

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE AND THE NORTH
A DOMESDAY STUDY

by

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first draft; and, above all, my wife Christine for ministering to a frequently fevered brow.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbrev. Plac.	<i>Placitorum in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservatorum Abbreviatio</i> , RC London 1811
ASC	<i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> , D. Whitelock, D. C. Douglas, S. I. Tucker, London 1965
ASE	F. M. Stenton, <i>Anglo-Saxon England</i> , 3th ed. Oxford 1971
Beds. DB	<i>Domesday Book: Bedfordshire</i> , ed. J. Morris, Chichester 1977
Berks. DB	<i>Domesday Book: Berkshire</i> , ed. P. Morgan, Chichester 1979
BF	<i>The Book of Fees</i> , PRO London 1920 - 31
BL	British Library
Bucks. DB	<i>Domesday Book: Buckinghamshire</i> , ed. J. Morris, Chichester 1978
Cal.Doc.France	<i>Calendar of Documents Preserved in France Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland 1 918 - 1206</i> , ed. J. H. Round, PRO London 1899
Cal. Gen.	<i>Calendarium Genealogicum, Henry II and Edward I</i> , ed. C. Roberts, PRO London 1865
CChR	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls</i> , PRO London 1903-1927
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i> , PRO London 1903-1954
Chester DB	<i>Domesday Book: Cheshire</i> , ed. P. Morgan, Chichester 1978
CI	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i> , PRO London 1904-74
CPL	<i>Calendar of Papal Letters</i> , PRO London 1893-1955
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i> , PRO London 1901-1925
CRR	<i>Curia Regis Rolls</i> , PRO London 1922-55
DAJ	<i>Derbyshire Archaeological Journal</i>
DB	<i>Domesday Book</i>
DBB	F. W. Maitland, <i>Domesday Book and Beyond</i> , Cambridge 1897
Derbys. DB	<i>Domesday Book: Derbyshire</i> , ed. P. Morgan, Chichester 1978
ECCE	C. R. Hart, <i>The Early Charters of Eastern England</i> , Leicester 1966

<i>ECHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>ECNE</i>	C. R. Hart, <i>The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands</i> , Leicester 1975
<i>EHD</i>	<i>English Historical Documents</i> i, ed. D. Whitelock, London 1955
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>FA</i>	<i>Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids</i> , PRO London 1906
<i>FE</i>	J. H. Round, <i>Feudal England</i> , London 1895
<i>Hunts. DB</i>	<i>Domesday Book: Huntingdonshire</i> , ed. S. Harvey, Chichester 1975
<i>IAQD</i>	<i>List of the Inquisitions Ad Quod Damnum preserved in the Public Record Office</i> , New York 1963
<i>ICC</i>	<i>Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis</i> , ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, London 1876
<i>Leics. DB</i>	<i>Domesday Book: Leicestershire</i> , ed. P. Morgan, Chichester 1979
<i>Lincs. DB</i>	<i>The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey</i> , eds and trans. C. W. Foster, T. Longley, Horncastle 1924
<i>MDB</i>	V. H. Galbraith, <i>The Making of Domesday Book</i> , Oxford 1961
<i>Mon. Ang.</i>	<i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> , ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis, B. Bandinel, London 1817 - 30
<i>NI</i>	<i>Nonarum Inquisitiones in Curia Scaccarii, temp. Regis Edwardi III</i> , RC London 1807
<i>Northants. DB</i>	<i>Domesday Book: Northamptonshire</i> , eds. F. and C. Thorn, Chichester 1979
<i>Notts. DB</i>	<i>Domesday Book: Nottinghamshire</i> , ed. J. Morris, Chichester 1977
<i>PNN</i>	J. E. B. Glover, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, <i>The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire</i> , Cambridge 1940
<i>PR</i>	<i>Pipe Roll</i> , Pipe Roll Society
<i>PRO</i>	Public Record Office
<i>QW</i>	<i>Placita de Quo Warranto</i> , RC London 1818
<i>RBN</i>	<i>Records of the Borough of Nottingham</i> i, ed. W. H. Steven-

son, Nottingham 1882

RC Record Commission

RH *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ed. W. Illingworth, RC London 1812-18

Rot.Chart. *Rotuli Chartarum*, RC London 1837

Rot.Lit.Claus *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, RC London 1833-44

Rutland DB *Domesday Book: Rutland*, ed. F. Thorn, Chichester 1980

S P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon charters: an Annotated Hand-list and Bibliography*, London 1968

TMS F. M. Stenton, *Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw*, Oxford 1910

TRE *Tempore Regis Edwardi*, 1066 or before

TRHS *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*

TRW *Tempore Regis Willelmi*, after 1066, 1086

TSRS Thoroton Society Record Series

TTS *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*

VCH *Victoria History of the Counties of England*

Yorks. DB *Domesday Book: Yorkshire*, ed. M. L. Faull, M. Stinson, Chichester 1986

1. INTRODUCTION

Domesday Book is the greatest testimony to the genius and energy of Anglo-Norman government for, although parallels have been adduced, no document of the period is as comprehensive in its account of a realm (1). Its central importance was recognised from its inception. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicler expressed wonder mixed with horror at the very enormity of the survey (2), and the name Domesday itself, first recorded within a hundred years of the Inquest, attests to the special place that it thereafter occupied in the mediaeval mind. Like the Last Judgement, there was no appeal from its testimony (3). Its high reputation was, indeed, merited for it was a departure of some moment in the theory and practice of government. Anglo-Saxon administration had made much use of documentation. It was the very efficiency of the system that made the inquest possible. But, more than any other single act, the Domesday survey moved governance out of the realm of custom and personal relationship onto the firm foundation of written record. Throughout the Middle Ages it was the source of ultimate authority in matters of tenure (4).

In legal terms, then, and more often than not in fact, the documented history of most English settlements begins with Domesday Book. If it assumed an aura of almost mystical power in the Middle Ages, its primary importance as an historical source was recognised in the sixteenth century. The survey has been studied ever since. Its

(1). J. Percival, 'The Precursors of Domesday Book: Roman and Carolingian Land Registers', *Domesday Book: a Reassessment*, ed. P. H. Sawyer, London 1985, 5-27.

(2). ASC, 161.

(3). E. M. Hallam, *Domesday Book Through Nine Centuries*, London 1986, 34.

(4). Hallam, *Domesday Book*, 32-71.

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potential, however, is far from exhausted. Not only does its very size defy an easy grasp of its data - in the modern edition it is published in some 39 volumes - but its singular uniqueness and comprehensive subject matter provide an almost unlimited field for new insights into eleventh-century society. A field of study in its own right, Domesday Book is also a vital source for all manner of disciplines: political, social, economic, legal and landscape history; physical, human and economic geography; genealogy; English language, Latin and place-name studies; and much else. New methods of analysis are continually wresting novel information from it.

The Nottinghamshire section of Domesday Book, however, has been little studied compared with the attention paid to other counties. In the first and only serious examination of the text (1), Stenton clearly felt it was barren ground for historical research:

(The Nottinghamshire Domesday) is not one of the more attractive parts of the great record, for its subject matter is somewhat severely restricted to such details as were strictly relevant to the main object of the Domesday Inquest, which was the assessment and distribution of the geld. Many problems are raised in the course of the portion of the survey with which we have to deal, but in general we can only hope to solve them in the light of evidence drawn from beyond the borders of our county.....(2).

In his subsequent study of manorial structure in the Northern Danelaw,

(1). M. W. Bishop has recently examined the problems of multiple estates in the county and their origins. But general textual considerations were beyond his brief (M. W. Bishop, 'Multiple Estates in Late Anglo-Saxon Nottinghamshire', *TTS* 85, (1981), 37-47). The historical geography of Domesday Nottinghamshire has been analysed at length in *The Domesday Geography of Northern England*, Cambridge 1962, eds H. C. Darby, I. S. Maxwell.

(2). *VCH Notts* i, 207.

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he was unable to draw a significant volume of evidence from the Nottinghamshire Domesday (1). the reasons for this despair become readily apparent after the most cursory reading of the text. The accounts of both Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire are terse in the extreme. There are few explanatory notes within the text, and, unlike in other counties, there is no record of the disputes that came to light in the course of the enquiry which is elsewhere so useful in elucidating the text (2). Moreover, Nottinghamshire is unfortunate in having little documentation both before and immediately after the Survey. There were few religious houses with land in the county before the Conquest and therefore only a handful of Anglo-Saxon charters have survived (3). Several foundations came into existence within seventy years of the Domesday survey, but none has extant records comparable to those of Peterborough Abbey which are invaluable in studying the early history of Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire (4). In addition, no Domesday satellites like the Yorkshire Summary, or early twelfth-century surveys like those of Lindsey, Leicester, and Northampton have survived (5). The Domesday account, then, stands alone, and we are left with an impression of simplicity of social structure and stunted development within the county. Needless to say, this impression is misleading. Indeed, the Domesday scribe himself, or a collaborator, may have recognised the danger and tried to remedy it. Almost all explanatory notes which reveal

(1). *TMS*.

(2). The *Clamores*, the record of such proceedings, only survive for three of the six Circuit 6 counties:- Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and Huntingdonshire (DBi f.208a,b; 373a-374b; 375a-377d). Elsewhere claims are noted, often postscriptally, in the text.

(3). *ECNE*, 111-3.

(4). *VCH Notts* ii, *passim*; T. Stapleton, *Chronicon Petroburgense*, London 1849, 157-83.

(5). DBi f.379; *Lincs DB*, 337-60; *FE*, 196-214; *VCH Northants* i, 365-89.

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the complex reality behind the standard formulas are postscriptal and suggest that he was aware that the information had been over-compressed to the point of obscurity (1).

Such are the limitations that any study of the Nottinghamshire Domesday must accept. However, much can still be learnt from the text itself. In Stenton's day, the assessment and distribution of the geld were seen as the main function of Domesday Book. Thus, it was natural that the historian's primary analysis of the seigneurially arranged text involved its rearrangement into a geographical form (2). As will become clear in the following pages, much of the evidence is thereby lost. The management of the geld is now seen as only one of a number of objects of the enquiry. But first and foremost, it is clear that the seigneurial form of the text was intended from the inception of the enquiry at Gloucester in 1085 (3). The starting point of the present study, then, is the form of the text as it is written in the Exchequer Domesday. However, ultimately, like Stenton, we must draw upon evidence from outside the county to elucidate many of the problems posed by the Nottinghamshire folios. But we have a useful datum in the accounts of the counties which were drawn up by the same Domesday commissioners. The diplomatic of the Exchequer text reveals that the Nottinghamshire account was compiled in the same form as the Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, *Roteland*, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire sections (4). This is one of the more obvious groups of counties that can be identified in the Exchequer text, and the similarities suggest that the six shires constituted a circuit entrusted to a single group of commissioners. It

(1). See Appendix 1.

(2). *FE*, 3-146; *DBB*, 1-23.

(3). *NDB*, 29 and *passim*.

(4). *DB* 1, f.203a-208c, 272a-379.

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is conventionally known as circuit 6 (1). The terms used to express tenurial relationships are standardised within the circuit and the procedure employed to collect and compile the information was probably much the same throughout this large area of England. Comparison therefore becomes more meaningful. Although the formulas may not be exact descriptions, they approximate to what the commissioners believed they were examining and are therefore probably used consistently. There are, of course, dangers. Over-formulation can give the impression of greater conformity than was actually present. Nevertheless, differences in social, economic and tenurial structure are apparent within the standard forms. The different entry formations of the counties of *Roteland* and Lincolnshire, for example, give an impression of very different types of estate structure and local administration (2). Therefore, with due caution, comparative analysis can be used with some confidence.

The peculiarities of the text have been appreciated as long as the survey has been used by government officials and antiquarians. William

(1). C. Stephenson, 'Notes on the Composition and Interpretation of Domesday Book', *Speculum* 22, (1947), 1-15. Galbraith accepted the general analysis, but wondered whether Yorkshire and Lincolnshire constituted a separate circuit on the grounds of the great size of circuit 6 (*NDB*, 59). There are, indeed, peculiarities in the Yorkshire folios, notably the lack of marginal M, in the earlier breves. However, conventions are developed that are found in Lincolnshire, and are consistently applied in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Huntingdonshire, and it is argued in chapter 2 that the variations point to the pragmatic response of a single group of commissioners to the problems of compilation presented to them.

(2). *Roteland* is characterised by an ancient pattern of discrete multiple estates consisting of a central manorial *caput* surrounded by contributory berewicks. Fission of estates was not well-advanced (C. Phythian-Adams, 'Rutland Reconsidered', *Mercian Studies*, ed. A. Dornier, Leicester 1977, 67-9). By way of contrast, Lincolnshire is characterised by large scattered sokes with a multitude of small manors in between. The overwhelming impression is one of fragmentation of large estates. See chapters 5 and 9.

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Woolley, the seventeenth-century historian and topographer, recognised the inconvenience caused by a document which was arranged by manor and fee, and was one of the first to produce elaborate indices to facilitate the use of the folios in which he was interested (1). Few students of Domesday Book, however, appreciated the significance of the form of the text to the interpretation of its data until the pioneering work of Round and Maitland in the late nineteenth century (2). The one subjected the survey to the most minute criticism in the search for sources and procedures, while the other analysed its data and formulas with a hitherto unparalleled insight and sensitivity. Neither paid very much attention to the manuscript itself, though, and the various editors and translators of the Victoria County History editions they inspired noted with only varying degrees of thoroughness additions and duplication of material. Only in recent years has the manuscript been examined as artefact. The rebinding of both volumes in 1953 provided an opportunity to examine the text in detail: the gatherings were recorded, a general analysis of the hands was undertaken, and rulings and the like were noted (3). The material has recently been reassessed by Alexander Rumble in a broader context (4). Both studies are general, however, and no attempt has been made to look at the folios of a specific county in detail. The potential of such a study was adumbrated by both Maxwell and Welldon Finn in their studies of the Yorkshire folios (5), but the editors of the subsequent Phillimore editions have not always accepted

(1). W. Woolley, *History of Derbyshire*, eds C. Glover, P. Riden, Chesterfield 1981, microfiche 1, f.12r-14r.

(2). FE; DBB.

(3). Public Record Office, *Domesday Book Rebound*, London 1954.

(4). A. R. Rumble, 'The Palaeography of the Domesday Manuscripts', *Domesday Book: a Reassessment*, 28-49.

(5). Maxwell, *Domesday Geography of Northern England*, 456-94; R. W. Finn, *The Making and Limitations of the Yorkshire Domesday*, York 1972.

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the challenge by noting all the variations that are apparent in the manuscript (1). This is of considerable importance to an analysis of Domesday Book for the traces of sources and procedural processes. The text is the best testimony that we have to the details of procedure and compilation, but its data cannot be used until the forms and stratigraphy of the manuscript are understood. In chapter 2, therefore, the conventions of the Nottinghamshire folios, both diplomatic and calligraphic, are examined, along with peculiarities of compilation such as addition of material and irregularities of form.

With the establishment of a text, the sources of the Inquest and the process of compilation are discussed in chapter 3. This area of Domesday studies has been perhaps the most contentious subject of debate for problems of purpose are inseparable from procedures. Round was the first historian to produce a coherent and reasoned account of the making of Domesday Book. He argued that the commissioners produced original returns in the form of hundred rolls which were only cast into a seigneurial form at the Exchequer in Winchester where the final version was written. Based upon an analysis of the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* and the Cambridgeshire folios, his hypothesis gained support from the widespread evidence of a sequence of hundreds within most county texts (2). Indeed, the 'headquarters' theory went unchallenged for some 50 years until Galbraith produced a new thesis based upon the Exon Domesday (3). He argued that the seigneurial form of

(1). For the omissions from the Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire volumes, see R. Black, D. R. Roffe, *The Nottinghamshire Domesday: a Reader's Guide*, Nottingham 1986, 30-33; D. R. Roffe, *The Derbyshire Domesday*, Darley Dale 1986, 29-30. Later volumes contain much more analysis of the manuscript.

(2). *FE*, 6-29.

(3). V. H. Galbraith, 'The Making of Domesday Book', *EHR* 57, (1942), 161-77; *NDB*, 29. His starting point was F. H. Baring's analysis of Exon

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the text was intended from the very inception of the survey in 1085. Local juries were consulted on the data collected, but much information was provided by the tenant-in-chief or their agents, and the text was compiled fee by fee through various recensions. This view in its broad outline has now been almost universally accepted. We are all Galbraithians now. The recensionist model, however, has been modified. In 1955 P. H. Sawyer drew attention to the considerable body of evidence for hundredal order in Domesday Book, and subsequently argued that the text known as Evesham A attested to a hundredally arranged recension in the production of the text (1). The effect of such studies was to multiply the stages of compilation to an incredible degree, and it was not until 1971 that S. Harvey broke the vicious circle by postulating the obvious role of pre-existing documentation such as geld accounts (2). In a further publication, she went on to argue that some of these sources, of which the Yorkshire 'Summary' is an example, may themselves have been seigneurially arranged (3). More recently H. B. Clarke has re-examined the whole problem of the Domesday satellites and compilation, and has put forward a simple schema (4). He argues that the first stage in the enquiry is represented by Evesham A. A geographically arranged source recording the name of each manor, value, and sometimes ploughs, the document was compiled from seigneurial claims to land, and checked

which showed that it was the direct source of the Exchequer text for the West Country shires ('The Exeter Domesday', *EHR* 27, (1912), 309-18).

(1). P. H. Sawyer, 'The "Original Returns" and Domesday Book', *EHR* 70, (1955), 177-97; P. H. Sawyer, 'Evesham A, a Domesday Text', *Worcester Historical Society, Miscellany* 1, Worcester 1960, 3-36.

(2). S. P. J. Harvey, 'Domesday Book and its Predecessors', *EHR* 86, (1971), 753-73.

(3). S. P. J. Harvey, 'Domesday Book and Anglo-Norman Governance', *TRHS*, 5th ser. 25, (1975), 175-93.

(4). H. B. Clarke, 'The Domesday Satellites', *Domesday Book: a Reassessment*, 50-70.

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against a geld list, which were subsequently presented to the hundred juries in the initial court sessions. Suitably annotated, this document was redrafted in seigneurial form, a stage represented by Evesham K, and the county return was compiled by reference to the court proceedings and seigneurial returns of manorial resources, while a second group of commissioners resolved disputed matters (1).

An analysis of the Nottinghamshire folios suggests that similar procedures and sources lie behind the Domesday account of the county. It is argued that the text betrays vestiges of written seigneurial returns, but the breves were formulated by reference to a geographically arranged source based upon a geld list which had been proved in an open court session. In the process, the account of estates was recast in terms of local government units, but throughout seigneurial sources appear to have taken priority in determining the content of breves. Estates were therefore enrolled on the basis of claims to land rather than legal right. The resolution of disputes was clearly independent of, and possibly later than, the compilation of the body of the text, and it would appear that title to land was of less importance to the commissioners than *de facto* tenure and value to the lord.

In chapter 4, the transfer of title from Anglo-Saxon lords to Norman tenants-in-chief is explored. In 1086 title to land seems to have been derived from a pre-Conquest predecessor. However, Domesday Book records the names of thousands of holders of land before 1066. In many circuits, there is some indication of status and rank, but in the East

(1). Clarke relates the *clamores* stage of the enquiry to the mission of the second set of commissioners that Bishop Robert of Hereford refers to (W. H. Stevenson, 'A Contemporary Description of the Domesday Survey', *EHR* 22, (1907), 74). In chapter 2 and 3, it is argued that there was a separate survey of the king's land.

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Midlands folios there are few clues, and it is usually assumed that all named TRE landholders were equally free. Thus, Stenton, while recognising the possibility of a tenurial hierarchy, accepted the mass of Danelaw manorial lords as king's thanes, and subsequently historians have seen the creation of honours as a radical reorganisation of landholders and tenure in response to the need to forge militarily viable units after the Conquest (1). The starting point of the present analysis is the inherent impossibility of transferring the land of all of these lords to Norman tenants-in-chief by name. It is argued that few of those identified in Domesday Book conferred title in the legal sense, and evidence is cited to demonstrate that most were tenants of predecessors rather than free agents. The grant of one manor, then, brought with it the right to all the estates that were dependent upon it. It is concluded that many honours have a decidedly pre-Conquest identity and, indeed, English families and pre-Conquest tenures survived in Nottinghamshire in large numbers (2).

This conclusion raises the problem of the relationship between tenants and their lords both before and after the Conquest. Stenton saw the distinction between demesne and soke as the fundamental feature of tenure. In the one the lord had a proprietorial right, while in the other he was only entitled to certain dues, the most important of which were suit and the profits of justice (3). This view was challenged by Stephenson who, recognising that many lords held sokeland without

(1). *TMS*, 60-1; M. Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England*, Oxford 1986, 23-28.

(2). This argument has been put forward in D. R. Roffe, 'Norman Tenants-in-Chief and their Pre-Conquest Predecessors in Nottinghamshire', *History in the Making*, ed. S. N. Mastoris, Nottingham 1985, 3-5), and has been recently elaborated by P. H. Sawyer in '1066-1086: a Tenurial Revolution?', *Domesday Book: a Reassessment*, 71-85.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, xxiv-xxv; 'The Danes in England', *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Stenton, Oxford 1970, 144-6.

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jurisdiction, argued that the essential bond was commendation, a far from casual relationship (1). The concept was developed by Anne Kristensen who drew the distinction between sake and soke as the dues that accrued from the regalian organisation of the *centena*, that is, something akin to sokes, shires, or multiple estates, and soke as the more precarious bond of commendation (2). All three, however, have, to a greater or lesser degree, accepted the the basic freedom of the sokeman to alienate his own land. In chapter 5, a different approach is taken to the problem. In the context of continuity of tenure between 1066 and 1086, the tenurial upheavals of the reign of William provide an unique insight into the mechanisms of tenure in the late eleventh century, and suggest that tenants were far less free than has hitherto been supposed. It is argued that the fundamental dichotomy in the transfer of land was not between demesne and soke, but *land* and soke. The tenure of the one conferred rights to extensive tributary dues which generally precluded any serious claim to title, while the other merely entitled the lord to the relatively minor profits of justice. Most, probably all, predecessors, however, enjoyed the soke of extended groups of manors, but retained a residual interest in land. Their title was normally expressed by the term sake and soke, which is consistently contrasted with simple *soca*, and effectively amounted to the rights to bookland. The pre-Conquest tenant, then, did not have unequivocal right to his estate, and the emergence of many manors can be seen to be a function of the delegation, as opposed to the alienation, of tributary dues.

(1). C. Stephenson, 'Commendation and related Problems in Domesday', *EHR* 59, (1944), 289-310.

(2). A. K. G. Kristensen, 'Danelaw Institutions and Danish Society in the Viking Age: *Sochemanni*, *liberi homines* and *Königsfreie*', *Medieval Scandinavia* 8, (1975), 74-85.

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If predecessors in the legal sense held vast estates by book, they and their lands were still in the soke of the king, and their forfeitures were coordinated through a common system of local government. Throughout the Middle Ages the shire was the basic unit of royal administration. It was articulated through a network of vills and wapentakes, and everyone was theoretically subject to its jurisdiction. The origins of the organisation have been hotly debated. In the fifteenth century King Alfred was credited with the creation of the system, and since then many interpretations have been advanced (1). In the East Midlands, it has usually been seen as an essentially Danish institution: the wapentake, derived from the Old Norse term *vapnatak*, the brandishing of weapons to signify assent, was in origin a popular assembly of Danish warriors, and the shire court was the predecessor of the meeting of the whole army in the central borough (2). In chapter 6, the character and origin of the infrastructure of the system are examined. Its basic characteristic was a series of territorial tithings, the twelve-carucate hundreds of the Northern Danelaw, which were grouped to form wapentakes and what later became the shires. As a late tenth century innovation, this institution is the diagnostic feature of the system, and it is argued that the whole organisation was established after the conquest of the Viking Kingdom of York, possibly in 954-63.

The administrative centre of the shire was the borough of Nottingham. Since Maitland's pioneering study of the institution (3), much has been written on the subject of boroughs. His garrison theory,

(1). *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland with the Continuations by Peter of Blois and Anonymous Writers*, trans. H. T. Riley, London 1856, 56.

(2). ASE, 510; Stenton, 'Danes in England', 138.

(3). F. W. Maitland, *Township and Borough*, Cambridge 1898.

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developed by Ballard (1), has generally been rejected, and the gradual emergence of the institution has been charted by Tait (2). Early discussions, however, were much coloured by concepts which came out of the nineteenth-century municipal reform movement. The great explosion of interest in urban archaeology, consequent upon redevelopment of town centres in the 1960s and 1970s, has led to a reappraisal. A definitive reinterpretation is still awaiting the publication of innumerable sites, but Susan Reynolds work has gone a long way to formulate the problems (3). Nevertheless, little detailed research has yet been undertaken on the Domesday borough in its own right. In chapter 7, the text of the account of Nottingham is subject to analysis, and its various conventions are examined. Bi-partite in form, much of the account is devoted to a series of fees which were technically outside of the borough. Evidence is adduced, however, to demonstrate that the liberties of the lords of urban tenements were not of long standing. The ecclesiastical structure of Nottingham suggests that royal and comital power was developed to an almost unprecedented degree for a county borough, and that the earl's estate, which was reorganised after the Conquest to form the French Borough, was possibly the centre of a group of thanes settled in the vicinity of Nottingham to ensure its defence.

The concentration of royal influence in Nottingham was merely the corollary of a similar concentration of power in the shire. Nottinghamshire was a key march against the North, and the crown retained great estates in the county along with extensive dues over the whole area. The

(1). A. Ballard, *The Domesday Boroughs*, Oxford 1904.

(2). J. Tait, *The Medieval English Borough: Studies in its Origins and Constitutional History*, Manchester 1936.

(3). S. Reynolds, *An introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns*, Oxford 1977.

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formation of the shire reflects the continuing royal pre-occupation with the area. Nottinghamshire did not emerge as an autonomous entity until the early eleventh century, but it was established as an administrative unit at the same time as the introduction of the hundreds and wapentakes by the 960s. The context was the formation of the Five Boroughs. Until recently (1), the confederacy of Derby, Nottingham, Lincoln, Leicester, and Stamford, first noticed as a group in the anachronistic 942 annal, was seen as an essentially Danish institution of the late ninth or early tenth century (2). Its close relationship with the territorial tithing, however, indicates that it was a later innovation. It is argued that it was a regional organisation introduced by a West Saxon king, either Eadred or Edgar, to create a buffer zone against a still hostile and unstable North. In the process an earlier burghal system was reorganised to create effective units of administration, which in their turn became the shires of the East Midlands with the disintegration of the Confederacy in the early eleventh century.

In chapter 9, the Domesday evidence for settlement and estate structures is examined. The deficiencies of the data have long been recognised (3). Despite the unparalleled range and content of the survey, independent evidence frequently demonstrates apparent anomalies and contradictions. Many thriving settlements, for example, are not recorded by name, while commodities that were located in one village often appear to be appended to another for it was public obligations and

(1). C. M. Mahany, D. R. Roffe, 'Stamford: the Development of an Anglo-Scandinavian Borough', *Anglo-Norman Studies V: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1982*, ed. R. A. Brown, Woodbridge 1983, 214-5; P. Stafford, *The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages*, Leicester 1985, 139.

(2). Stenton, 'Danes in England', 138.

(3). See, for example, P. H. Sawyer, 'Introduction', *Medieval Settlement*, London 1976, 1-7; D. R. Roffe, 'Domesday Book and the Local Historian', *The Nottinghamshire Historian* 37, (1986), 3-5.

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value to the lord which conditioned procedure and the final record. Nevertheless, Domesday is still used to reconstruct the eleventh-century landscape and economy. In particular, Professor Darby, while recognising the limitations in his monumental Domesday geographies (1), has assumed that the data are meaningful in geographical terms and can therefore be analysed cartographically. Computer-based studies of the text have accepted this premise, and implicitly assume that data are discrete and statistically valid (2). In the present work several caveats are expressed. The identifying names of entries are clearly not place, but estate names, and therefore Domesday Book provides little direct information on settlement and its forms. Even information on estate structure is ambiguous. As essentially a tributary nexus, the manor does not necessarily coincide with economic units of production, and its structure as portrayed by Domesday Book is largely determined by the procedure of the enquiry rather than the management of the estate.

In the final chapter, the origins and development of Nottinghamshire society and institutions are examined in a regional context. The detail that Domesday Book provides about the county adds much to our understanding of the history of the East Midlands in the late Saxon period. But in its turn the data cannot be fully interpreted without reference to the complex of political intrigues in the Five Boroughs and beyond. For much of the period under review, Nottinghamshire was socially, and often politically, an integral part of the North: to the very eve of the Norman Conquest the important boundary between North and South was the Welland rather than the Humber. The West Saxon hegemony in

(1). For Nottinghamshire, see *Domesday Geography of Northern England*.

(2). See, for example, J. D. Hamshere, M. J. Blakemore, 'Computerising Domesday Book', *Area* 8, (1976), 289-94; J. Palmer, 'Domesday Book and the Computer', *Domesday Book: a Reassessment*, 164-74.

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the region, dating from 920, was therefore periodically disturbed by separatist sympathies. Nevertheless, the East Midlands were of vital importance to the security of Mercia and the south against an even more unstable Northumbria, and the emergence of the distinctive institutions of the region owe more to successive attempts by English kings to stabilise the area and divorce it from the North, than to native Danish initiative.

Some ninety years ago Maitland looked forward to the time when the Domesday data would be available, county by county, in a manageable geographical form (1). With the Hull and Santa Barbara computer projects nearing completion, that dream is almost a reality. It is apposite at this time, then, to stress more than ever the necessity of studying the Domesday text as it was written. Nowadays, no one seriously holds the view that its form is some strange and inexplicable aberration. Yet nevertheless the arrangement of materials by manor and breve is still experienced as a blessed nuisance, and all too often primary analysis consists of a rapid redrafting into a comprehensible geographical form. It is hoped that the present study illustrates just how much is thereby lost. Historians will always want to contrast and compare Domesday evidence, and, indeed, the ready availability of Domesday data bases will be an inestimable boon to the study of diplomatic and the like. But first and foremost, the historian's primary duty is to the text for, as an eleventh century artefact, it is the best clue we have to the nature of the society that produced it.

(1). *DBB*, 520.

2. THE TEXT

The text of the Nottinghamshire Domesday occupies some fourteen folios of volume 1, the Exchequer Domesday (1). A further two half folios are devoted to the *Roteland* wapentakes of Alstoe and Martinsley, which were administratively part of the county in 1086, although later joined to the Northamptonshire hundred of Witchley to form the county of Rutland (2). The account is divided into four unequal sections. The first deals with the boroughs of Nottingham and Derby (3). In 1086, and probably from a much earlier period, the two counties were closely associated,

(1). DB i, f.280a-293b. To facilitate the identification of individual entries, reference will be made to *Notts. DB* which incorporates the Farley edition, but also numbers each entry. References to the borough are prefixed by the letter B, and passages in the body of the text are cited by breve and entry numbers separated by a comma. Subsequent entries in the same chapter follow a semi-colon and entries in other breves a full-stop. Thus, *Notts. DB*, 5,4;7. 7,5 refers to entries number four and eight, the manors of Laneham and Sutton, in breve number 5, the land of the archbishop of York, and entry number five, the manor of Rolleston, in breve number seven, the land of the bishop of Bayeux. The Phillimore editions of the Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, and Rutland Domesdays have also been employed, and the same conventions, prefixed by the relevant abbreviation, have been adopted for all references. *Lincs. DB*, has been used for Lincolnshire. Throughout, however, the author has preferred his own translations, for the rendering of technical terms into modern English in the Phillimore editions is confusing rather than enlightening. However, the text has been quoted where the sense of a passage is not clear, or a term used is of especial importance. Despite the use of easily available editions, it has nevertheless proved necessary to consult the text itself at all points, for the hand displays variations that could not be faithfully reproduced in record type. With restricted access to the manuscript itself, reference is therefore made to the currently (1986) available facsimile edition of Domesday Book, published by the Ordnance Survey between 1861 and 1863. The photozincographic process employed provides a silhouette rather than a true representation of light and shade, and consequently does not reveal rulings or pen-strokes. *Domesday Book Rebound*, PRO, London 1954, has been used for the general characteristics of the text.

(2). DB i, f.293c-294a; *Rutland DB*, notes; C. Phythian-Adams, 'Rutland Reconsidered', *Mercian Studies*, ed. A. Dornier, Leicester 1977, 63-84. *Roteland* will be used throughout to refer to the area encompassed by the two Domesday wapentakes in order to distinguish it from the county of Rutland which only came into existence in the twelfth century.

(3). *Notts. DB*, B; *Derbys. DB*, B.

sharing a sheriff and a common administration (1). The form of the description of the boroughs, and the relationship between them, is discussed in detail in chapters 7 and 8. The second section can be broadly characterised as an incomplete shire customal to which is appended what appears to be a list of holders of liberties (2). Its function, however, may be either directly, or incidentally, to indicate the predecessors of the Norman holders of land (3). Third, there is a list of tenants-in-chief who held land in the county in 1086, which is by way of an index to the fourth section, the *breves*, that is, chapters, which form the bulk of the text (4). It is with this latter section, the description of the estates of Nottinghamshire, that much of this study is concerned.

There are thirty *breves* in all. The first, as is customary in all county Domesdays, concerns the land of the king. Somewhat anomalously, however, it is followed by an account of the estates of those tenant-in-chief of comital rank - Count Alan of Brittany, Earl Hugh of Chester and the Count of Mortain. It is more normal for the clerics to follow the king, in strict order of precedence. In the Yorkshire account, for example, the three earls occupy the fifth, sixth, and seventh positions, with Earl Hugh at their head, behind the archbishop and canons of York, the bishop of Durham and his men, and the abbot of (St. Mary's) York

(1). D. Crook, 'The Establishment of the Derbyshire County Court, 1256', *DAJ* 103, (1983), 98-106; D. R. Roffe, *The Derbyshire Domesday*, Darley Dale 1986, 18.

(2). *Notts. DB*, S.

(3). See chapter 5.

(4). *Notts. DB*, L. *Breves* 1-30. The Nottinghamshire list of tenants-in-chief is one of the few that actually tallies with the text itself. Discrepancies are common in other counties. St. Mary of York, for example, appears as a tenant-in-chief in the Yorkshire list, but there is no corresponding *breve* in the text (*Yorks. DB*, L.). The indices copied into the Exchequer text probably pre-date the compilation of Domesday and may emanate from a very early stage in the enquiry.

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(1). In Nottinghamshire, however, the archbishop, the bishops of Lincoln and Bayeux, and the abbot of Peterborough are relegated to a lower position. The tenants-in-chief of the shire follow. Again, they appear in some sort of order of precedence. The great barons of the realm usually occupy a high position in all the counties in which they held land. But there are local variations which reflect the regional importance of individual lords. In Nottinghamshire, for example, the land of the clerics is immediately followed by that of Roger de Bully, the greatest landholder in the county. In Yorkshire, however, he follows Berengar de Tosny who is twenty-first in Nottinghamshire (2). The final breve is an account of the land of the king's thanes, those Anglo-Scandinavians of modest rank who retained title to, and tenure of, their lands after the Conquest (3).

Each breve, with the exception of headings and some place-names, is written in Carolingian miniscules (4). The pages are divided, by prickings and rulings, into two columns each of 44 lines. Generally speaking, an attempt was made to write each section at one sitting.

(1). *Yorks. DB*, L.

(2). *Notts. DB*, L; *VCH Notts.* 1, 216; *Yorks. DB*, L.

(3). It is claimed in *VCH Notts.* 1, 234, that the king's thanes held their lands on conditions of tenure very similar to those which had prevailed generally over the county in the time of King Edward. This is unlikely. It is clear that they were not of high status after the Conquest, and their fees are almost all represented by modest sergeancies in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But they were clearly of a higher status than many of the thanes who appear in the breves of the tenants-in-chief, for they held directly of the king rather than of a local magnate. Whether the king's thanes held their estates by book, or on less advantageous terms, is not apparent. See chapters 4 and 5.

4). *Domesday Book Rebound* is a basic source for any palaeographical investigation of the text, and the evidence has recently been reviewed by A. R. Rumble, 'The Palaeography of the Domesday Manuscripts', *Domesday Book: a Reassessment*, ed. P. H. Sawyer, London 1985. But there has been little work on the minutiae of entry formation and the relationship between layout and sources.

Breve no. 1, the land of the king, may, however, be an exception. In common with the description of *terra regis* in other county Domesdays, it shows signs of *ad hoc* and hasty compilation. Thus, entry no. 1,24, the concatenated account of some seventeen parcels of land, and the following entries which describe the same land in greater detail, reveal a difference in hand from the preceding entry concerning the manorial *caput* in Mansfield, which may suggest that they were a postscriptal addition to a space which had been intentionally left for the purpose. Such peculiarities, accompanied by anomalous entries and non-standard information emanating from an early stage in the enquiry or a different source (1), suggest that the return for the king's land was not always uniform with the other *breves*. Indeed, it is not unlikely that the data are derived from an initial survey of the king's income and lands alone which the Exchequer Domesday scribe himself formulated in an attempt to bring it into conformity with the rest of the text (2). Commonly, however, the scribe of the manuscript seems to be copying from an

(1). See, for example, *Lincs. DB*, 1/9, where details of the estate when received are given. This information is required by the articles of the enquiry (see chapter 3), but is rarely given in circuit 6 except in the account of *terra regis* and the boroughs. The account of Nottingham provides a particularly good example of the 'three period' approach, combined with a rather clumsy attempt at compilation. See chapter 7.

(2). S. Harvey, 'Domesday Book and Anglo-Norman Governance', *TRHS*, 5th ser. 25, (1975), 178; R. W. Finn, *The Liber Exoniensis*, London 1964, 40, 145. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle account of the genesis of the enquiry (*ASC*, 161-2), draws a sharp distinction between the survey of the lands of the king and of his men, and it is thus possible that the reference to two surveys, one checking the findings of the other, made by Bishop Robert of Hereford, obliquely alludes to separate inquests with different aims (W. H. Stevenson, 'A Contemporary Description of the Domesday Survey', *EHR* 22, (1907), 72-84). If, as seems likely (see chapter 3), the account of the royal estate and soke of *Roteland* is taken directly from the initial survey, the king would appear to have been primarily concerned with the normal annual income of the crown which came from his estates, soke dues, and geld, that is, in the words of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 'what dues he ought to have in twelve months from the shire'.

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already compiled exemplar. It is thus unlikely that there was any extensive composition from diverse sources at this late stage (1).

Emendations, corrections, and additions were, nevertheless, subsequently made, indicating that the scribe had access to a larger body of information, either an unabbreviated exemplar or separate sources used for checking. It is of vital importance to identify such changes for the stratigraphy of the text must clearly be established before the *breves* can be examined for traces of procedural activity and sources. Various devices were employed when material was added to the text. The most obvious are interlineation, usually, although not always, used for adding qualifying detail, and addition to the side margin. The foot margin was also used, and such additions can be detected by a line count if not by a difference in hand. Land in Tithby, for example, is enrolled below the 44th line of DB i, f.288c, and the entry is clearly postscriptal (2). Additions to the end of the *breve* are more difficult to detect, but can often be identified from anomalous details of procedure such as irregularities in wapentake sequence, that is, the common order in which estates are described in every *breve* (3). The three final entries of William Peverel's *breve*, for example, relate to land in the wapentakes of Bassetlaw and Broxtow. They are preceded, however, by estates in Bingham which, in normal circumstances, would have been enrolled after those in the other two wapentakes (4). The entries, then, would appear to be postscriptal and, indeed, in this instance both the hand and diplomatic (5) of the text indicate that they

(1). *MDB*, 29 and *passim*.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 11,13.

(3). See chapter 3.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 10,64-6.

(5). In all three entries land is said to be held for so many manors (*pro .ii. maneriis*). This formula is rare in the Nottinghamshire folios,

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are later additions to the text. Finally, whole entries are frequently squeezed into blank lines originally left for another purpose, or appended to the last line of existing entries. Thus, in the archbishop of York's *breve*, an estate in Ranskill was postscriptally entered on a blank line between two textual groups of manors (1), and in the king's *breve*, Fenton was enrolled on the last line of a soke entry relating to Leverton (2). All the postscriptal material identified, with the exception of those interlineations which are readily discernible in the manuscript and the Farley edition, are listed in Appendix 1 (3).

Wapentake rubrics are by no means general, and are only found regularly and correctly in *breves* nos 1, 6, 9, and 17. With only one exception, all are written on single lines in large rustic letters within the body of the text (4). This might suggest that such information was an integral component of each *breve*, that is, it was entered as the text was written. The regularity of wapentake sequence found in almost every *breve* does indeed imply that the geographical location of each estate was known to the Domesday scribe, or to a scribe of some previous recension. But the information was clearly not thought to be vital for no rubrics at all are found in twenty two of the *breves*,

but ubiquitous in the Yorkshire Domesday which was probably one of the first counties to be compiled (Rumble, 'Palaeography', 36). Its use in William Peverel's *breve* therefore suggests that the scribe was not following his normal practice. He may have taken the phrase from an early recension, or merely reverted to the non-standard form in a fit of absent-mindedness. For further discussion of the significance of the formula, see chapter 5.

(1). See chapter 4.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 5,12. 1,33.

(3). Many subtle changes can often be seen in the hand, but it is usually difficult to assign any great significance to them. Slight differences in the alignment of margins, despite rulings, and variations in the size of the script may merely attest to the scribe resuming his labours after a short ale or mead break.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 30,39.

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and there is evidence to suggest that it was not always a current component of the text. In Lincolnshire, many, if not most, rubrics are evidently later additions, even when written on a blank line (1). In Count Alan's breve, for example, wapentake and hundred rubrication is thorough, but the method of recording the information is entirely dependent on the space available in a previously drafted text (2). Thus, a rubric was interlined or written on the last line of the preceding entry if space permitted, but was otherwise entered in the margin or a pre-existing space within the text. Rubrication, then, was clearly an afterthought and not originally considered germane to the purpose of the enquiry.

The same is probably true of the Nottinghamshire folios. Spaces, which are by definition current, often occur between the description of estates in different wapentakes, but do not contain rubrics. Moreover, blank lines are sometimes left in the text where no wapentake rubric can be intended. Berengar de Tosny, for example, held three manors which were all situated in the wapentake of Newark. The third, however, is separated from the other two by a one line space (3). Any indication of the wapentake at this point would have been redundant for such information is usually only noted for the first estate in each division of the county. Indeed, the reason was apparently otherwise for, although the estate was in Newark Wapentake, the works of the villeins (*opus villanorum*) belonged to Saxilby in Lincolnshire (4). Furthermore, spaces are almost certainly used in breve no. 5 to indicate different types of

(1). D. R. Roffe, 'The Lincolnshire Hundred', *Landscape History* 3, (1981), 29.

(2). *Lincs. DB*, breve no. 12.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, 21/1-3.

(4). *Lincs. DB*, 18/1; L3/3,17. Saxilby is not named in the Lincolnshire

estate (1). It is therefore possible that gaps were left in the text for one purpose and were only subsequently employed to record wapentakes. Other types of rubrication - the identification of hundred and soke - are rare and are in all cases clearly later additions to the text (2).

In circuit 6 the basic unit of textual organisation within the breve is the *manerium* which is here, somewhat loosely, translated as 'manor' (3). The *caput*, which is identified by the presence of an *aula* or hall, is described first, but the value assigned to it is that of the whole estate (4). There then follows an account of the manorial appurtenances in separate entries, first the berewicks, then the land in

text, but it is clear from the Lindsey Survey that the description of the vill is subsumed in the various entries identified as Ingleby.

(1). See chapter 4. Blank lines are common in the Lincolnshire folios and were apparently left with the intention of distinguishing different types of estate (see Appendix 2). The most demonstrable example occurs in breve no. 68 which is entitled 'The land of Sortebrand and other thanes'. It is divided into three distinct sections (*Lincs. DB*, 68/1-4; 68/5-15; 68/16-48). The first two are separated by a one line space. The third begins at the top of the next column, but is indicated by an enlarged initial capital I. The division so defined corresponds to the original intention of the scribe of the Exchequer text, or of some earlier version for, according to the list of tenants-in-chief at the beginning of the description of the county, breve no. 68 was to be entirely devoted to the land of Sortebrand. It was to be followed by no. 69, the land of Chetelbern and others, which actually appears as the second section of no. 68, and finally by no. 70, the land of the king's thanes, which is in fact the third section of the same breve (*Lincs. DB*, p.14). There were three entirely different fees, then, and the space between sections one and two was clearly intended to distinguish them. The same convention was widely used in the Lincolnshire Domesday, and the resulting blank lines were occasionally employed to enroll postscriptal material such as wapentake rubrics.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 1,30. 18,6.

(3). With a root meaning of 'a residence', it was a nexus of tribute rather than an integrated economic unit of lord's demesne and peasant holdings. The term *aula*, 'hall', which is occasionally used as a synonym in Domesday Book, is closer to the concept. The articles of the enquiry recorded in the *Inquisitio Eliensis* ask for the name of the manor (*mansio*) in preference to that of the vill because it was through the institution that seigneurial wealth was accumulated. See chapter 5.

(4). *TMS*, 31-2.

soke. The form of the text, however, does not necessarily reflect the social and economic structure of estates for it is essentially a function of procedure. Thus, for example, 'intra-manorial' sokemen - those sokemen who are accounted for within the manorial *caput* (1) - seem to be of a similar status to those who are recorded in separate soke entries. In the absence of any parallel passages in Domesday Book itself, no direct comparison of the two classes can be made. But the fact is clear from an examination of the description of the manor of Scotter (Lincs.) in a c.1125 survey of the estates of Peterborough Abbey (2). In 1086 there were 15 sokemen, 32 villeins, and 13 bordars in Scotter itself. There was sokeland in Scotterthorpe, recorded in a separate entry, where there were a further 8 sokemen and 4 villeins (3). In c.1125 the two parcels of land were described as a single estate. There were 29 sokemen, 24 full villeins, 2 half villeins, and 10 bordars (4). Clearly, the 15 intra-manorial sokemen of 1086 cannot be represented by the two half villeins of c.1125 - the latter probably represent the 4 bordars in Scotterthorpe in 1086. It is apparent, then, that there was only one class of sokemen representing both the intra- and extra-manorial sokemen of 1086. The former are only intra-manorial by virtue of proximity, and this is probably determined by the structure of local government (5).

In the Nottinghamshire Domesday there are fewer berewicks and soke entries than in Lincolnshire. As in Derbyshire, 'manors' predominate,

(1). Stenton, who first drew attention to the problem (*TMS*, 46-9), coined the term 'inter-manorial'. This is misleading for the sokemen in question appear to be 'within' rather than 'between', and therefore 'intra-manorial' has been preferred.

(2). *Chronicon Petroburgense*, ed. T. Stapleton, London 1849, 157-83.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, 8/17, 18.

(4). *Chronicon Petroburgense*, 164.

(5). Roffe, 'The Lincolnshire Hundred', 31. Entry formation and its

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accounting for 61% of all entries, as opposed to 49% in the description of its more easterly neighbour (1). However, the same basic structure is found. William Peverel's manor of Wollaton, for example, is enrolled in four consecutive paragraphs. The first relates to the centre of the estate in Wollaton itself, and it is followed by a berewick in Cossall and two parcels of sokeland in Bramcote and Sutton (Passeys). The value of the whole estate, 100 shillings in 1066 and 60 shillings in 1086, is recorded in the first entry (2). There are, of course, as elsewhere, irregularities which arise from the exigencies of procedural convenience. Thus, in Ralf son of Hubert's *breve* no. 13, Leofric's manor in Barton (-in-Fabis) is separated from its berewick and soke in Clifton and the two Chilwells by another manor in Barton (3). Geographical association may have prompted the enrolment of the second entry at this point. But it is more likely that it was, in its own way, also a dependent of Leofric's estate and was therefore entered as a manorial appurtenance (4). Soke entries which are widely separated in the text from the manorial *caput*, however, may betoken the absence of a seigneurial return, that is, an account of each estate furnished by the tenant-in-chief to aid the Domesday commissioners, or accidental omission. Thus, soke of Bulwell in Watnall is separated from the manor by twenty entries, but was presumably enrolled after two manors in

relationship with the twelve-carucate hundred is discussed in chapter 3. (1). Roffe, *Derbyshire Domesday*, 8-10. In the Yorkshire folios manorial entries also predominate on account of the large number of small holdings in the king's *breve* which are described as manors. This type of estate has not been studied, but is it possible that it is of a form that would be represented in other counties as sokeland. Cf. *Lincs. DB*, 51/3 where five sokemen appear to have held manors. Elsewhere in the Yorkshire Domesday, there are as many berewick and sokeland entries as in Lincolnshire.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 10, 35-8.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 13, 1-4.

(4). See chapter 4.

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the same vill because the scribe did not have an account of the appurtenances of Bulwell before him. He therefore proceeded on a geographical basis, whether from a geld list or oral presentation (1). The soke of Wysall in (King's) Thorpe and Willoughby was apparently forgotten and only subsequently added to the foot of the column with a sign to indicate its proper position (2). Compound soke entries, in which a large number of parcels of land are described together, are also found in the Nottinghamshire folios. As elsewhere in circuit 6, they are usually, although not exclusively, associated with large estates of the *terra regis* (3) and, characterised by a geld total for the whole area - individual assessments are often later interlineations (4) - they appear to take their form from the administration of the estate. Thus, soke of the bishop of Lincoln's manor of Newark is described in three entries which comprise one, seven, and nine separate parcels of land in three distinct areas of the wapentake of Newark (5). It is likely, then, that the source for this type of entry is entirely different from that of the more usual entries (6). Finally, manor and berewick are occasionally described in a single entry, although the identification of inland is usually postscriptal (7). This device is the norm in the *Roteland* and Derbyshire folios and is more a reflection of the structure of local

(1). *Notts. DB*, 10,46; 66.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 9,90; 91; 93. The separate enrolment of manorial appurtenances may also reflect arrangements for the exploitation of land which were not always coincident with the structure of the manor as tributary nexus. See chapter 9.

(3). See, for example, *Notts. DB*, 1,24. The *terra regis* stood outside of the network of twelve-carucate hundreds, the eleventh-century equivalent of the vill, and entries were therefore not formulated by reference to the institution. See chapters 3 and 6.

(4). See, for example, *Notts. DB*, 6,4.

(5). *Notts. DB*, 6,2-4.

(6). See chapter 3.

(7). *Notts. DB*, 5,1; 3; 4; 7.

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government than significant differences in the nature or management of estates (1).

Within the basic textual group of the manor, again in common with all the shires of the circuit, there are distinctive forms. Various calligraphic devices and diplomatic formulas are employed, in addition to, or instead of, the explicit record of relationship, to distinguish the status of individual parcels of land. The most obvious is the use of Lombardic capital letters - M for *manerium*, B for *berewita*, and S for *soca* (2) - which are prefixed to almost all entries (figure 1). Exceptions, often later additions to the text, may indicate uncertainty of status, if not simple omission. Roger de Bully, for example, held an estate in Fenton with sake and soke, but without a hall (3). The absence of a marginal M may reflect this apparent contradiction. By way of contrast, it was merely omitted in the description of six manors at the end of William Peverel's breve for they are a later addition to the

(1). *Rutland DB*, R7; 17; 19; 20; *Derbys. DB*, *passim*; see chapter 3. In the Derbyshire folios entries encompass such large areas of land that the names of individual nuclei, invariably called berewicks although almost certainly parcels of sokeland, are named in considerable detail to clarify the survey (D. R. Roffe, 'Introduction', *Domesday Book: Derbyshire*, ed. A. Williams, forthcoming 1987). In only one case are manor and inland enrolled in the same entry in the Lincolnshire folios (*Lincs. DB*, 1/65), but, as in Yorkshire, berewick and soke are sometimes combined (Roffe, 'Lincolnshire Hundred', 33).

(2). In the Huntingdonshire folios there are two instances of a marginal Lombardic T, which probably stands for *tainagium* or *tainland*, thanage or thaneland, a tenure which is recorded in Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire (*Hunts. DB*, 19,9; 16; *Notts. DB*, 10,15; *Yorks. DB*, 1Y, 15; *Derbys. DB*, 6, 48), rather than *terra*, as suggested by Stenton and C. Hart (*VCH Hunts* i, 323-4; C. Hart, 'The Church of St. Mary of Huntingdon', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 59, (1966), 107n; see also R. W. Finn, *An Introduction to Domesday Book*, London 1963, 49n.). In *TMS*, 15-17, it is argued that the Northern Danelaw references are mistakes for *inland*. But there were tenures in the North of a similar precarious kind which were directly comparable to thanage. See chapters 4 and 5 for a discussion of the status of the pre-Conquest holders of land in the Nottinghamshire Domesday.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 9,113.

SHOTINGHISCIRE.

JOWE hē Vlebil. dūm' bou' tēp' ad gēd' cū saca. 7 loas. tra. ii. bob' Idem ipso Vlebil. tenet de hō
gēd' 7 hē ibi. ii. bord. cū ii. bob'. 7 i. acra pā.
Silua past'. ii. qe tē. 7 i. lā. T. R. E. 7 m' uat. xvi.
In Tateswelle. hē Godric. vi. bou' tēp' / den'.
7 iii. part' 7 gndecim' part'. a. bou' ad gēd'. tra.
iii. car'. Ibi Rog' hō Rog' hō. ii. car'. 7 xiiij. uill'
7 v. bord' hntes. v. car'. pā. iii. qe tē. 7 i. qe lā.
Silua past'. iii. qe tē. 7 i. qe 7 dūm' lā. T. R. E.
7 m' uat. I. solid'.
In Cledraone. iii. bou' tēp' 7 dim'. 7 medietate
qnt' part' uni' bou' ad gēd'. hanc tē hō Rog'.
7 ibi hē. vi. uill'. hntes. i. car'. 7 dim'. Ibi dim' ecclā.
Ibi. ē silua past'. i. qe 7 dūm' tē. 7 i. qe lā.
7 pā. i. qe 7 dūm' tē. 7 i. qe lā. hui' silue 7 pā
medietate hē Rog'. Valec. x. sol'. 7 pā. i. car'.
In Rasterton hē. vii. tam. ii. car' tē. 7 iii.
bou' 7 i. part' uni' bou' ad gēd'. tra. vii. car' 7 dim'.
Ibi Rog' de hulle cū suis. iii. hōib. hē. iii. car'.
7 xi. soch' 7 vii. uill' 7 vi. bord'. hntes. v. car' 7 dim'.
Ibi pā. 7 iii. piscar' 7 dim'. iii. sol' 7 vi. denar'.
Ibi. lx. v. ac pā. T. R. E. uat. l. iii. sol'. m. iii. sol'.
In Madressa. i. bou' tēp' ad gēd'. Socā. / mii'.
Ibi. i. soch' 7 ii. ac pā.

