The Estates of the Norman Dukes and the Norman Kings of England 911–1135

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of History of the University of Oxford for the degree of DPhil

Trinity Term 2022

Alexander Dymond

Corpus Christi College

Sat celeriter fieri quidquid fiat satis bene.

Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*

Acknowledgements

Having completed my doctoral thesis, I should like to acknowledge debts of sincere gratitude to many people who have helped me in my studies.

I have been extraordinarily fortunate in my teachers. At school, Don Evans and Tim Amann nurtured a love for history and learning more generally. As an undergraduate at King's College London, I benefited from being exposed to several brilliant medievalists, including David Carpenter, Alice Rio, Alice Taylor, and Peter Heather. Of all my teachers, however, I owe the most profound debt to Stephen Baxter, whose Norman Conquest Special Subject awoke my passion for medieval history and set me on the path to post-graduate studies under his supervision. Stephen's intellectual vigour, dynamic teaching, and high expectations gave me the confidence and inspiration to think and write critically about the subject. I am very grateful for his close reading of my work and continued patience while I endeavoured to take account of his constructive criticism.

I could not have undertaken doctoral work without generous funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council in the form of a studentship attached to the Exon Domesday Project. I extend thanks to the AHRC and to Julia Crick, Peter Stokes, Chris Lewis, Francisco Álvarez López, Geoffroy Noël, Frank Thorn, and Lois Lane. Stephen and I worked happily alongside these project members and my thesis benefited from their collaborative efforts.

At Oxford, I could not have hoped for a better place to call home than Corpus Christi College. I am grateful to Corpus for providing additional funds to aid my research, notably in the form of a senior scholarship and a travel grant which allowed me to visit libraries and archives in Paris and Rouen. Moreover, as junior dean and MCR president, I had the pleasure of working with and getting to know many wonderful people, whom I should like to thank for providing me with a wealth of fond memories: David Armstrong, Stephen Bartlett, Julie

Blyth, Richard Carwardine, Rachel Clifford, Steven Cowley, Paul Dellar, Darran Evans, Liz Fisher, Trevor Greenaway, Stephen Harrison, Louisa Hotson, John Jackson, Alice Kelly, Krysztof Lewandowski, Lena Mazik, Alex Middleton, Helen Moore, Hannah Morgan, Robin Murphy, Andy Rolfe, Julian Reid, Nick Reid, David Russell, Joanna Snelling, Deborah Taylor, Sara Watson, and John Watts, who has especial thanks for being my college supervisor.

During my doctoral studies, I gratefully befriended many medieval scholars in Oxford and beyond to whom I owe my gratitude: Richard Allen, David Bates, John Blair, Hannah Boston, David X. Carpenter, Richard Sharpe, George Garnett, Laura Gathagan, Julia Smith, and Chris Wickham.

I owe great debts to my friends and family. Of all my friends, I thank, in particular, Jonathan Griffiths, Steve Lawler, and Dan Lewis. Jonathan proof-read parts of my thesis and, more importantly, shared in a great deal of fun during our time together at Corpus; Steve's unfailing optimism and zest for life always helped me look on the bright side; and Dan, my best friend, who tragically lost his life in 2019, continues to be a source of inspiration in my heart. My parents, Nick and Claire, my sister, Harriet, and my stepfather, Andrea, have supported me in ways too great to detail. Luckily, I was raised by people who allowed me the freedom to question and challenge, and nurtured the inquisitiveness that is so fundamental to history.

The greatest acknowledgement of gratitude goes to my girlfriend, Katie Poulter, who, above all others, helped me pursue this considerable endeavour. Without Katie's unconditional and perennial love and support, I would not have been able to complete my doctoral studies. She is simply my *sine qua non*, and it is to her that this thesis is dedicated with love.

APD
Corpus Christi College, Oxford
2022

Contents

Abstracts i

Short Abstract i

Long Abstract ii

List of Maps x

List of Tables xi

Abbreviations xii

Notes on Domesday Referencing xvi

Introduction 1

1. The Evidence for Norman Ducal Land 14

The Charters 14

The Narrative Accounts 33

The Interpretation of Ducal Land Distribution 37

2. The Ducal Estates in Normandy, 911–1035 46

The Fate of the Frankish Royal *Fisc* in Normandy 46

Early Ducal Land and the Formation of Normandy 63

Ducal Patronage and Political Conflict in Early Normandy 81

3. The Ducal Estates in Normandy, 1035–1106 94

Ducal Land under William the Conqueror and Robert Curthose 94

Ducal Patronage and Political Conflict in Normandy 114

4. The Domesday Evidence for English Royal Land 134

The Meaning of Domesday Values 136

The Constituents of Domesday Values 148

The Beneficiary of Domesday Values 160

5. The English Royal Estates, 1066–87 171

The Royal Estates in 1066 172

The Royal Estates in 1086 184

The Conquest's Impact on Royal Land Conceptualization 198

The Conqueror's *Antecessores*: The Formation of the *Terra Regis* 211

6. The English Royal Estates, 1087–1135 233

Historiographical Overview 234

The 1130 Pipe Roll 237

The East Midlands Surveys 251

The Royal Charters 263

Conclusion 281

Bibliography 297

Primary Sources 297

Secondary Sources 301

Abstracts

Short Abstract

This thesis examines the Norman ducal estates between 911 and 1106 and the English royal estates between 1066 and 1135. The stability and cohesion of these polities, during a period in which socio-political changes led to political decentralization in western Europe, is often explained by the strength of Norman and English institutions. This thesis argues that such institutions were built upon the tangible foundations of wealth and authority provided by the ducal and royal estates. The Introduction sets out the research questions, sketches the source material, and situates the thesis within the existing literature. Chapter 1 discusses the Norman evidence, and the methodological challenges it poses, for reconstructing ducal land. Chapter 2 analyses the early ducal estates between 911 and 1035, demonstrating their geographical distribution within Normandy and the fundamental role they played in the duchy's formation. Chapter 3 continues the analysis of the ducal estates down to 1106 and discusses how they fit into the duchy's wider tenurial framework by comparing them with the estates of the Norman aristocracy. Chapter 4 turns to England and explains how Domesday Book is used to identify, reconstruct, and estimate the value of the royal estates under the Confessor and the Conqueror. Chapter 5 demonstrates that royal land doubled in size between 1066 and 1086 but was also conceptually transformed by the conquest. By examining the Conqueror's *antecessores* and the narrative accounts, Chapter 5 reconstructs the chronology and process by which this transformation occurred. Chapter 6 looks at the royal demesne under the Conqueror's sons, who, out of political necessity, granted out considerable portions of Domesday's *terra regis*, reducing it to its pre-conquest value. The Conclusion summarizes the principal findings of the thesis, emphasizing the importance of land in underpinning ducal and royal power to shape political structures in Normandy and England. Three appendices, in a separate volume, tabulate the data behind the analysis.

Long Abstract

This thesis examines the Norman ducal estates between 911 and 1106 and the English royal estates between 1042 and 1135. It seeks to determine the scale and extent of the ducal and royal estates, to analyse their geographical and chronological evolution, and to understand better the foundation of Norman ducal and English royal wealth and authority. Much of the scholarship concerned with medieval government and politics has been institutional in focus. However, this thesis explores the fundamental relationship between land, power, and political structures in Normandy and England. It argues that ducal and royal land had a determinative impact on state formation, institutional development, and stability in Normandy and England, and was the primary source and most tangible basis of the political authority wielded by the dukes and kings. Their estates provided them with a physical presence throughout their realms and gave them scope for exercising patronage, building political structures, and incentivizing elites to follow them, acknowledge their lordship, and participate in assembly politics.

The Introduction poses a series of specific research questions regarding the ducal and royal estates and explains how and in what order they are tackled. It introduces the primary sources and the problems they pose, situates the thesis within the existing literature and historiographical debates, and outlines the structure of the thesis.

Since the Second World War, historians have repeatedly called for a comprehensive survey of the Norman ducal estates. This thesis aims to fill this significant lacuna in Norman scholarship with a systematic reconstruction and analysis of ducal land. Chapter 1 examines the Norman evidence—principally charters supplemented by narrative accounts—and the methodological problems it poses, exploring how the sources can be used to identify ducal estates and how their evidence can be interpreted. This chapter closes by plotting all the evidence for the ducal estates together with non-ducal land confirmed by dukes between 911

and 1106, revealing the extent of ducal land and lordship, as well as the overall shape of Normandy.

Chapter 2 reconstructs the early ducal estates known before 1035. It begins by arguing that the Norman dukes took possession of much of the Frankish royal *fisc* within their realm, suggesting significant continuity between Carolingian Neustria and ducal Normandy. Most historians have argued that the ninth-century Frankish administrative apparatus was largely maintained, or quickly re-established, after 911. Some, however, have questioned this, emphasizing Scandinavian influence upon early Normandy, and rejecting the notion that the duchy was built upon Carolingian power structures. This thesis contributes to this debate by tabulating and mapping Frankish royal estates in Neustria and showing that many of them were later held and controlled by Norman dukes.

Chapter 2 then investigates the role that ducal land played in Normandy's formation. Early work on this subject used the narrative accounts of Flodoard of Reims and Dudo of Saint-Quentin to argue that the Normans expanded westward immediately after King Ralph of France ceded these regions to them. Since then, historians have viewed these royal grants as merely the first step in a process which was not complete until the end of the tenth century. However, this consensus has recently been questioned by some historians, who have suggested that the process was more protracted and continued well into the eleventh century. This chapter maps the chronological and geographical evolution of the early ducal estates and demonstrates that the dukes had a significant landed presence in the west by the end of the tenth century, strengthening the consensus view.

The closing section of Chapter 2 shows that the early dukes exercised close control over their estates, granting them out for patronage and often taking them back into ducal control when possible in this formative period. Land was fundamental to the relationship between the duke and the aristocracy—which included members of his own family—but it has been less

discussed in connection with the crystallization of ducal power in Normandy. This chapter explores the early ducal policy towards land by studying what the narrative accounts reveal about ducal patronage, succession, political conflict, and the forfeiture of estates before 1035.

Chapter 3 examines the evidence relating to the reigns of William the Conqueror and Robert Curthose. The first section continues the reconstruction of ducal land, completing the general impression of its distribution down to 1106. Particular attention is paid to the regions lacking in evidence of ducal estates, and it is revealed that gaps in the ducal pattern are sometimes filled with the estates of Normandy's aristocratic families. The tenurial fabric of Normandy in this period shows that the dukes were in a powerful position relative to the aristocracy and that they exercised some control over the distribution of aristocratic land.

Chapter 3's second section discusses ducal patronage and political conflict after 1035, and demonstrates that ducal authority over the aristocracy remained relatively strong in this period. This helps to explain why Normandy did not experience a period of acute socio-political fragmentation or decentralization around the year 1000, as has been postulated for other regions in France. The feudal revolution—or mutation—model posits that the public institutions and order of the Carolingians, which survived the disintegration of the Frankish empire *c.*900, disappeared irreversibly around a century later, giving way to a new private order of castellans and knights, who exercised power through violence within a framework of localized and personal lordship. Any comparison between 'Carolingian' and 'feudal' structures of power in Normandy is difficult. The duchy did not exist in the ninth century and the evidence for early Normandy in the tenth century is scarce. As a territorial principality that emerged in the early tenth century, during the crisis of Carolingian kingship, Normandy was a product of the political fragmentation intrinsic to this transformation. However, this process did not continue to unfold within the duchy or lead to a protracted collapse of ducal authority. Since the ducal estates remained widespread throughout Normandy, and because

dukes exercised a significant measure of control over elite landholding, aristocrats could not carve out concentrated cohesive lordships within the duchy, and power crystallized at the ducal level instead. An examination of the evidence in the narrative sources for political conflict under the Conqueror confirms that, despite some instability, ducal authority remained strong and ducal Normandy emerged as a powerful and cohesive polity during this period, not least because conflict was often channelled towards and focused on the duke, forcing aristocratic feud and violence down centripetal lines.

The second half of the thesis examines the English royal estates between 1066 and 1135. Chapter 4 addresses the problems Domesday Book poses for reconstructing the English royal estates and demonstrates how Domesday values can be interpreted to estimate royal land revenue. Historians have debated whether the value represents the total income generated by the manor or just a portion of the income, such as that from demesne farming, cash rents paid by the tenanted peasantry, or soke dues. The contention here is that the Domesday value estimated the entirety of a manor's annual income including all sources of profit for its lord. Furthermore, the chapter proposes a solution to the problem of identifying the intended beneficiary of the value. It argues that while the value of royal demesne manors can usually be attributed directly to the king, the value of royal land held by other individuals should be attributed to the tenant holding it. Chapter 4 closes with a statement on how the total revenue from the royal estates can be calculated from Domesday Book.

Chapter 5 analyses the royal estates in conquered England and explores how the Conqueror's *terra regis* was constituted. First, it presents a new estimate for the Confessor's royal estates, calculated using the shared database behind the digital resource, *PASE Domesday*, confirming that King Edward was the wealthiest landholder in his kingdom as the recent historiographical consensus has suggested. Also, the spatial distribution of the estates held by King Edward and Queen Edith is mapped according to their TRE values, showing that

the royal estates spread throughout the kingdom but were slightly more concentrated in Wessex and the southern Midlands.

Having established the value and scale of the pre-conquest royal estates, Chapter 5 turns to William the Conqueror's royal demesne in 1086. It presents a new figure for Domesday's *terra regis*, calculated and analysed using *PASE Domesday*'s database as a starting point. It estimates that the value of the royal estates doubled as a result of the Norman conquest. Moreover, the landed wealth inequality between the king and the greatest magnates increased considerably. This represented a transformation of the royal demesne between 1066 and 1086. Mapping and spatially analysing the Conqueror's *terra regis* reveals that the royal demesne remained the only 'nationwide' estate. Chapter 5 shows that the honors of the greatest secular magnates in Norman England were usually spread over wide regions and that even those concentrated blocs of estates, such as those on the Welsh march, were anchored to the kingdom with estates dispersed throughout England. The tenurial landscape of conquered England mirrors the pattern observed in Normandy, lending further weight to the notion that the dukes exercised a level of control over the tenurial landscape of the duchy as well.

Chapter 5's third section discusses the impact the Norman conquest had upon royal land conceptualization in England. It does this largely through an examination of the categorization of royal land in Exon and Little Domesday Book and shows that, while some notion of different types of royal estate might have remained in memory in 1086, the conquest had conceptually transformed royal land, rendering different types of royal estate obsolete after 1066.

The closing section of Chapter 5 attempts to reconstruct the process and chronology of the formation of the Conqueror's *terra regis*. This overlooked aspect of the history of the Norman conquest and of the royal demesne is addressed by identifying the Conqueror's *antecessores*—

the individuals who held *terra regis* estates before the conquest. Some of King William's *antecessores* survived for a period after 1066, such the Leofricson earls, Edwin and Morcar, the women of Godwine's family, Queen Edith and Countess Gytha, and Archbishop Stigand. The thesis suggests when and how their land fell to the Conqueror and what he did with it thereafter. This analysis suggests that the Conqueror closely controlled the takeover of land in England during the years after 1066.

Chapter 6 looks beyond Domesday and explores what happened to the royal demesne after 1086. Several historians have considered the descent of the *terra regis* after the Conqueror's death. Early work suggested that William Rufus and Henry I largely maintained Domesday's *terra regis* and that the relatively low royal demesne revenues recorded in Henry II's pipe rolls were the result of considerable grants of royal land made by Stephen. However, subsequent work has used Henry I's pipe roll for 1130, contemporaneous twelfth-century surveys from the Midlands, and the royal charters to argue that a diminution of royal land had occurred under Rufus and Henry. Some, however, remained unconvinced by this. Southern, in particular, challenged the view that considerable amounts of royal demesne had been granted away between 1087 and 1135, pointing out problems in making comparisons between Domesday Book and the early twelfth-century evidence. He argued that Rufus and Henry were never in serious difficulties that would have necessitated significant royal demesne grants and suggested that baronial forfeitures provided plentiful opportunities to replenish the *terra regis* and exercise patronage.

The first section of Chapter 6 offers a critical review of this literature, and the rest of the chapter presents a comprehensive analysis of the evidence for the descent of the royal demesne between 1087 and 1135, examining, in turn, the 1130 pipe roll, the twelfth-century regional surveys, and the royal charters. The section on the pipe roll demonstrates that this source can be usefully compared with Domesday Book. It estimates that the expected income

from the royal demesne in 1130 was around half of what was expected in 1086, but was similar to what King Edward could expect in 1066. The regional surveys strengthen the impression provided by the pipe roll that a considerable amount of royal land had been granted away before Henry I's death in 1135. The closing section examines the royal charters and asks what they reveal about the royal estates and royal grants under the Conqueror's sons. It demonstrates that most of the land granted by William Rufus and Henry had been *terra regis* in 1086 according to Domesday Book, though a significant minority of the estates granted by royal charter had been baronial land under the Conqueror. The intensification of royal lordship in Norman England meant that more baronial land came under royal control more regularly for exploitation. However, the continued use of royal land to reward followers after 1087, and indeed before, suggests that kings could not rely on recycling and redistribution of baronial honors because, even in cases of forfeiture, there remained the expectation that confiscated land would ultimately descend through heirs. The Conqueror's sons granted considerable amounts of royal land because they were less politically secure than their father had been, and competition for control of the Anglo-Norman realm compelled them to buy favour through grants of land. In addition, the landed takeover of England was largely complete by 1087 and, as such, Rufus and Henry enjoyed dramatically less scope for patronage than the Conqueror had enjoyed after 1066. The royal charter evidence also shows that Rufus and Henry granted royal estates that had been held by the Confessor, including some of those described in Domesday as pertaining to the realm or to the king. This suggests that any distinction between inalienable estates annexed to the kingdom and the king's familial land which seemingly existed before the Norman conquest did not survive thereafter.

The thesis concludes by summarizing the findings of the research. In particular, the conclusion draws attention to the relationship between land, state-formation, and the coherence, strength, and maintenance of political authority in this period. The ducal and

royal estates provided the Norman dukes and kings with the tangible foundation of their significant wealth and authority in this period. The widespread distribution of their land, and the considerable revenue they derived from it, provided the dukes and kings with an unrivalled physical presence and unmatched wealth within their realms. Domesday Book proves beyond doubt that this was the case in conquered England, and it seems from the relative scale and extent of the ducal estates that it was also the case in Normandy. Moreover, this study demonstrates the fundamental role ducal and royal land played in the construction, maintenance, and strength of the political structures in Normandy and England.

Three appendices, attached in a separate volume, tabulate the data behind the analysis. Appendix A tabulates Norman ducal land, 911–1135; Appendix B tabulates Capetian royal land, 987–1137; Appendix C tabulates English royal grants of land, 1087–1135.

List of Maps

Map 1. Ducal Land and Non-Ducal Estates Confirmed by Dukes, 911–1106 39

Map 2. Whole and Partial Grants of Ducal Land, 911–1106 45

Map 3. Frankish Royal *Fisc* in Neustria and its Descent in Normandy 62

Map 4. The Ducal Estates of Rollo, 911–27 65

Map 5. The Ducal Estates of William Longsword, 927–42 66

Map 6. The Ducal Estates of Richard I, 942–96 71

Map 7. The Ducal Estates of Richard II, 996–1026 77

Map 8. The Ducal Estates of Richard III, 1026–7 78

Map 9. The Ducal Estates of Robert I, 1027–35 79

Map 10. The Ducal Estates of William the Conqueror, 1035–87 111

Map 11. The Ducal Estates, 911–1106 112

Map 12. Ducal Land and Selected Aristocratic Estates 113

Map 13. The Royal Estates in 1066 179

Map 14. The Estates of King Edward and Queen Edith in 1066 180

Map 15. The Royal Estates in 1086 195

Map 16. The Royal Estates and Selected Aristocratic Land in 1086 196

Map 17. The Conqueror's *Antecessores*: The English Royal Family 214

Map 18. The Conqueror's *Antecessores*: Earl Godwine's Family 215

Map 19. The Conqueror's *Antecessores*: Earl Leofric's Family 216

Map 20. The Descent of Archbishop Stigand's Land by 1086 229

Map 21. The Royal Estates, 1087–1135 267

List of Tables

Table 1. The Frankish Royal *Fisc* and its Descent in Normandy 55

Table 2. St Paul's Estate Values, 1086 and 1181 152

Table 3. Bury St Edmunds Values 154

Table 4. Valuations of King Edward's Royal Estates in 1066 172

Table 5. The Relative Landed Wealth of King Edward and his Earls in 1066 173

Table 6. Distribution of Landed Wealth among the Greatest TRE Landholders 176

Table 7. Royal Land Revenue by Shire in 1066 178

Table 8. Historians' Valuations of the Royal Estates in 1086 186

Table 9. Royal Land Revenue by Shire in 1086 188

Table 10. Distribution of Landed Wealth among the Greatest TRW Landholders 192

Table 11. The *Antecessores* of the Conqueror's *Terra Regis* 212

Table 12. A Selection of Stigand's Estates and Successors 231

Table 13. The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I: items from the fiscal year 1129–30 240

Table 14. The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I: items carried over from previous years 241

Table 15. The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I: totals for all years 242

Table 16. Expected Royal Demesne Revenue: Domesday Book and the Pipe Roll 248

Table 17. Expected Royal Demesne Revenue: Domesday Book and the Pipe Roll 249

Table 18. The Royal Demesne in Leicestershire: 1086 and 1125x30 256

Table 19. The Royal Demesne in Lindsey: 1086 and 1115x18 262

Table 20. Estimated Values of Episcopal Vacancies, 1087–1135 271

Abbreviations

AHR	*American Historical Review*
AN	*Annales de Normandie*
ANS	*Anglo-Norman Studies* (formerly *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies*)
ARF	*Annales Regni Francorum*, ed. F. Kurze, *MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (Hannover, 1895); *Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals*, trans. B.W. Scholz with B. Rogers (Ann Arbor, MI, 1970)
ASB	*Les Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. F. Grat, J. Vielliard, S. Clémencet, L. Levillain (Paris, 1964); *The Annals of St-Bertin*, ed. and trans. J.L. Nelson (Manchester, 1991)
ASC	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, ed. D.M. Dumville and S. Keynes (Cambridge, 1983–); *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, ed. D. Whitelock with D.C. Douglas and S.I. Tucker (London, 1961)
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
B	*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066–1087)*, ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998)
BdF	*Beihefte der Francia*
BEC	*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*
BNJ	*British Numismatic Journal*
BSAN	*Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie*
Carmen	*The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy, Bishop of Amiens*, ed. and trans. F. Barlow, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1999)
Dudo, *History*	Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. E. Christiansen (Woodbridge, 1998)
Dudo, *Historia*	Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. J. Lair (Caen, 1865)
Eadmer, *Historia*	*Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule (London, 1884)

Eadmer, *History*	*Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England*, trans. G. Bosanquet (London, 1964)
EHD 2	*English Historical Documents 1042–1189*, ed. D.C. Douglas and G.W. Greenaway, 2nd edn. (London, 1981)
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*
Exon	*Exon: The Domesday Survey of South-West England*, trans. F. Thorn and ed. P.A. Stokes and J. Crick (London, 2018): https://www.exondomesday.ac.uk/digipal/search/facets/
F	*Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911–1066*, ed. M. Fauroux (Caen, 1961)
Flodoard, *Annales*	*Les Annales de Flodoard*, ed. Ph. Lauer (Paris, 1905)
Flodoard, *Annals*	*The Annals of Flodoard of Reims, 919–966*, ed. and trans. S. Fanning and B.S. Bachrach (Toronto, 2004)
GDB	*Great Domesday Book*, ed. A Williams and R.W.H. Erskine (London, 1986–92)
GG	*The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. and trans. R.H.C. Davis and M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1998)
GND	*The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. and trans. E. van Houts, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1992–5)
GP	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2007)
GR	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans, R.A.B Mynors, R.M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998–9)
H1	Acts of Henry I published on *The Acts of William II and Henry I*, ed. and trans. R. Sharpe and D.X. Carpenter: https://actswilliam2henry1.wordpress.com/the-charters/
HA	Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996)

Haskins, *NI*	C.H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, MA, 1918)
HEA	*Historia Ecclesie Abbendonensis: The History of the Church of Abingdon*, ed. J. Hudson, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2002–7)
Historia Novella	William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, ed. E. King and trans. K.R. Potter (Oxford, 1998)
HR	*Historical Research*
HRA	*Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia Volume 2: Historia Regum Anglorum*, ed. T. Arnold (Cambridge, 2012)
HSJ	*Haskins Society Journal*
ICC	*Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis Subjicitur Inquisitio Eliensis*, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton (London, 1876)
IE	*Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis Subjicitur Inquisitio Eliensis*, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton (London, 1876)
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History*
JW	*The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. R.R. Darlington and P. McGurk, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1995–8)
LDB	*Little Domesday Book*, ed. A Williams and R.W.H. Erskine (2000)
LDE	Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, ecclesie*, ed. and trans. D.W. Rollason (Oxford, 2000)
Maitland, *DBB*	F.W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond: Three Essays in the Early History of England*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1987)
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
OV	*The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969–80)
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
P&P	*Past and Present*
PR 31 Henry I (Green)	*The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirty First Year of the Reign of King Henry I Michaelmas 1130 (Pipe Roll 1)*, ed. J.A. Green (London, 2012)

PR 31 Henry I (Hunter)	*The pipe roll of 31 Henry I, Michaelmas, 1130: reproduced in facsimile from the edition of 1833*, ed. J. Hunter (London, 1929)
RACC	*Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France (840–877)*, ed. A. Giry, M. Prou, and G. Tessier, 3 vols. (Paris, 1943–55)
RRAN	*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154*, 3 vols. ed. H.W.C Davis, C. Johnson, H.A. Cronne, and R.H.C. Davis (Oxford, 1913–68)
RHDFE	*Revue Historique de droit français et étranger*
Round, *FE*	J.H. Round, *Feudal England* (London, 1895)
RT	*The Chronography of Robert of Torigni*, ed. T.N. Bisson, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2020)
S	*Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (London, 1986): http://www.esawyer.org.uk/about/index.html
SCISAM	*Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*
SCRIPTA	*Site Caennais de Recherche Informatique et de Publications des Textes Anciens*, ed. P. Bauduin: https://www.unicaen.fr/scripta/pages/index.html
TRE	*tempore regis Eadwardi*, 'in King Edward's time'
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
TRW	*tempore regis Willelmi*, 'in King William's time'
VCH	*The Victoria History of the Counties of England* (London, 1900–)
VÆdR	*Vita Ædwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit*, ed. and trans. F. Barlow, *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1992)
W2	Acts of William II on *The Acts of William II and Henry I*, ed. and trans. R. Sharpe and D.X. Carpenter: https://actswilliam2henry1.wordpress.com/the-charters/
Wace	*The History of the Norman People: Wace's Roman de Rou*, ed. and trans. G.S. Burgess and E. van Houts (Woodbridge, 2004)

Notes on Domesday Referencing

Domesday Book is cited by manuscript folio and the corresponding Phillimore reference in parentheses. For example, 'GDB 238 (Warwickshire 1:7)'.

Exon Domesday Book is cited by folio and individual entry. For example, 'Exon 25a1': https://www.exondomesday.ac.uk/editorial-conventions/editorial-conventions-for-the-latin-text/.

Introduction

This thesis reconstructs the land of the dukes of Normandy and the kings of England between 911 and 1135. It seeks to determine and analyse the scale and extent of the ducal and royal estates and how their geographical distribution evolved over time, and it calculates the revenue derived from the English royal demesne and explores how this changed between 1066 and 1135. On a more fundamental level, the thesis asks questions about the relationship between land, political authority, and the coherence and viability of polities in this period. Much of the literature concerned with medieval state-formation has tended to be institutional in focus. However, historians are becoming increasingly alert to the importance of the politics of land in this connection and its determinative impact on institutional development and stability.[1] This thesis investigates the role land played in providing rulers with a physical presence within their realm and a tangible basis for their rule. It also looks at how estates influenced a ruler's relationship with the aristocracy, giving them scope for patronage through which they could incentivize others to follow them, acknowledge their lordship, and participate in assembly politics.

This introduction poses a series of pertinent research questions and explains how and in what order they are tackled thus outlining the structure of the thesis. In doing so, the relevant primary sources are sketched and the project is situated within the existing secondary

[1] C. Wickham and T. Reuter, 'Introduction', and W. Davies and P. Fouracre, 'Conclusion', in *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. W. Davies and P. Fouracre (Cambridge, 1995), 1–16, 245–71; S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900–1300*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1997), 219–26, 229–30, 250–1, 260–1, 265–5; J. Dunbabin, 'West Francia: The Kingdom', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History III c.900–c.1024*, ed. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), and D. Bates, 'West Francia: the northern principalities', 372–4, 390–7, 403–5, 413–5; J. Dunbabin, *France in the Making 843–1180* 2nd edn. (Oxford, 2000), 133–66, 260–4, 296–9; C.B. Bouchard, 'The Kingdom of the Franks to 1108', and J.W. Baldwin, 'The Kingdom of the Franks from Louis VI to Philip II: Crown and Government', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History IV c.1024–c.1198*, ed. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004); 128–30, 510–22; T. Reuter, 'Assembly Politics in Western Europe from the Eighth Century to the Twelfth', in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. J.L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006); C. Wickham, 'Problems in Doing Comparative History', in *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. P. Skinner (Turnhout, 2009); J.R. Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament 924–1327* (Oxford, 2010), 1–105, 380–94; E.M. Hallam and C. West, *Capetian France 987–1328*, 3rd edn. (London, 2020), 10, 26, 31, 139–40, 143–5, 148–9, 164–5.

literature and historiographical debates to which this thesis contributes. The first half of the thesis deals with Normandy, and the second half deals with England.

No attempt has hitherto been made systematically to reconstruct and analyse ducal land. Over seventy-five years ago, Musset expressed a desire for a survey of the *domaine ducal* in Normandy,[2] a call which has been subsequently echoed by Bates.[3] Hagger studied ducal power in the Cotentin and compiled a list of ducal estates in that region, and his methodology for identifying ducal estates inspired the approach developed here, but he has also observed that a more comprehensive survey remains a desideratum.[4] His recent thorough study of ducal government and authority in Normandy features maps of the distribution of the ducal estates, but it does not contain any dedicated analysis of ducal land.[5] This thesis aims to fill this significant lacuna in Norman scholarship. Chapter 1 asks whether there is sufficient evidence to reconstruct and map the ducal estates in an intelligible and meaningful way. It examines this evidence—principally charters supplemented by narrative accounts—and the methodological problems it poses for reconstructing ducal land.[6] In criticizing these sources, Chapter 1 explores how this material can be used to identify ducal estates, how the evidence can be plotted on maps, and how these maps can be interpreted. By plotting ducal land together with non-ducal estates confirmed by ducal charters, Chapter 1 shows not only where the ducal landed presence was strongest within Normandy, but also the overall shape of the duchy and the reach of ducal lordship.

Chapter 2 reconstructs and analyses the estates of the early dukes known before 1035. The chapter begins by asking what the evidence for ducal land reveals about the origins of Normandy and the extent of continuity between ninth-century Carolingian Neustria and the

---

[2] L. Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque et les destinées du régime domanial du IXe au XIe siècle', *BSAN* 49 (1942–5), 50.
[3] D. Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London, 1982), 152–3.
[4] M. Hagger, 'How the west was won: the Norman Dukes and the Cotentin, *c.*987–1087', *JMH* 38 (2012), 22.
[5] M. Hagger, *Norman Rule in Normandy, 911–1144* (Woodbridge, 2017).
[6] Below, 14–45.

ducal regime established in the tenth century. It is specifically concerned with the extent to which the royal *fisc* in Frankish Neustria passed to Norman dukes.[7] In the early twentieth century, Prentout and Haskins argued that the Normans quickly assimilated into Neustria and maintained much of the Frankish royal administrative apparatus.[8] Many historians, including Musset,[9] Yver,[10] and Bates,[11] have subsequently developed and strengthened the case for continuity after 911.[12] Some, however, have questioned this interpretation, emphasizing Scandinavian influence upon early Normandy and rejecting the notion that the duchy was built upon Carolingian institutions and Frankish power structures.[13] This thesis brings new evidence to bear upon this debate. Chapter 2 presents a table of royal estates in the region compiled by taking the evidence already assembled in two existing studies on Frankish land,[14] and combining it with a survey of the royal charters of Charles the Bald, king of West Francia from 840 to 877. Comparing this evidence for the Frankish *fisc* with the evidence for ducal land, the chapter asks how many of the royal estates in Neustria can be shown to have been ducal estates in Normandy. Mapping the evidence for the first time

---

[7] Below, 46–62.

[8] H. Prentout, *Essai sur les origines et la fondation du duché de Normandie* (Paris, 1911); Haskins, *NI*.

[9] L. Musset, 'Ruine et reconstitution d'une administration: de la Neustrie franque à la Normandie ducale', *RHDFE* 30 (1952); 'Aperçus sur la colonisation scandinave dans le nord du Cotentin', *Annuaire des cinq départements de la Normandie* 111 (1954); 'Les destinées de la propriété monastique durant les invasions normandes *(IXe–XIe siècles)*: l'exemple de Jumièges', *Jumièges: Congres scientifique du XIIIe centenaire* (Rouen, 1955); 'Que peut-on savoir de la fiscalité publique en Normandie à l'époque ducale?', *RHDFE* 38 (1960); 'Naissance de la Normandie (Ve–XIe siècles)', in *Histoire de la Normandie*, ed. M. de Boüard (Toulouse, 1970); 'Les apports scandinaves dans le plus ancien droit normand', in *Droit privé et institutions régionales: études historiques offertes à Jean Yver* (Paris, 1976); 'Origines et nature du pouvoir ducal en Normandie jusqu'au milieu du XIe siècle', *Actes des congres de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public* 4 (1979); 'Monachisme d'époque franque et monachisme d'époque ducale: le problème de la continuité', in *Aspects du monachisme en Normandie (IVe–XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. L. Musset (Paris, 1982); 'De la Neustrie carolingienne au duché de Normandie', in *La Neustrie: les pays au nord de la Loire de Dagobert à Charles le Chauve (VIIe–IXe siècles)*, ed. P. Périn and L.-C. Feffer (Rouen, 1985).

[10] J. Yver, 'Les premières institutions du duché de Normandie', *SCISAM* 16 (1969).

[11] Bates, *Normandy*, 10–13 15–24, 32, 36–8, 163, 179–80, 239–4.

[12] M. Hagger, 'The Norman *vicomte c.*1035–1135: What did he do?', *ANS* 29 (2007), 74–9, 82; E.Z. Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property in Eleventh-Century Norman Law* (London, 1988), 5, 273–4 note 36; C. Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (London, 2009), 440–1, 480; Hallam and West, *Capetian France*, 51–4.

[13] M. de Boüard, 'De la Neustrie Carolingienne à la Normandie Féodale: Continuité ou Discontinuité', *HR* 28 (1955); E. Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840–1066* (Berkeley, 1988), 3–8, 34–58; 'Frankish Rivalries and Norse Warriors', *ANS* 8 (1985). Also, see E. van Houts, 'Scandinavian Influence in Norman Literature of the Eleventh Century', *ANS* 6 (1983).

[14] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque'; J.W. Thompson, *The Dissolution of the Carolingian Fisc in the Ninth Century* (Berkeley, CA, 1935).

reveals the location of these royal estates, differentiating between those that did and did not pass to Norman dukes.

Chapter 2 then proceeds to ask what the evidence for the ducal estates reveals about Normandy's expansion and coherence. How and when did the duchy take form and what was its shape?[15] The chronology and the manner of the expansion of Norman power and authority beyond Rouen and the Seine valley heartland have been debated. Early work on this subject interpreted the slender but important narrative accounts of Flodoard of Reims and Dudo of Saint-Quentin as evidence that the Normans of the Seine took over central and western Normandy immediately after these regions were ceded to them by King Ralph in 924 and 933 respectively.[16] Since then, historians have tended to interpret these royal grants as giving rise to a process of Norman westward expansion, which was largely complete by the end of the tenth century.[17] However, this consensus has recently been questioned by Hagger, who has suggested that the west was not won until 1026,[18] and Davies, who has gone further, suggesting that the process was not finished until 1087.[19] By reconstructing and mapping the evidence for ducal land by reign down to 1035,[20] the chapter casts further light on how and when the duchy expanded and took form.

The closing section of Chapter 2 asks how ducal land was used for patronage and explores whether and how ducal estates that had been granted away could return to ducal control in this formative period. This fundamental aspect of the relationship between the duke and the

---

[15] Below, 63–81.
[16] J.-F. Lemarignier, *Recherches sur l'hommage en marche et les frontières féodales* (Lille, 1945), 10–1; D.C. Douglas, 'The Rise of Normandy', *PBA* (1947); *William the Conqueror: The Norman Impact upon England* (London, 1964), 16–9.
[17] J. Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (Oxford, 1976), 1–16, 283–4, 305–6; Bates, *Normandy*, xiv, 1–43, 265; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 68–90; P. Bauduin, *La première Normandie (X^e–XI^e siècles)*, 2nd edn. (Caen, 2006), 32–3, 61–93, 128–41.
[18] Hagger, 'How the west was won', 21, 25, 47.
[19] K. Davies, 'Winning the West: The Creation of Lower Normandy, *c.*889–*c.*1087', DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2016).
[20] All maps in this thesis have been produced using ArcGIS Desktop for Windows by ESRI: Environmental Systems Research Institute: https://www.esri.com/en-us/arcgis/about-arcgis/overview. The software was available to download from the University of Oxford's IT Services: https://register.it.ox.ac.uk/self/software.

aristocracy—which included members of his own family—has been less discussed in connection with the crystallization of ducal power in Normandy. Historians have tended to focus on institutions of ducal authority, although Garnett's study of early ducal succession, which discusses the implications of the inheritance of ducal land for the indivisibility of the duchy and the ducal title, is a notable exception.[21] This thesis explores the dukes' policy towards their estates when it came to management of their own family and the wider aristocracy. It does this by studying what the narrative accounts reveal about ducal patronage, succession to land, aristocratic conflict, and the forfeiture of estates.[22]

Chapter 3 completes the reconstruction of ducal land by exploring the evidence for the estates of William the Conqueror and Robert Curthose. It then asks how the distribution of the ducal estates fits into Normandy's wider tenurial landscape.[23] Paying particular attention to the regions of Normandy which are lacking in evidence of ducal landholding, this chapter asks how these gaps in the evidence might be explained. To help answer these questions, the estates of some of Normandy's aristocratic families are plotted alongside the ducal estates, providing an overall impression of landholding in Normandy and allowing for analysis of ducal power relative to the aristocracy.

Chapter 3 then turns to the evidence for ducal authority and aristocratic conflict after 1035 to determine whether the duchy experienced a period of socio-political fragmentation or decentralization approximate to the year 1000, as has been posited for other regions in France.[24] This controversy, known to many as the feudal revolution or mutation debate, was stimulated in the 1950s by a classic study of Burgundy by Duby, who argued that the public institutions and order of the Carolingians, which had survived the disintegration of the

[21] G. Garnett, 'Ducal Succession in Early Normandy', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy*, ed. G. Garnett and J. Hudson (Cambridge, 1994).
[22] Below, 81–93.
[23] Below, 94–113.
[24] Below, 114–33.

empire *c.*900, disappeared irreversibly around a century later and gave way to a new private order of castellan lords and knights who exercised power through fear and violence within a framework of localized and personal lordship.[25] Duby's ideas found favour with some historians who have applied the model to other regions of Francia and beyond.[26] However, others have challenged the idea that a radically new world came into being around the turn of the millennium. Notably, Barthélemy and White called for the feudal revolution model to be abandoned,[27] while Reuter regarded it as having particular relevance to West Francia and warned against treating it as a general European phenomenon.[28] Two historians, Wickham and West, have recently sought to reformulate the terms of the debate. Wickham has contended that major socio-political shifts did occur in much of western Europe during the period, 800–1150, stressing changing relationships between local aristocratic power and rulers, and the development of more explicit and formal personal bonds at the local level. He has also argued that the process of change could be very slow—therefore hardly revolutionary—and that it varied substantially in chronology, intensity, and extent region to

---

[25] G. Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953). Also, see his *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. A Goldhammer (Chicago, IL, 1980); *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. C. Postan (Berkeley, CA, 1977); *The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century*, trans. H. Clarke (London, 1974).

[26] P. Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle: croissance et mutations d'une société* (Toulouse, 1975); J.-P. Poly and E. Bournazel, *La mutation féodale, Xe–XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1980), trans. C. Higgett, *The Feudal Transformation 900–1200* (London, 1991); P. Bonnassie, *La Catalogne au tournant de l'an mil: Croissance et mutations d'une société* (Paris, 1990); *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 1991). G. Bois, *The Transformation of the Year 1000: The Village of Lournand from Antiquity to Feudalism*, trans. J. Birell (Manchester, 1992); T.N. Bisson, 'The "Feudal Revolution"', *P&P* 142 (1994); T.N. Bisson, 'Medieval Lordship', *Speculum* 70 (1995); D. Bates, 'Britain and France and the year 1000', *Franco-British Studies* 28 (1999); D. Bates, 'England and the "Feudal Revolution"', *SCISAM* 47 (2000); R.I. Moore, *The First European Revolution c.970–1215* (Oxford, 2000); A. Wareham, 'The "Feudal Revolution" in eleventh-century East Anglia', *ANS* 22 (2000); C. Bouchard, *Those of my Blood: Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia* (Philadelphia, PA, 2001); D. Bates, 'England around the year 1000', in *Hommes et sociétés dans l'Europe de l'an mil*, ed. P. Bonnassie and P. Toubert (Toulouse, 2004); R.E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c.890–1160* (Woodbridge, 2004); Bouchard, 'Kingdom of the Franks'; A. Wareham, *Lords and Communities in Early Medieval East Anglia* (Woodbridge, 2005); J.R. Strayer, *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton, NJ, 2005); T.N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton, NJ, 2009); S. Baxter, 'Lordship and Labour', in *A Social History of England, 900–1200*, ed. J. Crick and E. van Houts (Cambridge, 2011).

[27] D. Barthélemy, *La société dans le comte de Vendôme de l'an mil au XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1993); 'The "Feudal Revolution"', *P&P* 152 (1996); *La mutation de l'an mil, a-t-elle eu lieu? Servage et chevalerie dans la France des Xe et Xie siècles* (Paris, 1997); 'La mutation de l'an 1100', *Journal des Savants* (2005); *The Serf, the Knight, and the Historian*, trans. G. Robert Edwards (Ithaca, NY, 2009); *Nouvelle histoire des Capétiens, 987–1214* (Paris, 2012); S.D. White, 'The "Feudal Revolution"', *P&P* 152 (1996); *Re-thinking Kingship and Feudalism* (Aldershot, 2005).

[28] T. Reuter, 'The "Feudal Revolution"', *P&P* 155 (1997).

region.[29] West has acknowledged that this transformation worked at different levels and took place in different regions at different times and in different ways, and has argued that the shift, though radical, can be understood as a consequence, and indeed a continuation, of processes unleashed by the Carolingian reform movement.[30]

This thesis considers how Normandy fits into this debate by asking what the evidence for ducal land and patronage reveals about the nature and structure of ducal power during this period. Any comparison between 'Carolingian' and 'feudal' structures of power in the duchy, however, is complicated by two factors. First, Normandy did not exist in the ninth century; and second, there is very little evidence for early Normandy in the tenth century. Like its neighbours in West Francia, Normandy emerged as a territorial principality around 900, during the crisis of Carolingian kingship.[31] Therefore, Normandy can be seen as a product of the political fragmentation or decentralization intrinsic to this transformation. However, the process seemingly did not continue within the duchy leading to a collapse of ducal authority; instead, power crystallized at the ducal level, preserving ducal authority.

The second half of the thesis turns to Normandy's neighbour across the Channel and begins by asking how the English royal estates can be reconstructed. Chapter 4 explores Domesday Book and the problems it poses for reconstructing English royal land. Since Domesday's structure makes geographical identification of estates relatively straightforward, Chapter 4 is largely dedicated to a systematic analysis of Domesday values and how they can be

---

[29] C. Wickham, 'The Other Transition: From the Ancient World to Feudalism', *P&P* 103 (1984), reprised in his *Land and Power: Studies in Italian and European Social History, 400–1200* (London, 1994); 'Mutations et révolutions aux environs de l'an mil', *Médiévales* 21 (1991); 'The "Feudal Revolution"', *P&P* 155 (1997); *Inheritance of Rome*, 508–28; *Medieval Europe* (New Haven, CT, 2016), 64, 75–9, 99–120.

[30] C. West, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution: Political and Social Transformation between the Marne and the Moselle, c.800–c.1100* (Cambridge, 2013); Hallam and West, *Capetian France*, 4–5, 13–6, 21–3, 30–1, 33–6.

[31] J. Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France (IXe–Xe siècles)* (Bruges, 1948); R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987* (London, 1983), 228–339; Dunbabin, 'West Francia'; Bates, 'West Francia'; Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, 17–123; S. MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2003); M. Costambeys, M. Innes, and S. MacLean, *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2011), 419–35; Hallam and West, *Capetian France*, 33–79.

interpreted to estimate the total revenue of the royal demesne.[32] What do Domesday values mean? What are they valuing? And to whom should they be attributed? The first section of the chapter discusses the significance of Domesday values and explores whether they can be taken as accurate estimates of annual income. The question of what constituents make up the Domesday value has proved contentious. For some historians the value represents the total income generated by the entire manor, while for others it represents just the income from the demesne portion of the manor or just the cash rents paid by the tenanted peasantry of the manor. Narrower still is the view that Domesday values only took account of soke dues. The second section explores this controversy and proposes a solution.[33] The final aspect of the value discussed is the intended beneficiary. Specifically, Chapter 4 asks which values should be attributed to the king.[34] This is of particular concern when dealing with estates listed in the *terra regis* which were held by individuals other than the king. Did the income of such land go to the king or to the tenant holding it from him? Only after exploring this problem can the total revenue from the royal demesne be calculated from Domesday Book.

Having explored the meaning of Domesday's values, Chapter 5 reconstructs and analyses the royal estates from Domesday Book. The first section investigates the value and distribution of the royal demesne in 1066 and asks how King Edward's estates compared with those of England's leading magnates at that time.[35] The historiographical consensus, prevalent throughout much of the twentieth century, that the Confessor's landed wealth was closely rivalled, but not surpassed, by that of the family of Earl Godwine,[36] was challenged by

[32] Below, 134–48.
[33] Below, 148–60.
[34] Below, 160–70.
[35] Below, 172–84.
[36] W.J. Corbett, 'The Development of the Duchy of Normandy and the Norman Conquest of England', in *The Cambridge Medieval History* V, ed. J.R. Tanner, C.W. Previté-Orton, and Z.N. Brooke (Cambridge, 1926), 508; R.H. Davies, 'The Lands and Rights of Harold, son of Godwine, and their distribution by William I: A Study in the Domesday Evidence', MA dissertation (University of Cardiff, 1967), 3–4; F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*

Fleming, who argued that the landed wealth of Godwine's family outstripped that of the king.[37] Her hypothesis, that the Confessor's reign was destabilized and undermined by this overmighty aristocratic house, proved influential,[38] but the twenty-first century brought new interpretations. Grassi produced an estimate in excess of £8,000 for the value of King Edward's estates,[39] which was corroborated by independent calculations by Baxter, who questioned Fleming's methodology that led to her conclusion that the Godwinesons were wealthier than the Confessor.[40]

There has been less work on the distribution of King Edward's land, although it has been mapped. Hill produced a map of the pre-conquest royal estates with each estate represented by dots varying in size according to ploughland assessments.[41] More recently, Baxter has mapped Edward's estates according to their value.[42] Chapter 5 presents a new estimate for the Confessor's royal estates, calculated using the shared database behind the digital resource, *PASE Domesday*,[43] and compares this value with those of the leading magnates. Furthermore, King Edward's estates, together with those of Queen Edith, are mapped according to their TRE values and their distributions are spatially analysed.

Chapter 5 then reconstructs the value and distribution of William the Conqueror's royal estates and asks how they compared with the estates of Norman England's aristocracy in 1086.[44] In the early twentieth century, Ballard calculated the value of the Conqueror's estates,

(London and New Haven, CT, 1997), 153; D. Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1981), 105; P.A. Clarke, *The English Nobility under Edward the Confessor* (Oxford, 1994), 162.

[37] R. Fleming, 'Domesday Estates of the King and the Godwines: A Study in Late Saxon Politics', *Speculum* 58 (1983), 993; *Kings and Lords in Conquest England* (Cambridge, 1991), 68–71, 102.

[38] F. Barlow, *The Godwins: The Rise and Fall of a Noble Dynasty* (London, 2002), 60.

[39] J.L. Grassi 'The Lands and Revenues of Edward the Confessor', *EHR* 117 (2002), 251–2.

[40] S. Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2007), 128–9, 318–9; S. Baxter and C.P. Lewis, 'Domesday Book and the Transformation of English Landed Society, 1066–1086', *ASE* 46 (2019), 368.

[41] Hill, *Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, 101.

[42] Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation', 388.

[43] *PASE Domesday*, ed. S. Baxter with C.P. Lewis, D. Probert, A. Dymond, and K. Blayney, 2nd edn. (2016): http://domesday.pase.ac.uk.

[44] Below, 184–98.

arriving at a total of nearly £13,600.[45] While Corbett's estimate of £11,000 (twice his value for the Confessor's estates), was lower,[46] Ballard's initial figure was largely corroborated over seventy years later by Green, who valued the Conqueror's land, including the royal boroughs, at nearly £14,000.[47] Again, however, the new millennium brought higher estimates. Palmer's digital Domesday database can be used to compute various totals between £14,770 and £16,720,[48] while Grassi calculated a total of £15,850.[49] This thesis presents a new figure for the royal demesne in 1086, independently collected, calculated, and analysed using *PASE Domesday*'s database as a starting point. In Chapter 5, the Conqueror's *terra regis* is mapped and spatially analysed for the first time. For context, both the value and the distribution of the royal demesne are compared with those of some of the major secular fiefs in conquered England. All this makes it possible to ask whether, and to what extent, the royal demesne was transformed as a result of the Norman conquest of England. The extent to which the Norman conquest resulted in a tenurial revolution or transformation of English landed society has been much debated,[50] yet the royal demesne has not been considered in this connection. In comparing the royal demesne in 1066 and 1086, the thesis addresses this question of change—on a conceptual as well as a fiscal level—hitherto left unstudied.[51]

---

[45] A. Ballard, *The Domesday Inquest* (London, 1906), 262.
[46] Corbett, 'Normandy and the Norman Conquest', 507–8.
[47] J.A. Green, 'William Rufus, Henry I, and the Royal Demesne', *History* 64 (1979), 337, 351.
[48] *Domesday Explorer*, ed. J.J.N. Palmer (2000), http://www.domesdaybook.net/domesday-explorer; *Electronic Edition of Domesday Book: Translation, Databases and Scholarly Commentary, 1086*, ed. J.J.N. Palmer, 2nd edn. (2010): http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-5694-1.
[49] Grassi, 'Lands and Revenues', 282.
[50] For example, A. Williams, 'How Land was held before and after the Norman Conquest', in *Domesday Book Studies*, ed. A. Williams and R.W.H Erskine (London, 1987); R. Fleming, 'Domesday Book and the Tenurial Revolution', *ANS* 9 (1987); *Kings and Lords*, 107–231; S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994), 215–322, 345; J.C. Holt, *Colonial England 1066–1215* (London, 1997), 81–101, 113–78, 197–243; A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 1997); G. Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure 1066–1166* (Oxford, 2007), 1–135; *The Norman Conquest: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2009), 73–89; S. Reynolds, *The Middle Ages without Feudalism: Essays in Criticism and Comparison on the Medieval West* (Farnham, 2012), 263–71; 'Tenure and Property in Medieval England', *HR* 88 (2015); R. Sharpe, '*Tenere in Capite* and Tenant in Chief', in *The Acts of William II and Henry I*, ed R. Sharpe and D.X. Carpenter (2018); Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation'.
[51] Below, 198–210.

The closing section of Chapter 5 asks whether the process and chronology of the formation of the Conqueror's *terra regis* can be reconstructed.[52] This overlooked aspect of the history of the Norman conquest and of the royal demesne is addressed by identifying the Conqueror's *antecessores*—the individuals who held *terra regis* estates before the conquest. This analysis permits the interrogation of the decisions that the Conqueror made in the process of the takeover of land in England after 1066. How much of the land held by King Edward in 1066 remained royal in 1086? How much land formerly held by Earl Godwine and his sons became *terra regis*? From whom else did the Conqueror acquire land? Some of King William's *antecessores* survived for a period after 1066, such the Leofricson earls, Edwin and Morcar, the women of Godwine's family, Queen Edith and Countess Gytha, and Archbishop Stigand. How and when did their land fall to the Conqueror and how much of it did he keep?

Chapter 6 looks beyond Domesday and explores what happened to the royal demesne after 1086. Several historians have considered the descent of the *terra regis* after the Conqueror's death. Initial thoughts were that William Rufus and Henry I largely maintained Domesday's *terra regis* and that the relatively low royal demesne revenues recorded in Henry II's pipe rolls were the result of considerable grants of royal land made by Stephen.[53] Hoyt, however, using the evidence in two early twelfth-century surveys of Leicestershire and Northamptonshire,[54] and the descent of royal demesne in Cambridgeshire,[55] challenged this view, arguing that an extensive loss of royal land had occurred under Rufus and Henry.[56] Hoyt suggested that this resulted in a significant shift in the composition of English royal revenues. He argued that the treasury became less concerned with the exploitation of the royal demesne, which was becoming less profitable in the hands of locally powerful and greedy sheriffs and royal

---

[52] Below, 211–32.
[53] W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England in Its Origin and Development*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1880–7) II, 584; R.L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1912), 136.
[54] Round, *FE*, 196–224.
[55] W. Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge, 1920).
[56] R.S. Hoyt, *The Royal Demesne in English Constitutional History: 1066–1272* (Ithaca, NY, 1950), 81–92, 123–6.

farmers, and more interested in maximizing the profits of royal lordship.[57] Southern concurred with Hoyt regarding the sheriffs of Norman England but questioned Hoyt's general interpretation of considerable royal demesne reduction before 1135.[58] Southern did not believe that Rufus and Henry were ever in serious difficulties that would have necessitated significant royal demesne grants, and he argued that baronial forfeitures provided plentiful opportunities to replenish the *terra regis* and exercise patronage.[59] However, Green subsequently developed Hoyt's case and argued that extensive royal demesne alienation after 1087 is the natural conclusion from the striking contrast between Domesday Book and Henry I's pipe roll for 1130.[60] Valuing the royal demesne in 1086 at almost £14,000, Green calculated that 'in 1129–30 under £10,700 was accounted for from the sheriffs' farms and boroughs'.[61]

The first section of Chapter 6 reviews and criticizes this literature,[62] and the rest of the chapter presents a comprehensive analysis of the primary evidence for the royal demesne between 1087 and 1135, examining in turn the 1130 pipe roll, the twelfth-century regional surveys, and the royal charters.[63] The section on the pipe roll explores the expected income from the royal demesne in 1130 and asks whether this can be usefully compared with Domesday Book's figures. The section on the regional surveys examines their evidence for royal demesne reduction and asks whether it corroborates or contradicts the impression provided by the pipe roll. The closing section determines what the royal charters reveal about the royal estates and royal grants under the Conqueror's sons. This final chapter seeks not only to determine the extent to which the value of the royal demesne decreased in this period,

---

[57] Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 90–2, 123.
[58] R.W. Southern, 'The Place of Henry I in English History', *PBA* 48 (1962), reprised in his *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970) without the appendix on the royal demesne.
[59] Southern, 'Henry I', 160–9.
[60] Green, 'Royal Demesne'; J.A. Green, *The Government of England under Henry I* (Cambridge, 1986), 51–69; *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, 2006), 248–53.
[61] Green, 'Royal Demesne', 337.
[62] Below, 234–6
[63] Below, 237–80.

but also to provide a plausible explanation as to why this happened. If Rufus and Henry granted considerable amounts of royal land away, was this the consequence of deliberate policy, fiscal imprudence, or circumstances beyond royal control? Finally, any change in the value of the royal demesne after 1086 is put in context by comparing it with its value before the Norman conquest.

The conclusion of the thesis returns to the questions raised in this introduction and provides answers to them while summarizing the findings of this doctoral research project.[64] In particular, the conclusion draws our attention to the relationship between the distribution and management of land and the formation and coherence of states and political authority in the medieval period. Finally, three appendices, attached in a separate volume, tabulate the data behind the analysis.[65]

[64] Below, 281–96.
[65] Appendix A: Norman Ducal Land, 911–1135, pp. 1–46; Appendix B: Capetian Royal Land, 987–1137, pp. 1–18; Appendix C: English Royal Grants of Land, 1087–1135, pp. 1–19.

1. The Evidence for Norman Ducal Land

This chapter explores the Norman evidence and the issues it poses for the reconstruction and analysis of the ducal estates. Most simply, ducal land refers to the estates held by the dukes in Normandy, but, more broadly, it also includes land that was held from dukes in some form of dependant tenure. Most of the evidence for ducal land comes from ducal *acta* while the rest comes from the narrative accounts, which also provide important details concerning ducal authority and the politics of land in Normandy. The first section of this chapter examines the charters and demonstrates how to identify ducal estates within them. The second section criticizes the narrative sources and considers their utility and how they are used for this study. Finally, the chapter's concluding section turns to the interpretation of the geographical distribution of the ducal estates.

The Charters

No Norman land surveys survive from this period, and nothing like Domesday Book or a Carolingian polyptych is known to have been made in ducal Normandy. Therefore, the student of ducal land in Normandy must rely predominantly on charters. The ducal *acta* issued before the conquest of England have been edited by Fauroux, who collected the pre-conquest ducal grants, ducal judgements, and charters witnessed by dukes.[66] Only one act has been shown to have been included in error,[67] and only two acts that would have met her criteria for inclusion have been discovered since the publication of her collection over sixty years ago.[68] Fauroux also listed supposed or lost ducal acts that were alluded to in non-ducal

[66] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911–1066*, ed. M. Fauroux (Caen, 1961), 19–63, especially 36–7.
[67] K. Thompson, 'Une confirmation supposée de Guillaume le Bâtard', *AN* 34 (1984).
[68] R. Allen, 'Un acte inconnu de Guillaume le Bâtard, duc de Normandie (18 juin 1066)', *BEC* 171 (2017). This act survives in a pancarte of Avranches Cathedral. Fauroux was aware only of a seventeenth-century transcript of this pancarte, which lacked the witness list featuring ducal subscription: *Recueil*, ed. Fauroux, 24–7, notes 24,

charters.[69] These charters, issued without any discernible ducal intervention or confirmation, can sometimes provide evidence of ducal land, for example, by referring to prior ducal donations. Of the Conqueror's post-conquest *acta*, collected and edited by Bates, 144 pertain to Norman and continental beneficiaries.[70] Forty ducal acts survive from Robert Curthose's reign,[71] and a further fifteen acts concerning Normandy survive from the period 1096–1100, when William Rufus was ruling Normandy during Curthose's absence on crusade.[72] Although plenty of Henry I's ducal acts are known,[73] the analysis of Norman ducal land here does not go beyond 1106 because a comprehensive published edition of his charters is lacking.

Some 435 ducal charters—many of which have been transcribed and published on *SCRIPTA*,[74] a publicly available online database of medieval Norman documents—form the diplomatic basis for the study of Norman ducal land between 911 and 1106. However, these *acta* do not go back before the second half of the 960s, with Count Walter of Dreux's act witnessed by Richard I in 965 being the earliest known,[75] and Richard's act in favour of Saint-Denis issued in 968 being the first extant record of a ducal grant, surviving now only in a thirteenth-century copy in the abbey's cartulary.[76] It is possible that the first two dukes—Rollo and William Longsword—did not issue any written *acta*.[77] Richard II confirmed the grants of his predecessors to the abbey of Jumièges which were 'not written down in their

29, 33, 37. P. Bauduin, 'Un acte inédit de Richard II en faveur de l'abbaye de Saint-Wandrille: contribution à l'étude des premiers actes ducaux normands', in *Sur les pas de Lanfranc du Bec à Caen. Recueil d'études en hommage à Véronique Gazeau*, ed. P. Bauduin *et al.* (Caen, 2018).

[69] *Recueil*, ed. Fauroux, 19–30.

[70] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066–1087)*, ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998), with criticism at 2–87.

[71] Haskins, *NI*, 66–70, 285–92.

[72] *RRAN* I, 76–117, 130–41; Haskins, *NI*, 80–1.

[73] *RRAN* II; Haskins, *NI*, 85–122, 223, 293–308; H. Chanteau, 'Recueil des actes de Henri Ier Beauclerc, duc de Normandie', Thèse manuscrite (l'École des Chartes, 1932).

[74] *SCRIPTA: Site Caennais de Recherche Informatique et de Publications des Textes Anciens*, ed. P. Bauduin: https://www.unicaen.fr/scripta/pages/index.html.

[75] F 2 (SCRIPTA 1429). F 1 (SCRIPTA 1428), supposedly an act of King Lothar issued in the early 960s featuring Richard's subscription, is a forgery.

[76] F 3 (SCRIPTA 1430). Only four other charters—all of which date from after 965—survive from Richard I's reign: F 2, 4–6 (SCRIPTA 1429, 1431–3).

[77] Tabuteau, *Transfers*, 7; L. Abrams, 'Early Normandy', *ANS* 35 (2013), 61–3.

own charters',[78] and the same duke confirmed the grants made to the abbey of Saint-Ouen by Rollo, who 'did not write them down in their own charters', and Longsword who made grants 'without the writing of charters'.[79] If early dukes issued any charters, none survives. Analysis of the first half-century of Norman rule, therefore, relies on later charter evidence and the narrative sources.[80]

Ducal acts survive in various forms. There are a number of single-sheet originals, drawn up at the time of the transaction, and confirmation charters and pancartes, which constitute very early copies,[81] but most acts are known only from later cartulary copies making authenticity harder to determine.[82] Fauroux identified nine pre-conquest forgeries,[83] and subsequent scholarship suggests that one act she considered authentic was a thirteenth-century forgery.[84] According to Bates, at least three of the Conqueror's ducal *acta* issued after 1066 are total fabrications and four are inflations based on earlier authentic documentation.[85] While all of Curthose's known acts appear, perhaps unsurprisingly, to be authentic, at least two Norman *acta* issued when Rufus had custody of the duchy are spurious.[86] Importantly, as Hagger has argued, known forgery was often limited to relatively minor interpolations in, or modifications of, otherwise authentic documents.[87] Spurious or suspect charters cannot,

[78] F 36 (SCRIPTA 1481): 'minime propriis cartulis descripta'.
[79] F 53 (SCRIPTA 1499): 'propriis cartulis…minime descripsit…absque cartarum notamine'.
[80] Below, 33–7.
[81] For example, F 9 (SCRIPTA 1435), 13 (1439), 14*bis* (1441), 35 (1461), 53 (1499), 85 (1528), 100 (1544), 188 (1631).
[82] For criticism, see M. Parisse, 'Les pancartes. Etude d'un type d'acte diplomatique', and D. Bates, 'Les chartes de confirmation et les pancartes normandes du règne de Guillaume le Conquérant', in *Pancartes monastiques des XIe et XIIe siècles*, ed. M. Parisse, P. Pégeot and B. -M. Tock (Turnhout, 1998); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, 22–30.
[83] *Recueil*, ed. Fauroux, 28: F 27 (SCRIPTA 1454), 56 (1502), 57 (1503), 62 (1508), 90*bis* (1534), 90*ter* (1535), 91 (1677), 127 (1571), 136 (1580).
[84] F 126 (SCRIPTA 1570); D. Bates, *William the Conqueror* (London and New Haven, CT, 2016), 105.
[85] *Regesta*, ed. Bates, 9–11: B 148 (SCRIPTA 6500), 150 (6502), 245 (6561); B 141A (SCRIPTA 6593), 213 (6539), 247 (6563), 258 (6571).
[86] Haskins, *NI*, 71, 80–1.
[87] Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 34.

therefore, always be dismissed entirely; they must be considered on a case-by-case basis because sometimes their contents can be corroborated by other evidence.[88]

Most extant ducal charters are in favour of ecclesiastical institutions, providing much evidence for religious patronage, which was central to ducal rule. Notable exceptions are two acts, both only preserved as later copies in ecclesiastical archives, bestowing dower estates upon Duchess Judith and Duchess Adela.[89] The inherent ecclesiastical bias in the diplomatic is not surprising, but it means that evidence of ducal grants in favour of secular lords is absent. It is debatable whether Norman dukes granted land to lay individuals, aside from their wives, by use of written *acta* in this period. Writ-charters in favour of lay beneficiaries appear in Henry I's reign,[90] but if his ducal predecessors issued any, none survives. The absence of evidence is significant given the fact that such charters survive from Anglo-Saxon England where, from the late eighth century, kings 'booked' land to secular followers by royal charters which seem to have acted as title deeds making survival much more likely.[91] Norman dukes in the tenth and eleventh centuries are not known to have done so, and other neighbouring polities reveal a similar absence of charters in favour of lay beneficiaries.[92] Tabuteau argued that transactions among lay persons in Normandy 'occurred entirely without charters' before the twelfth century.[93] The question may be insoluble, but the lack of Norman lay charters means that less is known about the politics of land and lay patronage in the duchy.

In Normandy, it was usually the responsibility of the beneficiary of the ducal grant or confirmation to draw up the charter enshrining it. The style, composition, and formulaic

---

[88] F 34 (SCRIPTA 1460), for example, is suspicious, but some of its contents can be verified in other charters: *Recueil*, ed. Fauroux, 42.
[89] F 11, 58 (SCRIPTA 1437, 1504).
[90] For example, *RRAN* II, 1087.
[91] J. Blair, 'The Limits of Bookland', *ASE* 48 (2022).
[92] See, for example, *Les chartes des comtes de Saint-Pol (XIe–XIIIe siècles)*, ed. J.-F. Nieus (Turnhout, 2008); M. Hammond, 'The adoption and routinization of Scottish royal charter production for lay beneficiaries, 1124–1195', *ANS* 36 (2014).
[93] Tabuteau, *Transfers*, 7–8.

conventions of Norman charters are generally particular to specific beneficiary institutions,[94] with such variation further complicating the task of detecting forgery. Most accept that this lack of uniformity indicates that the Norman dukes did not possess a central writing office.[95] However, there is some evidence that certain individuals performed secretarial duties at the ducal court. Dudo of Saint-Quentin seems to have written some ducal charters when serving as Richard II's chaplain. Duke Richard witnessed an act of his uncle, Count Ralph, at Rouen in 1011, which states that Dudo 'composed and wrote (*composuit et scripsit*) this charter'.[96] Four years later, Dudo described himself as *cancellarius* in another ducal charter he drafted at Rouen.[97] Hagger argued that Dudo gave himself this title, doubting 'that he held any formal office or that the duke would even have recognised him as his chancellor'.[98] Indeed, evidence that Dudo wrote the occasional ducal charter does not mean that he was head of a ducal chancery. Nevertheless, it is important to register that Dudo was not the only courtier who seemingly performed secretarial duties for the duke. In 1006, a certain Guy (*Wido*), described by Richard II as *notarius meus*, composed a ducal act—which survives in its original form—at Fécamp in favour of the abbey.[99] An act which purports to be an original confirmation charter for Fécamp issued by Richard II in 1025—but is likely a later eleventh century inflation—was supposedly composed at Fécamp by *Hugo cancellarius*.[100] An act the Conqueror granted at Lyons-la-Forêt in favour of Saint-Evroul in 1050—which survived in the abbey's

---

[94] Tabuteau, *Transfers*, 7–12.
[95] Tabuteau, *Transfers*, 8; *Recueil*, ed. Fauroux, 41–7; C. Potts, 'The Early Norman Charters: A New Perspective on an Old Debate', in *England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. C. Hicks (Stamford, 1992), 36; *Regesta*, ed. Bates, 10, 96–7; *RRAN* I, xi–xxi; *RRAN* II, ix–xi; Haskins, *NI*, 51–4, 72–5, 82, 110–2; Bates, *Normandy*, 154–5; Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 30–5, 266–8, 275–9, 290, 405–22; P. Chaplais, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chancery: From the Diploma to the Writ', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 3 (1966), 160–1, reprised in *Prisca Munimenta: Studies in Archival and Administrative History Presented to Dr A.E.J. Hollaender*, ed. F. Ranger, (London, 1973), 43–4. Cf. R.A. Brown, 'Some Observations on Norman and Anglo-Norman Charters', in *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall*, ed. D. Greenway, C. Holdsworth, and J. Sayers (Cambridge, 1985), 151–3.
[96] F 13 (SCRIPTA 1439).
[97] F 18 (SCRIPTA 1445).
[98] Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 31. Cf. B. Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum: Tradition, Innovation, and Memory* (Woodbridge, 2015), 122–6.
[99] F 9 (SCRIPTA 1435). For Fécamp charters, see M. Bloche, 'Le chartrier de l'abbaye de la Trinité de Fécamp: étude et édition critique, 928/929–1190', Thèse manuscrite (l'École Nationale des Chartes, 2020).
[100] F 34 (SCRIPTA 1460).

thirteenth-century cartulary—was produced by a certain Robert.[101] However, Robert's identity is unclear and it cannot be assumed that he was a ducal rather than a monastic agent.

While clerical courtiers, such as ducal chaplains, may have sometimes acted as scribes for the duke—producing charters as a chancellor might—this seemingly *ad hoc* arrangement does not suggest the existence of a permanently staffed writing office. The evidence across the channel, conversely, presents a stronger case for the existence of an English royal chancery.[102] After 1066, post-conquest English royal chancellors, who were universally of continental origin, sometimes accompanied the king in Normandy, and while they sometimes performed clerical duties for him, Norman beneficiaries continued to draw up their own charters.[103]

All of the ducal estates identified within the charters are tabulated in the Appendix.[104] Around fifty places of issue appear in the ducal *acta*. These were usually, although not always, ducal estates. Dukes frequently visited certain places such as Rouen, Fécamp, Caen, Bayeux, Falaise, Bonneville, Lillebonne, and Lyons-la-Forêt, indicating that these were the sites of important or favoured ducal residences. Most charters do not record where they were issued, but, considering that most charter evidence for ducal land is in the form of grants, the charters which record places of issue provide precious evidence for ducal estates that were not granted away. An early example of a straightforward grant of ducal land is recorded in an act issued in 990 by Richard I in favour of the abbey of Fécamp:

> …ego Ricardus consul…confero ei in hoc loco, qui dicitur Fiscannus, et in hoc monasterio in honore sanctæ Trinitatis dicato, de bonis ab eo michi indigno datis, videlicet Amundi villam, et quicquid ibi pertinere videtur, Argentias etiam

---

[101] F 122 note x: 'Signum Roberti huius cartule auctoris et factoris'.
[102] S. Keynes, 'Regenbald the Chancellor (*sic*)', *ANS* 10 (1988); 'Church Councils, Royal Assemblies, and Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas', in *Kingship, Legislation, and Power in Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, ed. G.R. Owen-Crocker and B.W. Schneider (Woodbridge, 2013. Cf. P. Chaplais, 'The Royal Anglo-Saxon "Chancery" of the Tenth Century Revisited', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C. Davis*, ed. H. Mayr-Harting and R.J. Moore (London, 1985).
[103] Haskins, *NI*, 51–4, 72–5, 82, 110–2; *RRAN* I, 425, 440.
[104] Appendix A.

> cum omnibus appenditiis suis, Sanctum Walaricum, et quicquid ibi pertinent, Bretennoles ex toto, Ingulfi etiam villam, et quicquid ibi meæ ditioni subicitur…
>
> […I, Count Richard, unworthy of the goods offered to me by [God]…confer [them] to him in this place, which is called Fécamp, and in this monastery dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity, namely Mondeville,[105] and whatever is seen to pertain there, also Argences with all its appendices,[106] Saint-Valery[-en-Caux],[107] and whatever pertains there, the whole of *Bretennoles*,[108] also Ingouville,[109] and whatever is subject to my authority there…][110]

The text is explicit that the granted estates belonged to Richard and, therefore, they have been identified as ducal and tabulated accordingly. However, not all charters are so explicit. For example, an act surviving in its original form records that Richard II granted land to the abbey of Saint-Ouen in Rouen:

> Ego, comes Ricardus, trado ecclesiam villae quae Ros dicitur, in pago Baioensi[s], monasterio Sancti Petri et domni Audoeni…
>
> [I, Count Richard, hand over the church of the vill which is called Rots,[111] in the district of Bayeux, to the monastery of Saint Peter and Lord Ouen…][112]

This act, datable 1017x1024, does not specify that the church of Rots belonged to the duke, but this is the obvious implication. The language is clear that the duke was the grantor, which

---

[105] Calvados, cant. Ifs.
[106] Calvados, cant. Troarn.
[107] Seine-Maritime, cant. Saint-Valery-en-Caux.
[108] This place remains unidentified.
[109] Seine-Maritime, cant. Saint-Valery-en-Caux.
[110] F 4 (SCRIPTA 1431).
[111] Calvados, cant. Bretteville-l-Orgueilleuse.
[112] F 44 (SCRIPTA 1489).

strongly suggests that the church of Rots was his to give and so it, and other estates recorded in charters like this, can be safely identified and tabulated as ducal land.

Establishing the date of the act is vital in determining a *terminus ante quem* for ducal estates because most often ducal land appears in the charters at the point it was granted out of ducal hands. This is not a problem when dealing with dated charters but, since many Norman charters are undated, the precise date for plenty of ducal grants remains unknown. However, sometimes it is possible to establish the year the grant took place with a reasonable degree of certainty, as with Richard I's charter for Fécamp above. More often, it is normally possible to establish a narrow window of a few years within which a grant took place, as with Richard II's charter for Saint-Ouen Abbey.[113] At the very least, the duke who granted the land can normally be identified without difficulty. In many cases, therefore, a duke's regnal dates provide the grant's broad chronological limits. Furthermore, it is worth registering that many charters record only partial grants like Richard II's grant of the church of Rots to Saint-Ouen in 1017x1024. In this case, it can be cautiously assumed that the duke continued to hold what remained of his estate at Rots thereafter. Around half of the estates granted in the charters can be classified as partial grants whereby only a portion of a ducal estate was given. The important implications of this for the reconstruction of ducal land are discussed below.[114]

Confirmation charters and pancartes confirming the estates of an ecclesiastical institution are more complex.[115] They often record donations made by several individuals, so not every estate confirmed by a duke can be identified as ducal. Thankfully, some charters explicitly name the benefactors of the granted land being confirmed. For example, in 1025, Richard II granted land to Jumièges and, in the same act, confirmed the estates donated to the abbey by

[113] V. Gazeau, 'Recherches autour de la datation des actes normands aux Xe–XIIe siècles', in *Dating Undated Medieval Charters*, ed. M. Gervers (Woodbridge, 2000).
[114] Below, 43–6.
[115] See Bates, 'Les chartes de confirmation'; *Regesta*, ed. Bates, 22–30.

his grandfather, William Longsword, and his father, Richard I.[116] When the confirmation charter or pancarte provides explicit evidence that the estate being confirmed had been granted by a duke, the land can be identified and tabulated as belonging to the duke who initially granted it. Often, however, the text of the charter does not specify the identity of the original grantor of the land being confirmed. In these instances, the grantor is not assumed to have been the duke unless there is corroborating evidence elsewhere to suggest otherwise. This means that some ducal estates have almost certainly gone unidentified and have not made it into the tables and maps of ducal land presented here. However, to risk underestimating the extent of ducal land is better than to risk overestimating it by including estates that cannot securely be identified as having belonged to dukes.

When charters specify that a confirmed estate had been a ducal donation, it can sometimes be difficult to determine which duke granted it. To illustrate, in the decade before his invasion of England, Duke William confirmed the land he and his predecessors granted to the cathedral of Coutances.[117] However, while the charter attributes some of the grants to particular dukes, it does not do this for some thirty-five estates, which could have been granted by any one of the Conqueror's half dozen predecessors going back over a century. In these cases, when the duke who granted the estate cannot be determined, the approach is to assign the grant to the immediate predecessor of the duke confirming it. The unspecified ducal grants in the Conqueror's Coutances confirmation, therefore, have been cautiously attributed to Robert I, making 1026 the *terminus post quem* for the donations. This undoubtedly masks a more complex picture, but it is done so as not to backdate the spread and extent of ducal land unduly.

Restorations of estates pose similar problems. Some charters explicitly record that the duke restored land that he or one of his predecessors was said to have taken or despoiled from a

[116] F 36 (SCRIPTA 1481).
[117] F 214 (SCRIPTA 1658).

religious house. For example, in a damaged but extant original charter in favour of Fécamp, Robert Curthose restored the estates that 'my father, provoked by anger (*ira commotus*), had withdrawn (*subtraxerat*) from the same church the day before he died'.[118] Since such charters essentially record ducal grants, the restored land can be identified as having been ducal. However, dukes could also restore estates despoiled by others. For example, an act copied into Mont-Saint-Michel's cartulary in the twelfth century records Richard II's restoration of land originally granted to the abbey by his grandfather, William Longsword, which had been despoiled by a certain Count Robert,[119] who was probably Richard II's younger half-brother.[120] In this case, the estates Duke Richard restored can be identified as ducal land which had belonged to William Longsword, who initially granted it to Mont-Saint-Michel. How Richard II came to possess the land in order to make this restoration is unclear. Most likely, the estates were confiscated from Count Robert during his lifetime or they may have passed to the duke following Robert's death.[121] In general, land granted or restored by a duke can usually be classified as ducal.

Some ducal charters principally concerned with recording non-ducal grants contain evidence for ducal land. Dukes witnessed many non-ducal transactions, sometimes augmenting them with ducal donations, enhancing the prestige and legitimacy of the initial grant. For example, in an act issued early in Richard II's reign,[122] a certain Albert granted his estate at Livry to Saint-Wandrille,[123] and the duke not only endorsed the transaction by his authority but granted a quarter of his own estate at Juvigny-sur-Seulles to the abbey as well.[124] Dukes also

---

[118] Haskins, *NI*, 287–9, no. 4a (SCRIPTA 7616). Other examples include F 15 (SCRIPTA 1442), 66–7 (1512–3), 70 (1516), *RRAN* I, 297.

[119] Count Robert, probably a younger son of Richard I, held land in and around Mortain and Avranches. He witnessed several ducal charters from 990 to 1020, attaining comital rank *c.*1010: F 4 (SCRIPTA 1431), 16–7 (1443–4), 23 (1450); D.C. Douglas, 'The Earliest Norman Counts', *EHR* 61 (1946), 143–5; C. Potts, 'The Earliest Norman Counts Revisited: The Lords of Mortain', *HSJ* 4 (1993).

[120] F 49 (SCRIPTA 1495).

[121] By his death, before 1026, his only surviving son, Richard, was in exile and seemingly never returned to Normandy: *Vie de Gauzlin, abbé de Fleury*, ed. R.H. Bautier, G. Labory (1969), 48–50.

[122] F 7 (SCRIPTA 1434).

[123] Calvados, cant. Aunay-sur-Odon, comm. Caumont-sur-Avre.

[124] Calvados, cant. Bretteville-l'Orgueilleuse.

augmented non-ducal grants by releasing the given land from obligations, customs, or services owed to him. Customs were owed to the duke from all over the duchy, not just from the estates he held.[125] This is demonstrated by two grants—known only from a pancarte of 1120—made to the abbey of Cerisy, both concerning land at Epinay-sur-Odon.[126] One grant was made by Herbert de la Hogue,[127] the other by Vigot de Saint-Denis,[128] and both included the Conqueror's stipulation that the land was to be free from the customs of *gravarium* and *bernagium*.[129] These acts do not provide evidence that the land held by Herbert and Vigot at Epinay was held from the duke in dependent tenure. However, Cerisy's foundation charter—also in the pancarte—lists an estate at Epinay which Robert I granted in 1032, revealing that there was a ducal estate there.[130]

Non-ducal transactions recorded in charters can also provide evidence of ducal land by elucidating estate history. For example, in an act witnessed by her son—Richard II—Duchess Gunnor donated two estates, Bretteville-sur-Odon and Domjean,[131] to Mont-Saint-Michel, referring to the land as 'aloda…quae michi meus sanctae recordationis vir Richardus comes cum plurimis in dotalicium dedit'.[132] The estates had been part of the dower Gunnor received from Richard I when they married sometime after 968.[133] Similarly, a pancarte of *c.*1100, which lists donations to the abbey of Saint-Amand in Rouen, includes land granted

---

[125] J.-F. Lemarignier, *Études sur les privilèges d'exemption et de juridiction des abbayes normandes depuis les origines jusqu'en 1140* (Paris, 1937); J. Yver, 'Contribution à l'étude du développement de la compétence ducale en Normandie', *AN* 8 (1958); L. Musset, 'Recherches sur quelques survivances de la fiscalité ducale', *BSAN* 55 (1961); Yver, 'Les premières institutions'; Bates, *Normandy*, 147–88; L. Musset, 'Huit essais sur l'autorité ducale en Normandie (XIe–XIIe siècles)', *Cahier des Annales de Normandie* 17 (1985).
[126] *RRAN* II, 1233; Calvados, cant. Aunay-sur-Odon.
[127] F 169 (SCRIPTA 1614).
[128] F 196 (SCRIPTA 1639).
[129] L. Delisle, 'Des revenus publics en Normandie au douzième siècle', *BEC* 13 (1852), 120–2; Haskins, *NI*, 38–40, 82; Hagger, 'Norman *vicomte*', 79–80.
[130] F 64 (SCRIPTA 1510).
[131] Respectively: Calvados, cant. Caen-1; Manche, cant. Condé-sur-Vire.
[132] F 17 (SCRIPTA 1444). A later act of Richard II, F 49 (SCRIPTA 1495), confirmed the abbey's possession of Bretteville donated by Gunnor 'de suo dotalitio'.
[133] Dower land given by the husband to the wife, ostensibly for her to live on after his death, should not be confused with the dowry provided by the bride's family. The Latin *dos* could, in theory, mean either dower or dowry, but often the context makes the intended meaning clear. See P. Bauduin, 'Du bon usage de la *dos* dans la Normandie ducale (Xe–début XIIe siècle)', in *Dots et douaires dans le haut moyen âge*, ed. F. Bougard, L. Feller and R. Le Jan (Rome, 2002); Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 128–30.

by Queen Matilda, the Conqueror's wife, at Bures, Osmoy-Saint-Valery, and Maintru,[134] estates 'of my dower' (*de dotario meo*).[135] An original act, attested by Richard II in 1012,[136] records that the abbey of Bourgueil conceded to Jumièges an estate at Longueville,[137] which had once been dower land of William Longsword's wife, Duchess Leutgarde, before her daughter, Emma, granted it to Bourgueil. Although there are no extant charters recording the dowers of early Norman duchesses, reliable evidence for the granting of ducal land exists and, therefore, the estates may be identified as having belonged to the duke who bestowed the dower.

Finally, ducal land, in the broad sense, can be identified from acts which allude to estates held in dependent tenure from the duke. For example, a pseudo-original—probably made from an original—act records that, in just before setting off for the Holy Land, Robert Curthose donated to Rouen Cathedral, 'whatever Osbert the priest and his son had and held of my father and of me (*habuerunt et tenuerunt de patre meo et de me*) in Neaufles[-Saint-Martin]'.[138] Osbert and his son held the land from the duke, who, as the estate's ultimate lord, granted it to the cathedral.[139] However, the identification of such estates is not usually easy because often ducal charters do not explicitly express the relationship between the duke and the holder of the granted land. Ducal intervention became a common feature of Norman transactions in this period, but many ducal charters are equivocal as to whether the duke was endorsing a non-ducal grant with his authority or whether he was giving permission for the grant of an estate held from him. Ambiguity regarding land tenure in Normandy in this period also complicates this issue. Questions persist as to the different categories of land, the

---

134 Seine-Maritime, cant. Neufchâtel-en-Bray.
135 M.-J. Le Cacheux, *Histoire de l'Abbaye Saint-Amand de Rouen, des origines à la fin du XVIe siècle* (Caen, 1937), 243–54, no. 2 (SCRIPTA 2348).
136 F 14*bis* (SCRIPTA 1441).
137 Now Saint-Pierre-d'Autils, Eure, cant. Pacy-sur-Eure, comm. La Chapelle-Longueville.
138 Eure, cant. Gisors. Haskins, *NI*, 70, no. 32; C.W. David, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, MA, 1920), Appendix A; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 376–8, Annexe II no. 10 (SCRIPTA 304).
139 F 66 (SCRIPTA 1512) confirms that Neaufles-Saint-Martin was a ducal estate.

amount of land that was held in dependent tenure from the duke, and the extent to, and the process by, which landed society changed in this period.[140]

In the tenth century, a broad distinction is generally acknowledged to have existed in the northern parts of West Francia between *alodia* and *beneficia*. Alodial land was characterized by heritability and full rights, and, while the holder could still owe service for the estate, it tended to be incumbered with fewer obligations.[141] Benefices, conversely, were precarious estates held in return for obligations, including—but not limited to—military service, with more restrictions on the holder regarding inheritance and alienation.[142] Benefices originated under the Carolingian kings of Francia, who granted land to followers 'as a benefit' (*in beneficium*) for a determined period of time, usually a lifetime or two, or the duration of office, after which it would return to royal hands.[143] Over time, however, lords attempted to entail these precarious estates and pass them on to their heirs along with their alods.[144] Meanwhile, the Norman dukes came to assert their authority or superiority over the *alodia* of their followers who increasingly sought ducal confirmation for their transactions.[145] These two trends seem to have caused the lines between the benefice and the alod to blur, and the two met in the

---

[140] Maitland, *DBB*, 152–4; Haskins, *NI*, 5–8, 60; R. Carabie, *La propriété foncière dans le très ancien droit normand (XIe–XIIIe siècles)* (Caen, 1943), 230–97; H. Navel, 'Recherches sur les institutions féodales en Normandie (région de Caen)', *BSAN* 51 (1948–51), 87–9, 101–3, 106–7, 112–5, 147, 149–50, 162–6, 171–4; L. Musset, 'Réflexions sur *alodium* et sa signification dans les textes normands', *RHDFE* 47 (1969); J.C. Holt, 'Politics and Property in Early Medieval England', *P&P* 57 (1972), reprised in J.C. Holt, *Colonial England* (London, 1997), 113–59; E.Z. Tabuteau, 'Ownership and Tenure in Eleventh-Century Normandy', *American Journal of Legal History* 21 (1977), revised in Tabuteau, *Transfers*, 95–112; J.C. Holt, 'Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England: II: Notions of Patrimony', *TRHS* 33 (1983), reprised in Holt, *Colonial England*, 197–221; Bates, *Normandy*, 99, 116–24, 165–76, 258–9; D. Bates, 'Normandy and England after 1066', *EHR* 104 (1989), 855, 872–3; Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 48–50, 57–9, 97, 105, 107, 119–20; J. Hudson, *Land, Law, and Lordship in Anglo-Norman England* (Oxford, 1994), 78–81, 94–7; Garnett, 'Ducal Succession', 81–94; Garnett, *Conquered England*, 46–7, 74–5; J. Hudson, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England II: 871–1216* (Oxford, 2012), 255, 333, 347–8, 360; Reynolds, 'Tenure and Property', 565–6.

[141] Maitland, *DBB*, 153; Carabie, *La propriété foncière*, 230–42; Musset, 'Réflexions sur *alodium*'; Holt; 'Notions of Patrimony', 199–206; Tabuteau, *Transfers*, 96–8, 102–6; Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 48, 50–1.

[142] Maitland, *DBB*, 152; Carabie, *La propriété foncière*, 245–54; Holt, 'Notions of Patrimony', 206–10; Tabuteau, *Transfers*, 51–80, 96–7, 99, 102–3, 106; Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 48, 97, 107.

[143] Costambeys, Innes, and MacLean, *Carolingian World*, 316–7; H. Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm 600–1000* (Cambridge, 2005), 76–104.

[144] Holt, 'Politics and Property', 28, 37; Bates, *Normandy*, 116; Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 58; Reynolds, 'Tenure and Property', 565.

[145] Bates, *Normandy*, 122–4; Holt; 'Notions of Patrimony', 198–9, 201–2, 208, 210; Tabuteau, *Transfers*, 108–10; Garnett, *Conquered England*, 46, 74.

fief (*feodum*), land which came to possess characteristics of both categories.[146] In Normandy this process seems to have started just before the middle of the eleventh century, and, by 1100, the fief was seen as heritable but the holder was required to provide military service, perform acts of homage, and pay reliefs in order to hold it.[147] By then, the chief distinction was not between heritable alod and precarious benefice, but between inheritance and acquisition.[148]

Problematically, before the twelfth century, most land was seemingly governed by customary norms 'in which uniformity and consistency of vocabulary were impossible'.[149] Even when terms such as *alodium*, *hereditas*, *beneficium*, *precarium*, *feodum* and their derivatives are deployed in this period, it is difficult to determine what they mean with any consistency outside their own specific contexts.[150] Seeing how these terms are applied in the context of the Norman ducal *acta*, it is possible to identify estates held from the duke. Three ducal charters appear to contrast benefices with inherited land as characterized in the broad distinction outlined above. Two are authentic acts issued at the end of Richard II's reign, while one is a dubious charter supposedly issued around the same time but more likely written later in the eleventh century. Nevertheless, it is worth reproducing the relevant passages of all three documents, starting first with the dubious charter recording Fécamp's estates confirmed by Richard:

> placuit…firmare ea que fideles nostri, nostro consensu, aut precario vel beneficiis quae nostri juris erant, vel de hereditatibus quas paterno jure possedebant, concesserunt…

---

[146] Maitland, *DBB*, 152–4; Carabie, *La propriété foncière*, 242–45; Holt, 'Politics and Property', 6–7; M. Chibnall, 'Military Service in Normandy before 1066', *ANS* 5 (1982), 66–7, 74; Holt, 'Notions of Patrimony', 214; Garnett, *Conquered England*, 46–7.
[147] Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 48–9, 105; Tabuteau, *Transfers*, 99–101; Garnett, *Conquered England*, 75.
[148] Holt, 'Politics and Property', 12–3, 40–1; Tabuteau, *Transfers*, 101–3.
[149] Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 14, 57.
[150] Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 58–9, 119–20; Tabuteau, *Transfers*, 95–112.

> [it pleased us…to confirm those [things] which our faithful men, with our consent, have conceded either from the *precarium* or benefices which were of our right, or from the inheritances which they possessed by paternal right…][151]

The second charter records Richard's confirmation of Jumièges Abbey's estates at the end of his reign:

> His subscribere placuit ea que fideles nostri vel de suis beneficiis que nostris [*sic*] sunt juris vel de paternis hereditatibus contulerunt…
>
> [It pleased us to write down those [things] which our faithful men conferred either from their benefices which are of our right or from [their] paternal inheritances…][152]

The third act, which survives as a faithfully copied single sheet written later in the eleventh century, records Richard's confirmation of Saint-Ouen's estates in 1025x1026:

> nostra auctoritate firmamus ea quæ fideles nostri…concesserunt, aut de beneficiis que nostri juris [era]nt, aut de paternis hereditatibus…
>
> [By our authority we confirm those [things] which our faithful men…conceded, either from benefices which were of our right, or from paternal inheritances…][153]

These three acts articulate a clear distinction between the land inherited from fathers and the benefices that had come from the duke.[154] Although the act in favour of Fécamp is likely a

---

151 F 34 (SCRIPTA 1460). The same passages have curiously been used to argue against any distinction between the two types of land: Corbett, 'Normandy and the Norman Conquest', 487.
152 F 36 (SCRIPTA 1481).
153 F 53 (SCRIPTA 1499).
154 Two other acts appear to make the same distinction: F 51 (SCRIPTA 1497): 'erat michi quidam alodus ex materna hereditate, non ex alicuius beneficio'; F 61(SCRIPTA 1507): 'in perpetuum concedimus, sed et res quas memorati fidèles ex rebus hereditatiis suis et ex nostra cessione in usum monachorum…deputaverant'.

later forgery, a forger would have had no incentive to fabricate this particular detail, and the similarity of the passage's language suggests it was based upon an authentic original datable to the same period as the other two.[155] Unfortunately, none of these acts specifies which of the named estates were benefices or inheritances. Therefore, none of the grants they record can be safely identified as land held from the duke. However, as a guiding principle, the distinction outlined in these acts helps to identify benefices in other charters. For example, a certain Enna granted, with the consent of Richard II, several estates to Saint-Ouen. The charter recording the donation survives in its original form and states:

> ego Enna…domini mei Ricardi illustrissimi comitis presentiam adii…michi satisfecit annuendo et tribuendo…non tantum alodos meos, sed etiam villam quæ dicitur Meslet quam de beneficio eius tenebam. Hæ sunt igitur res meæ proprietatis quas…predictus comes Ricardus concessit atque dedit, videlicet villa [*sic*] quæ Spinetum vocatur…Propter hæc omnia de beneficio suo predictus comes Ricardus perpetua hereditate villam quæ Meslet dicitur…concessit…
>
> [I, Enna, approached my lord the illustrious Count Richard…[and] he satisfied me my agreeing and offering…not only my alods but also the vill called Meslay which I held from his benefice. These, therefore, are the things of my ownership which…the aforesaid Count Richard conceded and gave, namely, the vill called Epinay [and several other estates]… Because of all this, from his benefice, the aforesaid Count Richard conceded…in perpetual inheritance the vill which is called Meslay.][156]

[155] *Recueil*, ed. Fauroux, 42–3; Tabuteau, *Transfers*, 96.
[156] F 43 (SCRIPTA 1488).

