VII.—EARL WALTHEOF OF NORTHUMBRIA.*

By Forrest S. Scott.

I.

The chief point of interest in Waltheof is that he was one of the few Englishmen who, like bishop Wulfstan of Worcester and abbot Æthelwig of Evesham in the ecclesiastical sphere, remained in office for several years after the Conquest. In Waltheof William saw a man whom he thought he could trust to rule a large part of England for him, but after Waltheof's implication in a conspiracy the king decided that the experiment involved too great a risk and had him executed.

The interest of Waltheof's story, however, extends over a much longer period than his ten or eleven years' tenure of office as earl. On his mother's side he was the representative of a long line of English earls of Northumbria, descended, perhaps, although there is no proof, from the ancient Northumbrian kings. Through his father he was associated with the Scandinavian settlers of Yorkshire and with the days of the Danish king Cnut. Through his daughter's first marriage he became the ancestor of a line of Norman earls and through her second the ancestor of Malcolm IV and all succeeding kings of Scotland.

His own character is not, perhaps, very attractive to the modern reader, but in his day he was felt important enough to be commemorated by two very different classes of men; an Icelander, one of his followers, wrote a *flokkr* in his honour, and the monks of Crowland abbey, where

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he was buried, venerated him as a saint and wrote his *vita*. His life has therefore added interest because it branches out in so many directions and touches on so many periods and places.

The following are the main sources of Waltheof's life. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*[1] records briefly the chief known events of his life, including the conspiracy in which he was fatally involved, though for this period it is not so detailed or reliable as it is for the reign of Edward the Confessor when his father, Siward, performed most of his deeds. Several English Latin historians refer to Waltheof, especially Florence of Worcester, who seems to have used a lost version of the *Chronicle*, and William of Malmesbury; both of these write in the first half of the twelfth century. Of great importance are several works associated with Symeon of Durham.[2] These consist of *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*[3] by Symeon himself, *Historia Regum*,[4] a chronicle of complicated composition to which Symeon personally contributed probably only a few annals of the twelfth century, and a number of tracts, particularly *De Obsessione Dunelmi*,[5] committed to writing about the end of the eleventh century but containing older material, and *De Northymbrorum Comitibus*,[6] itself part of the tract *De Prima Saxonum Adventu*.[7] The fullest account of Waltheof's career appears

[1] Cited as *Chron.* or *The Chronicle*; best found in the edition of J. Earle and C. Plummer: *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, Oxford, 1892-99.

[2] Cited here as "Symeon", from the *Rolls Series* edition (no. 75), ed. T. Arnold (2 vols.), 1882-85. The *Historia Regum* and miscellaneous tracts were also edited by J. Hodgson Hinde: Surtees Society Publs. *51*, 1868.

[3] Cited as SHDE. [4] Cited as HR. [5] Cited as DOD. [6] Cited as DNC.

[7] HR, DOD and DNC contain slightly differing versions of a brief history of the earldom of Northumbria. Chronicles collaterally related to HR, such as Roger of Howden's work and the *Chronicle of Melrose*, place this *Earl's Chronicle* in its natural position after the expulsion of Eric, the last of the kings; the compiler of HR, however, for reasons arising from the complexity of the work, sought a fresh place for it and inserted it in the annal for 1072, the year in which Waltheof became earl. The chief purpose of DOD is to trace the descent of six estates belonging to the church of Durham which were given by bishop Aldhun as his daughter's dowry when she married earl Uhtred, but it also records the succession of the earls and carefully notes their relationships to each other and to other members of the family. The latest event mentioned in it is the slaying of the sons of Carl by Waltheof in 1073.

in the work of Orderic.[8] "Vital Angligena," as he liked to call himself, was born in England but taken by his Norman father to Normandy at an early age. He spent most of his life in the abbey of St. Évroul of Ouche, but on one occasion at least (between 1109 and 1124) revisited England and during this visit spent five weeks at the abbey of Crowland where he recorded the monks' traditions about the history of their house and about their patron Waltheof, whose cult was flourishing at the time. Orderic's history is of particular importance for the campaigns of William I, especially for the Northumbrian revolt of 1069-70 in which Waltheof took a leading part. Although Orderic wrote *c.* 1130, this part of his history is taken from the lost conclusion of the work of William of Poitiers, who was in king William's service, and its information may be regarded as almost contemporary. Unfortunately Orderic supplies few dates. Crowland tradition which Orderic used, is also preserved in a manuscript presumably written at Crowland and now in the *Bibliothèque Municipale* of Douai (MS. 852).[9] It contains several versions of a *Vita Waldevi*, an account of miracles performed at Waltheof's tomb and notes on Waltheof's widow Judith and his successors in the earldom of Huntingdon; its chief interest to-day is that it contains, inserted in the hagiographical matter, a life of Siward which is probably a Latin translation of recension of a Siward saga. On the whole, however, this manuscript deals with legend rather than history and as it seems to have so little bearing on the life of the real Waltheof I propose to exclude

[8] Cited as "Orderic", from Ordericus Vitalis: *Historiae Ecclesiasticae libri tredecim*, ed. A. le Prévost (4 vols.), Paris, 1838-55. It is translated by T. Forester, with notes and the introduction of Guizot, as *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy* (4 vols.), London, 1853-56.

[9] Cited as "Michel", from the edition of F. Michel: *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes* (3 vols.), Rouen, 1836-40. It has also been edited (from Michel) by J. A. Giles in *Vitae quorundam Anglo-Saxonum* (Caxton Society), London, 1854. John Leland saw the manuscript at Crowland in the sixteenth century and copied parts of it; his transcript has been edited by Lucy T. Smith: *Leland's Itinerary in England* (5 vols.), London, 1907-10, II, 130-142, and an edition based on Leland appears in Jakob Langebek's *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Aevi* (9 vols.), Copenhagen, 1772-1878. Langebek's edition contains an introduction and many well-considered notes.

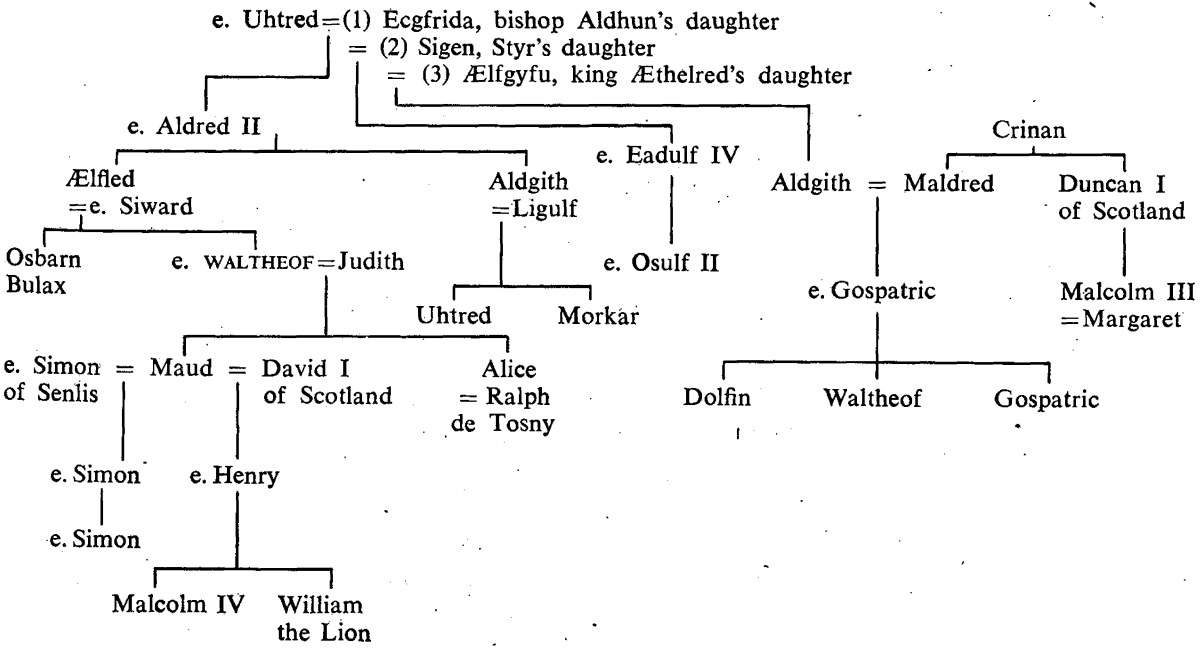
the greater part of its evidence. Finally some information about Waltheof's life and earldoms and especially about lands held by him or Judith comes from charters and from Domesday Book.[10]