TERRA Wille peverel.
In Golewie. hē Godric. vii. bou' tēp' ad gēd'.
tra. i. car' Ibi hē Wills peverel. i. car' in
dnio. 7 vii. uill' 7 vi. bord' hntes. iii. car'. Ibi pā
7 pā. 7 ii. scriu. 7 i. molin'. v. solid'. 7 dimid' piscar'.
7 xoo. ac pā. 7 xiv. ac silue minung. T. R. E. uat'
xx. sol'. m. xl. Walann' tenet.
In Stretorp. hē Leuune 7 Turber. iii. bou' tēp'
ad gēd'. tra. xii. bou'. Ibi Rog' hō Wills hō. i. car'.
7 v. uill' cū. i. car'. 7 i. molin'. xx. denar'. 7 xvij.
ac pā. T. R. E. uat'. xl. sol'. m. x. iii. sol'.
In Guntwilestene 7 Miletune hē Wills. ii. car'
tēp' 7 ii. bou' 7 ii. part' uni' bou' ad gēd'. tra. ii. car'.
Ibi Wills in dnio hē. i. car'. 7 ii. soch' de. ii. bou'
hui' tēp'. 7 vii. uill' 7 ii. bord'. 7 ii. censor' hntes. iii. car'.
7 ii. molin'. xl. solid'. 7 x. ac pā. Silua past'. v. qe
tē. 7 iii. lā. T. R. E. uat'. iii. lib. m. lx. sol'.
In Twanodesdon. hē Supleuun'. iii. bou' tēp'
7 iii. part' i. bou' ad gēd'. tra. i. car'. Ibi. iii. soch'
hntes. i. car'. 7 v. ac pā. T. R. E. 7 m' uat'. v. sol' 7 iii. den'.
In Clitton. hē Godric. ii. car' tēp' 7 dim' ad gēd'.
tra. v. car'. Ibi hē Wills. ii. car' in dnio. 7 iii. soch'
7 xpe. uill' 7 vii. bord' hntes. x. car'. Ibi pā 7 pā.
7 i. molin' xii. den'. 7 xii. ac pā. T. R. E. uat'. xvi. lib.
m. x. lib. / 7 m' pā.
In Wileford. Socā. iii. car' tēp' ad gēd'. tra. vi. car'.
Ibi. xxi. soch' hntes. vii. car'. Ibi pā 7 xxi. ac pā.
7 dim' piscar'.
In Baxton. Socā. xii. bou' tēp' ad gēd'. tra. iii. car'.
Ibi Wills hē dūm' car' in dnio. 7 iii. soch' 7 iii. uill' 7 ii.
bord' hntes. iii. car' 7 dūm' 7 xii. ac pā.
In Norman. In Cluorde. In Willebi. In Sarmun
7 iii. part' uni' bou' ad gēd'. tra. ii. car'. Socā in Cluorde.
Ibi. iii. soch' 7 i. uill' 7 i. bord' hntes. iii. car'. Ibi Wills
in dnio hē. i. car'. 7 ii. ac pā.
In Conngespecho. Ibi. i. soch' hntes. i. car'.
7 ii. ac pā. tra. i. bou'. In Albotune. vi. bou' ad gēd'.
In Basingfeto. v. bou' tēp' 7 iii. part'. i. bou' ad gēd'. tra. i. car'.
Ibi. ii. soch' 7 ii. bord' hntes. i. car'. 7 v. ac pā.
In Camelftune. vi. bou' tēp' ad gēd'. tra. i. car'. Ibi. ii.
soch' hntes. i. car'. 7 vii. ac pā.
In Keteford. hē Aluric. iii. car' tēp' ad gēd'. tra. iii. car'.
Ibi Wills in dnio hē. ii. car'. 7 xii. uill' 7 iii. bord' hntes
/ iii. car'.

Figure 1: DB 1, f.287a,b, the land of William Peverel.

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text (1). Generally, however, marginal letters are consistently used, as in the Derbyshire, Huntingdonshire and *Roteland* folios, and the usage is therefore contrasted with those of the Yorkshire and Lincolnshire accounts in which various formulas were employed in turn (2). Less apparent, but a no less significant, differentiating device is the treatment of initial letters and identifying place-names. All manorial entries begin with a statement 'In x, y habuit z carucatas terre ad geldum' (figure 1). The description of Walter de Aincurt's manor of Staunton, for example, begins 'M. In STANTUNE habuit Tori x. bouatas terre ad geldum' (3). The initial I is square in form and shaded in red ink, and the place-name is written in large rustic letters and rubricated. By way of contrast, B and S entries usually begin 'In x, z carucate terre ad geldum'. Thus, soke of the manor of Staunton in Alverton, Flawborough and Dallington commences with the statement 'In Alureton et Flodberge et Dallintune vi. bouate terre ad geldum' (4). The initial I is rustic in form and the place-name is in no way distinguished from the rest of the text. These conventions of letter form are clearly used with purpose for initial I's are occasionally changed from one type to the other (5). Deviations from the norm, then, are evidently

(1). *Notts. DB*, 10,64-6.

(2). In the Yorkshire Domesday the cumbersome *pro manerio* formula is initially employed instead of the marginal M, but is soon replaced by *x habuit unum manerium*. M, B, and S, although intermittently found before, are only used with any consistency from *breve* no. 8. In Lincolnshire, M is found from the start, but a wide variety of phrases were used to identify inland and soke. The scribe was clearly experimenting in order to find the best expression, and it is often apparent that he was attempting to capture subtle nuances of status. After f.355a, however, he abandoned his uncertainty and adopted the conventions found in the Nottinghamshire folios.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 11,2.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 11,3.

(5). *Notts. DB*, 13,2. 17,12. The same characteristic is also found in Derbyshire and Lincolnshire.

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significant and probably indicate anomalies in status. Queen Edith, for example, held a manor in Oakham with five berewicks, assessed at four carucates, and Leofnoth a second manor in the same vill which was rated at one carucate (1). Both entries are manorial in form. The second, however, has a rustic initial I and a note is appended to it recording that the whole manor, with the berewicks, was three leagues in length and one league and eight furlongs in breadth. Leofnoth's manor, then, was clearly considered to be part of Queen Edith's estate, to which the berewicks belonged, and the form of the initial I seems to indicate its inferior status as a dependent of the larger manor. Similar examples, although less well-documented, can be found in the Nottinghamshire folios (2). By way of contrast, William Peverel's berewick of Wollaton in Cossall appears to have undergone an upward change in status for the place-name of the entry is identical in form to that of a manorial counterpart (3).

The distinctive character of different types of entry is emphasised by the information that they provide. Manorial entries record the TRE tenant and the value of the estate in the time of King Edward and in 1086. Berewick and soke entries, however, only record this information in special circumstances, and then but rarely in the Nottinghamshire folios, for manorial appurtenances usually belonged to the lord's hall (4). In forinsec soke entries - that is, a type of entry in which the land was held by one tenant-in-chief, while its soke was enjoyed by another - the record of a holder in 1066 identifies the soke lord. Thus, (Earl) Algar is recorded as the lord of sokeland in Willoughby (in the

(1). *Rutland DB*, R17; 18.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 6,11-12. 14,5-6. 13,2.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 10,36.

(4). *TMS*, 31-2.

Wolds), but he clearly only had its soke, probably in (Upper) Broughton (1). But this convention is more common in Lincolnshire than Nottinghamshire where an explicit statement of relationship is usually made. Walter de Aincurt, for example, held sokeland in Fiskerton, Morton and Farnsfield, but the soke is said to belong to the archbishop of York's manor of Southwell (2). In other contexts, the record of a TRE tenant of sokeland indicates some degree of independence from the administrative machine of the manor. Soke of the royal estate of Arnold in Gonalston, for example, was in some way the right of Ernwin and four sokemen who are recorded as the tenants in 1066 (3). A separate value for a parcel of sokeland, whether intentionally or incidentally, performs much the same function. As conventional sums, the *valet* and *valuit* figures are clearly farms (4), and therefore imply a separate unit of management (5). Thus, twenty sokemen in Leverton in the soke of Oswaldbeck rendered 20 shillings in *consuetudines* and were therefore probably otherwise free of manorial exactions (6).

All three types of entry, however, invariably contain a record of geld assessment, and commonly of teamlands, teams in demesne, population and ploughs (7). Throughout the Nottinghamshire folios, the three main

(1). *Notts. DB*, 30,26. The soke is, postscriptally, said to belong to Thorpe (-in-the-Glebe). The vill is only recorded in two other contexts. In the first, it is a berewick of Broughton, while in the second it is called 'the king's Thorpe' (*Notts. DB*, 1,60. 9,91). The whole settlement was evidently closely related to Earl Algar's estate in Broughton.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 11,15-17. 5,1. Forinsec soke in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire is normally duplicated in the *breve* of the soke lord. See Appendix 1.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 30,49. Many parcels of sokeland were probably held by tenants who are not recorded in the text. It is only the exceptional tenancies that are noted. See chapter 9.

(4). See chapter 5.

(5). *TMS*, 31-4.

(6). *Notts. DB*, 1,32.

(7). Waste usually, although not always, has a record of geld assessment only; see chapter 6. Manorialisation of sokeland is discussed in

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classes of peasant are recorded in a standard order of sokemen, villeins, and bordars. Slaves, where they appear, follow villeins or are relegated to the manorial stock. The amount of land held by the intra-manorial sokeman, as measured by assessment to the geld, is not universally recorded, but the information is found throughout the county survey. These characteristics of the record of population, along with the consistent use of marginal M, B, and S, are in marked contrast with the usage of the first half of the Lincolnshire text. There, it would seem, the Domesday scribe, or a predecessor, experimented with various devices to indicate the separate status of sokemen and sokeland. In manorial entries, peasants are listed in the order of villeins, bordars and sokemen, and the land of sokemen, although sometimes recorded in terms of carucates or teams, is usually not readily distinguishable from that of the villeins. The record of soke exhibits similar fluidity of diplomatic and form. Sokemen are invariably listed first, but marginal S is not used consistently until *breve*, no. 18 and various formulas are used in its stead. It is only from *breve* no. 24, f.355a, that all uncertainties are dispelled and the scribe adopts the conventions that are found in the Nottinghamshire folios (1). The Yorkshire Domesday exhibits a similar fluidity of form which is never satisfactorily resolved (2). The baldness of the Nottinghamshire text, then, is probably a result of its compilation after the *ad hoc* emergence of satisfactory formulas in the early stages of composition (3).

chapter 9.

(1). Roffe, 'Lincolnshire Domesday', 31.

(2). *Yorks. DB.* There has been no detailed study of the diplomatic of the text since *The Domesday Geography of Northern England*, eds H. C. Darby, I. S. Maxwell, Cambridge 1962, 233-6, 456-94.

(3). See also Rumble, 'Palaeography', 36. By the same token, both *Roteland* and Derbyshire would appear to be later compositions.

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Economic assets, such as woodland, meadow, pasture, fisheries, and willow beds, occur in most entries. Mills and churches, however, are found predominantly in manorial entries. This pattern may reflect a seigneurial monopoly, especially in the case of mills (1), but it is more likely to be a function of the selective processes of the Domesday enquiry (2).

The *Roteland Domesday*, although appended to the Nottinghamshire account, forms a separate section in the text (3). The preamble to the description of the area, however, indicates that it was integrated into the administration of the shire. The wapentakes of Martinsley and Alstoe, of which it was composed, belonged to the sheriffdom of Nottingham, and half of Alstoe gelded in Broxtow and half in Thurgarton (4). It can, then, be legitimately studied as part of the Nottinghamshire Domesday. Its interest and importance lies in two areas. First, it contains a record of its liability to the geld in terms of twelve-carucate hundreds and is therefore of great significance to an understanding of the carucation of Nottinghamshire (5). Second, and uniquely in the Exchequer Domesday, it is geographically arranged (6). As such, it provides an invaluable key to the procedure of the Nottinghamshire Domesday and the structure of its local government machinery. In all other respects, the

(1). Mill soke was an important manorial asset in some parts of the country (*TMS*, 36-7).

(2). D. R. Roffe, 'Domesday Book and the Local Historian', *The Nottinghamshire Historian* 37, (1986), 3-5; Roffe, *Derbyshire Domesday*, 19-20. See chapters 3 and 9.

(3). *Rutland DB*.

(4). *Rutland DB*, R1-3.

(5). See chapter 3.

(6). An incomplete list of landholders is appended to the index of tenants-in-chief in the Nottinghamshire folios (*Notts. DB*, L), but the text was never seigneurially arranged, although a half-hearted attempt was made to associate the lands of each tenant-in-chief by identifying them with marginal Roman numerals (*Rutland DB*, R1; 9; 10 and notes).

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form of the *Roteland* text is the same as that of Nottinghamshire folios.

These, then, are the basic characteristics of the text. In the following analysis of the Nottinghamshire Domesday the importance of an understanding of the structure and stratigraphy of each *breve* will become apparent. It would be inappropriate, however, to discuss the form of each section of the text in the detail required before the data can be used with confidence. But the basic method is illustrated in figure 2. In each *breve* a record is made of all essential details of every entry - entry number, wapentake number, status as indicated by Domesday Book, TRE holders, TRW tenant - along with non-standard relationships and anomalous forms and information. Duplication and postscriptal material are carefully noted.

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Figure 2: *breve* no. 10, the lands of William Peverel

NO	WP	STA	VILL	TRE TENANT	TRW TENANT	ANOMALOUS INFORMATION
1	4	M	Colwick	Godric	Waland	Waland holds
2.	1	2M	Sibthorpe	Leofwin	Robert	
3	4	M	Gonalston, Milton	Wulfsi cilt		
4	5	M	Thrumpton	Staplewin		
5	5	M	Clifton	Countess Gytha		
6	5		<i>ibid</i> ,	Ulfkell	Ulfkell	deleted; equivalent to 30,25
7	5		Barton			addition to margin
8	5	S	Wilford			
9	5	S	West Bridgeford			
10	5	S	Normanton, Keyworth			individual assessments interlined
	6		Willoughby, Stanton			Willoughby equivalent to 30,25
11	6	S	Costock			
12	5		Adbolton			addition
13	5	S	Bassingfield			
14	5	S	Gaaston			
15	6	M	Radford	Aelfric	Wulfnoth	Wulfnoth holds 1 bov, thaneland
16	6	4M	Stapleford	Wulfsi cilt Staplewin Godwin Gladwin	[Robert]	
17	6	M	Morton	Bovi		
18	6	M	Newbound	Morcar		
19	6	S	Lenton			
20	6	3M	Linby	3 brothers		
21	6		Papplewick			5 bov, belong to this manor; addition to blank line?
22	6	M	Basford	Alwin	Saxfrid	
23	6	M	<i>ibid</i> ,	Aswulf		deleted; equivalent to 52 and 30,28; in custody of William Peverel
24	6	M	Lenton	Wulfnoth	Wulfnoth	in custody of William Peverel
25	6	M	Toton	Haldane	Warner	
26	6	S	Chilwell			equivalent to 13,5
27	6	M	Strelley	Godric	Godwin	Godwin [the priest] has one plough from William Peverel
28	6	M	<i>ibid</i> ,	Brown	Ambrose	Ambrose holds from William
29	6	M	Greasley	Wulfsi		

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30	6	M	<i>ibid.</i>	Wulfsi	waste	Alric holds from William
31	6	M	Brinsley	Brown	Alric	Alric has one plough under William
32	6	M	Eastwood	Ulfketel	waste	William has charge; value TRE only
33	6	M	Newthorpe	Grinkell	waste	equivalent to 62-3?
34	6	3M	Beeston	Alfheah Alwin Ulfkell		
35	6	M	Wollaton	Wulfsi cilt	Warner	
36	6	B	Cossall			place-name manorial in form
37	6	S	Brancote		waste	
38	6	S	Sutton		waste	equivalent to 30,55
39	6	2M	Bilborough	Alric Wulfsi Swein	Ambrose	
40	6	M	Nuthall	Haldane		
41	6		Broxtow			
42	6	S	Watnall			
43	6	M	Watnall	Grinkell		no value given
44	6	M	Watnall	Siward		no value given
45	6	S	<i>ibid.</i>	Grim		
46	6	S	<i>ibid.</i>	Aelmer	Jocelyn Grinkell	value, of 43-6?; soke of 66; Jocelyn and Grinkell hold, 43-6?
47	6	M	Kimberley	Azor Grinketel		
48	6	M	<i>ibid.</i> , [Awworth]	Alwin	waste	no value; 'William has charge' add. equivalent to 30,33?
49	6	M	Hucknall	2 brothers		
50	6	S	Hemphill			soke of 66 and 43 or 44
51	6	2M	Basford	Alfheah Algot	Payne [Saxfrid]	
52	6		<i>ibid.</i>	Aswulf		addition and equivalent to 23 and 30,28
53	6	M	Costock	Fredegis	Godwin	Godwin has under William
54	6	M	Rempstone	Fredegis		
55	7	2M	Radcliffe	Fredegis	Fredegis Wulfgeat	Fredegis and Wulfgeat have under William
56	7	M	Adbolton	Godwin the priest		
57	7	M	Tithby	Wulfric	Fredegis	Fredegis has under William
58	7	M	Wiverton	Wulfric		

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59	7	M	Langar	Godric		
60	7	S	Wiverton			
61	7	M	Barnstone	Godric Azor		each had a hall
62	6	M	Newthorpe	Grinkell	waste	no value; duplicated in 33?
63	6	B	<i>ibid.</i>		waste	berewick of 47
64	2		Manton	Alwin Wulfgeat		addition; held for 2 manors
65	6		Selston	Wulfmer Gladwin Wulfric		addition; held for 3 manors
66	6		Bulwell	Godric		addition; held for a manor

NOTES

1. NO = number of entry; WP = wapentake; 1. Newark, 2. Bassetlaw, 3. Lythe, 4. Thurgarton, 5. Rushcliffe, 6. Broxtow, 7. Bingham, and 8. Oswaldbeck; for the significance of the order, see chapter 3; STA = status of land.
2. All entries are of the normal form for the type unless otherwise stated.
3. B and S entries belong to the manor enrolled immediately above unless another relationship is cited
4. Words in square brackets [] have been interlined.

3. THE COMPILATION OF THE TEXT

Domesday Book was compiled in less than a year and shows many signs of haste. Additions, alterations, omissions and duplications all abound. But the enterprise was a mammoth task and its completion in the present form was a triumph of Anglo-Norman administration (1). Little independent evidence of the procedure of the enquiry has survived. Its main purpose is recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle *sub anno* 1085:

.....the king was at Gloucester with his council, and held his court there for five days, and then the archbishops and clerics had a synod for three days. There Maurice was elected bishop of London, and William for Norfolk, and Robert for Cheshire - they were all clerics of the king.

After this, the king had much thought and very deep discussion with his council about this country - how it was occupied or with what sort of people. Then he sent his men over all England into every shire and had them find out how many hundred hides there were in the shire, or what land and cattle the king himself had in the country, or what dues he ought to have in twelve months from the shire. Also he had a record made of how much land his archbishops had, and his bishops and his abbots and his earls, and - though I relate it at too great length - what or how much everyone had who was occupying land in England, in land or cattle, and how much money it was worth. so very narrowly did he have it investigated, that there was no single hide nor virgate of land, nor indeed (it is a shame to relate but no shame to him to do) one ox, nor one cow nor one pig which was left out, and not put down in his record: and

(1). *MDB*, 189-204; E. M. Hallam, *Domesday Book Through Nine Centuries*, London 1986, 11.

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all these records were brought to him afterwards (1).

According to Robert of Hereford, a second set of commissioners was sent out 'to shires they did not know, where they themselves were unknown, to check their predecessors' surveys and report culprits to the king' (2). Moreover, something of the procedure and what may be the main articles of the inquest are recorded in a Domesday satellite known as the *Inquisitio Eliensis*:

Here follows the inquiry concerning lands which the king's barons made according to the oath of the sheriff of the shire and all the barons and their Frenchmen, and of the whole hundred court - the priests, reeves, and six villeins from each village. They inquired what was the manor called; who held it in the time of King Edward; who holds it now; how many hides there are; how many ploughs in demesne and how many belonging to the men; how many villeins; how many cottars; how many slaves; how many free men; how many sokemen; how much woodland; how much meadow; how much pasture; how many mills; how many fisheries; how much has been added to, and taken away from, the estate; what it used to be worth then; what it is worth now, and how much each freeman or sokeman had or has. All this to be recorded thrice: to wit, as it was in the time of King Edward, as it was when King William gave the estate, and as it is now. And it was also noted whether more could be taken from the estate than is now taken (3).

Beyond these sparse details, however, most of the evidence for the

(1). ASC, 161-2.

(2). W. H. Stevenson, 'A Contemporary Description of the Domesday Survey', *EHR* 22, (1907), 74.

(3). *EHD* ii, 882.

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making of Domesday Book is found in the text itself. No one procedure was used throughout the country. The commissioners of each circuit tailored their methods to the conditions of administration and, no doubt, to the sources available, to meet the demands of different types of local government and estate structure (1). Each area, then, presents its own problems of interpretation.

In the account of Nottinghamshire there are only three passages which cast any light on the process in the shire. Ilbert de Lacy claimed the priest's land in Elston, and a quarter of the village of (East) Stoke, against Bishop Remigius of Lincoln, while the witness of the wapentake to his title to land is recorded in the account of his manor of Cropwell (Butler) (2). Both passages may be later, although foreseen, additions to the relevant entries. Somewhat less comprehensible is the reference to 'the men of the neighbourhood' (*patria*) who did not know through whom or how Godric held his manor in Kingston (-on-soar) (3). There is no clue as to the standing of this nebulous group. All three references, however, indicate that a public session was involved in the survey and that, as elsewhere in circuit 6, rival claims were apparently resolved independently of, and probably later than, the drafting of the text (4). Thus, in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and Huntingdonshire claims to land are occasionally indicated in the breves either by an explicit statement which is frequently, although by no means always, a later

(1). *NDB*, 123-45; P. H. Sawyer, 'The Original Returns and Domesday Book', *EHR* 70, 1955, 177-97; S. Harvey, 'Domesday Book and its Predecessors', *EHR* 86, 1971, 753-73.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 20,4;7.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 30,22.

(4). *Hunts. DB*, D; *Lincs. DB*, 206-235; *Yorks. DB*, CN, CE, CW; D. R. Roffe, G. Black, *The Nottinghamshire Domesday: a Reader's Guide*, Nottingham 1986, 17; D. R. Roffe, *The Derbyshire Domesday*, Darley Dale 1986, 20.

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addition, or by a marginal 'k', for *kalumpnia*, 'claim'. However, the decisions recorded in the *Clamores* are not incorporated into the text. Aubrey de Vere, for example, held two manors in Yelling and Hemingford (Hunts) of the king, although it is noted in his *breve* that before the Conquest they had been held by Ælfric of St. Benedict of Ramsey. In the Huntingdonshire *Clamores*, however, the jurors declared that Ælfric had held the estates for one life only, and that the abbot of Ramsey had recovered them after his death at the Battle of Hastings and had retained them until disseized by Aubrey (1). The unlawful tenure of the manors, then, is not clear from the account of them in the body of the text. If the problem was realised - and it probably only became apparent in the course of the survey - it was clearly felt at some early stage that the record of the claim to land, or of *de facto* tenure, was sufficient for the purposes of the survey, for scant regard was paid to disputed tenure or the inconsistencies, such as the duplication of material, that it introduced into the text.

Beyond this, the *breves* are silent. To reconstruct the minutiae of procedure and the sources of the Nottinghamshire account, we must look to the form of the Exchequer text and the nature of the information that it contains. It is clear from the account of the genesis of the enquiry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that one of the main purposes of the Domesday Inquest was to record the value of the land which was held by King William's men. It is not surprising, then, that the basic unit of textual organisation was the manor, for it was through the lord's hall that the issues of the estate were collected (2). Thus, the value which

(1). *Hunts. DB*, 22,1;2. D7.

(2). *TMS*, 57-9. *Aula*, 'hall', was the symbolic representation of a lord's rights and essentially defined the manor; see chapter 5.

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is almost invariably appended to the manorial entry includes all the dues rendered by appurtenant holdings of inland and soke, and thereby expresses the unity of the estate around the hall (1). Much of the information recorded in Domesday Book is therefore related to assets which contributed to the income of the lord's demesne. Ploughteams, villeins who owed labour services, sokemen who rendered tribute, mills, fisheries, woods, pastures, meadows and much else are all recorded in considerable detail because the lord profited from them directly (2).

The bias of the Nottinghamshire data in this way is illustrated by the record of churches. Some 82 are recorded in the text, but this total conceals a great number of entries in which only fractions, that is shares of, churches, are noted. The actual number of structures represented in the text is probably nearer 85 or 86 (3). Because of such divisions some foundations cannot be identified, but the occurrence of fractions is in itself significant. It indicates that Domesday churches belonged to individuals and could be divided like any other commodity. The bishop of Lincoln, for example, had a quarter of the church of Clifton and Roger de Bully held a second quarter (4). The owner of the remaining half is not recorded. An analysis of the entries in which the information is recorded confirms this observation. Some 92% of churches are found in manorial or inland entries where they are enrolled, along with meadow and pasture, as part of the manorial stock. The church of the Nottinghamshire Domesday is, as elsewhere, a predominantly private

(1). TMS, 31-3.

(2). D. R. Roffe, 'Domesday Book and the Local Historian', *The Nottinghamshire Historian* 37, 1986, 3-5.

(3). VCH Notts i, 39, where the churches are listed.

(4). Notts. DB, 6,11. 9,3.

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and manorial institution (1). Domesday Book is therefore a poor guide to ecclesiastical provision in the county (2). Thus, Southwell Minster, one church we know was in existence before the Conquest, does not appear in the text in the account of the archbishop of York's estates (3). Elsewhere a similar pattern is found. In Lincolnshire, for example, the existence of a monastery at Wingdale and a church at (Long) Sutton is only incidentally noticed in the *Clamores* (4). Neither appears in the body of the survey because they did not belong to any particular estate held by a tenant-in-chief of the king. Domesday Book, then, is less likely to record major religious institutions, like collegiate churches, and dependent chapels because they did not contribute directly to the income of a lord's demesne and were consequently of little interest to the commissioners. A similar seigneurial bias is evident in every category of information throughout the survey and counsels great care in the use of its data.

The detailed knowledge of estates that the ordinary Domesday entry implies was almost certainly beyond the competence of a local jury. It is unlikely, for example, that any panel of doomsmen could accurately describe the structure and assessment of the archbishop's manor of Sutton which extended into thirteen vills in two wapentakes (5). The

(1). D. R. Roffe, 'Pre-Conquest Estates and Parish Boundaries: a Discussion with Examples from Lincolnshire', *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement*, ed. M. L. Faull, Oxford 1984, 116-7.

(2). P. H. Sawyer, 'Introduction', *Medieval Settlement*, ed. P. H. Sawyer, London 1976, 1-5. A pre-Conquest list of churches in Kent reveals that the Domesday commissioners were very selective in their record of churches in the south-eastern circuit.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 5,1. St. Mary of Southwell, that is the community, is recorded as the pre-Conquest holder of land in *Notts. DB*, 5,3; 13.

(4). *Lincs. DB*, 16/8; 70/15; L7/15; 73/6; D. R. Roffe, 'The Lincolnshire Hundred', *Landscape History* 3, 1981, 31.

(5). *Notts. DB*, 5,7; 8.

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tenant-in-chief, or his agent, must have provided this type of information (1). Much else of the manorial data is of this privileged nature. The minutiae of manorial stock and the issues that it produced, can only have been given to the commissioners by manorial officials. Moreover, it is improbable that such essentially unverifiable material was presented in open court sessions. As Galbraith has argued, these matters must have been delegated to 'backroom' sessions (2). It is clear, then, that the tenant-in-chief made some kind of return. The form of such a source can occasionally be detected. Thus, for example, the description of the archbishop of York's Nottinghamshire fief is divided into three distinct groups (figure 3).

Figure 3: *groups of manors in breve no. 5.*

A. SOUTHWELL	5,1.	Southwell	
	5,3.	Cropwell	
B. ARCHBISHOP	5,4.	Laneham	
	5,5.	S. Muskham	(postscriptal)
	5,6.	Rolleston	(postscriptal)
	5,7.	Sutton	
	5,9.	Blidworth	
	5,11.	Oxton	
C. SOUTHWELL	5,13.	Norwell	

The first relates to the land of St. Mary of Southwell in 1066 and the second to that of the archbishop. The third consists of a manor in the

(1). In *Lincs. DB*, 68/22, the men of the hundred declared that the soke of Offram's manor of Keisby belonged to Osgodby - presumably the abbot of Peterborough's manor (8/8) - but this appears to be a presentment from local knowledge occasioned by a claim or confusion, probably because the land was waste. There is no evidence to suggest that juries in circuit 6 systematically made declarations on the structure of estates. The frequent duplication of material precludes such a procedure. See below.

(2). *NDB*, 82.

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wapentake of Lythe which also belonged to Southwell. It seems probable, however, that it is merely an accident that this estate was not included in the first group for, if the normal procedure of the enquiry had been followed, it would have been enrolled at the head of the breve. Estates in the wapentake of Lythe are usually described before those in Thurgarton in which Southwell was situated (1). But it was clearly displaced by the superior status of Southwell as the *caput* of the fee, and was therefore relegated to the end of the breve (2). The account of the land of the archbishop, then, is divided into sections which relate to the interest of the ancient archiepiscopal church of Southwell, on the one hand, and the primate, on the other. The division of the breve in this way is thus related to estate management and is therefore unlikely to have arisen in the compilation of the text from official sources. It can only have been derived from the information that the archbishop provided. The same type of textual arrangement is also found in the returns of the abbey of Peterborough in the Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire folios (3).

Although the major source of information, the seigneurial returns were nevertheless not enrolled in the precise form in which they were presented to the Domesday commissioners, but were rearranged in an order of wapentakes which is common to all the breves. Thus, even though the groups of the archbishop's return are preserved in the text, the manors in each are described in the order of the common sequence (4). It is

(1). See below.

(2). Compare with *Lincs. DB*, breve no. 7, in which the wapentake sequence is disrupted by the enrolment of the *caput* of a fee at the head of a breve.

(3). Sawyer, 'Original Returns', 184-6; *Lincs. DB*, breve no. 8; *Northants DB*, breve no. 6. Such groups are also related to title: see chapter 4 and Appendix 2.

(4). Since inland and sokeland entries are usually grouped with the

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best illustrated in Roger de Bully's *breve* for he held land in all eight of the Nottinghamshire wapentakes (1). The order in which his manors are described is set out in figure 4. Exactly the same sequence is found in

Figure 4: *wapentake sequence*.

	ENTRY NOS.	WAPENTAKE
1.	1 - 5	Newark
2.	6 - 58	Bassetlaw
3.	59 - 71	Lythe
4.	72 - 76	Thurgarton
5.	77 - 89	Rushcliffe
6.	90 - 94	Broxtow
7.	95 - 111	Bingham
8.	112 - 132	Oswaldbeck

the other fiefs once corrections and later additions have been identified. The estates of Count Alan, for example, appear in the order of wapentakes nos. 1, 1, 3, 5, 7, 7, 8 (2). He did not hold land in Bassetlaw, Thurgarton and Broxtow, 2, 4, and 6, so these wapentakes are not represented. Irregularities do occur, especially at the end of *breves*. The phenomenon probably indicates the accidental omission of an entry and its subsequent enrolment in the only space available (3). More interestingly, the sequence is sometimes repeated. Once postscriptal material is identified, it is clear that such is the case in each of the three sections of *breve* no. 5. The same pattern is found in no. 30. In

manorial *caput*, they are, of course, not necessarily enrolled in the order of the common sequence.

(1). The identification of the Domesday wapentakes of Nottinghamshire is not without its difficulties, for rubrication of the text is by no means complete. Lacunae can, however, be bridged by the use of later evidence, notably the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century feodaries. An analysis of the material has recently been published in *Notts. DB*, and its reconstruction of local government units is, with few reservations, employed here.

(2). *Notts. DB*, *breve* no. 2.

(3). See chapter three.

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other counties all sorts of permutations occur, but in Nottinghamshire the sequence is generally very regular (1).

It has been suggested that such regular sequences of wapentakes, and in hidated England, hundreds, are a product of the collection of data wapentake by wapentake in open court sessions. For each area of local government, it is argued, a separate quire or pamphlet was used to record the information collected from local juries. The subsequent shuffling of these quires in the course of compilation of the tenurially arranged text gave rise to the various eccentricities of order that are sometimes observable (2). In circuit 6 this conclusion is implausible for such a procedure would naturally result in the enrolment of parcels of inland and sokeland geographically. In fact, they are usually grouped with the manorial *caput*, regardless of the wapentake in which they were situated (3). Soke of Ralf son of Hubert's manor of Barton in the wapentake of Rushcliffe, for example, was enrolled with the *caput* before his other Rushcliffe estates, even though it was situated in Broxtow (4). It is more likely that the Domesday scribe, or more correctly the scribe of his exemplar, worked from two sources, one seigneurial, based upon the tenant-in-chief's return which outlined the structure of each manor, and the other geographical, probably based upon taxation records (5). Such a method would explain the otherwise baffling phenomenon of

(1). *NDB*, 159; Sawyer, 'Original returns', 183-4.

(2). *NDB*, 41, 163-4; Sawyer, 'Original Returns', 183-6.

(3). Exceptions do occur, especially in the Lincolnshire folios. When not indicative of accidental omission, the geographical enrolment of parcels of sokeland may imply the absence of a seigneurial return, as in *Lincs. DB*, breve no. 63: see below. However, it is more likely to reflect estate management. Remote appurtenances were often exploited from the nearest demesne, rather than the manorial centre, which frequently functioned as a mere soke nexus. See chapters 5 and 9.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 13,1-7.

(5). See below.

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parallel entries. In the Nottinghamshire folios, as elsewhere, duplication of information is widespread and is usually associated with disputed title or common interests in the same estate (1). Wulfsi's land in Sutton (Passeys), for example, is enrolled in both William Peverel's breve and the land of the thanes (2). Count Alan had seven bovates and one fifth of a further bovat in Leverton, half of which, described as three and a half bovates and one half of a fifth bovat, appears in Roger de Bully's breve no. 9 (3). Soke of Southwell in Fiskerton, Morton, Gibsmere, Farnsfield, Kirklington, and Normanton (by Southwell), which was held by tenants-in-chief other than the archbishop of York, is probably included in the assessment of the archiepiscopal manor of Southwell at 22 carucates and 4 bovates (4). Farnsfield, indeed, is further duplicated in the king's breve (5). Many such duplications occur (6) and no doubt others remain undetected. But it is evident that the same parcel of land could not repeatedly be entered into separate breves in this way in an open court session. As we have seen (7), however, *de facto* tenure, or claim to title, was deemed sufficient in the initial stages of the enquiry and it therefore seems likely that the Domesday scribe accepted the claim of the tenant-in-chief on the basis of his return in the knowledge that disputed title would be resolved at a later date. The same parcel of land was thus enrolled in a number of breves when two or more tenants-in-chief made a claim to it in their returns.

(1). For a general account of the problem, see *MDB*, 162-5. The Northern Danelaw examples are briefly discussed in Black and Roffe, *Nottinghamshire Domesday*, 18.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 10,38. 30,55.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 2,10. 9,130.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 11,15-17. 13,13. 17,13-14. 5,1.

(5). *Notts. DB*, 1,22. 11,17.

(6). See Appendix 1.

(7). Above.

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The content of *breves*, then, was largely determined by seigneurial returns, but their form was derived from a geographically arranged source. In Lincolnshire this source was probably a geld list. The basic unit of local government in the county was not the vill as it is known in the later Middle Ages, but a twelve-carucate hundred. In origin the institution was very artificial. It was derived from a system of taxation based upon a more or less arbitrary quota of carucates imposed upon the shire from above. The area of the hundred therefore varied from wapentake to wapentake according to the rate of carucation. It soon established itself, however, as a territorially-based organisation which was responsible for the functions normally associated with the vill. It is not surprising, then, that it was involved in the Domesday enquiry: the verdict of the hundred is recorded in several places. But its role as a unit of administration had a far more profound ~~affect~~ ^{c/} upon the survey. The seigneurial data were checked, and thereby formulated, by reference to its area. The Domesday entry, then, describes the land of a tenant-in-chief in a hundred. When an estate extended into a number of hundreds, it was therefore naturally described in a number of entries, and the type of entry was determined by the character of the land. Where there was a hall, it was enrolled as a manorial entry and soke in the same hundred was incorporated in the same as 'intra-manorial soke'. Where there was demesne but no hall, the land was described as a berewick. Finally, where there was no demesne, the land appears as soke. Certain types of estate, like the large soke, did not always conform to this pattern. Moreover, parcels of soke which had a distinctive identity were enrolled separately. But a hundredal structure provides the form of most of the text and clearly the scribe had a document so arranged

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before him (1).

Vestiges of one such source survive in the Lincolnshire folios. Geoffrey de la Guerche held the whole of the Isle of Axholme which adjoins the wapentake of Oswaldbeck to the north-east of Nottinghamshire (2). For whatever reason, he does not seem to have returned a detailed account of his fief in terms of the structure of its constituent estates, or the information was not used in the compilation of his *breve*, for the whole is hundredally arranged: the hundreds can be reconstructed by adding up the assessment of successive entries (figure 5). The only irregularity is entry no. 14; it is a later addition to the foot of the column and presumably duplicates a carucate described elsewhere for it cannot be traced in the Lindsey Survey of c.1115 (3). A further six carucates in Luddington and Garthorpe are duplicated at the end of the *breve* where the two settlement nuclei of Marshes and Winterton are identified as part of the estates (4). Berewicks and soke, where the relationship is specified, are always in different hundreds to the manorial *caput* and no attempt has been made to group them. It is evident that this form cannot have been derived from a seigneurial return. A tenant-in-chief would naturally describe his estates in terms of their management. Rather, the precision of the geld assessments, all of which are those of 1066, and the regular geographical order of the hundreds - they proceed from south to north - suggest that the ultimate source is a document concerned with assessment to the geld which record-

(1). D. R. Roffe, 'The Lincolnshire Hundred', *Landscape History* 3, 1981, 27-36.

(2). *Lincs. DB*, 63/5-27.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, 63/14; L5. The entry is written on the forty-fifth line of column 369b.

(4). *Lincs. DB*, 63/19-21, 23-26.

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Figure 5: DB estates in the Isle of Axholme.

REF.	VILL	ASSESSMENT car. bov.		STATUS	
63/5	Epworth	8	0	manor	
63/6	Owston	4	0	manor	12 car.
63/7	Haxey	3	0	manor	
63/8	Eastlound and Graizelound	1	6	two manors	
63/9	<i>ibidem</i>	1	1	soke of Epworth	
63/10	<i>ibidem</i>	0	1	berewick of Belton	
63/11	The Burnhams	6	0	soke of Belton	12 car.
63/12	Belton	5	0	two manors	
63/13	Beltoft	1	0	soke, unspecified	
63/14	Althorpe	1	0	soke, addition	
63/15	Crowle	5	7	manor	
		0	1	inland of Upper- thorpe	13 car.
63/16	Amcotts	2	0	soke of Crowle	
63/17	<i>ibidem</i>	0	3	inland of Westwood	
63/18	<i>ibidem</i>	0	5	soke of Garthorpe	
63/19	Garthorpe and Luddington	4	4	soke of Crowle	
63/20	<i>ibidem</i>	1	0	manor	
63/21	<i>ibidem</i>	0	4	soke of Belton	
63/22	Butterwick	3	0	soke and inland of Owston	12 car.

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ed the pre-Conquest holder of land and its assessment in every hundred. Reference is indeed made to one such document in circuit 6. A note is appended to the account of the borough of Huntingdon stating that the villeins and sokemen in Hurstingstone Hundred paid geld 'according to the hides written in the record (*in breve*)' (1).

Exactly the same type of hundredally-arranged geld list probably gave form to the Nottinghamshire Domesday. The decisive evidence is found in the Domesday account of *Roteland* which was an integral part of the administration of the county in 1086. The links between the two are almost certainly as early as carucation for the two hundreds of Alstoe were accounted in the quotas of the wapentakes of Thurgarton and Broxtow (2). The procedural processes that the *Roteland* text reveals, and the local government that it implies, is therefore of great relevance to an understanding of the administrative structure of Nottinghamshire. Like the account of the wapentake of Axholme, the *Roteland* text is hundredally arranged (figure 6). It commences with a statement of the assessment of the area: the wapentake of Alstoe was rated at two hundreds, each of twelve carucates, and Martinsley at one hundred. From

(1). *Hunts. DB*, B21. In many respects, the Yorkshire Summary appears to be a transcript of the same type of source, for it is a geographically arranged document which probably pre-dates the compilation of the *breves*. In its Domesday Book form, however, it differs in two important respects. First, there is no record of pre-Conquest holders of land. Second, the integrity of some estates and their appurtenances is recognised, and the account is thus not always arranged in terms of local government units. As it stands, it may be a seigneurially arranged 'original return' of the type identified by Professor Sawyer in the *Inquisitio Eliensis* account of the abbey of Ely's land in Norfolk. See S. Harvey, 'Domesday Book and its Predecessors', *EHR* 84, 1971, 753-73; H. C. Darby, I. S. Maxwell, *The Domesday Geography of Northern England*, Cambridge 1962, 456-61; R. W. Finn, *The Making and Limitations of the Yorkshire Domesday*, York 1972, 6-7, 16-22; Sawyer, 'Original Returns', 188. Recent work on the Summary is reviewed in *Yorks. DB*, Appendix 5.

(2). *Rutland DB*, R1-3; see below and chapter 6.

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Figure 6: the Roteland Domesday.

HUNDRED	MANOR	LORD IN 1086	ASSESSMENT car. bov.		
Alstoe (1)	Greetham	the king	3	0	
	Cottesmore	the king	3	0	
	Mk. Overton	C. Judith			
	Stretton		3	4	
	Thistleton	C. Judith	0	4	
	<i>ibidem</i>	Alfred of Lincoln	0	4	
	the same hun- dred [Teigh]	Robert Malet	1	4	12 car.
Alstoe (2)	Whissendine	C. Judith	4	0	
	Exton	C. Judith	2	0	
	Whitwell	C. Judith	1	0	
	Awsthorp	Oger s. Ungomar	1	0	
	Burley	Gilb. de Gant	2	0	
	Ashwell	Earl Hugh	2	0	12 car.
Martinsley	Oakham				
	[5 berewicks]	the king	4	0	
	<i>ibidem</i>	Fulchere Malsor	1	0	
	Hambleton				
	[7 berewicks]	the king	4	0	
	Ridlington				
	[7 berewicks]	the king	4	0	13 car.

NB: words in square brackets [] have been interlined and are therefore later additions to the text.

the entries that follow, the two hundreds of Alstoe, both territorially discrete, can be reconstructed by adding up consecutive entries (1). The assessment of Martinsley is thirteen carucates. But the four carucates of the king's manor of Oakham almost certainly include the carucate at which the dependent manor held by Fulchere Malsor was assessed (2), thereby reducing the total to twelve carucates. Uniquely in Domesday Book, no attempt has been made to group the estates of each tenant-in-chief. Countess Judith held lands in both hundreds of Alstoe, but the description of her manors is separated by that of the fees of Alfred of Lincoln and Robert Malet, and the king held manors in the north hundred (no. 1) and in Martinsley which are enrolled at the beginning and the end of the whole account. The form of the text is completely hundredal for no interest was taken in settlement or estate structure *per se*. Thus, Robert Malet's manor was originally identified simply by 'In the same hundred', that is, the northern hundred of Alstoe. Only later was the place-name 'Teigh' interlined to identify its actual nucleus. Moreover, again originally, there was no mention of dependent holdings. Only subsequently have the number of berewicks of Oakham, Ridlington and

(1). In the Lincolnshire Domesday there are three additional entries for Thistleton, assessed at a total of three carucates and two bovates, held by Alfred of Lincoln, Godfrey de Cambrai, and Countess Judith, which do not appear in the *Roteland folio* (*Lincs. DB*, 27/49; 51/10; /56/21). No trace has been found of these holdings in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Thistleton itself, and it seems likely that they were actually located in the parish of North Witham. Thus, Alfred's land is identified as 'the other Thistleton', although there is no other evidence for two settlements of the same name, and Countess Judith's land appears to be identified as North Witham in a twelfth-century charter (F. M. Stenton, *Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw from Various Collections*, London 1920, no. 433). Neither of these fees can be positively identified in the scutage accounts of 1212 and 1242 among the numerous tenements of the honours of Bayeux and Huntingdon. There is no trace of Godfrey's fee in either Thistleton or Witham after 1086. See also *Rutland DB*, notes.

(2). See chapter 2.

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Hambleton been added. It is clear, then, that the form of the account of *Roteland* was ultimately derived from a geld list and, indeed, the record of wapentake geld quotas is almost certainly taken directly from such a source.

As it stands, then, the *Roteland Domesday* originated as a geographically arranged source into which the description of estates, no doubt substantially derived from seigneurial returns, has been inserted. As such, it appears to be a type of document similar to the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, that is a vill-based account of a county produced in the process of compilation of the final seigneurially-arranged text of the 'original returns' and the Exchequer Domesday (1). This impression, however, is probably erroneous. The relationship between the *Roteland Domesday* and the more usual form of the survey can be directly observed. Eight out of twelve of the Alstoe entries are duplicated in the Lincolnshire text where, occupying their own position in the wapentake sequence, they are enrolled in the breves of the tenants-in-chief in the normal way (2). Nevertheless, there is no direct relationship between the two versions for each contains details which are not found in the other. Alfred of Lincoln's tenant in Thistleton, for example, is omitted in the *Roteland* account, but is named as Gleu in the Lincolnshire folios, while Countess Judith's estate in Stretton is identified as a berewick in the one, but its status is unspecified in the other (3). It seems likely, in fact, that they are two independent compilations for, significantly, the land held by the king is not duplicated in the Lincolnshire text. The Domesday account of *terra regis*

(1). ICC; Sawyer, 'Original Returns', 180-1.

(2). *Rutland DB*, Appendix.

(3). *Rutland DB*, Appendix.

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is frequently anomalous and appears to be derived from sources other than those used in the compilation of the body of the text (1). It is possible, then, that *Roteland* formed a separate entity in a survey of royal lands and dues which was an early stage in, and an independent element of, the Domesday Inquest. In the subsequent survey of the lands of the tenants-in-chief, however, the data were collected through the administration of the shire of Lincoln and therefore appear in the account of the county. Nevertheless, the form of the two versions is evidently derived from a common source for Countess Judith's manors are described in the same order in each (figure 7). This source is clearly

Figure 7: *parallel entries in the Roteland and Lincs. folios.*

RUTLAND DB	LINCS. DB
R7 Mk. Overton	56/11 Mk. Overton
R8 Thistleton	56/12 Thistleton
R11 Whissendine	56/13 Whissendine
R13 Exton	56/17 Exton
R13 Whitwell	56/18 Whitwell

the same hundredally arranged geld list and it is this that is the common datum of the two versions. In enrolling the account of the royal lands in *Roteland*, it was treated as one estate and no attempt was made to arrange the material in a seigneurial form. It is possible that, just as part of Gilbert de Ghent's land in Empingham, in Witchley Hundred, in Northamptonshire in 1086, was in the king's soke of *Roteland*, so the crown had reserved regalian dues throughout the two wapentakes of Martinsley and Alstoe (2).

Since *Roteland* was an integral element in the administrative machinery of geld collection in Nottinghamshire, it might be expected

(1). See chapter 2.

(2). *Northants DB*, 46,5.

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that the same structures existed in the county and gave form to the Domesday account in the same way. There is evidence to suggest that such was indeed the case. Three hundreds - Southwell, Blidworth and Plumtree - are incidentally named in the Nottinghamshire text (1). Their assessment is nowhere given, but there is no reason to doubt that it was twelve carucates, or that the institution was identical with that found in *Roteland*. The larger hundreds of carucated Leicestershire and the East Riding of Yorkshire cannot be intended because of the low rate of carucation in the shire (2). Moreover, as elsewhere, the system was probably general (3). A note is appended to the description of Gilbert Tison's manor of Averham stating that five sokemen were attached to the manor 'in other hundreds' (4). This reference tends to suggest that the institution was taken for granted and was therefore only mentioned in exceptional circumstances. Indeed, all three of the named hundreds appear in unusual contexts. In Farnsfield Walter de Aincourt had two bovates of land; one was soke of Southwell, the other belonged to the king, but it nevertheless pertained to the hundred of Southwell (5). As in Lincolnshire, it would appear that the land of the king did not normally belong to a hundred (6). Thus, it was probably felt necessary to record an exception. The notice of Blidworth occurs in a postscriptal

(1). *Notts. DB*, 11,17. 18,6. 24,1.

(2). *FE*, 203-4; *Yorks. DB*, Index of Places: wapentakes and hundreds. Hundreds of 48 and 96 carucates are common in Leicestershire and Yorkshire, whereas the wapentakes of Nottingham are only assessed at 42 or 84 carucates. See chapter 6.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, 26/53; Roffe, 'Lincolnshire Hundred', 27. It is said of two carucates of land in Pickworth (Lincs.) that they 'are not enumerated in any hundred, nor have they their like in Lincolnshire'. For Derbyshire, see D. R. Roffe, *The Derbyshire Domesday*, Darley Dale 1986, 15.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 18,1.

(5). *Notts. DB*, 11,17.

(6). Roffe, 'Lincolnshire Hundred', 34.

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rubric which may refer to the entry identified as *Alwoldestorp* for it is appended to the last line of the description of Gilbert Tison's manor in the same place (1). However, rubrics in such a position normally refer to the following entry, and therefore the reference is more likely to be to Staythorpe. Thus, the fact was probably recorded because the parcel of land was remote from the body of the hundred (2). The third is mentioned in the account of Henry de Ferrers' manor of Leake. There was a berewick of the estate in the same place, but it was situated in Plumtree Hundred (3). This implies that the manorial *caput* belonged to another unit of local government. Plumtree, therefore, was probably noticed because the settlement of Leake was divided between two administrative districts. The lack of references to the hundred is not unusual. The Domesday Inquest was not a survey of local government. It was a record of resources held by the king and his men. There was no pressing reason, then, to identify areas of public administration (4).

Unfortunately, it has not proved possible to reconstruct any of the three named hundreds. That of Southwell is subsumed in the compound entry for the Southwell estate. A reconstruction of Blidworth has recently been suggested, but the result is unsatisfactory, although sub-

(1). *Notts. DB*, 18,6.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 18.6n. Blidworth and Staythorpe are separated by the Southwell estate.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 24,1.

(4). Roffe, 'Lincolnshire Hundred', 29. In Lincolnshire, hundreds are only sporadically recorded, except in *breves* nos 3, 12, 30, and 31, and then most are demonstrably postscriptal. They are only noted from that point in each at which land in Kesteven is described. From there to the end of the *breve*, rubrication of hundreds and wapentakes is systematic, regardless of whether the land is located in Kesteven, Holland, or Lindsey. Since the pattern is repeated in four unrelated chapters, it seems reasonable to conclude that some special interest, that cannot now be ascertained, was taken in these lands. Clearly, the information was available to the Exchequer scribe, or a subsequent revisor, but it was not generally considered germane to the central purpose of the survey.

stantially plausible, not the least because the total is eleven rather than twelve carucates (1). Plumtree likewise appears to be an insoluble problem. The low assessment of Nottinghamshire and the inaccuracies in the record of geld in Domesday Book made the task exceedingly difficult (2). However, two hundreds can be identified in the wapentake of Broxtow through a peculiarity in the record of assessment. In the Nottinghamshire Domesday teamlands almost invariably exceed geld carucates. But to the north and west of Nottingham there is a group of vills in which the figures are identical in every entry (figure 8). In Nuthall, for example, there were two holdings of four and a half and three and a half bovates in which there was land for four and a half and three and a half oxen respectively (3). The area so defined includes only part of Basford, Newthorpe and Watnall, and has a total assessment of 34 carucates and 6 bovates. Ten carucates and six bovates, however, belonged to the king and must therefore be subtracted from this total since *terra regis* was not incorporated into the hundredal system (4). There remain two self-defined, geographically discrete, groups of entries, here identified as A and B, assessed at exactly twelve carucates each.

These two units are almost certainly twelve-carucate hundreds. They are considerably larger than those of Lincolnshire, but are comparable with those found in *Roteland* and Derbyshire (5). Moreover, their area had a demonstrable affect upon the form of the text. The relationship is illustrated by the six entries in which land in Basford is described.

(1). *Notts. DB*, 18,6n.

(2). See chapter 6.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 10,40. 30,32.

(4). See chapter 6.

(5). See figure 6; Roffe, *Derbyshire Domesday*, 15; D. R. Roffe, 'Introduction', *Domesday Book: Derbyshire*, ed. A. Williams, forthcoming 1987.

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Figure 8: *two hundreds in the wapentake of Broxtow.*

HUNDRED A						HUNDRED B					
REF.	VILL	c.	b.	t.	o.	REF.	VILL	c.	b.	t.	o.
10,63	Newthorpe	0	2	0	2	10,66	Bulwell	2	0	2	0
10,43	Watnall	1	0	1	0	1,45	Arnold	3	0	3	0
10,47	Kimberley	1	0	1	0	10.51	Basford	2	3	2	3
10,40	Nuthall	0	4½	0	4½	10.52	Basford	0	1		
30,32	Nuthall	0	3½	0	3½	30,34	Basford	0	4	0	4
10,36	Cossall	0	6	0	6	10,15	Radford	3	0	3	0
13,12	Cossall	0	6	0	6	1,48	Lenton	0	4		
10,27	Strelley	0	6	0	6	10,19	Lenton	2	0	2	0
10,28	Strelley	0	3			10,24	Lenton	0	4	0	4
30,31	Strelley	0	3	0	3	10,17	Morton	1	4	1	4
1,50	Bilborough	0	1			B1	Nottingham	6	0		
10,39	Bilborough	0	7	0	7						
1,49	Broxtow	0	1								
28,3	Broxtow	0	3	0	3						
29,2	Trowell	1	4	1	4						
30,30	Trowell	0	4	0	4						
30,50	Trowell	0	4	0	4						
30,51	Trowell	0	4	0	4						
1,47	Wollaton	1	0	1	0						
10,35	Wollaton	1	4	1	4						
Total		13	2					21	4		
King's land		1	2					9	4		
TOTAL GELDABLE		12	0					12	0		

NB: assessments of royal estates are italicised; c = carucate, b = bovate, t = teams, o = oxen.

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The vill is assessed at four carucates and four bovates, but three carucates belong to area B (figure 8) and the remainder to the land to the north where teamlands exceed carucates to the geld. The account of the six entries identified as Basford appears in two breves (figures 2 and 9). In no. 10 William Peverel held a manor in Basford in succession

Figure 9: entries relating to Basford in breve no. 30.

REF.	VILL	STATUS	TRE TENANT	TRW TENANT
30,28	Basford	two manors	Aelfric [Aswulf]	waste
30,29	Papplewick	unspecified	Aelfric, Alfsi, Alric	waste
30,30	Trowell	manor	Ulfkell	Haldane
30,31	Strelley	manor	Ulfkell	Wulfsi Godwin
30,32	Nuthall	manor	Askell	Aelfric
30,33	Awsthorpe	manor	Ulfketel	Haldane
30,34	Basford	manor	Aelfric	Aelfric

NB: words in square brackets [] have been interlined.

to Alwin. Land of Aswulf is entered next, although marked for deletion. But some 27 entries later it is found appended to two further manors in the same vill which had belonged to Alfheah and Algot (1). In breve no. 30 a similar pattern is evident. In 1066 Aelfric held two manors in Basford which were waste at the time of the survey. A postscriptal addition to the text records that Aswulf had held a further bovaté which was also waste. Six entries later presumably the same Aelfric is recorded as holding four bovates in the same vill which he had also held in 1066 (2). In both breves, then, the account of Basford is divided into two distinct sections. In the one, entries are enrolled in which teamlands exceed carucates to the geld, in the other, entries in which

(1). Notts. DB, 10,22-3; 51-2.

(2). Notts. DB, 30,28; 34.

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the assessments are equal. The division is clearly a significant one for land of apparently the same individual is somewhat artificially divided between the two. The dichotomy evidently relates to different units of local government and, since area B, in which the second group of Basford entries is situated, is assessed at twelve carucates, it can be confidently identified as a hundred. It is clear, then, that a hundredal structure lies behind the text in these two breves.

Comparable evidence is not available for the rest of the Nottinghamshire folios. However, the regularity of villar sequence, common to all breves, is suggestive. It will be noticed that, with minor irregularities in breve no. 10, the vills of each of the hundreds identified in Broxtow Wapentake are grouped together in the same order in the text wherever they appear. The same pattern is found elsewhere. In Oswaldbeck Wapentake, for example, the vills are described in the same order, with two minor exceptions, in breves nos 1, 5 and 9. A second list in no. 5 is inverted (figure 10). The appearance of Bole in two separate contexts may indeed imply that the settlement, like Basford, was divided between two hundreds. As late as 1315 it was situated in two vills (1). Compound entries in breve no. 5 have, however, precluded any attempt to reconstruct the hundreds of the wapentake (2). But the phenomenon is consistent with the pattern observed in the wapentake of Broxtow. It can be concluded, then, that a hundredal structure is probably present in the whole of the Nottinghamshire Domesday.