Here, the general distinction is made but the specific estates are differentiated. Epinay and Enna's other estates listed as her *alodos* were not held from the duke. Although the charter records Richard 'conceded and gave' these estates, the sense is that he did so not as lord of the estate but as duke of Normandy, endorsing Enna's donation with his authority. Meslay,[157] however, was a benefice that Enna held from the duke, and it seems highly likely that the duke's consent was necessary in this instance because Meslay was ducal land, albeit land held from the duke in some form of dependant tenure.[158]

At Dudo's request, Richard II granted the churches which Dudo had received 'in benefice' (*in benefitio*) from Richard I to the church of Saint-Quentin.[159] The grant's language strongly suggests that Richard I did not fully alienate these estates from ducal control; instead, it seems that Dudo held the land from the duke until this donation. It is reasonable to make the same deduction from an act, witnessed by the Conqueror early in his reign, in which *Adelelmus*, a knight, donated the lands Robert I gave him as a benefice to Mont-Saint-Michel.[160] More explicit examples seemingly confirm that land given by dukes in benefice continued to be held from them. An act issued in late 1040 records that:

> dedit Willelmus comes Sancto Petro Pratelli de dominio suo ecclesiam de Bollivilla et terram ad eandem pertinentem. Hoc autem factum est suggestione et intercessione cuiusdam archidiaconi, nomine Widonis, qui eam in beneficio tenebat.
>
> [Count William gave to Saint-Pierre de Préaux of his demesne the church of Boulleville and the land pertaining to it.[161] This was done at the

[157] Seine-Maritime, cant. Darnétal, comm. Saint-Aubin-Epinay.
[158] Consent of lords to alienations made by those who held land from them may not have been legally necessary but were assiduously sought out and advisable in practice: Tabuteau, *Transfers*, 179–87.
[159] F 18 (SCRIPTA 1445): 'ut ecclesias quas dedit pater meus suprascriptus ei in benefitio, concederem'.
[160] F 110 (SCRIPTA 1554): 'Rotbertus…dedit in beneficium cuidam militum suorum nomine Adelelmo'.
[161] Eure, cant. Beuzeville.

> suggestion and intercession of a certain archdeacon, named Guy, who held it in benefice.][162]

The church of Boulleville is simultaneously described as part of William's demesne but also held in benefice from him, suggesting that, although Archdeacon Guy was holding the estate, it was still seen as ducal land of which William was the ultimate lord. Similar inferences can be drawn from more of the Conqueror's acts. In 1057, Landry l'Aiguillon gave to Fécamp the tithe of Anneville with two churches,[163] which he described as being 'of my benefice (*de meo benefitio*) which I hold (*teneo*) from William, count of the Normans'.[164] An extant single sheet original, which features the Conqueror's autograph signature, records that Gilbert Crespin donated to Jumièges 'the benefice (*benefitium*), namely Hauville,[165] that I have (*obtineo*) being a soldier (*militans*) of my aforementioned lord, [Duke William]'.[166]

The relationship between the duke and Maino of Fougères, who gave the church of Savigny-le-Vieux to Marmoutier Abbey,[167] seemed to be characterized by some form of dependant tenure.[168] Maino is described as *homo militie seculari* of Duke William, *de cuis est ecclesia illa casamento*.[169] The Conqueror gave land at Cauville-sur-Mer,[170] 'with the consent of the knight, Hugh, in whose benefice it resides (*in cuius beneficio manet*)', to the abbey of Montivilliers.[171] In a post-conquest act—which survives as an original, albeit in poor condition—for Saint-Étienne, Caen, the Conqueror confirmed 'the land which William Pavot has of my benefice (*de meo beneficio habet*)'.[172] It is likely that a similar meaning was being conveyed in another

---

[162] F 97 (SCRIPTA 1541).
[163] Seine-Maritime, cant. Barentin, comm. Anneville-Ambourville.
[164] F 139 (SCRIPTA 1583).
[165] Eure, cant. Bourg-Achard.
[166] F 188 (SCRIPTA 1631). While *obtinere* can mean 'to obtain' rather than 'to have', the latter is clearly preferable in this case, not least because the verb appears in the active present tense.
[167] Manche, cant. Saint-Hilaire-du-Harcouët.
[168] F 162 (SCRIPTA 1606).
[169] For *casamentum* as a synonym for benefice or fief, see *Recueil*, ed. Fauroux, 457; Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 119–20; *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R. Ashdowne, D. Howlett, and R. Latham, (Oxford, 2018) I: http://www.dmlbs.ox.ac.uk/web/dmlbs.html; West, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution*, 201.
[170] Seine-Maritime, cant. Octeville-sur-Mer.
[171] F 166 (SCRIPTA 1611).
[172] B 45 (SCRIPTA 6458).

original charter for Saint-Étienne, which records that the Conqueror granted land in Grainville-sur-Odon,[173] 'which Hugh of Rosel held from me (*tenuit de me*)'.[174] In 1089, while at Vernon, Robert Curthose conceded and confirmed to the cathedral of Bayeux the fief (*feudum*) that *Ebremarus* held from the Conqueror in Bayeux and Rouen, as in other parts of Normandy.[175] While the rest of the fief remains unknown, the land *Ebremarus* held in Bayeux and Rouen can be considered ducal.

It may be impossible to deduce the exact relationship between the ruler and the people who occupied the land. Interestingly, in the authentic confirmation charter issued in favour of the abbey of Saint-Étienne by the Conqueror, the phrase 'the land for which Roger served me (*michi serviebat*)' has been crossed through and replaced with 'the alod (*alodium*) which Roger the bald (*Calvus*) holds there (*ibi tenet*)'.[176] Whatever the circumstances and motivations behind this correction, the difference between whether Roger's estate was alodial land or land for which he served clearly mattered to someone.

When it can be established through explicit language in the charters that the land being donated was a ducal benefice or held from the duke in some form of dependent tenure, such estates have been identified as ducal. In cases where this cannot be established, that is, most of the estates granted by others recorded in ducal charters, the land has not been classified as ducal. However, these non-ducal estates are still of interest. Grants confirmed by ducal charter reveal the places that were seen to be within the reach of Norman ducal authority. Acts witnessed or confirmed by the duke, regardless of whether the grants they recorded were ducal, demonstrate that the duke's authority was recognized, at the very least by the beneficiary, but almost certainly by the donor as well.[177] The land being transferred was seen

[173] Calvados, cant. Évrecy.
[174] B 51 (SCRIPTA 6464).
[175] *RRAN* I, 308; Haskins, *NI*, 66, no. 1 (SCRIPTA 188).
[176] B 45 (SCRIPTA 6458).
[177] Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 43.

to be within his realm. Furthermore, every time the duke was sought to confirm a transfer of land, his lordship over that land was strengthened. The large number of ducal confirmations of non-ducal transactions constitutes important evidence for the strength of ducal authority in Normandy but not the extent of the duke's landed resources.

Often, the duke's intervention in a non-ducal grant may be nothing more than as a witness to a transaction, evidenced by his signature.[178] For example, when Richard II's brother, Count Robert, gave his *alodum* at Tissey to Mont-Saint-Michel,[179] the duke witnessed the charter which recorded the grant.[180] In this instance, and in the many others like it, the duke's subscription served to sanction or endorse the grant with his authority. Since the charter does not state that Robert held Tissey from the duke, it does not constitute evidence that Tissey was ducal land; indeed, the fact that the land is described as Robert's alod suggests otherwise. However, the act shows that Tissey was a place subject to ducal lordship.

The Narrative Accounts

Although most of the evidence for ducal estates comes from the voluminous charter material, the narrative sources remain important for this study. The majority of the ducal land that appears in the charters was granted away, but the narrative accounts reveal ducal land that remained under long-term ducal control, including important ducal residences, known also from the places of issue, as well as strategic, fortified sites. This evidence is slight in comparison, with just under 100 references to some fifty-five places securely identifiable as ducal residences, fortifications, and estates made in the narrative sources. Dudo of Saint-

[178] There are many instances where ducal intervention is most simply expressed thus. For example, F 82 (SCRIPTA 1525), 84 (1527), 92 (1536), 116 (1560), 184 (1627), 185 (1628), 186 (1629), 129 (1573), 131 (1575), 233 (1675).
[179] Manche, cant. Avranches, comm. Dragey-Ronthon.
[180] F 16 (SCRIPTA 1443).

Quentin made the earliest reference to the ducal residence at Fécamp, recording that Richard I was born there in *c.*935, and he stated that it was to *Rotomagensis urbis arcibus* that Richard's parents, William Longsword and Leutgarde, went immediately after their marriage.[181] According to Flodoard of Reims, Rollo had a fortification at Eu and Richard I controlled fortifications at Évreux and Arques early in his minority.[182] William of Jumièges recorded a ducal presence along the southern frontier at Exmes, Falaise, Ivry, Alençon, and Dreux,[183] and the *castrum* Robert I built at Cherrueix during a campaign against Count Alan III of Brittany to strengthen the Breton march.[184] Similarly, the fortifications at Breteuil, Ambrières, and Tillières-sur-Avre are known from his description of the Conqueror's military campaigns in the 1040s and 1050s.[185] Without the narrative sources, knowledge of such ducal holdings would be severely limited.

Moreover, the absence of charters from the first fifty years of Normandy's history means that the early ducal period would be left in the dark were it not for the narrative sources. However, these sources, though invaluable, are not without their problems. The principal narrative account for tenth-century Normandy comes from Dudo of Saint-Quentin, who, writing in the duchy for the ducal house during the first two decades of the eleventh century, often confused the past or deliberately revised it in order to reflect the interests and justify the political agenda of Richard II's court.[186] There are many legendary aspects to Dudo's account of Rollo's settlement of Normandy, but for the reigns of William Longsword and especially Richard I, who first asked Dudo to write his history, he is more reliable. More contemporary and less overwhelmingly pro-ducal, the annals written by Flodoard from *c.*920 to his death in 966 report the politics and conflicts of West Francia from the perspective of

[181] Dudo, *Historia*, 193, 218; *History*, 70, 94–6.
[182] Flodoard, *Annales*, 31, 88, 95.
[183] *GND* II, 22–3, 40–1, 44–5, 48–51, 52–3.
[184] *GND* II, 56–9. Ille-et-Vilaine, cant. Dol-de-Bretagne.
[185] *GND* II, 100–1, 124–7, 146–7, 152–3.
[186] Dudo, *History*, xiii–xix; Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*.

Reims with its archbishop's interests in mind.[187] However, Flodoard, and Richer of Saint-Remi,[188] who continued to chronicle West Frankish affairs down to the last decade of the tenth century, did not provide much detail on Normandy, a duchy on the periphery of French royal politics.

Most importantly, the narrative accounts reveal much about the politics of land and lordship in ducal Normandy, especially regarding the relationship between the duke and the secular aristocracy. The charter evidence, which predominantly records ducal patronage in favour of ecclesiastical establishments, names individuals with secular titles such as *comes* and *vicecomes*, but the narrative sources reveal such men as political actors and officials. Furthermore, the narrative sources detail the role that land played in rule and conflict in Normandy and demonstrate that land granted away by dukes could often return to ducal hands through forfeiture. Dozens of distinct instances of internal conflict in Normandy are recorded in the narrative accounts of this period. Following a conflict, the sources tell of how defeated or subjugated lords were often imprisoned or exiled by the duke (albeit mostly only temporarily), and, while it is not always explicitly stated, the implication is that such individuals had their land confiscated by the duke. Such instances of estate forfeiture in Normandy are explored in more detail in the following two chapters.[189]

The tenth-century evidence for the politics of land and lordship is provided by the aforementioned accounts of Dudo, Flodoard, and Richer, while the principal accounts of Normandy between 996 and 1066 are the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* of William of Jumièges and the *Gesta Guillelmi* of William of Poitiers. Beginning in the 1050s, William of Jumièges started his *Gesta* by revising and condensing Dudo's earlier history—sometimes inserting new information—before adding his own account of the reigns of Richard II, Richard III,

---

[187] Flodoard, *Annales*, v–xxix; *Annals*, viii–xi.
[188] Richer of Saint-Remi, *Histoire de France, 888–995*, ed. and trans. R. Latouche (Paris, 1930–7); *Histories*, ed. and trans. J. Lake (Cambridge, MA, 2011).
[189] Below, 81–93, 114–33.

Robert I, and William II.[190] Having completed his work before 1060, he returned to it in the late 1060s to add an account of the Norman conquest, which he finished in 1070.[191] Very soon after this, William of Poitiers undertook the bulk of the writing for his biography of William the Conqueror, whom he had served as ducal chaplain.[192] He stopped writing *c.*1077, having brought his history—composed principally to praise and justify the Norman conquest—down to 1071,[193] but the incomplete version of the surviving text breaks off after its account of Count Eustace II of Boulogne's attack on Dover in 1067. The major narrative accounts of Norman politics between the conquest and 1106 were written after this period. Chief among these twelfth-century chroniclers is Orderic Vitalis, who revised and continued the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* down to his own time around the first decade of the twelfth century,[194] and subsequently wrote his *Historia Ecclesiastica* between 1114 and 1141.[195] Orderic also had access to the now lost complete manuscript of the *Gesta Guillelmi*, making his account of the campaigns of 1066–71 invaluable.[196] Following Orderic, Robert of Torigni also made interpolations into the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, bringing the narrative down to 1135 with his account of Henry I's reign, before writing his own chronicle of the twelfth century.[197]

All of the Norman historians have their limitations for this study of ducal land and lordship, especially when it comes to their accounts of events that took place long before their lifetimes.[198] However, these individuals, established in wealthy ecclesiastical houses, were not so poorly informed about land, inheritance, and succession. In particular, Orderic, who

---

[190] *GND* I, v–xx.
[191] *GND* I, xxxii–xxxv.
[192] *GG*, I, xv–xvii
[193] *GG*, xx; D. Bates, 'The Conqueror's Earliest Historians', in *Writing Medieval Biography: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, ed. D. Bates, J. Crick, and S. Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2006).
[194] *GND* I, xxi, lxxviii; OV I, 28–30.
[195] OV I, 46–7; II, xv–xvi; *Orderic Vitalis: Life, Works, and Interpretations*, ed. C.C. Rozier, D. Roach, G.E.M. Gasper, and E. van Houts (Woodbridge, 2016), xiv.
[196] Below, 211–32.
[197] *GND* I, xxi; RT I, xxvi–xxxi, xlvii–lvii.
[198] Tabuteau, *Transfers*, 12–3.

probably presided over St-Evroul's *scriptorium* as the abbey's librarian, would have been well versed in reading, copying, and possibly drafting charters,[199] and even William of Jumièges, who is not known to have had such a role in his abbey, used charters as evidence.[200] Robert of Torigni had extensive experience reading and editing texts from his days as a novice surrounded by books in a great monastic library.[201] As abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, he would have been interested in—and well placed to write about—land and politics in Normandy, even if he lacked the literary flare of his known fellow authors of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*.[202] Orderic's familiarity and competence with charters, the terminology of which he often employed in his *Historia*,[203] allowed him to write with a greater degree of legal precision, and while his treatment of Robert Curthose's reign might have been tendentious, it was grounded in the official interpretation of events propounded on behalf of Henry I after 1106.[204] Therefore, although the accounts of these historians need to be read with caution, they remain valuable sources of information for this study.

The Interpretation of Ducal Land Distribution

The Appendix lists over 1,000 ducal estates which have been identified from the charters and narrative sources.[205] This dataset forms the basis for reconstructing, mapping, and analysing ducal land. Below, Map 1 plots the geographical distribution of this evidence with each red dot representing the location of a known ducal estate in this period. In addition, the

---

[199] G. Garnett, 'Robert Curthose: The Duke Who Lost His Trousers' *ANS* 35 (2013), 220–3. Many twelfth-century historians in England can also be shown to have been or to have become precentors of their houses: G. Garnett, *The Norman Conquest in English History: Volume I: A Broken Chain?* (Oxford, 2021), 13–80.
[200] *GND* I, xl–xli; F 74; R.H.C. Davis, 'William of Jumièges, Robert Curthose and the Norman Succession', *EHR* 95 (1980); Garnett, 'Ducal Succession', 105–7; 'Robert Curthose', 217.
[201] RT I, xxvi–xxvii.
[202] RT I, xxxi–lvii; *GND* I, xci.
[203] T. Roche, 'Reading Orderic with Charters in Mind', in *Orderic Vitalis: Life, Works and Interpretations*, ed. C.C. Rozier, D. Roach, G.E.M. Gasper, and E. van Houts (Woodbridge, 2016), 145–70
[204] Garnett, 'Robert Curthose', 213, 216–7, 223–42; W.M. Aird, 'Orderic's Secular Rulers and Representations of Personality and Power in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*', 189–216.
[205] Appendix A.

yellow dots represent non-ducal estates which appear in ducal charters, showing the location of all the non-ducal land confirmed by dukes in the same period. It is not possible to represent the size or the value of individual estates because the available Norman evidence does not usually reveal such information. There are hardly any boundary clauses or fiscal values, and the minimal evidence for judging the size of an estate comes from the occasional charter references to the number of *hospites* on the land, or the acres of meadow attached to it. As such, the dots are all uniform in size and just denote location. The borders of the current French administrative region of Normandy, broadly coterminous with the historic duchy as it looked from the beginning of the eleventh century, are shown in the maps for orientation.[206] Medieval Normandy did not have such rigid land borders. Moving further away from centres of ducal power meant that the duke's authority was felt to a lesser degree, all the while moving closer to centres of neighbouring powers such as Brittany, Anjou, Blois-Chartres, and Flanders. The frontier, therefore, was a fluid region, subject to various intersecting spheres of influence, fluctuating as Norman power waxed and waned relative to that of its neighbours.[207] The map shows that ducal estates were located far and wide throughout Normandy, with the notable exceptions of the southern and eastern frontiers.[208]

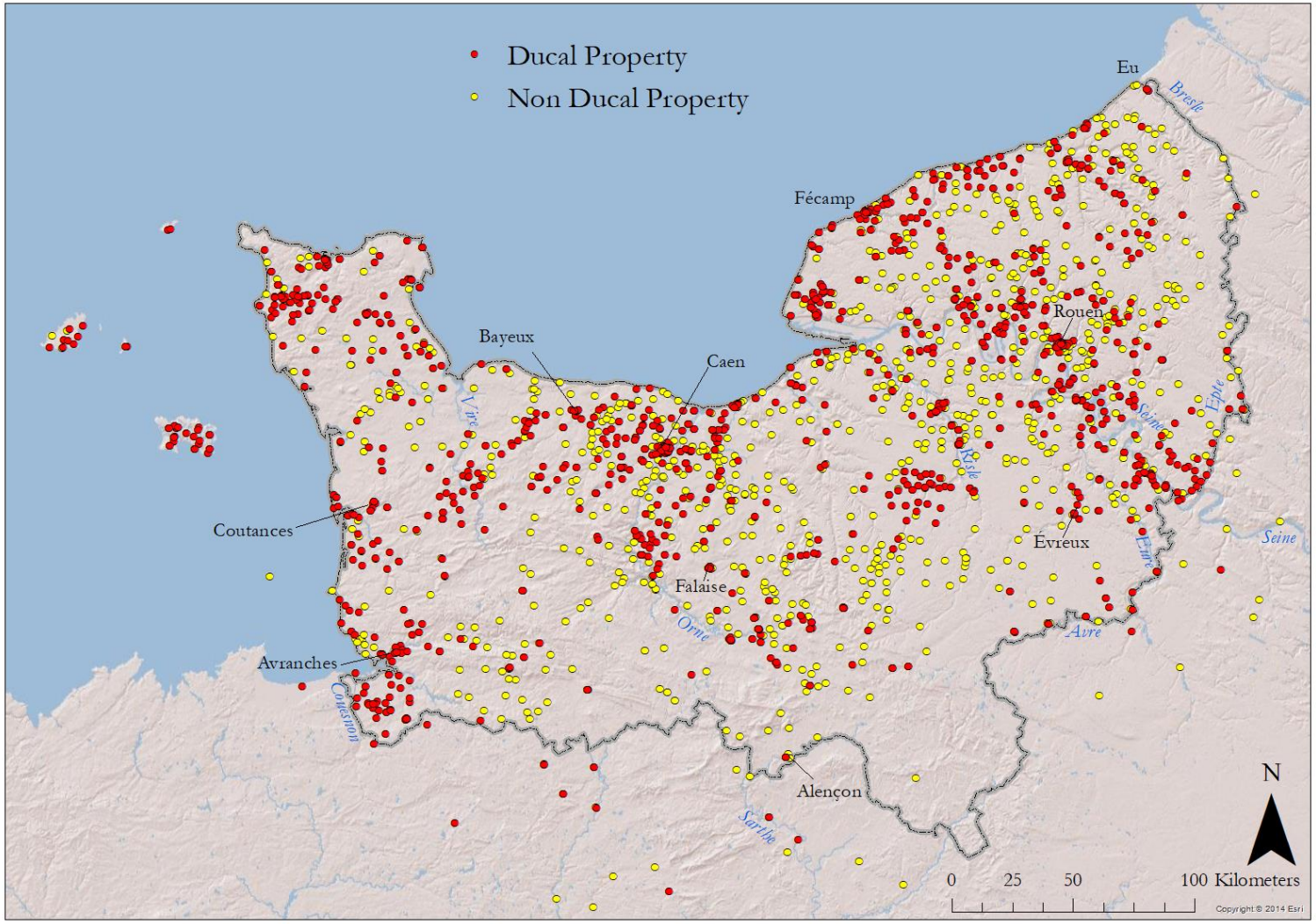
---

[206] As of 2016, Normandy is one of France's eighteen administrative regions and is comprised of five departments created in 1790 as a result of the administrative reforms of the French Revolution: Calvados, Eure, Manche, Orne, and Seine-Maritime. Before the Revolution, Normandy had been a province of the French kingdom since Philip II's conquest of the mainland duchy in 1204. The shape of Normandy has, despite the turbulence of conquest and revolution, remained essentially unchanged for a millennium.

[207] For Normandy's frontier, see Lemarignier, *Recherches sur l'hommage*; J. Le Maho, 'L'apparition des seigneuries châtelaines dans le Grand-Caux à l'époque ducale', *Archéologie Médiévale* 6 (1976); D. Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1986); G. Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême Xe–XIIe siècles* (Flers, 1990–1); K. Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France: The County of the Perche 1000–1226* (Woodbridge, 2002); Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine*; D. Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2004); Bauduin, *La première Normandie*; E. van Torhoudt, 'Les sièges du pouvoir des Néel, vicomtes dans le Cotentin', in *Les lieux de pouvoir au Moyen Âge en Normandie et sur ses marges*, ed. A.-M. Flambard-Héricher (Caen, 2006); J. Mesqui, *Les seigneurs d'Ivry, Bréval et Anet aux XIe et XIIe siècles: châteaux et familles à la frontière normande* (Caen, 2011); A. Lemoine-Descourtieux, *La frontière normande de l'Avre de la fondation de la Normandie à sa réunion au domaine royal (911–1204)* (Rouen, 2012); L.V. Hicks, 'The Concept of the Frontier in Norman Chronicles: A Comparative Approach', in *Norman Expansion: Connections, Continuities, and Contrast*, ed. K.J. Stringer and A. Jotischky (London, 2016); J. Moore, 'The Norman Aristocracy in the Long Eleventh Century: Three Case Studies', DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2017).

[208] The significance and interpretation of these gaps are explored below, 108–13.

Map 1. Ducal Land and Non-Ducal Estates Confirmed by Dukes, 911–1106



The Seine valley and Upper Normandy more generally were the ducal heartlands, containing a higher concentration of ducal estates than the rest of the duchy. This is not a surprise considering that the first Scandinavians initially settled in Rouen and its environs before expanding westward throughout the period. While Upper Normandy is certainly more densely populated with ducal estates, the western regions of the Bessin, Cotentin, and Avranchin in Lower Normandy are hardly lacking their fair share. Similarly, Normandy's coastlines are dominated by ducal land, especially on the coast of Upper Normandy north of the Seine, and all around the Cotentin peninsula. The many ducal estates along Normandy's coasts and rivers suggest that the dukes were keen to establish themselves on or near the water. Again, this should come as no surprise considering their Viking heritage, which also probably helps to explain why the dukes clearly established a strong foothold on the Channel Islands. In plotting the location of non-ducal estates recorded in the ducal *acta* it is possible to observe the geographical extent of ducal lordship and the rough limits of Normandy itself. Map 1 reveals that ducal confirmation was being sought for transactions of land from all over the duchy, including from areas which are lacking in ducal estates. Norman ducal lordship was clearly recognized there, but the duke was not necessarily perceived to be the only—or even paramount—source of authority in this changeable and fluid region in which Normandy's neighbours could also sometimes exercise influence.

Before turning to the reconstruction and analysis of ducal land and lordship in the following two chapters, some potentially problematic aspects of representation and interpretation must be confronted. The Norman evidence pertains to a wide timeframe of two centuries. Domesday Book produces two relatively comprehensive pictures of the tenurial structure of England in two moments in time—1066 and 1086—but it is not possible to do this for Normandy. Instead, the impression of land in the duchy comes from a corpus of material built up over time, which provides a general indication of ducal land distribution and the reach of ducal lordship throughout this period but cannot provide a precise and complete

picture for any exact moment in time. Furthermore, since the charters mentioning ducal land predominantly record grants, most of the evidence, when mapped, shows estates that were once ducal, resulting in a reconstruction of *quondam* ducal land. The nature of the evidence makes this problem unavoidable, but there are two reasons why the impression of the ducal estates presented remains meaningful and useful.

First, ducal land granted away often tended to find its way back into ducal hands, usually through confiscation, spoliation, and inheritance. Estate confiscation offered dukes a lucrative way of replenishing their stock of land, and dukes are known to have despoiled the estates of Norman religious houses, evidenced by the restorations they made.[209] However, it is probable that much despoiled church land remained in ducal hands, mostly unobservable in the evidence because it was never restored. For example, even though Robert I restored a quarter of a vill at Louvetot to Saint-Wandrille,[210] it is known that the initial grant made by Richard I to the abbey was of half of Louvetot.[211] It could be that Robert had only despoiled the quarter and so was making a full restoration, but it is equally possible that he had despoiled everything Saint-Wandrille possessed at Louvetot, and was only prepared to restore half of what he had taken.

Ducal estates used to bestow dowers upon duchesses often returned to ducal hands through normal routes of inheritance. A husband bestowed a dower on his wife in order that she might have land and a livelihood after his death. Dower land, while ostensibly settled on the wife at the start of the marriage, in practice usually remained under the husband's control during his lifetime. It was therefore only upon the duke's death that his widowed duchess gained full control over her dower land. However, if the duchess predeceased her husband,

---

[209] Duke Robert I is often singled out as the most culpable despoiler of church land. Eight charters issued in his short reign include restorations to ecclesiastical houses of estates which he is said to have despoiled: F 15 (SCRIPTA 1442), 49 (1495), 66 (1512), 67 (1513), 70 (1516), 73 (1519), 74 (1520), 80 (1523), 85 (1528), 90 (1533).
[210] Seine-Maritime, cant. Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon.
[211] F 80 (SCRIPTA 1523), 52 (1498).

the dower reverted to—or rather, remained under—ducal control. For example, when Duchess Judith died in 1017, the generous dower that Richard II had bestowed upon her remained in his hands.[212] In 1025, Richard donated significant amounts of his late wife's dower to Fécamp, including notably the abbey which she had founded at Bernay.[213] By 1020, the abbey of Marmoutier was in possession of Judith's former dower land at Helleville,[214] in the Cotentin.[215] Six vills in the *vicaria* of *Kelgenas* granted to Judith were almost certainly granted to Viscount Nigel I of the Cotentin, before his death *c.*1042.[216] Judith's dower clearly remained under her husband's control until he granted some of the estates to other beneficiaries. Furthermore, while a duchess might grant some of their dower away in their lifetimes—usually with expressed ducal consent—the land she retained would descend through normal routes of inheritance to her children, including future dukes.

A glimpse of Duchess Gunnor's dower can be caught in an aforementioned ducal act of 1015 in which the dowager duchess donated her dower at Bretteville-sur-Odon and Domjean,[217] described as *aloda*, to Mont-Saint-Michel.[218] This terminology could suggest that the estates were, at a point long after her husband's death nearly twenty years before, Gunnor's to grant as she pleased. However, since these estates would have otherwise passed to her son, the reigning Duke Richard II, it would have likely been at least expedient—if not outright necessary—for Gunnor to get her son's permission to make this donation. Richard II seemingly predeceased his mother, but the dower Gunnor retained until her death almost certainly returned to ducal control through inheritance. Gunnor was certainly dead before *c.*1033 when her grandson, Robert I, granted Fécamp an estate at Ourville-en-Caux,[219] which

[212] F 11 (SCRIPTA 1437).
[213] F 35 (SCRIPTA 1461). There are no less than eighteen identifiable estates.
[214] Manche, cant. Les Pieux
[215] F 23 (SCRIPTA 1450).
[216] Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 83–4. For the descent of these vills to Viscount Nigel, see Hagger, 'How the west was won', 48–55.
[217] Calvados, cant. Caen-1; Manche, cant. Condé-sur-Vire.
[218] F 17 (SCRIPTA 1444).
[219] Seine-Maritime, cant. Saint-Valery-en-Caux.

he claimed his grandmother, most probably Gunnor, had intended to give to the abbey.[220] It may be speculated that the dower Richard III provided for his wife, Duchess Adela,[221] also ended up under Robert I's control soon after his elder brother's death. Richard and Adela had had no children,[222] and Adela's subsequent marriage to Count Baldwin V of Flanders would have provided Robert with the necessary justification to take his former sister-in-law's land in Normandy.

The second reason why the charter evidence conveys a meaningful impression of ducal land distribution is that around half of the ducal grants identified were only partial grants. Rather than granting an entire ducal estate, dukes often gave only a portion—perhaps a half or a quarter—of it, or a specific part of the land such as the meadow or the woodland. In other cases, the duke gave only appurtenances to a ducal estate, such as its church, mills, fisheries, or salt-works. Sometimes, dukes conveyed just rights or customs pertaining to a ducal estate, including tithes, tolls, or forest, market, and judicial rights. When dukes made these partial grants, they presumably retained what remained of the estate for themselves. Admittedly, this is an assumption, but it is a reasonable and logical one to make. Indeed, Hagger's recent work on ducal estates in the Cotentin rests on the basis that, 'to begin with at least, the dukes held the whole of every place' in their possession.[223] For example, an original pancarte drawn up in the late eleventh century—probably around 1087—records the Conqueror's grant of the 'third part (*tertiam partem*) of Motteville' to Jumièges,[224] which suggests that the duke controlled an estate at Motteville,[225] the remainder of which he continued to hold thereafter. Similarly, when Rollo gave the church and a fifth of the land at Bionval to Saint-Ouen in Rouen,[226] it may be inferred that the remaining four fifths of Bionval were retained by the

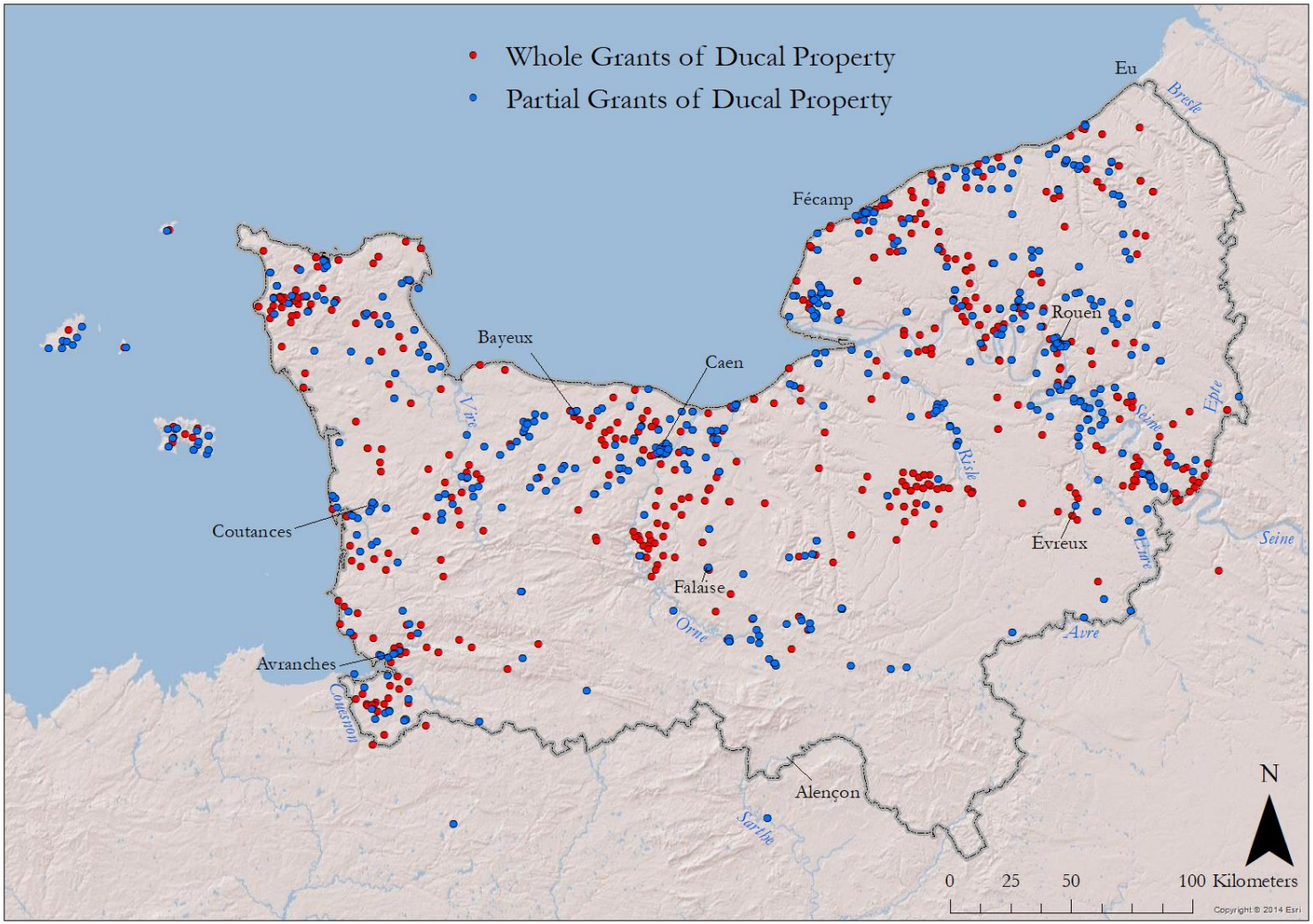
[220] F 85 (SCRIPTA 1528).
[221] F 58 (SCRIPTA 1504).
[222] Richard III had known children including a son—Nicholas—by an unknown mistress: below, 88.
[223] Hagger, 'How the west was won', 22; Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 43.
[224] B 164 (SCRIPTA 357, 6509).
[225] Seine-Maritime, cant. Yvetot.
[226] F 53 (SCRIPTA 1499).

duke.[227] Furthermore, when the dukes did grant an entire vill, they may have retained an interest in it in the form of rights or customs. Map 2 highlights the partial grants of ducal land in blue below, and it is notable that the same essential distribution pattern as the rest of the evidence is maintained.

For these reasons, the evidence from the ducal *acta* and narrative sources provides a reliable indication of the extent and spread of ducal land. Although it is impossible to plot the ducal estates exactly as they stood at any particular point in time, it remains possible to get an impression of their distribution—and how that distribution evolved—throughout this period. Ducal grants of land in a certain region are evidence, therefore, for a ducal landed presence in that region. Dukes could only grant estates and rights that they possessed, even if only recently acquired. Furthermore, plotting the non-ducal land confirmed by ducal charters provides an indication of the shape of Normandy and the limits of ducal lordship. Despite the reliance on ducal charters issued in favour of religious houses, in combining this material with the narrative accounts, the methodology succeeds in showing both the location of ducal land and the reach of ducal authority. It is very interesting that despite the Upper Norman bias in the charter evidence, as noticed by Bates,[228] Map 1 shows a fairly even spread of ducal and non-ducal estates across the whole duchy. There is much charter evidence from Normandy because the duchy's ecclesiastical institutions mostly kept good records. With fewer monastic houses in southern and Lower Normandy, the evidence for land in these regions—albeit relatively sparse—is valuable and stronger than the gaps in the maps might first suggest. If anything, caution must be exercised lest the density of ducal estates in Upper Normandy relative to the rest of the duchy is overestimated. Of course, the dukes had not always held dominion over the whole of Normandy, as the following chapter demonstrates.

[227] Eure, cant. Les Andelys, comm. Vexin-sur-Epte.
[228] Bates, *Normandy*, 152.

Map 2. Whole and Partial Grants of Ducal Land, 911–1106



2. The Ducal Estates in Normandy, 911–1035

This chapter reconstructs and examines the estates of the dukes who ruled Normandy before William the Conqueror. It begins with an examination of the evidence for the ducal takeover of the Frankish royal *fisc* in the region of Carolingian Neustria that became Normandy. The second section traces the evolution of the ducal estates from the start of Rollo's reign to the death of his great-great-grandson, Robert I, analysing the importance of land in the expansion and maintenance of ducal power during this formative period. The chapter concludes by exploring ducal land and patronage through the lens of conflict in early Normandy. This closing section reveals the fundamental role land played in the political relationship between the duke and the aristocracy, which included members of the ducal family.

The Fate of the Frankish Royal *Fisc* in Normandy

Historians have debated the extent to which ducal Normandy was a continuation of the Frankish Neustria out of which it was carved in terms of government, law, society, and culture. The paucity of contemporary documentation for Neustria in the period *c.*850–*c.*950 hinders study of this issue, but historians have tended to muster in two camps. The first camp has contended that ducal Normandy was fundamentally Carolingian in character with Norman ducal rule representing essential continuity of Frankish royal government. Conversely, the second camp has argued that Normandy, heavily influenced by its Scandinavians settlers, was a successor state in which Frankish institutions ceased to operate in any recognisable way soon after 911. A conclusive solution to this problem is beyond the remit of this thesis, but this section attempts to address an integral aspect of the debate about

early Normandy by exploring the fate of the Frankish royal *fisc* in the duchy. It is argued here that the early Norman dukes, regarding themselves—or wishing to be regarded—as successors to the West Frankish kings, laid claim to the royal *fisc* in Neustria under their sway. The evidence suggests that they were largely successful in this endeavour. Many Frankish royal estates became Norman ducal estates, exhibiting continuity in terms of elite landed society in the region before and after 911.

The Frankish royal *fisc*, the network of estates under the king's direct control, formed the basis of Merovingian and Carolingian power throughout Francia.[229] This included not just the king's own land, but also estates assigned to counts and other royal agents, and certain ecclesiastical benefices ringfenced for royal patronage. Neustria, an important region within Francia, contained plenty of royal land, and Rouen was a significant—if peripheral—centre of Carolingian royal authority. Charles Martel's nephew, Hugh, was abbot of Jumièges and bishop of Rouen in the 720s,[230] and Martel's illegitimate son, Remigius, became archbishop of Rouen in 755 under King Pepin the Short.[231] The *Royal Frankish Annals* record that Charlemagne celebrated his first Easter as king at Rouen in 769 and was there again just before his imperial coronation in 800.[232] His son, King Louis the Pious, was in Rouen in 818 and again in 824 when he received the Byzantine envoys of Emperor Michael II.[233] King Charles the Bald's uncle, *Ruodulfus*, was abbot of Jumièges in the middle of the ninth century.[234] Despite an increase in the intensity and the frequency of Viking raids into the Seine valley from the second half of the ninth century, the Frankish count of Rouen, appointed by the Carolingians, was still in office in 905.[235]

---

[229] Costambeys, Innes, and MacLean, *Carolingian World*, 172, 179–81, 253–4, 313–7, 320.
[230] J. van der Straeten, 'Vie inédite de S. Hugues, évêque de Rouen', *Analecta Bollandiana* 87 (1969).
[231] N. Gauthier, 'Rouen pendant le Haut Moyen Age (650–850)', *BdF* 16/2 (1989), 17.
[232] *ARF*, 768, 800.
[233] *ARF*, 818, 824.
[234] *RACC* 111.
[235] Bates, *Normandy*, 11.

The details regarding the fate of the Carolingian royal estates in Neustria and the Scandinavian settlement in Rouen and the surrounding area in the early tenth century are difficult to discern. However, demonstrable continuity observed in the ecclesiastical estates in the region suggests that the establishment of Rollo's Vikings around the Seine was seemingly not anarchic. The persisting problem is that the process and the extent of the Norman takeover of land—including the royal *fisc*—is obscure.[236] While it is impossible to be certain until the Carolingian *fisc* in Neustria has been fully reconstructed,[237] historians have nevertheless suggested possibilities which are explored below.

Over a century ago, on the millennial anniversary of the traditional foundation of Normandy, Prentout gave a series of lectures in which he stressed the speed at which the Norse settlers assimilated into Frankish Neustria.[238] Soon after, Haskins published his study of *Norman Institutions* in which he argued for clear continuity regarding ecclesiastical land.[239] He demonstrated that major religious establishments in Normandy enjoyed immunities and privileges similar to those they had possessed under Louis the Pious, exemplified in the estate held by Saint-Denis at Berneval-le-Grand,[240] which the early dukes confirmed to the abbey.[241] Early eleventh-century ducal charters confirmed the estates of Fécamp, Jumièges, and Mont-Saint-Michel to be held, without any secular or judicial interference, 'as things pertaining to the *fiscum dominicum*'.[242] Haskins argued that, since ecclesiastical estates were not exempt from the royal authority of the Frankish king and his local count, the protection of such land in Neustria passed to the Norman dukes, who, as counts of Rouen, retained some authority

---

236 Bates, *Normandy*, 13.
237 J. Barbier, 'Palais et terres du fisc en Neustrie', in *La Neustrie: les pays au nord de la Loire de Dagobert à Charles le Chauve (VIIe–IXe siècles)*, ed. P. Périn and L-C. Feffer (Rouen, 1985); 'Aspects du fisc en Neustrie (VIe–Xe siècles)', *BdF* 16/1 (1989).
238 Prentout, *Essai sur les origines et la fondation du duché de Normandie*.
239 Haskins, *NI*, 25.
240 Seine-Maritime, cant. Dieppe-2, comm. Petit-Caux.
241 First, probably orally, by Rollo, and then by a charter of Richard I, with full immunity and all rights exercised by count or viscount: F 3 (SCRIPTA 1430).
242 F 34 (SCRIPTA 1460), 36 (1481), 73 (1519). This formula is also found in later confirmations issued by the Conqueror: B 141 (SCRIPTA 6593), 164 (357).

over the religious establishments in the region.[243] Without claiming that royal rights simply devolved to the dukes automatically, Haskins emphasised continuity in terms of local government and administration of landed revenue, arguing that Frankish local divisions such as the *pagus* or *vicaria* may have survived in—or merged with—the Norman *comitatus* or *vicecomitatus*.[244] The viscount, the chief local officer of Norman ducal government, was charged with, among other responsibilities, management of the ducal estates and collection of the ducal revenues within his jurisdiction.[245]

After the Second World War, de Boüard, emphasizing Scandinavian influence upon early Normandy, questioned this interpretation,[246] but Musset and Yver subsequently made convincing cases for Carolingian continuity after 911.[247] More recently, Bates, and most scholars since, have broadly taken the continuity line, arguing that the Normans, while bringing Norse elements to their rule, inherited the relatively intact Carolingian *pagi* and *fisc* as well as the prerogatives formerly exercised by the Frankish king: control over secular and ecclesiastical patronage, of taxation and the minting of money, and of permanent fortifications.[248] Searle, however, saw a discontinuity between the old Frankish royal administration and the Norman ducal regime which superseded it in Neustria. Rejecting the notion that early Normandy was built upon Carolingian institutions and dependence on the Frankish king, she argued instead that it was characterized more by Scandinavian elements.[249] Much of the scholarship on early Norman government has been divided along these 'Carolingian-Scandinavian' or 'continuity-discontinuity' lines, although Le Patourel

---

[243] Haskins, *NI*, 26–7.
[244] Haskins, *NI*, 45–6. For their implied equivalence in the early twelfth century, see OV III, 210–1: *uicecomitiam id est uiariam*.
[245] Hagger, 'Norman *vicomte*', 74–9, 82.
[246] De Boüard, 'De la Neustrie Carolingienne à la Normandie Féodale'.
[247] Musset, 'Origines et nature du pouvoir ducal'; Yver, 'Les premières institutions'.
[248] Bates, *Normandy*, 10–13 15–24, 32, 36–8, 163, 179–80, 239–4; Tabuteau, *Transfers*, 5, 273–4 note 36; Wickham, *Inheritance of Rome*, 440–1, 480; Hallam and West, *Capetian France*, 51–4.
[249] Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 3–8, 34–58; 'Frankish Rivalries and Norse Warriors'. Also, van Houts, 'Scandinavian Influence in Norman Literature'.

undertook a synthetic and reconciliatory approach.[250] The problem may be inextricable, as Haskins suggested,[251] but there is some evidence with which to work regarding the specific issue of land.

The fate of Neustrian land under the Normans was considered by Musset, whose seminal article written during the Second World War remains the only piece of scholarship published on this subject to date.[252] Exploring the *régime domanial* in Neustria, Musset investigated the extent to which landed society in Normandy was a continuation of that which had existed in the region under the Franks. Surveying both Frankish and early Norman charters down to the year 1000, he attempted to explore the wider Frankish domanial regime in this period of *bouleversement*. He compiled a catalogue of 108 acts relating to land in Neustria, including some—for example, those attested only by hagiographers—which are doubtful.[253] Nearly 100 of these acts come from the Frankish period, ranging from the beginning of the seventh century down to 905, with just eleven acts from tenth-century Normandy.[254] Musset found clear evidence of continuity in that many churches retained—or quickly regained—their estates in early Normandy despite extensive raids throughout the Seine valley, which was densely populated by the estates of Frankish religious houses.[255] He also remarked upon the survival of Frankish terminology in Norman documents concerning land and noted that Scandinavian toponymy hardly dominates the Neustrian landscape.[256]

Most important for present purposes are Musset's observations about the descent of the Neustrian royal *fisc*. Musset first stated an obvious problem: the only narrative source for early Normandy is the problematic Dudo of Saint-Quentin, who, writing around a hundred

[250] Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, 4–8, 12–3, 280–3.
[251] Haskins, *NI*, 5.
[252] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque'. Subsequent articles which touch on this topic are cited below.
[253] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque', 15–6.
[254] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque', 82–91.
[255] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque', 14, 44–9.
[256] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque', 22–3, 29–35.

years later, did not comment on the fate of the Neustrian *villae* after 911, providing just his famous description of Rollo measuring out land for his followers 'by rope' (*funiculo*).[257] The implications of which, for Musset, were that Dudo wished to present the land as having previously been waste; Rollo's Normandy represented 'un "sol redevenu vierge", une "table rase"'.[258] Musset doubted Dudo's account of a clean sweep and argued that, although there was a certain level of disruption or *bouleversement* caused by the arrival of the Normans, they by no means brought about 'une profonde modification de la structure du domaine'.[259] Musset's argument stemmed from his examination of the diplomatic sources which had hitherto been ignored by historians of 911. The charters are not without their problems and the destruction of ecclesiastical archives caused by Viking raids has left significant gaps in the record, especially for western and central Normandy. The total lack of evidence from the Cotentin and the Avranchin continues to hinder the reconstruction of the *fisc* in these regions.[260] No trace remains, for example, of the royal land in the county of Coutances to which the annalist of Saint-Bertin alluded in 867.[261] Nevertheless, as Musset noted, the evidential bias in favour of Upper Normandy need not be concerning because it was in precisely this region that the Normans first installed themselves.

For Musset, the cession of Frankish territory to Rollo entailed political detachment, transferal of land, and infringement upon ecclesiastical estates by the new—essentially pagan—lords. He observed the emergence of Scandinavian toponymy to describe lands, now occupied by lords of Norse origin or descent, which had, before the start of the tenth century, belonged to people of predominantly Frankish ancestry. Acknowledging that exactly how this transfer

---

[257] Dudo, *Historia*, 170–1; *History*, 51. Recently discussed by J. Blair, S. Rippon, and C. Smart, *Planning in the Early Medieval Landscape* (Liverpool, 2020), 110.
[258] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque', 9–11 at 10.
[259] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque', 12.
[260] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque', 13–6, 50–2; Barbier, 'Palais et terres du fisc en Neustrie', 67. For the history of these regions during the turbulent period following the death of Charles the Bald, see J.M.H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians* (Cambridge, 1992), 187–98; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 27–33; Musset, 'Aperçus sur la colonisation scandinave dans le nord du Cotentin'.
[261] *ASB*, 867.

of land took place is unknowable, Musset deemed the extent of the transfer to be considerable and unquestionable.[262] For Musset, the greatest beneficiary of this immense landed takeover was undoubtedly the duke, 'the principal usurper', as demonstrated by the amount of church land subsequently granted or restored by early dukes in the charters.[263] Conversely, Musset found very few Frankish ecclesiastical estates in the hands of other Norman lords, evidence which he claimed fit with that from neighbouring regions during the dissolution of West Frankish royal authority.

However, according to Musset, Normandy was exceptional in that, despite the initial devastation and upheaval caused by raids and invasion, the appropriation of lands by the Normans appears to have been relatively ordered and organized with ducal intervention from the beginning.[264] This argument was based on his observation that most ecclesiastical land in the region came under ducal control, something which cannot have been coincidental. Furthermore, Musset turned to the fate of the royal estates, the only secular land about which something is known in this era. While he did not compile a list of the royal *fisc* in Neustria, he discussed several royal estates known from his own research and the published work of other scholars on the dissolution of the *fisc*.[265] These included *Arelaunum* (Arelaune-en-Seine) in the forest of Brotonne,[266] *Gemmeticum* (Jumièges),[267] *Pistae* (Pîtres),[268] *Veteres Domus* (Louviers),[269] and *Rotoialum* (Le Vaudreuil).[270] Identifying some thirty royal estates in Neustria, predominantly situated in the *pagi* adjacent to the Seine valley, Musset showed that several large *fiscs*, such as Pîtres, Louviers, and Le Vaudreuil, were subsequently held by early dukes.[271]

---

[262] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque', 41–4 at 42.
[263] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque', 45–7 at 47.
[264] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque', 47–8.
[265] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque', 23–5; Thompson, *Dissolution of the Carolingian Fisc*.
[266] Seine-Maritime, cant. Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon.
[267] Seine-Maritime, cant. Barentin.
[268] Eure, cant. Pont-de-l'Arche.
[269] Eure, cant. Louviers.
[270] Eure, cant. Val-de-Reuil.
[271] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque', 49–50.

With the example of these three almost contiguous estates, Musset concluded that the considerable royal *fisc* in Neustria was inherited by the dukes in Normandy with a regularity similar to that seen, some decades later, when the Capetians took over the Carolingian royal demesne of Île-de-France.[272] Around Rouen and along the Seine valley, Scandinavian settlement was not characterised by anarchic expropriation in Musset's view. Instead, he argued that royal land, including forests, passed extensively and relatively smoothly to the dukes, and that any hiatus between the royal and ducal administrations must have been brief.[273]

Favouring the continuity hypothesis, Musset concluded that Neustrian land was not divided haphazardly and that, in certain respects, 'the memory of ancient borders was respected'.[274] In an article published some forty years later, Musset argued that Normandy was moulded on the pre-existing geography of the ecclesiastical province of Rouen.[275] In the same volume, Rouche showed how the shape of the duchy corresponded with the *missaticum* used to divide the realm for visitations of the *missi* under Louis the Pious.[276] It is possible that the memory of this existing division did not fade after 911, giving the Norman dukes a broad sense of the geographical limits of their rule.[277]

Writing before the editions of Frankish royal and Norman ducal charters were published, Musset was working with limited evidence for the royal *fisc* and the ducal estates, and he expressed his desire for a study of the Norman ducal estates, which might confirm his conclusions with greater security.[278] The present chapter offers a provisional response,

---

[272] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque', 23–4, 50. For the early Capetian royal demesne, Newman, *Le domaine royal*.
[273] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque', 50–1.
[274] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque', 49, 52.
[275] Musset, 'Neustrie carolingienne au duché de Normandie', 426.
[276] M. Rouche, 'Atlas historique', in *La Neustrie: les pays au nord de la Loire de Dagobert a Charles le Chauve (VIIe–IXe siècles)*, ed. P. Périn and L-C. Feffer (Rouen, 1985), 442, 445. Also, see M. Rouche, 'Remarques sur la géographie historique de la Neustrie (650–850)', *BdF* 16/1 (1989).
[277] L. Musset, 'Considérations sur la genèse et le tracé des frontières de la Normandie', *Media in Francia* (Paris, 1989).
[278] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque', 50.

presenting a more comprehensive reconstruction of the ducal estates and providing a better evidential basis for comparison. No reconstruction of the Carolingian *fisc* in Neustria has been published,[279] and such an undertaking is not attempted here. However, it has been possible to build upon the work of Thompson and Musset by identifying royal estates in the published charters of King Charles the Bald,[280] and tracing their descent in Normandy. Below, Table 1 lists, in the first column, sixty Frankish royal estates located in the region of Neustria that would become ducal Normandy. The next three columns give details of the estate's location according to France's modern administrative divisions. The fifth column shows where the evidence has come from, revealing thirty-four places identified by either Thompson or Musset with an additional twenty-six coming from the present survey of Charles the Bald's charters. The penultimate column shows the descent of these estates by listing their first identifiable holders during the Norman period, and the final column provides the source for this identification. Furthermore, the locations of all sixty royal estates are mapped and rendered in different colours according to their descent.[281]

[279] A project to compile a full list of the Carolingian *fisc* in Neustria has previously been proposed: Barbier, 'Aspects du fisc en Neustrie'. Any research, however, remain unpublished.
[280] *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France (840–877)*, ed. A. Giry, M. Prou, and G. Tessier, 3 vols. (Paris, 1943–55)
[281] Below, Map 3.

Table 1. The Frankish Royal *Fisc* and its Descent in Normandy

Place	**Department**	**Canton**	**Commune**	**Frankish Source**	**First Known Norman Holder**[282]	**Norman Source**[283]
Airan	Calvados	Troarn	Valambray	*RACC* 28; Musset, nos. 77–8	Rouen, Saint-Ouen Abbey	F 39 (1484)
Arelaune-en-Seine	Seine-Maritime	Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon		*RACC* 111; Thompson, 63, 67; Musset, nos. 32, 52	Jumièges Abbey	F 100 (1544), 234 (1676)
Bazincourt-sur-Epte	Eure	Gisors		*RACC* 168, 325, 406–7; Thompson, 74	Duke Rollo	F 53 (1499)
Beaunay	Seine-Maritime	Lunery	Beauval-en-Caux	*RACC* 111	Jumièges Abbey	F 220 (1662)
Belcinac	Seine-Maritime	Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon	Vatteville-la-Rue	Thompson, 63; Musset, no. 17	Count William of Arques	F 234 (1676)
Bérigny	Manche	Saint-Clair		*RACC* 28		
Bernay	Eure	Bernay		*RACC* 111	Duke Richard II	F 11 (1437), 35 (1461), 85 (1528)
Berneval-le-Grand	Seine-Maritime	Dieppe-2	Petit-Caux	*RACC* 247	Duke Rollo	F3 (1430); Dudo, *Historia*, 171; Dudo, *History*, 51

[282] Cells in the last two columns are left blank for places that do not appear in the Norman source material.
[283] Charters are listed according to their SCRIPTA number in parenthesis where applicable.

Place	Department	Canton	Commune	Frankish Source	First Known Norman Holder[282]	Norman Source[283]
Bourg-Dun (Le)	Seine-Maritime	Saint-Valery-en-Caux		*RACC* 160	Duke Richard II	F 31 (1457), 34 (1460)
Bouverie (La)	Eure	Bourg-Achard	Saint-Aubin-sur-Quillebeuf	*RACC* 111	Duke William I	F 36 (1481)
Bouville	Eure	Bourgtheroulde-Infreville	Grand-Bourgtheroulde	*RACC* 111		
Caumont	Calvados	Aunay-sur-Odon	Caumont-sur-Aure	Thompson, 75	Duke Richard II	F 52 (1498)
Charleval (Noyon-sur-Andelle)	Eure	Romilly-sur-Andelle		*RACC* 160	Duke William II	OV IV, 184–5
Clécy	Calvados	Thury-Harcourt		*RACC* 223; Musset, no. 83		
Coulmer	Orne	Vimoutiers		*RACC* 111		
Coutances	Manche	Coutances		Thompson, 76	Duke Richard III	F 58 (1504)
Couvains	Orne	Rai	La Ferté-en-Ouche	*RACC* 111		
Étrépagny	Eure	Gisors		*RACC* 247, 399; Thompson, 71; Musset, no. 8		
Fleury-sur-Andelle	Eure	Romilly-sur-Andelle		Thompson, 68	Duke William II	OV IV, 184–5
Flottemanville	Manche	Valognes		Musset, no. 95		
Fontenay-en-Vexin	Eure	Les Andelys	Vexin-sur-Epte	*RACC* 160; Thompson, 68; Musset, no. 38		

Place	Department	Canton	Commune	Frankish Source	First Known Norman Holder[282]	Norman Source[283]
Fontenay-le-Marmion	Calvados	Évrecy		*RACC* 28		
Fonteny (Le)	Orne	Briouze	Montreuil-au-Houlme	*RACC* 111		
Genêts	Manche	Avranches		Musset, no. 95		
Glisolles	Eure	Conches-en-Ouche		Thompson, 65; Musset, no. 37		
Guerrie (La)	Orne	Rai	Le Merlerault	*RACC* 111		
Gueures	Seine-Maritime	Luneray		*RACC* 160		
Heubécourt	Eure	Les Andelys	Heubécourt-Haricourt	*RACC* 237	Duke Robert I	F 66 (1512)
Hodeng-au-Bosc	Seine-Maritime	Eu		*RACC* 160		
Jouy-sur-Eure	Eure	Pacy-sur-Eure		*RACC* 111		
Jumièges	Seine-Maritime	Barentin		*RACC* 111; Thompson, 64; Musset, no. 14	Duke William I	F 36 (1481); B 164 (357)
Londinières	Seine-Maritime	Neufchâtel-en-Bray		*RACC* 399	Duke William I	F 66 (1512)
Longpaon	Seine-Maritime	Darnétal	Darnétal	*RACC* 399	Duke Rollo	*Recueil*, ed. Fauroux, 20
Louviers	Eure	Louviers		*RACC* 180–2; Thompson, 156	Duke Richard I	F 5 (1432)
Martin-Eglise	Seine-Maritime	Dieppe-2		*RACC* 399	Rouen Cathedral	B 230 (6546)
Mayenne	Mayenne	Mayenne		*RACC* 73	Duke William II	*GG*, 66–9

Place	Department	Canton	Commune	Frankish Source	First Known Norman Holder[282]	Norman Source[283]
Mêle-sur-Sarthe (Le)	Orne	Radon		*RACC* 161; Musset, no. 80		
Neaufles-Saint-Martin	Eure	Gisors		*RACC* 399; Musset, no. 91	Duke Robert I	F 66 (1512)
Nesle-Normandeuse	Seine-Maritime	Eu		Thompson, 143		
Normanville	Eure	Évreux-2		Musset, no. 91	Duke Richard I	F 66 (1512)
Ommoy	Orne	Argentan-2		Musset, no. 15		
Pierrefitte	Orne	Argentain-1	Rônai	Thompson, 81	Duke Richard II	F 11 (1437), 214 (1658)
Pierrepont	Seine-Maritime	Neufchâtel-en-Bray	Grandcourt	*RACC* 160		
Pîtres	Eure	Pont-de-l'Arche		*RACC* 269–70, 326; Thompson, 81; Musset, nos. 62, 65, 97	Duke William II	F 94 (6494)
Quillebeuf-sur-Seine	Eure	Bourg-Achard		*RACC* 363; Musset, no. 70	Duke William I	F 36 (1481); B 164 (357)
Rosay[-sur-Lieure]	Eure	Romilly-sur-Andelle		Thompson, 82		
Rouen	Seine-Maritime			*RACC* 160; Thompson, 63, 82	Duke Rollo	F 9 (1435), 53 (1499)
Roumare	Seine-Maritime	Notre-Dame-de-Bondeville		Musset, nos. 9–10	Duke William II	F 94 (1538)
Saâne-Saint-Just (Saane-le-Bourg)	Seine-Maritime	Luneray	Saâne-Saint-Just	*RACC* 160	Duke William II	B 240 (6556)

Place	Department	Canton	Commune	Frankish Source	First Known Norman Holder[282]	Norman Source[283]
Saint-Germain-des-Angles	Eure	Évreux-2		Musset, no. 91	Duke Richard I	F 66 (1512)
Saint-Marcouf	Manche	Valognes		Musset, no. 95	Duke William II	F 128 (1572), 234 (1676)
Saint-Pair-sur-Mer	Manche	Granville		Musset, no. 95	Duke Richard II	F 49 (1495)
Saint-Sauveur-de-Pierrepont	Manche	Créances		*RACC* 160		
Saint-Vigor-le-Grand	Calvados	Bayeux		Musset, no. 1	Duke Robert I	F 64 (1510)
Sept-Meules	Seine-Maritime	Eu		*RACC* 399	Robert of Mesnières	F 101 (1545)
Surcy	Eure	Les Andelys	Mézières-en-Vexin	Thompson, 150	King William II	*RRAN* I, 425
Thury-Harcourt	Calvados	Thury-Harcourt	Le Hom	Thompson, 65	Duke Richard II	F 11 (1437)
Vassy	Calvados	Condé-sur-Noireau	Valdallière	Thompson, 158		
Vaudreuil (Le)	Eure	Val-de-Reuil		Thompson, 64	Duke Richard II	F 9 (1677), 34 (1460)
Villerville	Calvados	Honfleur-Deauville		*RACC* 111		

It is worth drawing out a couple of examples from the table to illustrate the methodology. Bazincourt-sur-Epte is one of several places deriving their names from *Basiu*, a large Carolingian palatial estate on the west bank of the Epte southeast of Rouen.[284] Charles the Bald issued several *acta* there. For example, in 854, he made a grant to Ganelo, one of his followers, 'in the royal palace (*palatio regio*) at Basiu.[285] *Apud salas Basiu*, fifteen years later, the king issued another act in 869.[286] In May 876, less than six months after his imperial coronation, Charles issued two acts 'in our palace (*palatio nostro*) at Basiu' and 'in the imperial palace (*palatio imperiali*) at Basiu'.[287] Ducal land can be identified at this location in the form of Bazincourt (*Bucin Curte*),[288] the church of which Rollo granted to Saint-Ouen Abbey, as confirmed in a charter of his great-grandson, Richard II.[289] Similarly, *Fontanas super Itonam*, which appears in a royal grant to Rouen Cathedral in 874,[290] gave way to the placename Normanville (*Normanivillam*),[291] which Richard I granted—or confirmed—to the same ecclesiastical establishment, according to the restoration made by his grandson, Robert I.[292] It follows that these Frankish royal estates likely became Norman ducal estates.

It has been possible to determine the descent of thirty-six out of the sixty royal estates tabulated above. Of these, thirty were ducal estates and four belonged to Norman religious houses favoured by, and under the protection of, the dukes, leaving just two royal estates in the hands of the Norman lay aristocracy. One of these two, *Belcinac*,[293] an island that has since disappeared from the Seine, was held by Duke Richard II's younger son, Count William of Arques, and may, therefore, have formerly been a ducal estate. The vast majority of the royal

---

[284] For others, see Bézu-Saint-Éloi and Bézu-la-Forêt in Eure, and Bézancourt in Seine-Maritime.
[285] *RACC* 168.
[286] *RACC* 325.
[287] *RACC* 406–7.
[288] Eure, cant. Gisors.
[289] F 53 (SCRIPTA 1499)
[290] Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque', 25.
[291] Eure, cant. Évreux-2.
[292] F 66 (SCRIPTA 1512).
[293] Seine-Maritime, cant. Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon, comm. Vatteville-la-Rue.

fisc with discernible descent ended up in ducal hands. At a minimum, this was over 83%, but may have been over 86% if Count William's estate passed to him from ducal hands. Furthermore, nearly all the rest of the land belonged to the favoured ducal abbeys of Jumièges and Saint-Ouen, and Rouen Cathedral, which were under some level of ducal influence and control.

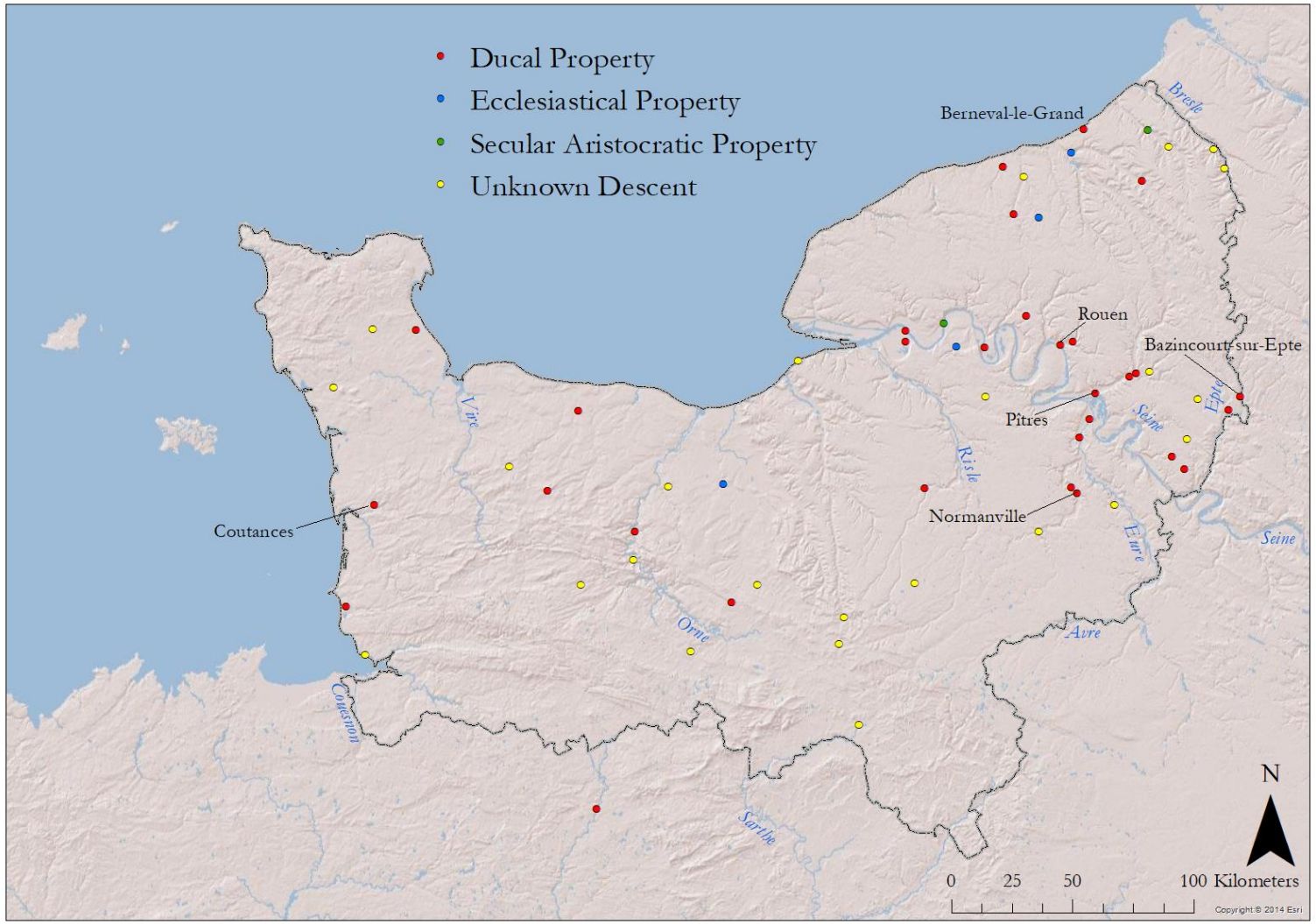
Twenty-four royal estates identified in this survey do not appear in the ducal charters. This suggests that such estates did not end up in the hands of a major Norman ecclesiastical house, although more research of non-ducal Norman charters could prove to contradict this.[294] At present, their descent remains unknown, but there are two broad possibilities. It could be that these estates were in the hands of other secular lords and never came under direct ducal control. On the other hand, they could have been ducal estates that remain hidden from view because they were not granted away. Some of this royal land may well have ended up among the estates of the secular Norman aristocracy. However, even if the unsafe assumption is made that all of it did, that still suggests that, at the very least, over 55%—a most conservative estimate—of the sixty estates surveyed came under ducal control after 911.

The table and map are provisional, and further research of Carolingian and Norman charters, is needed before more secure conclusions can be made. Nevertheless, the evidence analysed here demonstrates considerable continuity between the Frankish royal estates and the Norman ducal estates, suggesting that the Carolingian royal *fisc*, as it stood at the beginning of the tenth century, passed substantially intact to the Norman dukes in the territory over which they came to rule. This strengthens Musset's hypothesis, and the scholarly consensus that has since been building, that ducal Normandy was more of a continuation—rather than an upheaval—of the Frankish regime that it replaced.

---

[294] An indexed edition of all the Norman acta, akin to Sawyer's *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, is desirable for this endeavour, which would prove an important step in taking the subject forward. It is possible that SCRIPTA intends to supply such a resource in the future.

Map 3. Frankish Royal *Fisc* in Neustria and its Descent in Normandy



Early Ducal Land and the Formation of Normandy

The dataset of over 1,000 ducal estates,[295] discussed in the previous chapter,[296] forms the basis for reconstructing the ducal land, the spatial distribution of which is displayed in Map 1.[297] This map shows that the dukes established a landed presence throughout Normandy, with possible exceptions along parts of the southern and eastern frontiers. This section attempts to demonstrate how and when this widespread distribution of ducal land was achieved, revealing the process and the chronology behind the formation of the duchy.

The traditional account of Normandy's foundation, taken from Flodoard's contemporary annals composed at Reims and Dudo's early eleventh-century Norman history, is that King Charles the Simple made peace with Rollo and his Viking following at Saint-Clair-sur-Epte *c.*911,[298] ceding them Rouen and the surrounding territory along the Seine valley (loosely corresponding with the modern departments of Seine-Maritime and Eure).[299] In 924, a second royal grant, made by King Ralph, gave Rollo the Lieuvin, the Bessin, and the Hiémois in central Normandy (Calvados and much of northern Orne).[300] Finally, in 933, Ralph granted Rollo's son and successor, William Longsword, the 'land of the Bretons situated on the sea coast (*terram Brittonum in ora maritima sitam*)', most probably identifiable with the Avranchin and the Cotentin (Manche).[301] Based on this tradition, scholars first assumed that the Normans established control over these regions almost immediately following these royal grants.[302] Since then, a consensus has emerged arguing that the Normans laid claims to these

---

295 Appendix A.
296 Above, 14–45.
297 Above, 39.
298 Val-d'Oise, cant. Vauréal.
299 Dudo, *Historia*, 169; *History*, 49; *GND* I, 62–7. Rollo may have been formally invested as count of Rouen at this point, but this remains speculation. Dudo's claim that King Charles granted Rollo 'all of Brittany' at this point as well is unverifiable and dubious. For a recent biography of Rollo, see P. Bouet, *Rollon: le chef viking qui fonda la Normandie* (Paris, 2016).
300 Flodoard, *Annales*, 24; *Annals*, 12.
301 Flodoard, *Annales*, 55; *Annals*, 23.
302 Lemarignier, *Recherches sur l'hommage*, 10–1; Douglas, 'Rise of Normandy'; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 16–9.

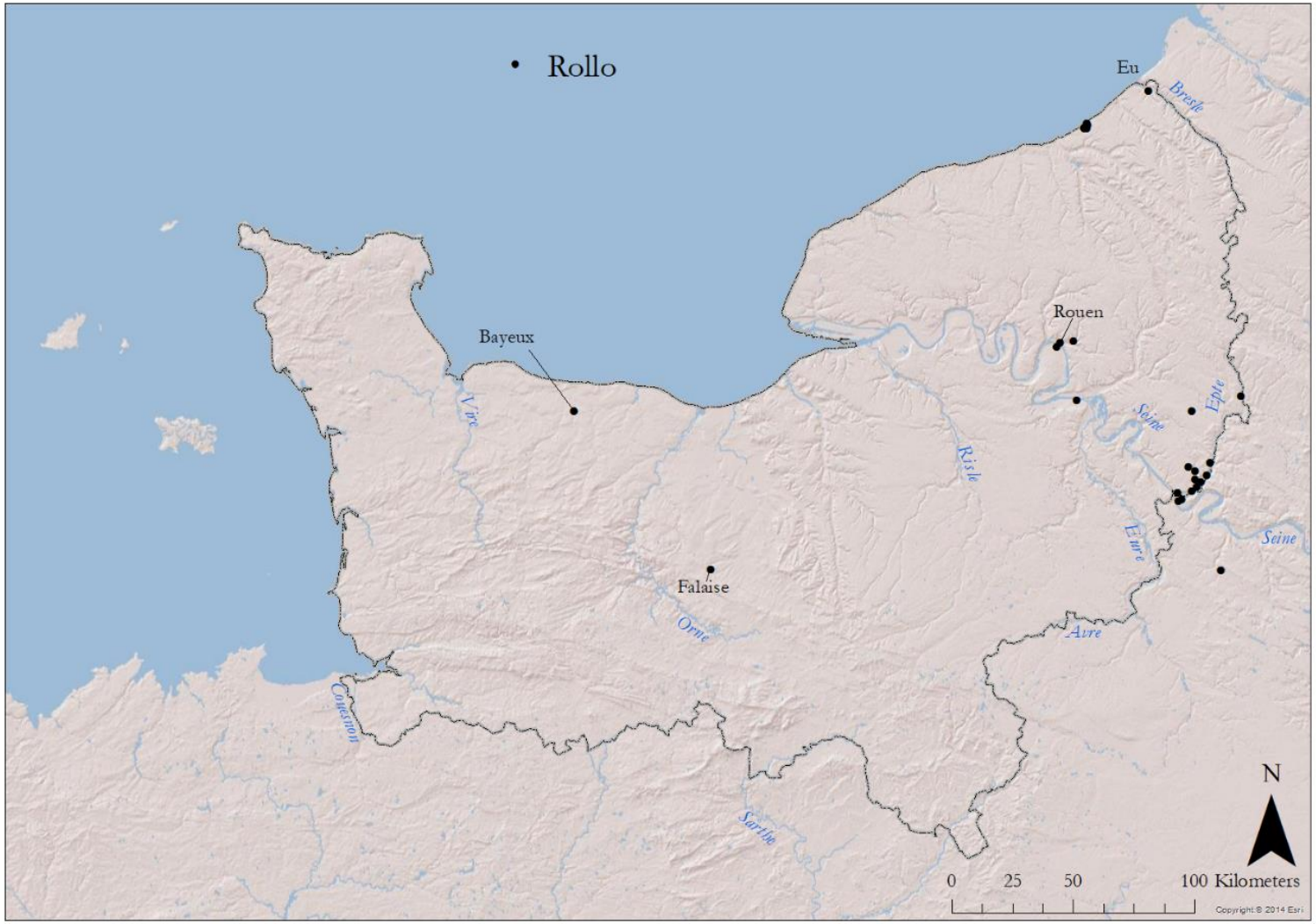
territories in the wake of the grants, steadily establishing their authority there over subsequent decades.[303]

There is no evidence for the precise details of these royal grants, making it difficult to determine exactly how and when the Northmen of the Seine brought the land that would become Normandy under their control. However, arranging the evidence for the ducal estates chronologically sheds some light on this issue by revealing when and where the dukes were active. This section discusses the evidence for early Normandy during the period 911–1035 and plots the locations of the estates held by William the Conqueror's ducal predecessors. Each map reveals the estates held by each individual duke while retaining the estates plotted on the previous map. To illustrate, the first map—Map 4—plots Rollo's estates; the second map—Map 5—retains Rollo's estates and adds William Longsword's estates, which are rendered in a different colour to differentiate them; the third map—Map 6—adds Richard I's estates in another colour, and so on down to Robert I's estates in Map 9. The justification for retaining the estates of earlier dukes in each map is that land granted away by the dukes often returned to them and that around half of the ducal grants were donations of only a part of the estate, the remainder of which was retained by the duke.[304] This cumulative and chronological arrangement of the evidence demonstrates the evolution of the ducal estates and of the extent of Normandy itself during this formative period of the duchy's history. The evidence for ducal land corroborates the scholarly consensus that holds that the Norman dukes expanded their rule over the course of the tenth century, achieving control of the western reaches of the duchy probably by the turn of the century and certainly before 1026.

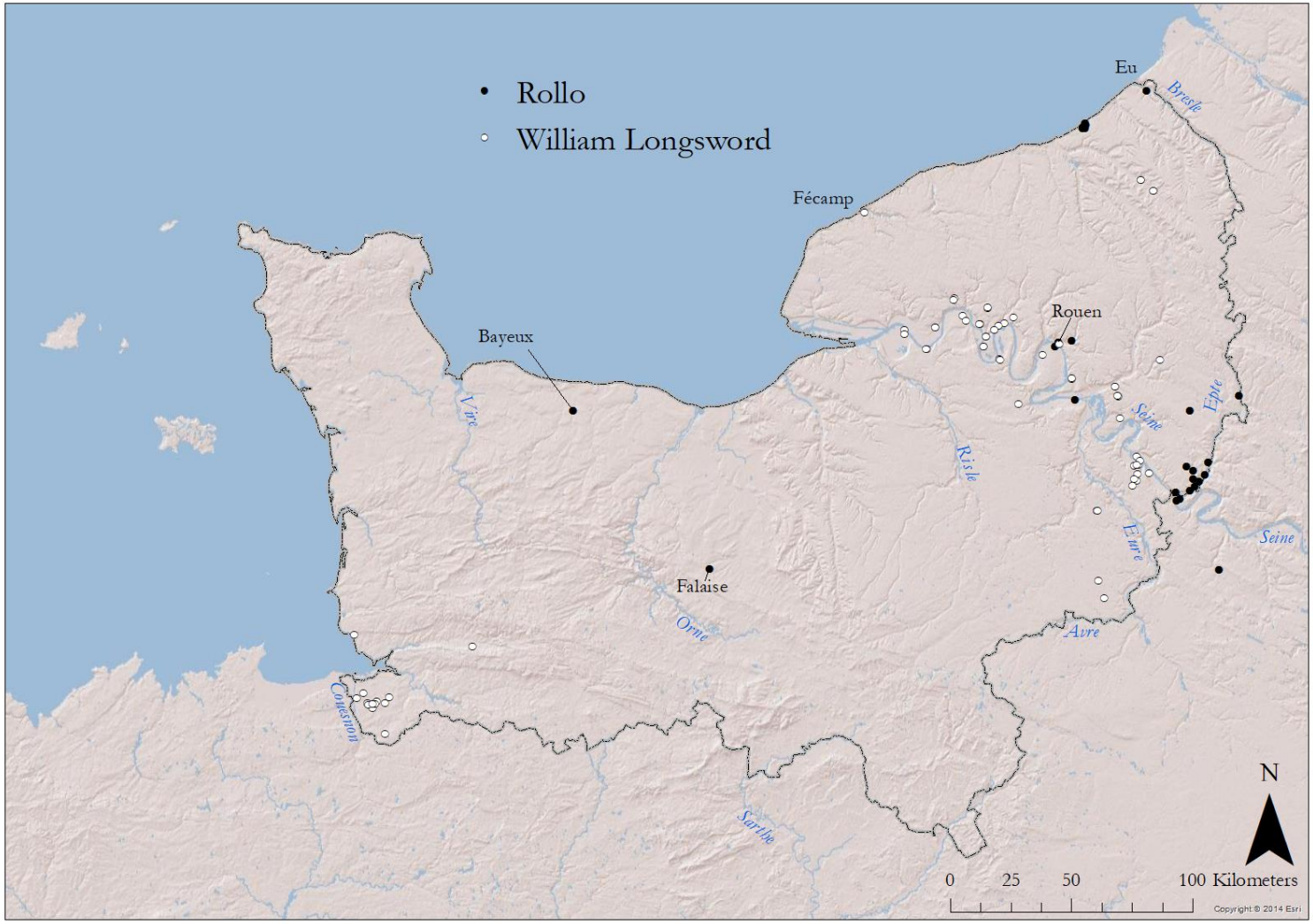
---

[303] For the westward expansion of the Northmen of the Seine over the course of the tenth century, see Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, 1–16, 283–4, 305–6; Bates, *Normandy*, xiv, 1–43, 265; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 68–90; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 32–3, 61–93, 128–41.
[304] Above, 37–46.

Map 4. The Ducal Estates of Rollo, 911–27



Map 5. The Ducal Estates of William Longsword, 927–42



Caution must be exercised when interpreting Maps 4 and 5. Without any charter evidence from the first fifty years of Norman rule, it is difficult to reconstruct the estates of the first two dukes with confidence. It seems that early ducal grants were often enacted orally without written record.[305] Two ducal charters datable to the end of Richard II's reign acknowledge this explicitly.[306] The land Rollo granted according to these later confirmations issued by his great-grandson is mapped around the Seine valley and forms a notable cluster where the Seine meets the Epte, a river which probably represented the south-eastern boundary of Rollo's realm.[307] Normandy's north-eastern frontier seemingly ran along the Bresle, at the mouth of which was Rollo's stronghold at Eu.[308] Going west along the coast, directly north of Rouen, there was a small cluster of ducal land centred on Berneval,[309] which, according to Richard I's charter dated to 968, Rollo granted to Saint-Denis 'with everything adjacent to it (*cum omnibus sibi adjacentibus*)'.[310] Dudo mentioned ducal grants in favour of Saint-Ouen and Saint-Denis—specifically naming Berneval—when he described how Rollo, following his baptism, made donations to several religious houses before dividing his land among his followers.[311] His description of a peaceful and orderly process of land distribution controlled solely by Rollo may be treated with some suspicion. However, as discussed, the rate at which Frankish royal land ended up in ducal hands suggests that Dudo's account need not be dismissed as entirely unrealistic.[312]

While Rollo's grants to the abbeys of Saint-Ouen and Saint-Denis are corroborated by later charter evidence, some other ducal donations which Dudo claimed that Rollo made—notably those in favour of Mont-Saint-Michel and Jumièges—are doubtful. The Carolingian

---

[305] Abrams, 'Early Normandy', 61–3.
[306] F 36, 53 (SCRIPTA 1481, 1499): discussed above, 15–6.
[307] Flodoard, *Annales*, 24–5; *Annals*, 9; Dudo, *Historia*, 169; *History*, 49.
[308] Flodoard, *Annales*, 31; *Annals*, 14.
[309] Seine-Maritime, cant. Dieppe-2, comm. Petit-Caux.
[310] F 3 (SCRIPTA 1430). Richard either restored or confirmed Berneval to the abbey and granted full immunity and rights exercised by count or viscount: above, 15.
[311] Dudo, *Historia*, 171; *History*, 51.
[312] Above, 46–62.

monastery at Jumièges was abandoned at some point after 862 following Viking raids,[313] and the site probably remained deserted until the Norman refoundation by William Longsword.[314] Mont-Saint-Michel, far from Rouen, was almost certainly not subject to any ducal influence in Rollo's day. The abbey had likely been subject to Breton authority at the start of the tenth century under Alan I, whose realm extended to the River Vire.[315] However, after Alan's death in 907, Brittany was overrun by Vikings politically distinct from and independent of those in Rouen.[316]

Map 4 does not represent either the land Rollo granted orally to his companions or the many estates which he must have kept for himself. There is no direct evidence for this land, but it is reasonable to suppose that Rollo's estates were concentrated around Rouen and along the banks of the Seine from its mouth to the Epte. Two outlying estates at Bayeux and Falaise have been mapped because it is possible that Rollo could have held land there. Falaise—located east of the Orne—is among the land listed in Saint-Ouen's confirmation charter, but its inclusion could be the result of the abbey's attempt to backdate its claim to the estate. Nevertheless, Rollo might have deemed the territory east of the Orne to be his, especially after the royal grant of 924. According to Dudo, Rollo besieged Bayeux and took it by force, but he may have conflated his account with an earlier raid of 885x886.[317]

The case for thinking that William Longsword had a landed presence west of the Orne is stronger. Dudo claimed that Duke William celebrated Easter *c.*938 at Bayeux where he remained until after Whitsun, leaving his five-year-old son, Richard, to be raised and educated there.[318] Hagger has expressed scepticism about this evidence and has regarded Longsword's

---

313 *ASB*, 841; *GND* I, 18–9; *RACC* 237.
314 Dudo, *Historia*, 200–1; *GND* I, 84–9; OV II, 8–9; Musset, 'Les destinées de la propriété monastique', 52; 'Monachisme', 58–9; C. Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy* (Woodbridge, 1997), 18–24; V. Gazeau, *Normannia monastica* (Caen, 2007) I, 9; II, 143–4; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 98.
315 *ASC* 890.
316 Smith, *Province and Empire*, 195–8; Musset, 'Aperçus sur la colonisation scandinave'.
317 Dudo, *History*, 38–9; *GND* I, 58–9.
318 Dudo, *Historia*, 218–22; *History*, 98; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 95.

decision to have his young son raised and tutored at Bayeux 'as part of an alliance with a trusted group of erstwhile rivals for power in the Bessin, rather than a demonstration of his father's actual control in that *pays*'.[319] He has argued that land west of the Orne was outside ducal control until the last quarter of the tenth century, and that it was only with the construction of a fortress at Bayeux in 989–90 that ducal power in the Bessin became fully realized.[320] It is certain that, after William Longsword's assassination in 942, ducal influence in the Bessin seemingly diminished and Bayeux fell under the control of a certain Harold until 954 when, with assistance from Hugh, duke of the Franks, Richard I regained control of the town.[321] The castle that Richard subsequently built in Bayeux could, therefore, have been an effort to re-establish the ducal authority that his father had wielded in this region.

Noticeable additions to Map 5 include the ducal estates in the westernmost reaches of the duchy, predominantly clustered in the Avranchin south of Mont-Saint-Michel. A ducal charter issued late in Richard II's reign records the restoration of recently despoiled land which had been donated to the abbey by William Longsword.[322] The authenticity of the act and its content have been widely accepted,[323] but Searle, Potts, and Hagger have treated Longsword's purported donations with suspicion.[324] While there is nothing dubious about the charter, it could be that during the reign of Richard II, when Mont-Saint-Michel was subject to his authority, the abbey sought to strengthen its hold on the land by claiming that Richard's grandfather had been the benefactor. While this ducal charter remains the only piece of evidence for ducal land so far west in the first fifty years of Normandy's existence, there is some evidence of ducal activity in the region during this period. Narrative accounts

---

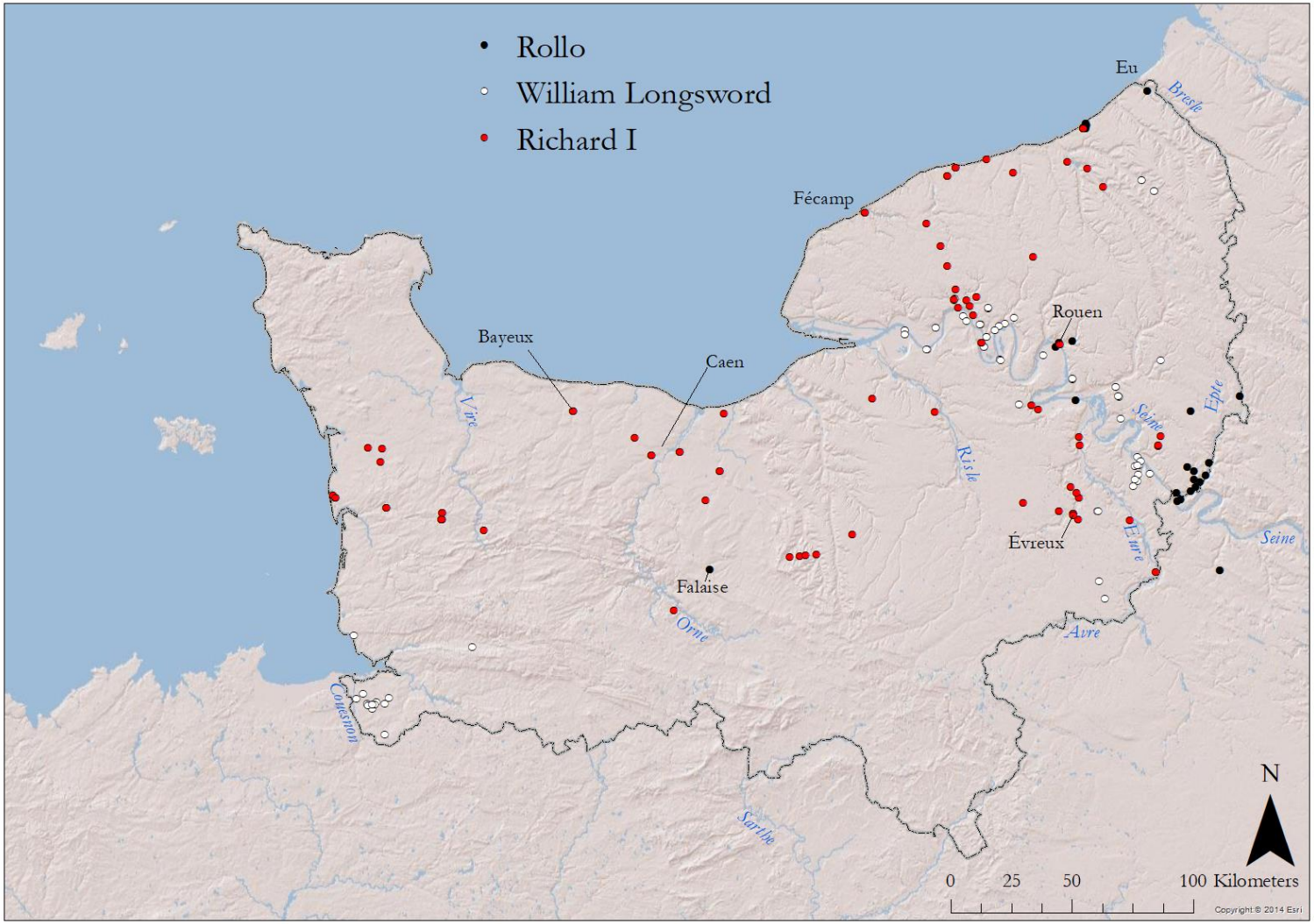
[319] Hagger, 'How the west was won', 21.
[320] Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 75–6.
[321] Flodoard, *Annales*, 94, 98; *Annals*, 40, 42; *Annales Nivernenses*, ed. J. Heller and G. Waitz, *MGH Scriptores* 13 (Hannover, 1881), 89.
[322] F 49 (SCRIPTA 1495): above, 23.
[323] Bates, *Normandy*, 12; Tabuteau, *Transfers*, no. 140; P. Bouet, 'Le Mont-Saint-Michel entre Bretagne et Normandie de 960 à 1060', in *Bretons et Normans au moyen âge: rivalités, malentendus, convergences*, ed. J. Quaghebeur and B. Merdrignac (Rennes, 2008), 173.
[324] Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 76; Potts, *Monastic Revival*, 97–8; Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 55.

suggest that William Longsword raided Brittany, briefly occupying Dol, before Count Judicael Berengar of Rennes negotiated an end to hostilities in 931,[325] and there is stronger narrative evidence that, following the royal grant of 933, the duke fought against a certain Riulf, who may have been based in the Cotentin.[326] If Longsword had made the donation recorded in Richard II's charter for Mont-Saint-Michel, it could have been the result of some successful campaigning in the west. Furthermore, it is difficult to dismiss the tenth-century coin found at Mont-Saint-Michel, almost certainly minted in the same general area, that seemingly describes William as *dux Britonum*.[327] This discovery made accounts of Duke William's western campaigns 'a little less fantastic' for Bates, who concluded that Longsword was able to subdue the Cotentin and Avranchin by force.[328] Conversely, Searle deemed it 'poor evidence of William's claim to a chieftainship',[329] and for Potts, it was too ambiguous to corroborate Dudo's account.[330] Hagger has also recently expressed reservations about this 'much-vaunted "coin"'.[331] The coin is unusually large and stylistically divergent from contemporaneous coins minted in Normandy, making this unique find difficult to interpret.[332] On balance, William Longsword might not have established a permanent hold in the west, but the evidence nevertheless suggests a ducal presence, however ephemeral, in the region before 942.