Waltheof was the son of a marriage between Siward, a Danish adventurer, and Ælfled (WS Ælfflæd), the female representative of the house of earls of Northumbria. The ancestors of his mother had ruled Northumbria, sometimes the whole earldom, sometimes only the part north of the Tees, from the beginning of the tenth century when the records first begin to reveal settled government in the north after the Danish invasions. It is quite possible, though there is no proof, that they were descended from the ancient family of Northumbrian kings. Their territory included the modern counties of Northumberland and Durham, though Durham, as the lands of St. Cuthbert, was already attaining its special position under ecclesiastical rule; Lothian, to the north of Tweed, which had been part of the kingdom of Northumbria, was lost to the Scots probably as early as the middle of the tenth century. Cumberland, most of which had been conquered by the Northumbrian kings in the seventh century, was severed from English rule during the unrest which the Danish invasions caused and in the tenth century it usually formed part of the British kingdom of Strathclyde. Yorkshire was settled by the Danish armies in 876 and until 954 was usually ruled by a Scandinavian king, most often a Norwegian, with York as the royal seat. In 954 Eric Blood-axe, the last of the kings of York, was expelled and his kingdom placed under the Northumbrian earls whose seat was at Bamburgh. Occasionally a single earl ruled the whole province from Forth to Humber but more often a deputy seems to have been appointed for the lands south of Tees. Twice Yorkshire had a Scandinavian ruler once more, first when

[10] Cited, as DB, from the Records Commissioners' edition by A. Farley and H. Ellis, London, 1783-1816, and from translations in volumes of the *Victoria History of the Counties of England* (VCH).

TABLE SHOWING FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS OF EARL

WALTHEOF



Cnut divided England into four and gave Northumbria to Eric of Hlathir, former ruler of Norway,[11] and again when Siward acquired the earldom of southern Northumbria, probably towards the end of Cnut's reign. Siward married the daughter of earl Aldred II and in Hardacnut's reign (*c.* 1041) took over the whole of Northumbria and killed the ruling earl, Eadulf IV, his wife's uncle.

Siward probably entered Cnut's service in the last few years of his reign. He ruled his earldom vigorously and firmly and on one occasion showed the clerks of Durham that he was not to be trifled with.[12] He was consistently a supporter of the king, helping Hardacnut in the sack of Worcester and Edward the Confessor in the Godwine crisis of 1051. His most famous exploit was his expedition into Scotland against Macbeth in 1054 which he undertook, with Edward's backing, in support of Malcolm, son of the former king, Duncan. On this occasion his elder son, Osbarn, and his nephew, Siward, were killed,[13] and young Waltheof, Siward's second son, became his heir. Siward's deeds were famous long afterwards and a Latin account of them[14] was preserved at Crowland along with the life and miracles of Waltheof as has been mentioned above.[15] Siward's Scottish victory was not quite complete; he drove Macbeth out of southern Scotland but it was not until 1057 that Malcolm finally defeated and killed him. In 1055 Siward died at York, protesting, if the legend is to be believed, against the "cow's disease" of which he was dying, and demanding to be dressed in his full armour so that he might die upright

[11] Northern Northumbria appears still to have been ruled by an English earl, Eadulf (III) Cudel (Symeon, I, 218, DOD); II, 197 (HR) and 383 (DNC).

[12] Symeon, I, 91 (SHDE).

[13] Shakespeare's "young Siward" (*Macbeth* V vii), taken over from Holinshed, is a confusion of these two.

[14] Michel, II, 104-111.

[15] On "Siward's Saga" see C. E. Wright: *The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England* (Edinburgh, 1939), pp. 127ff.; A. H. Smith: "Literary Relations of England and Scandinavia" (*Saga Book of the Viking Society*, XI, 255f.); and A. Olrik: "Siward Digri of Northumberland" (*Saga Book*, VI, 212-237).

with harness on his back as befitted a soldier.[16] He was buried at York in the church which he had built and dedicated to St. Olaf.

II.

It is difficult to tell when Waltheof was born. The only precise statement on the subject is that of the unreliable *Vita Waldevi* which says that Waltheof was born at the time of his father's expedition to Scotland, 1054. This is hardly likely, since it would make him only fifteen when he performed his most famous deeds at the siege of York. Moreover, he was capable of transacting business in 1066, for in that year, according to the Surrey Domesday, he acquired (Upper) Tooting from its previous owner Sweyn and mortgaged it with Alnod of London, apparently a wealthy citizen, for two marks of gold.[17] Henry of Huntingdon states, more vaguely, that at Siward's death in 1055 Waltheof was "adhuc parvulus" and incapable of succeeding to his father's possessions. It seems most likely that Waltheof was, if not an infant, not more than a young boy when his father died at York. The few years preceding 1050 seem as near an approximation for the date as is possible. J. H. Ramsay[18] disputes that Waltheof was very young in 1055 on the evidence of a document dealing with lands claimed by Peterborough Abbey.[19] According to it a woman called Godgive (WS Godgifu) bequeathed to Peterborough two vills, in Ryhall[20] and Belmesthorp,[21] both in Rutland. Later Godgive married earl Siward and on her death shortly afterwards abbot Leofric allowed Siward to retain the lands until his death. Then after Siward's death

[16] Henry of Huntingdon: *Rolls Series 74*, p. 194, and Michel, II, 110f.
[17] DB, fo. 32b; VCH *Surrey*, I, 306. The transaction is recorded as having taken place 'after the death of king Edward', a euphemism for the reign of Harold II.
[18] *Foundations of England*, London, 1898, I, 472f.
[19] J. M. Kemble: *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, London, 1839-48, 927.
[20] National Grid Reference (GR) 53/036109.
[21] GR 53/043102.

an arrangement was made between Waltheof and the same abbot in the presence of king Edward that Waltheof should retain Ryhall during his lifetime but that Belmesthorp should pass to the abbey. The existence of Siward's second wife and the fact that she predeceased him does mean that Waltheof cannot have been born immediately before Siward's death and the charter also certainly confirms that Waltheof was old enough before the death of Edward in January 1066 to deal in property. But as the document itself says that Godgive did not live long after her marriage to Siward and as Siward may not have long survived her, there is nothing to prevent this marriage having been as late as, say, 1053. And if, as is possible, it took place not long after the death of Waltheof's mother Ælfled, Waltheof's birth could well have been as late as 1050 which would make him about five (still "parvulus") on Siward's death and about fifteen on Edward's death. At this age he would probably be old enough to make the agreement with abbot Leofric, though it is more likely that he was just a little older and born therefore *c.* 1045-50.

On Waltheof's name, borne also by his maternal great-great-grandfather, see E. V. Gordon: "Wealhþeow and Related Names" (*Medium Aevum* IV (1935) pp. 169-175), where he identifies ON Valþjófr with OE Wealhþeow and explains the names as meaning 'chosen servant'. Valþjófr is a not uncommon Old Norse name and the name Waltheof appears several times in England in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Crowland tradition seems to suggest that Waltheof was a pious youth since Orderic, who drew on it, relates that during Waltheof's imprisonment he recited daily the hundred and fifty psalms which he had learned as a boy.[22] This may mean that Waltheof had meant to become a monk; if so, this intention may have been changed when his elder brother was killed.

Certainly Waltheof was young enough in 1055 for the

[22] Orderic, II, 266.

