with military considerations being paramount in the distribution and internal construction of fiefs, or whether the defensive strategies that evolved between 1066 and 1087 were the result of a variety of local measures adopted by the Conqueror's followers in response to regional defence needs.

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The study is primarily based on an intensive analysis of the information provided in Domesday Book, using a substantial relational database of Domesday statistics amounting to some 200,000 records and the retrieval and mapping facilities of an electronic version of the text of Great Domesday.[14] Domesday Book and its satellite

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[11] See, for example, Williams, 'Judhael of Totnes: the life and times of a post-Conquest baron', *ANS*, vol.16 (1993), pp.271-289.
[12] Her estimate is based on just six border and coastal shires (Cheshire, Cornwall, Kent, southern Lancashire, Shropshire and Sussex). Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, 147.
[13] Time constraints make a study of the entire country impossible, but reference will be made to strategic settlement in other regions where relevant.
[14] Palmer, Palmer and Slater, *Domesday Explorer* (2000).

texts are central to any study of strategic settlement in post-Conquest England, and the wealth of information that these documents contain is truly remarkable.[15] Domesday Book provides a detailed and relatively clear account of England south of the Tees in the late eleventh century, including information on lords and their tenants, and the population, resources, tax assessments, values and renders of their land. As landholding information and valuations are often provided for both 1066 and 1086, it is a valuable source for the study of both Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman government and society. Darby's comment that Domesday Book is "probably the most remarkable statistical document in the history of Europe" is hard to dispute.[16]

Domesday Book is, however, an historical source that has to be used with a great deal of caution. It is inevitable, given the timescale of the creation of Domesday Book and the complexity of the task, that clerks would have made mistakes when copying information.[17] Scribal errors are evident throughout the text and often become apparent when comparing Domesday Book with its satellite texts.[18] There is inconsistency in the amount and type of information recorded between counties and circuits, which can be partly attributed to variations in information given to Domesday commissioners and differing methods used by the clerks involved in the production of the survey. Comparisons are therefore not straightforward.

Domesday Book's account of England is by no means all-inclusive. Notable omissions include the counties of Durham and Northumberland and boroughs such as London and Winchester. It does not provide an accurate record of every single vill in England in the late eleventh century. This is especially the case with sokelands and berewicks, which were often included, unnamed or unidentified, within the entry for their parent manor. The Wealden dens attached to manors in Kent and the land between the Ribble and the Mersey in the north-west provide relevant examples. The fact that some place-names are mentioned in claims, disputes, satellite texts and other contemporary sources but not in the main body of the Exchequer text confirms this deficiency.[19] The scale of the problem was highlighted by Darby, who used almost contemporary sources from Canterbury and Rochester to demonstrate that although there were only 347 settlements named in Domesday Kent, there were actually well over 500 in existence.[20] Professor Hoskins, albeit more speculatively, estimated that the places identified in Domesday Book's account of Devon represented only around a tenth of the total number of settlements in existence in the late eleventh century.[21] The identification of place-names included in the text is not always straightforward, making the mapping of Domesday Book's information problematical and at times impossible.[22]

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[15] 'Domesday Book' here refers to both Great and Little Domesday, although the latter is in essence a regional draft that was not incorporated into the main volume. The Phillimore edition, and the name forms used therein, has been used throughout, in spite of the deficiencies of the translation, because of its valuable reference system. The Alecto facsimile edition has been referred to where the translation in the Phillimore edition is inadequate.

[16] Darby, *Domesday England* (Cambridge, 1986), 12. See also Campbell, *Anglo-Saxon State* (London, 2000), ix-xxix; 1-30.

[17] It is traditionally assumed that Domesday Book was compiled between Christmas 1085 and the court at Salisbury in August 1086 prior to the Conqueror's departure for the continent, although it is now recognised that certain parts of the text may have been written or revised in the ensuing few years. For a more controversial view on the timescale of the creation of Domesday Book, see Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book* (Oxford, 2000), who claimed that Domesday Book was not related to the 1085 inquest, and was compiled from inquest records after 1089 as a response to the 1088 revolt.

[18] For example, in the entry for Gronant and Golden Grove in Wales, the value is said to be *xvi car* rather than *xvi solid. DB Cheshire* (FT2,13).

[19] See, for example, the identification of place-names associated with Tonbridge Castle in the *Domesday Monachorum, Textus Roffensis* and *White Book of St. Augustine's*, below, p.57.

[20] Darby, *Domesday England*, 24.

[21] Hoskins, *Provincial England* (London, 1965), 21.

[22] The allowances for unidentified places made by Darby in his *Domesday Geography* series should be noted in this respect.

Hidage, ploughland and valuation statistics are all open to differing interpretation. There is uncertainty over whether the values given in Domesday Book represent the total income derived from a manor by its lord, the net income, or the sums received from the manorial peasantry in the form of annual rents.[23] Matters are further complicated by the fact that money renders are described in four different ways: by tale, by weight, in assayed or blanched coin and at 16d to the ora.[24] For comparative purposes it is necessary to bring all values to one identical base. Renders in kind, mainly confined to large royal manors, cannot often be given a numerical value and thus create further problems in terms of analysis. It is also important to determine whether values include the other renders and valuations that are sometimes mentioned in the text. The entry for the Dorset manor of Gussage mentions a 25 shilling payment from a mill as well as the £15 valuation of the manor.[25] In such cases it seems likely that the overall valuation includes the money received from the mill, although it is impossible to be certain. Composite estates are especially problematical, for it is not always clear whether the assessments and values given in the main entry include those of the component holdings. The royal manor of Wakefield in Yorkshire and its numerous outliers provides an example.[26] It seems likely that the assessment given under the main Domesday entry includes the subordinate holdings mentioned later in the survey, although it is important that each composite manor is dealt with separately. There can be no one accurate method to deal with all such cases because here, as elsewhere, Domesday is inconsistent between circuits and even counties.

Determining the date at which valuations were relevant is complicated by the ambiguous phrasing of the Domesday text. Use of the phrase *quando recepit* provides no clue as to the actual timescale of the transfer of land, although historians generally agree that a date between 1066 and 1071 is likely.[27] Where the scribes have employed the phrase *valuit et valet,* it is uncertain whether this means 1066 and 1086, when acquired and 1086, or 'always'. Mistaken interpretation of the Domesday evidence can have significant consequences, as Fleming's flawed study of declining values as a result of the reorganisation of estates in Dorset clearly revealed.[28] In some instances where the term 'always' is used, it is possible that it may reflect the ignorance of the Domesday commissioners about pre-survey valuations. There are instances where only one value is given for a manor, but satellite texts reveal that two dates are actually being referred to. Because of such variations and idiosyncrasies, each entry is again best judged on its own merits.

Hidage statistics, too, have provoked rigorous debate since Round's analysis in his classic study of *Feudal England.*[29] Some hidage statistics provided in Domesday Book

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[23] For a discussion of Domesday evidence, see Britnell and Campbell (eds.), *A Commercialising Economy* (Manchester, 1995); McDonald and Snooks, *The Domesday Economy: A New Approach to Anglo-Norman History* (Oxford, 1986); Harvey, 'Royal Revenue & Domesday Terminology', *EcHR*, second series, vol.20, no.2 (1967), pp.221-228; Lennard, *Rural England*, Ap.II, 394.
[24] Or 20d to the ora. See Ellis, *A General Introduction to Domesday Book* (London, 1833), 166; Round, 'The Domesday Ora', *EHR*, vol.23 (1908), pp.283-285; Welldon Finn, *An Introduction to Domesday Book* (London, 1963), 189, 226; Harvey, 'Royal Revenue and Domesday Terminology', *EcHR*, second series, vol.20 (1967), pp.221-228.
[25] *DB Dorset* (26,44).
[26] *DB Yorkshire* (1Y15).
[27] *Quando recepit* valuations are not provided in Domesday Book with any degree of regularity. Omissions are especially common in the north, yet in the south-west they were used regularly.
[28] Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, 124-5. See also John Palmer's discussion of Fowler's 'inductive method' to establish *quando recepit* declines in value. Palmer, 'The Conqueror's footprints in Domesday Book', *The Medieval Military Revolution*, ed. Ayton and Price (London, 1995), Appendix.
[29] Round, *Feudal England* (1895); McDonald and Snooks, *The Domesday Economy* (1986); Leaver, 'Five hides in ten counties', *EcHR*, vol.41 (1988), pp.525-542.

appear to bear little relation to the population and resources of a manor. The Berkshire manor of Bucklebury contained 21 ploughteams and had a value of £11, which suggests that its assessment of just two hides was not an accurate reflection of its economic status.[30] Beneficial hidation plays an important part in these discrepancies. Hidage figures sometimes appear to be in multiples, for example of five in Cambridgeshire. Although this suggests a degree of artificiality, this does not greatly affect their reliability as an indicator of the size and resources of a manor. It is possible that the county or each hundred within it was allocated a certain number of hides, which were then allocated downwards in units of five. Rounded values may also have been used, as the valuation of five royal Somerset manors in multiples of £23 of white silver implies.[31]

Domesday Book leaves uncertainty over the exact meaning of the term ploughland.[32] Where the scribe associated ploughlands with ploughteams, for example when highlighting that *x* more ploughs could be employed to reach the ploughland quota or when showing approval where ploughlands equal ploughteams, it is possible that ploughland data represented the arable capacity of a manor. This is primarily the case in circuit three, but elsewhere the correlation between ploughlands and ploughteams is less pronounced. In counties such as Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, ploughland data is often related to hidage, suggesting that it was either an old fiscal assessment or an indication of pre-Conquest arable capacity. In other counties, ploughland data does not appear to be related to hidage or teamland figures, leading Sally Harvey to conclude that "the character of the ploughland, present or past, must be recognised as variable".[33] She suggested that it represented a new fiscal assessment, adapted to suit regional conditions and bearing some relation to agricultural and arable capacity.[34]

Of particular relevance to this study is information concerning the tenure of land, which again must be treated with caution. The use of pre-Conquest data is particularly fraught with difficulties. The inclusion of Anglo-Saxon lords who were dead in 1066, such as Earl Godwin and Earl Aelfgar of Mercia, is an indication that the data in the survey was not always up-to-date. In many counties, piecing together the tenurial map of 1066 is extremely difficult because of missing or ambiguous data. In several counties, overlords are rarely mentioned. In Cheshire, Nottinghamshire and Rutland, in no Domesday entry are two levels of pre-Conquest tenure identified, and in Yorkshire the only named overlord is the Archbishop of York in a handful of cases. In Cornwall, Derbyshire, Huntingdonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Staffordshire and Warwickshire, there are again few examples of overlordship, in all instances amounting to no more than seven named individuals.[35] In his influential

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[30] *DB Berkshire* (1,23).
[31] *DB Somerset* (1,13; 19; 20; 22; 25).
[32] Some counties lack ploughland figures entirely, especially in circuits one and five. For a general discussion of Domesday terminology, see Harvey, 'Taxation and the ploughland in Domesday Book', *Domesday Book: a Reassessment*, pp.86-103; Higham, 'Settlement, land use and Domesday ploughlands', *Landscape History*, vol.12 (1990), pp.33-44.
[33] Harvey, 'Taxation and the ploughland in Domesday Book', 90.
[34] Harvey argued that in circuit three ploughland data was based on teamlands, thus reflecting the extent of arable. In the south east, she claimed it was based on the extent and quality of the arable, and in the south west non-arable sources were also taken into consideration. In devastated regions like Yorkshire, where there were no resources to provide guidelines, ploughland data was often based on the old fiscal assessment. The assessment of newly cultivated regions like Rhos and Rhufoniog in North Wales in ploughlands tends to back up Harvey's theory of a new feudal assessment based on the ploughland. For the south east, see Baker, 'The Kentish *iugum*: its relationship to soils at Gillingham', *EHR*, vol.81 (1966), pp.74-79.
[35] Fleming's claim that there were no overlords named in Derbyshire, Huntingdonshire, Leicestershire, Somerset and Wiltshire is an erroneous one. See, for example, the Domesday entries for Cotes de Val, Kimcote, Misterton, Poultney, Swinford and Walcote in Leicestershire, where Godric is said to have held the land from Ralph before 1066. *DB Leicestershire* (3,5-10). In Somerset, King Edward, Queen Edith, Earl Harold, Alfward, Reinbald of Cirencester and Robert son of Wymarc are all named

study of Domesday Book and the tenurial structure, Peter Sawyer emphasised that Anglo-Saxon lordships were often concealed by the folios of Domesday Book, and that if revealed, would heighten the importance of antecessorial succession in determining the post-Conquest tenurial structure. This was in marked contrast to the established view of historians such as Maitland, who stressed that there was a large gulf between earls and the rest of the pre-Conquest aristocracy, and a large number of minor lordless thanes.[36] The deficiency in Anglo-Saxon overlordship details in some circuits is of vital significance when undertaking any comparison of pre- and post-Conquest landholding patterns, for the possible existence of an unnamed overlord in 1066 makes it difficult to evaluate the magnitude of the changes introduced by the Conqueror. Even where this information is provided, any attempt to establish terms of tenure is inhibited by the vague terminology often used in the survey. For 1066, the main formula used was based on whether land could be freely granted or sold without the lord's permission. This gives some idea of the strength of the bond of lordship, but not of the nature of lordship.

Analysing the 1086 tenurial data is also a laborious task. Manors which appear to be held in demesne in 1086 may have been subinfeudated or farmed out to sub-tenants, as satellite texts can reveal. For example, the archbishop's manor of Orpington in Kent was held in demesne in Domesday Book, but the *Domesday Monachorum* mentioned that half a sulung of the manor at Keston was held by Derman.[37] The manor of Brook, identified in the *Domesday Monachorum* and said to be farmed by Robert of Romney, was in Domesday Book listed under the demesne holdings of the archbishop.[38] As Lennard concluded, "the renting of manors must have been a good deal more prevalent than we should gather from the specific references to it in the Exchequer text".[39]

The identification of individuals is an issue central to any analysis of post-Conquest military organisation, and it is often beset with difficulties. Although the more prominent tenants-in-chief appearing in Domesday Book under one or more name - for example Richard of Tonbridge, the son of Count Gilbert - present few problems, common names like Alwin or Robert could represent any number of individuals. Unless further identifications are provided by other contemporary sources, it is often impossible to determine the exact extent of each tenant's landed interests. Although uncertainty is particularly common with lesser landowners, the identification of greater tenants-in-chief can even present problems, especially where they held additional sub-tenancies where they were only identified by their Christian name in the Domesday text. The confusion between Edeva the Fair and Queen Edith is testimony to the ambiguous nature of the Domesday evidence. Fortunately, the identification of landholders has long attracted the attention of Domesday scholars, and nearly all introductions to Domesday Book in the *Victoria County Histories* deal with the issue in considerable depth. Significant advances have also been made recently, for example by Clarke in his study of the Anglo-Saxon nobility and Keats-

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as overlords, and in Wiltshire secular overlords include King Edward, Earl Harold, Edric the sheriff, Harding and Ralph of Hauville. Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, 114.

[36] Sawyer, '1066-1086: a tenurial revolution?', *Domesday Book: a Reassessment*, pp.71-85; Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 208.

[37] *DB Kent* (3,1); *Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. Douglas, 94.

[38] *DB Kent*, (3,21); *Domesday Monachorum*, ed. Douglas, 92.

[39] Lennard, *Rural England*, 123.

Rohan in her prosopographical account of the individuals named in Domesday Book.[40]

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This account of the problems faced by Domesday scholars is by no means exhaustive, and highlights the need for vigilance when dealing with the Exchequer text. A careful examination of sources associated with the compilation of Domesday Book is essential to highlight some of its inaccuracies and provide information edited out of the final version. The *Liber Exoniensis* provides a detailed account of parts of circuit two and can be used in conjunction with Domesday Book to verify its information.[41] Probably stemming from the stage of the Domesday inquest when information was put before hundredal sessions at the county court, it is of further use in supplying information later excluded from the Exchequer text.[42] A number of other manuscripts appear to stem from the early stages of the Domesday inquest, and are of use in an analysis of the south coast, Welsh March and northern border region. The three surviving Evesham texts contain additional information on Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, including personal names, and a Bath Abbey text is of some use in analysing the settlement of Somerset.[43] The *Yorkshire Summary* provides an outline of Yorkshire carucates arranged geographically, which is of considerable use in clarifying ambiguities in the main Exchequer text, and claims and disputes in circuits two and six can be studied using the *terrae occupatae* and the *clamores*.[44] Pre-Domesday geld rolls for counties such as Kent, which are likely to have been used by the Domesday commissioners, can also be used to compare tax assessments and to verify Domesday Book's information.[45]

Other documents appear to be closely connected with Domesday Book. It is generally assumed that Domesday Book and the *Domesday Monachorum* were closely related via a common source, perhaps the returns made to the Domesday commissioners during the Domesday Inquest.[46] The *Domesday Monachorum* provides a survey of the lands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the monks of Christ Church, the Bishop of Rochester and various other Kentish landowners. This occasionally reveals information not in Domesday Book, and is of particular use in identifying individuals who are not named fully or ignored in Domesday Book. Were it not for the *Domesday Monachorum*, we would not know that the Osbert who held Marshborough in Kent was in fact Osbern Paisforiere, or that the pre-Conquest

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[40] Clarke, *The English Nobility under Edward the Confessor* (Oxford, 1994); Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People* (Woodbridge, 1999). See also Lewis, 'Joining the Dots: a methodology for identifying the English in Domesday Book', *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, ed. Keats-Rohan, pp.69-87; Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 1995).

[41] Discrepancies and additional information from the *Liber Exoniensis* are discussed in the notes to the Phillimore editions of Domesday Book for circuit two. See also Welldon Finn, *The Liber Exoniensis* (London, 1964).

[42] The *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* provides a similar account of parts of circuit three, although this area of England is beyond the scope of this study. *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, ed. Hamilton (London, 1876). There are useful notes on the source in the Phillimore edition of the Cambridgeshire section of Domesday Book.

[43] Discrepancies and additional information from the Evesham texts are printed in the Phillimore edition of Domesday Book for Worcestershire, appendix IV. See also Sawyer, *Evesham A: a Domesday text* (Worcester, 1960); Clarke, 'The Early Surveys of Evesham Abbey: an investigation into the problem of continuity in Anglo-Norman England' (PhD thesis, Birmingham University, 1977). *Bath A* is printed in the Phillimore edition of the Somerset Domesday Book, pp.381-385. See Lennard, 'A neglected Domesday satellite', *EHR*, vol.58 (1943), pp.32-41.

[44] The *terrae occupatae* are included in the *Liber Exoniensis*, and the *clamores* are included in the Phillimore editions of Domesday Book for circuit six.

[45] See Hoyt, 'A Pre-Domesday Kentish Assessment List', *A Medieval Miscellany for D.M. Stenton*, ed. Barnes and Slade, pp.189-202.

[46] *Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. Douglas (1944); Kreisler, *Domesday Monachorum Reconsidered* (PhD thesis, 1967). Kreisler's criticism of Douglas' edition because of inadequate textual criticism and the omission of a section on the assessment of Canterbury and Rochester estates should be noted.

holder of Sheppey in Kent was Osward.[47] The *White Book of St. Augustine's* (the *Excerpta*) and the *Textus Roffensis* provide further additional information for Kent.[48] Along with the *Domesday Monachorum*, they provide a great deal of information on Saxon churches in the county, which is of value in identifying places not always described in Domesday Book and thus gaining a more reliable picture of the boundaries of those fiefs with a potentially military focus.[49] The analysis of Richard of Tonbridge's estate in Kent and Surrey in particular has benefited from the additional information provided by such sources.[50]

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A number of additional contemporary and near-contemporary sources provide information on Anglo-Norman defence strategy and tenurial settlement. While the volume of information they provide is slight when compared to the vast amount of highly detailed data in Domesday Book, they can occasionally be valuable in gaining a broader impression of the threats to Norman rule and the post-Conquest military settlement in light of these threats. In view of the fact that Domesday Book depicts the situation at just two or three points in time, the additional information in such sources is of considerable use in establishing the chronology of the Norman settlement and putting 'flesh on the bones' of the raw Domesday data, for example in establishing ties of kinship between Norman barons and in providing accounts of specific military campaigns during the Conqueror's reign.

Writs and charters occasionally provide useful information on aspects of defence strategy and military tenure. According to David Bates, there are around 140 genuine surviving English writs and charters from the Conqueror's reign, and although the majority of documents are concerned with the rights of ecclesiastical institutions, they can sometimes throw light on the military aspect of tenurial organisation. For example, the notification of the foundation and endowments of the church of St. Clement in the castle of Pontefract by Ilbert of Lacy, Robert his son and their tenants c.1090 enables the identification of a number of Ilbert's key military tenants involved in the settlement and defence of Yorkshire.[51] Information included in abbey cartularies is of considerable use in confirming or supplementing the information provided in Domesday Book, but needs to be treated with caution as many documents are twelfth century copies of lost originals, making the issue of authenticity and reliability of paramount importance. The information concerning land tenure and special privileges naturally tended to be biased in favour of the institution concerned, in an attempt to defend possessions and rights. A prime example is Battle Abbey, which produced a succession of forgeries in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in an attempt to prove that the Conqueror granted charters of exemption to the abbey during his reign.[52]

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[47] *DB Kent* (2,37; 5,213); *Domesday Monachorum*, ed. Douglas, 85; 101.
[48] Ballard, 'An eleventh century inquisition of St. Augustine's, Canterbury', *The British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales*, iv (1920); *Textus Roffensis: a facsimile edition*, ed. Sawyer (1957).
[49] Ward, 'The list of Saxon churches in the Textus Roffensis', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol.44 (1932), pp.39-59; 'The list of Saxon churches in the Domesday Monachorum and White Book of St. Augustines', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol.45 (1933), pp.60-89. The list of Saxon churches in the *Domesday Monachorum* is not complete, omitting over seventy churches mentioned elsewhere in the text, as well as minsters such as Faversham and Sheppey.
[50] See below, p.57.
[51] The notification was a confirmation by Ilbert of Lacy II c.1137-1139. *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol.3, no. 1492.
[52] The forged charters are printed and discussed by Searle, 'Battle Abbey and Exemption: the forged charters', *EHR*, vol.83 (1968), pp.449-480.

Chronicles and narratives form another important source for an evaluation of Anglo-Norman defence policy. The Norman Conquest in part provoked a revival of historiography, resulting in the survival of a number of sources that can throw considerable light upon events in England under the Conqueror. Of the English sources, the manuscripts that make up the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* provide a useful narrative source for most important events of the period.[53] The Winchester, Worcester and Peterborough versions of the chronicle are especially useful, for they cover the period to 1070, 1079 and 1154 respectively. They contain a considerable amount of information of use in an analysis of threats to Anglo-Norman security, in particular their accounts of the early rebellions against Norman rule in the north and elsewhere and the rebellion of earls Ralph, Roger and Waltheof in 1075.[54] The Worcester version is especially well informed on Anglo-Scandinavian relations, and contains a useful account of the Danish invasion of 1069.[55] Anglo-Scottish relations are also discussed, for instance during the account of Queen Margaret of Scotland in 1067.[56] The annals for the Conqueror's reign were probably based on near-contemporary accounts, which enhances their reliability, although the confused description of the events of 1067-69 serves as a reminder that the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* was not always chronologically accurate.

The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* was employed by many later historians as a source for their account of the late Saxon period and the Conqueror's reign. Among them was John of Worcester, whose informative yet at times flawed chronicle was written in the first half of the twelfth century.[57] Its main use is for the information that it provides that diverges from or is additional to the information in the surviving versions of the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle,* and for the emphasis that it places on chronology. Of more limited use is Eadmer, whose somewhat oversimplified and at times unreliable *Historia Novorum in Anglia* and *Vita Anselmi* were written in the early twelfth century at Christ Church, Canterbury.[58] Regarded primarily as a biography of Anselm, the two sources are mainly concerned with events after his succession to the archbishopric in 1093, but they do contain a limited amount of information concerning the reign of William I, in particular relating to dispute between Lanfranc and Odo of Bayeux over encroachment on church land resulting in the Penenden Trial.[59]

Another prominent English commentator was William of Malmesbury, whose *Gesta Regum Anglorum* discussed most of the key threats to Anglo-Norman security in the late eleventh century, including the early rebellions in Exeter and York and unrest in Northumbria in 1080, and the continental campaigns of the period.[60] Chapters in his history were devoted to Edgar the Aetheling and earls Edwin, Morcar, Waltheof and

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[53] *The Anglo Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition,* ed. Dumville and Keynes (1983-2001).
[54] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle, MS D,* ed. Cubbin, 81-6.
[55] *Ibid.,* 84. Cubbin claimed that the chronicle was written under the patronage of Aldred, bishop of York between 1061 and 1069, hence explaining the interest in northern affairs. Interest in Scandinavian affairs before 1066 can be attributed to the fact that the chronicle seems to have been written at Worcester under Bishop Oswald, who was of Scandinavian descent. *Ibid.,* lxxix.
[56] *Ibid.,* 82.
[57] *The Chronicle of John of Worcester,* ed. Darlington, McGurk and Bray (3 vols, 1995-1998). McGurk described the chronicle as a confusing and poorly researched account, showing "a wild zest, an enthusiasm for newly-found sources without any discernibly clear aim at coordination". Darlington and McGurk, 'The *chronicon ex chronicis* of 'Florence' of Worcester and its use of sources for English history before 1066', *ANS,* vol.5 (1982), 195.
[58] *Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England,* ed. Bosanquet (London, 1964); *Vita Sancti Anselmi,* ed. Southern (London, 1962).
[59] For a discussion of the evidence, see Bates, 'The land pleas of William I's reign: Penenden Heath revisited', *BIHR,* vol.51 (1978), pp.1-19.
[60] *William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings,* ed. Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom (3 vols, 1998-9), i, 462; 498-500.

Ralph, all of whom posed a threat to security at various stages during the Conqueror's reign.[61] His claim, however, that William was "successfully holding the whole of England in his power, while he had all the Welsh as tributaries" serves as a reminder that the source was not without bias.[62] A similar bias is evident in Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, where he claimed that the Conqueror had succeeded in subjecting Scotland and Wales to Norman rule.[63] Henry's account should not be dismissed as an historical source in supplement to the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, for it provides a considerable amount of information relating to unrest in the north, the Danish and Scottish raids and the Ely Revolt.[64] However, it is a source that should be treated with much caution, as there are very few dates in his work and his tendency to write in themes leads to considerable confusion. Simeon of Durham's *History of the Kings of England* and *History of the Church of Durham* both contain some original material concerning secular affairs in the north, and are of use in a study of the security of northern England. His account of William's harrying campaign of 1069-70, as a result of which he claimed that land between York and Durham was uncultivated for nine years, has considerable bearing on military requirements in northern England.[65]

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One of the most controversial contemporary Norman sources is the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, a detailed account of the Battle of Hastings and the events leading up to William's coronation.[66] The *Carmen* appears to be an early source written by a man well acquainted with English affairs and the events of 1066, although the rhetorical passages should be highlighted and the reliability of the poem verified by other sources. Despite its flaws, some valuable information can be extracted from the poem, in particular the evidence of early Anglo-Norman fortifications at Dover.[67]

Prominent among Norman contemporary chroniclers was William of Jumièges, whose early account of Norman and English history to 1070 is especially useful for Normandy in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, and in particular Anglo-Norman relations.[68] Although William of Jumièges is a valuable source for the pre-Conquest period, the value of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* declines considerably after 1066, when his narrative became brief and incomplete. However, the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* does contain some information that warrants further investigation. Of relevance to the issue of resistance to Norman rule is his information concerning skirmishes in London in 1066, the camp at Wallingford and the rebellion of Eustace of Boulogne, written before Eustace was reconciled with the king.[69] He also commented upon the 1069 York campaign and the attack by Harold's sons on the

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[61] *Ibid.*, 466-8; 464-6.
[62] *Ibid.*, 476.
[63] *Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum*, ed. Greenaway, pp.404-406.
[64] *Ibid.*, 22-24.
[65] *Simeon of Durham, Historia Regum*, ed. Arnold (1885), ii, 188.
[66] *The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens*, ed. Barlow (1999). It is widely assumed to be a poem addressed to the Conqueror and written shortly after 1066 by Guy of Amiens, and was probably the poem mentioned by Orderic Vitalis in his *Ecclesiastical History* and used by William of Poitiers in his *Gesta Guillelmi*. The accepted view came under fire from R.H.C. Davis, who claimed that it was an unreliable and unoriginal twelfth century account, but his views have been discredited by subsequent studies by historians such as Engels, Van Houts and Barlow. Davis, 'The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio', *EHR*, vol.93 (1978), pp.241-261; Davis, Engels, et al., 'The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio: a discussion', *ANS*, vol.2 (1979), 1-20; Van Houts, 'Latin Poetry and the Anglo-Norman Court 1066-1135: the Carmen de Hastingae Proelio', *Journal of Medieval History*, vol.15 (1989), pp.39-62.
[67] *The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens*, ed. Barlow, 36.
[68] *Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*, ed. Van Houts (2 vols, 1992). It must be remembered that it was written at the Conqueror's request and there is a lack of other sources to verify its validity.
[69] *Ibid.*, ii, 170; 176-178. His account of Eustace's rebellion may have stemmed from the castellan Hugh III de Montfort, who held land from Jumièges.

south-west, although his sources are unknown and his narrative is vague.[70] The *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* provides illuminating evidence concerning the position of Robert Curthose in Normandy during the Conqueror's reign, which has some bearing on the issue of Anglo-Norman defence against continental threats.

Of more use for the post-Conquest period is William of Poitiers, whose *Gesta Guillelmi* was written in the early 1070s and covered the period to 1071.[71] His history provided information on the careers of the Conqueror's main advisers, which is of considerable use in determining the role of individuals in defence strategy. Especially prominent were William fitz Osbern and Odo of Bayeux, whose role as governors of England during the Conqueror's absence in 1067 was praised.[72] He highlighted the Norman emphasis on fortifications as a means of defence, recording the construction of castles in boroughs like Dover, London and Winchester.[73] His detailed accounts of rebellions and the ensuing raids in the north are valuable in understanding the scale of English resistance to Norman rule, and the response of the Conqueror to such threats, and he provides a valuable commentary on the distribution of "rich fiefs, for the sake of which [men] would willingly bear toil and danger".[74] Although William of Poitiers is an important source, the *Gesta Guillelmi* is plagued with bias as it was written essentially to exalt the Conqueror and to justify his succession to the English throne. His claim that the Conqueror "subjugated all the cities of the English in a single day, between the third hour and the evening, without much outside help" is a clear example of this partiality.[75]

The strong pro-Norman bias evident in the work of William of Jumièges and William of Poitiers was toned down in the early twelfth century by Orderic Vitalis, both in his version of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* and in his own *Ecclesiastical History.*[76] Orderic Vitalis' revision of William of Jumièges, mainly written before 1109, included some valuable additions and corrections.[77] Of particular use in relation to defence against Scandinavian attack was the new information concerning Tosti's visit to the king of Norway, perhaps based on an English source.[78] He stressed that the peace after the fall of York was only temporary, and identified Edgar the aetheling as a possible threat to William's power.[79] His revision highlighted that the Norman Conquest was not as rapid, and the position of the Conqueror not as secure, as William of Jumièges had suggested. This theme was continued in his *Ecclesiastical History,* which provides an insight into many aspects of Anglo-Norman history. The value of Orderic Vitalis' work lies in the fact that he had first-hand experience of life in both England and Normandy during the Conqueror's reign. With a Norman father and English mother,

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[70] *Ibid.*, ii, 178-182.

[71] *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers,* ed. Davis and Chibnall (1998). William was from Préaux in Normandy, and had trained as a knight and fought in secular warfare but turned to the church, holding positions as a chaplain of Duke William and archdeacon of Lisieux. He spent some time in England after the Conquest, and was probably the William of Poitou named in Domesday Book as a canon receiving prebends of the church of St. Martin's in Dover. His possible connection with Odo of Bayeux may have provided him with information about the Battle of Hastings and the organisation of settlement in south eastern England, and he may have had access to information derived from Earl Morcar, who was in the care of the Beaumont family in Normandy between 1071 and 1087.

[72] *Ibid.*, 164.

[73] *Ibid.*, 144, 160-164.

[74] *Ibid.*, 163-168, 182.

[75] *Gesta Guillelmi,* ed. Davis and Chibnall, 143. His claims concerning early Norman involvement in Maine should be viewed in a similar light. He stated that "for long before [the conquest] the region of Maine had been subject to the sway of the dukes of Normandy". *Ibid.*, 61.

[76] *Gesta Normannorum Ducum,* ed. Van Houts (2 vols, Oxford, 1992) and *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis,* ed. Chibnall (6 vols, 1969-80).

[77] However, his version of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* does contain inaccuracies and falsehoods, for example concerning the date of the battle of Stamford Bridge and the claim that Harold's men killed King Gruffydd of Wales. *Ibid.*, ii, 168 and 160-162.

[78] *Ibid.*, ii, 162.

[79] *Ibid.*, ii, 182, 180.

Orderic was brought up in Shropshire during William I's reign, which encouraged an interest in English affairs.[80] Although Orderic was only ten when he left England, he cannot have failed to gain some impression of the impact of the Norman Conquest on the English population. Awareness of dramatic events such as the harrying campaign of 1069-1070 would have enhanced his English sympathies. As Chibnall commented, "the memories of his English boyhood were to be an important element in the unique and remarkable book to which he devoted his life".[81]

Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History* provides descriptions of many prominent Norman barons, especially those connected with St. Évroul. Of particular value in analysing the early distribution of English fiefs and the military activities of those in control of them are his accounts of the families of Montgomery-Bêlleme, Grandmesnil, Warenne and Hugh of Avranches. Orderic's list of men involved in the Battle of Hastings and the account of the campaigns of 1068-69, probably based on the lost conclusion of William of Poitiers' *Gesta Guillelmi*, are both extremely useful in determining those barons involved in the initial process of conquest, settlement and defence of England.[82]

Controversy surrounds Wace's twelfth century *Roman de Rou,* which includes some valuable information relating to Anglo Norman warfare, and the Norman Conquest in particular.[83] Details concerning strategy, tactics and logistics are useful in an analysis of William the Conqueror's military organisation, and his emphasis on the importance of castles is valuable in the study of fortifications as a means of defence. Wace's narrative of the reign of the Conqueror was not extensive, but he provided a considerable amount of information on individuals and their role in the Conquest, which although not always accurate or free from bias, is of use when confirmed by other independent sources. Modern historiographical treatment of Wace has been mixed.[84] A particular focus of debate has been Wace's list of those involved in the 1066 invasion campaign which, if valid, is of great use in relation to the post-Conquest distribution of English territory. Bennett claimed that the names in the list were not those men crossing the Channel in 1066, but instead reflected men supporting Henry against his father, Henry II, in 1173-4.[85] However, Elisabeth Van Houts has subsequently identified all but one of the 116 names in the list, using charters, Domesday Book, and the work of Keats-Rohan and the Linacre Unit for Prosopographical Research.[86] As Van Houts concluded, the combination of "oral and written family history is perhaps Wace's most important contribution to the historiography of the Norman Conquest of England".[87]

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[80] However, it is important to remember that the *Ecclesiastical History* was not written until the twelfth century, when Orderic's recollection of events may have been hazy or clouded by hindsight. For example, in his description of the distribution of land after the Ely Revolt, Orderic noted that William of Warenne received Surrey, yet Domesday Book does not show him in possession of any Surrey land, and he was not made earl of the county until the late 1080s. *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis,* ed. Chibnall, ii, 264.

[81] Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis*, 3.

[82] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis,* ed. Chibnall, ii, 174;214-236.

[83] *Wace, Le Roman de Rou,* ed. Holden (Paris, 1970).

[84] Round, *Feudal England*, pp.258-321; Douglas, 'Companions of the Conqueror', *History,* vol.28 (1943), pp.129-147; Bennett, 'Wace and warfare', *ANS*, vol.11 (1988), pp.37-57.

[85] Bennett, "Poetry as History?' The Roman de Rou as a source for the Norman Conquest', *ANS*, vol.5 (1982), 28; and 'Wace and warfare', *Anglo-Norman Studies,* vol.11 (1988), pp.37-57.

[86] Van Houts, 'Wace as historian', *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, pp.103-132.

[87] *Ibid.*, 116.

Abbey chronicles can also provide some valuable information relating to Anglo-Norman settlement and defence. The Abingdon Chronicle, although mainly local in outlook, recorded the rebellions against the Conqueror in the early 1070s in which the abbey and its tenants were involved.[88] The expedition to Scotland of 1080 was mentioned because of the abbot's involvement, and reference to the threats from Scandinavia, Scotland and Wales are of use in determining the security of the Anglo-Norman realm. The Abingdon Chronicle also provided information about its founders and benefactors, which is of use in identifying individuals mentioned in Domesday Book and in determining the history of individual estates that may have possessed military responsibilities, both lay and ecclesiastical. It recorded castleguard duties at Windsor, the abbey's initial reliance on stipendiary knights, and the introduction of knight service to meet the feudal quota.

As Elisabeth Van Houts has shown, non-Norman continental sources can also be used to gain an understanding of Anglo-Norman England from a different perspective, in particular threats to English security from overseas.[89] Of the Scandinavian sources, Adam of Bremen's *History of the Archbishops of Bremen* is worth consulting, for he visited Swein of Denmark in 1068-69.[90] His history is weakened by his reliance on inaccurate information and hearsay, but a few comments are worth pursuing, for example his claim that William's wealth owed much to the confiscation of 300 Danish ships and gold, information perhaps stemming from Swein.[91] The biography of Cnut IV, written by the Anglo-Saxon exile Aelnoth of Canterbury at Odense circa 1122, provides an interpretation of the motives for the 1085 Danish invasion plan. Although it is a late account, Aelnoth's claim that the English sought Danish aid to expel the tyrannous Norman invaders seems a valid interpretation which can be backed up by other sources.[92] The portrayal of Cnut as the protector of the English against the Conqueror, and the view that England was still part of the Scandinavian kingdom, helps to explain why Scandinavia was still seen as a major threat to Anglo-Norman security in the 1080s.

In an examination of the rebellious activities of Earl Waltheof, *King Harold's Saga* contains an interesting poem written in England after 1076 by Thorkill Skallason, an Icelandic poet in Waltheof's retinue.[93] The source is obviously biased in favour of Waltheof, whom it describes as being betrayed by the king, and therefore it needs to be treated with caution.[94] The *World Chronicle* of the Irish recluse Marianus Scotus contains a few interesting remarks in its coverage of world history to 1076. Written in Mainz, the chronicle refers to famine and cannibalism in northern England in 1070 caused by the Scottish and French campaigns, which is also mentioned by Simeon of Durham. Sources from the Holy Roman Empire occasionally provide information concerning the Conqueror's foreign policy. The annals of the monastery of Niederalteich, written in 1075 by an anonymous author, provide information on Norman fatalities at Hastings, supposedly based on eyewitness accounts. If such information was gained from Englishmen who fought at Hastings, it would confirm that some Englishmen fled their country soon after the Conquest.

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[88] *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. Stevenson (2 vols, London, 1858).
[89] Van Houts, 'The Norman Conquest through European eyes', *EHR*, vol.110 (1995), pp.832-853.
[90] *Adam of Bremen, History of the Archbishop's of Hamburg-Bremen*, ed. Tschan (New York, 1959).
[91] His comment that eight days separated Harold usurping the throne and William invading England is testimony to his unreliability. *Adam of Bremen*, ed. Tschan, 159.
[92] Van Houts, 'The Norman Conquest through European eyes', 837.
[93] *Harold's Saga* forms part of Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, a thirteenth century history of Norway from prehistoric times to 1177. Details about English history are frequently erroneous, and the source needs to be treated with extreme caution. *King Harald's Saga*, ed. Magnusson and Pálsson (Middlesex, 1971).
[94] Van Houts, 'The Norman Conquest through European eyes', pp.835-6.

Welsh chronicles can also be used to analyse the Conqueror's defence policy along the Welsh March, for they provide a background to Welsh history and some idea of relations with Wales both before and after the Conquest. Although references to the Normans prior to 1090 are few, they provide occasional glimpses of the nature of military settlement along the march. The most prominent source is *Brut y Tywysogyon,* or *The Chronicle of the Princes,* compiled by a Welshman using both Norman and Welsh sources. It was written in the late thirteenth century, which resulted in some inaccuracies and an unclear chronology. However, accounts of English campaigns into Wales, for example in 1073 when "the French ravaged Ceredigion and Dyfed" and in the following year when "the French ravaged Ceredigion by itself" provide some idea of the aggressive policies adopted by settlers in the marcher shires.[95]

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A variety of other sources exist which can be used to enhance our understanding of Anglo-Norman defence strategy. In an examination of Anglo-Saxon defence policy and its impact on the post-Conquest situation, the tenth century *Burghal Hidage* is a valuable source listing 33 fortifications that formed part of a national system of defence in the south.[96] The fiscal statistics relating to the forts provide some idea of the scale of the fortifications, and those statistics relating to Warwick, Worcester and Wessex as a whole can be compared with those in Domesday Book. A poem concerning the Battle of Maldon is also worth examining for its information on the tenth century Danish threat and Anglo-Saxon military tactics. Written by an anonymous author probably soon after 991, it contains some useful information which can be confirmed by sources like the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* and John of Worcester on many occasions. However, as Scragg recognised in his edition of the text, it was a rather heroic account laced with elaborate imagery and dramatic account, and should thus be treated with caution.[97]

The Bayeux Tapestry provides a fascinating contemporary source that should be examined alongside the chronicles. It seems likely that it was commissioned by Odo of Bayeux and made by an Englishmen who may have been an eye-witness to the events of 1066, for he seems to be well-informed on cavalry techniques. Of particular use for the subject of Anglo-Norman defence is the depiction of the construction of a castle at Hastings, although whether the motte and bailey castle depicted in the scene was truly representative of the type of castle built by the Normans in the immediate post-Conquest period has been a matter of some scholarly debate.[98] Davison, in his article on the origins of English castles, claimed that most earthwork castles in the 1060s were simple ring-work enclosures, constructed within a short space of time in an often hostile environment, and that it was not until after 1068 that motte and bailey castles became the standard form of fortification.[99]

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[95] *Brut y Tywysogyon, or The Chronicle of the Princes*, ed. Jones (1952).
[96] The *Burghal Hidage* survives in the form of later copies, which have been printed by David Hill and Alexander Rumble in their edition of the text. *The Defence of Wessex: the Burghal Hidage and Anglo Saxon Fortifications*, ed. Hill and Rumble (Manchester, 1996).
[97] *The Battle of Maldon AD 991*, ed. Scragg (Oxford, 1991).
[98] *The Bayeux Tapestry: A Comprehensive Survey*, ed. Stenton (London, 1965); *The Bayeux Tapestry: The Complete Tapestry in Colour*, ed. Wilson (London, 1985).
[99] Davison, 'The origins of the castle in England: the Institute's Research Project', *Archaeological Journal*, vol.124 (1968), pp.202-11. Barbara English suggested that the castles of the midlands and northern England, built between 1068 and 1070, may have also been enclosure or ring-work castles. English, 'Towns, Mottes and Ringworks of the Conqueror', *The Medieval Military Revolution*, pp.45-61.

Lanfranc's correspondence, although mainly concerned with papal and ecclesiastical affairs, is of use in relation to the 1075 crisis.[100] It provides some idea of the motives of the rebels, although it was obviously somewhat coloured by Lanfranc's loyalty to the king. A letter to the bishop of Durham in 1075 also highlighted an awareness of the Breton and Danish threat.[101] Twelfth century administrative documents are of some use in the analysis of Domesday statistics and post-Conquest feudal tenure, and Keefe's study of such sources during the reign of Henry III is of particular value in this respect.[102] The 1166 *Cartae Baronum* is of especial use in an analysis of the introduction of feudal tenure to Anglo-Norman England, and many of the knights mentioned in the source can be traced back to their Domesday predeccessors, providing some indication of possible military obligations at an earlier date.[103]

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Not one of the available sources is therefore without its problems: all confuse elements of myth, hearsay, triumphalism or simple error. Exposing their 'facts' requires careful analysis in terms of origin, intent and purpose, combined with a careful evaluation of any relationship between the sources. Only where credible material is common to two or more distinct contemporary sources, or where unique information in a single reliable source is compelling, can the material be confidently used to throw light upon the factors governing the tenurial settlement of England in the context of threats to Anglo-Norman rule. Fortunately, the materials appear sufficiently rich and varied for that purpose.

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[100] *Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. Clover and Gibson (Oxford, 1979), nos. 31-35.
[101] *Ibid.*, no. 36.
[102] Keefe, *Feudal Assessments and the Political Community under Henry II and his Sons* (London, 1983)
[103] Red Book of the Exchequer, ed. Hall (3 vols, London, 1896).

II

The Threats to Norman Rule

A study of Anglo-Norman defence strategy in border and maritime regions must take into consideration the nature and magnitude of the threats to Norman rule that influenced the subsequent tenurial settlement. The initial priority for the Conqueror and his followers must have been to guard against internal challenges to Norman rule. This would have been an immense task – this was a *conquest* after all, and apart from a handful of Norman settlers in England under Edward the Confessor, there are no indications of any native support for the duke's claim to the English throne. The Norman conquerors must have felt a deep sense of insecurity in the hostile environment of England in the late 1060s, and the rapid programme of castle building is undoubtedly a reflection of this. The resistance to their rule that surfaced during this period has no parallels in English history prior to the Civil War.

Norman insecurity was compounded by the danger of Scandinavian assault along the southern and eastern coastline, especially in the early years of the Conqueror's reign when Scandinavian leaders were able to take advantage of his tenuous hold on the native population and the outbreaks of hostility to Norman rule. Pre-Conquest Scandinavian settlement in eastern England meant that Viking raiders were not always unwelcome in such areas. There was also the possibility of Scandinavian assault from bases in Ireland, which may have affected settlement in western England. The aggressive activities of the Welsh proved a threat to the security of marcher shires, and a strong Norman presence in the region was essential in order to maintain the border and consolidate Norman authority prior to the expansion of control westwards. Likewise, in both Yorkshire and Lancashire the Normans had to defend the border with Scotland and prevent Scottish attack undermining Norman authority in the north. The resistance of Northumbria to Norman rule in the late 1060s is testimony to the volatility of the region. It would have been vital for the Conqueror to analyse the strategic needs of the kingdom in terms of defence against these dangers, on both a local and national level, and make provisions to effectively guard against any undermining of his authority in England and elsewhere within the Norman Empire.

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Defence against native opposition had a major impact on Norman settlement patterns in many parts of the kingdom. The threat of internal revolt was acute,

especially in the early phases of the conquest.[1] As Morillo recognised, the threat of internal rebellion "often constituted a greater danger than that posed by external enemies", exacerbated because the two were often linked.[2] William of Poitiers highlighted the problem when he wrote that the English could not be persuaded "to prefer peace and quiet to changes and revolt".[3]

Edgar Aetheling formed an important focus of opposition in the initial phases of the conquest. As the grandson of Edmund Ironside and half-brother of Edward the Confessor, his claim to the English throne was stronger than that of both Harold and William. Although in 1066 he was only a teenager with little experience or political weight, his potential danger to Norman control of England could not be ignored, even if he was only the "pawn in other people's games" that Nicholas Hooper has suggested.[4] The Worcester version of the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* reported that in 1066 "Archbishop Aldred and the citizens of London wanted to have Edgar Aetheling as king, as was his proper due; and Edwin and Morcar promised him that they would fight on his side".[5] The Peterborough version of the *Chronicle* reported that in 1066 Brand was elected abbot of Peterborough, and was sent to Edgar Aetheling "because the local people expected that he would be king, and the Aetheling gladly gave his assent to it".[6] These accounts demonstrate the perceived strength of Edgar's claim to the throne throughout England, and the fact that he was one of the men whom the Conqueror took to Normandy in 1067 "whose loyalty and power he particularly suspected" clearly demonstrates that the Conqueror was acutely aware of the danger that he posed.[7] The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* reported that in 1069 Edgar was among the northern rebels who, in alliance with the Danes, "stormed and razed the castle [of York] and captured an incalculable treasure in it, and killed many hundreds of Frenchmen and took many with them to the ships".[8] This rebellion in York provides a clear example of resistance to the attempts of the Norman conquerors to impose their authority on the north, and the severity of the campaign to repress this outburst of hostility, in Yorkshire and beyond, clearly demonstrates the perceived magnitude of the threat.[9]

Earls Edwin and Morcar, who rallied around Edgar Aetheling as a potential claimant to the throne, formed another important focus of opposition in the initial phase of the Norman Conquest, as their removal to the Continent with Edgar in 1067 highlights. They were prominent landholders in northern England before 1066, and undoubtedly had a significant following. Their tenurial position was especially strong

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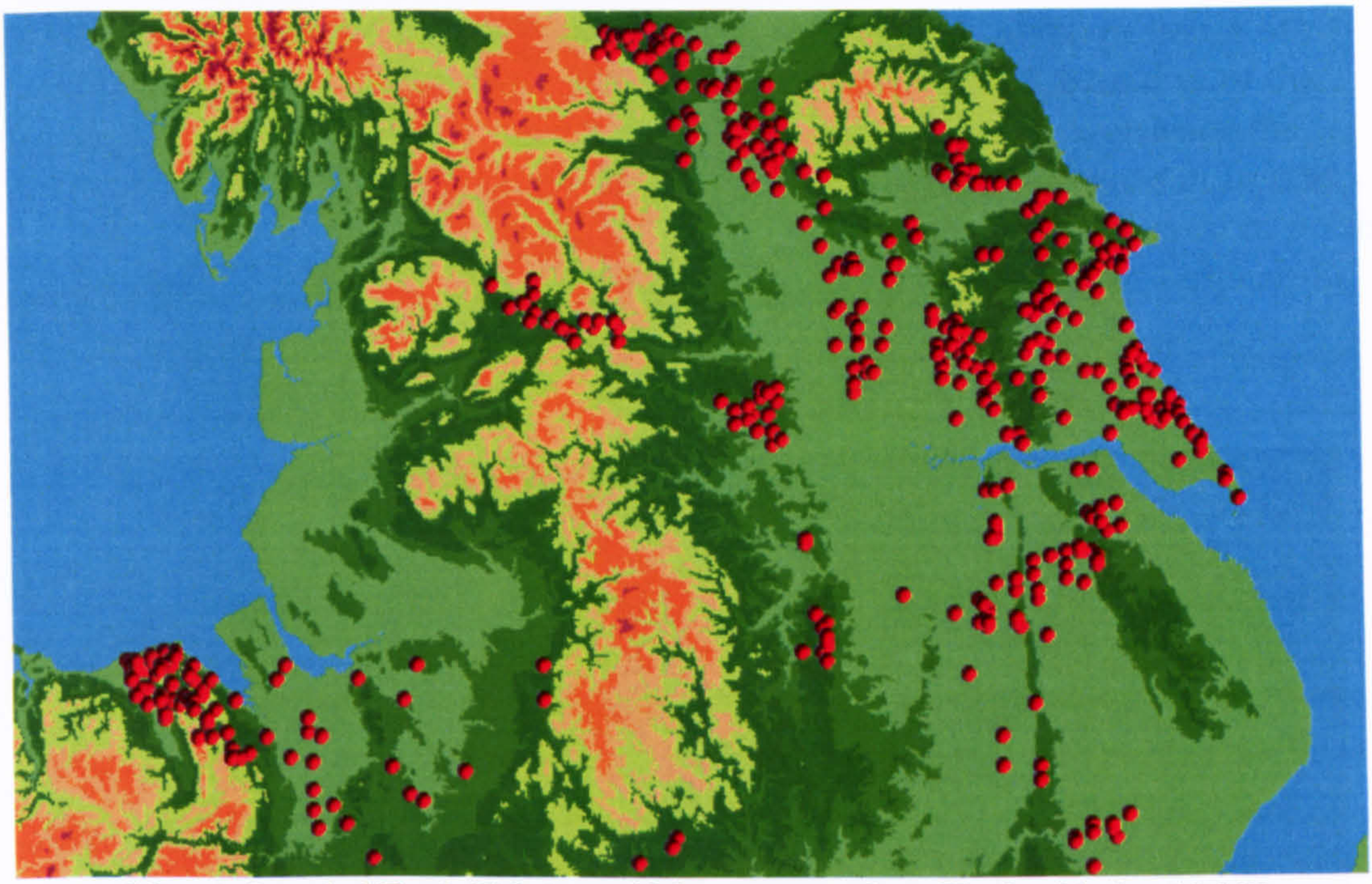
[1] For an account of the English reaction to the Norman Conquest, see Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 1995).
[2] Morillo, *Warfare under the Anglo-Norman Kings* (Woodbridge, 1994), 39.
[3] *William of Poitiers*, ed. Davis and Chibnall, 182.
[4] Hooper, 'Edgar the Aetheling: Anglo-Saxon Prince, Rebel and Crusader', *Anglo-Saxon England*, vol.14 (1985), 212. For his likely age, see the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* of William of Jumièges, where it is stated that the northern rebels "appointed as their king a boy who descended of the same noble stock as King Edward". *Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*, ed. Van Houts, ii, 181. Edgar was born when his father was in exile, and spent most of his youth in Sweden, Russia and Hungary, which limited the extent to which he could build up any independent following in England. Furthermore, Domesday Book recorded that he had no territorial interests in England before 1066 from which to draw support.
[5] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 80-1.
[6] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock et al., 142-3 (MS E).
[7] William of Poitiers suggested that they were taken to Normandy "so that during his absence no revolt instigated by them might break out, and the general populace, deprived of their leaders, would be less capable of rebellion". *William of Poitiers*, ed. Davis and Chibnall, 166. The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* listed the hostages as Archbishop Stigand, Aethelnoth abbot of Glastonbury, Edgar Aetheling, Earl Edwin, Earl Morcar, Earl Waltheof "and many other good men from England". *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 81
[8] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle, MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 84.
[9] There were related outbreaks of rebellion in Cheshire, Dorset, Somerset and Staffordshire. For an analysis of the impact of the harrying, see below, p.180.

in Yorkshire, where Morcar had been appointed as earl of Northumbria after the rebellion against the rule of Tosti in 1065, and along the Welsh March where Edwin had been a dominant landholder. The threat that the men posed after 1066 is clearly evident in their involvement in the rebellion of 1068 in support of Bleddyn of Gwynedd.



Map 1: Land of Earls Edwin and Morcar in northern England before 1066[10]

Earl Morcar continued to pose a threat to Norman rule in the aftermath of the harrying campaign, participating in the Fenland rebellion of 1071.[11] The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* reported that Morcar went to Ely by ship, and was joined by Bishop Aethelwine and Siward Bearn "and many hundred men with them".[12] The reputation and skill of Hereward, another prominent figure in this rebellion, attracted additional supporters hostile to Norman rule, especially those who had been dispossessed after 1066. The Isle of Ely was taken over by rebels and used as a base for guerrilla raids on the surrounding area. The significance of the threat to Norman security is emphasised by William I's personal involvement in the crushing of the rebellion. Even after defeat, Hereward and his men continued their guerrilla warfare campaign from the Bruneswald, posing a threat to Norman settlers in the surrounding region.[13]

Counties with strong attachments to the Anglo-Saxon earls were especially susceptible to rebellion against Norman rule in the immediate aftermath of the Conquest. The Godwineson family had been prominent landholders in south-western England before 1066. Earl Harold held a number of key manors in prominent locations, and bore a considerable amount of responsibility for coastal defence. Two of his former manors, Alphington and Topsham, were located in the immediate vicinity of Exeter, and it is likely that the earl also occupied a prominent

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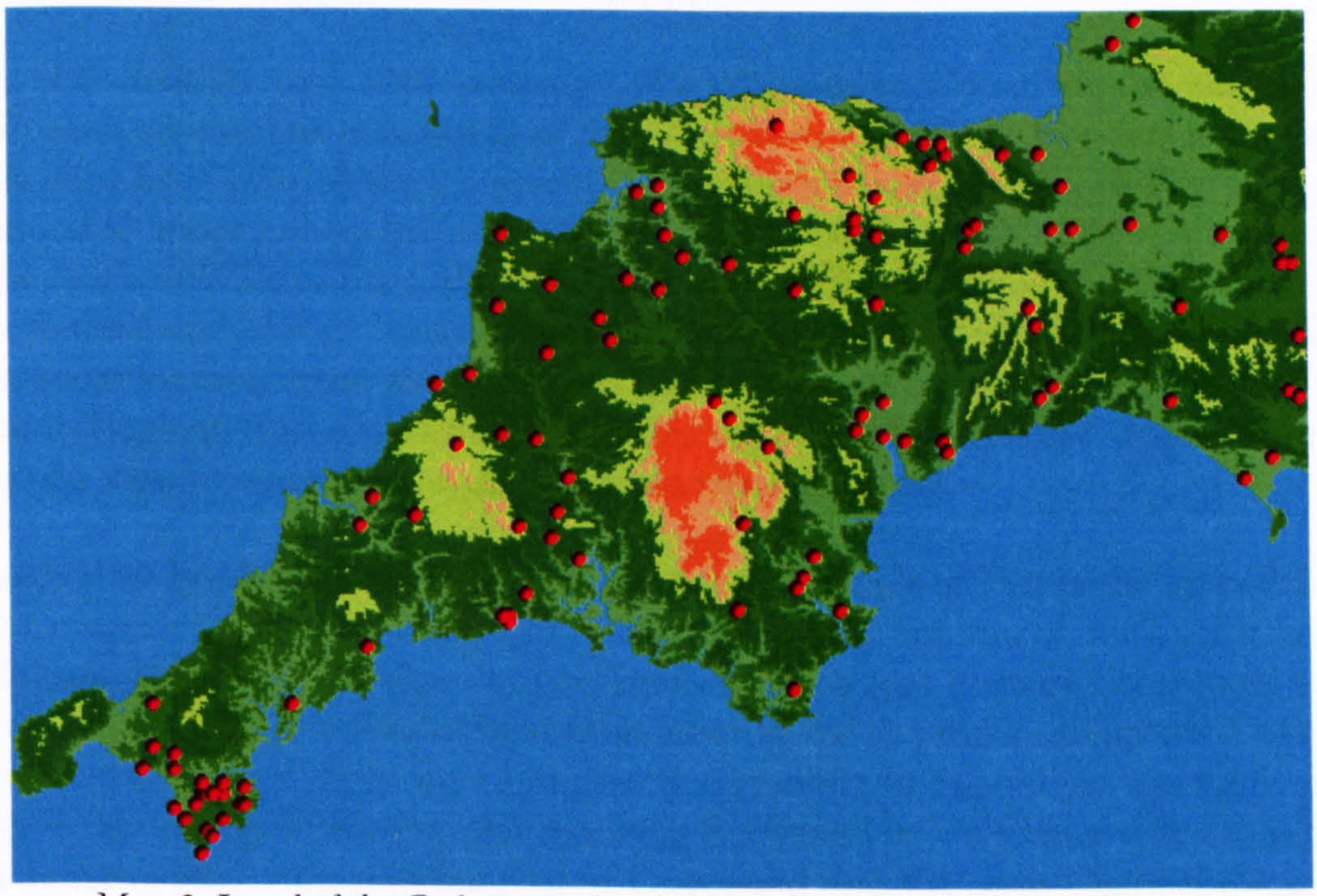
[10] The map shows those lands explicitly said to be held by the earls before 1066 and further land by Edwin and Morcar where they are not identified by their title.

[11] For an account of the rebellion, see Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, 49.

[12] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle, MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 85.

[13] The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* noted that all the rebels surrendered to the king "except Hereward alone and those who could escape with him, and he led them out valiantly". *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 85.

position within the borough. His mother, Countess Gytha, held the nearby manor of Woodbury, and Earl Leofwin was the lord of the manor of Pinhoe to the north-east of the city. The close association of the royal borough of Exeter with the Godwineson family before 1066 was perhaps a contributory factor in the outbreak of rebellion there in 1068, when the city refused to submit to the Conqueror and was besieged for eighteen days. The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* reported that a large part of the king's army perished during this campaign.[14] The scale of the threat was appreciated by William I, who must have been aware of the implications of the presence of Countess Gytha, the aunt of Swein of Denmark in addition to the mother of the former king. Prestwich's claim that she was involved in a plan to overthrow the Normans in England, with the support of the Danes and Harold's sons in Ireland, seems plausible.[15] The fact that William led a campaign into the south-west in person and permitted a surprisingly lenient settlement is an indication of how seriously he viewed the situation.



Map 2: Land of the Godwineson family in south-western England before 1066

Harold's sons Edmund, Godwine and Magnus posed a threat to Norman security for several years after 1066. Given the lack of real legitimacy in William's own claim, the threat of any candidate with even the flimsiest connection to the pre-1066 kings must have appeared very real, more especially since they could count on some native support. Refusing to submit to the Conqueror, Harold's sons maintained hopes of a restoration of their family to the English throne. They fled to Dublin after the Conquest and gained the support of King Diarmid of Leinster in their campaign against the Normans. By the summer of 1068 they had gathered a seemingly large naval force in Dublin and were able to launch an attack on the west coast of England. The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* revealed that they ravaged around the mouth of the Avon and then attempted to take Bristol by force, which suggests that they had

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[14] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D*, ed. Cubbin, pp.81-2.

[15] Prestwich, 'Military intelligence under the Norman and Angevin kings', *Law and Government in Medieval England*, ed. Garnett and Hudson, 4. It is uncertain whether Harold's sons were actually in Exeter during the 1068 siege.

many men at their disposal.[16] The *Chronicle* reported that they proceeded to land in Somerset, where they fought a force under Eadnoth the staller and caused many casualties, including Eadnoth himself. John of Worcester added that they took booty in Devon and Cornwall before returning to Ireland.[17] Their subsequent attack on England in 1069 involved a fleet of up to 66 ships from Dublin. The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* reported that

> Harold's sons came from Ireland at midsummer with 64 ships into the mouth of the Taw, and landed incautiously. And Count Brian came against them and killed all the best men who were in that fleet; and the others escaped with a small force to the ships. And Harold's sons went back to Ireland again.[18]

Such raids could be damaging, as Domesday Book's record of waste between the Kingsbridge estuary and Bigbury Bay, and perhaps in the Lizard Peninsula, reveals. Although these raids were ultimately unsuccessful, they represented a real threat to English security, as William's actions to suppress them reveal.[19]

Even after their abortive 1069 campaign, Harold's sons continued to pose a threat to the English crown. The movement of the Godwineson family to Flanders in the late 1060s must have worried the Conqueror, especially when relations with Flanders deteriorated under Robert le Frison and the security of the south coast was weakened by the death of William fitz Osbern.[20] In the early 1070s Godwine and Edmund went to the court of their cousin Swein of Denmark, perhaps with a view to securing his support for their claim to the English throne. In view of the very real Danish threat to England throughout the period, this would have heightened Anglo-Norman fears of a joint invasion to wrestle the crown from William I.[21]

Eustace II of Boulogne proved a hostile element in the south-east in the immediate post-Conquest period, "working against the king" in the autumn of 1067 according to William of Poitiers.[22] William of Jumièges explained that Eustace, "corrupted by the wickedness of some Englishmen from Kent, dared to prepare an invasion of the stronghold of Dover" from the Continent.[23] According to Tanner, he was motivated either by his disappointment at not receiving lands held by his former wife Goda, or by a desire to gain control of the port of Dover and thus the cross-Channel route from England to Wissant.[24] Of course, Eustace also possessed a better claim to the English throne than the Conqueror through his marriage to Goda, the sister of Edward the Confessor, which would have made the Conqueror feel especially insecure. The occupation of Dover, aided by the men of Kent, posed a considerable threat to Norman authority in the south-east, and to the Conqueror's position as a whole. Fortunately for William, the rebels failed to seize the castle and the revolt was soon crushed, but the incident would have placed an important port and line of

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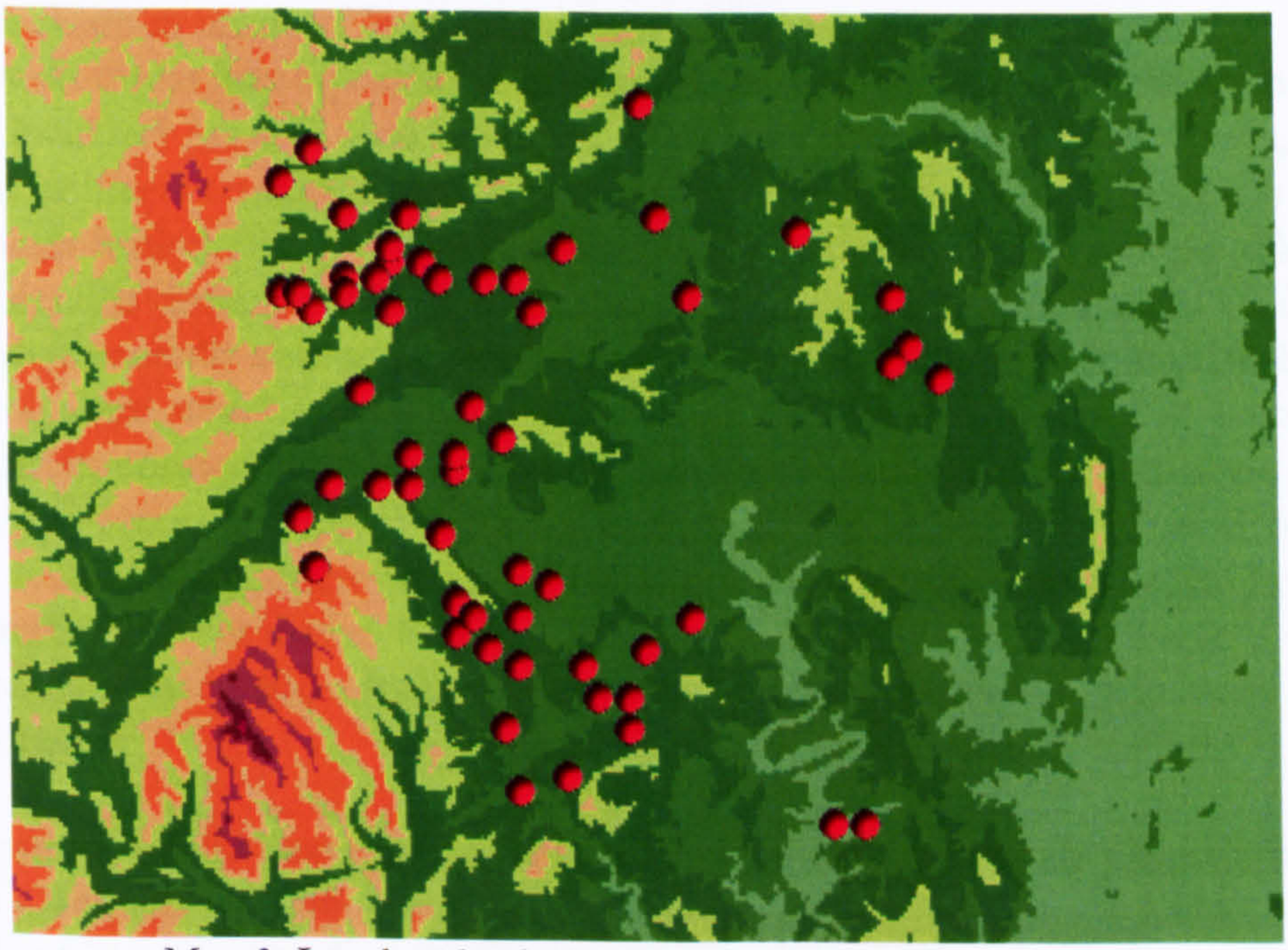
[16] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 83.
[17] *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. McGurk, iii, 6-9.
[18] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 84.
[19] Their lack of success can be largely attributed to insufficient support in England, as many of Harold's supporters had perished at Hastings. They were also unable to secure sufficient mercenary forces after 1069, and were unsuccessful in attempts to gain the support of their cousin Swein of Denmark.
[20] The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* reported in 1067 [1068] that Gytha "and many distinguished men's wives with her" fled to Flatholme and later to St Omer. *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 83.
[21] Fortunately for the Conqueror, the threat did not materialise. Swein was not encouraging, especially after the failure of his own invasion attempt.
[22] *Ibid.*, 182.
[23] *Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*, ed. Van Houts, ii, pp.176-7.
[24] Tanner, 'The expansion of the power and influence of the Counts of Boulogne under Eustace II', *ANS 14* (1991), pp.251-286.

communication between London and the Continent under considerable threat. The fact that Odo of Bayeux, the Conqueror's half-brother, was placed in command of the castle of Dover and the adjacent coastline of Kent during the same year is perhaps no coincidence, and the creation of other compact coastal tenancies would have further strengthened the security of this vital coastal region.

Edric the Wild proved a rebellious element in western England.[25] The son of Aelfric and brother of Eadric Streona, Edric was a powerful Anglo Saxon thane with a potentially large support base, as demonstrated when he incited rebellion against the Normans in Herefordshire in 1067 in alliance with the brothers Bleddyn ap Cynfyn of Gwynedd and Rhiwallon ap Cynfyn of Powys. The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* stated that they "became hostile, and fought against the garrison of the castle at Hereford, and inflicted many injuries upon them".[26] John of Worcester elaborated, claiming that Edric refused to surrender his land, which was frequently laid waste by the castleguards of Hereford and Richard son of Scrob.[27] He proceeded to raid Herefordshire in alliance with Bleddyn and Rhiwallon as far as the bridge over the Lugg, taking much booty. Although the rebels failed to seize control of the shire, Domesday Book suggests that considerable damage may have been caused by this assault, in view of the prevalence of vills said to be waste before 1086 along the Welsh border to the west of Hereford, ranging from Osbern son of Richard's manor of Cascob in northern Herefordshire to Ilbert son of Thorold's manor of Clehonger just west of Hereford.[28] The incident would have made it apparent to the Conqueror that the region needed to be firmly placed under the control of a trusted and capable Norman baron, and may have encouraged the appointment of William fitz Osbern to the earldom of Hereford which is likely to have occurred at a similar time.



Map 3: Land said to be 'waste' before 1086 in Herefordshire

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[25] Reynolds suggested that 'wild' may have stemmed from him living in the wild, which according to contemporary sources was not uncommon among outlaws in this period. Reynolds, 'Eadric silvaticus and the English resistance', *BIHR*, vol.54 (1981), pp.103-4.

[26] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 81.

[27] *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. McGurk, iii, 4-5.

[28] Although the waste in Domesday Book may not have been specifically due to Edric's activities. Domesday Book simply stated that some manors "were waste", which could represent manors that went out of cultivation either before or after the conquest. In other instances, Domesday Book explicitly stated that the two values provided in the Herefordshire folios were before 1066 and 1086, which suggests that such manors were in a waste condition before the conquest, although this state could have been accentuated by Edric's activities.

There continued to be occasional outbreaks of local unrest throughout the Conqueror's reign, some of which tested the kingdom's defensive capabilities to the full. The 1075 revolt of Ralph de Gael, Roger of Breteuil and Waltheof stands out as a particularly dangerous episode, representing an alliance of Breton and English opposition to Norman rule. The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* reported that Earl Roger and Earl Ralph "lured the Bretons to their side and also sent east to Denmark for a naval force to help them".[29] It recorded that both men had supporters in their earldoms, implying a level of discontentment with the Conqueror's rule. The extreme aims of the rebels were noted by the *Chronicle*, which stated that the earls "plotted to expel the king from the realm of England", perhaps with a view to carving up the kingdom between them.[30]

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The Scandinavian threat remained an important factor in Anglo-Norman defence policy throughout the period. The Scandinavians, with their recent claims to the English throne, were hostile to Norman control of England, and were also keen to profit from the wealth of the country through plundering raids. A number of contemporary sources provide confirmation that Scandinavian raids had been a recurrent feature of life in many coastal regions of England throughout the previous century, and with the Norman grip on power initially weak in many parts of the country, the kingdom was especially vulnerable to attack.[31] It would have been essential for the Conqueror and his barons to make provision for the effective defence of coastal regions through an organised pattern of settlement, with adequate military back-up in terms of both manpower and physical resources. The Scandinavian threat was especially pronounced because their forces were so mobile. Whereas localised Anglo-Saxon rebellions could be quashed with relative ease, Scandinavian fleets remained mobile even when repulsed from English shores and could launch further attacks.[32] Viking ships, with their shallow drafts, were able to sail considerable distances inland. For example, from the Humber estuary Viking ships were potentially able to penetrate into much of Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, which would have necessitated the effective defence of both the estuary and its connecting river systems. Likewise, from the Thames estuary Scandinavian forces had the potential to penetrate deep into the countryside of counties such as Kent, Surrey and beyond, placing important boroughs like London and Canterbury under threat. Morillo, in his study of Anglo-Norman warfare, wrote of the "extraordinary difficulty posed by Scandinavian invaders as against any other type of attacker".[33]

The magnitude of the Scandinavian threat was evident immediately prior to the Norman Conquest in 1066 when, as the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* reported, Harold Hardrada of Norway attacked the Tyne with a large naval force, allied with Earl Tosti and his forces "just as they had agreed beforehand, and they both went with all the

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[29] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock et al., 157 (MS E).
[30] *Ibid.*. For a full discussion of the evidence, see Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 1995); Lewis, 'The Early Earls of Norman England', *ANS*, vol.13 (1990), 221.
[31] Raids featured regularly in the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, and appeared in sources partly derived from the chronicle such John of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon.
[32] This problem had been evident in 992, when the king ordered that a fleet assembled at London should try to "entrap the Danish army anywhere at sea". *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS C*, ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 86.
[33] Morillo, *Warfare under the Anglo-Norman Kings*, 109.

fleet up the Ouse towards York".[34] In the following year, when England was particularly vulnerable with much of the country still in a state of turmoil as a result of the process of conquest, the Scandinavian threat re-surfaced. William of Poitiers suggested communication in 1067 between English rebels and the Danes under Swein Estrithson.[35] Orderic Vitalis, using William of Poitiers, noted that in that year rebels "sent to Swein, king of Denmark, and urged him to lay claim to the kingdom of England which his ancestors Swein and Cnut had won by the sword".[36] The Conqueror seems to have appreciated the threat posed by the Danes in 1067, and appears to have been well informed about their activities. While he was in Normandy, he was warned of the English and Danish plan to defeat the Normans.

The attempted invasion by Swein in 1069 was a large scale venture, posing a major threat to Norman security. The threat was intensified by the Danes' communication with English rebels including Edgar Aetheling, Earl Waltheof, Merlesveinn and Gospatric. William of Jumièges wrote that in 1069 rebels in Durham were awaiting the arrival of Swein, "to whom they had sent messengers to ask for his support". He claimed that they were preparing themselves for "a strong resistance", and that they favoured Edgar Aetheling as a rival claimant to the English throne.[37] According to the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle,* Swein's sons Harold and Cnut and his brother Osbern led a force of 240 ships into the Humber, and "went resolutely to York".[38] The alliance had the potential to undermine Norman control of the whole kingdom. As Douglas commented, "in the autumn of 1069 it must have seemed possible that a Scandinavian kingdom might once more be established in northern England".[39] The Conqueror's harrying campaign should perhaps be viewed as an attempt to deprive the Danish attackers of supplies to aid their campaign.[40]

William of Poitiers highlighted the threat posed by Anglo-Danish collaboration when he spoke of "vile conspiracies in different regions" associated with the Danes. He referred to rebels who fled overseas in search of foreign aid to help them "return to fight against [the Normans]".[41] Cooperation between English rebels and the Danish was evident during the 1071 Fenland Rising. The Danish fleet, still located off the English coast, sailed to the Isle of Ely where they joined English rebels, led by Hereward, in revolt against Norman rule. The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* revealed that "the English people from all the Fenlands came to them and expected that they were going to conquer all the country".[42] Cooperation between Denmark and English rebels was again evident in 1075, when Earl Ralph revolted against Norman authority in East Anglia. The security of the east coast was placed under threat, although the 200 or more Danish ships under Cnut son of Swein and Earl Hakon arrived after the rebellion had collapsed and subsequently fled to Flanders.[43] The Conqueror appears to have appreciated the scale of the threat when he ordered Archbishop Lanfranc to ensure that the east coast was on the defensive. Lanfranc wrote to the Bishop of

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[34] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS C,* ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 121.
[35] *William of Poitiers,* ed. Davis and Chibnall, 182.
[36] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis,* ed. Chibnall, ii, 202.
[37] *Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni,* ed. Van Houts, 178.
[38] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D,* ed. Cubbin, 84.
[39] Douglas, *William the Conqueror,* 219.
[40] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D,* ed. Cubbin, 84. The *Chronicle* reported that the Danish fleet remained in the Humber all winter. John of Worcester maintained that the king offered Earl Osbeorn money and permission to seize provisions, as long as he promised to return to Denmark without fighting at the end of the winter, although this is not mentioned in the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle. Chronicle of John of Worcester,* ed. McGurk, iii, 10-11.
[41] *William of Poitiers,* ed. Davis and Chibnall, 182.
[42] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle,* ed. Whitelock et al., 151 (MS E). The Danes were confronted by Abbot Turold of Peterborough and 160 Frenchmen, and Swein was forced to reach an agreement with the Conqueror before proceeding out of Ely.
[43] *Ibid.,* 157-8. *MS D* reported that the Danes dare not fight the Conqueror "but went to York and broke into St Peters Minster and captured a large amount of property". *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D,* ed. Cubbin, 87.

Durham that "the Danes are indeed coming, as the king has told us. So fortify your castle with men, weapons and stores: be ready".[44] Castles along the east coast were stocked with provisions and arms, and coastal areas were deprived of supplies to prevent enemy foraging.

The Scandinavian threat persisted throughout the reign of William I, testing the Norman ability to defend the kingdom effectively from foreign attack. As late as 1085, Cnut of Denmark planned to conquer England with the support of Count Robert of Flanders. The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* reported that "in this year people said and declared for a fact that Cnut, king of Denmark, son of King Swein, was setting out in this direction and meant to conquer this country with the help of Robert, count of Flanders, because Cnut was married to Robert's daughter".[45] The biography of Cnut IV, written by Aelnoth of Canterbury as an exile in Odense in the 1120s, claimed that the English had sought Danish aid to expel the tyrannous Norman invaders.[46] The response of the Conqueror reflects the severity of the threat, for according to the *Chronicle,*

> King William went to England with a larger force of mounted men and infantry from France and Brittany than had ever come to this country ... and the king had all the army dispersed all over the country among his vassals, and they provisioned the army each in proportion to his land ... the king had the land near the sea laid waste, so that if his enemies landed, they should have nothing to seize on so quickly.[47]

It was not only to the eastern coast of England that Scandinavians posed a threat to security. Norsemen from Ireland, the Isle of Man and the Western Isles of Scotland placed the western coast of England under danger of attack. The Conqueror may have been aware of this problem, for attacks had occurred from the Irish Sea in the pre-Conquest era. The 980 ravaging of Cheshire was probably from the Irish Sea, as were the 981 attacks on Devon and Cornwall. In 987 Welsh annals revealed an attack on Anglesey by Godfrey son of Harold and the 'black host', who were probably Vikings from either Denmark or Ireland.[48] In 988 this 'host' ravaged along the south coast of Wales, and in 1058 a Norse fleet allied with Earl Aelfgar raided England via the Irish Sea coast.[49] Viking raiders continued to pose a threat to the west coast, and in particular Wales, throughout the eleventh century.[50]

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Welsh princes were a menace to the border counties of Cheshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire and Gloucestershire. The potential for Wales to create problems for

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[44] *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury,* ed. Clover and Gibson, no.36.
[45] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle,* ed. Whitelock et al., 161 (MS E).
[46] The biography claimed that "in their despair the English, whose dukes, counts, lords, noblemen and other people of high rank had either been killed, or imprisoned, or deprived of their father's honours, wealth, dignity or inheritance or expelled abroad, or left behind and forced into public slavery, were not able to bear the tyranny of the Romans and the French and decided to seek foreign help". Van Houts, 'The Norman Conquest through European eyes', 837.
[47] *Ibid.*; Roffe, *Domesday Inquest,* 69. The provisioning of foreign mercenaries in 1085 was perhaps one of the motivating factors behind the decision to compile Domesday Book. Fortunately for the Conqueror, an uprising in Denmark led to the abandonment of the invasion, and Cnut was murdered in the summer of 1086. It seems likely that the Conqueror had reliable sources in Denmark, for he was aware of the dispersion of the invasion fleet and was thus able to reduce forces in England in 1085-6.
[48] *Brut y Tywysogyon* recorded that "Godfrey, son of Harold, and with him the Black Host, ravaged all the island of Anglesey and captured two thousand men". *Brut y Tywysogyon,* ed. Jones, pp.9-10.
[49] Maund, 'The Welsh Alliances of Earl Aelfgar of Mercia and his family in the mid-eleventh century', *ANS,* vol.11 (1989), pp.181-90.
[50] See Charles, *Old Norse Relations with Wales* (Cardiff, 1934); Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1982).

the Norman conquerors was not readily dismissed, although it was probably recognised that the threat was localised and not overwhelming. A united Wales may have been able to threaten the whole of western England, but the Welsh political system was characterised by disunity and decentralisation.[51] Rivalries between Welsh princes were rampant, and distracted the Welsh from organising regular raids into English territory. The death of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn in 1063 heightened this rivalry, as it left no strong individual with the potential to unite Wales. Douglas argued that the area was not a great defensive problem, and claimed that during the Conqueror's reign "Wales added little to his difficulties in defending the Anglo-Norman kingdom".[52] However, on a localised level it was important for the Conqueror and his followers to defend the border and consolidate Norman control of vulnerable regions on the fringes of the kingdom. In addition, the Conqueror maintained English claims to overlordship of certain Welsh kingdoms, and it was not long before the potential for expansion further west into Welsh territory was made a practical reality by ambitious barons settled in the region keen for adventure, land and power.

The tenth and eleventh centuries witnessed regular outbreaks of border warfare along the Welsh March, which created an atmosphere of insecurity and could have a damaging economic impact, as the prevalence of wasted vills along the Welsh March in Domesday Book reveals. In Herefordshire, the fertile valleys between the Malvern Hills and the range of the Black Mountains were particularly tempting to the Welsh. This was evident in 1052, when the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* stated that "Griffith the Welsh king was ravaging in Herefordshire so that he came quite close to Leominster".[53] In 1055 the king of Gwynedd, Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, turned on the English and sacked Hereford. Domesday Book's Herefordshire folios show wasted vills in 1066 all along the Welsh border and towards Hereford, which may be explained by Gruffydd's activities. The Anglo-Welsh treaty of 1056 is testimony to the volatility of the border region. Domesday Book stated that as a result of the agreement, "King Edward gave to King Gruffydd all the land that lies beyond the river called Dee", including all of the district of Maelor Cymraeg and Ati's Cross and the most westerly manors in the hundred of Broxton. The 1065 raid by King Caradoc had a similarly devastating impact on English manors and destroyed a hunting lodge built by Harold Godwineson at Portskewett in southern Wales. The Gloucestershire folios of Domesday Book are testimony to the devastation caused, noting "four villages destroyed by King Caradoc".[54]

Welsh raids continued to present a threat to Norman security after 1066. Orderic Vitalis, who was brought up in Shropshire, wrote of "savage attacks on King William and all his followers" by the Welsh.[55] There was also a risk that Welsh princes would ally with English rebels against Norman rule. As we have seen, this threat was realised in 1067 when Edric the Wild and other English rebels allied with Bleddyn ap Cynfyn of Gwynedd and Rhiwallon ap Cynfyn of Powys against the Normans.[56] The attack on Shrewsbury by Edric the Wild and the Welsh in 1069 again had a devastating impact, most notably in the burning of the town. The prevalence of vills said to have been waste when acquired throughout Domesday's account of

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[51] For a detailed discussion of Welsh political life and relations with England, see Maund, *Ireland, Wales and England in the Eleventh Century* (Woodbridge, 1991).
[52] Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 242.
[53] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 71.
[54] *DB Gloucestershire* (W2).
[55] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, iv, 138.
[56] See above, p.29.

Shropshire is perhaps testimony to the scale of devastation caused.[57] Orderic Vitalis explained that in 1069 Earl Edwin turned to King Bleddyn of Gwynedd for support, and "after large numbers of leading men of England and Wales had met together, a general outcry arose against the injustice and tyranny which the Normans and their comrades-in-arms had inflicted on the English".[58] The Mercian rebellion of 1069 heightened fears of an Anglo-Welsh attack on Norman rule, and must have surely resulted in a tightening of the Norman grip on the region in the wake of the harrying campaign. It was probably during this period that many of the compact marcher fiefs and castleries were formed. In 1081 Wales was still seen as a threat, compelling the king to lead an army into the country where, according to the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle,* he "there liberated many hundreds of men".[59]

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The hostile activities of the Scottish placed the northern border under considerable threat.[60] Unlike Wales, Scotland was a unitary kingdom under one ruler, Malcolm III, whose territorial ambitions were evident in his regular raids across the border into England. The defence of the Scottish kingdom and the acquisition of loot and slaves were probably both major factors in the hostile activities of the Scottish. However, Malcolm III's ultimate aim was perhaps the re-establishment of the Scottish border as far south as the Humber or at least the Tyne. The decades prior to the Norman Conquest were witness to a number of Scottish raids, often taking advantage of instability within Northumbria or English preoccupation with the Scandinavian threat.[61]

The English loss of Cumberland before 1066 made the problem of defence more acute, for it left the invasion routes of Stainmore and the Tyne Gap open to Scottish and Cumbrian forces.[62] Scottish control of southern Cumbria from the Soloway to Stainmore was accepted until 1091. As Kapelle recognised, "with Cumberland the Scottish king gained the tactical advantage along the border, and he was destined to keep it for thirty years".[63] It was from Cumberland that Malcolm launched his 1070 attack on Northumbria.[64] Further Scottish invasion attempts occurred throughout the Conqueror's reign, often taking advantage of the instability of Northumbria and the frequent absence of William I on the continent. Henry of Huntingdon, although a non-contemporary and at times unreliable source, recorded that in 1076 the Scottish king "pillaged in Northumbria as far as the Tyne and took back with him

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[57] Although the Conqueror's harrying campaign of 1069-70 is likely to have exacerbated the problem.

[58] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis,* ed. Chibnall, ii, 217.

[59] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle,* ed. Whitelock et al., 160 (MS E).

[60] However, there were attempts to establish amicable relations, as the 1072 Abernethy agreement, renewed in 1080, reveals. The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* stated that in 1073 [1072] the king led a naval and land force to Scotland "and blockaded that country from the sea with ships. And King Malcolm came and made peace with King William and was his vassal and gave him hostages". *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D,* ed. Cubbin, 85.

[61] Northumbria was invaded in 1006, 1018, 1040 and 1061.

[62] Earl Siward had seized Cumberland in 1040. The date of the Scottish annexation of Cumberland is uncertain, but can be narrowed down to the years between 1041 and 1064, on the basis of a charter of Gospatric, lord of Allerdale and Dalston, granting rights and privileges in Allerdale, which referred to "lands that were Cumbrian". *Anglo-Saxon Writs,* ed. Harmer, 424; 531. Simeon of Durham revealed that Cumberland was held by Malcolm in 1070, when he attacked Yorkshire over Stainmore from his base there. Simeon of Durham, *Historia Ecclesiae Dunhelmensis,* ed. Arnold, i, 221-2. Kapelle argued that Cumberland was recovered by the Scots in 1061, based on the evidence of Simeon of Durham and Domesday Book, which recorded waste in parts of north Lancashire and southern Cumberland and Westmorland. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North,* 94. The possibility that this waste could have been caused by pre-Conquest Norse raids or the harrying of 1069 should not be dismissed.

[63] Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North,* 94.

[64] Kapelle argued that Malcolm's intention, in attacking from the west, was to isolate Northumbria further by harrying southern Teesdale Cleveland, and the coastal area towards Wearmouth. *Ibid.*, 123.

great amount of plunder and many men in chains".[65] The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* noted that in the autumn of 1079 "King Malcolm came from Scotland into England ... with a great army, and ravaged Northumberland as far as the Tyne, and killed many hundreds of people, and took home much money and treasure and people in captivity".[66]

The threat from Scotland was intensified by Malcolm III's alliance with northern rebels. In 1066 Tosti, the former earl of Northumbria who had been forced to flee after a revolt against his rule in 1065, was a suitor at Malcolm's court. Perhaps motivated by a desire to regain his land and earldom, he sought protection from King Malcolm. The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* stated that Malcolm "gave him protection and helped him with provisions".[67] It is plausible that Malcolm was involved in, or at least aware of, the 1066 invasion plan of Harold Hardrada of Norway in alliance with Tosti. The aim of the invasion, launched from Orkney in Scotland and involving local forces, seems to have been the division of England south of the Tees between Tosti and Harold, with Malcolm presumably gaining Northumbria north of the Tees.

The Scottish king also had connections with Edgar Aetheling. The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* recorded that in the summer of 1068 "Edgar Aetheling went abroad with his mother Agatha and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina, and Merleswein [sheriff of Lincoln] and many good men with them, and came to Scotland under the protection of King Malcolm, and he received them all".[68] The marriage of Malcolm to Edgar Aetheling's sister Margaret, probably c.1070, added a new element to Anglo-Scottish relations, although it does not appear to have been based on dynastic ambitions.[69] The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* recorded that in 1075 [1074] "Edgar Aetheling came from Flanders into Scotland ... and King Malcolm and Edgar's sister, Margaret, received him with great honour".[70] The association of the Scottish king with a claimant to the English throne increased tension between England and Scotland. As Lynch recognised, it "gave a fresh edge to Malcolm's territorial ambitions, both in Cumbria and Northumbria".[71]

William I's harrying of the north made Northumbria even more removed from Norman power, and hence more vulnerable to Scottish invasion.[72] To defend Northumbria was difficult, with much of Yorkshire wasted and thus unable to provide reinforcements or supplies. The redevelopment of Yorkshire after the harrying was a necessary prerequisite for the establishment of a Norman aristocracy in Northumbria, and the creation of compact lordships and castleries in the north in the early 1070s marked the beginning of this process.[73] The imposition of Norman authority in the north was not an easy task. Northumbria was a remote and semi-

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[65] *Henry of Huntingdon*, ed. D. Greenway, 300.
[66] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, ed. D. Whitelock et al., 159 (MS E). Malcolm III was in a strong position in Scotland in 1079, having defeated the ruler of Moray in 1077 to leave no major rivals to his position.
[67] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS C*, ed. K. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 121.
[68] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D*, ed. G.P. Cubbin, 82.
[69] The Scottish claim to the English throne through Margaret was remote while Edgar was still alive.
[70] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D*, ed. G.P.Cubbin, 86.
[71] Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1992), 75.
[72] For an account of the harrying, see above p.180.
[73] For diverging views of the chronology of the Norman settlement of the north, see Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire*, 63ff. and Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy*, 28ff. Odo of Bayeux's harrying of Northumbria in 1080 severely weakened the native nobility and paved the way for the Norman infiltration of Northumbria. 'New Castle', built in 1080 as a frontier fortress around 80 miles south of the Tweed, was probably intended as a base for the establishment of Norman authority in Northumbria. Normans were introduced into the area, including the two subsequent earls, Aubrey and Robert of Mowbray. By 1087, Normans were established in southern Lancashire and along the east coast plain as far north as Durham and southern Northumberland. Compact fees established in areas vital to defence, like the major breaks in the south Pennines, helped to reduce the threat of attacks from outlaws and pirates.

autonomous region with distinct customs and a culture similar to that of the Lowland Scots.[74] It was not really an integral part of England, as its absence from the Domesday Survey reveals. Its earls, according to Christopher Morris, "could choose to ignore any but the most obvious show of power".[75] There was comparatively little royal land north of the Humber before 1066, which made the assertion of the Conqueror's authority a challenging task. Rivalries, political tension and bloody feuds made Northumbria a particularly unstable society, as the account in *De Obsessione Dunelmi* revealed.[76] The feud between the families of Uhtred and Thurbrand simmered throughout several generations, and culminated in Earl Waltheof's murder of the sons of Carl in 1073 or 1074 in retaliation for the murder of his grandfather Earl Ealdred several decades before. Northumbrian instability was accentuated by the cultural split between the Anglo-Danes of Yorkshire and the natives of Northumbria and Durham. There was what Kapelle described as a "free-zone" running through the central region of the north, in which law and order was extremely difficult to enforce.[77] The harrying of the north intensified the problem, as bands of outlaws formed in the area in search of food and plunder. Although perhaps prone to exaggeration, the foundation history of Selby Abbey reported that Hugh son of Baldric, the sheriff of Yorkshire, had to travel with a small army to protect him from Anglo-Saxon outlaws.[78] The monks at Whitby were said to have suffered similar attacks.[79]

Most Norman attempts to govern Northumbria ended in failure, increasing hostility and instability and thus encouraging Scottish attack. William I did little to ease the pre-Conquest hostility between the northern nobility and the king. His appointments to the earldom of Northumbria and unpopular fiscal measures encouraged revolt in 1067, 1068 and 1069. Those men appointed by the Conqueror as earls of the region faced a high risk of being murdered by Northumbrian rebels, especially if their government was harsh and unpopular. The events in the immediate aftermath of the Conquest provide an example of the treacherous nature of Northumbrian society. Morcar, as earl of Northumbria before 1066, had granted Oswulf control in Northumberland as a concession to the House of Bamburgh. The Conqueror subsequently replaced Oswulf with the Yorkshireman Copsi, an unwise choice in view of the antagonism between Yorkshire and Northumbria before the Conquest. The appointment resulted in the murder of Copsi by Oswulf and in turn the murder of Oswulf in 1067. Among the subsequent victims of Northumbrian aggression were Robert de Comines and Bishop Walcher. The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* highlighted the scale of the problem, noting that in 1068 [early 1069] the king "gave Earl Robert the aldormanry of Northumberland; but the local people surrounded him in the city of Durham and killed him and 900 men with him".[80] The *Chronicle* reported that in 1080 "Bishop Walcher of Durham was killed at a meeting, and a hundred men with him, French and Flemish".[81] As Christopher Morris noted, of the fourteen men who ruled all or part of Northumbria between 993 and 1076, nine were killed, four suffered an unknown fate and only one, Earl Siward, seems to have died of natural causes.[82]

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[74] See Jdliffe, 'Northumbrian Institutions', *EHR*, vol.41 (1926), pp.1-42; Barrow, 'Northern English Society in the early Middle Ages', *Northern History*, vol.4 (1969), pp.1-28.
[75] Morris, *Marriage and Murder in Eleventh Century Northumbria: A Study of 'De Obsessione Dunelmi'*, 19.
[76] *De Obsessione Dunelmi* was an account of six vills associated with Earl Uhtred of Bamburgh and his family. The text was believed by Morris to have been written in Durham in the early twelfth century, and despite containing a number of chronological errors and inaccuracies, provides a telling account of Northumbrian society in the eleventh century.
[77] Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, 7.
[78] *Coucher Book of Selby*, ed. Selby, xiii, 258; 279.
[79] *Cartularium Abbathiæ de Whiteby*, ed. Atkinson, 38.
[80] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 83.
[81] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock et al., 160 (MS E).
[82] Morris, *Marriage and Murder in Eleventh Century Northumbria*, 25.

The instability and violence of northern society and Northumbrian mistrust of government from the south goes a long way towards explaining why the Normans found the imposition of their rule in Northumbria such an arduous task. The tie with Normandy further reinforced the tendency for the Conqueror and his supporters to focus on the southern part of the kingdom, increasing the vulnerability of northern regions. The Scots, aware that Northumbria was in turmoil and that the area was distanced both physically and politically from the centre of Anglo-Norman government, were able to take advantage of its weak defensive position. A twelfth century historian of York, Hugh the Chantor, claimed that Archbishop Lanfranc demanded that in 1070 the newly appointed Archbishop of York, Thomas, should "make a profession of subjection to him" because "some one of the Danes, Norwegians, or Scots, who used to sail up to York in their attacks on the realm, might be made king by the Archbishop of York and the fickle and treacherous Yorkshire men, and the kingdom disturbed and divided".[83] Although this is likely to be an exaggerated account, weakened further by the fact that it is not contemporary, it does provide some insight into the southern view of the state of northern society in the Anglo-Norman period.

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An examination of Anglo-Norman defence policy must not fail to take into consideration the wider picture. England was only a part of the Norman empire, and the defence of both England and Normandy was by necessity interrelated. As Douglas noted, "it was only by means of a far-flung and integrated defence that the Anglo-Norman kingdom was to survive under the rule of William the Conqueror".[84] The Conqueror faced constant threats to the security of his Norman duchy, and there was a possibility that hostile powers in Anjou, Brittany, Flanders, France or Maine might attack England. Anjou, Flanders and Normandy were all consolidating and seeking to extend the amount of territory under their control, making hostility between continental powers all the more likely. Furthermore, the amount of time that the Conqueror had to spend in Normandy defending his duchy meant that it was more difficult to coordinate an effective defence policy in England.

On the continent, one of the most consistently hostile powers was the French monarchy, with whom the Normans were involved in a dispute over control of the Vexin district between Normandy and the Ile de France.[85] The ultimate aim of the French monarchy was perhaps the separation of Normandy from England. The connection between the defence of Normandy and England against the French monarchy was evident in 1074 when Philip I, recognising in Edgar Aetheling a potential focus for opposition to the Norman empire, offered him the castle of Montreuil-sur-Mer. Philip's motives were made explicit in the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle,* which claimed that Philip "sent a letter to him and ordered him to come to him, saying he would give him the castle of Montreuil so that he could do daily harm to those who were not his friends".[86] An anti-Norman base on the English Channel

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[83] *Hugh the Chantor: The History of the Church of York 1066-1127,* ed. Johnson, 3.
[84] Douglas, *William the Conqueror,* 223.
[85] Tension was particularly intense in 1076-7, when Philip occupied the Vexin. The Conqueror tried to regain the Vexin in 1087, in response to the French monarchy's pillaging of Normandy, and it was during this campaign that he died. For a discussion of the situation, see Green, 'Lords of the Norman Vexin', *War and Government in the Middle Ages,* ed. Gillingham and Holt, pp.47-61.
[86] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D,* ed. Cubbin, 86. The port at Montreuil was the only Capetian outlet to the sea. Edgar accepted the offer, but lost all his ships in a storm on the way to the continent. Thereafter, he appears to have sought a reconciliation

close to Flanders would have posed a major threat to both Norman and English security.

The French monarchy sought to encourage a similar anti-Norman sentiment among the rulers of Anjou and Flanders. Norman relations with Flanders were initially amicable: the Conqueror was married to the daughter of Count Baldwin V of Flanders and there had been Flemish support for the conquest of England.[87] After Baldwin VI's death in 1070, his son Arnulf III received Flanders, which was governed by his mother Richildis until he came of age. Opposition to her rule was headed by Robert le Frison, brother of Baldwin VI and uncle of Arnulf. Richildis sought the support of Philip I and the powerful Anglo-Norman magnate William fitz Osbern, the latter of whom agreed to marry Richildis and become the warden of Arnulf. However, at a battle in Cassel in February 1071 Richildis was overthrown and both Arnulf and William fitz Osbern were killed, leaving Robert le Frison as the count of Flanders and the Anglo-Flemish alliance in tatters.[88] William fitz Osbern's death deprived the Conqueror of his principal lieutenant and the man in charge of large stretches of southern and western England, which no doubt weakened the ability of the Anglo-Norman empire to defend itself against foreign attack. This provides a clear example of the inter-relationship between English and continental affairs. The marriage of Philip I to Robert le Frison's half-sister, Bertha of Hainault, increased the possibility of an anti-Norman coalition on the continent.[89] The fact that Flanders often acted as a safe haven for those hostile to the Conqueror's rule, including Earl Harold's mother Gytha, Edgar the Aetheling, Gospatric of Northumbria and Robert Curthose, demonstrates the tenuous relationship between the two countries. By 1085 Robert had forged links with Cnut IV of Denmark, the bond strengthened by the marriage of Cnut to Robert's daughter Adela. This Danish-Flemish alliance was particularly threatening to the security of the Norman empire, with a fleet of over a thousand ships from Denmark, Norway and Flanders poised to attack England in 1085.[90]

Norman relations with Anjou were particularly tense, largely due to a dispute over the county of Maine. Duke William had seized Maine from Anjou in the 1050s, but Norman authority there was weak. The hostile populace and the breakdown of Norman control there left it vulnerable to the intervention of the increasingly strong power of Anjou.[91] This was the case in 1072, when the citizens of Le Mans sought the aid of the Count of Anjou, Fulk le Rechin, in their revolt against Norman rule. In the winter of 1076-7, the Count attacked John of Le Flèche, a supporter of the Conqueror in Maine, and in 1081 he attacked Normandy through Maine and seized La Flèche, supported by Count Hoel of Brittany. As well as undermining the power of the Norman empire, such events drew the attention of the Conqueror away from the defence of his English territory.[92]

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with the Conqueror. The *Chronicle* concluded that "King William received him with great honour and he stayed there at court and received such dues as were appointed him". *Ibid.*

[87] See Renée Nip, 'The political relations between England and Flanders (1066-1128)', *ANS*, vol.21 (1998), pp.145-167.

[88] A brief account of events is provided by the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 85. Arnulf appears to have been killed by Gherbod, probably the Gherbod of Flanders who served as the first earl of Chester in the early years of Norman rule in England. For a discussion, see Nip, 'The political relations between England and Flanders (1066-1128)', 155.

[89] Fortunately for the Conqueror, there was little unrest on the border between Normandy and Flanders as the Flemings were preoccupied with the German Empire.

[90] See above, p.32.

[91] The city of Le Mans revolted against Norman rule in 1069, supported by a powerful grouping in Maine.

[92] In 1073 the Conqueror entered Maine and attacked Fresnay and Sillé. Le Mans was captured and Norman control of Maine was re-established. In 1076-7, the Conqueror came to relieve John, and Fulk was forced to withdraw. A truce led to a pact between the Conqueror and both Philip and Fulk.

Relations with Brittany, although less hostile, also created some problems for Norman security both on the continent and in England. Many Bretons had close ties with the Anglo-Norman government and had been involved in the conquest of England. As Morillo commented, "Brittany accepted Norman suzerainty with only occasional protest".[93] However, the revolt of the Breton Earl Ralph in England in 1075 introduced a new threat to the security of the empire. Ralph continued to oppose the Conqueror after his flight to Brittany, which increased the possibility of either another Breton revolt against Norman rule in England, or an attack on Normandy's western border from Brittany. The Norman sense of insecurity was heightened in 1076-7, when Ralph joined the enemies of the Count of Brittany who had established themselves at Dol castle near the Normandy frontier. French support for this venture further weakened Norman power on the continent.[94]

Unrest in Normandy itself further undermined the security of the Norman empire. The tension between the Conqueror and his son Robert Curthose, who had been left in control of the Norman duchy, had an impact on both Norman and English defence policy. Robert, demanding independent control of Normandy and Maine, had considerable support from important Norman magnates like Robert of Bellême and William of Breteuil, the sons of Roger of Montgomery and William fitz Osbern respectively, and the sons of Hugh of Grandmesnil and Richard fitz Gilbert. There was a possibility that Robert and his supporters would ally with continental powers hostile to the Conqueror, as was the case in 1079 when, as the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* reported, he "deserted from his father to his uncle Robert, in Flanders, because his father would not let him rule his country in Normandy, which he himself and also King Philip with his consent had given him".[95] In 1083 Robert again gained the support of Philip I of France in his rebellion against his father. There was a risk that these events would create tension in Anglo-Norman aristocratic circles, and encourage revolt against the Conqueror in England.

The situation on the continent would have had some bearing on the settlement of southern England, making it important to ensure that coastal regions were secure enough to withstand attack from any hostile and aggressive continental power. Furthermore, the settlement of men from countries such as Brittany and Flanders in England may have been used by the Conqueror as a tool to buy, establish or strengthen continental alliances, hence indirectly enhancing the security of his English kingdom. The establishment of Eustace of Boulogne in southern England should perhaps be seen in this light. Relations between Eustace and the successive Counts of Flanders were strained, especially after 1071 when Eustace refused to recognise Robert le Frison as count of Flanders. His involvement in a revolt against Robert in southern Flanders in the early 1080s provides a clear demonstration of his hostility to the political situation in the country. In Eustace, the Conqueror would have had a useful ally in Flanders should relations between the two powers become increasingly strained. The settlement of Drogo of La Beuvrière, Gherbod the Fleming and Gilbert of Ghent in England may have served a similar purpose in building up support against Robert le Frison.

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[93] Morillo, *Warfare under the Anglo-Norman Kings*, 36.
[94] The French king relieved Dol, which was besieged by William the Conqueror and Count Hoel of Brittany in September 1076. The Conqueror was forced to retreat, and Ralph remained strong in Brittany.
[95] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 88.

It is clear that William I could not afford to be complacent about the defence of England from both internal rebellion and enemy attack. There were large areas of vulnerable English coastline where defence against foreign assault would have been an issue of major concern. In the north and west, the Normans had to defend English shires against the hostile activities of the rulers of Scotland and Wales, and in the country as a whole it was essential to establish Norman control on a firm footing and prevent or quash outbreaks of resistance. The sheer size of the Norman empire presented particular difficulties in terms of defence, especially when simultaneous threats emerged in geographically dispersed areas. The organisation of tenure in areas deemed to be of particular significance in terms of these threats to Norman rule would have been an essential part of a realistic and effective policy of local and national defence, in order to ensure that society – not just the government – was organised for war. The remaining chapters will seek to analyse the tenurial settlement and related military organisation in key strategic areas in the context of such threats to Norman rule.

III

The Norman Conquest of south-eastern England

The security and internal stability of south-eastern counties was vital for the protection of communication routes between London and the continent, which were essential to the maintenance of the cross-Channel empire. This thrust the region into the forefront of William I's defensive strategy. Did strategic considerations have a major, or indeed uniform, impact on the redistribution of land in circuit one after 1066? The compact lordships of Kent, the Sussex Rapes and the Isle of Wight have received considerable attention from Domesday scholars keen to emphasise the tenurial changes initiated by the Conqueror. As early as 1905, the distinctly military characteristics of the Sussex Rapes were recognised by Round and Salzmann, and this theme was continued by both Mason and Searle in their analyses of the Rapes and the military role of Battle Abbey.[1] In 1959 Lennard wrote of the strategic importance of the Bishop of Bayeux's land in Kent and the royal manors of the Isle of Wight, and David Bates' subsequent biography of Bishop Odo is particularly illuminating regarding the position of the king's half-brother in south-eastern England and beyond.[2] Tonbridge and Saltwood in Kent were recognised by Le Patourel to be military lordships in his 1976 study, and the military role of the *leuga* of Tonbridge was subsequently analysed by both Ward and Mortimer in their studies of the Clare family.[3] Tanner's discussion of Count Eustace of Boulogne is also of considerable use in establishing the role of this important Anglo-Norman baron.[4]

Although there is clearly a growing awareness of the military significance of circuit one, few historians have attempted a comprehensive study of the region from a military perspective, looking beyond the familiar compact lordships to analyse whether the settlement of the whole region was geared towards defence. Circuit one has been largely neglected in recent discussions of the impact of the Conquest on landholding by Sawyer, Roffe and Fleming, despite the availability of a considerable amount of data on pre-Conquest tenure in the folios of Domesday Book.[5] Therefore

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[1] Round and Salzmann, 'Introduction to the Sussex Domesday', *VCH Sussex I*, ed. W. Page (1905), pp.351-385; Mason, *William the First and the Sussex Rapes* (1972); Searle, 'The Abbey of the Conqueror', *ANS*, vol.2 (1979), pp.154-164.
[2] Lennard, *Rural England 1086-1135* (1959), p.31; Bates, *Biography of Odo Bishop of Bayeux 1049-1097* (1970).
[3] Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (1976), 309n; Ward, 'The Lowy of Tonbridge and the lands of the Clare Family in Kent, 1066-1217', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol.96 (1980), pp.119-131; Mortimer, 'The beginnings of the honour of Clare', *ANS*, vol. 3 (1981), pp.119-41; and 'Land and service: the tenants of the honour of Clare', *ANS*, vol. 8 (1986), pp.177-97.
[4] Tanner, 'The expansion of the power and influence of the Counts of Boulogne under Eustace II', *ANS*, vol.14 (1991), pp.251-286.
[5] Robin Fleming briefly discussed territorial consolidation in parts of circuit one, in particular Sussex, in her study of post-Conquest England, although the main thrust of her analysis concerned circuit three where Domesday data on Anglo-Saxon overlordship was seen to be both more comprehensive and more detailed. However, overlordship data in circuit one is not so much lacking, but portraying a different situation than in circuit three. Many landholders are explicitly said to have held their land directly from the king, suggesting that there were indeed large numbers of small independent landowners without the

although post-Conquest military lordships are well-known phenomena, it remains uncertain just how widespread they were in south-eastern England, or how deep their roots penetrated into the tenurial arrangements of the king and his tenants-in-chief. Of the numerous fiefs in circuit one, only a handful have been subject of more than a cursory analysis. There is much left to explore.