---

325 Hugh of Fleury, *Modernorum Regum Francorum Actus*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH Scriptores* 9 (Hanover, 1851), 382; *GND* I, 76–9.
326 Flodoard, *Annals*, 30; Dudo, *Historia*, 187–91; *History*, 64–9; *GND* I, 78–81; OV I, 154; *Annales de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, ed. J. Laporte (Rouen, 1954), 53; Wace, 36.
327 M. Dolley and J. Yvon, 'A group of tenth-century coins found at Mont-Saint-Michel', *BNJ* 40 (1971), 7–12.
328 Bates, *Normandy*, 9–10; cf. Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, 7–8.
329 Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 53.
330 Potts, *Monastic Revival*, 97.
331 Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 55.
332 J.C. Moesgaard, 'A survey of coin production and currency in Normandy, 864–945', in *Silver Economy in the Viking Age*, ed. J. Graham-Campbell and G. Williams (Walnut Creek, CA, 2007).

Map 6. The Ducal Estates of Richard I, 942–96



The evidence for ducal land under Richard I is more widespread, as demonstrated above in Map 6, which indicates that he had established a foothold in the Cotentin before the end of his reign in 996. Most historians have argued that Richard's rule was recognized in the Cotentin and Avranchin by the time of his death, and that Norman control of the west had been effectively achieved by the turn of the century. Recently, however, Hagger has challenged this consensus by claiming that the process of Norman westward expansion was more drawn out. He has argued that Richard I had only established a loose hold on the Bessin, and that, although he had taken control of isolated pockets in the Cotentin and Avranchin, the reach of ducal authority did not extend beyond Bayeux at the end of the tenth century.[333] For Hagger, ducal control over the Cotentin was not achieved until the end of Richard II's reign,[334] and Davies—going further—has suggested that Lower Normandy was only brought fully under ducal control by 1087.[335] However, the evidence for ducal land does not appear to support these views.

Following the death of Richard I's first wife, Duchess Emma, *c.*969, the duke took a mistress named Gunnor whom he later married.[336] Hagger has argued that Duke Richard's union with Gunnor, whose family was powerful in the Cotentin,[337] gave him a foothold in the region, enabling his son by her, Richard II, to cement ducal authority there.[338] However, while the marriage may well have served ducal interests in the west, the evidence suggests that Richard I had a landed presence there before this union, let alone before his death. The dower estates Richard granted to Gunnor—Bretteville-sur-Odon,[339] west of Caen, and Domjean,[340] on the Vire—known from acts surviving in Mont-Saint-Michel's twelfth-century cartulary,

---

333 Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 42–3, 75–6, 78.
334 Hagger, 'How the west was won', 21, 25, 47.
335 Davies, 'Winning the West'.
336 For the marriage, see Dudo, *History*, 163–4; *GND* I, 128–31; II, 264–9. Emma last appears in F 3 (SCRIPTA 1430) dated March 968.
337 Hagger, 'How the west was won', 27–9; Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 67–8.
338 Hagger, 'How the west was won', 27, 46–7. Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 68–9.
339 Calvados, cant. Caen-1.
340 Manche, cant. Condé-sur-Vire.

demonstrate that the duke had land to give east of the Vire and suggest that ducal authority extended at least up to that river before the marriage.[341] It is difficult to discuss with clarity Richard's early activity further west at this time due to a lack of surviving acts, but charter evidence from later in his reign shows that he held land in the Cotentin. An act which possibly predates the marriage—known from Saint-Taurin d'Évreux's thirteenth-century cartulary—records that Richard granted three vills, Périers,[342] Vaudrimesnil,[343] and Millières,[344] situated north of Coutances, to the abbey.[345] In an act datable to the last years of his reign, Richard granted three vills, Blainville,[346] Courcy,[347] and Soulles,[348] situated across the Cotentin to Coutances Cathedral.[349] Some ducal estates located in the west, that were donated to Coutances at some point before 1035, might have been granted by Richard I,[350] but since most of these donations are simply attributed to the Conqueror's predecessors—rather than to particular dukes—they have been tabulated and mapped as having belonged to Robert I.

While Hagger has suggested that the region surrounding Avranches and Mortain might have been in Breton hands at the turn of the millennium,[351] two marriages between the Norman and Breton ducal houses around this time seem to indicate that this was not the case. At some point *c.*1000 at Mont-Saint-Michel, Richard II married Judith of Brittany, sister of Geoffrey I, who concurrently married Richard's sister, Hawise of Normandy.[352] William of

---

341 F 17, 49 (SCRIPTA 1444, 1495). Cf. the suggestion that Domjean might have been taken from Gunnor's family just before the marriage and returned to her in the dower: Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 76.
342 Manche, cant. Agon-Coutainville.
343 Manche, cant. Agon-Coutainville, comm. Saint-Sauveur-Villages.
344 Manche, cant. Créances.
345 F 5 (SCRIPTA 1432). The Normans recovered Évreux in 962, which serves at the act's *terminus post quem*: Dudo, *History*, 146–56; Flodoard, *Annales*, 153, 219; *Annals*, 66; *GND* I, 120–9. Also, see F 2 (SCRIPTA 1429) issued at Évreux in 965.
346 Manche, cant. Agon-Coutainville.
347 Manche, cant. Coutances.
348 Manche, cant. Saint-Lô-2, comm. Bourgvallées.
349 F 6 (SCRIPTA 1433).
350 F 214 (SCRIPTA 1658).
351 M. Hagger, 'Confrontation and Unification: Approaches to the Political History of Normandy, 911–1035', *History Compass* 11 (2013), 434–5
352 *GND* I, 130–1; II, 14–5, 28–9.

Jumièges described how Geoffrey escorted Judith 'up to the frontier at Mont-Saint-Michel (*usque ad limina archangeli Michaelis*)' to be married.[353] Although written some fifty years later, this account suggests that Mont-Saint-Michel was situated at the intersection of Breton and Norman influence.[354] Geoffrey's father, Conan I, had been a benefactor to the abbey and was buried there following his death in 992.[355] However, a now lost original act of 1009—or a very early copy of it—recorded that when Mont-Saint-Michel's monks were in need of a new abbot, they came to Rouen to seek Richard II's designation.[356]

Neither Brittany nor Normandy exerted undisputed dominance over the abbey *c.*1000,[357] but, nevertheless, the generous dower Richard II bestowed upon Duchess Judith is indicative of Norman power in the Cotentin at the start of his reign. One of the three large clusters of ducal estates he gave her was in the *vicaria* of *Kelgenas*, situated in the northeast of the peninsula, observable below in Map 7.[358] Hagger interpreted this as an isolated pocket of ducal estates surrounded by land governed by 'untamed and independent lords' such as Viscount Nigel.[359] Rejecting Musset's characterization of Judith's dower as 'intérieur',[360] Hagger regarded her Cotentin dower estates as a frontier outpost, not contiguous with the rest of Normandy.[361] This interpretation is contradicted, however, by Richard I's acts which reveal a ducal landed presence established elsewhere in the peninsula. Furthermore, Nigel may not have been so independent from Rouen; it is probable that he was a ducal ally,

---

353 *GND* II, 28–9.
354 Archbishop Robert of Rouen also negotiated at truce between his two nephews—Robert I of Normandy and Alan III of Brittany—at Mont-Saint-Michel in 1033: *GND* II, 78–9.
355 K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, 'Two studies in north French prosopography', *JMH* 20 (1994), 12, 17–8.
356 F 12 (SCRIPTA 1438). This is not surprising considering that Geoffrey I had died the year before, leaving his young son, Alan, to succeed him as duke: *GND* II, 28–9.
357 C. Potts, 'Normandy or Brittany? A conflict of interests at Mont-Saint-Michel (996–1035)', *ANS* 12 (1990); J. Quagbeheur, 'Havoise, Contance, et Mathilde, princesses de Normandie et duchesses de Bretagne', in *Bretons et Normands au moyen âge: rivalités, malentendus, convergences*, ed. J. Quaghebeur and B. Merdrignac (Rennes, 2008); Bouet, 'Le Mont-Saint-Michel'.
358 F 11 (SCRIPTA 1437). They were all 'key possessions', showing a 'strategical sense of geography', according to Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 129.
359 Hagger, 'How the west was won', 25; Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 76.
360 L. Musset, 'Actes inédits du XIe siècle III. Les plus anciennes chartes normandes de l'abbaye de Bourgueil', *BSAN* 54 (1957–8), 32.
361 Hagger, 'How the west was won', 23–5.

acknowledging ducal influence, from the first decade of the eleventh century.[362] According to William of Jumièges, Viscount Nigel mustered a military force in defence of Richard II, repulsing an English raid on the Cotentin *c.*1008;[363] some five years later, he was given custody of the ducal castle at Tillières-sur-Avre,[364] on the other side of Normandy.[365] Furthermore, Nigel first appears during this period in the early eleventh century attesting ducal charters as viscount.[366]

It is probable that Richard II extended Norman rule beyond the Cotentin coast to the Channel Islands. Map 7 shows the location of the earliest known grant of ducal land on the islands. Mont-Saint-Michel's twelfth-century cartulary records Richard II's grant of 'Peter the monk's land in Jersey (*terram Petri monachi quæ est in insula Gersoi*)' to the abbey.[367] Hagger viewed this as a ducal confirmation of Peter's donation rather than a grant of ducal land, and credited Richard's son, Robert I, with the establishment of ducal authority in the Channel Islands in the 1030s.[368] This interpretation is plausible, but the fact that *do*, *dare* is used in the act's dispositive clause could also suggest that Richard gave ducal land that was held from him by Peter. Furthermore, in the same act, Richard confirmed Gunnor's donation of her dower at Bretteville-sur-Odon using *confirmo*, *confirmare*.[369] It is reasonable to think that the act would have used *confirmo* rather than *do* in the case of Peter's land if Richard were confirming the donation as in the case concerning his mother's estate. Nevertheless, a single piece of evidence for ducal land—or lordship—in Jersey does not prove that ducal power was dominant throughout the Channel Islands. This archipelago was likely subject to some

362 For Nigel and his family, see van Torhoudt, 'Les sièges du pouvoir des Néel'.
363 *GND* II, 10–5. Cf. the conjecture that Duke Richard sponsored the attack on the Cotentin in which he gained possession of the estates in the *vicaria*: Hagger, 'How the west was won', 32. This suggestion is not repeated in his book: Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 83.
364 Eure, cant. Verneuil d'Avre et d'Iton.
365 *GND* II, 22–3.
366 F 23, 31 (SCRIPTA 1450, 1457). Nigel attests F 16, 17, 43 (SCRIPTA 1443, 1444, 1488) without vicecomital title.
367 F 49 (SCRIPTA 1495).
368 Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 103.
369 F 49 (SCRIPTA 1495).

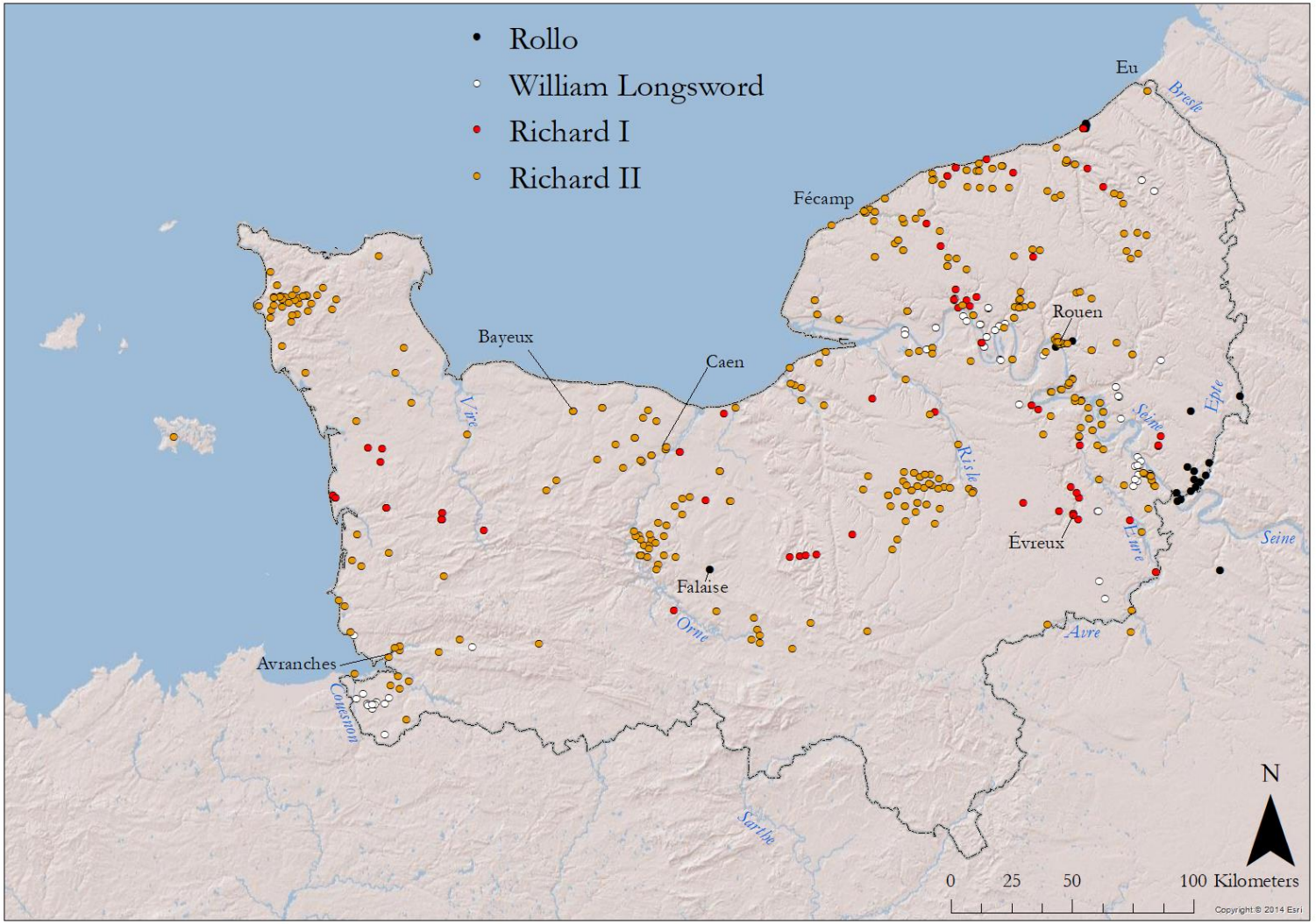
ducal authority under Richard II, but it is probable that this was cemented under Robert I, who donated half of Guernsey—land which he may have confiscated from Viscount Ansketil of the Bessin—to Mont-Saint-Michel.[370]

The dower that Richard III granted to his wife, Duchess Adela, demonstrates that ducal power in the Cotentin was secure by the death of Richard II.[371] All but one of the sixteen estates bestowed on her in early 1027 were situated west of the Vire, as shown in Map 8. These included three ducal fortresses at Cherbourg, Le Homme,[372] and Brix,[373] which ran down the peninsula's central spine, and the entire *comitatus* of Coutances excepting the land belonging to Richard III's uncle, Archbishop Robert. The dower probably remained in Richard's custody during his lifetime, but it is not clear that Adela gained control of these estates thereafter.[374] Robert I was in possession of the castle of Le Homme, which he sold to his sister, Countess Adeliza of Burgundy, at some point before he embarked on his pilgrimage in 1034.[375] Adela, who had no children with Richard III, might have died shortly after her husband, leaving her dower to pass automatically to Duke Robert as the heir. Alternatively, the duchess may have been compelled to relinquish her Norman dower—or she may have left it voluntarily—especially if she was the same French princess who married Count Baldwin V of Flanders in 1028.[376] However, the evidence for this identification is not strong.[377]

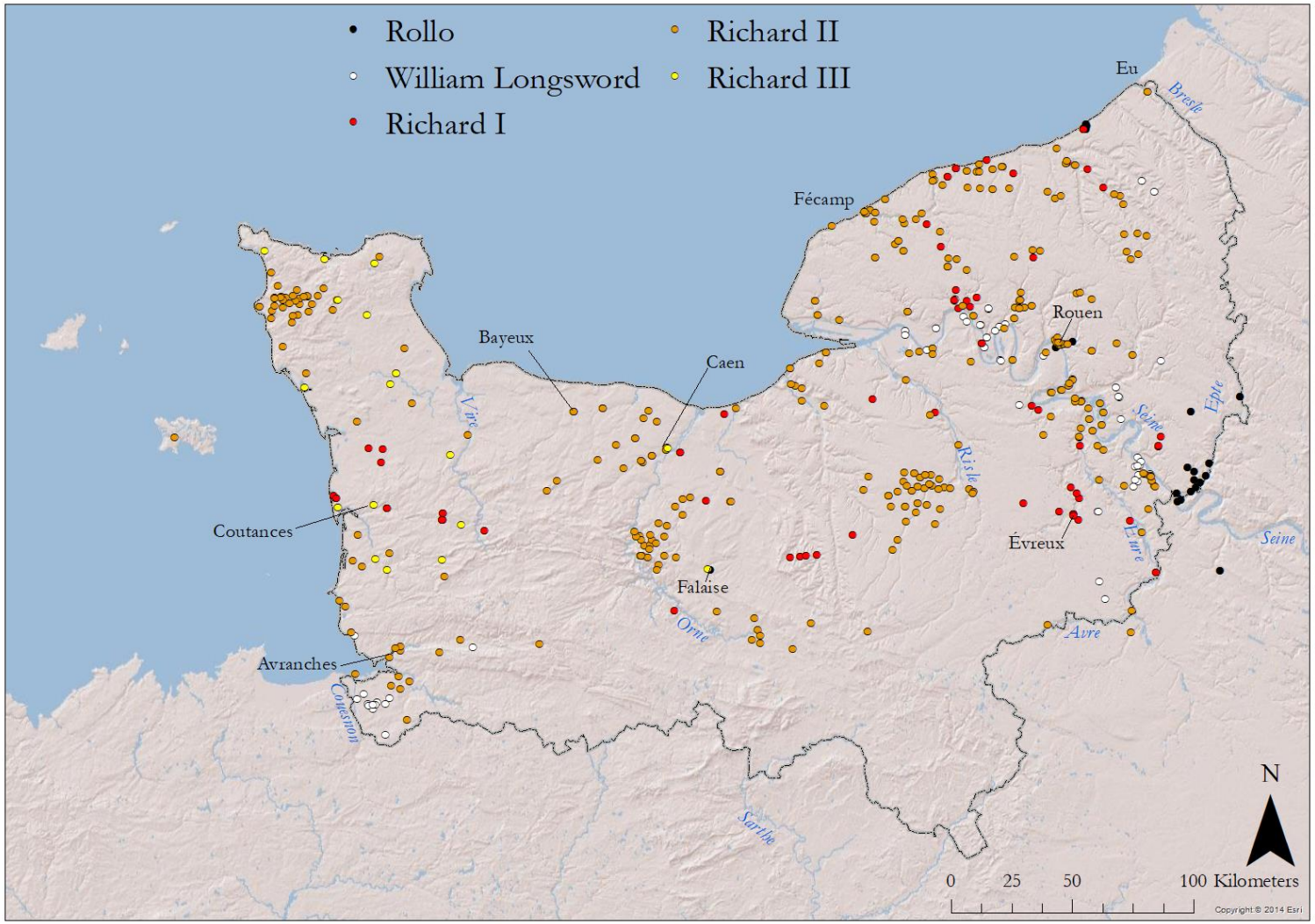
---

370 F 73 (SCRIPTA 1519); Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 103, 109–10.
371 F 58 (SCRIPTA 1504).
372 Manche, cant. Carentan, comm. Picauville.
373 Manche, cant. Valognes.
374 Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque', 96–7; Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 129–30; Bates, *Normandy*, 152–3; Bauduin, 'Du bon usage de la *dos*', 438–9.
375 B 58 (SCRIPTA 6471).
376 Musset, 'Actes inédits', 33; Bauduin, 'Du bon usage de la *dos*', 432.
377 *GND* II, 52–3; Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 94–5.

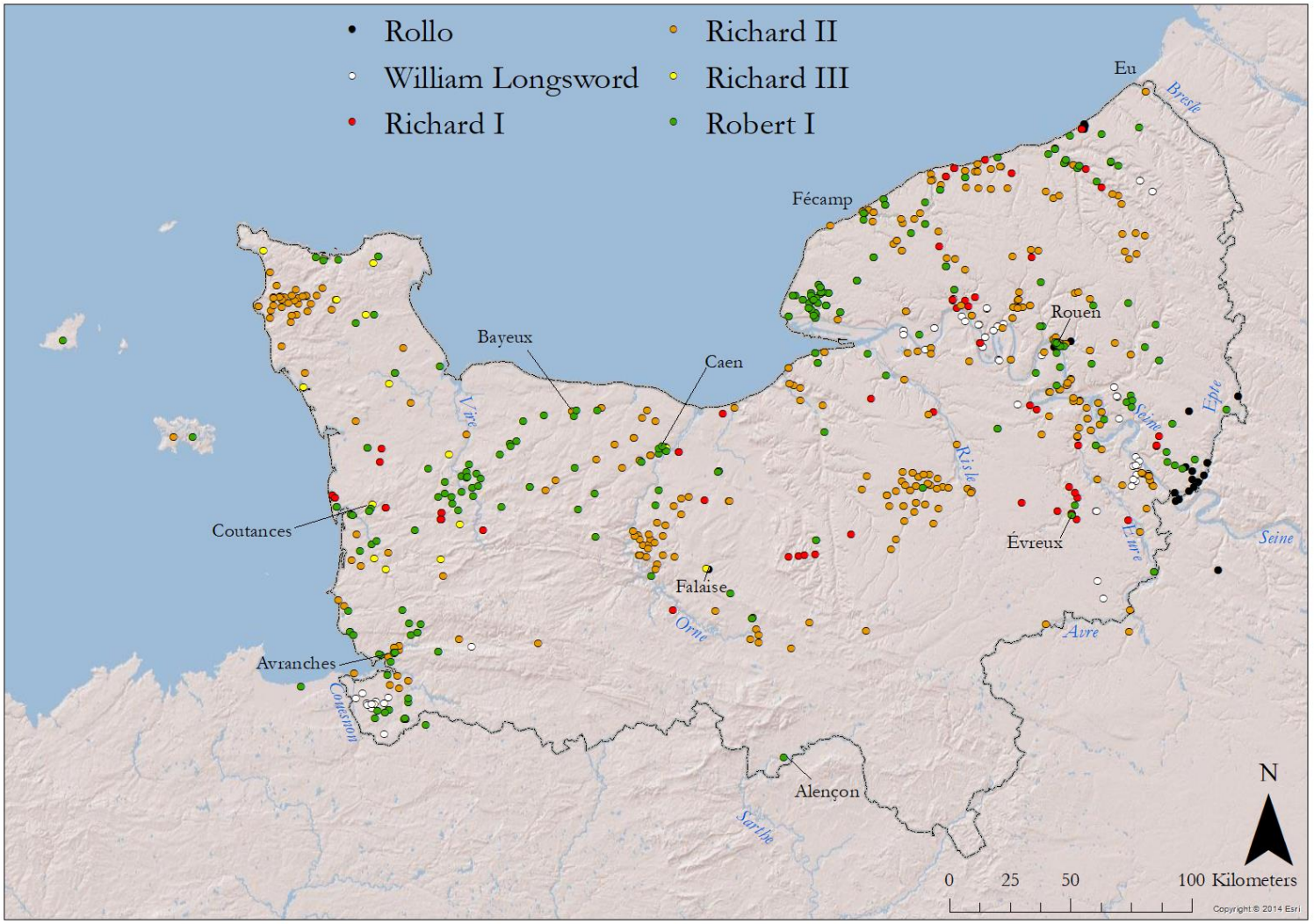
Map 7. The Ducal Estates of Richard II, 996–1026



Map 8. The Ducal Estates of Richard III, 1026–7



Map 9. The Ducal Estates of Robert I, 1027–35



The ducal estates from Robert I's reign, displayed in Map 9, spread across the duchy from the Channel Islands and the Avranchin in the west to the Seine valley and the Pays de Caux in the east. This distribution includes a notable cluster of ducal land, granted by Robert to the abbeys of Fécamp and Montivilliers, above the mouth of the Seine.[378] Many of the ducal estates attributed to Robert located west of the Orne appear in a charter issued by the Conqueror confirming land granted by his predecessors to Coutances Cathedral.[379] The act does not specify which duke initially granted these estates; it could be that some were granted by Richard II or Richard I, for example. However, to avoid the risk of predating the spread of ducal land, as discussed, confirmed ducal estates which cannot be attributed to a particular ducal predecessor have been assigned to the immediate predecessor of the duke confirming the grant. Robert's reign also provides apparent evidence for some notable outlying ducal estates. William of Jumièges described how the duke built a *castrum* at Cherrueix,[380] beyond the Couesnon, during a conflict against Count Alan III of Brittany to strengthen the Breton march.[381] William's account also suggests that Duke Robert had a landed presence along Normandy's southern central frontier at Alençon, which William I of Bellême supposedly held from Robert as a benefice (*tenebat beneficii iure*).[382]

In summary, the evidence for the land held by the dukes before 1035 shows that Norman expansion beyond Rouen and the Seine was neither instantaneous nor uncontested. The evolution of the spread of ducal estates demonstrates that probably by the turn of the century, and certainly by the death of Richard II, Normandy had essentially taken shape. Rollo quickly gained control over the Seine north of the Epte and established the Bresle as Normandy's north-eastern frontier and possibly the Orne—but at least the Risle—as the western frontier by the end of his reign. William Longsword extended Norman ducal authority into the Bessin and was seemingly active as

[378] F 70 (SCRIPTA 1516), 85 (1528), 90, (1533); B 212 (SCRIPTA 6538).
[379] F 214 (SCRIPTA 1658).
[380] Ille-et-Vilaine, cant. Dol-de-Bretagne.
[381] *GND* II, 56–9.
[382] *GND* II, 48–51.

far west as the Avranchin and Mont-Saint-Michel even if he did not establish permanent lordship there. In the wake of Longsword's assassination, the inchoate Norman polity might have collapsed, but while ducal authority certainly diminished during Richard I's minority, by the end of his long reign, Norman rule had been established in the duchy's westernmost reaches. Richard II was able to build upon these foundations and consolidate power in these regions. By Robert I's death in 1035, there was a secure network of ducal estates distributed fairly evenly east to west, which provided the dukes with a strong landed base throughout the duchy.

Ducal Patronage and Political Conflict in Early Normandy

This concluding section examines political conflict to explore how ducal land was used for secular patronage and how such land could return to ducal control in early Normandy. Most of the charter evidence records ducal grants in favour of religious establishments. However, land was also a fundamental part of the negotiation of power between the duke and the secular aristocracy, which included members of his own family. The evidence, found principally in the narrative accounts, demonstrates that the politics of land entailed internal disputes and conflicts, which could result in the exile or incarceration of lords deemed 'rebellious' by the dukes.[383]

Early in William Longsword's reign, probably *c.*933, the duke fought against a certain Riulf.[384] In his history of early Normandy, Dudo characterized Riulf as the instigator of a Norman rebellion, attributing a speech to him in which he tried to incite other Normans into revolt against 'his lord' (*dominum suum*):

[383] Musset, 'Origines et nature du pouvoir ducal', 53; Bates, *Normandy*, 163–7.
[384] Dudo, *Historia*, 187–91; *History*, 64–9; Flodoard, *Annals*, 30; *GND* I, 78–81; OV I, 154; *Annales de Jumièges*, ed. Laporte, 53; Wace, 36.

> Noster senior Willelmus…Francigenas amicos acquirit sibi, nostro consilio privatus… Nos vero conatur regno penitus extrudere… Terram autem quam possidemus parentibus suis in haeredum suorum possessionem dabit, eosque muneribus nostris affluenter ditabit.[385]
>
> [Our lord William…has procured Frankish friends for himself, and is deprived of our council… For he is trying to shut us out from the realm altogether… Also, he wants to give the land which we possess to his own kinsmen to be possessed by their heirs, and he will enrich them generously with the offices that are ours.][386]

Riulf, whose identity is unclear,[387] was defeated and exiled, possibly ending up in the service of Count Arnulf of Flanders, aiding him in Longsword's assassination in 942.[388] Despite Dudo's account of a rebellion, Riulf may have regarded himself—and been regarded by others—as independent of Rouen and of Norman ducal authority, especially considering that he might have been based in the Cotentin. A plausible interpretation of this conflict, therefore, could be that Norman westward expansion brought William Longsword into conflict with Riulf, who attempted to assert his independence against the duke. Equally, however, Riulf could have been a ducal follower who felt he had not benefited sufficiently from the recent royal grant of land made to the Normans in *c.*933.[389]

Much remains unknown about this conflict, but what makes Dudo's account germane to present purposes is Riulf's alleged complaint that the duke sought to confiscate his land, and the land of his allies, in order to enrich ducal kinsmen. Dudo was writing nearly a century after this conflict

---

385 Dudo, *Historia*, 187.
386 Dudo, *History* (adapted), 64.
387 Searle, *Predatory Kinship*, 73–5; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 164.
388 Dudo, *Historia*, 205–9; *History*, 82–5; *GND* I, 90–5; Wace, 46; *GR* I, 232–5.
389 Above, 70.

supposedly took place, and his account is probably a better reflection of the political conditions of his own time. Riulf's fear that he would lose his estates to ducal relatives and their heirs could suggest that some in the early eleventh century feared that Richard II was enriching his kinsmen too generously at the expense of the rest of the aristocracy. Dudo did not specify whether the estates in question were alods or benefices, but he did make reference to *muneribus nostris*. The meaning of *munus* is difficult to pin down, but, of the several possible translations—including 'gift', 'obligation', or 'service', the term that makes the most sense in this context is 'office'. This suggests that a link between office and land existed in Normandy at the time Dudo was writing. Evidence discussed below confirms that this period was the apogee of ducal kinsmen being awarded comital offices and estates. However, while Dudo's treatment of much of Normandy's tenth-century history is problematic, it should not be doubted that struggles between the first dukes and lords like Riulf occurred, nor should it be doubted that the earliest dukes could, under the right circumstances, force individuals from their estates into exile. For example, Ralph Torta, a quondam deputy of King Louis IV installed in Rouen after William Longsword's murder, was eventually exiled to Paris by Richard I in *c.*948.[390]

Dudo's account of the end of Richard I's reign, notably the duke's succession plan made before his death in 996, is more reliable. The duke's half-brother, Count Ralph—one of the principal sources of information for Dudo's work—was an eyewitness to these arrangements. Dudo recorded that the duke wanted the eldest of his sons, Richard, to be heir to his inheritance. Upon learning this, Count Ralph queried:

> Quid de caeteris, domine?
>
> [And what about the others, lord?]

[390] Dudo, *Historia*, 249; *History*, 122–4; *GND* I, 114–5; F 53 (SCRIPTA 1499).

- Duke Richard answered:

> Illis mei filii Ricardi sacramento verae fidei fidelibus effectis, manibus illorum eius manibus vice cordis datis, largietur terram quam demonstavero tibi, qua vivere honorifice possint.[391]
>
> [When they have been made my son Richard's faithful men by an oath of fealty, and their hands have been given into his hands in place of their hearts, let him bestow the land which I will have shown you, so that they may be able to live honourably.][392]

This scene, which was slightly reimagined by William of Jumièges,[393] suggests that Richard I set aside land for his younger sons to hold once they had sworn fealty and performed homage to their older brother, Richard II, creating bonds of lordship between the new duke and his younger brothers. All of the duke's sons had legitimate claims to the duchy, and by serving them a suitable compromise in the form of land and comital office, Richard I was likely seeking to protect the indivisibility of the duchy.[394]

William of Jumièges stated that, after 996, Richard I's illegitimate son, William, received the *comitatus* of the Hiémois from his half-brother, Duke Richard II *in munere* 'so that he could provide him with military support (*ut inde ei milicie exhiberet statuta*)'.[395] Van Houts translated *in munere* to 'as a gift', but 'as an office' could be a suitable alternative considering Dudo's claim that William should have

---

391 Dudo, *Historia*, 297.
392 Dudo, *History* (adapted), 171.
393 *GND* I, 134–5.
394 Garnett, 'Ducal Succession', 98–110; Bates, *Normandy*, 156; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 193. All agree that the comital title was essentially a ducal monopoly.
395 *GND* II, 8–9. William first appears in the diplomatic as one of Richard I's four sons who witnessed a ducal charter issued in favour of Fécamp in 990: F 4 (SCRIPTA 1431). William, who was *adhuc minor* at this time, subscribed without title. The identity of the *Willelmus comes*, who subscribed second after the duke, is unclear; it could possibly be Count William of Poitiers. For more on Richard's son, see Dudo, *Historia*, 289; *History*, 163; *GND* I, 130–1. Douglas, 'Norman Counts', 135–40; Moore, 'Norman Aristocracy', 172–8.

received land in accordance with his father's succession plan. William probably acquired the land set aside for him in the Hiémois soon after 996 but his first appearance as *comes* in the charter evidence is not until 1015, suggesting that he was not raised to the comital title until some years after his father's death.[396] The twelfth-century narrative account from the abbey of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives states that William was granted the castle of Exmes and its pertinent lands, but makes no mention of a count or county.[397] Since the comital title did not become linked with control of a fortress or a territorial designation until after 1035,[398] William should not, therefore, be regarded as having been count of Exmes or of the Hiémois.

At some point during Richard II's reign, conflict erupted between the duke and his half-brother. William of Jumièges reported this as a rebellion: William, who refused the obedience due from fealty, was imprisoned in Rouen for five years, while his rebellious retainers were either killed in battle or 'exiled from their lands' (*alios exules de suis finibus exturbauit*).[399] The *Gesta* also describes William's eventual reconciliation with Richard II, who later entrusted him with the *comitatus* of Eu.[400] However, it is likely—albeit not explicitly stated—that when William was incarcerated his estates in the Hiémois were forfeited and never restored to him or to his heirs. There is no evidence that William's sons held Exmes or any land nearby.[401] Instead, Richard II retained the Hiémois thereafter, placing the ducal estates there in the custody of the local viscount, Thurstan Goz, between 1017 and 1025,[402] and ultimately arranged for the county to go to his own younger son, Robert, when he died in 1026.[403]

---

396 F 18 (SCRIPTA 1445); Moore, 'Norman Aristocracy', 172.
397 *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa* (Paris, 1865–70), xi, instr. col. 153 E.
398 Bates, *Normandy*, 114, 156; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 193, 200.
399 *GND* II, 8–11
400 *GND* II, 10–1.
401 Moore, 'Norman Aristocracy', 175.
402 L. Musset, 'Les fiefs de deux familles vicomtales de l'Hiémois au XIe siècle, les Goz et les Montgommery', *RHDFE* 48 (1970); L. Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande aux XIe siècle', in *La noblesse au Moyen Age (XIe–XVe siècles): Essais à la mémoire de Robert Boutrouche*, ed. P. Contamine (Paris, 1976), 79.
403 *GND* II, 40–1.

The causes of this conflict are unclear, but the succession of 996 probably contributed to it. Richard I's inheritance plan succeeded in ensuring that the whole duchy passed intact to Richard II, but the land assigned to his other sons probably became a source of contention, laying the foundations of internal conflict. Richard II might have regarded the estates set aside for his brothers as akin to *ex officio* comital land that Frankish and English kings assigned to counts and earls respectively.[404] Such lands, unlike a magnate's patrimony, were not automatically heritable but subject to the largesse of the king, who could confiscate them without much difficulty.[405] In ducal Normandy, however, the counts that appeared in the early eleventh century were all close ducal kin, who almost certainly saw their estates not as precarious *beneficia* attached to a revocable office but as their patrimonial inheritance. The conflict between Richard II and William in the Hiémois could have arisen because William did not receive his fair share of their father's inheritance in accordance with what Richard I had arranged before his death. Richard might have actively worked to prevent this, possibly regarding the land set aside for William as an easy target and claiming that the land, which was ducal before 996, should remain ducal. Alternatively, perhaps William acquired all the land that he was promised after Richard I's death but felt, as the son of a duke, entitled to more. Whatever the cause of the fraternal conflict, the end result was that the land in the Hiémois returned to ducal hands. However, the fact that William was later reconciled and made a count with new estates centred on Eu reveals both the strength of his claim to a Norman inheritance and title as well as the limits of Richard II's authority to impede him indefinitely.[406] In practice, the duke had to recognize that his brothers had legitimate claims to lands and offices within the duchy that needed to be satisfied. However, even those not so close to the duke could expect some form of

[404] Maitland, *DBB*, 95, 166–8; S. Baxter and J. Blair, 'Land Tenure and Royal Patronage in the Early English Kingdom: A Model and a Case Study', *ANS* 28 (2006) 23–9, 45; Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 13, 138–51.
[405] J.L. Nelson, 'A King Across the Sea: Alfred in Continental Perspective', *TRHS* 36 (1986), 53–4.
[406] The ducal charters seem to reflect William's fate. William appears in charters in 1006 and 1014 without title: F 9 (SCRIPTA 1435), 15, (1442). By 1015, he had seemingly returned to grace with comital title: F 18 (SCRIPTA 1445).

reconciliation. For example, while Ralph I of Tosny and his son Roger I went into exile after 1014, within a decade, they had made peace with Richard II and negotiated their return to Normandy.[407]

Richard II's succession arrangements, recorded by William of Jumièges, followed his father's example. Towards the end of his life, the duke summoned all the Norman magnates to him at Fécamp.

> Nouissime autem ascitum Richardum suum filium consultu sapientum suo ducatui prefecit, fratremque eius Rodbertum comitatui Oximensi, ut inde illi debitum persolueret obsequii.
>
> [Finally he summoned his son Richard and with the advice of his wise men he set him over his duchy, and his brother Robert over the county of the Hiémois, in such a manner that Robert owed obedience to Richard.][408]

Richard II passed the duchy to his eldest son and provided for his second son by assigning him a county to be held in return for fealty to his older brother, Duke Richard III.[409] In 1026, Robert was given land in the Hiémois like his uncle, William, thirty years before. Again, however, whether Robert was set over the entire *comitatus* with comital title is debatable. Indeed, it is possible that disagreement on this question caused the dispute between Robert and Richard III recorded in the *Gesta*. Soon after Richard II's death, Robert 'withdrew to the stronghold of Falaise with his accomplices in order to resist' his brother.[410] Robert was probably seeking to augment his territorial

---

[407] *Rodulfus Glaber Opera*, ed. J. France, N. Bulst, and P. Reynolds (Oxford, 1989), 96–103; L. Musset, 'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante: les Tosny, grands barons normands du Xe Au XIIIe siècle', *Francia* 5 (1977), 48–52; Moore, 'Norman Aristocracy', 61–72.

[408] *GND* II, 40–1. For discussion, Douglas, 'Norman Counts', 146–7; Le Patourel, 'The Norman Succession, 996–1135', *EHR* 86 (1971), 235; Bates, *Normandy*, 150; Garnett, 'Ducal Succession', 91–3.

[409] Richard II's youngest sons, William and Mauger, born of his second wife, Papia, are not mentioned in this inheritance plan. They were very young in 1026, but later went on to acquire land and title in Normandy during the minority of their nephew, William the Conqueror.

[410] *GND* II, 44–5: 'intra Falise castrum cum suis satellitibus se contulit ad resistendum.'

base within the Hiémois, but it is also possible that he was seeking to overthrow Richard.[411] Either way, the conflict resulted in *status quo* after the duke successfully laid siege to Falaise.[412]

Despite Robert's defeat and surrender, there is no indication that he forfeited his estates. Instead, it seems that Robert retained his land, perhaps in return for renewal of fealty and acknowledgement of Richard's ducal lordship. However, it could also be that Richard could not impose harsher terms on his brother. While Richard II confiscated the land assigned to his illegitimate half-brother, Richard III possibly lacked the necessary support among the Norman aristocracy to do this to Robert, who, like himself, was a legitimate son of Richard II by Duchess Judith. Robert had a strong claim to the duchy, and Richard III probably had to acknowledge this.

Soon after the resolution of this conflict, following Richard III's untimely death, Robert succeeded to the duchy,[413] and cloistered his young nephew, Nicholas, as an oblate in Fécamp.[414] This smooth transition of power owed much to the support of Duke Robert's uncle, Archbishop Robert of Rouen, the ducal house's senior male member by 1027.[415] Nevertheless, Robert's early years as duke proved to be politically turbulent,[416] and relations between palace and pallium soon soured. Refusing to label the archbishop a rebel, William of Jumièges recorded that the duke besieged his uncle, who had barricaded himself inside Évreux with a military force.[417] Archbishop Robert's possession of Évreux was almost certainly legitimate since an early interpolation into the *Gesta*

411 Garnett, 'Ducal Succession', 109.
412 *GND* II, 44–5.
413 *GND* II, 46–7; *GR* I, 308–9.
414 Nicholas later became abbot of Rouen's Saint-Ouen Abbey under the Conqueror: *GND* II, 46–7; OV II, 298–9, IV, 306–7; E. van Houts, 'The Ship List of William the Conqueror', *ANS* 10 (1988), 176; Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 31.
415 For Archbishop Robert, see Douglas, 'Norman Counts', 132–3, 150–5; *William the Conqueror*, 32–4; Garnett, 'Ducal Succession', 106–9; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 325–30; R. Allen, 'The Norman Episcopate', PhD Thesis (University of Glasgow, 2009), 288–310; '*Praesul praecipue, atque venerande*: The Career of Robert Archbishop of Rouen, 989–1037', in *Society and Culture in Medieval Rouen, 911–1300*, ed. L. Hicks and E. Brenner (Turnhout, 2013).
416 *Inventio et miracula sancti Vulfranni*, ed. J. Laporte (Rouen, 1938), 41. For Robert's reign, see Haskins, *NI*, 265–8; Bates, *Normandy*, 68–74; *William the Conqueror*, 30–5; Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 96–105.
417 *GND* II, 46–9.

specifies that he held it in his demesne (*in suo tenebat dominio*),[418] and charter evidence confirms that he held the surrounding *comitatus*.[419] Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni identified the archbishop as the first Norman count of Évreux, possibly backdating the title by which his son, Richard, was known.[420] Robert never appears in the diplomatic with comital title, let alone with the territorial appellation, but his archiepiscopal dignity would have trumped any comital title he might have held. It seems plausible that, as a younger son of Richard I, Archbishop Robert was assigned his lands in Évreux after 996 and may well have exercised comital authority there.[421]

This conflict forced Archbishop Robert into exile, but after placing an anathema on Normandy,[422] he was soon recalled by his nephew, who 'restored his former honor' (*pristinum restituit honorem*).[423] The *honorem* Duke Robert confiscated from his uncle probably refers to the *comitatus* of Évreux, rather than his archiepiscopal land. Nonetheless, this conflict testifies to the strength of Duke Robert's authority. Equally, however, the archbishop's prompt return, reconciliation, and restoration reveal the limits of the duke's power to resist his family's claims to land within Normandy.[424]As the duchy's primate and Richard I's senior son, Archbishop Robert's position within the Norman establishment was strong, which must have made his restoration almost inevitable. However, Bishop Hugh—another ducal relative within the Norman episcopate—was not so fortunate.

---

[418] *GND* II, 48–9.
[419] F 36 (SCRIPTA 1481).
[420] *GND* II, 232–3; OV III, 84–7.
[421] Dudo, *Historia*, 297, *History* 171.
[422] The *Gesta*'s account is corroborated by a letter Bishop Fulbert of Chartres wrote to Archbishop Robert between August 1027 and April 1028: *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. and trans. F. Behrends (Oxford, 1976), no. 126.
[423] *GND* II, 48–9.
[424] F 66 (SCRIPTA 1512) possibly marked the reconciliation between uncle and nephew.

As the son of Count Ralph—Richard I's uterine brother—Hugh was appointed bishop of Bayeux *c.*1011 by his first cousin, Richard II.[425] When Ralph died around five years later, Bishop Hugh seemingly inherited the lion's share of his father's land, including the castle of Ivry,[426] but it is less clear whether he also acquired Ralph's comital authority.[427] William of Jumièges reported that when Hugh, observing his lack of influence at the ducal court, fortified Ivry and garrisoned it with French mercenary knights, Duke Robert besieged the castle, forced the bishop into exile, and took over Ivry after removing Hugh's garrison.[428] A possible interpretation of this conflict could be that it resulted from Robert's displeasure with Hugh's possession of Ivry. The account of this conflict bears similarities to that concerning Archbishop Robert and Évreux. Both men barricaded themselves behind their walls with a military force, were subsequently besieged, defeated, and forced into exile by the duke. The difference was the eventual result, which probably helps to explain why the *Gesta* is critical of Bishop Hugh but not of Archbishop Robert. Both prelates returned to Normandy after a short period in exile, but while Robert was fully reconciled and restored to Évreux, Hugh never regained control of the castle at Ivry, which remained in ducal hands even after the bishop's return to ducal charter witness lists from 1032.[429] Bishop Hugh was not descended from a duke and lacked his cousin's claim to a ducal inheritance, making Ivry an easier target for the duke.

---

[425] D. Bates, 'Notes sur l'aristocratie Normande: I, Hugues, évêque de Bayeux (1011 env.–1049; II. Herluin de Conteville et sa Famille', *AN* 23 (1973), 7–21; V. Gazeau, 'Le patrimoine d'Hugues de Bayeux (*c.*1011–1049)', in *Les Évêques normands du XIe siècle*, ed. P. Bouet and F. Neveux (Caen, 1995); Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', 107–119, 559–72.
[426] Bates, 'Notes sur l'aristocratie Normande', 10–5; Gazeau, 'patrimoine d'Hugues de Bayeux', 146. Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 201–11; Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', 108, 115.
[427] Like Archbishop Robert, Bishop Hugh was never described as *comes* in charters.
[428] *GND* II, 52–3; E. Impey, 'The *Turris Famosa* at Ivry-la-Bataille, Normandy', in *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe, AD c800–1600*, ed. G. Meirion-Jones, E. Impey, and M. Jones (Oxford, 2002), 197.
[429] J. Yver, 'Les châteaux-forts en Normandie jusqu'au milieu de XIIe siècle', *BSAN* 3 (1955–6), 67; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 211–6; *GND* II, 226–7.

At some point during his reign, Duke Robert also came into conflict against William of Bellême,[430] whose estates were situated on the southern limits of Normandy.[431] Probably of Manceaux origin, the Bellêmes were aligned with the early Capetian kings of France and by the beginning of the eleventh century had carved out a quasi-independent lordship in the Perche at the intersection of the rival lordships of their more powerful neighbours. Whilst the *caput* of William's lordship was Bellême, the family held land to the northeast in Alençon, Domfront, and Sées, bringing the Bellêmes much closer to Norman interests and influence. Norman tradition identifies the Bellême family as allies and vassals of the Norman dukes going back to Richard I's minority in the 940s.[432] However, this is likely a late invention created after the union of Mabel of Bellême and Roger II of Montgommery in *c.*1050, which brought the Bellêmes more firmly within the ducal orbit.[433] Nevertheless, William of Jumièges portrayed William of Bellême as a rebel against Duke Robert:

> Willelmus Bellesmensis…ex castro Alencio, quod beneficii tenebat iure, a seruiminis iugo pertinacem ceruicem temere sumpta rebellione, nisus est extorquere. Ad cuis atrocem insolentiam propere conterendam, adueniens dux cum militaribus turmis, tamdiu eum intra munitionem tante presumptionis adiutricem conclusit, donec eius clementiam expeteret nudis uestigiis, equestrem sellam ad satisfaciendum ferens humeris. Cui dux, licet ficte satisfacienti, non modo cuncta indulsit, uerum etiam reddito ei oppodo, festinus loco secessit.
>
> [William of Bellême…rashly started a rebellion from the castle of Alençon, which he held in fee, and made great efforts to cast off the yoke of service from

---

[430] William I of Bellême attested two known ducal charters: F 33 (SCRIPTA 1459), 51 (1497).
[431] For the Bellême lordship, see G.H. White, 'The First House of Bellême', *TRHS* 22 (1940); J. Boussard, 'La seigneurie de Bellême aux Xe et XIe siècles', in *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Age dédies à la mémoire de Louis Halphen*, ed. C.-E. Perrin (Paris, 1951); OV II, Appendix I, 362–5; Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 74–5, 77–9, 82, 84, 87; K. Thompson, 'Family and Influence to the South of Normandy in the Eleventh Century: The Lordship of Bellême', *JMH* 11 (1985); Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*; Moore, 'Norman Aristocracy', 271–9.
[432] *GND* I, 104–5; OV III, 306–7.
[433] Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême* I, 209–18; Moore, 'Norman Aristocracy', 271.

> his obstinate neck. In order to curb William's fierce insolence, the duke immediately hastened to Alençon with a large force of soldiers and besieged him in the stronghold which supported his rebellion until he finally came out on bare feet asking forgiveness while by the way of expiation he carried his horse's saddle on his soldiers. Although William's expiation was a mere pretence, the duke not only forgave him everything, but even returned the fortress to him and then rapidly withdrew.][434]

William's vassalage is implied by the statement that he held Alençon in dependent tenure from the duke, but this is a simplification of a more complex relationship. The conflict centred on Alençon probably arose from Duke Robert's attempt to assert his authority on Normandy's southern frontier over William, who attempted to preserve his relative independence from ducal influence.[435] Robert may have seen Alençon as within the limits of his duchy, but the fortress was under *de facto* Bellême control. William retained Alençon, perhaps in return for acknowledging Norman lordship over his tenure; this apparent leniency following William's surrender is probably indicative of political realities on the frontier. Indeed, William's sons, Fulk and Robert, led a retaliatory raid into Normandy which cost Fulk his life, but when William died soon after, Robert was able to succeed to his father's Bellême lordship intact without challenge or opposition from the Norman duke.[436]

In summary, this section has shown that dukes assigned substantial tranches of their land to their younger sons in this period. Rather than breaking Normandy up into portions for each son, one son would inherit the duchy and the majority of the ducal estates, while the other sons were granted ringfenced estates set aside for them as a compromise to protect the ducal succession. These sons, who also became counts, held their estates in return for fealty to the duke, who assumed the power

---

[434] *GND* II, 48–51.
[435] Bates, *Normandy*, 69; Moore, 'Norman Aristocracy', 272, 274–6.
[436] *GND* II, 50–1. The deaths of Fulk and William are datable 1028x35.

to punish lords for infidelity. This meant that some cases of internal conflict resulted in the duke confiscating aristocratic estates, producing occasional windfalls of land into ducal control. Duke Robert's activity in his early reign looks like a concentrated effort to assert himself in this regard. For example, he saw an opportunity to return the *comitatus* of Mortain to ducal control when Count Robert I died,[437] disinheriting the count's son, Richard, who was in exile at the time.[438] There are hints that the duke treated the land assigned to his relatives as *ex officio* comital estates, akin to those assigned to earls in England. The key difference being that Norman counts—unlike English earls—were all close ducal relatives mainly descended directly from dukes. They almost certainly regarded their estates and titles as their heritable patrimony. Ducal authority to resist these claims is clearly palpable, exemplified by Bishop Hugh's failure to recover the castle of Ivry, which demonstrates the duke's power to take over fortifications in Normandy. However, ducal authority had its limits, and exiles who lost their lands were often later reconciled and sometimes restored to their honors or granted new estates.

[437] Robert, probably Richard I's son, was count from *c.*1010: F 4 (SCRIPTA 1431), 16 (1443), 17 (1444), 23 (1450), 49 (1495); Douglas, 'Norman Counts', 143–5; Potts, 'Norman Counts Revisited', 23–35.
[438] *Vie de Gauzlin, abbé de Fleury*, ed. R.H. Bautier and G. Labory (Paris, 1969), 48–50.

3. The Ducal Estates in Normandy, 1035–1106

This chapter examines the evidence for ducal land during the reigns of William the Conqueror and Robert Curthose. The first section continues to reconstruct the chronological and geographical evolution of the ducal estates after 1035. Having built up the impression of the general distribution of ducal land down to 1106, the first section closes by situating the ducal estates within Normandy's wider tenurial landscape. This shows that many of the regions lacking in evidence for ducal estates contained land held by some of the duchy's aristocratic families, which suggests some level of ducal organization to the pattern of elite landholding in Normandy. The chapter's second half investigates the politics and conflicts in Normandy under the Conqueror and Curthose. It seeks to show that ducal control of land and patronage helps to explain the enduring strength and cohesion of the duchy in this period. Despite the forces of socio-political fragmentation affecting some other parts of the Frankish world, ducal authority remained effective, and conflict within Normandy was largely focused on the duke and his close family, which forced aristocratic feud and violence along centripetal lines.

Ducal Land under William the Conqueror and Robert Curthose

By the time William the Conqueror was born in 1027x28, the frontiers of the duchy had become relatively well established and recognized, and Normandy had taken the essential shape it has largely maintained ever since. The evidence from the reigns of the Conqueror and Robert Curthose builds on the composite picture already provided for the duchy's formative period before 1035, making the impression of ducal land and the tenurial landscape of Normandy more reliable and complete. The distribution of the ducal estates down to 1106 demonstrates that the dukes of this period continued to hold land throughout Normandy. The ducal palatial residences at Rouen and Fécamp

continued to be frequented, in addition to a new ducal centre at Caen.[439] Furthermore, it is in this period that evidence for ducal land and lordship appears beyond Normandy's southern frontier into the county of Maine. The charter evidence and narrative sources record over 400 ducal estates between 1035 and 1106 and around fifty places of issue are named in the ducal charters of this period. Map 10 plots the distribution of William the Conqueror's Norman estates and Map 11 adds the estates held by Robert Curthose as well as some of Henry I's known estates.[440] As with the previous maps of ducal land, the distribution of the estates held by the previous dukes are retained in these two maps, providing the chronological evolution—and ultimately a more complete impression—of ducal land throughout the entire period.

The distribution of the Conqueror's estates in Normandy is widespread across the duchy to an extent greater than for any of his ducal predecessors. While the west of Normandy had most probably been secured before the end of Richard II's reign, and his sons demonstrably held land throughout Normandy, the evidence suggests that the Conqueror was the first duke whose estates comprehensively spread from east to west more evenly. In contrast, earlier dukes held land predominantly in the east—Upper Normandy—and the known estates of Richard II and his sons tend to form clusters across Normandy. The extent to which documentary revelation accounts for the increased dispersion of ducal estates remains debatable. The evidence pertaining to the Conqueror's long reign is more plentiful than for the reigns of his predecessors—especially the first three dukes who ruled during the tenth century—and it is possible that many of the estates

---

439 For the ducal palaces, see M. de Boüard, *Le château de Caen* (Caen, 1979); A. Renoux, 'Le Château des ducs de Normandie à Fécamp (Xe–XIIe siècles): Quelques données archéologiques et topographiques', *Archéologie Médiévale* 9 (1979); 'Fouilles sur le site du château ducal de Fécamp (Xe-XXe siècles): Bilan provisoire', *ANS* 4 (1981); 'Châteaux et résidences fortifiées des Ducs de Normandie aux Xe et XIe siècles', *Les mondes normands (VIIIe–XIIe s.) Actes du deuxième congrès international d'archéologie médiévale (Caen 2–4 octobre 1987): Société d'Archéologie Médiévale* (1989); *Fécamp: Du palais ducal au palais de Dieu* (Paris, 1991); 'Caen (Calvados): château et résidence des ducs de Normandie', and 'Fécamp (Seine-Maritime): palais et château des ducs de Normandie', in *Palais médiévaux (France-Belgique) 25 ans d'archéologie*, ed. A. Renoux (Le Mans, 1994); '*Palatium* et *castrum* en France du Nord (fin IXe – début XIIIe siècle)', in *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe, AD c800–1600*, ed. G. Meirion-Jones, E. Impey, and M. Jones (Oxford, 2002).

440 This thesis does not attempt a systematic and comprehensive analysis of Henry I's land in Normandy, largely because his charters have yet to be collected and published. However, the evidence collected from existing sources, such as *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, has been included.

known from the period after 1035 may well have been held by dukes before this time. However, the Conqueror's ducal estates appear noticeably further south more routinely. The evidence for previous ducal reigns shows southern clusters located around Avranches and the Couesnon, and where the Epte meets the Seine, but the Conqueror's estates are spread more evenly along this southerly region, albeit less densely than in the hinterlands further north. The Conqueror expanded Norman influence southwards in his reign, culminating in his conquest of Maine in 1063—the first significant expansion southwards which had any lasting impact made by a Norman duke—which accounts for the appearance of ducal estates south of the modern boundaries of Normandy that have been imposed on the maps.

Ducal charter evidence indicates that even during the Conqueror's minority, when localized violence and internal disorder threatened the stability of the duchy, ducal politics continued to operate effectively.[441] In a charter issued between 1035 and 1040—known from an early twelfth-century cartulary copy—the duke granted thirty estates to the favoured ducal abbey of Fécamp.[442] Aside from two estates, located just southeast of Caen,[443] the grants were located in the ducal heartlands of Upper Normandy and included land in Fécamp and the former vills of the Frankish royal *fisc* at Pîtres,[444] Roumare,[445] and Le Vaudreuil.[446] During his early reign, Duke William, or perhaps his ducal guardians—Archbishop Robert of Rouen, Count Alan III of Brittany, and Count Gilbert of Brionne—probably realised that making donations of ducal land in favour of important Norman ecclesiastical houses like Fécamp was necessary to shore up the young duke's authority. Similarly, in late 1040, Duke William granted the church of Boulleville,[447] which was previously

[441] D. Bates, 'The Conqueror's Adolescence', *ANS* 25 (2003), 6–9; Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 105. For these years, see *GND* II, 92–103; *GG*, 8–9.
[442] F 94 (SCRIPTA 1538); B 140 (SCRIPTA 6494).
[443] Billy, Calvados, cant. Troarn, comm. Valambray; Moult, Calvados, cant. Troan, comm. Moult-Chicheboville.
[444] Eure, can.t Pont-de-l'Arche. Above, 58.
[445] Seine-Maritime, cant. Notre-Dame-de-Bondeville.
[446] Eure, cant. Val-de-Reuil.
[447] Eure, cant. Beuzeville.

held from the duke as a benefice (*in beneficio*) by Archdeacon Guy, to Saint-Pierre Abbey at Préaux.[448] At some point before this, Duke William restored Saint-Wandrille's estate at Ticheville,[449] which had been despoiled by his father.[450] A single sheet original, datable to 1025x1026, records that the land had been donated to the abbey under Richard II.[451] Between 1037 and 1045, Saint-Wandrille also received three churches in the environs of Dieppe,[452] at Arques-la-Bataille,[453] Bouteilles,[454] and Saint-Aubin-le-Cauf,[455] as well as the tithes of Noville.[456] Ecclesiastical houses were not the only beneficiary of ducal land grants in William's early reign. Following Roger I of Montgommery's exile, he was replaced as viscount of the Hiémois in 1040 by Thurstan Goz, to whom the duke gave custody of the ducal fortresses at Exmes and Falaise.[457] In the following year, Duke William granted Brionne and Vernon to his first cousin, Guy of Burgundy, after the death of Count Gilbert.[458]

Despite the duke's adolescence, ducal authority was still being exercised in Lower Normandy as well. In 1042, Cerisy Abbey received a score of ducal estates—predominantly located in the Cotentin along with two churches on Jersey—according to an act copied into a pancarte of 1120.[459] Notably absent from the witness list of this charter was Nigel II, son of Viscount Nigel I of the Cotentin. Nigel II attested very few ducal *acta* in this period,[460] suggesting that he may not have been as influential at the ducal court as his father had been.[461] The grant, which records a transfer

---

448 F 97 (SCRIPTA 1541)
449 Orne, cant. Vimoutiers.
450 F 95 (SCRIPTA 1539).
451 F 55 (SCRIPTA 1501)
452 F 102 (SCRIPTA 1546).
453 Seine-Maritime, cant. Dieppe-2.
454 Seine-Maritime, cant. Dieppe-1, comm. Rouxmesnil-Bouteilles.
455 Seine-Maritime, cant. Dieppe-2.
456 Seine-Maritime, cant. Dieppe-2, comm. Saint-Aubin-le-Cauf.
457 *GND* II, 94–5, 100–3; OV II, 304–5; III, 88–9; IV, 76–7. Thurstan's tenure proved to be short-lived after he allowed King Henry of France to enter Falaise and was deemed to have broken fealty with the duke: below, 121.
458 *GND* II, 120–1; *GG*, 8–9; OV IV, 82–3.
459 F 99 (SCRIPTA 1543).
460 See, for example, F 73 (SCRIPTA 1519), a now lost original, which Nigel II attested after his father.
461 Van Torhoudt, 'Les sièges du pouvoir des Néel', 14.

of some of the revenues of the *vicomtés* of the Cotentin, Coutances, and Gavray, was instead attested by Alfred the Giant and Thurstan Haldup. Alfred was given joint custody, together with Nigel I, of the ducal fortress built by Robert I at Cherrueix,[462] 'in order to fortify the Norman frontier' against the Bretons.[463] Ducal acts known from a twelfth-century cartulary of La Trinité Abbey in Caen reveal that the Conqueror granted Thustan ducal land around the Bessin,[464] including estates at Carpiquet,[465] Le Puits,[466] Giberville,[467] Demouville,[468] Cuverville,[469] Rucqueville,[470] Ingouville,[471] and Cauville.[472] The loss of Nigel II's influence and the granting of ducal land to others in western Normandy might explain why he later joined Count Guy's rebellion against the duke in 1047.

A now lost original act, preserved in facsimile, records that at some point before 1048—possibly in the immediate aftermath of the battle of Val-ès-Dunes—the duke granted half of Guernsey to Viscount Ranulf, who had succeeded his father, Ansketil, to the vicecomital office in the Bessin.[473] This land, which had probably been confiscated from Viscount Ansketil, had been granted by Duke Robert I to Mont-Saint-Michel,[474] but the abbey was compensated by the Conqueror with the donation of Sark and Alderney—*nostras insulas*—in their entirety. This testifies to ducal dominance of the Channel Islands by the middle of the eleventh century at the very latest. Later eleventh-century pancartes and cartulary copies record that Saint-Wandrille Abbey received six churches from the duke in the wake of Count Guy's defeat;[475] four in the environs of Carenten,[476] one at

[462] Ille-et-Vilaine, cant. Dol-de-Bretagne.
[463] *GND* II, 56–9.
[464] F 231 (SCRIPTA 1673); B 59, 61 (SCRIPTA 6472, 6474).
[465] Calvados, cant. Caen-2.
[466] Calvados, cant. Aunay-sur-Odon, comm. Bonnemaison.
[467] Calvados, cant. Ifs.
[468] Calvados, cant. Troarn.
[469] Calvados, cant. Troarn.
[470] Calvados, cant. Bretteville-l'Orgueilleuse, comm. Moulins en Bessin.
[471] Calvados, cant. Troarn, comm. Moult-Chicheboville.
[472] Calvados, cant. Thury-Harcourt.
[473] F 111 (SCRIPTA 1555).
[474] F 73 (SCRIPTA 1519); above, 76.
[475] F 128, 177, 234 (SCRIPTA 1572, 1620, 1676).
[476] Sainte-Marie-du-Mont, Sainte-Honorine, Saint-Germain-de-Varreville, Saint-Martin-de-Varreville, Manche, cant. Carentan.

Saint-Marcouf,[477] and the church of Brionne itself.[478] It was probably soon after Brionne returned to ducal hands that Duke William granted part of the forest there to Bec Abbey.[479] At the same time, the Conqueror was still making use of the plentiful ducal land in the east, granting some forest north of Rouen to the nearby abbey of Saint-Ouen.[480] Vernon became associated with another aristocratic family after Guy's fall as demonstrated by an agreement, made 'in the court of the castle' (*castri foro*) of Vernon, by which a certain William of Vernon granted La Trinité-du-Mont the right to move goods free from customs pertaining to the *castrum Vernonense*.[481] It is not clear whether William of Vernon was ducal castellan or lord of Vernon but a record of a sale of land made by one of his knights—Hugh—in 1063 describes him as *Willelmus Vernonis castellarius*,[482] suggesting the former. In 1050, the customs of the ducal estate of Vascœuil,[483] just east of Rouen, were granted to Préaux Abbey according to its thirteenth-century cartulary.[484] When Duke William married Matilda of Flanders, most probably in 1052x1053,[485] he granted his duchess a dower made up from land he possessed in northeast Normandy,[486] including estates at Bures-en-Bray,[487] Maintru,[488] and Osmoy-Saint-Valery.[489] It also seems that Duchess Matilda was, along with Richard of Reviers, given land and some authority in the Cotentin after Guy's rebellion had been successfully suppressed.[490]

The early 1050s saw William campaigning in Normandy's southern frontier region against Count Geoffrey Martel of Anjou, who had seized control of the Bellême land around Domfront and

---

[477] Manche, cant. Valognes.
[478] Eure, cant. Brionne.
[479] F 189 (SCRIPTA 1632).
[480] F 105 (SCRIPTA 1549). Seine-Maritime, cant. Bois-Guillaume, comm. Bosc-Guérard-Saint-Adrien.
[481] B 234 (SCRIPTA 6550); *GG*, 8–9. Eure, cant. Vernon.
[482] SCRIPTA 55.
[483] Eure, cant. Romilly-sur-Andelle.
[484] F 121 (SCRIPTA 1565).
[485] *GND* II, 128–31; *GG*, 30–33; OV II, 104–5; Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 94, 99–108, 113, 115–22, 125–6.
[486] B 239 (SCRIPTA 6555); SCRIPTA 2348.
[487] Seine-Maritime, cant. Neufchâtel-en-Bray.
[488] Seine-Maritime, cant. Neufchâtel-en-Bray, comm. Osmoy-Saint-Valery.
[489] Seine-Maritime, cant. Neufchâtel-en-Bray.
[490] Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 112–4.

Alençon.[491] The duke successfully besieged these fortified towns and established ducal garrisons in them,[492] in addition, he also constructed a ducal fortress at Ambrières.[493] One of William's commanders on campaign, Roger II of Montgommery, who had recovered his father's position as viscount of the Hiémois after Thurstan Goz's exile, was able to help the duke establish Norman authority in the region via his marriage to the daughter of William Talvas—Mabel of Bellême—who ultimately inherited not only her father's land but also the estates of her uncle, Ivo of Bellême, bishop of Sées.[494] Another close ducal follower—Roger of Beaumont—who had married Count Waleran III of Meulan's daughter, Adeline,[495] became viscount of Rouen, was given custody of Ivry,[496] and received Annebecq,[497] where he built a *castellum* before *c.*1053.[498] All this represented a significant expansion of Norman ducal power southwards which eventually culminated in the Norman conquest of Maine in 1063. William of Poitiers recorded that the duke captured the *castrum* of Mayenne,[499] where he installed a ducal garrison.[500] Charters issued after the conquest of England demonstrate the Conqueror's presence in Le Mans,[501] recording his grant of the customs of the city to Le Mans Cathedral and his grant of the land previously occupied by a tower he pulled down to the church of Saint-Pierre-de-la-Cour.[502] Other charters were issued by the Conqueror at Le Mans itself between 1073 and 1078,[503] and later evidence, provided by Orderic Vitalis, records that the duke took over the castles of Beaumont-sur-Sarthe and Fresnay-sur-Sarthe,[504] which had been

[491] Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 58–62, 385–8; Bates, *Normandy*, 76–7; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 309–10; Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 127–8; Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 122–6.
[492] *GND* II, 122–5; *GG*, 28–9.
[493] *GND* II, 124-7. Mayenne, cant. Gorron, comm. Ambrières-les-Vallées.
[494] *GND* II, 118–9, 264–5; OV II, 46–9, 364–5. Moore, 'Norman Aristocracy', 271–2.
[495] *GND* II, 96–7.
[496] OV IV, 114–5, 204–7.
[497] Orne, cant. Magny-le-Désert, comm. Saint-Georges-d'Annebecq.
[498] *Inventio et miracula sancti Vulfranni*, ed. Laporte, 70–1; Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême* I, 381–2.
[499] Mayenne, cant. Mayenne.
[500] *GG*, 66–9.
[501] Sarthe, cant. Le Mans.
[502] B 169, 171 (SCRIPTA 6514, 6516).
[503] B 173, 174, 197 (SCRIPTA 6518, 6519, 6523).
[504] Sarthe, cant. Sillé-le-Guillaume.

abandoned by Hubert of Sainte-Suzanne, viscount of Le Mans, during a conflict in Maine between 1083 and 1085.[505]

The Conqueror's defeat of his uncle—Count William—to whom he had granted the castle of Arques and *comitatus* of Talou early in his reign,[506] enabled the duke to recover former ducal land that had been granted away during the time of his minority. While the duke was in the Cotentin *c.*1053, Count William fortified himself inside Arques with royal support, but the duke successfully besieged his uncle's stronghold and forced him into exile before placing his forfeited estates under the administration of a viscount.[507] This land included Arques itself,[508] but Longueville-sur-Scie,[509] which had been held by Count William, was granted to Walter Giffard.[510] Guitmund, the Norman castellan of the *praesidens munitioni* at Moulins-la-Marche,[511] betrayed the duke around this time by abandoning his castle to the French king, who was supporting Count William's rebellion.[512] After the duke defeated the count, Guitmund was removed and all his sons were overlooked in favour of Guitmund's daughter's husband—William—to whom the duke entrusted Moulins-la-Marche.[513] William of Moulins-la-Marche was seemingly able to convert this castellanry into a heritable lordship, exercising greater independence from ducal rule in the 1060s.[514] The castle the Conqueror built at Breteuil in 1054,[515] opposite the castle King Henry of France had seized at Tillières-sur-Avre,[516] was given over to William fitzOsbern to guard against the duke's enemies.[517] Tillières itself

---

505 OV IV, 46–7.
506 *GND* II, 102–3.
507 *GND* II, 102–5; *GG*, 32–43. Bates, *Normandy*, 101, 156, 206; *William the Conqueror*, 129–33; Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 122–5, 326–7.
508 Seine-Maritime, cant. Dieppe-2.
509 Seine-Maritime, cant. Luneray.
510 Le Maho, 'L'apparition des seigneuries châtelaines', 31–46.
511 Orne, cant. Tourouvre.
512 *GG*, 42–3.
513 OV III, 132 note 1.
514 F 225 (SCRIPTA 1667, 222).
515 Eure, cant. Breteuil.
516 Eure, cant. Verneuil-sur-Avre.
517 *GND* II, 146–7; *GG*, 46–51; OV IV, 86–9; Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, 102–14; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 219–31.

was eventually recovered into ducal hands *c.*1058 following Duke William's victory at Varaville against the invading forces assembled by King Henry and Count Geoffrey in order to attempt to check Norman advances southwards.[518]

Soon after, William appointed his half-brother, Robert, as count of Mortain with a landed base in western Normandy.[519] Robert did not, however, obtain all the comital estates previously attached to the county. Avranches and some surrounding vills in the Avranchin, including Vains,[520] were subtracted from the *comitatus* and recovered into ducal hands.[521] Saint-James was also reclaimed by the duke,[522] who, while campaigning in Brittany *c.*1064, established a fortress there which he entrusted to Viscount Richard Goz of Avranches.[523] As compensation, the duke granted Count Robert the vill of Cérences,[524] as well as land in Coutances, Muneville-sur-Mer,[525] Baupte,[526] Barfleur,[527] and Helleville in the Cotentin.[528] Around the same time, the duke granted half of the town of Neuf-Marché to Hugh of Grandmesnil, and entrusted Hugh and Gerold the Steward with its defence.[529] When Robert, son of Ralph of Gacé, died without issue in the years prior to the conquest of England, 'Duke William, who was his kinsman, added the whole of his inheritance to his demesne (*Willelmus dux cognatus eius totam hæreditatem eius in dominio suo nactus est*)'.[530] Whilst the Conqueror, as kin, had a claim on Robert's land, there were closer relations alive—such as Robert's uncle, Count Richard of Évreux—who would have constituted more obvious heirs. However, as duke, it seems that William was able to circumvent customary norms which governed the

---

518 *GND* II, 152–3.
519 *GND* II, 126–7; Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 117, 568–9.
520 Manche, cant. Avranches.
521 F 148 (SCRIPTA 1592); Haskins, *NI*, 285 (SCRIPTA 7614).
522 Manche, cant. Saint-Hilaire-du-Harcouët.
523 *GND* II, 208–9; *GG*, 70–3; B 251 (SCRIPTA 6565); Yver, 'Les châteaux-forts', 58–9.
524 Manche, cant. Bréhal.
525 Manche, cant. Bréhal.
526 Manche, cant. Carentan-les-Marais.
527 Manche, cant. Les Pieux.
528 B 215 (SCRIPTA 6541); J. Boussard, 'Le comté de Mortain au XIe siècle', *Moyen Age* 58 (1952), 271.
529 OV II, 130–1.
530 F 155 (SCRIPTA 1559); OV II, 118–21; IV, 184–5.

succession to Robert's estates, bypassing his uncles and cousins. Moreover, although Queen Matilda had wanted her younger son, Henry, to inherit her estates, after her death in 1083, her land in Normandy—together with her English fief—seems to have returned to the Conqueror.[531]

While the Conqueror travelled more widely throughout the duchy than his predecessors had done, after 1066, he became the first duke to spend a significant amount of his time outside of Normandy. The impact of this upon the administration of the ducal estates remains unknown and beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is possible that, with an increasingly absentee duke, food rents and other payments in kind started to become obsolete. The charter evidence demonstrates that the Conqueror continued to grant ducal estates away as he had done before 1066. However, the conquest of England increased his scope for patronage far beyond anything any of his ducal predecessors had at their disposal. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the larger gains to be had across the Channel loosened the strain on ducal resources and mitigated the necessity to grant away significant amounts of ducal land in Normandy.

Excluding the conquest of Maine, the essential shape of Normandy and the general distribution of the ducal estates did not change dramatically after 1035. However, the death of the Conqueror in 1087 appears to have resulted in more grants of ducal land, therefore decreasing its extent under Robert Curthose. Orderic was highly critical of the Conqueror's eldest son in this respect:

> In erogando prodigus, in promittendo diffuses… Ipse cunctis placere studebat, cunctisque quod petebant aut dabat aut promittebat uel concedebat. Prodigus dominium patrum suorum cotidie imminuebat insipienter tribuens unicuique quod petebat, et ipse pauperescebat, unde alios contra se roborabat.

[531] OV IV, 44–7.

> [He was prodigal in distributing his bounty and lavish in his promises… Through his wish to please all men he either gave or promised or granted whatever anyone asked. He diminished his inheritance daily by his foolish prodigality, giving away to everyone whatever was sought; and as he impoverished himself, he strengthened the hands of others against him.][532]

The same theme appears in the *Gesta*, which recorded that Robert Curthose:

> ita paternam hereditatem, ducatum scilicet Normannie, dissipauerat, quod, preter ciuitatem Rothomagensium, nichil pene in dominio haberet: quam etiam dorsitan alicui ut cetera dedisset, si hoc sibi licitum propter ciues ipsius fuisset.
>
> [so squandered the paternal inheritance, the duchy of Normandy, that he scarcely maintained anything in demesne except the city of Rouen, which he might have handed over like the other places if its inhabitants had permitted him to do so.][533]

These accounts, written with hindsight after Henry I's victory over Curthose, naturally invite some suspicion of probable exaggeration and hyperbole. As Garnett has convincingly argued, Orderic's treatment of Robert Curthose's reign in his *Historia*, written largely in the late 1120s and early 1130s, was devoted in no small part to the justification of Henry I's recent displacement of his older brother as ruler of Normandy in 1106.[534] Taking his cue from Henry's promulgation issued after Tinchebray, Orderic did this by stressing Curthose's failings—losing control of the Conqueror's *dominia* and failing to protect his *patria*—to the point that Curthose could not be regarded as ever having taken up possession of Normandy.[535] The only way that Henry's takeover of the duchy—

---

[532] OV IV, 114–5.
[533] *GND* II, 220–1.
[534] Garnett, 'Robert Curthose', 229–30
[535] Garnett, 'Robert Curthose', 232–6.

and the steps he took to reclaim ducal land that had been granted away—could be justified was if Curthose had never really been the duke of Normandy at all.[536]

The limited charter evidence for Curthose's short reign cannot be used to confirm how profligate Curthose really was. Similarly, the lack of sources like Domesday Book or Norman pipe rolls for this period makes it difficult to assess the veracity of Curthose's alleged prodigality. Naturally like his ducal predecessors and successors, Duke Robert made several known ducal grants that were recorded in charters.[537] Nevertheless, the narrative sources suggest that, very soon after his accession, Curthose had granted a significant amount of ducal land away. One of his first acts of 1087 was to sell the Cotentin peninsula—including Coutances, Avranches, and Mont-Saint-Michel—to Henry for £3,000, in order to raise the funds necessary to finance what turned out to be an abortive and disastrous invasion of England the following year.[538] Despite the duke's attempt to remove Henry from power in the Cotentin in 1088, he retained the peninsula throughout the 1090s.[539] In the peace that followed Rufus' retaliatory campaign in Normandy, Robert ceded all his land and lordship north of the Seine to Rufus, and despite later attempts to drive Henry from his newly acquired land and title in western Normandy, Henry retained the Cotentin throughout the 1090s. Robert of Torigni explained that, when Henry was ruling the Cotentin before he was king, he granted Earl Hugh of Chester:

> ex integro castellum, quod Sancti Iacobi appellatum est, in quo idem comes tunc temporis nichil aliud habebat preter custodiam munitionis ipsuis oppidi.
>
> [the whole town of Saint-James, where until that moment the earl had held not more than the custody of the castle of the town.][540]

---

536 Garnett, 'Robert Curthose', 231–2, 236–42.
537 Appendix A, pp. 43–4.
538 *GND* II, 202–5; OV IV, 118–21. David, *Robert Curthose*, 48–9;
539 *GND* II, 204–9; OV IV, 148–9, 164–5, 250–3, 256–7, 292–3; *RRAN* I, 318; David, *Robert Curthose*, 53, 79–80.
540 *GND* II, 208–9; C.W. Hollister, *Henry I* (New Haven, CT, 2001), 89; Green, *Henry I*, 33.

Saint-James had passed to Hugh on the death of his father—Viscount Richard Goz of Avranches—after 1082. Since Saint-James was a ducal fortification, throughout much of this period it was held for the duke by Richard and Hugh as custodians, but Henry's grant seemingly allowed Hugh to treat the castle and town of Saint-James as part of his fief.

In the peace agreement that followed the retaliatory campaign Rufus undertook in Normandy in 1091, Robert ceded all his land and lordship north of the Seine to his brother.[541] Within a few years, Curthose had lost considerable swathes of the duchy, including the ducal estates within these areas, and left with Normandy's central region centred on Caen and Bayeux. It seems, then, that Orderic's account of Robert's reign, which might at first appear to be tendentious, 'was not entirely divorced from reality'.[542]

Competition with his brothers for control of their father's Anglo-Norman inheritance was likely the primary motivation for Curthose to grant away large amounts of ducal land. However, in doing this to make a bid to take England, Robert ended up losing much of Normandy—and ultimately the entire duchy. Moreover, Duke Robert mortgaged Normandy to William Rufus in 1096 in return for 10,000 silver marks used to fund his participation in the First Crusade.[543] Thankfully for the interests of the ducal house, much of what Curthose granted went to his brothers, both of whom ruled Normandy after Curthose left for the Holy Land. Orderic contrasted Curthose with Rufus by recording that, during Curthose's absence, Rufus 'kept in his own hand the domains of his father which his brother had foolishly alienated' (*dominia patris sui quæ frater suus insipienter distraxerat sibi mancipauit*).[544] A possible interpretation of this passage is that Rufus confiscated Curthose's grants of ducal land, but equally it is possible that Orderic was simply implying that Rufus retained the ducal estates within the Norman territory Curthose ceded to him. Regardless, he seemingly worked

---

[541] *ASC* 1091; *GND* II, 204–7; OV IV, 178–83, 236–7, 250–1; Haskins, *NI*, 78.
[542] Garnett, 'Robert Curthose', 213.
[543] *GND* II, 210–1; OV V, 26–7, 32–5, 208–9.
[544] OV V, 210–1; Garnett, 'Robert Curthose', 232–3.

to expand ducal power, demonstrated by his construction of a fortification at Gisors, on the frontier with France (*in confinio Normannie et Francie*), in 1097.[545]

Upon his return from the crusade to Jerusalem in 1100, Duke Robert recovered Normandy and control of his estates.[546] After another failed attempt to claim the English crown in 1101, Curthose managed to get Henry to relinquish 'the whole Cotentin and everything that he possessed in Normandy except Domfront' (*totumque Constantinum pagum et quicquid in Neustria possidebat preter Damfrontem*).[547] Nevertheless, the impression from the narrative sources is that sound administration and management of ducal land only returned after Henry's final defeat of Robert at Tinchebray in 1106. At the Council of Lisieux, Henry:

> Omnia quoque dominia patris sui suæ proprietati mancipauit iudicioque sapientum irrita esse censuit, quæ frater suus ingratis per imprudentiam dederat, uel inuitus per imbecillitatem permiserat.
>
> [took into his own hand all his father's demesnes, and by judgement of wise counsellors decreed that all the gifts his brother had foolishly made to ungrateful men and all the concessions he had made through weakness should be null and void.][548]

In addition to confiscating the land of Curthose' supporters, Orderic's account suggests that Henry's conquest of Normandy enabled him to retake control of ducal patronage and to replenish the stock of ducal land by revoking his brother's grants. Although this would entail the reversal of nearly two decades of tenurial change in the duchy, Henry might have had some success in this endeavour thanks to the 'official' history that argued that Curthose had never legitimately ruled

---

545 *GND* II, 212–3; OV V, 214–7; F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (London and New Haven, CT), 379–81.
546 *GND* II, 218–9; OV V, 300–1; *ASC* E 1100; David, *Robert Curthose*, 123.
547 OV V, 318–9. For the conflict, see *GND* II, 218–21; OV V, 306–23; *ASC* 1101; C.W. Hollister, 'The Anglo-Norman Civil War: 1101', *EHR* 88 (1973); David, *Robert Curthose*, 127–37; Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 204–11; Hollister, *Henry I*, 133–45.
548 OV VI, 94–5.

Normandy.[549] However, the charter evidence demonstrates that Henry needed to continue exercising patronage in Normandy in the form of ducal land grants after 1106.[550]

Map 11 plots all the evidence for the ducal estates between 911 and 1106.[551] While the distribution is widespread across the duchy, there remain noticeable gaps in the pattern of ducal landholding, especially along—but not limited to—Normandy's southern and eastern frontiers. The fragmentary charter evidence, which provides most of the data for the ducal estates, cannot provide a complete picture, but it is unlikely that deficiency of evidence alone explains the areas seemingly devoid of ducal estates.

One possibility is that the dukes held no land in these regions; alternatively, it could be that ducal estates were located there but not given away, therefore hiding them from view. It is likely that both possibilities explain gaps in particular areas. For example, there were probably many ducal estates in the gaps in the duchy's hinterland which remain unknown because they were never granted away or because the evidence recording such grants does not survive. However, it is also the case that non-ducal land was located in some of these areas. In particular, the more vulnerable and contested regions that were further away from the centres of ducal power appear to have been dominated by aristocratic lordships. Below, Map 12 plots the ducal estates alongside the known land held by some of Normandy's major aristocratic families.[552] It can be observed that some areas devoid of ducal land, especially along the frontiers, appear to be filled by these aristocratic estates. In the west, most prominent are Odo and Robert, the Conqueror's half-brothers. Their holdings appear to fill some gaps rather neatly in the Bessin and Avranchin respectively. Similarly, the

[549] Garnett, 'Robert Curthose', 237, 241–2.
[550] Appendix A, pp. 45–6.
[551] Some of Henry I's known ducal estates are also included but this does not pretend to be exhaustive for the period 1106–35.
[552] The data behind the aristocratic land has been researched and compiled by Stephen Baxter, Chris Lewis, and James Moore, all of whom have my gratitude and acknowledgement. Naturally, any errors in the representation of the data in this map are my own.

Taisson holding occupies a large space along the Orne.[553] By the middle of the eleventh century the Montgommery family had succeeded in establishing a lordship which cut through central Normandy, intersecting the Bellême holding along the duchy's southern frontier. In the Seine valley, the progeny of Count Ralph held estates that were centred around Ivry but also spread over Upper Normandy. On the south-east frontier sits the land of the counts of Evreux and the Tosny family, and the estates of the counts of Eu represent an example of a marcher county on the north-eastern frontier, bordering Normandy's powerful, and quondam troublesome neighbour, Flanders. The counts of Évreux were notably absent from the regions south of the Évrecin, where Count Ralph and his descendants had a significant landed presence.[554] Such a distinct division between these two lordships in terms of their estates certainly lends itself to the idea that there was a level of ducal management concerning land on the frontier. The picture remains incomplete with gaps around the frontier and within the interior, but it is likely that these are down to lack of evidence. With more research, however, it will almost certainly be possible to fill in more gaps in the future.

Odo owed his holding—which was spread across the Bessin—entirely to his half-brother, the Conqueror, who ensured that he succeeded Hugh as bishop of Bayeux in 1049.[555] William's other half-brother, Robert, also owed his office as count of Mortain, to patronage from the duke.[556] Count Robert's estates in the Avranchin—around Mortain—are clustered in a relatively cohesive block, but interestingly, his holding is anchored to the duchy at large with estates that spread from the Cotentin, through the Bessin, to the mouth of the Seine. Similarly, while the holdings of Ivry and Evreux are centred on small territorial units strategically placed on the south-eastern frontier, they too have some estates further up the Seine valley within the ducal heartlands. Duke Richard I's uterine brother, Ralph, was raised to the comital rank and given land at Ivry in the early eleventh

[553] For the Taisson family, see Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 81–2.
[554] Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 194.
[555] *GND* II, 120–1; *GG*, 90–3; OV IV, 114–7. For more on Bishop Odo, see D. Bates, 'The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1049/50–1097)', *Speculum* 50 (1975).
[556] For Count Robert, see B. Golding, 'Robert of Mortain', *ANS* 13 (1990).

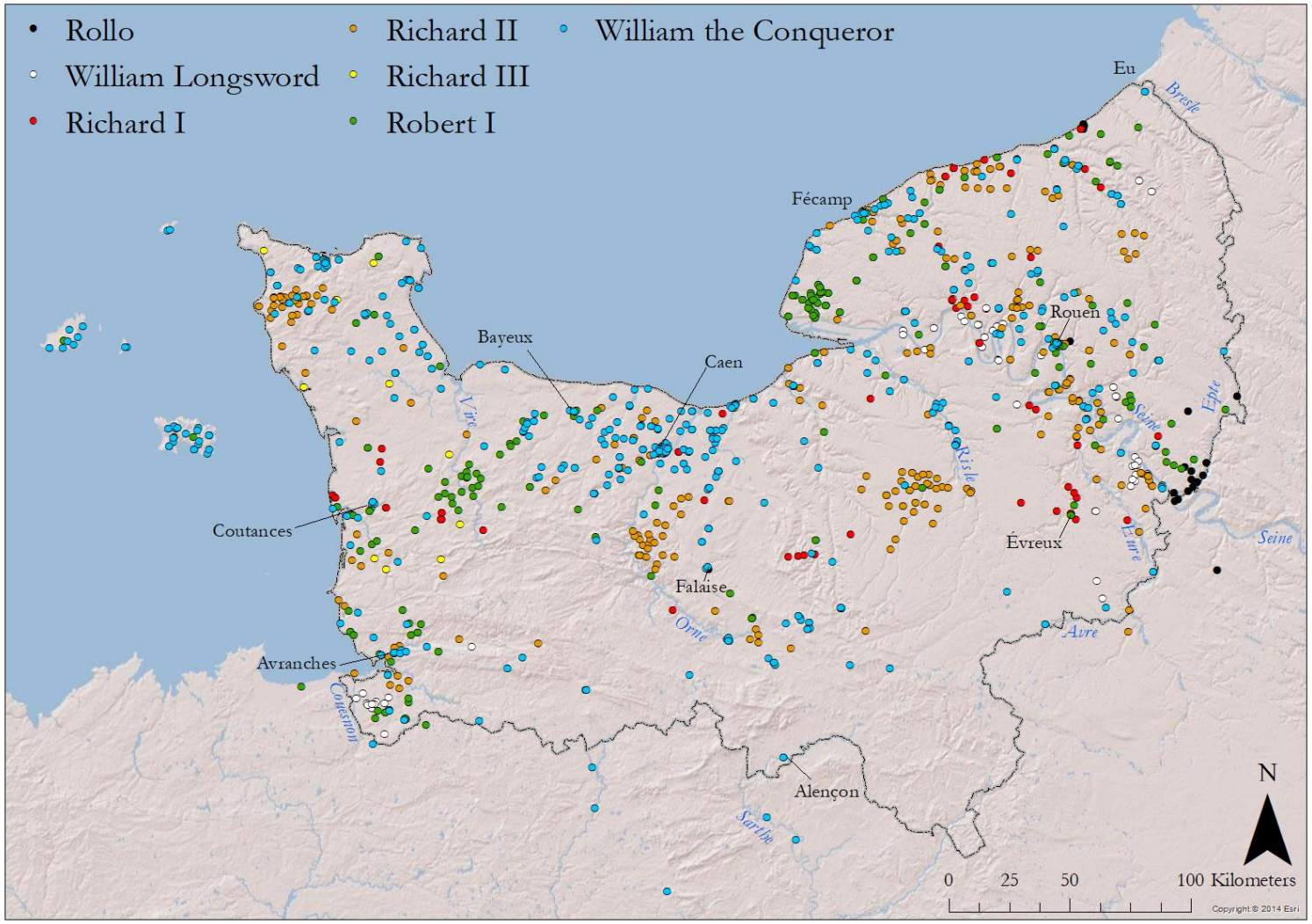
century.[557] The counties of Eu and Evreux were also ducal creations of the late tenth and early eleventh century.[558] Whilst the holdings of Mortain, Ivry, and Evreux all have some estates attached to them spread throughout the duchy, Eu is an example of a marcher county, and its holdings resemble a cohesive territorial unit. Bauduin has argued that the plantations of counts on the frontier was a ducal initiative designed to strengthen ducal authority in areas where it was weaker and vulnerable.[559] Considering this, it is perhaps understandable why the comital holdings like Eu do not fit the general pattern of aristocratic estates. The duke was willing to allow strong territorial units centred around fortifications to protect the frontier and reinforce his own authority.

Musset suggested that it was ducal policy to ensure that aristocratic fiefs—excepting the frontier counties, over which the ducal family had a monopoly—never constituted coherent territorial units and were methodically dispersed across large regions.[560] The relatively neat patterns displayed in Map 12 seems to support the suggestion that there was a level of ducal control in shaping these lordships. Normandy was not completely a ducal creation, of course, and the aristocracy regularly asserted themselves against the duke in conflicts. The Bellême family, in particular, were exceptional in that they managed to resist ducal authority for much of the eleventh century and succeeded in carving out their own relatively independent lordship due mainly to their location in the fluid border zone on Normandy's southern frontier.[561] The following section turns to look at some instances of ducal-aristocratic conflict in Normandy during this period in more detail.

