

The Tenorial Structure of Hampshire Before and After the  
Norman Conquest



Katherine Blayney

St Peter's College

University of Oxford

A thesis submitted for the degree of

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## ABSTRACT

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### The Tenorial Structure of Hampshire Before and After the Norman Conquest

This thesis is a study of landholders named in Domesday Book in 1066 and 1086 in Hampshire, from the wealthiest in the kingdom to families holding only a few acres of land. It pieces together and maps their landholding across the kingdom and the shire, exploring how and why they held land where they did. It considers the structure of landed society, establishing clear, comparable measures of landed wealth to enable a quantitative comparison of landholding in 1066 and 1086. It explores the dynamics of the Conquest, the dispossession of the English, and the rationale behind and logistics of the land transfers, between the two dates.

It first evaluates royal landholding and the knight's farm estates. Winchester emerges as an important venue, on the edge of the royal heartlands, for royal assemblies and festival courts. To the west of Winchester, this research contends that there was an extensive pre-Conquest forest along the Hampshire-Wiltshire border, where Edward the Confessor enjoyed hunting. Known as the King's Forest, its management provides an important comparison with the more extreme measures taken by William the Conqueror in the New Forest.

Subsequent chapters analyse secular landholding. It is argued here that, before 1066, leading thegns who attended royal assemblies constituted an itinerant elite who often held estates across the north of the shire. The distribution of their estates facilitated travel to Winchester and into the royal heartlands. In contrast, many local thegns, who held most of their estates in Hampshire, possessed estates on a north-south alignment

through the shire, intersecting with the estates of the itinerant elite in the Hampshire Downs. By 1086, these pre-Conquest patterns of landholding had been almost entirely swept away. Hugh de Port, sheriff of Hampshire, acquired several of the downland estates but most of the wealthier Norman landholders now held just one or two estates close to Winchester, or on the coast en route to Normandy. The thesis also considers the status and role of female landholders, including Queen Edith and Wulfgifu Beteslau, and reconstructs the landholding and itinerary of Queen Matilda within the kingdom and the shire.

The final chapter investigates how and why ecclesiastical landholders saw an increase in their landed wealth between 1066 and 1086. In Hampshire, this came about not so much through the acquisition of new estates as through an increase in the value of existing demesne. It considers the reasons for this increase in value.

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### The Tenorial Structure of Hampshire Before and After the Norman Conquest

This thesis considers the structure of landed society in Hampshire between 1066 and 1086. It has not previously been possible to draw many conclusions about the pre-Conquest distribution of landed wealth in Hampshire and the impact of the Conquest upon this distribution because the pre-Conquest starting point was only partly understood. This research systematically reconstructs the tenorial structure in Hampshire before 1066, and again in 1086 under the Conqueror's regime, based on a prosopographical study of all pre- and post-Conquest landholders in the shire. Each named landholder in Hampshire Domesday has been identified with varying degrees of certainty. Clear, comparable measures of landed wealth have been established for each Hampshire landholder for their landholding across the kingdom and within the shire, enabling a quantitative comparison of landholding in 1066 and 1086. An overview of landholding in the shire is set out in Appendices B and C. The specific characteristics of landholding in Hampshire are explored in greater detail, at various levels in the social hierarchy, through a series of case studies.

The thesis relies upon and reviews the *PASE Domesday* database created for the Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England project at King's College, London. Where the identification of individuals in this thesis differs from the provisional identifications in the current version of the database (as published online in October 2019), this is made clear throughout and further noted in Appendices B and C.

Maps are central to this thesis. They use a copy of the *PASE Domesday* database (from January 2016) to map the landholding of individuals. It has been modified where necessary so that the mapping reflects the outcomes of this research, and it has been expanded to incorporate new information to enable the mapping of, for example, the distribution of tenurial formula used in Domesday Hampshire, or the prevalence of mills, churches, and other estate assets.

The ArcGIS mapping software allows the geovisualization of data extracted from Domesday. The maps provide hitherto unseen views of Domesday landholding, the proximity between estates, and the comparative value of estates. The mapping has opened up new avenues of research, offering a tool to interrogate the familial, social, economic, and political inter-dependence of landholders and landholding. It shows the location of estates within the landscape, supporting an assessment of the utility of estates and an analysis of why people held land where they did. The combination of the database and the mapping software enables landed society in Hampshire to be analysed and compared before the Conquest and in 1086, at an individual level and as a whole, in a way that has not been possible to date.

The first chapter sets out the historiography on Domesday Hampshire. It establishes a methodology for the identification of landholders, adopting and expanding the methodology used in the *PASE Domesday* project. It weighs the following factors: what is the nature and origin of the name under consideration; where do people with that name hold land (taking into account variant spellings); how rare is the name; is there a toponymic, familial, descriptive, or occupational byname or explanation in the text that helps with identification; what is the geographical distribution and size/value of the estates attributed to an individual (taking into account local factors such as terrain and farming practices) and what is the likely status of that individual (higher status

landholders tend to have larger, more valuable estates sometimes separated by considerable distances); are there co-holders who can be identified as part of a kinship group; does lordship help with identification; who held the estate between 1066 and 1086; what was the pattern of descent thereafter; does the occupation of the landholder or the pattern of descent suggest the person held a tranche of *ex officio* estates; and is there any other information not yet considered that may help with identification? Finally, it observes whether an individual's landed wealth and the distribution of their estates is consistent with that person's likely status and occupation. Chapter One outlines the main primary sources for Hampshire, namely the Hampshire folios of Domesday Book, the TRE survey within the c. 1110 survey of Winchester in *Winton Domesday*, the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester (particularly the lay brethren list), charters both before and after 1066, and the cartulary of Christchurch Priory, Twynham. The chapter also engages with previous research on eleventh-century Hampshire.

Chapter Two analyses royal landholding and lordship in Hampshire in 1066 and 1086. It shows that the king was, at both times, the wealthiest landholder in the shire and in the kingdom. It considers the management of the night's farm estates and suggests that estates still paying renders in kind (which appears to have been in the Wessex heartlands and in the north and west of Hampshire) indicate which regions formed the royal heartlands in the second half of the eleventh century. It is notable that renders from Bowcombe (Isle of Wight) and Lyndhurst were taken north to Amesbury in the royal heartlands, and away from the coast which may have been vulnerable to seaborne attack. It argues that Winchester was important before 1066 and became increasingly so during the reign of William the Conqueror as a venue for royal assemblies and festival courts. There was a royal residence in Winchester, and the king held many properties in the city. Parts of royal estates or their revenues were alienated in the south and south-west of the

shire or on the Isle of Wight which may indicate an ambivalence towards estates on the coast that were remote from the royal heartlands. Harold II, however, started to boost royal revenues in the far south-east of the shire and William the Conqueror retained the estates of Earl Tosti, which gave the king a stronger presence on the coast. After 1066, estates close to embarkation points for Normandy also became prized, both by the king and his leading barons.

The chapter also considers royal lordship and landholding. It outlines the land-taking by William the Conqueror during his reign and suggests there was a high level of royal control over the process of transferring land to new landholders after 1066. The chapter also considers royal lordship over forests. It offers further evidence for the existence of a pre-Conquest forest, identified by Karin Mew as the 'King's Forest', and establishes that it was located to the west of Winchester along the Hampshire-Wiltshire border before 1066. This pre-existing forest was extended by William the Conqueror across the south-west of Hampshire towards the coast to form the New Forest. Domesday suggests that various landholders enjoyed overlapping rights in the King's Forest before 1066 and that such rights continued to be asserted by landholders after 1066. It is argued that, in contrast, a more draconian, exclusive, and innovative regime of forest law was introduced to protect royal hunting in the New Forest. The chapter concludes that the dispossession of the English, the land transfers in Hampshire, and the creation of the New Forest leave little doubt that William the Conqueror controlled landholding beyond the royal demesne and perceived land in the shire to be at his disposal.

Chapter Three describes secular male landholding in Hampshire. It concurs with existing scholarship, which contends that Edward the Confessor vested much of the defence of the coastline in Hampshire and Sussex to Earl Godwine and his family, granting estates which enabled them to maintain ships and assemble a fleet. This chapter

suggests that Edward the Confessor assigned to Earl Godwine and Tosti control of key locations for surveillance, and the activation of beacons for signalling. However, many of these estates were back in royal control by 1066.

This chapter also develops arguments made by Baxter and Lewis that there was a ‘gravitational pull’ on the distribution of elite landholding towards a ‘zone of assembly politics’. It argues that thegns with estates in Hampshire who witnessed royal diplomas and attended royal assemblies, who were among the itinerant elite, held estates on an east-west alignment across the north of the shire. Their Hampshire estates often bridged the gap between their estates in the North Downs and the royal heartlands in Wiltshire. These estates also brought them within about fifteen miles of Winchester. This thesis argues that estates close to ridgeway routes along the North Downs, the Great Ridgeway/Icknield Way, and major Roman roads were particularly favoured by the itinerant elite, presumably because these routes were easy to navigate and were passable for much of the year.

This chapter also analyses the warp and the weft of landholding in rural society before 1066. Local landholders, such as Cypping of Worthy, held estates on a broad north-south alignment through Hampshire into Wiltshire and Berkshire, which intersected with the estates of the itinerant elite in the Hampshire Downs. These findings raise important questions about the level and nature of political, social, and commercial interaction among people on these routes. Much of the pre-Conquest distribution of estates was swept away during the Conquest with the landholding of elite thegns broken up among a plethora of royal officials. Norman magnates tended to hold just one or two estates in Hampshire close to Winchester, or near to the coast en route to Normandy. Chapter Three also establishes Hugh de Port as the wealthiest secular landholder in the shire after the

king. It suggests that his landed wealth reflects his status and authority as sheriff, but also his position as one of the Conqueror's most trusted officials.

Chapter four investigates the landholding of secular female landholders in the shire including three of the wealthiest landholders in Domesday: Queen Edith, Wulfifu Beteslau, and Queen Matilda. Wulfifu is remarkable for holding a configuration of estates comparable with other members of the itinerant elite, perhaps acquired from her husband in widowhood. This chapter also reviews Queen Edith's landholding and reconstructs the landholding of Queen Matilda. It draws together what is known about Matilda's itinerary to place her landholding in Hampshire in context. References in Hampshire Domesday reinforce the view expressed in recent scholarship that she played an active role in the administration of both Normandy and England.

The final chapter considers how and why ecclesiastical landholders saw an increase in their landed wealth between 1066 and 1086. It shows that the increase was achieved not so much through the acquisition of new estates as through an increase in the value of existing demesne. The ability of individual estates to generate more income depended on several factors, but the cultivation of marginal land, access to markets, and an ability to adapt agricultural practices to meet new demands emerge as important considerations.

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This research relies upon the Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England (*PASE*) database built up over a period of time by a number of people, and much refined by Stephen Baxter, Dr Chris Lewis, and Dr Duncan Probert. Alex Dymond is responsible for the Conqueror's estates and an analysis of the royal demesne. The *PASE* data lies behind the maps and many of the tables in this thesis. I am grateful for permission to use this resource, for updates of the database, and seeing, prior to publication, research on several landholders, and articles on some of the outcomes from the *PASE* project as it evolved during the preparation of this thesis. A second major project, on Exon Domesday, has also been underway which seeks to address how and why Domesday Book was made. Again, I am grateful to Stephen Baxter for allowing me to read his draft chapters from *Making Domesday* prior to publication.

I also owe a debt of thanks to Chris Lewis for explaining the *PASE* methodology, for guiding me through the Hampshire section of the database, and for helping me get to grips with the ArcGIS mapping software at the start of this research, and to Michael Athanson for his help with ArcGIS and for providing me with a dataset for the relief map of Britain. I am grateful to the many people with whom I have exchanged ideas at LTVAS and at conferences and especially to Dr Hazel Freestone and Dr Berenice Wilson for their friendship, help, and encouragement. But, above all, thank you to my family for your kindness, encouragement, and support.

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## List of Abbreviations

ANS	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i> 1- (Woodbridge, 1979- )
ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i> 1- (Cambridge, 1972- )
ASC	Corrected dates and translations are taken from <i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> , ed. D. Whitelock with D.C. Douglas and S.I. Tucker (London, 1961) The original text is from <i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a Collaborative Edition, Volume 3, MS. A: A Semi-Diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices</i> , ed. J. M. Bately (Cambridge, 1986); <i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a Collaborative Edition, Volume 5, MS. C, a Semi-Diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices</i> , ed. K. O'Brien O'Keefe (Cambridge, 2001); <i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a Collaborative Edition, Volume 6, MS. D, a Semi-Diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices</i> , ed. G. P. Cubbin (Cambridge, 1996); <i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a Collaborative Edition, Volume 7, MS. E, a Semi-Diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices and Notes</i> , ed. S. Irvine (Cambridge, 2004)
Bates, RRAN	<i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066-1087)</i> , ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998)
BL	London, British Library
CPC	<i>The Christchurch Priory Cartulary</i> , ed. K. A. Hanna (Winchester, 2007)
Davis, Regesta	<i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum</i> , vol. ii, ed. C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne (Oxford, 1956); vols. iii, iv, ed. H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1968)
EcHR	<i>The Economic History Review</i>
ECW	H. P. R. Finberg, <i>The Early Charters of Wessex</i> (Leicester, 1961)
EncEmR	<i>Encomium Emmae Reginae</i> , ed. A. Campbell, Camden Third Series 72 (London, 1949), repr. with supplementary introduction by S. Keynes (Cambridge, 1998)
EHD, i	<i>English Historical Documents c. 500-1042</i> , ed. D. Whitelock, 2 <sup>nd</sup> edn (London, 1979)
EHD, ii	<i>English Historical Documents c. 1042-1189</i> , ed. D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway, 2 <sup>nd</sup> edn (London, 1981)
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i> 1- (London, 1886- )

- Exon *Liber Exoniensis*, Exeter Cathedral Library, MS 3500 (Exon Domesday), available at *Exon: The Domesday Survey of South-West England*, ed. by P. A. Stokes, Studies in Domesday, gen ed. J. Crick (London, 2018), <http://www.exonduomesday.ac.uk>  
Exon is referenced in the footnotes by citing the entry numbers.
- GDB Great Domesday Book  
Translations of the Domesday text are taken from the Alecto county editions for Hampshire and other shires: *Great Domesday Book*, ed. A. Williams and R. W. H. Erskine, Alecto Historical Editions (London, 1986-1992)  
The Phillimore edition of Domesday, published by county, is referred to for its notes on the text: *Domesday Book*, ed. J. Morris et al., Phillimore, 34 vols (Chichester, 1974-86). Domesday has also been accessed electronically by CD-ROM: J. J. N. Palmer, M. Palmer, and G. Slater, *Domesday Explorer* (Phillimore, 2000) and available at <https://opendomesday.org>  
Domesday is referenced in the footnotes by citing the folio number and column in Great Domesday Book (GDB) or Little Domesday Book (LDB), followed by the Phillimore reference in brackets.
- HC *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesie Wigorniensis*, ed. T. Hearne, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1723)
- Hudson, OHLE, II J. Hudson, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England, Vol. II: 871-1216* (Oxford, 2012)
- ICC *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis: Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis subijcitur Inquisitio Eliensis*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (London, 1876), 1-96
- IE *Inquisitio Eliensis: Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis subijcitur Inquisitio Eliensis*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (London, 1876), 97-195
- JW *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1995- )
- LDB Little Domesday Book (see GDB above for system of reference)
- LE *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake, Camden 3<sup>rd</sup> Series 92 (London, 1962); translations from *Liber Eliensis: A History of the Isle of Ely from the Seventh Century to the Twelfth*, trans. J. Fairweather (Woodbridge, 2005)
- Lanfranc *The Letters of Lanfranc: Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. H. Clover and M. Gibson (Oxford, 1979)

<i>Liber Vitae</i>	The Liber Vitae of the New Minster, Winchester: BL Stowe MS 944. Available at: <a href="http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=stowe_ms_944_f013r">http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=stowe_ms_944_f013r</a>
NMW	The New Minster, Winchester
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (Oxford, 2004); available at <a href="http://www.oxforddnb.com">http://www.oxforddnb.com</a>
OMW	The Old Minster, Winchester
OV, <i>Eccl. Hist.</i>	<i>The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis</i> , ed. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-80)
<i>PASE Domesday</i>	<i>Prosopography of Anglo Saxon England</i> , ed. S. Keynes, J. Nelson, D. Pelteret, F. Tinti, A. Burghart, S. Baxter, A. Bell, N. Hodgeson, J. Dresvina, B. Snook: available at <a href="http://www.pase.ac.uk">http://www.pase.ac.uk</a>
PHFCAS	<i>Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society</i> (1887- )
Robertson, <i>Charters</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Charters</i> , ed. and trans. A. J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1956)
Robertson, <i>Laws</i>	<i>The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry</i> , ed. and trans. A. J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1925)
S	Sawyer number: P. H. Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography</i> (London, 1968), updated and available at <a href="http://www.esawyer.org.uk/about/index.html">http://www.esawyer.org.uk/about/index.html</a>
<i>s.a.</i>	<i>Sub anno</i> : under the year
TRE	<i>Tempore Regis Edwardi</i> : in the time of King Edward (before 1066)
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
TRW	<i>Tempore Regis Willelmi</i> : in the time of King William (1066-1087)
VEdR	<i>Vita Ædwardi regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit</i> , ed. and trans. F. Barlow, <i>The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> edn (Oxford, 1992)
VCH	The Victoria History of the Counties of England (London, 1900- )
<i>VCH Hampshire</i>	<i>The Victoria County History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight</i> , ed. H. Arthur Doubleday and William Page, 5 vols. (London, 1900-1912)

- Winton Domesday* *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday*, ed. F. Barlow, M. Biddle, O. von Feilitzen, and D. J. Keene, Winchester Studies 1 (Oxford, 1976)
- WJ, *GND* *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*, ed. and trans. E. M. C. Van Houts, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1992-5)
- WM, *GP* William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom with R. M. Thomson, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2007)
- WM, *GR* William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998-9)
- WM, *VW* William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson in *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives* (Oxford, 2002), 7-156
- WP, *GG* *The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed and trans. R. H. C. Davis and M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1998)



## Chapter One: Introduction and Methodology

### Introduction

The military conquest of England by William of Normandy imposed a new landholding elite on Anglo-Saxon society, drawn from Normandy and northern France. The comparison of landholders in Domesday Book in 1086, at the end of Edward the Confessor's reign, and in 1086, leaves no doubt that most of the English aristocracy lost lands during the conquest period. Witness lists from the reign of William the Conqueror show that very few English remained amongst the close companions of the king, either within his household or involved in the administration of the kingdom at a national level.<sup>1</sup> As Sir Frank Stenton observed, '[i]n 1086, although many Englishmen were still in possession of considerable estates, it was the rarest of exceptions for an Englishman to hold a position which entitled him to political influence or gave him military power; the Conquest 'shattered' English society and the redistribution of land 'amounted to a tenurial revolution of the most far reaching kind'.<sup>2</sup>

William the Conqueror transferred vast amounts of land in England to his companions. Where Domesday provides details of the land transfers authorised by the king and carried out by his agents, it gives the impression that the process was systematic and tightly controlled. On closer analysis, however, it becomes clear that Domesday records regional variations in the way in which the Conquest was experienced across the kingdom, and indeed the way it was implemented within each shire. The dynamics

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<sup>1</sup> F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1971), 631-2.

<sup>2</sup> F. M. Stenton, 'English Families and the Norman Conquest', *TRHS* 26 (1944), 1-12, at 1. For more recent scholarship concerning this debate see, for example, R. Fleming, 'Domesday Book and the Tenurial Revolution', *ANS* 9 (1987), 87-101, responding to P. H. Sawyer, '1066-1086: a Tenurial Revolution?', *Domesday Book: a Reassessment*, ed. P. H. Sawyer (London, 1985), 71-85; G. Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure 1066-1166* (Oxford, 2007), 24-33; S. Baxter and C. P. Lewis, 'Domesday Book and the Transformation of English Landed Society', *ASE* 46 (2019), 343-403.

between the conquerors and conquered changed in the months and years that followed the English defeat at Hastings, and the extent to which the two societies were able to integrate fluctuated over time. Detailed local studies of Domesday are valuable because they are able to focus on and gain a deeper understanding of landholding within each locality before 1066 that, in turn, better informs an analysis of the impact of conquest and colonisation across the kingdom by 1086.

This thesis seeks to determine and compare the tenurial structure of Hampshire in 1066 and 1086. ‘Tenurial structure’ is defined here as the hierarchy of landholders in the shire in terms of their landed wealth, as recorded in Domesday Book. Firstly, it identifies individual landholders in Domesday and evaluates their landed wealth. It establishes clear, comparable measures of landed wealth to enable a quantitative comparison of landholding across various strata of society in 1066 and 1086. Secondly, it develops case studies on select landholders which offer detailed insights into the lives of individual families before the Conquest, providing new perspectives on, and a deeper understanding of, the experience of both settlers and survivors during the conquest period.

Although it is a local study, this thesis does not consider landholders in Hampshire in isolation but in the context of landholding across surrounding shires and, for some comparative purposes, the kingdom as a whole. It investigates the location and utility of an individual’s estates, and the terms on which they may have held their land before and after 1066. It appraises concepts of kingship and lordship over land, and the extent to which land, as a resource, was used to support the king and his officials in the defence and administration of the shire. The timing, logistics, and rationale behind the land transfers during the Conquest is also explored.

This research depends upon a systematic process of identification in order to establish, as far as possible, the number, location, and value of estates held by named

landholders in Hampshire Domesday. Domesday is challenging because, very often, only the first name of the TRE holder or TRW subtenant is recorded with no byname. Drawing on previous work on the *PASE Domesday* database, this thesis identifies the people named in Hampshire Domesday, albeit with varying degrees of certainty. It builds upon the analysis of landholders in the shire undertaken by, among others, John Horace Round, Ann Williams, Ryan Lavelle, Richard Dennis, Katharine Keats-Rohan, and, most recently, Stephen Baxter, Chris Lewis, and Duncan Probert who have published biographies of several Hampshire landholders in connection with the *PASE Domesday* research project. These scholars' work is acknowledged throughout.

About 240 men and women are identified in Hampshire in 1066, allowing their landed wealth to be calculated, and the location of their estates to be mapped (Appendix B). By 1086, there had been a concentration of estates in Hampshire into the hands of the king and about 140 secular and ecclesiastical tenants-in-chief (including about fifty people who can be identified as pre-Conquest survivors or had English names). Some of these tenants-in-chief also held estates as subtenants (Appendix C). A further 125 people (including about twenty survivors and those with English names) held from the king and his tenants-in-chief only as subtenants or sub-subtenants. This brings the total number of named landholders in 1086 to about 265 (a remarkably similar number to those holding in 1066) about seventy of whom were pre-Conquest survivors or people with English names who gained land under the new regime. Eleven tenants-in-chief had subinfeudated all their estates in Hampshire. These figures alone show how comprehensive the land transfers had been within the shire. Many pre-Conquest landholders had lost their lands while others now held in dependent tenure from new lords.

## Methodology

Methodology for the identification of landholders in Domesday

This thesis adopts the methodology first formulated by Chris Lewis, developed further for the *PASE Domesday* research project.<sup>3</sup> The process is one of ‘nominal linkage’, to link or ‘disambiguate’ occurrences of the same name so that all references to a single individual, and only those references, may be collated.<sup>4</sup> The methodology weighs the following issues.

What name is being captured by Domesday? Where do all the people with that name hold land? Are there variant spellings, or hypocoristic forms of the name in Domesday and other sources that are relevant to identification? In Hampshire, in *Winton Domesday*, a relaxed pronunciation is reflected by a contraction in name-forms within the TRE survey (Ælfweard/Æthelweard becomes Alward for example). Domesday also uses full, hypocoristic, and Latinised forms of names.

How common is the name in mid-eleventh-century sources, especially within Hampshire? Usually people with rare names can be identified with a higher degree of certainty. Wihtlac (*Wislac*) is a rare name in Anglo-Saxon sources, but it occurs seven times in Hampshire Domesday and is almost certainly the same man. Conversely, it is difficult to identify people with common names: Alwine, for example. If there is no byname or any other clear link between them, they are identified, provisionally, as separate individuals even when the size and value of an estate suggests the holder would have held land elsewhere.

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<sup>3</sup> C. P. Lewis, ‘Joining the Dots: a Methodology for Identifying the English in Domesday Book’, in *Family Trees and the Root of Politics: The Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997), 69-87, at 79-80; Baxter and Lewis, ‘Landed Society’, 347.

<sup>4</sup> Lewis, pers. comm.

One problem is that only 1,460 women are identified by name in all sources before 1066 compared with nearly 34,000 men,<sup>5</sup> and attempts to assess the rarity or distribution of women's names may be compromised by the small sample size. Women account for only five percent of named landholders in Domesday before 1066 and they held four percent of estates. Stafford has suggested that there may have been a reluctance to trace land back to a female predecessor at the Domesday survey unless they were known to have been amongst the landed elite.<sup>6</sup> If so, high-status female names are likely to be disproportionately represented. A further concern is that there are female landholders hidden from view in Domesday which prevents an accurate assessment (and mapping) of the distribution of their estates and could give rise to an underestimate of a woman's landed wealth.<sup>7</sup> The Domesday scribe uses 'freemen' and 'thegns' as a collective term, obscuring women within groups. For example, Domesday lists 'four thegns' at Marston Magna in Somerset, but Exon gives their names, clarifying that two were women (Leofrun and Sæwulf's mother).<sup>8</sup> Pauline Stafford notes that where 'fuller local information has survived' in Exon Domesday or Little Domesday Book 'more women can be seen'.<sup>9</sup> The fact that women may not always be recorded by Domesday is relevant when considering apparent distances between estates of a female landholder.

Is there a toponymic, familial, descriptive, or occupational byname or other form of description that helps with identification? In Domesday Book bynames are not used consistently and their absence should not preclude identification. A person may have different bynames. In Hampshire, Wulfgeat the huntsman is also described as Wulfgeat,

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<sup>5</sup> The figures are published on the *PASE* website within the 'Database' tab, under 'Persons' and then 'Gender/Institutions'.

<sup>6</sup> P. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford, 2001), 125.

<sup>7</sup> P. Stafford, 'Women in Domesday Book', *Reading Medieval Studies* 15 (1989), 75-94.

<sup>8</sup> GDB 93a (Somerset: 19,72); Exon 278b3; Stafford, 'Women in Domesday Book', 79.

<sup>9</sup> Stafford, 'Women in Domesday Book', 79.

father of Cola the huntsman, and may also be Wulfgeat, father of Alwine.<sup>10</sup> The thegn, Ælfric (*Aluric*) Small, is given the bynames *parvus*, *petit*, and *modicus* interchangeably in Hampshire Domesday.<sup>11</sup> He was described as ‘Ælfric Small of Hampshire’ in Exon (at Martock, Somerset);<sup>12</sup> as Ælfric *petit* in the lay brethren list in the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester;<sup>13</sup> and as Ælfric *parvus* in the Christchurch Priory cartulary.<sup>14</sup>

What is the size of the estate? As Lewis observes, ‘the holder of a large but apparently isolated manor, who cannot be identified on any other basis, should be searched for elsewhere.’<sup>15</sup> The prosopographical work on *PASE Domesday* has shown that ‘owners of large manors are more likely to have possessed other holdings than the owners of small ones’.<sup>16</sup> Case studies in this thesis support the addition of a proviso that the size of estates should be considered in the context of the surrounding landscape, the likely use of the estate, and local farming methods.

What is the geographical distribution of estates attributed to an individual? Generally, only the wealthiest landholders held estates over great distances and thegns of modest wealth tend to have just one or two small estates within a shire. However, the office or occupation of thegns of modest wealth, such as Ælfhere ‘Isenthegn’, may have necessitated journeys over considerable distances, and they too may hold a series of estates across the kingdom.<sup>17</sup> Lewis suggests that Mærleswein, sheriff of Lincolnshire, held shrieval estates in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, alongside what may have been family

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<sup>10</sup> *PASE Domesday*, ‘Wulfgeat 32’ (provisional).

<sup>11</sup> GDB 50d, 51c (Hampshire: 69,53; NF9,12; NF9,20-21). Phillimore Domesday records the holder as *Aluric medicus* following the misreading of the byname in the Farley edition of Domesday. However, the equal split of meadow with Wihtlac leaves little doubt that it is Ælfric Small because they also held *Oxellie*, Yarmouth, and Yafford together: GDB 51d, 54a (Hampshire: NF9,33; IoW9,16; 23); Ælfric de Brockley, possibly Wihtlac’s grandson, granted the tithes of Yarmouth to Christchurch Priory: *The Christchurch Priory Cartulary*, ed. K. A. Hanna (Winchester, 2007), 4, no. 2.

<sup>12</sup> *PASE Domesday*, ‘Ælfric 206’ (provisional); Exon 113a3.

<sup>13</sup> *Liber Vitae*, f.29r.

<sup>14</sup> *CPC*, 316, no.1005.

<sup>15</sup> Lewis, ‘Joining the Dots’, 83.

<sup>16</sup> Baxter and Lewis, ‘Landed society’, 345.

<sup>17</sup> C. P. Lewis, ‘Ælfhere 25’, *PASE Domesday*.

lands in Cornwall, Devon and Somerset.<sup>18</sup> The size and proximity of estates is considered alongside a thegn's occupation or status where known.

Are there co-holders that aid identification? In Hampshire, both alienable and *laenland* estates were held jointly (*in paragio*) with relatives, particularly in the south-west of the shire. Even where this phrase is not employed by the Domesday scribe, an equal division of an estate in Domesday between two or more people, in terms of ploughlands, ploughs, and other estate resources, may indicate partible inheritance. In Hampshire, *in paragio* kinship groups in Domesday present a complex network of names spanning generations. Nevertheless, some clear ties of kinship do emerge that assist with nominal linkage, with kinsmen holding the same or neighbouring estates.

Do relationships of lordship help with identification? Unfortunately, Hampshire Domesday does not often distinguish between commended, tenurial, or jurisdictional forms of lordship. About half the estates in Hampshire were 'held from King Edward' (*de Edwardi regis*) with no further explanation. Accordingly, although lordship is a valid consideration in the identification process, it is of limited help in Hampshire because it is not necessarily describing a personal bond.

The pattern of descent after 1086 can clarify which estates were held by the same individual. In particular, antecessorial grants – that is, grants of all or many of the estates of one TRE landholder to a particular TRW landholder – can help the identification of pre-Conquest landholders. The estates of Ælfric Small in Hampshire and Wiltshire passed to William Spileman and his sons in the twelfth century. 'Ælfric' is such a common name in Domesday that, without this pattern of descent, it would be impossible to trace many of Ælfric Small's estates where his byname is omitted.

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<sup>18</sup> Lewis, 'Joining the Dots', 81-2; *PASE Domesday*, 'Mærleswein 1' (provisional).

Is there any other information in Domesday Book, or in other sources, that may help with identification? Additional information in Exon Domesday, in writs and charters, in the Christchurch Priory Cartulary, the TRE survey in *Winton Domesday*, and family entries in the lay brethren list of the *Liber Vitae*, have helped clarify the identification of certain landholders in Hampshire.

Two further considerations are relevant. They have emerged as more people are being identified before and after 1066, and the structure of landholding is further analysed and defined. Firstly, were certain estates categorized as *ex officio* lands during the land transfers, even if they had not been so designated before 1066? One factor that has emerged from this research is that, although the Norman sheriffs gained estates from many thegns, and their landed wealth often exceeded their pre-Conquest counterparts, a core of their landholding often came from the pre-Conquest sheriff. Similarly, in Hampshire, estates of huntsmen and forest officials had been re-organised, but many were still held by such officials (both survivors and newcomers) in 1086. A recognition that *ex officio* lands may have been transferred *en bloc* may help with identification. The acquisition of certain estates may have helped people fulfil their roles.

Secondly, is the distribution of estates attributed to an individual consistent with their proposed status or office? There are distinctive distribution patterns emerging: King Edward held manors in every shire; the wealthiest landholders below the king (Earl Harold, Queen Edith and Archbishop Stigand) held dispersed estates in many shires ‘across multiple regions’; lesser earls held lands ‘aligned with extensive regions within the kingdom...by virtue of their office’ which ‘were in large measure the product of royal patronage, or at any rate royal acquiescence’; and elite landholders below the rank of earl tended to have estates in two or three shires ‘very often with an orientation towards that

part of England where royal assemblies were most frequently convened'.<sup>19</sup> Several local thegns, with estates concentrated in one shire, achieved a similar level of landed wealth but do not appear as witnesses in any surviving royal diploma.<sup>20</sup> The main example in Hampshire is Cypping of Worthy.<sup>21</sup>

After 1086 the feudal arrangement of Domesday makes identification more straightforward. Within each shire, Domesday Book records the lands of each landholder who held their estates directly from the king. They are given their own section (*breves*) within the text recording the estates within their honour (*honor*) or fief (*feudum*). These landholders (known as *tenentes* in Domesday and *barones* in the Exon geld accounts) are described as tenants-in-chief in modern scholarship.<sup>22</sup> Edward of Salisbury, Alfred of Marlborough, and Henry the treasurer are the only pre-Conquest survivors in Hampshire to be given their own *breves*. Domesday usually identifies tenants-in-chief carefully, with a consistent use of bynames. The same care is taken with a section dedicated to the king's servants (*seruientes regis*). In contrast, it appears that remaining pre-Conquest survivors in Hampshire are entered arbitrarily in the next section of text, headed the lands of 'Oda of Winchester and many other king's thegns' (*taini regis*). They too held their lands directly from the king, but it is only Oda, at the head of the *taini regis* section, who is said to hold *de rege*, as if representative of them all. There is little attempt to group an individual's lands together.

Identifying the *taini regis*, and also English and Norman subtenants where only a first name is given, remains challenging. A common pattern of descent for certain manors after 1086 can help identification, drawing on later pipe rolls, fine rolls, and inquisitions

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<sup>19</sup> Baxter and Lewis, 'Landed society', 387-398.

<sup>20</sup> Baxter and Lewis, 'Landed society', 396.

<sup>21</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Cypping 6' (provisional).

<sup>22</sup> Baxter and Lewis, 'Landed Society', 371, 375; R. Sharpe, 'Tenere in Capite and Tenant in Chief', *The Charters of William II and Henry I*, published online at <https://actswilliam2henry1.wordpress.com/2017/05/23/tenere-in-capite/>, accessed 14 May 2019.

post-mortem. Some tenants-in-chief introduced their own vassals from Normandy. Records of knights' fees and family holdings in Normandy in Henry I's inquest into the possessions, rights, customs and liberties of Bayeux cathedral in 1133,<sup>23</sup> the 1166 *Cartae Baronum*, and the Book of Fees in the Red Book of the Exchequer can help identify such subtenants. In Hampshire, however, such ties of lordship are harder to establish for the first generation of tenants-in-chief. A database of Norman charters from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, compiled under the direction of Pierre Bauduin, is also helpful in some cases.<sup>24</sup>

The identification process is important because it enables a quantitative comparison of landholding in 1066 and 1086. Landed wealth was only one measure of status and social mobility in the eleventh century, but it was an important part. All landholders with lands in Hampshire are identified and listed in order of their landed wealth across all shires in Appendix B. Their landed wealth in Hampshire is also shown, giving an overview of the tenurial structure of the shire before and after the Conquest. William Corbett categorised society by five 'baronial classes' of landed wealth.<sup>25</sup> This thesis adopts Corbett's categorisation, as modified and extended by Chris Lewis and Stephen Baxter for *PASE Domesday* (Table 5).<sup>26</sup> Select case studies, in chapters three and four, consider the landholding of people within these categories in depth.

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<sup>23</sup> See L. C. Loyd, *The Origins of some Anglo-Norman Families* (Leeds, 1951, repr. 1999), citing *Receuil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. H. Welter, 24 vols. (Paris, 1738-1904).

<sup>24</sup> Pierre Bauduin, Directeur du CRAHAM: La base de données Scripta X<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: available at <https://www.unicaen.fr/scripta/>.

<sup>25</sup> W. J. Corbett, 'The Development of the Duchy of Normandy and the Norman Conquest of England', *Cambridge Medieval History* 5, ed. J. R. Turner, C. W. Previte-Orton, and Z. N. Brooke (Cambridge, 1926), 481-520, at 505-14.

<sup>26</sup> Baxter and Lewis, 'Landed Society', 373.

## Domesday values and the calculation of landed wealth

Most estates in Hampshire Domesday are said to be worth (*ualet*) a sum which many scholars interpret as an estimate of the annual income from an estate. In Hampshire, a value is usually given for the estate at three points in time: TRE, ‘later’ (*postea*), and ‘now’ (*modo*) in 1086. There has been much debate on what the Domesday values represent.<sup>27</sup> This thesis adopts the analysis of Baxter and Lewis that the value was not the ‘entire economic output of the manor’ but only the share of the income ‘that each manor was expected to generate for its lord in a given year...including the profits of demesne farming, rents from peasants, cash income from other manorial assets such as mills and fisheries and any render due from jurisdiction which Domesday often describes as *soke*’.<sup>28</sup>

In Hampshire, about thirty percent of estates were valued at less than £1, and the remainder were valued at £1 or more in 1066. Eleven percent were valued at £10 or more (compared to about six percent across the kingdom). Turning to the relationship between value and hidage assessment, about thirty percent of Hampshire estates were valued at exactly, or very nearly, £1 per hide. In 1086, nearly forty percent of estates were valued at less than £1 and eleven percent at £10 or more, and twenty-three percent of estates were valued at about £1 per hide. These figures provide some context to the wealth of individuals set out in Appendices B and C.

For the purposes of this research, a person’s landed wealth before 1066 is calculated as the combined annual value of the lands which they held directly, plus the render from any lands being held from them at farm (*ad firma*). The value of any lands held *by* them at farm from another was almost certainly paid to that lord and is discounted.<sup>29</sup> The

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<sup>27</sup> S. Harvey, *Domesday, Book of Judgement* (Oxford, 2014), 161--209.

<sup>28</sup> Baxter and Lewis, ‘Landed Society’, 364-5.

<sup>29</sup> See further Baxter and Lewis, ‘Landed Society’, 391-395.

calculation excludes the value of any estates where the individual was named as lord before 1066 because forms of lordship are usually unclear.

The best figure for landed wealth in 1086, to compare with the figures for 1066, is the combined value of all land held in demesne by the individual (where there is no subtenant), plus the value of lands held as a subtenant.<sup>30</sup> Again, the renders from any estates held from them at farm are included and renders from estates held by them from another at farm are excluded. The value of any estates held from them by tenants is also excluded for the purposes of this thesis. Although the individual gained value from these arrangements through military service and perhaps payment of all or part of the value of the estate, the annual valuation of the estate given in Domesday is attributed to the subtenant unless Domesday states otherwise.

#### Forms of lordship in Hampshire Domesday

Maitland distinguished ‘three different bonds by which a man may be bound to a lord, a personal bond, a tenurial bond, [and] a jurisdictional or justiciary bond’.<sup>31</sup> Tenurial lordship occurs where the estate was held from a lord in dependent tenure, perhaps as loaned land (*laenland*); jurisdictional lordship occurs where a lord held sake and soke over other holders of the estate; and personal lordship arose where the holder commended themselves to the lord. All free men were required to have one commended lord,<sup>32</sup> but there could be other, overlapping relationships if the landholder owed sake and soke or held *laenland* from another lord.<sup>33</sup> Free men could owe sake and soke to one lord but

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<sup>30</sup> Baxter and Lewis, ‘Landed Society’, 384-6.

<sup>31</sup> F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond: Three Essays in the Early History of England*, new edn with forward by J. C. Holt (Cambridge, 1996), 67.

<sup>32</sup> II Ath.2; J. Hudson, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England, Vol. II: 871-1216* (Oxford, 2012), 220-4, at 221. See also II Ath 22, III Ath 4, IV Ath 4-5; A. Williams, *The World Before Domesday* (London, 2008), 69.

<sup>33</sup> S. Baxter, ‘The Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure in Domesday Book’, in *Domesday Book*, ed. E. Hallam and D. Bates (Stroud, 2001), 73-102; ‘The Making of Domesday Book and the Languages of Lordship in Conquered England’, in *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, c. 800-c. 1250*, ed. E. M. Tyler (Brepols, 2011), 271-308, at 303-308.

commend themselves to another, perhaps to afford themselves some ‘judicial protection’.<sup>34</sup>

In most cases it is impossible to put a value on the lordships held by an individual. Where Domesday states that an estate was held from a lord and the holder had no power of alienation (the holder could not go elsewhere), this suggests tenurial lordship, but it remains uncertain whether the holder or the lord received the value of the land. In this thesis the value of lordships is attributed to the holder of the land, not the lord, before 1066 and the figures for 1086 are broken down into their component parts in the appendices. As it happens, even if the value of estates were to be attributed to the lord, where one is given before 1066, it would not affect the baronial class of any of the people in Appendix B, except for the abbess of Romsey abbey, who could have received a further £20 in additional income from lordships, taking her from Class E to Class D.

## Sources

### Domesday Book

Domesday Book is a summary of the returns from a survey on landholding in England commissioned by William the Conqueror at his Christmas court at Gloucester in 1085 following ‘very deep discussion (*swiðe deope spæce*) with his council about this country – how it was occupied or with what sort of people’.<sup>35</sup> He sent his men into every shire ‘and had them find out how many hundred hides there were’, what land the king possessed and what he was owed, and ‘what or how much everybody had who was occupying land in England in land or cattle and how much it was worth’. In 1086, Robert, bishop of

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<sup>34</sup> Baxter, ‘Languages of Lordship’, 306.

<sup>35</sup> ASC E, 1085.

Hereford noted in his commentary on the Chronicle of Marianus Scotus that there had been a survey of the whole of England during that year, adding that:<sup>36</sup>

[o]ther investigators (*inquisitores*) followed the first; and men were sent into provinces which they did not know, and where they were themselves unknown, in order that they might be given the opportunity of checking the first survey and, if necessary, of denouncing its authors as guilty to the king. And the land was vexed with much violence arising from the collection of the royal taxes.

Robert's account is important because he may have been present in Gloucester at the synod and council which discussed the survey. Bishops also participated in the survey, and several were appointed as Domesday commissioners. Robert makes it clear that there were two stages to the survey. Investigators (perhaps the sheriff and other local leaders) made an initial inquiry into landholding in the shire. Their work was then scrutinised by commissioners not known in the provinces they investigated. The commissioners for Hampshire may have included William of Saint Calais, bishop of Durham, and Bertram de Verdun.<sup>37</sup> A twelfth-century annalist at Worcester recorded that 'all the writings of these things were brought back to the king. And the king ordered that all should be written in one volume, and that that volume should be placed in his treasury at Winchester and kept there'.<sup>38</sup> Two volumes were produced, Great and Little Domesday, known collectively as 'Domesday Book'. They describe themselves as a survey (*descriptio*) of landholding.<sup>39</sup> This thesis adopts the term 'Domesday Survey' to describe the whole process, and 'Domesday Inquest' to describe the inquisitorial stage before the commissioners.

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<sup>36</sup> Bodleian MS. A (Auct. F. 3, 14), f. 137; MS B (Auct. F. 5, 19), f. 5v; *EHD*, ii, 912, no. 198; Julia Barrow, 'Robert the Lotharingian (d. 1095)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17026>, accessed 17 January 2014; W. H. Stevenson, 'A Contemporary Description of the Domesday Survey', *EHR* 22 (1907), 72-84.

<sup>37</sup> See p. 284.

<sup>38</sup> *English Historical Documents c. 1042-1189*, ed. D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London, 1981), 914, no. 202.

<sup>39</sup> GDB 164b (Gloucestershire: 1,63); LDB 450 (after Suffolk: 77,4).

Domesday Book provides an extraordinarily detailed account of landholding and landed society in eleventh-century England before and after the Norman Conquest. Events in the intervening twenty years are not always captured, however, and for the fate of pre-Conquest landholders and the evolution of new fiefs between 1066 and 1086 this constitutes a gap in the record. Nevertheless, Domesday gives a valuable insight into the nature and process of the invasion and colonisation of the kingdom after 1066. The Hampshire folios of Great Domesday are particularly rich in details of pre-Conquest landholding, enabling the identification of many Hampshire landholders with a reasonable degree of confidence. The Hampshire folios also provide important information on the logistics of the land transfers during the Conqueror's reign.

#### *Winton Domesday*

An account for Winchester may have been anticipated but never included in Domesday Book. Normally, details of the main boroughs are included at the beginning of each shire. Three columns had been left blank but had been ruled for text (GDB 37a-c) before the list of landholders (37d). It is notable that a similar amount of space had been allocated for London, a description of which is also missing, at the start of the entries for Middlesex.

Fortunately, a TRE survey of the king's fief in Winchester survives, thought by the Winchester Studies' authors to date from *c.* 1057.<sup>40</sup> It is embedded within a survey of Winchester in *c.* 1110, commissioned by Henry I (*Winton Domesday*). The *c.* 1110 survey, and the TRE survey within it, investigated 'no more than 300' properties on the royal demesne (*feudum regis*) in the borough, recording details of the 'king's burgesses'

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<sup>40</sup> *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday*, ed. F. Barlow, M. Biddle, O. von Feilitzen, and D. J. Keene, Winchester Studies 1 (Oxford, 1976), 403, 405: the authors argue that five people, identified explicitly as moneyers in the TRE survey, were the team on active duty in Winchester minting coins at the time of the survey. Coins attributed to these moneyers date from *c.* 1056-9. I understand (Baxter, pers. comm.) that Chris Lewis has identified grounds for questioning the date of the TRE survey and raises the possibility that it may relate to the 1086 survey of Winchester.

who owed royal dues.<sup>41</sup> It also includes properties on what *Winton Domesday* describes as the ‘land of the barons and tenants’, and on the land of the *chensualium* (perhaps ‘rent-payers’) if, as noted by the Winchester Studies’ authors, their tenements were still ‘burdened with royal customs’.<sup>42</sup> *Winton Domesday* includes a second survey, conducted in 1148, which investigates about 1,500 properties across the whole borough.<sup>43</sup>

The *c.* 1110 survey misses several generations of people who held property in Winchester between *c.* 1057 and *c.* 1110, most crucially those who held tenements during William I’s reign. A comparison of names in Domesday and *Winton Domesday* is still useful in identifying certain landholders where the *c.* 1110 burgess, and perhaps their antecessor, can be traced back to the conquest period. Certain Domesday estates had tenements in Winchester, some of which can be traced, with their holders, in *Winton Domesday*. Most landholders in the first survey are distinguished by bynames, no doubt in response to the commissioners’ insistence that everyone should be identifiable within the densely populated streets. This helps establish the popularity of names and assists in isolating individuals who can also be identified in Domesday. This thesis draws on the identification of people by the Winchester Studies’ authors in the first survey in *Winton Domesday* but adds more detail for some individuals.

The *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester (later Hyde Abbey)

The *Liber Vitae* includes two lists of names that are useful for comparison with Domesday: a list of the lay brethren of the community, and a list of its friends and benefactors.<sup>44</sup> A selection of key, recognisable names provides a framework for dating sections of the lists. The two lists merged during the reign of Edward the Confessor and

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<sup>41</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 11-12; 47, I [80-1].

<sup>42</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 11-12; 45-6, I [68-75]; 54-57, I [140-62]; 46-7, I [76-80].

<sup>43</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 11-12.

<sup>44</sup> BL Stowe MS 944.

were separated again during the reign of Henry I. Professor Keynes gives a detailed commentary and identifies many of the names in his facsimile edition of the manuscript.<sup>45</sup>

The cross-referencing of names in Domesday, *Winton Domesday*, and the *Liber Vitae* for this thesis has identified more people in these lists.

It is not clear how people became lay brethren of this Benedictine community. Surviving charters from the New Minster archive do not record many grants of land from people in the list. Some lay brethren may have served the abbey in various ways, while others may have given gifts and money to the community to be remembered in their prayers.<sup>46</sup> The lay brethren list appears to start with names from local guilds in the early eleventh century, recording their association with the community of the New Minster. There is a correlation between the names on folio 28r and known Winchester moneyers, plus a few moneyers from mints in London and across the south-east. There is a weaker but plausible correlation between the names in the first main column on folio 28v and a group described in *Winton Domesday* as ‘the men outside of the West Gate’ who may have been connected with the Easter Guild.<sup>47</sup> The Easter Guild may refer to ‘a guild of the men living outside the West Gate, so called because of the association of the western suburb with the liturgical celebration of Easter’ that included a procession from the Old and New Minsters through this part of the city.<sup>48</sup>

Subsequent names in the lay brethren list on folio 29r, datable to the second half of the eleventh century, include landholders who are identifiable in Domesday (including Ælfric Small, Alwine Stilla, Edwin the huntsman, and Hugh de Port) and some

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<sup>45</sup> *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*, British Library Stowe 944, ed. S. Keynes, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 26 (Copenhagen, 1996).

<sup>46</sup> An entry in the top margin on f. 28v records Leofred and his wife Burewyn having to swear their ‘acknowledgement’ or ‘awareness’ each year, which may relate to confession and penance: ‘ðas habbað behatan ælce geare ane gecnæpnesse’.

<sup>47</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 47-51, I [81, 93, **105**, 107, 111, 115].

<sup>48</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 50, n. 105.

townspeople who are not (including Godwine Wisdom and Godwine Greatseod). Godwine Greatseod ('Great Bag') held property in Winchester and London, and supervised the masons working on Westminster Abbey but it cannot be said with certainty whether he was one of the Godwines holding land in Domesday.<sup>49</sup> The list, together with *Winton Domesday*, offers an insight into urban landholding in Winchester not captured by Domesday, but also marks the interaction of rural landholders mentioned in Domesday with the New Minster community.

#### Charters relating to estates in Hampshire

There are about ninety surviving writs, royal diplomas, and wills from the seventh to the eleventh centuries relating to estates in Hampshire within ecclesiastical archives, especially those of the Old and New Minsters, Winchester. The thirteenth-century cartulary of Christchurch Priory, Twynham, edited by Katharine Hanna, deserves greater attention than it has received to date.<sup>50</sup> It includes several eleventh- and early-twelfth-century grants which casts light on the priory and its patrons in Edward the Confessor's reign and in early Anglo-Norman society.<sup>51</sup>

#### **Historiography on Hampshire Domesday**

There is a wealth of secondary literature on Domesday Book, and on landholding in the late eleventh and early twelfth century. One of the most important studies on Domesday Hampshire, and the subsequent history of many manors, is by J. H. Round, published in the Victoria County History volumes for Hampshire.<sup>52</sup> His identification of pre-Conquest landholders has been reviewed by this research, and often revised. Brian Golding's

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<sup>49</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 64, I [243]; Bates, *RRAN*, 290.

<sup>50</sup> *The Christchurch Priory Cartulary*, ed. K. A. Hanna (Winchester, 2007).

<sup>51</sup> BL Cotton MS Tiberius D.vi.

<sup>52</sup> J. H. Round, 'Introduction to the Hampshire Domesday', *VCH Hampshire*, i, 399-447.

introduction to Hampshire Domesday gives an overview of how the folios were compiled and of landholding in the shire and explains many of the anomalies in the Domesday text.<sup>53</sup> Ryan Lavelle has written extensively on the history of Wessex with Hampshire used as a case study in his analysis of the farm of one night,<sup>54</sup> the queens' landholding,<sup>55</sup> and on the broader categorisation of royal manors. Lavelle concludes that there were four classes of royal land: 'official' customary land, 'entailed' booklands, lands that could be freely alienated (all three categories were used to support the king and his family), and lands granted to royal officials.<sup>56</sup> His work is referenced throughout this thesis.

One of the most detailed studies of Hampshire Domesday is Richard Dennis's doctoral thesis, written in 1992, which analyses the structure of Hampshire Domesday and its depiction of wealth and power in the shire.<sup>57</sup> He shows that Hampshire was dominated by the estates of King Edward, Bishop Stigand, and the Godwine family TRE and by King William, the church, and Hugh de Port in 1086. Dennis relies upon bynames, the geographical proximity of estates weighed against the rarity of a name, and reconstruction of family networks in part through the identification of divided villis to identify the chief landholders. In his main case study on William fitzOsbern, he argues that the earl held a military lordship on and of the Isle of Wight, possibly also controlling Southampton but this lordship lapsed after the rebellion of his son, Earl Roger, in 1075. Further case studies on secular landholding establish about one-quarter of the land

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<sup>53</sup> B. Golding, 'Introduction to the Hampshire Domesday', *The Hampshire Domesday, Introduction and Translation, Alecto Historical Editions* (London, 1989), 1-27.

<sup>54</sup> R. Lavelle, 'The "Farm of One Night" and the Organisation of Royal Estates in Late Anglo-Saxon Wessex', *Haskins Society Journal* 14 (2003), 53-82.

<sup>55</sup> R. Lavelle, 'The King's Wife and Family Property Strategies: Late Anglo-Saxon Wessex, 871-1066', *ANS* 29 (2007), 84-99.

<sup>56</sup> R. Lavelle, *Royal Estates in Anglo-Saxon Wessex: Land, Politics and Family Strategies*, BAR British Ser. 439 (Oxford, 2007); 'All the King's Men? Land and Royal Service in Eleventh-Century Wessex', *Southern History* 26 (2004), 1-37.

<sup>57</sup> R. Dennis, 'The Organisation of Wealth and Power in Domesday Hampshire', unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1992.

transfers in Hampshire were antecessorial grants.<sup>58</sup> Dennis also demonstrates that legends of the New Minster losing lands as a result of Conquest were not accurate, but that the New Minster may have lost control of certain estates as leading Normans took over tenancies.

Dennis' methodology for the identification of individuals is well formulated but more limited than the *PASE* methodology adopted for this thesis. Although this thesis does not revisit Dennis' careful analysis of the Domesday text and the order and structure of Hampshire Domesday, and it does not overturn any of his main findings, it does revise aspects of his identifications and, consequently, some of his figures, and it takes forward the analysis of landholding in the shire. Furthermore, the use of the ArcGIS software to map estates in the *PASE Domesday* database has allowed the geo-visualisation of estates of Hampshire landholders, considerably advancing the identification process. It also enables the significance and utility of an individual's lands in Hampshire to be understood in the wider context of their landholding in other shires

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<sup>58</sup> Although all post-Conquest grants are antecessorial (see G. Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure, 1066-1166* (Oxford, 2007), 24-33) it is used here and throughout this thesis as a term-of-art to describe a fief made up of the lands of one or more pre-Conquest holders transferred *en bloc*.

## **Chapter Two: Royal Estates in Hampshire in 1066 and 1086**

### **Introduction**

This chapter considers the location and value of royal estates and how the royal demesne in Hampshire was managed to support the king, his household and family before and after the Conquest. It draws together recent scholarship on the landed wealth of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror to compare the position of both kings. It considers a sub-category of royal estates in Hampshire that paid a ‘farm of one night’ (*firma unius noctis*), a customary render designed to support the king and his retinue for one night. Some royal farms paid the render in kind while for others it had been commuted to a payment in cash. This chapter uses mapping software to explore the rationale behind these arrangements, and the significance of the night’s farm provision in Hampshire. It reviews current scholarship and offers new insights on whether the night’s farm estates were part of a protected core of royal estates. It further considers royal control over landholding in the shire before and after 1066, in particular the land transfers between 1066 and 1086, and the circumstances in which estates could be forfeit or revert to the king. The final section then examines royal lordship as it applied to the King’s Forest and the creation of the New Forest.

### **Overview of the estates of Edward the Confessor**

King Edward’s landed wealth

Edward the Confessor was the wealthiest landholder in England in 1066. The most recent *PASE Domesday* figures show him holding 800 estates across all shires surveyed in

Domesday Book, with a combined value of £8,230.<sup>1</sup> This figure excludes sources of income other than land. Domesday specifically names King Edward ('E' or 'Eduardus') as the landholder on 236 estates together valued at £4,490. In addition, about 480 estates identifiable as royal manors are included in the calculations, as well as manors held by William the Conqueror in 1086 which are attributed to King Edward in 1066 if no TRE holder is named. A small group of manors likely to be in royal control, valued at about £40, are also attributed to King Edward albeit with less confidence.<sup>2</sup> A core difficulty faced in estimating royal income concerns 260 royal estates which are not given a value in Domesday TRE. *PASE Domesday* does not include a single, notional figure for night's farm estates where no value is given in 1066 or 1086. Where a value is given in 1086, it is adopted as the 'presumed value' in 1066. *PASE Domesday* puts King Edward's total income from land at £8,320,<sup>3</sup> and there may have been a further £1,300-£1,500 from other sources.<sup>4</sup> If other royal lands are included (Queen Edith's lands valued at £1,562,<sup>5</sup> plus the estates of King Edward's sister, Countess Goda, who died in 1047, valued at £13) it brings the total value of all royal lands to £11,305.

The *PASE* figures revise the estimates of Robin Fleming, John Grassi, and Stephen Baxter's earlier calculations on Edward the Confessor's landed wealth. Fleming put King Edward's income from land at £5,940 including £3,840 from night's farm estates.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> S. Baxter, 'Edward 15', *PASE Domesday*. Stafford identified royal estates in many shires and Baxter adds further estates in Cheshire (£277), Lincolnshire (£88), Essex (£54), and Cornwall (£2); P. Stafford, 'The "Farm of One Night" and the Organization of King Edward's Estates in Domesday', *EcHR* 33 (1980), 491-502, at 491; S. Baxter, *Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2007), 128-138.

<sup>2</sup> Southminster (Essex: 3,9); Thetford (Norfolk; 9,1); Dorchester (Dorset; 24,1); Huntingdon (Huntingdonshire; B17); Bere Regis, Wynfrith Newbury, Chaldon, Fleet and Puddletown (Dorset; 24,1-3).

<sup>3</sup> Calculation taken from *PASE Domesday*.

<sup>4</sup> Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 129; J. L. Grassi, 'The Lands and Revenues of Edward the Confessor', *EHR* 17 (2002), 251-283, at 252.

<sup>5</sup> It is likely that most if not all of Queen Edith's lands were royal rather than Godwineson estates.

<sup>6</sup> R. Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England* (Cambridge, 1991), 71. There is a discrepancy in Fleming's totals, on pp. 68 and 71, for the night's farm estates.

Fleming did not evaluate income from any other source. Fleming adopted a standard figure of £105 for unassessed royal and comital night's farm estates.<sup>7</sup> Both Grassi and Baxter rejected Fleming's findings, especially her notional valuation, because she did not allow for significant regional variations in the valuation of such estates. Such variations become apparent wherever valuations are provided by Domesday for the night's farm estates. Baxter concludes that Fleming's use of a standard sum of £105 for night's farm estates led her 'to underestimate the value of King Edward's estates by about £400 and to overestimate the value of the Godwineson estates by about £2,100'.<sup>8</sup>

John Grassi calculates King Edward's wealth at £6,596.6s.2d income from estates with additional income of £1,568.0s.4½d from other sources, giving a total of £8,146.13s.6½d, and one ounce of gold.<sup>9</sup> Grassi worked shire by shire taking known cash renders on royal farms, where they are provided by Domesday, to establish regionally sensitive, notional values for royal estates where this information is missing in Domesday.<sup>10</sup> Grassi apportioned £100 to each night's farm not given a value in Domesday for circuits one and two in southern England, £50 in the midlands, and £10 for East Anglia.<sup>11</sup> Grassi proposed that King Edward's other sources of income included revenues from 'royal dues, fines and proceeds of justice and gelds', customs and dues from urban centres such as London, and Winchester, as well as income from the northern counties not assessed during the Domesday Survey. Neil Middleton's study would also suggest King Edward received mercantile tolls, as trade at ports was already tightly controlled by royal officials in late Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 63 n. 42.

<sup>8</sup> Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 134.

<sup>9</sup> Grassi, 'Revenues of Edward the Confessor', 252.

<sup>10</sup> Grassi, 'Revenues of Edward the Confessor', 259-262, 282; Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 130-131.

<sup>11</sup> Grassi, 'Revenues of Edward the Confessor', 251-9, 262. *PASE Domesday* adopts these figures except where a TRW value is given, in which case it is adopted for 1066: Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 130-31, 133 n. 23.

<sup>12</sup> N. Middleton, 'Early Medieval Port Customs, Tolls and Controls on Foreign Trade', *Early Medieval Europe* 13 (2005), 330-51.

These higher calculations put forward by Grassi and in *PASE* would suggest Fleming's claims are unfounded that the wealth of the Godwineson family far exceeded that of King Edward. From her own figures, Fleming concluded that:

If the Confessor approved of the family's rapid aggrandizement and its vast network of allies, he was a fool; if he acquiesced, he cannot have been in full control of his kingdom. Domesday Book, therefore, offers damning evidence against the competence of Edward the Confessor and his regime.<sup>13</sup>

Yet the *PASE* figures suggest that Godwine, Harold, Tosti, Gyrrh, Leofwine, Eadgifu, Gunnhild, and Countess Gytha together held lands valued at £5,880 before 1053.<sup>14</sup> This includes £224 for the night's farm estates of Earl Harold.<sup>15</sup> It seems likely that Fleming has over-estimated both the wealth of the Godwines and the extent of their network of allies (pp. 52, 107) and under-estimated the position of King Edward when comparing their relative wealth and power.

One further consideration concerns the Confessor's income from comital lands. Stephen Baxter asserts that comital landholding could be precarious: King Edward was able to retain or transfer swathes of land from disgraced earls to his new appointees, and estates previously held by deceased earls may have reverted to King Edward before 1066.<sup>16</sup> The fact that Domesday still identifies these estates as held by the deceased earls is persuasive evidence that these estates were ring-fenced as previous comital lands held on an *ex officio* basis.<sup>17</sup> They may have been retained by and farmed for King Edward. An analogous situation in 1086 may be King William's retention of the estates of William fitzOsbern and Odo of Bayeux that were still attributed to them in Domesday and were

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<sup>13</sup> Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 102.

<sup>14</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Godwine 51' (£783); 'Gytha 1' (£644); 'Harold 3' (£3,306); 'Tosti 2' (£515); 'Gyrrh 1' (£260); 'Leofwine 69' (£294); 'Eadgifu 46' (£48); 'Gunnhild 4' (£30) (provisional) .

<sup>15</sup> Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 129.

<sup>16</sup> Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 62-71.

<sup>17</sup> See p. 109.

perhaps being held at farm from the king.<sup>18</sup> Potentially, there was an additional £2,000 worth of comital lands under royal control in 1066.<sup>19</sup>

Domesday also records that King Edward was the lord of just over 1,000 men and women across the kingdom whose estates had a combined valued of £6,924. This is a dramatically higher figure than for any other lord in Domesday. Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of Winchester, held lordships valued at £1,669 followed, in descending order, by Earl Harold (£834), Wulfric, abbot of Ely (£370), and fourteen other lords with lordship land valued at more than £100. The figures are incomplete because Domesday only records royal lordship systematically in Circuit One (Hampshire, Berkshire, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent), Circuit Three (Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Middlesex), and in Norfolk and Suffolk in Circuit Seven. Furthermore, Domesday does not always distinguish forms of lordship TRE. The lordships recorded for King Edward in certain circuits reflect, nevertheless, a highly developed network of royal officials and allies across the country. These arrangements would have included a considerable number of sub-tenancies, and soke-rights for the king, producing further income.

The distribution of King Edward's estates

Figure 1 shows the distribution of King Edward's estates. By 1066, there was a concentration of valuable royal estates within the Wessex heartlands, extending into Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, the Thames valley, and eastwards along the downland into Surrey, Sussex, and Kent.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 137-8.

<sup>19</sup> Ælfgar, earl of Mercia (d. c. 1060) £720; Godwine, earl of Wessex (d. 1053) £797; Tosti, earl of Northumbria (exiled 1065) £515.

<sup>20</sup> For the history of the Wessex heartlands see further *The Medieval Landscape of Wessex*, ed. M. Aston and C. Lewis (Oxford, 1994).

From the little that is known of the itineraries of the late Anglo-Saxon kings, from law codes, diplomas, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, much of their time was spent within the Wessex heartlands. David Hill has mapped locations visited by the ninth-century kings of Mercia and Wessex, adding the known itineraries of individual kings from Edward the Elder onwards. Hill acknowledges that the maps capture only the ‘fragmentary movements’ of the kings, but believes ‘interesting patterns’ emerge.<sup>21</sup> He concludes that, even when the kings of the West Saxons extended their rule across England ‘it is remarkable how rarely [they were] seen travelling outside of the south of England, and more particularly the four heartland shires of Wessex’,<sup>22</sup> and ‘it follows that the whole realm had to be administered from the centre of Wessex where the king decided to be’.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> D. Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), 82-3, 85-91.

<sup>22</sup> Presumably Hampshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, and Dorset.

<sup>23</sup> Hill, *Atlas*, 85.

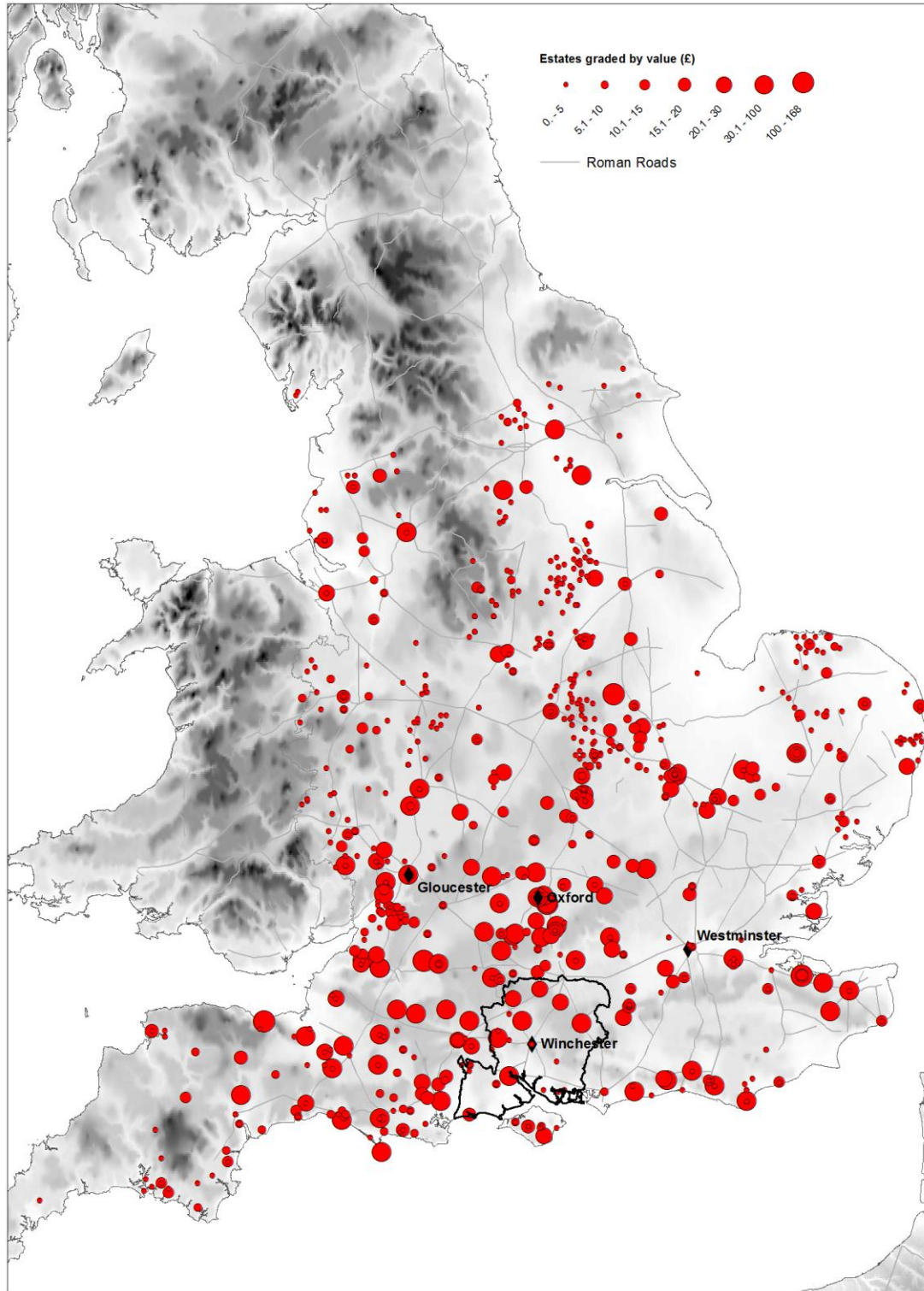


Figure 1. Estates attributed to Edward the Confessor in Domesday Book<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Certain maps in this thesis use a dataset of Roman roads by M. McCormick et al. (2013), 'Roman Road Network', version 2008, available at <https://darmc.harvard.edu/data-availability>; and a dataset of rivers by A. Pope (2017), 'GB Rivers', [Dataset], University of Edinburgh, available at <https://doi.org/10.7488/ds/1862>. Figures are taken from *PASE Domesday*, with any amendments set out in the relevant chapter.

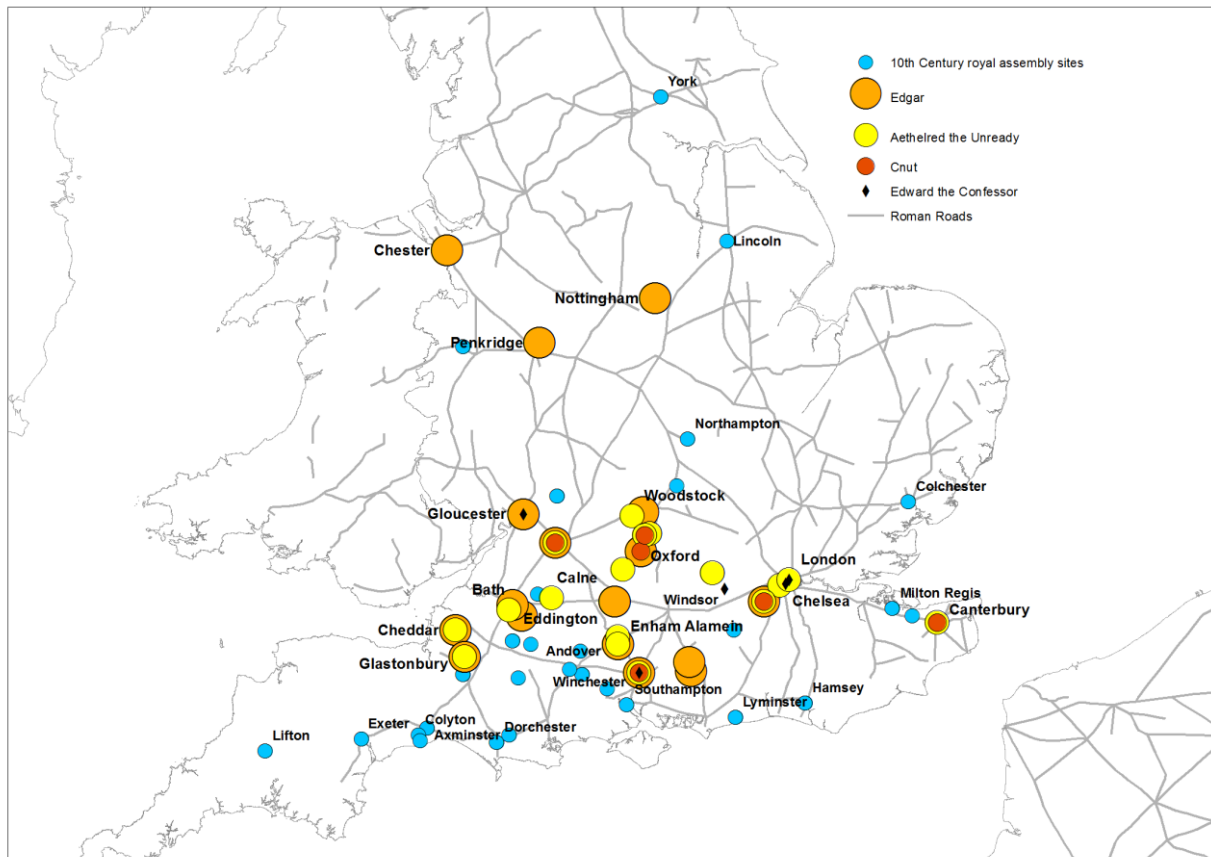


Figure 2. Royal assembly sites

It is notable that royal assembly sites became progressively limited to the Wessex heartlands, and to Oxford and its environs. Figure 2 combines the assemblies recorded in Hill's maps with a more detailed analysis of royal assembly sites by Patrick Wormald, who in turn drew on the work of Simon Keynes and Martin Biddle.<sup>25</sup> Wormald published a detailed list of major royal councils in the tenth and eleventh centuries giving their date, location, and source, alongside a similar table for royal legislative assemblies. Against

<sup>25</sup> P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 2001), 431, 432-4, 436; Keynes' map is published in S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready', 978-1016* (Cambridge, 2005), 36; M. Biddle, 'Seasonal Festivals and Residence: Winchester, Westminster and Gloucester in the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries', *ANS* 8 (1985), 51-72. See also Lavelle, 'Royal Estates', 48-59.

this background, it is striking how important it was for elite landholders to have access to this ‘zone of assembly politics’.<sup>26</sup> This thesis shows that most elite landholders with estates in Hampshire held an alignment of estates across the north of the shire into the royal heartlands.<sup>27</sup> Winchester perhaps marked the southern edge of this zone.

In the early tenth century, ‘charter-issuing assemblies’- that is, royal assemblies from which royal diplomas are said to have been issued - were held fifteen times in rural villis and fourteen times in a burh; by the eleventh century, seven royal assemblies were convened in rural villis and seventeen in burhs.<sup>28</sup> Figure 2 shows successive kings visiting Gloucester, Oxford, Winchester, London, and Canterbury. Royal assemblies could be sizable gatherings. Royal diplomas issued in Hampshire and Dorset between the seventh and eleventh centuries had up to ninety-two witnesses, but overall averaged twenty-two witnesses per diploma.<sup>29</sup> Taking their retinues into account, and other attendees, the actual numbers could have been much greater. The preference for urban locations may reflect increasing reliance on the availability of provisions and accommodation offered there.

A high level of economic activity in the north-east and east of England around the Wash has been analysed by John Blair.<sup>30</sup> By the mid-eleventh century, however, increased levels of investment become apparent in the Wessex heartlands. Martin Allen has noted a clustering of small mints in Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, and Gloucestershire which he believes ‘may have been at least partly related to the need to pay cash renders from some of the numerous royal manors and estates in the heartland of the former kingdom of Wessex, although the availability of silver from lead mines in the Mendips may also have been a factor’.<sup>31</sup> Edward the Confessor established new mints including

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<sup>26</sup> Baxter and Lewis, ‘Landed Society’, 398-400.

<sup>27</sup> See pp. 153-166.

<sup>28</sup> Wormald, *English Law*, 437.

<sup>29</sup> Lavelle, ‘Royal Estates’, 49.

<sup>30</sup> J. Blair, *Building Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodstock, 2018), 326.

<sup>31</sup> M. Allen, *Mints and Money in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2015), 17.

those at Reading (Berkshire), Bedwyn (Wiltshire), Berkeley (Gloucestershire), and at Sandwich and Hythe in Kent,<sup>32</sup> and may have increased the number of moneyers at others including Frome, Langport and Petherton (Somerset), Warminster (Wiltshire), and Wallingford (Oxfordshire).<sup>33</sup>

Richard Britnell has also considered the development of markets, noting that wherever there was an obligation to pay dues and geld to the king in cash rather than in kind the ‘provision of a market at a hundredal manor, or some more appropriate site, might be a simple response to local fiscal requirements’.<sup>34</sup> Britnell expresses surprise at the number of markets and boroughs compared to the density of population in western and southern shires.<sup>35</sup> Yet if eleventh-century kings and their retinues spent much of their time within the Wessex heartlands, this is not so surprising.

The distribution of royal estates paying renders in cash rather than in kind is a more complex issue than that envisaged by Britnell: management of the farms of one night are considered below. However, there is no doubt that there was a concentration of high value secular and ecclesiastical estates, valued by Domesday at £10 or more, in the Wessex heartlands of Somerset, Wiltshire, Berkshire, and much of Hampshire. This concentration continues northwards into Oxfordshire, north-eastwards along the Great Ridgeway, and into the southeast of England along the North and South Downs. Such valuable estates may have been better positioned to produce surplus produce, perhaps paying higher renders in cash. This may, in turn, have encouraged the number of markets noted by Britnell in this region.

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<sup>32</sup> Allen, *Mints and Money*, 20-24, 385-397, 399-403.

<sup>33</sup> Allen, *Mints and Money*, 20-24; Hill, *Atlas*, 129.

<sup>34</sup> R. H. Britnell, ‘English Markets and Administration Before 1200’, *EcHR* 31 (1978), 183-196, at 190.

<sup>35</sup> R. H. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society, 1000-1500* (Manchester, 1996), 8-10.

## The farm of one night

The existence of a royal heartland may explain regional variations in the management of estates which, according to Domesday, rendered *firma unius noctis*, ‘the farm of one night’. The role of night’s farm estates have been considered in depth by Pauline Stafford, who has analysed the night’s farm system shire by shire, and by Ryan Lavelle, who has looked more closely at the system, and how it may have emerged from earlier territorial units within Wessex, particularly in Hampshire and Dorset.<sup>36</sup> Mapping these estates does, however, provide further insights.

*Firma* is the Latinised form of the Old English word *feorm*. Lavelle makes an important observation that it held ‘inherent implications of hospitality – often voluntary hospitality – rather than the obligation that is suggested in Domesday book’ which suggests that concepts of hospitality and feasting ‘underlay the upper echelons of Anglo-Saxon society’.<sup>37</sup> Levi Roach, drawing on saints lives which capture the late-tenth- and early-eleventh-century *mores* of hosting and feasting the king and his retinue, stressed ‘how the king ritualised his progress through the countryside in order to represent himself as monarch and to confirm relationships with his agents and other local power-holders’.<sup>38</sup> It was an honour to host but it was onerous assembling enough supplies to make a success of such occasions. The *Vita Sancti Æthelwoldi* recounts a miracle of an unending supply of mead which enabled the abbot of Abingdon to host King Eadred (946-955) and ‘not a few of his Northumbrian thegns’ who, as a result, ‘became drunk, as they tend to, and very cheerful they were when they left at evening’.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Stafford, ‘Farm of One Night’, 491-502; Lavelle, ‘Farm of One Night’, 53-82, at 69-77; ‘Royal Estates’, 13-47.

<sup>37</sup> Lavelle, ‘Royal Estates’, 16.

<sup>38</sup> L. Roach, ‘Hosting the King: Hospitality and the Royal Itinerary in Tenth-Century England’, *Journal of Medieval History* 37 (2011), 34-46, at 36.

<sup>39</sup> Wulfstan of Winchester, *Vita Sancti Æthelwoldi: The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1991), 22-5. There is a similar miracle in the *Vita S. Dunstani*: Roach, ‘Hosting

King Cnut (1016-1035) may have reformed the night's farm system. His law code, issued at Winchester after 1018, ordered 'all my reeves to provide for me in accordance with the law from my own property and support me thereby and that no man need give anything to them to my provisioning (*feormfultune*) unless he himself wishes'.<sup>40</sup> If Cnut hoped to achieve greater self-sufficiency from his own estates it was not a complete solution. The night's farm estates identified by Domesday would account for less than eighty days' worth of supplies annually.<sup>41</sup> The church and nobility may have had to continue hosting the king and his retinue on occasion despite Cnut's reforms.

Before 1066 virtually all royal estates in Wiltshire, Dorset, and Somerset are described by Domesday as providing the farm of one night. They are set out together at the start of the *terra regis* in these shires.<sup>42</sup> Interestingly, figure 3 indicates that, in 1066, renders were paid in kind in Wiltshire, Dorset, and Somerset but that, outside the royal heartlands, most renders had been commuted to money payments.

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the King', 36-7, citing M. Lapidge, 'B. and the Vita S. Dunstani', in *St Dunstan. His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. N. Ramsay, M. Sparks and T. Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge, 1992), 247-59.

<sup>40</sup> II Cnut, 69.1: Robertson, *Laws*, 208-9; Lavelle, 'Farm of One Night', 81.

<sup>41</sup> Lavelle, 'Royal Estates', 15.

<sup>42</sup> Royal estates not listed among the night's farm estates in these shires include Britford, Wiltshire, and Portland, Dorset. Curiously, the Old Minster, Winchester claimed Edward the Confessor had granted Portland to them (S 1154). The estate was granted to the monks by Henry I: *VCH Dorset*, ii, 246-259.

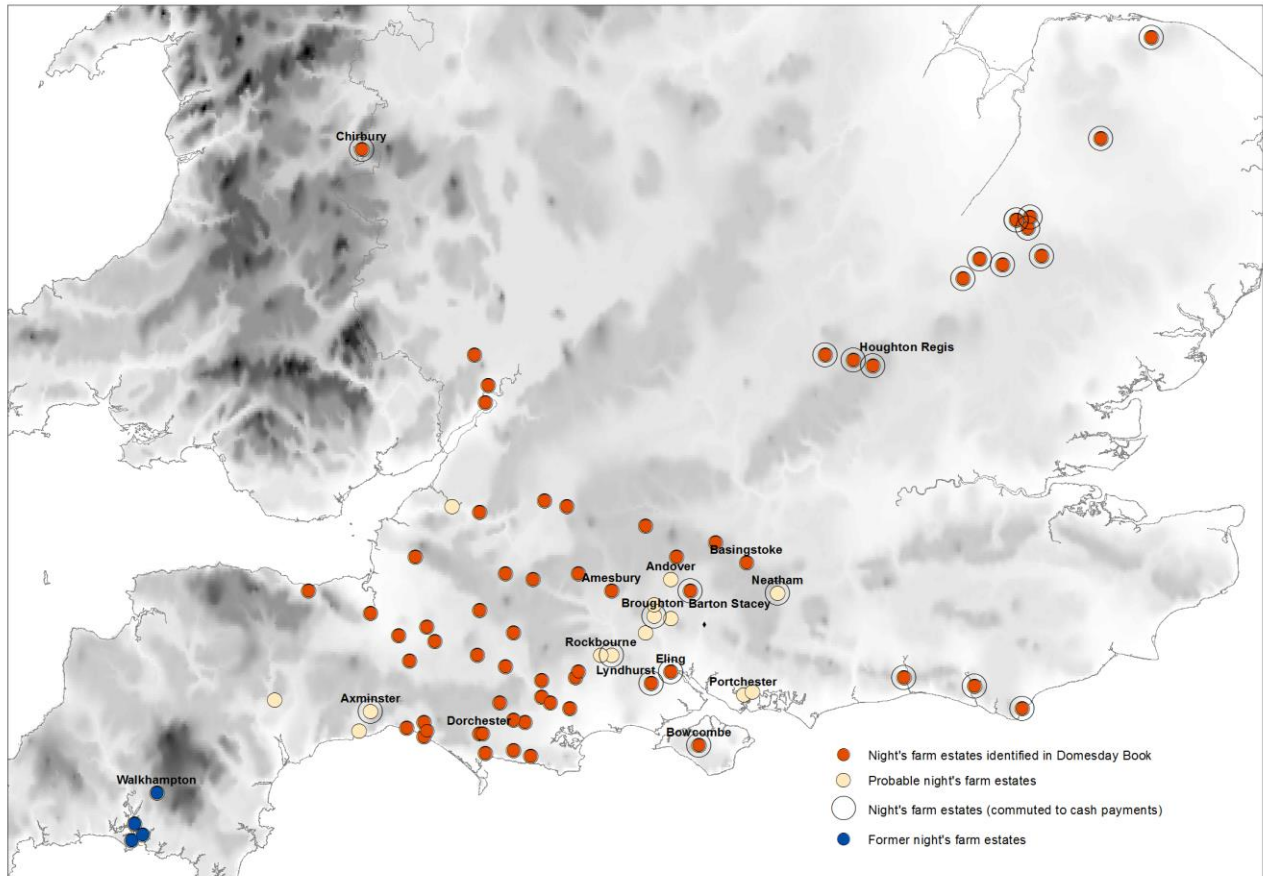


Figure 3. 'Farm of one night' estates in Domesday Book

There may have been a contraction of the night's farm system during the eleventh century. Royal manors that provided a farm of one night tended not to be assessed in hides for geld and were not given a value. Chirbury, Maesbury, and Whittington (Shropshire) together provided half a night's farm 'at the time of Æthelred, King Edward's father' (*Tempore Aðelredi patris Edwardi regis*).<sup>43</sup> By 1066, Chirbury was waste, and Maesbury and Whittington were both assessed for geld and valued at £19.15s.0d, suggesting the night's farm arrangements had ceased. In Devon, Exon records that Walkhampton, Sutton, and Tamerton had together provided a farm of one night.<sup>44</sup> Domesday does not

<sup>43</sup> GDB 235c,d (Shropshire: 4,1; 4,10-12).

<sup>44</sup> Exon 86b2, 86b3, 87a1; GDB 100c (Devon: 1,19-22); Lavelle, *Royal Estates*, 20.

mention their previous status, recording only that they were now assessed for geld.<sup>45</sup> In contrast, Silverton, Axminster, and Axmouth were still unhidated and had never paid geld.<sup>46</sup> It is possible that these changes reflect the contraction of the royal heartlands during the course of Edward the Confessor's reign.

Where food renders are recorded in addition to money payments outside the royal heartlands, on the Bedfordshire (Houghton Regis group) and Cambridgeshire manors for example, the renders tend to be in grain, malt, and honey which were portable and durable.<sup>47</sup> In light of these arrangements Stafford concluded that, in relation to the night's farm system:

Proximity to the centres of royal power and activity have determined the peculiarly complex organization of King Edward's demesne in Dorset, Wiltshire, Somerset, Hampshire, Gloucestershire, and, to a lesser extent, Sussex.<sup>48</sup>

Indeed, it is hard to escape the conclusion that renders in kind continued to be more useful than commuted payments only in regions where the king travelled regularly or was present for much of the year. Figure 3 would suggest that this was mainly in Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, in the vicinity of Gloucester, and the north and west of Hampshire.

### **King Edward's estates in Hampshire**

Edward the Confessor was the wealthiest landholder in Hampshire in 1066 holding estates with a combined value of £424 (Appendix B). Hampshire was the tenth most valuable shire for the king. Estates identified by Domesday as night's farm estates contributed £307.5s.4d (seventy-two percent of this total). King Edward held about twelve percent of

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<sup>45</sup> Stafford, 'Farm of One Night', 493.

<sup>46</sup> Exon 83b3, 84b1, 85a3; GDB 100b,c (Devon: 1,7; 1,11; 1,14).

<sup>47</sup> GDB 209b,c (Bedfordshire: 1,1a-3); Stafford, 'Farm of One Night', 501.

<sup>48</sup> Stafford, 'Farm of One Night', 501.

the shire compared to twenty-eight percent held by William the Conqueror.<sup>49</sup> King Edward also held lordships in Hampshire valued at £1,096.

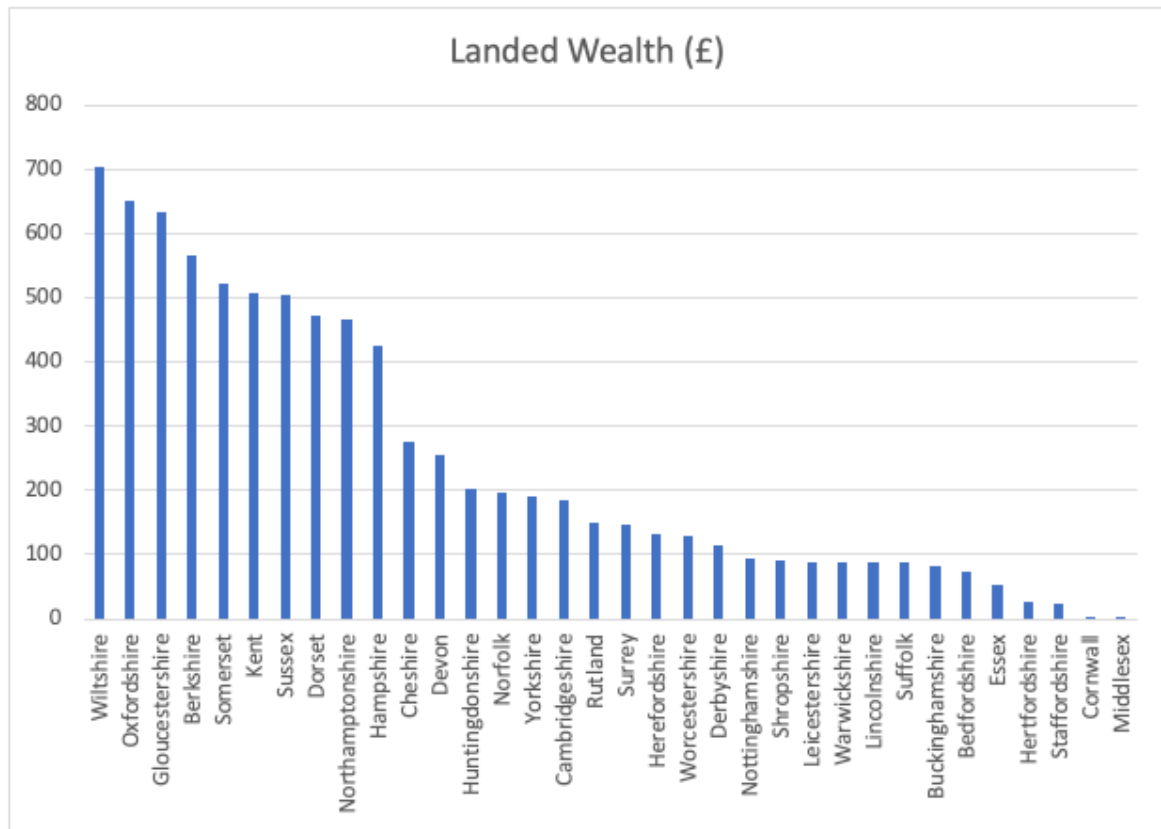


Figure 4. The value of estates attributed to Edward the Confessor by shire

Most royal estates in Hampshire were north of Winchester in the Hampshire Downs. Ryan Lavelle argues persuasively that, by 1066, the demand for land in the vicinity of Winchester by the church and nobility ‘could have prevented Hampshire [royal] estates from resembling the regular provision of the night’s farm in Dorset’.<sup>50</sup> By 1066 the immediate hinterland of Winchester and the river valleys of the Test, Itchen, and Meon had come to be dominated by ecclesiastical estates (Table 13).

<sup>49</sup> The total value of lands in Hampshire is £3,436 in 1066 and £3,908 in 1086. William the Conqueror held estates in Hampshire in demesne valued at £1,085 (p. 78).

<sup>50</sup> Lavelle, ‘Royal Estates’, 47.

Helen Cam contends that the administration of certain hundreds was in private hands even before the Conquest.<sup>51</sup> She suggests that certain royal, comital, and ecclesiastical manors that shared their name with the hundred are likely to be hundredal manors exercising fiscal, administrative, and judicial control over their hundred; such manors had all once been royal estates before some were granted to the church or designated as comital manors.<sup>52</sup> In Hampshire, the royal manors of Andover, Kings Somborne, Hurstbourne, Kingsclere, Basingstoke, Broughton, Barton (Stacey), and Neatham were among the royal manors which, alongside certain comital and ecclesiastical manors, shared their names with their hundred. It is notable that these royal manors are among the known or probable night's farm estates.

#### The farm of one night in Hampshire

Only five manors were said expressly to be providing what Hampshire Domesday describes as a 'farm of one day' (*firma unius diei*). Basingstoke, Kingsclere, and Hurstbourne Tarrant together paid 'one day's farm' but no figures are given in either 1066 or 1086, suggesting these manors continued to provide renders in kind before and after the Conquest.<sup>53</sup> On other night's farm estates in Hampshire, there appears to have been a commuted payment of £76.16s.6d for a full day or £38.8s.4d for half a day TRE.<sup>54</sup> Barton Stacey, with an outlier (*bereuice*) at King's Worthy on the outskirts of Winchester, owed

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<sup>51</sup> H. M. Cam, 'Manerium cum Hundredo, the Hundred and the Hundredal Manor', in her *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1944), 64-90.

<sup>52</sup> Cam, 'Manerium cum Hundredo', 84-5.

<sup>53</sup> GDB 39b (Hampshire: 1,42-44).

<sup>54</sup> See further *VCH Hampshire*, i, 403; Stafford, 'Farm of One Night', 493; Golding, 'Hampshire Domesday', 20; Lavelle, 'Royal Estates', 19.

half a night's farm (£38.8s.4d).<sup>55</sup> Eling, with two outliers on the Isle of Wight and three 'outside' (*extra*), owed half a night's farm (£38.8s.4d).<sup>56</sup>

Although they were not recorded in Domesday as night's farm estates, Neatham and Broughton (with East Dean and Wallop) each paid £76.16s.4d, leaving little doubt that they were also part of the arrangement.<sup>57</sup> It is significant that remaining manors which may have been night's farm estates (Andover, Kings Somborne, Titchfield, Portchester, Wymering, and Cosham) are given no valuation either TRE or TRW.<sup>58</sup> Several other royal manors were not paying geld and (other than commuted payments towards the night's farm) were not given a value. Rockbourne, with Breamore and Burgate, had never paid tax or been assessed in hides. Domesday links these estates with the night's farm manor of Broughton: 'amongst Breamore, Rockbourne, Broughton and Burgate £13.10s. falls in the forest'. Breamore also had an outlier on the Isle of Wight at Ningwood which was held by Gervi (Gerin) in 1086.<sup>59</sup> Breamore, Rockbourne, and Burgate were on the south-western edge of an area described as the King's Forest (*foresta regis*) by Domesday in 1086, and Broughton was on its north-western edge.<sup>60</sup> It is possible that these estates on its outskirts, and detached areas of woodland and pasture within the forest, contributed to Broughton's farm of one night. Broughton paid a full night's farm of £76.16s.8d in 1066.<sup>61</sup> However, the king's reeve had the honey and pasture of Broughton, East Dean and Wallop, and their woodland for building houses. As such, Broughton appears to have owed both a commuted payment and a render in kind.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> GDB 38c (Hampshire: 1,17). For the importance of King's Worthy in the early tenth century, before the hundreds were reorganised, see Lavelle, 'Farm of One Night', 69-71.

<sup>56</sup> GDB 38d (Hampshire: 1,27).

<sup>57</sup> GDB 38c (Hampshire: 21,1); GDB 38a (Hampshire: 1,2); Stafford, 'Farm of One Night', 492.

<sup>58</sup> No notional value has been assigned to them in the calculations in this thesis.

<sup>59</sup> GDB 39a,b (Hampshire: 1,36-8; IoW9,18) and notes: the confusion of the 'vi' or 'in' ending of the name may reflect scribal uncertainty.

<sup>60</sup> See pp. 85-94.

<sup>61</sup> GDB 38c (Hampshire: 1,21-23).

<sup>62</sup> Lavelle, 'Royal Estates', 43.

The neighbouring hundreds of Somborne and Andover may have provided a farm of one night. Both King's Somborne and Andover are described as royal manors that were neither paying geld, nor apportioned in hides, nor given a value.<sup>63</sup> Somborne had rights over the surrounding area with jurisdiction over two hundreds, and pasture on The Down lying in the king's demesne farm (*in dominica firma regis jacere debeat*). Andover was a sizable estate (sixty-two *villani*, thirty-six *bordarii*, three *coliberti* and six *servi* with twenty-four ploughs, six mills and woodland at 10 pigs) and no doubt would have been able to provide a whole or half a night's farm in its own right.

Wymering, Cosham, and Portchester, on the south coast, had never been assessed in hides (although Cosham had four hides pertaining to it) and none were given a valuation.<sup>64</sup> They lay to the south of an extensive area of woodland and heathland which later became the royal Forest of Bere.<sup>65</sup> Located on the more fertile soils on the coastal plain, they may once have comprised a night's farm estate. There is evidence of estates on this stretch of coast being affected by Viking raids: the neighbouring estate at Fareham, held by the bishop of Winchester, had been assessed at a lower hidage for geld by King Edward 'because of the Vikings, because it is on the sea' (*Rex Edwardus ita donavit causa Wichingarum quia super mare est*), and Alverstoke had been granted a reduction in hidage perhaps for the same reason.<sup>66</sup> King Harold took Hayling Island into his farm 'when he seized the kingdom' (*Heraldus abstulit ei quando regnum inuasit et misit in firma sua*), and also Soberton, slightly further north in Meonstoke Hundred. This may

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<sup>63</sup> GDB 39b,c (Hampshire: 1,42; 47).

