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By
RICHARD SHARPE

*A lecture delivered to
Cumberland and Westmorland
Antiquarian and Archaeological Society
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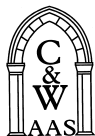
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The coin illustrated on the cover is a rare silver penny of Henry I struck at Carlisle, as we learn from the inscription DURANT ON CARLI; no more than four specimens are known. It is of Henry I's Type XIV from the 1120s, the earliest type known to have been struck at Carlisle.

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NORMAN RULE IN CUMBRIA

1092–1136

At Michaelmas 1130 officials from Carlisle and Appleby made the long journey to Winchester to attend the audit of the Exchequer.¹ What they owed and what they had already paid into the treasury were known, and their success in collecting the king's revenues and their expenditure from them were subjected to Bishop Roger's scrutiny at the Exchequer table. The outcome was recorded in the pipe roll for that year, which has by chance survived (fig. 1). This is the first clearly dated evidence that Cumberland and Westmorland partook in being governed like counties as part of the Anglo-Norman realm. James Wilson described this record as 'the first national document we possess referring to Carlisle and the district'.² The single surviving pipe roll from Henry I's reign is enormously

¹ Joseph Hunter, *Magnum rotulum scaccarii uel magnum rotulum pipae de anno tricesimo-primo regni Henrici primi*, Record Commission (1833), reprinted as *The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I*, HMSO (1929), 140–43; English version by Joseph Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, i, A.D. 1108–1272 (Edinburgh, 1881), 4–6, nos. 26, 27 (with the mistaken date 1130–31), reprinted with revisions by James Wilson, VCH *Cumberland*, i, 338. The king's treasury was still based at Winchester in 1130, and it is likely that the Exchequer was too. Evidence in support of this is an entry in the pipe roll showing that Ivo de Heriz acquitted himself of his proffer of five horses, in part at Winchester, in part in Normandy (*PR 31 Henry I*, 7); this is more likely to refer to the recognition that the debt was met than to the delivery of the horses. From Henry II's reign until 1832, it would meet at Westminster, where as early as 1155 the houses of the Exchequer were 'repaired' at modest cost (*PR 2 Henry II*, 4). This suggests that before the breakdown of the Exchequer under King Stephen, it had already established a pattern of meeting at Westminster, which Henry II sought to restore. A move from Winchester to Westminster during Stephen's reign has been conjectured (K. Yoshitake, 'The Exchequer in the reign of Stephen', *English Historical Review* 103 (1988), 950–59). It is possible that the audit moved to Westminster while the treasury itself remained at Winchester, and this might have happened in the closing years of Henry I's reign. Long after the move, Winchester lingered in one aspect of the arrangements during Henry II's time, reflected in the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, which allows the tellers of the Exchequer a higher daily allowance for a meeting at Westminster than at Winchester, where they were said to be based (*De necessariis obseruantiiis Scaccarii dialogus*, ed. C. Johnson (London, 1950; Oxford, 1983), 13).

² James Wilson [1856–1923], 'Domesday Book, Pipe Rolls, and Testa de Nevill', Victoria County History, *Cumberland*, i (1901), 295–425 [hereafter Wilson].

valuable for the light it casts into how government worked throughout England, but the simple fact that officials travelled from Cumbria to the Exchequer does not mean that they were sheriffs with responsibility for ordinary counties. This rotulet of the pipe roll from 1130 documents a session in which non-standard accounts were audited. Following on from the accounts for the bishopric of Durham, where the king's custodian received the revenues of the bishopric during the five-year vacancy after Ranulf Flambard's death in 1128, there is a heading that introduces a whole series of stray accounts by William of Berkeley, William de Albinni, William de Tresgoz, the borough of Northampton, Hait the sheriff of Pembroke, the wardship of the land of Roger de Mowbray, Haimo de St Clair for Colchester, Brian fitz Count for Wallingford, Geoffrey the king's chancellor for the manors in his custody, and then Hildred of Carlisle for Carlisle, William fitz Alfred for the farm of the land of the doorkeepers of Pevensey castle, and Richard fitz Gerard of Appleby and his illegible successor for Westmorland.³ All these were audited in a single session of the Exchequer, a fact that must warn us against too readily greeting participation here as evidence that Cumberland and Westmorland were already counties with their own sheriffs. The sheriff, or shire reeve, was the king's chief executive officer in the shire, responsible for all royal revenues, law-enforcement, and the governance of the shire. Canon Prescott, in his 1897 edition of the *Wetheral cartulary*, and James Wilson a few years later, supposed that Carlisle and Westmorland already had sheriffs.⁴

The essential feature of ancient West Saxon and Mercian shires was that they assembled twice yearly, after Easter and after Michaelmas. Moots or meetings of shires, convened by the sheriff, became more frequent in the twelfth century to dispense justice and to deal with what seems to have been a growing volume of business.⁵

³ *PR 31 Henry I*, 133–43; heading on p. 133. Wilson, 311–12, pointed out that both Joseph Bain and E. A. Freeman had been misled by the sequence into thinking that William fitz Alfred belonged in the entry for Carlisle.

⁴ John Eustace Prescott [1832–1920], *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral*, CWAAS Record Series 1 (1897), 143–4; Wilson, 307 ('there was a sheriff at Carlisle'), 309 ('Carlisle and Westmorland, each of which was in charge of a sheriff'). In the case of Westmorland, Hunter's edition of the pipe roll raises a significant question, for where a repetition after 'Ric(ardus) fil(ius) Gerardi' is now only partially legible, he printed 'Et id(em) Vic(ecomes)' (p. 143), where a better reading would be '[Et Id(em) R]ic(ardus)'; the first few letters, including the V are now illegible, and it is impossible to know whether Hunter really saw V or allowed conventional use to lead him into supposition.

⁵ *Leges Henrici*, § 7, ed. L. J. Downer (Oxford, 1972), 98–101.

Documents from the king were normally addressed to a shire and were made public by being read aloud at a meeting of the shire. We tend to refer to such meetings as the court of the shire, and there is very little evidence that any such shire court met in Cumberland or in Westmorland in the Anglo-Norman period.

Important, however, as evidence alongside the pipe roll is a charter obtained from King Henry I by Hildred of Carlisle and Odard his son. It survives by chance. It was retained in the family at least until the reign of King John, when Odard's son Robert of Hoddum produced it in the king's court in the spring of 1201. This is part of a long-running dispute, dating back to 1177, between two of Hildred's grandsons. The text (fig. 2) was copied into the record of proceedings and has reached us only by that route, for the family archive has been lost.⁶

The document can be classified as a writ-charter; in other words, its function is that of a charter, but it was addressed and delivered, just like a writ, with the intention that it should be published through being read out at a meeting of the shire court or other appropriate local assembly.⁷ Writ-charters to shires are usually addressed at this date to the presiding officers of the court, the bishop, the king's local justice, and the sheriff, and to the *barones* and *fideles* of the shire. In this case we have an address by the king 'to Walter Espec, Eustace fitz John, and Odard the sheriff, and all his sworn men French and English of Cumberland greeting'. We know from ample evidence that Walter Espec and Eustace fitz John acted jointly as the king's justices throughout northern England in the 1120s and early 1130s. Odard the sheriff poses a problem, much discussed, of which more later. *Barones* as a group are not mentioned, but that is not in itself unusual or significant. There is also no mention here of a bishop; this raises different questions, which I shall discuss in due course. The king gives to Hildred of Carlisle and

⁶ Text of the proceedings from one of the Curia Regis rolls for the year 2 John, KB26/21, mem. 9; printed in *Curia Regis Rolls*, 19 vols (London, 1912–91; Woodbridge, 1999–2002), i. 387–9; the writ-charter was calendared by C. Johnson & H. A. Cronne, *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ii (Oxford, 1956), 220 (no. 1560) [hereafter *Regesta* by no.]. The case and its implications for the descent of the property to the heirs of Hildred and Odard are discussed by J. H. Round, 'Odard of Carlisle', *The Genealogist* new ser. 8 (1892), 200–204.

⁷ For discussion of this procedure, see R. Sharpe, 'Address and delivery in Anglo-Norman royal charters', in *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, ed. M. T. Flanagan & J. A. Green (Basingstoke, 2005), 32–52.

PIPE ROLL ENTRY

CARLISLE. [1] Hildred renders account for £14 16s 6d of the old farm of Carlisle and of the king's manors.

On the works of the city of Carlisle, viz, in making a wall around the city, he paid out £14 16s 6d.

And is quit.

[2] The same Hildred for the new farm.

In the treasury £45 10s 0d
In agreed payments 113s 4d.

In lands given by the king's writ to Richard Rider 13s 4d of land.
And he owes £4 5s 8d.

[3] The same Hildred renders account for 3oz of gold and 15d by weight. He paid it into the treasury.

And is quit.

[4] William fitz Baldwin renders account for 30s for the old farm of the king's garden of Carlisle. He paid it into the treasury.

And is quit.

The same William owes 30s for the farm of the same garden in the year now ending.

[5] Richard Rider owes £9 16s 0d from the cornage of the fifth year back. But it remains in the demesne manors of the king.

And the same Richard owes £8 from the cornage of the fourth year back. But it likewise remains in the demesne manors of the king.

And the same Richard owes 73s 6d from the cornage of the third year back.

And the same Richard renders account for £80 and 108s and 8d for the cornage of last year. In the treasury £62.

And in gifts by the king's writ to the canons of St Mary of Carlisle £10 towards the building of the church. And in pardons by the king's writ to the canons of St Mary of Carlisle 37s 4d.

And in works on the wall of the city of Carlisle £6 2s 0d.

And he owes £6 9s 4d.

[6] And the same Hildred renders account for £80 and 108s and 8d for the cornage. In the treasury £31 16s 0d.

In payments by the king's writ to the knights and serjeants of Carlisle £42 7s 7¹/₂d.

In pardons by the king's writ to the canons of St Mary of Carlisle 37s 4d.

And he owes £9 7s 9d.

[7] And the same Richard renders account for 20s of the old farm of his land. He paid it into the treasury.

And is quit.

[8] Hildred and Odard his son render account for 40s for the grant of the land of Gamel fitz Bern. He paid it into the treasury.

And is quit.

[9] Hervey de Vesci owes £10 for the wife of Swein fitz Alric and her dower.

[10] The burgesses of Carlisle render account for 100s from the old farm of the silver mine. He paid it into the treasury.

And is quit.

Figure 1

PIPE ROLL ENTRY

[11] William and Hildred owe/render account for £40 of the farm of the silver mine for the year now ending.

[12] Odard the sheriff renders account for £10 from the old farm for the pleas of Carlisle that pertain to the shrievalty. He paid it into the treasury.

And is quit.

And the same Odard owes £10 from the the year now ending for the pleas of Carlisle that pertain to the shrievalty.

And the same sheriff owes 55s for the small pleas of Walter Espec and Eustace fitz John.

And the same sheriff owes 4 marks for the other pleas of Walter Espec and Eustace fitz John.

New pleas and agreements

[13] Roger de Stoch' owes 2 hunters for the land and houses that belonged to Werri the Fleming in Carlisle.

[14] Richard Rider owes 5 marks for the land that belonged to Etard for such service as any free man does for his land.

WESTMORLAND. [1] Richard fitz Gerard of Appleby renders account for 79s and 4d of the old farm. He paid it into the treasury.

And is quit.

[And the same R]ichard renders account for 103s 4d for the cornage from last year. In the treasury £4 10s 0d.

[. . .] the lands of outlaws who fled 13s 4d.

And is quit.

[2] [. . .]non' renders account for the new farm of Westmorland.

In the treasury £26 19s 0d.

[In payments] agreed 60s.

[And he owes . . .]s. 5d.

[3] [. . . .] renders account for the cornage.

In the treasury £43.

[. . . .]

[4] [. . .] renders account for 40s that he should become porter of Appleby castle. In the treasury 20s.

[5] [. . .] renders account for 22 marks and 9d from the small pleas of Walter Espec and Eustace fitz John. In the treasury 7 marks.

[. . . for the other pleas] of Walter Epsec and Eustace fitz John 8s 4d.

[And he owes . . . £.] 11s 8d.

[6] [. . .] owes 15 marks for the pleas of Eustace fitz John concerning lesser men.

[7] [And Richard] de Rullos owes 1 mark of gold in order to be justly treated in his lord's court.

Figure 1 – Continued

his son Odard ‘the land which was held by Gamel son of Bern and the land which was held by Glassan son of Brictric, my drengs, rendering to me thereof every year in service the rent of animals [*gabulum animalium*, usually called ‘cornage’] just as other free men French and English render who hold of me in chief in Cumberland and doing other service thereof such as other free men do for me for their lands’. The gift is evidently for two lives and does not mention heirs, with the result that, as soon as Odard died, a dispute broke out because one of Odard’s nephews tried to obtain this property from the king instead of Odard’s son.⁸ It is clear from the record of judicial proceedings that the lands were Gamblesby and Glassonby near Kirkoswald, and it is interesting to note that the villages formed their permanent names at this period.⁹ Who Gamel and Glassan were – one with a Norse name, the other with an Irish name though his father’s name was English – we do not know. Their position as ‘my drengs’ is difficult to interpret, but they were not poor men.¹⁰ In 1201 the county jury said that the two villis produced

⁸ At this date royal grants to laymen did not routinely provide for inheritance by giving to a person ‘and his heirs’ or adding the phrase ‘in fee and inheritance’. The terms of this grant cover the two lives of Hildred and his son Odard. This is uncommon but not unusual; it very likely indicates that Hildred was old and that Odard was already active at his side. The dispute emerged in 1177, when Odard’s son Robert of Hoddom made fine with the king’s itinerant justices over his support for the king of Scotland in the war of 1173–4 (*PR 23 Henry II*, 121). In the same year, his cousin Richard fitz Truite paid fine to have a decision in his suit to obtain Gamblesby and Glassonby (*ibid.* 122), from which it has been inferred that Odard died *c.* 1176. Truite or Truita (‘trout’) was one of Hildred’s daughters (see n. 27 and T. H. B. Graham, ‘The sons of Truite’, *CW2* xxiv (1924), 43–9). In 1173 Robert fitz Truite had lost the shrievalty of Carlisle, which may have left Richard to look out for his own interest. The dispute, which preserved the king’s writ-charter for Hildred through a hearing in 1201, dragged on for many years.

⁹ B. Dickins & others, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, English Place-Name Society (Cambridge, 1944–52), xxxi–xxxiii, brings together numerous examples of -by names formed during the Anglo-Norman period, some of them based on Breton and Flemish personal names as well as Norman ones, reflecting the plantations of William II and Henry I’s time.

¹⁰ In Scandinavian usage *drengr* means ‘young warrior’, but in insular sources it acquires a tenurial meaning. In the earliest document from Cumberland, Gospatrick addresses his writ ‘to all my *wassenas* (*ministri*) and to all men, free and dreng, that dwell in all the lands that were Cumbrian’ (F. W. Ragg, ‘Gospatrik’s charter’, *CW2* v (1905), 71–84; Dickins, *Place-Names of Cumberland*, xxvii–xxx; F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952), 423–4, no. 121, and 531–6). The implicit distinction between free and dreng must be more apparent than real — writs are not addressed to the unfree — and our writ-charter assumes that the landholders were free men, who

an income of £15 9s 9d.¹¹ Hildred and his son paid the king for this gift, or at least for Gamblesby, as we read in the pipe roll, ‘Hildred and Odard his son render account for 40s for the grant of the land of Gamel fitz Ber(n). He paid it into the treasury and is quit’.¹² Now, since the pipe roll accounts for the year ending Michaelmas 1130, we can date the transaction. It is no coincidence that Hildred obtained this land in the same year as he accounts for the king’s revenues from Carlisle: it was very likely a reward for his service.¹³

Now, where does this get us?

Hildred has usually been assumed to be sheriff of Carlisle, but he

held their land directly from the king. F. W. Maitland, ‘Northumbrian tenures’, *English Historical Review* 5 (1890), 625–32, reviewed the evidence for drengage tenure (pp. 628–31), finding military obligations joined to other obligations that more resembled, and were perhaps relics of, unfree status; more simply, in northern England and Scotland drengs are next in tenurial status below thegns, but they might still be tenants in chief. The evidence from Durham is analysed by G. T. Lapsley. ‘Baldon Book’, VCH *Durham* i (1905), 284–91. Rachel Reid, discussing the act for Hildred, specifically associated drengage tenure in Cumbria with the payment of cornage, ‘Barony and thegnage’, *English Historical Review* 35 (1920), 161–99 (at pp. 189–91). Reviewing again thirteenth- and fourteenth-century evidence, J. E. A. Jolliffe, ‘Northumbrian institutions’, *English Historical Review* 41 (1926), 1–42 (at pp. 15–22), illustrated how in different circumstances the dreng might appear as knight or villein. Following Maitland’s discussion of the evidence, G. W. S. Barrow, ‘Northern English Society in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries’, *Northern History* 4 (1969), 1–28 (at pp. 10–11), offers a definition, ‘Like the thane, the dreng held by a ministerial tenure’ [i.e. one based on services], ‘but his services were markedly more agricultural, more personal, even menial. His holding would be typically a single ploughgate, or a small township within a shire, or an outlying dependency of a village. The fact that he combined the features of a tenant by knight-service or at least serjeanty with those of a predial villein baffled the south-country lawyers and feudalists, but there was no denying that he was a free man, and he might claim lordship over others’. F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism 1066–1166* (Oxford, 1932, ²1961), 147, simplifies, ‘The dreng of the eleventh century was the Scandinavian equivalent of the English *cnicht* [knight]’.

¹¹ *Curia Regis Rolls*, i. 388. This is the only valuation available for comparison with the figures for cornage given in the 1212 return (see n. 20), and there must be no assumption about ratios; the cornage from Gamblesby and Glassonby was £1 6s 8d.

¹² *PR 31 Henry I*, 142.

¹³ The pipe roll contains one other unexplained reference to Hildred’s son, Odard of Carlisle, under the account for Gloucestershire: ‘Simon the dispenser owes 40 marks for the plea which the king had against Odard of Carlisle, his sister’s husband (*sororius*)’ (*PR 31 Henry I*, 79). Simon was one of the king’s dispensers, who held the manor of Great Rollright in Oxfordshire by this serjeanty in 1130 (*PR 31 Henry I*, 5; J. H. Round, *The King’s Serjeants & Officers of State* (London, 1911), 189–90, mistakenly makes Odard the son of Simon’s sister).

Writ-charter granting to Hildred of Carlisle and his son Odard the land that was Gamel son of Bern's and the land that was Glassan son of Brictric's, the king's drengs. October 1129 x September 1130

RECORD OF JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS: Coram Rege Roll, Hilary term, 2 John, KB 26/21, mem. 9 [B]. The roll has no heading and is dated on internal evidence; different membranes record cases from Michaelmas (CRR, i. 254–62), Hilary (CRR, i. 374–98), and Easter terms (CRR, i. 413–41). An old label dated it incorrectly to Easter term, 11 John (CRR, i. 441).

PRINTED: *Placitorum Abbreviatio*, 67 (dated to 11 John) [from B]; T. Carlyle, 'Short notices as to the early history of the family of Carlyle', *JBA* 9 (1854), 176 (English abstract); Bain, *Cal. Scotland*, i. 80 (in English); J. Wilson in VCH *Cumb*, i. 313n [from *Placitorum Abbreviatio*]; *Curia Regis Rolls*, i. 388 [from B]; T. H. B. Graham, 'The eastern fells 3 Gamblesby and Glassonby', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* new ser. 21 (1921), 50 [from *Placitorum Abbreviatio*].

CALENDAR: *Regesta* 1560.

Dicunt quod dominus rex auus quandam terram in Gamelbi in Galssaneby ualencie XV librarum et IX solidorum et IX denariorum et oboli dedit Hildredo et Odardo filio suo, ita quod illam tenuerunt tota uita sua et Robertus filius ipsius Odardi illam tenuit donec dominus rex Henricus pater illam seisiuit in manum suam, auidita carta quam rex Henricus fecit Hildredo et Odardo; et ipse illam tenuit tota uita sua; et audiuerunt dici quod dominus rex Ricardus illam dedit Ricardo filio Truite. Capiantur predictae terre de Gamelby et Glassaneby in manum regis.

Carta Henrici regis aui qui predictas terras de Gamelbi et Glasanebi dedit Hildredo et Odardo filio suo

Henricus rex Anglorum Waltero Espec Eustacio filio Iohannis et Odardo uiccomiti et omnibus fidelibus suis francis et anglis de Cumberland salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Hildredo de Karleolo et Odardo filio suo terram que fuit Gamel filii Bern et terram illam que fuit Glassam filii Brictrici drengnorum meorum, reddendo inde michi per annum de seruicio gabulum animalium sicut alii liberi homines tam franci quam angli reddunt qui de me tenent in capite in Cumberlanda et faciendo inde aliud seruicium tale quale alii liberi homines michi de terris suis faciunt. Et uolo et precipio ut ipsi bene et in pace et honorifice teneant in bosco et plano in aqua et in omnibus aliis rebus sicut alii liberi homines mei de Cumberlanda tenent. Teste [&c.].

Henry king of the English to Walter Espec Eustace fitz John and Odard the sheriff and all his sworn men French and English of Cumberland greeting. Know that I have given and granted to Hildred of Carlisle and his son Odard the land which was held by Gamel son of Bern and the land which was held by Glassan son of Brictric, my drengs, rendering to me thereof every year in service the rent of animals just as other free men French and English render who hold of me in chief in Cumberland and doing other service thereof such as other free men do for me for their lands. And I will and command that they shall hold as well and in peace and as honourably in wood and field in water and in all other things as my other free men of Cumberland hold. Witness.

Figure 2

is not styled sheriff anywhere.¹⁴ The cartulary of Wetheral priory has preserved a deed by which he quitclaimed to the monks a wood, apparently at Cumwhinton, whose ownership they disputed.¹⁵ From the pipe roll entry where he accounts for £56 2s 4d as the farm of Carlisle in 1130, it appears that he was also in a position to account for £14 16s 6d in unpaid monies from the previous year ('of the old farm'), which had been expended on building a wall around the city.¹⁶ One may be tempted to infer from this that he held office in 1128–9 as well as in 1129–30, but that is not correct. His predecessor in office is also mentioned. *Ricardus Miles* 'Richard the Rider' owed overdue cornage from the years 1125–6, 1126–7, and 1127–8; he also rendered account for the cornage from 1128–9, £85 8s 8d, greater than the farm of Carlisle, and again in that year £6 2s 0d had been expended from these revenues on building the city wall.¹⁷ Hildred renders account for the cornage in 1129–30, again £85 8s 8d, from which this time £42 7s 7½d was spent on the garrison of Carlisle.¹⁸ The most likely reading of these figures is that Richard was still in office in 1128–9, and that some of the expenditure on the city wall was rolled over into Hildred's first year of account.