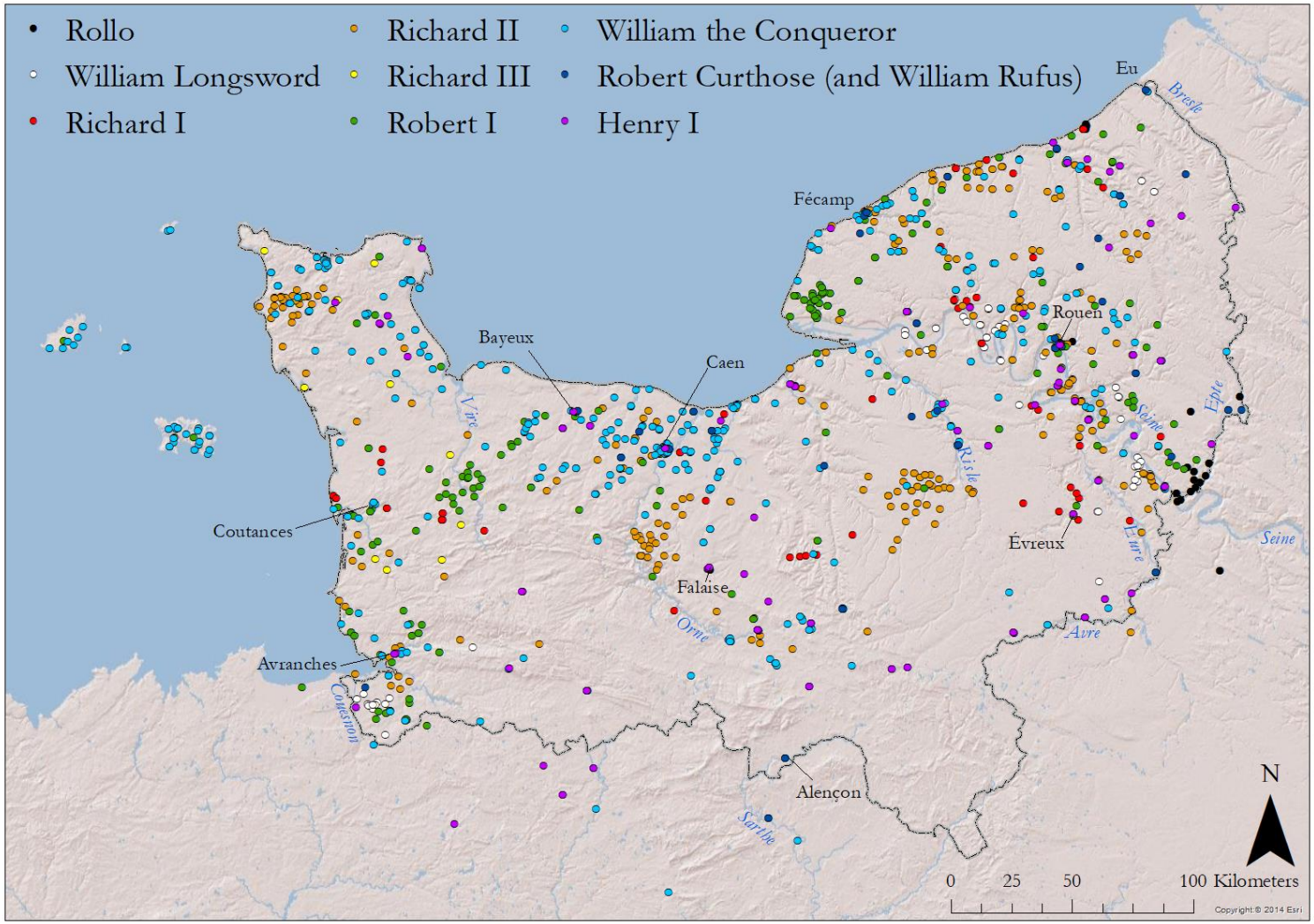
---

[557] *GND* II, 172–5, 297. Ralph became count between 1006 and 1011: F 9, 13 (SCRIPTA 1435, 1439). For more on Count Ralph see Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 194–210.
[558] For Evreux, see *GND* I, 48–9, 102–3, 132–3, 232–3; OV II, 118–29, 364–5 ; III, 84–7; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 194, 323–61. For Eu, see *GND* I, 130–1; II, 10–1, 92–3, 128–9, 132–3, 142–5; OV IV, 86–7.
[559] Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 193.
[560] Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 72, 80, 87–8.
[561] Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 78, 84, 87. For the Bellêmes more generally, see Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*.

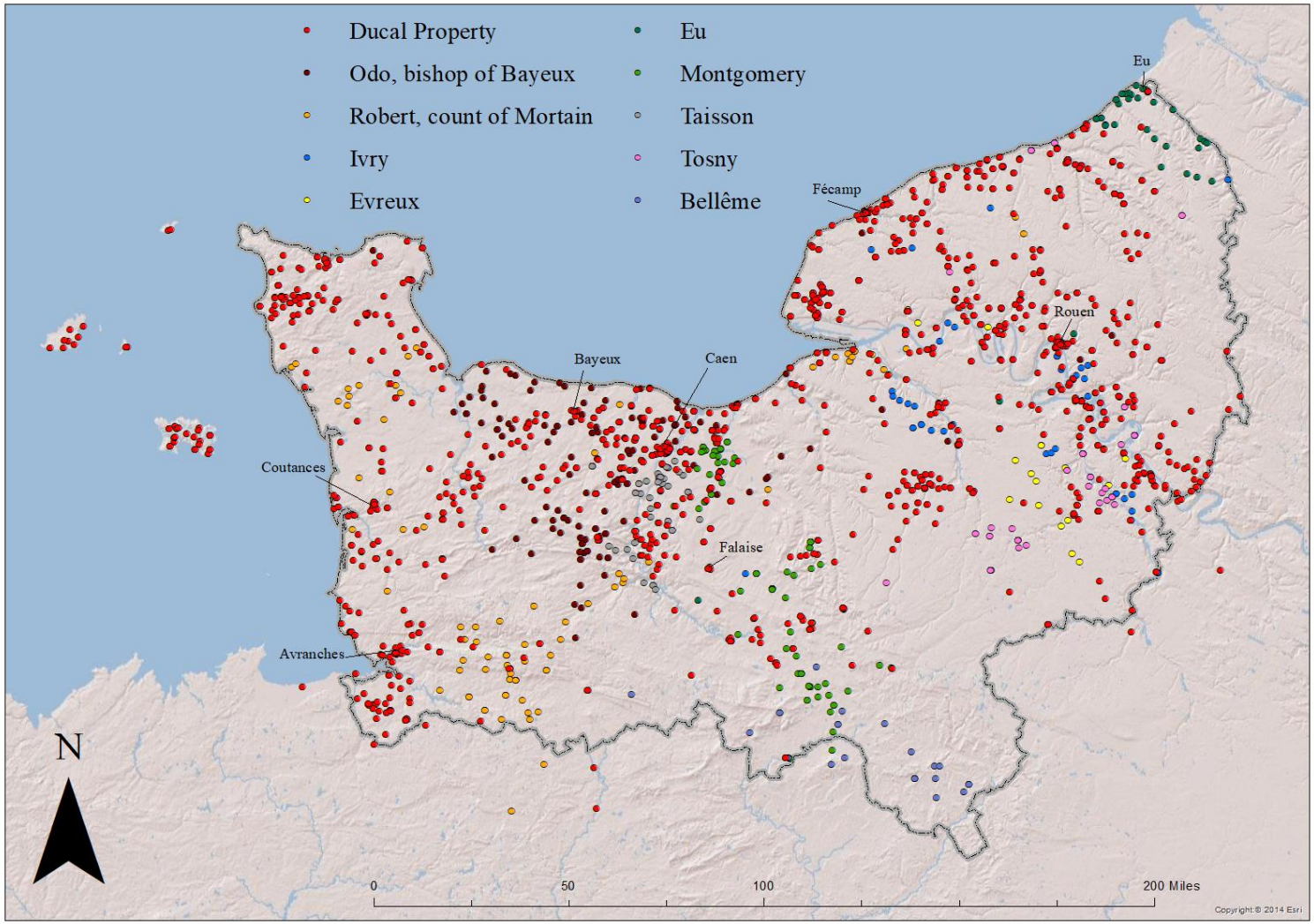
Map 10. The Ducal Estates of William the Conqueror, 1035–87



Map 11. The Ducal Estates, 911–1106



Map 12. Ducal Land and Selected Aristocratic Estates



Ducal Patronage and Political Conflict in Normandy

This section examines Norman ducal patronage and political conflict after 1035 and attempts to show how the flow of land into and out of ducal hands was managed in this period.[562] It begins by looking at ducal control over the comital institution in Normandy before widening the analysis to how ducal authority interacted with the aristocracy. It is argued that, despite some instances of serious internal conflict, the duchy remained relatively centralized in this period and the duke maintained control of patronage. While aristocratic feud and violence could be destabilizing, dispute and conflict often played out along centripetal lines which favoured the ducal house and did not threaten to fracture the political structures of Normandy.

Charged with the protection of the Norman Church, the duke exercised his rights to nominate bishops and abbots, which stemmed from Carolingian prerogatives.[563] There have been recent prosopographical studies of Norman episcopal and monastic institutions,[564] and it is not for this thesis to return to these subjects. The duke's relationship with Norman counts has been less studied, however. In some parts of northern Francia, relatively independent counties emerged as some castellans and lords assumed comital titles on their own initiative in the early eleventh century. This seems not to have been the case in Normandy where the creation of comtés was ducal policy.[565] Most of the first Norman counts were sons of Richard I, who assigned them land in order to satisfy their legitimate claims to a Norman inheritance with the hope that they would support the duchy passing whole and

[562] For ducal authority and the Norman aristocracy, see, in addition to several monographs, Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 71–96; Douglas, 'Rise of Normandy', 101–30; Bates, *Normandy*, 46–179. For a recent and thorough study of ducal power and authority, see Hagger, *Norman Rule*.
[563] Musset, 'Origines et nature du pouvoir ducal', 51; Bates, *Normandy*, 122, 162.
[564] Allen, 'Norman Episcopate'; Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*;.
[565] Douglas, 'Norman Counts'; Yver, 'Les premières institutions', 323–5; Bates, *Normandy*, 156; Garnett, 'Ducal Succession', 98–110; D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain 1000–1300* (London, 1992), 41–83; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 191–216, 323–61; Moore, 'Norman Aristocracy', 171–3.

intact to Richard II.[566] All Norman counts of this period were close ducal relatives and only two were not descended from dukes: Count Robert II of Mortain, who was the Conqueror's uterine brother, and his son, Count William II of Mortain. The identity of these counts suggests that ducal control over comital appointments was maintained by the Conqueror and Curthose. While Richard II and Robert I probably regarded comital offices as revocable and not hereditary, the period after 1035 saw a move towards heritability of comital title and land in Normandy. However, there is evidence that the Conqueror and his sons were still able to exercise authority over their counts when political circumstances allowed.

The deaths of the Conqueror's guardians—Archbishop Robert, Count Gilbert, and Count Alan III of Brittany—ushered in a period of instability during the 1040s.[567] While ducal authority was weakened during these years of the Conqueror's minority, the duchy did not fragment or collapse, and the ducal establishment largely maintained control over the comital institution in Normandy. The only new count to appear in this period was Count William of Arques—the duke's uncle—who, together with his brother, Archbishop Mauger of Rouen, probably wielded a share of power in their nephew's name at this time.[568] Count Gilbert's *comitatus* was divided in two, with Eu going to his cousin, William Busac, and Brionne going to the duke's cousin, Guy of Burgundy, who also took control of Vernon.[569] Although Duke Robert had designated his son as his heir before 1035,[570] these other male descendants of former dukes had legitimate claims to the duchy and expected to have a Norman inheritance. The circumstances in Normandy after the succession of 1035 placed the ducal relatives in a much stronger position than they were in after the successions of 1026 and 996, and it is no surprise that the young Duke William's uncles and cousin were able to acquire comital estates and title. However, it is remarkable that the comital dignity in Normandy remained

[566] Garnett, 'Ducal Succession', 98–110; Bates, *Normandy*, 156; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 193.
[567] *GND* II, 78–81, 92–3; OV III, 86; IV, 82–3.
[568] F 100 (SCRIPTA 1544); *GND* II, 102–3.
[569] *GND* II, 120–1; *GG*, 8–9; OV IV, 82–3; F 98 (SCRIPTA 1542).
[570] *GND* II, 78–81.

monopolized by the ducal family,[571] and that there is no evidence that any member of this family made a serious bid for control of the duchy during the Conqueror's adolescence. Nevertheless, the landed settlement arranged between the duke and his family after 1035 ultimately proved contentious, just as the inheritance arrangements in 1026 and 996 had proven. From the late 1040s, by which point Duke William had reached adulthood and was better able to assert his authority, conflict emerged among the ducal family. As a result, following the defeat and exile of Count Guy in 1049 and Count William in 1053, the comital institution in Brionne and Arques disappeared, like the comtés of the Hiémois and Ivry before them.[572] Brionne and Arques—and the lands attached to them—returned to ducal hands and neither the Conqueror nor his sons appointed another count to hold them.

Most of the Norman counties established before 1035 continued to descend down family lines, suggesting that heritability was the common pattern in this period. Even when the duke sometimes confiscated the land of an exiled or imprisoned rebel, this rarely amounted to a permanent revocation or disinheritance. When Count William Busac of Eu was forced into exile and lost his office *c.*1049,[573] his brother, Robert, succeeded to the *comitatus* quite soon after.[574] Robert's son and successor, Count William II,[575] who had rebelled against William Rufus in 1088 and 1095, was blinded and castrated for treason in 1096, dying soon after from his wounds.[576] Though his punishment was brutal, his son, Henry, was permitted to succeed to the county of Eu,[577] which he retained despite his continued support for William Clito.[578] In the early 1110s, the elderly veteran of 1066, Count William of Évreux, and his wife,

---

[571] Roger of Beaumont, one of Duke William's most loyal followers married Adeline, daughter of Count Waleran of Meulan, a quasi-independent county on the Norman frontier to the southeast of Vernon. Their son, Robert, inherited the county of Meulan.
[572] Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 76; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 194.
[573] *GND* II, 10–1; 128–9; Moore, 'Norman Aristocracy', 184–90.
[574] F 105, 123 (SCRIPTA 1549, 1567). Count Robert proved a loyal and reliable follower to the Conqueror, defeating a French army at Mortemer in 1054 and contributing sixty ships to the invasion fleet of 1066: *GND* II, 142–5; OV IV, 86–7; van Houts, 'Ship List of William the Conqueror', 175.
[575] Moore, 'Norman Aristocracy', 247–54.
[576] *ASC* 1096; OV IV, 284–5. Barlow, *William Rufus*, 357.
[577] Count Henry also succeeded to his father's English estates.
[578] Hollister, *Henry I*, 248–9.

Countess Helwise, 'were twice deprived of their lands in Normandy (*exheredati de Normmania bis*) and forced into exile in Anjou' because Helwise 'destroyed the royal castle (*dangionem regis*) at Évreux and gave offence to the king in several other matters in which fealty to their lord was anything but well observed'.[579] However, in early 1113, 'King Henry restored the county of Évreux to Count William' (*rex Henricus Guillelmo comiti…Ebroicensem comitatum reddidit*), who had been in exile for a little over a year.[580] When Count William died childless five years later, 'the king took the county of Évreux into his own hand' (*Ebroicensem comitatum rex proprietati suæ mancipauit*).[581] However, William's nephew, Amaury III of Montfort, 'claimed the county which King Henry…utterly refused to give him' (*comitatum expetiit quem prorsus ei rex Henricus…denegauit*).[582] Amaury seized Évreux,[583] but after Henry besieged him in 1119, 'he voluntarily surrendered the citadel to the king, and to his great satisfaction received the whole of his uncle's county' (*regi arcem ultro reddidit, et ipse totum auunculi sui comitatum gaudens recepit*).[584] Count Amaury later rose in support of William Clito, and the county of Évreux was taken into ducal hands again when Amaury escaped into exile following defeat at the battle of Bourgthéroulde in 1124.[585] However, the count made peace with Henry later that same year and recovered his Norman honor in return for abandoning Clito's cause.[586]

The county of Mortain provides the most obvious examples of ducal intervention in comital succession after 1035. At some point before 1050, the Conqueror allowed William Werlenc—'of the stem of Richard the Great'—to succeed to Mortain, previously held by Werlenc's uncle.[587] However, the count supposedly promised his household knight, Robert

---

[579] OV VI, 148–9.
[580] OV VI, 180–1.
[581] OV VI, 148–9.
[582] OV VI, 188–9.
[583] OV VI, 204–5, 220–1. Hollister, *Henry I*, 248, 260–1.
[584] OV VI, 228–33, 276–9. *ASC* E 1119; Hollister, *Henry I*, 268.
[585] *GND* II, 234–7; *ASC* E 1124. Hollister, *Henry I*, 292, 294.
[586] OV VI, 358–9; Hollister, *Henry I*, 304, 326.
[587] *GND* II, 126–7. Werlenc attested three extant ducal charters datable to the period 1050–1064: F 160–2 (SCRIPTA 1605–7). Douglas, 'Norman Counts', 141–3.

Bigot, the right to plunder without ducal permission.[588] After forcing William Werlenc into exile in the late 1050s, the duke 'immediately elevated (*sullimauit*) his brother Robert and entrusted (*tribuit*) to him the county of Mortain'.[589] According to Orderic, this was a harsh sentence for Werlenc, but the revocation of his title, and presumably the confiscation of his land, did not result in the disappearance of the comital institution at Mortain.[590] Orderic's account illustrates that the duke did not always seek to destroy comital titles when the opportunity arose. In this case, the county was recycled for the enrichment of another close ducal relative, albeit a uterine one. This account also suggests that, by the second half of the eleventh century, the duke needed a clear legitimate cause—usually manifest infidelity—to revoke comital titles. In this case, the pretext appears to have been flimsy,[591] and it is possible that Werlenc was dispossessed of his land and exiled on a trumped-up charge. Nevertheless, with the power to decide what constituted rebellious or disloyal behaviour, the duke could sometimes prevent the entrenchment of families in comital offices. King Henry I's case against Count William II of Mortain in 1106 was more unequivocal. Having already forfeited the earldom of Cornwall in 1104, Count William was stripped of Mortain—the other half of his father's Anglo-Norman inheritance—after he was captured at the battle of Tinchebray and imprisoned.[592] Henry prevented Mortain from descending to any of his uncle's heirs, but the *comitatus* did not disappear. It was recycled before 1113 and given to Henry's favoured nephew, Stephen of Blois.[593]

The descent of these counties illustrates the complexity of comital succession in Normandy during this period. Comital title was not automatically hereditary but was heritable subject to ducal authority. Norman counts were often able to pass their titles and estates to their heirs,

---

588 OV IV, 98–9.
589 *GND* II, 126–7. Musset, 'Actes inédits', 128; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 99, 138; Bates, *Normandy*, 82.
590 *GND* II, 126–7.
591 Douglas, 'Norman Counts', 152.
592 *GND* II, 220–3; OV VI, 80–95, 98–9; Hollister, *Henry I*, 204–6, 330–1.
593 *RRAN* II, 1406.

even if this inheritance remained at the discretion of the duke.[594] Transferral of comital title, as seen in the exchanges between the counties of Eu and Brionne, was a subtler exercise of ducal authority, but it nevertheless demonstrates that comital succession remained under a level of ducal control.[595] Of the seven Norman counties that emerged before 1040, only three—Évreux, Eu, and Mortain—remained a century later, and no more came into existence.[596] This is strong evidence for the duke's authority to create, remove, and resist the entrenchment of counts in Normandy during this period of socio-political change which often led to fragmentation and decentralization of power structures in France. By granting counties to close family members, dukes sought to satisfy rival claims to land and title in the duchy. Counts hoped to pass on their comital land and title to their heirs, but this was not always possible as demonstrated by the ducal intervention in the descent of Eu and Mortain. Sometimes, however, continued heritable succession was possible. Évreux, the only other Norman county to survive throughout this period, remained in the hands of a single cadet branch of the ducal family. In the counties that persisted, counts were largely successful in ensuring that their office and estates were usually regarded as heritable, even if dukes could influence comital succession in certain circumstances.

Ducal succession arrangements suggest that most comital land was probably former ducal land. It seems that dukes regarded the estates given to counts as *ex officio*, and sought, whenever the opportunity arose, to regain control of them. While there is some suggestive evidence that late Anglo-Saxon kings assigned land to ealdormen and earls to be held by virtue of their office,[597] the evidence for a similar phenomenon in Normandy is inconclusive. There are no direct references to estates attached to comital offices enjoyed by the count for

---

[594] Garnett, 'Ducal Succession', 101.
[595] Bates, *Normandy*, 116.
[596] This does not include counties established without Norman ducal authority that came into Normandy's orbit in the period after 1040, such as Meulan, Aumale, Boulogne, and Blois.
[597] Maitland, *DBB*, 95, 166–8; Baxter and Blair, 'Land Tenure and Royal Patronage', 23–8; Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 6, 13, 138–9, 141–9; A. Williams, *The World Before Domesday: The English Aristocracy, 900–1066* (London, 2008), 22–4. See also P.A. Clarke, *The English Nobility under Edward the Confessor* (Oxford, 1994) 20–3.

the duration of his office. However, with the descent of several Norman counties subject to transfer among different branches of the ducal family, it is certainly possible that comital land was attached to the office. When counties changed hands in this way, it is doubtful that the duke made substantial grants of new estates each time. This would have been a significant drain on ducal land resources. It is more likely that demarcated comital land remained with the office subject to ducal management.

The duke's authority over the Norman aristocracy was not limited to counts. The duke was responsible for maintaining order and keeping the peace throughout his realm, and the power to exile was often employed to impose his peace upon the members of the aristocracy whom he deemed disloyal.[598] Important for this study is that exile or imprisonment often came coupled with confiscation of estates. In this way, aristocratic conflict offered lucrative opportunities for the duke to acquire more territory. There are many instances of 'rebellions'—so-described in the predominantly pro-ducal narrative accounts—in Normandy, but it seems that internal political conflict, which usually played out in the duke's favour, strengthened rather than weakened the duchy in this period.

Even during William the Conqueror's minority, when the young duke's authority was weak and aristocratic rivalry, left unchecked, manifested in feuding and assassinations, the ducal establishment was still, at times, able to enforce its will. For example, Roger I of Montgommery, former viscount of the Hiémois,[599] was reported to be 'in exile in Paris because of his perfidy (*perfidia*)' *c.*1040.[600] The reasons for Roger's exile are unknown, but the

[598] Musset, 'Origines et nature du pouvoir ducal', 53; Bates, *Normandy*, 163–7; E. Z. Tabuteau, 'Punishments in Eleventh-century Normandy', in *Conflict in Medieval Europe*, ed. W.C. Brown and P. Górecki (London, 2003); E. Johnson, 'The Process of Norman Exile into Southern Italy', in *Exile in the Middle Ages*, ed. L. Napran and E. van Houts (Turnhout, 2004).
[599] F 69, 94 (SCRIPTA 1515, 1538).
[600] *GND* II, 94–5. Also, OV II, 304–5; III, 88–9; IV, 76–7; K. Thompson, 'The Norman Aristocracy before 1066: The Example of the Montgomerys', *HR* 60 (1987), 257.

fact that his son—William—soon afterwards murdered Osbern the Steward, suggests that Roger was forced into exile by the ducal camp.[601]

Thurstan Goz, who replaced Roger as viscount of the Hiémois, was a powerful lord in Lower Normandy not related to the ducal family.[602] In the early 1040s, he apparently allowed Capetian royal soldiers entry into Falaise; after being besieged and put to flight by ducal forces led by Ralph of Gacé, Thurstan 'left the country as an exile (*patria extorris aufugit*)'.[603] In addition to the reclamation of Falaise, the duke almost certainly confiscated Thurstan's vicecomital land in the Hiémois, including Ginai,[604] Cisay-Saint-Aubin,[605] and Croisilles,[606] and it is also possible that Thurstan's patrimonial land, at Toutainville,[607] Creully sur Seulles,[608] and Vierville-sur-Mer,[609] was also forfeited.[610] A twelfth-century interpolation into the *Gesta* explains that Thurstan's son—Richard—who later reconciled his father with the duke, 'himself acquired many more possessions than his father had lost (*ipse multo maiora quam pater perdiderat adquisiuit*)' after loyally serving the duke.[611] Much of Richard's identifiable land was in the Avranchin, at Saint-James,[612] La Lucerne-d'Outremer,[613] and Saint-Sever,[614] where Richard was viscount from *c.*1055.[615] Rather than being permanently removed from Norman politics, the Goz family was transferred from the Hiémois to the Avranchin.

---

601 *GND* II, 94–5.
602 Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 79; Bates, *Normandy*, 103, 117.
603 *GND* II, 98–103. Bates, 'The Conqueror's Adolescence', 9; Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 105–6.
604 Orne, cant. Argentan-2.
605 Orne, cant. Vimoutiers.
606 Orne, cant. Vimoutiers.
607 Eure, cant. Pont-Audemer.
608 Calvados, cant. Thue et Mue.
609 Calvados, cant. Trévières.
610 Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 79.
611 *GND* II, 102–3.
612 Manche, cant. Saint-Hilaire-du-Harcouët.
613 Manche, cant. Bréhal.
614 Calvados, cant. Vire Normandie, comm. Noues de Sienne.
615 L. Musset, 'Les origines et le patrimoine de l'abbaye de Saint-Sever', in *La Normandie Bénédictine au temps de Guillaume le Conquérant (XIe siècle)*, ed. J. Daout (Lille, 1967). F 159, 199 (SCRIPTA 1603, 1642).

Following Count Guy's defeated rebellion *c.*1047, which was perhaps the most serious threat of the Conqueror's perilous minority,[616] many rebels did not find themselves in irreparable conditions. Viscount Nigel II of the Cotentin was 'punished with exile because he had offended seriously',[617] but after a period in Brittany, he had returned to Normandy by 1055.[618] Nigel was restored to his office and at least some of his fortified estates, including Sauveur-le-Vicomte and La Colombe,[619] on the proviso that he donate some land to Marmoutier.[620] Haimo Toothy (*Dentatus*) was killed in battle but his son, Haimo the Steward (*Dapifer*) seemingly gained his full inheritance, and Ralph Taisson and Viscount Ranulf of Bayeux appear to have escaped punishment entirely.[621] Guy himself was less fortunate, however. Following a period of imprisonment, he was exiled from Normandy never to return. The duke confiscated Guy's land, including the stronghold of Brionne, and used some of the fallen count's estates to reward Roger of Beaumont, Walter Giffard, William of Warenne, and William of Vernon.[622] Grimoult of Le Plessis-Grimoult was the only other rebel to receive relatively harsh treatment.[623] An act of 1074—preserved in Bayeux's thirteenth-century cartulary—records the Conqueror's grant of Grimoult's patrimony at Le Plessis with all its appendages to his half-brother, Bishop Odo:

> Que omnia olim tenuit supradictus Grimoldus, et de quibus eidem sancte ecclesie quam supradiximus servivit. Nunc vero quoniam ipse perfidus, pro reatu infidelitatis sue et crimine insidiarum suarum quibus adversum me periurverat, ea, iure iusticie, sibi et heredibus suis perdidiit, do illa sancte supradicte ecclesie

---

616 *GG*, 8–9; *GND* II, 120–1. Both accounts state that Guy desired to remove Duke William from power.
617 *GG*, 12–3.
618 Wace, 137; F 132 (SCRIPTA 1576). He may have returned even earlier: F 141, 161 (SCRIPTA 1585, 1605).
619 Manche, cant. Bricquebec-en-Cotentin and Villedieu-les-Poêles-Rouffigny.
620 L. Delisle, *Histoire du château et des sires de Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte* (Valognes, 1867), 19–21, 50–5; B 260. Also, van Torhoudt, 'Les sièges du pouvoir des Néel'.
621 Wace, 133–6, 145. For the Taissons, see Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 81–2; Bates, *Normandy*, 99, 103, 118–9.
622 *GND* II, 122–3; *GG*, 12–3; Bates, *Normandy*, 101. For Brionne, see Yver, 'Les châteaux-forts', 49, 67–8. For Vernon, see Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 87; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 232–7.
623 Wace, 132–8.

> in dominium quietum, eiusque episcopo fratri meo Odoni omnibusque successoribus episcopis…
>
> [Long ago the aforementioned Grimoult held all of the above, and he served the same holy church which we mentioned [Bayeux Cathedral]. But now, since he was a traitor, for the guilt of his disloyalty and his insidious crimes against me, he and his heirs, by right of justice, have lost [the land] which I give to that aforementioned holy church [Bayeux Cathedral] in demesne quit [from customs], to be held by my brother Odo and all his episcopal successors…][624]

It was probably not coincidental, nor by sole virtue of being Duke William's half-brother, that Odo was the ultimate beneficiary of Grimoult's estate, however. The charter's mention of Grimoult's previous service to Bayeux implies that he was the bishop's vassal, holding the land from the cathedral. Having possibly attempted to assassinate the duke, Grimoult was imprisoned for life and his land was forfeited to the duke *iure iusticie*,[625] but Grimoult's lord, Bishop Odo—who was not guilty—did not wish to lose control over the land Grimoult held from Bayeux. Therein lies the probable importance of this charter, which seemingly settled the issue in Bayeux's favour. Whether the land was kept by the duke until 1074 or whether the cathedral in practice never lost control of it remains unclear, but the charter recorded it as a ducal grant which does not seem to have been made out of any obligation.

Despite Grimoult's fate, which is exceptional, evidence suggests that, following a period of exile from the duchy, Normans could often expect conditional reconciliation and restoration. For example, Roger of Mortemer, who harboured one of the duke's enemies—Roger's father-in-law, Count Ralph III of Valois—after the battle of Mortemer 1054,[626] was banished from Normandy, and his castle at Mortemer as well as its pertaining estates, such as

---

[624] B 27 (SCRIPTA 6454).
[625] Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 82–3, 96–7
[626] OV IV, 86–7; *GND* II, 142–7; *GG*, 46–51.

Bellenecombre,[627] were assigned to Roger's *consanguineus*, William of Warenne.[628] However, though Roger never recovered possession of Mortemer, he subsequently returned to Normandy in peace.[629] Around a decade later, a different Roger was exiled by the duke for murdering a swineherd of Mont-Saint-Michel in a dispute over land at Potrel.[630] Very soon afterwards—before the Conqueror embarked on his invasion of England—Roger had returned to Normandy, abandoning claims to Potrel in an agreement with Abbot Rannulf. Duke William's *vassallus*, Adam of Saint-Brice, similarly returned to Normandy following a short period in exile.[631]

Perhaps most remarkable is the survival of the Tosny family despite repeated political conflict with the duke and his close followers in this period. Having already spent time in exile during Richard II's reign,[632] Roger I of Tosny attacked the lands of Humphrey of Vieilles in the early 1040s, but:

> Quem Rogerius Toeninsis…cum duobus filiis suis Helberto et Elinancio peremptus uictoriam hostibus reliquit. Ibi Rodbertus de Grentemaisnil letale uulnus accepit, quo post tres ebdomadas .xiiii. Kalendas Iulii obit. Porro ante mortem suam duobus filiius suis Hugoni et Rodberto terram suam equaliter distribuit.
>
> [Roger of Tosny…together with his two sons Helbert and Helinand, was killed then and left the victory to his enemies. In the same fight Robert of Grandmesnil was so badly wounded that after three weeks he died on 18 June. But before his death he divided his land equally between his sons Hugh and Robert.][633]

---

[627] Seine-Maritime, cant. Neufchâtel-en-Bray.
[628] OV IV, 88–9; Hagger, *Norman Rule*, 126.
[629] OV III, 134–5; IV, 88–9.
[630] F 232 (SCRIPTA 1674). Manche, cant. Avranches, comm. Dragey-Ronthon.
[631] F 142, 156 (SCRIPTA 1586, 1600).
[632] Above, 87.
[633] *GND* II, 96–7. Also, OV II, 40–1. Musset, 'Tosny', 55.

Following this defeat, however, Roger's young sons, Ralph II and Robert, like Robert of Grandmesnil's sons, were not disinherited, ultimately succeeding to the Tosny estates.[634] Ralph II served as the Conqueror's standard bearer in 1054,[635] but *c.*1061, possibly after Ralph's vassal killed Humphrey's son, Robert of Beaumont,[636] the Conqueror, 'provoked by intense fury', confiscated Ralph's land and exiled him, along with the Tosny allies, Arnold of Échauffour and his nephews, Hugh and Robert II of Grandmesnil.[637] Nevertheless, while Arnold lost his patrimony to the Conqueror's close follower, Roger of Montgommery,[638] and Robert never regained possession of the abbey of Saint-Evroul,[639] Ralph returned to Normandy and was reinstated by 1063.[640] Fifteen years later, Ralph joined fellow frontier lords, Robert II of Bellême and William of Breteuil, in supporting Robert Curthose's rebellion against the Conqueror in the late 1070s.[641] The rebels forfeited their land but all three had recovered their estates by 1087 at the latest when, upon hearing of the Conqueror's death, they removed the ducal garrisons from their castles.[642]

The removal of the Conqueror's garrisons from Norman castles after 1087 is symptomatic of the weakening of ducal authority and the increase in aristocratic confidence under Robert Curthose. The inquest Curthose and Rufus made into ducal rights in 1091, known as the *Consuetudines et Iusticie*,[643] stipulates the duke's control of fortifications: the creation of ditches (*fossatum*) and palisades (*palacium*) was restricted, the construction of permanent castles of significant strength was prohibited, and 'no one was permitted to forbid the strength of his

634 Moore, 'Norman Aristocracy', 72–8. C.P. Lewis, 'Tosny, Ralph de [Ralph de Conches] (d. 1102?)', *ODNB* (2004).
635 *GND* II, 144–5; OV II, 140–1; IV, 88–9.
636 OV IV, 302–3; Bates, 'The Conqueror's Adolescence', 10.
637 *GND* II, 152–3; OV II, 90–3; III, 124–5; Moore, 'Norman Aristocracy', 78–9.
638 OV III, 134–7.
639 *GND* II, 154–5; OV II, 92–7, 106–9; III, 158–61; Bates, *Normandy*, 166.
640 OV II, 104–7, 122–3.
641 OV II, 356–61; III, 96–113; *ASC* 1079; JW III, 30–1; Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 86–94; J. Bickford-Smith, 'Orderic Vitalis and Norman Society, *c.*1035–1087', DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2006), 289–90; Moore, 'Norman Aristocracy', 88–90.
642 *GND* II, 206–7; OV IV, 112–5.
643 C.H. Haskins, 'The Norman "Consuetudines et Iusticie" of William the Conqueror', *EHR* 23 (1908), revised in Haskins, *NI*, 277–84. Discussed by Yver, 'Les premières institutions', 340–3, 349–63.

castle to the lord of Normandy if he himself wanted to have it in his hands' (*nulli licuit in Normannie fortitudinem castelli sui vetare domino Normannie si ipse eam in manu sua voluit habere*).[644] The ducal monopoly and powers over fortifications probably stemmed from Carolingian royal prerogatives outlined in Charles the Bald's Edict of Pîtres in 864.[645] Theory did not always work out in practice, however, as demonstrated by the proliferation of unlicensed fortifications and the 'patrimonialization' of castles during the Conqueror's minority.[646] Indeed, the emphasis the *Consuetudines* placed on the duke's right to take over castles is probably an admission that the Conqueror's successful efforts to suppress and control aristocratic fortifications from the late 1040s did not result in a lasting legacy after his death.[647] Robert Curthose seemingly had to accept the existence of independent castles.

Nevertheless, Duke Robert was still able to exercise a level of control over fortifications in Normandy as demonstrated by a dispute involving Ivry and Brionne.[648] Under the Conqueror, Ivry was guarded by loyal ducal castellans—Robert I and his son, Robert II,[649] of Ivry—until 1055x71, when the duke entrusted its custody to his close follower, Roger of Beaumont, whose son, Count Robert of Meulan, was its castellan as viscount of Ivry.[650] Brionne, meanwhile, was entrusted to Count Gilbert's son, Baldwin, as the Conqueror's castellan following Count Guy of Brionne's fall in the late 1040s. After the Conqueror's death, and likely after Baldwin fitzGilbert's death *c.*1089, Robert Curthose granted Brionne to Roger of Beaumont in an exchange for Ivry, which he granted to William of Breteuil, who claimed it on the basis that his great-grandfather, Count Ralph, had held it. However, Count Robert of Meulan rejected this exchange, demanding the return of Ivry from the duke, who

---

644 Haskins, *NI*, 282.
645 Musset, 'Origines et nature du pouvoir ducal', 51; Bates, *Normandy*, 162–3, 179
646 *GND* II, 92–5; OV III, 262–3; Yver, 'Les châteaux-forts', 52–7; Le Maho, 'L'apparition des seigneuries châtelaines', 26–9, 49, 83–7; Bates, *Normandy*, 114–5; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 216–31, 235–6.
647 *GG*, 10–3; *GND* II, 122–3; Bates, *Normandy*, 165–7.
648 *GND* II, 226–9; OV IV, 204–11.
649 SCRIPTA 204; F 210 (SCRIPTA 1654); Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 214–6. Robert I of Ivry's wife, Albereda, was possibly the daughter of Bishop Hugh, who had forfeited Ivry to Duke Robert I.
650 Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, 13–4.

imprisoned the count, took over Brionne, and installed Baldwin's son, Robert, as ducal castellan. At the intercession of Roger of Beaumont, the duke released Count Robert from prison and agreed to restore Brionne, but the castellan, Robert fitzBaldwin, refused to hand it over to the Beaumonts. In a speech imagined by Orderic, Robert said to the duke:

> Brionnam si tibi uis retinere, sicut eam pater tuus in sua tenuit proprietate tibi non differo reddere. Alioquin hereditatem meam seruabo nec alicui tradam dum aduixero.
>
> [If you wish to keep Brionne for yourself, as your father held it, I will restore it at once. Otherwise I will protect my inheritance and will surrender it to no man as long as I live.][651]

Supported by the Beaumonts, the duke besieged Brionne and restored it to Roger, while Robert fitzBaldwin was compensated with his patrimonial fief (*patruum feudum*), which included lands in Normandy and his father's English fief which passed to him after the death of his brother, William fitzBaldwin.[652] Ivry, which was held by William of Breteuil *sicut proprium*, was seized soon after the resolution of this dispute by Ascelin Goël, castellan of Bréval, grandson of Robert I of Ivry, and possibly great-grandson of Bishop Hugh of Bayeux.[653] Although Ivry and Brionne ended up being regarded as the heritable possessions of Norman lords, this dispute clearly demonstrated ducal control over these fortifications. The exchange featured the duke as an active participant, and it is implicit that it could not have happened without ducal authority. Indeed, the account reads more like ducal management of aristocratic estates rather than an aristocratic exchange for which ducal sanction was sought.

---

651 OV IV, 206–9.
652 OV IV, 114–5, 208–11.
653 *GND* II, 228–31; OV III, 206–9; IV, 198–203, 286–91; Yver, 'Les châteaux-forts', 38, 67; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 189, 212–6.

With the reunification of the Conqueror's Anglo-Norman realm following Henry's victory at Tinchebray, the balance of power shifted more in favour of the duke.[654] After 1106, the duke was in a better position to limit aristocratic power and exercise control over aristocratic land. Henry demolished unlicensed castles and confiscated the estates of some of Curthose's supporters in Normandy: Count William of Mortain was imprisoned and forfeited his lands and title;[655] Robert of Stuteville was imprisoned and forfeited his land, much of which was granted to Nigel of Aubigny;[656] Robert of Montfort obtained Henry's leave to go to Jerusalem and gave up his estates, which were given to his sister's husband, Robert of Vere;[657] Robert II of Bellême retained his patrimony and the vicomté of the Hiémois, but 'surrendered Argentan and all that he had acquired from the ducal demesne' (*Argentomum et quæque de dominio principali preoccupauerat*).[658] Helias of Saint-Saens, the young William Clito's guardian, fled with his charge to Flanders, and Robert of Beauchamp, viscount of Arques, took Saint-Saens Castle into the king's demesne (*dominio regis subegit*) before Henry granted it to William II of Warenne, earl of Surrey.[659] In 1112, Robert II of Bellême was imprisoned for acting against the king's interests and not rendering account of the royal revenues in his vicomté, and Henry took over his Norman land, granting Bellême to Count Rotrou of Perche and some land to Shrewsbury Abbey.[660] After the defeat of the final Norman rebellion in support of William Clito at the battle of Bourgthéroulde in 1124, Henry imprisoned Count Waleran IV of Meulan, demolished his fortress at Vatteville,[661] and seized his lands including Beaumont and Brionne.[662] Several years later, however, Henry released Waleran and, 'keeping

654 OV VI, 90–5; *ASC* E 1106, 1107; Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 237–44; Hollister, *Henry I*, 198–203.
655 *GND* II, 220–1; Above, 117–8.
656 OV VI, 90–1, 94–5.
657 OV VI, 100–1; Holt, 'Politics and Property', 31.
658 OV VI, 98–9.
659 OV VI, 162–5.
660 OV VI, 178–183; *GND* II, 264–5; *RRAN* II, 765; *ASC* 1113.
661 Seine-Maritime, cant. Port-Jérôme-sur-Seine.
662 *GND* II, 234–7; OV VI, 346–57.

only the strongholds for himself, allowed him the revenues of his lands' (*redditus sue terre habere permisit, munitiones tantum ipsius in sua manu retinens*).[663]

This examination of political conflict in Normandy demonstrates that ducal authority over aristocratic estates remained a reality throughout this period, even if it waxed and waned at different times due to changing political circumstances between 1035 and 1135. Imprisoned or exiled lords left their estates at the duke's mercy, and while dukes sometimes used confiscated estates to enrich themselves or exercise patronage temporarily, forfeiture was not usually permanent and was not used to destroy careers or to attempt radical structural changes in society.[664] Most could reasonably expect to be reconciled with the duke and restored to their estates after a period in exile or prison. However, repeat offenders, such as Robert II of Bellême, could end up in irreparable disfavour and disinheritance.

The Norman evidence assessed here lends support to the theory that internal conflict paradoxically could have a positive impact on social and political cohesion in medieval polities. Existing scholarship has demonstrated that this applied in other medieval contexts. For example, Leyser showed that in Saxony, most rebellions against Ottonian rule featured members of the Ottonian house—brothers, cousins, or uncles of the ruler—in a leading role. Conflict over the kingship concentrated a politically decentralized society, rent by feud, on a common interest and channelled aristocratic violence—that might have otherwise worked against the Saxon dynasty—around the throne.[665] Similarly, Hyams also showed that feud was central to the political structure of, and maintenance of order within, England, and that the public authority of the king, who both took part in and presided over this culture, was an integral part of ruling before and after the Norman conquest.[666] The evidence for conflict

---

[663] *GND* II, 236–7. *RRAN* II, 1587, 1607; *ASC* E 1124, 1129; Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, 23–5.
[664] Bates, *Normandy*, 166.
[665] K.J. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London, 1979) and the review by P. Wormald in *EHR* 96 (1981), 595–601.
[666] P.R. Hyams, 'Feud and the State in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *JBS* 40 (2001); *Rancor and Reconciliation in Medieval England* (Ithaca, NY, 2003), 71–154.

in Normandy seems to make a similar impression. Disputes, including those for control of the duchy itself, were kept within the ducal family, as previously suggested by Garnett.[667] Conflict can work to the detriment of political structures and sometimes can result in their fragmentation and decentralization. However, when focused on the ducal throne, conflict more often than not aided in the stability and coherence of Normandy's political structures and did not threaten to break the duchy apart. Ducal policy towards land and the succession seemed to help ensure that this centripetal conflict tended to prevail in Normandy.

Political conflict was not the only method by which the duke could exercise control over land in Normandy. Marriage was a mechanism through which alliances could be made, and large amounts of land transferred via dowers and dowries. For the magnates of the Norman aristocracy, marriage was integral to the advancement of their political power and landed endowment. Evidence suggests that the duke exercised influence over marriage alliances involving Normans subject to his lordship. In this way, ducal intervention could result in indirect authority over aristocratic estates and their descent.

Following the defeat and death of Roger I of Tosny and Robert I of Grandmesnil in a conflict with the Beaumonts during the Conqueror's minority,[668] close ducal followers acquired land via marriages to heiresses and widows in the early 1040s. Orderic recorded that:

> Ricardus Ebroicensis comes, filius Rodberti archiepiscopi, uxorem Rogerii de Toenia sibi in matrimonio assumpsit… Willelmus uero, frater eius Haduisam, filiam Geroii, relictam Rodberti de Grentemaisnil sibi iunxit.

[667] Garnett, 'Ducal Succession', 109–10.
[668] Above, 124–5.

> [Count Richard of Évreux, son of Archbishop Robert, married the widow of Roger of Tosny… Furthermore, William, his brother, married Hawisa, daughter of Giroie and widow of Robert of Grandmesnil.][669]

Roger's widow, Godehilde,[670] and Robert's widow, Hawisa, held great value on the marriage market due to the estates they held. Since both widows quickly married two sons of Archbishop Robert, who had recently been the leading figure in ducal government, it is reasonable to assume a level of ducal influence in this arrangement. It seems that the sons of Roger and Robert were not happy with these remarriages, as suggested by the feuding between Ralph II of Tosny and his uterine brother, Count William of Évreux, during Curthose's reign, which escalated into open conflict in the early 1090s.[671] According to Orderic, moreover, Roger of Tosny's daughter, Adeliza, married William fitzOsbern, one of the Conqueror's closest companions, before *c.*1046.[672] The identity of these three men, who were fiercely loyal to the ducal regime during a time of political turmoil, supports the case for thinking that a degree of ducal influence lay behind them.

The Bellêmes, situated in the border zone beyond Normandy's south-central frontier, had built up a territory largely independent of the framework of ducal patronage by 1035.[673] In the southern reaches of the pays d'Auge, intermingled with the Bellême complex in this border region, were the estates of the family of Roger of Montgommery, viscount of the Hiémois. Roger was exiled in *c.*1040 and never returned to Normandy, but through his son, Roger II, who was a close companion of the Conqueror, the duke was able to impose greater ducal authority in this peripheral region. When William Talvas, who controlled the Bellême lordship with his brother, Bishop Ivo, was driven from his estates by his son, Arnulf, he went

669 *GND* II, 98–9.
670 Musset, 'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante', 55.
671 OV IV, 214–7; Barlow, *William Rufus*, 286.
672 *GND* II, 132–3, 146–7; F 120 (SCRIPTA 1564).
673 Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 78, 84, 87; Moore, 'Norman Aristocracy', 271–9.

into exile in Normandy.[674] After Arnulf was murdered in his sleep in *c.*1049,[675] Talvas offered Roger of Montgommery his daughter, Mabel, 'with all the honor (*honorem*) granted to him which he had lost (*perdiderat*)'.[676] Robert of Torigni recorded that Roger's marriage to Mabel came 'with the entire inheritance of her father' (*cum tota hereditate patris ipsius*).[677] The marriage cannot be dated more precisely than *c.*1050, but it is reasonable to think that it was negotiated when William Talvas was in exile, probably seeking help from the Normans in order to return to his estates.[678] For the duke, this marriage facilitated the expansion of Norman authority over the Bellême lordship without conflict because Mabel ultimately inherited the entire Bellême honor following her father's death, probably in the late 1050s, and the death of her uncle, Bishop Ivo, in 1070.[679] From the union of Mabel and Roger, the Bellême and Montgommery lordships merged into one complex firmly within the Norman orbit under their son, Robert. The Montgommerys owed everything to ducal benevolence,[680] and Roger II, therefore, was someone upon whom the Conqueror could rely to reel in the Bellêmes.

The marriage of Roger of Beaumont to Count Waleran III of Meulan's daughter, Adeline, similarly resulted in the extension of Norman ducal authority on the duchy's frontier. Like the lords of Bellême, the counts of Meulan had established a power base which was relatively independent of its stronger neighbours in the early eleventh century.[681] In *c.*1035, Waleran sent his son, Hugh, to Normandy, and following a conflict with King Henry I of France in 1041, the count himself fled to the ducal court.[682] It was in this context of increased Norman integration that an alliance with the duchy was cemented, at some point between 1045 and

---

674 *GND* II, 112–3.
675 *GND* II, 112–5; OV II, 362–5. Arnulf was still alive in October 1048 when he, along with his uncle Ivo, subscribed F 115 (SCRIPTA 1559).
676 *GND* II, 118–9.
677 *GND* II, 264–5.
678 OV II, 364–5.
679 Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême* II, 142; Moore, 'Norman Aristocracy', 293–5.
680 Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande', 79–80.
681 *Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, 50–1; *GND* II, 22–9; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 261–5.
682 Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 261–2; F 25, 104, 105, 107 (SCRIPTA 1452, 1548, 1549, 1551).

1050, by the marriage of Waleran's daughter to the Conqueror's loyal companion, Roger of Beaumont.[683] The marriage facilitated the Beaumont's familial project in the Vexin and along the Seine valley,[684] but it also had the effect of increasing ducal authority in this area. The Conqueror relied on Roger to bolster the frontier, demonstrated by placing Ivry in his custody.[685] As with the Bellême-Montgommery union, the Meulan-Beaumont marriage probably surpassed Norman expectations when Waleran's son, Count Hugh of Meulan, retired to a monastery in 1078 and died soon after, leaving his sister's son—Robert of Beaumont—to become the first Norman count of Meulan.[686]

[683] *GND* II, 96–7.
[684] Bates, *Normandy*, 71, 74; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, 262.
[685] OV IV, 114–5, 204–7.
[686] *GND* II, 96–9; Crouch, *Beaumont Twins*, 59.

4. The Domesday Evidence for English Royal Land

This chapter explores the issues of methodology and interpretation involved in using Domesday evidence for the purpose of reconstructing and analysing the royal estates.[687] Domesday Book provides a near complete account of English royal land in 1086 and, to a less comprehensive extent, 1066. Thanks to its structure, which is organized first by shire and second by landholder, it is relatively straightforward to identify royal land and map its geographical distribution.[688] Moreover, the king is easily distinguishable from his namesakes and did not hold land from anyone. All the land recorded in the *terra regis* and—with very few exceptions—the boroughs can be classified broadly as royal in 1086.[689] However, while this land could be described as the 'royal estates' or 'royal demesne', not all of it was held by the king in demesne; some royal land was held of him by his tenants just as some baronial land was held from tenants-in-chief by subtenants in 1086.[690] It is necessary to distinguish what the king held in demesne from what was held by others in order to assess the extent of and revenue from royal land accurately. In doing so, it is possible to calculate both the gross value and net income of royal land. The gross value represents the combined revenue produced by all royal land whether held by the king or his tenants, while a preferable, if conservative, figure for the net income the king expected to be rendered into the treasury is derived from just the royal borough land and *terra regis* manors he held in demesne. Domesday Book reveals little about royal land management and the financial relationship between the king and his men, but for present purposes it has been assumed that, in general,

---

[687] The post-Domesday evidence for the royal estates, 1087–1135, is discussed below, 237–80.

[688] The Phillimore and Alecto editions of Domesday Book contain indices of places and people. Also, see K.S.B. Keats-Rohan and D.E. Thornton, *Domesday Names: An Index of Latin Personal and Place Names in Domesday Book* (Woodbridge, 1997); K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066–1166 I: Domesday Book* (Woodbridge, 1999); *PASE Domesday*.

[689] In 1086, with the king as the source of all tenure, all land in England could be described as royal land—either in the king's demesne or in the fiefs of his tenants-in-chief—in the broadest definition. However, to avoid confusion and to make comparison between 1086 and 1066 feasible, the broad definition of royal land in 1086 will be taken to be land recorded in the boroughs and *terra regis*.

[690] For the barons, see Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation', 346–8, 366–7.

the king's tenants enjoyed the revenue from the royal estates they held. This rationale, however, is by no means clear from Domesday Book; this and much else about Domesday values remain subject to interpretation.[691]

Therefore, this chapter examines three principal methodological issues involved in evaluating Domesday's royal estates. The first concerns the meaning of values. According to the survey's terms of reference, contained within the *Inquisitio Eliensis* prologue,[692] the value was to be recorded thrice: 'as it was in the time of King Edward (*tempore regis Æduardi*), and when King William gave it (*dedit*), and as it is now (*modo*)'.[693] This brief was not always followed to the letter but at least the value of land in 1086 (*modo*) is almost invariably supplied, usually with the term *valet* ('it is worth').[694] The nature of Domesday values has proved controversial but this chapter's first section outlines the arguments for treating the value as the total annual income the land was expected to generate.[695] It did not encompass the manor's entire economic output, rather it was usually an accurate estimate of the annual profit extracted

[691] Values are just one of several contested issues about Domesday Book. For a recent survey of Domesday historiography, see S. Baxter, 'The Domesday Controversy: A Review and a New Interpretation', *HSJ* 29 (2018). For more bibliographies and historiographical summaries, see J.C. Holt, 'Domesday Studies 2000', and E. Hallam, 'Some Current Domesday Research Trends and Recent Publications', in *Domesday Book*, ed. E. Hallam and D. Bates (Stroud, 2001); D. Bates, *A Bibliography of Domesday Book* (Woodbridge, 1986): http://www.domesdaybook.net/bibliography; P.H. Sawyer, 'Domesday Studies since 1886', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (London, 1985); V.H. Galbraith, *Domesday Book: Its Place in Administrative History* (Oxford, 1974), 1–17.

[692] The surviving manuscript is a twelfth-century copy, but there are no strong grounds for doubting the authenticity of the text or the veracity of its contents: Round, *FE*, 123–42; P.H. Sawyer, 'The "Original Returns" and Domesday Book', *EHR* 70 (1955), 186–90; R.W. Finn, 'The *Inquisitio Eliensis* Reconsidered', *EHR* 75 (1960); V.H. Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book* (Oxford, 1961), 136–45; R.W. Finn, *Domesday Studies: The Eastern Counties* (London, 1967), 81–95. Cf. D. Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book* (Oxford, 2000), 116, who has argued, unpersuasively, that the prologue does not contain the terms of reference but rather a 'template for the abbreviation of the Northern folios' used by the Great Domesday scribe.

[693] *IE*, 97. For translations, see *EHD* 2, no. 215; F. Thorn, '*Non Pascua sed Pastura*: the Changing Choice of Terms in Domesday', in *Domesday Now: New Approaches to the Inquest and the Book*, ed. D. Roffe and K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 2016), 112.

[694] The Old English *weorþ* had two similar but distinct meanings: 'value/price' and 'honour/dignity'. *ASC* E 1086 states that Edgar Ætheling went away from King William 'because he had no great honour from him' (*forþig he næfde na mycelne wurðscipe of him*). Here, *wurðscipe* is literally the sum of *weorþ*, possibly referring to the collective value of Edgar's estates—his landed honor. Domesday Book confirms that Edgar's pitiful fief was worth just over £10 in 1086: GDB 142 (Hertfordshire 38:1–2).

[695] Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation', 365.

from it. Whether an informed approximation or a specific agreed 'farm', values represented what the lord—in this case, usually the king—expected to be rendered.

The second issue concerns the value's constituents. The second section outlines and critiques the various views regarding what was being valued by the survey, ultimately demonstrating that the Domesday value took account of the entire manor, including the profits of the sale of demesne farming produce, rents from dependent peasantry, revenue from manorial appurtenances such as fisheries, forest, and mills, as well as soke dues.

The third issue concerns the value's beneficiary. While Domesday's structure has advantages, its representation of lordship means that it is not always easy to determine whether the revenue of royal land should be attributed to the king or someone else. Moreover, tenants holding royal estates from the king need to be differentiated from royal farmers who held royal demesne land 'at farm' (*ad firmam*) in return for a negotiated annual render to the king.[696] The concluding section of this chapter makes the case for thinking that the king enjoyed the value of his demesne land—including royal manors held at farm by a *firmarius*—while the king's tenants enjoyed the value of the royal land they held.

The Meaning of Domesday Values

The Domesday *valet* was the annual income a manor was expected to generate for its lord, not its asset value or sale price.[697] Domesday sometimes gives the *valet* an explicit qualification: *per annum* is most often employed, but other variations include *in anno*, *omni*

[696] R. Lennard, *Rural England 1086–1135* (Oxford, 1959), 105–212; S. Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgement* (Oxford, 2014), 161–209.

[697] The latter was derived from a multiple of the former: J. Campbell, 'The Sale of Land and the Economics of Power in Early England: Problems and Possibilities', *HSJ* 1 (1989); R. Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law* (Cambridge, 1998), 514–5; R. Naismith, 'Payments of Land and Privilege in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 41 (2012); Tabuteau, *Transfers*, 14–30, 41–3; C.I. Hammer, 'Land Sales in Eighth- and Ninth-Century Bavaria: Legal, Economic and Social Aspects', *EME* 6 (1997); W. Davies, 'Sale Price and Valuation in Galicia and Castile-León in the Tenth Century', *EME* 11 (2002).

anno, *singulis annis*, and *in unoquoque anno*.[698] Such qualifications were not recorded systematically, presumably because it was self-evident that the values were annual. Likewise, many historians have not stressed this point. Maitland wrote that 'we need hardly say that these values are "annual values"',[699] and earlier scholars, upon whose statistics Maitland relied, clearly operated with the same understanding.[700] While there have been no dissenters on this subject since,[701] there remain other difficulties of interpretation. For Finn, Domesday values presented 'so many problems that it is hardly surprising that the subject has been treated somewhat cursorily by most commentators'.[702] The first scholar to consider the basis of the *valet* was Eyton, who argued that it reflected the incidental conditions, rather than the ideal capabilities, of an estate: 'the measure of actual production will vary according to the care, the skill, or the means, of the occupant'.[703] Maitland agreed, explaining that

> an estate is valued 'as a going concern'. The question that the jurors put to themselves is: 'What will this estate bring in, peopled as it is and stocked as it is?' In other words, they do not endeavour to make abstraction of the villeins, oxen, etc and to assign to the land what would be its annual value if it were stocked or peopled according to some standard of average culture. Consequently in a few years the value of an estate may leap from one pound to three pounds or to five shillings or even to zero.[704]

---

[698] For example, GDB 132v, 133 (Hertfordshire 1:9, 19), 154v (Oxfordshire 1:1, 3, 6), 189 (Cambridgeshire 1:1), 230–v (Leicestershire 1:3–4), 238 (Warwickshire B4); LDB 5, 6 (Essex 1:19, 25), 282 (Suffolk 1:7).
[699] Maitland, *DBB*, 411.
[700] Maitland, *DBB*, 400–3, 464. C.H. Pearson, *History of England during the Early and Middle Ages* (London, 1867), calculated the total value of each Domesday shire. Some shires received detailed statistical analysis: R.W. Eyton, *A Key to Domesday: An Analysis and Digest of the Dorset Survey* (London, 1878); *Domesday Studies: An Analysis and Digest of the Somerset Survey* (London 1880); *Domesday Studies: An Analysis and Digest of the Staffordshire Survey* (London, 1881); C.S. Taylor, *An Analysis of the Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire* (Bristol, 1889). F.H. Baring, *Domesday Tables* (London, 1909), compiled an impressive amount of data on several south-eastern shires, including total values for each hundred and shire: 48, 135, 207–16. For a summary of the early historiography of Domesday statistics, see Galbraith, *Domesday Book*, 131–46.
[701] For recent example, Harvey, *Domesday*, 161; Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation', 364.
[702] R.W. Finn, *The Norman Conquest and its Effects on the Economy: 1066–86* (London, 1971), 7.
[703] Eyton, *Dorset*, 54–6, quotation at 56.
[704] Maitland, *DBB*, 413.

Stenton saw the value as an estimate of the amount of money which the manor 'ought to bring in, yearly, to its lord under normal conditions'.[705] The commissioners sought to record how much a manor might be expected to produce, as it stood, stocked as it was, with typical, average harvest conditions permitting.[706] If manors had been valued according to an arbitrary, ideal standard, many of the fluctuations between 1066 and 1086 would be inexplicable.[707]

The preponderance of round figures in Domesday Book suggests that most values were estimates.[708] The *Inquisitio Eliensis* prologue states that the survey was made 'on the oath of the sheriff of the shire and all the barons and their Frenchmen, and of the whole hundred, the priest, the reeves and six villans from each and every vill',[709] and Domesday contains many references to such testimony.[710] Round and Maitland concluded that these jurors had provided the commissioners with the bulk of the manorial information including the value.[711] However, Eyton had previously argued that the commissioners also received information on a manor's 'internal conditions' from the 'owner, bailiff, tenant or some other representative of the manor',[712] and it is now widely recognized that such manorial information was usually supplied by the landholders or their representatives, not the hundred jurors.[713]

---

[705] F.M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism 1066–1166*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1961), 165.
[706] *ASC* 1070, 1087, mentions poor harvests which would have naturally produced lower revenues.
[707] The breaking-up of manors and the creation of new ones, with land subtracted here and added there, would account for some fluctuations. Furthermore, lords had the desire, and sometimes the means, to manipulate the record pertaining to their fiefs: S. Baxter, 'The Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book*, ed. Hallam and Bates, 74, 81–93.
[708] R.W. Finn, *An Introduction to Domesday Book* (London, 1963), 226.
[709] *IE*, 97; Thorn, '*Non Pascua sed Pastura*', 112; *EHD* 2, no. 215.
[710] Fleming, *Domesday Book*, prints all of Domesday's contested matter in translation.
[711] Round, *FE*, 118–23; Maitland, *DBB*, 11. Also, Ballard, *Domesday Inquest*, 15.
[712] R.W. Eyton, 'Notes on Domesday', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* 1 (1878), 106.
[713] *VCH Norfolk* II, 2–3; D.C. Douglas, 'The Domesday Survey', *History* 21 (1936), 253–4; V.H. Galbraith, 'The Making of Domesday Book', *EHR* 57 (1942), 175–7; R. Lennard, 'A Neglected Domesday Satellite', *EHR* 58 (1943), 38–9; Sawyer, 'Original Returns', 183; Galbraith, *Making of Domesday*, 38, 62–4, 76–84, 179; *Domesday Book*, 88–91; R.W. Finn, *The Domesday Inquest and the Making of Domesday Book* (London, 1961), 81–8; H.B. Clarke, 'The Domesday Satellites', in *Domesday Book*, ed. Sawyer, 60; D. Roffe, 'The *Descriptio Terrarum* of Peterborough Abbey', *HR* 65 (1992); 'The Making of Domesday Book Reconsidered', *HSJ* 6 (1994), 160–2; *Domesday*, 110–2, 140–6; Baxter, 'Representation of Lordship', 81–93; C. Flight, *The Survey of the Whole of England* (Oxford, 2006), 111–3; D. Roffe, *Decoding Domesday* (Woodbridge, 2007), 58, 85–7, 206, 212; C. Flight, *The Survey of Kent* (Oxford, 2010), 33–70; Harvey, *Domesday*, 58–63, 170–5; P. Taylor, 'The Episcopal Returns in Domesday', in *Domesday Now*, ed. Roffe and Keats-Rohan; Baxter, 'Domesday Controversy', 279–80.

This is explained in Baxter's recent hypothesis on how the survey proceeded.[714] In the first stage, plans for the survey were finalized and agreed at an assembly in Gloucester at Christmas 1085: the general terms of reference, preserved in the *Inquisitio Eliensis* prologue, were set and the kingdom was divided into seven circuits, each assigned to two groups of commissioners. In his eye-witness account of the survey, Bishop Robert of Hereford recorded that:

> Alii inquisitores post alios, et ignoti ad ignotas mittebantur provincias, ut alii aliorum descriptionem reprehenderent et regi eos reos constituerent.
>
> [Other investigators were sent after the others, as strangers into unfamiliar provinces, in order that they might find fault with the other men's survey and identify the culprits for the king.][715]

The men of the second group were sent into shires where they had no landed interests to check the veracity of the information collected by the first group. Hemming's Cartulary records that the four men responsible for checking the survey in Circuit V (the shires of the Welsh march) were Bishop Remigius of Lincoln, Henry of Ferrières, Walter Giffard, and Adam, brother of Eudo the Steward.[716] Aside from two Herefordshire estates held by Henry, none of them held any land in this circuit.[717] Bishop Robert's account, corroborated by this evidence, implies that the men of the first group, conversely, knew and were known in their circuit. Barlow identified Swein, *quondam* sheriff of Essex, as one of the commissioners, known only as 'S' from a contemporary letter of Archbishop Lanfranc, responsible for initially surveying that shire.[718] Deeming it 'contrary to reason to think that the whole of the

---

[714] S. Baxter, 'How and Why was Domesday Made?', *EHR* 135 (2020).
[715] W.H. Stevenson, 'A Contemporary Description of the Domesday Survey', *EHR* 22 (1907), 74; *EHD* 2, no. 198; Thorn, '*Non Pascua sed Pastura*', 113–4. Robert probably attended the Christmas assembly, so close to his cathedral, but his name is absent from the two charters that date from the time: B 9, 156. At the very least, he would have been an eyewitness to the survey as a major landholder in 1086.
[716] *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiæ Wigorniensis*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1723), 287–8.
[717] Baxter, 'Representation of Lordship', 81–2; Eyton, 'Notes on Domesday', 108.
[718] F. Barlow, 'Domesday Book: A Letter of Lanfranc', *EHR* 78 (1963).

investigation was removed from the hands of the barons of the shire', Barlow concluded that the 'survey could not have been produced merely by meetings between royal commissioners and juries'.[719] Following the launch, 'royal officials assembled information from existing administrative records, principally geld lists, and landholders mobilized their own officials and reeves to gather detailed information relating to each of their manors' in order to answer the survey's questionnaire,[720] which had probably been circulated to the shire courts after Christmas in the form of writs.[721]

Great landholders, especially the king and major ecclesiastical houses, made use of literate and numerate estate management before Domesday. Baxter compiled a list, expressly neither exhaustive nor definitive, of some thirty written estate records that pre-date the survey.[722] These survivals, including memoranda for the estates of Dorchester-on-Thames Cathedral and Ely Abbey,[723] indicate that written records were part of estate management in England before 1086.[724] Tally sticks may also have been used in this period. Two eleventh-century English manuscripts produced before Domesday contain illustrations of agricultural labour activity, and both depict an individual, apparently supervising the labourers, holding a stick with notches of varying depth.[725] It is plausible that these represent estate officials holding tally sticks.[726]

---

[719] Barlow, 'Domesday Book', 285, 289.
[720] Baxter, 'Domesday Controversy', 279–80.
[721] R. Sharpe, 'The Use of Writs in the Eleventh Century', *ASE* 32 (2004).
[722] S. Baxter, 'Estate Management and Written Records in England and the Continent Before Domesday', in *Making Domesday: Intelligent Power in Conquered England*, ed. S. Baxter, J. Crick, and C.P. Lewis (Oxford, forthcoming).
[723] J. Blair, 'Estate Memoranda of *c.*1070 from the See of Dorchester-on-Thames', *EHR* 116 (2001); R. Naismith, 'The Ely Memoranda and the Economy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Fenland', *ASE* 45 (2017).
[724] On the prevalence of literacy in late Anglo-Saxon England, see S. Kelly, 'Anglo-Saxon Lay Society and the Written Word', and S. Keynes, 'Royal Government and the Written Word in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1990); M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 2013). Cf. R. Faith, 'Social Theory and Agrarian Practice in Early Medieval England: The Land without Polyptyques', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 90 (2012).
[725] London, British Library, Cotton Julius A VI (s. xi[1]), 8v:; Cotton Tiberius B V/1 (s. xi[med]), 8v: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Julius_A_VI; http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Tiberius_B_V/1.
[726] D. Banham and R. Faith, *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming* (Oxford, 2014), 65.

Harvey has argued that the speed at which the Domesday survey was conducted presumes extensive reliance on existing records.[727] Certainly, sheriffs and other royal officials would have drawn on records for the royal boroughs, *terra regis*, and the geld.[728] The existence of the latter is implied by the Exon and Northamptonshire geld accounts.[729] Baronial agents may also have kept records.[730] In a writ datable to between 1075 and 1082, Earl Roger of Shrewsbury instructed his son, Robert of Bellême, to facilitate and protect a donation of land at Moult to Saint-Martin Abbey in Sées.[731] Robert was acting as his father's representative in Normandy, and Roger's writ, the forms of which parallel those issued from the royal chancery, reads like an administrative writ to a baronial agent.[732] Orderic deemed it noteworthy that Earl Hugh of Chester kept no 'account' (*rationem*) of his income and expenditure,[733] but based on Domesday's detailed description of the fines and customs of the city of Chester, Mundræd, the *minister comitis*, must have done so.[734]

It is, however, doubtful that landholders relied solely on existing records when submitting their returns. New documentation was necessary to satisfy the survey's specifications. Based on the above, landholders and their agents were familiar enough with technologies of literate estate management that new records could be made efficiently and thoroughly, and there is evidence that they were. Baring suggested that a text preserved in the early twelfth-century cartulary of Bath Abbey, known conventionally as Bath A, was a copy of a text produced for

---

727 Harvey, *Domesday*, 25–7. Cf. Roffe, *Domesday*, 106–12, 113–46; *Decoding*, 54–9, 74–87.
728 S. Harvey, 'Domesday Book and its Predecessors', *EHR* 86 (1971), 756–9; Roffe, *Domesday*, 171–2; Baxter, 'Representation of Lordship', 81–93; Harvey, *Domesday*, 170–1.
729 Exon 1a1–3b1, 7a1–9b3, 13a1–24a4, 65a1–73a4, 75a1–82b3, 526a1–7a1; *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A.J. Robertson, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1965), 230–7; *EHD* 2, no. 61.
730 J.F.A Mason, 'Barons and their Officials in the Later Eleventh Century', *ANS* 13 (1990).
731 *Livre blanc*, Sées, Bibliothèque de l'Evêché de Sées, non coté, Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Martin de Sées, fol. 95v/112v. The writ is published by H. du Motey, *Origines de la Normandie et du duché d'Alençon* (Paris, 1920), 288 no. 3.
732 For commentary on the writ, see Musset, 'Huit essais sur l'autorité ducale', 141–2. For the donation, see *Livre Blanc*, fol. 95/112; Allen, 'Norman Episcopate', 471.
733 OV II, 260–2.
734 GDB 262v (Cheshire C3–24).

the survey before the compilation of Exon.[735] Lennard concluded that Bath A 'either is, or is based upon, a return of demesne manors made by the abbey' and submitted to the commissioners.[736] Roffe has shown that the exemplar of the *Descriptio Terrarum*, an early twelfth-century list of Peterborough Abbey's demesne and soke in Lincolnshire 'was of a class of document which emanated from the very earliest stage in the Domesday inquiry', and that 'its forms suggest that it was compiled by the abbey's administrators themselves'.[737] A twelfth-century cadastral list—organized hundred by hundred, vill by vill—of the archbishopric of Canterbury's manors in Kent appears to be a copy of a document drawn up by Lanfranc's administration for the Domesday survey.[738] Flight noticed that the facts reported and their ordering suggest that it was created for a purpose outside an archiepiscopal administrative context, most probably in preparation for the survey.[739]

Allowing about a month for data collection, the second stage of the survey combined the geld information with the manorial details supplied by the landholders, producing complete Domesday entries arranged in a geographical or hundredal recension for each shire. The Cambridgeshire document is mostly preserved in a later copy known as *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*.[740] To compile this, the first group of commissioners held private sessions to which the domanial agents of the king and his tenants-in-chief were invited to have their evidence recorded in writing.[741] Little Domesday Book refers to the day on which Robert

---

[735] *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St. Peter at Bath*, ed. W. Hunt (London, 1893), 67–8; F.H. Baring, 'The Exeter Domesday', *EHR* 27 (1912), 315–6.
[736] Lennard, 'Neglected Domesday Satellite', 38–9.
[737] Roffe, '*Descriptio Terrarum*', 1–2.
[738] *Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. D.C. Douglas (London, 1944), 81–98; Harvey, 'Domesday Book and its Predecessors', 771–2; R.S. Hoyt, 'A Pre-Domesday Kentish Assessment List', in *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*, ed. P.M. Barnes and C.F. Slade (London, 1960).
[739] Flight, *England*, 110–5.
[740] *ICC*, 1–96. Notably, some royal demesne manors are missing. For discussion, see Round, *FE*, 1–146; Flight, *England*, 87–93.
[741] Is it notable that the first group of commissioners for the eastern shires included Swein, the former sheriff of Essex. The incumbent sheriff in 1086, probably Peter of Valognes, was presumably busy providing evidence to the commissioners: J.A. Green, 'The Sheriffs of William the Conqueror', *ANS* 5 (1983); *English Sheriffs to 1154* (London, 1990), 39. It was not until the early twelfth century that barons holding land directly of the king were known as *tenentes in capite*. However, Domesday Book's structure assumes the concept existed in 1086: Sharpe, '*Tenere in Capite*'.

Malet *fuit inbreuiatus*, suggesting that landholders came before the commissioners on predetermined days to have their manors recorded in *breues*.[742] The vital implication is that when landholders or their representatives were interviewed, they were equipped with accurate information about their manors in the form of estate records (pre-existing and newly drawn up), tally sticks, and other aide-mémoires. These officials would have been best able to provide the manorial detail, including the value, required by the survey's terms of reference.

After the *breues* had been written up, the third distinct stage began. Just after Easter, the second group of commissioners presided over public meetings of the shire court in which the jurors were tasked with confirming or disputing the information in the hundredal recension.[743] This integral public phase of the survey recorded the sworn testimony of the jurors, which predominantly focused on matters of tenure, but sometimes pertained to values.[744] While landholders should normally have submitted the manorial detail beforehand, Domesday is clear that they had not always done so. In instances when an estate's value had not been provided, it was left to the jurors 'to estimate' (*appreciare*) it.[745] In the absence of evidence from the landholder, the local men were often, but not always, able to provide a value. For example, the entry for two of Earl Hugh's manors in Longtree Hundred states that 'there has been no one to answer for these lands, but they are valued (*appreciantur*) by the men of the shire at £8'.[746] Similarly, the entry for the nearby royal manor of Woodchester records that 'no one rendered account (*reddidit rationem*) of this manor to the king's commissioners, nor has any of them come to this survey (*descriptionem*)', but nevertheless

[742] LDB 276v (Norfolk 66:61).
[743] Baxter, 'Domesday Controversy', 282–3. For the jurors, see Galbraith, *Making of Domesday*, 38–42, 67–86; C.P. Lewis, 'The Domesday Jurors', *HSJ* 5 (1993); S. Baxter, 'The Making of Domesday Book and the Languages of Lordship', in *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, c.800–c.1250*, ed. E.M. Tyler (Turnhout, 2011).
[744] Fleming, *Domesday Book*, 529.
[745] Harvey, *Domesday*, 204, suggested that Domesday's employment of this verb might denote the opinion of local men.
[746] GDB 166v (Gloucestershire 28:5–7).

supplies a valuation of £7.[747] Painter argued that 'estimates by local juries with no commonly recognized system to guide them…cannot inspire much confidence'.[748] However, the local courts had long stood witness to transfers of land, and sheriffs and reeves farming the royal demesne were accustomed to this public oversight.[749] Reeves and villans could hardly afford to be ignorant of the land on which they lived and worked. The jurors' testimony was clearly sought by and held weight with the commissioners who recorded local opinion even when it differed from the landholder's valuation.[750] Furthermore, collective local memory was presumably the source of many of the pre-1086 values.[751] A Norman lord might not have been able to provide his manor's value prior to *quando recepit*, which may have been many years after 1066. The consistency with which Domesday Book records values TRE and *postea* suggests that the jurors had the knowledge necessary to satisfy the survey. The source of their knowledge remains unclear but the possibility that information on values was, like hidage assessments, a matter of public record should not be ruled out.

Some Domesday values appear to be arbitrary or stereotyped. Maitland noticed what he called 'artificial' values on several large hundredal manors in Yorkshire, all heads of extensive sokes and all worth £56 TRE despite large variations in carucates and ploughlands.[752] Maitland described this valuation as 'a legal fiction',[753] and Baxter made interesting comparisons between this figure (and other multiples of £8) and the various royal dues levied at this rate, especially in the Danelaw.[754] Similarly, there are repeated values of multiples of 23s among the comital manors of Somerset,[755] and the ports of Rochester, Sandwich,

[747] GDB 164 (Gloucestershire 1:63).
[748] S. Painter, *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony* (Baltimore, MD, 1943), 158–9.
[749] Harvey, *Domesday*, 168–9.
[750] GDB 2v (Kent 1:1).
[751] Harvey, *Domesday*, 174–5.
[752] GDB 299 (Yorkshire 1Y:3), 299v (Yorkshire 1Y:10), 323v (Yorkshire 14E [15]:1–7). There estates were valued at either £10 or £6 TRW.
[753] Maitland, *DBB*, 473.
[754] Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 142–4; Baxter and Blair, 'Land Tenure and Royal Patronage', 24.
[755] Round, *FE*, 111–5: GDB 86v–87 (Somerset 1:13–25).

Folkestone, Bosham, and Eastbourne, along with the Welsh border districts of Archenfield and Rhuddlan, were each worth £40.[756] While it seems that certain assets were assigned values on a conventional or customary basis, the king still expected the values recorded in Domesday Book—however they may have been derived—to be rendered into the treasury.

Furthermore, there are the royal manors rendering the *firma unius noctis*. The *feorm* was originally a render in kind paid by certain royal estates for the purpose of supporting the king and his household.[757] Estates rendering the *feorm* were usually large manors, not assessed to the geld, in the old kingdom of Wessex.[758] Some manors, such as Writtle in Essex, rendered a farm of several nights.[759] Others provided just fractions of a night's farm, combining with other manors to complete the total render. Pimperne and Charlton Marshall in Dorset, rendered half of one night's farm, and combined with the nearby estates of Winfrith Newburgh, Lulworth, Winterbourne and Knowlton, which together rendered the other half.[760] By 1086, most if not all of these food renders had been commuted to cash rents.[761] However, Domesday Book rarely states a monetary value for the *feorm*, and it seems, from the entries that do, that there was no single fixed sum across England.[762] Chippenham's *firma unius noctis* was valued at £110 while Northamptonshire rendered a farm of three nights worth only £30 *ad pondus*.[763]

---

[756] Harvey, *Domesday*, 167.
[757] F. Seebohm, *The English Village Community* (London, 1883), 211–2; Round, *FE*, 109–15; Maitland, *DBB*, 146, 169, 236–8, 319; E.B. Demarest, 'The *Firma Unius Noctis*', *EHR* 35 (1920); C. Stephenson, 'The *Firma Unius Noctis* and the Customs of the Hundred', *EHR* 39 (1924); Lennard, *Rural England*, 128–30; Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 21–4; H.C. Darby, *Domesday England* (Cambridge, 1977), 217–9, 357–8; P.A. Stafford, 'The "Farm of One Night" and the Organization of King Edward's Estates in Domesday', *Economic History Review* 33 (1980); R. Lavelle, 'The "Farm of One Night" and the Organisation of Royal Estates in Late Anglo-Saxon Wessex', *HSJ* 14 (2005); *Royal Estates in Anglo-Saxon Wessex: Land, Politics and Family Strategies* (Oxford, 2007), 13–47.
[758] These renders predominantly appear in Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, and Hampshire, but they are recorded all over the South, the Midlands, and East Anglia. Darby, *Domesday England*, 357–8, provides a full list of Domesday references.
[759] LDB 5v (Essex 1:24). Also, Brightlingsea, Lawford, and Newport: LDB 6–7 (Essex 1:26–8).
[760] GDB 75 (Dorset 1:5–6).
[761] F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1971), 483, argued that many had been commuted before the conquest.
[762] For problems interpreting the night's farm, see Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 128–34.
[763] GDB 64v (Wiltshire 1:5); GDB 219 (Northamptonshire B36).

For present purposes, when a monetary value for a *feorm* is given, it is recorded just as any other estate value. However, for royal estates like Basingstoke, Kingsclere, and Hurstbourne Tarrant in Hampshire, which together 'render a farm of one day', no figure is given.[764] In these cases, a plausible value can often be derived from other manors. For example, elsewhere in Hampshire, Barton Stacey and Eling each rendered half a day's farm, valued at £38 8s 4d TRE but rendering £52 6s 1d TRW.[765] It is reasonable, therefore, to value Basingstoke, Kingsclere, and Hurstbourne Tarrant collectively at £76 16s 8d and £104 12s 2d in 1066 and 1086 respectively.[766] This deduction is supported by the fact that the royal estate of Broughton was worth £76 16s 8d TRE but rendered £104 12s 2d TRW *de firma*.[767] Similar reconstructions can be made in other shires, which show that the farm of one night was usually valued between £76 and £95 in 1066 and between £100 and £110 in 1086. Here, the conservative estimates of £76 TRE and £100 TRW have been taken for the value of a night's farm when it has been impossible to deduce a specific figure.

Sometimes Domesday values represent negotiated renders owed by an estate manager, sometimes described as a *firmarius*, who held a manor *ad firmam*. The value of a royal manor 'at farm', while generally indicative of its worth, was an artificially agreed sum that the *firmarius* was expected to render to the king. Again, Eyton was the first to notice that the Domesday *valet* is 'often a quotation of actual rent rather than of estimated value'.[768] Maitland, too, saw that the value could represent the rent a *firmarius* would pay for the estate, while acknowledging 'there are many difficulties'.[769] The details of farming and estate management are obscure, but here it will suffice to explore the meaning of, and the distinction between, the terms *valet* and *reddit* on manors held at farm.

---

[764] GDB 39 (Hampshire 1:42–4).
[765] GDB 38v (Hampshire 1:17, 27).
[766] GDB 39 (Hampshire 1:42–4).
[767] GDB 38v (Hampshire 1:21).
[768] Eyton, *Dorset*, 56.
[769] Maitland, *DBB*, 444.

The usage of *valere* and *reddere*, along with *appreciare*, was not uniform and the terms could be used interchangeably. The Great Domesday scribe routinely wrote *valet* where Exon had *reddit*.[770] However, Exon scribes deliberately substituted one term for the other. The concluding statement of Exon's entry for Child Okeford records that 'it is worth (*valet*) £10 per year and when Fulcred received it at farm from the king it rendered the same amount', but an interlineated *reddit* appears written above *valet* which is not marked for deletion.[771] Recent palaeographical and codicological work reveals that this interlinear correction was made by Alpha, the same scribe who wrote the entry.[772] There are more examples of such corrections which Lennard argued may have been made by scribes 'of greater accuracy than intelligence', checking the Exon manuscript against an earlier one in which the terms were employed indifferently.[773] However, the Great Domesday scribe often employed the two terms with apparent discretion within the same entry. For example, Rotherfield, in Sussex, 'was worth £16 TRE and £14 after. Now [it is worth] £12 and nevertheless it renders (*tamen reddit*) £30'.[774] Rotherfield was expected to render two-and-a-half times its value in 1086.

Many estates have both a value and a usually higher render,[775] a phenomenon which has naturally puzzled scholars.[776] A plausible explanation is that the *valet* records the manor's approximate annual value based on its size and stock, whereas the *reddit* records the actual payment the king expected to be paid into the treasury. The higher render describes the actual value of the manor's annual proceeds, denoting what a *firmarius* had agreed to pay the king in return for managing them. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* recorded that the Conqueror exploited this 'farming' market without scruples, selling his land as hard as he could to those

---

[770] Lennard, *Rural England*, 122; Harvey, *Domesday*, 163.
[771] Exon 25a2.
[772] F. Álvarez López, 'Codicological Description', in *Exon: The Domesday Survey of South-West England*, trans. F. Thorn and ed. P.A. Stokes and J. Crick (London, 2018): 25r.
[773] Lennard, *Rural England*, 122–3.
[774] GDB 16 (Sussex 1:2)
[775] Bosham is a rare example of a royal estate which rendered less than its value: GDB 16 (Sussex 1:1).
[776] Finn, *Introduction*, 230–2; Darby, *Domesday England*, 225; Grassi, 'Lands and Revenues', 254–8; Harvey, *Domesday*, 162–3.

who promised the highest renders,[777] and this account fits the impression given by Domesday's values. The king may not have cared how sinfully the manorial wealth was extracted, but he certainly expected the proffered sum to be rendered. Therefore, for current purposes, when both a *valet* and a *reddit* are given, the render has been recorded as the payment expected by the treasury.

In summary, Domesday values were predominantly secure indications of the annual income a manor would generate for its lord. Landholders, or failing that, jurors, would have informed the commissioners that 'this estate normally generates £x of income' or that 'this manor is farmed for a render of £y'. Most values were round figures derived from accurate estimates, but there were also specific and customary renders notably from the borough and the *feorm*. These sums were not abstractions or guesswork. For the most part, they were intelligible valuations of the manor supplied by knowledgeable people working the land.

The Constituents of Domesday Values

It is not clear which constituents of the manor contributed to the value recorded in Domesday Book, and there are four different historiographical camps divided on this issue. For the first camp, Domesday values represent the total income generated by the entire manor. For the second, the value denotes only the income accrued from the demesne portion of the manor. A third possibility is that the value records only the cash rents paid by manorial peasant tenants. Narrower still is a fourth interpretation, which sees the values as just soke dues. This section sketches out the debate, exploring each possibility in turn, before reaffirming the case for the value encompassing the manor's total income.

[777] *ASC* 1087.

The prevailing view among early Domesday scholars was that values took account of all manorial constituents. Eyton's argument that values reflected incidental estate conditions implies the contribution of demesne cultivation and rent, but he made it clear that, in some valuations, 'there are included the values of certain manorial adjuncts (such as profits of Hundred Courts attached to particular manors)'.[778] Maitland's view that the value was either the amount the estate brought in or the rent a *firmarius* paid for it, peopled and stocked 'as it is', is similarly implicit.[779] He, too, was aware that some values included revenue derived from justice.[780] Corbett also followed this straightforward approach, seeing the value as the overall return from the manor as a whole.[781] The vast majority of subsequent historians have agreed and can be placed in this first camp.[782] Debate among most scholars largely hinges on which parts of the manor contributed proportionally more or less. For example, Lennard placed emphasis on demesne production, the land managed directly by the lord, as opposed to peasant agriculture:

> Except in the rare cases where there was no manorial demesne, it was not merely a matter of collecting customary rents and dues from the *villani* and other manorial tenants. The demesne was involved. When a manor was put to farm, the farm represented primarily what the lord received from the demesne.[783]

Conversely, Harvey argued that, whilst the demesne core was a vital constituent of the value, especially on small manors, 'the bulk of manorial cash revenues came from peasant

[778] Eyton, *Dorset*, 54–6, at 55.
[779] Maitland, *DBB*, 413, 444.
[780] Maitland, *DBB*, 411.
[781] Corbett, 'Normandy and the Norman Conquest', 481–520, 885–94.
[782] Most recently, Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation', 365.
[783] Lennard, *Rural England*, 142.

agriculture: both from that subservient to the demesne, and from freeholders and sokemen'.[784]

For historians in the second camp, such as McDonald and Snooks, the value represented only the manorial demesne. Acknowledging considerable variation, their economic model of manorial production divides the estate into two: 'the lord's demesne, and the peasants' land'.[785] Their understanding was that the peasantry contributed to the manor's gross output, which subsumed all forms of income (including rents and dues), but not to the net revenue which accrued to the lord from directly working the demesne or farming it out.[786] Domesday values, they have argued, correspond to the latter: 'the gross value of production less intermediate goods (such as grain seed), and goods produced on the manor (such as fodder and rough shelter for livestock; food, clothing, and shelter for slaves; and the subsistence output of the peasants' land) to maintain the manorial resources'.[787] Problematically, however, this argument seems to rest on the assumption that all peasant farming was subsistence agriculture with little or no surplus trade. Moreover, even if this improbable premise is accepted, it was not the case that peasants received land only in exchange for labour services. Many would have paid customary dues, and rents in cash or kind. These payments, and those similarly made by associated sokemen, have been seemingly ignored by this model.[788]

The third possibility, favoured by Bridbury, is that Domesday values were 'not the aggregate income that the manorial lord derived from produce and sale of produce, from court dues and rents in kind and in service…but merely the cash yielded by those rents that were paid

---

[784] Harvey, *Domesday*, 161–5, 175–99, 205, at 165. Also, S. Harvey, 'Domesday England', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales Volume II: 1042–1350*, ed. H.E. Hallam (Cambridge, 1988), 79–80.
[785] J. McDonald and G.D. Snooks, *Domesday Economy: A New Approach to Anglo-Norman History* (Oxford, 1986), 98.
[786] McDonald and Snooks, *Domesday Economy*, 14, 98; J. McDonald and G.D. Snooks, 'The Economics of Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book Studies*, ed. A. Williams and R.W.H Erskine (London, 1987); J. McDonald, *Production Efficiency in Domesday England, 1086* (London, 1998), 62.
[787] McDonald and Snooks, *Domesday Economy*, 98.
[788] McDonald and Snooks, *Domesday Economy*, 16.

in money'.[789] The basis for this argument is the inquisition into the possessions of St Paul's Cathedral made in 1181, which gives a total for the income of each manor in a *summa denariorum*. These values correspond very closely with cash payments for which St Paul's tenants were liable according to an early thirteenth-century cartulary of the cathedral.[790] Following Hale, who edited the texts, Bridbury concluded that the *summa denariorum* of 1181 only took cash payments into account, without attempting to monetize rents in kind or service, and excluding other important sources of manorial income, such as sale of produce.[791]

The obvious problem with this analysis, however, is that the *summa denariorum* does not pretend to be anything more than a 'summary of coins', as its label suggests. The Domesday terminology employed to describe how much a manor 'is worth' or 'renders' suggests a more encompassing total. Moreover, a table Bridbury compiled to compare Domesday's values for 1086 with those given in the *summa* of 1181 for eighteen of the cathedral's estates is also problematic for his argument. Below, Table 2, which reproduces Bridbury's table with additional decimalized values, shows that the Domesday value in 1086 was higher than that given in the *summa* of 1181 for thirteen out of eighteen estates. If Domesday Book had only recorded cash payments from tenants, as the *summa* clearly did, the renders for 1086, a century prior, should in most cases be equal to or lower than those recorded in 1181. Instead, the mostly higher Domesday values suggest that they represented more than just the cash payments of the dependent peasantry valued in 1181.

[789] A.R. Bridbury, *The English Economy from Bede to the Reformation* (Woodbridge, 1992), 113.
[790] *The Domesday of St Paul's*, ed. W.H. Hale (London, 1858), 73–4, 140–52.
[791] Bridbury, *English Economy*, 112–4.

Table 2.[792] St Paul's Estate Values, 1086 and 1181

Estate	1086 Domesday Book Value (£ s d)			(£ Decimal)	1181 Inquisition Value (£ s d)			(£ Decimal)
Drayton	6	0	0	£6.00	6	8	11	£6.45
Sutton	8	0	0	£8.00	7	8	11	£7.45
Barnes	7	0	0	£7.00	3	7	10	£3.39
Kensworth	3	10	0	£3.50	10	7	0.5	£10.35
Caddington	5	10	0	£5.50	7	6	11.5	£7.35
Ardleigh	7	0	0	£7.00	5	13	10	£5.69
Luffenhale	1	0	0	£1.00	2	0	0	£2.00
Sandon	16	0	0	£16.00	12	2	10	£12.14
Chingford	5	0	0	£5.00	4	6	11	£4.35
Beauchamp	16	0	0	£16.00	13	8	2.5	£13.41
Wickham	4	0	0	£4.00	1	18	5	£1.92
Tillingham	15	0	0	£15.00	6	10	3.5	£6.51
Norton	1	0	0	£1.00	1	4	5	£1.22
Navestock	10	0	0	£10.00	7	7	1	£7.35
Runwell	8	0	0	£8.00	2	12	5.5	£2.62
Heybridge	8	0	0	£8.00	4	4	0.5	£4.20
The Sokens	30	13	4	£30.67	14	2	1.5	£14.11
Barling	6	0	0	£6.00	3	10	6	£3.53

An interesting parallel for Bridbury's argument can be found in the Carolingian polyptychs. These detailed estate surveys varied drastically in format and style, but often refrained from giving a monetary value which took account of all aspects of the surveyed estate. Instead, the written *breues* or inventories ascertained only the value of tenant renders.[793] For example, the polyptych of Abbot Irmino of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, for the abbey's demesne at Neuillay, assigned no value to the *mansum indominicatum* but recorded that the abbey's men pay four pence *de capite suo*.[794] It seems that the creators of these polyptychs sought to use them to impose and enforce demands on their subservient peasantry. The edict of Pîtres, issued in 864, instructed peasants to perform their obligations and services 'as contained in the

[792] Bridbury, *English Economy*, Table I, 126.
[793] J.L. Nelson, 'Henry Loyn and the Context of Anglo-Saxon England', *HSJ* 19 (2008), 167.
[794] *Polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain de Prés*, ed. A. Longnon (Paris, 1895) II, 158–61.

polyptychs' (*sicut in polipticis continentur*).[795] The Carolingian polyptychs should not be disregarded as examples of surveys which recorded only cash renders. However, whilst it is a theoretical possibility that Domesday Book was such an example, the evidence outlined above makes it unlikely. None of the polyptychs have anything corresponding to the all-inclusive Domesday *valet*.