<sup>64</sup> GDB 38b (Hampshire: 1,9-11).

<sup>65</sup> J. Pile, 'Aspects of the Forest of Bere from the Late Iron Age to the Middle Ages', *PHFCAS* 45 (1989), 113-119.

<sup>66</sup> GDB 40c, 41c (Hampshire: 2,15; 3,12).

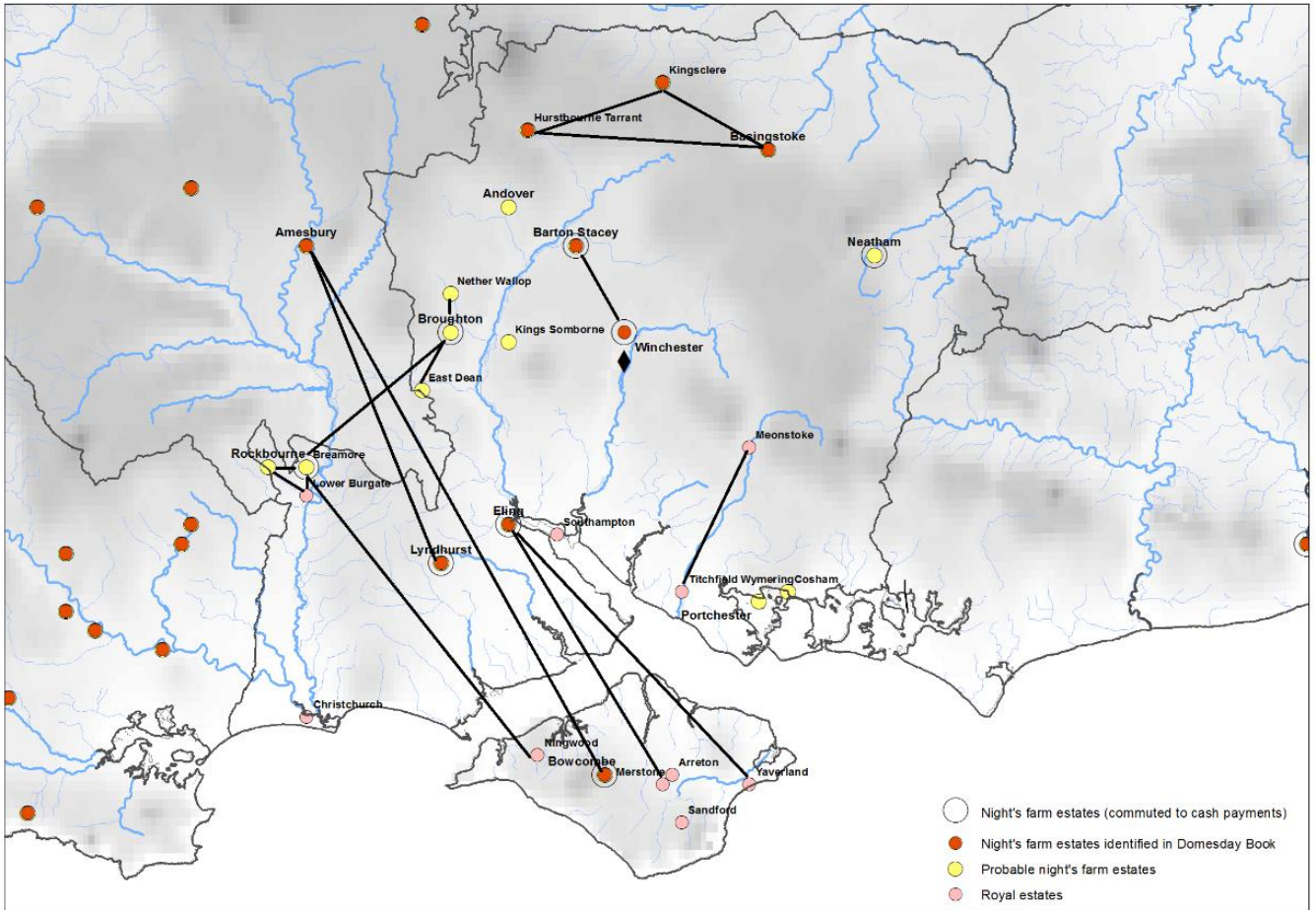


Figure 5. Connections between night's farm estates and their outliers in Hampshire (1066)

have re-established the night's farm at Wymering,<sup>67</sup> and ensured a stronger royal presence in the south-east of Hampshire.<sup>68</sup>

On the Isle of Wight, Eling had two outliers, possibly Yaverland and Merstone. Merstone was said to be of King Edward's farm and did not pay geld and Yaverland was not hidated.<sup>69</sup> Ningwood appears to have been an outlier of Breamore. The most striking arrangement, however, was that Bowcombe (Isle of Wight) was part of the night's farm of Amesbury, which is noted in the Wiltshire folios but not in Hampshire Domesday.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Dennis, 'Domesday Hampshire', 94.

<sup>68</sup> GDB 38b (Hampshire: 1,13-14). Meonstoke already contributed to King Edward's *feorm*.

<sup>69</sup> GDB 38d (Hampshire: 1,27); 39c (Hampshire: 1,W5); 53b (IoW 6,21).

<sup>70</sup> GDB 52b (Hampshire: IoW1,7); 64d (Wiltshire: 1,3).

Lyndhurst, on the mainland in the south-west of Hampshire, also lay in the farm of Amesbury (*jacuit in Ambreberie de firma regis*).<sup>71</sup> The phrasing suggests renders were being brought to Amesbury rather than being sent from Amesbury to its outliers. Bowcombe was a substantial estate (fifteen ploughlands, a mill and salt-house) but Lyndhurst had no resources listed TRE.

If renders were being taken off the island and away from the coast it may reflect a fear of seaborne attack.<sup>72</sup> The Isle of Wight was harried in 1048, was attacked again by Earl Godwine in 1052, who ‘ravaged there so long that the people paid them as much as they imposed upon them’, and again in 1066 by Earl Tosti who once held significant estates on the island.<sup>73</sup> For this reason renders in cash and kind may have been moved from the island and from the south-west of Hampshire northwards along the River Avon to Amesbury and into the royal heartlands.<sup>74</sup> If so, this policy was reversed by William fitzOsbern who, in the first months of the Conquest, took steps to secure the Isle of Wight as a defensible base during which time he severed many links between outliers on the island and their head-manors on the mainland. This may have been to ensure a greater degree of food security on the Isle of Wight in the early conquest period.

The Hampshire night’s farm manors were well resourced. Neatham boasted 8½ mills (at £4.14s less 3d), a market (£8) and woodland for 150 pigs; the king’s reeve at Wallop, East Dean, and Broughton had six mills, woodland for building houses, and the pasture for these manors and honey from the King’s Forest, and Burgate provided 1000 eels;<sup>75</sup> Barton Stacey had three mills and woodland for eighty pigs;<sup>76</sup> at Eling there were

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<sup>71</sup> GDB 64d (Wiltshire: 1,3).

<sup>72</sup> For a map of military attacks on night’s farm and other major estates see Lavelle, ‘Royal Estates’, 62.

<sup>73</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, trans. D. Whitelock, with D.C. Douglas and S.I. Tucker (London, 1965), 112: ASC C 1048; CDE 1052; CD, 1066.

<sup>74</sup> For navigable rivers see Hill, *Atlas*, 10-11.

<sup>75</sup> GDB 38d (Hampshire: 1,23). For the ‘King’s Forest’ (*foresta regis*) see pp. 85-94.

<sup>76</sup> GDB 38c (Hampshire: 1,17)

two mills, a fishery, a salt-house, woodland at 300 pigs, and a render of three sesters of honey; on the Isle of Wight there was another salt-house at Bowcombe;<sup>77</sup> Basingstoke had three mills, a market, and it appeared to have tenements in Winchester as four men of the suburbs were paying dues. On the coast there was a further market at Titchfield, an outlier of Meonstoke.<sup>78</sup> Between them, the royal manors in Hampshire had nearly 300 ploughs of which 53½ were in demesne. They also had over 100 recorded ploughlands although this information was often missing. They had the means to produce, process, salt, and preserve food, and to supply timber and other resources. In Berkshire, every man-at-arms sent from the shire was paid 10s per month for his supplies.<sup>79</sup> In comparison, £76.16s.8d for one night would have supported the king, and a considerable retinue, in some style. The night's farm figures compare favourably with the royal farm from Winchester which paid £80 blanch or £84 by tale in the first surviving records from the early twelfth century.<sup>80</sup>

Stafford questions why the royal manors in Hampshire Domesday were not arranged to reflect the night's farm system. She suggests that a money commutation had already occurred before 1066 and reflects that 'it is strange to find that in Hampshire, commonly considered the heartland of West-Saxon royal power, the system had been organized but was showing some features of 'decay' by 1066, a decay which had already overtaken the some of the manors of Devon and perhaps to a lesser extent Sussex'.<sup>81</sup>

The organisation of the night's farm estates in Hampshire should not be interpreted as being in a state of 'decay' if, in fact, two well-managed systems were in place. Figure 3 suggests the night's farm manors divide into two groups TRE. Those to the far north

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<sup>77</sup> GDB 52b (Hampshire: IoW1,7).

<sup>78</sup> GDB 39b (Hampshire: 1,45).

<sup>79</sup> GDB 56c (Berkshire B:10).

<sup>80</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 5.

<sup>81</sup> Stafford, 'Farm of One Night', 499, 501.

and north-west of Winchester continued to owe a render in kind (Basingstoke, Hurstbourne Tarrant, Kingsclere, and Andover) while Broughton contributed both cash and non-perishable goods. Apart from Broughton, these manors lay on the main routes across the north of the shire. Broughton, meanwhile, was close to the king's residence at Britford where he went hunting. Renders for night's farm estates in the second group had mainly been commuted. These lay close to Winchester and to the south and east. Commutation of renders may have been a pragmatic decision for estates in the hinterland of Winchester, where the king had a royal residence, and where there were thriving markets, alleviating any need for renders in kind. Furthermore, if Winchester lay on the very edge of the late-Saxon royal heartlands, as considered above, it is notable that estates to its south and east offered commuted payments. It is also striking that Domesday refers to several arrangements that were in place (Figure 5) to bring any renders at least as far north as Winchester. As such, the Hampshire manors may delineate where commutation began on night's farm estates beyond the royal heartlands in 1066.

Were the night's farm estates part of a core of royal estates that could never be alienated because they directly supported the king and his retinue? We have seen that, in some parts of the kingdom, night's farm estates remote from the royal heartlands were no longer operating as such (Chirbury, Walkhampton, Sutton, and Tamerton). Within the royal heartlands, night's farm estates may have received more protection. King Edgar's grant to Abingdon Abbey of fifty hides at Hurstbourne Tarrant (which was part of the night's farm of Kingsclere and Basingstoke in 1066), along with grants in Wiltshire of seventy-two hides at Bedwyn (also a night's farm estate), and twenty hides at Burbage were recovered by the nobility following Edgar's death in 975 because they were 'lands belonging to the king's sons' (*terras ad regios pertinentes filios*); King Æthelred II was

obliged to recompense Abingdon with other estates.<sup>82</sup> It is difficult to tell whether these estates had acquired a special status or were simply too valuable to lose.

In Hampshire there is some evidence that King Edward was prepared to alienate part of the royal farm. In the south-west, Sæwine held half a hide in Rockbourne freely (*in alodium*) from King Edward which, in 1086, the sheriff's men argued should have been within the royal *feorm*.<sup>83</sup> Domesday can misrepresent pre-Conquest tenures and Sæwine may not have held freely but in dependent tenure, perhaps for a number of lives. Yet Sæwine 'had King Edward's seal' for the estate and there is a strong possibility that a parcel of royal demesne had been granted by writ-charter or diploma, as bookland. This grant is particularly significant if Rockbourne contributed to a night's farm in the Breamore/Broughton group of estates. Another ploughland at Rockbourne was held by Wulfgeat the huntsman from King Edward, also *in alodium*, suggesting a further alienation.<sup>84</sup> At Bathingbourne (Isle of Wight), Oda of Winchester held four hides *in alodium* from King Edward and received £4 of its *feorm*. There were also grants to the bishopric and Old Minster, Winchester: on the south coast, King Edward granted seven hides at Millbrook near Redbridge, in 1045; North and South Stoneham in 1045; Hayling Island between 1052 and 1053 (confirming his mother's grant); and he may have granted Portland (Dorset).<sup>85</sup>

In conclusion, it is likely that the night's farm estates in Hampshire and surrounding shires were managed to produce renders primarily in cash or in kind to best support the king. The predominance of renders in kind within the royal heartlands may reflect that King Edward spent much of his time within this region. Domesday and Exon provide

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<sup>82</sup> S 689, 756 (the authenticity of these diplomas is uncertain), S 937; Whitelock, *EHD*, ii, 582-4, no.123; Lavelle, 'Royal Estates', 1, 124-6.

<sup>83</sup> GDB 39a (Hampshire: 1,36). For the Domesday scribe using the term *in alodium* to describe bookland in Circuit One see Garnett, *Conquered England*, 28-9.

<sup>84</sup> GDB 50b (Hampshire: 69,30; 33).

<sup>85</sup> S 1008-9, 1012, 1153, 1154; GDB 41d (Hampshire: 3,16-18; 22); for Portland see p. 32, n 42.

evidence that estates remote from the royal heartlands owed instead commuted payments, or no longer provided a farm of one night by 1066. The contraction of the night's farm arrangements around the royal heartlands may have left the status and management of Hampshire royal manors in the south-west of Hampshire, on the Isle of Wight, and on the south coast in flux. King Edward seems to have been both willing and able to relinquish some of these royal manors to the church, and to alienate parts of the royal demesne, and royal revenues, to local thegns. If so, the king had a discretion how best to manage the corpus of royal estates, and power to permanently alienate parts of the royal demesne, including parts of Rockbourne that may, or may once have contributed to the farm of one night.

#### Winchester in 1066

This section considers the importance of Winchester during the reign of Edward the Confessor. By 1086, several Norman magnates from across the kingdom had acquired one or two estates in Hampshire to bring them within range of Winchester, and to the coast for routes to Normandy. This section considers the importance of Winchester and its influence on landholding in Hampshire before 1066: whether estates in its hinterland were valued in the same way TRE.

Winchester was a royal city, its street plan remodelled early in the reign of Alfred the Great, and its fortifications renewed to form one of King Alfred's fortified burhs.<sup>86</sup> Winchester emerged as a suitable site for royal assemblies from the mid-ninth century onwards. Diplomas record that they were issued at royal assemblies convened in

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<sup>86</sup> M. Biddle, 'Planned Town and Early "Capital": Mid Ninth Century to 1066', *British Historic Towns Atlas Vol. 6, Winchester, Introduction and Gazetteer*, ed. M. Biddle and D. Keene, Winchester Studies 11 (Oxford, 2017), 26-37, at 35.

Winchester in the years 844,<sup>87</sup> 900,<sup>88</sup> 934,<sup>89</sup> 993,<sup>90</sup> 1049,<sup>91</sup> and 1065.<sup>92</sup> Edward the Confessor's coronation was in Winchester at Easter 1043,<sup>93</sup> and he returned in November 1043,<sup>94</sup> 1049,<sup>95</sup> Easter 1053, and in 1065.<sup>96</sup>

It is likely that there was a royal residence in Winchester. Martin Biddle's excavations have revealed a 'dramatic building programme in the tenth century which created a 'civic nucleus' around the three minsters and the bishop's hall, a complex which compared 'favourably with any in Europe north of the Alps'.<sup>97</sup> The likely site of the royal residence has not been excavated because it is under existing buildings to the west of the Norman cathedral, but circumstantial evidence from several contemporary sources leave little doubt that a royal palace existed in this part of Winchester before 1066. The Chronicle records that in 1053 Earl Godwine was sat with the king at a feast on Easter-day in Winchester when the earl collapsed. Godwine was carried to the king's chamber (*and hine man ða bræd into ðæs kinges bure*).<sup>98</sup> Domesday records that Alton and Kingsclere were granted to the New Minster by King William in exchange for land within Winchester 'for the king's house'.<sup>99</sup> The most likely interpretation is that King William extended an existing building, and a New Minster grant, dating from 1082-8, states the hall was built over part of the New Minster cemetery.<sup>100</sup> These references suggest the palace was sited within the south-eastern quarter of Winchester, forming a royal and

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<sup>87</sup> S 294, 294a, 294b.

<sup>88</sup> S 358, 359.

<sup>89</sup> S 425.

<sup>90</sup> S 876.

<sup>91</sup> S 1018: 'praesentis testimonii carta in Wentana describitur urbe'.

<sup>92</sup> S 1037a. See further Lavelle, 'Royal Estates', 52-3.

<sup>93</sup> ASC C 1043.

<sup>94</sup> ASC D 1043.

<sup>95</sup> ASC C 1049; S 1018.

<sup>96</sup> S 1037a.

<sup>97</sup> Harvey, *Domesday*, 9; Biddle, 'Early "Capital"', 35.

<sup>98</sup> ASC CD 1053.

<sup>99</sup> GDB 43a (Hampshire: 6,1; 9).

<sup>100</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 344 (copied into the LVNMW: BL Stowe MS 944, f. 41); *Winton Domesday*, 292-5.

ecclesiastical complex to which the King's Gate (*Chingeta*) in the south wall of the city would have given direct access.<sup>101</sup>

Copies of certain tenth- and eleventh-century wills and charters were deposited in the king's 'sacred treasury' or 'sanctuary' (*æt þæs cinges haligdome*) where documents in the royal archive, sacred treasures, and relics were put for safekeeping.<sup>102</sup> Keynes contends that 'the archives, like the relics and treasures, would be peripatetic with the king'.<sup>103</sup> Yet at least part of the royal treasury was located at Winchester from the reign of Cnut onwards.<sup>104</sup> When Harold Harefoot claimed the throne 'he sent [to Winchester] and had all the best treasures taken from [Queen Emma], which she could not keep back, which King Cnut had possessed'.<sup>105</sup> In 1043, Queen Emma again had control of part of the royal treasury in Winchester: Edward the Confessor rode to Winchester with Earls Leofric, Godwine, and Siward, and confronted her 'unexpectedly'. Edward took 'all the lands his mother owned forcibly into his own control and took from her all that she owned in gold and silver and things beyond description, because she had withheld it too firmly from him'.<sup>106</sup> William I, William Rufus, Henry I, Stephen, and Matilda were quick to secure the treasury in Winchester at the beginning of their reigns.<sup>107</sup> It is less certain whether King Edward had a royal chancery permanently located in Winchester although Keynes has raised persuasive arguments that a royal chancery existed there by 1066.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 290-2.

<sup>102</sup> Harvey, *Domesday*, 18; S 939; Whitelock, *EHD* i, 625-6, no.121; S 1478, 1521;

<sup>103</sup> Keynes, *Æthelred 'the Unready'*, 148-9.

<sup>104</sup> Harvey, *Domesday*, 15-16.

<sup>105</sup> ASC C 1035.

<sup>106</sup> ASC CD, *s.a.* 1043.

<sup>107</sup> Harvey, *Domesday*, 15-16.

<sup>108</sup> Harvey, *Domesday*, 19-23; Keynes, *Æthelred 'the Unready'*, 140, 137, 152-3; S. Keynes, 'Regenbald the Chancellor (*sic*)', *ANS* 10 (1988), 185-222.

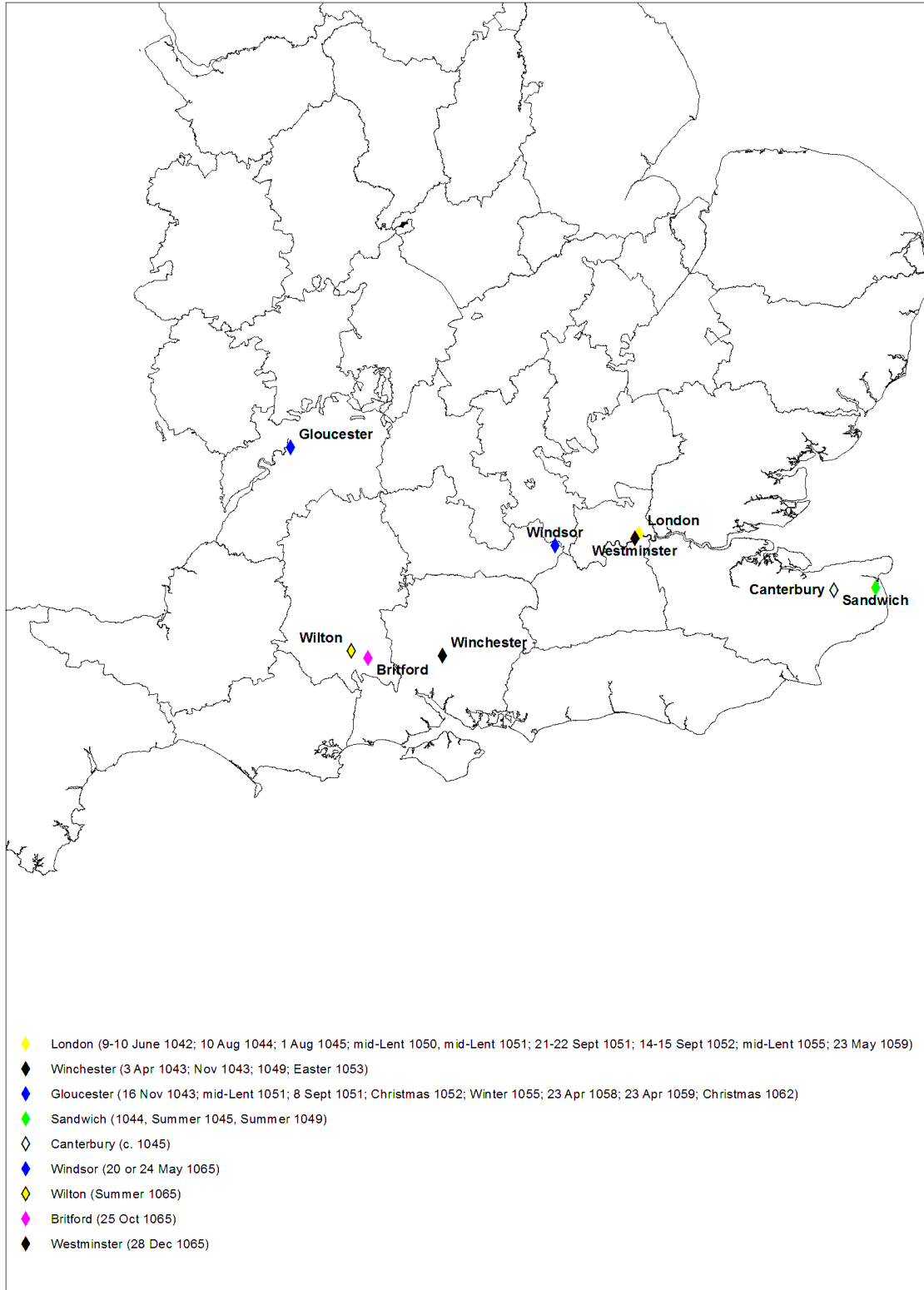


Figure 6. The known itinerary of Edward the Confessor<sup>109</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Based on maps in Hill, *Atlas*, 85-91 and Wormald, *English Law*, 434.

Winchester was also important as one of the locations for Edward the Confessor's festival courts. Figure 6 sets out what is known about the itinerary of Edward the Confessor and shows that he travelled extensively across the southern half of the kingdom. It does not give a complete, or perhaps even an adequate picture of Edward's itinerary, but the importance of Gloucester, London (later also Westminster and Windsor), and Winchester does emerge as locations for assemblies at significant moments in the liturgical year at Christmas, Lent, Easter, and Whitsun.<sup>110</sup> Michael Hare argues that festival courts and crown-wearing can be traced back to the tenth century,<sup>111</sup> but the ceremony was 'refashioned under German influence transmitted through Bishop Ealdred of Worcestershire' during the last decade of the reign of Edward the Confessor.<sup>112</sup> Hare argues that Gloucester was developed as a new festival site by Ealdred, whose rebuilding of the minster at Gloucester, consecrated in 1058, was designed to adapt the building 'to serve as a setting for the performance of the *laudes regiae* in the context of the crown-wearing ceremony', and that images of crown-wearing appear on Edward the Confessor's coins in c. 1059.<sup>113</sup> During Edward's reign any one of these centres hosted the court for various festivals. The Chronicle places Edward the Confessor in Winchester for his coronation at Easter 1043 and again at Easter 1053, but also at Gloucester (Easter 1058 and 1062) and Westminster (Easter 1065).<sup>114</sup> It is not until the Conqueror's reign that the king's itinerary became more predictable and Winchester became a regular venue for the Easter court.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Biddle, 'Seasonal Festivals', 51-72, at 56-9.

<sup>111</sup> M. Hare, 'Kings, Crowns and Festivals: the Origins of Gloucester as a Royal Ceremonial Centre', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 115 (1997), 41-78, at 45, citing a royal diploma issued in 949 (S 549) which describes King Eadred wearing his crown at Easter at Somerton, Somerset: 'regalia sublimavit diademata paschali sollempnitate'.

<sup>112</sup> Hare, 'Kings, Crowns and Festivals', 44-5.

<sup>113</sup> Hare, 'Kings, Crowns and Festivals', 51; J. R. Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament, 924-1327* (Oxford, 2010), 18-23.

<sup>114</sup> Biddle, 'Seasonal Festivals', 69.

<sup>115</sup> See p. 83.

When Edward the Confessor visited Winchester, his appearances were likely to have been highly visible, ceremonial events. The alignment of the west end of the Old Minster with the royal palace opposite ‘seems to have been specially designed to accommodate the monarch on ceremonial occasions. Old Minster and New Minster, with their tombs of the kings and relics of the saints, enshrined the heart of the Old English Kingdom’.<sup>116</sup> Biddle also suggests the balcony in the west front of Winchester cathedral, above the west door, may have replaced one on the west front of Walkelin’s cathedral, which in turn may have replicated a balcony in the west-work of the Old Minster, each ‘facing out across an open space towards the site of the former royal palace’: the kings’ crown-wearing at festival courts may have involved a public procession from the royal residence to the minster/cathedral with an appearance on the balcony ‘to a wider audience than could be present in the church itself’.<sup>117</sup>

Biddle notes that ‘[t]he gradual emergence of a small number of centres in which the great feasts were celebrated emphasises the increasing importance of those residences which were in or close to great cities’.<sup>118</sup> Domesday notes that certain rural estates had their own tenements in Winchester (Figure 7). Many were held by elite landholders and by leading royal officials including Ealdred, archbishop of York (Mottisfont), Earl Godwine/Tosti (Polhampton), Countess Gytha (Nether Wallop), Bondi the staller (Stratfield Saye), Tholf the Dane (Somborne), Cypping of Worthy (Headbourne Worthy), Saxi the housecarl (Upper Clatford), Lanc Delere (Facombe Netherton), Payn of the Meadhall (Eversley),<sup>119</sup> and Godric Malf (Minstead). Those at the beginning of the list were probably drawn to Winchester for royal festivals courts and royal assemblies. It is a possibility that royal officials towards the end of this list, who enjoyed relatively modest

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<sup>116</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 465.

<sup>117</sup> Biddle, ‘Seasonal Festivals’, 62.

<sup>118</sup> Biddle, ‘Seasonal Festivals’, 52, 59. See further Lavelle, ‘Royal Estates’, 52-3.

<sup>119</sup> S 1129.

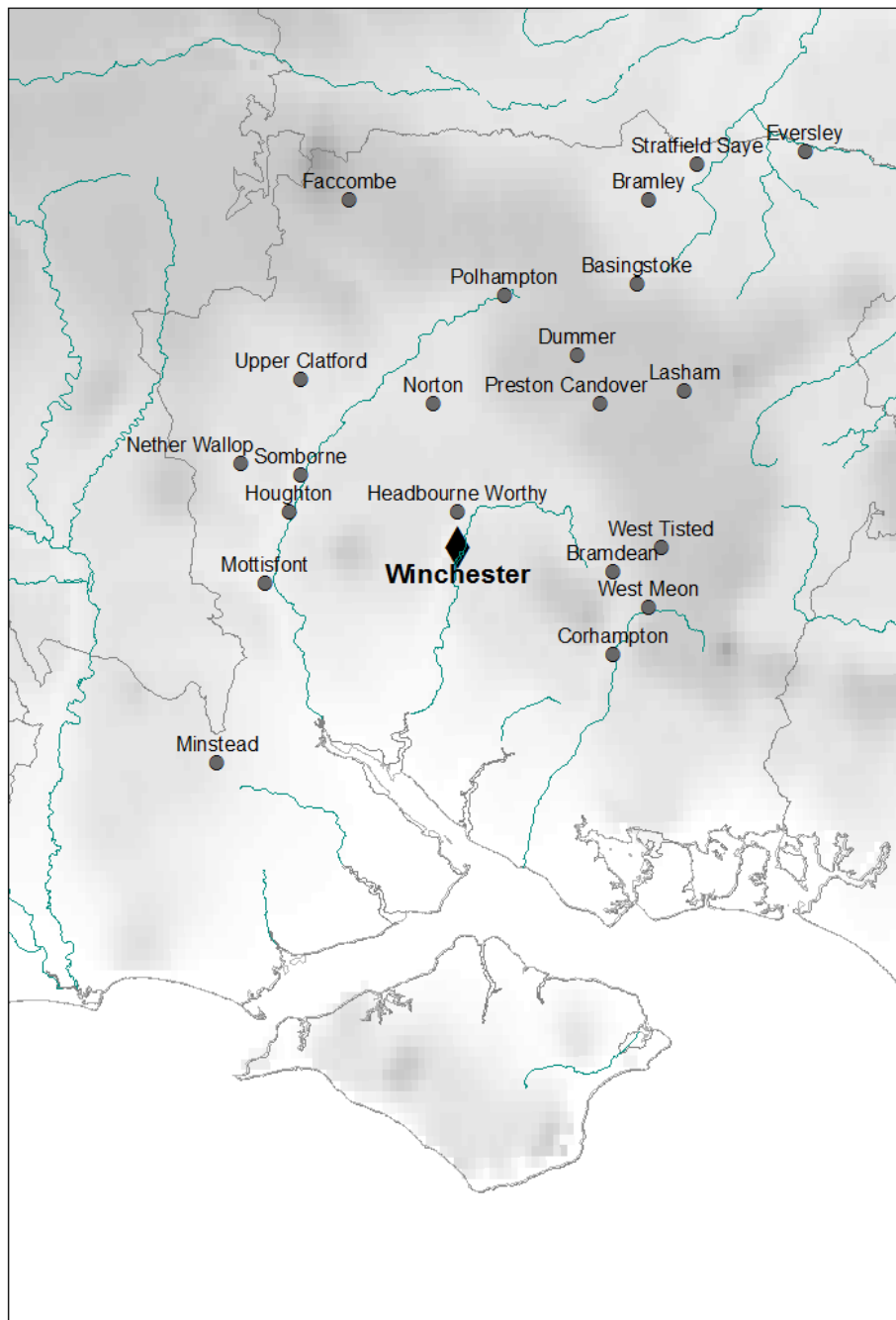


Figure 7. Rural estates in Hampshire with tenements in Winchester<sup>120</sup>

landed wealth, may have been granted estates with properties in Winchester in connection with their office.

<sup>120</sup> Taken from *Winton Domesday*, 384-6, Figure 20.

## King Edward's lordship in Hampshire

The previous section offers an overview of royal estates in Hampshire and suggests a rationale for their management by Edward the Confessor, positing that Winchester was on the southern edge of the royal heartlands during his reign. This section concerns Edward's lordship over other landholders in the shire. There are about 380 estates in Hampshire Domesday held 'from' (*de*) King Edward. As discussed in Chapter 1, usually it cannot be said with certainty whether King Edward exercised tenurial, commendatory, or jurisdictional lordship over that land.<sup>121</sup> For a comparison of royal control over landholding in 1066 and 1086 it is perhaps most helpful to consider the circumstances in which estates could revert to the king.

Before 1066, there is a sharp distinction between estates held in dependent tenure and those held freely. Estates held freely appear to have reverted to a lord only in specific circumstances. The *Rectitudines singularum personarum* describes the lord of a *gebur* taking charge of everything he leaves on his death, and the lord of a beekeeper taking everything 'unless there is anything [held freely]'. For those of higher social status (thegns, *geneats* and cottars),<sup>122</sup> their estates would revert to a lord if held in dependent tenure. Loanland reverted to its lord after its term expired, and *ex officio* land was presumably held only for as long as the earldom, sheriffdom, or other office was retained. Yet, in law, even estates held freely could be forfeited. Cnut's law code provided that bookland would be forfeited to the king, regardless of whose vassal they might be, by anyone who 'does the deed of an outlaw' (*and gyf he bocland habbe, sy þæt forworht ðam cyng to hande, sy ðæs mannes man ðe he sy*).<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> See pp. 12-13.

<sup>122</sup> Hudson, *OHLE*, II, 123.

<sup>123</sup> II Cnut 13.1: Robertson, *Laws*, 180-1.

Forfeiture explains the known examples of the reversion of estates to King Edward. The Chronicle states that Edward the Confessor brought ‘all the lands his mother owned forcibly under his own control’ in 1043. Edward also deprived Stigand, bishop of the East Angles, of his bishopric ‘and all that he owned was placed in the king’s control’ because he was Queen Emma’s closest advisor and Emma was accused of enticing King Magnus of Norway to invade.<sup>124</sup> In 1051, believing reports that Earl Godwine and his family were conspiring against him, King Edward ‘ordered a force to be called out both south of the Thames and in the north, all the best of them’ in preparation for a council held in London at which he confronted Godwine and Harold, commanding that all their thegns be handed over to him.<sup>125</sup> Edward demanded the loyalty of their men. With the support of his council, King Edward exiled both earls. In Hampshire, their comital estates reverted to the king. Their personal bookland estates were almost certainly forfeited but were not granted to new earls unlike in other parts of the country.<sup>126</sup> Even when the family had been restored to office, following Godwine’s death King Edward retained some of Godwine’s comital estates in the shire. When Tosti was exiled his private estates may have been forfeited once again to the king.<sup>127</sup> Edward the Confessor also deprived Queen Edith ‘of all that she owned, land and gold and silver and everything; and entrusted her to his sister at Wherwell’.<sup>128</sup> This was not necessarily a forfeiture of her lands for treason, but a recovery of royal lands that she held on an *ex officio* basis as queen (if the majority of her estates were royal rather than family lands).<sup>129</sup> As such, it was a statement that their marriage was over.

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<sup>124</sup> ASC C, 1043; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock, 107, citing additional information in the *Translation of St Mildred*: Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, Vol. 1, 381.

<sup>125</sup> ASC E, s.a. 1048 (*recte* 1051).

<sup>126</sup> For new appointments see Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 41.

<sup>127</sup> See p. 109.

<sup>128</sup> ASC E, s.a. 1048 (*recte* 1051). The *Vita Edwardi Regis* states instead that Edith was sent to Wilton, where she had been educated: *VEdR*, 37.

<sup>129</sup> See pp. 229-32.

It is notable how few examples there are of land reverting to the Confessor through forfeiture. These limited pre-Conquest examples of royal intervention in landholding show, in comparison, how extensive royal interventions were after 1066: seizures, forfeitures, and transfers of land characterised the reign of William the Conqueror.

### **William the Conqueror: The Conquest and the dispossession of English landholders**

William transferred vast amounts of land to his companions, transforming the tenurial structure of England. By 1086 the only survivors from the upper echelons of pre-Conquest aristocracy were relatives of Edward the Confessor: Edgar Ætheling; Harold, son of Earl Ralph (King Edward's nephew); and, in Hampshire, perhaps King Edward's sister, the abbess of Wherwell,<sup>130</sup> and Christine, Edgar Ætheling's sister, who became abbess of Romsey.<sup>131</sup> There were also a small number of pre-Conquest survivors who retained (or gained) political influence and/or military power including the sheriffs Edward of Salisbury (who held estates in Hampshire), Swein of Essex, Osbern fitzRichard Scrob,<sup>132</sup> and Northmann. A greater number continued to hold influential roles in the shire administration, and as port-reeves and fiscal officers, including Thorkil of Warwick, Colswein of Lincoln, and, in Hampshire, Alfred of Marlborough, Henry the Treasurer, and Oda of Winchester.

In total, by 1086 only forty-five English men and women continued to hold as tenants-in-chief across the kingdom.<sup>133</sup> In addition, about 376 secular landholders held

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<sup>130</sup> ASC E, s.a. 1048.

<sup>131</sup> A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 1995), 98-9.

<sup>132</sup> R. Sharpe, 'The Earliest Norman Sheriffs', *History* 101 (2016), 485-494, at 489.

<sup>133</sup> Forty-four secular, pre-Conquest landholders holding as tenants-in-chief in 1086 are identified by Baxter and Lewis in 'Landed Society', 379-82. Henry the Treasurer (*thesaurius*) also held a messuage (*mansura*) in Winchester TRE and rural and urban landholdings in Domesday TRW: *Winton Domesday*, 59, I [184].

from the king in chief as ‘king’s thegns’ (*taini regis*).<sup>134</sup> *PASE Domesday* also records 1,177 subtenants with native names in 1086. An unknown number, not recorded by Domesday, may have continued to hold as sub-subtenants. If the net income is calculated for these landholders,<sup>135</sup> there were just over 1,600 secular English landholders holding estates valued at £6,234, which represents just eight percent of the total value of land in 1086.<sup>136</sup> There can be no doubt that this reflects a dramatic restructuring of landed society. Stenton claims that the dispossession of the English aristocracy ‘shattered’ English society.<sup>137</sup> Fleming argues that the Conquest ‘radically altered’ tenurial structures, concepts of lordship, and the inheritance of land.<sup>138</sup>

In Hampshire, the figures are equally stark. In 1066 there were about 240 secular landholders named or identifiable in Hampshire Domesday of whom nine were women (including Queen Edith). By 1086, about seventy secular Norman tenants-in-chief had received estates in Hampshire valued at nearly £1,155, that is twenty-nine percent of Hampshire by value.<sup>139</sup> Just over fifty English landholders held estates, including two women. However, these fifty English landholders (the tenants-in-chief Edward of Salisbury, Alfred of Marlborough, and Henry the treasurer, and the people Domesday segregates as *taini regis*) held estates valued at only £165, just four percent of Hampshire by value.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Baxter and Lewis, ‘Landed society’, 383.

<sup>135</sup> Net income is calculated as estates held in demesne with no subtenants, plus the value of any lands held as subtenant, but excluding estates held at farm from another lord.

<sup>136</sup> Baxter and Lewis, ‘Landed society’, 373, 383.

<sup>137</sup> Stenton, ‘English Families’, 1.

<sup>138</sup> Fleming, ‘Tenurial Revolution’, 88.

<sup>139</sup> The total value of land in Hampshire was nearly £3,910 in 1086. William the Conqueror held thirty-one percent, and the church thirty-six percent by value.

<sup>140</sup> These figures reflect Thomas’ calculations for the whole kingdom that English ‘landlords’ held six percent ‘by fiscal measurement’ and 4.2 percent by value: H. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity 1066-c.1220* (Oxford, 2003), 107.

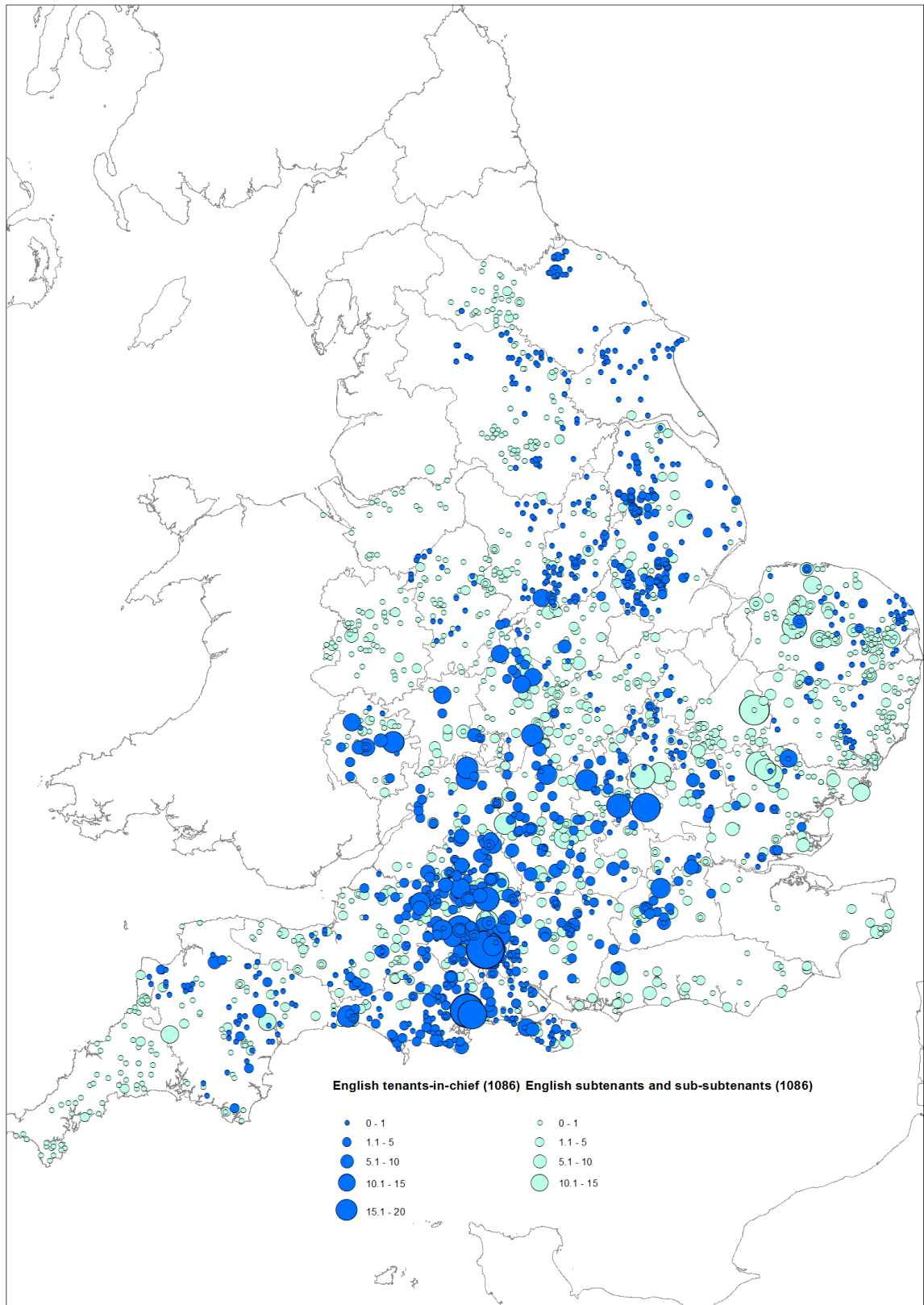


Figure 8. Estates attributed to English landholders in 1086 graded by value (£)

Two of the wealthiest survivors, Edward of Salisbury and Alfred of Marlborough, account for many of the large estates in Wiltshire and Dorset in Figure 8. Their survival perhaps relates to the management of high numbers of royal estates in these shires still paying renders in kind. It may have been advantageous to have an English-speaking sheriff and port-reeve in office. Many survivors in Hampshire held estates along the Hampshire/Wiltshire boundary to the west of the River Test, in and around the New Forest, and on the Isle of Wight: areas that were perhaps considered remote from Winchester and its hinterland because they were separated by rivers or the sea.

#### Justifications for the dispossession of the English

Contemporary justifications for the Conquest and the dispossession of pre-Conquest landholders are instructive because they framed William's policies towards the English. In the early years of the Conquest it was argued that the whole kingdom was the Conqueror's by 'hereditary right'. William of Jumièges, writing in about 1070, stated that Edward the Confessor had appointed William heir to the kingdom (*statuens heredem*).<sup>141</sup> The Conqueror's chaplain, William of Poitiers, claimed that the king's 'children and grandchildren will rule by lawful succession over the English land, which he possesses both by hereditary designation [by Edward the Confessor] confirmed by the oath of the English, and by right of conquest (*iure belli*)...And if anyone asks the reason for this blood claim, it is well-known that he was related to King Edward by close ties of blood, being the son of Duke Robert whose aunt, Emma, the sister of Richard II and daughter of Richard I, was Edward's mother'.<sup>142</sup> In early diplomas the Conqueror asserted that he was king of the English by hereditary right (*dominus iure hereditario Anglorum*).<sup>143</sup> As

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<sup>141</sup> WJ, *GND*, 159.

<sup>142</sup> Garnett, *Conquered England*, 5; WP, *GG*, 150-51.

<sup>143</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, 85, no. 159, and also nos. 112, 113, and 181.

Garnett observes, William believed the whole kingdom was his and ‘whatever land anyone held in the kingdom was therefore held either directly or intermediately of the king. Whereas royal lordship in Anglo-Saxon England was complex and did not necessarily involve a tenurial relationship, with the Conquest personal and tenurial lordship became one’.<sup>144</sup>

Justification also centred on Earl Harold’s alleged oath-breaking and ‘usurpation’ of the kingdom. Harold’s reign became seen as tyrannical and illegitimate. It became increasingly rare for his reign to be acknowledged in Norman sources. Anyone who supported Harold’s claim were liable to forfeit their lands. Garnett argues that Domesday is testimony to a wholesale restructuring of lay landholding in which every Norman landholder acquired the estate and rights of one or more English *antecessores* just as they held it on the day King Edward died, dating the Conqueror’s reign from that moment.<sup>145</sup> Following Garnett, Baxter also argues that the ‘antecessorial scheme’ was not just a means of defining each estate and the rights of the landholder, but the main justification for the land-transfer itself because:

all legitimate tenure of land in England ceased on the day King Edward was alive and dead, for that was the crucial date on which Harold perjured himself and usurped the kingdom, and from which everyone else in the kingdom had been in rebellion against Duke William, the rightful heir to the whole kingdom, because they were complicit in Harold’s crimes. It followed that only William could restore legitimate tenure by authorising the transfer of land from each *antecessor* – the person who had forfeited his land on the crucial day – to one of his tenants.<sup>146</sup>

This explains why landholders required the intervention of the king with the issue of his seal or one of his legates acting as warrantor to ensure the legitimacy of their tenure. It also explains why, after William’s coronation, the English were forced to give hostages

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<sup>144</sup> Garnett, *Conquered England*, 70.

<sup>145</sup> Garnett, *Conquered England*, 24-33, at 32; S. Baxter, ‘The Profits of Royal Lordship’, in J. Crick, C. P. Lewis, and F. Thorn, *Making Domesday: The Conqueror’s Survey in Context* (Oxford, forthcoming).

<sup>146</sup> Baxter, ‘Profits of Royal Lordship’, forthcoming.

‘and afterwards bought their lands’.<sup>147</sup> Hampshire Domesday provides valuable insights into the English redemption of their estates. There may have been a further wave of forfeitures because, within the year, on St Nicholas’s day (6 December) 1067, King William returned from Normandy and ‘gave away every man’s land’.<sup>148</sup>

As Garnett observes, ‘William of Poitiers remains revealingly unclear about the reason the English shared in [Harold’s] guilt’.<sup>149</sup> If the English people were deemed to have rebelled against William, any reconciliation achieved by the leading English nobles submitting to the Conqueror at Berkhamstead in 1066 and by William’s coronation at Christmas 1066, where ‘he promised Ealdred on Christ’s book and swore moreover (before Ealdred would place the crown on his head) that he would rule all this people as well as the best of the kings before him, if they would be loyal to him’, was short-lived. Lanfranc, appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1071, continued to perpetuate the guilt of the English, drawing on his own collection of Canon Law (the *Collectio Lanfranci*) to condemn Harold’s actions and the English failure to overthrow Harold as a tyrant.<sup>150</sup>

Whatever the justification for the land transfers, entries in Hampshire Domesday suggest that forfeiture, and the loss of property on termination of office, were reasons why pre-Conquest landholders lost estates. It is clear, however, that, in Hampshire, financial pressure was also an important mechanism used to dispossess pre-Conquest landholders and their families. Hampshire Domesday also shows some of the logistics of the redistribution of land, how this was achieved, and to what extent the transfers were controlled by the king and his agents.

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<sup>147</sup> ASC E, 1066: ‘menn guldon him gyld and gislas sealdon and syððan heora land bohtan’.

<sup>148</sup> ASC E, 1067: ‘and he geaf ælces mannes land þa he ongean com’.

<sup>149</sup> Garnett, *Conquered England*, 7.

<sup>150</sup> Garnett, *Conquered England*, 36, 327-9, at 328 (citing Trinity College MS. B. 16.44).

## The forfeiture and confiscation of estates in Hampshire

Richard fitzNigel's *Dialogue of the Exchequer* contains a passage which reveals how forfeitures during the earliest stages of the Conquest were remembered about a century later:

Post regni conquisitionem, post iustam rebellium subuersionem, cum rex ipse regisque proceres loca noua perlustrarent, facta est inquisitio diligens qui fuerint qui contra regem in bello dimicantes per fugam se saluauerint. Hiis omnibus, et item heredibus eorum qui in bello occubuerunt, spes omnis terrarium et fundorum atque reddituum quos ante possederant preclusa est...

I will freely tell you what I have been told by native-born English. When, after the Conquest and the just suppression of the rebels, the king and his nobles made a progress through the new territories, strict enquiry was made as to the persons who had fought against the king and saved themselves by flight. All these and the heirs of those who had fallen in battle were deprived of all hope of recovering their former lands, farms and rents...<sup>151</sup>

In an early writ, King William ordered Baldwin, abbot of Bury St Edmunds, to hand over the lands of any man within the soke of St Edmunds who had fought against the king and been slain.<sup>152</sup> Domesday notes that two of the three TRE holders at West Tytherley were killed at the Battle of Hastings.<sup>153</sup> It does not record the forfeiture of their estates but there were doubts about the third person's right to be in possession: the men of Broughton Hundred said they had seen neither the king's seal nor the king's legate (*sigillum vel legatum regis*) giving Alwine the rat (*Aluwinus ret*) seisin of the estate after 1066 and 'unless the king were to bear testimony' Alwine's successor, Alwig son of Thorbert, 'has nothing there'. Forfeitures also followed local rebellions, although there is no evidence of rebellion in Hampshire. Lucy Martin has shown that land was forfeited for 'outlawry' and its derivatives, with Domesday recording those 'made an outlaw' (*factus est utlagh*), 'hinting there was a legal process involved'.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 54.

<sup>152</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 39.

<sup>153</sup> GDB 50 (Hampshire: 69,16).

<sup>154</sup> L. Martin, 'The Impact of Rebellion on Little Domesday', *ANS* 27 (2004), 132-150.

Earl William's death at the Battle of Cassel on 22nd February 1071 marks the *terminus ante quem* for some of the earliest transfers of land in Hampshire.<sup>155</sup> The Godwinesons' comital estates were seized at an early stage. Countess Gytha's estates came into the Conqueror's possession at the latest when she went into exile in 1067.<sup>156</sup> Earl William oversaw the transfer of Earl Godwine's sixty-hide manor at Chalton to Roger de Montgomery, and it is possible fitzOsbern transferred Newtimber at the same time which Sired held from Earl Roger as he had from Earl Harold.<sup>157</sup> Much of the rape of Earl Roger in Sussex was formed from the estates of Earl Harold and other members of his family. Earl Roger and Earl William thus secured a vulnerable stretch of coastline early in the Conquest: Boarhunt, Warblington, Newtimber (Hampshire), and Charlton (Sussex) plus Earl Roger's estates around Portsmouth, Langstone, and Chichester Harbours ensured Earl Roger's control over these inlets on both sides of the shire boundary.

#### The use of financial pressure to dispossess landholders in Hampshire

Hampshire Domesday is unusual in the number of times it mentions the financial pressure on English landholders after 1066. In part it may be because, as Ann Williams observes, King William's demand that English landholders should redeem their lands 'affected mainly Wessex and East Anglia, the areas under tightest royal control in 1067'.<sup>158</sup> Her examples in East Anglia show that large sums were being paid by pre-Conquest holders. Abbot Brand paid forty gold marks (£240) to redeem the lands which he and his brothers had given to Peterborough Abbey, and a thegn pledged Stonham to Baldwin, abbot of

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<sup>155</sup> For Earl William's death see OV, II, 282-3.

<sup>156</sup> ASC D, *s.a.* 1067.

<sup>157</sup> GDB 44d (Hampshire: 21,6-7; 9).

<sup>158</sup> Williams, *ENC*, 8-9; ASC E, 1067.

Bury St Edmunds, for two gold marks (£12) from ‘the time when the English redeemed their lands’.<sup>159</sup>

There was a scramble for land in Hampshire. Edwin ‘of Oakhanger’ claimed that he had bought Oakhanger from King William although the shire had no knowledge of this.<sup>160</sup> At Meon, Tovi ‘of Sutton Scotney’ had ‘half of this hide by Earl William and the other part he had of the king for money’.<sup>161</sup> By 1086, Meon had been transferred to the bishop of Winchester ‘by the king’s gift’ and the remainder of Tovi’s estates had been transferred to Robert fitzGerald.<sup>162</sup> It is possible that Tovi was still alive in 1086, having been granted Bondi the staller’s estate at Knighton on the Isle of Wight also *de dono regis* (by the king’s gift).<sup>163</sup> Ælfric Hort had held Hartley Wespall from King Edward TRE,<sup>164</sup> and was described by King Edward as one of *mine fre socne men* (my free sokemen) in a diploma relating to Eversley.<sup>165</sup> Ælfric perhaps failed to redeem his original estate at Hartley Wespall but bought another estate there, previously held by Alric ‘of Nether Wallop’, from Earl William for two marks of gold.<sup>166</sup> Ælfric held lands with a combined valued of £8 before 1066 and it is remarkable that he was able to pay £12 for this estate. Proximity of estates would suggest it was the same Ælfric who also held four ploughlands *in alodium* from King Edward at Stratfield Turgis before 1066, where he had a mill for the hall. Ælfric retained this estate, but only as a sub-tenant of Hugh de Port. For Ælfric, this estate was no longer freely alienable.<sup>167</sup> Ælfric acquired two further manors at

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<sup>159</sup> LDB 360v (Suffolk, 14,39).

<sup>160</sup> *PASE Domesday*, ‘Edwin 71’ (provisional); GDB 49d (Hampshire: 69,4): ‘dicit quia emit de rege .W. sed scira nescit hoc’.

<sup>161</sup> *PASE Domesday* ‘Tovi 7’ (provisional); GDB 40c (Hampshire: 2,17): ‘medietatem huius hidae habuit Toui per Willelmum comitem, et aliam partem per percuriam suam habuit a rege’.

<sup>162</sup> *PASE Domesday* ‘Robert 57’ (provisional).

<sup>163</sup> GDB 54a (Hampshire: IoW9,15).

<sup>164</sup> *PASE Domesday*, ‘Ælfric 207’ (provisional)

<sup>165</sup> S 1129.

<sup>166</sup> GDB 49c, 50a (Hampshire: 68,9; 69,12); *PASE Domesday*, ‘Alric 12’ (provisional).

<sup>167</sup> GDB 45d (Hampshire: 23,38).

neighbouring Stratfield Saye, previously held by Godric and Siward,<sup>168</sup> although he may not have gone through the correct channels (or the earliest redemptions were chaotic) because Domesday records him holding them ‘till now without any warranty’.<sup>169</sup> Nevertheless, in 1086 Ælfric held Stratfield Saye in chief as a king’s thegn (*tainus regis*).

Many landholders may not have been able to pay the price demanded to redeem their estates and duly lost their land. Others, like Ælfric, may have prioritised which estates they sought to retain, or seized the opportunity to acquire others. The Chronicle describes King William selling land to the highest bidder and this may have been the situation that Ælfric was in.<sup>170</sup> Ælfric acquired estates previously held by Alric, Godric, and Siward. It is possible that it was the same Alric and Godric who held an unnamed estate in Redbridge hundred. Godric had been looking after it until he died when his nephew Alric took possession but without asking the king.<sup>171</sup>

However well-established inheritance customs may have been before 1066, they were disrupted by the Conquest.<sup>172</sup> Alric perhaps kept quiet about his uncle’s death almost certainly because he faced paying a relief to the king to succeed to the estate, and his negotiating position may not have been a strong one. It is an important example in Hampshire that lends weight to the argument that, after 1066, all estates were deemed to revert to the king on the death of a landholder.<sup>173</sup> From this new conceptualisation of landholding grew a system of ‘feudal’ incidents: payments from kin (normally the eldest son) to be permitted to inherit an estate; payments for marriage to heiresses; and, for widows, payments to avoid being forced to re-marry; and royal revenues arising from

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<sup>168</sup> *PASE Domesday*, ‘Godric 125’; ‘Siward 102’ (provisional)

<sup>169</sup> GDB 49d (Hampshire: 69,11).

<sup>170</sup> *ASC E*, *s.a.* 1086.

<sup>171</sup> *PASE Domesday*, ‘Alric 18’ (provisional); GDB 50c (Hampshire: 69,38).

<sup>172</sup> Baxter, ‘Profits of Royal Lordship’, forthcoming.

<sup>173</sup> Baxter, ‘Profits of Royal Lordship’, forthcoming.

wardships and religious vacancies.<sup>174</sup> Pre-Conquest payments of heriot were a ‘fixed scale’ of death duties determined by the deceased’s legal status; after 1066 those hoping to inherit or succeed to an estate paid what has been characterised by Garnett as a ‘bribe’ to the king or (for subtenancies) the lord of that estate.<sup>175</sup> If pre-Conquest landholders managed to redeem their estates in 1066, their heirs may have found it increasingly difficult to retain them.

Urban landholding was also affected. The citizens of London had been assured by William the Conqueror ‘that every child shall be his father’s heir after his father’s death’.<sup>176</sup> The space at the start of the Middlesex folios in Domesday was probably reserved for a summary of London which was never added, and no other sources survive which reveal the extent to which this declaration was honoured. Similarly, Winchester was not summarised at the beginning of the Hampshire folios, but *Winton Domesday* gives some insight into the fate of the urban population between c. 1057 and c. 1110. It is striking that there are only ten clear examples of properties in Winchester being held by the same family either side of the Conquest.<sup>177</sup> This may typify a normal and rapid turn-over of properties within urban populations. Yet family arrangements referred to in a forged charter for Westminster Abbey, which may contain genuine confirmatory grants by the Conqueror, indicate many urban properties had been heritable before 1066.<sup>178</sup> In Winchester TRE, 71.3 percent of names were native names and 28.7 percent were continental names, calculated by the number of occurrences in the Edwardian survey. By c. 1110, 37.9 percent were native names and 62.1 percent were continental which reflects

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<sup>174</sup> Baxter and Lewis, ‘Landed Society’, 375.

<sup>175</sup> Garnett, *Conquered England*, 113.

<sup>176</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 180: ‘þæt ælc cyld beo his fæder yrfrume æfter his fæder dæge’.

<sup>177</sup> *Winton Domesday*, I [76], [85], [133], [135], [139], [155], [160], [184], [203], [266].

<sup>178</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 290.

changes in naming-patterns but may also reflect the insecurity of tenure in the Conquest period and displacement of the English.<sup>179</sup>

The evidence for inheritance on rural estates in Hampshire Domesday during the Conquest is both complex and intriguing. Broadly speaking, if an English landholder continued to hold their land after 1066, often because they offered a specialist or valued skill, and the next generation also offered similar skills, the family was sometimes permitted to retain the estate. Table 1 lists instances where Domesday makes it clear that the TRE and TRW holders were related.<sup>180</sup> Several of these men were connected with the royal forests: Ælfric Small inherited his father's estates at Brockenhurst, the huntsman Wulfric Waula succeeded his father at Lockerley and Somborne, and the sons of Godric Malf acquired their father's estates.<sup>181</sup> The long-term survival of these three families is reasonably clear and it is likely that their descendants continued to hold their estates. Indeed, the families of Ælfric Small (Spileman and de Brockley descendants) and Godric Malf (de Ivez descendants) continued to thrive for many generations after the Conquest.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 184-187, at 184.

<sup>180</sup> There are no female landholders in this category in Hampshire.

<sup>181</sup> GDB 50a-d (Hampshire: 69,18-20; 25; 38; 47); GDB 51d (Hampshire: NF9,41; 44).

<sup>182</sup> See pp. 204-6.

Table 1. Pre-Conquest survivors in Hampshire who succeeded to their fathers' estates

Vill	Hundred	Holder 1066	Holder 1086	Value 1086
Over Wallop	Broughton	Father of 4 Englishmen	4 Englishmen	0.5
Brockenhurst	Boldre	Ælfric Small's father	Ælfric Small	2
Efford	Rowditch	Ælfric Small's father	Ælfric Small	0.5
-	Redbridge	Alric's father	Alric nephew of Godric	0.75
Tytherley	Broughton	Sæwulf 'of Tytherley'	Alwig son of Sæwulf	2
Mottisfont	Broughton	Eadwulf's father	Eadwulf, king's thegn	0.03
Chalcroft	Bowcombe	Oirant's father	Oirant	0.25
Ashley	Rowditch	Godric Malf	Sons of Godric Malf	0.75
Bisterne	Ringwood	Godric Malf	Sons of Godric Malf	2
Crow	Ringwood	Godric Malf	Sons of Godric Malf	1.25
Minstead	Boldre	Godric Malf	Sons of Godric Malf	1
Hanger	Redbridge	Godric Malf	Sons of Godric Malf	0.5
Lockerley	Broughton	Wulfric's father	Wulfric Waula (hunter)	0.25
Somborne	Somborne	Wulfric's father	Wulfric Waula (hunter)	1

Figure 9 below shows the estates of Hampshire families who held the same estates in 1066 and 1086. The black dots represent estates where Domesday does not give a 'later' (*postea*) value. Most black dot estates were held by landholders with English names in 1086 and there may be a degree of continuity in landholding. Estates that are circled show where there is an obvious link between the TRE and TRW holders.

One of the most striking features in Figure 9 is the absence of 'later' valuations in Domesday on seventy-six percent of estates held by surviving families. This valuation is thought to have been made when the estate was transferred to a new holder during the Conquest. It may be a regional quirk in the survey because this information is missing mainly in the New Forest and King's Forest hundreds, and on the Isle of Wight. However, the correlation with English survivors is so specific, and so strong that it may reveal an important aspect of the land transfers in Hampshire: it suggests estates that were redeemed rather than transferred were not re-valued. Indeed, these estates were perhaps not even redeemed west of the Test. The estate remained with the same family with minimal official intervention. Does this reflect a mental map of the Conquest in Hampshire with less official intervention to the west and south-west of the River Test? In the New Forest, however, where King William destroyed existing estates to make way for protected

hunting grounds, many estates that survived had their value reassessed, whether held by English or French landholders.

A later valuation is given when English survivors, who were among the Conqueror's 'new men', were granted new estates. They include grants to Alfred of Marlborough (Shipton Bellinger and Eastrop), Alsige the chamberlain (Steventon), Sigeric the chamberlain (Farleigh Wallop), Durand of Gloucester (Cliddeston and Weston Corbett), Edward of Salisbury (Bramshott), Henry the treasurer (Soberton, Eastleigh, and Nutley), and Oda of Winchester (Dibden, Sutton Scotney, Norton, Bramdean, and Dummer). Interestingly, it seems these men still favoured estates in the Hampshire Downs (Figure 9).<sup>183</sup>

Notwithstanding the survivors recorded in Figure 9, Appendix A shows that many English landholders had disappeared from the Domesday record by 1086. Ongoing financial pressure on survivors through the imposition of geld was onerous and may have caused more people to lose estates as the Conquest progressed. Paul Hyams notes that it 'undoubtedly forced land transfers in ways that must frequently have provoked violent disseisin'.<sup>184</sup> Before his return to Normandy in the spring of 1067, King William 'laid taxes on people very severely'.<sup>185</sup> John of Worcester states that when William subsequently returned from Normandy before the winter he 'imposed an unbearable tax upon the English'.<sup>186</sup> A famous passage in Hemming's cartulary refers to laws, enacted by Cnut, that those who could not pay the geld lost their land to those who could pay,<sup>187</sup> and it is probable that a similar principle operated after 1066.

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<sup>183</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>184</sup> P. Hyams, 'No Register of Title: The Domesday Inquest and Land Adjudication', *ANS* 9 (1988), 127-141, at 128.

<sup>185</sup> *ASC* D, 1067: 'Swapeah leide gyld on mannum swiðe stið'.

<sup>186</sup> *JW*, iii, 5: 'Angliis importabile tributum imposuit'.

<sup>187</sup> II Cnut, cap. 79; *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. T. Hearne, Vol. 1 (Oxford, 1723), 278; Williams, *ENC*, 12-13; A. Williams, 'The Spoliation of Worcester', *ANS* 19 (1997), 383-408, at 384-385; M. K. Lawson, 'The Collection of Danegeld and Heregeld in the Reigns of Aethelred II and Cnut', *EHR* 99 (1984), 721-738, at 724.

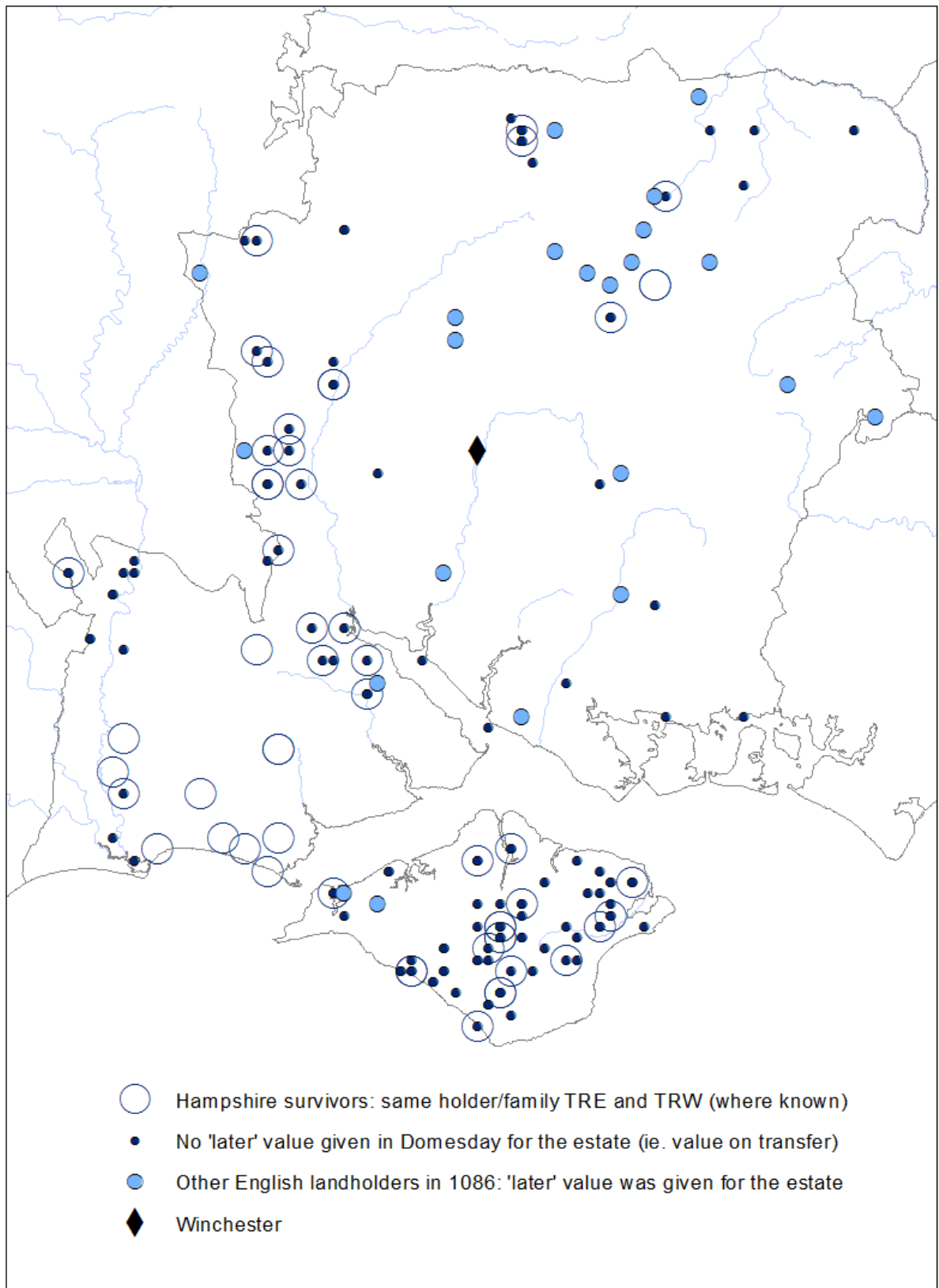


Figure 9. Hampshire families who held the same estates in 1066 and 1086

There are hints of this policy in Domesday. The sheriff of Hertfordshire, Peter de Valognes, seized land at Libury from a sokeman unable to pay the geld, although the men of the hundred argued the confiscation had been unlawful as Libury was exempt from geld.<sup>188</sup> In fact, Domesday suggests Cnut's law was extended to all forms of payment. At Chadwell (Essex), Godmann forfeited twenty acres because he could not pay a fine, but Grim (the reeve) offered 30s to the king for it. Grim was given the land on the authority (*per licentiam*) of Hubert de Port, a kinsman of Hugh de Port, who was acting as a legate for the king in East Anglia confirming seisin of land and adjudicating disputes.<sup>189</sup> The cost of redeeming estates, and of having to pay reliefs on the death of family members combined with the geld, may have been crushing for many English landholders.

Perhaps to increase the pressure still further, in 1070 King William 'on the advice of William [fitzOsbern], earl of Hereford, and of some others, ordered that the monasteries all over England be searched and that the wealth which the richer English had deposited in them, because of his ravaging and violence, be seized and taken to his treasury'.<sup>190</sup> This was a further blow for people trying to protect themselves and their families financially. The owner of 3,000 silver pennies (£12.10s) at Chancton (Sussex) had chosen, instead, to bury his wealth in an earthenware pot in 1066 or 1067, although the hoard was never recovered,<sup>191</sup> as did another landholder in the Chew Valley, Somerset, who buried 2,528 pennies (£10.10s) at a similar time.<sup>192</sup>

In Hampshire, financial pressure may have forced some people to pledge certain estates for cash. Cola of Basing bought (*redemit*) *Sudberie*, in the north-east of

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<sup>188</sup> GDB 141a (Hertfordshire: 36,9); Williams, *ENC*, 13.

<sup>189</sup> LDB 98 (Essex: 83,2).

<sup>190</sup> JW, iii, 11.

<sup>191</sup> Baxter and Lewis, 'Landed Society', 157; Chancton was held by Æschere: C.P. Lewis, 'Æschere 2'. *PASE Domesday*.

<sup>192</sup> G. Williams, 'The Chew Valley Hoard', *British Archaeology* 356 (November, 2019), 14-19.

Hampshire, from Earl William.<sup>193</sup> Cola's kinsmen, Eadnoth the staller and Eadwig 'of Sudberie', held it TRE.<sup>194</sup> The redemption occurred between Eadnoth the staller's death in Somerset in 1067, fighting Harold II's sons, and fitzOsbern's death in 1071.<sup>195</sup> Bates suggests Cola of Basing may be Cola the huntsman. Cola continued to serve as an official in Hampshire until at least 1070 if he was the same man addressed in a writ of William the Conqueror.<sup>196</sup> Upon Cola's death, perhaps in the early 1070s, his son perhaps paid a relief to inherit *Sudberie*. At some point, however, Cola's son had to pledge it to Walter 'of Sudberie' to raise cash.<sup>197</sup>

Alsige of Hatch, addressed in the same writ, had to pledge Hatch Warren to Oda of Winchester for £10 'by grant of King William'.<sup>198</sup> Like Faccombe Netherton, the site of this estate has been excavated and parallel timber structures (possibly two halls) and a church, perhaps forming a manorial complex, have been discovered which may date from the mid to late eleventh century.<sup>199</sup> Alsige survived as a royal official within the shire after 1066, and it is not clear why he pledged the estate which gave him his byname and may have been connected with his office. These examples reinforce suspicions that surviving families struggled to retain their entire landholding in Hampshire during the conquest period.

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<sup>193</sup> GDB 50a (Hampshire: 69,13).

<sup>194</sup> See p. 136.

<sup>195</sup> ASC D, 1067.

<sup>196</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 339.

<sup>197</sup> *PASE Domesday*: Cola of Basing may be 'Cola 22' and 'Cola 23' with an estate at Basing in north Hampshire bridging the gap; 'Eadnoth 17'; 'Eadwig 48'; and 'Walter 61' (all provisional).

<sup>198</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Alsige 38' (provisional); GDB 49 (Hampshire: 67,1).

<sup>199</sup> P. J. Fasham and G. Keevill, *Brighton Hill South (Hatch Warren): an Iron Age Farmstead and Deserted Medieval Village in Hampshire*, Wessex Archaeology Report 7 (Salisbury, 1995), 77, 83-90. I am grateful to John Blair for this reference.

## The logistics of the land transfers

Earl William authorised the redemption of land and the allocation of new grants in the early years of the Conquest in Hampshire. There are also references to direct intervention by the king throughout his reign. Meon was purchased by Tovi from the king, and later given to the bishop of Winchester ‘by the king’s gift’.<sup>200</sup> King William returned Laverstoke for the sake of his soul to the New Minster following the death of Wulfifu Beteslau (p. 262); the king also permitted and attested Ernulf de Hesdin’s grant of Linkenholt to St Peter’s of Gloucester.<sup>201</sup> There was a conflict at Hatch Warren, which Alsige of Hatch had pledged to Oda of Winchester with the king’s permission, but King William had also granted it to Geoffrey, chamberlain of Matilda, the king’s daughter.<sup>202</sup> At Hartley Mauditt, the men of the shire complained that they had not seen the king’s writ or seal that had reduced its hidage assessment from six to three hides.<sup>203</sup>

Several examples above show that the king had oversight of landholding in the shire. Stephen Baxter suggests that geld lists, master copies of which were kept centrally at the treasury (in Winchester), provided the king with a list of landholders and an assessment of their landholding in every hundred, in every shire. Surviving examples from Northamptonshire and Exon show that these accounts were updated from the reign of Edward the Confessor throughout the conquest period.<sup>204</sup> Baxter argues that the ‘king and his inner circle of advisers probably worked directly from geld lists during the most intensive phases of the great confiscation, in the late 1060s and early 1070s, replacing the names of pre-Conquest landholders, termed ‘antecessors’ (*antecessores*) in Domesday, with the names of their successors in each list’; that writs transferring land went via the

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<sup>200</sup> GDB 40c (Hampshire: 2,17); *PASE Domesday*, ‘Tovi 7’ (provisional).

<sup>201</sup> GDB 43b (Hampshire: 6,12; 7,1); Bates, *RRAN*, no. 154.

<sup>202</sup> GDB 49b (Hampshire: 67,1); *PASE Domesday*, ‘Alsige 38’ (provisional).

<sup>203</sup> GDB 47c (Hampshire: 35,2).

<sup>204</sup> Baxter, ‘Profits of Royal Lordship’, forthcoming.

treasury so that geld lists could be updated before they were delivered to the shire and hundred courts; and that a staff of ‘literate royal chaplains or priests’ guided by men such as Regenbald the chancellor who ‘understood the technologies of the English state’ knew where to find relevant information to make all this possible.<sup>205</sup> This would have ensured a high level of centralised control over the process. It would also explain why, in Hampshire, an unauthorised land-grab by Ralph de Mortimer at Droxford left the monks of the Old Minster still paying geld.<sup>206</sup> Presumably the underlying geld list had not been altered. Wherever the lists were updated, the TRW holder stepped into the shoes of the TRE holder (*antecessor*) of the land. It would also explain the importance of the hundred jurors and the testimony of the ‘men of the shire’ whose knowledge of local landholders and landholding in Hampshire was crucial during the Domesday Inquiry, especially where there were discrepancies with the geld records.

There are three significant antecessorial grants within Hampshire where all or nearly all the lands of a pre-Conquest holder were transferred to one of the king’s barons. Antecessorial grants were a means of transferring significant swathes of land although relatively few honours can be shown to be formed in this way.<sup>207</sup> Most of Cypping of Worthy’s estates were transferred to Ralph de Mortimer by 1086, along with Cypping’s tenements in Winchester.<sup>208</sup> This grant made Ralph the fourth wealthiest secular tenant-in-chief in Hampshire after Hugh de Port, Earl Roger, and Count Eustace. It is possible that Cypping retained a ploughland at Chilcomb from the bishop of Winchester valued at £2 in 1086, and, as *tainus regis*, succeeded Esbern Bigga on a favourably hidated estate at Preston Candover (£2).<sup>209</sup> The date of this antecessorial grant is not known, but it would

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<sup>205</sup> Baxter, ‘Profits of Royal Lordship’, forthcoming.

<sup>206</sup> GDB 41c (Hampshire: 3,9).

<sup>207</sup> Baxter and Lewis, ‘Landed Society’, 45-8.

<sup>208</sup> *PASE Domesday*, ‘Cypping 6’; ‘Ralph 27’(provisional); *Winton Domesday*, 54-5, I [141-2].

<sup>209</sup> GDB 41a, d (Hampshire: 3,1; 69,6).

give a different impression of the Conquest if it was made in 1084 rather than in 1067, for example, hypothetically after Cypping had continued to serve for many years as a royal official.<sup>210</sup> Fleming has argued that antecessorial grants were among the earliest grants during the Conquest, reasoning that the estates of important local thegns were transferred to Norman landholders before composite territorial fiefs formed around them.<sup>211</sup> Yet territorial fiefs could have formed, equally, around the landholding of an important thegn who survived, in which case the antecessorial grant could have been made at any stage during the conquest period.

Bernard Pancevolt held as tenant-in-chief in Hampshire and Wiltshire, having received these estates from Godwine of Worthy. Bernard also held as a subtenant, mainly of Thurstan fitzRolf, in Somerset, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, and Dorset.<sup>212</sup> The antecessorial grant of Godwine's lands to Bernard happened reasonably early because Bernard was already installed in Hampshire at *Hardley*, in Redbridge Hundred, before it was taken into the New Forest between c. 1071 and 1079.<sup>213</sup>

Alfred of Marlborough received an antecessorial grant of all estates held by Carl 'of Norton Bavant' in Somerset, Wiltshire, Surrey, and Hampshire. He gained two estates in Hampshire, together valued at £14, at Eastrop and Shipton Bellinger near the royal manors at Basingstoke and Broughton respectively.<sup>214</sup> Like Edward of Salisbury, Alfred was one of the most successful survivors in Wiltshire. He had enjoyed moderate landed wealth before 1066 (£25) and acquired considerable landed wealth by 1086 (£269 including £128 of subinfeudated estates). The borough of Marlborough paid £4 from the

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<sup>210</sup> See below pp. 216-22.

<sup>211</sup> Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 161-2.

<sup>212</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Godwine 169'; 'Bernard 7' (provisional).

<sup>213</sup> GDB 51c (Hampshire: NF9,10). For the date of the New Forest see p. 95-6.

<sup>214</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Carl 2', 'Alfred 99' (provisional); 47d (Hampshire: 36,1-2).

third penny owed to the king, and Alfred's toponym suggests that he exercised administrative functions there.

Other fiefs in Hampshire were made up piecemeal from the estates of several pre-Conquest landholders. Many grants were implemented by the Conqueror's legates (*legati*) and 'liberators' (*liberatores*) of land who delivered individual writs to landholders or writs giving general instructions to the shire and hundred courts. There are several references in Hampshire to the men of the shire or hundred court having seen, or having not seen the king's writ or seal confirming a landholder's entitlement to an estate.<sup>215</sup> King Edward's seal was also produced on occasion, but only to confirm the *status quo* at the end of his reign: at the royal manor of Rockbourne, Alwig son of Thorbert claimed one virgate was 'quit and geld-free' (*quieta et soluta fuit*) for which he had King Edward's seal, and Sæwine 'of Hurstbourne Priors' also produced King Edward's seal to confirm his half-hide was outside the royal farm.<sup>216</sup>

Land transfers were made throughout the reign.<sup>217</sup> King William's *legati* dealt with the transfers and had authority to settle minor disputes. In Suffolk, Hubert de Port judged (*derationavit*) Aspall to be free land following a dispute concerning pre-Conquest forms of lordship, and seised (*saisiuit*) the Bishop of Bayeux of it because it was held by freemen.<sup>218</sup> The same entry refers to a plea held at King William's estate at Odiham (Hampshire) dealing with the aftermath of the Revolt of the Earls in 1075 and the forfeiture of Earl Ralph's estates. Hubert de Port had a solitary estate five miles from Odiham in Mapledurwell, and it is likely that he was present.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> GDB 39b, 47c, 50a (Hampshire: 1,42; 35,2; 69,16). See, for example, Alwine the Rat, p. 59.

<sup>216</sup> GDB 50b (Hampshire: 59,30; 33).

<sup>217</sup> For example Bates, *RRAN*, nos. 70, 129, 290.

<sup>218</sup> Fleming, *Law*, 437; LDB 450 (Suffolk: 77,1-4).

<sup>219</sup> GDB 46c (Hampshire: 24,1). For Odiham, see pp. 78, 112.

The record of lawsuits in Domesday also reveals the predation of lands. There is no separate *clamores* section in Hampshire Domesday, but four disputes are mentioned within the text. Queen Matilda adjudicated a plea by Ealdred, brother of Oda of Winchester, who claimed a virgate of land at Compton (Hampshire) from William the archer.<sup>220</sup> Domesday records that Ealdred held it in 1066, was dispossessed ‘after King William had crossed the sea’, but established his right to it before Queen Matilda. Hugh de Port and the men of Somborne Hundred confirmed Matilda’s decision before the Domesday commissioners. Hugh de Port’s claim against Picot over part of South Charford turned on the exact nature of pre-Conquest lordship over the estate.<sup>221</sup> William de Chernet represented Hugh at the hearing (possibly because Hugh was involved elsewhere with the survey). The plea was still in contention as Great Domesday was being written with the witnesses refusing ‘to accept [any] law except that of King Edward until it be determined by the king’. In a third case, a marginal note on folio forty-eight, which appears to have been written after the entry was first drafted, reports that King William returned Itchen Abbas to Nunnaminster which had been appropriated by Hugh fitzBaldric.<sup>222</sup> It is one of a few examples of a dispute being resolved in 1086 or shortly after. Finally, at Droxford (Hampshire) Ralph de Mortimer took half a virgate from the monks of Winchester by force, and this dispute appears to have remained unresolved when Great Domesday Book was written.<sup>223</sup> Overall, the record in Hampshire Domesday suggests the land transfers were tightly controlled by the king and his agents. Ealdred’s plea shows complaints about predation were dealt with throughout the Conqueror’s reign at least for those with sufficient status and resources. There were few disputes still outstanding in 1086.

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<sup>220</sup> GDB 48d (Hampshire: 53,2); pp. 214-15.

<sup>221</sup> GDB 44d (Hampshire: 23,3)

<sup>222</sup> GDB 48b (Hampshire: 44,1).

<sup>223</sup> GDB 41c (Hampshire: 3,9).

In conclusion, it is not clear from Hampshire Domesday how many estates were simply confiscated by the king, how many were lost because the cost of redemption was pitched higher than English landholders could afford, or how extensive forfeitures were across the shire. Hampshire Domesday does show the financial pressure on landholders and many perhaps failed to redeem their estates or forfeited them, for non-payment of geld and other dues, as the Conquest progressed. Furthermore, the pre-Conquest norms of inheritance were largely overturned. Seventy new tenants-in-chief were introduced into the shire, who owed their landholding to the king. Yet there was a higher rate of survival west of the River Test, in the south-west of Hampshire, and on the Isle of Wight which reveal regional variations in the Conquest: land remote from Winchester was perhaps less sought after by the new Norman elite and/or royal officials (primarily huntsmen and foresters) in these regions were allowed to retain or were granted more estates. Underpinning these changes was a marked increase in the level of royal control over landholding, with direct intervention by the king and his agents in the transfer of land. It represents a profound change in the scope of royal lordship by 1086.

### **Overview of the estates of William the Conqueror<sup>224</sup>**

By 1086 William the Conqueror had gained an unprecedented level of landed wealth and power in England. He held over 3,800 estates. Those held in demesne had a combined value of £17,831. He had subinfeudated estates valued at £2,880 of which estates rendering £1,626 were held at farm from the king. Accordingly, King William's total landholding was worth £20,711 and his net income was £18,203.<sup>225</sup> In comparison,

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<sup>224</sup> Figures produced by Alex Dymond in his assessment of King William's landholding and landed wealth are adopted here: R. Dymond, 'William I', *PASE Domesday*; 'The Estates of William the Conqueror: Royal and Ducal Property in England and Normandy in the Eleventh Century', unpublished D.Phil., University of Oxford, forthcoming.

<sup>225</sup> Net income: £17,831.04 (land held in chief) plus £1,626.42 (land held at farm) minus £1,254.04 (subinfeudated estates).

Edward the Confessor held just over 800 estates, with a combined value of £8,230 excluding lordships.

Initially, William is likely to have acquired the lands of his predecessors, King Harold II and Edward the Confessor, and the estates of Harold's brothers, Tosti, Leofwine, and Gyrrh, killed at the battles of Stamford Bridge and Hastings.<sup>226</sup> In percentage terms by value, just under fifty percent of the Conqueror's estates had been held by the Confessor. In total, William retained estates valued at £4,100 from all pre-Conquest countesses and earls who had died or been imprisoned by 1086, which formed twenty-four percent of his landholding. The lands of Queen Edith, valued at £1,308, also passed to King William when she died in 1075, if not before. Land valued at a further £2,616 came from other pre-Conquest landholders, mainly thegns, and £590 from ecclesiastical landholders. In 1086, William's net income was considerably higher than that of the next richest landholders in England, his half-brother, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury (Appendix C). William's personal wealth set him apart but it was William's control over landholding in the kingdom that drove the Conquest.<sup>227</sup> People were seised and disseised of land at his discretion, estates were deemed to revert to him on the death of a landholder, and he was the final arbiter of land disputes.

Figure 10 shows the source of estates which King William retained in 1086 to consolidate his power or to extend its reach. In brief, William kept key comital estates in shires where King Edward had not had a strong presence. Archbishop Stigand's disgrace in 1071 brought William a windfall of Stigand's family estates in Norfolk and

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<sup>226</sup> William kept about ninety percent of King Edward and Queen Edith's lands, and twenty percent of the Godwineson lands.

<sup>227</sup> Baxter and Lewis, 'Landed Society', 375-8.

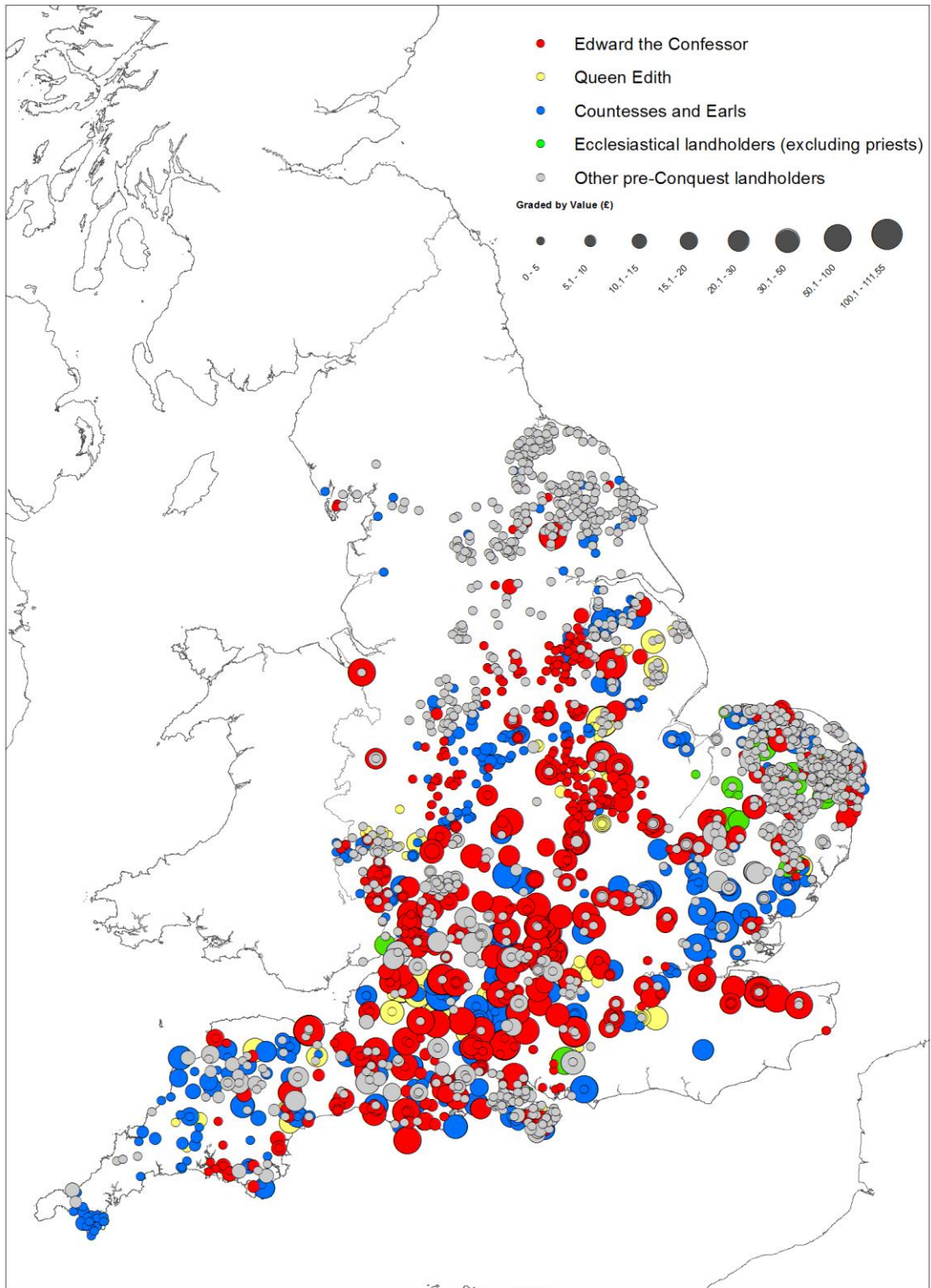


Figure 10. Estates of William the Conqueror by *antecessor*

Suffolk. King William's retention of thegny estates in the north-east, presumably forfeited after the northern rebellion, reinforced royal authority in this region.

### **King William's estates in Hampshire**

Similar considerations may have influenced William's landholding in Hampshire. William held about 100 estates with an annual valuation of £1,213 (excluding those with no value in 1086 which had been taken entirely into the New Forest).<sup>228</sup> The king's demesne estates were valued at £1,085, and he had subinfeudated estates valued at £128 of which six estates were held at farm from the king, paying just under £90. William's net income was £1,175 including renders from estates held at farm. The income from other subinfeudated estates has been attributed to the king's subtenants although William may have obtained some income and benefits from these lordships through military service, other obligations, and dues.

The Conqueror's manors included all of Edward the Confessor's estates. This is in sharp contrast to the arrangements in the Sussex rapes where King William assigned virtually all the royal estates to support the castles at Hastings, Pevensey, Lewes, Bramber, and Arundel.<sup>229</sup> In Hampshire, William also retained the estates of Queen Edith except Alton and Kingsclere which he transferred to Riwallon, abbot of the New Minster Winchester, in compensation for lands lost when the royal palace was extended in Winchester.

King William did not retain all the comital estates. He kept some of the larger estates in the north of the shire, most notably Harold's estate at Odiham. Richard Dennis has drawn attention to the importance of the estate. Dennis contends that there was almost certainly a royal residence there, observing that Odiham had 'the largest population recorded by Domesday for any Hampshire estate', that 'in 1130 the sheriff was pardoned £4.18s for repairs to the king's houses' at Odiham, and that it was the chosen venue in

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<sup>228</sup> Where a render is given alongside a value the render is used in the calculation rather than the valuation.

<sup>229</sup> Stenton, *ASE*, 623.

Hampshire for the lawsuit concerning Aspoll (Suffolk).<sup>230</sup> King William also kept Earl Tosti's valuable and well-resourced estates at Ringwood and Holdenhurst in the Avon valley, alongside Edward the Confessor's estate at Twynham, on the western edge of the New Forest. King William retained Freshwater, Afton, Compton, and Brook in West Medine (Isle of Wight). These perhaps helped provision his estates in the Avon valley which may have been navigable as far as Salisbury.<sup>231</sup> In East Medine, William held Countess Gytha's estate at Wroxall and Earl Harold's estates at Heasley and Kern.

The acquisition of these estates secured a strong royal presence along the coast and on the Isle of Wight. The fact that William held estates in neighbouring counties at Langton Herring, Fleet, Portland (possibly overturning a grant of this manor by Edward the Confessor to the Old Minster), Purbeck, Sutton Poyntz, Chaldon, Winfrith Newborough, Lulworth, and Bosham leaves little doubt that the Conqueror valued estates that gave him a greater degree of direct control over these stretches of coastline than that held by King Edward.

King William's position was further strengthened on the Isle of Wight by about forty estates previously held by thegns. A quarter of these estates were put at a farm higher than their value by 1086, one of which (Wellow) had been subinfeudated and was being farmed from the king. Together, the thegns' estates were valued at £120, and contributed over half of King William's income from land (£226) from the Isle of Wight. The circumstances in which these thegns lost or relinquished their estates on the island is unknown. Several of the thegns may have been royal officials including Oda of Winchester, Dunna at Alvington (who is likely to have held Carisbrooke Castle TRE), Cypping of Worthy, Alric 'of Dummer', and Sæwine 'of Hurstbourne Priors'. By 1086

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<sup>230</sup> Dennis, 'Domesday Hampshire', 89-90; LDB 450 (Suffolk: 77,1-4). See also p. 112.

<sup>231</sup> For the Avon see Hill, *Atlas*, 10-11.

these survivors had lost most of their lands except for Oda, who was probably still in office.<sup>232</sup> William also gained many estates in the south-west of Hampshire as a result of the land clearances for the creation of the New Forest.

#### The farm of one night in 1086

In Hampshire, full and half-day's renders from each night's farm estate increased by 1086 (Table 2 below). Such increases may have been achieved by greater efficiencies in the way the estates were managed. It is also possible that any part of the render still paid in kind was now demanded in cash. The original obligations of hospitality and food renders peculiar to night's farm manors may well have become increasingly irrelevant as King William spent longer periods of time in Normandy.<sup>233</sup> There may have been a greater surplus of provisions on these estates no longer required for the king which could now be sold.<sup>234</sup> Increasing numbers of night's farms in surrounding shires saw their renders commuted to cash payments between 1066 and 1086, no doubt because produce could only be warehoused for a limited time.<sup>235</sup> Domesday may give a patchy account of the night's farms manors because, by 1086, many were paying a revenue just like other royal manors, and it was no longer relevant to record their earlier status.

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<sup>232</sup> See pp. 207-16.

<sup>233</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, 75-84; see k 12 below.

<sup>234</sup> S. Baxter, pers. comm.

<sup>235</sup> This appears to have occurred on the night's farm manors in Somerset, at Chippenham and Tilshead (Wiltshire), Awre (Gloucestershire), and the night's farm manors in Bedfordshire. Renders in kind may have continued on the night's farm manors in Dorset; Calne, Bedwyn, Amesbury and Warminster (Wiltshire); Bitton and Westbury (Gloucestershire); Basingstoke, Hurstbourne Tarrant, Kingsclere, and Andover in the north of Hampshire; and possibly Linton (Herefordshire): for a summary see Lavelle, 'Royal Estates', 24.

