

THE GENESIS OF THE HONOUR OF WALLINGFORD

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Abstract

From a twelfth-century perspective, the honour of Wallingford appears to be a typical Norman institution. However, a re-examination of its constituent parts indicates that through marriage it was largely derived from the lands of Wigod of Wallingford and his family. Wigod appears to have been one of Edward the Confessor's stallers and the estates that he held were what was effectively a pre-conquest 'castlery' with origins in a period before the formation of the county of Berkshire. Throughout its history the honour was to remain under the tight control of the crown, reflecting its strategic role in the defence of the middle Thames valley.

Keywords

Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, Berkshire, Wallingford, history, castlery; honour; Wigod of Wallingford.

Introduction

On 14 October 1066 an army led by William of Normandy defeated the English in battle and killed their king, Harold II son of Earl Godwine of Wessex, and thereby changed the course of English history. It was not, however, a decisive victory. There was no immediate offer of the crown to William: indeed, Edgar the Ætheling, a kinsman of Harold's predecessor Edward the Confessor, rejected as Edward's heir in January 1066 on account of youth and inexperience, now attracted a band of supporters in London who appear to have elected him king (*ASC*, 143; *Gesta Willelmi*, 146). Unable to take London directly from the south, William set fire to Southwark, at the foot of London Bridge, and then moved westwards along the left bank of the Thames, aiming to create an arc of terror culminating with a descent on London from the north. To achieve this he had first to cross the Thames. Like the Danes of 1013 (*ASC*, 143–4) he crossed at the key strategic ford at Wallingford where he received the submission of the controversial Archbishop Stigand of Canterbury (*Gesta Willelmi*, 146), moving on to Berkhamstead where, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Archbishop Ealdræd of York, accompanied by Edgar, offered the surrender of the country to him (*ASC*, 144). The Chronicle does not mention the crossing at Wallingford because the final surrender took place elsewhere, but it is mentioned by the Norman chroniclers who understood that the river crossing was a key event. None of these sources mentions Wigod of Wallingford, who appears as such only in the folios of Domesday Book, written over 20 years later, when Wigod and his son Toki were dead. References to Wigod in Domesday Book, discussed below, suggest that he survived 1066 in the service of the Norman

king. It also shows a clear link between him and the manors that constituted the honour of Wallingford after 1066. These holdings form the starting point for a discussion of the honour's formation.

Let us start with a brief reminder of why Wallingford was important (Figure 6.1). Lying on the river terrace, protected by a hinterland of well-watered higher ground and surrounded by fertile agricultural land, it was an ideal settlement area, well placed for the eventual development of a town. In 1066 Wallingford was the last place upstream at which the Thames was fordable without bridge or boat. It was a significant crossing point on a major waterway which had been exploited by the Saxons during the migration period in the 5th and 6th centuries, and subsequently developed for both defensive and economic purposes. In its hinterland were the confluences of tributaries of the Thames, such as (from the south, moving north), the Kennett, the Thame, the Ock and the Cherwell. Not far from a major Roman road from Silchester to Dorchester and beyond, it lay close to much older routes such as the Icknield Way and the Ridgeway which connected East Anglia to Marlborough and the prehistoric complex at Avebury, crossing the chalk uplands known variously as the Marlborough, Lambourne or Berkshire Downs (recently re-named the North Wessex Downs). Direct access to Bath and Bristol was provided by a road from Marlborough. This road linked the spring-line settlements of the Vale of the White Horse, at the foot of the Berkshire Downs, to the market at Wallingford, and formed part of a major route from London to Gloucester. It was also close to a road going southwards, through Winchester to Southampton. The old road known as the Portway coming from the south and apparently crossing at Wallingford and continuing through Clapcot to Shillingford is likely to have been of some antiquity, perhaps even a secondary Roman road (Dewey above, p. 18, and Edgeworth below, p. 82). Wallingford was within easy reach of several major royal holdings at Sutton Courtenay, Benson and Cholsey, other *burh* and minster sites at Reading, Oxford and Abingdon, as well as the former Roman and episcopal town of Dorchester.

The importance of its riverine location is shown in the requirement, revealed in Domesday Book, that those who lived in Wallingford should do service for the king by horse or by water as far as Reading, Blewbury, Sutton Courtenay and Benson. We know of Wallingford's existence by the end of Alfred's reign (871–99) as a *burh* intended to defend a major angle in the Middle Thames against incursions by the Danes into what became English Mercia and Wessex, thanks to the late ninth- or early tenth-century Burghal Hidage (Haslam 2005; Hill and Rumble 1996). As such, it was one of an integrated system of *burhs*, a maximum of 40 miles apart, including five, at Southwark, Sashes (now an

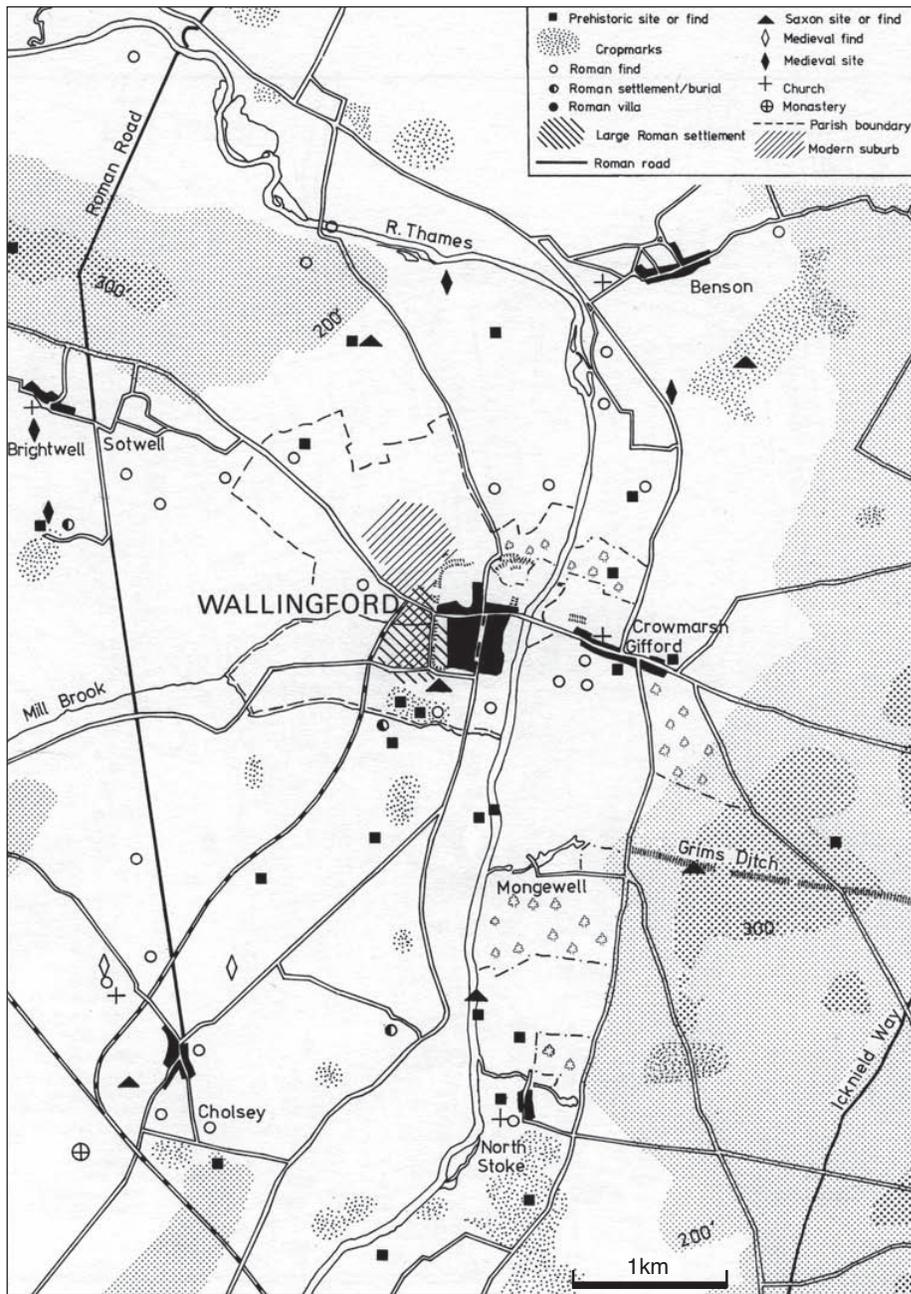


Figure 6.1 Wallingford and its hinterland (based on Airs *et al.* 1975, by permission of Oxford Archaeological Unit).

island in the Thames near Cookham), Wallingford, Oxford and Cricklade, that guarded the River Thames. Wallingford's strategic importance and its future role as a royal administrative centre can be seen from around the time of its foundation when King Alfred made a number of local land transactions. He acquired estates at Cholsey and Moulsoford, East Hagbourne and Basildon from Bishop Denewulf and the church of Winchester (S.354; Gelling 1974, 757), and acquired land at Appleford in exchange for land in East Hendred from one Deormod (S.355; Gelling, 1979, no. 30). The church of Winchester – the site of the only other *burh* of comparable size to Wallingford, according to the Burghal Hidage – probably then held the estate at Brightwell, Sotwell and Mackney that was granted by King Æthelwulf in 854 but temporarily alienated in the 10th

century, before returning to Winchester's control some time before 1066 (Roffe above, pp. 38, 42). These estates protected the site of the new *burh* on the right bank of the river. With the exception of Appleford, in the hundred of the royal vill at Sutton Courtenay, all these places lay in Slottisford Hundred. Since there is reason to believe that the Alfredan *burh* either enclosed or replaced one or more existing settlements at a place where the Thames was fordable in several places (Dewey above, p. 18; Roffe above, p. 42), it is possible that the otherwise unidentified Slottisford ('ford with a bar or bars', Gelling 1979, 507) was the name of a settlement swallowed up by the new *burh*. There is no further documentary reference to the *burh* until an undated, but evidently pre-Conquest Old English memorandum attached to a forged charter from Winchester (S.517, S.523; Gelling

1979, nos. 50, 55), which shows an active town or ‘port’. At this time Sutton Courtenay and Cholsey, as well as Benson on the other side of the river, were also important local royal estates. The only other pre-Conquest documentary references we have come from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which relates that Wallingford twice attracted the attention of the Danes, who burnt it in 1006 (*ASC*, 88), and then passed through it *en route* to Bath in 1013 (*ASC*, 92). Only with the production of Domesday Book does Wallingford emerge from documentary obscurity to become well-evidenced as the main royal and administrative centre of the Middle Thames.