It is now possible to understand the method of compilation and some of the characteristics and forms of the Nottinghamshire text. Like the

(1). *FA* iv, 106.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 5,4; 8.

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Figure 10: *Oswaldbeck Wapentake: villar sequence.*

<i>BREVE NO. 1</i>	<i>BREVE NO. 5</i>	<i>BREVE NO. 5</i>	<i>BREVE NO. 9</i>
31 Tiln		8a Tiln	
32 Leverton	4g Leverton		
33 Fenton			112 Fenton
34 Littleborough			
35 Sturton			114 Sturton
36 Wheatley	4f Wheatley		115 Wheatley
	4e Burton		116 Burton
	4d Bole		117 Bole
	4b Beckingham		118 Beckingham
37 Walkeringham			120 Walkeringham
38 Misterton			121 Misterton
			122 Gringley
			123 Bole
39 Wiseton			
40 Clayworth			126 Clayworth
41 Clarborough and Tiln			127 Clarborough
42 Welham and <i>Simentone</i>		8b Welham and <i>Simentone</i>	
43 Gringley		8c Gringley	
44 Saundby	4c Saundby		
		8d Scaftworth	
		8e Everton	
			129 Treswell
			131 Rampton
	4a Askham		

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Lincolnshire and *Roteland* folios, it almost certainly has an underlying hundredal structure which gave form to entries and determined the order in which they appear in each *breve*. Much of the information which lies behind the descriptions of manors was provided by seigneurial officials. They must have furnished details of not only stocking and population, but also the structure of each estate. Occasionally the form in which their return was made to the commissioners was retained in the text - the arrangement of the archbishop's fief is probably derived from his return and the large number of compound entries in his *breve* suggests that it was hardly processed at all. This feature is especially typical of large sokes. But more usually the lord's return was checked against a hundredally arranged geld list and land was enrolled by reference to it. Thus, while the overall form of the manor was retained, the composition of each entry was determined by the area of the hundred. In Lincolnshire, and probably in Yorkshire, it varied in extent, but was generally small. Thus, estates tend to be situated in more than one hundred and are therefore described in more than one entry. Needless to say, the resulting 'manors', 'berewicks' and 'sokelands' do not necessarily have analogues in estate structure (1). In Nottinghamshire a similar process can be identified. We have already seen that the accounts of the estates of Aelfric and Henry de Ferrers in Basford and Leake derive their respective forms from the underlying hundredal structure (2). But the same process is not always so readily apparent for the hundreds of the county were considerably larger than elsewhere on account of the high rate of carucation in the shire. Estates were more likely, then, to be located in their entirety in a single hundred.

(1). Roffe, 'Lincolnshire Hundred', 30-3.

(2). See above.

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It is probably precisely for this reason that there are relatively fewer entries in the Nottinghamshire Domesday, and that a high proportion of them are described as manors. Situated in the same hundred as the lord's hall, what would elsewhere be entered as separate inland or soke is incorporated into the manorial entry. As is clear from the *Roteland* folio, the Domesday Book commissioners were not interested in settlement, nor indeed in estate structure, as such. It was the hundred which provided their datum. It is apparent, then, that the form of the Nottinghamshire text does not necessarily imply a difference in development or management of estates, much less variations in settlement patterns, from the rest of the Danelaw. The predominance of manors is merely a function of the procedure of the enquiry.

Much of the work of the Inquest, then, was an official procedure which drew upon various types of documents and sources. The role of the county and wapentake courts was probably confined to presentments on title and tenure. As we have seen (1), the commissioners certainly took evidence from the men of the shire. But it is unlikely that the bulk of the data was collected at this time. The scattered references throughout circuit 6 to the initial session indicate that all the administrative units of the shire were represented - hundred, wapentake, the riding in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and the shire itself (2). In Nottinghamshire we only hear of the shire, but 'the neighbourhood' (*patria*) may refer to a hundred (3). From what can be perceived of the proceedings, tenure of, and title to, land seem to have been the main concern. Thus, the *patria*

(1). See above.

(2). *Lincs. DB*, 1/9; 35/12; 68/22; pp. 208-235; *Hunts. DB*, 19, 15. 20, 1. D; *Yorks. DB*, CN, CE, CW; *Derbys. DB*, 13, 2. B5.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 30, 22. The term is used in *Lincs. DB*, 31/3 where it is coupled with the wapentake. Hundred is clearly intended.

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declared that they did not know how or through whom Godric held a manor in Kingston (on-Soar) in succession to Ulfketel (1). Godric was probably present at the session and could not substantiate his title either by right of his predecessor or of the king's writ. In Derbyshire we hear that Walter de Aincourt cited the king as protector of his land in Brampton and Wadshelf, while Henry de Ferrers called to witness his deliverer in support of his claim (2). These two references, typical of those few which survive in the text, probably encapsulate in its essentials the whole business of the initial open-court session of the enquiry: it consisted in the collection of evidence. The tenants-in-chief made their claims and the men of the shire made their presentments as to who held in 1086 and, by reference to 1066, by what right. The basic checklist was a geographically arranged geld list recording TRE tenant and assessment to the geld. No doubt a suitably annotated copy was subsequently used in the compilation of the original return or an earlier recension. Matters of fact or uncontentious issues seem to have been accepted without formality. But there is no evidence to suggest that suits were determined at this time. Rival claims were merely noted for resolution at a later stage. Thus, it was apparently in the initial session that Alfwold and his brothers claimed four and a half hides in Huntingdonshire against Eustace the Sheriff. The fact is recorded in Eustace's breve, along with the possibly postscriptal comment that the whole hundred bore testimony in their favour (3). But this did not settle the matter. It was resolved in a second session which either post-dates, or was independent of, the compilation of the original

(1). *Notts. DB*, 30,22.

(2). *Derbys. DB*, 8,2.

(3). *Hunts. DB*, 19,15.

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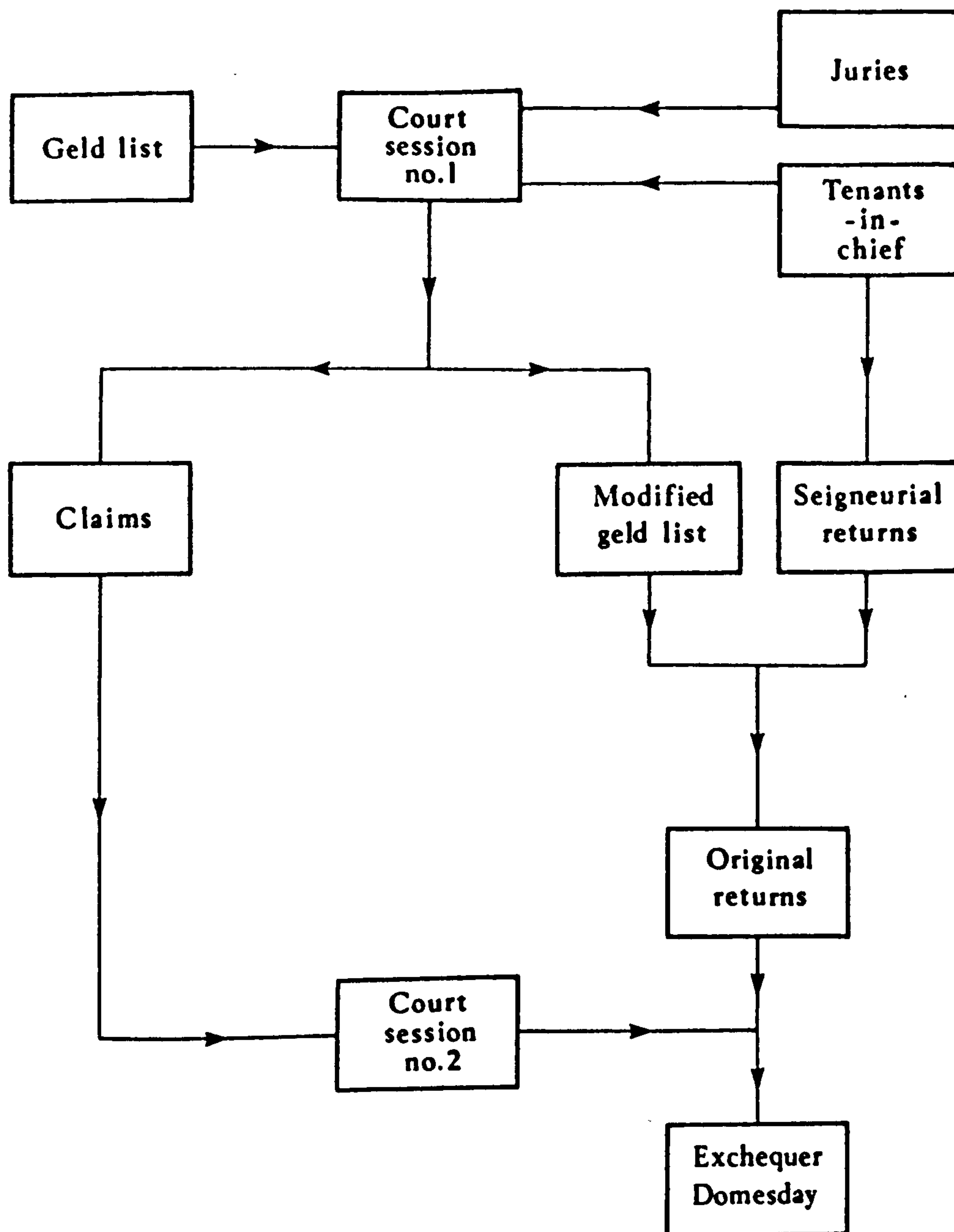
returns for judgement was given in Alfwold's favour according to the Presentment of the county which is recorded separately from the breves in the *Clamores* (1). Unfortunately, in circuit 6 the record of these proceedings only survive for Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and Huntingdonshire. But it is apparent that the resolution of disputes was an important element or consequence of the Domesday Inquest for similar proceedings survive in other circuits (2). We have no grounds to suspect that Nottinghamshire was different. The shire seems to have been the forum and, unlike the earlier session, the hundred does not seem to have been present for evidence was only taken from the wapentake, riding and shire, and this formed the basis of the judgement. In exceptional cases, however, particularly difficult matters were referred to the king (3). No concerted attempt was made to correct the breves in the light of such decisions, but postscriptal material suggests that some *ad hoc* revision was undertaken.

The procedure of the enquiry is represented diagrammatically in figure 11.

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- (1). *Hunts. DB*, D21.
 - (2). *NDB*, 72-4, 77, 83-5.
 - (3). *Lincs. DB*, 72/50.

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Figure 11: the procedure of the Domesday Inquest in circuit 6.



4. THE TRANSFER OF TITLE

Domesday Book was, *inter alia*, a description of the lands of William's men and a record of their value. Title was probably not absolutely central to its purpose. But nevertheless the survey thereby also established the right of the tenants-in-chief to the lands and interests acquired in the previous twenty years from their Anglo-Saxon predecessors. Throughout the Middle Ages, the great survey was the ultimate authority on the tenure of land (1). The changes since the Conquest and its aftermath were, of course, dramatic. By 1075 the native ruling class had been almost entirely dispossessed and replaced by a Norman aristocracy. In 1086 there was only a handful of English who held large fiefs in chief of the king. The transfer of land and power was apparently complete (2). Despite the numerous references to disputes in the folios of Domesday Book, the process was apparently effected with remarkable ease. Title to the vast majority of estates appears to have been established and accepted with the minimum of complication. The principle was indeed straightforward and a natural function of a protracted process. The king granted all the lands of an English lord to a single tenant-in-chief who was to enjoy all of the rights, interests, lands and duties that his predecessor had enjoyed on the day on which King Edward the Confessor had been alive and dead, that is in 1066. Title was therefore established by reference to the *antecessor* (3). It was only in politically and militarily sensitive areas that a more

(1). E. M. Hallam, *Domesday Book Through Nine Centuries*, London 1986, 29-30; D. R. Roffe, *The Derbyshire Domesday*, Darley Dale 1986, 20.

(2). ASE, 626. Colsuain in Lincolnshire and Thurkil of Arden in Warwickshire are the most notable examples.

(3). ASE, 626-7.

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radical approach was adopted. In Sussex, for example, great tracts of land were given to individual tenants-in-chief to support strategically important castles (1). But such a simple picture is not always apparent in Domesday Book. In Nottinghamshire there were lords who only had a few predecessors: Geoffrey Alselin, for example, succeeded to Toki, Wulfric and Swein (2). But this was not the general rule. Thus, Roger de Bully succeeded to at least 55 different Englishmen. Since many are unnamed, the total cannot be precisely determined, but it may be as high as 100 (3). Likewise William Peverel succeeded to the lands of at least 32 individuals (4). Some apparently appear as the predecessors of a number of tenants-in-chief. Many, if not most, must have been of very inferior status. Roger, for example, held ten manors in Eaton assessed at six and half bovates in total which had belonged to ten unnamed thanes in 1066 (5). Even in an area so grossly under-assessed as Nottinghamshire, the amount of land each held must have been insignificant. It seems extremely unlikely that the king could have had detailed knowledge of each holding, much less granted each one separately to Roger de Bully. On what basis, then, was title to this land and his other estates conferred on Roger? An important clue to the process is provided by the 'multiple-manor entry'.

Eaton is one of some 59 entries in the Nottinghamshire Domesday in which a number of individual manors are described in a single entry. The form is identical with the ordinary entry except for a number - in

(1). M. Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England*, Oxford 1986, 23-8. The honours of Peverel and Ferrers are often seen as castleries.

(2). *Notts. DB*, breve no. 12.

(3). *Notts. DB*, breve no. 9.

(4). *Notts. DB*, breve no. 10.

(5). *Notts. DB*, 9,20.

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Nottinghamshire between 2 and 10 - which is written above the marginal Lombardic M. This figure is, as a rule, matched by a record of the same number of holders in 1066 who are usually, although not always, named. Where six, seven or ten thanes held the land, the scribe clearly felt there was little need to identify them all. In a further sixteen entries a number of lords in 1066 are recorded as holding a single manor. This may indicate that the relevant figure has been omitted from the margin (1). Alternatively, it may point to a difference in status or tenure (2). Despite enrolment in a single entry, it is clear that each element of the multiple-manor type was considered to be a separate manor. Occasionally the assessment of each is given - although this is usually interlined or is only apparent from other sources (3) - and on a number of occasions it is said that eachthane had his own hall (4). Elsewhere in circuit 6 they are explicitly called manors (5). The device is used with purpose and the form seems to have had a distinct identity for it is evidently no scribal device to facilitate the enrolment of a number of small holdings in the same vill. Thus, there are many instances when the manors are not combined in this way. The bishop of Lincoln, for example, held three manors in Clifton in succession to Fran, Wulfgeat and Agemund, and they are described in three consecutive entries (6). Moreover, single and multiple-manor entries sometimes appear side by side. Roger de Bully held four manors in (East) Markham in succession to

(1). See, for example, *Notts. DB*, 10,61.

(2). In the Lincolnshire Domesday it may be indicative of tenure in parage; see G. Black, D. R. Roffe, *The Nottinghamshire Domesday: a Reader's Guide*, Nottingham 1986, 23.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 20,7.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 9,20; 26; 50; 69. 10,61. 14,5. *Aula*, 'hall', was the essential indicator of a manor; see chapter 5.

(5). *Lincs. DB*, 12/1; 71/10; 12/85, 96; *Yorks. DB*, *passim*.

(6). *Notts. DB*, 6,10-12.

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Edwy, Fran, and Godwin and Ulfkell which are described in three consecutive entries (1). The usual explanation for the phenomenon is an economic one. It is argued that the tenurial revolution which accompanied the Conquest gave rise to the amalgamation of small estates by Norman tenants-in-chief and their men. The device therefore conveyed the essence of estate management while preserving the details of title (2). Attractive as this may seem, it is implausible for it is clear that these manors were constituted as groups before the Conquest. Thus, one value is given for each of the entries for both 1066 and 1086. In all cases the figures are conventional sums - round totals of sixteen-pence Danish *oras* - and clearly cannot have been derived from the addition of several discrete renders (3). One assessment is given for each group, again for 1066, and they were treated as single manors when appurtenances were attached. Soke of Alfwy and Wulfmer's two manors of Tuxford in Kirton, Walesby and Egmanton, for example, is described as *soca hujus manerii*, 'soke of this manor' (4). In Linby three brothers held three manors and there were five bovates in Papplewick which 'belong to this manor' (5).

It is clear, then, that multiple-manor entries relate to groups of pre-Conquest manors which survived into the reign of King William. Indeed, many of them may have retained something of their Anglo-Saxon identity for two or three lords in 1066 often seem to be represented by

(1). *Notts. DB*, 9,6; 10; 11. 9,7-9 are postscriptal: they are written across both columns in the bottom margin. See Black and Roffe, *Nottinghamshire Domesday*, 31.

(2). *TMS*, 52; R. W. Finn, *The Making and Limitations of the Yorkshire Domesday*, York 1972, 8.

(3). *TMS*, 32.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 9,12-14.

(5). *Notts. DB*, 10,20; 21.

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two or three men of the tenant-in-chief in 1086 (1). More remarkable still are the instances of continuity of tenure. Roger de Bully held two manors in Clumber in succession to Athelwold and Ulfkell. The part which an unidentified Fulk held in 1086 was waste, but Ulfkell had one plough in the other part under Roger. This Ulfkell must almost certainly be identical with the tenant in 1066 (2). Likewise, Fredegis, and possibly Wulfgeat, appear to have retained tenure of their two manors, described in one entry, in Ratcliffe (-on-Trent) under William Peverel (3). Such phenomena might be suggestive of depression of tenure were it not for the survival of the form of what is clearly a group of manors. It must, on the contrary, raise the possibility of a similar relationship in 1066, that is, of two tenants holding of an overlord. Unfortunately, there are no explicit statements of the relationship between the individuals within multiple-manor entries, and beyond, in the Nottinghamshire text. The description of the manor of Headon may suggest that one was pre-eminent among a group of them. It is said that Godwin and six other thanes each had a hall, between them eight bovates and the third part of one bovate. The entry is a single manor, but the scribe probably forgot to write the *vii* above the marginal M (4). In Winkburn five thanes held two bovates, one of whom was the superior of the the others (5). But this reference is postscriptal and there is no evidence to elucidate the status of the holding. However, the same type of entry appears in the Lincolnshire Domesday where there is more evidence about

(1). *Notts. DB*, 6,5. 9,31; 41; 66; 70. 10,51; 55.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 9,41.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 10,55.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 9,26.

(5). *Notts. DB*, 18,5.

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the relationship between the members of each group. In many instances, as at Linby (1), the manors were held by brothers and partible inheritance or tenure in parage seems to have played a part in the formation of the group (2). In Covenham, for example, Alsi, Chetel and Turuer held three and half bovates as three manors. The latter two were brothers, and after their father's death, 'they divided their father's land in such wise, however, that when Chetel was doing the king's service, he should have his brother Turuer's aid' (3). But partible inheritance, or tenure in parage, is unlikely to be the basic characteristic of the multiple-manor entry. Thus, although the relationship is not explicit, Alsi was apparently not the brother of Chetel and Turuer. Moreover, one member is frequently the superior of the other in the group. Ingemund and his three un-named brothers held four manors in Newton (Lincs.), but it was the former who acted for all three in the *Clamores*: it is recorded that Colsuain did not deliver the land of Ingemund and his brothers to Count Alan, but Ingemund himself placed it under the said earl on account of the other lands which he held from him (4). At Biscathorpe (Lincs.) Godric and his two brothers held three manors, but 'two served the third' (5). Such relationships are the most consistently recorded in Robert of Stafford's Lincolnshire *breve*. In the four multiple-manor entries, one TRE holder of land is

(1). *Notts. DB*, 10,20.

(2). The two concepts are difficult to disentangle from the Domesday evidence. Although in reality an estate may have been divided between heirs, it is possible that legally it retained a unitary identity, for the overlord still expected dues from it. As we shall see, the terms of tenure, in effect the creation of a new nexus, was the prerogative of the lord. See chapter 5 and Black and Roffe, *Nottinghamshire Domesday*, 23.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, 22/26.

(4). *Lincs. DB*, 12/31; 70/26.

(5). *Lincs. DB*, 3/41.

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said to have *frigsoca* over the others. In Braceborough and Banthorpe, for example, Dane, Carle and Ledflet held three manors, but the land of two was *frigsoca* under Dane, and in Carlby presumably the same Dane shared a double manor with Carle who held in *frigsoca* under him (1). *Frigsoca* is a rare term in Domesday Book - in Lincolnshire it is only recorded eight times, and then only within a very limited area of Kesteven - and its meaning is not absolutely clear (2). However, some form of superiority is evidently implied.

Nor was the overlord always a member of the same group. Alsi and Athelstan held a manor in Swaton (Lincs.) over which Alfric, their brother, had soke in Haceby, although 'only in the king's service'. He was the lord of a manor there which was in the possession of Guy de Craon in 1086 (3). But the form of Domesday Book usually conceals such relationships. Like the ordinary entry, the multiple-manor type is closely related to hundredal structure. Dependent manors are only grouped together when they are situated in the same twelve-carucate hundred. Numerous instances could be cited where hundredal structure can be reconstructed, but the process is most clearly illustrated by an entry in Count Alan's Lincolnshire breve. Six manors were held in 1066 by six thanes, one of whom was a certain Holmchetel. The place was originally identified as 'Hagworthingham' in the wapentake of Hill, but

(1). *Lincs. DB*, 59/4, 5, 9, 12.

(2). *TMS*, 40-2. A marginal *fd* is found against the account of some of the bishop of Lincoln's Lincolnshire estates, and marginal *f'* occurs in the abbot of Peterborough's breve. The significance of both is unclear, but it has been assumed that the devices also indicate *frigsoca*. Marginal *f* is also found in some Yorkshire folios. See *Lincs. DB*, 312; *Yorks. DB*, 16E1n.; 26E1n.; 29 *passim*. An *f* appears against the headings for *breves* nos 12 and 13 in the Derbyshire folios. Again its significance is unknown. See *Derbys. DB*, *breves* nos 12, 13. It has been suggested, however, that it stands for *fecit returnum*, that is a return was made by the tenant-in-chief (*MDB*, 82).

(3). *Lincs. DB*, 26/45; 57/18.

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the name was subsequently deleted and 'Mumby', in the wapentake of Calcewath, interlined. The entry ends with the comment that 'these seven manors were worth ten pounds TRE; now they are worth sixteen pounds' (1). Assessed at four bovates and held by Holmchetel, the seventh manor was in fact in Hagworthingham and had already been described. The entry notes that 'its value belongs to other manors' (2). It seems that all seven had formed an extended tenurial group, but Holmchetel's estate had been enrolled in a separate entry because it was situated in a different hundred and wapentake. However, when the scribe came to the remaining manors, he inadvertently enrolled the whole group. He subsequently realised his mistake, however, and changed the place-name. But he omitted to delete the record of Holmchetel and subtract the four bovates of his manor from the total (3).

Multiple-manor entries are relatively more common in Nottinghamshire than elsewhere in the folios of circuit 6. Nevertheless, the same limiting process may have been at work. It probably accounts for an anomalous group of entries in William Peverel's breve (figure 12). Only one value is given for the four Watnall entries and this is appended to the second sokeland entry. Although the land was attached to Bulwell, valued at a mere twelve shillings in 1066, the figure almost certainly includes the value of the two manors in Watnall. Elsewhere we read that Hempshill was soke of Bulwell and Watnall. It is clear that all three manors formed an extended group and we might have expected the whole to be enrolled in a multiple-manor entry of the form '3M. In Watnall and

(1). *Lincs. DB*, 12/96.

(2). *Lincs. DB*, 12/85.

(3). The assessment of Mumby Hundred is exactly twelve carucates when Holmchetel's four bovates are deducted. See *Lincs. DB*, 12/93, 96; 24/55, 56; 29/32.

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Figure 12: a group of manors in William Peverel's breve.

DB REF.	STATUS	VILL	TRE HOLDER	RELATIONSHIP
10,43	manor	Watnall	Grimkell	
10,44	manor	Watnall	Siward	
10,45	soke	<i>ibid.</i>	Grim	soke in Watnall
10,46	soke	<i>ibid.</i>	Aelmar	soke in Bulwell
10,50	soke	Hempshill		soke of Bulwell and Watnall
10,66	manor	Bulwell	Godric	

Bulwell Grimkell, Siward and Godric had 3 carucates and 2 bovates to the geld'. But all three manors were situated in different hundreds and are therefore enrolled in separate entries (figure 8).

The superiority of one lord over another, then, is not confined to the estates described in multiple-manor entries. The form which betrays such relationships is only a function of compilation and, as such, is probably incidental. The scribe evidently had access to the information, but generally deemed it irrelevant to his purpose. Textual references to dependence in other contexts are therefore rare. They only occur when the fact brought one tenant-in-chief into relationship with another through their predecessors and was therefore germane to title. Only one unambiguous example occurs in the Nottinghamshire Domesday. In Oxtun the archbishop of York held a manor in succession to Alnoth. It is stated that the king had one bovat and the rest belonged to Blidworth where the archbishop held a manor in both 1066 and 1086 (1). Alnoth was evidently a tenant of both lords before the Conquest. But one other entry probably falls into the same category. Gilbert de Gant held four and half bovates in Kirklington in the soke of Southwell in succession to Ulf his predecessor. The entry is not described as a manor - there is

(1). *Notts. DB*, 5,9;11.

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no marginal M or rubrication of the place-name - but otherwise the entry is manorial in form (1). Dependence, however, is occasionally indicated in other ways. As with the two estates in Watnall, a single value for a number of manors suggests a single tenurial nexus. The Count of Mortain held a manor in Stanton in succession to his predecessor Stori. Two entries later a second manor, formerly held by Fran in the same Stanton, is described. Transposition marks associate it with the former entry and the absence of a value for both 1066 and 1086 suggests that it may have been a dependent of Stori's estate (2). In Ralf de Limesy's *breve* five manors and one parcel of sokeland in Hawton are described in three entries and one value is given for the whole estate which was held of Ralf by a certain Alfred (3).

In Nottinghamshire this is the extent of the concrete evidence for pre-Conquest groups of manors. As in circuit 6 generally, it is not extensive, but it is also clear that the phenomenon was usually of little interest to the Domesday scribe. Nevertheless, overlordship was probably common and was responsible for the relative ease with which land was transferred from Anglo-Saxon lord to Norman tenant-in-chief since title to one manor conferred title to those dependent upon it. A difficult passage in Ilbert de lacy's *breve* probably refers to the process. Words in square brackets are interlineations:

2M. In Cropwell (Butler) Wulfgeat [and Godric] had 2 [4] bovates of land to the geld. Land for 2 ploughs. Ilbert de Lacy was seized of this land, but when Roger de Poitou received (his) land he took possession of this manor against Ilbert. The wapentake bears wit-

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- (1). *Notts. DB*, 17,13.
(2). *Notts. DB*, 4,5; 6.
(3). *Notts. DB*, 14,1-3.

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ness that Ilbert was in possession. Now it is in the king's hands, except the third part and a thane who is the head of the manor whom Ilbert holds (1).

Various emendations have been suggested and clearly the entry as it now stands is obscure if not corrupt (2). But the term *caput manerii* is reminiscent of *capitale manerium*, 'chief manor', which is used in the Lincolnshire folios (3), and may point to a central manor from which title was derived. It can be hazarded that Ilbert could claim undisputed title to his portion because the thane was his *antecessor* (4). It subsequently passed to the king because Roger forfeited all his estates which escheated to the crown. If this reference is somewhat obscure, two examples from outside the county illustrate the mechanism. In Derbyshire Gilbert de Gant held two carucates of land in Shipley, just over the boundary of Broxtow wapentake, which had been held by Brown and Odincar in 1066. His title was apparently challenged for the sworn men stated that the land had not belonged to Ulf Fenisc, Gilbert's predecessor, in 1066, but that the two thanes so held it that they could grant or sell to whom they would (5). His title was presumably invalid. There was, nevertheless, the expectation that the land was held from Ulf, through whom Gilbert made his claim, for probably the same Odincar had held of

(1). *Wapentac' portat testimonium Ilbertum fuisse saisitum. Modo est in manu regis preter terciam partem et Tainum qui est caput manerii quem tenet Ilbertus. Notts. DB, 20,7.*

(2). *Notts. DB, 20,7n.*

(3). See, for example, *Lincs. DB, 57/14: M. In SCACHERTORP habuit Adestan i carucatam terre ad geldum. Terra i. car. Wido usque nunc tenuit in soca et modo est deratiocinatum capitale manerium ad opus regis. See also ibid., 72/27.*

(4). It has not proved possible to identify Ilbert's predecessor in Nottinghamshire.

(5). *Derbys. DB, 13,2; Roffe, Derbyshire Domesday, 10.*

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him elsewhere in the East Midlands (1). In Lincolnshire Robert of Stafford's claim against Count Alan to Carle's land in Billingborough was deemed unjust because the same Carle had held from Ralf the Staller, Alan's predecessor (2). The Billingborough entry makes no reference to Ralf, but it is clear that Count Alan derived his title from the overlord rather than from the tenant Carle (3). Robert's claim was presumably made on the basis of his tenure of Carle's land which had been held from his predecessor Dane in Carlby, Braceborough and Banthorpe (4). The manors of the same individual, then, were held from two overlords in 1066 and therefore passed to different Norman tenants-in-chief.

Traces of the same process are evident throughout the Nottinghamshire Domesday, for estates of apparently the same individual have frequently been incorporated into different fiefs by 1086. It is, of course, not always possible positively to identify one individual with another in Domesday Book. Pre-Conquest lords are but rarely given distinguishing epithets. Thus, Alfsi Illing and Alfsi son of Kaskin are listed as enjoying sake and soke, toll and team, and the king's customary dues of two pennies in 1066, but, with one exception, they cannot be identified among the many undifferentiated Alfsi's that appear in the text (5). But the coincidence of names and groups of names in the same or neighbouring villis in different breves is so common, that we can be sure that the same individuals are frequently indicated. For example,

(1). *Lincs. DB*, 24/74.

(2). *Lincs. DB*, 72/51.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, 12/55.

(4). *Lincs. DB*, 59/4-5.

(5). *Notts. DB*, S5; 9,43. Alfsi son of Kaskin held Worksop in 1066 for he is said to have had sake and soke, toll and team over the settlement.

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Fran held two manors in Keyworth that passed to Roger de Bully and Ralf son of Hubert (1). The predecessor of the former cannot be determined, but Leofnoth, and possibly Leofric, were the latter's (2). Fran had also held an estate in nearby Stanton under the Count of Mortain's predecessor Stori (3). Wulfric likewise held two manors in Coddington which had passed to the bishops of Lincoln and Bayeux by 1086, probably through Countess Godiva and Leofric or Godwin, their predecessors (4). Many such relationships are apparent or may be suspected within the text (5).

Overlords, then, were probably a common feature of the tenurial landscape of pre-Conquest Nottinghamshire, but it is not always possible to identify them. In many cases, the individuals who are named in manorial entries must be tenants. Countess Alfeva in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, Ulf Fenisc in Yorkshire, and Fyach and Swein son of Swafi in Lincolnshire are all said to enjoy sake and soke, toll and team, and the king's two pennies over their lands, but none is recorded in the text as holding any estates in those counties (6). The apparent contradiction can only be resolved by supposing that they held no manors *in demesne*, but enjoyed the service of tenants. The Domesday commissioners no doubt recorded their names in preference to those of their lords because they appeared in the geld rolls used in the compilation of the survey as those who paid the geld and therefore facilitated the identification of

(1). *Notts. DB*, 9,88.13,7.

(2). *Notts. DB*, breve no. 13. Tenants are rarely noted in Ralf's Domesday *breves*. As was common in many counties such as Leicestershire, the predecessor alone was recorded.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 4,6.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 6,6. 7,3.

(5). *Notts. DB*, 2,1. 9,103. 6,7. 14,2. 10,64. 30,1.

(6). *Notts. DB*, S5; *Yorks. DB*, C36; *Lincs. DB*, 13.

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estates. But those who enjoyed such regalian privileges were almost certainly predecessors and, indeed, each usually appears in only one breve. Thus, Countess Godiva gave title to the bishop of Lincoln, Ulf Fenisc to Gilbert de Ghent, Toki to Geoffrey Alselin (1). But other names in the list appended to the shire customal cannot be positively identified. We can suggest, however, that one, possibly Alfsi son of Kaskin or Swein son of Swafi, gave title to at least part of Roger de Bully's lands. In 1088, some two years after the Domesday survey, Roger founded the priory of Blyth, endowing it with the church, the whole vill of Blyth and tolls over an extensive area of north Nottinghamshire and southern Yorkshire. The whole was to be held with sake and soke, toll and team (2). At the time of Domesday Book the vill was soke of the manor of Hodsock which had been held by a Wulfsi in 1066 (3). This individual does not appear among those with sake and soke, toll and team. It cannot, of course, be assumed that this list is complete - it seems likely that there were many omissions. Nevertheless, in the absence of a direct grant, Roger's rights in Blyth may well have been derived from an overlord from whom Wulfsi held and through whom Roger had title. It is not possible, however, to positively identify him among the scores of names which appear in the breve.

In Lincolnshire and Yorkshire the overlord, and the manors over which he exercised his authority, can sometimes be identified within the text for the tenant-in-chief often seems to have made a return directly related to title. The estates of each of his predecessors are thus grouped together and defined by a separate wapentake sequence which is

(1). *Notts. DB*, S5; *breves* nos 6, 12, 17.

(2). *TMS*, 92-3.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 9,46; 49.

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frequently emphasised by the use of spaces in the text (1). The archbishop of York's Nottinghamshire breve may have owed its form to a return of this kind. As we have seen (2), it is divided into three groups, two relating to the pre-Conquest lands of St. Mary of Southwell, and the third to the lands held personally by the archbishop himself in 1066, each of which has its own wapentake sequence (figure 3). The Southwell lands had been granted to York in 956 (3), but the archbishop's own estates had, with the exception of Sutton, been acquired in various ways shortly before the Conquest (4). This latter section includes a manor in Oxton which was held by Alnoth, but most of which belonged to the archbishop's manor of Blidworth (5). It seems likely that the land of unspecified status in Ranskill, held by Godric in 1066, was a dependency of the same manor (6). But no other example of this type can be suggested.

It seems likely, then, that the orderly transfer of land from English to Norman control was only possible because there was no fundamental revolution in the organisation of land. Differences in tenures were, of course, subsequently introduced. But the principles and practice of overlordship were known before the Conquest and organised what appears in Domesday Book as a mass of independent lords. The whole process suggests some degree of continuity of both tenures and person.

(1). See Appendix 2.

(2). Chapter 3.

(3). *ECNE*, 111-12; P. Lyth, 'The Southwell Charter of 956 AD: an Exploration of its Boundaries', *TTS* 86, (1982), 59. M. Bishop, in 'Multiple Estates in Late Anglo-Saxon Nottinghamshire', *TTS* 85, (1981), 39, suggests that Norwell was part of the 956 grant. The acquisition of Cropwell is not recorded.

(4). *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops* i, ed. J. Raine, London 1879, 353; *VCH Notts* ii, 153.

(5). *Notts. DB*, 5,11.

(6). *Notts. DB*, 5,12. The entry is a postscriptal addition to the section.

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It has already been noted that some multiple-manors still retained their form in the 1086 and, on rare occasions, even their pre-Conquest tenants survived (1). The same form is often apparent in the thirteenth century. Linby, for example, was divided into two manors in 1066 and the two parts persisted until 1250 (2). Some degree of continuity, however, may be more widespread. The king's thanes, the description of the land of whom is usually appended to the end of the county Domesday, are generally seen as the only English survivors of the Norman Conquest. But they were probably only the more prominent. They were evidently not of high status, but, nevertheless, held of the king and were probably ranked with sergeants (3). In Nottinghamshire many others who had held from the predecessors of the tenants-in-chief seem to have retained their lands until the survey as tenants of the Normans. Agemund, for example, was the TRE tenant of an estate in Clifton and held the same manor from the bishop of Lincoln in 1086 (4). As with the multiple-manor type of entry, depression of status seems unlikely in this context. Indeed, English thanes managed to defend their right to property without difficulty judging by the number of king's thanes recorded in the text (5). There are only eleven cases in the breves of the tenants-in-chief in which the same individual held in 1066 and 1086 (6). The large number of tenants in 1086 with native names, however, suggests that continuity of tenure was more extensive. As in much else, Domesday Book is rarely consistent in its record of sub-tenancies. The articles of the enquiry

(1). See above.

(2). *BF*, 287.

(3). *Notts. DB*, breve no. 30; *VCH Notts* i, 234-5.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 6,12.

(5). In the Lincolnshire *Clamores* there are several cases in which Englishmen successfully challenged the right of Norman tenants-in-chief to their land. See *Lincs. DB*, 70/5; 71/1; 72/52, 60.

(6). *Notts. DB*, 2,4; 5. 6,12. 9,11; 41; 128. 10,24; 43; 46; 55. 16,2.

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do not include any questions on this matter and the information seems to have come in an *ad hoc* fashion from seigneurial returns for the number of tenants recorded varies from fief to fief in a haphazard way (1). In the 328 manorial entries of the Nottinghamshire Domesday, there are only 146 named tenants. The number of individuals is probably considerably less - as with the TRE holders, it is not usually possible to determine whether the same name refers to one person or a number of people. At least 58 of them are English or Anglo-Scandinavian, that is 40% of the total. The proportion may in fact be higher since un-named vassals, clerics and men-at-arms have been counted as foreigners. Only eleven, some 20% of the total with native names, held in both 1066 and 1086, but this figure is comparable with the ten out of 41, 25%, of the king's thanes who held at both dates. Moreover, the diplomatic of the text suggests that there was a similarity in tenure. Almost without exception, those with English or Anglo-Scandinavian names are said to 'hold from', 'have under' or 'have from' the tenant-in-chief. The same formula is found in the land of the king's thanes (2). By way of contrast, those with continental names are usually said to be 'the men of' the Norman lord. The different formulas are clearly used with deliberation and purpose. It seems likely that the intention was to distinguish the native tenures. At present, little is known about the history of these estates in the twelfth century. As elsewhere, most of the land of the king's thanes had lost its independence by the thirteenth century. Lambley, for example, held of the king by Haldan in 1086, had been incorporated into the honour of Tickhill by 1242 (3).

17,8.

(1). See chapter 3.

(2). *VCH Notts* i, 230.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 30,5; *BF*, 1000.

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Nevertheless, it was not held by military service but rendered 46 pounds per annum. Some fees did survive, however, and were likewise held by non-military service. Ratcliffe, for example, was held of the king by Saewin in 1086 and Thomas de Headon held in 1226 in sergeancy (1). This type of tenure was common in Nottinghamshire in the thirteenth century and many of the fees seem to correspond to those held by Englishmen in 1086 of the Norman tenants-in-chief. Brinsley, for example, was held by Alric from William Peverel in 1086. In 1212, along with Trowell, held by Haldan of the king at the time of Domesday, it was held by a Geoffrey of the honour of Peverel in sergeancy (2). In no case, however, has it proved possible to establish continuity of tenure from 1086.

The high incidence of sergeancies in mediaeval Nottinghamshire, then, probably points to the survival of both pre-Conquest families and tenures into the later Middle Ages (3). Although the Domesday commissioners employed separate terminology to distinguish the lands of the native population from the fees of the newcomers, the novelty of the Normans' tenures, however, should probably not be exaggerated. Little is known about the genesis of knights fees, and specifically feudal services, in the area in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. But there are characteristics of the fees that are pre-Conquest in form. As we shall see (4), the value of a manor, a render paid to the overlord, was derived from an English organisation of estates. Since such dues were still paid in 1086, albeit often changed,

(1). *Notts. DB*, 30,20; *BF*, 373.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 10,31. 30,30; *BF*, 149; D. R. Roffe, 'Norman Tenants-in-Chief and their Pre-Conquest Predecessors in Nottinghamshire', *History in the Making*, ed. S. N. Mastoris, Nottingham 1985, 3-5.

(3). P. Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century*, Oxford 1908, 66-8.

(4). See chapter 5.

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there was evidently a degree of continuity of tenure in most fees. Whatever obligations, such as knight's service, were subsequently introduced, were in addition to existing terms of tenure. Thus, in both Derbyshire and Yorkshire many fees were only held for a life or term of lives in 1086 and enfeoffment in hereditary fee was only introduced in the early twelfth century (1). In origin feudal military service was probably essentially personal and was only later attached to the land itself (2).

(1). Roffe, *Derbyshire Domesday*, 13; D. Michelmore, M. L. Faull, S. Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: an Archaeological Survey to AD 1500* ii, Wakefield 1981, 251-8,

(2). Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England*, 28-34.

5. SOKE, TITLE, AND THE ORIGINS OF MANORS

There is little in the Nottinghamshire Domesday that illuminates the problem of the nature of tenure before the Conquest. It is implied in the text that the lord's hall, the natural focus of the estate, was the basic nexus through which seigneurial dues were collected, and that sokeland in some way belonged to it (1). Nevertheless, the manor was not the ultimate organising principle. One demesne could belong to another and groups of estates were probably commonplace before the Conquest (2). However, it is nowhere made absolutely clear what types of relationship were involved. In circuit 6 *soca* and *saca et soca*, here translated as 'soke', and 'sake and soke' (3), were the terms used to express almost all relationships, whether political, administrative or tenurial. Soke in itself does not seem to have had any specific meaning beyond the customary transfer of dues. It was used of the king's rights to the forfeitures of felons in the wapentake, on the one hand, to the render of a few pennies quit rent from a mill or wood, on the other (4). In between, there were all kinds of possible relationship that the term articulated, but the word soke itself did not define them. Thus, in Lincolnshire the North Riding of Lindsey could declare that the land of Eiric in Tealby hundred was in the soke of Count Alan's predecessor, but they did not know what type of soke he enjoyed (5). By way of contrast, sake and soke had a more specific application to the right to title and

(1). Thus, the value of the hall was that of the whole manor with its appurtenances (*TMS*, 32-4, 57-9).

(2). See chapter 4.

(3). 'Jurisdiction' and 'full jurisdiction' have been employed in *Notts. DB*, but, as will become clear in the following analysis, the phrases are positively misleading. See G. Black, D. R. Roffe, *The Nottinghamshire Domesday: a Reader's Guide*, Nottingham 1986, 24-5.

(4). *Lincs. DB*, 71/9; 69/20; C. A. Joy, *Sokeright*, unpublished thesis, Leeds University 1974. 70-77.

(5). *Lincs. DB*, 70/18.

the dues that that implied. The same categories are almost certainly relevant to Nottinghamshire. In common with Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, the Domesday account records the names of the holders of sake and soke, toll and team in the county, and, as we have already seen (1), one such immunist appears to have given title to Roger de Bully in his land in Hodsock and Blyth. However, since there is so little evidence of how such categories were articulated - soke appears *passim*, but sake and soke is found in only four entries (2) - the following discussion inevitably draws heavily upon material from outside the county. It is not the intention to review the whole subject of soke. That is completely beyond the scope of the present work (3). Nor is the status of sokemen and thanes examined in any detail. It is merely intended to examine the relationships which are apparent, and the terms which are used to express them, in the transfer of title to soke, manors, and groups of manors between 1066 and 1086.

In his seminal essay *Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw*, and various other works on the East Midlands, F. M. Stenton elegantly argued that the fundamental distinction of pre-Conquest tenure in the North lay between demesne and land in soke. In the one, the lord had full proprietorial rights and could dispose of his land at will. In the other, he only had certain limited interests and dues. The most important of these, and the basic characteristic of sokeland, was jurisdiction. The sokeman was personally free and could usually alienate his land without the consent of his lord, but he was obliged to make

(1). See chapter 4.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 9,113; 128. 20,6. 30,39.

(3). The most recent discussions can be found in Joy, *Sokeright*, C. Stephenson, 'Commendation and Related Problems in Domesday Book', *EHR* 59, (1944), and A. K. G. Kristensen, 'Danelaw Institutions and Danish Society in the Viking Age', *Medieval Scandinavia* 8, (1975), 74-85.

suit to his court (1). There can be no doubt that there was a very marked divide between the two concepts - land *in dominio* and *in soca* is contrasted throughout circuit 6. In terms of title to, and tenure of, estates, however, it is only of secondary importance. The distinction between *terra*, 'land', and soke was of far greater significance in the transfer of land from Englishman to Norman tenant-in-chief. The dichotomy is most clearly apparent in 'forinsec soke entries' (2). In Nottinghamshire, there are some sixteen sokeland entries in which the land was held by one tenant-in-chief and the soke by another (3). In Hodsock, for example, Roger de Bully, had two parcels of land which were soke of the king's manors of Mansfield and Bothamsall (4). The king had the jurisdiction, but the land itself was held by the tenant-in-chief who clearly derived dues, other than the profits of justice, from it (5). In general, this interest normally conferred full title, for sub-

(1). TMS, 1-55; *Lincs. DB*, xxvi-xxviii; *Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw*, London 1920; *The Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw*, Oxford 1969; 'The Danes in England', *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Stenton, Oxford 1970, 136-65.

(2). The term 'forinsec soke' is coined by analogy with *forinsec* service in a feudal context, but no identity of relationship is intended. *Forinseca soca* is used in mediaeval sources of part of the soke of Chesterfield in Derbyshire (*PR* 1197, 150). However, it probably refers to the land *outside* of the town. A foreign jury, used in this sense, existed at Gainsborough into the modern period (A. Stark, *The History and Antiquities of Gainsborough*, London 1843, 91, 532. See also Black, Roffe, *Nottinghamshire Domesday*, 19).

(3). *Notts. DB*, 9,47; 48; 118. 11,15-17; 21. 12,22. 13,5; 13. 17,13; 14. 30,26; 44; 49; 55.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 9,47; 48.

(5). High values are often associated with such entries. Thus, two bovates in Farnsfield were worth eight shillings to Walter de Aincourt in 1086, even though the soke belonged to the archbishop of York in Southwell (*Notts. DB*, 11, 17). Where a tenant-in-chief only had title to the soke, the land was normally enrolled with the land of the king's thanes. Canute, for example, held two bovates of land in Misson which were soke of Kirton (in Lindsey), and they are described with his manor in the same vill (*Notts. DB*, 30,44). Likewise, the two manors of Aelfric and Brown appear in the same *breve*, even though the soke belonged to William Peverel's manor of Wollaton (*Notts. DB*, 30,55).

sequently the soke relationship was forgotten, or relegated to a minor role, and the land said to be held in chief (1). The lords of Mansfield and Bothamsall, for example, do not seem to have retained any interests of significance in Hodsock (2). In the same way, both manors and berewicks could be held by one tenant-in-chief and the soke by another. Ralf de Mortemer held a manor in Harmston, Lincolnshire, in succession to Copsi, but Earl Hugh had the soke in Waddington (3). Indeed, throughout the *Clamores* of circuit 6, *terra* and *soca* are consistently contrasted. Nigel Fossard, for example, held five parcels of land in Yorkshire in succession to three named individuals, but the soke belonged to Conisborough which had been held by Earl Harold in 1066 (4). It is evident, then, that the possession of soke did not in itself confer title to land. It was merely a render, by no means the most important, which was due from an estate. Tenure was derived from a more basic interest in the land itself (5).

This interest lies at the heart of the relationship between the hall and sokeland and was evidently the basis of the identity of the manor. It is clear that the soke of many, if not most, manors was not held by the tenant recorded in Domesday Book. We have already seen that Roger de Bully's predecessor probably had sake and soke, toll and team over Hodsock and Blyth, although Wulfsi his tenant was in no way so privileged (6). Elsewhere the reservation of the liberties to an over-

(1). Apart from land attached to the large sokes, the relationship does not generally appear in the records at all. Soke, *qua* jurisdiction, was evidently a minor due.

(2). The land passed to Blyth Priory.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, 36/4.

(4). *Yorks. DB*, CW11-14; see also *Lincs. DB*, 69/11,14,29,35; 70/3,8,12,15,21,29; 71/6; 72/6,7,17,60; *Hunts. DB*, D4; 15-7; 29.

(5). Joy, *Sokeright*, 78-9.

(6). See chapter 4.

lord is more apparent. In Lincolnshire, for example, Fyach, Harold the Staller, and Azer son of Sualeua had sake and soke, toll and team (1), but they apparently held no land in demesne in the county for their names do not appear in the text. It seems likely, however, that their rights extended over the manors held by undertenants. Thus, Robert Malet claimed sokeland in Ingoldsby (Lincs.) against Gilbert de Ghent through his predecessor Azer (2). His three manors in Lincolnshire, however, were held by a certain Godwin (3). Only in his Nottinghamshire *breve* does Azer son of Sualeua appear (4), but it was to him that soke was reserved throughout his estates. Nevertheless, although the tenant of the manor did not always enjoy soke *qua* jurisdiction, there is evidence to suggest that the manor and its appurtenances still had a distinct identity as an integrated whole. First, the grant of the manorial *caput*, the lord's hall, usually implied a grant of the sokeland associated with it. Thus, in the Lincolnshire wapentake of Graffoe, St. Peter of Westminster claimed various parcels of sokeland against Baldwin the Fleming on the grounds that the abbey had been granted the chief manor by the king. The wapentake agreed on the fact of the grant, and the plea was allowed (5). In so far as the manor as economic unit was different from manor as soke centre (6), even forinsec sokeland was probably an integral part of an estate: Roger de Bully's land in Hodsock was evidently part of the manor he held in succession to Wulfsi in the same vill (7), while six bovates of land were soke of Saundby but belonged to

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- (1). *Lincs. DB*, p13.
 - (2). *Lincs. DB*, 72/35.
 - (3). *Lincs. DB*, 58/1-8.
 - (4). *Notts. DB*, 25,1.
 - (5). *Lincs. DB*, 72/27.
 - (6). See chapter 9.
 - (7). *Notts. DB*, 9,46-8.

the manor of Bole (1). Second, the form of many manors suggests an identity somewhat greater than the sum of the parts. The manor of Ruskington in Lincolnshire, for example, consisted of most of the wapentake of Flaxwell, and cannot have derived its form from the chance commendation of 197 sokemen (2). Finally, the manor was given a value for both 1066 and 1086. Almost without exception, these sums are highly conventional figures, being multiples of standard units of account like the Danish *ora* of sixteen pence (3). They clearly cannot be derived from the addition of separate dues rendered by a population free to dispose of its lands at will. The lord expected, and presumably received, a standard sum which implies an established and unilaterally inalienable right in the manorial appurtenances (4). Indeed, the sokeman's right to the free alienation of his land has probably been exaggerated. It is true that much evidence has been adduced to demonstrate his independence of seigneurial control (5), but the typical services that he rendered are very similar to those which were due from the precarious thanelands of the abbey of Ely in Cambridgeshire (6), and recent research has demonstrated that he was tenurially dependent in the twelfth and

(1). *Notts. DB*, 9,118.

(2). *TMS*, 43; *Lincs. DB*, 64/1-14.

(3). *TMS*, 32-4; D. R. Roffe, *The Derbyshire Domesday*, Darley Dale 1986, 22; Black, Roffe, *Nottinghamshire Domesday*, 28.

(4). Sokeland, nevertheless, was sometimes held by an individual other than the lord of the manor. Grim held two bovates of land in Watnall which were apparently soke of Siward's manor in the same vill (*Notts. DB*, 10,45). Just how common this was, cannot be determined. Subtenancies are often inadvertently noted in the *Clamores*, while there is no indication in the text that the land was not ordinary, untenanted, sokeland. Thus, Bertor, Summerd, Godric, and Siward held land in Mablethorpe (*Lincs.*) of Earl Harold's soke of Greetham, but the fact is only explicit because the bishop of Durham and William Blund made claims to the estate (*Lincs. DB*, 13/7; 69/15). The Domesday commissioners were clearly not interested in the phenomenon for it probably had no bearing on title.

(5). Stenton, *Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw*.

(6). Stephenson, 'Commendation', 297n., 308n.

thirteenth centuries (1). Tenure in socage, then, was clearly not as free as it seems (2). Although the sokeman was personally free, his manorial lord evidently had an interest in his land which was other than jurisdiction and which could not be unilaterally withdrawn.

It is unlikely, however, that the tenant of the manor named in Domesday Book had unequivocal rights to terra. As we have seen (3), the tenant-in-chief's title to an estate was derived from the overlord. Thus, Count Alan had title to land in Billingborough through his predecessor Ralf the Staller rather than the tenant Carle. His interest was evidently more than soke for, where a tenant-in-chief only had jurisdiction, the land was held by a second tenant-in-chief or was entered in the land of the king's thanes. Soke no more conferred right to manors than it did to land. William Peverel, for example, had the soke of two manors in Sutton (Passeys) which were held by Aelfric and Brown, but the holdings were not enrolled in his *breve* (4). Count Alan's estate, by way of contrast, was an integral part of his fee.

The overlord, then, appears to have had residual rights to land in the manors of his tenants which were other than soke. In some instances, his title may have been confined to terra. The king, for example, retained unspecified soke over the archbishop of York's manor of Laneham

(1). G. Platts, *Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire*, Lincoln 1985, 59-66.

(2). Some at least of the twelfth-century grants of free peasants, cited by Stenton in support of his thesis, were subsequently confirmed by their lords. See, for example, *Danelaw Charters*, nos 538, 540, and *Free Peasantry*, no. 118. Grant by charter is no reliable indication of freedom; see *Carte Nativorum: a Peterborough Abbey Cartulary of the Fourteenth Century*, eds C. N. L. Brooke, M. M. Postan, Northampton 1960.

(3). See chapter 4.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 10,35. 30,55. In 1198 the two manors are probably represented by the fee of Robert le Passeis which was held in chief by sergeancy (*BF*, 8).

until 1060×1065 (1). Many, probably most, overlords, however, held both land and soke, and their liberties were usually expressed by the term sake and soke. This privilege, with the root meaning of 'cause' and 'seeking' is generally held to be synonymous with soke, and normally refers to the rights of an individual to the profits of justice within his land (2). Thus, in both Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, the holders of sake and soke, toll and team (3), had the king's custom of two pennies, that is the king's share of the forfeitures of their men (4). In effect, they were entitled to their own courts, although the king retained soke that was normally reserved to the crown (5), and their estates were thereby withdrawn from the wapentake or, in hidated England, the hundred (6). Hence, in the Huntingdonshire *Clamores*, we read that King Edward gave Swineshead to Earl Siward with sake and soke, and so Earl Harold held it, except that (its men) gelded in the hundred and went with them against the enemy (7). Sake and soke, then, has

(1). F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, Manchester 1952, no. 119. For the identification of the estate, see below.

(2). *DBB*, 84; *Lincs. DB*, xxxvii.

(3). These privileges were probably no different in kind from sake and soke. Thus, in Lincoln all the lawmen had sake and soke over their lands, but Ulf son of Suertebrand had in addition toll and team (*Lincs. DB*, p3/1). It seems that the extended phrase includes the regalian dues of holding a markets and collecting tolls within a fee, liberties which the crown had tried to centralise in the borough and wapentake (*Lincs. DB*, xxix; see chapters 6 and 8).

(4). *Notts. DB*, S5; *Yorks. DB*, C36; *Lincs. DB*, xxxix.

(5). By the very nature of kingship, no one was outside of the king's soke. The so-called *trinoda necessitas* was always reserved (E. John, *Land Tenure in Early England*, Leicester 1960, 64, 73), and forfeitures were made to the king and earl. Hence, it is stated in the Nottinghamshire folios that 'If a thane who has sake and soke should forfeit his land, the king and the earl between them have half his land and his money; his lawful wife, with his lawful heirs, if any, have the other half' (*Notts. DB*, S4). Such forfeitures were probably made in the wapentake for, although his land might be withdrawn, the lord himself was still obliged to pay suit on his own behalf. See chapters 6 and 8.

(6). See chapter 6.