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As the Conqueror was aware, having passed through Sussex, Kent and Surrey during the initial phase of conquest, the south-eastern coastline was especially vulnerable to external attack.[6] The Scandinavian threat remained an important factor in the defence of the region throughout the period, as the attacks of 1069 and 1070 and the threatened invasion of 1085 demonstrate, and there was also a possibility that hostile powers on the continent might attack. The Normans also had to guard against the possibility of domestic instability in the south-east, as the occupation of Dover by Count Eustace of Boulogne and the men of Kent in the autumn of 1067 demonstrated.

The coastline of northern Kent and the Thames estuary represented one of the most vulnerable invasion points along the east coast, enabling direct access to the wealthy city of London and beyond. Contemporary sources reveal that London had been subject to Danish attack several times in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, and the Thames estuary continued to be susceptible to foreign raids in the early Anglo-Norman period, as the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*'s account of the Danes sailing into the Thames in 1070 revealed.[7] The strategic importance of Kent in particular stemmed from the fact that it offered the shortest sea passage from England to Normandy, and it was essential that lines of communication between the county's ports and London were kept fully operational in terms of both defence and the effective government of the cross-Channel empire.[8] A network of roads ran from coastal regions to the north and west of the county, including Watling Street, Pilgrims' Way and the North Downs Ridgeway.

The gradual closing of the Wantsum Channel in the Anglo-Saxon period led to the emergence of the port of Sandwich as an important naval base.[9] The *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, written c.1041, describes Sandwich as "the most famous of all the ports of the English".[10] The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* recorded that in 1044 a fleet was assembled there to counter the threat from Magnus of Norway, and in 1048 both Sandwich and Thanet were raided by a Viking fleet under Lothen and Yrling.[11] Earl Tosti sailed from the Isle of Wight to Sandwich in 1066, raiding along the coast, and

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likelihood of their lords being hidden from view. This is the tenurial situation depicted by Maitland and Stenton rather Sawyer or Fleming.

[6] The passage of the army through Kent is noted by William of Poitiers, and finds possible confirmation in Domesday Book's record of the declining value of vills along the route after 1066. *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. Davies and Chibnall, 142-4. For a discussion of the evidence, see Baring, 'On the Domesday values with special reference to William's march from Hastings to London', *Domesday Tables* (1909); Turner, 'William the Conqueror's march to London in 1066', *EHR*, vol.17 (1912), pp.209-225; Beeler, *Warfare in England 1066-1189* (1966); Palmer, 'The Conqueror's footprints in Domesday Book', *The Medieval Military Revolution*, ed. Ayton and Price (1995), pp.23-44; Bradbury, *The Battle of Hastings* (1998).

[7] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle, MS C*, ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 94; *Anglo Saxon Chronicle, MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 85.

[8] Such a cross-Channel empire had not been seen since the Roman Empire, thus presenting a novel strategic problem.

[9] This channel was still open in the eleventh century, and the north mouth of the Stour is mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 1049 and 1052, but Williamson claims that it was "evidently too much silted and choked to accommodate a fleet". *Anglo Saxon Chronicle, MS C*, ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 110; *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock et al., 124 (MS E); Williamson, *The English Channel* (1959), 71. See also Walker, 'The lost Wantsum Channel: its importance to Richborough Castle', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol.39 (1927), pp.91-11 and Hardman and Stebbing, 'Stonar and the Wantsum Channel', *ibid*, vol.53 (1940), pp.62-80.

[10] *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. Campbell (1998), 20.

[11] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle, MS C*, ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 108; *Anglo Saxon Chronicle, MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 67.

in the same year King Harold summoned a fleet at the port.[12] The Danish attack on Sandwich in 1069 provided further confirmation of its vulnerability.[13]

The port of Dover was also able to support large fleets and was thus vital in terms of both military organisation and defence. William of Poitiers highlighted its importance when he stated that it was a "strong site with its seaport", and the speed with which it was re-fortified by the Conqueror in 1066 highlights its perceived significance.[14] Like Sandwich, Dover was attacked by the Danes in 1069.[15] The ports of Dungeness, Folkestone, Hythe, Lydd and Romney had also developed in the mid-Saxon period, and in 1052 Earl Godwin took ships from Dungeness, Folkestone, Hythe and Romney.[16] According to Domesday Book, Romney, along with Dover and Sandwich, owed military service at sea in 1086.[17]

Sussex, too, was vulnerable in view of its proximity to the continent, its ports and routes to London.[18] Although not a major target of the Vikings in comparison with Kent, Sussex still experienced a considerable number of plundering raids in the late tenth and eleventh centuries.[19] The factors which made Sussex less vulnerable to Scandinavian attack also made it particularly suitable for a different type of campaign, aimed at a deeper and more permanent penetration of England. The very fact that the Normans chose Sussex as their point of invasion in 1066 is illuminating.[20] The port of Hastings was capable of receiving large fleets and, as Bachrach noted, Pevensey contained a "complex of docks used by the fleets of the Saxon navy" where 2,000-3,000 mounted troops could land.[21] The effective defence of both ports was thus crucial in terms of security.

The measures taken by William to defend the port of Hastings immediately after landing in 1066, which according to a number of contemporary sources included the construction of fortifications and patrolling of the coastline, emphasised its perceived vulnerability.[22] The Hastings peninsula was in the eleventh century an ideal base from which to advance into the rest of England. The Brede estuary led inland to Sedlescombe, and there was a tidal lagoon known as the Bulverhythe Lagoon between Bexhill and Hastings. Williamson concluded that "these two lost geographical features, the Bulverhythe Lagoon and the Brede estuary, make the Hastings region a peninsula".[23] The peninsula was difficult to access from the rest of

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[12] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle, MS C,* ed.O'Brien O'Keeffe, 120; *John of Worcester,* ed. Darlington et al., ii, 600.
[13] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle, MS D,* ed. Cubbin, 84.
[14] *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers,* ed. Davies and Chibnall, 182.
[15] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle, MS D,* ed. Cubbin, 84.
[16] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle,* ed. Whitelock et al., 124 (MS E).
[17] *DB Kent* (D2; 5,178).
[18] Three major Roman roads connected London and the ports of Brighton, Chichester and Lewes.
[19] In comparison with Kent, it had poorer river and road access to the interior through the Weald region and less prosperous towns. However, the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* reveals that raids occurred in 994 when the Danes sailed from the Thames to Hampshire, "burning, ravaging, and slaying everywhere along the coast". In 1001 the Danes caused much damage in Sussex, penetrating inland as far as Dean. *Anglo Saxon Chronicle, MS C,* ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 87; *Anglo Saxon Chronicle, MS A,* ed. Bately, 79.
[20] Sussex archaeologists are unsure whether Pevensey or Hastings was the exact landing place, although the general consensus seems to be that it was somewhere in the Hastings peninsula. Davis and Chibnall conclude that "it is possible that the landings of the very large number of boats were spread out over several beaches and harbours from Pevensey to Hastings". *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers,* ed. Davies and Chibnall, 113, 3n.
[21] Bachrach, 'Some observations on the military administration of the Norman Conquest', *ANS,* vol.8 (1985), 21. The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* reveals that forty-two ships were present at Pevensey under Earl Godwin in 1049. *Anglo Saxon Chronicle, MS C,* ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 109-111.
[22] William of Jumièges noted the fortification of the site and confirmed that *milites* were left there to guard the region, and William of Poitiers referred to a *propugnaculum* and *receptaculum* for protecting ships and troops. *Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni,* ed. Van Houts, 166; *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers,* ed. Davies and Chibnall, 114.
[23] Williamson, *The English Channel,* 78.

England, being protected by the hostile territory of the Weald and the River Rother to the north-east.[24] The remoteness of the region in 1066 had enabled the Conqueror time to gather supplies and organise his forces before moving into the rest of England. William I, intent on ensuring that no enemy would be able to imitate his successful invasion and on securing lines of communication, was predisposed to be especially zealous in implementing defensive measures in Sussex.

The Isle of Wight provided an ideal base for raiding parties, as the Danes appear to have recognised in the pre-Conquest period.[25] The frequency with which prominent Englishmen visited the island in moments of crisis during Edward the Confessor's reign highlights its vulnerability. The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* refers to the plundering of the island by Earl Godwin in 1052, and reveals that Earl Tosti landed there in May 1066, from where he collected provisions and raided the south coast.[26] In the same year King Harold, to deal with the threat from Normandy, based himself and his fleet on the island throughout the summer and autumn in order to organise the defence of the south coast.[27]

On the Hampshire mainland, the Solent and Southampton Water were susceptible to attack. The vulnerability of the port of Southampton is highlighted by the raids that occurred there in the late tenth and eleventh centuries, and William of Jumièges and William of Poitiers both record that Edward the Aetheling landed in Southampton Water in 1036. [28] Portchester and Portsmouth were also potential points of access. From the Hampshire coast, the wealthy city of Winchester could be reached with relative ease via the River Itchen. William of Poitiers highlighted the vulnerability of the city when he noted that its location "fourteen miles from the sea which separates England from the Danes" meant that it could "quickly receive help from the Danes".[29]

An examination of Norman settlement in and around the ports, along the coast and near major lines of communication in circuit one is crucial for an understanding of the Conqueror's military strategy in south-eastern England. By analysing the tenurial structure revealed by Domesday Book in such areas, it is possible to gain some understanding of the approach to coastal defence adopted by the Conqueror, and to determine whether the policy he pursued represented a significant new departure.[30]

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The strategic, military and political settlement of south-eastern England is unlikely to have been a consistent and orderly process. On the whole, Domesday Book depicts the tenurial situation in England at just two points in its history - 1066 and 1086 -

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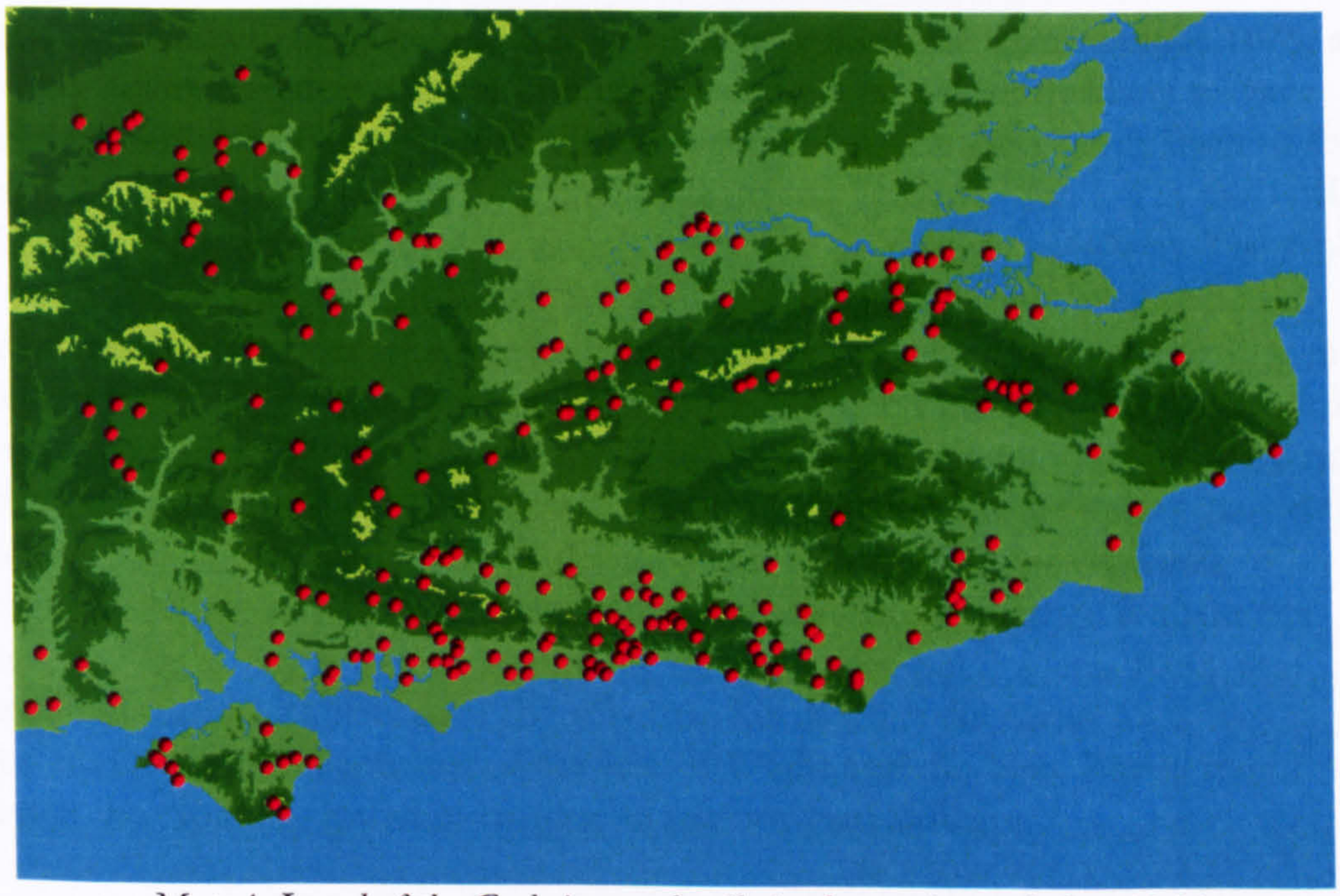
[24] The Roman road running from Hastings towards Kent was probably little more than a forest trackway in 1066, and the fact that the Conqueror did not use it illustrates its poor state. The direct route north from Hastings was wooded and characterised by sharp hills, thickets and swampy ground, making access difficult. Margary, *Roman Ways in the Weald*, 38-40.
[25] The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* reveals that in 998 they established themselves on the island, from where they launched attacks on Hampshire and Sussex to gain provisions. Similar Danish raids from the Isle of Wight into Hampshire occurred in 1001, 1006 and 1009. *Anglo Saxon Chronicle, MS C*, ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 88; 104.
[26] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 72; 79.
[27] *Ibid.*, 121.
[28] According to the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, it was laid waste by the Danes in 980, and in 994 they spent the winter at Southampton provisioned via a special tax on Wessex. *Ibid.*, 94; *Anglo Saxon Chronicle, MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 47. *Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*, ed. Van Houts, 104-5; *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. Davies and Chibnall, 2.
[29] *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. Davies and Chibnall, 164.
[30] Areas remote from the coast or major communication routes, or areas in which considerations of government and administration were more significant, will not be studied in any great depth as military considerations do not appear to have been as important in the redistribution of land. Although an awareness of the tenurial organisation of these areas between 1066 and 1086 is important in gaining a full appreciation of the impact of the Norman Conquest, a comprehensive and detailed analysis of such areas is beyond the scope of this study.

and the settlement of England envisaged by the Conqueror immediately after the Conquest may not necessarily be reflected in the tenurial distribution described in 1086. The limited source material makes it difficult to accurately determine the timescale of the redistribution of land in the south-east immediately after the conquest. The dispossession of English landholders is likely to have been a gradual process, especially in view of the Conqueror's desire to appear as the legitimate successor of Edward the Confessor and his need for English administrators and officials to ensure continuity in government. However, a large number of royal and comital estates would have been immediately available for redistribution, and a considerable amount of other land would have been acquired from those who had perished during the military campaigns of 1066 or had refused to submit to the Conqueror, and a significant proportion of such land lay in the south-east.

Domesday Book reveals that the Godwineson family had been dominant in circuit one before 1066, as Map 4 demonstrates. Members of the family held at least 2,000 hides of land directly and at least a further 450 hides as overlords of thanes or freemen, representing a fifth of the entire assessment of the circuit.[31] Of this land, the majority would have been available for redistribution after 1066.[32] Godwin, as earl of Wessex, had been responsible for the defence of the south of England, and it is possible that William fitz Osbern performed a similar role in Wessex after 1066. Although Domesday Book does not record the full extent of his fief because of the subsequent revolt and forfeiture of his son Roger in 1075, it has been persuasively argued that his authority in the western part of circuit one and beyond was extensive.[33]



Map 4: Land of the Godwineson family in the south-east before 1066
(held directly and held of the family by thanes or freemen)

[31] The total assessment of circuit one was around 11,750 hides, including the lands of Queen Edith (308 hides), Earl Godwin (920 hides), Earl Gyrth (79 hides), Countess Gytha (169 hides), Earl Harold (887 hides), Earl Leofwin (64 hides) and Earl Tosti (116 hides). Lands attributed to Godwin, Harold, etc., may also be part of the Godwineson family estate.
[32] The land of Queen Edith, the daughter of Earl Godwin, provides an exception. Although Edith's loyalties immediately after the Conquest are uncertain, by the end of 1066 she had reached an agreement with the Conqueror as a result of which she probably retained much of her land and property until her death in December 1075, with the likely exceptions of her land in Kent and Sussex in view of the reorganisation there. See Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 275.
[33] Wightman, 'The Palatine Earldom of William fitz Osbern in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, 1066-1071, *EHR*, vol.77 (1962), pp.6-17; Lewis, 'The Early Earls of Norman England', *ANS*, vol.13 (1990), pp.207-223.

Lord of Breteuil and the duke's steward like his father before him, William fitz Osbern was a prominent figure at the ducal court and had been a close friend of William the Conqueror since his youth. Contemporary sources portray him as an experienced, ruthless and capable man, and a loyal supporter of the Conqueror. William of Poitiers, who named Earl William as a prominent participant in the Battle of Hastings, claimed that he was "renowned for his bodily strength and courage".[34] Archbishop Lanfranc provided a praising account of William in a letter to his son Roger in 1075, urging him "never [to] forget your father's distinguished career: the faithful service he gave his lord, his zeal in winning great possessions and how honourably he held what he had won".[35]

From an examination of Domesday Book and other contemporary sources it is possible to piece together William fitz Osbern's sphere of influence in circuit one before his death in 1071. Orderic Vitalis states that the king gave Earl William the Isle of Wight, and Domesday Book provides some evidence to confirm his position as lord of the island.[36] The Wiltshire folios of Domesday Book reveal that Earl William gave thaneland in three vills to King William's manor of Amesbury in exchange for Bowcombe on the Isle of Wight. Bowcombe appears in Domesday Book as a royal manor in both 1066 and 1086, but it must have formed part of Earl William's earlier fief. William also held two outliers of the manor of Eling on the island, and Reginald the baker was his tenant on some unlocated land. Azor and his sons, who held a considerable amount of land on the island, were followers of Earl William. Earl Roger seems to have succeeded his father as lord of the island, for he gave one virgate of the manor of Wilmingham to Croc Hunter.

The earls are likely to have held much of the *terra regis* on the island before 1075, and given Earl William's known castle-building record, he is inherently likely to have founded Carisbrooke Castle as the military focus of his fief. An examination of the possessions of the Abbey of Lyre, which William fitz Osbern founded in the 1040s in the diocese of Évreux, confirms William's authority on the Isle of Wight. The Abbey held six churches and tithes from all the king's payments on the island, including those of the royal manors of Arreton, Bowcombe and Freshwater, as a 1070 grant to the abbey confirms.[37] The church at Bowcombe has been identified as Carisbrooke Church, which Earl William gave to the abbey in 1070 along with its appurtenances and the 'tithe of the lordship'. The 1070 grant also reveals that the abbey gained the tithes of Heasley, Luccombe and Shalcombe and the churches of Godshill, Newchurch, Niton and Whippingham. In Domesday Book, neither William fitz Osbern nor the abbey is mentioned in any of these vills, but it seems likely that William had some authority over them before his death.[38] As Karin Mew has suggested, Domesday's account of the Isle of Wight and the New Forest may represent the "military lordship or quasi-Rape" of Earl William.[39]

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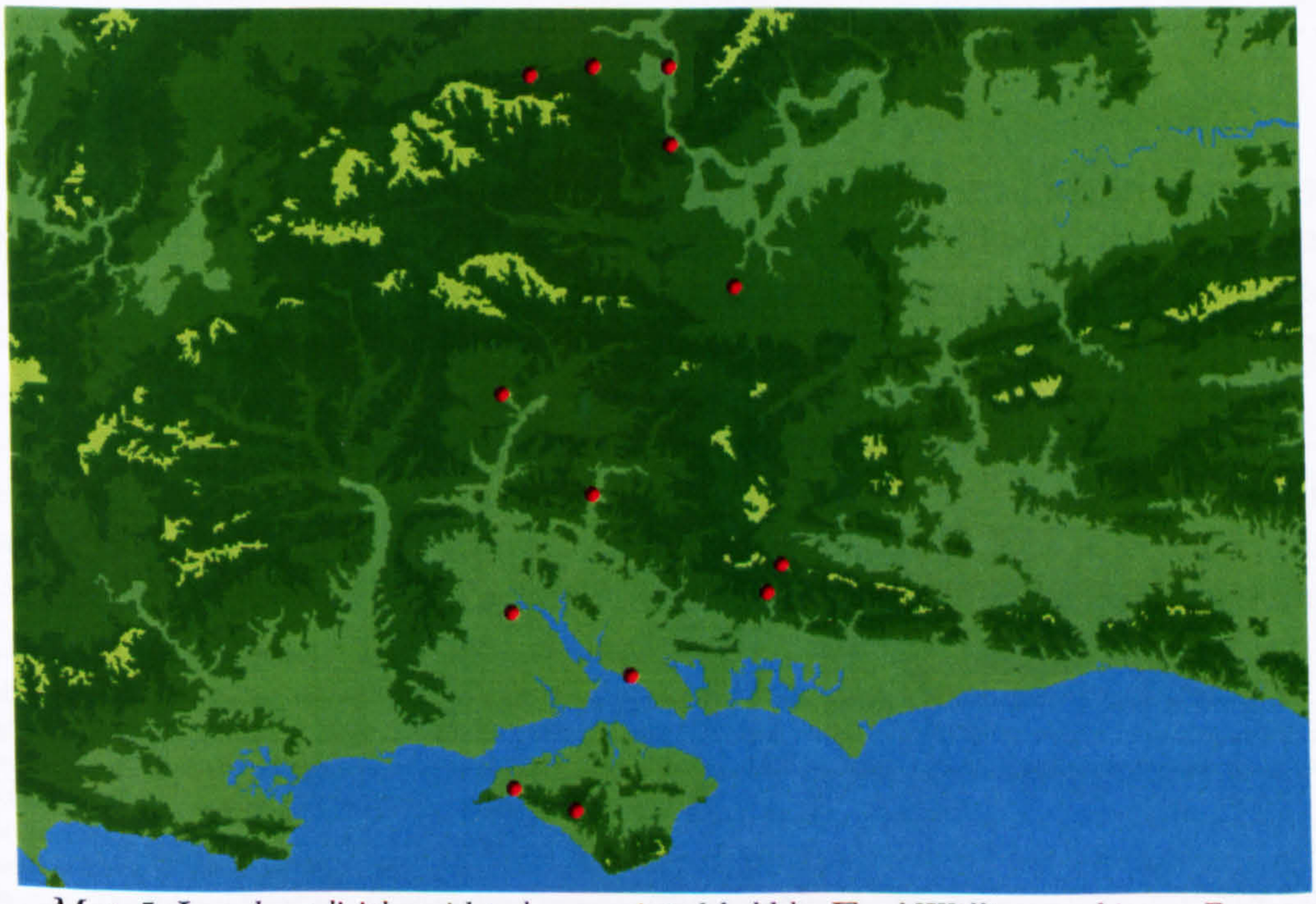
[34] *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. Davis and Chibnall, 116; 134.
[35] *Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. Clover and Gibson, no.31.
[36] Orderic Vitalis implies that it was gained, along with the earldom of Hereford, in 1070-1071, but such a late date is unlikely. John of Worcester states that William had been made earl in Herefordshire in reference to the events of 1067, and a writ issued under the joint authority of the king and Earl William stemming from the first two years of Norman rule tends to confirm that William received the earldom soon after 1066. *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 260; *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. McGurk, iii, 4-5; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.11.
[37] *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Dugdale, vol.6, 1076-7; 1092.
[38] Godshill and Newchurch do not appear at all in the Domesday folios.
[39] Karin Mew, 'The dynamics of lordship and landscape as revealed in a Domesday study of the *Nova Foresta*', *ANS*, vol.23 (2001), 162ff.

Earl William also possessed extensive authority on the Hampshire mainland. William of Poitiers revealed that between March and December 1067, while the Conqueror was in Normandy, William fitz Osbern was established at Winchester. He stated

> [King] William built a fortress within the walls of the city, and left there William fitz Osbern, the chief man in his army, so that he could govern all the kingdom of England to the north in his place during his absence.[40]

Given Earl William's reputation, the high esteem in which he was held by the Conqueror and the vulnerability of the Hampshire coastline, it seems plausible that he possessed extensive powers in the county during the king's absence in 1067 alongside Hugh of Grandmesnil, who was also established at Winchester.[41] There are a number of references to Earl William in the Hampshire folios of Domesday Book which confirm that he held land and authority beyond Winchester. He gave Earl Godwin's former manor of Chalton to Roger of Montgomery. Tovi is said to have held part of the Bishop of Winchester's manor of Meon through Earl William, and Aelfric had bought Hartley Wespall from the earl for two marks of gold. Cola bought *Sudberie* from Earl William after 1066. Manors forming part of the Hampshire estate of his son Roger were probably part of Earl William's original fief, including Upper Clatford, where Earl Roger had given a virgate of land to Adelina the jester. The manor included seven sites in Winchester, which suggests that Earl Roger was also a significant urban landlord.[42] Much more land in Hampshire was probably associated with Earl William than Domesday Book reveals. The Abbot of Lyre held a house in Southampton free of dues in 1086, and the 1070 grant confirms that the abbey gained land in the town worth over £9. The Abbey of Cormeilles, another of Earl William's foundations, also held a house free of dues in the city.



Map 5: Land explicitly said to be ~~associated~~ held by Earl William or his son Roger before 1075 in southern ~~and western~~ England

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[40] *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. Davis and Chibnall, 164.

[41] Orderic Vitalis refers to Hugh as "governor of the *Gewissae* - that is the region around Winchester". *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 220.

[42] Powerful barons like Earl Roger often had land and interests in towns, which could be rewarding both financially and politically. See Fleming, 'Rural elites and urban communities in late Saxon England', *Past and Present*, no.141 (1993), pp.3-37.

Domesday Book hints at Earl William's authority in Berkshire. He had held the manor of Harwell, although by 1086 it was part of the fief of Roger of Ivry. Basildon and Charlton had formerly been part of Earl Roger's holding, and probably that of Earl William before him, although by 1086 they were in the hands of King William and Ralph of Tosny, the earl's brother-in-law.

A writ issued under the double authority of the King and Earl William concerning a grant of land in Somerset to Bath Abbey raises the possibility that Earl William's authority was far more extensive than Domesday Book reveals.[43] Although no contemporary source explicitly states the extent of William's earldom, they provide clues to suggest that his authority in 1067 was considerable. William of Poitiers' account of the government of England during the Conqueror's absence in 1067 suggests that control of the south was divided between Odo of Bayeux and William fitz Osbern, who administered their "prefectures in the kingdom" alongside each other.[44] John of Worcester states that William was made earl *in* Herefordshire, rather than *of* Herefordshire, and implies that he had authority elsewhere within the former earldom of Harold.[45]

Wightman's article on the authority of Earl William in the Welsh March suggests that in the counties of Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, and perhaps Worcestershire, the earl enjoyed semi-regal powers.[46] Chris Lewis developed this theory further by claiming that William succeeded Harold as earl of Wessex.[47] Although the silence of contemporary sources is puzzling if such a theory is valid, the instability of the Norman position in 1067, the Conqueror's desire to rule according to the 'laws' of Edward the Confessor and the close relationship between the Conqueror and William fitz Osbern makes this a realistic possibility. As Lewis recognised, although the available evidence is "fragmentary in the extreme ... the straws in the wind are at least all flying in the same direction".[48]

An examination of Earl William's followers and their landed interests in circuit one may throw further light on the validity of Lewis' theory. It is likely that the earl was instrumental in establishing Ralph of Limésy in southern counties.[49] In Hampshire, Ralph acquired Alstan of Boscombe's former manor of *Slacham*, which by 1086 was in the royal demesne and part of the New Forest. The Domesday folios for Gloucestershire show Ralph gaining other land formerly held by Alstan, and it is possible that Ralph was also the intermediate holder of Alstan's former manors of Silchester in Hampshire and Padworth in Berkshire, both of which were held in 1086 by William of Eu. Jocelyn held Padworth from William of Eu in 1086, along with

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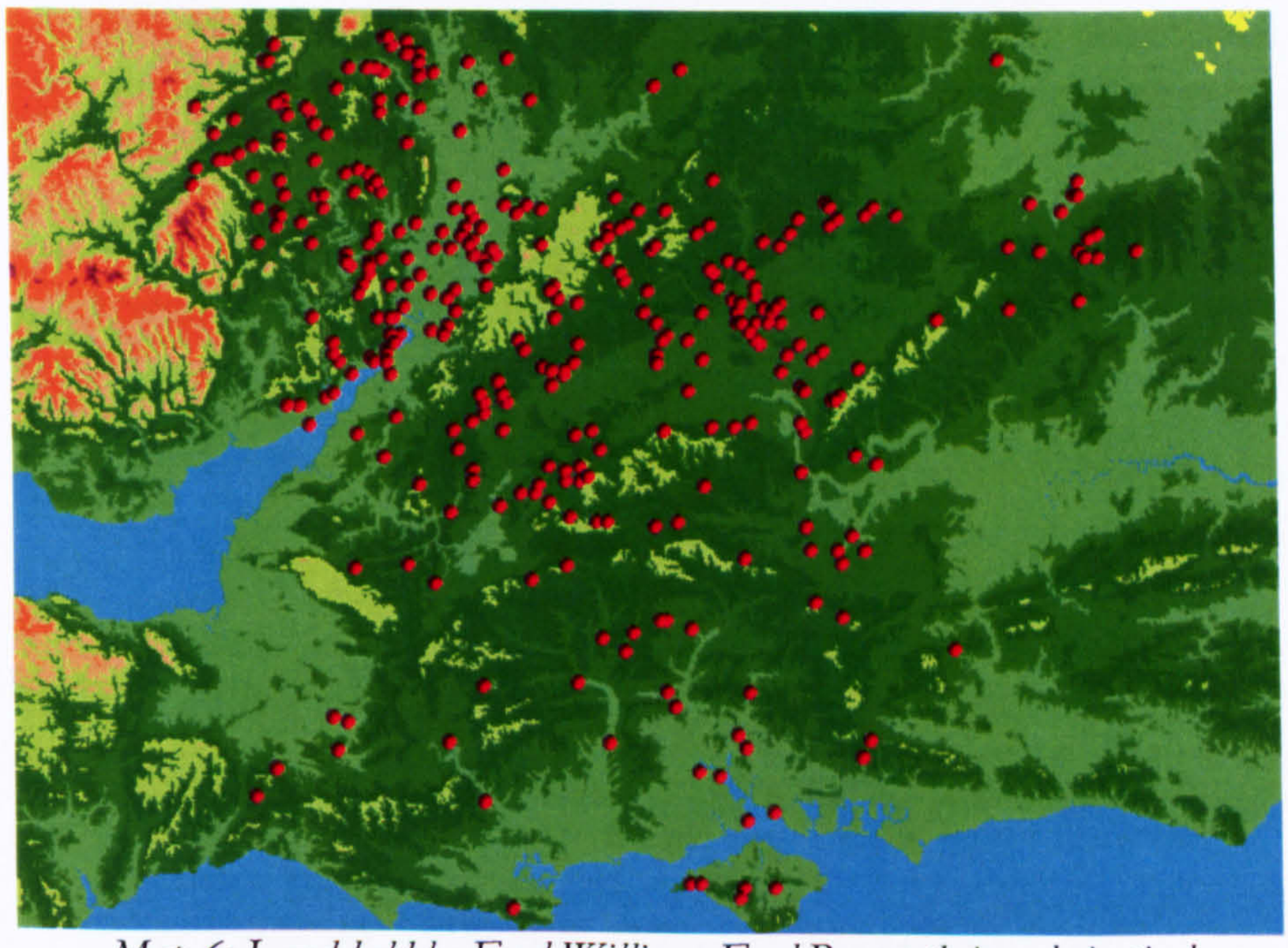
[43] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no. 11. West argued that it was merely a reference to William as King of England and Duke of Normandy. Although the fact that the writ is written in the singular lends weight to his argument, it seems more plausible to view it as a writ of Earl William, issued with the King's name to give it greater authority. West, 'An Early Justiciar's Writ', *Speculum*, vol.34 (1959), pp.631-635.
[44] *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. Davis and Chibnall, 180.
[45] *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. McGurk, iii, 4.
[46] Wightman, 'The Palatine Earldom of William fitz Osbern in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, 1066-1071', *EHR*, vol.77 (1962), pp.6-17.
[47] Lewis noted that the deaths of Harold, Leofwin and Gyrth in 1066 left vacant earldoms in the south and east, which were immediately filled by William fitz Osbern, Odo of Bayeux and Ralph the Staller respectively. Lewis, 'The Early Earls of Norman England', *ANS*, vol.13 (1990), pp.216-8. In his account of the 1075 revolt of Earl Roger, Orderic Vitalis claimed that the three rebels wanted to divide the kingdom between them, one as king and the other two as *duces*. If William did indeed possess the earldom of Wessex, this may reflect a desire of his son to revive his father's larger earldom. *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 314.
[48] C.P. Lewis, 'The Early Earls of Norman England', *ANS*, vol.13 (1990), 218.
[49] Ralph was from Limésy in Seine-Maritime, arr. Rouen. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 334.

North Denchworth. This man is likely to be Jocelyn of Cormeilles, another follower of Earl William, suggesting that Ralph of Limésy also gained North Denchworth under the patronage of Earl William. The theory that the formation of the fief of William of Eu in Berkshire and Hampshire ultimately owed something to the patronage of Earl William before 1071 is a strong one.

Jocelyn of Cormeilles held ten hides of land in chief at Thruxton in north-western Hampshire. Gilbert of Breteuil is recorded as a tenant-in-chief of thirty hides across both counties, and William Alis, whose family were lords of Les Bottereaux in the honour of Breteuil, held one Hampshire manor.[50] Roger of Pîtres, the father of Walter, perhaps gained his three Hampshire manors through the earl, as he did at South Cerney in Gloucestershire. William son of Baderon is likely to have acquired the two Hampshire manors of East Cholderton and Clere Earlstone through Earl William as an extension to his land in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire. His father Baderon of La Boussac is named by Orderic Vitalis as a steward of Earl William and his son William of Breteuil.[51] Gilbert son of Richere was from ~~of~~ L'Aigle, located around twenty miles south-west of Breteuil, and had acquired the Surrey manor of Witley. Other Norman landholders in south-eastern England who stemmed from the département of Eure in Normandy include Durand of Gloucester, Herbrand of Pont Audemer and Roger of Ivry, and it is possible that they too had connections with the lords of Breteuil.



Map 6: Land held by Earl William, Earl Roger, their ecclesiastical foundations and their supposed followers 1066-1086[52]

Map 6, showing those manors potentially and actually associated with Earl William, his son and their followers, suggests that the influence of Earl William extended

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[50] Keats-Rohan argues that Gilbert was not necessarily from the honour of Breteuil, and could have been from any of the numerous Brettevilles in Normandy. *Ibid.*, 210. However, the fact that Gilbert held land in Berkshire, Hampshire, Oxfordshire and Wiltshire, where it has been shown that Earl William had considerable influence, and the fact that some of his land in Oxfordshire had certainly been held by William fitz Osbern after 1066, makes it seem likely that he was indeed from the head of Earl William's Normandy holding. For William Alis, see Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins*, 106; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 466.

[51] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, iii, 130; iv, 244.

[52] The map shows the land held by Alstan of Boscombe before 1066; Earl William, Earl Roger, Ralph of Limésy and Roger of Pîtres before 1075; and the Abbey of Lyre, the Abbey of Cormeilles, Durand of Gloucester, Gilbert of Breteuil, Gilbert son of Richere of L'Aigle, Herbrand of Pont Audemer, Jocelyn of Cormeilles, Ralph of Tosny, Roger of Ivry, William Alis and William son of Baderon in 1086.

throughout much of Berkshire, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight. In view of Earl William's position in the Welsh March, it would seem logical that he also controlled land in Berkshire and Hampshire in order to ensure lines of communication between Herefordshire, London and the Isle of Wight. In view of Earl William's close relationship with the Conqueror and the authority he wielded in the late 1060s in England, this scattering of manors throughout the region is likely to represent only the tip of the iceberg. The defence of the Isle of Wight and the nearby shires of Hampshire and Berkshire is likely to have been an important responsibility of Earl William and his son.

* * *

If the land associated with Earl Godwin's earldom of Wessex passed to William fitz Osbern in the west of circuit one, it is possible that his land in the east of the circuit passed to the Conqueror's half-brother Odo of Bayeux, who became earl of Kent soon after 1066. Odo was left in charge of England alongside William fitz Osbern during the Conqueror's absence in 1067, and the south-east appears to have comprised an important part of his fief. William of Poitiers wrote

> As for the castle of Dover, [the Conqueror] entrusted it to his brother Odo, together with the adjacent south coast, which goes by the old name of Kent ... he was greatly feared by men-at-arms, for when need arose he helped in war by his most practical counsels as far as his religion allowed. He was singularly and most steadfastly loyal to the king, his uterine brother ... from whom he had received great honours and expected to receive still more.[53]

The main focus of Odo's power in circuit one was in Kent and Surrey, where his possessions were extensive. In Kent he gained all the former manors of Earl Harold and Earl Leofwin, as well as a significant proportion of Earl Godwin's former estate and some of the *terra regis*. He was dominant among the lay tenants-in-chief of the county, holding around 424 sulungs of land in 41 hundreds. In 25 of these hundreds he was the only lay tenant-in-chief, and in a further six hundreds only Richard of Tonbridge and the king held alongside him.[54] In eastern Kent, Odo was especially dominant in the Lathes of Borough and Eastry and the southern part of Lympne, suggesting a major role in the defence of the coastline. In the west he held land in many of the vills in Aylesford Lathe and the north-west of Sutton, where the need to protect Watling Street would have been an important factor in the distribution of land. Although there are sixteen hundreds in which Odo held land alongside other lay tenants-in-chief, suggesting that his receipt of land was not strictly based on the hundred, a concern for geographical compactness certainly influenced the organisation of his Kent estate.

Domesday Book reveals that Odo received the third penny from the boroughs of Dover, Fordwich and Rochester, and the Battle Abbey Chronicle adds Wye to the list.[55] He was the castellan of Dover and "protector and deliverer" of houses in the city.[56] In Rochester, he was partly responsible for the support of Rochester Bridge, which was vital in the protection of the road from Canterbury to London, and he is

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[53] *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. Davis and Chibnall, 164-5.
[54] Robin Fleming mistakenly claims that in the 29 hundreds in which he held land, the only other secular landholder was Richard of Tonbridge. R. Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, 152.
[55] DB Kent (7,10); *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. Searle, 78.
[56] *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. Davis and Chibnall, 182; *DB Kent* (D8).

likely to have possessed considerable authority over Rochester Castle, which was associated with him during the 1088 revolt.[57] As Bates demonstrated, there was a distinct connection between thirteenth century castleguard obligations at both Dover and Rochester and Odo's Domesday possessions.[58] His knights, according to the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, were also involved in castleguard at Tonbridge.[59]

Map 7: Land attributed to Odo of Bayeux between 1066 and 1086 in Kent, Surrey and beyond

Odo held some of the largest manors in Kent in lordship. Among his possessions were a series of important and possibly fortified vills in the Thames and Medway valleys close to Watling Street, among them Allington, Leeds, Leybourne, Stockbury, Sutton Valence, Swanscombe, Thurnham and Tonge. The remains of a motte and bailey castle at Leeds may have stemmed from the late eleventh century. Reports of the Penenden Trial, although tainted by hindsight, reveal that Odo was guilty of encroachment on a considerable amount of ecclesiastical land, although some had been seized by the Godwineson family before him.[60] Among the Kent vills that fell within his sphere of influence after 1066 but were subsequently restored to the church were Hythe, Reculver, Richborough, Saltwood and Sandwich, which suggests that his position in strategically important eastern ports was initially greater than Domesday Book suggests, while his former possession of manors like Denton, Detling, Erith and Stoke enhances his role in the defence of the Thames estuary.

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[57] The *Textus Roffensis* reveals that the hundreds of Chatham, Eyhorne and Hoo were responsible for four piers of the bridge. Odo held land in all vills in Chatham and Hoo, as well as a considerable amount of land in Eyhorne Hundred, and was thus responsible for a significant proportion of the upkeep of the bridge. See Ward, 'The Lathe of Aylesford in 975', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol.46 (1934), pp.7-26; Brooks, 'Church, Crown and Community: Public Work and Seigneurial Responsibilities at Rochester Bridge', *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages*, pp.1-20. The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* refers to "his castle at Rochester". *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock et al., 167 (MS E).

[58] Bates, *Biography of Odo Bishop of Bayeux*, pp.94-5.

[59] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock et al., 167 (MSE).

[60] For a discussion of the different accounts of the trial, see Le Patourel, 'The reports on the trial on Penenden Heath', *Studies in Medieval History presented to F.M. Powicke*, pp.15-26.

In Surrey, Odo held nearly 200 hides of land spread across most areas of the county. He possessed a group of holdings focused on the estate of Bramley, which was spread throughout a large part of Blackheath Hundred towards the Weald, and the sites that he acquired in nearby Guildford are likely to have been associated with this manor. A castle may have been built there during the Conqueror's reign to replace or supplement the fortifications at nearby Eashing mentioned in the Burghal Hidage.[61] Guildford was strategically significant in view of its proximity to London, and a road from London to Winchester and the south coast passed through a gap in the nearby North Downs. The low level of subinfeudated land in the area is surprising, but may reflect the inadequacies of Domesday Book rather than an actual dearth of military tenants. A further group of three manors in the north of the county, the focus of which was Earl Harold's former manor of Thames Ditton, are also likely to have been instrumental in the defence of the Thames estuary. Whoever held Thames Ditton from Wadard was said to pay him the service of a man-at-arms, which confirms that the manor contributed to Odo's military obligations.[62] Wadard's subtenancy at Coombe in Kent also owed the service of a man-at-arms, and both manors subsequently owed castleguard service at Dover.[63] A group of manors in the Southwark region provided further protection of the approach to London, Southwark itself being located immediately south of the Thames and London Bridge and containing an active port. Domesday Book reveals that Odo had possession of a tidal waterway there, which was the subject of a suit over the receipt of tolls. The existence of fortifications there in the tenth century and Earl Godwin's encampment there in 1052 demonstrates that it was a sensitive area in which defence needs would have been a vital consideration in the post-Conquest organisation of settlement.[64]

Domesday Book's treatment of Odo's land in the south-east, as in the rest of England, was inconsistent as a result of his arrest and imprisonment in Rouen in 1082, and his position in circuit one is likely to have been stronger than Domesday Book reveals.[65] Although he does not appear to have administered the royal demesne in Kent in 1086, Domesday Book hints that Hugh of Port served as sheriff of the county before 1086, and it is likely that his appointment owed much to his connections with Odo.[66] Odo's former manor of Rotherfield in Sussex was part of the royal demesne in 1086, and it is possible that other royal manors in circuit one had been under his control. Ranulf the sheriff, possibly Ranulf Flambard, was said to hold one site in Guildford in Surrey that he had hitherto held from the Bishop, suggesting that Odo had some authority in the royal borough after 1066. Ranulf Flambard also held Tuesley, which belonged to the royal manor of Godalming in 1086, and it is possible that his position there owed something to his connections with Odo.[67] The Bishop of Lisieux held two sulungs in Kent from the royal manor of Merton in Surrey, for which he claimed Odo as patron. Odo was also said to have

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[61] *The Defence of Wessex: The Burghal Hidage*, ed. Hill and Rumble, pp.28-9.
[62] *DB Surrey* (5,25-27).
[63] *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, ii, 709. His land later formed part of the barony of Arsic.
[64] *The Defence of Wessex: The Burghal Hidage*, ed. Hill and Rumble, pp.28-9; *Anglo Saxon Chronicle, MS C*, ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 113; *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. Darlington et al., ii, 568.
[65] The 1082 dispute between the Conqueror and Odo resulted in Odo being seized and imprisoned in Normandy. For a reference to the fate of Odo in Domesday Book see the Lincolnshire claims, which refer to Odo "on the day he was taken" and state that "later he was dispossessed". *DB Lincolnshire* (C13).
[66] Hugh gained seven of Osward's manors in Kent, perhaps the Osward the sheriff mentioned in the royal manor of Dartford. See Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154*, 50. Hugh was from Port-en-Bessin near Bayeux, and was also a tenant of Odo in Cambridgeshire, Hampshire, Norfolk and Surrey. Domesday Book states that he was also Odo's reeve in Suffolk soon after the 1075 rebellion. It is possible that it is his son Henry of Port who is mentioned in the 1133 Bayeux Inquest, holding three fees of the bishopric in Normandy. *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, ii, 646.
[67] Orderic Vitalis claims that Ranulf Flambard was from the Bayeux region. *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, iii, 172. See Green, *English sheriffs to 1154*, 78.

wrongfully placed half a hide of the land of the royal manor of Gomshall in his manor of Bramley, and at Dorking Herfrid held a hide of the royal manor from Odo. Thus it is possible that Odo had some control over the royal demesne in the county prior to 1082.

Although in Kent and Surrey Odo is still named as a tenant-in-chief, making it easier to determine the extent of his landholding there, in the rest of circuit one references to his lordship are more sporadic, and it is uncertain whether this reflects his limited authority in the area or the ignorance of the Domesday commissioners about his former tenure of land.[68] In Hampshire, a group of thirteen manors included among the fief of Hugh of Port were said to be held of Odo, and Hugh of St. Quentin held a manor through Odo at Langley. The Leicestershire folios of Domesday Book reveal that £6 came from the manor of Shepshed by command of Odo for the service of the Isle of Wight. In Berkshire and Sussex his former land is included among the fiefs of his successors, with the phrase 'of the Bishop of Bayeux's Holding' providing the only hint of his former tenure. The casual nature of such references raises the possibility that other land may have been part of his original fief, although not deemed as such within the folios of Domesday Book.

An examination of the individuals who held land said to be formerly 'of his holding' in circuit one and beyond may suggest other manors over which Odo possessed authority prior to his arrest. In Berkshire, Odo's former manors of Appleton, Pusey and Great Shefford were held by Robert d'Oilly and Roger of Ivry in 1086. Neither man had landed connections with Odo in Normandy, but they had links with him in England, where they were also his undertenants, or possibly successors, in Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire and Warwickshire. It is thus possible that other land held by them may have been part of Odo's fief at an earlier date. Robert's manors of Ardington, Chaddleworth and Letcombe Bassett and Roger's manors of Eling and Harwell, all in Berkshire, may provide examples, although the fact that both fiefs were also formed from some of the former land of Earl William should not be forgotten. Hugh of Port also held part of Great Shefford in 1086 and, in view of his connection with Odo in Hampshire, it is likely that this had also been part of Odo's former holding.

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In circuit one, around 540 of Odo's 659 hides were held by tenants, revealing a subinfeudation level of 82% which was well above the national average.[69] Although he must have been an absentee landlord for much of the time as a result of his extensive responsibilities, it is possible that this high level was also the result of the circumstances following his arrest and imprisonment in Rouen in 1082. The distribution of the land of Odo's tenants in Kent and Surrey provides some idea of his approach towards the defence of the region.

Herbert son of Ivo acquired a considerable amount of land from Odo in the coastal regions around Dover and Sandwich, most of which was held by Herfrid or his

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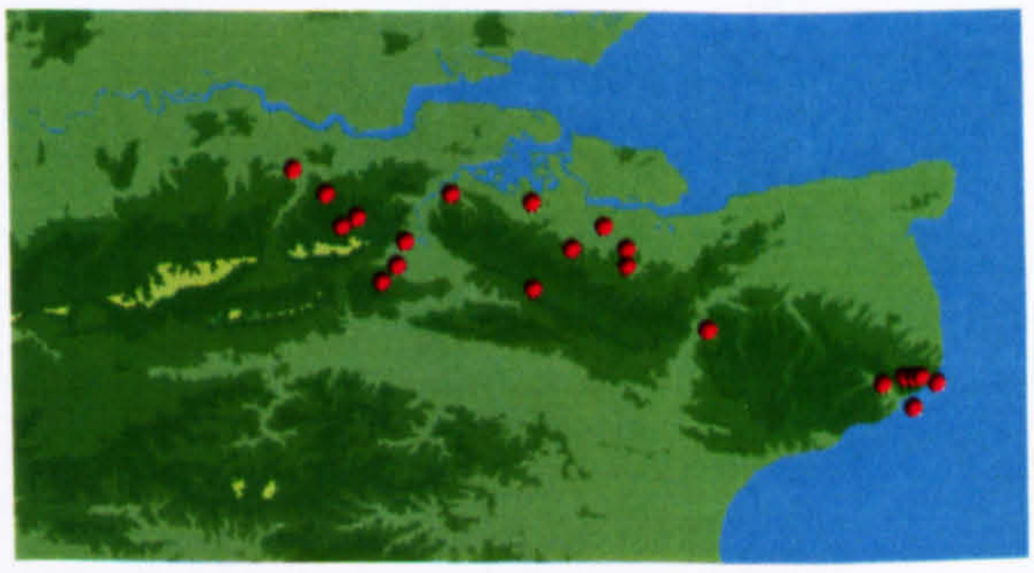
[68] There are hints in Kent and Surrey that his position was in a state of flux. Aethelwold the chamberlain is said to have formerly held the manors of Bensted and Teston in Kent from the Bishop, and although by 1086 they are still included among Odo's fief, they were actually held by Robert Latimer at a revenue from the king. Robert held other manors at a revenue from the king "by a new gift of the Bishop of Bayeux", suggesting that he was administering some of Odo's demesne land in the county. *DB Kent* (5,49; 50; 99; 100; 209).

[69] The average level of subinfeudation in Great Domesday Book was 46% of the value of an estate, or 61% among Class A barons. Palmer, 'The wealth of the secular aristocracy in 1086', *ANS*, vol.22 (2000), p.280.

nephew Hugh in 1086. The military responsibilities of these men is suggested by the fact that their land later formed the honour of Peverel of Dover, which owed fifteen fees to the castleguard at Dover in the reign of Edward I.[70] Map 8 demonstrates that many of their tenancies were also located in the vicinity of the road leading from Dover towards Canterbury and London.

Map 8: Land held by Herbert son of Ivo, his nephew Hugh, and Herfrid from Odo of Bayeux between 1066 and 1086

Several of Odo's other tenants held land in coastal regions of Kent. Aethelwold the chamberlain was the former tenant of Easole, and a diploma confirming grants in the St. Augustine's cartularies shows that he also held Knowlton, Ringleton and Tickenhurst in the same region before 1082.[71] His manor of Leeds in the west of the county was later part of the barony of Chatham, which owed five knights castleguard at Dover.[72] Osbern son of Ledhard held a compact group of manors in Eastry and Hugh of Port held two tenancies just north of Dover. Both men's land subsequently passed into the barony of Port, which later owed twelve knights to the castleguard of Dover.[73] Ranulf of Vaubadon held Hemsted just west of Dover, and the fact that a Richard de Vabadone provided three knights' castleguard at Dover in the thirteenth century raises the possibility that Ranulf had similar obligations at an earlier date.[74] Roger of Westerham, Wadard and Walter of Cambremer all had dwellings in Dover from Odo in 1086, and Thurstan Tinel and his wife held a number of manors to the west of Sandwich.



[70] Sanders, *English Baronies*, 151; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, ii, 721.
[71] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.86. Aethelwold's loss of land, combined with the fact that he was in Normandy with Odo after 1088, suggests that he may have returned to Normandy with Odo in 1082, and that Domesday Book's record of his tenure of some land reflects conditions pre-dating 1086. *Calendar of Documents preserved in France*, ed. Round, i, no.1435.
[72] *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, i, 190-1; ii, 615; 722.
[73] *Ibid.*, ii, 618; 710-11; 721-22.
[74] *Ibid.*, ii, 617.

Map 9: Land of Osbern son of Ledhard in the fief of Odo of Bayeux in 1086

Map 10: Land of Hugh of Port in the fief of Odo of Bayeux in 1086

Robert of Romney held two dwellings from Odo in Dover, as well as land in the Romney Marsh area to the east. The fifty burgesses over whom he had authority in Romney were said to be exempt from all but three customary dues because of service at sea, making a clear case for Robert's role in the organisation of naval defence in Kent. Ralph of Courbépine held a compact group of eleven manors in Eastry Lathe and three dwellings in Dover. His other eight holdings spread north-west as far as Larkfield Hundred in Aylesford, and it is possible that these tenancies were granted in order to defend the road from Dover to Maidstone and beyond. Undertenants are named in three vills, some of whom may have held from Ralph in a military capacity.

Map 11: Land of Ralph of Courbépine in the fief of Odo of Bayeux in 1086

Odo granted Ranulf of Colombières 45 dwellings in Canterbury, a dwelling in Dover and three holdings in the intermediate region, including the manor of Shelving which was located just west of Sandwich. It is likely that Ranulf was partly responsible for the provision of the royal bodyguard mentioned in Domesday Book. Young Alnoth's lands are among those that carried the duty before 1066, all of which passed into Odo's fee thereafter, and Ranulf of Colombières is among the tenants holding his former land in 1086. By 1086 Ranulf was also farming Odo's manors of Bekesbourne, Upper Hardres and Stelling around three miles inland of Dover and Sandwich.

Fulbert acquired Odo's valuable manors of Barham and Chilham.[75] Chilham lay near the Stour on a road from Canterbury to Rye and Hastings, and the location and size of the manor and the existence of Roman remains and a twelfth century fortification there highlights its strategic significance. Another tenant in the region, Richard son of William, held the large manor of Patrixbourne, located just south of Canterbury near the North Downs Ridgeway. Helto, Odo's steward, had three manors north of Watling Street towards the Thames estuary. Swanscombe was said in Domesday Book to include a landing place that must have been important in terms of the defence of the approach to London, and a man-at-arms held land from him there. The honour of Swanscombe later provided thirty knights castleguard at Rochester.[76]

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[75] They were probably initially part of Odo's demesne holdings, but granted to Fulbert after Odo's arrest, and in 1086 held at farm by Fulbert. Some of Fulbert's land was initially granted to his father Hugh. See *DB Kent* (5,159). Keats-Rohan identifies him as Fulbert de Douura, probably from Douvres-la-Délivrande, arr. Caen, Calvados. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 200.
[76] *Ibid.*, 158.

Adam's four manors in the Aylesford hundred of Shamwell may have been instrumental in the defence of the Medway estuary around Rochester. The existence of a thirteenth century castle at Leybourne highlights the perceived military significance of the site.[77] Ralph son of Thorold held several manors in western Kent in a relatively compact group spreading through Aylesford Lathe.[78] Ralph's acquisition of Earl Leofwin's former manors of Luddesdown and Milton suggests he was prominent among Odo's tenants, and thus likely to have held considerable military responsibilities. Milton, which had been burnt by Earl Godwin's forces in 1052, was located by the Thames and was hence especially vulnerable.[79]

Map 12: Tenancies of Ralph son of Thorold from the holding of the Bishop of Bayeux in western Kent in 1086

Adam son of Hubert of Rye's land was mainly concentrated in and around the Aylesford hundred of Eyhorne, with Earl Leofwin's former manor of Sutton Valence providing a focus.[80] The remains of a Norman castle there perhaps stemmed from the reign of the Conqueror, and it is significant that much of Adam's land lay on or near the Roman road from Maidstone to Lympne.[81] Adam's manor of St. Mary Cray in the far north-west of the county has been identified as the possible site of a medieval motte.[82] The land of Ansgot of Rochester in northern Kent, including Askell's former manors of Beckenham and Howbury either side of Watling Street, may have performed a similar strategic function.

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The implementation of the Conqueror's initial strategy for the political, military and strategic settlement of circuit one in the immediate post-Conquest period was thus to a large extent delegated to William fitz Osbern and Odo of Bayeux, with William dominant in the west of the circuit and Odo in the east. By appointing these two powerful and trusted barons to the vacated earldoms of the Godwineson family, the Conqueror perhaps hoped to ensure a smooth transition to Norman rule and ensure the security of an especially vulnerable and strategically significant region.

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[77] *Ibid.*, i, 232.

[78] Ralph's father had been the steward and tenant of Odo before his death c.1086. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.69; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 431.

[79] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock et al., 125 (MS. E).

[80] Adam, the brother of Eudo *dapifer*, was one of Odo's main vassals. According to John Palmer, in terms of manorial income Adam ranked 21st in England, even outstripping the earl of Chester. Palmer, 'The wealth of the secular aristocracy in 1086', *ANS*, vol.22 (2000), 3. A royal writ to St. Augustine's dated 1070 x 1087 refers to his brother Eudo as a Kentish magnate, and he seems to have inherited Adam's land after his involvement in the 1088 revolt and subsequent exile in Bayeux. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.88.

[81] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, i, 235.

[82] *Ibid.*, 237.

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A prominent baron alongside Odo of Bayeux in Kent and Surrey was Richard son of Count Gilbert of Brionne, who held a relatively compact fief focused on the *leuga* of Tonbridge. The date at which he received his land in Kent and Surrey is uncertain, but is likely to have been prior to 1072 when he is named Richard of Tonbridge in the Penenden Heath proceedings.[83] Richard's land in Kent was concentrated in the west of the county around Tonbridge Castle, and it is likely that the *leuga* was formed to enable the effective upkeep and defence of the castle and to protect the road from London to Hastings where it crossed the Medway.

Map 13: Land of Richard son of Count Gilbert in south-east England in 1086 (according to Domesday Book)

Domesday Book alone provides inadequate information to form an accurate picture of the geographical spread of his *leuga*. He is said to have held East Barming and Yalding in chief and Hadlow and Tudeley from Odo, as well as unlocated land attached to a number of manors in the north of Kent, as Table 1 demonstrates. Some of these manorial dens may have been cultivated and settled by 1086, but they were not yet sufficiently independent of their parent manors to warrant individual treatment by the Domesday commissioners. The task of locating such dens is fraught with difficulties, as they were not necessarily geographically close to their parent manor. Contemporary sources reveal that there were small settlements scattered all over the Weald by the late eleventh century, many of which have been identified by Witney in his study of the Kentish Weald.[84] Used in conjunction with Domesday Book and sources such as the *Domesday Monachorum*, the *Textus Roffensis*, the *White Book of St. Augustine's* and the subsequent perambulations of the *leuga* in 1259 and 1279, it is possible to gain some idea of the possible location of Richard's land in Kent in 1086.[85]

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[83] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.69.

[84] Witney, *The Jutish Forest: a study of the Weald of Kent from 450 to 1380* (1976).

[85] *Domesday Monachorum*, ed. Douglas; Ward, 'The list of Saxon churches in the Textus Roffensis', *Archaeologia Cantiana.*, vol.44 (1932), pp.39-59; and 'The list of Saxon churches in the Domesday Monachorum and White Book of St. Augustine's',

Parent Manor[86]	Tenant-in-Chief in 1086	Richard's Land (£)	Woodland (swine)
East Barming	Richard of Tonbridge	4	10
Yalding	Richard of Tonbridge	20	150
Darenth	Archbishop of Canterbury	0.5	-
Eynsford	Archbishop of Canterbury	3	20
East Farleigh	Archbishop of Canterbury	4	-
Farningham	Archbishop of Canterbury	-	20
Meopham	Archbishop of Canterbury	0.925	20
Northfleet	Archbishop of Canterbury	1.5	-
East Peckham	Archbishop of Canterbury	4	-
Otford	Archbishop of Canterbury	10	-
Wrotham	Archbishop of Canterbury	15	-
Frindsbury	Bishop of Rochester	-	-
Halling	Bishop of Rochester	-	-
Southfleet	Bishop of Rochester	1	-
Stone	Bishop of Rochester	0.75	-
Ash	Odo of Bayeux	2	-
Cooling	Odo of Bayeux	0.35	-
Eccles	Odo of Bayeux	-	-
Hadlow	Odo of Bayeux	30	60
Hoo	Odo of Bayeux	2	-
Leybourne	Odo of Bayeux	1.2	-
Luddesdown	Odo of Bayeux	-	-
Milton	Odo of Bayeux	-	-
Offham	Odo of Bayeux	0.55	-
Ridley	Odo of Bayeux	-	pig pasture
Seal	Odo of Bayeux	6	-
Swanscombe	Odo of Bayeux	-	-
Tudeley	Odo of Bayeux	0.75	-
Wrotham Heath	Odo of Bayeux	0.65	-

Table 1: Land held by Richard of Tonbridge in Kent in 1086 (derived from Domesday Book, the Domesday Monachorum, the Textus Roffensis, the White Book of St. Augustine's and the subsequent perambulations of the leuga in 1259 and 1279)

The ten shillings of land held from the Archbishop's manor of Darenth has been identified as the actual site of Tonbridge Castle.[87] The castle is not mentioned in contemporary sources until 1088 and Tonbridge itself is only briefly alluded to in Domesday Book, but its details were probably included in its parent manor, probably either the Archbishop's manor of Otford or Wrotham.[88] Richard held £10 from Otford in his territory, and Otford dens within the *leuga* have been identified in the parishes of Bidborough and Leigh just east of Tonbridge. The identification of Saxon churches in these parishes by the *Textus Roffensis* suggests considerable settlement in the vicinity. Land attached to the Archbishop's manor of Wrotham included large parts of the parishes of Pembury in the South Frith Woods and Shipbourne to the north of the *leuga*, where the *Textus Roffensis* also mentions a Saxon church in existence. As Witney recognised, "Tonbridge manor was formed, almost in its entirety, from Wrotham dens".[89]

Archaeologia Cantiana, vol.45 (1933), pp.60-89; Dumbreck, 'The *leuga* of Tonbridge', *Archaeologia Cantiana.*, vol.72 (1958), pp.138-147.

[86] With the exception of East Barming and Yalding, the parent manors listed in the table are those from which Richard held land "in his territory", that is dens located within the *leuga* of Tonbridge.

[87] *Domesday Monachorum*, ed. Douglas, 88.

[88] The castle is first mentioned in 1088 in the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* and Orderic Vitalis' *Ecclesiastical History*. *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock et al., 167 (MS E); *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, v, 208.

[89] Witney, *The Jutish Forest*, 231.

A fishery and a mill held by Richard from Eynsford has been located at Barden on the south of the Medway and at Barden Furnace, and dens attached to East Peckham have been located in the parishes of Horsmonden and Marden. Land in East Farleigh in his territory may have been located in the parishes of Brenchley and Goudhurst. Lindhurst in Edenbridge has been identified as a den of the manor of Stone, from which Richard held fifteen shillings of woodland. Land in the parish of Bidborough was apparently attached to Odo's manor of Seal, of which Richard held £6 in his *leuga*. The half sulung that Richard held of Hoo has been identified as Clearhedges in West Peckham parish, in the north of the *leuga*. The anonymous six acre holding in Somerden Hundred within Odo's fief associated with Richard has been located in Cowden parish, and dens attached to Richard's own manor of Yalding include several in the parishes of Brenchley and Lamberhurst. The *Domesday Monachorum* and *Textus Roffensis* identify Saxon churches in several of these areas, which suggest a considerable degree of settlement. There were no doubt other dens that, although not mentioned in contemporary sources, were also associated with the lands of the *leuga*. Together, they are likely to have formed a compact block around Tonbridge Castle which would have enabled Richard to control a considerable area of the Weald to the south of the castle.

In Surrey, Richard's possessions were extensive, spread across much of the east of the county and including a block of land in the eastern hundred of Tandridge near the Kent border. He held over 338 hides of land in chief, and his manors were among some of the largest and most valuable manors in the county. At Bletchingley there are remains of a keep and two baileys that were certainly in existence in 1170.[90] It is possible that some form of fortified residence existed there at an earlier date, designed to protect the road from London to Brighton and guarded by his manorial tenants, Odin, Leofmer and Peter. Men-at-arms also held from Richard at Albury and Shalford. His manor of Walton-on-the-Hill was located near the road from London to Southampton, and the existence of a small motte there raises the possibility that Richard may have constructed some form of fortification in the vill.

In creating Richard's fief, Anglo-Saxon landholding patterns were largely disrupted. Of the land that Richard held in chief in Kent, Barming and Yalding were held by Alret and Aldret respectively in 1066, but it is not certain whether these names represent one individual.[91] Hadlow and Tudeley were held by Edeva, who held no other land in Kent in 1066. The manorial dens belonging to Richard appear to have been held by a variety of men in 1066, suggesting that the *leuga* was a post-Conquest creation. In Surrey, virtually all Richard's land was held by men of King Edward in 1066. Richard succeeded to all four manors of Harding and both of Toki's manors, and to many of the manors of Aelmer and Alwin, although their former land was also to be found among the possessions of the Abbey of Chertsey, Odo of Bayeux, the Count of Mortain and Walter son of Othere in 1086. Likewise, Richard gained four of Alnoth of London's manors but was not his sole successor, with Odo holding some of his land in 1086. He was one of three successors to Azor and one of two successors to Cola. Richard's predecessors are likely to have enjoyed a considerable degree of independence from their royal lord, and so the transference of their land into the relatively compact fief of a single Anglo-Norman baron provides a clear example of territorial consolidation in an area of perceived military significance. The

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[90] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, 463.

[91] The names are not especially common in Kent in 1066, and one or both is probably the Alret de Ellinges who had sake and soke in Aylesford Lathe before 1066. *DB Kent* (D25).

fact that other tenants-in-chief lost outlying portions of their manors which were physically located within Richard's *leuga* demonstrates that it was the Conqueror's intention to give him complete control of the area.

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Hugh de Montfort's land in Kent, held both in chief and under other lords, formed a compact block in the Romney Marsh area and, like the *leuga* of Tonbridge, seems to have been formed as a result of considerable reorganisation.[92] Hugh fought at Hastings and was in Kent soon after 1066, serving as custodian of Dover Castle with Odo of Bayeux.[93] The focus of his fief was Saltwood, which he held from the Archbishop of Canterbury and to whom he owed four knights' fees in the 1090s.[94] Saltwood included 225 burgesses in nearby Hythe, an important port where defence would have been a significant factor in the organisation of settlement.[95] His land in the surrounding area probably contributed to the maintenance of the castle at Saltwood, which was mentioned in 1163 and may have been built by Hugh at an earlier date.[96] Hugh also held land from Odo in the region, and the *Domesday Monachorum* reveals that he had the moiety of the Archbishop's manor of Mersham.[97] His land is likely to have owed castleguard service at Dover, for his possessions in Kent and East Anglia in the thirteenth century owed 56 knights' fees as the honour of Haughley.[98]

Map 14: The land of Hugh de Montfort in south-eastern England in 1086 (both as tenant-in-chief and manorial lord)

Hugh's control of the Romney Marsh area was not exclusive. There were other landholders in Lympne Lathe, among them the Archbishop of Canterbury, St. Augustine's of Canterbury, the Canons of Dover and Odo of Bayeux. However, an examination of Domesday Book reveals that Hugh held land in twelve hundreds, in six of which he was the sole lay tenant-in-chief and in a further five where Odo was

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[92] He held over 41 sulungs of land directly from the king in the county valued at around £185.
[93] *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. Davis and Chibnall, 182.
[94] It was recovered by Lanfranc at the Penenden Heath trial, but may represent an original grant by the Conqueror to Hugh.
[95] For the importance of the port, see Gardiner, 'Shipping and Trade between England and the Continent during the Eleventh Century', *ANS*, vol.22 (1999), pp.71-93.
[96] *Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. Stubbs, i, 174; Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, i, 233.
[97] *Domesday Monachorum*, ed. Douglas, 91.
[98] *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, ii, 613-4; 707; 717-8.

the only other lay tenant-in-chief. His dominance was confined to hundreds in Lympne Lathe and the south of Wye Lathe, all in the vicinity of Romney Marsh.[99]

Hugh gained land from a variety of small landholders and anonymous freemen, suggesting that geographical location rather than pre-Conquest tenure was the main factor governing the formation of his fief. Only three men, Aethelred Bot, Norman and Wulfnoth, preceded Hugh in more than one manor. Norman's land, if we presume him to be one man, also passed to Hamo the sheriff. Wulfnoth also held other land in the county that did not have any subsequent connection with Hugh. Aethelrod Bot held no other land in the county in 1066, but his two manors were in neighbouring hundreds near Romney Marsh and probably passed to Hugh merely because of their proximity to Saltwood. This territorial consolidation, combined with the fact that Hugh appears to have received the outlying portions of the manors of other tenants-in-chief to consolidate his possessions, provides strong presumptive evidence that Hugh's fief was a castlery like Tonbridge, established soon after the Conquest to defend the coastal region around the port of Hythe.

* * *

William of Arques' lordship of Folkestone provides a further example of a compact fief established in Kent with defence considerations in mind. Although included in Domesday Book amongst the land of Odo of Bayeux, in 1086 William probably enjoyed a large degree of independence. Formerly held by Earl Godwin, the manor contained land for 120 ploughs and was worth over £145 in 1086, making it a substantial and valuable possession. The manor was focused on Folkestone Castle, first mentioned in 1095 when the Benedictine priory of Folkestone was founded there but probably in existence earlier.[100] The castle, located on an Iron Age enclosure, possessed commanding views of the surrounding area.

The geographical spread of the lordship is uncertain, although the large population and inclusion of five churches within the Domesday manor suggests that it incorporated land in a number of vills. The *Domesday Monachorum* lists ten subsidiary churches associated with the church of Folkestone, most of which do not occur in Domesday Book. Although the list is in some ways defective, it is possible that some of these vills were associated with Folkestone in more than just the ecclesiastical sense.[101] If the identification of *Fleota* with Fleet is correct, a connection with Folkestone is likely. Although Fleet was located around sixteen miles away, it had feudal connections with Folkestone and Domesday Book reveals that William of Arques had one sulung there from the Archbishop's manor of Wingham.[102] *Achalt* and *Bilicean*, if they represent Asholt Wood and Beachborough, were both in the vicinity of Newington, which was later incorporated into Folkestone Hundred.

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[99] Robin Fleming claimed that his fee was founded on the basis of the Hundred, with Odo appearing as the only other secular landholder in the eleven hundreds of south-eastern Kent where Hugh was dominant. She noted that Hugh's holdings centred on Aloesbridge, Bircholt, Blackburn, Chart, Hayne, Longbridge, Newchurch, Stowting, Street and Worth. Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, 152-3. However, Hugh does not appear to have held any land in Newchurch Hundred, and in Bircholt, Blackburn, Hayne and Stowting Odo also held land.

[100] *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Dugdale, iv, 674. The castle has Norman characteristics, although Chalkley Gould suggested that the enclosures there may have dated from the reign of Edward the Confessor. Chalkley Gould, 'Ancient Earthworks', *VCH Kent*, vol.1, 418.

[101] It omits more than seventy churches named elsewhere in the text, and thus does not necessarily provide a complete picture of vills linked with Folkestone. *Domesday Monachorum*, ed. Douglas, 78.

[102] William of Arques' son-in-law, Nigel of Monville, gave a third of the tithes of Fleet to the priory of Folkestone after 1086. *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Dugdale, iv, 674.

The *Domesday Monachorum* reveals that William of Arques possessed another manor called Stowting, held from the Archbishop by Alfhere before 1066 and the Count of Eu in 1086.[103] The vill was the site of a motte and bailey castle of unknown date, and its important location near Stone Street, connecting Canterbury and the coastal region around Folkestone and Hythe, makes it seem plausible that a fortification was erected there under Odo or William.[104]

A man-at-arms is named among the population of William of Arques' mesne-tenancy at Fleet, and he may have provided the military service owed by William to the Archbishop of Canterbury. William died soon after 1087 and his land passed to his son-in-law Nigel of Monville, who owed one knight's fee to the Archbishop in the late eleventh century.[105] Other men who held from William, among them Alfred the steward, Hugh son of William, Walter of Abbeville and Walter son of Engelbert, probably served at Folkestone Castle. William is also likely to have played a role in the defence of Dover Castle, for in the thirteenth century the ward of Avranches, which comprised his Domesday land in Kent and Suffolk, owed 21 knights for castleguard service there.[106] William may even be the *Willelm filius Goisfridi* who held three dwellings in Dover under Odo of Bayeux, for he may have been the son of Godfrey vicomte of Arques.[107]

Viewed as a whole, the argument that the huge manor of Folkestone was a castlery in all but name by 1086 is a convincing one. It occupied an entire hundred in an important south-coast port, was under unitary control, had men-at-arms providing military service and contained an important post-Conquest castle. Such characteristics are common to many of the castles built after 1066, and there is no reason to believe that the situation in Folkestone was any different.

* * *

The only other lay landholders in Kent in 1086 were Albert of Lorraine, Eustace of Boulogne and Hamo the sheriff, which is in itself an indication of the importance of military considerations in the settlement of the county.[108] Count Eustace was granted Earl Godwin's two large manors of Boughton Aluph and Westerham, perhaps to ensure his loyalty after his 1067 rebellion and to secure an ally in Flanders. Both manors were located near the North Downs Ridgeway, and would have contributed to the defence of communication routes inland. Albert of Lorraine's valuable manor of Newington, located on Watling Street, may have performed a similar function. Hamo no doubt contributed to the defence of the county in his capacity as sheriff, administrator of the royal borough of Canterbury, farmer of a number of key royal manors and a tenant-in-chief in his own right.[109] Particularly significant was his land at Trimworth, which was located by the Great Stour and would thus have been important in the defence of this inland waterway. He was also said to be holding the borough of Fordwich in a 1077 writ, although by 1086 it was in the hands of St. Augustine's.[110]

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[103] *Domesday Monachorum*, ed. Douglas, 83.
[104] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, i, 234.
[105] *Domesday Monachorum*, ed. Douglas, 105.
[106] *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, ii, pp.615-6.
[107] *Domesday Monachorum*, ed. Douglas, pp.43-4.
[108] The rest of Kent was dominated by royal and ecclesiastical land.
[109] He held only four manors in chief in Kent, despite his official position, perhaps because there were limited opportunities to gain land by the time he succeeded Hugh as sheriff, when the tenurial structure had already been established.
[110] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates., no.83.

The crown continued to play an important role in the defence of Kent and Surrey. The king had full jurisdiction throughout much of the city of Canterbury, where a royal castle is alluded to in Domesday Book.[111] He received ship service from the burgesses of the borough of Dover, where the royal castle played a vital role in the defence of the port and coastline. A fortification existed on a hill above the town on the site of Iron Age earthworks prior to the Norman Conquest, which was strengthened by the Conqueror during his campaign of 1066.[112] Such a strong cliff-top site was ideal to defend against overseas raids, as was evident when the castle was attacked in 1067 by Eustace of Boulogne and possibly again by the Danes when they attacked Dover in 1069.[113] Also significant was the royal castle at Rochester, which was built outside the Roman city wall and replaced by a stone castle towards the end of the Conqueror's reign.[114] Located by the River Medway on the Roman road from London to Canterbury and Dover, building materials and provisions could easily be supplied to the site, and the castle was able to perform an important military function in defending major communication routes. The king also held the three large manors of Dartford, Milton Regis and Faversham, which lay along the road from London to Canterbury, while Aylesford lay on the road leading south from Rochester to Maidstone and the Weald. In Surrey, the crown held a group of manors near the road from Winchester to London, focused on Guildford and including 75 sites in the town.[115] The crown also retained a group of manors in the north-east of the county, and a group of Queen Edith's former possessions in central and eastern Surrey between the scarp slope of the Downs and the Weald. The large manor of Reigate may have been fortified in 1086, for it was close to the road running south-west from London, possessed ample resources and was the site of a castle which was certainly in existence by the early thirteenth century.[116]

* * *

An examination of Kent and Surrey as a whole suggests that the region had undergone a significant degree of change after 1066. Numerous royal thanes with small estates had been predominant among secular landholders under Edward the Confessor, and such men are likely to have enjoyed a considerable degree of independence from the king, making their situation not dissimilar to post-Conquest tenants-in-chief. Obvious pre-Conquest grouping of estates had been few. In Surrey, Aelmer, Alnoth and Oswald held small concentrations of manors, but much of the rest of the county was divided among thanes with only a few holdings. In Kent, Young Alnoth, Alwin, Godric, Godwin, Leofwin, Molleva, Sired, Thorgils and Wulfnoth held fairly compact groups of manors, but their estates were not large and the frequency with which some of these names occur in Domesday Book makes it uncertain whether they represent just one individual.

Although any conclusions reached from a comparison of pre and post Conquest statistics remain speculative in view of the problems inherent in the Domesday material, the inadequacies of Domesday's account of pre-Conquest landholding in

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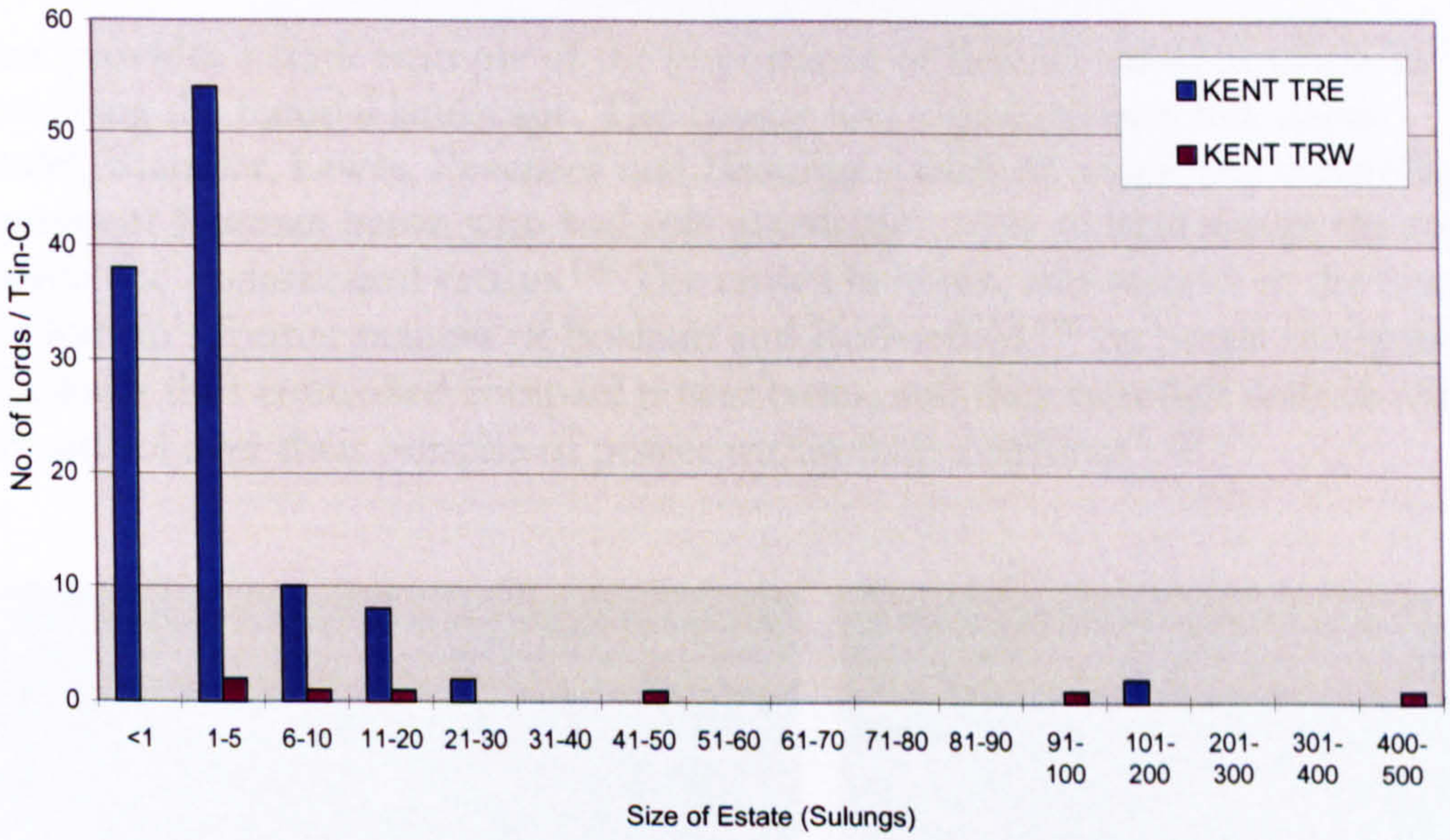
[111] *DB Kent* (C1).
[112] William of Poitiers refers to a castle "near to the sea on a rock which is naturally steep on all sides" at Dover which built by Earl Harold and re-fortified by the Conqueror. *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. Davis and Chibnall, 144.
[113] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, vol.2, 204; 226; *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. Davis and Chibnall, 182-4. *Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*, ed. Van Houts, pp.176-8.
[114] *DB Kent* (1,2).
[115] There was a strong motte in the town in the twelfth century, or possibly earlier. Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, 465.
[116] *Ibid.*, 466.

circuit one are extremely modest as compared, for example, to circuits four and six. It is entirely plausible that the data for circuit one is almost as good as that for circuit three, although it tells a very different story. Stenton's portrayal of pre-Conquest England as a country where there were numerous independent thanes with small holdings is to a large extent confirmed by Domesday Book's description of Kent and Surrey under the Confessor.[117] The situation in 1086 was in considerable contrast, with both counties dominated by a few major tenants-in-chief who held concentrated blocks of land, as Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate. This was especially the case in Kent, where an examination of secular landholders on a hundred-by-hundred basis reveals that Odo of Bayeux, Hugh de Montfort and Richard of Tonbridge were the sole lay tenants-in-chief in at least thirty hundreds. In Surrey too, vast blocks of territory controlled by Odo and Richard dominated the tenurial landscape. The remaining secular landholders held just a few manors, and only the estates of Earl Roger, Oswald, Walter son of Othere and William son of Ansculf of Picquigny show any sign of geographical concentration. The tenurial changes are evidently more in line with traditional views of the impact of the Norman Conquest as portrayed by historians such as Stenton than those of either Sawyer or Fleming.

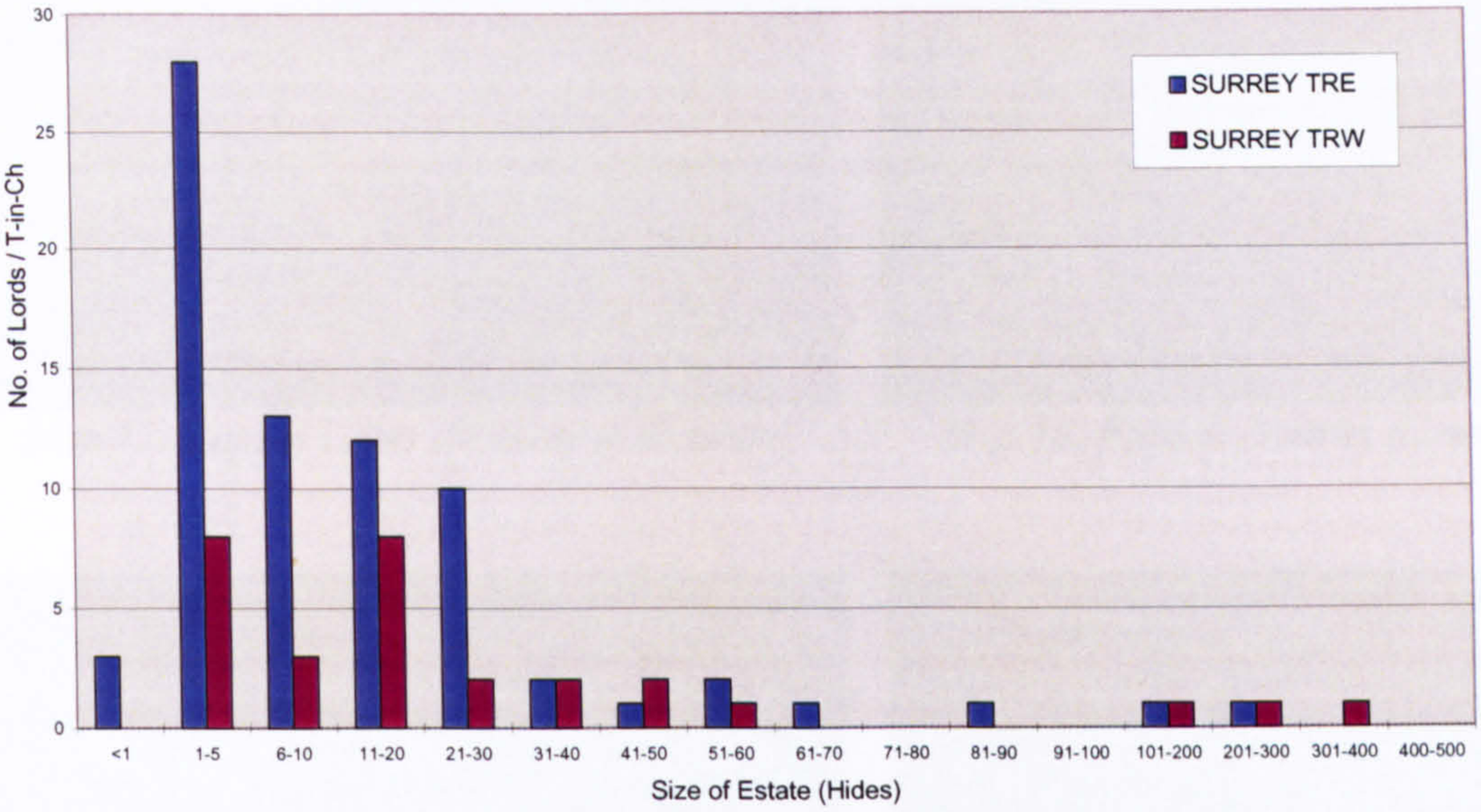
Figure 1: Distribution of secular land in Kent before and after the Conquest[118]



[117] Stenton, *Anglo Saxon England*, 626.

[118] Estates have been divided into various categories according to their assessment (less than one sulung; between one and five sulungs; etc.). The graph shows the number of individuals holding estates in each of these categories both before and after the Conquest, comparing post-Conquest tenants-in-chief with pre-Conquest landholders whom Domesday Book reveals to be at the top of the tenurial ladder (including named overlords other than the king, lords who held directly from the king, and men said to be 'free to go wherever they would'). The information should be treated with some caution, as the nature of the Domesday material sometimes makes it difficult to accurately determine the total assessment of an estate. See above, p.12.

Figure 2: Distribution of secular land in Surrey before and after the Conquest



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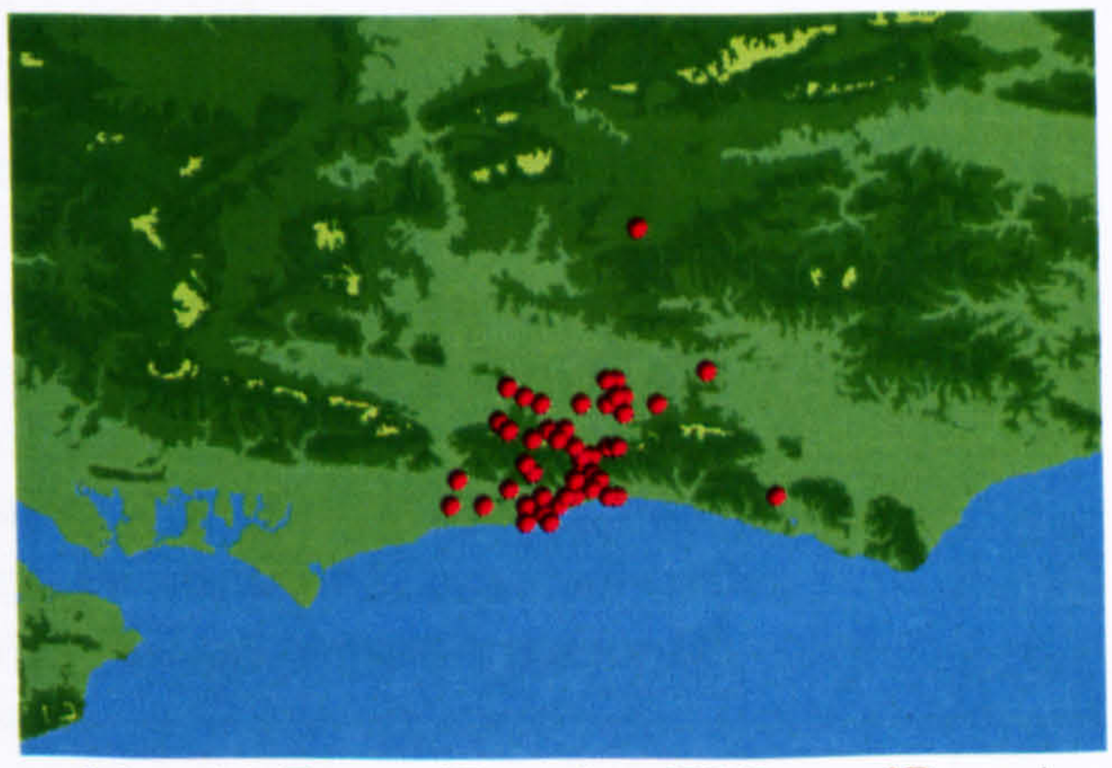
Sussex provides a stark example of the importance of defence considerations in determining the tenurial landscape. The county was organised into five Rapes – Arundel, Bramber, Lewes, Pevensey and Hastings – each of which was controlled by a prominent Norman baron who had sole jurisdiction over all land except the royal demesne and ecclesiastical estates.[119] The crown held just two manors in the county, Earl Godwin's former manors of Bosham and Rotherfield.[120] As Searle recognised, "these lords thus controlled compact power bases, and they were left with no visible royal control over their exercise of power within their corridors".[121]

Map 15: Rape of Arundel (Earl Roger)



Map 16: Rape of Bramber (William of Braose)

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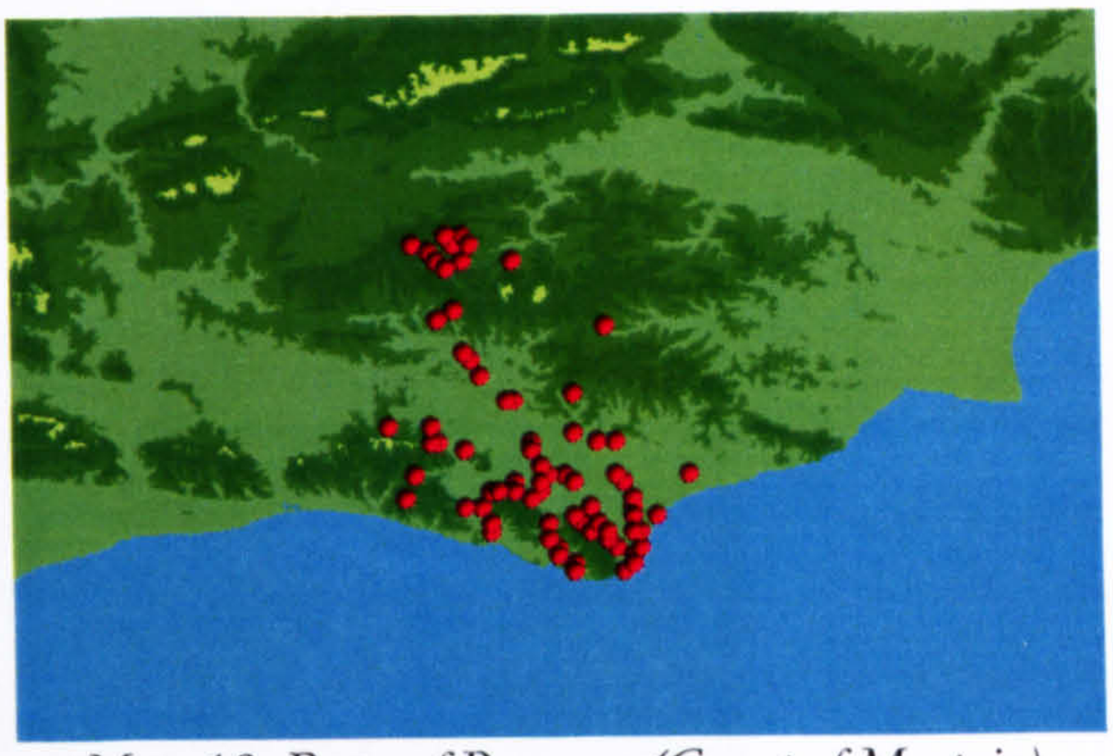
[119] It was not until the thirteenth century that the western part of the Rape of Arundel became the Rape of Chichester.

[120] Bosham had been one of the focuses of Earl Godwine's power in England, and the manor of Rotherfield had also been part Earl Godwine's former estate. For a discussion of Bosham, see James and Seal, 'An introduction to the Sussex Domesday', *The Sussex Domesday*, 8.

[121] Searle, 'The Abbey of the Conqueror', *ANS*, vol.2 (1979), 157.

Map 17: Rape of Lewes (William of Warenne)



Map 18: Rape of Pevensey (Count of Mortain)

Map 19: Rape of Hastings (Count of Eu)

Map 20: Banlieu of Battle Abbey in Hastings

It is clear that the Rapes existed as administrative divisions prior to 1066. For example, according to Domesday Book the manor of Sedlescombe "answered for one hide and three virgates outside the Rape" in the time of King Edward.[122] However, it is equally clear that the structure and purpose of the Rapes was dramatically overhauled after the conquest, and it has long been recognised that these changes took place in a largely military context.[123] The association of each Rape with one Anglo-Norman baron was certainly a Norman innovation, and resulted in a large degree of territorial consolidation as Figure 3 demonstrates. The Anglo-Saxon tenurial situation had not been based on the Rape, for the possessions of prominent lords were not confined to a single geographical area. King Edward, Earl Godwin and Earl Harold held land all over the county, in each of the five Rapes. Azor held land in all but Hastings Rape, and each of Brictsi's three manors held of King Edward were in a different Rape. The creation of the Rapes involved a large scale reorganisation of Anglo-Saxon tenurial arrangements. In many instances, berewicks and sokes were detached from their pre-Conquest parent manor, especially when they lay in a different Rape. This was the case with Bishop Osbern's manor of Bosham, which lost 47 hides to the Rape of Lewes.

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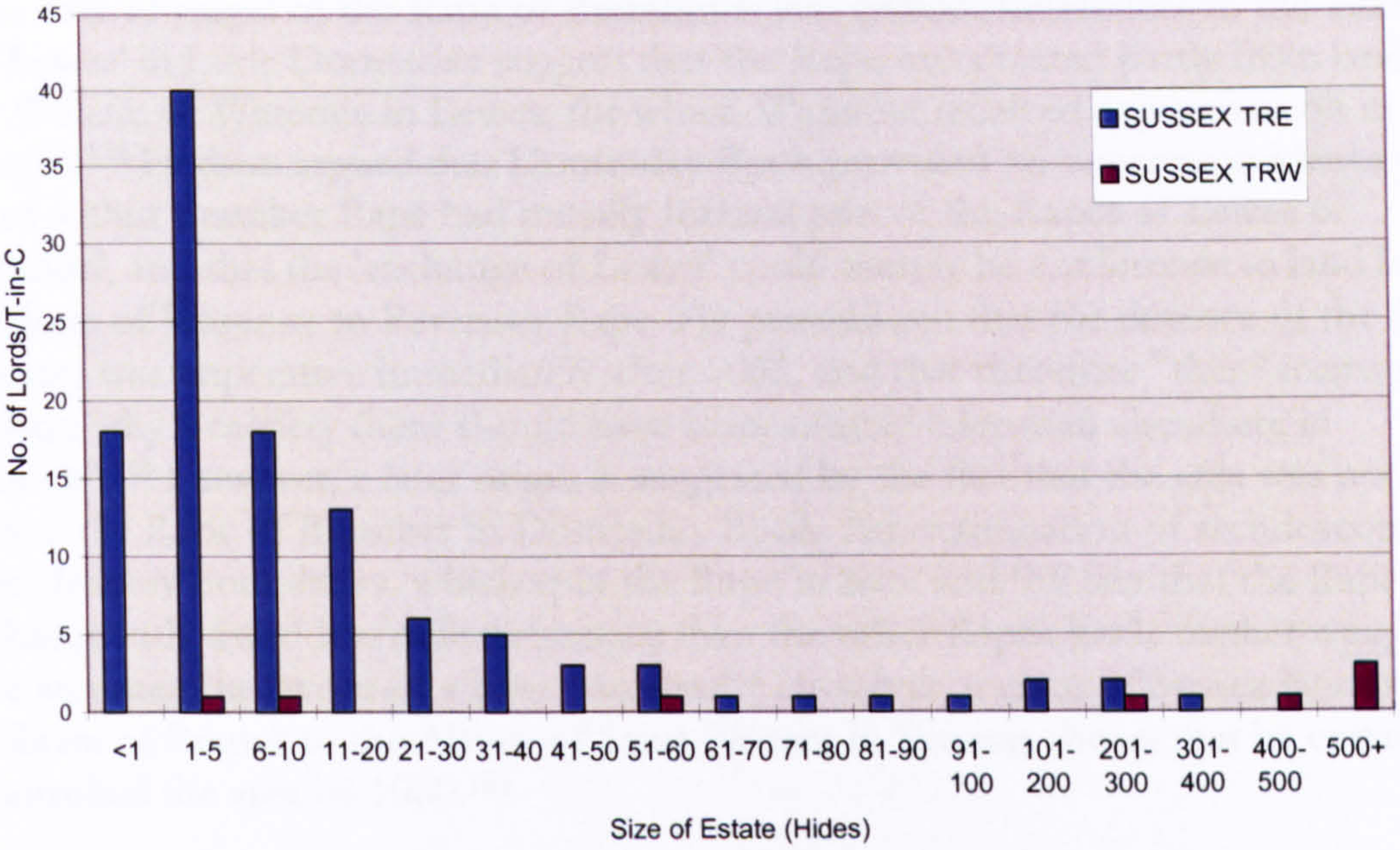
[122] *DB Sussex* (9,122). See also (9,125; 10,96).

[123] See Round and Salzmann, 'Introduction to the Sussex Domesday', *VCH Sussex*, vol.1 (1905), pp.351-385.

Figure 3: Division of secular land in Sussex before and after the Conquest[124]



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The timescale of the establishment of the Rapes can be loosely determined. Soon after the Battle of Hastings, Humphrey of Tilleul was placed in charge of Hastings Castle and perhaps the Rape of Hastings.[125] Orderic Vitalis revealed that William of Warenne was left in England in 1067 to support Odo of Bayeux, William fitz Osbern, Hugh of Grandmesnil and Hugh de Montfort, and it is possible that he was responsible for Sussex along with Humphrey of Tilleul.[126] When the Conqueror returned to England in December 1067, Orderic Vitalis recorded that he gave Arundel and Chichester to Earl Roger.[127] The Count of Mortain and William of Warenne probably received their Rapes of Pevensey and Lewes at a similar time. This tallies with the E version of the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, which stated that the king "gave away every man's land" when he returned from Normandy in December 1067.[128] The prevalence of Godwineson land in the county before 1066 and the amount of land probably vacant as a result of the casualties of the Battle of Hastings meant that the Conqueror would have had plenty of land to dispose of in the immediate aftermath of the Conquest.[129] Orderic Vitalis stated that Humphrey of Tilleul returned to Normandy in around 1068 and lost his honour, and it was probably soon after this date that the Rape of Hastings passed to the Count of Eu.[130] Domesday Book states that Bishop Alric held Bexhill before the Conquest and later,

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[124] Comparing post-Conquest tenants-in-chief with pre-Conquest landholders whom Domesday Book revealed to be at the top of the tenurial ladder (including named overlords other than the king, lords who held directly from the king, and men said to be 'free to go wherever they would').

[125] Orderic Vitalis states that Humphrey "had held the castle of Hastings from the day of its foundation". *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 220.

[126] *Ibid.*, 196.

[127] *Ibid.*, 210.

[128] As this version of the chronicle was compiled in Canterbury, it is probably fairly reliable for events in south-eastern England. *Anglo Saxon Chronicle.* ed. Whitelock et al., 146 (MS E).

[129] The possessions of Earl Godwin, Earl Harold, Earl Leofwin, Earl Tosti, Earl Gyrth and Countess Gytha amount to some 1155 hides (including land said to be held by 'Harold' where this is probably the earl), representing over a third of the assessment of the entire county.

[130] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 220.

"until King William gave the castlery of Hastings to the Count".[131] As Bishop Alric was deposed in May 1070, it can be assumed that the Count received Hastings between 1068 and May 1070.

The date of origin of the Rape of Bramber is less certain. References to the 'exchange of Lewes' in Little Domesday suggest that the Rape was created partly from land held by William of Warenne in Lewes, for which Warenne received compensation in East Anglia.[132] Hudson argued that Domesday Book provided no concrete evidence that land within Bramber Rape had initially formed part of the Rapes of Lewes or Arundel, and that the 'exchange of Lewes' could merely be a reference to land lost by William of Warenne to Pevensey Rape. He pointed out that the defence of the Adur estuary was imperative immediately after 1066, and that therefore "there seems no reason why a castlery there should have been created later than elsewhere in Sussex".[133] However, a later origin is suggested by the fact that the area was not called the Rape of Bramber in Domesday Book. An examination of archdeaconry and deanery boundaries, which split the Rape in two, and the fact that the Rape subsequently owed less military service than the other Rapes lends further weight to the argument in favour of a later creation.[134] However, a grant of Sussex land by William of Braose to the Abbey of Saint-Florent in Saumur shows that he certainly controlled the area by 1080.[135]

If the Rape of Bramber was created at a later date, it is possible that Earl Roger initially controlled the whole of Sussex west of the Adur. In 1086 he also held three manors just across the border in western Surrey, and in south-eastern Hampshire he held land focused on the large and valuable manor of Chalton.[136] These formed an estate encircling much of the Forest of Bere, and his park at Soberton was perhaps on the edge of this forest. He had also held five hides on Hayling Island near Chichester Harbour, which he had given to Troarn Abbey by 1086.[137] Thus it is possible that Earl Roger was placed in control of a large coastal area soon after the Conquest and prior to the establishment of William of Braose in Sussex.

If the creation of the Rape of Bramber was not part of the Conqueror's original plans for the defence of the county, the subsequent establishment of William of Braose there may reflect a change in the defence needs of the area. Judith Green has suggested that William gained Bramber as an ally of Earl Roger, especially in view of William's grant of property to the Abbey of Lonlay which was founded by the lords of Bellême, and the fact that William of Warenne but not Earl Roger received compensation for land lost to Bramber.[138] Such an alliance would have spread the burden of defending the west Sussex coastline and may have also helped to enhance Earl Roger's authority in Bellême. Alternatively, the Rape may have been created by the Conqueror for William of Braose as a reward for his service in Maine in 1073.

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[131] *DB Sussex* (9,11).
[132] Mason noted that William of Warenne lost 28 manors to Pevensey and a further 17 to William of Braose, and concluded that "William of Warenne received compensation in East Anglia for losses in Sussex not only to Pevensey, but also to Bramber". Mason, *William the First and the Sussex Rapes*, 16.
[133] Hudson, 'The origins of Steyning and Bramber, Sussex', *Southern History*, vol.2 (1980), 18.
[134] Arundel, Hastings, Lewes and Pevensey later owed at least sixty knights, whereas William of Braose's descendants owed no more than twenty knights. See Sanders, *English Baronies*, 1; 119; 128; 136; 108.
[135] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.266 [version I, 1066 x 1080; version II, 1080].
[136] The manor of Chalton is mapped and discussed by Cuncliffe, 'Saxon and medieval settlement patterns in the region of Chalton, Hampshire', *Medieval Archaeology*, vol.16 (1972), 9.
[137] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.281 (version II).
[138] Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England*, pp.38-9. The monks of Lonlay laid claim to these properties, which William of Braose had subsequently granted to the Abbey of Saint Florent in Saumur. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, nos. 266; 267.

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Defence needs were an important factor in the design and development of the Sussex Rapes. They were arranged in parallel strips running from north to south, with boundaries often following rivers or ancient trackways, suggesting that each was intended to provide protection for the ports and routes from the coast northwards. Round and Salzmann pointed out that such an arrangement may have been made so that if one baron rebelled against the Conqueror, access to London and the Midlands from the Sussex coast would not be totally blocked.[139] The fact that the men left in charge of the Rapes were of proven military ability and loyalty confirms that the Rapes were regarded as being of vital strategic importance. As Mason noted, all Sussex lords were Norman as opposed to Breton or Flemish, and were experienced in frontier defence.[140]

Earl Roger's experience in controlling the lordships of Bellême and Montgomery and the comté of Ponthieu in Normandy meant that he was well-placed to manage the defence of Arundel. The military focus of the Rape was Arundel Castle, which was founded on a pre-historic promontory camp situated on a high ridge of the South Downs above the town, where the coastal road east from Southampton crossed the River Arun, and from where the Arun estuary was clearly visible. Earl Roger held the towns of Chichester and Arundel and was the tenant-in-chief of all but three lay manors in the Rape. Several of the manors which he held in demesne were located in strategically significant areas, including Trotton which lay where the River Rother crossed the Chichester-Silchester Way and Singleton, Stoughton and Westbourne which defended gaps in the Downs.[141] Singleton was located near to The Trundles, an Iron Age hill-fort that offered an extensive view of the port of Chichester, the English Channel and the Isle of Wight. The location of the large manor of Lyminster in the coastal plain south of Arundel suggests a role in defence. Like Lyminster, several of Roger's demesne manors were especially valuable, including those from the former estates of Earl Godwin and Countess Gytha. As Mason concluded, "the selection of estates for retention in demesne in the Rape of Earl Roger owed much to considerations of financial self-interest".[142]

The possessions of Earl Roger's two most prominent tenants, Robert son of Theobald and William of Halnaker, seem to have been deliberately organised to ensure the effective defence of Earl Roger's lordship. Robert was dominant in the north of the Rape in the Rother valley and Weald region, and the strategic location of many of his manors reflects his prominence as the sheriff of Arundel, a position which would have involved the management of local levies.[143] Several of his manors were located on important lines of communication. Hardham, Pulborough and Sutton were all on or near Stane Street, the most direct route to London from Sussex. The location of Pulborough on Stane Street near the rivers Arun and Rother would have made it a suitable location for some form of early Norman fortification,

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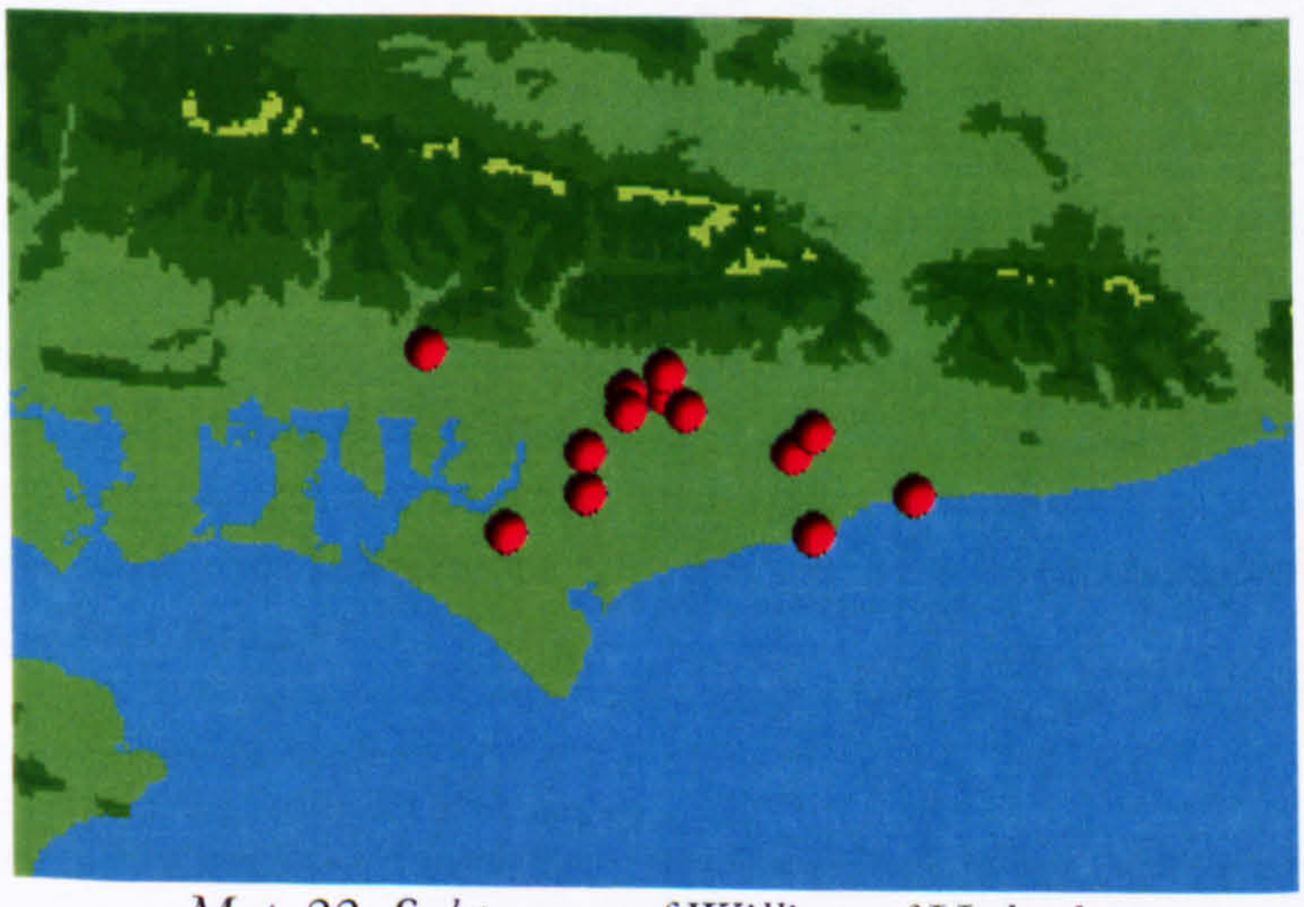
[139] Round and Salzmann, 'Introduction to the Sussex Domesday', *VCH Sussex I,* 353.
[140] Mason, *William the First and the Sussex Rapes,* pp.9-10.
[141] Margary, *Roman Ways in the Weald,* pp.267-278.
[142] Mason, *William the First and the Sussex Rapes,* 125.
[143] He is only named in two Domesday entries but he is probably the Robert mentioned in at least 34 other entries. He certainly held two sites in Arundel and the manor of Treyford. His grant of Toddington to Saint-Martin de Sées on his death in 1087 was witnessed by Corbelin, Hamelin and Thurstan. These three men held land from 'Robert' in the Rape, which implies that Robert son of Theobald held the manors of Barlavington, Burton, Grittenham and Marden, as well as Petworth. *Calendar of Documents preserved in France,* ed. Round, no. 655.

and the Domesday manor would have had ample resources to support it. Robert's manors in the hundreds of Dumpford and Easebourne were near the Chichester-Silchester Way and the Roman trackway to the east of this, and Marden and Treyford protected gaps in the Downs. The Anglo-Saxon tenurial pattern was largely ignored in the construction of his tenancy. His predecessors were largely minor Anglo-Saxon thanes with only a few holdings, and their land often did not pass exclusively to Robert. He gained only one manor from the former estates of Alwin, Leofwin, Wulfmer and Wulfward, and only four of Azor's numerous pre-Conquest holdings. When Robert son of Theobald's tenancy is viewed as a whole, it is apparent that it was a post-Conquest creation designed to ensure the effective defence of the routes from Chichester and Arundel to London.