Berkshire was a peculiarly royal county during the 11th century, as probably also during the 10th. Nicholas Hooper (1988, 8–10) has calculated that in 1086 the king held one fifth of all the land in Berkshire, combining the estates held previously by King Edward, his queen Edith and Earl Harold. The abbey of Abingdon had nearly as much again, for which it rendered the service of 30 knights and castle guard at Windsor to the king. In terms of value, however, the king’s holdings far exceeded those of the abbey. The situation in 1086 mirrored that of 1066 to a large extent. King Cnut had taken Berkshire for himself in 1016, though eventually part of it was granted to Earl Godwine of Wessex and later to his son (and future king) Harold (Hooper 1988, 7–9). The comital holdings, such as those at Faringdon and Aldermaston, were held by the king in 1086. King Edward had been the dominant landowner in 1066. As Domesday Book shows, a large number of thegns had held fairly small estates from him scattered throughout the county; a handful of estates belonged to earls other than Harold, and a few were held by Edward’s wife, Harold’s sister Edith. King William took over many of these smaller estates and effectively abolished the comital presence in Berkshire. What was left was parcelled out to some of the richest and most powerful of his Norman followers, many of whom were prominent in other regions. These included men such as Henry de Ferrers, a major landholder in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, who was successor to the holdings, and perhaps also the office, of Godric the sheriff in Berkshire (Green 1990, 26), and Geoffrey de Mandeville, lord of the honour of Pleshy in Essex, successor of Eger the staller and probable Norman sheriff of Essex (Green 1990, 39). An unusually high number of men, from these great landowners to humble sergeants, in the king’s service held land in the county with appurtenant properties located in Wallingford. Hooper’s survey of the thegnly predecessors of these ministers of the king showed that this concentration of king’s ministers and sergeants in the Berkshire of 1086 reflected the position in and before 1066 (Hooper 1988, 16–17). David Roffe’s new study of the Domesday borough in this volume (above, pp. 40–1) makes the point even more clearly in relation to Wallingford.

A concentration of holdings of king’s barons and sergeants in a shire town is found elsewhere. These towns were already developing as the administrative hubs of their shires before 1066, when the king’s business was conducted by the sheriff. Like other such places, Wallingford was a thriving town, supported by and supporting the (still mainly agricultural) trades of its hinterland, and it had a royal mint. It

was also a fortified *burh* capable of defending its strategic location and the people dependent upon it. The symbiotic relationship between a successful borough as a centre for organized defence, an administrative centre and as a town with a flourishing economy is central to understanding the role of places like Wallingford before and after the Conquest.

Differences there certainly were, both between Wallingford before and after 1066 and between Wallingford and other major boroughs and honours, but also some remarkable similarities, due principally to continuing links to pre-Conquest jurisdictions. In what follows I hope to demonstrate some of these continuities and differences by examining the composition of what was known by the early 12th century as the honour of Wallingford, how it came into being, and its significance. The route will prove circuitous, taking us back before the Conquest and forward to the late 13th century.

The formation of the honour

The Norman honour was a collection of estates held by one man from the king in chief in return for a fixed military obligation based on the service of one or more knight’s in the king’s host, to be provided by those who held parts of the manors under the tenant-in-chief as sub or ‘median’ tenants. The tenant-in-chief was directly answerable to the king. The fully-developed system was later referred to as ‘tenure by barony’. David Roffe’s work has shown that there are close correlations between the whole or constituent parts of these honours with the pre-Conquest ‘honours’ previously held by individual king’s thegns with sake and soke, a complex of rights and jurisdictions that alone gave full right to land and brought its holder into a special relationship with the king (Roffe 1990; Roffe 2007, 152). Before 1066 king’s thegns were an important nexus of power and influence, partly due to their ‘nighness to the king’, characteristic also of their post-Conquest successors, the tenants-in-chief or ‘barons’. The text of Domesday Book is notoriously difficult to decode, since the scribe’s ideas about how to excerpt the results of the different documents emanating from the survey changed as he set about writing them up in what is now Domesday Book. Among the casualties of the process of enrolment was the gradual abandonment of the mention of the manor (*manerium*), i.e. a tributary centre, usually the lord’s hall, where the dues from the tenants of the appurtenant estates were rendered to the lord (Roffe 2007, 178). The names of the holders in 1066 are also often omitted. When they are named, the reference can sometimes be to one or more dependents or clients of an unidentified king’s thegn. Hence clear evidence about the holder of sake and soke in 1066 is often lacking. The land held with sake and soke by a king’s thegn was known as bookland, a precious resource that was heritable, though indivisible, and theoretically derived from a king, one of whom, at some time in the past would have granted it by means of a charter or ‘book’. One of the products of the Domesday inquest was the recognition that grants of the holdings of former king’s thegns to the new tenants-in-chief, normally intended as for one lifetime only, had in fact often conveyed the sake and soke of these manors, and hence both the title to the land

itself and the accompanying right of inheritance (Roffe 2007, 182). Rights in other forms of tenure, such as loan-land, granted for three life terms, or family land, of a thegnly predecessor did not automatically pass to the newcomer, though they were negotiable (Roffe 2007, 171–3). Roffe has identified clues in Domesday diplomatic about the manorial or sake and soke status of estates and their holders where these are not stated. A primary clue is the phrase *X tenuit* (X held), which indicates a king's thegn holding with sake and soke. He has also noted that in most if not all cases Norman baronial castles were built on the site of the hall belonging to a manor held with sake and soke (Roffe 2007, 174–5).

In 1212 the honour of Wallingford consisted of 102½ knight fees (*BF*, 120) spread over nine counties (Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Wiltshire, Bedfordshire, Gloucestershire, Surrey, Middlesex, Hampshire). At that date the honour was a fully-fledged post-Conquest legally-constituted entity. Following the retirement of Brien fitzCount *c.* 1150 it had either been held directly by the king, or was granted to a close royal kinsman such as Richard I's brother John, afterwards King John, and then Henry III's brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, who appointed a constable. When Edward the Confessor died in 1066 a significant part of the extensive estates that became the honour of Wallingford had been held by Wigod or his son Toki, or by their men. Both Wigod and Toki are either expressly named in the Domesday text as thegns of King Edward or occur in an *X tenuit* formula. We know that Wigod's daughter married the Norman Robert d'Oilly very soon after the Conquest, and that Robert's own daughter and heiress, Matilda, married Miles Crispin around 1084 (*BF*, 116). By 1086 much of Wigod's land was held by Miles, though some remained with Robert until he and his wife Ealdgyth died, around 1092. A few other manors associated with Wigod or his son, including those held by Earl Roger of Shrewsbury in Middlesex, were attached to the honour after 1100. The composition of a significant part of the honour of Wallingford out of the lands of an disgraced Englishman and his family, including his Norman granddaughter, was very unusual, otherwise only being paralleled by the barony (and later earldom) of Edward of Salisbury.

Very few of the post-Conquest tenants-in-chief had been pre-Conquest landholders. Much of the Old English nobility had perished on the field of Hastings; those that survived the battle automatically forfeited their lands. Some Englishmen who had not taken part in the battle were allowed to retain their lands, as tenants of the new lords, though often on terms that reduced them to penury. Domesday Book shows that Wigod himself survived the turmoil and continued to have influence among Englishmen, like the unnamed freeman who was forced to buy back his hide in Tiscott, Hertfordshire, for the extraordinary price of 9 ounces of gold and who turned to him for protection (*GDB*, 137v: *DB Herts*, 19,1). As we have seen, many of the new honours were created by giving the bulk of the estate held with 'sake and soke' (*saca et soca*) of one king's thegn, or a group of such thegns, to a single tenant-in-chief (Roffe 1990). The land of Godric the sheriff of Berkshire, who died at Hastings (or perhaps briefly sur-

vived, compare *GDB*, 60v: *DB Berks*, 21,13 with *Abingdon*, i, 222, and 201 n453), was given to Henry de Ferrers, for example. In a handful of cases certain key English administrators prepared to work for the Normans retained their estates until the end of 1087. The few surviving examples at the end of William's reign were men strongly associated with borough and shire administration, such as Edward sheriff of Salisbury; among a handful of lesser men was Alfred *nepos* (presumably meaning 'nephew', though possibly either 'cousin' or 'grandson') of Wigod, also a tenant of the honour of Wallingford (Williams 1995, 100, 102; *GDB*, 159v: *DB Oxon*, 35,31,43). Wigod's survival in 1066 is something of a puzzle. As a Berkshire thegn, Wigod was liable to fund a man to fight in the royal army (*fyrð*) for each five hides of land held, and to fight for his lord in person. Failure to fight for his lord (King Harold) would have entailed forfeiture and ignominy had Harold won, and fighting for him should have entailed forfeiture after William's victory. His continued influence with the English after 1066 indicates that the reasons for his (and his son's) absence from Hastings must have been honourable. Possibly he had fought at the battle at Stamford Bridge, three weeks before the battle at Hastings, and for some reason, perhaps injury, had left the army and returned to Wallingford – we do know from the Peterborough and Worcester versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that Harold engaged William at Hastings before the assemblage of his troops was complete (*ASC*, 143). Whilst we cannot know where Wigod or his son Toki were on 14 October 1066, it seems certain that they had not thereafter rallied to the cause of the ætheling Edgar. Indeed, it seems likely that Wigod was with Archbishop Stigand at Wallingford, and, like him, was a pragmatist who preferred surrender in the face of overwhelming odds to the pointless destruction that defiance would have entailed (cf. *ASC*, 144).

In addition to the surrender of Wallingford in 1066, Wigod is likely to have rendered a second service to the Conqueror by inducting his son-in-law into the running of Wallingford as an administrative, military and commercial centre; many of the surviving English played similar roles for the newcomers (Williams 1995, 98–125). Robert soon put a distinctively Norman seal on the change by overseeing the erection of the castle, known to have been completed by 1071, when it became the prison of the abbot of Abingdon (*Abingdon*, i, 226–7). Robert's marriage is one of a handful of examples of Normans specializing in local administration who took English wives the better to embed themselves in local society (Keats-Rohan 1999, 27–8). Ultimately, he and his family became more closely associated with Oxford, where Robert oversaw the building of another royal castle and, towards the end of his life in 1091/2, 'a massive stone causeway to carry traffic across the Thames floodplain on the ancient southern approach to Oxford: 700 metres long, with seventeen flood-arches, it is probably the oldest post-Roman bridge built entirely of stone in western Europe' (Blair 1990, 19; *Abingdon*, ii, 34; OHER, ref. PRN 6628). Robert's organizational and military talents were at William's disposal both in England and in Normandy throughout the reign. He was at least briefly at the side of the king during the siege of Sainte-Susanne (1083–6), in the

county of Maine, since Domesday Book records that 1½ hides in Ludwell, Oxfordshire, were granted to him there (GDB, 158v: *DB Oxon*, 28,24). He was in England on 31 March 1084 when he entertained at Abingdon Abbey a party comprising the king's 15-year-old son Henry, his tutor Osmund bishop of Salisbury, and Miles 'of Wallingford, surnamed Crispin' (*Abingdon*, ii, 16–19). Although Robert d'Oilly continued to maintain interests in Wallingford – he occurs among those named holding burghages in Domesday Book – Miles was certainly lord of the honour of Wallingford by 1086, when the data later excerpted in Domesday Book were gathered, having married Robert's daughter. Unlike Robert, Miles does not occur in William's *acta* until 1077, and then as witness to a confirmation given in Normandy for the abbey of Bec (*Regesta Bates*, no. 166); his only other attestation suggests that he may well have first come to England in 1080, accompanying William when he left Normandy some time after Pentecost in that year, as appears from a subsequent confirmation which was several times updated at Bec, but which essentially belongs to the period 1081 to 1087 (*Regesta Bates*, no. 167), in which his grants of tithes throughout the honour of Wallingford to the abbey occur. Since the bulk of his grants to Bec were of demesne tithes, the only reference to Bec in the Domesday account of his manors was in Swyncombe, where the monks held 2½ hides of demesne land (GDB, 159v: *DB Oxon*, 35,33). A number of his grants, for instance of tithes at Goring and Iver, must have been made after the death of Robert d'Oilly, who held them in 1086. During Miles' lordship a number of changes were made to Wallingford's ecclesiastical structures, including his own endowment of the castle chapel, probably refounding a pre-Conquest institution (discussed below). There is clearly quite a contrast between Robert and Miles as lords of Wallingford, but both were successors to the lands and office of Wigod. A closer examination of what that office was may help us better to understand the origins of the honour of Wallingford.

