Domesday Book in Rutland

The Dramatis Personae

Prince Yuri Galitzine
JANUARY  PLOUGHING.

FEBRUARY.  PRUNING TREES.

MARCH.  BREAKING UP SOIL—DIGGING—SOWING—HARROWING.

APRIL.  FEASTING.
Eleventh Century.
DOMESDAY BOOK IN RUTLAND

The Dramatis Personae

by

Prince Yuri Galitzine

Rutland Record Society
1986
The extract *Roteland* by courtesy of Leicestershire Museums and the Domesday Map of Rutland by courtesy of the General Editor, *Victoria County History of Rutland*
The Dramatis Personae of Domesday Book

The story of Domesday Book only comes alive when we try to find more about those persons who are mentioned in it by name. The Domesday Book records the names of each of three categories of landowners – the tenants-in-chief and the tenants in 1086 – TRW = Tempore Regis Guilielmi and the antecessors, the name given to those who held in 1066 – TRE = Tempore Regis Edwardii.

Throughout the whole of England about 200 tenants-in-chief are recorded in Domesday Book holding from the King as overlord of whom 15 held in Rutland. About another 5,000 throughout England held as tenants directly of the King or of his tenants-in-chief by knight’s fees. Of the latter, there were 16 in Rutland. Sadly the majority of persons referred to in the record are not identified by name. These are people the landowners controlled and who were established in the villages of Rutland. They comprised 10 priests, 142 freemen, 1147 villagers, 244 small holders and 21 slaves (two of whom were women) - a total of 1564.

**The tenants-in-chief**

Not unnaturally as Rutland had been the dowry of the Queens of England since 964, King William had in his direct control the largest share of the lands in Rutland – 24 carucates and 39 hides comprising the town of Oakham and 14 manors valued at £193 12s. The largest fiefs which the Conqueror gave were to his relatives, close associates and the Church, who held them as his tenants-in-chief. Their landholdings were deliberately fragmented and spread throughout the kingdom in order to deny them too much of a geographical power base.

Next in importance came his niece, the Countess Judith, who inherited from her late husband Earl Waltheof after his execution in 1079. Waltheof had been given the Honour of Northampton by Edward the Confessor the year before the Norman invasion and this took in many villages in the south of Rutland. Countess Judith’s holdings comprised 16 manors covering 19 carucates and 13 hides at a value of £96 – a half of the value of the King’s land.

Land values give a good indication of the way in which land was divided. The remaining lands in Rutland were distributed to tenants-in-chief among four main groups – Other Relatives £24, Close Associates of the King £16, The Church £30 and Others £19 10s (see Table A). Many of them had probably taken part in the Battle of Hastings.
The tenants and the antecessors
The tenants-in-chief let most of their land to tenants in return for knight’s fees. This placed on the latter an obligation to provide the King through his tenants in-chief with fully armed and accoutered men in time of war or rebellion.

To be able to reward his followers William had to expropriate most of the Saxon holdings throughout the country and those who are listed as having held land in 1066 are referred to as “the antecessors”. It is interesting to note that just a few Saxons did succeed in retaining very small proportions of their estates, but this did not apply to any in Rutland.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE A</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Manors</td>
<td>Value</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The King</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>£193.12s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TENANTS-IN-CHIEF

**Relatives**
- Countess Judith (niece) 16 £96
- Earl Hugh (nephew) 1 £6
- Gilbert de Gand (nephew?) 2 £18

**Close Associates**
- Robert Malet 1 £4
- Robert de Toesni 1 £1
- William Peverel 1 £1
- Albert the Clerk 1 £10

**The Church**
- The Bishop of Lincoln 2 £13
- The Bishop of Durham 1 £4
- The Abbot of Peterborough 2 £12.10s
- Godfrey of Cambrai 1 10s

**Others**
- William, son of Ansculf 1 £5
- Oger the Breton 1 £2
- Alfred of Lincoln 3 £10.10s
- David 1 £2

49 £379.2s
**Absentee landlords**

The policy of splitting up the landholdings meant that, often in these early medieval times, landowners had more than one main house or castle. Walter Espec, for instance, a tenant in Rutland, probably preferred his Yorkshire estate as his main residence, but as a guardian of the northern frontier, he maintained two castles on the Tweed which saw him fairly frequently.

There is little evidence that any of the tenants-in-chief or many of the tenants resided in Rutland, so to them their Rutland properties were only a source of income. Of the tenants, it would seem that five out of sixteen may have had a Rutland house in which they resided – at least for a part of the time. Table B gives (as far as is known) the main seats of the landowners of Rutland in 1086.

### TABLE B

**MAIN DEMESNE RESIDENCES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenants-in-chief</th>
<th>Tenants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Countess Judith</td>
<td>Bedfordshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earl Hugh</td>
<td>Chester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilbert de Gand</td>
<td>Folkingham, Lincs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Malet</td>
<td>Eye, Suffolk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert de Toesni</td>
<td>Belvoir, Leics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Peverel</td>
<td>Derby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert the Clerk</td>
<td>Westminster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Lincoln</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Durham</td>
<td>Durham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbot of Peterborough</td>
<td>Peterborough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godfrey</td>
<td>Winchester?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William, son of Ansculf</td>
<td>Northants or. Buxes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oger</td>
<td>Bourne, Lincs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred of Lincoln</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>Scotland?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbot of Peterborough</td>
<td>Peterborough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulcher Malsor</td>
<td>Thorpe, Northants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geoffrey (of Armentieres)</td>
<td>Gleu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Grimbald</em></td>
<td><em>probably had a family residence in Rutland in 1086.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbert</td>
<td>Winchester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh (de Bussey)</td>
<td>Marston, Lincs.?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh FitzBaldric</td>
<td>Nottingham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh de Hotot</td>
<td>Flintham, Lincs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh de Porth</td>
<td>Basing, Hants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Jocelyn (Tuchet)</td>
<td>Ashwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert (de Buci)</td>
<td>Leics or Northants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Robert (de Tolethorpe)</td>
<td>Little Casterton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasfrid</td>
<td>Ashby Magna, Leics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter (Espec)</td>
<td>Helmsley, Yorks &amp; Wark on Tweed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William (de St. Liz)</td>
<td>Glaston or Seaton</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Overlord

King William I

The Tenants in Chief

The Countess Judith
Hugh, Earl of Chester
Gilbert de Gand
Robert Malet
Robert de Toesni
William Peverel
Albert the Clerk
Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln
William de St. Calais, Bishop of Durham
Thorold, Abbot of Peterborough
Godfrey de Cambrai
William Fitz Ansculf
Oger the Breton
Alfred of Lincoln
David
**COUNTRESS JUDITH**

Judith was the daughter of William the Conqueror’s sister Adelaide (or Adeliz), by her second husband Count Lambert de Lens who was killed at the battle of Lille in 1054. Little was known of Judith until her uncle King William gave her hand in marriage to the Saxon noble, Earl Waltheof in 1070. Three daughters (Maud, Judith and possibly one other) were born of this marriage, between 1070 and 1075.

When in 1075 Waltheof was thrown into prison for treason it was his wife Judith, according to the Saxon chroniclers, that denounced him and bore witness against him. She was accused by contemporary writers of having been married to Waltheof against her will and that she urged the death sentence on him so that she could be widowed and set at liberty. This is not unlikely as, with the atmosphere prevailing after the Conquest, the Saxons were regarded as second class citizens and even though her husband was enobled her contemporaries must have held the union against her.