Map 21: Subtenancy of Robert son of Theobald in the Rape of Arundel in 1086

William of Halnaker's land was concentrated almost exclusively in the south of the Rape, in the coastal plain and around Chichester. Proximity to Stane Street was a characteristic of several of his manors. Many had been held by anonymous freemen or men with only one holding before the Conquest, and where a predecessor had a more extensive estate, in no instance did William receive all their land. Although he held three manors formerly belonging Alfward, Alfward's five other manors were held by different men in 1086. With Earl Roger and Robert son of Theobald dominant in the northern half of the Rape, William's estate may have been formed to control and defend the remaining half of the Rape.



Map 22: Subtenancy of William of Halnaker

Earl Roger's other tenants held smaller and more scattered estates. Typical was Geoffrey, whose four manors in the western Downland region of the Rape were a considerable distance from his manor of Angmering in the eastern coastal region, and Ivo, whose land was divided between the western Downland region and the Rother and Arun valleys around twelve miles to the north-east. Some of those who held in the close vicinity of the castles of Chichester and Arundel may have been involved in their administration and defence. Among those holding land near Chichester were Arnold, Geoffrey, Guy, Humphrey, Ivo, Nigel, Payne, Restald, Richard, Warin and William. Tenants in the vicinity of Arundel Castle include Arnold, Nigel, Osmelin, Picot, Rafwin and Reginald Balliol. The Anglo-Saxon tenurial pattern does not seem to have influenced the distribution of these mesne-tenancies. Azor's eight pre-Conquest manors were held by five different men in 1086, and Leofwin's six manors held by four named men and four anonymous Frenchmen. Likewise, the former estates of Alfward and Alwin were broken up when Earl Roger took control of the Rape.

* * *

The focus of William of Braose's Rape was Bramber Castle, which was included in the Domesday entry for Washington and was located on a natural hill protecting the port of Steyning, the Adur valley and the Sussex Greensand Way. Although William was not a proven relative of the Conqueror, his mother's name Gunnor suggests a family connection, and the fact that he served the Conqueror in Maine in 1073 suggests that he had strong military credentials.[144] William's demesne manors in Bramber were all located in the hundreds of Burbeach and Steyning in the Adur valley, between the Sussex Greensand Way and the road from Chichester to Brighton. Washington and Findon were located near gaps in the line of the South Downs, and Washington was near the Iron Age Chanctonbury Camp, which was on a prominent hill on the edge of the downs and possessed a commanding view over the Weald area. Like Earl Roger, William showed a concern for financial self-interest in the organisation of his estate, with valuable possessions like Beeding, Shoreham and Washington retained in his own hands.

Mesne tenancies in the Rape of Bramber were characterised by a high degree of geographical compactness. Of the ten manors held by Robert, in at least five cases Robert Savage, eight were located in a compact group of vills in the coastal hundred of Brightford and two others were around five miles to the north of the Downs.[145] Morin de Saint-André-de-Briouze held three manors in a compact group in the eastern South Downs region and William son of Norman held two neighbouring manors and a further manor only around four miles away, all in the hundred of Steyning. However, there were exceptions to this trend. William son of Ranulf held a scattered tenancy, with manors in a line ranging from Ifield in the far north of the Rape to Kingston and Shoreham on the south coast. Ralph of Bucy held several manors along the coast, but there were also a few of his holdings north of the Downs near the River Adur.[146]

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[144] Gunnor was also the name of Duke Richard I of Normandy's wife.

[145] The subsequent descent of this land makes it certain that at least five, and perhaps more, of these entries refer to Robert Savage.

[146] The name Ralph occurs in connection with fourteen vills, and it seems likely that Ralph of Bucy held thirteen of these. He certainly held Kingston by Sea and Shermanbury, both of which remained in the Bucy family into the twelfth century, and

Several tenants held land in areas deemed important for the defence of the Rape. Two roads, the Sussex Greensand Way and the road east from Chichester, ran near to the land of tenants like Morin, Ralph of Bucy, Robert Savage, William son of Manne and William son of Norman. The Adur estuary was protected by the vill of Kingston, held of William by Ralph of Bucy and William son of Ranulf, the latter of whom also held land further north in the Adur valley. Protection and maintenance of Bramber Castle seems to have had some impact on the organisation of settlement at the manorial level. Men-at-arms included in the Domesday entry for Washington - Gilbert, Leofwin, Ralph and William - probably served at the castle. Morin held a hide of land that lay in Washington, along with his nearby manors of Muntham and Thakeham. The man-at-arms who held part of Thakeham from him may have served at the castle. Richard and Theodbert, who held Chancton just to the north-east of the castle, held no other land in the Rape and may have also been military tenants.

As in other Rapes, the Anglo-Saxon landholding structure does not appear to have influenced William of Braose's enfeoffments. Morin's three manors had been held by three different tenants of King Edward or Earl Godwin before the Conquest, all of whom held just one manor in pre-Conquest Bramber. Likewise, William son of Norman's three manors shared no common lord in 1066. William son of Ranulf's two neighbouring manors of Morley and Sakeham were both held by Azor, but there does not appear to be a tenurial connection because Azor's nearby manor of Woolfly was held by Ralph of Bucy in 1086. Ralph gained six of Azor's ten pre-Conquest manors in the Rape and three of Leofwin's nine manors.[147] Robert Savage received another four of Leofwin's manors and only one of Wulfward's three manors. It seems clear that subtenancies in the Rape of Bramber were based on new tenurial arrangements, often with concern for geographical compactness and the defence of Bramber Castle and important communication routes.

* * *

William of Warenne's Rape of Lewes was focused on Lewes Castle. The castle, mentioned in Domesday Book, guarded the town's port, the Ouse estuary and the London-Lewes Way. It had been a fortified Saxon borough in the tenth century, and the enclosed and defended area of the town perhaps formed the outer bailey of the castle. William held only four manors in demesne in 1086, yet they had been worth over £290 in 1066. Their high value was probably the main reason why they were retained in demesne, although William did subinfeudate other valuable manors and their location can also be deemed of strategic significance. Iford and Rodmell were both on the edge of the Ouse valley, Ditchling lay near a gap in the Downs close to the Sussex Greensand Way, and Patcham was near another such gap in the Downs.

William of Warenne rewarded his followers with fairly scattered tenancies. Three of Godfrey of Pierrepont's five holdings were spread across the southern coast, ranging from Harpingden in the far east to Aldrington in the west, and the fourth, East Chiltington, was north of the Downs.[148] Hugh son of Golda's land north of the Downs was distanced from Rottingdean on the south coast. Nigel's four holdings were scattered in a triangle ranging from Allington and Wootton north of the Downs

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Domesday Book makes it clear that he held Lancing, Wantley, Woolfly and Worthing. However, the existence of another Ralph in Lancing highlights the need for caution.

[147] Possibly Earl Leofwin.

[148] Godfrey and Robert of Pierrepont came from Pierrepont, around eighteen miles north-east of Varenne.

to Benfield and Orleswick in the south of the Rape. Ralph of Quesnay held five manors north of the Downs and a lone manor on the south coast, and William of Watteville and his wife held five manors north of the Downs and two manors in the coastal region.[149] The only prominent tenant whose land was concentrated on one side of the Downs was Robert of Pierrepont, who held three manors north of the Downs within a six mile radius.

Proximity to Lewes may have been an influential factor in some enfeoffments. Four of Hugh son of Golda's holdings were near the castle, including the outliers of Allington and Iford. Nigel's land in Barcombe Hundred suggests that he too may have served at the castle. William of Watteville and William son of Reginald both held one manor near the town. Aldith's lone tenancy of Winterbourne was only around two miles south-west of Lewes. Similarly, Tosard held just one and a half hides in an outlier of Iford near Lewes, and Hugh, Osmund, Ralph and Warner held land under Ralph of Quesnay near the castle.

An examination of mesne tenancies in relation to lines of communication suggests that defence strategy was taken into consideration in the process of subinfeudation. Five of both Ralph of Quesnay and William of Watteville's manors were on or near the Sussex Greensand Way or the London-Brighton Way. Godfrey of Pierrepont's manor of Aldrington was near the road to Brighton and East Chiltington was on the Sussex Greensand Way. Likewise, all three of Robert of Pierrepont's manors were near either of these two roads, although such locations may have been based more upon convenience of access than being part of a deliberate defensive strategy.

There are a few instances where pre-Conquest ownership appears to have influenced the distribution of land in Lewes at the manorial level. Six of William of Watteville and his wife's seven manors were formerly held by Azor as either an overlord or a dependent. Before the Conquest, Azor had held ten manors that were subsequently part of the Rape of Lewes, so the Watteville family gained 60% of Azor's land in the Rape. Other examples reveal more tenuous connections. Two of William son of Reginald's four manors were held by Cola before the Conquest, but Cola's other manor in the Rape passed to Scolland. Of Godfrey of Pierrepont's five manors, two were formerly held by Alnoth, but the name Alnoth also appears in relation to another manor which had been in Lewes but in 1086 was outside the Rape and amongst the lands of the Count of Mortain. The general trend in Lewes was for a disregard of the Anglo-Saxon tenurial structure, probably because the number of Anglo-Saxon lords in Domesday Book with more than one estate was few. Most mesne tenants held scattered estates not based on former landholding patterns or geographical convenience, although a variety of tenants did hold land near Lewes and the castle.

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The Count of Mortain's experience in defending Mortain from the neighbouring countries of Brittany and Maine was no doubt a factor in his acquisition of Pevensey. The focus of the Rape was Pevensey Castle, which is not named in Domesday Book, but its existence is inferred in entries for Eastbourne and West Firle, where castle

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[149] Ralph of Quesnay, came from Le Quesnay in Seine Maritime just over twenty miles south-east of Varenne, and William of Watteville came from Vatteville-la-Rue on the left bank of the Seine between Rouen and the sea.

wardens were said to hold land. It was located in the south-eastern corner of the Roman fortress of Anderida and was in an important location for guarding the coast.

The Count of Mortain held a considerable amount of demesne land scattered all over the Rape, although the most noticeable concentration was in the hundreds of Shiplake and Totnore where several Roman roads were located.[150] These roads were possibly still in use, providing access to the region north of the Downs and aiding travel and communication between estates. Reflecting the general trend in Sussex, the Count's demesne contained all of the most valuable manors in the area, revealing a strong concern for financial self-interest. Those royal or comital estates that the Count did subinfeudate tended to be lower in value, like Earl Godwin's manor of Barkham and the royal manor of Hankham.

Scattered mesne tenancies were common in Pevensey. William of Keynes, one of the most prominent of the Count of Mortain's tenants in Sussex, held land in five vills to the south-west of Pevensey, four further west towards the Ouse valley, and two outside the Rape in the north-west.[151] Many of his manors were close to the Roman road network, and proximity to Pevensey seems to have been important in his acquisition of some land. Ralph of Dene also held a scattered tenancy on either side of the Downs, often near roads or waterways, ranging from coastal manors like Charlston and Ratton to two manors outside the Rape in the northern hundred of East Grinstead.[152] Ansfrid also held manors on both sides of the Downs. He held in five vills around Pevensey, one vill further west in Shiplake Hundred and three vills in the north of the Rape. Alan, Gilbert and Morin also held land in both the north and south of the Rape. This scattering of subtenancies may have been a deliberate policy adopted by the Count to aid the colonisation of the north of Pevensey. By giving tenants land in the more fertile south, as well as in the less developed Weald region, he was perhaps encouraging the expansion of settlement into the more northern parts of the Rape.

The land of some mesne tenants was comparatively more compact. Osbern's three holdings were all in the Downland region, and Heming's four manors were relatively close together. Ansgot held three parcels of land in a close group in the vicinity of Pevensey, and is likely to have been involved in castleguard duties. Alwin, Ansgot, Gilbert, Jocelyn, Osbern and William all held outliers of the manor of Willingdon to the west of Pevensey, and Alan, Ansfrid, Godfrey and Roger also held land in the vicinity. Alfred the butler is mentioned in the Domesday entry for the borough of Pevensey, and also held part of the nearby manor of Eastbourne and of Claverham further west. His son and heir William accounted for the land of the warders of Pevensey Castle in 1130, and it is possible that Alfred was farming the castle warders' estates in Sussex in 1086.[153]

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[150] Margary, *Roman Ways in the Weald*, pp.185-207.

[151] William was from Cahagnes, around fifteen kilometres south of Bayeux, where he held land under the Count by service of one knight. See Salzmann, 'Sussex Domesday Tenants, iii, Family of Keynes', *Sussex Archaeological Collection*, vol.63 (1922), pp.180-202. In Pevensey, 25 entries refer to a William, of which at least 10 cases are shown to be William of Keynes by an examination of Domesday Book and grants to Lewes Priory. See Round, 'Early Grants to Lewes Priory', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol.40 (1896), 67; 72-3. However, William son of Boselin also held in the Rape, making other identifications difficult.

[152] The name Ralph occurs twenty times among the lands of the Count of Mortain, and from the lands that passed to the de la Haye family we can identify at least eight of these as Ralph of Dene. A least two of these Ralphs are different men. See *DB Sussex* (10,58; 78).

[153] *Pipe Roll, 31 Henry I*, 142. The fact that castle wardens held part of the Count's manor of Eastbourne alongside Alfred enhances the connection. *DB Sussex* (10,2). Castle wardens are also said to hold part of the Count's manor of West Firle in the west of the Rape, which was closer to Lewes Castle than Pevensey. *DB Sussex* (10,22).

Pre-Conquest ownership was not a factor in the creation of most Pevensey subtenancies. Much of William of Keynes' land had been held before the Conquest by minor lords with little land, and even where predecessors did hold more land, he only gained a part of their former estate.[154] This was also the case with Ralph of Dene's estate. Ansfrid held the land of a variety of Anglo-Saxon lords, and only gained more than one holding from Alfward, with whom there was no obvious antecessorial connection. Each of the holdings of Gilbert and Osbern shared no common pre-Conquest lord. The only exception to this trend was the land of Hugh and Morin, where a clear antecessorial connection is evident with the Englishmen Cana and Fran in the Count of Mortain's Rape.[155] With former ownership and geographical concentration apparently of little importance, the division of land at the manorial level in Pevensey seems to have been based on the more effective exploitation of the northern part of the Rape and the defence of the castle and communication routes inland.

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The final Sussex Rape, Hastings, was held by Robert of Eu, whose experience in controlling the lordship of Eu on the north-eastern frontier of Normandy made him highly capable of managing this vulnerable region of Sussex. The focus of the Rape was Hastings Castle, which was one of the first castles to be built in the county, the earthen mound of which can be seen during construction in 1066 on the Bayeux Tapestry. It was founded on a pre-historic promontory camp, and its cliff-top location gave it commanding views of the surrounding coastline.

The Count of Eu held thirteen manors in demesne, of which nine were partially tenanted. The overall impression is of a scattered demesne, although there were groups of manors, for example in the region around Hastings, the Bulverhythe Lagoon and Pevensey Bay. Such manors would have been important in defending the coastline and supporting Hastings Castle, although several of the Count's demesne manors also reaped relatively high incomes.[156] Many of the Count's tenants held a number of small outliers in addition to their main manors. Ansketel, a clear example, held the northern vill of Wellhead and an outlier of the nearby manor of Footland, as well as an outlier of Osbern's coastal manor of Bexhill. Bexhill was Osbern's most prominent manor, located by the Bulverhythe Lagoon. The two virgates that Osbern held from the Count in the same hundred perhaps formed an outlier. He also held several other smaller manors and outliers scattered all over the Rape. The tenancies of Ednoth, Hugh, Ingelrann, Reinbert the sheriff, Robert Cook and Robert of Criel were similarly scattered with a mixture of manors and outliers.

The ravaging of manors during the campaign of 1066 may have influenced the Count of Eu's subinfeudations. Certain prominent tenants seem to have been responsible for the redevelopment of manors adversely affected by the Norman invasion. Osbern's manor of Bexhill had recovered from a wasted condition to reach over 92% of its former value by 1086. Robert of Criel redeveloped the manor of Ashburnham from its intermediate value of twenty shillings to £9. Wibert's manor of

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[154] This was the case with Alfward, Alnoth, Goda and Godwin.

[155] *Sperchedene* passed from Cana to William, and Brockhurst passed from Fran to Ansfrid, but both manors were outside the Rape. *DB Sussex* (10,101; 104).

[156] Bearing in mind that values in Hastings tended to be lower than in other parts of Sussex, partly reflecting the fact that it was a newly colonised area with large areas of inhospitable Weald territory that were still in the development process. It had also been subect to ravaging in 1066.

Herstmonceux near Pevensey Bay rose in value from twenty shillings to £10 between his acquisition and 1086.

The defence of the castle at Hastings influenced the settlement of the south of the Rape, and it is perhaps significant that the entire *servitia debita* of the Rape was assigned to castleguard within the Rape in the thirteenth century. Sixty knights owed three months' service in groups of fifteen at the castle, and did not have to serve outside the Rape except at the Count's expense.[157] A large number of tenants held land in Baldslow Hundred near the castle, and the small holdings of men like Godwin, Hugh Bowman, Osward, Roger Daniel, Sasward and Wulfward, all of whom held in the Hastings region, may have been knights' fees. Many of the men connected with the Count in Normandy held land in the vicinity, among them Geoffrey of Flocques, Gerald the Count's steward, Robert St. Leger and William of Sept-Meules.[158]

The pre-Conquest tenurial situation in this eastern Rape had no impact on the Count of Eu's enfeoffments. Each of the holdings of both Geoffrey of Flocques and Osbern had been held by a different Anglo-Saxon lord. Anonymous freemen had held much of Ingelrann's land before the Conquest, and neither Reinbert nor Walter son of Lambert's mesne tenancies were based on the pre-Conquest tenurial situation. Two of Wibert's five manors had been held by Winstan before the Conquest, but Winstan's other nearby manor of Footland passed to Ansketel, undermining any connection with the pre-Conquest situation. Overall, it seems that the colonisation of the Weald, the need to deal with the destruction wrought by the events of 1066, and the defence of the castle were the most obvious factors influencing the structure of mesne-tenancies in Hastings. Prominent tenants, often knights of the Count in Normandy, were made responsible for the recovery of wasted manors, and in some cases the development of settlements in the Weald.

Viewed as a whole, the tenurial organisation of Sussex was clearly a Norman innovation, designed to enhance the security of the region, protect important ports and lines of communication, and ensure that no foreign enemy was able to repeat the Conqueror's successful invasion of 1066. The castles located within each of the Rapes together formed an important bulwark against enemy attack, as well as supporting garrisons at the ports, acting as administrative centres and helping to secure control over the native population. At both the tenant-in-chief and manorial level, Anglo-Saxon landholding patterns were largely ignored in the creation of the new fiefs. Most mesne tenancies included manors near castles, communication routes or the coast, so that all known castles and major communication routes were protected.

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The Isle of Wight was an especially vulnerable area, controlling the entrance to the Solent and the Hampshire coastline. The fact that Earl William was granted the island soon after the Conquest highlights that the defence of the island was seen to

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[157] The 1212 inquest states that "hii omnes praedicti faciunt gardim Castelli de Hastinges in quolibet mense per xv milites, et faciunt pontes castelli, et nullum faciunt servitium extra Rapum nisi ad custum Comitis". Andrew Fisher argued that there were probably no fixed demands made on tenants-in-chief in the Conqueror's reign, and that local communities were responsible for defence at a local level. Fisher, *The Organisation of War in England under John 1199-1216* (Hull, PhD thesis, 1997).

[158] Geoffrey was from Flocques near Eu; Gerald was from Normanville, around 37 miles south of Eu; Robert St. Leger was from Saint-Leger-aux-Bois, within twenty miles of Eu; and William of Sept-Meules was from a township just south of Eu. The latter may have been the William who held the valuable manor of Wartling and seven other holdings. *DB Sussex* (9,6).

be a high priority. The island reverted to the crown after the fall of Earl Roger in 1075, and by 1086 the Conqueror was in control of some of its most important manors, including Bowcombe, Freshwater, Sandford with Week and Wroxall. The crown was also in control of the motte and bailey castle of Carisbrooke, included in the Domesday entry for Alvington and located on a Roman fort. The dominance of the crown is clearly evident in an examination of the distribution of land in 1086, as Map 23 demonstrates.

Map 23: The distribution of royal land on the Isle of Wight in 1086

In addition to the crown, three men were dominant on the island in 1086 and must have played an important role in its defence. Azor's sons Jocelyn and William possessed considerable authority. Land on the island was probably initially granted to Azor, for in seven vills both Jocelyn and William held land. Several of these vills had been held by one man in 1066, and at Chillerton Geoffrey was a tenant of both Jocelyn and William in 1086. William held nearly eighteen hides on the island valued at over £35. Jocelyn's share was slightly larger, with twenty-two hides valued at £45, but William held land in more vills. Their land was spread all over the island, although Jocelyn held especially in the west and William in the east. They also held a virgate from the royal manor of Bowcombe, and William was said to hold a further two and a half acres from the monks of Lyre there with four houses and a hide of the royal manor of Freshwater.

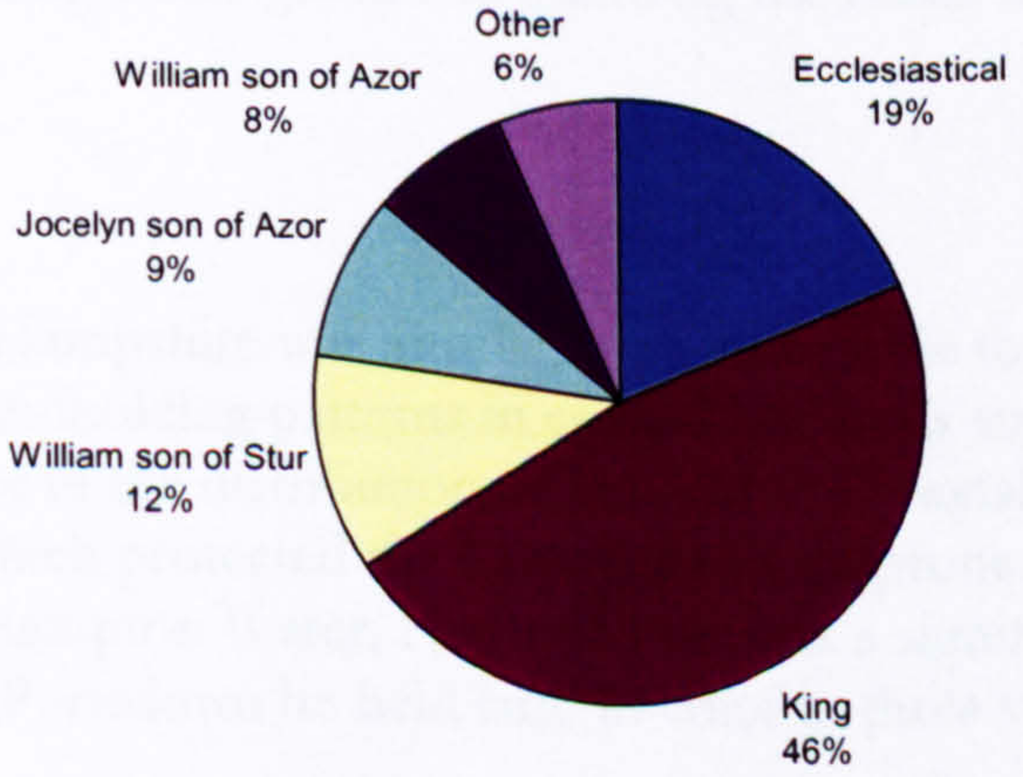
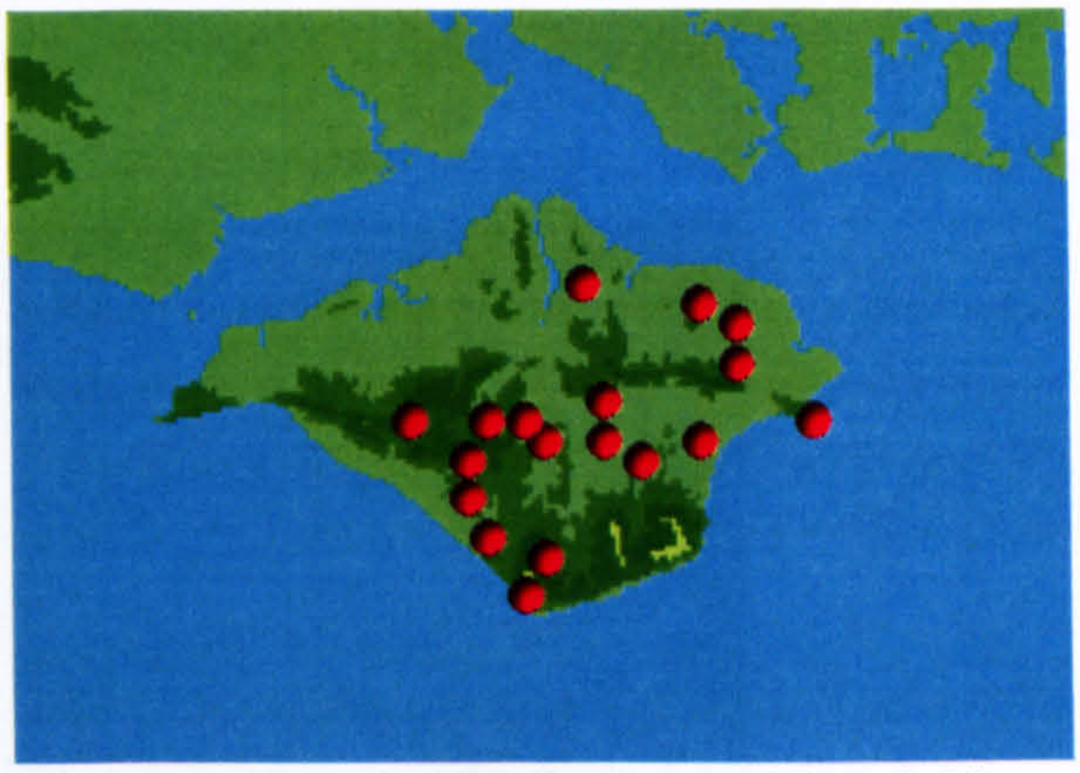


Figure 4: Distribution of land among tenants-in-chief on the Isle of Wight in 1086 (in hides)

The other prominent individual on the island was William son of Stur, who held land in nineteen vills on both sides of the island assessed at approximately 25 hides and worth around £32. His most prominent manors were Gatcombe and Whitefield, worth £6 and £7 in 1086. He also administered the royal manors of Bowcombe, Haldley, Luton and Shide, from which he was said to pay £60, perhaps as a reeve.[159] On the Hampshire mainland, William also held the manor of Sopley in the New Forest region, a hide of land in Somborne Hundred and two houses in Southampton.

Map 24: Land of William and Jocelyn sons of Azor on the Isle of Wight in 1086



Map 25: Land of William son of Stur held on the Isle of Wight in 1086

None of the three main tenants-in-chief on the Isle of Wight had a concentrated group of holdings, and it is possible that the pre-Conquest tenurial organisation had some impact on the subsequent distribution of land. All three men gained land from a number of pre-Conquest lords, but in only one instance was the land of an Englishman split between Azor's sons and William son of Stur.[160] It is possible that Azor and Stur, or their sons, held their land from Earl William on the island in an official capacity, and that the earl granted them a fee made from the estates of a number of Englishmen. On the death of Azor, his fee was divided between his two sons regardless of pre-Conquest tenure. The three men are likely to have continued to serve in an official capacity under the Conqueror after 1075. William son of Stur may have been the constable of Carisbrooke Castle and responsible for the defence of the island, for in 1263 his direct descendant held his land of the 'lord of the castle' for services including castle guard and guarding the island in time of war at his own cost.[161]

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The coastline of Hampshire was another area vulnerable to external assault, and an examination of landholding patterns in coastal hundreds suggests that defence may have been a factor in the distribution of land. In the coastal hundreds of Portsdown and Titchfield, which protected the harbours of Langstone and Portsmouth and the entrance to Southampton Water, Hugh of Port was a significant landholder with 33 hides of land. In Portsdown he held land in chief in three vills, in addition to his

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[159] *DB Hampshire* (IOW 1,7; 11). The editors of the Phillimore edition suggest that William may alternatively have farmed the land.

[160] Only one estate of Godric's, Adgestone, passed to William son of Azor instead of William son of Stur.

[161] *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem I: Henry III*, 175.

tenure of the manor of Bedhampton from the Abbey of Winchester, and in Titchfield he held land in four vills. His tenants at Wickham, Erlebald and Germanus, may have provided military service. Hugh also held land in four Meonstoke vills just north of these manors, consolidating his position along the coast. In Portsdown Hundred, William Mauduit's manor of Portchester was a strategically significant embarkation port, and the Domesday reference to a hall there may represent a fortified residence. Archaeological evidence shows a pre-Conquest building there within the Roman fort, which may have been in use in 1086.[162] William also held the manor of Rowner in Titchfield to the west of Portsmouth Harbour, suggesting a role alongside Hugh of Port in the defence of the harbour. His tenants in Portsdown, Durand and Fulk, perhaps provided military support.

Map 26: Land of Hugh of Port along the Hampshire coastline in 1086

The royal borough of Southampton was strategically important for crossings to Normandy. In view of its strategic significance, there was probably a royal castle there soon after 1066.[163] Indeed, the king remained a powerful force in much of Hampshire outside the ecclesiastically dominated central regions. The amount of royal land in Hampshire increased after 1066 as a result of the acquisition of the former lands of Queen Edith, Earl Roger of Hereford and Archbishop Stigand.

Men like Count Alan and the Count of Mortain gained land in the Southampton region, perhaps as a base near the port for access to the continent.[164] Count Alan held the manors of Crofton and Funtley in Titchfield Hundred, and may have contributed towards the protection of the Hampshire coastline. Earl Roger's land in thirteen vills in the coastal hundreds of Boldre and Rowditch suggests a role in the defence of the coastline to the west of Southampton Water. Durand, Fulkwin and Nigel held land from him in this area, possibly in return for military service. Ralph of Mortimer also held land in four vills in the coastal hundreds of Manbridge and Rowditch. William the archer, who held land in Compton around ten miles to the north of Southampton Water, seems a likely candidate for form kind of military tenure.

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[162] William may have served as chamberlain of the treasury like his son William. The fact that the royal treasure was occasionally taken to Portchester, his most valuable English manor, enhances the possibility of a connection. For the fortification at Portchester, see Cuncliffe, 'Excavations at Portchester Castle', *Antiquaries Journal*, vol.52 (1972), pp.70-83.

[163] There was certainly a castle in the town in the twelfth century. Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, 193.

[164] There were 96 men settled there under King William, and it is possible that they were mercenaries. See *A God's House Miscellany*, ed. Kaye (Southampton Record Series, vol.27, 1984), xx-xxi.

Further inland, examples of compact groups of holdings under the control of a single lay tenant-in-chief are not widespread, but Hugh of Port was a major landholder in a number of regions, and as sheriff of Hampshire would have played a significant role in the military organisation of the shire. He held several manors in chief in the north-east, particularly in the hundreds of Basingstoke and Holdshott. Although not quite as dominant in Basingstoke as Judith Green has suggested, Hugh did hold a significant proportion of non-ecclesiastical and non-royal land in the hundred.[165] Holdshott lay near the road from London to Silchester, and a possible route from Silchester to the important port of Chichester would have passed through Basingstoke Hundred. This road also passed through the hundred of Neatham, where Hugh held the two manors of Chawton and Ludshott. In north-west Hampshire, Hugh's dominant position in the hundred of Andover, with over 26 hides of land, suggests a role in the defence of the road from Winchester to Cirencester. In the neighbouring hundred of Broughton, he held over 30 hides of land, and the passage of the road from Winchester to Old Sarum through the hundred may have been a significant factor in his receipt of this land.

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In Berkshire secular land was distributed among a large number of tenants-in-chief and compact fiefs are comparatively rare, perhaps reflecting the relative security of the shire in comparison to much of the rest of circuit one. A number of individuals held a few substantial manors near Wallingford, perhaps supporting the castle which may have been established in 1066 and certainly by 1071, and protecting the road leading west of this important borough.[166] In Slotisford Hundred, Geoffrey de Mandeville, Miles Crispin and Richard Poynant held a considerable amount of land, and a further five men held land from the crown. Reinbald of Cirencester was a prominent figure in Blewbury Hundred, where his two manors of East Hagbourne and Aston Upthorpe were assessed at 25 hides. In the neighbouring hundred of Wantage, land was distributed among several tenants-in-chief, many of whom, like the Count of Eu, the Count of Evreux, Earl Roger and Henry of Ferrers, were prominent Anglo-Norman barons with extensive possessions elsewhere. Henry of Ferrers held over forty hides of land in the neighbouring hundreds of Compton and Wantage, suggesting a prominent position in the region. He also held a few manors in the northern hundreds of Ganfield and Marcham, which were significant in terms of the defence of the Thames. Earl Hugh, Miles Crispin, Thurstan son of Rolf and Walter son of Poyntz were also landholders in the region, confirming that Henry did not possess a monopoly of lordship in the area. Compact blocks are also absent in the south-west of the county. In the hundred of Thatcham, through which the road from Silchester to Cirencester passed, Arnulf of Hesdin, Giles brother of Ansculf, Humphrey Visdeloup and Ralph of Mortimer are among the men holding land.

A number of men held land in the south-east of the county in the hundred of Reading. William son of Ansculf held land in four vills, Ralph of Mortimer held land in three vills and Stephen son of Erhard held the manor of Padworth. Men-at-arms are mentioned on all three fiefs, as well as on the fiefs of Miles Crispin, Walter son of Othere and William of Cailly in the same hundred. Proximity to Windsor Castle

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[165] Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England*, 60. The claim that there were only two lay manors in the hundred not held by Hugh of Port is erroneous. Other lay tenants in Basingstoke besides Hubert of Port and Alfred of Marlborough include Durand of Gloucester, Geoffrey the chamberlain, Alfsi the valet and Godwin the falconer.

[166] William of Jumièges notes that the Conqueror stopped at Wallingford on his journey to London in 1066 "and ordered his troops to pitch camp there". *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*, ed. Van Houts, ii, 170. For the first explicit reference to the castle in 1071, see *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. Stevenson, i, 486.

probably explains the frequency with which such military tenants occur. Proximity to the castle and forest of Windsor was certainly an important factor in Walter son of Othere's acquisition of land in Berkshire, as well as in Hampshire and Surrey. Together with his land in Buckinghamshire and Middlesex, his fief surrounded Windsor, where he was constable of the castle and keeper of the royal forests.[167] His tenants in Berkshire and Surrey, among them Gerard, Robert, Tesselin and three anonymous men, may have provided garrison service at the castle. Other men who held in the vicinity, among them Siegfried's sons Ralph and Roger, may have been engaged in royal service at Windsor.

As in Hampshire and Surrey, the crown continued to play an important role in the defence of Berkshire. The king held land scattered throughout the county assessed at over 568 hides in 1066 and worth at least £889 in 1086.[168] The focus was the fortified royal residence at Windsor and nearby Reading, where most of the manors had been controlled by King Edward or Queen Edith in 1066. The large castle at Windsor, located at an important Thames crossing, was built early in the Conqueror's reign. Domesday Book reveals that Battersea in Surrey had been given to Westminster Abbey by the king in exchange for land at Windsor, which is confirmed by a grant dated before 1070.[169] The nearby hundred of Bray, in which Domesday Book records just one manor, was held entirely by the crown and was worth £17 in 1086. The crown was also dominant in the two hundreds of Beynhurst and Charlton, just west of Windsor.

Further west, the crown held a line of manors running west from Wallingford to the north-west of the county, among them the vast manors of Blewbury, Kingston Lisle, Sparsholt and Wantage, which guarded the Roman road to the west. Lambourn and Shrivenham, which lay in this area, may like Bray have been royal manor-hundreds at an earlier date. Wallingford Castle, located in the north-eastern corner of the borough, was certainly in existence by 1071, and was important in the defence of an important Thames crossing.[170] Although most of the royal manors west of Wallingford had been part of the *terra regis* in 1066, the Conqueror also acquired the three manors of Great and Little Coxwell and Great Faringdon in the far north-west, all of which had formerly belonged to Earl Harold. The importance of Great Faringdon in strategic terms, as a result of its location at a junction of several routes and in a gap in the Downs, helps to explain why this manor was retained in the *terra regis*. The crown also held a scattering of manors in the south-west of the county, most of which had been part of the royal demesne in 1066. Tenants of the crown in Berkshire, among them Alfgeat, Alfsi, Gilbert Maminot, Hervey, Reginald, Richard Poynant, Robert, Theodoric, Walter son of Othere and William Bellett, may have served the crown in an administrative or military capacity. Actual or possible fortifications at Great Faringdon, Reading, Wallingford and Windsor would have provided employment for such men, and there would have also been a need for armed escort for the king when he was in the county.[171]

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[167] Some of the knights serving at Windsor Castle held land from Walter. *Ibid.*, ii, 7; 132.

[168] The hidage figure does not include the land at Swallowfield, where no assessment is given.

[169] *DB Surrey* (6,1); *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.291 [1066 x 1070, probably 1066 x 1067]. Pyrford in Surrey was also granted to the Abbey, and Domesday Book also reveals that part of Ralph son of Siegfried's manor of Clewer had been incorporated into the land of the castle. *DB Berkshire* (49,1).

[170] The *Abingdon Chronicle* reveals that its Abbot was imprisoned there in 1071. *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. Stevenson, i, 486.

[171] Twelfth century castles are mentioned by Cathcart King at Faringdon and Reading, both of which were located at Thames crossing-points. Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, ii, 11. In the thirteenth century Windsor Castle was garrisoned by four baronies (including Abingdon, and Windsor) and three fees each owing one knight. *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, ii, pp.716-7.

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The degree of tenurial disruption in many areas of circuit one noted above suggests compelling, probably military, motives for the distribution of land after 1066. In other areas of the circuit, Anglo-Saxon patterns of tenure had more of an impact on the post-Conquest redistribution of land, and it is probably no coincidence that these areas were often less sensitive in terms of threats to security. Areas like Berkshire, southern and western Surrey and northern Hampshire were less vulnerable to external assault, and therefore there was less of an impetus to drastically alter the pre-Conquest tenurial structure along military lines. Compact secular fiefs have been shown to be less conspicuous, and the fact that antecessorial succession is more common is a further indication of the lesser significance of the region in terms of defence.

A number of Anglo-Norman landholders in the western half of circuit one gained their land as a result of succession to the land of an antecessor. Geoffrey de Mandeville's three Berkshire manors were all held by Asgar the constable in 1066, and in Surrey Geoffrey is said to hold the manor of Clapham wrongfully because it was not part of Asgar's land. The strength of the antecessorial connection between the two men can be clearly seen in circuits three and four, where Geoffrey gained a significant proportion of Asgar's former estate. Henry of Ferrers gained all the former land of Godric the sheriff in Berkshire, and it is likely that he also succeeded to his office.[172] Henry also gained the land of Siward Barn, whom he also succeeded in Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire and Warwickshire, and Bondi the staller, whom he also succeeded in Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire. Earl Hugh's Berkshire manor of Drayton had been held by Ednoth from Earl Harold in 1066, presumably the Ednoth the staller who was also an antecessor of Earl Hugh in Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire, and possibly Devon and Gloucestershire. Earl Hugh is said to have given the Berkshire manor of Shippon to the Abbot of Abingdon, and this too had been held by Ednoth in 1066.[173]

William son of Ansculf of Picquigny's four manors in the Berkshire Hundred of Compton had been held by Baldwin son of Herlwin in 1066, who he also succeeded in Buckinghamshire.[174] The fiefs of Robert d'Oilly and his son-in-law Miles Crispin were largely based on the former possessions of Robert's father-in-law, the English thane Wigot of Wallingford.[175] According to Domesday Book, all of Wigot's land in Berkshire and Hampshire passed to either Robert d'Oilly or Miles Crispin. This was also the case in Buckinghamshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire and Wiltshire.[176] Alfred of Marlborough's acquisition of three fairly dispersed manors in western Surrey and northern Hampshire can be attributed to their former tenure by Karl, whom Alfred also succeeded in Somerset and Wiltshire. Karl had no other land in

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[172] The Abingdon Chronicle suggests that Godric was killed at Hastings, but Domesday Book implies that he did not lose his sheriffdom by death in battle. At Sparsholt Godric is said to have appropriated land in the king's despite after 1066, and at Kingston Lisle it is stated that land and resources "remained in the King's revenue when Godric lost the sheriffdom". *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. Stevenson, i, 484-5. For a discussion of the lands and family of Godric, see Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England*, iv, pp.729-31. For Henry, see Green, *English sheriffs to 1154*, 26.

[173] *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. Stevenson, ii, pp.19-20.

[174] For the pre-Conquest possessions of Baldwin son of Herlwin, see Lewis, 'The French in England before the Norman Conquest', *ANS*, vol.17 (1994), 134.

[175] Robert acquired a significant amount of land as a result of his marriage to Wigot's daughter Aldith a, and was appointed as castellan of Oxford and Wallingford. Miles came to England c.1080 and, as a result of his marriage to Robert's daughter Matilda in 1084, took over Robert's responsibilities as castellan of Wallingford.

[176] The Wigot in Wiltshire is not further identified, but was probably Wigot of Wallingford.

any of these counties in 1066, suggesting that these manors were granted on the basis of pre-Conquest tenure. However, the connection between the two men did not extend into Berkshire and Sussex, where Karl's land passed to the Count of Mortain, Humphrey Visdeloup and William of Braose. The radical reorganisation of Sussex into Rapes makes this unsurprising, but the failure of Alfred to receive Karl's Berkshire manor, assuming that this represents the same Karl, proves that grants on the basis of antecessor were not necessarily on a country-wide basis.[177]

Indeed, in many cases antecessorial succession operated within certain geographical confines. Arnulf of Hesdin gained only part of the former estate of Wulfward White, a wealthy thane of Queen Edith who died shortly before 1086, concentrated in Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire and the west of Middlesex. Gilbert of Ghent's sole manor in circuit one, possibly at Langley in Berkshire, was acquired as a result of its former tenure by Tonni, who was also an antecessor of Gilbert in Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and parts of Lincolnshire, but not in Warwickshire and Yorkshire. The antecessorial connection between Ralph of Mortimer and Chipping in Berkshire and Hampshire seems to have broken down on land associated with the Isle of Wight.[178] King William kept two of Chipping's manors that lay in the New Forest region but were in the revenue of the Isle of Wight, and another three of his manors on the Isle also reverted to the crown. Chipping remained in control of part of Preston Candover, and kept the land that he had held from the Old Minster manor of Chilcomb. So although Ralph's Hampshire fief was based largely on that of his antecessor Chipping, the transfer of land was not automatic, especially in areas where strategic considerations were important.

In Hampshire, the operation of royal government had a significant impact on the distribution of land. Winchester, as the centre of royal administration, the site of a royal palace which was extended under the Conqueror in the early 1070s and the probable location of the royal treasury, provided a focal point for landholders in the region, many of whom were officials engaged in administration.[179] Queen Edith also seems to have lived in Wessex until her death in 1075, possibly at Winchester. Pauline Stafford has estimated that there were seventy or eighty people associated with her household in Domesday Book.[180] The importance of Windsor as a royal residence was also a significant factor in the Norman settlement of the region. A considerable number of lesser royal officials held small estates in the west of circuit one, among them Ansgot the interpreter, Durand the barber, Geoffrey the marshal, Henry the treasurer, Herbert the chamberlain, Tesselin Cook and Theodoric the goldsmith. Such men probably played a negligible role in the defence of the region, and as such their receipt of land reveals little about the defence strategy adopted by the Conqueror in the region.

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[177] Alfred did not gain Karl's land in Cheshire, Leicestershire and Shropshire either. It is possible that there was more than one Karl in England in 1066, but the proximity of Karl's former manors in Berkshire and Sussex to Alfred's land in Hampshire and Surrey makes it seem likely that, in southern counties at least, the name Karl represents one individual.

[178] Chipping's former manor of Stratfield Mortimer provided the focus of Ralph's Berkshire land, and in only five of his fifteen Hampshire vills was Ralph preceded by someone other than Chipping.

[179] Although information concerning Winchester is not included in Domesday Book, the *Liber Winton* enables us to gain some impression of the city's administrative importance. The two surveys which make up the 'Winton Domesday' provide an account of the city c.1110 and in 1148. Survey I lists owners of property in the city under Edward the Confessor. *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: an edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday*, ed. M. Biddle (Oxford, Clarendon, 1976). For the royal palace, see *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.344; *DB Hampshire* (6,9).

[180] Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 110-111.

It is clear that in many parts of south-eastern England, defence was a crucial factor in the distribution of land after 1066. In Kent and Sussex in particular, there was a large amount of consolidation after 1066, with the Domesday data unmistakably indicating that in the pre-Conquest period there were large numbers of small landowners with no lord but the king, yet by 1086 their land had been re-distributed among a far fewer number of Anglo-Norman tenants-in-chief, many of whom held compact fiefs deliberately designed to enhance the security of the realm. A vast majority of the Norman lordships in these two counties, and many of those in Surrey, on the Isle of Wight and in coastal regions of Hampshire, were indisputably new creations. The Isle of Wight's importance in protecting the Hampshire and Sussex coastline made it, too, an area where the distribution of land was influenced by strategic considerations. Earl William's position on the island and in Hampshire and Berkshire is likely to have been stronger than Domesday Book implies, and his role in protecting this sensitive area a major one. The evidence, or at least presumptive evidence, of castleries or early castles in the majority of the ports between Sandwich and Southampton is a clear indication of the regions perceived vulnerability. In areas like northern Hampshire, Berkshire and western Surrey, the threat from external assault was less pronounced, and their importance in terms of the administration and government of the realm seems to have overridden defence considerations in the organisation of tenure in many areas. Here, the landholding structure suffered less upheaval than in counties further east, where the pre-Conquest structure was largely ignored. The overall impression is of an adaptable and regionally based defence strategy, governed by the requirements of the individual, the community and the realm at large in varying degrees according to the perceived sensitivity of the area in terms of security.

IV

The Norman Conquest of south-western England

Although the counties of Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall were remote from the centre of government, the strong presence of the Godwineson family in the area before 1066 and Harold's sons continuing assault upon the south-western coastline thereafter made it an area where defence could not be neglected. Orderic Vitalis wrote of Norman knights being ill-treated by the men of Exeter when they accidentally landed at the harbour in 1067, and in the following year the city refused to submit to the Conqueror, resulting in an eighteen day siege during which, according to the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle,* "a large part of [the Conqueror's] army perished".[1] Orderic Vitalis provided a more colourful account, stating that

> Exeter was the first town to fight for liberty, but fell vanquished before the valiant forces that fiercely assaulted it ... a great force of citizens held it ... further, they had repeatedly sent for allies from the neighbouring districts, had detained foreign merchants with any aptitude for war, and had built or restored their towers and battlements as they judged necessary.[2]

Although the city eventually surrendered to the Norman forces under Earl William and Count Brian, the "fair promises" made by the Conqueror and the favourable terms on which the city is said to have surrendered suggest that William was forced into concessions.[3] Orderic Vitalis claimed that there was an outbreak of resistance to Norman rule in Montacute in Somerset at a similar time, which was crushed by men under the Bishop of Coutances.[4] Such hostility forced the Conqueror to conduct a campaign throughout the south-west as far as Cornwall to put down any further resistance.

William I would have been aware of the implications of the presence in the area of the influential Countess Gytha, the mother of Earl Harold and the aunt of Swein of Denmark.[5] It is possible that other members of the Godwineson family were in the south-west at this time. Prestwich's claim that Gytha was involved in a plan to overthrow the Normans in England with the support of the Danes and Harold's

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[1] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis,* ed. Chibnall, ii, 212-4; *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D,* ed. Cubbin, 81-2.
[2] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis,* ed. Chibnall, ii, 210.
[3] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D,* ed. Cubbin, 81-2. Orderic Vitalis' account is probably taken from William of Poitiers, as the language and sentiments tend to confirm: William of Poitiers would have been unlikely to admit that the Conqueror was forced to make concessions.
[4] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis,* ed. Chibnall, ii, 214; 228.
[5] In the aftermath of the siege, Gytha fled to the island of Flatholme in the Severn estuary, and subsequently to Flanders. *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D,* ed. Cubbin, 83; *Chronicle of John of Worcester,* ed. McGurk, iii, pp.4-7.

sons Edmund, Godwine and Magnus seems plausible.[6] Harold's sons continued to threaten Norman security in south-western England throughout the late 1060s.[7] They fled to Ireland at some point after the Conquest with their father's household troops and gained the support of the king of Leinster and Dublin, Diarmait mac Máelna mBó.[8] In 1068 they launched an attack on the Avon estuary in an attempt to take Bristol, and although resisted by the people of Bristol and defeated by English forces under Ednoth the staller in Somerset, they continued to ravage Devon and Cornwall, apparently escaping back to Ireland with much booty.[9] This raid, and indeed the occasional raids that had been launched by enemy forces throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries, demonstrated the vulnerability of the area.[10]

William of Jumièges wrote that in 1069 Harold's sons "returned to England with 66 ships to a site which they considered most strategic for an attack".[11] In this second attack on Devon and Cornwall from Ireland, Harold's sons appeared at the mouth of the River Taw where, according to the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle,* they "landed incautiously" and Count Brian of Brittany subsequently "came against them by surprise with no little force, and fought against them and killed all the best men who were in that fleet".[12] The attack was possibly associated with the Danish invasion of the east coast by their cousin Swein.[13] Although the forces under Harold's sons were repelled, they continued to raid along the coast causing considerable damage. William of Jumièges wrote that "like most dangerous pirates, they laid waste by robbery and fire to the country's population".[14] The wasted manors between the Kingsbridge Estuary and Bigbury Bay in Devon and in the Lizard Peninsula in Cornwall may have been a consequence of these attacks. William of Jumièges' claim that 1,700 warriors lost their lives, among them magnates of the realm, may be an exaggeration, but it highlights the seriousness of the attempted invasion.[15]

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Certain areas within the south-west have been identified by historians as compact fiefs where considerations of defence were especially important, notably in the regions around Corfe and Wareham in Dorset; Bristol, Dunster and Montacute in Somerset and across the border into Gloucestershire; Barnstaple, Okehampton and Totnes in Devon; and Launceston and Trematon in Cornwall.[16] Military needs, however, had a more pervasive influence on the distribution of fiefs and manors than this list would suggest.

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[6] Prestwich, 'Military intelligence under the Norman and Angevin kings', 4. It is uncertain whether Harold's sons were actually in Exeter during the 1068 siege. Godwin son of Harold is named as the pre-Conquest holder of two Somerset manors, but the date of his dispossession is uncertain. *DB Somerset* (1,14; 16).

[7] See above, p27.

[8] *Gesta Normannorum Ducum,* ed. Van Houts, ii, 180-4.

[9] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D,* ed. Cubbin, 83; *Chronicle of John of Worcester,* ed. McGurk, iii, 8-9.

[10] In 997 the Danes had sailed around Lands End to the mouth of the Severn, ravaging Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and South Wales. *Chronicle of John of Worcester,* ed. Darlington and McGurk, ii, 446. In 1003 the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* told of the Danes ravaging Wiltshire from the Bristol Channel, pillaging and burning Salisbury and Wilton in the process, and in 1052 John of Worcester recorded that Earls Harold and Leofwin came across from Ireland to the River Severn, where they "landed on the borders of Somerset and Dorset, and plundered many townships and fields in those parts". *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS C,* ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 90; *Chronicle of John of Worcester,* ii, 566.

[11] *Gesta Normannorum Ducum,* ed. Van Houts, ii, 180-4.

[12] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D,* ed. Cubbin, 84. John of Worcester, following the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle,* agrees that the River Taw was their point of landing. *Chronicle of John of Worcester,* ed. McGurk, iii, 8-9. Ann Williams has suggested that this might have been an error for the Tavy in south Devon. See Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest,* 35n.

[13] See Maund, *Ireland, Wales and England in the Eleventh Century,* 167.

[14] *Gesta Normannorum Ducum,* ed. Van Houts, ii, 180-4.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] For an overview and analysis, see Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England,* pp.63-68; Williams, 'Judhael of Totnes: the life and times of a post-Conquest baron', *ANS,* vol.16 (1993), pp.271-289; Golding, 'Robert of Mortain', *ANS,* vol.13 (1990), pp.119-144.

The tenurial map of south-western England portrayed in Domesday Book was the result of two decades of evolutionary change. It seems likely that much of the region was initially penetrated in the spring of 1068, with a small number of military settlers established in vulnerable regions around early Norman castles, and that after the suppression of the disturbances of 1069 Norman settlement increased as a result of confiscations and a desire to strengthen Norman control. The Bishop of Coutances was among early Norman settlers in the south-west, for,as we have seen, he is mentioned in relation to the defence of the region against Harold's sons in 1069. Another west Norman, Earl Hugh, was probably also an early presence, gaining the land of Ednoth the staller after his death in battle in 1068. Other west Normans in the region, among them Baldwin of Meulles, Judhael of Totnes, Ralph of Pomeroy, Serlo of Burcy, William Cheever, William of Mohun and William of Vauville, may have owed their position in the south-west to either man's patronage. William of Vauville was probably made sheriff of Devon in 1068, and is mentioned in the *Quedam Exceptiones de historia Normannorum et Anglorum* as the castellan of Exeter.[17] He does not appear in Domesday Book as a tenant-in-chief in 1086, having been replaced as sheriff and possibly castellan by Baldwin of Meulles. Judhael of Totnes may have also performed some of the duties of sheriff after 1066, for he gained the majority of the land of Heca the sheriff in Devon. It is possible that William of Vauville was the original tenant-in-chief of both Judhael's barony of Totnes and Baldwin's barony of Okehampton.

Several men fought at Hastings and subsequently acquired land in the south-west, possibly as a reward for their service and perhaps soon after the initial penetration of the region. Elisabeth Van Houts' detailed examination of Wace's account of the Conquest identifies Hubert of Saint-Clair, Humphrey and Mauger of Carteret, and William of Mohun as Hastings veterans, all of whom stemmed from Manche in Normandy.[18] Roger of Beaumont's acquisition of land in Dorset and Devon may have been a reward for his son Robert's participation at Hastings in 1066 and his own contribution of sixty ships to the invasion campaign. Eustace of Boulogne and his wide Countess Ida held several manors in Somerset and Dorset. Eustace had brought to Hastings a force of Picards and Flemings from Lens in Artois, one of whom may have been Walter of Douai, an Artisan Fleming from Douai in Nord holding land in Dorset, Somerset and Devon in 1086.

Chris Lewis' suggestion that William fitz Osbern was Earl Harold's successor as earl of Wessex has some foundation in the south-west.[19] Church Knowle in Dorset had been held by Waleran Hunter from Earl William. It was worth only 25 shillings in 1086, and given Earl William's reputation and standing, it seems unlikely that this was his only possession in the county. In view of his position on the Isle of Wight, it is likely that he held a far more extensive Dorset fief overlooking the English Channel and the Isle of Wight than Domesday Book reveals. That Earl William possessed authority in Somerset is supported by the writ issued under the double authority of King William and Earl William stating that Charlcombe in Somerset had been granted to Bath Abbey.[20] Both Dorset and Somerset were among the original shires

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[17] According to Orderic Vitalis, William *Gualdi* was involved in repelling Harold's sons from Exeter in 1069. *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 224. *Quedam Exceptiones*, an interpolated abbreviation of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, was probably written in the early twelfth century. *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, ed. Van Houts, ii, 304.
[18] Van Houts, 'Wace as Historian', *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, pp.103-132.
[19] Lewis, 'The Early Earls of Norman England', *ANS*, vol.13 (1990), 217.
[20] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.11.

of Wessex, and William fitz Osbern perhaps succeeded Harold as earl of the entire region.

As in south-eastern England, an examination of Earl William's followers and their landed interests may throw further light on his authority in this region. Ralph of Limésy appears in the Somerset folios of Domesday Book as a tenant-in-chief of eight manors in 1086, and in Dorset was the intermediate holder of Blandford St. Mary, which was held by William of Eu in 1086. Chapter Three demonstrated that in Hampshire, Ralph acquired land from Alstan of Boscombe, much of whose land was subsequently held by William of Eu.[21] Thus it is likely that Ralph was also the intermediate holder of Alstan's former manors of Elworth, Frome Vauchurch, Long Crichel, Thornton and Wynford Eagle, all in Dorset and all held by William of Eu in 1086. Another baron associated with Earl William was Alfred d'Epaignes, whom Domesday Book reveals to be a tenant-in-chief in Devon, Dorset and Somerset in 1086.[22] Gilbert son of Thorold's tenure of three Somerset manors may too be the result of his association with Fitz Osbern.

There is no reference to Earl William or his son in Domesday Book's account of Devon and Cornwall. Count Brian of Brittany's role in defending Exeter during the attack on the city in 1069 implies that he was an early presence in the far south-west, perhaps gaining land from the Conqueror as a result of his role in the suppression of the rebellion or as a means to strengthen Norman ties with Brittany on the continent.[23] A thirteenth century charter of the priory of St. Michael's Mount refers to a gift by *comes Brian Corn[ubie]* which, although a late reference, may reflect an original grant.[24] Furthermore, a charter of 1140 concerning a gift to St. Michael's Mount by Alan III of Brittany, earl of Cornwall, states that Alan made the gift "for the soul of his uncle Brian, whose land in Cornwall he inherited".[25]

The extensive Breton element in the south-west portrayed by Domesday Book is likely to have been the result of Count Brian's earlier presence.[26] Men from Brittany under Count Alan formed the left wing of conquering army of 1066, and some were undoubtedly rewarded with land in the south-west. Count Alan himself held one manor at Dewlish in Dorset, but he was not a notable presence in the south-west, with the bulk of his possessions in northern and eastern England. Ralph of Fougères, another senior Breton magnate, held the two valuable Devon manors of Ipplepen and Galmpton, although he is unlikely to have spent much time in England. Count Brian was thus the most prominent Breton in the south-west until his eclipse by the Count of Mortain. Breton tenants of the Count of Mortain in Devon and Cornwall, among them Alfred the butler, Ansger, Blohin, Brian, Gunnar and Wihomarch, may have been established by Brian rather than Robert of Mortain.[27] Breton tenants-in-chief throughout the south-west, including Alfred Brito, Roald Dubbed and Theobald son of Berner, may have also arrived in the area alongside Brian. Topographical, cultural, linguistic and racial similarities between Brittany and Celtic

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[21] See above, p48.
[22] The bulk of his south-western fief lay in Somerset, where he held over £60 worth of land. *DB Somerset* (*35*).
[23] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 228.
[24] Oliver, *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis*, 25.
[25] *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol.4, ed. Clay, no.12.
[26] For a full discussion of Bretons in Anglo-Norman England, see Keats-Rohan, 'The Bretons and the Norman Conquest', *Domesday People*, pp.44-58.
[27] There were links between Robert's comté and Brittany, which may provide an alternative explanation for part of the Breton settlement of south-western England.

Cornwall, as well as trading connections, would have encouraged this Breton settlement.

The date of Brian's departure from the south-west is uncertain. Claims that he left in the wake of the 1075 Breton revolt are unlikely, for he was from a different group of Bretons to those associated with Ralph of Gael.[28] This fact also makes it seem unlikely that he was succeeded by Earl Ralph in Cornwall, as suggested by Judith Green on the basis of Little Domesday's revelation that Caister in Norfolk had been exchanged for a manor in Cornwall.[29] It seems more likely that Brian was replaced at an early date by the Count of Mortain, in both Cornwall and Suffolk.[30] The 1068 writ for Bishop Giso of Wells concerning Somerset was attested by Count Robert, and if this is the Count of Mortain and not the Count of Eu, it demonstrates that he settled in the area soon after the Conquest. Bishopstone in Somerset, the site of Montacute Castle, was exchanged for Athelney Abbey's manor of Purse Caundle in Dorset, so Robert may have been established in both Somerset and Dorset by 1068, possibly extending from there into Devon and Cornwall after Brian's departure c.1069.[31]

* * *

Although the timescale of the Norman settlement of south-western England is uncertain, and our knowledge of the barons initially established in the region by the Conqueror somewhat hazy, Domesday Book enables us to gain a clear picture of the organisation of settlement two decades later, which will reflect in some measure the original settlement. Along the coastline of Dorset, one of the most significant areas in terms of defence was the Frome estuary and Poole harbour. It had been subject to Danish raids in the previous century, although its waterways were fairly narrow and there was limited anchorage.[32] The Isle of Portland, now connected to the mainland by a shingle beach, had been ravaged by the Danes in 982, and Henry of Huntingdon noted that it was plundered again by Earl Godwin in 1052.[33] The area between Portland and Durlston Head, characterised by cliffs, coves and landing places, was also vulnerable to coastal raids.

Hugh son of Grip would have played a prominent role in the defence of the Dorset coastline in his capacity as sheriff of the county.[34] He is described as Hugh fitz Grip of Wareham in the charter confirming his wife's gift of Waddon to the Abbey of Montivilliers, which makes it seem plausible that he served in an official capacity in

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[28] Soulsby, *The Fiefs in England of the Counts of Mortain 1066-1106* (MA thesis, Cardiff, 1974), 61-3. He argued that Robert of Mortain was too young and inexperienced to have gained land in England before 1075, having been born c.1040 and not gaining Mortain until after 1060. However, if he was responsible enough to gain Mortain in the 1060s, there is no obvious reason why he should not have been trusted with land in Cornwall.

[29] Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England*, 68. Domesday Book reveals that the Cornish manor of Tybesta had been held by Ralph the staller in 1066, and she suggested that it was possibly this manor that his son Earl Ralph exchanged for Caister in Norfolk. *DB Norfolk* (1,201).

[30] Count Brian is named as "Count Robert's predecessor" in five entries in the Suffolk folios of Domesday Book. *DB Suffolk* (2,5; 6; 7; 9; 13). See also Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 48.

[31] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.138. The Count of Mortain's wife Matilda, Earl Roger's daughter, seems to have held English land soon after 1066, probably dowry land that she had given to the Abbey of Grestain before 1086. *Calendar of Documents preserved in France*, ed. Round, no.435. See the earlier Northamptonshire Geld Roll's reference to "Earl Robert's wife" in Rothwell Hundred, published in *Anglo Saxon Charters*, ed. Robertson, 237.

[32] The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* revealed that in 998 the Danes landed at the mouth of the Frome and ravaged Dorsetshire, and in 1015 Cnut entered the Frome, from where he plundered Dorset, Wiltshire and Somerset. *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS C*, ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 88.

[33] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS C*, ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 85; *Henry of Huntingdon*, ed. Greenway, 376.

[34] He was from Bacqueville-en-Caux in the département of Seine-Maritime in Upper Normandy, and his brother Geoffrey Martel was one of the men whom Wace implied fought at Hastings. Van Houts, 'Wace as Historian', 119. Hugh perhaps fought alongside his brother in 1066, with his Dorset fief a reward for service. For his position as sheriff, see *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, nos. 2 [1066 x 1078] and 3 [1078 x 1086].

the borough, perhaps with some responsibility for Corfe Castle.[35] Although dead when the Tax Returns were compiled c.1084-6, his wife Hawise remained in possession of 115 hides of land in 1086, mainly along the southern coast between Durlston Head and Burton Beach just east of Bridport, forming an important coastal lordship.[36]

Map 27: Land of the wife of Hugh son of Grip in Dorset in 1086

Several of Hugh's manors lay in the rich clay soils of the Isle of Purbeck region south of Corfe Castle. The castle could be reached via the River Corfe, which led inland from Poole Harbour. The castle was located on a strong hill site in a gap through the Purbeck Ridge into the Isle of Purbeck, and may have been built to guard a route from the coast to Wareham and beyond. The castle is mentioned under the name of Wareham in Domesday Book, and is included in the entry for Shaftesbury Abbey's manor of Kingston, located just south of Corfe. Its identification as Corfe Castle is confirmed by the *Testa de Nevill*, which stated that the advowson of Gillingham was exchanged for the site of Corfe.[37] Hugh's possession of land in the vicinity and his position as sheriff makes it seem plausible that he was at least partly responsible for its defence.

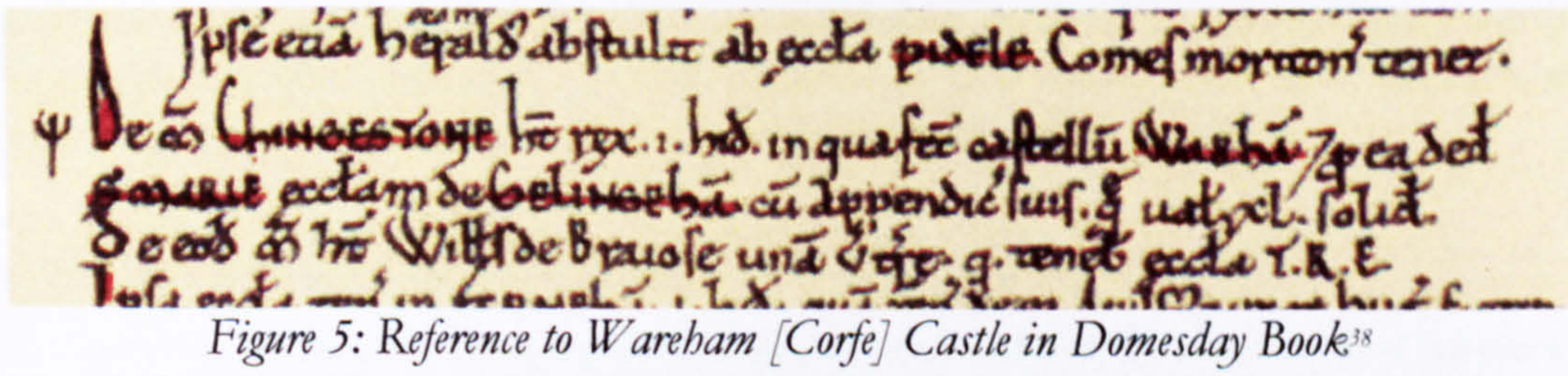

Figure 5: Reference to Wareham [Corfe] Castle in Domesday Book[38]

The date at which the Normans fortified Wareham is uncertain. There was apparently a fortification there in Alfred's reign, and the town is included in the tenth

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[35] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no. 211.

[36] Hugh had also held eight manors from Queen Matilda in the county which by 1086 were part of the *terra regis*. Hawise subsequently married Alfred of Lincoln, whose descendants were in possession of Hugh's land in the twelfth century. Alfred II of Lincoln answered for 25 fees of the old enfeoffment in 1166. *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, i, 214-6; Sanders, *English Baronies*, 99.

[37] *Liber Feodorum: The Book of Fees*, ed. Caley and Illingworth, i, 91.

[38] *DB Dorset* (19,10).

century *Burghal Hidage*.[39] In Domesday Book, the borough is said to contain 70 houses, and a further 73 had been "completely destroyed from the time of Hugh the sheriff".[40] The reason for the reduction in the number of houses has been a matter of some debate, but the most plausible explanation is that Hugh was involved in the construction of a castle before 1086, with a large number of properties removed to make way for the new fortification.[41] The silver mark "for the guards' use" which is mentioned in both Domesday Book and *Exon.'s* account of the borough may be a reference to officials who served at the castle.[42]

Hugh's demesne manors of Acton and Wilkswood lay on the coast between St. Alban's and Durlston Head, and had both been held by Alward in 1066. Hugh gained four other holdings from Alward spread across the Dorset coastal area, and although there are several other references to Alward in Dorset, the name was a common one and it is possible that the possessions of one such Alward formed the focus of Hugh's fief. A number of tenants held land in the Purbeck region from Hugh, and were probably involved in the defence of the coastline and Corfe Castle. Hugh of Boscherbert's tenancy of Brenscombe was located just north-east of Corfe.[43] Durand Carpenter held a tenancy in Wilkswood, and is also recorded as a royal servant holding land in the two neighbouring vills of Afflington and Moulham, one of which he held on the condition that he found a carpenter to work at the keep of Corfe Castle whenever required.[44] Further south, Walter Thunder held land in the two vills of Swanage and Thorne near Swanage Bay.[45] Ralph held land from Hugh at Worth Matravers near St. Alban's Head, and Robert Boy held the coastal manor of Hurpston, around a mile from Kimmeridge Bay. *Exon.* reveals that it had been laid waste, perhaps as a result of coastal raids.[46]

Two men-at-arms, one of whom is identified as Thorold in *Exon.*, held part of the vill of Rushton from Hugh. Located just west of both Corfe and Wareham, the men may have been involved in castleguard duties. Thorold also held part of the vill of Warmwell around eight miles further west. The other man-at-arms at Rushton may have been Hugh of Boscherbert, mentioned above, who is identified as a man-at-arms in the *Exon.* entries for Chaldon and Ringstead.[47] At Ringstead, the steward Ralph of Montpinçon also held 1½ hides from Hugh, and in the same area Hugh had held Queen Matilda's manor of Watercombe before 1083.[48] The manors of Hugh and his tenants thus encircled the coast around Ringstead Bay. In the east of the county, William Chernet had three fairly scattered holdings from Hugh, of which Hampreston was especially vulnerable being located by the River Stour just over five miles north of Poole Harbour. Morden lay around five miles north of Wareham, and it is possible that William served in a military capacity at the castle.

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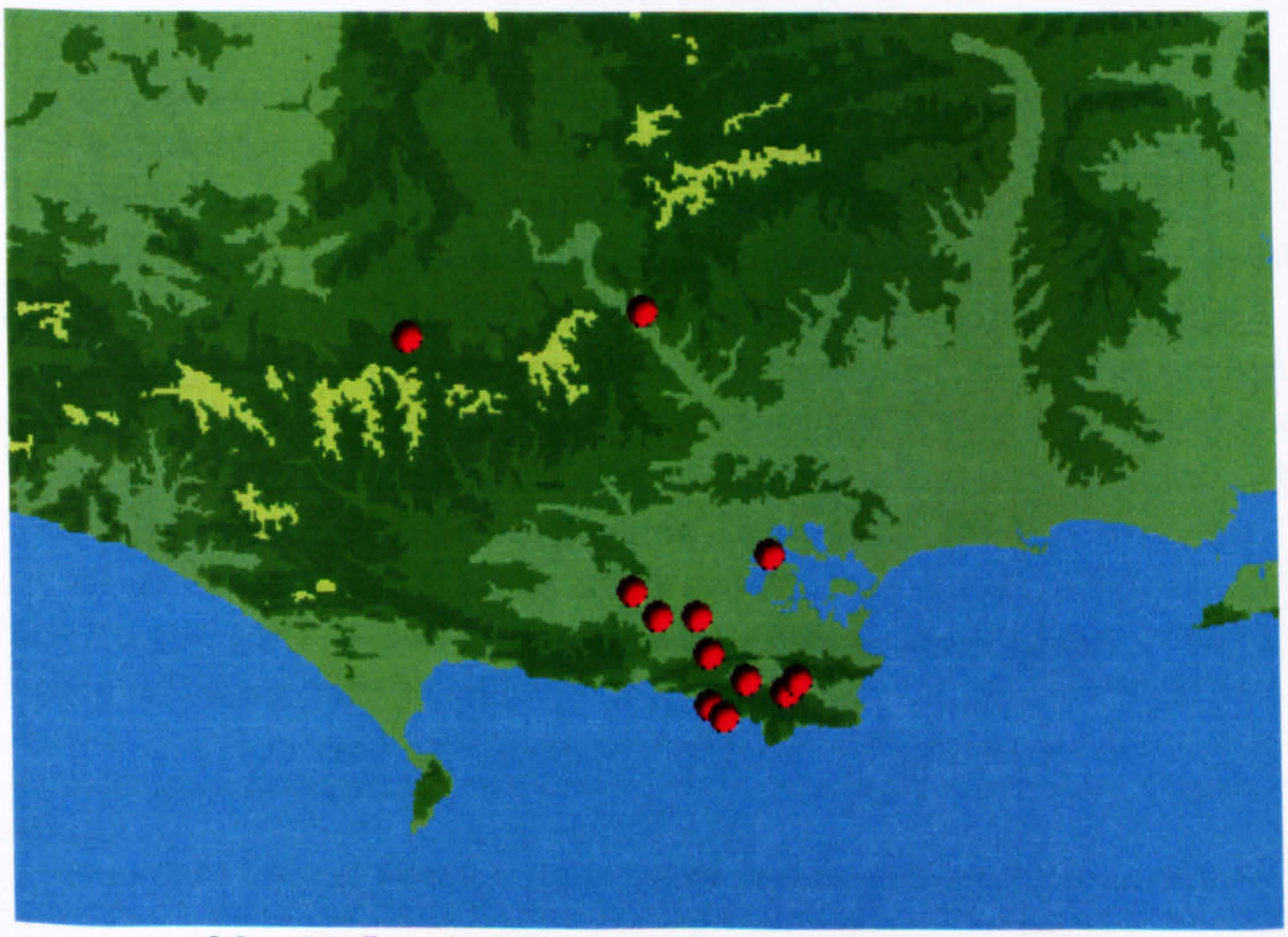
[39] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, i, 130; *The Defence of Wessex*, ed. Hill and Rumble, 26.
[40] *DB Dorset* (B3).
[41] Taylor argued that they were destroyed during the Conqueror's march to Exeter in 1068, and Eyton claimed that they were destroyed during conflicts between Anglo-Saxon and Norman burgesses. Taylor, 'The Norman settlement of Gloucestershire', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol.40 (1917), 61; Eyton, *A Key to Domesday: Analysis and Digest of the Dorset Survey*, 72.
[42] *DB Dorset* (B3).
[43] The *Terricus de Bosco Herberti* who appears in Alfred II of Lincoln's 1166 *carta* owing one fee is likely to have been a descendant of the Domesday tenant. *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, i, 215.
[44] Hutchins et al., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, i, 488.
[45] The *Alvredus Tonarre* who appears as a knight holding two fees in the 1166 *carta* is probably a descendant of Domesday's Walter. *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, i, 215.
[46] *DB Dorset* (55,38-9).
[47] The manor of Chaldon was located, like Rushton, in Winfrith Hundred.
[48] *DB Dorset* (55,36). He was from Calvados, and was a steward of the Conqueror and his sons. See *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, iii, 164-5. However, Keats-Rohan distinguishes between Ralph of Montpinçon and Ralph the steward in Dorset, although on what basis is uncertain. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 329.

Hugh held a second compact group of nine demesne manors to the west of Portland guarding Chesil Beach. The beach ran between Bridport and Portland, and twelve of its eighteen miles were separated from the coast by the Fleet inlet. Several of Hugh's most valuable demesne manors lay in this region, including Abbotsbury which was the site of an Iron Age hill fort known as Abbotsbury Castle, looking over the Fleet inlet. Hugh's tenants in this region, Hugh and William, perhaps helped to guard the coastline.

A few tenants held land in the region further west of Hugh's demesne land along the road leading west from Dorchester into Devon. William of Moutiers held the manor of Puncknowle, less than two miles from the coast, which may have incorporated The Knoll, a viewpoint 593ft above sea level located just south of the vill that could be used in the observation of the English Channel. William of Daumeray held land from Hugh in the vills of Graston and Sturthill, located just inland of the beaches of Burton and Cogden. Walter Thunder also held land in this region at Loders, just under five miles from the coast and near the road towards Devon.

* * *

Another individual prominent in the Isle of Purbeck region was William of Braose. Although his Dorset possessions were not numerous, his fief was fairly compact, with four manors around Corfe Castle and a further seven in a close-knit group by the south coast. The majority of his land was subinfeudated, probably because Dorset was an outlying part of his fief with its focus at Bramber in Sussex, although he retained in demesne strategically significant manors. Holton lay by the Wareham Channel, which connected Poole Harbour with Wareham, and Rushton lay just south-west of Wareham near the River Frome.



Map 28: Land of William of Braose in Dorset in 1086

William held one virgate of Shaftesbury Abbey's manor of Kingston, the vill in which Corfe Castle was built. Several of his tenants held land in the Isle of Purbeck region, and may have been involved in the defence of the coastline and the garrisoning of Corfe Castle. Humphrey held land from William at Woolgarston, near the coast and

around two miles east of Corfe. Richard held three tenancies, all by the coast just west of St. Alban's Head. Kimmeridge and neighbouring Smedmore were near Kimmeridge Bay, and the land of twelve Anglo-Saxon thanes attributed to Richard in Purbeck Hundred has been located near Worth Matravers just east along the coast.[49] Walter held four neighbouring manors in Hasler and Rowbarrow Hundreds, either side of the Purbeck Hills, and Robert held land in the vill of Hethfelton, near the demesne manor of Rushton and the River Frome.

* * *

Along the southern coastline of Devon, the Exe estuary was especially susceptible to attack, Exeter being the only major west country port in the early Anglo Norman period and thus attractive to raiders as a result of its accessibility and commercial wealth. Orderic Vitalis' description of Exeter as "a wealthy and ancient city ... only two miles away from the sea-shore and the shortest routes to Ireland and Brittany" highlights the appeal of the city to enemy forces.[50] Native resistance to Norman rule was also an issue of concern in the late 1060s, as the siege of the city in 1068 revealed.

Further west along the coast, safe anchorage was possible in the bays of Babbacombe, Tor and Start. Although beyond Start Bay the coastline was more hazardous and the territory in the South Hams peninsula below Dartmoor more hostile, the initial Norman penetration of England via Sussex illustrates that such conditions could at times be ideal for conquering forces to establish a foothold. The Teign was an especially vulnerable river estuary. In 1001 the Danes had sailed up the river and burned a number of places including Teignton.[51] The rivers Tamar and Tavy, leading north from the Plymouth Sound, were also susceptible to raids. The Danes had landed at the mouth of the Tamar in 997, from where, according to the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle,* they had ravaged as far as Lydford.[52]

Judhael of Totnes was a dominant force in southern Devon, where his role in the defence of the coastline would have been vital. He is an elusive figure: he may be the *Ruhali filii Alvredi* who witnessed a grant of land in Lincolnshire to the Abbey of Saint-Calais in 1082 at Downton in Wiltshire, but he does not appear in any other contemporary royal charter.[53] If from West Normandy, as Keats-Rohan has suggested, he may have been associated with the Bishop of Coutances or the Count of Mortain.[54] Judhael was the second largest landholder in Devon in 1086, in control of the barony and castle of Totnes and over one hundred manors, mainly in the fertile South Hams peninsula and northwards along the Cornish border. His acquisition of six of the seven manors attributed to Heca the sheriff before 1066 implies that he may have served in this capacity at some point before 1086, possibly in succession to William of Vauville.[55]

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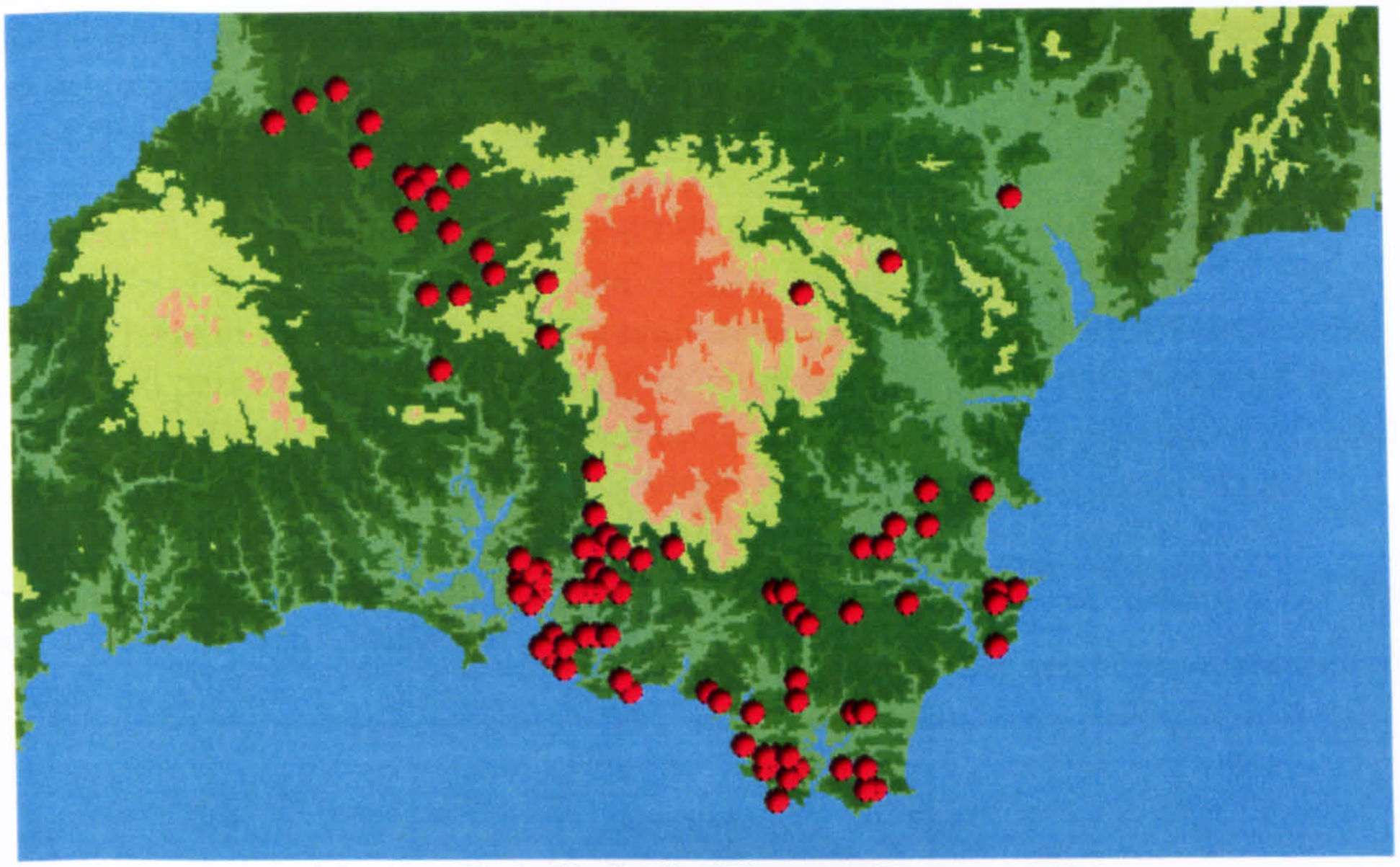
[49] *DB Dorset* (37,13n).
[50] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis,* ed. Chibnall, ii, 210. In 1001 the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* records that the Danes sailed into the mouth of the river Exe and attacked Exeter. The surrounding area was ravaged, and an English force was defeated at Pinhoe. Exeter was again targeted in 1003 when, according to the *Chronicle,* it was stormed by the Danes. *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS C,* ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 89.
[51] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS A,* ed. Bately, 80.
[52] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS C,* ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 88. For Ann Williams' comments on the incident, see above, p86n.
[53] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum,* ed. Bates, no.253.
[54] Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People,* 303.
[55] Heca is only identified as sheriff in the *Exon.* entry for Portlemouth, but the name is not common and it is likely that all references to Heca are to the sheriff. It is possible that the Haca who appears as a predecessor of William of Poilley at Blagrove and Pedley is the same man.



Map 29: Fief of Judhael of Totnes in Devon in 1086

Judhael's dominance of southern Devon is demonstrated by an examination of his possessions, by hundred, in relation to other landholders in the region. Table 2 shows that in five of the eight hundreds of southern Devon, Judhael held at least a fifth of the assessment of the entire area, and in Plympton he held as much as a third.

Hundred	Hides	Value (£)	% Total Hides	% Total Value
Black Torrington	3	23	6	11
Coleridge	16	16	29	16
Ermington	7	19	16	23
Haytor	7	11	9	5
Lifton	5	31	21	20
Plympton	9	13	33	25
Roborough	6	11	24	15
Stanborough	14	20	30	24

Table 2: Judhael of Totnes share of land in southern Devon Hundreds in 1086

Judhael kept around 46% of his land in demesne, an average proportion among Anglo-Norman barons at this time.[56] An examination of Judhael's enfeoffments across the whole southern Devon coastline shows concentrated groups of holdings in strategic locations, although several tenants did hold land across a number of hundreds. In most cases, land was acquired from a variety of men, suggesting that pre-Conquest tenure had little impact on Judhael's enfeoffment strategy. For instance, Fulk's four tenancies were held in 1066 by Algar, Alwin and Heca the sheriff. Nigel was preceded by at least eight different men, Odo by seven and Ralph by thirteen.

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[56] Palmer, 'The wealth of the secular aristocracy in 1086', *ANS*, vol.22 (2000), 280.

Judhael's fief as a whole was only partly formed on the basis of the pre-Conquest tenurial situation. Robin Fleming claimed that around 50% of Judhael's Devonshire land was acquired from Aelfric, Algar, Alwin, Aubrey and Heca, while the rest was gained from 34 other thanes.[57] An analysis of the forty or so pre-Conquest holders of Judhael's land in Domesday Book confirms the prominence of these five men as predecessors, and reveals that John and Ulf also held a significant proportion of Judhael's land in 1066, as Figure 6 demonstrates. Judhael acquired all of the former estate of John in Devon, and the majority of the land of Aubrey and Heca, but he only gained part of the estates of his other predecessors. The lands attributed to Aelfric were distributed among thirteen men, those of Algar among eight men, and those of Alwin among fifteen men. Although these are common pre-Conquest names and may refer to more than one individual, it seems that on the whole Judhael's fief was largely a post-Conquest creation formed with strategic concerns at the forefront of the Conqueror's mind.

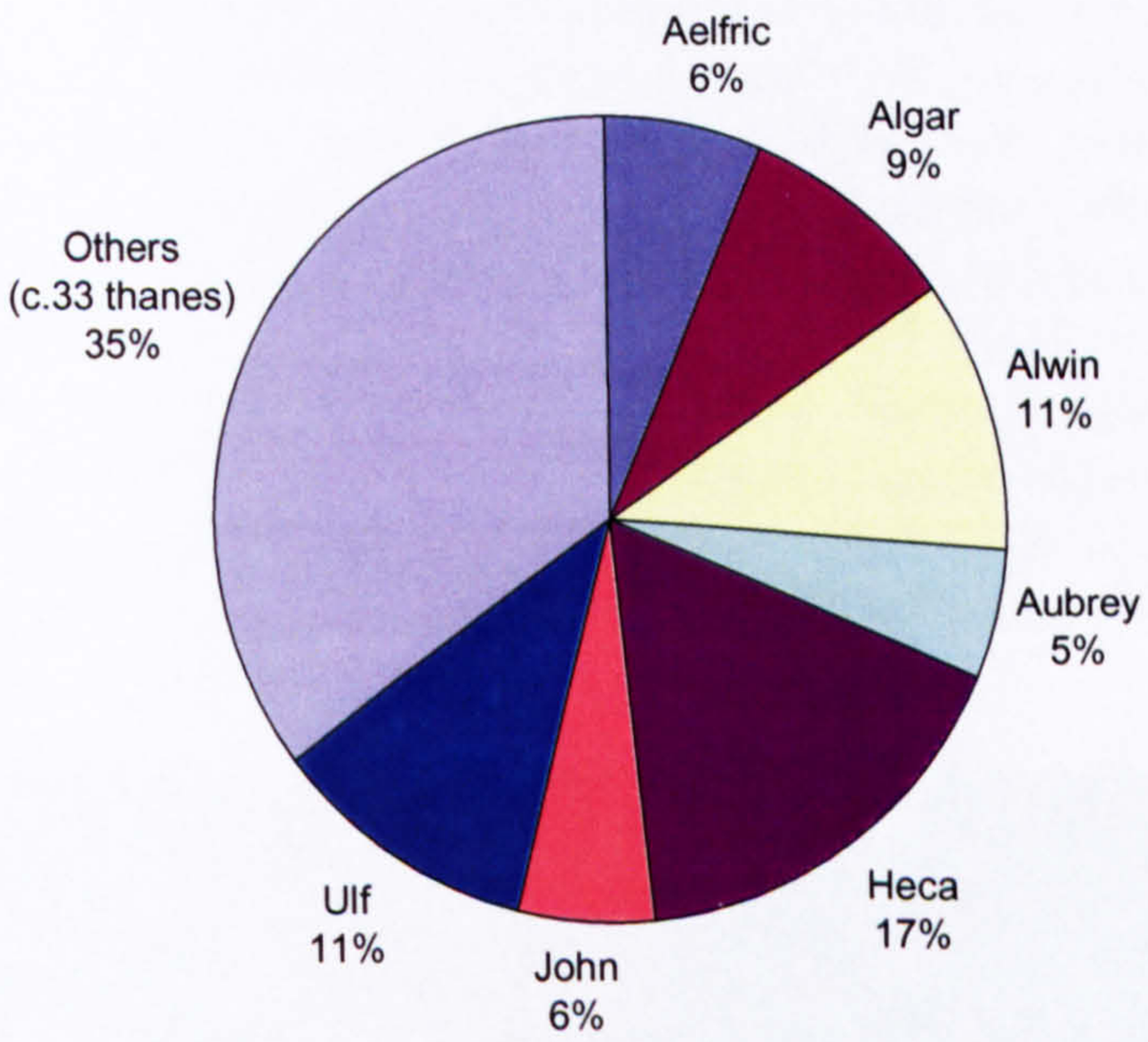

Figure 6: Judhael of Totnes' Predecessors in Devon
(in terms of share of pre-Conquest hidage)

Judhael's control of the royal borough of Totnes is an indication of his status in the county.[58] His military responsibilities are demonstrated by the fact that when an expedition on land or sea took place, Totnes, along with Barnstaple and Lydford, contributed one man-at-arms' service.[59] Totnes lay at a commanding site on the Dart estuary, which, because it was relatively easy to enter and provided safe anchorage, was vulnerable to coastal attack. The borough also lay on the Roman road from Exeter to the south coast and the Tamar estuary. It is likely that Totnes was fortified soon after the initial Norman penetration of Devon to protect the Dart estuary, the approach to Exeter and south-eastern Devon in general.[60]

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[57] Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, 209-10. The editors of the Phillimore edition of the Devonshire Domesday claim that references to Aelfric, Alric and Aubrey in Plympton Hundred before 1066 probably represent one individual. In four nearby vills, the land of Aelfric, Alric and Aubrey all passed to Judhael's tenant William. *DB Devon* (17,83; 84; 85; 87).

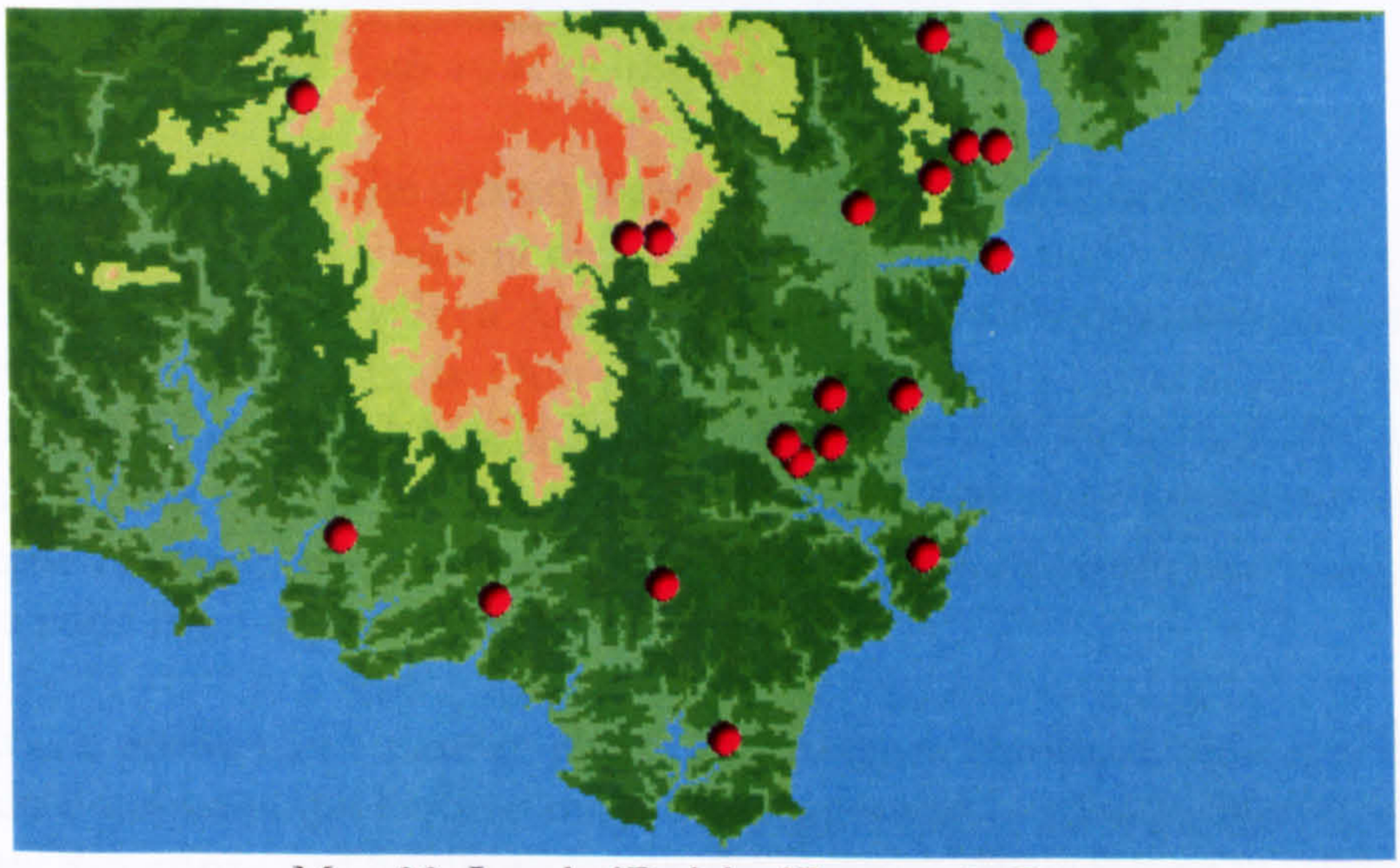
[58] He had been granted the king's two-third share of the revenues of the borough and Earl Leofwin's third penny. *DB Devon* (17,1).

[59] *DB Devon* (C5).

[60] The castle is mentioned in a charter of Judhael before 1087. *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Caley, Ellis and Bandinel, iv, 630. See also Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, 119.

Judhael's substantial demesne manor of Cornworthy lay on the western bank of the Dart, overlooking Stoke Point. Judhael also held the neighbouring manor of Ashprington from Queen Matilda at some point before 1086, which was located on the opposite bank.[61] Together they protected a significant point in the approach to Totnes. Cornworthy had been held by Ulf in 1066, who was also the former lord of the demesne manors of Brixham and Churston Ferrers around five miles further east by the coast in Tor Bay, where safe anchorage for large fleets was possible. Brixham may have incorporated the remains of an Iron Age hill-fort above a tributary of the Dart around three miles to the south-west.[62] Domesday Book states that Totnes Priory held Follaton just west of Totnes from Judhael.[63] *Exon.* reveals that it was granted by Judhael to the priory *pro anima regine,* demonstrating that Judhael held it in demesne until at least the death of Queen Matilda in November 1083.

A number of tenants held land from Judhael in the region around Totnes, and may have served him at the castle. His most prominent tenant was Ralph of Pomeroy from La Pommeraye in Calvados, a tenant-in-chief in his own right elsewhere in south-western England. Seven of Ralph's eight holdings were located in the hundreds of Haytor and Stanborough near Totnes. Together with the land he held in chief inland of Totnes and near the Kingsbridge Estuary, and the land that he held from the Count of Mortain further west along the coast, Ralph of Pomeroy was an influential individual in the southern coastal region. Among Judhael's other tenants in the Totnes region were Warin, who held Coleton on the coast just east of the Dart estuary, and William and Robert, who held Leigh and Poulton no more than four miles south-west of Totnes. Thorgils held the valuable tenancy of Butterford, around seven miles west of Totnes.



Map 30: Land of Ralph of Pomeroy in Devon
(held both in chief and as a mesne tenant)

Judhael held a concentrated group of manors in the Kingsbridge estuary region, the focus of which was Heca the sheriff's former manor of Charleton. Loddiswell, again held by Heca in 1066, provided the northern boundary of this group. The manor probably incorporated Loddiswell Rings, an Iron Age hill-fort within which there are remains of a ringwork and bailey castle which Higham believes to be a late eleventh

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[61] Judhael gave the manor's church to Totnes priory. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Johnson and Cronne, ii, 50.
[62] Wall, 'Ancient Earthworks', *VCH Devon*, vol.1, 591.
[63] *DB Devon* (17,58)

century campaign fortress.[64] In view of its location just inland of both the Avon and Kingsbridge estuaries, it is possible that fortifications were built there under Judhael.[65] To the east of the estuary in Coleridge Hundred, Ralph held land from Judhael at Chivelstone, Ford and Malston, all of which lay between Start Bay and the Kingsbridge estuary, and Thorgils held land at South Allington and Stancombe in the same region.[66] Another tenant in the region, William, held land at Combe and Pool, which lay between Frogmore and Southpool Creek to the east of the estuary.

According to *Exon.*, on the other side of the estuary in Stanborough Hundred nine of Judhael's manors had been laid waste by Irishmen before 1086, which is probably a reference to attacks on the Devon coastline by Harold's sons.[67] The man-at-arms who held one virgate of land from Judhael at Thurlstone may have been involved in defence, for the manor was located just to the east of the Avon estuary in Bigbury Bay.

Map 31: Land "laid waste by Irishmen" in southern Devon before 1086

Judhael's other tenants in the vicinity were probably responsible for the redevelopment of wasted land and defence against further raids. Fulk held a compact group of land in the three vills of Alston, Ilton and West Portlemouth, all of which had suffered as a result of raids. Odo's land at Soar, Osbern's land at Bagton, Ralph's land at Galmpton and South Huish, and Thorgils land at Collaton had all been laid waste before 1086. Soar lay on the coast by Steeple Cove and Collaton lay just west of Salcombe Harbour, while Bagton, Galmpton and South Huish may have been subject to raids from Bigbury Bay.

Judhael was a prominent tenant-in-chief in Ermington Hundred, although the Count of Mortain dominated the tenurial map. The manors of Lambside, Membland, Okenbury, Ringmore and Stadbury lay on the coast to the south of his demesne manors at Leigh and Worthele. Waldin held Membland, which was located just east of the River Yealm, along with a tenancy at Langdon on the other side of the river thereby guarding the Yealm inlet. Ralph held the remaining land from Judhael, which, with his tenancy at Blachford and possibly at Broadley and North Huish further north, guarded the coastal region around Bigbury Bay.

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[64] Higham, 'Domesday Devon: Castles', *Domesday Studies*, ed. Holdsworth, 74-5.
[65] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, 117.
[66] An examination of the witnesses of Judhael's charter for Totnes suggests that these men were Ralph Malbank and *Turgis miles de la Foresta*. *Monasticon Anglicanum*, iv, ed. Caley, Ellis and Bandinel , 630, no.ii. See Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 345; 430.
[67] *DB Devon* (17,33-41). By 1086, six of these manors had not recovered their former value, with an overall decline in all nine from over £15 when acquired to around £10 in 1086.

Judhael was again dominant in the hundreds of Plympton and Roborough, which guarded the Plymouth Sound and the estuaries of the Plym, Tamar and Tavy. Although Plymouth had yet to emerge as an important trading port because of the dangers involved in navigating the Sound, the area was susceptible to enemy attack as the Danish assault of 997 had revealed.[68] The focus of Judhael's possessions in this region was Eggbuckland, around which several of his tenants held land. Odo held seven tenancies just to the west near the Tamar. One of these, Coleridge, was said to have been waste at some point before 1086, and it is possible that it was subject to attack from Harold's sons. Thorgils held a compact group of four vills to the north-east of Eggbuckland on the edge of Dartmoor, and just south of this Ralph was a tenant in seven vills. William held a compact group of nine vills between the rivers Plym and Yealm just south of Ralph's land.[69] Another tenant, Stephen, held land at Compton Gifford and Hooe, just inland of the Sound on either side of the River Plym.

Judhael's final group of holdings were in the hundreds of Lifton and Black Torrington in the hillier region along the Cornish border, and his sole Cornish manor of Froxton, just across the border, should be viewed as an extension of these possessions. The defence of the Tamar valley and the road running west from Okehampton into Cornwall would have been an important factor in his acquisition of this land.[70] Dominant among his tenants in this region was Nigel, who held land in eleven vills mainly in Lifton Hundred. Nigel was possibly Judhael's brother-in-law, for he had two sons named Alfred and Juhel, both of whom attested Judhael's charters for Barnstaple priory.[71] Both sons were also associated with the Earl of Devon, Baldwin I de Redvers, and Keats-Rohan has suggested that Baldwin's wife Adeliza was the sister of Juhel son of Nigel and therefore the niece of Judhael of Totnes.[72] The fact that Nigel held Judhael's two most valuable subinfeudated manors increases the possibility that they were related. Other tenants in the region, namely Ralph at Ashleigh, Ralph of Pomeroy at Henford, Waldin at Downicary and William at Bradford, Norton and Sydenham, were also tenants further south. The proximity to Judhael's four demesne manors in the region may have been a factor in their enfeoffment.

* * *

The Count of Mortain was another prominent figure in the South Ham peninsula, and indeed throughout south-western England where he held around £1,110 of land in Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall. His relationship with the Conqueror and his experience in defending vulnerable regions on the continent made him an ideal candidate for the defence of this strategically important area of England. His control of the frontier lordship of Mortain, which neighboured Brittany, Maine and Bellême, and coastal areas around Avranches, the Cotentin and the mouth of the Seine, provided him with an acute awareness of the importance of an effective defence strategy, an awareness that was no doubt put to practical use in his organisation of

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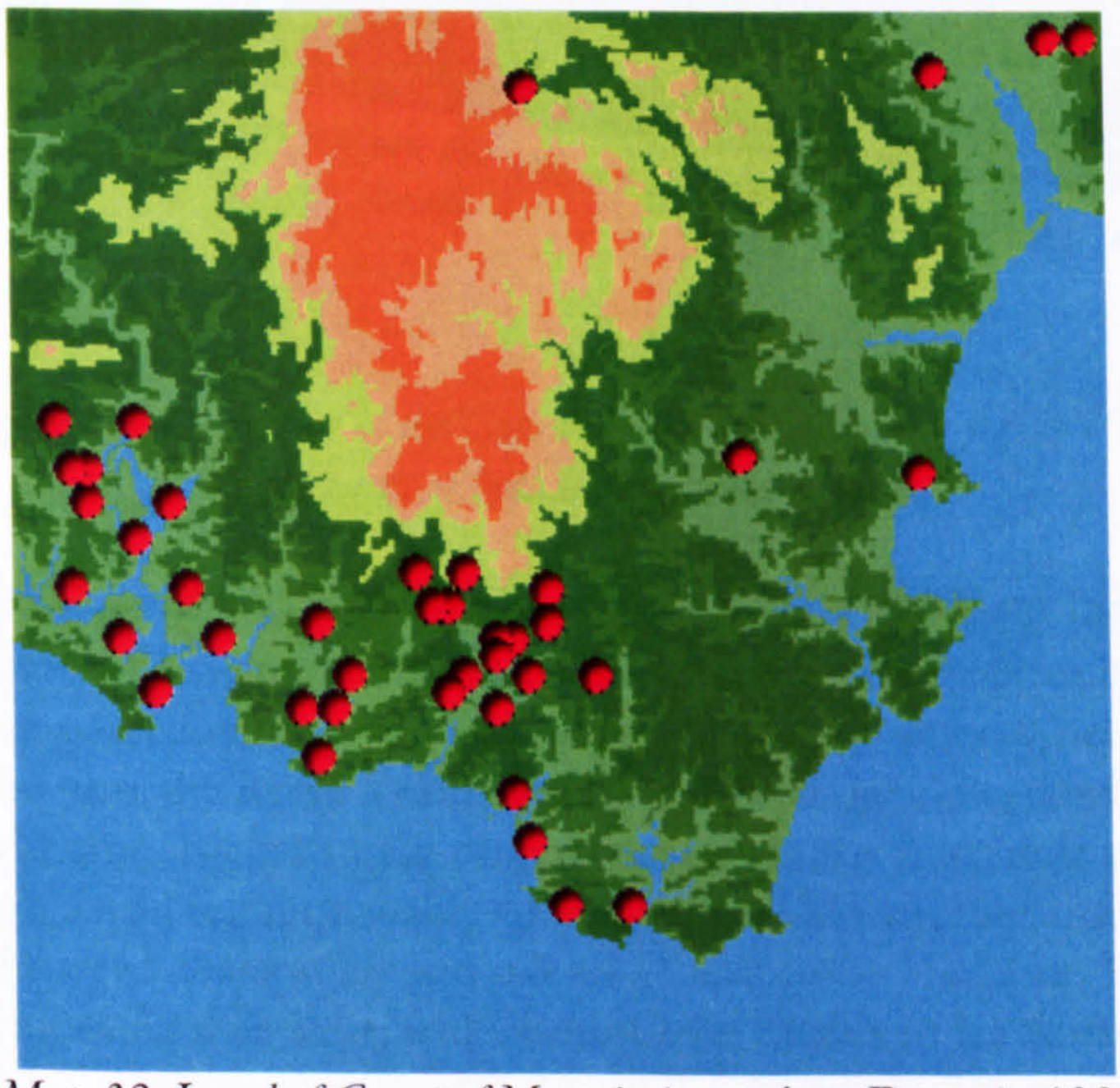
[68] *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. Darlington and McGurk, ii, 446.
[69] Keats-Rohan suggests that Judhael had two tenants in 1086 called William, and so any conclusions should be treated with caution. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 496.
[70] The route beyond Okehampton is not certain, although Margary pointed to the name 'Old Street Down' around five miles south-west of Bridestowe as an indication of its continuation. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, i, 112.
[71] *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Caley, Ellis and Bandinel, v, 197-8.
[72] Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 303.

settlement in the vulnerable regions of south-western England, as well as in Sussex and Yorkshire.