The fourth and final interpretation regarding the constituents of Domesday values is that espoused by Roffe, who argued that the value 'was a sum that went out of the estate to an overlord in recognition of a soke relationship'.[796] He has recently restated his view that Domesday values 'are no more and no less than soke dues rendered in coin, and as such they supplement other cash renders and food rents. They are a measure of petty cash rather than of productive capacity'.[797] Roffe examined the Suffolk lands of the freemen of Bury St Edmunds, which Little Domesday Book occasionally values separately, either embedded in a manorial entry,[798] or in a distinct entry of its own.[799] Roffe noticed that often the same tenements can be identified in a near-contemporary document, known as Bury C, which records the amount of land held by each freeman along with a sum of money,[800] and the *Kalendar* of Abbot Samson, a late twelfth-century inventory of hundred dues owed to the abbey in Suffolk.[801] In the latter source, the dues included 'hidage', which Roffe characterized as a hundredal due confined to sokelands.[802] Table 3 reproduces one compiled by Roffe to show how the values correlate for four estates held by the abbey's freemen in Suffolk.

---

795 *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, *MGH Leges Sectio II* (Hanover, 1897) II, 323.
796 Roffe, *Domesday*, 41–2, 139, at 42.
797 Roffe, *Decoding*, 240–50, at 243.
798 For example, LDB 356–7v (Suffolk 14:1, 3, 9).
799 For example, LDB 357v–8v (Suffolk 14:11–7).
800 *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, ed. D.C. Douglas (London, 1932), 25–44.
801 *The Kalendar of Abbot Samson of Bury St Edmunds and Related Documents*, ed. R.H.C. Davis (London, 1954), 6–22.
802 Roffe, *Domesday*, 41–2; *Decoding*, 245.

Table 3.[803] Bury St Edmunds Values

Estate	Little Domesday Book TRE	Little Domesday Book TRW	Bury C	*Kalendar*
Timworth[804]	30s	20s 0d	26s 0.5d	30s 1.5d
Tostock[805]	10s	10s 8d	3s 9.5d	12 10.5d
Hessett[806]		40s 0d	48s 1d	51s 0d
Woolpit[807]		10s 8d	10s 11d	12s 4d
Rushbrooke[808]	16s	21s 11d	19s 2d	25s 2d

Acknowledging that the figures do not equate exactly, Roffe stated that 'they are all of the same magnitude and some are very close', and suggested that Bury C and the *Kalendar* preserved a record of the dues that made up Domesday values.[809] On this basis, he concluded:

> Domesday values are soke dues rendered in cash. They do not represent any sort of overall return from the manor as whole. Thus it is that they appear in Domesday Book alongside the renders of churches, mills, and the like as any other render in kind or cash… It was beyond the capacity, or inclination, of the compilers of the twelfth-century terriers and customals to value their own lands in the modern sense: what was recorded was what was tangible, namely renders, services, rents. There is no reason to believe that the situation was otherwise in 1086.[810]

There are several problems with Roffe's hypothesis. Whilst lands held by Bury's freemen in Suffolk are often valued separately, it is clear, especially from those values embedded in demesne manor entries, that they were part of the larger manorial total. The first entry of

---

[803] Roffe, *Domesday*, Table 2.3, 41.
[804] LDB 363 (Suffolk 14:63).
[805] LDB 363v (Suffolk 14:65).
[806] LDB 362v (Suffolk 14:57).
[807] LDB 362v (Suffolk 14:55).
[808] LDB 363v (Suffolk 14:67).
[809] Roffe, *Domesday*, 41. Roffe observed a similar relationship between some Domesday values and soke dues in twelfth-century sources from Burton, Ely, Glastonbury, Peterborough, Ramsey, St Paul's London, Shaftesbury, and Winchester*: Decoding*, 245–6. Bridbury, *English Economy*, 126–32, tabulates the information.
[810] Roffe, *Decoding*, 248.

Bury's Domesday fief in Suffolk, which concerns the abbey's demesne manor of Risby, records that there was a freeman who could 'give and sell' his half carucate worth 10s but that the sake and soke and commendation remained with the abbey.[811] The entry concludes by stating that 'this manor, not including the freeman (*excepto libero*), was then worth £4; now £6'.[812] The evidence is explicit that the total manorial value did not account for the freeman's 10s. Therefore, even if it is conceded that this represented the soke dues of the freeman, the manorial total of £6 could not have been income from soke dues. In this case, the value accounted for everything else: the principal sources of manorial income (demesne agriculture and the peasantry). Closer inspection of one of Roffe's chosen examples, Woolpit, yields similar results. Bury held Woolpit as a berewick assessed at 3 carucates TRE and there were forty freemen, who could 'give and sell' their lands, with 1 carucate worth 10s 8d.[813] Roffe took this as the value for Woolpit, which indeed correlates closely with the values in Bury C and the *Kalendar*. However, the Domesday entry later states that the berewick 'is always worth £3'.[814] Woolpit generated an income of £3 for the abbey, and the separately valued 10s 8d was just a portion of, or additional to, that total.

These separate values need not be taken as only soke dues.[815] Roffe himself acknowledged that some sokemen may have paid a manorial rent.[816] It is likely that such values represent the total revenue or worth of the portion held by freemen with power of alienation.[817] Overwhelmingly in Bury's fief, estates like Risby and Woolpit, which contained freemen who could 'give and sell' their land, have separate values for these portions additional to the

[811] LDB 356v (Suffolk 14:1).
[812] LDB 356v (Suffolk 14:1).
[813] LDB 362v (Suffolk 14:55).
[814] LDB 362v (Suffolk 14:55).
[815] For a recent analysis of soke, see R. Purkiss, 'Royal Administration in East Anglia, *c.*917–1066', DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2019).
[816] Roffe, *Domesday*, 44; *Decoding*, 246.
[817] For power of alienation and a critique of Roffe, see Baxter, 'Languages of Lordship', 292–308; *Earls of Mercia*, 204–69, especially 227–40.

manorial totals.[818] Little Domesday Book naturally sought to distinguish the value of land that could be granted without the abbot's permission from the value of the rest of the manor. Conversely, separate values are not given for estates featuring only freeman who could not 'give and sell', presumably because there was no need to distinguish it from the manorial total.[819] Roffe's figures of comparison shown above are certainly more congruent than Bridbury's. However, even if these examples were soke dues, an obvious problem with Roffe's theory is that many estates throughout England were not hundredal manors with pertaining soke, and so the Domesday values in most cases could not possibly be soke payments.[820] Furthermore, while it is possible that in some cases a lord's revenue consisted only—or primarily—of soke dues, it is logically inadmissible to proceed to the generalization that Roffe makes.[821]

In summary, historians in the last three camps have failed to overturn the common-sense view of those in the first camp. Domesday values represent the income the lord expected to receive from the manor, including from the sale of demesne farm produce, peasant rents, and, where applicable, soke dues. There are strong grounds for this reasoning. The values were clearly important, evidenced by the *Inquisitio Eliensis* prologue and the fact that Domesday Book meticulously and consistently records values above all else. If one considers Galbraith's views on the royal motivations behind Domesday Book it is hard to see these values as anything other than manorial totals:

> The overwhelming financial concern of the king was with the manors of his own demesne, and the 'honours' of his great feudatories… Armed with

[818] See, for example, LDB 356v, 357v, 358v–9 (Suffolk 14:3, 9, 20–1). Some entries deal with land that was exclusively in the hands of freemen with power of alienation, and so only one value is given: LDB 358–9 (Suffolk 14:13, 17–8, 22).
[819] LDB 356v–8 (Suffolk 14:2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 12, 15, 16). There are exceptions to the observation, for example LDB 357v–8 (Suffolk 14:11, 14).
[820] H.M. Cam, *The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls* (New York, NY, 1930), 260–85; 'Manerium cum Hundredo: The Hundred and the Hundredal Manor', *EHR* 47 (1932).
[821] Harvey, *Domesday*, 164, suggests that Roffe's general application of the soke theory stems from his deep knowledge of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and the Danelaw, where sokelands were more prevalent.

> facts recorded by counties in Domesday Book, both the Crown and the sheriffs were provided with the intricate details which fixed the annual value (*valet*) of each estate or manor, and so were able to cope adequately with the fixing of 'fines', wardships, and marriages from the tenants-in-chief, together with urban revenues, county farms, and the important revenue from the geld.[822]

Galbraith's argument that Domesday Book was not designed to facilitate the administration or a reassessment of the geld carries weight.[823] While he emphasized Domesday's feudal purpose to the exclusion of all else, it is more likely that the survey was, from its inception, carefully designed 'to generate several different outputs, each intended to serve a specific purpose'.[824] Nevertheless, Galbraith accurately epitomized two of its principal objectives: to maximize the revenue of the royal demesne and to facilitate intensive exploitation of royal lordship. It is very difficult to conclude that William had his commissioners go to such lengths—that were a shame for the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to relate—to gather so much information, only to record values pertaining just to particular portions of the manor. Only manorial totals would have provided the king's agents with the information necessary to manage his demesne and the fiefs that fell into his hands effectively. William II and Henry I shared their father's financial concerns and put Domesday to profitable use.[825] Furthermore, the widows, heiresses, and wards surveyed under Henry II were explicitly valued in terms of

---

[822] Galbraith, *Making of Domesday*, 16.
[823] Galbraith's case was restated by J.C. Holt, '1086', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J.C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), reprised in his *Colonial England, 1066–1215* (London, 1997), 81–101. Cf. Ballard, *Domesday Inquest*, 249–50, and J.O. Prestwich, 'Mistranslations and Misinterpretations in Medieval English History', *Peritia* (1996), 327–35, for the suggestion that Domesday Book's feudal arrangement was designed to facilitate the burden of geld collection being shifted onto tenants-in-chief.
[824] Baxter, 'Domesday Controversy', 288–93, at 288.
[825] Harvey, *Domesday*, 167.

their total worth to the lord, and such values were clearly linked to stocking levels.[826] If Domesday's values were to be useful to the treasury, they must have been manorial totals.

The location of the value within Domesday's ordering of information further corroborates this argument. Overwhelmingly, the value is given at the end of each entry, which was the logical place to position a total for the whole manor. This is also made explicit in the *Inquisitio Eliensis* prologue. Why record all the information but value only the demesne or the soke? If the value referred to a certain part of the manorial revenue, one might expect this to be specified, if not in Great Domesday Book, perhaps in the more detailed Exon or Little Domesday Book. On the contrary, however, Domesday Book frequently specifies that the value is a total for an estate. The first six entries for Oxfordshire's *terra regis* each conclude with the formula: *Inter totum reddit per annum*.[827] In Warwickshire, the entry for the royal estate of Sutton Coldfield values *totum manerium* at £4.[828] In Bedfordshire, both *inter totum* and *in totis* precede values.[829] Several entries for Gloucestershire's *terra regis* finish with the simple formula *totum* or *totum hoc* is worth x, and the entry for the manor of Berkeley explicitly states that it is valued 'with everything that pertains to it' (*cum omnibus ad eum pertinentibus*).[830] More implicit terminology is common, but there is enough explicit evidence to demonstrate that Domesday values represent estate totals.

Were each manor so straightforward, it would be relatively easy to assess both the gross value and net income of royal land. This is not the case, however, and the *terra regis* in particular contains some complex structures and formulae. Many entries include both a possible total value and other values separately itemized for churches, mills, and pasture. The royal manor

---

[826] *Widows, Heirs, and Heiresses in the Late Twelfth Century: The Rotuli de Dominabus et Pueris et Puellis*, ed. J. Walmsley (Tempe, AZ, 2006).
[827] GDB 154v (Oxfordshire 1:1–6).
[828] GDB 238 (Warwickshire 1:7).
[829] GDB 209–v (Bedfordshire 1:1–3, 5).
[830] GDB 163–v (Gloucestershire 1:15–7, 24–5, 43). For the argument that the 'pretty' round figures, so ubiquitous throughout Domesday Book, cannot be the result of 'adding up the rents due from individuals', see Maitland, *DBB*, 146.

of Rushall in Wiltshire was worth £32 10s in 1086, but an additional statement explains that 'Saint-Wandrille has (*habet*) the church of this manor with 2 hides of land…worth (*valet*) 40s'.[831] The entry for North Petherton in Somerset records 'a mill rendering 15d, and 100 acres of meadow, and 2 leagues of pasture rendering 20s per year', before recording that the 'manor renders £42 8s 4d at 20[d] to the *ora*'.[832] In such cases, it is not clear whether these itemized values are either part of or additional to the manorial total. However, the structure and layout of these two entries are different. The value of the church of Rushall comes after what appears to be the manorial total, whereas the information on the mill and pasture at North Petherton precedes the total.

With this in mind, it might be instructive to think about Domesday Book's keepers and readers at the treasury, who, seeking to total up estate values, would likely be drawn to the bottom of each entry. Therefore, the pragmatic general approach adopted here is to treat any information preceding and above the total as a constituent part of that total, while treating any information following the total value as additional to it. For example, the 40s rendered by Saint-Wandrille's church is taken to be separate from Rushall's manorial total of £32 10s.[833] Conversely, the 15d for the mill and 20s for the pasture at North Petherton are taken to be included in the manorial total of £42 8s 4d.

Darby supposed that separate renders must have been included in the total when such phrases like *in totis* were employed,[834] but ultimately could 'only speculate whether the miscellaneous renders were included in the total value of each manor'.[835] Admittedly, the solution outlined here, while logical and efficient, needs to be applied on a case-by-case basis. For example, the royal manor of Milton Regis in Kent was valued *inter totum* at £200 by tale

[831] GDB 65 (Wiltshire 1:9).
[832] GDB 86 (Somerset 1:3).
[833] The question of whether the 40s went to the king or the abbey is discussed below, 160–70.
[834] Darby, *Domesday England*, 208–11.
[835] Darby, *Domesday England*, 210. Also, Finn, *Norman Conquest*, 8–11; Harvey, *Domesday*, 192–3.

(*ad numerum*), and subsequent information reveals that the 'land which Hugh of Port holds is worth (*valet*) £20, which are reckoned (*computant*) in the £200 of the whole manor of Milton Regis'.[836] Even though the value of Hugh's land comes after the main entry, it is exceptionally clear that it made up part of the manorial total.

The Beneficiary of Domesday Values

In order to distinguish the gross value of the royal estates from the net income the king expected from them, it is necessary to distinguish what the king held in demesne from what was held of him by his tenants.[837] Domesday Book names many individuals other than the king holding royal land in the boroughs and *terra regis* just as many subtenants held parts of baronial fiefs from tenants-in-chief.[838] While the income from the demesne manors held by the king can be securely attributed to him, it is often unclear to whom the revenue from royal land held by others should be attributed. It could be that these tenanted royal estates rendered a portion of their values to the king with his tenant retaining the rest. Alternatively, either the king or his tenant enjoyed the entire revenue. This problem is further complicated by the fact that some of the royal demesne was held *ad firmam* by royal farmers, who need to be distinguished from the king's tenants. Here, royal estates held at farm by a *firmarius* are treated as the king's demesne not tenanted *terra regis*, and, therefore, their values can be attributed to the king as part of his expected net income.[839] Lennard noted the key distinction between a *firmarius* and a subtenant:

---

[836] GDB 2v (Kent 1:3).

[837] Individuals other than the king holding land in the boroughs and *terra regis* were not subtenants but tenants, as they held their land directly from the king. These landholders are simply referred to as tenants or royal tenants in order to distinguish them from the tenants-in-chief with their own fiefs.

[838] The best study of Domesday's subtenants remains J.F.A. Mason, 'Aspects of Subinfeudation on Some Domesday Secular Fiefs', DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 1952). However, analysis of the *terra regis* is understandably absent.

[839] This approach is also adopted by Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation', 366–7.

> When a lord subinfeudated a manor he ceased to be its immediate lord; but if he leased it to a *firmarius* he still remained the lord of the manor and it continued to be one of his 'demesne manors'—as much so as if it was managed directly for his profit by his bailiff.[840]

Manors held at farm are often easily identifiable. For example, Domesday records that 'Alsige of Faringdon holds at farm (*tenet ad firmam*)' Langford and Shipton-under-Wychwood, two royal estates collectively worth £27.[841] This formula, found throughout the *terra regis*, specifies that the land in question is a demesne manor held by an estate manager. The use of the verb *reddere* could also indicate that a manor is being farmed for an agreed render, further reinforcing the interpretation that this figure was what the treasury expected to be rendered by the farmer, rather than the income he enjoyed.

This section is principally concerned with the king's tenants and explores the problem, 'perhaps the least capable of general resolution', of determining the beneficiary of Domesday values.[842] Domesday Book's structure implies that England could be conceived as a kingdom in which all land was either held by the king in demesne or held from him by *tenentes*.[843] Both tenants-in-chief, with their own fiefs, and royal tenants, holding land in the *terra regis*, held their estates directly from the king. What, if anything, distinguished these forms of tenure? While Domesday Book sometimes repeats information, recording the same estate as both a tenanted part of the *terra regis* and a demesne manor of a tenant-in-chief's fief, such cases are rare.[844] Most often land appears either in the *terra regis* or in a baronial fief. However, as Mason showed, many tenants-in-chief also held land as subtenants of other barons.[845] To complicate

---

[840] Lennard, *Rural England*, 110.
[841] GDB 154v (Oxfordshire 1:8–9). For Alsige, see S. Baxter and J. Blair, 'Alsige of Faringdon (Berkshire)', *PASE Domesday* (2016).
[842] The problem is discussed by Harvey, *Domesday*, 165–73, at 165.
[843] Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 6, argues that 'royal demesne' was a term intelligible only after 1066, for it expressed a feudal concept in describing the land which the king had not granted to tenants. Below, 198–210.
[844] A. Williams, 'Apparent Repetition in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book Studies*, ed. A. Williams (London, 1987).
[845] Mason, 'Aspects of Subinfeudation', vii.

matters further, many tenants-in-chief also held land on the *terra regis*. Whether a piece of land was held as a demesne manor of a tenant-in-chief or as a tenanted portion of the *terra regis*, the basic tenurial relationship to the king was seemingly the same—both categories of land were held directly from the king. The problem is that it is unclear how or why the Domesday scribes determined whether such land should be recorded as the demesne of the landholder's fief or as a tenanted portion of the *terra regis*. It could be that the latter category of land came with obligations to perform services or render dues not incumbent on the demesne manors of baronial fiefs. Tenanted *terra regis* may have also been held less securely and at greater risk of revocation by the king than tenancies-in-chief. The critical distinction, however, was probably a fiscal one. The Exon geld accounts reveal that, under the Conqueror, the demesne portions of the demesne manors held by the king and his tenants-in-chief were not liable to pay geld, whereas the non-demesne portions of those manors (that cultivated by the manorial peasantry) and the entirety of subtenanted manors were.[846] So while the demesne portions of the manors held by tenants-in-chief were not assessed to the geld, it is plausible that the land recorded as tenanted *terra regis* was.

Regardless, the key question under consideration is whether the value of tenanted royal land should be attributed to the king or to his tenant. Revisiting the royal manor at Rushall illustrates the issue:

> The king holds Rushall. Gytha held it TRE… It was and is worth £32 10s…
>
> Saint-Wandrille has the church of this manor with 2 hides of land…worth 40s.[847]

[846] Eyton, *Dorset*, 5, 80; Round, *FE*, 115–7, 147–56; Maitland, *DBB*, 167; Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 25–58; Roffe, *Domesday*, 154, 224–48; D. Pratt, 'Demesne Exemption from Royal Taxation in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England', *EHR* 128 (2013); Harvey, *Domesday*, 218–26, 232–8; R.P. Cohen, 'Danegeld: The Land Tax in England, 991–1162', DPhil Thesis (University of Oxford, 2018), 118–90; Baxter, 'Domesday Controversy', 289.

[847] GDB 65 (Wiltshire 1:9).

Like many *terra regis* entries throughout Great Domesday Book, this entry begins with the *rex tenet* formula,[848] which makes it clear that the Conqueror held Rushall in demesne in 1086. Therefore, Rushall's revenue of £32 10s can be attributed to the king as part of the net income he expected to receive from the royal demesne in Wiltshire. But to whom should the 40s for Saint-Wandrille's church—recorded in the *terra regis*, not in the abbey's Domesday fief, be attributed?[849]

To explore this question fully, the four contemporary charters that shed light on subtenancies need to be examined.[850] Most well-known is the Latin chirograph of 1085, extant in its original form, which records two estates Roger of Lacy leased from Bishop Robert of Hereford.[851] It records that Robert granted Holme [Lacy] in Herefordshire to Roger to hold for life in return for the service of two knights, and, additionally, that Roger *tenet* Onibury in Shropshire from the bishop for an annual rent of 20s. Domesday records Holme Lacy within Bishop Robert's fief, stating that 'Roger of Lacy holds (*tenet*) this land under the bishop (*sub episcopo*)… TRE it was worth (*valebat*) £9. Now [it is worth] £8'.[852] Onibury's entry, also recorded in the bishop's fief, states that 'the bishop held (*tenuit*) Onibury TRE and now Roger of Lacy holds (*tenet*) [it] from him… TRE it was worth (*valebat*) 40s. Now [it is worth] 20s'.[853] The terms of the tenurial relationship elucidated in the lease are understandably absent from Domesday Book, which records only the value of the estates, and that Roger held them as the bishop's subtenant. However, as Galbraith pointed out, 'Domesday thus faithfully reproduces the substance of the charter, and their agreement means that each may be used to interpret the other'.[854] Armed with the details of these subtenancies provided by the

[848] This formula is not consistently employed in Little Domesday Book.
[849] Saint-Wandrille is not listed among Domesday's landholders in Wiltshire: GDB 64v (Wiltshire L).
[850] For the charters, see, Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation', 366.
[851] V.H. Galbraith, 'An Episcopal Land-Grant of 1085', *EHR* 46 (1929); Garnett, *Conquered England*, 94–8. Cf. T.S. Purser, 'The Origins of English Feudalism? An Episcopal Land-grant Revisited', *HR* 73 (2000).
[852] GDB 181v (Herefordshire 2:12).
[853] GDB 252 (Shropshire 2:2).
[854] Galbraith, 'Episcopal Land-Grant', 357.

chirograph, some important deductions can be made about Domesday values and their beneficiaries.

It is unlikely that the £8 Domesday records for Holme Lacy is a monetization of the knight service Roger owed Robert. The value most probably represents the revenue the manor generated for Roger, the subtenant, who enjoyed it in return for providing his knights. This logic suggests that Onibury's Domesday value of 20s should also represent Roger's income, but the chirograph states that 20s was what Bishop Robert expected from Roger for Onibury. Mason's solution to this problem was that, for Onibury, Domesday Book records what the estate was worth to the bishop as tenant-in-chief, but that, for Holme Lacy, it records the value to Roger as subtenant.[855] While there is an obvious logical inconsistency to this interpretation, it could be that Domesday's treatment of subtenanted values is inconsistent. However, it is possible to interpret these two entries consistently. Onibury was worth 40s TRE, and, since there was no subtenant recorded in 1066, this was probably indicative of the manor's expected revenue rather than a negotiated rent. Assuming conditions on the estate had not changed drastically in the twenty years since, Onibury may well have still generated around 40s in 1086. A reasonable reconstruction, therefore, is that, in 1086 Onibury generated 40s, of which Roger rendered 20s in rent to the bishop, as recorded in the chirograph, and kept 20s for himself, as recorded by Domesday. This fits with the understanding inferred from Holme Lacy but, while it is possible that both Domesday entries record the income enjoyed by Roger the subtenant, the reality may well be less tidy.

More evidence relating to this issue comes from two documents in the cartulary of St Augustine's, Canterbury, revealing the details of two leasehold agreements—datable to just after 1070—made by the abbot.[856] One records that Abbot Scotland granted 2 sulungs at

[855] Mason, 'Aspects of Subinfeudation', 31
[856] The charters are printed with commentary by Flight, *Kent*, 219–20 (nos. 5–6); cf. 220 (no. 7).

Sibertswold to Hugh fitzFulbert to hold for life as long as Hugh *dabit* 20s to the abbot every year. The other records the abbot's grant of 5 sulungs around Northbourne to Wadard in return for an annual rent of 30s. Additionally, both charters, framed in identical terminology, state that each holder is to give 'a tithe of all their things that were in the same land' (*decimam omnium rerum suarum que in eadem terra fuerint*).[857] After the leaseholders' deaths these lands were to revert to the abbey. Domesday Book records Sibertswold as the abbot's demesne and mentions neither Hugh nor his lease,[858] but the fact that Hugh seemingly does not appear in Domesday Book suggests that he was likely dead by 1086. His rent had been cheap considering that Sibertswold was worth £8 TRE, 40s when the abbot received it (*quando recepit*), and £6 in 1086, but nevertheless rendered (*tamen reddit*) £8.[859] Wadard was still alive in 1086 and his subtenanted portion of Northbourne was worth £9, but Domesday Book records that Wadard 'renders no service (*nullum seruitium reddit*) to the abbot except 30s which he pays (*persolvit*) every year'.[860] The exact same conditions were stipulated for Wadard's estate at Little Mongeham, worth £10 in 1086.[861] The collective revenue of £19 generated by Northbourne and Little Mongeham was seemingly enjoyed by Wadard, the subtenant, in exchange for 30s for each estate paid to the abbot, the tenant-in-chief. This unusual level of detail corroborates the charter evidence and seems to suggest that, for subtenanted estates, Domesday values recorded what was enjoyed by the subtenant.

The fourth document, an Old English chirograph preserved in Bath Abbey's cartulary, records that William *Hosatus* ('Hose' or 'Woolly-Stockings') rendered £2 per year to the abbot for an estate at Charlcombe in Somerset.[862] According to Domesday Book, William's estate

---

[857] Flight, *Kent*, 219–20.
[858] GDB 12v (Kent 7:21).
[859] The higher render could suggest that Sibertswold was held at farm by an unnamed *firmarius* in 1086. The next estate in Abbot Scotland's fief in Kent—Wadholt—was worth 20s, but was appraised (*tamen appreciatur*) at 40s specifically because it was held *ad firmam*: GDB 12v (Kent 7:22).
[860] GDB 12v (Kent 7:19).
[861] GDB 12v (Kent 7:20).
[862] *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St. Peter at Bath*, 37–8, no. 33.

at Charlcombe used to be worth 50s but was worth £6 in 1086.[863] Again, the Domesday value seemingly did not represent William's £2 rent to the abbot. Instead, the £6 was presumably the income that William enjoyed from the estate as the subtenant.

While Domesday values seemingly represent the revenue the manor generated, these charters indicate that subtenants often paid part of that revenue to their lords. Such payments are rarely visible in Domesday Book, but without more corroborating charter evidence it is impossible to attribute portions of the value of subtenanted land to the lord and the holder uniformly. Even without financial lease agreements, subtenants generally owed service to their lords, which, as Glanvill understood, could consist of both military and financial elements. Accepting that some of the subtenanted value was rendered to the lord in one form or another, the approach adopted here is to attribute the entire fiscal value of subtenanted estates—or tenanted royal estates—to the holder. Exon's fief summaries distinguish the value of the lord's demesne from that which was subtenanted, signifying a clear distinction, but this discussion reveals the complex realities of subtenanted values, and the difficulties involved in determining their beneficiaries.[864] However, the solution employed here is practical, reasonable, and intelligible. This results in a conservative estimate of the net income of the royal demesne, but this simple yet justifiable interpretation resolves the issue and is preferable to one that results in an overestimation of the king's income.

It is also possible that the gross value of royal land is a conservative estimate because some tenanted *terra regis* is not valued. For example, appended to the account of the royal manor of East Meon is the statement that 'Bishop Walkelin [of Winchester] holds (*tenet*) 6 hides and 1 virgate of this manor's land with the church'.[865] Hampshire's *terra regis* provides no value

[863] GDB 89v (Somerset 7:8). Exon 186a1 reveals that the former value of 50s refers not to TRE necessarily but to *quando Willelmus accepit*. When William first received Charlcombe, he was turning a small profit of 10s but by 1086, providing the terms of his lease remained unchanged, he had augmented his profits eight-fold.
[864] Exon 527b1–28b1, 530b1–31a3.
[865] GDB 38 (Hampshire 1:16).

for Walkelin's land but it is valued in the bishop's own fief, which states that he 'himself holds (*tenet*) 6 hides and 1 virgate with the church in [East] Meon… TRE and after it was worth £4; now [it is worth] 100s'.[866] William of Eu's land which belonged to the royal manor of Exminster TRE is not valued in the *terra regis*,[867] but William's Domesday fief records that, in his manor of Powderham, 'there is half a virgate of land which lay in Exminster TRE… worth (*valet*) 5s'.[868] Similarly, Surrey's *terra regis* account of the royal manor of Bermondsey does not value Count Robert of Mortain's land 'which TRE and after was in this manor',[869] but his own fief records that he 'has (*habet*) in Bermondsey 1 hide of the king's land (*de terra regis*)… worth (*valet*) 8s'.[870]

In these instances where land is recorded in both the *terra regis* and a baronial fief, but only valued in the latter, such estates are best considered demesne of tenants-in-chief rather than tenanted royal land. However, the fact that this land was recorded in the *terra regis* requires explanation. The *terra regis* account of Count Robert's hide at Bermondsey states that before 1086 it was *in hoc manerio*, and his own fief records that he has it *de terra regis*. Likewise, Devon's *terra regis* states that William of Eu's land *pertinebat* to Exminster TRE and his own fief records that it *iacebat* in Exminster TRE. This language suggests that these lands were former royal estates, and it is possible that baronial possession of them had been contested in 1086. It is possible that the Domesday commissioners recorded the view—whether based on the information supplied by royal officials or the testimony of the hundred jurors, or both—that these lands should have been *terra regis* in 1086. This is beyond doubt for William of Eu's

[866] GDB 40v (Hampshire 2:13).
[867] GDB 100 (Devon 1:4).
[868] GDB 111v (Devon 22:1).
[869] GDB 30 (Surrey 1:4).
[870] GDB 34 (Surrey 17:2).

land at Exminster because it appears in Exon's *Terrae Occupatae*, a self-contained section dedicated to recording contested material.[871] The entry reads:

> 'William of Eu has half a virgate of land, which belonged to the king's demesne manor (*pertinuit dominicae mansioni regis*) which is called Exminster on the day that King Eadweard was alive and dead; and it is worth 5 shillings a year'.[872]

The Great Domesday scribe did not reproduce *Terrae Occupatae*, not least because Exon's account of royal land and baronial fiefs, which he condensed, contained most of this contested material. However, in recording William of Eu's land in both the *terra regis* and his own fief, the Great Domesday scribe was following the Exon scribes, who took care to record this information in Devon's *dominicatus regis ad regnum pertinens* and *terrae Francorum militum*.[873]

The Domesday commissioners had been instructed to record but not resolve contested matter.[874] Two considerations—one practical, one profitable—probably lay behind this. Firstly, had the commissioners attempted to deal with all the tenurial disputes, the survey would never have been completed on schedule. Proceedings would have dragged on indefinitely while the commissioners, presiding over disputes in their circuits, would have been prevented from defending their own landed interests elsewhere. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, recording unresolved disputes allowed the king to profit, either politically or financially, from resolving them himself after the survey.[875] This may have been, as Holt argued, what the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* meant when it described how, after the Salisbury assembly in August, the king 'obtained a very great amount of money from his men where

---

[871] R.S. Hoyt, 'The *Terrae Occupatae* of Cornwall and the Exon Domesday', *Traditio* 9 (1953); R.W. Finn, *Domesday Studies: The Liber Exoniensis* (London, 1964), 55–96; C.P. Lewis, 'Exon *Terrae Occupatae*: registering contested matter', in *Making Domesday: Intelligent Power in Conquered England*, ed. S. Baxter, J. Crick, and C.P. Lewis (Oxford, forthcoming).
[872] Exon 498a8.
[873] Exon 83a3, 457a1. For more on Exon's treatment of royal land, see below, 198–210.
[874] For an exceptional judgement made by the *legati regis*, see GDB 181 (Herefordshire 1:75).
[875] Baxter, 'Domesday Controversy', 290.

he had any pretext for it'.[876] The Conqueror died before he could seriously profit from these disputes, leaving many for his sons to resolve. The 1130 pipe roll reveals that the king's offer of 'help in judicial matters' was a lucrative royal enterprise.[877]

The vast majority of Domesday's contested matter can be grouped into three broad categories: infringements on royal land, unauthorized tenures, and disputes between barons.[878] Baxter has argued that unless barons could prove that their possession of a manor had been authorized by the king, usually by producing a sealed royal writ to that effect, their tenure was considered insecure or even dubious.[879] While the king had an interest in all contested matter, 'occupations' of his own land were surely the most pressing. Baronial possession of former royal demesne would not have lasted long after 1086 if the baron in question could not prove that the tenure was legitimate. As it was in 1086, however, the alleged infringements on the royal demesne recorded in Domesday Book had not been resolved, and so it cannot be established that such land was rendering anything to the king at that time. Therefore, for present purposes, contested land that is recorded but not valued in Domesday's *terra regis* is not taken to contribute to either the gross value or the net income of the royal estates. This is also the case for the contested matter grouped in the *clamores* of Circuit VI and *invasiones super regem* of Circuit VII.[880]

In sum, deciding whether to attribute a value to the king or to his tenant—either as tenant-in-chief or a tenant of the *terra regis*—is often difficult and remains, as Mason observed, 'a considerable problem'.[881] The approach taken here is to attribute the value of all the royal estates held in demesne—including those at farm—to the king while attributing any valued

[876] *ASC* E 1086; Holt, '1086', 44.
[877] Green, *Government*, 220–5; Baxter, 'How and Why was Domesday Made?', Appendix II, 1131.
[878] S. Baxter, 'Title to Property in the Age of the Great Confiscation', in *Making Domesday: Intelligent Power in Conquered England*, ed. S. Baxter, J. Crick, and C.P. Lewis (Oxford, forthcoming).
[879] Baxter, 'How and Why was Domesday Made?', 1097; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, 534.
[880] GDB 373 (Yorkshire), 375–6v (Lincolnshire); LDB 99 (Essex), 273v (Norfolk), 447v (Suffolk). Also, the declarations of the jurors appended at the end of Domesday's account of Huntingdonshire: GDB 207–8v.
[881] Mason, 'Aspects of Subinfeudation', 42.

tenanted *terra regis* to the holders as the king's tenants. This was also the approach favoured by Lennard, who concluded that the immediate lord and manager of the estate 'received the produce of [the] farm', and that it was 'to him that the peasants paid their rents, and for him that they performed the labour services that were incumbent upon them'.[882] However, tenanted *terra regis* was still royal land in a broader sense and, as such, although not contributing to the king's expected net income from the royal demesne, it nevertheless contributes to the gross value of the royal estates.[883] Conversely, unvalued land recorded in the *terra regis* but valued in a baronial fief, is not treated as royal land at all and does not, therefore, contribute to the gross value of the royal estates.

[882] Lennard, *Rural England*, 47.
[883] Harvey, *Domesday*, 166, 171–2.

5. The English Royal Estates, 1066–87

Much scholarship has been devoted to the extent to which the Norman conquest resulted in a tenurial revolution or—in less charged terms—a transformation of English landed society. This chapter reconstructs and examines English royal land between 1066 and 1087 to explore the impact of the Norman conquest on the royal estates and ask whether they were transformed as a result. Domesday evidence, which provides a comprehensive account of the *terra regis* in 1086, and a slightly less but still relatively complete picture of the royal estates in 1066, necessarily focuses analysis on these two points in time. The first section reconstructs the value and distribution of the royal estates on the eve of the conquest, and the second section does the same for the Conqueror's royal estates at the end of his reign, revealing how these most tangible aspects of royal land changed between 1066 and 1086.[884] The third section analyses the impact of the conquest upon the characterization and categorization of the royal estates. In other words, was there something fundamentally and conceptually different about the Conqueror's *terra regis* when compared with the pre-conquest royal estates? The chapter's concluding section attempts to reconstruct the chronology and process behind the formation of the post-conquest *terra regis*, using the evidence for the Conqueror's *antecessores* in combination with charters and narrative accounts to bridge the gap in the evidence for the royal estates between 1066 and 1086.

[884] The collection and analysis of the evidence for the royal estates represented my own work utilizing a shared database of Domesday Book which forms the foundation of *PASE Domesday*: http://domesday.pase.ac.uk. To avoid a false sense of accuracy, the figures presented here are rounded up, usually to the nearest integer: Above, 134–70.

The Royal Estates in 1066

At his death, Edward the Confessor's estates were worth around £8,375. Not included in this total are the estates held from the king in dependent tenure, worth just £160, and those of Edward's commended men, worth £6,765. Owing to Domesday's often patchy and confused record of pre-conquest lordship, land held from the king is more obscured from view than in 1086. Therefore, £8,375 is a conservative total which probably underestimates the extent of King Edward's royal estates. Even so, Table 4 shows that this figure is noticeably higher than the valuations of the Confessor's landed wealth made by historians throughout the twentieth century. However, the present figure's congruence with recent independent estimates converges on a new consensus, and the negligible difference between these most recent calculations reinforces the confidence that can be placed in them.

Table 4. Valuations of King Edward's Royal Estates in 1066

Historian	Year	Value in 1066
Corbett[885]	1926	£5,500
Davies[886]	1967	£5,000
Barlow[887]	1970	£6,000
Hill[888]	1981	£5,000
Fleming[889]	1991	£5,950
Clarke[890]	1994	£6,000
Grassi[891]	2002	£8,165
Baxter[892]	2019	£8,230
Dymond	2021	£8,375

[885] Corbett, 'Normandy and the Norman Conquest', 508.
[886] Davies, 'Lands and Rights of Harold', 3–4.
[887] Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 153.
[888] Hill, *Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, 105.
[889] Fleming, 'Domesday Estates of the King and the Godwines', 993; *Kings and Lords*, 68, 71. There is an error in Fleming's table in that, by her reckoning, Edward's night's farm estates were worth £2,100, not £2,310 as printed.
[890] P.A. Clarke, *The English Nobility under Edward the Confessor* (Oxford, 1994), 162.
[891] Grassi, 'Lands and Revenues', 251–2, 280–3. Grassi prints a figure of £8,146 13s 6.5d (280), a typographical error which should read £8,164 13s 6.5d (283), the figure rounded here. However, this figure may be the result of an arithmetical error.
[892] Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 128–9, 318–9; Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation', 368.

Historians have also produced calculations of English aristocratic estates, raising questions regarding King Edward's landed wealth relative to that of the aristocracy. Some of these are displayed below in Table 5 alongside the current figures based on *PASE Domesday*.

Table 5. The Relative Landed Wealth of King Edward and his Earls in 1066

Landholder TRE	Davies[893]	Fleming[894]	Clarke[895]	PASE[896]
King Edward	£5,000	£5,950		£8,375
Queen Edith[897]	£900	£400		£1,546
Countess Goda, sister of King Edward				£190
Royal Family Total	£5,900	£6,350	£6,000	£10,111
Earl Godwine	£820		£724	£797
Earl Harold	£2,500		£2,846	£3,306
Earl Tostig	£495		£492	£515
Earl Gyrth	£165		£250	£260
Earl Leofwine	£200		£287	£294
Edith the Fair				£351
Countess Gytha, wife of Earl Godwine	£450		£588	£644
Eadgifu, daughter of Earl Godwine				£49
Gunnhild, daughter of Earl Godwine				£30
Earl Godwine's Family Total	£4,630	£7,700	£5,187	£6,245
Earl Leofric			£23	£21
Earl Ælfgar	£610		£714	£720
Earl Edwin	£670		£612	£741
Earl Morcar	£840		£968	£996
Other Leofricsons[898]			£177	£233
Earl Leofric's Family Total	£2,120	£3,280	£2,494	£2,709
Earl Siward				£212
Earl Waltheof				£198
Earl Siward's Family Total		£370	£348	£410
Earl Ralph				£91
Countess Gytha, wife of Earl Ralph				£72
Harold, son of Earl Ralph				£28
Earl Ralph's Family Total				£191

[893] Davies, 'Lands and Rights of Harold', 3–4. Also, Hill, *Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, 105.
[894] Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 59–72.
[895] Clarke, *English Nobility*, 162, 205, 220.
[896] The figures for the aristocratic estates were produced collaboratively by the *PASE Domesday* team before I began my doctoral research. This shared database is continually being updated and refined, which would account for any miniscule discrepancy between these figures and those recently quoted by other scholars responsible for *PASE Domesday*, for example, in Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation'.
[897] Our figure for Queen Edith's estates is very similar to other independent estimates not tabulated here: P.A. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford, 1997), 280: £1,574; M. Meyer, 'The Queen's "Demesne" in Later Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L.T. Bethell*, ed. M. Meyer (London, 1993), 81: £1,550.
[898] Countess Godgifu (Earl Leofric's wife), Countess Ælfgifu (Earl Ælfgar's wife), and Burgheard (Earl Ælfgar's son), whose estates are valued here at £117, £66, and £50 respectively.

Two methodological points about this table require explanation. First, Queen Edith's estates are classified as royal because she probably held most of her landed wealth as queen.[899] Her sisters' exiguous holdings suggest that Edith's ample endowment came from her husband. Indeed, the Exon scribes who wrote up Somerset's *terra regis* listed 'Queen Edith's land' under its own subheading, separate from the land held by her relatives, which is grouped under another subheading.[900] Some historians have taken the different view that Edith's Domesday endowment was largely acquired from parties other than the king,[901] with Lavelle pointing to 'the lack of surviving royal grants to Edith'.[902] However, the lack of discernible royal grants to Queen Edith is perfectly understandable. It is unlikely that early English kings would have used *bocland*, that is, 'land accompanied by some kind of document',[903] to endow their queens, not least because such land could be more easily granted out of royal control. The general decline in the issuing of royal diplomas in the century before 1066,[904] moreover, makes it even less likely that King Edward granted land vested in charters to his wife. It is unclear whether there existed a distinct category of royal land set aside for queens, but their estates were seemingly held at the king's discretion, evidenced by the Confessor's confiscation of the estates of Queen Emma in 1043 and Queen Edith in 1051.[905]

The second methodological consideration is that several individuals listed above could not have been holding land in 1066. Countess Goda probably died *c.*1050;[906] Earl Godwine, Earl

---

[899] Grassi, 'Land and Revenues', 281–2; Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 123–42.
[900] Exon 113a1: *Terra Editdae Reginae*; Exon 103a1: *Terrae Regis quas tenuit Godwinus Comes et filii eius.*
[901] K.E. Cutler, 'Edith, Queen of England, 1045–1066', *Medieval Studies* 35 (1973); Meyer, 'Queen's "Demesne"', 81–4; R. Lavelle, 'The King's Wife and Family Property Strategies: Late Anglo-Saxon Wessex, 871–1066', *ANS* 29 (2007). Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 65 note 51, remained undecided on this issue.
[902] Lavelle, *Royal Estates*, 77–101, at 98.
[903] Blair, 'Limits of Bookland', 25–6.
[904] L. Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England, 871–978* (Oxford, 2013), 96–101; Blair, 'Limits of Bookland', 4–5, 28–33.
[905] *ASC* 1043, 1051; Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 134–5.
[906] The date of Goda's death is debated, but all agree she died before 1066: A. Williams, 'The King's Nephew: The Family, Career and Connections of Ralph, Earl of Hereford', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, eds. C. Harper-Bill, C. Holdsworth and J.L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1991), 331; H.J. Tanner, 'Eustace (II), count of Boulogne (d. *c.*1087)', *ODNB* (2004); Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 135–8; Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 99–100.

Siward, Earl Leofric, and Earl Ralph died in the 1050s; Earl Ælfgar and his son, Burgheard, died in the early 1060s;[907] and Earl Tostig was exiled in 1065. Domesday Book attributed around £2,600 worth of land to these individuals, which could be explained by misinformation from old records or jurors who could not recall conditions TRE.[908] Several historians have assumed that this land was held by these individuals' heirs or successors in 1066.[909] However, Baxter has suggested that such estates 'perhaps represent comital manors which had reverted to King Edward's control following the death (or exile) of a particular earl without being granted to that earl's successor in office'.[910] While the king might have enjoyed the revenue from these estates in 1066, Domesday does not classify them as royal land so they are not treated as such here.

The present figures, displayed in Table 5's final column, demonstrate that there is no basis for the view that the Godwinesons controlled more land than King Edward. Fleming's calculations, which informed her influential hypothesis that this overmighty family destabilized and undermined Edward's reign,[911] contained methodological flaws and underestimated the king's landed wealth while overestimating that of the Godwinesons.[912] The royal family was significantly wealthier than any other in 1066; even the combined landed income of the leading comital families could not match the revenue of the royal estates. Furthermore, much of the earls' considerable wealth and power came from royal patronage in the form of *ex officio* comital manors.[913] Edward obviously relied on the aristocracy's

---

907 S. Baxter. 'The Death of Burgheard son of Ælfgar and its Context', in *Frankland: The Franks and the World of Early Middle Ages*, ed. P. Fouracre and D. Ganz (Manchester, 2008).
908 J. Campbell, 'The Late Anglo-Saxon State: A Maximum View', *PBA 87* (1995), reprised in his *The Anglo-Saxon State* (London, 2000), 18; Harvey, 'Domesday Book and its Predecessors'.
909 Davies, 'Lands and Rights of Harold; 6–19; Clarke, *English Nobility*, 16–8, 27; A. Williams, 'Land and Power in the Eleventh Century: The Estates of Harold Godwineson', *ANS* 3 (1981), 177.
910 Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 135–8, at 137.
911 Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 70–1. This interpretation was accepted by Barlow, *Godwins*, 60.
912 Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 12–3, 128–38, 255–6, 315–9. *PASE Domesday*'s figures are refinements of Baxter's initial estimates not tabulated here.
913 Maitland, *DBB*, 168; Baxter and Blair, 'Land Tenure and Royal Patronage', 23–9, 45; Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 13, 138–51. Cf. Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 102.

support, but the enviable position of the Godwinesons, and of all the English comital families, was dependent on royal favour.

Below, Table 6 displays the pre-conquest distribution of landed wealth among England's elite: the king and queen, and the nineteen aristocratic landholders holding land worth over £400—the Class A and B barons of Corbett's classification framework used and refined by many subsequent scholars.[914] The values are tabulated in descending order with the cumulative total given in the final column. To illustrate, the cumulative landed wealth of the two greatest magnates, Earl Harold and Archbishop Stigand, was £5,356. Adding Earl Morcar's landed wealth brings the cumulative total to £6,352, and so on.

Table 6. Distribution of Landed Wealth among the Greatest TRE Landholders[915]

Landholder TRE	1066 Value	Cumulative Value
King Edward	£8,375	£9,921
Queen Edith	£1,546	
Earl Harold	£3,306	£3,306
Archbishop Stigand of Canterbury	£2,050	£5,356
Earl Morcar	£996	£6,352
Earl Godwine	£797	£7,148
Abbot Wulfric of Ely	£761	£7,909
Earl Edwin	£741	£8,650
Earl Ælfgar	£720	£9,370
Countess Gytha, wife of Earl Godwine	£644	£10,013
Beorhtric, son of Ælfgar	£637	£10,650
Azur, son of Thorth	£534	£11,184
Earl Tostig	£515	£11,698
Monks of Old Minster, Winchester	£476	£12,175
Bishop Herman of Ramsbury and Sherborne	£471	£12,646
Abbot Æthelnoth of Glastonbury	£468	£13,113
Abbot Edwin of Westminster	£454	£13,567
Ulf Fenisc	£451	£14,019
Abbot Æthelsige of St Augustine's, Canterbury	£440	£14,459
Monks of Christ Church, Canterbury	£439	£14,898
Esgar the staller	£418	£15,316

[914] Corbett, 'Normandy and the Norman Conquest', 505–14. Also C.W. Hollister, 'The Greater Domesday Tenants-in-Chief', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J.C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987); J.A. Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge, 1997); J.J.N. Palmer, 'The Wealth of the Secular Aristocracy in 1086', *ANS* 22 (2000); C.P. Lewis, 'Danish Landholders in Wessex in 1066', in *Danes in Wessex: The Scandinavian Impact on Southern England, c.800–c.1100*, ed. R. Lavelle and S. Roffey (Oxford, 2016); Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation'.

[915] For a wider analysis of the social distribution of pre-conquest landed wealth, see Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation', 367–70.

The table demonstrates that King Edward was much wealthier than any other individual, family, or institution in his kingdom. The king and queen enjoyed 14% of England's total landed revenue, reckoned here to be just over £71,000 in 1066, and controlled about as much landed wealth as the eight richest magnates combined. Edward himself held more land than the richest six magnates combined and was over 2.5 times richer than Earl Harold. Together, these nineteen magnates held just over 21% of the kingdom between them, meaning that over 35% of the kingdom was held by this landed elite. The makeup of this elite confirms the king's pre-eminence within landed society. There are eight ecclesiastics, six earls, a countess, and a staller, leaving just three without office. The king appointed the heads of ecclesiastical institutions under royal protection, just as he appointed earls, stallers, and other royal officials.[916] Gytha's wealth must have stemmed from her husband, Earl Godwine, and it is unlikely that Beorhtric, Azur, and Ulf could have risen so high without royal patronage. At the very least, however, sixteen of the nineteen richest English magnates owed their positions to the king.

The royal estates constituted the most widespread holding in England in 1066. King Edward's estates were distributed across the kingdom and made him the wealthiest landholder in eighteen shires. Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, and Gloucestershire produced the most revenue from royal land, while the Confessor's landed income was modest in Cornwall, Hertfordshire, Staffordshire, and Middlesex (although evidence for London—which probably generated much royal income—is lacking). Table 7 tabulates King Edward's landed revenue by shire alongside Grassi's figures which are similar if slightly lower in general. Following the table, Maps 15 and 16 plot the estates of King Edward and Queen Edith according to their locations and values in Domesday Book.[917]

---

[916] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 546–8.

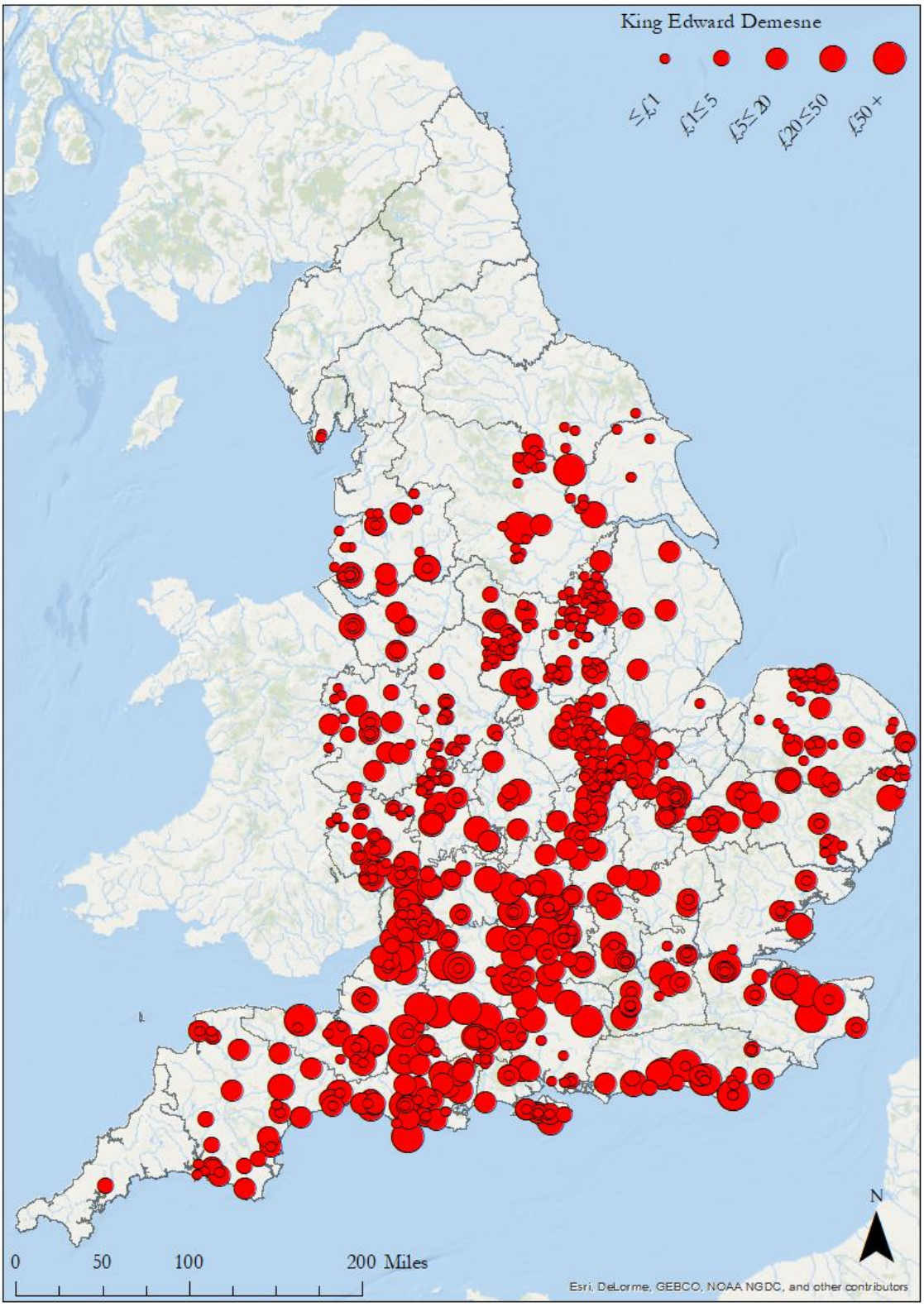
[917] For an early attempt to map King Edward's estates by hide, see Hill, *Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, 101. For a more recent map of Edward's estates, including those of his commended men, see Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation', 387–8.

Table 7. Royal Land Revenue by Shire in 1066

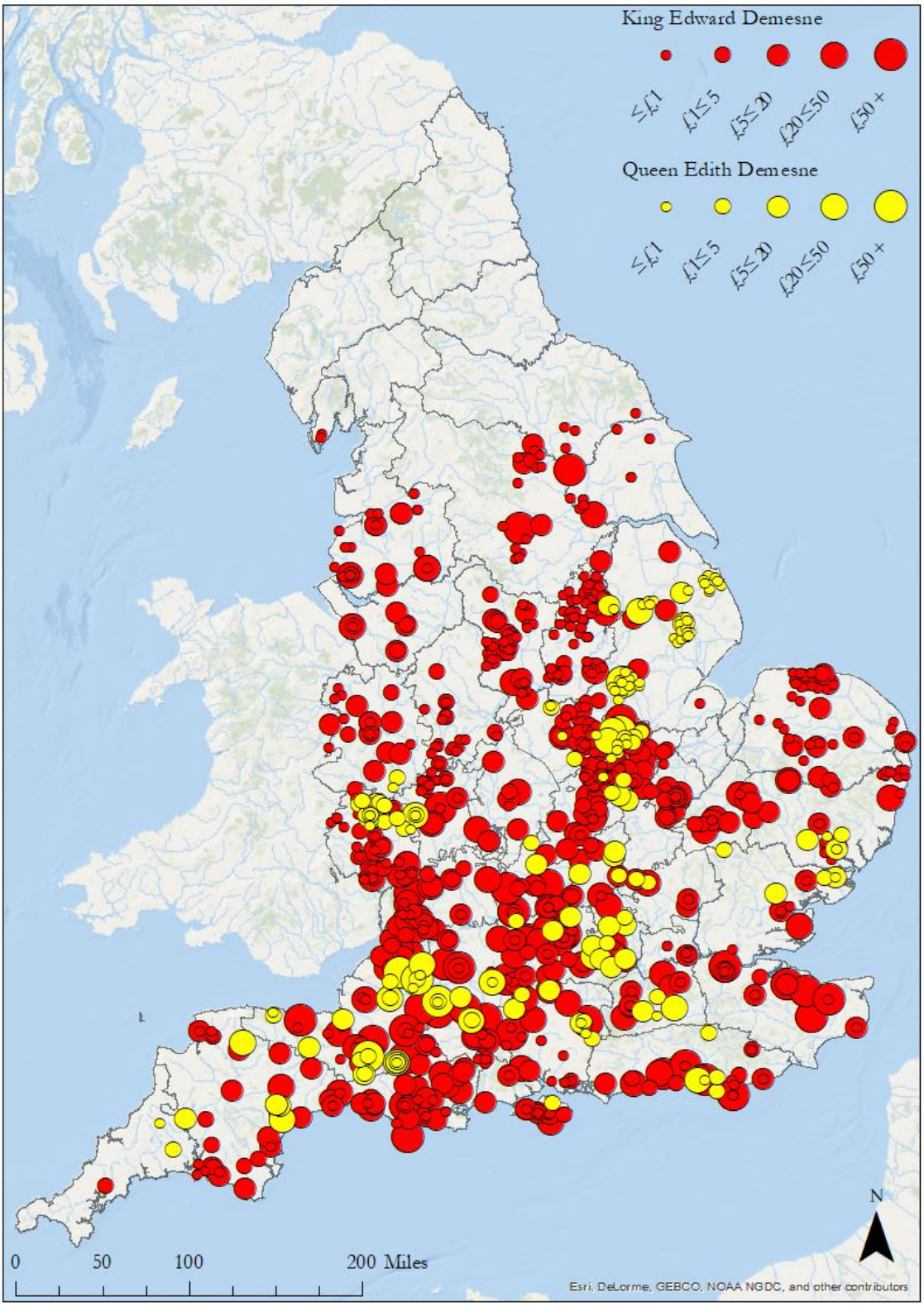
Shire	Grassi[918]	*PASE*
Bedfordshire	£0	£72
Berkshire	£597	£567
Buckinghamshire	£78	£81
Cambridgeshire	£127	£185
Cheshire	£177	£422
Cornwall	£2	£2
Derbyshire	£127	£114
Devon	£342	£254
Dorset	£568	£472
Essex	£18	£54
Gloucestershire	£594	£634
Hampshire	£550	£424
Herefordshire	£72	£131
Hertfordshire	£8	£28
Huntingdonshire	£201	£202
Kent	£487	£508
Leicestershire	£86	£89
Lincolnshire	£87	£88
Middlesex	£0	£1
Norfolk	£139	£195
Northamptonshire	£443	£466
Nottinghamshire	£97	£93
Oxfordshire	£638	£652
Rutland	£150	£150
Shropshire	£88	£91
Somerset	£524	£523
Staffordshire	£24	£24
Suffolk	£85	£87
Surrey	£156	£148
Sussex	£532	£503
Warwickshire	£88	£89
Wiltshire	£802	£704
Worcestershire	£94	£128
Yorkshire	£190	£192
Total	£8,172	£8,375

[918] Grassi, 'Lands and Revenues', 282–3. The sum of Grassi's shire totals is £8,172 not £8,165 as printed.

Map 13. The Royal Estates in 1066



Map 14. The Estates of King Edward and Queen Edith in 1066



The king's landed presence was generally strongest in Wessex, southern Mercia, Kent and Sussex, but this unsurprising concentration is not sharply defined. There was a significant amount of royal land in the East Midlands, East Anglia, and Yorkshire, albeit more dispersed than in the heartlands. The Welsh Marches were densely populated with royal estates, whereas the king's landed presence beyond York was negligible. However, the patchy Domesday returns beyond the Mersey, and the lack of evidence beyond the Tees and the Ribble, possibly underestimates royal land in this border zone. A clearer royal periphery was Cornwall, which contained no royal land aside from the small manor of Probus.[919]

The queen's estates were also widespread across twenty-one shires, with the bulk of her land lying along a curve that stretched from the Cornwall-Devon border, through Wessex, into the East Midlands.[920] After her husband and her brother, Edith had the most widespread estate before 1066, although she lacked a landed presence in northern England and held just a few clusters of land in the Midlands.[921] This is unsurprising considering that Mercia and Northumbria were dominated by the Leofricsons. That she held any land in these regions was probably down to her royal status. If her estates had come principally from her family, it is unlikely that she would have held much land outside Wessex. Edith's land spread across multiple regions and was seemingly anchored to her husband's estates. In some areas Edith's estates 'fill gaps in the royal pattern', notably in Rutland and Lincolnshire, while in others, they 'reinforce the royal concentration', as in Sussex, Wiltshire, and Somerset.[922]

The estates of Edward the Confessor and Edith are the best known of any English king and queen before 1066. Even so, comprehensive as Domesday Book's account is, it resembles just a snapshot of the pre-conquest royal estates at the Confessor's death taken twenty years

---

[919] GDB 121 (Cornwall 4:24).
[920] Cf. Hill, *Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, 102.
[921] For the geographical distribution of pre-conquest aristocratic landed wealth, see Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation', 387–91, 396–8.
[922] Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 123.

later. It is difficult to discern the history of the pre-conquest royal estates looking backwards from Domesday's static impression of 1066. Virtually all of Edward's reign, let alone the rest of the Anglo-Saxon period,[923] is hidden from view. Nevertheless, the extent and widespread distribution of the Confessor's estates were not novel innovations in the mid-eleventh century. The English royal estates had been built up over time as the kings of Wessex steadily expanded their realm from the late ninth century. The conquests by which England was unified—indeed created—in the tenth century ensured that early English kings held land throughout the kingdom, not just in the southern heartlands. Moreover, the early eleventh-century Danish conquest of England must have augmented the royal estates as King Cnut confiscated land from dead or disfavoured lords after 1016. It may be impossible to prove this conclusively, but Domesday demonstrates that this is what happened after 1066.

Before turning to the Norman conquest and the Conqueror's royal estates, however, this section concludes with a brief statement on the royal estates under Harold. Domesday Book is reticent about Harold's reign,[924] but it is safe to assume that most, if not all, of the land held by the Confessor passed to Harold as the new king in early 1066. The Confessor's only living kin were the children of his nephew, Edward the Exile. However, Edgar Ætheling, Margaret, and Christina would have encountered difficulties in pressing familial claims to an inheritance from their granduncle. Edward probably did not hold much if any land in England before he became king in 1042. He only returned from exile in 1041 and there is no evidence that King Harthacnut granted Edward English estates in that short time. In other words, the Confessor held all of his land as king. This was not the case for all English kings, some of whom—Harold Godwineson is the best example— held significant amounts of land before they became king. In these circumstances, it would have been possible to

[923] For this, which is beyond the scope of this thesis, see Lavelle, *Royal Estates*.
[924] Garnett, *Conquered England*, 18–9, 41–2, detected a few slips and discussed their ideological implications for the conquest.

distinguish between the king's estates he acquired when he became king and those which he already had beforehand. This conceptual distinction may have only been relevant—indeed may have only existed—at certain moments, such as the death of the king. The dead king's kin who did not succeed to the throne would have been able to lay claim to any land that did not automatically pass to the new king. There was no such land for Edward's kin to claim in 1066. Moreover, Edgar Ætheling and his sisters lacked political connections in England. They had been born in exile, their father had died upon their arrival in England in 1057, and there is no indication that they had been granted, or bequeathed, any land by the Confessor. It is reasonable to think that, with most of the English nobility supporting his claim to the throne in early 1066, Harold took over Edward's estates more or less intact when he became king. If Harold retained the land he held as earl of Wessex, a crude figure for his landed wealth as king is £11,680, calculated by adding the value of Edward's estates (£8,375) to that of his comital manors (£3,305).

Harold may well have felt obliged to reward his supporters following his election.[925] Harold's own family would likely have been the chief beneficiaries of his royal patronage in 1066. Indeed, a rare, oblique reference to Harold's reign in Domesday Book records that Earl Gyrth acquired (*accepit*) the sake and soke over many free men on several former royal estates in Norfolk.[926] Harold also needed to provide endowments worthy of his politically important wife, Queen Ealdgyth,[927] and her brothers may have required some land to secure their loyalty. Stafford surmised, therefore, that Harold would have 'looked hungrily' at his sister's vast estate.[928] Faced with such demands, Harold may have leant on Queen Edith, the richest person in England after himself and Stigand, for some land. However, while Domesday

[925] Only one writ survives from Harold's reign: S 1163.
[926] LDB 20 (Norfolk 14:17).
[927] JW II, 604; Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 53, 127, 299–301.
[928] Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 274.

reveals that, as king, Harold did seize some estates,[929] there is no evidence that any belonged to Edith. As Edward's widow, Edith was arguably more important to Harold as a source of legitimacy than land. The *Vita Ædwardi* states that, on his deathbed, the Confessor placed Edith under Harold's protection so that she not be deprived of any honor received from Edward.[930] This passage from the *Vita*, commissioned by Edith, probably reflects her anxieties in this connection, but nevertheless suggests that Harold may not have felt able to deprive his sister of her land. At the very least, Edith probably retained the dower portion to which she was entitled in 1066, but the circumstances of her brother's precarious position meant that she possibly kept hold of much more.

The Royal Estates in 1086

The 'gross value' of William the Conqueror's royal estates—the royal boroughs and the *terra regis*—was around £17,800, nearly a quarter of the £77,000 extracted from land in England in 1086.[931] With some £1,600 of this held by tenants of royal land, who are assumed to have enjoyed the entire value of their estates,[932] a conservative estimate for the 'net income' King William derived from the royal land he held in demesne (*in dominio*)—including royal estates *ad firmam*—at the end of his reign is just under £16,240.

In addition, the Conqueror's landed income was augmented by estates *in manu regis* at the end of his reign. For example, Bishop Odo was incarcerated at the time of the survey, and it is probable that the demesne manors of his earldom were being farmed by royal agents,

---

929 For example, GDB 162v (Gloucestershire 1:5): 'Earl Harold took away these five lands after the death of King Edward'.
930 *VÆd*R, 19.
931 Corbett, 'Normandy and the Norman Conquest', 507–8, valued England at £73,000 in 1086; Darby, *Domesday England*, 227, 359, preferred £72,000. However, neither figure included borough revenues. *Electronic Edition of Domesday Book* provides a figure of £75,000.
932 Above, 160–70.

generating an extra £830 for the treasury.[933] Similarly, Roger the Poitevin's honor, or at least part of it, was in the king's hand in 1086, potentially generating nearly £360 extra for the Conqueror.[934] In general, however, the income generated by estates *in manu regis* has not been included in the above valuation of the royal estates. The fact that Odo's earldom was recorded in its own Domesday fief indicates that the bishop's estates, although generating income for the king, were not treated as royal land in 1086 and, therefore, they have not been treated as such here.

Henry I's pipe roll demonstrates that, in the early twelfth century, estates that came into the king's control through forfeiture, escheat, wardships, and vacancies were often ringfenced and administered by the king's agents separately from the *terra regis*, not least so that they might easily be regranted.[935] Domesday Book's structure implies that the situation in the late eleventh century was similar; the land Odo and Roger possessed remained intact *in manu regis* under royal supervision and had not been absorbed into the *terra regis* in 1086. Similarly, Domesday attributes land to Countess Godgifu, Countess Ælfgifu, and Earl William fitzOsbern, who had all died before 1086.[936] Their Domesday fiefs were likely *in manu regis*, and this is confirmed for Godgifu's Warwickshire estates, at least, which were held *ad firmam de rege* by Nicholas, presumably 'the crossbowman' (*balistarius*).[937] Again, however, this land is not attributed to King William *in dominio* in Domesday's boroughs and *terra regis*, and has not,

---

[933] It is not explicit in Domesday that Odo's honor was in the king's hand. However, it is stated that William held Rotherfield in demesne (*in dominio*) from the fief (*de feudo*) of the bishop of Bayeux: GDB 16 (Sussex 1:2).
[934] GDB 262v (Cheshire C25): 'Roger the Poitevin held the land between the Ribble and the Mersey. Now the king holds it'; GDB 269v (Cheshire R1): 'Roger the Poitevin held the undermentioned land'; GDB 270 (Cheshire R7): 'Now the king holds it'; GDB 273v (Derbyshire 5:1–5): 'Roger the Poitevin held these lands; now they are in the king's hand'; GDB 301v (Yorkshire 1L:1): 'Roger the Poitevin held (*habuit*) [them]'. For discussion, see Galbraith, *Making of Domesday*, 187–8; Holt, '1086', 60–1; J.F.A. Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery and his Sons (1067–1102)', *TRHS* 13 (1963), 14–5; C.P. Lewis, 'An Introduction to the Lancashire Domesday' in *The Lancashire Domesday*, ed. A. Williams and G.H. Martin (London, 1991), 36–8; Garnett, *Conquered England*, 79–80.
[935] Henry I's pipe roll refers to estates and wardships in the king's hands and regalian rights over ecclesiastical vacancies: below, 237–50.
[936] Godgifu: GDB 231v (Leicestershire 11:1–3), GDB 239v (Warwickshire 15:1–6); Ælfgifu: GDB 231v (Leicestershire 12:1–2); Earl William: GDB 161 (Oxfordshire 59:1–29). A. Williams, 'Godgifu [Godiva] (d. 1067?)', *ODNB* (2004); Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 298–9.
[937] GDB 239v (Warwickshire 15:6).

therefore, been included in the Conqueror's net revenue from the royal estates here. In 1086, William's income from English land was higher than the £16,240 generated by the royal land he held in demesne, but for comparative analytical purposes this remains the preferable figure.

Below, Table 8 displays historians' valuations of the Conqueror's royal estate revenue. The historians who published their estimates in the twentieth century did not provide an explanation as to how they arrived at their totals. However, the database produced by Palmer helpfully lists values by Domesday entry in two tables: 'TRWowners', which predominantly, but not exclusively, records rural manors, and 'BoroughTRWlords', which records the borough material.[938] While this allows for more detailed comparison, problematically, some borough values appear in both tables, which makes it difficult to determine a total value for King William's estates using Palmer's database.

Table 8. Historians' Valuations of the Royal Estates in 1086

Historian	Year	1086 Value
Ballard[939]	1906	£13,600
Corbett[940]	1926	£11,000
Green[941]	1979	£14,000
Palmer[942]	2000	£14,770–16,720
Grassi[943]	2002	£15,850
Dymond	2020	£16,240

Table 9, below, shows the various totals it is possible to reach using Palmer's database to calculate the value of the royal estates in 1086. Column A lists the values Palmer attributed to King William 'in chief' (all the land in Domesday's *terra regis*) calculated using only his main 'TRWowners' table. Of these, the values attributed to William in demesne are listed in

[938] *Electronic Edition*, ed. Palmer.
[939] Ballard, *Domesday Inquest*, 262.
[940] Corbett, 'Normandy and the Norman Conquest', 507–8.
[941] Green, 'Royal Demesne', 337, 351.
[942] *Domesday Explorer*; *Electronic Edition of Domesday Book*.
[943] Grassi, 'Lands and Revenues', 282.

column B. The figures in A and B can be compared respectively with the present figures, also tabulated below, for the gross value and net income of the royal estates in 1086. However, Palmer's 'TRWowners' table records some of the borough values but not all of them. Many borough values appear only in Palmer's 'BoroughTRWlords' table, of which those attributed to the king are listed in column C.[944] Column D combines the figures in B and C, which can also be compared with the present study's net income figures.

Palmer's work is accurate and represents a considerable achievement, but the way the evidence is assembled makes it difficult to calculate a total value for the royal estates. The totals for columns A and B are arguably underestimations because they do not include everything which Palmer deemed to be royal in the boroughs. However, the addition of the borough values in column C produces an overestimation in column D by counting some borough values twice. Using Palmer's database, therefore, it is possible to produce net valuations for King William's land of either £14,770 or £16,720. Neither figure is correct by Palmer's own reckoning, which suggests that the Conqueror's income from the royal estates lay somewhere between the two amounts. Encouragingly, the present estimate for William's royal estate revenue falls within this range. That two independent studies have achieved strikingly similar results is remarkable, especially considering, as Finn did, that:

> It would be perfectly possible for two people to study and sum the statistics of Domesday Book and arrive at markedly different results. Disagreement could arise over the inclusion or omission of a potentially 'duplicate' entry, or as regards the interpretation of the material, especially where a manor includes sub-tenancies the figures of which may or may not be covered by those of the main entry.[945]

---

[944] *Electronic Edition*, 'BoroughTRWlords' attributes land in the borough either to the king or to tenants-in-chief.
[945] Finn, *Norman Conquest*, xi.

Table 9. Royal Land Revenue by Shire in 1086

Shire	Palmer, *Electronic Edition*				Dymond, *PASE*	
	A 'in chief'	B 'demesne'	C 'borough'	D B+C	Gross Value	Net Income
Bedfordshire	£73	£65	£0	£65	£126	£107
Berkshire	£1,026	£933	£91	£1,024	£1,115	£1,042
Buckinghamshire	£237	£231	£0	£231	£249	£235
Cambridgeshire	£307	£235	£14	£249	£324	£301
Cheshire	£44	£44	£0	£44	£176	£44
Cornwall	£124	£115	£0	£115	£127	£115
Derbyshire	£148	£144	£0	£144	£140	£133
Devon	£986	£874	£0	£874	£996	£964
Dorset	£827	£814	£2	£816	£776	£756
Essex	£659	£539	£84	£623	£756	£701
Gloucestershire	£1,420	£1,130	£109	£1,238	£1,442	£1,070
Hampshire	£850	£808	£11	£819	£1,213	£1,175
Herefordshire	£411	£333	£60	£393	£485	£329
Hertfordshire	£200	£180	£30	£210	£210	£190
Huntingdonshire	£181	£86	£72	£158	£183	£183
Kent	£490	£412	£129	£541	£577	£432
Leicestershire	£164	£110	£67	£176	£175	£164
Lincolnshire	£656	£656	£368	£1,024	£844	£840
Middlesex	£1	£1	£0	£1	£1	£1
Norfolk	£1,355	£1,329	£90	£1,419	£1,386	£1,298
Northamptonshire	£515	£484	£176	£660	£624	£606
Nottinghamshire	£130	£130	£48	£178	£132	£125
Oxfordshire	£684	£647	£62	£709	£801	£787
Rutland	£172	£170	£0	£170	£172	£170
Shropshire	£0	£0	£0	£0	£48	£8
Somerset	£1,180	£1,138	£0	£1,138	£1,220	£1,154
Staffordshire	£150	£150	£4	£154	£152	£150
Suffolk	£638	£631	£20	£651	£635	£599
Surrey	£300	£290	£0	£290	£342	£313
Sussex	£92	£78	£0	£78	£115	£112
Warwickshire	£234	£234	£184	£418	£290	£252
Wiltshire	£1,558	£1,462	£175	£1,637	£1,573	£1,476
Worcestershire	£178	£172	£56	£229	£176	£161
Yorkshire	£142	£141	£100	£241	£251	£247
Total	£16,129	£14,768	£1,951	£16,719	£17,831	£16,239

Nevertheless, differences of interpretation, especially concerning the borough accounts,[946] have contributed to some quite different shire subtotals. Most Domesday boroughs feature a render, which either went entirely to the king or was shared between the king and the local earl who received the 'third penny',[947] and usually feature houses or dwellings belonging both to the king or his barons.[948] The present study generally treats the boroughs like the *terra regis*, in which all the land was royal, and either held by the king in demesne or held of him by royal tenants. Conversely, Palmer assigned borough values either to the king as royal land or to tenants-in-chief as though part of their Domesday fiefs. These different approaches naturally produce differing gross estimates of the Conqueror's royal land, but disagreements regarding his net income can also arise. For example, in Shrewsbury, which Earl Roger *tenet de rege*, Palmer attributed nothing to the king. Here, however, the £40 which the city rendered to the earl has been attributed to Roger as if a tenant on the *terra regis*, while the nearly £8 *de gablo* rendered by the burgesses has been attributed to King William in demesne.[949] Moreover, Palmer attributed £100 to the king from Lincoln but did not include the additional payments totalling £154 that are attributed to William here.[950] Similarly, Palmer attributed the £80 render and the £20 for the mint in Colchester to the king but not the additional payments totalling £7 which also contributed to the king's net income.[951]

Additional renders like these also appear on rural manors of the *terra regis*. In Bedfordshire, several such customary payments are separately listed after the *valet* is given, but Palmer did not treat these as additional revenue and so produced a total of £65 rather than the £107

---

[946] On the boroughs, see Maitland, *DBB*, 172–219; J. Tait, *The Medieval English Borough* (Manchester, 1936); S. Reynolds, *English Medieval Towns* (Oxford, 1977); G.H. Martin, 'Domesday Book and the Boroughs', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (London, 1985); 'The Domesday Boroughs', in *Domesday Book Studies*, ed. A. Williams and R.W.H Erskine (London, 1987); S. Reynolds, 'Towns in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J.C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987); J. Munby, 'The Domesday Boroughs Revisited', *ANS* 30 (2011); J. Haslam, *Urban-Rural Connections in Domesday Book and Late Anglo-Saxon Royal Administration* (Oxford, 2012).
[947] For example, GDB 154 (Oxford B1, 3).
[948] For example, GDB 154 (Oxford B4–10).
[949] GDB 252 (Shropshire C1, C12), 254 (Shropshire 4:1:37).
[950] GDB 336v (Lincolnshire C27–31).
[951] LDB 107 (Essex B6).

given here.[952] There were also several customary revenues paid by the royal estates in Oxford, which Palmer has not attributed to King William.[953] Similarly, for entries providing both a *valet* and a *reddit*, Palmer preferred to take the former when calculating the total value.[954] For example, Bosham was valued at £40—the figure that Palmer recorded—but the entry explains that it rendered a total of £65 recorded here.[955] Nearby Rotherfield was worth £12 but it rendered £30 in 1086.[956] Palmer recorded the former figure, but the treasury arguably expected to receive the latter. In Hampshire, many royal estates provide both values and larger renders, producing a cumulative difference of several hundred pounds.

On balance, Palmer's total figures differ only negligibly from those presented here. Notwithstanding these differences of interpretation, this thesis neither refutes nor rejects Palmer's work; instead, it serves to refine it. There should be very little doubt that, according to Domesday Book, the expected net income from the royal estates in 1086 was in the region of £16,000, twice what it was in 1066. Some of this increase is explained by the fact that Queen Matilda's estates became—and most remained—*terra regis* after her death in 1083.[957] Had she been alive in 1086, her estates would have been recorded in her own Domesday fief but, aside from two manors in Buckinghamshire worth £60 (yet only £25 *quando vivebat regina*),[958] no land is attributed to Matilda.[959] Blayney recently reconstructed Matilda's estates, which, according to Domesday, were worth over £760 and spread across fifteen shires.[960] Deeming this an underestimate, Blayney suggested that if Matilda held all the former estates

[952] GDB 209–v (Bedfordshire 1:1a, 2a, 3, 5): Leighton Buzzard, Luton, Houghton Regis, Biscot.
[953] GDB 154v (Oxfordshire 1:12).
[954] *Electronic Edition*, 'TRWowners'.
[955] GDB 16 (Sussex 1:1).
[956] GDB 16 (Sussex 1:2).
[957] Matilda wanted her English estates to pass to her son, Henry, but he who was too young to take possession of them in 1083. His older brothers also prevented him from coming into this inheritance after 1087: OV IV, 148–9, 220–1; Hollister, *Henry I*, 40.
[958] GDB 152v (Buckinghamshire 52:1–2).
[959] Exon lists her land in Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall as if she were a tenant-in-chief: 29a1–32a1, 108a1–112a2.
[960] K. Blayney, 'The Tenurial Structure of Hampshire Before and After the Norman Conquest', DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2020), 240–3.

of Beorhtric, son of Ælfgar, her landed wealth would have surpassed £950, and that if the queen held the land her officials were holding in 1086, the gross value of her honor may have exceeded £1,000 as argued by Gathagan.[961] Nevertheless, the royal estates in 1086 generated over 1.6 times the income generated by the estates of Edward and Edith combined in 1066.

The main reason for the increased value of the royal estates is that, after the conquest, the king held much more land, which, moreover, was also subject to higher rents and more intensive exploitation.[962] Even after distributing vast swathes of English land to his followers after 1066, the Conqueror still controlled nearly a quarter of England's landed wealth twenty years later,[963] making him much richer vis-à-vis the aristocracy than the Confessor had been. Below, Table 10 shows the distribution of landed wealth among England's elite in 1086,[964] listing King William and the tenants-in-chief whose land generated a net income of over £400. The first column of figures lists the gross values, but the table is sorted by net income, listed in the second column, which has been calculated by adding the value of the estates barons held in demesne within their own Domesday fiefs to the value of any estates that they held as subtenants of others. A baron's net income, therefore, does not include any estates held from them by subtenants and any estates that they themselves held *ad firmam*.[965] The cumulative totals are calculated in the third column.

[961] Blayney, 'Tenurial Structure of Hampshire', 243; L. Gathagan, 'Embodying Power: Gender and Authority in the Queenship of Matilda of Flanders', PhD thesis (City University of New York, 2002), 139–42. Gathagan's figures were accepted by T. Borman, *Matilda, Wife of the Conqueror, First Queen of England* (London, 2012), 106.
[962] The total profit extracted by lords from English land increased by £6,000 from around £71,000 in 1066 to around £77,000 in 1086.
[963] This process is examined below, 211–32.
[964] For a wider analysis of the social distribution of landed wealth after the conquest, see Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation', 371–86.
[965] Following Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation', 384–5.

Table 10. Distribution of Landed Wealth among the Greatest TRW Landholders

Landholder TRW	Gross Value (in-chief)	Net Income	Cumulative Net Income
King William	£17,831	£16,239	£16,239
Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury	£2,298	£1,208	£1,208
Earl Roger of Shrewsbury	£2,064	£996	£2,204
Bishop Odo of Bayeux	£3,240	£905	£3,109
Count Robert of Mortain	£2,003	£903	£4,012
Abbot Simeon of Ely	£935	£847	£4,859
Bishop Walkelin of Winchester	£1,722	£840	£5,699
Count Alan	£1,095	£693	£6,392
Count Eustace	£948	£675	£7,067
William of Warenne	£1,179	£597	£7,664
Abbot Scotland of St Augustine's Canterbury	£604	£571	£8,235
Abbot Thurstan of Glastonbury	£821	£562	£8,797
Geoffrey of Mandeville	£820	£545	£9,342
Abbot Baldwin of Bury St Edmunds	£681	£525	£9,867
Abbot Gilbert Crispin of Westminster	£634	£524	£10,391
Richard fitzGilbert	£827	£492	£10,882
Edward of Salisbury	£496	£482	£11,364
Countess Judith	£670	£477	£11,841
Earl Hugh of Chester	£916	£420	£12,262
Bishop Osmund of Salisbury	£662	£411	£12,673

This table demonstrates that the gap between the king and his richest subjects had widened to the extent that no one could remotely rival the king's landed wealth. The gross value of the royal estates was 5.5 times that of Bishop Odo's large, if heavily subtenanted, honor; and the Conqueror's net income was nearly 13.5 times that enjoyed by Archbishop Lanfranc. King Edward had been the wealthiest landholder in his kingdom by far, but his landed revenue was only 2.5 (3 if Edith's estates are included) times that enjoyed by Earl Harold. The combined landed wealth of Godwine's family nearly approached the revenue generated by the Confessor's estates, but no family enjoyed such a position of dominance under the Conqueror. The wealthiest family in post-conquest England were the king's half-brothers,

Bishop Odo and Count Robert. Their land, collectively worth nearly £5,245, generated a total net income of just over £1,800, but considering that Godwine's family held £6,245, the richest family in England in 1086 was comparatively less rich, both in absolute terms and vis-à-vis the king. Finally, in 1086, even the combined net income of all the Class A and B aristocratic landholders did not match that generated by the royal estates in 1086. When looking at gross values, King William's landed wealth superiority is less pronounced, with the twelve largest aristocratic honors cumulatively just outstripping the royal estates. Still, even by this comparator, the Conqueror's relative wealth was much greater than that of the Confessor.

The identity of this landed elite, which included just two *Angli*,[966] Edward of Salisbury and Abbot Baldwin of Bury St Edmunds, who were residing in England before William's invasion,[967] suggests that the king exercised considerable control over the acquisition and distribution of land after 1066.[968] Had the process been characterized by a scramble for land, with lords seizing estates as they wished,[969] the very wealthiest landholders would not have so uniformly consisted of those close the king. [970] Moreover, the Conqueror's landed dominance would not have been so supreme.

Below, Map 15, which maps the Conqueror's land, shows that the distribution of the royal estates remained very widespread across England. The king's landed presence was still strongest in Wessex and southern Mercia, but this slant was even less defined than in 1066. The Conqueror was the wealthiest landholder in twenty-three shires and second wealthiest in eight, and he held more land in the northern and eastern shires than the Confessor.

---

[966] For English survival rates, see Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation', 371, 376–7. Swein of Essex, Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester, and Bishop Osbern of Exeter were the other *Angli* Class B landholders, but though their honors were worth over £400, their net incomes were just £221, £379, and £286 respectively.
[967] G. Garnett, '*Franci et Angli*: The Legal Distinctions Between Peoples After the Conquest', *ANS* 8 (1985).
[968] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 626; below, 211–32.
[969] For the argument that many honors were constituted through such unauthorized 'private enterprise', see Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 183–214.
[970] Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation', 380.

However, there were noticeable areas that were devoid of royal land in 1086. Shropshire and Cheshire, which were possessed almost entirely by Earl Roger and Earl Hugh, who held all of the Confessor's estates in their respective *comitatus*, contained no *terra regis*;[971] and Sussex, Kent, Cornwall, and much of Yorkshire were only sparsely populated with royal estates. These gaps in the distribution of royal land were often occupied by the estates of William's close followers, as illustrated in Map 16, which plots the royal estates alongside the land of some selected secular Class A barons.[972] The map provides an impression of the geographical distribution of Class A baronial land at the end of the Conqueror's reign. However, this does not completely capture the elite, let alone all, of landed society in 1086, because mapping even all the Class A honors alone would overcrowd and confuse the picture.[973] Nevertheless, Map 16 reveals that no honor came close to the scale and spread of the royal estates; the king remained the only individual who held land throughout the kingdom.

Map 16 also reveals that the distribution of the estates held by the wealthiest magnates often provided them with a strong landed presence in a locality or localities. Many of the compact parts of the honors of tenants-in-chief lay on the coast and borders of England, as if intended to guard them.[974] However, their estates also incentivised this elite to think in terms of the wider kingdom, not just particular shires or regions. William granted his most powerful barons concentrated blocks of land on the periphery of his kingdom, but by also granting them estates dispersed throughout England the king gave his tenants-in-chief a tenurial stake in the kingdom at large.

---

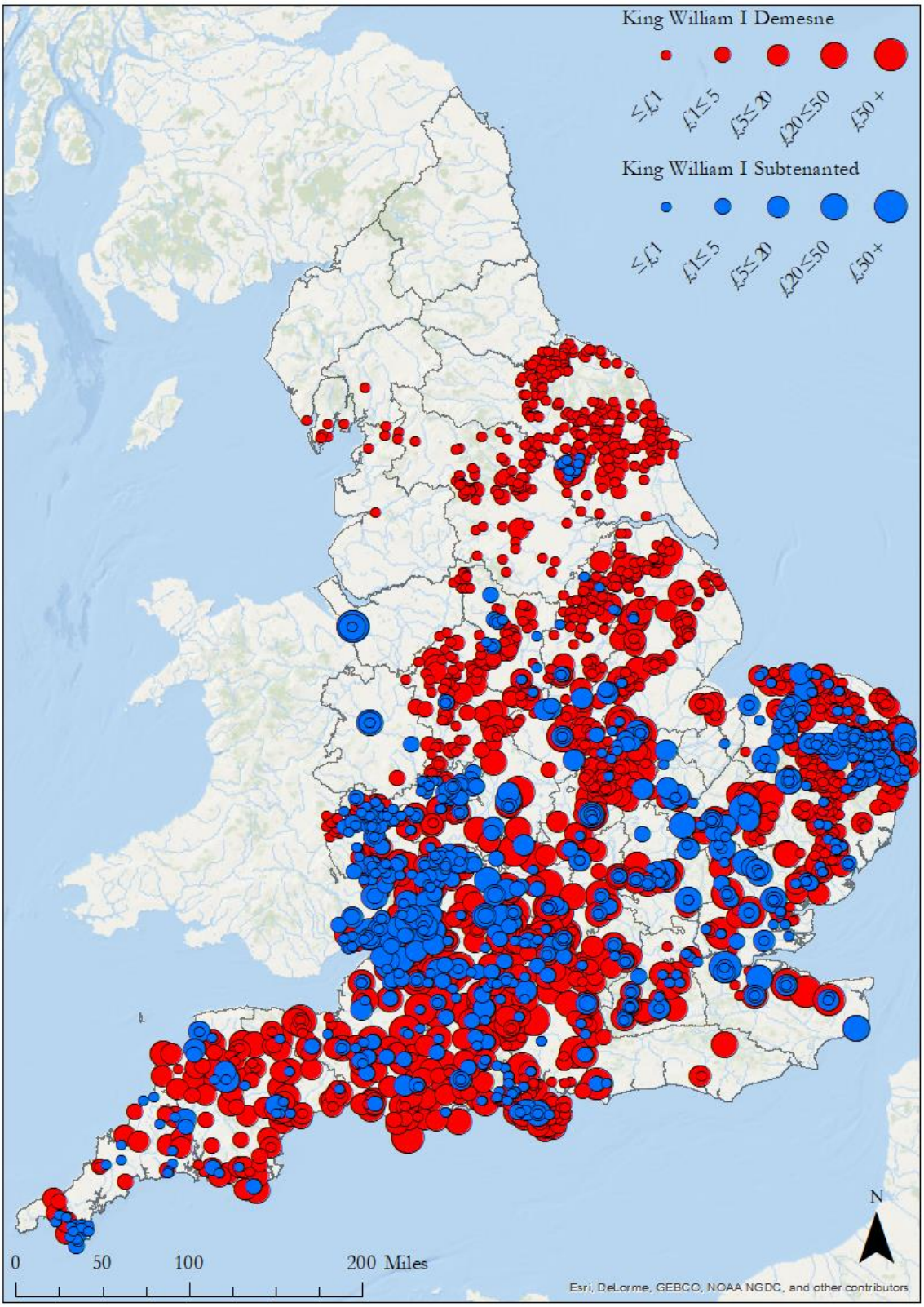
[971] GDB 254 (Shropshire 4:1:37): 'Earl Roger holds from the king (*tenet de rege*) the city of Shrewsbury, the whole county (*totum comitatum*), and all the demesne (*totum dominium*) which King Edward had there'. The royal estate mapped in southern Shropshire is Farlow, an outlier of the royal manor of Leominster. In Table 9, Farlow's value is tabulated in Herefordshire, the shire in which it appears in Domesday. GDB 262v (Cheshire C25): 'In Cheshire the bishop [of Chester] holds from the king that which pertains to his bishopric (*episcopatum*). Earl Hugh, with his men, holds the remaining land of the county (*comitatus*)'.

[972] Some of the gaps, notably along the east coast, were dominated by marshy plains which contained no recorded land at all: Darby, *Domesday England*, 161–2. The region north of the Tees was not surveyed in 1086.