Table 2. The *antecessores* of William the Conqueror in Hampshire (excluding Southampton and the New Forest) with known and probable night's farm estates in bold

Vill	Phill. ref	1066 holder	1066 hidage	1066 value	1086 value
<b>Neatham</b>	<b>1,2</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>76.67</b>	<b>118.64</b>
<b>Meonstoke</b>	<b>1,15</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>1.50</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Wymering</b>	<b>1,9</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Cosham</b>	<b>1,10</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>4.00</b>	<b>2.47</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Portchester</b>	<b>1,11</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Barton Stacey</b>	<b>1,17</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>6.00</b>	<b>38.42</b>	<b>52.38</b>
<b>Broughton</b>	<b>1,21</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>76.67</b>	<b>104.61</b>
<b>East Dean</b>	<b>1,22</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Nether Wallop</b>	<b>1,23</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Eling</b>	<b>1,27</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>38.42</b>	<b>52.30</b>
<b>Lyndhurst [Amesbury]</b>	<b>1,31</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>1.75</b>	<b>5.25</b>	<b>0.44</b>
<b>Rockbourne</b>	<b>1,36</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Breamore</b>	<b>1,37</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>13.50</b>
<b>Breamore</b>	<b>1,37</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>2.50</b>	<b>2.58</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Lower Burgate</b>	<b>1,38</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>0.25</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Andover</b>	<b>1,41</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Basingstoke</b>	<b>1,42</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>24.96</b>	<b>34.22</b>
<b>Winchester</b>	<b>1,42</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0.49</b>	<b>0.49</b>
<b>Kingsclere</b>	<b>1,43</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>25.61</b>	<b>34.87</b>
<b>Hurstbourne Tarrant</b>	<b>1,44</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>24.91</b>	<b>34.17</b>
<b>Titchfield [Meonstoke]</b>	<b>1,45</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>2.00</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Kings Somborne</b>	<b>1,47</b>	<b>King Edward</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
Christchurch	1,28	King Edward	0.25	19.00	25.00
Sandford	1,W3	King Edward	3.00	25.00	26.42
Arreton	1,W4	King Edward	3.75	9.00	11.00
Yaverland	1,W5	King Edward	0	5.00	5.00
Anstey	1,4	Queen Edith	5.00	2.50	2.50
Greatham	1,5	Queen Edith	1.00	3.00	3.00
Selborne	1,7	Queen Edith	0	0.62	0.42
Upton	1,24	Queen Edith	1.00	4.00	4.00
Wootton	1,W22	Queen Edith	1.00	3.00	3.00
Odiham	1,1	Earl Harold	78.50	50.00	50.00
Over Wallop	1,20	Earl Harold	17.00	20.00	27.50
Quarley	1,40	Earl Harold	5.00	12.00	8.00
Kern	1,W11	Earl Harold	1.00	1.25	1.00
Heasley	1,W15	Earl Harold	3.00	8.00	8.00
Holdenhurst	1,29	Earl Tosti	29.13	44.00	37.50
Ringwood	1,30	Earl Tosti	28.00	24.00	20.00
Nether Wallop	1,19	Countess Gytha	21.00	29.73	30.98
Winchester	1,19	Countess Gytha	0	0.27	0.27
Nether Wallop	1,19	Countess Gytha	1.00	1.25	1.25
Wroxall	1,W14	Countess Gytha	5.00	27.00	22.00
East Meon	1,16	Archbishop Stigand	72.00	60.00	100.00
Mapledurham	1,8	Wulfgifu Beteslau	14.00	25.00	32.00
Monxton	1,39	Wulfgifu Beteslau	10.00	5.00	9.00
Upper Clatford	1,25	Saxi the housecarl	11.00	20.00	20.00
Niton and Abla	1,W21	2 free men	3.00	17.00	17.00
Facombe Netherton	1,46	Lanc Delere	13.00	13.00	16.00
Chiltee	1,6	Lanc Delere	2.00	2.65	2.65
Stenbury and Whittingham	1,W19	Cypping of Worthy	3.00	12.00	12.00
Stanswood	1,26	Cypping of Worthy	2.00	10.00	7.00
Lasham	1,18	Hacon 'of Nuneham'	5.00	5.00	5.00
Ladone and Bathingbourne	1,W2	Oda of Winchester	4.00	4.00	4.00
Knighton and Done	1,W1	Oda of Winchester	0.28	0.55	0.88
Luccombe	1,W9	Sæwine 'of Hurstbourne Priors'	1.00	4.00	4.00

Vill	Phill. ref	1066 holder	1066 hidage	1066 value	1086 value
Nunwell	1,W10	Wulfflæd 'of Nunwell'	2.00	3.00	2.00
Soberton	1,13	Leofmann 'of Soberton'	4.00	3.00	4.00
Hayling Island	1,12	Leofmann 'of Soberton'	2.50	2.00	3.50
Soberton	1,14	Godwine 'of Soberton'	3.00	2.00	3.00
Holybourne	1,3	Wulfweard 'of Crofton'	1.00	2.50	2.50
Wenechetone	1,W20	2 free men	0.75	2.25	13.50
Barnsley	1,W16	Godwine 'of Barnsley'	1.00	2.00	1.00
Knighton and Done	1,W1	Godwine 'of Barnsley'	0.25	0.77	1.23
Abedestone	1,W6	3 free men	1.00	2.00	3.00
Sandown	1,W13	Wulfnoth 'of Wight'	2.00	2.00	1.50
Slacham	1,32	Ælfstan of Boscombe	0.5	1.25	0
Bedecote	1,34	Doda 'of Edmundsham'	0.50	1.00	0.75
Eyeworth	1,33	2 free men	0.25	0.50	0
Fordingbridge	1,35	Eadric 'of Fordingbridge'	0.25	0.38	0
Shofleet	1,W20	Bolla 'of Ellingham'	0.25	0.75	4.50
Puckpool and Etharin	1,W17	2 free men	1.00	1.50	1.50
Scaldeford	1,W7	Sæweard 'of Scaldeford'	0.50	0.65	0.84
Woolverton	1,W12	Eadgifu 'of Woolverton'	0.50	0.50	0.50
Nettlestone	1,W18	Alnoth 'of Brading'	0.33	0.50	0.25
Knighton and Done	1,W1	2 free men	0.28	0.86	1.38
Knighton and Done	1,W1	Alweald 'of Knighton'	0.25	0.25	0.40
Knighton	1,W1	Harold 'of Knighton'	0.25	0.25	0.40
Knighton and Done	1,W1	Alric 'of Dummer'	0.25	0.77	1.23
Knighton and Done	1,W1	Beorhtric 'of Knighton'	0.50	1.54	2.47
Lessland	1,W8	Almæ brother of Osgot	0.50	0.44	0.44
Lessland	1,W8	Wulfnoth 'of Wight'	0.13	0.11	0.11
Lessland	1,W8	Swarting 'of Yaverland'	0.13	0.11	0.11
Lessland	1,W8	Wudumann 'of Lessland'	0.13	0.11	0.11
Lessland	1,W8	Godmann 'of Allingham'	0.25	0.22	0.22

Domesday records the royal manors working from Odiham in the north-east in a roughly clockwise direction around the hundreds. Manors are arranged loosely into groups valued at about £50 or £100, around and alongside the existing night's farm manors which are scattered throughout the *terra regis*. This broad structure is followed until the New Forest and King's Forest estates are inserted into the middle of the entries for Andover Hundred. A re-organisation of the royal manors may have commenced during Harold's short reign. He brought Hayling Island and the Soberton estates into his *feorm*.<sup>236</sup> It certainly continued during the Conquest with additional manors put at farm for the king.<sup>237</sup>

<sup>236</sup> GDB 38b (Hampshire: 1,13-14).

<sup>237</sup> For example, Upper Clatford and Stanswood, GDB 38d (Hampshire: 1,25-26); GDB 39c, 52b-d (Hampshire: W1-2, W4-7, W9-10, W14-15, W17, W20-22; IoW1,1-5; IoW1,13-15;).

## Winchester in 1086

Festival assemblies are recorded frequently in Winchester between 1066 and 1100. William I celebrated Easter there in 1068, 1069, 1070, 1072, and 1086, and spent Whitsun there in 1081; William II celebrated Easter in Winchester in 1095 and 1100.<sup>238</sup> The Chronicle claimed that the Conqueror ‘was very dignified: three times a year he wore his crown, as often as he was in England. At Easter he wore it at Winchester, at Whitsuntide at Westminster, and at Christmas at Gloucester, and then there were with him all the powerful men over all England, archbishops and bishops, abbots and earls, thegns and knights’.<sup>239</sup> Biddle has shown that this over-simplifies the locations of the king’s festival courts. Whitsun was also celebrated at Westminster and Winchester, and Christmas at Westminster and York. There is no doubt, however, that Gloucester, Winchester, Westminster, and Windsor were the principal centres for festival courts between 1066 and 1100, and, apart from Gloucester, this continued into the reign of Henry I.<sup>240</sup>

Biddle notes that, for the Norman festival courts, the size of the assemblies and the accommodation required were ‘on an immense scale’.<sup>241</sup> William of Malmesbury describes ‘large gatherings of the great men of the kingdom, marked by feasting’ (*convivia...sumptuosa et magnifica*),<sup>242</sup> the transaction of business (*de necessariis regni tractaturi*),<sup>243</sup> and the reception of foreign visitors, ‘so that envoys from other nations might admire the large and brilliant company and the splendid luxury of the feast’ (*ut exterarum gentium legati speciem multitudinis apparatusque deliciarum mirarentur*).<sup>244</sup> Between 1091 and 1100, William II quit-claimed the service of ten knights ‘*in festis*’ from

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<sup>238</sup> Biddle, ‘Seasonal Festivals’, 64-5.

<sup>239</sup> ASC E, 1087.

<sup>240</sup> Hare, ‘Kings, Crowns and Festivals’, 53; Biddle, ‘Seasonal Festivals’, 67.

<sup>241</sup> Biddle, ‘Seasonal Festivals’, 57.

<sup>242</sup> WM, GR, Vol. I, Bk. iii, 279.

<sup>243</sup> WM, VW ii, 12.

<sup>244</sup> WM, GR, Vol. 1, BK. iii, 279.

the abbot of Ramsey.<sup>245</sup> A diploma issued at the Whitsun assembly at Winchester on 31 May 1081 had forty witnesses, and, if every participant came with a similar retinue, it would suggest at least 400 people in attendance.<sup>246</sup> They must have been spectacular occasions. The increasing importance of Winchester after 1066 influenced landholding with some of the greatest lords acquiring one or two estates close to Winchester to give them a foothold in the shire.<sup>247</sup>

### **Royal forests in Hampshire**

As Round commented, ‘the making of the New Forest is of more than local interest. As important as it is for Hampshire history, it has also a direct bearing on the character of the Conqueror and of his rule. One cannot, therefore, pass it by’.<sup>248</sup> This section assesses the impact of the creation of forests on landholding in the west and south-west of Hampshire and questions whether the forests were defined as areas of special jurisdiction by 1086. It accepts arguments developed by Karin Mew that there was a pre-existing forest in the south-west that came to be known as the King’s Forest, which was used as a hunting ground by King Edward before 1066. However, it rejects Mew’s assertion that the pre-existing forest was in the vicinity of Lyndhurst, positing instead that it was near Britford and covered an extensive area on both sides of the Hampshire/Wiltshire boundary on the plateau that rises west of the River Test.<sup>249</sup> William the Conqueror tightened control over the King’s Forest during the Conquest. Estates on the Hampshire side of the shire boundary lost detached portions of woodland into this forest as did estates in the Avon valley. William’s creation of the New Forest was a more radical act. The number of lost

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<sup>245</sup> Biddle, ‘Seasonal Festivals’, 57, citing W. H. Hart and P. A. Lyons, ed. *Cartularium monasterii de Rameseia* i, RS. (London, 1884), 235, no. clii; cf. *Regesta* i, 462.

<sup>246</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 39. For pre-Conquest numbers see Lavelle, ‘Royal Estates’, 49.

<sup>247</sup> See pp. 184-92.

<sup>248</sup> Round, ‘Introduction to the Hampshire Domesday’, 411.

<sup>249</sup> K. Mew, ‘The Dynamics of Lordship and Landscape as Revealed in a Domesday Study of the *Nova Foresta*’, *ANS* 23 (2000), 155-165.

villages in the south-west of Hampshire is strong evidence that there were land-clearances by the king to create new hunting grounds. It was a blatant demonstration of his power which transformed agricultural practices and affected the wealth and tenurial structure of society in the south-west of Hampshire.

### The King's Forest

Several sources refer to King Edward's love of hunting. The *Vita Edwardi Regis* gives a description of Edward spending time hunting following his reconciliation with Earl Godwine in 1052:

[He spent] much of his time in the glades and woods in the pleasures of hunting (*in uenationum iocunditate*). After divine service...he took much pleasure in hawks and birds of that kind which were brought before him and was really delighted by the baying and scrambling of hounds.<sup>250</sup>

In 1065, the Chronicle describes the uprising in Yorkshire against Earl Tosti's men when the earl was in southern England, hunting with King Edward at Britford.<sup>251</sup> The *Vita Edwardi Regis* describes King Edward reluctantly abandoning his hunting and moving, in response to this crisis, 'from the forests in which he was as usual staying for the sake of regular hunting (*a siluestribus locis, ubi more suo causa assidue uenationis morabatur*) to Britford, a royal manor near the town of Wilton'.<sup>252</sup>

Domesday may refer to this particular region of forest, south and east of Britford, when it states that 'amongst [the royal manors of] Breamore, Rockbourne, Broughton and Burgate £13.10s falls in the forest' (*inter Brumore et Rocheborne et Brestone et Borgate cadit in foresta...*).<sup>253</sup> Breamore had 2½ hides and a wood at 50 pigs in the forest, which paid 51s.8d. At Burgate, 'the woodland of this manor is in the king's forest and the pasture

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<sup>250</sup> *VEdR*, 62-3.

<sup>251</sup> *ASC C*, 1065.

<sup>252</sup> *Vita Ædwardi Regis: The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster*, ed. F. Barlow, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Oxford, 1992), 78-9.

<sup>253</sup> *GDB* 39a-b (Hampshire: 1,36-8).

which paid 40 pigs and 10s'. Wiltshire Domesday also notes that the king had four hides of the Bishop of Winchester's estate at Downton 'in his forest' by 1086, and Humphrey de l'Isle lost half of Milford into the King's Forest.<sup>254</sup> Accordingly, the forest is likely to have crossed the shire boundary.

Several scholars have suggested that a forest pre-dated the New Forest.<sup>255</sup> Most recently, Karin Mew has isolated references in Domesday to land 'in the king's forest' (*in foresta regis*) from land 'in the forest' (*in foresta*). Mew places the King's Forest around Lyndhurst based on the location of the estates of Wulfgeat, King Edward's huntsman. She contends that the 'new' forest, created by the Conqueror, was an extension of this existing forest and ran from Lyndhurst to the south coast, reaching almost as far east as Southampton Water. Mew draws attention to Robert of Torigni's account:<sup>256</sup>

Many people say that both King William's sons perished in the same wood by God's judgement, because the king had destroyed many houses and churches bordering in the forest in order to extend it.<sup>257</sup>

There are some difficulties with Mew's analysis that the earlier forest was around Lyndhurst. The distribution of Wulfgeat's estates before 1066 do not necessarily favour this location.<sup>258</sup> They were some distance away at Ripley on the River Avon, Langley (near Fawley), and at Wilmingham and Luton on the Isle of Wight. Mapping estates attributed to huntsmen before 1066 in fact shows a marked concentration to the east of Britford, between Breamore and Rockbourne in the south-west, and Somborne in the north-east. This region is more likely to be the location of the earlier forest (Figures 11 and 12). Wulfric Waula's father (almost certainly a huntsman, like his son) held estates

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<sup>254</sup> GDB 65c, 71a (Wiltshire: 2,1; 27,27).

<sup>255</sup> H. Ellis, *A General Introduction to the Domesday Book*, Vol. I (London, 1833), 108-9; F. H. Baring, 'The Making of the New Forest', *EHR*, 27 (1912), 437.

<sup>256</sup> Mew, 'Nova Foresta', 159-60.

<sup>257</sup> WJ, *GND* ii, 214-17.

<sup>258</sup> GDB 39a (Hampshire: 1,31).

at Broughton and Somborne in Hampshire to the east of the forest, and at Alderbury (Wiltshire) to the west.<sup>259</sup> Ælfric the huntsman held Cowesfield (Whiteparish) although Ælfric's main estates were located further north in what became Savernake forest.<sup>260</sup> The location of the estates of Wulfgeat the huntsman may indicate that royal hunting grounds were extensive TRE, continuing from Britford south-west along Martin Down into Dorset.<sup>261</sup>

Both King Edward and the family of Earl Godwine had valuable estates in Broughton Hundred to the east of Britford. Broughton itself provided a night's farm for the king. The king's reeve had the honey and pasture of Broughton, East Dean, and Wallop, and timber from their woodland for the building of houses.<sup>262</sup> Earl Harold held only ten ploughlands at Wallop, but it was assessed at seventeen hides, valued at £20, and paid £27.10s at 20d to the ora. One explanation is that Harold had valuable rights across the forest like his mother. Countess Gytha held Nether Wallop with free pasture and pasturage in all the woodland belonging to six hundreds.<sup>263</sup> If, as is likely, Gytha also had rights across the forest, the six hundreds were probably in both Wiltshire and Hampshire. Interestingly, Gytha's rights are not confined to specific woodlands. A close reading of Domesday suggests, therefore, that the king, Earl Harold, and Countess Gytha appear to have had extensive rights across a region that supported hunting, the production of timber, and pasturage.

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<sup>259</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Anonymous 3262'; 'Wulfric 120' (provisional).

<sup>260</sup> 'Ælfric 247, 249'. Here as elsewhere he was succeeded by Richard Estormi: *PASE Domesday*, 'Richard 22' (provisional).

<sup>261</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Wulfgeat 32' (provisional). See also pp. 90, 94.

<sup>262</sup> GDB 38c (Hampshire: 1,21-23).

<sup>263</sup> GDB 38c (Hampshire: 1,19).

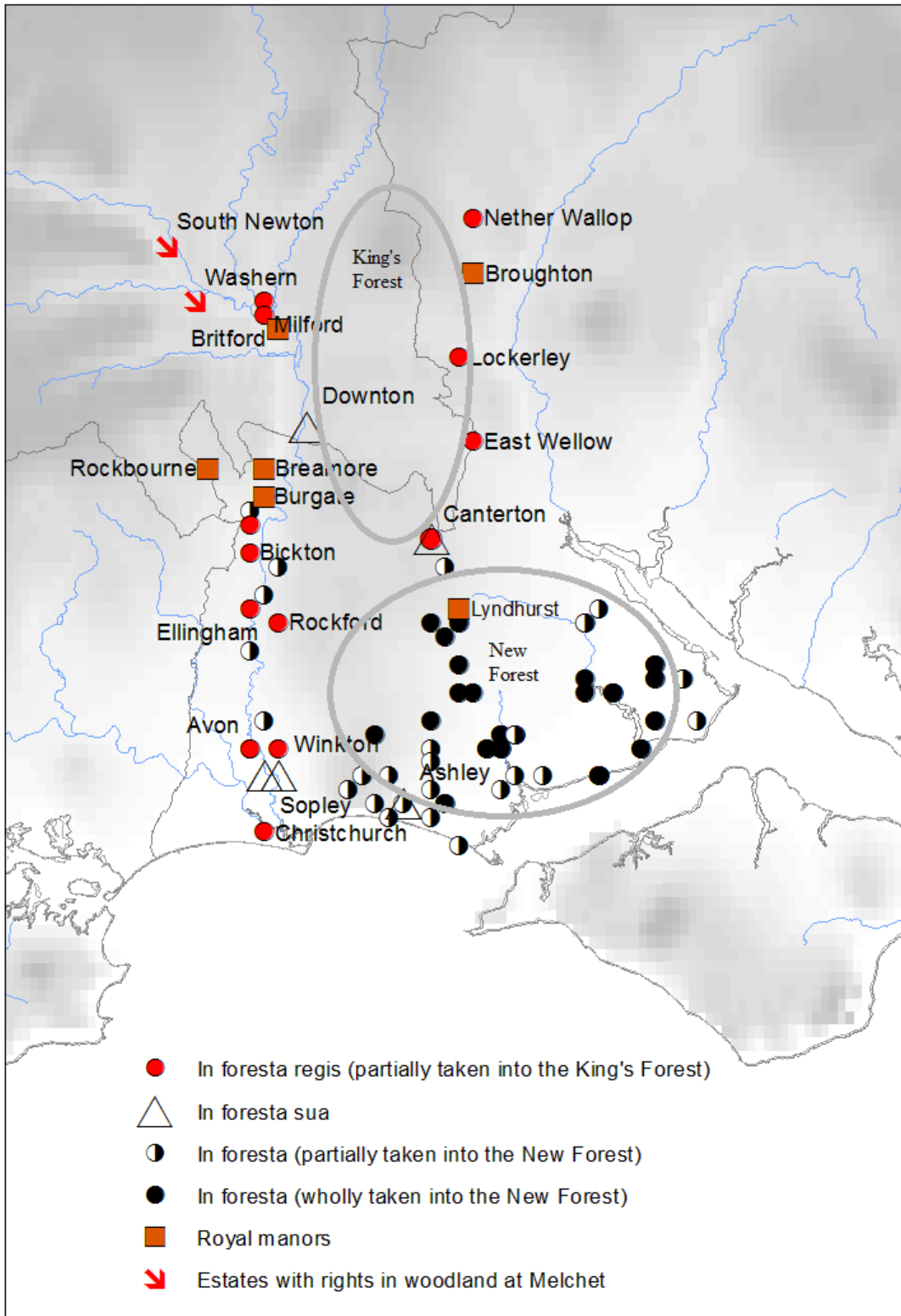


Figure 11. References to the King's Forest and the New Forest in Domesday (1086) with the suggested location of each forest

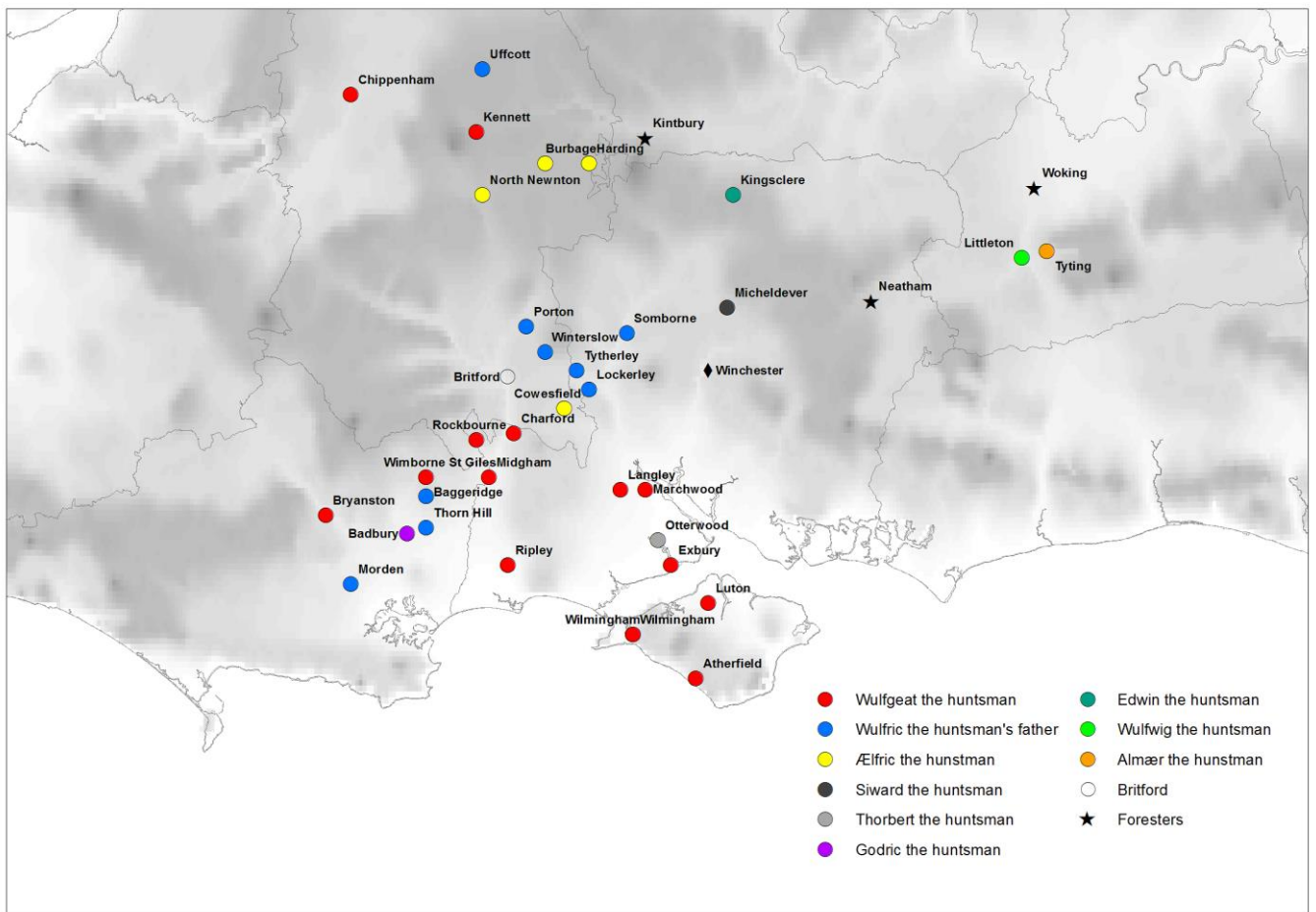


Figure 12. Estates attributed to huntsmen and foresters in southern England in 1066

High-ranking thegns also held estates here. They had more defined areas of pasture and woodland allocated to individual manors in 1086 (and presumably in 1066), rather than shared rights over pasture and woodland. Hearingd, son of Eadnoth the staller, held six hides at Winterslow valued at £6, with pasture one league long and one league wide, and woodland one league long and half a league wide.<sup>264</sup> Godwine of Worthy held half a

<sup>264</sup> *PASE Domesday*, ‘Hearingd 4’ (provisional); GDB 68d (Wiltshire: 20,6).

ploughland at Frustfield, and Oda of Winchester's father held two ploughlands at Landford with pasture, and woodland four furlongs long by four furlongs wide TRE.<sup>265</sup>

If there was a pre-existing forest along the Hampshire/Wiltshire border, it is plausible that the Domesday scribe describes it as the King's Forest (*foresta regis*) to distinguish it from the New Forest (*Nova foresta*), as Mew suggests. It is not clear how far the King's Forest extended in 1086. It probably included Winterslow, East and West Tytherley, East Grimstead, East and West Dean, Alderstone, Cowesfield, Frustfield, Landford, Plaitford, Sherfield English, Lockerley, Redlynch, and Standlynch. It almost certainly encompassed the later royal forests of Chute, Clarendon, Melchet, and Buckholt.<sup>266</sup> At Canterton, Cynna lost a quarter of a virgate in the King's Forest by 1086, and the rest into the [New] Forest.<sup>267</sup> Accordingly, Canterton seems to mark the southern border of the King's Forest in 1086. Indeed, the sudden change in the direction of the shire boundary, which ran north-west from Canterton, may have always defined the forest's southern edge.

The number of high-status landholders who had estates in and around the King's Forest reflects its importance, only seventeen miles west of Winchester, for the royal court in Hampshire. Hunting in the forest was developed further by King William. Domesday records more huntsmen by 1086 (Figure 13). About one-third of estates in this area were held by known or probable huntsmen and forest officials TRE.<sup>268</sup> King William retained most if not all of them, no doubt for their local expertise, but reorganised and redistributed their estates. The king also introduced his own men. By 1086, over half the estates were

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<sup>265</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Godwine 169'; 'Oda 18'(provisional); GDB 74b (Wiltshire: 67,92).

<sup>266</sup> *VCH Wiltshire*, iv, 391-433, 433-57 (for a map and the bounds of Clarendon and Melchet in 1327).

<sup>267</sup> GDB 50d (Hampshire: NF10,4).

<sup>268</sup> Ælfric the huntsman (Cowesfield), Cola the huntsman (Standlynch), Wulfgeat the huntsman (West Grimstead, Lockerley), Wulfric the huntsman's father (Winterslow), Ælfric Small (East Tytherley), Bolla (Ellingham), Godric Malf (Over Wallop), Eadric the sheriff (Over Wallop, Sherfield English), Sæwulf (Tytherley), Agemund 'of Wellow' (East and West Wellow, East Grimstead), 'the other Agemund' 'of Hotlop' (*Hotlop*, poss. Middle Wallop).

held by huntsmen and forest officials. They were a favoured group. At Broughton, the honey and pasture, once in the revenue of the king's reeve, were transferred to the foresters.<sup>269</sup>

Wulfric Waula is described as a huntsman at Knowlton in Dorset. He was permitted to succeed to all his father's estates (although half of Charborough went to Wulfric's sister-in-law) in Dorset, Hampshire, and Wiltshire. Wulfric acquired five new estates in Wiltshire and became the resident huntsman at Britford.<sup>270</sup> Wulfric did well out of the Conquest and became wealthier than his father had been.<sup>271</sup>

Wulfgeat the huntsman lost several of his estates in the south-west of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight to Alwig, son of Thorbert the huntsman. Wulfgeat was permitted to keep his most valuable estate at Ripley (£7.10s) and was granted a new estate by Britford at Longford. His sons Cola (also a huntsman), and Alwine, maintained their landed wealth between 1066 and 1086.<sup>272</sup> The reorganisation of estates would suggest Britford, four miles to the south of Old Sarum, maintained its position within the King's Forest as an important royal manor for hunting.

A significant change was the introduction of Waleran the huntsman into the region by 1086. He was much wealthier than the surviving pre-Conquest huntsman, holding over 100 hides, and his demesne and subinfeudated estates were valued together at nearly £115. His fief included estates previously held by Queen Edith, Earl Tosti, Eadnoth the Staller, and thegns who may have been forest officials in the south-west of Hampshire before 1066 including Agemund 'of Wellow', Boda 'of Dean', Bolla 'of Ellingham', and

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<sup>269</sup> GDB 38cd (Hampshire: 1,21-3).

<sup>270</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Wulfric 120' (provisional); Wulfric is identified as a huntsman at Knowlton: GDB 84a2 (Dorset: 56,30).

<sup>271</sup> Wulfric's father may be the same man as *PASE Domesday*, 'Anonymous 1058; 3258; 3262; and 3266' (provisional).

<sup>272</sup> Wulfgeat enjoyed landed wealth of £22 in 1066 and the family between them held just under £22 in 1086.

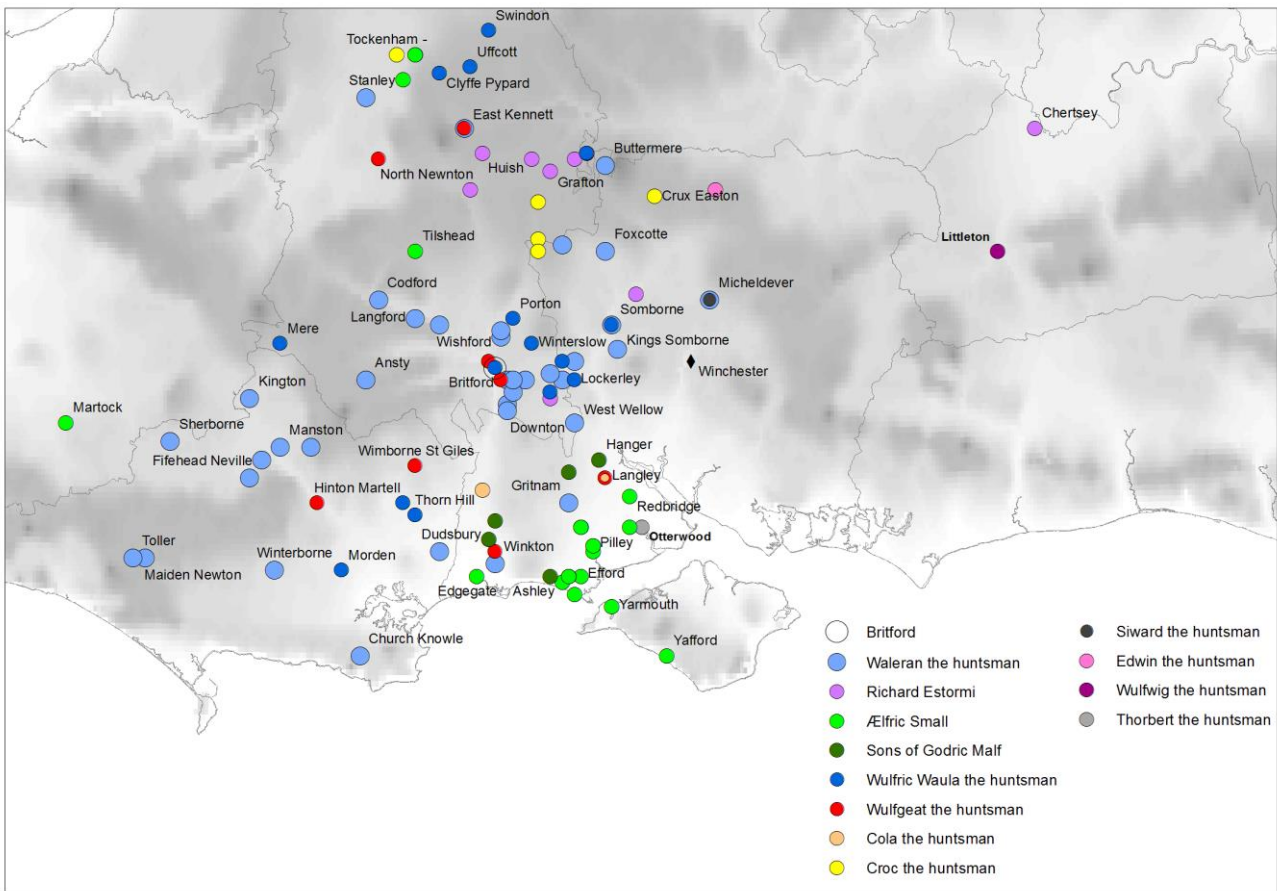


Figure 13. Estates attributed to huntsmen and forest officials in southern England in 1086

Godric Malf. Waleran was almost certainly the leading official in the King’s Forest with estates around Old Sarum and Britford. He also held dispersed estates on the edge of the Wessex Downs, Cranbourne Chase, and further south into Dorset and the New Forest (a pattern common to Waleran, Wulfric, and Wulfgeat).<sup>273</sup> If the descendants of Waleran the huntsman included Waleran (son of William), and Walter Walerand, they became wardens of Clarendon Forest and the New Forest during the reigns of Henry I and Henry II.<sup>274</sup>

<sup>273</sup> *PASE Domesday*, ‘Waleran 2’ (provisional),

<sup>274</sup> *VCH Wiltshire*, iv, 433-457.

It may be indicative of Waleran's authority that he 'took away' (*abstulit*) 1½ virgates from East Wellow and put them outside the shire, in Wiltshire.<sup>275</sup> This land was known as *Otoiche*, perhaps a phonetic spelling for Outwick (meaning an outlying specialized farm, probably dairy) located on the far side of the King's Forest from Wellow, in Fordingbridge Hundred.<sup>276</sup> Despite Waleran's efforts, all parts of Wellow, including Outwick, were recorded in Hampshire Domesday in 1086.

As seen with the creation of the New Forest, detached portions of woodland held by manors on the outskirts of the forest were annexed by the king and absorbed into the forest. Generally, this affected Hampshire manors on its eastern outskirts: Steorra had held Lockerley *in alodium* from King Edward as a manor, but an additional hide which he held was 'put in the king's forest';<sup>277</sup> Agemund held three ploughlands, paying geld for five hides, *in alodium* from King Edward at East Wellow but three virgates were said to be 'in the king's forest' by 1086.<sup>278</sup> It also affected Nether Wallop, Lockerley, and (in Wiltshire) part of Downton, Laverstock, and Milford.<sup>279</sup>

Unlike the New Forest, Domesday records that, by 1086, any Wiltshire manor wholly within the King's Forest retained its designated areas of woodland and pasture. Estates either side of the shire boundary did not lose value to the same extent as estates in and around the New Forest. Just under half of them (twenty-four out of forty-six villis) dropped in value, but not by a significant amount.

Estates in the Avon valley (Christchurch (Twynham), Avon, Ripley, Ellingham, Rockford, Bickton, Burgate, Breamore, and Fordingbridge) were also said to have lost

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<sup>275</sup> GDB 50a (Hampshire: 69,22).

<sup>276</sup> GDB 48b (Hampshire: 45,2); R. Coates, *The Place-Names of Hampshire* (Manchester, 1989), 127.

<sup>277</sup> GDB 45d (Hampshire: 23,40).

<sup>278</sup> GDB 50a (Hampshire: 69,22).

<sup>279</sup> GDB 38d, 45d (Hampshire: 1,23; 23,40); 65c, 68b, 71a, 74b (Wiltshire: 2,1; 13,20; 27,27; 67,79).

woodland and pasture into the King's Forest.<sup>280</sup> It is most natural to look eastwards to the area that became the New Forest for the annexed woodland pasture for these estates, in which case the King's Forest originally extended further south along the Avon Valley. However, the 'den' place-names in the Weald indicate that livestock could be moved considerable distances to reach detached woodland pasture, and it is equally plausible to look northwards along the Avon valley to the proposed location of the King's Forest before 1066. Livestock may have been moved northwards to supply the royal heartlands of Wiltshire from these Avon valley estates, just as renders from Bowcombe on the Isle of Wight and Lyndhurst were being taken to Amesbury.

#### The New Forest

There was considerable legal and administrative innovation in the level of royal control imposed in the New Forest, greater than that experienced before 1066 in Normandy or in England. It is indicative of its unique status that the New Forest was given its own section in Hampshire Domesday headed 'Also in Hampshire around and within the New Forest' (*Item in eadem Hantescire circa Nova Forestam et intra ipsam*).<sup>281</sup> It was the only forest to be treated in this way in Domesday.

The forest section may have been pre-allocated a space in the Hampshire folios, before the section concerning Southampton and the Isle of Wight, because the scribe knew, from a return dedicated to the New Forest, how much information had to be summarised and copied across. However, the space proved insufficient and the number of lines to a column was increasingly compressed.<sup>282</sup> The terse entries note the TRE holder, their tenure, the 1066 hidage assessment and value, the amount of land taken into

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<sup>280</sup> GDB 38d, 39b, 44c, 46a-b, 46d, 50b, 50c (Hampshire: 1,28; 1,38; 21,4; 22,1; 23,51; 23,65; 28,9; 69,32; 69,36).

<sup>281</sup> GDB 37d, 51a.

<sup>282</sup> GDB, 51a-d.

the forest, its 1086 value if any (if zero, 'n' for '*nichil*' is also noted in the margin),<sup>283</sup> and who was managing any remaining meadow. Information that came in late was squeezed into space at the end of the previous folio (50d).

Entries in the New Forest section refer to people who held an estate in the past. It is not always clear whether this was a time before 1066, or the period between 1066 and the creation of the New Forest. Both points of reference may be used in an entry for Boldre:

Payne held (*tenuit*) two manors called Boldre. Two *alodiarii* [had] held them jointly (*tenuerunt in paragio*). They were then assessed at two hides. Now it is in the forest except six acres of meadow which Hugh de St Quentin holds.<sup>284</sup>

In the highly condensed '*nihil*' entries, where everything was taken into the forest and no meadow was left, it is ambiguous whether past landholders held TRE and/or before the creation of the forest. As a result, it cannot be assumed, for example, that the Norman landholder, Bernard Pauncevolt, held three virgates at Hardley before 1066.<sup>285</sup>

It is difficult to establish when the New Forest was created but it may be earlier than current estimates. John Wise claimed it was created in 1079 but does not explain his reasoning.<sup>286</sup> John of Worcester described the death of William Rufus in the New Forest, and also his elder brother Richard, who died in the 'same forest'.<sup>287</sup> Baring estimates that Richard was born between 1055 and 1061, but died before he was old enough to be dubbed a knight at eighteen. Baring was confident that the New Forest had been created before 1079 because Richard was not mentioned with his brothers in the chronicle entries for 1079.<sup>288</sup> Baring's date-range may be a little late. Richard witnessed several diplomas

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<sup>283</sup> C. Thorn, 'Marginal Notes and Signs in Domesday Book', *Domesday Book Studies* (London, 1987), 113-35, at 131.

<sup>284</sup> GDB 51c (Hampshire: NF9,19).

<sup>285</sup> GDB 51c (Hampshire: NF9,10).

<sup>286</sup> J. R. Wise, *The New Forest, Its History and Its Scenery* (London, 1895), 35.

<sup>287</sup> JW, iii, 1100.

<sup>288</sup> Baring, 'New Forest', 513: ASC E, 1079.

in Normandy (April 1067) and England (May 1068), but his last appearance is in a diploma witnessed at Winchester on 13 April 1069 granting the church of Deerhurst to the abbey of Saint-Denis.<sup>289</sup> If Richard died in the New Forest rather than the King's Forest, the New Forest may have been created in the early 1070s.

King William perhaps turned his attention to the south-west of Hampshire following the death of William fitzOsbern in 1071. The earl's death must have precipitated an urgent review of the defence of the south coast and Isle of Wight. The creation of the New Forest limited farming to the coastal plain and river valleys and allowed much of the higher land to revert to uncultivated heathland and mire. This 'wasting' of much of the region may have been, in part, a defensive measure. Two of the king's most trusted men may have helped defend the region: Odo of Bayeux was granted estates on the Beaulieu and Avon rivers, and Earl Roger had estates along the coast. The fortress at Twynham was re-built towards the end of the eleventh century, no doubt to protect valuable manors in the Avon valley and guard an important route into Wiltshire.

Robert of Torigni states that King William's sons, Richard and William Rufus, had died while hunting in the forest 'by God's judgment, because the king had destroyed many houses and churches bordering on the forest in order to extend it'.<sup>290</sup> Orderic Vitalis claimed that sixty parishes were laid waste but this is almost certainly an exaggeration.<sup>291</sup> These accounts of the land clearances may have been coloured by the later oppressiveness of forest law, 'said to be based not on the common law of the realm but the arbitrary institution of princes',<sup>292</sup> when the chroniclers were writing, and reconciling these twelfth-century accounts with Domesday has caused much debate. Wise believed the creation of the New Forest had little impact on the existing population. He argues that

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<sup>289</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, nos. 181, 251, 254, 286.

<sup>290</sup> WJ, *GND*, ii, 214-17. See also JW, iii, 92-3.

<sup>291</sup> OV, *Eccl. Hist.* V, Books IX and X, 284-5.

<sup>292</sup> *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 90-3.

there are no remains of deserted villages or ruined churches; that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle did not record any such destruction; that the poor soils and low geld assessments of the vills in the south-west before 1066 suggest the region had never supported the kind of communities alleged by the chroniclers; and that place-names indicate much of the area was woodland and had always been sparsely populated.<sup>293</sup> Baring was less dismissive, noting that the manors affected in the New Forest were reduced from 212½ hides to 72½ hides, and their values reduced from £338 to £133, ‘a reduction in both cases of about two-thirds, while in many manors both assessment and value entirely disappear’.<sup>294</sup>

Domesday indicates that King William seized about 200 square miles of heathland and woodland pasture to create the New Forest, establishing a vast hunting ground across a region of poor gravel soils cut through by the Avon, Lymington, and Beaulieu rivers and their tributaries. The Old English elements in local place-names reflect extensive areas of heathland and woodland: the numerous ‘hurst’ (wooded hill), ‘ley’ (clearing or pasture), ‘shaw’ (undergrowth, woodland, scrub) and ‘wood’ suffixes imply that the area was still extensively wooded when it came under West Saxon control in the late seventh century and, Domesday would suggest, it was still used primarily for its woodland-pasture in the eleventh century.<sup>295</sup> This does not mean, however, that the south-west of Hampshire was an economic backwater before the creation of the New Forest. Estates in the south-west had a high level of investment with churches,<sup>296</sup> halls, saltpans, mills, and fisheries.

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<sup>293</sup> Wise, *New Forest*, 20-39.

<sup>294</sup> Baring, ‘New Forest’, 428, 438.

<sup>295</sup> Coates, *Place-Names of Hampshire*: for example, Bramshaw, Burley, Battramsley, Brockenhurst, and Otterwood.

<sup>296</sup> There are pre-Conquest churches at Breamore, Eling, Christchurch Twynham, Ringwood, Fordingbridge, Fawley, and Brockenhurst. Milford was founded by Ælfric Small between 1070 and 1087 (*CPC*, 316, no.1005). The church at Minstead may have an Anglo-Saxon font, although a twelfth-century date is also possible.

It is necessary to revise and refine Baring's figures. In Hampshire and Wiltshire, Domesday gives details of about 145 estates affected by measures taken by the king in the King's Forest and the New Forest. Together they were valued at £400 in 1066 and £296 in 1086. Yet, although some estates fell in value, over twenty estates partially taken into the King's Forest, if we include the estates in the Avon valley, slightly increased in value overall: they were valued at £87 in 1066 and £103 in 1086.<sup>297</sup> Falls in value relate to estates wholly or partially taken into the New Forest. These estates were valued at £314 in 1066 and £193 in 1086, which represents a forty percent reduction in value of the productive land in and around the New Forest. Fifty estates, valued at £97, were wholly taken into the New Forest. Their meadowland was put under the control of a small group of men but otherwise these estates were no longer functioning as farms, were presumably cleared of their workforce and assets, and had no value in 1086.<sup>298</sup> Twelve of these estates can no longer be traced with confidence and their names are now lost. It leaves little doubt that there were land-clearances on fifty estates at the heart of the New Forest. These estates are shown in Figure 11. They are in a relatively contained geographical area around the Lymington River.

Nearly sixty estates were partially taken into the New Forest. Their value fell by about twelve percent, from £195 to £171. Domesday implies that river-valley manors were heavily reliant on detached portions of woodland which were annexed when the forest was created. Recent scholarship has drawn attention to the role of woodland pasture and seasonal grazing in the management of livestock.<sup>299</sup> Rosamund Faith states, 'it would

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<sup>297</sup> These include estates at Avon, Bickton, Breamore, Burgate, Canterton, Christchurch, East Wellow, Ellingham, Fordingbridge, Lockerley, Nether Wallop, Ripley, and possibly Sopley, and (in Wiltshire) Laverstock and Milford. It may also have included Embley, Rockford, Winkton, and Downton (Wiltshire).

<sup>298</sup> Meadow, which would have produced fodder for horses and oxen, was controlled by Picot 'of Burgate', Alric nephew of Godric, Earl Roger, Hugh de Saint Quentin, Edward of Salisbury, Ranulph Flambard, Ælfric Small, and Ælfric's kinsman Wihtlac 'of Bolderford'.

<sup>299</sup> H. Fox, *Dartmoor's Alluring Uplands: Transhumance and Pastoral Management in the Middle Ages* (Exeter, 2012).

be hard to overestimate the importance of wood-pasture as an economic resource'.<sup>300</sup> Before 1066, out of 108 estates in the south-west, twenty-one (about one-fifth) held woodland which (taken together) provided pasture for nearly 1,000 pigs. The actual figures were probably double this because Domesday does not provide such information TRE for the fifty-three estates wholly taken into the forest. The royal manors alone, at Eling, Ringwood, and possibly Holdenhurst, lost woodland pasture that supported between 500-600 pigs. The loss of woodland must have reduced the amount of livestock that could be supported on these manors.

Nine estates in the New Forest, valued at about £22, were not affected: Langley, held by Odo of Bayeux;<sup>301</sup> Wulfgifu Beteslau's estate at Harbridge, to the west of the River Avon, which was held by Bernard the Chamberlain TRW;<sup>302</sup> Godric Malf's estate at Crow in the Avon Valley, held by his sons in 1086;<sup>303</sup> Hoburne, held by Sæwulf 'of Tytherley's wife';<sup>304</sup> Efford, Utefel, and Brockenhurst, held by Ælfric Small;<sup>305</sup> and Sway, held by Edmund son of Payn.<sup>306</sup> Ælfric Small's estate at Brockenhurst and Godric Malf's estate at Minstead were evidently important centres, held in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, and possibly before this, by serjeanties of finding litter for the king's bed and forage for his horse when he came to hunt in the New Forest.<sup>307</sup>

Was the New Forest an area of special jurisdiction by 1086? Dolly Jorgensen is doubtful. In a comparison of forests in Normandy before the Conquest, and in England during the conquest period, she argues that areas of woodland and heathland had not yet come under forest law or yet become exclusive hunting reserves for the duke or king

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<sup>300</sup> D. Bannam and R. Faith, *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming* (Oxford, 2014), 203.

<sup>301</sup> GDB 50d (Hampshire: NF10,2).

<sup>302</sup> GDB 51c (Hampshire: NF9,13).

<sup>303</sup> GDB 51d (Hampshire: NF9,39).

<sup>304</sup> GDB 51c (Hampshire: NF9,11)

<sup>305</sup> GDB 51d (Hampshire: NF9,41-2; 44).

<sup>306</sup> GDB 51d (Hampshire: NF9,45).

<sup>307</sup> *VCH Hampshire*, iv, 626-29, 635.

although certain rights had started to be defined over such land.<sup>308</sup> She suggests hunting was restricted to designated areas or enclosures;<sup>309</sup> that several landholders may have had shared interests within forests in Normandy; and foresters acted as land-managers employed by the dukes and lesser lords, whose duties may have included hunting, the collection of honey, management of woodland, the collection of different grades of wood for building, fencing and firewood, and the supervision of pasture rights and pannage.<sup>310</sup>

Shared rights over broad tracts of heathland and woodland with private enclosures set aside for hunting may also have been the norm in England before 1066. King Cnut's law code issued at Christmas in Winchester, probably after 1018, envisaged exclusive hunting rights for the king and other landholders over specific hunting grounds. It provided that 'every man be entitled to hunt in the woods and fields on his own property' (*ælc man sy his huntnoðes wyrðe on wuda and on felda on his agenan*) but that 'everyone, under pain of incurring the full penalty, shall avoid hunting on my preserves wherever they shall be' (*and forga ælc man minne huntnoð lochwar ic hit gefriðod wille habban [on minon agenan], be fullan wite*).<sup>311</sup> John Hudson translates the last provision as 'everyone shall forego my game, wherever I wish to have it protected' noting that it does not make clear whether Cnut envisaged hunting beyond the royal demesne.<sup>312</sup> Whether or not they were on royal demesne, royal hunting grounds must have been recognised locally otherwise the imposition of 'severe penalties' for trespass would have resulted in arbitrary justice.

Sources during the reign of Edward the Confessor are more ambiguous. The *Vita Edwardi Regis* describes King Edward 'staying for the sake of regular hunting' in the

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<sup>308</sup> D. Jorgensen, 'The Roots of the English Royal Forest', *ANS* 32 (2010), 114-128.

<sup>309</sup> Jorgensen, 'Royal Forest', 120-4, at 123.

<sup>310</sup> Jorgensen, 'Royal Forest', 120-4.

<sup>311</sup> II Cnut 80: Robertson, *Laws*, 215.

<sup>312</sup> Hudson, *OHLE*, II, 455-486, at 457.

forest near Britford. Edward was not necessarily confined to hunting on the manor's demesne lands which comprised twenty ploughlands and an unspecified area of woodland.<sup>313</sup> The number of huntsmen around Britford would suggest hunting occurred over an extensive area. The use of the term 'forest' or 'forester' by Domesday before 1066 concerns Jorgensen who questions whether they were being used anachronistically for the situation TRE.<sup>314</sup> It is possible, however, that Edward the Confessor introduced both the terminology and management practices from Normandy before 1066. It is also possible that the Domesday scribe adopted the Norman terms of forest and forester to best describe the practice of English royal officials operating in such landscapes in capacities familiar to the Norman nobility. Either way, it is very likely that there were forests and royal officials acting as huntsmen and foresters in England before 1066.

Other landholders had clearly defined, enforceable but controlled rights in the Britford forests. In Hampshire, on the outskirts of the forest (its area is suggested in Figure 11) Shipton Bellinger, Farleigh Wallop, and Tytherley had woodland for fencing.<sup>315</sup> In Wiltshire, Ælfgifu, abbess of Wilton, held South Newton and Washern TRE.<sup>316</sup> Eighty cart-loads of timber and fodder for eighty pigs, plus timber for the repair of houses and fencing were owed to the abbey at South Newton 'by custom', which suggests the abbess's rights pre-dated the Conquest. Identical privileges were also granted at Washern, from a specific area of woodland known as Melchet (*silua Melcheti*).<sup>317</sup> Laverstock, just to the east of modern Salisbury, was also held by the abbey. A quarter of its land, probably detached woodland, had been 'put in the king's forest' by 1086. As the value of

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<sup>313</sup> *VEdR*, 78-9; GDB 65a (Wiltshire: 1,6).

<sup>314</sup> Jorgensen, 'Royal Forest', 126 n. 83.

<sup>315</sup> GDB 47d, 50a (Hampshire: 36,1; 69,14; 69,16).

<sup>316</sup> S 766.

<sup>317</sup> GDB 68a-b (Wiltshire: 13,10; 13,13).

Laverstock increased from £5 to £6 between 1066 and 1086 this arrangement appears to be historic rather than the result of any adverse change during the conquest period.<sup>318</sup>

During the Conqueror's reign it is overwhelmingly likely that King William introduced new forest laws. The Chronicle speaks of him protecting defined categories of game rather than defined areas for hunting:

[he]...made great protection for the game,  
And imposed laws for the same,  
That who so slew hart or hind  
Should be made blind.  
He preserved the harts and boars  
And loved the stags as much  
As if he were their father.  
Moreover, for the hares he did decree  
that they should go free.  
Powerful men complained of it  
And poor men lamented it,  
But so fierce was he  
That he cared not for the rancour of them all,  
But they had to follow out the king's will entirely  
If they wished to live or hold their land.<sup>319</sup>

This passage is important because it makes it clear that any resistance was readily construed as rebellion meriting the forfeiture of land.

However, the separation of the New Forest section in the folios of Hampshire Domesday does define a specific area. It lists all the estates wholly taken into the New Forest plus areas of woodland within this zone (see Figure 11) previously allocated to manors on its outskirts. For there to be an area of special jurisdiction, its boundaries must be defined and ascertainable which was clearly the case for the New Forest. It is also possible that the New Forest was managed separately. Ælfric Small, Godric Malf and his sons, and perhaps Hugh de St Quentin appear to be among the royal officials managing the New Forest in 1086. The structure of Hampshire Domesday would also suggest the

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<sup>318</sup> GDB 68b (Wiltshire: 13,20). In contrast, at Milford, which was in the King's Forest, the value had halved: GDB 71a (Wiltshire: 27,27).

<sup>319</sup> ASC E, *s.a.* 1087.

Forest was a separate administrative entity: pre-allocation of space for the New Forest section in the Hampshire folios perhaps anticipated a separate ‘return’ of information, the size of which was already known. Taken together, it suggests the New Forest was delineated as an area of special jurisdiction to protect the king’s interests.

Forest officials continued to hold certain estates and maintained areas of meadow for winter fodder. Their cooperation and service were rewarded with a high level of survival among these families. The king had what may have been a hunting lodge at Efford, an estate held by Ælfric Small, where there was a mill held by ‘a certain keeper of the king’s house’.<sup>320</sup> This personal connection with the king may explain why William granted Ælfric an estate at Milford in exchange for land Ælfric lost elsewhere in the forest.<sup>321</sup> It is the only example in Domesday of a landholder being compensated for losses as a result of the land clearances during the creation of the New Forest. Other French and English landholders suffered losses, but it is not stated whether they too were compensated.

In conclusion, the New Forest was not the only part of England to be set aside for hunting by the Conqueror, but its creation was singled out by twelfth-century chroniclers as an abuse of lordship involving, as it did, the clearance of a whole region. The dedication of this region to royal hunting was an imposition of lordship beyond the royal demesne. It was conceivable only because the Conqueror regarded himself as having ultimate control over all estates in his kingdom, all of which were at his disposal. The Conqueror’s control over the land transfers and the redemption of land by surviving English families, either directly or through his agents, marked a profound change in royal lordship. William enjoyed greater landed wealth than his predecessor in Hampshire and evidently favoured

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<sup>320</sup> GDB 51d (Hampshire: NF9,40).

<sup>321</sup> GDB 51d (Hampshire: NF9,41); *CPC*, 316, no. 1005.

Winchester for his festival courts. William's retention of select estates held by earls and thegns before 1066, and his love of hunting in its forests, achieved a stronger royal presence than the Confessor's deeper into the shire and along the coast.

## Chapter 3: Secular Male Landholders

### Introduction

This chapter considers the lands of secular male landholders who held estates in Hampshire, in descending order of seniority. The hierarchy is informed by their position within the address clauses of royal writs and the witness lists for royal diplomas before 1066. This can be at variance with the hierarchy of landholders based on landed wealth set out in Appendix B, most notably for Eadsige the sheriff who was named after the earls in the address clause of writs, but who held very little land in 1066. This chapter also questions whether the landholding of royal officials facilitated their role within the administration and, if so, whether they gained such estates from the king through royal grants or whether they bought or inherited their estates. It also considers the rationale for the configuration of estates granted to Norman landholders in Hampshire in 1086, not least the sheriff of Hampshire, Hugh de Port, whose lands made him the wealthiest secular landholder in the shire after the king.

### Earls with a tenurial presence in Hampshire before 1066

Earl Godwine's tenurial fortune was most likely made in the reign of King Cnut. The *Vita Edwardi Regis* records that, shortly after Cnut became king, Cnut took Godwine to Denmark where Godwine's counsel and military leadership were tested. On their return to England, Cnut appointed Godwine to the newly created earldom of Wessex.<sup>1</sup> Godwine witnessed charters for Cnut from 1018 and became first among the earls in the witness lists from 1023 onwards.<sup>2</sup> Godwine's rise in status was marked by his marriage to Gytha, daughter of the Danish

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<sup>1</sup> *VEDR*, 8-11. Cnut's four great earldoms were Wessex (Godwine), Northumbria (Erik), East Anglia (Thorkil), and Mercia (Eadric Streona).

<sup>2</sup> S. Keynes, *An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters c.670-1066* (Cambridge, 1995), Table LXIX.

nobleman Thorgil Sprakaleg, and sister of the Danish earls Eilaf and Ulf. Earl Ulf was married to Cnut's sister, Estrid. Through this marriage, Godwine became connected with the ruling dynasty of England and Denmark and, under the patronage of Cnut, became one of the most powerful, and presumably one of the wealthiest people in England.

Despite Godwine's alleged role in the death of Edward the Confessor's brother Alfred, when Alfred sought to overthrow Harthacnut, the Confessor allowed Godwine to retain the earldom of Wessex when Edward became king.<sup>3</sup> Very few of the Confessor's writs name Godwine individually within the address clause, in contrast to Earl Harold who is a frequent addressee. Godwine is, however, named in a writ to the Hampshire shire court,<sup>4</sup> reflecting his administrative role. Godwine was almost certainly responsible for the defence of the shire, as considered below.

Earl Godwine, Countess Gytha and their known children, Swein, Harold, Tosti, Gyrth, Leofwine, Eadgyth (Queen Edith), Eadgifu, Gunnhilda, and Wulfnoth were the wealthiest earlish family in England.<sup>5</sup> By 1051 the family controlled three earldoms. Godwine was earl of Wessex including Kent and Sussex; his son Swein was earl of Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Somerset, and Berkshire; and Harold was earl of East Anglia, Essex, Huntingdonshire, and Cambridgeshire. Following Godwine's revolt and exile in 1051 the family fell from grace although they were pardoned in 1052. Swein's turbulent career ended with his exile and death while returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1052.<sup>6</sup> Wulfnoth, and Swein's son (Hakon), were taken as hostages to the court of William the Conqueror to ensure the future loyalty of the Godwine family. Following Godwine's death in 1053, Harold relinquished his earldom and succeeded his father as earl of Wessex. Tosti was appointed to

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<sup>3</sup> See also F. Barlow, *The Godwins: The Rise and Fall of a Noble Dynasty* (Harlow, 2002), 41-5; E. Mason, *The House of Godwine, The History of a Dynasty* (London, 2004), 36-40, 42-3.

<sup>4</sup> S 1153.

<sup>5</sup> *PASE Domesday*: 'Gytha 1'; 'Harold 3'; 'Tosti 2'; 'Leofwine 69'; 'Gyrth 1'; 'Eadgifu 46' (provisional); C. P. Lewis, 'Gunnhild 4', *PASE Domesday*.

<sup>6</sup> ASC C, 1052.

the earldom of Northumbria in 1055, although he was exiled in 1065. Domesday still attributes certain estates to Godwine and Tosti in 1066 and, together, the Godwines held more than double the landed wealth of their nearest rivals (Table 3).<sup>7</sup>

In addition, the Godwinesons held lordships valued at over £1,482. It cannot be said that all of these were commended lordships, as suggested by Fleming,<sup>8</sup> or that the family received the value of these estates. Yet the Chronicle's account of Godwine, Swein, and Harold summoning from their earldoms 'a great and innumerable force all ready to do battle against the king' during their uprising in 1051 leaves no doubt that Earl Godwine and family had developed a powerful network of followers and allies.

In Hampshire nine people are said to have held a total of eleven estates from (*de*) Earl Godwine, and Countess Gytha held Nether Wallop from (*de*) her husband, and Wroxall *in alodium*.<sup>9</sup> In the north of Hampshire two wealthy thegns, Tovi and Alweard, held Sutton Scotney as their largest estate *de* Earl Godwine.<sup>10</sup> In the south-east of Hampshire all thegns held from Godwine with no power of alienation, signalling they held in dependent tenure, except for Buckland on Portsea Island which was held by Alweard 'of Sutton Scotney' *in alodium*.<sup>11</sup> The estates in the south-east may have been tenancies on comital estates held from Godwine and their location raises the possibility they were held as part of the defence of the shire.

Estates held from Earl Harold were mainly in the north of Hampshire. Wealthy thegns held estates in the Hampshire Downs, including Cuthwulf 'of Rollestone' and Cypping of Worthy who held ten hides at South Tidworth and five hides at Silchester respectively from

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<sup>7</sup> Figures are taken from *PASE Domesday*. Fleming suggests £7,700 but overestimates the value of night's farm estates (see p. 23): Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 59, 66, 71; Clarke estimates £5,187: P. A. Clarke, *The English Nobility under Edward the Confessor* (Oxford, 1994), 205.

<sup>8</sup> Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 73-83, at 78.

<sup>9</sup> GDB 38c, 39d (Hampshire: 1,19; 1W,14).

<sup>10</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Tovi 7'; 'Alweard 3' (provisional).

<sup>11</sup> GDB 45c (Hampshire: 23,32).

(de) Earl Harold.<sup>12</sup> Æthelwacer, a major landholder in Somerset, held his only estate in Hampshire from Harold consisting of eight hides at Ashe to the west of Basingstoke.<sup>13</sup> None of these men held land elsewhere from Earl Harold (although Cuthwulf may have held from Earl Godwine at Selham in Sussex), and these estates brought them onto the route through the Hampshire Downs.

Earl Tosti was the lord of several local thegns. His reeve held Freshwater in West Medine (Isle of Wight).<sup>14</sup> Siward ‘of Arnewood’ held Arnewood further east along the coast, beyond Tosti’s estates in the Avon Valley;<sup>15</sup> and Wulfflæd held Nunwell in East Medine in dependent tenure since ‘it was not an alod’ (*non fuit alodium*).<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, Tosti’s interests covered a wider area than his personal landholding in the Avon Valley and West Medine.

Table 3. Estates attributed to Earl Godwine and his family in Domesday Book in 1066 (excluding Queen Edith)<sup>17</sup>

Earl	Total no. of hides in Hants	Value of land in Hants (£)	% of shire (£)	Total no. of estates in Hants	Total no of hides in England	Total value of land in England (£)	Total no. of estates in England	No. of shires in which held land
Godwine	65	56	2%	2	730	783	37	6
Gytha	27	58	2%	3	395	644	35	9
Harold	132	150	6%	6	2,711	3,306	367	29
Tosti	103	147	5%	12	423	515	73	13
Leofwine	0	0	0	0	279	294	29	10
Gyrth	6	8	0	1	191	260	41	8
Wulfnath	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gunnhild	0	0	0	0	29	30	4	2
Eadgifu	0	0	0	0	-	48	2	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>333</b>	<b>419</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>4,758</b>	<b>5,880</b>	<b>588</b>	

<sup>12</sup> GDB 46d, 47a (Hampshire: 28,6; 29,14); *PASE Domesday*, ‘Cypping 6’; ‘Æthelwacer 2’ (provisional); C. P. Lewis, ‘Cuthwulf 14’, *PASE Domesday*.

<sup>13</sup> GDB 47b (Hampshire: 30,1).

<sup>14</sup> GDB 52b, 53d (Hampshire: IoW1,5; 7,9).

<sup>15</sup> GDB 50d (NF10,3).

<sup>16</sup> GDB 39d (Hampshire: 1W,10).

<sup>17</sup> This table excludes Sopley and Millbrook.

Earl Godwine and Earl Tosti were among several dead or exiled landholders recorded by Domesday as holding land in 1066.<sup>18</sup> Godwine died in 1053, but Domesday Book still attributes lands to him in six shires in the south and south-east, with a combined value of £783. Lordships in Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire are also attributed to him in 1066, valued at £358.<sup>19</sup> Domesday does not give a complete picture of Earl Godwine's landholding. By 1066, members of his family had inherited or been granted estates that he had held. Nevertheless, Godwine still ranks sixth nationally in terms of landed wealth. Tosti was exiled in 1065 but estates valued at £515 were still attributed to him, including £157 in Hampshire.

Various reasons have been suggested why Domesday takes this approach. The Domesday jurors may have been relying on outdated documentation including lists of commendations,<sup>20</sup> or pre-Conquest geld lists. Equally, these estates may have been retained by members of the earls' family.<sup>21</sup> It is most likely, however, that these estates 'represent comital manors which had reverted to King Edward's control',<sup>22</sup> enabling Edward to ring-fence these estates to benefit from their income and resources 'much like the Conqueror's echeats' of the lands of William fitzOsbern and Odo of Bayeux which were likely being administered for the king in 1086.<sup>23</sup> If so, it would seem that many of Earl Godwine and Earl Tosti's estates in Hampshire Domesday had been retained by King Edward and not transferred to Harold as earl of Wessex. In Tosti's case, this suggests private estates in Hampshire were also forfeited to the king when Tosti was exiled.

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<sup>18</sup> They include Earl Siward (d. 1055), Earl Leofric (d. 1057), Earl Ralph (d. 1057), Earl Ælfgar (d. 1062-3), and Goda, sister of Edward the Confessor: Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 135; Clarke, *English Nobility*, 16-18; Williams, 'Land and Power', 177.

<sup>19</sup> *PASE Domesday*: 'Godwine 51' (provisional).

<sup>20</sup> J. Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxon State* (London, 2000), 18 n. 48.

<sup>21</sup> Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 136.

<sup>22</sup> Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 137-8.

<sup>23</sup> Baxter, 'Profits of Royal Lordship', forthcoming.

The Godwineson lands almost certainly included comital holdings granted by the king, held on an *ex officio* basis. Maitland noted the difficulty in distinguishing private and official property, but argued that there must have been ‘comital manors’ set aside for earls:

the enormous wealth of the house of Godwine...seems only explicable by the supposition that the earlships and the older ealdormanships had carried with them a title to the enjoyment of wide lands.<sup>24</sup>

Baxter supports this view, stressing the ‘quantum difference between the wealth of earls and the rest of the English aristocracy’.<sup>25</sup> Baxter adds that ‘the speed and frequency with which the structure of English earldoms changed during King Edward’s reign is most readily comprehensible if it is assumed that there were comital manors in each shire which could be transferred from one earl to another with relative ease’. The rapidity of change from one earl to another may indicate a centralised system of record keeping. Comital estates thus formed the most vulnerable part of Godwine’s fortune and power-base because they were transferable by the king.

The *Instituti Cnuti* refer to comital villas (*comitales villas*) where the earl had customary rights.<sup>26</sup> Many estates held by the earls ‘are known to have been ancient centres of authority or royal estates at earlier dates’.<sup>27</sup> Certain features may help to identify comital manors: lands paying the earl’s third penny, or otherwise sharing the royal revenue ‘derived from towns, trade and the profits of justice’ which was a right held ‘as a function of office’; lands with the soke of the hundred; estates with a value in multiples of £8; and night’s farm estates.<sup>28</sup>

In Hampshire, certain royal and earlish manors held rights over neighbouring hundreds. The royal manor of King’s Somborne had the soke of two hundreds.<sup>29</sup> In 1207, Basingstoke

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<sup>24</sup> Maitland, *Domesday*, 168.

<sup>25</sup> Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 143-4.

<sup>26</sup> In Cn iii, 55; see also houses in Stafford *de honore comitu*: GDB 246a (Staffordshire: B,1-8); Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 89, 140-1.

<sup>27</sup> Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 142.

<sup>28</sup> Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 141-2.

<sup>29</sup> GDB 39c (Hampshire: 1,47); *VCH Hampshire*, iv, 472.

had six hundreds and their revenues,<sup>30</sup> although Dennis suggests this arrangement may post-date the Conquest.<sup>31</sup> Domesday records Countess Gytha holding Nether Wallop from Earl Godwine, which had the third penny from six hundreds.<sup>32</sup> It was valued at just under £32, and had two *hagæ* in Winchester, a salt house, and free pasture and pasturage in all the woodland belonging to the six hundreds. If it was comital, it appears Earl Godwine had loaned it to his wife presumably for a term no longer than the duration of his office. Gytha, however, may have retained it following Godwine's death. These circumstances lead Clarke to suggest Nether Wallop was a privately held estate.<sup>33</sup> Fleming observes that, in Essex, Harold's 'ability to keep hold of official estates for a dozen years after he had given up his official duties there suggests that the newly reorganised estates of the earls was rapidly becoming familial under Edward the Confessor'.<sup>34</sup> Whatever the case, it raises a question about the reversion of Godwine's estates to King Edward after Godwine's death, and demonstrates again that not all were transferred to Earl Harold.

Most of Gytha's estates were in the south-west of England, especially in Devon. Nether Wallop gave her an estate near the Hampshire/Wiltshire border, fourteen miles from Winchester. Earl Harold held seventeen hides at 'the other' or 'another Wallop', probably Over Wallop, valued at £20.<sup>35</sup> Both may have been part of a large royal estate to the west of Danebury in Broughton Hundred before they were allocated to the house of Godwine. Part of Nether Wallop still pertained to the royal manor of Broughton, held in demesne by Edward the Confessor, and a reeve had in the *feorm* the honey and pasture from Wallop, some of which was from the King's Forest, and timber from the woodland for building houses.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> *VCH Hampshire*, i, 402; iv, 129; H. Cam, 'Early Groups of Hundreds', in *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, ed. J. G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith, and E. F. Jacob (Manchester, 1933), 13-26, at 20.

<sup>31</sup> Dennis, 'Domesday Hampshire', Appendix One.

<sup>32</sup> GDB 38c (Hampshire: 1,19-20).

<sup>33</sup> Clarke, *English Nobility*, 21-2.

<sup>34</sup> Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 98.

<sup>35</sup> GDB 38c-d (Hampshire: 1,19-23).

<sup>36</sup> See pp. 37, 40, 87, 91; GDB 38d (Hampshire: 1,23).

Estates still attributed to Earl Godwine in 1066 are more likely to have been comital manors than private estates if they were later held at farm from the king. In Hampshire, these manors include Headley (part of Harold's manor of Bishop's Sutton), and the hundredal manor of Chalton,<sup>37</sup> once held by Æthelstan Ætheling who bequeathed it to his father King Æthelred II.<sup>38</sup> It was a large estate of sixty hides, valued at £56 (significantly, a multiple of eight).<sup>39</sup> Chalton lay on the Hampshire-Sussex border and later included the parishes of Blendworth, Catherington, Clanfield, and Chalton.<sup>40</sup>

Several large estates held by Earl Harold by 1066 may be further comital manors. Harold held 78½ hides at Odiham, beneficially hidated at thirty-eight hides, and valued at £50.<sup>41</sup> Ryan Lavelle has posited that Odiham may have been one of the royal estates 'reorganised for providing land to King Cnut's "new men", perhaps in the 1020s'.<sup>42</sup> Odiham was one of the most extensive estates in the north-east of Hampshire, and was the main Godwineson manor on the route across the north of the shire, providing accommodation and resources for the earls and their households. It is likely that they had a substantial residence there.<sup>43</sup> It was also less than twenty-five miles, a day's ride, from Winchester. It returned to royal control and was held by William the Conqueror in demesne in 1086. Another possible comital manor was Earl Harold's large estate to the east of Winchester at Bishops Sutton, beneficially hidated at twenty-five hides (there were fifty ploughlands) and valued at £50 TRE.<sup>44</sup> It was held by Count Eustace in 1086, and it was valued at £60 but rendered £80.

Place-names can be helpful in identifying comital manors outside Hampshire but are of little assistance within the shire. Aldermaston in Berkshire, just north of the Hampshire border,

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<sup>37</sup> GDB 44c, d (Hampshire: 20,1; 21,6).

<sup>38</sup> S 1503.

<sup>39</sup> GDB 44d (Hampshire: 21,6).

<sup>40</sup> *VCH Hampshire*, iii, 102-110.

<sup>41</sup> GDB 38a (Hampshire: 1,1).

<sup>42</sup> Lavelle, 'Royal Estates', 115.

<sup>43</sup> See p. 78.

<sup>44</sup> GDB 44c (Hampshire: 20,1).

is a name deriving from ‘ealdorman’s tun’, and Earlstone (‘Clere’) in Hampshire means ‘the earl’s tun’.<sup>45</sup> Fifteen hides at Aldermaston were held by Earl Harold in 1066, but Earlstone was held by Saxi the housecarl.<sup>46</sup> There is no clear pattern of descent to the Godwine family for estates in Hampshire known to have been held by previous ealdormen although Tidworth, once held by Æthelmær, ealdorman of Hampshire (d. 982), was held by Cuthwulf from Earl Harold in 1066, albeit *in alodium*.<sup>47</sup>

Table 4. Estates of the Godwine Family in Hampshire

Vill	Phil.Ref	Hides	Value (£)	TRE holder	Charters	Notes
Headley	20,2	5	-	Godwine		In Bp. Sutton
Chalton	21,6	60	56	Godwine	S 1503	
Polhampton	31,1	3.5	12	Godwine/Tosti	S 970, 465, 613	Winton <i>Domesday</i> , 56, I [156]
Millbrook	3,17	5	5	Godwine/Bp of W.	S 636, 1008, 1009	
Nether Wallop	1,19	22	31.25	Gytha		Winchester, 2 <i>hagae</i> 3 <sup>rd</sup> penny of 6 hundreds
Wroxall	1,W14	5	27	Gytha	S 1391	2 mills
Winchester				Gytha		See N. Wallop
(Over) Wallop	1,20	17	20	Harold		3 mills
Odiham	1,1	81	59	Harold		
Quarley	1,40	5	12	Harold		
Kern	1,W11	1	1.25	Harold		
Heasley	1,W15	3	8	Harold		
(Bishops) Sutton	20,1	25	50	Harold		4 mills
Holdenhurst	1,29	29.13	44	Tosti		
Ringwood	1,30	28	24	Tosti	S 1491, 690	18h in IoW
Winkton	45,1	7	10	Tosti		2 mills for hall, 450 eels
Sopley	51,1	7	10	Godwine/Tosti	CPC, no. 2	
Brook	IoW1,1	3	7	Tosti		1 mill
Compton	IoW1,2	3	6	Tosti		
Afton	IoW1,3	4	10	Tosti		
Freshwater	IoW1,5	15	16	Tosti		
Thorley	IoW9,2	3	8	Tosti		
Southampton	S2			Tosti		Exempt land
Winchester				Tosti		See Polhampton
Hartley Mauditt	35,2	6	8	Gyrth		
Total		337.63	424.50			

Polhampton (Poolhampton) is unusual, being a rare example of a bookland grant to an earl. The diploma still exists. Ten hides at Polhampton were granted to Earl Godwine by King Cnut in 1033.<sup>48</sup> Located between Andover and Basingstoke in the north of Hampshire, the

<sup>45</sup> E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1960), 156.

<sup>46</sup> Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 141; GDB 58a (Berkshire: 1,44); GDB 48c (Hampshire: 50,1).

<sup>47</sup> S 1498; ASC C, s.a. 982; GDB 46d (Hampshire: 28,6). C. P. Lewis, ‘Cuthwulf 14’, *PASE Domesday*.

<sup>48</sup> S 970.

manor was on the River Test, and close to the Portway, the Roman road from Silchester to Salisbury.<sup>49</sup> Like Chalton and Odiham, earlier diplomas show that it had been part of the royal demesne (Table 4).<sup>50</sup> Domesday Book fails to record that Polhampton had been held by Earl Godwine, but its description suggests the ten hides granted by Cnut to Godwine had been divided by 1066, with four ploughlands and two mills held by the monks of Winchester for their supplies, and six ploughlands held by Earl Tosti.<sup>51</sup> It is likely that either Earl Godwine or Tosti granted part of the estate to the monks.

Two royal diplomas survive from Edward the Confessor purporting to grant seven hides at Millbrook in 1045. One copy is for the benefit of Earl Godwine and the other for Ælfwine, bishop of Winchester.<sup>52</sup> Not only do they share the same date, but they share an identical boundary clause. An earlier diploma exists from 956, when King Eadwig granted seven hides at Millbrook to Wulfwig his *princeps*, with a *haga* in Southampton, with a shorter version of the 1045 boundary clause.<sup>53</sup> Keynes notes that the 1045 Ælfwine diploma is ‘apparently original’ and ‘in the same hand as S 944 (a charter of Harthacnut, for the same beneficiary, dated 1042)’.<sup>54</sup> Williams suggests that the 1045 grant to Godwine is a forgery, but that the twelfth-century author was attempting to record that Earl Godwine had been involved in the grant to the bishop of Winchester.<sup>55</sup> Domesday asserts that Millbrook was held by the bishop of Winchester and had always been in the lands of the monastery (*semper fuit in monasterio*).<sup>56</sup> It was assessed for only five hides, which may indicate beneficial hidation, or that there had been a reduction in the size of the estate. If the latter, it is possible that the one hide at neighbouring Redbridge may have been separated from Millbrook. It was held by Tovi ‘of

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<sup>49</sup> *VCH Hampshire*, iv, 210-19.

<sup>50</sup> S 465, 613.

<sup>51</sup> GDB 47b (Hampshire: 31,1); 41c (Hampshire: 3,10).

<sup>52</sup> S 1009, 1008.

<sup>53</sup> S 636.

<sup>54</sup> Keynes, ‘Regenbald’, 213 n. 167.

<sup>55</sup> A. Williams, ‘The Piety of Earl Godwine’, *ANS* 34 (2011), 237-68, at 250.

<sup>56</sup> GDB 41d (Hampshire: 3,17).

Sutton Scotney’, from the king (*de rege*), and was held by Hugh de Port in 1086.<sup>57</sup> Redbridge was the most southerly crossing point of the River Test as it reached Southampton Water and an important connection between the east and west of the shire. Tovi also held land from Earl Godwine at Copnor and Sutton Scotney in Hampshire, and Tovi’s connection with Redbridge may be tenuous evidence of Godwine’s presence there.

Other estates in Hampshire that appear to have been alienable bookland or family land (there are no surviving diplomas granting these estates to the family) include Sopley and Winkton in the south-west. A confirmation of lands for Christchurch Priory, Twynham by Baldwin de Redvers, datable between the summer of 1139 and June 1141, records that Earl Godwine had granted the church at Sopley to the priory ‘with everything pertaining to it, and a virgate in the same vill’.<sup>58</sup> Sopley is about six kilometres north of Christchurch on the River Avon and seven hides were held there by Eadric ‘of Shalfleet’ from King Edward TRE.<sup>59</sup> It was a valuable estate at £10 per annum, with a mill and a render of 875 eels. It was on the outskirts of Winkton, held by Earl Tosti TRE.<sup>60</sup> Winkton was also seven hides, valued at £10, and ‘had two mills for the hall’, and a render of 450 eels from the mill. The equal division of hides suggests Winkton and Sopley formed an estate which Godwine divided up, perhaps first founding, and then granting the church at Sopley to Christchurch Priory,<sup>61</sup> before granting another part to Eadric and the remainder at Winkton to Tosti.

Gyrth, identified in *PASE Domesday* as Earl Gyrth,<sup>62</sup> held an estate at Hartley Mauditt, close to the royal night’s farm estate at Neatham, assessed at six hides and valued at £8.<sup>63</sup> He held it *in alodium* from King Edward, indicating that it too was alienable. Wroxall, on the

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<sup>57</sup> GDB 46b (Hampshire: 23,66).

<sup>58</sup> Hanna, *CPC*, 4, no. 2.

<sup>59</sup> GDB 48d (Hampshire: 51,1).

<sup>60</sup> GDB 48b (Hampshire: 45,1).

<sup>61</sup> See further P. Hase, ‘The Mother Churches of Hampshire’, in *Minster and Parish Churches, The Local Church in Transition, 950-1200*, ed. J. Blair (Oxford, 1998), 45-66, at 56.

<sup>62</sup> *PASE Domesday*, ‘Gyrth 1’ (provisional).

<sup>63</sup> GDB 47c (Hampshire: 35,2).

south-eastern coastline of the Isle of Wight, held by Countess Gytha *in alodium* from her husband, was assessed at only five hides but valued at £27.<sup>64</sup> The countess held manors on the coast in Sussex, south Devon, north Devon, and Cornwall. In 1067/1068, she fled to the island of Flatholme in the Bristol Channel with ‘many distinguished men’s wives’,<sup>65</sup> and from there the women went into exile, initially to St Omer. Evidently, Gytha still had access to ships. It is possible that she had relied on sea routes between her coastal estates before 1066. Wroxall may have been a key staging-post when navigating the double tides of the Solent; the bounds of Wroxall may have included Ventnor, but in any event Estan held Bonchurch on the adjacent coastal strip from Earl Godwine.<sup>66</sup>

Grants of bookland were prized by the earls. Baxter has noted that ‘with the exception of that part of Polhampton held by Tosti, none of the estates granted by royal diploma to the Godwinesons and Leofwinesons were held by members of their families in 1066’.<sup>67</sup> In Hampshire, estates where there are no surviving diplomas but where circumstances suggest that the estates were alienable should also be taken into account. Sopley and Winkton, and possibly Hartley and Wroxall may be bookland or family land. Baxter concludes that there is ‘a marked tendency for these bookland estates to be alienated... The evidence, scarce though it is, suggests that bookland had a special value for earls who received patronage in this form, partly because it empowered them to become patrons themselves.’<sup>68</sup> In Hampshire, alienable land was certainly used for patronage, but interestingly, it was also used to support Godwine’s wife and younger sons.

The grant to Christchurch Priory by Earl Godwine of the church at Sopley, and perhaps the tithes at Holdenhurst, were not included by Ann Williams in her article considering the

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<sup>64</sup> GDB 39d (Hampshire: 1,W14).

<sup>65</sup> ASC D, 1067.

<sup>66</sup> GDB 53a (Hampshire: IoW1,7).

<sup>67</sup> Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 146.

<sup>68</sup> Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 146.

piety of Earl Godwine,<sup>69</sup> but taken together with Polhampton and Millbrook, they further strengthen her arguments for Godwine’s generosity to the churches in Hampshire. The *Vita Edwardi Regis* records that Earl Godwine also gave the Old Minster, Winchester ‘many gifts

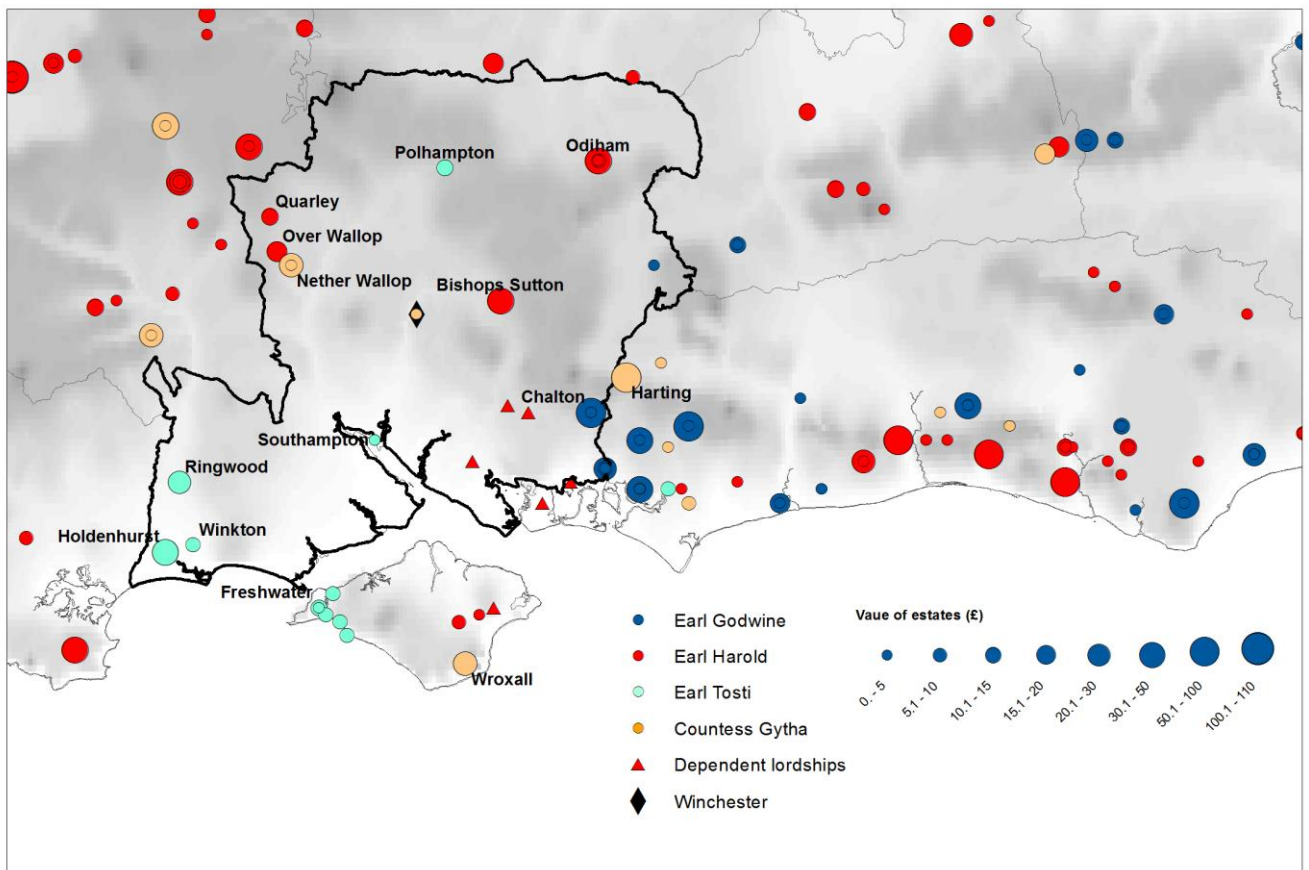


Figure 14. Estates attributed in Domesday to the Godwinesons in Hampshire and neighbouring shires (1066)

of ornaments and rents of land for the redemption of his soul’.<sup>70</sup> Godwine is included in the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster Winchester, where he is included in its list of friends and benefactors, implying further grants to this house.<sup>71</sup> Godwine’s daughter, Eadgifu, is included with the names of Edward the Confessor, Queen Edith, and Edgar *clito* (Edgar atheling) in the

<sup>69</sup> Williams, ‘Piety of Earl *Godwine*’, 250.

<sup>70</sup> *VEdR*, 46-7.

<sup>71</sup> BL Stowe MS 944, f. 25r.

lay brethren list following the merger of this list with the friends and benefactors list in the second-half of the eleventh century.<sup>72</sup>

It is unlikely that Tosti retained comital manors in Hampshire following Harold's appointment as Earl of Wessex, and more probable that Earl Godwine used bookland and family estates to provide for Tosti as one of his younger sons, before Tosti obtained his own earldom (Earl Godwine died in 1053 and Tosti was appointed earl of Northumbria in 1055). Tosti retained a strong presence in the shire even after his appointment. Tosti was with King Edward at Britford, near the Hampshire/Wiltshire border, when 'all Tosti's earldom unanimously deserted him, and outlawed him'.<sup>73</sup> In 1066, during his brother's short reign, Tosti opposed Harold by bringing 'as large a fleet as he could muster' to the Isle of Wight 'and both money and provisions were given him'. Tosti's Hampshire landholdings were essential in maintaining his presence within Wessex and ensuring that he retained access to the king.

In addition to Polhampton, Tosti held several estates in the south-west of Hampshire. Holdenhurst lay six miles west of Sopley and Winkton on the River Stour, and was a large estate answering for twenty-nine hides and half a virgate, with seven hides on the Isle of Wight, probably in West Medine.<sup>74</sup> It was valued at £44. A third of the tithe of Holdenhurst belonged to Christchurch Priory. The grant of the tithe to Christchurch does not survive but may have been made by Earl Godwine or Tosti. Godwine's grants to Tosti gave Tosti a foothold in the shire and provided him with lands of a similar value (£147) to the comital manors destined for Harold (£150), who was appointed Earl of Wessex after his father's death. It created a balance of power between Tosti and Harold within Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, even more so because the location of Tosti's estates may relate to the defence of the shire.

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<sup>72</sup> BL Stowe MS 944, f. 29r, 3<sup>rd</sup> column.

<sup>73</sup> ASC C, 1065.

<sup>74</sup> GDB 39a (Hampshire: 29,1).

Military leadership had been a traditional and significant part of the ealdorman's role. In 860, Osric, ealdorman of Hampshire, led an army from Hampshire against a Viking raid on Winchester.<sup>75</sup> Ealdorman Ælfric of Hampshire was 'one of those in whom the king trusted most' and was expected to command the royal fleet in 992.<sup>76</sup> In 1003, Ælfric led a 'great English army' gathered from Hampshire and Wiltshire, against the army of Swein, King of Denmark, but (the Chronicle adds) Ælfric 'was up to his old tricks' (*his ealdan wrencas*), and, by feigning sickness, he avoided leading his men into battle.<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless, Ealdorman Ælfric remained the most senior ealdorman witnessing charters between 998 and 1009.<sup>78</sup> Ælfric is mentioned one last time when he was killed at the Battle of Assandun, fighting for Edmund Ironside in the campaign against Cnut.<sup>79</sup>

Several scholars contend that Wulfnoth Cild was Earl Godwine's father.<sup>80</sup> Although Wulfnoth was not an ealdorman himself he may have been the son of Æthelmær, ealdorman of the western provinces.<sup>81</sup> Wulfnoth was instrumental in the defence of the south coast. In 1009, Wulfnoth Cild was one of two commanders leading a fleet of 300 ships assembled at Sandwich against the Viking army. Beorhtric, brother of Eadric Streona, accused Wulfnoth of wrongdoing, which drove Wulfnoth into open rebellion.<sup>82</sup> Wulfnoth took twenty ships from the king's fleet and harried the south coast before burning the ships. Consequently, the Viking army seized the opportunity to ravage Sussex, the Isle of Wight, and Hampshire. Wulfnoth evidently forfeited his lands because Compton (Sussex) was in royal hands in 1014.<sup>83</sup> Godwine recovered some of his father's estates perhaps by attaching himself to the household of

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<sup>75</sup> ASC C, F, *s.a.* 860.

<sup>76</sup> ASC C (D, E), *s.a.* 992.

<sup>77</sup> ASC C (D, E), *s.a.* 1003.

<sup>78</sup> Keynes, *Atlas*, Table LXXIV.

<sup>79</sup> ASC C (D, E), *s.a.* 1016.

<sup>80</sup> ASC C, D, E, *s.a.* 1009; ASC F records that Wulfnoth Cild was the father of Earl Godwine; S 1503; JW, ii, 460-61 (1007); A. Williams, 'Land and Power in the Eleventh Century: The Estates of Harold Godwinson', *ANS* 3 (1980), 171-187, at 171 and 186; I. Walker, *Harold, The Last Anglo-Saxon King* (Stroud, 1997), 1.

<sup>81</sup> Barlow, *The Godwins*, 24-5.

<sup>82</sup> ASC C, D, E, *s.a.* 1009.

<sup>83</sup> S 1503.

Æthelstan ætheling, or by serving his brother, Edmund Ironside.<sup>84</sup> Compton was restored to ‘Godwine, Wulfnoth’s son’ by Æthelstan in his will, with further grants of Chalton and Hambledon in Hampshire.<sup>85</sup> Compton was still held by Earl Harold in 1066. Godwine may have regained further lands in 1017 when Cnut became king of the whole of England on the death of Edmund Ironside. It is not clear how many of Godwine’s estates, especially those in Sussex, were family lands or new royal grants, and how many were linked with the defence of the coast.

The Viking wars had exposed the vulnerability of the south coast to seaborne attack. Fleming suggests Cnut was aware of ‘defensive weaknesses’ around Southampton, having joined his father on raids, and saw that Godwine could be useful to him in defending the coast.<sup>86</sup> In 1006, the Danish army had taken sanctuary on the Isle of Wight during the winter, raiding through Hampshire and into Berkshire until they reached Reading, before returning close enough to Winchester so that ‘the people of Winchester could see that army, proud and undaunted’ laden with ‘food and treasures from more than fifty miles from the sea’.<sup>87</sup> In 1009, the Viking army again used the Isle of Wight as a base to harry Hampshire and Sussex. The fear of coastal attack persisted. In 1022, Cnut took his ships to the Isle of Wight, perhaps fearing reprisals from Earl Thorkel who had been exiled the previous year.<sup>88</sup> During the reign of Edward the Confessor, in 1048, Sandwich and the Isle of Wight were raided by Lothen and Yrling, who sold the men and treasure that they captured in Flanders.

The Godwines’ control of the river valleys through the South Downs in Sussex is very marked in 1066. They held Climping (River Arun), Steyning (River Adur), Rodmell (River Ouse), and Willingdon west of Pevensey Bay, and their estates were interspersed with those of

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<sup>84</sup> Barlow, *The Godwins*, 27.

<sup>85</sup> S 1503; Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 92-93.

<sup>86</sup> Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 92-3.

<sup>87</sup> ASC C, D, E, *s.a.* 1006.

<sup>88</sup> ASC C (D, E), *s.a.* 1021-1022.

the king. Notwithstanding the history of raids into Hampshire, neither Cnut nor Edward the Confessor appear to have built up the coastal and river valley landholdings of the Godwines in Hampshire to the same extent. Yet Godwine and Tosti did have estates on the Salisbury Avon, and in West Medine (Isle of Wight) they had recourse to a fleet of ships,<sup>89</sup> and numerous harbours. In fact, Dennis argues, the Isle of Wight may have been the centre of power for the Godwine family. He notes Godwine's ready access to provisions on the island during his naval campaign of 1052, that Tosti landed there for provisions in 1066, and that Harold spent the summer of 1066 on the island watching for the arrival of the Norman invasion fleet.<sup>90</sup> If Dennis is correct, it is possible that there was a whole system of support in place for Earl Godwine and his family on the island from which Earl William may have benefitted in the early stages of the Conquest. The 'earl's oven' at Cheverton, for example, may pre-date the Conquest.<sup>91</sup>

In West Medine, Tosti held Thorley on the River Yar, and three bays on the south coast at Freshwater, Afton, and Compton, making him well placed to monitor the Western Solent.<sup>92</sup> Countess Gytha held Wroxall in East Medine (with access to the coast at Ventnor and Bonchurch),<sup>93</sup> and on the mainland, Earl Godwine controlled the area around Chichester Harbour, most notably at Bosham where he held forty hides on the harbour.<sup>94</sup> The western route into the Solent via the Needles Channel can be difficult to navigate with strong currents, shingle banks, and the Bridge reef, further complicated by double high tides and the alternating direction of the tidal streams around the Isle of Wight and into Southampton Water.<sup>95</sup> Nevertheless, it would have been feasible for Godwineson family ships moored around the

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<sup>89</sup> See for example the reference in ASC E, 1052.

<sup>90</sup> Dennis, 'Domesday Hampshire', 116.