Godwine family to take advantage of his inexperience, for Tostig Godwine's son was appointed earl of all Northumbria.[23] In 1065, however, the Northumbrians, exasperated by Tostig's misrule, rose against him and demanded as their earl Morkar, the brother of Edwin, earl of Mercia. In choosing their earl the insurgents seem not to have considered either of the representatives of the old Bamburgh family—Waltheof in the (elder) female line and Osulf, son of Eadulf IV, in the younger (male) line. Osulf (II) was, however, entrusted by Morkar with the government of Northumbria north of Tyne, the old division of the earldom being thus to some extent maintained.[24] Waltheof may, however, have benefited by this revolt against Tostig in 1065 as it probably led to his becoming an earl. Certainly he was an earl before being given Northumbria in 1072,[25] and his other earldom was certainly the one which is described alternatively as that of Huntingdon or Northampton. It possibly included also the counties of Cambridge, Bedford and Rutland.

The origin of this small earldom is obscure. Siward seems to have held it from *c.* 1051 to his death and it may possibly be identified with the earldom of the *Mediterranei* said by Florence of Worcester to have been held by a certain Thuri in Hardacnut's reign.[26] *Angli Mediterranei* was Bede's name for the Middle Angles[27] who occupied the region between the Mercians and the East Angles; its limits are not clearly defined. Thuri's earldom contained Huntingdonshire as appears from a writ of Hardacnut and his mother.[28] Like Siward's other earldom of Northumbria, that of Huntingdon and Northampton seems to have been given to Tostig on his death. It was to Northampton that the Northumbrians who had rebelled against Tostig made their way after killing his men and looting his possessions

[23] *Chron.*, 1055, D, E, F.
[24] Symeon, II, 198.
[25] See below, p. 192.
[26] s.a. 1041.
[27] *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, xxi.
[28] *Rolls Series 83*, p. 151. It is addressed to earl Turri and all the thegns of the county of Huntingdon.

at York. It was there also that Harold, earl of Wessex, who had been sent by king Edward to meet them, tried without success to persuade them to come to terms with Tostig. Perhaps the insurgents hoped to find Tostig at Northampton. Actually, he was then with the king at Britford.[29]

The question arises: when did Waltheof receive this earldom? According to Orderic Waltheof was given the earldom of Northampton on his marriage (*c* 1070),[30] but there is no reason to doubt the English sources which make him an earl before then, in particular on the occasion when he accompanied William to Normandy in 1067.[31] It is inconceivable that William created him an earl in the short period between Hastings in October 1066 and the spring of 1067; moreover numerous entries in Domesday Book leave no doubt that he was an earl *tempore Regis Edwardi*. Waltheof therefore was in possession of his earldom of Huntingdon before the Conquest.

The most likely occasion for Waltheof's acquisition of this earldom is when in 1065 Tostig was expelled from Northumbria and left England to seek foreign help. This is the conclusion arrived at by Freeman[32] who relied on a Huntingdonshire Domesday entry for Hail Weston,[33] which suggests that this holding, and therefore probably the earldom with which it was associated, passed directly from Tostig to Waltheof.[34] Yet against this single piece of

[29] *Chron.*, 1065 C, D, 1064 E (*recte* 1065).

[30] Orderic, II, 221.

[31] *Chron.*, 1066 D (*recte* 1067).

[32] E. A. Freeman: *The Norman Conquest* (5 vols.), Oxford, 1867-79, II (3rd edition), 575.

[33] GR 52/166622.

[34] Entered under the lands of Eustace the sheriff, one and a half hides in "Westone" were said to belong, in the days of king Edward, to one Ælget; at the time of the survey Waltheof's widow, countess Judith, claimed it against Eustace (DB, fo. 206c; VCH *Hunts.*, I, 350). A later entry in the section called *Clamores*, in which sworn statements by the men of the hundred were recorded concerning lands in dispute, reads: 'Touching a hide and a half of land which were Elget's, the jurors say that this Ælget held them of earl Tosti, with sake and soke, and afterwards of Wallef' (DB, fo. 208b; VCH *Hunts.*, I, 354).

evidence that Tostig was immediately succeeded by Waltheof must be placed the fact that several of Tostig's manors undoubtedly passed into the hands of king Edward. The large manors of Eynesbury[35] and Great Paxton[36] in Huntingdonshire and Potton[37] in Bedfordshire, which all belonged to Judith in 1086, had previously belonged to king Edward. Of these certainly Potton (with its berewicks, Cockayne Hatley, Everton and Chalton), probably Eynesbury (with berewick "Cotes"),[38] and possibly Paxton with berewick Buckworth),[39] had at some time belonged to Tostig. The entries for Potton and its berewick Chalton[40] clearly state, "Hoc manerium tenuit rex Edwardus et fuit comitis Tosti."[41] The other berewicks, Cockayne Hatley,[42] Everton,[43] and a small holding of half a virgate in Potton are said to have belonged to earl Tostig in his manor of Potton.[44] If Waltheof was earl of Huntingdon before the Conquest he would surely be in possession of those lands which his predecessor Tostig had held and which later belonged to his widow and suc-

[35] GR 52/186594.

[36] GR 52/210640.

[37] GR 52/224491.

[38] According to DB, a holding of hour hides in "Cotes" (? Caldecote in Eynesbury Hardwicke, *Place-names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire* (*English Place-name Society*, III), p. 259) in Toseland hundred belong to earl Tostig, T.R.E. The soke and all its customs belonged to Eynesbury. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that Eynesbury, too, had belonged to Tostig. But according to the survey, Eynesbury was held T.R.E. not by Tostig or Waltheof but by king Edward (DB, fo. 206d; VCH *Hunts.*, I, 351).

[39] Similarly, one Tosti held, T.R.E., Buckworth (GR 52/148762), a berewick of Paxton, while Paxton itself is recorded as being owned by Edward (DB, fo. 205c and 207a; VCH *Hunts.*, I, 347 and 352). This Tostig is identified by Sir Frank Stenton in VCH *Hunts.* (I, 335) with the earl, though it is quite possible that this man was not the earl but the person described in the *Clamores* as Tosti of Sawtry (DB, fo. 208c; VCH *Hunts.*, I, 335 and note); he was buried at Ramsey (*Chronicle of Ramsey, Rolls Series 83*, p. 175).

[40] GR 52/144500.

[41] DB, fo. 217c and 217d; VCH *Beds.*, I, 258 and 260.

[42] GR 52/262496.

[43] GR 52/201511.

[44] Actually Chalton did not belong to Judith in 1086, but this makes no difference to the present case. It was clearly still associated with the manor of Potton. It is entered among the lands of Alice, wife of Hugh of Grentemaisnil and the entry reads, "Haec terra fuit Berewica de Potone (Manerium Juditae comitissae) T.R.E. ita quod nullus inde separare potuit."

cessor Judith. The most probable explanation is that on Tostig's leaving England his midland property was at first seized by the king, who held it for a short time and then gave it to Waltheof with the earldom. To arrive at this conclusion it is necessary to assume an inconsistency in the way in which the T.R.E. state of affairs was reported in the Domesday Survey. This seems, however, to be a reasonable assumption. By this hypothesis Tostig, Edward and Waltheof all held the earldom within a year; the jurors in 1086 were being asked to remember the exact state of affairs twenty years before and they might well have given as owner of the manors which belonged to the earldom any of the three who held that earldom about that time.[45]

Another question which arises in connection with Waltheof's earldom is its extent. There is no doubt that it included Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire. The Crowland tradition remembered Waltheof as earl of both shires[46] and, as has been said above, Orderic referred to him as earl of Northampton.

Like some other boroughs, Huntingdon rendered a third of its revenue to the earl, the other two thirds going to the king. This is stated in the preamble to the Huntingdonshire Domesday, which deals with the borough of Huntingdon.[47] The unnamed earl there referred to, who received this revenue in 1066, is presumably Waltheof. The entry, as translated in VCH *Hunts.*, I, 338 reads:

[45] This also accounts for the fact that at first sight Tostig seems to have held very few of the lands which were later associated with the earldom of Huntingdon. Another example of the incompleteness of the evidence for the 1066 ownership of land is the way in which certain information is only forthcoming when there is a dispute about ownership in 1086. For instance, the information that Tostig and Waltheof were once lords of Ælget's holding in Hail Weston is only given because Judith questioned the sheriff's right to it. A similar case is the hide which Godric the priest had held of Waltheof in Boughton (GR 52/193648; DB, fo. 206c and 208b; VCH *Hunts.*, I, 351 and 354). It is not mentioned in the body of the survey that Judith claimed this land of Eustace, but it is implied in the *Clamores*. If this hide in Boughton had not happened to be mentioned in the *Clamores* one would never have expected that it had been Waltheof's.