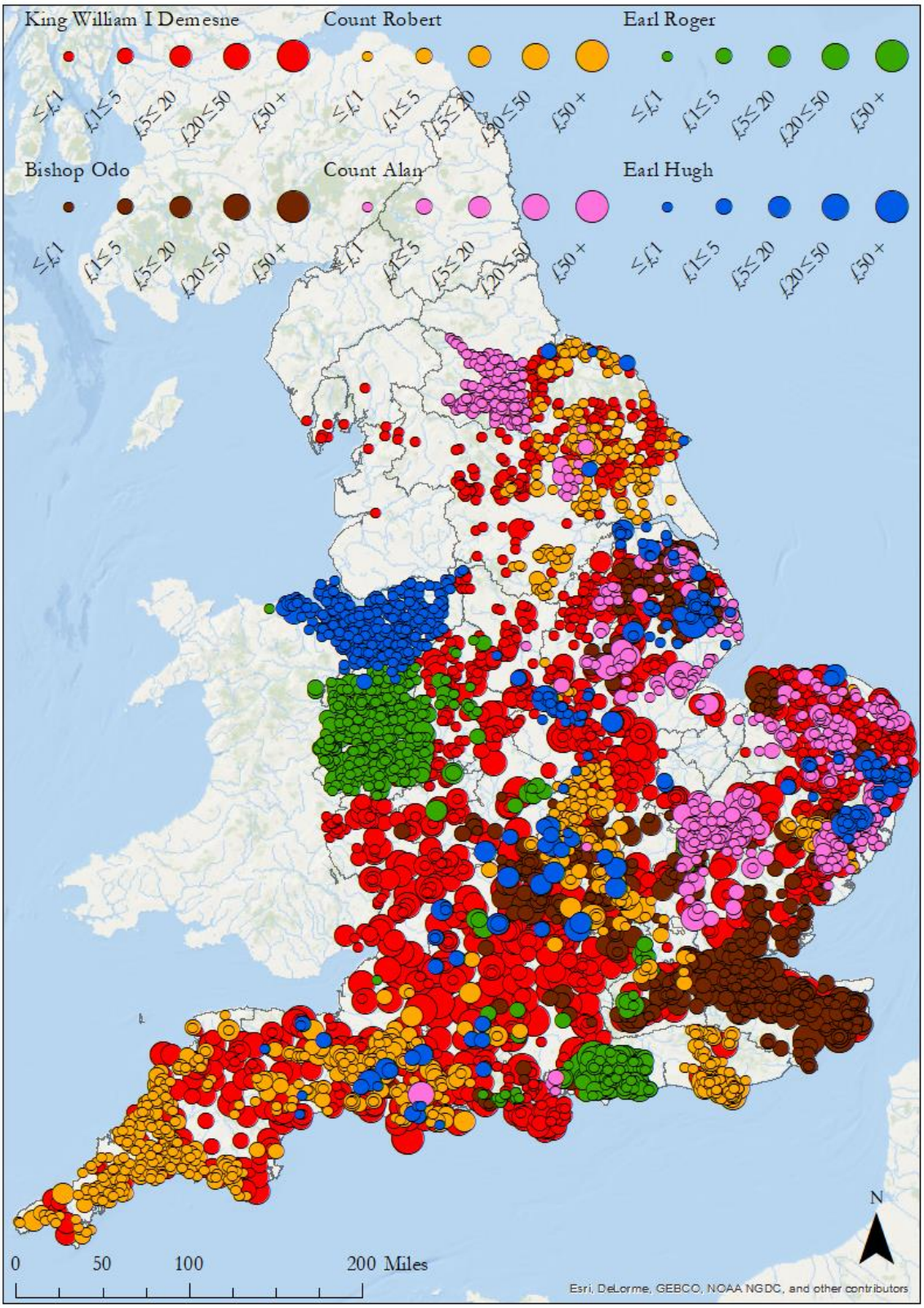
[973] For wider analysis of the spatial distribution of aristocratic landed wealth in 1086, see Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation', 392–5 (maps), 398–402 (discussion).

[974] Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 145–82.

Map 15. The Royal Estates in 1086



Map 16. The Royal Estates and Selected Aristocratic Land in 1086



Bishop Odo's estates dominated South East England—and Kent in particular—but he also held swathes of land across the East Midlands and East Anglia. Count Robert had a clear concentration of landed wealth in Cornwall, but his honor was widely dispersed, comprising three large distinct tranches of land—in South West England, the southern East Midlands, and Yorkshire—and some estates in East Anglia as well as the rape of Pevensey in Sussex. The other Class A honors, while not as widespread, were comprised of both compact and dispersed elements. Earl Hugh dominated Cheshire absolutely, but his earldom was anchored to the kingdom by estates scattered all over England from Devon to Norfolk and Yorkshire. Earl Roger's concentrated block of estates in Shropshire reached out to other shires in the West Midlands, Wessex and East Anglia, and he also controlled the Sussex rape centred on Chichester and Arundel. Count Alan's honor of Richmond comprised a distinct block in northern Yorkshire but also spread across much of eastern England from York to Essex.

The widespread geographic distribution of royal land and the aristocratic honors interspersed with it strengthens the case for thinking that the Conqueror closely controlled the process of the Norman takeover of English land.[975] Moreover, this pattern, clearly displayed in the Domesday evidence, is remarkably akin to the spread of ducal and aristocratic estates in Normandy. William held land throughout England and Normandy, but several important frontiers in both realms were given over to close trusted followers to protect. The conquest of 1066 gave William a relatively free hand to redraw the political map of the kingdom as he saw fit, often shredding England's tenurial fabric in the process.[976] The dukes may not have enjoyed such unique freedom in Normandy, but the similar geographic distribution of land observable there in the eleventh century suggests that the duchy was similarly ordered, at least principally, from above.

---

[975] Below, 211–32.
[976] Baxter and Lewis, 'Transformation', 384.

The Conquest's Impact on Royal Land Conceptualization

This section argues that distinctions previously incumbent upon royal land in the Anglo-Saxon past—which seem to have been fading by 1066—were finally eradicated by the conquest, eliminating any notion of royal land categorization by 1086. Beginning with a historiographical overview of this subject, this section then examines the slight and complex evidence for royal land conceptualization in this period.

Most historians have acknowledged the existence of a broad—and perhaps vague—distinction between royal estates associated with the kingship or kingdom, which the king held only while he reigned, and what might be termed the king's private, personal, or familial land in pre-conquest England.[977] For Vinogradoff, the implication was that the main stock of royal land was regarded as a fund for 'state purposes',[978] which—belonging 'not to the king, but to the kingdom (*regnum*)'—should not be alienated.[979] Maitland also acknowledged the possible existence of such a distinction but doubted whether a definite classification of the king's estates was ever precisely expressed in the Anglo-Saxon period.[980] Instead, he saw categorization not as a general rule but an *ad hoc* arrangement that only arose situationally. For example, upon the death of a king whose brother was then elected to the kingdom, it would be necessary, Maitland argued, to distinguish the estates which supplied the king with the main part of his revenue from the estates which the deceased king's children would

[977] This distinction is seemingly drawn in S 937. J.M. Kemble, *Saxons in England* (London, 1849) II, 30; Maitland, *DBB*, 253, 255; P. Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century* (Oxford, 1908), 326; S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of Æthelred 'the Unready' 978–1016* (Cambridge, 1980), 163–76; P.H. Sawyer, 'The Royal *Tun* in Pre-Conquest England', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. P. Wormald, D. A. Bullough, and R. Collins (Oxford, 1983); 279–80; P. Wormald, '*On Þa Wæpnedhealfe*: Kingship and Royal Property from Æthelwulf to Edward the Elder', in *Edward the Elder, 899–924*, ed. N.J. Higham and D.H. Hill (London, 2001), 267–8; R. Lavelle, *Royal Estates in Anglo-Saxon Wessex: Land, Politics and Family Strategies* (Oxford, 2007), 1–12, 124–5; J. Hudson, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England Volume II: 871–1216* (Oxford, 2012), 108–10; G. Molyneaux, *The Formation of the English Kingdom in the Tenth Century* (Oxford, 2015), 51.
[978] P. Vinogradoff, 'Folkland', *EHR* 8 (1893), 13, 17.
[979] Vinogradoff, *English Society*, 326.
[980] Maitland, *DBB*, 253.

inherit.[981] Warning against attributing any institutional agency to 'the crown' in this period,[982] Maitland distinguished the 'original endowment of the kingship', which ideally should not be given away, from subsequent royal acquisitions 'not considered as so permanently annexed to the kingly office'.[983] However, he provided a caveat to this:

> Then again no line is drawn, at least no marked line, between those proprietary rights which the king has as king and those which he has in his private capacity. The nation, the state, is not personified; there are no lands which belong to the nation or to the state. The king's lands are the king's lands…there is no more to be said.[984]

Maitland observed Exon's distinction between 'the king's demesne which belongs to the kingdom' held by the Confessor and the 'comital manors' held by the house of Godwine,[985] also noting Little Domesday's similar categorization of manors *de regno* and *de regione*.[986] However, he argued that these labels did not distinguish 'official' royal estates from the king's 'private' land. While Domesday evidence might hint that certain ancient estates ought not to be given away, Maitland pointed out that King Edward gave away some land described as pertaining to the *regnum*, suggesting that such estates were not inalienably annexed to the kingship in 1066.[987]

For Vinogradoff and Maitland, the royal estates represented a privileged category of land on which peasants were relatively free from taxes, tolls, and general interference from the sheriff.[988] These immunities and peculiarities survived the conquest, enshrined and preserved

---

[981] Maitland, *DBB*, 255.
[982] *The Constitutional History of England* (Cambridge, 1908), 418.
[983] F. Pollock and F.W. Maitland, *The History of English Law* (Cambridge, 1895) I, 366.
[984] Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* I, 502.
[985] Exon 83a1–88a1, 103a1–107b1. Cf. Eyton, *Somerset* I, 78.
[986] LDB 119v, 144 (Norfolk 1:71; 4:1); LDB 281v, 289v, 408v (Suffolk 1:1, 120; 31:44).
[987] Maitland, *DBB*, 167.
[988] Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* I, 89–126; F. Pollock and F.W. Maitland, *The History of English Law* (Cambridge, 1895) I, 366–89. The idea that the *terra regis* was uniquely exempt from geld in Norman England was previously suggested by Eyton, *Dorset*, 5, 80.

by kings who, above all others, respected custom,[989] giving rise to the concept of the 'ancient royal demesne' from the thirteenth-century.[990] However, the case for the survival of such an 'ancient royal demesne' has been successfully refuted by Hoyt, who demonstrated that royal land under the Norman and early Angevin kings was in no way peculiar or distinct from the rest of the kingdom.[991]

More importantly for the present discussion, Hoyt suggested that the nature of royal land, and the king's policy towards it, fundamentally changed after 1066. For Hoyt, the phrase 'royal demesne' expressed a 'feudal' concept that only applied after the conquest when all land was either held by the king in demesne or held 'of' him by his tenants-in-chief.[992] Though, like Maitland, he questioned the significance of the pre-conquest distinction between royal estates belonging to the kingship and the king's disposable *propria haereditas*, Hoyt argued persuasively that the Norman conquest fused the king's 'private right and public authority', eradicating any conceptual distinction between different types of royal estate after 1066.[993] For Hoyt, there was no 'ancient demesne of the crown' (*antiquum dominicum corone*) distinct from the rest of the realm under the Normans,[994] and neither any separate royal 'land belonging to the nation' merely in the king's custody during his tenure of office.[995] Acknowledging that categorization of royal land in Exon and Little Domesday Book might appear to contradict his conclusions,[996] Hoyt suggested that these infrequent distinctions

---

989 Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* I, 367, 381.
990 Vinogradoff, *Villainage*, 123.
991 R.S. Hoyt, *The Royal Demesne in English Constitutional History: 1066–1272* (Ithaca, NY, 1950), 2, 10, 13, 230–1. Cf. V.H. Galbraith, 'Review of R.S. Hoyt, *The Royal Demesne in English Constitutional History: 1066–1272*', *EHR* 67 (1952); B.P. Wolffe, *The Royal Demesne in English History: The Crown Estate in the Governance of the Realm from the Conquest to 1509* (London, 1971), 24–6, 34–5
992 Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 6–8. For further discussion and problematization of terminology, see Wolffe, *Royal Demesne*, 17–22, 35.
993 Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 10, 230–1.
994 Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 171–3, 177, 232–3; R.S. Hoyt, 'The Nature and Origins of the Ancient Demesne', *EHR* 65 (1950).
995 Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 9–23, 50–1.
996 Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 10.

distinguished 'between central and local administration' and were possibly meaningful only to the clerks of Domesday's circuit texts.[997]

Galbraith, however, suggested that Hoyt might have underestimated 'the force and persistence of pre-conquest differences' after 1066.[998] Arguing that the concept of manors *de regno* would have puzzled the Normans, he emphasized that Exon's *dominicatus regis ad regnum pertinens* category was preserved, albeit with a modified rubric replacing *regnum* with *regem*, in Great Domesday Book.[999] Nevertheless, this subtle change accurately reflects what, for Galbraith, was one of the principal assumptions of the survey's *legati* in 1086—that every manor in England was held either by the king or his tenants-in-chief.[1000] Wolffe shared Galbraith's reservations,[1001] but Hoyt's case against royal demesne categorization in 1086 was bolstered by Green, who observed that the Conqueror's sons gave away estates formerly belonging to King Edward and 'obviously did not regard them as sacrosanct'.[1002] Sawyer agreed, arguing that Exon's rubrics for royal land *ad regnum pertinens* 'may have had little significance in 1086' but preserved 'an echo from a past in which lands that pertained to the kingdom were distinguished from other lands that a king might have'.[1003] However, it is not clear that he saw 1066 as the important turning point in this connection. For Sawyer, distinctions between Anglo-Saxon royal estates blurred over time as royal grants became less restrained, notably after the great extension of royal land during the tenth century.[1004] Observing that the granting of *burhs* had begun before 1066, he implied that the notion of land pertaining to the realm was already fading before the conquest, as Maitland suggested.

---

997 Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 16–8.
998 Galbraith, 'Review of Hoyt', 263.
999 Galbraith, 'Review of Hoyt', 261–2.
1000 V.H. Galbraith, *Domesday Book: Its Place in Administrative History* (Oxford, 1974), 35.
1001 Wolffe, *Royal Demesne*, 19–20 note 11.
1002 J.A. Green, 'William Rufus, Henry I, and the Royal Demesne', *History* 64 (1979), 342–3. Below, 263–80.
1003 Sawyer, 'Royal *Tun*', 288.
1004 Sawyer, 'Royal *Tun*', 279–80, 288.

Most recently, Garnett demonstrated that it was only from the late eleventh century that *corona* started to appear as a conceptual term for the rights the king possessed as a result of his unique tenurial position in Norman England.[1005] It is unlikely, therefore, that the pre-conquest English conceived of royal lands annexed to the 'crown'. Garnett nevertheless suspected, as Maitland had, that it would have sometimes been necessary upon the death of an Anglo-Saxon king to draw some distinction between his estates, but he pointed out that this did not happen on the death of the Confessor,[1006] bolstering the suggestion that earlier distinctions may have been waning by 1066. However, for Garnett, 1066 was a turning point. He argued that, with the Conqueror gaining possession of the entire kingdom,[1007] the chief distinction of land in Norman England was between what the king had *in dominio*—Domesday's *terra regis*—and what he had granted to his tenants-in-chief.[1008] In line with Hoyt, Garnett saw no reason to justify drawing distinctions between different categories of *terra regis* in 1086, noting that the 'man behind the survey'—probably Bishop William of Durham—seemed uncomfortable categorizing royal land in terms of anything other than its tenurial history.[1009] The Great Domesday scribe excised Exon's references to royal land *ad regnum pertinens* and *mansiones de comitatu* because these 'lingering traces of Anglo-Saxon distinctions' were irrelevant to his purpose.[1010] For Garnett, the conquest homogenized the royal estates, from which the king may well have previously enjoyed different customs, into one overarching category—the royal demesne—rendering any distinction 'nonsensical, indeed inconceivable'.[1011]

Remarkably, the only explicit evidence for royal land categorization in this period comes from 1086, twenty years after the conquest had transformed English landed society and the

[1005] G. Garnett, 'The Origins of the Crown', *PBA* 89 (1996), 171–81.
[1006] Garnett, 'Origins of the Crown', 187–8.
[1007] Garnett, *Conquered England*, 9–135.
[1008] Garnett, 'Origins of the Crown', 184–5.
[1009] Garnett, 'Origins of the Crown', 185–6.
[1010] Garnett, 'Origins of the Crown', 186–7.
[1011] Garnett, 'Origins of the Crown', 188–9.

place of the *terra regis* within it. The remainder of this section examines the seemingly contradictory Exon Domesday evidence to determine its significance.

Exon's most explicit categorization is its separation of royal land in Devon principally into two groups: 'the king's demesne belonging to the realm (*dominicatus regis ad regnum pertinens*)',[1012] which, save two manors held by Esgar the crippled,[1013] all belonged to King Edward in 1066,[1014] and 'the king's demesne (*dominicatus regis*)',[1015] which was, with one exception,[1016] held by Earl Godwine's family.[1017] Although not described as *dominicatus regis*, estates held by the king in 1086 also appear in another group: 'Queen Matilda's land',[1018] which, apart from Down St Mary,[1019] all belonged to Beorhtric in 1066.[1020]

The Great Domesday scribe followed Exon's arrangement of Devon's royal land closely but slightly modified the presentation of the material. Dealing first with Exon's *dominicatus regis pertinens ad regnum*, he placed the city of Exeter in its own section, brought the other royal boroughs to the beginning of the *terra regis*, and then copied the rest of King Edward's estates in Exon order.[1021] He then included a footnote which recorded that these estates 'were in King Edward's demesne (*fuerunt in dominio regis Edwardi*) and belong to the king (*pertinent ad regem*)',[1022] separating them from Esgar the Crippled's two manors which were extracted from Exon order and placed after Edward's estates.[1023] The Great Domesday scribe then turned to Exon's *dominicatus regis*—Earl Godwine's family's land grouped broadly by hundred—and

---

[1012] Exon 83a1.
[1013] Exon 85b1–6.
[1014] Exon 83a2–88a1.
[1015] Exon 93a1.
[1016] Exon 95a3. Broadclyst, held by Ordwulf in 1066, had very likely once been a comital manor, like the other estates listed in this Exon group, that was not transferred to Earl Godwine by Cnut: C.P. Lewis, 'Exon Fiefs IV: Compiling the Fiefs Booklets', in *Making Domesday: Intelligent Power in Conquered England*, ed. S. Baxter, J. Crick, and C.P. Lewis (Oxford, forthcoming).
[1017] Exon 93a2–98a3.
[1018] Exon 108a1.
[1019] Held by Boia: Exon 109b3.
[1020] Exon 108a2–111a1.
[1021] GDB 100–v (Devon C1, 1:1–22).
[1022] GDB 100v (Devon 1:22).
[1023] GDB 100v (Devon 1:23–4).

reorganized the material, grouping the estates under subheadings for individual *antecessores*: Queen Edith,[1024] Countess Gytha,[1025] Earl Harold,[1026] and Earl Leofwine.[1027] Finally, rather than preserve Queen Matilda's land as a separate fief, he incorporated it, almost exactly in Exon's hundredal order, into the *terra regis* beneath a final antecessorial subheading.[1028]

Exon's categorization of Somerset's royal land is similarly antecessorial. 'The king's demesne (*dominicatus regis*)',[1029] held by King Edward in 1066, is distinguished from 'the king's lands (*terrae regis*) which Earl Godwine and his sons (*filii*) held',[1030] also described in a marginal heading—inserted as the account continued onto a second quire—as 'estates of the earldom (*mansiones de comitatu*)'.[1031] This included land held by Godwine's wife, Countess Gytha, and daughters, Eadgifu and Gunnhild. However, in Somerset, unlike in Devon, 'Queen Edith's land' was recorded in its own separate fief.[1032] Finally, the Conqueror's few remaining estates are listed under another antecessorial heading: 'the land which was Wulfweard the White's'.[1033]

The Great Domesday scribe largely followed this when writing up Somerset's *terra regis*. He started with Exon's *dominicatus regis*, slightly reordering Edward's former estates to bring Somerton and Cheddar to the beginning.[1034] He then copied out Exon's *terrae regis* in order, not grouping Godwine's family's land by individual *antecessor* as he did in Devon,[1035] before incorporating Queen Edith's Somerset fief, largely in Exon order, under the subheading:

[1024] GDB 100v (Devon 1:25–8).
[1025] GDB 100v (Devon 1:29–35).
[1026] GDB 101 (Devon 1:36–50).
[1027] GDB 101 (Devon 1:51–6).
[1028] GDB 101 (Devon 1:57–72).
[1029] Exon 88b1–91b2.
[1030] Exon 103a1–107b1.
[1031] Exon 107a1.
[1032] Exon 113a1–114b4.
[1033] Exon 116a1–116a5.
[1034] GDB 86–v (Somerset 1:1–10).
[1035] GDB 86v–7 (Somerset 1:11–25).

'Queen Edith held the lands written below'.[1036] He concluded by incorporating Wulfweard the White's land beneath a final antecessorial subheading.[1037]

The royal demesne in Cornwall and Dorset is not separated into distinct categories according to pre-conquest *antecessor* in Exon. Instead, there is just one royal demesne heading for each shire: 'the king's demesne lands (*terrae regis dominicae*)' in Cornwall,[1038] which all belonged to Earl Harold,[1039] and 'the king's demesne (*dominicatus regis*)' in Dorset,[1040] which, except for Countess Gytha's land at Little Puddle,[1041] all belonged to either Earl Harold—whose land generally appears first—or King Edward.[1042] The only exceptions are Exon's separate fiefs for 'Queen Matilda's lands (*terrae Mathildis reginae*)' in Cornwall,[1043] which were all held by Beorhtric,[1044] and 'Queen Matilda's land (*terra regine Mathildis*)' and the 'lands which knights held from the queen' in Dorset.[1045]

Writing up the *terra regis* in these two shires was more straightforward. For Cornwall, the Great Domesday scribe copied out Exon's *terrae regis dominicae* in precise order,[1046] and then incorporated Matilda's lands almost exactly in Exon order.[1047] He separated these groups of estates with an antecessorial subheading, distinguishing what Earl Harold held from what Beorhtric, and later the queen, held.[1048] For Dorset, he similarly started with Exon's *dominicatus regis*. However, he reordered the material by *antecessor*, bringing Edward's estates to the beginning,[1049] and separating them from Harold's (and Gytha's) land with an

[1036] GDB 87 (Somerset 1:26–31).
[1037] GDB 87 (Somerset 1:32–5).
[1038] Exon 99a1.
[1039] Exon 99a2–102b3. King Edward only held one estate in Cornwall—Probus—which was not *terra regis* in 1086: above, 181.
[1040] Exon 25a1.
[1041] Exon 25b1.
[1042] Exon 25a1–28b1.
[1043] Exon 111b1.
[1044] Exon 111b2–112a2
[1045] Exon 29a1–32a1.
[1046] GDB 120 (Cornwall 1:1–12).
[1047] GDB 120v (Cornwall 1:14–9).
[1048] GDB 120 (Cornwall 1:13).
[1049] GDB 75 (Dorset 1:1–6).

antecessorial subheading.[1050] He then incorporated Matilda's land in order under another subheading,[1051] before concluding with the land held from her, essentially in Exon order, under a final subheading.[1052]

A hitherto unconsidered aspect of Exon's royal land categorization is the process by which the scribes went about their task. Under the supervision of Mu—the chief of what might be called the Exon office—teams of scribes, led by Alpha and Beta, worked together to rearrange the geographically grouped manorial entries into Exon fiefs.[1053] The work was divided into two branches—one operation for Devon, Cornwall, and Somerset, and another for Wiltshire and Dorset—and most of the tenants-in-chief had their lands written up into a single-fief, sometimes multi-quire, booklet for each branch.[1054] This division of labour also applied to the king's manors, but there was no question of writing up all the *terra regis* of the southwest circuit into just two booklets. The royal demesne needed to be subdivided into manageable sections. The Exon scribes, looking to do this efficiently, used headings to separate the royal estates according to their provenance.

As demonstrated, this was more straightforward for some shires. A single scribe—Alpha—wrote up the heading and the entries for the royal demesne in Cornwall, which had all belonged to Earl Harold. Alpha also did the same for Queen Matilda's estates in a different booklet. Similarly, Beta principally compiled the royal demesne in Dorset, which virtually all belonged to either Earl Harold or King Edward, under Alpha's *dominicatus regis* heading. These two scribes wrote separate headings for Queen Matilda's land and the land held from her, compiling these estates—with some assistance from Eta, Nu, and Omicron—in their own fief booklets. In Devon and Somerset, however, the treatment of royal manors was

[1050] GDB 75–v (Dorset 1:7–14).
[1051] GDB 75v (Dorset 1:15–21).
[1052] GDB 75v (Dorset 1:22–9). The last two estates of Dorset's *terra regis*, held by Countess Goda in 1066, do not survive in Exon: GDB 75v–6 (Dorset 1:30–1).
[1053] Álvarez López, 'Codicological Description'.
[1054] Lewis, 'Exon Fiefs IV'.

more categorical. In Devon, Alpha, Beta, Gamma, Delta, and Epsilon separated the royal demesne held by King Edward—under Alpha's *dominicatus regis ad regnum pertinens* heading—from that held by Earl Godwine's family, compiled under Beta's simple *dominicatus regis* heading.[1055] Similarly, Alpha wrote Somerset's *dominicatus regis* heading and—assisted by Eta and Theta—compiled King Edward's estates. Under a separate heading in a different booklet, Alpha and Beta listed the *mansiones de comitatu* which belonged to Earl Godwine's family. This category did not include the estates held by Queen Edith which Alpha, Beta, Eta, and Theta compiled under another heading written by Beta. Alpha wrote a final Somerset subheading under which he listed the king's land which belonged to Wulfweard the White.

These headings reflect principally pragmatic distinctions which were a product of the internal organization of the Exon office. Although they were probably not intended to convey any legal or constitutional significance, they were not empty of meaning. Devon's *dominicatus regis ad regnum pertinens* and Somerset's *mansiones de comitatu*—as well as Suffolk's royal manors *de regno* and *de regione*—may have, as Sawyer suggested, preserved echoes of a past in which a distinction between land pertaining to the realm and comital manors was important. The Great Domesday scribe largely followed Exon's blueprints because they were convenient and the antecessorial arrangement made sense to him and his purposes. However, he made important changes in terminology, astutely substituting *ad regnum* for *ad regem* so that there could be no misunderstanding that the Conqueror's land policy was in any way restricted. It was important to identify the *antecessores* of the royal demesne, and the notion that Edward's land—which nearly all belonged to the Conqueror—'pertained to the king' may have made some sense in 1086. However, the *terra regis* formerly held by the Confessor did not have any

[1055] Zeta and Upsilon added a single entry—Werrington—at the end: Exon 98a3.

constitutional significance as ancient inalienable royal demesne under the Conqueror or, as the next chapter demonstrates, his sons.

Several of the Confessor's estates can be shown to have been associated with his predecessors. Of Devon's *dominicatus regis ad regnum pertinens*, the *burhwara* and *cives* of Exeter was frequently mentioned in connection with royal business.[1056] Asser claimed he received land there from King Alfred,[1057] and King Athelstan was there for Easter in 928 and for Christmas in 932.[1058] Edward the Elder held Plympton,[1059] and, in 901, he was at Axminster,[1060] where, over a century earlier, Cyneheard the Ætheling had been buried after he died attempting to avenge the deposition and death of his brother, King Sigeberht.[1061] Exminster and Axmouth were among the estates King Alfred bequeathed to his younger son, Æthelweard.[1062] Alfred's father, King Æthelwulf, granted land at Braunton to Glastonbury,[1063] but the church later returned the land to King Edgar in an exchange.[1064] Of Somerset's *dominicatus regis*, Somerton, which was described as *villa regia*,[1065] hosted King Æthelberht of Wessex in 860,[1066] and King Eadred celebrated Easter there in 949.[1067] Several tenth-century kings—including Edmund I, Eadwig, and Edgar—held court at Cheddar,[1068] and King Æthelstan and King Eadred were at Frome before Christmas in 934 and 955 respectively.[1069] King Alfred bequeathed Cannington and Carhampton to Edward the Elder,[1070] and King Æthelstan granted land at Curry Rivel to Muchelney Abbey.[1071] Of

---

1056 *ASC* 877–1003. Lydford and Kingsteignton are also mentioned: *ASC* 997, 1001.
1057 *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, 97.
1058 S 399, 400, 418a.
1059 S 380.
1060 S 364.
1061 *ASC* 755.
1062 S 1507.
1063 S 303, 1695.
1064 S 791.
1065 S 832a; *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. A. Campbell (London, 1962), 21.
1066 S 329.
1067 S 549.
1068 S 511, 611, 806.
1069 S 427; *ASC* 955.
1070 S 1507; cf. S 806.
1071 S 455.

Dorset's *dominicatus regis*, King Ecgberht of Wessex and his grandson, King Æthelberht celebrated Christmas at the *villa regalis* of Dorchester in 833 and 864 respectively,[1072] and several charters record King Æthelstan celebrating Easter and Christmas there, *in civitate celeberrima*.[1073] King Æthelred I was buried at Wimborne Minster, where his son, Æthelwold the Ætheling, started a rebellion against Edward the Elder.[1074] Sutton Poyntz had been held by King Alfred,[1075] and the Confessor's father, King Æthelred, was at Gillingham during the summer of 993.[1076]

However, this evidence, which is hardly surprising, does not indicate that the Confessor's estates had any special significance as ancient royal demesne. Indeed, similar evidence exists for Godwine's family's estates. In Devon, Lifton—held by Queen Edith in 1066—hosted King Æthelstan before Christmas in 931.[1077] Earl Leofwine's estate at Pinhoe was where the Devon and Somerset fyrds gathered in 1001.[1078] Hartland and Tiverton—bequeathed by King Alfred to Edward the Elder and Æthelweard respectively—belonged to Countess Gytha in 1066.[1079] A suspicious charter records that King Æthelstan held Topsham,[1080] which belonged to Earl Harold, but an original charter confirms King Eadred's possession of Harold's Cornish estate at Pendavey.[1081] Of Somerset's *terrae regis*, Old Cleeve, North Curry, Henstridge, and Congresbury—all held by Earl Harold—appear in royal grants made by Alfred, Æthelstan, Eadred, and Edgar.[1082] Similarly, Countess Gytha's estates at Queen Camel and Coker appear in royal grants of Æthelstan, Edmund I, Eadwig, Edgar, and Æthelred II,[1083] and her estate at Brompton Regis had belonged to King Æthelheard's wife, Queen

[1072] S 277, 333.
[1073] S 391, 434–6.
[1074] *ASC* 871, 900.
[1075] S 347.
[1076] S 876.
[1077] S 416.
[1078] *ASC* 1001.
[1079] S 1507.
[1080] S 433.
[1081] S 552.
[1082] S 343a, 570, 1712, 1736, 1766; *Vita Alfredi*, 97.
[1083] S 884, 1709, 1718, 1755, 1764.

Frithugyth.[1084] Gytha's daughter, Eadgifu, held Crewkerne, which was bequeathed by Alfred to Æthelweard.[1085] Finally, Puddletown, a hundredal manor of Dorset's *dominicatus regis* held by Earl Harold, hosted a large royal assembly of Edward the Martyr,[1086] and a spurious charter records King Æthelstan's grant of a hide at Little Puddle—probably once part of Puddletown—which belonged to Countess Gytha in 1066.[1087] Considering that royal estates were probably loaned to earls as *ex officio* comital manors, these historical royal associations are also unsurprising.[1088]

Above all, the pre-conquest evidence shows that several estates which pertained *ad regnum* had been granted away by previous kings in the form of royal charters or wills. While the descent of this land shows that they returned to royal hands, the very existence of the grants demonstrates that such estates cannot have been deemed inalienably annexed to the kingdom. It seems that Anglo-Saxon categorization of royal land, which may have been of declining importance towards the end of the pre-conquest period, did not survive 1066. The Norman conquest may have been the last nail in the coffin of Anglo-Saxon distinctions, any lingering traces of which were certainly irrelevant by 1086. The only way that the *terra regis* could be categorized in 1086 was according to its tenurial history but this did not mean that the Conqueror conceived of different types of royal demesne. Instead, Norman England could be characterized as one giant royal estate in which the *terra regis* was the land the king held in demesne, distinct from that in the hands of his tenants-in-chief. This was the chief, and indeed only, distinction in the conceptualization of royal land after the Norman conquest.

[1084] S 1677.
[1085] S 1507.
[1086] S 830; Sawyer, 'Royal *Tun*', 296.
[1087] S 391.
[1088] Above, 175–6.

The Conqueror's *Antecessores*: The Formation of the *Terra Regis*

This chapter has demonstrated that the royal estates and their place within landed society were transformed by the conquest. However, Domesday Book leaves the period between 1066 and 1086 largely untouched. Although much remains unknowable, this concluding section reconstructs the chronology and process behind this transformation, utilizing Domesday evidence for the Conqueror's *antecessores* together with diplomatic and narrative sources to suggest how and when the *terra regis* was formed.

Owing to William's concern with legitimacy, the Domesday commissioners sought to determine each estate's *antecessor*—the individual holding it *tempore edwardi regis*. According to Norman dogma imposed after the conquest, legitimate rule and tenure in England ceased, as Exon explicitly states, 'on the day that King Edward was alive and dead' (*ea die qua rex Eduuardus fuit uiuus et mortuus*).[1089] While a significant portion of Domesday's *terra regis* had been the Confessor's in 1066, much of it had come from a plethora of other *antecessores*. The Conqueror had some 650 named *antecessores*—far more than any baron—in addition to numerous anonymous and unidentifiable individuals whose lands became *terra regis*. Below, twenty-three elite *antecessores* are tabulated into four categories: Royal Family, Earl Godwine's Family, Earl Leofric's Family, and Notable Others. The first column of figures lists the total value of each *antecessor*'s estates in 1086. The second column lists the value of the portion of that *antecessor*'s land which became *terra regis*, which is given as a percentage in the third column. The fourth column shows the proportion of the *terra regis* that was constituted by the land of each *antecessor*. To illustrate: in 1086, King Edward's estates were worth just over £9,500, of which nearly £8,670—91%—was *terra regis*, accounting for nearly half of its total gross value.

[1089] For example, Exon 25a2.

Table 11. The *Antecessores* of the Conqueror's *Terra Regis*

TRE *Antecessor*	1086 Value Total	1086 Value in *Terra Regis*	Portion in *Terra Regis*	Proportion of *Terra Regis*
Royal Family Total	£11,418	£10,039	87.92%	56.30%
King Edward	£9,524	£8,668	91.01%	48.61%
Queen Edith	£1,690	£1,321	78.17%	7.41%
Countess Goda, sister of King Edward	£204	£50	24.51%	0.28%
Godwine's Family Total	£7,084	£3,236	45.68%	18.15%
Earl Godwine	£998	£98	9.82%	0.55%
Countess Gytha, wife of Earl Godwine	£709	£466	65.73%	2.61%
Earl Harold	£3,820	£2,168	56.75%	12.16%
Eadgifu the fair	£360	£83	23.06%	0.47%
Earl Tostig	£422	£183	43.36%	1.03%
Earl Gyrth	£385	£123	31.95%	0.69%
Earl Leofwine	£311	£44	14.15%	0.25%
Eadgifu, daughter of Earl Godwine	£49	£49	100.00%	0.27%
Gunnhild, daughter of Earl Godwine	£30	£22	73.33%	0.12%
Leofric's Family Total[1090]	£2,105	£1,001	47.55%	5.61%
Earl Ælfgar	£835	£376	45.03%	2.11%
Earl Edwin	£677	£337	49.78%	1.89%
Earl Morcar	£454	£213	46.92%	1.19%
Countess Ælfgifu, wife of Earl Ælfgar	£90	£48	53.33%	0.27%
Burgheard, son of Earl Ælfgar	£49	£27	55.10%	0.15%
Notable Others	£4,588	£1,230	26.81%	6.90%
Archbishop Stigand of Canterbury	£3,110	£528	16.98%	2.96%
Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	£639	£490	76.68%	2.75%
Ralph the staller	£393	£128	32.57%	0.72%
Saxi the housecarl	£118	£36	30.51%	0.20%
Eadnoth the staller	£73	£26	35.62%	0.15%
Earl Waltheof	£255	£22	8.63%	0.12%
Total	£25,195	£15,506	61.54%	86.96%
Commended Men of these Lords	£10,982	£788	7.18%	4.42%
Others		£952		5.34%
No TRE *Antecessor*		£585		3.28%
Gross Value of the *Terra Regis*		**£17,831**		**100.00%**

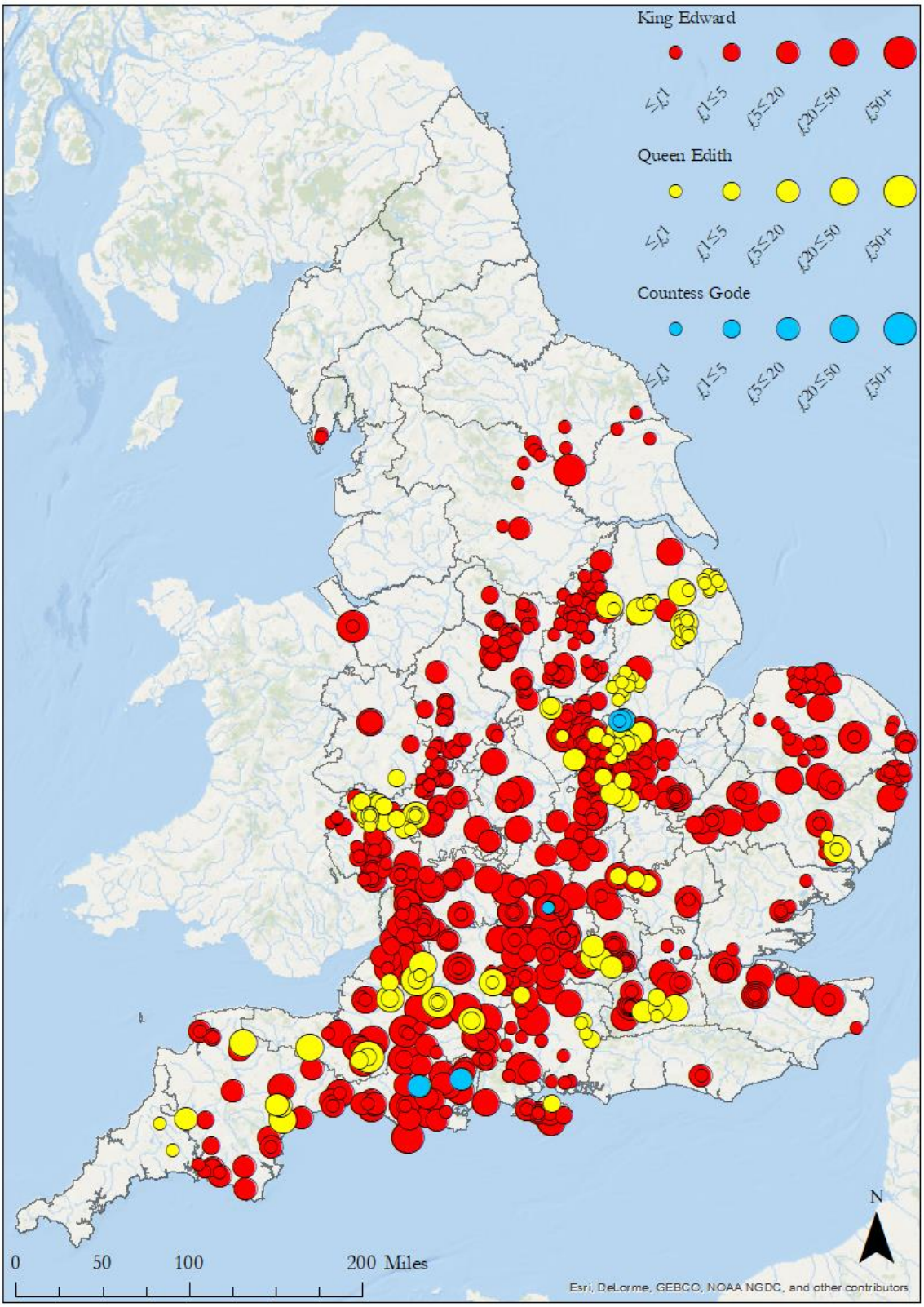
[1090] The three manors held by Earl Leofric, long dead by 1066, were not *terra regis* in 1086: GDB 252v, 259v (Shropshire 3b:2; 4:28:4).

Over 60% of the land of these twenty-three *antecessores* became *terra regis*, accounting for nearly 87% of its total value. Just under 5% of the *terra regis*—£788—belonged to people commended to them, while just over 5% came from hundreds of other *antecessores*. However, 3% of the *terra regis*—worth £585—cannot be attributed to any *antecessor*, principally because some Domesday revenue from novel renders, charges, or dues added and exploited by royal sheriffs and farmers in 1086 did not exist in 1066. For example, Ivo Taillebois imposed several additional payments on the royal manors he farmed in Bedfordshire,[1091] and an additional twenty-five shillings was expected by the sheriff from the royal manor of Woking.[1092] Norman inroads into Wales also created new wealth with the royal castle at Monmouth accounting for an additional £35.[1093] Furthermore, as boroughs grew and developed after 1066, they produced more revenue. There are several references to tenements *in nouo burgo*, presumed not to have existed in 1066.[1094] Sometimes, however, land had been destroyed or laid waste during the campaigns of the conquest.[1095]

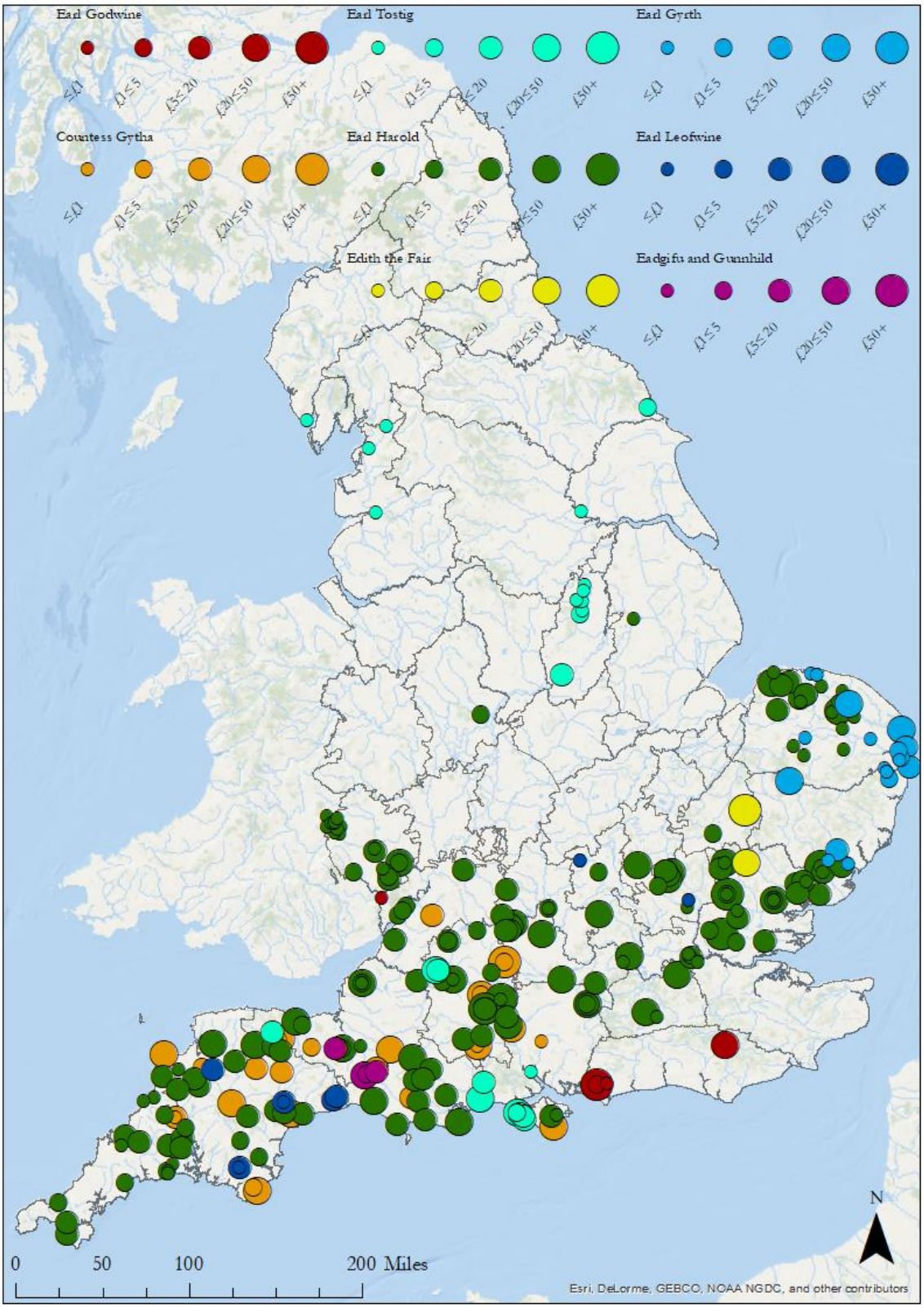
Table 11 shows that the Conqueror's policy towards land varied according to its *antecessor*. By 1086, nearly all of King Edward's land—and over three-quarters of Queen Edith's land—was *terra regis*. Conversely, less than half of the land held by the families of Earl Godwine and Earl Leofric became royal demesne. Below, three maps plot the geographic distribution of the *terra regis* formerly held by the royal family, Earl Godwine's family, and Earl Leofric's family.

[1091] GDB 209–v (Bedfordshire 1:1a, 2a, 3).
[1092] GDB 30 (Surrey 1:2).
[1093] GDB 181 (Herefordshire 1:48)
[1094] GDB 219 (Northamptonshire B1), 280 (Nottinghamshire B3); LDB 118 (Norfolk 1:66).
[1095] For example, GDB 1 (Kent D7), 181 (Herefordshire 1:49, 52, 57).

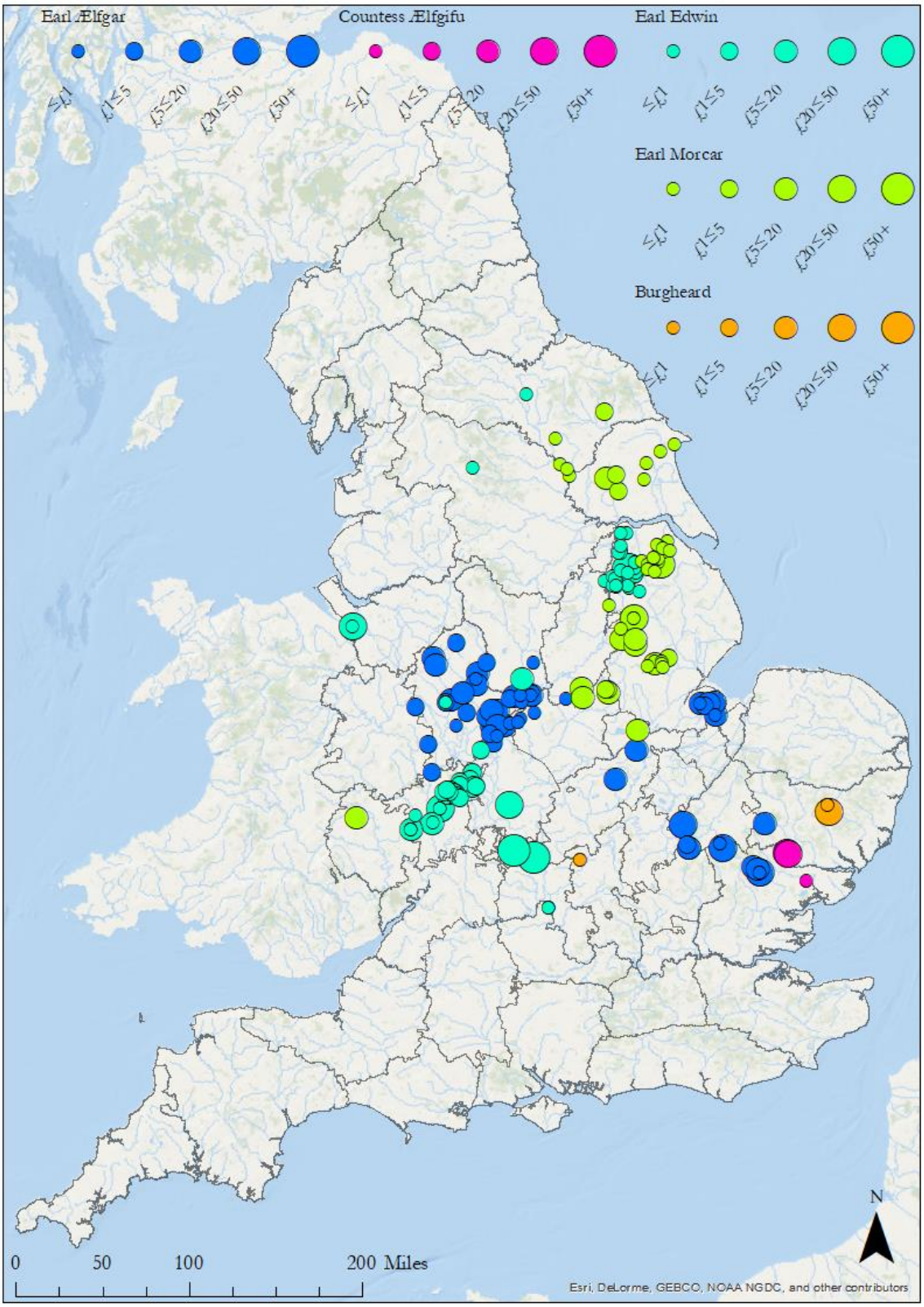
Map 17. The Conqueror's *Antecessores*: The English Royal Family



Map 18. The Conqueror's *Antecessores*: Earl Godwine's Family



Map 19. The Conqueror's *Antecessores*: Earl Leofric's Family



Map 17 shows that the Conqueror's *terra regis* formerly held by Edward and Edith, concentrated to a degree in Wessex and the Midlands, reflects the widespread distribution of their estates.[1096] The distribution of *terra regis* that came from the great pre-conquest comital houses, however, confirms the north-south divide to their respective spheres of influence. Map 18 shows that Earl Godwine's family's land retained by William was located predominantly south of the Thames and south and east of the Great Ouse, although shadows of Tostig's tenure as earl of Northumbria linger, revealing estates assigned to him dispersed across a few northern shires. Map 19 shows that Earl Leofric's family provided William with estates centred in the North and Midlands, although several valuable estates belonging to Ælfgar, Ælfgifu, and their son, Burgheard, came from East Anglia, probably reflecting the earldom Ælfgar held before finally succeeding his father in Mercia. Although much has been written about the process of the Norman occupation and landed takeover of England after 1066,[1097] much less is known about how and when these estates came into the Conqueror's possession. Proceeding by *antecessor*, the following reconstructs the formation of Domesday's *terra regis*.

William almost certainly laid claim to Edward's estates immediately in 1066. Even before his coronation, the Conqueror had secured the surrender of Winchester,[1098] but while control of this important regal and administrative centre was crucial, the widespread network of royal estates cannot have fallen neatly into line behind the new king straightaway. Indeed, the disruption caused by the campaigns of 1066, brings the very functionality of this network by the time of William's coronation into question. Instead, the Conqueror most likely had to take possession of the royal estates piecemeal as he subdued different regions. By the time William returned to Normandy in early spring 1067, the Normans had not yet established

[1096] For the £50 of *terra regis* previously held by Goda, see GDB 154 (Oxfordshire B5), 75v–6 (Dorset 1:30–1), 293v (Rutland 1:5–6).
[1097] For a recent account of the consolidation of Norman power after 1066, see Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 247–372.
[1098] *Carmen*, 36–7, 39; *GG*, 114–5.

themselves beyond South East England where the takeover of land surely began. The royal estates of South West England were probably brought under control early in the following year, after William subjugated Exeter, granting custody of its castle to Baldwin fitzGilbert, later sheriff of Devon, before marching into Cornwall.[1099]

The Conqueror's takeover of the royal estates in the Midlands and North is harder to reconstruct, not least because of the volatile situation in these regions from the summer of 1068 to the end of 1071. When campaigning against rebels in 1068–70, William built castles at Warwick, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Chester, Nottingham, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge,[1100] and likely secured the surrounding royal estates during this period. Further north, the situation was more complex.[1101] In 1068, William entrusted the newly constructed castle in York to Robert fitzRichard, appointed William Malet as sheriff of Yorkshire, and created Robert of Comines as earl beyond the Tyne.[1102] However, the following year, both Roberts were slaughtered and Malet was taken hostage and relieved of his shrieval duties in Yorkshire.[1103] The northernmost royal estates were probably not brought under control until the region's pacification in the winter of 1069–70.[1104] The decline in the values of Edward's northern estates apparent in Domesday Book suggests they were not spared the devastation of the Conqueror's campaign, perhaps indicating that he had not been in possession of them beforehand. By the time the king returned to Normandy in the autumn of 1071, the process

---

[1099] *ASC* D 1067; JW III, 4–7; OV II, 210–15; *GR* I, 462–3; R. Higham, 'William the Conqueror's Siege of Exeter in 1068', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* (2013). Green, *Sheriffs*, 35.
[1100] *ASC* DE 1068–9; JW III, 6–9; *GND* II, 180–3; OV II, 214–21, 228–9, 234–7; Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 281–97.
[1101] *ASC* DE 1068–71; JW III, 6–11; *GND* II, 178–81; OV II, 214–37; *LDE*, 182–5; *HRA*, 186–99. W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and its Transformation 1000–1135* (London, 1979), 120–90; N.J. Higham, *The Kingdom of Northumbria AD 350–1100* (Stroud, 1993); P. Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire, 1066–1154* (Cambridge, 1994), 19–78.
[1102] *ASC* DE 1068; JW III, 6–11; OV II, 218–23.
[1103] OV II, 220–3; *LDE*, 182–5; C.R. Hart, 'William Malet and his Family', *ANS* 19 (1997); K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, 'Malet, William (d. 1071?)', *ODNB*.
[1104] Williams, *The English*, 24–44; Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 295–328; C.P. Lewis, 'William the Conqueror's Harrying of the North, 1069–1070: What, If Not Genocide?', in *The Cambridge World History of Genocide Volume I: Genocide in the Ancient, Medieval, and Premodern Worlds*, ed. B. Kiernan, T.M. Lemos, and T.S. Taylor (Cambridge, 2023).

was probably complete, and he felt confident enough to remove the powerful yet troublesome Gospatric from office beyond the Tyne.[1105]

William ultimately succeeded in taking over Edward's estates from all over the country but with the invasion and conquest having severely disrupted royal administration, it likely took the Conqueror several years to bring the royal demesne under his control. That William spent most of his reign from 1072 in northern France, could suggest that by this time he had finally achieved a suitable level of control over the kingdom and its royal estates.

The relatively small amount of Edward's land not retained by the Conqueror was in the Sussex rapes,[1106] the earldoms on the Welsh march,[1107] and other strategically important honors like those held by Bishop Odo and Roger the Poitevin.[1108] Nearly all Edward's estates in Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, and Worcestershire were *terra regis* in 1086, but many had probably been in William fitzOsbern's earldom before his death in 1071.[1109] Similarly, Edward's estates in Huntingdonshire held by Countess Judith in 1086 may have belonged to her husband, Earl Waltheof, until his execution in 1075.[1110] The Conqueror also parted with Edward's land for spiritual reasons. Southminster had belonged to the bishop of London before King Cnut placed it in the royal demesne, where it presumably remained until 'Bishop William recovered (*recuperavit*) it TRW'.[1111] The valuable hundredal manor of Wye in Kent formed part of William's penitential Battle Abbey foundation.[1112]

[1105] *HRA*, 196; *LDE*, 212–3; OV II, 284–5.
[1106] Hastings: GDB 18–9v (Sussex 9:14, 33, 36, 88–90, 94); Pevensey: GDB 20v, 22–v (Sussex 10:2–3, 81–2, 84, 102, 108); Lewes: GDB 26–v (Sussex 12:1, 6, 20); Bramber: GDB 28 (Sussex 13:1, 10); Chichester and Arundel: GDB 23, 24v (Sussex 11:1–2, 59, 70).
[1107] Shrewsbury: GDB 253–4, 259v (Shropshire 4:1:1–12, 28:5–6); Chester: GDB 262v (Cheshire C1–2, 19, 22, 24), 268 (Cheshire S1:7; S2:1).
[1108] GDB 1, 6 (Kent D7; 5:1), 32 (Surrey 5:28), 269v–70 (Cheshire R1:1, 39–45; R2:1–2; R3:1; R4:1–2; R5:1–2, 4–5; R6:1–3, 4; R7:1). Both were *in manu regis* in 1086.
[1109] Edward's estates in this region that were not *terra regis* in 1086 were collectively worth less than £19: GDB 166 (Gloucestershire 16:1), 176v (Worcestershire 19:3–4), 184v–6 (Herefordshire 10:41, 50; 15:4, 21:3).
[1110] GDB 206v–7 (Huntingdonshire 20:6, 8).
[1111] LDB 10–v (Essex 3:9).
[1112] GDB 11v (Kent 6:1). Also, GDB 17v (Sussex 8:10).

It is likely that many of the grants of Edward's land were made by the Conqueror soon after his coronation to enrich followers and encourage them to defend their gains. Before the king crossed to Normandy in 1067, William fitzOsbern and Bishop Odo were given *praefecturam Anglia* with viceregal power over southern England.[1113] The Sussex rapes were probably formed quickly too. Sussex was the door through which the Conqueror entered England and 'he did not intend to leave it open behind him'.[1114] Roger of Montgommery received Chichester and Arundel after crossing to England with the Conqueror for Christmas 1067,[1115] and Humphrey of Tilleul was given custody of Hastings.[1116] William of Warenne—also charged with the defence of England in the king's absence in 1067—probably received his Sussex rape around this time too.[1117] Aside from these narrative fragments, there is no concrete evidence by which to date the formation of the Sussex rapes, but, with the exception of William of Briouze's rape of Bramber—probably created in the early 1070s—it is likely that they had been formed by 1068 and included Edward's estates within them.[1118]

The point at which royal land passed into the marcher earldoms cannot be dated securely. However, the Conqueror gave the *comitatum* of Chester to Gerbod the Fleming 'long before' (*iamdudum*) the fall of Edwin and Morcar in 1071.[1119] Similarly, the *comitatum* of Hereford must have been given to William fitzOsbern before 1071.[1120] Roger of Montgommery seemingly received his earldom centred on Shrewsbury sometime after his Sussex rape, with Orderic

---

[1113] *ASC* D 1066–7; *GG*, 164–5, 180–3; *GND* II, 304; JW III, 4–5; *HA*, 396–7; OV II, 194–7. Also, B 11.
[1114] S. James and D.A. Seal, 'An Introduction to the Sussex Domesday', in *The Sussex Domesday*, ed. A. Williams and G.H. Martin (London, 1991), 12. Also J.F.A. Mason, *William the First and the Sussex Rapes* (London, 1966).
[1115] OV II, 208–11. Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery', 2–4; J.F.A Mason, 'Montgomery, Roger de, first earl of Shrewsbury (d. 1094)', *ODNB*.
[1116] OV II, 220–1. Following Humphrey's prompt departure from England, Hastings and its rape were granted to Count Robert of Eu.
[1117] OV II, 196–7.
[1118] Mason, *Sussex Rapes*, 5–16.
[1119] OV II, 260–1. Gerbod must have received Chester before he returned home in early 1071: R.H. George, 'The Contribution of Flanders to the Conquest of England', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 5 (1926), 87. His English estates were granted to Hugh of Avranches: C.P. Lewis, 'The Formation of the Honor of Chester, 1066–1100', in *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters*, ed. A.T. Thacker (Chester, 1991), 38–41; 'Hugh d' Avranches, first earl of Chester (d. 1101)', *ODNB*.
[1120] OV II, 260–1. C.P. Lewis, 'The Early Earls of Norman England', *ANS* 13 (1991), 216–17; 'William fitzOsbern, earl (d. 1071)', *ODNB*.

implying it was after the fall of Edwin and Morcar.[1121] However, Shropshire was likely assigned to Roger earlier, probably in the late 1060s when he started to subscribe royal diplomas as *comites* and *dux*.[1122] The Normans had seemingly wrested Shrewsbury from Earl Edwin by this point when a force of English and Welsh besieged the *praesidium regis*.[1123]

While 1071 remains the *terminus* for the grants of royal land in the marcher shires, the Conqueror probably gave much of it to his earls before this. William was not wont to give up Edward's estates, but during the period 1066–71, when the conquest hung in the balance, he seemingly made exceptions to meet the urgent need to reward followers after Hastings.

After King Edward, the largest tranche of *terra regis* came from Earl Harold. The Conqueror retained over half of Harold's land, but direct evidence for when and how it was secured and distributed is lacking. The king almost certainly laid claim to them immediately, regarding the land of those who had opposed him in battle as forfeit. In an early writ, King William ordered Abbot Baldwin to 'give into my hand all the land held by those men who belonged to the soke of St Edmunds and who stood against me in battle and were slain there'.[1124] The twelfth-century chronicle composed at Abingdon claimed that Thorkell, a tenant of the abbey, lost his estates because he had died at Hastings.[1125] The Domesday jurors in Huntingdon testified that Ramsey Abbey was dispossessed of three estates leased to a certain Ælfric after he was killed at Hastings.[1126] Moreover, while confiscation by the Conqueror was neither automatic nor immediate in every case, most of the survivors of 1066 faced heavy redemption fines and those who could afford to 'afterwards bought their lands'.[1127]

[1121] OV II, 210–11, 260–3; Mason, 'Roger of Montgomery', 3–4.
[1122] B 181, 345 (version I); Lewis, 'Early Earls', 211–3, 219–20; Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 272–3, 284–5.
[1123] OV II, 228–9.
[1124] B 37 (1066x1070); Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 287 note 108.
[1125] *HEA* I, 222–5.
[1126] GDB 208 (Huntingdonshire D7). For the estates, see GDB 207 (Huntingdonshire 22:1–2) LDB 29v (Essex 20:37)
[1127] *ASC* E 1066; Garnett, *Conquered England*, 20.

The justification for the widespread confiscation and redemption of land was that the English, in crowning Harold, were rebels, and, as such, their land was in King William's mercy after 1066.[1128] A logical corollary of this is that the estates of Harold, the perjured usurper who died at Hastings, would have fallen to William in 1066. The fact that the Conqueror went to such lengths to secure the relatively negligible land of Bury St Edmunds' sokemen, taking control of Harold's vast earldom must have been an urgent priority. The king still had forcibly to take possession of Harold's estates as he cemented his rule but since they were located predominately in southern England, this may have been mostly achieved within a couple of years. In a writ probably issued before he left England in 1067, William granted two estates in Wiltshire to 'Regenbald my priest…as they were held most firmly in the hands of *Harald kinge*'.[1129] Around the same time, William granted four of Harold's estates to Westminster Abbey,[1130] and at Matilda's coronation, he granted Bishop Giso the estate at Banwell that Harold had previously taken from Wells.[1131] These charters indicate that Harold's estates were in William's possession very soon after Hastings. The estates of Harold's brothers, Tostig, Gyrth, and Leofwine, all of whom had died fighting in 1066, presumably fell to the Conqueror around the same time along with land attributed to Earl Godwine.

Domesday Book reveals that the Conqueror granted significant amounts of Godwineson land to his tenants-in-chief. The early establishment of the Sussex rapes and the earldoms of William fitzOsbern and Bishop Odo tore apart the heartlands of Godwineson power. With most of the male members of the family dead, and most of their landed wealth situated in southern England and East Anglia, areas easily accessible to William after Hastings, the

---

[1128] Williams, *The English*, 8–10, 18–9; Garnett, *Conquered England*, 20–4; Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 286–8.
[1129] B 223, 224. GDB 68v (Wiltshire 18:2). Round, *FE*, 422; Galbraith, *Domesday Book*, 176; Garnett, *Conquered England*, 10–1. Keynes, 'Regenbald the Chancellor'.
[1130] B 291, 299. GDB 32 (Surrey 6:1, 5); LDB 14v, 15 (Essex 6:8, 10). Garnett, *Conquered England*, 10–1.
[1131] B 286. GDB 89v (Somerset 6:9).

dispossession and redistribution of Godwineson land was extensive and intense.[1132] Several of Harold's estates in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire—and likely many more throughout Wessex—passed into William fitzOsbern's earldom before 1071.[1133] Similarly, land held by Harold and Gyrth in Suffolk—and probably much more in East Anglia—passed to Ralph the Staller, the Conqueror's new earl, before 1069.[1134]

Most of the estates held by the women of Godwine's family became royal demesne. Over three-quarters of Queen Edith's land and nearly two-thirds of that held by her mother, Countess Gytha, was *terra regis* in 1086, together comprising a tenth of King William's landed wealth. The modest holdings Eadgifu and Gunnhild also passed to the Conqueror who held all of Eadgifu's land and nearly three-quarters of that attributed to Gunnhild. This is significant because the estates of Godwine's wife and daughters were not automatically forfeit, at least in part, because they did not fight in 1066. Nevertheless, as Harold's mother, Gytha lacked political capital, and the Conqueror may have felt able to seize control of her land soon after Hastings. At the latest, Gytha's estates, which lay wholly in southern England, must have fallen to King William after she was implicated in a rebellion in South West England in early 1068 and escaped William's siege of Exeter into exile.[1135] However, it might be speculated that some of Gytha's estates, like those that ended up in the Sussex rapes,[1136] were taken from her before this, which could explain her involvement in rebel activity.

Edith was almost certainly saved from the fate that befell the rest of her family. The Confessor's widow and dowager queen had political capital in Norman England and was perhaps in the most advantageous position of all the English after 1066. The contemporary account of the *Carmen* suggests that when Edith submitted to William before his coronation,

---

[1132] Williams, 'Land and Power', 172–3, 178–9, 185; Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 286–8.
[1133] GDB 164 (Gloucestershire 1:54), 181–v, 187–v (Herefordshire 1:65; 2:8; 25:5, 9; 29:18; 31:1).
[1134] LDB 287–v (Suffolk1:100–3); A. Williams, 'Ralph the Staller, Earl of East Anglia', *ODNB* (2004).
[1135] Above, 218.
[1136] GDB 23, 24, 27, 28v (Sussex 11:4, 6–7, 41; 12:41; 13:22).

he allowed her to keep her dower estates, including her residence at Winchester, requiring only rent (*vectigal*) and fealty (*fidem*) from her.[1137] That Edith controlled all Winchester after 1066 may be doubted, not least because conflicting evidence has William fitzOsbern placed in charge of England's most important royal financial and administrative centre.[1138] However, presenting himself as Edward's legitimate successor, William needed to treat Edith with the respect and dignity befitting the Confessor's royal widow. This was especially the case if, as Edith claimed, her late husband's deathbed wish was that she not be deprived of her estates.[1139] It is likely, therefore, that Edith made a relatively favourable peace with William in which she continued to hold some land after 1066. Edith granted land in Buckinghamshire to Alsige of Eaton Bray and a manor in Essex to Walter the deacon 'after the arrival (*post adventum*) of King William'.[1140] Several English landholders holding Edith's estates in 1086 might have received them from her after 1066.

Exactly how much land Edith retained is unclear. Stafford has argued that some of Edith's estates were probably lost to the reorganization of South East England and the Welsh march but that much of her land, including 'strategic Leominster', was not confiscated.[1141] Since Edith's estates were not available for Matilda's endowment at the time of her coronation, Stafford argued that the 'balance of probability is that Edith kept the bulk of the lands listed as hers in 1066 for several years afterwards, and possibly until her death' in 1075.[1142] For Stafford, the dispossessions after Hastings enabled William to provide for Matilda 'without appropriating Edith's land', leading her to conclude that 'Edith died in possession of much of her land'.[1143] Domesday Book provides no indication that Matilda took over Edith's land,

[1137] *Carmen*, 36–7.
[1138] *GG*, 164–5; OV II, 194–7.
[1139] *VÆdR*, 19.
[1140] GDB 153 (Buckinghamshire 56:1–2); LDB 87 (Essex 42:7–9).
[1141] Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 125–7.
[1142] Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 127.
[1143] Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 275.

but it reveals that Edith lost land to the Sussex rapes and to William fitzOsbern's earldom,[1144] which must have happened early on and certainly before 1071 in some cases.

As Edward's widow, Edith had the potential to undermine William's rule. Unlike her mother, she seemingly never attempted to cause trouble for the Norman regime. Perhaps this is because William gave Edith no cause to do so, but it could be instead that he gave her no opportunity to do so. Edith's landed wealth, or rather her control of it, could have been curtailed after the conquest. Had she been allowed control of even most of her estates, Edith would have been one of the wealthiest individuals in England before 1075. It is unlikely that the Conqueror would have allowed this. Instead, after some of Edith's estates were transferred into new Norman lordships, her remaining land may have been kept under close royal supervision, allowing the dowager queen to maintain her residence at Winchester and to draw a suitable income, but prohibiting her from enjoying complete control over her landed wealth. Domesday provides examples of honors being ringfenced thus, such as those held by Bishop Odo, Earl Godwine, Earl William, and Roger the Poitevin. Ultimately, any land Edith retained undoubtedly became *terra regis* after 1075.

Just over £1,000 of the *terra regis* was held by Earl Leofric's family,[1145] with over half of this belonging to Edwin and Morcar. It is not clear how and when their estates became royal demesne, but they probably were not confiscated immediately after 1066. The brothers did not oppose William at Hastings and, although they briefly pledged their support to Edgar Ætheling, they submitted to William at Berkhamsted before the Conqueror entered London, and again at Barking in a formal submission of the English to their new king in early 1067.[1146] At this point, William seemingly envisaged building a regime in which his continental

[1144] GDB 18v, 21v, 22, 26 (Sussex 9:35; 10:44, 63, 90; 12:3), 180v (Herefordshire 1:39).
[1145] For the fate Earl Leofric's family and their estates after 1066, see Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 270–97.
[1146] *GG*, 160–3; OV II, 194–5. Williams, *The English*, 7–8; Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 270–1.

followers could coexist with the surviving English nobility.[1147] Edwin and Morcar retained their comital titles,[1148] and 'when King William had made his peace with Earl Edwin, he had set him over (*subdiderat*) his brother and almost a third of England'.[1149] This arrangement was practical for the Conqueror, who probably hoped to keep Edwin and Morcar—whose estates were largely out of his reach—onside in 1067 to facilitate Norman rule in the Midlands and the North. However, this settlement did not last. The brothers rebelled in 1068,[1150] and the tumultuous period that followed culminated in 1071 with Edwin's murder by his own men and Morcar's surrender at Ely and subsequent imprisonment.[1151] Orderic linked the fall of Edwin and Morcar with a considerable redistribution of landed wealth and power,[1152] making this a reasonable *terminus* for the confiscation of their estates. However, it is likely that Norman encroachment into the brothers' powerbases was a protracted process and Baxter has made a convincing case for thinking that, while Edwin and Morcar retained their comital titles after 1066, they lost considerable land and authority in the years before 1071.[1153] For example, William fitzOsbern must have taken control of Edwin's estates at Suckley and Feckenham before February 1071.[1154]

After Edwin and Morcar, the largest tranche of Leofricson land came to the Conqueror from their father, Earl Ælfgar. Ælfgar and his son, Burgheard, died before 1066 but over £400 of *terra regis* was attributed to them, possibly representing ringfenced comital estates. In Stafford, the Conqueror held several *mansiones de honore comitus*,[1155] many of which pertained to Earl Ælfgar's *maneria comitus*.[1156] Elsewhere, Ælfgar's estates were farmed for the king in 1086.

[1147] Lewis, 'Early Earls', 207–23; S. Baxter, '1066 and Government', in *1066 in Perspective*, ed. D. Bates (Leeds, 2018), 146–7.
[1148] B 138, 181, 286.
[1149] OV II, 214–5.
[1150] *ASC* DE 1068; JW III, 6–9; OV II, 214–21; *GR* I, 464–7.
[1151] *ASC* DE 1071; JW III, 18–21; OV II, 256–9.
[1152] OV II, 260–1.
[1153] Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 271–98.
[1154] GDB 180v (Herefordshire 1:40, 47).
[1155] GDB 246 (Staffordshire B1).
[1156] GDB 246, 248–v, 249v (Staffordshire B4–5, 8; 8:5; 9:1; 12:6).

Ilger's brother, Ranulph, had custody of Gransden,[1157] and William the Chamberlain and Oda the Goldsmith held Litlington and its berewick in Abington Pigotts *de rege ad firmam*.[1158] Oda also held Shalford and Finchingfield *ad censum in manu regis*,[1159] while Great Chesterford and Wethersfield were held *in manu regis* by Picot the sheriff,[1160] who also had custody of Badmondisfield, one of Suffolk's *terrae regis de regno*.[1161] Some of Ælfgar's estates, like Shalford and Finchingfield, passed to Queen Matilda,[1162] and others, like Scaldwell, which William gave to Bury St Edmunds 'for the soul (*pro anima*) of Queen Matilda',[1163] might also have belonged to her before she died in 1083. Over half of Burgheard's land was *terra regis* in 1086 but it had initially passed to Earl Ralph of East Anglia after 1066. However, the Conqueror confiscated the earldom in 1075, whereupon it was ringfenced under Godric the Steward.[1164]

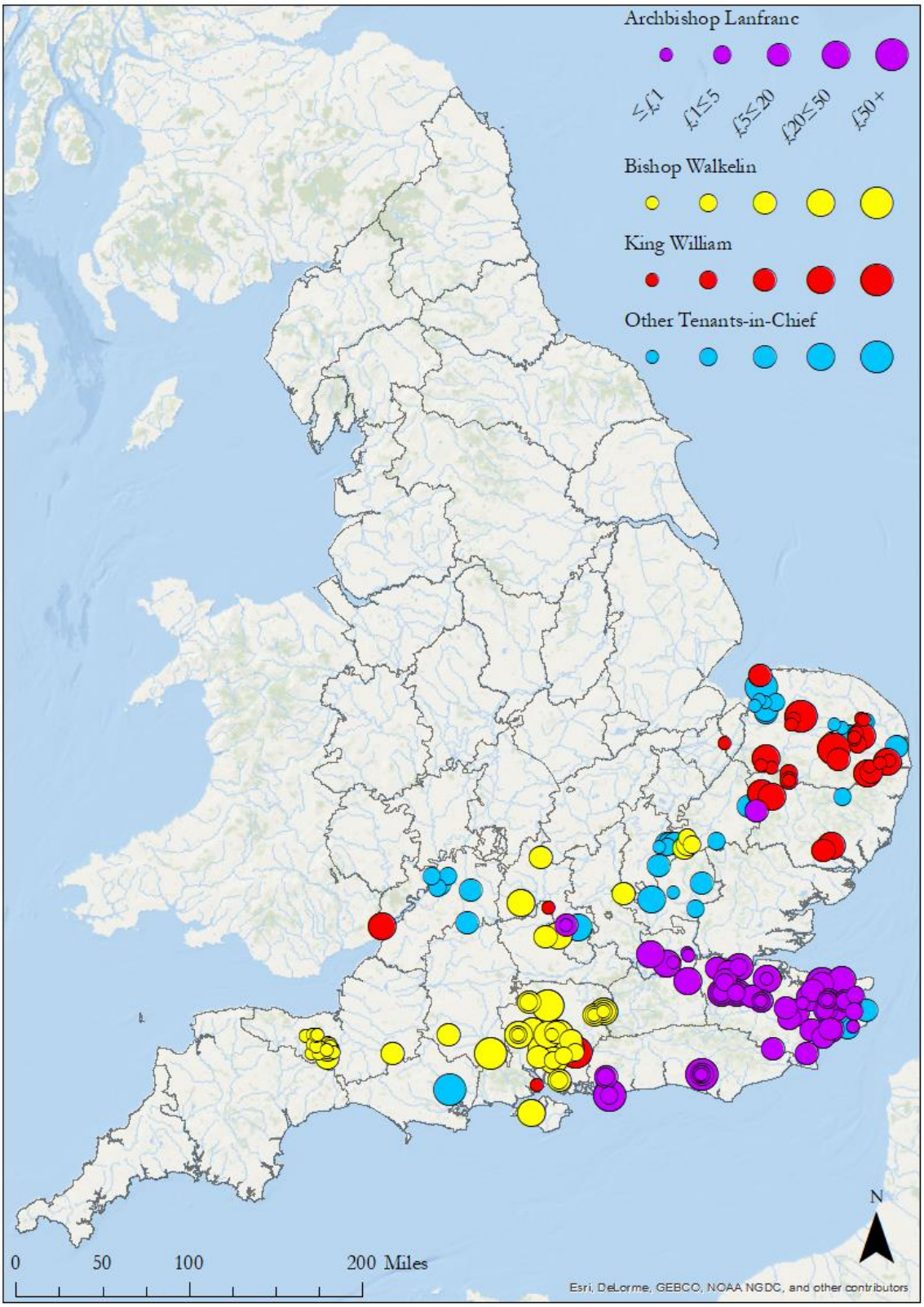
Ælfgar's wife—Countess Ælfgifu—and mother—Countess Godgifu—were alive in 1066 but seemingly dead before the survey.[1165] Over half of Ælfgifu's land became *terra regis*, much of which William the Chamberlain and Oda the Goldsmith kept *in manu regis*.[1166] Oda had three of Ælfgifu's houses in Colchester *de terra regina*,[1167] possibly suggesting that Oda was farming a group of Leofricson estates that fell to the king after Matilda's death. It is also likely that the land Ælfgifu *tenuit* in Leicestershire was probably being farmed for the king in 1086.[1168] Similarly, Godgifu's estates in Leicestershire and Warwickshire were in the king's hand.[1169] These women may have lost land to Queen Matilda's endowment and new earldoms, but they probably retained some of their estates until William claimed them after their deaths.

[1157] GDB 203v (Huntingdonshire 1:5).
[1158] GDB 190 (Cambridgeshire 1:18–9).
[1159] LDB 3v (Essex 1:11–2).
[1160] LDB 3v, 4 (Essex 1:9, 13). Cf. GDB 189v (Cambridgeshire 1:10).
[1161] LDB 289v (Suffolk 1:120).
[1162] Blayney, 'Tenurial Structure of Hampshire', 240–3.
[1163] GDB 222 (Northamptonshire 8:4).
[1164] LDB 284v, 285v–6v (Suffolk 1:61, 76–87, 95).
[1165] Above, 185.
[1166] LDB 286v (Suffolk 1:97–8).
[1167] LDB 106v (Essex B3j).
[1168] GDB 231v (Leicestershire 12:1–2). Cf. B 33.
[1169] GDB 231v (Leicestershire 11:1–3), 239v (Warwickshire 15:1–6); Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, Table 7.1, 290–1.

Outside these families, the Conqueror's only other significant *antecessores* were Archbishop Stigand and Beorhtric, son of Ælfgar, whose land made up over 5% of the *terra regis*. Stigand's impressive career and landed wealth have been the subject of much scholarship.[1170] Several factors explain his survival after 1066, not least the 'reasonable, if unprovable, guess' that Stigand was Edward the Confessor's chief minister.[1171] Possessing a talent for administration and a base in Winchester, Stigand may have been initially indispensable to the Conqueror, ensuring the cogs of English royal finance continued to turn. Indeed, there is evidence that Stigand continued to acquire land after 1066.[1172] However, at Easter in 1070, the archbishop was deposed by papal legates at a royal council convened at Winchester,[1173] where he was subsequently imprisoned until his death two years later.[1174] Writing in the early twelfth century, Hugh the Chanter remarked that all Stigand left behind 'amply enriched (*copiose ditaverunt*)' the Conqueror, whose hold on the kingdom was strengthened thereafter.[1175] Over two-thirds of Stigand's land passed to his ecclesiastical successors, Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury and Bishop Walkelin of Winchester. Most of the other third, comprising Stigand's personal wealth centred on East Anglia, became *terra regis*, with the rest distributed among some two dozen tenants-in-chief.[1176] Below, Map 20 plots Stigand's estates according to their descent by 1086.

[1170] F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066: A History of the Later Anglo-Saxon Church*, 2nd edn. (London, 1979), 77–81; H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1072)', *ODNB* (2004); M.F. Giandrea (née Smith), 'Archbishop Stigand and the Eye of the Needle', *ANS* 16 (1994); *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2007), 201–3, 210–2; N.L. Mitton, 'Grasping Schemer or Hostage to Fortune: The Life and Career of Stigand, Last Anglo-Saxon Archbishop of Canterbury', PhD thesis (University of Saint Andrews, 2009); S. Baxter, 'Stigand 1: Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury', *PASE Domesday* (2016).
[1171] J. Campbell, 'Some Agents and Agencies of the Late Anglo-Saxon State', in *Domesday Studies*, ed J.C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), 218, reprised in his *Anglo-Saxon State*, 225; Baxter, 'Stigand'.
[1172] GDB 30v (Surrey 2:3), 38 (Hampshire 1:16); LDB 140 (Norfolk 1:230); 450 (Suffolk 77:1).
[1173] JW III, 10–7; *GR* I, 496–7; *Councils and Synods, with other Documents relating to the English Church, 871–1204*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C.N.L. Brooke, (Oxford, 1981), 556–76.
[1174] *GP* I, 48–9. Cf. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 661 note 1.
[1175] Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York, 1066–1127*, ed. and trans. C. Johnson, M. Brett, C.N.L. Brooke, and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1990), 2–5.
[1176] Baxter, 'Stigand', Figure 1, Tables 1 and 5. Cf. Mitton, 'Life and Career of Stigand', 184–97.

Map 20. The Descent of Archbishop Stigand's Land by 1086



Stigand almost certainly lost the bulk of his land after his deposition. However, considering that some of his estates passed into the early earldoms and lordships created by the Conqueror, it could be that some land was taken from him before 1070. For example, the king may have transferred Stigand's Kentish manor at Barham and its berewick at Hougham to Bishop Odo soon after 1066, especially since the land 'was not of the archbishopric (*de archiepiscopatu*), but was of the king's demesne farm (*de dominica firma regis*)'.[1177] Two of Stigand's manors in Gloucestershire—Tidenham and South Cerney—passed to William fitzOsbern at the latest before the end of 1070, but possibly earlier considering Domesday's statement that 'Archbishop Stigand was holding (*tenebat*) [Tidenham] when Earl William received (*accepit*) it'.[1178] Likewise, South Malling and Burleigh might have been annexed to Count Robert of Mortain's Sussex rape before Easter 1070.[1179] Finally, it seems that many of Stigand's estates were held by Earl Ralph of East Anglia before his exile in 1075. Norfolk's *terra regis* contains many references to Ralph and the forfeiture of his earldom, indicating that Stigand's former estates farmed by Godric the steward and William of Noyers had subsequently been part of the earl's confiscated fief.[1180] It is possible that Stigand's estates kept *in manu regis* by William of Noyers in Suffolk had also passed to Earl Ralph, but there is no textual evidence to confirm this.[1181] The relevant entries discussed above are tabulated below in Table 12.

[1177] GDB 9v (Kent 5:138).
[1178] GDB 164, 169 (Gloucestershire 1:56; 56:2).
[1179] GDB 16–v, 22v (Sussex 2:1a, 2; 10:99).
[1180] LDB 119v–135v, 135v–41v (Norfolk 1:71–208, 209–41).
[1181] LDB 288–9v (Suffolk 1:107–19).

Table 12. A Selection of Stigand's Estates and Successors

Estate	Domesday Reference	1086 Honor	Stigand's immediate successor?
Sandlings	GDB 7 (Kent 5:38)	Bishop Odo	Bishop Odo
Barham	GDB 9v (Kent 5:138)	Bishop Odo	Bishop Odo
Hougham	GDB 9v (Kent 5:138)	Bishop Odo	Bishop Odo
Tidenham	GDB 164 (Gloucestershire 1:56)	King William	Earl William
South Cerney	GDB 169 (Gloucestershire 56:2)	Walter fitzRoger	Earl William
South Malling	GDB 16 (Sussex 2:1a)	Archbishop Lanfranc	Count Robert of Mortain
Burleigh	GDB 16v, 22v (Sussex 2:2; 10:99)	Count Robert of Mortain	Count Robert of Mortain
Norwich, St Martin's Church	LDB 116v (Norfolk 1:61)	King William	Earl Ralph
Horningtoft	LDB 120v (Norfolk 1:77)	King William	Earl Ralph
Kipton	LDB 120v (Norfolk 1:77)	King William	Earl Ralph
Rougham	LDB 120v-1 (Norfolk 1:78)	King William	Earl Ralph
Weasenham	LDB 121 (Norfolk 1:79)	King William	Earl Ralph
Carleton	LDB 121 (Norfolk 1:81)	King William	Earl Ralph
Howe	LDV 123v (Norfolk 1:105)	King William	Earl Ralph
Shotesham	LDB 123v–4 (Norfolk 1:106)	King William	Earl Ralph
Trowse	LDB 124v (Norfolk 1:121)	King William	Earl Ralph
Hunstanton	LDB 135v–6 (Norfolk 1:209)	King William	Earl Ralph
Croxton	LDB 136v (Norfolk 1:211)	King William	Earl Ralph
Bittering	LDB 137 (Norfolk 1:213)	King William	Earl Ralph
Wymondham	LDB 137v (Norfolk 1:215)	King William	Earl Ralph
Thorpe St Andrew	LDB 137v–8 (Norfolk 1:216)	King William	Earl Ralph
Redenhall	LDB 139–v (Norfolk 1:222, 226–7)	King William	Earl Ralph
Mundham	LDB 140 (Norfolk 1:229)	King William	Earl Ralph
Flitcham	LDB 173v (Norfolk 9:6)	Roger Bigod	Roger Bigod
Keswick	LDB 188v (Norfolk 9:198)	Roger Bigod	Earl Ralph
Gooderstone	LDB 202–v (Norfolk 12:1)	Godric the Steward	Earl Ralph
Heckingham	LDB 205–v (Norfolk 12:42)	Godric the Steward	Earl Ralph

A similar amount of *terra regis* came from Beorhtric, son of Ælfgar, whose fate remains unknown.[1182] Most of his estates passed to Queen Matilda,[1183] presumably at or soon after her coronation, and some went to William fitzOsbern, possibly earlier still.[1184] Of course, these estates fell to the king when Earl William's son, Roger, forfeited his earldom in 1075, and when Matilda died in 1083, which explains why over three-quarters of Beorhtric's land was *terra regis* in 1086.

The analysis of the Conqueror's *antecessores* shows that Domesday's *terra regis* took form over time, often in a piecemeal fashion. By 1071, William had probably taken control of most of the estates held by King Edward, the Godwinesons, Leofricsons, and Stigand, and had possibly placed Queen Edith's estates under some level of royal supervision. However, the royal estates were constantly changing, augmented as land fell to the king, and reduced as it was granted out. This was the case before 1066, but after the conquest all the land that was not royal demesne was held by barons as tenants of the king whose rights as tenurial lord were exploited more intensively.

[1182] A. Williams, 'A West-Country Magnate of the Eleventh Century: the Family, Estates, and Patronage of Beorhtric son of Ælfgar', *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, ed. K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997); 'Beorhtric [Brihtric] (d. in or before 1066?)', *ODNB* (2004).
[1183] Blayney, 'Tenurial Structure of Hampshire', 240–3.
[1184] GDB 163v (Gloucestershire 1:34–5).

6. The English Royal Estates, 1087–1135

At the Conqueror's death, about a quarter of the profits extracted from land in England came from the royal estates.[1185] Nearly half a century later, the English king remained considerably wealthy,[1186] but the net income expected from the royal demesne had been reduced to around £8,900—just over half its value in 1086. This chapter examines the royal estates under the Conqueror's sons and argues that the decline in royal demesne income was the result of a significant net reduction of royal land in this period. The vast swathes of land in the Conqueror's gift after 1066 allowed him to reward his followers with considerable honors while retaining a colossal amount of land in demesne. William Rufus and Henry I enjoyed dramatically less scope for patronage because there was no great windfall of land for the king after 1087 or 1100. Moreover, rivalry and conflict among the Conqueror's descendants for his Anglo-Norman inheritance placed a premium on baronial loyalty and support, forcing the king to be more generous with grants of royal land. There were important consequences for the kings who presided over this reduction, and these are explored, but this chapter also places the changes in the royal demesne's value and extent between 1087 and 1135 in a wider chronological context.

After a brief review of the existing literature on the royal demesne in this period, the primary evidence for its decline is analysed in three sections. The first deals with perhaps the most important source, the pipe roll for 1129–30; the second section seeks to corroborate the impression given by Henry I's pipe roll by examining several contemporaneous surveys of the East Midlands; finally, the third section concludes the chapter with a study of the royal charters, which, in conjunction with the narrative accounts, seem to confirm the picture pieced together from the other sources.

[1185] Above, 184.
[1186] OV VI, 448–9; *Historia Novella*, 30–3.

Historiographical Overview

The traditional view was that the value of the royal estates did not decline in this period. The relatively low incomes recorded in Henry II's pipe rolls were blamed on Stephen, who was thought to have granted away large swathes of royal land before and during the civil war.[1187] While Round uncovered evidence in early twelfth-century surveys of Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Lindsey, which would appear to contradict this interpretation,[1188] the discovery was not brought to bear on the subject until Hoyt's study of the royal demesne.[1189] Arguing against the premise that extensive royal grants had begun under Stephen, Hoyt posited that if Rufus and Henry had maintained or increased their father's enormous income, they did so, 'not by retaining or increasing the royal demesne', but 'by exploiting the judicial and feudal possibilities of the monarchy and by letting more and more of the *terra regis* slip out of the king's hands'.[1190] Hoyt estimated that around half of the Conqueror's royal demesne in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire was granted away before 1135, and he showed that not a single estate held by the Conqueror in Lindsey was among the royal demesne in Henry's reign.[1191] The descent of royal land in Cambridgeshire revealed similar results, and Hoyt suggested that future examination of the charter and pipe roll evidence would confirm his conclusions.[1192] For Hoyt, extensive land grants diminished royal demesne revenue, which led to further development and exploitation of feudal rights and profits to make up for this loss.[1193] Moreover, he argued that the increased income from the king's royal lordship quickly became 'more important than his revenues as landlord',

[1187] Stubbs, *Constitutional History* II, 584; Poole, *Exchequer*, 136.
[1188] Round, *FE*, 196–224.
[1189] Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 81–92, 123.
[1190] Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 86–8.
[1191] Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 89.
[1192] Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 88–90, 125–6.
[1193] Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 90–2.

especially because, in Hoyt's view, royal demesne exploitation became inefficient and less profitable under powerful sheriffs who pilfered revenue before it could reach the treasury.[1194]

Southern agreed with this last point, arguing that Domesday Book contained ideal, often unrealistic, values that sheriffs never paid into the treasury; however, since the pipe rolls recorded the revenue the Exchequer received, he concluded that such incomparable sources could not be used to support Hoyt's interpretation of widespread grants of royal land before 1135.[1195] Moreover, he deemed the charter evidence insufficient to confirm Hoyt's conclusions, not least because some charters Hoyt referenced did not, in Southern's view, record grants of royal demesne.[1196] Southern argued that Rufus and Henry were rarely in serious difficulties that would have necessitated significant royal demesne grants; rather, 'extensive forfeitures' afforded both kings 'quite exceptional opportunities for rewarding their friends'.[1197] Accepting that the Conqueror's sons made some royal grants, Southern concluded that the 'idea of widespread alienation must be received with some caution'.[1198]

Despite Southern's reservations, Green developed Hoyt's arguments, regarding extensive royal demesne reduction after 1087 as the 'natural conclusion from the striking contrast presented by comparing the financial details in Domesday Book with…the pipe roll for the exchequer year 1129–30'.[1199] Green's analysis showed that the royal estates were worth more in 1086 than in 1130 in twenty-two out of twenty-seven shires, and that the former value was at least double the latter in seven shires.[1200] Valuing Domesday's *terra regis* at almost £14,000, she calculated that 'in 1129–30 under £10,700 was accounted for from the sheriffs' farms and boroughs'.[1201] Problematically, Green did not explain how she reached this figure, which

[1194] Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 123.
[1195] Southern, 'Henry I', 164.
[1196] Southern, 'Henry I', 161, 169.
[1197] Southern, 'Henry I', 160.
[1198] Southern, 'Henry I', 161–3 at 161.
[1199] Green, 'Royal Demesne', 337. Also, Green, *Government*, 51–69; *Henry I*, 248–53.
[1200] Green, 'Royal Demesne', 351–2.
[1201] Green, 'Royal Demesne', 337.

does not reappear anywhere else, including in her tabulation of the pipe roll evidence.[1202] This chapter, therefore, offers its own treatment of the pipe roll with more clarification regarding its figures.[1203]

Green also assembled more evidence; tracing the descent of royal demesne in ten shires and Yorkshire's North Riding, she found evidence of reduction before 1135 except in Worcestershire.[1204] In some cases, she found that the decrease had been considerable. In Berkshire, twelve out of forty-two royal estates, worth £282 out of over £950, had been granted out of the royal demesne.[1205] In Surrey, six out of fourteen estates—worth £133.50 out of £314.50—had passed out of royal hands.[1206] The most striking findings came from Rutland, where six out of ten royal manors—£150 out of £180—had been given away.[1207] Green found it 'impossible to avoid the conclusion that a good deal of land was alienated by Rufus and Henry I', emphasizing that land falling into royal control did not compensate for royal land granted away, because the king often redistributed forfeited or escheated fiefs.[1208]

This chapter develops and refines the case that the royal demesne shrunk significantly between 1087 and 1135. However, the Conqueror's sons were probably not prodigal. They granted royal land out of political necessity, just as their father had done, and the resulting reduction of royal demesne hardly constituted a destruction of the crown's landed wealth. Near the end of Henry I's reign, the royal estates were worth at least as much as, if not more than, they had been at the Confessor's death. The expansion of royal land after 1066 was uniquely considerable; Rufus and Henry merely presided over its return to its pre-conquest extent. What follows is an analysis of the evidence on which these conclusions are based.