Housecarls and stallers

As noted above, Wallingford was dominated by officers of the king's administration to a greater extent than most other major boroughs. One of the most significant entries in the borough account is the reference to the 15 acres belonging to King Edward on which housecarls dwelt, which were then held by Miles Crispin. The exact location of the tenements of these housecarls is uncertain, but they could be linked with the land surrounding the castle on the east, or the northward extensions of the castle precinct into the extensive 'hamlet' of Clapcot (see below, p. 61). Although the collection of dues for the maintenance of housecarls is known from other Wessex boroughs mentioned in Domesday, at Wareham, Dorchester, Bridport and Shaftesbury in Dorset (GDB, 75: *DB Dorset*, B1–4), this entry is unique in identifying the only known permanent station of royal housecarls. One of these acres belonged to Long Wittenham, a manor of Walter Giffard (GDB, 56: *DB Berks*, B1). The Domesday jurors claimed not to know how Miles came to hold these acres, but as will appear, we can have no difficulty in identifying Wigod of Wallingford as

Miles's predecessor in the role. The housecarls were an innovation of the Danish king Cnut. Often described as a sort of private army, they seem to have been something like royal bodyguards, trusted royal servants close to the king's person who were given rural estates the better to serve regional royal interests (Hooper 1984). The association of royal land and the housecarls land is unparalleled elsewhere and suggests a Saxon palace site with attached garrison, perhaps, as Lawson has suggested, there to back up the authority of the king's officials in a key area dominated by royal holdings (Lawson 1993, 180). Almost all known examples of housecarls, 28 out of 32, bore Scandinavian names (Lawson 1993, 180). One of them was Toki, son of Wigod of Wallingford. He was described as *huscarle* when named as a predecessor of Earl Roger in the Middlesex manor of Ickenham (GDB, 129: *DB Middx*, 7,8).

Others can be identified. Among those named as holding burghages in Wallingford in 1086 were Roger fitzSeifrid and his brother Ralph. They also held a sergeanty of the king at Purley and Fulscot, Berkshire, while Roger held a sergeanty at Brightwell Baldwin in Oxfordshire (GDB, 160v: *DB Oxon*, 58,7). Together with Miles's Surrey manors of Beddington and Chessington – held from him by William fitzTurold and apparently later held in demesne by Miles's successor Brien fitzCount (*Boarstall Cartulary*, 322) – all these holdings were part of the honour and in the hands of a family surnamed Huscarle by 1156 (GDB, 62v: *DB Berks*, 49,2–3; *Boarstall Cartulary*, 322). The name of the family is striking and quite possibly links them to Wigod and his family. As an institution, essentially bodyguards loyal to their royal lord unto death, housecarls had effectively been eradicated by the murderous battles that occurred in short succession in late 1066. Wigod may himself have originally have been a housecarl. His association with Wallingford, a cognomen attached to him primarily in the Buckinghamshire Domesday (GDB, 150, 150v: *DB Bucks*, 23,7,12,33), was evidently significant and must have included the control of the military functions of the borough and its hinterland. Indeed, John Hudson, most recent editor and translator of the History of the Church of Abingdon has translated *oppidanorum Walingafordensium dominus* in reference to Wigod as 'lord of the garrison of Wallingford' (*Abingdon*, i, 214). By 1086 both he and his son Toki, who died saving the life of William the Conqueror at Gerberoy in 1079 (*ASC*, 159–60), were dead, and Wigod's ministry – that is, his official function – was exercised by Miles Crispin.

The career of Robert d'Oilly is perhaps more informative than Miles' as to what Wigod's ministry actually was. It has been suggested, on the basis of a writ of William I concerning the lands of the Berkshire abbey of Abingdon and its lands in Berkshire, Oxfordshire and smaller holdings in Gloucestershire and Warwickshire, that Robert was sheriff of Oxfordshire during part of the Conqueror's reign (*Regesta Bates*, no. 5). Wigod himself possibly acted in a similar capacity, to judge from the evidence of a single writ of the Confessor, discussed below. Neither Wigod nor Robert can be associated with any other shrievalty, including Berkshire, of which Wallingford was (apparently) the county town. In the Norman period a royal castle in a

county town was the headquarters of the county sheriff; occasionally, as in Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, the constable of the castle was also the sheriff (Green 1997, 267–8). But too little is known about early sheriffs or the shrievalty for this to be a profitable approach to the roles of Wigod or Robert. Indeed, the fragmentary evidence we have from Domesday Book and the History of Abingdon suggests that the sheriffs of Oxfordshire and Berkshire were men of only local influence (*Abingdon*, i, 200–1, 224–5; ii, 172–3).

Robert's power and influence most likely derived from the fact that he assumed Wigod's role as lord of the garrison of Wallingford and subsequently became constable of a second royal castle at Oxford (*castelli urbis Oxenefordensis oppidanus: Abingdon*, ii, 10). Lords of the barony of Hook Norton, his successors retained their links with the castle and frequently occur styled constable of Oxford (*Chartulary of Oseney*, nos. 13A, 492; *Regesta*, iii, no. 475). The word is sometimes used to translate the title of staller which occurs among a small number of men who were appointed by Edward the Confessor. Like housecarls, stallers were a Danish institution introduced by Cnut (Mack 1984). These men, close personal advisors of the king and the wealthiest of his thegns, were responsible for the running of the king's military household; after 1066 they were specifically associated with royal castles. Edward's stallers were men of considerable standing who held property worth in excess of £100 per annum. They often occur in late documents of the Confessor's reign, or post-Conquest re-workings of them, as personal servants of the king, such as butlers and stewards, and also as key administrators who outranked sheriffs but occasionally also acted as sheriffs, with responsibility for the administration of the royal demesne (Clarke 1994, 126–8). An example was Esgar the staller, whose post-Conquest successor, Geoffrey de Mandeville, was constable of London; it was Esgar who would eventually admit the Normans into London late in 1066 (*Carmen*, 40–2). Another, who submitted to William before the battle of Hastings, was Robert fitzWimarc, a Norman who was kinsman to both Edward the Confessor and William (Keats-Rohan 2001, 977). Wigod was a king's thegn and a man of social standing and wealth. The value of the lands with which he was explicitly associated in Domesday Book exceeded £100. The sole writ of Edward the Confessor to 'his dear kinsman Wigod of Wallingford' might suggest that Wigod himself was sheriff of Oxfordshire, since he was instructed to give Islip to the king's new foundation at Westminster (S.1148; *Writs*, 104, pp.334–7; 368–9), but could equally well relate to Wigod's wider ministry in the region. The writ may have been issued at the Christmas court of 1065, shortly before Edward's death. A charter concerning Waltham Abbey written later by someone with reliable information describes Wigod as Edward's *pincerna*, that is butler (Clarke 1994, 144; Barlow 1970, 163 n1). Though there is no extant description of Wigod as a staller, this fragmentary information strongly suggests that he exercised the functions of a staller, and that his son-in-law succeeded him in that office. Indeed, though a few of Robert's appearances in the writs and charters of William I (*Regesta* Bates, nos. 189, 219, 277, 286, 301–2,

335, 338, 341) may relate to his status as baron of Hook Norton in Oxfordshire, most of them make better sense if seen in relation to his role as lord of a major strategic castlery to which an estate spread over eight counties was attached, rather than as sheriff of any one of them. This is probably the best interpretation of Wigod's role as *oppidanorum Walingafordensium dominus*; it certainly seems to indicate a more expansive role than that of a mere constable. Interestingly, both Miles Crispin and his successor Matilda, wife of Brien fitzCount, were styled 'of Wallingford', but the style of constable does not seem to have attached to Miles and indeed appears to be specific to Oxford. Brien fitzCount, as lord of Wallingford, is only styled as constable in a charter of Henry I in 1131 (*Regesta*, ii, no. 1688; discussed by the editors on p. xv) and of King Stephen in 1136 (*Regesta*, iii, no. 944). From an entry in the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I (p.139) it appears that he paid the princely sum of £166 13s and 4d 'for the ministry [i.e. the constableness of Oxford castle] and part of the land of Nigel d'Oilly'. Nigel was the brother and successor of Robert I d'Oilly and seems to have died around 1116. His son Robert II occurs as constable after 1139.

Wigod, his family, and the honour

The bulk of what became the honour of Wallingford consisted of land that had been held by Wigod or members of his family in 1066. Much of it at the time of the Domesday survey in 1086 was held by his granddaughter's husband Miles, but some remained with his daughter and her husband Robert until their deaths, shortly after Robert's last charter attestation in 1092. Much of this remainder consisted in the fees held by members of the Basset family, thus contradicting the thirteenth-century lawyer Bracton who claimed that the Basset fees were the *maritagium* of Robert's daughter (*Bracton's Notebook*, 3:516). Further holdings, associated with Wigod's nephew Tuold and his son William, were added before 1113. So what and where were these holdings, and how do they link to what we might know about Wigod and his family?

For the whole Anglo-Saxon period vastly fewer English charters survive than we would like, and many of those that do pose problems because they are often copies made in later times by scribes who either sought, usually on behalf of a monastery, to improve them, or who simply misunderstood them. These are the problems we must confront in trying to understand Wigod and the composition of his estate. As we have seen already, he occurs in a very few documents, largely unsatisfactory, of the last years of Edward the Confessor's reign, from which we glean the information that he was a kinsman of the king. The relationship, if there really was one, is likely to have been distant, but represents a plausible route to royal favour. Since he clearly had some responsibility for Wallingford, a major town, royal administrative centre and garrison, we should expect to find that some at least of his holdings were linked to the office he held. It would be reasonable to assume that by the date of the Domesday survey such holdings would be in the hands of Miles Crispin, whom the borough entry clearly shows was lord of the honour of Wallingford in 1086, but not of the borough itself.