[46] Michel, II, 99.

[47] DS, fo. 203b.

The Borough of Huntingdon used to defend itself towards the king's geld for 50 hides as the fourth part of Hyrstingestan (Hurstingstone) hundred, but now it does not so pay geld in that hundred, after the king set a geld of money on the borough. From this whole borough, 10 li. came out T.R.E. by way of Landgable, of which the earl had the third part and the king two (thirds). Of this rent (*censu*), 16s and 8d between the earl and the king now remain upon 20 messuages where the castle is. In addition to these (renders) the king had 20 li. and the earl 10 li. from the farm of the borough, or more or less according as (each) could make disposition of (*collocare*) his part. One mill rendered 40s to the king, 20s to the earl. To this borough there belong (*iacent*) 2 ploughlands and 40 acres of land and 10 acres of meadow, of which the king, with two parts, and the earl, with the third part, divide the rent. The burgesses cultivate the land and take it on lease (*locant*) through the servants of the king and the earl. Within the aforesaid rent there are 3 fishermen rendering 3s. In this borough there were three moneyers rendering 40s between the king and the earl, but now they are not (there). T.R.E. it rendered 30 li., now the same.

In Northamptonshire Waltheof possessed many lands before the Conquest and Judith in 1086 had £7 of the issues of the borough of Northampton, which probably represents its "third penny".[48]

The earldom probably included also the modern Rutland. In this county Judith at the time of the survey was the chief lay tenant after the king, and before the Conquest Waltheof was the chief holder of land after queen Edith.[49]

That Bedfordshire was, at any rate in the twelfth century, a part of the earldom of Huntingdon or Northampton is shown by a series of charters edited by G. H. Fowler,[50] in which six earls make or confirm grants to religious houses from their revenues in Bedford. Fowler's no. 5 is a confirmation by Simon (II), earl of Northampton (Waltheof's grandson), of a grant of forty shillings from the revenues of Bedford made by his mother (Waltheof's daughter) to the

[48] DB, fo. 219a; VCH *Northants.*, I, 302.
[49] Cf. Stenton in VCH *Rutland*, I, 133.
[50] "The Shire of Bedford and the Earldom of Huntingdon" (*Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, IX (1925), pp. 23ff.).

monks of St. Andrew's priory, Northampton. In no. 6, earl Simon (II) refers to three marks of silver 'from my revenue in Bedford, that is from the third penny which belongs to my earldom'. No. 8 is a grant by king Malcolm IV (Waltheof's great-grandson) of his revenue of the third penny of Bedford to the nuns of St. Mary's convent, Elstow, but of this the nuns were to pay forty shillings a year to St. Andrew's, Northampton, and the same amount to St. Oswald's, Nostell, in Yorkshire.[51] Taking into account this evidence and the extent of Judith's holdings in Bedfordshire it is reasonable to presume that Bedfordshire formed part of the earldom in Waltheof's day also.

In Cambridgeshire members of the royal family of Scotland, Waltheof's descendants and his successors in the earldom of Huntingdon, were, at the end of the twelfth century, receiving an amount which seems to represent a third share in the revenues of the town of Cambridge similar to that described for Huntingdon in Domesday Book.[52] Consequently it seems reasonable to suppose that Cambridgeshire also was included in Waltheof's earldom. That Cambridgeshire, with the Isle of Ely, was included is also indicated by Waltheof's inclusion with Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, Remi, bishop of Lincoln, Picot, sheriff of Cambridgeshire, and Ilbert, sheriff of Hertfordshire, in a commission appointed by William to inquire into the losses which the abbey of Ely had suffered since the time of king Edward.[53] Moreover in 1142 the empress Maud in a charter to Aubrey de Vere refers to the possibility that the king of Scotland (David I, Waltheof's son-in-law) might be earl of Cambridge: 'And I grant that he (Aubrey) be earl of Cambridgeshire and have thence the third penny which the earl ought to have; this I say if the king of Scotland

[51] GR 44/445174.

[52] *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ed. E. W. Illingworth and J. Caley (for the Records Commissioners), 1812-18, II, 358a; cf. VCH *Hunts.*, I, 334, n. 5; F. W. Maitland: *Township and Borough*, Cambridge, 1898, p. 178.

[53] N. E. S. A. Hamilton: *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, London, 1876, p. 192.

does not possess that earldom.'[54] Actually Aubrey became earl, not of Cambridge, but of Oxford. According to Domesday Book and *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*,[55] Waltheof's "men" held much land in Cambridgeshire. His holdings in this county are, however, exceptional in that the majority of them did not pass to his widow.

Thus at the eve of the Conquest Waltheof was earl of a small group of counties in the east midlands which probably included the counties of Huntingdon, Northampton, Rutland, Bedford and Cambridge.

Waltheof's benefactions to the abbey of Crowland may date from the time when he was earl only of Huntingdon and its neighbouring shires since that is the title by which he was best remembered in the Crowland sources. Orderic says that he granted to the abbey the vill of Barnack in Northamptonshire.[56] This is mentioned in connection with abbot Ulfketel's rebuilding of the abbey church, and the gift was made because of the valuable quarries at Barnack.[57] The pseudo-Ingulf, though its evidence is practically worthless on such a point, dates the gift of Barnack 1061.[58] It is strange, however, that neither the abbot of Crowland nor Judith is credited with a holding in Barnack by Domesday Book. T.R.E., however, Barnack was held by Bundi or Bondi, who was almost certainly one of Waltheof's men.[59] Bondi had held Earl's Barton,[60] Oakley[61] and other lands in the same county and these were Judith's in 1086.[62] It is strange also that in spite of the eulogies bestowed by the

[54] Printed from a XVII transcript of the lost original in J. H. Round: *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, London, 1892, p. 181. Cf. Round's comments on this charter, pp. 190ff.

[55] Ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, *op. cit.*

[56] GR 53/078050.

[57] II, 285.

[58] Ed. W. Fulman in *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum tom., I*, Oxford, 1684, p. 67.

[59] DB, fo. 226b; VCH *Northants.*, I, 340.

[60] GR 42/853637.

[61] GR 42/869858.

[62] DB, fo. 228b, d; VCH *Northants.*, I, 351, 353.

monks of Crowland on their martyr earl there is no evidence, except for Orderic's mention of Barnack and its repetition in the pseudo-Ingulf, that he ever gave land to the abbey.

III.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* does not mention Waltheof before 1067 and there would be no reason to suppose that he was present at the battles of Fulford and Stamford Bridge against Harald of Norway or at Hastings against William of Normandy, were it not that some Icelandic sources, which at this point show a sudden and brief interest in his fortunes, definitely affirm his presence at these battles. For English history at this time they are hardly reliable sources because of their impossibilities and anachronisms,[63] and for Waltheof's life in particular they are suspect because of a confusion in his identity. He is introduced as one of the sons of Godwine and therefore as the brother of Harold and Gyrth; Morkar is made a member of the same family. The descendants of Edward's three great earls are thus all confused in one family.[64]

However, the silence of the English sources is not evidence that Waltheof was not present at these battles. It is true that *Vita Waldevi* says that Waltheof did not take part in the conflict when William the Bastard won England,[65] but this source can be shown to be completely unreliable. There is probably some truth in the Icelandic accounts even though it is not the whole truth. When

[63] E.g., the statement that Morkar was killed at Fulford (*Heimskringla*, ed. F. Jónsson (4 vols.), Copenhagen, 1893-1901), III, 198; trans. E. Monsen and A. H. Smith, Cambridge, 1932, p. 562) and that Harold's brother Sweyn was present at Hastings (*ib.*, III, 215 and p. 569).