However, when she heard that Waltheof’s tomb at Croyland Abbey was responsible for miracles she is reported as having been frightened by the news. So to appease his soul she went to Croyland and offered a silken cloth which she placed on the sepulchre. The chronicler relates how an invisible arm repelled her offering and how spectators saw the silken cloth raised and cast to a distance as if by a violent gust of wind.

Countess Judith inherited all Waltheof’s possessions including 28 houses in Leicester, 16 houses in Northampton and 41 Leicestershire manors, 61 manors in Northants, even the lands which he had given outright to the Abbey at Croyland. In Rutland her land included the Manors of Market Overton, Stretton, Thistleton, Whissendine, Exton, Whitwell, Ryhall, Belmesthorpe, Bisbrooke, Tickencote, Horn, Glaston and Tinwell. The Croyland chronicler is probably inaccurate when he says “she was left alone with her children and led an obscure and mournful life in a remote corner of England.” Another chronicler records a tradition that the King assigned the Countess Judith to Simon of Senlis as a wife and on her refusal (on account of his lameness) gave him Judith’s counties. Judith, the chronicler relates, fled into hiding to the Ely Marshes taking her daughters with her. This story is unlikely as all her daughters made spectacular marriages.

William married her eldest daughter Maud to Simon St. Liz, son of Ranulf the Rich from the town of Senlis, “a brave knight, but lame and illformed”. He was awarded the whole inheritance of Waltheof including the Earldom of Huntingdon with the lands of Huntingdon, Cambridge, Northampton and Bedford. Simon de St Liz married Maud as early as 1090 when she was about 18. He built the Castle at Northampton which became his main seat. He founded the Priory of St Andrew in that town and probably built the church of St. Sepulchre.

Simon went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and returned safely. Then in 1111 on a second journey to the Holy Land he fell ill and died at La Charité-sur-Loire where
he is buried. By him Maud had two sons – Simon, who inherited the Earldom of Northants, and William who became a monk under the name of St Waltheof – and a daughter Maud who married Richard FitzGilbert de Clare, founder of the FitzWalter family.

Countess Judith’s daughter Maud was no sooner widowed than the King married her off again, this time to the King of Scotland. Henry I who had married Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III, King of Scotland, sought to strengthen the ties with the Scottish royal house by marrying his widowed cousin Maud de St Liz to his brother in law, David, who had succeeded to the throne of Scotland on his father’s death. Judith, Countess Judith’s second daughter married Ralph IV de Toesny, the younger son of one of King William’s closest friends and progenitor of the present Dukes of Rutland.

Phythian Adams in *The Norman Conquest of Leicestershire and Rutland* suggests that Countess Judith had a “protector” in Hugh de Grandmesnil but there is no other reference to this. Countess Judith’s main residence was probably in Bedfordshire and her royal connection would more likely orientate her towards Winchester and Westminster as her Leicestershire holdings substantially represented only a fraction of the Honour of Huntingdon. On her daughters’ marriages Countess Judith would have had the benefit of the protection of her sons-in-law. Countess Judith founded in 1078 the Abbey of St Mary & St Helen for Benedictine Monks at Elston, Beds. which is probably where she had her main residence and was probably buried in the Abbey.³

References:

EARL HUGH Viscount d’Avranches
The son and heir of Richard Le Goz, Viscomte d’Avranches whose grandfather was a Dane, Hugh was born in 1047. His mother was Emma, daughter of Herleve, by whom Robert of Normandy had fathered William the Conqueror.¹ As a “nephew” of Duke William, Hugh was a close member of the family circle. Hugh succeeded his father at the age of seven and was only nineteen in 1066. He pledged sixty ships
to William in the year of the Conquest, and was left behind in Normandy with Roger de Beaumont and Roger de Montgomery to guard the Dukedom, as William trusted them all implicitly.²

When he arrived in Britain in 1067, Hugh was soon showered with land and honours culminating in 1070 when William gave to Hugh the Earldom of Chester. In the first instance this honour had been given to a Fleming, Gherband, who was exposed to fierce harassment from both the English and the Welsh. So much so that, disgusted at the difficulties of maintaining the border post, he gave up and went back to the Continent. When William passed the Earldom to Hugh it was with the enjoinder to hold it as firmly by the sword as William held England by the crown. Hugh crossed the Dee and added Flintshire to his territory, where he almost exterminated the native population. He maintained his principal residence in the castle which he built at Chester.³

Hugh became a feudal magnate of great importance and indeed was one of the top men in the country, as at that time half of England was in the tenure of only eleven men, of which Hugh was one.⁴ W. Farrer’s *Honors and Knights’ fees* list 200 pages of his fiefs. The latter included the Manor of Ashwell in Rutland.⁵ He was nicknamed Hugh le Loup by the Normans (he wore a wolf’s head on his shield) and was called Hugh the Fat by the Saxons.

Hugh married Ermentrude daughter of Hugh of Clairemont, Count of Beauvais from whom he had a son and heir Richard, who married Matilda daughter of Stephen, but was tragically drowned in the wreck of the White Ship in 1120.¹ Hugh had a daughter, Geva, who married Geoffrey Ridell of Wittering, Northants, and from their daughter, Maud, sprang another Rutland connection as her marriage to Richard Basset brought with it lands in Exton known as the Bassett Fee.⁵

Like many of his contemporaries Hugh showed great respect for the church and founded the Abbeys of St Sever in Normandy and St Werburgh in Chester, besides largely endowing that of Whitby, Co. York. Hugh became a monk three days before his death and died on 27th July 1101, at St Werburgh where he was buried. On the death of his son Richard the title passed to a first cousin, Ranulf, Viscomte de Bessin.⁶

References:
1. Complete Peerage, xi. Lloyd, iii. 165, xi. 685.
6. Douglas, *op. cit.*, 93
GILBERT OF GHENT (De Gand)

Son of Ranulf Count of Alost, Gilbert’s family served as advocati of the Abbey of St Peter of Ghent, from which they took their name. Gilbert fought at the Battle of Hastings. He obtained a great fief in the Northern Danelaw which included land in Derbyshire, Notts (9 manors), and in Lincolnshire (2 houses in Lincoln and 105 manors). His main manor was at Folkingham. In Northamptonshire he held Kislingbury, Heyford, Easton-on-the-Hill and Stowe; in Warwickshire, Whichford, and in Rutland the manors of Burley and Preston-cum-Uppingham.

Burley descended with the Barons of Gand through five generations of the male line until the last male heir died in 1297. Gilbert was given with William Malet, responsibility for the defence of the North with the Norman garrison at York. When the Saxon revolt in the North occurred in 1069, York was taken by the rebels but the governors, Gilbert and William, were taken prisoner and handed over to the Danish fleet from where they were presumably ransomed. Unlike William Malet, Gilbert de Gand does not appear to have forfeited his lands after the disaster at York.

Gilbert founded Bardney Abbey in Lincolnshire in 1087 and gave a chapel nearby at Partney. He also gave land for the founding of Sempringham Priory. His eldest son, Walter, inherited the Barony of Gand. Walter died in 1130 and was succeeded by his son Gilbert II who became Earl of Lincoln. Gilbert I married Alice (or Emma) grand-daughter of Hugh II of Montfort-sur-Risle, Lord of Houghton, chief of William’s constables and close companion of the Conqueror. Gilbert’s youngest son Hugh took the name of his mother and from him descended the de Montforts who held the Rutland manor of Preston-cum-Uppingham for 300 years until the male line was extinguished in 1367.