(7). *Hunts. DB*, D14.

specific legal referents. The connotations of the liberty, however, were such that the term was used in a wider context which contrasts the idea with simple soke. In excluding the king, the phrase naturally lent itself to the expression of full rights over a property which preclude all other interests and dispute. Guy de Craon, for example, claimed six bovates of land in Gosberton in the Lincolnshire wapentake of Kirton which had been held by his predecessor Adestan, but he was unsuccessful because Count Alan's predecessor had had sake and soke over it (1). Throughout the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire *Clamores*, sake and soke is usually employed in this extended sense, for, with only two possible exceptions (2), it is carefully distinguished from the more nebulous concept of soke. It is stated by the wapentake of Calcewath in Lincolnshire, for example, that 'In Huttoft hundred Alfred claims two bovates of land. And the men of the Riding say that he ought to have one with sake and soke: the other is his in like wise, but Earl Hugh has the

(1). *Lincs. DB*, 12/76; 73/5.

(2). *Lincs. DB*, 69/28; 71/14. In both cases, a Norman tenant-in-chief merely claimed soke over land, even though his predecessor had enjoyed sake and soke in the estate. It was on the basis of these two solitary entries that Stenton postulated the identity of the terms sake and soke, and soke (*Lincs. DB*, xxxvii). As they stand, both are highly exceptional and cannot be easily reconciled with the usage found throughout the rest of circuit 6. However, it may be supposed that there was some unrecorded transaction which conferred rights to land between 1066 and 1086, or that the scribe was simply in error. Given the similarity of the terms, and the fact that the compiler must have had far more information in front of him concerning the liberties than appears in the text, confusion would not be surprising. Indeed, it can sometimes be directly observed. In a Lincolnshire *Clamores* entry relating to Osbournby, the curious term *soca et soca* appears (*Lincs. DB*, 72/53). This is clearly nonsense, and the editors have emended the text to *saca et soca*. However, it is clearly *soca* alone which is intended for the liberty entitled Ralf Pagenel to a horse from the land when he went to war. Such rights are always expressed in terms of soke (see, for example, *Lincs. DB*, 26/45). Likewise, the statement that Countess Godiva had sake and soke over Newark Wapentake is not only illogical, but also patently untrue since the Abbey of Peterborough had the same liberties in Collingham within the same wapentake (*Notts. DB*, S5; see chapter 6).

soke in Greetham' (1). The one expresses the unequivocal tenure of land and all rights over it, while the other refers to the mere receipt of soke dues.

Since sake and soke expressed such unequivocal rights, it is not surprising that it was the ultimate datum of legal title in 1086. Tenure was frequently established by reference to it where there was a dispute. Thus, Gilbert de Ghent held a manor in succession to Tonna in Willoughby (-in-the-Marsh) (Lincs.), with berewicks in Mumby, Hasthorpe, Sloothby, and Willoughby, and soke in Welton and Boothby. Apart from the relatively large number of berewicks, there is little remarkable about the account of the estate except for a comment that the three bovates of inland in Willoughby were held with sake and soke (2). By implication, this somewhat anomalous statement suggests that Tonna, the tenant of the estate (3), did not possess the same liberties in the rest of the manor and, indeed, it appears that they were enjoyed by Gilbert's predecessor, Ulf Fenisc. Thus, Count Alan claimed the berewick of Mumby, but the jury declared that Gilbert's predecessor had held it with sake and soke (4). Although in the possession of Tonna in 1066, the tenant-in-chief had undisputed right to the land and soke of the berewick in 1086 because Ulf had enjoyed sake and soke over it before the Conquest (5).

(1). *Lincs. DB*, 69/16.

(2). *Lincs. DB*, 24/54-60.

(3). Tonna was also a tenant of Ulf Fenisc, Gilbert de Ghent's predecessor, in Baumber and Edlington (*Lincs. DB*, 24/16,20; 69/23,33). Although clearly an undertenant, he must have been of some considerable importance for he held land in at least nine counties before the Conquest. The power and wealth of 'mesne' tenancies were probably not an exclusively Anglo-Norman phenomenon.

(4). *Lincs. DB*, 69/18.

(5). Such explicit examples are rare, but see *Lincs. DB*, 38/3-7. Robert the Steward held a manor in Scrivelsby, with berewicks in Coningsby and Wilksby, and soke in Mareham (-upon-the-Hill). It had been held by Siward in 1066, who also had nine acres of arable and eight acres of

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Since the overlord had full rights over extended groups of estates, it is evident that, as within the manor, dues could not be unilaterally withdrawn by the tenant. The genesis of many manors, then, was clearly related to seigneurial initiative. Vestiges of the process can be identified in Domesday Book. It is often clear that large dispersed sokes, a common feature of the tenorial landscape of the North (1), were formerly of greater extent, for their structure is reflected in the constitution of surrounding estates. The appurtenances of the manor of Laxton, for example, were situated in the same villas as the sokeland of the king's estate of Grimston (2) which was associated with the manor of Mansfield (figure 13). The two estates had clearly constituted a single unit at an earlier period, and it seems likely that Toki son of Outi's liberties of sake and soke, toll and team in Laxton were ultimately derived from the larger whole (3). Some groups of manors may have been related to sokes in the same way. The soke of Oswaldbeck extended into fifteen villas in the north of Nottinghamshire, and Roger de Bully held manors in seven of them (figure 10). His estates almost certainly formed an extended group - five are multiple manor entries, while the incidental notice of sake and soke in Fenton and Clarborough implies that those dues were normally reserved to an overlord (4) - and were

woodland in (Wood) Enderby with sake and soke. This parcel of land was apparently part of the estate, but the exceptional notice of sake and soke suggests that Siward was not so privileged in the rest of the manor. Indeed, Robert claimed title to soke in Coningsby through Achi, his predecessor, who held his estates with sake and soke, toll and team (*Lincs. DB*, p13; 69/34).

(1). For the most recent discussion of the institution, see W. E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, London 1979, 50-85.

(2). Grimston is at one point called a berewick of Mansfield, but in a duplicate entry is termed a manor (*Notts. DB*, 1,17; 27). The anomaly is discussed in chapter 9.

(3). *Notts. DB*, S5. 12,1-10.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 112; 127. Sparrowhawk held his land with sake and soke, but without a hall.

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Figure 13: the interlocking estates of Grimston and Laxton.

MANSFIELD	LAXTON
1. Warsop	
2. Clown	
3. Carburton	
4. Clumber	
5. Budby	
6. Thoresby	
7. Scofton	
8. Perlethorpe	
9. Rayton	
10. Edwinstowe	
11. Grimston	
12. Eakring	4. Eakring
13. Maplebeck	
14. Besthorpe	8. Besthorpe
15. Carlton(-on-Trent)	9. Carlton(-on-Trent)
16. Kirton	1. Kirton
17. Willoughby	2. Willoughby
18. Walesby	3. Walesby
19. Ompton	5. Ompton
20. Carlton(-in-Lindrick)	
	6. Knapthorpe
	7. Caunton

NOTE: the numbers represent the order in which the place-names occur in Domesday Book. Knapthorpe and Caunton appear in the soke of Laxton in the position of Maplebeck. All three vills are adjacent to each other and may formerly have constituted a single element in the estate of Mansfield.

evidently related to the soke. It would appear that a single estate had been divided element by element to form two separate interests (1). A memory of the process survived as late as 1275 for a jury declared that all the fees in the wapentake of Oswaldbeck had formerly belonged to the soke (2). Since the form of the whole was retained in the parts, the division must clearly have been made by the lord. Indeed, a writ of 1060×1065 issued by Edward the Confessor, the lord of Oswaldbeck, probably effected the final removal of the archbishop of York's manor of Laneham from the soke (3). It seems likely that division could not be made without the possession of sake and soke, and the lord's interest in land was clearly passed on to the new lord (4).

(1). Although seemingly attached to the manor of Mansfield, the soke of Oswaldbeck probably constituted a separate royal manor in 1086. Its Domesday form may merely reflect its management in the late eleventh century as one of a groups of royal estate which were farmed by a single reeve. The management of the king's estates in *Hamenstan Wapentake* in Derbyshire is a direct parallel (*Derbys. DB*, 1,15; 29). See chapter 9.

(2). *RH* ii, 25. Reference is also made to the soke of Bassettlaw.

(3). Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, no. 119. Edward the Confessor quit all the land of the archbishop of York in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire which had belonged to the king's soke. Since Southwell and Sutton were held by book (*ECNE*, 111-2), it seems likely that the archbishop's estates in Oswaldbeck are, *inter alia*, referred to. For the nature of the soke in this context, see chapter 8.

(4). The process can be directly observed in the Lincolnshire Domesday. The estate of Godwin, which had the same structure as the soke of Bolingbroke, was divided between his sons Siwate, Alnod, Fenchel, and Aschil (*Lincs. DB*, 69/38; 70/30). Siwate 'was the king's man', and his land passed to Eudo son of Spirewic with sake and soke. The bishop of Durham succeeded to the rest, likewise with sake and soke. Godwin almost certainly held the same liberties, although the fact is not explicit in the text, and it seems likely that the division of the estate in such a way that it passed to two Norman tenants-in-chief was only possible because of these privileges. There was probably some arrangement like the division of Siwate's estate in the wapentake of Horncastle: his demesne land was shared by his three sons Harold, Godevert, and Alfric, but the soke was only divided between two of them. Subsequently, the estate passed to two tenants-in-chief (*Lincs. DB*, 3/10; 29/1; 69/20-1). By way of contrast, the four manors of Ingemund and his brothers were probably not held with sake and soke - enrolled in one entry, they were presumably the right of an overlord (see chapter 4) - and therefore all went to Count Alan (*Lincs. DB*, 12/31; 70/26).

The process is ultimately one of booking which, in origin and theory, is a royal prerogative (1). The tenure of sake and soke - the right to land removed from the king's soke - is a natural consequence and corollary. The term is thus indicative of bookland and, as such, its identification with title is therefore comprehensible (2). It expresses the delegation of regalian interests which were organised in large sokes, shires, lathes, or multiple estates (3), to an individual. The king was thereby excluded from the property, under certain conditions, and the lord was free to dispose of it as he saw fit (4). The interests alienated may have included parcels of demesne, the soil of which had belonged to the king. Most, however, were tributes of various kinds. First, there was jurisdiction. The lord had the right to all the profits of justice, including forfeitures, that arose from the pleas of his land and men, except those reserved to the crown (5). Second, the lord enjoyed labour dues. Those owed by the villeins were extensive and must have provided much of the manpower for the lord's demesne (6). But the sokemen also rendered labour services. The foundation charter of Blyth, which is almost contemporary with Domesday Book, suggests that

(1). John, *Early Land Tenure*, 42-3. If tenure by book conferred something akin to 'freehold', as John suggests, then a lord could presumably transfer his interests without further sanction. However, a grantee probably felt it in his interest to obtain his own book to guard against the claims of the grantor's family. Exchanges of land between predecessors and tenants-in-chief were apparently an official matter. See, for example, *Lincs. DB*, 72/13, 19.

(2). *DBB*, 282.

(3). Various terms are used, but the type of estate is found throughout the country. See J. E. A. Jolliffe, 'A Survey of Fiscal Tenements', *ECHR*, 1st ser. 6, (1935-6), 157-71; Jolliffe, 'Northumbrian Institutions', *EHR* 41, (1926), 1-42; G. R. J. Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*, ed. P. H. Sawyer, London 1976, 15-40; Kapelle, *Norman Conquest of the North*, 50-86. See also chapter 9.

(4). See above.

(5). *TMS*, 21-2.

(6). *TMS*, 22-8.

they included ploughing, carriage service, reaping, mowing, hay-making, and repair of the local mill (1). The charter gives no information on the amount of service owed, but the burden may have been heavier than normal for in 1086 the sokeland of Blyth was occupied by four villeins and four bordars (2). However, it is clear from the c.1125 survey of the estates of Peterborough Abbey and the early twelfth-century foundation charter of Revesby Abbey in Lincolnshire, that these services were of the same kind as those due from sokeland (3). Day work is but rarely found, and most tenants only had to perform seasonal boon works (4). Other sources suggest that services such as repair of the lord's hall were also due (5). Third, there was a financial tribute and/or a render in kind. This due was usually expressed as *consuetudines*, customs, and was of considerable value (6). In the soke of Oswaldbeck it seems to have accounted for all the monetary issues of the land, for the 20 shillings in customs that 22 sokemen in Leverton rendered in 1066 seem to represent the value that is appended to all the other parcels of land in the soke (7). In origin, the payment was almost certainly a commuted food rent or farm. A probably authentic late tenth- or early eleventh-century grant of land to Ramsey Abbey in Hickling and Kinoulton

(1). *TMS*, 22-4, 92-4.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 9,49.

(3). *Chronicon Petroburgense*, ed. T. Stapleton, London 1849, 157-83; *Mon. Ang.* v, 434; *TMS*, 25-7.

(4). Sokemen of the abbot of Peterborough's manor of Scotter in Lincolnshire performed day work (*Chronicon*, 164-5). This, however, was not the norm in the abbey's estates. In Derbyshire, sokemen, and tenants of similar status, are consistently omitted from Domesday Book (Roffe, *Derbyshire Domesday*, 18-9), but their services, as recorded in the early twelfth-century surveys of the estates of Burton Abbey, are almost identical with those of the more normal sokemen (C. G. O. Bridgeman, 'The Burton Abbey Twelfth-Century Surveys', *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, William Salt Archaeological Society 1916, 212-47).

(5). Jolliffe, 'Northumbrian Institutions', 6.

(6). *TMS*, 35-7.

(7). *Notts. DB*, 1,32; *TMS*, 35-7.

specifies a heavy render in kind, but at the time of Domesday there is no suggestion of anything other than a money rent (1). Finally, some sort of military service may have been expected from sokeland (2). The evidence, however, is far from unambiguous. Alsi and Adestan held a manor in Swaton, but Alfric their brother had soke over them in Haceby only in the king's service (3). Soke in this context may have been used in a non-specific sense, for it probably only refers to an arrangement between co-parceners to acquit their tenement of a personal duty. Seemingly less equivocal is the reference to soke of Offram's manor of Keisby which rendered nothing, but used to help in the king's host (*adiuabat in exercitu regis*) on land and at sea (4). Adelid, the tenant, however, was a woman, and it is therefore difficult to understand how the service was acquitted.

Sake and soke seems to have expressed rights to all of these services and exactions. Not all, however, were rendered to the same hall for the lord could give certain tributary dues to his men. It is probably this process that resulted in the formation of individual manors held by subordinate tenants within the lordship of a superior. It is clear from explicit notice and the basic arrangement of the Domesday text that sokeland belonged to the tenant's manorial hall, but he did not necessarily have the soke, *qua* jurisdiction, of the land. As we have seen, that was frequently, probably always, vested in the overlord. Thus, the marginal S and *soca* of this type of entry clearly does not imply that the *caput* had the profits of justice. The device merely indicates that the land was of the type which rendered dues. A simple

(1). *ECNE*, 112-3; *TMS*, 37-8.

(2). *TMS*, 28-30.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, 26/45; 51/12.

(4). *Lincs. DB*, 57/43.

generic contrast with demesne is all that is intended. It is evident, then, that only part of the tributary dues were diverted to the tenant - this almost certainly included the labour dues and probably also the customs or farm, the essential characteristics of *terra*. Such services, however, were but the delegated right of the overlord, and the tenant rendered a farm for the privilege of enjoying them. The value of the manor as recorded in Domesday Book was almost certainly the sum he paid. As we have seen, the figure is glossed as *consuetudines* in one entry in the Nottinghamshire folios, and the value of one estate is frequently said to belong to another in circuit 6 (1). In Derbyshire, indeed, the value of the manor of Osmaston was rendered to both the king and Henry de Ferrers, in the proportion of two to one, just like any other royal farm which was shared between the king and the earl (2). The Domesday manor in its essentials was evidently not an economic unit. It was merely a convenient device for the interception of delegated tributary dues. Nevertheless, demesne, which was tilled by a villein population, was frequently attached to it. This was the nucleus from which economic manorialisation could grow (3).

The process outlined above explains the origins of many manors and groups of manors in Nottinghamshire. The widespread distribution of large sokes and interlocking estates structures (4) suggests that it was of common occurrence. It is not the only possible mechanism of estate formation, however. Professor Sawyer has argued that the distribution of some Danish place-names with a personal name as a first element in the

(1). See above and chapter 4.

(2). *Derbys. DB*, 6,88. Henry was apparently not the earl at this time, but he succeeded to many of the pre-Conquest comital estates and interests (Roffe, *Derbyshire Domesday*, 12).

(3). See chapter 9.

(4). See chapters 8 and 9.

vicinity of large estate centres suggests that some independent manors in the East Midlands owe their existence to the piecemeal disintegration of extensive sokes under the impact of Danish colonisation (1). Further, as attractive as the idea may be, we have no grounds for assuming that the whole of Nottinghamshire, or the North come to that, was originally composed of a small number of multiple estates (2). In densely wooded areas there is at least the distinct possibility that many settlements and estates owe their existence to more or less independent assarting of forest and waste. Some of the small manors of Nottinghamshire may well have been shaped by such a process. This does not in itself imply a great deal of freedom, such as is found in the mediaeval fenlands of eastern England (3). But it may suggest a sizeable class of small independent lords who were free to commend themselves to whomsoever they wished. A fusion model of estate development is therefore not precluded by the existence of a mechanism of fission. The process may, indeed, be responsible for the formation of some pre-Conquest groups of manors. As is evident from many pre-Conquest charters and wills in which more than one estate was granted, once land was booked, it could be divided or amalgamated with other estates at will. In Scarsdale Wapentake in Derbyshire, for example, Wulfric Spot bequeathed a large number of small discrete estates to Morcar in 1002-1004, and in 1066 they appear to have

(1). P. H. Sawyer, 'Some Sources for the History of Viking Northumbria', *Viking Age York*, ed. R. A. Hall, London 1978, 7. It may be doubted, however, that all the cases that he cites are in fact piecemeal. Personal names attached to settlement elements may imply some kind of unprecedented lordship over a parcel of land. However, the extensive evidence for ordered division suggests that there was still an overlord who retained rights in the new estate.

(2). M. W. Bishop, 'Multiple Estates in Late Anglo-Saxon Nottinghamshire', *TTS* 85, (1981), 42-7; Jolliffe, 'Fiscal Tenements' 157-71.

(3). H. E. Hallam, *Settlement and Society: a Study of the Early Agrarian History of South Lincolnshire*, Cambridge 1965, 200-5.

formed a dispersed group of manors held by Leofnoth, the predecessor of Ralf son of Hubert (1). The individual elements of an extended group in 1066, then, may have come into being in completely different tenurial contexts. Any assessment of the relative importance of fission and fusion in the genesis of eleventh-century estates must, however, await further research on settlement patterns and estate structures.

Regardless of the origins of his estates, the tenant-in-chief's title to his land in 1086 was founded upon a well established legal theory. It was derived from a predecessor who generally held his estates and their appurtenances by book. The term sake and soke, with its connotations of full rights, effectively expresses the widespread powers which he enjoyed in his lands. It is not surprising, then, that it was the datum of title - the proven tenure of the franchise dispelled all counter claims - and excluded the king and his officers from the-day-to-day running of the estate. The list of immunists appended to the Nottinghamshire Domesday, although demonstrably incomplete (2), therefore provides something of a guide to the predecessors of the Norman tenants-in-chief (3). Nevertheless, this was probably not its primary purpose. As part of the shire customal, as in similar lists in the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire folios (4), it was clearly also intended to

(1). *ECNE*, 109; *Derbys. DB*, 10,1-10; Roffe, *Derbyshire Domesday*, 12.

(2). There are four instances where a pre-Conquest lord is said to have sake and soke, but does not appear in the list (*Notts. DB*, 9,113; 128. 20,6. 30,39). Morcar, probably the earl of Mercia, had toll in Gunthorpe, although, again, his liberties are not apparent from the shire customs. Many important lords were seemingly disenfranchised in the same way. In fact, however, the Domesday scribes were probably not particularly interested in the information. It only appears in the Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire folios, and appears to have been enrolled without great care (*Lincs.' DB*, xxxix). Many lords, then, were probably omitted.

(3). *Notts. DB*, S5.

(4). *Lincs. DB*, p13; *Yorks. DB*, C36.

provide a record of royal dues. The holder of bookland had duties, such as military service, as well as privileges, and his continued tenure depended upon successful performance (1). If he failed, he forfeited his land directly to the king and the earl, although in Nottinghamshire his wife and heirs were entitled to a moiety (2). The list is evidently a record of the king's rights to such forfeitures rather than a memorandum of liberties *per se* (3). In the next chapter, we shall examine how these dues relate to the common system of royal administration and local government in the shire.

(1). R. Abels, 'Bookland and Fyrd Service in Late Saxon England', *Anglo-Norman Studies VII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1984*, ed. R. A. Brown, Woodbridge 1985, 1-15.

(2). *Notts. DB*, S4.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, xxxix. The information is probably derived from a survey of royal lands and rights alone (see chapter 3), and was probably enrolled without very much purpose.

6. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In common with the rest of the Northern Danelaw, Nottinghamshire had a distinctive form of local government to which all non-royal estates were subject. The basic unit of organisation and assessment was the carucate. In practice, it was a conventional rating, but its name, the Latin form of the Anglo-Danish *plogsland*, ploughland, indicates that, in theory at least, it was related to arable land and the plough (1). As a unit of assessment, it therefore differed from the hide of southern and western England which, by way of contrast, was notionally related to the total resources - arable, pasture, and woodland - required by one family (2). Like the hide, however, the carucate was not just the assessment for the collection of Danegeld. It was the basic unit for all manner of public and communal services (3). The carucation of the county, then, is of vital importance to an understanding of the fabric of administration in the shire.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to reconstruct the system in Nottinghamshire in any great detail for there are a number of deficiencies in the data. First, unlike in Lincolnshire and *Roteland*, no records of carucate quotas for each wapentake have survived to guide the student through the vaguaries of the Domesday text (4), and twelfth-

(1). *Lincs. DB*, x.

(2). *ASE*, 279.

(3). D. R. Roffe, 'The Lincolnshire Hundred', *Landscape History* 3, (1981), 30-3.

(4). *Lincs. DB*, 237-60; BL Harl. MSS 742, Spalding Priory Register, f.244b; *Rutland DB*, R1-3. Only the *Roteland* figures are contemporary with Domesday Book (see chapter 3). The quotas for Lindsey alone survive in the Lindsey Survey of c.1115, but the burden of taxation had not change since 1066 (Roffe, 'Lincolnshire Hundred', 34). The Spalding Register, a fourteenth-century source, records that there were eleven hundreds in the Lincolnshire wapentake of Skirbeck. The significance of this reference is not clear for Domesday Book suggests that there were only seven hundreds in 1066. However, it may represent an authentic tradition, for, if the figure is accepted, it would bring the total geld

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century geld surveys from which they can be reconstructed are not extant (1). Second, in common with the rest of Domesday Book, the Nottinghamshire folios probably contain many errors, and no where is this more apparent than in the record of assessment, especially where fractions are involved. A comparison of the figures of the Lincolnshire Domesday with those of the c.1115 Lindsey Survey reveals that the problem is widespread and suggests that the extreme brevity of the text is probably responsible (2). Thus, the difference between a third part and three parts, that is, one third and three quarters, is often only indicated by a slightly different contraction mark (3). Many such errors may be suspected from the impossibly clumsy fractions that sometimes emerge from the Nottinghamshire villar totals (4). Third, there are probably many omissions in the account of the county. Some, indeed, can be identified from the text itself: sokeland of Bathley and Colston (Basset) is described in two breves, but there is apparently no account of the manorial *capita* to which it belonged (5). If not subsumed in other entries (6), they were probably just forgotten (7). Other omissions

quota for the division of Holland to 25 hundreds, which is exactly half of the standard quota for each of the ridings of Lindsey.

(1). See, for example, the Leicester Survey (C. F. Slade, *The Leicestershire Survey c.1130*, Leicester 1956).

(2). Lincoln Archives Office, Longley Deposit, 7.

(3). See, for example, *Notts. DB*, 9,72. 12,16.

(4). See, for example, Basingfield (*Notts. DB*, 9,81. 10,13).

(5). *Notts. DB*, 24,3. 27,2;3.

(6). Colston may have been included in the account of Granby for Wiverton and Salterford, soke and inland of the former, are enrolled under the description of the latter. However, no trace of Osbern son of Richard's fee has been found in Granby in the later Middle Ages, and it is therefore possible that the identifying name of his Domesday manor is that of a unit of local government and actually refers to Colston.

(7). Omissions are always difficult to demonstrate since many estates and settlements are hidden by the procedures of the enquiry rather than simply omitted (D. R. Roffe, 'Domesday Book and the Local Historian', *The Nottinghamshire Historian* 37, (1986), 3-5). Notable examples, however, are the monasteries of Crowland, Ramsey, and Thorney, although oversight on the part of the commissioners is unlikely to be an

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may remain, but they are undetectable since no early surveys can be used to identify them. Finally, duplication of material introduces inaccuracies which, again, are not always apparent. It often arises in the description of land in which two tenants-in-chief had an interest. Thus, it is likely that all forinsec soke entries in the Nottinghamshire text are duplicated in one way or another, for each tenant-in-chief made a return of his interest in the land (1). But duplication can also be a function of procedure. The compiler of the text may have had recourse to two different sources, and failed to recognise that they referred to the same land, or inadvertently used the same source twice. Thus, a single parcel of land in Grimston appears three times in the king's breve (2). The first reference is probably directly derived from an early geographically arranged source, while the second and third, a compound entry and a more detailed account of the same land, were probably taken from estate management records (3). Elsewhere all such errors and inconsistencies can be identified by reference to standard units of local government. In Lincolnshire, for example, the universal incidence of the twelve-carucate hundred is a useful datum for checking aberrant statistics (4). But in Nottinghamshire, the same device cannot be employed. The low rate of carucation results in very large hundreds, and

explanation for all the lands of the three foundations are enrolled. The especial liberties of some institutions and estates may have been responsible for their omission.

(1). See chapter 3. Since the commissioners worked from seigneurial returns as well as geld list, the same parcel of land could easily be enrolled in separate breves. Forinsec entries are particularly prone to duplication in this way. Each tenant-in-chief returned an account of his interest in a tenement, and thus land in *x* is enrolled in breve *A* because its soke belonged to *A*'s manor in *y*. But it is also entered in breve *B* because *B* actually held the land.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 1,17; 24; 27.

(3). See chapter 2. Duplication of material in the same breve may usually indicate the use of two different documents.

(4). Roffe, 'Lincolnshire Hundred', 30.

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it is usually impossible to determine which entries are in the same hundred.

However, if the whole system cannot be reconstructed, certain characteristics are apparent. In the first place, it is clear that a three carucate unit was common in the distribution of the burden of taxation (1). This is most obvious where the estate was conterminous with the vill. In the 95 cases in the Nottinghamshire folios, 69 of the holdings are assessed at three carucates or a fraction, either a half or a third, or a multiple, of the same unit (2). The phenomenon, however, is common in many other villis: the assessment of individual estates apparently exhibits no system, but the total is derived from the same unit. In Papplewick, for example, there are two holdings assessed at five bovates, and two carucates and three bovates, a total of three carucates (3). Elsewhere settlements are combined to make up a three-carucate unit. Thus, Cossall, consisting of two estates with a total assessment of one and a half carucates, and Strelley, encompassing three manors likewise with an assessment of one and a half carucates, probably constituted a single unit, again with a combined total of three carucates to the geld (4). The unit is found throughout the county with the exception of the wapentake of Thurgarton. There a curious nine-bovate unit is found in twelve of the 30 villis of the division (5). No system is apparent in the remaining 18 settlements. It has not proved

(1). *VCH Notts* i, 209.

(2). The phenomenon is even more noticeable in Derbyshire where most of the estates are conterminous with villis or settlements. Where estate structure is relatively simple, that is, where there is little fragmentation, we might expect to observe the basic characteristics of carucation.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 10,21. 30,29.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 10,36. 13,12. 10,27-28. 30,31; *VCH Notts* i, 210-11.

(5). *VCH Notts* i, 209-10.

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possible to reconstruct a hundred in this wapentake (1), and it is therefore not clear how these assessments were combined. It is possible, however, that the unit represents a 25% reduction of the standard villar quota - that is nine bovates represents one and a half carucates, two carucates and two bovates, three carucates, etc. But this is probably unlikely for there is no sign of a reduction in the assessment of Alstoe Wapentake in Roteland which gelded with Thurgarton (2), and the procedure is probably unprecedented in the North (3). Alternatively, the unit may attest to the survival of a pre-carucation unit. In 956 Southwell was assessed at twenty *manes*, and its Domesday assessment of twenty two and a half carucates is precisely twenty nine-bovate units (4). In some parts of the East Midlands, however, *manes* and *manentes* seem to represent villas rather than hides, and it is not clear whether the two terms had the same meaning in Nottinghamshire (5). Neither explanation is entirely satisfactory, but, regardless of origins, the phenomenon attests to the local distribution of assessment and emphasises the fact that, at this level *per se*, there was no standard system (6). It is probably unlikely, then, that the three-carucate unit as such

(1). *Notts. DB*, 18,6n suggests one, but the construct is not convincing. See chapter 3.

(2). *Rutland DB*, R1.

(3). In Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, variations in the rate of taxation were effected by levying different sums of money on either the carucate or, more likely, the hundred (Roffe, 'Lincolnshire Hundred', 34; W. E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, London 1979, 97). The method is directly comparable to the mode of geld collection in East Anglia based upon the leet (D. C. Douglas, *The Social Structure of Mediaeval East Anglia*, Oxford 1927, 193-202).

(4). *ECNE*, 111; P. Lyth, 'The Southwell Charter of 956 AD: an Exploration of its Boundaries', *TTS* 86, (1982), 60.

(5). The sixty Domesday villas of Hamenstan Wapentake in Derbyshire, for example, seem to be represented by the 60 *manentes* of a charter of 926 (*ECNE*, 103-4; D. R. Roffe, *The Derbyshire Domesday*, Darley Dale 1986, 26-7).

(6). *VCH Notts* i, 210.

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functioned as a vill in the legal sense. It is true that there must have been some organisation of communities at this level, but there is no evidence that the unit was represented at the enquiry, and, from the five examples that we have, it does not seem to be a subdivision of the hundred. As in *Roteland*, there is no consistent pattern. Vestiges of a three-carucate structure can be detected in the two Broxtow hundreds and in Alstoe. The wapentake of Martinsley, however, appears to have been divided into three vills of four carucates each (1). Moreover, there is no obviously consistent relationship between the unit and the structure of local government in the later Middle Ages. With but few exceptions, the composition of the vills of the early fourteenth-century *Nomina Villarum* bears no relationship to patterns of carucation (2). As elsewhere, the system of local government probably underwent considerable changes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (3).

It is not possible, then, to examine the nature of any local government unit at the level of the community. It was either not represented in the Domesday enquiry, or has left no trace in the text. More is known about the hundred. It was probably this institution which provided the basic form and structure of the survey (4), and its role

(1). See figures 6 and 8.

(2). *FA* v, 103-11. Certain characteristics may, however, have survived. Probably as in 1086 (see chapter 3), Bole was divided between two vills in 1315. But generally, the fabric of local government changed completely.

(3). Roffe, 'The Lincolnshire Hundred', 36. In Lincolnshire there are indications that the twelve-carucate hundred, in its essentials a communal institution, was already becoming subject to the lord's court by the time of Domesday. It was only in the relatively free society of the fenland of Holland that pre-Conquest structures survived into the High Middle Ages. In Derbyshire both vills and wapentakes were continually remodelled with the progressive extension of seigneurial liberties, notably the assumption of rights to view of frankpledge (D. R. Roffe, 'The Origins of Derbyshire', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, forthcoming 1986).

(4). See chapter 3.

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suggests that it played an important part in the fabric of county administration. As we have seen, the Danelaw hundred was assessed at twelve carucates. The land of the king, however, was not incorporated into the system. Thus, in Farnsfield, Walter de Aincurt had two bovates of land. One was in the soke of Southwell, and the other in the soke of the king, but it nevertheless belonged to the hundred of Southwell (1). It was clearly considered exceptional that the king's land was within a hundred in this way, and it was therefore felt necessary to record the fact. This characteristic of the hundred is also found in Lincolnshire. The Lindsey Survey preserves the record of wapentake quotas for the whole of the north of the county (2). Each of the three ridings of the division is assessed at almost exactly 50 hundreds, and the figures are evidently not coincidental, nor *ad hoc*, for two wapentakes, geographically in the South Riding, are accounted in the North to bring the assessment of the three ridings into parity (3). The pattern clearly reflects basic administrative arrangements, but the land of the king, apart from a few small escheats, is not included in the figures. The hundred was otherwise universal in *Roteland*, Lincolnshire, and Derbyshire (4), and there is evidence that it was so in Nottinghamshire (5).

The functions of the hundred were many and varied, but it was essentially a 'public' institution. Apart from the land of the king, no

(1). *Notts. DB*, 11,17.

(2). *Lincs. DB*, 237-60.

(3). Roffe, 'Lincolnshire Hundred', 34.

(4). In Derbyshire the separate administration of the *terra regis* is reflected in the structure of vills in the later Middle Ages. Ancient demesne is always situated in its own vill in the fourteenth century, and thus the same settlement is divided between two units of local government when both the king and a tenant-in-chief held land within it (Roffe, 'Origins of Derbyshire').

(5). See chapter 3.

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estate was outside of its tale, and it seems to have had little regard for the intricacies of estate structure (1). As we have seen (2), this was of the essence of the institution since it was a function of a carucation imposed upon the counties of the Northern Danelaw from above. Unlike the jurisdiction associated with the soke in the eleventh century, it was thus independent of tenure. It is true that in 1086 the Lincolnshire hundreds of Freiston, Normanton, and Willoughby belonged to the manor of Caythorpe (3), but this was the exception for manor and hundred were rarely conterminous. In the majority of cases, each encompassed elements of tenurially discrete estates and, like the wapentake, had not been appropriated to any particular individual interest (4). It was, in fact, an important element in the royal, in the sense of public, administration of the shire. It was the basic unit of taxation, and probably also had a military role. But it also functioned as a communal organisation - it could witness charters and was a party to decisions which affected the whole of a community (5). Its most important and fundamental function, however, was in the maintenance of law and order. In the account of the shire customs of Nottinghamshire it is recorded that:

In Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, if the king's peace, given by his hand or seal, be broken, a fine is paid by eighteen hundreds, each hundred, eight pounds. The king has two parts of this fine, the earl the third, that is, twelve hundreds pay to the king and

(1). *Lincs. DB*, 26/53.

(2). See chapter 3.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, 37/2.

(4). Roffe, 'Lincolnshire Hundred', 33-5. In Derbyshire private, 'intrinsic', wapentakes had emerged by the thirteenth century (Roffe, 'Origins of Derbyshire').

(5). Roffe, 'Lincolnshire Hundred', 30-33.

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six to the earl (1).

Almost exactly the same formula is found in the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire folios (2), but it was evidently widely understood in the North. The immediate source is probably related to Æthelred's Wantage Code (c.1000, probably 997).

1.1....the peace which the ealdorman and the king's reeve give in the meeting of the Five Boroughs, that is to be atoned for with twelve hundred [sic].

1.2. And the peace which is given in the meeting of one borough is to be atoned for with six hundred; and that which is given in a wapentake is to be atoned for with a hundred, if it is broken; and that which is given in an alehouse is to be atoned for, if no one is killed, with twelve *oras* (3).

In York, breach of sanctuary was amended by the same penalties, and the liberties of the archiepiscopal minster were also enjoyed by the churches of Beverley, Ripon, Durham, and Hexham (4). The hundred in this context does not primarily imply the twelve-carucate hundred of the Northern Danelaw, although the Domesday Book formulation presupposes it since the hundred paid the fine. It refers to the basic penalty for breach of the peace, for eight pounds is a long hundred, that is, 120, of sixteen-pence Danish *oras* (5). The Domesday hundred, then, is so named because it was responsible for the fine. By implication, it must also have been responsible for the maintenance of law and order and was

(1). *Notts. DB*, S1.

(2). *Lincs. DB*, p9/31-2; *Yorks. DB*, C38.

(3). *EHD* 1, 403.

(4). *FE*, 73; *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster*, ed. A. F. Leach, London 1891, 192-5; *The Priory of Hexham: its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals*, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Soc. 44, (1864), 61-2.

(5). $120 \times 16d = 1920d = 8$ pounds (*EHD* 1, 403; *VCH Derbys* 1, 320).

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thus in essence a tithing. As such, it shares many characteristics with the tithings of the south, the leet of East Anglia, and possibly the five-hide unit (1).

As we have seen (2), it is not possible to reconstruct the whole system: the uncertainties of the Domesday statistics, and the high incidence of composite entries, have defeated all attempts. Two hundreds have, however, been identified in the wapentake of Broxtow, and two others can be suggested. North and South Muskham and part of Carlton (-on-Trent) were assessed at twelve carucates (3), and, occupying a corner of the wapentake of Lythe, may thus have constituted a hundred in 1086. The detached portion of the wapentake of Broxtow in Rushcliffe, comprising Costock, Wysall, Rempstone, Thorpe (-in-the-Glebe) and part of Willoughby (-in-the-Wolds), may also have been a hundred. It is assessed at eleven carucates and six and three quarter bovates, and, unlike the surrounding estates, the teamland figures of the constituent estates are the same as the geld carucates (4). However, the approximate number of hundreds in the county can be calculated, and the pattern of carucation reconstructed, from the total assessment of Nottinghamshire. The Domesday Book statistics for each wapentake are set out in figure

(1). Roffe, 'Lincolnshire Hundred', 36.

(2). Chapter 3.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 5,2; 5. 8,2. 12,11-14. 30,7; 46. M. W. Bishop, Nottinghamshire County Archaeologist, County Hall, Nottingham, has suggested that Carlton probably refers to Little Carlton at OS SK775571 in the parish of South Muskham (pers.comm.).

(4). *Notts. DB*, 9,94. 10,11; 53. 15,5. 9,90. 10,54. 15,6. 1,60. 9,91-3. 30,26; 35. Part of Willoughby (-in-the-Wolds) seems to have been in the wapentake of Rushcliffe and therefore in another, unidentified, hundred (see *Notts. DB*, 16,5n). *Notts. DB*, 16,12, has been identified as Willoughby in Walesby seemingly on the basis of wapentake sequence alone. It is a later addition to the end of the *breve*, however, and is more likely to refer to Willoughby-in-the-Wolds for its teamlands are equal to its assessment to the geld, a characteristic of Broxtow, but not of Bassetlaw. With this adjustment, the hypothetical hundred would be assessed at just over twelve carucates.

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Figure 14: the assessment of the Nottinghamshire wapentakes.

WAPENTAKE	TOTAL GELD		KING'S LAND		GELDABLE LAND		NOTES
	car.	bov.	car.	bov.	car.	bov.	
Newark (½)	46	57'10			46	57'10	a
Lythe (½)	42	4½	0	6	41	6½	e
Rushcliffe (½)	53	3¼			53	3¼	b
Oswaldbeck (½)	43	14'5	11	47'30	43	517'30	c,d
+ Martinsley?	12	0					
Bassetlaw (1)	112	0	29	2	82	6	c,e
Thurgarton (1)	74	3¼	0	1	86	2¼	f
+ half Alstoe	12	0					g
Broxtow (1)	90	3½	16	2¼	86	1¼	b
+ half Alstoe	12	0					g
Bingham (1)	92	22'3	7	1	85	12'3	a,b

NOTES

a. Part of Staunton in Newark Wapentake belonged to Orston in Bingham (Thoroton i, 303-5).

b. Half of Adbolton has been added to Bingham (Notts. DB, 10,55n). The total includes part of Willoughby-in-the-Wolds (Notts. DB, 16,5n) which is otherwise accounted in Broxtow.

c. The assessment of Laneham cannot be determined since a total of nine carucates and two bovates is given for the whole manor without qualification. Although locally in Bassetlaw, the settlement has therefore been included in Oswaldbeck since most of the estate was situated in that wapentake.

d. The assessment of the soke of Oswaldbeck has been subtracted from the total assessment of the wapentake. It is not absolutely clear, however, that it was held by King Edward in 1066, although this seems very likely in the light of the relationship between the estate and the king's manor of Mansfield. See chapter 9.

e. Kersall, locally in Lythe, is assessed with Kneesall, and its assessment has therefore been included in Bassetlaw.

f. It has been assumed that the soke of Southwell held by tenants-in-chief other than the archbishop of York is duplicated in the assessment of the manor of Southwell (Notts. DB, 5,4). See Appendix 1.

g. Half of the assessment of the Roteland wapentake of Alstoe belonged to Thurgarton and half to Broxtow (Rutland DB, R1). Martinsley was also an integral element in the sheriff of Nottingham's bailiwick. There is no indication, however, to which wapentake it belonged, although Oswaldbeck is a possibility (see below).

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14. Those duplicate entries that have been identified have been excluded (1) and allowances have been made for possible irregularities in wapentake structure. Compound entries which encompass undifferentiated land in more than one wapentake have been added to the total of the wapentake in which the bulk of the land was situated. Thus, the nine carucates and two bovates assessment of Laneham in Bassetlaw, with its berewicks of Askham, Beckingham, Saundby, Bole, (West) Burton, Wheatley, and Leverton, has been included in Oswaldbeck since all but one of the manor's appurtenances were situated in the wapentake (2). Two further adjustments must be made to the figures. First, the assessment of Alstoe Wapentake in *Roteland* was equally divided between Thurgarton and Broxtow, and twelve carucates must therefore be added to both (2). Second, the assessment of the land of the king must be subtracted since it was not incorporated into the hundred.

The resulting totals remain gross approximations, but nevertheless a pattern is discernible. Bassetlaw, Thurgarton, Broxtow, and Bingham are all assessed at within two carucates of seven hundreds, and the totals are evidently not coincidental for the addition of Alstoe to Thurgarton and Broxtow is clearly intended to make up their quotas to this figure. The assessment of the four remaining wapentakes is more erratic. But, if the *Roteland* wapentake of Martinsley is added to Oswaldbeck, three would be rated at within four carucates of three and a half hundreds. The assessment of Rushcliffe remains anomalous, but there is later evidence to suggest that all four were indeed originally assigned a quota at half the rate of the larger wapentakes. As early as 1123-35 Newark is called a half wapentake, and in the Pipe Rolls of the

(1). See Appendix 1.

(2). *Rutland DB*, R1.

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late twelfth century Oswaldbeck, Lythe, and Rushcliffe are similarly termed (1), while in 1275 several Nottinghamshire juries declared that Bassetlaw, Thurgarton, Broxtow, and Bingham were whole wapentakes, and Oswaldbeck, Rushcliffe, Lythe, and Newark half wapentakes (2). Such references lend credibility to the pattern of assessment reconstructed from the Domesday data, and it can, with some confidence, be concluded that a standard quota was imposed on four of the county's wapentakes, and the remaining four were assessed at half the rate. The Domesday statistics point to a seven-hundred unit and, if this was applied consistently, a total shire liability of 42 hundreds. This total is very close to the actual assessment of geldable land in Nottinghamshire and *Roteland* of 43 hundreds, 8 carucates, and 5 bovates (3).

The assessment of the county is extremely light compared with the burden of taxation imposed upon Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire (4), and it is therefore possible that it had enjoyed a reduction in carucation at some time before the Conquest. In Lincolnshire, the close relationship between geld carucates and local government probably precluded a beneficial re-assessment of this kind. Variations in liability seem to have been effected by reducing the amount of money levied on the hundred (5). A similar procedure was followed in Yorkshire (6), and the Domesday quotas were evidently those that were originally

(1). *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln* 1, ed. C. W. Foster, Lincoln 1931, 21; PR 15 Henry II, 66; PR 26 Henry II, 139; PR 27 Henry II, 13; PR 28 Henry II, 17.

(2). RH ii, 301, 309, 318.

(3). Stenton postulated a standard quota of eight hundreds (*VCH Rutland* i, 126-7). However, he was not aware that the king's land was administered separately.

(4). C. M. Mahany, D. R. Roffe, 'Stamford: the Development of an Anglo-Scandinavian Borough', *Anglo-Norman Studies V: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1982*, ed. R. A. Brown, Woodbridge 1983, 214-5.

(5). Roffe, 'Lincolnshire Hundred', 34.

(6). Kapelle, *Norman Conquest of the North*, 97.

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imposed upon the counties. Stenton has suggested, however, that the Nottinghamshire teamland figures represent a higher carucation that pre-dates that of 1066 (1). The information is recorded in each entry immediately after the statement of tax liability, and appears to indicate the total amount of land available in terms of the number of ploughs that could be employed. The figures, however, are obviously artificial, for they are usually round sums and, like the geld, frequently duodecimally based. Moreover, the number of working teams usually exceeds the recorded teamlands. It is not possible to determine the exact total of teamlands for the information is wanting in some 91 entries, but there were at least 1255 as against 1991 actual teams in the county as a whole (2). The teamland, then, is clearly a conventional assessment of some kind. The figures for the hundreds of Alstoe, Martinsley, and Broxtow suggest that, like the geld, it was not a measured rating of individual estates, but was distributed from above through the hundred, for in all three instances a distinctive quota appears to have been imposed upon each division. Each of the Alstoe hundreds was rated at 24 teamlands and Martinsley at 48, while the two Broxtow hundreds were, exceptionally for Nottinghamshire, assessed at the same rate as the carucates to the geld (3).

None of these characteristics necessarily indicates that the teamland is an ancient assessment. Stenton, in his examination of the Nottinghamshire evidence, based his conclusions on the grounds that the figures were larger than the geld carucates, but in some way, if not necessarily regularly, related to them (4). This argument, however, is

(1). *VCH Notts.* 1, 212-13; *Lincs. DB*, xv.

(2). *VCH Notts.* 1, 212.

(3). Figure 8; *Rutland DB*, R1; 2.

(4). *VCH Notts.* 1, 212.

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illogical. If two sums are related, one may have been derived from the other, but there is no way of determining the base without further information. Teamlands could just as easily be later than carucates to the geld. Indeed, it has recently been argued that the articles of the Domesday enquiry imply that the commissioners were required to re-assess the liability of each parcel of land to royal incidents, for they were asked to enquire whether 'more could be had than at present', and the teamland figures are a record of this re-assessment (1). Although the term *caruca*, plough, was used, the rate was varied to reflect the economic potential of each type of estate or economy, whether pastoral or arable. There is considerable force in this argument. First, the information throughout the country is usually given in the present tense. In the Nottinghamshire folios the verb is omitted; there is just a bald statement 'land for x ploughs'. In *Roteland*, however, the formula is unequivocal. 'In Alstoe Wapentake there are two hundreds, in each twelve carucates of land to the geld, and in each one there can be 24 ploughs' (2). This information certainly looks like a statement of the potential of the estate in 1086. Second, the information was evidently not a matter of record, like the assessment to the geld, for it is omitted in 17% of all entries. Almost all of these relate to land in soke, accounting for 35% of all entries of this type, for which no other details - population or stocking - are given. Moreover, teamland figures are wanting in almost all waste entries, whether manorial and soke, in which no TRW value is given. It seems likely, then, that the teamland is in some way related to the recorded issues of estates in 1086. Where the

(1). S. Harvey, 'Domesday Book and Anglo-Norman Governance', *TRHS*, 5th ser. 25, (1975), 186-9.

(2). *Rutland DB*, R1.

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land was waste, the commissioners could not make an assessment, or the lord could not furnish them with the relevant information, and, by necessity, teamland figures were omitted. It is true that, with the exception of the two hundreds identified in Broxtow Wapentake, no consistent relationship has been found between teamlands and other items of information in individual entries. This, however, is hardly significant. In the Derbyshire and Staffordshire estates of Burton Abbey, the teamland figures correlate well with working teams only if the oxen of *censarii* recorded in an early twelfth-century survey are added (1). Rent-paying peasants had evidently been omitted for some reason from Domesday Book (2), but the land they tilled was included in the teamland figures. We cannot assume, then, that the Nottinghamshire Domesday gives us all the relevant data. Population figures, ploughs, and value are probably only accurate in so far as they relate to the

(1). J. F. R. Walmsley, 'The 'Censarii' of Burton Abbey and the Domesday Population', *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies* 8, (1968), 73-80.

(2). This bias was almost certainly not confined to the abbey's estates. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries many free tenants are found in the royal manors of the High and Low Peak, but no sokemen are recorded in the Domesday accounts of the estates (*Derbys. DB*, 1, 11-15; 27-30). It is true that much of the area was waste in 1086, but the lands are identical in form to the large 'multiple estates' of Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, and, indeed, are usually called sokes in later mediaeval documents. It seems very likely, then, that there was a large class of free peasants in eleventh-century Derbyshire that was not recorded in Domesday Book (Roffe, *Derbyshire Domesday*, 18-19). The partiality of the evidence in this respect is probably a common feature of circuit 6. *Liberi*, *censarii*, and sokemen, for example, are legion in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Huntingdonshire sources, but are not noted in the Domesday text (*VCH Hunts* 11, 288; D. R. Roffe, 'Introduction', *Domesday Book: Huntingdonshire*, ed. A. Williams, forthcoming 1987). It is probably in the Lincolnshire folios alone that anything like a comprehensive account of sokemen was attempted (P. Stafford, *The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages*, Leicester 1985, 20-1, 160). Clearly Domesday population statistics cannot be used as a measure of the extent of freedom in society (D. R. Roffe, 'Domesday Book and the Local Historian', *The Nottinghamshire Historian* 37, (1986), 3-5).

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issues of the lord's demesne. Teamlands, however, are more likely to reflect the potential of the whole community (1). Therefore, we cannot expect the two different types of data to be correlated in any meaningful sense.

It is unlikely, then, that the teamland figures are evidence of a former, heavier, assessment of the county. Indeed, it is probable that, as elsewhere in the East Midlands, the Domesday carucation is that of the original assessment of the county in notional ploughlands, for standard quotas are assigned to each wapentake. In itself, this does not necessarily imply that the major divisions of the shire were, like the hundred, a function of carucation. It may merely indicate that pre-existing units were re-assessed. But the concept of the half wapentake does suggest that the two institutions constituted an integrated system, and therefore, by implication, shared a common origin, for it implies that there was an appropriate size of wapentake and number within the county. This is not inconsistent with the evidence of the Wantage Code. Breach of the peace given in the wapentake was amended by one hundred which was one sixth of the penalty exacted in the borough, that is, the proto-shire court (2). In some sense, then, six wapentakes were equivalent to a shire. As we have seen (3), this is the precise number of divisions that is implied by the carucation of Nottinghamshire.

(1). This is evidently true where manor and vill or settlement are contemporaneous. It may also be apparent, however, where the assessment of one holding seems to include that of another. See, for example, *Notts. DB*, 11,3 and 13,13, 11,9. 12,7. 12,22 and 30,3, and 1,24. 9,41.

(2). *EHD* i, 403. In the late tenth century, the courts of the Five Boroughs were subject to the jurisdiction of the ealdorman and king's reeve within the meeting of the whole confederacy. It was not until the early eleventh century that the borough court became autonomous and the shrieval system of the post-Conquest period emerged (Stafford, *East Midland*, 141-2; Roffe, 'Origins of Derbyshire').

(3). Above.

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Although there were eight separate divisions, four were assessed at half the rate of the remaining four, giving a total of six full wapentakes ($4 \times \frac{1}{2} + 4 = 6$). The same pattern can also be discerned in Derbyshire, and the principle influenced the grouping of wapentakes in Lincolnshire (1). Thus, it seems likely that wapentakes and carucation were intimately related as an instrument of royal authority which were introduced at the same time.

This conclusion is at variance with received opinion. Whether associated with the jurisdiction of a popular assembly, multiple estate, or shire, the wapentake is seen to be in some way identical with the large soke (2). In many parts of the Danelaw, there is indeed a close relationship between the two institutions, for they are frequently conterminous. The soke of Newark, for example, was entirely situated within the eponymous wapentake. This coincidence, however, is by no means general. The soke of Mansfield extended into three, and Folkingham in Lincolnshire into five, wapentakes (3). In both instances there is no direct relationship between the institutions, and it would be difficult to explain this pattern in terms of the fragmentation of a single administrative unit. In such cases, it looks as if the institution of the wapentake has entirely different origins from that of the estate. There is no doubt that this conclusion is substantially correct for the dues which the lords of the soke and wapentake expected

(1). See chapter 8.

(2). *TNS*, 43-6; H. M. Cam, 'Manerium cum Hundredo: the Hundred and the Hundred Manor', *EHR* 47, (1932), 355-76. Pauline Stafford has anticipated the argument presented here by suggesting that the wapentake is a late tenth-century, English, innovation, but provides no evidence for the assertion (*East Midlands*, 142). R. H. C. Davis has argued the case for a late date for the hundreds of East Anglia in *The Kalendar of Abbot Samson of Bury St Edmunds and Related Documents*, London 1954, xliv-v.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 1, 17-30; *Lincs. DB*, 24/82-105.

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were different. The former had title to the sokeland in so far as he enjoyed its farm and jurisdiction. These rights, sake and soke, excluded the king from the estate, and conferred the fines and forfeitures of his land and men upon the lord. In this sense, the holder of sake and soke, toll and team enjoyed the king's two pennies (1). The rights of the lord of a wapentake were of a different order. It is true that the bishop of Lincoln is said to have had sake and soke over the wapentake of Newark (2), but this statement is clearly incorrect. He did not have title to all the land in the wapentake, and the abbot of Peterborough had sake and soke, toll and team in Collingham (3). Indeed, if sake and soke, toll and team were the essence of the bishop's rights, then the list of those so privileged in Domesday Book would imply a proliferation of private wapentakes (4). In fact, suit was normally paid in the thirteenth century from land which had enjoyed the liberties in the eleventh. The abbot of Peterborough or his attorney, for example, attended the court of the wapentake of Newark once every fortnight for his land in Collingham (5). Evidently the lord of the wapentake was only entitled to the soke of the king and/or earl. Thus, the bishop of Lincoln could have all of the customs of the king and the earl in the wapentake of Newark, but this did not conflict with the right of those with sake and soke, toll and team to the king's two pennies from the land of their men. The point is made explicit in the Lincolnshire

(1). The earl's penny, however, was almost always reserved (*Notts. DB*, S5).

(2). *Notts. DB*, S5.

(3). *Notts. DB*, S5.

(4). Private, intrinsic, wapentakes are found in Derbyshire, but appear to be a twelfth- or thirteenth-century phenomenon (Roffe, 'Origins of Derbyshire').

(5). *Documents Relating to the Manor and Soke of Newark-upon-Trent*, ed. M. W. Barley, TSRS 16, 27, 42. Many other examples can be found in the Hundred Rolls.

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Clamores. St. Mary of Stow had two thirds of the soke of forfeitures in the wapentake of Well, and the earl the remaining third, over all the thanes within the division. Ulchil, Asfort, Restelf, and Ulmer, however, had sake and soke over their land and men in Sturton (by Stow) hundred (1). The soke of the wapentake, then, conferred rights to the forfeitures of the thanes, but they themselves still enjoyed the forfeitures and dues of their men if they held with sake and soke. In return they made suit on the behalf of their tenants. Thus, a jury declared in c.1106 that all the archbishop of York's tenants were free of suit to the wapentake and shire, but the bailiff of each manor attended court to do right for them (2). Thus, it is clear that, unlike the tenure of sake and soke, toll and team, the soke of the wapentake in no way conferred title to land (3).

The soke and wapentake, then, were clearly independent institutions. It is therefore not surprising that their courts were frequently quite distinct. In Newark, for example, the sokemen paid suit to the court of the soke, and the knights to that of the wapentake (4). Where the two courts were held together, it is likely that there was still a distinction between the tenants of the soke and the suitors of the wapentake. The coincidence of soke and wapentake, then, is probably no more than *ad hoc*. As *ville regales*, many soke centres must have been a

(1). *Lincs. DB*, 71/9, 10. Bishop Bloet received the third penny of the wapentake in the reign of William Rufus (*ibid.*, xxxix).