[64] Freeman suggested that in Snorri's *Heimskringla* the name *Valþjófr* really represents Edwin, Morkar's brother, who was actually present at Fulford but it is not mentioned at all by Snorri (*Norman Conquest*, III (2nd edn.), 352, n. 2). However, this hypothesis will not account for other references to Waltheof in Icelandic sources.

[65] Michel, II, 111.

stanzas of poems survive in sagas these are older than the prose material which contains them and are probably therefore more trustworthy, but the prose may possibly be based on other, lost, poems, even though they may have been misunderstood. For instance, in several of the Icelandic accounts of Waltheof use is made of *Valþjósflokkr*, a skaldic poem which has survived. It seems to have been misinterpreted by the Icelandic historians and yet there is no reason to doubt that its author, the Icelander Thorkell Skallason, was actually one of Waltheof's followers and present with him. Thorkell refers to him as "minn harri", 'my lord'.

The two surviving skaldic poems which mention Waltheof are *Valþjófsflokkr* and the anonymous *Haraldzstikki*. The latter, a single stanza in *fornyrðislag*, is a conventional piece of battle description.[66] It is inserted in the account of the battle of Fulford[67] contained in the Icelandic histories *Heimskringla*,[68] *Hulda*[69] *and Hrokkinskinna*.[69] There seems to be no reason why the opponents of the Norwegians should be referred to as 'Waltheof's host' if Waltheof was not present, or at least thought to have been present. The passage in which this poem is quoted describes how Harald of Norway fought earls Morkar and Waltheof on the bank of the Ouse; Morkar was killed but Waltheof escaped up the river to York; this was on St. Matthew's eve (20th September), a Wednesday. On the following Sunday the inhabitants of York came to terms with Harald, who had moved his fleet to Stamford Bridge, and a meeting was arranged for the next day. But on the Monday Harald and his men were taken unawares by the arrival of Harold God-

[66] Modern English prose translation:

Harald's verse

Waltheof's host, struck down by weapons, lay fallen in the fen, so that the Norwegians, brave in battle, were able to walk across treading only on corpses.

[67] GR 44/610490.

[68] F. Jónsson, III, 199; Monsen and Smith, p. 562.

[69] *Fornmanna Sögur* (12 vols.), Copenhagen, 1825-37, VI, 408.

wine's son and were defeated by him. Waltheof is not mentioned again in this campaign, but the saga presumably implies that he was among the inhabitants of York who agreed to support Harald of Norway. Unlike *Heimskringla* the other histories give Waltheof the title of earl of Huntingdon—"jarl of Hundatuni", as does also *Morkinskinna*.[70] The latter and *Fagrskinna*[71] give a shorter account of the battles and do not quote *Haraldzstikki*; *Fagrskinna* gives Thursday instead of Wednesday for the battle by the Ouse. The siting of this battle at Fulford is from *Historia Regum*, an insertion in an account which is otherwise a copy of Florence.[72] It also occurs in the verse chronicles of the Anglo-Norman historian Gaimar, who seems to have had access to special information about the north and east of England.[73]

Valþjósflokkr consists of two stanzas in *dróttkvætt*. The first describes how Waltheof caused the death by burning of a hundred 'Frenchmen'. Freeman supposed that this stanza refers to Waltheof's stand against the Normans at York in 1069[74]; this is probably so, but it is just possible that it refers to an exploit otherwise recorded. The stanza is used in *Hulda*[75] and *Hrokkinskinna*[75] and by Snorri in *Heimskringla*.[76] These sources place the event after the battle of Hastings and describe how Waltheof found a hundred Normans in a wood, to which he set fire. This incident is followed by an account of how William sent for Waltheof in order that they might make peace. The earl set out with a small company to obey the summons, but when he reached a certain moor north of "Kastalabryggja", a troop of horsemen sent by William came upon him and overpowered and killed him. The second stanza of

[70] Ed. F. Jónsson, Copenhagen, 1932, p. 267.
[71] Ed. F. Jónsson, Copenhagen, 1902-03, p. 284, *Fagrskinna* is also called *Nóregs konunga tál*.
[72] Symeon, II, 180.
[73] *Rolls Series 91*, I, line 5215.
[74] *Norman Conquest*, IV, (2nd edn.), 267.
[75] *Fornmanna Sögur*, VI, 426.
[76] F. Jónsson, III, 215; Monsen and Smith, p. 569.

Valþjófsflokkr follows in which Thorkell laments his master's death caused by William's treachery.[77]

The account of Waltheof's death in *Fagrskinna* is more detailed and is of particular interest in that it seems to be remotely related to the Crowland story of Waltheof's execution as preserved by Orderic.[78] It reads[79]:

William the Bastard was chosen king of England. A little later Waltheof went to the king's presence; he had already obtained the king's peace for himself; two knights rode with him. King William received him well and at parting granted him an earldom in Northumberland over which he had been earl previously. And when the earl had received writ and seal-ring he went away and came to a certain moor. There twelve fully armed knights with many attendants came against him; these knights king William had sent after him to have him killed. The earl leapt from his horse, as he had no armour; he drew his sword and defended himself for a while. But because many men turned on him the earl was captured and one of the knights prepared to kill him. And when the earl knew which one was going to kill him, he fully surrendered to that knight and thus to the king and to all the others who had come after him. And as a remembrance he gave his silk kirtle to the knight who was about to kill him. Then he lay down on the ground and crossed himself, stretching out both his arms, and then his neck was severed. And many men are healed through his blood; Waltheof is a true saint (*hæilagr madr*). Thorkell, son of Thord Skalli, tells about these deeds in detail; he was a retainer (*hirdmadr*) of earl Waltheof and composed a poem (*cvæde*) about the earl's death.

(Then follow the first four lines of the second stanza of *Valþjófsflokkr*.)

[77] Modern English prose translation of *Valþjófsflokkr*:

Poem on Waltheof

The warrior caused a hundred of the king's retainers to burn in the heat of the fire; that was a night of roasting for the men! It is told that the warriors had to lie beneath the wolf's claws; by deadly spear food was got for the dusky wolf.

It is certain that William, the reddener of weapons, he who clove the foamy sea from the south, has kept bad faith with valiant Waltheof. Truly it will be long before slaying of men ceases in England—but my lord was gallant! No more famous chief than he will die in England.

[78] II, 267.

[79] F. Jónsson, pp. 298-300, chapter 66.

That same autumn king Harold Godwine's son and four of his brothers lost their lives.

The events are given a further twist in *Játvarðar saga*, an Icelandic life of Edward the Confessor, and there the story is turned quite inside out: 'There fell king Harold and his brother Gyrth, but Waltheof and their brother fled out of the fight. William the Bastard caused him to be burned afterwards in a wood and a hundred men with him.'[80] The source here is evidently not the *flokkr* as we have it, but a garbled version of it or of a saga which had used it.

The most detailed account of Waltheof's deeds in the battles of 1066, however, is that given in the tale called *Hemings þáttr*. It is the story of the hero Heming who left Norway for England because of the enmity of king Harald and it includes a description of Waltheof's actions at the battles of Fulford, Stamford Bridge and Hastings. Besides other, numerous, improbabilities of this story the fact that Waltheof's life is said to have ended soon after William became king shows how far it is from the truth. A detailed narrative of Waltheof's death at William's hands is built up round the known fact (from the second stanza of *Valþjófs-flokkr*, which *Hemings þáttr* does not actually quote) that William in some way deceived Waltheof and had him killed. William's behaviour is contrasted with that of Harald of Norway who had asked the captured Waltheof to swear an oath never to fight against him. Waltheof refused to swear but promised to inform Harald if he heard that any danger was threatening him. Harald, much against the advice of Tostig, let Waltheof go free. Waltheof kept his promise by informing Harald of the approach of Harold Godwine's son and Harald thanked him and bade him support his 'brother' well. At Hastings Waltheof was captured by William and asked to swear fealty. Again he refused to swear an oath but offered to give his word that he would be faithful to

[80] *Rolls Series 88*, I, 397; trans. *ib.*, III, 424.