¹⁴ Hildred is taken for sheriff in the first modern list of sheriffs, extracted from the pipe rolls, by L. O. Pike, 'Sheriffs of England. A list of sheriffs of the English Counties, from 31 Hen. 1 to 4 Edw. 3', *31st Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (1870), Appendix 4, 262–366 (at p. 275), and in the latest by J. A. Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154* (London, 1990), 31. Prescott indicates the dilemma: 'Hildred may have been sheriff that year, 1130–31 [*sic*, for 1129–30], though the Pipe Roll is not conclusive. In the earlier part of the roll, Hildred seems to be acting as sheriff, but nowhere is he styled sheriff' (*Wetherhal*, 143). The first accounting officer in the entry is assumed to be sheriff, but later in the entry Odard is styled sheriff, and indeed Odard occurs as sheriff elsewhere, whereas Hildred does not.

¹⁵ Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 143–8 (no. 73). Prescott did not identify the location of the wood, though documents following it in the cartulary relate to Cumwhinton, which continued to be held by Odard's son Richard of Carlisle; the identification was pointed out by T. H. B. Graham, 'Vills of the forest', *CW2* xxiv (1924), 29–42 (at p. 29). Hildred's sons Richard and Robert still granted common rights in the wood of Cumwhinton to the monks of Wetheral (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 148–9, nos. 73–4).

¹⁶ *PR 31 Henry I*, 140.

¹⁷ *PR 31 Henry I*, 141. For translating his Latin surname *miles* ('knight, mounted warrior') as 'Rider' (compare German *Ritter* 'knight'), I follow the statement of the jurors in 1212 (n. 20 below); J. Wilson, 'Some extinct Cumberland families 3 The Tilliols', *The Ancestor* 4 (January 1903), 88–100 (at p. 88n).


¹⁸ From this sum, H. R. T. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle. The City and the Borders from the late eleventh to the mid-sixteenth century*, CWAAS Extra series 25 (1993), i. 26, inferred a garrison of some twenty-five 'knights and serjeants'.

It appears that Richard had held office for the not uncommon period of four years, 1125–9; he was still alive in or after 1133.¹⁹ Hildred had succeeded him in office and accounted for the overdue account on the farm of the city but not for the overdue payments on the cornage from the surrounding lands. Hildred was rewarded with the grant of Gamblesby and Glassonby, and we know from statements made by the county jurors in 1212 that he was also given another estate by Henry I, still not securely identified.²⁰ Richard too had been given estates in recognition of his service. In the pipe roll we see that he paid 5 marks (£3 6s 8d) to have the land that had been Etard's, 'doing such service thereof as another free man does for me for his land', a phrase nearly identical to the service-clause in the king's writ-charter for Hildred. This estate can be identified as Etterby, close to the city, taking its name from the Norman landholder. In 1212 the county jurors referred to Richard's receiving land from Henry I, which had been inherited by his great-grandson Simon de Tilliol (d. 1204), whose son was a ward in 1212; the estate was Scaleby, north-east from Carlisle, which remained in the family for many years.²¹ Richard seems also to have held and given his own name to Rickerby, where he was a tenant of the prior and canons of Carlisle, and he had property also in Rickergate in Carlisle, which is therefore supposed to take its name from him.²²

¹⁹ Richard *Miles* witnessed an act of Bishop Athelwold of Carlisle, which cannot be dated earlier than 1133 (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 44–5, no. 15; D. M. Smith, *English Episcopal Acta* 30 *Carlisle 1133–1292* (Oxford, 2005), 5–6, no. 7).

²⁰ This was land given by Henry I to Hildred, which had passed to his grandson Richard fitz Truite, and which in 1212 was in the keeping of William fitz Bernard, while Richard's heir, another Richard, was his ward. The source is one of a series of statements by county juries, returned by their sheriffs to the Exchequer in response to inquiries about lands alienated from the royal demesne, by what king, and who held them in 1212 by what service. Many survive as returns; they were also copied (along with analogous records ranging in date from 1198 to 1293) into two large volumes in 1302, from which they were printed as *Testa de Nevill sive Liber feodorum in Curia scaccarii*, [ed. J. Caley & W. Illingworth], Record Commission (1807), 379–80 (at p. 379b); printed again, using the original returns, as *Liber feodorum. The Book of Fees, commonly called Testa de Nevill*, [ed. H. C. Maxwell Lyte & others] (London, 1920–31), i. 197–9 (at p. 199). The Cumberland entry was printed by J. Wilson, *The Register of the priory of St Bees*, Surtees Society 126 (1915), 527–30, and was translated by him in VCH *Cumberland*, i. 421–2.

²¹ *Book of Fees*, i. 199; Wilson, 422; T. H. B. Graham, 'Scaleby', *CW2* xxi (1921), 139–51.

²² The connexion is brought forward as supposition by B. Dickins, *Place-Names of Cumberland*, xxxii–xxxiii. In Henry I's time Rickerby appears to have formed part of the lands of Walter the priest, along with Linstock and Carleton, which were conveyed to the priory (*Regesta* 1491); the sheriff's return itemizes the lands in more detail to 

There is no evidence to say that either Richard or Hildred held the office of sheriff. Indeed, there is reason to think the contrary.

The king's writ-charter for Hildred is addressed to the justices, to Odard the sheriff, and to the men of Cumberland: obviously Odard acts as sheriff in Cumberland. In Hildred's deed to the monks of Wetheral, the witnesses include Odard the sheriff and Richard *Miles*, who had held the same office as Hildred and is also never styled sheriff. We have seen that King Henry's writ-charter for Hildred must date from the same year as the pipe roll, and we can also see in the pipe roll that Odard the sheriff accounts for £10 'from the old farm for the pleas of Carlisle which pertain to the shrievalty' and for another £10 'from the farm of this year now ending for the pleas of Carlisle which pertain to the shrievalty'.²³ Odard the sheriff has caused difficulties for those who have made the assumption that Hildred accounted as the current sheriff in 1130, but even removing that notion, his role is not easy to explain.²⁴ Two possibilities strike me. First, and less likely: it might be argued that he could be sheriff of Cumberland, if the Carlisle entry in the pipe roll was not the sole rendering of account from Cumberland — after all, the borough of Northampton renders account separately from the shire of Northampton — but we should have to suppose that Odard the sheriff's main account had not been entered in the roll or had been detached and lost.²⁵ Against this, one can say that the revenues

include Rickerby (*Book of Fees*, i. 199; Wilson, 422). An inquest in 1246 shows that the descendants of Richard Rider paid the canons one mark per annum for Rickerby, and it is presumed that this dates back to his time (*Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem i Henry III* (London, 1904), 28, no. 115). Richard's grandson Peter de Tilliol made fine of 50s for his grandfather's lands in 1158 (*PR 4 Henry II*, 120). In King John's reign we hear of a tenement in Rickergate (*in uico Ricardi*), Carlisle, adjoining the *baronia* 'capital messuage' of Peter's estate (J. Wilson, 'Extinct Cumberland families 3 The Tilliols', 89, and from there, Graham, 'Scaleby', 140; the source is two deeds, 1206 x 1213, in the cartulary of Holm Cultram, ed. F. Grainger & W. G. Collingwood, *The Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, CWAAS Record Series 7 (1929), 4, 12, nos. 7, 39); it appears that the street took its name from Richard's house.

²³ *PR 31 Henry I*, 142.

²⁴ Both Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 143, and Green, *English Sheriffs*, 31, inferred that Odard was sheriff in Carlisle before Hildred.

²⁵ Hunter, *PR 31 Henry I*, p. iv, noted that some counties are missing or 'only imperfectly noticed'; at least Cheshire, Lancashire, Westmorland, Cumberland, and Durham fall into his category of counties where 'a plausible conjecture might be proposed to account for the absence', since of these only Cheshire was recognized as a shire at this date by Henry of Huntingdon (n. 170 below), and it was under the special jurisdiction of the earl of Chester. Membranes for Somerset and Worcestershire, Herefordshire and Shropshire may be missing through damage, just as that for Oxfordshire is defective.

accruing from Carlisle and the king's manors associated with it in 1129–30 are not noticeably out of line with those accounted for when pipe rolls resume in the 1150s, when Carlisle, 'the city and its manors', not Cumberland, continues to be the unit of account. At that date the account was rendered by Robert fitz Truite, who is referred to as sheriff and who accounts for pleas.²⁶ Robert was Hildred's daughter's son, but the importance of his descent from Hildred explains his taking his surname from his mother Truite.²⁷ Second, and more probable: in 1130 Carlisle was administered as a territorial unit less than a fully developed shire, and its administrators, Richard *Miles* and later Hildred, had not then sufficient authority to hear the pleas of the Crown, whereas in the 1150s Robert fitz Truite accounted for pleas. In 1130 such cases were therefore heard by someone from outside the district, someone with the rank of sheriff, who rendered an annual sum of £10 instead of accounting for actual revenues accruing from his hearing certain pleas from persons living within the territory of Carlisle. This, incidentally, reveals that it was Odard's staff who collected the court-fines rather than the local officials. Now, following this second possibility, Odard the sheriff has to be Odard of Bamburgh, sheriff of Northumberland, who rendered account for his shire during another session of the Exchequer in October 1130.²⁸ His position in the address-clause of the king's writ-charter for Hildred certainly treats him as if he were sheriff in Cumberland. It would not be unusual for one man to be responsible as sheriff for two shires, but in the pipe roll Odard did not account for Carlisle, merely for the pleas. The inference I should draw is that Carlisle was not treated as a fully developed shire at this date and that the sheriff of Northumberland acted only in the matter of pleas without actually being also sheriff of Cumberland. His position in the address-clause reflects his known attendance at the local court.

²⁶ Carlisle reappears in the roll of 4 Henry II (1158), when the farm was about £65; it reached over £100 in 5 Henry II (1159), when 'the city and the manors' are again specified.

²⁷ Round, 'Odard of Carlisle', 203–4, identified a plea in 1225 which showed the descendants of three daughters of Hildred, who in 1135 held *Cumbresdale* (Cummersdale) and *Cunquintin* (Cumwhinton); he cites *Bracton's Note-Book*, ed. F. W. Maitland (London, 1887), iii. 71, and Bain, *Calendar* (n. 2), 160 (no. 898). (The copy used by Bain and noted by Maitland has curiously turned *Hildredus antecessor suus* 'Hildred his ancestor' into *Hildreda auia sua* 'Hildreth his grandmother'.)

²⁸ *PR 31 Henry I*, 35.

Odard of Bamburgh had already been sheriff of Northumberland for a considerable period. He is first addressed as sheriff of Northumberland in a writ-charter for the bishop of Durham, datable to 2 February 1116.²⁹ He would have taken up office at the latest therefore from Michaelmas 1115. In 1118–19 there is evidence that he held an estate of three knights' fees, which can be identified as Embleton in Northumberland; in that year his tenure was altered to allow his heir to inherit.³⁰ He was dead by August 1133, and King Henry conferred on his son and heir William all the land that Odard had held, whether as tenant-in-chief of the king, or as someone else's tenant.³¹ Odard is mentioned in a contemporary source from Durham as one of the great men before whom the monks sought to assert a claim to Tynemouth priory on 13 April 1121, the Wednesday after Easter. The writer says 'they happened to have assembled there for some business (*propter negotia quedam*)', and he names Robert de Brus, Alan de Percy, Walter Espec, Forn Sigulf's son, Robert de Widville, Odard *uiccomes Northymbrensiūm* 'sheriff of the Northumbrians', 'with the leading men of that county (*cum maioribus eiusdem comitatus*) and many others'.³² It is not

²⁹ *Regesta* 1124; the text, which has reached us through judicial proceedings and through Prior Washington's collections, was printed from the former source in *Placita de quo warranto*, [ed. W. Illingworth], Record Commission (London, 1818), 187, and from a Durham copy of the same by T. D. Hardy, *Registrum palatinum Dunelmense*, Rolls Series 62 (1873–8), iii, 52; and from the latter in *Monasticon Anglicanum*, new edn (London, 1817–30), i, 242 (no. xii), and from there by W. Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, 3 vols (1914–16), ii, 305–6 (no. 976).

³⁰ Among the lost acts for Odard and his son (see next note) is one in the name of William ætheling, datable May 1118 x May 1119, 'littere Willelmi filii regis per quas testatur regem concessisse Odardo uiccomiti terram suam quam tenet de rege pro herede suo ut teneat in feodo pro servicio trium militum'. Odard's estate of Embleton was three knights' fees in the time of his descendant John le Viscomte in 1212 (*Book of Fees*, i, 202).

³¹ *Regesta* 1760; printed from the original charter among the public records, DL10/10, by J. H. Round, *Ancient Charters, Royal and Private, prior to AD 1200*, Pipe Roll Society 10 (1888), 33 (no. 19); reprinted by E. Bateson, 'Embleton parish', *A History of Northumberland* (Newcastle, 1893–1940), ii, 12n, who also prints a fourteenth-century list of documents referring to other acts (now lost) in his favour from Henry I, William ætheling, and Stephen (*Regesta* 1202; H. A. Cronne & R. H. C. Davis, *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, iii (Oxford, 1968), 119, no. 315).

³² *Historia regum*, attributed to Simeon of Durham, ed. J. Hodgson Hinde, Surtees Society 51 (1868), i, 115–16; ed. T. Arnold, Rolls Series 75 (1882–5), ii, 261–2; reprinted from Arnold's text with English translation by R. C. Van Caenegem, *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I*, Selden Society 106–7 (1991), 188–90. Possible political business for this 'meeting of northern magnates' is considered by J. A. Green, 'David I and Henry I', *Scottish Historical Review* 75 (1996), 1–19 (at pp. 9–10).

certain that all the men named before Odard were *barones* of Northumberland; some were, and the others may have been.³³ It looks as if the Easter meeting of the shire of Northumberland had assembled at Durham, perhaps afforded by the presence of some great men from elsewhere in the north.

The evidence for Odard's career has been examined in some detail by J. H. Round and others.³⁴ Round was the first to infer from the pipe roll that Hildred was not sheriff, observing, indeed, that none of the eight towns and honours among which Carlisle was audited had a sheriff. He realised that Odard who acted as sheriff in Carlisle was the same person as the sheriff of Northumberland, where Prescott allowed the possibility of two contemporary Odards, both referred to alike as Odard the sheriff.³⁵ They were certain, however, that Odard the sheriff was quite distinct from Odard Hildred's son, a point over which some earlier writers had stumbled.³⁶ Round found evidence to show that Odard the sheriff's father was Ligulf of Bamburgh, also sheriff of Northumberland in

³³ *Barones comitatus* had to hold lands in chief in the shire, but we do not know all the lands held by the men named. Robert de Brus held the manor of Hart and its territory of Hartness, which belonged to Northumberland, though well south of the Tyne (*PR 5 Henry II*, 14; Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de miraculis S. Cuthberti*, c.114, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society 1 (1835), 259; R. M. Blakely, *The Brus Family in England and Scotland, 1100–1295* (Woodbridge, 2005), 94–6). Alan de Percy held lands in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire as well as in the fee of the bishop of Durham (discussed by C. T. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, 10 vols, Yorkshire Archaeological Society (1935–65), xi. 11–19, 86–8, no. 89). Walter Espec's estates were centred on Wark in Northumberland and Helmsley in Yorkshire. Forn Sigulf's son's writ-charter is addressed to the men of Yorkshire, Cumberland, Northumberland, and Westmorland (see n. 96 and *Regesta* 1639). Robert de Widville was a right-hand man of Nigel d'Aubigny and held lands as his tenant in Yorkshire (Greenway, *Mowbray Charters*, 7–10, no. 3, at p. 9).

³⁴ J. H. Round, 'Odard the sheriff', *The Genealogist* new ser. 5 (1889), 25–8; Bateson, 'Embleton parish', *History of Northumberland*, ii. 10–13; J. Wilson, 'Some extinct Cumberland families 1 The Wigtons', *The Ancestor* 3 (October 1902), 73–80. The whole matter was reviewed and clarified by W. P. Hedley, 'Odard vicecomes', *CW2* lix (1959), 41–50.

³⁵ 'Alike in the grant [to Hildred] and in the Roll he occupies the place of sheriff of Carlisle and not of Northumberland or any other place' (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 144).

³⁶ For example, *The Pipe-rolls, or Sheriff's annual accounts of the revenues of the crown for the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham*, Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne (Newcastle, 1847), lxx; J. Hodgson Hinde, *A History of Northumberland*, Part 1 (Newcastle, 1858), 203–4. W. E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North. The Region and its Transformation 1000–1135* (Durham, NC, 1979), 201, and n. 48, seems to have fallen into this trap afresh in reading the writ-charter for Hildred (cited by him from Wilson, 313 n. 2).

his day, and it would seem that, when Ligulf and his co-sheriff Alfric of Corbridge retired, Ligulf's son was appointed to the office.³⁷ Ligulf's father Eadulf was probably connected to the family of the pre-Conquest earls, so that his holding Bamburgh attests to their continuing influence.³⁸ Odard's second son Adam appears to have followed his father as sheriff, though after 1138 he served the king of Scots.³⁹ Round further showed that Odard's descendants in Northumberland held the fee of Embleton; Odard was enfeoffed there by Henry I, and his third son John fitz Odard was given a

³⁷ The relationship is attested by two charters of King David concerning Swinton (Berw), which Round cited from Raine's edition (1852) and the published facsimile (1867) of the originals in Durham; they were later printed from the originals by A. C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters prior to A.D. 1153* (Glasgow, 1905), 79–80 (nos. 100–101), and by G. W. S. Barrow, *The Charters of David I* (Woodbridge, 1999), 78–9 (nos. 53–4). Round also knew the earlier reference to Ligulf of Bamburgh in an original charter of King Edgar, also preserved at Durham, printed several times in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and again by Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 17–18 (no. 20); he granted Swinton to the monks of Coldingham, though Ligulf remained as their tenant. Lawrie, 256, was not persuaded by Round's connexions, but Barrow, 79, noted that they provide evidence for 'four generations' of heritable sheriffs in Northumberland; startlingly, Barrow has interpreted Odard's role as 'hereditary sheriff—I take that to mean "thane" — of Bamburghshire' (G. W. S. Barrow, 'The Scots and the north of England', in *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, ed. E. J. King (Oxford, 1994), 231–53 (at p. 239)). The inheritance of property at Swinton is commented on by J. G. H. Hudson, 'Legal aspects of Scottish charter diplomatic in the twelfth century: a comparative approach', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 25 (2002), 121–38 (at pp. 136–7).

³⁸ Eadulf is named as Ligulf's father in the charter of King David just cited (Barrow, *Charters of David I*, 78–9, no. 53). The name is recurrent in the family of Earl Uhtred of Northumbria, whose seat was at Bamburgh, and whose lineage is set out by C. J. Morris, *Marriage and Murder in eleventh-century Northumbria: a study of De Obsessione Dunelmi*, Borthwick Papers 82 (York, 1992). Uhtred's great-grandson Eadulf Rus is named by the writer of the *Historia regum*, ed. Arnold, 197–8, as the leader of those who killed Bishop Walcher of Durham in May 1080 to avenge the murder of their kinsman, an earlier Ligulf, son-in-law of Earl Ealdred. This Eadulf would fit the chronology. It may be objected that the *Historia regum* does not spell out the connexion when Odard the sheriff is mentioned (*ibid.* 261).

³⁹ The clearest evidence for Adam fitz Odard as sheriff is his own deed, which survives as a sealed original at Durham, DCM Ch. Misc. 6895, addressed 'Omnibus baronibus comitatus Northumb' Adam uicecomes Northumbrie'; printed from there by Bateson, *History of Northumberland*, ii. 12n. This refers to his brother William, and to his younger brothers John and Ernald. Adam witnessed charters of King David I and his son Earl Henry as 'Adam filio Edwardi' (D1/53, 1136 x 1137), 'Ada uicecomite' (D1/78, 1138 x 1141; D1/79, at Bamburgh, 1139 x 1140; D1/80, 1139 x 1140), 'Ade uicecomite' (D1/103, at Newcastle, 1141). This evidence for the hereditary shrievalty was first noticed by J. H. Round, 'The origins of the Swintons', *The Genealogist* new ser. 15 (1899), 205–9 (at p. 206).

further six bovates in the borough of Bamburgh by Henry II, according to the submission of the county jury in 1212.⁴⁰ A story about this John's mother and her devotion to St Cuthbert in Farne Island must presumably relate to Odard's widow.⁴¹ Another story from St Cuthbert's miracles concerns John himself, identified as sheriff of Northumberland, so that it appears that he had followed his brother Adam in office under the king of Scots.⁴² He did not retain the office under Henry II.⁴³ What Round did not clear up is that the county jury of Cumberland in 1212 swore that Odard the sheriff was enfeoffed by Henry I in land in the county then held by his great-grandson Adam fitz Odard, further supporting Odard the sheriff's active role in Cumberland.⁴⁴ The land in question would become the fee of Wigton, which passed to Adam's descendants, as Percy Hedley has shown, and we may take the jury's word for it that Henry I granted it to *Odardus uicecomes*, Odard the sheriff.⁴⁵ This is what he used as his name, and his descendants in Northumberland continued to use the surname Viscomte after losing the shrievalty; it does not make him sheriff in Carlisle if Carlisle was not a county in 1130.

⁴⁰ *Testa de Nevill*, 392b; *Book of Fees*, i. 202. Hugh Doherty (see n. 49) suggests that the modest grant in Bamburgh from Henry II may be evidence that John, removed from the shrievalty, retained the position of under-sheriff.

⁴¹ Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de miraculis S. Cuthberti*, c.62, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society 1 (1835), 122–3. She is identified from mention of her son as holding Embleton by inheritance.

⁴² Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de miraculis S. Cuthberti*, c.118 (ed. Raine, 263–4). These stories were noted by Bateson, *History of Northumberland*, ii. 13. Reginald wrote his account in the 1160s or '70s, but the chronology of the narrative is imprecise.

⁴³ From 1157 King Henry's sheriff was William de Vesci (*PR 4 Henry II*, 177). Neither Adam nor John fitz Odard accounted for the shire in Henry II's or later pipe-rolls (Pike, 'Sheriffs of England', 320–21), so we must presume that Reginald refers to the period before Northumberland was restored to England. H. H. E. Craster, 'The parish of Corbridge', *History of Northumberland*, x. 38n, cites from the *Curia Regis* rolls from 1231 further evidence that 'John le Viscomte was sheriff of Northumberland and the king's constable of Bamburgh' (*uicecomes Northumb' et constabularius domini regis de Bamburg*; KB26/108; now printed in *Curia Regis Rolls*, xiv. 270, no. 1274); again, when he was sheriff is not made clear.

⁴⁴ *Testa de Nevill*, 379b; *Book of Fees*, i. 198; Wilson, 421. Round, 'The origin of the Swintons', 207, was adamant that Adam fitz Odard of Wigton was not the descendant of Odard the sheriff, but he ignored this evidence.

⁴⁵ Wilson, 'The Wigtons', 73–4; Hedley, 'Odard vicecomes', 45–6. A late-thirteenth-century narrative (printed from a transcript of the Wetheral cartulary by Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 384–8; T. B. H. Graham, 'Allerdale', *CW2 xxxii* (1932), 28–37, at pp. 35–6) made the founder of the Wigton family a third Odard, named Odard de Logis, described as seneschal of Ranulf Meschin; this person is not attested in any of Ranulf's deeds and is best regarded as a figment.