<sup>91</sup> GDB 52d (Hampshire: IoW6,10).

<sup>92</sup> GDB 52b, 53d (Hampshire: IoW1,2-3; IoW7,22; IoW9,2).

<sup>93</sup> GDB 39d (Hampshire: 1,W14)

<sup>94</sup> GDB 16b (Sussex: 1,1).

<sup>95</sup> K. Adlard Coles, *Creeks and Harbours of the Solent with Langston and Chichester Harbours and the Isle of Wight* (London, 1954), 126.

island, and at Bosham (Chichester Harbour) to dominate routes into the Solent and patrol Southampton Water.

Further afield, Fleming notes that the Godwinesons held ‘huge, beneficently hidated estates that included almost all the region’s impressive Iron Age hill-forts’.<sup>96</sup> In Sussex, Hurstpierpoint lies on the northern edge of the South Downs within three miles of Wolstanbury Hillfort and five miles of Ditchling Beacon. The Trundles camp was surrounded by Godwineson estates: it was less than three miles from Singleton and West Dean to the north and Mid Lavant to the south, and offered ‘the best view of the South Downs in Western Sussex with clear sight of Chichester Harbour, the English Channel and the coast of the Isle of Wight’.<sup>97</sup> Stoughton lay below Bow Hill with clear views of the coastal plain and the Isle of Wight. Washington lay below Chactonbury Ring, Angmering below Harrow Hill, Rotherfield was near Kirdford and Saxonbury Rings, and Harting was on the northern side of the Downs near Beacon Hill.

The close relationship between hillforts and the Godwineson estates continues into Hampshire. Earl Godwine/Tosti held Freshwater; Eadgifu held Woolverton from Godwine in East Medine, less than two miles from Bembridge; Godwine’s estate at Clanfield (part of the sixty-hide estate of Chalton) was immediately south of Butser Hill, one of the highest points in Hampshire and on the South Downs; and Tosti held Burley (Ringwood) which included the hillfort at Castle Hill. Harold held Quarley on the Wiltshire border about a mile from the hillfort at Quarley Hill, and north of Grateley. Quarley Hill was a ‘prominent landmark in the landscape’ north of the Portway Roman road, offering ‘a clear uninterrupted viewshed of the landscape all around it, more than other hillforts in the area, including those which are actually

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<sup>96</sup> Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 93, and 93-95 for the examples in this paragraph.

<sup>97</sup> Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 93.

higher'.<sup>98</sup> Harold also held Nether Wallop 'which included Danebury Camp, the most impressive of Wessex's hillforts after Maiden Castle'.<sup>99</sup>

There is little archaeology to suggest the hillforts were re-used as defensive sites,<sup>100</sup> but Fleming argues persuasively that 'the location of the [Godwineson] family's manors along the south coast and the inclusion in their estates of all but one of the downland hillforts with their wide views and high ground would have aided the West Saxon earls in their protection of the vulnerable stretch of coast between the Isle of Wight and Southampton and enabled them to guard the mouths of the Test, Meon and Itchen Rivers'.<sup>101</sup> Their control of the Solent and Southampton Water would have required a system of 'watch' on the coast and an ability to crew and launch one or more ships at short notice. It is noteworthy that, in the crisis of 1051, Godwine escaped to Flanders with a ship from Thorney Island (Bosham) laden with treasure. The association between Earl Godwine's estates and hillforts in Sussex and Hampshire is unlikely to be coincidental and may indicate that these sites continued to have an administrative or defensive function.

Hillforts may have been used as beacon sites. One of the earliest references to a beacon system on the Isle of Wight is an Inquisition in 1324.<sup>102</sup> The later Armada beacon system relied on beacons at Freshwater (held by Earl Tosti in 1066) 'triggering up to nine further beacons' to 'ensure the message was carried across the Solent':<sup>103</sup> from Toothill a beacon was visible to the north at Farley Mount, and from Smerdown (Isle of Wight) to Bembridge [Earl Godwine] beacons could be triggered at Portsdown on the mainland, then Butser Hill [Earl Godwine], Barnet, and Crondall, followed by the Surrey beacons. Farley Mount would also alert the

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<sup>98</sup> R. Lavelle, 'Why Grateley? Reflections on Anglo-Saxon Kingship in a Hampshire Landscape', *PHFCAS* 60 (2005), 154-69, at 162.

<sup>99</sup> Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 94.

<sup>100</sup> J. Baker and S. Brookes, *Beyond the Burghal Hidage: Anglo-Saxon Civil Defence in the Viking Age* (Leiden, 2013), 52-57.

<sup>101</sup> Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 94.

<sup>102</sup> Baker and Brookes, *Burghal Hidage*, 181.

<sup>103</sup> T. E. White, 'The Beacon System in Hampshire', *PHFCAS* 10 (1931), 252-78.

Wiltshire beacons and would trigger the northern beacon of Clere which in turn would alert Cuckhamsley in Berkshire. It may be significant that in this context that ‘Clere’ was also known as Earlstone.<sup>104</sup> In 1006, the Vikings had marched to Cuckhamsley ‘lighting their beacons as they went...and waited there for what had been proudly threatened, for it had often been said that if they went to Cuckhamsley, they would never get to the sea.’<sup>105</sup> This has been interpreted as the Vikings burning farmsteads as they went,<sup>106</sup> but equally they may have been mocking the ineffectiveness of the English response if they were lighting existing beacons.

David Hill and Sheila Sharp have drawn together documentary and place-name evidence that indicates that a beacon and lookout system in Hampshire were part of the defence of the south coast that developed during the Viking wars.<sup>107</sup> Subsequent research has supported their analysis.<sup>108</sup> They compare earlier and contemporary practices on the continent,<sup>109</sup> and draw attention to the *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum* in England which describes the duties of a thegn, including equipping a guard ship, guarding the coast, and military watch. Cottars were also expected to keep watch on the coast.<sup>110</sup> Charter evidence suggests a network of beacon sites within a system of *herepaths* or ‘army-roads’.<sup>111</sup> Place-name evidence is also persuasive. *Tot* names may refer to look-out points or beacons, such as Toothill in Hampshire. *Weard* (watch) names may imply the same, such as *La Wyrde* on the Isle of Wight.<sup>112</sup> A series of Anglo-Saxon charters between 749 and 959, refer to a *weard setle*, probably on the boundary between Highclere and Burghclere (Hampshire), meaning ‘a place where guard is kept, those

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<sup>104</sup> *VCH Hampshire*, iv, 277-9; Ekwall, *Place-Names*, 156.

<sup>105</sup> ASC C (D, E), s.a. 1006.

<sup>106</sup> D. Hill and S. Sharp, ‘An Anglo-Saxon Beacon System’, *Names, Places and People: An Onomastic Miscellany in Memory of John McNeal Dodgson*, ed. A. Rumble and A. D. Mills (Stamford, 1997), 157-65, at 157.

<sup>107</sup> Hill and Sharp, ‘Beacon System’, 157-65.

<sup>108</sup> Baker and Brookes, *Burghal Hidage*, 145, 180-5.

<sup>109</sup> Hill and Sharp, ‘Beacon System’, 157-165.

<sup>110</sup> *EHD*, ii, 875-6.

<sup>111</sup> G. Pepper, ‘Tothill Street Westminster, and Anglo-Saxon Civil Defence’, *London Archaeologist*, 7 (1996), 432-434.

<sup>112</sup> Hill and Sharp, ‘Beacon System’, 157.

who keep watch, a guard', probably on Beacon Hill.<sup>113</sup> Hill and Sharp point out that if any one of the Armada beacons was changed, the system had to be re-worked because of the view-sheds.<sup>114</sup> As such, they conclude that 'it is unlikely that beacon systems change much over time'.<sup>115</sup> If Godwine and his sons were responsible for managing part of a beacon system, it would point to a well organised and integrated system of defence along the south coast.

In conclusion, there is some evidence in Hampshire that the Godwine family held a mixture of private and comital estates and that Earl Godwine used bookland to give Tosti parity with Harold in their income from estates in the shire. The location of many of the earls' estates, close to hillforts and beacon sites, on the lower reaches of the Test and Avon, and at harbour sites along the coast on the mainland and the Isle of Wight, would suggest that the earls took a leading role in the defence of the shire.

### **Thegns who attended royal assemblies before 1066**

This section considers the Hampshire landholdings of high-status thegns below the rank of earl. The format of the witness lists in royal diplomas reflects 'conventions and considerations arising from the niceties of office, personal status, and closeness to the king'.<sup>116</sup> The order of the names perhaps reflects the order of seniority at the date on which the diploma was drawn up. Generally, these men (there are no women apart from Queen Edith) were among those who enjoyed the greatest landed wealth in the kingdom, although many of King Edward's sheriffs were not as wealthy and held relatively little land. This thesis adopts Corbett's five baronial

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<sup>113</sup> Hill and Sharp, 'Beacon System', 161-2; J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1898-1921), revised A. Campbell (Oxford, 1972): S 258, 383, 487 (Burghclere, Hants), S 565, and S 680.

<sup>114</sup> Hill and Sharp, 'Beacon System', 157.

<sup>115</sup> Baker and Brookes, *Burghal Hidage*, 190.

<sup>116</sup> Keynes, *Atlas*, Table LXXV; 'Church Councils, Royal Assemblies, and Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas', *Kingship, Legislation and Power in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. G. R. Owen-Crocker and B. W. Schneider (Woodbridge, 2013), 17-139, at 67-8 and 165.

classes to assess landed wealth, as modified and extended for the purposes of *PASE Domesday*, as set out in Table 5.<sup>117</sup>

Table 5. The distribution of landed wealth in Domesday in 1066<sup>118</sup>

Baronial Class	Annual Income from Landed Wealth	No. of people in this class	Cumulative no. of people	Cumulative percentage of value
King Edward	£8,230	1	1	12
A	£750 +	7	8	26
B	£400-£750	13	21	35
C	£200-£400	26	47	45
D	£100-£200	40	87	54
E	£40-£100	111	198	64
F	£20-£40	145	343	69
G	£10-£20	314	657	75
H	£5-£10	624	1,281	81
I	£1-£5	2,966	4,247	90
J	Under £1	4,735	8,982	91
K	Domesday <i>anonymi</i>	29,309	38,291	100
Total		38,291	38,291	100

Katharin Mack identifies a group of forty thegns in England who stood out during the reign of Edward the Confessor in terms of the value of their landholding in Domesday Book.<sup>119</sup> Mack does not specify a £100 threshold for this group, but estimates that they represent the wealthiest one per cent of thegns below the rank of earl, forming an ‘upper aristocracy of great thegns’, a ‘landholding elite’.<sup>120</sup> The research for *PASE Domesday* also identifies a group of forty thegns whose landed wealth was greater than £100 per annum which almost certainly corresponds with Mack’s ‘upper aristocracy of great thegns’. A strong correlation between the names of thegns who appear in the witness lists of royal diplomas during the reign of Edward the Confessor and the *PASE Domesday* group of forty suggests virtually all the thegns with landed wealth over £200 attended royal assemblies, as did many thegns with landed wealth

<sup>117</sup> Corbett, ‘Norman Conquest’, 373.

<sup>118</sup> Baxter and Lewis, ‘Landed Society’, 368.

<sup>119</sup> K. Mack, ‘The Stallers: Administrative Innovation in the Reign of Edward the Confessor’, *Journal of Medieval History* 12 (1986), 123-134, at 126; citing H. Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest* (London, 1962), 320.

<sup>120</sup> Mack, ‘Stallers’, 126.

between £100 and £200 per annum.<sup>121</sup> In contrast, for thegns with landed wealth between £40 and £100, it becomes increasingly rare to see thegns towards the lower end of this class in the witness lists of royal diplomas. The witness lists are not exhaustive lists of all those who attended royal assemblies, not least because there was limited space on the parchment for the names, although the people who appear regularly in the lists probably constitute an inner circle of thegns closest to the king.

An individual's landed wealth was clearly a measure of status, but it was a thegn's access to, and relationship with the king that set them apart from lesser thegns. The laws of Cnut assert that the heriots of king's thegns 'who stand in immediate relation to him' (*ðe him nyxte syndon*) were greater than for 'ordinary' thegns (*medemra ðegnas*) who did not have the king as their immediate lord.<sup>122</sup> The legal tract on status known as the *Gebyncðu*, or 'promotion laws' on social mobility, attributed to Wulfstan, Archbishop of York (1002-1023), state that for a *ceorl* to become a thegn, and a thegn an *eorl*, the *ceorl* must prosper until 'he possessed fully five hides of land of his own, a bell and a castle-gate, a seat and special office in the king's hall, then was he henceforth entitled to the rights of a thegn'.<sup>123</sup> The implication is that even thegns with just five hides of land and moderate landed wealth could obtain special office in the king's hall if the opportunity arose. Only the most senior thegns, however, would be accorded the special dignity of being named in the witness lists of royal diplomas.

Thegns were, however, divided into different ranks: king's thegns, who were commended to the king and rode with his household, median thegns who served king's thegns, and lesser thegns. Ann Williams noted the significance of negotiations between Guthmund, brother of Abbot Wulfric of Ely (1044/5-1066), concerning Guthmund's marriage to the daughter of 'a very powerful man' (*prepotens vir*):

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<sup>121</sup> For the names of witnesses see Keynes, *Atlas*, Table LXXV.

<sup>122</sup> II Cnut 70-71a.5, at 71a: Robertson, *Laws*, 211.

<sup>123</sup> Whitelock, *EHD*, i, 432; Wormald, *English Law*, 391-394.

...she rejected him because although he was of aristocratic status (*nobiles*), he ‘did not hold the lordship (*dominium*) of forty hides of land’, and thus ‘could not be counted among the chief men’ (*proceres*); only after Guthmund’s brother had leased him enough of the abbey’s lands to bring up his holding to the required amount was the contract agreed.<sup>124</sup>

The level of a thegn’s landed wealth was critical here. There may have been an expectation that ‘greater thegns’ or chief men (*proceres*) would hold more than forty hides. Whether such men found it easier to gain access to the king, or to enter the king’s service is a moot point, as is the size and constitution of various royal assemblies during Edward the Confessor’s reign.

One further measure of status was the order in which people were named in the address clauses of writs or within witness lists with the most senior thegns named immediately after the earls. One oddity is that the name of the sheriff followed that of the earls and stallers in the address clauses although sheriffs did not always enjoy significant landed wealth before 1066. Accordingly, Eadsige the sheriff’s landholding in Hampshire is considered after that of the earls and stallers in the shire, reflecting his position in the Hampshire writs. Yet his landed wealth was, like several Anglo-Saxon sheriffs, modest in comparison with these men and, strictly, he should be considered among the local landholders later in the chapter.

This section considers Hampshire landholders who may have attended royal assemblies and attested the charters of Edward the Confessor. It assesses the value and location of their lands. Five Class B and C lay landholders below the rank of earl held estates in Hampshire: Azur son of Thorth,<sup>125</sup> Æthelnoth Cild,<sup>126</sup> Ælfstan of Boscombe, Wulfweard the White,<sup>127</sup> and Bondi the staller. All these men appear to have witnessed diplomas of Edward the Confessor. Six Class D lay landholders also held land in the shire: Beorhtsige Cild, Wulfgifu Beteslau, Carl ‘of Norton Bavant’, Cypping of Worthy, Saxi the housecarl, and possibly Eadric the Wild.

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<sup>124</sup> Williams, *WBD*, 4-5; *LE*, ii, 97.

<sup>125</sup> If he is Atzor (Atsere) he witnessed diplomas between 1044 and 1062: S 1003, 1044, 1015, 1028, 1036; Keynes, *Atlas*, Table LXXV.

<sup>126</sup> Between 1062 and 1065: S 1036, 1041.

<sup>127</sup> Between 1044 and 1065: S 1003, 1026, 1041.

Of these people, Beorhtsige Cild witnessed one royal diploma.<sup>128</sup> Below the £100 threshold, seventeen Class E lay landholders held land in Hampshire (Appendix B). Esbern Bigga and Osmund may have witnessed diplomas of Edward the Confessor, and Eadnoth the staller was addressed in a writ of Edward the Confessor sent to the shire court of Hampshire between 1053 and 1066.<sup>129</sup>

This section considers the role of these individuals in detail to gain a greater understanding of their political and administrative roles. It is striking that their estates were located overwhelmingly in the north of the shire in the Hampshire Downs. A few also had estates west of Winchester on the Roman road that ran from Wiltshire through Kings Somborne towards the borough, and east of Winchester, on the chalk ridge which continues into Sussex along the South Downs. This section considers how this distribution of estates may have evolved and explores its significance.

### The Stallers

The stallers (OE. *stallere*) were the most senior thegns after the earls and were some of the wealthiest landholders during the reign of Edward the Confessor. Larson argues that the title may be Scandinavian in origin, occurring within older passages of Skaldic verse ‘embedded’ within twelfth-century saga-texts.<sup>130</sup> Katharin Mack notes that the title of staller is first used in charters from the reign of Edward the Confessor and contends that the role may have developed during his reign. Williams, however, argues that the emergence of a new name ‘does not necessarily imply a new thing’ and that there had always been very senior thegns with a seat (*steall*) in the king’s hall who probably had roles within the household and were sent out on the king’s business.<sup>131</sup> Whatever the origins of the role, Mack’s assertion is persuasive that

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<sup>128</sup> In 1062: S 1036.

<sup>129</sup> S 1036, 1042.

<sup>130</sup> L. M. Larson, *The King’s Household in England before the Norman Conquest* (Madison, Wisc., 1904), 146-7.

<sup>131</sup> Williams, *WBD*, 31.

‘staller’ was not just an honorific title ‘which could be applied to anyone with a permanent and recognized position in the King’s company’, but signalled a distinct administrative role conferred on a group of individuals ‘often found witnessing as a distinct group at the head of the thegns’.<sup>132</sup>

Mack argues that the stallers were senior to the sheriffs in address clauses and witness lists, and there were ‘fundamental differences’ in their respective roles.<sup>133</sup> Keynes also observes that the stallers’ ‘identity as a group is also suggested by the fact that they invariably occur in proximity to one another’ in attestation clauses.<sup>134</sup> This is one of the strongest indications that they were set apart by their office and were senior to other attesting thegns among the landed elite. This section also shows that there were significant differences in the distribution of stallers’ and sheriffs’ estates. Most Anglo-Saxon sheriffs, including Eadsige in Hampshire, tended to have a concentration of estates within their own shire. In contrast, most stallers had a remarkably dispersed distribution of estates across the kingdom (Figure 15).

Several men, later identified as stallers, witnessed royal diplomas before 1066. Tovi and Osgod Clapa witnessed the charters of Cnut, Harthacnut, and Edward the Confessor, although Osgod was exiled in 1046.<sup>135</sup> Lyfing also witnessed the charters of Harthacnut and Edward the Confessor until 1044. There are few surviving diplomas from the middle of the Confessor’s reign although the numbers pick up again from 1059 onwards. Ælfstan of Boscombe appeared infrequently, but witnessed diplomas spanning the whole reign. Bondi and Eadnoth appear in the last decade of King Edward’s reign. By 1066, the stallers still serving Edward the Confessor included Esgar, Ælfstan of Boscombe, Ralph, Bondi, Eadnoth, and Robert fitzWymarc (all of

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<sup>132</sup> Mack, ‘Stallers’, 123-124 citing Stenton, *ASE*, 640; see also F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952), 50-52.

<sup>133</sup> Mack, ‘Stallers’, 124.

<sup>134</sup> Keynes, ‘Regenbald’, 207, and n. 124.

<sup>135</sup> *ASC D*, *s.a.* 1046.

whom held land valued at more than £100), and there are solitary references in Domesday to the stallers ‘Alnoth’ (almost certainly Eadnoth, as considered below) and ‘Harold’.

Many of the stallers had official positions within the royal households. Esgar and Ralph are both described as the king’s stewards or seneschals (*dapifer regis*) in a spurious Peterborough charter of 1060, although Keynes argues that their title may have been derived from ‘the forger’s knowledge of genuine charters’.<sup>136</sup> Esgar, Ralph, Bondi, and Robert are all styled steward or administrator (*procurator*) in a Wells charter of 1065, and Esgar was described as steward of the queen’s hall (*regiae procurator aulae*) in Edward the Confessor’s diploma in 1062 confirming the privileges of Waltham minster.<sup>137</sup> Keynes considers the Wells diploma to be spurious but with a genuine witness list,<sup>138</sup> and contends that the Waltham diploma may be authentic.<sup>139</sup> The Waltham charter also describes Bondi as a king’s courtier (*regis palatinus*) and Ralph as the king’s chamberlain (*regis aulicus*).<sup>140</sup> The Waltham Chronicle claimed Tovi was ‘the first man in England after the king, a staller and a royal standard-bearer’ and elsewhere defines ‘staller’ more generally as a ‘standard-bearer of the realm’ (*regni uexillifer*).<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> S 1042; Keynes, ‘Regenbald’, 204-5.

<sup>137</sup> S 1036.

<sup>138</sup> S 1042; Keynes, ‘Regenbald’, 200, 203-4, 206; ‘Giso, bishop of Wells (1061-88)’, *ANS* 19 (Woodbridge, 1996), 203-271, at 232.

<sup>139</sup> S. Keynes, ‘Earl Harold and the Foundation of Waltham Holy Cross (1062)’, *ANS* 39 (2017), 81-111.

<sup>140</sup> S 1036; see also *The Waltham Chronicle*, ed. L. Watkiss and M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1994), 34-5; Latham, *Medieval Latin Word List*, 318, 38.

<sup>141</sup> Williams, *WBD*, 28; *The Waltham Chronicle*, 12-13, 34-5.

Table 6. Stallers in charters and other sources (stallers with estates in Hampshire are shown in bold)

	Dates for charters	Sawyer numbers	Byname or office	Hampshire sources
Tovi the Proud	1018-1042	S 951, 953, 955, 961-4, 967-70, 974-5, 982, 993 <sup>142</sup>	Pruda (S 968) Staller (Waltham Chronicle)	LVNMW 2 <sup>nd</sup> Cols. in both f.25r and v?
Osgod Clapa	1026-1046	S 962-4, 979, 967-970, 972, 975-6, 982, 992-4, 999, 1001-1008, 1010-1013, 1121, 1044, 1391	staller (ASC D, s.a.1046) clapa (S 968) Clapp? (S 982)	LVNMW 3 <sup>rd</sup> Column f. 28v?
Lyfing	1032-1044	S 964, 999, 1003, 1476, 1478	<i>prefectus</i> (S 964) <i>stæallære</i> (S 1476) <i>steallres</i> (S 1478)	S 1476: witness as <i>stæallære</i> to the Hayling Island agreement
Esgar	1043-1044 1059-1065	S 1000, 1002, 1110, 1119-20, 1026, 1028-1031, 1033-4, 1036, 1041-3, 1391, 1426, 1467, 1476, 1478	<i>minister</i> (S 1033, 1034, 1043, 1041) <i>stallere</i> (S 1002) <i>stalres</i> (S 1110) <i>stallere</i> (S 1030) <i>stalre</i> (GDB) <i>dapifer regis</i> (S 1029) <i>regiae procurator aulae</i> (S 1036) <i>procurator</i> (S 1042)	
<b>Bondi</b>	<b>1061-1065</b>	<b>S 1033-4, 1036, 1041-3, 1235, 1426</b>	<b><i>minister</i> (S 1033-4, 1043, 1041) <i>stalre</i> (GDB) <i>steallere</i> (S 1426) <i>regis palatinus</i> (S 1036) <i>procurator</i> (S 1042) <i>constabularius</i> (GDB)</b>	
Ralph	1043-1050 1059-1065	S 1000, 1021, 1026, 1028-9, 1031, 1033-4, 1036, 1041-3, 1426, 1476, 1478	<i>minister</i> (S 1033, 1034, 1043, 1041) <i>stalre</i> (Domesday Book) <i>more</i> (S 1000) <i>dapifer regis</i> (S 1029) <i>regis aulicus</i> (S 1036) <i>procurator</i> (S 1042)	
Robert fitzWymarc	1043-1044 1059-1065	S 1000, 1002, 1028, 1030-1, 1033-4, 1036, 1120, 1128, 1137	<i>minister</i> (S 1033, 1034, 1043, 1041) <i>stallere</i> (S 1002) <i>stalre</i> (Kemble 815) <i>regis consanguineus</i> (S 1036) <i>regalis palatii stabilitor</i> (VEDR) <i>procurator</i> (S 1042)	
<b>Ælfstan of Boscombe</b>	<b>1043-1065</b>	<b>S 999, 1001, 1003-8, 1010-12, 1017, 1020, 1022, 1025, 1036, 1042, 1044, 1471</b>	<b><i>steallære</i> (S 1471) <i>princeps</i> (S 1036) <i>princeps</i> (S 1042)</b>	
<b>Eadnoth</b>	<b>c.1053-1065</b>	<b>S 1041, 1043, 1129</b>	<b>staller (ASC C, s.a.1067) <i>stalre</i> (GDB) staller (Regesta i, no.7) <i>constabulus</i> (Abingdon Chronicle ii, 19)</b>	<b>S 1129: writ of Edward the Confessor addressed to Eadnoth the staller</b>

Among the stallers who held estates in Hampshire, Ælfstan of Boscombe<sup>143</sup> witnessed nineteen royal diplomas during Edward the Confessor's reign. He is almost certainly the recipient of a grant by the king of ten hides at Sevington (Wiltshire) in 1043.<sup>144</sup> He is likely to be Ælfstan the staller (*Ælfstan steallære*) who witnessed a Kentish charter of 1045.<sup>145</sup> Ælfstan of Boscombe is described as holding high office (*princeps*) in the Waltham diploma, and in the diploma for the bishopric of Wells.<sup>146</sup> Ann Williams has also suggested Ælfstan was portreeve of Bedford (*Ælfstan wicgerefa*) who attested a grant of land to St Alban's Abbey.<sup>147</sup> Ælfstan was succeeded initially by Ralph de Limesy after 1066, and then by William d'Eu, and his landholding can be reconstructed with confidence.

Ælfstan of Boscombe had estates with a combined value of £288 dispersed across eight shires. He also held lordships valued at £11 in Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire. He held many estates in Wiltshire, valued at £70, including Boscombe itself. Boscombe lay two miles west of the Hampshire border on the Portway which connected four of his estates: Elworth, Long Critchel, Boscombe, and Silchester, where five Roman roads converge. He held Slacham on the Hampshire border in the south-west of the shire, Cholderton (Wiltshire) on the north-western border, and five hides at Silchester to the north.

Bondi was a Danish landholder who held estates in twelve shires valued at £218, with a concentration of estates in Northamptonshire.<sup>148</sup> He also held dispersed lordships valued at £7 in Hampshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Northamptonshire. Many of Bondi's estates were acquired by Henry de Ferrers by 1086 and it is possible to reconstruct this element of his

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<sup>142</sup> S 993, 998-9, 1003, 1462, 1471, 1490 may have been witnessed by a different Tovi: Ann Williams, 'Tovi the Proud (*fl.* 1018–1042)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52355>, accessed 12 May 2015.

<sup>143</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Ælfstan 69' (provisional).

<sup>144</sup> S 999; GDB 71d (Wiltshire: 32,13).

<sup>145</sup> S 1471.

<sup>146</sup> S 1036, 1042.

<sup>147</sup> S 1235; Ann Williams, 'Ælfstan of Boscombe (*fl.* 1043–1065)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52345>, accessed 20 May 2015.

<sup>148</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Bondi 3' (provisional); Clarke excluded Countess Judith's estates in Northamptonshire, Empshott (Hampshire), Steeple and Buttsbury (Essex): Clarke, *English Nobility*, 266-7.

landholding with confidence. Henry de Ferrers acquired the most geographically remote estates in Gloucestershire,<sup>149</sup> Essex, and some estates in Northamptonshire. There is some uncertainty about the number of manors Bondi held in Oxfordshire,<sup>150</sup> and the Dorset manors, and his single estates in Somerset and Wiltshire went to different successors. Nevertheless, the size of these estates suggest they were also held by Bondi the staller. Significantly, Robert, count of Mortain, who succeeded Bondi (no byname) at Sutton Montis in Somerset also succeeded the man of ‘Bondi the staller’ (Bondi *stalre*) at Marsh Gibbon in Buckinghamshire.<sup>151</sup> Bondi is named as a staller in Domesday Book at Marsh Gibbon and Hoggeston in Buckinghamshire, where he was the lord of two men.<sup>152</sup> He is described as Bondi the constable (*constabularius*) at Grendon Underwood, and Shipton Lee in Buckinghamshire, where he was succeeded by Henry de Ferrers. Bondi witnessed five diplomas of Edward the Confessor between 1061 and 1065.<sup>153</sup>

In Hampshire, Bondi held estates with a combined value of £28 in the north-east of the shire and east of Winchester. Stratfield Saye (£15) and Warnborough (£12) were particularly valuable estates, comparable to Bondi’s largest estates in Berkshire, Dorset, and Oxfordshire. Interestingly, Bondi’s lordships (located among his own estates) form an arc running from the east of Winchester northwards across Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and into Northamptonshire and may reflect a corridor of estates which he visited most frequently. In Hampshire, Bondi was succeeded by Hugh fitzBaldric at Oakley, Stratfield Saye, and Warnborough, and by Geoffrey the Marshal at Empshott.

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<sup>149</sup> Henry de Ferrers claimed Alveston from William d’Eu ‘because it had been held by Bondi’: GDB 166d (Gloucestershire: 31,2).

<sup>150</sup> C. P. Lewis, ‘Danish Landholders in Wessex in 1066’, *Danes in Wessex, The Scandinavian Impact on Southern England, c. 800-c. 1100*, ed. R. Lavelle and S. Roffey (Oxford, 2016), 182-3.

<sup>151</sup> GDB 92d (Somerset: 19,56); 146a (Buckinghamshire: 12,29).

<sup>152</sup> GDB 148c (Buckinghamshire: 17,9).

<sup>153</sup> S 1033, 1034, 1036, 1041, 1042.

Eadnoth served as staller with a range of duties. He was described in Wiltshire Domesday as the steward (*dapifer*) of Edward the Confessor. Ann Williams has suggested that he may also ‘have acted as a royal justice’, because he is said to have ‘recovered’ from Earl Godwine (and continued to hold) 2½ hides of land at Ugford (Wiltshire) belonging to Wilton Abbey.<sup>154</sup> King Edward’s reliance on Eadnoth at Ugford and at the shire court in Hampshire gives some insight into the role of the stallers acting alongside the sheriff in shires where they themselves held land. Eadnoth continued to serve after 1066 and was killed fighting the sons of King Harold in Somerset in 1067. This Chronicle entry describes him as a staller (*Eadnoð stallere*), and Eadnoth was perhaps responding to the military threat in this capacity.<sup>155</sup>

Eadnoth held land with a combined value of at least £73, much less than the previous two stallers. Eadnoth is a common name, however, and it is likely that further estates may yet be attributed to him. Eadnoth is named as a staller (*stalre*) at Shippon, Berkshire, where he was succeeded by Hugh d’Avranches, Earl of Chester.<sup>156</sup> Round suggests he is Eadnoth the steward (*dapifer*) at Cadenham, Wiltshire (also holding Retmore, Wilsford, Hartham, and Burcombe) where he was succeeded by Earl Hugh.<sup>157</sup> Eadnoth can be identified with greatest confidence on estates where he was succeeded by the earl.<sup>158</sup> Williams also attributes Down Ampney (Gloucestershire) to him due to its value (£20), and Freefolk in Hampshire (£16).<sup>159</sup>

Williams believes Eadnoth held nearly sixty-five hides of land in Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Gloucestershire, including estates which went to Osbern Giffard. She suggests that Alnoth, (*Alnod*), who was succeeded by Earl Hugh in Devon, Dorset, and Gloucestershire (but not in Leicestershire and Cheshire), is a shortened version of ‘Ealdnoth’,

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<sup>154</sup> GDB 72d (Wiltshire: 48,12); Williams, *ENC*, 119.

<sup>155</sup> *ASC C*, 1067.

<sup>156</sup> GDB 58c (Berkshire: 7,7-8).

<sup>157</sup> *VCH Wiltshire*, i, 295; GDB 68d-69a (Wiltshire: 22,1-5).

<sup>158</sup> For a conservative analysis see Clarke, *English Nobility*, 281-282.

<sup>159</sup> Williams, *ENC*, 120-121.

arguing that the Domesday scribe confused ‘Eald’ and ‘Ead’.<sup>160</sup> At Stowford in Devon, for example, Domesday records the TRE holder as *Alnod* while Exon records him as *Ednod*.<sup>161</sup> The confusion of the Eald/Ead name elements in Domesday, and the location of the estates of Alnoth, predecessor of Earl Hugh, makes a persuasive case that Alnoth and Eadnoth were the same man. Furthermore, ‘Alnoth’ at Knowle (Somerset) is identified in Exon as a staller.<sup>162</sup> If correct, a further £24 should be added to Eadnoth’s lands, making a total of just over eighty-six hides in seven counties, with a combined value of just under £100.

In Hampshire, Eadnoth held the large estate at Freefolk from Stigand, bishop of Winchester, but could not go where he pleased with the land (*non potuit ire quolibet*), which suggests Eadnoth held this manor as loanland.<sup>163</sup> It is very likely that he held two small estates at *Sudberie* and Kings Somborne. The Hampshire estates are close geographically: Freefolk is about seventeen miles from Kings Somborne. The location of *Sudberie* is uncertain, but it lay in Bermondspitt hundred which, at its furthest point, is about seventeen miles from Freefolk. Domesday states that *Sudberie* was held by Eadnoth and Eadwig from King Edward *in alodium* and ‘after his [Edward’s] death they also died’, following which ‘a certain kinsman [neighbour] (*proximus*) of theirs, Cola, redeemed (*redemit*) this land of Earl William [fitzOsbern]’.<sup>164</sup> Cola of Basing’s redemption of the land would be consistent with Eadnoth’s death in Somerset in 1067, fighting the sons of Harold Godwineson. At the latest, the redemption would have taken place before fitzOsbern’s death in 1071.

The estate at Kings Somborne is perhaps the most significant.<sup>165</sup> It was a royal manor ten miles to the west of Winchester and twenty miles south-east of Salisbury (Old Sarum), to which

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<sup>160</sup> For further examples of this confusion see A. Williams, *ENC*, 121 n. 127; ‘Eadnoth the Staller (*d.* 1068)’, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8384>, accessed 20 May 2015.

<sup>161</sup> Exon 286a3.

<sup>162</sup> Exon 447a2; GDB 98a (Somerset: 39,1).

<sup>163</sup> GDB 48c (Hampshire: 3,5).

<sup>164</sup> GDB 50a (Hampshire: 69,13).

<sup>165</sup> GDB 48c (Hampshire: 45,8).

the soke (*soca*) of two hundreds pertained.<sup>166</sup> Eadnoth's estate was relatively small (1.5 hides), but lay close to the Roman road that linked Winchester and Old Sarum, a route that must have been particularly important for Eadnoth as it continued into Wiltshire to his estates at Hurdcott, Ugford, Burcombe, Wilsford, and Retmore. Hurdcott was just north of Old Sarum where the Winchester road crossed the Portway. The remaining Hampshire estates held by an Eadnoth at Brookley and Mapleham in Boldre hundred, and at Shide (Isle of Wight), are considered too remote geographically to be attributed to Eadnoth the staller.

The activities of the stallers in Hampshire gives some insight into their roles. They appear as witnesses in two surviving 'local' agreements, listed alongside some of the important thegns from the shire. The first is an agreement concerning ten hides in Hayling Island between Wulfweard the White and Bishop Stigand and the Old Minster Winchester.<sup>167</sup> The background to this agreement was a bequest by Queen Emma of five hides on Hayling Island to Wulfweard the White and, allegedly, a further ten hides at Hayling to the Old Minster along with a message (*haga*) in Winchester known as *Ælfrices Godebegeaton* (now Godbegot House). Queen Emma's will does not survive but the grants to the Old Minster were confirmed by a writ of Edward the Confessor between 1052 and 1053,<sup>168</sup> although Rumble cautions that the Haying part of the writ is a later interpolation.<sup>169</sup> Domesday records a dispute between the Old Minster and Jumièges Abbey to which William the Conqueror had granted this part of Hayling Island.<sup>170</sup> It raises suspicions that the writ was altered to support the Old Minster's claim.<sup>171</sup>

The agreement with Wulfweard is likely to have been made shortly after Queen Emma's death on 6<sup>th</sup> March 1052, and after the Godwinesons had been restored to power in the same

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<sup>166</sup> GDB 39c (Hampshire: 1,47).

<sup>167</sup> S 1476.

<sup>168</sup> S 1153.

<sup>169</sup> A. R. Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents Relating to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and its Minsters*, Winchester Studies 4.iii (Oxford, 2002), no.XXIX.

<sup>170</sup> GDB 43c (Hampshire: 10,1).

<sup>171</sup> V. H. Galbraith, 'Royal Charters to Winchester', *EHR* 35 (1920), 383-400.

year because Earl Harold is among the witnesses. It may date from 1053 when Harold succeeded his father as Earl of Wessex.<sup>172</sup> In the agreement, Stigand grants five hides of the Old Minster lands to Wulfweard to be held for his lifetime, which would revert to the Old Minster along with Wulfweard's own five hide estate when Wulfweard died. The agreement exists only in a twelfth-century copy within the cartulary of Winchester Old Minster (*Codex Wintoniensis*) and, although it is not possible to know how many witnesses were present originally, the names in the witness list suggest that it was agreed at a large assembly, perhaps in Winchester, attended by all the leading Hampshire thegns.

Leofing, Ralph, and Esgar, all styled as stallers, witness the agreement.<sup>173</sup> None of them held land in Hampshire in 1066. It may pre-date Eadnoth's appointment. There is no obvious candidate(s) for Leofing the staller in Domesday and he had almost certainly died before 1066. Leofing (Lyfing) did not witness any surviving royal diplomas after 1044 (Table 6). He may have held estates in Hampshire before his death and it is possible that Bondi or Eadnoth succeeded to his office and lands.

The second document is a writ-charter of Edward the Confessor concerning land at Eversley, Hampshire.<sup>174</sup> It was addressed to Archbishop Stigand, Earl Harold, and Eadnoth the staller. The writ is datable between 1053 and 1066.<sup>175</sup> The address clause establishes Eadnoth as the only staller with a clear administrative connection with Hampshire in the last decade or so of the Confessor's reign. Mack contends that the stallers were tasked with 'business of special interest' to the king, especially in implementing grants of land 'assigned to his new

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<sup>172</sup> For a discussion on the date see Robertson, *Charters*, 462-4.

<sup>173</sup> S 1476.

<sup>174</sup> S 1129; *Writs*, 351-2, no. 85; GDB 43a (Hampshire: 8,3).

<sup>175</sup> Robertson, *Charters*, 463.

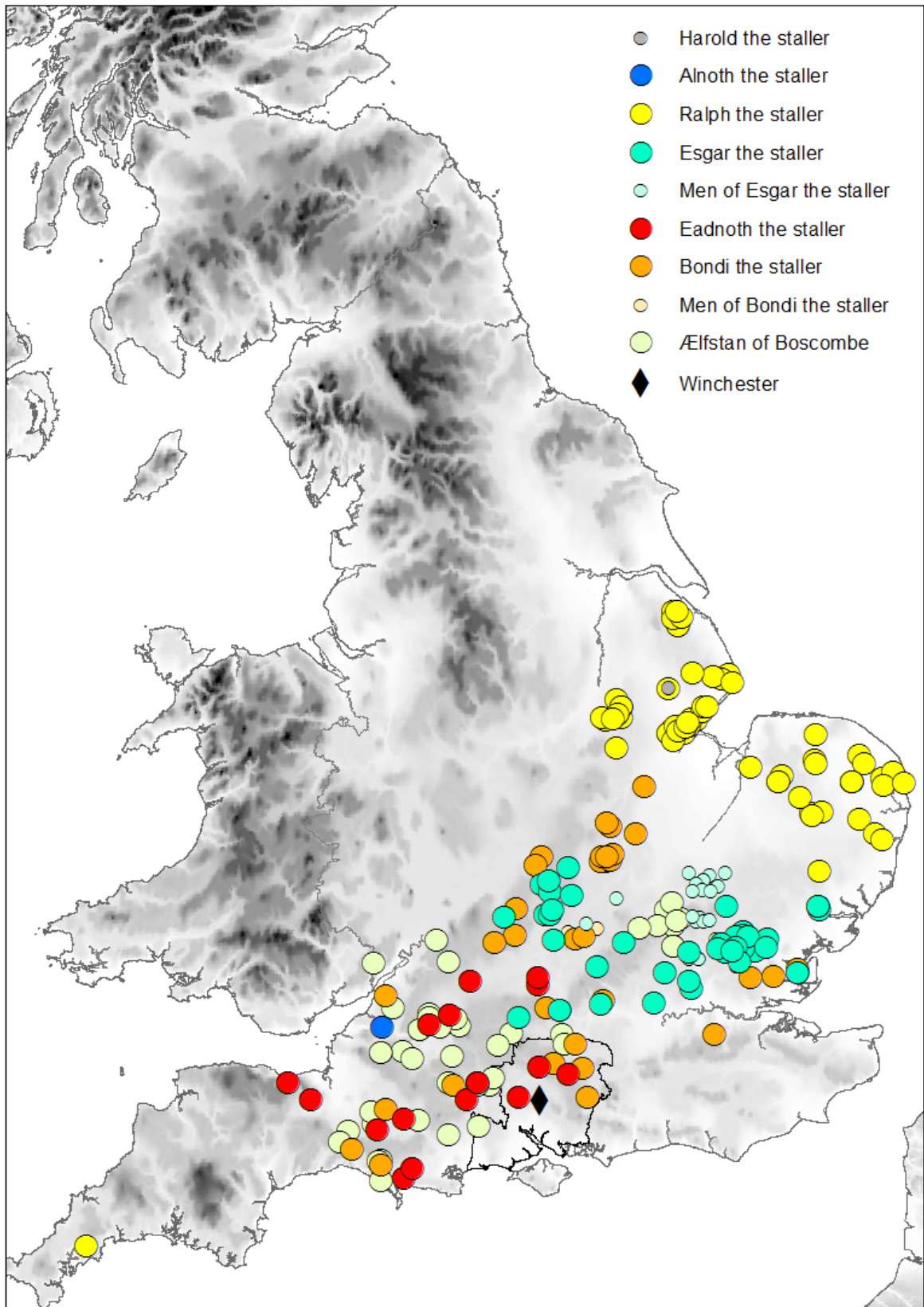


Figure 15. Estates attributed to stallers in 1066

foundation’, Westminster Abbey.<sup>176</sup> This writ is no exception. It was addressed to Eadnoth, among others, and transferred Eversley to the abbey.

Edward seems to have relied on the stallers increasingly after 1053. Mack notes ‘the charters from 1053 to 1066 were characterized by a decrease in attesting thegns and an increased appearance of stallers’.<sup>177</sup> In the circumstances, it is unsurprising that the pattern of landholding in Hampshire for Eadnoth, Bondi, and Ælfstan of Boscombe brought the stallers into the north of the shire with a similar configuration of estates to other elite thegns who attended royal assemblies (Figures 15 and 18).

There are many respects in which the office of staller is similar to the Frankish ‘*missi dominici*’, officials appointed by Charlemagne to publish and enforce his decrees, with authority to act in his name.<sup>178</sup> After the assembly of March 802, the *missi* were drawn regularly from people of high rank, both lay and ecclesiastical.<sup>179</sup> Their duties included specific missions to investigate injustice and to resolve these issues as agents of Charlemagne. They had a more general authority to visit regions to enquire into, and to remedy judicial matters on their own initiative, or to preside in judicial assizes. They collected revenues, fines, and payments in lieu of military service (*heribannum*), and were actively involved in the preparations for military campaigns. They also oversaw the taking of oaths of allegiance to the emperor.<sup>180</sup> These officials were close to Charlemagne, sent from the palace to represent his interests. The stallers also had both judicial and military functions, and, like the *missi*, they appear to have undertaken specific tasks for the king across the kingdom with authority to act in his name.

Mack asserts that ‘[t]he staller’s wealth set them apart not only from other thegns, but also from those with whom they are most frequently compared: members of the royal

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<sup>176</sup> Mack, ‘Stallers’, 130.

<sup>177</sup> Mack, ‘Stallers’, 130.

<sup>178</sup> C. Brooke, *London, 800-1216: The Shaping of a City* (London, 1975), 193.

<sup>179</sup> F. L. Ganshoff, *Frankish Institutions Under Charlemagne* (Toronto, 1970), 23-26.

<sup>180</sup> Ganshoff, *Frankish Institutions*, 23-26.

household and sheriffs'.<sup>181</sup> This is not entirely accurate. In fact, the stallers enjoyed a similar level of landed wealth to other class B and C landholders in Hampshire (Appendix B), and across the kingdom. Mack also asserts that the stallers were distinguished by the configuration of their estates. All 'save Eadnoth, were major landholders outside of Wessex: in areas whose incorporation into the West Saxon kingdom was incomplete, and where the king's control was less firm'.<sup>182</sup> Again, this needs to be reviewed. Figure 15 above shows most stallers had a strong presence in the Wessex heartlands, with their estates dispersed across several shires. Yet Mack may be correct that King Edward came to rely on some of these wealthy individuals as royal agents who helped govern in the shires beyond this zone. In the Wells charter of 1065, Esgar, Ralph, Robert fitzWymarc, and Bondi were all described as *procurator*, a term which, earlier in the eleventh century, had been glossed as *scirman*.<sup>183</sup> *Scirman* also described sheriffs,<sup>184</sup> and the common term may reflect the fact that both groups exercised similar judicial authority in the shire courts.

One final issue is the extent to which the stallers' landholding was *ex officio*. Many of their estates were held from King Edward freely (*in alodium*) suggesting it was family land or bookland. Whether these estates had built up over several generations or were bookland grants by the Confessor to new appointees is not clear. There is evidence that at least some stallership estates were held *ex officio* and that the office itself could be inherited. Swaffham and Sporle had belonged to the royal demesne before King Edward granted them to Ralph.<sup>185</sup> The Waltham Chronicle records that Tovi the Proud's son Æthelstan did not receive all his father's lands but 'only that which related to his stallership' (*stallarium*) because Æthelstan 'lacked his father's astuteness and wisdom'; instead many of his lands were transferred by King Edward to Earl

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<sup>181</sup> Mack, 'Stallers', 126.

<sup>182</sup> Mack, 'Stallers', 129.

<sup>183</sup> S 1042; Keynes, 'Regenbald', 207 n. 123.

<sup>184</sup> Harmer, *Writs*, 49.

<sup>185</sup> LDB 119v (Norfolk: 1,71); LDB 144 (Norfolk: 4,1).

Harold.<sup>186</sup> After 1066, these passed to Geoffrey de Mandeville who was also given the inheritance (*hereditas*) of Esgar the staller, Tovi's grandson.<sup>187</sup> Furthermore, Clarke noted that both Robert fitzWymarc and Ralph the staller held manors which 'included the profits of hundreds or wapentakes'.<sup>188</sup> It is probable that the manors with these rights had been granted, as a privilege, in connection with the stallership.

After 1066 the term 'staller' survived in the early writs written in Old English until about 1070. Bondi and Robert fitzWymarc were witnesses to a charter (May 1068) in which the Conqueror restored land to Wells Cathedral, and Bondi the staller and Sæweald the sheriff and all the thegns of Oxfordshire were addressed in a writ between 1066 and 1070 confirming that Westminster Abbey should hold land at Marston.<sup>189</sup> After 1066, Bondi put land at Streatley into the king's manor at Luton which the hundred reeve was using for the king's work.<sup>190</sup> Initially, therefore, William the Conqueror relied on the stallers. He granted further lands to Robert fitzWymarc and appointed Ralph the staller's son, Ralph, earl of East Anglia. Eadnoth died leading a campaign against the sons of Harold Godwineson in 1068 and his son Hearing continued to serve King William in the Wessex heartlands but in a much-reduced state, having not been permitted to succeed to his father's estates, and having lost his own pre-Conquest estates in the midlands to Earl Aubrey.<sup>191</sup>

In contrast to the sheriffs, the office of staller was not adopted in the long term by the Norman administration in England. There was an obvious overlap between the judicial

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<sup>186</sup> Williams, *WBD*, 28-9; *Waltham Chronicle*, 24-5.

<sup>187</sup> Williams, *WBD*, 28-9; *Waltham Chronicle*, xxvii, 14-15, 24-25.

<sup>188</sup> Clarke, *English Nobility*, 21, citing H. Cam, *Law-Finders and Law-Makers in Medieval England* (London, 1962), 166-7; GDB 337a (Lincolnshire: T5) and presumably 40s from the whole hundred of Blofield at Buckenham LDB 126v (Norfolk: 1,139). For Robert fitzWymarc see Clavering Hundred, LDB 46v (Essex: 24,52) where 'the pleas of this half hundred paid...25s a year'; Freston LDB 404 (Suffolk: 27,12) where 'Robert had the soke'; and Rochford Hundred LDB 45v (Essex: 24,41a) which gave 100s in pleas.

<sup>189</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, nos. 286-296.

<sup>190</sup> Williams, *ENC*, 119; GDB 218c (Bedfordshire: 57,4), 'In Streatley the reeve of the hundred holds 2 parts of 1 virgate for the king's use (*ad opus regis*) which now belong to Luton, the king's manor, but did not belong there TRE. Bondi the staller assigned them to this manor' (*Bondi stalre apposuit in hoc manorum*).

<sup>191</sup> D. Probert, 'Hearing 4', *PASE Domesday*.

functions of stallers and those of the Norman sheriffs. There was also an overlap with administrative and judicial functions of the legates/deliverers of land who operated in the years after 1066 to oversee the redemption and transfer of estates across the kingdom. Ralph the staller, as newly appointed Earl of East Anglia, acted alongside the bishop of London and Engelric the royal priest in this capacity.<sup>192</sup> It is likely that, as King William relied increasingly on the sheriffs alongside the *legati*, and a wider group of trusted administrators, to help run the duchy and his new kingdom, he became less dependent on the stallers to carry out specific tasks in the shire. Ultimately, there may have been no role for the stallers as the sheriffs grew in power and the office seems to have fallen into abeyance by 1086.

#### Eadsige, sheriff of Hampshire

It is very likely that the sheriff of Hampshire in 1066 was Eadsige, or ‘Ezi’ as he is recorded in Domesday Book, and not Eadnoth the staller as suggested by Clarke.<sup>193</sup> Sheriffs followed the stallers in the address clauses of the Confessor’s writs, and the sheriffs were followed in turn by the leading thegns of the shire. The order of names almost certainly reflects seniority at least within the shire.<sup>194</sup> Unlike the stallers, sheriffs tended to enjoy relatively modest landed wealth. Table 7 shows that twelve of the seventeen sheriffs listed had estates valued at less than £40 (possibly the threshold for *proceres* or ‘greater’ thegns). This is in sharp contrast to the landed wealth of the Conqueror’s sheriffs who were among his wealthiest barons. Clarke, however, makes an interesting observation that the landed wealth of the Confessor’s sheriffs tends to be in inverse proportion to the amount of royal demesne in their respective shires.<sup>195</sup> It is possible that pre-Conquest sheriffs generated income from farming royal demesne and retained sums in excess of the renders due to the king.

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<sup>192</sup> A. William, ‘Ralph the Staller, earl of East Anglia (d. 1068 x 70)’, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.co/view/article/52354>, accessed 9 March 2013; see also Bates, *RRAN*, no. 37.

<sup>193</sup> ‘Eadsige 14’ and ‘35’: *PASE Domesday*; Clarke, *English Nobility*, 136-7.

<sup>194</sup> S 1120, 1121 for example.

<sup>195</sup> Clarke, *English Nobility*, 138.

Morris argues that the pre-Conquest sheriffs were, crucially, the king's men in the shire, emerging in the late tenth century as the 'high-reeve' attached to the shire as a 'fiscal district', administering royal revenues, and acting in a peacekeeping role.<sup>196</sup> Green argues that the sheriff's role evolved rapidly during the upheavals of the reign of Æthelred II, with the sheriff taking on greater fiscal, administrative, and political functions in the shire, but she is cautious about the extent of their judicial functions before 1066.<sup>197</sup> Yet sheriffs were 'increasingly addressed in royal writs' in the eleventh century,<sup>198</sup> which suggests they were expected to ensure compliance in both shire and hundred courts. It implies a new balance of power within the shire between the sheriff and stallers (both perhaps more immediately the king's men), and the bishop and earl.

Eadsige held estates assessed at 10½ hides with a combined value of £15 in Hampshire and Berkshire. Eadsige held a reasonable amount of land (Table 7) but much less than the wealthiest pre-Conquest sheriffs such as Mærleswein of Lincoln (the shrieval component of his lands in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire were valued at about £90). Within Hampshire, over sixty thegns enjoyed greater landed wealth than Eadsige.

Eadsige the sheriff (*Eadsige scirgeræfa*) was among the witnesses to the Hayling Island agreement between Stigand, bishop of Winchester, and Wulfweard the White.<sup>199</sup> Eadsige is absent from the terse address clause of the Eversley writ in which King Edward transferred possession of Eversley with sake and soke and other rights to Westminster Abbey.<sup>200</sup> From a brief analysis of pre-Conquest writs it can be seen that there are usually greater numbers of named individuals in the address clauses of writ-charters where the king is confirming a private grant from a local thegn than in writ-charters or writs from the king himself granting land,

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<sup>196</sup> W. A. Morris, *The Mediaeval Sheriff to 1300* (Manchester, 1027), 19.

<sup>197</sup> J. Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154* (London, 1990), 9-13.

<sup>198</sup> P. Wormald, *Papers Preparatory to the Making of English Law, Vol. II: From God's Law to Common Law*, ed. S. Baxter and J. Hudson, 199: available at [earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk](http://earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk).

<sup>199</sup> S 1476.

<sup>200</sup> S 1129; Harmer, *Writs*, 351-2.

rights and privileges. Accordingly, in the Eversley writ Eadsige may not have been named but may have been among the unnamed ‘loyal friends’ of the king in Hampshire.

Table 7. Total value of estates attributed to known sheriffs in Domesday Book (1066)

Sheriff	Shire	Total value of estates (£)	Notes
Mærleswein	Lincolnshire	218	Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no.216; <i>ASC D</i> 1067, 1069.
Oswearð	Kent	133	
Alwine	Huntingdonshire and other shires?	74	Held Keysoe (Hunts: 29,2) in 1086.
Godric	Berkshire/Buckinghamshire	57	
Ordgar	Cambridgeshire	28	
Northman	Suffolk	18	Tenant-in-chief and subtenant in 1086
Ælfric	Huntingdonshire	17	
Heca	Devon	17	
Edwin	Oxon	16	
Eadric <sup>201</sup>	Wiltshire	15/74	Eadric’s wife Estrilde held land in 1086
Eadsige	Hampshire	15	Alive during Harold II’s reign
Blæcwine	Cambridgeshire	15	
Cyneward	Worcestershire	14	
Tovi	Somerset	6	
Alfred	Dorset	6	
Leofcild	Essex	3	
Toli	Norfolk and Suffolk	1	Probably no longer sheriff in 1066

In Domesday Hampshire, Eadsige was recorded as ‘Ezi’ which Olof von Feilitzen considered to be a derivative form of Eadsige.<sup>202</sup> Eadsige was a fairly common name. In the *PASE* database there are thirty-four people named Eadsige, nineteen of whom were moneyers in mints across the kingdom during the eleventh century. From the remaining fifteen names, six people were included the *Liber Vitae*.<sup>203</sup> ‘Ezi’ occurs in Domesday Book and records of both forms of the name, collated in the *PASE* database, suggest that it was particularly prevalent in the south of England, notably in Hampshire, in the mid-tenth to the eleventh century.

The lands of Eadsige the sheriff can, nevertheless, be reconstructed with reasonable confidence due to the proximity of the estates in both Hampshire and Berkshire.<sup>204</sup> He is identified as ‘Eadsige the sheriff’ (*Ezi vicecomes*) in Domesday Hampshire, holding estates

<sup>201</sup> He may be ‘Eadric 66’ and Eadric 138’, *PASE, Domesday*. If so, the higher value is applicable.

<sup>202</sup> O. von Feilitzen, *Pre-Conquest Personal Names in Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937), 236-7.

<sup>203</sup> *PASE Domesday*, ‘Eadsige 10’; ‘11’; ‘19’; ‘22’; ‘57’; and ‘69’ (provisional).

<sup>204</sup> *PASE Domesday*, ‘Eadsige 14’ and ‘35’ (provisional).

from King Edward at Tatchbury and Barton Stacey TRE.<sup>205</sup> Eadsige is not described as the sheriff of Hampshire, but Eadsige's attestation of the Hayling Island grant alongside 'all the thegns of Hampshire' leaves little doubt that he was sheriff of that shire. The proximity of all the estates held by Eadsige in Hampshire, which lie on a north-south axis (a distribution seen with several local thegns in Hampshire, as considered below), makes it likely that they were all held by the same man.

Eadsige 'of Catmore' is currently identified as a separate individual in *PASE Domesday* but the size of this seven-hide estate in Berkshire, and the fact that it lay only twenty miles from Eadsige's nearest estate at Litchfield in Hampshire, makes it likely that it is the same man.<sup>206</sup> It was common for sheriffs to hold estates in neighbouring shires. Godric, sheriff of Berkshire, held Standen in Wiltshire near the Berkshire border, and Clyffe Pypard twenty-five miles further west, deep in the shire; Eadric, sheriff of Wiltshire, held a solitary estate in the north-east of Hampshire at Elvetham and may have held further estates in Hampshire along the Wiltshire border. Similarly, Eadsige may have held Catmore which took him into the heart of Berkshire.

There is a tendency for post-Conquest sheriffs to succeed to the estates of their pre-Conquest counterparts. Four estates in Cambridgeshire were transferred from Blæcwine to Picot of Cambridge; at least four estates in Huntingdonshire were transferred from the sheriffs Alweald, Ælfric, and Æthelwine to Eustace the sheriff; three estates of Edwin the sheriff went to Thorkell of Warwick in Warwickshire; and Ralph Paynel, sheriff of Yorkshire, received many of the estates of the pre-Conquest sheriff, Mærleswein of Lincoln. Henry de Ferrers acquired Godric's estates in Berkshire and Wiltshire and may have held these lands as sheriff of Berkshire.<sup>207</sup> It is significant, therefore, that Eadsige's estate at Catmore was transferred to

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<sup>205</sup> GDB 43b (Hampshire: 6,10); 48c (Hampshire: 47,1).

<sup>206</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Eadsige 35' (provisional).

<sup>207</sup> Green, *English Sheriffs*, 26; Froger is also mentioned as sheriff in Berkshire after 1066 at Sparsholt: GDB 57a (Berkshire: 1,10).

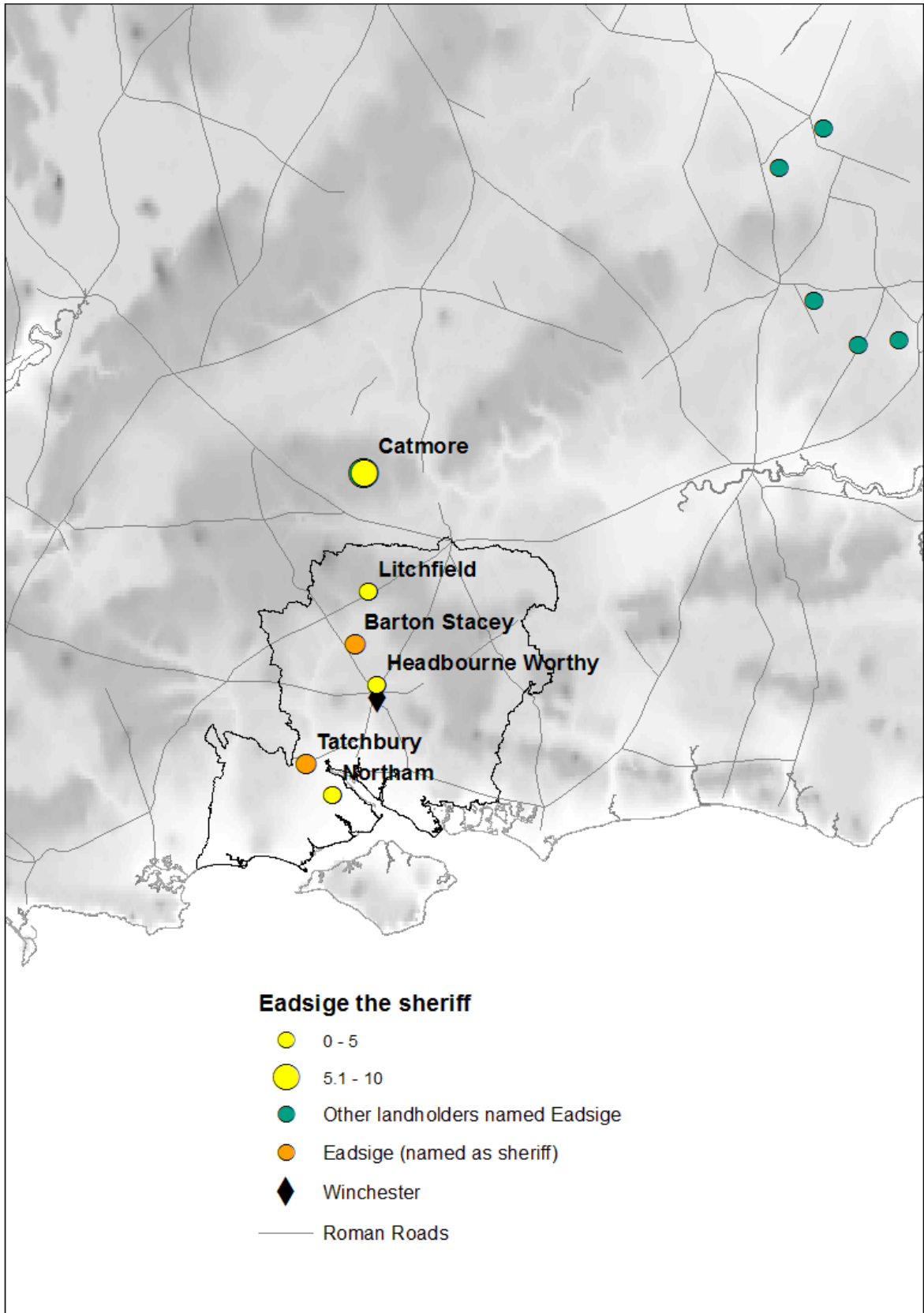


Figure 16. Estates attributed to landholders named Eadsige in Domesday Book (1066)

Henry de Ferrers, and that Eadsige was succeeded by Hugh de Port, sheriff of Hampshire, at Litchfield and Barton Stacey.

The Domesday entry for Tatchbury records that Eadsige held the estate jointly (*in paragio*) with another person from King Edward but granted it to the New Minster ‘for his soul’ after King Edward’s death and before the arrival of King William (*dedit eidem æcclesie pro sua anima antequam rex Willelmus uenisset*). It was not assessed for geld, and by 1086 it was waste (*vasta est*), although it continued to be valued at 10s. The ‘bury’ element of Tatchbury may signify a fortified manor, or a defensive site perhaps connected with the royal manor at Eling.<sup>208</sup> If the half hide was located at the Iron Age hillfort at Tatchbury Mount, it was one of the highest points in the parish of Eling (50 ft/38m) with extensive views across Netley Marsh, Eling and over a long stretch of Southampton Water. Eling was a night’s farm estate and was particularly vulnerable to attack from the sea. Interestingly, John Speed’s map of Hampshire, published in 1611, offers a different location for Tatchbury to the south of Eling. Either way, Tatchbury perhaps offered a fortified refuge close to the royal manor at Eling, perhaps in conjunction with other fortified sites/manors at Colbury, Holbury, and Exbury along the coast. *In paragio* estates could be held in dependent tenure,<sup>209</sup> but it is more likely that the estate was alienable bookland because Eadsige granted it to the New Minster.

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<sup>208</sup> GDB 38d (Hampshire: 1,27).

<sup>209</sup> For example at Crondall: GDB 41b (Hampshire: 3,8).



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Figure 17. Speed's map of Hampshire showing Tatchbury (1611)

There is also a strong connection between Eadsige's remaining estates and the royal *feorm*. Eadsige held half a hide at Barton Stacey *in paragio* from King Edward, a royal manor paying a night's farm of 'half a day' (*dimidium diem firmæ reddidit*).<sup>210</sup> Barton Stacey was located close to the Roman road that ran north-west from Winchester, and was about seven miles from what may have been a night's farm manor at Andover (p. 38). Barton Stacey had an outlier at Worthy, identified as King's Worthy in Phillimore Domesday, which Eadsige also held.<sup>211</sup> Eadsige held *Northam* from King Edward which belonged to the king's farm. *Northam* lay in Redbridge Hundred and was probably one of the outliers of Eling, although its exact location is unknown.<sup>212</sup> Eadsige also held Litchfield from the king in the north of the shire, near several royal manors.<sup>213</sup> Litchfield was a few hours journey from Barton Stacey,

<sup>210</sup> GDB 38c, 46d (Hampshire: 1,17; 29,4).

<sup>211</sup> GDB 38c (Hampshire: 1,17).

<sup>212</sup> GDB 49c (Hampshire: 68,4).

<sup>213</sup> GDB 45c (Hampshire: 23,24).

Basingstoke, Kingsclere, Hurstbourne Tarrant, and Andover. It is not possible to state the underlying tenure at Litchfield, King's Worthy, and Northam but it is conceivable that they were held *ex officio*. There is one possible example of *ex officio* shrieval landholding in Domesday at Oakley (Buckinghamshire) which Godric loaned to Ælfgyth the maiden so that she could teach his daughter gold embroidery, but only for 'as long as he was sheriff'.<sup>214</sup>

The location of Eadsige's estates in Hampshire imply that he had responsibility for the management and/or the collection of revenues from at least some of the royal manors in Hampshire which were providing all or part of the farm of one night for the king. A similar pattern of landholding can be observed in Berkshire where Godric the sheriff held Sparsholt and East Hendred close to the royal manors of Letcombe Regis, Wantage, Kingston Lisle, and East Hendred. In Wiltshire, Godric held Woolhampton near the royal manors of Bucklebury and Thatcham; and Standen near King Edward's estate at Kintbury.

The proximity of Eadsige's landholding and the night's farm estates supports Morris' assertion that Anglo-Saxon sheriffs were both judicial and fiscal officers in the shire responsible for 'royal rents, dues, services and forfeitures' and that his administration of the royal manors put him, as sheriff, at the 'very core of the financial system' for the king.<sup>215</sup> Morris raises three issues that indicate that the royal *feorm* was accounted for at shire level: adjustments to the *feorm* to reflect alienation of part of the royal demesne; the sheriff's agency in alienating royal demesne; and the sheriff's 'enforcement of the *avera* or carrying services, which were an ancient part of the *feorm* rendered by royal estates, [which] is a third link in the chain'.<sup>216</sup>

Judith Green is more cautious about 'quite how far royal land management had been channelled through the hands of the sheriff' before 1066.<sup>217</sup> Green warns that the '[c]ounty

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<sup>214</sup> GDB 149b (Buckinghamshire: 19,3).

<sup>215</sup> Morris, *English Sheriff*, 28-9.

<sup>216</sup> Morris, *English Sheriff*, 29.

<sup>217</sup> Green, *English Sheriffs*, 10-11.

farms may not have been established as a general rule before the Conquest'. Morris also felt it 'unsafe to assume that counties were farmed as a whole at the date of the Domesday inquest, much less is it permissible to make the assumption for the reign of King Edward'.<sup>218</sup> Yet Morris notes that, in Domesday, William, sheriff of Somerset, had to reckon £12 'every year in the king's farm' for the loss of Wedmore, which King Edward had granted to Giso, bishop of Wells.<sup>219</sup> The Domesday entry appears to envisage a global figure for the shire which had to be amended in these circumstances. In Warwickshire TRE, 'the shire of Warwick (*vicecomitatus de Warwic*) rendered £65 with the borough and with the royal manors'.<sup>220</sup> It is possible that the royal farm was accounted for at shire level in at least some regions before 1066. In Hampshire, the standardization of sums payable on the night's farm estates, regardless of their actual value and income, points in the same direction. In this context, it is interesting that, although there is no express reference to carrying services in Hampshire Domesday, at least part of the *feorm* was being transported from Bowcombe (Isle of Wight), and Lyndhurst across the shire boundary to Amesbury in Wiltshire. If the royal *feorm* was paid at shire level before 1066 this arrangement must have been put in place for good reason and adjustments made in Hampshire for its loss.

Morris observes that 'the alienation of lands belonging to the royal *feorm* seems regularly to have been effected through the sheriff's agency'. At *Northam*, Domesday records that 'Eadsige held it of King Edward, and it belonged to the king's farm, and in his time it was alienated but the hundred knows not how' (*fuit missa foris sed hundredum nescit quomodo*).<sup>221</sup> It is not clear whether this was a temporary and perfectly legitimate alienation of *Northam* (and its income) to Eadsige, perhaps because Eadsige was able to meet the night's farm payment at Eling from other sources. Other examples in Domesday, usually involving outliers of royal

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<sup>218</sup> Morris, *English Sheriff*, 29.

<sup>219</sup> S 1042; Morris, *English Sheriff*, 29; GDB 86b (Somerset: 1,2).

<sup>220</sup> GDB 238a (Warwickshire: B4)

<sup>221</sup> GDB 49c (Hampshire: 68,4).

manors, suggest that sheriffs had authority to act in this way.<sup>222</sup> If the sheriff could choose how to manage royal estates, as long as the *feorm* was paid, it would explain why, at Dymock and Lower Slaughter in Gloucestershire, the sheriff had a discretion to pay ‘what he wished’ from these estates (*de hoc manerio reddebat uicecomes quod uolebat*).<sup>223</sup>

Accordingly, accusations in Domesday of wrongdoing against pre- and post-Conquest sheriffs in their management of royal estates should be treated with some caution. There was every motivation to accuse them of misconduct if it justified the ‘recovery’ of any estates that had been put outside the *feorm*, even temporarily. Roffe notes that ‘[t]here is indeed evidence that complaints, particularly against sheriffs, were specifically invited’.<sup>224</sup> At the beginning of Wiltshire Domesday there is a breakdown of the money due from renders in kind, with an explanation that ‘[w]hen the reeves’ farm falls short, Edward [of Salisbury, the sheriff] must make it up from his own resources’ (*Quando prepositis firma deficit necesse est Eduuardo restaurare de suo*).<sup>225</sup> By 1086 the royal *feorm* had increased in many shires and there was pressure on post-Conquest sheriffs to find ways to meet these sums. It is perhaps no surprise that Domesday records attempts to bring all ‘alienated’ estates back into the royal revenue.

In conclusion, it is striking that Eadsige enjoyed only moderate landed wealth compared to Hugh de Port and other post-Conquest sheriffs, but this was typical of many of his pre-Conquest counterparts (Table 7). The fact that sheriffs are named after the stallers but before other thegns in the address clauses of writs indicates their relative status within the shire, but the modest landholding of many sheriffs means their status outside the shire is less certain before 1066. Eadsige’s estates are close to several royal manors which paid night’s farm renders to the king which supports Morris’ suggestion that pre-Conquest sheriffs had administrative and financial roles in the shire. There are some indications in Domesday that a

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<sup>222</sup> GDB 2c (Kent: 1,1); GDB 163a (Gloucestershire: 1,13).

<sup>223</sup> GDB 162d, 164a (Gloucestershire: 1,10; 1,53).

<sup>224</sup> D. Roffe, ‘Domesday Now’, *ANS* 28 (2005), 168-87, at 172, n. 26.

<sup>225</sup> GDB 69a (Wiltshire: 24p,1).

form of the county farm was in place before 1066. Eadsige's estates run from the south to the north of the shire with one further estate in Berkshire. It is a distribution of estates typical of an important local thegn within Hampshire (Figure 25) which may reflect more widely the status of most pre-Conquest sheriffs.

Thegns with estates in Hampshire who witnessed royal diplomas

This section considers elite thegns with estates in Hampshire who are known to have attended royal assemblies and witnessed royal diplomas. Three men can be identified with reasonable confidence who had landed wealth greater than £100 per annum: Azur son of Thorth, Æthelnoth Cild, and Beorhtsige Cild.<sup>226</sup>

The wealthiest landholder among these thegns is Azur son of Thorth, a Class B landholder who held estates across twelve shires with a combined value of £531, plus lordships valued at £18 in Buckinghamshire, Middlesex, and Sussex in 1066.<sup>227</sup> Lewis identifies Azur, a Danish magnate described in Domesday as Azur son of Thorth, as the same man as Azur son of 'Toti' (the diminutive form of Thorth) and as Azur of Lessness in Kent.<sup>228</sup> Clarke, however, identifies these Azurs separately. Clarke also assigns all the estates held by Azur in Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, and the Wiltshire estates that went to Edward of Salisbury to 'Azur of Sussex', giving this Azur a total landholding of £271.<sup>229</sup> Lewis's linkage of the Azur landholding across the kingdom is more persuasive, however, because the lands of Azur son of Thorth and Azur son of Toti are close geographically in Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire. Lewis's reasoning also gives Azur son of Thorth a distribution of estates

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<sup>226</sup> See pp. 126-7.

<sup>227</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Azur 2', (provisional); Lewis, 'Danish Landholders', 180-2.

<sup>228</sup> Lewis, 'Danish Landholders', 180.

<sup>229</sup> Clarke, *English Nobility*, 253-257. For other observations on Azur, see Williams, *ENC*, 8, 11; Keynes, 'Regenbald', 206-7; L. Martin, 'Meet the Swarts: Tracing an Anglo-Saxon Family in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *The English and Their Legacy, 900-1200: Essays in Honour of Ann Williams* (Woodbridge, 2012), 17-32, at 19.

similar to Beorhtsige Cild and Æthelnoth Cild. This distribution is entirely consistent with the landholding of some of the greatest thegns across Wessex. Interestingly, Azur son of Thorth's estates often march with those of Wulfweard the White and Wulfwynn of Creslow.<sup>230</sup> Whether this was influenced by kinship or royal patronage is not clear but may give further context to Azur's landholding.

Azur's father may have been one of the two ministers named Thorth/Thored who served successive kings from Cnut to Edward the Confessor, and witnessed royal diplomas until 1045.<sup>231</sup> An Azur witnessed charters in the reign of Cnut,<sup>232</sup> but the name surfaced again nearly a decade later in a diploma dated 1042 during the reign of Harthacnut.<sup>233</sup> It is likely that this was Azur son of Thorth, who continued to witness diplomas throughout Edward the Confessor's reign from 1044 to 1062.<sup>234</sup> In Buckinghamshire, Azur son of Toti was described as a thegn of King Edward at Woughton, one of King Edward's housecarls at Quainton, and the man of Queen Edith at Nashway.<sup>235</sup> The housecarls may have been among King Edward's household servants and retainers.<sup>236</sup> Azur son of Thorth was described as a thegn of King Edward at Biddlesden.<sup>237</sup>

Azur son of Thorth survived and remained in possession of some of his estates for at least a few years after 1066. In 1072, he sold the large twenty-hide estate at Combe St Nicholas to Giso, Bishop of Wells, a transaction witnessed by Queen Edith and her household at Wilton Abbey.<sup>238</sup> Azur no doubt continued to offer valuable assistance to the new regime. His death is mentioned in the Surrey folios, which state: 'Azur [no byname] held [Henley]...until he died

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<sup>230</sup> See also Clarke, *English Nobility*, 41, 57, 59.

<sup>231</sup> S 951, 953, 956, 959-62, 964, 967-9, 975, 980, 994, 999? ; *PASE Database*, 'Thorth 2'; Lewis, 'Danish Landholders', 180.

<sup>232</sup> S 956, 982.

<sup>233</sup> S 994.

<sup>234</sup> S 1003, 1015, 1028, 1036, 1044; Keynes, *Atlas*, Table LXXV.

<sup>235</sup> GDB 151d, 152c (Buckinghamshire: 41,1; 47,1; 49,1).

<sup>236</sup> N. Hooper, 'The Housecarls in England in the Eleventh Century', *ANS* 7 (1985), 161-76, at 170.

<sup>237</sup> GDB 143c (Buckinghamshire: 1,7).

<sup>238</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 109, citing F. H. Dickenson, 'The Sale of Combe', *Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings* 22 (1876), 106-13 (available through the Archaeological Data Service).

(*tenuit donec obiit*) and gave it to the church [Chertsey Abbey] for his soul in the time of King William, as the monks say, and they have the king's writ for it'.<sup>239</sup> Azur son of Thorth's estates in Northamptonshire had been granted to Earl Aubrey: this is probably Aubrey de Coucy who was briefly earl of Northumberland in the early 1080s, rather than Aubrey de Vere who was never referred to as an earl.<sup>240</sup> Concerning Azur's lands in Surrey, Richard Mortimer raises the intriguing possibility that certain estates had been transferred to Richard fitzGilbert (and the de Vattevilles as subtenants) relatively late in the Conquest. Mortimer argues that certain manors may have been allocated to fitzGilbert in advance but were transferred at later dates.<sup>241</sup> The remainder of Azur's landholding was broken up and transferred, largely by shire, to several Norman magnates.

In Hampshire, Azur (no byname) held three estates assessed at a total of 16½ hides with a combined value of £16.5. His estate at Upton Grey (*Aoltone* in Domesday) was just over five miles south-east of the royal manor at Basingstoke; Littleton (Little Shoddesden), and Clanville were four to five miles north-west of the royal manor at Andover.<sup>242</sup> Azur held all three estates in the Hampshire Downs from King Edward in freehold (*in alodium*).<sup>243</sup> If it is Azur son of Thorth holding estates in Surrey and Wiltshire, the Hampshire estates would have bridged the gap between them (a feature seen also with Beorhtsige Cild and Æthelnoth Cild's estates) on a route favoured by other high ranking thegns across the north of the shire. Azur's Hampshire estates had passed to Hugh de Port by 1086.

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<sup>239</sup> GDB 34a (Surrey: 8,30). If it is Azur son of Thorth at Henley then Azur, King Edward's bursar (*dispensator*), at Ardington in Berkshire is a separate individual because he was still alive in 1086: GDB 62b (Berkshire: 41,6).

<sup>240</sup> J. Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge, 1998), 42-3; for dates see Bates, *RRAN*, 228-231, and William M. Aird, 'Mowbray, Robert de, earl of Northumbria (d. 1115/1125)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19457>, accessed 21 April 2015.

<sup>241</sup> R. Mortimer, 'The Beginnings of the Honour of Clare,' *ANS* 3 (1980), 119-141, at 127, 128, and 122. His identification of Azur is inconclusive: 124-128.

<sup>242</sup> GDB 45c,d, 46a (Hampshire: 23,28; 45; 48).

<sup>243</sup> Hugh de Port granted Littleton to St Peter's, Gloucester.

Æthelnoth Cild, also known as Æthelnoth the Kentishman, was a Class C landholder, holding estates with a combined value of £341 across seven shires, and lordships of £28 in Surrey, Kent, Buckinghamshire, and Northamptonshire.<sup>244</sup> Lewis suggests that the late Old English byname ‘Cild’ might denote ‘nobility but not necessarily youth’.<sup>245</sup> John of Worcester described Æthelnoth Cild as ‘the noble Kentish governor’ (*nobiles satrapa Agelnothus Cantuariensis*).<sup>246</sup> Lewis notes that the Persian term *satraps* means a military governor of a province and suggests that Æthelnoth Cild was ‘in effect a senior general, perhaps with a regional command over Kent or the wider south-east’ and, as holder of a number of estates ‘centred on Boxley’, he had particular responsibility as custodian of the shire meeting place at Penenden Heath.<sup>247</sup> Æthelnoth was required to provide a bodyguard for the king when he came to Canterbury or Sandwich with an obligation for the guards to go as far as Penenden (Maidstone) if summoned to a meeting of the shire.<sup>248</sup> Æthelnoth’s estate at Eccles, and possibly those at West Farleigh and Boxley, were manors obliged to provide work on Rochester Bridge, a key crossing point on the River Medway in Kent.<sup>249</sup>

He is probably the Æthelnoth who is styled *princeps* in the Waltham charter of 1062, and appears after the earls and stallers in two Westminster charters.<sup>250</sup> In view of Æthelnoth Cild’s seniority among the Confessor’s thegns, and his authority in the south-east, it is unsurprising that Æthelnoth was among those taken to Normandy by William the Conqueror in 1067: they were in effect hostages taken, no doubt, to spike any attempt at rebellion while William was in Normandy.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> C. P. Lewis, ‘Æthelnoth 69’, *PASE Domesday*.

<sup>245</sup> C. P. Lewis ‘Beorhtsige 23, Beorhtsige Cild’, *PASE Domesday*; see also G. Tengvik, *Old English Bynames*, *Nomina Germanica* 4 (Uppsala, 1938), 243-5.

<sup>246</sup> Williams, *WBD*, 54; JW, iii, 1067.

<sup>247</sup> C. P. Lewis, ‘Æthelnoth 69’, *PASE Domesday*.

<sup>248</sup> Dover, GDB 1 (Kent: D,22).

<sup>249</sup> S 1481d.

<sup>250</sup> S 1036, 1041, 1043.

<sup>251</sup> JW, iii, 1067. King William took Edgar atheling, the earls Edwin, Morcar, and Waltheof, Æthelnoth Cild, Archbishop Stigand, and Æthelnoth, abbot of Glastonbury.

In Hampshire, Æthelnoth Cild (*Alnod Cild*) held one large estate at Monks Sherborne in freehold (*in alodium*) from King Edward, assessed at just under eleven hides and valued at £8 in 1066.<sup>252</sup> Monks Sherborne was transferred to Odo of Bayeux by 1086, along with many of Æthelnoth Cild's estates in the south-east. Hugh de Port held as Odo's subtenant at Monks Sherbourne. Like Azur's estates in Hampshire, Æthelnoth's were close to royal estates in the north of the shire. Two smaller estates at Overton and Hurstbourne Priors, on the upper reaches of the River Test in the north of Hampshire, were held by *Alnod* (with no byname) from Stigand, bishop of Winchester.<sup>253</sup> Their proximity to Monks Sherborne suggests *Alnod* was Æthelnoth Cild, and they brought Æthelnoth within about sixteen miles of Winchester.

Wulfweard Cild, also known as Wulfweard the White, a Class C landholder, held twenty-two estates in thirteen shires with a combined value of £222.<sup>254</sup> He was recorded as Wulfweard Cild at Stewkley (Buckinghamshire).<sup>255</sup> Domesday uses his byname 'the White' across many shires. Wulfweard's byname is also supplied by Exon for estates in Dorset and Somerset.<sup>256</sup> Again, the epithet 'Cild' may denote nobility. His status and proximity to the king is further confirmed by Domesday's description of him as a king's thegn at Shenley Brook End (Bedfordshire) and Kempton, Kingsbury, and Ruislip (Middlesex).<sup>257</sup> Ernulf de Hesdin, Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, and William de Falaise received substantial grants from Wulfweard's estates, which assists with identification. Otherwise, the proximity, size, and high value of his estates enables his landholding to be reconstructed with reasonable certainty.<sup>258</sup> It is clear that Wulfweard was a wealthy, high-ranking thegn with dispersed estates across Wessex and Mercia.

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<sup>252</sup> GDB 46b (Hampshire: 23,57).

<sup>253</sup> GDB 40b, 41b (Hampshire: 2,10; 3,6).

<sup>254</sup> This figure excludes Wulfweard 'of Cholderton', currently included in the *PASE* figures: GDB 70a (Wiltshire: 25,15); *Pase Domesday*, 'Wulfweard 17' (provisional).

<sup>255</sup> GDB 145b (Buckinghamshire: 5,5).

<sup>256</sup> Exon 18a2-3; 113b1; 114a1; 116a3-6.

<sup>257</sup> GDB 129b-c (Middlesex: 8,5; 10,2); 151b (Bedfordshire: 42,1).

<sup>258</sup> Toddington (Bedfordshire); Silton (Dorset); Hatherop (Gloucestershire); Shamwell (Kent); Elthorne, Spelthorne, and Gore (Middlesex); Shipton (Oxfordshire); Horethorne (Somerset); Rowborough (Wiltshire).

Wulfweard and his wife Eadgifu had close links with Queen Emma and Queen Edith.<sup>259</sup> Before her death in 1052 Queen Emma bequeathed (*heo bæcwæð*) part of Hayling Island (Hampshire) to Wulfweard (*Wulfwearde hwitan*).<sup>260</sup> Queen Edith also supported the marriage of Wulfweard's daughter: she gave Shortley (Buckinghamshire) to Alsige with Wulfweard's daughter, and perhaps Chesham.<sup>261</sup> Wulfweard is described at Shortley as a man of Queen Edith. Wulfweard also held several estates from Queen Edith in Somerset and Buckinghamshire.

Wulfweard may have witnessed diplomas of Edward the Confessor in 1044, 1055, and/or may be the Wulfweard *miles* who witnessed in 1065.<sup>262</sup> He appears in a charter forged for Westminster Abbey in the twelfth century by Osbert de Clare, but Keynes believes 'there can be no doubt' that Osbert copied a genuine witness list from a charter of Edward the Confessor 'issued in the closing months of the Confessor's reign'.<sup>263</sup> Queen Edith also witnessed the last three diplomas and Wulfweard was perhaps present as one of her officials.

In Hampshire, Wulfweard the White did not hold estates across the north of the shire like the other thegns who witnessed royal diplomas, but he held estates near the shire boundary at Cholderton (Wiltshire) and Newbury (Berkshire). His estates provided numerous routes into the royal heartlands. His estate on Hayling Island gave him access to the south coast offering routes by sea to his manor at Waldershare in Kent, and possibly his manors in Lincolnshire.<sup>264</sup>

The Exon geld accounts name Wulfweard the White among the Conqueror's barons and imply that he held just over seven hides in Milborne Port Hundred (Dorset) in 1086.<sup>265</sup> Great Domesday, however, states that Wulfweard had held an estate on Hayling Island 'until he died

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<sup>259</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 318.

<sup>260</sup> S 1476, (1153); GDB 11c (Kent: 5,215), 43c (Hampshire: 10,1).

<sup>261</sup> GDB 153a (Buckinghamshire: 56,1-2).

<sup>262</sup> S 1003, 1026 (spurious?), 1041.

<sup>263</sup> S 1041; Keynes, 'Regenbald', 199.

<sup>264</sup> S 1476, (1153); GDB 11c (Kent: 5,215), 43c (Hampshire: 10,1).

<sup>265</sup> Exon 80a3. See also Mudford which Warmund 'holds in pledge' from Wulfweard the White: Exon 116a4.

in the time of King William'.<sup>266</sup> Wulfweard evidently retained estates in Hampshire and Dorset, and, contrary to Clarke's assertion, it is not safe to assume that Wulfweard had most of his lands confiscated before his death.<sup>267</sup> In 1072, Wulfweard was present, alongside Queen Edith and members of her household, at Wilton Abbey when the queen confirmed the sale of Combe (Somerset) by Azur son of Thorth to Giso, bishop of Wells.<sup>268</sup> Wulfweard's wife, Eadgifu, had held estates in her own right TRE in Buckinghamshire, valued at £46, including three estates from Queen Edith.<sup>269</sup> She may be the Eadgifu, 'a widow', who held one hide in *Alvredesberge* Hundred in Dorset which did not pay geld 'because Aiulf the chamberlain says that the queen remitted it for the soul of her son Richard'.<sup>270</sup> If so, it is an indication that members of Queen Edith's household came under the protection of Queen Matilda after Queen Edith's death. Eadgifu survived until 1086, retaining Little Linford (Buckinghamshire) as a subtenant of Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances,<sup>271</sup> holding Burnett (Wiltshire) from the king, and possibly Edmondsham (Dorset) from Humphrey the chamberlain who had been a subtenant of her husband, Wulfweard.<sup>272</sup> Taken together, these references suggest Wulfweard and Eadgifu continued to prosper under the new regime, connected with Queen Edith's household.

Beorhtsige Cild, a Class D landholder, held estates assessed at 153 hides with a combined value of £192 across eight shires in the south of England.<sup>273</sup> Alsige, son of Beorhtsige, is likely to be his son which helps with identification where Alsige succeeded his father. Beorhtsige Cild held two estates in Hampshire in 1066 although his byname is not used. He held *Cildeest*

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<sup>266</sup> GDB 43c (Hampshire: 10,1). Accordingly it is unlikely to be Wulfweard the White at Cholderton (Wiltshire: 25,15) unless he died shortly before Domesday was written.

<sup>267</sup> Clarke, *English Nobility*, 118.

<sup>268</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 109.

<sup>269</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Eadgifu 39', perhaps 'Eadgifu 35', and 'Anonymous 3588' (provisional); GDB 145b (Buckinghamshire: 5,1-2; 5,7-8; 14,13-14). Stafford also identifies Eadgifu as the wife of Wulfweard the White: Stafford, *QEQE*, 318.

<sup>270</sup> Exon 18a2.

<sup>271</sup> GDB 145b (Buckinghamshire: 5,8)

<sup>272</sup> GDB 87b (Somerset: 1,28); Exon 116a6.

<sup>273</sup> For an analysis of Beorhtsige's landholding see C. P. Lewis, 'Beorhtsige 23', *PASE Domesday*; Clarke, *English Nobility*, 265-6.

*in paragio* in Boldre hundred in the south-west of the shire.<sup>274</sup> This may be the lost village near Brockenhurst which was known as *Childenhurst* in the fourteenth century. It is not certain whether the ‘cild’ element in the place-name derives from Beorhtsige’s byname or whether it derives from *cilta* meaning ‘slope’ or *cielde* meaning spring.<sup>275</sup> *Cildeest* was assessed at five hides and valued at £8 and had been taken into the New Forest by 1086. Beorhtsige also held six hides within Micheldever hundred to the north of Winchester from the New Minster Winchester that passed to Alsige by 1086. This estate may have been the six hides at Northington, mentioned in a forged foundation charter of the New Minster.<sup>276</sup> In addition, Beorhtsige may have held a further six hides (£3) at Woodmancott from Abbot Ælfwig, which Alsige, son of Beorhtsige, held in 1086.<sup>277</sup> The New Minster estates strengthened Beorhtsige’s landholding in the north of the shire.

There are four charters witnessed by one or more individuals named Beorhtsige (*Brictsi*, *Brixi*) between 1024 and 1068, during the reigns of Cnut, Harthacnut, Edward the Confessor, and William I.<sup>278</sup> The attestations span twenty-eight years and may represent more than one person. Lewis notes that a comparison of the number of moneyers and charter witnesses named Beorhtsige in the tenth and eleventh centuries suggests the name had become less common by the eleventh century and ‘we should not, therefore, expect a multiplicity of very rich men with the name in Domesday Book...’.<sup>279</sup> The same reasoning would apply to Beorhtsige who witnessed the royal diplomas who would be among the landholding elite. John Blair suggests that Beorhtsige Cild also held estates in Sussex, Hampshire, and Essex.<sup>280</sup> Lewis’ analysis excludes Essex but attributes manors to Beorhtsige Cild across the country in Gloucestershire,

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<sup>274</sup> GDB 51c (Hampshire: NF9,20).

<sup>275</sup> Lewis, ‘Beorhtsige 23’; Coates, *Place-Names of Hampshire*, 53; Ekwall, *Place-Names*, 103; V. Watts, *The Cambridge Dictionary of Place-Names* (Cambridge, 2004), 133.

<sup>276</sup> GDB 42 cd (Hampshire: 6,16); *VCH Hampshire*, iii, 395.

<sup>277</sup> GDB 42ab (Hampshire: 6,13).

<sup>278</sup> S 961 (authentic); 982 (this may have a genuine witness list); 994 (authentic; grant of *Seolescumb*, possibly Coomb, East Meon, Hampshire to Ælfwine, Bishop of Winchester); 1036 (Waltham Abbey charter).

<sup>279</sup> Lewis, ‘Beorhtsige 23’.

<sup>280</sup> J. Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey: Landholding, Church and Settlement before 1300* (Stroud, 1991), 116.

Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, with the two Hampshire estates bridging ‘geographically, the south-eastern and West Country manors’.<sup>281</sup> If this analysis is correct, and a similar landholding pattern for some of the other elite thegns who attended royal assemblies would suggest that it is, then Beorhtsige Cild would be among the top ten wealthiest men and women below the stallers and earls in 1066.

Beorhtsige survived for an unknown period of time after 1066: in 1068, *Brix* was among the Englishmen who witnessed a diploma of William I restoring land at Banwell, Somerset to Giso, Bishop of Wells.<sup>282</sup> There was a piecemeal distribution of Beorhtsige’s estates to twelve Norman landholders ‘according to the local or regional needs of the Norman settlement’.<sup>283</sup> Other than the New Minster loanland, Alsige was not permitted to succeed to his father’s estates. Alsige’s landholding was probably confined to Hampshire by 1086, consisting mainly of new estates granted to him by the king, but reflecting the distribution of his father’s estates within the shire. Alsige was granted new estates at Mattingley, Nether Wallop, and Minley in the north of Hampshire, and received Earl Tosti’s estate at Thorley in West Medine (Isle of Wight) by 1086.<sup>284</sup> There is a strong argument that Alsige son of Beorhtsige was the same man as Alsige the chamberlain due to the similarity in the size and distribution of their estates in north Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, and the proximity of their estates. Alsige the chamberlain held Enham and Steventon in north Hampshire and Calbourne in West Medine (Isle of Wight).<sup>285</sup> If so, Beorhtsige’s son suffered a dramatic loss of landed wealth, losing virtually all the estates across the south of England which his father had held, but he remained reasonably secure with new estates reflecting his role within the new regime.

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<sup>281</sup> Lewis, ‘Beorhtsige 23’.

<sup>282</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 286; see also Williams, *ENC*, 21-22.

<sup>283</sup> Lewis, ‘Beorhtsige 23’.

<sup>284</sup> Nether Wallop, GDB 49d, 50a (Hampshire: 69,9-10; 21); 53d (Hampshire: IoW9,2).

<sup>285</sup> GDB 50c, 50 (Hampshire: 69,28; 48).

Some thegns of regional importance in classes D and E may also have held estates in Hampshire and witnessed royal diplomas. Eadric the Wild's estates were concentrated in Herefordshire and Shropshire before 1066 and were held by Earl Roger and Ralph de Mortimer in 1086.<sup>286</sup> Yet a solitary five-hide estate at Sarson in the north-west of Hampshire held by Eadric (no byname) also passed to Ralph de Mortimer.<sup>287</sup> Ralph had substantial landholdings in Hampshire, so this is not in itself strong evidence of a link. Ralph's subtenant, Ingelran, may, however, be Ingelran 'of Neen Savage', Ralph's subtenant in Shropshire. If so, this connection may reflect a pre-Conquest link between the Shropshire and Hampshire estates established by Eadric. Sarson would have given Eadric a base within the royal heartlands, and the possibility that he held Sarson cannot be dismissed entirely.

The witness list of the 1062 Waltham charter includes *Esbernus princeps* who may be Esbern Bigga.<sup>288</sup> Esbern was amongst the leading thegns of Kent, as his father Æthelric Bigga had been, holding estates with a combined value of just under £70 across Surrey, Sussex, Kent, and Hampshire.<sup>289</sup> The value of a solitary estate at Fordham in Essex (£7) would suggest it was held by a major thegn named Esbern with lands elsewhere, and it could be the same man.<sup>290</sup> It is less likely that Esbern (no byname) held a solitary, and far more remote estate in Warwickshire. Esbern (*Esber biga*) had similar rights and obligations to Æthelnoth Cild: exemption in Kent from payment of heriot to the king; a duty to provide a bodyguard for the king for six days at Canterbury or Sandwich; and an obligation to attend the shire court as far as Penenden, but no further.<sup>291</sup> In addition, the king did not have sake and soke over the land of three men in Canterbury, namely Æthelnoth Cild, Esbern Bigga, and Sigeræd of Chilham.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>286</sup> *Pase Domesday*, 'Eadric 48, Eadric the Wild' (provisional); Clarke, *English Nobility*, 145.

<sup>287</sup> *Anne*, GDB 47a (Hampshire: 29,15). The notes state *Anne* became *Anna Savage*, named after the subtenant, and later *Savagestone/Saveston/Sarson*.