References:
3. Bridges, History of Northants, i. 346.
4. Drysdale, Baronage, i. 4001
5. Thierry, Norman Conquest, i. 222, Symeon of Durham, Historical Register, ii. 188.

ROBERT MALET

The Malets of Granville Sainte Honoré, near Le Havre, were well represented at the Battle of Hastings. They included William Malet, his brother Durand, and William’s two sons Robert and Gilbert. William, Robert’s father, knew England well as he had an English mother, a sister of Godgifu (or Godiva), Countess of Mercia,
and of Thorold the Sheriff. William appears to have been one of those characters who ingratiated themselves with both sides, as he had been given lands at Eye in Suffolk and in Lincolnshire by Edward the Confessor before 1066.

Because of his English connections, no doubt, Duke William on the battlefield of Hastings entrusted to William Malet the disposal of Harold’s remains. One story, probably untrue, says that the Duke ordered William Malet to carry Harold’s body to the seashore and bury it under a cairn of stones, where the Normans said in jest that the King could guard the coast, which he had guarded with such insensate zeal in life. In fact the body was taken to Waltham Abbey where it was buried with dignity.

William was made Sheriff of Suffolk and was entrusted by the King with the first castle at York in 1067. When the Saxon revolt of 1069 occurred William Malet was taken prisoner by the rebels, but later released. After York, William lost his Sheriffdom and some of his lands. William Malet died in 1071 in the campaign against Hereward the Wake. William’s wife was Hesilia (Helise or Elisee) Crispin de Brionne, a great-grand daughter of Rollo, 1st Duke of Normandy.

Robert succeeded his father as Lord of Eye and Sheriff of Suffolk. By 1086 Robert had become one of the most forceful men in the Kingdom. He was the chief of William I’s Chamberlains and indeed Burke claims that he was appointed Hereditary Great Chamberlain of England. The Malets had a castle at Eye which was their main seat and Robert founded a Benedictine Monastery there. In Rutland he held the Manor of Teigh.

On the return of King William’s eldest son Robert Curthose from Palestine, Robert Malet espoused his cause against King William’s younger son Henry who gained his throne as Henry I. Robert was banished and the majority of his estates were given to Stephen of Blois (afterwards King Stephen). Robert was killed at the battle of Tanchebrai in 1106. Robert’s uncle, Durand, settled in Leicestershire and founded a branch of the family there. From Robert’s brother Gilbert, descended the Malets of Shepton Malet. The Malets, who today hold a Baronetcy, are one of the very few English families who can trace their ancestry back to before the Battle of Hastings.

References:
3. Thierry, Norman Conquest, i. 133, Geoff de Mandeville, 435.
5. Stenton, 433.
ROBERT de TOESNI

Four members of the Toesni family (Toeni, Todeni) are inscribed on the Falaise Roll as having fought at the Battle of Hastings – Roger de Toesni, Baron of Toesni and Conches and his three sons, Nigel (or Niel), Robert and Ralph. Ralph, the youngest, fought alongside Duke William and carried his standard. Roger the father, was given land at St Albans which he held of the Abbot, but had to fight against the original Saxon owners who fought hard to get it back. Nigel, the eldest son, built a castle in Nottinghamshire at Gresley where he founded the Priory of St Mary & St George.

Robert, the second son, held 16 manors in Leicestershire where he erected the castle of Belvoir and founded Belvoir Priory and became the progenitor of the Earls of Rutland. In Rutland Robert held two manors, Up Hall in Seaton (afterwards called Belfage or Bewfois from the tenants that held it for 400 years) and a small manor in Barrowden. Robert died in 1088 and his tombstone survives to this day, at Belvoir.

Ralph, the youngest son, inherited the Lordship of Conches and married Judith the second daughter of Countess Judith. He became the ancestor of the Clifford family. Ralph was powerful in Normandy, East Anglia and the South Midlands. His wife endowed a house of Canons at West Acre, Norfolk, and a Church at Walthamstow, Essex, where her mother, Judith, held the Manor.

References:
1. L. G. Pine, They came with the Conqueror, 114.
3. Thierry, Norman Conquest, i. 195; Matthew Paris, Vitae Abbatt St Albani, i. 146.
5. Rut. VCH, n. 172, 213, 221.
WILLIAM PEVEREL
William Peverel was allegedly the illegitimate son of the Conqueror. His mother was said to be a daughter of Ingleric, founder of the Collegiate church of St Martins le Grand in London. William and a relative, Renouf, are both on the Falaise Roll as having fought at Hastings. A soldier, he helped Duke William to subjugate the kingdom in the years that followed the battle.

After King William had besieged and captured Nottingham in 1068, a strong citadel was created there, which William confided to the keeping of William Peverel. The latter had, for his share of the Conquest, the Honour of Peverel which was spread over a dozen counties, but which lay chiefly in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Oxford and Buckinghamshire. He held 55 manors in Nottinghamshire and in the town itself 48 houses belonging to English merchants, 12 others the property of soldiers, and 8 taken from agriculturalists. William Peverel, however, made his own seat on a peaked rock in Derbyshire, where his castle seemed suspended in the air like a bird of prey, the scene of Sir Walter Scott’s novel, Peverel of the Peak.

In Rutland, William Peverel held the small Manor of Hardwick by Empingham. He also held 5 manors in Leicestershire. He founded the Priory at Lenton in Nottinghamshire. William died in 1114. William’s only son, William, was a strong supporter of Stephen in his wars against Matilda but was taken prisoner at the Battle of Lincoln in 1141. Later in 1153 he was responsible for poisoning the Earl of Chester. In 1155 William became a monk and died without heirs, his lands being seized by Henry II.

References:
2. Thierry, Norman Conquest; i. 212.

ALBERT THE CLERK
Albert the Clerk, known also as “the Lotharingian” (i.e. from Lorraine) was a priest of Edward the Confessor’s who remained at the Court of his successor King William, from whom Albert acquired rich possessions in churches and lands. Albert was known to be a favourite of William’s. He is styled in one charter as “capellanus” (chaplain) which has led to the belief that he was one of King Edward’s personal chaplains who was retained in his post by William.

Besides holding from the King the churches of Oakham, Hambleton and St Peter’s, Stamford and their attached lands, he had two residences in Stamford and other land there. He was also tenant-in-chief of manors in the latter place from Edward the Confessor. Elsewhere he held lands in Eddinton (Surrey), Windsor and Newington (Kent).
King William was understandably well placed for information about the English court. King Edward had appointed a Norman Abbot as Bishop of London and there were several Norman priests in King Edward’s chapel.³ No doubt after William’s visit to London in 1052, Albert was one of those who kept in touch with Duke William and encouraged the invasion of England by the Normans.

Lorraine had maintained close relations with England for many years, especially since 919 when the sister of the English King Edward the Elder married the sister of the King of the West Franks and Lotharingia. Subsequent English kings continued to keep up these links and between 1033 and 1066 Lorrainers were appointed to the bishoprics of Durham, Wells, Sherbourne and Hereford, three of them by King Edward.⁴ At the same time, monastic figures of the English church such as Dunstan, Aethelwold and Oswald were in touch with the houses of Lorraine which brought to England many influences in the arts, in Sculpture and in book production.⁵ It has been suggestion that Lothbury in the City of London derives its name from Albert of Lorraine as it was known as Terra Alberti Lotharingi.⁶

References:
3. Thierry, Norman Conquest, i. 133. Geoff de Mandeville 435.
5. Ibid., 443.
6. Freeman, Norman Conquest.