[1202] J.A. Green, '"Praeclarum et megnificum antiquitatis monumentum": the earliest surviving Pipe Roll', *HR* 55 (1982), 14–7; *Government*, 220–5.
[1203] Below, 240–2.
[1204] Green, 'Royal Demesne', 338–41; *Government*, 56–7.
[1205] *VCH Berkshire* III, 291–2, 243, 297, 303–4, 312–3, 342, 388, 458; IV, 192–3, 206–8, 312–3, 367.
[1206] *VCH Surrey* III, 113, 144, 234, 285, 342; IV, 19, 65.
[1207] *VCH Rutland* II, 11, 16, 53, 59, 62, 68, 77, 84, 88, 92, 97, 104, 120–1, 228.
[1208] Green, 'Royal Demesne', 341–2; *Government*, 58.

The 1130 Pipe Roll

The pipe roll for the financial year that ran from Michaelmas 1129 to Michaelmas 1130 is the earliest evidence for English royal revenue audited by the Exchequer.[1209] Like Domesday Book, it is relatively comprehensive, but, since nothing as complete exists for the intervening period or the remainder of Henry's reign,[1210] it is unclear whether the king's income recorded in 1130 was typical. Green has suggested that 1129–30 was the best in a series of 'good' years, which might explain its survival.[1211] The suggestion is attractive considering the relatively benign political circumstances that Henry enjoyed after William Clito's death in 1128. Moreover, the arrangement set up in 1129, which saw heavily indebted sheriffs of eleven shires dismissed and replaced by Aubrey II of Vere and Richard Basset,[1212] possibly produced uniquely high returns as Aubrey and Richard not only paid off their shire farms but also rendered a surplus of 1,000 silver marks.[1213]

The process by which debts owed to the king were accounted for at the Exchequer, recorded in the pipe roll, and paid into the treasury is described in the *Dialogue of the Exchequer*, written in the late 1170s by Henry II's treasurer.[1214] The pipe roll is divided into administrative or accounting units—normally shires—and within each unit different items of revenue are separately listed in a broadly consistent order. Each unit begins with the royal demesne—the farm of the shire (*firma comitatus*)—in which sheriffs and other major royal farmers accounted for the annual render that the Exchequer expected from the royal land in their charge. The first item, usually the 'old farm' (*vetera firma*), records outstanding and unsettled debts from

---

[1209] *PR 31 Henry I* (Hunter); *PR 31 Henry I* (Green). Green's edition contains some transcription and translation errors and lacks corresponding page references to Hunter's edition, but features a CD-ROM of high-resolution images of the manuscript.
[1210] A fragment of the 1124 pipe roll survives: M. Hagger, 'A Pipe Roll for 25 Henry I', *EHR* 122 (2007).
[1211] Green, *Government*, 91–3.
[1212] R.C. DeAragon, 'Vere, Aubrey de (d. 1141)', and J.A. Green, 'Basset, Richard (d. in or before 1144)', *ODNB* (2004).
[1213] *PR 31 Henry I* (Green), xxvi; (Hunter), 43–4, 52–3, 63, 81, 90, 100.
[1214] Richard fitzNigel, *Dialogus de Scaccario, Constitutio Domus Regis*, ed. and trans. E. Amt and S.D. Church (Oxford, 2007).

previous years that had been carried over. After this, the 'new farm' (*nova firma*) deals with the income expected from the shire farm of the current accounting year, recording the amount the sheriff paid 'in the treasury' (*in thesauro*) followed by allowances, pardons, and expenses granted to him in remittance of his account. For example, the joint unit for Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire begins by recording that Osbert Sylvanus 'renders account (*reddit compotum*) of £68 10s and 5d blanch and of £23 18s 5d by number of the old farm (*de veteri firma*)', and, recording that Osbert paid these amounts *in thesauro*, concludes that 'he is quit' (*quietus est*) of this debt.[1215] The new farm for 1129–30 immediately follows with Osbert's payment of £10 7s 2d by weight *in thesauro* and his itemized allowances—including 30 shillings 'for the maintenance of the king of Scotland in coming to court'—and concludes that Osbert still 'owes (*debet*) £121 15s 2d blanch and £18 5s 8d by number',[1216] which would have been carried over into the old farm of the now lost pipe roll for 1130–1. After the shire farms, miscellaneous and often *ad hoc* debts are recorded starting with those outstanding from earlier years before the *nova placita et nova conventions* of the current financial year. For analytical purposes, these various pleas and agreements are grouped into three broad categories: direct taxation of land, justice and government, and royal lordship.

Below, three tables expound the figures, rounded to the nearest pound, recorded in the pipe roll.[1217] Table 13 contains the debts that arose in the financial year 1129–30 and Table 14 contains just the matter carried over from previous years. Most of these old debts recorded in the 1130 pipe roll were incurred between 1125 and 1129, though some go back to 1120 and at least one went back even earlier.[1218] In 1130, Geoffrey the chancellor finally quit himself of his debts accrued farming the vacant bishoprics of Coventry (1126–9) and

[1215] *PR 31 Henry I* (Hunter), 6–7; (Green), 5.
[1216] *PR 31 Henry I* (Hunter), 7; (Green), 6.
[1217] This tabulation is based on work undertaken collaboratively: Cohen, 'Danegeld'; S. Baxter, 'The Significance of Henry I's Pipe Roll', in *Making Domesday: Intelligent Power in Conquered England*, ed. S. Baxter, J. Crick, and C.P. Lewis (Oxford, forthcoming).
[1218] Green, *Government*, 88.

Hereford (1127–30), and the abbey of Chertsey (1128–9).[1219] However, Serlo of Burg's debt for the revenues of the archbishopric of York *dum fuit in manu sua* possibly dates to the vacancy of 1108–9.[1220] Finally, Table 15 contains the combined totals for all debts from all years. To illustrate, Table 15 shows that £23,025 was paid into the treasury in 1130. Table 13 reveals that most of this—£14,188—was rendered from debts that had arisen in 1129–30, while Table 14 shows that the remaining £8,837 was paid on debts incurred in previous years.

The four categories of royal income—royal land, direct taxation, justice and government, and royal lordship—form the principal divisions of each table, drawing out the conceptual distinctions among the king's varied revenue streams and facilitating comparison with Domesday Book. Each category is subdivided, providing details of the specific item of revenue, with subheadings largely following Green's precedent.[1221] These subheadings are artificial creations not found in the pipe roll. In categorizing revenue, judgements of interpretation are required, especially for items not easily assignable to a particular group. However, royal demesne revenue is relatively easy to identify and classify, and the tables subdivide it into three categories: 'Borough farms', 'Forest revenues other than pleas', and 'Shire farms'. As demonstrated, shire farms are normally defined clearly at the beginning of each accounting unit. The king's rural and urban land is usually grouped together, but sometimes royal income from towns and cities is listed separately. There are separate farms itemized for Canterbury, Dover, and Exeter, while Carlisle, Colchester, Northampton, Wallingford, and Windsor form their own accounting units.[1222] The forest revenues, other than pleas, represent the renders for timber from royal forests in the form of the *cens*.[1223]

[1219] *PR 31 Henry I* (Hunter), 140; (Green), 110. Geoffrey had custody of more estates in hand than any other royal official: P. Dalton, 'Geoffrey Rufus (d. 1141)', *ODNB* (2004).
[1220] *PR 31 Henry I* (Hunter), 31; (Green), 25.
[1221] These tables refine Green's tables, which, considering the problems of interpretation and human error when computing over 3,000 items of data, exhibit remarkably comparable results, strengthening the confidence historians can have in the analysis: Green, *Government*, 220–5
[1222] *PR 31 Henry I* (Hunter), 63, 126–7, 135, 138, 139, 140, 153; (Green), 50, 99–100, 106, 109, 110, 120.
[1223] For example, *PR 31 Henry I* (Hunter), 2; (Green), 2.

Table 13.[1224] The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I: items from the fiscal year 1129–30

Type of revenue	Demanded	Paid	Pardoned	Expenses	Still Owed
Direct Taxation					
Aids of boroughs, cities and counties	£541	£359	£185	£0	£10
Cornage, geld of animals	£239	£157	£2	£42	£38
Danegeld	£4,402	£2,339	£1,704	£111	£556
Subtotal	**£5,182**	**£2,854**	**£1,890**	**£153**	**£604**
Royal Lordship					
Aid of knights	£58	£46	£0	£0	£13
Dona regis	£0	£0	£0	£0	£0
Estates in hand (escheats)	£2,440	£1,989	£1	£201	£250
Marriages	£1,644	£133	£0	£0	£1,510
Miscellaneous agreements	£879	£162	£0	£5	£713
Regalian rights (vacancies)	£744	£631	£5	£56	£52
Relief	£519	£162	£0	£0	£354
Wardship	£113	£3	£0	£0	£110
Subtotal	**£6,396**	**£3,126**	**£6**	**£261**	**£3,001**
Justice and Government					
Help in judicial matters	£828	£148	£15	£8	£658
Miscellaneous agreements	£209	£79	£9	£12	£109
Offices	£1,097	£728	£120	£0	£248
Pleas: forest	£372	£85	£22	£2	£262
Pleas: murder fines	£324	£105	£171	£14	£58
Pleas: other	£2,135	£561	£95	£28	£1,410
Pleas: relating to Jews	£2,000	£610	£0	£223	£1,167
Subtotal	**£6,965**	**£2,317**	**£433**	**£287**	**£3,913**
Royal Demesne					
Borough farms	£403	£248	£1	£115	£39
Forest revenues other than pleas	£82	£69	£0	£12	£5
Shire farms	£8,222	£5,575	£70	£709	£1,804
Subtotal	**£8,707**	**£5,892**	**£71**	**£836**	**£1,849**
Total	**£27,250**	**£14,188**	**£2,400**	**£1,538**	**£9,366**

[1224] The tables' columns reflect the pipe roll's organization of information, recording the amount demanded by the Exchequer followed by the amount paid into the treasury, any amounts pardoned by the king's writ, any official deductible expenditure, and the amount still owing.

Table 14. The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I: items carried over from previous years

Type of revenue	Demanded	Paid	Pardoned	Expenses	Still Owed
Direct Taxation					
Aids of boroughs, cities and counties	£172	£32	£95	£0	£45
Cornage, geld of animals	£222	£150	£3	£16	£54
Danegeld	£834	£119	£560	£0	£155
Subtotal	**£1,228**	**£301**	**£657**	**£16**	**£255**
Royal Lordship					
Aid of knights	£125	£23	£0	£0	£102
Dona regis	£24	£0	£0	£0	£24
Estates in hand (escheats)	£1,320	£731	£91	£24	£489
Marriages	£1,944	£339	£16	£46	£1,543
Miscellaneous agreements	£5,693	£894	£18	£10	£4,783
Regalian rights (vacancies)	£1,297	£456	£577	£83	£181
Relief	£5,471	£1,143	£14	£3	£4,310
Wardship	£377	£85	£0	£0	£291
Subtotal	**£16,251**	**£3,672**	**£716**	**£166**	**£11,724**
Justice and Government					
Help in judicial matters	£3,112	£459	£29	£0	£2,631
Miscellaneous agreements	£2,485	£198	£11	£0	£2,262
Offices	£4,920	£186	£80	£0	£4,654
Pleas: forest	£1,346	£281	£175	£0	£891
Pleas: murder fines	£280	£42	£150	£8	£77
Pleas: other	£4,742	£968	£885	£94	£2,794
Pleas: relating to Jews	£53	£0	£0	£0	£53
Subtotal	**£16,938**	**£2,134**	**£1,330**	**£101**	**£13,362**
Royal Demesne					
Borough farms	£15	£0	£0	£15	£0
Forest revenues other than pleas	£78	£53	£0	£3	£22
Shire farms	£6,743	£2,678	£117	£327	£3,711
Subtotal	**£6,835**	**£2,730**	**£117**	**£345**	**£3,732**
Total	**£41,252**	**£8,837**	**£2,820**	**£629**	**£29,074**

Table 15. The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I: totals for all years

Type of revenue	Demanded	Paid	Pardoned	Expenses	Still Owed
Direct Taxation					
Aids of boroughs, cities and counties	£713	£390	£280	£0	£55
Cornage, geld of animals	£460	£306	£4	£58	£92
Danegeld	£5,236	£2,458	£2,263	£111	£712
Subtotal	**£6,410**	**£3,155**	**£2,548**	**£169**	**£859**
Royal Lordship					
Aid of knights	£183	£69	£0	£0	£114
Dona regis	£24	£0	£0	£0	£24
Estates in hand (escheats)	£3,760	£2,720	£92	£225	£739
Marriages	£3,588	£472	£16	£46	£3,053
Miscellaneous agreements	£6,572	£1,055	£18	£15	£5,496
Regalian rights (vacancies)	£2,041	£1,087	£582	£138	£234
Relief	£5,989	£1,305	£14	£3	£4,664
Wardship	£490	£89	£0	£0	£401
Subtotal	**£22,647**	**£6,797**	**£721**	**£428**	**£14,725**
Justice and Government					
Help in judicial matters	£3,940	£607	£43	£8	£3,289
Miscellaneous agreements	£2,694	£276	£21	£12	£2,372
Offices	£6,017	£914	£200	£0	£4,902
Pleas: forest	£1,718	£367	£198	£2	£1,154
Pleas: murder fines	£604	£147	£321	£21	£136
Pleas: other	£6,877	£1,530	£980	£122	£4,204
Pleas: relating to Jews	£2,053	£610	£0	£223	£1,219
Subtotal	**£23,903**	**£4,451**	**£1,763**	**£389**	**£17,275**
Royal Demesne					
Borough farms	£418	£248	£1	£130	£39
Forest revenues other than pleas	£159	£121	£0	£15	£27
Shire farm	£14,965	£8,253	£187	£1,036	£5,515
Subtotal	**£15,542**	**£8,622**	**£188**	**£1,181**	**£5,581**
Total	**£68,502**	**£23,025**	**£5,220**	**£2,167**	**£38,440**

An income of £23,000 was relatively impressive for the twelfth century. No pipe rolls survive for Stephen's reign,[1225] but they run almost unbroken from 1155 onwards, and that total is not equalled again until 1177, and only twice more subsequently in Henry II's reign.[1226] Comparing the royal demesne revenue in 1130 with that expected in 1086 is complicated by two factors. Firstly, the sources are incomplete. The pipe roll lacks accounts for Cheshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, and Somerset. In 1130, Cheshire was in the hands of Earl Ranulf II,[1227] and Shropshire was held by Queen Adeliza.[1228] Therefore, accounts for these shires possibly never existed. However, accounts for Herefordshire and Worcestershire could have been made and subsequently lost. A document detailing Herefordshire's farm under Henry I which survives independently of the pipe roll suggests that an account was written up at the Exchequer,[1229] but in 1130, Miles, sheriff of Gloucester, may have accounted for Herefordshire within his return for Gloucestershire.[1230] Likewise, Somerset's revenue might have been incorporated into Dorset and Wiltshire. In 1090, Rufus granted *totam civitatem* of Bath to Bishop John of Wells, facilitating the see's transfer that year.[1231] In light of this, and several subsequent grants made to the bishopric early in Henry's reign,[1232] the remaining royal land in Somerset could have been placed in the custody of the sheriff of Dorset.[1233] The pipe roll's account of Dorset and Wiltshire records that Warin the sheriff rendered account 'of the old farm of three counties' (*de veteri firma iii comitatuum*), and references Warin's 'surplus (*superplusagio*) that he had in the county of Somerset'.[1234] Finally, a membrane is missing from Hampshire's account and some membranes for Sussex and

[1225] K. Yoshitake, 'The Exchequer in the Reign of Stephen', *EHR* 103 (1988).
[1226] Green, *Government*, 54–5.
[1227] *PR 31 Henry I* (Hunter), 100; (Green), 87: 'Earl Ranulf owes £1,000 of his father's debt for the land of Earl Hugh'. This was probably the relief imposed on Earl Ranulf I when he received the earldom of Chester in 1121: Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria, 1092–1136* (Kendal, 2006), 52 note 135; Hollister, *Henry I*, 343.
[1228] *Historia Novella*, 7.
[1229] *Herefordshire Domesday, c.1160–70*, ed. V.H. Galbraith and J. Tait (London, 1950), 75, 125.
[1230] *PR 31 Henry I* (Green), xxiii–xxiv.
[1231] *RRAN* I, 326.
[1232] *RRAN* II, 544, 573.
[1233] *PR 31 Henry I* (Green), xxiii, mistakenly attributes the initial grant of the city to Henry's reign.
[1234] *PR 31 Henry I* (Hunter), 13; (Green), 10.

Devon are damaged.[1235] Domesday Book, equally, does not account for all England. In addition to the missing accounts for Winchester and London, the survey did not extend north of the Tees and only made patchy returns for the land north of the Mersey. Roger the Poitevin held most of the northwestern land beyond the Mersey, while the largest landholders northeast beyond the Tees were probably William of St-Calais, bishop of Durham, and the earl of Northumbria.[1236] How much royal demesne was located in these northern regions in 1086 remains unknown. In 1130, Odard the sheriff rendered account of a shire farm in Northumberland,[1237] but no royal demesne was accounted for in Durham.[1238]

The second, more substantive, problem is that the sources are different in nature. The pipe roll records the income received into the treasury via the Exchequer.[1239] Conversely, Domesday records expected revenues,[1240] which Southern suggested were overestimates that never reached the king's treasury in full.[1241] Deeming this problem insurmountable, Southern argued that comparison between the two sources was impossible. He claimed that Domesday's valuations of the royal demesne in Essex and Hertfordshire, which he calculated to be £616 and £146 respectively, were artificially high because, 'within a few years of 1086', the sheriff, Geoffrey of Mandeville, was farming both shires for only £360.[1242] The evidence on which this argument is based is Empress Matilda's grant—datable to 1141—of the *vicecomitatus* of Essex and Hertfordshire to Geoffrey's grandson, Earl Geoffrey,[1243] *sicut*

[1235] *PR 31 Henry I* (Green), 32, 34, 54–5, 124.
[1236] Aubrey of Coucy was earl before the survey, but Robert of Mowbray succeeded him before the Conqueror's death: W. Aird, 'Mowbray, Robert de, earl of Northumbria (d. 1115/1125)', *ODNB* (2004).
[1237] *PR 31 Henry I* (Green), 27–8.
[1238] From 1128 to 1133, the vacant see of Durham were being farmed by Geoffrey Escolland who accounted for his farm at the Exchequer in 1130: *PR 31 Henry I* (Hunter), 128–32; (Green), 101–4.
[1239] The pipe roll ignores payments made directly into the king's chamber: Green, 'Royal Demesne', 338; T.F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England* (Manchester, 1920–33) I, 304. How much royal demesne revenue escaped record in this way is unclear, but the fixed and regular nature of royal land administration probably meant that it did not constitute much in 1130.
[1240] Above, 134–70.
[1241] Above, 235.
[1242] Southern, 'Henry I', 164.
[1243] C.W. Hollister, 'Mandeville, Geoffrey de, first earl of Essex (d. 1144)', *ODNB* (2004).

Gaufredus avus eius tenuit, for £300 and £60 respectively *per annum*.[1244] For Southern, this proved that the earl's grandfather had farmed these shires for the same sums soon after 1086.

There are, however, problems with Southern's argument. The grant is far from clear that the stipulation that the earl have the land 'as his grandfather Geoffrey held' referred to the farm values, which would not likely have remained unchanged between 1086 and 1141, especially since they were worth £580 in 1130.[1245] Moreover, the first Geoffrey farmed these shires until his death *c.*1100; if the charter was recalling any one point in time it was probably this moment. Rufus was arguably unable to sell farms on such favourable terms as the Conqueror had, and Geoffrey may have been able to negotiate a lower render, especially since the conflicts of 1088 and 1095 probably caused Rufus to buy support with significant royal grants, which would have devalued shire farms. If the first Geoffrey had farmed Essex and Hertfordshire for £360, as Southern claimed, it is more likely that he had done so under Rufus, not before 1087.

Southern was justified in doubting whether Domesday's *terra regis* values were paid over in full, but that does not mean they should be characterized as chimera. A hypothetical pipe roll for 1086–7 would not have recorded 100% yields of Domesday's royal demesne revenue. The 1130 pipe roll records that, even after taking account of allowances, over 20% of the revenue the Exchequer demanded from the royal demesne farmers remained unpaid. However, while expected revenue was not always paid in full on time, the record of debts carried over from previous years demonstrates that the treasury expected it to be accounted for eventually. Comparison between Domesday Book and the pipe roll should not be deterred, therefore, but should be made using the appropriate figures. Since Domesday values record revenue expected to accrue annually, comparison should be made with the amounts the Exchequer demanded in the fiscal year 1129–30. The estimated annual revenue

---

[1244] *RRAN* III, 275.
[1245] Below, Table 16; Green, 'Royal Demesne', 351.

expected from the royal demesne in 1086 was £16,250.[1246] In 1130, the Exchequer expected the royal demesne farmers to render account of just over £8,700 of revenue arising that year.[1247] The farm of Herefordshire, missing from the pipe roll, but valued at £165,[1248] can reasonably be added to this figure. A decline from around £16,250 to under £8,900, therefore, constitutes a 45% reduction in the expected income of the royal demesne from 1086 to 1130, suggesting that, by the final years of Henry I's reign, the royal demesne had decreased significantly but not below its pre-conquest extent.[1249]

Comparison can be broken down by shire or accounting unit, as Green demonstrated.[1250] The exercise is worth doing again because the present study has produced new figures and also because Green's methodology can be modified slightly. Green made comparisons between only the shires that were accounted for in both sources, which makes sense. The account of Worcestershire is missing from the pipe roll, and it would be reckless, on this basis, to suggest that the royal demesne in Worcestershire had been entirely granted away by 1130. Indeed, evidence suggests that Worcestershire's royal demesne increased between 1087 and 1135.[1251] However, there are no accounts for some shires, such as Cheshire and Shropshire, because the lack of royal revenue there probably meant that they were never produced. Others, such as Leicestershire and Middlesex, are included in the pipe roll but did not contain any royal land in 1130. Likewise, Green did not include the royal demesne accounted for in the pipe roll from areas that were not surveyed in 1086, such as Pembroke, Carlisle, Westmorland, and Northumberland. Again, this makes sense, but the case can be made to include these places in the comparison to appreciate fully how the royal demesne changed in this period. Furthermore, Green's tabulation is complicated by the inclusion of

[1246] Above, 184.
[1247] Above, Table 13.
[1248] *Herefordshire Domesday*, 75, 125.
[1249] Above, 172–84.
[1250] Green, 'Royal Demesne', 351.
[1251] Green, *Government*, 56–7; 'Royal Demesne', 340. The shire farm of Worcestershire accounted for £255 in 1155–6: Southern, 'Henry I', 166.

two figures for each of the pipe roll's accounting units: 'county farms and estates accounting at exchequer, 1129–30' and 'county farms 1129–30'. Green appears to have favoured comparison with the former figures,[1252] but it is unclear whether they included estates in hand, regalian rights, or the forest revenues besides the pleas recorded in the pipe roll.

The present analysis is displayed below in two tables. Table 16 provides the most complete comparison of all the relevant data on the royal demesne between 1086 and 1130, including shires or accounting units that appear in only one of the sources. Table 17, more akin to Green's analysis, does not include shires or accounting units missing from either source. Where the pipe roll groups shires together, this format has been followed in the tables. The first column of figures provides the demesne revenue expected in 1086, and the second column provides the shire farm (including borough and forest revenues) of 1129–30. The final column shows the calculated loss or gain in value between the two dates for each shire or unit. At the bottom of the tables, the grand totals are provided for all three columns as well as the percentage change between 1086 and 1130.

Table 16's totals show that the income expected from the royal demesne nearly halved, falling by £7,367 (45%) from £16,239 in 1086 to £8,872 in 1130. This is the overall indication of the demesne's total decline in value across this period. In removing the figures which survive only for either 1086 or 1130 from the comparison, Table 17 presents a proportionately similar decline, showing a fall from £14,871 in 1086 to £8,051 in 1130, representing a loss of 46% in expected royal demesne revenue. These figures demonstrate a decline that is considerably more significant than that suggested by Green's figures, which show a decrease in value of about a quarter, from nearly £14,000 in 1086 to nearly £10,700 in 1130.

[1252] Green, 'Royal Demesne', 352.

Table 16. Expected Royal Demesne Revenue: Domesday Book and the Pipe Roll

Accounting unit	Domesday 1086[1253]	Pipe Roll 1130[1254]	Difference[1255]
Berkshire[1256]	£1,042	£747	-£295
Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire	£343	£404	£61
Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Surrey	£797	£442	-£355
Carlisle[1257]	£ -	£56	£56
Cheshire[1258]	£44	£ -	-£44
Cornwall	£115	£66	-£49
Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire	£257	£160	-£98
Devon	£964	£283	-£681
Dorset and Wiltshire	£2,233	£755	-£1,477
Essex and Hertfordshire[1259]	£891	£579	-£312
Gloucestershire	£1,070	£328	-£742
Hampshire	£1,175	£676	-£498
Herefordshire[1260]	£329	£165	-£164
Kent and Sussex	£544	£604	£60
Lincolnshire	£840	£757	-£83
London[1261]	£ -	£537	£537
Middlesex[1262]	£1	£0	-£1
Norfolk and Suffolk	£1,897	£630	-£1,266
Northamptonshire[1263] and Leicestershire	£770	£369	-£401
Northumberland[1264]	£ -	£139	£139
Oxfordshire	£787	£340	-£447
Pembroke[1265]	£-	£60	£60
Rutland	£170	£38	-£132
Shropshire[1266]	£8	£ -	-£8
Somerset[1267]	£1,154	£ -	-£1,154
Staffordshire	£150	£124	-£26
Warwickshire	£252	£139	-£113
Westmorland[1268]	£ -	£29	£29
Worcestershire[1269]	£161	£ -	-£161
Yorkshire	£247	£445	£198
Total	**£16,239**	**£8,872**	**-£7,367**
Percentage of 1086 value	**100%**	**55%**	**45%**

[1253] Expected income from royal land held in demesne.
[1254] Amount demanded from royal land (shire and borough farms, and forests) for 1129–30.
[1255] Some of these figures are meaningless due to missing accounts.
[1256] The 1130 figure includes separately accounted royal revenue from Wallingford and Windsor.
[1257] Carlisle did not fall within the remit of the Domesday survey.
[1258] There is no account of Cheshire in the pipe roll and no royal demesne revenue from between the Ribble and the Mersey.
[1259] The 1130 figure includes separately accounted royal revenue from Colchester.
[1260] There is no account of Herefordshire in the pipe roll. The 1130 figure comes from *Herefordshire Domesday*.
[1261] There is no account of London in Domesday Book.
[1262] There is no shire farm in the pipe roll's account of Middlesex.
[1263] The 1130 figure includes separately accounted royal revenue from Northampton.
[1264] Northumberland did not fall within the remit of the Domesday survey.
[1265] Pembroke did not fall within the remit of the Domesday survey.
[1266] There is no account of Shropshire in the pipe roll.
[1267] There is no account of Somerset in the pipe roll.
[1268] Westmorland did not fall within the remit of the Domesday survey.
[1269] There is no account of Worcestershire in the pipe roll. It was worth £255 in 1155–6.

Table 17. Expected Royal Demesne Revenue: Domesday Book and the Pipe Roll

Accounting unit	Domesday 1086[1270]	Pipe Roll 1130[1271]	Difference
Berkshire	£1,042	£747	-£295
Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire	£343	£404	£61
Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Surrey	£797	£442	-£355
Cornwall	£115	£66	-£49
Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire	£257	£160	-£98
Devon	£964	£283	-£681
Dorset and Wiltshire	£2,233	£755	-£1,477
Essex and Hertfordshire	£891	£579	-£312
Gloucestershire	£1,070	£328	-£742
Hampshire	£1,175	£676	-£498
Herefordshire	£329	£165	-£164
Kent and Sussex	£544	£604	£60
Leicestershire	£164	£0	-£164
Lincolnshire	£840	£757	-£83
Norfolk and Suffolk	£1,897	£630	-£1,266
Northamptonshire and Leicestershire	£770	£369	-£401
Oxfordshire	£787	£340	-£447
Rutland	£170	£38	-£132
Staffordshire	£150	£124	-£26
Warwickshire	£252	£139	-£113
Yorkshire	£247	£445	£198
Total	**£14,871**	**£8,051**	**-£6,820**
Percentage	**100%**	**54%**	**46%**

[1270] Expected income from royal land held in demesne.
[1271] Amount demanded from royal land (shire and borough farms, and forests) for 1129–30.

The rate at which royal demesne revenue declined was not uniform across England. Royal land in Berkshire—worth £1,042 in 1086—was still relatively extensive in 1130 despite a decrease of nearly £300. The value of the royal estates in Lincolnshire had fallen by only 10%. The Conqueror held just £150 in demesne in Staffordshire, but in 1130 the shire still accounted for an annual farm of £124. Conversely, the Conqueror's demesne in Rutland had diminished from £170 to just £38 by 1130. Gloucestershire's vast royal demesne contracted by over two thirds, and the royal land in Norfolk and Suffolk, which accounted for a farm of £630 in 1130, had been worth over thrice as much. These figures demonstrate that, in this period, policy towards the royal demesne in a shire was not determined by its extent. In some shires with vast royal demesne in 1086, its value had not fallen significantly, while in others it had severely shrunk. Likewise, in some shires that contained little royal land initially, this was maintained relatively intact, but in others, the royal demesne dissolved by more than half. It is also demonstrable that reductions in value occurred all over the royal demesne and were not limited to specific regions. Only three royal farms of 1130—Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, Kent and Sussex, and Yorkshire—were worth more than they had been in 1086. Although later pipe rolls suggest that the royal demesne in Worcestershire also increased in this period, such cases were clearly exceptional.

Two relatively comprehensive pictures of the royal demesne from Domesday Book and Henry I's pipe roll reveal that its expected revenue declined considerably between 1086 and 1130. It is unlikely that the situation drastically improved before the end of Henry's reign. By 1135, the royal demesne, though still at least as valuable as it had been under the Confessor, was worth just over half of what it had been to the Conqueror less than fifty years prior. The pipe roll does not show how and why this decline occurred. However, corroborating sources, examined below, offer possible explanations.

The East Midlands Surveys

Three surveys—of Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, and Lindsey—datable to Henry I's reign help to illuminate the royal demesne under the Conqueror's sons. All have received scholarly attention but only the Northamptonshire survey has been explored in the context of royal land. This section summarizes the existing analysis of this survey before providing a more extensive treatment of the surveys of Leicestershire and Lindsey.

The Northamptonshire survey proceeds hundred by hundred and covers the entire shire.[1272] Its structure is straightforward, but its content makes it difficult to date precisely. Many of the individuals named in the survey died before, or soon after, 1135. Eudo the steward died in 1120; Nigel of Aubigny died in 1129, around the same time as Roger Marmion; William of Mandeville died before 1130; William Meschin died between 1130 and 1135; Richard II fitzGilbert died in April 1136; and Michael of Hanslope died soon after he appeared in two charters datable to 1126–7.[1273] Aubrey II of Vere, described in the survey as *Albricus Camerarius*, and Richard Basset, the two sheriffs jointly responsible for eleven shires in 1130, died in 1141 and 1135x1144 respectively;[1274] Baldwin fitzGilbert and Brian fitzCount probably died *c.*1142; King Henry's favoured illegitimate son, Robert, who died in 1147, appears as *Robertus filius regis*, suggesting that at least some of the survey was written prior to his creation as earl of Gloucester in the early 1120s. However, the appearance of Earl David of Huntingdon, and Earl Geoffrey of Essex (*comes de Mandeville*) suggests a much later date. Round made the reasonable deduction that the extant document was based on a survey originally made under Henry I—probably before 1120—and that several entries were subsequently amended to bring them up to date in Henry II's reign.[1275]

[1272] Printed in K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066–1166 I: Domesday Book* (Woodbridge, 1999), 98–120; translated in *VCH Northamptonshire* I, 365–89.
[1273] H1-Michael-of-Hanslope.
[1274] Above, 273.
[1275] Round, *FE*, 219–22. This was accepted by Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 98.

The survey revealed to Round not only how escheated and confiscated fiefs were redistributed, but also 'how the Crown, not content with the lands thus at its disposal, was steadily granting away the demesne it held in Domesday'.[1276] Hoyt drew out the survey's implications for the royal demesne more fully. He traced the descent of Domesday's *terra regis* in Northamptonshire according to the twelfth-century survey in two tables—one arranged hundredally, the other tenurially.[1277] Of the twenty-two royal estates or manorial groups spread over nineteen hundreds in Domesday Book, Hoyt found that only nine remained fully intact in King Henry's hands, and that only five hundreds did not suffer any reduction in royal land. He calculated that 68 out of 141 Domesday hides, just under half of the Conqueror's royal demesne in this area, had been granted away.[1278] Furthermore, Hoyt saw no identifiable principle which might have guided the granting of royal demesne; manors large and small were both given away and retained. He concluded that Norman kings did not treat any part of the *terra regis* as inalienable, pointing to the grants of Towcester, Hardingstone, Rothwell and Orton, Brixworth, Faxton, Tansor, Barnwell, and Weekley, all of which, with the possible exception of Weekley,[1279] had been royal land in 1066.[1280]

Accepting that the Northamptonshire survey appears to show much of Domesday's *terra regis* in baronial hands, Southern argued that doubts regarding its dating and the terms on which the land was held preclude the conclusion that these royal estates had been permanently alienated before 1135.[1281] The chronological context of the survey remains problematic, making it impossible to date these grants precisely. Nevertheless, the survey's evidence is consistent with the impression provided by the pipe roll, which suggests that royal demesne

[1276] *VCH Northamptonshire* I, 357–64 at 359.
[1277] Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 127–33.
[1278] Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 89. The total hidage does not account for Domesday's *terra regis* in Witchley Hundred which was not included in the twelfth-century survey.
[1279] Earl Ælfgar supposedly held Weekley but, since he died *c.*1062–3, it was probably in King Edward's hands in 1066.
[1280] GDB 219v–20 (Northamptonshire 1:7, 10, 15a, 16–7, 24–5, 31).
[1281] Southern, 'Henry I', 167–8.

revenue in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire more than halved from £770 in 1086 to £369 in 1130.[1282] Moreover, while royal land granted away could, and often did, return to the king's hand, the survey's phraseology—describing land as 'of the fee of *x*'—indicates that the land in question was, at least at the time the survey was made, regarded as part of a baronial honor not the *terra regis*.[1283]

The Leicestershire survey is firmly datable to 1125x1130. The original manuscript is lost but two large fragments survive in later transcripts. One surviving manuscript was printed by Round and translated by Stenton,[1284] and the other was published by Slade, who transcribed and translated all of the survey's extant material.[1285] The survey provides details about land in all four wapentakes of Leicestershire, covering most of Goscote, most if not all of Framland, parts of Gartree, and some vills in Guthlaxton.[1286] A compact block of six vills on the northern border of Goscote, assessed at over 90 carucates, is missing and may not have been surveyed.[1287] Within this missing block were 10 carucates of the Conqueror's royal demesne at Seagrave, Chadwell, and Wycomb.[1288] Seven of the Conqueror's royal estates, assessed at 43.5 carucates in 1086, were among the lands in Gartree missing from the twelfth-century survey.[1289] The city of Leicester, situated within Guthlaxton, is also missing,[1290] while the only part of Domesday's *terra regis* in Guthlaxton—5 carucates of land at Bittesby worth £2—does not appear in the scanty material available for this wapentake from the twelfth century.[1291] Fortuitously, therefore, not much is missing. A more complete survival of

---

[1282] Above, 248–9.
[1283] Green, 'Royal Demesne', 339–40.
[1284] Round, *FE*, 197–203; *VCH Leicestershire* I, 339–54.
[1285] *The Leicestershire Survey c.AD 1130*, ed. C.F. Slade (Leicester, 1956), 13–29 with an introduction discussing the manuscripts and date of the survey at 7–12.
[1286] These wapentakes are divided into smaller hundreds.
[1287] *VCH Leicestershire* I, 339; *Leicestershire Survey*, 11.
[1288] GDB 230 (Leicestershire 1:3).
[1289] GDB 230v (Leicestershire 1:4–6): Great Bowden, Medbourne, Stretton, Foxton, Blaston, Abegrave, Saddington.
[1290] GDB 230 (Leicestershire C1–17): In 1086, Leicester had been expected to render £75, of which nearly £9 went to the king's tenants in the borough.
[1291] GDB 230v (Leicestershire 1:12).

Guthlaxton would not reveal much about the scale of royal demesne reduction, but equally the survey does not show whether the king acquired more land there after 1086.

The Leicestershire survey showed Round how Henry 'provided for his *novi homines*, showering escheats and royal demesne on the trusty officials he had raised "from the dust", as well as on his favourite nephew, Stephen, count of Mortain'.[1292] Sampling nine surveyed hundreds—subdivisions of Leicestershire's wapentakes—Round collated the data with the corresponding Domesday entries in order to trace the origins and descent of baronial fiefs.[1293] However, Stenton's treatment of the survey demonstrated that Leicestershire's 'royal demesne had been granted away wholesale',[1294] and Hoyt, using Round's sampled hundreds, observed that only ten of the twenty-two royal estates in 1086 remained in Henry's demesne, constituting a decline from 99 to 45 carucates.[1295]

Again, doubts were raised by Southern, who argued that 'no precise conclusions can be reached from this evidence about the alienation of the royal demesne in Leicestershire'.[1296] The Leicestershire survey records that Count Stephen of Mortain held Croxton Kerrial, Knipton, Harston, and Nether Broughton—all *terra regis* in 1086—but Southern questioned the terms on which Stephen held them, suggesting that the count might have been farming them for the king as Hugh fitzBaldric had been doing in 1086.[1297] This, however, is improbable. The Leicestershire survey would likely have recorded royal estates as *terra regis*, regardless of farming arrangements, as Domesday Book did. Indeed, 4 carucates of royal land at Whatborough was being farmed by a certain Godwine in 1086, and yet the Leicestershire Survey describes it as *dominicum regis*.[1298]

[1292] Round, *FE*, 197.
[1293] Round, *FE*, 204–14.
[1294] *VCH Leicestershire* I, 343.
[1295] Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 89–90.
[1296] Southern, 'Henry I', 167.
[1297] GDB 230 (Leicestershire 1:1–2).
[1298] GDB 230v (Leicestershire 1:7); Round, *FE*, 198.

Slade provided a comprehensive analysis of the survey, comparing all its data with the corresponding Domesday entries, and concluded that, by 1130, the 'great men had become greater, mainly at the expense of the king'.[1299] However, Slade did not produce any figures for the overall differences in value or carucates. Table 18, therefore, presents a fresh comparison of the royal demesne in Domesday Book and the Leicestershire survey. The first column lists the royal estates in Leicestershire in 1086 and the second column shows the wapentake in which they were located. The next three columns display the Domesday data: the reference to the text, the assessment in carucates, and the value. The final three columns provide the evidence from the Leicestershire survey: the holder in 1125x30, the reference to the text in Slade's edition, and the assessment in carucates.[1300]

The totals for the carucates and value in 1086, and the carucates in 1125x30, are summed at the bottom of the table. These show that the Conqueror held some 300 carucates, worth nearly £100 in 1086, within the region covered by the Leicestershire survey. However, several of these estates, accounting for about 58.5 carucates and just over £22 in 1086, do not appear in the survey of 1125x30. The remaining 241.5 carucates were assessed at around 244.3 carucates in 1125x30, and the additional 2.2 carucates of land at South Croxton, not in Domesday Book, brings the total comparable carucates surveyed in 1125x30 to 246.5, as shown in the final total.

[1299] *Leicestershire Survey*, 30–60, 84.
[1300] The survey contains no values.

Table 18. The Royal Demesne in Leicestershire: 1086 and 1125x30

Place	Wapentake	Domesday Book 1086			Leicestershire Survey 1125x30		
		GDB Reference	Carucates	Value	Honor	Slade Reference	Carucates
Croxton Kerrial	Framland	230 (1:1a)	24.00	£9.12	Count Stephen of Mortain	22	24.00
Knipton	Framland	230 (1:1b)	8.75	£3.32	Count Stephen of Mortain	21	8.75
Harston	Framland	230 (1:1c)	12.00	£4.56	Count Stephen of Mortain	22	12.00
Nether Broughton	Framland	230 (1:2)	12.00	£8.00	Count Stephen of Mortain	21	12.00
Rothley	Goscote	230 (1:3)	5.00	£3.10	King Henry	17	5.00
Allexton	Goscote	230 (1:3)	0.75	£0.23	King Henry	15	0.75
Barsby	Goscote	230 (1:3)	4.88	£1.52	King Henry	16	3.06
					Earl Robert of Leicester	16	1.63
Seagrave	Goscote	230 (1:3)	6.00	£1.88	Not surveyed		
Sileby[1301]	Goscote	230 (1:3)	2.25	£0.70	Earl Robert of Leicester	15	1.62
					Robert of Ferrières	15	0.63
Tugby	Goscote	230 (1:3)	6.00	£1.88	Norman of Verdun	14	6.00
Skeffington	Goscote	230 (1:3)	12.00	£3.75	Norman of Verdun	14	8.50
					Richard Basset	14	3.50
North Marefield	Gartree	230 (1:3)	3.00	£0.94	King Henry	14	3.00
South Marefield	Gartree	230 (1:3)	3.00	£0.94	King Henry	14	3.00
Halstead	Goscote	230 (1:3)	2.75	£0.86	Norman of Verdun	15	2.75
Chadwell and Wycomb	Goscote	230 (1:3)	4.00	£1.25	Not surveyed		
Tilton on the Hill	Goscote	230 (1:3)	2.00	£0.63	King Henry	15	1.83

[1301] There were many landholders at Sileby; the king's land was probably divided as shown here in 1125x30: *Leicestershire Survey*, 38.

Place	Wapentake	Domesday Book 1086			Leicestershire Survey 1125x30		
		GDB Reference	Carucates	Value	Honor	Slade Reference	Carucates
Asfordby	Goscote	230 (1:3)	12.00	£3.75	Earl Robert of Leicester	17	13.00
Keyham	Goscote	230 (1:3)	4.00	£1.25	King Henry	15	4.00
Wartnaby	Goscote	230 (1:3)	6.00	£1.88	King Henry	17	6.00
Twyford[1302]	Goscote	230 (1:3)	4.50	£1.41	King Henry	15	5.00
Somerby[1303]	Framland	230 (1:3)	1.50	£0.47	Roger of Mowbray	19	1.50
Frisby on the Wreake	Goscote	230 (1:3)	8.00	£2.50	King Henry	17	8.00
Saxelby	Goscote	230 (1:3)	1.00	£0.31	King Henry	17	1.00
Grimston	Goscote	230 (1:3)	2.81	£0.88	King Henry	17	2.81
Baggrave	Gartree	230 (1:3)	5.63	£1.76	King Henry	14	5.63
Gaddesby	Goscote	230 (1:3)	8.38	£2.62	King Henry	16	8.56
Great Bowden	Gartree	230v (1:4)	9.50	£2.00	Missing from survey		
Medbourne	Gartree	230v (1:4)	2.00	£0.67	Missing from survey		
Cranoe[1304]	Gartree	230v (1:4)	1.00	£0.33	King Henry	23	1.00
Shangton[1305]	Gartree	230v (1:4)	2.00	£0.67	Earl Robert of Leicester	14	3.33
Carlton Curlieu	Gartree	230v (1:4)	0.75	£0.25	King Henry	14	0.75
Illston on the Hill	Gartree	230v (1:4)	0.25	£0.08	King Henry	24	0.25

[1302] The assessment in 1125x30 is for Twyford and Thorpe Satchville combined. Only Twyford is mentioned in Domesday Book.
[1303] The descent of the royal estate at Somerby is hard to determine. It probably made up part of Roger of Mowbray's 6 carucates; regardless, it was not *terra regis* in 1125x1130: *Leicestershire Survey*, 49.
[1304] The assessment for Cranoe in 1125x30 is missing from the survey. Here is it assumed to be 1 carucate as in Domesday Book.
[1305] Earl Robert held 10 carucates in Shangton in 1125x1130. In 1086, Hugh of Grandmesnil held 4 carucates but the king had 2 carucates of soke. Since the king held a third of the assessment in 1086, the king's portion held by Earl Robert has been increased proportionately.

Place	Wapentake	Domesday Book 1086			Leicestershire Survey 1125x30		
		GDB Reference	Carucates	Value	Honor	Slade Reference	Carucates
Gaulby[1306]	Gartree	230v (1:4)	1.50	£0.50	King Henry	24	1.50
Kings Norton	Gartree	230v (1:4)	3.00	£1.00	Earl Robert of Leicester	24	3.00
Stretton	Gartree	230v (1:4)	9.00	£3.01	Missing from survey		
Smeeton Westerby	Gartree	230v (1:4)	1.25	£0.42	King Henry	23	1.25
Foxton	Gartree	230v (1:4)	2.00	£0.67	Missing from survey		
Blaston	Gartree	230v (1:4)	2.00	£0.55	Missing from survey		
Abegrave	Gartree	230v (1:5)	2.00	£1.00	Missing from survey		
Saddington	Gartree	230v (1:6)	17.00	£9.00	Missing from survey		
Whatborough	Goscote	230v (1:7)	4.50	£2.00	King Henry	15	4.00
Thorpe Acre[1307]	Goscote	230v (1:8)	5.00	£7.00	Earl Ranulf of Chester	18, 19	23.00
Dishley[1308]	Goscote	230v (1:9)	18.00	£2.00			
Shepshed[1309]	Goscote	230v (1:10)	49.00	£6.00	Earl Ranulf of Chester	19	49.00
Knossington	Gartree	230v (1:11)	3.00	£1.00	Henry of Ferrières	14	3.75
Bittesby	Guthlaxton	230v (1:12)	5.00	£2.00	Missing from survey		
South Croxton[1310]	Goscote	Not in Domesday Book			King Henry	16	2.19
Total			**299.95**	**£99.66**	**Total**		**246.54**

[1306] Gaulby is not listed in the Leicestershire survey, but it is identifiable as the 1.5 carucates of the king's soke described in the entry for the adjacent vill of King's Norton.
[1307] In 1125x30, Dishley, Thorpe Acre, Garendon, and Hathern were grouped together and assessed at 27 carucates. The survey omits the name of the holder, but it was probably Earl Ranulf of Chester: *Leicestershire Survey*, 45. In 1086, the king held 23 carucates in Thorpe Acre and Dishley.
[1308] See note for Thorpe Acre, immediately above.
[1309] The survey omits the name of the earl, but it was most probably Earl Ranulf of Chester: *Leicestershire Survey*, 48.
[1310] South Croxton does not appear in Domesday Book. However, the *terra regis* at Barbsy, worth 4.88 carucates, is likely the same as that recorded in 1125x30 where it is split into Barbsy and South Croxton, collectively assessed at 4.25 carucates: *Leicestershire Survey*, 39.

The results reveal that 178 of the carucates surveyed in 1125x30 were no longer royal demesne, leaving King Henry in possession of fewer than 69. This constitutes a fall of over 70% in terms of assessment. The Leicestershire survey does not record values, but since this land was worth nearly £78 to the Conqueror in 1086, on the same proportional basis, the remaining land held by Henry probably cannot have been worth more than around £22 in 1125x30. The descent of the 58.5 carucates of Domesday's *terra regis* missing from the Leicestershire survey remains unknown. However, even if the unsafe assumption that all of these unsurveyed carucates remained in the royal demesne is made, the survey still demonstrates that at least 178 carucates of the Conqueror's royal demesne, probably worth some £56, had been given away by 1130. The principal beneficiaries of the royal demesne grants in Leicestershire were Earl Ranulf of Chester,[1311] who held 72 carucates of former royal land, Count Stephen of Mortain, who held nearly 57, and Earl Robert II of Leicester, who held nearly 20. Moreover, it remains possible that they and others held more former royal demesne in that shire. The survey's evidence is consistent with the impression made by the pipe roll that royal demesne revenue in Leicestershire fell significantly in this period.

The third survey which illuminates the royal demesne in Henry's reign is that of Lindsey, the northernmost of Lincolnshire's three primary districts in this period.[1312] Lindsey was divided into three ridings—West, North, and South—which were subdivided into wapentakes (equivalent to the hundreds of southern England).[1313] Datable to 1115x18,[1314] the survey, which proceeds first by wapentake and then by fief, concerns only rural land and does not detail the urban centres of Lincoln and Torksey.

[1311] Either Ranulf I or his son, Ranulf II.
[1312] *The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, ed. C.W. Foster and T. Longley (Horncastle, 1924), 237–60 contains a translation of the survey with a short introduction from Stenton, xliv–xlv; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 77–97, prints the Latin text.
[1313] Lincolnshire's wapentakes were subdivided into hundreds of 12 carucates like Leicestershire's hundreds.
[1314] Round, *FE*, 181–95.

For Hoyt, this survey demonstrated that none of the Conqueror's land in Lindsey was held by King Henry in 1115x18, suggesting a reduction in royal demesne,[1315] but this was not enough to convince Southern, who argued that the survey 'actually shows an increase in royal land in the area'.[1316] Southern observed only three pieces of Domesday's *terra regis*—which 'all belonged to the manor of Nettleham'—located within the land covered by the survey, and, on the assumption that Nettleham had belonged to Queen Matilda before her death, he argued that it was not a royal manor but rather only in the king's hand in 1086.[1317] Moreover, Southern identified 28.5 carucates held by the king in 1115x18 which had not been *terra regis* in 1086, revealing the increase for which he argued.[1318] Accepting this, Green avoided the Lindsey survey, claiming that 'it is not illuminating about the fate of the *terra regis*, as Southern pointed out'.[1319]

There are, however, problems with Southern's analysis. Although Nettleham was held by Queen Edith in 1066 and later by Henry's wife, Queen Matilda, before she granted it to Bishop Robert of Lincoln,[1320] it cannot be assumed that the Conqueror's queen held the manor simply because her predecessor and successor held it. Even if Matilda had held Nettleham before 1083, there is no evidence in Domesday's entry for the royal manor to suggest that it was merely *in manu regis* in 1086. Earlier in Lincolnshire's account of the *terra regis* it is specified that 5 carucates of land which Count Alan held in Holbeach and Whaplode 'are now in the king's hand' (*modo sunt in manu regis*),[1321] but no such distinction is made for Nettleham. Moreover, Nettleham was not the only *terra regis* in Lindsey in 1086. Domesday Book records four other royal manors located in the district, as tabulated below in the top

[1315] Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 89.
[1316] Southern, 'Henry I', 167.
[1317] Southern, 'Henry I', 166. GDB 338 (Lincolnshire 1:35–7).
[1318] Southern, 'Henry I', 166–7.
[1319] Green, 'Royal Demesne', 339.
[1320] *RRAN* II, 543.
[1321] GDB 338 (Lincolnshire 1:33).

half of Table 19.[1322] Problematically, however, only one of these—Gayton le Wold—appears in the Lindsey survey. Southern missed that Gayton had been granted away since 1086 and was held by Count Stephen of Tréguier in 1115x18. The Lindsey survey does not provide values, but the assessment in carucates and bovates demonstrates that Count Stephen held the entire manor, just as Bishop Robert held all of Nettleham at the time of the survey. The bottom half of Table 19 shows that nothing held by the king in 1115x18 had been royal demesne in 1086. This land King Henry held in Lindsey—assessed at nearly 29 carucates—had been worth £34 to the Conqueror's tenants-in-chief holding it in 1086. The former royal manors at Nettleham and Gayton, which had been given away by 1115x18, were expected to generate a collective income of £75 in 1086, constituting a net decrease of 55% in the value of the royal demesne in this period.

The Lindsey survey is by no means conclusive. What little of Domesday Book's *terra regis* that appears in the Lindsey survey had been granted away by 1118, but the descent of the Conqueror's royal manors at Kirton in Lindsey, Caistor and Hundon, and Horncastle remains unclear. However, even if it is assumed that these manors were all still royal demesne under King Henry, the loss of Nettleham and Gayton alone represents a 30% reduction in value and a 50% decrease in demesne carucates from 1086. The Lindsey survey does not, therefore, show that the royal demesne in the district was augmented after the Conqueror's death. Instead, it reveals, at the very minimum, that a net loss of £41—or 20 carucates—occurred and does not preclude the possibility of a greater loss.

[1322] Below, Table 19.

Table 19. The Royal Demesne in Lindsey: 1086 and 1115x18[1323]

	Place	Wapentake	Domesday Book 1086					Lindsey Survey 1115x18		
			Honor	GDB Ref	Carucates		Value	Honor	LS Ref	Carucates
					Manor	Soke				
Royal Demesne in 1086	Nettleham	Lawress	King William	338 (1:35-7)	12.00	10.00	£30	Lincoln Cathedral	241 (3:2)	12.00
	Kirton in Lindsey	Corringham	King William	338-v (1:38-64)	8.00	59.00	£80	Does not appear in survey		
	Caistor and Hundon	Yarborough	King William	338v (1:65-80)	3.00	28.13	£50	Does not appear in survey		
	Gayton le Wold	Louthesk	King William	338v-9 (1:81-90)	3.00	25.50	£45	Count Stephen of Tréguier	258 (18:1)	3.00
	Horncastle	Horncastle	King William	339 (1:91-106)	3.00	42.00	£44	Does not appear in survey		
			Total		**29.00**	**164.63**	**£249**	**Total**		**15.00**
Royal Demesne in 1115x18	Appleby	Manley	Roger of Bully	352v (17:2)	9.63	0.00	£13	King Henry	238 (1:13)	9.25
	Santon	Manley	Roger of Bully	352v (17:3)	0.00	1.00	£0			1.00
	Whitton	Manley	Henry of Ferrières	353v (21:1-2)	12.00	0.25	£10	King Henry	238 (1:13)	12.00
	Grimsby and Swallow	Bradley	Ralph of Mortimer	363 (36:1)	2.25	0.00	£5	King Henry	248 (9:5)	2.63
	Sotby	Wraggoe	Bishop Odo	342v (4:50-2)	4.00	2.25	£6	King Henry	257 (16:18)	4.00
			Total		**27.88**	**3.50**	**£34**	**Total**		**28.88**

[1323] References to the Lindsey survey are made to the folio number of the manuscript and, in parenthesis, in the Phillimore style, to the numbers first assigned to each chapter or wapentake and then to the individual entry within that wapentake.

The Royal Charters

Utilizing broadly the same methodology employed for Norman ducal land between 911 and 1106, this chapter's closing section examines the English *acta* of the Conqueror's sons to reconstruct and analyse the royal estates between 1087 and 1135. The charter evidence for royal land is fragmentary and problematic but it arguably corroborates—and certainly does not contradict—the impression provided by the pipe roll and surveys that royal demesne revenue declined in this period.

While the *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, which records some 1,700 royal acts between 1087 and 1135,[1324] remains invaluable for present purposes, the charters of William II and Henry I have yet to be collected and published, which prohibits a more complete, systematic analysis of English royal land in this period. The recent project to edit, interpret, and digitize the royal acts issued in the names of Rufus and Henry has already discovered acts not in the *Regesta*,[1325] and although only an eighth of the project's intended output is currently published online, acts have been consulted and cited by reign and beneficiary archive using the project's conventions where possible.[1326]

Many royal charters do not record grants of land. These include general confirmations or writs ordering the observation of such confirmations,[1327] acts providing royal sanction of others' transactions,[1328] acts that liberate land from customs, tolls, and other dues,[1329] or that bestow rights and privileges, such as franchises to hold markets and fairs, or to warren.[1330]

[1324] *RRAN*.
[1325] *The Acts of William II and Henry I*, ed R. Sharpe and D.X. Carpenter (2018).
[1326] https://actswilliam2henry1.wordpress.com/the-charters/. For example, W2-Beverley, for a lost act of Rufus in favour of Beverly Minster.
[1327] For example, *RRAN* I 312, 372b (W2-Ilbert-Robert-de-Lacy), W2-Beverley; *RRAN* II, 598 (H1-Blyth), 1055, 1388, 1836 (H1-Ælwin-fitz-Godegos).
[1328] For example, *RRAN* I, 323 (W2-Gent-Abbey), 325, 356, 468a (W2-Northampton-Priory), 479 (W2-Ilbert-Robert-de-Lacy), W2-Romsey-Abbey.
[1329] For example, *RRAN* I, 421; *RRAN* II, 864, 952, 999, 1014, 1057a, 1075, 1100, 1137, 1169, 1386, 1525, 1624, 1646–7, 1804.
[1330] For example, *RRAN* I, 343 (W2-Chichester), 377, 494, 573, 652, 689–90, 773, 802, 810, 864, 868, 925, 947, 949, 953, 971 1086, 1093, 1131, 1199, 1207, 1257, 1265, 1371, 1478, 1664, 1768–9, 1773.

Such charters demonstrate the strength and extent of royal authority in Norman England, but they do not constitute royal grants of land. The following writ-charter is an illustrative example which provides proof of a royal land grant:

> Henr[icus] rex Anglor[um] W[illelmo] Wynton[iensi] episcopo et Rogero vicecom[iti]…salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse sancto Salvatori de Bermundeseia et monachis ipsius loci Rederheiam et Dilewis et hidam de Suthwerka sicut ego habebam in meo dominio. Et volo et precipio ut ita bene et quiete hec predicta teneant sicut ego melius et quietius tenebam in meo dominio.
>
> [Henry, king of the English, to William, bishop of Winchester, and Roger the sheriff…greeting. Know that I have given and granted to St Saviour of Bermondsey and the monks of that place, Rotherhithe and Dulwich and a hide in Southwark as I had in my demesne. And I will and command that they shall hold these foresaid [lands] as well and quietly as I held in my demesne.][1331]

Several supposed grants come from forged or spurious charters and many baseless forgeries have been rejected. However, some suspect charters reveal grants that were probably made. For example, Bermondsey Priory's purported foundation charter, supposedly issued by William Rufus, was seemingly compiled long after his reign,[1332] but grants recorded in this charter are corroborated by other authentic charters.[1333] Therefore, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Rufus granted Bermondsey for the establishment of the priory as described.[1334]

The charter evidence manifests an unsurprising ecclesiastical bias and represents just a fraction of the grants that were ever produced. Nevertheless, Hoyt argued that royal grants illustrate the process of royal land patronage in the Anglo-Norman period and would only

---

[1331] *RRAN* II, 664 (H1-Bermondsey-Priory); Appendix C.
[1332] W2-Bermondsey-Priory.
[1333] *RRAN* I, 362, 340.
[1334] *RRAN* I, 398; Appendix C.

corroborate the general conclusions suggested by the early twelfth-century surveys.[1335] However, as Southern explained, a royal grant was not necessarily a grant of royal land:

> Many charters which look like grants of royal demesne turn out on closer inspection to be nothing of the kind. Not a single one of the charters of Rufus quoted by Hoyt as examples of alienation of royal demesne resulted in permanent alienation, and most of them are not concerned with royal demesne at all… It is clear for instance that the phrase *in dominio regis* or the like cannot be taken necessarily to mean that the land is part of the *terra regis* or royal demesne; it may simply be land that has come under the king's lordship.[1336]

For example, Southern argued that Bayford, which Rufus granted to Peter of Valognes,[1337] did not descend with Peter's fee because it was in the king's hand in 1154, and that, despite being described as *in dominio* and *dominico meo*, Haddenham, Lambeth, and Aston-sub-Edge, which Rufus granted to Rochester Cathedral,[1338] were not royal demesne in 1086.[1339] Claiming that most early twelfth-century barons did not benefit greatly from royal demesne grants, Southern concluded that, although Rufus and Henry undoubtedly gave away some royal land, the 'existing royal charters do not support the idea of a continuous or general relaxation of the king's grip on the royal demesne'.[1340]

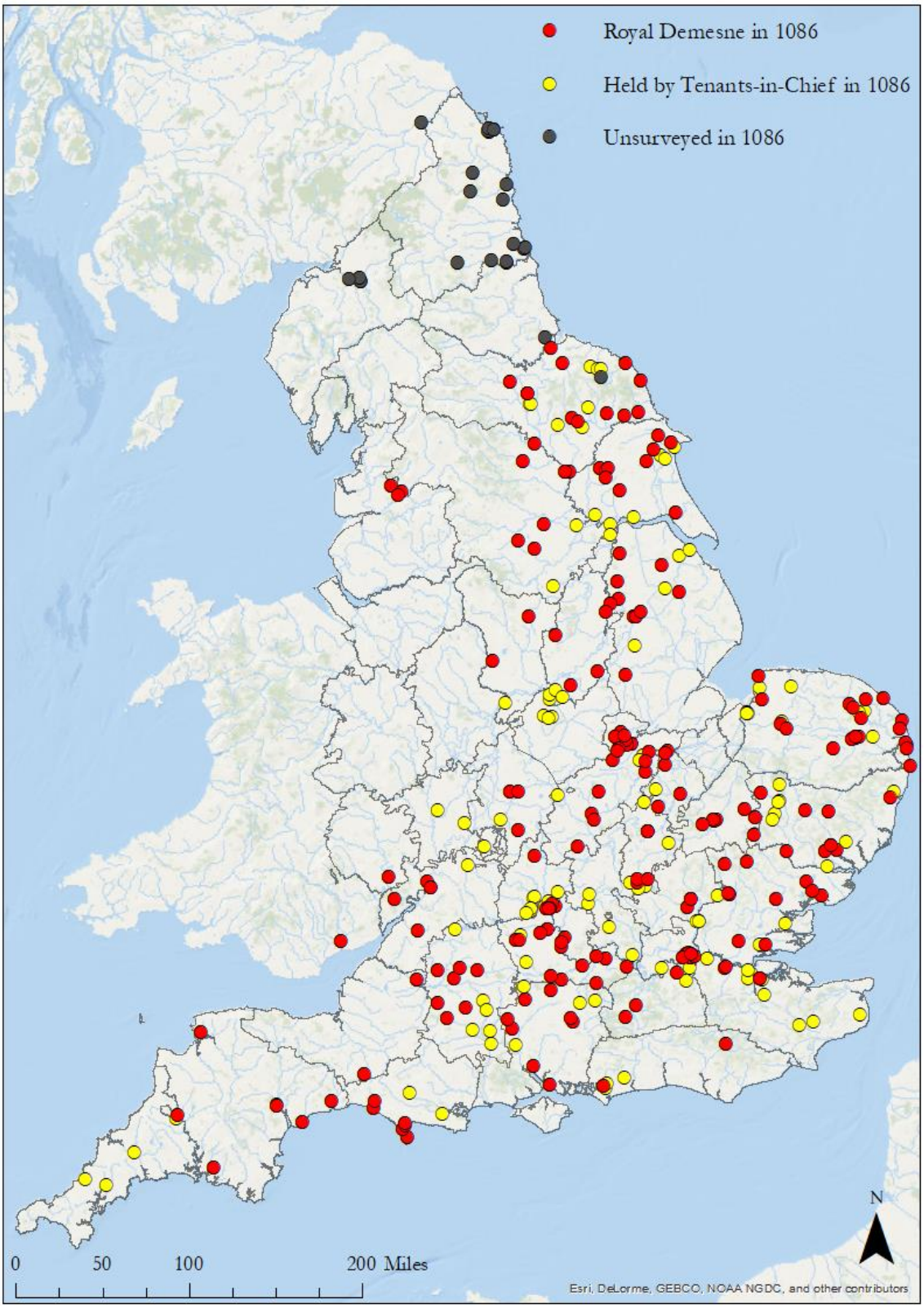
Southern raised important questions regarding the limitations of the charters for reconstructing royal land. However, applying Southern's own reasoning by cross-referencing the royal grants with Domesday Book circumvents the difficulties of textual interpretation of the charters and makes it possible to distinguish *terra regis* from baronial land. This approach is not without its problems, and its neat theory masks more complex practice.

[1335] Hoyt, *Royal Demesne*, 90.
[1336] Southern, 'Henry I', 161.
[1337] *RRAN* I, 346; *RRAN* II, 1121.
[1338] *RRAN* I, 301–2, 400.
[1339] Southern, 'Henry I', 161.
[1340] Southern, 'Henry I', 161–3, 169.

Domesday Book does not capture the ever-changing fluidity of the *terra regis* evidenced by the charters and it is impossible to know the status of land granted in the regions not surveyed—notably Durham, Northumberland, and Cumberland—in 1086. Also, not all places granted within the regions that were surveyed appear in Domesday Book.[1341] Nevertheless, of the nearly 350 granted estates identified in this inexhaustive study of the charters of Rufus and Henry,[1342] 206—almost 60%—of them were *terra regis* in 1086, leaving just over a third—117—in baronial fiefs and some two dozen, located in northern England, uncategorized because they were not surveyed in 1086. Below, Map 21 plots the geographic distribution of this evidence. These results contradict Southern's claim that '*bona fide* grants of royal demesne…are not easy to find',[1343] but they also reveal a significant minority of grants of former baronial land. For example, Rufus granted Chichester Cathedral land in Chichester and Stockbridge which belonged to Earl Roger in 1086.[1344] Pitsea and Latchingdon, which Eudo the steward received from Rufus, belonged to Wulfgifu, wife of Fin.[1345] Piddlehinton, granted by Rufus to Christchurch Priory, was held by Count Robert of Mortain.[1346] In addition to the baronial land that Southern pointed out Rufus granted to Rochester, the cathedral also received the land pertaining to the reeveship (*prepositum*) of Chatham, which was in Bishop Odo's Domesday fief.[1347] Snettisham, another of Odo's manors, was among several baronial estates Rufus granted to William of Aubigny.[1348]

[1341] These places usually formed part of another place in 1086, such as Rotherhithe and Dulwich which were probably part of Bermondsey and Streatham respectively: GDB 30, 31v (Surrey 1:4; 5:14).
[1342] Tabulated in Appendix C.
[1343] Southern, 'Henry I', 161.
[1344] *RRAN* I, 352 (W2-Chichester-Cathedral); GDB 23, 24 (Sussex 11:1, 42).
[1345] *RRAN* I, 442; LDB 98v (Essex 84:1–2).
[1346] *RRAN* I, 361; GDB 79 (Dorset 26:20).
[1347] *RRAN* I, 355; GDB 8v (Kent 5:89).
[1348] *RRAN* II, 911; LDB 142 (Norfolk 2:4); J.F.A. Mason, 'Aubigny, William d' [William de Albini; known as William d'Aubigny *Pincerna*] (d. 1139), *ODNB* (2004).

Map 21. The Royal Estates, 1087–1135



Under King Henry, Christ Church, Canterbury, received Slindon, which, according to the charter issued in 1106, had been violently removed from the cathedral for several years and was recently in the king's demesne;[1349] twenty years prior, however, it was in Earl Roger's fief.[1350] Waltham and its church of the Holy Cross, which Queen Matilda received from her husband,[1351] belonged to Earl Harold in 1066 and the bishop of Durham in 1086.[1352] Culpho and Wellingore, granted to Charroux Abbey by Henry before 1106,[1353] were in Roger the Poitevin's honor in 1086.[1354]

At some point after 1086 these baronial estates came into the king's gift to be granted out again. While escheat via default of heirs was rare in this period,[1355] forfeiture was not. The Conqueror had much confiscated land in his hand in 1086,[1356] some of which was later regranted by his sons. However, Anglo-Norman politics became more turbulent and complicated after 1087 as the Conqueror's descendants vied for control of his inheritance.[1357] Major fraternal conflict ended with Henry's victory over Robert in 1106, but instability persisted until the death of Curthose's son, William Clito, in 1128. While vexing for the king, rebellions, when successfully suppressed, afforded him several opportunities to confiscate and sometimes redistribute land.

After Odo of Bayeux failed to put Robert Curthose on the English throne in 1088,[1358] 'the worldly (*irreligiosus*) bishop was banished from England and stripped of his vast possessions (*amplissimis possessionibus spoliatus*)'.[1359] The length of time Odo's earldom was under royal

---

1349 *RRAN* II, 756.
1350 GDB 25 (Sussex 11:88).
1351 *RRAN* II, 525.
1352 LDB 15v (Essex 7:1).
1353 H1-Charroux-Abbey.
1354 LDB 346 (Suffolk 8:1, 3, 5); GDB 365 (Lincolnshire 44:17).
1355 I.J. Sanders, *English Baronies: a study of their origin and descent 1086–1327* (Oxford, 1960), 14, 20, 40, 70, 120.
1356 Above, 184–5.
1357 N. Strevett, 'The Anglo-Norman Aristocracy under Divided Lordship, 1087–1106: A Social and Political Study', PhD thesis (University of Glasgow, 2005).
1358 *ASC* 1088; JW III, 48–57; *HA*, 412–5; *GR* I, 544–9; *GND* II, 204–7; OV IV, 120–35; Barlow, *William Rufus*, 70–93; Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 109–17; R. Sharpe, '1088 – William II and the Rebels', *ANS* 26 (2004).
1359 OV IV, 134–5.

control—it was still *in manu regis* in 1130—could explain why his former estates at Dulwich and Southwark were described as the king's demesne in Henry's grant to Bermondsey.[1360] When Robert of Mowbray, earl of Northumbria, who had recently inherited the English land of his uncle, Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances,[1361] led a failed revolt in 1095, Rufus confiscated his estates and those of his supporters, Count Odo of Champagne, Roger of Lacy, Philip 'the Grammarian' of Montgommery, and Count William II of Eu.[1362] With Robert's earldom in his hand, Henry granted the church of Figheldean in Wiltshire to Salisbury Cathedral.[1363] For supporting Curthose's abortive invasion of England in 1101, Robert of Bellême, earl of Shrewsbury since 1098,[1364] Roger the Poitevin, and William II of Warenne, earl of Surrey, forfeited their English honors.[1365] This was probably when Henry acquired the Montgommery estates at Slindon, Culpho, and Wellingore, and Warenne's estate at Dean,[1366] part of which the king granted to William Meschin.[1367] In 1104, Count William of Mortain forfeited his earldom of Cornwall when he left England for Normandy, supposedly after Henry refused to grant him the earldom of Kent.[1368] A few years later, after seemingly breaking fealty with Henry, Robert of Montfort 'obtained leave to go to Jerusalem and gave up all his land to the king (*totamque terram suam regi reliquit*)',[1369] who granted Montfort's church of South Creake to Castle Acre Priory.[1370]

[1360] GDB 31v, 32 (Surrey 5:8, 14, 28).
[1361] OV II, 266–7.
[1362] *ASC* E 1095–6; JW III, 76–83; *HA*, 420–3; *GR* I, 562–5; *GND* II, 214–5; OV IV, 278–87; Barlow, *William Rufus*, 346–58.
[1363] *RRAN* II, 1291; GDB 74 (Wiltshire 67:61).
[1364] *ASC* 1098; OV V, 222–5; *HA*, 444–5; *GR* I, 570–1.
[1365] *ASC* 1101; JW III, 96–101; *HA*, 448–51; Eadmer, *Historia*, 126–7; *GR* I, 704–5, 716–9; *GND* II, 218–21; OV V, 306–23, VI, 20–37; Hollister, 'Anglo-Norman Civil War; *Henry I*, 133–45. David, *Robert Curthose*, 127–37; Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 204–11.
[1366] GDB 211v (Bedfordshire 17:1).
[1367] *RRAN* II, 1449.
[1368] *ASC* 1104; *HA*, 452–3; *GR* I, 720–1; Hollister, *Henry I*, 182–3; David, *Robert Curthose*, 157–9; Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 226.
[1369] OV VI, 100–1.
[1370] LDB 237 (Norfolk 23:3); *RRAN* II, 1195.

English bishoprics and abbacies were not immune from this royal appropriation. After failing to support the king in 1088, William of St-Calais, bishop of Durham, went into exile in Normandy for three years before returning to Rufus' favour.[1371] The cathedral's estate at Waltham, which Henry granted to Queen Matilda,[1372] was possibly separated from Durham during this period that the bishop's honor spent in the king's hand. Equally, Henry could have seized Waltham himself when Bishop William's successor, Ranulf Flambard, was imprisoned in 1100 and Durham's estates were again *in manu regis* until his restoration a year later. Canterbury's land was under royal control for a cumulative period of over six years when Anslem was twice exiled.[1373] During the archbishop's prolonged absence, the king could have seized Waddon,[1374] which he granted to Bermondsey Priory.[1375]

In addition, Norman kings intensively exploited their regalian rights over the Church in England, routinely enjoying the revenues of vacant ecclesiastical houses.[1376] This is exemplified by the writ Rufus issued after Bishop Wulfstan's death, informing Worcester Cathedral's tenants that 'with the bishop dead (*mortuo episcopo*), the honor has returned into my hand (*honor in manum meum rediit*)' and demanding that they pay him relief (*relevamen*) to be disposed among his officials (*barones*).[1377] Below, Table 20 lists all the vacancies of English cathedrals from 1087 to 1135 and computes the estimated value of each vacancy to the king by taking each bishopric's annual net income in 1086 and multiplying this figure by the number of years the vacancy lasted.

[1371] *LDE*, 242–3; *RRAN* I, 372a.
[1372] Above, 268.
[1373] R.W. Southern, 'Anselm [St Anselm] (*c.*1033–1109)', *ODNB* (2004); JW III, 86–7, 94–7; OV V, 204–7, 296–7; Barlow, *William Rufus*, 373–6. Hollister, *Henry I*, 166–98.
[1374] Probably part of Croydon in 1086: GDB 30v (Surrey 2:1).
[1375] *RRAN* II, 659 (H1-Bermondsey-Priory).
[1376] M. Howell, *Regalian Right in Medieval England* (London, 1962); C.W. Hollister, 'William Rufus, Henry I, and the Anglo-Norman Church', *Peritia* 6–7 (1987–8); Garnett, *Conquered England*, 52–63.
[1377] *RRAN* I, 387; Round, *FE*, 308–14; Garnett, *Conquered England*, 53–8.

Table 20. Estimated Values of Episcopal Vacancies, 1087–1135

Bishopric	Vacancy Start	Vacancy End	Duration (Years)	Net Income 1086	Computed Value of Vacancy
Bath/Wells	29 December 1122	26 August 1123	0.67	£222	£149
Canterbury	28 May 1089	25 September 1093	4.33	£1,208	£5,231
	November 1097	September 1100	2.83	£1,208	£3,419
	April 1103	August 1106	3.33	£1,208	£4,023
	21 April 1109	16 May 1114	5.08	£1,208	£6,137
	20 October 1122	22 July 1123	0.75	£1,208	£906
Chester/ Coventry	1 September 1117	13 March 1121	3.50	£84	£294
	22 August 1126	12 January 1130	3.33	£84	£280
Chichester	25 September 1088	6 January 1091	2.25	£118	£266
	14 December 1123	12 April 1125	1.33	£118	£157
Durham	November 1088	November 1091	3.00	£300	£900
	2 January 1096	5 June 1099	3.42	£300	£1,026
	15 August 1100	2 August 1101	1.00	£300	£300
	5 September 1128	10 August 1133	4.92	£300	£1,476
Exeter	Later 1103	11 August 1107	4.00	£379	£1,516
Hereford	26 June 1095	15 June 1096	1.00	£252	£252
	December 1100	August 1107	6.67	£252	£1,681
	3 February 1119	16 January 1121	1.92	£252	£484
	15 August 1127	28 June 1131	3.83	£252	£965
Lincoln	8 May 1092	12 February 1094	1.75	£257	£450
	10 January 1123	22 July 1123	0.50	£257	£129
London	26 September 1107	26 July 1108	0.83	£261	£217
	16 January 1127	22 January 1128	1.00	£261	£261
	9 August 1134	Post 1 December 1135	1.33	£261	£347
Norwich	22 July 1119	12 June 1121	1.92	£375	£720
Rochester	15 March 1124	24 April 1125	1.08	£201	£217
Salisbury	4 December 1099	29 September 1102	2.83	£411	£1,163
Winchester	3 January 1098	3 August 1100	2.58	£840	£2,167
	24 January 1129	4 October 1129	0.67	£840	£563
Worcester	20 January 1095	8 June 1096	1.33	£286	£380
	5 May 1112	27 June 1115	3.17	£286	£907
	20 October 1123	24 May 1125	1.58	£286	£452
York	21 May 1108	27 June 1109	1.08	£134	£145
	24 February 1114	19 October 1119	5.67	£134	£760
Total					£38,336

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was unequivocally censorious of Rufus, claiming that he sold or let out bishoprics and abbacies whose incumbents died 'because he intended to be the heir (*yrfe numa*) of everyone, clerical and lay'.[1378] Orderic levelled his criticism upon Rufus' agents:

> Ranulfus Flambardus…aliique regis satellites et gastaldi Angliam spoliabant… Defunctis enim aecclesiae prelatis regia ui protinus succedebant et quaeque in erario eorum repperiebantur irreuerenter inuadebant. Cenobiorum fundos et episcopatuum redditus dominio regis mancipabant.
>
> [Ranulf Flambard…and other royal servants and officials plundered England… Whenever prelates of the Church died they forced themselves into their place in the king's name and sacrilegiously seized whatever was found in their treasures. They took into the king's demesne monastic estates and episcopal revenues.][1379]

Eadmer of Canterbury also singled Rufus out as the greatest oppressor of the Church,[1380] but attributed abuses, at least by implication, to all three Norman kings.[1381] Despite the promises he made at his coronation, Henry continued to exploit ecclesiastical vacancies after 1100.

With baronial land regularly coming under royal control, it would be reasonable to think, as Southern did, that kings need not have made many grants of royal demesne in this period. However, this hypothesis is contradicted by the evidence that they did. One possible explanation for this is that the Conqueror's sons, having inherited a colossal royal demesne and enjoying the revenue from royal lordship, could afford to be generous with royal land grants. Another possibility is that royal lordship, extensive as it was, offered limited scope for patronage, leaving the king with few options other than granting royal demesne. Both considerations probably weighed on the king's mind, but evidence suggests that the second

---

[1378] *ASC* E 1100.
[1379] OV V, 250–1. See, R.W. Southern, 'Ranulf Flambard and Early Anglo-Norman Administration', *TRHS* 16 (1933).
[1380] Eadmer, *Historia*, 27.
[1381] Eadmer, *Historia*, 131; Garnett, *Conquered England*, 45.

consideration weighed more heavily. Southern's argument was that Rufus and Henry 'enjoyed quite exceptional opportunities for rewarding their friends from the extensive forfeitures' of this period.[1382] This notion must, however, be abandoned because the king usually treated defeated rebels with mercy and leniency, only reserving permanent confiscation for rare cases. While conflicts abounded in this period, severe punishments did not.

Most of the rebels of 1088, including Count Robert of Mortain, Earl Roger of Shrewsbury, Earl Robert of Northumbria, Gilbert fitzRichard, Bernard of Neufmarché, and Robert of Rhuddlan, kept their lands.[1383] In 1095, Earl Hugh of Shrewsbury was amerced £3,000 and Gilbert fitzRichard, who seemingly changed sides before the rebellion's defeat, escaped punishment entirely.[1384] Many who suffered forfeiture in this period, like William of St-Calais, Count Eustace of Boulogne, and William II of Warenne, later made peace with the king and recovered their lands after time spent in exile or prison.[1385] Some rebels never regained their confiscated honors, but their land was usually redistributed, soon after and relatively intact, sometimes to kin.[1386] Robert of Mowbray's ex-wife and much of his former earldom were granted to Nigel of Aubigny;[1387] Roger of Lacy's brother, Hugh, who remained loyal in 1095, received Roger's forfeited fief;[1388] and Rufus allowed Count William II of Eu's estates to pass to his son, Henry.[1389] However, after Tinchebray, King Henry disinherited the families of rebel barons to reward his own. His nephew, Stephen, received the honors of Roger the Poitevin and Robert Malet,[1390] and the king's second wife, Queen Adeliza, received portions

---

[1382] Above, 235.
[1383] Sharpe '1088'.
[1384] OV IV, 280–1, 284–5.
[1385] *LDE*, 242–5; *ASC* 1101–3; OV VI, 12–5; *RRAN* II, 556; Barlow, *William Rufus*, 90–1; Hollister, *Henry I*, 172, 181–2; Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 215–7.
[1386] Green, 'Royal Demesne', 342; *Government*, 58; Sanders, *English Baronies*, 19–20, 31, 36, 40, 45, 70, 75, 97, 105–6, 111, 129, 135, 138, 151.
[1387] *GND* II, 214–5
[1388] OV IV, 284–5
[1389] Barlow, *William Rufus*, 357.
[1390] *GND* II, 262–3; *RRAN* II, 1545.

of Robert of Bellême's earldom, including Shropshire, Chichester, and Arundel.[1391] Even baronial land apparently gifted to the king was soon redistributed, as demonstrated by Henry's writ, issued soon after Earl Ranulf's death in 1129, informing the shires that Ranulf's land now in the king's demesne was to be redistributed immediately:

> Runulfus comes de Cestria dimisit et concessit mihi habere in dominio Cernelegam, et Cernewodam, et Aldremanehagam… Sicut autem praedictus comes Ranulfus mihi haec dimisit et concessit ita et ego concedo Roberto comiti Legrecestrae habere haereditabiliter cum alio feodo suo.
>
> [Ranulf, earl of Chester, has demised and conceded to me to have in demesne Charley, Charnwood, and Alderman-Haw… But just as the aforementioned Earl Ranulf demised and conceded these to me, so I concede [them] to Robert, earl of Leicester, to have hereditarily with his other fief.][1392]

The pressing need to restore and recycle forfeited honors meant that baronial land *in manu regis*, though sometimes exploited for revenue, was insufficient to meet the demand for patronage. Hence, most of the land granted by Rufus and Henry in the surveyed charters was *terra regis* in 1086. In one of his earliest known acts, Rufus granted Bromham to the monks of Battle to hold as freely as his father held it.[1393] The abbey also received eight churches of Domesday's *terra regis*.[1394] In exchange for his father's crown and regalia, Rufus granted Crewkerne to Saint-Étienne Abbey in Caen to be held *sicut ipse rex sua dominica maneria habebat*.[1395] Similarly, Henry granted Burton Bradstock to Saint-Étienne for the crown and

---

[1391] Above, 234.
[1392] *RRAN* II, 1607; GDB 237 (Leicestershire 43:1). Henry's grant of Wetheral to York Abbey, as it was when Ranulf held the honor of Carlisle, suggests he also acquired the earl's land in Cumberland: *RRAN* II, 1752–3.
[1393] *RRAN* I, 290; GDB 65 (Wiltshire 1:14).
[1394] *RRAN* I, 348; GDB 189v (Cambridge 1:12); LDB 7v (Essex 1:30), 132 (Norfolk 1:192), 285v–6 (Suffolk 1:76, 88, 90), 288v–9 (Suffolk 1:115, 119).
[1395] *RRAN* I, 397 (SCRIPTA 4624); *Les actes de Guillaume le Conquérant et de la reine Mathilde pour les abbayes caennaises*, ed. L. Musset (Caen, 1967), 24. GDB 86 (Somerset 1:20). The abbey already held some land here: GDB 91 (Somerset 12:1).

regalia,[1396] and donated Horstead and Tilshead to Saint-Étienne's sister abbey, La Trinité, as well.[1397] Henry granted Loders to Salisbury Cathedral early in his reign,[1398] Kingsclere to Rouen Cathedral in 1121,[1399] and appears to have made extensive use of royal churches in exercising patronage. York Cathedral received six in Yorkshire,[1400] two in Hampshire,[1401] and two in the Midlands.[1402] The bishop of Lincoln received all the royal churches in Lincoln and several more in the surrounding region.[1403] Dunstable Priory received a few in Bedford;[1404] Whitby Priory received a couple in Yorkshire;[1405] Reading Abbey received two in Berkshire;[1406] and St Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield, received four in East Anglia.[1407]

The Church was not the only beneficiary of royal demesne grants. Most of Henry's known grants to Queen Matilda came from the *terra regis*.[1408] She received Nettleham and Belton in Lincolnshire,[1409] Tixover, Barrowden, Luffenham, Seaton, and Thorpe-by-Water in Northamptonshire,[1410] as well as London's Aldgate and two-thirds of the revenues of Exeter.[1411] Aside from Aldgate, Domesday confirms that all of this belonged to Queen Edith in 1066, and it is possible that Henry granted Matilda more of Edith's land, most of which was *terra regis* in 1086.

[1396] *RRAN* II, 601, 1341; GDB 75 (Dorset 1:2).
[1397] *RRAN* II, 1692; LDB 140 (Norfolk 1:231), GDB 65 (Wiltshire 1:7).
[1398] *RRAN* II, 1018; GDB 75v (Dorset 1:13).
[1399] *RRAN* II, 1289; GDB 39 (Hampshire 1:43).
[1400] *RRAN* II, 837, 1759; GDB 299–v, 301 (Yorkshire 1Y4, 6, 8, 10, 18; 1E29).
[1401] *RRAN* II, 1759; GDB 38v–9 (Hampshire 1:19, 40).
[1402] *RRAN* II, 1445, 1870; GDB 238 (Warwickshire 1:4), 281 (Nottinghamshire 1:1).
[1403] *RRAN* II, 821, 1032, 1043; GDB 336-v, 338 (Lincolnshire C2–28; 1:39), 219v–20 (Northamptonshire 1:20, 24).
[1404] *RRAN* II, 1826–7 (H1-Dunstable-Priory); GDB 209 (Bedfordshire B).
[1405] *RRAN* II, 1679; GDB 300 (Yorkshire 1N17, 22, 28).
[1406] *RRAN* II, 1418; GDB 56v–7 (Berkshire 1:7, 15).
[1407] *RRAN* II, 1943; LDB 118 (Norfolk 1:67), 238 (Suffolk 1:32–3).
[1408] Waltham, the early twelfth-century *curia reginae*, was a notable exception: above, 268.
[1409] *RRAN* II, 534, 571; GDB 337v–8 (Lincolnshire 1:15, 19, 35).
[1410] *RRAN* II, 743–4, 818a (H1-Michael-of-Hanslope); GDB 219 (Northamptonshire 1:1, 2a–c, f, 3).
[1411] *RRAN* II, 906; GDB 100 (Devon C1).

For his support in 1088, William of Warenne was created earl of Surrey, receiving four royal manors previously held by Queen Edith.[1412] Rufus likely promoted Warenne to check the power of Gilbert fitzRichard,[1413] a leading rebel in 1088 and Surrey's wealthiest aristocratic landholder.[1414] Rufus might have considered confiscating Gilbert's honor and transferring it to his new earl, but to have done this would have caused lasting resentment among the disinherited Clares. Warenne and his successors would have probably faced persisting attempts by Gilbert and his heirs to reclaim these lands. Forfeited baronial land was tainted and potentially troublesome for its new holders, as demonstrated when tensions over disputed tenure boiled over during the civil war between Stephen and Matilda.[1415] Royal demesne, however, was pristine, and therefore politically preferable as a source of royal patronage.

Rufus rewarded Henry of Beaumont in 1088 with the new earldom of Warwick, and persuaded—or instructed—Henry's older brother, Count Robert of Meulan, to transfer his Warwickshire fief to him.[1416] According to Abingdon's *Historia*, Rufus added the *patrimonium terrarum* of Thorkil of Warwick as a *supplementum* to Henry's earldom.[1417] Barlow saw this as Rufus parsimoniously creating earls as cheaply as possible,[1418] but Green showed that several royal estates also passed to Earl Henry.[1419] He received Brailes, Wellesbourne, and probably Sutton Coldfield and Coten, in Warwickshire,[1420] Basildon and possibly Remenham and Winterbourne in Berkshire,[1421] and Oakham, Ridlington, Martinsthorpe, Cottesmore, and

---

[1412] OV IV, 180–1; GDB 30–v (Surrey 1:7, 10, 12–3); C.P. Lewis, 'The earldom of Surrey and the Date of Domesday Book', *HR* 63 (1990); 'Warenne, William de, first earl of Surrey (d. 1088)', *ODNB* (2004).
[1413] Green suggested this but mistook Gilbert's father as the rebel: 'Royal Demesne', 345; R. Mortimer, 'Clare, Richard de [Richard fitzGilbert] (1030x35–1087x90)'; 'Clare, Gilbert de [Gilbert fitzRichard, Gilbert of Tonbridge] (d. 1117)', *ODNB* (2004).
[1414] Much of his fief was subtenanted: GDB 34v–5v (Surrey 19: 1–48).
[1415] J. Bradbury, *Stephen and Matilda: The Civil War of 1139–53* (Stroud, 2012), 20–1.
[1416] Barlow, *William Rufus*, 93; GDB 239v–40v (Warwickshire 16:1–66). Henry had been given custody of the castle at Warwick in the late 1060s: OV II, 219–20.
[1417] *HEA* II, 26–7.
[1418] Barlow, *William Rufus*, 167–70, 231–2.
[1419] Green, 'Royal Demesne', 345–6.
[1420] *VCH Warwickshire* I, 277, 301; IV, 233; V, 18, 194.
[1421] *VCH Berkshire* III, 458, 160–2; IV, 62–4.

Greetham, and possibly Preston, Uppingham, and Wing in Rutland.[1422] For Robert fitzHamon's loyalty in 1088, Rufus 'made him equal to the greatest magnates in England' by granting him *magnos honores*, including *terra regis* formerly held by Queen Matilda.[1423]

Curthose's invasion in 1101 would have similarly compelled Henry, threatened by defections to the duke's cause,[1424] to buy support with a lavish hand. William of Malmesbury stated that some *optimates* deserted the king 'because he was unwilling to satisfy their appetites with grants of land' (*quod nollet eis terras quas uellent ultro pro libito eorum impertiri*).[1425] In a literary device employed by Orderic, Count Robert of Meulan advised Henry to 'placate everyone with promises, grant whatever they ask, and in this way draw all men assiduously to your cause' (*promissis uniuersos demulce, quaeque petierint condede, et sic omnes ad fauorem tui sollerter attrahe*).[1426] Since Curthose's campaign came to nothing, and the duke renounced his claim on England, Southern reasoned that Henry would not have made many royal demesne grants but would have rewarded supporters with confiscated baronial land instead. However, the king could not have known that events would play out in his favour. Having landed his army at Portsmouth, Duke Robert was supported by Robert of Bellême, Roger the Poitevin, and William II of Warenne; amidst the crisis, promising his own estates was likely Henry's best—if not only—option. Although Henry ultimately confiscated the honors of these three leading rebels, this outcome was not a forgone conclusion. According to Orderic, many called for clemency and reconciliation in the aftermath of 1101 because 'if the king defeats a mighty earl (*magnificum comitem*) by force and carries his enmity to the point of disinheriting him (*eum exhaereditaverit*), as he is now striving to do, he will…trample on (*conculcabit*) us like helpless slave-girls (*imbelles ancillas*)'.[1427] This doubtless invented speech nevertheless accurately

[1422] *VCH Rutland* II, 11, 59, 84, 120–1, 88, 97, 104.
[1423] OV IV, 128–9, 182–3, 220–1.
[1424] Eadmer, *Historia*, 126–7; JW III, 96–9; *HA*, 448–51; *GR* I, 704–5
[1425] *GR* I, 716–7.
[1426] OV V, 316–7.
[1427] OV VI, 26–7.

articulated a source of tension among the Anglo-Norman barons, who wanted the king to recognize their honors as heritable.[1428]

The royal charters show that, as the narrative accounts suggest, the king granted significant portions of royal land to several supporters. After 1106, Robert Achard received five estates in Berkshire from Henry, four of which were *terra regis* in 1086.[1429] However, Achard was not 'an exception to the rule' as Southern claimed.[1430] In 1101, Eudo the Steward received the city, castle, and tower of Colchester as well as the nearby royal manor of Witham to hold as Henry and his predecessors held.[1431] Henry also granted Brightlingsea, another royal manor in Essex, to his steward.[1432] Southern described these gifts as 'small matters' in relation to the importance of Eudo's support in the king's most desperate hour,[1433] but Colchester rendered a considerable £110 to the king in 1086,[1434] and the two manors generated a further £55 for the Conqueror.[1435] Eudo's wealth did not rival that of the great earls, but these grants were hardly insignificant.