William of Malmesbury's description of the Count of Mortain as of a stupid and dull disposition has encouraged a rather negative view of his abilities, and his role in English government and political life has tended to be downplayed.[73] However, he occurs fairly frequently in contemporary sources, he was often with the Conqueror on the continent and his political role in England after 1066 was far from negligible. He supplied 120 ships to the invasion fleet of 1066, and he is shown in the Bayeux Tapestry and by Wace to have fought at Hastings.[74] He was involved in the defence of Lindsey against the Danes in 1069 and acted as justiciar during the royal absence in 1071. He also appears as a witness to numerous royal charters issued after 1066 and, although he appears less frequently after 1080, he was present at the Conqueror's deathbed.[75] It is highly unlikely that someone of such a supposedly dull disposition should be placed in control of such a large amount of land in such strategically significant areas, both in England and on the continent. He was the wealthiest lay magnate in England other than the king, with land worth over £2,070 in twenty counties, as Figure 7 demonstrates. As Soulsby commented, "it would be unwise to belittle either Robert's personal ability or his importance within the Norman camp ... while it is evident that he was not among the greatest figures of his day, it is also clear that Robert of Mortain was far from the 'blockhead' that William of Malmesbury would have us believe".[76]



Map 32: Land of Count of Mortain in southern Devon in 1086

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[73] Brian Golding seems to have taken William of Malmesbury's comments at face value when he noted that Robert of Mortain "did not have the inclination, or perhaps the aptitude, to engage in post-Conquest politics as did Roger of Shrewsbury or William FitzOsbern". Golding, 'Robert of Mortain', *ANS*, vol.13 (1990), 144.

[74] See Van Houts, 'The Ship List of William the Conqueror', *ANS*, vol.10 (1987), pp.159-83 and 'Wace as Historian', *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, ed. Keats-Rohan, 126-7.

[75] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, nos. 119; 120; 123; 124; 125; *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 230; iv, 98.

[76] Soulsby, *The Fiefs in England of the Counts of Mortain 1066-1106* (MA thesis, Cardiff, 1974), 37; 40.

The Count of Mortain was frequently in Normandy, especially after 1069 and in the 1080s when Mortain was under threat from Anjou. His preoccupation with continental affairs probably explains why such a high proportion of his fief was subinfeudated. Enfeoffed land in Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall represented around 78% of the assessment and 63% of the landed income of his land. High levels of subinfeudation were especially characteristic of the Count's land in Devon, where he held only four manors in demesne.

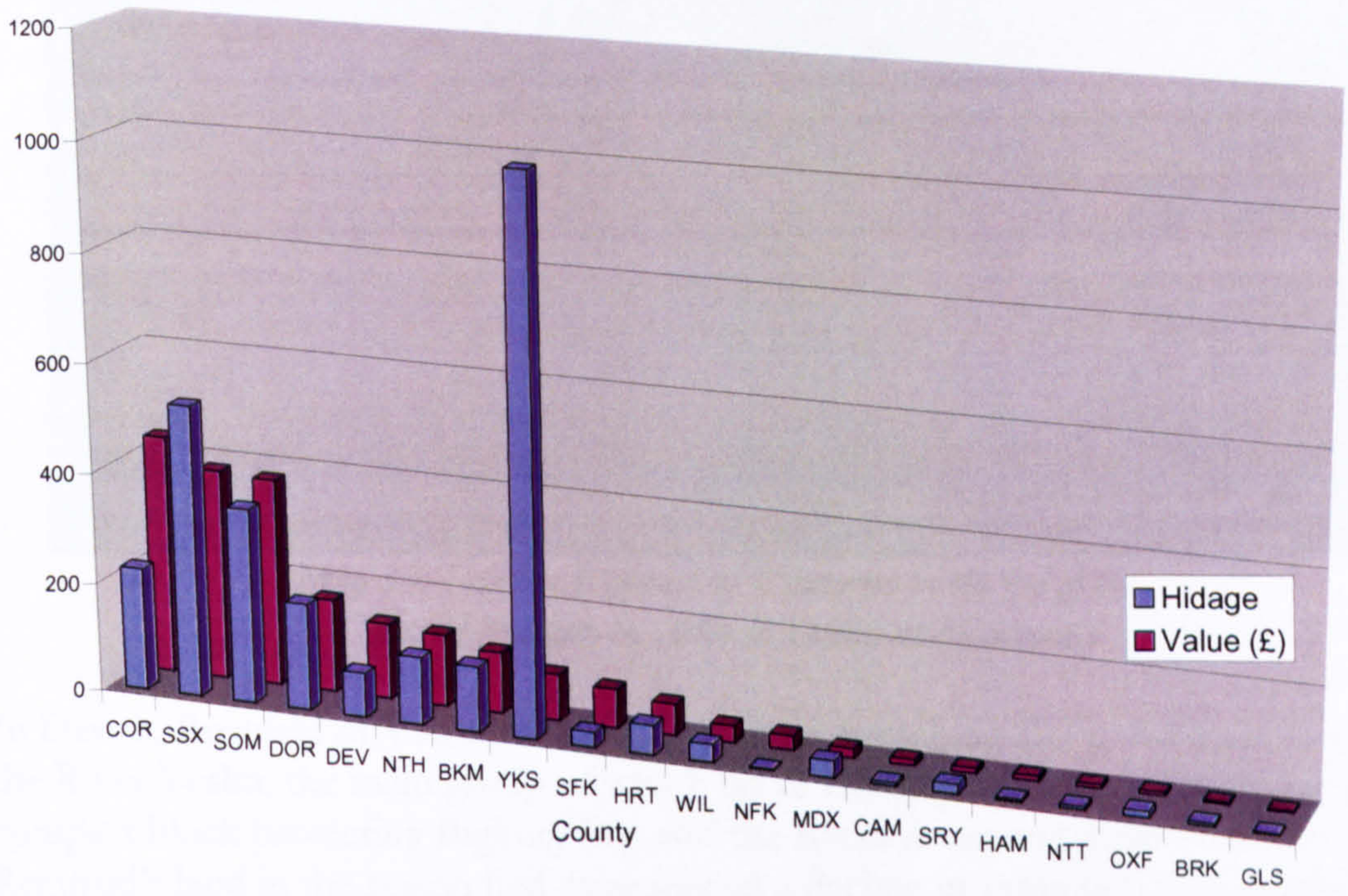

Figure 7: Distribution of the Count of Mortain's English fief in 1086 (in terms of both hidage and value)

Protection of the rivers Avon and Erme was probably a significant factor in the Count's acquisition of land in the South Ham peninsula, the responsibility for which he seems to have passed entirely to his tenants. Ralph of Pomeroy held the tenancy of Hollowcombe near the River Yealm, and Dunn held Spriddlescombe between the rivers Avon and Erme. Richard held three tenancies in the hundreds of Ermington and Stanborough, and Hugh, probably of Vautortes, held another three vills in Stanborough Hundred. Batson lay just inland of Salcombe Harbour, Bolberry lay on the coast three miles further west, and its outlier of Buckland lay further north near the River Avon.

The remainder of the Count's land in the South Ham peninsula was held by Reginald of Vautortes, whose compact coastal tenancy spanned the Devon-Cornwall border and was focused on the Cornish castle of Trematon. Reginald was from Torteval-Quesnay in Calvados, and a feudal connection with the Count of Mortain probably lay behind his enfeoffment in south-western England. He seems to have acquired his English land relatively late, for a Ralph of Vautortes granted Norton-sub-Hamdon in Somerset to Grestain with Count Robert's agreement in the autumn of 1082, as well

as lands in Normandy to Saint-Evroul de Mortain in the same year.[77] As Reginald is not mentioned in contemporary sources prior to Domesday Book, and was obviously fairly young for he witnessed a charter restoring Devon and Cornish churches to Exeter Cathedral in 1123, it is likely that he was Ralph's son and that he succeeded to his father's land shortly before 1086.[78]

Map 33: Land of Reginald of Vautortes in the fief of the Count of Mortain in 1086 in Devon and Cornwall

In Devon, Reginald of Vautortes held 24 manors stretching along the coast towards the River Yealm, the main group of which lay in Ermington Hundred forming a compact block protecting Bigbury Bay and the rivers Avon and Erme. Most of Reginald's land in the region had experienced a decline in value between acquisition and 1086. A possible cause is the ravaging of the forces under Harold's sons after their attack on Exeter in 1069, although declining values are not confined to coastal manors.[79] In the far south-west of Devon, Reginald held three vills on the eastern bank of the Tamar estuary, guarding the Plymouth Sound and the Tamar Valley. A castle was licensed at Bere Ferrers in 1337, and it strategic location and rare increase in value after acquisition raises the possibility that the site formed the military focus of Reginald's Devonshire land in 1086.

On the western side of the Tamar estuary, Reginald held 33 Cornish estates from the Count of Mortain stretching towards the River Fowey. With his land in Devon, it formed a compact block around Trematon Castle, which is mentioned in Domesday Book as the Count of Mortain's castle within Reginald's manor. The strong motte and bailey castle lay on the eastern bank of the River Lynher.

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[77] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, nos. 158; 215.

[78] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Johnson and Cronne, ii, 1391. Soulsby claims that the Godfrey whom *Exon.* records as the subtenant of Reginald's manor of Fardel in Devon was Godfrey of Vautortes, Reginald's father. Soulsby, *The Fiefs in England of the Counts of Mortain*, 213. However, it seems more plausible that Ralph was the father of Reginald, and probably Godfrey, and that the confusion between *Exon.* and the Exchequer text was the result of the recent death of their father.

[79] The decline in value may also have been a consequence of retaliatory action by the Conqueror after the rebellions of the early years of Anglo-Norman rule. Only Bere Ferrers and Stockleigh English in Devon increased in value between acquisition and 1086, and just thirteen manors across both counties retained their former value.

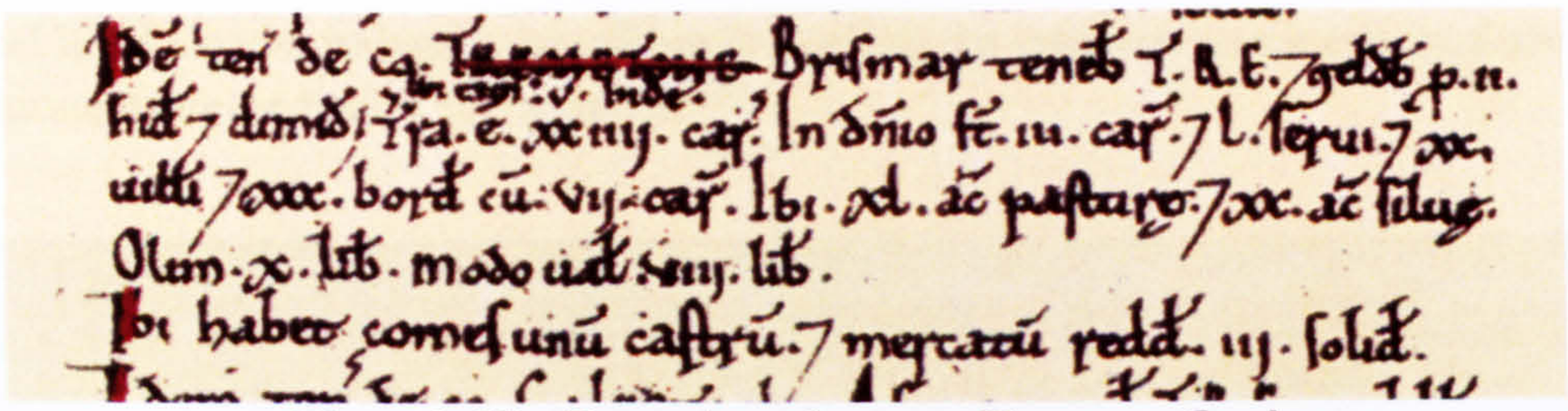

Figure 8: The Domesday reference to Trematon Castle

South of Trematon, Reginald held the manor of Maker, located to the west of the Plymouth Sound near Cawsand Bay, and Tregantle, which lay further west along the coast between the River Lynher and Whitsand Bay. To the north and west of Trematon, Reginald held land in at least fifteen vills within Rillaton Hundred. Four tenancies in this region, including Trematon, had been held by Brictmer in 1066, although an antecessorial connection is unlikely in view of the fact that his other Cornish manors had passed into the tenancies of six other manorial lords by 1086. Likewise, although four of the vills in this region had been held by Aelfric in 1066, he also occurs as a predecessor of seven of the Count's other tenants.[80]

Reginald held at least eleven vills in the coastal hundred of Fawton, many of which were located near bays and rivers leading inland. Tregarland and Trewidland lay by the River Looe just north of Looe Bay, and Trelawne was located by by the coast near the West Looe River. Further west, Raphael was located by Colors Cove; Trevelyan lay just east of the Fowey by Penpoll Creek; and Langunnett and Trecan lay to the north by the River Lerryn. On the opposite bank of the Fowey, Reginald's tenancy of Castle-by-Lantyan provided the western extremity of this block of land.

Viewed as a whole, Reginald's tenancy has the distinct characteristics of a military lordship created to defend the fertile region around the Tamar estuary and nearby estuaries and river inlets, with scant regard for the pre-Conquest tenurial situation. Ralph I of Vautortes, later lord of the honour of Trematon, held 59 knights' fees of the Count of Mortain in 1166, which provides some indication of Reginald's possible military responsibilities in the late eleventh century.[81]

* * *

The Count of Mortain's dominance was especially pronounced in Cornwall, where he held virtually all lay land. Although it is possible that the Count of Mortain was appointed earl of Cornwall, especially as he seems to have arrived in the region in the late 1060s when there was still a need for strategic earldoms in view of the threat from Harold's sons, the available evidence tends to weigh against such a theory. There is no indication in contemporary sources that he was actually appointed as the earl of the county and his authority does not seem to have been as all-encompassing as, say, Earl Hugh in Cheshire. There is no evidence that he had the right to the third penny from the borough of Bodmin and he did not control the *terra regis*, although he may have been responsible for the appointment of Thurstan as sheriff.[82] His power and influence in the county, however, must have been immense. As Soulsby concluded, "the Count's tenurial position in the county was clearly formidable, at the

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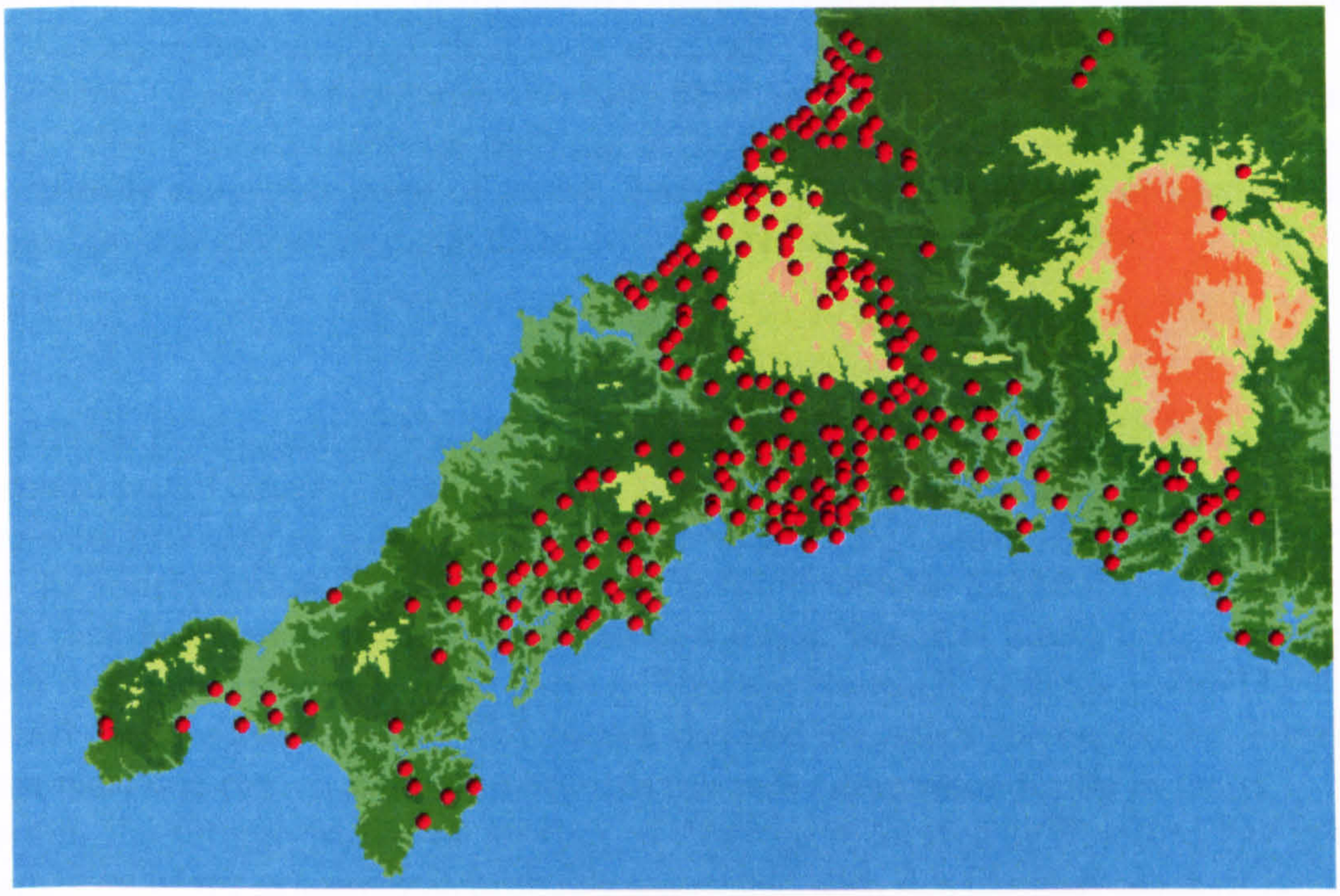
[80] However, Aelfric and Brictmer are fairly common names, and it is possible that more than one individual is being referred to.
[81] Sanders, *English Baronies*, 90-1; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, i, 261.
[82] Thurstan held no land from the king in Cornwall, and the Geld Rolls for the county reveal that the *terra regis* was held by Baldwin of Meulles or other Devon tenants-in-chief, which makes his appointment by the Count seem likely. For a discussion of the evidence, see Mason, 'Barons and their officials in the later eleventh century', *ANS*, vol. 13 (1990), 245.

practical level almost palatine, but there is nothing to suggest that it enjoyed any form of administrative or titular recognition".[83]



Map 34: Land of Count of Mortain in Cornwall in 1086

Of all the south-western counties, it was in Cornwall that Robert kept the highest proportion of land in his own hands. He held 22 manors in demesne, many of which were located in the more fertile eastern region around the centre of his Cornish administration at Launceston. Launceston Castle was located in a strategically commanding site, controlling the area between Bodmin Moor and Dartmoor, and in particular the Count's land in the north of Rillaton Hundred and in Stratton Hundred. A line of manors surrounded the castle, running from Treglasta south-east as far as Trebeigh. The Count also possessed three manors along the coast of Stratton Hundred, ranging from Stratton in the far north of the county to Helstone just inland of Port Isaac Bay, and a group of five demesne manors further west in Tybesta Hundred. One, Moresk, had been held by Ordwulf in 1066, who was also a prominent antecessor of the Count in Devon.[84] In neighbouring Winnianton Hundred, the Count held Rinsey from the royal manor of Winnianton, along with 21 other outliers that he had subinfeudated.[85] Their location in the Lizard peninsula suggests that coastal defence may have been a factor encouraging his acquisition of the land. Although the Lizard acted as a hazard to vessels, the vulnerability of the area is implied by Domesday Book, which shows waste in the peninsula possibly due to coastal raids by Harold's sons in 1069.[86]

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[83] Soulsby, 'Introduction to the Cornwall Domesday', *The Cornwall Domesday* (Alecto), 11. See also Lewis, who claimed that there was no evidence to support the theory that Robert was an earl. Lewis, 'The Early Earls of Norman England', 215.

[84] The Count held seven lands "with Ordwulf's land" in Devon. *DB Devon* (15,47-53). Modbury, which was held by Wado freely in 1066, was held by the Count wrongfully in 1086 "with the honour of Ordwulf". *DB Devon* (15,49). According to *Exon.*, Culleigh was held by Kipping in 1066, who was free to go to whichever lord he would without Ordwulf's permission, but the land still passed to the Count as part of Ordwulf's holding. *DB Devon* (5,11)

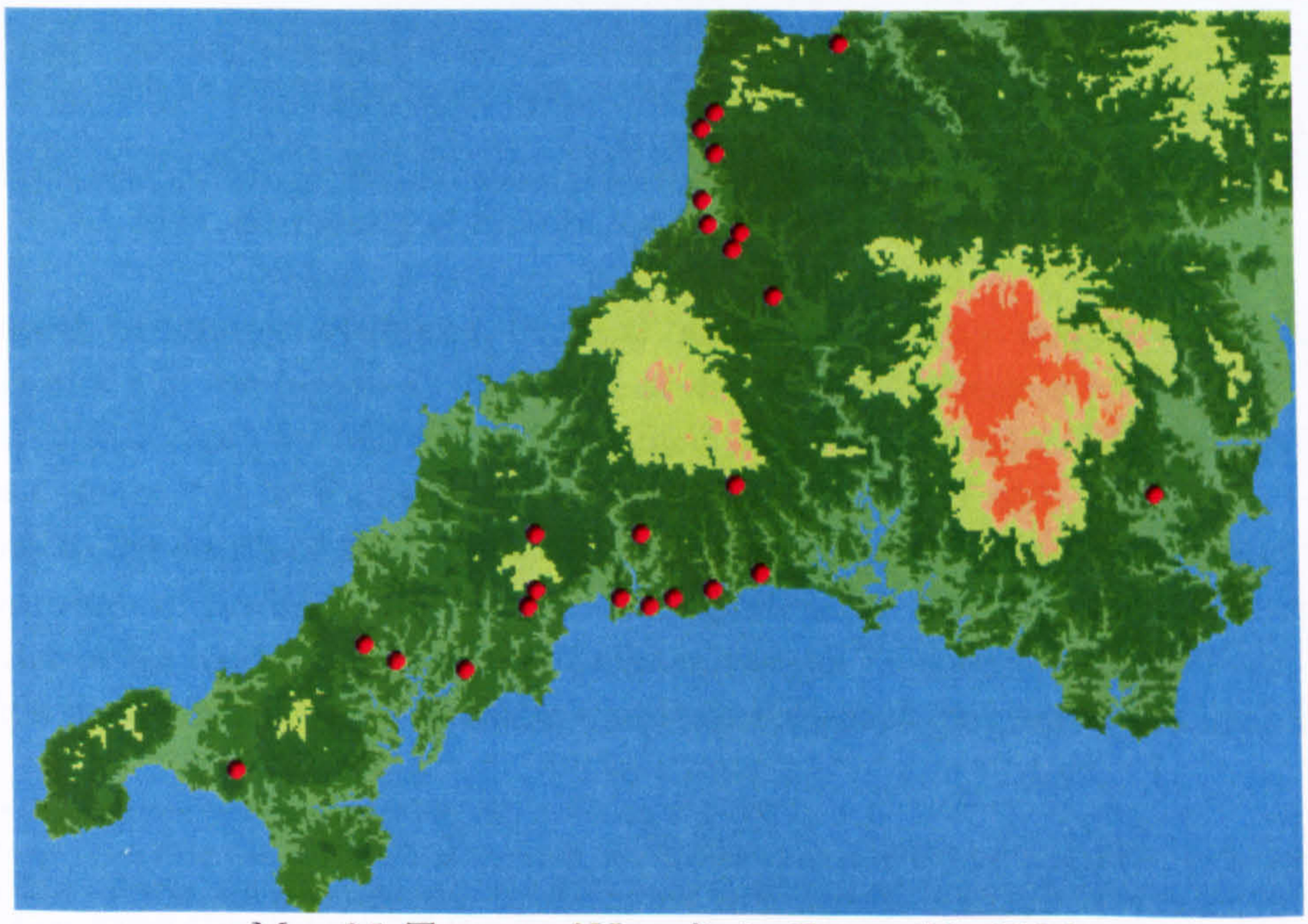
[85] A number of other manors had been acquired from the *terra regis*, implying a weak royal presence in the region. However, royal authority was not totally lacking. Domesday Book reveals that Earl Harold had seized a hide of land from St. Petroc's before 1066, and that the Conqueror had ordered a judicial enquiry to be launched in order to restore the land to its rightful owner. *DB Cornwall* (4,21).

[86] *DB Cornwall* (1,1n).

In Pawton Hundred, the Count held a number of manors from St. Petroc's, although the reality of the church's overlordship is doubtful in view of the fact that the Count had seized nearby manors from the same institution. Such manors may have been acquired to aid the defence of the north Cornish coastline between the Reen Sands and Watergate Bay, although their economic value to the count should also be considered. Coastal defence may also have been an important factor in the Count's tenure of St. Petroc's manor of Bossiney in Stratton Hundred, with Bossiney Haven a potentially vulnerable point of access. Archaeological evidence reveals a small early Anglo-Norman ringwork castle there, which may have existed in 1086.[87]

* * *

In addition to Reginald of Vautortes, the three other major tenants of the Count in Cornwall were Hamelin, Richard son of Thorold and Thurstan the sheriff. All three men were probably engaged in the administration of the Count's land in the county, and the concentration of their possessions in south-western England makes it seem likely that they were permanent residents in the area. Hamelin held a fairly compact block of land in eight vills in the north of Stratton Hundred, perhaps granted to protect the coastline between Widemouth Bay and the north Devon border. Four more tenancies stretched south-eastwards towards Launceston Castle as far as Boyton. His substantial Devon tenancy of Alwington, located by Bideford Bay in the north-west of the county, was probably associated with this Cornish block of land, possibly as the base from which he advanced into Cornwall.



Map 35: Tenancy of Hamelin in Cornwall in 1086

Hamelin held a second series of fourteen tenancies stretching along the southern coast of Cornwall, guarding Seaton Beach, the River Fowey, St. Austell Bay, Falmouth Bay and the River Kenwyn. Two had been held by Brictric in 1066, who was also Hamelin's predecessor in two other manors. Of those five tenancies which Brictric lost after 1066, all but one passed to Hamelin, which suggests that the formation of Hamelin's tenancy was loosely based on the pre-Conquest situation. The concentration of Hamelin's land in both northern and southern coastal areas

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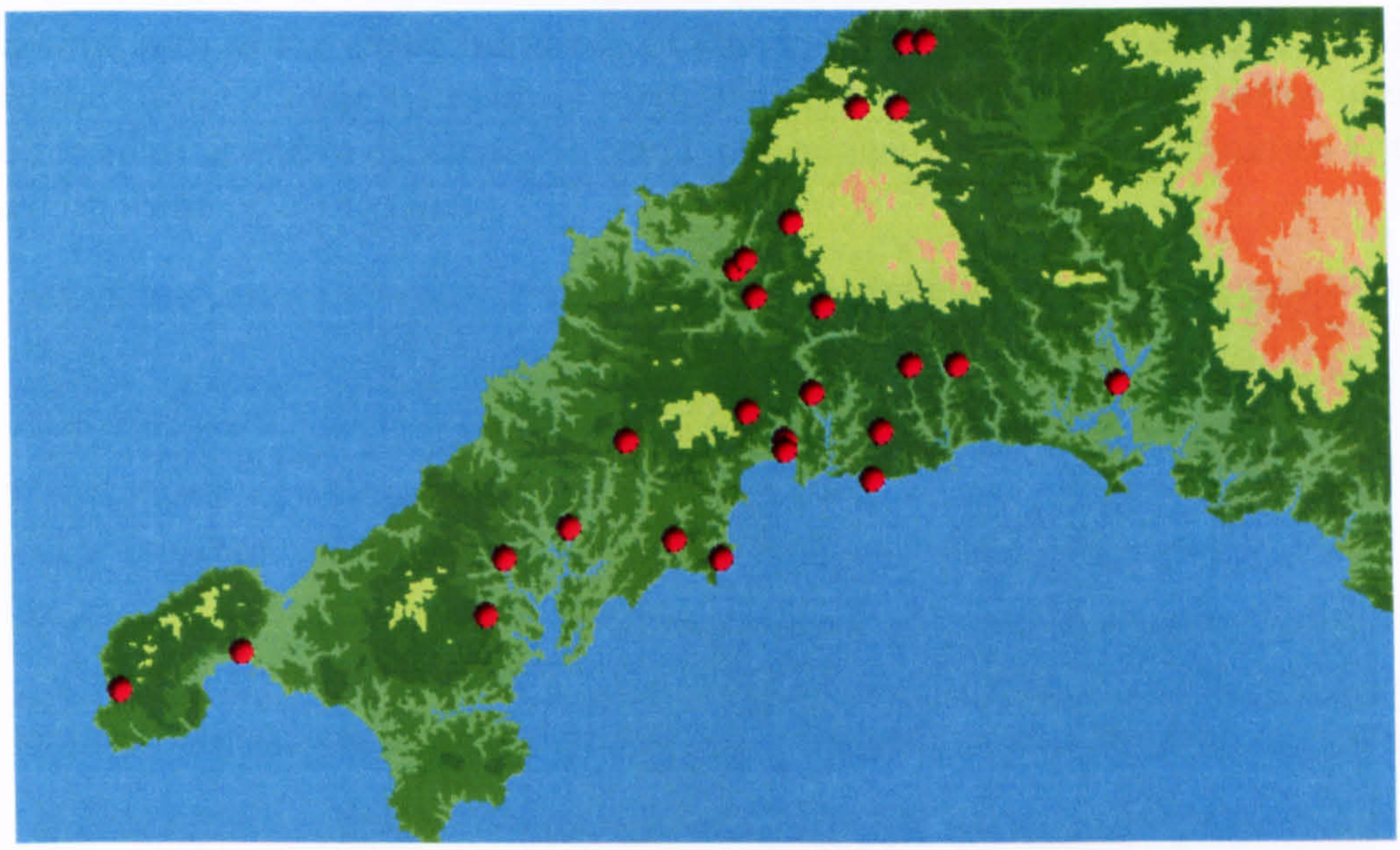
[87] *Chateau-Gaillard European Castle Studies III*, ed. Taylor, 103.

suggests a role in defence. His emergence in the south-west was perhaps due to an association with Richard son of Thorold in Normandy.[88]

Richard son of Thorold possessed 29 tenancies throughout Cornwall, their scattering perhaps a deliberate policy in view of his position as steward, responsible for the supervision of the Count's demesne and the administration of the shire.[89] He seems to have originated from Anjou, although his tenure of land in Devon from Baldwin of Meulles hints at west Norman connections.[90] His father Thorold witnessed one of the Count's charters granting St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall to the Abbey of Mont Saint-Michel which, if authentic, dates from c.1070, suggesting that his family were early arrivals in Cornwall.[91]



Map 36: Tenancy of Richard son of Thorold in Cornwall in 1086

In the north of Stratton Hundred, Richard held four neighbouring vills forming a compact block in the region to the north of the granite uplands of Bodmin Moor.[92] Penhallym and Week St. Mary both contained small early Anglo-Norman ringworks, perhaps constructed by Richard before 1086.[93] Richard held another group of five tenancies to the south of Bodmin Moor, where proximity to the River Camel and the small borough of Bodmin may have been a significant factor in his acquisition. The remainder of his land was located in southern coastal hundreds, ranging from Landulph in the far east by Trematon Castle to Kelynack just north of Lands End.[94]

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[88] Keats-Rohan pointed out that, as Hamelin of Cornwall, he witnessed a charter of Richard's concerning the church of Damblainville in Calvados, and indeed may have been the Hamelin fitz William who held the church from Richard under Alan de Ducey. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 243. Hamelin was later to become sheriff of Cornwall, serving under William of Mortain.

[89] For his position as steward, see Mason, 'Barons and their officials in the later eleventh century', *ANS*, vol.13 (1991), 246.

[90] It is likely that he founded the priory of St. Andrew at Tywardreath in Cornwall as a dependency of Angers Abbey. For a discussion of the origins of the priory of Tywardreth, see *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Caley, Ellis and Bandinel, iv, 654-8.

[91] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.213; *Cartulary of St. Michael's Mount*, ed. Hull, nos.1 and 62. Hull claimed it could be a genuine William I diploma issued before the death of William fitz Osbern, who appeared as a witness. Bates concluded, however, that the idiosyncracies of the text made it seem more likely that it was a twelfth century fabrication, although possibly based on a genuine grant during the Conqueror's reign.

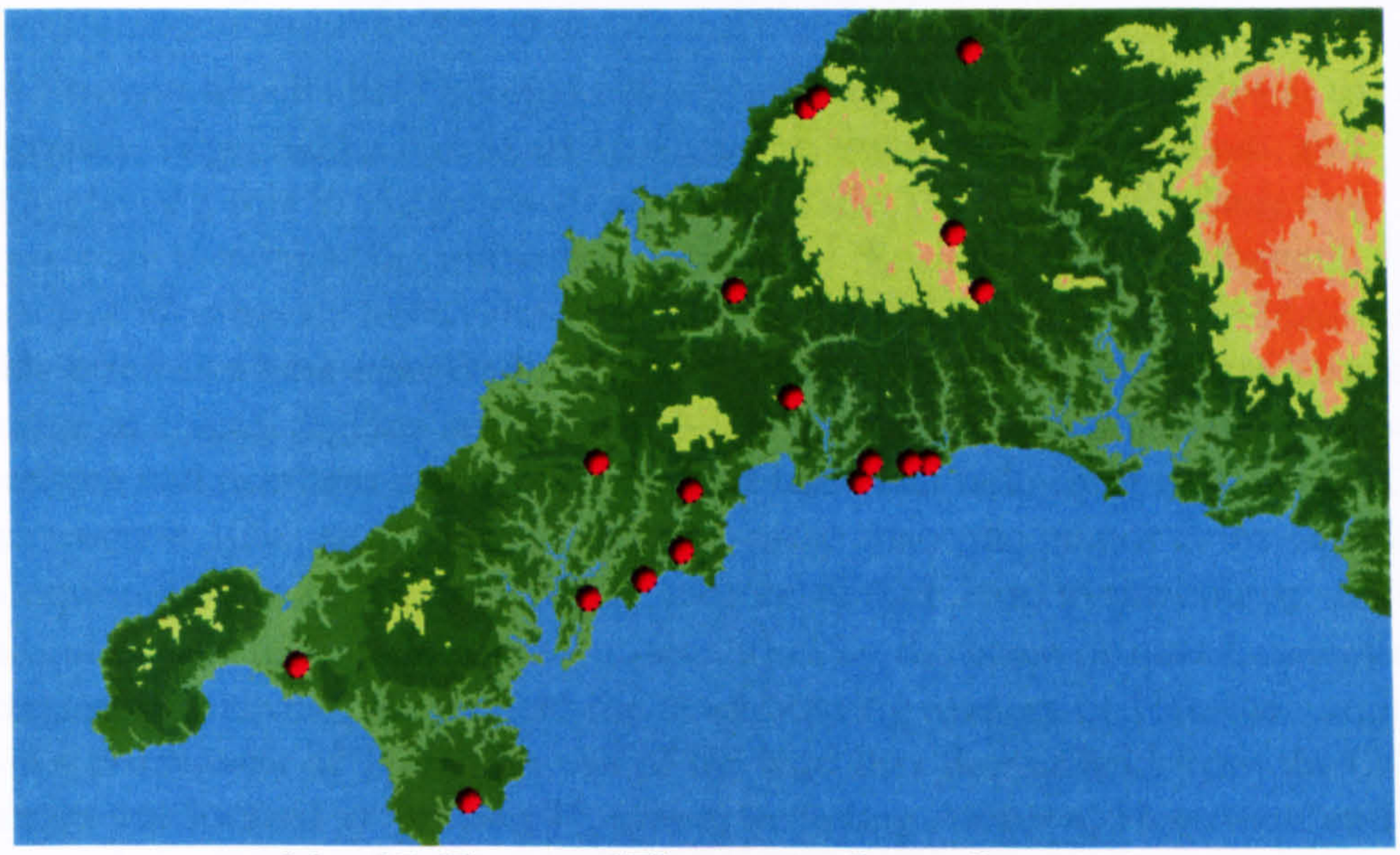
[92] Cola was the former tenant of Week St. Mary, and of the four tenancies that he lost in Cornwall after 1066, all passed to Richard. In view of the fact that these were scattered across the hundreds of Fawton, Rillaton and Stratton, an antecessorial connection is likely.

[93] *Chateau-Gaillard European Castle Studies III*, ed. Taylor, 103.

[94] Kelynack had been held by Godric in 1066, who was also Richard's predecessor in the neighbouring vills of Goviley and Tucoyse in Tybesta Hundred. One of the lands that Godric held from the Canons of Bodmin in 1066 had also passed to, or was seized by, Richard. The geographical spread of these four vills makes an antecessorial connection between Godric and Richard seem likely.

Polscoe was located on the eastern bank of the River Fowey, and contained a small early Anglo-Norman ringwork that may have been built by Richard.[95] The four tenancies of Bodiggo, Lanescot, Treverbyn and Tywardreath formed an arc around St. Austell Bay.[96] Goviley and Tocoyse were located just inland of Veryan Bay, and Alwin's former holding of Bodrugan was located just west of this in Mevagissey Bay. Richard's tenancy of Lizard was especially significant in view of its location at the most southerly point of England.

Thurstan was involved in the adminstration of the shire and the Count's demesne land in his capacity as sheriff of Cornwall. Like Thorold, he witnessed the Count's charter in favour of Mont Saint-Michel, which, if genuine, dates his appointment as sheriff to before 1071.[97] He held 24 manors from the Count, again scattered throughout each of the seven hundreds of the shire. The proximity of much of his land to the Count's demesne manors suggests that his fief was mainly created with a desire for administrative efficiency in mind, although a role in coastal defence is also implied by some of his tenancies.



Map 37: Tenancy of Thurstan in Cornwall in 1086

Thurstan held a group of manors around the River Fowey along the southern coastline. Lantivet, Trenderway and Trenewen lay between the rivers Looe and Fowey, and further inland Bodardle guarded the western bank of the Fowey. Further west along the coast, manors protected St. Austell Bay, Veryan Bay and the River Fal. In the far south-west of Cornwall, he held the two manors of Gurlyn and Trelan, and four of the lands that were attached to the former royal manor of Winnianton, all in the Lizard peninsula.

Thurstan also held a few manors along the northern coast of Cornwall, among them Tregona, which was close to the beach between Berryl's Point and Park Head, and Amble and Pencarrow, by the River Camel on the approach to Bodmin. Thurstan's receipt of these manors was perhaps due to their proximity to Bodmin, for it would have been important for the sheriff to have a base near the main urban centre of

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[95] *Chateau-Gaillard European Castle Studies III*, ed. Taylor, 103.
[96] Treverbyn and Tywardreath were probably gained as a result of their former tenure by Alwin and Cola, but the other two holdings were perhaps subsequently acquired from Aelfric and Albert to enhance the security of the bay.
[97] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.213.

Cornwall. In Stratton Hundred, Thurstan held Minster and St. Juliot just inland of Boscastle Harbour and Trebarfoote near Dizzard Point.

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The Count's forty other tenants in Cornwall held smaller amounts of land, possibly because of their lower status, their later arrival in the county, or the concentration of the bulk of their tenancy in other south-western counties. Among the latter were three Breton tenants, the majority of whose land was located on the north coast in the vicinity of Port Isaac Bay. Alfred the butler, the Count's tenant in nine counties, he held a compact group of six neighbouring manors in the north of Stratton hundred, located just inland of Bude Haven, and a manor further south between the bays of Port Quin and Port Isaac. His seven manors had been held by six different men in 1066, proving that his Cornish fief was a post-Conquest creation not influenced by earlier tenure. Blohin held a compact group of four neighbouring tenancies along the north coast near Port Isaac Bay, and Brian held a compact group of three tenancies guarding the coast around Widemouth Bay.

Several Norman tenants held compact blocks of land near the two castles in the east of the county. Nigel held a line of six tenancies to the west of Launceston, and probably played a role in the garrisoning of the castle. Polyphant, Tredaule and Trevague were located in the immediate vicinity of the castle, and Rosebenault, Trenuth and Worthyvale led westwards towards the coast. His tenancy of Lancarffe probably acted as a base near Bodmin, and the location of Galowras, Roscarrock and Woolstone in coastal regions implies that Nigel played a role in the defence of both the southern and northern coastlines. His land had been held by at least seven different men in 1066, and where he did gain more than one manor from a single pre-Conquest lord, in no instance did he acquire all their land in the county. All of Odo's land in eastern Cornwall was located either by the coast or near Launceston and Trematon. Likewise, Roger held the neighbouring manors of Hammett and Leigh just north-west of Trematon. All of the land that Berner held from the Count of Mortain was located in Stratton Hundred, including Alvacott, Hornacott and Westcott a few miles north of Launceston.

A number of the Count's tenants had been present in the county before 1066, and their survival, and in several cases receipt of land after 1066, suggests a reluctance amongst many of the Count's continental followers to expand their tenancies into the more hostile territory of western Cornwall. Although the area was vulnerable because of the vast lengths of coastline, its distance from the centre of government and its poor soils and sparse population made it unattractive to settlers, and the Count was probably happy to entrust responsibility for coastal defence to natives accumstomed to the hostile environment. For example, the Englishman Alnoth lost land in the regions around Launceston and Trematon, but maintained control of Tolgullow and Trescowe in Winniantonin the far south-west and gained the three manors of Dizzard, Trehudreth and Woolston.[98]

* * *

[98] The possibility that there was more than one Alnoth in Cornwall in 1086 should not be dismissed, for Woolston is separated from the rest of Alnoth's land by the land of Ednoth. However, all three may represent one individual, therefore adding Pengelly to both Alnoth's 1066 and 1086 possessions. *DB Cornwall (17-19).*

Along the northern coastline of Devon and Somerset, there were a number of vulnerable points of access where it would have been necessary to make adequate provision for defence. In Devon, Watchet had been pillaged by Danish pirates in 988 and 997, and Porlock was plundered by Earl Harold from Ireland in 1052.[99] The River Taw was perhaps used by Harold's sons during their attack from Ireland in 1069.[100] In Somerset, the River Avon was also susceptible to attack, having formed the target for Harold's sons in their earlier assault on the south-west in 1068.[101] The Bristol Channel provided an important opening for enemy attack from the Irish Sea. Although the channel was difficult to navigate and had no ports capable of receiving large fleets, small scale raids were possible along the coastline, and the area had been subject to occasional raids throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries.[102]

The Count of Mortain held a series of manors in the north-western coastal region of Devon and south towards Okehampton. Ansger the Breton held land in five vills in Shebbear Hundred from the Count, of which four were in a compact group between Bideford Bay and the River Torridge. Edmer Ator's former manor of Buckland Brewer seems to have been the focus, and Edmer was also Ansger's predecessor in the neighbouring vill of East Putford, as well as a tenancy in Dorset and Somerset. Edmer Ator is named as the Count's predecessor in the main Domesday text and in the *terrae occupatae,* and he was also succeeded by Robert in Buckinghamshire, Cornwall, Dorset, Hertfordshire and Middlesex.[103] Alfred the butler held the neighbouring tenancies of Frizenham and Little Torrington just west of the Torridge in Shebbear Hundred, and may have been the Alfred holding nearby Monkleigh. Frizenham had been held by Edmer Ator in 1066, as well as four of his other Devonshire tenancies. The Count's other tenants in the north-west held less land, with the bulk of their possessions outside the region. Viewed as a whole, the Count's land in northern Devon seems to have been designed to defend the northern coastal region and the approaches to Okehampton and Exeter, and was based upon the receipt of a significant proportion of the Devonshire lands of Edmer Ator and Ordwulf.

* * *

In the region to the north of the Taw and around Barnstaple in Devon, the Bishop of Coutances was a prominent landholder. Geoffrey of Mowbray was from Montbrai in Manche, and Le Patourel suggests that he may have been one of those men who "held a position of regular authority in England, a position which later developed into the office of justiciar".[104] He was present as chief chaplain at Hastings, and his military role is demonstrated by his involvement in the suppression of unrest in the south-west in 1069 and his command of troops occupying Norwich Castle after its surrender in 1075.[105]

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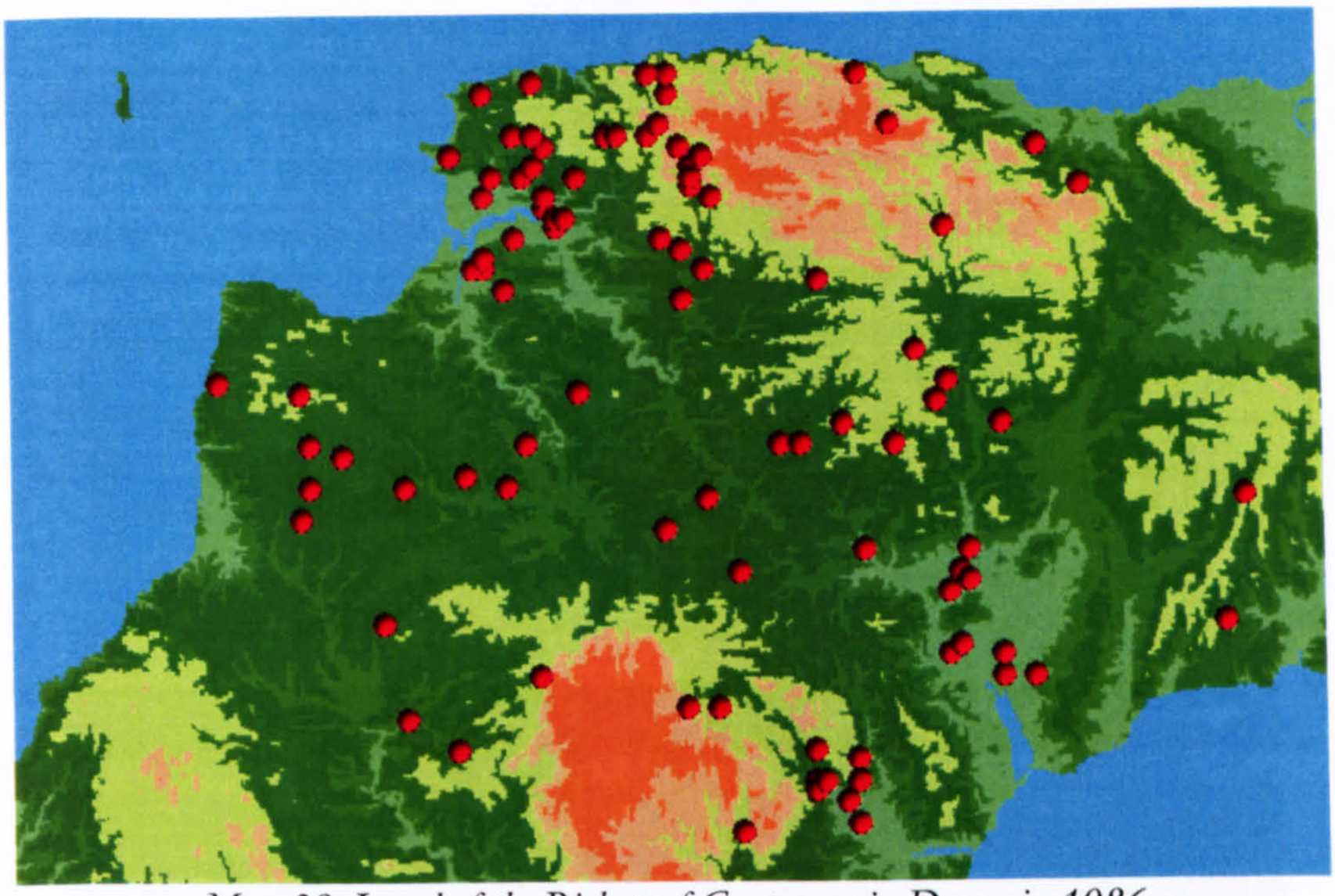
[99] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS C,* ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 86; 88; *Henry of Huntingdon,* ed. Greenway, 376.
[100] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D,* ed. Cubbin, 84. Ann Williams has suggested that the Taw in north Devon was an error for Tavy in south Devon. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest,* 35n.
[101] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D,* ed. Cubbin, 83; *Chronicle of John of Worcester,* ed. McGurk, pp.6-9.
[102] In 997 the Danes sailed around Lands End to the mouth of the Severn, ravaging Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and South Wales, and in 1003 they ravaged Wiltshire from the Bristol Channel, pillaging and burning Salisbury and Wilton in the process. In 1052 John of Worcester reveals that Earls Harold and Leofwin came across from Ireland to the River Severn with many ships, and "landed on the borders of Somerset and Dorset and plundered many townships and fields in those parts". *Chronicle of John of Worcester,* ed. Darlington and McGurk,ii, 567; *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS C,* ed. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 90.
[103] In Devon, the Count was said to hold seventeen lands "with Edmer Ator's land which was handed over to him", even though the pre-Conquest lords held freely before 1066. *DB Devon* (15,15n; 31). Disputes over commendation seem to have been a common feature of many of the Count's acquisitions through Edmer Ator. See, for example, *DB Devon* (15,17-18).
[104] Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray, Bishop of Coutances, 1049-1093', *EHR,* vol.59 (1944), 150.
[105] For an account of his activities, see Le Patourel, *ibid.,* pp.129-161.



Map 38: Land of the Bishop of Coutances in Devon in 1086

The Bishop of Coutances held Earl Harold's former manor of Fremington in demesne on the southern bank of the Taw estuary on the approach to Barnstaple. He also held land and houses in the royal borough, and received customary dues from the burgesses.[106] Domesday Book's statement that Barnstaple paid as much service as the boroughs of Lydford and Totnes if an expedition went out by land or sea hints at the Bishop's military responsibilities.[107] Furthermore, reference to destroyed houses raises the possibility that a castle had been constructed in the borough prior to 1086, although there is no evidence for a fortification there before the turn of the century.

To the north of the Taw and towards Exmoor, all of the Bishop's 37 manors were held of him by Drogo son of Mauger of Carteret. Carteret, like Coutances, was in Manche, which suggests a connection between the two men on the continent. As Tables 3 and 4 demonstrate, Drogo held a significant proportion of land in the hundreds of Braunton and Shirwell, forming a compact coastal tenancy.

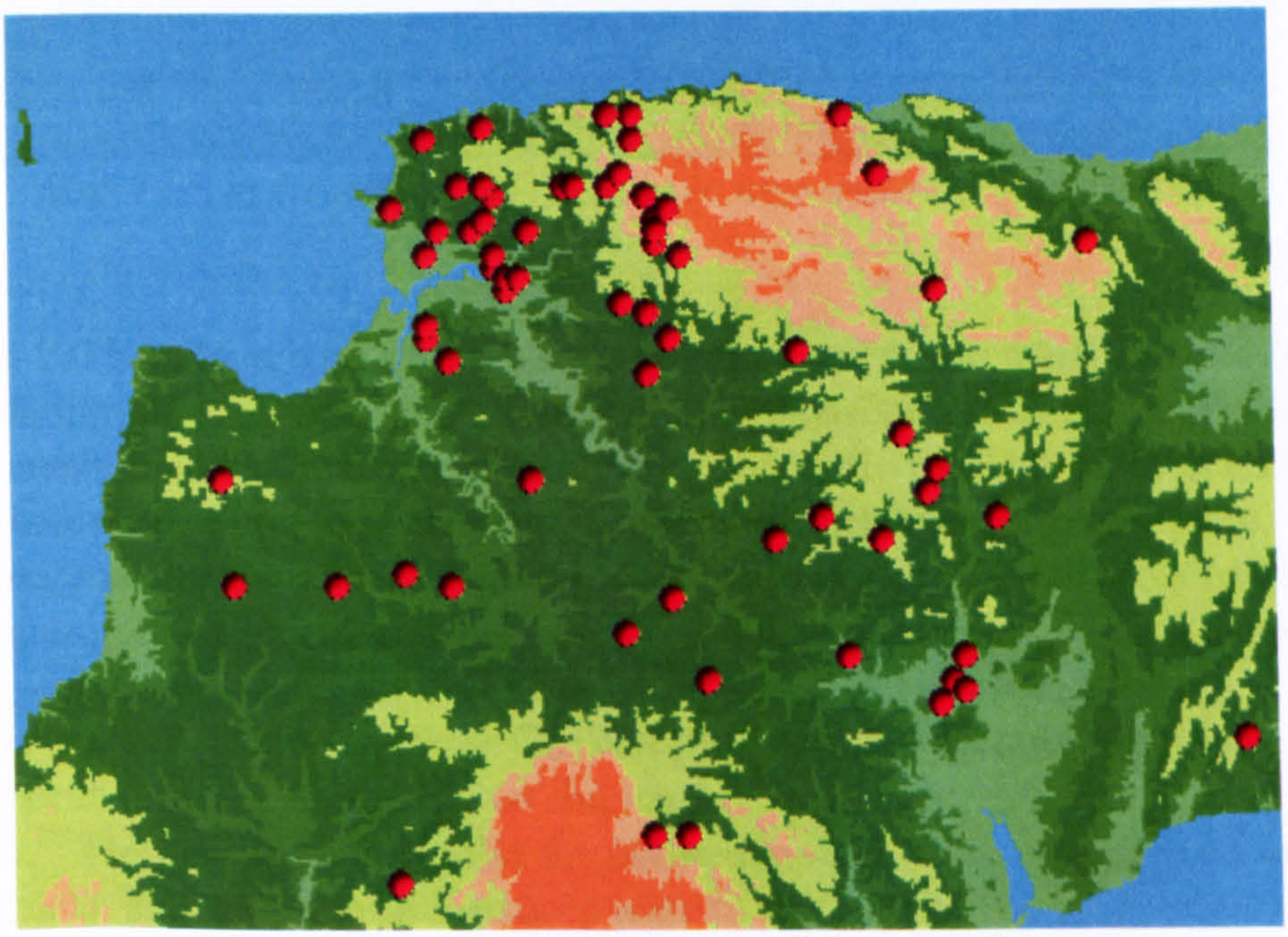
Tenant in Chief	Hides	Value (£)	% Hides	% Value
Baldwin the Sheriff	11.3	25.4	24.33	17.94
Bishop of Coutances (and Drogo from him)	10.0	23.6	21.53	16.67
William Cheever	3.5	18.8	7.54	13.28
Count of Mortain	2.5	13.0	6.46	5.86
Walter of Douai	3.0	8.3	5.60	4.94
Ralph of Limesy	3.0	7.6	6.46	5.37
William of Falaise	2.6	7.0	8.40	4.80
Theobald son of Berner	3.9	6.8	5.38	9.18

Table 3: Distribution of land in Braunton Hundred in North Devon in 1086

[106] Those with comital authority in pre-Conquest England often held a third of the revenues of royal boroughs.
[107] *DB Devon* (1,2).

Tenant in Chief	Hides	Value £	% Hides	% Value
William Cheever	3.5	22.5	8.78	5.91
Ralph of Pomeroy	1.7	9.2	16.88	14.33
Bishop of Coutances (and Drogo from him)	3.4	8.2	22.95	14.69
Baldwin the Sheriff	2.5	8.0	11.48	16.48
Alfred of Spain	1.3	3.3	23.63	40.30
William of Poilley	1.8	2.5	3.38	3.58
William of Falaise	0.5	2.0	12.15	4.48

Table 4: Distribution of land in Shirwell Hundred in North Devon in 1086

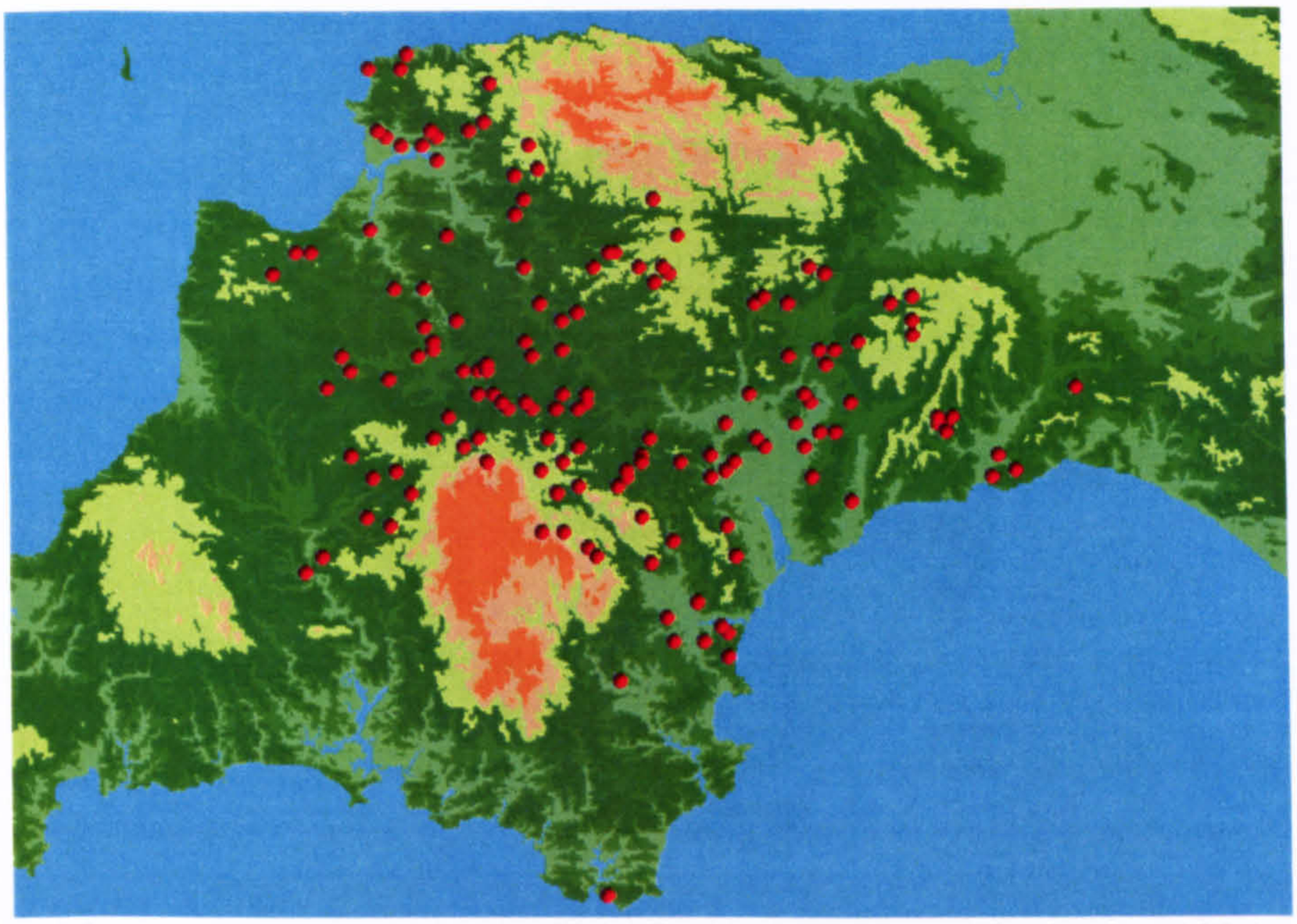


Map 39: Land held by Drogo son of Mauger of Carteret from the Bishop of Coutances in 1086

* * *

The only tenant-in-chief in Braunton Hundred in possession of more land than the Bishop of Coutances was Baldwin of Meulles, the sheriff of Devon and husband of Albreda, the Conqueror's cousin.[108] In Braunton, he held nearly a quarter of the hidage and nearly a fifth of the value of the hundred, and the percentage of neighbouring Shirwell Hundred in his hands was only slightly less.

[108] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, iv, 208. For his position as sheriff of Devon, see *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.14 (version I). The authenticity of Version II is doubted by Bates, and thus the date 1070 can not be accepted as certain.



Map 40: The fief of Baldwin of Meulles in south-western England in 1086

Although Baldwin held land throughout northern Devon, the main focus of his fief was Okehampton, a compact inland lordship that guarded the road west from Exeter into Cornwall. Baldwin held an especially compact series of manors between Exeter and Okehampton, along the valley of the Torre towards the north coast and Barnstaple, and south-west of Okehampton towards Cornwall. He was dominant in the two hundreds of North Tawton and Wonford, which separated Exeter and Okehampton, as well as in the east of Black Torrington Hundred near Okehampton.[109] Baldwin's castle at Okehampton is mentioned in Domesday Book, and was located by the River Taw on the road leading west from Exeter into Cornwall.[110] He was also involved in the construction and subsequent garrisoning of Exeter Castle, and several of his manors were in the vicinity.[111]

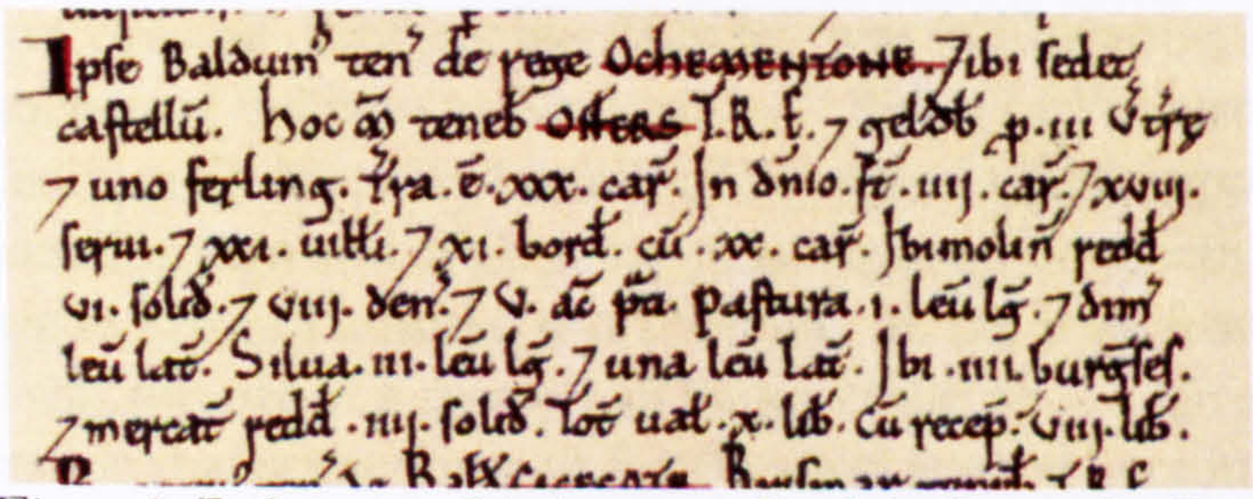


Figure 9: Reference to Okehampton Castle in Domesday Book

Pre-Conquest tenurial arrangements appear to have had little influence upon the formation of Baldwin's fief. Although he gained several manors from Aelmer, Brictmer, Brictric, Godwin, Osferth, Siward and Ulf, assuming these common names each represent one individual, he did not gain all of their land in Devon. The concentration of his land around Exeter and Okehampton and along roads and rivers leading to and from them suggests that his fief was constructed primarily to defend Exeter and Okehampton and their communications.

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[109] He held land in 14 and 26 vills respectively in the hundreds of North Tawton and Wonford. Although he only held 24% of the hidage of North Tawton and 32% of the hidage of Wonford, the fact that his holdings tended to be small and of low value disguises his dominance in the area.

[110] *DB Devon* (16,3).

[111] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 181.

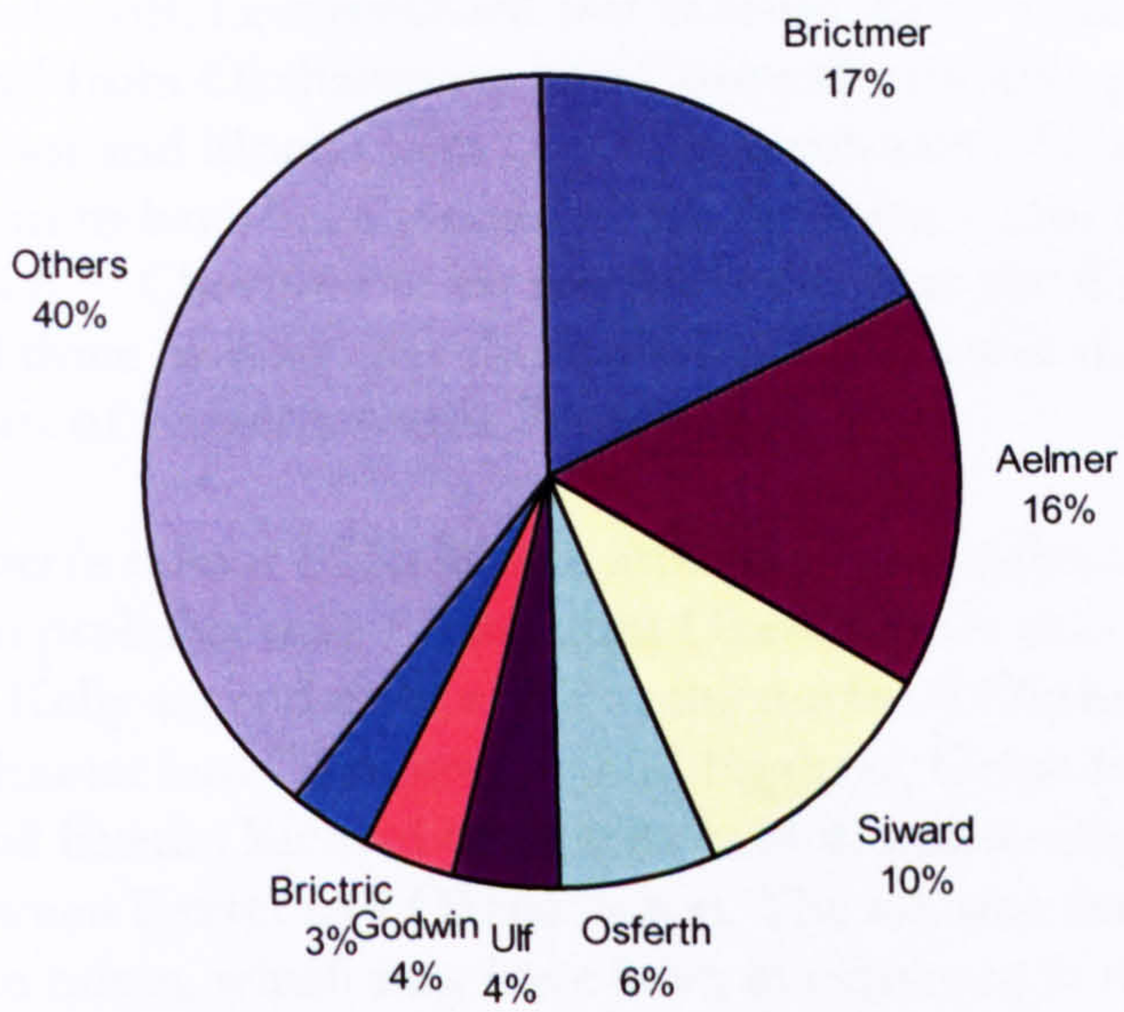

Figure 10: Baldwin the sheriff's pre-Conquest predecessors in Devon

Baldwin kept the most valuable manors in demesne, and also retained a scattering of other manors throughout his fief in his own hands that probably acted as administrative bases from which to supervise the activities of his tenants and to aid movement throughout the shire.[112] A number of tenants possessed land in the Okehampton region, and may have served at the castle under Baldwin in a military capacity. Otelin's manor of Inwardleigh lay just north of Okehampton, and Burston lay near the road between Exeter and Okehampton.[113] Stephen held Clifford between Exeter and Okehampton.[114] Ralph of Bruyère's tenancies of Appledore and Broadnymett lay by the road between Exeter and Okehampton. Heanton Satchville lay to the north of Okehampton near the River Torridge, and Dunterton, in the far west of the county by the River Tamar, was near the road running south-west of Okehampton into Cornwall. Bruyère, like Meulles, was in Calvados, suggesting that Ralph was an associate of Baldwin in Normandy.[115] Ralph of Pomeroy's tenancies of Hittisleigh and Tedburn St. Mary lay between Exeter and Okehampton, while to the north of this Clannaborough and Walson lay near the road connecting the two castles. Bridestowe in Lifton Hundred was probably on the road from Okehampton into Cornwall. It was the site of a motte and bailey castle on a ridge at an unspecified date, and it is possible that some form of fortification existed here in the late eleventh century.[116] When considered alongside the land which he held in chief in the north of the county, it is clear that Ralph of Pomeroy played an important role in the military organisation of the shire.

Roger of Meulles, possibly Baldwin's brother, held a series of manors between Okehampton and the Cornish border. His manor of Exbourne lay just north of

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[112] The honour of Okehampton was later held by the Courtenay family, and in 1166 had over 92 fees *de veteri*. Sanders, *English Baronies*, 69; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, i, 251-4.
[113] His main block of land was to the north-east of Exeter, where he held Clyst Hydon to the east of the River Culm and a compact group of four manors in Hemyock Hundred further along the river near the Somerset border.
[114] He also held Haccombe and Ringmore on the southern bank of the Teign in the south-east. The William son of Stephen who held one fee of the honour of Okehampton in 1166 was probably his direct descendant. *Ibid.*
[115] His successor Antony of Bruyère held five fees of the honour of Okehampton in 1166. *Ibid.*, i, 252.
[116] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, 115.

Okehampton and the two manors of Highampton and Lashbrook further east. To the south, he held Chichacott, Lewtrenchard and Warson, all of which were located in the area where a road from Okehampton into Cornwall probably passed. Rogo's manors of Bernardsmoor and Monk Culm lay to the north-east of Exeter, and although now lost, seem to have been located along the River Culm between Silverton and Bradninch.[117] Chevithorne lay further north near the Exe in Tiverton Hundred, and he held three manors near the Somerset border and the manor of Colwell by the road east of Exeter towards Fosse Way.

Modbert son of Lambert's manor of Kelly was around fifteen miles to the south-west of Okehampton, again probably near a road from Okehampton into Cornwall. He also held Broadwood Kelly around eight miles to the north of Okehampton, Halse by the road between Exeter and Okehampton and Eggbeer, Great Fulford and Uppacott to the east of Exeter. Richard of Néville held Wembworthy, a few miles north of the road between Exeter and Okehampton. The vill was the site of two ringworks of uncertain origin, which may have been in existence in the early Anglo-Norman period.[118] The Richard who is named as a tenant of four other holdings in the Okehampton region, including Brixton and Middlecott near a possible route from Exeter towards Barnstaple and the north coast, was perhaps Richard of Néville.[119]

Robert of Beaumont and Robert of Pontchardon held four tenancies from Baldwin in northern Devon.[120] Robert of Pontchardon held Haggington to the west of Sandy Bay, Heanton on the northern bank of the Taw estuary, and Blakewell just north of Barnstaple. Robert of Beaumont's manor of Ashford lay on the northern bank of the Taw estuary, and his tenancies at Loxhore and Shirwell were located on either side of the River Yeo to the north-east of Barnstaple. Loxhore is named as the site of a small ringwork, and although the manor was neither populous nor especially valuable, there may have been some form of minor fortification there in the late eleventh century.

* * *

Two other tenants-in-chief with notable possessions along the northern coast of Devon and into Somerset were Ralph of Pomeroy and William Cheever.[121] The brothers seem to have been tenants of the Count of Mortain on the continent, for the *Infeudationes Militum* reveal that Henry of Pomeroy held land of the honour of Mortain in 1172.[122] In Shirwell Hundred in Devon, William held more land, in terms of both hidage and value, than the Bishop of Coutances.[123] Ralph was also a prominent landholder there, holding land worth over £9 that represented 16% of the landed value of the hundred.

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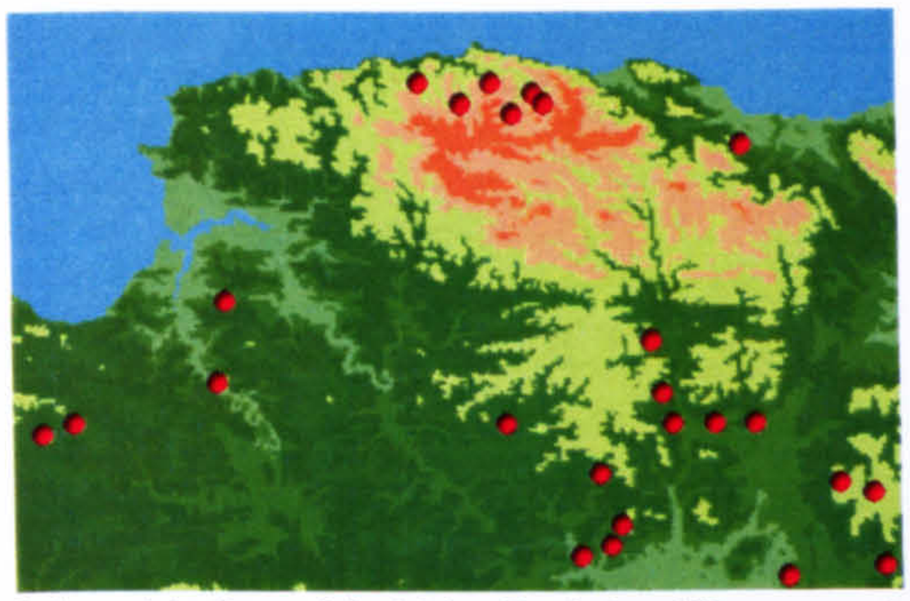
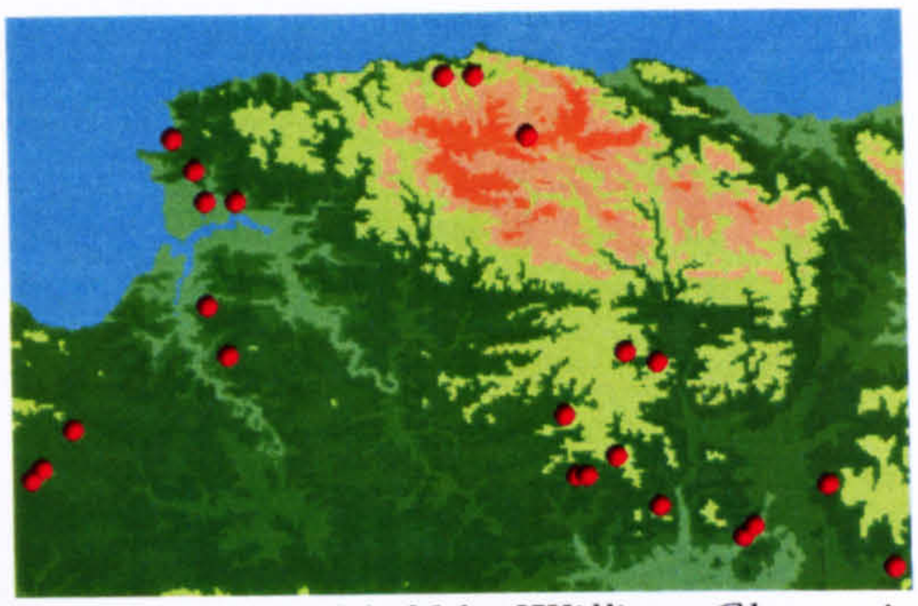
[117] Rogo was probably the father of Simon son of Rogo who held five fees of the honour of Okehampton in 1166. *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, i, 251.
[118] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, 120.
[119] The possibility that the holder of some of these manors was Richard fitz Thorold should not be dismissed. He certainly held Martin a few miles south of the road between Exeter.
[120] Their successors by 1166 were Thomas of Beaumont and William of Pontchardon, both of whom held four fees of the honour of Okehampton. *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, i, 252.
[121] Ralph of Pomeroy, we have seen, held a considerable amount of land from the Count of Mortain and Baldwin the sheriff elsewhere in the south-west. See above, p.100; 112.
[122] *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, ii, 635. Their Devon land was scattered across northern and eastern Devon, with concentrations in both northern and southern coastal regions and around Exeter.
[123] He held 24% of the hidage and 40% of the value of the hundred.



Map 41: Land held by Ralph of Pomeroy in chief in northern Devon and Somerset in 1086



Map 42: Land held by William Cheever in chief in northern Devon in 1086

The focus of Ralph of Pomeroy's land in Shirwell was the coastal manor of Brendon. Caffyns Heanton lay to the west by Lee Bay, and Cheriton lay a short distance inland of Lynmouth Bay. William Cheever held four manors in the same vicinity, one of which was held of him by Fulcwold. Across the border in Somerset, Ralph held the neighbouring manors of Oare and Stowey, by the coast just west of Porlock Bay. The vulnerability of the bay is demonstrated by Earl Harold's raid from Ireland in 1052.[124] William and Ralph therefore dominated the eight miles of coast along the Bristol Channel from Lee Bay in Devon to Gore Point in Somerset.[125]

Ralph and William's possessions in the area experienced a considerable rise in value between their date of acquisition and 1086, suggesting a depressed economic state at the earlier date. William's three demesne manors in Devon were worth under £5 when acquired, but by 1086 were valued at £15. One, Badgworthy, had been waste. Ralph's four manors had increased in value from £4 to over £10. It seems likely that their land was among those manors that suffered as a result of Harold's sons' assault upon Devon and Somerset in 1068.[126] The manors may have been distributed thereafter to ensure their recovery and the effective defence of the region against any future assaults.[127] The brothers' land seems to have been loosely based on the former possessions of Alward son of Toki and Viking, which formed 24% of the hidage of William's fief and 15% of Ralph's fief. However, there are several other references to Alward that could be the same man, and his land is likely to have passed to many post-Conquest lords. The remainder of their land was obtained from a number of pre-Conquest lords, suggesting territorial consolidation to form two small and compact coastal lordships.

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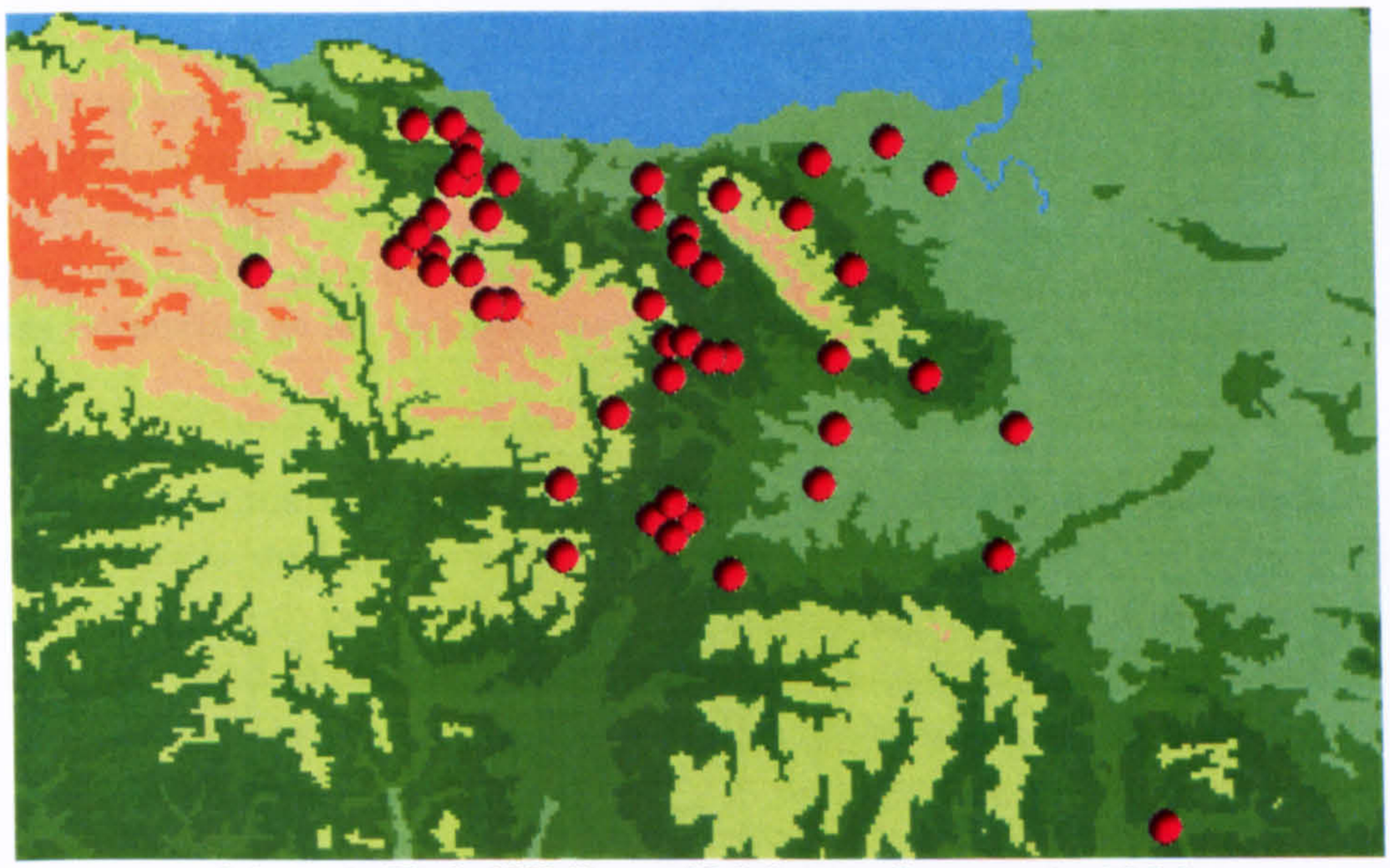
[124] *Henry of Huntingdon*, ed. Greenway, 376.

[125] William also held the two demesne manors of North Buckland and Woolacombe in Braunton Hundred in Somerset, guarding Morte Bay and Woolacombe Sands, and the two tenants to the south of this at Ash and Buckland, Ralph and Godfrey, were perhaps involved in the defence of the northern bank of the Taw estuary. The brothers' land was perhaps originally granted to their father, for villages were often divided between them both (for example Awliscombe and West Putford) and they shared predecessors (for example Alward son of Toki and Viking). Fourteen names of pre-Conquest holders are common to the fiefs of both brothers, among them Aelmer, Burgred, Edwin, Saemer and Wulfnoth.

[126] Some of Roger of Courseulles' land in the same region also seems to have been impoverished, and three neighbouring manors were waste when acquired. Stone, located around five miles inland of Porlock Bay, was still waste in 1086.

[127] For a discussion of Domesday values and their possible connection with resistance to Norman rule and the Conqueror's response, see Bennett, 'Vestiges of the Norman Conquest of Somerset', *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, vol.25 (1879), pp.21-28. He noted the existence of a line of impoverished manors along the northern coast between Porlock and Bristol, which he claimed was due to the attempted invasions of Harold's sons and Norman retaliatory action. His theory was based on the false assumption that Domesday Book's earlier values were those from the time of Edward the Confessor, rather than the value at the time when the manor was first acquired by the incoming tenant. Thus to claim that a decrease in value by 1086 was indicative of the passage of military forces in the late 1060s was inaccurate: the land was more likely to be depressed in value when acquired, subsequently recovering as manors were redeveloped and exploited by their new owners.

A tenant-in-chief with a significant military role in Somerset was the sheriff, William of Mohun. The date of his arrival in the south-west is uncertain, although he was certainly appointed sheriff at some point before 1083 for he witnessed a writ issued by Queen Matilda to Bishop Giso of Wells as sheriff.[128] A west Norman from Moyon in Manche, he is likely to have arrived in the south-west with either the Bishop of Coutances or the Count of Mortain.



Map 43: Fief of William of Mohun in Somerset in 1086

Dunster Castle, which is referred to in Domesday Book as William of Mohun's castle, was located on a tall isolated hill in a region connected to the Bristol Channel by the River Avill.[129] William held a group of six demesne manors within a few miles of the castle. Alcombe, Minehead and Staunton controlled the area to the north-west of Dunster, dominating the coastal region to the west of Dunster Beach. The small manor of Broadwood, located just south of the castle, controlled the approach to Dunster from the south. Cutcombe lay around five miles south-west of Dunster, and along with two minor holdings in Exford may have been located on a route from northern Devon towards the castle. A number of tenants held land from William in the Dunster region, including Roger at Bratton, and Geoffrey at Myne, located between Dunster and Porlock Bay in an area where beach landings were possible. These manors controlled the coastal region several miles west of the port of Dunster.

The area to the south and south-west of Dunster was also dominated by William of Mohun and his tenants. Ralph, described as a man-at-arms in *Exon.*, held a tenancy immediately west of the castle. Richard and Durand's four tenancies formed a compact group around four miles south-west of Dunster.[130] All Durand's land had been held by different men in 1066, suggesting that pre-Conquest tenure had no impact on William of Mohun's enfeoffment strategy. Nigel and Ranulf both held land at Luxborough, and three men-at-arms were the tenants of Langham, located

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[128] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no. 289. He does not appear to have been sheriff during the initial phase of Conquest, for the Bath Abbey writ issued by the King and Earl William, dated 1066 x 1068, is addressed to Tovi the sheriff. *Ibid.*, no.11.

[129] *DB Somerset* (25,2).

[130] A charter in the Bath Cartulary is attested by Durand, William of Mohun's steward, and it is likely that this is the same man. The William son of Durand who held 5½ fees of the honour of Dunster in 1166 is likely to have been his successor. *Bath Cartulary*, ed. Hunt, no.34; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, i, 226.

around five miles south of Dunster. Like the three men-at-arms who held part of the demesne manor of Cutcombe, they probably provided miltary service at Dunster Castle.

To the west of the Quantock Hills, William of Mohun held another group of manors in the coastal region just inland of Watchet. Dodman is said to have held Watchet from William, but the small size and low value of the manor makes it seem unlikely that it was the Watchet mentioned in the *Burghal Hidage*.[131] To the east, William held three demesne manors and a tenancy held by Hugh, together protecting St. Audrie's Bay and the course of the River Doniford several miles inland. William also farmed the three royal manors of Capton, Old Cleeve and Nettlecombe, completing his control of much of the coastal area between Porlock Bay and Watchet. To the south of Watchet, he held a strip of land stretching down to the Devonshire border, all of which was enfeoffed to his tenants Dodman, Manfred, Nigel, Ogis, Ranulf and Thorgils.

Between the Quantock Hills and the Stert Flats, William held the two coastal manors of Kilton and Stockland in demesne, although the ~~*milite*~~ Ralph held part of Kilton miles from him. Stockland in particular would have been important in the defence of Stockland Reach and the River Parrett. To the south of the Quantock Hills were the three valuable demesne manors of Bagborough, Broomfield and East Lydeard, and the tenancies of Hugh and Warmund bridged the gap between these and the coastal tenancies further north. Viewed as a whole, William of Mohun's land in Somerset formed an especially compact coastal lordship, and with Dunster Castle at the heart of the lordship and a number of military tenants in the vicinity, is likely to have performed an important military function.

* * *

Alfred d'Epaignes held a line of manors just east of the Quantock Hills, stretching from the coastal region just east of Watchet towards the River Parrett. The focus was Nether Stowey, which was held by Earl Harold in 1066 and formed the centre of a barony later held by the Colombières family.[132] In 1086, Alfward and Osward remained as mesne-tenants of their former land. Ranulf held three manors from Alfred within a few miles of the coast to the north-west of Nether Stowey, and Herbert's tenancy of Otterhampton lay just to the east on the Parrett estuary. There were also nearby tenancies at Marsh Mills, Plainsfield and Radlet, held by Herbert and Hugh d'Epaignes in 1086. Other tenants in the region, among them Ansger Fower, Ranulf, Richard of Merri, Robert and Alfred's brother Walter, may have contributed to the defence of the coast and the route inland via the Parrett.

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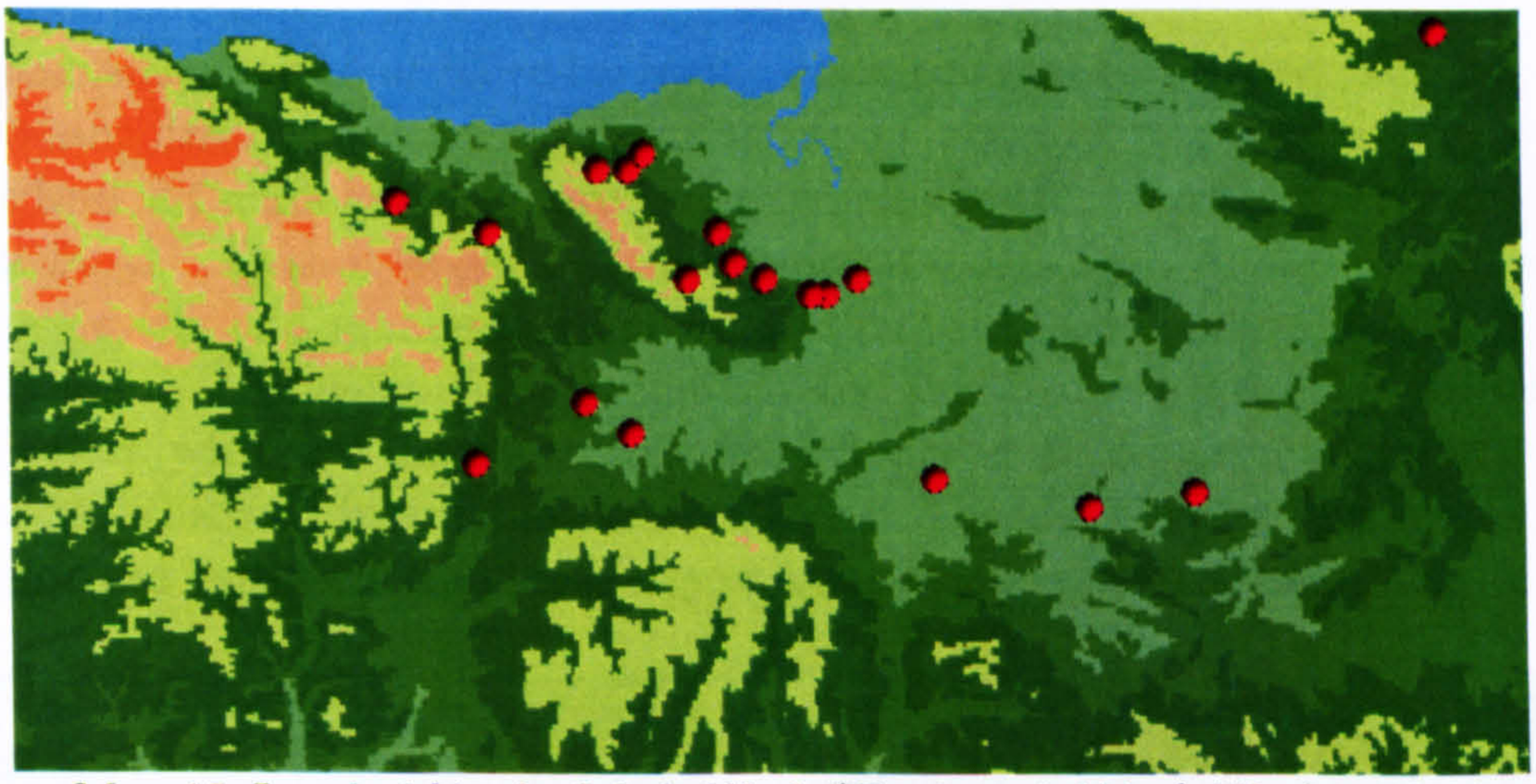
[131] *The Defence of Wessex: The Burghal Hidage*, ed. Hill and Rumble, 27. Alfred's will reveals that there was royal property at Watchet, which makes it seem likely that it was a royal manor whose resources were included in the Domesday entry for the neighbouring royal manor of Old Cleeve. *English Historical Documents to 1042*, i, ed. Douglas and Whitelock, no.96. Loud identified Dodman's holding as Kentsford. Loud, 'Introduction to the Somerset Domesday', *The Somerset Domesday*, 30.
[132] Sanders, *English Baronies*, 67.

Map 44: Land of Alfred d'Epaignes in Somerset in 1086

Although security seems to have been important in the organisation of tenure, the pre-Conquest situation did have some impact on the redistribution of land after 1066. Alfwy the reeve, the son of Banna, was Alfred's predecessor in seventeen manors. Nether Stowey was said to have been "added to Alfwy's lands which Alfred holds", and the 35 hides that had belonged to Alfwy formed nearly 78% of Alfred's Somerset fief. However, he did not gain all of Alfwy's land in the county, some of which passed to Ansger Fower, Roger Arundel and Roger of Courseulles in the same region. It seems that Alfred was granted some of his former land to form a compact coastal lordship protecting the Parrett estuary.[133]



Map 45: Land within the fief of Alfred d'Epaignes held by 'Alfwy' in 1066

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Another individual prominent in the region between Watchet and the River Parrett was Roger of Courseulles, the bulk of whose Somerset fief was concentrated in the region just east of Alfred d'Epaignes' land, protecting the Bristol Channel, Bridgewater Bay and the Parrett. He was from Courseulles-sur-Mer in Calvados, and the fact that a Roger *de Corcella* held five fees of the Bishopric of Bayeux in the Inquest of 1133 makes it seem likely that his father William was established in Somerset through his connections with Odo of Bayeux.[134] As well as the land which

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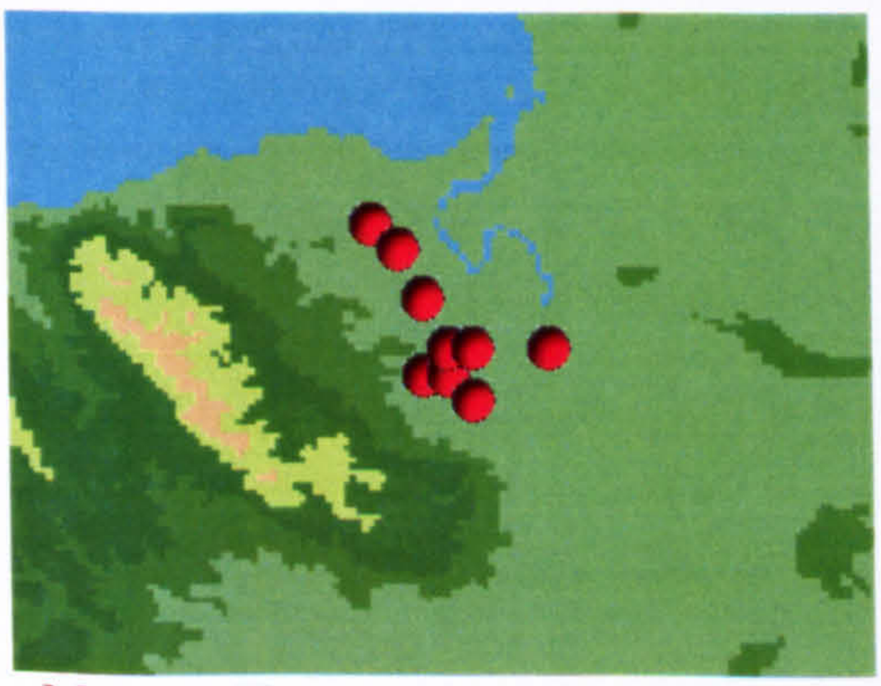
[133] An accurate reconstruction of Alfwy's lordship in 1066 is, however, problematical. The frequent occurrence of the name in the Somerset folios of Domesday Book makes it difficult to ascertain how many individuals are being referred to.

[134] *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, ii, 645. William was associated with Odo in a grant to the Abbey of Caen dated 1079x1983. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.52.

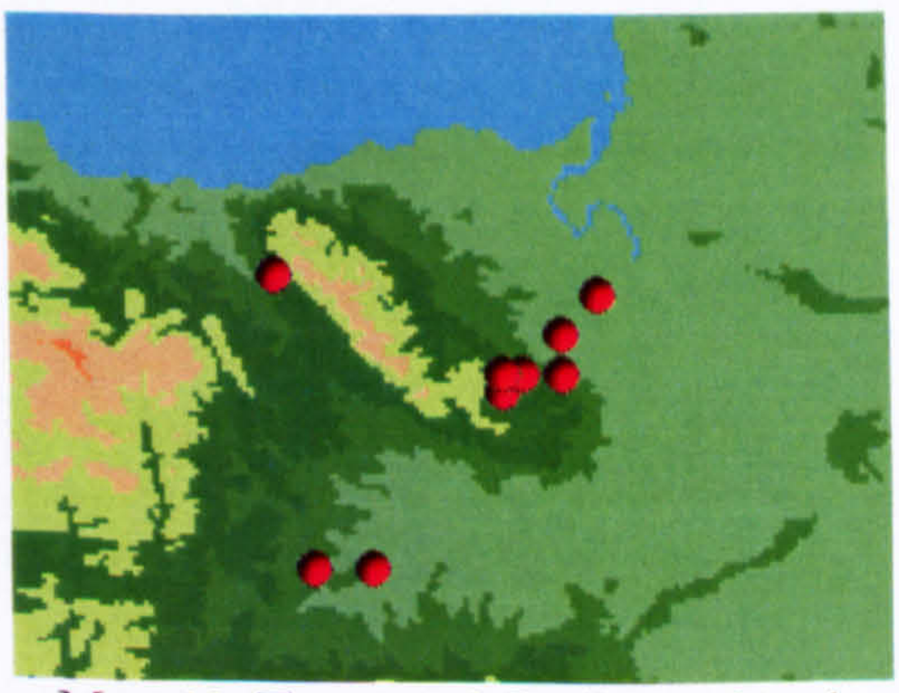
he held in chief, Roger was a prominent tenant of Glastonbury Abbey in 1086, holding 68 hides from the church in Whitley Hundred, Whitstone Hundred and beyond. He provided ten fees of the abbey's military quota, probably represented in 1166 by the ten fees owed by Robert Malet.

Map 46: Fief of Roger of Courseulles in Somerset in 1086
(held both in chief and as a manorial tenant)

Roger's demesne manor of Kilve lay by the coast just east of Watchet, and the neighbouring demesne manors of Charlinch and Currypool provided the focus of Roger's land in Cannington Hundred. The remainder of his land in the region was subinfeudated.[135] One of Roger's most prominent tenants was Ansketel, who held land in eight vills in Cannington Hundred and three in the neighbouring hundred of North Petherton, protecting Bridgwater Bay and the River Parrett. Also prominent was Geoffrey, who held land in six vills from Roger in the region including Weacombe, which lay by the coast near Watchet. The Geoffrey of Vautortes who held Perry and Pightley in the same region was perhaps the same man.



Map 47: Tenancy of Ansketel within the fief of Roger of Courseulles in 1086



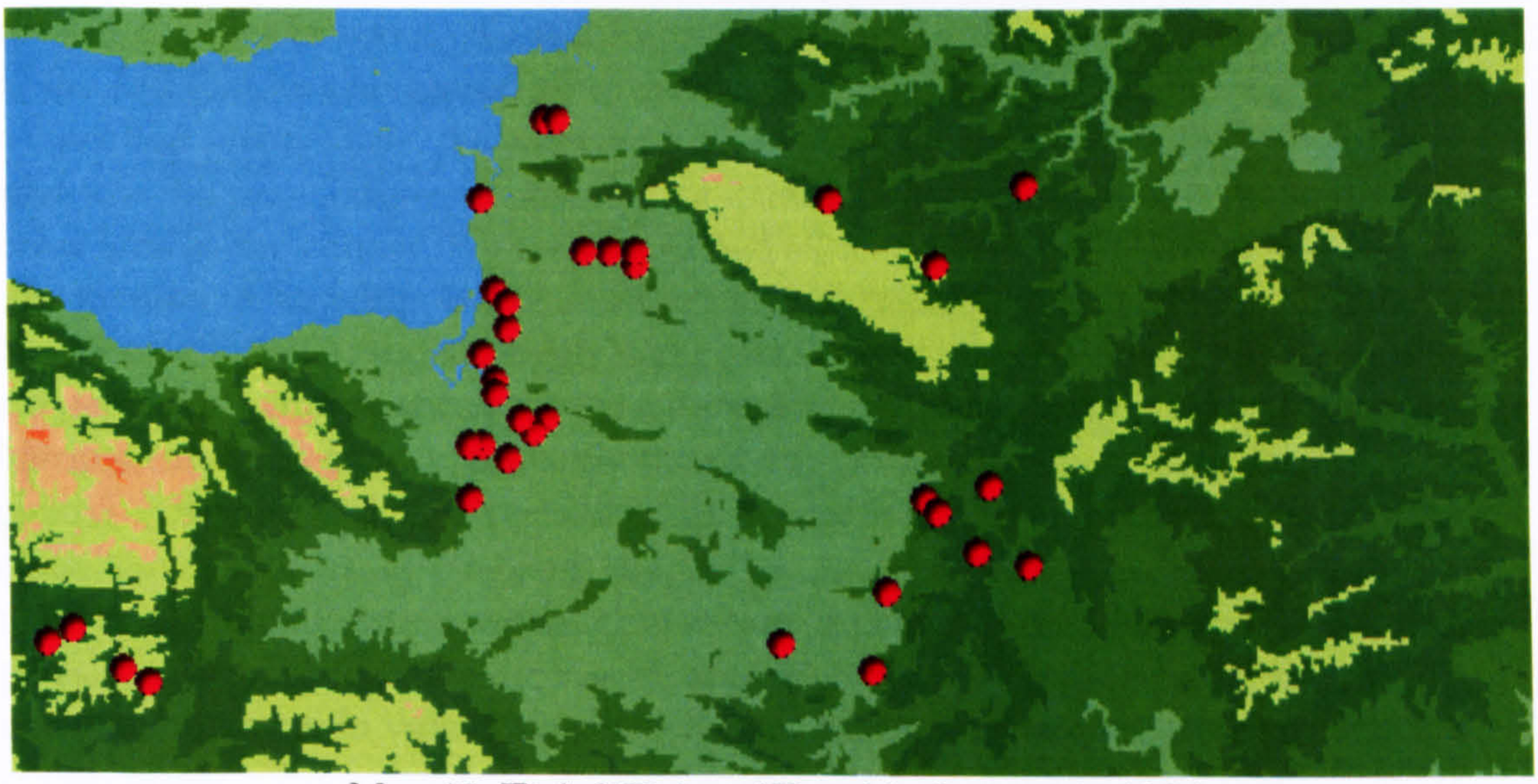
Map 48: Tenancy of Geoffrey within the fief of Roger of Courseulles in 1086

[135] His land subsequently passed to the Malet family as the barony of Curry Malet, and in 1166 William Malet answered for around 23 fees *de veteri*. *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, i, 227-8.

In Cannington Hundred, Robert held land from Roger at Otterhampton and Woolston just west of Stockland Reach, as well as three manors further inland in the same hundred, just west of the Parrett and the developing town of Bridgwater. William held Weacombe not far from the coast just west of the Quantocks, Stringston and Withiel in Cannington Hundred, and the neighbouring manors of Perry and Waldron in North Petherton Hundred just west of the Parrett. It is likely that such tenants supported Roger in the defence of the coastline and routes inland.

* * *

Between the Rivers Parrett and Yeo, Walter of Douai was a prominent landholder.[136] Called Walter of Flanders in the Tax Return for the Devon Hundred of Uffculme and as a witness to a restoration of land to the Bishop of Wells in 1068, he was from Douai in Nord.[137] His arrival in England was probably due to connections with Eustace of Boulogne, who led a force of Picards and Artesian Flemings during the 1066 campaign.[138]



Map 49: Fief of Walter of Douai in Somerset in 1086

Four of Walter's demesne manors were located along the course of the River Parrett, where his holdings were especially compact. The substantial manor of Burnham on Sea lay near the mouth of the river by Stert Point, and Huntspill lay just south by Stockland Reach. Walter's demesne manor of Bridgwater was later to develop into an important town, and the stone castle that was licensed there in 1200 was perhaps built on the site of an earlier fortification.[139] The location of the vill close to the coast and the River Parrett makes it seem an ideal focus for Walter's possessions in northern Somerset. Walter's most prominent tenant in the Parrett region was Raimer, who held a compact tenancy including land in Alstone, East Bower, Burnham on

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[136] He also held a few possessions along Foss Way and east towards the Dorset and Wiltshire borders, where the seat of his barony, Castle Cary, was located.
[137] *DB Devon* (23,9n); *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.286.
[138] For a discussion of the Flemish in England, see Keats-Rohan, 'Provenance and Past: Territorial Descriptors and Domesday Prosopography', *Domesday People*, pp.39-41.
[139] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, 441.

Sea, Crook, Horsey, Pawlett and Walpole.[140] Rainward was also prominent in the region, holding land at Bawdrip, Bradney and Stretcholt.

Another compact block of land was located along the course of the Axe just south of the Mendip Hills. The demesne manor of Brean guarded the Berrow Flats just south of the Axe estuary. The remainder of his land in this region was located further inland of the estuary around the demesne manor of Weare. Tenants in the vicinity included Hubert, Fulcwin, Ludo, Ralph and Richard. In the coastal region between the Axe and the Yeo, Walter held the manor of Worle in demesne, and in view of its strategic significance in relation to Weston and Sand Bay, the undated ringwork and ditch there perhaps stemmed from the early Anglo-Norman period.[141] A neighbouring tenancy at Milton was held by Richard, who was possibly involved in the administration of the nearby demesne manor.

Although the concentrated nature of Walter's land in the northern coastal region suggests that defence considerations were an important factor in the formation of his fief in this part of the country, the pre-Conquest situation did have some bearing on his acquisition of land. Walter gained all Alwaker's land in Somerset, amounting to around 23 hides in seven vills and forming 14% of the assessment of his fief. In view of the fact that he also gained all Alwaker's land in Wiltshire, an antecessorial connection seems likely. An antecessorial connection is also possible with Asgar, who was the pre-Conquest holder of his manor of Worle. Although Asgar held no other land in the county, Walter also gained all his land in both Devon and Dorset. The manors of Bawdrip, Brean, Bridgwater and Wembdon had all been held by Merleswein in 1066, and although Walter was not his sole successor in the county, he did gain all his land to the east of the River Parrett. Assuming that there was only one Merleswein in the county, probably the sheriff of Lincoln, the remainder of his land passed to Ralph Pagnell, a Yorkshire baron who was a frequent predecessor of Ralph elsewhere in Domesday England. Walter's acquisition of four of his Somerset manors, despite the antecessorial connection between Merleswein and Ralph, thus takes on a heightened strategic significance, demonstrating that the desire for compact tenancies in vulnerable coastal areas often overrode antecessorial connections.

* * *

In the far north-east of Somerset between the Yeo and the Avon, the Bishop of Coutances was again dominant. His land in Somerset, Gloucestershire and Wales controlled much of the Bristol region and the Severn and Avon estuaries, the latter of which was targeted by Harold's sons in their attempt to take Bristol.[142] Furthermore, William of Malmesbury noted the existence of a slave trade between Bristol and Ireland that was abolished by the preaching of Wulfstan, which highlights the continuing problem of piracy in the Severn Estuary.[143]

In the Somerset hundred of Winterstoke, the western extremity of which formed the coastline between the rivers Axe and Kenn, the Bishop of Coutances held a

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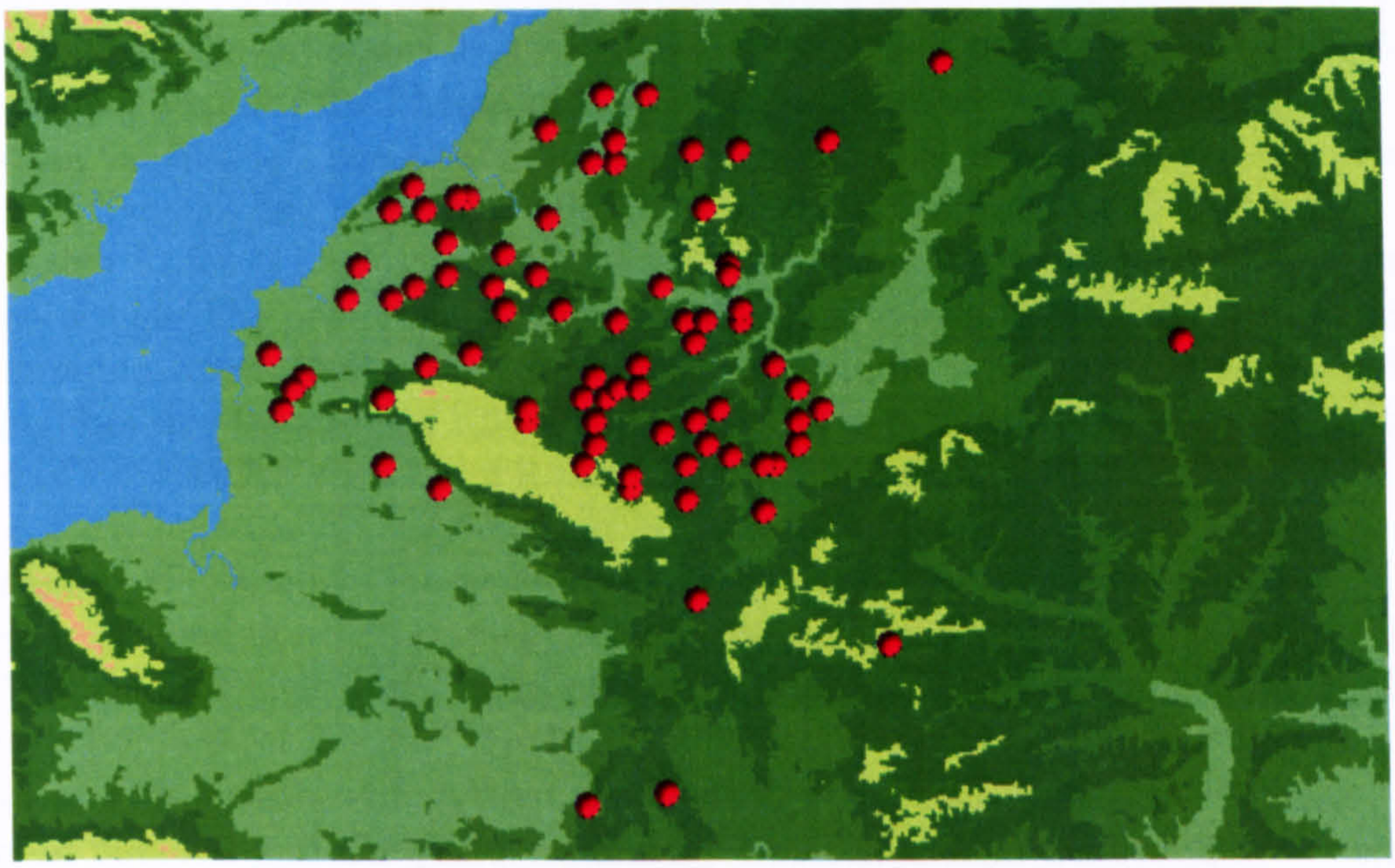
[140] This is probably Walter's brother, who held a virgate of land at 'Huish' near Burnham on Sea alongside Ralph of Conteville. Raimer's name was incorrectly written as Rademar in the Devon folios. Keats-Rohan suggests that he was Raimer provost of Saint-Amé de Douai in 1076 under Walter I castellan of Douai. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 347.
[141] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, 445.
[142] John of Worcester states that they landed in Somerset, and after victory in battle, they "took much booty from Devon and Cornwall". *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. McGurk, iii, pp.6-9.
[143] *The Vita Wulfstani of William Malmesbury*, ed. Darlington, pp.43-4.

scattering of possessions, most of which were enfeoffed to tenants. Azelin held eight hides of land at Elborough and neighbouring Hutton, just north of the Axe estuary.[144] Herlwin held the coastal manor of Ashcombe in Weston Bay, and further north, William of Monceaux held two tenancies at Kingston Seymour on the northern bank of the Yeo.