<sup>288</sup> S 1036.

<sup>289</sup> C. P. Lewis, 'Esbern 3', *PASE Domesday*; Williams, *WBD*, 38-48, 50. For his father see S 981, 1044, 1400, 1465, 1471, 1473.

<sup>290</sup> LDB 89v (Essex: 47,3).

<sup>291</sup> GDB 1 (Kent: D17).

<sup>292</sup> GDB 2 (Kent: C6). Esbern held eleven masuras in the city (Kent: C5).

Esbern was clearly an important thegn in Kent, but his landholding along the North Downs and at Preston Candover in the north of Hampshire, giving him an estate twelve miles from Winchester, is also indicative of his connection with the court.

When the estates are mapped of thegns with estates in Hampshire who are likely to have attended royal assemblies and witnessed royal diplomas for Edward the Confessor it is striking how their estates tend to be concentrated in the chalk downland north of Winchester. In Surrey, the location of estates along the Downs was influenced by the extent of the Wealden forest and the fact that the most fertile soils 'lie in narrow ribbons along the dip-slope and the scarp-slope of the [North] Downs'.<sup>293</sup> In Hampshire, it was the presence of huge ecclesiastical estates, which occupied the hinterland of Winchester, that limited the number of estates available to secular landholders in the immediate vicinity of Winchester (Table 13) and pushed their estates to the edges of the shire. That said, ecclesiastical estates were loaned to members of the itinerant elite to help bridge the gap between their estates. Æthelnoth Cild held Hurstbourne Priors from Stigand, bishop of Winchester, Eadnoth the staller held Freefolk from Stigand, and Wulfifu held Laverstoke from the New Minster, Winchester.<sup>294</sup> However this distribution of estates evolved, their location on routes across the north of Hampshire facilitated travel for the leading thegns in Wessex.

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<sup>293</sup> Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, 2.

<sup>294</sup> GDB 41a (Hampshire: 3,5-6); GDB 43b (Hampshire: 6,12); see p. 262.

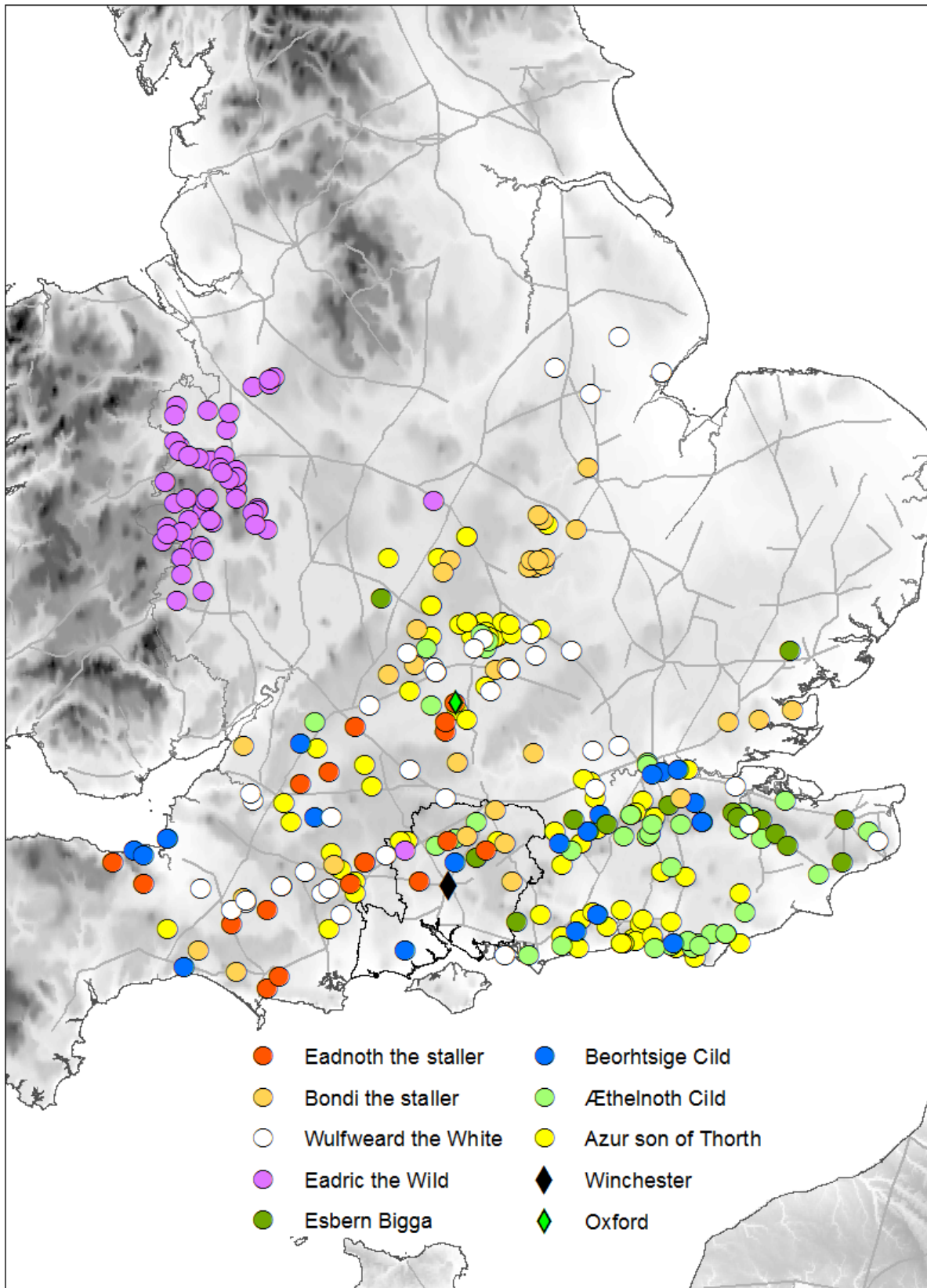


Figure 18. Thegns who attended royal assemblies and witnessed royal diplomas, who had lands in Hampshire (showing Roman roads)

A succession of kings held assemblies in Winchester and at sites across the north of Hampshire. They include a legislative assembly at Grately, near the royal manor at Andover, between 924 and 939;<sup>295</sup> another perhaps at Wellow (Hampshire) in 931; Kings Worthy in 931; three assemblies at Andover between 959 and 963, in 980, and in 994; a legislative assembly at Enham (to the north of Andover) between 1006 and 1011; and assemblies at Winchester in 900, c. 909, 934, c. 970, between 975 and 978, 980, 993, between 1020 and 1023, 1043, 1049, and 1065.<sup>296</sup> By 1066, the landholding of the upper aristocracy of great thegns had funnelled into a narrow zone across the north of Hampshire; it may explain why the location of known royal assemblies and the location of the estates of elite thegns in Hampshire often coincide.

Elite thegns who attended royal assemblies held estates that facilitated travel into the zone where they were most frequently convened within Hampshire but also in surrounding shires. As Baxter and Lewis observe:

most royal assemblies were convened within an egg-shaped zone which encompassed London and Westminster in the east, Winchester in the south and Gloucester in the west, taking in royal estates in Somerset, Dorset, Berkshire, and Oxfordshire. The frequency with which the magnate estates of 1066 formed stepping-stones to this zone or lay within its boundary is altogether remarkable.<sup>297</sup>

The distribution of estates within Hampshire is important in this respect. The mapping in this section shows very clearly how the distribution of the estates of elite thegns facilitated travel on routes westwards along the North Downs to Guildford for a crossing of the River Wey, and onto Guilddown/the Hog's Back, which lead to routes across the north of Hampshire. It brought elite Wessex thegns within fifteen to twenty miles of Winchester and provided the shortest route across the shire into the royal heartlands in Wiltshire, Somerset, and Dorset, and onwards into Oxfordshire and the Midlands, where the distribution of their estates became more diffuse.

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<sup>295</sup> Lavelle, 'Why Grately?', 154-69.

<sup>296</sup> Keynes, 'Royal Assemblies', 140-157.

<sup>297</sup> Baxter and Lewis, 'Landed Society', 398-9.

They travelled into Hampshire from across southern England, mainly from the south-eastern shires but also from the south-west. As Baxter and Lewis conclude:

the possession of property within and *en route* to the zone of assembly politics was much prized by members of England's landed elite. That in turn suggests that physical proximity to power mattered as much to magnates as real estate for its own sake. Read alongside the witness lists of royal diplomas, the maps of magnates' landed estates in 1066 constitute clear evidence that royal assemblies exercised a strong gravitational pull on the elite in the late Anglo-Saxon period.<sup>298</sup>

It is important to add that most elite thegns had considerable regional power and influence, as considered in the case studies above and these routes were equally important taking people on the king's business from the zone of assembly politics back to their own localities. Often, but not always, the estates of the itinerant elite were about one day's ride apart. Figure 18 shows they favoured estates that gave them access to ridgeway routes across the chalk downland which tend to be passable for much of the year and involved few major river crossings (which may have been carefully managed: see p. 157 for Rochester Bridge). Their estates trace an arc through Wessex from Somerset and Gloucestershire, through Wiltshire and the north of Hampshire to routes along the North Downs towards London, Sandwich, Canterbury, and Dover. The concentration of estates along the Portway, the Roman road from London to Dorchester via Silchester and Old Sarum, also indicates the importance of surviving Roman roads.

#### Other wealthy thegns with estates in Hampshire

A more dispersed distribution of estates, still to the north of Winchester, was held by thegns who are not known to have witnessed royal diplomas but who held estates in several shires and may have travelled on the king's business and/or attended royal assemblies. They had many estates in the royal heartlands (Figure 19). It has not been possible to include case studies

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<sup>298</sup> Baxter and Lewis, 'Landed Society', 399.

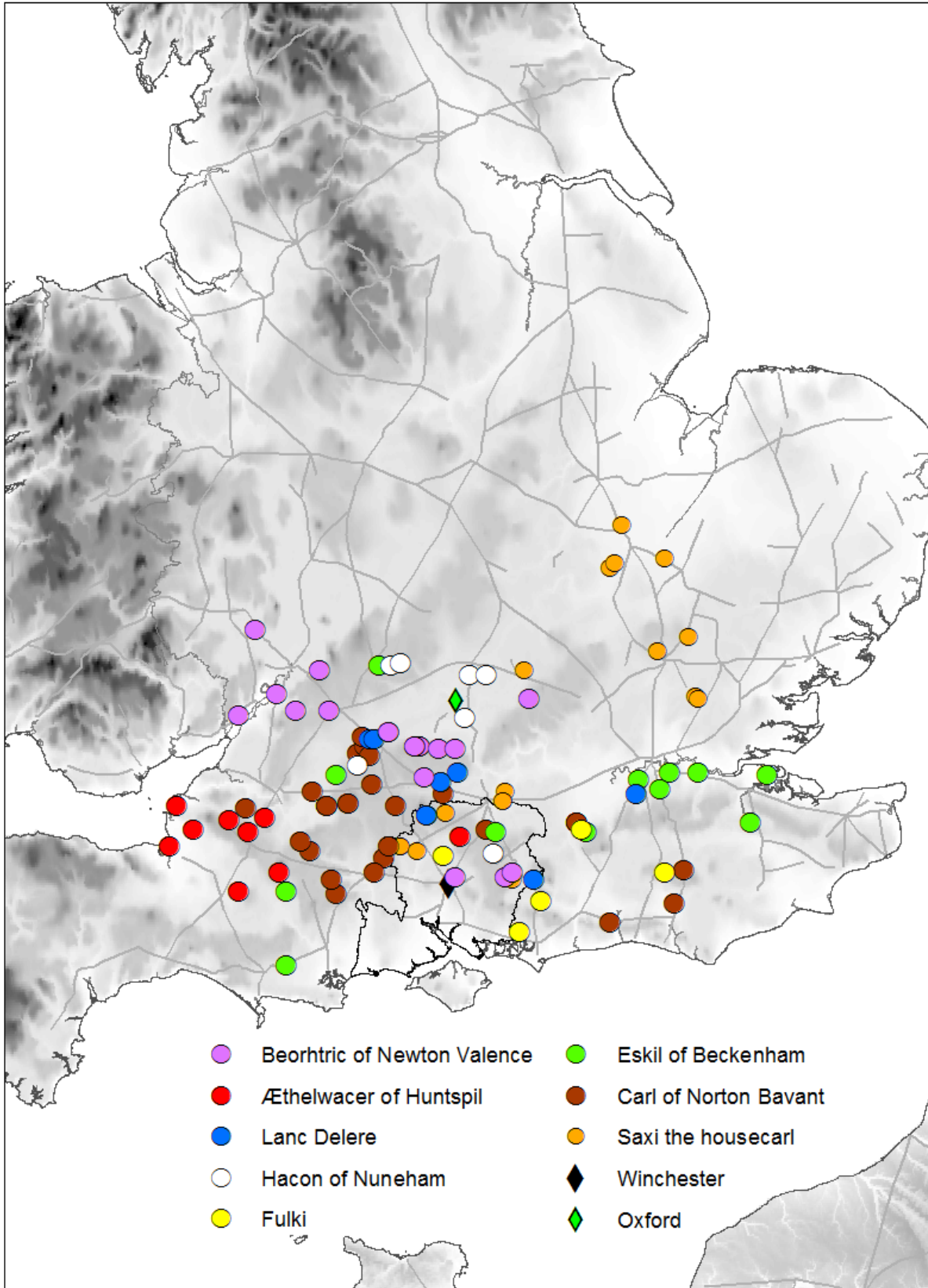


Figure 19. King's thegns with estates in Hampshire travelling from remote shires

For all these thegns. However, it should be noted that many are identified as ‘king’s thegns’ in Domesday before 1066, indicating that they were commended to the king as their lord. Several are also identified as royal officials. They include two Class D landholders,<sup>299</sup> with landed wealth valued at between £100-£200, but most of these men are Class E and F landholders (£20-£100). They could count themselves among the higher status *proceres* thegns considered above.<sup>300</sup>

Lanc is one of the most remarkable thegns because his most valuable estate, the ‘aristocratic residence’ at Facombe Netherton in Hampshire (thirteen hides valued at £13), has been excavated.<sup>301</sup> Lanc is a rare name, derived perhaps from the Old English *Lang* or *Hlanc* meaning tall, lean, or thin. It is likely that the same man held six houses in Winchester and is identified in the TRE survey in *Winton Domesday* as ‘Lanc Delere’.<sup>302</sup> The byname may be from the Old English *dælere*, meaning ‘distributor, administrator, or almsgiver’.<sup>303</sup>

The excavations at Facombe Netherton give a rare insight into the lifestyle of a wealthy Anglo-Saxon thegn during the reign of Edward the Confessor. Facombe Netherton had been one of the estates left by Wynflæd, the grandmother of King Edgar, in her will dating to the late tenth or early eleventh century.<sup>304</sup> It lies just north of the cross-roads of the Winchester to Cirencester Roman road and the Portway in the north-west of Hampshire. By *c.* 1050, Facombe Netherton consisted of a long range with an aisled hall and a bedchamber, with other sizable buildings in the complex including a separate kitchen.<sup>305</sup> The manorial complex at Facombe Netherton is similar to those found at Cheddar, Goltho, and Bicester.<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>299</sup> Carl ‘of Norton Bavant’, and Saxi the housecarl.

<sup>300</sup> See p. 128.

<sup>301</sup> D. W. Probert, ‘Lanc 2, Lanc Dealer’, *PASE Domesday*; J. R. Fairbrother, *Facombe Netherton: 1 & 2: Excavations of a Saxon and Medieval Complex* (London, 1990); Blair, *Building*, 355-6, 365-7, 369.

<sup>302</sup> *Winton Domesday*, I, 67 [286].

<sup>303</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 164.

<sup>304</sup> S 1539.

<sup>305</sup> Blair, *Building*, 369.

<sup>306</sup> K. Weikert, ‘The Biography of a Place: Facombe Netherton, Hampshire, ca 900 – 1200’, *ANS* 37 (2015), 253-79; Blair, *Building*, 355-362, at 355 and 357.

Lanc held virtually all his estates from (*de*) King Edward, but he held Winterbourne (Berkshire) from Queen Edith. Stafford suggests he may have been one of the queen's officials.<sup>307</sup> If so, it is notable that nearly half his estates passed to goldsmiths by 1086: Queen Edith may have been connected with these transfers because Theodric and Æthelsige the goldsmiths were amongst the members of the queen's household at Wilton Abbey when Edith witnessed the sale of land at Combe by Azur to Giso, bishop of Wells.<sup>308</sup> Lanc's wife also held a large, fifteen hide estate from King Edward at Aston Tirrold (Berkshire), just north of the Ridgeway.<sup>309</sup> It is interesting that the wives of two royal officials who may have served Queen Edith, Lanc and Wulfweard the White, are recorded in Domesday in their own right. They too may have held an official role in the queen's household.

The location of the estates of many thegns in the two categories above seem to have been within hundreds dominated by royal manors in the north and east of the shire. The estates were often held freely (*in alodium*), or with an express power to go where they wished with the land, suggesting they were heritable family land or bookland. If so, the families of the elite were established on this route through Hampshire. More controversially, the permanence of these estates may indicate that such families had an expectation that each generation would continue to serve the king.

The distribution of the estates of the itinerant elite and some of the most senior royal officials across the north of the shire has important social implications. The funnelling of estates along the North Downs and across the north of Hampshire allowed for effective communication and social interaction. Three hundred years after Domesday, Chaucer painted a vivid image of pilgrims travelling together from Southwark to Canterbury in the *Canterbury*

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<sup>307</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 109.

<sup>308</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 109, citing Dickenson, 'The Sale of Combe', 106-13.

<sup>309</sup> GDB 56d (Berkshire: 1,6).

*Tales*. It is not too far-fetched to envisage thegns meeting and travelling together on the route along the North Downs from Canterbury to Winchester in the late eleventh century. There were only about twenty miles between the Berkshire border and Winchester. The proximity of the estates of many elite thegns within this area is likely to have helped foster close networks within this social group, and possibly a culture of reciprocal hospitality where the distance between the estates of any one individual was too great to manage in one day. Such estates may have been sought-after because they were close to favoured routes leading across the north of Hampshire, they were close to Winchester, and lead to the ‘zone of assembly politics’, but also because they brought elite thegns together within the same region.

### **Norman Magnates in Hampshire**

#### William fitzOsbern and the Isle of Wight

William fitzOsbern was one of the closest companions of William the Conqueror.<sup>310</sup> As a descendant of Countess Gunnor, the wife of Richard I, Duke of Normandy, fitzOsbern was a kinsman of the Conqueror. His father, Osbern, steward of the ducal household, was assassinated whilst guarding the bedchamber of William Duke of Normandy when the duke was still a child. Sources place fitzOsbern at the centre of negotiations garnering support for the invasion of England, and suggest he contributed sixty ships to the invasion fleet.<sup>311</sup> His attestation of ducal charters during the spring and summer of 1066 confirm his presence at the ducal court during these crucial months.<sup>312</sup> William of Poitiers records that fitzOsbern was with

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<sup>310</sup> S. Baxter, ‘William fitzOsbern’, forthcoming.

<sup>311</sup> WP, *GG*, ii. 1, 100-1; E. M. C. van Houts, ‘The Ship List of William the Conqueror’, *ANS* 10 (1987), 159-83; WM, *GR*, iii. 256; *The History of the Norman People: Wace’s Roman de Rou*, trans. G. Burgess (Woodbridge, 2004), 156-159; Baxter, ‘William fitzOsbern’, forthcoming.

<sup>312</sup> Baxter, ‘William fitzOsbern’, forthcoming; ‘Acte 1671’, 1672, 1673, 1675, in *SCRIPTA*, Database of medieval norman documents, dir. P. Bauduin, Caen, CRAHAM-MRSH, 2010-2016 available at <http://www.unicaen.fr/scripta/acte/1671>, accessed 20 April 2017; *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066*, ed. M. Fauroux (Caen, 1961), nos. 230, 231, 233.

Duke William when he assessed the region around Pevensey shortly after the invasion fleet made land, and it is likely that fitzOsbern fought at Hastings.<sup>313</sup>

The extent of William fitzOsbern's landed wealth in England and the distribution of his estates is difficult to ascertain. Earl William died at the Battle of Cassel on 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1071 and most of his estates were either retained by the king or had been re-allocated by 1086. A few are still attributed to the earl in Domesday. Orderic Vitalis states that King William granted fitzOsbern the Isle of Wight and the county of Hereford to secure both regions for the king.<sup>314</sup> If so, fitzOsbern was one of the first Norman commanders to take control in Hampshire. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that, following William's coronation at Westminster at Christmas in 1066, 'the king returned to Normandy in the spring of 1067 and Bishop Odo and Earl William stayed behind and built castles far and wide throughout this country, and distressed the wretched folk, and always after that it grew much worse' (*and Oda biscop and Wylllelm eorl belifen her æfter and worhton castelas wide geond þas þeode, and earm folc swencte, and a syððan hit yflade swiðe*).<sup>315</sup> Earl William is likely to have been in Hampshire periodically from the autumn of 1066 until his death. Following fitzOsbern's death, his son Roger de Breteuil, earl of Hereford, succeeded to his father's role and estates in Hampshire. Roger forfeited the same for his part in the Revolt of the Earls in 1075, following the marriage of his sister Emma to Ralph, earl of Norfolk, against the wishes of William I.

Earl William also took control of Winchester. William of Poitiers, writing in the 1070s, described the citizens and neighbours of Winchester as 'rich, untrustworthy, and bold', with Winchester able to 'quickly receive help from the Danes' because it was only fourteen miles from the sea. Consequently, '[King] William built a fortress within the walls of the city, and left [William] fitzOsbern there, the chief man in his army, so that he could govern all the

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<sup>313</sup> Baxter, 'William fitzOsbern', forthcoming; WP, GG, ii.9, 114-6.

<sup>314</sup> OV, *Eccl. Hist.*, II, Bk. iv, 260-1.

<sup>315</sup> ASC D, 1067.

kingdom of England to the north in his place during his absence'.<sup>316</sup> Orderic Vitalis, writing in the first half of the twelfth century, echoed this account of Winchester, adding that King William:

left there William fitzOsbern, one of the greatest of his followers, appointing him his vicar over the whole of southern England. To his brother, Odo, a man conspicuous for his magnificence and activity in secular affairs, he entrusted Dover and the whole county of Kent. To these two men he gave the command in England, leaving with them Hugh of Grandmesnil, Hugh of Montfort, William of Warenne, and other valiant soldiers.<sup>317</sup>

Winchester may have been amongst the first castles to be built, constructed within the south-west corner of the Roman walls of Winchester, destroying surrounding streets. Over forty years later, the c. 1110 survey in *Winton Domesday* records Safugel's tenement outside the West Gate noting there had been a street next to the tenement 'which was destroyed when the king had his ditch made' (*ex ibi iuxta fuit quidam vicus, sed fuit diffactus quando rex fecit facere suum fossatum*).<sup>318</sup>

Orderic Vitalis is specific that Earl William received Winchester and the Isle of Wight but adds that fitzOsbern was given authority over the whole of southern England.<sup>319</sup> In the earliest stages of the Conquest, it is likely that Earl William secured Winchester and occupied the Isle of Wight, perhaps to establish a strong military base, and was given an exceptional degree of autonomy there. Rigold suggests the island functioned as a compact lordship like the Sussex Rapes.<sup>320</sup> Dennis characterises it as a military lordship on the Isle of Wight. He cites in support, among other things, the 'overwhelming concentration of new estates added to the *terra regis* [on the island] by 1086, which had been held neither by the Confessor nor by the

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<sup>316</sup> WP, *GG*, ii. 36, 165.

<sup>317</sup> OV, *Eccl. Hist.*, II., Bk. iv, 196-7.

<sup>318</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 47, I [81].

<sup>319</sup> OV, *Eccl. Hist.*, II., Bk. iv, 196-7, 260-1. Lewis contends that fitzOsbern may have been granted the earldom of Wessex: C. P. Lewis, 'The Early Earls of Norman England', *ANS* 13 (1991), 207-23, at 217.

<sup>320</sup> S. E. Rigold, 'Recent Investigations into the Earliest Defences of Carisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight', *Chateau Gaillard* 3 (1969), 128-38.

Godwines', but had probably been held by the earls of Hereford; the fact that the abbot of St Mary's, Lyre held six churches on the Isle of Wight; the annexation of outliers on the island that had been attached to manors on the mainland; and the fact that, by 1086, William [and Humphrey] fitzStur and Jocelyn and William fitzAzor, almost certainly fitzOsbern's tenants, were the only tenants-in-chief with their own fiefs on the island and all four held at Bowcombe 'one of the most valuable estates on the island, and identified by Round as Fitz Osbern's island seat' where the 'estate church was held by the Abbot of Lyre'.<sup>321</sup>

Earl William took control of the main royal manor of Bowcombe and, by association, the fortifications at neighbouring Alvington (Carisbrooke castle). It is possible that the fortifications were strengthened while under his command. Bowcombe, with Carisbrooke, would have been a natural choice for the caput of his fief on the island. A major re-structuring of the fortifications at Carisbrooke does not appear to have taken place, however, until late in the eleventh century. Excavations have revealed aspects of the history of the castle hill.<sup>322</sup> The surrounding area was occupied from the early sixth century but the castle site was first developed in the eleventh century, with the construction of a lower enclosure and 'large timber buildings...implying high-status use'.<sup>323</sup> It is impossible to date this part of the castle more precisely at present because pottery sherds recovered from the site are typical of the entire eleventh century, but the enclosure and its buildings certainly pre-date the later Norman motte and bailey castle. The lower enclosure is formed of an earth bank fronted by a stone wall which has parallels with the construction of burhs across Wessex at Twynham, Southampton, Wareham, Cricklade, and Lydford, although Carisbrooke is not mentioned in the Burghal

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<sup>321</sup> Dennis, *Domesday Hampshire*, 122 – 124.

<sup>322</sup> C. P. Young, *Excavations at Carisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight, 1921-1996, Wessex Archaeology Report 18* (Salisbury, 2000), 191-3.

<sup>323</sup> Young, *Carisbrooke Castle*, 55, 191.

Hidage.<sup>324</sup> As such, there are strong arguments that Carisbrooke had been constructed at a similar time.

Subsequent developments appear to be early Norman: the timber buildings were taken down and chalk was imported to form a level surface within the lower enclosure. A half-penny has been recovered from one ‘tip layer’ of chalk, minted by Brunman of Chichester between c. 1087 and 1089, and may be the last issue of the reign of William I, or the first issue of the reign of William II.<sup>325</sup> One or two ditches and ramparts (probably topped with palisades) appear to have been constructed in the north-eastern corner of the lower enclosure in the late eleventh century, with the rest of the enclosure acting as an outer bailey with a new gateway in its south-western corner.<sup>326</sup> The castle itself is described as part of the vill of Alvington in Domesday Book, which was valued at £3 but rendered £4 in 1086.<sup>327</sup> It is likely that King William took control of the castle and continued to develop it following the death of William fitzOsbern.

Domesday records that neighbouring Bowcombe was the most valuable royal manor on the island, valued at £20, plus £8 received from *Haldley*, Luton, and Shide.<sup>328</sup> It was part of the king’s farm TRE but held by fitzOsbern after 1066 (evidenced by his grant of one of its churches to the abbey of Lyre). The renders of food or cash from Bowcombe had been taken far inland to Amesbury in Wiltshire TRE, possibly as a defensive measure notwithstanding the development of the fortifications at Alvington, and/or as a logistical measure to best intercept the peripatetic royal court within the royal heartlands. It is significant that Domesday states that William fitzOsbern severed the arrangements with Amesbury:

In hoc manerium numerantur terrae III tainorum quas ipsi tenebant TRE. Has dedit  
Willelmus comes in Amblesberie pro mutuatione Bovecome.

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<sup>324</sup> Young, *Carisbrooke Castle*, 191.

<sup>325</sup> Young, *Carisbrooke Castle*, 55, 131-3.

<sup>326</sup> Young, *Carisbrooke Castle*, 194.

<sup>327</sup> GDB 52c (Hampshire: IoW1,15).

<sup>328</sup> GDB 52b (Hampshire: IoW1,7-11).

In this manor are included the lands of 3 thegns, which they themselves held TRE. These [lands] in Amesbury Earl William gave in return for the loan of Bowcombe.<sup>329</sup>

The entry then clarifies that Earl William gave Quinton, Swindon and Cheverell, which were thegnlands, ‘for the land in the Isle of Wight which belonged to the farm of Amesbury’. There was a similar severance of arrangements between outliers on the Isle of Wight and royal and earlish manors on the mainland in the south-west of Hampshire. The royal manor at Eling, which provided a farm of half a day, had two berewicks on the island which were missing because ‘Earl William held them’.<sup>330</sup> Breamore may also have been affected as it lost one hide on the island, most likely at Ningwood if Gerin and Gervi represent a scribal misreading of the same name.<sup>331</sup> Earl Tosti’s manor at Ringwood had lost eighteen hides on the Isle of Wight, and Holdenhurst appears to have lost seven.<sup>332</sup> There is no suggestion, however, that the hide of land on the Isle of Wight held by Christchurch Priory was affected, so these arrangements appear to have been targeted measures taken by fitzOsbern over royal and earlish estates. One explanation is that, in the early years of the Conquest, Earl William made the Isle of Wight as self-sufficient as possible by blocking the export of food and other renders.

By 1086, two of the estates held by Cypping of Worthy on the mainland in the south-west of Hampshire had been incorporated into the king’s farm from the Isle of Wight, namely *Achelic* (10s) and Stanswood (£7), but it is not clear when these arrangements were put in place, or whether fitzOsbern was involved.<sup>333</sup> Although fitzOsbern allocated new estates to Amesbury to compensate for the ‘loan’ of Bowcombe, there is no record that he made any such restitution for the loss of the outliers of Eling, Ringwood, Breamore, and Holdenhurst but the reallocation of Cypping’s estates leaves open this possibility. By 1086 these estates were held by King

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<sup>329</sup> GDB 64d (Wiltshire: 1,3).

<sup>330</sup> GDB 38d (Hampshire: 1,27).

<sup>331</sup> GDB 39a (Hampshire: 1,37); 54a (Hampshire: IoW 9,18) and notes.

<sup>332</sup> GDB 39a (Hampshire: 1,29-30).

<sup>333</sup> GDB 38d (Hampshire: 1,26); 51a (Hampshire: NF1,1).

William, but the outliers on the island were not always recovered. Ringwood was valued at £24 TRE. A 'later' value of £16 was recorded. In 1086, the manor was valued at £8.10s with 'that which the king has' (in other words, the hides taken into the forest) valued at £7.10s. The further £8 missing from its original valuation may represent the value of the eighteen hides that had never been recovered on the Isle of Wight. The situation at Eling is not clear because it paid a set render representing the farm of half a day. Holdenhurst was still missing £7.10s of its TRE valuation of £44 in 1086.

It is possible to reconstruct part of William fitzOsbern's estates on the Isle of Wight. Domesday makes some references to the earl, or to his son, Roger of Breteuil, earl of Hereford, and it is possible to trace the location of grants of land, churches, and tithes to the abbeys of Cormeille and Lyre, and also grants to his vassals.<sup>334</sup> At Cheverton, Reginald the baker kept the 'earl's oven'.<sup>335</sup> Reginald fitzCroc held a virgate at Wilmington which Earl Roger had given to Reginald's father before 1075.<sup>336</sup> The abbey of Lyre had six churches on the Isle of Wight which claimed tithes from all the king's revenues (*decimus habent de omnibus redditionibus regis*).<sup>337</sup> Lyre held churches, each with a virgate of land, on the royal manors of Bowcombe and Arreton, and 3 virgates at Freshwater.<sup>338</sup> Freshwater was assessed at 15 hides and valued at £20 but rendered £30. It had been held by Earl Tosti TRE.<sup>339</sup> Lyre also held the churches and tithes at Carisbrooke, Arreton, Shalcombe, Freshwater, Godshill, Whippingham, Newchurch, and Newtown.<sup>340</sup> If William and Humphrey fitzStur, and William and Jocelyn fitzAzor received *en bloc* all the estates previously controlled by fitzOsbern, alongside royal

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<sup>334</sup> See further Baxter, 'William fitzOsbern', forthcoming.

<sup>335</sup> GDB 52d (Hampshire: IoW6,10). Phillimore translation.

<sup>336</sup> GDB 52b (Hampshire: IoW1,6).

<sup>337</sup> GDB 52c (Hampshire: IoW4,1).

<sup>338</sup> GDB 39c (Hampshire: 1,W4); 52b (Hampshire: IoW1,5; 7).

<sup>339</sup> GDB 52b (Hampshire: IoW1,5).

<sup>340</sup> Baxter, 'William fitzOsbern', forthcoming.

and earlish estates, the total value of these estates was about £250 on the Isle of Wight, aside from any manors that fitzOsbern may have held elsewhere in Hampshire.<sup>341</sup>

Dennis also believes that, alongside the island, the ‘entire borough’ of Southampton was under fitzOsbern’s control, which explains the ‘apparently anomalous position of the entry for Southampton as the island’s chief burgh’ on folio 52a in Domesday. He calculates that the king’s revenue from the borough was £9.5s (if the seventy-six men paying £7 of land *gablum* and 79 men paying a total of £2.5s are recognised as separate groups in entry S1 on folio 51d), and an identical sum was being drawn from the borough by each of the abbeys of Lyre and Corneilles.<sup>342</sup> As Dennis explains, ‘Fitz Osbern had granted away the king’s ‘two pennies’: this strongly suggests the entire borough had been mediatised into his control’. Golding contends that together, the borough and island functioned as a ‘quasi-shire’.<sup>343</sup>

Late tenth-century Southampton had developed in a linear pattern north-south along a raised gravel road that came to be known as ‘English Street’.<sup>344</sup> There is emerging evidence that the site was surrounded by a massive structure of defensive ditches in the late-Saxon period.<sup>345</sup> Domesday Book makes it clear that there was a controlled colonisation of Southampton after King William came to England, where ‘sixty-five Frenchmen and thirty-one Englishmen have been lodged/settled (*sunt hospitati*)’.<sup>346</sup> The churches and street names of medieval Southampton may reflect the zonal nature of this policy. French colonists were seemingly located in the south-west quarter either side of a road, known as ‘French Street’, perhaps as early as the Conquest; the two churches in this quarter were dedicated to St John

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<sup>341</sup> Baxter, ‘William fitzOsbern’, forthcoming.

<sup>342</sup> Dennis, *Domesday Hampshire*, 126; S. F. Hockey, ‘William fitzOsbern and the Endowment of his Abbey of Lyre’, *ANS* 3 (1980), 96-105, at 100. Hockey notes that the abbeys were probably selling their tithes in Southampton and Winchester as it was easier to export cash from England.

<sup>343</sup> Golding, ‘Hampshire Domesday’, 7.

<sup>344</sup> C. Platt, *Archaeology in Medieval Southampton* (Southampton, 1976), 5-8; D. A. Hinton, *Saxon Southampton: The Archaeology and History of the Port Called Hamwih*, *Southampton Archaeological Research Committee* (1975); P. Holdsworth, ‘Saxon Southampton,’ in *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England*, ed. J. Haslam (Chichester, 1984), 331-44.

<sup>345</sup> Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, 8.

<sup>346</sup> GDB 52 (Hampshire: S2-3).

and St Michael, both common dedications in Normandy (St Michael was the patron saint of Normandy).<sup>347</sup> The remains of Anglo-Saxon dwellings have been found under the south-west quarter, and may show a systematic clearance of the site before the colonists were introduced.<sup>348</sup> There are oblique references in the c. 1110 survey of *Winton Domesday* to similar clearances in Winchester for the extension of the royal palace and the construction of the castle.

Domesday Book lists those who held properties in Southampton in the first twenty years of Norman rule, who had been granted the customary dues of their houses. The presence of the abbots of Lyre and Corneilles suggests their benefactor, William fitzOsbern, had a role in, and possible control over the introduction of Norman landholders into the borough before his death in 1071.<sup>349</sup> Four people are known to have fought at Hastings and could have been granted land in Southampton early in the Conquest: Richard, count of Evreux; Ralph de Tosny; Hugh de Grandmesnil; and Robert, count of Mortain. Stephen the steersman also had two houses.<sup>350</sup> Southampton was an embarkation point for Normandy, which may explain the presence of many of these people in the town.<sup>351</sup>

Dennis also traces the later history of the Isle of Wight from its grant by Henry I to Richard de Redvers in c. 1100 along with the Honour of Plympton, until it escheated to the crown in 1295 on the death of the redoubtable Isabella de Fortibus. Dennis questions whether various exemptions and dues owed by the islanders can be traced back to William fitzOsbern, including the later exclusion of shrieval authority on the island. Hugh de Port had no estates on the island in 1086, but he was certainly operating in East Medine when he received the royal

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<sup>347</sup> Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, 6.

<sup>348</sup> Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, 6.

<sup>349</sup> See also *VCH Hampshire*, i, 409-10.

<sup>350</sup> K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066-1166, I: Domesday Book* (Woodbridge, 1999), 423.

<sup>351</sup> Golding, 'Hampshire Domesday', 6-8.

manor of Sandford with Week.<sup>352</sup> Lyre held the churches in the neighbouring vills of Godshill and at the royal manor of Arreton, suggesting fitzOsbern had held these manors, and probably held Sandford as well. Accordingly, Hugh de Port recovered some, if not all the royal estates on the island after Earl Roger's rebellion in 1075.

William fitzStur, William fitzAzor, and Jocelin fitzAzor continued to hold parts of Bowcombe, and a significant number of manors on the island, but no one was appointed to replace William fitzOsbern. Priorities for the conquest and settlement of Hampshire had changed by 1071. Bowcombe, previously valued at £28, reverted to King William and had been put at farm by the king by 1086: William fitzStur was required to pay £60 each year 'although they are worth less' (*quamuis minus ualeant*).<sup>353</sup> William fitzStur may have been or emerged at this time as custodian of Carisbrooke castle. In 1263, his descendant continued to hold lands as 'lord of the castle' for 'services that included guarding the island in time of war at his own cost'.<sup>354</sup> It was only when Henry I granted the lordship of the Isle of Wight to Richard de Redvers, along with royal estates such as Arreton, that the autonomy of the island appears to have been restored.<sup>355</sup>

Mew suggests that the section of Hampshire Domesday headed 'In nova foresta et circa eam',<sup>356</sup> is not so much a 'failed attempt' to record the new royal forest ('failed' to the extent that forest entries can be found elsewhere in the text) but instead records 'the mainland part of a military lordship or quasi-Rape' centred on the Isle of Wight which was held by William fitzOsbern after the Hastings campaign.<sup>357</sup> Mew points out that the New Forest section is followed immediately by the entries for the borough of Southampton and then the Isle of Wight. She notes that each of the Rapes of Sussex had its castle and borough, and suggests that

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<sup>352</sup> GDB 39c (Hampshire: 1,W3).

<sup>353</sup> GDB 52c (Hampshire: IoW1,11).

<sup>354</sup> Golding, 'Hampshire Domesday', 19, citing *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, i. 175.

<sup>355</sup> See further *VCH Hampshire*, v, 139-151; 221-235.

<sup>356</sup> GDB 51a.

<sup>357</sup> Mew, 'Nova Foresta', 163.

fitzOsbern may have built the castle at Alvington (Carisbrooke), giving him both a borough (Southampton) and castle within the quasi-Rape.<sup>358</sup> She asserts that, in order to be able to sever the ties between the mainland manors in the south-west, and their island berewicks, fitzOsbern's lordship must have included both. Furthermore, when Henry I granted the lordship of the island to Richard de Redvers in about 1100, the grant included both the island and the south-west of Hampshire perhaps following a precedent set in the conquest period.

There is no doubt that Earl William and his son, Roger, earl of Hereford, extended their authority across Hampshire. In the earliest stages of the Conquest, fitzOsbern controlled land transfers in the shire,<sup>359</sup> and was responsible for the new castle in Winchester. At some stage, the family acquired Upper Clatford (Andover), and granted three virgates and the tithes of the village to the abbey of Lyre.<sup>360</sup> However, apart from William fitzStur holding Sopley in 1086, there is no trace in Domesday that fitzOsbern's tenants, or his abbeys of Cormeilles and Lyre, held estates in the south-west of Hampshire before the creation of the New Forest. Earl William appears to have commandeered the Isle of Wight early in the Conquest and his appropriation of outliers on the Isle of Wight does not show, necessarily, that his 'quasi-Rape' included the mainland opposite. At Eling, for example, when Hugh de Port acquired the royal manor, two of its outliers on the Isle of Wight had been separated from the manor 'and were being held by the Earl'.<sup>361</sup> Mew's second argument, that 'by granting lordship of the Isle of Wight and the mainland opposite to Richard de Redvers, Henry I confirmed the long-standing association between two adjacent areas separated only by a stretch of water' may be true (and the association may pre-date the Conquest), but it does not prove that fitzOsbern held the whole district as part of a quasi-Rape.<sup>362</sup>

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<sup>358</sup> Mew, *'Nova Foresta'*, 162.

<sup>359</sup> See pp. 60, 136.

<sup>360</sup> GDB 38d (Hampshire: 1,25).

<sup>361</sup> GDB 38d (Hampshire: 1,27).

<sup>362</sup> Mew, *'Nova Foresta'*, 165.

Nevertheless, there are some hints of regional divisions in Hampshire. Mew's hypothesis would explain Earl William's long administrative reach to Amesbury and Andover. There is a sharp divide between the use of *in paragio* formula in the New Forest and in West Medine on the Isle of Wight, and *x tenuit de rege* formula in East Medine (Figure 20). Were the New Forest and West Medine assessed together during the inquisitorial phase of the Domesday survey giving rise to a regional adoption of certain of formulae? Or does it reflect the fact that, because there were a higher number of English survivors by 1086 to the west of the River Test (Figure 9) the English customs of partible inheritance persisted in the south-west, giving rise to the higher level of *in paragio* landholding recorded in this area.<sup>363</sup> On balance it is more likely to reflect the way the survey was conducted because the Domesday scribe also chose to separate, in the Domesday folios, the king's estates in West and East Medine; twenty-two estates in East Medine are recorded at the end of the *terra regis* but the king's estates in West Medine are entered separately in the Isle of Wight section of Domesday. It may add weight to the argument that the New Forest and West Medine were surveyed together and these returns came in separately. If so, it is just possible that these regions had been connected administratively under fitzOsbern's control, as they may well have been before 1066.<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>363</sup> Estates held in dependent tenure could be held in parage. It does not necessarily indicate freedom of alienation: see Soberton GDB 38b (Hampshire: 1,13).

<sup>364</sup> See pp. 39-40.

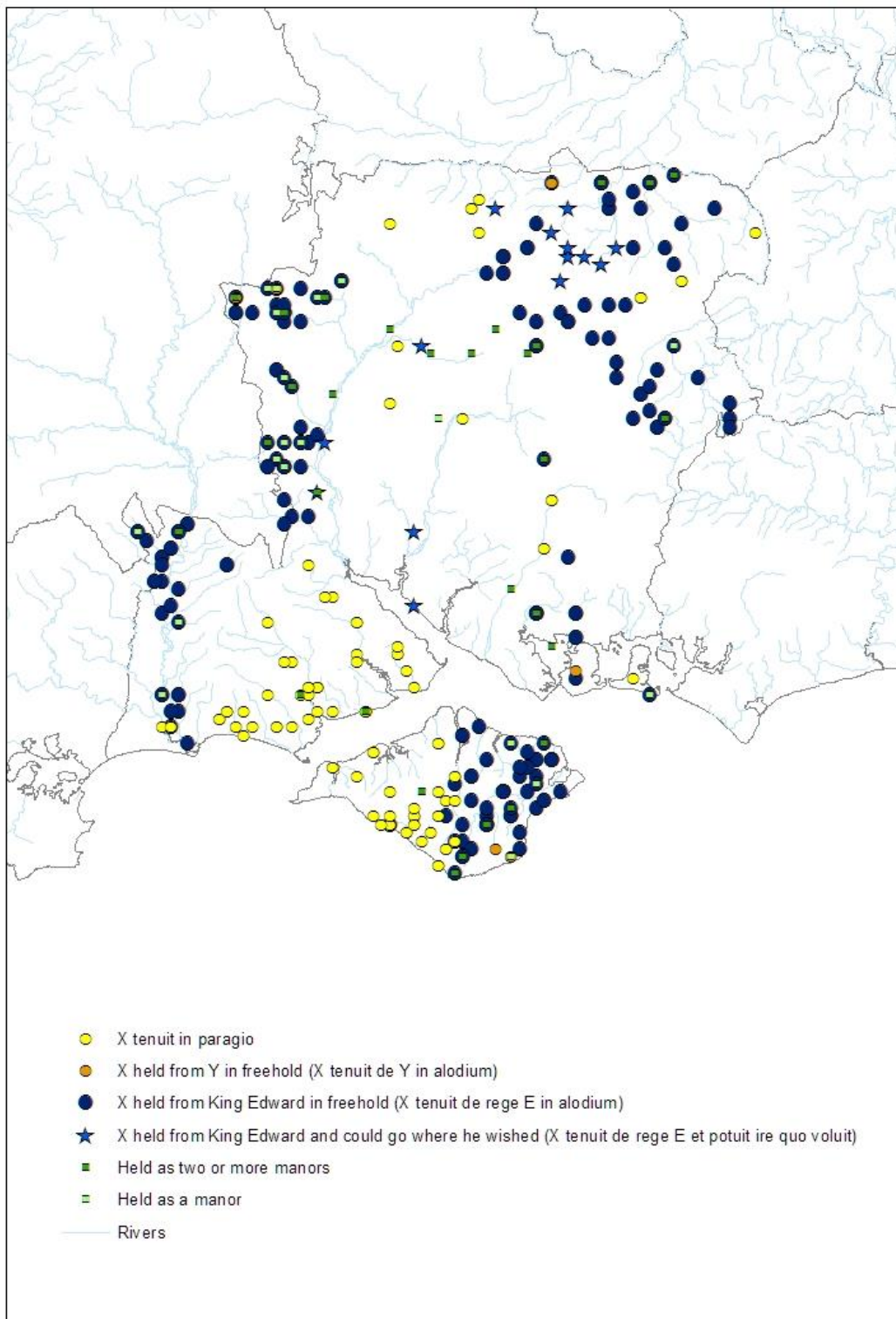


Figure 20. The regional distribution of Domesday TRE formulae within Hampshire

Another insight into the administrative divisions within Hampshire in the early years of the Conquest comes from Orderic Vitalis' account of Hugh de Grandmesnil who fought at Hastings and was one of the soldiers left in England to assist William fitzOsbern and Odo of Bayeux when William the Conqueror returned to Normandy in the spring of 1067.<sup>365</sup> Orderic was writing between about 1115 and 1140, but, as Hugh de Grandmesnil was a founder of Saint-Evroul in Normandy where Orderic spent his life, Orderic's testimony relating to Hugh may be reliable. Orderic states that Hugh was appointed governor of the *Gewissae* – that is, the region around Winchester (*unde Hugo de Grentemaisnil qui praesidatum Gewissorum id est Guentanae regionis iam habuerat...*), while Hugh's brother-in-law, Humphrey of Tilleul, held the castle of Hastings 'from the day of its foundation'.<sup>366</sup> It is not clear how much of Winchester's hinterland was under Hugh's control as it was almost encircled by ecclesiastical estates. In due course the two brothers were among those who returned to Normandy, concerned (according to Orderic) about the fidelity of their wives. Orderic claims that neither these people 'nor their heirs were ever able to recover the fiefs which they held and had chosen to abandon'.<sup>367</sup> In fact, Hugh de Grandmesnil eventually returned to England, held a considerable number of estates mainly in Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Warwickshire in 1086, and was granted (or retained) a property in Southampton en route to Normandy.<sup>368</sup>

Earl William's death in February 1071 is likely to have forced a review of the defence and administration of Hampshire. Indeed, his death may have prompted King William to undertake the land-clearances, and the imposition of an experimental regime of 'forest law' in the south-west.<sup>369</sup> Their combined effect was to lay waste to much of the region. Hugh de Port held Redbridge and estates in the lower Avon valley from Odo of Bayeux, and Earl Roger had

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<sup>365</sup> OV, *Eccl. Hist.*, II, Bk. iii-iv, 174-5, 196-7.

<sup>366</sup> OV, *Eccl. Hist.*, II, Bk. iv, 221.

<sup>367</sup> OV, *Eccl. Hist.*, II, Bk. iv, 221.

<sup>368</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Hugh 5' (provisional).

<sup>369</sup> See pp. 96, 99-103.

a significant number of holdings on the coastal strip in 1086. It is possible that Oda of Winchester and/or Hugh de Port took on aspects of Hugh de Grandmesnil's role as governor of Winchester and its hinterland.<sup>370</sup> Most of fitzOsbern's estates were redistributed by King William by 1086 and it is only Oxfordshire Domesday that still groups fitzOsbern's estates under his name (even though these estates had also been reallocated).

Whatever the scope of fitzOsbern's authority in Hampshire, his control of the Isle of Wight and Southampton was clearly a priority in the early stages of the Conquest. There is little doubt that the combination of a military presence on the Isle of Wight and possession of a fleet capable of patrolling the Solent could protect the harbours and ports on the mainland, including Twynham, Southampton, and potentially Chichester and Portsmouth harbours. Conversely, the loss of control of the island would have been far from ideal as demonstrated by the actions of Viking fleets which found refuge there in the years 998, 1001, 1006, 1009, 1013, 1022, and 1048 and used the island as a base from which to raid and ravage Sussex and Hampshire. The Godwine family may still have had supporters on the island, and the prospect of Harold's sons bringing a fleet into the Solent or other English malcontents using it as an assembly point and military base would have destabilised Norman control of the newly acquired southern shires.

Magnates with a foothold in the shire (1086)

Eight Class A barons held rural estates in Hampshire: William fitzOsbern; Odo of Bayeux, earl of Kent; Alan, count of Brittany; Robert, count of Mortain; Eustace, count of Boulogne; Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury; and Hugh d'Avranches, Earl of Chester. Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances did not hold rural estates, but had the customary dues of one or more houses in Southampton 'by grant of King William'.

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<sup>370</sup> See p. 202.

Odo of Bayeux and Earl Roger held several estates in Hampshire that may reflect their part in the conquest and colonisation of the shire. Odo was William the Conqueror's half-brother and fought alongside him at Hastings. He acted as regent on occasion alongside William fitzOsbern and Queen Matilda when King William was in Normandy. By 1086, Odo's estates as earl of Kent dominated the important routes along the North Downs. In fact, Odo took control of some of the most valuable estates held by elite thegns before 1066 including those of Esbern Bigga and Æthelnoth Cild. Odo's landholding continued on these routes westwards along the chalk downland and into the north of Hampshire.

Odo had a stronger presence in Hampshire than other Class A barons, holding estates valued at £35. In addition to his downland estates, he held manors on the coast at Cosham, Redbridge near Southampton, and Stanpit, one of three estates held by Odo in the lower Avon valley in the south-west of Hampshire. These may have been embarkation points for Normandy, but his presence on the lower reaches of the Rivers Avon and Test raises the question whether he was exploiting commercial opportunities on these rivers, perhaps receiving tolls on the transportation of goods, or whether Odo held key estates on these rivers as part of the defence of the shire. By 1086, Odo's estates were all held by Hugh de Port, as his tenant. It is not clear whether Hugh took on these estates before or after Odo's imprisonment in 1082 but it gave the sheriff a strong position in the north of the shire and on the coast.

Roger de Montgomery was appointed advisor to Duchess Matilda during the invasion of England, accompanied King William on his return to England in 1067, and was granted the Rape of Arundel (Sussex) and, at a later date, the earldom of Shrewsbury.<sup>371</sup> Like Odo of Bayeux, Earl Roger was granted estates on the coast in Hampshire which gave him a strong hold over Chichester, Langstone, and Portsmouth Harbours. He also acquired the estates of

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<sup>371</sup> J. F.A. Mason, 'Montgomery, Roger de, first Earl of Shrewsbury (d. 1094)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23953>, accessed 24 February 2017.

several thegns in the south-west of the shire, also on the coast. It enabled both Odo and Roger to access much of the south coast by sea.

In comparison, the remaining class A barons had only a foothold in the shire in 1086. Earl Hugh, Count Robert, and Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, held estates near Salisbury on routes into Winchester from the west. Count Eustace of Boulogne had been granted Earl Harold's estate at Bishops Sutton, valued at £80, eight miles to the east of Winchester, and en route to his other valuable estates of Walkingstead (Godstone), Oxted, Westerham, and Boughton Aluph (almost all of which had been held by Earl Godwine), all spring-line settlements below the scarp face of the North Downs and Kent Downs towards Dover. Count Alan, Earl Hugh, the Count of Mortain, and Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances also had estates in Southampton and Portsmouth Harbour giving them embarkation points for Normandy.

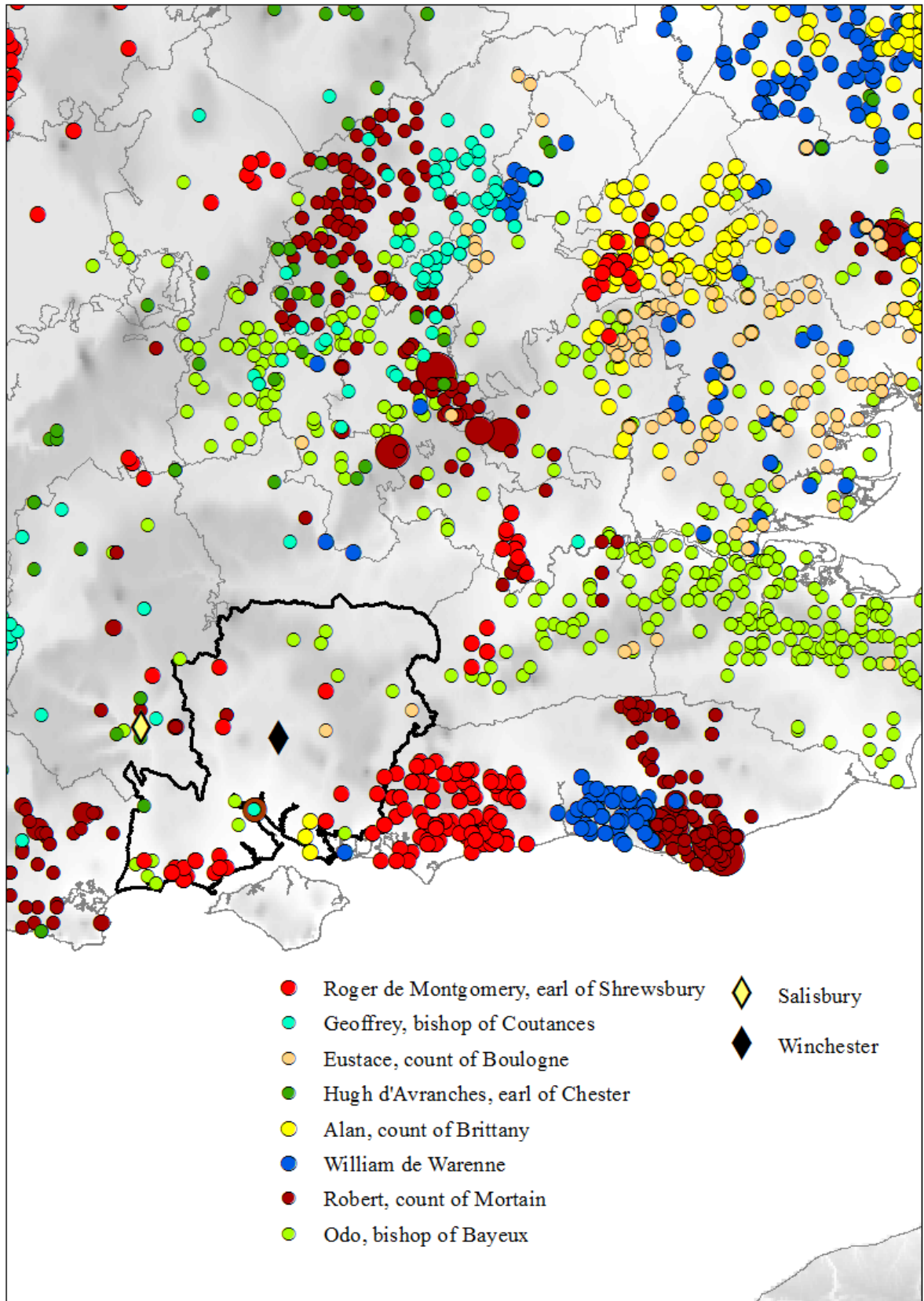


Figure 21. Class A barons with estates in Hampshire (1086)

Robert, count of Mortain, fought alongside William at Hastings, and is depicted on the Bayeux tapestry.<sup>372</sup> He held the Rape of Pevensey in Sussex. He may have been granted the earldom of Cornwall later during the Conquest. Cornwall seems to have been held originally by the Breton count, Brian, who relinquished his English lands and returned to Brittany.<sup>373</sup> In Hampshire, Robert held a single valuable estate in Somborne hundred with a mill, which answered for four hides but paid a generous £12 although its value had dropped to £8.<sup>374</sup> This estate gave Count Robert a base in Hampshire about ten miles from Winchester. He also held five houses in Southampton which lay about half-way along the coast between his estates around Poole harbour (Dorset) and those at Pevensey.

Count Alan of Brittany (known as Alan the Red) was a son of Count Eudo of Penthiève and brother of Count Brian. He held estates in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire which he may have gained after the northern revolt in 1070. Many of his estates in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire were transferred from Earl Ralph de Gael, following Ralph's rebellion in 1075, and also from Edith the Fair.<sup>375</sup> Alan held three estates in Hampshire on the Solent, at Crofton, Funtley, and at an unknown location, together valued at £7.10s.<sup>376</sup> Alan received these estates as one manor and held them in demesne. Crofton and Funtley had been held by Wulfweard the White, who survived for some time after 1066. Again, these may have been late grants if Alan received them after Wulfweard's death.

Although William de Warenne did not come from a particularly wealthy family in Normandy, he is known to have fought at Hastings, and was well rewarded with lands in

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<sup>372</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Robert 9' (provisional); Brian Golding, 'Robert, count of Mortain (d. 1095)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19339>, accessed 24 February 2017.

<sup>373</sup> Green, *Aristocracy*, 67-8.

<sup>374</sup> GDB 44c (Hampshire: 19,1).

<sup>375</sup> Green, *Aristocracy*, 36; K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Alan Rufus (d. 1093)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52358>, accessed 24 February 2017.

<sup>376</sup> GDB 44b (Hampshire: 18,1-3).

England.<sup>377</sup> As one of the Conqueror's leading military commanders, he may have been given the estate at Conisborough in Yorkshire which 'commanded the fords where the main road north crossed the River Don', as part of the 1068 campaign against the English rebellion in York.<sup>378</sup> William de Warenne was given the Rape of Lewes, and held many lands in East Anglia, especially Norfolk, where, with Richard fitzGilbert's assistance, he defeated Ralph de Gael, earl of East Anglia, in 1075. William de Warenne held just one estate in Hampshire, at Fratton on Portsea Island between Portsmouth and Langstone Harbours, which was held from him by Osmelin.<sup>379</sup>

Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Chester, was given Earl Edwin's lands in Cheshire and the castle of Chester in 1070 and retained most of the Cheshire estates in demesne.<sup>380</sup> Earl Hugh's holdings extended beyond Cheshire, and he held many estates across England from the north-east to the south-west. He had just one small estate in Hampshire, valued at £3, at Bickton in Fordingbridge hundred. It gave the earl access to the King's Forest and New Forest, presumably for hunting with the king. Bickton was about a day's journey (fourteen miles) to the coast along the Avon Valley.<sup>381</sup> It was held from Count Hugh by Hugh de Mascy, whose kinsman Hamon de Mascy (Haimo de Maci) was one of Hugh d'Avranches' tenants in Cheshire.

Eustace, count of Boulogne (Eustace aux Gernons), was the brother-in-law of Edward the Confessor.<sup>382</sup> William of Poitiers claimed that Eustace fought at Hastings and Eustace may be depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry, with his distinctive moustache, holding a banner and

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<sup>377</sup> C. P. Lewis, 'Warenne, William (I) de, first earl of Surrey (d. 1088)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28736>, accessed 24 February 2017.

<sup>378</sup> Lewis, 'Warenne', *ODNB*.

<sup>379</sup> GDB 47b (Hampshire: 34,1).

<sup>380</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Hugh 9' (provisional); C. P. Lewis, 'Avranches, Hugh d', first earl of Chester (d. 1101)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14056>, accessed 24 February 2017; Green, *Aristocracy*, 75.

<sup>381</sup> GDB 44d (Hampshire: 22,1).

<sup>382</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Eustace 1' (provisional); H. J. Tanner, 'Eustace (II), count of Boulogne (d. c.1087)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52359>, accessed 24 February 2017.

pointing at William as William raises his visor to prove he was still alive and on the battlefield. Eustace's two estates in Hampshire may have been granted to him shortly after Hastings. Bishop Sutton was twenty-five hides, but beneficially hidated at ten hides, and paid £80 despite being valued at £60. It had been held by Earl Harold.<sup>383</sup> The second estate was a remote outlier of Sutton, at Headley in Neatham hundred, and had been held by Earl Godwine. Most of Eustace's lands were in Essex, but the Hampshire estates gave him a base in Hampshire approaching Winchester from the east.

Richard FitzGilbert's grandfather, Godfrey, was an illegitimate son of Richard I, Duke of Normandy.<sup>384</sup> Richard's father, Gilbert, had been count of Brionne and Eu, and had been Duke William's tutor in Normandy. The family suffered, following Gilbert's murder, and his sons fled to Flanders. They were recalled to Normandy after William's marriage to Matilda of Flanders. Richard was also known as Richard of Tonbridge and held the castle there, and further lands in Surrey.<sup>385</sup> He had been granted part of Wulfgifu Beteslau's estate at Mapledurham (perhaps after Wulfgifu's death) by Queen Matilda, which Richard had then granted to Theobald.<sup>386</sup> Richard no longer held any estates in chief in Hampshire in 1086. Interestingly, he had no estates on the south coast en route to Normandy perhaps because, following the reversion of Brionne to the duke of Normandy, Richard had made his fortune in England.

Geoffrey de Mowbray, bishop of Coutances, was a leading counsellor of Duke William before the Conquest and acted as a justiciar for the king in England after 1066, adjudicating the hearing at Penenden Heath of pleas brought by Lanfranc against Odo of Bayeux. Geoffrey

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<sup>383</sup> GDB 44v (Hampshire: 20,1-2).

<sup>384</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Richard 5' (provisional); Richard Mortimer, 'Clare, Richard de (1030x35–1087x90)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5445>, accessed 24 February 2017.

<sup>385</sup> See p. 155.

<sup>386</sup> GDB 38 (Hampshire: 1,8).

de Mowbray served as a Domesday Commissioner in East Anglia.<sup>387</sup> Geoffrey led the men of Winchester, along with those of London and Salisbury, against a rebellion at Montacute in Somerset in 1069 and defeated the rebels. He also assisted William de Warenne and Robert Malet in the defeat of the rebellion in 1075, during which he besieged Norwich castle.<sup>388</sup> Most of his lands were in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and the south-west. He held no rural estates in Hampshire in 1086, but he had a house in Southampton.<sup>389</sup> The distribution of his estates suggests Southampton gave him an embarkation point for Normandy. His most likely route to Winchester for festival courts would have been via his estates in Wiltshire.

Thurstan, abbot of Glastonbury, took on the pre-Conquest estates of the abbey in Somerset, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and Dorset, which brought him close to the shire borders with Hampshire.<sup>390</sup> He also regained the abbey's one remaining estate in Hampshire at Ower, just west of Nursling, on a route from the abbey's Wiltshire estates to Winchester via Romsey. Before 1066, Ower had been leased to Alsige of Hatch, who could not go where he would with the land, and always paid tribute to the abbot (*semper reddidit gablum abbati*).<sup>391</sup>

In conclusion, the estates of the great magnates no longer funnelled across the north of Hampshire from the North Downs and into the royal heartlands as they had done before 1066. Instead, most magnates sought estates on the coast to facilitate travel by sea, especially between England and Normandy. The distribution of the estates of Class A barons with a foothold in Hampshire also reflects the growing importance of Salisbury (Old Sarum) and the routes via Stockbridge, King's Somborne, or Romsey into Winchester. No Class A baron had been allowed to dominate the shire although William fitzOsbern is missing from this analysis. He

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<sup>387</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Geoffrey 2' (provisional); M. Chibnall, 'Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances (*d.* 1093)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10528>, accessed 24 February 2017.

<sup>388</sup> Green, *Aristocracy*, 63; Chibnall, 'Geoffrey (*d.* 1093)', *ODNB*.

<sup>389</sup> GDB 52a (Hampshire: S3).

<sup>390</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Thurstan 16' (provisional).

<sup>391</sup> GDB 43c (Hampshire: 11,1).

may have had authority across Hampshire and his landholding dominated the Isle of Wight. No other class A landholder held on the island in 1086, following Earl William's death in 1071.

Hugh de Port, sheriff of Hampshire (1086)

By 1086, Hugh de Port was the greatest lay landholder in Hampshire after the king.<sup>392</sup> His byname associates him with Port-en-Bessin on the Normandy coast, nine kilometres north-west of Bayeux.<sup>393</sup> Hugh de Port made his fortune in England. He was almost certainly sheriff of Hampshire and became one of William the Conqueror's most trusted administrators. Domesday records that Hugh's landed wealth in Hampshire was far greater than that enjoyed by his pre-Conquest counterpart, Eadsige the sheriff. Yet Hugh's success in England brought with it the complexities of maintaining family lands, and social and seigneurial networks in Normandy. At the Bayeux Inquest of 1133, Hugh's son and heir, Henry de Port, was still holding three knight's fees of the bishop of Bayeux, probably at Fontenelles, Commes and Létanville.<sup>394</sup> The strong cross-channel connections that Hugh forged between England and Normandy, however, created opportunities. In the survey of 1166, several families from the Bessin are said to have been of the 'old feoffment', holding sub-tenancies from John de Port (Hugh's grandson) that had been created before the death of Henry I in 1135.

Hugh de Port was a 'Class B' baron with estates in nine shires. Most of his land was in Hampshire. His total landed wealth in England as tenant-in-chief (including estates held from him by subtenants) was £542, with estates valued at £337 in Hampshire. Hugh's net income (excluding subinfeudated estates) was £461 (£256 in Hampshire). He also held estates valued at £20 in Northamptonshire at farm for the king.<sup>395</sup>

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<sup>392</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Hugh 10' (provisional).

<sup>393</sup> Port-en-Bessin, Calvados, arr. Bayeux, cant. Ryes; Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, 79.

<sup>394</sup> *Receuil des Historiens* 23, 698-9, no. 435.

<sup>395</sup> GDB 219b (Northamptonshire: 1,1-3).

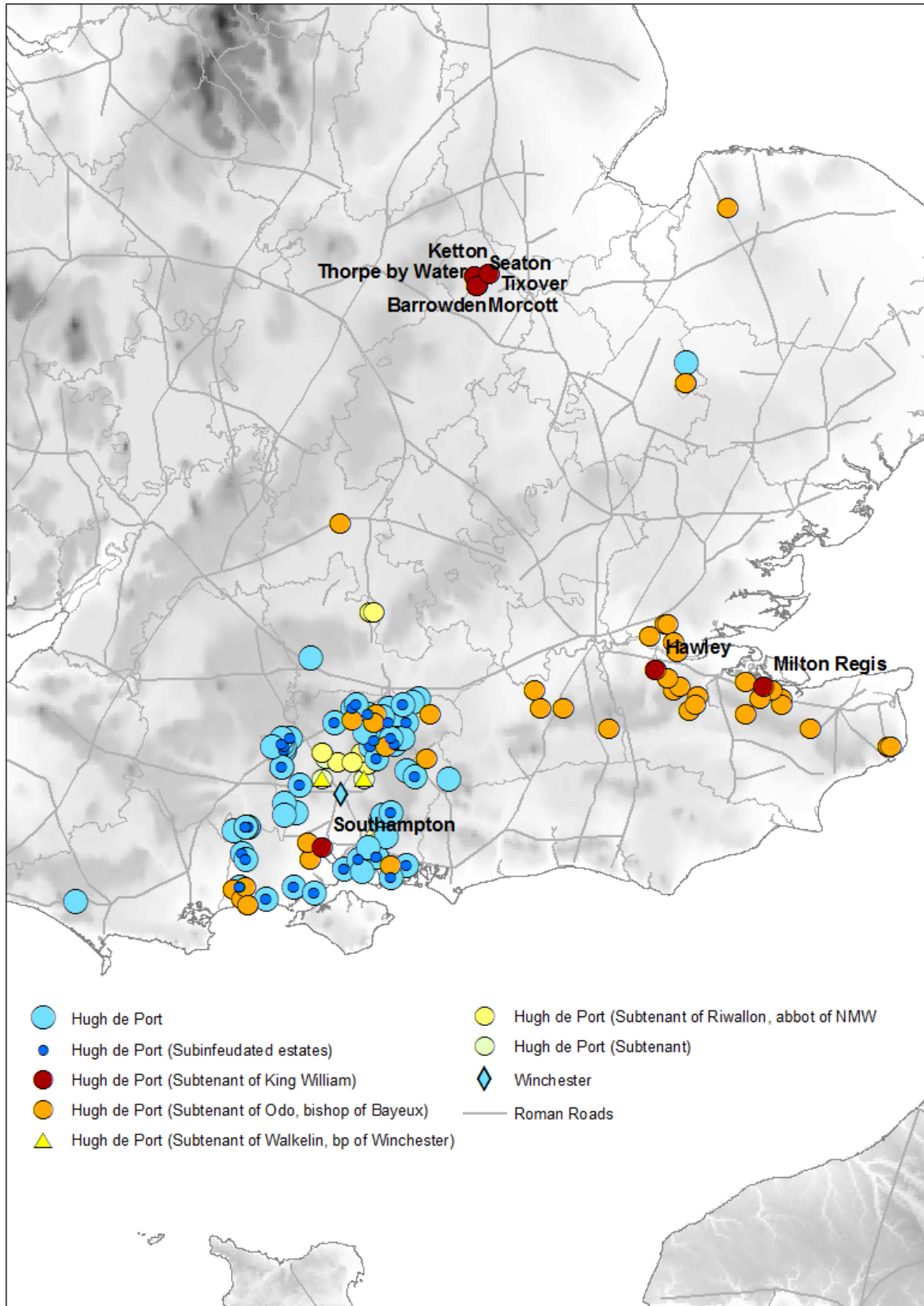


Figure 22. Estates attributed to Hugh de Port in Domesday (1086)

There is some late and problematic evidence that Hugh de Port was in England before 1066. Dugdale cites an ‘old manuscript’ (*Ex veteri MS in Bibl. Cottoniana, fol. 30*) which described grants by Hugh de Port *comes* of ten hides at Bedhampton, and a grant by his steward (*dapifer*) Robert of sixteen hides at *Fidlewerth*, to the New Minster, Winchester ‘with the permission of the holy King Edward’ (*permissione et licentia sancti Edwardi regis*).<sup>396</sup> Rudborne was clearly using the same manuscript and refers to these grants in his mid-fifteenth-century account.<sup>397</sup> I have been unable to trace this manuscript. It was probably twelfth-century or later because Edward the Confessor was not canonised until 1161. Hugh is described erroneously as ‘earl’ rather than ‘sheriff’.

The Domesday account is also at odds with the manuscript. It records the New Minster holding ten hides at Bedhampton (Hampshire) but it had been loaned to Alsige of Hatch TRE.<sup>398</sup> If *Fidlewerth* is Chaddleworth (Berkshire), Oda of Winchester had given sixteen hides there to Robert, Hugh de Port’s steward, although it is not clear when this took place.<sup>399</sup> Two unnamed ‘free men’ had held Chaddleworth from Countess Gytha and Earl Gyrth, as two manors, before 1066. It is possible they were Hugh and Oda, but Domesday would almost certainly have identified such important men by name. Furthermore, in 1086 the men of the shire did not know how the New Minster came to be holding Chaddleworth.<sup>400</sup> If the New Minster had genuinely received it as a gift from the steward of the sheriff of Hampshire, the jurors should have been in no doubt. Chaddleworth descended to the d’Ivry/St Valery families, with other estates of Oda of Winchester after 1086, and any claim by the New Minster must have been overturned.

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<sup>396</sup> W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ii, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel (London, 1819), 435-436 (I am grateful to Berenice Wilson for this reference); see also C. P. Lewis, ‘The French in England Before the Norman Conquest’, *ANS* 17 (Woodbridge, 1995), 123-44, at 124.

<sup>397</sup> Thomas Rudborne’s *Historia Major Wintoniensis* in *Anglia Sacra*, ed. H. Wharton (London, 1691), I, 248-9: <https://archive.org/stream/angliaSacra/WhartonAngliaSacra1#page/n313/mosw/2up>, accessed 28 June 2018.

<sup>398</sup> GDB 43a (Hampshire: 6,4).

<sup>399</sup> GDB 59d (Berkshire: 10,1).

<sup>400</sup> Chaddleworth had been one of Wulfric Cufing’s estates, many of which were bequeathed to various churches, and the New Minster may have had a claim if this is missing loanland.

Furthermore, Hugh de Port is not readily identifiable as any of the people named Hugh in Domesday Book or *Winton Domesday* TRE. The most likely candidate would be Hugh the chamberlain who held three estates before 1066. One estate at Tackley (Oxfordshire) was half a mile from Nethercott, held by Hugh de Port in 1086, but this is probably just coincidence. Accordingly, the claims in the lost manuscript are highly questionable and its placing of Hugh de Port in England before the Conquest somewhat dubious.

The earliest reliable record of Hugh de Port is his attestation in Normandy of a single ducal charter datable between 1060 and 1065, as a vassal of Odo, bishop of Bayeux: in this, William Duke of Normandy, at the request of Odo, confirms a grant of land at Bernières-sur-Mer.<sup>401</sup> Wace's account of the Battle of Hastings in the *Roman de Rou*, completed in 1173/4, names some of those who fought in the Norman army, stating that 'the lords of Épinay and of Port (*cil d'Espineï e cil de Port*)...killed many men that day.'<sup>402</sup> The list was rejected as unreliable and largely fictitious by Round and Douglas, but Elisabeth van Houts has reviewed Wace's list and believes there is enough detail to suggest that it 'is neither arbitrarily put together nor fictitious.'<sup>403</sup> Wace adds that Odo of Bayeux provided forty ships for the Hastings campaign (the 'ship list' of William the Conqueror specified one hundred). Either way, it is likely that Odo provided a large number of ships for the venture.<sup>404</sup> Van Houts notes that all the men on the ship list (including Odo of Bayeux) had rights in ports on the Normandy coast or rivers and it was 'very likely that they could have been in charge of gathering and building

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<sup>401</sup> *Recueil Des Actes*, ed. Faroux, 219: the original is lost, but a thirteenth century copy exists in the Cartulary of Bayeux Cathedral, known as the *Livre Noir*; V. Bourrienne, *Antiquus Cartularius Ecclesiae Baiocensis (Livre Noir)* (Bayeux, 1903).

<sup>402</sup> G. Burgess, *The History of the Norman People: Wace's Roman de Rou* (Woodbridge, 2004), 186: lines 8329-8705, Part III.

<sup>403</sup> J. H. Round, *Feudal England: Historical Studies on the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, reset edn. (London, 1964), 258-321; D. C. Douglas, 'Companions of the Conqueror', *History* 27 (1943), 129-47; E. van Houts, 'Wace as Historian', in Burgess, *Roman de Rou*, xxxiii – lxii, at xlx and lviii.

<sup>404</sup> Van Houts, 'Ship List', 159-184, at 168; Burgess, *Roman de Rou*, 159 (6123-6180).

ships in their own harbours before the final assembly of the fleet at Dives-sur-Mer in August 1066'.<sup>405</sup> Port-en-Bessin may have been one such harbour.

The earliest record of Hugh de Port in England is a royal diploma datable to the early 1070s witnessed by Hugh de Port and his kinsmen Hubert de Port, confirming that St Augustine's Canterbury held Plumstead (Kent).<sup>406</sup> Judith Green suggests that Hugh was sheriff of Kent because he obtained many of the estates of Osweard, the pre-Conquest sheriff, and was associated with the royal manors of Hawley and Milton Regis.<sup>407</sup> Hugh de Port is not addressed as sheriff of Kent in any surviving charter, however, and Osweard's estates had passed to Odo of Bayeux rather than Hugh de Port.<sup>408</sup> It is more likely that Hugh de Port came to England as one of Odo's vassals: Hugh held land in Hampshire and Surrey from Odo, and sixteen estates in Kent, including those previously held by Osweard.<sup>409</sup>

Hugh may have operated in Hampshire in an official capacity before the death of William fitzOsbern in February 1071. When Hugh recovered the royal manor of Eling, Earl William was holding two outliers on the Isle of Wight (*quando hugo de port recepit tunc defuerunt illæ .II<sup>e</sup>. quæ erant in insula. Willelmus comes eas tenebat*).<sup>410</sup> The sheriffs (*sciregerefan*) Hugh de Port and Edward [of Salisbury] are addressed in a writ of William the Conqueror confirming that St Peter's of Winchester (the Old Minster) and Walkelin, bishop of Winchester, were entitled to the same rights enjoyed by Bishop Ælfwine in King Edward's day.<sup>411</sup> The Old English *scirgerefan* is plural and, because Edward is known to have been sheriff of Wiltshire, there seems little doubt that this document addressed Hugh as sheriff of Hampshire. It is an

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<sup>405</sup> Van Houts, 'Ship List', 170.

<sup>406</sup> D. Bates, *RRAN*, no. 82.

<sup>407</sup> Green, *Aristocracy*, 60-61; GDB 2a (Kent: 1,1; 1,3); *PASE Domesday*, 'Osweard 19, 'of Norton' (provisional).

<sup>408</sup> Morris, *English Sheriff*, 42.

<sup>409</sup> GDB 6a-9b, 10d- 11a (Kent: 5,1; 5,7; 5,45-7; 5,70; 5,115-118; 5,143; 5,153; 5,174; 5,187).

<sup>410</sup> GDB 38d (Hampshire: 1,27).

<sup>411</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, nos. 339, 340.

early writ in Old English and may date from 30 May 1070 when Walkelin was consecrated bishop of Winchester.

Other entries in Domesday are consistent with Hugh having shrieval authority in the shire. In addition to receiving Eling, which provided half a day's farm before 1066, Hugh also recovered or received (*recepit*) the royal manor of Holdenhurst.<sup>412</sup> At Mottisfont, held by Thomas, archbishop of York, Cave the reeve had taken away land without the knowledge of Hugh de Port (*hoc fecit Caua prepositus nesciente Hugone de port*).<sup>413</sup> William I restored the land at Mottisfont to Archbishop Thomas in a writ addressed to Walkelin, Hugh de Port, and all his faithful men of Hampshire, witnessed by the sheriff's men (*per homines de vicecomitatu*).<sup>414</sup> At Compton (Hampshire), Ealdred, brother of Oda of Winchester, had established his right to one virgate of land before the queen, with Hugh de Port and the men of Somborne hundred as witnesses.<sup>415</sup> There is also a reference at Ashe to half a hide missing 'because of Hugh the sheriff'.<sup>416</sup> Although Domesday Book does not state categorically that Hugh de Port was sheriff of Hampshire, the context makes it clear that he was acting in this capacity.

Hugh de Port's landed wealth as sheriff of Hampshire was far greater than that of Eadsige, his pre-Conquest counterpart. Like Eadsige, Hugh de Port had fiscal and judicial responsibilities within the shire for the king. Several of Hugh's estates in Hampshire were associated with royal manors in 1086 which he may have farmed from the king. Although Hugh had no estates himself on the Isle of Wight, 'the sheriff' had received Sandford and Week which were at farm, paying £26 weighed (*ad pensum*) and 100d.<sup>417</sup> Hugh is addressed in numerous writs to the shire court and Domesday describes him taking in-hand the royal manors.

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<sup>412</sup> GDB 38d (Hampshire: 1,29).

<sup>413</sup> GDB 42ab (Hampshire: 4,1).

<sup>414</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 352.

<sup>415</sup> GDB 48d (Hampshire: 53,2); see pp. 214-5.

<sup>416</sup> GDB 47b (Hampshire: 30,1).

<sup>417</sup> GDB 39c (Hampshire: 1W,3).

As Morris observes, the conquest period was the ‘the golden age of the baronial shrievalty’ with almost all the English sheriffs who survived the Conquest replaced in the early 1070s by Norman sheriffs.<sup>418</sup> In Hampshire, the collapse of the earldom of Wessex in 1066, and the death of William fitzOsbern in 1071, left the way clear for Hugh de Port to become the leading royal official and wealthiest secular landholder in the shire after the king.

Charters from the 1080s indicate that Hugh de Port travelled with the royal court. In 1085 he was in Normandy with William I for the determination of a suit between Gulbert de Alfait and the abbey of Fécamp.<sup>419</sup> William returned to England with an army from France to meet the threat of a Danish invasion in 1085. By 1086 Hugh was also back in England, where he witnessed a claim by William de Briouze in respect of the possessions of the abbey of Fécamp.<sup>420</sup> Hugh was present at the inquisitorial stage of the Domesday survey before the commissioners. ‘Hugh himself’ (*ipse Hugo*) claimed three messuages, and land for his manor of Houghton from Thurstin the Chamberlain and the whole hundred bore witness that Hugh’s predecessors had been seised of it TRE.<sup>421</sup>

There are several indicators towards the end of the Conqueror’s reign that Hugh de Port had become one of the king’s most trusted officials. It is possible that Hugh was one of the Domesday commissioners in a different circuit to Hampshire. His lands were largely confined to Hampshire making him an ideal candidate to send into other shires. He was certainly active in Circuit Six for the king. He was ordered to give seisin to Westminster Abbey of the tithe of Rutland in a writ datable between 1086 and 1087, shortly after the Domesday survey, although Hugh had no estates in the shire.<sup>422</sup> Hugh also farmed Queen Edith’s lands in neighbouring Northamptonshire for the king (38 hides, valued at £20) and may have undertaken this task

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<sup>418</sup> Morris, *English Sheriff*, 41, 44.

<sup>419</sup> *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol 1, 918-1206*, ed. J. H. Round (London, 1899), 38-39, no. 116.

<sup>420</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 146.

<sup>421</sup> GDB 45b (Hampshire: 23,16).

<sup>422</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 334.

after her death in 1075.<sup>423</sup> Green suggests Hugh was sheriff of Nottinghamshire as well as Hampshire.<sup>424</sup> This is unlikely because, as Dennis notes, Hugh de Port held no lands in Nottinghamshire or Derbyshire in Domesday Book, and Hugh fitzBaldric was sheriff there in 1086.<sup>425</sup> Hugh continued to serve during the reign of William Rufus. A writ, witnessed by Hugh de Port, post-dating the Domesday survey, transferred churches in Rutland to Westminster abbey.<sup>426</sup> In 1088, Hugh travelled with Walkelin, bishop of Winchester, and Geoffrey de Trailly, ‘to order William of St Calais, bishop of Durham, to send his monk Geoffrey to answer certain charges in the king’s court’.<sup>427</sup> Subsequently, Hugh was ‘one of the men put in charge of the bishop’s sequestered estates’.<sup>428</sup>

Richard Dennis observes that Hugh’s fief seemed to be ‘composed of the ‘leftovers’’ from a variety of pre-Conquest holders after the initial distribution of land, and that Hugh did not gain a ‘compact geographical’ fief.<sup>429</sup> Green takes a contrary view, arguing that Hugh de Port ‘built up a substantial estate concentrated in Basingstoke hundred, where he acquired almost all the non-royal and non-ecclesiastical land’.<sup>430</sup> The royal manor at Basingstoke was one of three linked night’s farm estates in the north of Hampshire. Hugh was granted substantial landholding in this hundred. Initially, the ten-hide estate at Sherborne St John may have been his chief manor,<sup>431</sup> but Hugh may have been commissioned to build a castle at neighbouring Basing in the late eleventh century. Basing became the *caput* of Hugh’s barony.<sup>432</sup> Hugh held half of the manors in the hundred as tenant-in-chief or subtenant and some of his most valuable

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<sup>423</sup> GDB 219b (Northamptonshire: 1,1-3).

<sup>424</sup> Green, ‘Sheriffs’, 134-135; *English Sheriffs*, 67.

<sup>425</sup> Dennis, *Domesday Hampshire*, 152 n. 8.

<sup>426</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 336.

<sup>427</sup> G. E. Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage*, XI (London, 1949), 316; *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia, Vol. I: Historiae Ecclesiae Dunhelmensis*, ed. T. Arnold (Cambridge, 1882), 193-4.

<sup>428</sup> Green, ‘Sheriffs’, 135.

<sup>429</sup> Dennis, *Domesday Hampshire*, 155.

<sup>430</sup> Green, *Aristocracy*, 60.

<sup>431</sup> It is demarcated by the Roman numerals XXIII, indicating the start of Hugh’s fief (the South Charford dispute at the foot of folio 44v appears to be a later addition): see Dennis, *Domesday Hampshire*, 155, note 2.

<sup>432</sup> M. Osborne, *Defending Hampshire: The Military Landscape from Prehistory to the Present* (Stroud, 2011), 27-28.

estates were there: Basing (£16), Sherborne St John (£15), and Bramley (£12). The remaining high-value estate at Mapledurwell (£13) was held by Hugh's kinsman, Hubert de Port.

It is notable that Hugh did not receive any estates on the Isle of Wight, even after Earl William's death and Earl Roger's rebellion. Nevertheless, Hugh must have been a key part of the defence of the shire following fitzOsbern's death. The number of estates which Hugh held around Chichester, Langstone, and Portsmouth Harbours, and along the Rivers Meon and Avon gave Hugh control over localities vulnerable to seaborne attack. Hugh gained greater proximity to Winchester as a subtenant of the bishopric and New Minsters. Accordingly, there may have been a rationale behind the distribution of many of the estates which Hugh received.

The complexities of managing cross-channel landholdings may have influenced decisions made by Hugh and his kinsman (possibly his brother) Hubert de Port during the Conquest. Like Hugh, Hubert witnessed charters in both England and Normandy for William I. The earliest royal diploma is from England, datable between 1070 to 1075, in which Odo of Bayeux renounced his claim to Plumstead (Kent) and William restored the estate to the abbey of St Augustine's Canterbury.<sup>433</sup> Both Hugh and Hubert de Port witnessed this diploma. Domesday records that Hubert was a deliverer of land for William I in Essex and Sussex, authorising transfers of land and adjudicating land disputes during the Conquest.<sup>434</sup> Hubert may have continued to act in this capacity after the 1075 revolt. Walter de Dol had been seized of a priest at Ashfield (Suffolk) until Walter lost his lands in 1075 for his part in the rebellion, with Walter's part of Ashfield transferred with the priest to Hugh, earl of Chester.<sup>435</sup> Hubert de Port, however, had given seisin of all free men on the Ashfield estates to Odo of Bayeux, perhaps after the revolt. Domesday adds that King William subsequently sent a writ to Norman, sheriff

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<sup>433</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 82.

<sup>434</sup> LDB 66v (Essex: 32,29)

<sup>435</sup> LDB 377 (Suffolk: 16,34); IE 146 [14]; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 54; Green, *Aristocracy*, 49, 152.

of Suffolk,<sup>436</sup> transferring all the free men from Odo to Ralph de Savigny. Understandably, Norman was confused and did not know, in 1086, who should be seised of the priest at Ashfield.

Hubert de Port did not hold any estates in East Anglia in 1086, retaining only Mapledurwell in Hampshire, which he held in demesne. These circumstances suggest Hubert kept a foothold in Hampshire but returned to Normandy perhaps to manage family lands. Hubert was in Normandy in September 1077, witnessing a charter in which William I confirmed and attested the grant of the burgus of Trun and the wood at Auge to the abbey of Saint-Etienne, Caen.<sup>437</sup> In 1083, William I determined a dispute between the nuns of the abbey of La Trinité, Caen and the monks of Saint-Etienne, Caen which Hubert also witnessed.<sup>438</sup> If Hubert had to return to Normandy, his descendants continued to thrive in England. Adam de Port may have been Hubert's son and Round distinguishes the Mapledurwell descendants of Hubert from the Basing descendants of Hugh (de Port/St John descent).<sup>439</sup>

Very little information can be gleaned about origins of the first generation of Norman sub-tenants holding from Hugh de Port in 1086, most of whom are identified only by their first name.<sup>440</sup> Later generations of tenants were drawn from estates around Port-en-Bessin. By the late twelfth/early thirteenth century, for example, the Scures family were holding Nately and Widley (Cosham), Woodgarston (Sherborne), and Wickham.<sup>441</sup> All these estates had been held by Hugh de Port in 1086 and had passed to his descendants. The Scures may have been introduced to Hampshire by Hugh's son, Henry de Port; Henry granted land to St-Vigor of Cerisy during the reign of Henry I (1100-1135) and the charter was witnessed by Roger de

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<sup>436</sup> Green, *English Sheriffs*, 76.

<sup>437</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 46.

<sup>438</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 64.

<sup>439</sup> J. H. Round, 'The Families of St John and of Port', *Genealogist*, NS 16 (1900), 1-13;

'The Ports of Basing and their priory', *Genealogist*, NS 18 (1902), 137-9.

Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 257; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants*, 645-6.

<sup>440</sup> Hugh's sub-tenants in Hampshire included William de Chernet, Ansketel, Walter, Herlebold, Germanus, Heldred, Jocelyn, Fatherling, Tesselin, Ralph, Robert, Geoffrey, Hugh, and Hugh of St Quentin

<sup>441</sup> Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, 79; *VCH Hampshire*, iv, 153; iii, 171-172.

Scures.<sup>442</sup> Henry de Port enfeoffed Matthew de Scures at Woodgarton.<sup>443</sup> With their connection to the de Ports, it is very likely that the family were more correctly named d'Escures and came from Escures, one kilometre to the south of Port-en-Bessin on the road to Bayeux.<sup>444</sup> The Le Fresnes of Mapledurwell, connected to the Ferté-Fresnel family of Russy (Calvados, arr. Bayeux, cant. Trévières), held four fees of Adam de Port of the old feoffment. Le Fresne is five kilometres from Port-en-Bessin.<sup>445</sup>

At the end of his life, Hugh de Port became a monk at St Peter's abbey, Gloucester. He gave the estate of Littleton, Hampshire, to the abbey on his deathbed in 1096.<sup>446</sup> The cartulary of Gloucester Abbey describes him as *vicarius* of Winchester:

Anno Domini millesimo nonagesimo sexton, Hugo de Portu factus monarchus vicarius Wintoniae dedit ecclesiae Sancti Petri Gloucestriae Lyteltone in Hamptschire. Willelmo rege junior confirmante. Henricus confirmat donum patris sui.<sup>447</sup>

As Biddle observes '[t]he charge of Winchester would have been one of the sheriff's most important duties, and this explains why Hugh de Port, the sheriff, was described in 1096 as *vicarius* of Winchester at the end of his life...'.<sup>448</sup> Henry, Emma, and Adelaide de Port held properties in Winchester c. 1110, most likely inherited from their father.<sup>449</sup> During his lifetime Hugh may also have been a patron of the New Minster Winchester because he is included in the lay brethren list in the *Liber Vitae* with his wife Orence.

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<sup>442</sup> Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1013-14.

<sup>443</sup> *VCH Hampshire*, iv, 232.

<sup>444</sup> Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, 79.

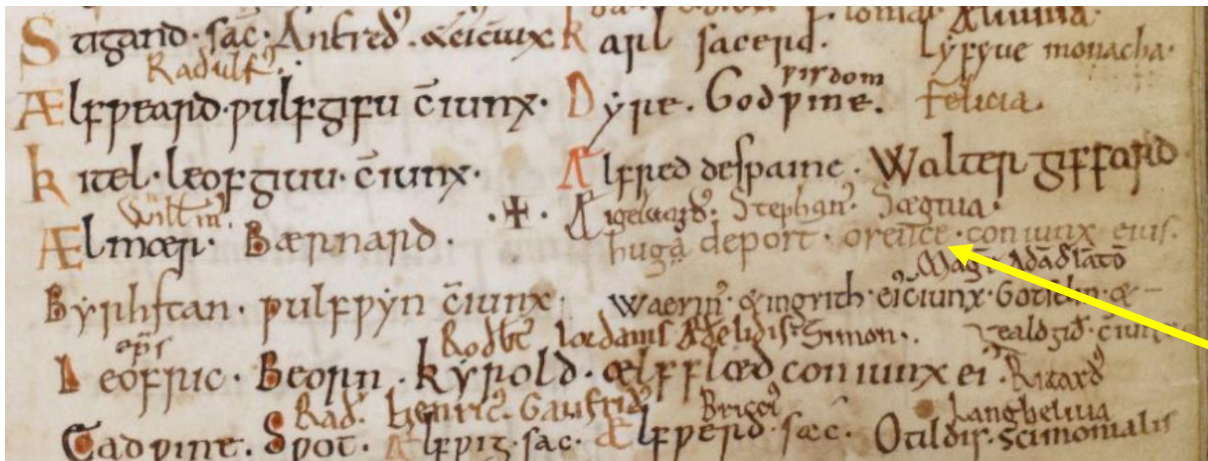
<sup>445</sup> Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, 44.

<sup>446</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 157.

<sup>447</sup> *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. W. H. Hart, 3 vols (London, 1863-7), ii, 93.

<sup>448</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 425.

<sup>449</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 40, I [39-40]; 42, I [51]; 45, I [68]; 63, I [239].



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Figure 23. Hugh de Port and Orence in the Lay Brethren List in the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester

Hugh's daughter, Emma, married William de Percy before 1086. William was granted substantial fiefs in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire but held Hambledon in Hampshire, which he acquired 'with his wife' (*cum femina sua accepit*), presumably as her dowry.<sup>450</sup> This gave them a foothold in Hampshire. Interestingly for the structure of Hampshire Domesday, William is recorded in a family group with his name following those of Hugh and Hubert de Port and before what appear to be a small group of shire officials, sheriffs, and castellans from Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Surrey (Ernulf de Hesdin, Edward of Salisbury, Robert fitzGerald, and Ralph de Mortimer).

In 1096, Hugh was succeeded as sheriff of Hampshire by Durand, who was addressed in several writs of William II.<sup>451</sup> The appointment of Durand was perhaps an interim measure because the barony of Basing and the shrievalty of Hampshire passed to Hugh's son, Henry de Port, between 1101 and 1106. One explanation for Henry's absence between 1096 and 1100 may be that he joined his brother-in-law, William de Percy, on the first crusade (1096 –

<sup>450</sup> GDB 46c (Hampshire: 25,1); Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 478.

<sup>451</sup> Davis, *Regesta*, i, no. 377; ii, 377a; 483a; *Winton Domesday*, 45, I [71].

1099).<sup>452</sup> In 1100, Henry was in England and witnessed the coronation of Henry I.<sup>453</sup> Morris comments that the ‘hereditary nature of some of the Norman shrievalties is well understood, but the known instances are not numerous’.<sup>454</sup> The de Port family is such an instance. Henry de Port enjoyed the benefits of his father’s success, inheriting both the barony in England, the shrievalty of Hampshire, and the de Port family lands in Normandy.

### **Local landholders in Hampshire before and after 1066**

#### Overview

Domesday names about 180 secular thegns whose estates lay exclusively or predominantly within Hampshire before 1066 including Cypping of Worthy, one of the wealthiest landholders in the kingdom below the rank of earl.<sup>455</sup> Cypping received £137, of which £128 was in Hampshire. Other wealthy local landholders include two Class E thegns (£40-£100): Godwine of Worthy, and Alweald ‘of Sutton Scotney’; and four Class F thegns (£20-£40): Eadric ‘of Shalfleet’, Godric Malf, Ælfric Small, and Wulfweard ‘of Crofton’. Virtually all the remaining thegns in Hampshire were local men and women with landed wealth less than £20 per annum (Appendix B).

The reach of the Domesday survey is remarkably similar in Hampshire in 1066 and 1086. In 1066, ninety-seven landholders had landed wealth between £1 and £5 and forty-four received less than £1 per annum (141 lesser landholders in total). In 1086, between sixty-seven to seventy landholders received landed wealth between £1 and £5, and sixty-one received less than £1 (about 130 lesser landholders in total).