William who then said that Waltheof and his comrades were at liberty to have peace on such terms:

"It is better to be overthrown than to trust no-one; nor shall any more men lose their lives for my sake," said Waltheof. They gave up the fight and accepted the king's peace. William was then chosen king and they rode thence to London. Waltheof asked for leave to go home, obtained it and rode away with ten men. The king looked after them and said, "It is not wise to allow a man to ride away free who will not swear us an oath; ride after him and slay him." They did so. Waltheof got off his horse and forbade his men to defend themselves. He went to a church and was slain there; there he is buried and he is considered holy.[81]

Considerable use of direct speech, such as there is here, is usually an indication that a story contains a good deal of invented material. *Hemings þáttr* is, however, accurate in the statement that Waltheof was buried in a church and considered a saint by the English people. Another phrase in it has a ring of truth: Waltheof says, when refusing to swear the oath to Harald, "It looks to me as though Tostig does not intend me to have much inheritance." Is there a reminiscence of a feeling by the real Waltheof that his father's earldom has been usurped by Tostig? For though as elsewhere in Icelandic accounts Godwine (earl of Wessex) is named as Waltheof's father, Godwine here is styled 'the earl who ruled Northumberland'. Similarly William offered to Waltheof in exchange for his oath 'your father's inheritance and the earldom'.

The fact that there are some improbabilities in these Icelandic accounts—such as the statement that Waltheof was Harold's brother—does not of course invalidate the whole of their evidence. Equally Morkar is said to be a brother of Harold's; he was not so, yet the Icelandic authorities are quite right in making him fight against Harald of Norway.

[81] *Hemings þáttr* is printed in *Rolls Series 88*, vol. I; there is a translation by G. W. Dasent in the same publication, vol. III. The part of *Hemings þáttr* which deals with Waltheof is found in the early fourteenth century *Hauks bók* (Copenhagen University Library, MS. AM 544).

A case can thus be made out for Waltheof's presence at the battles of Fulford, Stamford Bridge and Hastings, but as it rests on such uncertain evidence it cannot be considered proved.[82]

IV.

The first information about Waltheof in William's reign, apart from his witnessing a charter of William's which is probably to be dated during the winter of 1066-67,[83] concerns his being taken over to Normandy in the spring of 1067.[84] Along with archbishop Stigand, Edgar Ætheling, Ægelnath, abbot of Glastonbury, Edwin and Morkar, 'and many other good men', Waltheof was conducted across the Channel, ostensibly to be shown the rich dukedom of his new master and host, actually as a hostage.[85] William of Poitiers notes that in Normandy the personal beauty of the young Englishmen astonished the Normans and French.[86] Since he was present in this company Waltheof must have submitted to William during the winter of 1066-67. Edwin and Morkar were among those who had submitted when William held court at Barking in the last week of 1066,[87] and it is probable that Waltheof made his submission about the same time. Like them he was to be kept for over a year at William's court where a watchful eye could be kept on him. He was apparently still at the court at the time of queen Matilda's coronation on Whit Sunday, 11th May,

[82] For a recent vindication of part of Snorri's account of these battles see R. Glover: "English Warfare in 1066" (*English Historical Review* CCLXII (1952)), pp. 1-18.

[83] H. W. C. Davis: *Regesta rerum Anglo-Normannorum,* Oxford, 1913, I, 5, no. 21. In it William bestowed Hayling Island on St. Peter of Jumièges. It is dated by the death of one of the witnesses, Wulfwig (Vivinus), bishop of Dorchester, which took place during 1067 (Florence, s.a.) and by the fact that William was out of England from the beginning of Lent until December.

[84] *Chron.*, 1066 D (*recte* 1067); Florence, s.a. 1067.

[85] "velut obsides" (Orderic, II, 167).

[86] *Gesta Willelmi Ducis Normannorum et Regis Anglorum,* ed. J. A. Giles, London, 1845, p. 156.

[87] William of Poitiers, ed. Giles, p. 147.

1068, if the charters which he signs on that occasion are genuine.[88]

Either, however, William thought precautions unnecessary after a time or Waltheof contrived to escape, for he is next heard of amid the disturbances connected with the last serious attempt by the Danish dynasty to reconquer the English kingdom. This episode, which includes the deeds of Waltheof which were celebrated most, took place in Northumbria, the scene of his father's exploits. Until then, except for his possible participation in the battles against Harald of Norway, Waltheof does not seem to have had any connection with Northumbria, but probably the fact that he now appeared there is more significant than is suggested by the available information.

It seems necessary here to summarize the events which took place in the north of England after William's coronation, notwithstanding our ignorance of Waltheof's particular share in them, since they led up to his undoubted appearance there.

It is not recorded that Morkar was ever deprived of the earldom of Northumbria, but he had the interest in it neither of a native ruler like Uhtred (Waltheof's maternal great-grandfather) nor of one like Siward who had conquered and settled there. Certainly Morkar himself soon ceased to have any connection with the earldom, but in 1065, 'being hindered by other important affairs',[89] he had, as was said above, handed over the care of that part of the earldom which lay beyond the Tyne to Osulf (II). William, regarding Osulf's rule as unlawful, appointed instead Tostig's former lieutenant, Copsi—"capto postmodum et custodiae mancipato Morkaro", adds *Historia Regum*, as if to emphasize that Morkar need not be taken into account.[90] Osulf, how-

[88] Davis: *Regesta*, I, 5f, nos. 22 and 23.

[89] Symeon, II, 198.

[90] *Ib.* The Normans made much of Copsi and his faithfulness to the new king. Orderic, who calls him Coxo, says that he could not by any bribes or threats be persuaded to abandon the strangers and return to his own countrymen (II, 176). In SHDE Symeon praises Copsi for his generosity to the church of Durham (I, 97f).

ever, was still at large and with a band of followers he besieged Copsi at Newburn on Tyne.[91] Copsi took refuge in the church which was then set on fire. Forced to the door by the flames he was cut down by Osulf himself. This took place on 12th March (1067).[92] Early in the autumn of the same year Osulf was killed by the spear of a brigand.[93] Presumably he had continued as earl (certainly north of Tyne) without being troubled by William; if so, the modern Northumberland was as yet out of the king's reach.

There were several other Englishmen of importance in the north of England at this time; that there were so many of them probably accounts for the Northumbrians' lack of unity. They hung loosely together at the height of the opposition to William, each with his own followers, but lacked the confident and resourceful leader necessary to unite them if they were to be successful against the determined king. Among them was Marlesweyn, sheriff of Lincoln, whom Harold is said to have left in charge of affairs in the north after his victory at Stamford Bridge.[94] Also of importance was Archil (ON Arnkell), whom Orderic calls "potentissimus Nordanhimbrorum". Another magnate was Siward Barn, who had submitted to William at Barking.[95] He was probably a member of the family of Northumbrian earls, but his descent is not clear. In addition the four sons of Carl represented a family of Danish descent known chiefly for its hereditary feud with the earls' house. The eldest of the sons had a house at Settrington,[96] near York. Another name which appears frequently in the accounts of these northern disturbances is that of Edgar

[91] GR 45/170653.
[92] Symeon, II, 198.
[93] *Ib.*, II, 199.
[94] *Rolls Series 91*, line 5255. Marlesweyn is also introduced at the trial of Godwine, when Gaimar makes him speak on Godwine's side, in opposition to Siward.
[95] If, that is, he can be identified with the "Siwardus (et Aldredus) filii Edelgari praenepotis Regis", mentioned by Orderic (II, 166).
[96] GR 44/835705.