Satisfied that Odard was sheriff of Northumberland and yet held pleas in Carlisle, Round came to a significant conclusion about Hildred's position: 'Now, this is no unimportant point; for if Carlisle had, in 1130, no sheriff, but only a *firmarius*, it affects the whole status of the district at the time'.⁴⁶ A *firmarius* 'lessor at farm' was someone who undertook to make a fixed payment rather than to account for all the revenues collected. It is by no means clear that this correctly describes his position. I think it is more likely that Hildred was an official of the Crown.

We have no title for the office held by Richard *Miles* and by Hildred, but both accounted for Carlisle at the Exchequer and both were rewarded for their service by the grant of estates from the royal demesne. This surely points towards their holding office. Others who may be royal officials in Carlisle include Richard de Meisi, *constabularius*, who witnessed Hildred's quitclaim to the monks of Wetheral.⁴⁷ Again, there is William fitz Baldwin, who paid 30s in 1128–9 and the same in 1129–30 'for the farm of the king's garden of Carlisle'.⁴⁸ In this context he might be no more than a lessee, but he is probably the person referred to a few lines later simply as William, who accounted alongside Hildred for the mining of silver in 1129–30 which yielded £40, and in that context it is much more likely that he was an official. The mine was an asset closely linked to the city, for in 1128–9 the burgesses of Carlisle rendered account for £5 overdue from the mining of silver. Early in Henry II's reign the silver mine was accounted for at a fixed farm of £100, a figure which would be raised unsustainably in the middle of the reign.⁴⁹ The farmer of the mine who suffered most was William fitz Erembald, and it is possible that he was the grandson of William fitz Baldwin, who attested Hildred's quitclaim in the company of his son Raimbald. The names Baldwin and Erembald are both Flemish, and the draftsman of the quitclaim might easily have written Erembald's

⁴⁶ Round, 'Odard the sheriff', *The Genealogist* new ser. 5 (1889), 25.

⁴⁷ Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 143–7 (no. 72).

⁴⁸ *PR 31 Henry I*, 141.

⁴⁹ The mine of Carlisle, as it is referred to, is the well-known and productive workings at Alston (see n. 147) rather than the mines at Silver Gill south of Caldbeck, which were worked in the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. The mine was farmed at 100 marks (£66 13s 4d) in 1158 by William fitz Erembald (*PR 4 Henry II*, 120; Wilson, 339), at £100 p.a. from 1159 to 1163 by William fitz Erembald in 1159 and then for four years by William fitz Holdigar (Wilson, 339–40), at £200 in 1164 by William the moneyer (a third bidder, he was moneyer in Newcastle), at £266 13s 4d in 1165 by William fitz Erembald, but in 1166 William fitz Holdigar paid 500 marks (£333 6s 8d) for two mines 

name as the Anglo-Norman name Raimbald, allowing us to make a join here. This is confirmed by a later deed attested by ‘Willelmo filio Remboldi’.⁵⁰ The name of ERE(m)BALD is shown on coins minted at Carlisle using dies provided by King Stephen and King David.⁵¹ It appears from this evidence that there was a small group of men who served the Crown in the administration of Carlisle in 1130. The one deed surviving in Hildred’s name was witnessed by three of his colleagues.

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Now two principal sources — the pipe roll from Michaelmas 1130 and the king’s writ-charter for Hildred from earlier in the same year — have provided a snapshot of the administration of Carlisle in 1129–30 and the years immediately preceding. To set this glimpse in a wider and longer context, we should need much more evidence, and what is available is somewhat limited. In the second section of this essay, I shall discuss the evidence provided by the address-clauses of royal writ-charters of the Anglo-Norman period for the public institutions of Carlisle and Westmorland.

The survival of charters depends on the preservation of the archives of those with interests in the area, and few archives have retained anything from this early date. Only one religious house in

(*PR 12 Henry II*, 89; Wilson, 342), and in 1167 William fitz Erembald regained the right at this inflated farm. It remained fixed for some time, though in the 1170s William fitz Erembald quickly fell behind in his payments — his arrears began in 1171, and he was £2,106 13s 4d in arrears in 1179 (Wilson, 346). It appears that a bidding competition between three Williams forced up the price. These figures are well set out in *Pipe-rolls, or Sheriff’s annual accounts for Cumberland*, xxiv–xxvi. Hugh Doherty, ‘Roger de Stuteville and Robert de Vaux, sheriffs of Northumberland and Cumberland, 1170–1185’, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 28 (2006), has identified evidence to suggest that proceeds from the mine under William fitz Erembald between 1171 and 1185 were corruptly diverted to enrich the local sheriffs. Thereafter the rights were farmed by several operators at more modest sums. His arrears stood at £2,155 6s 8d in 1187 (Wilson, 362), one mark was paid off, and, though he no longer farmed the mine, they continued to be carried forward as a debt until 1199, when he paid 8s (Wilson, 384). The bad debt continues to appear in the pipe rolls long after William must have had died.

⁵⁰ This is a deed of Uhtred, ruler of Galloway, printed from the original by K. J. Stringer, ‘Acts of lordship: the records of the lords of Galloway to 1234’, in *Freedom and Authority. Scotland c.1050–c.1650. Historical essays presented to Grant G. Simpson* (East Linton, 2000), 203–234 (at p. 215, no. 9).

⁵¹ B. H. I. H. Stewart, ‘Scottish Mints’, in *Mints, Dies, and Currency*, ed. R. A. G. Carson (London, 1971), 165–289 (at pp. 193–4).

Cumbria has copied any significant number of deeds from the beginning of the twelfth century, and that was Wetheral priory, whose late-thirteenth-century cartulary is the most important local source.⁵² Carlisle cathedral priory preserved a few royal charters, which were recopied by clerks of the royal chancery in the fourteenth century. Durham cathedral priory obtained from the king and preserved some acts concerning Carlisle at the end of the eleventh century. The family that held the estate and later honour of Greystoke perhaps from as early as the 1090s also retained some documents from this period; some of these were copied into a sixteenth-century cartulary and some were transcribed by antiquaries in the seventeenth century. These archives have preserved two acts of William II concerning Carlisle and eight acts of Henry I that address the public assemblies of Cumberland and Westmorland. From this rather small haul, we can construct a table (fig. 3) that sets out the evidence provided by the address-clauses of royal acts for the governance of Cumberland and Westmorland in the Anglo-Norman period. To this we can add three acts issued by David I as king of Scots between 1136 and 1141.

The interpretation of these documents is challenging. Their dating is often extremely difficult. Even the reading of the texts can be uncertain in vital details. In original charters it was usual to abbreviate the words *iustic*' and *uic*'; unless these abbreviations are accompanied by the name or initial of the officer, one cannot always be sure whether they should be read as representing the singular *iustic*(*ie*), *uic*(*ecomiti*), or the plural *iustic*(*iis*), *uic*(*ecomitibus*). Even in the middle ages, the prevalence of the general address from the 1170s onwards meant that copyists would often ignorantly expand the words as plurals; indeed *iustic*' is often expanded as *iusticiariis* though this is almost always incorrect. So, for example, in the Wetheral cartulary, two equivalent addresses appear differently. First, *Regesta* 1752, attested only from the cartulary, was printed by Prescott as 'archiepiscono Eboracensi et iusticiariis et uiccomitibus', but the manuscript allows, and requires, a different expansion in the abbreviations, 'archiepiscono Ebor(acensi) et iustic(iis) et

⁵² Printed in full by Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 6–325, with additions in the manuscript, 1–5, 326–76, 377–94, and supplementary material from other sources, 395–467. It was Canon Prescott's misfortune to base his work on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century transcripts at a time when the cartulary itself was missing; within weeks of the appearance of his edition, the original manuscript was brought to light (J. E. Prescott in *CW1* xv (1898–9), 285–7). It is now in the Carlisle record office.

WRITS AND WRIT-CHARTERS ADDRESSED TO CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND				
<i>Regesta</i>	Beneficiary Archive	Possible Date-range	Address Clause	Persons addressed
463	Durham	1092 × 1095	W. filio Theoderici et omnibus fidelibus suis de Cerleolo et omnibus qui manent ultra Loedriam	W. fitz Thierry <i>fideles</i>
478	Durham	1096 × 1099	G() uicemomiti et baronibus suis de Cerleil	G. sheriff <i>barones</i>
1130	Wetheral priory and St Mary's York	1114 × 1122 prob. 1121 or 1122	T(urstino) archiepiscopo Ebor(acensi) et omnibus fidelibus et ministris suis de Westmerland et de Cumberland	Archbishop Thurstan <i>fideles</i> <i>ministri</i>
1752	Wetheral priory and St Mary's York	1121 × 1132 perhaps 1122	archiepiscopo Ebor(aci) et iustic(iis) et uicecom(itibus) et omnibus baronibus et fidelibus suis francis et anglis de Eborachira et de Karleolo	Archbishop Thurstan justices sheriffs <i>barones</i> <i>fideles</i>
1753	Wetheral priory and St Mary's York	forgery	archiepiscopo Ebor(aci) et iusticiariis et uicecomitibus et omnibus baronibus et fidelibus suis francis et anglis de Eboraci scire et de Karleolo	Archbishop Thurstan justiciars (<i>sic</i>) sheriffs <i>barones</i> <i>fideles</i>
1491	Carlisle priory	1122 × 1127	archiepiscopo Ebor(acensi) et omnibus baronibus et ministris suis et fidelibus suis de Cumbrelanda et de Westmarialanda	Archbishop of York <i>barones</i> <i>ministri</i> <i>fideles</i>
1617	Carlisle priory	1122 × 1127	iustic(iis), uicecomitib(us), baronibus, forestar(iis) et ministris suis et fidelibus de Cumberlanda	justices sheriff(s) <i>barones</i> foresters and <i>ministri</i> <i>fideles</i>

Figure 3

WRITS AND WRIT-CHARTERS ADDRESSED TO CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND – <i>continued</i>				
<i>Regesta</i>	Beneficiary Archive	Possible Date-range	Address Clause	Persons addressed
not in <i>Regesta</i> (see above, n. 96)	Forn Sigulfsson	1122 x 1127	archiepiscopo Eboraci et uicecomit(ibus) et omnibus baronibus et fidelibus suis francis et anglis de Eboraciscira et de Cumerlanda et de Northumberlanda et de Westm(er)landa	four shires Archbishop of York sheriffs <i>barones</i> <i>fideles</i>
1560	Hildred of Carlisle	1130	Waltero Espec Eustacio filio Iohannis et Odardo uicecomiti et omnibus fidelibus suis francis et anglis de Cumberland'	Walter Espec, Eustace fitz John, justices Odard, sheriff <i>fideles</i>
1639	Ivo Fornason	1130	archiepiscopo Eboracensi et omnibus baronibus suis francis et anglis et Ebora<ci>scira et de Cumerelanda et Northumberlanda et de Westmerlanda	four shires Archbishop of York <i>barones</i>
D1/58	Glasgow cathedral	1136	iusticie sue, uic(ecomiti), baronibus, et omnibus ministris suis totius Cumberlandie	justice sheriff <i>barones</i> <i>ministri</i>
D1/76	Wetheral	1136 x 1141	com<iti>, iustic<ie>, baronibus, uic<ecomiti> ministris, omnibus probis hominibus suis totius Cumberlandie francis et anglis et cumbrensibus	Earl Henry justice sheriff <i>ministri</i> <i>probi homines</i>
D1/113	Wetheral	1141	baronibus, uicecomitibus et omnibus probis hominibus suis tocius Cumberland' et Westmerland	<i>barones</i> sheriff, sg. <i>probi homines</i>

Figure 3

uicecom(iti)', allowing for the joint justices Eustace fitz John and Walter Espec but one sheriff in Yorkshire.⁵³ Second, all copies of *Regesta* 1753 read 'archiepiscopo Ebor(acensi) et iusticiariis et uicecomitibus', showing medieval ignorance in expansions and, in this case, probable forgery.⁵⁴ We see a true reading in one of the two Scottish examples. The writ-charter of King David for Glasgow cathedral not only writes *iusticie* in full, it adds the adjective *sue*, which shows grammatical agreement with a feminine noun in the singular; the sheriff is as usual abbreviated to *uic*' which I expand in the singular *uic(ecomiti)*.⁵⁵ His writ-charter for Wetheral, however, was printed by Dugdale with plurals not only for both these words but also for the earl.⁵⁶ An earldom at this period was a high office in the shire, and by definition there could not be more than one earl in the shire at one time. We must be careful that in dealing with abbreviations we do not change the evidence on which we rely for our perception of public authority.

From the ten acts issued by kings of England we may take notice,

⁵³ I have not sought to verify whether the reading is Prescott's own or that of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century transcripts from which he printed the text (see n. 52).

⁵⁴ The exemplification dated 21 November 1304 in the patent roll of 33 Edward I, pt 1, PRO C66/125, mem. 23, copied by an experienced clerk from the original, reads 'Henricus rex Angl(orum) archiep(iscop)o Ebor. et iusticiariis et uicecomitibus et omnibus baronibus et fidelibus suis francis et anglis Eboraciscire et de Carleolo salutem'; the inspeximus dated 25 March 1331 in the charter roll of 5 Edward III, C53/118, no. 66, also apparently copied from the original, differs only in reading 'Eboraci et iusticiar(iis)', which is also the reading in the Wetheral cartulary, fol. 23v (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 14, no. 5). Hesitation over the expansion of *Ebor*' is universal, but having three medieval copies agreeing on *iusticiariis* suggests that it was in the original. Since Henry's chancery invariably wrote *iustic*', this was not a chancery product, and the content of the act suggests that it is a reworking of the authentic *Regesta* 1752.

⁵⁵ Printed from Glasgow cartularies by Cosmo Innes, *Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis*, Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs (Edinburgh, 1843), 12 (no. 10), by Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 96 (no. 126), and by Barrow, *Charters of David I*, 81–2 (no. 58). All three have expanded *uic*' as *uicecomitibus*, and Lawrie, 362, in his English abstract, even renders 'iusticie sue' as if it were plural, 'to his justices'.

⁵⁶ Printed from lost original in St Mary's Tower at York by W. Dugdale & R. Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1655–73), i. 399, reprinted in *Monasticon*, iii. 584 (no. xi); from *Monasticon* by Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 94–5 (no. 123), and from Dugdale's edition by Barrow, *Charters of David I*, 89–90 (no. 76). Dodsworth in his transcript (not found), or Dugdale in the edition, silently expanded what must have been *com*' *iustic*' and *uic*' in the original as plurals, 'comitibus iusticiariis baronibus uicecomitibus'; the other editors followed uncritically. This act is not found in the Wetheral cartulary.

first of all, that the two in the name of William II address an individual and the men of Carlisle. The earliest is undoubtedly that from the Durham archive addressed by the king ‘to W. fitz Thierry and all his sworn men of Carlisle and to all who live beyond Lowther’.⁵⁷ This refers to ‘the bishop of Durham or his archdeacon’ and so must date from before the death of Bishop William on 2 January 1096. Who W. fitz Thierry was has never been discovered, but an act of Archbishop Thomas of York, on the same business and from the same source, is addressed to ‘W. hostillario’, who may be the same person,⁵⁸ ‘his *fideles*’ are the king’s sworn men, bound by *fides* ‘oath’. Next, on similar business and again from the Durham archive, we find an act addressed by William II ‘to G. the sheriff and his [the king’s] barons of Carlisle’.⁵⁹ This is the first, perhaps the only, address by any Anglo-Norman king to a sheriff of Carlisle. His role as the officer who convened the local equivalent of the shire court explains his presence in this address, and not any direct concern with the pastoral demands of Durham.⁶⁰ The barons are the *barones* of that court, not men who held what would only later be called baronies, and certainly not the dependants of these officials.⁶¹

⁵⁷ *Regesta* 463; printed from Prior John Washington’s collections, fifteenth century, in *Monasticon*, i. 241 (no. vi); translated by H. H. E. Craster, ‘A contemporary record of the pontificate of Ranulf Flambard’, *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4th ser. 7 (1930), 33–56, at 38 (no. iii). I should take ‘beyond Lowther’ to mean north of the river Lowther, defining from a southern perspective the district around Carlisle; C. V. Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians. A study in British provincial origins, A.D. 400–1120* (Aldershot, Hants, 1996), 25, takes his perspective from Carlisle and interprets ‘beyond Lowther’ as denoting Westmorland.

⁵⁸ From the same source, J. E. Burton, *English Episcopal Acta v York 1070–1154* (London 1988), 2 (no. 2). This document is more like a royal act in its wording than an episcopal act. Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians*, 25, translates his title as ‘provisioner’; *ostillarius* ‘hosteller’ suggests a rather minor official, but whose is impossible to tell.

⁵⁹ From the same source, *Monasticon*, i. 241 (no. vii); Craster, ‘Pontificate of Ranulf Flambard’, 39 (no. v); *Regesta* 478, datable between January 1096 and May 1099.

⁶⁰ Summerson misses this point, commenting, ‘An order to see that obedience in matters spiritual was given to the archdeacon of Durham shows that more was liable to be demanded of the sheriff than merely keeping the Norman flag flying, but in all likelihood his duties were primarily military’ (*Medieval Carlisle*, i. 18); likewise Phythian-Adams, ‘clearly had responsibility not only over “all his lieges of Carlisle” but also for the enforcement of matters that were more than purely secular over a wider district still’ (*Land of the Cumbrians*, 25).

⁶¹ Kapelle, *Norman Conquest of the North*, 194, falls into a fundamental misunderstanding on this point, taking *suis* (‘his’) to refer to the sheriff instead of to the king. ‘Combined with the evidence of the more modest Cumbrian barons, this means that the barons of Roger Picot, W. son of Theoderic, and “G.” were the household knights of these

Who G. was has never been discovered. While both acts pose difficult questions, that is no reason to doubt their authenticity.⁶² Two acts from Wetheral, arguably datable to 1122 or soon after, are addressed to the public assemblies of Yorkshire and Carlisle. Six acts in the name of Henry I address the men of Cumberland or of both Cumberland and Westmorland. It appears that these recognize a larger territory, and we may infer that there is some perception that these areas might constitute shires. Out of these six acts, however, only the one for Hildred of Carlisle, discussed above, addresses a sheriff by name, Odard, whom we have seen already was the sheriff of Northumberland. Another, a writ from the Carlisle archive, has been copied with plurals for all except *justic*’; the justices were no doubt again Eustace and Walter, but there is a fair chance that *uic*’ was in the original and one sheriff intended, Odard of Bamburgh.⁶³

Four of the six acts, however, address the archbishop of York. In normal circumstances the presiding officers of the shire, addressed in writ-charters, would be the bishop — Christ’s sheriff, as he is styled in one Old English source⁶⁴ — and the king’s sheriff. In those few counties where there was an earl, he would take his place in order of precedence after the bishop, but there was no earl in Cumbria in the time of William II and Henry I. There was always a bishop — even if we cannot be sure how regularly bishops attended the meetings of their shires⁶⁵ — but at this time it was a matter of some dispute who

officials’, he writes. If evidence were needed that *suis* refers to the king, it is provided by the queen’s acts, which address ‘baronibus regis’ (*Regesta* 624 for Tynemouth, in the Appendix below, provides an example). W. fitz Thierry’s name is associated only with the king’s sworn men; Roger Picot’s name as sheriff in many Northumberland address-clauses (discussed below) is associated with the *barones* of the shire court, a usage found throughout England; and G. the sheriff is here also associated with the *barones* of the king’s local court, however its sphere was defined.

⁶² Wilson, 302, commented of both these letters of William II that they ‘do not carry on the face of them the usual evidence of authenticity’. There is nothing in their formulation to support a case for forgery, and he does not attempt to make one.

⁶³ *Regesta* 1617, datable 1122 × August 1127; printed from inspeximus dated 20 February 1307, *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, iii. 81–2. Brackets should be added to ‘iustic(iis)’.

⁶⁴ *Cristes scirgerefa*, in Archbishop Wulfstan’s Institutes of Polity, ed. K. Jost, *Die Institutes of polity, civil and ecclesiastical: Ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten 47 (1959), 144.

⁶⁵ At this period it was certainly expected that the bishop would be present (*Leges Henrici*, § 7. 2, ed. Downer, 198). The bishop of Lincoln would presumably have had difficulty, since there were eight shires within his diocese (as noted by Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* I 5)—and in Henry I’s time Bishop Robert was so often in the king’s company rather than in his diocese. On a smaller scale other bishops would be affected by these problems.

had episcopal jurisdiction over Carlisle and Cumberland. We should take serious notice of two acts here that address the archbishop of York. Two others, for Forn Sigulf's son (not in *Regesta*) and his son Ivo fitz Forn (*Regesta* 1639), must be discounted, because they are addressed to four shires, among them Yorkshire, so that their inclusion of the archbishop is otherwise explained. The act for Wetheral (*Regesta* 1130), however, is addressed only to Cumberland and Westmorland, suggesting that the chancery draftsman believed that Archbishop Thurstan presided over the public court in those areas. Someone might protest that the act was obtained from the king by Richard, abbot of York, who might have had an interest in seeing the archbishop included — but the abbot could not extend the archbishop's civil role at his own convenience. No such quibble affects the act for Carlisle priory (*Regesta* 1491), whereby the king confirmed to the canons all the churches and land that had belonged to Walter the priest, a text of some importance for the origins of the foundation.⁶⁶ I should not like to say whether Archbishop Thurstan made the journey very often to attend meetings of the men of Cumberland and Westmorland, but his inclusion in the address points towards a meeting analogous to that of a shire, even if there was no sheriff resident in Cumberland and if much of the administration of the area was in the hands of officials of a lower rank. The fact that the episcopal president appears to have been the archbishop of York is very significant. The two acts preserved at Durham show that William II was willing to support by writ the claim of the bishop of Durham to exercise spiritual jurisdiction in Carlisle.⁶⁷ This was under threat in Henry I's reign, and it is clear that before 1130 the monks of Durham had decided that there was no point in pursuing their claim. Simeon, the precentor, historian, and pamphleteer of Durham, appears to have abandoned his pamphlet to defend Durham's ancient claim and to have erased mention of that claim from his history. In his manuscript we can still see the space where seventeen lines of text were completely effaced.⁶⁸

The justices who have appeared in several of these address-clauses were introduced to the meetings of shires by Henry I. Men served

⁶⁶ See n. 157.

⁶⁷ H. R. T. Summerson, 'Old and new bishoprics: Durham and Carlisle', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093–1193*, ed. D. W. Rollason, M. M. Harvey, M. C. Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), 369–80.

⁶⁸ R. Sharpe, 'Symeon as pamphleteer', in *Symeon of Durham, Historian of Durham and the North*, ed. D. W. Rollason (Stamford, Lincs, 1998), 214–29.

sometimes quite long periods as justice in a particular shire or group of shires, and they had precedence over the sheriff. They were not judges, however, sent to hear pleas; rather, they acted as the king's commissioners, bringing cases on the king's behalf. This change in the workings of the shire court can only be dated loosely by inference from the first appearance of justices in the address-clauses of writ-charters, a question that has not received sufficient attention.⁶⁹ The first justice in the northern counties was Nigel d'Aubigny, whose attestations show that he continued to be involved in northern business for years after he gave up his office in the region. Through the period of our documents the justices with authority across the north were in almost all cases Eustace fitz John and Walter Espec, named in the king's writ-charter for Hildred; they followed Nigel in office *c.* 1121.