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<sup>452</sup> Emma Cownie, ‘Percy, William de (d. 1096x9)’, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21960>, accessed 20 October 2013.

<sup>453</sup> Davis, *Regesta*, ii, no. 488 (c).

<sup>454</sup> Morris, *English Sheriff*, 50.

<sup>455</sup> These people held more than seventy-five percent of their land in the shire (by value).

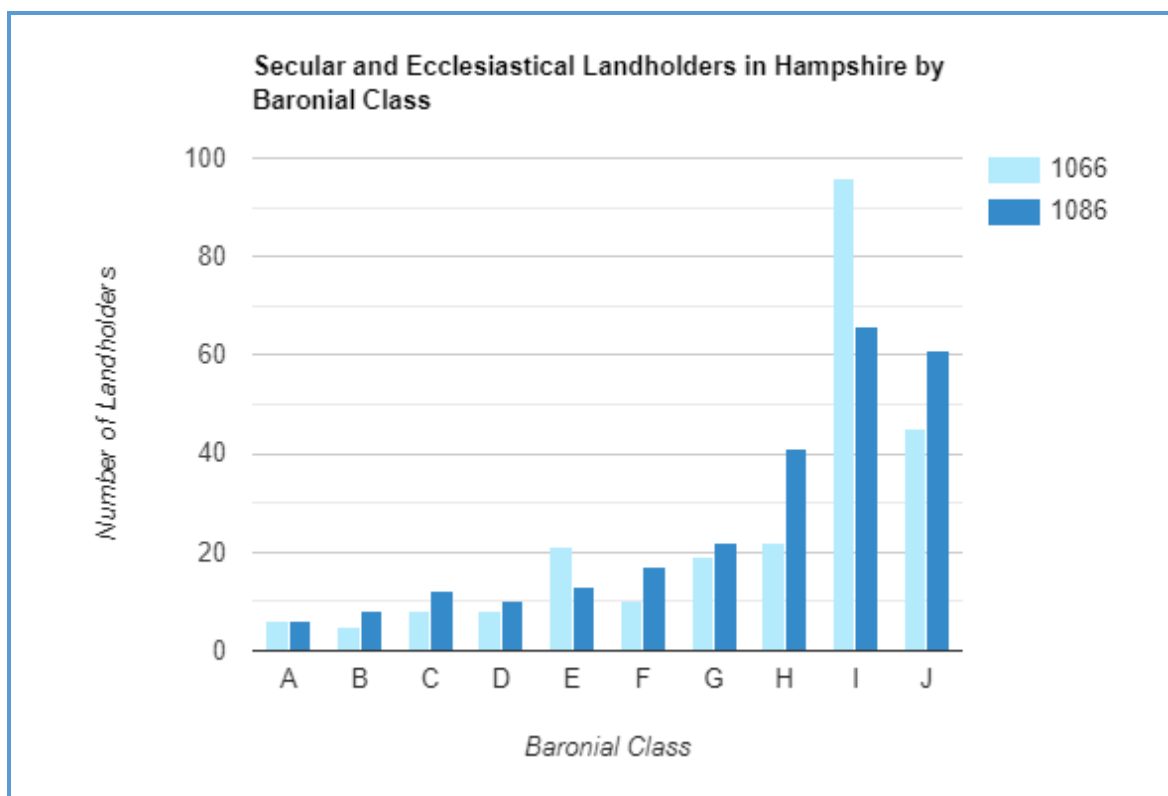


Figure 24. Bar chart showing the number of secular and ecclesiastical landholders combined in each baronial class

By 1086 the number of English landholders named in Domesday had fallen dramatically (Appendix A). Williams observes that most of the English who survived were royal officials, many of whom held on what came to be known as serjeanty tenures.<sup>456</sup> Household and fiscal officials are certainly among the survivors in Appendix A, including three chamberlains, and Henry the Treasurer who held tenements in Winchester before 1066.<sup>457</sup> Ælfric Small defended the king's right to the revenue from land in Redbridge Hundred against the Bishop of Saintes, and was among a small group of forest officials who continued to manage valuable areas of meadow in the New Forest.<sup>458</sup> Ælfric's estate at Brockenhurst passed to Edward Vunithingi (un-*nithing*?), who may have been Ælfric's son, and eventually to Edward's grandson, William

<sup>456</sup> Williams, *ENC*, 115.

<sup>457</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 59, I [184].

<sup>458</sup> GDB 50d (Hampshire: 69,53).

Spileman, in the reign of Henry II. In 1212, their descendant, another William Spileman, held Brockenhurst by serjeanty of 'finding litter for the king's bed and forage for his horse when he came to hunt at Brockenhurst'.<sup>459</sup> Godric Malf's descendants held Ivez in the New Forest on the same terms.<sup>460</sup> There is a reasonable chance that these obligations stem from the Conqueror's reign. There is a stronger case for continuity at East Worldham which was held by Geoffrey the Marshal in 1086 and passed to his descendants with the marshalcy.<sup>461</sup>

About eighty-five pre-Conquest landholders or their descendants are recorded by Domesday as continuing to hold land. Many others, however, had been dispossessed (they may have died, gone into exile, or failed to redeem their estates) or been demoted, their status as landholders so reduced that they were no longer captured in the survey.<sup>462</sup> For example, at Chineham (Hampshire) Agemund had held freely TRE. Agemund continued to hold Chineham in 1086 but in dependent tenure from Hugh de Port who now held the estate in chief.<sup>463</sup> In the often-cited entry for Marsh Gibbon (Buckinghamshire), the Domesday scribe records Æthelric's despair that he had possessed four hides before the Conquest, but 'now he holds it at farm from William [fitzAnsculf] in heaviness and misery' (*sed modo tenet ad firmam de Willelmo graviter et miserabiliter*).<sup>464</sup> It is important to note that Domesday does not record subtenants and sub-subtenants systematically. A great number of pre-Conquest landholders may have survived, unrecorded by Domesday, as subtenants and sub-subtenants where the king's men had been imposed as their new lords.<sup>465</sup> The tables show how thorough and far-reaching the Conquest had been in Hampshire.

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<sup>459</sup> *VCH Hampshire*, iv, 627, citing *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, 3 vols (London, 1896), ii, 459.

<sup>460</sup> *VCH Hampshire*, iv, 635.

<sup>461</sup> J. H. Round, *The King's Serjeants and Officers of the State, with Their Coronation Services* (London, 1911), 13-14, 90.

<sup>462</sup> See also Baxter and Lewis, 'Landed Society', 386.

<sup>463</sup> GDB 45s (Hampshire: 23,10).

<sup>464</sup> GDB 148d (Buckinghamshire: 17,16).

<sup>465</sup> Williams, *ENC*, 75-125; H. Thomas, 'The Significance and Fate of the Native English Landholders of 1086', *EHR* 118 (2003), 303-333, at 303; C. P. Lewis, 'The Domesday Jurors', *Haskins Society Journal* 5 (1993), 17-44.

This section draws on two main case studies to explore the experience of local thegns during the Conquest. Both Oda of Winchester and Cypping of Worthy lost or relinquished their pre-Conquest estates. Yet Oda of Winchester re-established his position in Hampshire. Cypping's experience is harder to trace over the twenty-year period, but it is possible that he survived with a reasonable amount of land.

#### Oda of Winchester

Oda of Winchester was one of the most successful survivors of the Conquest in Hampshire.<sup>466</sup> Before 1066, he held estates worth £25 *in alodium* from King Edward.<sup>467</sup> All these were taken from him after 1066. However, the Conqueror granted Oda eleven new estates in Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, and Sussex (together valued at £49.75) as tenant-in-chief, with a further estate at Dummer (valued at £5) sublet to Hunger.<sup>468</sup> Oda may have received a further £13 from his Winchester tenements giving him an annual income of nearly £65 from his property. Oda more than doubled his landed wealth under the new regime.

The earliest reference to Oda is in the TRE survey of Winchester (*c.* 1057), embedded in the first survey of Winchester commissioned by Henry I in *c.* 1110 in which Oda is described as 'Odo of Sparkford'.<sup>469</sup> In addition to his tenements in Winchester, Domesday records Oda holding land from King Edward, exempt from dues, in Southampton.<sup>470</sup> Indeed, Oda was shown a high degree of royal favour. In Hampshire, Oda held an estate near the royal manor in Somborne Hundred. He also held ten hides at Chawton, three miles from the royal manor at Neatham.<sup>471</sup> King Edward put it for service and geld at only 4.25 hides. Oda held estates in

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<sup>466</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Oda 18' (provisional).

<sup>467</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Oda 18'; 'Oda 25' (provisional).

<sup>468</sup> GDB 49d (69,7). *PASE Domesday*, 'Hunger 1' may be the same man as 'Hundger 1' (fitzOdin) whose father, Odin of Windsor, held three hides from Walkelin at Farnborough, Hampshire. If so, Hundger also held 1.25 hides in Romsey from Romsey abbey, and Broadwindsor, Dorset; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 276.

<sup>469</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 46, I [77].

<sup>470</sup> GDB 52a (Hampshire: S2)

<sup>471</sup> GDB 45c (Hampshire: 23,25).

East Medine (Isle of Wight), receiving £4 from the royal farm at Ladone and Bathingborne.<sup>472</sup> Outside of Hampshire, he held part of the royal manor at Compton (Berkshire), and Earls court (Wiltshire) with a garden in Cricklade.<sup>473</sup> Exon Domesday identifies Oda, who held (and gave his name to) two ploughlands assessed at half a hide at *Odenham*, close to the royal *feorm* of Wimborne, as Oda the treasurer (*Odo thesaurarius*).<sup>474</sup> Ann Williams contends that this is also Oda of Winchester,<sup>475</sup> and, as a fiscal officer for Edward the Confessor, it would account for Oda's favoured status, close association with royal estates, and his prominence in Winchester.

In Winchester, Oda of Sparkford (*de Esperchefort*) held the second rent-paying tenement (*terra chensualium*) at the western end of the High Street, on the southern side of the street TRE. Bernard of St Valéry received £12 in rent from this tenement in *c.* 1110 which was one of the highest, if not the highest, in the city.<sup>476</sup> Oda also held four tenements in *Bredenestret* (Staple Gardens).<sup>477</sup> Both the Winchester properties of Oda of Sparkford, and many of Oda of Winchester's rural estates in Domesday in 1086 were subsequently taken into the barony of St Valéry, leaving little doubt that they had belonged to the same man.<sup>478</sup>

The Sparkford toponym is significant. Sparkford lay to the south of Winchester just outside the city walls. Oda is identified in the introductory list at the beginning of Sussex Domesday as Oda of Winchester (*Odo de Wincestre*).<sup>479</sup> Accordingly, it is Oda of Winchester who held the six hide estate at Woolbeding in 1086.<sup>480</sup> Woolbeding continued to be held by the

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<sup>472</sup> GDB 39c, 48d (Hampshire: 1W,1-2; 52,1).

<sup>473</sup> GDB 58c (Berkshire: 6,1); 73c (Wiltshire: 66,6).

<sup>474</sup> GDB 75c (Dorset, 1,21) and note; Exon 30b1.

<sup>475</sup> Williams, *ENC*, 115-16. William's other identifications are more problematic: the small Devon estates (GDB 118b (Devon: 52,22-25) held by Oda are followed by several estates held by Ealdred. It is possible that this is Oda of Winchester and his brother. However, these estates are remote from Oda of Winchester's other manors and did not follow the St Valéry pattern of descent. At present the estates are attributed to 'Oda 20, son of Eadric' in *PASE Domesday*; the Phillimore notes are probably correct in identifying the steward at Micheldever (GDB 42cd (Hampshire: 6,16) as Eudo fitzHubert, son of Hubert de Ria, steward of the king's household.

<sup>476</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 10, 16-17, 46, I [77].

<sup>477</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 55, I [143].

<sup>478</sup> Dummer, Sutton Scotney, Dibden, and Hinton Waldrist passed to the St Valéry family: *VCH Hampshire*, iii, 453-461, 357-360; iv, 655-658.

<sup>479</sup> GDB 16a.

<sup>480</sup> GDB 29c (Sussex: 14,1).

family of de Wolbedinge at the end of the twelfth century on a serjeanty of ‘being ensign (*gunfanarius*) of Spicheforde’, or of carrying the ensign in Hampshire (*deferendum gunfanum in Sudhamtesir*) ‘to Sparkeford by Winchester’.<sup>481</sup> In 1219, on the death of Roger de Wolbeding, the serjeanty was valued at 10 marks and defined as ‘carrying the infantry colours (*vexillum peditum*) in the king’s army’.<sup>482</sup>

There is a strong argument that this military obligation originated with Oda of Winchester during the Conquest. In *Winton Domesday*, Oda of Sparkford’s toponym in the TRE survey may reflect that he held the estate in an official capacity. The serjeanty most likely originated with Oda after 1066 when he held both Sparkford and Woolbeding; Woolbeding did not descend to the St Valéry family and there is no apparent connection between the holders of the estates after Oda’s death. Woolbeding lies south of Tote Hill (possibly a look-out point, from OE *totian* ‘to peep out, protrude’ or *totærn* ‘watch tower’), in the South Downs on the River Rother.<sup>483</sup> Woolbeding was held by Oda directly from the king (*de rege*), as was the neighbouring estate of Iping to the west, held in chief by Oda’s brother, Ealdred.<sup>484</sup> Both estates were listed separately at the end of the Sussex folios and were unique in being placed outside the rapes, in this case outside Earl Roger’s rape.

If Oda had an obligation to raise a militia in Sussex, and to bring them from the Rother valley to Winchester, Sparkford would have been a good mustering place for an army outside the walls of Winchester. It was a large estate, at the current location of St Cross, and lay between the Roman road that ran from the south gate of Winchester towards Southampton and the River Itchen.<sup>485</sup> The name ‘Sparkford’ indicates a brushwood ford or causeway, from the

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<sup>481</sup> *A History of the County of Sussex, Volume 4, The Rape of Chichester*, ed. L. F. Salzman (London, 1953), 84-87, citing *The Book of Fees Commonly Called Testa de Nevill, Part 1*, ed. H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London, 1920), 71, 1198/1293. I am grateful to Chris Lewis for drawing my attention to these references, and to their significance.

<sup>482</sup> *VCH Sussex*, iv, 84-87.

<sup>483</sup> Ekwall, *Place-Names*, 478; *VCH Sussex*, iv, 84-7.

<sup>484</sup> GDB 29c (Sussex: 14,1-2).

<sup>485</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 256-257; 259, Fig. 5.

Old English *spearca* ford, designating a crossing-point of the river below Winchester.<sup>486</sup> Oda is not listed among the Old Minster tenants on the Chilcomb estate suggesting Sparkford was a separate holding, although Sparkford was assessed with Compton at a later date.<sup>487</sup> Furthermore, the church of St Faith (Sparkford) was ‘associated more with the city than with Chilcomb for, with the church of St Giles [and Winnall], they appear among the Winchester churches confirmed by Alexander III to the cathedral priory in 1172’. Indeed, ‘these churches were distinct from the chapels within the Chilcomb estate which were confirmed by Bishop Henry of Blois and Henry II to the priory on separate occasions’.<sup>488</sup>

Oda acquired the estates of several thegns during the Conquest. The proximity of Landford (Wiltshire) and Dibden (Hampshire) suggests he succeeded his unnamed father at Landford.<sup>489</sup> Oda acquired Fulki’s estates at Norton St Valery (Hampshire) and at Woolbeding (Sussex),<sup>490</sup> and Wulfwynn of Creslow’s estate at Hinton Waldrist (Berkshire).<sup>491</sup> He may have been among the seventy-six men who continued to hold property in Southampton. It is indicative of Oda’s status that several of Oda’s rural estates possessed urban tenements in 1086. Calcutt (Wiltshire) had three burgesses in Cricklade,<sup>492</sup> while Dummer and Norton had sites in Winchester. Dummer, which lay between Basingstoke and Winchester,<sup>493</sup> had three *hagae* paying 2s. One may have been the tenement on the High Street with the guildhall known as the *Chenictahalla* (possibly the main mercantile hall of the city) because this tenement was held by Henry of Dummer and Cypping (the Rich?) in c. 1110.<sup>494</sup> The second was probably the tenement held by Henry of Dummer and Cypping the Rich in c. 1110, outside the West Gate

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<sup>486</sup> Watts, *Place Names* (Cambridge, 2010), 564.

<sup>487</sup> For a contrary view see *VCH Hampshire*, iii, 400-402.

<sup>488</sup> Biddle and Keene, ‘Winchester in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries’, in *Winton Domesday*, 257-258.

<sup>489</sup> GDB 51c (Hampshire: NF9,2); 74b (Wiltshire: 67,92).

<sup>490</sup> GDB 29c (Sussex: 14,1); 49d (Hampshire: 69,2).

<sup>491</sup> GDB 63c (Berkshire: 65,1-3).

<sup>492</sup> GDB 73c (Wiltshire: 67,1).

<sup>493</sup> GDB 49d (Hampshire: 69,7).

<sup>494</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 34, I [10]: it may be the same building known as Chapman’s hall in the second survey, 77, II [69] n. 1.

among a thriving community of moneyers and merchants.<sup>495</sup> The third may have been the tenement held by Henry of Dummer in *Bredenestret* (Staple Gardens).<sup>496</sup> Norton [St Valery] had five *hagae* in Winchester, which may have included Oda's High Street and Staple Gardens tenements.

Oda's status is also shown by a 1070 writ of William the Conqueror confirming Walkelin's rights as bishop of Winchester. Oda's name follows those of Hugh de Port and Edward of Salisbury as the leading thegn in the shire after the sheriffs of Hampshire and Wiltshire.<sup>497</sup> Oda is just one of a handful of king's thegns to be named individually in the introductory lists of landholders in the opening folios for Wiltshire, Berkshire, Sussex, and Hampshire Domesday (both the list for the main part of the shire and, with Hugh fitzOsmund, for the New Forest section).<sup>498</sup> The *taini regis* recognized by name all appear to be leading royal officials.

Oda is also one of the few named participants in the Domesday Inquest in Hampshire. He claimed ½ hide at Boarhunt from Earl Roger's manor because 'it does not belong there' (*non pertinet ibi*).<sup>499</sup> If Oda was claiming this for himself, it would have given him an estate on the coast just north of Portsmouth harbour. If he was claiming it on the king's behalf, Oda may have been acting in an official capacity during the survey. Hampshire Domesday also records that Oda claimed Hatch Warren for himself, valued at £4, from Geoffrey the Chamberlain which Oda received in pledge from Alsige of Hatch for £10 'by grant of King William'.<sup>500</sup>

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<sup>495</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 48, 1 [87].

<sup>496</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 54, I [137].

<sup>497</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 339.

<sup>498</sup> Hugh's inclusion among English thegns would suggest his father was Osmund 'of Eaton', and that Hugh's family were pre-Conquest landholders, contrary to Keats-Rohan's analysis in *Domesday People*, 269. See *PASE Domesday*, 'Osmund 42' (provisional).

<sup>499</sup> GDB 44c (Hampshire: 21,1).

<sup>500</sup> GDB 49b (Hampshire: 67,1): 'Oda of Winchester claims this hide stating that he had it in pledge for £10 from Alsige by grant of King William and thus lost it unjustly. But Geoffrey holds it from the king for the service which he rendered to his daughter Matilda'.

Oda of Winchester's toponym suggests he played an important role in the administration of the city, perhaps even that of port-reeve. This would put Oda among the 'patriciate', a term proposed by James Campbell describing 'a social scene in which being a moneyer,...a merchant and...say a royal chamberlain (perhaps being a royal priest) could be closely related avocations'.<sup>501</sup> Fiscal officers, including port-reeves, collected revenue for the king, taking a cut of what they collected.<sup>502</sup> Campbell has observed that 'among the considerable number of Englishmen who were important in the administration of England after the Conquest a noticeable proportion were on occasion named as *de some town*'.<sup>503</sup> Many appear to have had administrative authority. Before 1066, Æthelnoth of Canterbury was described as 'the noble Kentish governor' (*nobiles satrapa Agelnothus Cantuariensis*).<sup>504</sup> After 1066, Edward of Salisbury was sheriff of Wiltshire; and Thorkil of Warwick (or Arden) was almost certainly connected with the shrievalty of Warwickshire.<sup>505</sup>

Oda's urban landholdings in Winchester and Southampton, and his connection with the *Chenictahalla*, may suggest a fiscal and mercantile background. The name Oda/Odo/Otto is strongly associated with moneyers in Winchester from the early eleventh century onwards. Oda (Otto) the goldsmith,<sup>506</sup> who held land in Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, and Essex in 1086, had probably died before 1098. He was succeeded by his son, Oda the younger, in the hereditary office of die-cutter. Oda the younger may be Oda *monetarius* who held a tenement in Winchester in c. 1110,<sup>507</sup> and his son William also held a property on the High Street.<sup>508</sup>

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<sup>501</sup> J. Campbell, 'Some Agents and Agencies of the Late Anglo-Saxon State', *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1990), 201-18, at 209.

<sup>502</sup> Lennard, *Rural England*, 271-6; Campbell, 'Agents', 201-210.

<sup>503</sup> Campbell, 'Agents', 210.

<sup>504</sup> Williams, *WBD*, 54; JW, iii, entry for 1067. An alternative translation may be 'governor of Canterbury', see Green, *English Sheriffs*, 50.

<sup>505</sup> A. Williams, 'A Vice-Comital Family in Pre-Conquest Warwickshire', *ANS* 11 (1988), 279-92.

<sup>506</sup> *PASE Domesday*, Oda 19 (provisional).

<sup>507</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 53, I [129]. By 1148 the tenement was held by Richard, son of Oda: 97, II [380].

<sup>508</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 41, I [42]; Davis, *Regesta*, ii, xxv; no. 543: 'Aug or Sept. 1101...Notification by Henry I...that the king has restored to Otto the younger (*juveni*) the office of the mint [formally held by Otto's father] and the manor of Lisson Green'.

William son of Oda inherited his father's properties between 1116 and 1127, and was pardoned 11s of the Winchester Aid in 1130 by Henry I.<sup>509</sup> There is no indication that Oda of Winchester was Oda the goldsmith and die-cutter in Domesday Book. Their estates are so remote that it is unlikely that they were held by the same man. It is just possible that Oda of Winchester was Oda *monetarius*, as suggested by Pamela Nightingale.<sup>510</sup> As Oda of Winchester was holding estates in 1066 and Oda the moneyer was still alive in c. 1116, if it was the same man he would have been at least in his seventies. Bernard of St Valéry, however, was already holding the known tenements of Oda of Winchester in c. 1110, suggesting Oda of Winchester had died before 1116. Yet Oda of Winchester's name suggests that he was related to the Winchester moneyers in some way and, as outlined above, he may have been treasurer during Edward the Confessor's reign and a fiscal officer in Hampshire (and in Winchester in particular) for the Conqueror, alongside a military role in Sussex.

There is little doubt that Oda of Winchester (like many of the surviving English) owed his survival after 1066 to his status and influence in Winchester and the wider shire. Unlike others in the address clause of the 1070 writ, however, Oda continued to thrive within the administration until 1086. Rather than struggling to maintain his pre-Conquest position, he had new lands and new responsibilities. He may be the *Odo* recorded with his wife *Oreguen* in the lay brethren list of the New Minster *Liber Vitae*. The script appears to date from the late eleventh century. It is similar, if not identical, to the handwriting for Hugo fitzBaldri[c] who held land in Yorkshire, and Lincolnshire, but also in Hampshire, Berkshire, and Wiltshire in Domesday.<sup>511</sup>

An entry in Domesday illustrates a positive relationship (or that Oda was taking measures to ensure a positive relationship) between Oda and Hugh de Port: Oda of Winchester gave the

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<sup>509</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 41 n.42; Davis, *Regesta*, ii, no. 1524; Pipe Roll 31, Henry I, 41.

<sup>510</sup> Nightingale, 'London Moneyers', 40-41.

<sup>511</sup> BL Stowe MS 944, f. 29v, second column from the left at the top of the page.

sixteen-hide manor of Chaddleworth (Berkshire), held TRE by Countess Gytha and Earl Gyrth, and beneficially hidated at ten hides and valued at £12, to Robert, Hugh de Port's steward. By 1086, part was held by Robert d'Oilly, and Oda's part was held by the New Minster Winchester.<sup>512</sup> Evidently the abbey's claim proved unsuccessful because Chaddleworth passed to the family of St Valéry.

There is no clear relationship between Oda and his successors, the St Valéry family, although notes in *Winton Domesday* suggest the family may have taken their name from the church of St Valery outside the West Gate of Winchester.<sup>513</sup> Alternatively, Bernard may have been the son of Walter of St Valéry, who held estates in Suffolk, and at Isleworth and Hampton in Middlesex in 1086.<sup>514</sup> The Victoria County History states that Roger d'Ivry had previously been given the barony of St Valéry by his 'sworn brother' Robert d'Oilly, the son-in-law of Wigod of Wallingford.<sup>515</sup> If so, at some point Oda of Winchester's lands were added to the barony. During the reign of Henry I, the barony was granted to Rainald de St Valéry in c. 1133.<sup>516</sup>

Oda's brother Ealdred is harder to trace.<sup>517</sup> He is identified as Oda's brother in Winchester (where he held a tenement on the High Street), and in Hampshire Domesday.<sup>518</sup> Ealdred held 1½ hides at Micheldever from Abbot Riwallon which had been held by Ealdred's wife in dowery before 1066 and, like Oda, Ealdred held land in Somborne hundred TRE, which he retained in 1086.<sup>519</sup> Ealdred, however, lost other estates during the Conquest. He held a

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<sup>512</sup> GDB 59d (Berkshire: 10,1). See p. 194.

<sup>513</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 46, n. 77.

<sup>514</sup> *PASE Domesday*, Walter 22 (provisional); Rainald, son of Bernard de Sancto Walerico: Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants*, 698.

<sup>515</sup> Robert d'Oilly married Wigod's daughter Ealdgyth. For Robert see John Blair, 'D'Oilly, Robert (d. c.1092)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23719>, accessed 28 April 2017.

<sup>516</sup> Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants*, 698. See Davis, *Regesta*, ii, no. 1379 (1107 - 1122) for Bernard.

<sup>517</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Ealdred 62'; 'Ealdred 64' (provisional).

<sup>518</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 42, I [46]; GDB 42cd, 48d, 50d (Hampshire: 6,16; 53,2; 69,45).

<sup>519</sup> GDB 42cd, 50d (Hampshire: 6,16; 69,45).

virgate of land at Compton in Somborne Hundred TRE, but this had been taken from him.<sup>520</sup> Ealdred claimed that he had ‘held it on the day King Edward was alive and dead and was disseised after King William had crossed the sea’. Despite establishing his right to the land before Queen Matilda, and despite Hugh de Port and the men of the hundred supporting his claim before the Domesday commissioners, there is no record Ealdred recovered the land, and it was recorded as being held by William the archer in 1086.<sup>521</sup> Ealdred had also held Kempshott TRE and could go where he wished with the land (*et potuit ire quo voluit*). Kempshott was about three miles from Dummer which Oda received after 1066.<sup>522</sup> Kempshott, however, was transferred to Hugh de Port in 1086 giving him an additional estate in Basingstoke hundred. Despite Ealdred’s struggle to keep his lands, Ealdred, like Oda, participated at the Domesday Inquest in an official capacity, confirming with the men of Titchfield hundred that Crofton did not belong to Great Funtley.<sup>523</sup> Ealdred did not hold any estates in Titchfield hundred and is unlikely to have been a juror. He may instead have been working with the sheriff or the Domesday commissioners.

Ealdred’s wife is also recorded in Domesday. She held five hides at Kilmeston from Stigand, bishop of Winchester, TRE, presumably on a lease since she had no power to go elsewhere with the land.<sup>524</sup> She held 1½ hides at Micheldever from Ælfrwig, abbot of the New Minster, Winchester.<sup>525</sup> It is likely that she had died by 1086 because Ealdred held both these estates. Ealdred’s wife is also mentioned in the bequest of Queen Matilda to the abbey of La Trinité, Caen in which the queen left a chasuble made at Winchester by the wife of Ealdred to

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<sup>520</sup> GDB 48d (Hampshire: 53,2).

<sup>521</sup> GDB 48d (Hampshire: 53,2).

<sup>522</sup> GDB 45a (Hampshire: 23,9).

<sup>523</sup> GDB 44b (Hampshire: 18,1-2).

<sup>524</sup> GDB 40b (Hampshire: 2,7).

<sup>525</sup> GDB 42cd (Hampshire: 6,16).

the abbey.<sup>526</sup> Like many of the most survivors of the Conquest, Oda, Ealdred, and Ealdred's wife served the new regime.

### Cypping of Worthy

Cypping of Worthy was one of the thirty-six lay landholders below the rank of earl who held estates with a combined value of more than £100 TRE. Indeed, Cypping was the wealthiest lay landholder in Hampshire after the king and earls Harold and Tosti, with estates valued at nearly £140 per annum. It was unusual for a thegn of this status to have most of his lands in one shire. Cypping also held four houses in Southampton from King Edward that were exempt from customary dues, and several tenements in Winchester.<sup>527</sup> His most valuable estate was leased from the Old Minster, Winchester, at Headbourne Worthy. It lay two miles north of Winchester and had eight *hagæ* in the borough.<sup>528</sup> Cypping held Headbourne Worthy and, presumably, its Winchester properties from the monks for a period of three lives. Cypping also held estates from the monks at Chilcomb and Otterbourne, both close to Winchester, and at Swampton on the Portway from Old Sarum to Silchester (where Cypping also held an estate). Swampton reduced the distance between Cypping's estates in the north of Hampshire and Berkshire to between ten and twelve miles.

Cypping is a relatively rare name, yet three generations of people named Cypping held tenements in Winchester between *c.* 1057 and 1148 (Table 8). The identity of Cypping of Worthy's kinsmen and descendants is a matter of speculation but there may be links as follows. Cypping, son of Ælfgifu may be the same man as Cypping, son of Alwine the priest.<sup>529</sup> The tenements of both Cyppings descended to Hugh son of Cypping. This Cypping could be the

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<sup>526</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 63.

<sup>527</sup> The entry for Shirley states that Cypping held four dwelling houses or tenements (*masuræ*) in Southampton, but the summary for the borough states that he held three houses (*domi*): GDB 46d (Hampshire: 29,5); 52 (Hampshire: S2).

<sup>528</sup> GDB 46d (Hampshire: 29,3).

<sup>529</sup> For married priests see H. Freestone, 'The Priest's Wife in the Anglo-Norman Realm, 1050-1150', unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Cambridge, 2017.

grandson of Cypping of Worthy. If so, Alwine the priest could be Alwine, son of Cheping [of Worthy] who held two hides at Bray in Berkshire in 1086, previously held by Tovi TRE.<sup>530</sup>

Alweard, a kinsman of Cypping of Worthy is named in an inscription in the church at Stratfield Mortimer (Berkshire), which was held by Cypping *in paragio* with Edwin in 1066.<sup>531</sup> A tapering stone slab, now set in the wall of the church, reads ‘On 24<sup>th</sup> September Ailward son of Cypping was put in this place. Blessed by the man who prays for his soul. Toki wrote me’ (+ *VIII KL OCTB FVIT POSITUS ÆGELPARDUS FILVS KIPPINGUS IN ISTO LOCO BEATUS SIT OMO QVI ORAT PRO ANIMA EIVS + TOKI ME SCRIPSIT*).<sup>532</sup> *Winton Domesday* also records another man who may be related, Cypping the Rich, in c. 1110 who was perhaps associated with the moneyers in Winchester.<sup>533</sup>

Cypping of Worthy was amongst the witnesses to an agreement in 1053 between Stigand, bishop of Winchester and Wulfweard the White concerning ten hides at Hayling Island, Hampshire.<sup>534</sup> He may have been the Cypping of Winchester (*Kypping de Wynton*) referred to in the witness list of a forged diploma of William the Conqueror, granting land and rights in London and Kent to the abbey of Saint-Pierre au Mont-Blandin of Ghent, dated 1081.<sup>535</sup> Bates argues that the diploma is a mid-twelfth-century copy incorporating names from an eleventh-century ‘bank’ of *signa*.

Cypping of Worthy’s estates had a striking north-south alignment from the south coast, with one series bearing east through Winchester and another series to the west along the Test valley to the Hampshire Downs and on into Berkshire. This alignment is typical of several local Hampshire thegns who had estates running northwards from the coast into the Hampshire

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<sup>530</sup> GDB 63c (Berkshire: 65,6).

<sup>531</sup> The proximity of Natley and Bartley suggests this was Edwin ‘of Natley’: GDB 45a (Hampshire: 23,8); 49d (Hampshire: 69,5).

<sup>532</sup> E. Okasha, *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions* (Cambridge, 2001), 114-15.

<sup>533</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 411-12.

<sup>534</sup> S 1476; Robertson, *Charters*, no. 114.

<sup>535</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 150.

Downs, or north-west into the royal heartlands in Wiltshire (Figure 25). It is possible that many were royal officials and the alignment of their estates enabled them to intercept and interact with the peripatetic king and the itinerant elite in the north of the shire. The distribution of the estates of these local thegns may reveal something of the warp and weft of landholding society before 1066.

**Table 8. Tenements held by people named Cypping in *Winton Domesday***

Reference	Street	TRE	c. 1110	1148
54, I [141]	<i>Bredenestret</i> (Staple Gardens), land of the barons	<b>Chiping of Worthy</b>	Ralph de Mortimer	
55, I [142]	<i>Bredenestret</i> (Staple Gardens), land of the barons	<b>Chiping of Worthy</b>	Ralph de Mortimer	
48, I [87]	Outside the West Gate	Godwine son of Elmer	<b>Cheping the Rich</b> Henry of Dummer	
	Outside the West Gate			<b>Hugh son of Chepping</b> (92, II [294])
34-5, I [10]	High Street, north side, eastern end	The guild hall of the <i>cnihtas</i>	<b>Cheping son of Ælfgifu</b> Henry of Dummer Ascelin's wife Godwin Prison Godwin Green's son	
45, I [71]	Lands of the barons, High Street, north side, eastern end	Ailward of Keynsham from Abbot of NMW Elsi the priest (church) Lewin	<b>Cheping son of Ælfgifu</b> <b>Cheping of Keynsham</b> Abbot of NMW Robert son of Durand Lewin	
45, I [73]	On the High Street, north side	Abbot NMW	<b>Cheping son of Ælfgifu</b> Abbot of the NMW Roger the abbot's brother Robert the baker, son of William Hubert son of William	<b>Hugh son of Chepping</b> (72, II [23])
41, I [41-2]	High Street, south side, nr. West Gate	Alwin the priest	Robert son of Wimund William son of Odo William Brown	<b>Hugh son of Chepping</b> (84, II [172])
54, I [134]	<i>Bredenestret</i> (Staple Gardens), land of the barons		<b>Cheping son of Ælfgifu</b>	<b>Hugh son of Chepping</b> (98, II [403])
54, I, [135]	<i>Bredenestret</i> (Staple Gardens), land of the barons	<b>Alwin the father of Cheping</b>	<b>Cheping son of Alwin</b>	
64, I [241]	<i>Calpestret</i>	Alwin <b>Chepping</b>	Swein	
	<i>Snidelingastret</i> (Tower Street)			<b>Hugh son of Chepping</b> (96, II [362])

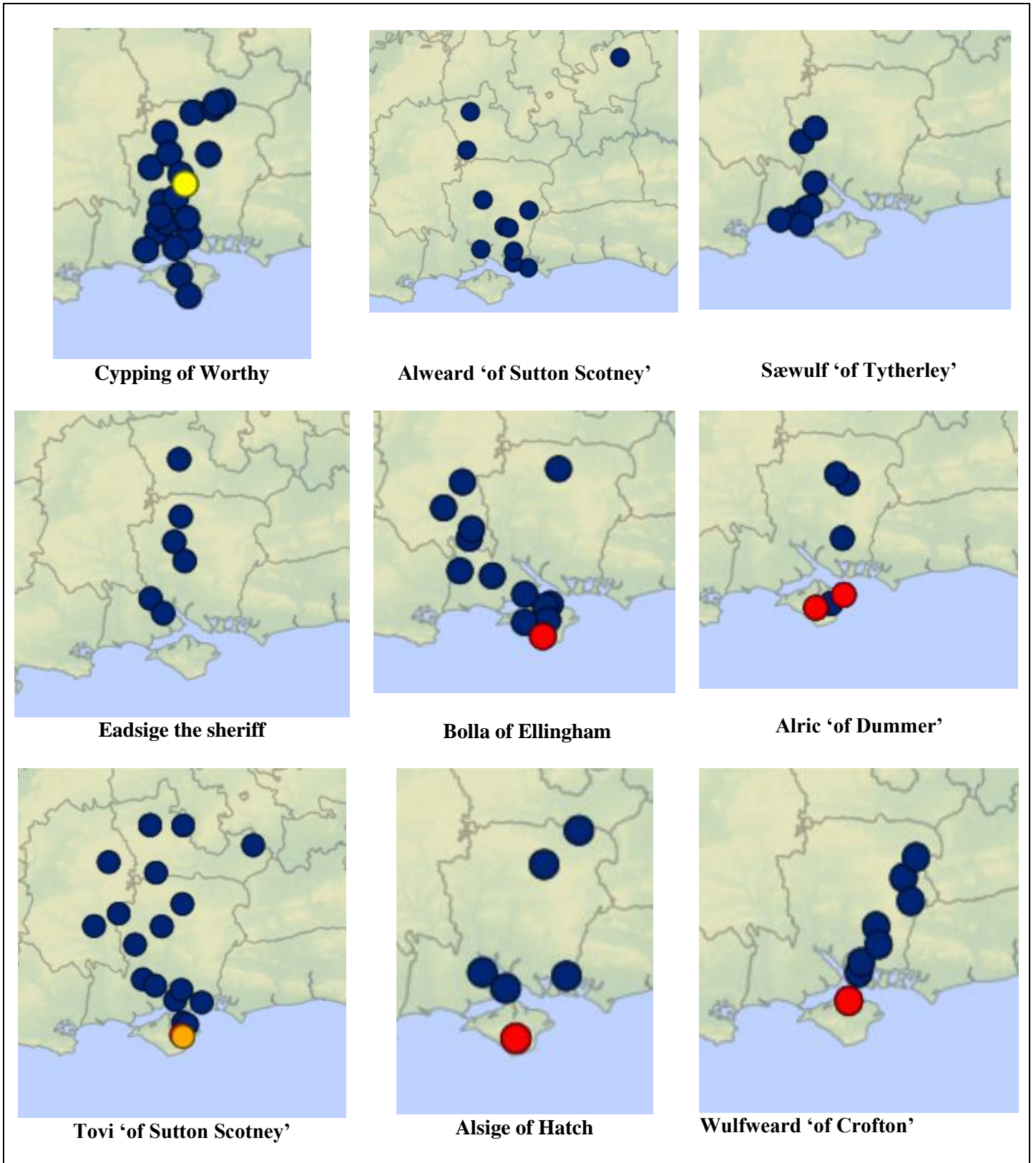


Figure 25. The distribution of estates of local Hampshire thegns (images from *PASE Domesday*: 1066 estates in blue and 1086 estates in red, orange, or yellow)



Figure 26. ‘The Bunny’ (modern eel traps), River Test between Leckford and Longstock

Cypping managed to generate an unusually high income from his estates, especially those on the rivers. Hampshire estates average just over £1 per ploughland but Cypping’s estates were usually double that, while his five ploughlands at Worthy were worth £25.<sup>536</sup> He was among the ten secular landholders in Hampshire below the rank of earl who had fisheries or set traps for eels. Otterbourne was the only freshwater fishery recorded by Domesday for Cypping, and it was probably on the River Itchen. He had two other estuarine fisheries at Stanswood and Shirley.<sup>537</sup> It invites speculation that Cypping was supplying fish to local markets.

Cypping’s estates were all transferred to Ralph de Mortimer by 1086. Golding notes that Ralph was granted estates in Herefordshire after Roger of Breteuil’s rebellion in 1075 and may

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<sup>536</sup> GDB 46d-47a (Hampshire: 29,1-16).

<sup>537</sup> GDB 38d, 46d (Hampshire: 1,26; 29,1; 29,5).

have gained his estates in Hampshire at about this time.<sup>538</sup> Whenever the transfer took place, the value of Cypping's estates had already plummeted suggesting Cypping's enterprise had already collapsed. Their value never recovered, and Ralph failed to replicate Cypping's success.

It is notable how many pre-Conquest landholders, who perhaps survived as royal officials after 1066, ended their lives with just one or two estates (shown in yellow, orange and red in Figure 25). It may be Cypping of Worthy who retained his estate at Chilcomb TRW, and exchanged estates at Preston Candover.<sup>539</sup> Alsige of Hatch had relinquished all his estates and 'retired' to the Isle of Wight, where he continued to hold a virgate at Bagwich in 1086.<sup>540</sup> Bolla, whose lands extended from the Isle of Wight north-west through Hampshire and Wiltshire into the royal heartlands, retained just one estate on the Isle of Wight in 1086.<sup>541</sup> Alric 'of Dummer' similarly retained small estates on the island, as did Tovi, and Wulfweard.<sup>542</sup> Perhaps their mainland estates were treated as *ex officio* landholding TRW and reverted to the king when each office-holder gave up his post.

In conclusion, in *The Dialogue of the Exchequer* Richard fitzNigel spoke of those after 1066 who 'by loyal service to their new masters began to acquire tenancies at the will of their lords, but without hope of succession, but only for themselves'.<sup>543</sup> The experience of landholders in Hampshire appears to support this view. East of the River Test, Oda had to re-negotiate his position having lost his pre-Conquest estates. There was a hiatus in inheritance practices for the next generation and it is difficult tracing the descendants of many surviving English landholders, an exercise complicated by the increasing adoption of Continental names.

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<sup>538</sup> Golding, 'Hampshire Domesday', 23.

<sup>539</sup> GDB 41a, 47a, 49d (Hampshire: 3,1; 29,13; 69,6).

<sup>540</sup> GDB 53d (Hampshire: IoW9,8).

<sup>541</sup> GDB 54a (Hampshire: IoW9,24); *PASE Domesday*, 'Bolla 5' (provisional).

<sup>542</sup> GDB 53d (Hampshire: IoW9,3;10); *PASE Domesday*, 'Alric 11' (provisional).

<sup>543</sup> *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 54: 'cum tractu temporis deuotis obsequiis gratiam dominorum possedissent, sine spe successionis, sibi tantum, pro uoluntate tamen dominorum possidere ceperunt'.

As Hugh Thomas has found when tracing the fate of many English families across the kingdom, some managed to retain their estates but only for a short time.<sup>544</sup> In Hampshire, the survival of some families can be traced in Winchester in *Winton Domesday*, and Domesday Book indicates that there was a high survival rate west of the River Test and in the New Forest with the families of Godric Malf and Ælfric Small, for example, surviving for many generations. Many other English landholders, however, simply disappear from view.

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<sup>544</sup> Thomas, 'Fate of the Native English', 305.

## Chapter 4: Secular Female Landholders

### Overview of female landholders in Domesday

In 1956, Dorothy Stenton declared that, in Anglo-Saxon England:

women were more nearly the equal companions of their husbands and brothers than at any other period before the modern age. In the higher ranges of society this rough and ready partnership was ended by the Norman Conquest, which introduced into England a military society relegating women to a position honourable but essentially unimportant.<sup>1</sup>

Recent scholarship is more circumspect about a 'golden age' of female landholding.<sup>2</sup> There are only 1,460 Anglo-Saxon women identified by name in sources other than Domesday Book before 1066 compared to nearly 34,000 men.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, there are far fewer women landholders than men in Domesday. In 1066, 37,925 male landholders received £65,580 in landed wealth (ninety-two percent of the total figure in Domesday) compared to 351 secular female landholders who received £4,507, and 15 religious women who received £1,038 (together £5,545 or just under eight percent of the total);<sup>4</sup> in 1086, 1,090 men received a net income from land of £74,424 (just under ninety-seven percent of the total), fifty-three secular women received £1,173, and fourteen religious women received £1,207 (together £2,380 or just over three percent of the total).<sup>5</sup> Stafford cautions that '[w]omen, whose claims on land might be debatable or temporary, were not desirable predecessors and Domesday may underestimate women's landholding in 1066 as a result'.<sup>6</sup> But it is not just Domesday. Female landholders

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<sup>1</sup> D. M. Stenton, *The English Woman in History* (London, 1956), 348; see also F. M. Stenton, 'The Place of Women in Anglo-Saxon History', *TRHS* 25 (1943), 1-13.

<sup>2</sup> P. Stafford, 'Women and the Norman Conquest', *TRHS* 4 (1994), 221-249; J. Mumby, 'Property Rights in Anglo-Saxon Wills: A Synoptic View', *Gender and historiography, Studies in the Earlier Middle Ages in Honour of Pauline Stafford*, ed. J. L. Nelson, S. Reynolds, and S. M. Johns (London, 2012), 159-174.

<sup>3</sup> The figures are published on the *PASE* website within the 'Database' tab, under 'Persons' and then 'Gender/Institutions'.

<sup>4</sup> The value excludes any income from lordships. In 1086 the net income is from lands held in demesne or as a subtenant but excludes any income from subtenanted estates.

<sup>5</sup> S. Baxter, 'Week 8: Women' [lecture handout, p. 10], *The Norman Conquest: Causes and Effects*, Oxford University, delivered Trinity term, 2018.

<sup>6</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 125.

are equally scarce in charters and other sources before 1066. Unsurprisingly, scholars have sought to understand the limitations on female landholding, the moments in their lives when they held land in their own right, and the opportunities woman had to acquire, defend, manage, profit from, bequeath or otherwise alienate estates before and after 1066.

This chapter considers three of the wealthiest female landholders in the kingdom who held estates in Hampshire before and after 1066, Queen Edith, Queen Matilda, and Wulfgifu Beteslau. Their status as queen gave the first two women authority in England and each received a level of landed wealth commensurate with her status. Both women had participatory roles in the administration of the kingdom. This chapter traces the landholding of Edith and reconstructs, as far as possible, the landed wealth of Queen Matilda, and maps the location of their estates. Both women attended royal assemblies and festival courts during their husbands' reigns, and Matilda acted as regent in England in King William's absence. Accordingly, this chapter seeks to give an insight into each woman's agency in Hampshire and the extent to which their lands supported their role. To this end, the chapter also draws together what little is known about Matilda's itinerary and her presence in Hampshire. It also explores what their landholding may show of their co-existence after 1066.

In 1066, Queen Edith, and her mother, Countess Gytha (pp. 111, 121), held estates in Hampshire in the north and east of the shire, but also on the Isle of Wight. They were the two wealthiest women in the kingdom, followed by Eadgifu the Fair, Earl Harold's 'handfast' wife. The wealthiest woman in the shire, however, was Wulfgifu Beteslau, one of a small group of exceptionally wealthy women in England in 1066. Most of Wulfgifu's estates were in the Hampshire Downs, although her largest estate was east of Winchester at Mapledurham. These three high-status women enjoyed great landed wealth and prestige. Gytha went into exile after 1066 but Edith and Wulfgifu may have kept their lands for some time after 1066, possibly until their deaths.

**Table 9. Value of estates attributed to Class A-F (£20-£750+) female landholders in Domesday in 1066<sup>7</sup>**

Name	Total Value of Land in England (£)	Total Value of lordships (£)	Value of Land in Hampshire excluding lordships (£)	No. of Counties where land was held
<b>Queen Edith</b>	<b>1,562</b>	<b>299</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>21</b>
Gytha, wife of Earl Godwine	644	9	58	9
Eadgifu the fair	351	176	-	5
Ælfgifu, abbess of Wilton	299	13	3	4
Leofgifu, abbess of Shaftesbury	270	15	-	4
Goda, sister of King Edward	190	5	-	10
Ælfgifu, abbess of Barking	167	2	-	4
<b>Wulfgifu Beteslau</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>7</b>
Wulfwynn of Creslow	147	2	-	7
Godgifu, wife of Earl Leofric	117	37	-	7
Æthelgyth 'of Wimbish'	115	5	-	3
Abbess of Romsey	98	-	38	2
Abbess of Nunnaminster, Winchester	75	-	36	2
Gytha, wife of Earl Ralph <sup>8</sup>	72	-	-	3
Ælfgifu, wife of Earl Ælfgar	65	0.2	-	6
Abbess of Amesbury	53	-	-	2
Eadgifu, daughter of Earl Godwine	48	-	-	1
Eadgifu, wife of Wulfweard the White	46	-	-	1
Eadgifu 'of Stedham'	41	-	-	1
Eadgyth, sister of Earl Odda	40	-	-	1
Eadgifu 'of Wintringham'	40	-	-	2
Abbess of Wherwell	39	-	39	1
Æthelgyfu 'of Basildon'	35	-	-	1
Eadgifu 'of Hadlow'	31	-	-	1
Gunnhild, daughter of Earl Godwine	30	-	-	2
Æthelgifu 'of East Knoyle'	30	-	-	1
Goda 'of Shingay'	27	-	-	1
Eadgyth 'of Cleobury'	20	-	-	1

## Queen Edith

Overview of the estates of Queen Edith in 1066

Edith, daughter of Earl Godwine, was the wealthiest female landholder and the fourth richest person in England before 1066, after King Edward, Archbishop Stigand, and her brother Earl Harold. She married Edward the Confessor in 1045 and was consecrated as queen.<sup>9</sup> Queen Edith held estates valued at £1,562 in twenty-one shires.<sup>10</sup> She also held lordships valued at

<sup>7</sup> The figures correspond with those in *PASE Domesday*, except for Wulfgifu.

<sup>8</sup> No value is recorded for Gytha's Nottinghamshire estates.

<sup>9</sup> ASC E, 1045, 1051.

<sup>10</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Eadgyth 3' (provisional); Stafford calculates that Edith's estates were worth £1,570 in demesne and £2,000 including lordships: Stafford, *QEQE*, 123, 280-305; Meyer puts Edith's estates at about £1,550: M. A. Meyer, 'Queen's "Demesne" in Later Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L. T. Bethell*, ed. M. Meyer (London, 1993), 75-113, at 81.

just under £300. The author of the *Vita Edwardi Regis* says his patron was, ‘from infancy immersed in the study of letters in the monastery at Wilton’.<sup>11</sup> Her attendance at Wilton, with the learning and training it provided to noblewomen, was itself, ‘an indication of the status of Edith’s family and their connection to the king and court’.<sup>12</sup>

Queen Edith held substantial estates across the country from Lincolnshire to Devon. Edith had a concentration of estates in the royal heartlands of Somerset, Wiltshire, Berkshire, and Oxfordshire, and to a lesser extent in Dorset and Hampshire.<sup>13</sup> In Surrey, she held several large estates at Shere, Dorking, and Reigate, all spring-line settlements at the foot of the escarpment of the North Downs. Her estates in Hampshire are relatively modest compared to those in Wiltshire. Meyer suggests that Edith’s landholding ‘in the heartland of Wessex was undoubtedly affected by the amount of land given to royal nunneries’ by previous queens, and the foundation of Wherwell in Hampshire had absorbed a large estate of Queen Ælfthryth in 986.<sup>14</sup> He argues that these foundations brought prestige but depleted the royal estates available to the royal family in Hampshire.

#### Queen Edith’s estates in Hampshire in 1066

Domesday records that Edith held eight estates in Hampshire assessed at 25 hides, with a combined value just over £36, and lordships valued at £22. Her most valuable Hampshire estate was at Penton Grafton.<sup>15</sup> Although the Hampshire estates were of comparatively low value compared to her landholding in other shires, their location was significant. Some lay to the east of Winchester in Neatham Hundred. Other manors mirrored the distribution of estates seen with the itinerant elite, bridging the gap across the north of the shire between Edith’s

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<sup>11</sup> *VEdR*, 23.

<sup>12</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 258-9; E. M. Tyler, ‘Crossing Conquests: Polyglot Royal Women and Literary Culture in Eleventh-Century England’, in *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, c. 800-c. 1250*, ed. E. M. Tyler (Brepols, 2011), 174-5, 183-4.

<sup>13</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 123.

<sup>14</sup> S 904; Meyer, ‘Queen’s “Demesne”’, 99.

<sup>15</sup> GDB 43c-d (Hampshire: 13,1).

estates in Surrey, Berkshire, and Wiltshire. Most of her estates were close to royal manors providing a farm of one knight (Hurstbourne, Kingsclere, Andover, and Neatham).

If Edith's rural estates in Hampshire were relatively modest, her urban properties and status in Winchester may have been far more significant. *Winton Domesday* provides details of specific properties held by Queen Emma and Queen Edith within Winchester. Emma held a tenement on the north side of the High Street by the West Gate.<sup>16</sup> This may be the urban manor of *Godebiete* (God Begot House), measuring 132 feet (40.23 metres) and 148 feet (45.23 metres) on the north side of the High Street, given to Emma by Æthelred II ten years after they married.<sup>17</sup> In the survey, however, it is the last property surveyed by the West Gate, and it may be a separate tenement closer to the gate. Queen Emma appears to have had power to alienate the manor of *Godebiete* because a spurious charter of Edward the Confessor records that she left a messuage (*haga*) from the manor of *Ælfrices Godebegeaton* ('Ælfric's good acquisition') to the monks of the Old Minster, Winchester.<sup>18</sup> At least part of *Godebiete*, with three extra tenements, were held by the monks in *Winton Domesday* in c. 1110.<sup>19</sup> Additionally, *Winton Domesday* records that Queen Edith had held shops on the north side of the High Street.<sup>20</sup> Both Emma and Edith may have been provided with accommodation at the royal palace in Winchester.

Queen Edith was required to travel with her household. Her itinerary overlapped with that of her husband for certain royal assemblies and festival courts. She witnessed two royal diplomas in 1043 and 1045 alongside Queen Emma (who ceased to witness diplomas after 1045) and from 1045 onwards, with a gap in the 1050s reflecting a hiatus in the sequence of diplomas during Edward the Confessor's reign.<sup>21</sup> Edith is most often described as *conlaterana*

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<sup>16</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 46, I [75].

<sup>17</sup> S 925, transl. Rumble, *Property and Piety*, no. XXVIII; Stafford, *QEQE*, 340-2.

<sup>18</sup> S 1153; *Winton Domesday*, 158.

<sup>19</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 37, I [23].

<sup>20</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 38, I [27].

<sup>21</sup> Keynes, *Atlas*, Table LXXI.

(she who is at the king's side) 'suggesting if not always outright equality, a shared or substituted status'.<sup>22</sup> The *Vita Edwardi Regis*, commissioned by Queen Edith, emphasises the importance of her role at court. It claims that 'by custom and law a royal throne was always prepared for her at the king's side', that she sat with King Edward 'in church and at the royal table', and at times of crisis she 'both repelled all the hostile forces with her powerful counsels and also cheered the king and his retinue'.<sup>23</sup> Edith's estates across the north of Hampshire and within Winchester and its hinterland may have been granted to her by King Edward to facilitate travel and best support her role.

**Table 10. Estates of Queen Edith in Hampshire**

Vill	Hundred	Phil. Ref.	No. hides	Value (£)	1086	Notes
Upton	Hurstbourne	1,24	1	4	King William	
Kingsclere	Kingsclere	6,9	4.25	7	Riwallon, abbot NMW	S 1504, 1507, 1515
Penton Grafton	Andover	13,1	3	10	Unnamed abbot of Grestain	
Anstey	Neatham	1,4	5	2.5	King William	
Alton	Neatham	6,1	10 <sup>24</sup>	6	King William Riwallon, abbot NMW	S 1507?
Greatham	Neatham	1,5	1	3	King William	
Selborne	Neatham	1,7	-	0.63	King William	
Wootton	Bowcombe	1W,22	1	3	King William	
<b>Total (demesne)</b>			<b>25.25</b>	<b>36.13</b>		
<b>LORDSHIPS</b>						
Tunworth	Basingstoke	23,7	3	3	Hugh de Port	Held from Queen Edith by Alfred with no power to go elsewhere
Hayling	Bosmere	10,1	12	15	Abbey of Jumiéges	Wulfweard the White held <i>in alodium</i> from Queen Edith
Preston Candover	Bermondspitt	69,6	2.5	4	Cypping of Worthy	S 1507, 1524, 360, 370 Esbern Bigga held it from Queen Edith
<b>Total (lordships)</b>			<b>17.5</b>	<b>22</b>		

Interestingly, Queen Edith had one small estate on the Isle of Wight at Wootton Haven, which was known as *Schaldflete* or 'shallow creek' in 1142.<sup>25</sup> It is quite isolated from her other

<sup>22</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 59 n. 23.

<sup>23</sup> *VEdR*, 64-5, 81.

<sup>24</sup> Five of these hides were exempt from geld. They were held in 1086 (and possibly in 1066) by Hearing, Queen Edith's butler (*pincerna*), son of Ednoth the staller.

<sup>25</sup> GDB 40a (Hampshire: 1,W22); A. D. Mills, *The Place Names of the Isle of Wight* (Donington, 2001), 111.

estates on the mainland. It may be significant that limestone was quarried at Binstead and Quarr during the Anglo-Saxon period and this stone had been used, for example, in the building of the Saxon church in Romsey. It is possible that Edith obtained Wootton to expedite the quarrying and shipping of Quarr limestone for the rebuilding of Wilton Abbey.<sup>26</sup> The stone has been identified in pre-Conquest buildings across Hampshire and Sussex.<sup>27</sup> After 1066 it was used for parts of Chichester and Canterbury Cathedrals. William Rufus confirmed a grant by William the Conqueror for Bishop Walkelin of:

half a hide of land in the Isle of Wight for the building of his church, just as my father at his death had granted it to him for the good of his soul. Reserving my rents, I have given him licence to dig for stone not only there but also throughout my land on the island, in open country, and in woodland, that is if the woodland is so small that the horns of a stag can be seen going through it.<sup>28</sup>

The export of valuable raw materials from Wootton Creek, such as Quarr limestone, might explain why neighbouring *Wenechetone* and Shofleet were put at farm for £18 in 1086, six times their value.<sup>29</sup> It would also explain why Queen Edith had been granted Wootton as a solitary estate on the Isle of Wight.

The ‘queen’s demesne’ and the origin of Queen Edith’s lands in Hampshire

There is a general consensus that most of Edith’s estates were granted to her by King Edward.<sup>30</sup> Ryan Lavelle is more cautious, noting that ‘the probability that Edith’s endowment in Domesday Book largely stems from lands acquired from parties other than the king is

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<sup>26</sup> For an account of Edith competing with her husband’s piety and trying to complete the building works at Wilton as fast as possible see the *VEdR*

<sup>27</sup> E. M. Jope, ‘The Saxon Building Stone Industry in Southern and Midland England’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 8 (1964), 91-118, at 94.

<sup>28</sup> V. H. Galbraith, ‘Royal Charters to Winchester’, *EHR* 35 (1920), 382-400; T. W. T. Tatton Brown ‘Building Stone in Canterbury, c. 1070-1525’, in *Stone Quarrying and Building in England AD 43-1525*, ed. D. Parsons (Chichester, 1990), 70-82, at 72-3.

<sup>29</sup> GDB 39d-40a (Hampshire: 1,W20).

<sup>30</sup> Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 134-5; Stafford, *QEQE*, 123-42; Meyer, ‘Queen’s “Demesne”’, 81-4.

indicated by the lack of surviving royal grants to Edith'.<sup>31</sup> Edith does not seem to have held much bookland: there are few examples of Edith alienating land or having express freedom to alienate land (Domesday does not say that she held any land *in alodium*). Meyer makes the point, however, that 'the lands of royal consorts were anything but held in perpetuum' and 'estates often slipped in and out of their control'.<sup>32</sup>

Some of Edith's landholding was most probably drawn from family lands. Edith granted eight hides at Frog Firl to St John TRE where her father also held land.<sup>33</sup> She may also have received Eckington and Chalvington, adjacent to Harold's estate at Ripe in Sussex, from her family.<sup>34</sup> Edith also had freedom to grant Milverton and Mark (Somerset) to Giso, bishop of Wells, between 1061 and 1066, and between 1066 and 1075 respectively.<sup>35</sup> After 1066, Edith transferred Chesham to Alsige 'of Eaton Bray' and Wix to Walter the deacon.<sup>36</sup> It is not clear whether she held these last few alienable estates as grants from the king or as family lands.

There is nothing to suggest that Edith held any comital or family estates from her father or brothers in Hampshire.<sup>37</sup> Earl Godwine had acquired bookland estates in Hampshire, although the ones that are identifiable were not granted to Edith: Polhampton, Millbrook, and possibly Winkton (although the church granted by Earl Godwine was at Sopley) were held by Earl Tosti, the Old Minster, Winchester, and the canons of Christchurch Priory.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, the estates of Earl Godwine's daughters identified in Domesday suggest the earl made only moderate provision for his daughters from his own lands which 'gives a clear indication of how much (or little) land Edith might have expected to hold had she not married the king'.<sup>39</sup> Edith's

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<sup>31</sup> Lavelle, *Royal Estates*, 98. The only grant from King Edward (S 1138) is of dubious authenticity. It gives Queen Edith Rutland for her lifetime, and the reversion to Westminster Abbey.

<sup>32</sup> Meyer, 'Queen's "Demesne"', 86.

<sup>33</sup> GDB 21c (Sussex: 10,44-6).

<sup>34</sup> GDB 22b (Sussex: 10,90); Meyer, 'Queen's "Demesne"', 84.

<sup>35</sup> S 1240, 1241.

<sup>36</sup> GDB 153a (Buckinghamshire: 56,1); GDB 87 (Essex: 42,7).

<sup>37</sup> For comital lands in Hampshire see pp. 110-13.

<sup>38</sup> S 970, 1008-9; GDB 41d, 47b, 48d (Hampshire: 3,17; 31,1; 45,1; 51,1); *CPC*, no.2.

<sup>39</sup> Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 135 n.28.

sister Gunnhild held three estates in Somerset and a solitary estate in Sussex with a combined value of £30,<sup>40</sup> and Eadgifu held two estates in Somerset valued at £48.<sup>41</sup> Earl Godwine may have been more generous when providing a dowry for a royal marriage, but if Edith brought a dowry to the marriage no part of it is identifiable in Hampshire.

Indeed, Edith's landholding in Hampshire supports the view that most of her estates were assigned to her by King Edward. All of Queen Edith's lands, apart from Wootton, were within hundreds organised around, and named after, the head manor which provided a farm of one night to King Edward. Edith held estates at Kingsclere itself; at Upton, two miles from the night's farm of Hurstbourne Tarrant; at Penton Grafton, just over two miles from Andover; and at Anstey and Alton, about two miles from Neatham. Edith's estates are likely to be areas of royal demesne within these royal hundreds. Their geographical proximity to manors rendering the night's farm makes it more likely that they were granted to her by the king and were not family lands granted by Earl Godwine. Excluding any lands granted to Edith as a morning gift, most of her estates could have been royal lands transferred to her as queen. The transfers would not need to be via bookland grants if she held these lands, in effect, *ex officio*. Edith's lands also followed a similar distribution pattern across the country to that of King Edward. This distribution, the proximity between her Hampshire estates and royal manors, and the fact that her sisters held so little family land, makes it overwhelmingly likely that most of Edith's estates were granted by King Edward to her for her lifetime to support her role as queen.

It is also significant that, in 1051, King Edward was entitled to deprive Edith 'of all that she owned'.<sup>42</sup> This does not appear to have been through forfeiture but through the confiscation of royal estates, given to Edith in her capacity as the wife of the king. Their confiscation signified a divorce, and Edith's loss of status and office. In 1052, the return of her lands

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<sup>40</sup> C. P. Lewis, 'Gunnhild 4', *PASE Domesday*.

<sup>41</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Eadgifu 46' (provisional).

<sup>42</sup> Baxter, *Earls of Mercia*, 135; *ASC E*, 1051.

underlined the fact that, however impressive Edith's landed wealth may have been, her position depended entirely on Edward's goodwill.

Meyer has questioned whether there were estates that were customarily held by successive queens.<sup>43</sup> Meyer notes that certain of Edith's estates had previously been associated with Anglo-Saxon queens, and Winchester, Exeter, and Rutland 'comprised a part of the queens' dowries',<sup>44</sup> but he is not convinced that any particular estates were reserved for the queen alone. At any one time a king might be providing lands for his wife, his mother, and his grandmother. As sons married, new grants of land would be made to their wives. As Meyer observed, '[q]ueens routinely outlived their spouses and thereby retained many estates with which they had been earlier endowed, a factor that no doubt hindered the development of an entity that can be called the queen's demesne.'<sup>45</sup> He concludes that '[t]he manifest discontinuity evinced in the estates of some eleven queens who ruled from the late ninth through the eleventh centuries speaks against the proposition that a so-called queen's demesne actually existed'.<sup>46</sup> Lavelle reaches a similar conclusion in his analysis of the lands held by Anglo-Saxon queens in Dorset and Hampshire, having established that royal lands were a resource which, with a few exceptions, passed from royal women to other landholders with 'no discernible regular pattern'.<sup>47</sup> Stafford agrees that the landholding of late Anglo-Saxon queens was not fixed but was drawn from a portfolio of royal estates. Nevertheless, Stafford contends there were a small number of estates that had come to be held customarily by the queen.<sup>48</sup>

In the early twelfth century, Geoffrey Gaimar claimed that Winchester, Northamptonshire, lands in Rockingham Forest, and Rutland, 'which had previously belonged

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<sup>43</sup> Meyer, 'Queen's "Demesne"', 75-113.

<sup>44</sup> Meyer, 'Queen's "Demesne"', 81-2, 87.

<sup>45</sup> Meyer, 'Queen's "Demesne"', 83.

<sup>46</sup> Meyer, 'Queen's "Demesne"', 104.

<sup>47</sup> Lavelle, *Royal Estates*, 83-9, 99-101.

<sup>48</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 128-34, and n. 160.

to [Queen] Ælfthryth’, were given by Æthelred II to Queen Emma as dower.<sup>49</sup> Stafford contends that Gaimar’s account is credible because he had access to the archive at Wherwell Abbey, founded by Ælfthryth in c. 986.<sup>50</sup> Rutland was connected with Anglo-Saxon queens from at least Queen Ælfthryth onwards and, ‘a large portion of southern Rutland represents an estate of some antiquity’,<sup>51</sup> perhaps being Mercian dower lands from the early tenth century.<sup>52</sup> In the twelfth century, the farm of Rutland was paid to Eleanor, wife of Henry II, and it may have been part of the dower lands of Berengaria, wife of Richard I. In 1204, Rutland was part of the dower granted by King John to his second wife, Isabella of Angouleme.<sup>53</sup>

The exact nature of the income and properties from urban centres, granted to successive queens, merits further analysis. ‘Winchester’ and ‘Exeter’ were held by successive queens in the late tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>54</sup> Exeter had been held by Queen Emma in 1003; the actions of Hugh, the French reeve whom she had appointed, led to the destruction and plundering of the city by King Swein of Denmark and his army.<sup>55</sup> Edward the Confessor granted two-thirds of Exeter to Edith and, at a later date, Exeter was held by Matilda, wife of Henry I, who received £25 from the borough.<sup>56</sup>

Winchester is first mentioned in association with royal women with the foundation of Nunnaminster (c. 908) on land belonging to Ealhswith, wife of Alfred the Great.<sup>57</sup> The fortified borough is one of the few places where both Queen Edith and her mother-in-law Queen Emma are known to have possessed a residence. Queen Emma remained in Winchester after Cnut’s death suggesting certain property (and perhaps income) in the city formed part of her dower.

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<sup>49</sup> *Geffrei Gaimar, Estoire des Engleis*, ed. and trans. I. Short (Oxford, 2009), 227; Meyer, ‘Queen’s “Demesne”’, 87-9; Stafford, *QEQE*, 128-35.

<sup>50</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 128 n. 156.

<sup>51</sup> Meyer, ‘Queen’s “Demesne”’, 88-9.

<sup>52</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 130.

<sup>53</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 130; N. Vincent ‘Isabella of Angoulême: John’s Jezebel’, in *King John, New Interpretations*, ed. S. D. Church (Woodbridge, 1999), 165-219, at 189.

<sup>54</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 128.

<sup>55</sup> ASC C. D, E, 1003; Whitelock, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 86.

<sup>56</sup> Meyer, ‘Queen’s “Demesne”’, 87.

<sup>57</sup> Meyer, ‘Queen’s “Demesne”’, 87.

Emma may also have taken control of the treasury where perhaps her own wealth had been secured. Emma was in Winchester when her step-son, Harold Harefoot, deprived her of the ‘greatest and best part of the treasures which Cnut had left’ in his bid to seize the throne.<sup>58</sup> Emma had perhaps remained at Winchester waiting for Harthacnut’s return from Denmark because, when Edward and Alfred landed in England in 1036, they tried to reach their mother there.<sup>59</sup> When Edward the Confessor found his mother at Winchester in 1043 she had with her ‘all the treasures which she owned, and which were beyond counting’.<sup>60</sup> Edward seized her treasure and deprived her of her lands, but allowed her to remain in Winchester afterwards.<sup>61</sup> It is notable that Emma chose to be in Winchester during periods of crisis and at the end of her life. The New Minster Liber Vitae contains an image of Emma and Cnut presenting a gold cross to the abbey, and she was among those remembered in the prayers of the community.<sup>62</sup> Emma died in Winchester in 1052 and was buried alongside Cnut in the Old Minster.<sup>63</sup>

Similarly, Queen Edith chose to remain in Winchester after the death of Edward the Confessor which is a good indication that a residence formed part of her dower. Like Emma, Edith was remembered in the prayers of the New Minster and may have been a benefactor of the abbey.<sup>64</sup> Queen Edith also appears to have taken refuge in Winchester in 1066, after William’s victory at Hastings. The *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, almost certainly written by Guy, bishop of Amiens before May 1068, states categorically that Winchester was held by Queen Edith in dower: the *Carmen* describes how William the Conqueror demanded tribute from Winchester because ‘as the queen held this city in dower (*de dote*) from the former King Edward, [William] thought it dishonourable to dispossess her of a residence (*sedem*) thus

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<sup>58</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 237.

<sup>59</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 238.

<sup>60</sup> ASC D, *s.a.* 1043.

<sup>61</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 249-50; ASC E, 1043.

<sup>62</sup> BL Stowe MS 944, f. 6r, 26r.

<sup>63</sup> ASC C, 1052.

<sup>64</sup> BL Stowe MS 944, f. 29r.

obtained: he required only a rent and fealty (*solum uectigal postulat atque fidem*).<sup>65</sup> The *Carmen* adds that, in counsel with the leading men of Winchester, Edith agreed to send gifts and tribute to William.

Queen Emma was associated with Hayling Island in Hampshire, which she granted to the Old Minster Winchester, subject to a life interest for Wulfweard the White. Queen Edith had become Wulfweard's lord at Hayling Island by 1066.<sup>66</sup> It is an example of continuity between the holdings of Queen Emma and Queen Edith outside of Winchester, but there are too few examples of lands held by successive queens between the tenth and eleventh centuries to suggest that there was a specific body of estates reserved for their use in Hampshire. If Winchester customarily formed part of the queen's dower, it is not clear how much income the queen received or whether specific properties in Winchester were involved. Queen Edith was able to hold a 'maximum dower estate' for a late Anglo-Saxon queen.<sup>67</sup> King Edward and Edith had no children, so Edith did not have to relinquish lands to royal sons, or face being 'cut down to size' in terms of her landholding and political influence in widowhood, as King Edward had done to his mother.<sup>68</sup> In these circumstances, if there was a wider body of estates ring-fenced for the queen, there should be examples of continuity.

#### Queen Edith's lordship in Hampshire in 1066

The Hampshire folios of Domesday do not always distinguish the forms of lordship exercised by the queen. Several local thegns held from Edith. Alfred held a solitary estate at Tunworth, near Basingstoke, in dependent tenure, unable to go elsewhere with the land.<sup>69</sup> One of the two Agemunds in Hampshire, probably Agemund 'of Wellow', held Shoddesdon near

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<sup>65</sup> *The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy of Amiens*, ed. F. Barlow (Oxford, 1999), 36-7.

<sup>66</sup> S 1476.

<sup>67</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 128.

<sup>68</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 128.

<sup>69</sup> GDB 45a (Hampshire: 23,7); *PASE Domesday*, 'Alfred 102' (provisional).

Andover in freehold as a manor from the queen, and retained the estate until 1086.<sup>70</sup> Thegns from outside Hampshire also held from Queen Edith. The Kentish thegn, Esbern Bigga, held a solitary estate in Hampshire from the queen in 1066 at Preston Candover, which gave him a foothold in the shire to the north-east of Winchester in the Hampshire Downs; Esbern was succeeded by the wealthy Hampshire thegn, Cypping of Worthy, (perhaps also holding from Queen Edith) who retained the estate in 1086.<sup>71</sup> One of the wealthiest thegns in the kingdom, Wulfweard the White, who was connected with the queen's household, held part of Hayling Island from queen Edith in freehold (*de Eddid regina in alodium*) in 1066.<sup>72</sup> The grant may have originated with Queen Emma who gave Wulfweard only a life interest in the estate, which was due to revert to the Old Minster after Wulfweard's death.<sup>73</sup> It gave Wulfweard a solitary estate in Hampshire on the south coast and it is most likely that he was commended to Queen Edith here.

#### Queen Edith's survival after 1066

According to the *Carmen*, the chief men of Winchester had surrendered on the advice of Queen Edith which ensured their survival, and no doubt helped Edith's situation.<sup>74</sup> After 1066, it is notable that Queen Matilda received a separate allocation of estates to Queen Edith which suggests Edith's estates had been ring-fenced to some extent. Edith retained at least some of these lands during the Conquest because she was able to grant estates to her followers,<sup>75</sup> but it is not clear how much she retained, and for how long. Other high-status female landholders, such as Wulfwynn of Creslow and Wulfgifu Beteslau, also retained some lands after 1066. As

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<sup>70</sup> GDB 50b (Hampshire: 69,26); C. P. Lewis, 'Agemund 14'; 'Agemund 15', *PASE Domesday*.

<sup>71</sup> GDB 49d (Hampshire: 69.6); *PASE Domesday*, 'Cypping 6' (provisional); C. P. Lewis, 'Esbern 3', *PASE Domesday*.

<sup>72</sup> GDB 43c (Hampshire: 10,1); *PASE Domesday*, 'Wulfweard 17' (provisional).

<sup>73</sup> S 1153, 1476.

<sup>74</sup> *Carmen*, 36.

<sup>75</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 126-7.

widows, they may have had royal protection.<sup>76</sup> William the Conqueror claimed to be the legitimate successor of Edward the Confessor and was perhaps disinclined to disturb the landholding of Edward's widow. Meyer argues that Edith 'had to be maintained in a manner befitting her status as the widow of William's legitimate predecessor' and kept her lands until her death.<sup>77</sup> Queen Edith was in Winchester when she died in 1075, a week before Christmas. William had her body taken to Westminster 'with great honour' (*mid mycclan wurðscipe*) and buried near Edward the Confessor.<sup>78</sup> Edith may have lost some of her lands in the reorganisation of Sussex after 1066, but the fact that King William had to provide estates for Queen Matilda separately indicates that Queen Edith was permitted to retain most of her estates after 1066, and there is no record that Edith suffered any financial or political crisis that would have led to the forfeiture of her estates before her death in 1075.<sup>79</sup>

In 1086, Queen Edith's lands in Domesday are often listed together within the royal lands. They are given their own heading in several shires including Gloucestershire, Somerset, and Devon, which indicates that they continued to be administered separately from the rest of King William's estates until the end of his reign. This point is made most clearly at Upton in Hampshire where the estate had been put at farm for £4, but King William himself was holding the estate 'from Queen Edith's lands' (*de terra Eddid regine*) in 1086.<sup>80</sup> Similarly, Hugh de Port, sheriff of Hampshire, was farming the estates in Northamptonshire for King William which had been held by Queen Edith.<sup>81</sup> Similar entries elsewhere in Domesday leave little doubt that many of Queen Edith's lands were ring-fenced after her death, and were being administered separately, most having been put at farm by the king. One possibility is that Queen Edith's estates were reserved for a future daughter-in-law, hence Exeter passing in due course

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<sup>76</sup> See pp. 250, 261.

<sup>77</sup> Meyer, 'Queen's "Demesne"', 83.

<sup>78</sup> ASC D and E.

<sup>79</sup> Meyer, 'Queen's "Demesne"', 82-3; Stafford, *QEQE*, 126-7.

<sup>80</sup> GDB 38d (Hampshire: 1,24).

<sup>81</sup> GDB 219b (Northamptonshire: 1,3).

to Matilda, wife of Henry I. If so, there may have been a stronger sense of a ‘queen’s demesne’ in 1086 than in 1066.

## Queen Matilda

Overview and reconstruction of Queen Matilda’s lands in Domesday

Matilda of Flanders, wife of William the Conqueror, was a descendant of Charlemagne and of Alfred the Great; Alfred’s daughter, Ælfthryth, had married Baldwin II of Flanders between 893 and 899.<sup>82</sup> Contemporary accounts, including the epitaph on Matilda’s tomb, were more concerned with her immediate ancestry as the daughter of Count Baldwin IV of Flanders and Adela, daughter of the king of France. There were strong links between Flanders and England during the eleventh century. Queen Emma had taken refuge there in 1037, and Baldwin gave her ‘a residence in Bruges and protected and maintained her as long as she was there’ (*Baldwine eorl hi ðær wel underfeng and hig þær geheold þa hwile ðe hire neod wæs*).<sup>83</sup> Earl Godwine fled to Flanders in 1051 when his family were outlawed by Edward the Confessor.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, as Flanders established itself as a trading nation, English wool became important for its cloth trade.<sup>85</sup>

There are two doctoral theses on Matilda of Flanders: Charlotte Cartwright’s study of Matilda as Countess of Flanders,<sup>86</sup> and Laura Gathagan’s thesis on Matilda as queen.<sup>87</sup> David Bates has also considered Matilda’s role in the government of Normandy and England.<sup>88</sup> Tracy Borman has published a biography of Matilda which adopts Gathagan’s figures on Matilda’s

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<sup>82</sup> For Ælfthryth, see Elisabeth van Houts, ‘Ælfthryth (d. 929)’, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/193>, accessed 9 February 2017.

<sup>83</sup> *ASC C*, E, 1037.

<sup>84</sup> *ASC D*, *s.a.* 1052, E, *s.a.* 1048.

<sup>85</sup> L. Gathagan, ‘Embodying Power: Gender and Authority in the Queenship of Matilda of Flanders’, unpublished PhD thesis, City University of New York, 2002, 28; for the regulation of Flemish merchants see Middleton, ‘Port Customs’, 334.

<sup>86</sup> C. Cartwright, ‘Matilda of Flanders in Normandy: a study of eleventh-century female power’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, 2012, 169-199.

<sup>87</sup> Gathagan, ‘Embodying Power’.

<sup>88</sup> Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 166-71, 220-1, 253, 291.

landed wealth.<sup>89</sup> These studies leave little doubt that Matilda was afforded considerable power by her husband. Matilda acted as regent in Normandy in her husband's absence, not least during the Hastings campaign,<sup>90</sup> and occasionally in England when William was in Normandy.

Gathagan presents Matilda as an exceptionally capable woman:

Matilda kept her own household and alienated and granted land to her servants by way of reward. She adjudicated court cases, granted monastic charters, and travelled the country in support of her political agenda...her life was spent in defence and support of Norman policies in England and abroad, and her gruelling administrative itinerary continued until her death in 1083.<sup>91</sup>

Queen Matilda witnessed sixty-one surviving diplomas, including 'all the major surviving English diplomas'.<sup>92</sup> Bates notes that she 'attests all the early English diplomas of William's reign' which suggests that 'her *signum* was considered a prerequisite'.<sup>93</sup>

Gathagan has traced Matilda's landholding in Domesday but does not give a breakdown of her individual estates. Gathagan suggests a 'staggering' value of £1,070 for estates 'unquestionably owned by Mathilda herself or enfeoffed to her servants', which would place Mathilda among the 'Class A' landholders in the kingdom.<sup>94</sup> Gathagan also notes that Matilda may have received the 'queen's gold' (one gold mark) across the kingdom on estates valued at over £100 although it is only recorded in Domesday in certain shires. *PASE Domesday* does not reconstruct Matilda's landholding because, in part, so many of her estates had reverted to King William or been reassigned to new holders following Matilda's death in 1083.<sup>95</sup> Keats-Rohan refers to a small number of estates which Matilda held, but this is not a complete record.<sup>96</sup> In order to assess Matilda's Hampshire estates in a wider context, her landholding is reconstructed, as far as possible, in Table 11 which draws together references in Domesday,

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<sup>89</sup> T. Borman, *Matilda, Wife of the Conqueror, First Queen of England* (London, 2012), 106.

<sup>90</sup> Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 284.

<sup>91</sup> Gathagan, 'Embodying Power', 18.

<sup>92</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, 93.

<sup>93</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, 92-94; no. 345.

<sup>94</sup> Gathagan, 'Embodying Power', 139-142, at 140.

<sup>95</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Matilda 3' (provisional).

<sup>96</sup> Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 296-7.

Exon, and surviving charters. Matilda was given her own fief within Buckinghamshire Domesday where, as is usual for female landholders, she is listed after the male tenants-in-chief.<sup>97</sup> She is also recorded as a subtenant of the king in Bedfordshire. Beyond this, her landholding must be pieced together from notes within the Domesday text and in Exon, which flag her estates, to give an estimate of her landed wealth in England.

**Table 11. Reconstruction of the estates of Queen Matilda from Domesday Book**

Shire	Vill	Holder 1066	No. of Hides	Value in 1086 (£)	Domesday reference	T-i-C 1086	Sub-tenant
Bucks	Marlow	Earl Ælfgar	15	25.00	<i>Mathildis regina tenet...</i>	Queen Matilda	
Bucks	Hambledon	Earl Ælfgar	20	35.00	<i>Reddit... ad numerum ..</i>	Queen Matilda	
Beds	Leighton Buzzard	Queen Edith	-	1.50	<i>Ad opus reginae.ii.uncias auri</i>	King William	
Beds	Luton	Queen Edith	-	3.00	<i>Reginae.iii.uncias auri</i>	King William	Queen Matilda
Beds	Houghton Regis	Queen Edith	-	1.50	<i>Reginae.ii.uncias auri</i>	King William	Queen Matilda
Cornwall	Connerton	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	7.00	12.00	<i>Brictric tenebat et post M. regina Reddit.xii.lib. ad numerum</i>	King William	
Cornwall	Coswarth	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	1.75	3.00	<i>Brictric tenebat et post M. regina Reddit.iii.lib.</i>	King William	
Cornwall	Binnerton	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	8.00	10.00	<i>Brictric tenebat et post M. regina Reddit.x.lib.</i>	King William	
Cornwall	Trevalga	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	1.00	4.00	<i>Brictric tenebat et post M. regina Reddit.iiii.lib.</i>	King William	
Cornwall	Carworgie	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	0.25	0.37	<i>Brictric tenebat et post M. regina</i>	King William	Aiulf
Cornwall	-	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	0.25	0.50	<i>Brictric tenebat et post M. regina</i>	King William	Walter de Claville
Devon	Northlew	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	1.25	9.00	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina Reddit.ix.lib. ad numerum</i>	King William	
Devon	Halwill	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	0.25	3.50	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina Reddit.lxx. solid. ad numerum</i>	King William	
Devon	Clovelly	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	3.00	12.00	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina Reddit.xii.lib.</i>	King William	
Devon	Bideford	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	3.00	16.00	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina Reddit.xvi.lib.</i>	King William	Goscelm of Exeter
Devon	Littleham	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	1.00	3.00	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina Reddit.iii.lib.</i>	King William	Goscelm of Exeter
Devon	Langtree	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	1.75	7.50	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina Reddit.vii.lib. et.v.solid.</i>	King William	
Devon	Iddesleigh	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	3.00	14.00	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina Reddit.xiii.lib.</i>	King William	
Devon	Iddesleigh	Alwaru Tet from Beorhtric	0.25	1.00	Queen Matilda?	King William	Walter de Claville
Devon	Irishcombe	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	0.12	0	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina</i>	King William	
Devon	Winkleigh	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	5.50	30.00	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina Reddit.xxx.lib. ad numerum</i>	King William	Goscelm of Exeter
Devon	Winkleigh	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	0.37	0.62	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina</i>	King William	Norman the Parker
Devon	Ashreigney	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	1.75	7.00	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina Reddit.vii.lib. ad numerum</i>	King William	Goscelm of Exeter
Devon	Lapford	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	2.5	12.60	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina</i>	King William	
Devon	High Bickington	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	1.50	12.00	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina Reddit.xii.lib.</i>	King William	
Devon	Morchard	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	0.50	4.00	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina Reddit.iiii.lib. ad numerum</i>	King William	
Devon	Holcombe	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	1.00	8.75	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina Reddit.viii.lib.et xv solid.</i>	King William	
Devon	Halberton	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	5.00	27.00	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina Reddit.xvii.lib.</i>	King William	
Devon	Halberton	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	0.25	0.50	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina Reddit.x.sol.</i>	King William	Goscelm of Exeter

<sup>97</sup> GDB 152c (Buckinghamshire: 52,1-2).

Shire	Vill	Holder 1066	No. of Hides	Value in 1086 (£)	Domesday reference	T-i-C 1086	Sub-tenant
Devon	Ashprington	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	3.00	4.00	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina Iudhel tenebat de regina Reddit.iii.lib.</i>	King William	Iudhæl
Devon	Down St Mary	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	0.36	0.50	<i>Tenuit Brictric et post M. regina Reddit.x.sol.</i>	King William	
Devon	Dipford	2 thegns	0.50	1.50	<i>Tenuit Walcsin de regina</i>	Walcsin	Wulfric
Devon	Sampford Peverell	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	3.50	10.00	<i>Regina dedit Rogerio cum sua uxore</i>	Roger de Bully	
Devon <sup>98</sup>	-	-	0.12	0.25	<i>Regina dedit ei in elemosina</i>	Alweard the stumpy	
Devon	Northam <sup>99</sup>	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	2.12	12.00	Queen Matilda?	Gilbert, abbot of Caen Saint-Étienne	
Devon	Umberleigh <sup>100</sup>	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	1.25	11.00	Queen Matilda?	Abbess of Caen La Trinité	
Devon	Swimbridge	Sæwine	0.75	0.50	<i>Hanc terram dedit illi M. regina in elemosina<sup>101</sup></i>	Sæwine, queen's priest	
Dorset	Frome St Quintin	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	13.00	18.00	<i>Tenuit Mathildis regina</i>	King William	
Dorset	Cranborne	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	10.00	30.00	<i>Tenuit Mathildis regina Reddit [£33]</i>	King William	3 thegns
Dorset	Ashmore	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	8.00	15.00	<i>Tenuit Mathildis regina Valet.xv.lib.</i>	King William	
Dorset	Tyneham	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	3.00	4.00	<i>Tenuit de regina</i>	Ansketil fitzAmeline	
Dorset	Canedona	Doda the monk	0.5	0.87	<i>Regina dedit in elemosina</i>	Doda the monk	
Dorset	Edmondsham	Doda the monk	2.00	3.00	<i>...tenuit Mathildis regina</i>	King William	
Dorset	Edmondsham	Doda the monk	1.50	3.00	Queen Matilda?	Humphrey the chamberlain	
Dorset	Edmondsham	-	1.50	1.50	Queen Matilda?	Humphrey the chamberlain	Eadgifu
Dorset	Hampreston	Sæwulf	2.25	4.50	<i>...tenuit Mathildis regina</i>	King William	
Dorset	Hampreston	-	0.83	0.40	<i>Hanc terra dedit regina</i>	Thorkil	Schelin
Dorset	Hampreston	Doda?	0.50	0.85	Queen Matilda?	Doda	
Dorset	Hampreston	5 thegns	6.00	4.50	Queen Matilda?	Aiulf the chamberlain	
Dorset	Hampreston	Æthelweard	1.00	0.60	Queen Matilda?	Wife of Hugh fitzGrip	William
Dorset	Witchampton	2 thegns	4.50	5.00	<i>...tenuit Mathildis regina</i>	King William	
Dorset	Wimborne	Oda the treasurer	0.50	4.00	<i>...tenuit Mathildis regina Vale.iiii.lib...non p'tin' ad firma de Winburne</i>	King William	
Dorset	Tarrant Launceston	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	10.00	14.00	Queen Matilda?	Abbess of Caen La Trinité	
Dorset	Wey	Alwine	1.50	1.50	<i>Tenuit Hugo f.Grip de regina</i>	King William	[Hugh fitzGrip]
Dorset	Langton Herring	Alward Colling	1.50	1.50	<i>Tenuit Hugo f.Grip de regina</i>	King William	[Hugh fitzGrip]
Dorset	Langton Herring	1 thegn	1.50	2.00	Queen Matilda?	Wife of Hugh fitzGrip	
Dorset	Tarrant	Ælfric 'of Tarrant'	3.50	5.00	<i>Tenuit Hugo f.Grip de regina</i>	King William	[Hugh fitzGrip]
Dorset	Tarrant	Ælfric 'of Tarrant'	0.25	0	Queen Matilda?	King William	[Hugh fitzGrip]
Dorset	Tarrant	Alwine 'of Child Okeford'	0.50	0.50	<i>Tenuit Hugo f.Grip de regina</i>	King William	[Hugh fitzGrip]
Dorset	Tarrant	2 thegns	3.25	3.00	<i>Tenuit Hugo f.Grip de regina</i>	King William	[Hugh fitzGrip]
Dorset	Tarrant	Tholf the Dane	3.5	4.00	Queen Matilda?	William d'Eu	William Belet
Dorset	Tarrant	1 free man	2.00	2.00	Queen Matilda?	Aiulf the sheriff	
Dorset	Tarrant	Almær [see Exon]	0.50	0.50	Queen Matilda?	Wife of Hugh fitzGrip	
Dorset	Tarrant	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	2.00	2.00	Queen Matilda?	Wife of Hugh fitzGrip	Ralph of Cranborne
Dorset	Tarrant	1 thegn	5.00	4.00	Queen Matilda?	Wife of Hugh fitzGrip	Berold
Dorset	Tarrant	1 thegn	1.75	0.75	Queen Matilda?	Wife of Hugh fitzGrip	Berold
Dorset	Scetre	Wulfgeat 'of Scetre'	5.00	5.00	<i>Tenuit Hugo f.Grip de regina</i>	King William	[Hugh fitzGrip]
Dorset	Nutford	Ælfric 'of Nutford'	2.50	1.25	<i>Tenuit Hugo f.Grip de regina</i>	King William	[Hugh fitzGrip]

<sup>98</sup> GDB 118c (Devon: 52,30).

<sup>99</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no.54.

<sup>100</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no.65.

<sup>101</sup> Exon 194b1.

Shire	Vill	Holder 1066	No. of Hides	Value in 1086 (£)	Domesday reference	T-i-C 1086	Sub-tenant
Dorset	Watercombe	Ælfric	1.00	0.75	<i>Tenuit Hugo f. Grip de regina Reddit.xv.solid.</i>	King William	[Hugh fitzGrip]
Dorset	Frampton <sup>102</sup>	Countess Gytha	27.50	40.00	<i>Huic manorum adiuncte sunt.ii.hide quas Mathildis regina dedit Saint Stephano</i>	Gilbert, abbot of Caen Saint-Étienne	
Essex	Childerditch	Earl Harold	1.50	4.00	<i>P[ostea] regina [tenuit]</i>	King William	Sheriff of Surrey
Essex	Colchester	Ælfgifu, wife of Earl Ælfgar	0	0	'From the queen's land'	King William	Oda the goldsmith
Essex	Finchingfield	Earl Ælfgar	2.50	18.00	<i>Post regina [tenuit]</i>	King William	Oda the goldsmith
Essex	Finchingfield	Beorhtric, + 18 sokemen	2.19	9.18	Queen Matilda?	Richard fitzGilbert	
Essex	Little Birch	Wulfweard 'of Little Birch	0.63	0.80	<i>Modo tenet Hugo de dono reginae</i>	Hugh de Saint-Quentin	
Essex	Middleton	Sokemen	1.75	3.26	Queen Matilda?	Richard fitzGilbert	
Essex	Middleton	Sokeman from Earl Ælfgar	1.73	1.00	<i>Reclamat ex dono reginae</i>	Gilbert the priest	
Essex	Shalford	Earl Ælfgar	0.25	0	<i>Postea tenuit regina</i>	King William	Richard fitzGilbert
Essex	Shalford	Earl Ælfgar	5.00	22.00	<i>Postea tenuit regina</i>	King William	Oda the goldsmith
Essex	Shalford	Earl Ælfgar	0.25	0	<i>Postea tenuit regina</i>	King William	Walter fitzGilbert
Norfolk	Burston	Free man	0.17	0.15	<i>Ex dono reginae</i>	Robert Malet	
Norfolk	Norwich	King Edward	0	5.00	110s <i>ad numerum</i> in exactions to the queen	King William	
Suffolk <sup>103</sup>	Ipswich	Queen Edith	4.00	0	Queen Matilda	King William	
Suffolk	Occold	Beorhthere 'of Occold'	0.17	0.17	<i>[mater] Roberti Malet postea tenuit de regina</i>	Odo, Bp of Bayeux	
Suffolk	Barton Mills	Ælfgeat 'of Barton Mills'	5.00	7.50	<i>Tenuit W. de regina</i>	Ælfgifu 'of Barton Mills'	
Leics	Barton-in-the-Beans	Alwine from Queen Edith	0.30	0.15	Queen's fee?	Hugh de Grandmesnil	
Leics	Market Bosworth	Alwine from Queen Edith	2.00	1.00	Queen's fee?	Hugh de Grandmesnil	
Leics	Sharnford	Alwine from Queen Edith	2.00	0.50	Queen's fee?	Hugh de Grandmesnil	
Leics	Newbold Verdon	-	2.00	1.00	<i>Tenet de feudo reginae</i>	Hugh de Grandmesnil	
Leics	Neulebi	-	1.00	0.50	<i>Est de feudo reginae</i>	Hugh de Grandmesnil	Arnold 'of Sibley'
Lincs	Fillingham	Godric son of Garwine	0.25	0.20	<i>Tenuit de regina</i>	King William	Roger the Poitevin
Lincs	Ingham	Swein 'of Thorpe le Fallows'	0.25	0.50	<i>De rege et regina</i>	King William	Earnwine the priest
Oxon	Oxford	Queen Edith		5.00	Queen Matilda?	King William	
Surrey	Coombe	Alfred	3.00	5.00	<i>Hunfrid tenet de feudo regina. TRW femina que hanc terram tenebat misit se cum ea in manu regine</i>	Humphrey the chamberlain <sup>104</sup>	
Hants	Mapledurham	Wulfgifu Beteslau	14.00	32.00	<i>Mathild regina habuit</i>	King William	
Hants	Mapledurham	Wulfgifu Beteslau	2.50	2.00	<i>Mathild regina habuit</i>	King William	Albold the cook
Hants	Mapledurham	Wulfgifu Beteslau	3.50	4.00	<i>Mathild regina habuit</i>	King William	[Richard of Tonbridge] Theobald
Wilts	[Brixton] Deverill	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	10.00	12.00	<i>Mathilde regina que dedit eidem eccl.</i>	Anselm, abbot of Bec	
Glos	Tewksbury	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar			<i>Mercatum quod regina ibi reddit.xi.solidas et viii. denarii.</i> <sup>105</sup>	King William	
Glos <sup>106</sup>	Clifford Chambers	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	7.00	6.00	<i>Hanc terram dedit regina</i>	King William	Roger de Bully
Glos	Wincott	1 thegn	3.00	2.00	<i>Regina dedit hanc terram</i>	King William	Regenbald, chaplain
Glos	Twynning	4 <i>villani</i> <sup>107</sup>	2.00	1.75	<i>Regina dedit hanc terram</i>	King William	John the chamberlain

<sup>102</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 54.

<sup>103</sup> LDB 290 (Suffolk: 1,122).