Ætheling, grandson of king Edmund Ironside. He had no personal connection with Northumbria but seems to have recognized that it was the most favourable part of the country for asserting his hereditary claim to the kingdom. The most influential man in Northumbria, however, was Gospatric.[97] He was descended from a branch of the house of Bamburgh and was also a cousin of Malcolm III.[98] On Osulf's death he bought the earldom from William for a large sum.[99]

The first insurrection took place in 1068.[100] It was officially under the leadership of Edwin and Morkar. Edwin had long been promised a daughter of William's in marriage and when he finally realized that the king did not mean to keep his promise he and his brother joined a faction against William. Resistance was planned in many parts of England and Wales, especially at York. According to Orderic, the men of the north trained themselves for endurance, taking to life in tents instead of houses lest they should become soft. The king realized that trouble was brewing and, having surveyed the country, erected castles at the most suitable places, such as Warwick, Nottingham, York and Lincoln. These preparations were quite enough for Edwin and Morkar, who decided that it would be discreet to ask the king's pardon and peace which, in appearance, they obtained.

In the same year, 1068, Gospatric, Marlesweyn 'and the best men', presumably because they also were planning rebellion and preferred to bide their time, or because they feared they might be placed in closer confinement, went to

[97] I employ the *Chronicle* form of this name. The Durham sources use the form Cospatricus. (Old Welsh *guas Patric*, 'servant of Patrick'.)

[98] Gospatric's father, Maldred, is said to be the son of "Crinan tein" (Symeon, II, 216). It is not explicitly stated that this thegn was the same Crinan who married Malcolm II's daughter Bethoc and was the father of Duncan, but the identity is usually assumed (e.g. W. F. Skene: *Celtic Scotland* (3 vols.), Edinburgh, 1876-80), I, 392-394.

[99] Symeon, II, 199.

[100] The rising of 1068 is recorded in greatest detail by Orderic (II, 182ff.), but it is also mentioned in *Chron.*, 1067 D (*recte* 1068) and by Florence, s.a. 1068.

Scotland and obtained king Malcolm's protection.[101] On the defection of their leaders the citizens of York hastily submitted and offered William hostages and the keys of the city; in order to make sure of their submission he strengthened the castle and walls and left a garrison of picked men there. Archil, who seems to have been the only important Englishman left in England at this time, gave his son to William as a hostage. Ægelwine, bishop of Durham, also judged this a favourable opportunity to make peace with William and in addition he became the mediator between him and Malcolm, who had been preparing an army in conjunction with the northern chiefs. The two kings were thus reconciled for as long as it suited either of them, but apparently Malcolm was not compelled to give up the English fugitives he was sheltering.[102] Some of the more determined inhabitants of York went farther north and prepared defences at Durham, which was as yet out of William's reach.

During 1069 there was almost continuous resistance in Northumbria. Four risings are recorded as having taken place in York, Waltheof appearing in the last and most important of them. It was after all only a little over a hundred years since York had had its own kings and in 1066 the inhabitants were prepared to make their own terms with Harald of Norway.

The first centre of trouble, however, was at Durham.

[101] *Chron.*, 1067 D (*recte* 1068), Florence, s.a. 1068. It was probably also at this time that Edgar Ætheling and his mother and sisters Margaret and Christina sailed to Scotland and obtained the protection of Malcolm, who shortly afterwards married Margaret. Both D and E place this event in the previous year, but Florence is probably right in taking Edgar to Scotland at the same time as Gospatric, i.e. in 1068. See C. Plummer's note in *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, II, 260f.

[102] Orderic, II, 185. Orderic after recording this peace between William and Malcolm inserts a passage praising the discretion of the Scots which contrasts curiously with the more usual description of their tireless ferocity: 'In thus preferring peace to war he (Malcolm) best consulted his own welfare and the inclinations of his subjects; for the people of Scotland, though fierce in war, love ease and quiet and do not wish to disturb themselves about their neighbours' affairs, loving rather Christian religious exercises than those of arms' (II, 185; translation from Forester, II, 19).

Gospatric by his flight had deserted his earldom and William, thinking he could now appoint a lieutenant to look after his interests in the pacified north, chose as earl Robert of Comines. Robert's family, also known as Cumin or Comyn, later became influential in Scotland. There is some disagreement about the limits of jurisdiction here proposed for Robert. Orderic says that he was given "Dunelmensem comitatum",[103] *Historia Regum* that he was sent "northymbrensis ad aquilonem plagam Tinae",[104] and the *Chronicle* that he was given "þone eorldom on Norþymbraland".[105] I take this to mean that he was given the modern Northumberland and that he stopped at Durham on the way to his earldom. Orderic's version probably arose from the fact that Durham was the place of his death. Robert stayed an even shorter time in Northumbria than Copsi. Copsi had at least been an Englishman and it had required an organized attack by his ousted rival to remove him, but the Northumbrians had no doubts about the impossibility of submission under the foreigner Robert. At first they considered flight, but the severe winter turned their thoughts to assassination instead. As Robert approached Durham, bishop Ægelwine hurried to warn him to be on his guard against ambush, but Robert made light of the warning, thinking that no one would dare such a thing. After arriving at Durham with a great body of soldiers he allowed his men to treat the inhabitants as enemies, some of the church tenants being killed. He was received with courtesy by the bishop. At dawn the Northumbrian band, having marched in haste all night, burst open the gates and killed the earl's men, who were taken by surprise. The mob then went to attack a house belonging to the bishop where the earl himself was staying, but as they were unable to storm it because of the spears of the defenders they burned it down. It was a typical Northumbrian popular act of violence and was carried out with an excess of ferocity. No leader is named. Of about seven hundred men on Robert's side only one

[103] II, 187. [104] II, 186. [105] 1068 D, E (*recte* 1069).

escaped.[106] These events took place on Wednesday, 28th January, 1069.[107]

Encouraged by the news from Durham, the citizens of York, notwithstanding the oaths they had sworn and the hostages they had given, rose again and slew Robert Fitz Richard, the governor, but apparently without capturing the castle.[108]

Before Easter a more general revolt took place. Edgar, Marlesweyn and Gospatric came from Scotland, joined Archil and the four sons of Carl, and having made terms with the inhabitants of York, joined with them in an assault on the castle. William Malet, its new governor, sent for help to the king. William came upon the insurgents unawares and took as many prisoners as he could; the rest fled.[109] The Ætheling, and presumably Gospatric and Marlesweyn, returned to Scotland.[110]

The king built a second castle at York on the right bank of the Ouse to control the navigation of the river and, leaving in command his most trusted general, William Fitz Osbern, returned to Winchester where he spent Easter. As soon as his back was turned the English at once attacked both castles (the third attack in six months), but William Fitz Osbern defeated them without outside assistance 'in a certain dale'.[111] As William Fitz Osbern is not mentioned again in connection with York it is probable that his appointment there was only temporary.

But the most serious fighting did not come until the autumn; the insurrections culminated in September, 1069, in the arrival of a Danish fleet. This was the occasion when William's enemies came nearest to acting in concert, when

[106] Symeon, II, 187. Orderic (II, 187) estimates the slain at five hundred (two escaping) and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* at nine hundred (1068 D).

[107] *Ib.* In SHDE Symeon gives the date as 31st January. According to this version William attempted to avenge the murder and sent an army northward for the purpose which, however, got no farther than Northallerton where it was impeded by a dense fog. There the men of William are said to have heard such stories about the powers of St. Cuthbert that they returned home and the Dunelmians were saved.

[108] Orderic, II, 187.

[109] *Ib.*, II, 188.

[110] *Chron.*, 1068 E (*recte* 1069).

[111] Orderic, II, 188.

the Normans suffered their heaviest defeat and when Waltheof performed the feats of valour which made his name famous. But so great was the mismanagement and so heedlessly were opportunities thrown away that the rising which, it seemed at first, might have resulted in the complete defeat of the Normans, merely brought further misery on the Northerners and ignominy on their Danish allies.