REMIGIUS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN

Remigius de Fécamp had originally been almoner of the Benedictine Abbey of Fécamp from where he had supported Duke William with ships and knights for the invasion of England.¹ For this he was promised the Bishopric of Dorchester – He succeeded Bishop Wulfrum who died in 1067. He was the first Norman to be given an English bishopric after 1066. Remigius was arraigned before the Pontifical Court accused of buying the episcopal dignity with money. Archbishop Lanfranc accompanied him to Rome, laden with presents for the Pope and the principal citizens of the Holy City. So the matter was privately arranged whereby Remigius handed over to the Pope his ring and his episcopal staff. Then Lanfranc pleaded his cause, proving that Remigius’ appointment was very necessary to the new king. So the Pope returned the insignia to Lanfranc saying “I place them at your disposition” and Lanfranc duly returned them to Remigius.²
Consecrated in 1067 as Bishop of Dorchester, Remigius moved the head of his see around, besides Dorchester to Elmham and Selsey. Between 1072 and 1073 Remigius decided to move the seat of his see to the urban Minster of St Mary in Lincoln. He pulled down the Saxon minster which had been built about 953 and created the basis of the cathedral of today. Remigius’ charter from William I is still in the Cathedral to this day.\(^3\)

In 1086 Remigius became a member of the Court of Enquiry set up by William to check the returns of the Domesday survey. At the time, the Bishopric held many lands in the Midlands including 108 houses in Lincoln, 59 manors in Lincolnshire, 16 manors in Leicestershire. In Rutland the see held Lyddington (with Stoke, Snelston and Caldecott) and also Essendine. Remigius did not live to see the completion of his cathedral as he died just before it was dedicated in 1092.

References:
2. Thierry, Norman Conquest, i. 250, 253.

WILLIAM, BISHOP OF DURHAM
William de St Calais began his ecclesiastical career under Bishop Odo, William the Conqueror’s brother, as a secular priest in the church of Bayeux, but was moved by the example of his father to become a monk in the monastery of St Carilef (now St Calais) in the County of Maine. He rose rapidly to become prior and his reputation earned him further promotion to be chosen as Abbot of the nearby monastery of St Vincent-des-Prés, outside Le Mans.\(^1\)

His practical capacity commended him to William the Conqueror who in 1080 appointed him Bishop of Durham, to which office he was consecrated on 3 January 1081. Here he succeeded to a troubled diocese, his predecessor Walcher having been murdered by unruly citizens. Symeon of Durham’s Chronicle describes Bishop William as learned in secular and monastic literature, industrious in affairs, subtle in mind, a wise counsellor and eloquent in speech.\(^2\) In public affairs, his subtlety led him into intrigue. William II on his accession had made him his chief minister, probably Justiciar, and committed the administration of public affairs to his hand.\(^3\) To the surprise of all, Bishop William was treacherous to his master and joined in a revolt against him.\(^4\)

He eventually surrendered to William and was tried at the Gemot (council) in Salisbury on 2 November, 1088. Bishop William was allowed to sail to Normandy where he was welcomed by Duke Robert, who gave him the post of chief administrator of the Duchy. He longed to return to England and on 3 September 1091, after
Duke Robert became reconciled to his brother, Bishop William was restored to the possessions of the Bishopric, these included lands spread over the kingdom, one small manor of which was Horn in Rutland which he held from the King.

Bishop William deserves the credit of being one of the greatest builders who have adorned England, with the Cathedral at Durham as his central masterpiece. The Bishop however brought on himself discredit in the help that he gave William Rufus to get rid of Archbishop Anselm, a man of scruple and noble character. At the meeting of the Council at Rockingham in March 1095 Bishop William spoke out supporting royal jurisdiction over bishops — the exact opposite to his position at Salisbury when he himself was tried. Then when in 1095 the Earl of Northumberland revolted, Bishop William was suspected of treachery. Although genuinely ailing, Bishop William was forced to drag himself to Windsor where on Christmas Day he took to his bed and died on 2 January 1096.

References:
1. Dict. of Nat. Biog.
2. Symeon Durham, Hist.; Barlow, Wm. Rufus, 60-6i.
3. Will. Malmesb, Gesta Reg., iv. i.
5. Barlow, Wm. Rufus, 85-86.
6. Dugdale, Monast. Anglic, i. 245 et seq.
7. Freeman, William Rufus, i. 119 et.

THOROLD, ABBOT OF PETERBOROUGH

Even as the fate of England was being settled in October 1066, Leofric, the Abbot of Peterborough, one of the country’s greatest monastic establishments, lay dying and expired on 30 October. The monks immediately elected Brand (or Brando) an uncle of Hereward the Wake, from whom Hereward received the order of knighthood. The Normans did not like the Saxons in high positions in the church and King William replaced him in 1069 with Thorold (or Thorauld, Torauld) the Abbot of Fécamp.

Thorold was as much a soldier as a monk and had always surrounded himself with men-at-arms. At Fécamp, whenever his monks resisted him on any point of ecclesiastical description Thorold was accustomed to cry “A moi, mes hommes d’armes”. His warlike exploits became so noted that the Conqueror thought himself called upon to punish him and as a “chastisement” sent him to rule the Abbey of Peterborough, a post considered dangerous because of its vicinity to the Saxon camp of refuge - “but very fit”, said William, “for an abbot who is so good a soldier”. This appointment fitted into William’s policies towards the Saxon church, as in 1070 William looted all the religious establishments taking vases, relics and precious
ornaments which had been deposited there by the rich English. He also took charters
which he had made promising clemency just after the invasion.

When Thorold arrived at Peterborough it is said “he being a stranger neither loved
his monastery nor his convent him. “4 William imposed knight’s service on the Abbey
which was required to produce 6o knights fully armed. This did not worry Thorold
who arrived to take up his post with 140 armed Normans (“with all his Frensc men”)
and fortified the Abbey. He built a castle (probably a motte and bailey) to defend the
Abbey which is now known as “Tout’s Hill”. In spite of these precautions, Hereward
succeeded, with the help of the Danes, in sacking the Abbey and capturing Thorold
who was only released on payment of a huge ransom.5

The Abbey was a major landowner in the Midlands with over 53 manors in
Northamptonshire and others in Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Leicester and Lincoln.
In Rutland, the Abbey held land since before the Conqueror in Stoke Dry and Tinwell
and disputed ownership with the Countess Judith of property in Uffington.6 Thorold
died in 1098, leaving the Abbey with greatly impoverished resources. The monks were
no better off as his successor Godric (Guerin) took the last crown from their purses to
gain for himself the renown of wealth among those who had seen him poor. The new
Abbot had the bodies of his predecessors dug up and threw their bones out of doors.
Godric himself died within a year of his appointment.7

References:
2. Thierry, Norman Conquest, i. 251; Lanfranc opera 315.
3. Thierry, op. cit., i. 244.
5. Northants VCH, ii. 85/86.
6. Rut. VCH, ii, 282; Rut. DB, EN9, Jo.
7. Anglia Sacra, ii. 142.