In the early 1120s, probably during or following a rebellion by Count Waleran IV of Meulan and Amaury III of Montfort, count of Évreux, in favour of William Clito,[1436] the king gave Kenilworth *in feudum et haereditatem de domino meo* to his chamberlain and treasurer, Geoffrey of Clinton.[1437] Again, Southern deemed this gift exceptional, arguing that most of Geoffrey's land, such as Hughenden,[1438] had not been royal demesne.[1439] Hughenden was *in manu regis* in 1086, but Geoffrey also received Moulsford,[1440] which was part of the royal manor of

[1428] Holt, 'Politics and Property'; J.C. Holt, 'Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England I: The Revolution of 1066', *TRHS* 32 (1982), reprised in Holt, *Colonial England*, 271–90; 'Notions of Patrimony'.
[1429] *RRAN* II, 1134. GDB 56v–8 (Berkshire 1:2, 10, 19, 44): Colthrop was probably part of Thatcham in 1086.
[1430] Southern, 'Henry I', 163.
[1431] *RRAN* II, 519, 552.
[1432] *RRAN* II, 1230.
[1433] Southern, 'Henry I', 161–2.
[1434] LDB 107–v (Essex B6–7).
[1435] LDB 1v–2, 6 (Essex 1:2, 26).
[1436] *GND* II, 234–7; OV VI, 346–53; *ASC* E 1124, 1129.
[1437] *RRAN* II, 1428; GDB 238 (Warwickshire 1:9).
[1438] GDB 144v (Buckinghamshire 4:16).
[1439] Southern, 'Henry I', 162.
[1440] *RRAN* II, 1122 (H1-Wallingford-Priory).

Cholsey.[1441] Similarly, William of Aubigny, the king's butler (*pincerna regis*) from 1100,[1442] received Smithdon,[1443] in the manor of Hunstanton,[1444] as well as Happisburgh, Wymondham, and Buckenham.[1445] Richard of Reviers, a minor landholder in 1086,[1446] became a trusted ally of Henry, who rewarded him with the large honor of Plympton early in his reign.[1447] Richard's honor, which became the earldom of Devon under his son, was predominantly made up of royal manors in Devon and Hampshire,[1448] but also included the royal estate of Loders in Dorset.[1449] Robert of Lacy seemingly supported Henry early in his reign because the charters show that he too received *terra regis* at Chipping, Aighton, Dutton, Woolley, and Pontefract Castle.[1450]

Finally, the charter evidence demonstrates that a considerable portion of the land granted by Rufus and Henry was held by King Edward in 1066. Over 90% of the Confessor's land was *terra regis* in 1086,[1451] but eighty-six—over 40%—of the royal estates gifted by the Conqueror's sons belonged to King Edward, and a further seventeen belonged to Queen Edith. These included estates of Devon's *dominicatus regis pertinens ad regnum* in Exon. Exeter Cathedral received the churches of Braunton, Colyton, and Plympton in Devon.[1452] The manor of Plympton itself was the centre of the honor held by Richard of Reviers,[1453] which probably included North Tawton, Exminster, and Walkhampton.[1454] Mont-Saint-Michel received land at East Budleigh,[1455] and Henry granted two-thirds of Exeter's rent to Queen

---

[1441] GDB 56v–7 (Berkshire 1:7).
[1442] Above, 266 note 1348.
[1443] *RRAN* I, 911.
[1444] LDB 135v (Norfolk 1:209).
[1445] *RRAN* II, 1481; Mason, 'Aubigny, William'; LDB 133v, 137v (Norfolk 1:197, 215).
[1446] GDB 83 (Dorset 54:5).
[1447] OV IV, 221–2; V, 298–9, 314–5.
[1448] Green, 'Royal Demesne', 346: *VCH Hampshire* IV, 596; V, 90, 135, 140, 161, 182–3, 187, 204, 206, 228, 242, 279; *VCH Devon* I, 406.
[1449] *RRAN* II, 1018; GDB 75v (Dorset 1:13).
[1450] *RRAN* II, 608–10 (H1-Robert-of-Lacy); GDB 299v, 301v, 379v (Yorkshire 1Y13; 1L1; SWO15).
[1451] Above, 212.
[1452] *RRAN* II, 1391; GDB 100–v (Devon 1:5, 13, 17); Exon 83b1, 85a2, 86a2.
[1453] GDB 100v (Devon 1:17); Exon 86a2; *VCH Devon* I, 406; OV IV, 221–2; V, 298–9, 314–5.
[1454] GDB 100–v (Devon 1:3, 4, 19); Exon 83a2–3, 86b2.
[1455] *RRAN* II, 1418; GDB 100 (Devon 1:9); Exon 84a2.

Matilda, who subsequently donated the revenue to Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, subject to St Paul's Cathedral.[1456] Land similarly categorized in Little Domesday Book was also granted away. Henry gave twenty acres of Sporle, a royal manor that *fuit de regno* in Norfolk, to Castle Acre Priory.[1457] Of Suffolk's *terra regis de regione*, the manor of Bramford was granted to Évreux Cathedral, the church of Blythburgh went to St Paul's Cathedral, and the churches of Gorleston and Lowestoft—held, probably *ex officio*, by Earl Gyrth in 1066—were granted to St Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield.[1458] This evidence, though far from comprehensive, suggests that royal patronage observed no special category of royal land inalienably annexed to the kingdom after 1087. The collection and editing of the royal charters of the Conqueror's sons may yet reveal more evidence in this connection, strengthening the case for thinking that the Norman kings of England were not bound by any restrictions upon which parts of the royal demesne they could grant to their barons.

[1456] *RRAN* II 906, 1514; GDB 100 (C1); Exon 88a1.
[1457] *RRAN* II, 1194; LDB 119v (Norfolk 1:41).
[1458] *RRAN* II, 1218–20, 1673, 1943; LDB 281v, 282, 283 (Suffolk 1:2, 12, 32–3).

Conclusion

The reconstruction of the ducal and royal estates reveals the tangible foundations of the significant power wielded by the rulers of Normandy and England in this period. The widespread distribution of their land, and the considerable revenue they derived from it, provided the dukes and kings with an unrivalled physical presence and unmatched wealth within their realms. Domesday Book proves beyond doubt that this was the case in England, and it seems clear from the relative scale and extent of the ducal estates that it was also the case in Normandy. Moreover, this study demonstrates the fundamental role ducal and royal land played in the construction, maintenance, and strength of the political structures in Normandy and England. This conclusion summarises the principal findings of this thesis, providing answers to the questions—both specific and general—posed in the introduction.[1459]

After exploring how it is possible to reconstruct an impression of the ducal estates from the available primary evidence, Chapter 1 shows that the dukes held land far and wide within Normandy, save for some peripheral areas such as the eastern and southern borderlands.[1460] However, while the dukes may not have had a significant landed presence along these marches, the non-ducal estates confirmed by ducal charter reveal that ducal authority was not limited to the areas surrounding the ducal estates but extended beyond them into all parts of Normandy.

Chapter 2 demonstrates that the Carolingian royal *fisc* in Frankish Neustria appears to have passed into ducal control *en masse* and relatively intact.[1461] Of sixty royal estates located in Frankish Neustria, thirty-six appear in the Norman evidence; of these, thirty were ducal

[1459] Above, 1–13.
[1460] Above, 14–45.
[1461] Above, 46–62.

estates, four were ecclesiastical estates belonging to major Norman religious houses, and only two estates were in the hands of other lords, one of which was probably a former ducal estate. In other words, about 85% of the identifiable royal *fisc* of known descent became ducal land, while a further 11% was ecclesiastical land under ducal protection. The evidence, taken from existing research on the royal *fisc* and the present survey of the charters of King Charles the Bald, is not comprehensive, and the descent of the twenty-four royal estates that do not appear in the Norman evidence is unclear. More study of Carolingian and Norman charters will almost certainly generate additional evidence and permit more secure conclusions. However, even if the extreme assumption were made that all the royal estates of unknown descent were never in ducal hands, ducal land would still account for over 55% of the Frankish royal *fisc* in Normandy, a most conservative estimate.[1462] This finding, though provisional, is significant. It suggests that there was not much scrambling for estates in Normandy after 911. Instead, appropriation of land by the Normans appears to have been relatively orderly and subject to close ducal control. Had this not been the case, more Carolingian royal estates would have ended up out of ducal hands. The specific terms of the agreement between Rollo and Charles the Simple at Saint-Clair-sur-Epte remain unknown, and Dudo's famous description of Rollo measuring out land for his followers should not lead to the conclusion that ducal Normandy was a *tabula rasa*.[1463] Nevertheless, it perhaps accurately represents the duke as the manager and greatest beneficiary of the process of Norman appropriation of land in Neustria.

These formerly royal estates gave the dukes a secure landed base from which to rule, extract wealth, and exercise patronage. In a practical sense, it rooted the new counts of Rouen to the landscape, enabling them to take over the reins of government and to impose themselves on the population. Symbolically, it enabled the dukes to present themselves, and gain

[1462] Above, 55–62.
[1463] Above, 51–4.

recognition, as the legitimate successors of Carolingian royal authority in Normandy. The takeover of the Frankish royal *fisc* by the Norman dukes suggests that the upheaval and devastation caused by the Norman invasion did not result in a profound transformation of landed society. A considerable amount of land was transferred from Frankish to Scandinavian lords, with the duke being the chief beneficiary of this process. However, despite political detachment and encroachment on ecclesiastical land, the creation of Normandy was not characterised by the destruction of existing networks of royal and ecclesiastical estates. Ecclesiastical land in the region appears to have come under ducal protection—there is very little evidence of it falling into the hands of other Norman lords—suggesting that any anarchic expropriation was limited. De Boüard questioned the speed at which the Normans assimilated into and took over Frankish Neustria, emphasizing the Scandinavian nature of early Normandy, and Searle has restated this case, rejecting the view that ducal Normandy was built upon existing Carolingian royal institutions and administration.[1464] These arguments for discontinuity, however, look less convincing in the light of the evidence for the extensive transferral of royal land into ducal hands. Instead, the evidence strengthens the arguments for continuity developed by Prentout, Musset, and Bates, and accepted by most recent scholars since.[1465]

Chapter 2 shows that the early ducal estates were fundamental to Normandy's formation and expansion. There can be no doubt that the early dukes held a considerable amount of land within their duchy, which initially stretched from the Risle to the Bresle and, soon after, to the Orne. The estates of Rollo and William Longsword were centred on Rouen and were densely spread all along the Seine valley, but the early dukes also had a landed presence on the north coast of Upper Normandy and around the Epte, Eure, and Avre to the south and

[1464] Above, 49.
[1465] Above, 49–50.

southwest of Rouen.[1466] Richard I's reign provides secure evidence for ducal estates west of the Risle, but the scant evidence for the reigns of Rollo and Longsword means that it remains debatable as to whether the evidence for Richard's reign amounts to documentary revelation of a situation which had already existed under his predecessors. However, it is beyond doubt that Norman ducal authority reached west of the Vire into the Cotentin peninsula by the end of the tenth century. Dudo asserted that all of Normandy, as it was in his own time in the early eleventh century, was granted to Rollo by King Charles in 911, while Flodoard recorded that it was only after further grants by King Ralph in 924 and 933 that the Normans expanded westward from the Seine.[1467] However, the charter evidence does not support these narrative traditions; there is little definitive proof that the first two dukes held estates in the west. Instead, this research corroborates the interpretation offered by most historians that the Normans laid claim to the west in the wake of the royal grants, extending their authority, sometimes by conquest, steadily over subsequent decades.[1468] Recently, the consensus that Norman westward expansion was complete by the turn of the century has been questioned by Hagger and Davies who have argued that ducal control over the Cotentin was not fully achieved until 1026 and 1087 respectively.[1469] The distribution of the ducal estates constitutes a corrective to such views, for it suggests a firm ducal presence in these regions by *c.*1000.

The evidence from the reigns of Richard II, Richard III, and Robert I reveals that the dukes continued to be the principal beneficiaries of the landed takeover in Neustria as they extended the boundaries of their realm. By 1035, indeed by 1026, there was an even spread of ducal estates from the Bresle and the Seine in the east to the Couesnon and the coast of the Cotentin in the west. Had the dukes not been successful in planting themselves throughout the western reaches of their duchy, it is improbable that the charter evidence

[1466] Above, 65–6.
[1467] Above, 63.
[1468] Above, 63–4.
[1469] Above, 72.

would reveal so many ducal estates there. The broad territorial extent of Normandy had therefore taken shape before the reign of William the Conqueror. Territorial borders in West Francia were not clearly defined in this period, but nearly all the ducal estates known before 1035 were located within the duchy's traditional boundaries. Very few estates lay beyond them in addition to a few located on the Channel Islands.[1470] Furthermore, the dukes appear to have continued the practice of taking over the estates of the Frankish royal *fisc* as they expanded westward. Of the thirty royal estates known to have been held by dukes, eight were located in Lower Normandy west of the Risle.[1471]

The duchy's fundamental shape seems to have respected the memory of ancient borders. The evidence of the ducal estates and the non-ducal estates confirmed by ducal charters shows that the limits of Normandy and of ducal authority do indeed correspond closely with those of the ecclesiastical province of Rouen and a Neustrian *missaticum* of 825–7.[1472] It is possible that the dukes had a broad sense of these territories—especially the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Rouen— but Normandy was probably shaped less by historic boundaries and more by *ad hoc* royal grants of land and the ability of the dukes to claim that land through conquest. Powerful neighbours—Flanders to the northeast and east, the royal domain, Blois-Chartres and Anjou along the south-eastern and southern frontier, and Brittany to the southwest and west—imposed practical limits on the shape of Normandy, regardless of the duchy's theoretical boundaries. The fact that the Norman dukes could not establish themselves in the French Vexin beyond the Epte, a region which was supposedly under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Rouen, suggests they expanded as far as geopolitical realities allowed.

[1470] Above, 79.
[1471] Above, 62.
[1472] Above, 53.

The closing section of Chapter 2 demonstrates that ducal management of the politics of land also helped to maintain ducal authority. From the time of Richard I, dukes assigned estates to their younger sons since they would not be succeeding to the duchy. These members of the ducal family, who were granted comital titles along with their estates, had to swear fealty to, and recognize the authority of, the duke to secure control of their estates.[1473] This strategy ensured the indivisibility and unity of the duchy by providing land and title for younger sons. Also, by granting comital lordships, often in strategic and peripheral locations, to close relatives of the duke, ducal authority was strengthened in vulnerable areas further away from the centres of ducal power. The dukes used their ability to grant counties and, when possible, confiscate them, to manage the descent of land within their own family. This system ultimately led to conflict, as younger sons saw these lands and offices as their customary familial inheritance while the duke preferred to see them as held in return for loyalty and service to him and therefore potentially revocable.[1474] However, this process did not prove devastating for Normandy's integrity. Political conflict, while sometimes destabilising, was most often focused around the ducal throne and it could also replenish the stock of land at the duke's disposal via confiscation of estates.

The essential distribution of ducal land remained unchanged after 1035, as demonstrated in Chapter 3. The only significant change in its shape comes with the appearance of ducal estates in Maine following the Norman conquest of that county in 1063.[1475] In general, the maps of ducal land under the Conqueror and Curthose are more densely populated than those of their predecessors, and there are noticeably more ducal estates on the Channel Islands and Normandy's southern and eastern borders. Nevertheless, evidence for ducal land along these frontiers remains relatively slight throughout the period. While it remains

[1473] Above, 81–93.
[1474] Above, 81–93.
[1475] Above, 111–3.

possible that there were ducal estates located in these regions that remain hidden from view, Chapter 3 reveals that the estates of some Norman aristocratic families appear to fill some of the gaps in the ducal land distribution.[1476] The estates of the counts of Mortain were located in Normandy's southwest border zone while the estates of the counts of Évreux and the house of Tosny were in the southeast. The Montgommery lordship ran down central Normandy, intersecting at its southernmost tip with the Bellême lordship which ran along the southern frontier. With the marriage of Roger II of Montgommery and Mabel of Bellême *c.*1050, these two lordships ultimately merged under their son, Robert II of Bellême, who inherited both sets of estates in the later eleventh century.[1477] On the eastern frontier, to the north, were the estates of the counts of Eu, the only known example of a localised lordship concentrated into a small territorial bloc in Normandy.

The charter evidence is fragmentary, but the impression of Normandy's tenurial landscape is suggestive of a level of ducal control over land and an interdependent alliance between the duke and the aristocracy. The ducal estates formed the spine of the duchy, and the regional aristocratic lordships, interspersed within, but not disrupting the pattern of, ducal land, provided the muscle. This powerful combination made Normandy a uniquely cohesive principality.

Norman success stands out in West Francia, a region in which power was becoming more decentralized and localized during this period of social and political transformation. Despite instances of instability after the deaths of William Longsword, Robert I, and the Conqueror, Normandy never suffered a lasting fragmentation of central authority. The duchy was a creation of the political decentralisation which characterised the crisis of West Frankish royal authority around 900. However, the establishment of Normandy in the tenth century did not necessarily mean that the inchoate duchy would survive and thrive. Vikings who attempted

[1476] Above, 113.
[1477] Above, 91, 100, 132.

to settle around the Loire valley to the west and south did not fare so well. In Normandy, power crystallised at the ducal level where it remained strong throughout this period and largely resisted further localisation of lordship and the rise of castellan violence. Other polities may well have been suffering political breakdown in the tenth and eleventh centuries, but in Normandy an effective political hierarchy was established and maintained by the dukes who were able to consolidate and expand their authority during this period. The fact that the dukes ultimately established themselves throughout the duchy helps to explain why ducal authority remained strong and why Normandy did not suffer any significant decentralization of power. The ducal estates, widespread throughout Normandy, gave the dukes a presence throughout their realm and scope for patronage to reward followers and endow ecclesiastical houses. The concentration of ducal estates centred on the entrepôt that was Rouen, and along the important trade route of the Seine, also contributed to the wealth, influence, and durability of the dukes as rulers of Normandy. Furthermore, by looking at the management of aristocratic conflict, disputes, succession, and marriage after 1035, the closing section of Chapter 3 demonstrates that central ducal control of land and patronage was maintained.[1478]

Across the Channel, England emerged as a unified polity in the same period as Normandy. In 1066, the English royal demesne of the Confessor was worth £8,375.[1479] This valuation, though considerably higher than those of previous historians of the twentieth century, differs little from recent estimates calculated by Grassi and Baxter. It should not be doubted that King Edward's annual income from the royal estates was more than £8,000, but this remains a conservative estimate not least because it excludes the estates Domesday Book attributes to dead or exiled individuals in 1066, which likely represented ringfenced comital land in the king's hand. The royal demesne was widespread across England and the only estate that

[1478] Above, 114–33.
[1479] Above, 172.

could be considered nationwide.[1480] The king held land in every shire and was the wealthiest landholder in eighteen of them, but his demesne was not evenly distributed. Cornwall, Staffordshire, Lincolnshire, and the North, were less densely populated with royal estates and provided modest revenue for the treasury. There was an unsurprising concentration of royal demesne in Wessex and southern Mercia, but this was not at all sharply defined and should not be overemphasized. The value and distribution of the royal demesne in 1066 suggests that the kings of Wessex augmented their estates as they expanded their realm and unified England during the tenth century, much like the dukes did as they extended their rule westward from Rouen across Normandy.

Queen Edith's manors spread across twenty-one shires and were located close to and often filling gaps in Edward's estates. Together, the royal couple held land worth nearly £10,000, more than the combined wealth of the leading comital families in England in 1066.[1481] The family of Earl Godwine, the most powerful aristocratic house and dominant factional force in English politics, was not wealthier than the Confessor. Furthermore, the Godwinesons, together with the rest of the aristocratic elite in England, owed their wealth and position as earls to the king. When Earl Harold became king, he added the royal estates to his own comital land centred on Wessex. A rudimentary estimate for Harold's landed income as king is nearly £12,000, which trebled his wealth and increased the value of the royal demesne considerably.[1482]

The Norman conquest of England transformed the royal demesne in several regards. In 1086, the *terra regis* was worth around £17,800, nearly a quarter of England's landed wealth recorded in Domesday Book.[1483] With just under 10% of the *terra regis* held from the king by his tenants, King William derived an annual net income of nearly £16,250 from the royal

[1480] Above, 179.
[1481] Above, 180.
[1482] Above, 182–4.
[1483] Above, 184–5.

demesne at the end of his reign. While this calculation is higher than previous estimates of historians in the twentieth century, it is in line with recent figures published by Palmer and Grassi.[1484] Nevertheless, as with the Confessor's landed income in 1066, this is a conservative estimate that does not include estates *in manu regis* at the time of the Domesday survey, such as Bishop Odo's considerable fief which had a gross value of over £3,000. Between 5 January 1066 and 1086, therefore, the net income expected from the royal demesne at least doubled. The size and scale of the royal demesne also increased substantially. Having taken land from multiple *antecessores*, more land had become royal, which was also exploited more intensively, generating on average more revenue per hide. William held over 90% of Edward's land, but this accounted for less than 50% of the *terra regis* in 1086.[1485] In total, over 80% of Domesday's *terra regis* came from the families of King Edward, Earl Godwine, and Earl Leofric, with further significant portions coming from other notable *antecessores* such as Archbishop Stigand and Beorhtric, son of Ælfgar. Queen Matilda's fief, probably worth over £1,000, was mostly *terra regis* in 1086 on account of her death three years earlier.[1486] Had she been alive, Matilda's estates would have been listed under her own Domesday fief, thereby decreasing the value of the royal demesne by around £1,000. However, even comparing the combined landed revenue enjoyed by the pre- and post-conquest royal couples, William and Matilda were considerably wealthier than Edward and Edith had been.

The Norman kings granted land that had belonged to King Edward. While the Conqueror retained most of the Confessor's estates, his sons, who enjoyed less favourable circumstances as kings of England, parted with more of Edward's former land after 1087. These grants included royal demesne classified in Exon and Little Domesday Book as pertaining to the realm, perhaps suggesting that such estates should not be alienated.[1487] However, the scribe

[1484] Above, 186.
[1485] Above, 212.
[1486] Above, 190–1, 203–6.
[1487] Above, 279–80.

of Great Domesday Book did not include these classifications, demonstrating his lack of interest in this distinction made by the scribes of the earlier regional texts. It may be inferred, therefore, that the king and his closest fiscal advisers were similarly disinterested in distinguishing types of royal land. As a result of the Norman conquest, any lingering pre-conquest notions of different categories of royal estate were rendered obsolete. After 1066, land was either *terra regis* or in the baronial honors of the tenants-in-chief.

The distribution of landed revenue at the top of English landed society was transformed, increasing the wealth inequality between the king and his richest subjects.[1488] The substantial growth of the royal demesne made the king much wealthier than his barons. No individual nor institution was anywhere near the Conqueror in terms of landed revenue by 1086. No family enjoyed the position of dominance that the Godwinesons enjoyed under the Confessor; the most powerful aristocrats in 1086 were the Conqueror's own half-brothers. There were nineteen baronial honors generating an annual net income of over £400 in 1086. The combined net income of all these Class A and B fiefs was nearly £12,700, significantly short of that of the royal demesne. Furthermore, the identity of the magnates had changed completely. Of the twenty wealthiest people in England, just two were *Angli*—residing in England before Hastings. The identity of the post-conquest aristocracy, most of whom were in the Conqueror's close personal circle suggests that William exercised considerable control over the process of land acquisition and distribution after 1066 and supports Eadmer's statement that everything waited upon the king's nod.[1489]

There were, nevertheless, some aspects of the royal demesne that did not materially change after 1066. The king remained the only individual whose estates spread throughout the kingdom. Some shires contained little royal land in 1086, although these tended to be

[1488] Above, 192.
[1489] Eadmer, *Historia*, 9; *History*, 9–10.

different from those devoid of royal estates under King Edward.[1490] There was still a significant concentration of royal demesne in Wessex and southern Mercia, but the distinction became less defined than before the conquest. The wealthiest magnates still owed their wealth and position to the king and no aristocratic honor rivalled the scale, spread, and revenue of the royal demesne. The geographic distribution of the Conqueror's royal demesne and the Norman earldoms further strengthens the argument that King William controlled the landed takeover of England closely. The earldoms of Norman England contained land across multiple shires, as before 1066. While the Conqueror's earls enjoyed stronger concentrations of land centred on peripheral shires, their earldoms were still anchored to the kingdom with estates dispersed over wider regions. The tenurial landscape of Norman England, with the royal estates spread far and wide across the kingdom and frontier regions given over to trusted followers who had a stake in the entire realm, is strikingly similar to the distribution of ducal and aristocratic estates in Normandy. The evidence for England, which is more comprehensive, strengthens the impression given by the fragmentary charter evidence for the duchy.

The analysis of the Conqueror's *antecessores* suggests that, by 1075, William had taken control of the Confessor's estates together with those of the Godwinesons, the Leofricsons, and Archbishop Stigand. He was not wont to part with Edward's estates, as the high rate of retention by 1086 suggests, but seems to have made some exceptions, most probably out of political and military considerations in the aftermath of 1066. Of the Confessor's land that was not *terra regis* in 1086, most was in the Sussex rapes, the marcher earldoms, and other strategically important honors.[1491] The Conqueror was more liberal with Earl Harold's land, nearly half of which was in baronial fiefs.[1492] It is likely that more of Harold's estates went

[1490] Above, 188, 195–6.
[1491] Above, 217–21.
[1492] Above, 221–3.

into William fitzOsbern's earldom, but Earl William's death in 1071 meant that many ended up back in the *terra regis* by 1086. Godwineson land, located predominantly in southern England and East Anglia, was easily accessible after 1066, the year which saw the landholding Godwinesons slain. Most of the estates held by the women of Godwine's family also ended up in the *terra regis*. In Countess Gytha's case, this happened quickly, but it remains a matter for debate whether Gytha rebelled in early 1068 because William had confiscated her land or whether William confiscated her land because she was implicated in rebellion. Edith probably fared better as dowager queen and the Confessor's widow. She came to terms with the Conqueror when she surrendered Winchester in 1066, and there is no evidence that she forfeited her estates thereafter. If Edith retained her land, worth over £1,500 in 1066, she would have been one of the wealthiest individuals in Norman England. It is difficult to know whether William would have been willing to tolerate this. On the one hand, having such a powerful English figure in control of her valuable land would have posed a serious risk. On the other hand, William may not have felt that he could confiscate Edith's estates while presenting himself as Edward's legitimate successor. The fate of Edith's land between 1066 and her death in 1075 remains a matter of speculation. It could be that some of Edith's estates went into new Norman lordships while the remainder, though nominally hers, was kept under royal supervision, allowing Edith to draw an income, but limiting her control over her landed wealth.[1493]

The colossal scale of the post-conquest royal demesne did not long survive the Conqueror. The 1130 pipe roll and the contemporaneous surveys in the Midlands show that, by the end of Henry I's reign, the expected income of the royal demesne diminished dramatically to around £8,900, just over half what it was in 1086.[1494] Previous historians have argued persuasively that the Conqueror's the royal demesne was considerably reduced after 1087.

[1493] Above, 223–5.
[1494] Above, 237–62.

However, a shift in the historiographical paradigm regarding the English royal estates in this period is necessary to place this reduction in a wider context. The royal estates at King Henry's death were worth around the same as they had been at King Edward's death. In the *longue durée*, the Conqueror's royal demesne was unusually large in comparison with that of his predecessors and successors. The conquest produced a sudden and anomalous growth in the scale and extent of the *terra regis*, which returned gradually towards its pre-conquest size under the Conqueror's sons. The Danish conquest of England in 1016 almost certainly had similar consequences for the royal estates under Cnut and his sons. The extraordinary windfall of land that came under the Conqueror's control after 1066 enabled him to grant out huge fiefs and still maintain a huge royal demesne. There were few such windfalls for the Conqueror's sons. Few defeated rebels suffered forfeiture under Rufus and Henry, and those that did were often reinstated or their fiefs were granted out again, sometimes to their own kin.[1495] The circumstances of Anglo-Norman politics after 1087 placed a premium on generous grants of royal patronage. As the Conqueror's sons competed for control of their father's cross-channel realm, baronial loyalty became a seller's market. Members of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy were able to exploit this fraternal rivalry to their benefit. Harsh royal judgements could easily drive barons into the camps of the king's rivals. These political tensions were perhaps at their most intense during the period 1087–1106, but even after the defeat and incarceration of Robert Curthose, his son, William Clito, continued to provide disillusioned lords with a fulcrum for rebellion until his death in 1128. The rulers of England and Normandy after 1087 had a greater need to grant land to followers, but also had less opportunity for recouping land through confiscation and disinheritance, lest they lose support. This was even more problematic for Curthose in Normandy, whose estates and powers of lordship were not as extensive as those enjoyed by Rufus and Henry in England. Duke Robert's Norman rule no doubt suffered from personal weaknesses, but there were

[1495] Above, 263–80.

clearly other factors beyond his immediate control acting against him. Nevertheless, the result was a probable breakdown of ducal authority in Normandy under Curthose, who granted away much ducal land.[1496]

The legacy of the conquest for the crown in Norman England was not a gargantuan royal demesne, but a more intensive exploitation of royal lordship over land. In English royal finance, the balance of royal revenue shifted away from the royal demesne and towards exploitation of royal lordship over the aristocracy in the form of vacancies, confiscated estates, reliefs, minority succession, wards, and heiresses.[1497] Before 1066, the rulers of Normandy and England made unquantifiable fiscal gains exercising ducal and royal lordship, but the conquest allowed the Normans kings of England to exploit royal lordship with unprecedented intensity and regularity, which would ultimately cause major problems for the crown. Patronage and the politics of land appear to have been quite similar in Normandy and England before 1066. It is an irony of the Norman conquest of England that, despite being ruled by the same individual for much of the period between 1066 and 1135, politics and land in the duchy and kingdom diverged. The charter evidence demonstrates that the dukes of Normandy and the kings of England exercised a high level of authority over the aristocracy who were routinely incentivised to take part in the assembly politics of both realms. Land in England had been 'acquired' after 1066, which gave the Conqueror great power to claim that all land in England was thereafter held from the king and that all English fiefs would sooner or later fall to the crown. This represented a fundamental transformation in the relationship between the king and the aristocracy in England, allowing the king to reap financial and political capital not seen in England before 1066 or in Normandy throughout this period. No duke could claim to be the source of all tenure in Normandy. With the gains

[1496] Above, 105–8.
[1497] Above, 240–2.

to be had in England after 1066, the Conqueror probably granted less ducal land away in Normandy after he became king.

The rulers of the cross-channel Anglo-Norman realm in the period 1066–1135 were among the wealthiest and most powerful figures in medieval Europe. The Norman ducal and English royal estates were the foundations of the wealth, power, and authority of the dukes and kings, and therefore also help to explain the remarkable history of Normandy and England in this period.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Les actes de Guillaume le Conquérant et de la reine Mathilde pour les abbayes caennaises, ed. L. Musset (Caen, 1967)

The Acts of William II and Henry I, ed R. Sharpe and D.X. Carpenter (2018): https://actswilliam2henry1.wordpress.com/

Anglo-Saxon Charters, ed. A.J. Robertson, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1956)

Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography, ed. P.H. Sawyer (London, 1986): http://www.esawyer.org.uk/about/index.html

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition, ed. D.M. Dumville and S. Keynes (Cambridge, 1983–)

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation, ed. D. Whitelock with D.C. Douglas and S. I. Tucker (London, 1961)

Annales de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Jumièges, ed. J. Laporte (Rouen, 1954)

Annales Nivernenses, ed. J. Heller and G. Waitz, *MGH Scriptores* 13 (Hannover, 1881)

Annales Regni Francorum, ed. F. Kurze, *MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (Hannover, 1895)

Les Annales de Saint-Bertin, ed. F. Grat, J. Vielliard, S. Clémencet, L. Levillain (Paris, 1964)

The Annals of St-Bertin, ed. and trans. J.L. Nelson (Manchester, 1991)

Capitularia Regum Francorum, ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, 2 vols. *MGH Leges Sectio II* (Hanover, 1897)

The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy, Bishop of Amiens, ed. and trans. F. Barlow, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1999)

Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals, trans. B.W. Scholz with B. Rogers (Ann Arbor, MI, 1970)

Les chartes des comtes de Saint-Pol (XIe–XIIIe siècles), ed. J.-F. Nieus (Turnhout, 2008)

The Chronicle of John of Worcester, ed. R.R. Darlington and P. McGurk, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1995–8)

The Chronography of Robert of Torigni, ed. T.N. Bisson, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2020)

Councils and Synods, with other Documents relating to the English Church 871–1204, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C.N.L. Brooke, 2 vols (Oxford, 1981)

Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, ed. R. Ashdowne, D. Howlett, and R. Latham, 3 vols. (Oxford, 2018): http://www.dmlbs.ox.ac.uk/web/dmlbs.html

Domesday Book, ed. J. Morris *et al.*, 38 vols. (Chichester, 1974–92)

Domesday Explorer, ed. J.J.N. Palmer (2000): http://www.domesdaybook.net/domesday-explorer

Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury, ed. D.C. Douglas (London, 1944)

The Domesday of St Paul's, ed. W.H. Hale (London, 1858)

Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. J. Lair (Caen, 1865)

Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. E. Christiansen (Woodbridge, 1998)

Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia, ed. M. Rule (London, 1884)

Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England, trans. G. Bosanquet (London, 1964)

The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969–80)

Electronic Edition of Domesday Book: Translation, Databases and Scholarly Commentary 1086, ed. J.J.N. Palmer, 2nd edn. (2010): http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-5694-1

An Eleventh Century Inquisition of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, ed. A. Ballard (London, 1920)

English Historical Documents c.500–1042, ed. D. Whitelock, 2nd edn. (London, 1979)

English Historical Documents 1042–1189, ed. D.C. Douglas and G.W. Greenaway, 2nd edn. (London, 1981)

Exon: The Domesday Survey of South-West England, trans. F. Thorn and ed. P.A. Stokes and J. Crick (London, 2018): http://www.exondomesday.ac.uk

Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds, ed. D.C. Douglas (London, 1932)

Flodoard of Reims, *Les Annales de Flodoard*, ed. Ph. Lauer (Paris, 1905)

Flodoard of Reims, *The Annals of Flodoard of Reims 919–966*, ed. and trans. S. Fanning and B.S. Bachrach (Toronto, 2004)

Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa, 16 vols. (Paris, 1865–70)

The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers, ed. and trans. R.H.C. Davis and M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1998)

The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni, ed. and trans. E. van Houts, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1992–5)

Great Domesday Book, ed. A Williams and R.W.H. Erskine (London, 1986–92)

The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirty First Year of the Reign of King Henry I Michaelmas 1130 (Pipe Roll 1), ed. J.A. Green (London, 2012)

Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiæ Wigorniensis, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1723)

Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996)

Herefordshire Domesday c.1160–70, ed. V.H. Galbraith and J. Tait (London, 1950)

Historia Ecclesie Abbendonensis: The History of the Church of Abingdon, ed. J. Hudson, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2002–7)

The History of the Norman People: Wace's Roman de Rou, ed. and trans. G.S. Burgess and E. van Houts (Woodbridge, 2004)

Hugh of Fleury, *Modernorum Regum Francorum Actus*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH Scriptores* 9 (Hanover, 1851)

Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York 1066–1127*, ed. and trans. C. Johnson, M. Brett, C.N.L. Brooke, and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1990)

Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis Subjicitur Inquisitio Eliensis, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton (London, 1876)

Inventio et miracula sancti Vulfranni, ed. J. Laporte (Rouen, 1938)

The Kalendar of Abbot Samson of Bury St Edmunds and Related Documents, ed. R.H.C. Davis (London, 1954)

The Leicestershire Survey c.AD 1130, ed. C.F. Slade (Leicester, 1956)

The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres, ed. and trans. F. Behrends (Oxford, 1976)

The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey, ed. C.W. Foster and T. Longley (Horncastle, 1924)

Little Domesday Book, ed. A Williams and R.W.H. Erskine (2000)

Livre blanc, Sées, Bibliothèque de l'Evêché de Sées, non coté, Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Martin de Sées

London, British Library, Cotton Julius A VI (s. xi^{1})

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B V/1 (s. xi^{med})

Orderic Vitalis: Life, Works and Interpretations, ed. C.C. Rozier, D. Roach, G.E.M. Gasper, and E. van Houts (Woodbridge, 2016)

PASE Domesday, ed. S. Baxter, C.P. Lewis, D. Probert, A. Dymond and K. Blayney, 2nd edn. (2016): http://domesday.pase.ac.uk

The pipe roll of 31 Henry I, Michaelmas 1130, ed. J. Hunter (London, 1929)

Polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain de Prés, ed. A. Longnon, 2 vols. (Paris, 1895)

Rodulfus Glaber Opera, ed. J. France, N. Bulst, and P. Reynolds (Oxford, 1989)

Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France (840–877), ed. A. Giry, M. Prou, and G. Tessier, 3 vols. (Paris, 1943–55)

Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple, roi de France (893–923), ed. Ph. Lauer, 2 vols. (Paris, 1940–9)

Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911–1066, ed. M. Fauroux (Caen, 1961)

Recueil des actes d'Eudes, roi de France (888–898), ed. R.-H. Bautier (Paris, 1967)

Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France, ed. L. Delisle and E. Berger, 3 vols. (Paris, 1916–27)

Recueil des actes de Louis II le Bègue, Louis III et Carloman II, rois de France (877–884), ed. F. Grat, J. de Font-Réaulx, G. Tessier, and R.-H. Bautier (Paris, 1978)

Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, ed. M. Bouquet *et al.*, 24 vols. (Paris, 1869–1904)

The Red Book of the Exchequer, ed. H. Hall, 3 vols. (London, 1896)

Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066–1087), ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998)

Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154, 3 vols. ed. H.W.C Davis, C. Johnson, H.A. Cronne, and R.H.C. Davis (Oxford, 1913–68)

Richard fitzNigel, *Dialogus de Scaccario, Constitutio Domus Regis*, ed. and trans. E. Amt and S.D. Church (Oxford, 2007)

Richer of Saint-Remi, *Histoire de France 888–995*, ed. and trans. R. Latouche, 2 vols. (Paris, 1930–7)

Richer of Saint-Remi, *Histories*, ed. and trans. J. Lake, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 2011)

SCRIPTA: Site Caennais de Recherche Informatique et de Publications des Textes Anciens, ed. P. Bauduin: https://www.unicaen.fr/scripta/pages/index.html

Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries, ed. F.E. Harmer (Cambridge, 1914)

Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, ecclesie*: *Tract on the Origins and Progress of this the Church of Durham*, ed. and trans. D.W. Rollason (Oxford, 2000)

Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia Volume 2: Historia Regum Anglorum, ed. T. Arnold (Cambridge, 2012)

Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand, 5 vols. (Paris, 1717)

Toponymie générale de la France: étymologie de 35,000 noms de lieux, ed. E. Nègre, 3 vols. (Geneva, 1990–1)

Two Chartularies of the Priory of St. Peter at Bath, ed. W. Hunt (London, 1893)

Vie de Gauzlin, abbé de Fleury, ed. R.H. Bautier and G. Labory (Paris, 1969)

Vita Ædwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit: The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster, ed. and trans. F. Barlow, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1992)

Widows, Heirs, and Heiresses in the Late Twelfth Century: The Rotuli de Dominabus et Pueris et Puellis, ed. J. Walmsley (Tempe, AZ, 2006)

William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, ed. and trans. R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2007)

Saints' Lives, ed. and trans. R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 2002)

Gesta Regum Anglorum: *The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R.A.B Mynors, R.M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998–9)

Historia Novella: *The Contemporary History*, ed. E. King and trans. K.R. Potter (Oxford, 1998)

Secondary Sources

L. Abrams, 'Early Normandy', *ANS* 35 (2013), 45–64

W.M. Aird, 'Orderic's Secular Rulers and Representations of Personality and Power in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*' in *Orderic Vitalis: Life, Works and Interpretations*, ed. C.C. Rozier, D. Roach, G.E.M. Gasper, and E. van Houts (Woodbridge, 2016), 189–216

Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy c.1050–1134 (Woodbridge, 2008)

'Mowbray, Robert de, earl of Northumbria (d. 1115/1125)', *ODNB* (2004)

St Cuthbert and the Normans: The Church of Durham, 1071–1153 (Woodbridge, 1998)

R. Allen, 'Un acte inconnu de Guillaume le Bâtard, duc de Normandie (18 juin 1066)', *BEC* 171 (2017), 517–36

'*Praesul praecipue, atque venerande*: The Career of Robert Archbishop of Rouen, 989–1037', in *Society and Culture in Medieval Rouen 911–1300*, ed. L. Hicks and E. Brenner (Turnhout, 2013), 153–83

'The Norman Episcopate, 989–1110', PhD thesis (University of Glasgow, 2009)

F. Álvarez López, 'Codicological Description', in *Exon: The Domesday Survey of South-West England*, trans. F. Thorn and ed. P.A. Stokes and J. Crick (London, 2018)

J.W. Baldwin, 'The Kingdom of the Franks from Louis VI to Philip II: Crown and Government', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History IV c.1024–c.1198*, ed. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), 510–29

A. Ballard, *The Domesday Inquest* (London, 1906)

D. Banham and R. Faith, *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming* (Oxford, 2014)

J. Barbier, 'Aspects du fisc en Neustrie (VIe–Xe siècles)', *BdF* 16/1 (1989), 129–42

'Palais et terres du fisc en Neustrie', in *La Neustrie: les pays au nord de la Loire de Dagobert à Charles le Chauve (VIIe–IXe siècles)*, ed. P. Périn and L-C. Feffer (Rouen, 1985), 67–70

F.H. Baring, 'The Exeter Domesday', *EHR* 27 (1912), 309–18

Domesday Tables (London, 1909)

F. Barlow, *The Godwins: The Rise and Fall of a Noble Dynasty* (London, 2002)

William Rufus (London and New Haven, CT, 2000)

The Feudal Kingdom of England 1042–1216, 5th edn. (London, 1999)

Edward the Confessor (London and New Haven, CT, 1997)

The English Church 1066–1154: A History of the Anglo-Norman Church (London, 1979)

The English Church 1000–1066: A History of the Later Anglo-Saxon Church, 2nd edn. (London, 1979)

'Domesday Book: A Letter of Lanfranc', *EHR* 78 (1963), 284–9

D. Barthélemy, *Nouvelle histoire des Capétiens 987–1214* (Paris, 2012)

The Serf, the Knight, and the Historian, trans. G. Robert Edwards (Ithaca, NY, 2009)

'La mutation de l'an 1100', *Journal des Savants* (2005), 3–28

La mutation de l'an mil, a-t-elle eu lieu? Servage et chevalerie dans la France des Xe et Xie siècles (Paris, 1997)

'The "Feudal Revolution"', *P&P* 152 (1996), 196–205

La société dans le comté de Vendôme de l'an mil au XIVe siècle (Paris, 1993)

R.E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine c.890–1160* (Woodbridge, 2004)

D. Bates, *William the Conqueror* (London and New Haven, CT, 2016)

'The Abbey and the Norman Conquest: An Unusual Case?' in *Bury St Edmunds and the Norman Conquest*, ed. T. Licence (Woodbridge, 2014), 5–21

The Normans and Empire (Oxford, 2013)

'The Conqueror's Earliest Historians', in *Writing Medieval Biography: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, ed. D. Bates, J. Crick, and S. Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2006), 129–42

'England around the year 1000', in *Hommes et sociétés dans l'Europe de l'an mil*, ed. P. Bonnassie and P. Toubert (Toulouse, 2004), 101–12

'The Conqueror's Adolescence', *ANS* 25 (2003), 1–18

'England and the "Feudal Revolution"', *SCISAM* 47 (2000), 611–49

'West Francia: The Northern Principalities', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History III c.900–c.1024*, ed. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 2000), 398–419

'Britain and France and the Year 1000', *Franco-British Studies* 28 (1999), 5–22

'Les chartes de confirmation et les pancartes normandes du règne de Guillaume le Conquérant', in *Pancartes monastiques des XIe et XIIe siècles*, ed. M. Parisse, P. Pégeot and B. -M. Tock (Turnhout, 1998) 95–109

'Normandy and England After 1066', *EHR* 104 (1989), 851–80

A Bibliography of Domesday Book (Woodbridge, 1986)

Normandy Before 1066 (London, 1982)

'The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1049/50–1097)', *Speculum* 50 (1975), 1–20

'Notes sur l'aristocratie normande: I. Hugues, évêque de Bayeux (1011–env.–1049); II. Herluin de Conteville et sa famille', *AN* 23 (1973), 7–38

P. Bauduin, 'Un acte inédit de Richard II en faveur de l'abbaye de Saint-Wandrille: contribution à l'étude des premiers actes ducaux normands', in *Sur les pas de Lanfranc du Bec à Caen. Recueil d'études en hommage à Véronique Gazeau*, ed. P. Bauduin *et al.* (Caen, 2018), 441–52

'Normandy before 1066', in *1066 in Perspective*, ed. D. Bates (Leeds, 2018), 7–19

La première Normandie (X^e^–XI^e^ siècles), 2nd edn. (Caen, 2006)

'Du bon usage de la *dos* dans la Normandie ducale (Xe–début XIIe siècle)', in *Dots et douaires dans le haut moyen âge*, ed. F. Bougard, L. Feller and R. Le Jan (Rome, 2002), 429–65

S. Baxter, 'Title to Property in the Age of the Great Confiscation', in *Making Domesday: Intelligent Power in Conquered England*, ed. S. Baxter, J. Crick, and C.P. Lewis (Oxford, forthcoming)

'Estate Management and Written Records in England and the Continent Before Domesday', in *Making Domesday: Intelligent Power in Conquered England*, ed. S. Baxter, J. Crick, and C.P. Lewis (Oxford, forthcoming)

'The Significance of Henry I's Pipe Roll', in *Making Domesday: Intelligent Power in Conquered England*, ed. S. Baxter, J. Crick, and C.P. Lewis (Oxford, forthcoming)

'How and Why was Domesday Made?', *EHR* 135 (2020), 1085–1131

'1066 and Government', in *1066 in Perspective*, ed. D. Bates (Leeds, 2018), 133–55

'The Domesday Controversy: A Review and a New Interpretation', *HSJ* 29 (2018), 225–93

'Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury', *PASE Domesday* (2016)

'Alsige of Faringdon (Berkshire)', *PASE Domesday* (2016)

'Lordship and Labour', in *A Social History of England 900–1200*, ed. J. Crick and E. van Houts (Cambridge, 2011), 98–114

'The Making of Domesday Book and the Languages of Lordship', in *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England c.800–c.1250*, ed. E.M. Tyler (Turnhout, 2011), 271–308

'The Death of Burgheard son of Ælfgar and its Context', in *Frankland: The Franks and the World of Early Middle Ages*, ed. P. Fouracre and D. Ganz (Manchester, 2008), 266–84

The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford, 2007)

'Review of D. Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and The Book* (Oxford, 2000)', *Reviews in History* (2001), available at http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/216

'The Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book*, ed. E.M. Hallam and D. Bates (Stroud, 2001), 73–102

S. Baxter and J. Blair, 'Land Tenure and Royal Patronage in the Early English Kingdom: A Model and a Case Study', *ANS* 28 (2006), 19–46

S. Baxter and C.P. Lewis, 'Domesday Book and the Transformation of English Landed Society, 1066–1086', *ASE* 46 (2019), 343–403

R.F. Berkhofer III, *Day of Reckoning: Power and Accountability in Medieval France* (Philadelphia, PA, 2004)

F. de Beaurepaire, *Les Noms des communes et anciennes paroisses de la Manche* (Paris, 1986)

Les Noms des communes et anciennes paroisses de l'Eure (Paris, 1981)

Les Noms des communes et anciennes paroisses de la Seine-Maritime (Paris, 1979)

J. Bickford-Smith, 'Orderic Vitalis and Norman Society, *c.*1035–1087', DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2006)

T.N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton, NJ, 2009)

'Medieval Lordship', *Speculum* 70 (1995), 743–59

'The "Feudal Revolution"', *P&P* 142 (1994), 6–42

M.E. Blanchard, 'The Late Anglo-Saxon Royal Agent: The Identity and Function of English Ealdormen and Bishops, *c.*950–1066', DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2016)

J. Blair, 'The Limits of Bookland', *ASE* 48 (2022), 1–56

'Estate Memoranda of *c.*1070 from the See of Dorchester-on-Thames', *EHR* 116 (2001), 114–23

J. Blair, S. Rippon, and C. Smart, *Planning in the Early Medieval Landscape* (Liverpool, 2020)

K. Blayney, 'The Tenurial Structure of Hampshire Before and After the Norman Conquest', DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2020)

M. Bloch, *La société féodale* (Paris, 1939–40), trans. L.A. Manyon, *Feudal Society* (London, 1965)

M. Bloche, 'Le chartrier de l'abbaye de la Trinité de Fécamp: étude et édition critique 928/929–1190', 3 vols. Thèse manuscrite (l'École Nationale des Chartes, 2020)

G. Bois, *The Transformation of the Year 1000: The Village of Lournand from Antiquity to Feudalism*, trans. J. Birell (Manchester, 1992)

P. Bonnassie, *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 1991)

La Catalogne au tournant de l'an mil: Croissance et mutations d'une société (Paris, 1990)

La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle: croissance et mutations d'une société, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1975)

T. Borman, *Matilda, Wife of the Conqueror, First Queen of England* (London, 2012)

M. de Boüard, *Le château de Caen* (Caen, 1979)

'De la Neustrie Carolingienne à la Normandie Féodale: Continuité ou Discontinuité?', *HR* 28 (1955), 1–14

P. Bouet, *Rollon: le chef viking qui fonda la Normandie* (Paris, 2016)

'Le Mont-Saint-Michel entre Bretagne et Normandie de 960 à 1060', in *Bretons et Normands au moyen âge: rivalités, malentendus, convergences*, ed. J. Quaghebeur and B. Merdrignac (Rennes, 2008), 165–200

C. Bouchard, 'The Kingdom of the Franks to 1108', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History IV c.1024–c.1198*, ed. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), 120–53

Those of my Blood: Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia (Philadelphia, PA, 2001)

J. Boussard, 'Le comté de Mortain au XIe siècle', *Moyen Age* 58 (1952), 253–79

'La seigneurie de Bellême aux Xe et XIe siècles', in *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Age dédies à la mémoire de Louis Halphen*, ed. C.-E. Perrin (Paris, 1951), 43–54

J. Bradbury, *Stephen and Matilda: The Civil War of 1139–53* (Stroud, 2012)

A.R. Bridbury, *The English Economy from Bede to the Reformation* (Woodbridge, 1992)

R.A. Brown, 'Some Observations on Norman and Anglo-Norman Charters', in *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall*, ed. D. Greenway, C. Holdsworth, and J. Sayers (Cambridge, 1985), 145–63

The Normans and the Norman Conquest, 2nd edn. (Woodbridge, 1985)

Origins of English Feudalism (London, 1973)

H.M. Cam, 'Manerium cum Hundredo: The Hundred and the Hundredal Manor', *EHR* 47 (1932), 353–76

The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls (New York, NY, 1930)

J. Campbell, 'The Late Anglo-Saxon State: A Maximum View', *PBA* 87 (1995), 39–65, reprised in J. Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxon State* (London, 2000), 1–30

'The Sale of Land and the Economics of Power in Early England: Problems and Possibilities', *HSJ* 1 (1989), 23–37

'Some Agents and Agencies of the Late Anglo-Saxon State', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J.C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), 201–18, reprised in J. Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxon State* (London, 2000), 201–25

Essays in Anglo-Saxon History (London, 1986)

R. Carabie, *La propriété foncière dans le très ancien droit normand (XIe–XIIIe siècles)* (Caen, 1943)

H. Chanteau, 'Recueil des actes de Henri Ier Beauclerc, duc de Normandie', 3 vols. Thèse manuscrite (l'École Nationale des Chartes, 1932)

P. Chaplais, 'The Royal Anglo-Saxon 'Chancery' of the Tenth Century Revisited', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C. Davis*, ed. H. Mayr-Harting and R.J. Moore (London, 1985), 41–51

'The Anglo-Saxon Chancery: From the Diploma to the Writ', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 3 (1966), 160–74, reprised in *Prisca Munimenta: Studies in Archival and Administrative History Presented to Dr A.E.J. Hollaender*, ed. F. Ranger (London, 1973), 43–62

M. Chibnall, 'England and Normandy, 1042–1137', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History IV c.1024–c.1198*, ed. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), 191–216

Anglo-Norman England 1066–1166 (Oxford, 1986)

'Military Service in Normandy before 1066', *ANS* 5 (1982), 65–77

M.T. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers 1066–1307*, 4th edn. (Oxford, 2014)

From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 2013)

P.A. Clarke, *The English Nobility under Edward the Confessor* (Oxford, 1994)

H.B. Clarke, 'The Domesday Satellites', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (London, 1985), 50–70

R.P. Cohen, 'Danegeld: The Land Tax in England, 991–1162', DPhil Thesis (University of Oxford, 2018)

W.J. Corbett, 'The Development of the Duchy of Normandy and the Norman Conquest of England', in *The Cambridge Medieval History* V, ed. J.R. Tanner, C.W. Previté-Orton, and Z.N. Brooke (Cambridge, 1926), 481–520

M. Costambeys, M. Innes, and S. MacLean, *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2011)

H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1072)', *ODNB* (2004)

D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain 1000–1300* (London, 1992)

The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century (Cambridge, 1986)

K.E. Cutler, 'Edith, Queen of England, 1045–1066', *Medieval Studies* 35 (1973), 222–31

P. Dalton, 'Geoffrey Rufus (d. 1141)', *ODNB* (2004)

Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire, 1066–1154 (Cambridge, 1994)

H.C. Darby, *Domesday England* (Cambridge, 1977)

Domesday Gazetter (Cambridge, 1975)

C.W. David, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, MA, 1920)

K. Davies, 'Winning the West: The Creation of Lower Normandy, *c.*889–*c.*1087', DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2016)

R.H. Davies, 'The Lands and Rights of Harold, son of Godwine, and their distribution by William I: A Study in the Domesday Evidence', MA dissertation (University of Cardiff, 1967)

W. Davies, 'Sale Price and Valuation in Galicia and Castile-León in the Tenth Century', *EME* 11 (2002), 149–74

W. Davies and P. Fouracre, 'Conclusion', in *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. W. Davies and P. Fouracre (Cambridge, 1995), 245–71

R.H.C. Davis, 'William of Jumièges, Robert Curthose and the Norman Succession', *EHR* 95 (1980), 597–606

R.C. DeAragon, 'Vere, Aubrey de (d. 1141)', *ODNB* (2004)

L. Delisle, *Histoire du château et des sires de Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte* (Valognes, 1867)

'Des revenus publics en Normandie au douzième siècle', *BEC* 13 (1852), 97–135

E.B. Demarest, 'The *Firma Unius Noctis*', *EHR* 35 (1920), 78–89

J. Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France (IXe–Xe siècles)* (Bruges, 1948)

M. Dolley and J. Yvon, 'A group of tenth-century coins found at Mont-Saint-Michel', *BNJ* 40 (1971), 1–16

D.C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror: The Norman Impact upon England* (London, 1964)

'The Rise of Normandy', *PBA* 33 (1947), 101–30

'The Earliest Norman Counts', *EHR* 61 (1946), 129–56

'Rollo of Normandy', *EHR* 57 (1942), 417–36

'The Domesday Survey', *History* 21 (1936), 249–57

G. Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. A Goldhammer (Chicago, IL, 1980)

The Chivalrous Society, trans. C. Postan (Berkeley, CA, 1977)

The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century, trans. H. Clarke (London, 1974)

La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise, 2nd edn. (Paris, 1971)

J. Dunbabin, 'West Francia: The Kingdom', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History III c.900–c.1024*, ed. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 2000), 372–97

France in the Making 843–1180, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 2000)

A. Dymond, 'Norman Ducal Property in the Tenth and Eleventh Century: A Spatial and Chronological Analysis' *HSJ* 29 (2018), 81–114

'William, king', *PASE Domesday* (2016)

H. Ellis, *A General Introduction to Domesday Book*, 2 vols. (London, 1833)

R.W. Eyton, *Domesday Studies: An Analysis and Digest of the Staffordshire Survey* (London, 1881)

Domesday Studies: An Analysis and Digest of the Somerset Survey, 2 vols. (London 1880)

A Key to Domesday: An Analysis and Digest of the Dorset Survey (London, 1878)

'Notes on Domesday', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* 1 (1878), 99–118

R. Faith, 'Social Theory and Agrarian Practice in Early Medieval England: The Land without Polyptyques', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 90 (2012), 299–314

W. Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge, 1920)

R.W. Finn, *The Norman Conquest and its Effects on the Economy: 1066–86* (London, 1971)

Domesday Studies: The Eastern Counties (London, 1967)

Domesday Studies: The Liber Exoniensis (London, 1964)

An Introduction to Domesday Book (London, 1963)

The Domesday Inquest and the Making of Domesday Book (London, 1961)

'The *Inquisitio Eliensis* Reconsidered', *EHR* 75 (1960), 385–409

R. Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law* (Cambridge, 1998)

Kings and Lords in Conquest England (Cambridge, 1991)

'Domesday Book and the Tenurial Revolution', *ANS* 9 (1987), 87–101

'Domesday Estates of the King and the Godwines: A Study in Late Saxon Politics', *Speculum* 58 (1983), 987–1007

C. Flight, *The Survey of Kent* (Oxford, 2010)

The Survey of the Whole of England (Oxford, 2006)

V.H. Galbraith, *Domesday Book: Its Place in Administrative History* (Oxford, 1974)

The Making of Domesday Book (Oxford, 1961)

'Review of R.S. Hoyt, *The Royal Demesne in English Constitutional History: 1066–1272* (Ithaca, NY, 1950)', *EHR* 67 (1952), 259–63

'The Making of Domesday Book', *EHR* 57 (1942), 161–77

'An Episcopal Land-Grant of 1085', *EHR* 44 (1929), 353–72

F.L. Ganshof, *The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy*, trans. J. Sondheimer (London, 1971)

Feudalism, trans. P. Grierson (London, 1952)

G. Garnett, *The Norman Conquest in English History: Volume I: A Broken Chain?* (Oxford, 2021)

'Robert Curthose: The Duke Who Lost His Trousers' *ANS* 35 (2013), 213–43

The Norman Conquest: A Very Short Introduction (Oxford, 2009)

Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure 1066–1166 (Oxford, 2007)

'The Origins of the Crown', *PBA* (1996), 171–214

'Ducal Succession in Early Normandy', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy*, ed. G. Garnet and J. Hudson (Cambridge, 1994), 80–110

'*Franci et Angli*: The Legal Distinctions Between Peoples After the Conquest', *ANS* 8 (1985), 109–37

L. Gathagan, 'Embodying Power: Gender and Authority in the Queenship of Matilda of Flanders', PhD thesis (City University of New York, 2002)

N. Gauthier, 'Rouen pendant le Haut Moyen Age (650–850)', *BdF* 16/2 (1989), 1–20

V. Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, 2 vols. (Caen, 2007)

'Recherches autour de la datation des actes normands aux Xe–XIIe siècles', in *Dating Undated Medieval Charters*, ed. M. Gervers (Woodbridge, 2000), 61–79

'Le patrimoine d'Hugues de Bayeux (*c.*1011–1049)', in *Les Évêques normands du XIe siècle*, ed. P. Bouet and F. Neveux (Caen, 1995), 139–47

R Génestal, *La parage Normand* (Caen, 1911)

R.H. George, 'The Contribution of Flanders to the Conquest of England', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 5 (1926), 81–99

M.F. Giandrea (née Smith), *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2007)

'Archbishop Stigand and the Eye of the Needle', *ANS* 16 (1994), 199–219

B. Golding, 'Robert of Mortain', *ANS* 13 (1990), 119–44

J.L. Grassi 'The Lands and Revenues of Edward the Confessor', *EHR* 117 (2002), 251–83

J.A. Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, 2006)

'Basset, Richard (d. in or before 1144)', *ODNB* (2004)

The Aristocracy of Norman England (Cambridge, 1997)

English Sheriffs to 1154 (London, 1990)

The Government of England under Henry I (Cambridge, 1986)

'The Sheriffs of William the Conqueror', *ANS* 5 (1983), 129–45

'"Praeclarum et megnificum antiquitatis monumentum": the earliest surviving Pipe Roll', *HR* 55 (1982), 1–17

'William Rufus, Henry I and the Royal Demesne', *History* 64 (1979), 337–52

M. Hagger, *Norman Rule in Normandy 911–1144* (Woodbridge, 2017)

'Confrontation and Unification: Approaches to the Political History of Normandy, 911–1035', *History Compass* 11 (2013), 429–42

'How the west was won: the Norman dukes and the Cotentin, *c.*987–1087', *JMH* 38 (2012), 20–55

'The Norman *vicomte c.*1035–1135: What did he do?', *ANS* 29 (2007), 65–83

'A Pipe Roll for 25 Henry I', *EHR* 122 (2007), 133–40

E.M. Hallam, 'Some Current Domesday Research Trends and Recent Publications', in *Domesday Book*, ed. E.M. Hallam and D. Bates (Stroud, 2001), 191–8

E.M. Hallam and C. West, *Capetian France 987–1328*, 3rd edn. (London, 2020)

C.I. Hammer, 'Land Sales in Eighth- and Ninth-Century Bavaria: Legal, Economic and Social Aspects', *EME* 6 (1997), 47–76

M. Hammond, 'The adoption and routinization of Scottish royal charter production for lay beneficiaries, 1124–1195', *ANS* 36 (2014), 91–116

C.R. Hart, 'William Malet and his Family', *ANS* 19 (1997), 123–65

S. Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgement* (Oxford, 2014)

'Domesday England', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales Volume II: 1042–1350*, ed. H.E. Hallam (Cambridge, 1988), 45–136

'Domesday Book and its Predecessors', *EHR* 86 (1971), 753–73

C.H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, MA, 1918)

'Normandy under William the Conqueror', *AHR* 14 (1909), 453–76

'The Norman "Consuetudines et Iusticie" of William the Conqueror', *EHR* 23 (1908), 502–8

J. Haslam, *Urban-Rural Connections in Domesday Book and Late Anglo-Saxon Royal Administration* (Oxford, 2012)

L.V. Hicks, 'The Concept of the Frontier in Norman Chronicles: A Comparative Approach', in *Norman Expansion: Connections, Continuities, and Contrast*, ed. K.J. Stringer and A. Jotischky (London, 2016), 143–63

N.J. Higham, *The Kingdom of Northumbria AD 350–1100* (Stroud, 1993)

R. Higham, 'William the Conqueror's Siege of Exeter in 1068', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* (2013), 93–132

D. Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1981)

C.W. Hollister, 'Mandeville, Geoffrey de, first earl of Essex (d. 1144)', *ODNB* (2004)

Henry I (New Haven, CT, 2001)

'The Campaign of 1102 against Robert of Bellême', *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, C. Holdsworth, and J. L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1989), 193–202

'William Rufus, Henry I, and the Anglo-Norman Church', *Peritia* 6–7 (1987–8), 119–40

'The Greater Domesday Tenants-in-Chief', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J.C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), 219–48

Monarchy, Magnates, and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World (London, 1986)

'The Anglo-Norman Civil War: 1101', *EHR* 88 (1973), 315–34

J.C. Holt, 'Domesday Studies 2000', in *Domesday Book*, ed. E.M. Hallam and D. Bates (Stroud, 2001), 19–24

'1086', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J.C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), 41–64, reprised in J.C. Holt, *Colonial England 1066–1215* (London, 1997), 81–101

'Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England II: Notions of Patrimony', *TRHS* 33 (1983), 193–220, reprised in J.C. Holt, *Colonial England 1066–1215* (London, 1997), 197–221

'Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England I: The Revolution of 1066', *TRHS* 32 (1982), 193–212, reprised in J.C. Holt, *Colonial England 1066–1215* (London, 1997), 271–90

'Politics and Property in Early Medieval England', *P&P* 57 (1972), 3–52, reprised in J.C. Holt, *Colonial England 1066–1215* (London, 1997), 113–59

E. van Houts, 'The Ship List of William the Conqueror', *ANS* 10 (1988), 159–184

'Scandinavian Influence in Norman Literature of the Eleventh Century', *ANS* 6 (1983), 107–21

M. Howell, *Regalian Right in Medieval England* (London, 1962)

R.S. Hoyt, 'A Pre-Domesday Kentish Assessment List', in *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*, ed. P.M. Barnes and C.F. Slade (London, 1960), 189–202

'The *Terrae Occupatae* of Cornwall and the Exon Domesday', *Traditio* 9 (1953), 155–75

The Royal Demesne in English Constitutional History: 1066–1272 (Ithaca, NY, 1950)

'The Nature and Origins of the Ancient Demesne', *EHR* 65 (1950), 145–74

J. Hudson, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England Volume II: 871–1216* (Oxford, 2012)

Land, Law, and Lordship in Anglo-Norman England (Oxford, 1994)

H. Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm 600–1000* (Cambridge, 2005)

L.L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge, 2003)

P. Hyams, *Rancor and Reconciliation in Medieval England* (Ithaca, NY, 2003)

'Feud and the State in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *JBS* 40 (2001), 1–43

E. Impey, 'The *Turris Famosa* at Ivry-la-Bataille, Normandy', in *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe AD c800–1600*, ed. G. Meirion-Jones, E. Impey, and M. Jones (Oxford, 2002), 189–203

M. Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley 400–1000* (Cambridge, 2000)

S. James and D.A. Seal, 'An Introduction to the Sussex Domesday', in *The Sussex Domesday*, ed. A. Williams and G.H. Martin (London, 1991), 1–25

E. Johnson, 'The Process of Norman Exile into Southern Italy', in *Exile in the Middle Ages*, ed. L. Napran and E. van Houts (Turnhout, 2004), 29–38

W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and its Transformation 1000–1135* (London, 1979)

K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, 'Malet, William (d. 1071?)', *ODNB* (2004)

Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066–1166 I: Domesday Book (Woodbridge, 1999)

'Two studies in north French prosopography', *JMH* 20 (1994), 3–37

K.S.B. Keats-Rohan and D.E. Thornton, *Domesday Names: An Index of Latin Personal and Place Names in Domesday Book* (Woodbridge, 1997)

S. Kelly, 'Anglo-Saxon Lay Society and the Written Word', in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1990), 36–62

J.M. Kemble, *Saxons in England*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1849)

S. Keynes, 'Church Councils, Royal Assemblies, and Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas', in *Kingship, Legislation, and Power in Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, ed. G.R. Owen-Crocker and B.W. Schneider (Woodbridge, 2013), 17–182

'Royal Government and the Written Word in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1990), 226–57

'Regenbald the Chancellor (*sic*)', *ANS* 10 (1988), 185–222

The Diplomas of Æthelred 'the Unready' 978–1016 (Cambridge, 1980)

R. Lavelle, 'The King's Wife and Family Property Strategies: Late Anglo-Saxon Wessex, 871–1066', *ANS* 29 (2007), 84–99

Royal Estates in Anglo-Saxon Wessex: Land, Politics and Family Strategies (Oxford, 2007)

'The "Farm of One Night" and the Organisation of Royal Estates in Late Anglo-Saxon Wessex', *HSJ* 14 (2005), 54–82

M.-J. Le Cacheux, *Histoire de l'Abbaye Saint-Amand de Rouen, des origines à la fin du XVIe siècle* (Caen, 1937)

J.-F. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal aux premiers temps capétiens 987–1108* (Paris, 1965)

Recherches sur l'hommage en marche et les frontières féodales (Lille, 1945)

Études sur les privilèges d'exemption et de juridiction des abbayes normandes depuis les origines jusqu'en 1140 (Paris, 1937)

J. Le Maho, 'L'apparition des seigneuries châtelaines dans le Grand-Caux à l'époque ducale', *Archéologie Médiévale* 6 (1976), 5–148

A. Lemoine-Descourtieux, *La frontière normande de l'Avre de la fondation de la Normandie à sa réunion au domaine royal (911–1204)* (Rouen, 2012)

R. Lennard, *Rural England 1086–1135* (Oxford, 1959)

'A Neglected Domesday Satellite', *EHR* 58 (1943), 32–41

J. Le Patourel, *Feudal Empires: Norman and Plantagenet* (London, 1984)

The Norman Empire (Oxford, 1976)

'The Norman Succession, 996–1135', *EHR* 86 (1971), 225–50

Norman Barons (London, 1966)

C.P. Lewis, 'Exon Fiefs IV: Compiling the Fiefs Booklets', in *Making Domesday: Intelligent Power in Conquered England*, ed. S. Baxter, J. Crick, and C.P. Lewis (Oxford, forthcoming)

'Exon *Terrae Occupatae*: registering contested matter', in *Making Domesday: Intelligent Power in Conquered England*, ed. S. Baxter, J. Crick, and C.P. Lewis (Oxford, forthcoming)

'William the Conqueror's Harrying of the North, 1069–1070: What, If Not Genocide?', in *The Cambridge World History of Genocide Volume I: Genocide in the Ancient, Medieval, and Premodern Worlds*, ed. B. Kiernan, T.M. Lemos, and T.S. Taylor (Cambridge, 2023), 403–24

'Danish Landholders in Wessex in 1066', in *Danes in Wessex: The Scandinavian Impact on Southern England c.800–c.1100*, ed. R. Lavelle and S. Roffey (Oxford, 2016), 172–211

'Hugh d' Avranches, first earl of Chester (d. 1101)', *ODNB* (2004)

'Tosny, Ralph de [Ralph de Conches] (d. 1102?)', *ODNB* (2004)

'Warenne, William de, first earl of Surrey (d. 1088)', *ODNB* (2004)

'William fitzOsbern, earl (d. 1071)', *ODNB* (2004)

'The Domesday Jurors', *HSJ* 5 (1993), 17–44

'The Early Earls of Norman England', *ANS* 13 (1991), 207–23

'The Formation of the Honor of Chester, 1066–1100', in *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters*, ed. A.T. Thacker (Chester, 1991), 37–68

'An Introduction to the Lancashire Domesday', in *The Lancashire Domesday*, ed. A. Williams and G.H. Martin (London, 1991), 1–41

'The Earldom of Surrey and the Date of Domesday Book', *HR* 63 (1990), 329–36

'English and Norman Government and Lordship in the Welsh Borders, 1039–1087', DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 1985)

L. Lex, *Eudes, comte de Blois, de Tours, de Chartres, de Troyes et de Meaux (995–1037) et Thibaud son frère (995–1004)* (Troyes, 1892)

K.J. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London, 1979)

T. Licence, *Edward the Confessor* (London and New Haven, CT, 2020)

F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 3 vols. (Halle, 1898–1916)

Die Heiligen Englands (Hanover, 1889)

G. Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême Xe–XIIe siècles*, 2 vols. (Flers, 1990–1)

H.R. Loyn, *The English Church 940–1154* (London, 2000)

The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England 500–1087 (Stanford, CA, 1984)

Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest (London, 1962)

H.R. Loyn and J. Percival, *The Reign of Charlemagne* (London, 1975)

S. MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2003)

J.R. Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament 924–1327* (Oxford, 2010)

F.W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond: Three Essays in the Early History of England*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1987)

The Constitutional History of England (Cambridge, 1908)

G.H. Martin, 'The Domesday Boroughs', in *Domesday Book Studies*, ed. A. Williams and R.W.H Erskine (London, 1987), 56–60

'Domesday Book and the Boroughs', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (London, 1985), 143–63

E. Mason, *William II Rufus, The Red King* (Stroud, 2005)

The House of Godwine: The History of a Dynasty (London, 2004)

J.F.A. Mason, 'Montgomery, Roger de, first earl of Shrewsbury (d. 1094)', *ODNB* (2004)

'Aubigny, William d' [William de Albini; known as William d'Aubigny *Pincerna*] (d. 1139)', *ODNB* (2004)

'Flambard, Ranulf (*c.*1060–1128)', *ODNB* (2004)

'Barons and their officials in the later eleventh century', *ANS* 13 (1990), 243–62

William the First and the Sussex Rapes (London, 1966)

'Roger de Montgomery and his Sons (1067–1102)', *TRHS* 13 (1963), 1–28

'Aspects of Subinfeudation on Some Domesday Secular Fiefs', DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 1952)

F. Mazel, *Féodalités 888–1180* (Paris, 2010)

J. McDonald, *Production Efficiency in Domesday England 1086* (London, 1998)

J. McDonald and G.D. Snooks, 'The Economics of Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book Studies*, ed. A. Williams and R.W.H Erskine (London, 1987), 130–7

Domesday Economy: A New Approach to Anglo-Norman History (Oxford, 1986)

R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians 751–987* (London, 1983)

J. Mesqui, *Les seigneurs d'Ivry, Bréval et Anet aux XIe et XIIe siècles: châteaux et familles à la frontière normande* (Caen, 2011)

M. Meyer, 'The Queen's "Demesne" in Later Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L.T. Bethell*, ed. M. Meyer (London, 1993), 75–113

N.L. Mitton, 'Grasping Schemer or Hostage to Fortune: The Life and Career of Stigand, Last Anglo-Saxon Archbishop of Canterbury', PhD thesis (University of Saint Andrews, 2009)

J.C. Moesgaard, 'A survey of coin production and currency in Normandy, 864–945', in *Silver Economy in the Viking Age*, ed. J. Graham-Campbell and G. Williams (Walnut Creek, CA, 2007), 99–121

G. Molyneaux, *The Formation of the English Kingdom in the Tenth Century* (Oxford, 2015)

J. Moore, 'The Norman Aristocracy in the Long Eleventh Century: Three Case Studies', DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2017)

R.I. Moore, *The First European Revolution c.970–1215* (Oxford, 2000)

W.A. Morris, *The Medieval English Sheriff to 1300* (Manchester, 1927)

R. Mortimer, 'Clare, Gilbert de [Gilbert fitzRichard, Gilbert of Tonbridge] (d. 1117)', *ODNB* (2004)

'Clare, Richard de [Richard fitzGilbert] (1030x35–1087x90)', *ODNB* (2004)

H. du Motey, *Origines de la Normandie et du duché d'Alençon* (Paris, 1920)

J. Munby, 'The Domesday Boroughs Revisited', *ANS* 33 (2011), 127–49

L. Musset, 'Considérations sur la genèse et le tracé des frontières de la Normandie', *Media in Francia* (Paris, 1989), 309–18

'Huit essais sur l'autorité ducale en Normandie (XIe–XIIe siècles)', *Cahier des Annales de Normandie* 17 (1985), 3–148

'De la Neustrie carolingienne au duché de Normandie', in *La Neustrie: les pays au nord de la Loire de Dagobert à Charles le Chauve (VIIe–IXe siècles)*, ed. P. Périn and L.-C. Feffer (Rouen, 1985), 425–7

'Monachisme d'époque franque et monachisme d'époque ducale: le problème de la continuité', in *Aspects du monachisme en Normandie (IVe – XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. L. Musset (Paris, 1982), 55–74

'Origines et nature du pouvoir ducal en Normandie jusqu'au milieu du XIe siècle', in *Actes des congres de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public* 4 (1979), 47–59

'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante: les Tosny, grands barons normands du Xe Au XIIIe siècle', *Francia* 5 (1977), 45–80

'Les apports scandinaves dans le plus ancien droit normand', in *Droit privé et institutions régionales: études historiques offertes à Jean Yver* (Paris, 1976), 559–75

'L'aristocratie normande aux XIe siècle', in *La noblesse au Moyen Age (XIe–XVe siècles): Essais à la mémoire de Robert Boutrouche*, ed. P. Contamine (Paris, 1976), 71–96

'Les fiefs de deux familles vicomtales de l'Hiémois au XIe siècle, les Goz et les Montgommery', *RHDFE* 48 (1970), 342–3

'Naissance de la Normandie (Ve–XIe siècles)' in *Histoire de la Normandie*, ed. M. de Boüard (Toulouse, 1970), 74–130

'Réflexions sur *alodium* et sa signification dans les textes normands', *RHDFE* 47 (1969), 606

'Les origines et le patrimoine de l'abbaye de Saint-Sever', in *La Normandie Bénédictine au temps de Guillaume le Conquérant (XIe siècle)*, ed. J. Daout (Lille, 1967), 357–67

'Recherches sur quelques survivances de la fiscalité ducale', *BSAN* 55 (1961), 317–25, 420–35, 525–30

'Que peut-on savoir de la fiscalité publique en Normandie à l'époque ducale?', *RHDFE* 38 (1960), 483–4

'Actes inédits du XIe siècle III. Les plus anciennes chartes normandes de l'abbaye de Bourgueil', *BSAN* 54 (1958), 15–54

'Les destinées de la propriété monastique durant les invasions normandes *(IXe–XIe siècles)*: l'exemple de Jumièges', *Jumièges: Congres scientifique du XIIIe centenaire* (Rouen, 1955) I, 49–55

'Aperçus sur la colonisation scandinave dans le nord du Cotentin', *Annuaire des cinq départements de la Normandie* 111 (1954), 34–7

'Ruine et reconstitution d'une administration: de la Neustrie franque à la Normandie ducale', *RHDFE* 30 (1952), 275

'Les domaines de l'époque franque et les destinées du régime domanial du IXe au XIe siècle', *BSAN* 49 (1942–5), 7–97

R. Naismith, 'The Ely Memoranda and the Economy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Fenland', *ASE* 45 (2017), 333–77

'Payments of Land and Privilege in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 41 (2012), 277–342

H. Navel, 'Recherches sur les institutions féodales en Normandie (région de Caen)', *BSAN* 51 (1948–51), 5–176

'L'enquête de 1133 sur les fiefs de l'évêché de Bayeux', *BSAN* 42 (1934), 5–80

J.L. Nelson, 'Henry Loyn and the Context of Anglo-Saxon England', *HSJ* 19 (2008), 154–70

Charles the Bald (London, 1992)

'A King Across the Sea: Alfred in Continental Perspective', *TRHS* 36 (1986), 45–68

W.M. Newman, *Le domaine royal sous les premiers Capétiens (987–1180)* (Paris, 1937)

S. Painter, *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony* (Baltimore, MD, 1943)

J.J.N. Palmer, 'The Wealth of the Secular Aristocracy in 1086', *ANS* 22 (2000), 279–91

M. Parisse, 'Les pancartes. Etude d'un type d'acte diplomatique', in *Pancartes monastiques des XIe et XIIe siècles*, ed. M. Parisse, P. Pégeot and B. -M. Tock (Turnhout, 1998), 11–61

C.H. Pearson, *History of England during the Early and Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (London, 1867)

B. Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum: Tradition, Innovation, and Memory* (Woodbridge, 2015)

F. Pollock and F.W. Maitland, *The History of English Law*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1895)

J.-P. Poly and E. Bournazel, *La mutation féodale, Xe–XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1980), trans. C. Higgett, *The Feudal Transformation 900–1200* (London, 1991)

A.L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087–1216*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1955)

R.L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1912)

C. Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy* (Woodbridge, 1997)

'The Earliest Norman Counts Revisited: The Lords of Mortain', *HSJ* 4 (1993), 23–35

'The Early Norman Charters: A New Perspective on an Old Debate', in *England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. C. Hicks (Stamford, 1992), 25–40

'Normandy or Brittany? A conflict of interests at Mont-Saint-Michel (996–1035)', *ANS* 12 (1990), 132–55

D. Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2004)

D. Pratt, 'Demesne Exemption from Royal Taxation in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England', *EHR* 128 (2013), 1–34

H. Prentout, *Essai sur les origines et la fondation du duché de Normandie* (Paris, 1911)

J.O. Prestwich, 'Mistranslations and Misinterpretations in Medieval English History', *Peritia* (1996), 322–40

R. Purkiss, 'Royal Administration in East Anglia, *c.*917–1066', DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2020)

T.S. Purser, 'The Origins of English Feudalism? An Episcopal Land-grant Revisited', *HR* 73 (2000), 80–92

J. Quagbeheur, 'Havoise, Contance, et Mathilde, princesses de Normandie et duchesses de Bretagne', in *Bretons et Normands au moyen âge: rivalités, malentendus, convergences*, ed. J. Quaghebeur and B. Merdrignac (Rennes, 2008), 145–63

A. Renoux, '*Palatium* et *castrum* en France du Nord (fin IXe – début XIIIe siècle)', in *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe AD c800–1600*, ed. G. Meirion-Jones, E. Impey, and M. Jones (Oxford, 2002), 15–25

'Caen (Calvados): château et résidence des ducs de Normandie', in *Palais médiévaux (France-Belgique) 25 ans d'archéologie*, ed. A. Renoux (Le Mans, 1994), 31–4

'Fécamp (Seine-Maritime): palais et château des ducs de Normandie', in *Palais médiévaux (France-Belgique) 25 ans d'archéologie*, ed. A. Renoux (Le Mans, 1994), 48–51

Fécamp: Du palais ducal au palais de Dieu (Paris, 1991)

'Châteaux et résidences fortifiées des Ducs de Normandie aux Xe et XIe siècles', *Les mondes normands (VIIIe–XIIe s.) Actes du deuxième congrès international d'archéologie médiévale (Caen 2–4 octobre 1987): Société d'Archéologie Médiévale* (1989), 113–24

'Fouilles sur le site du château ducal de Fécamp (Xe-XXe siècles): Bilan provisoire', *ANS* 4 (1981), 133–52, 221–3

'Le Château des ducs de Normandie à Fécamp (Xe–XIIe siècles): Quelques données archéologiques et topographiques', *Archéologie Médiévale* 9 (1979), 5–35

T. Reuter, 'Assembly Politics in Western Europe from the Eighth Century to the Twelfth', in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. J.L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 193–216

'The "Feudal Revolution"', *P&P* 155 (1997), 177–95

S. Reynolds, 'Tenure and Property in Medieval England', *HR* 88 (2015), 563–76

The Middle Ages without Feudalism: Essays in Criticism and Comparison on the Medieval West (Farnham, 2012)

'Government and Community', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History IV c.1024–c.1198*, ed. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), 86–112

Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900–1300, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1997)

Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted (Oxford, 1994)

'Towns in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J.C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), 295–309

English Medieval Towns (Oxford, 1977)

A. Rio, *Legal Practice and the Written Word in the Early Middle Ages: Frankish Formulae c.500–1000* (Cambridge, 2009)

L. Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England 871–978* (Oxford, 2013)

T. Roche, 'Reading Orderic with Charters in Mind', in *Orderic Vitalis: Life, Works and Interpretations*, ed. C.C. Rozier, D. Roach, G.E.M. Gasper, and E. van Houts (Woodbridge, 2016), 145–70

D. Roffe, *Decoding Domesday* (Woodbridge, 2007)

Domesday: The Inquest and the Book (Oxford, 2000)

'The Making of Domesday Book Reconsidered', *HSJ* 6 (1994), 153–66

'The *Descriptio Terrarum* of Peterborough Abbey', *HR* 65 (1992), 1–16

M. Rouche, 'Remarques sur la géographie historique de la Neustrie (650–850)', *BdF* 16/1 (1989), 1–23

'Atlas historique', in *La Neustrie: les pays au nord de la Loire de Dagobert a Charles le Chauve (VIIe–IXe siècles)*, ed. P. Périn and L-C. Feffer (Rouen, 1985), 431–56

J.H. Round, *The King's Sergeants and Officers of State* (London, 1911)

Feudal England (London, 1895)

J. Sabapathy, *Officers and Accountability in Medieval England 1170–1300* (Oxford, 2014)

I.J. Sanders, *English baronies: a study of their origin and descent 1086–1327* (Oxford, 1960)

P.H. Sawyer, *The Wealth of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013)

'Domesday Studies since 1886', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (London, 1985), 1–4

'1066–1086: A Tenurial Revolution?', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (London, 1985), 71–85

'The Royal *Tun* in Pre-Conquest England', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. P. Wormald, D.A. Bullough, and R. Collins (Oxford, 1983), 273–99

'The "Original Returns" and Domesday Book', *EHR* 70 (1955), 177–97

E. Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power 840–1066* (Berkeley, 1988)

'Frankish Rivalries and Norse Warriors', *ANS* 8 (1985), 198–213

F. Seebohm, *The English Village Community* (London, 1883)

R. Sharpe, '*Tenere in Capite* and Tenant in Chief', in *The Acts of William II and Henry I*, ed R. Sharpe and D.X. Carpenter (2017): https://actswilliam2henry1.files.wordpress.com/2017/05/tenens-in-capite.pdf

Norman Rule in Cumbria, 1092–1136 (Kendal, 2006)

'1088—William II and the Rebels', *ANS* 26 (2004), 139–58

'The Use of Writs in the Eleventh Century', *ASE* 32 (2004), 247–91

J.M.H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians* (Cambridge, 1992)

R.W. Southern, 'Anselm [St Anselm] (*c.*1033–1109)', *ODNB* (2004)

'The Place of Henry I in English History', *PBA* 47 (1962), 157–69, reprised, without the appendix on the royal demesne, in his *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), 206–33

'Ranulf Flambard and Early Anglo-Norman Administration', *TRHS* 16 (1933), 95–128

P.A. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford, 1997)

Unification and Conquest: A Political and Social History of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries (London, 1989)

'The "Farm of One Night" and the Organization of King Edward's estates in Domesday', *EcHR* 33 (1980), 491–502

F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1971)

The First Century of English Feudalism 1066–1166, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1961)

C. Stephenson, 'The *Firma Unius Noctis* and the Customs of the Hundred', *EHR* 39 (1924), 161–74

W.H. Stevenson, 'A Contemporary Description of the Domesday Survey', *EHR* 22 (1907), 72–84

J. van der Straeten, 'Vie inédite de S. Hugues, évêque de Rouen', *Analecta Bollandiana* 87 (1969), 215–60

J.R. Strayer, *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton, NJ, 2005)

N. Strevett, 'The Anglo-Norman Aristocracy under Divided Lordship, 1087–1106: A Social and Political Study', PhD thesis (University of Glasgow, 2005)

W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England in Its Origin and Development*, 3 vols. 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1880–7)

E.Z. Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property in Eleventh-Century Norman Law* (London, 1988)

'Ownership and Tenure in Eleventh-Century Normandy', *American Journal of Legal History* 21 (1977), 97–124

J. Tait, *The Medieval English Borough* (Manchester, 1936)

H.J. Tanner, 'Eustace (II), count of Boulogne (d. *c.*1087)', *ODNB* (2004)

A. Taylor, *The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland 1124–1290* (Oxford, 2016)

C.S. Taylor, *An Analysis of the Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire* (Bristol, 1889)

P. Taylor, 'The Episcopal Returns in Domesday', in *Domesday Now: New Approaches to the Inquest and the Book*, ed. D. Roffe and K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 2016), 197–217

J.W. Thompson, *The Dissolution of the Carolingian Fisc in the Ninth Century* (Berkeley, CA, 1935)

K. Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France: The County of the Perche 1000–1226* (Woodbridge, 2002)

'The Norman Aristocracy before 1066: The Example of the Montgomerys', *HR* 60 (1987), 251–63

'Family and Influence to the South of Normandy in the Eleventh Century: The Lordship of Bellême', *JMH* 11 (1985), 215–26

'Une confirmation supposée de Guillaume le Bâtard', *AN* 34 (1984), 411–2

'The Cross-Channel Estates of the Montgomery-Bellême Family *c.*1050–1112', MA thesis (University College Cardiff, 1983)

F. Thorn, '*Non Pascua sed Pastura*: the Changing Choice of Terms in Domesday', in *Domesday Now: New Approaches to the Inquest and the Book*, ed. D. Roffe and K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 2016), 109–36

E. van Torhoudt, 'Les sièges du pouvoir des Néel, vicomtes dans le Cotentin', in *Les lieux de pouvoir au Moyen Âge en Normandie et sur ses marges*, ed. A.-M. Flambard-Héricher (Caen, 2006), 7–35

T.F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, 6 vols. (Manchester, 1920–33)

P. Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century* (Oxford, 1908)

Villainage in England (Oxford, 1892)

A. Wareham, *Lords and Communities in Early Medieval East Anglia* (Woodbridge, 2005)

'The "Feudal Revolution" in eleventh-century East Anglia', ANS 22 (2000), 293–322

C. West, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution: Political and Social Transformation between the Marne and the Moselle c.800–c.1100* (Cambridge, 2013)

G.H. White, 'The First House of Bellême', *TRHS* 22 (1940), 67–99

S.D. White, *Re-thinking Kingship and Feudalism* (Aldershot, 2005)

'The "Feudal Revolution"', *P&P* 152 (1996), 205–23

C. Wickham, *Medieval Europe* (New Haven, CT, 2016)

The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000 (London, 2009)

'Problems in Doing Comparative History', in *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. P. Skinner (Turnhout, 2009), 6–28

'The "Feudal Revolution"', *P&P* 155 (1997), 196–208

'The Other Transition: From the Ancient World to Feudalism', *P&P* 103 (1984), 3–36, reprised in his *Land and Power: Studies in Italian and European Social History 400–1200* (London, 1994), 7–42

'Mutations et révolutions aux environs de l'an mil', *Médiévales* 21 (1991), 27–38

C. Wickham and T. Reuter, 'Introduction', in *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. W. Davies and P. Fouracre (Cambridge, 1995), 1–16

A. Williams, *The World Before Domesday: The English Aristocracy 900–1066* (London, 2008)

'Beorhtric [Brihtric] (d. in or before 1066?)', *ODNB* (2004)

'Godgifu [Godiva] (d. 1067?)', *ODNB* (2004)

'Ralph the Staller, earl of East Anglia (d. 1068x1070)', *ODNB* (2004)

The English and the Norman Conquest (Woodbridge, 1997)

'A West-Country Magnate of the Eleventh Century: The Family, Estates, and Patronage of Beorhtric son of Ælfgar', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, ed. K.SB. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997), 41–68

'The King's Nephew: The Family, Career and Connections of Ralph, Earl of Hereford', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, C. Holdsworth and J.L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1991), 327–43

'How Land was held before and after the Norman Conquest', in *Domesday Book Studies*, ed. A. Williams and R.W.H Erskine (London, 1987), 37–8

'Apparent Repetitions in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book Studies*, ed. A. Williams and R.W.H Erskine (London, 1987), 90–2

'Land and Power in the Eleventh Century: The Estates of Harold Godwineson', *ANS* 3 (1981), 171–87, 230–4

B.P. Wolffe, *The Royal Demesne in English History: The Crown Estate in the Governance of the Realm from the Conquest to 1509* (London, 1971)

P. Wormald, '*On Þa Wæpnedhealfe*: Kingship and Royal Property from Æthelwulf to Edward the Elder', in *Edward the Elder 899–924*, ed. N.J. Higham and D.H. Hill (London, 2001), 264–79

'Lordship and Justice in the Early English Kingdom: Oswaldslow Revisited', in *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. W. Davies and P. Fouracre (Cambridge, 1995), 114–36

'Review of K.J. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London, 1979)', *EHR* 96 (1981), 595–601

K. Yoshitake, 'The Exchequer in the Reign of Stephen', *EHR* 103 (1988), 950–9

J. Yver, 'Les premières institutions du duché de Normandie', *SCISAM* 16 (1969), 299–366, 589–98

'Contribution à l'étude du développement de la compétence ducale en Normandie', *AN* 8 (1958), 139–83

'Les châteaux-forts en Normandie jusqu'au milieu de XIIe siècle', *BSAN* 53 (1955–6), 28–115