If we plot all the locations directly associated with either Wigod or Toki, and those that formed part of the honour as it was by c. 1120 (Appendix), they will be seen to lie in a 60-mile radius of Wallingford. They form a number of clusters, in the vicinity of *burhs* or royal centres such as Wallingford itself, Oxford, Reading and Gloucester, Aylesbury, and Buckingham, as well as Marlborough and Chippenham. They include the third major strand in the composition of the honour, the holdings of the thegn Beorhtric in Buckinghamshire, to which we shall return. Another contributor to the honour was the small number of estates in Middlesex held by King William's close friend Earl Roger, whose heirs spectacularly disgraced themselves and forfeited their lands in the reigns of William's sons. These included a large manor of Colham, now in Hillingdon, formerly held by Wigod, as well as Harmondsworth, once held by Alwine, Wigod's man, and Ickenham, all about 13 miles from Westminster (GDB, 129: *DB Middx*, 7,3,5,8). Hillingdon had been held by Ulf, thegn of King Edward, probably the Ulf housecarl who had held Hanworth (GDB, 129: *DB Middx*, 7,2,6) At Ickenham Toki was described as Edward's housecarl (GDB, 129: *DB Middx*, 7,8); his 2 hides and 3 others, including that of Alwine, Wulfsgie son of Manni's man, had been added to the land of Colham 'where it was not before 1066'; also added to Colham was Dawley, held before 1066 by Godwine Ælfgyth, Wigod's man. Ickenham lay five miles north east of Toki's Buckinghamshire manor of Iver (GDB, 149: *DB Bucks*, 19,1). Roger's estates in Surrey (GDB, 34–34v: *DB Surrey*, 18) do not seem to have come to Wallingford, though his tenant was a certain Tuold, successor of Osmund (conjectured to have been his father by Williams 1995, 102). Elsewhere, at (Hampton) Meysey in Gloucestershire, Earl Roger's tenant was Tuold nephew (*nepos*) of Wigod (GDB, 166v: *DB Gloucs*, 27,1). The name of this manor associates all these Tuolds as the same man, whose estates eventually passed to a family surnamed de Maisy. As shown above, another of Roger's tenants was Alfred nephew of Wigod, and William fitzTuold, probably a son of Tuold nephew of Wigod, occurs as a tenant of Miles Crispin at Beddington in Surrey (GDB, 36v: *DB Surrey*, 29,1). William fitzTuold's holding of Miles at Henton, Oxon (GDB, 159v: *DB Oxon*, 35,20), like that of Tuold of Earl Roger at Hampton Meysey, had been held in 1066 by a man named Leofnoth. An entry for Chessington in Surrey (GDB, 36v: *DB Surrey*, 29,2), a manor of Miles Crispin, states that Wigod did not have this manor when (King) William came into the country. This might mean that Wigod was given it by William, though it could also mean that he had given it to Miles, despite its not having previously been Wigod's. Chessington, like Beddington, was held by the Huscarle successors of William fitzTuold at Beddington by 1166.

One cluster, in the region of Swindon in Wiltshire, is particularly interesting. Apart from Manton and Rodbourne (GDB, 71: *DB Wilts*, 28,9,12), held by Wigod, and Brinkworth, held by Toki (GDB, 71: *DB Wilts*, 28,8), it included the manor of Ogbourne St George, formerly held by Earl Harold and held in 1086 by Miles Crispin (GDB, 71: *DB Wilts*, 28,11). A second much larger manor of

Ogbourne St Andrew was then held by the king (GDB, 65v: *DB Wilts*, 1,22), but a contemporary geld roll for Wiltshire describes it as being 'of the land of Wigod' (Williams 1995, 100 n11). These 30 hides perhaps included Ogbourne Maizey, named from the same family to which the Domesday holdings of Tuold nephew of Wigod passed. Both Ogbournes were given to the abbey of Bec by Miles's successors, Matilda of Wallingford and her husband Brien fitzCount, before 1133 (*Bec*, nos. 18, 37, 47–8).

These lands provide some clues to the origins of Wigod's family. Ogbourne occurs in the will of the Ealdorman Æthelwold I who died in 946 (S.1504). His will disposes of land 'acquired from the king' and included the gift of Ogbourne to his brother Eadric. Another brother, Ealdorman Æthelstan 'Half-king' of East Anglia, a benefactor of Abingdon Abbey, was willed the manor of Broadwater in Sussex. Wigod also held this in 1066, together with Bepton and a site in Chichester, right in the heart of Godwine territory (GDB, 23v, 26v, 28v: *DB Sussex*, 11,15;12,21;13,30). In the case of Broadwater at least it appears that it was lost to his heirs when William de Braose's Rape of Bramber was formed in Sussex (Fleming 1991, 199; GDB, 50v: *DB Hants*, 69,40). It is impossible to know if Wigod was a descendant of Æthelwold or his brothers, and the Sussex holdings, although said in Domesday Book to have been held of King Edward, perhaps simply indicate that Wigod's ministry continued under King Harold as it had under Edward. On the other hand, the Norman conquest was not the first such disruption to English landholding that had occurred in the 11th century. Following the Danish conquest of 1016, King Cnut had dispossessed many of the surviving English nobles in favour of his Danish followers. The Danish names of Wigod and Toki, and their association with housecarls are a likely indication that the father of Wigod was one of these Danish 'new men' who had been given royal estates formerly associated with the family of Æthelwold. A relationship to the half-king's family cannot be completely excluded, however. Although Wigod bore a Danish name, that of his daughter Ealdgyth was certainly English, suggesting that he had an English wife or mother (or both). Given that Wigod was described as 'kinsman' in Edward the Confessor's writ, a possible link can be suggested: the Confessor's paternal grandmother Ælfthryth had first been married to the half-king's son Æthelwold II, by whom she had at least one son, Leofric (Hart 1992, 589).

Although Wigod is not always mentioned as Miles' predecessor, there must be a strong presumption that a large proportion of his holdings had belonged to Wigod or to Wigod's men. Fragmentary evidence occasionally survives, such as the name of *Wigodeslande*, part of the honour's large manor of Aston Rowant (Oxon) (Cam 1963, 139). However, Wigod was not invariably Miles' predecessor (*antecessor*). The thegn Leofnoth had held before 1066 the manors of Wootton Bassett, Drayton Foliat, Hazlebury, and Walcot in Wiltshire (GDB, 71: *DB Wilts*, 28,1,6,7), Meysey Hampton in Gloucestershire (held by Earl Roger in 1086) and Henton in Oxfordshire, all of which were later held by either the Foliot or Maisey families (GDB, 166v, 159v: *DB Gloucs*, 27,1; *DB Oxon*, 35,20). Chearsley (Bucks) and

Appleton and Eaton (Berks) had been held by Healfdene a thegn of Earl (king) Harold (GDB, 150, 61v: *DB Bucks*, 23,10; *DB Berks*, 33,6–7), who had himself earlier held Ogbourne and Chilton Foliat in Wiltshire (GDB, 71: *DB Wilts*, 28,2,11). Other predecessors were the king's thegn Hemming at Cherington, Gloucestershire, and Hitcham in Buckinghamshire (GDB, 169v, 149v-150: *DB Gloucs*, 64,2; *DB Bucks*, 23,3), as well as Edward's chaplain Baldwin, who held the ungelded manors of Tidmarsh in Pangbourne and Pangbourne (GDB, 61v: *DB Berks*, 33,1–2). A significant predecessor, contributing 22 manors to the honour, was the queen's thegn Beorhtric. In discussing a charter which recorded the foundation of Waltham Abbey by the queen's brother Harold in 1062 Pauline Stafford pointed out that at 'this great meeting the lay nobility were distinguished according to their intimacy with and service to the king and queen' (Stafford 1997, 108–9). Among them was Wigod the king's butler, Baldwin the king's clerk, Azur the king's steward, who later held land in Berkshire, perhaps in Ardington, under Robert d'Oilly (GDB, 62: *DB Berks*, 41,6), possibly also at Thenford (GDB, 225: *DB Northants*, 28,2) and may have been one of Miles' predecessors at Marsh Baldon (GDB, 159v: *DB Oxon*, 35,17). Among the others was a Beorhtric, described as *princeps*. Although this man cannot be identified with certainty, it is striking that it was the name of a major contributor to the honour of Wallingford.

This Beorhtric was a thegn of Queen Edith, and possibly also of the king (Stafford 1997, 319–20). He was wealthy and well-endowed with land in several counties, ranking 35th in Clarke's list of non-earlish estates (Clarke 1994, 262–4). Clarke's figures can be debated, but he assigned Beorhtric a personal annual income of £100, and Wigod one of £117 (Clarke 1994, 356–7). Much of the land which passed from Beorhtric to the honour of Wallingford lay in Buckinghamshire and had been held by him as the queen's (and in one case the king's) thegn. Most of Edith's lands in Buckinghamshire represent lands used for the dower of English queens since at least the mid 10th century. The fact that Beorhtric occurs regularly in these manors as a thegn of Queen Edith suggests that they had retained an association with the dower lands of English queens. One of the most striking things about the honour of Wallingford is that it was only held outside the royal family for two generations after the Conquest, thereafter being used as an appanage for younger sons such as Henry III's brother Richard earl of Cornwall.

Wigod and Beorhtric were certainly king's thegns who held sake and soke and therefore heritable title to land, but in some cases they may have held royal land as loanland rather than as bookland. At any rate, the occurrence of both Wigod and Toki among Robert d'Oilly's predecessors, and the subsequent addition to the honour after 1100 of those of their holdings held in 1086 by Earl Roger, shows that a notion of family inheritance was permitted for their land during the formation of the honour in the early post-Conquest period. This may also have involved Beorhtric. In Buckinghamshire Robert d'Oilly's chief holdings were the extensive manors of Iver and High Wycombe (GDB, 149: *DB Bucks*, 19,1–2). Iver had been held in 1066 by

Toki. Of three freemen there, one had belonged to Edith's man Beorhtric. The manor was said to have been of Robert's wife's holding. Wycombe (in 1212 a borough and a *villa forinsec* of the honour, *BF*, 120) was also said to have been of Robert's wife's holding, yet it was held before 1066 by Beorhtric from Queen Edith. At the ever-present risk of over-interpreting the Domesday text, can we see this as a hint of some relationship between Wigod and Beorhtric, perhaps that Wigod may have been the son-in-law of Beorhtric?