(2). *Visitation and Memorials of Southwell*, 195-6.

(3). Thus. Well was granted to St. Mary of Stow by Earl Leofric of Mercia, although he retained the third penny of the wapentake. The transaction, however, was independent of the monastery's right to the soke *qua* land of Stow which was almost conterminous with the wapentake. In common with church itself, the estate already belonged to the bishop of Dorchester (*Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson, Cambridge 1956, 213).

(4). Barley, *Newark*, xxxii; *TMS*, 44.

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natural choice for the centre of a new institution. Likewise, traditional meeting places were probably employed where appropriate. Elsewhere, more convenient divisions were made to suit local circumstances. There is therefore no direct relationship between wapentake and soke.

We can suggest, then, that the wapentake was instituted in Nottinghamshire at the same time as carucation as part of an integrated structure of local government initiated by the king. We have no concrete evidence to elucidate the nature of royal administration, if such existed separately from estate management, before this date. However, as elsewhere in the country, it seems likely that it centred upon royal estates which survived, if somewhat fragmented, to appear as the large sokes of Domesday Book. The new organisation did not supersede this more ancient institution - indeed, sokes were still vital in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (1) - it merely supplemented it. The wapentake, like the hundred of East Anglia, appears to have been imposed upon the structure of the soke to coordinate the king's forfeitures in a more coherent fashion (2). The imposition of a quota of twelve-carucate hundreds would suggest that its basic function was related to the maintenance of law and order. Indeed, like the hundred, all who paid geld were in some respects responsible to it. Thus, even though a lord may have had the forfeitures of an estate, the earl's penny was usually reserved (3), and the tenants were still within the soke of the wapentake for the regulation of the tithings, even if only in the Great

(1). See chapter 9.

(2). *The Kalendar of Abbot Samson*, xliv-v.

(3). *Notts. DB*, S5.

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Courts, or the early equivalent of the sheriff's tourn (1).

Since carucation and local government were intimately related, the date of the one gives some idea of the origins of the other. Two dates have been proposed. Stenton, recently followed by Professor Sawyer, has argued that the occurrence of the hide in early eleventh-century landbooks, and the absence of a penalty for breach of the peace of the twelve-carucate hundred in the Wantage Code, imply an early eleventh-century date for carucation (2). Charles Phythian-Adams, however, has challenged this conclusion. He argues that the carucate and the hide were different types of assessment, and may therefore have co-existed. He looks to the wapentake, 'the organ of duodecimalized diffusion', to provide an upper date of the mid tenth century when the institution first makes its appearance in the sources. He concludes that the grouping of the Leicestershire wapentakes around Leicester itself suggests a date before 918 (3). There is some substance in this argument. The oxgang, a subdivision of the the ploughland, does indeed appear in late tenth-century Yorkshire charters alongside the hide. Edgar, for example, granted an estate of twenty hides in Sherburn (Yorks) to Aslacr in 963, but the appurtenances listed in the charter are measured in oxgangs. Already at this time, it would seem, there was a tax assessment based upon arable land, the rationale of carucation (4). Moreover, as we have already seen (5), the hundred was in essence a territorially based tithing. It is therefore not surprising that it does

(1). P. Wormald, 'Æthelred the Lawmaker', *Æthelred the Unready*, ed. D. Hill, Oxford 1978, 65-8.

(2). *TMS*, 88-90; P. H. Sawyer, *From Roman Britain to Norman England*, London 1978, 196.

(3). C. Phythian-Adams, *Continuity, Fields, and Fission*, Leicester 1978, 20.

(4). *Early Yorkshire Charters* i, ed. W. Farrer, Edinburgh 1914, 18-23.

(5). Above.

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not appear as an institution that gave peace in Æthelred's Code, for it was in no position to do so. Although there is some later evidence to suggest that the hundred met in formal sessions at appointed times, it cannot have constituted a court in its own right. Its role on these occasions was almost certainly confined to the witness of transactions in other types of court (1). However, the penalty of eight pounds, that is, a long hundred of sixteen-pence Danish oras, that gave the institution its name, does appear in the first two articles of the Wantage Code. The peace which the ealdorman and the king's reeve gave in the meeting of the Five Boroughs was to be atoned for with twelve hundred, that in the borough with six hundred (2). Further, a system of territorial tithings was probably already in existence in the Northern Danelaw as early as the reign of Edgar. The law code issued at *Wihthordestan* between 962 and 963 (IV Edgar) declared that:

2.1....it is my will that secular rights be in force among the Danes according to as good laws as they can best decide upon.

2.1a. Among the English, however, that is to be in force which I and my councillors have added to the decrees of my ancestors, for the benefit of all nations.

2.2. Nevertheless, this measure is to be common to all the nations, whether Englishmen, Danes, or Britons, in every province of my dominion, to the end that poor man and rich may possess what they

(1). In Lincolnshire the institution witnessed charters (F. M. Stenton, *Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw*, London 1920, nos. 93-4). An early thirteenth-century charter records that the two hundreds of Gedney, Sutton, Lutton, and Tydd were party to the division of marshland in Holland, and stood warranty in the event of loss occasioned by any claim of the bishop of Ely (*ibid.*, lxviii-lxix). In all cases, the great magnates of the area were taking the initiative, and there is no sense in which the transactions can be said to be taking place in the hundred court.

(2). *EHD* i, 403; *VCH Derby* i, 320; see above.

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rightly acquire, and a thief may not know where to dispose of stolen goods, although he steal anything, and against their will they be so guarded against, that few of them shall escape

3. Namely, then, it is my will that every man is to be under surety both within the boroughs and outside the boroughs.

3.1. and witness is to be appointed for each borough and for each hundred.

6. And every man is with their witness to buy and sell all goods that he buys and sells, in either a borough or a wapentake (1).

Since the tithing, hundred, wapentake, and carucation are so closely associated, the passage is clearly of great significance. The existence of the tithing in itself does not imply carucation. But the standard quotas of the Nottinghamshire wapentakes, and the half wapentakes, suggest that there was an intimate relationship between the institution and the hundred. The existence of the one presupposes the other. Thus, it is very likely that the tithing of IV Edgar was in fact the twelve-carucate hundred. Indeed, the responsibility of the whole community for the maintenance of law and order is implied as early as the first code of Edgar's reign (2). There is, then, no objection to an early date for carucation.

It is unlikely, however, that the system was introduced much before the late tenth century. In the law codes of Athelstan, there is no indication of a territorial tithing for, with the exception of the special case of urban peace gilds, warranty was vouched by the lord or kin (3). As a function of a new concept of local government, then, the

(1). *EHD* i, 399.

(2). P. Wormald, 'Æthelred the Lawmaker', 65-8.

(3). *EHD* i, 382; H. R. Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England*, London 1983, 140-7; *CLH*, 230-49.

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carucation of Domesday Book must have been introduced at a later date. Indeed, it seems likely that it was part of a concerted royal strategy to settle the North after the uncertainties of the middle years of the century. Closely related to the organisation of the Five Boroughs, the system was probably designed to break the long-established bonds between the Danes of the East Midlands and York by fostering a separate identity and effecting control by introducing a strong system of public and royal government (1). But the innovations were not just a result of a purely local initiative. In the mid tenth century, the kings of England seem to have taken an active interest in the workings of local government. The Hundred Ordinance was promulgated in the reign of Eadwy or the early years of Edgar, and was intended to institute reforms and tighten up procedure in the administration of the southern shires (2). Edgar's fourth code made provisions for tithings throughout his kingdom. It was legislation for a realm that was coming into being. The administration introduced into the Northern Danelaw illustrates the nature of the departure. It was a system which was no longer tied to estates and their associated jurisdiction. The old organisation - the royal sokes and popular courts - continued to function. But the king's dues, both new and old, were articulated through the royal system from which no freeman was exempt. The crown had always reserved certain rights in land. The tenure of booked estates was dependent upon the acquittal of the *trinoda necessitas*. Now these duties were acquitted through the wapentake and the shire. It was a new departure which marked the transition from personal to territorial sovereignty.

(1). See chapter 10.

(2). *EHD* 1, 393-4.

7. THE BOROUGH OF NOTTINGHAM

The Domesday Book account of the county borough occupies a unique place in volume I of the survey. Unlike other settlements, it is not usually described within the seigneurial framework of the inquest, despite the considerable interests of the tenants-in-chief within it, but is enrolled *in toto* at the head of the county. As an administrative and social centre of a large unit of central government, it appears as if its nature and specialized functions defied the categories of the Domesday commissioners and called for individual treatment. Its apparent importance in this respect, however, is often belied by the substance of the account. It frequently appears *ad hoc* and terse beyond comprehension, and betrays every sign of hasty and careless composition. Moreover, the type of information that it contains is sometimes radically different from that of the rest of the text (1). The borough, then, is a special type of settlement and must be studied separately from the seigneurial breves. Nevertheless, the question still remains whether its peculiarities of form are entirely due to its unique position within the county.

The Domesday Book account of Nottingham comprises the whole of column f.280a of volume I and, as is common form in circuit 6, it is enrolled before the breves of the county. Somewhat anomalously, it is immediately followed by the description of the borough of Derby, for in 1086, and probably for a long time before, the two counties had been jointly administered (2). The customs of the two shires, a list of landholders, and the main body of the Nottinghamshire text then follow

(1). R. W. Finn, *An Introduction to Domesday Book*, London 1963, 56-8; A. Ballard, *The Domesday Boroughs*, Oxford 1904, 56-9.

(2). See chapter 8.

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in the usual way. The description of the town exhibits a neat conceptual structure based upon three chronological points of reference. The first two paragraphs relate to Nottingham in 1066, the third to the state of the town when Hugh son of Baldric became sheriff and the developments during his time in office, and the fourth to various interests at the time of the Domesday Book and the value of the borough (1). The remainder of the account is devoted to the holders of land in Nottingham in 1086, with a note on roads and the River Trent (2).

Despite the apparent unity of the account, however, it was not all written at one time. Different stages in its composition can be detected by variations in the hand (figure 15). Entries no. 1, 4-10, 12-15, 17 and 18 were apparently written first, but a space was left for nos. 2 and 3. These two entries are concerned with the lands that Earl Tosti held in Nottingham before his expulsion from office in 1065, and Hugh son of Baldric's activities as sheriff. Such foreseen additions to the text are not unknown, especially in the *terra regis*. The phenomenon suggests that the scribe did not have the required information before him in his exemplar, or was not sure of its import or relevance, and only subsequently acquired it from a separate source (3). This would not be surprising in this context, for Earl Tosti's estate was probably not part of the borough in 1066 (4). Entries no. 11 and 16 are also post-scriptal, but were apparently unforeseen additions for they are squeezed onto the last line of entries no. 10 and 15. It may be significant that

(1). *Notts. DB*, B1-7.

(2). *Notts. DB*, B8-20.

(3). The process is best illustrated by the account of *Portland*, a carucated estate which was postscriptally enrolled in the survey of hidated Northamptonshire. See D. R. Roffe, C. M. Mahany, 'Stamford and the Norman Conquest', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 21, (forthcoming 1986).

(4). See below.

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the houses belonged to the only individuals who were not tenants-in-chief. Finally, entries nos. 19 and 20 appear to have been appended to the end of the column, although not necessarily both at the same time. No.19 relates to the one carucate of land which King Edward had in 1066 and which William held in 1086. In an urban context, the entry is anomolous, for it is manorial in form and has a value for both 1066 and 1086. It appears to be the same parcel of land that is enrolled in the king's *breve* as *Notintone*, that is Sneinton (1). As late as the thirteenth century there was still some doubt about the exact status of the estate (2). Entry no. 20 is a note on the fines imposed upon those who encroached on the River Trent in Nottingham (3), the dyke (4), and the road to York.

The scribe, then, evidently had a clear idea of the form of the account, but the information was not always present. It is also apparent that he was not always sure of his material for the organisation of the data is by no means perfect. Thus entries no. 4-6 conflate three apparently separate items into one paragraph. The first deals with borough houses which belonged to a church on the king's demesne and its

(1). *Notts. DB*, 1,63.

(2). *VCH Notts.* i, 245; *Abbrev. Plac.*, 209. In 1285 a jury declared that the vill of Sneinton was never called Notingtone, but always Sneinton. Notingtone, however, was part of the vill of Nottingham on that side towards Arnold (that is, on the north side of the town). Thus, Henry de Pierpoint's land (in Sneinton) was not in ancient demesne. Stenton, on the basis of the DB entry and the identity of the two names, believed that the jury was 'mistaken' (*VCH Notts.* i, 245). Indeed, it is clear that Sneinton is always called Notingtone or Snotingtone in twelfth and thirteenth-century sources (*PNN*, 174). However, the jury seems to have had a precise location in mind, and their description is not inconsistent with the site of the suburb of Whiston. It is possible, therefore, that the Notingtone of 1086 included this area of Nottingham as well as Sneinton.

(3). The reference is probably to Nottinghamshire rather than Nottingham alone.

(4). The meaning of the term, *fossa*, is not immediately comprehensible. 'Town ditch', 'causeway' (across the Trent flood plain), and 'Foss Way'

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land. Subsequently, further details are given of the estate and its value in the section relating to holders of land in 1086. There then follows a statement of the amount of land which the burgesses plough which appears to duplicate information in the first paragraph. Finally, there is a record of a plea concerning the rights to fish in the Trent. The scribe seems to have bundled together miscellaneous items of information relevant to the issues of the borough before recording its value in entry no. 7.

These characteristics contrast with the discernible method employed in the *breves*. There were, of course emendations and additions to each fief, but, by and large, the scribe of the Exchequer text seems to have followed the form of an exemplar. Thus, no attempt was made to reorganise the geographically arranged account of *Roteland* into the standard seigneurial form. Compilation as such, then, was almost certainly complete before the original returns were sent to Winchester (1). It was there that a fair copy alone was made, with some abbreviation of the material, and the whole account was checked and revised. The source material for the account of Nottingham, by way of contrast, appears to have been less formulated, and the Exchequer scribe may have had to compile it himself. Moreover, the record of data for three distinct periods contrasts starkly with the form of the body of the text. In circuit 6, information is normally given for 1066 and 1086. However, the approach in the borough is more consistent with the articles recorded in the *Inquisitio Eliensis*: data were to be collected for 1066, when William gave the land, and the time of the survey (2).

have all been proposed (*VCH Notts.* i, 239).

(1). *NDB*, 29 and *passim*.

(2). See chapter 3.

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Whether these were the articles of the Domesday inquest, a composite collection of articles, or a draft copy, is not absolutely clear (1), but it is evident that the account of Nottingham comes from a source other than that of the breves, or from an earlier stage in the enquiry. It is only in the *terra regis* that comparable characteristics are found (2), and it is therefore possible that the material is derived from an initial survey of royal land alone (3). The separate treatment of the borough, then, may not be entirely a result of its separate nature and functions (4). It may also be a function of the source material that the Domesday scribe had before him. Deriving the information from a source other than that of the breves, as a copyist, he made no attempt to rearrange it in the form of the text as a whole. With only the minimum of compilation to make it comprehensible, he simply enrolled the borough in a separate section.

There is little explicit information in the text to elucidate the nature of tenure and its different forms in the borough of Nottingham. The king and the earl enjoyed the soke of Earl Tosti's carucate of land, and there is evidence for an old and a new borough. The king also had sake and soke over the land of the church (5). Important evidence, however, is provided by the structure of the account. The subject matter

(1). The articles do not mention such items as TRW tenants and churches which regularly appear in the text, and therefore cannot be the complete set of questions put by the commissioners (D. R. Roffe, 'Domesday Book and the Local Historian', *The Nottinghamshire Historian* 37, 3-5).

(2). See chapter 2.

(3). S. Harvey, 'Domesday Book and Anglo-Norman Governance', *TRHS* 5th ser. 25, (1975), 178; R. W. Finn, *The Liber Exoniensis*, London 1964, 40, 145.

(4). County towns were not always so treated. As in Leicestershire (*Leics. DB*, 3,1), the urban properties of the tenants-in-chief are occasionally enrolled in their respective breves, rather than in the account of the borough proper.

(5). *Notts. DB*, B2, 4, 14, 15.

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is divided into two distinct sections, one of which is emphasised by the use of a distinctive calligraphic device. The first is a general description of the borough and concludes with a record of how much Nottingham rendered to the king in 1066 and 1086 (1). The second consists almost entirely of a description of the land of named individuals, six of whom were tenants-in-chief, in addition to land of the king and houses in the town ditch. With the exception of the last, postscriptal entry, each entry in the section is distinguished by a flag in the left-hand margin. This bi-partite form is common in the description of the Domesday boroughs: it is found in the account of Derby where the two parts were originally separated by a space. It was subsequently employed, however, to enroll an account of the manor of Litchurch which rendered with the borough (2). The accounts of Stamford, Lincoln, York, and Huntingdon, in common with those of county boroughs in other circuits, are similarly divided (3).

Each of the two sections has a distinctive identity. It is clear that the first is concerned with the income that the king derived from the borough for no other interested party is named. In 1066 there were 173 burgesses and 19 villeins in Nottingham. By 1086, there were only 120 men, but 13 houses had been built in the new borough which had been placed in the farm (*census*) of the old (4). But the nature of the relationship between the king and the burgesses is not explicit. In the comparable section of the account of the borough of Derby, however, it is said that the king has two pennies, and the earl the third, from the

(1). *Notts. DB*, B1-7.

(2). *Derbys. DB*, B3; D. R. Roffe, *The Derbyshire Domesday*, Darley Dale 1986, 22-3, 30.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, 3-13; *Yorks. DB*, C; *Hunts. DB*, B.

(4). *Notts. DB*, B1-3.

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gable, toll, forfeitures, and all customs of the burgesses (1). A study of the Domesday boroughs in circuit 6 suggests that the term *consuetudo* or *consuetudines*, custom or customs, lies at the heart of the matter. In Stamford, for example, it is stated that the *mansiones* in the first section rendered all customs (2). It is nowhere stated in what these dues consisted, but the term seems to be a portmanteau word for all those exactions that the king might expect from the inhabitants of a town. Some of them, however, can be discerned from the record of the partial immunities recorded in the text. The sixth ward of Stamford paid all custom except toll and landgable, Lewin held all custom except geld, and Queen Edith had every custom except those relating to baking (3). From elsewhere in Domesday Book, it is clear that forfeitures, heriot, local monetary dues for military service, ward duty, and even personal services like carriage and custody of prisoners were also included (4). It is clear that only these townspeople who paid custom contributed to the farm of the town. Thus, in the Domesday accounts of both Nottingham and Derby the value of the borough is given at the end of the customary section (5). In this sense, it was they alone who were burgesses of the community, although the term was used of other inhabitants of the town (6). Since the king and the earl received their forfeitures, it is evident that they were in the soke of the crown. If their status was analogous to that of royal sokemen, so was their tenure for the legal

(1). *Derbys. DB*, B1.

(2). *Lincs. DB*, p9/2.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, p9/1; p11/9,11.

(4). J. Tait, *The Mediaeval English Borough*, Manchester 1936, 169.

(5). *Notts. DB*, B7; *Derbys. DB*, B2.

(6). C. M. Mahany, D. R. Roffe, 'Stamford: the Development of an Anglo-Scandinavian Borough', *Anglo-Norman Studies V: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1982*, ed. R. A. Brown, Woodbridge 1983, 200-1; Tait, *Mediaeval English Borough*, 86-97.

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form of customary land was much the same as that of sokeland of the *terra regis*. As we have already seen (1), the term *consuetudines* appears to be synonymous with the dues rendered to the king from land in the soke of Oswaldbeck. There were, moreover, remarkable similarities in the customs of tenure. Thus, ultimogeniture, a feature of socage tenure in many manors in the county, is also found in the English borough in Nottingham (2). The relationship was of a similar tributary kind, although the actual dues rendered often differed considerably (3). The burgess of the eleventh century, then, if only in legal form, shared many characteristics with the rural sokeman.

In the second section of the Nottingham text, 191 houses are recorded which were held by nine named individuals, one of whom was the king. Twenty five are said to be horsemen's houses (*domus equitum*) and 48 merchants' (*domus mercatorum*). There were a further 23 houses of which no further details of tenure are given (4). The inclusion of royal land suggests that the section has some distinctive identity. The dues of the crown appear in the first section, yet land of the church over which the king has sake and soke is separately recorded. Indeed, the note of the value of the estate indicates a tenorial nexus other than that of the borough (5). That this is a general characteristic of the

(1). Chapter 5.

(2). W. H. Stevenson, 'Land Tenures in Nottinghamshire', *Old Nottinghamshire*, 1st ser., ed. S. P. Briscoe, Nottingham 1881, 66-71; R. E. Magarry, *The Law of Real Property*, 3rd ed., London 1962, 16-17.

(3). In the borough of Stamford there were 77 messuages of sokemen who had their lands in demesne, and could seek their lords where they would (*Lincs. DB*, p9/4). Although distinguished from the holders of ordinary 'customary' tenements, these townsmen were clearly of a similar status to burgesses. In Derby the services of Burton Abbey's men in the early twelfth century were indistinguishable from those of its rural *censarii* (C. G. O. Bridgeman, 'The Burton Abbey Twelfth Century Surveys', *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, Stafford 1916, 229-34).

(4). *Notts. DB*, B7-17.

(5). *Notts. DB*, B14-15.

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group is illustrated by the appearance of a flag in the left-hand margin against each entry. Such apparently trivial devices are rarely *ad hoc*. They are usually used consistently and for a specific purpose. The flag is no exception. It appears within the text as an overflow mark, that is, when one entry is continued in an empty space on the line above or below. The marginal variety is found in the *Clamores* in Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, and Yorkshire where it indicates separate cases (1). In the *breves* it is less common, but is used to call attention to exceptional or additional material (2). It is more commonly encountered, however, in the description of boroughs. It usually does not appear against customary land, but only that held by named individuals who enjoyed considerable liberties. Thus, in Stamford the flag is found against those entries where the lord did not pay all customs (3). In Derby it is used consistently in every entry in the second section with the exception of one parcel of land from part of which the king derived an income (4). But, significantly, the flag is also used against customary tenements in Huntingdon which were vacant (5). This characteristic points to the essential function of the device when not used as a mere annotation. It is clearly intended to show that the king, for whatever reason, did not expect any issues from the properties noted. Since the value of the borough appears at the end of the first section, it would appear that the second part of the description of Nottingham, as with the same section in other boroughs is merely a memorandum which defines the limits of the king's interests (6).

(1). DB i, f.208a-b, 373a-374b, 375b-377d.

(2). *Notts. DB*, S6. 5,1; 4. 9,7-9. 24,1.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, p11/8-16.

(4). *Derbys. DB*, B5-14.

(5). *Hunts. DB*, B6-8, 11. See also *Lincs. DB*, p5/18.

(6). Mahany and Roffe, 'Stamford', 201.

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In the lands of the tenants-in-chief, it was usually the lord's liberty which circumscribed the interests of the crown within the borough. In Derby, Huntingdon, and Lincoln, as in the one explicit instance in Nottingham, the nature of the immunity is expressed by the term sake and soke (1). The franchise, it seems, amounts to freedom from custom. Thus, in Huntingdon 'Earl Siward had one messuage with sake and soke exempt from custom' (2). In Lincoln, Countess Judith had a messuage in succession to Stori without sake and soke, and this was evidently customary for Ivo Taillebois claimed it through the burgesses, that is as part of the borough (3). The liberty of sake and soke, by conferring full title to the land and all the dues that the king might expect from it, transferred *consuetudines* from the crown to a lord. This, then, would appear to be the basic feature of the *mansiones* of the tenants-in-chief in the second section. The land was not part of the borough from which the king expected dues, but was booked to other interests. The fundamental dichotomy between the two sections is indeed recognised in the description of Nottingham. As we have seen, the account of the church appears in two separate entries. Although it was the king's demesne, it possessed 'three *mansiones* of the borough', along with land which may also have been customary (4). It is therefore appropriate that the fact should be recorded in the account of the borough proper, that is the first section. By way of contrast, the priest's croft with 65 houses was held with sake and soke and was thus not 'of the borough' (5). It therefore appears in the second section. As already noted, the

(1). *Derbys. DB*, B4, 9-12, 14; *Hunts. DB*, B2-5; *Lincs. DB*, p3/5-8; p5/10; *Notts. DB*, B14.

(2). *Hunts. DB*, B5.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, p5/9.

(4). *Notts. DB*, B4.

(5). *Notts. DB*, B14-15.

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separate value points to a distinct tenurial nexus other than the borough. The church thus appears in both sections because it held customary and non-customary land. It seems likely that all the land of the tenants-in-chief recorded in the Nottingham Domesday was non-customary in the same way.

The possession of sake and soke appears to have conferred a degree of independence upon the privileged estate within the borough. As with the booking of sokeland, the tenants were removed from certain aspects of royal administration. The characteristics of the liberties in urban context are illustrated by the subsequent history of such lands in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Typically, where such tenements survived, they constituted a separate fee within the borough. The best documented example in the area of the Five Boroughs is the 23 houses and two churches that Eudo Dapifer held in Stamford in succession to Ernuin the priest and Ezi (1). The customs of the estate had only been withdrawn from the king between 1066 and 1086. But in 1156, the estate was held by William de Lanvalei and was expressly excluded from the grant of the borough of Stamford to Richard Humet (2). In 1212, it was said to be held in chief of the king by free burgage (3). As such, it was exempt from tallages levied on the town, despite the attempts of the burgesses to impose the incident (4). In 1275, the lord, John de Burgh, had a free court in the town, with the assize of bread and ale, and possibly a pillory. That he exercised these rights is indicated by the complaint that the bailiffs of the Earl of Warenne, the lord of Stam-

(1). *Lincs. DB*, p11/6; D. R. Roffe, 'Rural Manors and Stamford', *South Lincolnshire Archaeology* i, Stamford 1977, 12, 13.

(2). *Cal. Doc. France*, no. 530.

(3). *BF*, 196.

(4). *CCR 1242-1247*, 471.

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ford, illegally demanded suit of his tenants (1). In 1284 a jury declared that the estate was a parcel of his manor of Wakerley in Northamptonshire (2). Nevertheless, the lord still had to pay suit twice a year to the borough court (3).

Eudo's fee was large and managed to retain its identity into the fifteenth century. The evidence for its existence survived because, as an integral part of a rural manor, it repeatedly appears in extents in the process of successive inquisitions *post mortem*. By way of contrast, where such fees were, or became, purely urban, documentation does not always survive. In Nottingham, however, there is evidence that some of the non-customary estates maintained their identity into the later Middle Ages. In Henry's II's charter of liberties of c.1155 the men of all fees in Nottingham were enjoined to pay tallages with the burgesses (4). Sneinton emerged in the thirteenth century as a manor in ancient demesne, although it was by then outside the borough (5). Some of these fees, although absent from the predominantly official and burghal documentation, may have been subject to private courts. In 1219, Gilbert le Gluton held land and an oven in Nottingham by sergeancy as a royal bailiff errant (6). The fee was held in chief, and was probably quite extensive. A case brought against Gilbert in the *curia regis* in 1225 by William son of Simon sought the seisin of seven crofts and half an

(1). *RH* i, 351, 357.

(2). *Cal. Gen.*, 350; *CI* ii, 547.

(3). *RH* i, 351. The lord was entitled to his own 'manorial' court, but was still obliged to pay suit to the 'public' court of the borough for the regulation of tithings. The borough court was equivalent to a wapentake court, and, like its rural counterpart, no one was exempt from its jurisdiction (D. R. Roffe, C. M. Mahany, 'Stamford and the Norman Conquest', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, forthcoming 1986).

(4). *RNB* i, 2, 3.

(5). *VCH Notts.* i, 245.

(6). *BF*, 288.

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oven in Nottingham (1). Subsequently, it was described as tenements, and later a messuage, with an oven (2). Part of the fee may have been situated in the Saturday Market for John son of Geoffrey le Gaoler, who was granted the estate in 1306, held at least one toft there within the English Borough (3). But the oven was probably located off Wheeler Gate, possibly in the present Eldon Chambers, for in 1395/6 a tenement on that street was said to abut on a common lane (*venella*) leading to Gilbert le Gluton's oven (4). The fee can be traced into the late fourteenth century, and throughout the possession of an oven or bakehouse is usually carefully noted (5). As a capital tenement, this might imply that Gilbert and his successors had the assize of bread. He was probably not alone in possessing this type of franchise. In a document of 1370 or 1378, some 12 individuals with tenements spread throughout the western part of the town, are said to have not been within the mayor's liberty of the assize of ale in Nottingham (6). As we have already seen (7), the assizes were one of the perquisites of a private urban court, and the corporation clearly did not have a monopoly in this field. Evidence for the earlier history of Gilbert le Gluton's fee is wanting. But the assizes were part of the borough customs in the eleventh century, and it is possible that it is represented by the estate of Wulfbert or Richard

(1). CRR xii, 124.

(2). CPR 1258-1266, 29; IAQD, 94.

(3). Rufford Charters, ed. C. J. Holdsworth, TSRS 29, no. 33; CPR 1301-1307, 487.

(4). Nottinghamshire Record Office, CA 1295, Nottingham Borough Court Enrolments, f. 2v. I would like to thank S. N. Mastoris, Brewhouse Yard Museum, Nottingham, for drawing my attention to this reference, and suggesting the possible location of the tenement.

(5). CPR 1334-1338, 437; 1339-1340, 258; 1343-1345, 250-1; QW, 617; IAQD, 365; CCR 1377-1381, 287.

(6). RNB i, 201.

(7). Above.

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Frail at the time of Domesday Book (1). In only one case, however, has positive evidence for a private court come to light. In 1276 an inquisition *post mortem* jury declared that certain tenants of William Bardolf in Nottingham and elsewhere rendered 49 shillings 4 pence per annum and one pound of cumin, and owed suit to his court in Shelford (2). No other evidence for this fee has come to light, although Robert de Cauz the lord of Shelford granted a messuage between the castle and the Trent to Newstead Priory in the late twelfth century (3). But the association between the manor and the town appears to have been ancient for Geoffrey Alselin, the lord in 1086, held 21 houses in Nottingham at the time of Domesday Book (4).

The Domesday tenements held with sake and soke are not a homogeneous group. Circuit 6 reveals a variety of different types of estate: urban sokes, land, presumably legally, withdrawn from the king's customs, ecclesiastical liberties etc. (5). But the most common is akin to the Shelford example. The type of relationship is referred to in the Cheshire Domesday:

The land on which St. Peter's Temple stands and which Robert of Rhuddlan claimed as thaneland, never belonged to a manor outside of the city (of Chester), as the county proved, but belonged to the borough, and was always in the king's and the earl's customary dues like the land of the other burgesses (6).

(1). *Notts. DB*, B16.

(2). *Abstracts of the Inquisitions Post Mortem relating to Nottinghamshire* ii, ed. J. Standish, TSRS 4, (1914), 85.

(3). College of Arms, London, Arundel 60, Newstead Cartulary, f.82r no. 1. I would like to thank S. N. Mastoris for drawing my attention to this reference.

(4). *Notts. DB*, B13.

(5). See, for example, *Lincs. DB*, p9/1-p11/17; Mahany, Roffe, 'Stamford', 200-1.

(6). *Chester DB*, C25.

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Almost all the *mansiones* of the tenants-in-chief in the circuit 6 boroughs appear to be of the type that were attached to manors in the countryside. Since they did not render to the king, the custom was presumably paid to the lord. Moreover, it is clear that the tenurial nexus was not in the borough itself. Urban fees of this kind, like the bishop of Lincoln's manor in Leicester, or Queen Edith's fee in Stamford, usually have a value appended to them if held by a tenant-in-chief (1). On the contrary, the absence of a value for most urban estates in Domesday Book tends to suggest that the tenurial nexus was elsewhere, that is, the value of the manor also included the value of its urban appurtenances (2).

Nottingham is no exception in this respect. Only the church has a separate value (3), thereby suggesting that it alone was a purely urban and self-contained fee. There are features of the account, however, which are unusual. The Nottingham text is the only description of a Domesday borough in circuit 6 in which the pre-Conquest holders of land are not generally given. The information is usually recorded for it not only established title, but also identified the tenement. It incidentally also establishes that many of the links between urban fees and rural estates were pre-Conquest in origin. The absence of the data in Nottingham may be symptomatic of significant differences in the early development of the town. There are indeed several characteristics which suggest that Nottingham experienced a number of pressures which were not present in other county boroughs.

In 1086 the town was divided into what were subsequently known as

(1). *Leics. DB*, 3,1-3; *Lincs. DB*, p11/9.

(2). See chapter 5.

(3). *Notts. DB*, B15.

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the English and the French boroughs. Throughout the Middle Ages the two institutions had distinctive identities marked by individual customs and separate administration (1). As the name suggests, the English borough *qua* borough was the more ancient. Its area in the later mediaeval period (figure 16) has been elegantly elucidated by the use of mostly late mediaeval and early modern property deeds and quarter session minutes (2). There is no comparable evidence for the earlier period. But the decisive relationship, the boundary between the two boroughs, is probably an ancient feature. Peculiarities of custom and tenure imply continuity, and the conjunction of the line for much of its course with the St. Mary/St. Peter parish boundary suggests that there had been no substantial change since the establishment of the parochial system as a territorial institution before the mid twelfth century (3). The borough so identified as a legal entity encompassed the pre-Conquest defended area, and abutted on the Saturday Market. With the exception of a few tenements on the east side of Bridlesmith Gate, it was almost exactly co-extensive with the urban parish of St. Mary.

As we have already seen (4), the king had sake and soke over a large urban estate which consisted of a church and the priest's croft, containing some 65 houses, and held a further three customary *mansiones* and land in the fields, which were all worth 100 shillings per annum (5). Although not named, it is clear from the history of the foundation that this church was St Mary's, for the crown maintained a continuing interest in it. Thus, in c.1106, William Peverel granted the church to

(1). S. N. Mastoris, 'The Boundary between the English and French Boroughs of Mediaeval Nottingham', *TTS* 81, (1981), 68.

(2). Mastoris, 'Boundary', 68-74.

(3). F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066*, London 1979, 194-6.

(4). Above.

(5). *Notts. DB*, B4, 14, 15.

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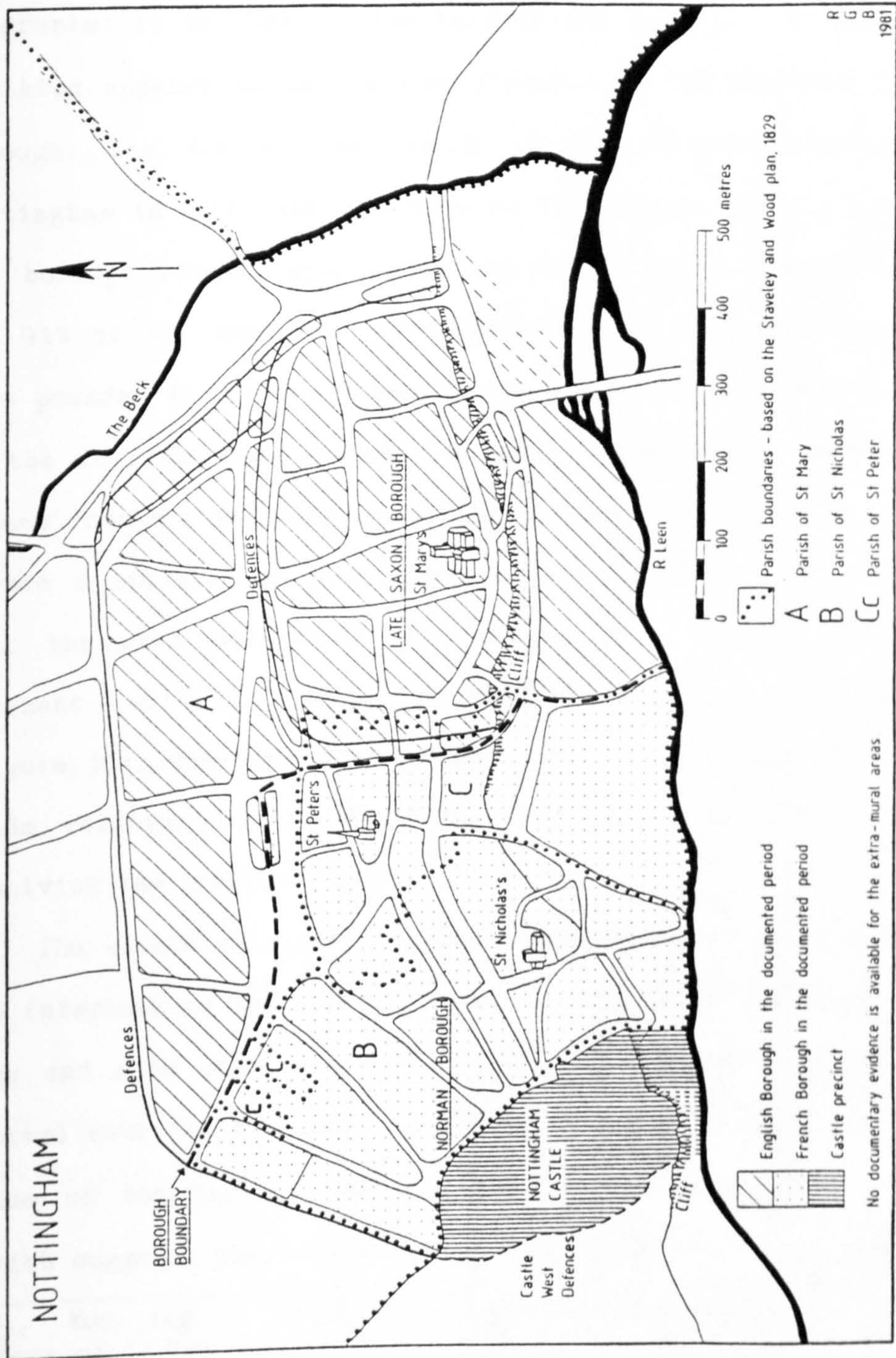


Figure 16: the English and French Boroughs in Nottingham.

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his new monastery at Lenton as part of its endowment. However, he only did so with the express consent of Henry I (1). In the thirteenth century Henry III challenged the priory's right to the church, although he granted it to them for the term of his life (2). By way of contrast, the king appears to have had no interest in the churches of the French borough. The fee of the church is the largest recorded estate in Nottingham in 1066, and its value at five pounds was not inconsiderable. The borough itself, apart from the mint, only rendered 30 pounds (3), and 91% of all manors in Nottinghamshire in 1086 were worth less than five pounds. No firm evidence has come to light to indicate the location of the fee, but the use of the term *crofta*, *croft*, suggests that the houses formed a well-defined group, and we may expect the church to have formed a nucleus. On purely topographical grounds, this might suggest that the area bounded by St. Mary's Gate, Stoney Street, and High Pavement, with the church at the southern end, defines the estate (figure 16). However, this is mere speculation. But further work on the deeds relating to the glebe of the church would go a long way to resolving the problem (4).

The estate as a whole appears to have been closely identified with the interests of the crown. It was in demesne in 1066, and the king had *sake and soke* over it. As bookland, he presumably maintained a close control over the fee, and, as such, it was withdrawn from the customary nexus of the borough itself. Nevertheless, the extent of St. Mary's parish suggests that the authority associated with the church had had,

(1). *Mon. Ang.* v, 111-2; J. T. Godfrey, *The History of the Parish and Priory of Lenton in the County of Nottinghamshire*, Derby 1884, 63-5.

(2). *CPR* 1258-1266, 593; 1266-1272, 100.

(3). *Notts. DB*, B7.

(4). This work is currently being undertaken by the Nottingham Deeds Survey, Nottingham Museums, Brewhouse Yard, Nottingham.

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and probably continued to maintain, a dominant role in the borough. In the thirteenth century the parish encompassed the whole of the territory of Nottingham, with the exception of the small urban enclaves of St. Peter and St. Nicholas, and the area of the extra-parochial castle and Park (1). At an earlier period, it had probably been even more extensive. Sneinton was king's land in 1066 and was apparently appended to Nottingham. By 1234, the church of the settlement belonged to Lenton, and it almost certainly came to the priory by right of St. Mary's (2). Indeed, in the early fifteenth century it was called a chapel (3).

The simplicity of ecclesiastical structure is striking. By the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries, one of the key characteristics of bookland was the appropriation of ecclesiastical dues. Thanes increasingly began to build churches on their own land as much to enjoy the tithe as to bring spiritual sustenance to their men (4). Within the confines of the borough, the process led to a proliferation of parishes as each lord made provision for his own tenants. Thus, the Domesday account of Derby records six churches, four of which were on non-customary land (5). In other boroughs and cities, churches multiplied without constraint. By 1200 there were thirteen in Stamford, while in Lincoln there were no less than 43 by c. 1150 (6). Nottingham, then, stands out as exceptional. Despite apparent tenurial

(1). W. Stevenson, A. Stapleton, *The Religious Institutions of Old Nottingham* i, Nottingham 1895, 12-25.

(2). Stevenson and Stapleton, *Religious Institutions*, 22.

(3). BL Loans 29/60, Cartulary of Sir Henry Pierpoint, 51v.

(4). ASE, 149-50. Existing daughter churches were also removed from the *parochie* of minsters when estates were booked and thereby became *eigenkirchen* (P. H. Sawyer, *From Roman Britain to Norman England*, London 1978, 245).

(5). *Derbys*. DB, B1, 5-8; Roffe, *Derbyshire Domesday*, 23.

(6). J. S. Hartley, A. Rogers, *The Religious Foundations of Mediaeval Stamford*, Nottingham 1974; J. F. W. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, Cambridge 1948, 147.

heterogeneity in 1086, much of the borough was in the parish of a royal church, and the number of parishes in the Middle Ages never exceeded three or possibly four (1). The lack of development of other churches may suggest, then, that the freedom of potential or actual non-customary fees was circumscribed. Either they did not emerge in the borough until after the establishment of a stable parochial system, or royal control limited the rights of any fees to found their own church (2). In either case, the authority and influence of the crown within the borough of Nottingham is emphasised.

The concentration of royal authority in the town is probably an ancient feature of the settlement (3). Its association with a major parish church implies that St. Mary's was an ecclesiastical foundation of primary importance. Some claims can indeed be made for its antiquity. Excavations in the town have revealed traces of a ditch system which, if extended, would enclose the church on the north side. This system, parallel to, but to the north of, the later defences, extended down towards the present course of the Leen, and is stratigraphically earlier than the ramparts of the English Borough (4). If part of the complex,

(1). St. Michael's Church in Whiston, the northern suburb of Nottingham, is a somewhat shadowy institution. But in 1341 it was described as a chapel of St. Mary, and was thus almost certainly in origin a dependent foundation within the *parochia* of the mother church (NI, 290; Stevenson and Stapleton, *Religious Institutions* ii, 133).

(2). A note appended to the description of the borough of Derby may imply such restrictions. Stori, Walter of Aincurt's predecessor, could make himself a church on his land and in his soke without anyone's permission, and dispose of his tithe where he would (*Derbys. DB*, B16). This passage seems to imply that this was an unusual liberty. However, since Stori is not said to have had sake and soke, toll and team (*Notts. DB*, S5), it may merely attest to the fact that he did not have the relevant liberties.

(3). See below and chapter 10.

(4). C. S. B. Young, 'Archaeology in Nottingham: the Pre-Conquest Borough', *History in the Making* 1985, eds S. N. Mastoris, S. M. Groves, Nottingham 1986, 1-3. I am indebted to Charles Young for comments on the significance and interpretation of the archaeological evidence in

the parish church, then, would be one of the earliest identifiable topographical features of the settlement. It might be expected that such an early foundation, especially if royal, had been constituted as a royal minster with a large *parochia*. Comparable institutions are to be found in Derby, Leicester, and Lincoln (1), but no unequivocal vestige of such an organisation has come to light in Nottingham (2). The lack of evidence, however, may merely reflect the subsequent history of the church. Its appropriation by Lenton Priory, along with many other churches of the Peverel fee, may have obscured early relationships for it is usually impossible to determine whether thirteenth-century pensions were derived from the ancient rights of a particular foundation or more recent arrangements for the financial management of a house's spiritualities (3). The origin and early status of St. Mary's Church, Nottingham, then, must remain an open question.

The two parishes of St. Peter and St. Nicholas are situated between the extra-parochial castle and the urban part of St. Mary's parish. They are both small in area and almost entirely urban, and are surrounded by the parish of St. Mary's. With no share in the common fields of the

advance of detailed publication.

(1). Roffe, *Derbyshire Domesday*, 22-5; R. Bailey, *The Early Christian Church in Leicester and its Region*, Leicester 1980, 10-11; Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, 64-81. As in Derby, there may have been two minsters in Lincoln. St. Mary's in the Bail was probably in existence from at least the mid tenth century, while the production of St. Martin's pennies in the 920s suggests that the church of St. Martin in the Lower City was a foundation of similar, if not greater, status at about the same period. By way of contrast, the mother church of Stamford was a daughter of the royal church of Hambleton in *Roteland* (*Lincs. DB*, p11/13; Mahany, Roffe, 'Stamford', 201-2).

(2). *Pace* the Phillimore reading of the 'priests' croft' attached to the king's church. The MS quite clearly has 'crofta presbitri', that is 'croft of the priest'.

(3). The process can be directly observed in the endowment of the Arrouaisian foundation of Bourne in Lincolnshire, which appears to have been the regularisation of a pre-Conquest collegiate establishment (D. R. Roffe, 'The Abbey of Bourne', forthcoming).

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town, it seems likely that they are relatively late foundations, and took their territory from the larger church (1). It is not surprising, then, that, with the exception of tenements on the east side of Bridle-smith Gate and possibly the south side of the Saturday Market, they are conterminous with the area of the French Borough of the later Middle Ages (figure 16). The new borough is first mentioned in Domesday Book, and, as its name indicates, it was an institution which was closely associated with the Norman presence in the town. The castle of Nottingham was built by William the Conqueror in 1068 at the beginning of his campaign in the North as part of a concerted strategy of garrisoning centres of population in a potentially hostile Mercia and securing the main lines of communication with Yorkshire (2). As at Norwich and Northampton, a French borough was probably founded at the same time (3). The present Castle Gate, Hounds Gate, and Friar Lane appear to be planned in relation to the eastern gate of the castle, and probably form the nucleus of the borough.

It is unlikely, however, that it was built on a virgin site. Rather, it almost certainly encompassed a pre-Conquest estate nucleus of some importance. Superficially the Domesday passage which refers to the new borough, appears to indicate a new settlement for Hugh son of Baldric built 13 houses in the new borough which were not there before. However *in novo burgo* is a interlineation and it is thus clear that it is parenthetical. The whole passage can be rendered thus, with the later additions in brackets:-

(1). A. Rogers, 'Parish Boundaries and Urban History: Two Case Studies', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., 35, (1972), 51-3.

(2). ASC, 148; W. E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, London 1979, 109-111.

(3). S. Reynolds, *English Medieval Towns*, Oxford 1977, 43.

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Hugh son of Baldric [the sheriff] found 136 men; now there are 16 less; however, Hugh erected 13 houses himself, which were not there before, on the earl's land [in the new borough] and placed them among the dues of the old borough (1).

In this reading, the contrast is not between new and old boroughs, but between the earl's land and the old borough. The two institutions were distinct. Indeed, as we have seen (2), entries no. B2 and 3, in which reference is made to the earl's land, are later additions, and are almost certainly drawn from a source other than that of the body of the text, for at least one of the entries refers to a period anterior to 1065 when Tosti was disposed. It was therefore necessary to note that the new houses, which ought to have been in the earl's soke, contributed to the king's custom and were consequently in the old borough. By implication, this tends to suggest that there were already other houses there. The earl in question is evidently Tosti, and the land the one carucate he held before the Conquest. This estate was clearly royal, or possibly comital, for both the king and the earl had the soke (3). Tosti probably held it as Earl of Northumbria for in the later years of the reign of Edward the Confessor, Nottinghamshire appears to have been part of the earldom (4). Thus, while the French borough was evidently built on the earl's land, there was already an estate nucleus there before the Conquest.

Tosti's activities in the shire are shrouded in obscurity. It is therefore difficult to appreciate the nature and function of this estate and its relationship with the borough and the other estates in the

(1). *Notts. DB*, B3.

(2). Above.

(3). *Notts. DB*, B2.

(4). See chapter 10.

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county. However, in extent it was probably not confirmed to Nottingham, but may have extended into the neighbouring territory of Lenton (figure 17). In 1086 there were three holdings in the settlement. William

Figure 17: land associated with the earl's estate in Nottingham.

REF	ASSESS	STATUS OF LAND	TRE HOLDER	TRW HOLDER
	c. b.			
1,48	4	soke of Arnold	King Edward	the king
10,19	2 0	soke of <i>Neubold</i>	Morcar	Peverel
10,24	4	manor	Wulfnoth	Wulfnoth

Peverel's soke had belonged to Morcar's manor of Newbound in the wapentake of Broxtow, or Earl Morcar's manor of Newbold in Bingham. The identification is difficult, but the wapentake sequence of the breve suggests that the former should be preferred (1). The Morcar who held this manor was almost certainly *Earl Morcar* - he is not always given his title in Domesday Book, but when it appears in circuit 6, it is always interlined - who succeeded to Tosti's earldom in 1065 (2). If a comital estate, some connection with Tosti's land in Nottingham might be expected. Wulfnoth's manor may also have been attached to the estate. He himself was the tenant in both 1066 and 1086, but William Peverel held the land in custody. Three other estates are said to have been held in likewise by William (3). Ulfketel's land in Eastwood and Alwin's in Awworth were waste and untenanted. The description of Aswulf's land in Basford was deleted, but is duplicated later in William's breve, and a second time in the land of the king's thanes (4). Land held by William Peverel in Clifton and Sutton Passeys is also duplicated in the same way (5). It is evident, then, that the land held in custody was that of

(1). *Notts. DB*, 10,18n.

(2). See chapter 10.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 10,23; 32; 48.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 10,23; 52. 30,28.

(5). *Notts. DB*, 10,6; 38. 30,25; 55.

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thanes who, in the normal course of events, would have owed service to the king or the earl. As in Derbyshire (1), William represented many of the interests of the king in Nottinghamshire. Wulfnoth, then, may well have been one of Tosti's Nottinghamshire thanes to whom Edward the Confessor addressed a writ in 1060x1065 (2).

The relationship between William Peverel's land and the comital estate in Nottingham may, however, have gone beyond the custody of a few royal or comital thanes. Most of his manors were situated in the wapentakes of Broxtow and Rushcliffe, with a remarkable concentration around Nottingham itself. With the exception of soke of Geoffrey Alselin's manor of Stoke (Bardolf) in Carlton, Gedling, and Colwick (3), the whole of the town was completely surrounded by Peverel land. More than half of the wapentake of Broxtow and a quarter of Rushcliffe belonged to the honour. Much of the remaining land in the vicinity of Nottingham was held by thanes. This pattern of estates is clearly related to Nottingham, and appears to betray a military function. The manor of Clifton in particular would seem to occupy a central position, for it dominates the southern approaches to the borough. It was in this estate that Edward the Elder had built a borough south of the Trent in 920 (4). Such characteristics might be seen as evidence of a Peverel castlery in Nottinghamshire, for it could be supposed that the king gave William Peverel a large tract of land, irrespective of pre-Conquest

(1). *Derbys. DB*, 1,29; 32; 35-6. It is likely that William held all of the king's land in the High Peak, for the royal estates in the north of Derbyshire are enrolled in a separate section of the text (D. R. Roffe, 'Introduction', *Domesday Book: Derbyshire*, ed. A. Williams, forthcoming 1987). The lands of many of the king's thanes in the area were subsequently held of the honour of Peverel.

(2). F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, Manchester 1952, no. 119.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 12,16; 17.

(4). See chapter 10.

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predecessor, for the protection of the castle in Nottingham of which he was the constable. This interpretation of the structure of the honour is, however, implausible for, far from having a Norman character, his fee appears to have a predominantly pre-Conquest identity. Of the nineteen recorded tenants of manors other than those held in custody in 1086, eleven, representing at least eight individuals, have English or Anglo-Scandinavian names. By way of contrast, eight, representing four individuals, have continental names. Moreover, many of the Anglo-Saxon tenures seem to have survived until the time of Domesday. Wulfnoth held one bovate in Radford in thanage, while many of the others, where the relationship is expressed, are said to 'hold from' or 'have under' William (1). Unlike those lands held in custody, William seems to have had full possession of the estate, and in the thirteenth century a large number of the fees were held in sergeancy (2). The absence of specifically Norman forms, except in the fees held by continentals, is accompanied by evidence of a pre-Conquest unity in the estate. It has already been argued that the manors of Watnall and Bulwell formed an extended tenurial group (3). The existence of an overlord is also suggested by the eight multiple-manor entries and the two examples of pre-Conquest holders who were tenants in 1086 (4). If a castlery can be discounted, then Countess Gytha is most likely to have been the predecessor who conferred title on William. The pre-Conquest holder of Clifton, she is apparently the only one in his *breve* who possessed *sake and soke*, toll and team, the datum of legal possession, and she gave title to much of the rest of his honour in Northamptonshire, Berkshire,

(1). *Notts. DB*, 10,15. See chapter 4.

(2). See, for example, *BF*, 8, 1000.

(3). See chapter 4.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 10,43; 46; 55.

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Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire (1).

Contrary to what one would expect in that case, however, the honour, did not meet in Clifton in the Middle Ages. From at least the twelfth century, the court was held in Nottingham (2). But significantly it probably did not meet in the castle. It is recorded in an early fourteenth century assize roll that the king's court in the fee of Peverel used to be held in the chapel of St. James in Nottingham until it was enclosed in 1316 by the Carmelite Friars, and the king's bailiffs of the fee could no longer hold court there (3). No earlier evidence than this has come to light. But the Peverel fee escheated to the crown in c.1154 and was farmed as a royal estate from that time (4). It is difficult to understand in what circumstances its court could have been moved from a royal castle into a borough during that period. The association with St. James chapel, then, has every sign of being an ancient traditional meeting place. Moreover, it was not the only institution that met there, or in the vicinity. There is also evidence that the county court was also held in the same area (5). The site of the chapel can be precisely identified. It stood close to the significantly named Moothallgate, the present Friar Lane, within the French borough (6).

As we have already seen (7), this was part of the earl's estate before the Conquest. Although the fact is not stated in Domesday Book, it seems very likely that William Peverel held the estate as part of his

(1). *Notts. DB*, S5; *Northants DB*, no. 35; *Berks DB*, no. 24; *Bucks DB*, no. 16; *Beds DB*, no. 22.

(2). *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, London 1896, 82.

(3). Stevenson, Stapleton, *Religious Institutions*, 43.

(4). *PR 2 Henry II*, 40.

(5). D. Crook, 'Moothallgate and the Venue of the Nottinghamshire County Court in the Thirteenth Century', *TTS* 88, (1984), 99-102.

(6). Stevenson, Stapleton, 'Religious Institutions', 50.

(7). Above.

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honour, for the French Borough was very closely associated with the fee in the twelfth century. Thus, in the foundation charter of Lenton, William granted the monks the churches of St. Nicholas and St. Peter, apparently as part of his own fee. By way of contrast, he sought the consent of Henry I for the alienation of the church of St. Mary in the English borough (1). This implies a more demesnal interest in the French Borough compared with the English. Moreover, local tradition claims that the whole of Nottingham fell within the jurisdiction of the Peverel court until 1316 when St. James' Chapel was appropriated by the Friars (2). No mediaeval authority has been found for this statement, and, as it stands, it cannot be true. The English borough was royal, and had its own court from at least the time of its first charter granted in c.1155 (3). But part of the town may have paid suit to the honorial court. Contrary to the accepted opinion, it seems unlikely that the c.1155 charter refers to both the French and English boroughs. The construction of one defensive circuit around the two suggests that there was, in some respects, a single community by the middle of the twelfth century (4). But it is clear from a charter granted to the burgesses of Nottingham by Earl John in c.1189 that Henry II's liberties only granted a single reeve: henceforward the burgesses were to elect this officer, although John had the right of veto (5). However, from 1200 there is evidence for two reeves and, by 1230, four, two for each of the boroughs (6). Some

(1). *Non. Ang.* v, 111-2; Godfrey, *Lenton*, 63.