While none of these acts presents a tidy picture of bishop, justice, sheriff, and the *barones* and *fideles* of the shire, it is not unreasonable to infer that the men of Cumberland at least, and apparently the men of Westmorland too, met in a way very like that of a shire. The evidence from 1130, however, indicates that they did not have their own sheriff. Instead an official of lower rank administered the king's business in Carlisle, and for purposes of justice the sheriff of Northumberland presided over 'pleas that pertain to the shrievalty'.

How far this is a fair inference may be judged by comparison with the evidence for the shire court of Northumberland, set out in an appendix at the end of this paper.

Northumberland extended from the river Tees to the river Tweed, and Henry of Huntingdon tells us that the bishop of Durham presided in Northumberland.⁷⁰ The bishopric's lands between the Tees and the Tyne and at the northern extremity of the shire in

⁶⁹ In listing the members of the shire court, *Leges Henrici*, § 7, makes no mention of justices, a sign that its composition predates their introduction. A date around 1109–10 for the first introduction appears plausible, but the question is under investigation by my colleague Nicholas Karn.

⁷⁰ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, I 5, 'Nordhumbreland, cui preest episcopus Dunhelmie' (ed. D. E. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), 18). The territory is defined in similar terms by Geoffrey Barrow: 'Whatever territories were included in the eleventh-century earldom at its widest extent, it is absolutely certain that in 1139 the earldom acquired by Henry of Scotland was confined to the east side of the Pennines and ran from Tweed to Tees with of course the large exception of St Cuthbert's Land (Haliweresfolk) and the far from negligible exception of Hexhamshire. It is a difficult question whether the lordship, the future liberty, of Tynedale was within or outwith the earldom — I am inclined to believe the latter' (G. W. S. Barrow, 'King David, Earl Henry, and Cumbria', *CW2* xcix (1999), 117–27, at p. 122).

Islandshire and Norhamshire were a jurisdictional liberty that had not yet become the separate county of Durham, and the men of Northumberland still claimed certain rights there.⁷¹ Two rich archives have preserved a considerable number of royal acts from here, Tynemouth priory, a dependency of St Albans, which was thereby put in more convenient contact with the king than the priory might otherwise have enjoyed, and Durham cathedral priory, well connected at court during most of William II's reign and Henry I's. Carlisle has preserved two more, and four individual acts of Henry I or Stephen survive from four other archives.

The first thing to observe is that from this run of documents it is perfectly straightforward to infer the succession of sheriffs in Northumberland. Roger Picot appears for the first time when King William II was in Newcastle in July–August 1095 (*Regesta* 367), and he occurs four more times between then and a date after 1101. He was succeeded by two joint sheriffs, Ligulf of Bamburgh and Alfric of Corbridge, who occur as sheriff eight times between 1105 and 1115.⁷² They were succeeded by Ligulf's son Odard of Bamburgh. Odard occurs four times in this table between 1115 and 1130, as well as being the beneficiary of a lost act (*Regesta* 1202), witness to an act for William, son of Alfric of Corbridge (*Regesta* 1563), and, as we have seen, mentioned in the pipe roll from 1130 as accounting for the shire of Northumberland and for a fixed sum from pleas in

⁷¹ For example, *Regesta* 918, dated to October 1109, reveals that Bishop Ranulf claims three villas close to the river Tees, Burdon, Carlton, and Aycliffe, against the men of Northumberland (*homines Northumbrenses*), who said that the lands were of the shire (*de comitatu*). The men of the shire also claimed certain rights in the woods south of the Tyne and in the river itself. These villas, like the Brus manor of Hart (n. 33 above), presumably belonged to the wapentake of Sadberge, which was part of Northumberland until that jurisdiction was acquired for the bishopric in 1189 by Hugh du Puiset; C. M. Fraser & K. Emsley, 'Durham and the wapentake of Sadberge', *Transactions of the Durham and Northumberland Architectural and Archaeological Society* new ser. 2 (1971), 71–81, were unable to establish the extent of this jurisdiction. Richard of Hexham, *Historia Haugustaldensis ecclesiae*, prologue, ed. J. Raine, *The Priory of Hexham*, Surtees Society 44, 46 (1863–4), i. 2, ignores such complexities, defining Northumberland as extending from the Tyne and the Derwent northwards to the Tweed.

⁷² This evidence was set out as long ago as 1914 by Edmund Craster, *History of Northumberland*, x. 39n, who understood the significance of address-clauses: 'Since the king's writs were sent down for publication in the shire moot, it follows, from the fact that Ligulf and Aluric are on each occasion addressed jointly, that both magistrates presided over the same assembly' (*ibid.* 39). Craster inferred that Ligulf was high reeve of the royal burgh of Bamburgh and that Alfric held the equivalent position in Corbridge. They were equals who jointly took on, in addition, the higher office of sheriff.

Carlisle ‘pertaining to the shrievalty’. The difficulty of working out exactly when Roger handed over to Ligulf and Alfric and when they handed over to Odard does not obscure the fact of this succession. There can be no doubt that Northumberland was administered by sheriffs from at least the period when the last earl of Northumberland in the eleventh century was dispossessed in 1095.⁷³ Odard was followed by his son Adam of Bamburgh and the position continued under Scottish rule after 1138, though King David made his son Henry earl of Northumberland. Named justices appear here more rarely than sheriffs, and over a shorter period, but Nigel d’Aubigny appears once in this role (*Regesta* 1001), and the joint justices Walter Espec and Eustace fitz John occur twice, with Walter alone appearing a third time. The pipe roll from 1130 shows that Walter Espec and Eustace fitz John held pleas as justices in Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, and Westmorland. It is reasonable on this basis to infer that at an earlier date Nigel too acted as justice in all the northern counties, as he can be seen to have done in Yorkshire, where the number of writ-charters is considerably more abundant.

The Northumberland address-clauses show occasional variation as to which bishop is addressed. For business affecting only Northumberland, one would expect the bishop of Durham. Where Yorkshire was also involved, the archbishop of York is addressed, but he sometimes appears alongside the bishop in acts addressed only to Northumberland, and in one case he appears on his own.⁷⁴

⁷³ There are two possible references to sheriffs before then, though neither concerns a royal sheriff. Gilbert appears to have been sheriff under Bishop Walcher of Durham as earl: ‘Gilbert, to whom the bishop had committed the shire of Northumberland to be ruled under himself (*comitatum Northymbrensiū sub se regendum*), for they were kinsmen’ (John of Worcester, ed. R. R. Darlington & P. McGurk (Oxford, 1995–), iii. 34; *Historia regum*, ed. Arnold, 210). Morel of Bamburgh is described by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as ‘steward of the earl’ (s.a. 1093) and as Earl Robert’s nephew (Orderic Vitalis, VIII 23, ed. M. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1968–80), iv. 280); he is given the title of sheriff only in a forged act in the name of Bishop William of Saint-Calais (H. S. Offler, *Durham Episcopal Charters*, Surtees Society 179 (1968), 48–53, no. 6; Green, *English Sheriffs*, 65).

⁷⁴ Durham as shire-bishop: *Regesta* 367, 822, 914, 955, 1170, 1172 for Tynemouth; 1143 for Durham; 572 for Carlisle; 1279 for Eustace fitz John. Both together in acts addressed only to Northumberland: 368 for Tynemouth, 1431 for Carlisle. York alone: 631 for Tynemouth, though this is addressed to Northumberland and Yorkshire, so it may be a case of the omission of the bishop of Durham. Some others are also unclear where more than one shire is addressed in the same act. The evidence from Durham may lead to an underrepresentation of the bishop of Durham’s role because, where he was also beneficiary, he might be omitted from the address.

Hexhamshire, on the Tyne, was a liberty belonging to the archbishop, but none of the acts here that address the archbishop actually concerns Hexham, and no royal acts have survived from the church of Hexham in this period. It would appear, therefore, that some other reason must be found for the archbishop's appearing in addresses to Northumberland. One might hazard that Archbishop Gerard acted in place of the bishop of Durham when Bishop Ranulf was living in Normandy.⁷⁵

In sum, however, the testimony of these address-clauses, slanted as it is by the richness of the Tynemouth and Durham archives, presents a far more compelling picture of county administration than we can find in this period for Cumberland and Westmorland. There is even one example of a deed by a sheriff of Northumberland, Adam fitz Odard, addressed to 'all the *barones* of the county of Northumbria', that is the principal men of the shire court which he himself would convene.⁷⁶

In the first section of this paper, we saw a group of royal officials who exercised fiscal and other administrative functions in Carlisle and in Appleby. The pipe roll of 1130, set next to the writ-charter in favour of Hildred of Carlisle, permits a relatively detailed picture of their administration during a five-year period ending at Michaelmas 1130. There was no local sheriff, but for ordinary judicial purposes the sheriff of Northumberland held pleas at Carlisle. Both Carlisle and Appleby were visited by the king's justices. The auditing of the accounts was carried out at the Exchequer alongside other non-shrieval units of account. Northumberland by contrast had been an ordinary shire since 1095.

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⁷⁵ From the last months of 1101 until 1105, Ranulf Flambard spent much of his time at Lisieux, where his brother Fulcher was briefly bishop and after him from January 1102 Ranulf's own son Thomas, on whose behalf Ranulf ruled the diocese (Orderic, X 19, ed. Chibnall, v. 322). This would fit very well for *Regesta* 631. During this period, however, Ranulf was not, as Orderic would have it, exiled and deprived of Durham, and he visited England during 1101, 1102, 1104, and 1105, though the details of his movements have yet to be worked out.

⁷⁶ DCM Ch. Misc. 6895 (quoted above, n. 39).


The explanation for this difference may lie in the way the two areas were brought within the control of the Anglo-Norman realm. In William I's reign Northumberland was under the control of earls, first under local men, Gospatrick (until 1072) and Waltheof (executed in 1075), and after that Normans, Bishop Walcher of Durham (killed in 1080) and the shadowy Aubrey. The castle founded at Newcastle in the crisis of 1080 was meant to assert control.⁷⁷ It was held by William's last earl of Northumberland, Robert de Mowbray, who rebelled against William II in 1095. The king besieged and captured the castle in 1095, and after that it remained in the king's hands until King Stephen lost control. William II's campaign also involved the capture of castles at Morpeth and, more importantly, Bamburgh, a castle of the pre-Conquest earls, which was placed in the hands of the king's officials.⁷⁸ A sheriff, Roger Picot — it is unfortunate that we know nothing of his background — took the place of the earl to ensure that Northumberland was governed as a shire within the realm.

The position in Carlisle and Appleby was rather different. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle relates how William II had led an army to Scotland in 1091, when war with King Malcolm Canmore was averted by the intervention of Eadgar ætheling, Malcolm's English brother-in-law.⁷⁹ Prepared by this experience, William Rufus brought an army to the north again in 1092 and captured Carlisle; expelled the local lord, Dolfin, who may well have been a kinsman of the old earls of Northumbria;⁸⁰ garrisoned a castle there with his own men;

⁷⁷ *Historia regum*, ed. Arnold, 211.

⁷⁸ The campaign is described by various sources, notably the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and its derivatives. The siege of Bamburgh is described in particular detail by Orderic Vitalis, VIII 23 (ed. Chibnall, iv. 280–82). We have seen that Ligulf, Odard, and other sheriffs took their name from Bamburgh. Geffrei Gaimar's brief verse account of the campaign is the only source to add mention of taking Morpeth castle (*L'estoire des engleis*, ed. A. Bell, Anglo-Norman Texts (1960), p. 195, lines 6151–4); Gaimar was writing c.1138, and he was personally acquainted (lines 6441–52) with Walter Espec, justice in Northumberland, so he had access to a source of local knowledge.

⁷⁹ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (E), translated into modern English by D. Whitelock and others (London, 1961), s.a. 1091; also translated by A. O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers A.D. 500–1286* (London, 1908), 106–8.

⁸⁰ This Dolfin has long been generally identified with Dolfin, a son of Earl Gospatrick; he would have held Carlisle within the kingdom of the Scots. Dolfin's brother Waltheof would be enfeoffed in Allerdale; though in 1212 it was said he was enfeoffed by Henry I after 1121, it is evident that he already held the land under Ranulf Meschin before 1112 (see below, p. 54). In Cumbria he is usually referred to as Waltheof fitz Gospatrick, but in Scottish sources he is referred to as Waltheof brother of Dolfin (Barrow, *Charters of David* 

‘and then came here to the south and sent many peasant (*ceorlisc*) people with their wives and cattle to live there and cultivate the land’.⁸¹ William’s purpose was both territorial in a simple sense and also a matter of securing a defensive position against his north-west frontier. The evidence from the charters already considered sheds very little light on the administration here in the 1090s.

I, 60–61, 72, nos. 15, 36); and the youngest brother Gospatrick regularly uses ‘brother of Dolfin’ by way of surname, most obviously in his own deed and on his seal (DCM Misc. Ch. 778; Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 90, no. 117, datable to 1138), but also in acts of King Alexander (Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 28–30, no. 36), of David as earl and as king (Barrow, *Charters of David I*, 58–61, 72, 85, nos. 14–15, 34, 68), and of King Stephen (*Regesta*, iii, no. 373a). This argues for a connexion with a prominent Dolfin, which strongly favours the identification, even if Dolfin appears to have been somewhat older than his brothers; the different practice between Cumbria and Scotland in referring to Waltheof might even suggest that Dolfin was more prominent in Scotland than in Carlisle from where he had been expelled. The identification has been accepted by, among others, Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, 96; F. M. Stenton, ‘Pre-Conquest Westmorland’, in RCHM *Westmorland* (London, 1936), xlvi–lv (at p. liii); R. L. G. Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1954), 58, 165; A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland. The Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), 120–21; R. K. Rose, ‘Cumbrian Society and the Anglo-Norman church’, *Studies in Church History* 18 (1982), 119–35 (at pp. 119, 126); Barrow, *Charters of David I*, 151. Evidence is most fully cited by [W. Greenwell], ‘The house of Gospatrick’, in J. C. Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, vii (1904), 14–106 (at p. 26) (and with a pedigree facing p. 104 and a plate of Gospatrick’s deed facing p. 40) [authorship indicated only at p. vi]. Greenwell himself cautiously notes that Dolfin son of Gospatrick and Dolfin of Carlisle are not necessarily the same.

Another kinsman, Dolfin, brother of Eadulf Rus (fl. 1080), might be thought a second candidate for the identification, but nothing is known of him.

Kapelle, *Norman Conquest of the North*, 151–2 and n. 117, conjectures a third candidate, proposing an otherwise unknown descendant of Dolfin Thorfinn’s son, whom he takes for a Cumbrian leader killed during Earl Siward’s invasion of Scotland in 1054 (pp. 47–8); at p. 95 he assigns to this Dolfin another son, Ulf (who was killed at York in 1064, John of Worcester, ed. Darlington & McGurk, ii. 598). Dolfin Thorfinn’s son is not found as such in any source; he is attested only by one reference to Dolfin mac Finntur, who was one of the English who fell in 1054 (*Annals of Ulster*, s.a.; A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1922, repr. Stamford, 1990), i. 593). The Norse name is a conjectural retroversion from the Gaelic. Behind all this is the supposition that Thorfinn had held Allerdale earlier in the eleventh century (p. 274, citing Hodgson, ‘The Parish of Edlingham’, 26–30; the pages are in fact part of Greenwell’s chapter, ‘The house of Gospatrick’). Thorfinn appears here only in Greenwell’s presentation of Gospatrick’s writ (see n. 10 above). In this famous act, Thorfinn mac Thore is granted rights within Gospatrick’s lordship of Allerdale; Thorfinn himself held Cardew and Cumdivock, both in the parish of Dalston, south of Carlisle. One could not guess from Kapelle’s presentation how many tenuous links his case involves. On top of that, he constructs a novel theory about relations between William II and King Malcolm in 1092, properly demolished by Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, i. 47–9.

⁸¹ *ASChr*, s.a. 1092; Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, 108–9.

Henry Summerson has drawn attention to the circumstances immediately preceding William's expedition to Carlisle, when he found himself in Lincoln in anticipation of the dedication of the new cathedral there in May 1092, as we learn from John of Worcester's variation on the words of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle: 'King William the younger, in return for some money given him by Bishop Remigius, issued writs to the bishops of almost all England to assemble on 9 May to dedicate the church, but, two days before the appointed date, by the hidden judgement of God, Bishop Remigius died, and the dedication of the church was put off. After this the king went to Northumbria, restored the city of Carlisle, and built a castle there'.⁸² Bishop Remigius died on 6 May, and the dedication was postponed. The king thus found himself with the revenues of the bishopric during a vacancy and, instead of returning south, continued north to York and Carlisle. Summerson noted that when, soon after 1100, the merchant Godric — the future hermit of Finchale — found himself in Carlisle, he was recognized as a kinsman and neighbour by some of the inhabitants of Carlisle. Now since Godric had spent his youth in Lincolnshire, Summerson inferred that in 1092 the king had recruited his 'peasant people' from the bishop of Lincoln's manors to settle around Carlisle and develop his new project on the Solway.⁸³ This is not quite right: the nearest specification for where Godric lived in Lincolnshire is 'that place called *Wellestrem*, which is adjacent to the town of Spalding'; the story shows that it was on the coast beside what was then a much broader river Welland with salt-marshes and the tidal mudflats of the Wash.⁸⁴ Now Spalding was the centre of the estate of Lucy, daughter and heiress of Thorold of Lincoln.⁸⁵ She was

⁸² John of Worcester, ed. Darlington & McGurk, iii. 62–3; comment by Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, i. 17.

⁸³ Reginald of Durham, *Vita S. Godrici*, c. 9, ed. J. Stevenson, Surtees Society 20 (1847), 41–2; comment by Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, i. 16–17.

⁸⁴ Reginald of Durham, *Vita S. Godrici*, c. 4 (ed. Stevenson, 26). Without place-name volumes for this part of Lincolnshire, I have been unable to trace it. The outfall of the Welland was very different then from its modern course; a map of 1751, reproduced in H. C. Darby, *The Draining of the Fens* (Cambridge, 1956), 138, sufficiently shows this; the Domesday geography, illustrated in his *The Medieval Fenland* (Cambridge, 1940), does not really clarify the local topography in 1086. (The Well Stream is the name of a once-major part of the Nene drainage system near Wisbech (VCH *Cambs*, iv. 201, 265), but that cannot be relevant.)

⁸⁵ There has been much misunderstanding about Lucy in the older literature, thoroughly reviewed by R. E. G. Kirk, 'The Countess Lucy: singular or plural?', *The Genealogist* new ser. 5 (1889), 60–75, 131–44, 153–73.

married first, around 1083, to Ivo Taillebois, who by this marriage acquired some hundred holdings in Lincolnshire.⁸⁶ Together they founded a Benedictine priory at Spalding.⁸⁷ After 1086, Ivo was also given a large jurisdiction in Kendal and Westmorland; it is likely that he was given this by William II, and it is possible therefore that it was given in conjunction with Carlisle at the time of William's expedition: that is speculation. Lucy's second husband Roger fitz Gerold de Roumare also had some connexions in Westmorland, though these are obscure. After his death Lucy was again given in marriage to a third husband, Ranulf Meschin, who certainly held a large jurisdiction in Cumberland and in Westmorland under Henry I in addition to acquiring Lucy's Lincolnshire estates. Settlers from the Spalding area might have been brought, at King William's behest, by any one of these three, though only Ranulf is known to have controlled Carlisle itself.

It is tempting to connect Godric's Lincolnshire relatives with the peasant settlers sent from the south by William Rufus. If so, Ivo Taillebois may be the vital link: he could have moved tenants from his lands in south Lincolnshire to cultivate the district around Carlisle, if that were entrusted to his keeping in 1092. Ivo died *c.*1094, too soon perhaps to have achieved much by way of bringing Cumbria securely into the administration of the realm. It is indeed impossible to know how far his power in the north extended, since there is no source at all that refers to him as having any territorial lordship in Cumberland. Nor can one assume that Godric's family from Lincolnshire were in the first wave of migrants; the story has no precise chronology, and they may have arrived at a later date, when Ranulf Meschin was in charge.

It can be very difficult in this period to ascertain the territorial extent of the power of men such as Ivo Taillebois or Ranulf Meschin. Conjecture is built on small items of evidence and extrapolation in the light of later perceived territorial units. There is only one item of evidence for the extent of Ivo's northern lands, and

⁸⁶ Ivo's estates in Lincolnshire fill most of two folios in *Domesday Book* (1086), fols. 350ra–351vb. Spalding was valued at nine carucates and was the most valuable of Ivo's manors in 1086 (*Domesday Book*, fol. 351vb; Lincs § 14. 97). Many of the 101 holdings are not marked as manors and some are rather small.

⁸⁷ Spalding priory was founded between 1083 and 1086. Ivo's deed (in the distinctive style of the monks of Bec) is preserved in the Spalding cartulary (BL MS Add. 35296, old fol. 12r–v, new fol. 8r–v; *Monasticon*, iii. 216, no. v), and with it the confirmation by William I in 1085 (Bates 9).

different interpreters have drawn different conclusions from it. It is a deed in his name, by which he gave to the newly-founded abbey of St Mary in York half his demesne in Kirkby Stephen together with the church there and land a mile away at Winton; the churches of Kirkby Kendal, Heversham, and Kirkby Lonsdale; the vill of Hutton Roof in Kendal; the church of Beetham with land at Haverbrack; the church of Burton-in-Kendal; and the church of Clapham in Yorkshire.⁸⁸ The central element of this gift — the five ancient parish churches of Kirkby Kendal, Kirkby Lonsdale, Heversham, Beetham, and Burton-in-Kendal — is a continuous territory, within the later county of Westmorland, and dividing Lancashire north of the Sands from the rest of Lancashire. Indeed, this bloc must explain the future country boundary.⁸⁹ What Ivo held beyond this territory is more difficult to work out. Kirkby Stephen lies further north within Westmorland, Clapham some way to the east in Yorkshire. A person so placed as to be able to make these gifts must have had much of modern Westmorland in his hands: can we suppose that he also held Appleby and Penrith? Farrer emphasised only his holding all of Kentdale; others have made conjectures about the wider extent of Ivo's lordship to the east, and even to the west, but not to the north.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Ivo's deed was printed (together with an account of the descendants of Eltred, purportedly Ivo's son) 'ex Registro Abb. S. Mariae Ebor. fol. 124' by Dugdale, iii. 9 (among his addenda), reprinted in *Monasticon*, iii. 553 (no. xx); reprinted from the latter by Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 412 (appendix, no. xv), and by William Farrer and J. F. Curwen, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*, CWAAS Record Series 4–6 (1923–6), i. 377. It is not found in any of the extant volumes from the cartularies of St Mary's abbey (BL MS Harley 236; York Minster Library, MSS XVI A. 1–2; JRUL MSS lat. 220–21); if it had been among Dodsworth's transcripts, it would probably have been with other acts from St Mary's in Dugdale's first volume rather than in his addenda.

⁸⁹ It produced a curious anomaly. The vill of Dalton is part of the parish of Burton-in-Kendal but lies across the county boundary in Lancashire (Farrer & Brownbill, VCH *Lancs*, viii. 152, 183). Although not mentioned among Roger the Poitevin's lands in Domesday, it is a fair inference that it was held by him (Tait, VCH *Lancs*, ii. 181 and n. 50).