GODFREY DE CAMBRAI
Godfrey de Cambrai held Thistleton in Rutland1 (originally held by Thorfreth) and
also a small manor in Leicestershire at Sproxton.1 He was a noted Latin poet who
became Prior of St Swithins, Winchester, in 1081, and then Bishop of Winchester,
where he died in 1107.2

References:
1. Rut. VCH, i. 13 rn.
WILLIAM, SON OF ANSCULF
Ansculf Pinchengi (from Picquigny near Amiens) and his son William, fought for the Conqueror at the Battle of Hastings, as did William’s uncle, Ghilo (or Giles) de Picquigny. Ansculf died before 1086, but William became an important figure in the Midlands with his main seat at Dudley Castle. In Rutland he held Tolethorpe.\(^1\) Ghilo was also a tenant-in-chief in 1086 holding manors in Northamptonshire (where his seat was at Weedon Pinkney, now Weedon Bois)\(^2\), 4 in Berks, 3 in Bucks and 1 in Oxford. William also held in Wiltshire\(^3\) and Buckinghamshire.\(^4\) He had no son and his lands went through his daughter by marriage to the Paynells, whose seat was at Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire.

References:
1. *VCH Rutland*, ii. 238.

OGER THE BRETON
Oger FitzUngomar, styled ‘Brito’ (the Breton), was one of the many Bretons who followed the Conqueror to Britain, to fight for him at Hastings.\(^1\) The head of his fief was at Bourne in Lincolnshire a county which became the home of many of the Breton contingent. Oger held Awesthorp or Alesthorp (the modern Alsthorpe) in Rutland, 19 Manors in Lincolnshire and the Manors of Kilby in Leicestershire and Thraptston in Northants. Oger had a son, Roger, whose lands after death or forfeiture were granted to Baldwin FitzGilbert de Clare, from whom they came into possession of the Wake family.\(^2\)

References:
1. Loberman, *Historic de Bretagne*, iii. 98
   *Chroniques Anglo Normandes*, ii. 112.
ALFRED (or ALWRED) OF LINCOLN

Alfred was one of the influential group of Breton supporters of William. Some fought in the Breton contingent at Hastings and many other Bretons came over afterwards and were awarded lands.\(^1\) Alfred is described as one of the soldiers who were to win large awards.\(^2\) He had 61 manors in Lincolnshire, but in Rutland held only three small manors in Thistleton, on the boundary with Lincolnshire. Rutland’s Domesday entries also record disputed title by Alfred over land in Uffington, Belmesthorpe and part of Stretton.

References:

DAVID

The Rutland County History says of David “of whom we know nothing”).\(^1\) David held land in Little Casterton where he was probably a relative of Roland de Lyndon, who held Easton Co., Leics. in 1086 and in whose family the descent of the Manor of Little Casterton went until the end of the 13th century. The name David, however, does perhaps indicate a Scottish origin or Scottish connection.

Reference:
The Tenants

The Abbot of Peterborough
Fulcher Malsor
Geoffrey (of Armentieres)
Gleu
Grimbald
Herbert
Hugh (de Bussey)
Hugh FitzBaldric
Hugh de Hotot
Hugh de Porth
Jocelyn (Tuchet)
Robert de Buci
Robert (de Tolethorpe)
Sasfrid
Walter (Espec)
William (de St Liz)
THE ABBOT OF PETERBOROUGH
The Abbot was both a tenant-in-chief i.e. he held directly of the King, and also a tenant, not only in Rutland but also in other counties. This was quite usual and we find that other Rutland tenants-in-chief acquired additional land as tenants in other parts of the country. It was from these early arrangements of land tenure that freehold and copyhold property rights eventually evolved.

FULCHER “Mala Opera”
Fulcher (or Fulchere) nicknamed “Mala Opera” (or Malsor or Mals Oevres) held a manor in Oakham of the King in chief of some size since it was 3 leagues (4½ long) and 1 league (1½ miles) and 8 furlongs wide.1 Round says the name “Mala Opera” (bad works) found in the Domesday text was corrupted to Malsor. Certainly Fulcher gave his name to Milton Malsor and Thorpe Malsor in Northants where it is suggested he was a large landowner.2 The Northamptonshire property including Thorpe, Lamport and Walgrave remained in the family for several generations, but the manor in Oakham evidently reverted to the Crown and was merged in Oakham Lord’s Hold possibly when William Rufus returned the Oakham lands to the Abbey of Westminster.

References:
1. Rut. VCH, i. 139.

GEOFFREY (of Armentieres)
Geoffrey, Gilbert of Ghent’s tenant at Burley, who also held Cottesmore of the King was probably the forebear of the family from Armentieres who held Burley until 1320.1 Robert of Armentieres is on the Falaise Roll as having fought at Hastings, but there is no mention of Geoffrey. The same Geoffrey who held Stowe and Kislingbury in Northants of Gilbert of Ghent is mentioned later as Geoffrey of Armentieres and giving the tithes from those two manors to St Andrews Priory, Northamptonshire.2 Geoffrey’s namesake and great-great grandson in 1230 was Commissioner on the Assize of Arms for Rutland and held many other local appointments.3

References:
1. Rut. VCH, ii. 114.
2. Northants VCH, i. 346.
GLEU
Nothing is known of Gleu who held land in Thistleton and Witham from Alfred of Lincoln, and in Thistleton from Godfrey of Cambrai. Gleu also held three manors in Kesteven (South Lincolnshire) - Cuxwold, Rothwell and South Witham. His land in Thistleton was under the jurisdiction of South Witham, where it is probable that Gleu resided.

References:
2. Lincs. DB., ii.

GRIMBALD
Grimbald, who held Tickencote in Rutland in 1086 of the Countess Judith, was a soldier of some consequence whose son Robert became Chief Justiciar of England. Grimbald held the manors of Owston and Allexton in Leicestershire from the Countess Judith and seven manors in Lincolnshire. His grandson Robert, who was Sheriff of Northants in 1155, founded the Priory of Austin Canons at Owston and gave them the church at Tickencote. A stone effigy was recorded in the church at Owston in 1793 which traditionally was said to be the tomb of Robert Grimbald the founder. It is no longer there. The mesne lordship of Tickencote remained with the family until 1350 when the last male died young. The descent of the Grimbald family can be traced under Diddington, Hunts.

References:
1. Rut. VCH, ii. 275.
3. Northants VCH, i. 294.

HERBERT
Herbert held one carucate of land at Whitwell in 1086 of the Countess Judith. He is described as “the King’s serjeant” and “a servant of the King”. He became a treasury official of William I living in the royal fortress of Winchester. Herbert was chamberlain (cubiculanus) of the Treasury and undoubtedly a married clerk. In 1086 he was already a rich man, a large mesne tenant as well as holding in chief and owning much property in Winchester. He remained as William Rufus’s treasury chamberlain and was promoted by Henry I as Treasurer (custos).
If it was he who was the Herbert involved in the assassination attempt on that King in 1118, he was blinded and castrated as punishment. His son Herbert Fitzherbert, likewise a chamberlain, paid a relief of over 353 marks for inheriting his father’s land. Herbert held the manors of Burrough Hill and Cold Newton in Leicestershire. At Burrough he had a large holding of 4 carucates and 6 bovates of wood. He also held Tur Langton as a free tenant from the Archbishop of York.

References:
1. Rut. VCH, i. 129, 139, 11. 165.
2. Leics. VCH, i. 335, v. 64/5; Round, King’s Serjeants and Officers of State, 1911.
3. F. Barlow, Win Rufus, p. 149.

**HUGH de BUCY**

It is thought probable that Hugh, who was the tenant of the Countess Judith in the manor of Thistleton, was the founder of the family of Bucy, Busey or Bushey, which eventually became the Lincolnshire family of Bussey. Hugh’s grandson, Hugh of Marston, Lincolnshire, had two sons who took the male line to 1542 when the Bussey heiress Agnes married Sir Edward Brudenell and the lands passed to the female line. Other members of the family in 1086 were probably Robert de Buci and William de Bussey.