(2). Stevenson, Stapleton, 'Religious Institutions', 50-60.

(3). *RNB* i, 2, 3.

(4). M. W. Barley, J. F. Straw, 'Nottingham', *Historic Towns: Maps and Plans of Towns and Cities in the British Isles with Historical Commentaries from Earliest Times to 1800* i, ed. M. D. Lobel, London 1969.

(5). *RNB* i, 7-11.

(6). S. N. Mastoris, 'The Reeves and Bailiffs of the Town of Nottingham before 1284', *TTS* 87, (1983), 36-9.

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degree of separation of administration is implied. Indeed, an assize of bread made in 1248 was confined to the English borough for it was witnessed by the bailiffs of that borough alone (1). The French Borough evidently had its own assize. Such fragmentation of administration is unlikely to have developed if the one reeve of c.1155 and c.1189 had jurisdiction over both boroughs. As late as the 1280s, the French borough was separately farmed for in a pre-1284 charter a tenement on the west side of Bridlesmith Gate paid 3d to 'the farm of the king in the French Borough' (2). It was not until 1284 that the two boroughs were united under one mayor (3).

If, then, the French Borough remained separate from the English Borough, it may well have paid suit to the Peverel court. Indeed, it was probably perquisites of this court that were escheated in the late twelfth century after Earl John forfeited Nottingham and the shire, along with the Peverel fee. In the 1194 Pipe Roll the sheriff accounted for 18 shillings and 7 pence rent (*census*) from 'very many houses in the vill of Nottingham', and 3 shillings from the toft of the moneyers and 2 shillings from their houses, under the heading of 'fines made for the knights and men of Earl John'. In subsequent years, the sums recorded were 23 shillings and 6 pence and 5 shillings, and are called 'purpresture and escheats' (4). *Census* in this context probably implies landgable and/or farm, but the fee was evidently not part of the English Borough which was farmed by the burgesses. It is therefore probable that the escheated estate was located within the French Borough. In its

(1). BL Add. MS 35179, f.90v. I would like to thank S. N. Mastoris for drawing my attention to this important document.

(2). RNB 1, 367. For the date of this charter, see Mastoris, 'Reeves', 38.

(3). RNB 1, 57-9.

(4). PR 1194, 84; 1195, 17; 1196, 267; 1197, 144 etc.

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essentials, the new borough was almost certainly a seigneurial institution within the honour of Peverel.

In the light of the English characteristics of much of William Peverel's fee, its relationship with the the site of the French Borough, that is, the earl's estate, may also have had a pre-Conquest origin. Some connection there must have been, for it is inconceivable that Tosti could have controlled Nottingham without holding Clifton and the other estates of the fee. As early as the beginning of the tenth century, the need to control the southern approaches and the river had been recognised, for in 920 Edward the Elder built a borough to the south of the Trent (1). Although there is no evidence that this structure survived into the eleventh century, West Bridgford, its most likely site, was situated within the manor of Clifton (2). There is no reason to suppose that the strategic importance of the area was any less important in 1066 (3). Unfortunately, almost nothing is known about William's likely predecessor, Countess Gytha, the lady of the manor in 1066, and her place in the power structures in the county. She was the wife of Earl Ralf of Hereford, Edward the Confessor's nephew, and they had a son called Harold. After Ralf's death in 1056, the earldom was given to Harold Godwinson, but nothing is known about Gytha's subsequent activities (4). It is possible that she was in some way related to the house of Godwin, and therefore Tosti, for the two families shared the names Gytha and Harold. Such patterns are often characteristic of kinship groups. It is more likely, though, that she

(1). *ASC*, 67.

(2). Barley, Straw, 'Nottingham', 3. Mickleborough Hill has been suggested as the site (*VCH Notts.* i, 291n).

(3). See chapter 10.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 10,5n.

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benefited directly or indirectly, from the overthrow of Tosti in 1065 for she apparently held lands in Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire and Nottinghamshire, the earldoms of which had both been held by the earl, in the following year (1). It is therefore possible that she also held Tosti's land in Nottingham in 1066 as the *caput* of her Nottinghamshire estates. The fact, of course, is apparently contested by Domesday Book. But information for the earl's carucate in Nottingham evidently came from a source drawn up before 1065 when he was deposed (2). The datum for the account of Clifton, however, in common with the rest of the survey, was ostensibly 1066. The disparity in the Domesday Book, then, may merely reflect the use of different sources. Ultimately, however, it is not possible to penetrate the obscurity of the subject and period. Nevertheless, Domesday Book provides evidence of a remarkable concentration of lands of thanes around Nottingham in 1066. The pattern is unusual, although probably not unparalleled, and is evidently related to the town. There remains the possibility, then, though probably unproveable, that Tosti's estate was the centre of a pre-Conquest group of manors which was related to the defence of Nottingham which passed *en bloc* to William Peverel after the Conquest.

Such, then, is the context in which the French borough was founded. Far from being a new settlement, it was a re-organisation of a royal or comital estate which was situated adjacent to, but administratively separate from, the pre-Conquest borough. Despite considerable uncertainty about the function of this estate, as Earl Tosti's land, it

(1). *Northants DB*, no. 35; *Berks DB*, no. 24; see chapter 10.

(2). See above. Tosti is also recorded as having held two estate which appear in the *terra regis* in 1086. As we have seen (chapter 2), the Domesday account of the king's lands is apparently derived from sources other than those of the bulk of the text.

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was evidently of some importance in the borough and the county. Something of its form may have survived in the character of the French borough. The reorganisation was in many ways radical. If part of the estate, the appurtenant land in Lenton was appended to other manors, and the element in Nottingham was urbanised. The nineteen villeins in 1066 probably belonged to this estate rather than the borough, and are recorded because their land was subsequently absorbed in the new town (1). Burgage tenure and French customs, such as primogeniture, were probably introduced at this time. The process is not unparalleled. At Stamford, part of the royal estate adjacent to the Anglo-Scandinavian borough was incorporated into the town when the castle was built on the site. The agricultural element of the estate, however, was appended to a royal manor in Ketton or Great Casterton to the west of the town (2). Nevertheless, the French Borough was probably seigneurial rather than royal in character, or rapidly became so. Its role as the centre of the Peverel fee in the fourteenth century may reflect a pre-Conquest arrangement of estates which were organised through the earl's estate to defend the borough. The building of the castle on the rock and Standard Hill may, then, represent continuity of institution, if not of site, from the pre- to post-Conquest period. Something of the pre-Conquest layout of the estate may also have survived. Clearly the Saturday Market is not necessarily a function of the relationship between the two boroughs. As at Stamford, it may be an early topographical feature which owes as much to the presence of the extra-burghal estate as of the borough (3). There may also be grounds for seeing St. Peter's as a

(1). *Notts. DB*, B1.

(2). Mahany, Roffe, 'Stamford', 216-7.

(3). Mahany, Roffe, 'Stamford', 216-7.

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market church. The parish of St. Nicholas more or less defines the area in which the streets fan out from the castle. This may be the original extent of the French borough. St. Peter's parish however is squeezed in between this area and the English borough. In the documented period it did not encompass the market, but its area may have been considerably infilled. Such speculations, however, can only be resolved by further archaeological research.

In 1066, then, Nottingham was a complex settlement which was characterised by three distinctive features. First, royal authority within the borough was more pronounced than in most county towns. Second, there was a royal or comital estate adjacent to the borough but administratively distinct from it. Third, a large number of thanes settled within the vicinity appear to be related to the defence of the town and were probably organised through this estate. It is within this context that the fees recorded in the second section of the Domesday account must be examined. As has already been seen, many of these tenements probably belonged to rural estates and were certainly responsible for a degree of tenurial heterogeneity in the later Middle Ages. Elsewhere such fees were common before the Conquest, and were related to the specialised functions of the borough as a social, economic, and military centre. But in Nottingham there is no evidence that they were a pre-Conquest feature of the town for no TRE tenants are named in the Domesday account. An argument from silence is, of course, dangerous, but the absence of the information, coupled with the simplicity of the parochial structure in Nottingham, tends to suggest that the fees were a Norman innovation. Indeed, the record of *domus equitum*, houses of horsemen or knights, may imply that they are directly

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related to the garrisoning of the castle, and owe their existence to the reorganisation of Earl Tosti's estate (1). This is not to say that the lords of the shire did not hold tenements in the borough before the Conquest. They almost certainly did. But they were probably not held with sake and soke and were thus not part of their manors but belonged to the borough and therefore appear in the first section of the account (3). The existence of such liberties in the boroughs may betoken something more than a mere economic function for they carried with them the reciprocal duties of army service, repair of bridges, and the garrisoning of the fortresses (4). Although the garrison theory as a general interpretation of the origins of boroughs has been discredited, nevertheless boroughs were still manned and bookland was burdened with the duty (5). In Nottingham, however, the booking of land was a late development for defence was probably the direct responsibility of the earl and the thanes settled around the borough. There was, then, probably no need for non-customary tenements within the borough.

(1). *Notts. DB*, B9, 10.

(2). Unfortunately, it has not proved possible to identify the location of all the fees, and it is therefore impossible to determine whether they were located in the French Borough.

(3). Part of the Sandiacre fee in Derbyshire was located in Derby itself in the late eleventh century, but is not identified in *Domesday* because it paid all customs (Roffe, 'Introduction', *Derbyshire Domesday*).

(4). R. Abels, 'Bookland and Fyrd Service in Late Saxon England', *Anglo-Norman Studies VII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1984*, ed. R. A. Brown, Woodbridge 1985, 1-15.

(5). F. W. Maitland, *Township and Borough*, Cambridge 1898, 44, 210; Tait, *Mediaeval English Borough*, 26-7.

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The borough as a Domesday Book form has been separately analysed because of the special place that the compilers assigned to it. But it would be a mistake to examine its functions without reference to the county of which it was a part. As we have already seen, despite the manifest difference in context, the legal form of relationships, along with the customs that informed them, were very similar to those found in the large rural sokes. In its essentials, the borough was a specialised royal manor. Its role, however, was distinctive. It is not possible, and probably not desirable, to define a borough for no one feature, or set of features, is common to all urban settlements (1). But certain characteristics can usually be identified in the county borough (2). In origin, one of its most basic roles was to serve as a military centre. As such, it had a territory from which it drew resources for its maintenance and which, in return, it defended. This aspect of the borough was never entirely lost, but from the very beginning it was supplemented by economic and administrative functions (3). The whole system of royal government was based upon the shire and its subdivisions, and the county town was its natural centre. The borough was *par excellence* royal, and the king's interests in minting coin and tolls was concentrated within it. In the tenth century attempts were even made to confine all commercial exchange to the borough to prevent the sale of stolen goods (4). Because of these very functions, the

(1). S. Reynolds, *English Medieval Towns*, Oxford 1977, ix, x.

(2). The term embraces those settlements which are described at the head of each Domesday county. Not all were county towns. Some, like Stamford and Torksey, were subordinate to other centres, but they were nevertheless of sufficient importance to be treated in the same way (A. Ballard, *The Domesday Boroughs*, Oxford 1904, 5, 43).

(3). Defence and urbanisation went hand in hand; see chapter 10.

(4). *EHD* i, 384.

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borough cannot be understood without examining its context.

Nottingham, more than most, was closely identified with its shire. As a county borough, it was unusual in being quite so intimately related to royal authority in the late eleventh century. The influence of the king, and the control that he exercised, suggest that the town was more than usually demesnal in character. Moreover, the concentration of the thanes' lands within its vicinity, whether organised through the earl's estate or as king's thanes, reveals a remarkable concern with the defence of the borough. The system, or its survival, is probably unparalleled in the North, unless the 84 carucates attached to the city of York served a similar function (1). Royal power was not, however, confined to the county town. In the eleventh century the king's resources in the county as a whole were considerable. They are only rivalled in the East Midlands by a similar concentration in the Peak of Derbyshire (2). Indeed, much of Nottinghamshire north of the River Trent was royal demesne centred on the five great manors of Mansfield, Grimston, Oswaldbeck, Dunham, and Arnold. There was in addition a large comital estate based upon Bothamsall (3). At the earlier period, considerably more land had belonged to the crown, or had been in its

(1). *Yorks. DB*, SN, Y1. It should be noted, however, that the honour of Colsuain, the constable of Lincoln Castle, shares many characteristics with that of William Peverel. Much of it was concentrated around the city of Lincoln and had a distinctively pre-Conquest identity, and in the thirteenth century it met in Bardolf's Hall in the Bail rather than the castle, even though the *caput* of the fee was in Brattleby. (*Lincs. DB*, breve no. 26; J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, Cambridge 1948, 87, 105).

(2). *Derbys. DB*, 1,27-34; D. R. Roffe, *The Derbyshire Domesday*, Darley Dale 1986, 25-7. The whole of *Hamenstan Wapentake*, that is, the High and Low Peak, had formerly been held by the crown. The 60 *manentes* at Hope and Ashford granted by Athelstan in 926 (*ECNE*, 103) can probably be identified with the sixty Domesday villis in the region (D. R. Roffe, 'The Origins of Derbyshire', forthcoming *DAJ*, 1986).

(3). *Notts. DB*, breve no. 1.

(4). *ECNE*, 111-2.

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soke. The estates of Southwell, and Sutton and Scrooby were granted by the crown to the Archbishop of York in the mid tenth century (4). Interlocking patterns of estates suggest that almost the whole of the area had been folkland under the king at some period prior to 1066 (1). Laxton was part of Grimston, the manors of the archbishop and Roger de Bully in the wapentake of Oswaldbeck were part of the soke of the same name, and probably many of Roger's estates in Bassetlaw formerly belonged to Bothamsall, Dunham, and possibly Mansfield (2).

The whole of this area was probably known as Sherwood, the shire wood, before the Conquest. In the thirteenth century the bounds of the forest were limited to an area to the north of Nottingham and did not extend much beyond the boundaries of the wapentake of Broxtow (3). But royal demesne throughout the county was subject to forest law, and it is clear from the Pipe Rolls that the forest encompassed the whole of the Clay and Hatfield in the twelfth century (4). It was, moreover, evidently an ancient institution for in Edgar's grant of Sutton to the archbishop of York in 958, the area to the north of the estate is said to be

(1). The date at which estates fragmented cannot usually be determined with great precision. The process was under way in Derbyshire by c.950 (Roffe, *The Derbyshire Domesday*, 9-10), and it has been suggested that the main stimulus came with the Danish colonisation of the East Midlands and the North (P. H. Sawyer, 'Some Sources for the History of Viking Northumbria', *Viking Age York*, ed. R. A. Hall, London 1978, 7). The appearance of Danish place-name forms with personal names as a first element within large estates or their vicinity, certainly does indicate that some settlements had assumed a discrete identity by the early tenth century. The ordered division of sokes, however, suggests that the process was far from *ad hoc*. Indeed, it seems likely that residual rights were usually retained by an overlord in the ancient estate centre. Such often only survive into the later Middle Ages in the *parochia* of the church of the soke.

(2). See chapter 5.

(3). D. Crook, 'The Struggle over Forest Boundaries in Nottinghamshire 1218-1227', *TTS* 83, (1979), 35-45.

(4). J. C. Holt, *The Northerners: a Study in the Reign of King John*, Oxford 1961, 194 and Map 2.

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situated in Sherwood (1). Despite booking of land, the king had apparently retained rights over the whole of Nottinghamshire north of the Trent for the area of the forest extended beyond his demesne in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Evidence for such reservation of dues is probably to be found in a post-Conquest Latin translation of an authentic English writ of Edward the Confessor. Between 1060 and 1065 the king informed Tosti and all his thanes in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire that he had granted to Archbishop Ældred 'sake and soke, toll and team over his men within my soke as fully as he has in his own land' (2). Unfortunately, the lands in question are not named, although, as suggested above (3), the writ may refer, *inter alia*, to the archbishop's estate in Oswaldbeck. But it is clear that the archbishop held land over which the king had retained soke of an unspecified nature. The writ clearly indicates that the king was reserving rights, and thus that the process of booking was limited.

The precise nature of these rights is not explicit, but the nature of the king's interest and concern is illustrated by the reservation of tolls over the same area and beyond. These dues are first defined in Nottinghamshire in the foundation charter of Blyth in 1088. Roger de Bully granted the monks '*theloneum et passagium*' over a large area of north Nottinghamshire and west Yorkshire. The banlieu extended from Radeford, the River Ryton, to an unidentified Thornewad, and from Frodestan, again unidentified, to the River Idle, presumably at Retford (4). Roger's liberty may have been more extensive for the toll which he

(1). ECNE, 112; G. T. Davies, 'The Anglo-Saxon Boundaries of Sutton and Scrooby, Nottinghamshire', TTS 87, (1983), 13-22.

(2). F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, Manchester 1952, no. 119.

(3). See chapter 5.

(4). TMS, 92-3; *Blyth Cartulary*, ed. R. T. Timson, TSRS 27-8, no. 293.

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enjoyed in Gunthorpe in succession to (Earl?) Morcar may have been the same type of due (1). It is not clear how he came to be in possession of this liberty for almost nothing is known about the tenant-in-chief, but it is unlikely that it was derived from a predecessor in his own right. From a confirmation charter of Henry I, it is clear that his *thelonea* extended beyond the bounds of his own estate (2) and, thus, it can only have been conferred by the crown.

By the twelfth century the toll of most of the rest of the shire belonged to the borough of Nottingham, and the royal origins of the exaction are plain. In c.1155, Henry II granted to the burgesses of Nottingham all the free customs which they had in the time of King Henry I, namely, toll and team, and infangentheof, and *thelonia* from Thrumpton to Newark, and of all things crossing the Trent as fully as in the borough of Nottingham, and on the other side from the brook beyond Rempstone to the water of Radford in the north (3). Earl John's confirmation of c.1189 adds 'and from Bycarr's Dyke' (4). The bounds so defined appear to be primarily related to the main lines of communication. 'From Thrumpton to Newark' clearly refers to the passage of the Trent. Its course from Newark to the north may thus have been excluded (5). 'From the brook beyond Rempstone to the water of Radford'

(1). *Notts. DB*, 9.74.

(2). *Blyth Cartulary*, no. 293.

(3). *RBN* i, 2, 3.

(4). *RBN* i, 11.

(5). In 1281 the bishop of Lincoln claimed throughtoll at Newark, Spaldingford, Waith, Collingham, and Stokes. In 1329 he also enjoyed toll at Clifton, Besthorpe, and Coddington (*QW*, 442, 660). All of these villis were in the wapentake of Newark, and it seems likely that he was entitled to the due from the whole of Nottinghamshire east of the Trent. It is not clear, however, whether the liberties were an original appurtenance of the manor of Newark, for no mention is made of toll in the confirmation of the estate to the bishop of Dorchester in 1053-5 (*Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham* i, ed. H. E. Salter, Oxford 1907, 28-9). But the fact adds substantial weight to the essentially topographic-

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must be related to the main king's highway through the shire from the south as far as the River Ryton, which would therefore appear to define the southern limit of Blyth's banlieu (1). In 1330 the boundary was said to extend from the River Idle to Ordsall, Twyford Bridge, Normanton near Bothamsall, and thence south to Radford. This, however, was not the full extent of the liberty. In 1225 the burgesses of Nottingham leased part of their toll, including that to the north of Retford, to the men of Retford (2). As indicated by John's charter, the banlieu clearly extended to the county boundary to the north. To the west, it evidently extended beyond the limits of the county into Derbyshire. In 1232, the burgesses leased tolls to the lord of Ilkeston in his lands of the fee of Gant for 2 shillings per annum (3). Indeed, the tolls of the shire granted to Derby in 1204 may also have belonged to Nottingham in the twelfth century, for they are said to be those liberties which the king's burgesses of Nottingham had in the reign of Henry I, and are not noted in a charter of liberties granted to Derby by Henry II in 1155-60 (4).

As with Blyth's liberties, Nottingham's tolls were not confined to one fee, but were a due which was exacted generally. It is therefore in marked contrast with the toll which the possessor of sake and soke, toll

al argument that has been produced to suggest that the wapentake of Newark was originally independent of Nottinghamshire, and possibly attached to Lincolnshire (A. Rogers, 'The Origins of Newark: the Evidence of Local Boundaries', *TTS* 78, (1974), 74-87). It must, however, have been administered from Nottingham by the time of carucation in the second half of the tenth century for the assessment of Newark was an integral element in the quota assigned to the territory of Nottingham (see below and chapter 10).

(1). *VCH Notts.* i, 239; *Blyth Cartulary*, ciii, no. A125.

(2). *RBN* i, 11.

(3). *BL Add. Charter*, 47,498. I would like to thank S. N. Mastoris for drawing my attention to this document.

(4). *Rot. Chart*, 138; *CChR* i, 96; *Blyth Cartulary*, 1.

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and team expected in 1066 (1). Indeed, the two types are implicitly distinguished in the c.1155 charter. The one is called *thelonia*, the other toll (2). Although the former is merely the Latin form of the latter, the use of the two words was clearly intended to differentiate diverse renders. The nature of the distinction is indeed implied in the Blyth charter in which *thelonia* is linked with *passagium*, and it is explicit in that of Retford where it is called *thurtol*, through toll (3). Thus, both Blyth and Nottingham enjoyed the toll on the main lines of communication through the shire from all who use them, with, as is clear from the confirmation of Blyth's liberties in c.1105, the sole exception of merchants of the king's household (4). By way of contrast, the lord who held his land with sake and soke, toll and team was merely entitled to local tolls from his own estates (5). Toll was a royal privilege, and so *a fortiori* was *thelonia* (6). Thus, in 1225, prior to the lease of tolls, an inquisition was held into the customs that the men of Nottingham had in the vill of Retford in aid of the farm of their town (7). The tolls were royal, and any changes in collection therefore touched the king's interests.

Nottinghamshire is not unusual in the king possessing such tolls. They were probably universally levied for they were connected with the establishment of legal markets within boroughs (8) and the king's

(1). *Notts. DB*, S5.

(2). *RBN* i, 2, 3.

(3). *TMS*, 92; *RBN* i, 11.

(4). *TMS*, 92; *Blyth Cartulary*, no. 293.

(5). H. R. Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England 500-1087*, London 1984, 162.

(6). Those who had sake and soke, toll and team, were entitled to the king's two pennies (*Notts. DB*, S5).

(7). *Rot. Lit. Claus.* ii, 82.

(8). The establishment of legal markets in boroughs first appears in the surviving law codes in the reign of Athelstan (*EHD* i, 354), and it is at about this time that toll is also first found in the sources (F.

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especial protection of the major roads and rivers. Thus, 'in Nottingham the river Trent and the dyke (or Fosse Way) and the road to York are so protected that if anyone hinders the passage of the ships, or if anyone ploughs or makes a dyke within two perches of the king's road, he has to pay a fine of 8 pounds' (1). This passage may only refer to Nottingham itself, but similar penalties must have applied throughout the county. But usually such dues were granted piecemeal before the Conquest to individuals or religious institutions. Peterborough Abbey, for example, possessed toll in the soke of Peterborough and the Eight Hundreds of Oundle, probably from the time of its refoundation in c.972 (2). In Nottinghamshire, however, they remained more or less intact.

As the king's borough *par excellence*, Nottingham was the natural focus for these dues, and it is possible, therefore, that Blyth's liberties were ultimately derived from it. However, it is equally possible that they relate to a separate borough in the north of the county. There are, of course, no references to such an institution in the extant sources. But there is another characteristic of the Bully fee which, like the right to tolls, suggests that it was related to a general authority, by implication royal, in the north of Nottinghamshire. In 1145 King Stephen gave the chapelry of Blyth (*capellarium de Blida*) to the cathedral church of Lincoln, along with all of its churches, chapels, tithes, and lands, and all the appurten-

E. Harmer, 'Chipping and Market: a Lexicographical Investigation', *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe* (H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies), eds C. Fox, B. Dickens, Cambridge 1950, 342-9; J. Hoops, *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, Strassburg 1918-19, s. v. Zoll). For the relationship between toll banlieus and the burghal system of Athelstan, see Roffe, 'The Origins of Derbyshire'.

(1). *Notts. DB*, B20.

(2). *ECCE*, 25-6; G. N. Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 2nd ed., London 1975, 116-7. The charter is spurious, but clearly draws upon authentic tradition. See *Lincs. DB*, p9/1.

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ances thereof (1). This was no ordinary parochial chapel, for it consisted of a large number of churches with full parochial rights. In 1191-3, when a grant of the institution to St. Mary of Rouen was confirmed by John, earl of Mortain, it had rights in four separate groups of parishes, each of which encompassed, or was adjacent to, an important estate centre (2). Harworth, with its chapels of Serlby and Martin, was situated on the northern boundary of Nottinghamshire between Tickhill and Blyth. Wheatley, whether North or South is not clear, stood alone in the wapentake of Oswaldbeck, but probably included the manor of Oswaldbeck itself (3). West Markham, with its chapels of Kirton, Walesby, Houghton, Bevercotes, West Drayton, Gamston, and Egmanton, along with the church of East Markham, formed a large group which almost encircled the comital manor of Bothamsall (4). Finally, the parishes of East Bridgford in the wapentake of Bingham and Gonalston and Lowdham in Thurgarton, with its chapel of Gunthorpe where (Earl?) Morcar held a manor, formed a discrete group which straddled the Trent (5). There were, in addition, various parcels of land and tithes in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, notably in Tickhill. Although in the gift of the king and the earl of Mortain in the twelfth century, the chapelry was evidently part of the Bully fee. Thus, it was identified by the same name as Roger's honour, and three of the churches, East Bridgford, East Markham, and Harworth, were entered in his Domesday Book breve (6). The king, and through him the Earl of Mortain, clearly had the right to it on account

(1). *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln* i, ed. C. W. Foster, Lincoln 1930, 62, 211.

(2). *Cal. Doc. France*, no. 61.

(3). *PNN*, 43.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 1,9.

(5). *Notts. DB*, 9,74.

(6). *Notts. DB*, 9,6; 55; 100.

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of the escheat of the honour to the crown in 1141 (1).

In the fourteenth century, the whole organisation was claimed as a royal free chapel, that is, as a peculiar which was exempt from ordinary jurisdiction (2). Whether this was an ancient characteristic of the chapelry was a matter of dispute at the time. It is clear from the archiepiscopal registers, however, that the archdeacon of Nottingham instituted clerks to the churches of Egmanton, Gonalston, Harworth, Houghton, and Gamston in the thirteenth century, on the authority of Archbishops Gray and Gifford. Moreover, the vicars of East Markham and Wheatley, and the proctor of St. Mary of Rouen were subject to episcopal discipline (3). But in 1191 and 1199 Geoffrey Archbishop of York confirmed the grant of the chapelry, but specifically reserved episcopal dues (4). This would be a somewhat otiose stipulation unless ordinary jurisdiction had been claimed in the past, for episcopal authority was all but universal, and was always understood in such grants. Indeed, the term *capellaria* implies a very special ecclesiastical liberty when used in the present context (5). The king's claim in the fourteenth century may thus have been grounded in long established custom. On balance, then, it seems likely that the institution enjoyed extensive rights in the twelfth century and probably before.

Royal free chapels of this type are usually associated with important early churches and estates. All Saints'/St. Alkmund's, in

(1). I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies*, Oxford 1960, 147.

(2). J. H. Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels 1100-1300*, Manchester 1970, 115.

(3). *The Register, or Rolls, of Walter Gray, Lord Archbishop of York; with Appendices of Illustrative Documents*, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society 56, (1872), 93-4; *The Register of Walter Giffard, Lord Archbishop of York, 1266-1279*, ed. W. Brown, Surtees Society 109, (1904), 4, 73, 91, 260-1.

(4). *Cal. Doc. France*, no. 62.

(5). Denton, *Royal Free Chapels*, 1-20.

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Derby, for example, was an ancient minster, and the dean of the foundation exercised episcopal authority in the church and its *parochia* (1). The constituent churches of the chapelry of Blyth, then, may have constituted the parish of a major minster or part thereof. Blyth is the obvious choice for the location of such a foundation. But, despite the name, the jurisdiction was attached to the chapel of St. Nicholas in the castle of Tickhill (2). This may, however, have been a recent innovation. According to Hunter, the Yorkshire antiquarian, Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine was said to have founded the chapelry (3). No reference is given for this assertion and, as it stands, it cannot be correct. As we have seen (4), it was already in existence in 1145. But Eleanor had an interest in the institution for it was granted to Rouen at her request (5). If based upon authentic tradition, then, the statement may refer to the reorganisation of the chapelry in which dues were transferred from Blyth to Tickhill.

If Blyth is the more likely focus of the institution in the early twelfth century, the widespread distribution of its component elements, and its apparent relationship to important estates centres, may point less to a minster church than to an authority that had received ecclesiastical dues over a large area. As with toll, Roger de Bully may

(1). Denton, *Royal Free Chapels*, 1, 109-12. The two foundations of St. Alkmund and All Saints were united in the twelfth century, although there were two distinct churches into the modern period. At the time of Domesday, however, they appear to have constituted a pair of minsters of a type which is also found in Chester, Shrewsbury, and Gloucester (*Derbys. DB*, B1; A. T. Thacker, 'Chester and Gloucester: Early Ecclesiastical Organisation in Two Mercian Burhs', *Northern History* xviii, 199-211).

(2). *Rot. Lit. Claus.* i, 70; *Blyth Cartulary*, cxxviii.

(3). J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire: the History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster in the Diocese of York* i, London 1828, 235-6.

(4). Above.

(5). *Cal. Doc. France*, no. 46.

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have been heir to extensive royal prerogatives relating to tithes. Some relationship between the two regalian dues, then, might be expected. The banlieu of Roger's tolls as defined in the foundation charter of Blyth does not coincide exactly with the extent of the chapelry (1), but he may have granted only part of his liberty. Indeed, in 1086 he enjoyed toll (*theloneum*) and a ship which rendered 30 shillings and 8 pence in Gunthorpe (2). The tolls cannot have been extensive for the value is low, but the due, if of the same type, may be a vestige of a wider banlieu at an earlier period and, significantly, it is associated with a vill which was a member of the chapelry of Blyth.

The association of such dues with the Bully fee must indicate a royal organisation of some type, but does not necessarily imply the existence of a borough in the north of the county. The distinctive characteristics of the honour, however, are not inconsistent with such a conclusion. Indeed, the place names of the chapelry may even suggest a separate entity. The first elements in the names Harworth, Martin, and Markham all refer to boundaries (3). Two presumably relate to that of the county, but the third was marked by no known administrative division in the eleventh century. Nor would such a borough be without parallel. After the construction of the defences south of the Trent at Nottingham in 920, Edward the Elder built a borough in the vicinity of Bakewell in the Peak District of Derbyshire (4). It was probably part of an offensive against Ragnald's regime in York, and was clearly successful

(1). Only Harworth, Serlby, Martin, West Drayton, and Gamston were in the toll banlieu. With the exception of the East Bridgford complex, however, the rest of the chapelry was adjacent to it.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 9, 74.

(3). *PNN*, 55, 80, 81.

(4). *ASC*, 67; C. R. Hart, *The North Derbyshire Archaeological Survey*, Chesterfield 1981, 118-121.

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for the north almost immediately submitted (1). There is no trace, however, of the burgal status of Bakewell in the Domesday Book description of the settlement (2). Its function, it seems, had accrued to the county town. Nevertheless, Derby did not enjoy tolls in the north of the county (3). A borough in Nottinghamshire would probably have experienced a similar fate for it cannot have had a separate existence after carucation in the mid tenth century when the shire as an integrated administrative area came into being (4). It is likely, then, that it would have been built before this date, and Edward's 920 campaign would have provided a not unreasonable occasion. He was using both Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire as forward offensive positions at this time, and a borough in the north of the county would have forestalled an outflanking incursion from York via the Trent or the North Road. The identification of a site can, of course, be nothing more than speculation. But Blyth is a possibility. Situated on the main road, it occupies a strategic position of some importance. Tickhill, however, cannot be ruled out. Identified as Dadsley in Domesday Book, with 21 burgesses, it was probably a borough in 1086, and was the *caput* of the Bully fee. Archaeological field work may produce more concrete evidence in the near future.

The rights of the king in Sherwood in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the monopoly of tolls in Nottingham and Blyth, then, are symptomatic of an archaic system of administration. Much of the shire

(1). See chapter 10.

(2). *Derbys. DB*, 1,27. Bakewell was a manor, albeit a very important one. With a market, fair, and burgage tenure in the thirteenth century, the settlement had some pretensions to urban status (Hart, *North Derbyshire*, 140). It is unlikely, however, that there was any institutional continuity from the tenth century.

(3). Roffe, 'The Origins of Derbyshire'.

(4). See below and chapter 10.

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had evidently been royal land at some period before the Conquest. In 1066 the king still held a large number of estates. But, although the crown had not resisted alienation altogether, it had reserved certain regalian rights, many of which, as before, were still administered through the county borough. The special interest that the king maintained in Nottingham, then, was but the corollary of the authority he preserved in the county. The key to an understanding of this remarkable phenomenon lies in the strategic importance of the shire. The county was defended to the north by the wilderness of the Isle of Axholme and Hatfield Chase. But it provided the crucial link between Yorkshire and the heart of Mercia. Tamworth was only within 40 miles of Nottingham, and the Trent offered a rapid and convenient means of transport. It was therefore of crucial importance as a marcher area when there was tension between north and south. As we shall see (1), the control of the shire was an abiding *leitmotif* of northern politics in the ninth to eleventh centuries. It is not surprising, then, that the crown kept a firm grip on the area.

The formation and identity of Nottinghamshire was probably a function of these characteristics. The term 'shire' in the sense of a county is not unambiguously used in the North until the early years of the eleventh century (2). Nottinghamshire as a unit of administration,

(1). See chapter 10.

(2). C. S. Taylor, 'The Origin of the Mercian Shires', *Gloucestershire Studies*, ed. H. P. R. Finburg, Leicester 1957, 18. The Ramsey chronicler records that the great men of East Anglia, and of Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, and Kesteven attended the reconsecration of Ramsey Abbey in 991 (*Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. W. Dunn Macray, London 1886, 93). However, although based upon early material, the account is a post-Conquest compilation. At the time of the Vantage Code (c.998), the five boroughs and their territories were still subject to the authority of an ealdorman and king's reeve in the meeting of the Five Boroughs (*EHD* i, 403). The concept of the shire, then, as it is known in the eleventh

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however, had already been defined at this time. Local government was based upon a carucation imposed in the mid tenth century which was articulated through the integrated network of wapentakes and half wapentakes of the Domesday county and later (1). The area of the historical shire, then, must also date from the time that this system was introduced. If there had been a borough in the north of the county, its territory must have been integrated into the new organisation at the same time, if not before, and since the assessment of the wapentakes of Martinsley and Alstoe was fully integrated into the quotas of the shire, *Roteland* too must have appended to Nottinghamshire by the 960s (2).

This was a period of massive reorganisation in the North. The Five Boroughs as a unified institution were set up as a buffer zone against an unstable Northumbria, and the new system of administration was introduced to maintain the peace and co-ordinate local defence (3). It is clear from *Aethelred's Wantage Code* that the system was federal in structure (4), but there is evidence that there had been a considerable amount of rearrangement of territory to create efficient units of administration. It was almost certainly at this time that Stamford and its tributary territory were appended to Lincoln. In the eleventh century the name *Lindsey* was often used to refer to the whole of Lincolnshire, suggesting that the political initiative had come from Lincoln, the centre of the northern division of the new county, and both

century, if not necessarily the term, was inappropriate in the tenth century in the East Midlands.

(1). See chapter 6.

(2). See chapter 5.

(3). See chapter 10. The five boroughs were coordinated in a meeting over which the ealdorman and king's reeve presided. Nevertheless, the system was not an association of formerly independent entities, but a fully integrated polity (Roffe, 'Origins of Derbyshire').

(4). *EHD* i, 403.

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Lindsey and Kesteven were apparently carucated by a common authority. The association of the two boroughs of Lincoln and Stamford, then, must date from at least the time when the Domesday assessment was introduced (1). Holland, if formerly part of East Anglia, must also have been appended to the two boroughs at this time (2). Despite the fact that carucation rather than historic precedent or strategic considerations determined the structure of units, the relationship between Roteland and Nottinghamshire at first sight still appears anomalous, for the two regions are physically remote. But in character Roteland was more akin to Nottinghamshire than the neighbouring shires of Leicester and Lincoln. Much of it was forest, and the whole may have constituted a royal estate (3). The interests of the crown were still well represented in 1066, and residual rights were probably retained in the land that had been alienated (4). Like Nottinghamshire, it was an area in which the crown's interests were pronounced, and it was therefore natural that the two should be administered together within the Five Boroughs.

Derby and its territory were probably also appended to Nottinghamshire at this time. Up to the early tenth century, it had evidently been independent. In 917 the Anglo-Saxon chronicle records that Athelflaed won the borough called Derby, with God's help, together

(1). C. M. Mahany, D. R. Roffe, 'Stamford: the Development of an Anglo-Scandinavian Borough', *Anglo-Norman Studies V: the Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1982*, ed. R. A. Brown, Woodbridge 1983, 211-15. If the wapentake of Newark had formerly been part of Lindsey (see above), it must have been lost to Nottingham by this time.

(2). C. R. Hart, 'Athelstan "Half King" and his Family', *Anglo-Saxon England* 2, (1973), 138-43.

(3). C. Phythian-Adams, 'Rutland Reconsidered', *Mercian Studies*, ed. A. Dornier, Leicester 1977, 63-70.

(4). *Rutland DB*, R6, 7-20. Thus, seven and a half hides and one bovate of land in Empingham, in Witchley Hundred, Northamptonshire, in 1086, were held by Gilbert de Ghent in the soke of Roteland (*Northants. DB*, 46,5).

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with all that belonged to it (1). Edward the Elder subsequently took Tamworth, and all Mercia that had owed allegiance to Æthelflaed submitted to him. But Nottingham was not included for Edward then occupied the town, and all the people settled in Mercia, both English and Danes submitted to him (2). Clearly, Nottingham and Derby were separate political entities. But at the time of Domesday, and subsequently in the Middle Ages, the two counties were closely associated. There was only one sheriff from before 1086, and the shire courts met together in Nottingham (3). The relationship was almost certainly of long standing. As we have already seen (4), Nottingham's toll banlieu extended into Derbyshire, and may originally have covered the whole of the south of the county. The men of Derbyshire were also enjoined to attend the Saturday Market in Nottingham, although this may have been a reciprocal arrangement for Derby had a similar monopoly on Thursdays. Nevertheless, it was Nottingham's liberties that took precedence within the two shires (5). Such links betray every sign of antiquity. Indeed, the assessment of Derbyshire suggests that it was closely associated with Nottinghamshire from the time of the carucation. Some 675 carucates are recorded in Domesday Book, but 140 had been held by the crown in 1066. As we have seen, *terra regis* was evidently not included in county quotas (6). Thus, there is left an assessment of 535

(1). ASC, 64.

(2). ASC, 66-7.

(3). D. Crook, '"Moothallgate" and the Venue of the Nottinghamshire County Court in the Thirteenth Century', *TTS* 88, (1984), 99-102; D. Crook, 'The Establishment of the Derbyshire County Court, 1256', *DAJ* 103, (1983), 98-106.

(4). Above.

(5). *RBN* 1, 2, 3; *Rot. Chart.*, 138.

(6). In the fourteenth century the king's share of divided settlements in Derbyshire was always constituted as a separate vill, a clear indication of the separate administration of royal estates at an earlier period (Roffe, 'The Origins of Derbyshire').

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carucates, which is very close to the suggested quota of 504 carucates of Nottinghamshire. Moreover, there were six wapentakes (1), and there is evidence that each was also assigned a quota of 84 carucates (figure 18). Like those of Nottinghamshire, the totals are only approximations, but the figures are remarkably consistent (2), and significantly half wapentakes are found in the fourteenth century (3). It is likely, then,

(1). Five wapentakes - Scarsdale, *Hamenstan*, Morleyston, *Walecross* and Appletree - are named in the Derbyshire folios (*Derbys. DB*, 1,1; 11; 19. 2,1. 6,1; 14; 70. 10,12; S5). But rubrication is so sporadic that it is not possible to reconstruct their area from the survey alone. Later sources must be used in conjunction with the Domesday data. The first comprehensive list of Derbyshire wapentakes and their constituent vills is found in the records of the lay subsidy of 1334 (R. E. Glasscock, *The Lay Subsidy of 1334*, London 1975, 42-8). Although a late source, it clearly draws upon much earlier administrative records. It names 257 vills in seven wapentakes - High Peak, Wirksworth, Scarsdale, Repton, Appletree, Morleyston, and Litchurch. But already by 1275 Litchurch had been dismembered. Half had been appended to Morleyston and the remainder formed a private bailiwick, known as *Perimplementum*, which was attached to Appletree. This arrangement may have been instituted as early as the reign of King John when the Earl of Ferrers was first granted the wapentake of Appletree (*RH* ii, 288, 295; *FA* i, 254-5; R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster* i, London 1953, 352; S.C. Newton, 'The Parliamentary Surveys of the Hundreds of Appletree and Gresley', *DAJ* 81, 1961, 132-3). The administrative structure of the lay subsidy was therefore already archaic in the fourteenth century. Indeed, the area of the wapentakes coincides remarkably well with the bounds of the Derbyshire deaneries which were probably modelled on local government units in the mid twelfth century (*The Cartulary of Darley Abbey*, ed. R. R. Darlington, London 1945, A lxv, A12; *VCH Derby* ii, 41; *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, London 1802, 246-7). It is clear, then, that the source drew upon twelfth or early thirteenth - century records. In its essentials, moreover, it evidently represents the eleventh - century system for the vills of the wapentakes of 1334 are consistently grouped together in Domesday Book. In *breve* no.6, for example, twenty of the Litchurch vills are enrolled one after the other (*Derby DB*, 6,80-99. Due allowance has been made for repetition of wapentake sequence). Although the wapentake does not appear *eo nomine*, it was clearly in existence in 1086 and apparently had the same boundaries, in terms of the vills that it encompassed, as those outlined in 1334. The only significant change seems to have been in the north of the shire. Estates which were subsequently in the wapentakes of High Peak and Wirksworth are enrolled under the rubric *Hamenstan* in Domesday Book (*Derby DB*, 1,11). It would appear that the two wapentakes had formed a single division in the eleventh century. The available sources, then, suggest that there were six wapentakes in Derbyshire in 1086.

(2). The standard diviation is 4.4.

(3). *FA* i, 246.

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Figure 18: the assessment of Derbyshire in 1086.

WAPENTAKE	ASSESSMENT	
	car. bov.	
Hamenstan	87	0½
Scarsdale	86	1½
Appletree	88	2⅓
Repton	85	6
Morleyston	98	0⅕
Litchurch	91	4

that a common principle of carucation was employed in both Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire based upon a quota of seven twelve-carucate hundreds per wapentake. It can be concluded that, by implication, both counties were subject to the common authority at the time that assessment was imposed.

The introduction of the Confederacy of the Five Boroughs, then, probably witnessed a considerable reorganisation of territory. Each borough had its own local administration, but for political purposes, certain centres took the lead. With the threat from the North, Lincoln was in the front line, and Stamford was probably appended to it with a penal assessment for its support. So, *a fortiori*, was Nottingham. Indeed, it may well have been the headquarters of the whole confederacy for Nottinghamshire commanded the main route from Mercia and the south into Yorkshire. Thus, in 934 Athelstan passed through Nottingham on his way to Northumbria, and in 1016 the direct route from the South to York took Cnut through Nottinghamshire (1). It is likely that *Roteland* was appended to it for its sustenance as well as Derbyshire, while the heavy assessment of Leicestershire may imply that the county stood in the same relation to Nottingham as did Stamford to Lincoln (2). It was not until

(1). S 407; ASC, 94-5.

(2). Mahany, Roffe, 'Stamford', 214-5.

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the dissolution of the Confederacy in the early eleventh century, that these new administrative areas emerged as autonomous units to form the shires, with all their peculiarities, of the mediaeval period (1).

(1). See chapter 10.

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Superficially the reconstruction of the eleventh-century landscape is the easiest task for the historian of the period. Domesday Book appears to furnish a mass of detailed evidence. The apparent record of settlement is unparalleled in most areas before the Hundred Rolls of the late thirteenth century, and the general survey of estate structure and stocking is unique in the Middle Ages. Comparable descriptions of the minutiae of resources and management are confined to individual estates and manors. However, the unique nature of the record is at the very root of the problem of interpretation. Unlike, for example, the extents of inquisitions *post mortem*, the context of the Domesday data is rarely understood. Nevertheless, by the judicious use of other types of evidence, critical criteria can be developed. We have already seen that the record of churches is very deceptive. Archaeological and structural evidence demonstrates the existence of many foundations in the mid eleventh century which do not appear in the text. This is not surprising if Domesday Book is primarily a record of demesne estates and the dues which they enjoyed. We can hardly expect it to provide us with a complete list of pre-Conquest churches. But such a realisation opens up new possibilities of interpretation. The record of a church, or its omission, enables us to evaluate something of its status in the eleventh century which would otherwise be impossible from the available sources. By no means a complete or objective survey, Domesday Book nevertheless tells us much about what it does record (1). The significance of identifying place-names is a problem of the same kind, although considerably more complex to interpret. It has long been recognised that

(1). D. R. Roffe, 'Domesday Book and the Local Historian', *The Nottinghamshire Historian* 37, (1986), 3-5.

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many settlements which independent evidence shows to have been in existence in the eleventh century, do not appear by name (1). Straightforward oversight on the part of the Domesday commissioners is sometimes responsible, but the phenomenon is so common that this is clearly not always a sufficient explanation. Both the procedures of the inquiry and the sources employed introduce distortions into the survey in this context as in many others. The identifying names of the Domesday Book must be examined in these terms before we can fully understand what evidence they provide for the elucidation of settlement structures.

Three hundred and thirteen place-names are recorded in the Nottinghamshire folios. Occasionally it is immediately possible to discern some characteristics of settlements to which they refer, for adjacent vills with the same name are sometimes given differentiating epithets. Morton, for example, is distinguished from 'the other Morton' and North Morton, Ordsall from South Ordsall, North from South Muskham (2). Some settlements were apparently divided in 1086 although not subsequently: two Chilwells and two Thistletons are represented in the later records as single settlements (3), but nevertheless it seems likely that the usage implies two separate nuclei, if not necessarily two nucleated villages. Most divisions of this kind, however, are probably not made explicit in the text. There were, for example, four estates called Leverton at the time of Domesday held by the archbishop of York, Roger de Bully, the king, and Count Alan (4). By 1316, North and South Leverton constituted separate vills, the one held by Master Lewis de

(1). See, for example, P. H. Sawyer, 'Introduction: Early Medieval English Settlement', *Medieval Settlement*, ed. P. H. Sawyer, London 1976, 2.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 1,11; 13. 9,34. 30,42. 1,5; 12. 9,19; 23. 30,56. 5,2; 5. 8,2. 12,11-13. 30,7; 46.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 10,26. 13,4-5. 30,52. *Rutland DB*, ELc, 7-8.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 1,32. 2,10. 5,4. 9,130.

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Beaumont and Adam de Everingham, and the other by the king and Thomas Latimer (1). Since the four fees apparently descend from the four Domesday estates, the very same division between North and South Leverton may have been in existence in 1086 (2).

The failure to distinguish different settlements is not confined to those with the same name. Some entries identified by one name include settlements subsequently known by a different name. According to Domesday Book, William Peverel held a manor in Toton with half a church (3). In the thirteenth century the vill was situated in the parish of Attenborough, half of the advowson of the church of which belonged to the Peverel fee. The other half was appurtenant to a holding which descended from an estate with half a church, which was identified as Chilwell and East Chilwell in Domesday Book (4). It seems likely that Attenborough was in existence in 1086, but its description is subsumed in the entries for Toton and the Chilwells. In both cases the identifying place-names are evidently those of estates. The Southwell entry, of course, affords the most obvious example of the use of an estate name in the Nottinghamshire text. The one name describes the estate centre and twelve unnamed berewicks which belonged to it (5). The dependent settlements can be identified from independent evidence as Normanton, Upton, Fiskerton, Farnsfield, Gibsmere, Bleasby, Goverton, Halloughton, Hallam, Kirklington, and Morton (6). But many entries may be of this type, although the fact is but rarely explicit. Such names were probably

(1). *FA* iv, 106.

(2). *CI* i, 225; ii, 231; xvi, 355; *FA* iv, 151.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 10,25.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 13,4; 5. R. Thoroton, *The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* ii, reprint Wakefield 1972, 178.

(5). *Notts. DB*, 5,1.

(6). *VCH Notts.* i, 218.

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taken from seigneurial sources and, where they have been extensively used in, for example, *breves* which take their form the tenant-in-chief's return, the identifying names probably indicate estate and, by implication, settlement nuclei, with some degree of precision. As estate names, however, they may encompass several settlements other than the ones named.

Not all Domesday place-names, however, are of this type. The names of local government units were extensively employed in the North. Thus, in Lincolnshire, the hundred name is frequently used. An estate in Long Sutton, for example, is identified as Tydd because it was situated in the hundred of that name (1). It has been suggested that all Domesday names in the West Riding of Yorkshire were those of townships (2). Such names were presumably taken from an official source, almost certainly a geld list, and imply that relatively little use was made of seigneurial returns in those *breves* in which they occur. Clearly, as names of local government units, they do not necessarily identify either estate or settlement nuclei. In Nottinghamshire, it has not proved possible to determine the nature of the unit of local government at its lowest level, the vill. However, the same type of process may have been at work. The official part of the survey was derived from a geld list and its nomenclature may have been adopted in some of the *breves*.

It is not always possible, then, to determine whether a place-name is that of an estate or of a local government unit. However, it is clear that, at best, it will only identify a nucleus of some kind. In fact, Domesday Book affords very few clues to the actual form of settlements.

(1). *Lincs. DB*, 14/97; 57/51; 73/6; D. R. Roffe, 'The Lincolnshire Hundred', *Landscape History* 3, (1981), 31.

(2). D. Michelmore, M. L. Faull, S. Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: an Archaeological Survey to AD 1500*, Wakefield 1981, 232.

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In the past, it has been assumed that most Anglo-Saxon settlements were nucleated, that is, of the classic Midlands pattern of peasant tofts clustered around a church and manor house within an open field system. Modern research has cast much doubt on this simple picture. In Devon, for example, there is a landscape of scattered farms set within their own fields which is evidently an ancient pattern of settlement. Domesday Book, however, gives the superficial impression that nucleation was the norm (1). Dispersed settlement patterns may, it seems, be widespread (2). It would be misleading, though, to see it as the basic form of Anglo-Saxon settlement for it is likely that there are both centrifugal and centripetal forces in the dynamics of settlements in most periods. The nature of society probably establishes the dominance of one type over another at any one time. Low population, for example, and relatively weak bonds of lordship, may be reflected in a more dispersed pattern. By way of contrast, high population and advanced manorialisation may imply some greater degree of nucleation (3). The two alternatives, however, are not mutually exclusive. Eadwy's 956 grant of Southwell to York attests to some degree of dispersion of settlement for 'the cottages' are recorded as one of the boundary marks of the estate. But presumably there was a sizeable royal hall, a natural focus for nucleation, within Southwell itself (4). To a greater or lesser extent, this may have been

(1). W. G. Hoskins, *Fieldwork in Local History* London 1967, 18, 40-3.

(2). T. Rowley, *Villages in the English Landscape*, London 1978, 91-103.

(3). Rowley, *Villages*, 91.

(4). S659. The charter is the earliest firmly dated reference to Southwell. However, the eleventh-century document known as 'The Resting Places of the Saints' records that St Eadburh, probably the abbess of Repton in c.700 (D. H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, Oxford 1978, 118), was buried at 'Southwell-on-Trent' (D. W. Rollason, 'Lists of Saints' Resting Places in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 7, (1978), 89). Dr Rollason has suggested that the information for the places identified by a topographical feature was derived from a source drawn up in the late ninth century (62-3). It is possible, then, that

true for many settlements in 1086. There is little evidence in Nottinghamshire, however, to elucidate the relative importance of either form. In some circuit 6 entries, anomalous descriptions of sokemen and holdings suggest dispersion of settlement. In Lincolnshire, for example, sokemen are occasionally said to hold tofts rather than the usual carucates and bovates (1). But no such suggestive descriptions appear in the Nottinghamshire text. Domesday Book in itself, then, can tell us little about the forms of settlement.

Nevertheless, the survey can be used in conjunction with later evidence to identify settlement and estate nuclei. The sources of the twelfth century and later often reflect settlement structure with some degree of accuracy. When it is possible to reconstruct the descent of estates from 1086 into the thirteenth century, such evidence can often fill out the terse formulations of Domesday Book. Thus, as we have already seen, the later history of Leverton tends to suggest that two of the Domesday fees were situated in North Leverton and two in South Leverton (2). The sites of churches are often useful in this connection. There was frequently a close relationship between church and manor in the eleventh century, and the site of the one in the later Middle Ages can often indicate the hall of the other (3). But this method is retrogressive and must therefore be used with considerable caution. We cannot automatically assume a continuity of site between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, and churches, although private in Domesday, may have entirely different origins which are reflected in their locat-

there was a foundation at Southwell, and no doubt a considerable settlement nucleus, before the grant of the estate to York.

(1). See, for example, *Lincs. DB*, 34/6.

(2). See above.

(3). F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066*, 2nd ed. London 1979, 184.

ion (1). At best, the method can be predictive, and corroborative evidence, such as archaeological and topographical analysis, must be employed to verify its conclusions (2).

Many of the problems of settlement form would be easier to resolve if we had a greater understanding of estate structure. But, here again, there are formidable problems of interpretation. The matter devolves upon the relationship between Domesday Book manors, tenurial units, and economic entities. It is clear from early-twelfth century surveys of the estates of Peterborough and Burton that the three types of organisation often coincided (3), but it is equally clear that this was not universal. As we have seen (4), the Domesday manor embraces many different types of estate, but in its essentials, it was not an economic unit. Although not necessarily endowed with sake and soke, it was primarily concerned with delegated tribute. Its identifying feature was thus the point at which such dues were rendered. It was the hall which was its essential physical manifestation. Thus, in Eaton there were 10 thanes, each with his hall, and there were therefore 10 separate manors, while in Epperston and Woodborough, Wulfric and Alsi held 3 carucates and 4 bovates, but there was only one hall and consequently a single

(1). The church of Barton-on-Humber was a private institution in 1086, but had its origins in an early monastic foundation (*Lincs. DB*, 24/13; D. R. Roffe, 'Pre-Conquest Estates and Parish Boundaries: a Discussion with Examples from Lincolnshire', *Studies in Late Saxon Settlement*, ed. M. L. Faull, Oxford 1984, 120-2; P. Everson, 'The Pre-Conquest Estate of *At Bearuwe* in Lindsey', *ibid.*, 123-7).

(2). See, for example, *Sleaford*, ed. C. M. Mahany, D. R. Roffe, Stamford 1979. An analysis of estate nuclei and churches suggested that the twelfth-century 'new town' of Sleaford was a major pre-Conquest estate centre, and subsequent excavation in the vicinity of the church revealed Anglo-Saxon structures.

(3). *Chronicon Petroburgense*, ed. T. Stapleton, London 1849, 157-83; C. G. O. Bridgeman, 'The Burton Abbey Twelfth-Century Surveys', *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, William Salt Archaeological Society 1916, 212-47.

(4). See chapter 5.