⁹⁰ Farrer, *Records of Kendale*, vol. i, pp. ix–x. We may follow conjectures about the extent of Ivo's territory back through a trail of footnotes. Kapelle, *Norman Conquest of the North*, 272 n. 101, citing Farrer, conjectured that Ivo's territory 'provided the basis for the later baronies of Burton-in-Lonsdale, Kendal, and Copeland, and if Furness was included, as is likely, they constituted a continuous strip of land running from the north-western exit of the Aire gap to the Irish sea' (pp. 147–8). His source was J. C. Holt, *The Northerners. A study in the reign of King John* (Oxford, 1961), 214, who says that 'Rufus had enfeoffed Ivo Taillebois of the whole of Ewecross wapentake, the later lordship of Burton in Lonsdale, and of the later barony of Kendal along with the western portion of

When these northern estates were granted to Ivo depends on similar evidence. In Domesday Book at the end of the description of the king's estates in Yorkshire there is a list of lands in Lancashire, Westmorland, and Cumberland that in 1065 had been held by Earl Tosti of Northumbria. Among them were Kirkby Kendal with Helsington and Old Hutton; Kirkby Lonsdale; and Burton-in-Kendal with Preston Patrick and Holme.⁹¹ Again, at the end of the main entry for Yorkshire in Domesday Book, the land of Roger the Poitevin is briefly described, also formerly held by Earl Tosti. This included some part of Lonsdale in Lancashire but also Beetham with Farleton, Heversham with Hincaster, Preston Richard and

Cumberland which came to be described as the barony of Copeland'. His source was J. Tait, *Medieval Manchester and the Beginnings of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1904), 158–9, who states the position more fully: 'The half dozen great manors which in 1086 filled in the ill-organised territory between Amounderness, Yorkshire and the Scottish fief of Carlisle, were now split up and divided between Roger [the Poitevin] and Ivo Taillebois, lord of Spalding, in Lincolnshire. In this partition Ivo received what is now the Yorkshire wapentake of Ewecross [which included Clapham, Horton-in-Ribblesdale, and Burton-in-Lonsdale], the southern half of the present county of Westmorland known henceforward as the barony of Kendal including all but one [i.e. Dalton] of the townships Roger had held in 1086 on the shores of the Kent estuary, the southern half of the later county of Cumberland, afterwards known as the barony of Copeland or Egremont, and possibly the intervening districts of Furness and Cartmel'; the only evidence cited (p. 159 n. 3) is Ivo's deed in the *Monasticon*, iii. 553, and the forged charter in the name of Henry II for St Mary's which is based on it (*ibid.* iii. 548–9); that is more than Tait cites in restating this view in VCH *Lancs*, ii (1908), 181–2. As regards the intervening districts of Furness and Cartmel, Tait had surely, and rightly, changed his mind between 1904 and 1908, for in the VCH he sees this area, Lonsdale hundred north of the sands, as having passed from the king in 1086 to Roger after 1088. Copeland was also in the king's hands in 1086; I can see no reason why Tait thought this was held by Ivo, stated as a fact in VCH, apart from the consideration that the topographical evidence of boundaries argues against its ever being Roger's. More difficult is the position in north-west Yorkshire. Only Clapham is known to have been held by Ivo in what would become Ewecross wapentake. In extrapolating to say that Ivo held all Ewecross, Tait cannot have mistaken the Burton of Ivo's deed (Burton-in-Kendal, Westmorland, whose church was long held by St Mary's abbey, e.g. agreement concerning advowson in 1283, BL MS Harley 236, fol. 41v) for Burton-in-Lonsdale (Yorks, in the parish of Thornton; it had no church for Ivo to give to St Mary's). Where lands were held by the king and by Roger the Poitevin in 1086, and where Ivo has acquired Clapham, Tait has inferred from the county boundary that Ivo's Yorkshire holding must have extended to the county line, where Whittington and Tunstall were Roger's and remain in Lancashire. Tait's reasoning appears to start with the assumption that the whole area west of the Pennines in Domesday Book was divided between Ivo and Roger; he identifies what was Roger's with the help of boundaries and assumes the rest was Ivo's. Tait must have been influenced by Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, 389–90 (see n. 103).

⁹⁰ *DB*, i. 301vb–302ra.

Levens, all in Westmorland.⁹² Prescott represents this evidence as indicating that ‘the later Barony of Kendal’ was in the king’s hands in 1086, which goes too far, since the lands that would eventually form the territory of Kendal are divided between the king and Roger.⁹³ As Farrer and Tait both observed, an arrangement was introduced under which William II assigned lands in the king’s hands to Ivo, consolidating them by the transfer of some lands from Roger the Poitevin. In return Roger gained Furness and Cartmel, which the king had held in 1086, and his tenure explains the separation of Lancashire north of the sands from the rest of the county, and indeed the division of Lonsdale hundred. Kendal was a territory created for Ivo, and its limits influenced the future boundaries of both the county of Westmorland and diocese of York. This disposition of lands must have come about in or after 1088, when Roger was reconciled to William II.

Prescott and Farrer both inferred that Ivo too was granted his lands in the north by William II, and the obvious circumstances would have been his north-western campaign in 1092.⁹⁴ Tait, recognizing that the realignment of Roger’s holding and the creation of Ivo’s territory must have happened after Roger gave his support to William II in 1088 and before Ivo’s death in 1094, writes that ‘it is scarcely possible that it was totally unconnected with Rufus’ conquest of the Scottish fief of Carlisle or Cumbria in 1092’.⁹⁵ If Ivo already held Kendal, however, he would be the nearest Norman lord in the region to be given responsibility for the newly acquired lands to the north. Even though a more northerly posting for Ivo could have lasted only a year or two, he has some claim to be considered the first Norman lord of Cumbria.

⁹² *DB*, i. 332rb.

⁹³ Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 473 (though his discussion is marred by his thinking that Ranulf’s wife Lucy was the daughter of Ivo Taillebois and an earlier Lucy, leading him to suppose that Ranulf had the barony of Kendal in right of his wife; he was unaware of Kirk’s important article of 1889 on Lucy, cited n. 85 above).

⁹⁴ Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 473; Farrer, *Records of Kendale*, vol. i, p. ix, also thought this territory was granted to Ivo in 1091 or 1092. The possibility of an earlier grant, in 1087–8, is allowed by Kapelle, *Norman Conquest of the North*, 272 n. 101. The outer limits for Ivo’s fiefdom are similarly stated by F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (London, 1983), 298n, as between Domesday Book in 1086 and Ivo’s death c.1094. Like Prescott, Barlow supposed that Ivo was given these lands in southern Westmorland at or near the same date as Ranulf was granted his territory in northern Westmorland and Cumberland, though Barlow allows that Ivo might have been enfeoffed a little earlier than Ranulf.

⁹⁵ Tait, *VCH Lancs*, ii. 182.

I throw in here a guess at further circumstantial support. The most visible man among the second rank of Cumbrian lords during the Anglo-Norman period was Forn Sigulf's son: it is tempting to infer that this border-norse opportunist prospered under the brief command of Ivo Taillebois, since he named his own son Ivo. In the 1120s Henry I confirmed the lands held by Forn, whether as a tenant-in-chief under the Crown or as someone else's tenant, and granted him the right to hold his lands in fee, so that his heirs might succeed to them.⁹⁶ Still in Henry I's time Ivo fitz Forn succeeded to all of his father's lands; the writ-charter confirming his inheritance in Yorkshire and Cumberland and Northumberland and Westmorland survived at the family's seat at Greystoke until the late sixteenth century. It was witnessed by David, king of Scots, as well as by another powerful figure in the north-west, Robert de Brus, lord of Annandale, and must be dated to one of the three occasions when King David attended King Henry's court (1126–7, 1130, or 1131).⁹⁷ This offers at least a plausible fit with Ivo's being born in or soon after 1093. The extent of Forn's lands is unclear, so that this association, even if it were proven, cannot help to demonstrate that Ivo's territory extended as far north as Greystoke, let alone Carlisle.

What happened after Ivo's death is unclear. In view of Lucy's value as an heiress, William II did not let her remain long as a widow; he gave her in marriage to Roger fitz Gerold de Roumare, by whom she bore a son William de Roumare. She was widowed a second time, *c.*1098, when she was probably in her early thirties. There is nothing to confirm whether between 1094 and 1098 Lucy's second husband Roger might also have been seconded to a position in the north-west. Farrer thought this was possible.⁹⁸ Like Ivo before him, Roger was a benefactor of St Mary's in York, but his

⁹⁶ The writ charter of Henry I, broadly datable to 1122 × 1127, is unlisted and unprinted; it was found by Hugh Doherty in the sixteenth-century vellum book of the Greystoke family, among the Howard of Naworth archive, now Durham University Library, MS HNP/C201/7, fol. 42v. This explains the reference in 1212 to his feoffment by Henry I (*Book of Fees*, i. 198; Wilson, 421).

⁹⁷ *Regesta* 1639; printed by Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ii. 509 (no. 1237). Robert de Brus had by this date been granted the lordship of Annandale by King David.

⁹⁸ Farrer, *Records of Kendale*, vol. i, p. x: 'From the possession of land in Westmarieland by the Roumares, who were descendants of Roger fitz Gerold, it might be inferred that he had an interest in Kentdale in succession to Ivo Taillebois. If so, no evidence has been discovered'. At the same time, he inferred that Kentdale was given to Nigel d'Aubigny, even though, as he says, 'not one single document has survived to illustrate the tenure of Kentdale by Nigel de Aubigny' (p. x; see n. 102 for his evidence).

gift to the monks, dating from the mid-1090s, was land in the North Riding of Yorkshire, not in Westmorland.⁹⁹ He did, however, witness one of the writs obtained from William II by the church of Durham to secure its pastoral rights over the people of Carlisle.¹⁰⁰ Roger was not a frequent witness to William II's acts, but that does not necessarily allow us to read any local significance into what he did witness. Roger's son William de Roumare also retained what are to me unexplained interests in Westmorland in the 1130s, when he notified his steward and his men of Westmorland that he had seised Peter fitz Gerard of the land that his brother Richard fitz Gerard had held.¹⁰¹ The brother must be same Richard fitz Gerard of Appleby who accounted for Westmorland in the pipe roll in 1130. If Roger fitz Gerold retained some of Ivo's lands in Westmorland, Appleby can hardly have descended to his son William, for it was certainly part of Ranulf Meschin's territory.

It has been proposed that Ivo's lands in Kendal and Ribblesdale passed to Nigel d'Aubigny, King Henry's justice in the north from c.1109. The first piece of evidence for this is in the pipe roll of 1130, when Nigel's heir Roger de Mowbray was a ward. The custodians of his inheritance rendered account at the Exchequer for £21 5s 10d spent on the garrison of the castle at Burton-in-Lonsdale.¹⁰² Lonsdale hundred had been Roger the Poitevin's land, and we have seen that there is no direct evidence that Ivo ever held Burton-in-Lonsdale, but a second piece suggests that some of Ivo's territory did pass for a time into the Mowbray fee. This is a deed of Roger de Mowbray from c.1150, which conveys his lands in Lonsdale,

⁹⁹ Roger fitz Gerold de Roumare gave the church of Kirby Misperton with two carucates of land to St Mary's abbey, a location central to the earliest endowments from the time when the monks were at Lastingham. Roger's deed was copied into the fourteenth-century cartulary, York Minster Library, MS XVI A. 1, fol. cxxxii^v (now fol. 209v), from the original deed in 'Co(phino) v^{to} temporalium cella ij^a'; datable after his marriage to Lucy, c.1094, and before his death, c.1098; printed in *Monasticon*, iii. 561 (no. xlix) (as 'Carta A. filii Geroldi?'), and by Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, i. 473–4 (no. 601).

¹⁰⁰ *Regesta* 463 (n. 57 above).

¹⁰¹ The deed was copied by Sir Roger Dodsworth (1585–1644) from the original in the Clifford archive in Skipton castle; Bodl. MS Dodsworth 70, fol. 18v. This deed was brought to my attention by Hugh Doherty, to whom I am most grateful.

¹⁰² Farrer, *Records of Kendale*, vol. i, p. x (and see n. 98 above); D. E. Greenway, *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray 1107–1191* (London, 1972), xxii. The reference in the pipe roll is unambiguous, 'de castello de Burtona de Lanesdala', when it was in the king's hands while Nigel's heir, Roger de Mowbray, was a ward (*PR 31 Henry I*, 138); two of tenants of the honour render account as custodians.

Kendal, and Horton-in-Ribblesdale to William of Lancaster.¹⁰³ The supposition has been that this includes Burton-in-Lonsdale and all the lands of Ewcross wapentake that Ivo has been supposed to have held, but it is not clear that this inference is tenable.¹⁰⁴

Further north there is no clear evidence. The two writs in which the king ordered the men of Carlisle and those living north of the river Lowther to look to Durham for pastoral care name only officials. In the first W. fitz Thierry is addressed, sometime between 1092 and the end of 1095. G. the sheriff, addressed in the second, between January 1096 and May 1099, is equally unknown. We have seen, however, that the sheriff of Northumberland at this date was Roger Picot, so that Carlisle appears here for once to have had its own sheriff.

In Henry I's reign, however, there is clear evidence that the role of strongman on the north-west frontier was assigned to Ranulf Meschin, another Norman warrior. It has sometimes been assumed that the grant of Appleby and Carlisle to Ranulf was a reward for his leading role on the king's side in the battle of Tinchebrai against

¹⁰³ Roger de Mowbray's deed was printed from a transcript at Levens Hall and discussed by W. Farrer, *Lancashire Pipe Rolls and Early Charters* (Liverpool, 1902), 389–90, and again in his *Records of Kendale*, i. 377–8; the deed is also edited by Greenway, *Mowbray Charters*, 239, no. 370. The circumstances of its being made are discussed by Tait, *VCH Lancs*, ii. 186–7. Farrer noted that Roger conveyed to William of Lancaster the barony of Kendal, which had been held by Ivo, and that William 'further received a grant of the whole wapentake of Ewcross, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, which lay partly in Lonsdale and extended over Ingleborough Hill into Ribblesdale'; he took his territorial definition of Ewcross from a Subsidy Roll of 31 Edward I, printed by R. H. Skaife in *Kirkby's Inquest*, Surtees Society 49 (1867), 278. The word 'further' refers only to the further words in this deed, 'Lonsdale' and 'Horton-in-Ribblesdale', but Lonsdale here is Lonsdale hundred, and Ewcross appears to be extrapolation simply from Horton (see n. 90).


¹⁰⁴ The possibility of succession to Ivo depends only on the mention here of Kendal; William de Lancaster certainly obtained Kendal, which had been Ivo's, as well as lands in Furness and Lonsdale, which had been Roger's, but there is no evidence that he or his descendants held Burton-in-Lonsdale. The Mowbray charters printed by Professor Greenway shed no further light on any of these holdings, but in 1204 and afterwards, it is evident that Burton-in-Lonsdale remained part of the Mowbray fee (B. Wells-Furby, *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments at Berkeley Castle*, Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society 17–18 (2004), ii. 671, 693); in 1307 John de Mowbray obtained a charter for a market and fair there from Edward I (*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, iii. 78, 84). In 1201 William de Stuteville claimed in court that his ancestor Robert de Stuteville had held Burton-in-Lonsdale until disseised by Henry I, and he claimed it, among many other properties, from Nigel d'Aubigny's descendant, who was obviously still in possession (Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ix. 117–19, no. 44). It is not clear what credence if any can be put in the Stuteville claim.

Robert Curthose in Normandy on 28 September 1106.¹⁰⁵ The origin of this notion is hard to trace, but it is not obviously correct.¹⁰⁶ In abstract one cannot assume that the grant of such territory is a reward. Cumbria was neither rich nor well-settled; it was surely rather a burden, a job to do, bringing this underdeveloped region under the control of the king and increasing its value. Henry Summerson has rightly indicated that defence against Scotland was very likely not a major concern to Henry I, who enjoyed lasting good relations with his brother-in-law King Alexander and nephew King David.¹⁰⁷ The strategy now was one of development. Two pieces of evidence argue that Ranulf's role in Cumbria may have dated back before the Norman campaign in 1106 and the battle of Tinchebrai. First, Ranulf was one of several prominent men sent to take evidence from the county jurors in York on Tuesday, 10 July 1106, two months before the battle in Normandy; the others were Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln and one of the king's closest counsellors; Ralf Basset and Geoffrey Ridel, two experienced legal advisers of King Henry; and Peter de Valognes, a long-serving administrator.¹⁰⁸ Among these courtiers one cannot prove that

¹⁰⁵ Ranulf Meschin is referred to by Orderic under the name 'Ranulfus Baiocensis', Ranulf of Bayeux, who commanded the first of three ranks (*acies*) of Henry's force (Orderic Vitalis, XI 20, ed. Chibnall, vi. 84, 88) and who was much later made earl of Chester after the death of Earl Richard in November 1120 (*ibid.* XII 28, ed. Chibnall, vi. 308). Ranulf was nephew of Earl Hugh of Chester and cousin of Earl Richard.

¹⁰⁶ The date 1106 is implicit in much of Kapelle's argument for the coming of men from western Normandy to the north of England after the battle of Tinchebrai, *Norman Conquest of the North*, 200, 204, 210, 212–13. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, i. 19, takes the date as 'probable' and builds an inference on it, 'no more than William Rufus did Henry I feel able to give much attention to the problems of northern England until the battle of Tinchebrai in that year had brought Normandy firmly under his control'. He cites Prescott's Appendix A for the date. Henry I had certainly been as far north as Yorkshire in 1105, for he wrote to Anselm from Pontefract in the autumn of that year (*Regesta* 710). And although Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 469, mentions that Ranulf was 'a great baron' at the time of Tinchebrai, he dated Ranulf's northern posting to 1092 × 1112, favouring William II's time; indeed he supposed that both Ranulf and Ivo were granted their lands in northern and southern Cumbria at about the same time in the early part of William II's reign.

¹⁰⁷ Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, i. 18–19.

¹⁰⁸ Printed from Southwell Minster (now deposited in Nottingham UL), Liber Albus (s. xiv), pp. 18–20, by A. F. Leach, *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster*, Camden new ser. 48 (1891), 190–96; reprinted with translation in Van Caenegem, *English Lawsuits*, i. 138–43; and again, with translation by D. M. Palliser, in *Sources for York History to A.D. 1100*, ed. D. W. Rollason & others (York, 1998), 220–25. Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 398, 470, was aware of this hearing only from a mention of it by John 

Ranulf was there because of his northern experience, but he stands out as someone not by any means so frequently involved in the king's business, and it would be unusual for such a commission to include no one with knowledge of the region. Ranulf must have travelled south immediately after the inquest, however, if he crossed to Normandy with the king towards the end of July.¹⁰⁹ Second, one can hardly overlook the fact that Ranulf was married, as her third husband, to the Lincolnshire heiress Lucy. When Lucy and Ranulf were married is not known for certain, but it is a peculiar feature of some writ-charters addressed to the shire court of Lincolnshire that the husband of Lucy is addressed after the bishop of Lincoln and before the sheriff of Lincoln; that is, he is given the precedence that an earl would have in the shire court. Ranulf Meschin already appears in this position in Lincolnshire in July 1101, so that we can be sure that he was by then married to Lucy.¹¹⁰ It would not be an unreasonable hypothesis to suppose that, just as he took over the lands in Lincolnshire that had been held by her first husband Ivo Taillebois, so he took over his responsibilities in the north-west. Prescott thought the barony of Kendal passed from Ivo to Ranulf in right of his wife Lucy, but he was under the misapprehension that

Leland (1503–1554), who saw something at Ripon in an account of the privileges of the church there (Leland, *Collectanea*, iii. 110, repr. in *Monasticon*, ii. 132–3, no. iii; reprinted in J. T. Fowler, *Memorials of the Church of St Peter and St Wilfrid, Ripon*, i, Surtees Society 74 (1882), 34, and in Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 398). The precise date is given only in a record of pleading at Ripon in 1229, 'Tuesday next after the feast of St Thomas in the sixth year of King Henry' (PRO DL41/270; Fowler, *Memorials of the Church of Ripon*, i. 58–9; reprinted in Van Caenegem, *English Lawsuits*, i. 143–4). The Translation of St Thomas the Apostle, 3 July, fell on a Tuesday in 1106, so the dating reflects the octave.

¹⁰⁹ W. Farrer, 'An outline itinerary of King Henry I', *English Historical Review* 34 (1919), 303–382, 505–579, and separately [cited by no.], § 166, favours late July; the source, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, s.a. 1106, passes from Whitsun to 'before August'.

¹¹⁰ Ivo is addressed before Osbern or Osbert, sheriff of Lincoln, in a writ of William II for Lincoln, *Regesta* 406, datable to 1092 × 1093. Roger fitz Gerold is addressed between the bishop of Lincoln and the *barones* of the shire in a writ for Spalding priory, *Regesta* 408, datable to 1094 × 1098. Ranulf is addressed in *Regesta* 534–5, datable to 31 July 1101; printed in Foster, *Registrum Antiquissimum*, i. 41–2 (nos. 61–2). The important act confirming to the men of Lincolnshire the customs contained in the Coronation charter (*Regesta* 531; *ibid.* 47, no. 73) is even a little earlier, datable to 9 June × 20 July 1101. There are also examples in which Ranulf is named after the sheriff, such as *Regesta* 968 for Spalding priory. As long ago as 1896, in the *DNB*, J. H. Round observed, citing acts from the archive of Lincoln cathedral, 'A series of nine writs, however, from Henry I (*Mon. Angl.* vol. vi. 1272–1275) prove that he was addressed as the principal layman in the county'.

Ranulf's wife was Ivo's daughter.¹¹¹ Ranulf undoubtedly got Carlisle and Appleby, but we are going beyond direct evidence in conjecturing that this was part of the same lordship as Ivo had held. When Ranulf really succeeded is impossible to say: Prescott favoured a date before William II's death in 1100, for no good reason, while Wilson was equivocal.¹¹² Round is magisterially agnostic.¹¹³ A date soon after 1098 would, however, make sense in the succession of Lucy's marriages. Ranulf was not already an established figure at court, nor does he soon become one: his attestation of royal charters is rare, whether because he was seen as a military man who would not be involved in the negotiations that lay behind such documents or because he was too much occupied with his work on the frontier to be regularly at court.¹¹⁴

Ranulf Meschin has long enjoyed a reputation as the strongman who carved up northern Cumberland into fees or baronies, though much of this narrative was founded on an unreliable source.¹¹⁵ The jurors of the county in 1212 referred to him as 'Earl Ranulf,

¹¹¹ Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 470, 472 (and see n. 93 above). Farrer was aware that Ivo held in his own right but is reported by Clay as noting that it was curious that these lands did not go to Ivo's daughter's husband, Ribald, who witnessed Ivo's deed for St Mary's (*Early Yorkshire Charters*, v. 299).

¹¹² Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 469, was influenced by the name 'regis Willelmi' in Bishop Nicolson's transcript of the founder's deed; the medieval manuscript reads 'regis Henrici'. Against Prescott, Wilson, 303–4, noted that 'there is no direct proof of any sort, at present known, sufficient to place Walter the priest and Ranulf Meschin in charge of the city and district before the year 1100', and he offers no date at all for Ranulf's arrival.