Pauline Stafford, in a study of Queen Edith and her predecessor Emma of Normandy, has suggested that the dower lands brought into the lands of the kings of Wessex by their marriages reflect their part in the process of the unification of the country by Alfred's successors that was every bit as important as conquest, and that they are key also to defence. She highlights the strong association between old English queens and fortified places, and especially with their monasteries, a 'woman, who, as both queen and wife, could legitimate the acquisition and control of key ecclesiastical estates' (Stafford, 1997, 134–5). Of special interest are the lands given in 966 by King Edgar to Ælfgifu, who has been identified with the divorced wife of King Eadwig, Edgar's brother and predecessor, which were mentioned in her will (S.1484). Ælfgifu fell into disfavour when she and her mother Æthelgifu were discovered in a compromising position with the king at his coronation banquet. Cyril Hart has shown that these women were related to the family of Æthelstan Half-King, brother of Earlorman Æthelwold, whom we met earlier (Hart 1992, 455–66, 569–604). Many of Ælfgifu's holdings lay in Buckinghamshire and occur in Domesday Book as the holdings of Queen Edith, widow of Edward the Confessor. Several were associated with Edith's thegn Beorhtric, including land at Marsworth, held in 1086 by Robert d'Oilly and thereafter by Miles Crispin (Stafford 1997, 131). Among Edith's dower lands was the manor of Newnham, later known as Newnham Murren, as seen in a charter of King Edgar of 966, which shows that Newnham then comprised the area of the modern parish of Crowmarsh Gifford (Gelling 1979, no. 277). This area was immediately opposite Wallingford and abutted the bridgehead of Wallingford land on the Oxfordshire side. In 1086 the manor of Newnham was much smaller, with Crowmarsh Gifford and North Stoke having been carved out of it; each was rated at 10 hides, as was Newnham in 966. Crowmarsh was in the hands of a major Norman tenant-in-chief, Walter Giffard, but Newnham and Stoke both belonged to Miles Crispin, as did two other Oxfordshire manors a short distance away at Chalgrove and Great Haseley (GDB, 157v, 159: *DB Oxon*, 20,3;35,2,10). Haseley had also been one of Edith's manors. Newnham had been held by Engelric, probably the royal priest who had worked for the Normans in supervising the redemption of their lands by the English. He is known as the founder of the minster of St Martin le Grand in London (Roffe above, p. 36). English queens were often associated with the royal boroughs and often patronized one of the minsters within them. The importance of Newnham can be seen in a passage in the Domesday borough account where the tenements of Miles Crispin in Newnham, Haseley, North Stoke, Chalgrove, Sutton

Courtenay and Bray are mentioned together. The first four were all substantial manors listed elsewhere in Domesday as part of the honour's lands. Miles had given tithes from all of them to Bec by 1087 or shortly after (*Regesta* Bates, no. 167). Later these holdings, apart from the last two, are associated together with the church of All Saints in Wallingford as prebends of the canons who serve the king's chapel in the castle, St Nicholas. An inquest of 1184 preserved in the Oseney Cartulary says that Miles established these prebends, which he may well have done (*Oseney Cartulary*, iv, 415). It is clear, as has been shown already for St Leonard, St Lucian and Holy Trinity, that there was a major re-organization of churches in Wallingford after 1066 (Roffe, pp. 36–8). Since the old palace site was reconfigured as the precinct of a Norman castle, the earlier Saxon royal chapel had to be replaced with a Norman one. Continuity of some sort reflected in the prebendal arrangement is not unlikely in view of the association between Newnham and Haseley with English queens. The occurrence of senior English clerics associated with ministers, such as Regenbald at Bray and Wallingford, as well as Engelric at Newnham, is unlikely to be coincidental.

All the holdings discussed so far are mapped on Figure 6.2, together with all the manors held in 1086 by either Robert d'Oilly or Miles Crispin, with no explicit reference to either Wigod or Toki in the Domesday text but which were holdings of the honour of Wallingford by about 1120, not long after Brien fitzCount's marriage to Matilda of Wallingford; many of these (with the exceptions noted

below) are very likely to have been holdings of Wigod and his son. The Appendix below lists by predecessor group all the constituent parts of the honour, accompanied by Figure 6.4, which is a breakdown of the predecessors, either named or inferred by reason of succession from Robert to Miles, of 144 manors or parts thereof. Of these 21 (14.6%) had belonged to either Wigod or Toki; 61 (42%) to kinsmen or men of Wigod, 22 (15.3%) to Beorhtric; 7 manors had belonged to Earl Harold and 1 to Queen Edith (5.5%); of the remaining 32 (22%), most can be seen to be king's thegns holding with sake and soke (as indicated by the *tenuit* phrase). Only three manors do not obviously fit the pattern: it is unclear why the honour of Wallingford should have acquired d'Oilly's manors of Rissington and Lower Turkdean in Gloucestershire (GDB, 168v: *DB Gloucs*, 48,1–2), which was held in 1066 by the thegn Siward, who had no known connection with Wigod. The other was Watlington in Oxfordshire held in 1086 by Robert d'Oilly in succession to an unnamed predecessor (GDB, 158: *DB Oxon*, 28,1). His nephew Robert II d'Oilly gave the advowson to his newly founded abbey of Oseney in 1129 (interestingly, the first prior (1138–54) then abbot of Oseney from 1154 until his death on 2 October 1158, was named Wigod). By 1166 it was a fee of the honour of Wallingford, held by the Breton Halinald de Bidun by grant of Henry II (*Boarstall Cartulary*, 322). If these really are anomalous holdings they are perhaps linked to Brien fitzCount's purchase of the office and part of the land of Nigel d'Oilly around 1129/30 (see above, p. 57).

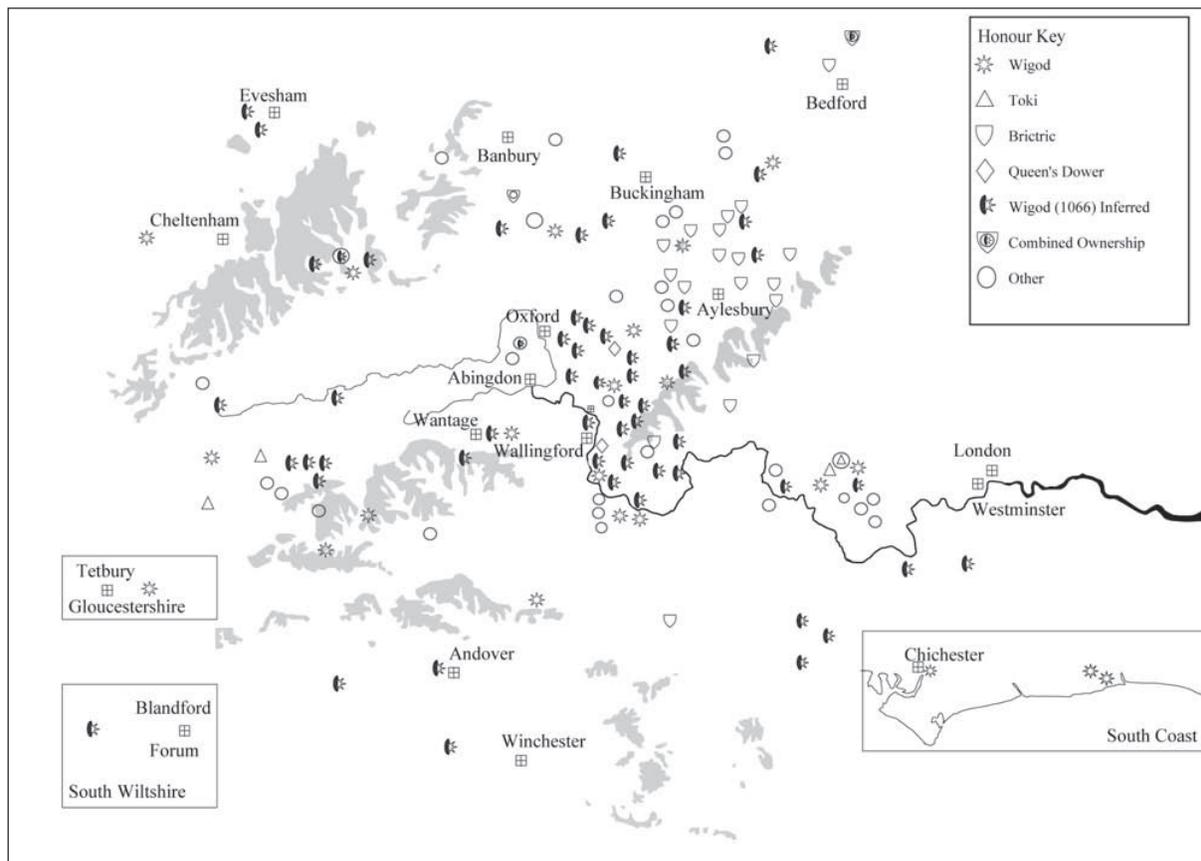


Figure 6.2 Location by predecessor 1066 of the manors of the honour of Wallingford c.1129.

Honour and proto-shire

Although so far we have seen no more than tantalizing hints of Wigod's background, cumulatively they add up to a clear picture of a man of influence and status as a royal servant and quite probably a royal kinsman, in the reigns of Edward, Harold and William. The distribution of his holdings shows a man actively connected with the king's service in Wallingford and its vicinity, and with a number of holdings within easy reach of other royal centres such as Westminster, Windsor, Oxford and Gloucester. In its association with queenly dower lands, something of the significance of Wallingford as a royal *burh* and borough has begun to emerge. In 1066 Wallingford was the chief town of Berkshire, which had formed part of the earldom of Wessex, held after 1052 by Harold Godwinsson. Earl Harold had held a relatively modest 11 manors, including the great complex at Faringdon, which straddled the borders of Wiltshire and Oxfordshire (Hooper 1988, 8–9; GDB, 58: *DB Berks*, 1,44). Unlike many other shires, the pre-eminence of royal rather than comital authority in Berkshire was a marked feature of the 11th century. As we have suggested, the bulk of what made up the lands held by Wigod and his family and successors was probably royal bookland (land granted hereditarily but indivisibly) or loanland, i.e. given for a fixed term of perhaps three lives, with reversion to royal control firmly envisaged. We should now look again at the distribution of Wallingford lands, this time in relation to both royal power and the function of Wallingford as a military and administrative base.