Map 50: Fief of Bishop of Coutances in Somerset in 1086

In the coastal hundred of Portbury on the southern bank of the Avon estuary, the Bishop of Coutances was the dominant landholder. He was in control of over three-quarters of the landed assessment and wealth of the hundred.[145] William of Monceaux's tenancy of Portishead guarded the coastal region just south of the mouth of the Avon. Originally located just over a mile inland, the vill was connected to the sea by the tidal estuary of Portishead Pill. Battery Point, an observation point possessing commanding views of the Severn estuary and the Devonshire and Welsh coastline, may have been used by the Bishop of Coutances and his men in the defence of the estuary from hostile attacks from Ireland and elsewhere. Roger son of Ralph's substantial tenancy at Easton-in-Gordano was located on the bank of the Avon further inland. Azelin and William held land at Weston-in-Gordano and Herlwin was a tenant at Clapton-in-Gordano, both of which were located near the coast just south of Portishead.

In the neighbouring hundred of Hartcliffe with Bedminster, the Bishop of Coutances was again dominant, with over 60% of the hidage of the hundred. The twenty-hide manor of Long Ashton formed the focus of his land, and was located near Bristol on the opposite bank of the Avon. Nigel of Gournai held land at Backwell and Barrow Gurney just south of Long Ashton, possibly defending the Avon estuary. The Bishop of Coutances' acquisition of Backwell may have stemmed from its tenure by Thorkell the Dane in 1066, whom the Bishop succeeded in all but one of his Somerset manors, as well as all his land in Devon and Dorset.[146] Other tenancies in the region

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[144] Azelin was a royal servant from western Normandy, who also held land in the south-west from Roger of Courseulles, Roger Arundel and Glastonbury Abbey. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 159.

[145] He held around 76% of the hidage and 77% of the landed income of the hundred.

[146] Overall, the Bishop of Coutances gained over 32 hides from Thorkell, which formed just over 6% of his south-western fief.

were held by Azelin, Colswein, Fulcran, Herlwin, Leofwin and Roger of Courseulles, some of whom probably also served the Bishop in a military capacity.

The hundreds of Chew and Chewton spread from the River Avon south and east towards Fosse Way, and here the Bishop held over a third of the landed assessment of each hundred.[147] In Chew, Wulfeva was a tenant of the Bishop at Norton Malreward, around five miles south of Bristol, and William was a tenant in the neighbouring vills of Clutton and Timsbury just west of Fosse Way. Clutton's former tenure by Thorkell in 1066 again explains the Bishop of Coutances' acquisition. To the south, in Chewton, the Bishop's possessions were more numerous, among them the demesne manor of Cameley and a line of tenancies running parallel to Fosse Way stretching from Ralph Rufus at High Littleton, through the land of Roger and Azelin to Robert at Emborough. The protection of this important route may have been instrumental in their enfeoffment. William of Monceaux's acquisition of Stratton on the Fosse in the neighbouring hundred of Kilmersdon probably served the same purpose, as did Roger of Courseulles' tenancy of Radstock on Fosse Way.

The Bishop of Coutances' possessions in northern Somerset should be viewed alongside his land in neighbouring Gloucestershire. Domesday Book states that he had "33 marks of silver and 1 mark of gold besides the King's revenue", that is £28, from the borough of Bristol.[148] He held a number of manors in the Bristol region, and among his tenants were Aldred, Gosmer, Ilger, Oswulf, Robert of Doynton, Roger of Berkeley and Theobald. Domesday Book states that the bishop also held five carucates of land in Wales, possibly in Bishton and Mathern.[149] Bishton was located a few miles inland of the Caldicot Levels, in the Welsh region opposite Portbury Hundred in Somerset, and Mathern guarded the western bank of the strategically important River Wye.

* * *

In the south-eastern region of Somerset, where the defence of Fosse Way and the junction of the roads converging at Ilchester protected the route into Devon and Cornwall, the Count of Mortain was again the dominant landholder. Montacute provided the focus of his Somerset fief, as well as his land in Dorset and eastern Devon. A castle was in existence there by 1069, when the attack on Montacute was referred to by Orderic Vitalis.[150] It was possibly around this time that the Count was established in the region to safeguard against further threats.

Domesday Book names the tenants of the Count's manor of Steart as two porters from Montacute. Their tenancy was located around eight miles north of the castle near Fosse Way. Four men-at-arms are named as tenants of Bishopstone, the manor within which the castle was built. Alfred the butler was said to hold 1½ hides from the Count, as well as land in four nearby vills. Alfred was a prominent tenant of the Count throughout the south-west, holding over £60 of land in Somerset alone, and his enfeoffment near Montacute reflects a desire of the Count to have one of his most trusted tenants in the vicinity of the castle. Other tenants of the Count at Bishopstone include Drogo of Carteret, who held eleven other holdings throughout

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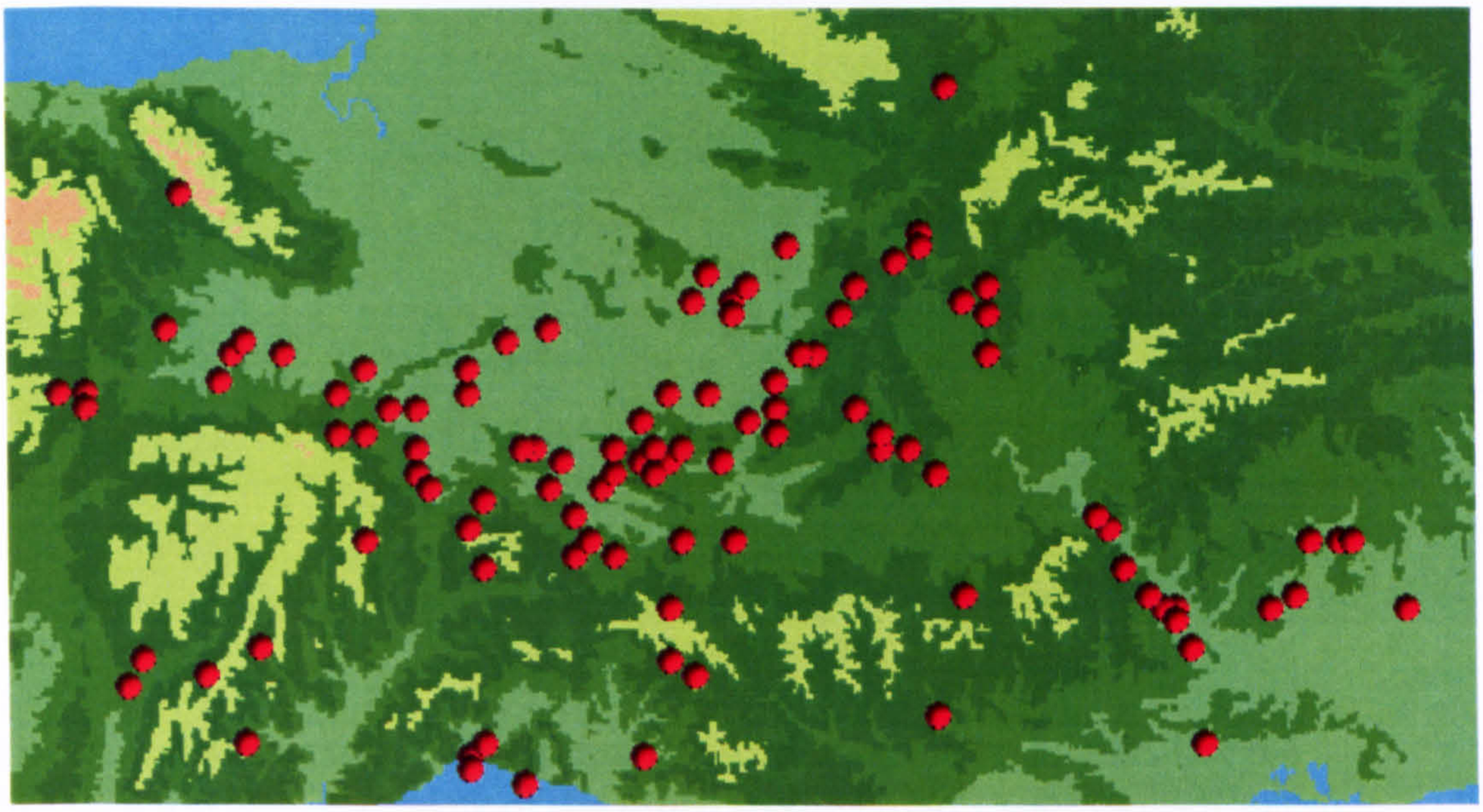
[147] In Chew he held 34% of the hidage and 27% of the landed wealth of the hundred, and in Chewton the corresponding figures were 35% and 29%.
[148] *DB Gloucestershire* (1,21).
[149] *Ibid.*, (W13). For the identification of the vills, see (W13n).
[150] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 193.

the south-eastern region of Somerset, and Bretel of Saint-Clair, who held six other tenancies from the Count in south-eastern Somerset and three compact tenancies in Milverton Hundred in the south-west of the county. Hubert of Saint-Clair, probably a relative of Bretel, was a tenant of the Count at Kingstone to the south-west of Montacute.



Map 51: Fief of Count of Mortain in Somerset in 1086

One of the Count's more prominent tenants in the Montacute region was Robert son of Ivo, who seems to have served as constable of Montacute Castle.[151] He held two manors in Stoke sub Hamdon, located immediately west of Bishopstone; Marston Magna and Sock Dennis within a few miles of the castle; and Babcary just east of Fosse Way around eight miles north-east of Montacute. Another tenant of Stoke sub Hamdon was Mauger of Carteret, who also held tenancies at Ashill, Bradon, Broadway, Chinnock, Comton Durville and Seavington in the Montacute region. His tenancy of Keinton Mandeville, around ten miles north of Montacute, may have been granted to protect Fosse Way just to its east. Ansger the Breton held nine manors from the Count in Somerset, among which Houndstone, Isle Brewers, Lufton, Odcombe and Trent all lay in the Montacute region. Dodman, Thurstan the sheriff and Reginald of Vautortes were among the Count's other tenants who held land in this strategically important area.

* * *

The distribution of royal land throughout south-west England demonstrates that, despite the distance of circuit two from the centre of government, the crown remained a dominant force in the region with a significant role in the organisation of defence. The king retained over £3,075 of land in the four counties of Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall after 1066. The vast majority of King Edward's demesne land remained in royal control after 1066, including all his former Dorset and Somerset manors.[152]

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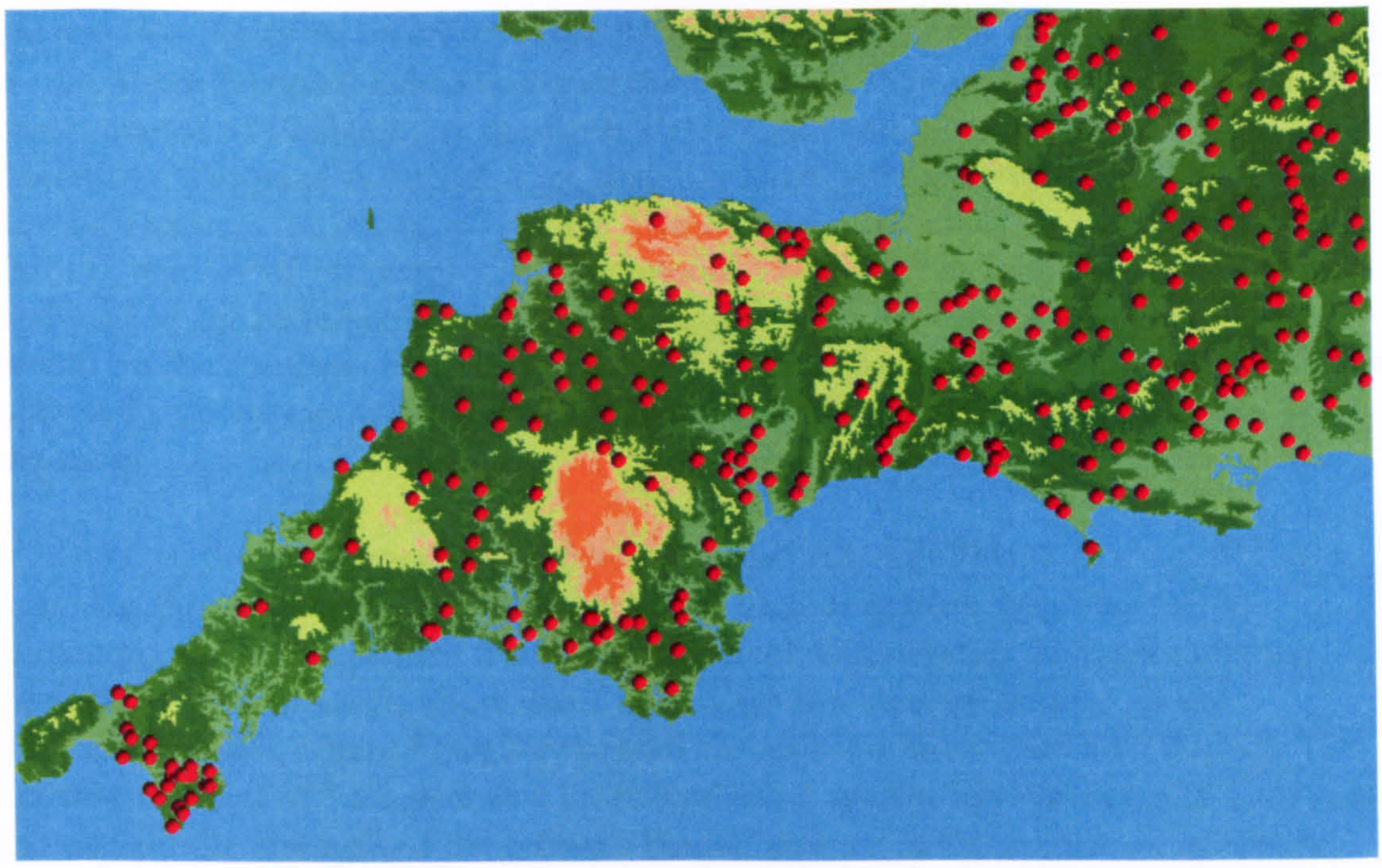
[151] His land had certainly passed to the Beauchamp family by 1150, and perhaps as early as 1092 for he was possibly the Robert of Beauchamp who witnessed a charter of 1092. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Johnson and Cronne ii, no.680. See Sanders, *English Baronies*, 51; Batten, 'The barony of Beauchamp in Somerset', *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, vol.36 (1891), pp.20-59.

[152] In Devon, only the valuable manor of Bampton with its dependencies left the *terra regis*, being held by Walter of Douai in 1086. In Cornwall, Probus was granted to the Canons of Probus.



Map 52: Royal land in south-western England in 1086

The crown also retained a significant proportion of the former land of the Godwineson family. In view of the threat from Harold's sons to south-western England in the late 1060s, the fate of Godwineson family land is telling of the Conqueror's approach towards settlement and defence in this vulnerable area. Earl Harold held land worth around £660 across the four counties in 1066, making him a formidable force in the area.[153] He no doubt had many followers in the region, some of whom may have survived the Conquest and thus would have heightened the susceptibility of south-western counties to revolt against the Normans after 1066.[154] By 1086, 80% of his land remained in the king's hands, the remainder having been distributed between the Abbey of Mont St. Michel, the Bishop of Wells, St. Stephen's of Caen, the Bishop of Coutances, the Count of Mortain, Azelin and Serlo of Burcy. By 1086 the vast majority of Countess Gytha's land was in the hands of the king, though two manors had been granted to ecclesiastical institutions.[155] Five of Earl Leofwin's Devonshire manors had passed into the *terra regis*, although a further two had been acquired by Odo of Bayeux.[156] Earl Tosti's one Somerset manor was acquired by the sheriff as part of the *terra regis*, and the land of Harold's sister Gunhilda and his son Godwin had also passed to the crown. Two of Countess Goda's four manors were held by the Conqueror in 1086, although two had passed to the senior Breton magnate Ralph of Fougères. As Table 5 demonstrates, over three-quarters of Godwineson family land was retained by the king in the south-west.

The location of some of the manors which left the *terra regis* in strategically important areas dominated by other lay tenants-in-chief suggests that security was at times instrumental in the redistribution of comital land. Reginald of Vautortes' manor of Halton in Cornwall, held by Earl Harold in 1066, was probably removed from the

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[153] This represents an approximate value, for some earlier valuations are omitted in Domesday Book and 1086 values have been used instead.

[154] Earl Harold is rarely mentioned as an overlord in the Domesday folios of circuit two, but this is probably a reflection of the inadequacies of Domesday Book rather than Earl Harold's lack of a following in the region. The incidental reference to Alnoth's tenure of Ilsington in Dorset "through Earl Harold who took it from a clerk" highlights the likely significance of the Earl's patronage in the region. *DB Dorset* (27,2).

[155] A Gytha also held two manors in Cornwall worth £2, but it is uncertain whether this was the Countess. *DB Cornwall* (5,7,6; 9).

[156] He was possibly also the Leofwin who held Count Eustace's Somerset manors of Combwich and Newton.

terra regis because of its location by the River Tamar just north of Trematon Castle, in an area where Reginald held a compact tenancy from the Count of Mortain. Harold's former manor of Philleigh, by the River Fal in Cornwall, as well as the land formerly attached to Winnianton further west, may too have been granted to the Count of Mortain's tenants for strategic reasons. The Bishop of Coutances' acquisition of Earl Harold's manors of Fremington in Devon and Lullington in Somerset is probably explained by his prominence in northern regions of both counties. Fremington was located on the southern bank of the River Taw near Barnstaple, and given Geoffrey's supposed authority in the borough, his receipt of this important manor is not surprising.

In Somerset, the royal borough of Bath was especially significant in strategic terms, located at the junction of several major roads including Foss Way and roads connecting the borough with the Bristol Channel, Cirencester, Silchester and the south coast. To the south, there was a concentration of royal manors in the Montacute region, where Foss Way passed through on its way towards Exeter. The fact that the men of Somerset and Dorset rebelled against the Normans in 1069 may also explain the strength of the crown's landed interest in the region. In northern Somerset, the crown seems to have played an important role in coastal defence in the region to the east of Dunster. The estates of Brompton Regis, Carhampton, Old Cleeve, Nettlecombe and Williton dominated the landscape, providing protection for the vulnerable coastline between Dunster Beach and Watchet, the latter of which was probably also a royal possession although it is not included as a royal manor in Domesday Book.[157] Brompton Regis is the site of an undated motte and bailey castle that may have had eleventh century origins.[158]

In Dorset, several royal manors were located near Ackling Dyke and the road from Poole Harbour towards Bath, among them Hinton Martell, Moor Crichel, Shapwick, Wimborne and Wimborne Minster. There was another compact group of royal manors in the coastal hundred of Winfrith, and the nearby island of Portland was an important possession in terms of coastal defence. The nearby manors of Fleet, Langton Herring and Sutton Poyntz enhanced royal control of the coastal region, while the royal borough of Dorchester lay just to the north. Domesday Book reveals that a hundred houses had been destroyed in Dorchester, a sign in other boroughs that a castle had been constructed. Cathcart King suggests that the town was fortified c.1070, which seems plausible in view of the lack of any other major fortification in the west of the county and the evidence of destruction within the borough.[159] Further west, royal land at Bradpole, Burton Bradstock, Chideock, Hawcombe and Shipton Gorge formed a compact group around Bridport, and may have helped to guard the coast and the road from Dorchester west into Devon.

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[157] Watchet is named as a royal possession in the *Burghal Hidage*. *The Defence of Wessex: The Burghal Hidage*, ed. Hill and Rumble, 27.

[158] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, 442.

[159] The royal borough of Wareham, located in eastern Dorset, may also have been fortified before 1086.

Godwineson Family Member	Dorset		Somerset		Devon		Cornwall		Total	
	Total Value (£)	% in *terra regis*	Total Value (£)	% in *terra regis*	Total Value (£)	% in *terra regis*	Total Value (£)	% in *terra regis*	Total Value (£)	% in *terra regis*
Earl Harold	193	80	155	72	182	91	129	76	659	80
Earl Tosti	-	-	11	100	-	-	-	-	11	100
Earl Leofwin	10	0	10+	0	43	100	-	-	63+	68
Countess Gytha	45	11	70	100	176	94	-	-	291	83
Countess Goda	29	100	-	-	30	0	-	-	59	49
Gunhilda	-	-	22	100	-	-	-	-	22	100
Godwin son of Harold	-	-	5+	100	-	-	-	-	+5	100
Total	277	68	273+	80	431	87	129	76	1110+	78

Table 5: Godwineson family land in south-western England before 1086 (showing the percentage retained by the crown in 1086)[160]

[160] The land of Queen Edith is omitted. The earlier values provided in Domesday Book have been used, representing the value when the manor changed hands between 1066 and 1086. Where these intermediate values are missing, the 1086 value has been used as a rough guide to their earlier value. Where no values are given or personal identifications are uncertain, the value stated is the minimum value of their possessions with additional land indicated by the use of '+'.

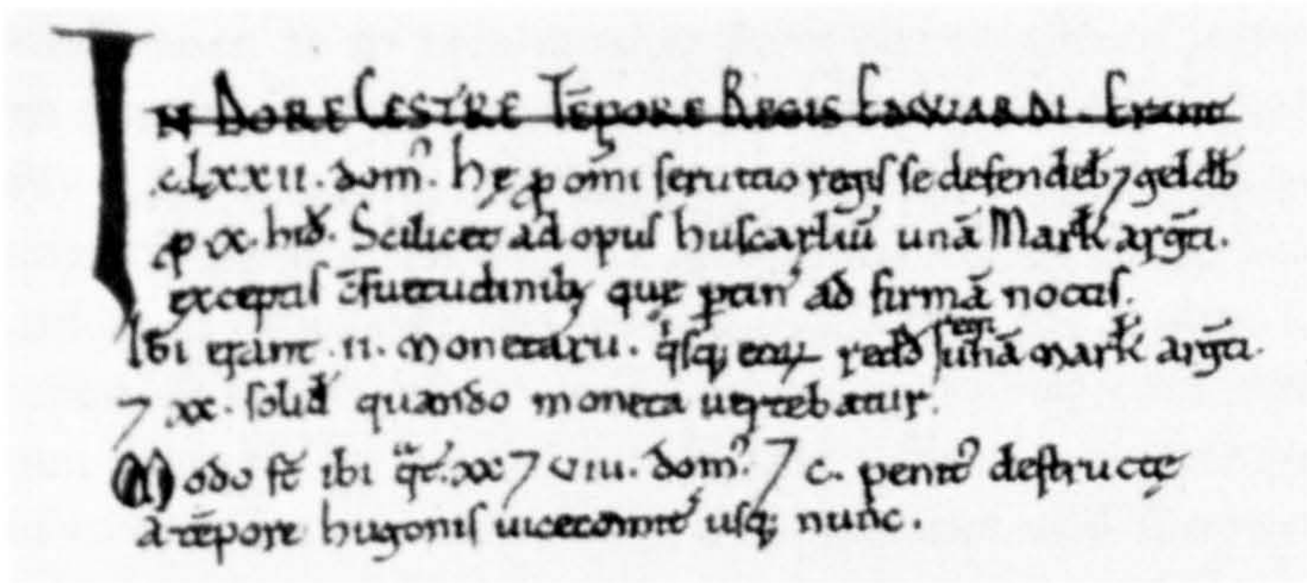

Figure 11: Domesday Book's reference to destroyed houses in Dorchester

In Devon, the king controlled the royal borough of Exeter, where he had built a large and powerful ringwork castle in a commanding site by 1068. There were a cluster of royal manors around Exeter and the Exe estuary, and the proven vulnerability of the region may partly explain the strength of royal authority there. Axminster was located by the Axe estuary, at the junction of Fosse Way and the road east from Exeter. To the south of Exeter, a series of royal manors were located along the southern coastline of Devon. In view of its commanding location, it seems plausible that the powerful motte and bailey castle at Plympton was constructed before the turn of the century.[161] In the northern coastal region, the royal borough of Barnstaple may also have been fortified at an early date. Domesday Book reveals that 23 houses had been destroyed there, and a castle is mentioned there in a charter to Barnstaple Priory by Judhael of Totnes.[162] The royal manors of Bideford, Braunton, Hartland, Shebbear and Tawstock were all located in this coastal region. Shebbear was also the site of a castle, and although its date of origin is uncertain, its existence demonstrates the strategic importance of the vill.[163] In central Devon, the royal borough of Lydford may have been fortified, for forty houses had been destroyed there by 1086 and there are remains of a strong motte and bailey castle with late Norman keep that Cathcart King believes may have been built on an earlier partial ringwork.[164] The site was important in relation to the route from Exeter and Okehampton into Cornwall, and, with other inland royal manors, was probably significant in the defence of lines of communication between Exeter, Okehampton and coastal regions.

The crown was not as prominent in Cornwall, probably because of the remoteness of the region from the centre of government and the dominance of the county by the Count of Mortain. However, royal possessions in Cornwall were far from negligible, with around £116 worth of land scattered across the shire.[165] There was an especially compact group of royal land in Winnianton Hundred in the far south-west, focused on the manor of Winnianton itself. Bodmin was in royal hands in 1086, and royal manors in the surrounding region may have protected the approaches to the small borough. An especially valuable royal possession was Kilkhampton, at £18, whose coastal location in the far north of Cornwall may have been significant in terms of defence. The vill was the site of Penstowe Castle, a strong ridge site of uncertain origin, again proving the perceived importance of the site.

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[161] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, 118.
[162] *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Caley, Ellis and Bandinel, v, 197.
[163] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, 119.
[164] *Ibid.*, 117.
[165] An additional £21 of land was held from the *terra regis* at Winnianton by the Count of Mortain.

Although traditionally seen as an area remote from the centre of government and a peripheral concern for the Conqueror, it is clear that the threats posed to the security of the entire south-western region, especially in the 1060s, meant that defence was neglected at the crown's peril. Although responsibility for defence may have been delegated to a number of powerful and trusted magnates, the Count of Mortain and the Bishop of Coutances among the most notable, the Conqueror retained a strong presence in the area through his landed wealth and official representatives. Royal manors continued to dominate much of the tenurial map, and the presence of the Conqueror in the region during the suppression of the unrest of 1068 serves to demonstrate that the south-west commanded his attention in times of strife.

The Norman settlement of Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall has provided numerous examples of fiefs created with defence needs in mind, especially in areas that were deemed vulnerable because of their proximity to the coast or important lines of communication. Although antecessorial succession on occasions explains the redistribution of land after 1066, it is often the case that the land of an antecessor merely provided a foundation for the creation of a tenancy-in-chief more compact than the lordships of Anglo-Saxon England. At the manorial level, too, tenancies were often created in confined geographical areas to defend important rivers, roads, castles or coastal locations. The tenurial landscape was largely reshaped with security and military concerns very much to the fore.

V

The Norman Conquest of the Welsh March

In much of circuit five, the threat from Wales was an overriding concern. The "bellicose" Welsh, as Orderic Vitalis referred to them, represented a potentially serious threat to the stability of Norman rule in western England.[1] Welsh raids into English territory created an atmosphere of insecurity and highlighted the need for effective defensive measures to maintain the established border and to protect those settled in the immediate vicinity. Welsh raids had been a hazard of border life throughout the Confessor's reign, as Chapter Two has demonstrated.[2] Raids were renewed in the late 1060s, and although sporadic, they could not be ignored in terms of defence. The risk that Welsh princes would ally with surviving English magnates in rebellion against the Normans was realized in 1067, when Edric the Wild and other Englishmen allied with Bleddyn ap Cynfyn of Gwynedd and his brother Rhiwallon ap Cynfyn of Powys against the Conqueror, and in 1069 when Earl Edwin rebelled against Norman rule in alliance with Bleddyn. The high levels of wasted land along the Welsh March is testimony to the insecurity of the region, whether caused by Welsh raids, native unrest or the Conqueror's harrying campaign of 1069-70. Domesday Book reveals that in Cheshire, Shropshire and Herefordshire there were around 141 wholly wasted vills in 1066, and by the early 1070s wasteland was widespread throughout the three counties, with a total of around 280 wholly wasted vills in Cheshire and Shropshire alone.[3] There had been a considerable amount of recovery by 1086, but this was by no means total with at least 119 vills still deemed to be waste.

The Welsh were not the only aggressors. As well as being an area crucial to the defence of England, settlement in the marcher shires provided ambitious Normans with an opportunity to expand their authority westwards into Wales. The Conqueror maintained English claims to overlordship of Welsh kingdoms, and although there does not appear to have been a strong impetus from the crown to conquer Welsh territory, several barons and their vassals in the region took the iniative in engaging in

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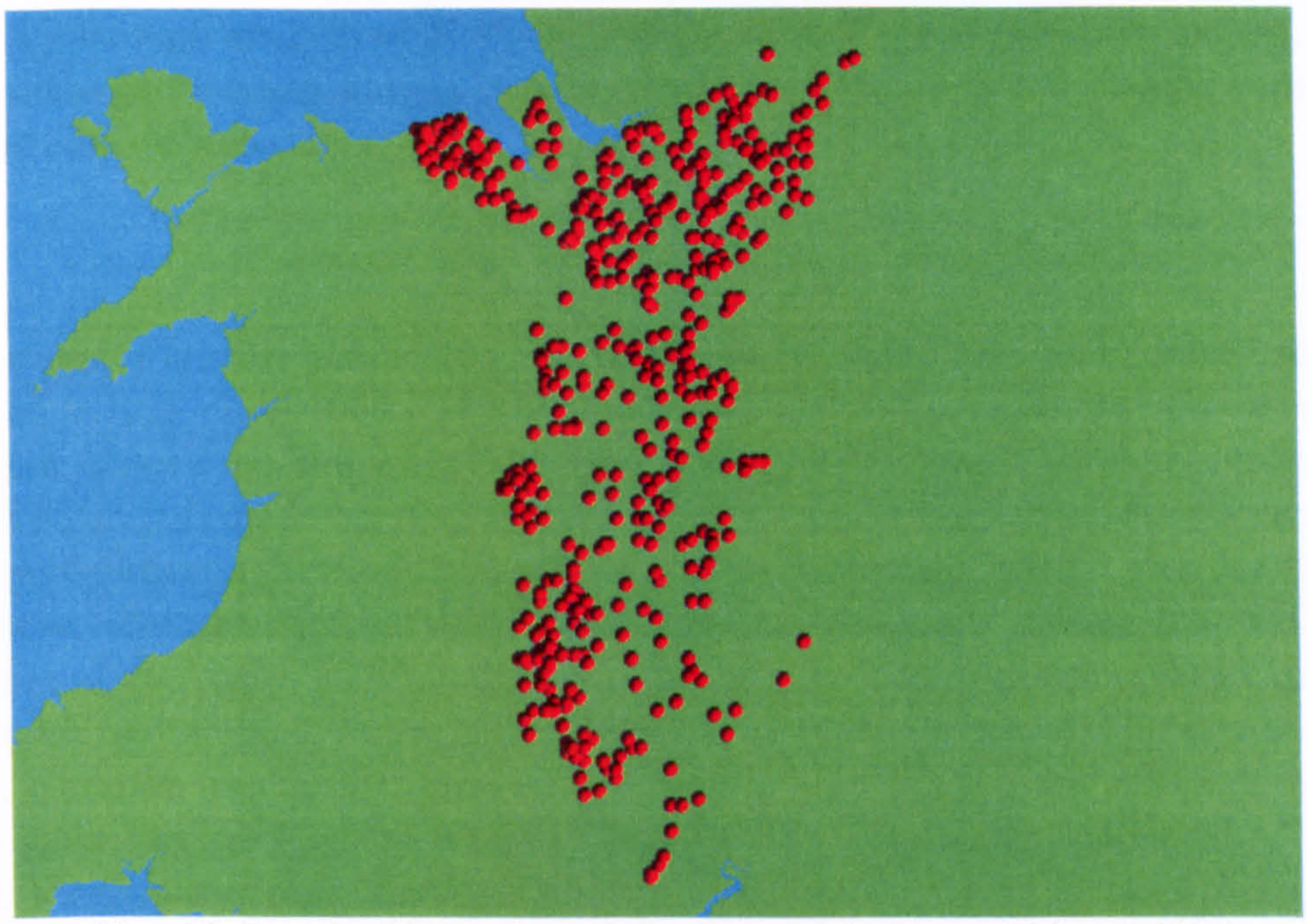
[1] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 261. Orderic's interest in affairs along the Welsh March is partly attributable to his birth in Shropshire during the Conqueror's reign. See above, p.19-20.

[2] See above, p.33.

[3] The c.1070 data for Herefordshire is ambiguous. The formula *wasta fuit* gives no indication of exactly when the land was waste. Darby, *Domesday Geography of Northern England*, 375; *Domesday Geography of Midland England*, 98; 145. Whether the term 'waste' meant actual devastation is not certain. The fact that some waste manors had values suggests that it may be a technical term describing the value of the land to the lord. But as it is impossible to determine the true meaning of waste, I have assumed that the lands were uncultivated.

offensive activity beyond Offa's Dyke.[4] Spurred on by a desire for adventure, prestige and economic gain, settlers in the region made considerable inroads into Welsh territory, paving the way for further advances in the following reign when the campaign to conquer Welsh territory increased in its intensity and vast areas of Wales were brought under Norman overlordship.



Map 53: Land said to be 'waste' at some point between 1066 and 1086 in Cheshire, Shropshire and Herefordshire

As it was such a problematical area, and because the crown had many other higher priorities, King William made exceptional arrangements for the consolidation of Norman control in the three marcher shires and defence against the Welsh. This involved the creation of three earldoms, which were granted considerable autonomy. The Welsh March has been widely accepted by Domesday scholars to be an area in which the Norman settlement had distinctly military characteristics. The military functions of the earldoms of Chester, Shrewsbury and Hereford and many of the castleries within them were recognised at an early date.[5] The earldom of Chester has been analysed by Geoffrey Barraclough and more recently Chris Lewis, and Mason's work on Roger of Montgomery highlighted the military significance of his earldom of Shrewsbury.[6] The extent of William fitz Osbern's power in Herefordshire and beyond has been extensively discussed by Wightman and Lewis.[7] Wightman's work on the Lacy family is particularly revealing of the role of this important frontier

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[4] Offensive action into Wales was probably not a high royal priority because of preoccupation with more pressing matters elsewhere in England and on the Continent.

[5] The castleries of Caerleon, Clifford, Ewias Harold, Montgomery and Richard's Castle were all identified by Stenton as frontier lordships in 1932. Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism*, 192.

[6] Barraclough, *The Earldom and County Palatine of Chester*; Lewis, 'The formation of the honour of Chester 1066-1100', *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters*, ed. Thacker, pp.37-68.; Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery and his sons 1067-1102', *TRHS*, fifth series, vol.13 (1963), pp.1-28.

[7] Wightman, 'The Palatine Earldom of William fitz Osbern in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire 1066-1071', *EHR*, vol.77 (1962), pp.6-17; Lewis, 'The Norman Settlement of Herefordshire under William I', *ANS*, vol.7 (1984), pp.195-213; and 'The Early Earls of Norman England', *ANS*, vol.13 (1991), pp.207-23.

family, as is Meisel's study of the Corbet, Pantulf and FitzWarin families.[8] The Norman penetration of southern Wales has been examined by Courtenay, Nelson and Williams, and Judith Green provided a potted analysis of the region in her study of the aristocracy of Norman England.[9] Anglo-Norman relations with Wales, too, have been extensively discussed by historians such as Davies, Edwards, Maund and Walker.[10] Through an intensive study of Domesday's account of Cheshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire and parts of Gloucestershire, this chapter will seek to provide a thorough analysis of Norman military settlement in the entire region, and an evaluation of Norman success in maintaining the border and extending authority westwards into Wales.

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The Conqueror initially planned to rule Cheshire through Earl Edwin, who had submitted at Barking in 1066. Edwin spent much of 1067 in captivity in Normandy and remained with the king after his return to England. Orderic Vitalis recorded that "King William had made his peace with Earl Edwin, granting him authority over his brother and almost a third of England", as well as promising him his daughter's hand in marriage.[11] But the Mercian rebellion of 1069 encouraged a change in approach. With fears of an Anglo-Welsh attack on Norman rule heightened and Earl Edwin killed by his own men, it was necessary to place Cheshire firmly under Norman control. Cheshire was initially granted to Gherbod the Fleming, the advocate of St. Bertin whose brother Frederic received lands in East Anglia at a similar time.[12] Orderic Vitalis wrote that Gherbod held the *comitatus* of Chester in late 1070 or early 1071.[13] But such an arrangement was not enduring, as Gherbod left England in the winter of 1070-1 to safeguard his own land in Flanders during political upheaval there, and although perhaps planned as a temporary visit, Domesday Book shows that Gherbod subsequently lost all his English possessions.[14]

Gherbod was replaced by Hugh of Avranches, the son of Richard Goz vicomte of Avranches and possibly a nephew of the Conqueror through his mother.[15] Earl Hugh had contributed sixty ships to the 1066 invasion campaign, and was a trusted Norman baron who was granted an extensive English fief incorporating land in 21 counties.[16] Earl Hugh acted as the king's deputy in Cheshire, possessing crown rights, controlling the county town and holding all the land of the royal demesne that in most other counties was managed for the king by the sheriff. The Cheshire folios of

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[8] Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy 1066-1194* (1966); Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier: the Corbet, Pantulf and FitzWarin Families 1066-1272* (1981).
[9] Courtney, 'The Norman invasion of Gwent: a reassessment', *Journal of Medieval History*, vol.12, no.4 (1986), pp.297-313; Nelson, *The Normans in South Wales 1070-1171* (1966); Williams, 'Norman Lordship in South East Wales', *Welsh History Review*, vol.16 (1992-3), pp.445-66; Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (1997).
[10] Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales 1063-1415* (1987); Edwards, 'The Normans and the Welsh March', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol.42 (1956), pp.155-77; Maund, 'The Welsh Alliances of Earl Ælfgar of Mercia and his family in the mid-eleventh century', *ANS*, vol.11 (1989), pp.181-190; and *Ireland, Wales and England in the Eleventh Century* (1991); Walker, 'The Norman Settlement in Wales', *ANS*, vol.1 (1978), pp.131-43; and *Medieval Wales* (1990).
[11] *Ecclesiastical History Of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 215.
[12] *DB Norfolk* (8,6n); *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. Clay, viii, 40-6. Frederic was killed by followers of Hereward in 1079, and all his Norfolk land passed to his brother-in-law, William of Warenne.
[13] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 261.
[14] Orderic Vitalis recorded that "by misfortune he fell into the hands of his enemies; and loaded with fetters and deprived of all earthly happiness he learned through long wretchedness to compose songs of lamentation". *Ibid.*, ii, 261.
[15] *Ibid.*, ii, 263. His mother was probably a half-sister of the king and a sister of the Count of Mortain. A letter from Bishop Helinand of Le Mans refers to a "consanguineous" marriage planned for the daughter of William of Mortain. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 258-9.
[16] Van Houts, 'Ship List of William the Conqueror, *ANS*, vol.10 (1987), p.179.

Domesday Book show that he had acquired the city of Chester and was the only layman, except possibly Robert of Rhuddlan, to hold land directly from the king in the county. Earl Hugh's power was not without limits: he did not control the church and the king was able to appoint his own chaplains there, for example Robert of Limésey in 1085. The land that Robert of Rhuddlan held in Wales was held under the king rather than Earl Hugh, which implies that there was still a royal interest in the area. Yet although Cheshire was not an independent principality, Earl Hugh's powers were clearly extensive.

Secular land in Cheshire was assessed at around 543 hides and had a total value of £292 in 1086. Of this, Earl Hugh received only £36 as a direct income from his demesne holdings, which were assessed at just eighty hides. A high level of subinfeudation was characteristic of much of the land in Hugh's English honour. Indeed, there were only three counties other than Cheshire where Earl Hugh had demesne holdings.[17] By subinfeudating land, he was better able to secure the manpower and resources needed to defend the frontier and to advance into Wales. Subinfeudation was especially pronounced in the more fertile west of Cheshire, and it was also in this area that Earl Hugh's demesne holdings showed the greatest signs of recovery, with few deemed waste in 1086. It is possible that Hugh had granted manpower and resources from his eastern estates to encourage settlement and development in the west, where strategic and military considerations were more significant.

The harrying had been particularly harsh in eastern Cheshire, and in 1086 the population of the region was very sparse and there were few cultivated fields. Much of Earl Hugh's demesne land in this region had been wasted and remained so in 1086. In Macclesfield, all but two of his demesne manors in the east of the hundred were waste.[18] In contrast, none of the subinfeudated manors of Bigot of Loges, Hamo of Mascy or Robert son of Hugh in the same area were waste. It is possible that Earl Hugh was engaged in a policy of redeveloping the area whereby he subinfeudated manors to his men so that they could bring them into cultivation again. Although some tenants held land that was still waste in 1086, among them Hugh son of Norman, it is possible that their acquisition of the land was recent and they had not had enough time to redevelop it by the time the Domesday survey was undertaken. The division of vills like Sandbach, Sutton, Weaver and Wimboldsley in Northwich between Earl Hugh and Bigot of Loges was probably the first step towards the subinfeudation of them all, which subsequently happened. As Earl Hugh had already subinfeudated land in Macclesfield to Bigot, this activity in Northwich was probably a continuation of this process. The fact that there were no undertenants on Bigot's Macclesfield holdings may imply that he had only recently acquired them.

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[17] Gloucestershire, Leicestershire and Lincolnshire.

[18] The two exceptions were Adlington and Macclesfield, and even their recovery was minimal, being worth only an eighth of their former value. Much of Earl Hugh's demesne land may have remained wasted because of Earl Hugh's hunting and hawking activity. Orderic Vitalis wrote that Earl Hugh's hunting "was a daily devastation of his lands, for he thought more highly of fowlers and hunters than husbandmen or monks". *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 263. The fact that many of Hugh's manors in this area were near Macclesfield Forest tends to add weight to this theory.

Earl Hugh's tenants tended to be young knights attracted by his military reputation and his generous nature. Orderic Vitalis portrayed Earl Hugh as an over-indulgent man with no discipline over his men and unsympathetic to his enemies, but claimed that he was "always in the forefront in battle" and "lavish to the point of prodigality". He recorded that Hugh "gladly shared" with his men "his riches no less than his labours".[19] Earl Hugh's most prominent tenant was his cousin Robert of Rhuddlan, who was established as the dominant landholder in the north-west of Cheshire, guarding the route into England along the north coast of Wales via Rhuddlan and Chester. Robert was the son of Humphrey de Tilleul and Adelina, daughter of Robert of Grandmesnil and Havise daughter of Giroie.[20] He had been a squire of Edward the Confessor, under whom he was knighted, and had returned to England in 1066 with Earl Hugh. A considerable amount of information about this important Cheshire baron is provided by Orderic Vitalis in his *Ecclesiastical History*, whose relatively favourable account of Robert no doubt stemmed from his gifts to St. Evroul, which had been re-established by his Grandmesnil and Giroie relatives.[21] Orderic wrote

> the neighbouring Britons who are commonly called Gaels or Welsh were making savage attacks on King William and all his followers. So by the king's command a castle was built at Rhuddlan to contain the Welsh, and was given to Robert with the duty of defending the kingdom against these barbarians. The warlike marcher lord often fought against this unruly people and slew many in battle after battle. After driving back the native Britons in fierce combat he enlarged his territories and built a strongly fortified castle on the hill of Deganwy which is near to the sea. For fifteen years he harried the Welsh mercilessly, invaded the lands of men who when they still enjoyed their original liberty had owed nothing to the Normans ...[22]

Robert of Rhuddlan was Earl Hugh's principal officer in Cheshire. Although his title is not provided by any contemporary source, he probably served as the earl's constable.[23] Orderic Vitalis highlighted his administrative and military role when he referred to him as "commander of his [Earl Hugh's] forces and governor of the whole province".[24] Robert held a compact and strategically placed fief incorporating Welsh territory as far west as the River Clwyd. He held 34 manors, mainly in the hundred of Wirral in the far north-western corner of Cheshire and along the coast of North Wales. The focus was Rhuddlan, where a castle was built on royal orders at the mouth of the River Clwyd circa 1073 on the site of a Saxon burh and Gruffydd ap Llywelyn's former court. Divided between Earl Hugh and Robert of Rhuddlan, the castle and borough was the focus of Norman settlement in the area, providing an outpost in north-west Tegeingl from which Robert could advance westwards.

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[19] *Ibid.*, ii, 217.
[20] *Ibid.*, iv, 136; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 379.
[21] Two of his brothers were monks of the abbey, and Orderic composed his epitaph for Robert at the request of one of them, Arnold.
[22] *Ibid*, 138. For a discussion of the phrase "for fifteen years", see introduction p.xxxviii.
[23] Crouch noted that the only evidence weakening the theory that Robert was constable was that his son did not hold the position, which is unusual in a time when offices were usually inherited. However, as Lewis pointed out, his son William only gained one of his father's former estates, Little Meols, which raises the possibility that he was a bastard or that he was not a close and respected associate of the earl. Crouch, 'The Administration of the Norman Earldom', *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters*, ed. Thacker, 75.
[24] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, iv, 138.

Map 54: Land of Robert of Rhuddlan in Cheshire and North Wales in 1086

A territorially compact block in such a vulnerable area makes it seem likely that Robert's fief was created specifically for military purposes, with a view to defending against Welsh attack and penetrating into northern Wales. Although the majority of his land had been held in 1066 by Earl Edwin or Leofnoth, the defensive significance of his fief makes it less likely that such acquisitions were based on antecessorial principles alone.[25] An examination of the connection between Robert and Leofnoth tends to confirm this. Robert received all of Leofnoth's holdings in Deeside and Wirral in western Cheshire, but the rest of Leofnoth's holdings in eastern Cheshire were distributed between five different men. Thus it seems likely that Robert received all of Leofnoth's land in a geographically compact area that, combined with the land formerly held by Earl Edwin, served to meet defence needs on the Cheshire border.

According to Domesday Book, Robert of Rhuddlan retained over 83% of the value of his land in his own hands. His demesne holdings were especially concentrated in Rhuddlan and Tegeingl and along the northern coastal tip of Wirral, which were strategically significant areas in terms of the advance into North Wales and the supervision of activity along the border. Subinfeudated land further south and east in Wirral and Deeside was not as vulnerable as Robert's demesne holdings in terms of Welsh attack, but the security of such manors would have been crucial for the defence against raids from the Irish Sea. The land of William in the hundred of Wirral provides an example. He held four tenancies from Robert at Gayton, Leighton, Thornton Hough and Thurstaston, which would have been important in defending the approach to Chester via the Wirral. The single tenancies of Herbert and Lambert may have served a similar purpose.

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[25] His only other predecessors were Arni, Edwin, Wulfbert and Wulfmer with one manor each in Deeside, and Godwin, Gunner, Uhtred, Ulf, Ulfkel and Ulfketel with one manor each in Wirral.

Map 55: Tenancies of William within the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan in 1086

Ascelin held land from Robert at Golftyn in Deeside, and two riders were said to hold land in the neighbouring vill of Leadbrook. Edwin and Roger both held land in the same region, further along the coast towards Tegeingl. At least two Frenchmen held tenancies in Tegeingl, one of whom is named as Tual. These tenancies perhaps represent the land of individuals who supported Robert in the campaign to extend Norman authority into North Wales.

Robert of Rhuddlan spearheaded penetration into Wales in association with Earl Hugh. Attention was initially focused on the area between the Dee and the Clwyd estuaries, including the Welsh districts of Bistre, Deeside, Rhuddlan and Tegeingl. The lowlands of the lower Dee valley had already been subject to Mercian settlement in the pre-Conquest period, so in the hundred of Deeside Robert was merely reaffirming English control. In Bistre, Rhuddlan and Tegeingl, Domesday Book revealed that Earl Edwin had annexed a considerable amount of land by 1066. However, it was not hidated, had never paid tax and was waste before 1066, which implies that the area was not a longstanding English possession and that Earl Edwin's control over the land had not been strong. So here, Robert probably sought to establish lordship on a more secure footing. Domesday Book is testimony to the Norman achievement, for by 1086 there was a small borough, church, mint and fisheries at Rhuddlan, and a number of settlements in the surrounding region.

In the early 1070s the Normans appear not to have advanced far beyond the river Clwyd, perhaps due to the position of King Bleddyn ap Cynfyn of Gwynedd, installed by the English in 1064, who was growing increasingly powerful in North Wales. But Bleddyn's death in 1075 enabled Robert of Rhuddlan to advance along the coast from Rhuddlan towards the River Conwy, gaining full lordship over the candreds of Rhos and Rhufoniog. Domesday Book recorded that these districts were held by Robert directly from the king and were assessed at £12. The cantrefs were economically poor because of their outpost nature and mountainous character, with only twenty ploughs as most of the land was in woods and moors and thus unable to be cultivated. Rhuddlan Castle was a difficult place from which to control Rhos and Rhufoniog, which may explain the construction of Deganwy Castle circa 1078 as a forward base to defend these acquisitions.

The *Life of Gruffydd ap Cynan* referred to a week-long Norman attack on the Llŷn peninsula in north-west Wales by Earl Hugh, Robert of Rhuddlan and Warin the

Bald, aided by a local Welsh prince, at some point between 1075 and 1081.[26] Land was said to have been laid waste for eight years and many men slaughtered, and Robert of Rhuddlan was alleged to have seized land and secured the submission of Welsh lords. Orderic Vitalis claimed that Robert took Hywel ap Ithel and Gruffydd ap Cynan ap Lago captive and vanquished Trahaearn ap Caradog of Gwynedd, the hereditary prince of the cantref of Arwystli.[27] With this collapse of Welsh opposition, Robert of Rhuddlan was able to advance across the northern coast of Wales to Snowdonia, building castles at Bangor, Caernarton and on Anglesey. None of these castles are recorded in Domesday Book, but the territory is recorded under North Wales, which probably represented Gwynedd. The Domesday account of the area is vague, reflecting the recent nature of its acquisition. It is merely stated that Robert of Rhuddlan held North Wales from the king at a revenue of £40, except for the land that he had been given by the king as a holding and the land of the Bishopric.[28]

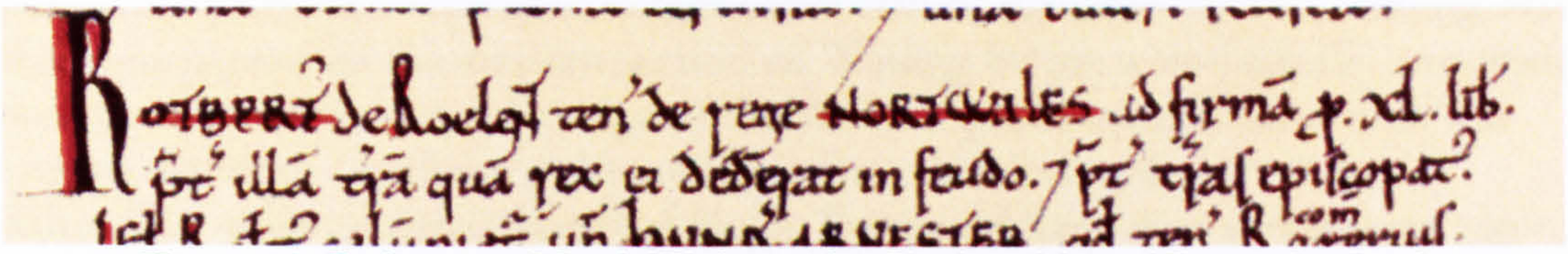

Figure 12: Reference to North Wales in the Cheshire folios of Domesday Book

The entry implies that North Wales was not actually controlled by Robert, but was an independent fief granted and held at farm, perhaps in the expectation that he would subsequently conquer the area. Robert of Rhuddlan's £40 may have stemmed from a payment by Gruffydd ap Cynan to the crown as tribute for his kingdom of Gwynedd. When Gruffydd was imprisoned, Robert may have paid the £40 in return for being able to hold Gwynedd at farm during the captivity. An examination of Domesday Book's handling of Deheubarth in south-west Wales adds weight to this theory. The Herefordshire folios of Domesday Book recorded that "Rhys of Wales pays King William £40". Gruffydd ap Cynan may have shared the same status in the north of Wales as Rhys ap Tewdwr did in the south, with his £40 render being taken over by Robert of Rhuddlan on his imprisonment.

The death of Trahaearn ap Caradog in 1081 at the battle of Glyn Cyfing, described in Orderic Vitalis' *Ecclesiastical History*, probably explains Robert of Rhuddlan's claim to the cantref of Arwystli, said in the Cheshire folios of Domesday Book to be one of the hundreds of North Wales.[29] In 1086 the cantref was held by Earl Roger of Shrewsbury, and in the Shropshire folios of Domesday Book was probably represented by the unnamed Welsh *finis* attached to the castlery of Montgomery. Arwystli lay in the upper valley of the Severn near Powys, but although it was politically part of Powys and detached from North Wales, it had ancient ties with Gwynedd and was in the same diocese of Bangor. This ambiguity was probably the root cause of the dispute between Robert of Rhuddlan and Earl Roger.

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[26] *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*, ed. Evans, 12-13. For the reliability of the source, see Maund, *Ireland, Wales and England in the Eleventh Century*, 83. Maund argued that the events probably occurred in 1081. *Ibid*, 155.
[27] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, iv, 144.
[28] *DB Cheshire* (G1).
[29] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, iv, 144; *DB Cheshire* (G2).

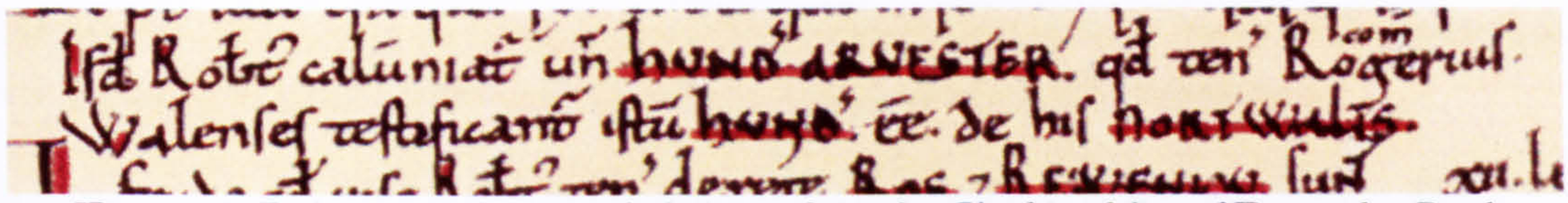

Figure 13: Reference to the cantref of Arwystli in the Cheshire folios of Domesday Book

It is thus clear that Robert of Rhuddlan was a key player in the establishment of Norman control in the northern march, and in particular in securing the submission of North Wales as a tributary of the Anglo-Norman kingdom.

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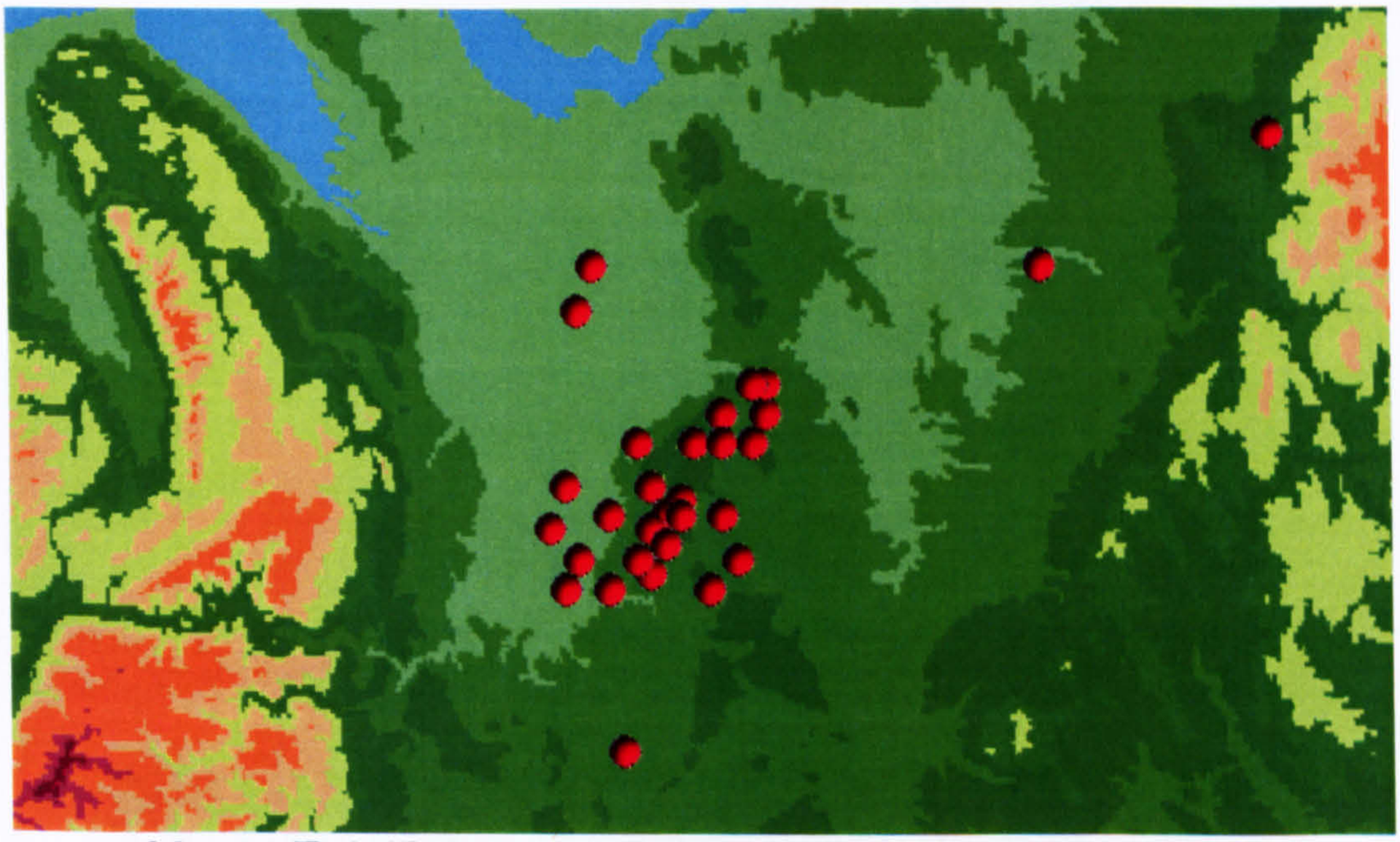
Robert son of Hugh was the principal tenant of Earl Hugh responsible for the defence of the southern border between Cheshire and Wales. Robert held a compact block of land around Malpas and across the Welsh border into Maelor Saesneg. His fief also incorporated the western section of Watling Street, a strategically important Roman road running along the edge of the Welsh highlands from Chester in the northern march to Caerleon in the south. Orderic Vitalis highlighted Robert's military role when he stated that Earl Hugh, Robert of Rhuddlan and Robert son of Hugh "wrought great slaughter amongst the Welsh".[30]



Map 56: Fief of Robert son of Hugh, lord of Malpas, in Cheshire in 1086

Robert's fief was based on a core of six manors formerly belonging to Earl Edwin in Broxton and Maelor Saesneg, assessed at 36 hides and worth £49 in 1066. All of these manors were waste when acquired, perhaps as a result of the harrying campaign or Welsh raids, and were worth little more than £14 in 1086. Bettisfield, Iscoyd and Worthenbury formed the region of Maelor Saesneg, and provided a base for six of Robert's men-at-arms. Malpas, the focal point of the fief, was located just across the boundary in the hundred of Broxton. Robert had settled five men-at-arms on this important manor, all of whom are likely to have supported him in his activities in

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[30] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 263.

Wales. Earl Edwin's nearby manors of Christleton and Tilston were both partly held of Robert by Ranulf, another likely military tenant involved in defence.

Tenants held around 50% of the hidage of Robert son of Hugh's Cheshire fief, which represents a relatively high degree of subinfeudation. His role in the defence of the southern Cheshire border would have necessitated the enfeoffment of military tenants to support him in safeguarding the security of the region. A further eight tenants held land from Robert in the Malpas region, among them Drogo with five manors, Humphrey with two manors and Fulk, Mundret and William each with a single manor. A degree of tenurial continuity at the manorial level is suggested by the fact that Edwin held seven manors from Robert in 1086, six of which he had held at least part of before the Conquest. Eli was another pre-Conquest landholder who survived at the manorial level in 1086, and further continuity is suggested by the fact that many vills which contained two manors in 1066 had two undertenants in 1086, for example Broxton, Cholmondeley and Hampton. Only rarely were small Anglo-Saxon estates grouped to form a single manor within the fief, as was the case in Bickerton and Burwardsley. Yet despite this tenurial continuity at the manorial level, the overall formation of the fief shows a concern for geographical compactness over and above considerations of pre-Conquest tenure. Robert son of Hugh had at least twenty predecessors, many of whom were minor Anglo-Saxon thanes from whom he gained only one or two manors. The south-western border region of Cheshire seems to have undergone a significant amount of reorganisation and consolidation in order to create a geographically compact fief with distinctly military characteristics, primarily intended to protect Anglo-Norman territory from Welsh incursion.

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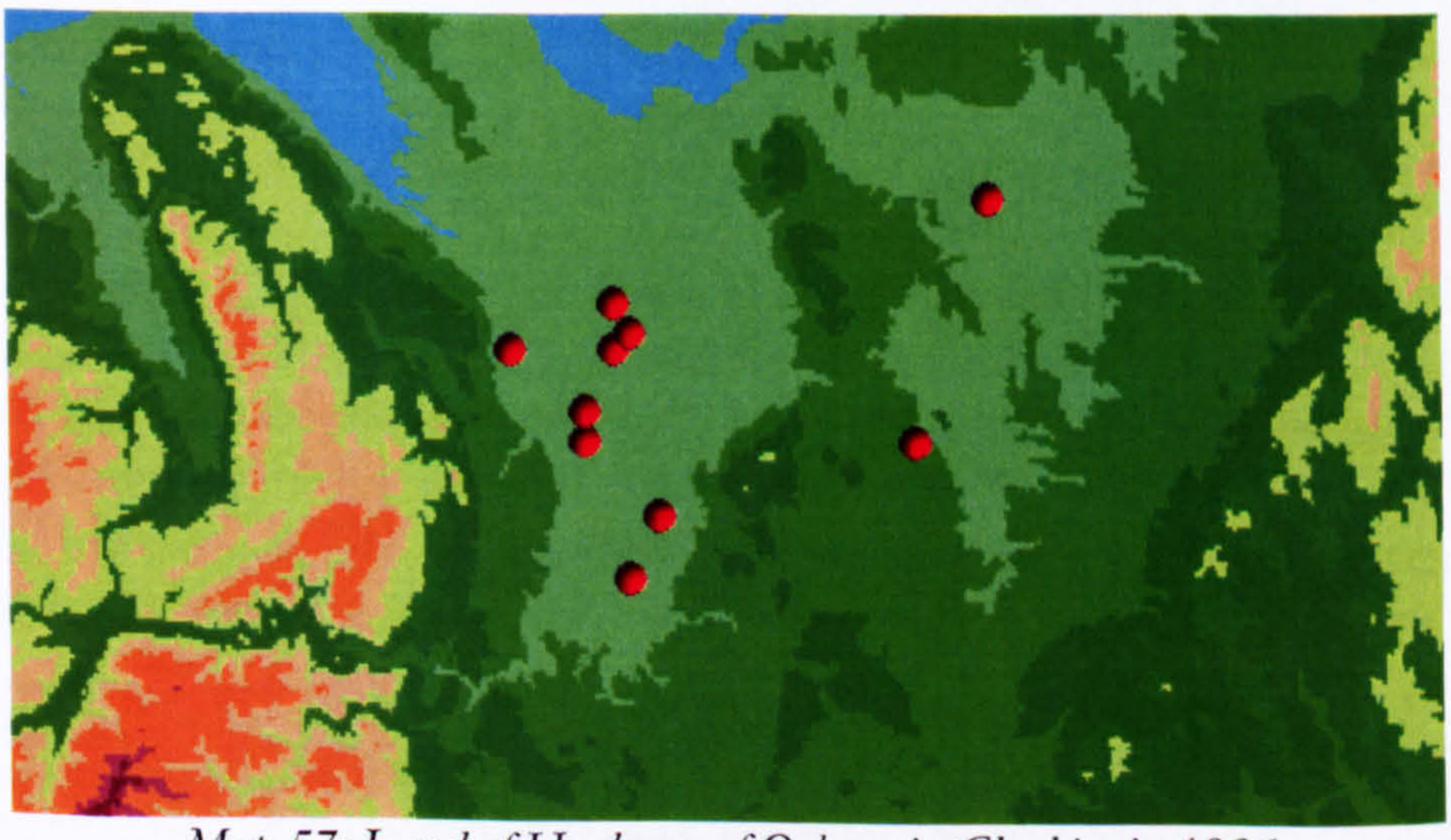
Another tenant of Earl Hugh with authority in south-western Cheshire was Hugh son of Osbern, the majority of whose land was situated on the edge of the march and across the border into Wales. This concentration of land in such a vulnerable area suggests that he too must have held certain military responsibilities. Hugh's land was formed from the former estates of at least nine secular landholders, from each of whom he received a single manor. This diversity of predecessors confirms that the fief was a recent creation with no foundation in the pre-Conquest tenurial situation.



Map 57: Land of Hugh son of Osbern in Cheshire in 1086

Only the manor of Kinnerton in Ati's Cross had been subinfeudated. At the beginning of the Domesday entry it is stated that Richard held the manor from Hugh, but Osbern son of Tezzo and Hugh son of Norman are subsequently named as Hugh's tenants.[31] This contradictory information may reflect a recent change of tenure, or may be taken to mean that Richard lay directly below Hugh son of Osbern in the tenurial structure, and it was from him that Osbern son of Tezzo and Hugh son of Norman held their land. Such a low level of subinfeudation on Hugh son of Osbern's fief is surprising in view of the strategic importance of his land, but it must be borne in mind that his possessions were not extensive and his land was of little value.[32] Hugh may have found it difficult to attract tenants to land in such a condition, where profits to be reaped from the cultivation of the land were likely to have been low. Other military tenants may have resided on his land but escaped the attention of the Domesday scribe, for example the two unnamed Frenchmen at Eyton and Sutton who were said to have 1½ ploughs alongside the smallholders and villagers, and the riders who are mentioned at Caldecott and Pulford.

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Hugh son of Norman held a block of land from Earl Hugh near the border between Cheshire and Wales, in addition to a second block of land in the east of Cheshire. His main possession near the border was half of Earl Edwin's former manor of Bistre with outliers at Hendrebiffa, two 'Horsepools', Legge, Mulintone, Munentone, Sudfell and Weltune. The manor of Bistre had never paid tax and was not hidated, suggesting that it was not a longstanding English possession. It had been waste in 1066 and when acquired, but its location on the very edge of the kingdom made it a crucial possession in terms of defence against Welsh attack and as an outpost for activity beyond the border in areas like Iâl, Nanheudwy and Edeyrnion. Hugh also held part of the nearby manor of Gresford in Maelor Cymraeg with Osbern son of Tezzo and Reginald Balliol, which had also been waste before 1066 and when acquired. These two possessions placed Hugh son of Norman on the front line against Welsh attack, and represent key strategic enfeoffments.

Hugh's remaining seven manors lay in the less fertile eastern hundreds of Macclesfield and Northwich, and all but one were waste in 1086. Three of the manors had always been waste, and the pre-Conquest value of the remaining land was just 66 shillings. Hugh also held part of the manor of Old Rode with William son of Nigel in 1086, which had been worth twenty shillings in 1066 but was waste when acquired and worth just two shillings in 1086. The fact that Godric had held six of these manors before 1066, and part of the remaining two manors with Arkell, Godwin and Ravenswart, suggests that Hugh son of Norman was granted his land on the basis of antecessorial succession. However, Godric held a further five manors in eastern Cheshire in 1066 which had passed into Earl Hugh's demesne and the fief of William Malbank by 1086. Thus it is likely that Hugh son of Norman was established in the region after William Malbank, and was granted most of the

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[31] *DB Cheshire* (FD5,3).

[32] His fief was worth little more than £5 in 1086, and considerably less before that date in view of the fact that at least six manors were waste in either 1066 or when acquired. Several other manors contained no details about pre-Conquest value and may also have been waste at some point before 1086, for instance the manor of Allington in Maelor Cymraeg, for which the only information provided was pre-Conquest tenure and assessment. *DB Cheshire* (16,1).

remaining estates from Earl Hugh's demesne that had formerly belonged to Godric, perhaps with the intention that he would encourage their cultivation in order to resource his campaign along the Welsh March.

Map 58: Land of Hugh son of Norman in Cheshire in 1086
(excluding those outliers of Bistre that have not been located)

The division of Hugh's land between eastern and western Cheshire reflects the economic condition of the county in 1086. The marcher shires were relatively poor, and in terms of arable land were less cultivated than many more prosperous parts of England. Cheshire, the poorest of the marcher shires, had lower population densities and levels of arable cultivation relative to its size than any county other than Yorkshire. Much of the land outside the hundred of Wirral and the Dee and Weaver valleys was wild and wooded, and in 1086 there were fewer than two people per square mile.[33] Although to some extent this was a reflection of natural topographical features, the economic consequences of temporary factors, especially warfare and Welsh raiding, should be taken into consideration. It was especially in eastern Cheshire that the countryside was under-exploited and impoverished. In the more prosperous west, where the land was more fertile and the economy more diverse, there were higher population and ploughteam densities.[34] This variation in the economic geography of the shire meant that men like Hugh son of Norman who held manors in central and eastern Cheshire could not have derived a great income from their land, and would thus have needed to boost their income with land in more prosperous western areas.

* * *

The fief of William Malbank shows a similar division between a concentration of land in south-eastern Cheshire and a scattering of manors in the more prosperous regions around Chester and the Wirral. William held a compact block of land in Nantwich and across the border into Shropshire, focused on Earl Morcar's former

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[33] Darby and Maxwell, *Domesday Geography of Northern England*, 348.
[34] Other resources were exploited, including water mills and fisheries. Chester was also an economic stimulus, as agricultural produce was needed for urban consumption and for export.

manor of Acton and amounting to 47 manors.[35] A Domesday entry concerning the Nantwich salt works highlights his position in the hundred, stating that William held all the customary dues that belonged to the wich "and the whole of this Hundred, which is assessed at 40 shillings".[36]

Map 59: Land of William Malbank in Cheshire in 1086

An examination of the formation of his fief reveals the importance of geographical considerations above antecessorial ones. Although William received most of the land associated with Aelfric in 1066, he did not gain Burdwardsley in Broxton, which was outside his main sphere of influence. Indeed, the land that Malbank received from Aelfric was all within Nantwich. This was also the case with the former lands of Earl Harold, Earl Morcar and Siward that passed to William. It seems likely that he received land from a single predecessor within a confined geographical area, and that outside that area the antecessorial relationship broke down. His fief was formed from the land of at least 38 predecessors, confirming that it was a post-Conquest creation with scant regard for pre-Conquest patterns of landholding. His compact fief, more distanced from the Welsh border than the land of men like Robert of Rhuddlan and Robert son of Hugh, is likely to have been formed to meet the immediate needs of the conquest of English territory and the suppression of Anglo-Saxon revolt. It may not have been as crucial in terms of defence against Welsh attack, not being located on the front line, but may have provided resources and manpower for activity along the border and played an important role in the defence of Watling Street and King Street, the two roads between which his land was located.

Nearly half of William Malbank's manors were waste when acquired, but he appears to have undertaken a significant amount of redevelopment in the area around the saltworks. By 1086 all 21 manors that were formerly waste had recovered, and only his Whitchurch outlier of Wirswall remained wasted. It is possible that his compact fief was created in order to redevelop the saltworks and the hundred of Nantwich, in which there were only four vills in which he did not hold land.[37] The level of subinfeudation on his land was very low, with less than 8% of the hidage held by

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[35] William Malbank may have also been the William named as the tenant of the Bishop of Chester and St. Werburgh's Church in several Cheshire manors, including Middle Aston and Wepre.

[36] *DB Cheshire* (S1,7)

[37] This recovery was not total, for by 1086 his land was only worth around 73% of its former value, and two-thirds of those manors that showed signs of recovery were under-stocked in terms of ploughteams.

tenants. The Nantwich block of land was held entirely in demesne, with his only subinfeudated land located in the north of Cheshire in four vills in Deeside and north Wirral, held of him by Colbert, Durand and Richard. These men may have served William in a military capacity, as their land was closer to the Welsh border and the northern coastline. The low level of enfeoffment perhaps reflects the poor condition of much of William's land or lesser military responsibilities, although it should be borne in mind that Domesday Book is not always a diligent recorder of manorial sub-tenants.

* * *

Many Cheshire tenants held land from Earl Hugh in the north-east of the county, possibly to protect lines of communication between Chester and the north and to quell local resistance stemming from unrest in nearby Yorkshire in the early years of the Conqueror's reign. William son of Nigel held a block of territory at the head of the Mersey estuary, centred on the manor of Halton. Chris Lewis has claimed that his fief was not created specifically for defensive purposes because it was not situated along the Welsh border, but this is to underestimate the defensive significance of northern Cheshire.[38] William's fief was in an important location for defending the south bank of the River Mersey and the southern half of the Runcorn Gap. The presence of six named men-at-arms at Halton hints at the military significance of his land. William's land also lay near two important Roman roads, King Street and Watling Street, which provided a route from Warrington on the Mersey estuary south through Cheshire, and from Chester to Manchester and the north. The fact that he held a further block of land from Earl Hugh on the southern bank of the Humber estuary in Lincolnshire confirms that he was a man whom Earl Hugh believed to be capable of defending vulnerable coastal locations.

Map 60: Land of William son of Nigel in Cheshire in 1086

Around half of William son of Nigel's demesne manors were waste in 1086, and only two had recovered from a wasted condition. In contrast, only a sixth of his subinfeudated manors were waste and only two had *not* recovered. It may be that William passed the responsibility for redeveloping waste land on to his tenants, although perhaps he chose, or indeed was forced, to subinfeudate his best manors in

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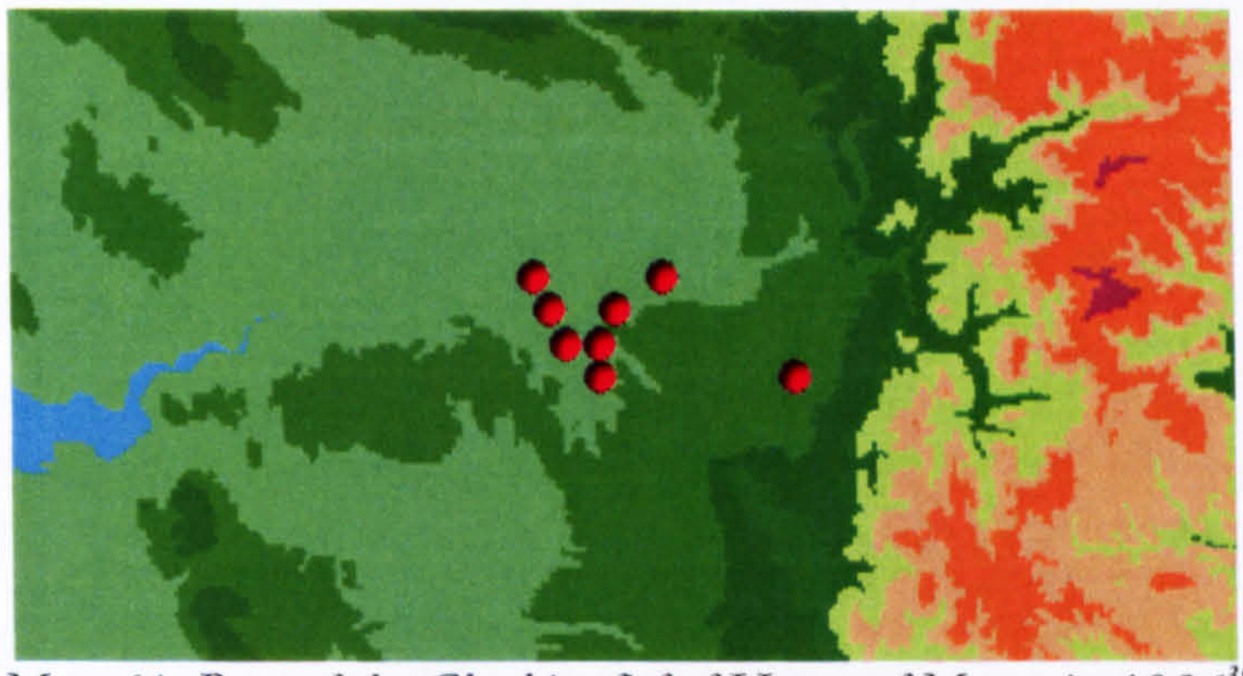
[38] Lewis, 'Introduction to the Cheshire Domesday', *The Cheshire Domesday*, 20.

order to encourage tenants on to his land to serve him in a military capacity. At least thirteen tenants are named on his fief, many of whom are likely to have performed military service in return for tenure of their land. Several held land in the vicinity of Halton, the focal point of the fief, including Aethelhard, Ansfrid, Brictric, Geoffrey, Hardwin, Humphrey and Odard.

William son of Nigel had at least 23 predecessors in Cheshire, suggesting that the pre-Conquest tenurial situation had little impact on the formation of his fief. He received all of the former manors of Arni in the neighbouring hundreds of Chester, Ati's Cross and Wirral, totalling six manors, but in Deeside and North Eddisbury Arni's land went elsewhere. The fact that William received all of Arni's land in a specific geographical area suggests a grant based loosely on pre-Conquest tenure but with an overall concern for post-Conquest strategic needs.

* * *

To the north-east of William son of Nigel's land lay a compact group of manors focused on Dunham Massey, held of Earl Hugh by Hamo of Mascy. This land lay along the River Bollin, which provided access to Cheshire via the Mersey estuary, and four manors were close to Watling Street. Like William son of Nigel, he may have been responsible for guarding these routes leading inland from the Mersey estuary.



Map 61: Part of the Cheshire fief of Hamo of Mascy in 1086[39]

The manors of Alretunstall, Ashley, Bowdon, Dunham Massey and Hale had all been held by Alfward before 1066. Alfward had also held part of Sinderland and Baguley, which Hamo subsequently acquired with Gilbert of Venables and Ranulf Mainwaring. Only Bramhall, slightly removed from the other six manors, had been held by different pre-Conquest lords. Alfward's only other possessions in the county in 1066 were two manors in Nantwich and Northwich, both of which passed to other tenants of Earl Hugh. It thus seems that Hamo gained all of Alfward's land in a compact area, and that the formation of his tenancy in this part of Cheshire owed much to the pre-Conquest situation.

An examination of Richard of Vernon's land in northern Cheshire shows some concern for geographical compactness. His estate comprised of a compact group of

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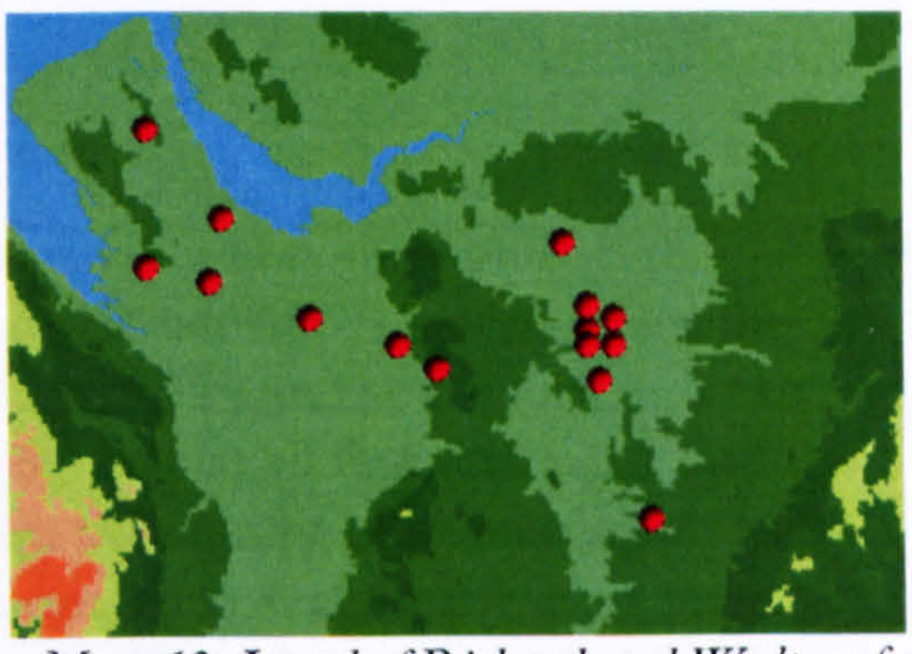
[39] He also held the three manors of Aston, Puddington and Llys Edwin in the hundreds of Deeside and Wirral and a house in Chester.

six holdings formerly belonging to Osmer, to which were added manors gained from Alfsi, Alfward, Arngrim, Bersi and Leofnoth, perhaps to complement and boost the value of his fief. The fact that he did not receive all of Osmer's land confirms that geographical principles lay behind the formation of this compact block. One of Osmer's holdings, distanced from the rest of his land, passed to Hugh son of Osbern and three were incorporated into William Malbank's fief. Richard's manors lay just to the west of King Street between Northwich and Middlewich. He was succeeded by his brother Walter soon after 1086, and an examination of both their possessions in 1086 suggests that they may have also been involved in the defence of the route from the Wirral through Chester towards Middlewich.

Map 62: Land of Richard of Vernon in Cheshire in 1086



Map 63: Land of Richard and Walter of Vernon in Cheshire in 1086

Another tenant who may have been involved in the defence of lines of communication in north-eastern Cheshire was Gilbert of Venables, who held a series of manors stretching from Hope in Maelor Cymraeg through the southern half of the hundred of Eddisbury and as far north as the hundred of East Bucklow. His land may have been granted to aid the defence of the road leading from Chester through Northwich towards Manchester. Most of Gilbert's land was held in demesne, apart from two of his men who held one hide at Brereton and a man-at-arms who held half a hide at Hartford.[40] Gilbert gained most of the former estate of Wulfgeat in Cheshire, the only three exceptions being manors that fell within the sphere of Bigot of Loges, Ranulf Mainwaring and William Malbank. Gilbert perhaps received all of Wulfgeat's land that had not already been given to Bigot, Ranulf or William.

Map 64: Land of Gilbert of Venables in Cheshire in 1086

[40] Domesday Book is unclear about the identity of Gilbert of Venables. Six manors were said to be held by Gilbert Hunter, and the layout of Domesday Book suggests that this was a different man to Gilbert of Venables. However, the Domesday account of Nantwich confirms that they were one man.

Viewed as a whole, the creation of the earldom of Chester was clearly a response to the strategic needs of the region in terms of defence against internal rebellion and Welsh assault. By granting Earl Hugh extensive powers throughout the county, the Conqueror was able to ensure that adequate provision was made for protecting the region during his frequent absences on the continent. Earl Hugh in turn created a number of key military lordships, among the most prominent of which were those along the Welsh March held by Robert of Rhuddlan, Robert son of Hugh and Hugh son of Osbern. Territorial consolidation in eastern Cheshire, evident, for example, in the fiefs of William Malbank and William son of Nigel, would have strengthened Norman control of key communication routes and provided a second line of defence in the event of a serious Welsh assault.

* * *

The position of Roger of Montgomery in Shropshire was comparable to that of Earl Hugh in Cheshire. Earl Roger arrived in England in late 1067, having spent the previous year in Normandy acting as regent during William the Conqueror's absence. Orderic Vitalis stated that the king gave Roger "first of all Arundel castle and the town of Chichester, and afterwards granted him the county of Shrewsbury".[41] His lands in Sussex were probably gained shortly after his arrival, but at what stage he was appointed as earl in Shrewsbury is less certain. The Normans probably advanced into Shropshire in 1067 when Herefordshire was raided by Edric the Wild. Orderic Vitalis confirmed that there were Normans in Shropshire at an early date when he told of a Norman garrison in Shrewsbury besieged in 1069 by Edric the Wild during the Mercian rebellion.[42] It seems likely that Roger would have gained the earldom in the wake of this attack, and certainly before the death of Earl Edwin in 1071.

Earl Roger dominated Shropshire, like Earl Hugh holding all the land of the royal demesne, controlling the town of Shrewsbury and possessing royal rights, although again not controlling the church. Domesday Book recorded that "Earl Roger himself holds from the king the City of Shrewsbury, the whole County and the whole of the lordship which King Edward had there".[43] Most land in the county was held by Earl Roger, with the exception of the land of five secular tenants-in-chief in the south of the county who had probably been established there at an earlier date by Earl William. Earl Roger's attainment of such a strong position in Shropshire is explained by his close links with the Conqueror and his prominent position amongst the Norman aristocracy. William of Poitiers described Roger as a strenuous young man who fought at Domfront in 1048.[44] He was related to the Conqueror through his father, who was a cousin of the duke, and had contributed sixty ships to the 1066 invasion campaign.[45]

Shropshire was a county in which defence against Welsh attack was a crucial factor influencing Norman settlement. The River Dee and its tributaries represented a vulnerable point of penetration between northern Shropshire and Wales, and the construction of Oswestry Castle in the region provided a key post for offensive

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[41] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii., 263.
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] *DB Shropshire* (4,1,37).
[44] *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. Davis and Chibnall, 26.
[45] Van Houts, 'Ship List of William the Conqueror', *ANS*, vol.10 (1987), 179.

activity beyond the border. By 1086 Welsh districts under Earl Roger's control in this area included a rent-paying *finis* identified with the commote of Nanheudwy, held by a Welshman Tudur. This is probably Tewdwr ap Rhys Sais, whose family was associated with the English before and after the Conquest. The Normans also controlled the adjoining commotes of Cynllaith and Edeyrnion. All three regions of Wales were probably attached to Merset Hundred or Oswestry Castle. The commote of Iâl was held of Earl Roger by Earl Hugh of Chester, and was located in the upper part of the Alun valley near Earl Hugh's manor of Bistre.

Domesday Book stated that Earl Roger had built the castle of Montgomery, to which were attached 52½ hides within thirteen wasted vills used for hunting by their pre-Conquest lords. This devastation may have been a consequence of raids by Gruffydd ap Llewelyn during the reign of Edward the Confessor. Montgomery Castle provided an ideal base for offensive activity up the Severn valley into mid-Wales. It was situated beyond Offa's Dyke along the border between Shropshire, Ceri and Cydewain. The Domesday entry for Montgomery Castle refers to forty shillings which Earl Roger's tenants Roger and Robert, the sons of Corbet, had from Wales, which may represent a tributary payment from Ceri and Cydewain.[46] Beyond these two Welsh districts lay the cantref of Arwystli, which was probably the district of Wales paying £6 to Montgomery Castle, alluded to above in reference to the dispute between Robert of Rhuddlan and Earl Roger. Control of Arwystli represented a considerable extension of Norman authority into mid-Wales.

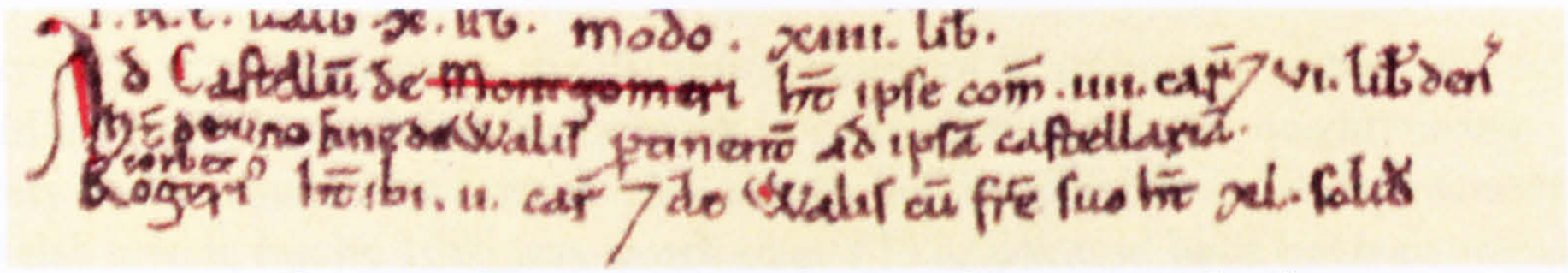

Figure 14: The Domesday reference to Montgomery Castle

The descriptions of these Welsh districts included in the Shropshire folios are vague, implying that they were subject to little more than loose overlordship. Concerning Cynllaith and Edeyrnion, Domesday Book only mentioned renders of sixty shillings and eight cows, and there is no indication of any population. In such areas there was probably merely an acknowledgement of Norman overlordship extracted under pressure, accompanied by little actual penetration. Other sources hint at further Norman activity in mid-Wales. In 1073 and 1074 there were raids on Ceredigion and Dyfed, involving Earl Roger's son Hugh. In 1073 *Brut y Tywysogyon* noted that "the French ravaged Ceredigion and Dyfed", and in the following year "the French ravaged Ceredigion by itself".[47]

* * *

Earl Roger kept almost three-quarters of his Shropshire land in demesne, scattered throughout much of the county but with a concentration in the Montgomery region, where he held the manors of Chirbury and Lydham in addition to Montgomery and its outliers. Chirbury, to which the hundred of Wittery was attached, had been held by King Edward before 1066, and the fact that it was waste at that time suggests that,

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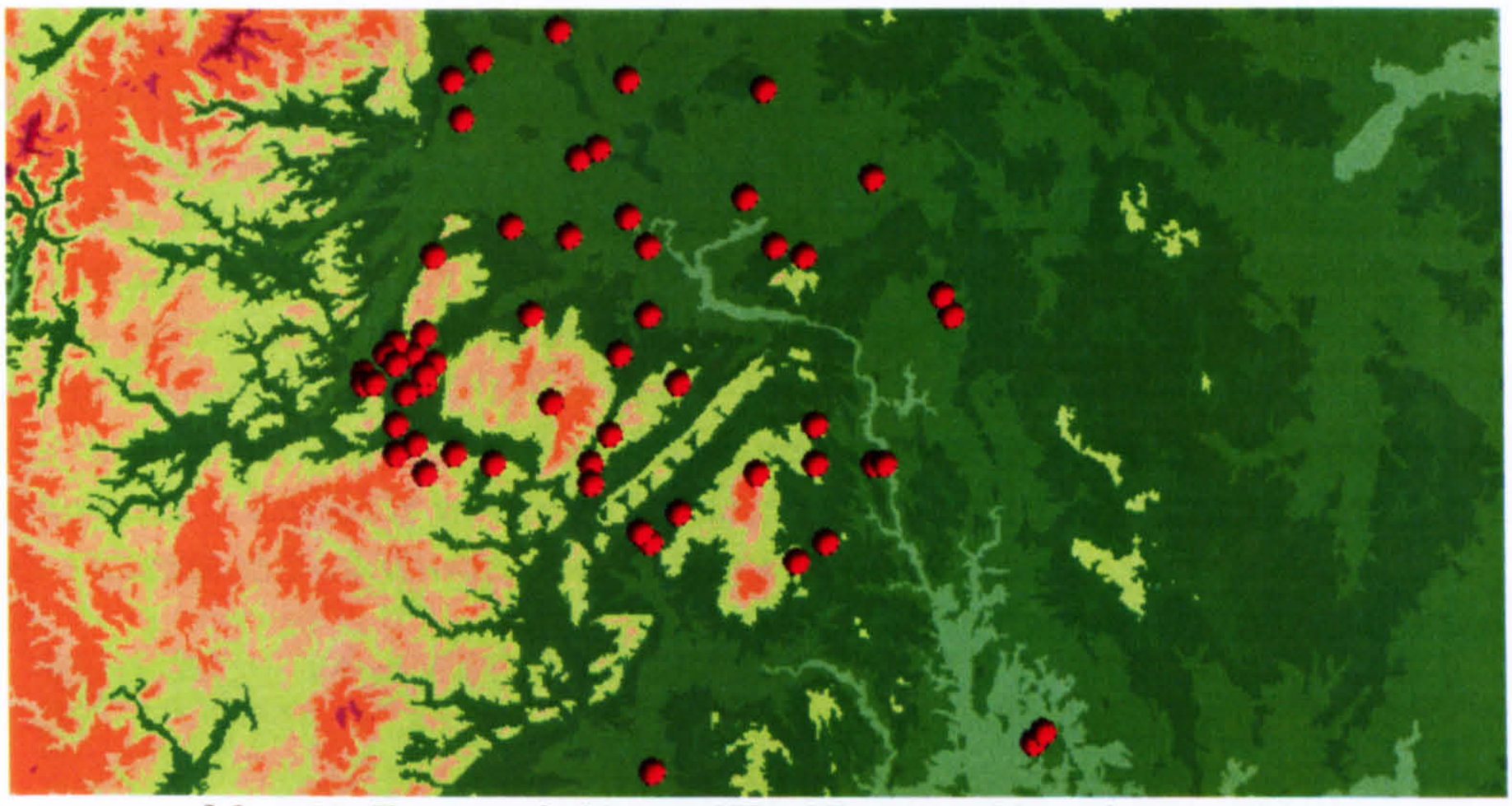
[46] *DB Shropshire* (4,1,5).
[47] *Brut y Tywysogyon*, ed. Jones, 16.

like Montgomery, it had been subject to attack by Gruffydd ap Llewelyn. Lydham had been held by Edric the Wild, and in view of the threat that Edric posed to Norman rule in the early years of Norman rule, Roger may have been keen to keep this manor firmly under his own control. Although no tenants were named in these three areas in Domesday Book, Earl Roger is likely to have had household knights to support him in the defence of the region and to undertake castleguard duties at Montgomery.



Map 65: Demesne holdings of Earl Roger in Shropshire in 1086

In north-western Shropshire, the demesne manor of Whittington with its 8½ outliers would have acted as a defensive bulwark in conjunction with the neighbouring castlery of Oswestry. This former royal manor had been waste in 1066, probably due to Welsh attack, but by 1086 was worth over £15 and would have been an attractive target for Welsh raiders in search of booty. Earl Roger would have also been concerned to protect the borough of Shrewsbury after it had been burnt by rebels in 1069. A number of key demesne manors were located in the vicinity of the town, among them Berwick, Condover and Ford, and their effective administration would have served to control the local population and discourage further rebellion. The three tenants said to hold part of the large manor of Condover may have possessed military responsibilities. As well as strategic considerations, the retention of such manors in demesne is likely to have been influenced by financial concerns. Earl Roger's demesne holdings, excluding Shrewsbury and Montgomery Castle for which the data is irregular, represented 73% of the total hidage of his Shropshire fief but nearly 90% of its value, confirming that he kept the most valuable manors in his own hands.[48]

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By 1086, Earl Roger had created a number of compact border lordships to protect against Welsh assault and to reoccupy areas along the border that had been captured or devastated by the Welsh. This was especially the case in the hundred of Merset, in which most vills were waste in 1066 and the population was largely Welsh. As Robin

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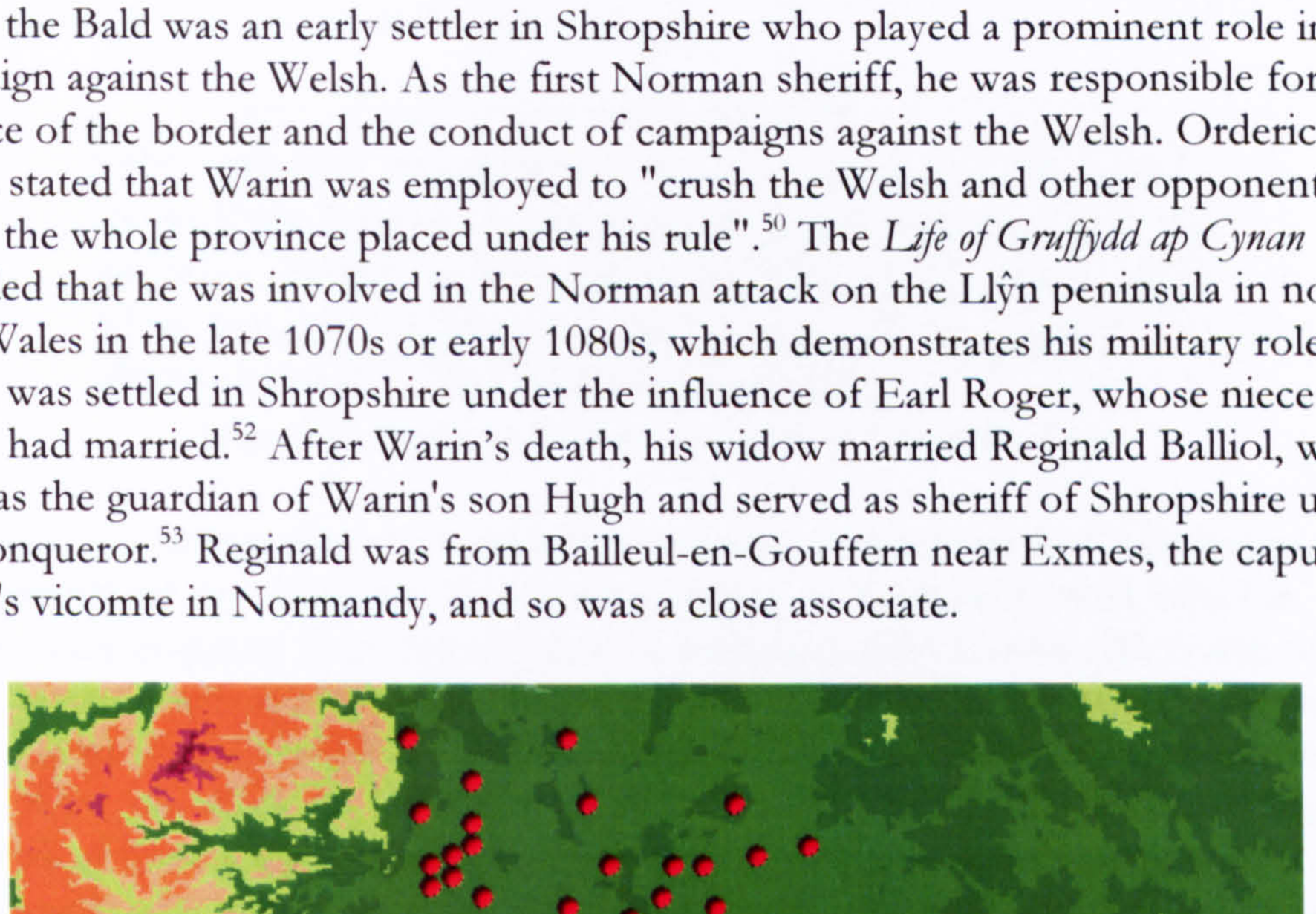
[48] Earl Roger also appears to have improved the yields of his demesne manors more than those of his tenants. The relatively high level of demesne ploughteams on his manors, averaging over four ploughs per vill, suggests concern for the profitable exploitation of his estates.

Fleming has recognised, in Shropshire there was an "almost complete abandonment of ancient tenurial and lordship patterns in favour of endowments constructed from consolidated stretches of territory".[49] Several fiefs were concentrated in limited geographical areas, which represented a marked break from the pre-Conquest pattern of scattered estates.

Warin the Bald was an early settler in Shropshire who played a prominent role in the campaign against the Welsh. As the first Norman sheriff, he was responsible for the defence of the border and the conduct of campaigns against the Welsh. Orderic Vitalis stated that Warin was employed to "crush the Welsh and other opponents and pacify the whole province placed under his rule".[50] The *Life of Gruffydd ap Cynan* recorded that he was involved in the Norman attack on the Llŷn peninsula in north-west Wales in the late 1070s or early 1080s, which demonstrates his military role.[51] Warin was settled in Shropshire under the influence of Earl Roger, whose niece Warin had married.[52] After Warin's death, his widow married Reginald Balliol, who acted as the guardian of Warin's son Hugh and served as sheriff of Shropshire under the Conqueror.[53] Reginald was from Bailleul-en-Gouffern near Exmes, the caput of Roger's vicomte in Normandy, and so was a close associate.



Map 66: Land of Reginald the sheriff in the Shropshire earldom of Roger of Montgomery in 1086

In his capacity as sheriff, Reginald held 70 manors scattered throughout much of Shropshire. However, a concentration of manors can be seen in Merset in the north west of the county, where he controlled more than 80% of the hundred and where he had built the border castle of Oswestry. Warin and Reginald's role in ensuring Norman control of the recaptured Merset region and participating in offensive action beyond the border can largely explain this territorial concentration. It was crucial to secure this region of Shropshire in view of the vulnerability of the Dee estuary and its

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[49] Fleming, 'Domesday Book and the Tenurial Revolution', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, vol.9 (1987), 94.
[50] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 263.
[51] *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*, ed. Evans, 12-13.
[52] Orderic Vitalis stated that his wife Amiera was the *nepta*, possibly niece, of Earl Roger. *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, iii, 140.
[53] Domesday Book confirms that Reginald was Warin's successor, stating that Reginald gave Tugford to St. Peters Church "for the soul of his predecessor, Warin". *DB Shropshire* (4,3,8).

tributaries as a potential point of Welsh penetration into England. In a handful of manors near the border, Welshmen were said to hold ploughs from Reginald at a revenue, for example at Halston, Maesbrook, Melverley, Tibeton, Weston Coton and Weston Rhyn in the vicinity of Oswestry, which confirms Reginald's efforts to subjugate his Welsh neighbours. Reginald's control of the two Welsh districts of Cynllaith and Edeyrnion is a further indication of his involvement in extending Anglo-Norman authority into Welsh territory.

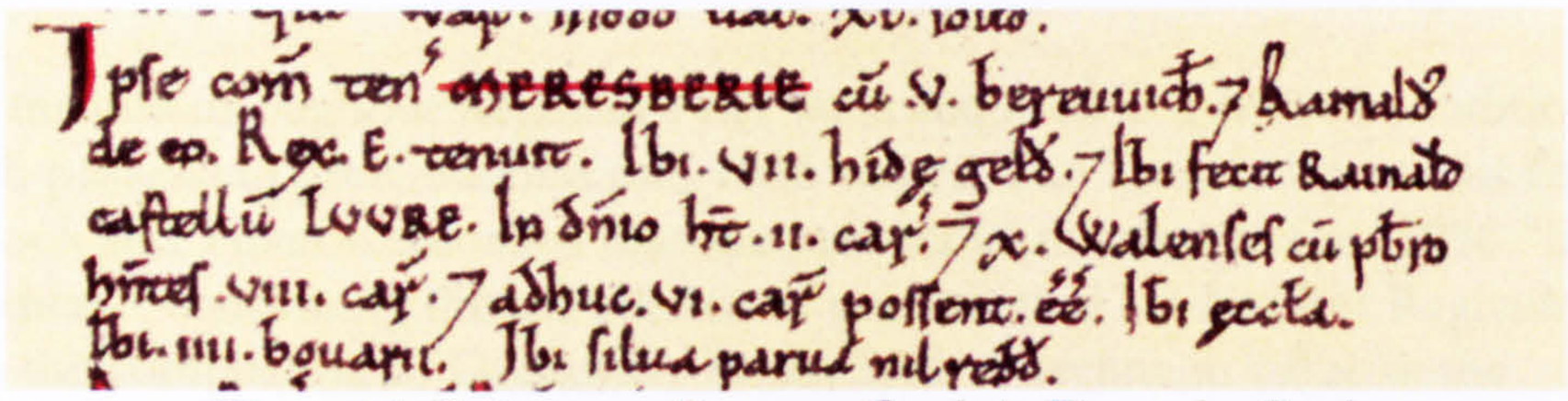
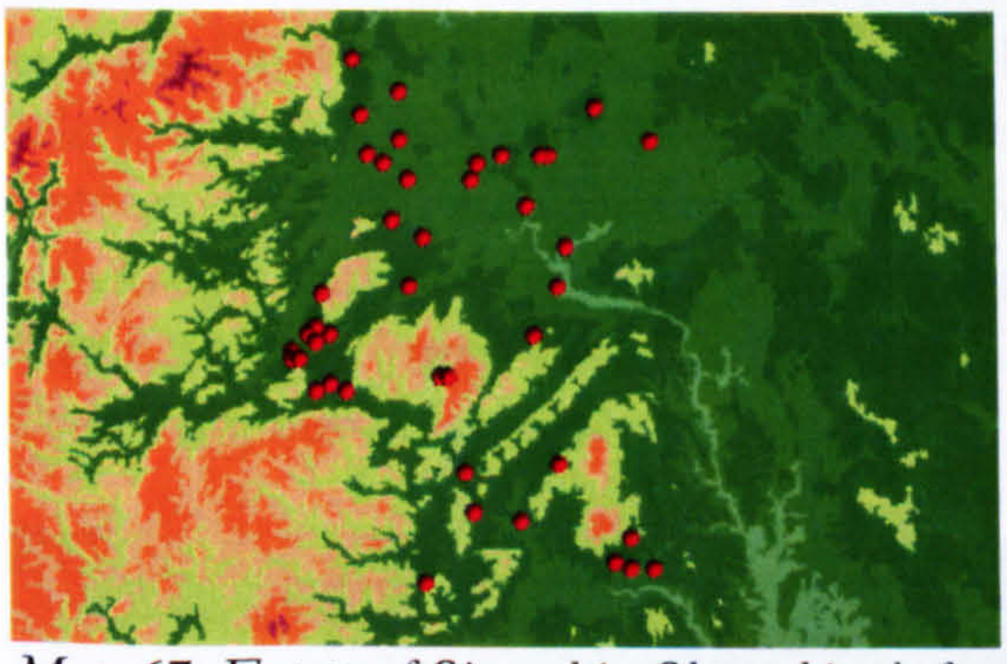
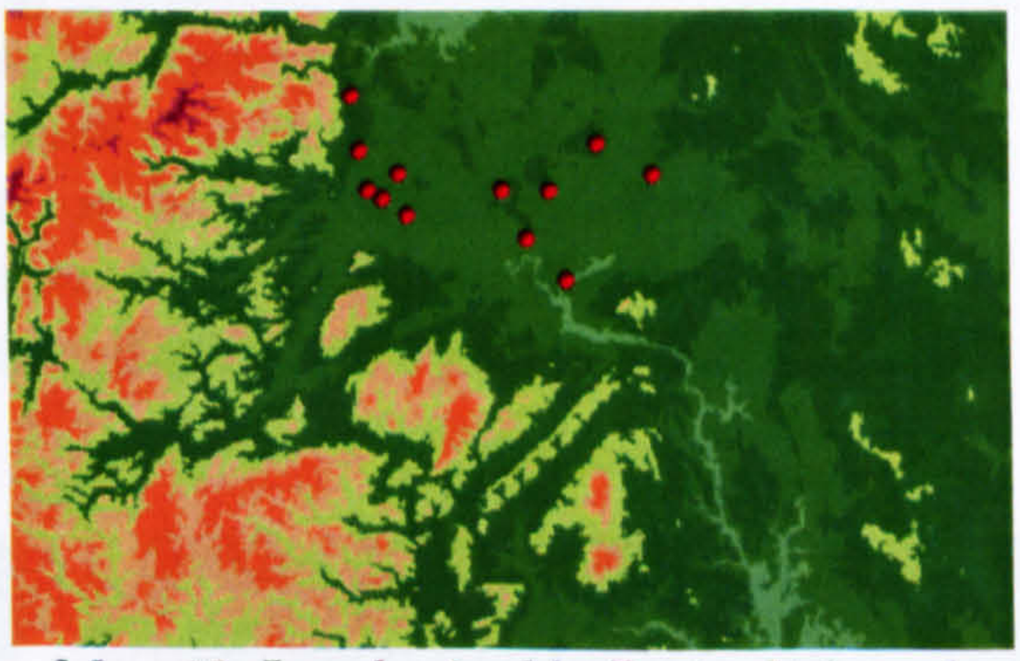


Figure 15: Reference to Oswestry Castle in Domesday Book

Reginald's Shropshire fief was formed from the land of at least 41 Englishmen, the most prominent of whom was Earl Morcar. Many of Reginald's most valuable manors were acquired from Siward, from whom he acquired over £31 worth of land, mainly in the north of the county. However, the antecessorial connection between the two men is weakened by the fact that Siward had an extensive Shropshire estate before 1066, not all of which passed into the hands of the sheriff. Although Reginald gained all of Siward's land in the two north-eastern hundreds of Hodnet and Wrockwardine, in the north-western hundreds of Baschurch and Merset he gained only part of Siward's estate, and elsewhere in the county Reginald did not succeed to any of Siward's land. In many other instances, Reginald received only part of the estate of an Anglo-Saxon lord, removing the possibility of an antecessorial connection.[54]



Map 67: Estate of Siward in Shropshire before 1066



Map 68: Land gained by Reginald from the former estate of Siward by 1086

Reginald had enfeoffed at least 21 tenants on almost half of his land, representing a relatively high level of subinfeudation perhaps indicative of his military responsibilities.[55] Two manors in the vicinity of Oswestry, West Felton and Woolstone, were both said to be held of Reginald by a man-at-arms, and it is likely that these men served Reginald in a military capacity on the Welsh border. Robert

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[54] Thored proves an exception, for all of his six manors passed to Reginald after 1066. The geographical spread of these manors suggests that there may have been an antecessorial connection between the two men.