¹¹³ In the *DNB*, in 1896, Round recognized that Ranulf was lord of Cumberland, commenting, 'There is nothing to show how he obtained, or how he lost, this position'.

¹¹⁴ Ranulf was with the king at Dover on 17 March 1110 and witnessed his treaty with Count Robert of Flanders (*Regesta* 941; noted by Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 470). Besides this there are four occasions when he attests royal acts, *Regesta* 1043 for Lincoln cathedral, dated at Worcester, August 1100 × September 1115; *Regesta* 1077 for St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury, dated at Brampton, May 1109 × August 1111 or July 1113 × April 1114; *Regesta* 1098 for Bardney abbey, dated at Winchester, August–September 1115; and *Regesta* 1128 for Abingdon abbey, dated at Reading, 1110 × April 1116, and later rather than sooner within that range. He was still only an occasional witness as earl of Chester, first appearing in January 1121 (*Regesta* 1243 for Hereford cathedral, dated at Westminster), and last in May 1127 (*Regesta* 1476, dated at London).

¹¹⁵ Wilson, 296–8, shows the unreliable character of the so-called 'Chronicon Cumbriae' in the Wetheral cartulary, which had misled Dugdale and many who used his *Monasticon*.

sometime lord of Cumberland (*quondam dominus Cumberland*), and said that he created two holdings within his jurisdiction, what became the baronies of Burgh-on-Sands and Liddel.¹¹⁶ The first of these was granted to Robert de Trevers, said be Ranulf's sister's husband,¹¹⁷ who was given a valuable holding centred on the castle at Burgh. Ranulf was custodian of the forest in Cumberland and able to let this at farm to the same Robert. Turgis Brandos was given the territory of Liddel.¹¹⁸ The power to initiate tenures of this kind represents a high level of delegated authority.

Ranulf was the founder of Wetheral priory, created as a cell of St Mary's abbey in York, which had received generous gifts from Ivo Taillebois. The date of his founding Wetheral can be placed no later than 1112, since Ranulf's deed names Abbot Stephen of York as the beneficiary.¹¹⁹ This foundation deed is an important witness which sheds further light on his position.

Although Ranulf was sometimes supposed to have been earl in Cumberland, a notion long since disposed of by James Wilson, the clerk who composed the foundation deed for Wetheral priory used

¹¹⁶ *Book of Fees*, i. 198; Wilson, 421.

¹¹⁷ So says I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies. A study of their origin and descent 1086–1327* (Oxford, 1960), 23, from where it is repeated by historians. Prescott, *Wetheral*, 186n, has 'said to be his brother-in-law' with no evidence. I have found nothing to justify the statement.

¹¹⁸ T. H. B. Graham, 'Turgis Brandos', *CW2* xxix (1929), 49–56; C. T. Clay (continuing the work of William Farrer), *Early Yorkshire Charters*, 10 vols (Leeds, 1935–65), ix. 195–9; Barrow, 'King David, Earl Henry, and Cumbria', 118.

¹¹⁹ Printed from the Wetheral cartulary by Dugdale, i. 398, and *Monasticon*, iii. 583 (no. iii), and by Prescott, *Wetheral*, 1–5 (no. 1). Oddly, this document, the nearest to a foundation deed, was not copied in the primary compilation of the cartulary but was added subsequently, twice, fols. 22v and again, in the fifteenth century, fol. 8v. This may well raise a suspicion that it was forged after the cartulary was made, though it is impossible to see that it could have served any purpose at that stage, and its circumstantial detail argues for authenticity; perhaps it was among the muniments at York and therefore unavailable at Wetheral when the cartulary was compiled. Stephen of Whitby was the first abbot of York, serving from its first foundation, c.1086, until his death, dated by the local chronicle to 1112; no successor was nominated until the end of 1113. Prescott's text gives the impression that the deed may be significantly earlier, because in the movent clause he printed 'pro anima domini mei Regis Willelmi' (following William Nicolson's seventeenth-century transcript). The cartulary reads 'Henrici'. Prescott's date-range 1092 × 1112 (*Wetheral*, 6 n. 15) should perhaps be amended to 1101 × 1112 from the witness of Osbert, who became sheriff of York only in 1101 (though he was already sheriff of Lincoln, where Ranulf had acquired major interests on his marriage). Osbert's presence may indicate that the deed was made at York rather than in Carlisle (see n. 141 below).

the indefinite word *potestas* ‘power’ to describe his area of jurisdiction.¹²⁰ The high level of his authority is indicated by the fact that he was in a position to address his own sheriff: ‘R(anulf) Meschin Richerio uicecomiti Karlioli’, ‘Ranulf Meschin greets Richer, sheriff of Carlisle, and all his [Ranulf’s] men French and English who live in the jurisdiction (*in potestate*) of Carlisle’.¹²¹ Richer has been identified as Richard de Boivill, who held Kirklington from Henry I.¹²² Whether this deed was drafted by a clerk of Ranulf’s own staff or by a monk of Wetheral, we cannot know. A royal draftsman, writing a royal confirmation for Wetheral, refers to Ranulf’s ‘honour’ of Carlisle, a term that connotes his private tenure rather than his public jurisdiction.¹²³ King David, in a charter from soon after he succeeded to the throne, granted to Robert de Brus ‘Annandale and all the land from the boundary of Dúngal of Nithsdale to the boundary of Ranulf Meschin’, to hold ‘with all the customs which Ranulf Meschin ever had in Carlisle and in his land of Cumberland on that day when he ever well and freely had them’.¹²⁴ The distinction between Carlisle and Cumberland may be the distinction between the king’s borough, where the population was largely English or Norman, and the hinterland, where personal names suggest a linguistic melting-pot of British, Irish, Norse, and

¹²⁰ Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, i. 19, aptly cites the usage in *Leges Henrici*, § 20. 2: ‘archbishops, bishops, earls, and other *potestates* have sake and soke, toll and team, and infangthief in the lands of their own *potentatus*’ (ed. Downer, 122). Here *potestas* denotes the holder of unspecified office, *potentatus* the territory within which its jurisdiction applies. A writ-charter of Henry I for Spalding priory addresses ‘his justices and sheriffs and *barones* and *fideles* of all England in whose jurisdiction (*in quorum potestate*) the monks of St Mary and St Nicholas of Spalding have alms’ (*Regesta* 1975; printed in *Regesta*, ii. 388, no. cccxx; datable c.1133).

¹²¹ Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 1–5 (no. 1); see n. 119 above. On this address, Prescott correctly comments, ‘It must not be assumed that the sheriff here was a king’s officer; nor that the land had been divided into shires or counties’ (*Wetherhal*, 1 n. 2). Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, i. 19, I think mistakenly, supposes that Carlisle castle ‘was still held by royal officers like Richer, sheriff of Carlisle, to whom with all his men French and English living in his *potestas* Ranulf addressed his charter’. Just as the men are Ranulf’s men, so the sheriff is Ranulf’s sheriff. It should be noted, however, that Ranulf’s other deeds in Carlisle have an address more appropriate to a private deed (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 6–14, nos. 2–4).

¹²² See below, p. 53.

¹²³ *Regesta* 1752; printed from the Wetheral cartulary in *Monasticon*, iii. 585 (no. xviii), by Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 25–6 (no. 8), and by Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, v. 285 (no. 34).

¹²⁴ Printed from the facsimile (1867) by Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 398, and by Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 48–9 (no. 54), and from the original charter by Barrow, *Charters of David I*, 61–2 (no. 16).

English names. The same distinction appears in Richard of Hexham's account of the Battle of the Standard, in 1138, in which the men of Carlisle are separate from the Cumbrians.¹²⁵

Just as Ivo Taillebois's territory had included some of Westmorland, however, so did Ranulf's. In addition to the castle at Carlisle, he had a castle at Appleby, referred to in a deed of gift, which conveyed to St Mary's abbey in York 'the church of St Michael and the church of St Lawrence of my castle of Appleby'.¹²⁶ The building of a castle and the founding of a borough there have been associated with William II's expedition of 1092, though there is no secure evidence for this.¹²⁷ St Michael's church in Bongate served the rustics, St Lawrence's in Burgate served the borough associated with the castle. This gift to St Mary's abbey was the subject of a second deed, in nearly identical words and with the same witnesses, which adds the tithes of two demesne estates in Westmorland, Great Salkeld and Maulds Meaburn.¹²⁸ In this form the gift was confirmed

¹²⁵ 'Cumbri et homines de Carlel et de circumiacente regione': Richard of Hexham, *De gestis regis Stephani et de bello standardii*, fol. 42r, ed. J. Raine the younger, *The Priory of Hexham*, Surtees Society 44 (1864), 63–106 (at p. 85); ed. R. Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, RS 82 (1884–9), iii. 139–78 (at p. 159).

¹²⁶ Printed from the Wetheral cartulary by Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 10–12 (no. 3).

¹²⁷ RCHM *Westmorland* (London, 1936), 7–12, 50–53, provides descriptions of the castles of Appleby and Brough. The fullest accounts are by W. D. Simpson, 'Brough under Stainmore. The castle and the church', *CW2* xlvi (1946), 223–83, and 'The town and castle of Appleby. A morphological study', *CW2* xlix (1950), 118–33. Simpson at first dated both Appleby and Brough to the 1090s ('Brough under Stainmore', 225–6), but in his later paper he attributed Appleby to Ranulf Meschin ('Appleby', 120–21); no precise reasoning from the physical remains is offered. R. S. Ferguson, *A History of Westmorland* (London, 1894), 67–8, assumed that William Rufus built castles not only at Carlisle but also at Appleby, Brough, and Bowes to defend the route from York. Others have attributed these castles, and more, to Ranulf. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, i. 21, says that 'it was probably also he who took similar steps to strengthen his lordship's links with England to the south, by building castles at Appleby, Brough, Bowes, and Burton-in-Lonsdale'; he cites Kapelle, *Norman Conquest of the North*, 206, who says that 'Carlisle had been linked with Richmond by castles at Appleby, Brough, and Bowes, and its communications with Lancashire had been secured by the castle of Burton-in-Lonsdale'; Kapelle cites D. F. Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain* (London, 1968), 54–5, 90–92, 113, 118–20, and 124. Kapelle's passive 'had been linked' implies some impersonal policy, his dating 'probably by 1120' favours Ranulf, but there is no direct evidence that Ranulf was the builder of any of these castles. Who built the castle of Burton-in-Lonsdale is unknown, though it has been associated with Ivo Taillebois (see n. 90), and it was in the king's custody in 1129–30, while Nigel d'Aubigny's heir Roger de Mowbray was a ward (*PR 31 Henry I*, 138). Bowes castle and Brough castle are first mentioned in the 1170s.

¹²⁸ Printed from the Wetheral cartulary by Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 13–14 (no. 4).

by King Henry to Abbot Richard of York in a document that raises a significant question.

The king's writ-charter addresses 'T(hurstan) archbishop of York and all his sworn men of Cumberland and Westmorland'. It was witnessed at Reading but cannot be closely dated with confidence.¹²⁹ The king's movements allow for three possible time-frames, Christmas 1113 × February 1114, which would require the alternative expansion of the archbishop's initial as T(homas), August 1114 × April 1116, or January 1121 × 31 December 1122. One date proposed for the death of Abbot Richard of York would exclude the last date, but this does not stand up to investigation.¹³⁰ The witness of Eustace fitz John and Jordan Paynell, indeed, inclines me to think that the latest of the possible dates is the most plausible.¹³¹ This brings the king's confirmation of this gift to a date towards the very end of Ranulf's tenure in Cumberland, or even after it. Although he is referred to as Ranulf Meschin without his later title of earl, that is easily explained: his name comes up in the precedent clause, *sicut carta R. Meschin testatur* 'as the deed of R. Meschin witnesses'; this

¹²⁹ *Regesta* 1130; printed from the Wetheral cartulary by J. Nicolson & R. Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the counties of Westmorland and Cumberland* (London, 1777), i. 322 [incomplete]; also in *Monasticon*, iii. 585 (no. xix); and Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 26–7 (no. 9). Also in inspeimus dated 25 March 1331 in the charter roll of 5 Edward III, C53/118, no. 66 (*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, iv. 219; Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 433–5).

¹³⁰ The normally reliable listing, D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, & V. C. M. London, *Heads of Religious Houses. England and Wales* i (Cambridge, 1972, 2001), 84, follows annals from Thorney abbey (Cams) in giving the year 1118. Yet a charter of Henry I for Abbot Richard (*Regesta* 1253) was witnessed by Robert de Sigillo, who acquired that name only after taking custody of the seal when its previous keeper, Richard de Capella, was made bishop of Hereford on 7 January 1121. Abbot Richard's successor, Abbot Geoffrey, is first securely attested on 31 January 1123, with Archbishop Thurstan two days before a council at Gloucester (Hugh the Chanter, ed. C. Johnson, revd. M. Brett & others (Oxford, 1990), 184); this date has been mistaken for 1122 (Farrer, cited by Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, iv. 136–7). Abbot Geoffrey was present, again with Thurstan, at the resignation of Hugh, abbot of Selby, during the twenty-third year of Henry I, i.e. between 5 August 1122 and 4 August 1123 (*Historia Selebiensis monasterii*, ed. J. T. Fowler, Yorkshire Archaeological Association, Record Series 10 (1891), 1–54 (at p. 24). Abbot Richard's anniversary was kept on 31 December; he may have died on that date in 1121 or 1122.

¹³¹ Farrer, 'Itinerary', § 431, chose the latest date-range, in some measure because he failed to allow for Archbishop Thurstan's appearing in the address before his consecration in 1119, and he then opted for June 1121, when the king was in Reading. *Regesta* 1130 favoured a date in the spring of 1116 for no express reasons. Even in 1121 or 1122, this would be the earliest attestation by Jordan Paynell, who rarely witnesses; Eustace fitz John's earliest is for Nostell priory, April 1116 × Summer 1119 (*Regesta* 1217), but he was a frequent witness in the 1120s.

was copied from the deed itself, which likewise has only the initial for Ranulf, and does not rule out a later dating. This is the only act in King Henry's name that could possibly be dated to the period of Ranulf's power in Cumbria, but it is more likely to date from soon after it. If Ranulf were still in power, surely the king would have addressed him as well as the archbishop, since any public assembly in his territory would have been convened by Ranulf. But this may not be the right approach. A strong possibility is that Ranulf's position in his frontier lordship, outside the ordinary institutions of more settled parts of the realm, would mean that the king's writ did not run. Just as in the earldom of Chester, or the bishopric of Durham, or in the earl of Gloucester's frontier lordship of Glamorgan, the king would not intrude on that plenary jurisdiction by directing writs or writ-charters on behalf of men subject to Ranulf. If that were the case here, this act would have to be dated after Ranulf relinquished his position. That would leave no royal acts in Cumberland or Westmorland during Ranulf's time, a negative witness to the fulness of his jurisdiction.

After the death of his young cousin, Earl Richard of Chester, who drowned along with King Henry's heir William Ætheling in the White Ship in November 1120, Ranulf was invested as earl of Chester. The most likely date for his investiture is Epiphany 1121.¹³² It has been said that there is no evidence that the loss of Carlisle coincided with the succession to Chester.¹³³ Circumstances point in

¹³² He first occurs as earl of Chester in an original act, dated at Westminster, appointing Richard de Capella to the see of Hereford, which was sealed with the 'fourth' seal (*Regesta* 1243). The king had remained in seclusion at Woodstock following the sinking of the White Ship on 26 November 1120; after spending Christmas at his hunting-lodge at Brampton (Hunts), he resumed public business with a council in London at Epiphany. Eadmer dates the nomination of Richard to the bishopric to Friday, 7 January 1121, and his consecration to Sunday, 16 January (*Historia nouorum*, ed. M. Rule, Rolls Series 81 (1884), 290–91). Chaplais has suggested that the fourth seal was first brought into use at this time, when the king resumed business (P. Chaplais, 'The seals and original charters of Henry I', *English Historical Review* 75 (1960), 260–75 (at pp. 265, 273)).

¹³³ H. A. Cronne, 'Ranulf de Gernons, earl of Chester, 1129–1153', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 4th ser. 20 (1937), 103–134 (at pp. 105–6), traces the connexion to Dugdale but maintains the circumstantial point. R. H. C. Davis, 'King Stephen and the earl of Chester revised', *English Historical Review* 75 (1960), 654–60 (at pp. 658–9), considers Ranulf Gernons' possible aspirations to recover Carlisle. J. C. Holt, 'Politics and property in early medieval England', *Past and Present* 57 (1972), 3–52 (at pp. 51–2), focuses on the distinction between inheritance and acquisition but does not consider the possibility of office rather than private estate.

that direction, but coincidence need not mean a direct connexion. The date at which Ranulf's role came to an end can be inferred only very approximately from subsequent evidence. The act of King David, already quoted, that refers to 'whatever customs Ranulf had' is datable only after 23 April 1124, but the editor thinks soon after, and by that date Ranulf had certainly given up his interests in Cumberland.¹³⁴ I have put the case for a date before the death of Abbot Richard of York, which points to the years 1121 or 1122.

Now, honours were not usually traded. If the king had conferred an honour on someone, that is an aggregate of estates honourably held, tenure was normally for life with some expectation that the honour should pass to its holder's heirs, provided that the payment of relief suitably compensated the king for his continuing generosity. The earldom of Chester was both an honour and, like all earldoms, an office, and Ranulf seems to have offered a large sum to acquire it, though it can hardly have been more valuable than his lands in Lincolnshire.¹³⁵ There is a possibility that the surrender of Carlisle formed part of this payment, but if Carlisle, Cumberland, and Westmorland had really been an honour, Ranulf might have expected to retain them even after he was further enriched and promoted. His surrendering of his *potestas* argues that he held his Cumbrian lands as an office rather than an honour. He was neither earl nor sheriff, but, in unstructured terrain, his role was to act as the king's man in governing the entire district.

It is possible that Ranulf retained his role in Cumbria until the king made alternative arrangements; we should not thoughtlessly create a vacuum between his investiture as earl of Chester and the king's taking personal charge in Cumbria. This most likely dates from October or November 1122, when King Henry himself visited Carlisle.

★

¹³⁴ Barrow, *Charters of David I*, 61–2 (no. 16); elsewhere he says, 'about the time of his inauguration at Scone in April 1124' (Barrow, 'King David, Earl Henry, and Cumbria', 117).

¹³⁵ Ranulf Gernons, earl of Chester, son of Ranulf Meschin and Lucy, succeeded to the earldom in 1129. In 1130 he still owed £1000 'from his father's debt for the land of Earl Hugh' as well as 500 marks for an agreement over his mother's dower and 400 marks 'for his share of the debt of his father which he owed to Herbert fitz Dudeman' (*PR 31 Henry I*, 110). The Countess Lucy also owed £266 13s 4d *pro terra patris sui*, which I take to mean 'for his father's land' as well as 500 marks in order not to have to remarry and various other fines for agreements with the Crown.

‘In this year, after Michaelmas, King Henry entered Northumbrian territory and from York turned towards the west coast in order to consider (*consideraturus*) the ancient city called,’ in British, English, and Latin, Carlisle, ‘which he ordered to be fortified with a castle and towers, providing money for this purpose. From here he returned to York’.¹³⁶ Orderic shows that the king had returned to York by 6 December 1122.¹³⁷

Henry evidently took a hand in the managing of the district, for the county jurors in 1212 ascribed to him the creation of several tenures that would come to be regarded as baronies. James Wilson emphasized five of these: Henry is said to have enfeoffed William Meschin in Copeland for the service of one knight;¹³⁸ Waltheof son of Gospatrick in Allerdale, paying in cornage the substantial figure of £15 13s 4d, nearly one fifth of the sum due from the whole district of Carlisle; Forn son of Sigulf in Greystoke, paying cornage of £4; Odard the sheriff in Wigton, paying cornage of £1 6s 4d; and Richard de Boivill in *Levington*, now Kirkclinton, paying cornage of £4 8s 2d.¹³⁹ From this evidence James Wilson inferred that, after Ranulf left to take up his earldom, the king imposed a new order on Cumberland.¹⁴⁰ He does not spell it out, but the strength of this argument does not lie in the statements concerning feoffments made by the king but in the contrast with those concerning Ranulf’s feoffments of Robert de Trevers and Turgis Brandos, which reflect his unusual power. The king could enfeoff men in any part of the country, and these five are not his only feoffments in Cumbria.

When set against more precise contemporary evidence, the jurors’ testimony demands commentary. We have already cited in the first section of this essay the statements in 1212 that King Henry enfeoffed Richard Rider and Hildred of Carlisle, which is borne out by the pipe roll and the writ-charter for Hildred. There is a serious question, however, whether all Henry’s feoffments mentioned by the jurors were new awards of estates or, rather, the recognition by new

¹³⁶ *Historia regum*, ed. Hodgson Hinde, 119; ed. Arnold, 267.

¹³⁷ Orderic, XII 32 ed. Chibnall, vi. 324; Farrer, ‘Itinerary’, § 476.

¹³⁸ Round, uncharacteristically, falls into assumption in *DNB*, writing, ‘He had also been enfeoffed in Cumberland by Randulf’. William Meschin’s position is the only one of those attested by the jurors in 1212 to have been held by military service, and Copeland was a liberty which was not brought within the county of Carlisle until the 1170s; in a confirmation for the monks of St Bees, King David addressed ‘omnibus probis hominibus suis Couplandie’ (*Charters of David I*, 149–40, no. 196, datable 1150 x 1153).

¹³⁹ *Book of Fees*, i. 197–8; Wilson, 421.

¹⁴⁰ Wilson, 308.

charters of their holders as tenants-in-chief. For example, if Richard de Boivill has been correctly identified as Ranulf's former sheriff, one must wonder whether the king was renewing his tenure or making a new arrangement for Richard's retirement. Two others whom the jurors say were enfeoffed by Henry I witnessed Ranulf Meschin's foundation-deed for Wetheral priory at some point between 1101 and 1112, 'Waldieuo filio Gospatric comitis et Forn Sigulfi filio'.¹⁴¹ In Waltheof's case, his local ties suggest that he may have held Allerdale under Ranulf's *potestas*, if not before. Forn held lands in several northern counties, and we cannot be sure when he acquired Greystoke, but it is possible that he too was enfeoffed there by Ranulf or even earlier. Charles Phythian-Adams argues that these men, and the other witnesses to the deed, were 'the incumbent lords of the region' before William II took Carlisle.¹⁴² There is no evidence to support this notion. They may have been granted lands after 1092 and before Ranulf's arrival — the possibility of Forn's owing his enrichment to Ivo has been mentioned above — but it is likely that they witnessed his deed as the leading men of his territory. It is probably more likely that William Meschin had received Copeland from his brother than that King Henry enfeoffed him only after Ranulf had left Cumbria, but it is far from clear at what date he was given it.¹⁴³ When Ranulf had gone, the king certainly confirmed by writ-charter to Forn the lands he held as a tenant-in-chief, which

¹⁴¹ Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 1–5 (no. 1); see n. 119 above. The deed is witnessed by the sheriff of York and by five others, all of them holding lands in Cumberland or Westmorland. After Waltheof and Forn, the others are 'Ketello Eldredi filio et Herveio Morini filio et Eilef de Penrith'. Ketel fitz Eltred's fee was in Copeland and Kendal, so his presence perhaps betokens the wider territorial extent of Ranulf's *potestas*. Hervey fitz Morin appears from later evidence to have held Dalston near Carlisle (Cumberland Assize Roll 6–7 Edward I, PRO Just 1/133 mem. 29; noted by G. W. S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, (London, 1973), 147n) as well as land in Yorkshire (Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, iv. 11, 48–9, nos. 9, 47, and ib. v. 99–100, no. 178, with further discussion, v. 259–60). Two of these men, Waltheof and Ketel, follow Ranulf and Enisand fitz Walter among the Cumbrian benefactors of St Mary's abbey (printed from the forgery in the name of Henry II by Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, i. 269–77, no. 354; also in the unpublished text in Henry I's name). As well as Ranulf's deeds, those of Enisand and Ketel are printed from the cartulary by Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 370–71 (no. 235, Ketel), 388–9 (no. 247, Enisand). The church and part of the manor of Bromfield (Cumb), given by Waltheof, were retained by St Mary's and not assigned to Wetheral (ib. 43 n. 17).