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manor (1). The Domesday manor, then, was first and foremost a legal concept and as such was subject to changes of form which probably amounted to little more than a redistribution of dues. Hence, in the Nottinghamshire text we read that so many carucates were held 'pro manerio', 'for' or 'as a manor' (2), and in Lincolnshire there is evidence that parcels of sokeland were converted into manors between 1066 and 1086. Thus, Scottlethorpe had been held in soke, but it was deraigned as a chief manor in 1086 (3). Indeed, there was probably more change in the structure of manors than is always apparent. The boundaries of the estates in Sutton in Nottinghamshire and Barton and Barrow in Lincolnshire both underwent considerable changes between the later tenth century and Domesday Book. The one lost land, while the other apparently gained several parcels of sokeland (4). This fluidity can hardly imply a generally well defined internal identity. No doubt the lord's demesne functioned as an economic unit over a long period of time, although the existence of a portable hall in the bishop of Durham's manor of West Auckland in County Durham in the late twelfth century suggests that a permanent establishment was not indispensable (5). But in so far as soke was concerned with tribute, it follows that the manor of the text is not necessarily an economic unit as such.

Nor was it always the basic tenurial nexus. The record of a tenant

(1). *Notts. DB*, 9,20. 14,5.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 5,6. 10,64-6. 12,12. 16,12. 20,8. 30,55. The formula is common in the Yorkshire folios where it is the normal device for indicating the status of a manor before the scribe resorted to the use of marginal M's. In the rest of the circuit, however, it appears to have a specific purpose in indicating a vague legal relationship.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, 57/14. See also *Lincs. DB*, 14/78; *TMS*, 52.

(4). G. T. Davies, 'The Anglo-Saxon Boundaries of Sutton and Scrooby, Nottinghamshire', *TTS* 87, (1983), 13-22; Roffe, 'Estates and Parish Boundaries', 120; Everson, 'At Bearuwe', 123-7.

(5). *Boldon Book*, ed. D. Austin, Chichester 1982, 37.

or a separate value in some sokeland entries often suggests the existence of estates within the manor. In Gonalston, for example, Ernwin the priest and 4 sokemen held 5 bovates of sokeland belonging to the king's manor of Arnold (1). This type of information is not common in Nottinghamshire. But the commissioners were probably not anxious to record it for many such sub-tenancies in Lincolnshire only come to light in the *Clamores* as opposed to the body of the text (2). Other types of evidence, however, suggest that it may have been of widespread occurrence, and point to some fluidity of management within the structure of the manor. The tenorial context and status of forinsec sokeland in relation to the soke centre have already been discussed (3). The detachment of parcels of sokeland from the parent manor in the same *breve* may attest to some similar degree of separate management. Superficially, such entries appear to have been inadvertently omitted in the account of the parent manor, and were enrolled in their appropriate contexts on the basis of the form of a geographically arranged source. This may in many cases be an adequate explanation of the phenomenon, but this type of displacement may also reflect tenorial and/or economic arrangements within the manor in the actual exploitation of the land. For example, Roger de Bully held a manor in West Markham, and the account of the estate is followed by that of two parcels of land in the same place which were soke of the manors of Tuxford, Grove, Eaton, and Drayton (4). In two cases the soke centres were geographically remote, and it seems more likely that the land in question was actually exploited by the manor in West Markham.

(1). *Notts. DB*, 30,49.

(2). See, for example, *Lincs. DB*, 13/7; 69/15; 1/28; 73/6.

(3). See chapter 5.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 9,28-30.

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The Domesday manor, then, is not necessarily a basic tenurial unit. As a soke nexus, however remote, it may encompass several estates which were managed by someone other than the lord of the soke centre. To what extent these estates represent economic units in the exploitation of land is unclear. Many may have functioned in the same way as the manors of the abbeys of Burton and Peterborough. But evidence is essentially wanting, and at present little is understood about their relationship with settlements and field systems and the communities of which they may have formed a part. There are grounds, however, for believing that lordship was beginning to express itself in terms of economic manorialisation in the classic sense. The record of demesne teams in most manorial entries implies the presence of demesne which was cultivated by the villeins. It is unlikely that the latter were personally unfree in the eleventh century, but they were evidently closely associated with the estate (1). Almost all manorial entries record their presence, while they are rare on sokeland, and, unlike the sokemen, their liability to the geld is never recorded. It was almost certainly discharged within the hundred by the tenant of the manor. Ecclesiastical surveys of estates in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Lincolnshire indicate that many owed onerous day works (2). In a very real sense they belonged to the manor. By way of contrast, the services of the sokemen, both intra- and extra-manorial, were comparatively light, and it is probable that manorialisation of their land was not advanced. There are, thus, only nine entries in the Nottinghamshire Domesday in which demesne teams are recorded (3). However, this may not

(1). *Lincs. DB*, xxvii-viii.

(2). *Chronicon*, 157-83; 'Burton Surveys', 212-47.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 5, 18. 10, 9; 10; 46. 1, 15-16. 13, 4. 17, 11; 13.

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be significant in the light of the comparatively low number of sokeland entries. Seigneurial encroachment onto intra-manorial soke is effectively hidden by the form of the text. But if there was still personal freedom within the estate, it would appear that many commodities formerly enjoyed by the community were becoming more closely identified with the lord's hall. The record of manorial appurtenances such as woodland, meadow, pasture etc. is unlikely to be a reliable guide to the extent of economic resources. Rather it reflects those from which the lord derived a direct or indirect income. Thus, in Lincolnshire, there is only a handful of references to fen and marshland, despite the fact that it was a valuable resource (1). It would seem that it was generally intercommoned by groups of communities, and only in exceptional circumstances had it been appropriated by individuals (2). It is, then, but rarely noted in Domesday Book. Much woodland is recorded in the Nottinghamshire text attached to almost every manor north of the Trent. Already it would seem that each holding had its own share, and in some way it was attached to the estate. Whether, as in Lincolnshire, there had ever been any communal interest in the waste is not clear, but by 1086 it seems that much belonged in some way to the lord's demesne (3).

As a class, the large soke is not different from the normal manor in kind, but extent. It is characterised by a large number of parcels of sokeland, often at some distance from the *caput*, which owed service to a central hall. On this account, the type can hardly have operated as a

(1). *Lincs. DB*, 1/3, 4; 7/43, 50; 11/3, 4; 12/81; 24/13, 14, 54, 57-8; 26/52; 63/27; 67/4.

(2). H. E. Hallam, *Settlement and Society: a Study in the Early Agrarian History of South Lincolnshire*, Cambridge 1965, 162-6.

(3). Roffe, 'Domesday Book and the Local Historian', 3-5.

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conventional manor. In fact, as we have seen (1), it is an estate in which the essential unity is a tributary nexus. The form is commonly found throughout England in various guises such as soke, lathe, shire, or multiple estate, and there is no reason to see it as a particularly Danish institution (2). By the time of Domesday Book, many were clearly very fragmented, but their break-up had given rise to many of the smaller manors in the county. The area of the former estate can, however, sometimes be identified from the pattern of interlocking appurtenances in the surrounding estates. Nevertheless, considerable care is needed in interpretation. First, the institution was still vital in the eleventh century. It cannot be assumed, then, that all or indeed any characteristics of a particular example are necessarily ancient. In Lincolnshire, for example, part of the soke of Greetham in 1086 was situated on land which had only recently been reclaimed from the sea (3). Adjustments in the distribution of sokeland were probably also more common than is always immediately apparent (4). Once estates were held by book, they could be divided or amalgamated at will to suit the particular requirements of the lord. Any number of imponderables may lie behind the form of any particular Domesday estate. Second, royal sokes were sometimes administered in groups. In Derbyshire, Darley, Matlock (Bridge), Wirksworth, Ashbourne, and Parwich were farmed by a single reeve, as were Bakewell, Ashford and Hope, for only one value is given for each group (5). Such arrangements may not always be so apparent and

(1). See chapter 5.

(2). J. E. A. Jolliffe, 'A Survey of Fiscal Tenements', *ECHR* 6, (1935-5), 157-71; W. E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, London 1979, 50-87.

(3). A. E. B. Owen, 'Halfdic: a Lindsey Name', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, (1972), 45-56.

(4). Roffe, 'Estates and Parish Boundaries', 120.

(5). *Derbys. DB*, 1, 11-15; 27-9.

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may therefore conceal the structure of individual estates. Royal manors are sometimes attached to some other type of organisation. Part of the soke of Grantham, for example, was in some way appended to the wapentake of Aswardhurn (1). Just quite what this means is uncertain, but in Huntingdonshire some parcels of land were in the soke of the hundred of Leightonstone, although they were administered from the royal manor of Alconbury (2). As such, it appears that they did not belong to the manor, but had become associated with the royal estate through forfeiture, commendation, or whatever. The soke of any particular manor may, then, include lands of varying status which were appended to it for administrative convenience.

This is not the place to review the Nottinghamshire evidence in any detail. In the light of the importance of the subject, however, a number of comments can be made on the accounts of the large royal estates in the north of the county. The Domesday manor of Mansfield encompassed at least three elements which were almost certainly independent in origin. First, there was the manor of Grimston with soke in Grimston - probably in fact located in Ompton - Kirton, Willoughby and Walesby, Besthorpe, and Carlton, and possibly Farnsfield (3). The account, however, is duplicated in the entries relating to the manor of Mansfield where Grimston is called a berewick and its land soke of the same estate. But the connection was probably only a temporary expedient. Grimston forms a geographically discrete estate which interlocks with the appurtenances of the manor of Laxton (figure 13) - the two estates had clearly con-

(1). *Lincs. DB*, 1/15.

(2). *Hunts. DB*, 1,9. 19,15-22. D25. See also soke of Normancross Hundred.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 1,17-22. Soke of Grimston 'in the same place' as the manorial caput, appears to be duplicated in a further entry where it is identified as Ompton (*Notts. DB*, 1,18; 24).

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stituted one organisation at an earlier period - and was peripheral to Mansfield and subsequently farmed as a separate estate (1). Second, there was Mansfield itself with soke in some fifteen settlements (2). The whole formed a fairly tight unit in the west of the wapentake of Bassetlaw. Its appurtenances may interlock with many of the manors of Roger de Bully in the same wapentake. Third, there was what was known in the twelfth and thirteenth century as the soke of Oswaldbeck (3). It had a nucleus in the parish of South Wheatley, and was also separately farmed (4). None of its elements appears in the summary of the land of Mansfield, and, with one exception, each entry is given a separate value (5). According to the account in the Hundred Rolls, the whole of the wapentake of Oswaldbeck had originally constituted one estate (6), and, indeed, the soke interlocks with the manor of Laneham and the estates of Roger de Bully (figure 10). It is likely, then, that there were originally three separate manors, but, like the king's estates in Derbyshire, they were probably administered together under the manor of Mansfield. Thus, the soke recorded in Domesday Book is composite and therefore affords no evidence that the manor had formerly encompassed the whole of the north of the shire (7). The other royal estates north of the Trent are less problematic. Bothamsall and Dunham are apparently independent of Mansfield and its Domesday satellites, but nevertheless

(1). *Notts. DB*, 1,24; 27. 12,1-10. D. Crook, 'The Community of Mansfield from Domesday Book to the Reign of Edward III', *TTS* 88, (1984), 14-16.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 1,23-30.

(3). *Notts. DB*, 1,31-44.

(4). *PNW*, 43; Crook, 'Mansfield', 14-16.

(5). *Notts. DB*, 1,24.

(6). *RH* ii, 25, 300-1.

(7). M. W. Bishop, 'Multiple Estates in Late Anglo-Saxon Nottinghamshire', *TTS* 85, (1981), 37-47.

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interlock with surrounding manors (1). Finally, Arnold, the smallest of the royal manors, may have been a later formation in the form in which it appears in 1086 (2). The description of all its appurtenances are later additions to the text, and much of the land may have been appended to the manor fairly recently, for the honey render of the estate had risen between 1066 and 1086. This is unlikely to indicate an increase in the value, but may suggest that land has been added to it, and its traditional render had been transferred to the king's hall in Arnold.

(1). *Notts. DB*, 1,1-16.

(2). *Notts. DB*, 1,45-50.

10. NOTTINGHAMSHIRE AND THE NORTH

In the foregoing pages the Domesday Book account of Nottinghamshire has been examined in some detail. An analysis of its structure and method of compilation has provided insights into the origins of estates and the nature of tenure on the one hand, and the structure of local government and its relationship to earlier institutions, on the other. By necessity, the study has not been confined to the county. Taken in isolation, the Nottinghamshire text can answer few of the questions asked of it by the historian. Even an account as informative as that of Lincolnshire has its limitations. The surveys of the shires of circuit 6 - Huntingdonshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, and Lincolnshire - have therefore defined the area of study. Subject to a common procedure, evidence from the whole circuit can be legitimately used to elucidate textual problems in the Nottinghamshire *breves*. The relevance of the material, however, goes beyond the similarity of diplomatic for the relationship between the shires was not merely an *ad hoc* function of the Inquest. The immediate identity of the circuit 6 was probably related to the structure of the earldom of Northumbria, which in 1065 embraced all of its shires (1). The arrangement of administrative records, then, may have played a part in determining the extent of the major divisions of the Great Survey. But there was in addition a common political and cultural milieu which was of longer standing. In this chapter the genesis of the distinctive institutions of Nottinghamshire and the Northern Danelaw is examined against the background of the relationship between the region and its elements, and the kingdom of England.

(1). See below.

Little is known about the history of Nottinghamshire before the arrival of the Danes. The area of the later county was a part of Mercia from the seventh century, and there is no evidence to suggest that it ever had a distinct identity in the time of the Heptarchy (1). Nevertheless, the region was probably of some importance for it was situated on the north-east frontier of the kingdom. Commanding access to the heart of the Midlands from Northumbria, it was evidently a key strategic march in the rivalry between Mercia and the northern kings, several decisive battles were fought on or within the bounds of the later county (2). Within this context, it might be supposed that the kings of Mercia maintained a tight grip upon the area. Many of the large sokes which are described in Domesday Book must have been important royal estates at this time (3). The roots of the pronounced royal presence of the mid tenth century are probably to be found in a concentration of interests by the Middle Saxon period.

There is no documentary evidence to illustrate the role of any settlement in the vicinity of Nottingham in this period, but the archaeological record suggests that it was an estate centre of some importance. Extensive excavations in the last fifteen years in the area of the English Borough have brought to light a complex sequence of enclosures, defences and, in the later phases, a related intra-mural road system (figure 19). But, while the relative chronology of development is now well established (4), absolute dating has proved more

(1). C. R. Hart, 'The Tribal Hidage', *Mercian Studies*, ed. A. Dornier, Leicester 1977, 49-52; *pace* *VCH Notts.* i, 317.

(2). *ASE*, 79; *ASC*, 23; P. H. Sawyer, *From Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England*, London 1978, 21-32.

(3). M. W. Bishop, 'Multiple Estates in Late Anglo-Saxon Nottinghamshire', *TTS* 85, (1981), 37-47.

(4). C. S. B. Young, *Discovering Rescue Archaeology in Nottingham*, Nottingham 1982. Publication of individual excavations is forthcoming.

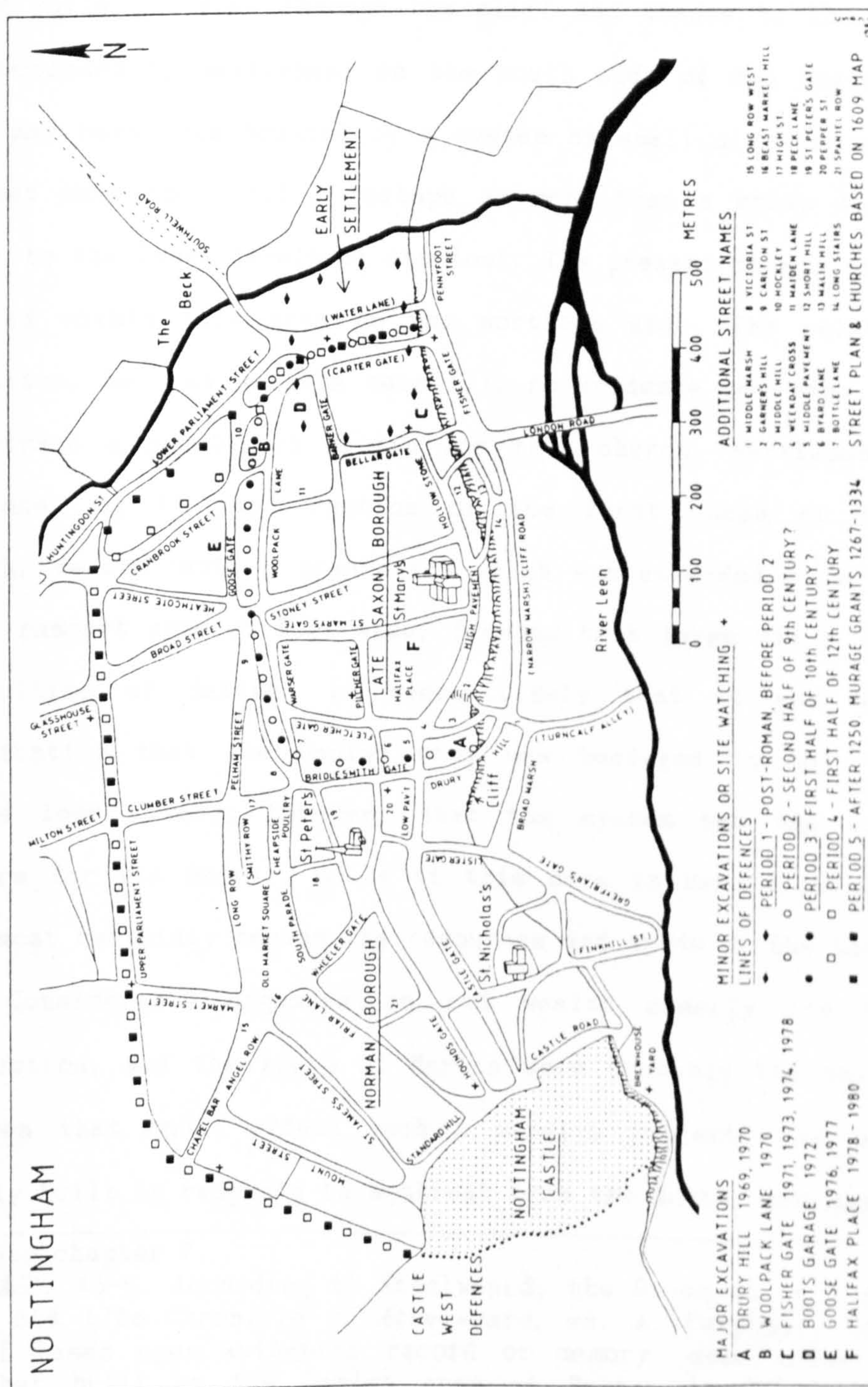


Figure 19: excavations in Nottingham.

elusive on account of the almost complete absence of stratigraphy and lack of closely dateable artefacts. The earliest Dark Age features on the site are the probably defensive ditches of an enclosure to the east end of the mediaeval settlement towards Sneinton, commanding a shallow valley which led down through the cliff and thence to the Trent. This was succeeded by settlement on the south side of the English Borough, which may have been bounded by a system of small ditches, and possibly extended over the cliff - perhaps no more than a steep slope at this time - to the lower levels at its foot. The present church of St Mary is situated within this area on the northern side. The relationship is suggestive, but, as we have seen (1), no evidence has come to light to demonstrate a pre-Danish origin for this church. Settlement here was superceded by the construction of the first phase of the English Borough, demonstrably a plantation which was defended by a substantial timber rampart some 25 feet wide, fronted by a large ditch. Despite the difficulties of dating, it seems likely that it was within this fortification that the Danish army was besieged in 868 (2). It is perhaps less likely, however, that the system was the work of the invaders for its overall scale at this date in Mercia is unparalleled and almost certainly beyond the resources and needs of the Danes at this time. Considerable organisation and wealth clearly lie behind its construction, and the kings of Mercia were probably the only power in the area that could effect such a massive project. The borough was probably built in response to a threat from the North, and may have been

(1). See chapter 7.

(2). ASC, 45-6. According to Æthelweard, the Danes built a fortification in 868 (*The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. A. Campbell, London 1962, 36). If based upon authentic record or memory, some modest enclosure like that built by the Danish army at Repton in 873/4 is probably referred to (*Current Archaeology* 100, (1986), 142).

a reaction to Viking attacks. The only record of Danish incursions in the area before 868 was a raid in Lindsey in 841 and a major battle in the North in 844 when the king of Northumbria was killed (1). But the chronicles for this period all have a southern bias, and their authors were clearly uninformed, and probably uninterested, in events in the North. The situation may have been a lot less stable than the sources suggest, and Mercia may have taken appropriate steps to defend its borders. At any event, as we have seen, the archaeological evidence indicates that this was not the first settlement in the area. The existence of earlier defences, however modest, imply that Nottingham was already an important royal estate centre.

In the early years of the Danish conquest and colonisation, the role of Nottingham was probably of reduced significance for it seems that in the late ninth and early tenth centuries Nottinghamshire, and probably the whole area that became the Five Boroughs (2), was under the hegemony of the Danes of York. Nottingham first appears in the historical record in 868, when there was only one Danish army moving around eastern and northern England virtually at will. In 867 the army had gone from East Anglia across the Humber to Northumbria to take advantage of internal dissensions in the North. In the following year the host crossed into Mercia and wintered in Nottingham. Burgred King of Mercia sought help from Athelred of Wessex and a combined force besieged the army 'in the fortification'. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records, however, that there was no serious engagement and the Mercians made

(1). ASC, 42.

(2). It will be argued that the Five Boroughs as a confederacy was not instituted until the late tenth century. In the following, then, lower case 'five boroughs' will be used in a purely geographical sense to denote the settlements of Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, and Stamford, and their respective territories.

peace with the host and departed (1). In 869 the Danish army returned to York and in 870 passed through Mercia to East Anglia. It did not return to the East Midlands until 872/3 when it wintered at Torksey on the Trent. In the next year the Danes moved on to Repton, and Mercia succumbed to them. Burgred was exiled, and Ceolwulf, 'a foolish king's thane', was set up as a puppet king (2). In 875 the great army split into two and the permanent settlement of the invaders began. Halfdene went north to the Tyne and raided Strathclyde and the Highlands. But in the following year Northumbria was divided up, and the army was settled on the land (3). Guthrum, by way of contrast, went south with his army to Cambridge, and continued to campaign in southern England. But in 877 the southern Danes divided Mercia in two, giving part to Ceolwulf and colonising the rest themselves. The last area to be settled was East Anglia in 880 after an unsuccessful assault on Wessex (4).

There is abundant evidence to show that the Danish settlement in the East Midlands was extensive at this period. From 914 the Chronicle makes reference to Danes who owed allegiance to boroughs from their lands in the surrounding countryside, and sometime between 901 and 911 Edward the Elder and Baldorman Athelred of Mercia were encouraging the English to buy land from the colonists (5). The large number of Danish place-names in the area indicates the extent of Danish control of estates, if not necessarily the numbers of settlers (6). The initial

(1). ASC, 45-6.

(2). ASC, 46-8.

(3). ASC, 48.

(4). ASC, 48-50.

(5). ASC, 63-8; ECNE, 103-4.

(6). K. Cameron, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: the Place-Name Evidence', *Place-Name Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Invasion and the Scandinavian Settlements*, ed. K. Cameron, Nottingham 1975, 115-38; G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands*, Copenhagen 1978; P. H. Sawyer, *The Age of*

settlement was almost certainly confined to the seizure of large estate centres, the sokes of the East Midlands. The resources of an area could easily be tapped by control of the more important tributary nexi. Less certain is the extent to which Danish clients and dependents were settled within these estates in the late ninth century, but it was probably a protracted process. The dominance of personal name elements in the Danish place-names of the region suggests that an unprecedented degree of lordship developed in the hundred years after the colonisation (1). The ordered division of sokes element by element, however, may imply that the process was originated in a grant of dues in a central court. Only subsequently was this arrangement fossilised in the tenure of land itself with the localisation of interests. Whatever the chronology, it was evidently not a settlement of completely independent Danish warriors or colonists. The preservation of the overall form of sokes within the new estates, and their apparent tenorial unity in 1066, suggests that the jarls who controlled the major estate centres retained a residual interest in the land of their compatriots. Indeed, the vestigial survival of certain dues, such as ecclesiastical tithes, over large areas may be a direct survival of such lordship (2). The impact of Danish colonisation on the development of distinctive tenorial forms in the East Midlands, then, has probably been exaggerated. The settlement clearly accelerated the fragmentation of sokes, a process that was already under way in the ninth century, but did not introduce any

the Vikings, 2nd ed., London 1971, 154-69.

(1). P. H. Sawyer, 'Some Sources for the History of Viking Northumbria', *Viking Age York*, ed. R. A. Hall, London 1978, 7.

(2). The church of the soke often had parochial rights over independent, but interlocking, estates within its vicinity (D. R. Roffe, 'The Church of St Oswald of Rand', forthcoming 1987). The coincidence of ecclesiastical structure with such groups of estates suggests that the rights of the central church were related to lordship.

radically new forms (1).

Since Mercia had extended to the Humber, it might be supposed that the region had been settled by the southern army for Guthrum appears to have ruled the whole of the kingdom north of Watling Street (2). Nevertheless, it seems likely that the initiative had come from the Danes of York, or at least that the settlers in the East Midlands had very quickly come under their hegemony. The Chronicle of Æthelweard records that in 894 the Northumbrian Danes 'possessed' or 'ravaged (*pandunt*) large tracts of land to the west of Stamford between the thickets of Kesteven and the waters of the Welland' (3). The area referred to is what was later known as Rutland, and, although the precise reading of the manuscript is now irrecoverable, it is clear that the Danes of York had considerable influence in this area (4). Stenton suggested that South Lincolnshire had been annexed in the previous year when Sigferth *piraticus* had raided the east coast (5), but recent research has shown that this annal refers to a raid on Wessex (6). There is, then, no reason to believe that the connection with York was of

(1). P. Stafford, *The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages*, Leicester 1985, 30-35, 117-121.

(2). ASE, 260-1.

(3). Æthelweard, 51.

(4). F. M. Stenton, 'Æthelweard's Account of the Last Years of King Alfred's Reign', *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Stenton, Oxford 1970, 8-13; S. Keynes, M. Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, London 1983, 337. In the latter, it is claimed that *pandunt* can only be intransitive and therefore cannot take *territorium* as an object. *Praedantur* is therefore preferred. However, examples of its use as a transitive verb in the classical period are given in W. Smith, J. Lockwood, *Chambers Murray Latin English Dictionary*, London 1933, 505. Most of the only known manuscript of Æthelweard was destroyed in 1731, and the modern edition is based upon the printed version of H. Savile in *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam Praecipui*, London 1596, ff.472-83 (Æthelweard, xi).

(5). Stenton, 'Æthelweard's Account', 8-13.

(6). A. P. Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: the History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms* 1, Dublin 1975, 33.

recent occurrence. Again, in 909 Edward the Elder launched a raid into Lindsey in which the body of St Oswald was taken and removed to Gloucester. The A version of the Chronicle, while omitting any reference to the saint, describes the same operation as a raid on the host in the North (1). Clearly Lindsey was part of Northumbria in the early tenth century. There is no specific reference to Nottinghamshire at this time. But if Northumbrian Danes held land as far south as the Welland, it is likely that they also controlled the more northerly areas of Danish settlement. Indeed, the implicit reference to *Roteland* may indicate that this estate, an integral part of the county in the later tenth century, was already attached to Nottingham at this time, within the political sphere of York.

Two chronicle references, then, indicate that the centre of power in the Northern Danelaw in the ninth and early tenth centuries was York. This suggests, by implication, that there were no independent garrisons in the five boroughs. The evidence afforded by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles is not inconsistent with this conclusion. Until 913 it only speaks of two armies, the hosts of Northumbria and East Anglia. But in that year we first hear of separate forces attached to boroughs at Leicester and Northampton (2). A garrison at Derby is noted in 917 and at Stamford in 918 (3). The city of Lincoln does not appear in the sources until 942 (4). The precise nature and function of settlement in Nottingham at this time cannot be determined with any degree of precision. But no tenth-century garrison is recorded until Edward the

(1). ASC, 61.
(2). ASC, 62.
(3). ASC, 64, 66.
(4). ASC, 71.

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Elder manned it with English and Danes in 918 (1). There is no archaeological evidence to suggest that the interior of the English Borough was occupied between 868 and 918 (2). This is not to say that the town was necessarily deserted, as the possibility of some modest settlement cannot be precluded. The defences, however, fell into such decay that extensive repairs were necessary by 918.

Comparable evidence in the area of the five boroughs is only available from Stamford. Unlike Nottingham, there was great activity in the town for it was an industrial centre of some considerable importance. There is archaeological evidence for extensive metal working and a technically advanced pottery industry which marketed its wares throughout the region (3). The original nucleus of the town was a royal manor in the vicinity of St Peter's Church which was probably a Mercian settlement in origin. This had been defended with a double-ditched enclosure with an internal palisade sometime in the period 850±50 years. Since no more specific dating evidence came to light, it has not proved possible to determine whether the system was Danish or pre-Danish. There are parallels for both possibilities (4). It was, however, short-lived and was quickly back-filled (5). The main centre of Danish occupation in the late ninth or early tenth century was further to the east on both sides of the High Street/St Paul's Street axis. The whole area was given

(1). ASC, 67.

(2). C. S. B. Young, pers. comm.

(3). C. M. Mahany, D. R. Roffe, 'Stamford: the Development of an Anglo-Scandinavian Borough', *Anglo-Norman Studies V: the Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1982*, ed. R. A. Brown, Woodbridge 1983, 199, 210-11; K. Kilmurry, *The Pottery Industry of Stamford, Lincs. c. AD 850-1250*, Oxford 1980.

(4). A small defensive 3½ acre enclosure of the Viking period has been discovered at Repton and has been associated with the overwintering of the Danish army in 873-4 (*Current Archaeology* 100, (1986), 140). The earliest defensive system in Nottingham is pre-Danish.

(5). Mahany, Roffe, 'Stamford', 201-6, 211.

over to intensive industrial activity in its two earliest phases. Nothing is known about the form of the settlement, but the present grid defined by Broad Street, High Street and St Mary's Street appears to be a planned development with defences which postdates this activity. Late ninth- or early tenth-century occupational material was found under part of the possible rampart excavated on St George's Street. The whole complex was probably built before 918 for it is topographically earlier than the site of Edward the Elder's Saxon borough south of the Welland. But, as a tertiary feature of the site, it is unlikely to be more than a few years earlier (1). Like Nottingham, then, there is no evidence to suggest that Stamford was a particularly important military centre until the early years of the tenth century.

The emergence of burghal garrisons in the East Midlands by 913 was probably not unconnected with a power vacuum in the North. In 910 the Northumbrian army had been badly mauled by Edward at Tettenhall in Staffordshire, and the death of many of its leaders - two kings, two earls and some nine barons are named - evidently left the Danes of York in confusion (2). It is this lack of leadership which probably provided the occasion for the intervention of Ragnald, the Danish leader of Norwegian Vikings from the Western Isles, into northern politics. He seems to have had a power base in Northumbria by 914 when he fought the first battle of Corbridge, and he may even have held York itself (3). Between then and 919, however, he was in Ireland, and the Danes of York were apparently paralysed (4). They evidently took no active part in

(1). Mahany, Roffe, 'Stamford', 206-11; C. M. Mahany, *Stamford Castle and Town*, Stamford 1978, 8-11.

(2). ASC, 61-2; Smyth, *Scandinavian York* 1, 75, 102.

(3). Smyth, *Scandinavian York* 1, 75, 102.

(4). Smyth, *Scandinavian York* 1, 108

the struggle against Edward and do not appear on the political scene until Ragnald's imminent return in 917-919. The Danish settlers of the East Midlands, then, may have been left to their own devices. The decisive stimulus to defend settlements, however, was probably the campaigns of reconquest of Danish England by Edward the Elder and Æthelflaed. By 913 they had both consolidated their control of Wessex, and south and west Mercia by extending the network of *burhs* established by King Alfred, and had launched their respective offensives across Watling Street. For the first time, the heartland of the Danish colonists was threatened.

The fortification and garrisoning of the Danish boroughs was probably accompanied by the introduction of measures to raise resources for their support. It is clear that those who were settled on rural estates owed allegiance to a central stronghold. The Chronicle records, for example, that in 917 all those who owed allegiance to Northampton as far north as the Welland submitted to Edward the Elder (1). This indicates the garrison was not confined to the borough itself. As in Wessex, the men settled within its territory probably had to contribute to the burghal defence. There is no evidence to suggest, however, that there was a formal and developed system like that of the Burghal Hidage (2). The carucation of the Northern Danelaw has usually been seen as a particularly Danish characteristic, and it has often been argued that it had been introduced by the early tenth century when evidence for burghal territories is first found (3). However, as we have seen, carucation

(1). ASC, 66.

(2). DBB, 577-81; ASE, 265.

(3). See, for example, C. R. Hart, *The Hidation of Northamptonshire*, Leicester 1970, 24-8; C. R. Hart, 'The Hidation of Huntingdonshire', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 61, (1968), 55-6; C. Phythian-Adams, *Continuity, Fields and Fission: the Making of a Midlands*

is intimately related to the concept of the territorial tithing, and this type of institution is not found before the 960's. There are good reasons for supposing that it is an essentially English innovation (1). An earlier assessment is a possibility. The teamland figures of the Northamptonshire Domesday have been interpreted as such an assessment. It is argued that the consistent ratio between the sums and the hidage of 1086 indicate that teamlands represent an early stage in the hidation of the shire in the eight hundreds in the south-west of the county. A consistent relationship is less apparent in the rest of the shire, but since teamland figures are consistently larger and frequently duodecimally based, it has been suggested that they represent a carucation which pre-dates the conquest of the southern Danelaw by Edward the Elder and the subsequent hidation (2). No satisfactory charter evidence has been adduced to substantiate this hypothesis (3), and, as it stands, it is untenable. Although the fact that two sums are mathematically related suggests that one has been derived from the other, there is not necessarily a great time span between them, and, moreover, there is, *per se*, no means of determining which came first. Just because one is larger than the other does not imply that it is ancient. Indeed, as we have seen (4), in Nottinghamshire the teamland

Parish, Leicester 1978, 20.

(1). See chapter 6.

(2). *VCH Northants* i, 263-9; Hart, *Hidation of Northants*, 24-37.

(3). Hart, *Hidation of Northants*, 32-37. Copies are inadmissible since religious houses frequently changed assessments to make their muniments consistent with later records, notably Domesday Book. Of the two original charters cited, the assessment of Braunston (S623) bears no relation to either the Domesday hidage or ploughland figures. It is claimed, however, that the 30 hides of an estate in Badby in 944 (S495) are represented by 30 teamlands in 1086. But the identification of the estate in Domesday Book is dependent upon the unsupported identification of *Chelverdescote* in Fawsley Hundred with Newnham in *Edelweardesle*.

(4). see chapter 6.

figures exceed the carucates to the geld, but seem to relate to a reassessment of estates, albeit notional rather than measured, between 1066 and 1086. The teamland of Lincolnshire and Derbyshire has been similarly interpreted (1), and indeed there is no reason to doubt that the same was true in Northamptonshire. In a high proportion of entries, the teamland figures are identical with the working teams employed in 1086, and are therefore clearly related to current agricultural reality (2). The teamland figures of Domesday Book, then, afford no evidence to suggest that the Danelaw was assessed for military service in the early tenth century. Indeed, if boroughs were only garrisoned in or shortly before 913, a well-designed and permanent system is probably unlikely. Thus, the ease with which the borough of Huntingdon was abandoned by the Danes for Tempsford in 917 suggests no established territorially based militia (3). It seems more likely that the relationship between the Danish borough and its defenders was a personal one at this time (4). It is, then, sharply contrasted with the formal organisation of the Burghal Hidage.

Events in the North Midlands in 917-20 again brought the Danes of York into the politics of the area. Just after Easter in 917 the armies from Leicester and Northampton and 'north from there' broke the peace and rode out to Towcester and besieged the borough (5). The distinction drawn between Leicester and the armies of the North is marked, and may suggest that, as in 913, the borough acted independently. Alternatively,

(1). *Lincs. DB*, xvii-xix; *VCH Derbys* 1, 317-18.

(2). S. P. J. Harvey, 'Domesday Book and Anglo-Norman Governance', *TRHS*, 5th ser. 15, (1975), 186-9.

(3). *ASC*, 65.

(4). C. S. Taylor, 'The Origins of the Mercian Shires', *Gloucestershire Studies*, ed. H. P. R. Finberg, Leicester 1957, 20-1.

(5). *ASC*, 64.

it may imply that Leicester occupied some pre-eminent position in the East Midlands. For the Wessex chronicler the forces beyond were undifferentiated. He may thus have understood them to have been subject to a common authority. But the annal is more likely to indicate simple ignorance of affairs in the North. The Towcester raid opened up military possibilities for Athelflaed. It may have been the participation of the army of Derby that enabled her to so easily secure the borough and its territory in July (1). Her advance then gathered pace. In the following year she secured possession of Leicester by peaceful means, 'and the majority of the Danish forces that owed allegiance to it became her subjects' (2). It was at this point that the people of York had promised to accept her rule, but she died before the treaty could be ratified (3). The development is at first mystifying for Athelflaed was of no apparent threat to York at this point. However, her campaign in the previous ten years had not been solely directed against the Danelaw. The construction of boroughs in Staffordshire at *Sergeat*, Bridgenorth, Tamworth, and Stafford in 912 and 913, and in Cheshire at *Edisbury*, *Weadburh*, and Runcorn in 914 and 915, was as much concerned with Norse penetration into north and west Mercia from the Cumbria coast (4). In this, she shared a common concern with the Danes of York. Ragnald, who had established his leadership of the Norse invaders, had probably seized York by 914 (5). But, although he could claim a hereditary right to the throne of Northumbria as a grandson of Ivarr, his Norse army was

(1). ASC, 64-5.

(2). ASC, 66-7.

(3). ASC, 67.

(4). ASC, 62-4; F. T. Wainwright, *Scandinavian England*, Chichester 1975, 317-24.

(5). Smyth, *Scandinavian York* i, 102-8.

probably not so welcome to the Danes of York (1). Thus, on his return in 919, he had to fight for the city (2). His absence in Ireland, then, may have been seen as an opportunity to re-establish a purely Danish regime. It was evidently in this context that the Northumbrians felt it was in their interest to reach an agreement with the Lady of the Mercians in the face of a common threat (3). The timing of the treaty is significant. The 918 annal suggests that negotiations had been taking place for some time, and it therefore seems likely that Æthelflaed's peaceable possession of Leicester and 'most of the people who owed allegiance to it' was a direct result. By implication, the Danes of Nottingham, and possibly Lindsey, submitted at the same time. The settlers of the East Midlands were no doubt as hostile to a Norse regime at York as anyone, but the initiative for the settlement came from York, and it would therefore seem that the northern Danes were still a force to be reckoned with south of the Humber.

The death of Æthelflaed left the alliance in temporary abeyance. But the events of the next two years suggest that, despite problems in Mercia, Edward the Elder adopted and vigorously pursued his sister's *nordpolitik*. On hearing of her death, he left Stamford, having secured the borough and its territory, and dashed into Mercia. He took Tamworth and all Mercia which had owed allegiance to Æthelflaed, and all the peoples of Wales submitted to him (4). The exact sequence of the events that followed is not clear, but it is evident that Edward's succession to the kingdom was not as smooth as the Wessex chronicler implies (5).

(1). Smyth, *Scandinavian York* i, 79.

(2). Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum, Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, London 1885, 93.

(3). Wainwright, *Scandinavian England*, 317-24.

(4). ASC, 66-7.

(5). Wainwright, *Scandinavian England*, 93, 323-4.

According to the Mercian Register, Alfwynn, the daughter of Æthelred of Mercia and Æthelflaed, was deprived of all authority in Mercia and was taken into Wessex (1). The date of the annal is 919, but originally it may have been a continuation of the previous entry (2). There was clearly an anti-Wessex party in Mercia at this time, and Edward evidently had trouble in controlling it. As late as 921 the men of Chester rebelled against him (3). It is probably for precisely this reason that there are so few references to Æthelflaed's achievements in the southern chronicles. Her role in the reconquest of the north was minimised to discourage any Mercian-based cult which could have fuelled separatist feeling and threatened the annexation of the kingdom.

Presumably after some sort of settlement, Edward then proceeded to Nottingham. He occupied the borough and had it repaired and garrisoned by English and Danes, and all the people settled in Mercia, both Danes and English, submitted to him (4). His actions at this point would appear to depart from his normal practice. He apparently demanded no special submission from the men who owed allegiance to the borough, and, unlike at Stamford, Hertford, and Bedford, he failed to build a fort south of the river to secure the main lines of communication (5). Moreover, the reference to a garrison of English and Danes is unique. The circumstances, however, were somewhat different. His relations with the Danes were apparently friendly, and it is likely that he was merely picking up the strands of Æthelflaed's policy and actively attempting to effect her objectives. His subsequent activities are consistent with

(1). ASC, 67.

(2). ASC, 67; Wainwright, *Scandinavian England*, 127-9.

(3). Wainwright, *Scandinavian England*, 324.

(4). ASC, 67.

(5). ASC, 62, 64, 66.

this conclusion. His whereabouts in the next few months are not made explicit in the sources, but he may have been consolidating Mercia if Ælfwynn was not expelled until 919. In the late autumn of the same year, however, he built boroughs at Thelwell and Manchester in Cheshire and Lancashire (1). Like that of his sister, his concern seems to have been to contain the Norse on the west coast. Within this context, then, it would appear that he had reached an understanding with the Danes at Nottingham which left him free to consolidate Mercia, if still insecure, and launch an offensive against the common enemy. By implication, the Northumbrian Danes were a party to this treaty. It is evident that Nottingham was within their sphere of influence, and Edward cannot have felt confident of the security of his eastern flank without their co-operation.

The events of the following two years confirm this conclusion, for it was probably a political upheaval in York which subsequently destabilised the area and forced Edward to take more decisive action in Nottinghamshire. In 919 Ragnald took York and the loyalty of the garrison in Nottingham became suspect (2). Edward therefore returned to the town in 920, and built a borough south of the Trent, connecting the two forts by a bridge (3). His actions are in sharp contrasted with those of his first visit in 918, and it would therefore seem that, with the change of regime in York, it had become necessary to secure the borough and the river crossing. Subsequently, it was used as an offensive springboard, for he advanced into Derbyshire and built a borough in the vicinity of Bakewell, and the whole of the north submit-

(1). ASC, 67.

(2). Symeon of Durham, *Historia*, 93.

(3). ASC, 67.

ted to him (1). It may have been in this campaign that a borough was also built to the north of Nottingham, possibly in Blyth or Tickhill (2). Nottingham, then, probably remained in the sphere of York until 920.

The return of Edward to Nottingham marked the end of York's hegemony, if not influence, over the town and county. The effects of the conquest were probably considerable. As already noted, there is no archaeological evidence to suggest extensive occupation in the English Borough in the late ninth and early tenth centuries. Unlike Lincoln and Stamford, the borough was evidently not an important industrial centre before the Norman Conquest. There is, for example, no trace of locally produced pottery before the mid to late tenth century, and there is little production before the twelfth century (3). Certainly before 918 or 920, Nottingham did not possess the urban attributes normally associated with the Danelaw borough. This characteristic may be related to the subjection of the area to York, for the town can hardly have been of central strategic importance to the Northumbrian Danes for their hegemony was not threatened until the campaigns of reconquest of Edward and Athelflaed. Since Nottingham was not situated in a prosperous region, there were thus probably few stimuli to urbanisation. After 920, however, it probably assumed a regional importance which had been unprecedented since the Danish colonisation. As an 'English' borough, it guarded the main routes into Mercia and the south, the Trent, and the

(1). ASC, 67-8; C. R. Hart, *The North Derbyshire Archaeological Survey*, Chesterfield 1981, 118-22.

(2). See chapter 8.

(3). I am indebted to Vicky Naylor, Nottingham Museums, Field Archaeology Section, for information on the pottery industry in Nottingham in advance of publication.

Great North Road, from Northumbria. It was probably at this time, then, that conscious attempts were made to urbanise the settlement so that it could function effectively as a strategic forward position. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle certainly indicates that Edward instituted radical changes. In 918 he was said to have 'occupied, repaired and garrisoned' (*gebetan, gesettan....mannum*) the borough (1). The terms *gesettan* and *mannum* are usually used of boroughs that had been recently built by Edward, and may therefore imply the establishment, or at least the re-organisation, of the settlement (2). The archaeological evidence may support this conclusion. It was probably in the early tenth century that the ditch was re-cut and the timber rampart replaced by a dump bank; the land behind, inside the intra-mural road, was stripped for bank building material, and properties were laid out from the road for the first time (3). Urban life in the borough, then, may only have begun in the aftermath of the English reconquest and was probably associated with the creation of a burghal system (4).

If Edward's subjection of the borough, and the measures he took to settle and garrison it, had far-reaching implications for the settlement, the fort he built south of the Trent was probably of quite ephemeral importance. No trace of the settlement has been found in mediaeval sources, and even the site cannot now be positively identified. It is, however, most likely to have been situated close to the main road from the south in West Bridgford. (5). The failure of the

(1). ASC, 67; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. B. Thorpe, London 1861, 195.

(2). See, for example, the entries for Thelwell and Manchester (*ibid.*, 196).

(3). C. S. B. Young, pers. comm.

(4). See below.

(5). *Historic Towns: Maps and Plans of Towns and Cities in the British Isles with Historical Commentaries from Earliest Times to 1800* 1, ed. D.

institution to develop is in marked contrast with similar boroughs in the Danelaw. The site of the Edwardian borough at Stamford, for example, was a suburb of the Anglo-Scandinavian town (1). But its survival is unlikely to be related to its burghal origins. It may have had its own mint in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but this was probably more a function of the liberties of the Abbot of Peterborough, who held much of the land, than of its status as a borough (2). In every other respect, it was an integral, although subordinate, part of the borough of Stamford. Its development, then, may have owed less to its origins than to its proximity to the ancient nucleus of the town. Such a development at Nottingham was less likely because the new borough south of the Trent was physically remote from the main settlement nucleus because of the width of the Trent flood plain. Nevertheless, there was probably still a discernible relationship between the site and the borough in the eleventh century. Wherever it was situated, in 1066 it clearly lay within the estate of Clifton which encompassed all of the land to the south and east of Nottingham (3). It has been tentatively suggested that this manor was held by Earl Tosti before the Conquest and was attached to an important comital holding in Nottingham itself. It was probably through the latter that thanes were organised for the defence of the borough, and Clifton almost certainly played a key role in the system. The whole organisation was evidently related to royal authority - the

M. Lobel, London 1969, Nottingham, 2. Mickleborough Hill between West Bridgford and Ruddington has also been suggested as a site on the basis of the name which connotes 'great borough' (*VCH Notts.* i, 291n). In the light of the remoteness of the site from the Trent, this is probably less likely.

(1). Mahany, Roffe, 'Stamford', 206-9.

(2). H. R. Loyn, 'Anglo-Saxon Stamford', *The Making of Stamford*, ed. A. Rogers, Leicester 1965, 29; A. Rogers, 'Medieval Stamford', *ibid.*, 35.

(3). See chapter 7.

king seems to have enjoyed the two pennies of both estates (1). It is possible, then, that there was some considerable degree of continuity of function from the period when the two boroughs were responsible for securing the river and the river crossing.

Despite the submission of the new regime at York in 920, there was no permanent political settlement in the North. Ragnald probably felt it was expedient to recognise Edward's overlordship at this time in order to consolidate his position in Northumbria, but he can have in no way thought of it as permanent or constricting. The North had not been incorporated into the kingdom of England. Northumbrian autonomy had not been overthrown (2). Edward's authority in the East Midlands had more substance in reality. Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Stamford had submitted and were garrisoned. Nevertheless, the close ties with the North could not be so easily severed. The region had been associated with Northumbria for the past 50 years. The ruling class of the area shared a common racial identity with the Danes of York, and probably thought of themselves as northerners. In fact, although the kings of England enjoyed their sovereignty, the links with Northumbria, both political and institutional, remained strong for the next 150 years. Indeed, political discontent with central government was usually expressed in terms of alliance with York. Control of the five boroughs, then, became a persistent theme in the relations between north and south. The area was a Trojan Horse as far as the security of Mercia and the Southern Danelaw was concerned. In 939 and 1013, the support of the region allowed the northerners to rapidly penetrate into the heart of England. It is not surprising, then, that the crown repeatedly took

(1). *Notts. DB*, S5.

(2). *Smyth, Scandinavian York* i, 11.

steps to effect the separation of the area from the North and ensure its loyalty. This was the cauldron within which the distinctive institutions of the East Midlands developed.

The first few years of West Saxon hegemony over Nottinghamshire and the East Midlands are unfortunately obscure. Nottingham, in common with Leicester, Derby, and Stamford, was a royal borough for it had a mint which produced coins for Athelstan (1), and it may have been assigned a territory for its support at this time. As we have seen, the pattern of tolls in the East Midlands hints at an organisation of land that precedes the shiring of the region. There is no unequivocal evidence to demonstrate that this was established in the reign of Edward the Elder or Athelstan, but it is at this time that mention is first made of the restriction of trade to boroughs and the monopoly in tolls that this arrangement entailed (2). In that the distribution of *theloneum* highlights the importance of centres like Bakewell and Blyth/ Tickhill (3), it is therefore not at all unlikely that toll banlieus indicate something of the burghal territories of the region in the early tenth century. If so, it would appear that Nottingham controlled almost the whole of the Trent Valley and its upland hinterland from Bycarr's Dyke through to the River Dove in what became south Derbyshire. This pattern emphasises its primary role in the control of the main lines of communication between Mercia and the north (4) and suggests that Derby already had a subordinate status. Indeed, although clearly an important economic centre - its production of coin was second to none in the East

(1). D. Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford 1981, 131-2.

(2). F. E. Harmer, 'Chipping and Market: a Lexicographical Investigation', *The Cultures of North-West Europe* (*H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies*), eds C. Fox, B. Dickens, Cambridge 1950, 342-9.

(3). See chapter 8.

(4). There is evidence that the Great North Road passed through

Midlands at this time (1) - the settlement was probably never defended, and may have been a merchantile suburb of Nottingham (2).

Stamford and Leicester were probably also assigned territories at this period. Later evidence suggests that the former controlled Kesteven and Holland, while the latter may have held sway over substantially the area of the later shire (3). By way of contrast, Lincoln probably experienced a different development. The city does not appear in the sources until 942, and it may have remained part of Northumbria until 927 when Athelstan annexed York, or even until the redemption of the five boroughs by Edmund in 942 (4). Vital evidence is provided by the coinage produced in the city. The St. Martin pennies of Lincoln, which were struck in the 920s, were modelled upon the St. Peter pennies issued at York from the early years of the tenth century, for they bear the somewhat un-Christian sword motif of the Archbishop's mint. The relationship between the two centres was evidently close for the dies used in the later issues at York seem to have been cut in Lincoln (5). The St. Martin pennies suggest, then, that there was a close affinity between Lincoln and Northumbria which had survived the upheavals of 918-

Nottingham in both 934 and 1016 (S407, ASC, 94-5). Commanding the lowest bridge on the Trent, the borough thus occupied a highly strategic position.

(1). P. Stafford, *The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages*, Leicester 1985, 45.

(2). D. R. Roffe, 'Introduction', *Domesday Book: Derbyshire*, ed. A. Williams, forthcoming 1987. The borough was always closely associated with Nottingham, and a relationship similar to that between Winchester and Southampton, or more locally, between Lincoln and Torksey, a suburbium of Lincoln in 1086 (*Lincs. DB*, pl3/2-3), is suggested.

(3). Mahany, Roffe, 'Stamford', 213-4; *The Norman Conquest of Leicestershire and Rutland: a Regional Introduction to Domesday Book*, ed. C. Phythian-Adams, Leicester 1986, 9-11.

(4). ASC, 68, 71.

(5). T. Stewart, 'The St Martin's Coins at Lincoln', *British Numismatics Journal* 36, (1967), 49-54; A. P. Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin* ii, Dublin 1979, 8-9.

20. Moreover, since a mint at York was almost certainly controlled by King Sihtric at this time, it seems likely that Lincoln was producing coins for the York regime and was therefore part of Northumbria (1). Its authority was probably derived from the hegemony that York exercised over the whole of the East Midlands in the early years of the tenth century. The submission of Lincoln and Lindsey is not recorded in the sources, but they may have pledged allegiance to Edward the Elder at the same time as Stamford or Nottingham, and Sihtric may have recovered them after 921. However, in terms of Edward's objectives in 918-20, the subjection of Lincoln was a low priority. As virtually an island, it afforded few lines of communication between north and south. Thus, once Nottingham was secured by negotiation, it was of little importance, for the main theatre of activity was to the north and west. It is possible, then, that Lindsey remained a part of Northumbria throughout. Indeed, the persistent claims of the Archbishop of York to the diocese of Lindsey in the tenth and eleventh centuries imply a long-established and uninterrupted interest in the area (2).

Whether the Archbishop of York exercised ecclesiastical authority in Nottinghamshire between 920 and 942 is not clear (3), but there is no evidence to suggest that Athelstan's political control was in any way relaxed. In 927 Sihtric died, and Athelstan ousted Guthfrith and annexed York (4). Despite attempts to consolidate his power base by winning over Archbishop Wulfstan and other churchmen with extensive grants of land in 934 (5), his hold on the North must have been precarious. His claim to

(1). Smyth, *Scandinavian York* i, 106; ii, 9.

(2). See below.

(3). See below.

(4). ASC, 68.

(5). S407; ECNE, 117-8. The grant of Amounderness to the archbishop was probably speculative, that is, he could have it, if he fought for it.

sovereignty was probably primarily based upon the submission of Northumbria in 920. However, he probably saw the marriage of his sister to Sihtric in 926 as conferring an equally important right. Mercia had been a precedent, for it had been annexed by Edward on the basis of Æthelflaed's marriage to Athelred (1). But neither eclipsed the hereditary rights of the house of Ivarr in the minds of the Danes. Although opposed in 918, these rights now gave expression to separatist feelings in the North. Between 939 and 954, the Danes of York, led by Archbishop Wulfstan, manipulated successive kings in order to maintain their autonomy (2). In 937 Olaf Guthfrithson crossed from Ireland, and, in alliance with the Welsh, Scottish, and almost certainly the Northumbrians, attempted to win back his patrimony. The role of Nottingham and the neighbouring boroughs in this campaign is, as with almost every detail of the episode, unknown. But the conspiracy collapsed after Olaf's crushing defeat at *Brunanburh* (3). He was more successful in 939, however. On the death of Athelstan, he returned to Yorkshire and was immediately accepted by the Danes of York. Furthermore, the East Midlands seem to have submitted to him with the minimum of opposition, for it was not until he reached Northampton that Olaf encountered any resistance. Failing to take the borough, he proceeded north-west to Tamworth and stormed the town. He then retreated to Leicester where, besieged by Edmund, he reached an agreement with the king through the mediation of the two archbishops. The terms were advantageous to Olaf, and suggest that Edmund had no chance of winning

(1). Smyth, *Scandinavian York* ii, 10.

(2). Smyth, *Scandinavian York* ii, 160.

(3). Smyth, *Scandinavian York* ii, 10; *ASC*, 69-70; *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum* i, ed W. Stubbs, London 1887, 151-2; *ASE*, 342-3.

over the five boroughs at this time, even though the northern army was besieged within the city. Edmund ceded the East Midlands and Olaf became the king of Northumbria and the area of the five boroughs (1). The ease with which he overran the area suggests that the Danish settlers there were more than sympathetic to his claims. As part of Northumbria before 920 they, like the men of York, may have felt that Olaf had a greater right to their lordship than Edmund. In effect, they probably saw the conquest as the reunification of a kingdom which had been usurped and divided by an alien power some 20 years before.

In the following two years the five boroughs were clearly ruled from York for coins of Olaf were produced in Derby (2). In the event, this may have proved as irksome as the hegemony of Wessex, for in 942 Edmund won back the five boroughs, and the account in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle suggests that the area was hostile to the York regime which was supported by a heathen Norse army:

In this year King Edmund, lord of the English, protector of men, the beloved performer of mighty deeds, overran Mercia, as bounded by Dore, Whitwell gate and the broad stream, the River Humber; and five boroughs, Leicester and Lincoln, Nottingham and likewise Stamford, and also Derby. The Danes were previously subjected by force under the Norsemen, for a long time in bonds of captivity to the heathens, until the defender of warriors, the son of Edward, King Edmund redeemed them, to his glory (3).