To start with we shall look at Wallingford holdings along the Thames, starting below the episcopal town of Dorchester at Shillingford. At this date and probably long before, the rich agricultural area between the river at Shillingford and the northern defences of Wallingford comprised the area known as Clapcot, which occurs as two manors held as one by Miles Crispin as of the honour of Wallingford. The link between Clapcot and the castle precinct was probably ancient, going back at least to the founding of the *burh*, if not earlier: the 'cot' element suggests a small settlement dependent upon a larger one. The area contained the borough or hundred moot hall, according to a fourteenth-century charter (*Boarstall Cartulary*, 248, no. 708), but is generally poorly understood. The recent discovery of a monumental earthwork running across it, discussed in this book by Matthew Edgeworth (pp. 83–4), potentially offers a key to understanding the topography of the *burh* and any precursor in this area. It may also provide an explanation for the name Clapcot, or 'cottages by the hill', which has puzzled philologists on topographical grounds (Gelling 1974, 536–7). Late thirteenth-century documents refer to it as the hamlet attached to the castle (*CIPM* 3, 465, no. 604). Its rich farmland was used to support knights of the honour attached to the castle (eg. Bodleian, Berks Charter, 2). Five sergeancies relating to service at the castle pertained to the honour in 1212 (*BF*, 120), including that of Robert de Basinges who held 3 virgates in return for his services as a chef; in 1292 his successor John de Basinges and his heirs were amongst those who sold their holding (60 acres) in Clapcot to William de Bereford, favourite of the earls of Cornwall, then lords of

the honour (*Boarstall Cartulary*, no. 734). As we have seen, it lay within the parish of All Saints, the church of which was sited within the borough of Wallingford, outside the walls of the castle on its western flank (Dewey above, p. 25). The castle itself was extra parochial and was served by its own royal free chapel of St Nicholas. On the opposite bank, on the Oxfordshire side, Warborough was then represented by Watcombe, held partly by Miles Crispin and partly by Robert d'Oilly (GDB, 159v, 161: *DB Oxon*, 35,39;59,4).

Moving south, Benson in Oxfordshire and Cholsey in Berkshire, were both substantial royal manors. Newnham belonged to Wallingford, as did North Stoke. Crowmarsh was then held by a major tenant-in-chief, Walter Giffard (GDB, 157v, 159v: *DB Oxon*, 20,3;35,10–11), who also held Long Wittenham, part of which included tenements in Wallingford (GDB, 56, 60: *DB Berks*, B1;20,3). Streatley was held by Geoffrey de Mandeville, constable of London, who had been given the lands and ministry of Esger the staller (GDB, 62: *DB Berks*, 38,6). Wigod, doubtless also a staller, had held a large manor of 30 hides at Goring on the opposite bank, held still by Robert d'Oilly in 1086 but after 1091 by the honour of Wallingford. It included also Gatehampton, held by Miles Crispin (GDB, 158, 159: *DB Oxon*, 28,2;35,1). The king held Basildon, whilst both the king and Miles Crispin had manors at Pangbourne (GDB, 157v, 158: *DB Berks*, 1,28,44;33,1). Miles also held Whitchurch and Mapledurham, and a hide in Tilehurst (GDB, 159, 61v: *DB Oxon*, 35,8–9; *DB Berks*, 33,9). Purley and Fulscot were manors held in 1086 by Ralph fitzSeifrid which were soon afterwards joined to the honour of Wallingford, as discussed above. One of Ralph's holdings was Clewer, of which half a hide had been subtracted for the building of a royal castle at Windsor, a day's ride from London, moving away from the Saxon palace site of Old Windsor (GDB, 62v: *DB Berks*, 49,1).

The borough of Reading was held by the king. On the opposite bank lay Walter Giffard's manor of Caversham, which included three tenements in the borough of Wallingford (GDB, 56, 58, 157v: *DB Berks*, B9;1,41; *DB Oxon*, 20,1). Apart from a handful of manors in Surrey and Middlesex offering easy access to Westminster and Southwark, this was the furthest reach of the honour of Wallingford along the banks of the Thames, except for a single acre and 11 dwellings at Bray, just above Windsor at the foot of another great angle in the river (GDB, 56, 57: *DB Berks*, B2;1,22). This angle takes in the important royal minster town of Cookham, just outside which another of the Alfredan *burhs* was situated on the island of Shaftesbury (now called Sashes).

In looking at these maps we notice in general a strong concentration of Wallingford lands in Oxfordshire, rather than in the county of which it was the county town in 1086. The pattern of holdings stretching from what is now Shillingford Bridge down to Reading is very marked. If we now map (Figure 6.3) the holdings of the king in Berkshire we see what has so far been wanting to make a coherent picture of the honour of Wallingford. Berkshire was indeed a peculiarly royal county, but as a borough Wallingford appears most closely connected with West Berkshire (with

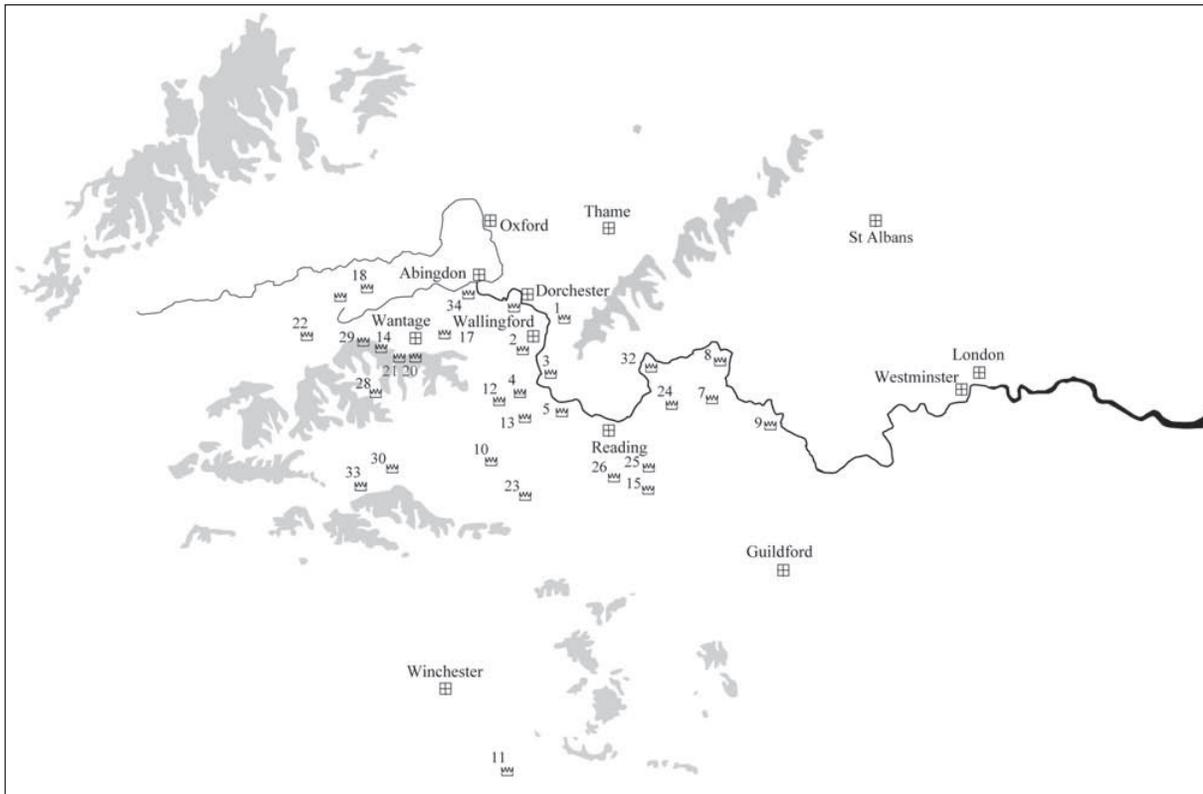


Figure 6.3 Royal manors in Berkshire and vicinity of Wallingford in 1086.

estates that straddled the border with Wiltshire in the west) and a part of Oxfordshire across the boundary formed by the Thames, rather than a unified west and east Berkshire. The area reflects in some sense the ‘territory’ of Wallingford. The strong connexion of the constituent manors of this territory and the later honour with the king, the queen and certain close and powerful kin such as Earl Harold is thus all the more striking. The east-west split in the shire has been noted before, for example by Margaret Gelling (1974) in her discussion of Berkshire place names, and by John Blair, who sees east Berkshire, dominated by Sonning and Reading, as once having formed part of a lost sub-kingdom which included Surrey (Blair 1989, 100). David Roffe (above pp. 42–4) has already discussed the possible origins of this striking configuration in terms of the provisions of the Burghal Hidage system at a time before the final shape of the shires had been fixed, at some point in the 10th or early 11th century, and suggested that the three key *burhs* defended the Middle Thames, probably each of them with attached territories that straddled both sides of the river.

The burghal system had its origins in the need to defend a key strategic area, dominating an important point on one of the major river systems in the kingdom of Wessex and subsequently that of England. The same strategic importance was as evident to the Danish Cnut in the early 11th century, as it was to his stepson Edward and then to William in 1066. Surprisingly, perhaps, the origin of the post-Conquest honour of Wallingford should be sought in the territory, dominated by royal holdings, that had surrounded it since its inception as a *burh* in the late 9th century. Wigod was claimed as a royal kinsman in a writ of King Edward, as

presumably his father also had been. Although the succession from Robert to Miles was effected through the marriage links between first Robert and Wigod’s daughter, and then Miles and Wigod’s granddaughter, the honour of Wigod and that of his successors was less a family inheritance than a deliberately created eleventh-century Anglo-Danish ‘castlery’ placed under the command of trustworthy kinsmen, possibly one that formalized an existing arrangement, originally based in defence and communication, that went back to the founding of the *burh*. Although the term ‘castlery’ is strictly accurate only after the castle was built, it aptly describes the function of Wallingford and its territory from the beginning. A parallel example is afforded by the royal borough of Nottingham. In an earlier work Roffe suggested that the post-Conquest honour at first sight has the look of a deliberately created Norman ‘castlery’ formed from the lands surrounding the city previously held by the disgraced Earl Tostig (brother of Harold) and held after 1066 by William Peverel, but which in fact appears to be a typical grant based on the holdings of Earl Tostig and his thegns, with the accompanying rights of sake and soke. Before the conquest of the East Midlands from the Danes by Alfred’s son Edward the Elder, Nottingham was something of a backwater of little significance. Thereafter it became an important frontier town, a role it retained throughout the Middle Ages (Roffe 1997). Nottingham, like Wallingford, was in a key strategic location that formed a crucial link between Yorkshire and the North and the heart of Mercia. The major reorganization of the 960s also saw its territory extended to include Derby and its shire, as well as Rutland, where much of the English queens’ dower lands

were located. Its territory was bolstered by its union with the neighbouring county of Derbyshire; although they remained distinct entities they were administered by a single sheriff. Stamford provides another interesting parallel (Roffe 1997; Roffe and Mahany 1986).