¹⁴² Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians* (n. 57), 30.

¹⁴³ William Meschin or 'William his brother' witnessed three deeds in the name of Ranulf (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 6–14, nos. 2–4, not all of them authentic), though these do not reveal when he first held Copeland. Ketel fitz Eltred, who held land in Copeland and

would no doubt account for the jurors' saying that he was enfeoffed by the king.¹⁴⁴ Others who held under Ranulf may also have received confirmations from the king in or soon after he took direct control, but these have not survived.

We have seen in the first section of this paper that new arrangements were put in place for the oversight of the king's financial interests. These required royal officials such as Hildred of Carlisle and Richard fitz Gerard of Appleby to render account at the Exchequer for their management of the king's resources in the district. I have argued, however, that king did not create the institutions of county government in Cumberland or Westmorland at the time of his taking direct control.

There is one particular fiscal factor that may have increased the king's concern to control Carlisle directly rather than by delegation to a successor of Ranulf Meschin. That is the opening in the district of a silver mine. The discovery of silver is mentioned only by the Norman chronicler, Robert de Torigni, who reports that, 'At this time a vein of silver was discovered at Carlisle, from which the miners who dug in the bowels of the earth used to pay King Henry £500 per year'.¹⁴⁵ This is mentioned alongside the erection of a new bishopric at Carlisle, in a passage where Robert is following Henry of Huntingdon's account of the year 1133, but the date when silver was discovered is not actually known. It must have been earlier than this, because the burgesses of Carlisle accounted for £5 from the farm of the mine overdue for the year 1128–9.¹⁴⁶ The mine was at Alston, 28 miles from Carlisle, and not part of the older region of

witnessed only the first of Ranulf's deeds for Wetheral (see n. 141), was a more frequent witness in William Meschin's deeds for St Bees, a possible sign that William had been enfeoffed as his immediate lord but not one that provides a basis for dating his feoffment.

¹⁴⁴ For the writ charter of Henry I, broadly datable to 1122 x 1127, see n. 96 above.

¹⁴⁵ Robert de Torigni, *Chronica*, s.a. 1133, ed. R. Howlett, *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, Rolls Series 82 (1884–9), iv. 3–60, 61–315, 317–27 (at p. 123). One cannot rely on Richard de Torigni's figure to calculate that late in Henry I's reign production peaked at around 56,000 to 59,000 ounces per annum; nor will the pipe rolls support the inference of a second peak of 36,000 to 39,000 ounces per annum in 1166. These estimates of production by P. F. Claughton, 'Production and economic impact: Northern Pennine (English) silver in the 12th century', *Proceedings of the 6th International Mining History Congress, Akabira* (2003) [on-line], are no more than calculations based on returns to the Crown; Robert de Torigni's figure is an exaggerated guess, while the sum agreed as the farm in the 1160s was forced up by competitive bidding (above n. 49).

¹⁴⁶ *PR 31 Henry I*, 142; see above, p. 21.

Cumbria but of Northumberland; Alston remained in the diocese of Durham but was brought into Cumberland, presumably because Carlisle castle had the most accessible fiscal officials or the preferred route south.¹⁴⁷ There was also a mint at Carlisle in Henry I's time, though tests have not been done to establish whether the silver used in the pennies came from the mine.

During the thirty-five years of Henry I's reign, dies of fifteen different types were supplied to the king's moneyers, but examples with the identifier of Carlisle are known of only the last two types, 14 and 15.¹⁴⁸ The dating of the types is extremely uncertain. Numismatic opinion has tended to follow the historical evidence and dated the commencement of the Carlisle mint to c.1123, soon after King Henry's taking control.¹⁴⁹ Only Mark Blackburn has dated the introduction of type 14 as early as 1124,¹⁵⁰ so it is assumed that coins of earlier types were minted at Carlisle though no specimens have survived. Mints at this date were ordinarily under the supervision of shire courts, and the expectation was that sheriffs would deliver silver to the treasury in coin of the county. One might suppose that pennies were struck at Carlisle, therefore, from the point when officials from the district began to render account at the Exchequer in or near 1122.

In ecclesiastical matters, too, the change in governance is in evidence. The writ-charter of King Henry, confirming property and rights to the monks of Wetheral 'as they had had them in Ranulf's time', obviously dates from after his departure. It was issued at Windsor and cannot be closely dated, but the possible date-range is 1122 x 1132.¹⁵¹ The most plausible circumstances in which it was

¹⁴⁷ R. S. Ferguson, 'Why Alston is in the diocese of Durham and the county of Cumberland', *CWI* viii (1885–6), 21–8. Newcastle is 45 miles from Alston, Corbridge only 27 miles.

¹⁴⁸ The numbering of types follows G. C. Brooke, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. The Norman Kings* (London, 1916), ii. 266–333. The most recent survey shows no coins from Carlisle earlier than types 14 and 15 (J. J. North, *English Hammered Coinage i Early Anglo-Saxon to Henry III, c.600–1272* (London, 1963, ³1994), 199.

¹⁴⁹ Stewart, 'Scottish Mints' (n. 51), 183.

¹⁵⁰ M. Blackburn, 'Coinage and currency under Henry I: a review', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13 (1991), 49–81. He notes that numismatists are agreed on the sequence of the last types of the reign and that types 14 and 15 are overrepresented in the surviving coins, which have survived in the main in two hoards from the end of the reign and shortly after (pp. 53–4, 58).

¹⁵¹ *Regesta 1752*; Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 25–6 (no. 8), datable after the election of Abbot Geoffrey (1122/3) and before the death of Pain Peverell (1132). *Regesta 1753*, printed by Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 14–19 (no. 5), is a forgery based on it (see n. 54).

obtained would be soon after Ranulf left Cumbria, when the monks would feel they had lost their founder and protector. At that time they needed the security of a confirmation from the king and they were willing to go to Windsor to negotiate terms to obtain a new charter.

The foundation of the Augustinian priory of St Mary in Carlisle must also be dated to the years immediately after the king's resumption of control. An ivory hunting-horn preserved at Carlisle until the Dissolution carried an inscription, two lines of leonine hexameters, that commemorated it as a gift of 'Henry I our founder'.¹⁵² We have already made the case that the king did not intrude within Ranulf's jurisdiction, and there is certainly no royal confirmation earlier than his departure. In 1290 and in 1307 the canons looked into their archives for documents to authenticate their origins; from these two searches, they presented seven twelfth-century documents to King Edward I for inspection; none of them expressly relates to the original foundation.¹⁵³ The documents

¹⁵² This horn is first mentioned when Adam of Warwick, prior of Carlisle, defended rights in the forest of Inglewood supposedly granted by Henry I (but going far beyond what is provided for by *Regesta* 1617, see nn. 63, 156); during pleading *de quo warranto* at Carlisle in November 1285, he claimed that Henry had given the horn along with the rights, but the justices did not accept this as evidence (Cumberland Forest Eyre, 13 Edward I, PRO E 32/5, rot. 36d); Edward I confirmed the rights by writ dated 7 February 1286 (not enrolled); the case was recited in letters patent of 5 Edward III, *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1330–1334*, 111–12). The writ was used by the prior to disseise the bishop of tithes from recent assarts in Inglewood, which led to a plea by the bishop before parliament in 1290. Here Prior Adam referred again to the horn (Parliament Roll, 18 Edward I, PRO SC 9/1; cited by Charles Lyttelton, bishop of Carlisle, 'Account of certain charter horns in the cathedral of Carlisle', *Archaeologia* 3 (1775), 22–3, from W. Ryley, *Placita Parliamentaria; or, Pleadings in Parliament with the judgements thereon* (London, 1661), 49; printed in full in *Rotuli parliamentorum* (London, 1767–77), i. 37–8, cited by Wilson, *VCH Cumberland*, ii. 137); the horn came out again in the same cause in 1292–3 (Cumberland Eyre Roll, 20–21 Edward I, PRO Just 1/136, mem. 81d). It was seen by Thomas Tong (1530), who quotes the verse-inscription on the horn (obviously not contemporary with Henry I): 'Henricus primus noster fundator opimus / Ac [read Hoc] dedit in teste carte pro iure foreste' (BL MS Harley 1499 (s. xvi), fol. 49v). This was printed by W. Cole, 'Some observations on the horns given by Henry I to the cathedral of Carlisle' *Archaeologia* 5 (1779), 342–5 (at p. 343); W. Nanson, 'The Carlisle horns', *CW1* ii (1876), 337–47 (at p. 339); and H. R. T. Summerson, 'Athelwold the bishop and Walter the priest: a new source for the early history of Carlisle Priory', *CW2* xciv (1995), 85–91 (at p. 87).

¹⁵³ When William Nicolson, archdeacon of Carlisle, refers to 'our very Charter sold to make a tailor's measures' when Parliamentary troops occupied the cathedral (*English Historical Library* (London, 1696–9), ii. 123), it is not clear what document he had in mind. Several charters of *inspeximus* have survived as engrossments.

presented in 1290 concerned the property of Richard d'Orival, a royal chaplain.¹⁵⁴ Probably in 1104, King Henry had granted him the churches of four demesne manors in Northumberland. When he took control of Carlisle, he gave to 'St Mary and the canons of Carlisle' the churches of Newcastle and Newburn, both in Northumberland, and 'the churches which Richard d'Orival holds of me', subject to his life-interest.¹⁵⁵ The documents inspected in 1307 concern the property of Walter the priest.¹⁵⁶ A writ-charter of Henry I, datable 1121 × 1127, grants to 'St Mary and the canons of Carlisle' all the churches and land that had belonged to Walter the priest 'well and in peace and quit of cornage and of all other customary payments'.¹⁵⁷ From the pipe roll for 1129–30 we can see that in that year and the previous year the sum of 37s 4d was 'pardoned' to the canons of St Mary of Carlisle, that is, they were exempted from an annual fixed payment. The same figure recurs in pipe rolls from Henry II's time.¹⁵⁸ This sum is the cornage

¹⁵⁴ This inspeximus, dated at Westminster, 8 June 1290, 18 Edward I, C53/76, no. 54 (*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, ii. 351–2), recites three acts, Henry I's confirmation of six Northumberland churches, among them the four churches held by Richard d'Orival (*Regesta* 1431), Henry I's earlier grant of these four churches to Richard d'Orival (*Regesta* 572), and Henry II's confirmation of this transfer (H2/510, dated at Brampton (Hunts), 1155 × 1158); the engrossment of this inspeximus is now Carlisle RO D/MH/10/2/23. The inspeximus was itself combined with that of 1307 in several later confirmations.

¹⁵⁵ *Regesta* 1431, datable June 1123 × January 1129; printed from the charter roll by Dugdale, ii. 73, and repr. by Nicolson and Burn, *History of Westmoreland and Cumberland*, ii. 540, by *Monasticon*, vi. 144 (no. i), and by Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, i. 353–4 (no. 458). The four churches in Northumberland were Warkworth, Corbridge, Whittingham and Rothbury, as named in the writ-charter for Richard d'Orival, *Regesta* 572, datable 1101 × 1105, most likely 24 June 1104, which was inspected with the writ-charter for Carlisle, copied with it, and printed with it; it was also copied into the Percy cartulary.

¹⁵⁶ This inspeximus, dated at Lanercost, 20 February 1307, 35 Edward I, C53/93, no. 44 (*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, iii. 81–2), recites four acts, because the original charters were said to be worn and their seals broken, Henry I's confirmation to the canons of the churches and land of Walter the priest (*Regesta* 1491), his writ concerning their boundaries in the royal forest (*Regesta* 1617), Henry II's confirmation of the transfer of Walter's churches (H2/511, likewise dated at Brampton (Hunts), 1155 × 1158), and Henry II's general confirmation (H2/512); the engrossment is not known to survive.

¹⁵⁷ *Regesta* 1491; printed from the the charter roll in *Calendar of the Charter Rolls*, iii. 81; the promise of an edition by J. Wilson, VCH *Cumberland*, i. 315, was never fulfilled.

¹⁵⁸ The same figure recurs in pipe rolls from Henry II's reign, beginning with 4 Henry II (1158; Wilson, 338).

mentioned in the king's grant of Walter's property; the payment was not deducted from the total of cornage for the district, but the king's writ-charter would be produced to show why the money was not paid. This is explained by the jurors in 1212, who say that King Henry gave 'to Walter his chaplain Linstock and Carleton for an annual rent in cornage of 37s 4d; the foresaid Walter by the king's will and grant received the Augustinian habit in the priory of St Mary of Carlisle and by the will and assent of the king gave all the foresaid land to the foresaid religious house'.¹⁵⁹ If we trust the jurors' knowledge, Walter's case appears to be very like Richard d'Orival's, except that Walter himself became a canon at Carlisle. Both were royal chaplains, holding churches in the king's gift for life.¹⁶⁰ We do not know how long Walter had held this property, but the gift to him is likely to date only from after the end of Ranulf's jurisdiction. From the pipe roll again we learn that in 1128–9 the priory received an additional gift by the king's writ of £10 towards the building of their church. Another early benefactor was Waltheof fitz Gospatrick, who gave the church of Cross Canonby with the chapel of St Nicholas and also the church of Aspatria and a plot of land in Carlisle.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ *Book of Fees*, 199; Wilson, 422. The initiative has been seen as Walter's (for example, by D. Nicholl, *Thurstan, Archbishop of York (1114–1140)* (York, 1964), 147), but such wording, even if it were contemporary, could not be construed as indicating whether Walter chose to settle in Carlisle or the king chose to settle him there.

¹⁶⁰ J. C. Dickinson, 'The origins of the cathedral of Carlisle', *CW2* xlv (1946), 134–43 (at p. 135n) noted that the name of Richard d'Orival follows that of Walter the chaplain among the attestations to Henry I's diploma for Bath abbey dated 3 September 1101 (*Regesta* 544; no reliable text in print); they are followed by Roger de Martinwast and T(homas) the chaplain. This is an exceptionally full list of chaplains; neither Richard nor Walter can be found attesting in later documents.

¹⁶¹ The deed confirming Waltheof's gift of Cross Canonby church and the chapel of St Nicholas, Flimby, was printed from a seventeenth-century copy at Cockermouth castle by C. R. Davey, 'Medieval grants to the priory of Carlisle', *CW2* lxxi (1971), 284–6; it also survives in the cartularies of Holm Cultram priory, calendared by Grainger & Collingwood (n. 22), 26, no. 66a. Both gifts are mentioned in the general confirmation by Henry II, datable to 1175 (H2/512), of the lands and liberties of the cathedral of Carlisle, 'ex dono Waldeui filii Gospatrich ecclesiam de Espatric cum carrugata terre et omnibus pertinentiis suis et unam mansuram iuxta ecclesiam sancti Cuthberti in Kaerleol'; ex dono eiusdem Waldeui ecclesiam de Crosseby cum carrugata terre et omnibus decimis et omnibus que ad illam ecclesiam pertinent usque ad aquam Alne et capellam sancti Nicholai supra mare cum terra que circa capellam iacet et decimam allecium'; printed in *Monasticon*, vi. 144 (no. iii), and by J. Wilson, 'The name of the bishop's manor of Bewley before 1300', *CW2* iii (1903), 246–9.

The latest evidence deployed here is the jurors' statement from 1212. The rest is contemporary. Much confusion has been caused by statements that say the king provided the site rather earlier than 1122 or even that the house was founded in 1102.¹⁶² James Wilson did not entirely reject the notion that King Henry had given land for a priory around that date, but he was more to the point in observing that 'little else seems to have been done till after the political changes of 1120–2, when Ranulf Meschin, the civil ruler, left the district and the king took it into his own hand'.¹⁶³ Although an earlier date is surely impossible, there is no reason to date the foundation to the time of the king's visit in autumn 1122. The acts by which Henry granted the lands of Richard d'Orival and Walter to the canons are dated at Rouen after June 1123 and at Worcester, a place-date that does not help to date the act; the writ concerning rights in Inglewood forest is dated at Bishop's Waltham in Hampshire. It is clear, therefore, that the endowment of the priory was progressive and not the result of a single founding act. After 1133 a confirmation of the gift of Walter's property was obtained from Bishop Athelwold, only recently rediscovered.¹⁶⁴ If there had been a founding act, it would seem that it was not produced in soliciting a confirmation from Henry II when Henry I's two writ-charters concerning the property of the two chaplains were both confirmed.

The priory became a cathedral priory when a new diocese was created in 1133, and the Augustinian canon Athelwold, prior of Nostell, was consecrated as bishop: 'In August 1133, before the Feast of the Assumption, two bishops were consecrated in York by Archbishop Thurstan, Geoffrey, King Henry's chancellor to the see of Durham, and Aldulfus, prior of Nostell, to the city of Carlisle, which the king erected into an episcopal see (*initiauit ad sedem episcopalem*), giving to it the churches of Cumberland and Westmorland, which belonged to the archdeaconry of York'.¹⁶⁵ York

¹⁶² The sources are reviewed to no useful purpose by H. S. Offler, 'A note on the early history of the priory of Carlisle', *CW2* lxxv (1965), 176–81, who favoured the early date; J. C. Dickinson, 'Walter the priest and St Mary's, Carlisle', *CW2* lxix (1969), 102–14, sought to square them with the evidence for a later foundation.

¹⁶³ Wilson, *VCH Cumberland*, ii, 131.

¹⁶⁴ Summerson, 'Athelwold the bishop and Walter the priest', 90–91; Smith, *English Episcopal Acta 30 Carlisle 1133–1292* (n. 19), 3–4 (no. 3), datable 1138 × 1157.

¹⁶⁵ John of Hexham, *Historia XXV annorum*, a continuation of the *Historia regum*, ed. Arnold, ii, 285. The consecration would have been carried out on a Sunday. Since the Assumption fell on Tuesday, 15 August, the date intended might as well be Sunday, 13 August, as Sunday, 6 August, the date usually given in reference books. There is much

retained the sole known copy of a letter from Pope Innocent II (1130–43), which allowed Thurstan to split or merge dioceses and to create new sees, but the copy has omitted the date.¹⁶⁶ An old story dates this back to Henry's own visit to Carlisle in 1122, but this has no authority and merely telescopes the chronology.¹⁶⁷ It has none the less been suggested that there was a plan long in maturing, but the evidence cited in support of this has been misunderstood.¹⁶⁸ The creation of a bishopric in Carlisle, a subject much discussed in terms of ecclesiastical policy, might also be seen as a significant step towards a county institution. If there was to be a county court in Carlisle, then there would be the question of which bishop should preside. For the most part Durham had that right in Northumber-

variation in the form of Athelwold's name, including several occurrences of Adelulf or similar.

¹⁶⁶ Copied in York Minster, D&C, Registrum magnum album, pt 2, fol. 53r; printed by J. Raine the younger, *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series 71 (1879–94), iii. 57–8 (no. 40).

¹⁶⁷ Henry is said to have been angry at seeing that Bishop John of Glasgow 'was dedicating churches throughout Cumberland'. The story is found in the fifteenth-century *Scotichronicon*, VIII 3 (ed. Goodall, i. 449; ed. Watt, iv. 254–7); it favours the interest of Glasgow, but, unlike the rest of the chapter, it is not derived from Fordun's *Chronica gentis Scotorum* (Watt, iv. 483).

¹⁶⁸ J. C. Dickinson, 'The origins of the cathedral of Carlisle', *CW2* xlv (1946), 134–43 (at pp. 138–41), and again in *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their introduction to England* (London, 1950), 248–9, sought to back up the *Scotichronicon* story, citing first John Burton's *Monasticon Eboracense* (York, 1758), 310, for the notion that Athelwold founded the cathedral priory at Carlisle and was allowed by Pope Calixtus to hold it in addition to the priorate of Nostell. Burton's source is cited as 'J. Bronolt script. 257' (not traced). Dickinson added that this was corroborated by a narrative in the Nostell act-book (citing Wilson, 159, as below), and then speculated: 'That this arrangement was decided upon at the time of the foundation of the priory in 1122–3 is by no means unlikely' (*Origins*, 249). Burton's information must derive from the Nostell act-book. D. E. Greenway, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300* (London, 1968–), ii. 19, writes of Athelwold, 'Perhaps nom(inated) b(isho)p before Dec. 1124, because allowed by pope Calixtus II (1119–24) to retain priorate with another office (see document ed. by J. Wilson)'. The reference is to J. Wilson, 'Foundation of the Austin priories of Nostell and Scone', *Scottish Historical Review* 7 (1910), 141–59 (pp. 156, 159). He prints from the Nostell act-book a privilege of Pope Calixtus permitting the canons of Nostell to move the site of their church from its original location in the woods to a position near the *uiuarium* or pond (p. 156) and an extract from the late narrative, which refers to a privilege from the Roman curia allowing Athelwold to retain *pro uice sua* (Wilson, misquoted as *pro uita sua* by Dickinson) the priory of Nostell, notwithstanding his being a bishop (p. 159). This statement must be understood as relating to his retention of Nostell upon his becoming bishop in 1133; he continued to hold both until 1153. From such readings has grown up the notion that Henry I intended to make Athelwold bishop of Carlisle from a point early in the

land but, inasmuch as the earliest writ-charters allow us to see, the archbishop of York had that right in Cumberland and Westmorland in Henry I's time and very possibly in William II's too — the claims of Durham on Carlisle were on the town and an ancient estate around it, not on the whole district. Bishop Michael of Glasgow acted as suffragan for Archbishop Thomas in pastoral matters after 1108.¹⁶⁹ Yet it would not do to have a bishop from Scotland acting, even as surrogate, in the civil role of presiding in court. There were reasons why King Henry and Archbishop Thurstan might both agree that a new bishopric was the way forwards, but we have no evidence of any comparable move to create a sheriff during the years between the pipe roll from 1130 and the king's death in December 1135. No extant act of Henry I is addressed to Bishop Athelwold in a shire court of Cumberland.

The extent of the new diocese is also instructive. It covered the district of Carlisle, including Allerdale and the Eden valley, and Westmorland as that term was used in the twelfth century, centred on Appleby. It did not include Copeland in the west, which would eventually become part of the county of Cumberland, nor Ivo Taillebois's territory in Kendal, which would become part of the county of Westmorland, both remaining in the archdeaconry of Richmond and the diocese of York. Nor was Alston transferred from the diocese of Durham, though it would in time become part of the county of Cumberland.