It would, of course, be rash to accept this account at face value (4). It is inaccurate in suggesting that the five boroughs had been subjected

(1). Smyth, *Scandinavian York* ii, 91-4; ASE, 357.

(2). Smyth, *Scandinavian York* ii, 95.

(3). ASC, 71.

(4). ASE, 358-9. Stenton has been followed by many later writers.

to the Norse for a long time since they had only been conquered some two years before. It is a Wessex version of events which is clearly intended to glorify Edmund's achievements. The same editorial considerations had suppressed all notice of the events of 939-940 which are only recorded in the northern chronicles. Nevertheless, if not pure propaganda, the annal may indicate that there were tensions between the Danish settlers and the Norse garrisons in the boroughs (1).

. It is not until the expulsion of Eric Bloodaxe in 954 that York itself was finally brought under the control of the king of England (2). But the East Midlands were evidently subject to West Saxon rule from 942. In the following 20 years the kings of England took decisive steps to consolidate their authority in the area and effect a settlement of the North. Their objectives were probably two-fold. Edward the Elder's conquest had failed to break the bonds between the five boroughs and York, for they had reasserted themselves in 940 to threaten the security of Mercia and the Southern Danelaw. Thus, measures were necessary to first divorce the area from Northumbria and then convert it into a march against the North. It was from this time that the Five Boroughs assumed their distinctive identity as a confederacy and acquired the characteristic institutions which were to survive for centuries.

The most immediate effect of the reconquest must have been the garrisoning and refortification of the boroughs. No archaeological evidence has come to light in Nottingham or the other major boroughs. But Newark - the place-name means 'the new defences' (3) - was probably fortified at this time. Little is known about the pre-Conquest history

(1). Smyth, *Scandinavian York* ii, 109.

(2). *ASC*, 73.

(3). *PNN*, 199.

of the town. Excavations by Professor Barley in 1961 located a massive ditch, some 34 feet wide and 13 feet deep with a 16 foot berm, which he interpreted as pre-Conquest, although there was no firm dating evidence (1). A recent trial excavation on Slaughterhouse Lane has revealed a rampart up to 45 feet wide. Again, there was no firm dating evidence associated with the feature itself, but it was cut by stratigraphically later features of eleventh or twelfth century date. The rampart is thus clearly earlier (2). The size of these defences on the north side of the town contrast with much smaller earthworks located by Malcolm Todd to the south and east in the 1970's (3). Despite the ambiguous nature of the archaeological evidence, there are indications that Newark was an important settlement in the mid tenth century. The existence of a royal mint in the town in the reign of Eadwy suggests that the borough which is described in the Domesday Book account was already in existence in the 950's (4), although the exact date of its foundation cannot yet be determined. But if not in Eadwy's reign, the settlement evidently assumed unprecedented importance at that time as a centre of royal authority. This is in itself eloquent witness to the king's policies in the area. Situated on the Trent below Nottingham, Newark can only have functioned as a forward position to defend the county town from river- and road-borne incursions from Northumbria. This suggests that Nottingham, and by implication the other boroughs of the area, were garrisoned as a buffer against the North.

(1). M. W. Barley, 'Excavation of the Borough Ditch, Slaughterhouse Lane, Newark, 1961', *TTS* 65, (1961), 10-18.

(2). I am indebted to C. Drage of the Trent and Peak Archaeological Trust, Brewhouse Yard, Nottingham, for information on his excavation in advance of publication.

(3). M. Todd, 'Excavations on the Medieval Defences of Newark, 1972', *TTS* 78, (1974), 27-53.

(4). Hill, *Atlas*, 127-31; *Notts. DB*, 6,1. There were 56 burgesses in

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Alongside the military initiative, steps were taken to create a party and win support in the East Midlands. Edmund probably granted key estates to placemen, possibly in many cases in advance of his campaign as an incentive to active support and loyalty, and to local Danish leaders alike to consolidate his position. A record of only one such transaction survives, however. In 942 Edmund granted to Wulfsige Maur, a trusted ally of Mercian descent, a large block of estates on either side of the Trent in Staffordshire and Derbyshire which effectively controlled the upper Trent valley (1). But such measures, although effective in the short-term, did not eliminate the more entrenched Northumbrian interests. Most important among these was probably the influence of the church of York. Between 940 and 952 the *eminence grise* in the North had been archbishop Wulfstan of York. A staunch advocate of Northumbrian autonomy, both secular and ecclesiastical, he had manipulated successive rulers in York to serve the best interests of northern independence (2). His capture and imprisonment by King Eadred in 952, however, provided the opportunity for positive action against the power of the church in the North (3). One of the most immediate measures seems to have been the revival of the diocese of Lindsey which had lapsed in the late ninth century under the pressure of the Danish invasions (4). Bishop Leofwine, who first appears in 953, never

Newark in 1086 (*Notts. DB*, 6,1).

(1). S484, 1606; *ECNE*, 104-5; P. H. Sawyer, 'The Charters of Burton Abbey and the Unification of England', *Northern History* 10, (1975), 34.

(2). Smyth, *Scandinavian York* ii, 160; D. Whitelock, 'The Dealings of the Kings of England with Northumbria in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickens*, ed. P. Clemoes, London 1959, 72-3.

(3). *ASC*, 73.

(4). *ECNE*, 343. Dr. Hart asserts that the Alfred who witnesses three diplomas in 934 was a bishop of Lindsey, but I can find no authority for this statement. See M. A. O'Donovan, 'An Interim Revision of the

specifically subscribes as bishop of Lindsey. However, he is said in the episcopal lists to have united the dioceses of Lindsey and Dorchester (1). Since Osketil was bishop of Dorchester from 953 possibly until 971, Leofwine must have been bishop of Lindsey during those years (2). The timing of the appointment is suggestive. It is clearly related to Wulfstan's imprisonment and thus implies that he had exercised his authority as primate in the area.

There is no contemporary evidence to indicate the grounds on which Wulfstan might have claimed ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In the eleventh century, his successors persistently claimed the diocese on the grounds that Lindsey had been converted to Christianity by Paulinus who was bishop of York (3). But the question was complicated by the conquest and reconquest of the kingdom of Mercia and Northumbria in the seventh century. Chad, Bishop of Mercia included it in the diocese of Lichfield. In 678, however, Northumbria again conquered Lindsey, and subsequently Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, divided the see of York and appointed Eadhead to the southern bishopric. But the latter was forced to resign when Lindsey was recovered by Mercia. From this time, the area remained a separate diocese until the late ninth century (4). Wulfstan was no doubt aware of this background, but recent practice probably provided stronger arguments for him than antiquarian delvings in the archives. The Danish invasion had left an ecclesiastical vacuum in the

Episcopal Dates for the Province of Canterbury 850-950 Part II', *Anglo-Saxon England* 2, (1973), 95-6, who states that the bishopric lapsed between 878 and 953.

(1). Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis* i, ed. B. Thorpe, London 1848, 242; *Radulfi de Diceto Opera Historica* ii, ed. W. Stubbs, London 1876, 201.

(2). Whitelock, 'Dealing', 73-5.

(3). J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, Cambridge 1948, 65, 80-1.

(4). O'Donovan, 'Episcopal Dates', 95-6.

East Midlands, for the diocese of Lindsey lapsed and the see of Leicester was moved to Dorchester-on-Thames. The Archbishop of York, however, had survived the upheavals of the late ninth century. The Danish conquest of Yorkshire had been rapid and complete and, unlike the situation in the Southern Danelaw, the church was no threat to the settlement. For its part, the Northumbrian church probably saw alliance with the Danish regime as the best way of protecting its interests (1). A *modus vivendi*, then, was quickly worked out in the North, and indeed the conversion of the heathens was well advanced by the late ninth century (2). It was natural that the church of York extended its sphere of influence into the East Midlands, an area which was already under the political hegemony of the Danes of Northumbria, for it was the only competent ecclesiastical authority in the region. Wulfstan's claims to Lindsey, then, were almost certainly based upon 60 or 70 years of undisputed enjoyment of archiepiscopal jurisdiction.

The appointment of Leofwine was no doubt intended to impose a control on that jurisdiction. But it probably did not amount to a usurpation of the rights of the archbishopric. York intermittently continued to exercise its authority in Lindsey in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and its claims to the diocese were persistent and evidently firmly based (3). They were not extinguished by an adverse papal bull in 1061, and William Rufus only decided in favour of Robert Bloet in 1092 after receiving a massive gift of 3,000 pounds from the bishop of Lincoln who had inherited the claim of Dorchester after the removal of the see to Lincoln in c.1072. Nevertheless, Archbishop Thomas of York

(1). Smyth, *Scandinavian York* i, 41.

(2). D. Whitelock, 'The Conversion of the Eastern Danelaw', *Saga Book of the Viking Society* 12, (1945), 175.

(3). See below.

was still compensated for the loss of the diocese and the episcopal manors of Newark, Stow, and Louth by the gift of the abbey of St. German, Selby and the church of St. Oswald, Gloucester (1). In the light of the archbishopric's apparently strong claims to Lindsey, Leofwine's status as bishop must be questioned. His subsequent translation to Dorchester may suggest that he was a suffragan of that see (2). But the insistence in the episcopal lists that he united the two dioceses may alternatively imply that Lindsey was not claimed by Dorchester until his tenure of both sees after 971. It is possible, then, that he was originally appointed to Lindsey as a suffragan of York to exercise episcopal authority during Wulfstan's imprisonment on behalf of Eadred's party. Dorchester's subsequent claims may therefore have been based upon a *de facto* annexation of the diocese.

The resurrection of the diocese of Lindsey, however, did not tackle the central problem. More radical measures were needed to curb the independence of the church in the north. The submission of York in 954 provided the occasion. Sometime between 954 and 956, Osketil Bishop of Dorchester was appointed to the see of York. The circumstances surrounding this translation, notably the fate of Archbishop Wulfstan, are confused on account of contradictory statements in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. It is not clear whether Wulfstan regained York on his release in 954, exchanged bishoprics with Osketil, or held one or the other

(1). *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln* i, ed. C. W. Foster, Lincoln 1931, 186-7, 11-12; Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, 65. The see of York held some 36 carucates of land in Lindsey in 1086. Although it is not recorded as lord in 1066, it is possible that the tenants of the land held from the archbishop before the Conquest (*Lincs. Db*, 2/1-28). Its endowment in the county, then, may have been quite large.

(2). Whitelock, 'Dealings', 75.

under Osketel's supervision (1). However, the latter was certainly Archbishop in 956 after Wulfstan's death, and he appears to have held Dorchester in plurality until his own death in 971 (2). The arrangement was an important precedent which was adhered to until the mid eleventh century. Osketel came from the Southern Danelaw and was of Danish descent. He was thus probably acceptable to the Danes of York, but he was untainted by their northern separatism. King Eadred clearly felt he could trust him to represent the interests of the crown in the North. Succeeding kings learnt the lesson and a northern cleric was never again preferred to York. Moreover, all until Wulfstan II (1003-1023) held a southern see in plurality. This not only relieved the poverty of the archiepiscopal see, but also ensured loyalty to the kings of England for the archbishop was dependent upon the goodwill of the crown for a large part of his income (3). The grant of land in Nottinghamshire at Southwell by Eadwy in 956 and at Sutton and Scrooby by Edgar in 958 may have been designed to fulfil a similar function (4). However, in the light of the division of the kingdom between the two brothers in 957, the endowments were probably an attempt to win the support of the archbishop for their respective causes (5). Nottinghamshire was almost certainly a part of the diocese of York from this date at the latest, for all of the rights of the archbishop in the county were attached to Southwell Minster from an early period (6). But, like Lindsey, the area may have remained in the sphere of the metropolitan see after 920 for there is no

(1). Whitelock, 'Dealings', 73.

(2). Whitelock, 'Dealings', 75.

(3). Whitelock, 'Dealings', 73-6.

(4). S659, 679; *VCH Notts.* ii, 38.

(5). G. T. Davies, 'The Anglo-Saxon Boundaries of Sutton and Scrooby, Nottinghamshire', *TTS* 87, (1983), 13.

(6). *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster*, ed. A. F. Leach, London 1891, xxiii.

evidence to suggest that either Edward or Athelstan introduced ecclesiastical reforms (1).

The most far-reaching effect of the West Saxon reconquest of the Northern Danelaw was the introduction of a radically new system of local government which was designed to raise taxation, co-ordinate a system of defence, and keep the peace. It was probably after what proved to be the final submission of York that the first general system of royal administration was introduced into the region within the confederacy of the Five Boroughs. The boroughs of Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, Lincoln, and Stamford are first associated as a group in the annal for 942 (2). As we have seen, this entry, which takes the literary form of a poem, was intended to glorify the achievements of the house of Wessex and is clearly propaganda. As such, it is almost certainly not a contemporary compilation. In the earliest surviving manuscript, it was written sometime after 955 (3). Moreover, its tone conveys the impression that it was written from the smug security of hindsight. Thus, the boroughs are said with an air of finality to have been redeemed. This phrase would surely have been inappropriate in 942 when there was still an autonomous regime at York. It is highly unlikely, in fact, that the Five Boroughs constituted a confederacy before or even at this date. Up until 918, the boroughs never consistently acted in concert. Significantly, the only explicit notice of an alliance was between Leicester and Northampton, which was never part of the confederacy. After 920 there is less evidence, but it seems likely that Lincoln was part of Northumbria until at least 927. The earliest reference to a confederacy occurs in

(1). *Pace ECNE*, 343.

(2). *ASC*, 71.

(3). *ASC*, xi.

Æthelred's Wantage Code which can probably be dated to 997 (1), but there are reasons to believe that the system was introduced some 30 years before to co-ordinate a new system of local government.

As we have seen (2), in the eleventh century local government was intimately related to carucation. The primary unit of administration was a twelve-carucate hundred which was essentially a tithing. But it also assumed responsibility for all royal imposts and exactions as well as the maintenance of law and order. It may also have had a military role. It was in every sense a communal or public system for, while every estate, with the exception of royal demesne, belonged to a hundred, it was essentially independent of land tenure. In this respect, it differs from earlier systems based upon the soke. The hundreds in their turn were grouped together to form the equally communal institution of the wapentake. In Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, there was a standard quota of seven hundreds per wapentake. Suit was originally paid to it by all estates, regardless of their liberties, for it was the machinery through which the king's inalienable forfeitures were articulated. Like the hundred, the wapentake was a public system, and seems to have been a function of carucation. Carucate, tithing, and wapentake, then, constituted an integrated whole. As such, it is possible to perceive that the system was a tenth-century institution for its elements are found in the legislation of Edgar and Æthelred. Thus, the penalty that was imposed on the hundred for breach of the peace is cited in a Northern Danelaw context in the Wantage Code, while the wapentake is first found in Edgar's fourth code (962-3) where it is linked with a

(1). EHD i, 403; S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready'*, Cambridge 1980, 196-7.

(2). See chapter 6.

general system of tithing. It seems likely, then, that the new system had been introduced by 963.

It was, moreover, closely related to the Confederacy of the Five Boroughs. In 1066 breach of the king's peace was amended by eighteen hundreds, each of which paid eight pounds, twelve to the king, and six to the earl (1). The same penalty, and a very similar division of dues, applied to the organisation of the Five Boroughs. The peace given by the ealdorman and the king's reeve in the meeting of the confederacy was amended by twelve hundred, that given in the court of the borough by six, and in the wapentake by one. In this case, the hundred is a long hundred of sixteen-pence Danish oras, that is, $120 \times 16d = 1920d = 8$ pounds (2). The structure of local government is probably also an oblique reflection of the principles expounded in the Wantage Code. The relative value ascribed to different courts implies that a borough, that is proto-shire, court was in some way worth, or was made up of, six wapentakes. This is a significant feature of three of the counties of the region. There were six wapentakes in Nottinghamshire (four whole + four half), and six in Derbyshire (3). There were a greater number in Lincolnshire, but patterns of six recur. There were ten whole and two double, that is four half, wapentakes in Kesteven and Holland (4). In the North Riding of Lindsey there were seven, including Bolingbroke and Gartree which, although topographically in the South Riding, were accounted in the North, and six each in the South and West Ridings (5).

(1). *Notts. DB*, S1; *Lincs. DB*, p9/31-3; *Yorks. DB*, C38.

(2). *EHD* 1, 403.

(3). See chapters 6 and 8.

(4). *Lincs. DB*, lxxiii. Winnibriggs and Threo, and Boothby and Graffoe were grouped together in the later Middle Ages (H. M. Cam, *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England*, London 1963, 92).

(5). *Lincs. DB*, lxxiii; D. R. Roffe, 'The Lincolnshire Hundred', *Landscape History* 3, (1981), 34. Bradley and Haverstoe in the North

The operation of the tithings and wapentakes, then, seems to have been prefigured in the regulations for the Five Boroughs. It seems clear that the confederacy was but the superstructure of the system of local government based upon carucation.

The Five Boroughs as an institution, then, owed its existence to an initiative of the English crown. In the mid tenth century successive kings took a great interest in the workings of local administration throughout the kingdom. The Hundred Ordinance was promulgated in the reign of Eadred, or possibly in the early years of Edgar, and was intended to institute reforms and tighten up procedure in the apparatus of government in southern England (1). Edgar's fourth code, in its provision of tithings and witness, legislated for the whole country, both English and Danish (2). The institution of the Five Boroughs must be seen in this context. Closely related to the territorial tithing, a new concept in royal administration, it was itself clearly a royal institution and, indeed, the ealdorman and king's reeve were appointed by the crown. Nevertheless, the confederacy had a Danish identity. Its assembly was presumably attended by the settlers of the East Midlands, and the proceedings were transacted according to such good laws as they could best decide upon. Edgar had deliberately refrained from meddling with Danish law, although this did not preclude the introduction of new administration (3). This was of some importance for a distinctive organisation gave expression to a legitimate sense of separate identity

Riding were grouped together and may have been half wapentakes. There is no discernible standard quota in Lincolnshire, although five wapentakes were assessed at seven hundreds, or a multiple or fraction of that sum, while another four were within six carucates of the same.

(1). EHD i, 393-4; H. R. Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England 500-1087*, London 1984, 142.

(2). EHD i, 397-401.

(3). EHD i, 399.

and thereby also weakened the bonds that tied the East Midlands to Northumbria. It is probable that this was the ultimate objective of the king in the institution of the Five Boroughs. Yorkshire may have been carucated at the same time as the East Midlands, and in this sense was incorporated into the realm (1). But it still posed the greatest threat to the security of the kingdom. The Five Boroughs were thus a march and, as the fortification of Newark reveals, were so considered. This function of the confederacy is probably reflected in the differences in status of the constituent boroughs and variations in the distribution of geld within the system. Although each borough had its own administration and territories, two occupied a pre-eminent position. Stamford, with its territory of Kesteven and Holland, was probably loosely appended to Lincoln at this time. Its heavy assessment was probably intended to support the more vulnerable forward position which in its turn could control the Humber and the east bank of the Trent (2). Derbyshire, *Roteland*, and possibly Leicestershire, were attached to Nottingham in the same way. This borough above all occupied a key strategic position, and it may well have operated as the headquarters of the whole organisation (3).

It is from this time that the administrative geography of the Northern Danelaw was established. As we have seen, various adjustments were probably made to the territories of the constituent boroughs to

(1). There has unfortunately been no systematic study of the carucation of Yorkshire, but there is some evidence for a seven-hundred quota. Thus, 84 carucates of land were attached to the city of York (*Yorks. DB*, SN Y1). In the twelfth century, Twixt Tyne and Wear, and Westmoreland and Copeland were each assessed at 504 carucates (*VCH Yorks.* 11, 139-41). A later carucation, based upon similar principles, cannot therefore be ruled out.

(2). Mahany, Roffe, 'Stamford', 214-5.

(3). See chapter 8.

form effective units which survived as the shires of the mediaeval period (1). The wapentake as a distinct institution, and in many cases as discrete territories, came into existence at this time and was destined to form an important element in local government for the succeeding 900 years. The life of the hundred was generally shorter. In the twelfth century, it gave way to the smaller and more convenient vill throughout much of the Five Boroughs (2). It survived in the fenland of Holland, however, into the eighteenth century (3). In these respects the West Saxon reforms were an outstanding success. But in its central objective, the new system was not always to prove effective. Its superstructure, the confederacy, was the shortest lived, and probably the least effective, feature of the new administration. The Five Boroughs as an institution is not found after 1015: in the following year reference is first made to the shires of Nottingham and Lincoln, and, if not an anachronistic reference (4), it would seem that the functions of the regional organisation had had already devolved upon individual boroughs to form the administratively autonomous units of

(1). See chapter 8.

(2). Roffe, 'Lincolnshire Hundred', 27, 36.

(3). Roffe, 'Lincolnshire Hundred', 27, 36. Its survival appears to be directly related to the unmanorialised structure of society in the fenland. The leet of East Anglia provides a direct parallel. Something of its organisation, however, may have survived in the rather shadowy institution of the *villa integra* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (B. A. Lees, 'The Statute of Winchester and the Villa Integra', *EHR* 41, (1926), 98-103). No relationship has been perceived between those found in Nottinghamshire and the Domesday administrative structure, but vestigially the unit had similar functions to the twelve-carucate hundred. Its most important role as a tithing, however, had passed to manorial lords with their assumption of view of frankpledge.

(4). An ealdorman of Lindsey is named in 1016 (*ASC*, 96), but this does not preclude the existence of Lincolnshire as an administrative area, for as late as 1086 'Lindsey' and 'Lincolnshire' seem to have been synonymous (F. M. Stenton, 'Lindsey and its Kings', *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Stenton, Oxford 1970, 133). Lincoln was clearly the dominant party (Mahany, Roffe, 'Stamford', 214).

Domesday Book (1). Probably the only vestiges of the Five Boroughs to emerge into the post-Conquest period were the permanent annexation of the territory of Stamford by Lincoln and the close association of Derbyshire with Nottinghamshire. The demise of the confederacy was probably related to its failure to divorce the East Midlands from the North, for from the early eleventh century, the region increasingly sided with the northern Danes in times of conflict with central government.

The loyalty of the men of the Five Boroughs appears to have been in doubt by the late tenth century. Despite the fact that the renewed Danish raids were concentrated in southern England, it is suspicious that there was only one recorded incursion into the East Midlands between 979 and 1013. In 993 the Danish host sailed up the Humber and raided Lindsey and south Yorkshire. The local levies, however, declined to fight (2). Some indication of tension between north and south is illustrated by the re-emergence of the bishopric of Lindsey. Sigeforth subscribes as bishop between 996 and 1004, and he may have been succeeded by Ælfstan who attested two charters in 1009 and 1011 (3). As with Leofwine in 953, it is possible that both owed allegiance to York for the archbishops seem to have been active south of the Humber in the early eleventh century. According to Florence of Worcester, the church of Stow St. Mary in the West Riding of Lindsey was founded by Eadnoth of Dorchester (1006-1016), and in 1054 it was claimed that farm was only taken from the manor from the time of Bishop Æthelric (1016-1034) (4).

(1). ASC, 94-5. Leicestershire does not appear by name until Domesday, but it is likely that it too was constituted as a shire by the reign of Cnut (*Norman Conquest of Leicestershire*, 10).

(2). ASC, 83.

(3). S878, 891, 899, 904, 922, 924.

(4). *Chronicon* i, 216; *Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham* i, ed. H. E.

However it is clear from a papal bull of 1061 that Archbishop Ælfric of York (1023-51) had enjoyed jurisdiction over the diocese of Lindsey and the manors of Stow and Newark during his episcopacy (1). From the available data, it is not possible to reconstruct the sequence of events, but in the light of York's claims in the eleventh century, it may have been making a serious attempt to annex the province.

Whatever the truth of the matter, the claims and counterclaims are clearly evidence of tension between north and south in the area. Discontent came out into the open in 1013. In that year King Swein of Denmark encamped with an army at Gainsborough on the Trent, and almost immediately Earl Uhtred and Northumbria, and Lindsey and the Five Boroughs submitted to him. They were shortly joined by all the Danes north of Watling Street (2). Once again the Northern Danelaw acted as a Trojan Horse, and Swein conquered all before him. But it is likely that the rebellion in the North owed as much to opposition to West Saxon rule as to kinship with the Danes. On Swein's death in 1014, Cnut was elected as king. But Æthelred regained support, and the Danish king was forced to abandon Lindsey. The northerners were left in the lurch, and Lindsey was harried (3). Action, however, was probably not taken against the leaders of the northern Danelaw until the following year. On the occasion of a great council meeting at Oxford, Eadric Streona, ealdorman of Mercia, had Siferth and Morcar, 'chief thanes' of the seven boroughs, murdered. The king then confiscated all their estates and ordered Siferth's widow to be seized and taken to Malmesbury (4). Nothing is

Salter, Oxford 1906, 28-30.

(1). *Registrum Antiquissimum* i, 186-8.

(2). *ASC*, 92-3.

(3). *ASC*, 93.

(4). *ASC*, 94.

known about the circumstances surrounding the deed, but it is likely that it was not unconnected with the rebellion in 1013 (1). In the event, it solved no problems for it provided the occasion for Edmund Ironside to rebel and join the northern party. He abducted Siferth's widow and married her, and then went north into the Five Borough and seized the lands of the two thanes. He then levied forces in the North to fight Cnut (2). The opposition of the northerners to the invaders was at variance with their attitude in 1013, and suggests that separatism was the real motivation for rebellion. Thus, after Eadric defected to Cnut, both Edward and Uhtred harried the ealdorman's lands in Shropshire and Herefordshire, rather than attacking the Danes (3). in the meantime, Cnut harried the Danelaw, took York, and secured the submission of the North (4).

The reference to seven boroughs in the 1013 annal is unique. The term evidently included Derby, Nottingham, Lincoln, Leicester, and Stamford, for in the same year Edmund 'went from the west, north to the Five Boroughs' and at once took possession of all the estates of Siferth and Morcar (5) who are elsewhere described as 'the chief thanes of the seven boroughs' (6). In the light of Edmund's alliance with Uhtred ealdorman of Northumbria, one of the additional boroughs can surely be identified with York (7). There are several possibilities for the seventh. Torksey or Gainsborough in Lindsey suggest themselves, although

(1). ASE, 388-9; P. Stafford, 'The Reign of Athelred II: a Study in the Limitations on Royal Policy and Action', *Athelred the Unready*, ed. D. Hill, Oxford 1978, 35-6.

(2). ASC, 94.

(3). ASC, 94. Eadric's power base was in the West Midlands. See *Chronicon* i, 158.

(4). ASC, 94-5.

(5). ASC, 94.

(6). ASC, 94.

(7). ASE, 388n.

if the term 'Five Boroughs' was used in a territorial sense, both identifications would be unlikely. The only other borough in the north that was of a standing with York and the Five Boroughs was Bamburgh which was held by Uhtred at this time (1). The phrase is probably no more than descriptive for there is no evidence for a formal confederacy which encompassed the whole of the Northern Danelaw. Nevertheless, it does indicate an identity of interest between the Five Boroughs and Northumbria, and a single earldom cannot be ruled out at this time.

Evidence for the political status of the East Midlands in the next 50 years is unfortunately slight. In 1065, it seems that Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Lindsey, and possibly south Lincolnshire were part of Tosti's earldom of Northumbria. His interests in Nottinghamshire were considerable. He held comital manors in Nottingham, Bothamsall, and possibly Clifton and Bingham, and it seems likely that many other estates which were held by tenants in 1066 were attached to them (2). It was probably to these tenants that a writ of Edward the Confessor, addressed to Tosti's thanes in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, was directed (3). The extent of his estates in Lincolnshire is less clear. He does not appear in the Lincolnshire Domesday as a pre-Conquest holder of land, but he held Misson in Nottinghamshire as soke of Kirton-in-Lindsey (4). The manor was held by Earl Edwin TRE, and was probably an important comital estate for in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the administration of the whole of the West Riding of Lindsey was attached to it (5). The Nottinghamshire commissioners, as elsewhere,

(1). I would like to thank Tom Cain for this suggestion.

(2). *Notts. DB*, B2. 1,9; 65. 9,97.

(3). F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, Manchester 1952, no. 119.

(4). *Notts. DB*, 1,65.

(5). *Lincs. DB*, 1/38. In 1341, for example, the sheriff of Lincoln held his tourn in Spital-in-the-Street which was parcel of the manor of

evidently employed earlier sources, and their account of Misson thus shows that Tosti held Kirton before his expulsion from the earldom in 1065. Whether he held other estates in the county cannot be determined with certainty. Earl Morcar, however, his successor as earl of Northumbria, was in possession of a large number of manors in 1066 throughout Lincolnshire (1). Not all of these can have been comital. The estates which were granted to Drew de Beurere, for example, had belonged to Ulf Topeson at about the time of the Conquest (2). But Morcar's title to them - he is recorded in Domesday as the TRE lord - was clearly different from that to Bourne, which he also held in 1066, for Drew had no claim upon it (3). It would be presumptuous to attempt to determine the status of his various manors, however, for it was the cause of genuine perplexity in 1086. In the *Clamores* for Kesteven, it is recorded that 'the claims which Drew de Beurere makes upon Morcar's lands they remit to the king's decision' (4). In Torksey alone can we be reasonably certain that his interest was derived from his office for he enjoyed the third penny of the borough (5). If Edwin was earl in Lincolnshire, he was probably so in succession to his brother Morcar.

According to Domesday Book, Tosti held no estates in Derbyshire,

Kirton (*CPR* 1340-1343, 137; *CCR* 1323-1327, 119). The earliest reference to the hospital, formerly called *Herwyk* (*CPL* iv, 510), occurs in the late twelfth century (*Registrum Antiquissimum* ii, 319-20), but the settlement is represented by sokeland of Kirton in Hemswell in 1086 (*Lincs. DB*, 1/41). The soke of Kirton was of great extent, extending into the West Riding wapentakes of Corringham, Aslaoe, and Manley, and there is evidence to suggest that the church of Kirton had extensive liberties throughout the area (D. R. Roffe, 'The Church of Stow St Mary, Lincolnshire', in preparation).

(1). *Lincs. DB*, 1/1, 4-6, 26, 65; 2/37, 39; 3/31; 30/1, 22, 26, 28; 35/13; 42/1.

(2). *Lincs. DB*, 30/1, 22, 26, 28; xlii.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, 42/1; 72/40.

(4). *Lincs. DB*, 72/50.

(5). *Lincs. DB*, p13/3.

although Earl Siward of Northumbria had held a manor in Markeaton (1). But the events of 1065 suggest that it too was part of the earldom for the shire participated in the rebellion against Tosti. In that year the Northumbrians rose up against the earl, killed his housecarls, and elected Morcar in his place (2). The rebels marched to Lincoln, and, reinforced by the men of the shires of Nottingham, Derby, and Lincoln, they marched upon Northampton where they were joined by Earl Edwin with the men of his earldom. The northerners despoiled the county, which had been held by Tosti, before Edward the Confessor acceded to their demands (3). According to the Abingdon Chronicle (C), Tosti's tyranny was responsible for the uprising (4), but the immediate cause may have been an attempt to introduce novel taxation (5). Whatever the reason, the men of Derbyshire obviously felt equally aggrieved, which suggests that, along with the shires of Nottingham and Lincoln, the county had been part of Tosti's earldom.

As in 1013, it was the boundary of the Five Boroughs which proved to be the decisive frontier between north and south. It would be rash, however, to argue that the East Midlands had remained in the sphere of York without interruption from the early eleventh century. Despite the obscurity of the period, it seems likely that there was a considerable amount of fluidity in the composition of the Midland earldoms between 1016 and 1066. In 1017 the Five Boroughs may have been part of the earldom of Mercia granted to Eadric (6), but by 1041, they were probably

(1). *Derbys. DB*, 4,1.

(2). There may also have been a spontaneous uprising in Lincoln (W. E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North*, London 1979, 99, 261).

(3). Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, 98-100; *ASC*, 137-8.

(4). *ASC*, 138.

(5). Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, 96-8.

(6). *ASC*, 97.

subject to Thored, 'earl of the Middle Angles', who was succeeded by Beorn Estrithson, a scion of the house of Godwin, in 1045 (1). After the latter's death in 1049, there is no explicit notice of an earl until 1065, but Leofric may have annexed the region to his earldom of Mercia at some point. He certainly had lands and influence in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire. Sometime before 1054, he and his wife Godgifu refounded the monastery of Stow in Lincolnshire, endowed it with the manor of Newark in Nottinghamshire, and confirmed the possession of the community to Bishop Eadnoth of Dorchester (2). This was clearly a political move of some importance which was probably intended to consolidate Mercian influence in the Trent valley. His son Elfgar held much of Holland, and Leofric his nephew controlled extensive estates in Lincolnshire and Derbyshire as pluralist abbot of Burton-on-Trent, Coventry, Crowland, and Thorney (3). The great Mercian families also had considerable interests in the region. Leofric son of Leofwin and Leofnoth, for example, possessed innumerable manors in Mercia and the Five Boroughs, many of which had descended from Wulfric Spot (4). By way of contrast, there were relatively few tenurial links between the East Midlands and Yorkshire. Great landowners of the Danelaw like Ulf Fenisc and Tochi son of Outi held manors in Yorkshire, but the bulk of their estates lay south of the Humber (5). Any long established links and

(1). E. A. Freeman, *The Norman Conquest* ii, Oxford 1870, 557-8.

(2). *Cartulary of Eynsham*, 28-32.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, 1/28, 30, 34; 12/83-4; 14/96; C. R. Hart, 'Athelstan 'Half King' and his Family', *Anglo-Saxon England* 2, (1973), 138-43.

(4). P. H. Sawyer, *The Charters of Burton Abbey*, Oxford 1979, xliii..

(5). *Lincs. DB*, xxx, xxxvii. Ulf held land in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, and possibly in Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire. Tochi held in Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire (H. Ellis, *A General Introduction to Domesday Book* ii, London 1833, 239, 251).

formal ties between Northumbria and the Five Boroughs, then, seem improbable. Tosti had also held Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, and Bedfordshire as part of his northern earldom, but the association was not of great antiquity (1). In the 1050s the fluidity of political groupings grew more marked as the house of Godwin extended its power. Thus, the relationship between the shires of Nottingham, Derby, Lincoln, and York may have been merely a function of an opportunist move by Tosti to extend his power base in the east and the north, probably after the exile or death of Alfgar in c.1062 (2).

It was left to King William to secure the North. With the breakdown of government through English officials, the Conqueror determined on a policy of direct rule. A strategy of castle building was put into effect in 1068. Its objectives were twofold. First, to secure the major centres of population in the East Midlands, second to hold the main lines of communication with the North. Castles were built at Warwick and Nottingham. Then York was secured by the construction of two castles in the city. On the return to the south, further castles were built at Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, and almost certainly at Stamford (3). The North was by no means subdued. But the Five Boroughs were apparently firmly held for they did not rise with the Northumbrians in the following year. The East Midlands thus escaped the harrying of the North in 1069 which irrevocably changed the face of Northumbrian society (4).

(1). Freeman, *Norman Conquest* ii, 559-60. Harold had held Huntingdonshire as part of the earldom of East Anglia before 1053.

(2). *The Life of King Edward the Confessor*, ed. F. Barlow, London 1962, 51.

(3). Mahany, Roffe, 'Stamford', 216.

(4). Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, 117-9.

APPENDIX 1

ADDITIONS AND DUPLICATIONS IN THE NOTTINGHAMSHIRE FOLIOS

With the exception of readily discernible single-word interlineations, the following lists all the postscriptal material that has been identified. 'Foreseen addition' indicates that a space was left for an entry, presumably with the intention of entering material at a later date, in the initial composition of the text. Otherwise, additions appear to be *ad hoc*, although signs are occasionally used to indicate the proper position of an entry. By their nature, equivalent entries are more difficult to identify, and question marks are therefore used where there is doubt as to whether the same land is referred to. 'Equivalent to' indicates that the details of one entry are identical, or almost identical, to those of another, and 'included in' that a parcel of land is also described in a compound entry elsewhere.

NOTTS. DB	COMMENTS
B2, 3	Foreseen addition.
B4, 5, 6	One entry.
B11	Addition to end of previous entry.
B14, 15	One entry.
B16	Addition to end of previous entry.
B19	Equivalent to 1,63.
B19, 20	Addition to end of column.
1,7	See 7,5.
1,17	Equivalent to 1,24 (Grimston), 1,27.
1,18	Equivalent to 1,24 (Ompton)?
1,19	Included in 1,24 (Kirton)? Addition to end of previous entry.
1,21	Equivalent to 1,24 (Besthorpe, Carlton).
1,22	Included in 11,17; also in 5,1?
1,24	The entry includes a summary of land described in 1,17; 18; 21; 25; 27-30 and probably other members of the manor of Mansfield.
1,25	Equivalent to 1,24 (Warsop) and 30,53.
1,27	Equivalent to 1,17;24 (Grimston).

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1,28	Equivalent to 1,24 (Edwinstowe).
1,29	Equivalent to 1,24 (Maplebeck).
1,30	Carlton included in 1,24? Equivalent to 1,24 (Scofton, Rayton, and Perlethorpe).
1,31	Equivalent to 1,41 and/or 5,8 (Tiln)? Addition to bottom margin
1,33	Addition to end of previous entry.
1,41	Equivalent to 1,31 and/or 5,8 (Tiln)?
1,46	Interlined after the addition of 1,47-50.
1,47-50	Addition to foot of column.
1,53	Addition to end of previous entry and left margin.
1,55	Addition to a blank line?
1,63	Equivalent to B19
1,64-66	Addition to end of breve.
1,65	Equivalent to 30,44. See <i>Lincs.DB</i> 1/38.
1,66	Guy is Guy de Craon. See <i>Lincs.DB</i> , 57/7.
2,3;5	Addition to left margin.
2,10	Includes 9,130. Addition to left margin.
4,4	Addition to end of previous entry.
5,1	Includes 1,22. 11,15-17; 20. 13,13. 17,13?
5,2	Addition to blank line.
5,4	See <i>Lincs.DB</i> , 2/26 'In Newton-on-Trent (Lincs.) the archbishop (of York) has 100 acres of meadow. It belongs to Lanum (Laneham)'.
5,5-6	Addition to foot, written across both columns.
5,8	Tiln equivalent to 1,31 and/or 1,41?
5,12	Addition to blank line.
6,3	See 20,3;4.
7,5	See 1,7. 'To this manor belong 7 freemen in Upton and Collingham' added to the end of entry. 'iii. c et ii',

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that is, '3 carucates and 2 (bovates)', inserted in the right-hand margin next to the penultimate line of this entry.

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|-----------|--|
| 8,1 | See <i>Lincs.DB</i> , 71/15 <i>Clamores</i> . |
| 9,7-9 | Addition to foot of column. |
| 9,21 | Added below 9,7-9 at a later date. |
| 9,23 | Addition to left margin. |
| 9,25 | Addition to end of previous entry. |
| 9,43 | Alfsi son of Kaskin. See S5. |
| 9,47-48 | Addition to right margin. |
| 9,81 | Addition to foot of next column with transposition marks to indicate its correct position. |
| 9,91; 93 | Addition to foot of column; transposition marks. |
| 9,97 | 'In Newton 3 b. taxable' addition to end of previous entry. A separate entry. |
| 9,130 | Included in 2,10. |
| 10,6 | Equivalent to 30,25. |
| 10,7 | Addition to right margin. |
| 10,10 | Willoughby equivalent to 30,26? |
| 10,12 | Addition to end of previous entry. |
| 10,21 | Addition to blank line? |
| 10,23 | Equivalent to 10,52. 30,28. Deleted. |
| 10,26 | Equivalent to 13,5? |
| 10,33 | Equivalent to 10,62; 63? |
| 10,38 | Equivalent to 30,55 (Wulfsi). |
| 10,48 | Equivalent to 30,33? 'William has charge' a later addition. |
| 10,52 | Addition to end of previous entry; equivalent to 10,23. 30,28. |
| 10,62; 63 | Equivalent to 10,33? |

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10,64-66	Addition to end of <i>breve</i> .
11,5-7	Included in 5,1?
11,13	Addition to foot of column.
11,17	Includes 1,22.
11,20	Included in 5,1?
12,3	Addition to end of previous entry.
12,5	Addition to end of previous entry. 'S' added to left margin.
12,12	Addition to right margin.
12,20	Addition to end of <i>breve</i> ?
12,21-23	Addition to end of <i>breve</i> .
13,5	Equivalent to 10,26? Addition to end of previous entry.
13,12-14	Addition to end of <i>breve</i> .
13,13	Included in 5,1?
16,6	Includes 20,7.
16,12	Willoughby in the Wolds; addition to end of <i>breve</i> .
17,12	Value an addition?
17,13	Included in 5,1?
18,5	'5 thanes held 2 b. of this land one of them was the senior of the others. It did not belong to Swein' later addition to 2 blank lines.
18,6	'Blidworth Hundred' a later addition.
20,3	See 6,3.
20,4	See 6,3. A foreseen addition?
20,6	'Sake and soke' interlined.
20,7	Included in 16,6.
20,8	Addition to end of <i>breve</i> .
21,3	See <i>Lincs.DB</i> , 18/1. Addition to end of <i>breve</i> . Thorgot is Thorgot the Lawman.

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23,1	See <i>Leics. DB</i> , 13,15.
23,2	Addition to end of <i>breve</i> . See <i>Derbys. DB</i> , 17,15-17.
24	'f' in left - hand margin opposite 'Land of Henry de Ferrers'. It is not known what it signifies.
24,1; 2	Siward is Siward Bairn. See S5 and <i>Lincs.DB</i> , 21/1.
25,1	'f' next to Lombardic M.
26,1	'f' next to Lombardic M.
27	'f' in left - hand margin opposite 'Land of Osbern son of Richard'.
28	'f' in right - hand margin opposite 'Land of Robert son of William'.
30,10	Addition to left margin.
30,13	Addition to bottom margin
30,25	Equivalent to 10,6.
30,26	Equivalent to 10.10 (Willoughby)?
30,28	Equivalent to 10,23; 52. Interlined.
30,33	Equivalent to 10,48.
30,42	Addition to end of previous entry.
30,44	Equivalent to 1,65. See <i>Lincs.DB</i> 1/38.
30,53-56	Addition to end of <i>breve</i> .
30,53	Equivalent to 1,24 (Warsop), 1,25.
30,55	(Wulfsi) equivalent to 10,38.

APPENDIX 2

TEXTUAL GROUPS, TITLE AND DEPENDENT ESTATES IN THE LINCOLNSHIRE DOMESDAY

The ease with which the Norman settlement in the Northern Danelaw was effected was in no small way attributable to the accumulation of territorial power by a small number of great lords before the Conquest. Evidence has been cited for the existence of bookland estates which were held by the individuals who enjoyed extensive liberties in 1066. Many of the constituent manors of these estates were let to tenants - the TRE holders who are recorded in Domesday Book - but the Norman tenants-in-chief derived their title from the overlord. It was the hierarchical ordering of landed interests in this way which facilitated the transfer of land to the newcomers, for the grant of one estate automatically conferred the right to dues from the lands dependent upon it (1). As a type, these groups of estates had their ultimate origin in the booking of sokeland. Large sokes were frequently divided element by element before the Conquest, and the resulting estates are therefore often related to the larger wholes. But in 1066 many groups had a more disparate identity. Once held with sake and soke, an estate could be divided or amalgamated at will (2). Nevertheless, such groups provided the datum of title in 1086. Their constituent elements, however, are rarely explicit in the Domesday text. In some areas, such as Northamptonshire and Leicestershire, the record of TRE holders is sparse, and is generally confined to those with extensive liberties. But it can often be demonstrated, and was probably understood, that each lord named also held the manors in which no pre-Conquest holder is noted (3). Thus, only

(1). See chapter 4.

(2). See chapter 5.

(3). *Northants DB*; *Leics. DB*.

predecessors in the legal sense are normally recorded, and their estates can be readily identified. In circuit 6, by way of contrast, the Domesday commissioners usually recorded the tenant, if the estate was not held in demesne, and groups cannot therefore be so readily defined. However, there are two characteristics of the Lincolnshire text which suggest that tenants-in-chief who had a number of predecessors made a return which was related to the basis of their title. Groups of manors can therefore sometimes be identified.

It has already been shown that spaces were employed in the Domesday text to distinguish one textual group from another. In *Lincs. DB* no. 68, for example, two entirely different sections of the breve are separated by a blank line (1). The device may not always be used in this way. It may distinguish one manor from another, or mark the major divisions of the shire within a breve, although a rubric is rarely added (2). In neither case, however, is the usage necessarily different, for groups may consist of one manor and be conterminous with wapentake boundaries. In a significant number of cases, however, blank lines can be shown to delimit groups of estates which have an identity which is other than merely geographical. Walter de Aincurt's breve no. 31 is a typical example (3). Its structure is represented diagrammatically in figure 20, with obliques indicating one line spaces in the text. Three distinct sections are defined by the device. Each is nominally discrete, that is, named individuals only appear in one group, although this is normally a tendency rather than an invariable feature. But more significantly, in at least the first two sections there was a different predecessor, for

(1). See chapter 4; *Lincs. DB*, 200-4.

(2). See, for example, *Lincs. DB*, 15-37.

(3). *Lincs. DB*, 143-6.

Figure 20: the land of Walter de Aincurt.

LINCS DB	HOLDERS OF LAND IN 1066	DIVISION & WAPENTAKE
1. 31/1-8	Tori, Siward, Elwi	K30, 24, 21/
2. 31/9-16	Archil, Haminc, Godric	K21, 26, 23/
3. 31/17-18	Aldene, his 2 brothers	K23

Tori and Haminc both had sake and soke, toll and team (1). Moreover, in the first group, there is evidence to suggest that Siward and Elwi's estate in (Great) Gonerby was held from Tori for the same Elwi was Walter de Aincurt's tenant in 1086 (2). As in Nottinghamshire, continuity of person implies continuity of tenure and status. A tenant at the time of the Domesday Survey, Elwi is likely to have been of subordinate status before the Conquest (3)..

Some vestige of a distinct wapentake sequence is also evident in each section of Walter's breve (4). It is inverted in the first, and so the only real irregularity occurs in the second group. Ingoldsby, the manor responsible, however, was locally in the wapentake of Beltisloe

(1). *Lincs. DB*, p13.

(2). *Lincs. DB*, 31/2.

(3). See chapter 4.

(4). The wapentake sequence in the Lincolnshire breves is, with the exception of the South Riding of Lindsey, here reconstructed from the text, identical with that found in the *Clamores*: Lindsey, South Riding (LSR), 1. Wraggoc 2. Horncastle 3. Candleshoe 4. Louthesk 5. Calcewath 6. Hill; Lindsey, North Riding (LNR), 7. Yarborough 8. Bradley 9. Walshcroft 10. Haverstoe 11. Ludborough 12. Bolingbroke 13. Gartree; Lindsey, West Riding (LWR) 14. Lawress 15. Well 16. Aslaoe 17. Corringham 18. Axholme 19. Manley; Kesteven (K), 20. Ness 21. Beltisloe 22. Flaxwell 23. Langoe 24. Winnibriggs 25. Graffoe 26. Aswardhurn 27. Loveden 28. Aveland 29. Roteland 30. Threo; Holland (H), 31. Kirton, 32. Skirbeck 33. Elloe. Bolingbroke and Gartree were locally in LSR, but were accounted for the geld in LNR; Boothby Wapentake cannot be located within the sequence. The Divisions do not always appear in the same order, but that preferred is LWR, LNR, LSR, K, H. The sequence of wapentakes is well-established in LWR, LNR, and K, with the possible exception of no. 25, but that in LSR is the nearest fit possible, and that in H cannot be tested since the three wapentakes do not appear consecutively in any breve. The detailed evidence for this analysis, and the method of verification, will be discussed in D. R. Roiffe, *The Making of the Lincolnshire Domesday*, (in preparation).

(no. 21), although administratively in wapentake no. 26 Aswardhurn (1). The disparity may, then, be more apparent than real. But repetition of wapentake sequence is more pronounced in other breves (2). The phenomenon is not confined to Lincolnshire, and elsewhere it has been explained as a function of multiple records produced by the commissioners as juries were successively recalled (3). This explanation, however, is inherently implausible for it supposes that whole sequences of panels were assembled in exactly the same order on several occasions. It is more likely to relate to overlordship and title for, like the use of blank lines, with which it is sometimes coupled, it too defines tenurial groups. The mechanism is illustrated by the abbot of Peterborough's breve no. 8, which is among the best documented in the East Midlands (4). It is divided into two sections by the repetition of wapentake sequence (figure 21). Spacing, again indicated by obliques, is widely,

Figure 21: *the lands of the abbot of Peterborough.*

<i>LINCS DB</i>	<i>HOLDERS OF LAND IN 1066</i>	<i>DIVISION & WAPENTAKE</i>
1. 8/1-12	Peterborough Abbey	LWR14/, K20/, 21/, 28, H31, K24 (add.)
2. 8/12-39	Alnod, Rolft, Aschil, Hereward, Alnod	LWR14, 17, 19, K20, 21 20 (add.?)

if not consistently employed in the first group to distinguish manor from manor, and section one from two. In 1066 all the land had belonged to the abbey, and most was in demesne in 1086. The second group is of a different character. It describes land held by Alnod, Rolft, Aschil, and Hereward TRE, and was mostly tenanted in 1086. According to Hugh

(1). *Lincs. DB*, 31/10.

(2). *Lincs. DB*, breves nos 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 11-14, 16, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 40, 44, 57.

(3). *MDB*, 159; but see P. H. Sawyer, 'The Original Returns and Domesday Book', *EHR* 70. (1955), 183.

(4). *Lincs. DB*, 54-8.

Candidus, all of the land in the West Riding was given to Peterborough by Abbot Brand and his brothers Aschil, Siric, and Siworth (1). There is independent evidence to support this assertion. A charter of 1055×1060 is a confirmation by King Edward of Walcot (-on-Trent) in which Aschil is described as his thane (2). A second of 1060×1066 is a confirmation of an agreement made in the king's presence by which the monk Brand leased to his brother Aschil Scotton, which Brand himself had bought, Scotter which his brother Siric had given him, and Manton which his father had given him by word of mouth. The lease was in these terms: Aschil should pay a yearly rent as long as he lived. After his death, the first two estates should revert to the monastery, together with another estate called Northorpe in the place of Manton (3). Hart considered that the charters were forgeries, although he saw no reason to believe that the transactions had not taken place. Whitelock concurs with this judgement (4). In the *Clamores*, however, it is stated that 'The shire bears witness that on and after the day when king Edward was alive and dead, Aschil had these three manors, Scotton, Scotter, and Ravensthorpe, of the king at his own disposal. In the same way, he had Muskham in Nottinghamshire, and one manor, Manton, he had of his brother, Brand the monk' (5). Hugh Candidus describes these lands as belonging to the family (6). According to Domesday Book, in 1066 Aschil held the land which later went to the abbey in Scotton, Walcot, Appleby, Risby and Sawcliffe, and Ravensthorpe (7). Manton, supposedly held by

(1). *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, trans. W. Mellows, Peterborough 1961, 36-7.

(2). *ECCE*, 105.

(3). *ECCE*, 105.

(4). *ECCE*, 105; S 1059.

(5). *Lincs. DB*, 71/15.

(6). *Hugh Candidus*, 36-7.

(7). *Lincs. DB*, 8/15, 23, 27, 28.

Aschil on lease from Brand, was held by Rolft, who also held in Yawthorpe and Hibaldstow, which Hugh Candidus said was given by Aschil and his brothers (1). Scotter was divided between Aschil and Alnod who also held land in Riseholm, Cleatham, and Messingham (2).

The detail is confusing and sometimes contradictory, but it is clear that all of these lands were closely related. Stenton argued that Rolft and Alnod were probably the sons of Siric and Siworth who had apparently died before the Conquest (3). But since Domesday Book records that Aschil had Manton by lease and Scotter freely, and this information is confirmed by charter evidence, then it seems more likely that Rolft and Alnod held their land from Aschil, especially since Scotter is a multiple manor entry. The whole of the abbey's lands in the West Riding, then, can be seen to have constituted a single interest. As for the lands that follow in Kesteven, textually they may be part of the same group, but there is no evidence that they were dependent upon Aschil, unless the Elnod of 8/39 can be identified with the Alnod who held in the West Riding of Lindsey. However, it is probably more likely that the south Lincolnshire lands constituted a separate group. Since the account begins at the top of column f.346b, the fact cannot be demonstrated from the text. But it is known that Hereward was a man of the abbey, and there is no evidence that he held his estate in Witham (-on-the-Hill) under Aschil (4).

The two textual groups defined by repetition of wapentake sequence and spacing, then, correspond very neatly with two pre-Conquest tenurial groups, with the possible exception of Hereward's manor. Clearly, the

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- (1). *Lincs. DB*, 8/14, 20, 22; 71/15.
 - (2). *Lincs. DB*, 8/13, 17, 19, 31.
 - (3). *Lincs. DB*, xl.
 - (4). *FE*, 159-64.

compiler of the text consulted the same geographically arranged source on two separate occasions with a different purpose in mind. A division between demesne and tenanted estates occurs in the abbot's Northamptonshire breve, although no indication of the pre-Conquest tenants is given (1), thereby suggesting a return related to estate management. The dichotomy in the Lincolnshire Domesday, however, is not so sharp. The first section is mostly demesne, but includes two manors and two berewicks which were held by the abbot's men, while the second, although mostly tenanted, contains two demesne manors (2). Thus, it is unlikely that the economy of the abbot's estates in 1086 constituted the criterion for the organisation of entries. There seems no alternative to the conclusion that it was the tenurial status of the various manors in 1066 which was the decisive factor in determining the groups. It seems likely that the abbot of Peterborough returned an account of his estates in this way because it demonstrated the basis of his title. The manors of the first section were each held by book, and were therefore independent of each other and so distinguished in the text by spacing. The Domesday compiler merely enrolled them in the order in which they appeared in the official geographically arranged source. In the second, however, all the estates formed an extended tenurial group in which title to individual estates was inter-linked with the whole. The scribe, therefore, enrolled them separately, again by reference to his official source. Thus, the separate wapentake sequences reflect the right to title, and thereby indicate two different types of estate.

Breves nos 8 and 31 are the best documented examples of this process, but it may be suspected that many textual groups have been

(1). *Northants DB*, breve no. 6.

(2). *Lincs. DB*, 8/6, 7, 14, 17.

formed in this way. It is clearly significant that where a tenant-in-chief can be shown to have had only one predecessor, the wapentake sequence in his Domesday breve is regular, and never repeated, and spacing is rare (1). But, of course, not every sub-section of a breve necessarily defines the interests of a single predecessor. In breve no. 24, for example, they seem to define different elements in Ulf Fenisc's great pre-Conquest estates (2). Each group was probably formulated by reference to major soke centres and the estates of Ulf's more important tenants such as Tonna (3). But again the form is probably not unrelated to the need to establish title. Finally, there are instances in which no rationale can be detected, and it is possible that such groups are purely *ad hoc* formations in the process of compilation of the text.

(1). See, for example, *Lincs. DB*, breves nos 35, 37, 39, 43, 64.

(2). *Lincs. DB*, 105-115.

(3).	1. 24/1-36	Ulf	LWR14, 19/ 19/ LNR7/ LSR1,2, LNR12, K21/22/ K26, LSR(6), (3)/ 5/ 5/ LSR2, 3/ K26, 27, 29, 30/ K28
	2. 24/37-71	Tonna	
	3. 24/72-5	Siward, Odincarle	
	4. 24/76-81	Tonna, Ulf, Siwate	
	5. 24/82-105	Ulf	

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The present bibliography lists all those works that are cited in the foregoing pages, but represents only a fraction of the sources actually consulted in the course of research. Reference, however, is made to many of these in the authorities noted, and, with the ready availability of David Bates' *A Bibliography of Domesday Book*, it has therefore been felt unnecessary to list them all.

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