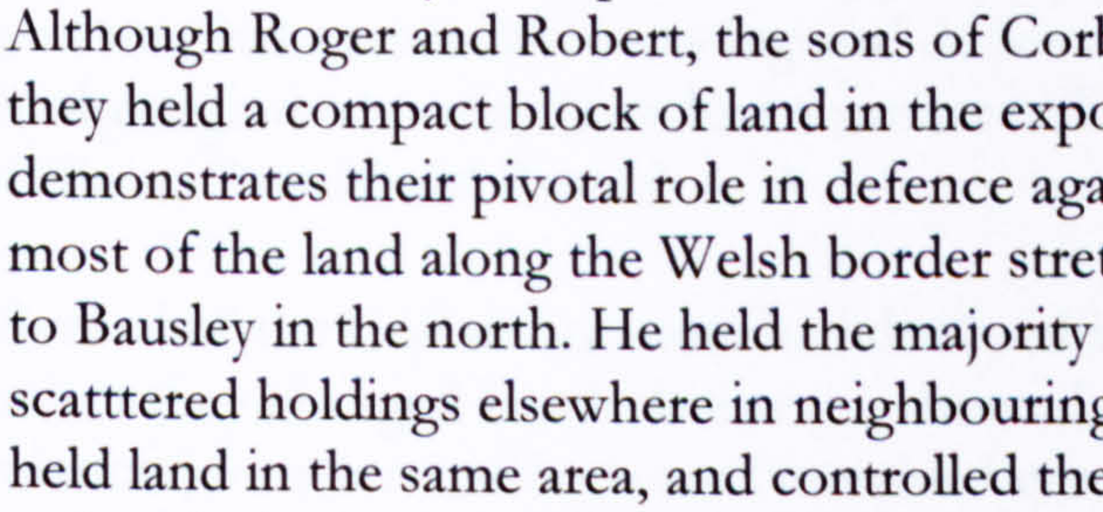
[55] The total excludes the assessment for the subinfeudated manor of Hadley, for which no assessment is given in Domesday Book.

held two manors in the north-west of Shropshire, including Wootton near Oswestry, and was said to be a tenant of Reginald at Maesbury, where his lord had built Oswestry Castle. Other tenants held land more distanced from Oswestry, but may too have secured tenure in return for military service. Odo, who held a compact group of five tenancies in Condover and Patton in mid-Shropshire, provides an example. Other tenants held more scattered tenancies, among them Albert Grelley, Alchere, Azor and Richard, and their military responsibilities are more difficult to ascertain.

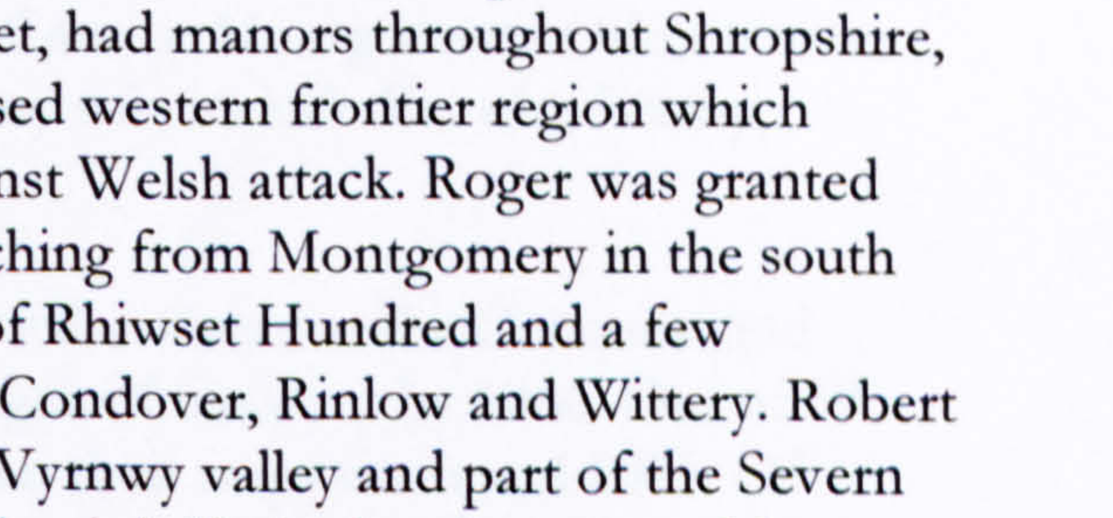
Several manors throughout Reginald's fief were acquired in a wasted condition, although possessing pre-Conquest and 1086 values. The Domesday entries for Maesbrook and Tibeton recorded that the manors were waste before 1086 "like many others", confirming the prevalence of uncultivated land within Reginald's fief prior to the compilation of Domesday Book. Such a decline in value in the immediate post-Conquest period is likely to be attributable to either Welsh raids or rebellion in the late 1060s and the ensuing harrying campaign. Both factors serve as an indication of the vulnerability of the area and emphasise that Reginald had an important role to play in controlling this strategically significant area of the Welsh March.

* * *

The Corbet family were prominent in the defence of the mid-Shropshire border. Although Roger and Robert, the sons of Corbet, had manors throughout Shropshire, they held a compact block of land in the exposed western frontier region which demonstrates their pivotal role in defence against Welsh attack. Roger was granted most of the land along the Welsh border stretching from Montgomery in the south to Bausley in the north. He held the majority of Rhiwset Hundred and a few scatttered holdings elsewhere in neighbouring Condover, Rinlow and Wittery. Robert held land in the same area, and controlled the Vyrnwy valley and part of the Severn valley. As both men only held land in Shropshire, it is likely that they were able to devote much of their attention to the defence of the border and offensive activity into Welsh territory. The fact that they had forty shillings from a district in Wales connected to Montgomery Castle in which they had two ploughs, possibly Ceri and Cydewain, confirms this.



Map 69: Land of Roger son of Corbet in Shropshire in 1086[56]



Map 70: Land of Robert son of Corbet in Shropshire in 1086

[56] The thirteen unnamed outliers attached to Worthen are omitted from the map.

Roger and Robert received their land from at least 25 Anglo-Saxon lords, demonstrating that the region had witnessed a considerable amount of tenurial consolidation after 1066. The only possible antecessor of the Corbet brothers was Ernwy, all of whose land held as the sole pre-Conquest lord had passed to them, although this may have been purely coincidental in view of the geographical concentration of their land. One of Roger's most significant possessions was Earl Morcar's former manor of Worthen, to which were attached thirteen unnamed outliers. One of these outliers was probably Caus, where the Corbet family built the castle that was to become the focus of their barony. To the north-west of Worthen, Roger also held the manor of Trewern under the earl, located just east of Offa's Dyke. The fact that it was waste except for two hides before 1086 suggests that it may have been subject to border raids. Five men-at-arms were said to have 6½ ploughs of the manor, and are likely to have been involved in the defence of the region. Roger also held the two manors of Alderbury and Minsterley to the east of Trewern, which would have provided a back up in terms of resources and manpower.

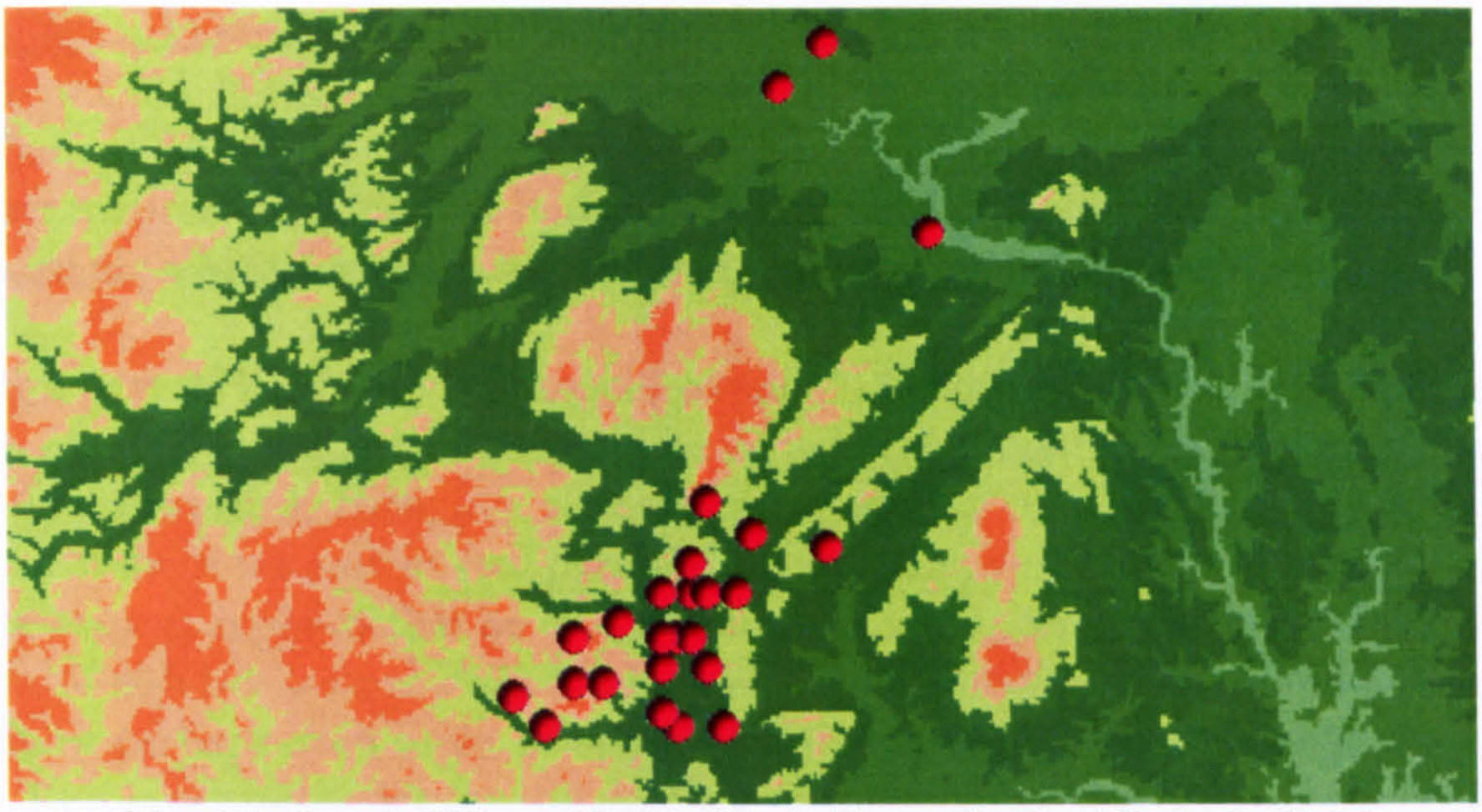
Roger had subinfeudated around three-fifths of his Shropshire fief, whereas his brother had subinfeudated only two manors, held by Ernwy and Oswulf, perhaps reflecting the more compact nature of his fief. Around 60% of the assessment of Worthen was held of Roger by four men-at-arms - Geoffrey, Grento, Picot and Rainfrid - who are likely to have supported Roger in the defence of the border region and may have undertaken castleguard duties at Caus or Montgomery. Other tenants in the region who may have had a similar military role include Ernwin, Ernwy, Gilbert, Oswulf and Ranulf.

Several of the Corbets' manors had declined in value between the Conquest and when they changed hands, but some showed signs of recovery by 1086. Out of 39 manors, fourteen had increased in value between their acquisition and 1086. Of these, more than half were worth more than they had been in 1066, which suggests that their redevelopment was rigorously enforced and arable potential well exploited. Roger's share of Montgomery Castle had been waste, but unlike Earl Roger's share, it had a value of £5 in 1086. The fact that there were 22 ploughs there and a substantial population hints that new agricultural arrangements had been introduced within his share of the castlery in order to encourage settlement and arable cultivation. Colonisation was essential in such areas, in order to provide fighting power, labour, food, transport and fuel to strategic sites.

* * *

In the far south-west of Shropshire, Earl Roger granted a compact fief to Picot from Sai in Orne. Picot held 27 manors in the Clun and Onwy valleys, all except three of which were concentrated in the border hundreds of Leintwardine and Rinlow. The focus of his fief was Clun, which was a substantial settlement on the eastern-most edge of Rinlow. The fact that four Welshmen paid around two shillings to Picot in render demonstrates that it was a manor on the edge of the English kingdom. The three men-at-arms who held seven hides of the manor - Gislold, Picot and Walter - are likely to have been involved in the defence of the border and military campaigns

into Wales under Picot. Clun was later the site of a castle, and it is not improbable that some form of fortification existed in this vulnerable area under the Conqueror.



Map 71: Land of Picot of Sai in Shropshire under Earl Roger in 1086

Picot was a dominant landholder in the hundred of Rinlow with over £30 worth of land in thirteen vills, as Figure 16 demonstrates. The Bishop of Hereford held the manor of Lydbury in the same hundred, assessed at 53 hides but over 60% waste, and Earl Roger retained Edric the Wild's former manor of Lydham. Picot held a number of substantial manors in the hundred in addition to Clun. His manor of Clunbury had never paid tax or been hidated, confirming that it was not a longstanding English possession. Picot was also the dominant landholder in Leintwardine, with eight manors assessed at nearly nineteen hides, representing over a quarter of the assessment of the entire hundred. Picot's position in these two hundreds suggests that he must have shouldered a large part of the burden for the settlement and defence of the region.

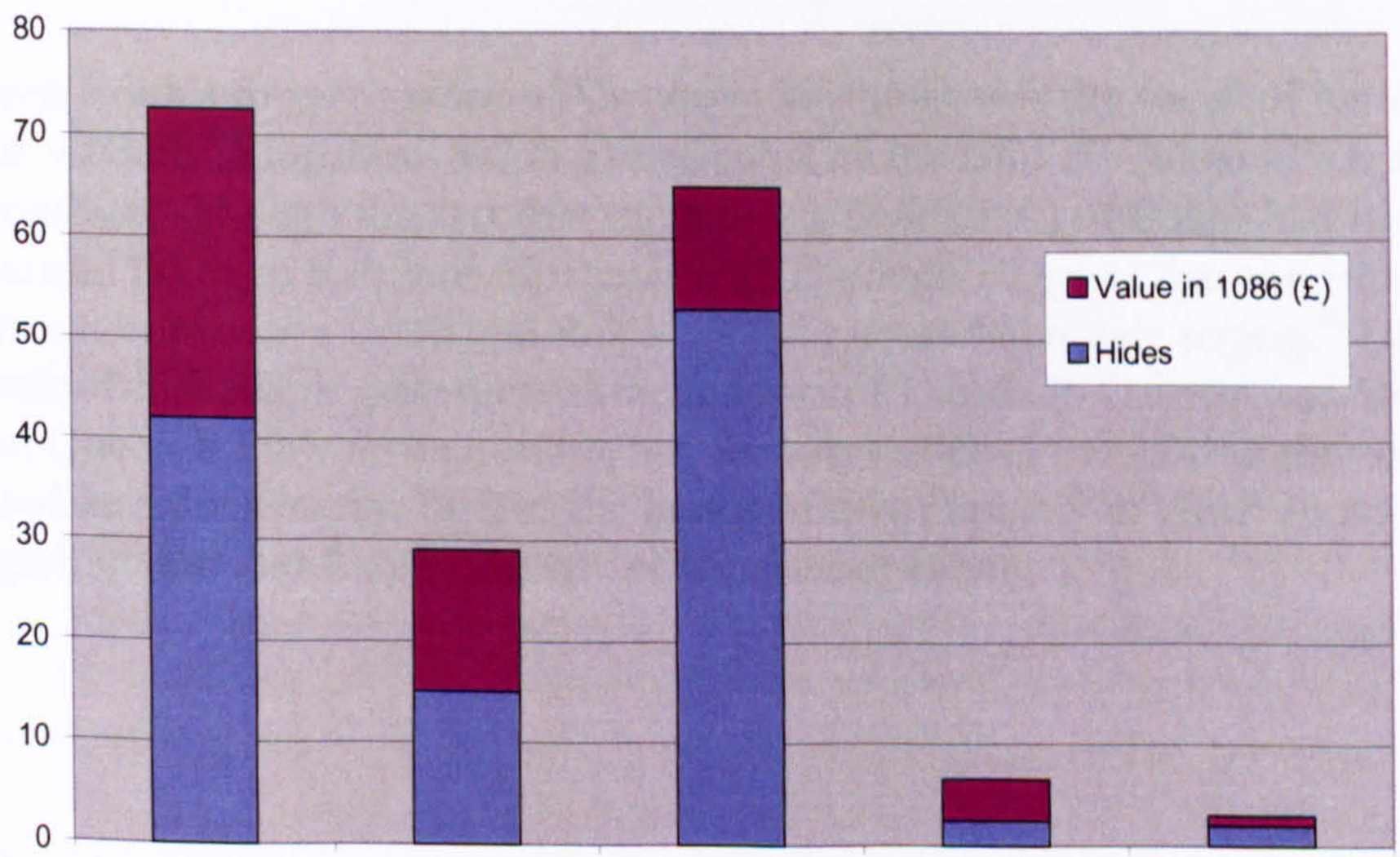


Figure 16: Division of land in Rinlow Hundred in 1086

Nearly 78% of Picot's land was held in demesne, which represents a low level of subinfeudation in view of the vulnerable location of his land. However, Picot had at least three other tenants on his land in addition to the men named at Clun. Bernard and Leofric held two manors in Leintwardine that may have contributed to the defence of Clun and the surrounding region, and the two men-at-arms who held land from Picot at Woolston in Leintwardine probably served in a similar capacity. Fulk held four manors from Picot at Bedstone, Clungunford, Leintwardine and Selley in Leintwardine, which formed a compact sub-tenancy on the Welsh border.

Although over 40% of Picot's Shropshire manors were waste in 1086, he does appear to have engaged in a selective programme of redevelopment. Of the sixteen manors that were not waste in 1086, five were worth more than they had been in 1066, four were worth the same and six had partially recovered. An examination of the location of these manors suggests that he concentrated his attention on manors most distant from the Welsh border and dislocated manors near Shrewsbury. It would have been difficult, or perhaps even futile, to restore wasted vills in the vulnerable Welsh border region. Resources necessary for the defence of the frontier and offensive action into Wales could have been gathered from manors further east.

* * *

Ralph of Mortimer held alongside Picot of Sai in Leintwardine and across the border into Herefordshire, in addition to a second concentration of land in south-eastern Shropshire. He is named as one of the men holding directly from the king in Shropshire in addition to the land that he held under Earl Roger, and appears to have been the earl's steward in Shropshire.[57] The focus of his fief was Wigmore Castle, situated in the Herefordshire hundred of Hazeltree and surrounded by manors in both counties. Domesday Book revealed that the castle had been built by Earl William on waste land called Merestun, and included a borough which paid £7 in 1086.[58] Like Picot of Sai, Ralph of Mortimer must have played a crucial role in the defence of the border region.

Queen Edith's former manor of Cleobury Mortimer was the focus of his land in south-eastern Shropshire. Ralph gained most of the land of Queen Edith in Shropshire, although the fact that the queen's divided vill of Pulley had by 1086 been separated between Ralph of Mortimer and Theodulf suggests that the antecessorial connection between Edith and Ralph was not overwhelmingly strong.[59] Likewise, in Herefordshire Ralph gained the three manors of Leinthall, Orleton and Shobdon from Queen Edith's former estate, but the remainder of her land in the county passed into the *terra regis* or into the hands of other tenants-in-chief. In no other English county did Ralph gain any of her former estate.

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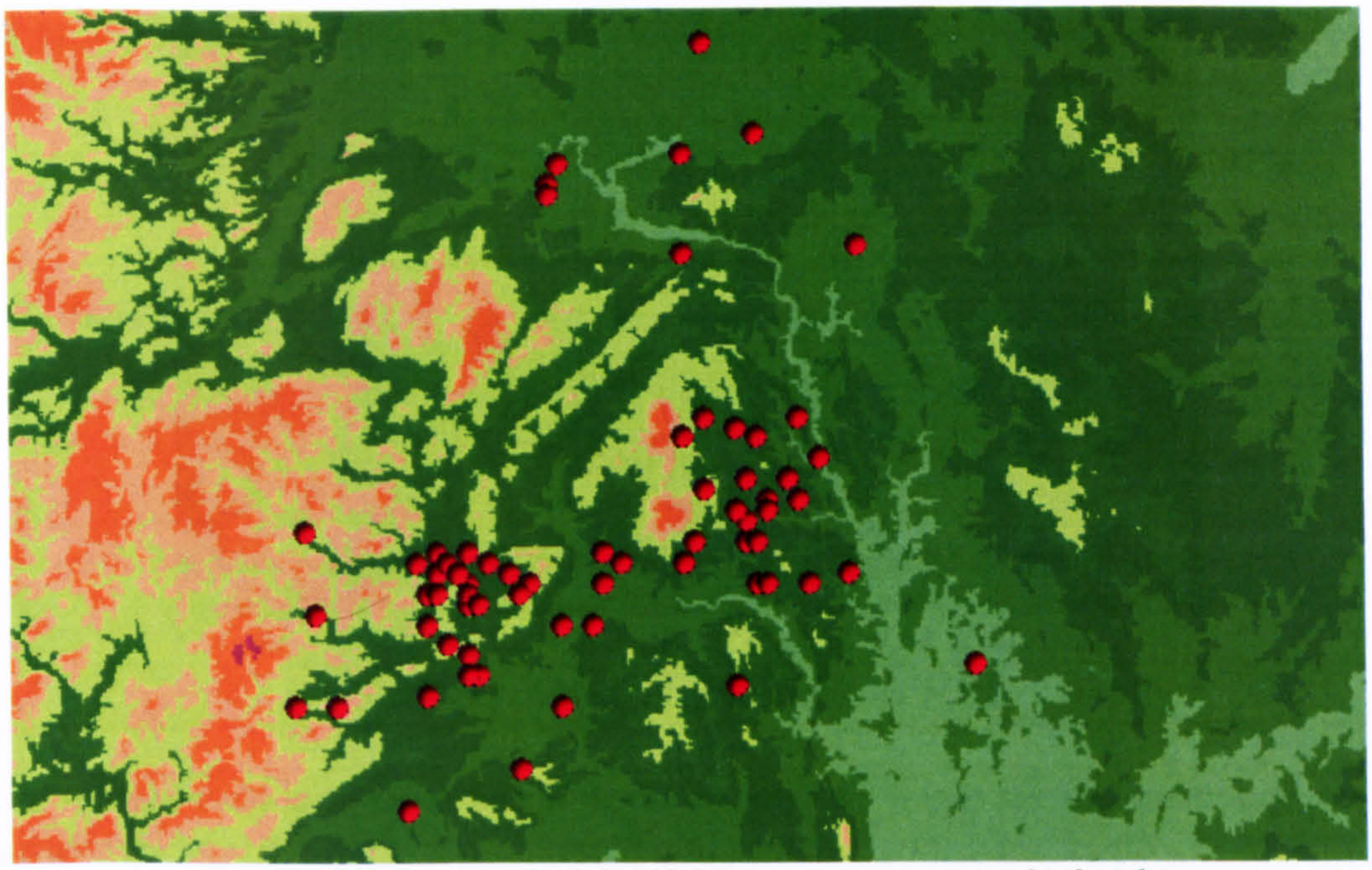
[57] Mason, 'The officers and clerks of the Norman earls of Shropshire', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, vol. 56 (1957-1960), 248.
[58] It had originally been granted to Thurstan of Flanders by the earl. See *DB Shropshire* (6,3).
[59] Assuming that references to Edith as a pre-Conquest landholder are to the queen, which seems likely in view of the value of some of these possessions.



Map 72: Land of Ralph of Mortimer as tenant-in-chief and manorial lord in Shropshire and Herefordshire in 1086

Ralph had at least 43 other predecessors in Shropshire and Herefordshire, including a single manor from each of the former estates of Earl Edwin, Earl Morcar and Countess Godiva. In Herefordshire, Ralph gained four of Edric the Wild's former manors, and the Edric who held part of his Herefordshire manor of Birley in 1066 may have been the same man. An Edric is named as Ralph's predecessor in the nearby Shropshire manors of Adforton and Lingen, and may too have been Edric the Wild. The threat that Edric the Wild posed to Norman rule in the immediate aftermath of the Conquest would suggest that these were key manors in which Norman control had to be strongly asserted in order to quash local resistance. The majority of Ralph of Mortimer's remaining predecessors appear to be minor thanes from whom he received only one or two holdings, unless, of course, they had an unnamed overlord. Where he did gain more land from a single individual, for example from Azor in both counties, he was not their sole successor.[60] It appears that the post-Conquest period was witness to a considerable amount of tenurial consolidation in order to create this compact and strategically placed border fief.

Over 60% of Ralph's fief was held in demesne in 1086. Across both counties, Ralph had at least fourteen tenants on both the land he held in chief and his mesne tenancies. One of his most prominent tenants was Richard, who held twelve manors from him in nine vills, including Brampton Bryan and Pedwardine in Shropshire and Kinnersley in Herefordshire, all near the border with Wales. Brampton Bryan and Pedwardine were both within a few miles of Wigmore Castle, which suggests that Richard provided castleguard service for his lord. Kinnersley lay in the Wye valley to the west of Offa's Dyke, again a key strategic location.

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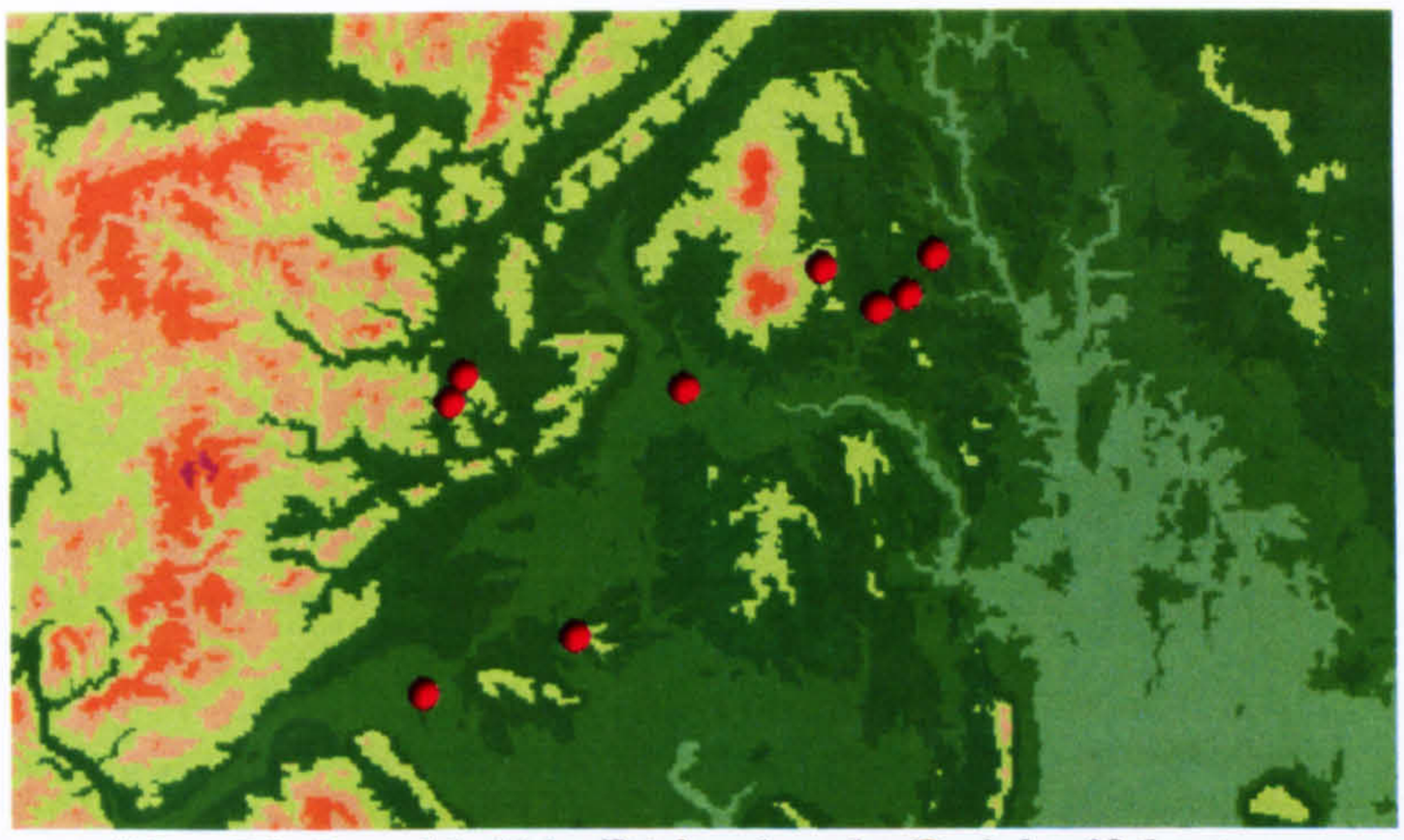
[60] Two of Azor's manors in Shropshire passed to Helgot and Roger Hunter.



Map 73: Land held by Richard under Ralph of Mortimer in Shropshire and Herefordshire in 1086

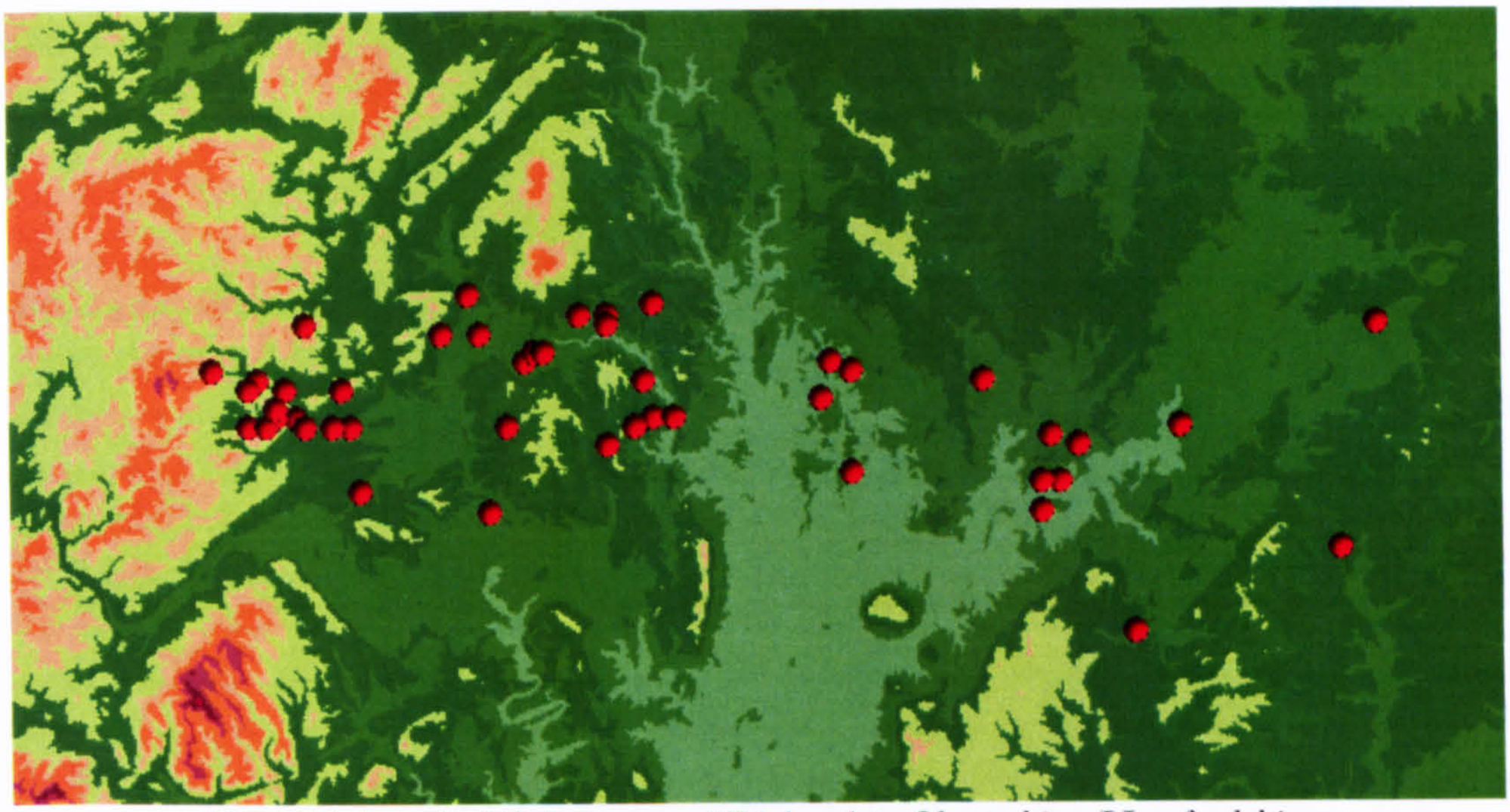
Other tenants held land from Ralph in the vicinity of Wigmore and probably served in a military capacity. Men-at-arms were said to hold land from Ralph at Leintwardine and Lye, located just to the north and south of Wigmore respectively. Odilard held the manor of Downton on the Rock around three miles north of Wigmore, and Thurstan held the two manors of Lingen and Shirley just south-west of the castle. Likewise, Helgot was a tenant at Adley and Bucknell, around four miles north-west of the castle. Of Ingelrann's six tenancies in Shropshire, two at Letton and Walford were located within three miles of Wigmore. His remaining land spread across the south of the county as far as Neen Savage in Condertree, perhaps providing a line of communication between the two focuses of his lord's fief at Wigmore and Cleobury Mortimer. Robert of Vessey and Walter held part of Earl Morcar's former manor of Caynham from Ralph as men-at-arms, which was located between Wigmore and Cleobury Mortimer, again perhaps providing a link.

To the west of Wigmore, eight manors belonging to Ralph were said to be waste, and were described as being located in the Welsh March. These manors mark the extremity of Norman settlement in south-western Shropshire and across into Herefordshire, and are indicative of Ralph's role in establishing a Norman foothold on the very edges of the kingdom. Their wasted condition was perhaps a consequence of Welsh raids across the border in an attempt to regain their former territory. Ralph's fief, viewed as a whole, must have been of vital significance in terms of defending against such attacks in an especially vulnerable part of the kingdom.

* * *

The fiefs of Picot of Sai and Ralph of Mortimer in southern Shropshire and northern Herefordshire were woven around the existing fief of Osbern son of Richard, a Norman whose father Richard Scope had settled in the region under Edward the Confessor. The focus of Osbern's fief was Richard's Castle in Herefordshire, and his land in Shropshire and Herefordshire should be viewed as part of a stretch of manors culminating in Dunchurch in Warwickshire. Osbern's interaction with his

Welsh neighbours is confirmed by the fact that he married Nesta, the daughter of Gruffydd ap Llywellyn.[61]



Map 74: Land of Osbern son of Richard in Shropshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire and Warwickshire in 1086

Osbern held the four manors of Ackhill, Cascob, Humet and Stanage in the infertile south-west border region of Shropshire which, apart from ten shillings from the lordship of Humet, were waste. The two men-at-arms holding ploughs at Humet may have been military tenants serving Osbern on the border, and the poor condition of this land is perhaps indicative of the vulnerability of the region to Welsh assault. Osbern's four manors further east in the fertile Corve valley made up most of the value of his Shropshire land, and probably provided much of the resources necessary for his activity on the Welsh border.

Similarly, in Herefordshire much of Osbern's land in the north-western upland region was waste and used for hunting, including eleven manors west of Offa's Dyke said to be along the Welsh March which, although possessing an arable capacity for 36 ploughs, remained waste in 1086. This area had been taken by Gruffydd ap Llywelyn in 1056 and was perhaps recovered by the English under Earl Harold in 1063-4. Although the land had never paid tax, the fact that it was hidated confirms that settlement in the area was not entirely a Norman achievement. Like Picot in Shropshire, Osbern may have been unable to redevelop the land because of its vulnerable location. The value of Osbern's Herefordshire land was boosted by a few manors in the central plain, like Bodenham which was valued at 48 shillings and had eleven ploughs.

Subinfeudation was not noticeable on Osbern's fief, which is surprising in view of the length of time that Osbern and his family had been established in the region. In Shropshire, only the manor of Neen Sollars was held of Osbern by a tenant, Siward, who was also the pre-Conquest holder of the land. The manor was not hidated and

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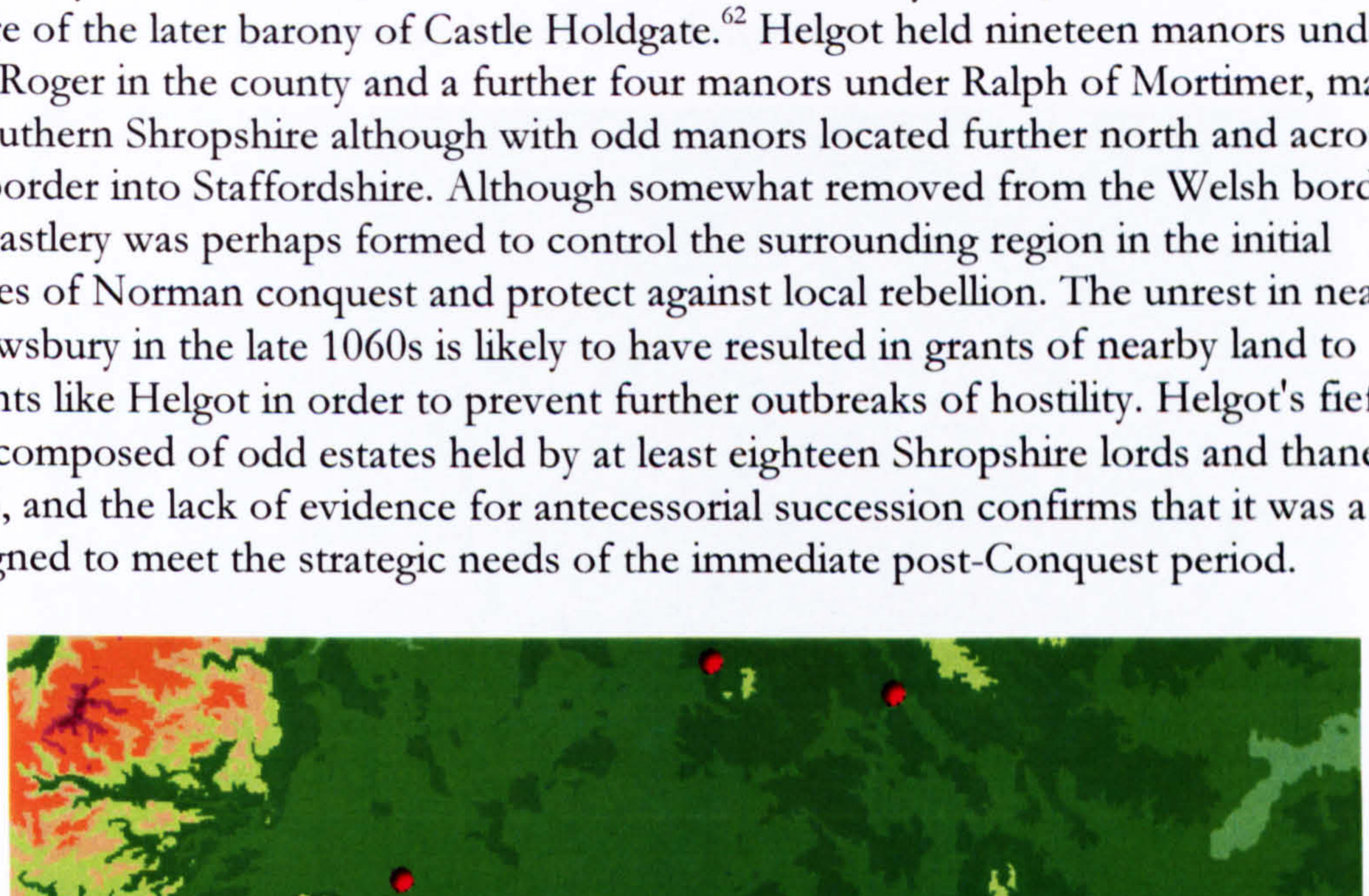
[61] The marriage produced his son and heir, Hugh. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 316. According to Orderic Vitalis, his daughter Nesta (or Agnes) married Bernard of Neufmarché at some point before 1088. *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, vi, 124.

had never paid tax. In Herefordshire, Osbern's only tenants were Drogo at Staunton-on-Arrow and Roger of Lacy at Lyde. None of these three manors were in the vicinity of Richard's Castle. Unless Osbern's tenants escaped the attention of the Domesday commisioners, it seems that his military obligations were met without the grant of land in return for military service.

* * *

To the east of the fiefs of Osbern son of Richard, Picot and Ralph of Mortimer lay the possessions of Helgot, a follower of Earl Roger from the Hiémois holding a relatively scattered fief centred on the manor of Holdgate, where he had constructed a castle by 1086. The castle was mentioned in Domesday Book, and formed the centre of the later barony of Castle Holdgate.[62] Helgot held nineteen manors under Earl Roger in the county and a further four manors under Ralph of Mortimer, mainly in southern Shropshire although with odd manors located further north and across the border into Staffordshire. Although somewhat removed from the Welsh border, the castlery was perhaps formed to control the surrounding region in the initial phases of Norman conquest and protect against local rebellion. The unrest in nearby Shrewsbury in the late 1060s is likely to have resulted in grants of nearby land to tenants like Helgot in order to prevent further outbreaks of hostility. Helgot's fief was composed of odd estates held by at least eighteen Shropshire lords and thanes in 1066, and the lack of evidence for antecessorial succession confirms that it was a fief designed to meet the strategic needs of the immediate post-Conquest period.



Map 75: Land of Helgot in the fief of Earl Roger in 1086

Holdgate was located in the fertile Corve valley in Patton Hundred, and the manor in which the castle was constructed had formed four holdings before 1066, and had been waste when acquired. One of Helgot's four named tenants, Herbert, held the manor of Sutton located five miles south west of Holdgate, and may have served Helgot at the castle. Another tenant, Richard, held Meadowley and Preen within a six mile radius of the castle, and may too have had castleguard obligations in return for his tenancy.

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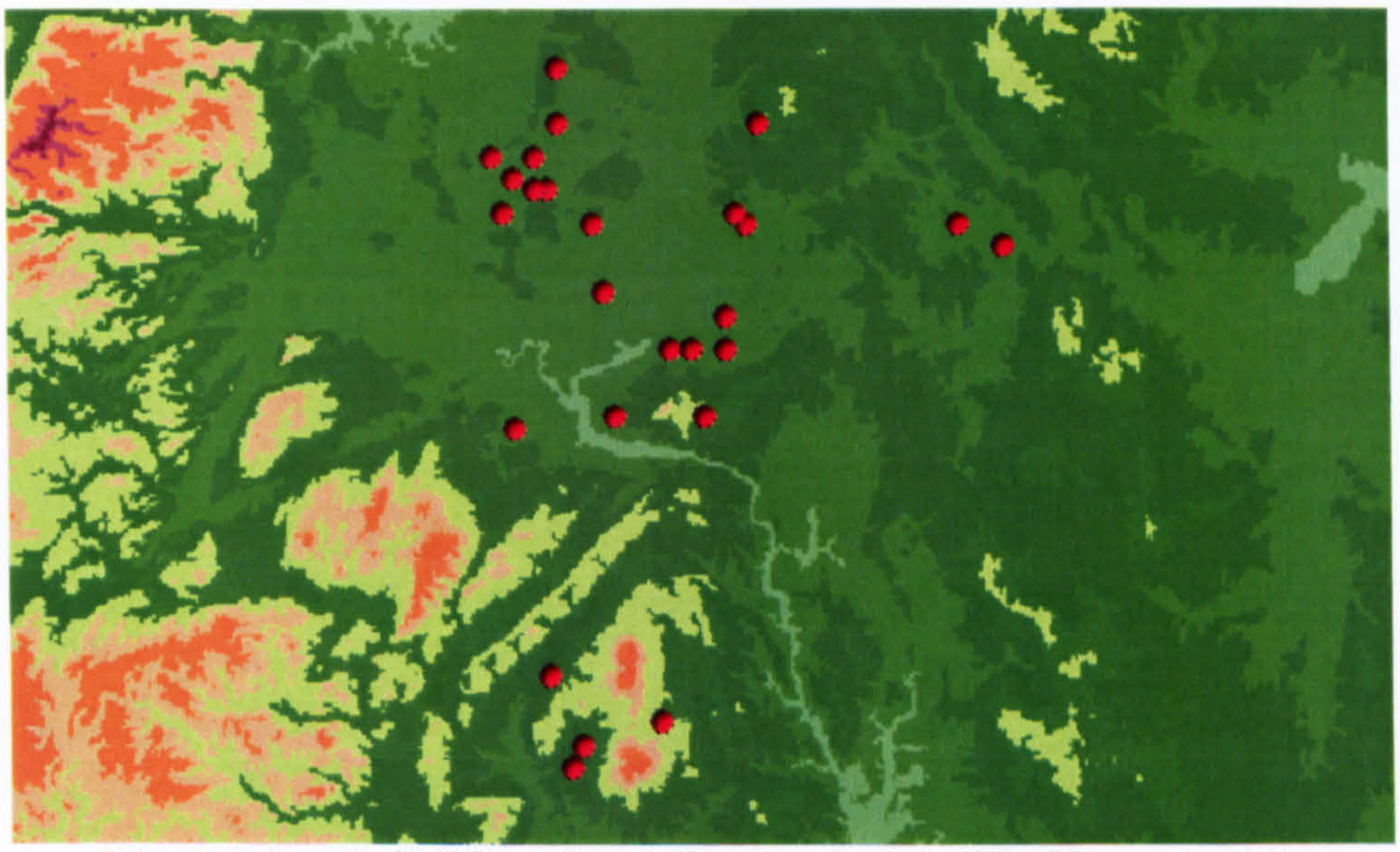
[62] *DB Shropshire* (4,21,6). See Sanders, *English Baronies*, 28.

* * *

North-eastern Shropshire was another area of the county in which a number of compact tenancies were prevalent. As a follower of Roger of Montgomery from the Hiémois and the earl's lieutenant in England, William Pandolf received a fairly extensive fief in north-eastern Shropshire and across the border into Staffordshire, focused on Wem. His land was seized in 1077-8, when he was falsely accused of murdering Earl Roger's wife, but he was subsequently acquitted and his confiscated lands were returned to him. Thus in Domesday Book he was said to hold 28 manors in north-eastern Shropshire and the manor of Creswell across the border in Staffordshire, all under the lordship of Earl Roger. His possessions were especially concentrated in the Shropshire hundreds of Hodnet and Wrockwardine, where defence of Watling Street may have been of significance.

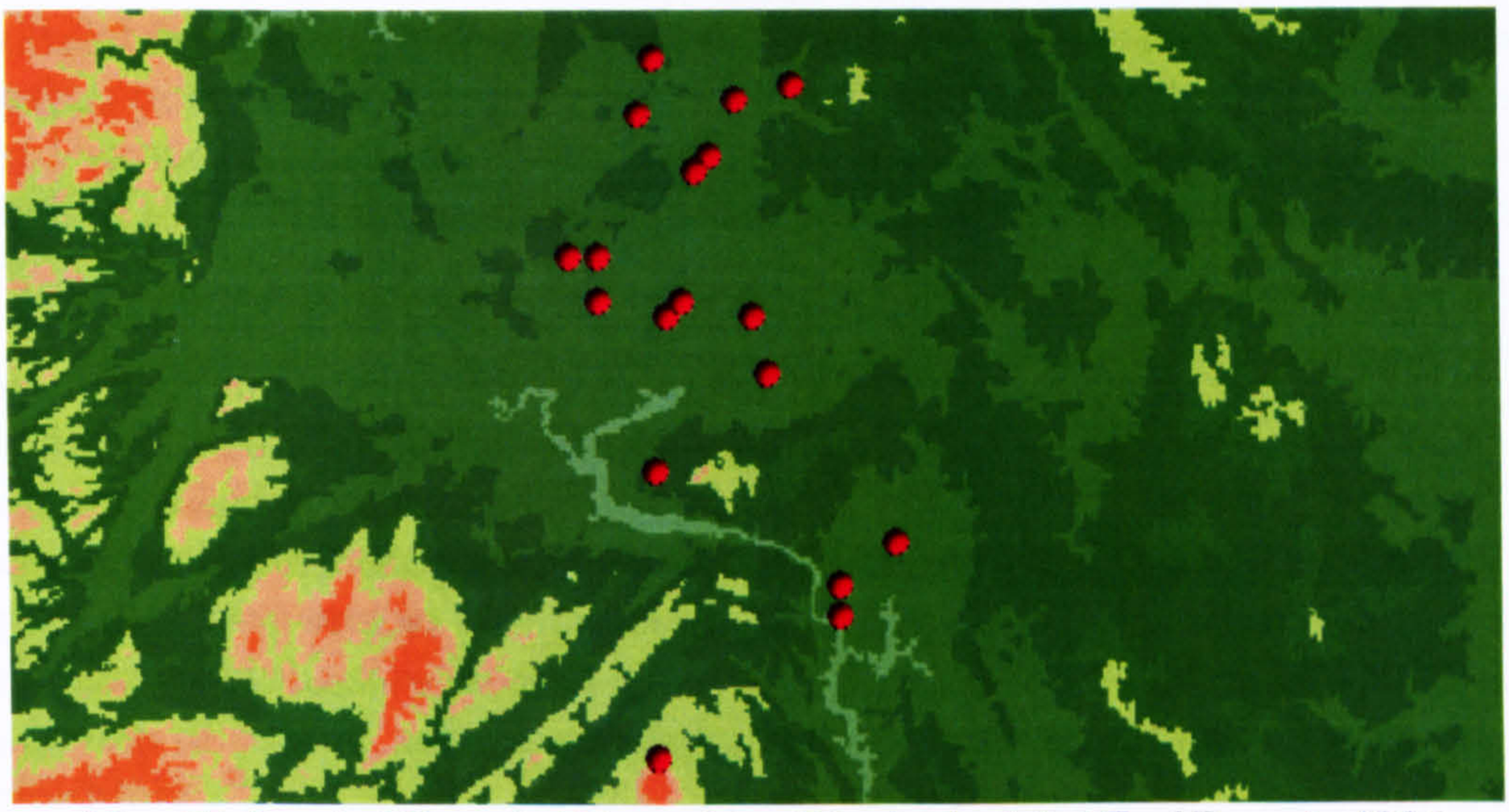


Map 76: Land of William Pandolf within the fief of Earl Roger in 1086

His land was acquired from at least nineteen predecessors, thirteen of whom he gained only one or two manors from. He was granted only part of the estates of the remaining six Anglo-Saxon lords, making antecessorial succession an unlikely factor behind the grant of land. For example he gained all of Aelfeva's land in the hundred of Hodnet, but her land in Patton and Wrockwardine passed to Helgot. Similarly, William gained all of Godwin's land in Hodnet but elsewhere his land passed to three other tenants of Earl Roger. William's fief was thus a post-Conquest creation, perhaps formed with the intention of securing control over the local population in the early years of the Conqueror's reign. Wem, at the centre of the subsequent barony, was formed from four pre-Conquest manors and was acquired in a wasted state, but by 1086 was worth forty shillings. William's tenant at the neighbouring manor of Aston, Walter, perhaps served his lord in a military capacity at Wem. Saxfrid held the manors of Cross Hills and Hinstock from William, situated around ten miles to the east of Wem, and Warin held Bratton, Eyton upon the Weald Moors and Horton over fifteen miles south-east of Wem. Berner's two tenancies at Upper Ledwyche and Middleton were even more distant, being located in the far south of the county. Thus, with the exception of Walter at Aston, none of William's tenants

held land at the crux of the honour, and so were perhaps responsible for managing the outlying parts of his fief.

Gerard of Tournai-sur-Dive held a relatively compact group of manors in north-eastern Shropshire, and like William Pandolf was a follower of Earl Roger from the Hiémois. Watling Street ran through his fief, suggesting that Gerard may too have had a role in the defence of this line of communication between London and the north. His most valuable possession was Sutton Maddock, formerly held by Earl Morcar, which lay in the southern section of his fief. In addition to Earl Morcar, Gerard had fourteen other predecessors, from most of whom he only gained only one or two holdings and not their entire pre-Conquest estate. He did receive all the land connected in 1066 with Askell, although this only amounted to three holdings. On the whole, the fief appears to have been a post-Conquest creation with little foundation in pre-Conquest tenure.



Map 77: Land of Gerard of Tournai-sur-Dive in the fief of Earl Roger in 1086

Four tenants are identified on Gerard's fief, holding approximately 16% of the assessment of his land in the region. Gerhelm held the manor of Ruthall on the southern-most edge of Gerard's fief, Hugh held Stockton and William held Hatton, the latter two of which were both near Sutton Maddock. It is possible that Earl Morcar's former manor formed the focal point of the fief in view of the proximity of these two tenants' land to the manor. Gerard's remaining tenant, Robert, held the manors of Besford and Preston Brockhurst in the middle of the fief. The distance of this land from the Welsh frontier suggests that their military responsibilities in defending the border were not great, although such men may have been involved in defending Watling Street and undertaking occasional military expeditions further west.

Viewed as a whole, the military importance of the earldom of Shrewsbury is especially evident in the west of the county near the Welsh border, where a number of compact fiefs had been established by Earl Roger, and where key castles provided outposts of Norman control in Welsh territory. The tributary payments received from Welshmen in areas deemed to be under Norman overlordship are testimony to the achievements of the barons settled along the border in asserting their authority westwards. Those lordships located further east of the border may have been less

significant in terms of defence against Welsh assault, but would have made an important contribution to enforcing acceptance of Norman rule in areas that had initially proved hostile during the initial penetration of the region in the late 1060s.

* * *

It is likely that William fitz Osbern occupied a similar position in Herefordshire to Earl Hugh and Earl Roger in Cheshire and Shropshire. As the Conqueror's second cousin and steward and one of his closest friends in Normandy, he was one of the most important Anglo-Norman barons in England after 1066.[63] Earl William's important marcher earldom is likely to have been created at an early date, perhaps soon after Harold Godwinson's death at Hastings and the Conqueror's coronation. Norman settlement in Herefordshire before the Conquest aided the rapid establishment of Norman authority in the county. Ralph, earl of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire from 1051, was of Norman descent, and he seems to have encouraged the settlement of men from the continent in Herefordshire and southern Shropshire prior to 1066, the most prominent of whom were Alfred of Marlborough, Richard Scrope and his son Osbern son of Richard. Nelson went as far as to claim that before 1066 "Herefordshire had become, to all intents and purposes, a Norman colony".[64]

Orderic Vitalis' implication that William fitz Osbern was made an earl in 1070 or 1071 after the defeat of the Mercian earls seems unlikely in view of the fact that William was killed in February 1071 at the Battle of Cassel in Flanders.[65] John of Worcester made the more plausible claim that William was appointed earl before the return of the Conqueror to Normandy in the spring of 1067. He stated that "during Lent William went back to Normandy ... he left as guardians of England his brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and William fitz Osbern, whom he had made earl in Herefordshire".[66]

The fall of the house of Breteuil in 1075 makes it difficult to ascertain the full extent of Earl William's authority in Herefordshire, and that of his son and successor Earl Roger. However, the fact that Earl William granted French burgesses in Hereford the laws and customs of his Norman lordship of Breteuil and transferred some Gloucestershire and Worcestershire manors to the shire for financial reasons suggests that he had considerable authority in the region. The fate of King Edward's former manors in Herefordshire may throw some light on William's position in the county prior to his death. Domesday Book explicitly recorded that Earl William had authority in Kingsland and Marden. The fact that the Church of Cormeilles, founded by Earl William, received churches and tithes from Kingstone, Linton and Lugwardine suggests the same.[67] William controlled the royal manor of King's Pyon, which he gave to Ewen the Breton, and the Church of Cormeilles had received from it a gift of the tithe and a virgate of land.[68] Similarly, Westwood was given by Earl William to Roger of Lacy. The only royal manors seemingly not connected with the

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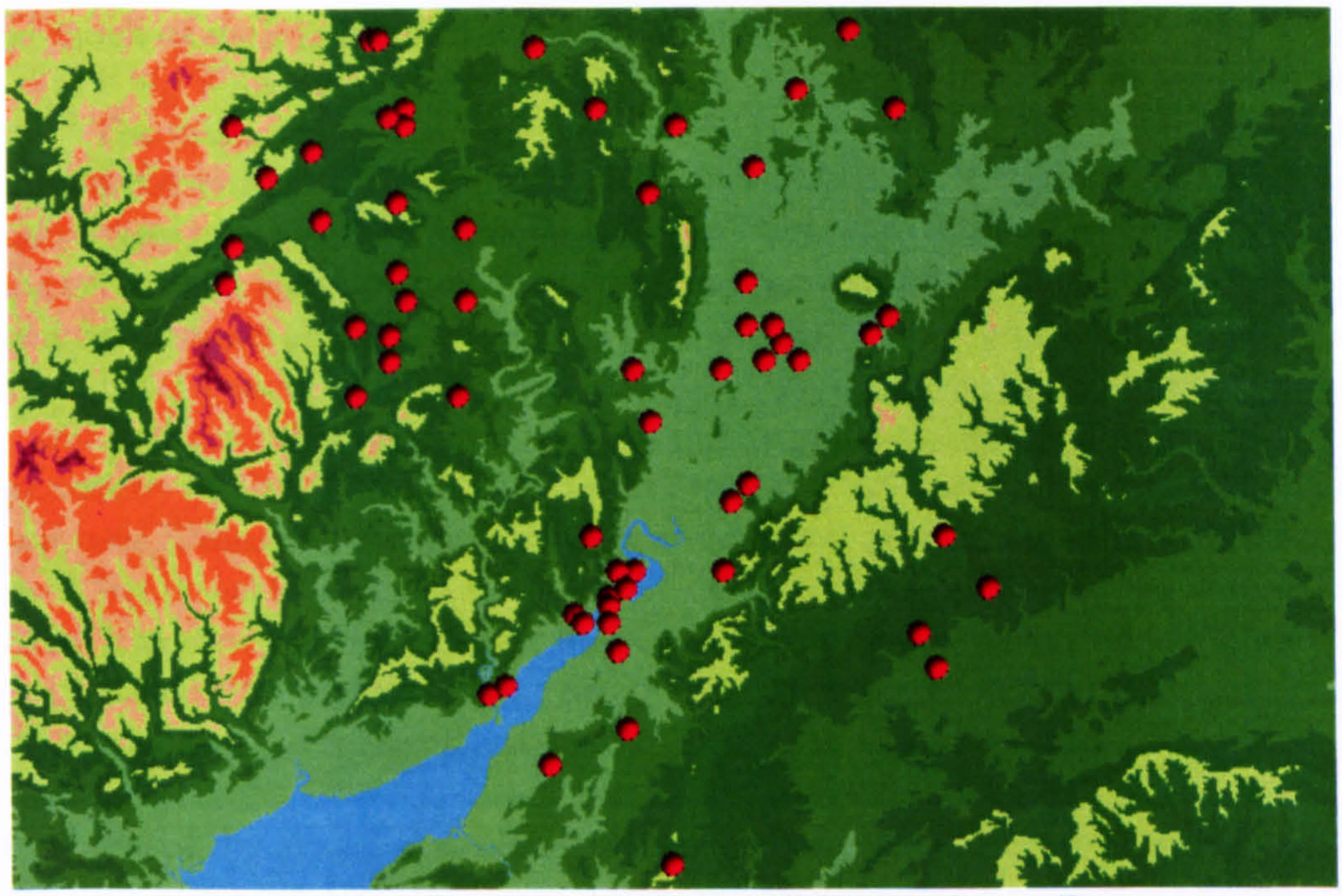
[63] See above, p.46.
[64] Nelson, *The Normans in South Wales 1070-1171*, 17.
[65] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 261.
[66] *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. McGurk, 4. A writ, although not always a reliable indicator of title, referred to William as earl as early as 1067. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.11.
[67] *DB Herefordshire* (1,1; 2. 3,1).
[68] *Ibid.* (10,50).

earl were King's Caple in Archenfield and the three waste manors of Hergest, Barton and Rushock in the west of the county.



Map 78: Land associated with Earl William or his son Roger in circuit five before 1075, according to the Domesday evidence

Earl William also acquired Earl Morcar's manor of Eardisland, Earl Harold's manors of Much Marcle and Cleeve, and Queen Edith's manor of Stanford. He is likely to have held some or all of Earl Harold's manors in the west of the shire, for many of them were held in 1086 by tenants-in-chief associated with William, among them Gilbert son of Thorold and Hugh Donkey. Earl William can also be associated with some of the land of Alwin the sheriff, in particular Wolferlow, part of which he had given to Walter of Lacy. Domesday Book thus suggests that the earl did hold many important royal and comital manors in the county, although it fails to provide sufficient evidence to determine whether, like Earl Hugh, he was the sole tenant-in-chief in the county.

Several tenants-in-chief in Herefordshire in 1086 had been brought to the county by Earl William, which implies that he enjoyed a privileged position there. Alfred d'Epaignes, Ansfrid of Cormeilles and Ralph of Bernay were all closely associated with the lords of Breteuil. Hugh Donkey probably came to England with William fitz Osbern and served under him on the Welsh border, as he had been his tenant in Normandy. Domesday Book shows that Earl William also brought Gilbert son of Thorold to the Welsh border, giving him Ailey with its fortified house. As William fitz Osbern's brother-in-law, it seems likely that Ralph of Tosny was enfeoffed by the earl, for example with Earl Harold's former manors of Willersley, Winforton, and Monnington-on-Wye.[69]

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[69] It cannot be proved that Earl William gave him all his land. He may have received Clifford Castle and other western manors from the king after his nephew's fall in 1075, although his fief was probably initially formed with the earl's cooperation.

Other Herefordshire barons did not owe their position in the county solely to Earl William's patronage, which suggests that his position was not as strong as that of Earl Hugh in Cheshire. Pre-existing Norman settlers like Alfred of Marlborough had gained much of their land independently of the earl, although Domesday Book did state that King William confirmed Alfred's holdings that the earl had given him in the county.[70] The relationship between the earl and the Lacy family has a considerable bearing on the extent of William's power in Herefordshire. Wightman believed that the Lacys were enfeoffed by the earls before 1075 as they did not hold land from anyone other than Earl William. However, Orderic Vitalis' statement that the king set William fitz Osbern up in the marches "with Walter of Lacy and other proven warriors" lacks a sense of subordination which makes it seem possible that Walter of Lacy, and perhaps other men, received a separate grant of land and authority, independently of Earl William.[71] Walter originated from Lassy in Normandy, which was not near William's Norman lordship, and his role in affairs on the Welsh border suggests that he acted independently of the earl. The *Book of Llandaff* three times recorded "the time of King William and Earl William and Walter de Lacy".[72] It seems fair to conclude that Walter of Lacy received lands from the king at a similar time to Earl William, which were supplemented by a few gifts from the earl.[73]

On the basis of the available evidence, it seems that Earl William did hold a prominent position in Herefordshire. He possessed extensive authority and his position was in some ways similar to that of the other two marcher earls. But like Earl Roger in Shropshire, he was not the sole lay tenant-in-chief in the county, sharing territory with those families established in the county prior to the Conquest and with men like Walter of Lacy. By the time Roger of Breteuil succeeded to his father's earldom in 1071, limits had been placed on the earl's authority. Although Roger gained the land and title, he did not benefit from the same extensive powers that his father had enjoyed and royal influence persisted to a greater extent than elsewhere along the Welsh March. It seems likely that Roger held royal and comital manors at farm, with royal officials still active in the shire.

The reduction of Earl Roger's authority in Herefordshire encouraged poor relations with the king. Letters from Archbishop Lanfranc to Earl Roger in 1075 hint at the tension between the earl and royal sheriffs, who were demanding more effective supervision of royal estates farmed by Roger. Lanfranc wrote to Roger of the "matters in dispute between you and those sheriffs", and urged that "the son of such a great man should follow his father's example and be for others a pattern of integrity and loyalty in all respects".[74] This advice was not heeded by Roger, who is described as "the obstinate" in William of Jumièges' *Gesta Normannorum Ducum.*[75] In 1075 Earl Roger, along with his brother-in-law Earl Ralph and Earl Waltheof, rebelled against the crown. The D version of the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* stated that the earls "planned that they would drive their royal lord from his kingdom".[76]

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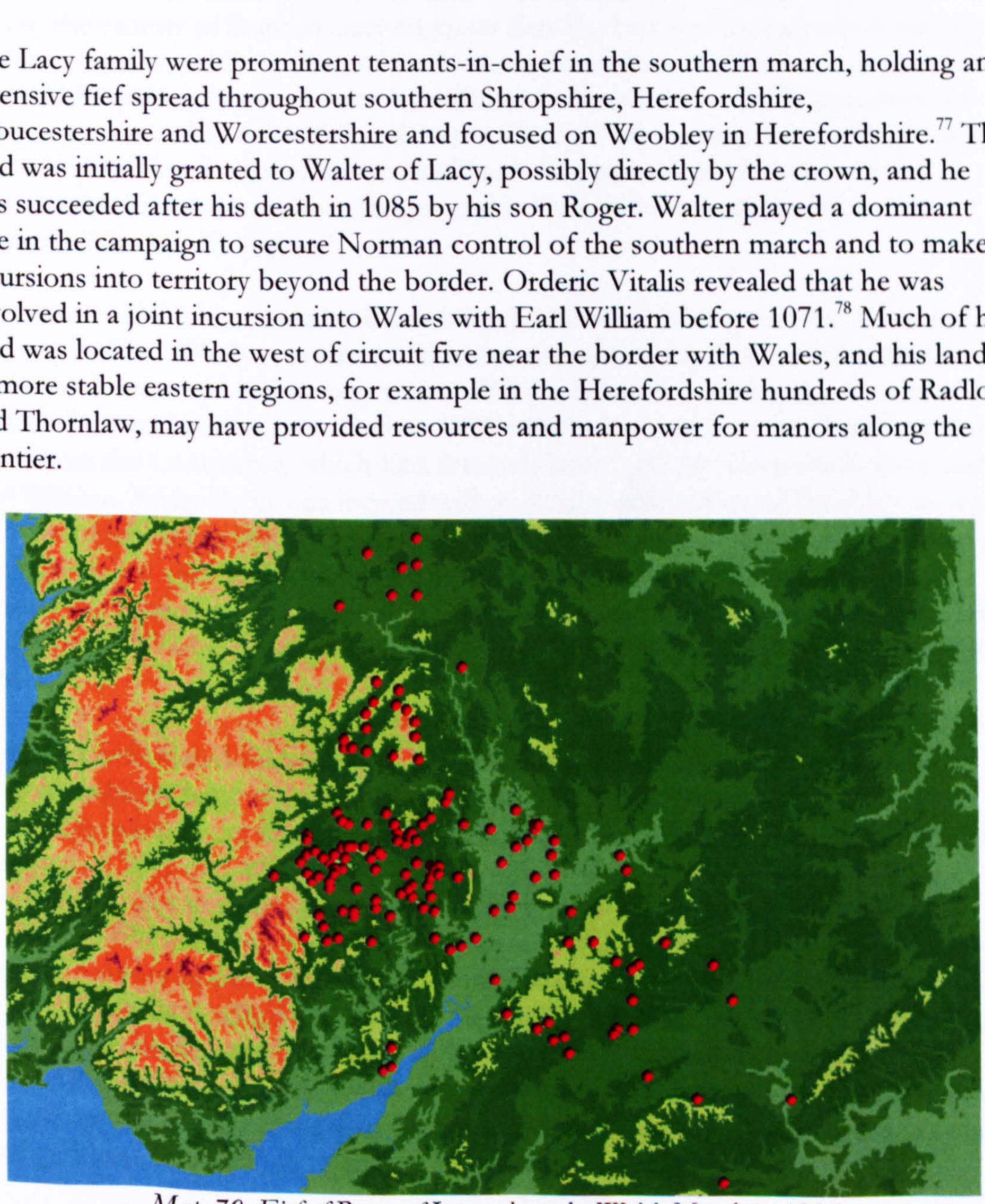
[70] *DB Herefordshire* (19,1).
[71] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 261.
[72] Evans Rhys, *Text of the Book of Llandaff*, 276-7; 280.
[73] Domesday Book has clear evidence for only three holdings being received from Earl William, namely four carucates in the castlery of Ewyas Harold and parts of Westwood and Wolferlow.
[74] *The Letters of Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. Clover and Gibson, nos.31 and 32.
[75] *Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*, ed. Van Houts, 146.
[76] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 87.

The 1075 rebellion led to a re-evaluation of frontier strategy by the king. His policy of creating earldoms with a large degree of freedom along the frontier had proved successful under loyal followers like Earl William, but once the land was inherited by heirs of more dubious allegiance, the crown's overall authority was not so secure. Thus the earldom of Hereford was left vacant, and the king resumed control of all royal and comital manors farmed by the earls. From then on, the king determined the tenurial structure of the county and all local administrators were royal officials. New tenants-in-chief were introduced to increase the security of the region, among them Henry of Ferrers, Robert Gernon, Thurstan son of Rolf and William of Ecouis. Thus by 1086 the tenurial structure in Herefordshire, and patterns of authority within the county, resembled that of many other English shires.

* * *

The Lacy family were prominent tenants-in-chief in the southern march, holding an extensive fief spread throughout southern Shropshire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire and Worcestershire and focused on Weobley in Herefordshire.[77] The land was initially granted to Walter of Lacy, possibly directly by the crown, and he was succeeded after his death in 1085 by his son Roger. Walter played a dominant role in the campaign to secure Norman control of the southern march and to make incursions into territory beyond the border. Orderic Vitalis revealed that he was involved in a joint incursion into Wales with Earl William before 1071.[78] Much of his land was located in the west of circuit five near the border with Wales, and his land in more stable eastern regions, for example in the Herefordshire hundreds of Radlow and Thornlaw, may have provided resources and manpower for manors along the frontier.



Map 79: Fief of Roger of Lacy along the Welsh March in 1086 (as both tenant-in-chief and mesne tenant)

[77] See Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy* (Oxford, 1966).
[78] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 218.

In Shropshire, the focus of his fief was the manor of Stanton Lacy and its outliers, assessed at 20½ hides and worth £25 in 1086. Ludlow may have been an outlying part of this manor, for it was the location of a Lacy castle that may have stemmed from the pre-Domesday period. Its location near routes into England from central Wales via the Teme valley made it a strategically important possession, enhanced by the fact that it was on the route from the southern to the northern march through Herefordshire, Shropshire and Cheshire. Azelin, Richard and Roger held 4½ hides of the manor from Roger, and Auti was said to hold one member of the manor assessed at three hides. These men may have provided castleguard duties at Ludlow and served their lord on the Welsh border. Richard also held part of the neighbouring manor of Aldon from Roger. Another prominent tenant in this region, Herbert, held land in the manors of Corfton, Middlehope, Patton and Stanton Long, in addition to the manor of Bodenham in Herefordshire. The concentration of the majority of his land in the vicinity of Stanton Lacy suggests that Herbert was an important military tenant in the Shropshire section of the honour. In addition to the five manors held in chief in Shropshire, Roger of Lacy held fifteen manors under Earl Roger, some of which were located in the vicinity of Stanton Lacy. Onibury was held by Roger under the Bishop of Hereford, and was located just a few miles west of Stanton Lacy. A man-at-arms held the land from Roger, and is likely to have contributed to the defence of this border region.

The manor of Weobley, held by Edwy Young before the Conquest, was the caput of the Lacy fief in 1086. It provided an ideal focus point, being in a central location near the Welsh border and within easy access of the surrounding honorial sub-centres at Stanton Lacy and Ewyas Lacy. Before 1086, Walter had received the manor of Kings Pyon from the Conqueror, which had formerly been held by Ewen the Breton under Earl William. Kings Pyon was located within a three mile radius of Weobley, as was the land which Roger held at Sarnesfield that had formed part of the royal manor of Leominster. He also held Almeley from the monks of St. Guthlacs, who perhaps sought the protection of the family against Welsh raids. The manor was less than five miles west of Weobley, and thus complemented his other holdings in the Weobley district.

Several subinfeudated manors were in the vicinity of Weobley, perhaps serving as bases for military tenants under obligation to their lord. Osbern held a manor at Alton, two miles to the north-east of Weobley, and Leofric held the two manors of Staunton on Wye and Wormesley to the south of the manorial centre. Godmund held four manors in the region, three of which were within a three mile radius of Weobley. Of Walter's six tenancies, four were in the Weobley region, and Robert held five manors in the same area. His manor of Eardisley was located south-west of Weobley towards Clifford Castle, near the main route from Wales via the Wye Gap. It was said to be situated in a wood with a fortified house, confirming the vulnerability of the region to Welsh attack. Walter of Lacy had received four waste carucates in the nearby castlery of Clifford, defending the Wye Gap, which perhaps acted as a base from which to advance further into Welsh territory.

In addition to his land at Clifford, Earl William was said to have granted Walter of Lacy four carucates of waste land in the castlery of Ewyas Harold, which Roger of Lacy held in 1086 under Henry of Ferrers. Osbern and William are named as tenants

of Roger in the castlery, and are likely to have served their lord in his campaign to extend authority westwards into Wales. In 1086, Roger of Lacy held the manor of Longtown around four miles to the west of Ewyas Harold towards Offa's Dyke, which is said in Domesday Book to be within the boundary of Ewias but not belonging to the castlery. This grant of land to the Lacy family suggests an ambition to extend the frontier towards the Black Mountains. The Lacy family constructed a castle on the site in the late twelfth century in the Olchon valley near the road from Hereford to Abergavenny, but it may have had its origins in a pre-Domesday castle built by Walter of Lacy to protect this important line of communication. To the east of Ewyas Lacy, Roger of Lacy held three manors in the Golden Valley, held of him by Gilbert and William who may have provided castleguard service.

It is possible that the Normans advanced further into Wales under men like Walter and Roger of Lacy, beyond Ewias and Archenfield. Domesday Book recorded a ten shilling render from *Calcebuef* in its account of Archenfield, which Frank and Caroline Thorn have suggested represented Kenthlebiac, an area in eastern Buellt. This area was under Norman overlordship in 1086, but had not been extensively occupied. Domesday Book shows that there was limited settlement in the area by 1086, notably the manors said to be within the 'Welsh March'. There is also evidence of Norman activity in Brecknock, west of Ewias. Orderic Vitalis stated that Walter of Lacy and William fitz Osbern "made a first attack on Brecknock, and defeated the Welsh kings Rhys [ab Owain], Cadwgan [ap Meurig of Morgannwg], Maredudd [ab Owain of Deheubarth], and many others".[79]

To the east of Ewyas Lacy, Roger held Holme Lacy as a subtenant of the Bishop of Hereford. A surviving 1085 land grant confirms the Domesday evidence for this subtenancy.[80] Holme Lacy was important as a centre from which to administer newly acquired land in the Welsh commote of Archenfield and as a link between Archenfield and his possessions centred on Castle Frome to the north-east of Hereford. Land in Archenfield, which lay between the Monnow and Wye valleys, had only recently been colonised, and hence it was an important area in which Anglo-Norman rule needed to be strongly asserted.[81] Roger held land of the *terra regis* at Birch and Penebecdoc, which was held of him by the surviving pre-Conquest families. The Welsh population and customary payments of sesters of honey suggests an area still strongly Welsh in character, reflecting its recent acquisition and its remote and hilly nature. In the far south of the region, Roger of Lacy held land in the castlery of Chepstow, located on the Wye estuary, in addition to the two nearby manors of Madgett and Tidenham. His acquisition of this land fairly distanced from the rest of his fief was perhaps intended to secure the route via the Severn estuary and the River Wye into Herefordshire and beyond.

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[79] The date is said to have been 1071, but it was probably earlier, as Earl William died in Cassel in February 1071. *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 261.

[80] Galbraith, 'An Episcopal Land Grant of 1085', *EHR*, vol.44 (1929), pp.353-72.

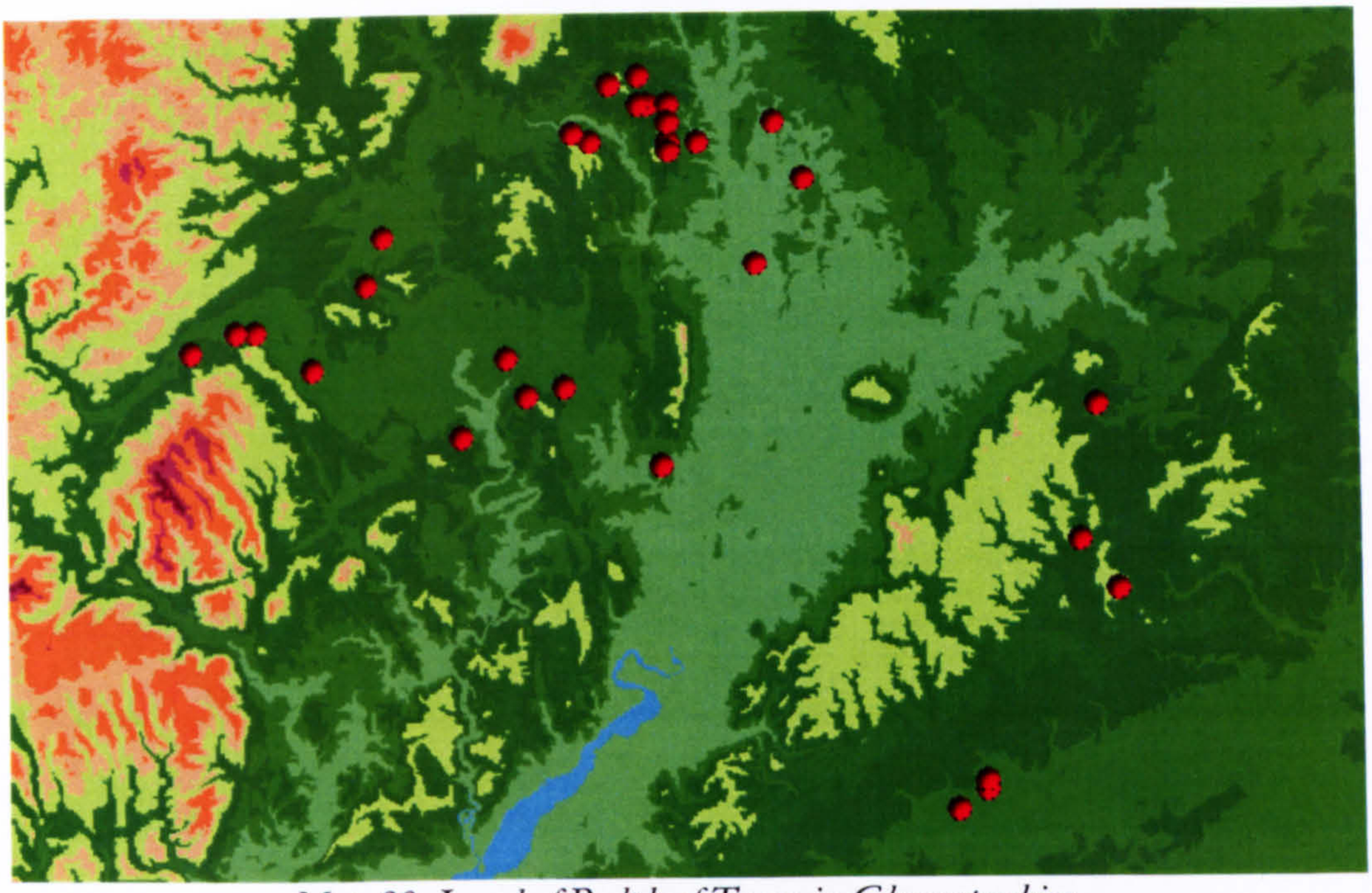
[81] Archenfield had been penetrated by the English in the Anglo-Saxon period, perhaps in 1055 by Earl Harold, but Gruffydd ap Llewelyn probably maintained rights there. It was still ecclesiastically Welsh, remaining in the diocese of Llandaff until 1131, and neither Welsh nor Norman Archenfield was hidated and both had Welsh renders, mainly of honey and sheep. The essentially Welsh character of Archenfield suggests that it was a semi-autonomous Welsh district where Norman authority was not rigorously imposed. However, there was some Norman reorganisation, in particular the creation of the new 'hundred' of Wormelow.

The Lacy family received their land from at least seventy Anglo-Saxon lords, which demonstrates that the region had undergone a remarkable period of reorganisation with the consolidation of a large number of small Anglo-Saxon holdings into a compact military lordship designed to meet the strategic needs of the Welsh border region. It is possible that some of these pre-Conquest lords held their land under unnamed overlords, hence reducing the impact of the so-called 'tenurial revolution', but the fact that Domesday Book names over seventy predecessors and only thirty post-Conquest manorial tenants on the fief confirms that a considerable amount of tenurial consolidation had occurred. There were some individual examples of continuity, for example in Walter of Lacy's succession to all twelve of Edwy Young's Herefordshire manors. The Lacys also succeeded to all of the land of Aelfled, Alnoth, Leofsi, Tosti and Wulfric, and a large proportion of the former estates of Alric, Saeric and Thorkell. However, their acquisition of such land may have been the result of its geographical location rather than pre-Conquest tenure. Viewed as a whole, the Lacy estate provides a clear example of a compact and strategically placed fief designed to protect the frontier and provide the manpower and resources necessary to pursue a more aggressive policy across the border.

* * *

Domesday Book recorded that Earl William built Clifford Castle on waste land in Herefordshire, and it is the earl who is likely to have placed it under the control of Ralph of Tosny, his brother-in-law from Tosny in Eure, perhaps as a reward for his service as part of the conquering army of 1066. Ralph held a concentration of manors in the counties of Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire, and his possession of Clifford Castle demonstrates his involvement in the defence of the Welsh March. The castle was an important defensive bulwark straddling the border with Ewias, located in the Wye valley high up where the Wye entered Herefordshire, guarding the invasion route from the Welsh highlands. Its outpost nature is suggested by the fact that it was independent of any hundred, not hidated and paid no customary dues. In 1086 Gilbert son of Thorold the sheriff held the castle at a revenue from Ralph, suggesting that Ralph was an absentee landlord for much of the time.

Several men-at-arms held small estates around the castle from Ralph, among them Drogo son of Poyntz, Herbert and Roger of Lacy. Roger of Mussegros, who held nearby Monnington on Wye, is another likely military tenant. Ralph's demesne manors of Willersley and Winforton just east of the castle had, like Clifford, been waste in 1066, and given their outpost nature may have been victim to Welsh attack. By 1086 they were worth over £7, suggesting that the castle had provided them with sufficient protection to enable a dramatic recovery. Drogo son of Poyntz and Herbert also held the royal manors of Eaton, Ford, Broadfield and Sarnesfield under Ralph, located to the north-east of the castle and providing a second line of defence. The brothers Ilbert and William at Dewsall and Dinedor and the man-at-arms at Westhide and may have supported Ralph in the defence of the River Wye and the nearby and vulnerable borough of Hereford.



Map 80: Land of Ralph of Tosny in Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire in 1086

Ralph of Tosny's Herefordshire fief had been held by at least twelve Anglo-Saxon predecessors in 1066, with no more than two manors acquired from each former estate. It was clearly a post-Conquest creation designed to provide the castle with the manpower and resources necessary to contain the Welsh threat, and the recovery of many wasted manors in the region suggests that the strategy had been successful.

* * *

Ewyas Harold formed the focus of the possessions of Alfred of Marlborough, who held an extensive fief in Herefordshire and across the border into Worcestershire. Ewyas Harold had been granted to Alfred by Earl William, who is said to have refortified the castle, presumably at some point between 1067 and his death in 1071.[82] This statement suggests that the site had been fortified prior to 1066, and the castle may be the one mentioned in the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* in 1052, built by Alfred's uncle Osbern Pentecost and destroyed as a result of Gruffydd's assault on Herefordshire of that year.[83] Chris Lewis' argument that it was first built by Earl William after 1067, destroyed between 1067 and 1075 and rebuilt by Alfred of Marlborough after 1075 is a tenuous one.[84] The Domesday account clearly stated that Earl William had *re*-fortified the castle, and Lewis' claim that there was a lack of evidence for the existence of the castle in pre-Conquest Herefordshire does not take the chronicle evidence into full account.

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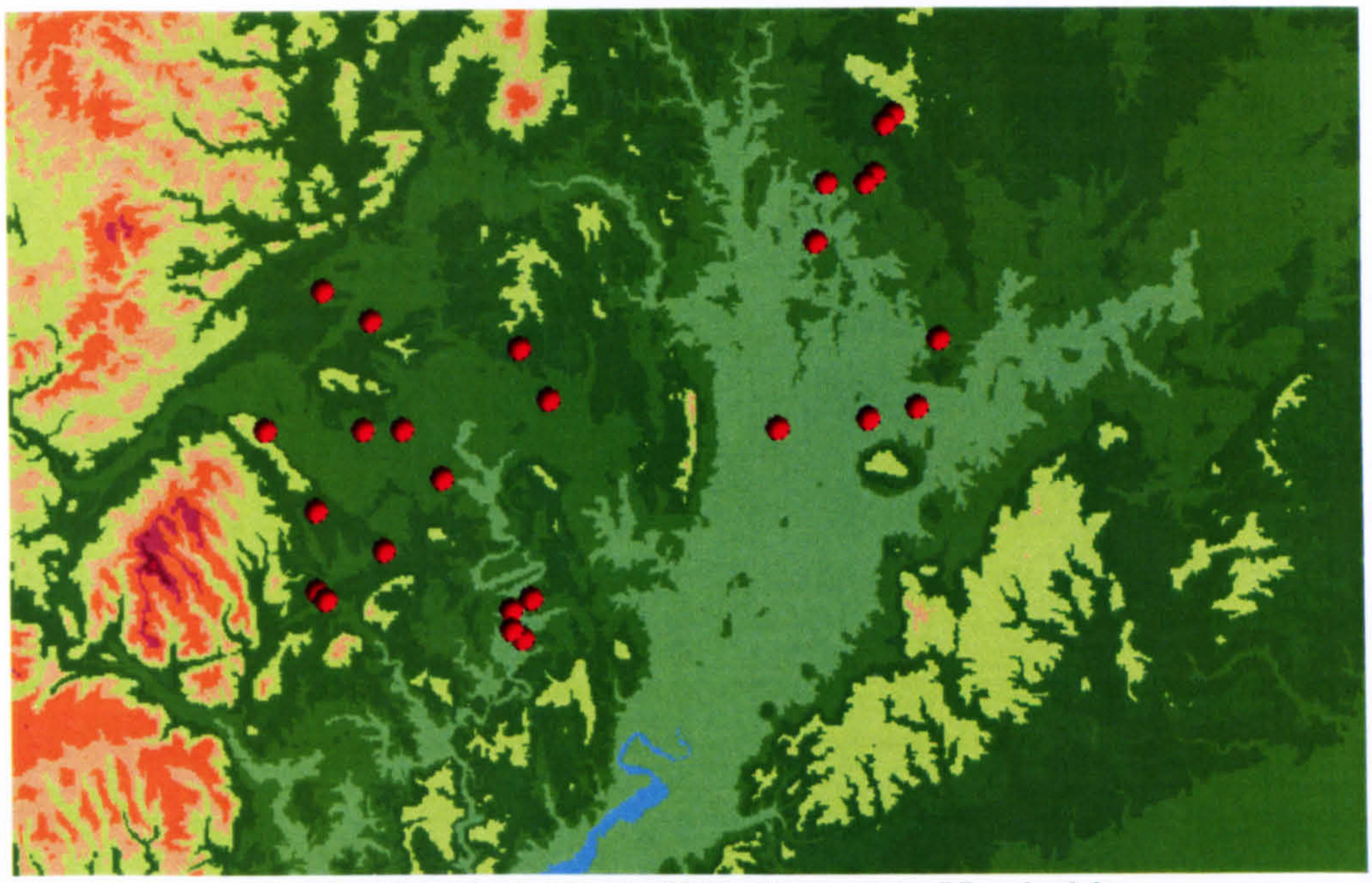
[82] *DB Herefordshire* (19,1). After 1075, the Conqueror augmented Alfred's land in the castlery with the former land of Ralph of Bernay, the sheriff of Herefordshire under Earl William who had been imprisoned in 1075 and his estates forfeited.
[83] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS D*, ed. Cubbin, 71.
[84] Lewis, 'An Introduction to the Herefordshire Domesday', *The Herefordshire Domesday*, 11.



Map 81: Land of Alfred of Marlborough in Herefordshire and Worcestershire in 1086

Ewyas Harold was a strategically important site guarding the valley between Archenfield and Ewias leading from Abergavenny, which was one of the main invasion routes from south Wales. The castle was an important base for organising the Norman occupation of Ewias, an area which, like Archenfield, was not hidated and remained economically and ecclesiastically Welsh, and politically not fully conquered. The scanty nature of the information provided about Ewias in Domesday Book, which suggests that Norman settlement was confined to the castlery of Ewyas Harold and Longtown, confirms that it was still largely Welsh in the late eleventh century. The military significance of the castlery is evident in Domesday Book, which identified seven Norman men-at-arms holding small estates around the castle. In view of the threat of further Welsh raids and the desire to extend Norman authority deeper into Wales, it would have been crucial for the king and Earl William to place this important military outpost under the control of an individual with the capability to adequately defend the site and support offensive campaigns into Welsh territory. The fact that Alfred was a pre-Conquest Norman settler along the Welsh March suggests that he was familiar with the needs of border defence and experienced in defending against Welsh attack.

In addition to Ewyas Harold, Alfred held a further nine manors in Herefordshire in chief, located to the north and east of Ewyas Harold, and two manors from the *terra regis* to the south. Brinsop and Burghill had been held by Earl Harold in 1066, but Alfred's uncle Osbern Pentecost had been given control of them when Earls Godwin and Harold were exiled in 1051.[85] Osbern lost them both in 1052 when the earls returned and he was expelled from England, but Alfred regained them after the conquest, in addition to seven further manors formerly belonging to Earl Harold. Indeed, the only manor within the fief not acquired from Harold's estate was Pencombe, which Alfred had held himself in 1066. Several of Harold's manors were substantial and valuable holdings, in particular Pembridge and Much Cowarne which

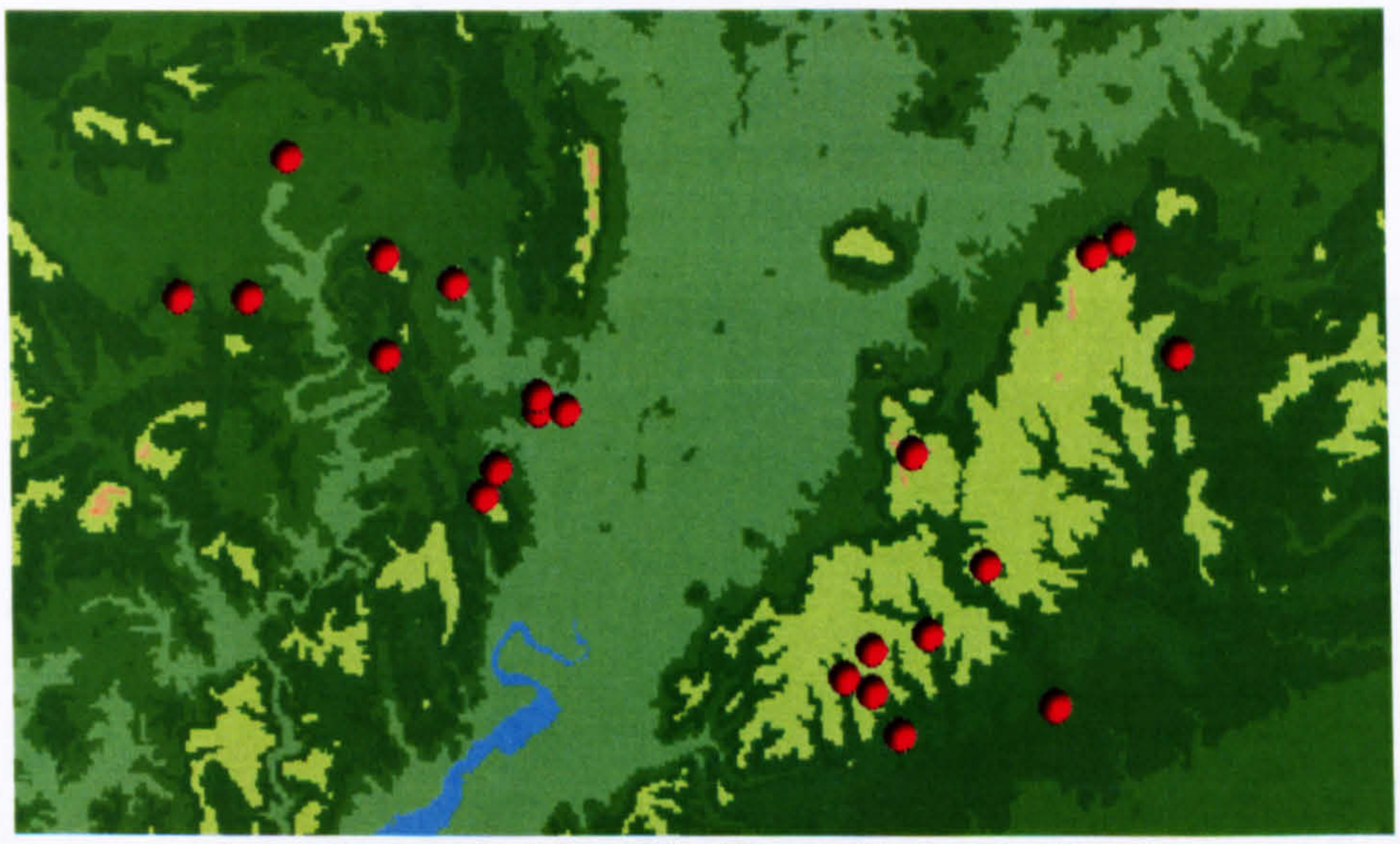
[85] *DB Herefordshire* (19,2-3).

were worth £16 and £25 in 1066 respectively. Such possessions would have been of vital significance in providing manpower and resources for Alfred's activities in the border region around Ewyas Harold.

A number of tenants are named on Alfred's fief in addition to the seven men-at-arms identified at Ewyas Harold, and some may have held their land in return for military service. Richard, one of the men at Ewyas Harold, also held land from Alfred at Brinsop, and two unnamed men-at-arms are mentioned at the neighbouring manor of Burghill. Alfred's son-in-law Thurstan of Wigmore held the manor of Stretford, and Gilbert under him, and both may have aided Alfred in the defence of the border region.

* * *

Ansfrid of Cormeilles, a follower of Earl William from Eure, held a number of strategically important manors in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, guarding the southern march and the Severn estuary. His nineteen manors were concentrated in two groups either side of the Severn, and are likely to have been important in terms of consolidating Norman control of the border region and providing support for campaigns beyond it.



Map 82: Land of Ansfrid of Cormeilles in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire in 1086

In the southern march, the focus of Ansfrid's possessions was probably Tarrington, where he held a relatively valuable manor in chief as well as a tenancy of Roger of Lacy.[86] Of the seven manors in this region, three were held of him by tenants and part of a fourth, Sollers Hope, included land held by Richard and a man-at-arms. Richard also held the manor of Amberley, both of which were within a six mile radius of Tarrington. Gerard's tenancy at Clehonger was located just south-west of Hereford, and the vulnerability of the borough to attack in the pre-Conquest period would have encouraged the Norman conquerors to provide for the region's adequate defence. The second concentration of land, probably centred on Elkstone in Gloucestershire, may have been granted to consolidate Norman control of the vale

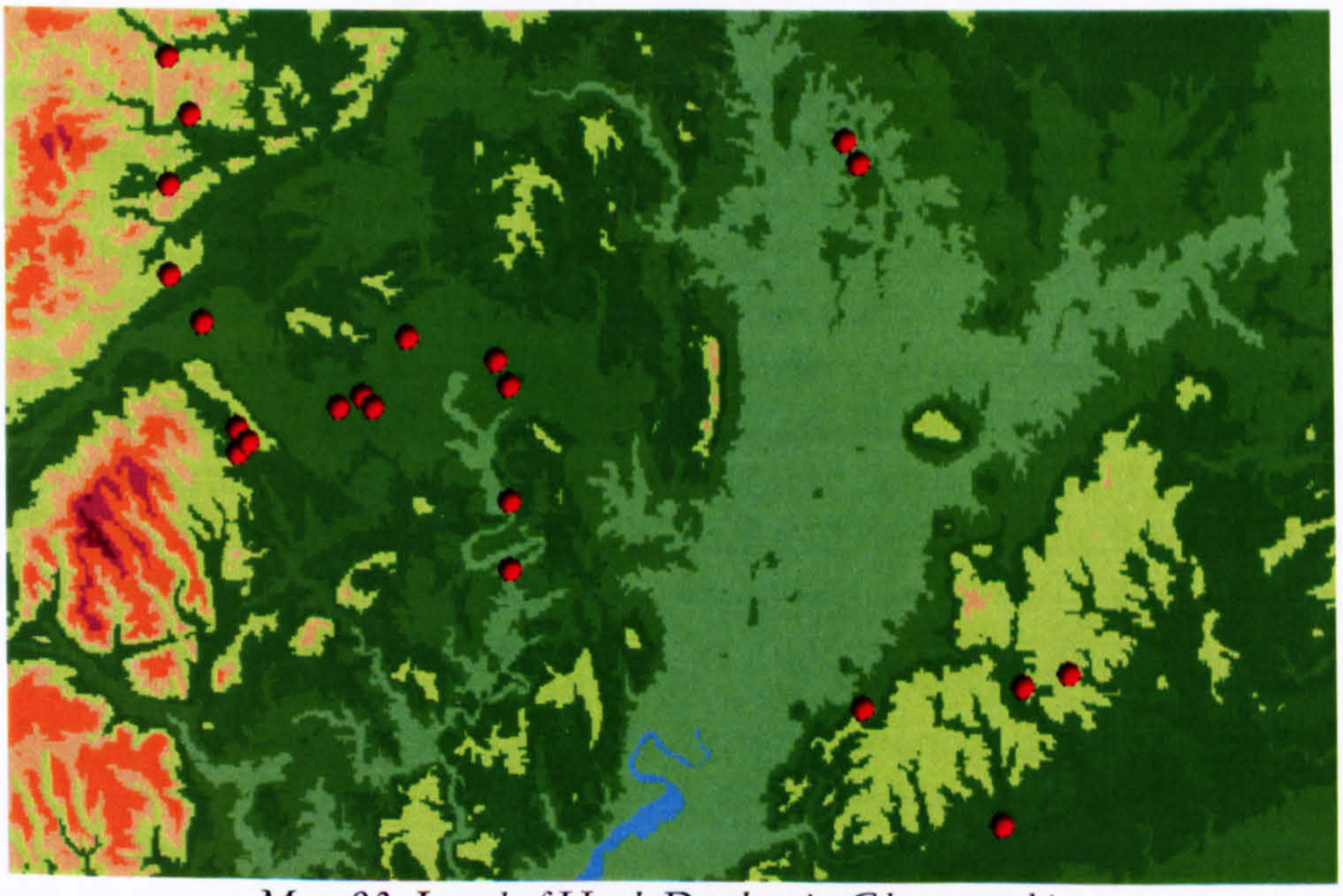
[86] His wife was a niece of Walter of Lacy, which probably explains this enfeoffment.

of Gloucester and to provide Ansfrid with a number of relatively valuable manors to support his activities in the more vulnerable region to the west of the Severn.

Ansfrid acquired his land from at least nineteen Anglo-Saxon lords, in addition to a number of manors held by the king, Earl Harold, Leofric and their men. Predecessors such as Alfwold, Hagen, Rever and Thorgar appear to have been minor thanes with only one or two holdings in 1066. Unless overlordship was more prevalent than Domesday Book reveals, pre-Conquest tenure had little impact on the formation of his fief. Ansfrid was perhaps granted a few key manors at an early date, such as Earl Harold's former manor of Clehonger, with further manors added to his estate as and when they became available. The fact that two of his predecessors were men of Earl Harold and Earl Leofric suggests that local thanes may have sought his protection in the unsettled immediate post-Conquest period.

* * *

Like Ansfrid, Hugh Donkey was a follower of Earl William from the continent, as his grant of land to the abbey of Lyre confirms.[87] The earl had granted him a series of manors on the edge of the march, stretching from the Golden Valley in the south into Shropshire, which would have been crucial in defence. Several of his border manors were waste and had probably been subject to Welsh raids prior to 1086. Hugh's manors in the central and eastern plains that were relatively valuable and well-stocked, like Wellington which was valued at £7 and cultivated by ten ploughteams, are likely to have resourced campaigns in the border region.



Map 83: Land of Hugh Donkey in Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire in 1086

[87] Hugh also witnessed a charter for Saint-Evroul by Fulk de Guernanville of Eure. *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, iii, 122; *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Caley, Ellis and Bandinel, vi, 1093

In Herefordshire, over 90% of Hugh's land remained in his own hands, and both manors in Shropshire were also in demesne, perhaps because of the uncultivated state of much of his border land. Only Lege, Stretton and Wellington were wholly subinfeudated to Leofgeat, Vitalis and Ralph respectively. A man-at-arms was said to hold part of Fownhope, probably in return for military service in the Archenfield region. Domesday Book stated that one hide of land at Kenchester had been leased to Earl William, who had given it to King Maredudd.[88] Maredudd's son Gruffydd had two smallholders there in 1086, a grant which, however meagre, was likely to be of considerable significance in terms of relations with the Welsh. King Gruffydd gained seven manors in Herefordshire from the king and Earl William, emphasising the Norman policy of cooperation with accommodating Welsh kings. Domesday Book stated that at Lye "King William granted the tax to King Maredudd, and later to his son".[89]

In both Herefordshire and Shropshire, Hugh Donkey gained all the forfeited estates of Thorkell White and around 70% of the estates of his wife Leofled, especially in the Golden Valley.[90] Domesday Book explicitly stated that Old Radnor was granted to Hugh by the earl "when he gave him the land of his predecessor Thorkell".[91] The fact that some of Leofled's land went to William the Conqueror's doctor Nigel, perhaps resulting in a dispute between Hugh and Nigel at Sutton, suggests that some of her land was granted to Hugh on the basis of antecessorial succession. However, although their land clearly provided the foundation for Hugh's fief, he was also granted land from Earl Harold, Alfward, Alric, Godric, Leofgeat Wulfwin and Wulfwy Young, implying some territorial consolidation. Earl Harold's former manor of Eardisley was said to be waste, but the fortified house held by Roger of Lacy in the vill emphasises the strategic significance of the area.

Monmouth Castle was held from the king by William son of Baderon. Its outpost nature is suggested by the fact that Welshman with 24 ploughs paid customary dues, and the seven men-at-arms within the castlery are likely to have performed castleguard duties. Monmouth lay to the west of a compact border fief, some of which was held by William in chief and some from the *terra regis*, which would have provided a defensive bulwark guarding the southern approach from Wales. His tenant at Hope Mansell and Ruardean, Solomon, may have supported William in the defence of the castle, as his land was located within a few miles of Monmouth.[92] Before 1066, at least eighteen men held the land that subsequently formed William's fief in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, confirming that it was a post-Conquest creation with a clear strategic purpose.

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[88] *DB Herefordshire* (29,1).
[89] *Ibid.* (31,7).
[90] Other references to Thorkell may be to the same man, hence reducing the antecessorial connection between the two men.
[91] *DB Herefordshire* (1,65).
[92] His two other tenants, Geoffrey and Gerald, held land land further west of the border. The remainder of William's land was held in demesne.

Map 84: Land of William son of Baderon in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire in 1086

* * *

Gilbert son of Thorold, the sheriff of Herefordshire before 1086, held a relatively scattered fief throughout the counties of Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire, but with a few key manors in vulnerable areas of the march.[93] Four manors were located in the Golden Valley and were waste or of no value in 1086, and apparently used for hunting. The fact that there was a fortified house at Ailey suggests that defence was an important consideration in the area. Further east of the border in the Archenfield region, Gilbert held a group of four manors which were more valuable, one of which was held of him by Picot, a possible military tenant. His land more distanced from the border in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire was of greater value, including the manor of North Cerney in Gloucestershire that was worth £12. Such land may have provided compensation for his poorer and more exposed land in the comparatively hostile territory of Archenfield and the Golden Valley. Osward, Oswulf and the four men-at-arms who held land from Gilbert in and around North Cerney perhaps served their lord in the border region.

Seventeen ploughs between the Usk and the Wye and six carucates of land beyond the Usk were held by Thurstan son of Rolf in Wales. Domesday Book recorded that they formed part of the castlery of Chepstow, and Thurstan's men there may have helped in protecting the region from Welsh attack and extending Norman control further into Gwent.[94] Chepstow castle had been built by Earl William, and the earl was said to have given Ralph of Limésy 50 carucates of land there "as is done in Normandy", which is likely to have formed a continental-style castlery designed to spearhead the Norman campaign into Gwent.[95] The castle was built just across the

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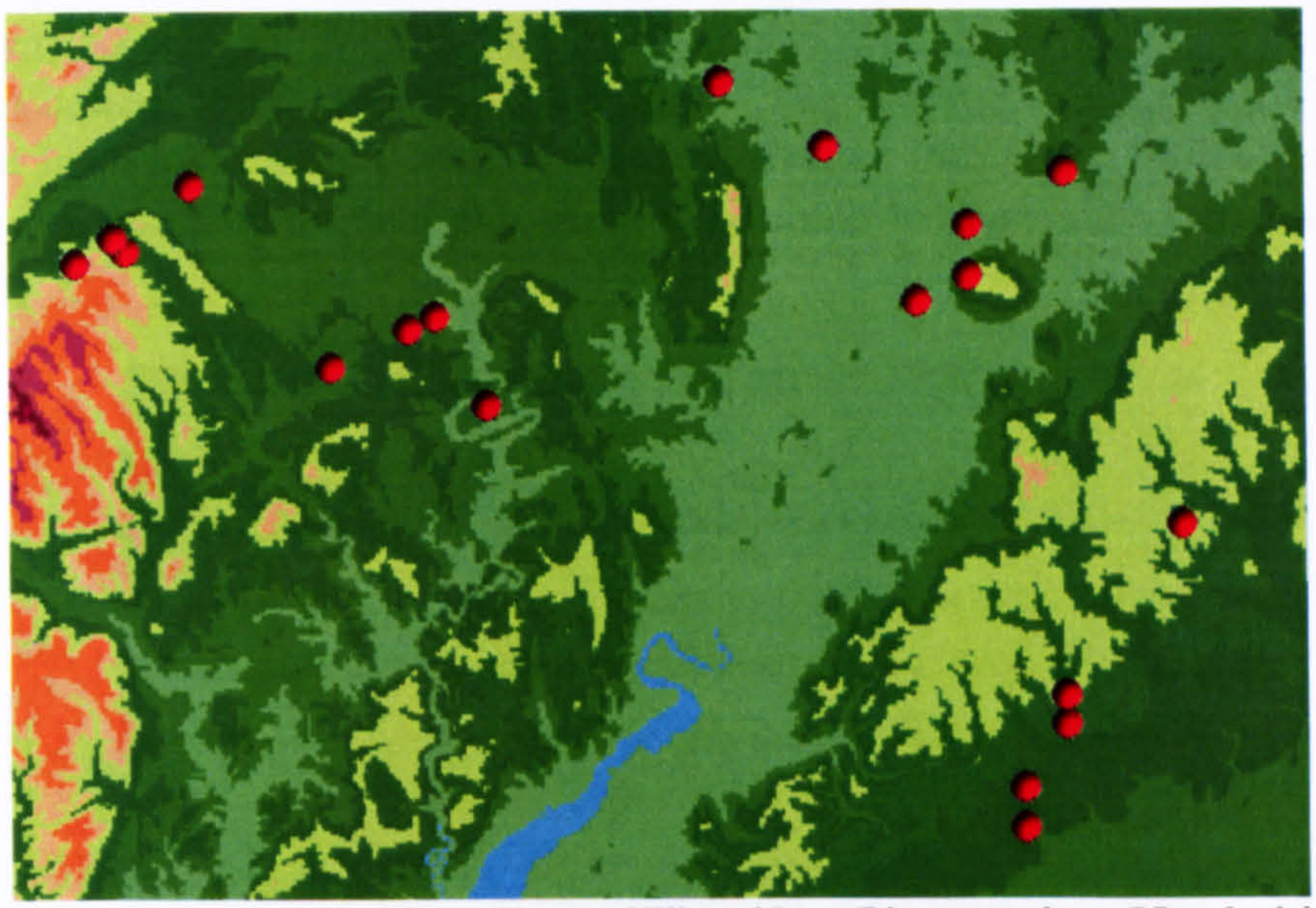
[93] Hemmings Cartulary identified Gilbert as the earl's *minister*, and Gilbert gave two hides of land to Evesham Abbey for the earl's soul. *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. Hearne, i, 263. Lewis suggested that Hemming confused the royal sheriffdom, which Gilbert held in 1086, with a similar office under the earl. See Lewis, 'The Norman settlement of Herefordshire under William I', *ANS*, vol.7 (1984), 207. By 1086 Gilbert's brother Ilbert had replaced him as sheriff. Gilbert witnessed a charter for St. Evroul given by Ralph de Tosny c.1066-72. *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, iii, 126

[94] The fact that Thurstan also held land from the Church of Worcester at Aust just across the Severn suggests that he may have been involved in the defence of this important estuary.