It is impossible to find room for Carlisle among the thirty-two shires said to have existed in Henry I's time, a figure from *Leges*

1120s; see, for example, D. Nicholl, *Thurstan, Archbishop of York (1114–1140)* (York, 1964), 146–50. This misconception based on a misunderstood statement in a late narrative was repeated by Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, i. 35–6, but dismantled in the revised edition of *Heads* (n. 130), 277 (though with the error of Pope Celestine for Calixtus).

¹⁶⁹ The diocese of Glasgow was revived by Earl David, heir to the Scottish throne, after 1107 (N. F. Shead, 'The origins of the medieval diocese of Glasgow', *Scottish Historical Review* 48 (1969), 220–25). The first bishop, Michael, a Cumbrian, was consecrated by Archbishop Thomas II of York (1108–1114); he dedicated churches within the diocese of York and conducted ordinations in the church at Morland (Westmorland), where he was buried; all this from the account written in 1127 by the York writer, Hugh the Chanter, ed. Brett & others, 52. His successor Bishop John was consecrated in 1117, which sets a limit on the date of his activity. Why Morland? This parish church was in the gift of Ketel fitz Eltred, when he gave it to the monks of St Mary's York, who assigned it to Wetheral priory; Prescott, *Wetherhal*, 370–71 (no. 235) (see n. 141). Prescott dated this deed to before Bishop Michael's time, but there are no clear dating criteria, and the 1120s may be more likely.

Henrici that is not easily reconciled with the incomplete pipe roll from 1130.¹⁷⁰ The figure is given as thirty-three in the earliest versions of Henry of Huntingdon, dating from the soon after 1129, though thirty-four shires are listed. The text as revised after 1138, probably *c.*1140, alters the figure to thirty-five shires and adds in thirty-fifth position ‘that region in which is the new bishopric of Carlisle’.¹⁷¹ There is no mention of Cumberland as such and none of Westmorland. An Anglo-Norman poem, however, which follows Henry’s revised text and has for that reason been dated to soon after 1139, refers to both Cumberland and Westmorland as belonging to the new bishopric.¹⁷²

Whether there really had been progress in that direction, we cannot know for sure, since events took an unforeseen turn. King Henry died in Normandy on 1 December 1135, and his nephew Stephen snatched the crown. While the new king spent Christmas 1135 at Oxford, in Scotland another nephew King David moved quickly to take control of Carlisle and Newcastle.¹⁷³ The two kings met at Durham in February 1136, and Stephen ceded Carlisle while seeking to retain Newcastle. Carlisle and Cumberland were now lost to the English Crown until Henry II was able to reassert control in 1157.¹⁷⁴ After the procedures of the Exchequer resumed in the mid-

¹⁷⁰ *Leges Henrici*, § 6. 1a, ed. Downer, 96.

¹⁷¹ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, I 5, ed. D. E. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), 16 and note e, citing manuscripts E (version 1) and H (version 2), which take the history only to 1129; the addition in versions from the third onwards is on p. 18, and see the editor’s notes. William of Malmesbury does not offer a catalogue of shires, but in his history of the bishops, written in the 1120s, Carlisle and its Roman ruins are introduced only in the context of York with its Roman remains; like Henry of Huntingdon, he uses only the word *regio*, ‘The region is called Cumberland and the men Cumbrians’ (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, III, § 99, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, Rolls Series 52 (1870), 208). It is worth noticing that the list of shires and their religious houses, composed by Gervase of Canterbury around 1200, follows Henry of Huntingdon’s list for thirty-three shires in the same order, but after Yorkshire, instead of Northumberland he has ‘Richmondshire’ (under which Carlisle priory is entered, with no mention of the see, which had been vacant since 1153) and the bishopric of Durham.

¹⁷² ‘La terre de Cumberlant / Od tute Westmerilant / Al derain unt tut acunte / La ad nuvel evesque’ (lines 165–8); the text is edited by A. Bell, ‘The Anglo-Norman Description of Britain’, with an introduction by L. Johnson, in *Anglo-Norman Anniversary Essays*, ed. I. Short (London, 1993), 11–47 (at p. 42).

¹⁷³ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, X 4, ed. Greenway, 706; translated and compared with other accounts by Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, 171–2.

¹⁷⁴ For a view of Cumbria, north and south, Scottish and English, see G. W. S. Barrow, ‘King David, Earl Henry, and Cumbria’, *CW2* xcix (1999), 117–27.

1150s, Carlisle appears for the first time with its own sheriff at Michaelmas 1158. Two acts of King David, however, datable to 1136 or soon afterwards, recognized a sheriff serving in Carlisle, just as he recognized the sheriff of Northumberland in two acts for Tynemouth.¹⁷⁵ Unless we are prepared to attribute to him the introduction of shrieval authority in Cumberland, we should deduce that King Henry had already done so. It seems to me that this is the more likely possibility. There are also reasons for thinking that it was done between Michaelmas 1130, from when we have the pipe roll, and July 1133, when King Henry left England for the last time. He died in Normandy, but in the run-up to his departure he went to considerable trouble to settle matters of governance in England. In view of the bishop's role in the shire court and the date when Athelwold was nominated as the first bishop in Carlisle, a close linkage appears probable, even if the new sheriff found himself accounting for less than a whole year at the Exchequer at Michaelmas 1133.

The identity of that sheriff is not revealed in the evidence. Certain information, however, may permit us to hazard a guess. There is one specimen of a coin minted at Carlisle with a die provided in the name of King Stephen — a sign, perhaps, that King David's takeover was not immediate and complete — in which the moneyer appears as [O]DARD.¹⁷⁶ One should not casually equate sheriff and moneyer, but a further consideration indicates that by 1133 Hildred of Carlisle was dead and his son Odard had perhaps assumed his role as accounting officer. The cartulary of St Bees priory has preserved a whole series of deeds in the name of William Meschin, Ranulf's brother, who held Copeland under Henry I.¹⁷⁷ They all relate to the first foundation of the priory, conventionally dated to c.1120, though the deeds that provide the evidence have not been dated more closely than 1120 × 1135.¹⁷⁸ In most of them the

¹⁷⁵ D1/58, D1/76 (see nn. 55–6), as shown in fig. 3 above; D1/79, D1/163, as shown in Appendix.

¹⁷⁶ Stewart, 'Scottish mints' (n. 51), 194.

¹⁷⁷ *Register of St Bees*, 28–32 (nos. 2–3), 33–6 (nos. 5–7), and 106–7 (no. 76, Godard's deed). 'Odardo de Carlol' is given his surname only in no. 2, but the sequence proves that the same man is intended throughout.

¹⁷⁸ D. Knowles & R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses. England and Wales* (London, 1953, ²1971), 56, 75; *circa* has found favour with Nicholl, *Thurstan*, 143 ('about the same year (1120)'); Rose, 'Cumbrian society and the Anglo-Norman church', 127 ('around 1120'). James Wilson in *VCH Cumberland*, ii. 179, correctly dates the foundation to 'after 1120'; followed by *Heads* (n. 130), i. 95.

witnesses begin with Archbishop Thurstan, Archdeacon William of York, two chaplains of the archbishop, and William Meschin's own chaplain, Rainald; then four holders of considerable estates, Godard de Boivill, who held Millom, Rainer, who held Rottington, Waltheof, who held Allerdale to the north of Copeland, and Ketel fitz Elfred, who held an extensive fee in Copeland and in Kendal; finally Odard of Carlisle and Richer or Richard. These last two seem certain to be Odard fitz Hildred of Carlisle and his father's colleague Richard Rider, and the only reason to explain Odard's presence in place of his father would be that Hildred was by now dead. He was alive in October 1130, so these acts, and the founding of St Bees priory, would appear to date from between then and the death of William Meschin himself no later than 1133 or 1134.¹⁷⁹ Odard is not styled sheriff, so perhaps we may say that the acts predate the institution of a sheriff in Carlisle, arguably in 1133. Even before that came about, the fact of Odard's sharing in the king's gift to his father may indicate both that Hildred was nearing the end of his career and that Odard was marked to succeed him. But Odard was obviously the man best placed for that role, and, when the pipe rolls resume in 1158, his nephew Robert fitz Truite was sheriff. If this inference is correct, Odard of Carlisle can claim his place in lists of sheriffs quite separately from Odard of Bamburgh. Like his father in 1130, he

¹⁷⁹ The date of William Meschin's death is inferred only from the fact that it was his son, another Ranulf Meschin, who established Savigniac monks at Calder abbey. The foundation date derives from a group of Cistercian catalogues that list abbeys by date of foundation. From these sources it appears that the date is 10 January 1134 (as stated by Wilson, VCH *Cumberland*, ii. 174). L. Janaushek, *Origines Cistercienses* (Vienna, 1877), 100, cites the evidence of numerous Cistercian catalogues; his introduction argues that these records use Lady Day reckoning, so that the date in modern usage would be 10 January 1135 (*Medieval Religious Houses*, 112, 117, followed by *Heads*, i. 129). This is compatible with the date given for the first founding of Calder in the narrative of the foundation of Byland abbey, 'tempore et anno regis Henri tricesimo quinto, scilicet millesimo centesimo tricesimo quarto' (*Monasticon*, v. 349). The problem comes when one reads a whole series of foundation-dates in a catalogue such as that in BL MS Cotton Faustina B. vii (printed by W. de G. Birch, 'On the date of foundation ascribed to the Cistercian abbeys in Great Britain', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 26 (1870), 281–99, 352–69 (at p. 284); here Lady Day reckoning is used in the years 1128–33, but for the years 1134–9 the year runs from January to December. To apply Lady Day reckoning in January–March '1134' [i.e. 1135] puts these completely out of sequence, before the rest of 1134; switching from one style of date to the other would mean some overlap in the sequence of foundations in these months. The Cistercian records pose an unresolved problem of understanding, leaving either January 1134 or January 1135 plausible interpretations.

would have made the long journey to Winchester or perhaps to Westminster to attend the Exchequer at Michaelmas 1133 and twice yearly for the next two years. From 1136, however, he served King David. He presumably still collected the farm of the shire and cornage payments, but where he delivered the money and how he rendered account are beyond our knowing.

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In this survey of particular themes, I am conscious that I have not in any way overthrown or replaced the work of James Wilson, which remains to my mind the best account of this subject in spite of being more than a century old. Wilson wrote from enormous knowledge and deep understanding of the evidence of local tenures over an extended period, and he endeavoured also to deal with more abstract subjects such as the origin and nature of cornage tenure. Others who have written more recently have in many cases looked at the subject from narrow directions: Barrow is concerned to remind us that the border between England and Scotland split the ancient land of the Cumbrians; Kapelle's overriding argument was the degree to which separatist local interests persisted against the imposition of Norman control; Summerson wrote from the point of view of a historian of the town of Carlisle; Phythian-Adams viewed the Norman settlement as innovative rather than based on much older tenures. I venture that, if I have been able to add a new perspective, it is because much of the evidence, in particular the testimony of the pipe roll and of royal charters, can be read from the viewpoint of central government. Even those who write about royal policy have not always understood the institutional framework of the governance of the realm. Administration was ordinarily delegated to the officers of a shire; extraordinary delegation is found for special reasons, but in Cumbria, and in Carlisle in particular, we see a shire in the making.

Wilson hesitated between seeing Ranulf's jurisdiction as 'either a palatine state . . . in which the sheriff was not the king's officer, or that it was in the nature of a Crown colony, in which Ranulf acted as a vice-gerent with unlimited powers'.¹⁸⁰ In a way both are true: Ranulf certainly had his own sheriff, but we have no evidence as to whether he enjoyed the full palatine jurisdiction in Cumbria that he

¹⁸⁰ Wilson, 307.

would find in Chester. Wilson's considered view was that Cumbria was 'more of a Crown colony than a settled division of the commonwealth'.¹⁸¹ Comparisons with the more settled shire of Northumberland show how true that is, but it is not quite the whole story. We have been unable to clarify the nature of the administration set in place in Carlisle by William II, though we have seen that in much of Westmorland he favoured the strongman Ivo Taillebois with a relatively undefined role. Ranulf Meschin then filled this role in Carlisle and Appleby for twenty years or more, and it is not apparent in what way he was answerable to the Crown for his actions. Wilson's Victorian phrase, Crown colony, however, really comes into its own after Ranulf's departure, when royal officials are set in place, answering, so far as we can see directly to the central government without either earl or sheriff or other intervening authority. Whether the king initially intended this to continue indefinitely, we have not the means to guess, but in 1133 it appears that he made changes. Cumberland at least, within territorial bounds smaller than those of the later county, became a shire; the sheriff's jurisdiction was not coterminous with the newly created bishopric, though the boundaries were not settled until the 1170s. The period of administration by officials, in retrospect, appears transitional between reliance on a strongman and normal local governance through the institutions of the shire.

¹⁸¹ Wilson, 295.

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Appendix
WRITS AND WRIT-CHARTERS ADDRESSED TO NORTHUMBERLAND

Regesta	Beneficiary	Possible Date-range	Address Clause	Persons named
367	Tynemouth	July–August 1095	Willelmo Dunelm(ensi) episcopo et R<ogero> Picoto et omnibus baronibus suis francis et anglis de Northumberland	Bp William of Durham Roger Picot, sheriff <i>barones</i>
368	Tynemouth	August 1095	T(home) archiepiscopo et W(illelmo) Dunelm(ensi) episcopo et omnibus baronibus suis francis et anglis	Archbishop Thomas I Bp William of Durham <i>barones</i>
624 (Queen Matilda)	Tynemouth	1100 x 1105	Rogero Picoto et omnibus baronibus regis et fidelibus suis francis et anglis de Northumberland	Roger Picot, sheriff <i>barones fideles</i>
631	Tynemouth	1100 x 1105	Geraldo Eboracen(si) archiepiscopo et Roth(berto)uicecom(iti) de Laceio et Rogero Picoto et omnibus baronibus suis et fidelibus francis et anglis de Euerwicscira et Northumberland	two shires Archbishop Gerard Robert de Lacy, Roger Picot, sheriff <i>barones fideles</i>
671	Tynemouth	1101 x 1104	Rog(ero) Picot	Roger Picot, sheriff
640	Tynemouth	1101 x 1108	Lig(ulfo) et Alur(ico) uicecomitibus et omnibus <fidelibus> suis francis et anglis de Northumbr'	Alfric and Ligulf, sheriffs
641	Tynemouth	1101 x 1108	Lig(ulfo) <et> Alur(ico) uicecomitibus et omnibus fidelibus suis francis et Anglis de Northumberl'	Alfric and Ligulf, sheriffs <i>fideles</i>
822	Tynemouth	1101 x 1116	Ran(ulfo) Dunelm(ensi) episcopo et omnibus baronibus et ministris suis	Bp Ranulf of Durham <i>barones ministri</i>
913	Tynemouth	1104 or 1107	uicecom(itibus) suis de Euerwyscira et de Northumberland	two shires sheriffs

Regesta	Beneficiary	Possible Date-range	Address Clause	Persons named
914	Tynemouth	1104 or 1107	R(annulfo) Dunelmensi episcopo et omnibus uicecom(itibus) suis de Euerwysire et de Northumberland	two shires Bp Ranulf of Durham Osbert, sheriff of York Alfric and Ligulf, sheriffs
955	Tynemouth	1107 × 1115	Ran(ulfo) Dunelm(ensi) episcopo et Alur(ico) et Ligulfo uicecom(itibus) et omnibus baronibus suis francis et anglis de Northumberland	Bp Ranulf of Durham Alfric and Ligulf, sheriffs <i>barones</i>
1170	Tynemouth	1106 × 1115	R(annulfo) episcopo Dunelm(ensi) et omnibus baronibus suis francis et anglis de Northumbreland	Bp Ranulf of Durham <i>barones</i>
1171	Tynemouth	1104 × 1115	Alurico et Ligulfo	sheriffs
1172	Tynemouth	1106 × 1115	Ran(ulfo) episcopo Dunelm(ie) et Aluric(o) et Liul(fo) uicecomitibus	Bp Ranulf of Durham Alfric and Ligulf, sheriffs
1323	Tynemouth	1110 × 1122 perhaps Whitsun 1110	iustic' et uicecom(itibus) suis et cunctis baronibus suis francis et anglis de Northumberland	justice and sheriffs <i>barones</i>
1264	Tynemouth	1120 × 1133 perhaps 1121 × 1122	W(altero) Espec et For' et O(dardo) uic(ecomiti)	Walter Espec, justice Forn Odard, sheriff
1331	Tynemouth	1121 × 1129 probably 1122	uicecom(iti) et cunctis ministris suis de Northumbr'	Odard, sheriff <i>ministri</i>
1339	Tynemouth	?1122, ?1131	Odardo uic(ecomiti) et iustic(iis) suis de Northumberland	Odard, sheriff justices
S/904	Tynemouth	Feb 1136	iustic(ie) suis et uicecomitibus et omnibus ministris suis de Northumbrel(and)	justice sheriff <i>barones ministri</i>

Regesta	Beneficiary	Possible Date-range	Address Clause	Persons named
S/905	Tynemouth	Feb 1136	iustic<ie> et omnibus baronibus suis francis et anglis de Nort(humbreland)	justice <i>barones</i>
S/906	Tynemouth	Feb 1136 or Feb 1138	iustic(iis) baronibus uicecomitibus ministris prepositis et omnibus fidelibus suis [etc.]	justices <i>barones</i> sheriffs <i>ministri</i> <i>fideles</i>
S/907	Tynemouth	1136 x 1138	iustic(ie) et baronibus et uic(ecomiti) et ministris et fidelibus suis de Northumberland	justice <i>barones</i> sheriff <i>ministri</i> <i>fideles</i>
D1/79	Tynemouth	1139 x 1140	iustic(ie), constabul(ario), uic(ecomiti), baronibus et omnibus suis fidelibus totius Northumberl(and)	justice constable sheriff, Adam fitz Odard <i>barones</i> <i>fideles</i>
D1/163 (Earl Henry)	Tynemouth	1147	iustic(ie) sue, baronibus, uic<ecomiti>, ministri et omnibus probis hominibus suis totius Nothumberl(and)	justice <i>barones</i> sheriff, Adam fitz Odard <i>ministri</i> <i>probi</i> <i>homines</i>
372a	Durham	1091 x 1095	Roberto comiti Northumbrie	Earl Robert de Mowbray
545	Durham	Sept 1101	Girardo archiepiscopo et R(oberto) episcopo Lincolniensi et O(sbertto) uicecomiti et omnibus fidelibus suis de Euerwicschira et de Lincolnschira et de Northumberlanda	three shires Archbishop Gerard Bp Robert of Lincoln Osbern sheriff of York and Lincoln <i>fideles</i>

Regesta	Beneficiary	Possible Date-range	Address Clause	Persons named
575	Durham	1101 x 1108	Girardo archiepiscopo et Roberto episcopo Lincolniensi et Osberno uicecomiti et Widoni de Bailleol et omnibus baronibus francis et anglis de Lincolnschira et de Euerwicschira et de Northumberlanda	three shires Archbishop Gerard Bp Robert of Lincoln Osbern sheriff of York and Lincoln Wido de Balliol <i>barones</i>
643	Durham	1101 x 1115	Osberno uicecomiti et Liolfo et Alurico de Colebrugh et omnibus baronibus francis et anglis de Northumberland et de Euerwycshire	two shires Osbern, sheriff of York Alfric and Ligulf, sheriffs <i>barones</i>
709	Durham	1102 x 1106 probably late 1105	Girardo archiepiscopo et Liulfo et Alurico de Colibrugh et omnibus baronibus et suis fidelibus francis et anglis in Northumberland	Archbishop Gerard Alfric and Ligulf, sheriffs <i>barones</i> <i>fideles</i>
925	Durham	1108 x 1114 probably late 1109	Thomę archiepiscopo et Os(berto) uicecomiti et omnibus baronibus et omnibus fidelibus suis francis et anglis de Eurewicscira et de Northumb(er)landa	two shires Archbishop Thomas II Osbert, sheriff of York
993	Durham	1107 x 1115	Alurico et Liulfo uicecomitibus	Alfric and Ligulf, sheriffs
1001	Durham	1107 x 1118	Nigell(o) de Albineio	Nigel de Albinni, justice, as enforcing officer

Regesta	Beneficiary	Possible Date-range	Address Clause	Persons named
1124	Durham	2 Feb 1116	Thurstino archiepiscopo Eboracensi et Nigello de Albyneio et Anschitillo de Bolmer' et Odardo uicecomiti de Northumberlanda et omnibus baronibus Francis et Anglis de Euerwykshira et de Northumberlanda	two shires Archbishop Thomas II Nigel de Albinni, justice Ansketil of Bulmer, sheriff of York Odard, sheriff <i>barones</i>
1143	Durham	1101 x 1115	Rann(ulfo) Dunelm(en)si episcopo et uicecomitibus Aluric(o) et Liulfo et omnibus baronibus de Norhu(m)b(er)landa	Bp Ranulf of Durham Alfric and Ligulf, sheriffs <i>barones</i>
1705	Durham	1120 x 1133 perhaps x 1128	T. archiepiscopo Eborac(ensi) et episcopo Dunelm(ensi) et omnibus baronibus et fidelibus suis de Norhu(m)berlanda et de Eborac' scira et de Haliefolc	three shires Archbishop Thurstan Bp Ranulf of Durham <i>barones</i> <i>fideles</i>
D1/103 (Earl Henry)	Durham	1141	Willelmo cancellario et Osberto uic(ecomiti) et omnibus hominibus de Haliweresfolc' et de Northimberl(and)	William Cumin chancellor Osbert, bishop's sheriff <i>homines</i>
572	Richard d'Orival (Carlisle)	1102 x 1105 probably June 1104	Ranulpho Dunolmensi episcopo et Rogero Picoto et omnibus fidelibus suis francis et anglis et ministris de Northumbr(eland)	Bp Ranulf of Durham Roger Picot, sheriff <i>fideles</i>
1431	Carlisle	1123 x 1129	archiepiscopo Ebor(acensi) et episcopo Dunelm(ensi) et uicecomiti de Northumbr(eland) et omnibus baronibus et fidelibus suis de Northumbr(eland)	Archbishop Thurstan Bp Ranulf of Durham Odard, sheriff <i>barones</i> <i>fideles</i>

Regesta	Beneficiary	Possible Date-range	Address Clause	Persons named
1279	Eustace fitz John (Malton priory)	1121 x 1127	Rannulfo episcopo Dunelmensi et Waltero Espec et Fornoni et Odardo uic' et omnibus baronibus suis francis et anglis de Northumbr'	Bp Ranulf of Durham Walter Espec, justice Forn Odard, sheriff <i>barones</i>
1633	Ripon minster	1121 x 1127	uicecomitibus et ministris et omnibus baronibus francis et anglis de Eboraciscira et de Northumberlant	two shires
S/373a	Gospatrick (Percy family)	Feb 1136	iustic(ie) et baronibus et uicecom(iti) et ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis francis et anglis de Northumberland	justice <i>barones</i> sheriff <i>ministri</i> <i>fideles</i>
S/603	Ernulf fitz Hugh of Morwick (archive?)	1135 x 1138	iusticiariis [etc.] de Northumberland	