References:
1. Rut. VCH, ii. 155.
2. Rut. VCH, ii. 175.

**HUGH FITZBALDRIC**

Hugh FitzBaldric, who held Bridge Casterton in Rutland (or the Manor of Great Casterton) from the King at a revenue in 1086, was a powerful Norman Official of King William in the Northern Midlands. He was Sheriff of Northamptonshire, Yorkshire and Derbyshire where he owned many manors. As Baron of Lindsey, Hugh held 25 manors in Lindsey but in Leicester he only held Broughton.

References:
2. York VCH
HUGH de HOTOT
Nothing is known of the holder of a tenancy of the manor at Whissendine named as Hugh de Hotot. This land which was an important manor of 4 carucates valued in 1086 at £13 seems to have reverted to the overlord, the Earl of Huntingdon by 1130. It is likely, however, that the Hugh of Domesday Book was the progenitor of the de Hotots who first held at Bottesford, Leics. under Albani of Belvoir and who then settled in Nottinghamshire. Odoardus and William were at Bottesford in 1140 and their descendant Fulio de Hoto de Botchesford held Flintsham, Notts., of half a knight’s fee during the reign of Edward I. His family, of which a detailed pedigree is given in Thorold’s Nottinghamshire, were still at Flintsham in 1672.

References:
1. G. Tenjvik, Old English By-names, Uppsala, 1938, p. 93.
3. Thorold, Hist. of Notts., i. 254/5.

HUGH de PORTH
Hugh came from Port-en-Bessin, near Bayeux in Normandy. He was probably at the Battle of Hastings, as William endowed him with much land. He was a great Hampshire landowner with Basing as his fief and was made Sheriff of Hampshire. In Rutland he held Luffenham and Sculthorp which he farmed for the King. He also acted as Sheriff for Rutland, although this post was never officially created. But it was to Hugh that William Rufus addressed the writs granting back to the Abbey of Westminster the churches and titles in Rutland that were their due. Hugh attended the last Gemot (council) at Westminster, summoned just before William I died. He became a monk at Winchester before 1100 when his lands all reverted to the Crown.

References:
2. Rut. VCH, ii. 40.

JOCELYN (Tuchet)
Joselyn (or Gozeline) who held Ashwell for a third of a knight’s fee, from Earl Hugh in 1086 was the progenitor of the Tuchet family, which much later became Barons Audley. It was a substantial holding of 2 carucates (240 acres) valued at £6. The line founded by Jocelyn held Ashwell where they probably had a residence
until 1515 when the family sold it to Guy Palmes. The Tuchets held no land in Leicestershire, their main seat being at Markeaton, Derbyshire. In Northants they held Slapton and Thurning in 1086 and probably some lands in Lincs. where five Jocelyns held land as yet unidentified with the Jocelyn in Rutland.

References:
2. Farrer, *Honors & Knight’s Fes*, ii. 28; Addm. MS. 6032 fol. 100.

**ROBERT de BUCI**
Robert who held Bisbrooke in Rutland from the Countess Judith was probably Robert de Buci who in 1086 also held lands in Leicestershire (29 manors) and Northamptonshire (19 manors). Robert de Buci was still a tenant in Bisbrooke early in the reign of Henry I. His name is on the Falaise Roll of participants in the Battle of Hastings. His lands which depended on the Honour of Huntingdon were afterwards given by Simon de St Liz, Earl of Huntingdon, to Robert, the son of Viel Palfrey. Robert must have died intestate for such a large estate to have been given to another tenant. It is probable that Hugh de Bucy who held Thistleton from the Countess Judith, in 1086, was a relative.

Reference:

**ROBERT (de TOLETHORPE)**
Blore, in his History of Rutland, gives evidence that Robert de Tolethorpe, tenant of the manor Tolethorpe in 1086, was the ancestor of the Tolethorpe family who resided there until the manor was sold in 1503. Robert held of William, son of Ansculf, and does not appear to have held any other lands elsewhere. His family descended in the male line until 1316 when a daughter and heiress married Nicholas de Burton of Stamford, who carried through the male line until 1503 when the house was sold to Christopher Browne. The Burtons moved to Braunston and Oakham, and members of the family survive to this present day.

References:
SASFRID
Sasfrid (or Saxfrid) who held the manor of Hardwick in the parish of Empingham from William Peverel was a military knight of the Norman invasion.¹ His main seat appears to have been at Ashby Magna (Leics.), which he also held of the Honour of Peverel. He also held the manors of Barby (Northants) and Basford (Notts.). Sasfrid was a founder of an important vavassour family from which the Northamptonshire and Warwickshire Catesbys claim descent.² Sasfrid endowed Lenton Priory, Nottinghamshire, a Cluniac establishment founded by William Peverel³ with two thirds of the tithes of his demesne in Empingham about 1103-8.

References:
1. Rut. VCH, ii. 245.

WALTER (Espec)
Walter who held Essendine and the old Anglo-Saxon estate Lyddington-cum-Caldecott from the Bishop of Lincoln, appears to be identified with Walter L’Espec.¹ His father William came from Lower Normandy and held the manor of Warden in Bedfordshire. Walter was a soldier of some reputation. He was sent by William to the Northern Marches to contain the rebellious North. He was given the Barony of Kirkham and Helmsley in Yorkshire, and the lordship of Carham in Northumberland. He built a castle at Wark on Tweed.²

Walter held lands in Yorkshire, Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire. He founded Rievaulx Abbey (1132) and the Priory of Kirkham in Yorkshire (1122). He gave the church at Carham to Kirkham in 1131 and founded the Abbey of Warden in Bedfordshire. He was appointed, with Eustace FitzJohn, Northern justiciar by Henry I. In 1134 Walter summoned the Norman barons to Carlisle to ward off the Scots and these preparations induced the enemy to surrender. When the Scots invaded again in 1138, the Norman forces gathered at Northallerton and Walter Espec was one of those who assumed command.³

Before the Battle of the Standard which followed Walter delivered a famous speech reminding the Normans of their invincibility. Walter died without issue before 1159 and the manor of Essendine passed to his nephew and his heir William de Bussey, son of Walter’s sister, Hawisia.

References:
2. Ibid., 198, 199.
3. Thierry, Norman Conquest, ii.
WILLIAM (de St Liz)
William, who held the manors of Glaston and Down Hall-in-Seaton from the Countess Judith, has been identified as William de St Liz, whose elder brother Simon had married Countess Judith’s daughter Maud.¹ Ranulf the Rich, the father of Simon and William, came from Senlis in Normandy. The family name is sometimes written as St Les, Sancto Licio or De Silva Noctis. Simon had fought for the Conqueror at Hastings and was rewarded with the hand of the daughter of William’s great niece. Simon is described in the Anglo Saxon Chronicle as “a brave knight, but lame and ill-formed”.² On his marriage he was awarded by the King the Earldoms of Huntingdon and Northampton, which had been held by Earl Waltheof, his wife’s father. Simon’s background is extremely obscure but it seems he was a royal favourite provided with an heiress. Barlow calls him “a knight of obscure parentage” for whom the Earldoms of Huntingdon and Northampton “were a great prize for this fine soldier”.³

William does not seem to have held the Rutland Manors long, as in 1153 the fee at Seaton passed back to Maud’s husband Simon, and Glaston reverted to Maud herself. William became a monk under the name of St Waltheof and so had no heirs, but nevertheless the St Liz family persisted at Seaton until the beginning of the 15th century through Simon’s youngest son until there were no more male surviving heirs.