The parallels do not end there. After the death of Miles Crispin in 1107, his widow Matilda was remarried to Henry I's favourite Brien fitzCount (at least according to the account of the burgesses in an inquest of 1212 [BF, 116], though she must have been somewhat older than Brien and unlikely, as proved to be the case, to have been able to bear him a child). Brien was fabulously wealthy at the king's death in 1135, having been pardoned many of the customs owed on his lands, especially Danegeld, and having received further grants such as the honour of Abergavenny. A colourful and quixotic character of evident charisma, he was fiercely loyal to Henry's daughter and intended successor, the Empress Matilda, giving away his honour of Abergavenny to Miles of Gloucester in gratitude for the aid Miles had extended in helping to defeat one of the usurper King Stephen's attacks on Wallingford. Eventually, either injured, terminally ill or simply weary, he retired to a monastery, very probably nearby Reading Abbey, founded by Henry I and where that king's heart was interred. His wife retired to the vicinity of Bec soon afterwards. They surrendered the honour of Wallingford, together with the castle, to the Empress's son Henry duke of Normandy (BF, 116), who finally raised the siege of the castle in 1153 and was accepted as his successor by King Stephen. After his succession in 1154 Henry took several major baronial castles into his own hands, and ordered the destruction of those thrown up during Stephen's reign (Brown 1989, 90–121). Wallingford, both castle and honour, had already been re-absorbed into crown lands. Nottingham castle was taken back into royal custody, and its former constable, William Peverel II, declared forfeit of his honour for his poisoning of Ranulf earl of Chester, in 1155. When Henry's son and successor Richard I left for the Third Crusade in 1191, he granted the honours of Wallingford and Peverel to his younger brother John, but he deliberately withheld the grant of the castles, since these would have given him too much power.

By the time of the inquests that led to the writing of the Hundred Rolls between 1255 and 1279/80, both honours clearly emerge as important liberties; Wallingford was *libertas honoris Warengesfordie* (e.g., *Rot. Hund.* i, 9, 33, 42–3; ii, 6, 31, 777). A liberty was a collection of franchises, each of which represented a concession of some sort, whether freedom from certain dues and customs, other franchises associated with sake and soke such as the assize of bread and ale, or view of frankpledge. Rather more impressive was the liberty known as return of writs (*retornum brevium*), which entitled a baron to charge his own men with the execution of the king's writs, rather than admit the king's sheriff to his lands. Wallingford, then held by the king's brother Richard earl of Cornwall and king of Germany, and Peverel were among the few honours (others being Leicester and Warenne) to hold this franchise. The lists of the franchises that made up the liberty of the honour of Wallingford in the Hundred Rolls are indeed impressive. Even more impressive is the appearance of the honour, then

still in the hands of Henry II himself, in the Assize of Clarendon of 1164 (*EHD*, 440–43). This was a piece of legislation of the law and order sort; it established a routine circuit of justices in eyre and initiated trial by jury; it demanded that all communities and jurisdictions should cooperate with the king's officials in the pursuit of wrongdoers, and that this should apply 'even in the honour of Wallingford', a phrase twice repeated in the document. No other honour was mentioned. Bearing in mind that the king himself held the honour, this twice-repeated clause is telling evidence of the scale of the liberty that already attached to the honour, and that it was probably already of some antiquity, perhaps even going back before 1066. It is worth noting that whenever the honour was granted after Henry II's time it was always granted as the honour of Wallingford and its castle, followed by a separate grant of the royal borough. This may have been the case when the honour and castle were granted to Brien fitzCount, since he accounted for the farm of the borough in the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I (p.139) for 1129–30. The burgesses had suffered greatly during the civil war of Stephen's reign since the castle that so dominated the town and all their lives, was several times besieged. In recognition of their great support for his pursuit of his inheritance, Henry II granted them an extensive charter of liberties in 1155. Among the franchises granted was the right to have the town reeves render account for the farm of the borough, rather than the king's sheriff, a right they claimed to have enjoyed since the time of King Edward. Quite possibly they did have privileges going back to that time: Tait pointed out in 1936 that the Domesday texts showing that the reeve was forbidden to provide food out of the king's *census* for burgesses doing carrying services to royal manors suggests that the reeve was farming the borough; moreover, as soon as the Pipe Roll series begin (with 31 Henry I), the borough was farmed separately from the county; though the farmers varied – it was Brien fitzCount who answered for the farm in 1129/30 – it was normally never farmed by the sheriff (Tait 1936, 148). Liberties relating to freedom from dues and privileged trading conditions were compared in the charter text to those enjoyed by the king's burgesses of Winchester. At the time only London had a wider range of privileges than those granted to Wallingford (Tait 1936, 227–8; cf. *EHD*, pp. 1012–1045).

Conclusion

In conclusion, then, the Norman honour of Wallingford looked both to the past and to the future. Its origins seem clearly to have lain in a territory composed of royal lands assembled for defensive purposes at the time of the *burh*'s creation. Its links with royalty continued throughout its existence. The fate of the town or borough of Wallingford and its people was for centuries intimately bound up with the castle and hence with the honour. Surviving the horrors of the Black Death of 1348, the town's real nadir was reached in the 16th century when Henry VIII, who disliked the then unfashionable and ruinous castle, demoted Wallingford and its honour to become an appendage of the manor of Ewelme, not to mention the vandalism of the Dissolution which saw the destruction of Holy Trinity Priory.

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Appendix. Analysis of honour of Wallingford holdings 1066–c.1129

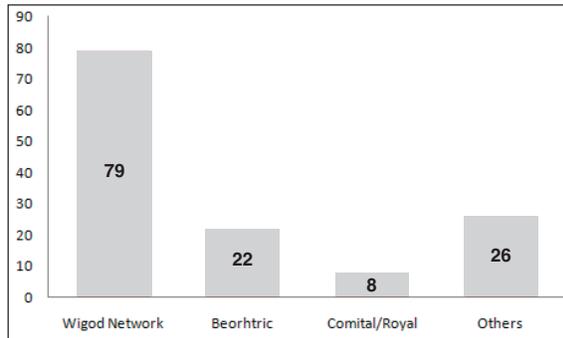


Figure 6.4 Analysis by predecessor in 1066 of the principal holdings of the honour c.1129.

Breakdown of honour holdings: abbreviations used

- ER Earl Roger
- MC Miles Crispin
- RO Robert d'Oilly
- TIC Tenant-in-chief
- + standard county abbreviations

The tables are primarily concerned with the holdings known or likely to have been held by Wigod or members of his family. They illustrate the Latin of the Domesday text, showing where the 1066 holder's privileges associated with sake and soke can be clearly seen in the simple *X tenuit [de rege]* formula. The names of the holders in 1066 are sometimes omitted in Domesday Book, as in 14 entries in Table 3.

Table 1. Manors Held by Wigod in 1066 (* manors that did not pass to the honour).

DB Ref	Manor	TIC 1086	Wigot 1066	Tenant 1086
GDB, 26v: DB Ss 12,21	Aldrington*	William de Warenne	Wigot tenuit de rege	Godfrey
GDB, 28v: DB Ss 11,15	Bepton + site in Chichester*	ER	Wigot tenuit de rege	Geoffrey
GDB, 129: DB Mx 7,4	Harlington	ER	Wigot tenuit	Alfred/Olaf
GDB, 129: DB Mx 7,5	Colham	ER	Wigot tenuit de rege	ER
GDB, 71: DB Wl 28,12	Manton	MC	Wigod tenuit	Rainald
GDB, 71: DB Wl 28,9	Rodbourne Cheney	MC	Wigod tenuit	Rainald
GDB, 150: DB Bu 23,12	Quainton	MC	Wigot de Walingeford tenuit	MC
GDB, 150: DB Bu 23,7	Shabbington	MC	Wigot de Walingeford tenuit	MC
GDB, 169v: DB Gl 64,3	Alderley	MC	Wigot tenuit	MC
GDB, 169v: DB Gl 64, 1	Brawn	MC	Wigot tenuit	MC
GDB, 159v: DB Ox 35,18	Chesterton	MC	Wigot tenuit	William
GDB, 159v: DB Ox 35,31	Cuxham	MC	Wigot tenuit	Alfred
GDB, 159: DB Ox 35,1	Gatehampton in Goring	MC	Wigot tenuit	MC
GDB, 61v: DB Bk 33,9	Langley in Tilehurst	MC	Leuard et non potuit ire quolibet absque licentia Wigoti	Leafweard
GDB,62: DB Bk 41,2	Letcombe Basset	RO	Wigot de rege	RO
GDB, 158: DB Ox 28,2	Goring	RO	Wigot tenuit	
GDB, 23v: DB Ss 11,15	Broadwater*	William of Braose	Wigot tenuit de rege	Robert

Table 2. Manors held in 1066 by Toki.

DB ref	Manor	TIC 1086	Toki 1066	Holder 1086
GDB, 129: DB Middlx, 7,8	Ickenham	ER	Tochi Huscarl Edwardi	various
GDB, 149: DB Bucks, 19,1	Iver	RO	Tochi teignus regis tenuit	RO of his wife's fee
GDB, 71: DB Wilts, 28,8	Brinkworth	MC	Tochi tenuit	Humphrey
GDB, 73: DB Wilts, 62,1	Chippenham	Rainald Canute	Toki	Rainald Canute

Table 3. Manors having clear or inferable connection with Wigod in 1066 (* manors that did not pass to the honour).