[95] *DB Gloucestershire* (W16).

Gloucestershire border in Gwent, as a forward post high above the western cliffs of the River Wye guarding a ford in the Roman road system. Protected by natural defences, it was an ideal site for the defence of the River Wye's most southerly crossing and for access to Wales. The Normans appear to have made advances into Gwent, building on Earl Harold's earlier penetration of the area.[96] The *Book of Llandaff* referred to "the lord of Gwent, Roger, son of Osbern".[97] *Monasticon Anglicanum* recorded a grant to the Abbey of Lyre by William or his son of land between the rivers Wye and Usk, which implies Anglo-Norman authority in the area, although their physical presence was probably minimal.[98]



Map 85: Land held by Gilbert son of Thorold in Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire in 1086 (both in chief and as manorial lord)

The Gloucestershire folios of Domesday Book provide a sketchy and irregular account of the land beyond the Wye in Gwent confirming the loose nature of Norman overlordship in the region. Villages were not always specifically named and the area was not hidated, and the fact that some places were assessed in carucates confirms that the area was newly settled. Those places not assessed at all were probably still under the Welsh land system, characterised by the division of territory into groups of villages and an economy based on payments in kind, in particular food rents. Domesday Book recorded that traditional Welsh renders were still collected by both Welsh and Saxon officials. For example, Alfred held seven Welsh villages attached to Chepstow that paid "six sesters of honey, six pigs and ten shillings".[99] The Normans maintained Welsh reeves to govern groups of villages in Gwent. Domesday Book named four Welsh reeves, of whom at least three - Elmwy, Iudhael and Waswic - were mentioned as witnesses to Welsh land grants to Llandaff c.1071-75.[100]

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[96] Gwent was under Welsh control until 1065, when Harold seized Gwent Iscoed and began building the hunting lodge at Portskewett. Gwent Iscoed was probably part of Harold's earldom or under the client rule of Rhydderch.

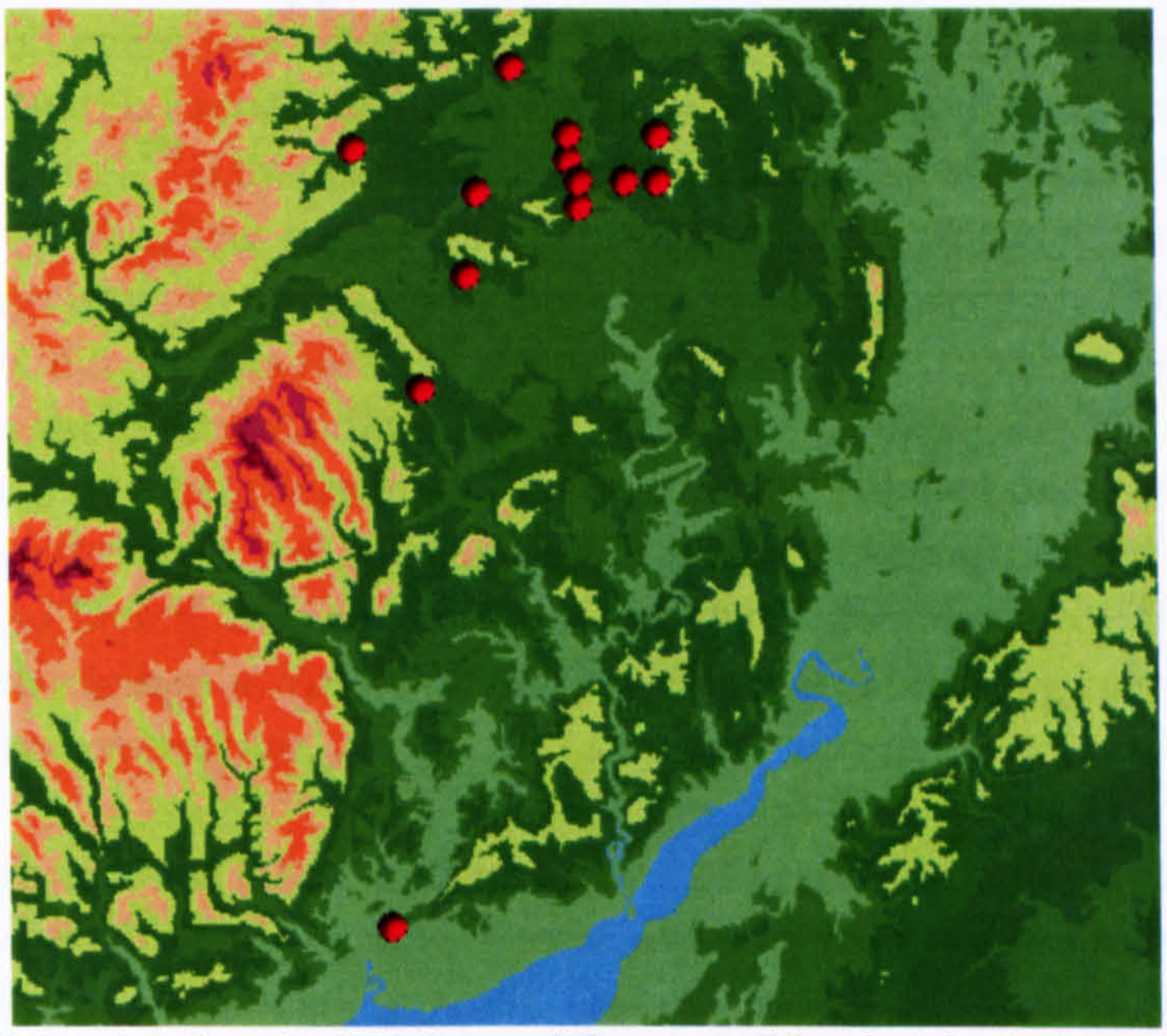
[97] *Book of Llan Dâv*, ed.. Evans and Rhys, 262-3. For a discussion of the evidence, see Nelson, *The Normans in South Wales*, 31n.

[98] *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Dugdale, vol. vi, part 2, pp.1092-3.

[99] *DB Gloucestershire* (W19).

[100] *Book of Llan Dâv*, ed. Evans and Rhys, 270; 273-4.

By 1086 the castlery of Chepstow was in royal hands, although William of Eu held 32 carucates of the land and is likely to have played an important role in the defence of the southern march from Welsh attack.[101] Four other manors in the Chepstow region were held by William of Eu, consolidating his control of the area. At least two were also held by his predecessor Ralph of Limésy, which is telling of Earl William's initial defensive strategy in the southern march. Being in the far east of Gwent, Chepstow was not an ideal site from which to support the Norman settlement of Gwent or to defend the region beyond the Wye to which the earl laid claim. The more intrusive site of Caerleon Castle in the far south-west of Gwent thus became the primary base for the conquest and settlement of Gwent, and the defence of the area from Welsh attacks from Glamorgan. William of Ecouis held eight carucates of land in the castlery of Caerleon, and Thurstan from him.[102] The castle controlled the Usk and would have been instrumental in the Norman advance into south Wales. Its forward position is suggested by the fact that three Welshmen held ploughs there under Welsh law.



Map 86: Land of William of Ecouis in Herefordshire in 1086

William also held a scattering of manors in the Golden Valley and to the north of Hereford, both in chief and within the *terra regis*. Many of his manors were subinfeudated, comprising around 70% of the total assessment of his Herefordshire fief. Among his tenants was Ralph, with a manor in the vulnerable Golden Valley and another further north. Bernard Beard held three tenancies within the main block of land, and Richard, Robert and Stephen each held a manor. The distance of this land from the castlery of Caerleon is surprising, although additional military tenants may have been based near the frontline with Thurstan although not recorded in Domesday Book.

To the west of Caerleon, there was also Norman overlordship in Gwynllwg between the Usk and Rhymney rivers. The area was ruled by the Welsh prince Caradog ap Gruffydd of southern Gwent, but Earl William was recognised as overlord and the

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[101] William of Eu succeeded Ralph in a number of regions. See above, p.48.

[102] Whether this land was within the same region as the castle is, however, uncertain. See *DB Herefordshire* (14,1n).

Conqueror as the ultimate sovereign. On the death of Earl William, his son maintained this arrangement and supported Caradog. The *Life of St. Gwynllw* recorded that after Earl Roger's 1075 revolt, three of his knights sought refuge with Caradog and refused to surrender to King William. Caradog pledged their safety "though he should lose everything which he held from the king".[103] This co-operation between the Norman earls and Caradog ap Gruffydd was mutually beneficial. For the Normans, a pacified Gwynllwg acted as a buffer region between Norman Gwent and Maredudd ab Owain in Deheubarth. This reduced the demands on Norman resources and encouraged stability on the border. For Caradog, it aided his own ambitions in Wales, as Gwynllwg, with limited resources, could not defend itself from Morgannwg alone. So the arrangement helped to preserve the autonomy of Gwynllwg, albeit under a Norman overlord.

The threat of invasion from the west was real. Maredudd ab Owain was active, attacking the English border in 1072 and threatening Norman Gwent and Gwynllwg. This attack was successfully opposed by a coalition of Norman and Gwynllwg Welsh, and Maredudd ab Owain was killed. *Brut y Tywysogyon* noted that "Maredudd ab Owain was slain by the French and Caradog ap Gruffudd ap Rhydderch on the banks of the Rhymni".[104] The death of Maredudd aided Caradog's ambition for mastery of south Wales. The reduction of the threat to his western border meant that he could reaffirm claims to authority in the west in Morgannwg and beyond, which prompted him to increase his military strength and support. As the benefits of cooperation with the Normans diminished for Caradog, there was the risk that Norman security might be threatened. Fortunately the alliance persisted, as Caradog's ambitions were to the west, not the east, and he was also aware of the Norman raids on Ceredigion and Dyfed. The reversion of Gwent to the crown in 1075 appears to have brought little change in Anglo-Welsh relations, and Caradog remained prepared to accept Norman sovereignty.

Caradog was defeated and killed at the battle of Mynydd Carn. With his domination of Gwynllwg ended, there was a risk of instability on the southern march which may have prompted King William's visit to St. David's in 1081. A variety of possible motives have been suggested for this expedition. *Brut y Tywysogyon* regarded it as a visit to a shrine motivated by a pious regard for the saint of South Wales, stating that "William, king of England and Wales and much of France, came on the Menevia pilgrimage".[105] But William is unlikely to have made such a pilgrimage at a time when he faced many other pressing demands on his time, for example in Maine where Count Fulk of Anjou was threatening the stability of the empire. The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* claimed that the king "led levies into Wales, and there freed many hundreds".[106] John Lloyd suggested that the Norman army relieved isolated outposts, although there is no evidence of any such outposts in the region in 1081.[107] The liberated men may have been Norman soldiers and Welsh hostages who had supported Caradog at Mynydd Carn. It seems more plausible that the visit had a diplomatic purpose. It was not uncommon for Englishmen to secure oaths of fealty

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[103] *Vita Gundlei*, ed. Evans and Wade, 188-99.
[104] *Brut y Tywysogyon*, ed. Jones, 16. For a discussion of the evidence, see Williams, 'Norman Lordship in South East Wales', *Welsh History Review*, vol.16 (1992-3), 453.
[105] *Brut y Tywysogyon*, ed. Jones, 17.
[106] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock et al., 160 (MS E).
[107] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, ii, 394.

from Welsh princes. King William may have gone to Wales to secure an act of homage from Rhys ap Tewdwr, recently victorious at the battle of Mynedd Carn, and to impose Norman overlordship in Deheubarth. Such a move on the king's behalf seems in line with the new system for the frontier, emerging in reaction to the unity in Wales under Rhys, and desire for peace and stability on the border. If Rhys was allied to the king, then he would not ally with rebellious Welsh or Normans on the border. The peace after 1081 suggests that there was some kind of agreement, based on continued Norman overlordship of south Wales. There is some evidence for such an arrangement. Domesday Book recorded a due of 'Rhys of Wales' to pay £40 to the king.[108] It is likely that this was a reference to Rhys ap Tewdwr, paying £40 for the farm of south Wales.

There is little evidence to suggest that William attempted to establish a Norman presence at St. Davids. Archaeological remains of eight fortifications forming an arc across the northern border of Cibwr, the lowland area of the cantref of Morgannwg, are more likely to have been Welsh than Norman.[109] The suggestion, based on numismatic evidence, that there were Norman mints in southern Wales in permanent enclaves, in particular at Cardiff and St. Davids, is a tenuous one.[110] The existence of a mint at Cardiff would surely have been noted in Domesday Book, as dues would have been owed by moneyers there. William certainly passed through the area, and some currency may have been struck by one of his moneyers who accompanied him on his visit to pay for the release of prisoners. It is also possible that such coins may have been produced after 1093 when Robert son of Hamo settled Morgannwg, as the use of obsolete dies was not uncommon.

Overall, it is unlikely that there was Norman settlement in Morgannwg or around Cardiff. It is doubtful that the Domesday commissioners would have excluded Cardiff from their account if a township actually existed there. When Robert son of Hamo did settle Morgannwg in 1093, he distributed territory without concern for any earlier Norman claimants, which suggests that it was the first such Norman settlement. The Norman advance from Herefordshire was limited to penetration of Archenfield and the establishment of loose overlordship in Ewias and Gwent, within which Normans were gradually being settled.

* * *

The scope of the powers of Hugh of Avranches, Roger of Montgomery and William fitz Osbern in their respective earldoms was clearly extensive. As Stenton claimed of the earldoms created by William I, it seems that those of Hereford, Shropshire and Cheshire meant the withdrawal of each shire from the ordinary administrative system of the country, that they were earldoms 'palatine', in the language of a later time.[111]

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[108] *DB Herefordshire* (A10).

[109] Spurgeon suggested that they were built to defend a Norman settlement founded during William I's reign, but as Williams pointed out, the location of the sites was not ideal and difficult terrain would have made communication between sites difficult. Spurgeon, 'The Early Castles to 1217', *Medieval Secular Monuments* (London, 1991); Williams, 'Norman lordship in south-east Wales', *Welsh History Review*, vol.16 (1992-3), 456.

[110] Courtney, 'The First Welsh Mints and the Origins of Cardiff', *Morgannwg*, vol.30 (1986), 67.

[111] Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism*, 229. The use of the term 'palatine' is problematical: there is no reference to palatinate status in sources before 1293, and it had no constitutional meaning until the fifteenth century. Its use as a real

Although the earls were feudal tenants of the king, within their lordships they possessed extensive authority and a degree of independence beyond that of many tenants-in-chief in England. Within these earldoms, Domesday Book highlighted a number of compact territorial fiefs covering large parts of Cheshire, Shropshire and Herefordshire, many of which were strategically sited to defend the border with Wales and to act as bases for offensive activity beyond it. The three counties witnessed a significant degree of disruption to landholding patterns, with Anglo-Norman tenants-in-chief holding the land of a named antecessor being the exception. The creation of compact territorial fiefs marked a significant break with Anglo-Saxon landholding patterns. In the pre-Conquest period, many Anglo-Saxons had held scattered estates spread across several hundreds.[112] Earl Edwin held land in most Cheshire hundreds, although the land that he held in North Wales formed a compact territorial block. The only other obvious pre-Conquest territorial concentrations in Cheshire were the manors of Godric, Godwin and Osmer in eastern Cheshire, and Arni in the west, all of which were few in number. The situation in pre-Conquest Shropshire was similar, with most estates being scattered across two or more hundreds. Where the holdings of an Anglo-Saxon lord were in a compact group, the estate was often confined to a small number of manors. In Herefordshire, the only compact groups of manors were those held by Earl Harold, Queen Edith and Osbern son of Richard. Domesday Book has shown that many of these scattered Anglo-Saxon estates throughout all three counties passed into the more geographically compact fiefs of their Anglo-Norman counterparts.

The Welsh border was very fluid in the late eleventh century, and the nature and extent of Norman penetration into Wales varied. In the north, there was a consolidation of the Norman position in Rhuddlan and Tegeingl, and an advance along the north coast of Wales, gaining control of areas like Rhos and Rhufoniog and establishing overlordship in areas further west. But in terms of actual Norman settlement in Wales, the advance was limited to the area between the Clwyd and Dee rivers. In Shropshire, Norman influence in Welsh districts was confined to loose overlordship, and settlement around Montgomery was the extent of the advance into Powys. Further south, actual physical penetration was greater, with Norman settlement based on manorial lordships. This was especially the case in areas where there were already patterns of authority and a dependent peasantry in villages under reeves owing renders, as it was easier to impose a manorial system. The Normans of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire had begun to penetrate and settle in areas like Ewias and Gwent, which provided a foundation for further advances during the following decades. Overall, the Normans under the Conqueror secured greater authority in Wales than their Anglo-Saxon predecessors had done. They successfully restored areas lost to the Welsh along the border, as well as penetrating new areas and strengthening Norman overlordship deep into Welsh territory. That *Brut y Tywysogyon* referred to William the Conqueror as "prince of the Normans and king of

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historical concept is thus reduced. As Sidney Painter highlighted, "it seems futile to use the term palatinate before the reign of Henry II". Painter, *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony*, 112.

[112] Domesday Book may have concealed examples of Anglo-Saxon overlordship which may reduce the amount of tenurial reorganisation after 1066. Saxon overlords were rarely mentioned in Cheshire and Shropshire, and only occasionally in Herefordshire. An entry for Somerford Booths in Cheshire stated that one of the three 1066 tenants, Morfar, "could not withdraw from his [unnamed] lord". *DB Cheshire* (26,1). There may have been other subtenancies that escaped the attention of the Domesday scribe within circuit five. However, although Domesday Book may hide some elements of continuity, it is evident that the tenurial structure throughout the region underwent a significant overhaul.

the Saxons and the Welsh and the Scots" is perhaps testimony to the Norman achievement.[113]

[113] *Brut y Tywysogyon*, ed. Jones, 18.

VI

The Norman Conquest of the North

Yorkshire, Lancashire and Northumberland were remote and independent regions, separated from the rest of England by the Humber, the Ribble, marshland of the Vale of York and the Pennines, and exposed to the threat of both Scottish and Scandinavian assault.[1] The east coast was the most accessible part of England for invaders prepared to brave the North Sea, and Scandinavian settlement prior to 1066 meant that the region was particularly susceptible to attack.[2] As Chapter Two has demonstrated, Danish attacks on the east coast were frequent in the first few years after 1066, exacerbating local resistance to Norman rule.[3] The coastline of north-western England had also been subject to attack from the Vikings of Denmark and Norway established on the Isle of Man, in the Hebrides and in Ireland, who remained a potential threat after 1066.

Connections between King Malcolm of Scotland and Edgar Aetheling increased the risk of a coordinated campaign against Norman rule in the north. Malcolm's marriage to Edgar's sister Margaret is likely to have heightened Scottish interest in the north of England. The Scottish king was in control of Cumberland and Westmorland, and the Anglo-Scottish border stretched as far south as Rere Cross on Stainmore. In the north-west, an independent principality ruled from Carlisle by Dolfin son of Gospatric was subject to the Scottish king. Raids for plunder by the Scots continued to be a problem throughout the period. In the spring of 1070, Malcolm ravaged Teesdale and Cleveland via Stainmore, provoking an attack on Cumberland by Gospatric earl of Northumbria.[4] In 1079 the Scots again ravaged Northumberland as far as the Tyne.[5]

As well as external threats, the Normans had to control an often hostile local population who resented the imposition of Norman rule. In Northumbria, a sense of remoteness from the centre of government pervaded, encouraging resistance to Norman rule. It had been an independent kingdom prior to the Danish invasions of the ninth century, and in the late eleventh century it remained a semi-independent region where there was comparatively little royal land. Although the crown did have rights in the region, for example in the appointments of Siward, Tosti and Morcar, it is questionable whether these rights were strongly enforced. The fact that no land

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[1] 'Lancashire' is here used as a convenient shorthand to describe the whole north-western area of England, which later included land in Lancashire, Cumberland and Westmorland.

[2] See Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its Social Structure c.800-1100* (2000); Hadley and Richards (ed.), *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the ninth and tenth centuries* (2000).

[3] See above, p.30-2.

[4] *Simeon of Durham, Historia Regum*, ed. Arnold, ii, 190.

[5] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock et al., 159 (MS E).

beyond Yorkshire was included in the Domesday survey suggests that Norman control of the region was ineffectual. As Chapter Two has demonstrated, the Conqueror made several unsuccessful attempts to govern the region and control local feuding in Northumbrian society.[6] Such a rapid succession of earls, and their often unsavoury ends, did little to encourage stability in the north.

The Northumbrian rebellion of 1068 in support of Edgar Aetheling provoked the Conqueror to construct a castle at York to contain resistance and defend the city in the event of Scandinavian forces sailing up the Humber and the Ouse. There followed a second revolt in the north in January 1069, involving a number of key Anglo-Saxon lords probably aiming to establish their own kingdom under Edgar Aetheling. The Normans relieved York and built or refortified a second castle in the city. In September 1069, there was a further Northumbrian rebellion, encouraged by the Danish invasion under Sweyn Estrithson. The city of York endured much damage before it was again relieved by the Normans. The severity of the Conqueror's campaign to quell local resistance in the winter of 1069-70, commonly known as the 'harrying of the north', demonstrates the perceived magnitude of the threat faced by the Normans in the north. Contemporary and near-contemporary sources, although in some cases embellished and often written several decades after the events they describe, depict the harrying as a thorough and devastating campaign of destruction. The 'E' version of the Anglo Saxon Chronicle recorded that the Conqueror "went into the shire and ruined it completely".[7] Simeon of Durham, using John of Worcester, stated that land was uncultivated for nine years, and that "between York and Durham no village was inhabited".[8]

The Domesday evidence certainly suggests that the harrying campaign may have had a devastating impact. Darby has shown that over 44% of land in Yorkshire was wholly or partially waste in 1086, some of which may be attributable to physical devastation as historians such as Bishop and Kapelle have argued.[9] However, it seems unlikely that such devastation would still be widespread some sixteen years later, especially in areas where strategic considerations would have necessitated a strong Norman presence supported by ample manpower and resources. Extensive discussion of Domesday 'waste' has emphasised that the term could have been used to account for a variety of situations, including the consolidation of manors, the absence of arable land or tenants, the abandonment of manors in upland areas or the ignorance of the Domesday commissioners as to the resources of a manor. Where waste did represent actual physical devastation, the harrying campaign was not necessarily the only cause. Military campaigns throughout the period and the scorched earth policy of 1085 to deter Scandinavian invasion would have caused considerable damage that would still be apparent in the folios of Domesday Book. Physical devastation, whether in the immediate aftermath of the harrying or later in the reign, would have made the defence of Northumbria all the more problematical, depriving the Normans of valuable resources to support the defensive campaign and heightening the isolation of northern England from the centre of Norman government to the south.

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[6] See above, p.36.
[7] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock et al., 150 (MS E).
[8] *Simeon of Durham, Historia Regum*, ed. Arnold, ii, 188.
[9] Darby, *Domesday Geography of Northern England*, 61; 139; 212. Several more manors with no resources are likely to have been waste, although not explicitly recorded as such.

It was imperative for the Conqueror to establish barons in the north with proven military ability who could maintain control, improve security and defend against foreign assault and internal rebellion. The Norman conquest and settlement of Yorkshire has received considerable attention from Domesday scholars, and the essentially military functions of many of the castleries and lordships of Yorkshire and Lancashire have long been recognised.[10] More recent studies by historians such as Paul Dalton, William Kapelle and Judith Green have served to emphasise the military significance of the north, and the work of David Palliser and John Palmer on Domesday waste are telling of the situation in the north.[11] Anglo-Scottish relations have been extensively analysed by historians such as Charles Phythian Adams and Geoffrey Barrow, and Dawn Hadley and Julian Richards have provided useful studies of relations between the Anglo-Normans and their Scandinavian counterparts.[12] Some confusion remains, however, as to the extent of Norman control in the north and the timescale of its establishment. Newman's study of the former land of William Malet has suggested that Norman control of Yorkshire in the early post-Conquest period was confined to manors in the immediate vicinity of York, and that much of the rest of the county, in particular remote regions in the north and west Ridings, remained largely untouched.[13] A detailed examination of the Domesday evidence suggests that this may not necessarily have been the case, as Dalton's analysis of the timescale of the Norman conquest of the north has demonstrated. This chapter will analyse the Conqueror's evolving strategy for the defence of northern England, examining in detail a number of compact fiefs to determine their military and strategic credentials. The situation in the immediate post-Conquest era will be examined, followed by an analysis of those fiefs created in the ensuing two decades.

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The Conqueror may have initially adopted a cautious approach to the conquest of the north in order to maintain a degree of continuity and stability. Earl Edwin and Earl Morcar's submission to the Conqueror early in 1067 may have enabled them to retain nominal control over the region in order to maintain a veneer of legal succession. A writ addressed to "Earl Morcar and Gamel son of Osbern and all [the king's] barons of Yorkshire can be dated between Morcar's submission to the Conqueror in early 1067 and the death of Archbishop Ealdred, to whom the writ also refers, in 1069.[14] Another Englishman, Arnketill, was able to retain his land after the Conquest. Orderic Vitalis described him as "the most powerful chief of the Northumbrians" and explained that he made a treaty of peace with the king in 1068 and gave him his son as a hostage".[15] His son Gospatric was the only Englishmen still holding land in Yorkshire in chief in 1086, totalling 36 manors mainly in the

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[10] Stenton first recognised the essentially military functions of the castleries of Pontefract, Richmond and Tutbury, and subsequent studies by Wightman and Le Patourel emphasised the role of other key military lordships in the process of conquest and colonisation. Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism*, 192; Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy*, 21ff; Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire*, 310.

[11] Palliser, 'Domesday Book and the Harrying of the North', *Northern History*, vol.29 (1993), pp.1-23; Palmer, 'The Conqueror's footprints in Domesday Book', *The Medieval Military Revolution*, ed. Ayton and Price, pp.23-44; and 'War and Domesday Waste', *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France*, ed. Strickland, pp.256-275.

[12] Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: A Study in British Provincial Origins 400-1120* (1996); Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, Church and Society from the eleventh to the thirteenth century* (1973); Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its Social Structure, c.800-1100* (2000); Hadley and Richards, *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the ninth and tenth centuries* (2000).

[13] Newman, 'The Yorkshire Domesday *Clamores* and the "Lost Fee"', *ANS*, vol.22 (1999), pp.261-277.

[14] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.32.

[15] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 185.

West Riding of Yorkshire, although it may be significant that much of his land was waste.[16]

Among the early Norman settlers in Yorkshire was William Malet, whose fief provides some idea of early Norman policy in the north. He was the sheriff of York until c.1069, and as such would have possessed a considerable estate in Yorkshire.[17] He and his family were temporarily taken prisoner by the Danes in York Castle during the revolt of 1069, and he seems to have lost much of his land shortly thereafter, dying in the marshes of Ely in 1071.[18] Very little of his land passed to his son Robert, perhaps because he was considered too inexperienced to govern such a vulnerable region. The extent of William's former fief is thus difficult to determine from the main text of the Yorkshire Domesday, but the Yorkshire *clamores* reveal a significant amount of information about his former fief that would have otherwise escaped record. It is possible to tentatively piece together the outline of his fief prior to his death in the early 1070s, and gain some understanding of the military implications of his tenure.[19]

William had bought seven carucates of Sprottr's land in Sand Hutton for ten marks of silver, located around eight miles north-east of York.[20] He held the neighbouring manors of Elvington and Wheldrake to the east of York after 1066, as well as several manors to the south-west of York in the wapentakes of Ainsty and Barkston Ash. For example, the *clamores* reveal that William Malet had been seen in possession of the manors of Scagglethorpe and Upper and Nether Poppleton "and men performed service to him in respect of the land and were his men".[21] He held in lordship the land of Ulfr the Deacon in North Cave near the Humber estuary. He had also gained land in Belby House, Cliffe, North and South Duffield and Osgodby, all in the wapentake of Howden on the northern bank of the Humber, as well as half of the nearby vill of Sancton. Further east, the *clamores* stated that William held eighteen manors in Holderness "until the Danes seized him", which were scattered along this strategically important coastal region.[22] His possession of the manor of Alkborough across the Humber in Lincolnshire consolidated his control of this important point of access.[23]

The *clamores* reveal that William held all the land of Asa in Yorkshire "until the castle was attacked".[24] Among the manors thus seemingly under William Malet's control after 1066 were Hayton, Lowthorpe and Scoreby Manor, located to the east of York. The *clamores* also recorded that "the whole county testifies that William Malet held in his lordship all the land which Northmann son of Maelcolumban held in the East Riding, as long as he held land in Yorkshire".[25] The name Northmann is a relatively common one, occurring frequently in the folios of the Yorkshire Domesday, and so it is difficult to ascertain which manors William Malet held as a successor of

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[16] See Palmer, 'War and Domesday Waste', *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France*, ed. Strickland, pp.256-275. It should be emphasised that this Gospatric was not the earl of the same name.
[17] The Yorkshire *clamores* state that William Percy held Bolton Percy "while William Malet was alive and held the sheriffdom in York". *DB Yorkshire* (CW35).
[18] *Simeon of Durham, Historia Regum*, ed. Arnold, ii, 188.
[19] See Green, 'The sheriffs of William the Conqueror', *ANS*, vol.5 (1982), p.142; Hart, 'William Malet and his family', *ANS*, vol.19 (1996), pp.123-165.
[20] Newman's emphasis on Malet buying only Spottr's land closest to York does not necessarily mean his possessions were confined to this area. Newman, 'The Domesday Clamores and the 'Lost Fee'', *ANS*, vol.22 (1999), 270.
[21] *DB Yorkshire* (CW32).
[22] *Ibid.* (CE35).
[23] See Hart, 'William Malet and his family', 139ff.
[24] *Ibid.* (CE15).
[25] *Ibid.* (CE23). Possibly the Northmann who held some land in the East Riding alongside Asa and her husband Bjornulfr.

Northmann. At least one other Northmann, the son of Ulfr, is named as an antecessor of William Malet at Brantingham in Welton, and he may have been the Northmann who held Robert Malet's nearby manor of Drewton.[26] Newman has suggested that "either Northmann son of Maelcolumban had very little land indeed, or that Malet's possession of it was not realised".[27] However, the only land that William Malet certainly obtained from Northmann son of Maelcolumban was the unidentified 4½ carucates of land in the wapentake of Ainsty, which the *clamores* revealed to be in the hands of Osbern of Arques in 1086. Domesday Book suggests that Northmann did not precede Osbern in any land in this wapentake, which, unless an error of the jury, provides a clear example of hidden pre-Conquest overlordship. Northmann son of Maelcolumban's estate, and consequently that of William Malet, could thus have been far more extensive than Domesday Book reveals.

The *clamores* also revealed that William held the land of Havarthr in Yorkshire "before the castle was taken".[28] According to Domesday Book, Havarthr was in control of the manors of Little Ayton, Battersby, Easby, Castle Leavington, Kirk Leavington, Stokesley, Lower Worsall and Yarm before the Conquest, all located in the northern wapentakes of Allerton and Langbargh. Stokesley in particular was an important possession, worth £24 in 1066 and with numerous outliers located on the approach to York from the far north-east. Newman argued that it was the jurors of the neighbouring wapentake of Manshowe who testified to this claim, which reduced its validity because in no instance did Malet succeed Havarthr in this wapentake. The argument is a dubious one, for the text clearly stated that William was in the possession of Havarthr's land in the whole county, which, if anything, suggests that Havarthr may have held more land in the North Riding as an overlord than Domesday Book reveals.[29] Newman's suggestion that Norman settlement under the sheriffdom of William Malet was confined to the area around York, with remote regions in the North Riding subject to little more than nominal lordship, is clearly undermined by William's succession to the estate of Havarthr. His possession of the manor of Yeadon in Wharfedale, deep in the West Riding and recognised by Newman himself as an "anomaly" that could have been used by Malet and his men as an observation point, serves to demonstrate that Norman penetration of more remote regions was not unheard of in the immediate aftermath of the conquest.[30] A Norman foothold in regions like Allerton and Langbargh would have been critical in terms of establishing Norman control in the far north, defending against Scottish attack and preventing Scandinavian invasion via the Tees. Combined with his land further south, defending both banks of the Humber estuary and the approaches to York, it is clear that his fief was an important military lordship.[31] Bearing in mind that he held this land at a time of great internal turmoil in Yorkshire, in addition to the recurring threat of Scandinavian and Scottish assault, the strategic significance of his possessions is clear. The formation of his fief demonstrates that Norman penetration of the more remote regions of Yorkshire was an early development, not confined to the late 1070s and early 1080s as some historians have previously supposed.[32]

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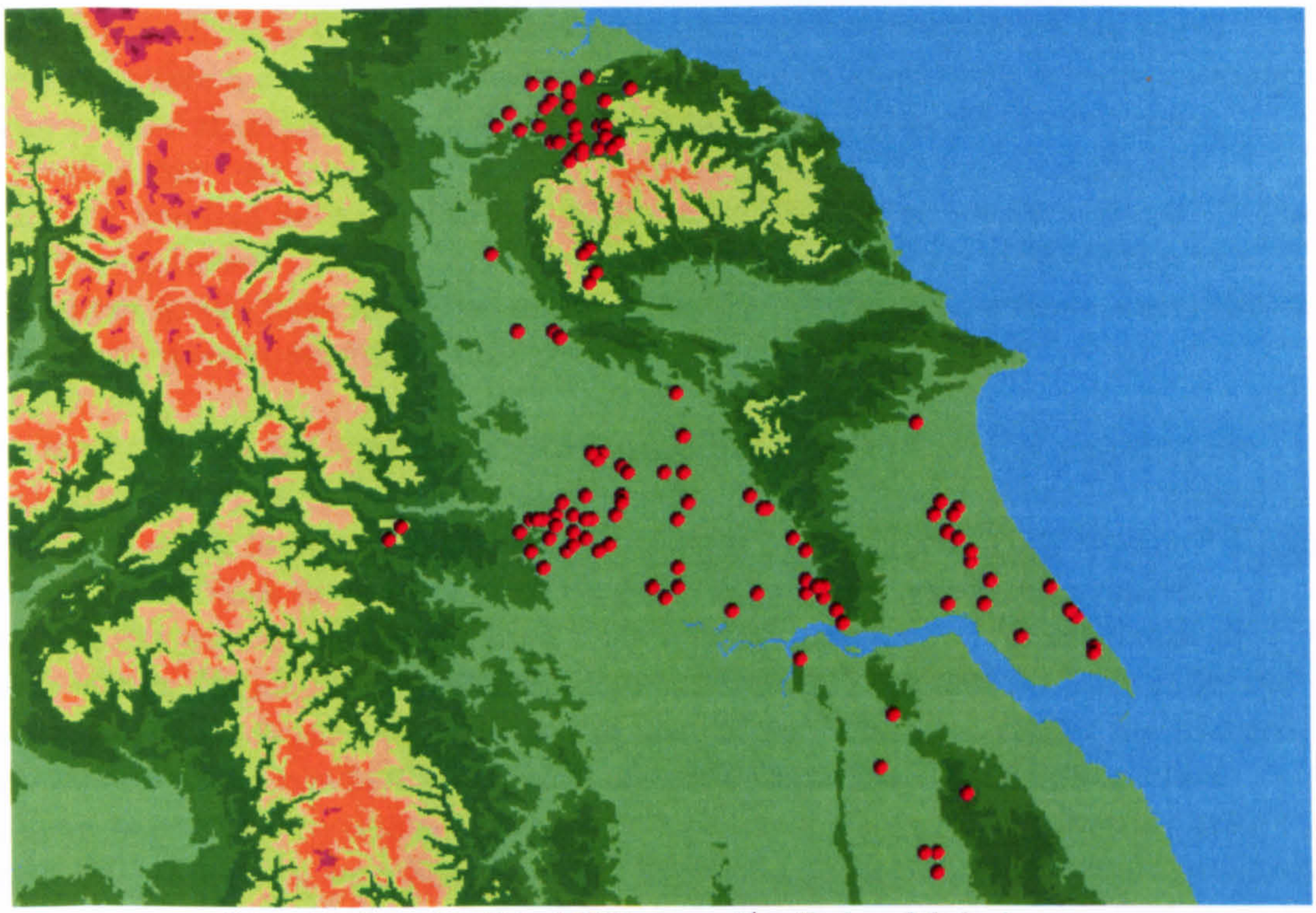
[26] *Ibid.* (CE13).
[27] Newman, 'The Yorkshire Domesday *clamores* and the 'Lost Fee", 268.
[28] *DB Yorkshire* (CN3).
[29] Newman's claim that Havarthr was the antecessor of Robert Malet at Scawton in Manshowe is even more curious, for Domesday Book does not record Havarthr as the pre-Conquest lord of any land in this wapentake. Robert gained his land at Scawton from Asketil, not Havarthr. Newman, 'The Yorkshire Domesday *clamores* and the 'Lost Fee", 269.
[30] *Ibid.*, 271.
[31] For the strategic implications of Malet's fief, see Hart, 'William Malet and his Family', *ANS*, vol.19 (1996), 129ff.
[32] See, for example, Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy*, 21ff.



Map 87: Land held by William and/or Robert Malet between 1066 and 1086 and land held by Asa or Havarthr before 1066[33]

The geographical spread of Malet's land makes it seem unlikely that he was the only substantially endowed Norman in Yorkshire in the late 1060s. A number of other men are known to have held land in Yorkshire in the years immediately after the Conquest, although the extent of their landed possessions is more difficult, and at times impossible, to determine. Robert fitz Richard, as an early castellan of York, is likely to have been granted land in the vicinity of the castle in the late 1060s. He was killed by Archil during the 1069 revolt, and no record survives of his former landed possessions. The second castle to be built at York in 1069 was controlled by William fitz Osbern, who as a major Anglo-Norman baron and close associate of the Conqueror is likely to have been granted land in the county at an early date.[34] His death and the subsequent forfeiture of his son Roger in 1075 has resulted in the removal of any trace of his tenancy from the pages of Domesday Book. The possessions of some early arrivals in the north, for example Gilbert of Ghent and William of Warenne, are clearly visible in the folios of Domesday Book, but there were no doubt other men who held positions of authority in Yorkshire soon after 1066, but who may have perished during the turmoil of the early Anglo-Norman period and escaped contemporary record. The tenurial situation in Yorkshire in the immediate post-Conquest period, and the defensive strategies put in place to secure the area, thus remains very patchy.

* * *

An initial priority for the Conqueror in light of the Scandinavian assaults would have been to ensure the security of the Humber estuary and the routes leading to and from York. Dalton, in his analysis of the settlement of Yorkshire, claimed that the

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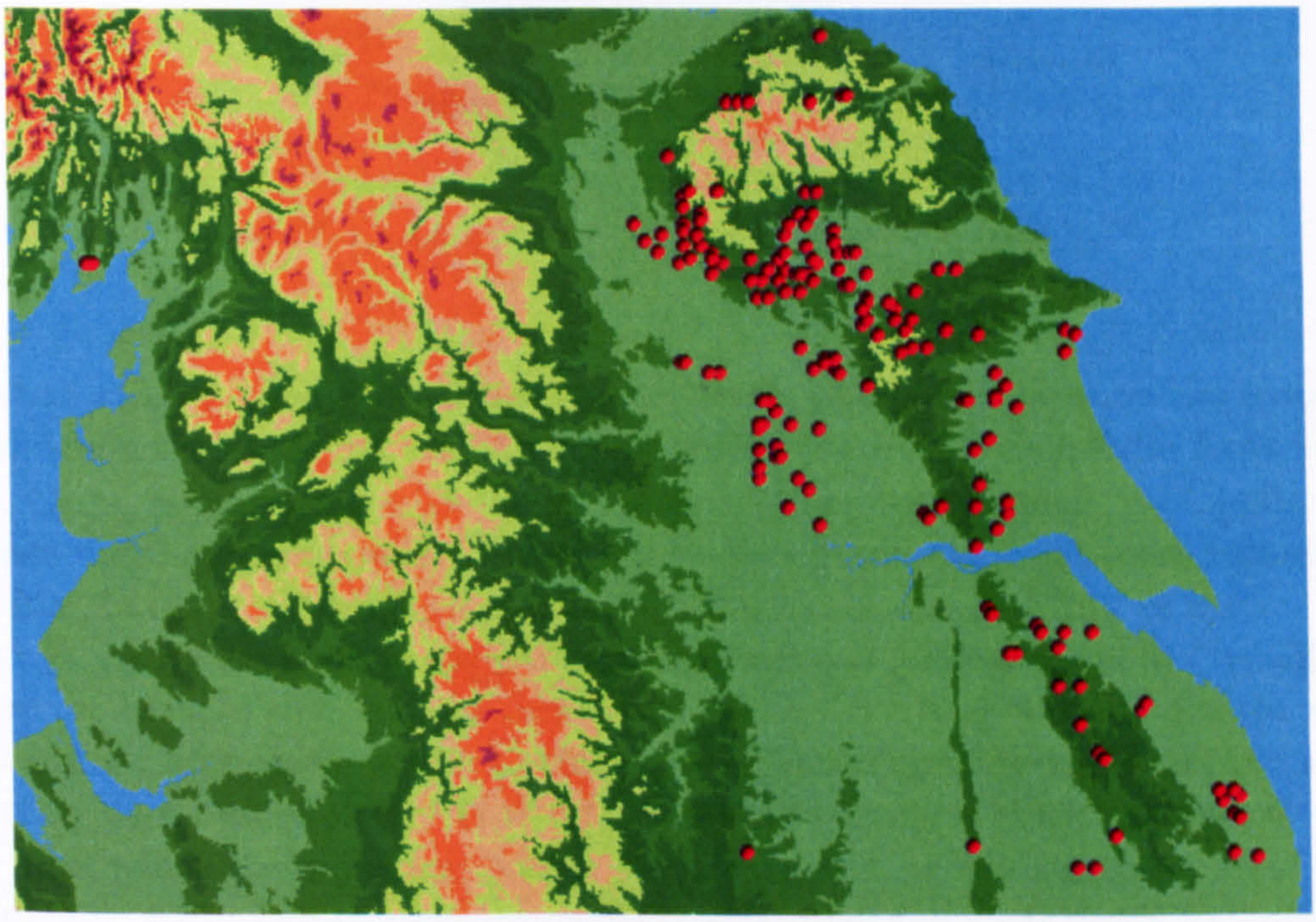
[33] Whether Robert's land in 1086 was based on his father's possessions is far from certain, but even when this is discarded from the map, William still possessed a large amount of land in the region to the north of the Humber and deep into the North Riding of Yorkshire.

[34] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 220.

creation of the lordships of Drogo of Beuvrière, Hugh fitz Baldric, Osbern of Arques and William of Percy belonged to this early stage of the conquest of the north. Employing five factors to determine organisational development, he convincingly demonstrated that these four fiefs were in an advanced stage of development, suggesting that "the extent of Norman authority in Yorkshire was much more extensive, and had developed more quickly, than had hitherto been realised".[35] The strategic importance of much of their land, too, makes it seem unlikely that the Conqueror would have neglected to make rapid provision for defence, especially in view of the proven volatility of the region.

The land of Hugh fitz Baldric formed a strategically important fief guarding the approaches to York, especially from the north where he had a dense concentration of manors in the lowlands to the south and west of the North York Moors.[36] Hugh was sheriff of York from 1069 to the late 1070s, which would have entailed considerable military responsibilities.[37] He held 53 manors and 63 sokelands or berewicks in Yorkshire, mainly in the region between York and the Moors. In the wapentake of Birdforth, which lay at the foot of the Hambleton Hills, he held ten manors and numerous berewicks, and was prominent among tenants-in-chief, holding nearly 85 carucates of land, or 39% of the assessment of the entire area. Especially prominent was the manor of Cuxwold and its outliers, a large settlement assessed at just under twenty carucates and showing a rare 100% increase in value between 1066 and 1086.[38] The strategic importance of the site, guarding the approach to York from the north-west, is likely to have been appreciated.



[35] Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, 63. The five factors were extent of waste; prevalence of over-stocked manors; agricultural profitability; enfeoffment and the condition of enfeoffed estates; and existence of castles and castleries.
[36] Keats-Rohan has suggested that Hugh lost his land for supporting Robert Curthose against William II in 1087. His fee was subsequently dissolved, and the honour of Cottingham passed to the Mowbray family. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 267-8; Greenway, *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray 1107-1191* (1972).
[37] For his position as sheriff, see *DB Yorkshire* (C2;10); *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, no.218 [1066x1086]. No other post-Conquest sheriff is named in the Yorkshire folios of Domesday Book, although Ralph Paynel gained the majority of Merleswein the sheriff's former land in Yorkshire, and indeed throughout circuit six, and was certainly sheriff in 1088. *Ibid.*, no.8n. Hugh was also sheriff of Nottingham at some point before 1086, where he possessed just two manors. *DB Nottinghamshire* (B3).
[38] Most other land in the region had either remained stable or declined in value, for example Bagby which was worth £8 in 1066 and 40 shillings in 1086. Such decline can be attributed to a number of factors, including the long term impact of the revolts of the late 1060s and the ensuing harrying campaign and the actions to deter Scandinavian penetration in 1085.

Map 88: Land of Hugh fitz Baldric in northern England in 1086

The demesne manor of Thirsk, with two berewicks, was also located near the road running north-west of York at the exit of the Vale of Pickering. A motte and bailey castle in Thirsk was first mentioned in 1130 as one the Mowbray castles seized in 1095.[39] There are no explicit signs of a castle there in 1086, and the poor value of the land and the seemingly low population of the manor provides further confirmation that the vill is unlikely to have been fortified at this early date. Its strategic significance is, however, implied.

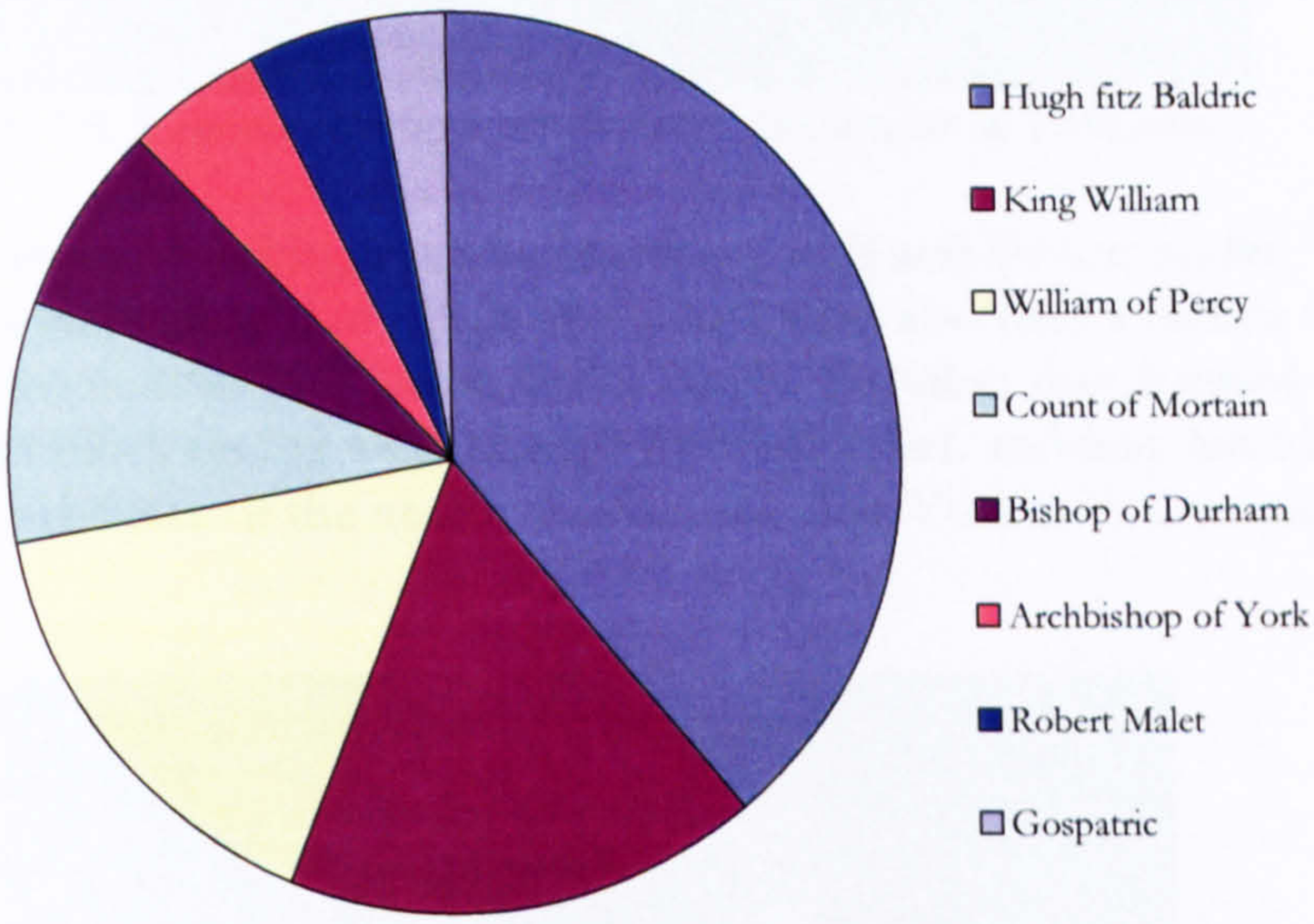


Figure 17: Division of land in Birdforth Wapentake in 1086[40]

Hugh had at least seven predecessors in Birdforth, which demonstrates the tenurial consolidation that occurred after 1066. He gained one manor each from Arnketill, Kofsi, Ormr, Sumarfugl and Thorr, and three manors from Gamall and Ligulfr, two of which they had held jointly. Gamall was Hugh's predecessor in several instances in Yorkshire, having formerly held eighteen of Hugh's manors and four of his berewicks across the county, suggesting that Hugh was granted some of Gamall's land on the basis of antecessorial succession. Gamall has been identified as the son of Osbert at Cottingham, where he enjoyed full jurisdiction, market rights and all customary dues before 1066.[41] If all references to Gamall on Hugh's fief are to the same man, which the sequence of their tenure suggests, he was a man of considerable status before 1066.[42] It is likely that Hugh's fief was partly founded on the former possessions of Gamall, though consolidated with the land of various other Anglo-Saxon lords to form a compact, though not exclusive, block to the north of York.

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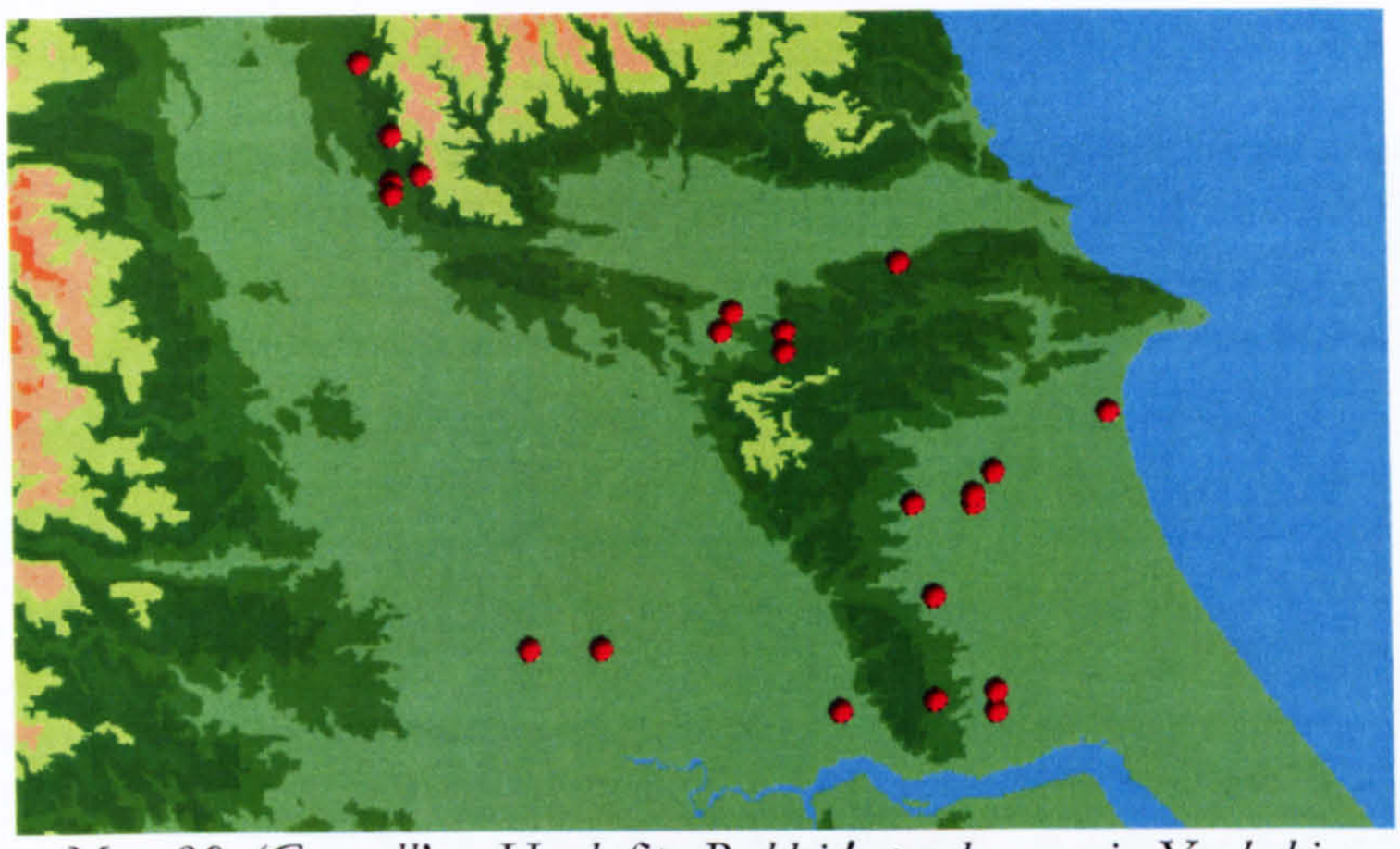
[39] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, ii, 527.

[40] Due to the decline in many land values in Yorkshire between 1066 and 1086 and the prevalence of wasted land, the fiscal assessment of a manor is the most reliable indicator of its size and potential.

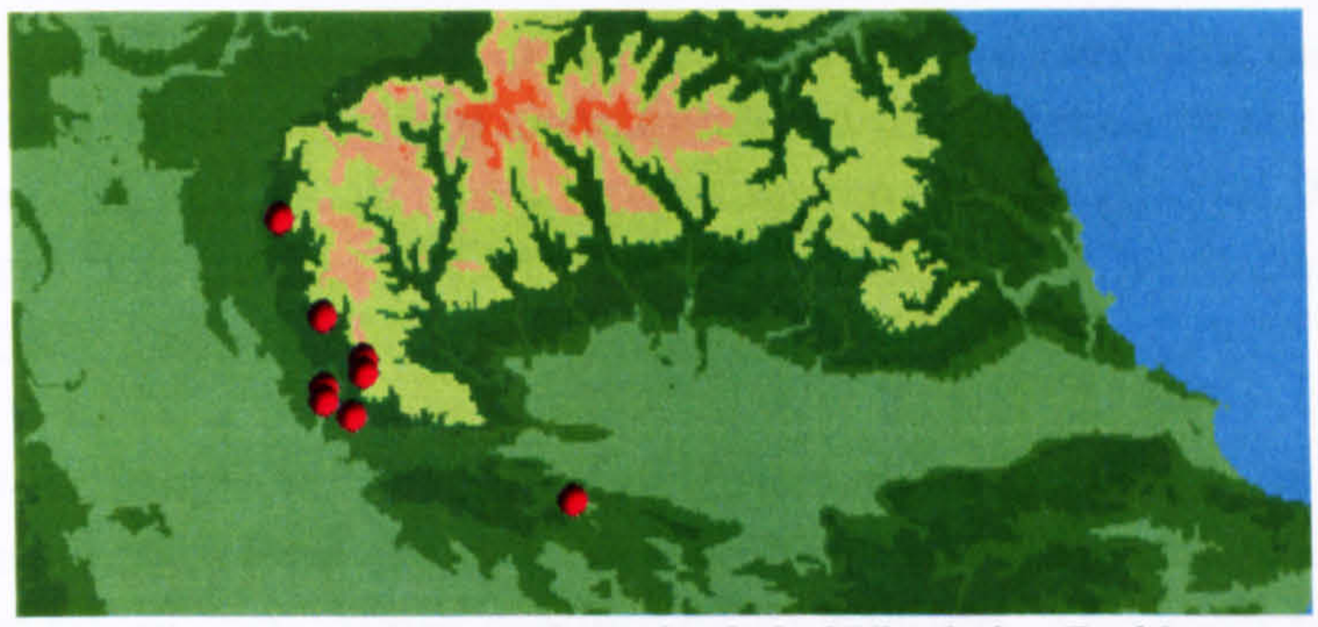
[41] *DB Yorkshire* (C36).

[42] The Phillimore edition of Domesday Book identifies at least five Gamall's in the county in 1066. For the problems involved in identifying Anglo-Saxon lords, see Lewis, 'Joining the Dots: a methodology for identifying the English in Domesday Book', *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, ed. Keats-Rohan, pp.69-87. As Lewis stated, nominal linkage is "very much more a matter of balancing probabilities than of reaching confidently for certainties". *Ibid*, 80.



Map 89: 'Gamall' as Hugh fitz Baldric's predecessor in Yorkshire

The Birdforth manors of Boltby, Fridebi, Marderby Hall and Sutton under Whitestone Cliffe were all held of Hugh by Gerard, who also held a manor in Manshowe and two manors in Allerton under Hugh. Together they formed a relatively compact block on the western edge of Hugh's fief, and may have been granted to aid the defence of the nearby road connecting York with Catterick and beyond.



Map 90: Tenancies of Gerard on the fief of Hugh fitz Baldric in 1086

In the neighbouring wapentake of Manshowe, Hugh held 5 manors and 24 berewicks, of which the manors of Gilling East, Kirby Moorside and Laysthorpe were held in demesne. Cathcart King noted the existence of a late fourteenth century tower on a strong foreland site in Gilling East, with traces of an earlier earthwork fortification.[43] Whether this was in existence in 1086 is uncertain, although the vill was in a central location on the fief and thus would have been a suitable administrative and military focus. A more likely focal point is, however, the 56½ carucate composite manor of Kirby Moorside with its fourteen berewicks, which lay in the Vale of Pickering on the southern edge of the Moors and could thus control east-west communications through the vale, between the coast and the interior. In the thirteenth century the Stuteville family built a stone castle in the vill, which demonstrates its perceived military significance at the time and perhaps earlier. Both Kirby Moorside and Hovingham, another large composite manor assessed at forty carucates, had been held by Ormr son of Gamall before 1066. Ormr was one of Hugh's most prominent predecessors, holding twelve of his Yorkshire manors before 1066 with 42 associated berewicks. Map 91 demonstrates the strong influence that Ormr's former possessions had on the subsequent formation of Hugh fitz Baldric's

[43] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, ii, 517.

fief, although in few wapentakes was Hugh his sole successor, reducing the antecessorial link.[44]

Map 91: Ormr son of Gamall as Hugh fitz Baldric's predecessor

In addition to Gerard, Hugh had a number of other tenants, most of whom held land around York and in the East Riding. Ralph held the manor of Beningborough, located just north-west of York by the road towards Catterick. Geoffrey held Langton and its berewicks, located a few miles north-east of York near the River Derwent. Walo and Wulfbert also held tenancies near the Derwent between Langton and York. All three tenants perhaps contributed to the defence of the approach to York from the north, and Hugh's two remaining tenants, Hugh and William, held land in the eastern wapentakes of Driffield and Sneculfscros, perhaps guarding the eastern approach.

Viewed as a whole, Hugh fitz Baldric's fief shows many indicators of a compact fief deliberately created to defend the approach to York from the north-east, located between the city and Count Alan's castlery of Richmond. Although founded to some extent on the former possessions of Gamall son of Osbert and Ormr son of Gamall, Hugh was neither man's sole successor and the remainder of his fief seems to have been acquired with scant regard for the pre-Conquest tenurial situation. It therefore seems likely that Hugh was granted this land in view of his administrative and military responsibilities in Yorkshire, and that he and tenants like Gerard contributed significantly to the defence of the kingdom from internal and external attack.

* * *

To the south of the land of Hugh fitz Baldric lay the Yorkshire fief of Osbern of Arques, which was concentrated in the hundreds of Ainsty, Barkston Ash and Burghshire, with a few other possessions in Craven, all in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Osbern of Arques may have been a kinsman or associate of Hugh fitz Baldric, for they both originated from Upper Normandy.[45] Osbern's main block of land, just west of York, formed a compact strategic fief guarding the approaches to this vulnerable city. The land would have contributed to the defence of both the road

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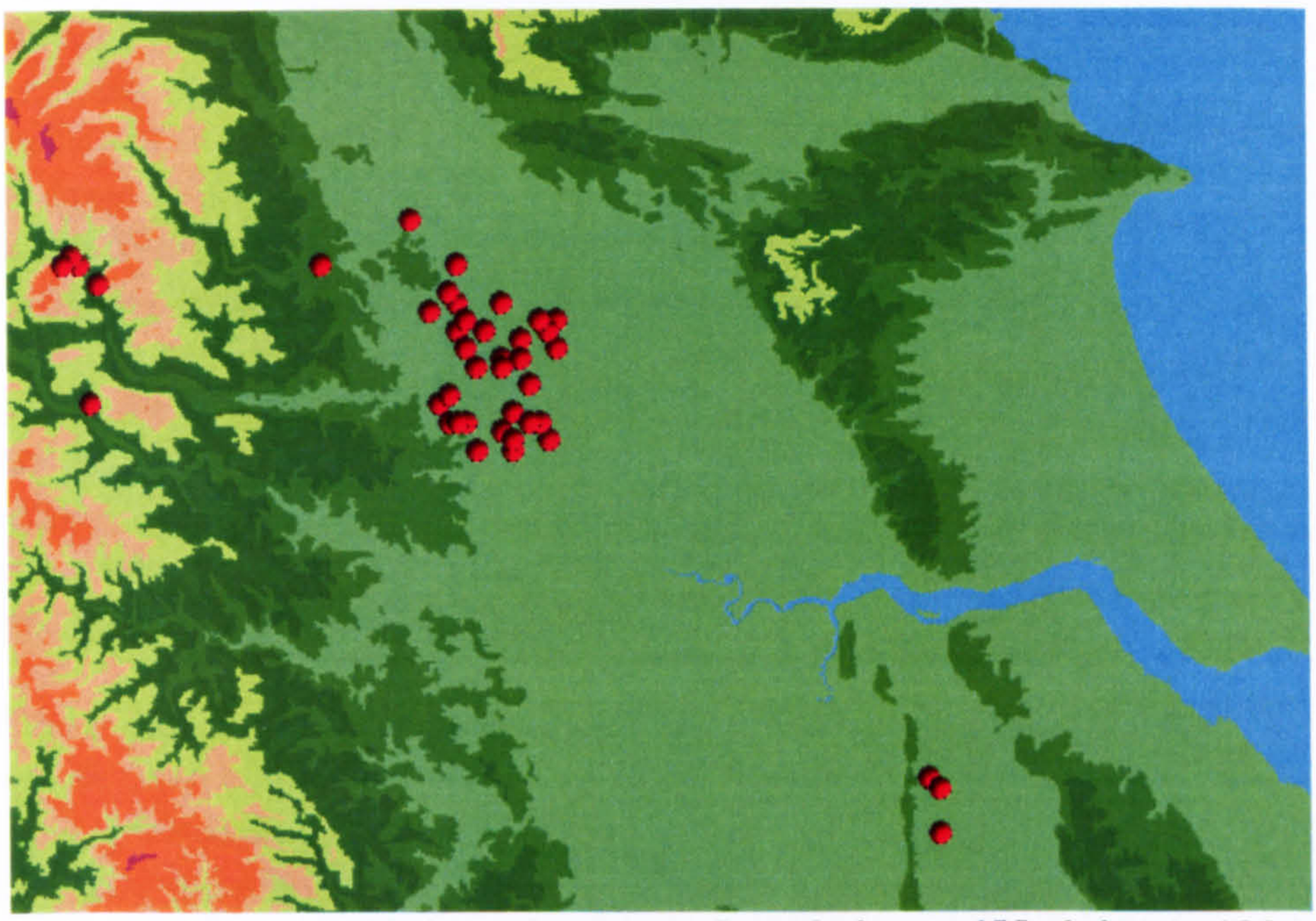
[44] Skaife suggested that Ormr's father was the Gamall son of Ormr killed by Earl Tosti in 1064. Skaife, *Domesday Book for Yorkshire*, 93.

[45] Osbern was from Arques-la-Bataille in Seine Maritime. His father is said to have been Godfrid Viscount of Arques, near Dieppe. See Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 267-8; 314.

that ran through his fief south-west from York and the Great North Road with which it met.



Map 92: The land of Osbern of Arques in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in 1086

Osbern of Arques held 67 manors in 39 Yorkshire vills, assessed at over 171 carucates and worth around £53 in 1066 and £26 in 1086.[46] Osbern's position in the wapentake of Ainsty was dominant, suggesting a strategic grant of land on the basis of geographical location. Although there were fifteen other tenants-in-chief holding land in the wapentake, perhaps inevitable because of its location near the administrative centre of the shire at York, none held as much land in terms of either carucage or value as Osbern.

Tenant-In-Chief	Carucates	1066 Value (£)	1086 Value (£)
Osbern of Arques	102	37	20
Richard son of Arnfastr	24	5.5	3.6
William of Percy	24	5.8	4.7
Archbishop of York	23	3.5	2.4
Geoffrey Alselin	18	8	3
Count Alan	9	3.3	3.3
Gospatric	8	2	0.5
Robert Malet	6	2.6	1.2
Erneis of Buron	3	1	2
Ulfketill	2	-	0.2

Table 6: Tenants-in-chief holding at least two carucates in Ainsty Wapentake in 1086

Domesday Book identifies at least twenty predecessors of Osbern in Yorkshire, in addition to a number of anonymous thanes. Given that Osbern's fief lay in such a compact strategic block, it seems likely that the land was granted on the basis of geographical location rather than pre-Conquest tenure. The Yorkshire *clamores* state

[46] As was the case with many Yorkshire tenants-in-chief, his land had more than halved in value between the Conquest and the compilation of Domesday Book. Of Domesday's 33 entries relating to Osbern's Yorkshire fief, two show an increase in the value of the land, one remained stable and 21 declined in value. The remaining nine were either waste or of uncertain value.

that "the men of Barkston Ash Wapentake and of Skyrack Wapentake cite testimony to Osbern of Arques that Wulfbert, his predecessor, had all Thorner", which was then in Ilbert's castlery.[47] Another entry in the *clamores* stated that "Osbern of Arques confirms that his predecessor Wulfbert had Appleton (Roebuck) and all the other lands with exemption".[48] Wulfbert appears nowhere in the main Yorkshire text as a predecessor of Osbern, nor does he appear as a predecessor of Ilbert at Thorner, raising the possibility that Wulfbert was an unnamed overlord there and possibly elsewhere in Yorkshire. Osbern gained land in more than two vills from only Alwine, Drengr and Godwine. Alwine and Godwine, both common Anglo-Saxon names, appeared as his predecessors in Ainsty, although each was a predecessor of another tenant-in-chief in the same wapentake. The tenurial link with Drengr was stronger, with Osbern gaining all of his former land in the county. However, these six manors and a berewick in Craven were located in a compact block, and are just as likely to have been given to Osbern because of their geographical proximity in this rather unsettled and remote region of Yorkshire.

A significant proportion of Osbern's land was held from him by tenants, some of whom are likely to have served him in a military capacity. Fulco held land from Osbern at Catterton in Ainsty, and in a cluster at nearby Newton Kyme, Oglethorpe Hall and Toulston in Barkston Ash. The creation of this compact tenancy seems to have involved a considerable amount of manorial reorganisation. The land in Barkston Ash had formerly been divided into nine manors and two berewicks under several anonymous thanes, while Catterton had contained two manors formerly held by five thanes. Thus it seems that Osbern had consolidated his acquisitions in this region and placed them under the control of Fulco, possibly giving him responsibility for the defence of the approach to York via the road from Tadcaster. Cathcart King identified the remains of a medieval building of uncertain character at Newton Kyme, a vill which may have been at the core of Fulco's tenancy.[49] Fulco is identified as the son of Reinfrid and a steward of William of Percy in the Whitby Chartulary.[50] He held land in the nearby Ainsty manor of Pallathorpe from William of Percy, although Osbern also held two bovates of land in the vill, albeit in a wasted condition. This provides an example of a post-Conquest manorial lord serving at least two tenants-in-chief in a compact geographical area.[51]

Hugh held the manor of Nun Monkton in Burghshire from Osbern, which had been held by five thanes as five manors before 1066, again suggesting manorial consolidation. The location of the manor only a few miles north-west of York by the River Ouse illustrates the potential military significance of the holding. To the south of this, Ermenfrid's tenancies at Upper Poppleton and neighbouring Scagglethorpe just outside York, as well as Aldred's tenancy at Hessay and John's tenancy at Green Hammerton in the eastern Burghshire, defended the road leading north-west from York towards Catterick. Alwine held land from Osbern at Hutton Wandesley and Knapton in Ainsty, close to York. He had held both manors before 1066, in addition to the Ainsty manors of Appleton Roebuck, Long Marston, Pallathorpe, Rufforth and Steeton Hall. As noted above, all but one of these manors had passed into the

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[47] *DB Yorkshire* (CW1).
[48] *Ibid.* (CW36).
[49] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, ii, 531.
[50] *Whitby Chartulary*, ed. Atkinson, 80; 202.
[51] Fulco also appears as a tenant of William of Percy in Lincolnshire, which is likely to represent the same man given William's succession and the geographical concentration. Fulco also appears as a tenant of Drogo of Beuvrière, Gilbert Tison and Roger of Bully in Yorkshire, although it is uncertain how many men are represented. Keats-Rohan identified Roger of Bully's tenant as Fulco of Lisores, but ignored the Beuvrière and Tison tenants. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 201.

fief of Osbern of Arques by 1086. Alwine's land had thus been considerably reduced after the Conquest, although he must have gained favour with the incoming Normans to retain some land at the manorial level so close to the city. Whether he maintained control of these two manors under Osbern because of his administrative or military capabilities is uncertain.[52]

Anonymous men are named as tenants of Osbern at Appleton Roebuck, Colton and Long Marston near York, at Walton in the south-west of Ainsty and at Stutton in Barkston Ash. It is possible that these men were Osbern's knights, especially in view of the substantial size of some of the manors within which they held land. For instance Long Marston with its jurisdictions in Tockwith and Wilstrop Hall was assessed at 23 carucates, and Appleton Roebuck was assessed at 12 carucates. Such manors would have been administrative and military focal points of the honour. Another possible focus of the fief was the demesne manor of Thorp Arch in south-west Ainsty, worth just short of £4 in 1086 and the site of a possible motte of unknown origins.[53]

Osbern's possession of five manors in Craven is testimony to the fact that he was also involved in the extension of Norman control westwards across the Pennines into Lancashire. All five manors in Craven were held in demesne and were waste in 1086, like much other land in the region, suggesting that resources for re-development were concentrated in more fertile areas where they would derive greater benefit.[54] The region was relatively dangerous, with the Pennines providing a potential place of refuge for outlaws and rebels, and the Conqueror's long term aim may have been to grant the land to military tenants to consolidate control of the western approach to York across the Pennines. Viewed with the rest of his land further east, it is clear that Osbern's fief was of vital importance in defending the vulnerable city of York against Scandinavian assault and the consequences of internal rebellion.

* * *

Although less compact, the land of William of Percy was also strategically placed to guard the approaches to York and the north-eastern coastline of Yorkshire. His military responsibility is clearly demonstrated in Domesday Book, which refers to his involvement in the campaign to Scotland in August 1072 and implies that he was subsequently involved in the reconstruction of York Castle under Hugh fitz Baldric.[55] He held at least 23 dwellings in York, which demonstrates his status in the city. William was associated with Earl Hugh, from whom he held the large and strategically important coastal manor of Whitby and its outlier of Sneaton with eleven jurisdictions. This manor was worth £112 in 1066 but just £3 in 1086, showing a dramatic decline in value perhaps due to piracy, the long term impact of the harrying of 1069-70 or the Conqueror's scorched earth policy of 1085 in reaction to the threat of Danish invasion.[56] William was also Earl Hugh's tenant at Catton, a

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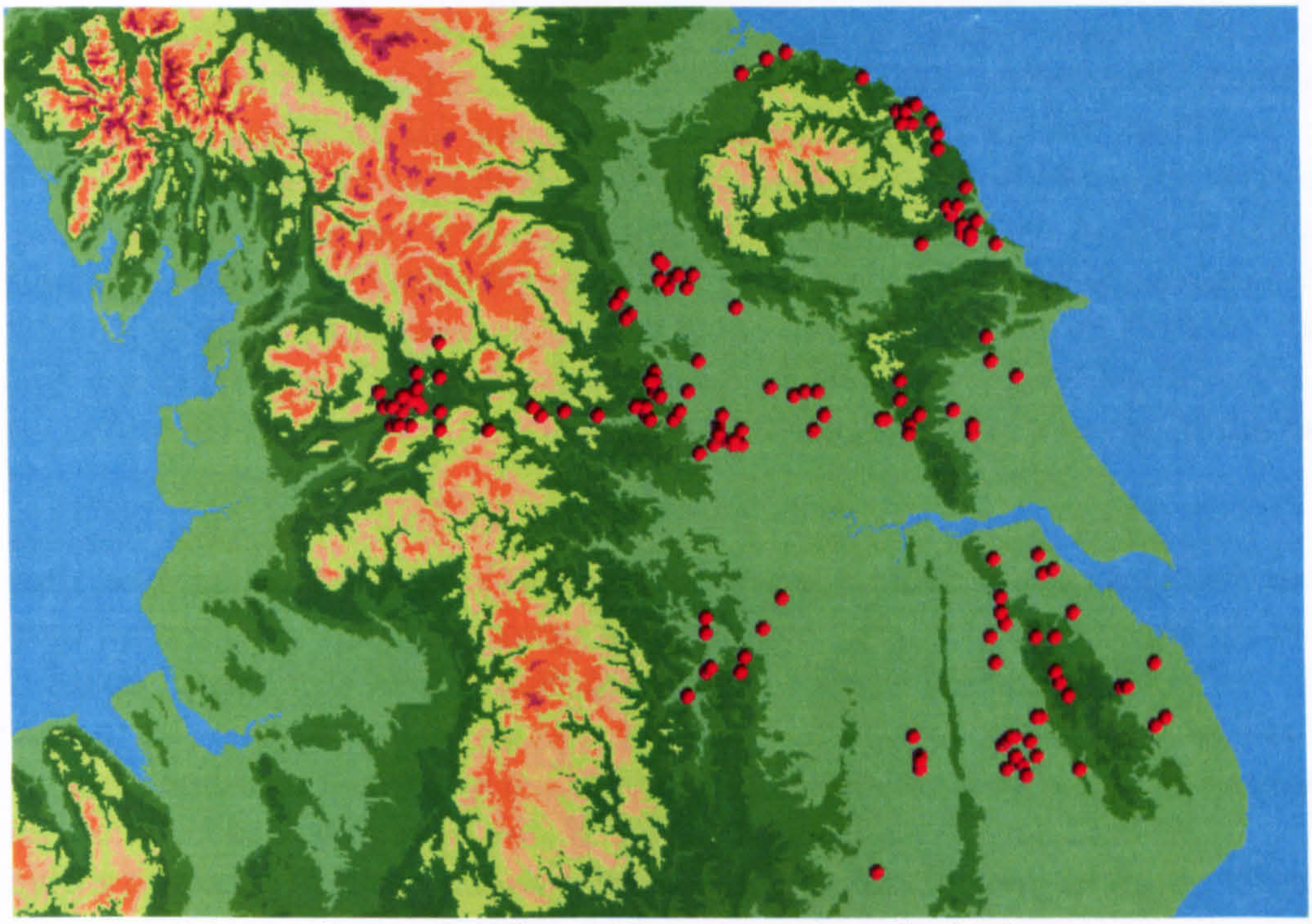
[52] As Dalton has demonstrated, survival of Anglo-Saxon tenants was not necessarily indicative of the late formation of a fief. Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, 30ff.
[53] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, ii, 532.
[54] Dalton noted that the lack of resources implied limited seigniorial authority throughout the region, due to either the late or slower establishment of Norman authority. Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, 61.
[55] Domesday Book stated that William claimed a dwelling belonging to Uhtred and "carried it off for himself into the castle after he returned from Scotland". *DB Yorkshire* (C10).
[56] The latter is the most plausible explanation in view of the length of time William of Percy had been in Yorkshire and the evident importance of the manor, even though Whitby could scarcely have harboured an entire invasion fleet.

few miles east of York near and probably incorporating Stamford Bridge, which again had dramatically declined in value from £28 to just £5.[57] The Whitby Chartulary claimed that Earl Hugh and William of Percy came to England together in 1067.[58] William was certainly in Yorkshire by 1070, for Domesday Book stated that he had seized a house in York "in the first year after the destruction of the castles".[59] His acquisition of other coastal manors in chief to the north and south of Whitby, probably as a result of the patronage of Earl Hugh, implies a significant role in the defence of the far northern coastline against attack from Scandinavian forces. To the north of Whitby, he held the manors of Hinderwell, Marske by the Sea and Westude in demesne. Fyling Old Hall and a jurisdiction at Normanby both lay in the vicinity of Whitby and its outliers. Further south in Dic, later Pickering Lythe, William held eight manors in the coastal region, three of which were held by tenants.



Map 93: Land of William of Percy in northern England in 1086
(both as a tenant-in-chief and manorial lord)

In addition to the 45 carucates of land which William of Percy held in Yorkshire as a subtenant of the Bishop of Durham and Earl Hugh, he held over 385 carucates of land in chief scattered throughout many parts of the county.[60] The military focus of his fief was Topcliffe, around twenty miles to the north-west of York on the River Swale, where he had founded a castle. Topcliffe and its berewicks were assessed at 26 carucates in 1086, and it seems to have been a substantial settlement. With a population of at least 51, a mill and a 25% increase in value between 1066 and 1086, the manor seems to have either escaped the more usual downturn in fortunes that characterised many Yorkshire manors or had been re-developed. The latter seems

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[57] In addition to Catton and Whitby, Earl Hugh held the large Yorkshire manors of Acklam, Flamborough and South Loftus in 1086, worth a combined £120 in 1066 and just 50 shillings at the time of the Domesday survey. Three manors had been held by Earl Siward before 1066, and the remaining two by Earl Harold. Dalton suggested that Earl Hugh's land was so underdeveloped because of either military devastation or lack of Norman authority over the land. Given the strategic importance of the land and their former tenure by the upper echelons of the Anglo-Saxon nobility, the latter seems unlikely.
[58] William was either from Percy in the arrondissement of Saint-Lô in the department of Manche or Percy-en-Auge in Eure. See Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 478.
[59] *DB Yorkshire* (C10).
[60] William held two outliers from the Bishop of Durham at *Persene* and Scorborough in the East Riding.

more likely in view of the situation in neighbouring vills such as Rainton. Although there is no mention of a castle at Topcliffe in Domesday Book, the resources are sufficient to support such a fortification. As Armitage noted, an entry in the Pipe Roll, 21 Henry II, recorded a small payment for the fortification of the site: *"in operatione et efforciamento castelli de Toppecliva £7 10s 2d"*.[61] This suggests that a castle was already in existence and had merely been repaired. Its location by the River Swale not far from the Great North Road would suggest a role in the defence of the approach to York from the north-west. It was also located between William of Percy's land on the coast and his land further south, which would have made it an ideal focal point for the administration of his Yorkshire fief.

Topcliffe was surrounded by seven pre-Conquest manors at Catton, Dishforth and Rainton, forming a compact block between the Swale and the Great North Road. Four manors by 1086, they were said to be held in demesne, suggesting that if any men-at-arms had been settled in the region by William of Percy to defend the castle, they either held land further afield or were household knights escaping the attention of the Domesday scribe. To the south-west, near the Ure and beyond the Great North Road, three manors were held of William by Arnketill and Bjornulfr, who may have possessed some military responsibilities in the region in 1086. Arnketill was an Englishman, possibly the Arnketill son of Ulfr identified in the Yorkshire *clamores*.[62] In 1086 he held the waste manor of Studley Royal in Burghshire from William. An Arnketill was said to have held William's manors of Haggenby, Leathley, Rainton and Stutton before the Conquest, which in some or all instances may have been the same man.[63]

Bjornulfr held the nearby manors of Aismunderby and Markenfield Hall, both held by Grimr before 1066. Bjornulfr seems to have been a man of some substance in Anglo Saxon England, as Map 94 demonstrates.[64] He was William of Percy's predecessor at Topcliffe and neighbouring Catton and their berewicks, as well as in eight manors and their berewicks in Craven, Askwith in Burghshire and five manors and their outliers in Pocklington and Weighton in the East Riding. One of Bjornulfr's dwellings in York had also been transferred to William of Percy. Given the dispersed nature of some of these manors, it is likely that they were granted to William on the basis of antecessorial succession, although it should be borne in mind that Bjornulfr also held five manors in the far north-west of Yorkshire in 1066, four of which he retained under Count Alan.[65]

Although Topcliffe was centre of the barony, the family seat was at Spofforth, around fifteen miles south of Topcliffe and west of York.[66] There were two clusters of William of Percy's possessions in the area, one in the immediate vicinity of Spofforth and another spanning the boundary of the wapentakes of Ainsty and Barkston Ash. William's Yorkshire fief was characterised by a relatively high level of subinfeudation, perhaps symptomatic of his early arrival in the county. Several of the manors surrounding Topcliffe were held of William by tenants, some of whom may

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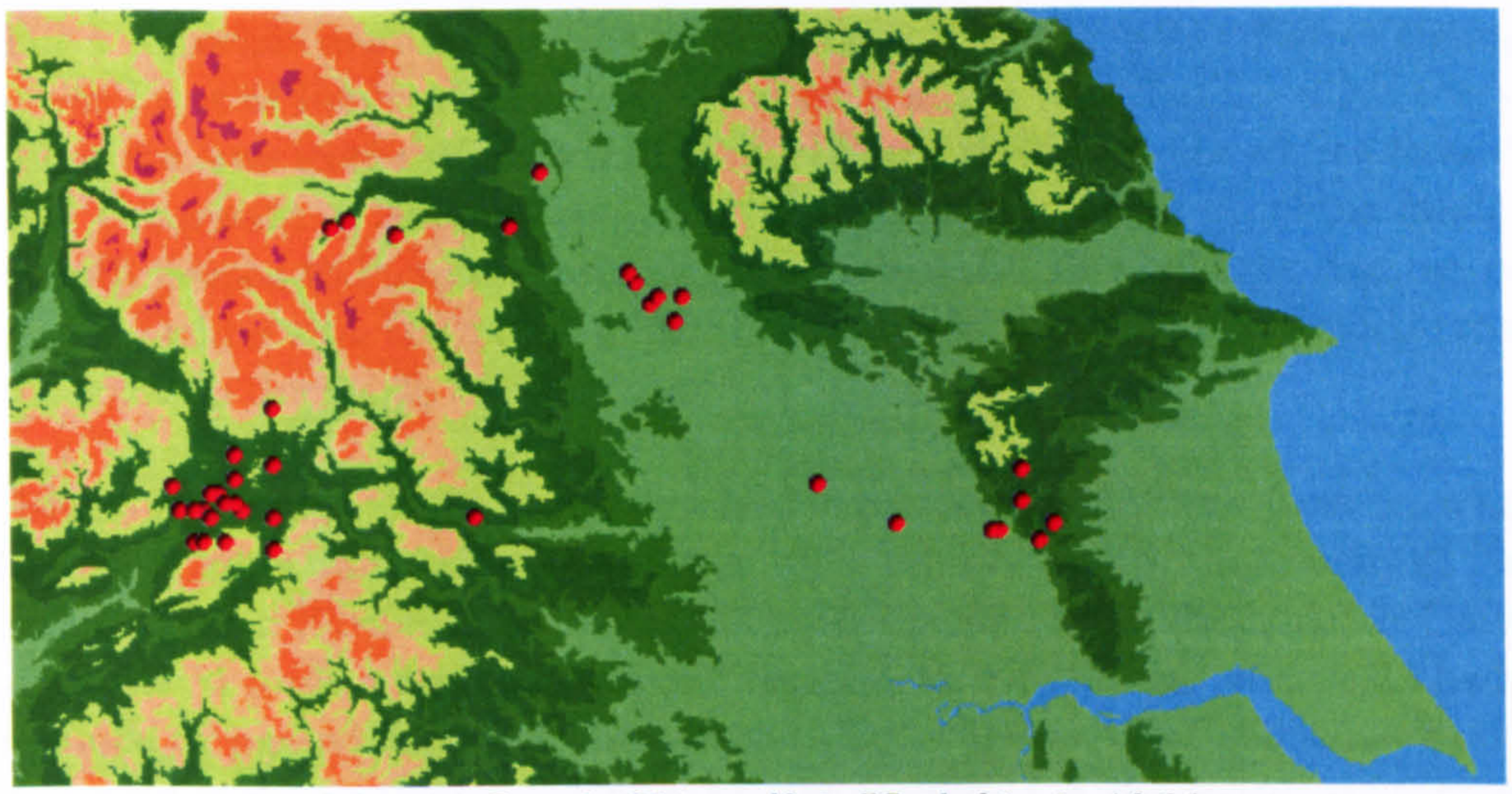
[61] Armitage, 'Ancient Earthworks', *VCH Yorkshire*, vol.2, 40.
[62] *DB Yorkshire* (CW25).
[63] If Arnketill at Studley Royal was the son of Ulfr, he certainly held Haggenby before 1066, which was located near to Stutton. Rainton was close to Topcliffe. The fact that there was an Arnketill who held independently in the same area in 1086, and in some cases also in 1066, suggests that all references were to one man.
[64] Assuming that all references to this relatively uncommon name in Yorkshire are to the same man.
[65] He gained two further tenancies from Count Alan in this region after the Conquest. *DB Yorkshire* (6N120; 127).
[66] *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. Clay, vol.11, 1. Spofforth had increased in value from twenty to sixty shillings between 1066 and 1086, which was contrary to the usual trend on the honour and in Yorkshire as a whole.

have served him in a military capacity. William, a man-at-arms, held a two carucate tenancy at neighbouring Wetherby. Just north of Spofforth, Aldred held the neighbouring manors of Plompton Hall and Rudfarlington, both of which had been held by Gamalbarn in 1066.



Map 94: Land of Bjornulfr in Yorkshire in 1066

Malger was a tenant of William at Hazelwood Castle and Stutton and the waste manor of Saxhalla in Tadcaster, located in the north of Barkston Ash. These manors were situated near a road connecting York with the Great North Road beyond Tadcaster, suggesting a strategic significance in defending lines of communication. Malger also held the manors of Barnby Dun and Old Edlington in Strafforth in the far south of the county.[67] There are remains of a castle at Hazelwood that was licensed in 1290, and although there does not seem to be any evidence for an eleventh century foundation, the perceived strategic significance of the vill is emphasised.[68] Fulco, discussed above, held land in the Spofforth region at Pallathorpe. Godfrey was a tenant at Hornington, as well as holding the manors of Braham and Ribston and sokeland at Cowthorpe, all near Spofforth. Likewise, Eburhard held Haggenby, Leathley and Linton from William in 1086, and he also cultivated the royal manor of Castley as William of Percy's man in the same region.[69] As mentioned above, Haggenby and Leathley had been held by Arnketill in 1066, and one of the holders of Linton, Ulfr, may have been Arnketill's father. It is thus possible that this tenancy was formed on the basis of pre-Conquest tenure.

William of Percy held a number of manors to the east of York, possibly granted to defend the road running from York to the Humber estuary via Pocklington, and then via Ermine Street towards Lincoln. Within a few miles of York, six manors lay either side of this road, five of which were held of William by Aethelwulf, Geoffrey, Osbern, Picot and William of Colleville.[70] Geoffrey and William also held land further east, in Weighton and Warter wapentakes. All of their land to the west of York had been held by Northmann in 1066, although Northmann was a common name in the county and may represent more than one individual. Picot also held the manor of Bolton upon Dearne and its two sokelands at Steeton Hall and Thurnscoe.

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[67] Farrer claimed that he was the founder of the Vavasour family of Hazlewood. Farrer, 'An Introduction to the Yorkshire Domesday', *VCH Yorkshire*, ii, 170. William the Vavasour held two fees of William II of Percy in 1166. *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, i, 424.

[68] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, 518.

[69] *DB Yorkshire* (1W53).

[70] Farrer claimed that Osbern was the sheriff of Lincoln, where he also held land, and was the father of William Torniant. Farrer, 'An Introduction to the Yorkshire Domesday', *VCH Yorkshire*, ii, 170.

Bolton upon Dearne and Thurnscoe were both in the southern wapentake of Strafforth, but Steeton Hall lay just south-west of York. Margaret Faull and Marie Stinson convincingly suggest that the Domesday scribe made an error, and that Steeton Hall was a jurisdiction of William of Percy's nearby manor of Bolton Percy.[71] Thus Picot's tenancy was geographically divided, with the tenancy near York perhaps providing a residence near the city for attendance at the shire court. Farrer claimed that he was Picot of Percy, a younger brother of William, and that he or his son of the same name later gave the church of Bolton Percy to the canons of St Oswald's, Nostell.[72] The tenant of Bolton Percy in 1086 was Rozelin, some of whose lands subsequently passed to Picot of Percy or his son. Rozelin also held the manors of Brinsworth, Dalton and Thrybergh in Strafforth, so like Picot held a divided tenancy with one focus in the south of the county.

Like Osbern of Arques, William of Percy had expanded his fief into Craven, where he held nine manors and their berewicks in 1086. All but one of these manors had been acquired from Bjornulfr, who was the predecessor of no other man in Craven. Indeed, of the 31 lords who held land in Craven before 1066, the land of 23 had been retained or passed to a single tenant-in-chief by 1086. All of William's land there was held in demesne and was only briefly described in the folios of Domesday Book, suggesting a recent acquisition of land in a region significant in the defence of the approach to York from the west.

The fief does not appear to have been based on pre-Conquest tenure to any great extent. William of Percy had at least 41 predecessors in Yorkshire, and although he did gain several manors from men like Arnketill, Gamalbarn, Gamall, Karli and Northmann, they were also predecessors of several other post-Conquest tenants-in-chief.[73] His only likely *antecessors* were Asa and her husband Bjornulfr. William gained all of Asa's land from William Malet, with the exception of the manor of Lowthorpe which passed to Gamall as a royal thane, and also all of Bjornulfr's land not within the castlery of Count Alan. Their former possessions perhaps formed the basis for Osbern's larger fief, which encircled York and stretched across the Pennines towards Craven and along the eastern coastline in the far north of England.

* * *

The coastal region of Holderness was dominated by Drogo of Beuvrière, who held all land not in the hands of the Archbishop of York and the canons of St. John of Beverley.[74] It is likely that his fief was formed on the basis of defensive considerations, bearing in mind the proven vulnerability of the eastern coastline and the Humber estuary to Scandinavian raids and piracy. Drogo originated from La Beuvrière near Béthune in Flanders, and late fourteenth century Meaux Chronicle recorded that he was an experienced soldier who came to England with the Conqueror, to whom he was related through his wife.[75]

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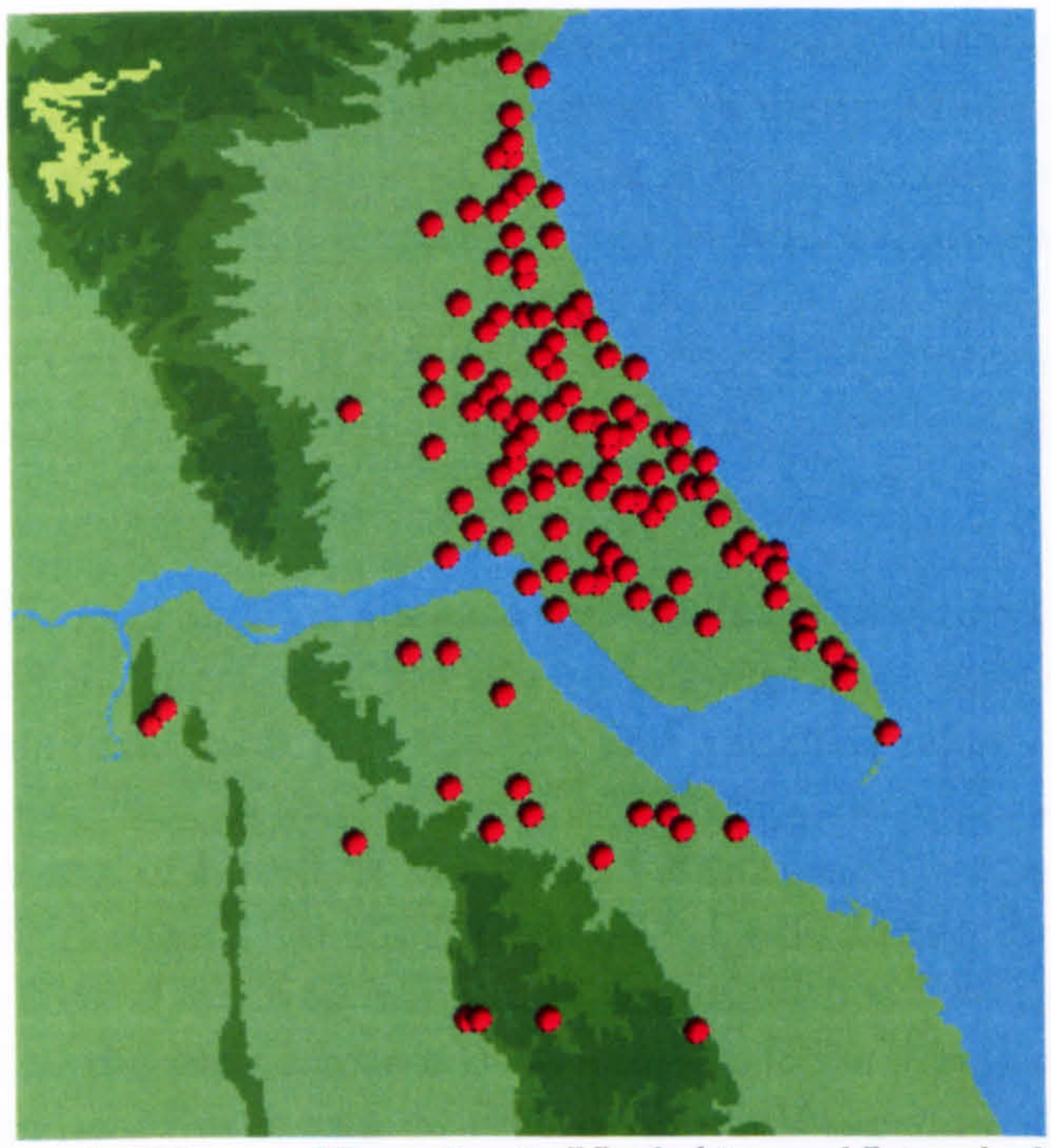
[71] *DB Yorkshire* (13W7n).
[72] Farrer, 'Introduction to the Yorkshire Domesday', *VCH Yorkshire*, ii, 170-1; *Whitby Chartulary*, ed. Atkinson, 707n.
[73] However,'many such names were common in Yorkshire, which may disguise some evidence for the transference of the land on the basis of antecessor.
[74] Drogo indeed claimed land from the latter.
[75] *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, ed. Bond, i, 89-90. Drogo held his English land when the main part of the Yorkshire Domesday was compiled, but he probably left England and had his lands confiscated before the Yorkshire Summary had been written, for his lands then had no named holder. By September 1087 the region had been granted to Odo of Champagne, and thereafter to the Earls of Albemarle. See English, *The Lords of Holderness 1086-1260* (1979).



Map 95: Land of Drogo of Beuvrière in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire in 1086

Drogo held land in Yorkshire valued at over £560 in 1066, and worth just under £98 in 1086.[76] In view of the developed nature of his fief, the significant population levels and the fertility of the area, this dramatic decline in value is likely to have been the result of a scorched earth policy implemented in 1085 to deter Danish invasion. However, land in only nine vills is described as waste, a comparatively low figure for Yorkshire as a whole where at least 44% of all vills were to some degree wasted in 1086. This suggests that a programme of regeneration had commenced, although the fruits of this labour are yet to be fully recognisable in land values by 1086.

A key point in the defence of the Holderness region and the approach to York was Skipsea Castle, which is likely to have been built by Drogo and his men.[77] This large coastal motte and bailey castle would have been vital in the defence of the county against Scandinavian assault. Although not mentioned in Domesday Book, it was probably included in Drogo's large coastal manor of Cleeton, which had been held by the king in 1066. It is likely that some of Drogo's men owed castleguard at Skipsea, including the ten unnamed men-at-arms recorded on his land. A few miles inland of Skipsea, Domesday Book records two men-at-arms holding land from Drogo at Catwick, and at nearby Brandesburton a man-at-arms is recorded as having a plough on Drogo's manor. Erembald, Manbodo and Rainer all held land within a four mile radius of Skipsea.

Drogo held a number of other large coastal manors that would have played a key role in the defence of the region. Hornsea and Mappleton, along with Skipsea, dominated the coastline of northern Holderness. Both had been held by Earl Morcar in 1066 when they were worth £56.[78] Mappleton included eleven outliers, of which Drogo's men held seven. The Meaux Chronicle referred to a Richard de Scruteville of Routh settling in Holderness after the Conquest, and it is likely that he was one of

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[76] Five manors were each valued at £56 in 1066, suggesting a degree of artificiality in the figures.

[77] There was at least one castle in Holderness by 1098-1102, and tithes of a castle are mentioned in 1115. *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. Farrer, vol.3, nos. 1300; 1304; 1307.

[78] On £56 manors, see Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 544.

these seven men mentioned.[79] Wizo held one of the ploughs of the manor of Hornsea, and may have served Drogo in a military capacity. His name suggests that he originated from Flanders, like his lord, and he is likely to have been one of the men to whom the Conqueror was referring when he said before the autumn of 1069 that he would offer compensation to anyone wronged by any person, whether "French, Flemish or English".[80] Other tenants in North Holderness included Franco, Robert and Thorsteinn, who may have been involved in castleguard and coastal defence.[81]

Another focus for Drogo's military tenants was the large manor of Aldbrough in the middle hundred of Holderness, which was also the site of an early castle.[82] One of Drogo's men-at-arms had a plough in the vill, and a further three men-at-arms held two ploughs in the sokeland of the manor. The Meaux Chronicle identifies two of these men as Gamel son of Ketell of Meaux and Basing of Wawne, who were said to have held land in Holderness after the Conquest.[83] Considering the size of the manor, its strategic coastal location and the concentration of military tenants there, it may have been one of the main focuses of the fief in 1086. Also in Middle Holderness, Baldwin held the manor of Preston from Drogo, which had been consolidated from eight manors before 1066.[84] This large settlement was located less than three miles inland of the vulnerable Humber estuary, and three men-at-arms were mentioned in Domesday's account of the manor.

Earl Morcar's former manor of Withernsea and its eleven jurisdictions would have been vital in the defence of the South Holderness coastline. Aethelhelm and Fulco both held manors from Drogo by the coast just north of Withernsea, while Walter held a coastal tenancy just south of Withernsea at Holmpton. Of great strategic importance would have been Kilnsea, which guarded the northern mouth of the Humber estuary. This manor, which had formerly belonged to Earl Morcar, included sokeland in eleven vills and was assessed at over 42 carucates. Nearby Easington and its outlier of Dimlington would have provided further defensive strength. Henry held the manor of Ottringham from Drogo, the berewick of which was held by Gunnarr at neighbouring Halsham. Both vills were in a vulnerable location close to the Humber estuary, as was Lanbert's tenancy of Sutton on Hull, which was located just over two miles inland of the estuary by the River Hull.

An examination of the pre-Conquest tenure of Holderness confirms the view that the region was reorganised in the post-Conquest period into a compact strategic fief under the control of a single baron. Before 1066 there were several freeholders in the region, and Drogo gained land from at least 39 different men. The land which Drogo gained from the former fiefs of Earl Morcar, Earl Tosti and the crown probably formed the basis of this strategic block. Harold and Tosti's land was available for distribution immediately after 1066, and Earl Morcar's land is likely to have been forfeited in the early 1070s with Drogo the recipient of five large coastal manors. The two large manors of Albrough and Beeford were gained from Ulfr, possibly Ulfr

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[79] *Chronica de Melsa*, ed. Bond, i, 78-9.
[80] *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. Farrer, vol.1, no.12; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, 351.
[81] Franco was named as Franco de Fauconberg of Rise by the Meaux Chronicler. *Chronica de Melsa*, ed. Bond, i, 89. He was probably from Fauquemberg near St. Omer, and may have been one of the family of the châtelains de St. Omer, seigneurs de Fauquembergue. He also held land from Drogo at Bilton and Marton in Middle Holderness.
[82] See *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. Farrer, vol.3, nos. 1304 and 1307.
[83] *Chronica de Melsa*, ed. Bond, i, 78-9.
[84] Baldwin also held sokeland of the manor of Easington from Drogo at Garton and Ringbrough, both of which lay by the coast in Middle Holderness. Baldwin's joint tenancy with Guntard at Rimswell was located just north of Withernsea in South Holderness, while his land at Nunkeeling suggests a role in the defence of Skipsea Castle, which was less than three miles away.

son of Tope, who probably lost his land in 1070-1.[85] These possessions are likely to have been expanded, for example with the former land of William Malet, to enable him dominance of the coastal region. He also held a number of key strategic manors on the south bank of the Humber estuary, among them Barrow on Humber and Weelsby with their outliers. His Lincolnshire manor of Normanby with sokeland at Thealby lay by the River Trent just inland of the Humber estuary, suggesting a role in the defence of routes inland into the midlands.

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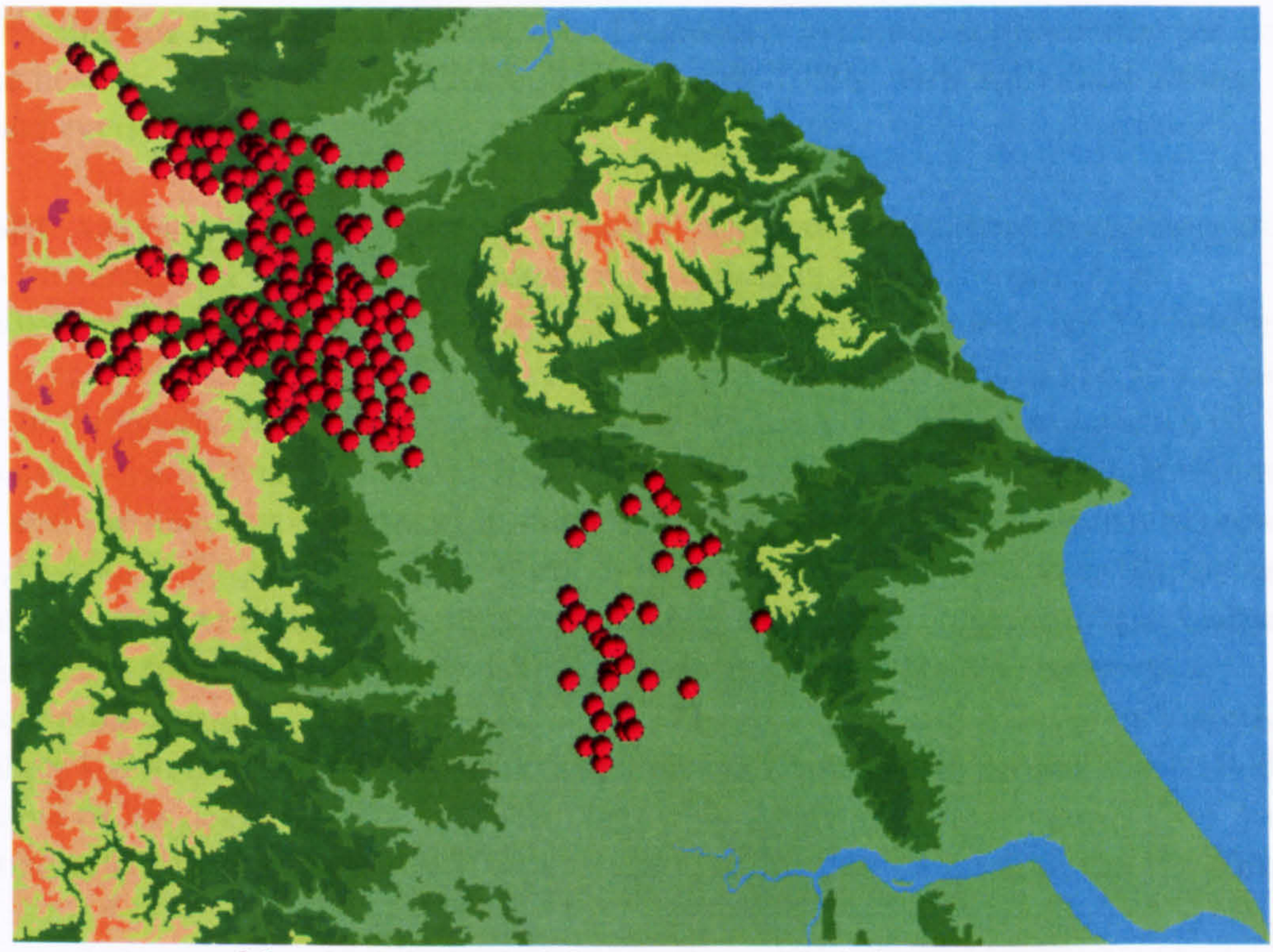
The Yorkshire fief of Count Alan the Red of Brittany, which lay on the eastern slopes of the Pennines and the edge of the Vale of York, acted as an important bulwark against the threat of Scottish invasion.[86] Strategically placed in a bend in the River Swale, incorporating the valleys of the Swale and the Ure and the south bank of the Tees, it guarded the Stainmore passage through the hills above the Aire Gap. The fief thus blocked access to England from areas like Carlisle, Cumberland and Westmorland. With the Scottish centre of government closer than that of England, William had every reason to feel insecure in this part of Yorkshire, and the creation of this substantial military lordship would have greatly increased the security of the region.



Map 96: The land of Count Alan in Yorkshire in 1086

Count Alan, a son of Eudo of Penthièvre and a grandchild of Geoffrey, duke of Brittany, was one of a number of Bretons who came to England during and after the Conquest, including his brother Brian who temporarily held estates in Cornwall and

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[85] See Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, 168.