<sup>104</sup> This may be Queen Edith's fief: if it is the same man, Alfred held of Queen Edith at Tunworth in Hampshire: GDB 45 (Hampshire: 23,7); Alfred the steward held from Edith at Twerton in Somerset: GDB 88d (Somerset: 5,46). The woman at Coombe may have commended herself to either Edith or Matilda, although it is more likely that 'the queen' refers to Matilda.

<sup>105</sup> The market which the queen [Matilda] founded there pays 11s.8d.

<sup>106</sup> It is also recorded in Warwickshire.

<sup>107</sup> Beorhtric was their lord.

Shire	Vill	Holder 1066	No. of Hides	Value in 1086 (£)	Domesday reference	T-i-C 1086	Sub-tenant
Glos	Twynning	1 thegn <sup>108</sup>	0.50	1.35	<i>Regina dedit hanc terram</i>	King William	John the chamberlain
Glos	Thornbury	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	11.00	50.00	<i>Hoc manorum fuit regine Mathildis</i>	King William	Humphrey the chamberlain
Glos	Fairford	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	21.00	38.50	<i>Hoc manorum tenuit Mathilda regina</i>	King William	Humphrey the chamberlain
Glos	Fairford	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	4.00	9.00	<i>Reddit xxxviii. lib. et x.sol. ad numerum Dedit regina.iii.hidam Iohanni camerario</i>	King William	John the chamberlain
Glos	Fairford	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	3.75	4.00	<i>Reddit.ix.lib. de firma Ipsa regina dedit Balduino.iii.hid.</i>	King William	Baldwin fitzHerluin
Glos	Iron Acton	Beorhtric son of Ælfgar	2.50	2.00	Queen Matilda?	Geoffrey, bp. Coutances	Ilgar 'of Wootton'
Glos	Iron Acton	Harold from Alwig Hiles	2.50	2.00	<i>Has.ii.uillas dedit regina hunfrido Actune et Wichen</i>	Humphrey the chamberlain	
Glos	Wickwar	3 men <sup>109</sup>	4.00	12.00	<i>Has.ii.uillas dedit regina hunfrido Actune et Wichen</i>	Humphrey the chamberlain	
Glos	Minchinhampton <sup>110</sup>	Countess Gode		8.00	Queen Matilda	Abbess of Caen La Trinité	
Glos	Pinbury <sup>111</sup>			4.00	Queen Matilda?	Abbess of Caen La Trinité	
<b>Total</b>			<b>351.86</b>	<b>762.57</b>			

This analysis gives Matilda estates in at least fifteen shires assessed at a total of 350 hides with a combined value of over £760, including forty estates which may have been subtenanted. This total is certain to be an under-estimate. If Matilda had received all the estates of Beorhtric son of Ælfgar (including the estates already assigned to her in the table above) it would take her landed wealth to over £950. In addition, Matilda may have held more of the estates which were in the hands of her officials in 1086, including those held by the chamberlains Humphrey and John, her reeve Ralph of Cardiff, Roger de Bully, Walter de Claville, and his brother Goscelm of Exeter.<sup>112</sup> If so, Matilda's landed wealth and lordships may have exceeded £1,000 and be closer to the figure suggested by Gathagan.

The landed wealth of Queen Matilda puts her amongst the wealthiest in the kingdom, a 'Class A' landholder among the top eight wealthiest landholders in the country. If it was possible to reconstruct her landholding in its entirety, she may have been towards the top of

<sup>108</sup> Beorhtric was their lord.

<sup>109</sup> Beorhtric was their lord.

<sup>110</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 62.

<sup>111</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 65 (*Tembrelia?*).

<sup>112</sup> For a list of Matilda's officials, see Gathagan, 'Embodying Power', 139-142.

this group, perhaps on a par with Queen Edith in 1066 in terms of landed wealth. Queen Matilda's landholding developed separately from Queen Edith's.<sup>113</sup> A significant part of Queen Matilda's landholding in Devon, Dorset, Cornwall, and Gloucestershire came via an antecessorial grant of the estates of Beorhtric, son of Ælfgar Mæw. Beorhtric had witnessed the charters of Edward the Confessor between 1043 and 1065, and was described in one witness list as a counsellor (*consiliarius*) to the king.<sup>114</sup> He was the wealthiest lay landholder in England below the rank of earl before 1066.<sup>115</sup> The continuator of Wace, writing during the reign of Henry III, states that Beorhtric Mæw had refused to marry Matilda of Flanders when he was acting as an English ambassador at the court of her father, Baldwin, Earl of Flanders. The continuator adds that Matilda sought revenge during the conquest of England, and King William imprisoned Beorhtric in Winchester where he died without heir, and his lands were transferred in part to the queen.<sup>116</sup> Whatever the truth of this story, Ann Williams suggests that Beorhtric's lands were transferred reasonably quickly after 1066 because Tewksbury had been taken by William fitzOsbern before his death in 1071.<sup>117</sup> Borman suggests Beorhtric forfeited his lands because he was instrumental in the siege of Exeter in the spring of 1068.<sup>118</sup> As noted above, Tewksbury had been effectively laid waste, yet some favour was shown to Godgifu, Beorhtric's widow, who continued to hold two estates in chief, each valued at £5, at Dodbrooke and Torbryan in Devon in 1086.<sup>119</sup>

In addition to her rural estates, Queen Matilda enjoyed income, rights, and privileges in several villis and boroughs. In Kingston (Surrey), Humphrey the chamberlain had one villager who was responsible for collecting the queen's wool.<sup>120</sup> Matilda received 100s each 'for a

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<sup>113</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 127.

<sup>114</sup> S 1034; A. Williams, 'Beorhtric (*d.* in or before 1066?)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52347>, accessed 21 October 2016. *Mæw* means 'seagull'.

<sup>115</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Beorhtric 36' (provisional).

<sup>116</sup> For the poem see Ellis, *Introduction to Domesday*, ii, 55-6.

<sup>117</sup> Williams, 'Beorhtric', *ODNB*.

<sup>118</sup> Borman, *Matilda*, 119; see also *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock, 146 n. 5.

<sup>119</sup> GDB 118c (Devon: 52,52-53).

<sup>120</sup> GDB 30c (Surrey: 1,8).

benevolence' from the counties of Oxfordshire (*de gersunna reginae*),<sup>121</sup> Worcestershire,<sup>122</sup> and Warwickshire (*reginae pro gersumma*).<sup>123</sup> Matilda received 11s.8d from the market at Tewksbury, which she had introduced, alongside 20s from thirteen burgesses there; forty sesters of salt from Droitwich or 20d, and 58d from a fishery in Gloucester (both payable to Thornbury); three royal manors in Bedfordshire rendered payments of gold for the queen's use (*ad opus reginae*) initially for Queen Edith and, presumably, later for Queen Matilda: four ounces of gold were due from Luton, and two ounces of gold each from Leighton Buzzard and Houghton Regis; and £10 and five ora were paid from Northamptonshire as a gift for the queen and for hay (*de dono reginae et de feno*).<sup>124</sup> A further £40 is recorded separately for Queen Edith's manor in Northamptonshire;<sup>125</sup> where appropriate, the Domesday entries are usually careful to distinguish between Queen Matilda and Queen Edith, which may suggest that payments owed more generally to 'the queen' were transferred to Matilda following her coronation.

Both Edith and Matilda made grants to their followers, and Matilda alienated lands to the two abbeys in Caen with her husband's consent. One of the main differences, however, is that a far greater number of Edith's estates remained ring-fenced in 1086 than Matilda's. Seventy-seven percent of Edith's lands was held by the king and twenty-three percent was held by others. Where the king put in subtenants, usually they held the estate for the king at farm. Edith's estates at Houghton Regis, Leighton Buzzard, and Luton passed to Queen Matilda. The fact that most subtenants on Queen Edith's former lands had no known connection with Queen Matilda would suggest not many others had passed under her control. King William retained about fifty-nine percent of Matilda's estates after her death, and granted just over forty percent

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<sup>121</sup> GDB 154d (Oxfordshire: 1,12).

<sup>122</sup> GDB 172a (Worcestershire: C2).

<sup>123</sup> GDB 238a (Warwickshire: B4).

<sup>124</sup> GDB 163c, d (Gloucestershire: 1,24; 1,47); 209b, c (Bedfordshire: 1,1a; 1,2a; 1,3); 219a (Northamptonshire: B36).

<sup>125</sup> GDB 219b (Northamptonshire: 1,1-3).

to other landholders. Accordingly, Matilda's lands were not reserved and ring-fenced to the same extent as Edith's had been by 1086

#### Queen Matilda's estates in Hampshire

Matilda's total landholding in Hampshire is irrecoverable from Domesday. It is known that Matilda succeeded Wulfgifu Beteslau at Mapledurham, a substantial estate of twenty ploughlands assessed at twenty hides, with a church and three mills because Domesday notes that Matilda granted part of this estate to Richard of Tonbridge.<sup>126</sup> It was located about twenty miles east of Winchester on the Sussex border, and eleven miles from Langstone Harbour on the south coast. Matilda, presumably, had accommodation in Winchester itself: the castle was built shortly after 1066 and the royal palace was evidently in use as William extended the palace complex to incorporate new kitchens.<sup>127</sup> Traditionally, Winchester had been part of the queen's dower and it is possible Matilda received properties previously held by Queen Emma and Queen Edith following Edith's death, including part of the Godbegot House tenement, shops on the High Street, and possibly another property on the High Street near the West Gate.<sup>128</sup>

Matilda may have obtained all Wulfgifu Beteslau's estates. In February 1081, Matilda was in London when she granted her estate at Garsdon in Wiltshire, previously held by Wulfgifu Beteslau, to the abbey of St Mary and St Aldhelm, Malmesbury, the grant being confirmed and attested by William.<sup>129</sup> It is likely that the distribution of Wulfgifu's estates had developed, at some stage, to facilitate travel for an elite thegn who attended royal assemblies. Wulfgifu's estates would have given Queen Matilda this advantage and would have been an ideal addition to the estates of a queen who was prepared to travel extensively when in England.

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<sup>126</sup> GDB 38a (Hampshire: 1,8): 'De eadem terra supradicta manorum tenet Tetbaldus .iii. hidas et dimidiam. Ricardus de Tonebrige dedit ei quando terram de regina habuit'.

<sup>127</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 43, I [60].

<sup>128</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 37-8, 46, I [23], [27], [75].

<sup>129</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, nos. 154, 193.



Date	William the Conqueror		Queen Matilda		Source
	Normandy	England	Normandy	England	
<b>Easter 1071</b>		<b>Winchester?</b> Rebellion of Edwin and Morcar			
Late 1071- early 1072	Normandy: great assembly of Normans and Manceaux				OV. II, 284
<b>8 April 1072- Easter</b>		<b>Winchester</b>		<b>Winchester – Easter</b>	<b>Bates, <i>RRAN</i>, no. 67</b>
27 May 1072		Windsor		Windsor	Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , nos. 67, 68
Summer 1072		Campaign against the king of Scotland resulting in the peace of Abernethy			
1 Nov 1072		Durham			Symeon of Durham, I, 106 (ed. Arnold)
	Rebellion in Maine: Fresney, Sillé, Le Mans?				
30 March 1073- Easter	Bonneville-sur-Touques				Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , nos. 274, 275
Late 1073		Return to England			
Early 1074		In England			ASC D, E
Early 1074	Went overseas to Normandy				
May 1074	Rouen				Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 261
30 Nov 1074	Rouen		Rouen		Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 26
5 April 1075- Easter	Fécamp				OV. III, 8
	Normandy	Revolt of the 3 earls			ASC D
25 Dec 1075		Westminster			ASC D, E
Early 1076		England			ASC D
<b>31 May 1076- Easter</b>		<b>Winchester?</b>			ASC D, E
June 1076		Brittany			ASC D, E
14 July 1077	Bayeux Cathedral dedication				Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 83
19? July 1077	Rouen				OV. III, 18
13 Sept 1077	Caen		Caen		Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 46
25 Dec 1077	Normandy. Revolt of Robert Curthose				
25 Dec 1078	Normandy – Rouen?				
January 1079	Gerberoi				Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 28
Early 1079	Rouen				
25 Dec 1079	Normandy				
7 Jan 1080	Caen				Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 267
31 Jan 1080	Boscherville				Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 266 (II)
					Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 235
12 April 1080- Easter	Rouen		Rouen		
31 May 1080	Lillebonne - Whitsun				OV. III, 21
2 June 1080	Lillebonne				Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 30
14 July 1080	Bonneville-sur-Touques		Bonneville-sur-Touques		Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 175
1080		Berkeley			
25 Dec 1080		Gloucester - Christmas			<i>Acta Lanfranci</i> . 289-90
27 Dec 1080			Normandy		Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 200, poss. 202
3 Jan 1081		Gloucester			Arnold, I, 119; ii, 211
January 1081?		Pilgrimage to Wales			ASC E
2 Feb 1081		Salisbury		Salisbury	Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 154
4 Feb 1081		Salisbury		London	Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 168
February? 1081		London			Bate, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 193, prob. 194
<b>31 May 1081</b>		<b>Winchester - Whitsun</b>		<b>Winchester</b>	<b>Bates, <i>RRAN</i>, no. 39; poss. 255</b>
Autumn 1081	Crossed to the estuary of the Dives or Ornes and then to Caen				
Late 1081/Early 1082	Le Mans				Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 170
Early 1082	Maine				
14 June 1082	Oissel				Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , nos. 204, 205
5 Sept 1082	Oissel				Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 264

Date	William the Conqueror		Queen Matilda		Source
	Normandy	England	Normandy	England	
Late 1082		Downton, Wilts (Bishop of Winchester's estate)		Downton, Wilts (Bishop of Winchester's estate)	Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 153
Late 1082/early 1083		Southern England		Southern England	Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 60
		<b>Arrest of Odo of B on the Isle of Wight. Tried at a great assembly – could be Winchester or Rouen, Christmas 1082</b>			<b>OV. IV, 40</b>
April 1083-Easter	Fécamp		Fécamp – Easter?		Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 230
18 July 1083	Caen		Caen		Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 65
2 Nov 1083	Caen		Caen, death		Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 63; JW. 1083.
9 Jan 1084	Normandy				Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 252
19 June 1084	Rouen				Stephenson (1858), ii, 15
1085	Fécamp				Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 145
1085		Threatened invasion from Denmark – W returned to England with army from Normandy			<i>ASC E</i>
25 Dec 1085		Gloucester – Christmas Domesday survey commissioned			<i>ASC E</i> ; Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , nos. 9, 156
<b>5 April 1086-Easter</b>		<b>Winchester</b>			<i>ASC E</i>
24 May 1086		Westminster – Whitsun			<i>ASC E</i>
1 Aug 1086		Salisbury			<i>ASC E</i>
? 1086		Lacock, Wilts (Count of Eu's estate)			Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no. 146
? 1086	Crossed to Normandy	From the Isle of Wight			<i>ASC E</i>
Late 1086/Early 1087	Normandy				Bates, <i>RRAN</i> , no.242
1087	Preparing for war against King Philip I				
Late July 1087	Mantes				
9 Sept 1087	Rouen, death at Priory of Saint-Gervase				

The festivals in Winchester were important ceremonial occasions and Matilda no doubt had a prominent role when able to attend.<sup>131</sup> She was part of the pleas and transactions that took place, witnessing several grants in Winchester at Easter, 1069.<sup>132</sup> Matilda attended the Council of Winchester in 1072, which was convened in the chapel of Winchester castle, and later at Windsor, when the primacy of the archbishop of Canterbury was established over the archbishop of York. Matilda signed the Accord of Winchester which was subsequently drawn up.<sup>133</sup>

There is also evidence in Hampshire Domesday of Queen Matilda acting as regent in England. Matilda adjudicated a plea by Ealdred, brother of Oda of Winchester, concerning a

<sup>131</sup> Biddle, 'Seasonal Festivals', 62.

<sup>132</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, nos. 138, 232, 254

<sup>133</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, nos. 67, 68.

virgate of land at Compton.<sup>134</sup> Ealdred proved his claim before the queen, and Hugh de Port stood as witness to this fact on Ealdred's behalf before the Domesday commissioners, supported by the men of the whole hundred.<sup>135</sup> It is possible that the original plea took place in Winchester in 1073 if Matilda remained in England when William returned to Normandy following rebellion in Maine. Interestingly, there was a personal connection between Matilda and Ealdred's wife: 'a chasuble made at Winchester by the wife of Ealdred' was bequeathed by Matilda to the abbey of La Trinité, Caen, along with Matilda's crown and sceptre, shortly before Matilda's death.<sup>136</sup> Such relationships may have been fostered if Matilda was occasionally resident in Winchester. Documentary evidence also places Matilda in Salisbury on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1081, where she witnessed the grant of Linkenholt (Hampshire) to the abbey of St Peter, Gloucester by Ernulf de Hesdin.<sup>137</sup>

Examples of Matilda supporting surviving English women, and both French and English widows, are significant in light of Stafford's suggestion that pre-Conquest queens had a duty to protect widows.<sup>138</sup> Matilda showed concern for Wulfifu Beteslau (p. 262), and Ealdred's wife (who had held estates in her own right TRE before her marriage) may have received a commission from the queen to make the chasuble for La Trinité, Caen. Beyond Hampshire, Exon Domesday records that a widow, Eadgifu, who held 1½ hides in Edmondsham (Dorset) at farm from Humphrey the chamberlain, had the estate freed from geld by Queen Matilda in memory of Matilda's son Richard who was killed in a hunting accident in the New Forest in 1081.<sup>139</sup> At Knook in Wiltshire Leofgyth's husband had held 3½ hides worth £3 and Leofgyth

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<sup>134</sup> See pp. 214-15.

<sup>135</sup> GDB 48d (Hampshire: 53,2).

<sup>136</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 63.

<sup>137</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 154.

<sup>138</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 158-9.

<sup>139</sup> Williams, *ENC*, 79; Exon 18a2; GDB 83a (Dorset: 50,2); *VCH Dorset*, iii, 47.

continued to hold it in 1086 because she continued to make (as she had done TRE) gold fringe for the king and queen.<sup>140</sup>

One question that remains unanswerable is the extent to which Queen Matilda engaged with Queen Edith while the latter was still alive. Both were highly educated women, and both were resident for periods of time in Winchester. Although Domesday records that Queen Matilda had received some of Queen Edith's lands most of Matilda's holdings in England had accrued independently of Edith's holdings. It is possible that Edith retained most of her landed wealth while she was alive, and she was treated with honour at her death.

### **Wulfifu Beteslau**

Wulfifu Beteslau was one of the wealthiest women in England, and the wealthiest woman in Hampshire. She held thirty-four estates valued at £162 across seven shires. Wulfifu's holding appears to represent the entire landholding of an elite thegn who served the king and attended royal assemblies. Like most of the upper aristocracy of great thegns below the rank of earl (Class C and D landholders with landed wealth of between £100-£400) Wulfifu's estates were 'more dispersed than concentrated...scattered across more than two or three shires, very often with an orientation towards that part of England where royal assemblies were most frequently convened'.<sup>141</sup> In short, the distribution of Wulfifu's estates facilitated travel into the royal heartlands, a feature observed with the distribution of the estates of thegns who attended royal assemblies and witnessed royal diplomas: several of Wulfifu's estates are located on or within a couple of miles of surviving Roman roads such as the Portway, Fosse Way, and trackways such as the Harroway which ran across the north of Hampshire. The distribution of Wulfifu's estates across many shires, with large estates in Sussex (Hamsey), Hampshire (Mapledurham), Berkshire (Great Shefford), and Devon (Rawridge) is typical of

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<sup>140</sup> GDB 74b (Wiltshire: 67,86).

<sup>141</sup> Baxter and Lewis, 'Landed Society', 398.

the elite thegns with estates in Hampshire whose landed wealth was greater than £100 per annum (Class D landholders). A similar distribution of estates has already been seen above with Æthelnoth Cild, Wulfweard the White, Beorhtsige Cild, Carl ‘of Norton Bavant’, and Saxi the housecarl.

In Hampshire, Wulfgifu held almost all her estates from King Edward *in alodium*, suggesting they were freely alienable bookland or family land. She held valuable estates in the north of the shire: Sherbourne St John (£10), Farleigh Wallop (£8), Laverstoke (£7), Monxton (£5), Fyfield (£5), and Enham Alamein (£3).<sup>142</sup> She also held Mapledurham (£25) to the east of Winchester, and Harbridge (£4.5) in the south-west of the shire.<sup>143</sup> She was the lord of Theodger and two radknights at Mapledurham (Hampshire), her most valuable estate.<sup>144</sup> Over one-third of Wulfgifu’s landed wealth was in Hampshire, where she held just under sixty hides with a combined value of £67.10s, and it is possible that her family were most closely connected with this shire.

The figures for Wulfgifu assume she is the same woman as Wulfgifu ‘of Milton Damerel’ in Devon, although this part of the identification is problematic.<sup>145</sup> The value of Rawridge is also adjusted to £7 in this thesis. Wulfgifu’s byname is only used twice in Domesday at Laverstoke (Hampshire) and at Clyffe Pypard (Wiltshire), and these estates can be attributed to her most securely.<sup>146</sup> Her byname is also used in *Winton Domesday* where she held a tenement in *Bredenestret* (Staple Gardens).<sup>147</sup> Olof von Feilitzen notes that Round associated the byname with the Domesday vill *Beteslawe* (Beslow) in Shropshire but felt ‘the absence of *de* in all three cases and the final *f* in the *LW* spelling raise doubts about the correctness of this

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<sup>142</sup> GDB 38a-b, (Hampshire: 1,8; 1,39; 6,12; 23,4; 35,9; 69,14; 69,28).

<sup>143</sup> GDB 51c (Hampshire: NF9,13).

<sup>144</sup> GDB 38a (Hampshire: 1,8).

<sup>145</sup> *PASE Domesday*, ‘Wulfgifu 9’; ‘Wulfgifu 14’ (provisional). This figure excludes land that Wulfgifu had loaned to others (£6). Clarke excludes all but one of the Wiltshire estates, and estates in Devon, suggesting a total value of £97.15s: Clarke, *English Nobility*, 363-4.

<sup>146</sup> GDB 43b (Hampshire: 6,12); 74d (Wiltshire: 68,24).

<sup>147</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 56, I [158].

derivation'.<sup>148</sup> Feilitzen suggested instead that '[t]he second [element] could be OE *laf* f. 'relict, widow' in which case DB *-lau* would be due to inflected *-lafe* [lave]. The first [element] might be the same as in Beslow, i.e. the [genitive] of OE *Betti*...hence 'Betti's widow', but the reappearance of this archaic name in the eleventh century would be somewhat unexpected'. Like Round, Gösta Tengvik suggests that *Betteslaf/Beteslau* was derived from the place-name Beslow.<sup>149</sup> Yet Wulfgifu held estates only within Wessex. There is no evidence in Domesday that she had any connection with Shropshire. Furthermore, Queen Matilda's grant of Laverstoke to the New Minster, Winchester, acknowledges what looks to have been an earlier grant or bequest of the estate by '*Wluve bettes laf*', which would support Feilitzen's contention that Wulfgifu was the widow of Bet or Betti.<sup>150</sup>

The byname gives some insight into Wulfgifu's background, and how she may have gained such an extraordinary level of landed wealth. It is possible that Bet/Betti was a shortened or a hypocoristic name, perhaps with '*Beorht*' as the first element. The name *Beorhtheah* (or *Byrhteh*) is recorded in the friends and benefactors list in the *Liber Vitae*.<sup>151</sup> It offers an eleventh-century alternative to the seventh-century name 'Betti' proposed by Feilitzen, the date of which caused him some concern, and such a name could give rise to *Byrhthehes laf*.<sup>152</sup> It is worth noting that a thegn named *Beorhtheah* (*Brihteh minister*) was the first lay witness below the rank of earl in a grant of land at Chilton, Berkshire, by Edward the Confessor to the church of St Mary, Abingdon in 1052.<sup>153</sup> If Wulfgifu had been married to *Beorhtheah*, and succeeded to his estates, it would explain why her landholding mirrors that of elite thegns who attended

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<sup>148</sup> O. von Feilitzen, 'The Personal Names and Bynames of the Winton Domesday', *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday*, ed. Martin Biddle (Oxford, 1976), 143-229, at 207-8.

<sup>149</sup> Tengvik, *Bynames*, 125.

<sup>150</sup> See p. 262; *VCH Hampshire*, iv, 208-12, citing the Cartulary of Hyde Abbey: BL, Cotton MS. Domitian A XIV. f. 131.

<sup>151</sup> BL Stowe MS 944, f. 25r. name no. 19; f. 25v., no.78; 'Beorhtheah 2', *PASE Database* was bishop of Worcester and known as Britheah/Byrhteh: S 1399; ASC, D, 1038.

<sup>152</sup> 'Betti 1', *PASE Database*.

<sup>153</sup> 'Beortheah 6', *PASE Database*; S 1023.

royal assemblies. At present this is speculation, however, with no evidence of a link between them.

The size and value of Wulfgifu's estates across Sussex, Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorset, and Somerset suggest they were all held by the same woman.<sup>154</sup> Wulfgifu's most valuable estates were in Hampshire at Mapledurham and Sherbourne St John (£25 and £10 respectively). Excluding the Devon estates, the average hidage assessment for Wulfgifu's estates was over six hides (five hides being the determinate size of a thegn's estate in *Gepyncðu*, part of the 'promotion laws', attributed to Wulfstan, Archbishop of York between 1002 and 1023).<sup>155</sup> The Devon estates themselves were more valuable than their hidage assessment would suggest.

Wulfgifu's urban property also marked her out as a high-status landholder. Robin Fleming has considered the interconnectivity between the rural and urban landholding of thegns in the eleventh century, observing that 'wealthy thegns regularly held urban property and that the wealthiest invariably did so'.<sup>156</sup> Fleming has established that:

[s]everal dozen of England's most influential thegns are attributed with land in a number of towns. Many of these men, who attended the Confessor's court and attested his charters, held in three, four or even five towns. Siward Barn held in towns as far apart as Lincoln and Winchcombe. Wulfweard White possessed tenements from Buckingham to Lewes, Merleswein the Sheriff from Exeter to Lincoln, and Ulf Fenisc from Lincoln to Huntingdon to Wallingford.<sup>157</sup>

In Hampshire, Wulfgifu Beteslau is one of five secular landholders recorded with tenements in Winchester and rural estates in Domesday: Queen Edith, Cypping of Worthy, Godwine of Worthy, Lanc Delere, and Oda of Winchester (Oda of Sparkford). Oda, Cypping, and Godwine also held exempt property in Southampton from King Edward, as did Ketil 'of Dibden', and

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<sup>154</sup> See also Lewis, 'Joining the Dots', 64.

<sup>155</sup> Whitelock, *EHD*, i, 432.

<sup>156</sup> R. Fleming, 'Rural Elites and Urban Communities in Late-Saxon England', *Past and Present* 141 (November, 1993), 3-37, at 7.

<sup>157</sup> Fleming, 'Rural Elites', 7.

Tosti (most likely Earl Tosti). They form a select group of rural and urban landholders in Hampshire Domesday.

In Winchester, *Wulfgifu Betteslaf* held tenements in *Bredenestret* (Staple Gardens) which were quit TRE, and she may be the Wulfgifu who held a tenement on the High Street that paid the customs.<sup>158</sup> Two estates in Wiltshire, held by Wulfgifu TRE, had income from urban tenements. Her manor at Garsdon received 3s from a burgess, almost certainly in Malmesbury which was the nearest borough.<sup>159</sup> Garsdon appears to have been transferred to Queen Matilda who granted three hides to Malmesbury Abbey in 1081.<sup>160</sup> The burgess paid 3s to the rural manor, rather than to the abbey directly. As such, it is likely that the arrangement was already in place with Wulfgifu. Wulfgifu's manor of Clyffe Pypard received 3d from a house in Cricklade.<sup>161</sup> Cricklade was one of the burhs of the burghal hidage on the upper reaches of the River Thames, although its walls had been dismantled in the eleventh century.<sup>162</sup> A neighbouring estate at Clyffe Pypard, held by Edwin, also had three burgesses in Cricklade paying 3d and these arrangements with the burh may have pre-dated the Conquest. Accordingly, it seems likely that Wulfgifu had urban tenements not just in Winchester, but also in Marlborough and Cricklade.

It is less certain whether the Devon estates should be attributed to Wulfgifu Beteslau. They are smaller and of lower value than her estates in the other shires. The largest estate at Rawridge is valued together with Ottery St Mary at £70 'of Rouen pence' (*denarii rodmensium*), which may represent £35 in English currency.<sup>163</sup> Ottery had more ploughlands and resources and must have accounted for most of the revenue. Nevertheless, Rawridge would

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<sup>158</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 56, I [158]: 'The tenements of *Ulveva Betteslaf* were quit TRE. Now the count of Meulan holds them and they are likewise quit except for Watch; 42, I [52]: The tenement of *Ulveva* paid the custom TRE. Now Robert son of Fulchered holds it and performs no custom...And it yields 117s'.

<sup>159</sup> GDB 67b (Wiltshire: 8,10).

<sup>160</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Charters XI: Charters of Malmesbury Abbey*, ed. S. E. Kelly (Oxford, 2005), 30: citing *Reg.Malm.*, i. 326-8.

<sup>161</sup> GDB 74d (Wiltshire: 68,24).

<sup>162</sup> Baker and Brookes, *Burghal Hidage*, 124-5.

<sup>163</sup> GDB 104b (Devon: 10,2) and corresponding note, citing *VCH Devon*, i, 435.

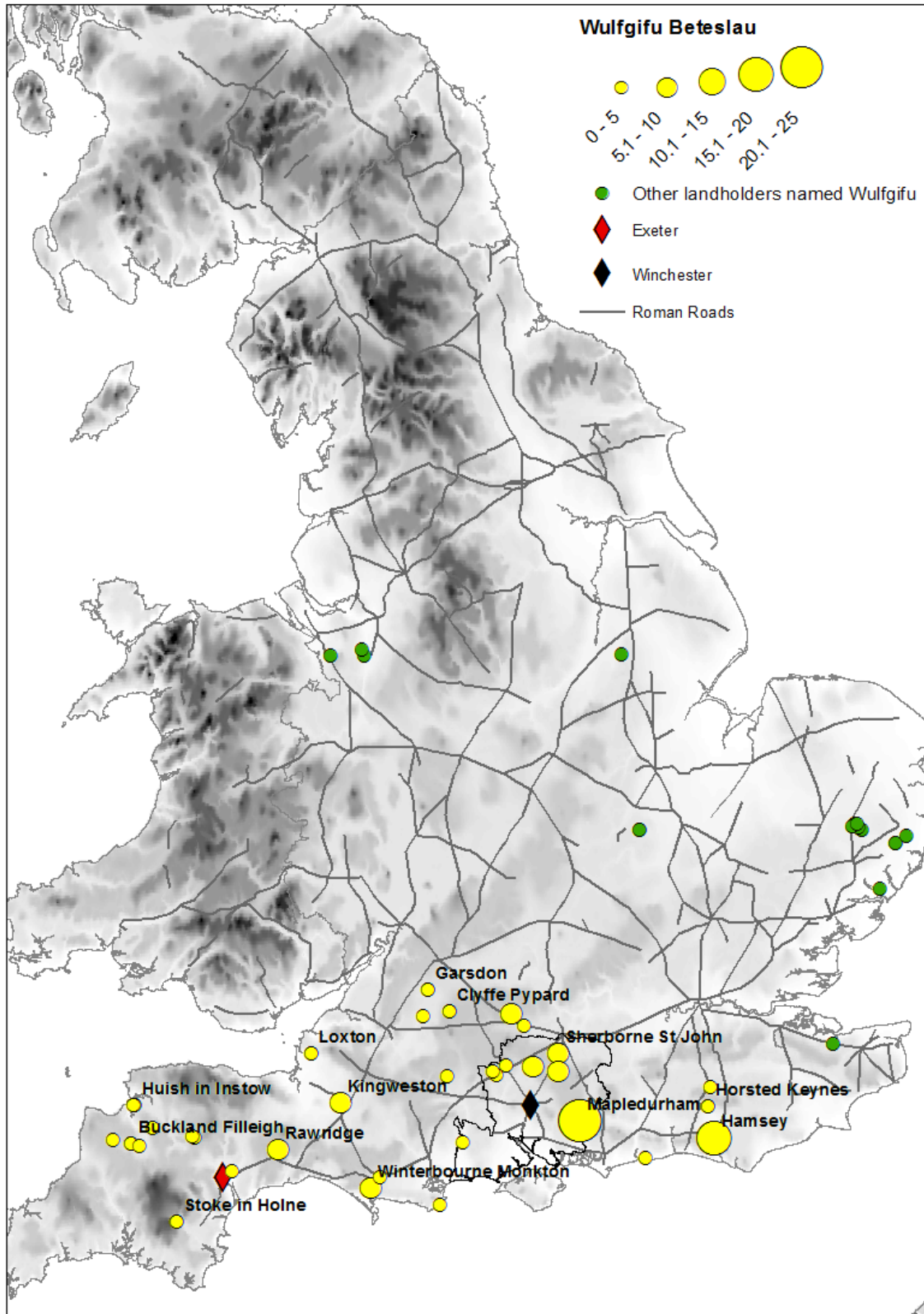


Figure 27. Estates attributed in Domesday to landholders named Wulfifu in 1066, graded by value (£)

still be a valuable estate at about £7 if its twelve ploughlands (out of a joint fifty-two ploughlands) contributed about one-fifth of the value in 1086.

Rawridge was about thirty miles from Wulfgifu's nearest estates in Somerset, close to where the Roman roads branched into the Fosse Way (Exeter to Bath) and the Portway, which ran from Exeter to Dorchester, Old Sarum, and across the north of Hampshire to Silchester. These roads connected Rawridge with Wulfgifu Beteslau's estate at Kingweston (Somerset), Winterbourne Monkton and Bockhampton (Dorset), and those in the north of Hampshire.

The remaining estates in Devon are assessed for fractions of a hide but they had a high number of ploughlands which is characteristic of many estates in the shire.<sup>164</sup> Fox has established evidence of transhumance practices on at least one of the Wulfgifu estates, at Stoke in Holne on Dartmoor.<sup>165</sup> Local farming practices may have given rise to wealthy landholders controlling many small estates supporting animal husbandry. Helena Hamerow suggests sheep farming for wool increased in intensity in the late Anglo-Saxon period, and the production of high value yarn and cloth may have moved to specialist centres in the towns.<sup>166</sup> The geographical proximity of Wulfgifu's south-eastern estates with access to summer grazing on the uplands in Devon, with her main Devonshire estate at Rawridge only twenty miles from markets in Exeter, may have supported specialisation on her farmsteads. The possibility of them being held by a major thegn should not be discounted.<sup>167</sup>

For these reasons, this thesis identifies Wulfgifu Beteslau as the same woman as Wulfgifu 'of Milton Damerel' and combines the figures for both. Lewis has also argued that Wulfgifu Beteslau held the estates in Devon because 'the relative rarity of the name elsewhere, and the coherence of the geographical pattern' would suggest just one Wulfgifu held all these

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<sup>164</sup> H. C. Darby and R. W. Finn, 'Devonshire', *The Domesday Geography of South-West England* (Cambridge, 2009), 237.

<sup>165</sup> For Stoke in Holne see Fox, *Dartmoor's Alluring Uplands*, 169-73.

<sup>166</sup> H. Hamerow, *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2012), 156-159.

<sup>167</sup> See a case study of the farm at Northlew in the fourteenth century, which was in a similar location to Wulfgifu's estates, see: Fox, *Dartmoor's Alluring Uplands*, 218-19.

manors, and he notes the transfer of all Wulfgifu's estates across all these shires to some of the closest friends and family of William I.<sup>168</sup>

There had been investment on Wulfgifu's estates, particularly in Hampshire. Outside of Devon, half of her estates had mills not just milling for the hall but also producing an income. In Hampshire there were three mills at Mapledurham paying 20s, three at Sherborne St John (27s 6d), and two at Laverstoke (14s), plus a mill at Monxton. Of the five churches mentioned on her estates, four were in Hampshire at Mapledurham, Laverstoke, Sherborne St John, and Fyfield. Apart from Mapledurham, which lay to the east of Winchester, these estates were in the Hampshire Downs, and may have been her flagship manors across the north of the shire.

It is striking that there is a strong correlation in the south of England between the location of Wulfgifu's estates and those of Queen Edith, and with the estates of Earl Godwine and his sons. Stafford suggests that Wulfgifu Beteslau was in Queen Edith's service because a Wulfgifu held estates on what became Queen Matilda's fee in East Anglia.<sup>169</sup> However, the remoteness of the Suffolk estates from Wulfgifu Beteslau's estates in Wessex makes it more likely that another Wulfgifu held these manors. Apart from Queen Edith, Domesday does not show women gaining extensive *ex officio* landholding. There are few examples of land-grants to women in specified roles. Edward the Confessor granted one hide from the royal *feorm* at East Hendred to the wife of Godric the sheriff 'because she was rearing (*nutriebat*) his hounds'.<sup>170</sup> Godric himself granted half a hide at Oakley, for as long as he was sheriff, to a 'girl' who was going to teach his daughter gold embroidery.<sup>171</sup> At Upper Clatford in 1086, Adeline the jester held a virgate which Earl Roger had given her.<sup>172</sup> These were all modest grants of land. Accordingly, it would seem unlikely that Wulfgifu acquired such extensive

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<sup>168</sup> Lewis, 'Joining the Dots', 64, 84.

<sup>169</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 110, 317.

<sup>170</sup> GDB 57d (Berkshire: 1,38).

<sup>171</sup> GDB 149b (Buckinghamshire: 19,3).

<sup>172</sup> GDB 38d (Hampshire: 1,25).

landholding *de novo* in her own right during her lifetime. Inheritance is likely to have accounted for most if not all Wulfgifu's landed wealth.

Wormald distinguishes between two main categories of heritable land: firstly family land that was usually bequeathed to sons, especially elder sons; and, secondly, estates that had been acquired by other means.<sup>173</sup> The latter category was often bookland granted by diploma in perpetuity to the recipient, over which the recipient had complete freedom of alienation. Bookland was not bound by customary laws of inheritance and was a form of 'acquired property *par excellence* in that the "book", the charter, was proof of its acquired status'.<sup>174</sup> Wormald argues that 'most property disposed of by wills was bookland' which thus formed 'a particular kind of inheritance' giving the testator/testatrix the freedom to provide for daughters. Wormald notes that seventeen out of twenty-seven surviving wills make no provision for sons which 'can only mean that sons were being otherwise catered for presumably by normative customs of inheritance'.<sup>175</sup> Surviving wills from the ninth century onwards show women inheriting estates from their relatives and godparents.<sup>176</sup>

If Wulfgifu inherited estates from her family, with perhaps her family entailing her landholding to keep it within her own kindred, her landed wealth would not necessarily have been affected by marriage. Her husband would have had the freedom to alienate her dowry, however, as a parcel of land free from 'familial opposition'.<sup>177</sup> Mumby's analysis of the bequests in three wills has shown complex restrictions on the testamentary freedom of both male and female landholders: the history of the estates reveal some were *ex officio* landholdings held for a number of lives before reverting to the king, or carried a life-interest only because a

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<sup>173</sup> P. Wormald, 'On *Pa Wæpnedhealfe*: Kingship and Royal Property from Æthelwulf to Edward the Elder', *Edward the Elder, 899–924*, ed. N. J. Higham and D. H. Hill (London, 2000), 264–79, at 267.

<sup>174</sup> Wormald, 'Royal Property', 267–8.

<sup>175</sup> Wormald, 'Royal Property', 267.

<sup>176</sup> S 1483–4, 1486, 1494, 1497, 1508, 1511, 1519–22, 1528, 1534, 1536–9.

<sup>177</sup> Mumby, 'Wills', 173.

predecessor had granted the reversion of the estate to a monastery.<sup>178</sup> Family estates (and, indeed, bookland estates from the second generation onwards) often had restrictions on descent imposed by the family to prevent alienation outside the kindred; the public declarations of bequests, their regulation, and the resolution of family disputes over land was part of the business of hundred and shire courts.<sup>179</sup> Mumby's analysis shows both men and women acting as 'conduits of land'. Women, however, tended to hold property in their own right at specific stages in their lifecycle (especially during widowhood) before channelling it, usually to male heirs.<sup>180</sup> Fathers bequeathed land first to daughters and then their grandchildren, giving the daughter and grandchildren protection from her husband's kin if she pre-deceased him, especially if her husband remarried. Conversely, it gave the woman herself only a lifetime interest in the land and deprived her of the freedom to dispose of the property independently, as she wished, through lifetime or post-obitum grants.

If Wulfgifu instead inherited her estates from her husband, her retention of the land was governed by custom and laws although her husband could have made separate arrangements to protect her interests. Some women brought dowries, often a gift which could include land from her family, to the bridegroom on her marriage which could form part of her dower if her husband pre-deceased her.<sup>181</sup> A woman also received land from her husband following their marriage as a 'morning-gift' (*morgangifu*) to support her if widowed although she could forfeit it to her husband's kin if she remarried within a year.<sup>182</sup> Whether women had freedom to

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<sup>178</sup> Mumby, 'Wills', 159-174.

<sup>179</sup> J. Mumby, 'The Descent of Family Land in Later Anglo-Saxon England', *Historical Research*, 84 (2011), 399-415.

<sup>180</sup> Stafford, 'Women and the Norman Conquest', 232-33; J. Crick, 'Posthumous Benefaction, and Family Strategy in Pre-Conquest England', *Journal of British Studies* 38 (October, 1999), 399-422; Mumby, 'Wills', 169-174.

<sup>181</sup> Hudson, *OHLE*, II, 237-8; *Wifmannes Bewedding*, *EHD*, i, no. 50. For an early twelfth-century example of a dowery arrangement in Hampshire, Peter de Oglandes, dean of Christchurch Priory, mortgaged Stanpitt to Ælfric Small which Ælfric gave to his daughter Adeline as her dowry for her marriage to Wyso the falconer: *CPC*, 86-7, nos. 246-251.

<sup>182</sup> II Cnut 73; Hudson, *OHLE*, II, 234, 238-10.

alienate their morning-gift is contested,<sup>183</sup> and custom perhaps varied depending on the personalities and the negotiating position of the parties to the marriage. On the widow's death there may have been an ultimate reversion to her husband's kin for marital property not given outright to the wife.<sup>184</sup>

Accordingly, as a widow (*'Bettes laf'*), Wulfgifu was in a relatively strong position. Stafford has cautioned that the wealthier the woman, the more pressurised she may have been to re-marry by her family, surrounding community, or by the king. Yet Kline has shown a level of legal protection against forced marriage for widows and noted their freedom of choice to remain single, to re-marry, or to enter a nunnery.<sup>185</sup> Sarah Foot emphasizes that 'a formal duty to protect widows was laid on the king and the Church...in the late pre-Conquest period'.<sup>186</sup> Stafford also draws attention to the specific role of pre-Conquest queens as patrons of widows in arranging marriages, giving protection, and in return receiving grants of (or having claims over) their lands.<sup>187</sup> The proximity of Wulfgifu's estates to those of Queen Edith, and a possible connection with Queen Matilda, raises the possibility that Wulfgifu served in their households, or commended herself to them for their protection. Most of Wulfgifu's estates were held from King Edward, and she may also have had his protection before 1066.

Some widows chose to enter a nunnery or to become a secular vowess either connected with a monastery or by living a chaste but secular life.<sup>188</sup> It is not certain whether the latter arrangements were confirmed by a ceremonial blessing or whether women of this status were required to dress in a particular way, perhaps wearing a veil.<sup>189</sup> In this context it is interesting

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<sup>183</sup> Stafford, 'Women and the Norman Conquest', 238-9.

<sup>184</sup> Hudson, *OHLE*, II, 240.

<sup>185</sup> A. Kline, 'Anglo-Saxon Women and the Law', *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982), 107 – 21; V Æthelred 21; VI Æthelred 26; II Cnut 73-73a and 74. For vowesses see J. L. Nelson, 'The Wary Widow', in *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. W. Davies and P. Fouracre (Cambridge, 1995), 83-110.

<sup>186</sup> S. Foot, *Veiled Women I: The Disappearance of Nuns from Anglo-Saxon England* (Aldershot, 2000), 113, 122.

<sup>187</sup> Stafford, *QEQE*, 158-9.

<sup>188</sup> E. van Houts, 'The Women of Bury St Edmunds', *Bury St Edmunds and the Norman Conquest*, ed. T. Licence (Woodbridge, 2014), 53-73; Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 122-6.

<sup>189</sup> Foot, *Veiled Women I*, 127-44.

that Domesday records that Wulfgifu held Laverstoke from the New Minster ‘up to her death’ (*Vlueua Beteslau tenuit de abbatia usque ad obitum*), after which King William returned the manor to the church for the sake of his soul and that of his wife.<sup>190</sup> In fact, the Hyde Abbey cartulary states that it was Queen Matilda who restored Laverstoke to the New Minster which ‘*Wluve bettes laf*’ had held from the abbey for her lifetime. Matilda restored the estate for the sake of her body and soul, and those of her husband and children, and in order that Wulfgifu ‘might be deemed worthy of a place in the orisons of the brethren’.<sup>191</sup> The grant was made during the abbacy of Riwallon, who was appointed in 1072, and before the death of Queen Matilda in 1083, and it was witnessed by Hugh de Port and Walkelin, bishop of Winchester. The restoration of Laverstoke to the New Minster by Queen Matilda may honour a grant originating with Wulfgifu or her family; Wulfgifu’s life-interest may reflect a reversionary grant, not a lease. The concern and respect shown by Queen Matilda for Wulfgifu’s spiritual wellbeing may indicate a personal connection between the two women during the conquest period. It is possible the gifts of Garsdon to Malmesbury Abbey,<sup>192</sup> and of Rawridge to St Mary’s of Rouen also originated with Wulfgifu.<sup>193</sup> Ottery St Mary had been granted to St Mary’s of Rouen by Edward the Confessor, and Rawridge was also granted to the canons, seemingly by William the Conqueror.

Wulfgifu’s byname in Domesday marks her widowhood, suggesting she never remarried. Little is known about her family. Wulfgifu held West Tytherton (Wiltshire) ‘as two manors’ with an Ælfgifu, who may have been a relative.<sup>194</sup> Curiously, in *Winton Domesday*, an Ælfgifu of Mapledurham (*Alueua de Mapeldreham*) held a tenement in *Bucchestret*, Winchester in c. 1110, for which Elaf/Eilaf had paid 8d and the custom TRE. Although not necessarily the same

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<sup>190</sup> GDB 43b (Hampshire: 6,12).

<sup>191</sup> The charter is not published; see *VCH Hampshire*, iv, 208-12, citing the cartulary of Hyde Abbey, London, BL, Cotton MS. Domitian A XIV. fol. 131.

<sup>192</sup> See pp. 246, 255.

<sup>193</sup> S 1033; Keynes, ‘Regenbald’, 200-201; GDB 104 (Devon: 10,1-2) and notes.

<sup>194</sup> GDB 70c (Wiltshire: 26,22).

woman, speculatively Ælfgifu (and perhaps Eilaf) were family names if Ælfgifu was a descendant of Wulfgifu.<sup>195</sup>

Wulfgifu did not have one main successor in 1086. Like many of the elite thegns, her landholding was broken-up and redistributed after her death. Lewis argues that the fate of Wulfgifu's lands in 1086 suggests 'the estates of a single Wulfgifu had fallen into the King William's hands and been distributed piecemeal' as Queen Matilda received some of Wulfgifu's estates, along with 'both his half-brothers, a clutch of his closest friends and no fewer than eight of his sheriffs and chamberlains'.<sup>196</sup> Wulfgifu's largest estates in Hampshire at Mapledurham and Laverstoke were transferred to the queen. Humphrey, the queen's chamberlain, and four other chamberlains (Sigeric, Alsige *berchenistrus*, Bernard *camerarius*, and William Maudit) were granted some of Wulfgifu's estates while Wibert, the king's serjeant, succeeded Wulfgifu Beteslau at Clyffe Pypard. It is possible that there had been a transfer *en bloc* of Wulfgifu's estates to Queen Matilda after 1066, and the piecemeal distribution occurred after Matilda's death, not Wulfgifu's, although this would not detract from Lewis' argument that there was one Wulfgifu holding all the estates in Sussex, Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Devon, and Dorset.

It is important to note that Wulfgifu, alongside other elite thegns considered in this thesis, may have retained some, if not all her estates after 1066, possibly until her death. Three estates in Dorset passed to Ida, countess of Boulogne, and Ida also held Kingweston in Somerset from her husband Eustace in 1086. Eustace of Boulogne held Wulfgifu's other Somerset estate at Loxton. Eustace was reconciled with the Conqueror after 1074 and Wulfgifu perhaps survived until at least this date because these estates had not yet been allocated elsewhere.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 63, I [231].

<sup>196</sup> Lewis, 'Joining the Dots', 64.

<sup>197</sup> For Count Eustace see F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London, 1997), 307-8.

Wulfgifu held estates in her own right before 1066 and enjoyed considerable landed wealth. As an elite female landholder, she joins a group of exceptionally wealthy women including Wulfwynn of Creslow, Eadgifu the Fair, Æthelgyth ‘of Wimbish’, and others listed in Table 9 above, and these women must have had authority and status as elite landholders before 1066 and (for those who survived) during the conquest period. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to undertake a comparative study of female landholding across all shires in Domesday although this would enable Wulfgifu’s experience to be seen in a wider context. This section has outlined the legal and customary frameworks in which Wulfgifu acquired and held land but it can give only brief insights into how Wulfgifu managed her estates, benefitted from their distribution and resources, or how her landholding and landed wealth supported her in her private and public roles as a noblewoman before and after 1066.

### **Other female landholders in Hampshire before and after 1066**

The remaining women in Hampshire are shadowy figures.<sup>198</sup> Domesday does not name the woman who held land TRE and who brought two estates as dowry to her marriage with Ealdred, brother of Oda of Winchester, after 1066.<sup>199</sup> Other high-status landholders include the abbesses of Romsey, Nunnaminster, Wherwell, and Wilton. The abbesses held land with a total value of £130 (about three percent of the landed wealth of the shire) nearly all of which was held in demesne. Secular women held estates with a combined value of £178 in Hampshire, five percent of the total value of land in 1066. By 1086, Edith, Wulfgifu, and Matilda had died. The only secular female landholders were Sæwulf ‘of Tytherley’s widow, and Eadgifu ‘of Midgham’, both holding in chief, and a subtenant, Adelina the jester. They held just a fraction

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<sup>198</sup> *PASE Domesday*, ‘Ælfgifu 30’; ‘Eadgifu 25’; ‘Godeza 3’; ‘Mærwynn 5’; ‘Anonymous 1062’ (all provisional).

<sup>199</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 63.

of the landed wealth of the shire. Together, their estates were valued at just over £1.<sup>200</sup> Any golden age of secular female landholding, at a level captured by Domesday, was rapidly fading in Hampshire by 1086.

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<sup>200</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Sæwulf 2'; 'Anonymous 3572'; 'Eadgifu 27' (all provisional).

## Chapter Five: The Church in Hampshire

### Introduction

This chapter considers the impact of the Conquest on the religious houses within Hampshire and ecclesiastical landholders from outside the shire who held estates in Hampshire in 1066 and 1086, the extent and value of their lands, and aspects of continuity and change between the two dates. The degree of royal control over ecclesiastical appointments and landholding, and royal intervention in the choice of tenants, are key considerations.

The chapter draws on a database of charters prepared for this research from ecclesiastical archives in Hampshire, and from ecclesiastical archives outside Hampshire but relating to estates in the shire. Unfortunately, the database has become too extensive to incorporate into this thesis. It has enabled discrepancies between the archival and Domesday records of landholding to be understood and reconciled as far as possible. One concern is that the Domesday figures are problematic because TRE loanland (OE. *laenland*) may not be recorded systematically. In other words, Domesday may attribute land to pre-Conquest landholders without recording their tenurial dependency on a religious house.

I have tried to reconcile all the ecclesiastical estates recorded in charters in the Hampshire archives and in Domesday and have isolated estates missing from one or the other. In most instances there are good reasons for any discrepancies. It has become clear that estates in the archive but missing from Domesday are not necessarily unattributed loanland. Many are often subsumed within the bounds of a larger estate or were bequeathed in wills that may have been overturned. However, there are a small number of estates missing from Domesday the reason for which is not always clear.

Hemming's cartulary details the appropriation of land, especially loanland, from Worcester before and after 1066.<sup>1</sup> This chapter considers whether Hampshire churches suffered similar losses during the Conquest. One of the more surprising outcomes of this research is that the landed wealth of the religious houses in Hampshire in fact increased between 1066 and 1086. The initial impression is that religious houses in Hampshire benefitted financially between 1066 and 1086. Their new wealth, however, was not achieved through the benevolence of the king and other donors granting new estates, but through higher payments being demanded from existing estates. The reasons why it was imperative to obtain higher values, and how this may have been achieved is considered below. Another feature of the Conquest is that the number of alien houses increased in Hampshire, and they were granted new estates.

By 1086 there had been a dramatic change in personnel. Stigand, bishop of Winchester, was deposed in 1070 and Ælfric, abbot of the New Minster, Winchester, died at or shortly after the Battle of Hastings. Ælfric's successor, Wulfwig, was deposed in 1072. Nearly all the English heads of religious houses were replaced by Norman appointees in Hampshire, except Christine, sister of Edgar Ætheling, who was abbess of Romsey in 1086, and Godric, dean of Christchurch Priory, Twynham. The social profile of the New Minster community also changed, according to the abbatial lists in its *Liber Vitae*, and the same may be true for other churches in Hampshire.

The extent to which these changes influenced the division of the *mensa* between the bishop, abbot, or abbess and their communities is considered. There are also indications that there was a re-structuring in the way loanland was used after 1066, and this chapter investigates what may have driven this change. Although there were some English survivors, most TRE ecclesiastical tenants were replaced by Norman landholders and this created

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<sup>1</sup> Williams, 'Spoliation of Worcester', 383-408.

opportunities for terms to be re-negotiated. By 1086, Riwallon and Walkelin had been in office for fourteen and sixteen years respectively. The measures taken by the heads of the Hampshire religious houses in negotiating their way through twenty years of occupation, settlement, and ecclesiastical reform had a significant impact on the experience of the religious and secular communities living through the Conquest who depended upon them.

### **Overview of the ecclesiastical landholders in Hampshire in 1066 and 1086**

In 1066, the wealthiest ecclesiastical landholders were the bishopric of Winchester and the monks of the Old Minster, followed by the New Minster, Winchester; the nunneries at Romsey, St Mary's, Winchester (Nunnaminster), and Wherwell; and the community of secular canons at Christchurch Twynham. The bishopric of Winchester and the monks of the Old Minster are given separate fiefs in Domesday Book which is unusual. For monastic bishoprics, their lands are normally combined within one fief. It makes the arrangements for the division of the *mensa* much clearer, that is the allocation of renders in cash or kind from church estates between the monks and the bishop. The extent to which the endowment of each provided food security for the monastery or was used to finance and support the work of the bishop and his household at local and national level can be compared in 1066 and 1086.

Ecclesiastical landholders from outside Hampshire who held estates in the shire before 1066 included Ealdred, archbishop of York; Walter, bishop of Hereford; the abbess of Wilton; and the abbots of St Augustine's, Canterbury; Glastonbury; and Milton Abbey.<sup>2</sup> These landholders held token estates in Hampshire located within a day's journey of Winchester, which lends further weight to arguments that Edward the Confessor, like his successor William I, convened assemblies at Winchester on a regular basis.<sup>3</sup> Domesday also

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<sup>2</sup> Also, the abbot of Westminster acquired what appears to be soke-rights over Eversley before 1066: S 1129; Bates, *RRAN*, 870-881, no. 290.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 44-50.

records eight priests holding land in Hampshire TRE: Godwine, Osbern fitzOsbern, Alsige, Eskil, Edwin, Godric, Godwine, and Spirites.<sup>4</sup>

By 1086 Walter, bishop of Hereford, had lost his solitary estate in Hampshire (one hide at Basingstoke with the tithes of the church). Walter had held it personally from King Edward and it was not of his bishopric (*non erat de episcopate suo*). The estate was transferred to Roger, abbot of Mont Saint Michel, giving him a base in the shire twenty miles north of Winchester.<sup>5</sup> Wulfric, abbot of Ely, held *Chingescamp* (Broughton Hundred), and Æthelsige, abbot of St Augustine's, Canterbury, held Bransbury, both loanland estates from Stigand. Both estates had returned to Walkelin, bishop of Winchester, by 1086. By 1086, Osbern fitzOsbern, who had been appointed bishop of Exeter in 1072, no longer held Old Alresford from the bishop of Winchester but had acquired Farringdon, linked with the church of Bosham.<sup>6</sup> Osbern fitzOsbern held the church at Bosham TRE and continued to hold it in 1086.<sup>7</sup> As a result, all these estates remained with ecclesiastical landholders in Hampshire.

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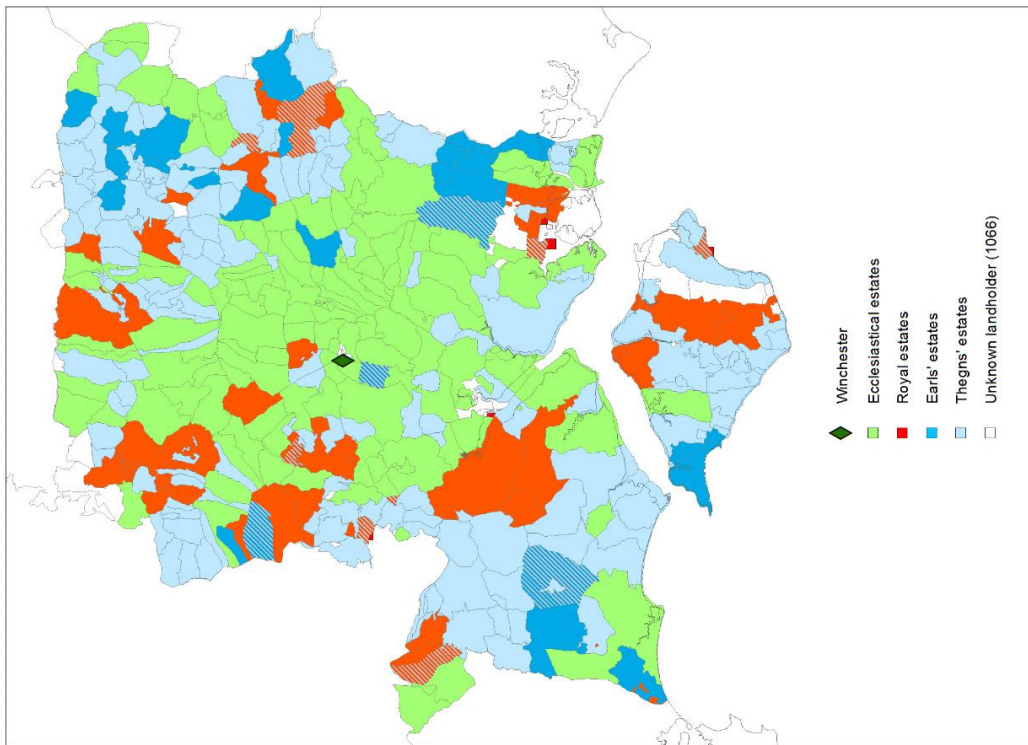
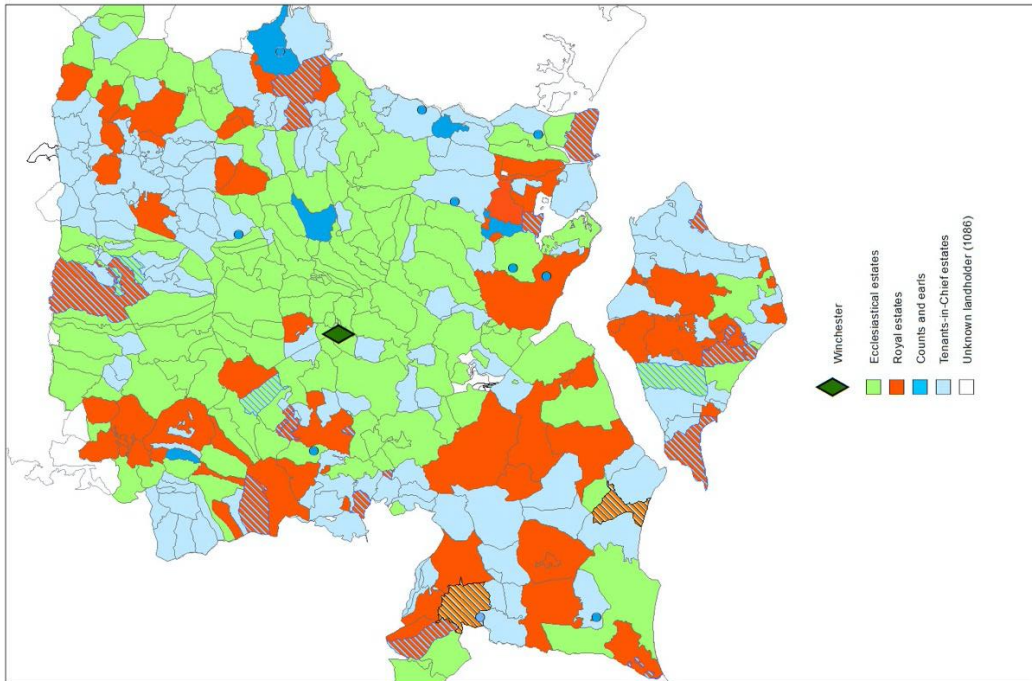
<sup>4</sup> This list excludes Alnoth and Godric, two priests connected with the priory at Twynham (Christchurch).

<sup>5</sup> GDB 43a (Hampshire: 5a,1).

<sup>6</sup> GDB 43a (Hampshire: 5,1).

<sup>7</sup> GDB 17b (Sussex: 6,1).

Table 13. Landholders in Hampshire by parish in 1066 (left) and 1086 (right)



Several new churches acquired lands in Hampshire, namely the Norman abbeys of Lyre, Cormeilles, Grestain, and Jumièges, and the English abbey of St Peter's, Gloucester. The majority of these manors had been secular estates before 1066 and were granted to the Norman churches through both royal and private grants. In Hampshire, the Old and New Minsters, Winchester also received a small number of new manors in the shire during the Conquest, most of which were private and royal grants of secular estates. The bishopric of Winchester and Old Minster gained two hides valued at £5 and the New Minster acquired twenty hides valued at £20 (Appendix D).

The maps in Table 13 compare landholders in Hampshire by vill in 1066 and 1086.<sup>8</sup> The maps use nineteenth-century parish boundaries, as a proxy for Domesday vills, to give an overview of the distribution of ecclesiastical estates. Most vills in Hampshire were held exclusively by one landholder. In 1066 fifteen exceptions (which tend to be larger estates) were divided between several categories of landholder, shown by hatched lines on the maps. Taken together, in 1086 the new ecclesiastical estates were valued at about £70. Table 13 shows that, in terms of the area held in Hampshire by ecclesiastical landholders, there was little change between 1066 and 1086. Most gains were in the north-west, and the abbey of Lyre's acquisitions on the Isle of Wight.

The maps show the extent to which ecclesiastical estates dominated the centre of Hampshire, especially the hinterland of Winchester. Royal and secular estates tended to be further from Winchester towards the shire boundaries. Hampshire was not unusual in the number of ecclesiastical estates within the shire. They dominated the river valleys of the chalk rivers (the Test, Itchen, Meon, and the lower reaches of the Salisbury Avon), and the Beaulieu

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<sup>8</sup> Odo of Bayeux's estates are classified as the estates of a tenant-in-chief, and shown in light blue, because they had been transferred to Hugh de Port by 1086.

River with a remarkably even distribution of estates between the main ecclesiastical houses: the bishopric of Winchester and the Old Minster, the New Minster, and the nunneries of Nunnaminster, Romsey, and Wherwell.

### **The Church and the Conquest: historiography**

The view that churches suffered a loss of land during the Conquest has long prevailed. In the mid-fifteenth century, Thomas Rudborne, a monk at St Swithun's priory, Winchester, listed estates which he claimed William the Conqueror seized 'by force' from the churches in Hampshire and gave to his men (*vi abstulit, et militibus suis dedit*), and pillaged from the New Minster unjustly (*rapuit injuste*).<sup>9</sup> Edward Edwards, who, in 1866, edited the late-fourteenth/early-fifteenth-century chronicle cartulary, the *Liber de Hyda*, perceived the Conquest 'as a period of trying calamity' for the New Minster, citing a legend that Ælfric, abbot of the New Minster, fought at Hastings accompanied by twelve monks and twenty knights which led to the forfeiture of numerous estates belonging to the minster by the Conqueror.<sup>10</sup> Edwards claimed that Ælfric was Earl Godwine's brother. The story was adopted by Freeman.<sup>11</sup> Round, however, 'glancing' at the figures in Domesday, rejected these claims, observing that the New Minster seemed to have done rather well out of the Conquest.<sup>12</sup> Yet there is still a pervading sense in recent scholarship that many churches suffered the loss of land, especially loanland. Harvey states '[e]ven ecclesiasts from Normandy may well have found themselves unable to acquiesce in the persistent confiscation of land, and certainly in the loss to the church of its leasehold land held by laymen...'.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i, 248-9.

<sup>10</sup> London, BL. Add. MS 82931; *Liber Monasterii de Hyda, Comprising a Chronicle of the Affairs of England from the Settlement of the Saxons to the Reign of King Cnut, and a Chartulary of the Abbey of Hyde in Hampshire, A. D. 455-1023*, ed. E. Edwards (London, 1866), xxxvii-xl; *VCH Hampshire*, i, 416-421.

<sup>11</sup> Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv, 37-8.

<sup>12</sup> *VCH Hampshire*, i, 419.

<sup>13</sup> Harvey, *Domesday*, 41-2.

Contemporary sources leave no doubt that estates were being appropriated from the Church. A writ issued by King William between 1070 and 1086, however, ordered his sheriffs to return any demesne land which they had acquired from bishoprics and abbeys or else be compelled to make restitution.<sup>14</sup> The king intervened directly to ensure justice and the restoration of estates to Bury St Edmunds and Westminster Abbey.<sup>15</sup> Several historians have viewed the Conquest as an ongoing struggle by many churches to protect their lands. Yet Williams contends that such efforts are not confined to the conquest period. She argues that the complaints in Hemming's Cartulary about the alienation of estates from Worcester reveal a campaign by the cathedral community, throughout the eleventh century, to protect its lands from encroachment and to retrieve loanland from secular tenants at the expiry of its term.<sup>16</sup> Williams also argues that, during the Conquest itself, '[t]he Church's lands belonged not to individual bishops and abbots, but to the institutions which they represented and were thus spared, to some extent, the tenurial upheaval which affected the laity. Moreover, its personnel, below the level of bishops, abbots and priors, remained largely English'.<sup>17</sup> In a similar vein, Garnett considers that the appropriation of land from the archbishopric of Canterbury, which gave rise to the inquiry at Penenden Heath, should be attributed as much to Earl Godwine before the Conquest as to Odo of Bayeux, earl of Kent, after 1066.<sup>18</sup> Knowles echoed Round's observations, that 'as regards large losses of land and depreciation of property, the *ex parte* statements of chroniclers and cartularies are not always borne out by a careful examination of Domesday and similar records...there was no wholesale deprivation to benefit the new holders

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<sup>14</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 129, and notes on dates, no. 310.

<sup>15</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, nos. 43, 310, 330.

<sup>16</sup> Williams, 'Spoliation of Worcester', 383-408.

<sup>17</sup> Williams, *ENC*, 127.

<sup>18</sup> Garnett, *Conquered England*, 14; for the trial see *EHD*, ii, 481-3, no. 50.

of the great fiefs...on the whole the monasteries gained as much as they lost between 1066 and 1085'.<sup>19</sup>

In Hampshire, the Domesday figures presented in Appendix D show that nearly all churches enjoyed an increase in the overall value of their landholding, which outweighed any losses suffered during the Conquest.<sup>20</sup> In 1066, churches held land and lordships with a combined value of £1,141 in Hampshire from a global figure for landholding of £3,436.<sup>21</sup> By 1086, they held land and lordships with a combined value of £1,379 from a global figure for Hampshire of £3,909, an increase of £238. It also represents a small overall increase in the percentage of the landed wealth of the shire held by ecclesiastical landholders between 1066 and 1086. In 1066, they held land and lordships representing thirty-three percent of the landed wealth of the shire; King Edward, in comparison, held about twelve percent. In 1086, the church held thirty-five percent of the shire by landed wealth; in comparison King William held thirty-one percent.

The religious houses in Hampshire were not alone in benefitting from the Conquest in terms of landed wealth. What historians have failed to recognise to date is the extent to which the landed wealth of many religious houses in England increased, sometimes by an astonishing amount, between 1066 and 1086, notwithstanding a changing portfolio of estates.<sup>22</sup> Stephan Baxter has taken the analysis forward across the whole kingdom and shown, surprisingly, that nearly all the abbeys and bishoprics benefitted from an increase in their landed wealth.<sup>23</sup> York was the only bishopric that saw a fall in value. The experience of the abbeys was more varied. Nearly three-quarters of English abbeys benefitted from an increase in the value of their land

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<sup>19</sup> D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216* (Cambridge, 1963), 117.

<sup>20</sup> Figures for religious houses are taken from Baxter, 'Week 7: The Church', but are modified for Hampshire (see further Appendix D).

<sup>21</sup> Column A plus Bb: £906.95 plus £234.08 (lordships of secular tenants only, to avoid double-counting).

<sup>22</sup> S. Baxter, 'Week 7: The Church' [lecture handout], *The Norman Conquest: Causes and Effects*, Oxford University, delivered Trinity term, 2018.

<sup>23</sup> Figures for religious houses outside of Hampshire are taken from Baxter, 'Week 7: The Church' [lecture handout].

(twenty-six) or saw no change (one). Nine abbeys saw a fall in the value of their estates. The New Minster (78% increase) and Nunnaminster (44% increase) did particularly well, with the Old Minster, Romsey, and Wherwell experiencing a more modest increase of about ten percent.

### **Losses and gains during the Conquest**

The increase in the overall value of ecclesiastical land in Hampshire was due, in part, to new grants of estates previously held by laymen. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, also received secular estates valued at just over £35. He was not necessarily holding these on behalf of the bishopric of Bayeux but in his capacity as earl of Kent. Excluding his estates, however, would reduce the total value of ecclesiastical lands in Hampshire by only one percent.

The abbot of Lyre had six churches with four hides of land and a tithe of the king's renders on the Isle of Wight, together valued at £20; the church at Arreton with the tithe of the king's manor; three virgates at the royal manor of Freshwater; and, on the mainland, the customs of one house in Southampton; and three virgates at Upper Clatford (in north-east Hampshire near Andover) with the tithes of the village.<sup>24</sup> In total, Lyre gained 5½ hides of royal and comital lands valued at £22, probably through the patronage of William fitzOsbern before his death in 1071. William, abbot of Corneilles, also received property from Earl William in Southampton, plus the church at Thruxton with one virgate of land with a presumed *pro rata* value of 10s.<sup>25</sup> Arnulf de Hesdin gave five hides at Linkenholt, valued at £4, to St Peter's of Gloucester and the grant was confirmed by King William on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1081 at Salisbury.<sup>26</sup> Several grants were made by King William: Penton Grafton was granted to the abbey of Grestain from Queen Edith's lands (three hides valued at £8), after her death in 1075;<sup>27</sup> Hayling Island was given to the abbey of Jumièges (twelve hides/£12);<sup>28</sup> and Chertsey may

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<sup>24</sup> GDB 52c; 39c; 52b; 52a; 38d (Hampshire: IoW4,1; 1,W4; 5,1; S3; 1,25).

<sup>25</sup> GDB 49b (Hampshire: 61,1).

<sup>26</sup> GDB 43b (Hampshire: 7,1); Bates, *RRAN*, 510, no. 154.

<sup>27</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, 517-524, no. 158.

<sup>28</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, 525-6, no. 159.

have received Winchfield and Elvetham although the grant is not recorded in Domesday.<sup>29</sup> Either William I or II granted the priory church at Andover, with all its dependent churches, to the abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur.<sup>30</sup> Apart from Lyre, which gained a reasonable income of £22, these churches gained one or two moderately large estates in Hampshire which offered a foothold in the shire.

Some of the older Hampshire religious houses also made modest gains from grants of secular estates. To what extent did these outweigh any losses? Between 1066 and 1086 the bishopric of Winchester and monks of the Old Minster lost Fawley, Througham, and *Sclive* which were taken into the New Forest.<sup>31</sup> Other estates lost by the Old Minster and bishopric were through the predation of Ralph de Mortimer. Ralph received all the lands that had been loaned to Cypping of Worthy (Otterbourne, Headbourne Worthy, and Swampton) and, although the monks argued their case at the Domesday Inquest, these estates were not recovered. Ralph also seized half a virgate at Droxford which he continued to hold by force (*per vim*) although the monks continued to pay the geld, and he seized Burghfield (Berkshire) presumably after the Old Minster's subtenant, Æthelsige, abbot of St Augustine's Canterbury, was outlawed, possibly in 1070 but certainly before 14 July 1077.<sup>32</sup> Ralph de Mortimer gained land from the bishopric and Old Minster valued at £38. Walkelin acquired Leigh and Lydeard St Lawrence (Somerset); Cottered (Hertfordshire); Brownwich, which did 'not belong to the bishopric' but was held as a fief (*in feudo*) from the king; and Tovi's estates at Meon, and Yavington (Hampshire).<sup>33</sup> In total, the bishopric and Old Minster lost estates valued at £53 and

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<sup>29</sup> Dugdale, *Mon*, i, 430, 432. Elvetham was held by Eadric in 1066 and King William in 1086 although a confirmatory charter of Henry I claimed William the Conqueror granted it to Chertsey: *VCH Hampshire*, iv, 109-112.

<sup>30</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, 813-4, no. 270.

<sup>31</sup> GDB 51a (Hampshire: NF2,1-3).

<sup>32</sup> GDB 62d (Berkshire: 46,4); *VCH Berkshire*, iii, 399-404; Bates, *RRAN*, no. 83.

<sup>33</sup> GDB 87c (Somerset: 2,9); 133b (Hertfordshire: 3,1); 40cd (Hampshire: 2,17; 24).

gained estates valued at just under £9. Overall, however, their landed wealth increased from £1,332 to £1,723, an increase of £391.<sup>34</sup>

The New Minster lost several estates between 1066 and 1086. Rowborough (Isle of Wight) had been held by Abbot Ælfric *in alodium* from King Edward but was held by William fitzAzor in 1086.<sup>35</sup> At Pewsey (Wiltshire) Abbot Ælfric had loaned part of the estate to a thegn before 1066 who could not be separated from the church (*non potuit ab ecclesia seperari*) but Ernulf de Hesdin held it from the king in 1086.<sup>36</sup> These losses amounted to 2¼ hides valued at £3 (Cottered would add a further five hides valued at 5s if it had been held by the New Minster TRE).<sup>37</sup> Abbot Riwallon gained five new estates by 1086: Chaddleworth, Tatchbury, Alton, Kingsclere, Laverstoke, and possibly Piddletrenthide. Chaddleworth and Alton caused controversy at the Domesday Inquest. The men of the shire testified that sixteen hides at Chaddleworth in Berkshire had been granted to Robert, Hugh de Port's steward, by Oda of Winchester and the men of the shire did not know how the New Minster had it.<sup>38</sup> Chaddleworth was one of Wulfric Cufing's estates, a large proportion of which had passed to various churches by 1066, including Tichborne, Worting, and Woolstone (Berkshire).<sup>39</sup> There may have been an arrangement between Wulfric and the New Minster that they would receive Chaddleworth which would explain why Riwallon claimed it at the Domesday Inquest.<sup>40</sup> It was subsequently included in the honour of St Valéry, so Oda's claim prevailed.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> This includes identifiable loanland only, and excludes unspecified lordships including commended and jurisdictional lordship. It is not clear how much value the abbeys received from lordships over people whose estates did not revert to the abbey.

<sup>35</sup> GDB 53b (Hampshire: IoW7,13).

<sup>36</sup> GDB 67c (Wiltshire: 10,3).

<sup>37</sup> It is attributed to the New Minster in 1066 and the Old Minster in 1086. As both Minsters were dedicated to St Peter (*hoc manerium iacuit et iacet in dominio ecclesiae sancti petri Wintoniensis*) it is possible that it was held by the Old Minster TRE: GDB 133 (Hertfordshire: 3,1).

<sup>38</sup> GDB 59d (Berkshire: 10,1). If Oda had not been one of the free men holding it as two manors from Countess Gytha and Earl Gyrrh in 1066, it would represent a significant grant to an English thegn after 1066.

<sup>39</sup> For the identification of Wulfric Cufing see N. Brooks, *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church, 400-1066* (London, 2000), 165-6; S 1491. See also S 385, 444, 1491, and two confirmations by King Edgar in S 818 and 826.

<sup>40</sup> GDB 59b2, 62a2 (Berkshire: 10,1; 41,1).

<sup>41</sup> *VCH Berkshire*, iv, 162-8.

The men of the shire also challenged the New Minster's acquisition of Alton, granted by King William (along with Queen Edith's estate at Kingsclere) to compensate the New Minster because the extension of the royal palace in Winchester encroached on the site of New Minster cemetery.<sup>42</sup> The exchange took place after Riwallon's appointment in 1072, perhaps after Queen Edith's death in 1075. The men of the shire argued that the abbot had received Alton unjustly in exchange for land for the king's hall because the hall 'was the king's' (*domus erat regis*). Domesday adds that the abbot had five hides in demesne but had not paid the geld. Despite the criticism, the grants of Alton and Kingsclere were rare examples of compensation in Hampshire Domesday. They were both confirmed by Henry I free of geld.<sup>43</sup>

The New Minster benefitted from grants during the Conquest. Laverstoke came to the New Minster by way of a private grant from Wulfgifu Beteslau;<sup>44</sup> Tatchbury was granted by Eadsige, sheriff of Hampshire, after King Edward's death and 'before King William had come'; and Piddletrenthide may have been granted (or restored) by Roger Arundel.<sup>45</sup> In total the New Minster lost estates valued at £3 and gained estates valued at £51 (£63 if Chaddleworth is included). Their landed wealth increased from £245 to £435, an increase of £190.

The nunneries did not lose any estates between 1066 and 1086 according to Domesday. In 1086, Hugh fitzBaldric had taken Itchen Abbas from Nunnaminster (almost certainly loanland held by Bondi the staller) which was valued at £17. Domesday states that the whole hundred, in addition to the whole sheriffdom, bore witness that it was in the lands of the abbey before and after 1066 and should be theirs by right (*et iuste ecclesiae debet*).<sup>46</sup> According to a note in the margin, King William returned the estate to the church. By 1086, Alice, abbess of Nunnaminster, had gained Coleshill in Berkshire, valued at £5, which Walter de Lacy gave to

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<sup>42</sup> GDB 43a-b (Hampshire: 6,1, 6,9); Bates, *RRAN*, no. 344 (copied into the *Liber Vitae*: BL Stowe MS 944, f. 41).

<sup>43</sup> Davis, *Regesta*, ii, 136, no. 1126.

<sup>44</sup> GDB 43b (Hampshire: 6,12). See p. 262.

<sup>45</sup> GDB 43b (Hampshire: 6,10); GDB 77b (Dorset: 9,1).

<sup>46</sup> GDB 48b (Hampshire: 44,1).

the church 'with his daughter'.<sup>47</sup> Overall, Nunnaminster's estates increased in value from £75 to £110. Romsey and Wherwell did not lose or gain any estates between 1066 and 1086. Nevertheless, Romsey's landed wealth increased from £123 to £135, and Wherwell's increased from £39 to £43.

Apart from the New Minster's attempt to claim Chaddleworth, there is no clear indication that any of the estates gained by the Hampshire churches between 1066 and 1086 were as a result of pre-existing claims. They all seem to have been new gifts from the king and a small number of private donors. Romsey, Wherwell, and Nunnaminster also benefitted from a reduction in their hidage assessment for geld during the Conquest: Romsey's was reduced from thirty-four to about twenty-five hides, Wherwell from sixty-seven to 37½ hides, and Nunnaminster from 26½ to 14½ hides.<sup>48</sup> Significantly, only a small part of the increase in their landed wealth can be attributed to the acquisition of new estates after 1066. The increase was overwhelmingly due to other factors.

Across England, where the value of estates doubled, tripled, or increased even more between 1066 and 1086, about thirty-six percent of these estates were held by the king, thirty-one percent by secular lords, including several sheriffs and castellans, and thirty-three percent were held by ecclesiastical landholders, most notably Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. There is little doubt that the increase was driven by a demand for greater returns. The increased pressure on the king's reeves, sheriffs, and castellans holding royal estates at farm may have caused these men to demand greater returns from their own estates to compensate for any shortfall.

If there had been an increase in rent demands this was perhaps driven by certain bishops and abbots facing rising costs. Various sees relocated: Crediton to Exeter in 1050, Ramsbury

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<sup>47</sup> GDB 59b2 (Berkshire: 14,1).

<sup>48</sup> Golding, 'Hampshire Domesday', 12.

to Sherborne in 1058, Dorchester to Lincoln (1072/3), and Elmham to Thetford (1072). At the Council of London in 1075 it was ordered that all sees should move to urban centres. In that year Sherborne moved to Old Sarum (Salisbury), Selsey to Chichester, Lichfield to Chester, and (in 1088) Wells moved to Bath. This re-organisation must have been costly. The building of new cathedrals commenced at Lincoln, Old Sarum, and Chichester before 1086. Cathedrals were also rebuilt at Canterbury, Rochester, Winchester, York, and Worcester during the reign of William I. Further costs may have been incurred where monastic communities grew in number, for which there is some evidence in Hampshire (pp. 286-291).

There are various ways in which higher values may have been achieved. Table 14 shows estates put at a farm higher than their value. Increased efficiency or increased productivity are two possible routes by which these demands were met. Mapping manors in Hampshire and across the kingdom where there was a significant increase in value (of 200 percent or more) reveals that many were located on or at the edge of downland. This would suggest that there was scope for more profitable farming in these regions with marginal land perhaps being brought under cultivation or used for pasture to support an intensification of animal husbandry (sheep farming for example). There is no indication in Hampshire Domesday that manors were absorbing lands already under cultivation from neighbouring manors. A brief analysis of the hundreds where ecclesiastical estates increased in value shows no depreciation in value on neighbouring manors which might indicate predation or a re-allocation of resources.

Hampshire Domesday does not identify jurisdictional lordships, making it impossible to trace where tenurial lordships may have been extended over sokeland, and it is not clear whether free farmers were being brought onto ecclesiastical manors to increase productivity. There is such an example in Somerset. The customary dues and service from Leigh and Lydeard St Lawrence were owed to the bishop of Winchester in Taunton, but the pre-Conquest thegn who held these estates had the freedom to choose his own lord. This freedom obviously rankled

with Walkelin who addressed the matter at the Oath of Salisbury in August 1086, when all landholders of any account across the kingdom, 'no matter whose vassals they might be', paid homage to William and swore oaths of allegiance to him 'that they would be loyal to him against all other men'.<sup>49</sup> The king may have had all the Domesday circuit returns to hand.<sup>50</sup> Walkelin persuaded King William, in the presence of William of Saint Calais, bishop of Durham,<sup>51</sup> to transfer the two hides at Leigh and Lydeard St Lawrence to the bishopric of Winchester. The south-western circuit return (Exon Domesday) was updated and the amendment was copied into Great Domesday Book.<sup>52</sup> The 1086 thegns, Wulfweard 'of Lydeard St Lawrence' and Alweard 'of Taunton', may not have complied because William Rufus had to reaffirm his father's grant between 1091 and 1096.<sup>53</sup> It was perhaps difficult for an absentee lord to demand commendation and exert tenurial control over far-flung estates.

The increase in value may represent an increase in cash renders as opposed to renders in kind.<sup>54</sup> This would depend on the ability of estate reeves to generate cash. Significantly, Table 14 shows that most ecclesiastical estates which enjoyed substantial increases in value were in close proximity to known markets or urban centres (Winchester, Basingstoke, and possibly Kingsclere).<sup>55</sup> Proximity to a known market also seems to determine whether an estate could pay a higher farm. In Hampshire, the critical distance appears to have been ten miles from a market. Beyond this, estates claimed they were unable to meet demands for an increased farm. There were difficulties paying the farm at Fareham (the market may have been Southampton rather than Titchfield), Exton, East and West Meon, and Calbourne on the Isle of Wight. The reeves at Liss and Brown Candover may have coped because the farm was set only slightly

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<sup>49</sup> For the significance of the oath see Baxter, 'Profits of Royal Lordship', forthcoming.

<sup>50</sup> J. C. Holt, '1086', *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), 41-64.

<sup>51</sup> Possibly one of the Domesday Commissioners for Hampshire: see p. 284.

<sup>52</sup> Exon 175a6; GDB 87c (Somerset: 2,9): 'rex Willelmus concessit istas terras habendas sancto petro et Walchelino episcopo sicut ipse recognouit apud Sarisburiam audiente episcopo dunelmensi cui precepit ut hanc ipsam concessionem suam in breuibus scriberet'.

<sup>53</sup> Galbraith, 'Royal Charters', 388, no. 10.

<sup>54</sup> Stephen Baxter, pers. comm.

<sup>55</sup> For Kingsclere see Golding, 'Hampshire Domesday', 8-9.

higher than the value. Hampshire provides only a small sample and the exact number, location, and nature of markets in Hampshire is unknown, but there is enough of a correlation to merit further research.

Ecclesiastical landholders were in a strong position to produce a surplus of livestock, beyond the numbers needed for their own communities, that may once have supported the population and industries such as leather and bone working in *Hamwic*, and in eleventh-century Winchester.<sup>56</sup> The estates of religious houses dominated the hinterland of Winchester. Ecclesiastical estates in the river valleys had some of the highest recorded acreages of meadow in Hampshire.<sup>57</sup> There was a plentiful supply of water for livestock, and the lighter soils of river alluvium supported the high acreages of meadow noted by Domesday.

The bishopric and Old Minster held estates with high acreages of meadow (given in brackets) on the Test and Itchen including Bishopstoke (74), Houghton (156), Chilcomb (40), and Nursling (140).<sup>58</sup> The New Minster had 224 acres at North Stoneham, four miles north-east of Southampton, and 135 acres at Abbots Worthy and Hyde Moors, all on the River Itchen.<sup>59</sup> On the River Test, Nunnaminster had fifty acres at Timsbury, and Romsey had the same acreage close to the abbey, and thirty acres at Totton.<sup>60</sup> Wherwell had sixty-five acres of meadow near the abbey, also on the River Test.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> J. Bourdillon and J. Coy, 'The Animal Bones', in P. Holdsworth, 'Excavations at Melbourne Street Southampton, 1971-6', *Council for British Archaeology Research Report*, 33 (1980), 79-137, at 108.

<sup>57</sup> A similar pattern can be seen with thirteen of the 'seventeen demesne manors' of the bishopric of Worcester on the lighter soils in the river valleys of the Severn, Avon, Stour and Coln: C. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society: The Estate of the Bishopric of Worcester, 680-1549* (Cambridge, 2008), 7-10.

<sup>58</sup> (Hampshire: 2,6; 2,20; 3,1)

<sup>59</sup> GDB 42cd, 43b, (Hampshire: 6,8; 17).

<sup>60</sup> GDB 43d, 44a (Hampshire: 14,5; 15,1; 15,4).

<sup>61</sup> GDB 44a (Hampshire: 16,1).

**Table 14. Ecclesiastical demesne estates with the greatest increase in value and their proximity to markets**

Landholder	Vill	No. of hides	Value 1066	Value 1086	Value in 1086 (at farm)	Closest known market or urban centre <sup>62</sup>	Distance (miles)
OMW/bishopric	Taunton (Som)	54	50	154		Taunton	0
OMW/bishopric	Downton (Wilts)	60	60	80		Wilton	10
OMW/bishopric	Adderbury (Oxon) <sup>63</sup>	14	12	20		?	
OMW/bishopric	Chilcomb	1	73	80		Winchester	2
OMW/bishopric	Twyford	30	32	47		Winchester	3
OMW/bishopric	Fareham <sup>64</sup>	30	18	16	20	Titchfield/Soton	3/12
OMW/bishopric	Easton	6	24	30		Winchester	4
OMW/bishopric	Wootton St Lawrence	20	15	29		Basingstoke	4
OMW/bishopric	Nursling	5	8	9	10	Southampton	5
OMW/bishopric	Crawley	3	18	35		Winchester	6
OMW/bishopric	Old Alresford <sup>65</sup>	34	27	40	[£6]	Winchester	8
OMW/bishopric	Hannington	7	5	8	15	Basingstoke	8
OMW/bishopric	Overton	32	24	50	61	Kingsclere	6
OMW/bishopric	Exton <sup>66</sup>	10	16	20	30	Winchester	10
OMW/bishopric	Calbourne <sup>67</sup>	16	16	30	40	?	
OMW/bishopric	West Meon <sup>68</sup>	20	20	30	40	Winchester	12
Stigand	East Meon <sup>69</sup>	60	40	60	100	Winchester	15
NMW	Brown Candover	11	7	8	10	Basingstoke	10
NMW	Chisledon (Wilts)	40	18	24		Marlborough	7
NMW	Collingbourne Kingston (Wilts)	36	23	28		Marlborough	9
NMW	Micheldever	56	32	57		Winchester	7
Nunnaminster	Froyle	10	12	15	20	Neatham	3
Nunnaminster	Urchfont (Wilts)	23	15	27		Tilshead	8
Nunnaminster	All Cannings (Wilts)	18	20	30		Marlborough	10
Nunnaminster	Liss	5	2	2	4	Neatham	12
Wherwell	Wherwell	22	10	15		Winchester	11
Romsey	Romsey	12	18	25		Winchester	14

The archbishopric of York had nearly forty acres at Mottisfont on the Test. Domesday records that the king's reeves took away from Mottisfont one hide, 12½ acres of meadow, a copse, and one pasture. The men of the hundred named Cave the Reeve as the culprit and accused him of

<sup>62</sup> Market or burgesses recorded.

<sup>63</sup> Adderbury was nearly twenty-three miles from Oxford. It was less than four miles to Banbury, held by the bishop of Lincoln, and fifteen miles to Buckingham although there is no record of a market at either in Domesday.

<sup>64</sup> GDB 40c (Hampshire: 2,15): 'value £16 however it is at farm for £20 but it cannot bear it' (*tamen est ad firmam de .xx. libras sed non potest pati*).

<sup>65</sup> GDB 40a (Hampshire: 2,1): 'three churches valued at £4 a year were paying £6 [before 1066], but could not bear it'.

<sup>66</sup> GDB 41c (Hampshire: 3,11): 'value £20, although it ought to pay £30 (*quamvis debeat reddere .xxx. libras*) it cannot bear it'.

<sup>67</sup> GDB 52c (Hampshire: IoW 2,1): 'now what the bishop has, £30, however it is at farm for £40 but it cannot bear or pay it'.

<sup>68</sup> GDB 40c (Hampshire: 2,11): 'value £30 but it pays £40 of farm (*tamen reddit de firma*) but it cannot bear it for long' (*sed diu non potest pati*).

<sup>69</sup> GDB 38b (Hampshire: 1,18): 'it pays £100 by weight (*ad pensam*) but cannot bear it'.

acting without the knowledge of Hugh de Port.<sup>70</sup> King William intervened to restore these lands ‘with rights of common pasture for so many beasts as could be kept there’ as was ‘testified before the bishop of Durham and Bertram de Verdun and defined by the men of the shire’.<sup>71</sup> It is possible that these men were the Domesday commissioners for Hampshire.

There is archaeological evidence for forms of specialist farming and industry. Sheep bones make up a significant proportion of the bone assemblage from Winchester: male sheep and goats were more common ‘which may reflect a preference for wool husbandry, since wethers yield better quality wool than ewes or rams’.<sup>72</sup> Iron smelting in Romsey may have once supplied *Hamwic*’s iron industry,<sup>73</sup> although it is unclear whether iron-smelting in Romsey persisted into the eleventh century. There is also some evidence that the Old Minster supplied both its own community and the market in Winchester with locally produced pottery. The distribution of finds of late-Saxon, wheel-thrown, glazed Michelpersh-type ware has been found as far west as Amesbury but is concentrated in the Test Valley and in Winchester.<sup>74</sup>

Accordingly, there is a real possibility that ecclesiastical houses in Hampshire relied upon existing markets after 1066 to achieve higher renders in cash, which may explain the increase in the value of their estates. It is notable that the greatest increases in value were on ecclesiastical estates in the immediate hinterland of Winchester. Walkelin was well aware of how valuable the markets within Winchester could be because, at the consecration of Battle Abbey (11 February 1094), he obtained permission from William II to hold an additional fair at St Giles’ church on St Giles’ Hill, to the immediate east of Winchester, for three days either

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<sup>70</sup> GDB 42ab (Hampshire: 4,1).

<sup>71</sup> Bates, *RRAN*, no. 352.

<sup>72</sup> L. Strid, ‘Mammal and Bird Bones’ in *Winchester, a City in the Making: Archaeological Excavations between 2002-2007 on the Sites of Northgate House, Staple Gardens and the Former Winchester Library, Jewry St: Animal and Bird Bones* (Oxford, 2011), 17.

<sup>73</sup> Andy Russell and Emma Anderson, ‘Anglo-Saxon Southampton and its Hinterland’, unpublished paper delivered at the conference ‘Anglo-Saxons and River Valley Settlement’, Romsey, 30 April 2016.

<sup>74</sup> B. Jarvis, ‘Placing Pottery: An actor-led approach to the use and perception of medieval pottery in Southampton and its region c.AD700-1400’, unpublished PhD, University of Southampton, 2011, 246. According to Thomas Rudborne, Michelpersh was granted to the Old Minster by Queen Emma: Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i, 235.

side of the feast. Walkelin was granted all the king's judicial renders (*justicias*) from Winchester for the duration of the fair, and the customs of the fair 'which the king would have had if the fair was his own'.<sup>75</sup> It became 'one of the five or six great fairs of medieval England, a major source of wealth for the see and crucial for the economic development of his cathedral city in the twelfth century'.<sup>76</sup>

### **The change in ecclesiastical personnel and its impact on landholding**

The Conquest brought with it significant changes for the English Church in terms of personnel. The first reform council at Winchester in 1070 was attended by three papal legates, Peter, John, and Ermenfrid of Sion, whose presence added legitimacy to the purge of English abbots and bishops. Stigand, who held the bishopric of Winchester (1047-1070) and the archbishopric of Canterbury (1052-1070), was deposed for holding these in plurality. He was replaced by Lanfranc as archbishop (1070-1089), and by King William's chaplain, Walkelin, as bishop of Winchester (1070-1098). The abbot of the New Minster, Wulfric (1066-1072), who had been appointed from among the monks of the community, was also deposed and replaced by Riwallon (1072-88).

William's approach to the nunneries is harder to assess because the identity of the pre-Conquest abbesses in Hampshire, and duration of their office, is unknown. Alice was abbess of Nunnaminster in 1086 and her name would suggest that she was of Continental origin. King Edward's sister, the abbess of Wherwell, may have survived, and the abbess of Romsey in 1086 was Christine, daughter of Edward the Exile and sister of Margaret of Scotland. As a surviving member of the house of Wessex, Christine was perhaps afforded the same wary respect shown to her brother, Edgar the Atheling, and to Queen Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor. Godric,

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<sup>75</sup> Davis, *Regesta*, i, 96, no. 377.

<sup>76</sup> M. J. Franklin, 'Walkelin (d. 1098)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28465>, accessed 2 November 2017.

dean of Christchurch, also survived until he left the community in the late 1080s following conflict with Ranulph Flambard.