DB ref	Manor	TIC 1086	Holder 1066	Holder 1086
GDB, 150: DB Bucks, 23,8	Ickford	MC		Richard
GDB 159v: DB Oxon 35,32	Alkerton	MC		MC
GDB, 159v: DB Oxon, 35,27	Kingston Blount	MC		Humphrey
GDB, 159: DB Oxon, 35,4	Kingston Blount	MC		MC
GDB, 159v: DB Oxon, 35,28	Nethercote	MC		Tovi
GDB, 159v: DB Oxon, 35,30	Watcombe	MC		Geoffrey
GDB, 159v: DB Oxon, 35,26	Harpsden	MC		Alfred
GDB, 159v: DB Oxon, 35,16	Draycot	MC		Richard
GDB, 159v: DB Oxon, 35,5	Nethercote	MC		MC
GDB, 159v: DB Oxon, 35,8	Mapledurham	MC		MC
GDB, 159v: DB Oxon, 35,15	Thomley	MC		Roger
GDB, 159v: DB Oxon, 35,33	Swyncombe	MC		monks Bec
GDB, 159v: DB Oxon, 35,29	Garsington	MC		Toli
GDB, 158: DB Oxon, 28,17	Stratton Audley	RO		Alward
GDB, 158: DB Oxon, 28,12	Heyford	RO		Roger
GDB, 158v: DB Oxon, 28,23	Rousham	RO		Rainald
GDB, 158: DB Oxon, 41,10	Wheatfield	RO		Peter
GDB, 158: DB Oxon, 28,5	Bicester	RO		RO
GDB, 212: DB Bd, 19,2	Milton Earnest	MC	duo liberi	MC
GDB, 71: DB Wl, 28,6	Walcot	MC	Alnod tenuit et Leuenot tenuit	Rainbald
GDB, 159: DB Oxon, 35,3	Aston Rowant	MC	Aluric et uoluit ire potuit	MC
GDB, 129: DB Mx, 7,3	Harmondsworth	ER	Aluuin homo Wigot	ER
GDB, 50v: DB Hm 69,40	Clere Privet	MC	Aluuius tenuit sub Wigoto pro tuitione	Aluuius sub Milone
GDB, 225: DB Nth, 28,2	Thenford	RO	Azor tenuit libere	Roger
GDB, 71: DB Wl, 28,10	Chedglow	MC	duo taini tenuerunt	Siward
GDB, 159: DB Oxon, 35,10	North Stoke	MC	Eduin tenuit	MC
GDB, 62: DB Bk, 41,4	Ardington	RO	Edwin liber homo	RO
GDB, 129: DB Mx, 7,7	Dawley	ER	Godwin Alfit homo Wigoti tenuit	Alnoth
GDB, 71: DB Wl, 28,10	Walcot	MC	Leofnoth	
GDB, 166v: DB Gl, 27,1	Hampton Meysey	ER	Leofnoth tenuit	Turold nepos Wigot
GDB, 61v: DB Bk, 33,5	Betterton	MC	Leofric monachus [Wigod usurped -Ab Chron]	William
GDB, 71: DB Wl, 28,1	Wootton Basset	MC	Leuenod tenuit	MC
GDB, 71: DB Wl, 28,13	Draycot Foliat	MC	Leuenot tenuit	Rainald
GDB, 71: DB Wl, 28,1	Hazelbury	MC	Leuenot tenuit	Rainald
GDB, 159v: DB Oxon, 35,20	Henton	MC	Leuenot tenuit	William
GDB, 159: DB Oxon, 35,9	Whitchurch	MC	Leuric et Aluuius libere tenuerunt	MC
GDB, 150: DB Bucks, 23,11	Hollington	MC	non uendere	Nigel
GDB, 159: DB Oxon, 35,24	Berrick Salome	MC	Ordgar et pater suus et auunculus tenuerunt libere	Ordgar
GDB, 159: DB Oxon, 35,25	Gangsdow in Nuffield	MC	Ordgar et pater suus et auunculus tenuerunt libere	Ordgar
GDB, 150: DB Bucks, 23,33	Wavendon	MC	Ordwig	Almar of Wootton
GDB, 34v: DB Sr, 18,4	Loseley*	ER	Osmund tenuit de rege	Turold [nepos Wigoti]
GDB, 34v: DB Sr, 18,3	Worplesdon*	ER	Osmund tenuit de rege	Turold [nepos Wigoti]
GDB, 34v: DB Sr, 18,2	Burpham *	ER	Osmund tenuit de rege	Turold [nepos Wigoti], Godric
GDB, 44v: DB Hm, 21,5	Houghton*	ER	Osmund tenuit de rege	Turold [nepos Wigoti]
GDB 68v: DB Wl 21,2	Milston	ER	Osmundus [tainus] tenuit TRE	Turold [nepos Wigoti]
GDB 68v: DB Wl 21,1	Castle Easton	ER	Osmundus [tainus] tenuit TRE	Turold [nepos Wigoti]
GDB 44c: DB Hm 21,3	Penton Mewsey	ER	Osmundus tenuit in alodium de rege Edwardo pro manerio	Turold [nepos Wigoti]
GDB, 218: DB Bd, 19,3	Thurleigh	RO	Ouiet teignus regis et uendere potuit	Richard Basset
GDB, 61v: DB Bk, 33,4	Clapcot	MC	Safford liber homo	Harold
GDB, 62: DB Bk, 41,5	Ardington	RO	Sauuinus liber homo	RO
GDB, 159: DB Oxon, 35,13	Cowley	MC	Toli libere tenuit	Toli
GDB, 159: DB Oxon, 35,6	Chalgrave	MC	Turchil libere tenuit	MC
GDB, 129: DB Mx, 7,6	Hillingdon	ER	Vlf et potuit de eo facere quod uoluit	ER
GDB, 159: DB Oxon, 35,3	Aston Rowant	MC	Vlstan libere tenuit	MC
GDB, 159: DB Oxon, 35,7	Rotherfield Peppard	MC	Vluric libere tenuit	MC
GDB, 159: DB Oxon, 35,22	Britwell Salome	MC	Wlstanus libere tenuit	Amalric
GDB, 61v: DB Bk, 33,3	Clapcot	MC	Wulfnoth liber homo	MC
GDB, 159: DB Oxon, 35,21	Adwell	MC	Wulstanus libere tenuit	William

Table 4. Manors held by Beorhtric or his men in 1066.

DB ref	Manor	TiC 1086	Beorhtric or his men 1066
GDB, 137v: DB Herts, 19,1	Tiscott	RO	duo homines Brictrici
GDB, 150: DB Bucks 23,18	Soulbury	MC	Almar homo Brictrici non potuit uendere
GDB, 149: DB Bucks, 23,22	Wingrave	MC	Almarus homo Brictric et uendere potuit
GDB, 149: DB Bucks, 19,20	Wycombe	RO	Brictric tenuit de regina
GDB, 150: DB Bucks 23,21	Wingrave	MC	Brictric homo regine uendere potuit
GDB, 150: DB Bucks 23,14	Waddesdon	MC	Brictric homo regina tenuit
GDB 149v: DB Bucks 19, 4	Marsworth	RO	Brictric tainus regis tenuit uendere potuit
GDB, 150v: DB Bucks 23,29	Stewkley	MC	Brictric teignus regis tenuit et uendere potuit
GDB 159v: DB Oxon 35,14	Somerton	MC	Brictric tenuit
GDB 159v: DB Oxon 35,12	Wainhill	MC	Brictric tenuit
GDB 150: DB Bucks 23,23	Littlecote	MC	Herch homo Brictrici et uendere potuit
GDB 150: DB Bucks 23,13	Beachendon	MC	homo Brictric et homo Azoris et uendere potuerunt
GDB, 150: DB Bucks 23,21	Wingrave	MC	Lemar homo Brictric et uendere potuit
GDB, 212: DB Beds 19,3	Thurleigh	MC	Leofric homo Brixtrici et uendere potuit
GDB, 151: DB Bucks 35,3	Burston	MC	Leofsi homo Brictrici
GDB 150v: DB Bucks 23,28	Horton	MC	Leofsi homo Brictrici et uendere potuit
GDB, 150: DB Bucks 23,26	Pitstone	MC	Leofsi homo Brictrici et uendere potuit
GDB, 150: DB Bucks 23,27	Pitstone	MC	Leofsi homo Brictrici et uendere potuit
GDB, 150: DB Bucks 23,24	Hardwick	MC	Osulf homo Brictric et uendere potuit
GDB, 150: DB Bucks 23, 17	Marston	MC	Seric homo Brictrici et uendere potuit
GDB, 150: DB Bucks 23, 11	Shortley	MC	teigni homines Brictrici et uendere potuerunt
GDB, 150: DB Bucks 23, 06	Aston	MC	Vluric et Coleman homines Brictrici tenuerunt et uendere potuerunt

Table 5. Comital or royal manors 1066

DB ref	Manor	TIC 1086	Tenant 1066	Tenant 1086
GDB, 129v: DB Bu, 23,2	Dorney	MC	Aldred homo Morcari comitis tenuit et uendere potuit	Ralph
GDB, 129v: DB Bu, 23,5	Saunderton	MC	Alric homo Heraldi comitis tenuit	Osbert
GDB, 129v: DB Bu, 23,1	Upton	MC	Alricus teignus tenuit	Alric
GDB, 71: DB Wl 28,1	Clyffe Pypard	MC	Harold [comes] tenuit	Humphrey
GDB, 150: DB Bu, 23,10	Chearsley	MC	tenuit Alden homo Haraldi et uendere potuit	Richard
GDB, 71: DB Wl 28,2	Chilton Foliat	MC	Heraldus comes tenuit	Rainald
GDB, 71: DB Wl, 28,11	Ogbourne	MC	Heraldus comes tenuit	MC
GDB, 159: DB Ox, 28,11	Haseley	MC	Edith regina	MC

Table 6. Manors held by thegns not known to be connected with Wigod's family

DB Ref	Manor Name	TIC 1086	Tenant 1066	Tenant 1086
GDB, 129: DB, Middx 7,1	Hatton	ER	duo sochemanni Alberti Lothariensis	ER
GDB, 129: DB, Middx 7,8	Ickenham	ER	Aluuius homo Vlsi filius Manni	3 men and an Englishman
GDB, 218: DB Bd, 28,2	Thurleigh	RO	Aluuius homo Wluui episcopi et uendere potuit	Salomon priest
GBD 159v: DB Oxon 35,17	Marsh Baldon	MC	Azur tenuit	Geoffrey
GDB 61v: DB Berks 33.2	Sulham	MC	Baldwin de rege	William
GDB 61v: DB Berks 33.1	Pangbourne	MC	Baldwin de rege	William
GBD 159v: DB Oxon 35,19	Heyford	MC	Besi libere tenuit	Ralph
GDB 150v: DB Bucks 23,32	Stantonbury	MC	Bisi teignus regis tenuit et uendere potuit	Ralph
GDB 61v: DB Berks 33.7	Eaton	MC	Bosi tenuit de rege	Alfred
GDB 71: DB Wiltss 28,2	Littlecott	MC	Godric tenuit	Turchetil
GDB 61v: DB Berks 33.6	Appleton	MC	Halden tenuit	Richard
GDB 61v: DB Berks 33.8	Eaton	MC	Halden tenuit de rege	Richard
GDB 169v: DB Glocs 64,2	Cherington	MC	Haminc tenuit de rege	Geoffrey
GDB 149v: DB Bucks 23,3	Hitcham	MC	Haming teignus tenuit et uendere potuit	Ralph and Roger
GDB 150: DB Bucks 23,15	E Claydon	MC	duo homines Haming et uendere potuerunt	same
GBD 159v: DB Oxon 35,11	Newnham Murren	MC	Ingelri tenuit	MC
GBD 159v: DB Oxon 35,34	Somerton	MC	Ketel tenuit	Rainald
GDB 150v: DB Bucks 23,30	Addington	MC	Leafwin homo Edwini tenuit et uendere potuit	Edwulf

DB Ref	Manor Name	TIC 1086	Tenant 1066	Tenant 1086
GDB 36v: DB Surry 29,2	Chessington	MC	Magnus Swarthy	MC
GDB 150v: DB Bucks 23,31	Bradwell	MC	Sibi et Goduin homines Alrici filii Goding et uendere potuerunt	William [fitz Tuold]
GDB 168v: DB Gloucs 48,1	Little Rissington	RO	Siuuardus tenuit	RO
GDB 168v: DB Gloucs 48,2	Upper Turkdean	RO	Siuuardus tenuit	RO
GDB 36v: DB Surrey 29,1	Beddington	MC	Vlf tenuit de rege	William fitz Tuold
GDB 129: DB Middx 7,8	Ickenham	ER	duo liberi Vluuardi	
GDB 150: DB Bucks 23,9	Ashendon	MC	Wichinus vendere potuit	Viking