[86] Domesday Book revealed that Count Alan the Red of Brittany was one of the most prominent lay landholders in England in 1086, holding over 400 manors valued at over £1140 spread throughout eleven counties as far apart as Yorkshire and Dorset.. Although Corbett mysteriously failed to include him among England's 'Class A' barons, there is no doubt that his landed wealth was substantial. Corbett, 'The development of the Duchy of Normandy and the Norman Conquest of England', *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol.5 (1957), 511. See also Hollister, 'The greater Domesday tenants-in-chief', *Domesday Studies*, ed. Holt, pp.219-248; Palmer, The wealth of the secular aristocracy in 1086', *ANS*, vol.22 (2000), pp.279-291.

Suffolk.[87] It is likely that he commanded the Breton contingent at the Battle of Hastings, which made up around a third of the invading army. As a second cousin of the Conqueror, related through his great grandfather Richard I, Duke of Normandy, Alan achieved an influential position within the new Anglo-Norman aristocracy. He appears to have enjoyed considerable royal favour as a close adviser of the Conqueror. As a trusted baron with strong military credentials, it comes as no great surprise to find Count Alan in control of such a strategically important Yorkshire fief.

Apart from a scattering of holdings in the East and West Ridings, Alan's land was concentrated in the north-west of Yorkshire in an area that was later known as the honour of Richmond. His land amounted to over 1270 carucates, representing nearly 12% of the total assessment of the county. Kapelle argued that Alan's Yorkshire honour was established over a decade after the Conquest. The presence of an unusual number of English subtenants on the honour was seen to confirm that it was a late formation at a time when natives were no longer regarded as such a threat to Norman rule. Highlighting Simeon of Durham's claim that York was uninhabited for nine years after the harrying of the north, Kapelle suggested that Alan's fief was established circa 1080 to help to aid defence. However, even taking into consideration the harrying, it is difficult to believe that such a strategically important part of the country in terms of both Scandinavian and Scottish attack remained uninhabited for more than a decade. The Domesday evidence suggests that the core of the honour may have been allocated in the early 1070s, with individual estates granted even earlier than this.

As Alan was one of the Conqueror's principal advisors and military lieutenants from 1066 onwards, and as he received most of his valuable land, for example in Cambridgeshire, after 1075, it seems likely that he received some of his Yorkshire land at an earlier date. He may have received small parcels of land on an antecessorial basis in the north within the first few years of Norman rule as a consequence of dispossessions between 1066 and 1070, the desire to stabilise the area under Norman rule, and the need for settlement in vulnerable areas to aid defence against Scottish assault. Alan received land from a number of northern rebels who were dispossessed during the early years of Norman rule, including Arnketill of Northumbria, Gamall, Merlesveinn the sheriff of Lincolnshire and Northmann.[88] He also received a considerable amount of the forfeited lands of Earls Edwin and Morcar in Yorkshire, totalling 109 and 81 carucates respectively. Edwin's lands were probably forfeited at the time of his death in 1071, and Alan probably received Morcar's lands after his imprisonment in Normandy in 1071 as a result of his participation in the Ely Revolt.

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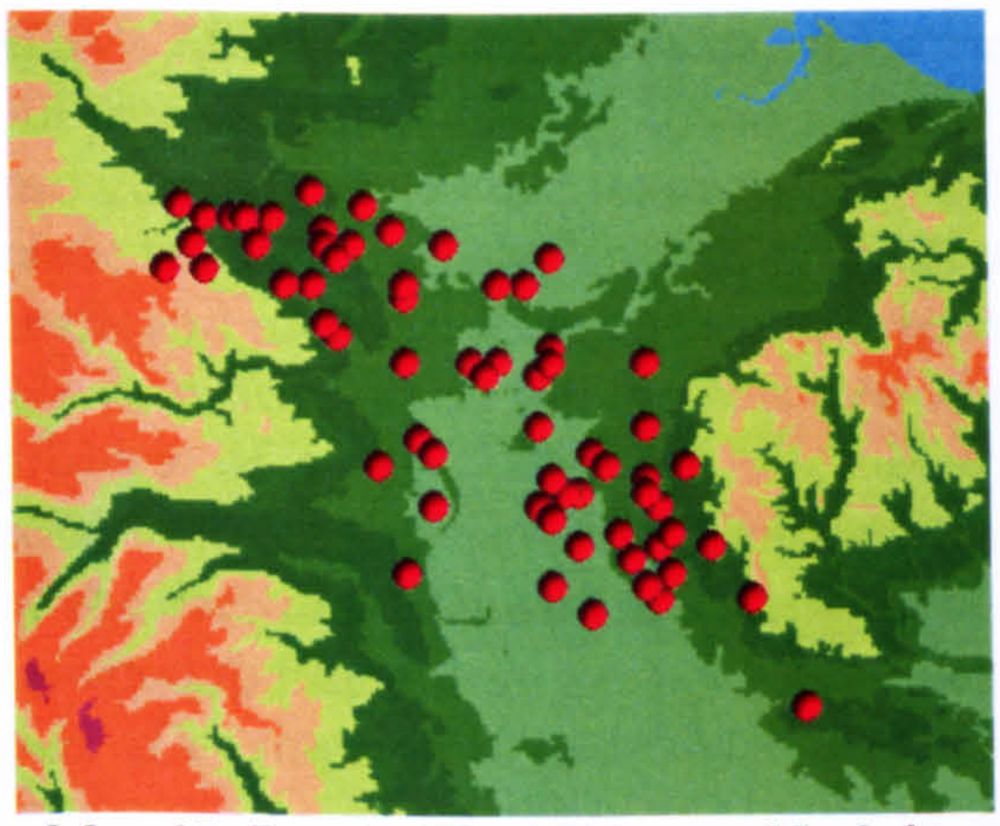
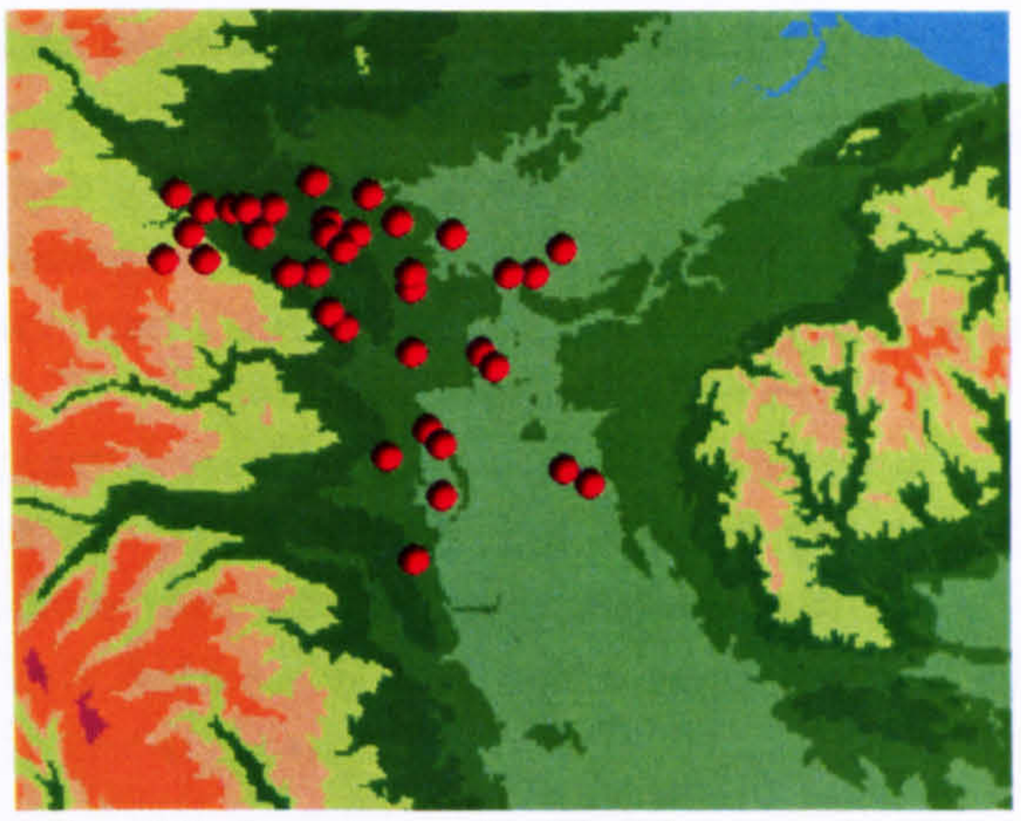
[87] His two brothers Alan the Black and Stephen succeeded to his fief after his death c.1093.
[88] He received 49 carucates from Arnketill of Northumbria and a further 46 carucates that Arnketill had held alongside others. He gained over 40 carucates of land from Merlesveinn the sheriff and 46 carucates that were associated in 1066 with the rebels Gamall and Northmann.

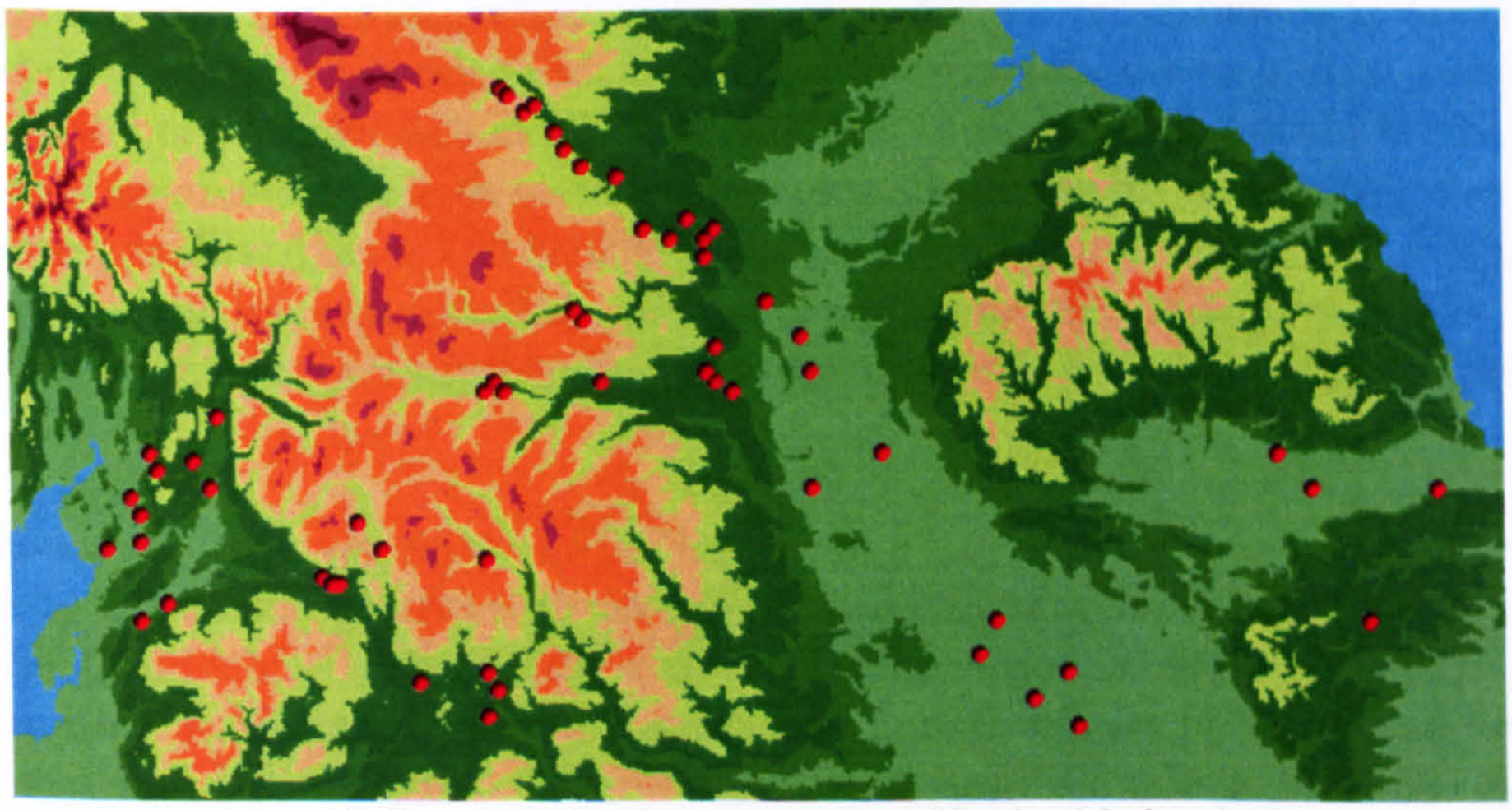


Map 97: Land of Earl Edwin in Yorkshire before 1066



Map 98: Land acquired by Count Alan from the former estate of Earl Edwin by 1086

Count Alan gained a number of key strategic manors from Thorfinnr, guarding the section of the Great North Road to either side of Gilling and stretching as far north as Lonton in Teesdale. Such manors would have been of vital importance in defending the eastern flank of the Pennines and protecting the route to York. Chris Lewis described Thorfinnr as the pre-Conquest "guardian of the vale of York", and suggested that he may have been the Thorfinnr son of Thore who was given extensive rights in Allerdale in the mid eleventh century.[89] Alan's honour was probably built up in a piecemeal fashion as land became available in the region, often regardless of pre-Conquest tenure, to eventually form a compact territorial unit that was distinctly military in character.[90] The fief comprised the lands of over fifty different men, although many were minor thanes who may have been subject to an unnamed overlord. Earl Edwin's prominent position in Richmondshire before 1066 makes it seem likely that he was the overlord of many such men.



Map 99: Land of Thorfinnr in northern England before 1066

The focus of the fief was Richmond Castle, which, although not mentioned in Domesday Book, is likely to have been constructed soon after Alan's arrival in the area. It was certainly in existence in 1089, when Alan gave the castle chapel to St.

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[89] Harmer, *Anglo Saxon Writs*, 419-24; 531-6; 562; Lewis, 'An Introduction to the Lancashire Domesday', *The Lancashire Domesday*, 33.

[90] This was in stark contrast to Alan's acquisition of land in other parts of the country. Antecessorial succession was virtually the only form of land transference in Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire, and was also of significance in the formation of some of Alan's fief in East Anglia and Lincolnshire.

Mary's Abbey.[91] Situated in a natural stronghold high above the River Swale in an outlying district of Gilling, it was a site of strategic importance near the river crossing and guarding access to Swaledale. As well as being of defensive significance, the castle would have been important in consolidating the Norman conquest of the north and protecting Count Alan's estates. Norman control of northern England was less than firm, even after the harrying of 1069-70. Kapelle highlighted that the problem of law and order in Yorkshire was exacerbated by brigandage in the free zone between the east coast plain and the western plain, which flared up in the wake of the harrying.[92] Disinherited rebels and landless men turned into outlaws, and resorted to brigandage to avoid starvation. Thus Alan's fief may have been formed as part of a campaign to control law and order in the region.

The third of Richmondshire that Alan held in demesne contained only a fifth of the population and had no great value. It seems likely that Count Alan in the first instance encouraged the development of his fief by tenants, in order to strengthen the defensive capabilities of the area against Scottish assault by granting manpower and resources from his own demesne land. The military significance of the area would have deemed such a policy necessary. As the income from arable farming would have been minimal in such areas, Alan would not have been making a great sacrifice in subinfeudating the land. Indeed, his gains via services, rents and dues from tenants would probably outweigh the loss of potential arable income.

Strategic considerations often appear to have outweighed economic motives in the organisation of settlement. Strategic sites seem to have been developed while fertile areas on the plain remained wasted. Tenants were established in highland vills like Melsonby and Newsham, which were near the Roman road from Scotch Corner to the Tees. Yet more fertile lowland demesne vills like High Sutton and Rookwith lay waste. Similarly, Hipswell was an area of settlement, although being over 400ft above Lower Swaledale. Such areas, where arable potential was limited, may have been developed in order to provide food, labour and transport for strategic sites. Labour would have been needed to build Richmond Castle, and there appear to have been a number of inhabited vills in this less fertile region. By giving his tenants access to agricultural profits, Alan would be able to secure more fighting power and delegate some of his military responsibilities. Alan enfeoffed nine men-at-arms with 43 carucates in the county. Such men may have been needed for escort, protection or castle-guard.

Fieldhouse and Jennings described the honour as a "defensive frontier post, partially settled by Breton sub-tenants with their ready-made fighting units brought across from the Continent".[93] Indeed, fellow Bretons feature prominently among Alan's tenants. Enisant Musard, who probably held the constable's fee in Richmond, was associated with 153 carucates of Alan's land. Twenty of his holdings had been gained from Thorr, which suggests that there was some continuity in the pattern of tenure at the manorial level. Similarly, in 22 holdings Bodin succeeded Thorfinnr as manorial lord. Bodin held 98 carucates of land from Alan as the sole tenant and a further 39 carucates in conjunction with others, especially in highland regions on the edges of the honour as Map 100 demonstrates. Of the twenty manors in the far north-west of Richmond, Bodin held nine of those ten not held by Alan in demesne. In view of the fact that Bodin was the illegitimate son of Alan's father, it is of no surprise that he

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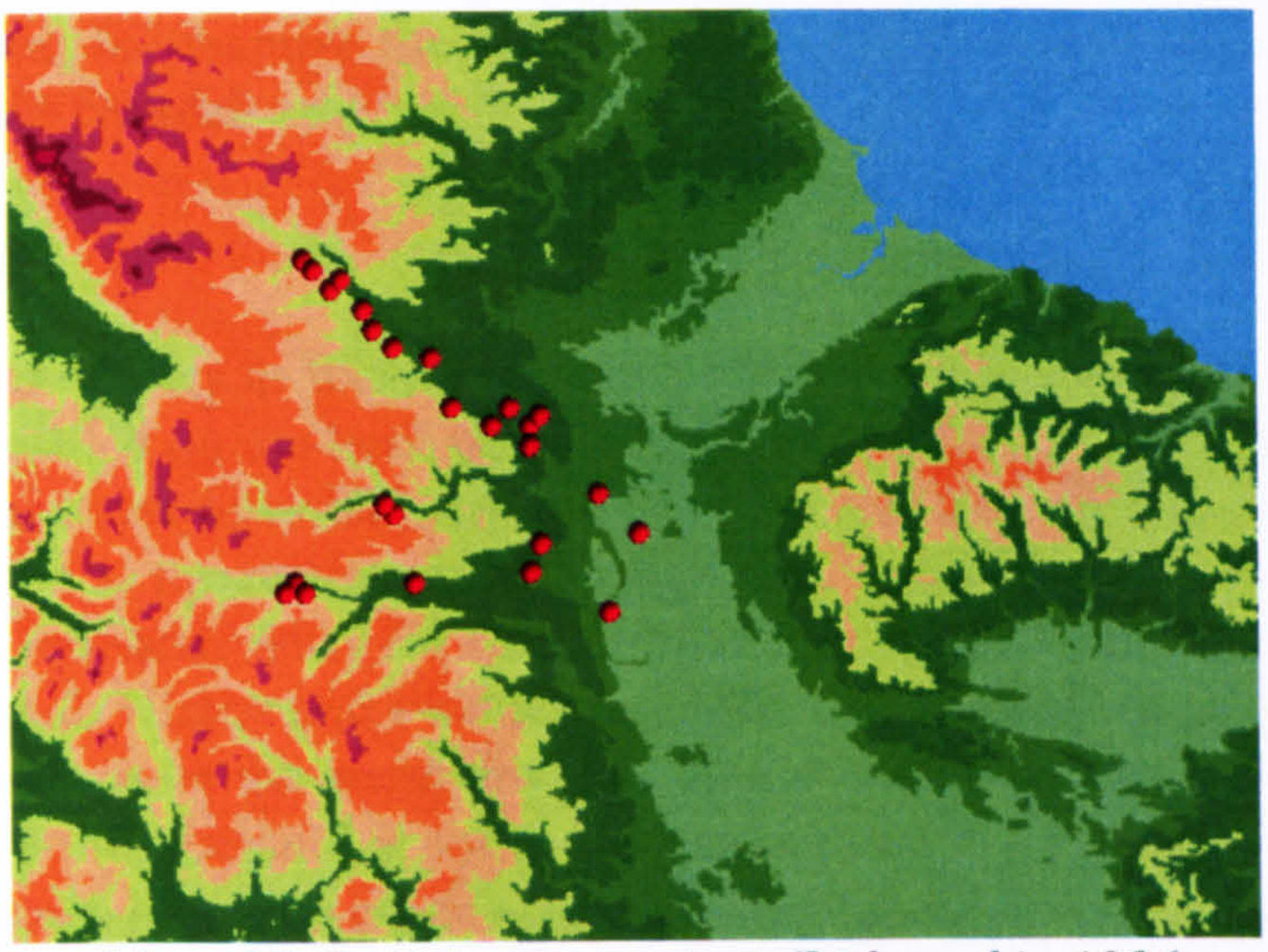
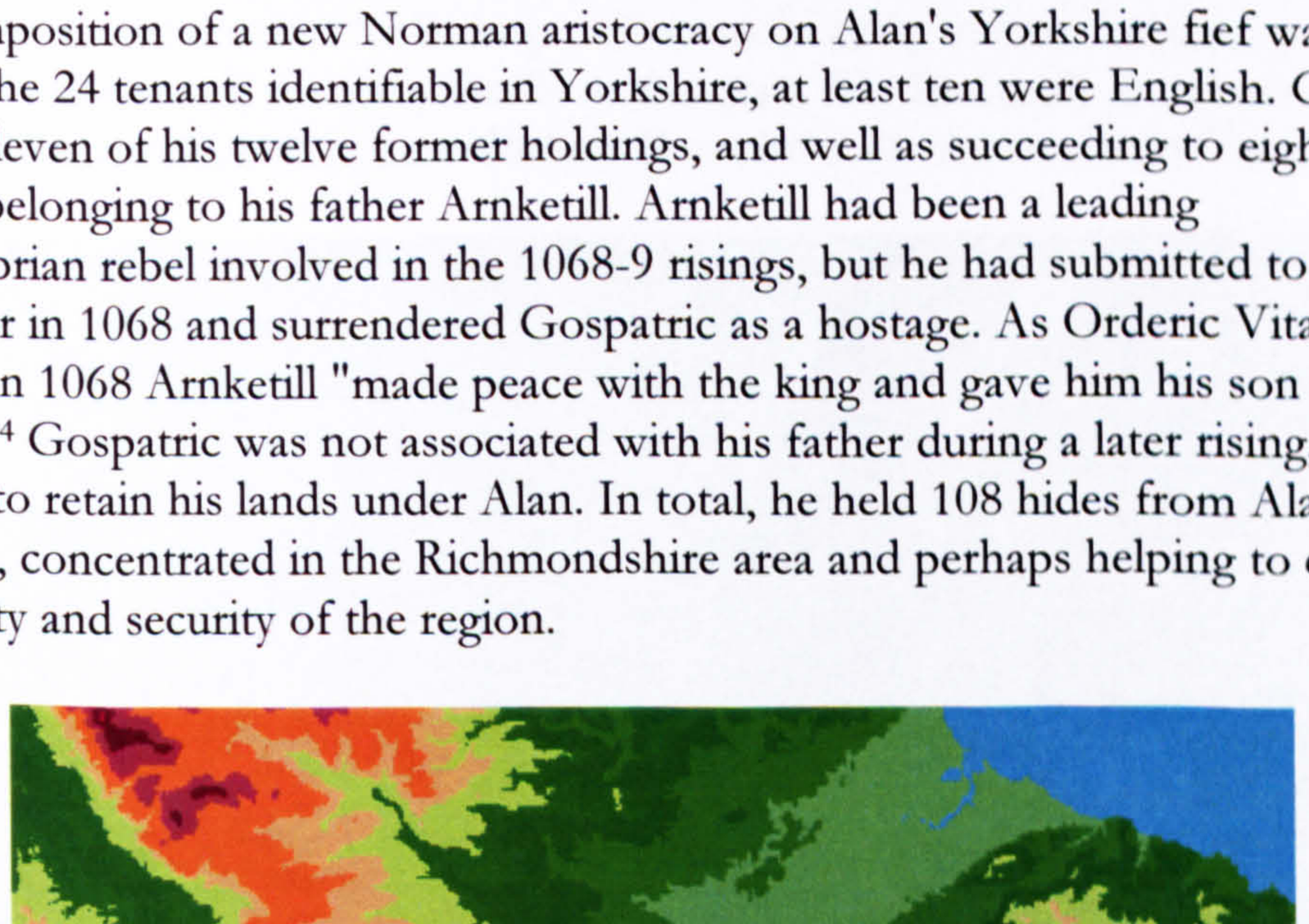
[91] *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. Farrer, vol.1, 354.
[92] Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, 131ff.
[93] Fieldhouse and Jennings, *A History of Richmond and Swaledale*, 9.

was given responsibility for such a strategically important part of the honour. Alan's other half-brother, Ribald, also secured a prominent position within the honour, holding over 51 hides at the manorial level. Five of his holdings were transferred from Gillepatric after 1066, which again suggests tenurial continuity at the manorial level.



Map 100: Bodin's subtenancies in Richmond in 1086

Yet the imposition of a new Norman aristocracy on Alan's Yorkshire fief was not total. Of the 24 tenants identifiable in Yorkshire, at least ten were English. Gospatric retained eleven of his twelve former holdings, and well as succeeding to eight holdings belonging to his father Arnketill. Arnketill had been a leading Northumbrian rebel involved in the 1068-9 risings, but he had submitted to the Conqueror in 1068 and surrendered Gospatric as a hostage. As Orderic Vitalis revealed, in 1068 Arnketill "made peace with the king and gave him his son as a hostage".[94] Gospatric was not associated with his father during a later rising, and was thus able to retain his lands under Alan. In total, he held 108 hides from Alan in Yorkshire, concentrated in the Richmondshire area and perhaps helping to ensure the stability and security of the region.



Map 101: Gospatric's subtenancies in Richmond in 1086

[94] *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Chibnall, ii, 219.

As a whole, Count Alan's Yorkshire land provides a clear example of a fief created for a distinctly military purpose. It provided a defensive stronghold in the far north-west of Yorkshire, manned by a number of military tenants and protecting the kingdom against Scottish assault. It perhaps also acted as a base for offensive activity beyond Yorkshire, for example the 1080 campaign into Scotland to gain the submission of the Scottish king.

* * *

The fief of Ilbert of Lacy in West Yorkshire provides another dramatic example of a compact fief founded on the basis of military considerations. The honour protected all roads running north towards York and Durham and defended the entrance to the Aire Gap, which was the easiest route through the Pennines to the far north and Scotland. The Domesday entry for Ilbert's three manors of South Elmsall, Moorthorpe, South Kirkby and Frickley recorded that the land reaped £6 from the sheriffdom, which raises the possibility that Ilbert served as sheriff of either Yorkshire or Northumberland at some point between 1066 and 1086.[95] Ilbert also held land in the neighbouring counties of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, where many of his manors were located in the vicinity of Ermine Street, Fosse Way or the River Trent, confirming his role in the protection of major lines of communication between north and south. The Bishop of Bayeux is likely to have been instrumental in the establishment of the Lacy family in this area, for the family were vassals of the bishop in Normandy, and in Lincolnshire Ilbert held 21 manors from Odo in 1086.[96]

Map 102: The fief of Ilbert of Lacy in West Yorkshire in 1086

[95] *DB Yorkshire* (9W34). For the possibility that Ilbert served as sheriff, see Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy*, 65-6.
[96] *Ibid.*, 31.

Ilbert's fief was mainly concentrated in the wapentakes of Agbrigg, Barkston Ash, Morley, Osgoldcross, Skyrack and Staincross. The pattern of landholding in these wapentakes clearly demonstrates Ilbert's dominant position. In Agbrigg, he held all land in chief except for the royal manor of Wakefield and its outliers and the archiepiscopal manor of Warmfield, the latter of which he held as a subtenant of the Archbishop of York. Similarly, in Morley only three royal holdings and seven outliers of Wakefield impinged upon Ilbert's dominance. In three of the four remaining wapentakes Ilbert was unquestionably dominant, although there were larger numbers of tenants-in-chief holding land alongside him, as Figure 18 demonstrates.[97] It was only in Barkston Ash that his landed dominance was reduced, largely because of the Archbishop's large complex manor of Sherburn in Elmet. Thus it can be concluded that in the four neighbouring wapentakes of Agbrigg, Morley, Osgoldcross and Staincross in particular, Ilbert of Lacy was the major force in the defence of the region. Ilbert was a Norman lord of second rank whose power increased as a consequence of his military capabilities and the fall of his lord, Odo of Bayeux, and the growth of his estate in this region suggests an extensive military role.

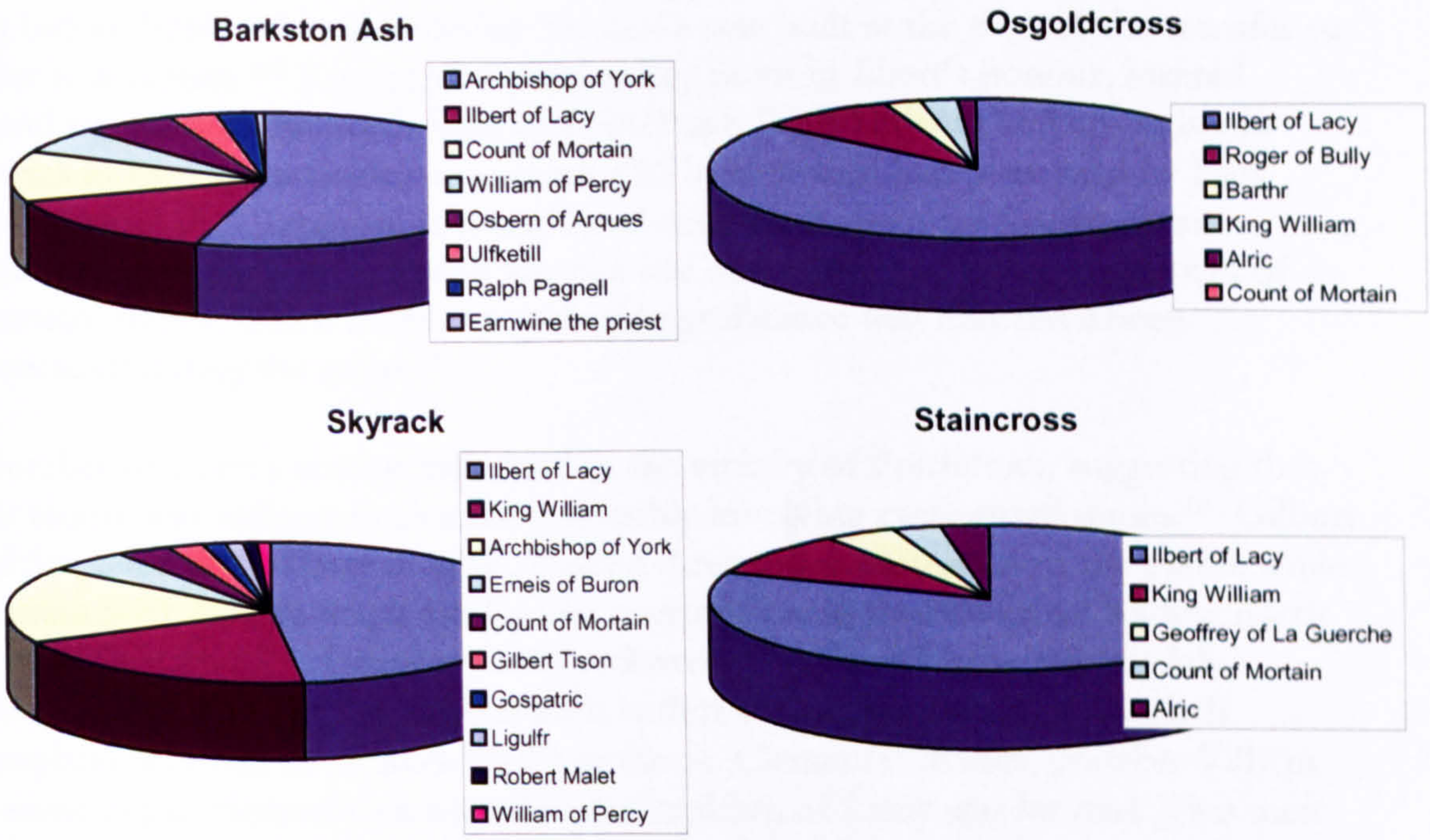


Figure 18: Division of land between tenants-in-chief in the wapentakes of Barkston Ash, Osgoldcross, Skyrack and Staincross in 1086 (in terms of carucates)

The focus of Ilbert's Yorkshire fief was the manor of Tanshelf, where he built the powerful motte and bailey castle of Pontefract.[98] A castle was mentioned in the Yorkshire *clamores*, where it was stated that the manor of Thorner was situated "within the bounds of Ilbert's castle".[99] A notification of a grant by William II to Ilbert of Lacy of the custom of the castlery of his castle as he had it in the time of William I and the Bishop of Bayeux confirms that this was Pontefract.[100] The castle

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[97] Where it is impossible to determine the exact carucage of a holding, the percentages may be slightly inaccurate. This is the case with the Archbishop's manor of Otley in Skyrack, where Domesday Book provided a combined assessment for the whole manor, which spread across more than one wapentake. *DB Yorkshire* (2W4).

[98] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, ii, 523.

[99] *DB Yorkshire* (CW1).

[100] *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. Farrer, vol.3, no.1415.

was located near the main road north towards Durham, to the south of the River Aire, thus commanding a strategically important region.

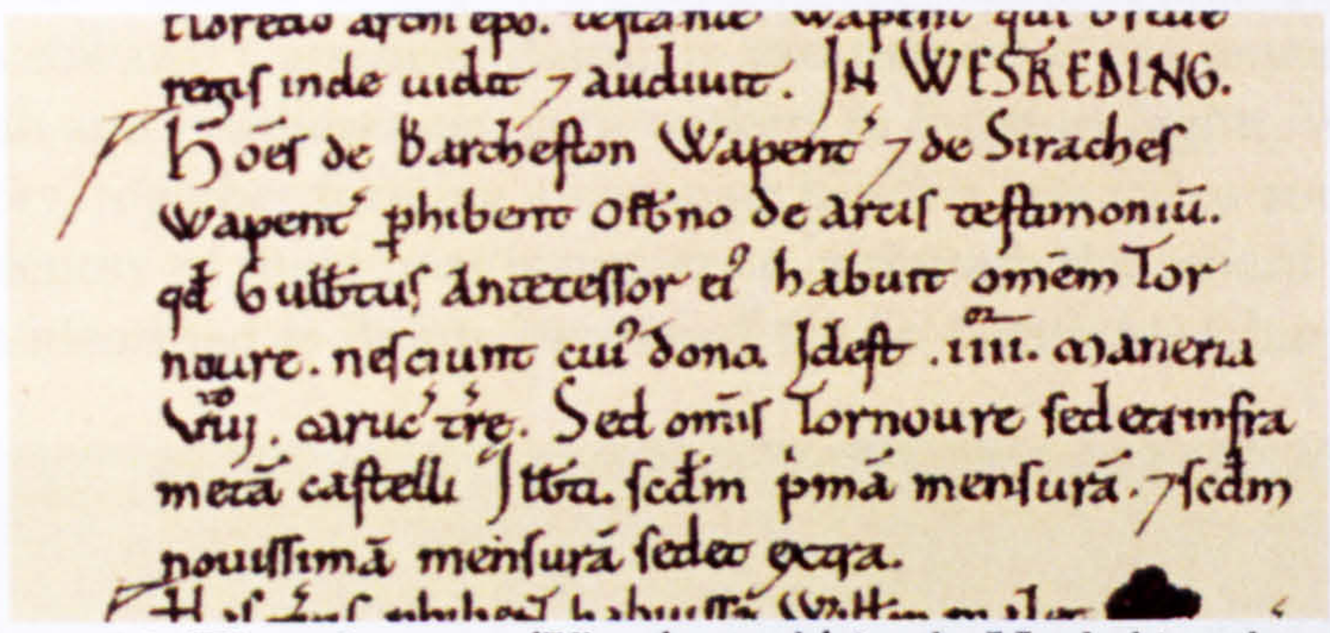

Figure 19: The reference to 'Ilbert's castle' in the Yorkshire clamores

Tanshelf was formerly a royal manor, but had been transferred to Ilbert at some point prior to the compilation of Domesday Book, probably to consolidate Ilbert's control of the region and aid defence. The fact that the manor appeared in the Yorkshire Summary as a royal possession suggests that the date of transfer was not long before 1086, although whether the castle was built at the time of the transfer or earlier is uncertain.[101] Kippax was another key point in Ilbert's honour, located around six miles to the north-west of Pontefract. With Ledston and an outlier in Barwick in Elmet, the manor was worth £16 in 1086 and had been held by Earl Edwin before the Conquest. It was located near the Roman road north from Castleford towards Catterick, and was the site of a motte and bailey earthwork of uncertain origins, which hints at a strategic significance that may have been appreciated during the reign.[102]

A number of Ilbert's tenants held land in the vicinity of Pontefract, suggesting that their tenure was military in character, possibly involving castleguard duties.[103] Gilbert held Stapleton from Ilbert in 1086, located three miles south-east of the castle, while his tenancy of Thorpe Stapleton lay just south of Leeds near the road leading north towards Tadcaster.[104] Humphrey held Ackworth, Newton Wallis and Snydale, located in the centre of the honour each within a four mile radius of Tanshelf. Humphrey was said to be from Veilly in the St. Clements Charter, possibly Villy in the same department of Calvados that the lordship of Lassy was located. Two men by the name of Robert held land from Ilbert in 1086. One held the manors of Kirk and Little Smeaton and Walden Stubbs, located in the south-east of the honour a few miles from Tanshelf.[105] Kirk and Little Smeaton had formed eight manors before 1066, but had been consolidated into two by 1086, with the five former Anglo-Saxon lords remaining as tenants on at least part of the manor under Robert in 1086.

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[101] *DB Yorkshire* (SW, O15). Wightman suggested that Ilbert's land had been temporarily alienated, although he recognised that the lack of evidence for such an alienation made this unlikely. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy*, 26. A further example of the continuing evolution of Ilbert's fief is the duplicate entry for the manor of Penistone, which is attributed to both the king and Ilbert in 1086, although in the *clamores* it was said to have been held by Ilbert. *DB Yorkshire* (1W23; 9W71; SW,St5).

[102] Armitage, 'Ancient Earthworks', *VCH Yorkshire*, vol.2, 32.

[103] It is possible to identify some of the tenants of Ilbert of Lacy in the notification of the foundation and endowments of the church of St. Clement in the castle of Pontefract by Ilbert of Lacy, Robert his son and their tenants, c.1090. *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. Farrer, vol.3, no.1492.

[104] Gilbert is named as the son of Dama in the St. Clements Charter, and was a predecessor of the Stapleton family who owed two knights fees in the time of Henry of Lacy in 1166. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy*, 39.

[105] His land seems to have subsequently passed to the family of Rainville, and William of Rainville held four fees of the Lacy family in 1166. Another Robert had tenancies at Seacroft, Birkby Hill and its outlier of Wheatcroft on the northern edge of the honour. He is identified in the St. Clements Charter as Robert of Somerville, a descendant of whom, Walter, held one fee of the Lacy family in 1166.

Ralph *Grammaire* was a tenant of Ilbert at Knottingley, Shippen House and Sturton Grange.[106] Knottingley was only two miles to the north-east of Pontefract, and Shippen House and Sturton Grange were around six miles further north near the main road north towards Catterick. 'Ralph' is also named as the tenant of the manors of Thorpe Audlin and Featherstone, with outliers in Purston Jaglin, West Hardwick and Nostell Priory, together forming a compact block a few miles south-west of Tanshelf. The identity of these men is uncertain, although the tenant at Thorpe Audlin has been identified as Ralph *Pincerna* of the St. Clements Charter.[107]

Map 103: Land held by 'Ralph' from Ilbert in Yorkshire in 1086

William is named as the tenant at Ackton, Burghwallis, Lead and Skellow, in addition to holding ploughs at Garforth. In the St. Clements Charter, William is identified at Skellow, and probably at neighbouring Burghwallis, as William of Poitevin.[108] Burghwallis and Skellow were located in the south-east of the honour, on the road between Doncaster and Tanshelf, and thus would have been of considerable strategic significance. Ackton was located three miles east of Tanshelf, and Lead was located to the north of Tanshelf near the road towards Tadcaster. This William is said to have been the father of Ascelin of Dai, whose heirs Henry and Ralph of Dai were mentioned in the 1166 *Cartae* as having a third of two fees at Ackton.[109] It is thus clear that several key followers of the Lacy family had been established on the fief to aid Ilbert in his defence of this strategically vital region, with a number of tenancies concentrated in the vicinity of Pontefract Castle or near to important roads running through the honour.

There are few obvious examples of antecessorial succession within the Lacy fief in Yorkshire. Ilbert had at least 69 predecessors, and where he gained a number of manors from a single pre-Conquest lord, this is likely to have been attributable to their location within the boundaries of the honour rather than a grant on the basis of antecessorial succession. This can be demonstrated by Ilbert's succession to the land of Ulfketill in the West Riding, which was confined to manors within the wapentakes of Osgoldcross and Staincross. Ulfketill's land in the neighbouring wapentake of Strafforth passed to the Count of Mortain and Roger of Bully, and his land in neighbouring Burghshire passed into the royal demesne and the fiefs of Gilbert

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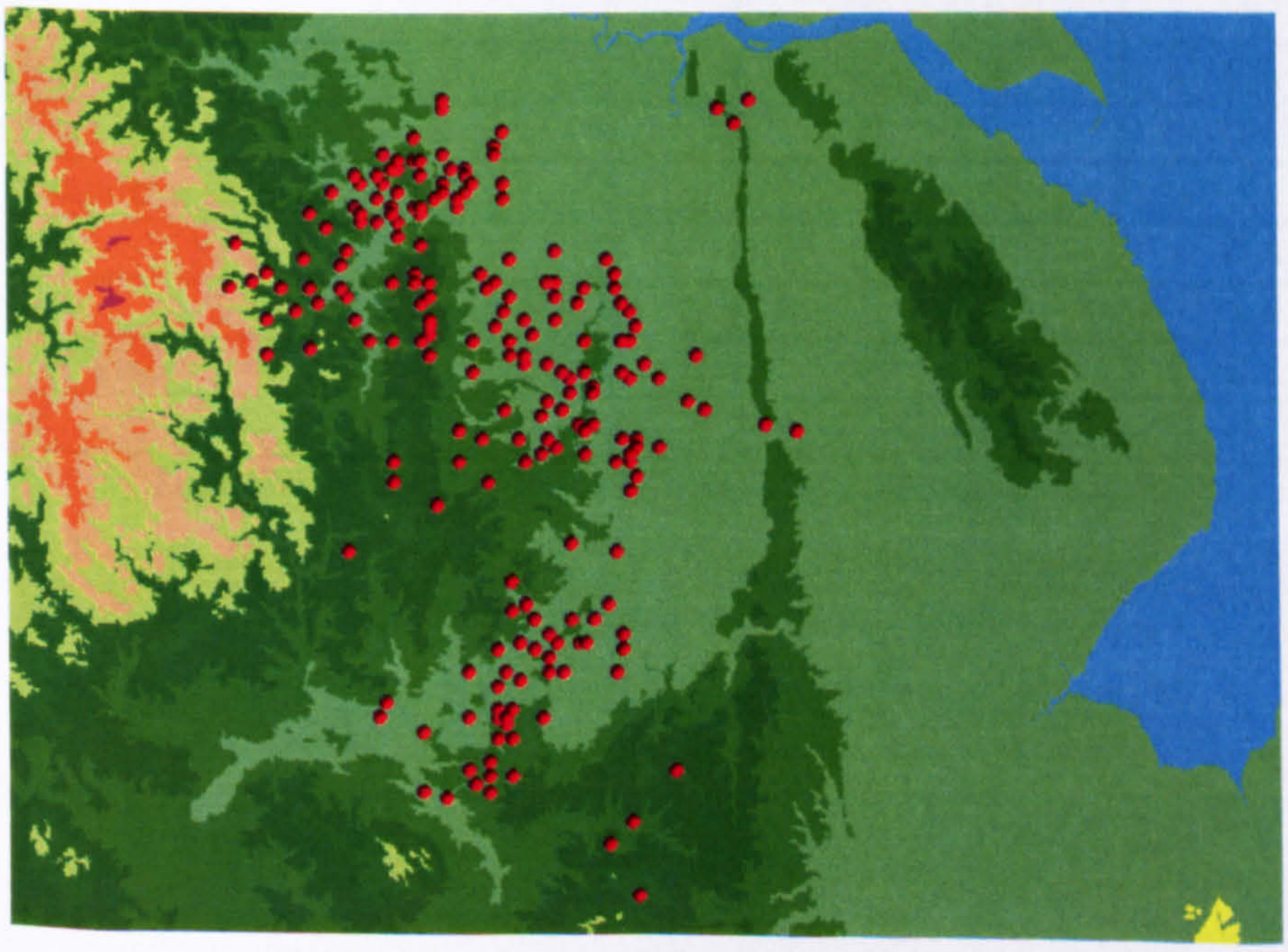
[106] He is identified in the St. Clements Charter as Ralph le Grammaire. A Richard Grammaire held two fees of the Lacy honour in 1166, and it is likely that he was a descendant of the Domesday tenant. *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, i, 423.
[107] *DB Yorkshire* (Biographies of Tenants, 9W46).
[108] The Roger of Poitevin also identified in this charter as holding Westerby near Altofts, and probably Whitwood, is likely to have been a relative, and both were ancestors of the Robert of Poitevin who held three fees of the Lacy fief in 1166. *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, i, 422.
[109] *Ibid.*, 422-3.

Tison and William of Percy. Although it is impossible to be certain whether this represented the land of just one pre-Conquest lord by the name of Ulfketill, there are numerous other examples of this type of geographically-limited succession. Ilbert was the recipient of all Dunstan's land in Morley and Skyrack, but in neighbouring Agbrigg the king gained his land and in Barkston Ash William of Percy was his successor. Similarly, Ilbert gained all of Barthr's land in Barkston Ash and Morley and all but one manor in Osgoldcross, but the manor of Hensall was partly retained by Barthr and the remainder passed into the royal demesne, Whixley in Burghshire passed to Osbern of Arques, and Huggate in Warter passed to the king. Like many other Anglo-Saxons, his estate was divided to form the new tenurial geography of Yorkshire in the wake of threats to Anglo-Norman rule. Unless Domesday Book hides numerous examples of pre-Conquest overlordship that had a significant impact on post-Conquest tenure, the Lacy honour was a Norman innovation with a strong military purpose.

* * *

Roger of Bully held a compact fief spanning the borders of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, and spilling into Derbyshire and Lincolnshire. His fief would have played a significant role in the defence of the approaches to York from the south. His land was divided into two main blocks, one centred on Tickhill in Yorkshire and nearby Blyth, and a smaller concentration in southern Nottinghamshire. His land in southern Nottinghamshire is likely to have contributed to the defence of Fosse Way, which ran through eastern Nottinghamshire towards Lincoln, while his land further north is likely to have defended the roads leading south from York. As well as being of significance in defending major lines of communication, the establishment of Roger's fief was probably intended to subdue the local population and aid the effective implementation of Norman rule. Roger of Bully was a man of considerable status. Judith Green has suggested that his wife was a kinswoman or lady-in-waiting for Queen Matilda, for the queen gave Roger the manor of Sandford when he married.[110] Roger originated from Bully in Seine-Maritime, and his daughter Beatrix appears to have married William of Eu.[111]



[110] Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 89-90.
[111] Loyd, *Origins of some Anglo-Norman Families*, 20; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 401.

Map 104: Land of Roger of Bully in Yorkshire and the Midlands in 1086

Tickhill lay in the Yorkshire wapentake of Strafforth, which bordered the counties of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. Roger held 54 manors in Strafforth, forming a compact block that extended across the border into the Nottinghamshire wapentakes of Bassetlaw and Oswaldbeck. Roger was a prominent landholder in Strafforth, suggesting a strategic hundredal grant along the lines suggested by Fleming in her analysis of the so-called 'tenurial revolution'.[112] However, closer inspection reveals that Roger's land was intermingled with that of other tenants-in-chief, among them the Count of Mortain with land in 37 vills and William of Warenne with his complex manor of Conisbrough incorporating land in 29 vills. Overall, 26 of the vills in which Roger of Bully held land were also occupied by other tenants-in-chief, and in 32 he was the sole tenant-in-chief. William of Warenne acquired Conisborough at an early date, possibly as early as 1066 when its former lord, Earl Harold, was killed, and so his arrival in the county probably predated that of Roger.[113] The Count of Mortain's acquisition of Earl Tosti's former manor of Hexthorpe was again perhaps an indication of his early arrival in the county. Roger of Bully's acquisition of Earl Edwin's former manor of Laughton en le Morthen suggests that he may not have been established in the north until after Edwin's death, when other land in the wapentake had already been distributed to such men.

Tenant-in-Chief	Vills	Carucates	Value (£)
Roger of Bully	58	207	71
Count of Mortain	37	113	32
William of Warenne	29	91	40
Countess Judith	1	29	2
William of Percy	10	19	5.2
Geoffrey Alselin	2	15	1.5
Ilbert of Lacy	4	11	10.5
King William (incl. Earl Aubrey)	5	11	4.8
Walter of Aincourt	4	8	2
Wulfsige	1	8	0.8
Arnthorr the priest	3	7	0.5
Earnwine the Priest	1	5	1
Sveinn	1	5	0.8
Alsige	1	4	1.6
Gilbert Tison	1	4	0.8
Thorr	2	2	1

Table 7: Tenants-in-chief in Strafforth in Yorkshire in 1086

[112] Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, 153ff.
[113] On William of Warenne, see Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, 33-34.

Map 105: Land of the Count of Mortain in Strafforth and the surrounding area

Map 106: Land of William of Warenne around Conisbrough in Strafforth

Tickhill was not named in Domesday Book, but it is generally assumed that the castle was incorporated into the Domesday manor of Dadsley, located near the Nottinghamshire border on the eastern edge of Strafforth. Domesday Book recorded 31 burgesses at Dadsley, which suggests that the vill was something of an urban settlement in 1086. However, there has been some speculation that the castle of the honour was located at nearby Blyth in the Nottinghamshire wapentake of Bassetlaw. The honour was known as Blyth in the early twelfth century, and it was not until later in the twelfth century that the name Tickhill was adopted. The 1130 Pipe Roll mentioned work upon the castle of Blyth.[114] It is possible that the confusion arose from the honour and the castle bearing different names. This is implied by a later agreement between King Stephen and the Earl of Chester, which mentioned a castle of Tickhill and the honour of Blyth.[115] John of Worcester and Simeon of Durham also referred to the castle as Tickhill in their discussion of the 1102 rebellion.[116] Tickhill was a powerful motte and bailey castle walled with a Norman gatehouse which would have helped to defend the section of the Great North Road between Doncaster and Lincoln.[117] The large manor of Hallam was also a substantial settlement, located close to the road running south-west of Doncaster.

Of Roger's 94 manors in Nottinghamshire, many were located in the northern wapentakes of Bassetlaw, Lythe, Newark and Oswaldbeck, extending the Yorkshire fief southwards. However, as in Strafforth, there were several other tenants-in-chief in the region, among the most prominent of whom were the king, Geoffrey Alselin, Gilbert of Ghent and Roger of Poitou. In 21 vills in Bassetlaw Roger held land alongside other tenants in chief, compared to 20 vills in which he was the sole tenant-in-chief. In Oswaldbeck, Roger held land in nearly 70% of the vills, although alongside several other tenants-in-chief, among them the king and the Archbishop of York. He shared twelve vills with other tenants-in-chief, and was the sole tenant-in-chief in only five.

In the reign of Henry II, the honour of Tickhill consisted of 60¾ fees, representing a high military enfeoffment.[118] The origins of this military service are evident in the Domesday fief, where several anonymous men-at-arms held land from Roger. A man-at-arms is said to have held 2½ ploughs on Roger's manor of Dadsley with

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[114] *Great Roll of the Pipe 31 Henry I*, 33.
[115] Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Roll*, 367-8.
[116] *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. McGurk, iii, 100-1; *Simeon of Durham: History of the Kings of England*, ed. Stevenson, 169.
[117] Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, ii, 527.
[118] *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, i, 435.

Stainton and Hellaby, and possibly performed castleguard at Tickhill. Two anonymous men-at-arms also held two ploughs on the sokeland of Laughton en le Morthen and Throapham in Yorkshire, around five miles south-west of Tickhill.

Only one Yorkshire tenant is named, Fulk of Lisors, who also held land from Roger in southern Derbyshire and northern Nottinghamshire.[119] His tenancy was not in an especially compact block, but it is possible that he performed some form of military service on the fief as he held several manors in the vicinity of Tickhill. In particular, the manor of Harworth with an outlier at Martin was only two miles south-east of Tickhill. Many of his manors were located near the section of the Great North Road running between Castleford and Lincoln, heightening the strategic significance of his tenancy. The three former manors at Adwick le Street just north of Doncaster and the Nottinghamshire manor of Clayworth in Oswaldbeck, located at a point where the road crossed the River Idle, provide examples. Something of Fulk's status is indicated by the fact that his son and heir Robert married a daughter of Robert of Lacy of Pontefract, Albreda, whose descendants formed the second house of Lacy after 1193.[120]

Map 107: Tenancy of Fulk of Lisors under Roger of Bully in 1086

The degree of subinfeudation on Roger of Bully's Nottinghamshire fief was higher than in Yorkshire, perhaps reflecting either the lack of information available to the Domesday scribe in Yorkshire, or the later settlement of the region resulting in fewer grants of land to vassals. In addition to Fulk, at least sixteen other tenants held land from Roger in Nottinghamshire. A concentration of tenancies can be seen around Tickhill, perhaps signifying a grant of land to vassals with an obligation to serve their lord at the castle. Bernard held the manor of Styrrup, two miles south of Tickhill, and Gilbert held Serlby around a mile further south-east. Thorold held two manors within a five mile radius of Tickhill. Carlton in Lindrick had formed six manors before 1066, each with a hall, and the manor was worth £3 in 1086, which was relatively high in comparison to much of the rest of the fief. Hodstock and its sokeland at Blyth was also worth £3 at this time, and given the significance which this sokeland later assumed, it was an important possession.

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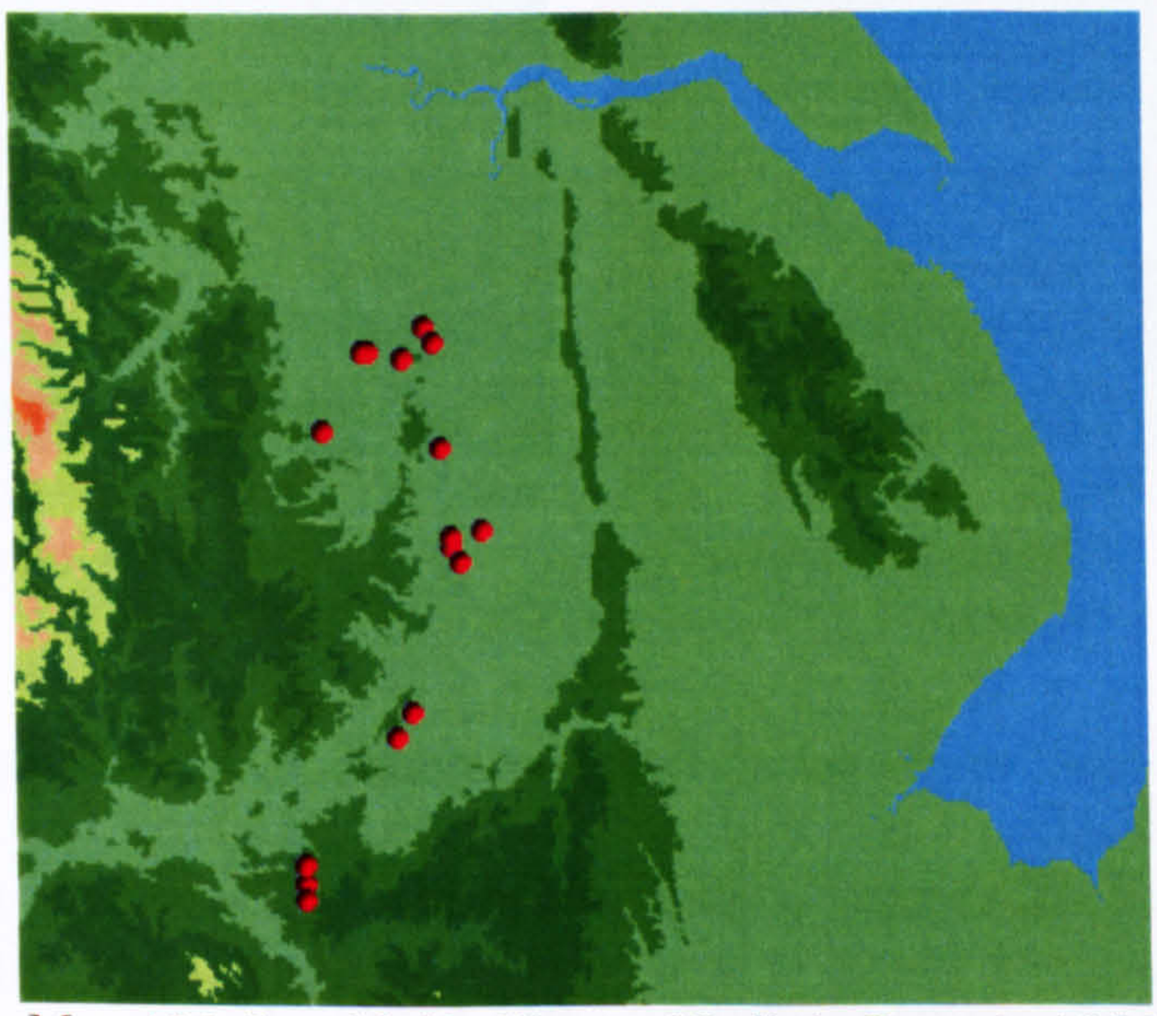
[119] His full name is given in the *clamores*. *DB Yorkshire* (CW14). He was probably from either Lisores in the Livarot canton of the arrondissement of Lisieux in the department of Calvados, or from Lisors in the Lyons canton of the department of Eure. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 201.

[120] *DB Yorkshire* (Appendix Section 3, 10W33).

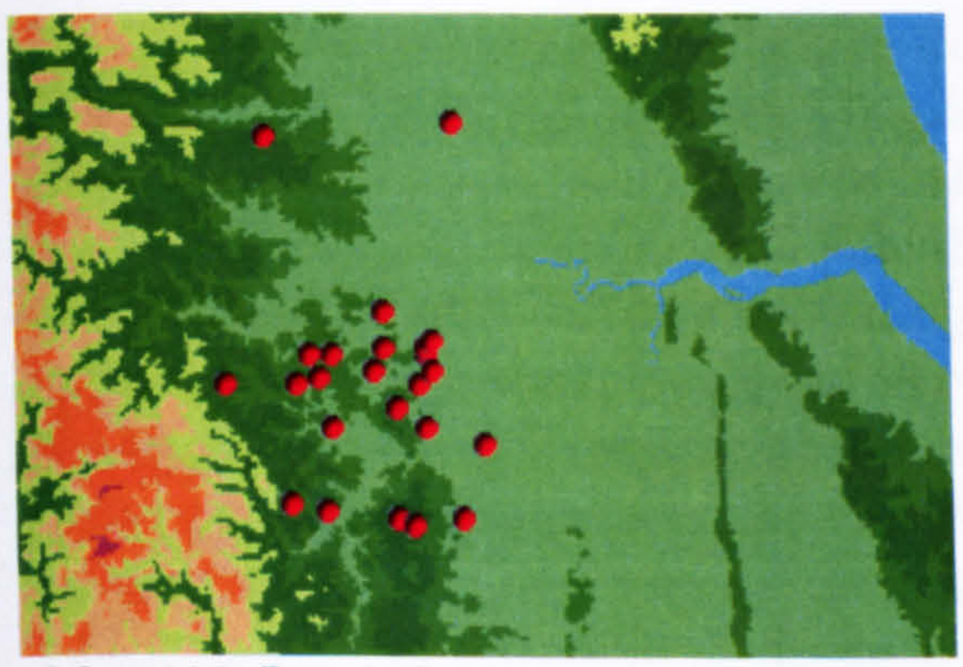
One of the most prominent of Roger's tenants in Nottinghamshire was Geoffrey, who held six manors and sokeland in five vills in the northern wapentakes of Bassetlaw and Oswaldbeck. The most significant of his possessions was East Markham, which was worth £4 in 1086 and included sokeland in the nearby vills of Gamston, Headon and Upton. He also held three manors to the north of the road to Lincoln at Beckingham, Bole and West Burton with sokeland at Everton and Harwell, perhaps guarding this line of communication. Roger was another prominent tenant in Nottinghamshire. He held seven manors and their jurisdictions in northern Nottinghamshire, as well as three manors and a jurisdiction in the south with a neighbouring manor in Leicestershire. Gringley on the Hill was his most valuable tenancy. Formerly held by seven thanes as seven manors, it was worth £10 in 1066 and had jurisdictions in neighbouring Everton, Harwell and Misterton. With his tenancy at Walkeringham, this block of land formed a defensive bulwark between Tickhill and the River Trent. Further south, Roger held another block of land focused on the manors of Grassthorpe and its outlier of Sutton on Trent, Normanton on Trent, and Clifton and its outlier of Spalford. This land had formed eight manors before 1066, held by eight different thanes. It spanned the River Trent, and would have been instrumental in defending this important waterway. The manors of Roolton and Treswell lay between these two blocks of land, and would have aided communication between them.



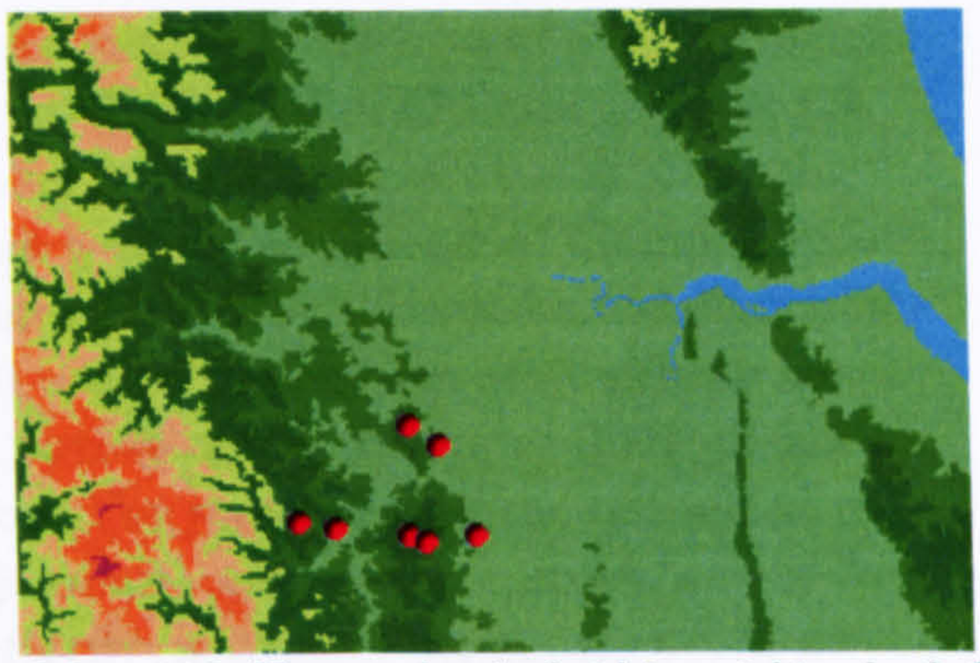
Map 108: Land held of Roger of Bully by Roger in 1086

In southern Nottinghamshire, Roger's two manors of Car Colston and Flintham lay near Fosse Way to the south of Newark, and may have been granted to Roger with the defence of this important communication route in mind. Likewise, Wysall and its soke of Thorpe in the Glebe, along with the neighbouring manor of Wymeswold in Leicestershire, lay near this road. Thus Roger's tenancy, viewed as a whole, may have been formed to aid the defence of the River Trent and Fosse Way, both major lines of communication between midland shires and the north. Several other men held tenancies from Roger in the central part of Bassetlaw, among them Claron, Richard, Ulfkell and William. Leofwin held Beighton from Roger in northern Derbyshire, just over ten miles south-west of Tickhill. Ingran also held two manors from Roger in northern Derbyshire and one a few miles south of Blyth in Nottinghamshire. Such men must have played a role in the administration of Roger's northern fief, and may too have held military responsibilities in return for their land.

An examination of the pre-Conquest tenure of Roger of Bully's land shows that his fief was not formed on the basis of antecessorial succession. He had at least 90 predecessors across the three counties of Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire.[121] An early focus of his fief may have been Earl Edwin's former manor of Laughton en le Morthen and its eight outliers. This large Yorkshire settlement was worth £24 before 1066, and was located within a few miles of the eventual focus of the honour, Tickhill. The vill contains the remains of a motte and bailey castle of unknown date, and in Domesday Book two men-at-arms were said to have two ploughs on the manor's outliers.[122] If there was indeed some form of fortification there in 1086, these men may have served there and at nearby Tickhill. This was the only manor that Roger gained from Earl Edwin in the north, unless, of course, he was an unnamed overlord elsewhere. In those cases where Roger gained a number of manors from a single Anglo-Saxon lord, he was not their sole successor. For example Roger gained five manors from an Anglo-Saxon lord named Alsige, who held an extensive lordship in South Yorkshire before 1066. Geoffrey Alselin and Ilbert of Lacy were also recipients of Alsige's land in this part of Yorkshire.



Map 109: Land of Alsige in South Yorkshire before 1066



Map 110: Former land of Alsige within the fief of Roger of Bully in South Yorkshire in 1086

Similarly, Roger gained fifteen manors and their outliers from Godric in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire after 1066, but the name Godric (albeit a common one) appears as a predecessor of at least eleven other tenants-in-chief in the region in 1086. Alfsi held five manors and two jurisdictions in eight Nottinghamshire vills before 1066 that subsequently passed to Roger of Bully.[123] However, this did not represent all of the land of Alfsi in the county, unless there was more than one thane of this name.[124] Land in five further vills passed to Count Alan, Ralph of Limésy and an anonymous thane. An examination of the former possessions of Sveinn in Yorkshire demonstrates this phenomenon further. A man of that name appears as the pre-Conquest lord of three groups of manors: one in the northern coastal region of Langbargh, another in the coastal region of Holderness and a final and more dispersed group of manors focused on Strafforth wapentake.[125] Roger of Bully gained a compact group of these manors in the Strafforth region, though by no means all of Sveinn's land in southern Yorkshire. Aubrey of Coucy, Countess Judith

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[121] He succeeded anonymous thanes in numerous other instances.

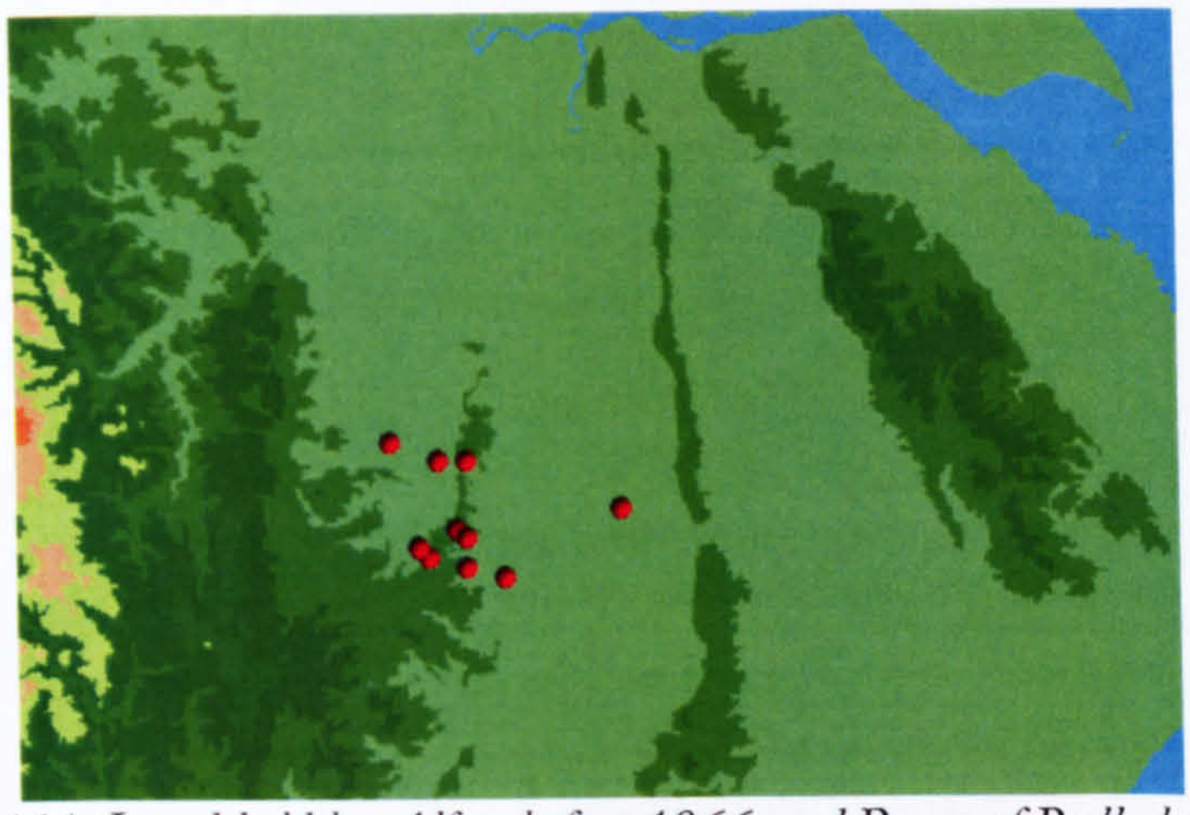
[122] Armitage, 'Ancient Earthworks', *VCH Yorkshire*, vol.2, 32.

[123] Alfsi is named as the son of Kaskin at Worksop, where he had full jurisdiction and market rights and the King's customary dues of two pence before 1066. *DB Nottinghamshire* (S5).

[124] An Alfsi Illing is identified in the shire customs, although it is impossible to be certain which land he held in the county before 1066. *Ibid.* (S5).

[125] Given the dispersed nature of these manors, the name is likely to represent more than one man.

and Ilbert of Lacy were also recipients of his former land. The same was the case with Roger's acquisition of the former land of Ulfkell, Ulfketill, Wulfgeat, Wulfmer and Wulfsi.



Map 111: Land held by Alfwy before 1066 and Roger of Bully by 1086

There were only a few instances where Roger gained all the land of a pre-Conquest lord in a limited geographical area. He gained all the land of Odincar in southern Nottinghamshire, amounting to seven manors in fairly compact block. Only the more distant manor of Shipley in Derbyshire was lost to Gilbert of Ghent. Similarly, he gained all the land of Alfwy in Nottinghamshire, which formed a compact block in the middle of the shire. He gained all but one of the manors of Wulfheah in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, the other further north passing to Ilbert of Lacy. Such examples were, however, the exception. The remainder of the fief seems to have been formed with a concern for geographical compactness, regardless of Anglo-Saxon tenure. The Conqueror's desire to effectively control the routes north through Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire is likely to have influenced Roger's receipt of this relatively compact northern fief.

* * *

The Yorkshire folios end with an account of Roger of Poitou's fief, not included in the list of tenants-in-chief at the start of the text and not fully rubricated. This suggests that it was a late addition, although it appears to have been written by the same scribe as the rest of Domesday Book. In some other counties, Roger's lands were said to be in the hands of the king, which suggests that they had been seized by the king at some point before or during 1086.[126] Philip Morgan, in the Phillimore edition of the Cheshire Domesday, suggested that Roger's land may have been forfeited because of an involvement in the subversive activities of the Conqueror's son Robert of Normandy.[127] Alternatively, his fief was undergoing a period of restructure, and he had gained land in Craven in exchange for his former land in Lancashire, including the manor of Preston and its 61 outliers, which had been transferred to the king by 1086. Lewis claimed that during the compilation of Domesday Book he had acquired the complex manor of Beetham in Kendale and five manors in Lower Lonsdale "as an isolated outlier of his new Yorkshire fief".[128]

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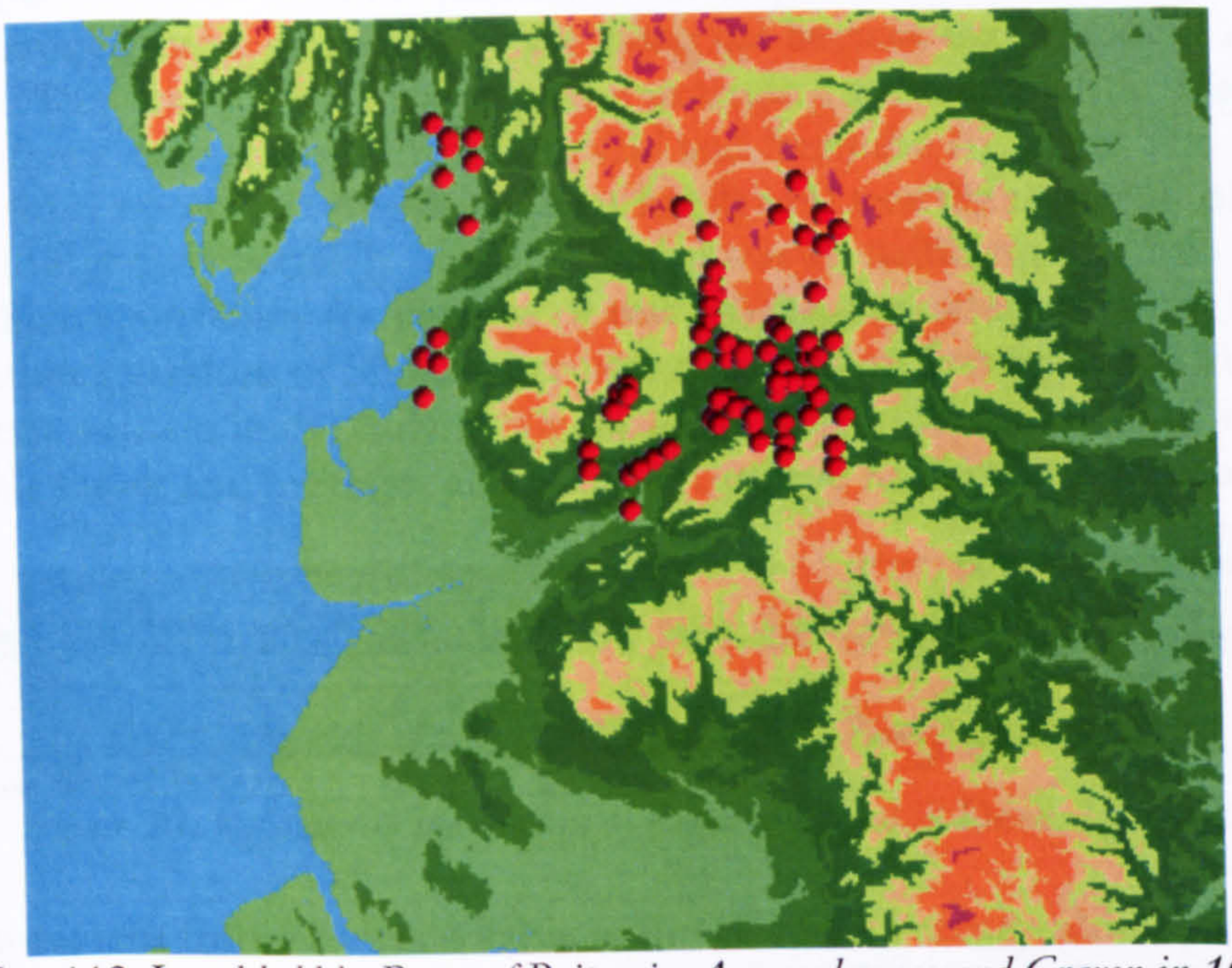
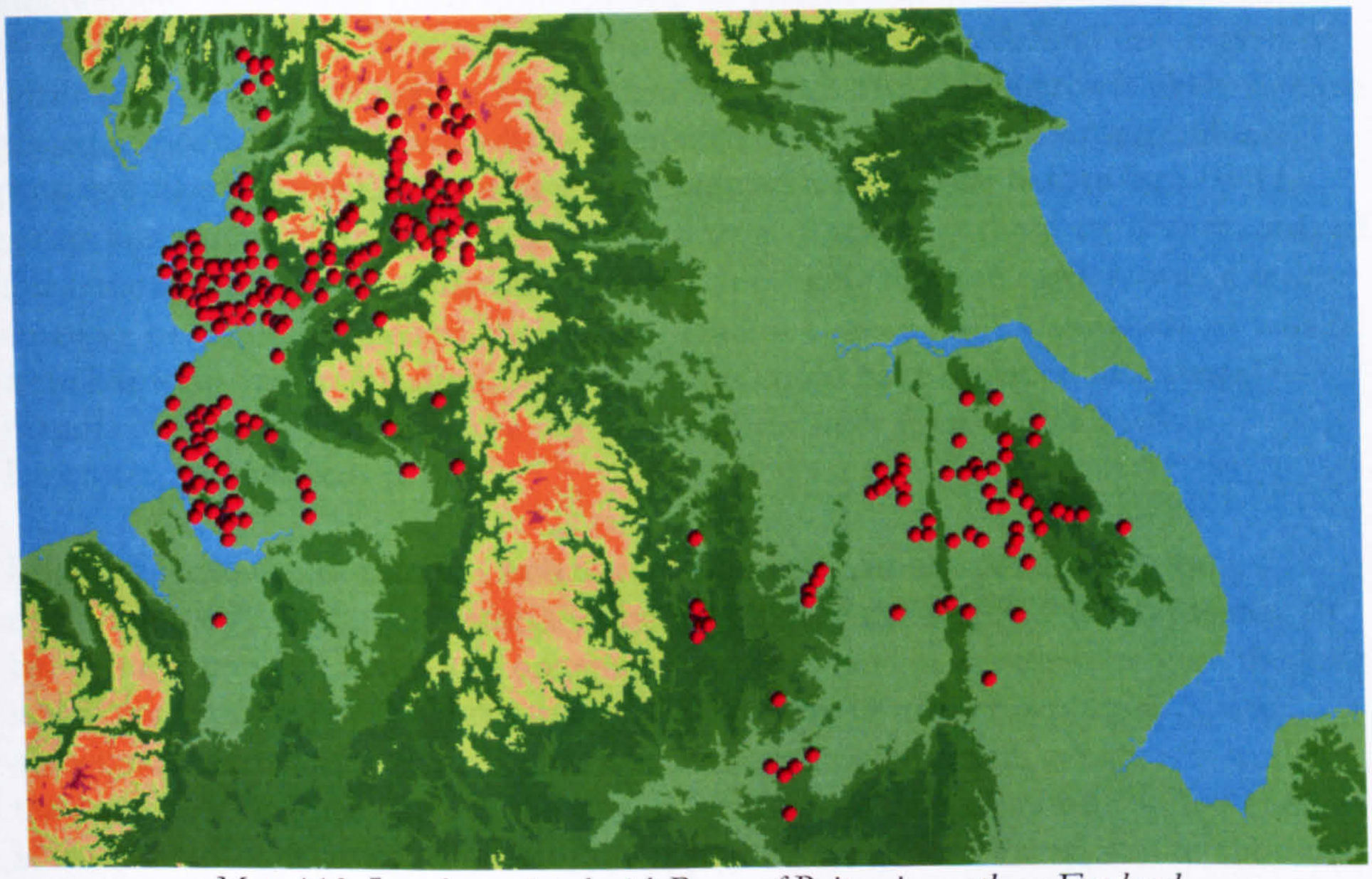
[126] In Essex, Hampshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Suffolk and parts of Yorkshire he is said to be holding the land in 1086, whilst in Cheshire, Derbyshire, Norfolk and other parts of Yorkshire his former land is held by the king in 1086. See Galbraith, *Making of Domesday Book*, 187-8; Palliser, 'An Introduction to the Yorkshire Domesday', *The Yorkshire Domesday*, 11.

[127] *DB Cheshire* (R1n).

[128] Lewis, 'Introduction to the Lancashire Domesday', *The Lancashire Domesday*, 38.



Map 112: Land held by Roger of Poitou in Amounderness and Craven in 1086



Map 113: Land associated with Roger of Poitou in northern England at some point between 1066 and 1086

Maps 112 and 113 show the land that Roger held at various stages between 1066 and 1086, the amount still held in 1086 in north-western England being confined to Amounderness and Craven.[129] The manors of Barnoldswick and Calton, previously

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[129] The exact boundaries of Amounderness and Craven are uncertain. King Athelstan's grant of 934 to the Church of York demonstrated that Amounderness stretched from the Irish Sea to the rivers Hodder and Dunsop, and from the Ribble to the Cocker. Hart, *Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands*, 117, no.119; Whitelock (ed.), *English Historical Documents*, I, 505-8. In Domesday Book, Amounderness appeared only once as a heading for the composite manor of Preston, and perhaps was the extent of the area, or an integral part of Craven. In the Phillimore edition of Domesday Book, Craven is represented by the subsequent medieval wapentakes of East and West Staincliffe and part of Skyrack. Amounderness included land in the later counties of Cumberland, Lancashire and Westmorland, as well as some manors in West Riding of Yorkshire,

held by Berengar of Tosny and Erneis de Buron respectively and located over eight miles apart, were said to be in the jurisdiction of Roger's castle. This suggests that his land was arranged into a compact castlery along the lines of that of Count Alan further east. This seems likely in view of the strategic importance of the region in terms of defence against attack from Scotland and from the Irish Sea. The fact that Roger was from a powerful Anglo-Norman family and was the third son of Earl Roger of Montgomery certainly suggests that he was of sufficient status to be delegated the responsibility for defence of this vital region, which was not too distant from his father's earldom of Shrewsbury. Roger of Poitou first appeared in contemporary sources in the early 1080s, when he witnessed a number of charters alongside his father and brothers, and may have gained his land at a similar time.[130]

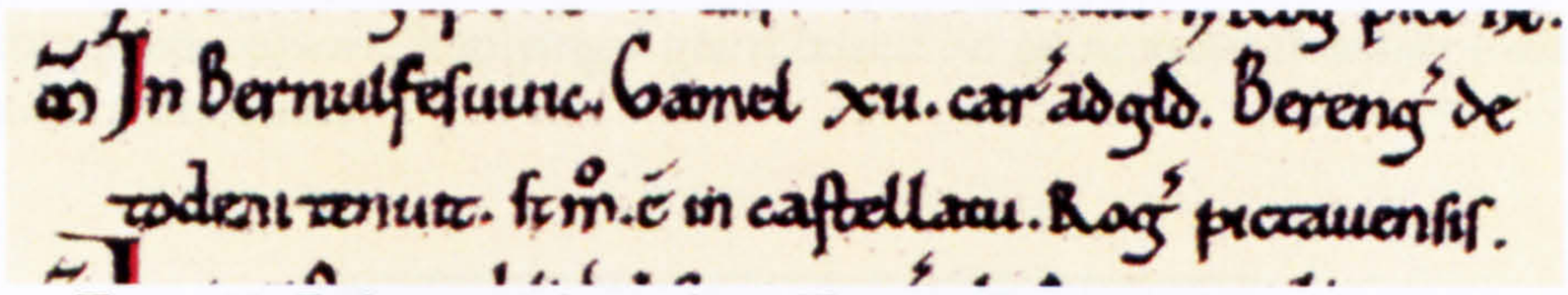

Figure 20: Reference to the castlery of Roger of Poitou in Domesday Book

The north-western frontier was unstable in the eleventh century, although the existence of places in Domesday Book as far north as Bootle and Strickland Roger suggests that it extended as far north as the River Esk. Beyond this lay an independent principality ruled from Carlisle by Dolfin son of Gospatric but subject to the king of Scotland. It would have thus been important to defend this region of north-western England against attack from Scotland. The Conqueror is likely to have placed someone in the region who was capable of commanding a strong military presence, like Edward the Confessor had done with Earl Tosti before him.[131] The nature and extent of Roger of Poitou's castlery is obscure, as there are few records of this remote region in contemporary sources. It is likely that the castlery was a recent creation, perhaps confined to the block of land in Craven, on the outskirts of which were Barnoldswick and Calton. Alternatively it could have included his coastal manors in Amounderness, in the region where the later focus of his barony, Lancaster, was located.

Roger of Poitou's position in Craven was dominant. An examination of the distribution of land demonstrates that he held 228 of the region's 483 carucates. In the western half of Craven, the only men who held land alongside him were the king and William of Percy. The three men's manors were in many cases interspersed, sometimes even within one vill, so it was not a compact castlery exclusively under the control of one man, as was the case in Holderness or Richmond.[132] However, it is likely that Roger of Poitou, with the support of William of Percy, was to shoulder a large burden for the defence of this vulnerable area. Royal control in the region is likely to have been weak, especially in view of its remoteness from the centre of government and the apparent lack of a traditional court and wapentake structure, as

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although the term 'Amounderness' was later to represent just one of the Lancashire hundreds. Lewis suggested that Craven could have extended as far west as the Irish Sea, as Hugh fitz Baldric's manors of Birkby and Holker were said to be in Craven but located around thirty miles north-west of the rest of Craven. Lewis, 'An Introduction to the Lancashire Domesday', *The Lancashire Domesday*, 2. Thorn suggested that Amounderness may have been a subdivision of Craven, and that "in 1086 Amounderness occupied only the area between the Ribble and the Wyre rivers, and that north of it lay Craven, which was regarded as stretching from the Irish Sea over the Pennines to touch the Yorkshire wapentakes of Burghshire and Skyrack". Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', *The Lancashire Domesday*, 49.

[130] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Bates, nos. 175; 207; 281; 283.

[131] Tosti, as earl of Northumbria, had dominated the region north of the Ribble before 1065, holding five major manors.

[132] In eleven vills Roger held land alongside William of Percy.

demonstrated by the brief and elusive account of the region in Domesday Book.[133] There had been no royal land north of the Ribble in 1066. Men like Roger of Poitou and William of Percy are thus likely to have been placed in the region to spearhead the Norman campaign to consolidate and extend authority further into the hostile territory of north-west England. William of Percy's land in Craven seems to have been founded on the former land of Bjornulfr, from whom he gained eight of his nine manors and their berewicks. It was deemed wholly waste in 1086 and no tenants had been given land, suggesting his control of the region had yet to be enforced. No tenants are named on Roger's fief in Craven in 1086 either, which, unless they escaped record in Domesday Book, suggests that he had only recently acquired the land or had yet to make the necessary tenurial arrangements to support his defensive campaign.[134] However, unlike William of Percy, Roger gained land in Craven from at least twenty predecessors, implying a grant based on geographical rather than antecessorial principles.

Tenant-in-Chief	Carucates
Roger of Poitou	228
King William	112
William of Percy	62
Gilbert Tison	16
Osbern of Arques	15
Berenger of Tosny	8
Hugh son of Baldric	8
Dolfinnr	7
Heardwulf	7
Ulfr	6
Ketill	3
Northmann	3
Erneis of Buron	3
Ormr	3
Rafnketill	2
Total	483

Table 8: Distribution of land in Craven in 1086
(rounded to nearest carucate)

Further west, Roger's only tenant north of the Ribble was Earnwine the priest, an Englishman who held Earl Tosti's former manor of Beetham and its outliers, located in Kendale near Morecambe Bay. In lower Lonsdale, Roger held the five manors of Ashton Hall, Cockerham, Ellel, Lonsdale and Scotforth, located near the coast just south of Lancaster. In 1086 Lancaster was an outlier of the royal manor of Halton, and it was only after the compilation of Domesday Book that Roger of Poitou gained a larger estate in this region focused on Lancaster Castle. However, his acquisition of five manors in this region prior to 1086 may have been a prelude to his subsequent receipt of the barony of Lancaster, and it may have been the Conqueror's long term strategy to place the defence of this vulnerable coastal region in the hands of Roger of Poitou.

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[133] The source for the information in Domesday Book about the north-west is likely to have been tax lists, suggesting that there was no vehicle through which to gather and verify the amount and type of information provided for other Domesday counties.
[134] The only information provided in Domesday Book about the region was the assessment and details of former and present tenure. The paucity of information probably reflects the recent acquisition and looseness of Norman control of the region, although may possibly be a reflection of its 'wasted' state.

The land that Roger had once held between the Ribble and the Mersey was divided into the six large multiple estates of Blackburn, West Derby, Leyland, Newton, Salford and Warrington. In total, there were 188 manors assessed at just under 80 hides and worth £120 when Roger acquired them from the king. The region must have been of considerable strategic significance, defending the Irish Sea coastline and the estuaries of the Mersey and Ribble. The number of Scandinavian personal and place names between the Ribble and the Mersey is testimony to the fact that it had been subject to Viking attacks in previous centuries. The region seems to have undergone a considerable amount of tenurial reorganisation after 1066. At least fourteen Englishmen had held land from King Edward in the hundred of West Derby before 1066, but thereafter the land of the manor was given by Roger of Poitou to eight Anglo-Norman tenants: Gilbert of Venables, Robert, Roger, Theobald, Warin, William fitz Nigel and two men called Geoffrey.[135] These men were probably instrumental in the defence of the western coastline. Roger, Theobald, Warin and William fitz Nigel also held land in the neighbouring hundred of Warrington, alongside Aethelhard, Osmund and Ralph.

In Salford, five men-at-arms held land "by the gift of Roger of Poitou", namely Gamel, Geoffrey, Nigel of Burcy and two men called Warin. Gamel was probably the pre-Conquest Gamel son of Griffin, an ancestor of the family of Elland. Warin Bussel was among the witnesses to the foundation charter of Lancaster Priory by Roger of Poitou in 1094, and was identified as a baron of Penwortham.[136] A castle had been built at Penwortham in Leyland by 1086, overlooking the Ribble and defending this important estuary.[137] Chris Lewis suggested that its position, "which is very like that of some of the advanced Norman castles in Wales under William I, suggests that the Ribble was some sort of frontier at the time the castle was built".[138] It is possible that it was built during the Norman conquest of the north as a means to control the local population and make further advances into Northumbrian territory north of the Ribble. The five tenants in the hundred of Leyland, namely Gerard, Ralph, Robert, Roger and Walter, perhaps provided castle guard services in exchange for their land. In the hundred of Blackburn, Roger had given all his land to Roger of Bully and Albert Grelley. Roger of Bully seems to have been a relative, for when he died in the late 1090s, Roger of Poitou's brother Robert of Bellême claimed wardship of Roger of Bully's son and heir as his kinsman.[139] Albert Grelley also appeared as Roger's tenant in Lincolnshire and was a tenant of Reginald, the sheriff of Roger's father's earldom of Shrewsbury.[140]

When Roger of Poitou's land in Amounderness and Craven is viewed with his former estate at Preston and the land he once held between the Ribble and the Mersey, it can be seen that he may have held at some point before 1086 a large and compact fief in north-western England, lying between the Pennines and the Irish Sea and defending the western coastline from the Mersey to the Kent Channel, as well as routes from Scotland into England including the Aire Gap. After 1086 he regained a considerable amount of the land that he was said to have lost in Domesday Book, and it is not implausible that he had held all such land concurrently for at least a short while before 1086.

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[135] William fitz Nigel's descendants held the barony of Halton in south Lancashire.
[136] Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls and Early Lancashire Charters*, 289-96.
[137] The castle is identified in Domesday Book. *DB Cheshire* (R6,5).
[138] Lewis, 'An Introduction to the Lancashire Domesday', *The Lancashire Domesday*, 8.
[139] See Mason, 'Roger of Montgomery and his sons', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, vol.13, (1963), 16.
[140] Albert was an ancestor of the barons of Manchester.

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Viewed as a whole, in most areas of Yorkshire there was a high proportion of territorial settlement as a consequence of the strategic significance of the area and the relative weakness of Norman rule in the north. It was essential for the Conqueror to create military strongholds to protect the Humber estuary, the approaches to York and the northern border. A number of fiefs have been attributed to the early phase of the Norman Conquest of the north, including those of Drogo of Beuvrière, Hugh fitz Baldric, Osbern of Arques, William of Percy and William of Warenne. By the early 1070s the Norman settlement of Yorkshire accelerated with the downfall of Earls Edwin and Morcar, leading to the construction or consolidation of major castleries like Tickhill, Richmond and Pontefract to guard key strategic points. A castle had been constructed as far north as Durham by 1072, and in 1080 Robert Curthose went to Scotland and renewed King Malcolm's submission, building a new castle on the Tyne to defend the route between the Tyne and Durham.[141] By 1086 the colonisation of Yorkshire had gone a long way and the Normans were beginning to make inroads into regions further north and west, as the position of Roger of Poitou in north-western England demonstrates. The success of the Conqueror's policy, upon which William Rufus was to build in the following decade, is likely to have owed much to the creation of these strong defensive bulwarks across much of Yorkshire to control the local population, quash resistance and defend against foreign assault.

[141] *Simeon of Durham, Historia Regum*, ed. Arnold, ii, 211.

VII

Conclusion

It is clear that by 1069, the Normans had established a large number of compact territorial fiefs to secure their conquest of England, many of which were located in vulnerable coastal and border regions on the edges of the kingdom where defence against internal and external challenges to their rule was of paramount importance. Along the south coast, Odo of Bayeux had secured a position of prominence, gaining control of the important Kentish ports of Hythe, Reculver, Richborough, Saltwood and Sandwich and a series of possibly fortified vills along the route to London. William fitz Osbern is likely to have occupied a similar position in the west of circuit one, controlling the Isle of Wight, Winchester and possibly large parts of Hampshire and Berkshire in succession to the earl of Wessex. Hugh of Grandmesnil had been established at Winchester alongside William; Roger of Montgomery was in possession of large stretches of the coastline between Chichester and Bramber; William of Warenne controlled Lewes; the Count of Mortain had been established at Pevensey; the Count of Eu controlled the Hastings region in succession to Humphrey of Tilleul; and Hugh de Montfort was custodian of Dover Castle.

By the time the Domesday survey was undertaken, Hugh de Montfort was in control of a compact lordship focused on Saltwood, guarding the port of Hythe and the surrounding coastline. Richard son of Gilbert held a compact block of land around Tonbridge, and William of Arques controlled the hundred and port of Folkestone. Castles are likely to have been built as the military focuses of all three lordships, in addition to the royal castles at Canterbury, Dover and Rochester. Tenants of Odo of Bayeux held blocks of land in key strategic areas around the county's ports and roads. In Sussex, the military nature of the settlement was especially pronounced, with the five rapes guarding all the main ports and routes inland, and military tenants holding land in the vicinity of the castles and along the main lines of communication. Jocelyn and William, the sons of Azor, and William son of Stur had been established on the Isle of Wight, and are likely to have been involved in the defence of the royal castle of Carisbrooke. On the Hampshire mainland, Hugh of Port's land protected Langstone and Portsmouth harbours and the approach to the royal borough of Southampton, and William Manduit had been established at Portchester. Royal castles at Wallingford and Windsor in Berkshire guarded important Thames crossings.

In the south-west, the rebellions in Exeter and Montacute and the raids by Harold's sons encouraged early Norman penetration. Earl William is likely to have been influential in Dorset and Somerset in the late 1060s. The Bishop of Coutances was also in the region by 1068, and by the time of the Domesday survey he held a large fief with concentrations of land to the north of the Taw, around Barnstaple, and between the rivers Yeo and Avon, spreading from Somerset into Gloucestershire and Wales. William of Mohun's land in the vicinity of Dunster Castle; the fiefs of Alfred d'Epaignes and Roger of Courseulles between the Quantock Hills and the River

Parrett; and Walter of Douai's compact lordship between the Parrett and the Yeo would have consolidated Norman control of the Somerset coastline. Likewise, the Dorset land of Hugh son of Grip and William of Braose in the vicinity of Corfe Castle and the Isle of Purbeck would have defended the southern coastline of Dorset.

William of Vauville served as sheriff of Devon and castellan of Exeter at an early date, and is likely to have possessed a substantial fief in the vicinity. By 1086 he had been replaced as sheriff by Baldwin of Meulles, who held a compact lordship concentrated in the vicinity of Exeter and Okehampton and guarding the route into Cornwall. Southern Devon was dominated by Judhael of Totnes, who held a compact block of land protecting all the main river estuaries along the south coast. Ralph of Pomeroy held a considerable amount of land both in chief and as a tenant of Baldwin, Judhael and the Count of Mortain, concentrated along the southern and northern coastlines of Devon. Count Brian of Brittany had been involved in repelling Harold's sons in 1069, and seems to have held a substantial fief in Devon and Cornwall prior to his departure in the late 1060s, when he was replaced by the Count of Mortain. The Count held large tracts of territory in the south-west, with concentrations around Montacute Castle in Somerset, along the south coast of Devon guarding the Avon and Erme estuaries, and between Okehampton and the northern coastline of Devon. He was also in control of most land in Cornwall, focused on Launceston Castle, where he possessed a considerable degree of autonomy. Reginald of Vautortes' land within the Mortain fee formed a compact coastal tenancy focused on the castle of Trematon, guarding the Tamar estuary and much of the surrounding coastline.

The fear of Welsh raids and the need to maintain the border and defend against internal rebellion led to the early creation of the three marcher earldoms. William fitz Osbern was probably established in Herefordshire soon after 1066 to continue Earl Harold's former role along the march, and all three marcher earls are likely to have been in place in the immediate aftermath of the Mercian rebellion of 1068, when the fear of an alliance between Welsh princes and Anglo-Saxon rebels had been realised. The extensive authority possessed by Earl Hugh, Earl Roger and Earl William, and their dominance of the tenurial landscape in their respective spheres, is a clear indication of the perceived sensitivity of the area. The earls had enfeoffed many of their followers with compact border fiefs designed to contain the Welsh threat and encourage offensive activity beyond the border. Frontier defence required a sustained military effort, and the hostile terrain and poor road network beyond the border meant that territorial gains were not easily made. Many of the vassals established along the march were young and ambitious men who had risen to eminence through service to their lords. As Davies noted, "Wales was not a land of easy opportunities or great rewards; such gains as could be made there could be won and retained only by continuing military effort and constant vigilance".[1]

Robert of Rhuddlan's tenancy in north-eastern Cheshire acted as a base for an aggressive campaign along the north coast of Wales, building castles at Rhuddlan and Deganwy and securing lordship over Rhos, Rhufoniog and Gwynedd. Earl Hugh's enfeoffment of Robert son of Hugh in the region around Malpas and across the border into Maelor Saesneg and Hugh son of Norman in Bistre and Maelor Cymraeg would have secured the approach to Chester from the south-west, and would have

[1] Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, 85.

facilitated Norman activity in Welsh districts like Iâl, Nanheudwy and Edeyrnion. Tenancies more removed from the Welsh border, like those of William Malbank in Nantwich, Hamo of Mascy at Dunham Massey and William son of Nigel at Halton, may have been established to provide manpower and resources for military campaigns further west, and to protect vulnerable communication routes and ensure the continued acceptance of Norman rule among the local population.

In Shropshire, Warin the Bald had been established at Oswestry Castle, and Norman overlordship was recognised across the border in the Welsh districts of Cynllaith, Edeyrnion and Nanheudwy. Earl Roger's castle of Montgomery acted as a base for offensive activity up the Severn valley into mid-Wales, and the military support of the Corbet brothers in the region may have been crucial in the subjection of the Welsh districts of Ceri, Cydewain and Arwystli to Norman overlordship. The compact tenancies of Osbern son of Richard, Picot of Sai, Ralph of Mortimer and Roger of Lacy, focused on Richard's Castle, Clun, Wigmore Castle and Weobley respectively, would have secured the Welsh border in southern Shropshire and across into Herefordshire. Roger of Lacy's possession of land in the castleries of Clifford, Ewyas Harold, Ewyas Lacy and Chepstow emphasises the key military role that the Lacy family played along the Welsh March. Clifford and Ewyas Harold, held by Ralph of Tosny and Alfred of Marlborough, were crucial in the protection of Archenfield, Ewias and the invasion route from Abergavenny through the Wye Gap. In the far south of the march, the castlery of Chepstow, granted to Ralph of Limésy by Earl William, would have been vital in spearheading the Norman penetration of Gwent. Caerleon, which lay deeper in Welsh territory, was held in 1086 by William of Ecouis, and Thurstan son of Rolf's land beyond the Usk is testimony to the extent of the Norman advance into south Wales. The tributary payment of £40 from 'Rhys of Wales' may have been extracted during the Conqueror's visit to St. Davids in 1081, which led to the lull in offensive activity in south Wales during the remainder of his reign.

In Yorkshire, as early as 1069 there was a Norman presence, although not necessarily a strong one, as far north as Yarm on the River Tees, where the sheriff of Yorkshire, William Malet, had acquired the former land of Havarthr. The effective imposition of Norman rule in Yorkshire and Northumbria was crucial to the maintenance of the Conqueror's position in England. Longstanding hostility to rule from the south, the willingness of the Scottish king to harbour those opposed to Norman rule and the Scandinavian sympathies of the Anglo-Danish population of Yorkshire made the area an early focus for opposition to Norman rule, as the rebellions of 1068 and 1069 in association with Swein of Denmark demonstrated. In response to such threats, William Malet appears to have acquired an extensive estate in the vicinity of York, spreading east into Holderness and north towards the Tees. Robert son of Richard and William fitz Osbern were also early settlers in Yorkshire, taking charge of the castles that were constructed in York and no doubt gaining land in the vicinity to resource their defence. The early establishment of men like William of Warenne at Conisborough; Hugh fitz Baldric, Osbern of Arques and William of Percy around York; and Earl Hugh at Whitby would have helped to block the easiest exits from the Pennines, secure the Vale of York and protect the north-eastern coastline and Humber estuary. The construction of the great lordships of Tickhill, Holderness, Pontefract and Richmond in the wake of the harrying is a clear indication of the Conqueror's intention to defend the north through the development of continental-style castleries dominating large stretches of territory on the edges of the kingdom. A

similar intention no doubt lay behind Roger of Poitou's evolving dominance of the region to the west of the Pennines.

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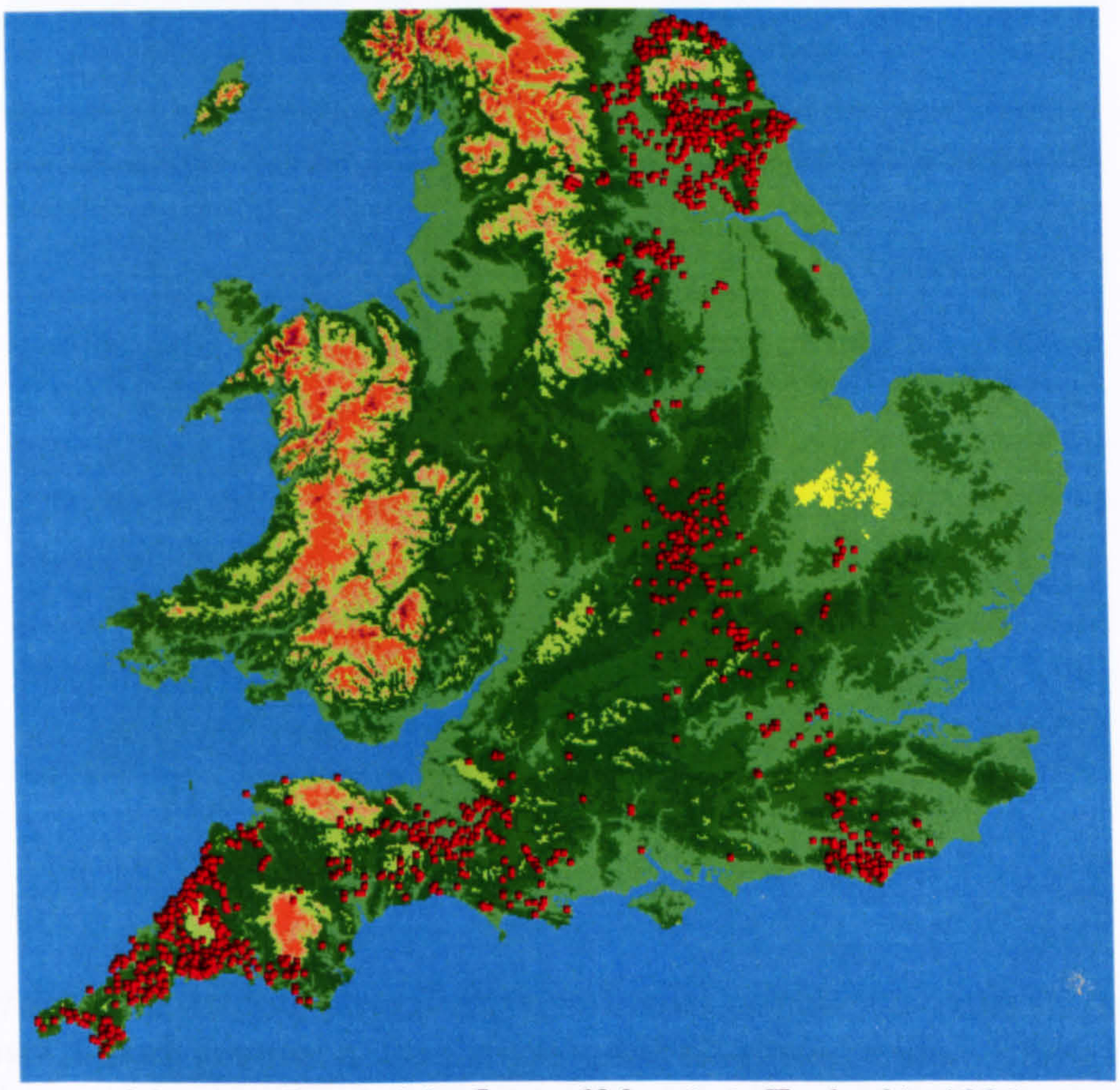
An examination of England as a whole highlights that some of the Conqueror's most prominent followers were involved in defending large tracts of vulnerable territory in a variety of exposed regions. The Count of Mortain, for instance, held distinct blocks of territory in the south-west, in Sussex and in Yorkshire, with land in the midlands perhaps providing a link.



Map 114: Land of the Count of Mortain in England in 1086

Odo of Bayeux simultaneously controlled the coastlines of Kent and Lincolnshire, in addition to a large amount of land in the midlands, and Roger of Montgomery controlled both his Sussex rape and his earldom of Shropshire. The former possessions of William fitz Osbern are likely to have been equally extensive, including his land in southern England, along the Welsh March and in Yorkshire. The Lacy fief was divided between Pontefract in Yorkshire and Weobley in Herefordshire, both areas of particular vulnerability. Such men are likely to have possessed extensive military and governmental responsibilities, both in England and on the continent, and it was on such fiefs that the process of subinfeudation tended to be more advanced. Tenancies were often concentrated in the vicinity of castles and along important lines of communication, implying a military motive behind their enfeoffments. Although most fiefs contained manors and tenancies of no likely military significance, this in no way undermines the argument that the general

outlook of many fiefs was essentially military.[2] Men whose estates were more modest and confined to a more limited area were more likely to retain a greater proportion of their land in demesne, as the low levels of subinfeudation on the fiefs of Hugh son of Osbern and Osbern son of Richard along the Welsh March highlights.

Map 115: Land of the Lacy family in England in 1086

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The prevalence of territorial fees in exposed border and maritime regions was in many cases in stark contrast to the pre-Conquest situation. In areas where overlordship was consistently recorded in Domesday Book, in particular in the south-east, it is clear that there had been a considerable consolidation of landholding after the Conquest. Before 1066, large parts of the south-east had been under the control of numerous minor royal thanes with few and often scattered possessions, yet by 1086 control had been concentrated in the hands of a few prominent tenants-in-chief, who held compact lordships deliberately designed to protect all the main ports and routes to London from the coast. Although the Domesday evidence is less explicit, scattered Anglo-Saxon estates in other vulnerable parts of the kingdom appear to have been reorganised to form larger military lordships. Antecessorial succession, where it did occur, often operated within strict geographical confines, with Norman tenants-in-chief only gaining part of a predecessor's estate within the area in which they were dominant. The fact that antecessorial succession was so significant in the formation of Count Alan's fief in Cambridgeshire yet of relative insignificance in the more exposed region of north Yorkshire confirms that defence needs were paramount in the organisation of settlement. Areas in which tenants-in-

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[2] As Lennard noted, "general dispersion was compatible with a considerable degree of local concentration". Lennard, *Rural England*, 30.

chief did gain the land of a named antecessor were often less exposed, as the numerous examples of antecessorial succession in Berkshire has highlighted.

Fleming's estimate that around 10% of English fiefs were of a compact and potentially military nature may be true of England as a whole, but along the south coast, the Welsh March and in the north, the percentage is likely to have been much higher.[3] Military considerations shaped the settlement of large parts of these regions, with numerous compact fiefs and sub-tenancies formed to aid the process of conquest and to ensure the subsequent security and stability of the Anglo-Norman kingdom. Although this settlement is unlikely to have formed part of a coordinated national defence strategy implemented from above by the Conqueror, it is fair to conclude that, in response to local defence needs, the south coast, the Welsh March and northern England were to a large extent societies organised for war.

[3] Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, 147.

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