References:
2. Thierry, Norman Conquest, i. 286.
The Antecessors

Queen Edith
 Earl Harold
 Earl Waltheof
 Earl Morcar
   Bardi
 Ulf the Fenman
 Leofnoth
   Goda
 Leofric
 Siward
 Godwin
 Eric
 Besi
 Edward
 Arkell
 Langfer
 Fredegis
 Osgfot
 Thorfreth
QUEEN EDITH (or Eadgyth)

Edith was the eldest daughter and probably the eldest child of Godwin, Earl of Wessex, and his wife Gytha. She was educated at the Abbey of Wilton and married King Edward (the Confessor) in 1045.¹ History records Edith as greedy and having dealt shabbily on the question of land in dispute with the Abbot of Peterborough.² She was as tough and ruthless as her brothers. When her favourite brother Tostig wanted to rid himself of a rival, Cospatric, it was Edith who arranged the murder.

The majority of land in Rutland came to Edith as part of her dowry. It had previously been given by earlier Saxon kings to their wives. King Aethelred to Emma, his Norman Queen on his marriage in 1002 and his father before him to Aelfryth, his Queen who died between 999 and 1002.³ The Rutland lands comprised the Martinsley Wapentake, and the manors of Ketton and Barrowden. Also in the dower was the manor of Finedon in Northants. Edith held her manors in dower until her death at Winchester on 19 December 1075.⁴

References
4. Rut. VCH, ii. to.

EARL HAROLD

Harold was born about 1022, son of Earl Godwin, who was then the most powerful man in Britain apart from the King, and his wife Gytha.¹ In 1045 he appears as Earl of East Anglia. When in 1051 King Edward quarrelled with Godwin, Earl Harold went to Ireland to raise forces to help his father and together they seized London. Twelve months later when Harold was sitting at his father’s table Godwin was struck by a sudden illness and died.

On Godwin’s death in 1053, Harold gave up the Earldom of East Anglia and succeeded to the Earldom of Wessex and all the lands that his father had held. These add up in 1086 in the Domesday Survey to almost 2,000 hides in 31 different shires. This meant that his clientage and patronage extended over most of England.³ Included in this vast estate was the little manor of Ashwell in Rutland.²
Most of the years between 1056 and 1063 Harold was fighting wars against the Welsh. In 1064 he crossed the Channel and ended up enjoying the enforced hospitality of Duke William of Normandy. On his return he eventually succeeded to the Crown of England on Edward's death (January 6th 1066) but after victory at the Battle of Stamford Bridge he was slain by William at the Battle of Hastings on October 14th.

References:
1. DNB.
2. Rut. VCH, i. 133, 139; ii. 108.
4. Freeman, Norman Conquest, ii, iii.

EARL WALTHEOF
Earl Waltheof was the son of Siward, Earl of Northumbria, a Danish warrior of a primitive type. His mother Alfleida, was a member of the old ruling family of Northumbria, daughter of Earl Ealdred and grand-daughter of Earl Uhtred the Martyr. Waltheof was born in 1046, probably in his father’s main stronghold, the Castle at Bamburgh. However when his father died in 1055, as Waltheof’s elder brother had been killed the year before in battle against Macbeth of Scotland and as Waltheof was a minor, Earl Harold arranged with King Edward that Harold’s brother, Tostig, should be given the key earldom of the North.

In 1065 the Northumbrians rose and expelled Tostig, offering the Earldom to Morcar, brother of Edwin, Earl of Mercia. When the following year Tostig tried to return, supported by a Norwegian fleet, we learn that Waltheof was one of the commanders who with his men of Huntingdonshire first suffered defeat, at the battle of Gate Fulford, and then joined forces with King Harrold to defeat Tostig and his allies at the battle of Stamford Bridge, on Monday 25th September 1066. Probably casualties and exhaustion among his followers prevented Waltheof arriving at Hastings to join the battle on 14th October against the invading Normans. So it is not surprising to hear that with other Saxon notables Waltheof was at Berkampstead, in Hertfordshire, on 10th December to make his submission to King William of Normandy.

Waltheof was only 20 when the Normans arrived. He was remarkable, as his father had been before him, for his great height and extraordinary “vigor” of body (nervosus lacertis, robustis pectore et procerus Coto corpore) he had also inherited his father’s ferocity as a fighter and was reputed, at an early age, to have avenged his grandfather’s murder by personally killing the remaining members of the murderers’ family. Besides being known for his valour and his piety he seems to have been amiable, irresolute and of a scrupulous conscience.
As the rightful heir to the Earldom of Northumbria, Edward the Confessor had sought to compensate Waltheof for the loss of his patrimony by giving him another Earldom comprising the shires of Huntingdon, Northampton, Bedford and Cambridge and which included certain lands in Rutland – Market Overton, Stretton, Whissendine and Exton. Waltheof represented an important Saxon notable at the time of the Conquest. Because of this, Waltheof, with other similar members of Saxon families including Edwin of Mercia and Morcar of Northumbria, was kept hostage at William's Court. Indeed Waltheof went with the King when six months after the Battle of Hastings he re-embarked at Pevensey for Normandy.

When William returned he was faced over the next two years with a series of revolts, the most serious of which was at York. Here Waltheof having escaped from the Court joined Edwin and Morcar who had called in the Danes and Norwegians to assist in their rebellion. In the siege of York, Waltheof, we are told by the chronicler, killed with his own axe, in an ambuscade, a score of Normans who sought to fly, he was then reported to have pursued a hundred knights to a wood and to save himself the trouble of a further chase, set fire to the wood and with it burned the whole party of fugitives. This tale is commemorated in a Danish Saga in which Waltheof's bravery is compared to that of the Viking God Odin.

William hurried North and soon after, in 1069, re-took the North and suppressed the rebellion. At his camp by the river Humber he received the submission of Waltheof who “placed his bare hand on the King’s and took the oath”. When the native resistance was over there remained two noblemen of the highest rank in whom the tradition of King Edward's Court remained still alive, one of these was Waltheof who was high in William's favour. In 1072 he received his father’s Earldom of Northumbria which with his lands in the East Midlands, made him as powerful as any of his Norman contemporaries. At this time, if not earlier, King William gave Waltheof the hand of his niece Judith in marriage. She was the daughter of William’s sister Adelaide and her second husband Count Lambert of Lens.

In 1075 Waltheof founded the Benedictine Priory of Tynemouth which had been destroyed previously three time by the Danes. Also in 1075 another sudden rebellion occurred, Ralf, Earl of East Anglia the other remaining notable from the Court of King Edward, allied himself with Roger, Earl of Hereford and together they invited in the Danish fleet. However, before much serious fighting had occurred King William’s forces had crushed the revolt.

Waltheof was accused of being party to the whole affair, the rebellion which had been planned at the wedding of Ralf with Earl Roger’s sister, and at which Waltheof had attended. He is said on this occasion reluctantly to have given moral but not material support. No one however has yet given any intelligible reason for
Waltheof’s behaviour. The earliest writer who tries to explain it represents him as acting under duress. It has also been suggested that the Crown of England might have been offered to him by the other plotters. In fact, it is said that the day following the wedding party Waltheof had second thoughts and so he consulted Lanfranc, the Archbishop of Canterbury, as to what he should do. On Lanfranc’s advice Waltheof crossed to Normandy in the hope of making his peace with the King. Waltheof travelled back to England with the King but immediately on arrival he was imprisoned.