In 1066, Stigand had been the wealthiest landholder in England after King Edward and Earl Harold. The income from the bishopric of Winchester alone would have placed him on a par with the landed wealth of the pre-Conquest earls. Stigand witnessed royal diplomas from the early 1030s until his deposition in 1070, serving five successive kings. Harvey argues that Stigand had control of the royal treasury at Winchester which may explain why Stigand retained the bishopric of Winchester in plurality with Canterbury; William of Malmesbury records Stigand having both a collection of precious metals and ‘records of the weights and qualities of the various types of metals collected’, which Harvey believes indicates ‘his technical Treasury expertise’.<sup>77</sup>

Walkelin inherited Stigand’s wealth as bishop of Winchester, making him the sixth wealthiest person in the country in 1086. Harvey believes Walkelin also had a pivotal role as a royal treasurer and administrator. Harvey notes that ‘the substantial backlog that Walkelin was owed from the moneyers of Colchester and Maldon suggests that his role as the treasurer gave him control of moneyer’s dues and the issue of dies’.<sup>78</sup> Walkelin’s chief legacy was the construction of a vast new cathedral in Winchester between 1079/80 and its consecration on 8 April 1093. Winchester became one of the longest cathedrals in Europe at 157 metres, exceeded in length only by Abbot Hugh’s stunning church, the *Maior Ecclesia*, at Cluny.<sup>79</sup>

By 1086 there looks to have been a marked change in the composition of the community of the New Minster, and similar changes may have affected the other churches in Hampshire. Its *Liber Vitae* records a list of members of the community. It is difficult to date any part of the list with confidence but Riwallon’s name might mark a group of names from the early 1070s

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<sup>77</sup> Harvey, *Domesday*, 28-30.

<sup>78</sup> LDB 107v (Essex: B6); Harvey, *Domesday*, 27-31, 47.

<sup>79</sup> Franklin, ‘Walkelin’, *ODNB*, accessed 2 Nov 2017; Cluny III: A. Baud, *The Abbey of Cluny* (Paris, 2016).

(Figure 28). If so, increasing numbers of children (*pueri*) were admitted during the abbacies of Wulfric and Riwallon alongside increasing numbers of lay converts (*laici conversi*), that is adults who remained illiterate and possibly not in holy orders.<sup>80</sup> Following Riwallon's name about half the names are English and half are Continental or biblical names. This perhaps reflects a change in naming patterns, but it may also reflect a change in the ethnic composition of the community. The increase in adults and children seeking admission is likely to be a response to the upheavals of the Conquest.

If monastic communities saw an increase in their numbers it must have put pressure on the division of the *mensa*: how resources were split between the bishop/abbot/abbess and their households, and the communities they served. It is not recorded how many new members came with some form of financial support. Walter de Lacy's grant of Coleshill in Berkshire, which he 'gave with his daughter' when she entered the Nunnaminster, is the only clear example of land being granted to support someone being admitted to one of the Hampshire communities during the Conquest.<sup>81</sup>

Tinti observes that, in the bishopric of Worcester, '[o]nly in the eleventh century...is it possible to recognize a deliberate policy towards the creation of a separate monastic estate'.<sup>82</sup> King has traced the creation of separate endowments by 1066 and concludes that 'by 1086 all the English dioceses except Salisbury, Rochester and Thetford had in place some form of separate endowment for their cathedral communities', probably drawn from the episcopal demesne, and some arrangements were already in place by 1066.<sup>83</sup> In Hampshire, there are dubious grants by Edward the Elder to the *familia* of Winchester Cathedral, but it is not until

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<sup>80</sup> For the terminology see G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 2002), 9-10, 76-8.

<sup>81</sup> GDB 59b2 (Berkshire: 14,1).

<sup>82</sup> Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 214.

<sup>83</sup> V. King, 'Share and Share Alike? Bishops and their Cathedral Chapters: The Domesday Evidence', *ANS* 28 (2005), 138-52, at 138-40.

<b>I</b>	<b>Æ</b> lppine Abbod.	Sac.	xxvi	ulppiz	Sac
ii	O sfero	S ac.	xxix	Æ lppic	puer.
iii	L yunze	S ac.	xxx	Æ adnod	puer.
iiii	B yphred	S ac.	xxxi	Æ lppine	puer.
v	Æ lpsize	S ac.	xxxii	ulppine	puer.
vi	Æ adpine	S ac.	xxxiii	B yhtmæp	puer.
vii	Æ lphun	S ac.	xxxiiii	ulppiz	puer.
viii	ulppic. i.	S ac.	xxxv	Æ lmodat	puer.
ix	ulppic. ii.	S ac.	xxxvi	Æ lppic	puer.
x	B yphic	Leuta.	xxxvii	Æ lppic	puer.
xii	Æ lpsize	Leuta.	xxxviii	Æ egnold	puer.
xiii	Æ lpmæp	Leuta.	xxxix	Æ lppi abbas	puer.
xiiii	G odpine. i.	S ac.	xl	S ythie	puer.
xv	Æ lppic	Leuta.	li	Æ lppic	puer.
xvi	O da	Leuta.	lii	Æ lppine	puer.
xvii	Æ lpmæp.	Leuta.	liiii	ulppic	puer.
xviii	Æ lppold	S ac.	liii	G odpic	Leuta.
xix	G odpine. ii.	S ac.	liiii	Æ lppine	puer.
xx	p ihsize	Leuta.	lv	p ulpman	puer.
xxi	p ulpsize	S ac.	lvi	B puhtnod	Sac.
xxii	Æ helpold	S ac.	lvii	p ulpne	puer.
xxiii	Æ adsize	S ac.	lviii	Æ gelpic	puer.
xxiiii	Æ helpiz	S ac.	lix	Æ lppic	puer.
xxv	Æ delsize	Leuta.	lxi	Æ lppic	puer.
xxvi	Æ lppic	Leuta.	lxii	S modus	puer.
xxvii	Æ eorstan	Leuta.	lxiii	S epin	puer.
xxviii	Æ helpiht	Leuta.	lxv	G odpin	Sac.

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lxxv	Vulfpicus	Puer	lxxxiii	Godwinus	Puer
lxxvi	Azelpapudus	Puer	lxxxiiii	Sæpimus	Cl.
lxxvii	Azelpapudus	Puer	lxxxv	Sæpimus	Lai. c.
lxxviii	Azelpapudus	Puer	lxxxvi	Godwinus	Cl.
lxxix	Alspinus	Puer	lxxxvii	Sæpimus	Lai. c.
lxxx	Astanus	Puer	lxxxviii	Quillemus	Puer
lxxxii	Astnodus	Puer	lxxxix	Anonius	Puer
lxxxiii	Vuluardus	Puer	lxxxix	Hugo	Puer
lxxxiiii	Vulfpicus	Puer	c	Alfredus	Puer
lxxxv	Thurbepus	Puer	ci	Randulfus	Puer
lxxxvi	Godwinus	Puer	cii	Ricardus	Puer
lxxxvii	Azelpapudus	Puer	ciii	Osbearnus	Cl. & Lai.
lxxxviii	Thurbepus	Puer	ciiii	Dorianus	Lai. c.
lxxxix	Thurbepus	Puer	cv	Wulfwardus	Puer
lxxx	Burhboldus	Puer	cvi	Sauwardus	Cl. & Lai.
lxxx	Vulfpicus	Puer	cvii	Benedictus	Puer
lxxx	Alspapudus	Lai. c.	cviii	Linus	Cl. & Lai.
lxxx	Rodbeapudus	Puer	cix	Seodacus	Puer
lxxx	Alspinus	Lai. c.	cx	Brihericus	Cl. & Lai.
lxxx	Petrus	Cl. & Lai.	cx	Fulconus	Monach.
lxxx	Hugo	Lai. c.	cxii	Asticus	Cl.
lxxx	Uaerinus	Cl. & Lai.	cxiii	Godwinus	Cl.
lxxx	Haimo	Puer	cxiiii	Ricardus	Cl.
lxxx	Vinumundus	Cl. & Lai.	cxv	Ricardus	Puer
lxxx	Isaac	Lai. c.	cxvi	Robertus	Cl. & Lai.
lxxx	Azelpapudus	Cl. & Lai.	cxvii	Brunmannus	Cl.
lxxx	Eilmanus	Puer	cxviii	Johnes	Lai.

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Figure 28. The abbots and the community of the New Minster, Winchester

the late tenth century that charters indicate a deliberate policy to create a separate monastic estate for the monks of the Old Minster.<sup>84</sup> It is a similar date to the earliest known provisions made for the canons of London.<sup>85</sup>

Arrangements for the division of the *mensa* is not always made clear in Domesday because the Domesday commissioners generally regarded the bishop as tenant-in-chief and the monks and clerics as subtenants.<sup>86</sup> It is unusual that the monks of the Old Minster were given their own fief in Hampshire Domesday. It is also striking how often they defended their rights at the Domesday Inquest. There are references throughout Hampshire Domesday recording where the monks had or claimed an estate. Ralph de Mortimer's seizure of Swampton was opposed by the monks who stated that Cypping had only been granted the estate for his lifetime and that the Old Minster held the reversion on the estate.<sup>87</sup> In Wiltshire Domesday there is a clear sub-heading, within the bishop of Winchester's fief, stating that the estates which follow are for the supplies of the monks.<sup>88</sup>

The separation of the estates of the Old Minster community and the bishopric may have been Walkelin's initiative to negotiate geld exemptions on the monk's demesne. Equally, it may reflect the concerns of the monks if Walkelin was diverting the income from twenty-two out of twenty-seven Old Minster estates in Hampshire to help pay the costs of his new cathedral.<sup>89</sup> The monks wanted to protect their position. Domesday implies that the monks were left with Boarhunt, Wootton St Lawrence, Hayling Island, Brockhampton, and Havant,

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<sup>84</sup> S 359, 373, 384, 837, 980, 1153, 1277.

<sup>85</sup> King, 'Cathedral Chapters', 140, 144; P. Taylor, 'The Endowment and Military Obligations of the See of London: A Reassessment of Three Sources', *ANS* 14 (1992), 287-312.

<sup>86</sup> King, 'Cathedral Chapters', 140.

<sup>87</sup> GDB 47a (Hampshire: 29,9). The monks failed to recover the estate: see Dennis, 'Hampshire Domesday', 43.

<sup>88</sup> GDB 65c-d (Wiltshire: 2,4-7).

<sup>89</sup> Phillimore notes to (Hampshire: 3).

receiving £46. This is less than one-tenth of the potential income from the lands listed in their fief.<sup>90</sup>

Further background is provided by William of Malmesbury who records that Walkelin was one of several bishops who ‘tried to drive monks away from the episcopal sees’ (*volentium ab episcopalibus sedibus monachos*); at Winchester, Walkelin tried to replace the monks with canons.<sup>91</sup> A smaller community of canons would have released more of the income required to support the monks for the building of Walkelin’s cathedral. Walkelin tried to appoint his own brother, Simeon, as prior of the proposed cathedral priory. Walkelin’s plan was blocked by Lanfranc who ‘was appalled when he heard about this outrage’ according to Malmesbury.

In Domesday, although there were separate fiefs for the estates of the bishop and the Old Minster community, there is no clear separation between estates supplying the monks at the New Minster and the abbot, or estates for the provision of the nuns at Nunnaminster, Romsey, and Wherwell and their abbesses. There are, however, occasional references: Sotwell in Berkshire, valued at £8 and with eight *hagae* in Wallingford, was held in demesne for the supplies of the monks of the New Minster (*in dominio de victu monachorum*).<sup>92</sup> Yavington had been held by Archbishop Stigand from the Nunnaminster. In 1086, it had returned to the community and was exempt from geld because it was for the supplies of the nuns.<sup>93</sup> Evidently these communities had made provision for their support. They may not have had such a pressing need, however, as the monks of the Old Minster to use the Domesday Survey to protect their position.

Lastly, there was a far-reaching change in the status and ethnicity of ecclesiastical tenants after 1066. Stigand’s tenants included several Class A and B landholders (Wulfric, abbot of Ely; Æthelsige, abbot of St Augustine’s, Canterbury; and Æthelnoth Cild, governor of Kent).

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<sup>90</sup> GDB 41d, 43a (Hampshire: 3,23-27).

<sup>91</sup> *Gesta Pontificum*, i, [i. 44. 10], 107.

<sup>92</sup> GDB 59d (Berkshire: 10,2).

<sup>93</sup> GDB 43d (Hampshire: 14,6).

Ecclesiastical loanland brought them closer to Winchester or helped to close the gaps between their estates across the north of the shire. Three Class D landholders, Beorhtsige Cild, Cypping of Worthy, and Osbern fitzOsbern, held ecclesiastical loanland for similar reasons. Stigand also loaned land to local thegns whose skills may have benefitted the community: Wulfric Cepe, Godwine of Worthy, Ælfhere ‘Isenthegn’, and Beorhtric ‘of Newton Valence’. They received loanland in the immediate hinterland of Winchester. Their close ties with the bishopric may explain why several of these men stood as witnesses to an agreement (c. 1053) between the Old Minster and Wulfweard the White over loanland on Hayling Island.<sup>94</sup> They had sufficient land and status in the shire court to verify this agreement on behalf of the bishop.<sup>95</sup>

Wulfric Cepe was a wealthy landholder with estates running west along the South Downs into Hampshire, and possibly in Berkshire, valued at just under £100 in 1066. Wulfric’s byname may derive from the Old English *cépe* (merchant). He is described as Wulfric Cepe at Old Alresford where he held 3½ hides from Stigand, and the proximity and value of the estates would suggest the same man held ten hides at Twyford (£12) from the bishop in 1066, and Warnford (£7) from King Edward.<sup>96</sup> Ealdgyth, who succeeded Wulfric at Twyford, may have been his wife or daughter if she held a remaining life interest. Wulfric held Warnford *in paragio* with Wulfweard, who may be Wulfweard *Cheppe* who held a tenement in *Gerestret* (Trafalgar Street), Winchester TRE.<sup>97</sup> If so, it would suggest Wulfric was part of a wealthy mercantile family connected with Winchester.

Ælfhere ‘Isenthegn’ may have been a kinsman of the Kentish landholder Esbern Bigga (brother of Alfred Bigga); Ælfhere has been identified as a tenant of Stigand (as archbishop of Canterbury) at Ulcomb and Stowting in Kent.<sup>98</sup> Ælfhere’s estates ran westwards along the

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<sup>94</sup> S 1476: Wulfric of Warnford [Cepe?], Ælfwine [Alwine Stilla?], Ælfweard [‘of Sutton Scotney’?], Cypping [of Worthy].

<sup>95</sup> For the status of witnesses see Hudson, *OHLE*, II, 81-4;

<sup>96</sup> GDB 40a (Hampshire: 2,1; 4); 45b (Hampshire: 23,18).

<sup>97</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 67, I [284].

<sup>98</sup> Lewis, ‘Ælfhere 25’, *PASE*.

North Downs from Stowting in Kent to Ulcomb, *Litelfeld* (near Dorking), and to Chilcomb on the outskirts of Winchester. He also held two remote estates at Little Lydney in Gloucester and Seaborough in Somerset.<sup>99</sup> Chilcomb was loanland from the Old Minster. Ælfhere may also have held a tenement in *Goldestret* (Southgate Street) in Winchester itself.<sup>100</sup>

Baxter suggests Ælfhere was an important thegn because he was involved in ironworking for Stigand and the king: several manors in Sussex and Surrey were in, or had outliers in areas rich in iron-ore in the Weald; the Somerset manor of Seaborough owed blooms of iron to the royal manor of Crewkerne; and the Gloucester manor of Lydney was later known as a major ironworking site in the Forest of Dean.<sup>101</sup> It is possible the Old Minster and bishop benefitted from his skills.

Advantageous leases are not so apparent in 1086. The sheer number of royal officials holding ecclesiastical loanland suggests the king exerted pressure on the abbeys to accommodate his own men. They include the sheriffs Edward of Salisbury and Hugh de Port, Oda of Winchester, Odin of Windsor, household officials (Herbert the chamberlain, John the usher, Hugh the butler, the king's cook William Escuet), royal clerks (Richer de les Anderlys, and the brothers Robert and Gilbert), and several huntsmen.

Estates were still granted for a term of lives during the Conquest. A writ concerning William Escuet's loanland at Alton Priors, datable between 1078 and 1087, states that 'the cook is to render service to the bishop for that land, and after the cook's death it shall revert to the maintenance of the said brethren' of the bishopric.<sup>102</sup> Yet estates leased, particularly in return for knights' service, gradually lost any realistic expectation of reversion. Early forms of knight's quotas were almost certainly imposed during the Conqueror's reign, although there is no direct evidence in Hampshire that this was in place by 1086. Domesday does not record

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<sup>99</sup> Lewis, 'Ælfhere 25', *PASE*.

<sup>100</sup> *Winton Domesday*, 66, I [277].

<sup>101</sup> Lewis, 'Ælfhere 25', *PASE*.

<sup>102</sup> Davis, *Regesta*, i, 70, no. 270.

sub-subtenancies clearly before 1066, but it seems unlikely that tenants were able to further alienate loaned estates, at least not beyond the agreed term of lives (or duration of service).<sup>103</sup> After 1086, however, it became the norm for subtenants to enfeoff their own men to meet the demands of knight's service. It is likely that infeudated ecclesiastical estates were increasingly removed from the direct control of bishops and abbots, along with the choice of tenant. Successive generations expected to inherit the estate. Consequently, at Brown Candover, held by the descendants of Herbert the chamberlain from the descendants of Hugh de Port, the Abbot of Hyde at times struggled to assert his right to exact scutage and relief for the knights' service that was due.<sup>104</sup>

One further point is that, before 1066, grants of loanland linked important local families with a church for several generations. Barbara Rosenwein's study on the benefactors of Cluny, where land was gifted by one generation to the abbey, revoked by the next generation (with simultaneous payments and gifts for the release of the land), and subsequently re-gifted to Cluny, reveals a custom of 'give and take' where both parties retained an interest in an estate.<sup>105</sup> This process ensured that each generation challenged and then renewed its link with Cluny. In return, Cluny offered prayers, inclusion in its *societas*, and granted burial rights in its cemetery to foster this network.

Although there is insufficient evidence to establish an ongoing 'give and take' relationship between the families of an original donor and the religious houses in Hampshire, Rosenwein's study raises questions about the use of ecclesiastical land before 1066 in fostering networks. Grants of *laenland* for one or more lives was a more effective (but not necessarily guaranteed) means of ensuring the return of an estate after the death of the last life-tenant than the Cluny model where subsequent generations of benefactors were locked into a cycle of

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<sup>103</sup> See also Hudson, *OHLE, II*, 138.

<sup>104</sup> *VCH Hampshire*, iii, 142-4.

<sup>105</sup> B. H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbour of Saint Peter: the Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Cornell, 1989), 49-77.

grants, claims, and quitclaims. Religious communities occasionally struggled to retrieve loanland from families who refused to return the land but, if the church could prove entitlement to the reversion, there was the hope of justice or an opportunity to re-negotiate terms. After 1066, the potential to use leases to foster such networks with local families diminished as leases became hereditary and tenants sub-eneffed their own men.

These changes were inextricably linked with the growing concept that all land was held, ultimately, from the king. The Domesday scribe may have balked at this concept where endowments of religious houses pre-dated the Conquest,<sup>106</sup> and certainly avoided describing estates as being held *de rege* in Hampshire unless the grant originated with King William. Nevertheless, ecclesiastical landholders were treated as tenants-in-chief. George Garnett has collected references in contemporary sources that show ‘the Conquest had transformed the king’s relations with all bishops...and many abbots’ and ‘that it had made them tenants-in-chief’ because, for the first time, the lands of a bishopric or an abbey was deemed to return to the king when the bishop or abbot died.<sup>107</sup> For example, Leofwine, bishop of Lichfield ‘returned his bishopric to the king’ following his disgrace in 1071, and Domesday records at Rattlesden (Suffolk) that the abbey of Ely had, at some stage, been in the king’s hand, probably following the abbacy of Theodwin (1073-5).<sup>108</sup>

If there was frustration at the loss of control over loanland, and perhaps at interference by the king in their choice of tenants, it is important to note that the amount of land loaned by the bishopric and Old Minster, the New Minster, and Romsey Abbey was tightly controlled. It remained at about twenty percent by value in 1086. This was achieved only because the value demanded or obtained from demesne estates increased dramatically. The pressure to release

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<sup>106</sup> Baxter, ‘Profits of Royal Lordship’, forthcoming.

<sup>107</sup> Garnett, *Conquered England*, 57-8.

<sup>108</sup> Garnett, *Conquered England*, 58 citing Lanfranc’s letter to Pope Alexander II in 1071: *Lanfranc*, no. 2; LDB 381v (Suffolk: 21,2).

more estates as loanland may have been a further impetus to increase values on remaining demesne estates.

## **Conclusions**

The tenurial structure of Hampshire altered dramatically during the Conquest. At the end of Edward the Confessor's reign, Hampshire Domesday names about 240 secular and ecclesiastical landholders. By 1086, there had been a huge consolidation of landholding with estates brought under the control of 140 people holding in chief. A further 125 people held from the tenants-in-chief as subtenants or sub-subtenants making a total of about 265 named landholders in 1086. Among these, there are about seventy English survivors captured by the survey, fifty holding as tenants-in-chief, and twenty holding as subtenants. Between them, they retained only about four percent of the land by value in Hampshire.

Edward the Confessor was the wealthiest landholder in both the kingdom and shire in 1066. Figure 2 indicates that royal assemblies were convened increasingly within the Wessex heartlands. Chapter Two contends that the high level of political engagement between the king and the aristocracy encouraged economic activity in the Wessex heartlands with the foundation of new mints and the proliferation of markets during Edward the Confessor's reign. A further measure of the importance of this region is that, in these shires, and in the north and west of Hampshire, royal manors paying a farm of one night still paid renders in kind because, it is suggested, these shires formed the royal heartlands where the king and his retinue were most often resident. From what little is known about Edward the Confessor's itinerary, however, he also travelled regularly across the south of his kingdom during his reign.

In Hampshire Domesday, the royal farms identified (or identifiable) as night's farm estates are dispersed throughout the *terra regis* entries. Most renders had been commuted on these estates although Andover, Basingstoke, Hurstbourne Tarrant, and Kingsclere still look to have been paying renders in kind. This may be because they were close to major routes across

the north of the shire and were favoured by the king. There are signs that renders from some estates on the coast were moved northwards to Amesbury (Wiltshire), Broughton, and Barton Stacey. This may have been a defensive measure to protect them from seaborne attack, but it may also have been pragmatic to take renders into the royal heartlands, especially when the Confessor was hunting near Britford, or closer to routes across the north of the shire. King Edward was prepared to alienate a proportion of his revenues and parts of the royal demesne on certain royal estates in the south-west of Hampshire, on the coast, and on the Isle of Wight perhaps because they were remote from the royal heartlands. Indeed, Wymering, Cosham, and Portchester in the south-east of Hampshire, a region prone to Viking attacks according to Domesday, may not have been functioning as night's farm estates by 1066, and may not have paid any renders. King Edward retained Earl Godwine's estates around Portsmouth, Langstone, and Chichester Harbours after 1053, and King Harold II brought Hayling into his farm; both measures would have strengthened royal control over the south-east of the shire and increased revenues from this region.

It is argued that Winchester, Windsor, and London were at the edge of the proposed royal heartlands but became favoured locations for festival courts, with Gloucester and Westminster also developing as ceremonial centres towards the end of Edward the Confessor's reign. There were royal properties in Winchester before 1066, including the urban manor of Godbegot. A royal palace and at least part of the royal treasury were almost certainly located within the royal and monastic complex in the south-east of the city. Winchester increased in importance during the Conquest with regular Easter courts held there; the Conqueror extended the royal palace and ordered the construction of a castle within the city walls.

William the Conqueror was the wealthiest landholder in the kingdom and in Hampshire in 1086. He retained all of King Edward's demesne estates in Hampshire and acquired a substantial number of manors previously held by Earl Harold, Queen Edith, and many thegns.

The comital estates increased his presence on the coast and Isle of Wight. There is little doubt that the land-transfers in Hampshire were closely controlled by the king, with William fitzOsbern acting as his chief agent until 1071. Hampshire Domesday confirms that transfers were authorised by the king's writ and seal and supervised by his *legati*. There are also several references to direct intervention by the king himself.

Hampshire Domesday gives a remarkable account of the financial pressure imposed on pre-Conquest landholders as they struggled to retain their lands. It records several instances of such families having to redeem their lands, and numerous examples of estates being pledged to raise cash, even late in the Conqueror's reign. It suggests that many had to buy back their lands, faced demands for large payments of geld, and possibly had to pay an increasing range of feudal reliefs. In Hampshire, financial pressure appears to have been an important lever in the dispossession of surviving landholders: if they failed to meet various financial demands, they lost their lands to those who could pay. Such pressure affected families at different points during the Conquest which may be one reason why there were remarkably few common flashpoints for rebellion.

The Conqueror's control over the land transfers must have left his tenants-in-chief with little doubt they owed their landholding to the king. Similarly, English survivors, such as Oda of Winchester, lost their pre-Conquest lands but were granted new estates by King William. Several aspects of Domesday, not least the way in which landholding is presented in each shire as a hierarchy of landholders headed by the king, supports arguments put forward most recently by Garnett and Baxter that, by 1086, all land was perceived to be held immediately or ultimately from the king. Baxter notes that sixty-seven percent of the first entries in the fiefs of the earls and counts, and fifty-eight percent of the remaining secular barons in Hampshire, state that the land was held *de rege*; it implies that the whole fief was held in this way.<sup>109</sup> It became

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<sup>109</sup> Baxter, 'Profits of Royal Lordship', Table 2, forthcoming.

customary for both lay and ecclesiastical male tenants-in-chief to perform homage to the king for their lands.<sup>110</sup> All male landholders of any account across the kingdom, ‘no matter whose vassals they might be’, paid homage to William at Salisbury in 1086 and swore oaths of allegiance ‘that they would be loyal to him against all other men’.<sup>111</sup> In Hampshire, there can be no clearer example of William’s authority and control over lands beyond the royal demesne than the land-clearances for the creation of the New Forest.

Mew drew attention to references in Hampshire Domesday that may describe a forest in the south-west of the shire that pre-dated the New Forest. Chapter Two reveals, for the first time, the existence and location of an extensive pre-Conquest forest along the Hampshire-Wiltshire border. Its existence makes sense of some puzzling entries in Domesday, explaining the management of manors, and the connections between them, on either side of this forest. Known as the King’s Forest, it was a favoured hunting ground for King Edward TRE, but came under tighter royal control by 1086, providing an interesting comparison to measures taken in the New Forest.

Chapter Two contends that the south-west of Hampshire had not been an economic backwater before 1066. In particular, woodland pasture formed an integral part of farming practices in the region. Torigni’s observation that the New Forest was an extension of an existing forest suggests that the New Forest was an extension of the King’s Forest across this region.<sup>112</sup> The land-clearances and the annexation of woodland pasture which this involved had a devastating impact on the local population. In contrast to the King’s Forest, the New Forest, uniquely, was given its own section in Domesday which meant, crucially, that it had a defined border. This strongly indicates that a special regime of forest law was already in place by 1086.

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<sup>110</sup> Garnett, *Conquered England*, 77; For the significance of the oath see Baxter, ‘Profits of Royal Lordship’, forthcoming.

<sup>111</sup> ASC E, s.a. 1085 (*recte* 1086).

<sup>112</sup> Mew, ‘*Nova Foresta*’, 159-60, citing WJ, *GND* ii, 214-17.

Earl Godwine and his sons held a mixture of private and comital estates in Hampshire although it is not always easy to distinguish the two. Chapter Three adds further examples of Godwine's private landholding and patronage that have not been recognised to date. It draws together recent scholarship that suggests King Edward relied heavily on this family for the defence of the shire. They developed a network of allies and had recourse to a fleet of ships on the south coast. They had a strong presence on the river valleys in Hampshire and Sussex, and control of hillfort and possible beacon sites. The exile of Godwine and his family in 1051 left the south coast open to attack, not least by the Godwines themselves who knew full well how to exploit this region for supplies and ships. It is notable that, after Godwine's death in 1053, King Edward retained Chalton, Westbourne, Bosham, Stoughton, and Singleton under direct royal control, which gave him far greater command of Portsmouth, Langstone, and Chichester Harbours. These estates may have been farmed on behalf of the king to bring in extra income, but it was also a partial reversal of the policy, perhaps initiated by Cnut, of relying on Earl Godwine and his family to defend the south-eastern shires.

One of the main features of Baxter and Lewis' analysis of landholding before 1066 is that a 'zone of assembly politics' exercised a 'gravitational pull' on the alignment of many landholder's estates.<sup>113</sup> The mapping of the location of the estates of elite landholders in Hampshire, undertaken in Chapter Three, is important in this respect. It shows a clear pattern of landholding by the elite who had estates in Hampshire, with many of their manors lying on an east-west alignment across the north of the shire. These bridged the gap between their estates in the North Downs and the royal heartlands and brought them within fifteen miles of Winchester. It is argued here that estates close to ridgeway routes along the North Downs, the Great Ridgeway/Icknield Way, and major Roman roads were particularly favoured, presumably because these routes were easy to navigate, had few river crossings, and were

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<sup>113</sup> Baxter and Lewis, 'Landed society', 397, 399.

passable for much of the year. It is argued that possession of estates on these routes reflected the elite status of these thegns, marked their involvement in the governance of the kingdom and, in practical terms, facilitated travel across several shires. Furthermore, Cypping of Worthy and several other important local thegns in Hampshire held estates on a broad north-south alignment through Hampshire and into Wiltshire or Berkshire that intersected with the east-west alignment of the estates of the elite. These findings raise important questions about the level and nature of political, social, and commercial interaction among people on these routes.

Such arrangements had been almost entirely swept away by 1086. There is much to support Richard Dennis' contention that, in the early years of the Conquest, William fitzOsbern held a military fief centred on the Isle of Wight and took control of both Winchester and Southampton. Following fitzOsbern's death in February 1071, Hugh de Port's influence increased until he became the wealthiest secular landholder in the shire after the king, reflecting the importance of this post-Conquest sheriff not just in the shire but among a circle of men most trusted by the Conqueror within the new regime. Significantly, Hugh's main estate appears to have been at Basing, which became the caput of the barony, on the route across the north of the shire, while King William retained control of the important neighbouring estate at Odiham. The priority of other Norman magnates, however, was to acquire one or two estates that gave them a foothold in the shire closer to Winchester or to embarkation points on the coast for sea-routes between their estates in England and Normandy. Accordingly, the distribution of elite landholding reached deeper into the shire by 1086.

Chapter Four investigates the lives of three of the wealthiest female landholders in Domesday: Queen Edith, Wulfgifu Beteslau, and Queen Matilda. Wulfgifu had a distribution of estates that shared the configuration of those held by the itinerant elite. She may have held office in one of the royal households and gained these estates in her own right. Her byname, Beteslau (probably Betti's widow) would suggest, however, that the lands first came to

Wulfgifu from her husband. She continued to hold these estates as a widow in and after 1066. Her case study supports assertions in current scholarship that widowhood was often the point in a woman's lifecycle where they held a substantial amount of land. It is suggested that Queen Edith and Wulfgifu may have retained estates for some time after 1066, perhaps receiving special protection as widows. If scholars are correct, and women tended to act as conduits of land at certain points in their lifecycle (especially widowhood), the Conquest caused a hiatus in such family arrangements and inheritance practices. There is no clear evidence in Hampshire that Wulfgifu's lands, or (to take another known example) those of Sæwulf's widow, passed to any of their descendants.

Contemporary sources, including Domesday, record aspects of Queen Edith and Queen Matilda's involvement in political life. Many of Edith's estates appear to have been ringfenced by the Conqueror, perhaps for a future grant to a daughter-in-law. This research has also reconstructed much of Queen Matilda's landholding within England, setting it out in detail for the first time, and has pieced together her itinerary to better understand Matilda's presence in Hampshire. Matilda attended several of the Conqueror's Easter courts in Winchester and witnessed royal diplomas. She was a patron of Ealdred's wife and may have protected the interests of other men and women in the shire, including Wulfgifu Beteslau. Matilda heard at least one plea, concerning the appropriation of land in Hampshire, when William was absent in Normandy. Such insights reinforce the view expressed in recent scholarship that Matilda played an active role in the administration of both Normandy and England.

Chapter Five concludes that churches in Hampshire enjoyed an increase in their landed wealth between 1066 and 1086 and that the increase was achieved not so much through the acquisition of new estates as through an increase in the value of existing demesne. The ability of individual estates to generate more income for their lords may depend on several factors,

but the cultivation of marginal land, access to markets, and an ability to adapt agricultural practices to meet new demands emerge as important considerations.

The pressure to increase revenues came from various sources. In Hampshire, the *Liber Vitae* suggests there was an influx of lay converts into the New Minster community, almost certainly in response to the uncertainties of the Conquest, which may have placed greater demands on resources and revenues from their lands. If so, other religious communities were almost certainly in the same position. Furthermore, the bishopric of Winchester faced increased costs from Walkelin's construction of a new cathedral. It may explain Walkelin's appropriation of the income from estates that traditionally supported the monks, and his attempt to dissolve the Benedictine community at the Old Minster and replace it with a cathedral priory of canons headed by his own brother.

The loss of ecclesiastical estates through predation was remarkably contained in Hampshire perhaps because the king visited Hampshire regularly when he was in England, convening royal assemblies in Winchester. We know from Domesday that Matilda acted as regent, hearing pleas in Hampshire in his absence. As such, disputes in the shire may have been addressed throughout the Conqueror's reign. References in Domesday also suggests that little escaped the attention of Hugh de Port, and the king appears to have appreciated the competency of his sheriff. Marginal notes in Domesday recording the restoration of land by the king show few outstanding complaints which were resolved as Domesday was being written.

One of the most profound changes by 1086 was the Conqueror's assertion of lordship over both secular and ecclesiastical landholding. There are examples of King William using ecclesiastical loanland or subtenancies to endow royal officials. Various forms of service were increasingly demanded from tenants which necessitated long-term loans of ecclesiastical land resulting in the gradual alienation of such estates. Royal involvement in ecclesiastical appointments and the assertion that ecclesiastical lands and incomes reverted to the king at the

point of any vacancy allowed William Rufus, in due course, to abuse these powers. Yet the cartulary of Christchurch Priory also records a more peaceable side to the Conquest. Walkelin's attendance at the consecration of Ælfric Small's church at Milford on Sea is a reminder that Walkelin had an important role within the administration of the kingdom but also within his own diocese;<sup>114</sup> Walkelin's duties took him into local communities on behalf of the new Anglo-Norman regime, alongside the king's other appointees.

This thesis has sought to understand the tenurial structure of Hampshire before and after 1066. Appendix A gives an impression of the shock of the Conquest: the disappearance or demotion of numerous English families from the Domesday record, an unknown number of whom were killed, exiled, or otherwise dispossessed of their lands. Appendices B and C show how the landed wealth in the shire was distributed in 1066 and 1086. These figures show that the land transfers were far-reaching, resulting in the consolidation of many estates, and much of the landed wealth, into the hands of a select number of tenants-in-chief favoured by the Conqueror. As Stenton observed, 'the combination of several thousand small estates into less than two hundred major lordships must have been an administrative achievement comparable with the Domesday Inquest itself'.<sup>115</sup> This thesis has sought to go beyond the figures, however, using mapping software to draw on the data in Domesday to show something of the warp and the weft of landholding in the shire during the reign of Edward the Confessor, giving a glimpse of the tapestry of rural society before 1066. It traces the first twenty years of the imposition of a new tenurial regime and provides a deeper understanding of the way in which the Conquest played out in Hampshire. The evidence presented in this thesis leaves little doubt that the impact of the Conquest in Hampshire was profound.

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<sup>114</sup> *CPC*, 316-17, no. 1005.

<sup>115</sup> Stenton, *ASE*, 623, 627.

## Appendix A: Hampshire Landholders in Domesday Book in 1066 (1086 survivors shown in bold)

Ælfgar ‘of Ibsley’	Andrac ‘of Soberton’	Godwine ‘of Norton’	Tunbi ‘of Sunwood’
Ælfgar ‘of Shanklin’	Ansfrid ‘of Woodcott’	Godwine ‘of Oselei’	Vitalis ‘of Fittleton’
Ælfgeat ‘of Wootton St Lawrence’	Auti ‘of Ellesfield’	Godwine ‘of Preston Candover’	Walter, Bishop of Hereford
Ælfgifu, abbess of Wilton	Azur son of Thorth	Godwine ‘of Soberton’	<b>Wihltacl ‘of Bolderford’</b>
Ælfgifu ‘of Wolverton’	Beorhtmær ‘of Cosham’	Godwine ‘of Stubbington’	Wihtric ‘of Gorley’
Ælfheah ‘of Easton’	Beorhtric ‘of Knighton’	Godwine of Worthy	Wudumann ‘of Lessland’
Ælfhelm ‘of Steventon’	Beorhtric ‘of Newton Valence’	<b>Godwine the hawker</b>	Wulflæd ‘of Nunwell’
Ælfhere ‘Isenthegn’	Beorhtsige Cild	Godwine the priest	<b>Wulfgar ‘of Milford’</b>
<b>Ælfric Hort</b>	Beortwine ‘of Merstone’	Godwine, earl	<b>Wulfgeat the huntsman</b>
<b>Ælfric Small</b>	Blæcman ‘of Chilterton’	Goldgifu ‘of Burgate’	Wulfgifu Beteslau
Ælfric ‘of Portsdown’	<b>Boda ‘of Dean’</b>	Gyrth, earl	<b>Wulfnoth ‘of Wight’</b>
Ælfric ‘of Newton Stacey’	<b>Bolla ‘of Ellingham’</b>	Gytha, wife of Earl Godwine	Wulfnoth ‘of Westbury’
Ælfric ‘of Colemore’	<b>Bondi ‘of Knighton’</b>	Hacon ‘of Nuneham’	Wulfræd ‘of Titchfield’
Ælfric ‘of Bessete’	Bondi the staller	Harold ‘of Knighton’	Wulfric Cepe
Ælfric ‘of Preston Candover’	<b>Bruning ‘of Gotten’</b>	Harold, earl	Wulfric ‘of Burgate’
Ælfric ‘of Badley’	Carl ‘of Norton Bavant’	Herk ‘of Fareham’	Wulfric ‘of Godesmanescamp’
Ælfstan of Boscombe	Coleman ‘of Rowner’	Herling ‘of Herriard’	Wulfric ‘of Kingston’
Ælfwig, abbot of the New Minster, Winchester	Colgrim ‘of Througham’	Holmger ‘of Beckley’	Wulfric, abbot of Ely
Æstan ‘of Bonchurch’	Cuthwulf ‘of Rollestone’	Hunta ‘of Througham’	<b>Wulfsige ‘of Chale’</b>
Æstan ‘of Hannington’	<b>Cynna ‘of Canterton’</b>	Iusten ‘of Hordle’	Wulfstan ‘of Overton’
Æthelmær ‘of Chilcomb’	Cynning ‘of Dunbridge’	Iusten ‘of Sutton’	Wulfweard ‘of Barton’
Æthelnoth Cild	Cypping of Worthy	<b>Jorain ‘of Wolverton’</b>	<b>Wulfweard ‘of Crofton’</b>
Æthelsige, abbot of St Augustine’s Canterbury	Doda ‘of Edmondsham’	Ketil ‘of Dibden’	Wulfweard the White
Æthelwacer ‘of Huntspil’	Dunna	Lanc Delere	Wulfwig ‘of Hinton’
Abbess of Romsey Abbey	Durand ‘of Sway’	Leafing ‘of Exton’	Wulfwine ‘of Farley’
Abbot of Milton	<b>Eadgifu ‘of Woolverton’</b>	Leafmann ‘of Soberton’	Wynsige the chamberlain
Abbess of Nunnaminster, Winchester	Eadgifu, queen (Queen Edith)	Leafsige ‘of Boarhunt’	Father of Ælfric
Abbess of Wherwell	Eadnoth ‘of Shide’	Leafsige ‘of Long Sutton’	Uncle of Ælfric
<b>Agemund ‘of Wellow’</b>	Eadnoth the staller	Leafwine ‘of Chilton Candover’	Father of Alric
<b>Agemund ‘of Hotlop’</b>	<b>Eadric ‘of Adgestone’</b>	<b>Leafwine ‘of Kingsclere’</b>	Father of Eadwulf
Alfred ‘of Tunworth’	Eadric ‘of Brownwich’	Leafwine the forester	Father of Oirant
Alfred ‘of Sway’	Eadric ‘of Fordingbridge’	Linxi ‘of Easton’	Father of Wulfric Waula
<b>Almær, brother of Osgot</b>	Eadric ‘of Oldbury’	Mærwyn ‘of Boarhunt’	
Almær ‘of Wootton St Lawrence’	Eadric ‘of Shalfleet’	Mainard ‘of Somborne’	
Alnoth ‘of Brading’	Eadric ‘of Weston Corbett’	Manna ‘of Chilcomb’	
Alnoth ‘of Charford’	Eadric the Wild	Manna ‘of Dean’	
Alnoth ‘of Gatewood’	Eadric, sheriff of Wiltshire	Northmann ‘of Portsdown’	
Alnoth ‘of Knowl’	Eadsige the sheriff [Hampshire]	Ocsen ‘of Gierdaleah’	
Alnoth ‘of Luton’	<b>Eadwig ‘of Appleford’</b>	<b>Oda of Winchester/Sparkford</b>	
<b>Alnoth ‘of Roud’</b>	Eadwig ‘of Sudberie’	Onlaf ‘of Briddlesford’	
Alnoth ‘of Walhampton’	Eadwig ‘of Througham’	Ordweald ‘of Chilbolton’	
<b>Alnoth the priest ‘of Bosley’</b>	Ealdred, Archbishop of York	<b>Osbern fitzOsbern</b>	
<b>Alric ‘of Dummer’</b>	<b>Ealdred, brother of Oda of Winchester</b>	Osgot, brother of Almær	
Alric ‘of Nether Wallop’	Ealdwine ‘of Wimborne St Giles’	Osmund ‘of Eaton’	
<b>Alsige ‘of Hatch’</b>	Edward, king	<b>Osmund ‘of Worpleston’</b>	
<b>Alsige the priest</b>	Edward ‘of Houghton’	Oswulf ‘of Tidgrove’	
Altei ‘of Basing’	Edward ‘of Malshanger’	Payn ‘of Sanhest’	
Alweald ‘of Bile’	<b>Edward ‘of Soberton’</b>	Rauelin ‘of Kingsclere’	
Alweald ‘of Knighton’	Edward ‘of Stratfield Saye’	Sælida ‘of Oselie’	
Alweald ‘of Sutton Scotney’	Edwin ‘of Nately’	Sæweard ‘of Scaldeford’	
<b>Alwig ‘of Bentley’</b>	<b>Edwin the huntsman</b>	<b>Sæwine ‘of Hurstbourne Priors’</b>	
Alwig ‘of Fordingbridge’	Edwin the priest ‘of Preston Candover’	Sæwulf brother of Siward	
Alwig ‘of Minley’	Elaf ‘of Brown Candover’	<b>Sæwulf ‘of Tytherley’</b>	
Alwig ‘of Fordingbridge’	Esbern Bigga	Saxi the housecarl	
Alwig ‘of Oakhanger’	Eskil of Beckenham	Secea ‘of Michelton’	
Alwine Frost	Eskil the priest	<b>Sigeræd ‘of Newtimber’</b>	
Alwine ‘of Corhampton’	Fugel ‘of Southampton’	Siward ‘of Arnewood’	
<b>Alwine ‘of Easton’</b>	Fulki, king’s thegn	Siward ‘of Stratfield Saye’	
Alwine ‘of Enham Alamein’	Gerald ‘of Chilcomb’	<b>Siward the huntsman</b>	
Alwine ‘of Farley’	<b>Gerin ‘of Southampton’</b>	Spirites the priest	
Alwine ‘of Farnborough’	Godeza ‘of Nettleston’	Stenesnoc ‘of Heckfield’	
Alwine ‘of Ludshott’	Goding ‘of Aplestede’	Steorra ‘of Lockerley’	
Alwine ‘of Norton’	Godmann ‘of Allington’	Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury	
Alwine ‘of Oakley’	<b>Godric ‘fifteen acres’</b>	Swarting ‘of Yaverland’	
Alwine ‘of Old Milton’	Godric Malf	Swein ‘of Dogmersfield’	
Alwine ‘of South Tidworth’	<b>Godric ‘of Huffingford’</b>	Theodger ‘of Mapledurham’	
Alwine ‘of Winchfield’	Godric ‘of Stratfield Saye’	Tholf the Dane	
Alwine Stilla	Godric ‘of Whitefield’	Thorbert the huntsman	
<b>Alwine the White</b>	<b>Godric the priest ‘of Wight’</b>	Thorir ‘of Great Funtley’	
	Godric, Dean of Twynham	Thorkil ‘of Cheverton’	
	Godwine ‘of Barnsley’	Tosti, earl	
	Godwine ‘of Ewhurst’	Tovi ‘of Sutton Scotney’	

### New English Rural Landholders in 1086

Alfred of Marlborough  
 Alfric the priest  
 Alric nephew of Godric  
 Alsige ‘of Calbourne’  
 Alsige son of Beorhtsige  
 Alsige the chamberlain  
 Alweald ‘of Ringwood’  
 Alwig son of Sæwulf  
 Alwig son of Thorbert  
 Alwine son of Wulfgeat the huntsman  
 Azur ‘of Roud’  
 Cola the huntsman (Cola ‘of Sutton  
 Veny’), son of Wulfgeat the huntsman  
 Christine, abbess of Romsey  
 Eadgifu ‘of Midgham’  
 Eadwulf ‘of Mottisfont’  
 Earnwulf ‘of Preston Candover’  
 Edmund son of Payn  
 Edward of Salisbury, sheriff  
 Edwin ‘of Oakhanger’  
 Ernulf ‘of Candover’  
 Folcwine ‘of Lymington’  
 Harding, son of Eadnoth the staller  
 Henry the treasurer  
 Hunger son of Odin  
 Odin of Windsor (Odin the  
 chamberlain)  
 Oirant  
 Sæwine ‘of Roud’  
 Særic ‘of Enham’  
 Sigeric the chamberlain  
 Sons of Godric Malf  
 Wife of Sæwulf ‘of Tytherley’  
 Wulfmær ‘of Breamore’  
 Wulfric Waula

## Appendix B: The landed wealth of Hampshire Landholders in Domesday Book (1066)<sup>1</sup>

1066 landholder by baronial class	Landed wealth in all shires	Landed wealth in Hampshire	No. estates in Hampshire
<b><u>Class A £750 +</u></b>			
Edward, king	8,230	424	29
Harold, earl	3,306	151	6
Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury	2,051	328	19
Eadgifu, queen (Queen Edith)	1,562	36	8
Godwine, earl	783	56	2
Wulfric, abbot of Ely	761	0.75	1
<b><u>Class B £400 – £750</u></b>			
Countess Gytha, wife of Earl Godwine	644	58	3
Azur son of Thorth	531	16	3
Tosti, earl	515	137	10
Monks of the Old Minster, Winchester	476	321	28
Æthelsige, abbot of St Augustine’s Canterbury	440	5	1
<b><u>Class C £200 - £400</u></b>			
Ealdred, Archbishop of York	359	4	1
Æthelnoth Cild	341	13	3
Ælfgifu, abbess of Wilton	299	3	1
Ælfstan of Boscombe	288	6	2
Gyrth, earl	260	8	1
Wulfward the White	223	15	1
Ælfwig, abbot of the New Minster, Winchester	221	100	12
Bondi the staller	218	28	4
<b><u>Class D £100 - £200</u></b>			
Walter, Bishop of Hereford	199	4	1
Beorhtsige Cild	192	11	2
Wulfgifu Beteslau	162	67	8
Carl ‘of Norton Bavant’	154	10	2
Cypping of Worthy	137	128	19
Saxi the housecarl	120	40	4
Eadric the Wild	118	5	1
Osbern fitzOsbern	103	2	1
<b><u>Class E £40 - £100</u></b>			
Wulfric Cepe	100	25	4
Abbess of Romsey Abbey	98	38	5
Beorhtric ‘of Newton Valence’	96	19	3
Tholf the Dane	95	36	4
Abbot of Milton	84	0.17	1
Esbern Bigga	80	4	1
Abbess of Nunnaminster, Winchester	75	36	6
Eadnoth the staller	73	18	3
Godwine the priest	65	15	1
Spirites the priest	64	1	1

<sup>1</sup> The value is entered as zero for properties in Southampton and for rural estates where no value is given.

1066 landholder by baronial class	Landed wealth in all shires	Landed wealth in Hampshire	No. estates in Hampshire
Eadric 'of Oldbury' <sup>2</sup>	59	6	1
Tovi 'of Sutton Scotney'	53	21	12
Hacon 'of Nuneham'	52	5	1
Dunna	50	3	1
Lanc Delere <sup>3</sup>	49	16	3
Godwine of Worthy	48	48	13
Osmund 'of Eaton'	47	8	2
Ketil 'of Dibden'	44	31	11
Eskil of Beckenham	44	10	1
Vitalis 'of Fittleton'	42	0.75	1
Alweald 'of Sutton Scotney'	40	30	8
<b><u>Class F £20 - £40</u></b>			
Æthelwacer 'of Huntspill'	39	7	1
Abbess of Wherwell	39	39	8
Eadric 'of Shalfleet'	32	32	4
Godric Malf	30	30	13
Wynsige the chamberlain	29	3	2
Ælfric Small	28	22	15
Wulfweard 'of Crofton'	26	26	8
Oda of Winchester/Sparkford <sup>4</sup>	25	15	5
Ælfhere 'Isenthegn'	25	1	1
Wulfgeat the huntsman	22	16	10
<b><u>Class G £10 - £20</u></b>			
Alsige 'of Hatch'	20	20	6
Sæwine 'of Hurstbourne Priors'	19	19	8
Fulki, king's thegn	19	6	1
Bolla 'of Ellingham'	18	14	9
Alric 'of Dummer'	17	17	4
Alwine Stilla	16	16	1
Wihtlac 'of Bolderford'	16	16	7
Cuthwulf 'of Rollestone'	15	10	1
Eadric, sheriff of Wiltshire <sup>5</sup>	15	6	15
Agemund 'of Wellow'	15	12	8
Godmann 'of Allington'	15	15	2
Auti 'of Ellisfield'	15	15	2
Eadsige the sheriff [Hampshire] <sup>6</sup>	15	8	5
Sæwulf 'of Tytherley' <sup>7</sup>	14	14	8
Leofwine 'of Chilton Candover'	12	12	4
Altei 'of Basing'	12	12	1
Alwine 'of Corhampton'	12	12	2
Ælfric 'of Preston Candover'	10	10	1
Wulfnoth 'of Westbury'	10	10	3

<sup>2</sup> This Eadric may be the same man as Eadric, sheriff of Wiltshire, with combined landed wealth of £74.

<sup>3</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Lanc 2 'the dealer'' (provisional).

<sup>4</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Oda 18', and '25' (provisional).

<sup>5</sup> Eadric the sheriff may be the same man as Eadric 'of Oldbury', with a combined landed wealth of £74.

<sup>6</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Eadsige 35 'of Catmore'' is almost certainly Eadsige the sheriff, considering Catmore's proximity to his Hampshire estates.

<sup>7</sup> It is very likely that Sæwulf had died by 1086, and Battramsley may be assigned to Sæwulf rather than Ælfric Small in 1086 due to scribal error: GDB 51d (Hampshire: NF9,24). Sæwulf is likely to be the same man as *PASE Domesday* 'Sæwulf 7 'brother of Siward'' (provisional).

1066 landholder by baronial class	Landed wealth in all shires	Landed wealth in Hampshire	No. estates in Hampshire
<b><u>Class H £5 - £10</u></b>			
Godric 'of Whitefield'	9	9	6
Alnoth 'of Roud'	9	9	1
Ælfric Hort	8	8	3
Wulfnoth 'of Wight'	8	8	7
Alnoth 'of Charford'	8	8	2
Herling 'of Herriard'	8	4	1
Iusten 'of Hordle'	8	8	1
Ordweald 'of Chilbolton'	7	4	1
Almær, brother of Osgot	7	7	5
Ælfgar 'of Ibsley'	6	6	4
Ælfgifu 'of Wolverton'	6	6	1
Alwine 'of Oakley'	6	6	1
Linxi 'of Easton'	6	6	1
Wife of Ealdred	6	6	2
Gerin 'of Ningwood' <sup>8</sup>	6	6	2
Eadnoth 'of Shide'	5	5	2
Leofing 'of Exton'	5	5	4
Ælfhelm 'of Steventon'	5	5	1
Alwine 'of Winchfield'	5	5	1
Leofmann 'of Soberton'	5	5	2
Stenesnoc 'of Heckfield'	5	5	1
Swein 'of Dogmersfield'	5	5	1
<b><u>Class I £1 - £5</u></b>			
Osgot, brother of Almær	5	5	2
Boda 'of Dean'	5	4	2
Northmann 'of Portsdown'	4	4	3
Edward 'of Soberton'	4	4	2
Alsige the priest	4	4	2
Alweald 'of Bile'	4	4	1
Alwine Frost	4	4	1
Beorhtmær 'of Cosham'	4	4	1
Eadric 'of Brownwich'	4	4	1
Thorir 'of Great Funtley'	4	4	1
Tunbi 'of Sunwood'	4	4	1
Wulfstan 'of Overton'	4	4	3
Coleman 'of Rowner'	3	3	1
Edwin 'of Nately'	3	3	1
Godwine 'of Norton'	3	3	2
Iusten 'of Sutton'	3	3	1
Leofsige 'of Long Sutton'	3	3	1
Ocsen 'of Gierdaleah'	3	3	2
Sigeræd 'of Newtimber'	3	2	2
Alric 'of Nether Wallop'	3	3	3
Rauelin 'of Kingsclere'	3	3	1
Manna 'of Chilcomb'	3	3	1
Alfred 'of Tunworth'	3	3	1
Alwig 'of Fordingbridge'	3	3	1
Alwine 'of Enham Alamein'	3	3	1
Alwine 'of Farnborough'	3	3	1
Alwine 'of Ludshott'	3	3	1

<sup>8</sup> This person is identified as Gerin 'of Ningwood' and his landed wealth includes the landholding of *PASE Domesday*, 'Gerin 2', '3', and 'Gerwy 2 'of Breamore'' (all provisional). He paid £9 to Breamore from the royal *feorm* owed at Ningwood and this sum is excluded from the total.

1066 landholder by baronial class	Landed wealth in all shires	Landed wealth in Hampshire	No. estates in Hampshire
Alwine 'of Norton'	3	3	2
Doda 'of Edmondsham'	3	1	1
Godeza 'of Nettleston'	3	3	1
Wulflæd 'of Nunwell'	3	3	1
Godwine 'of Barnsley'	3	3	1
Swarting 'of Yaverland'	3	3	4
Blæcman 'of Chillerton'	2	2	2
Godwine 'of Stubbington'	2	2	1
Herk 'of Fareham'	2	2	1
Gerald 'of Chilcomb'	2	2	1
Ælfgar 'of Shanklin'	2	2	1
Ælfric 'of Colemore'	2	2	1
Agemund 'of Hotlop'	2	2	1
Alwig 'of Minley'	2	2	2
Alwig 'of Oakhanger'	2	2	1
Alwine 'of Old Milton'	2	2	1
Alwine 'of South Tidworth'	2	2	1
Alwine the White	2	2	1
Eadric 'of Weston Corbett'	2	2	1
Edward 'of Houghton'	2	2	2
Godric 'Fifteen Acres'	2	2	1
Godwine 'of Ewhurst'	2	2	2
Godwine 'of Soberton'	2	2	1
Hunta 'of Througham'	2	2	2
Sælida 'of Oselie'	2	2	1
Theodger 'of Mapledurham' <sup>9</sup>	2	2	1
Ealdred, brother of Oda of Winchester	2	2	2
Cynning 'of Dunbridge'	2	2	2
Elaf 'of Brown Candover'	2	2	1
Beorhtric 'of Knighton'	2	2	1
Ælfric 'of <i>Bessete</i> '	1	1	1
Æstan 'of Bonchurch'	1	1	1
Alwine 'of Farley'	1	1	1
Andrac 'of Soberton'	1	1	1
Colgrim 'of Througham'	1	1	1
Eadwig 'of Througham'	1	1	1
Ealdwine 'of Wimborne St Giles'	1	0.5	1
Goding 'of Aplestede'	1	1	1
Godwine 'of Preston Candover'	1	1	1
Mainard 'of Somborne'	1	1	1
Siward 'of Arnewood'	1	1	1
Wulfwine 'of Farley'	1	1	1
Wulfweard 'of Barton'	1	1	1
Ælfgeat 'of Wootton St Lawrence'	1	1	1
Ælfric 'of Portsdown'	1	1	1
Almær 'of Wootton St Lawrence'	1	1	1
Alwine 'of Easton'	1	1	1
Alwig 'of Bentley'	1	1	3
Holmger 'of Beckley'	1	1	1
Oswulf 'of Tidgrove'	1	1	1
Alnoth 'of Gatewood'	1	1	1
Ælfheah 'of Easton'	1	1	2
Æthelmær 'of Chilcomb'	1	1	1
Ælfric 'of Newton Stacey'	1	1	1
Æstan 'of Hannington'	1	1	1
Alnoth 'of Brading'	1	1	2

<sup>9</sup> Theodger held Mapledurham from Wulfgifu Beteslau and is likely to be the same man as Theodger 'of Clevancy', an estate a few miles from Wulfgifu at Clyffe Pypard.

1066 landholder by baronial class	Landed wealth in all shires	Landed wealth in Hampshire	No. estates in Hampshire
Alnoth 'of Knowl'	1	1	1
Ansfrid 'of Woodcott'	1	1	1
Durand 'of Sway'	1	1	1
Eadwig 'of Appleford'	1	1	1
Eadwig 'of Sudburie'	1	1	1
Godric, Dean of Twynham	1	1	1
Godwine 'of Oselei'	1	1	1
Onlaf 'of Briddlesford'	1	1	1
Thorkil 'of Cheverton'	1	1	1
Wihtric 'of Gorley'	1	1	1
Wulfræd 'the thunderbolt'	1	1	1
Wulfric 'of Kingston'	1	1	1
Cynna 'of Canterton'	1	1	1
Wudumann 'of Lessland'	1	1	1
<b><u>Class J &lt; £1</u></b>			
Edwin the priest 'of Preston Candover'	0.9	0.9	1
Edward 'of Malshanger'	0.9	0.9	1
Alnoth 'of Walhampton'	0.75	0.75	1
Bruning 'of Gotten'	0.75	0.75	2
Edwin the huntsman	0.75	0.75	1
Thorbert the huntsman	0.75	0.75	1
Godric 'of Stratfield Saye'	0.67	0.67	1
Godric 'of Huffingford'	0.67	0.67	2
Steorra 'of Lockerley'	0.66	0.66	1
Sæwulf brother of Siward <sup>10</sup>	0.65	0.65	1
Alfred 'of Sway'	0.55	0.55	1
Alnoth 'of Luton'	0.5	0.5	1
Alnoth the priest 'of Bosley'	0.5	0.5	1
Beorhtwine 'of Merstone'	0.5	0.5	1
Eadgifu 'of Woolverton'	0.5	0.5	1
Eadric 'of Adgestone'	0.5	0.5	1
Godwine the hawk	0.5	0.5	1
Leofsige 'of Boarhunt'	0.5	0.5	1
Leofwine 'of Kingsclere'	0.5	0.5	1
Manna 'of Dean'	0.5	0.5	1
Osmund 'of Bentley' <sup>11</sup>	0.5	0.5	1
Sæweard 'of Scaldeford'	0.5	0.5	1
Scefa 'of Michelton'	0.5	0.5	1
Wulfwig 'of Hinton'	0.5	0.5	1
Mærwyn 'of Boarhunt'	0.5	0.5	1
Alweald 'of Knighton'	0.4	0.4	1
Edward 'of Stratfield Saye'	0.38	0.38	1
Godric the priest 'of Wight'	0.38	0.38	1
Siward the huntsman	0.38	0.38	1
Eadric 'of Fordingbridge'	0.25	0.25	1
Eskil the priest 'of Southampton'	0.25	0.25	1
Harold 'of Knighton'	0.25	0.25	1
Jorain 'of Wolverton'	0.25	0.25	1
Leofwine the forester	0.25	0.25	1
Payn 'of Sanhest' <sup>12</sup>	0.25	0.25	1

<sup>10</sup> He is probably the same man as *PASE Domesday* 'Sæwulf 2 'of Tytherley'' (provisional), and possibly 'Sæwulf 9 'of Ufton Nerve't'. He may have held with Siward in Buckinghamshire. Further research is required but Sæwulf may be related to Ælfric 206 'the Small' (they both held at Battramsley) who also held estates in Hampshire, Bedfordshire and Herefordshire.

<sup>11</sup> Currently *PASE Domesday* 'Osmund 81 'of Worplesdon'' (provisional).

<sup>12</sup> He is probably the same man as *PASE Domesday* 'Payn 2 'of Buckholt'' and 'father of Edmund' (provisional).

1066 landholder by baronial class	Landed wealth in all shires	Landed wealth in Hampshire	No. estates in Hampshire
Wulfric 'of Godesmanescamp'	0.25	0.25	1
Goldgifu 'of Burgate'	0.2	0.2	1
Wulfric 'of Burgate'	0.2	0.2	1
Wulfsige 'of Chale'	0.2	0.2	1
Bondi 'of Knighton'	0.15	0.15	1
Siward 'of Stratfield Saye'	0.13	0.13	1
Wulfgar 'of Milford'	0.11	0.11	1
Ælfric 'of Badley'	0	0	1
Fugel 'of Southampton'	0	0	1

## Appendix C: The landed wealth of Hampshire landholders in Domesday Book (1086)

Including tenants only holding or also holding as subtenants or sub-subtenants in Hampshire

1086 landholder by baronial class	Total landed wealth as tenant-in-chief: value of demesne, subtenanted estates and sub-tenancies (£)	Personal landed wealth in all shires: value of land held in demesne (no subtenants) and as a subtenant (£)	Landed wealth in Hampshire: value of land held in demesne (no subtenants) and as a subtenant (£)	Value of subtenanted estates in Hampshire (£)	No. of estates in Hampshire: land held in demesne (no subtenants) or as a subtenant	No. of subtenanted estates in Hampshire
<b><u>Class A £750 +</u></b>						
King William	20,711	17,831	1,213	82	155	77
Odo, bishop of Bayeux	3,315	907	-	35	-	14
Roger, earl of Shrewsbury	2,103	969	132	34	2	22
<u>Robert, count of Mortain</u>	2,067	903	12	-	1	-
William de Warenne	1,200	595	-	2	-	1
Alan, count of Brittany	1,101	668	7	-	3	-
Eustace, count of Boulogne	1,101	675	80	-	2	-
Walkelin, bishop of Winchester	1,080	831	392	114	19	37 <sup>1</sup>
Hugh, earl of Chester	1,060	420	-	3	-	1
Thurstan, abbot of Glastonbury	821	562	-	1	-	1
<b><u>Class B £400 – £750</u></b>						
Monks of the Old Minster Winchester	641	541	392	102	26	26
Gilbert Crispin, abbot of Westminster	634	524	4	-	1	-
<u>Edward of Salisbury</u>	582	482	5	5	1	2
<u>Hugh de Port [sheriff of Hampshire]<sup>2</sup></u>	542	461	160	81	24	41
Osbern fitzOsbern	494	379	21	-	1	-
William d'Eu	467	249	28	7	3	2
William de Briouze	465	247	-	0.25	-	1
Miles Crispin	442	247	-	1	-	1
Riwallon, abbot of NMW	435	333	1	75	13	20
Eudo the steward	405	268	36	-	1	-
<b><u>Class C £200 - £400</u></b>						
Ernulf de Hesdin	389	288	6	-	1	-
Thomas, archbishop of York	376	133	4	-	1	-
<u>Hugh de Grandmesnil</u>	366	366	0	-	1	-
<u>Ralph de Mortimer</u>	330	230	48	26	11	7
<u>Roger the Poitevin</u> <sup>3</sup>	325	168	(16)	-	2	-
<u>William Peverel</u>	283	185	1	-	1	-
Alfred of Marlborough	269	141	10	-	2	-
<u>Ralph de Tosny</u>	248	143	0	-	1	-
Abbess of Wilton	238	216	3	-	1	-
Humphrey the chamberlain	215	202	5	-	2	-
Hugh fitzBaldric	215	146	27	11	3	2
Thurstan fitzRolf	210	139	12	-	1	-
Odo, abbot of Chertsey	201	169	-	3	-	2

<sup>1</sup> Not including arrangements with the monks of the OMW.

<sup>2</sup> Hugh also held Queen Edith's estates in Northamptonshire (£20) at farm from the king.

<sup>3</sup> Roger held Faccombe Netherton (£16) at farm from the king.

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<u>Class D £100 - £200</u>						
Christine, abbess of Romsey	135	108	48	2	5	2
Robert fitzGerald	124	45	11	16	7	3
William de Percy	116	7	4	-	1	-
<u>Waleran the huntsman</u>	123	67	10	16	5	7
<u>Durand of Gloucester</u>	110	72	0	5	1	2
<u>Osbern Giffard</u>	107	107	0	-	1	-
<u>Gilbert de Bretteville</u>	103	74	6	4	4	3
William fitzBaderon	103	90	13	-	2	-
Serlo, abbot of Gloucester	102	101	4	-	1	-
Alice, abbess of Winchester	101	97	34	-	6	-
<u>Class E £40 - £100</u>						
<u>Walter fitzOther</u>	98	71	5	-	3	-
Abbot of Milton	92	81	-	0.17	-	1
<u>Nigel the physician</u>	90	82	1	-	2	-
Abbot <u>and monks</u> of Grestain	74	74	8	-	1	-
<u>William fitzStur</u>	72	64	64	8	18	10
<u>Reynold fitzCroc</u>	69	69	0.25	-	3	-
<u>Richard Puignant</u>	68	61	5	-	2	-
Oda of Winchester	55	50	18	5	4	1
<u>Jocelin fitzAzor</u>	46	45	17	29	8	13
<u>Thurstan the chamberlain</u>	46	46	3	-	3	-
<u>Turolde nephew of Wigot</u>	46	45	6	-	2	-
<u>Abbess of Wherwell</u>	43	43	43	-	8	-
<u>William, count of Évreux</u>	43	43	0	-	1	-
<u>Hearding son of Eadnoth the staller</u>	42	41	?	-	1	-
<u>Class F £20 - £40</u>						
William Mauduit	40	33	31	7	8	2
<u>William fitzAzor</u>	39	26	26	3	17	2
<u>Walter fitzRoger</u>	39	34	10	5	4	3
Ranulph Flambard	37	37	3	-	3	-
<u>Ralph Bloiet</u>	36	36	9	-	2	-
<u>Bernard Pancevolt</u>	34	34	16	-	7	-
Roger, abbot of Mont Saint-Michel	32	32	4	-	1	-
<u>Abbot and monks of Lyre</u>	29	29	26	-	5	-
<u>Richard Estormi</u>	27	27	5	-	1	-
Robert 'the man of Robert fitzGerald	27	27	3	-	1	-
<u>Durand, abbot of Troarn</u>	25	22	10	-	2	-
<u>Ralph the priest</u>	24	24	24	-	7	-
<u>Alsige son of Beorhtsige</u>	24	24	5	-	1	-
<u>Hunger fitzOdin</u> <sup>4</sup>	22	22	6	-	2	-
<u>Durand 'the man of Bp Walkelin'</u>	22	22	22	-	2	-
<u>Reynold fitzErchenbald</u>	21	21	6	-	1	-
Croc the huntsman	21	19	7	-	2	-

<sup>4</sup> PASE Domesday, 'Hunger 1' and 'Hundger 1' (provisional).

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<u>Class G £10 - £20</u>							
<i>Ralph fitzSeifrid</i>	18	18	17	-	-	2	-
Hubert de Port	17	17	13	-	-	1	-
Gontard, abbot of Jumièges	17	17	12	-	-	1	-
<i>Cola the huntsman</i> <sup>5</sup>	15	15	7	-	-	2	-
<i>Ranulph 'the man of Edward of Salisbury'</i>	15	15	5	1	-	1	1
<i>William de Chernet</i>	15	15	13	-	-	4	-
<i>Hugh 'the man of Robt fitzGerald'</i>	15	15	10	-	-	1	-
Wulfgeat the huntsman	14	13	7	0.3	-	1	1
<i>Hugh de Saint-Quentin</i>	14	14	8	-	-	12	-
<i>Ansketil fitzOsmund</i>	13	11	11	2	-	7	1
<i>Geoffrey 'the man of Bp Walkelin'</i>	13	13	13	-	-	4	-
<i>William 'the man of Bp Walkelin'</i>	12	12	1	-	-	2	-
Wulfric Waula (huntsman)	12	11	7	0.5	-	16	1
<i>Ælfric Small</i>	12	12	12	-	-	3	-
<i>Oidelard</i>	11	11	10	-	-	5	-
<i>Herbert the chamberlain</i>	11	11	11	-	-	4	-
<i>Robert brother of Gilbert the clerk</i>	10	9	9	1	-	1	1
Joscelin de Cormeilles	10	10	1	0.15	-	5	1
Edmund son of Payn <sup>6</sup>	10	10	10	-	-	1	-
<i>Guy d'Anjou</i>	10	10	10	-	-	1	-
<i>Richer de les Andelys</i>	10	10	7	-	-	2	-
<i>Robert 'the man of Waleran the huntsman</i>	10	10	10	-	-	1	-
<u>Class H £5 - £10</u>							
Henry the treasurer	9	9	9	0.5	-	4	1
Robert fitzMurdrac	9	9	2	-	-	1	-
Canons of Twynham	9	8	8	1	-	2	2
<i>Osbern d'Eu</i>	9	9	2	-	-	1	-
<i>Ralph 'the man of Bp. Walkelin'</i>	9	9	4	-	-	1	-
<i>Richard 'the man of William de Briouze'</i>	9	9	0.25	-	-	1	-
Særic, king's thegn	8	8	1	-	-	1	-
William Bertram	8	8	8	-	-	1	-
William the archer	8	8	8	-	-	2	-
William fitzManni	8	8	1	-	-	1	-
<i>Heldred 'of Buckland'</i> <sup>7</sup>	8	8	8	-	-	3	-
<i>Robert 'the man of Edward of Salisbury</i>	8	8	0	-	-	1	-
<i>Gerin 'of Ningwood'</i> <sup>8</sup>	7	7	7	-	-	1	-
Aubrey the chamberlain	7	7	2	-	-	1	-
<i>Odin of Windsor</i> <sup>9</sup>	7	7	3	-	-	1	-
Ealdred, brother of Oda	7	7	7	-	-	3	-

<sup>5</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Cola 7', '11' (provisional).

<sup>6</sup> Payn is probably the same man as *PASE Domesday*, 'Payn 16', 'Payn 2' (father of Edmund), 'Payn of Buckholt', and 'Anonymous 1056' (all provisional); in 1086 Edmund fitzPayn held estates in Somerset and Hampshire with a similar distribution pattern to Bernard Pancevolt, and in Norfolk (provisional).

<sup>7</sup> Possibly the same man as *PASE Domesday*, 'Heldred 1 'of Houghton'' (provisional).

<sup>8</sup> D.W. Probert, 'Gerin 2', '3', *PASE Domesday*. Probably the same man as 'Gerwy 2' with scribal error accounting for the two name forms.

<sup>9</sup> *PASE Domesday*, 'Odin 4', '5' and '6' (all provisional).

1086 landholder by baronial class	(£)	Total landed wealth as tenant-in-chief: value of demesne, subtenanted estates and sub-tenancies	Personal landed wealth in all shires: value of land held in demesne (no subtenants) and as a subtenant (£)	Landed wealth in Hampshire: value of land held in demesne (no subtenants) and as a subtenant (£)	Value of subtenanted estates in Hampshire (£)	No. of estates in Hampshire: land held in demesne (no subtenants) or as a subtenant	No. of subtenanted estates in Hampshire
<u>Livol 'of Shanklin'</u>	7	7	7	7	-	1	-
<u>Walter 'the man of Earl Roger'</u>	7	7	7	5	-	1	-
<u>William, abbot of Cormeilles</u>	7	7	7	0.75	-	2	-
<u>William de Fécamp</u>	7	7	7	7	-	1	-
William Alis	6	6	6	6	-	1	-
Sigeric the chamberlain	6	6	6	6	-	1	-
Herbert fitzRemy	6	6	6	6	-	3	-
Alfred the priest	6	6	6	6	-	1	-
<u>Agemund 'of Wellow'</u>	6	6	6	6	-	4	-
Hugh the interpreter	6	6	6	1	-	1	-
<u>Durand 'the man of Earl Roger'</u>	6	6	6	2	-	2	-
<u>Durand 'the man of William Mauduit'</u>	6	6	6	6	-	1	-
<u>Faderlin</u>	6	6	6	6	-	4	-
<u>Ranulph 'of West Tistead'</u>	6	6	6	6	-	3	-
<u>Geoffrey 'of Chillerton'</u>	6	6	6	6	-	1	-
<u>Roald 'of Lomer'</u>	6	6	6	6	-	1	-
Hugh a la Barbe	5	5	5	5	-	1	-
Sons of Godric Malf	5	5	5	5	-	5	-
Herbrand du Pont Audemer	5	5	5	5	-	2	-
Alwig son of Thorbert	5	5	5	5	-	4	-
Alsige the chamberlain	5	5	5	5	-	2	-
<u>Leofa</u>	5	5	5	5	-	1	-
<u>Nigel 'of Briddlesford'</u>	5	5	5	5	-	4	-
<u>Earl Roger's clerks</u>	5	5	5	5	-	1	-
<u>Hugh Mason</u>	5	5	5	5	-	1	-
<u>Class I £1 - £5</u>							
<u>Geoffrey the king's daughter's chamberlain</u>	4	4	4	4	-	2	-
<u>Geoffrey 'the man of Hugh de Port'</u>	4	4	4	4	-	1	-
<u>Geoffrey the Marshal</u>	4	4	4	4	-	4	-
<u>Humphrey fitzStur</u>	4	4	4	4	-	5	-
<u>Ansgot 'of Brownwich'</u>	4	4	4	4	-	1	-
<u>Herbert 'of Selborne'</u>	4	4	4	4	-	2	-
<u>Hugh 'the man of Alfred of Marlborough'</u>	4	4	4	4	-	1	-
<u>Ingelran 'of Sarson'</u>	4	4	4	4	-	1	-
<u>Jocelin 'of Westbury'</u>	4	4	4	4	-	1	-
<u>Ralph 'the man of Waleran the huntsman'</u>	4	4	4	4	-	2	-
<u>Theobald 'of Mapledurham'</u>	4	4	4	4	-	1	-
Bernard the chamberlain	3	3	3	3	-	1	-
Rauelin 'of Kingsclere'	3	3	3	3	-	1	-
Edwin 'of Oakhanger'	3	-	-	-	3	-	1
Miles the porter	3	3	3	3	-	2	-
<u>Ælfric Hort</u>	3	3	3	3	-	4	-
<u>Sæwine 'of Roud'<sup>10</sup></u>	3	3	3	3	-	1	-
<u>Herlebald 'of Segensworth'</u>	3	3	3	3	-	1	-
<u>Hugh de Mascy</u>	3	3	3	3	-	1	-
<u>Nigel 'the man of Earl Roger'</u>	3	3	3	3	-	6	-
<u>Peverel 'of East Standen'</u>	3	3	3	3	-	2	-

<sup>10</sup> Possibly the same man as *PASE Domesday*, 'Sæwine 24 'of Hurstbourne Priors'' (provisional).

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<u>Richard 'of Oakhanger'</u>	3	3	3	3	-	1	-
<u>Tezelin 'of Boarhunt'</u>	3	3	3	3	-	2	-
<u>Tuold 'of Wolverton'</u>	3	3	3	3	-	1	-
<u>Walter 'the man of Bp Walkelin'</u>	3	3	3	3	-	2	-
<u>Wibert the clerk</u>	3	3	3	3	-	1	-
<u>Ælfric the priest 'of Highclere'</u>	3	3	3	3	-	2	-
<u>Cypping of Worthy<sup>11</sup></u>	2	2	2	2	0.25	1	1
<u>Swarting 'of Yaverland'</u>	2	-	-	-	2	-	2
<u>Alwig, son of Sæwulf</u>	2	2	2	2	-	1	-
<u>Folcwine 'of Lymington'</u>	2	2	2	2	-	5	-
<u>Alsige 'of Calbourne'<sup>12</sup></u>	2	2	2	2	-	1	-
<u>Albold the cook</u>	2	2	2	2	-	1	-
<u>Burghelm 'of Bighton'</u>	2	2	2	2	-	1	-
<u>Fulcred 'of Bighton'</u>	2	2	2	2	-	1	-
<u>Geoffrey 'of Weston Corbett'</u>	2	2	2	2	-	1	-
<u>Gilbert brother of Robert the clerk</u>	2	2	2	2	-	1	-
<u>Oda the steward</u>	2	2	2	2	-	1	-
<u>Osmelin 'of Merston'</u>	2	2	2	2	-	1	-
<u>Robert 'of Norton'</u>	2	2	2	2	-	1	-
<u>Roger 'the man of Waleran the huntsman'</u>	2	2	2	2	-	2	-
<u>Roger 'the man of William fitzAzor'</u>	2	2	2	2	-	2	-
<u>Turgis 'of Shalfleet'</u>	2	2	2	2	-	1	-
<u>William 'of Durton'</u>	2	2	2	2	-	1	-
<u>Vitalis the priest</u>	2	2	2	2	-	1	-
<u>Thurstan the small</u>	2	2	2	2	-	1	-
<u>Hugh fitzOsmund</u>	1	1	1	1	-	2	-
<u>Agemund 'of Hotlop'</u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
<u>William Bellet</u>	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
<u>Durand the barber</u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
<u>Leofwine 'of Kingsclere'</u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
<u>Godwine the hawker</u>	1	1	1	1	-	2	-
<u>Son of Cola of Basing</u>	1	1	1	1	-	2	-
<u>Azur 'of Roud'</u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
<u>Picot 'of Burgate'</u>	1	1	1	1	-	4	-
<u>Alsige the priest</u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
<u>Alwine 'of Easton'</u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	1
<u>Alwine the white</u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
<u>Edward 'of Soberton'</u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
<u>German 'of Hook'<sup>13</sup></u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
<u>Herpul 'of Calbourne'</u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
<u>Hugh 'of Somborne'</u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
<u>Mauger 'of Calbourne'</u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
<u>Reynold 'of Whitefield'</u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
<u>Sigeræd 'of Newtimber'</u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
<u>Siward the huntsman</u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
<u>Abbot of Saint-Victor-en-Caux</u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
<u>Nephew of William fitzAzor</u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
<u>Walter 'of Sudberie'</u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
<u>Ingulf 'of North Charford'</u>	1	1	1	1	-	1	-

<sup>11</sup> PASE Domesday, 'Cypping 6', '15' (both provisional).

<sup>12</sup> Possibly the same man as PASE Domesday, 'Alsige 38 'of Hatch'' (provisional).

<sup>13</sup> Possibly the same man as PASE Domesday, 'Germanus 1 'of Itchel and Cove' (provisional).

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<u>Class J &lt; £1</u>							
Edwin the huntsman	0.9	0.9	0.9	-	1	-	
<u>Robert 'of Appleford'</u>	0.9	0.9	0.9	-	1	-	
Alric of Dummer	0.88	0.88	0.88	-	2	-	
<u>Wihlac of Bolderford'</u>	0.88	0.88	0.88	-	2	-	
Wife of Sæwulf 'of Tytherley'	0.75	0.75	0.75	-	1	-	
Alric nephew of Godric	0.75	0.75	0.75	-	1	-	
Alwine son of Wulfgeat the huntsman	0.75	0.75	0.75	-	1	-	
<u>Fulcold 'of Lymington'</u>	0.75	0.75	0.75	-	1	-	
<u>Hugh of Stratfield Save</u>	0.75	0.75	0.75	-	1	-	
<u>William d'Anneville</u>	0.75	0.75	0.75	-	1	-	
<u>William Forist</u>	0.75	0.75	0.75	-	1	-	
Godric 'of Huffingford'	0.67	0.67	0.67	-	1	-	
Eadgifu 'of Midgham'	0.65	0.65	0.65	-	1	-	
Wulfnoth 'of Wight'	0.63	0.63	0.63	-	3	-	
<u>Donald 'of Brightstone'</u>	0.63	0.63	0.63	-	1	-	
<u>William 'of Brightstone I'</u>	0.63	0.63	0.63	-	1	-	
<u>William 'of Brightstone II'</u>	0.63	0.63	0.63	-	1	-	
Alnoth 'of Luton'	0.6	0.6	0.6	-	1	-	
Bolla 'of Ellingham'	0.5	0.5	0.5	-	1	-	
Eadwig 'of Appleford'	0.5	0.5	0.5	-	1	-	
Godric the priest 'of Wight'	0.5	0.5	0.5	-	1	-	
Osbern the falconer	0.5	0.5	0.5	-	1	-	
Wulfsige 'of Chale'	0.5	0.5	0.5	-	1	-	
Wulfweard 'of Crofton'	0.5	0.5	0.5	-	1	-	
<u>Alnoth the priest 'of Bosley'</u>	0.5	0.5	0.5	-	1	-	
<u>Alweald 'of Ringwood' 51<sup>14</sup></u>	0.5	0.5	0.5	-	1	-	
<u>Boda 'of Dean'</u>	0.5	0.5	0.5	-	1	-	
<u>Jorain</u>	0.5	0.5	0.5	-	1	-	
<u>Papald</u>	0.5	0.5	0.5	-	1	-	
<u>Richard 'of Witestone'</u>	0.5	0.5	0.5	-	1	-	
<u>Travers 'of Atherfield'</u>	0.5	0.5	0.5	-	1	-	
<u>Radfrid the priest</u>	0.42	0.42	0.42	-	1	-	
<u>Tovi 'of Sutton Scotney'</u>	0.4	0.4	0.4	-	1	-	
Sæwine 'of Hurstbourne Priors'	0.38	0.38	0.38	-	1	-	
Almæ 'of Somborne'	0.25	0.25	0.25	-	1	-	
Bruning 'of Gotten'	0.25	0.25	0.25	-	1	-	
Eadric 'of Adgestone'	0.25	0.25	0.25	-	1	-	
Edwin the priest 'of Preston Candover'	0.25	0.25	0.25	-	1	-	
Oirant	0.25	0.25	0.25	-	1	-	
Osmund 'of Worplesdon'	0.25	0.25	0.25	-	1	-	
<u>Earnwulf 'of Candover'</u>	0.25	0.25	0.25	-	1	-	
<u>Jocelin 'of West Wellow'</u>	0.25	0.25	0.25	-	1	-	
Wulfric 'of Godesmanescamp'	0.2	0.2	0.2	-	1	-	
<u>Cynna 'of Canterton'</u>	0.2	0.2	0.2	-	1	-	
Alsige of Hatch	0.15	0.15	0.15	-	1	-	
Wulfgar 'of Milford'	0.15	0.15	0.15	-	1	-	
<u>Hugh 'of Durley'</u>	0.15	0.15	0.15	-	1	-	
<u>Herbert the forester</u>	0.13	0.13	0.13	-	1	-	
Alwig 'of Bentley'	0.06	0.06	0.06	-	1	-	
Eadwulf 'of Mottisfont'	0.03	0.03	0.03	-	1	-	

<sup>14</sup> He may be the same man as *PASE Domesday*, 'Alweald 2 'of Bile'' (provisional).

1086 landholder by baronial class	(£)	Total landed wealth as tenant-in-chief: value of demesne, subtenanted estates and sub-tenancies	Personal landed wealth in all shires: value of land held in demesne (no subtenants) and as a subtenant (£)	Landed wealth in Hampshire: value of land held in demesne (no subtenants) and as a subtenant (£)	Value of subtenanted estates in Hampshire (£)	No. of estates in Hampshire: land held in demesne (no subtenants) or as a subtenant	No. of subtenanted estates in Hampshire
Payn 'of Buckholt' <sup>15</sup>	0	0	0	0	-	1	-
<u>Wulfmær 'of Breamore'</u>	0	0	0	0	-	1	-
<u>Adelina the jester</u>	0	0	0	0	-	1	-
<u>Aiulf the chamberlain</u>	0	0	0	0	-	1	-
<u>Geoffrey bishop of Coutances</u>	0	0	0	0	-	1	-
<u>Godric 'Fifteen Acres'</u>	0	0	0	0	-	1	-
<u>Peret the forester</u>	0	0	0	0	-	1	-
<u>Sæwulf 'of Tytherley'</u>	0	0	0	0	-	1	-
<u>Stephen the steersman</u>	0	0	0	0	-	1	-
<u>Thurstan Rufus</u>	0	0	0	0	-	1	-
<u>Thurstan the engineer</u>	0	0	0	0	-	1	-

<sup>15</sup> He is the father of 'Edmund 58'. He may be the same man as *PASE Domesday*, 'Payn 16', 'of Sanhest', and 'Anonymous 1056' (all provisional).

## Appendix D: The landed wealth of ecclesiastical landholders (with estates in Hampshire) in 1066 and 1086

Landholder	1066 demesne	1066 value of lordships <sup>1</sup>	1066 loanland <sup>2</sup>	1066 total (cf. chief)	1066 total in chief	Value of land in the whole fief (land held in chief: D + E) in 1086	Value of land held in demesne (no subtenants) in 1086	Value of land held by subtenants in 1086	Value of land held by landholder as a subtenant in 1086	Net income in 1086	% change totals	% change totals
	A	B	b	A + B	A + b	C	D	E	F	D + F	(A + B compared to C)	(A + b compared to C)
Stigand	2051	1669		3720		-	-	-	-	-		
Stigand, as bishop of Winchester <sup>3</sup>	609	162	140	771	749	-	-	-	-	-		
Walkelin, bishop of Winchester	-	-		-		1080	831	249	9	840	40%	44%
Monks of Winchester Old Minster	476	124	112	600	588	641	541	99	-	541	7%	9%
Abbot of Glastonbury <sup>4</sup>	468	205	165	673	633	821	562	259	0	562	21%	30%
Abbot of Westminster	454	127	24	581	478	634	524	110	0	524	9%	33%
Abbot of St Augustine's, Canterbury	440	1	0	441	440	604	556	48	15	571	36%	37%
Archbishop of York	359	69	65	429	424	369	127	242	-	127	-16%	-13%
Abbess of Wilton	299	13	11	312	310	238	216	22	0	216	-34%	-23%
Abbot, New Minster, Winchester <sup>5</sup>	221	67	24	288	245	435	333	102	< 1	333	51%	78%
Bishop of Hereford	234	1	1	235	235	262	245	17	8	253	12%	12%
Abbot of Chertsey	191	20	2	210	193	203	169	33	-	169	-3%	5%
<i>Osbern fitzOsbern</i> <sup>6</sup>	103	-	-	103	-	490	375	116	4	379	N/A	N/A
Abbess of Romsey	98	25	25	123	123	135	108	27	-	108	9%	10%
Abbot of Milton	84	1	1	85	85	92	81	10	-	81	8%	8%

<sup>1</sup>The value of estates under all forms of lordship, not just loanland.

<sup>2</sup> The value of estates identifiable as loanland: Domesday states either that the estate was loaned for a number of lives or that the 1066 holder had no power to alienate the land from the church.

<sup>3</sup> These figures exclude the Old Minster estates (Hampshire: 3,1-27), and Yavington and East Meon which Stigand held as archbishop of Canterbury.

As bishop, Stigand held Abbotstone, Abington Pigotts, Adderbury, Bassingbourn, Bentley, Bishopstoke, Bishops Waltham, Brightwell, Calbourne, Cheddon Fitzpaine, Clopton, Cottedred, Crawley, Downton, East Meon, Easton, Fareham, Farnham, Fawley, Fonthill Bishop, Harwell, Houghton, Ivinghoe, Kilmeston, Meonstoke, Old Alresford, Overton, Pitminster, Oxford, Rimpton, Steeple Morden, Stoke, Twyford, West Meon, West Tisted, Witney, and Taunton plus nineteen surrounding estates.

Stigand held lordships at Abington Pigotts, Bassingbourn, **Beauworth, Bradley, Calbourne, Chilton Candover, Chingescamp, Crawley, Downton, Easton, Fareham, Kilmeston, Old Alresford, Overton, Soberton and Beauworth, Twyford, Wield, Hele, Taunton**, and Fyfield (**loanland in bold**).

<sup>4</sup> *Lænland* figures in this section are taken from Baxter, 'Week 7: The Church' [lecture handout].

<sup>5</sup> The *PASE* lordship figures are higher because they include Queen Edith's holding at Kingsclere.

<sup>6</sup> In 1066 fitzOsbern was a royal priest. In 1086 he was bishop of Exeter. Accordingly, the figures are not comparable.

Landholder	1066 demesne	1066 value of lordships <sup>1</sup>	1066 loanland <sup>2</sup>		1066 total (cf. in chief)	Value of land in the whole fief (land held in chief: D + E) in 1086	Value of land held in demesne (no subtenants) in 1086	Value of land held by subtenants in 1086	Value of land held by landholder as a subtenant in 1086	Net income in 1086	% change totals (A + B compared to C)	% change totals (A + b compared to C)
	A	B	b	A + B	A + b	C	D	E	F	D + F	(A + B compared to C)	(A + b compared to C)
Abbess of Winchester (Nunnaminster)	75	1	1	76	76	110	107	4	1	108	44%	44%
Serlo, abbot of Gloucester	49	0	0	49	49	99	98	1	2	100	105%	
Godwine the priest	65	-	-	65		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spirites the priest	64	-	-	64		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Abbess of Wherwell	39	-	-	39		43	43	-	1	44	9%	9%
Roger, abbot of Mont Saint-Michel	-	-	-	-	-	27	27	-	5	32	-	-
Abbot of Lyre	-	-	-	-	-	20	20	-	5	25	-	-
Abbot of Grestain	-	-	-	-	-	17	17	-	43	60	-	-
Gontard, abbot of Jumièges	-	-	-	-	-	12	12	-	5	17	-	-
Canons of Twynham	6	0	0	6		9	8	1	-	8	50%	50%
Alsige the priest	4	-	-	4		1	1	-	-	1	-	-
Alnoth the priest	< 1	-	-	< 1		< 1	< 1	-	-	< 1	-	-
Alfred the priest	-	-	-	-		7	7	-	-	7	-	-
Vitalis the priest	-	-	-	-		2	2	-	-	2	-	-
Radfrid the priest	-	-	-	-		< 1	< 1	-	-	< 1	-	-
Ralph the priest	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	24	24	-	-

## The landed wealth in Hampshire of ecclesiastical landholders in 1066 and 1086

Landholder	Value of estates attributed to the landholder in Hampshire TRE	Value of lordships in Hampshire <sup>7</sup>	Value of lordships in Hampshire TRE (secular tenants only) <sup>8</sup>	1066 total (comparable to figure for land held in chief)	1066 total TRE (secular tenants only)	1086 total in Hampshire (land held in chief)	Value of land held in demesne in Hampshire (no sub-tenants) in 1086	Value of land held by their subtenants in Hampshire in 1086 <sup>9</sup>	Value of land held by landholder as a subtenant in Hampshire in 1086	Net income in Hampshire in 1086	% change in Hampshire (totals)
	A	B	Bb	A + B	A + Bb	C	D	E	F	D + F	A + Bb compared to C
Stigand <sup>10</sup>	328	193	185	521	513	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Stigand, bishop of Winchester</i>	266	193	185	459	451	-	-	-	-	-	-
Walkelin, bishop of Winchester	-	-	-	-	-	506	392	114	-	392	12%
Monks of Winchester Old Minster <sup>11</sup>	321	83	83	404	404	482	380	102	-	380	19%
Abbot, New Minster, Winchester	100	55	49	155	149	214	139	75	-	139	43%
Abbess of Wherwell	39	-	-	39	39	42	42	-	< 1	42	10%
Abbess of Romsey	38	-	-	38	38	50	48	2	-	48	31%
Abbess of Winchester (Nunnaminster) <sup>12</sup>	38	1	-	39	38	45	45	-	-	45	18%
Abbot of Lyre	-	-	-	-	-	20	20	-	2	22	-
Godwine the priest	15	-	-	15	15	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gontard, abbot of Jumièges	-	-	-	-	-	12	12	-	-	12	-
Canons of Twynham <sup>13</sup>	6	-	-	6	6	9	8	1	-	8	50%

<sup>7</sup> Excludes estates attributed to the monks of the Old Minster, Winchester.

<sup>8</sup> To avoid double counting, these figures exclude ecclesiastical tenants noted elsewhere in this table.

<sup>9</sup> These figures include ecclesiastical tenants listed elsewhere in the table in 1086.

<sup>10</sup> These figures exclude estates attributed to the monks of the Old Minster. Stigand also held Yavington (£60) and East Meon (£2.5) in Hampshire as archbishop of Canterbury. Column B includes lordships of ecclesiastical landholders but excludes the estates of the monks of the Old Minster, Winchester. Domesday does not specify which estates the monks held from the bishop before 1066.

<sup>11</sup> These figures include both estates at Droxford. Domesday implies Walkelin received the value from the monk's estates except from Boarhunt, Wootton St Lawrence, Hayling Island, Brockhampton and Havant (Hampshire: 3,23-27). If so, the monks received £46, and Walkelin received £334 from the monks' estates.

<sup>12</sup> Includes Itchen Abbas, which decreased in value from £15 to £11: GDB 48b (Hampshire: 44,1). Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, held from the abbess at Yavington (£1.25) TRE.

<sup>13</sup> Alsige the priest held Bosley and Alnoth the priest held Bashley in 1086 from the king, but both are recorded within the fief of the canons of Twynham. Alsige also held Rockford (£4) TRE, and has a separate row in this table, but the £1 holding at Bosley is only entered once for the purposes of the total figure.

Landholder	Value of estates attributed to the landholder in Hampshire TRE	Value of lordships in Hampshire <sup>7</sup>	Value of lordships in Hampshire TRE (secular tenants only) <sup>8</sup>	1066 total (comparable to figure for land held in chief)	1066 total TRE (secular tenants only)	1086 total in Hampshire (land held in chief)	Value of land held in demesne in Hampshire (no sub-tenants) in 1086	Value of land held by their subtenants in Hampshire in 1086 <sup>9</sup>	Value of land held by landholder as a subtenant in Hampshire in 1086	Net income in Hampshire in 1086	% change in Hampshire (totals)
	A	B	Bb	A + B	A + Bb	C	D	E	F	D + F	A + Bb compared to C
Abbot of Grestain	-	-	-	-	-	8	8	-	-	8	-
Alfred the priest	-	-	-	-	-	6	6	-	-	6	-
Abbot of St Augustine's, Canterbury	5	-	-	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bishop of Hereford	4	-	-	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Archbishop of York	4	-	-	4	4	4	4	-	-	4	0
Abbot of Westminster	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	-	-	4	-
Serlo, abbot of Gloucester	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	-	-	4	-
Roger, abbot of Mont Saint-Michel	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	-	-	4	-
Alsige the priest	4	-	-	4	4	1	1	-	-	1	-75%
Abbess of Wilton	3	-	-	3	3	3	3	-	-	3	0
Odo, abbot of Chertsey	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	-
Osbern fitzOsbern	2	-	-	2	2	0	-	-	-	21	n/a
Spirites the priest	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Godric the priest, dean of Twynham	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Abbot of Glastonbury	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	0
Abbot of Ely	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Godric the priest 'of Wight'	< 1	-	-	< 1	< 1	< 1	< 1	-	-	< 1	0
Alnoth the priest 'of Bosley'	< 1	-	-	< 1	< 1	< 1	< 1	-	-	< 1	0
Edwin the priest 'of Preston Candover'	< 1	-	-	< 1	< 1	< 1	< 1	-	-	< 1	0
Head of Calbourne church	< 1	-	-	< 1	< 1	1	-	-	-	1	300%
Abbot of Milton	< 1	-	-	< 1	< 1	< 1	-	< 1	-	-	0
Eskil the priest <sup>14</sup>	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vitalis the priest	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
Radfrid the priest	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	< 1	< 1	-
Ralph the priest	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5	-
Ælfric the priest	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
<b>TOTAL<sup>15</sup></b>	<b>850</b>	<b>333</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>1183</b>	<b>1168</b>	<b>1441</b>	<b>1142</b>	<b>299</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1152</b>	<b>21%</b>

<sup>14</sup> Eskil had exempt land in Southampton: GDB 52a (Hampshire: S2).

<sup>15</sup> These totals only take into account the first row for Stigand.



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