Waltheof was arraigned before William’s Court at Winchester (the mid-winter Gemot of 1075-76) accused of inviting the Danish fleet over. The chronicler suggests that his wife Judith denounced him and bore witness against him. The votes of the Court were divided as to the sentence which should be passed. Earls Roger and Ralph were subject to Norman Law of Treason which called only for imprisonment or banishment, but as an Englishman the penalty was death. It took the Court over five months to decide, during which time Waltheof was confined to the Royal Fortress at Winchester.

At last his enemies prevailed and the sentence of death was passed at the Pentecostal Gemot on 30th May 1076. Early next morning, whilst the people of Winchester still slept, Waltheof was taken outside the walls of the city and walked to his execution on St Giles’s Hill.

Attired in his costume as a Saxon Earl, the chronicler relates how he distributed the outer portions among the priests and the few poor people who had followed him. When he got to the hill outside the city Waltheof prostrated himself with his face to the ground and prayed in undertones for some minutes. This made the Normans impatient but they allowed his last request to say the Lord’s prayer. However at the first words of the verse “and lead us not into temptation” the executioner’s patience snapped, perhaps it was because he saw the first full rays of the sun appearing. So suddenly drawing his large sword he decapitated the condemned man with a single blow. Waltheof’s body was thrown into a hole dug between two roads and hastily covered with earth. A fortnight later Waltheof’s body, at his wife Judith’s request and with the King’s permission, was disinterred by Abbot Ulfretel and his monks from Croyland Abbey. It was removed to a tomb at the Abbey, of which Waltheof was patron.

At Croyland the tomb became known for its miracles and Waltheof was honoured by the Saxons with the name of Martyr. So far as is known he was the only Englishman of high rank whom King William executed. Waltheof had no sons, but two daughters, who were brought up as Normans by their mother.

References:
1. Thierry, Norman Conquest, i. 221, Matth. West, 229.
2. Symeonis Opera, 219
Earl Morcar

Morcar (or Mokere) was the son of Aelfgar Earl of the Mercians.¹ In 1065 probably with the help of his brother Edwin, Earl of Mercia, Morcar stirred up the Northumbrians against Tostig a son of Earl Godwin, who was then Earl of Northumberland. Morcar was elected Earl in Tostig’s place. He marched south and was joined by the men of Notts, Derby and Lincoln. Occupying and devastating Northamptonshire, Morcar met Edwin at Northampton, so probably passed through Rutland at this time. Talks were held there with Earl Harold, Tostig’s brother, who was at the head of the King’s army. Under pressure Harold yielded and Morcar’s election as Earl of Northumberland was legalised.

Tostig and his allies, the Danes, returned in the summer of 1066, defeating Morcar and Edwin at Gate Fulford, near York, but Harold on hearing this marched in haste to save the North and defeated the invaders at Stamford Bridge. After Harold’s defeat at Hastings in October, Morcar and his brother arrived in London determined to get the citizens to raise one or the other to the throne. Instead they chose Edgar, the Aethling, so the northerners left but did not go far as shortly after they met Duke William at Berkampstead. Here, following their submission, he reconfirmed them in their Earldoms. William, however, carried them both off to Normandy with him in 1067 and after his return to England the following year, brought them with him and kept them at Court.

The two brothers managed to escape and went North to raise rebellion. However, they were not inclined to risk too much and submitted again to William at Warwick and were pardoned, the King treating them with an appearance of favour. In 1071 when William was planning to put them in prison, they escaped again and joined the Saxon rebels in the Isle of Ely. Morcar, it is said, surrendered on the promise of a pardon, but was committed to the custody of Roger de Bearn who kept him closely imprisoned.
When William was on his deathbed he issued instructions that Morcar should be released, but William Rufus threw him in prison again where it is believed he died in chains. Morcar held the strategic manor of Casterton Magna (or Brig Casterton) on the main road between London and York,\(^2\) which he could well have acquired in his march south in 1065.

References:
1. *DNB. Rut. VCH*, i. 133, 140; ii. 232.

**BARDI**

Bardi was a Lincolnshire thegn whose chief holding was at Sleaford. His lands were seized by King William and in Rutland he lost Lyddington with Stoke Dry, Snelston and Caldecott and also Essendine all to the Bishop of Lincoln, to whose new see they were given as endowment.\(^1\) Bardi’s holding in Rutland represented an Anglo-Saxon estate as they form a contiguous block which was held TRE with sac and soc.\(^2\)

References:

**ULF**

Ulf the Fenman (Fenisc), son of Topi,\(^1\) was undoubtedly a rich Saxon thegn who while losing the majority of his lands succeeded in retaining some manors in Leicestershire – in Swinford, Willoughby, Enderby and Walcote. The head of his Saxon estate had probably been at Folkingham in Lincolnshire, where he preceded Gilbert of Ghent, as he did at Burley in Rutland and in lands in other counties.

Reference:

**LEOFNOTH**

Leofnoth (or Leuenot) was a Saxon thegn whose main holdings appear to have been in Northamptonshire. In Rutland he held one carucate of a sub-manor in Oakham in 1066.\(^1\) All his Northants lands went to Walter the Fleming, but Leofnoth appears to have been allowed to retain one hide at Plumpton as a tenant of Walter.\(^2\)

References:
2. *Northants. VCH*, i. 290.
THE OTHER ANTECESSORS
Of the other twelve persons who held lands in Rutland in 1066 (TRE) nothing is known: SIWARD, GODA, LEURIC OR LEOFRIC, ERIC, BESI, THORFRETH, OSGOT, FREDEGIS, EDWARD, LANGFER, ARKELL AND GODWIN. The first three held names that were famous in Anglo-Saxon history, but equally would have been carried by many others. SIWARD was undoubtedly a Dane – Earl Waltheof's father who died in 1055 was named Sigward – Digr, “the Strong”. GODA represents the common female name of Godgifu (Godiva) which could refer to the famous Countess of Mercia or may well stand for Gytha, and refer to the wife of Earl Ralf of Hereford, who owned the manor of Stockerston in nearby Leicestershire. Equally this could refer to Godgifu, the second wife of Siward, Earl Waltheof's father, who held land in the area which was in dispute with the Abbot of Peterborough. LEOFRIC was the name of Godiva's husband, the Earl of Mercia, but equally must have been a popular name at that time.
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Domesday Rutland and the later bounds of the Forest of Rutland

- Present district boundary
- Parish boundaries
- Rivers
- Boundary of the Forest of Rutland
- Boundaries of the wapentakes of Roteland
  - A Alstoe
  - M Martinsley
- Northamptonshire hundred of Witchley (W)
- Apparent extent of lands held by Queen Edith in 1066
- Parishes with inter-related non-royal socland
- Parishes manorially subdivided between Queen Edith and other tenants in chief
- Land of the abbey of Peterborough
- Lyddington and its dependencies held by Bardi T.R.E.
- Manorial caput of Queen Edith with dependencies
  - O Oakham
  - H Hambleton
  - R Ridlington
  - B Barrowden
- NL North Luffenham
- Possible location of 7½ hides 1 bovate of 'the King's soc of Roteland in Empingham'
SEPTEMBER. HUNTING—PASTURING SWINE.

OCTOBER. HAWKING.

NOVEMBER. GROUP ROUND A FIRE.

DECEMBER. THRESHING AND WINNOWING.
Eleventh Century.