King Sweyn of Denmark, the son of Cnut's sister Astrith, had a reasonable legal claim to the throne of England, a claim at least as good as William's. According to Adam of Bremen, who knew Sweyn personally, Edward had promised him the English throne at his death, even if he himself had children.[112] Some of the English during William's absence in Normandy had appealed to Sweyn to attempt to recover the crown of England for his family and to avenge his cousin Harold Godwine's son[113]; Harold's mother Gytha was the sister of Sweyn's father. Most of Sweyn's reign had been spent in struggles with the Norwegian kings Magnus and Harald; he had withstood their attempts to conquer Denmark, and by the death of Harald his chief foe was removed. The vicissitudes of his reign seem to have taught him caution and he did not venture to lead an invasion of England himself—probably a serious mistake. Orderic states that he was supported by forces from Norway, men who wished to avenge their kinsmen who had fallen at Stamford Bridge, and from Poland, Frisia, Saxony and pagan lands farther east.[114] The northern party which had previously looked to Edgar Ætheling as their candidate for kingship perhaps realized that he would never lead them to victory and they may have considered Sweyn a preferable alternative.[115] Had he come himself at the beginning he might have united the ill-knit

[112] *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores,* VII, 333.
[113] Orderic, II, 172.
[114] *Ib.*, II, 190f.
[115] Edgar did, however, take part in this rising; during the campaign he at least once departed on a minor viking foray of his own and hardly escaped with his life when attacked by the king's forces from Lincoln (Orderic, II, 192).

forces opposed to William, but instead he entrusted the command to his brother Asbjörn. Also in the invading fleet, which consisted of about two hundred and forty ships, were Sweyn's sons, Harald and Cnut, and earl Thorkell.[116] It is just possible that Sweyn himself arrived in the following year, but if so, he was far too late.[117]

Instead of making at once for the centre of resistance the leaders of the expedition preferred to concern themselves with plunder. After being beaten off at Dover they met the same fate at Sandwich and, having taken much booty from the Ipswich district, landed at Norwich and were routed by Ralph, earl of East Anglia.[118] At last they moved northwards to a more auspicious landing place and entered the mouth of the Humber as Sweyn Forkbeard had done some sixty years before and as Harald of Norway had done three autumns earlier. They were joined by Edgar, Waltheof, Siward Barn, Gospatric "mid Norðhymbrum", Marlesweyn, Archil and the sons of Carl; all marched on York, 'riding and rejoicing with no small force'.[119]

This was early in September.[120] William, hearing of the coming of the Danes, sent word to the garrison at York to take precautions against assault and to summon him if there was need. Scorning his help, the commanders of the castles replied that they would need no support from him for a year to come. On September 11th, Aldred, archbishop of York, who had crowned both Harold and William, died. According to Florence his death was hastened by the troubles of the city. A week after the archbishop's death the Normans,

[116] Florence (s.a. 1069) names two sons of Sweyn; *Chron.* D mentions three without naming them (1068, *recte* 1069); E does not specify the number. Orderic, in addition to the members of the royal family, mentions the presence of three earls and two bishops. D and Florence give two hundred and forty, E three hundred, as the number of the ships.

[117] *Chron.*, 1070 E.

[118] Orderic, II, 191.

[119] *Chron.*, 1068 D (*recte* 1069); Orderic, II, 192.

[120] According to Florence the Danes landed before 8th September. *Chron.*, 1069 E, places the landing between the two feasts of St. Mary (15th August and 8th September), but 1068 D after Aldred's death on 11th September. D's date probably refers to the capture of York rather than to the landing at the mouth of the Humber.

growing alarmed at the approach of the allied forces, set fire to some houses standing near the castles, fearing that the building material might be used to fill up the defensive trenches. The flames spread and destroyed the city, including St. Peter's church. On Monday, September 21st, the Danish fleet arrived before the city was entirely consumed; the castles were stormed and taken. The *Chronicle* states that many hundreds were killed and many more carried off to the Danish ships.[121] According to Orderic the rashness of the Norman garrison in leaving their defences too soon was the only reason for the fall of York, but the siege and victory must have been, in English circles, famous for many a year when there were few victories to celebrate. Waltheof's share in it was remembered fifty years later in the time of William of Malmesbury who alludes to it thus: 'The king, forgiving his previous offences, thought rather of his courage than any treachery he might harbour, for this same Waltheof had hewn down many Normans single-handed, cutting off their heads one by one as they came through the gates.' The wording of his description of Waltheof suggests that it was taken from a poem or song: "nervosus lacertis, thorosus pectore, robustus et procerus toto corpore, filius Siwardi magnificentissimi comitis quem 'Digera', Danico vocabulo, id est fortem, cognominabant."[122] Among the very few of the garrison who were spared were William Malet with his wife and children[123] and Gilbert of Ghent.[124] The Danish ships with their plunder sailed away down the Ouse.

William then heard of the success of the invaders and hastened northwards. The allies scattered at the news of his approach, the Danes across the Humber to Lindsey, Gos-

[121] *Chron.*, 1068 D, 1069 E. Florence estimates the slain, probably too highly, at three thousand (s.a. 1069).

[122] *Rolls Series 90*, II, 311f. Matthew Paris, after quoting William of Malmesbury, makes the curious statement that Waltheof was particularly feared by the Danes: "Hunc prae omnibus habebant Dani, quasi principales regni inimici, formidabilem" (*Rolls Series 57*, II, 19).

[123] Florence, s.a. 1069.

[124] Symeon, II, 188.

patric and Edgar Ætheling to Scotland again, and Waltheof to the North Riding. William pursued the Danes into Lindsey whence those who escaped him recrossed the river to the Yorkshire coast. There William, having apparently no ships, left them for the time being, and they 'lay between the Ouse and the Trent all the winter'.[125] William was then called away to deal with revolts which the arrival of the Danes had encouraged in other parts of the country and he left behind the count of Mortain and the count of Eu to watch the Danes. Some of these, thinking they were safe, emerged from their concealment and made friends with the country folk; they were quickly overcome and treated with ferocity by the two earls.[126] Others of the Danes planned to retake York in time for the Christmas festival; news of their intentions reached William at Nottingham and he broke off his midland campaign to hasten north again. He was interrupted on his way to York near Pontefract, where the flooded river Aire was not fordable. This detained him there three weeks and he refused the advice given him of making a bridge on the grounds that it would give the enemy an opportunity to come upon his forces while they were preoccupied. At length one of his knights, Lisois des Moûtiers, went on a prolonged sounding expedition and despite enemy opposition discovered a possible crossing. William then continued towards York through forests and marshes, over hills and along valleys and paths so narrow that two soldiers could not march abreast.[127]

In York, finding that the Danes had not arrived, he set about repairing the fortresses and sent a detachment down the river to deal with the enemy should they return. He himself went into the country round about, partly to seek out the enemy's strongholds, but also to lay waste vast regions of countryside so as to starve out the Danes and show the English what it meant to oppose their new king. Then began that terrible destruction from which the north took long to recover; it was the usual method of punishing

[125] *Chron.*, 1069 E. [126] Orderic, II, 194. [127] *Ib.*, II, 194f.

revolt but William carried it out with more than usual efficiency. Its effects are visible in the frequent entry "wasta" in the Domesday Survey and by the great reductions in value which many estates had undergone since the days of king Edward. Of Siward's three great estates in the North Riding, Whitby, which had been worth £112 was in 1068 worth 60s., Acklam had dropped in value from £48 to 40s. and Loftus from £48 to nothing. Orderic says here that although he has always extolled William according to his merits he does not hesitate to speak against him on this occasion: 'Never did William commit so much cruelty . . . I dare not commend him for an act which levelled good and bad together in one common ruin by a consuming famine.'[128] Orderic's comments suggest that there was little exaggeration in the English accounts. Florence refers to ravages by the Normans, especially in Northumbria, in the present, preceding and following years.[129]

William returned to York for Christmas. He left the Danes to their own devices for the winter, while negotiating to buy them off. Asbjörn consented to receive a large sum of money on condition that he would depart in the spring without fighting, permission being given to his troops to forage freely along the coast.[130]

Early in January, while at York, William heard that a band of Englishmen, including Waltheof, was still defying him in a corner of the county ("in angulo quodam regionis") defended on all sides either by sea or marshes, the only access to it being across a strip of land twenty feet wide. Here they had collected provisions and at first intended to defend the site, but on hearing that William's troops were

[128] II, 195; translation from Forester, II, 28.

[129] s.a. 1069. It has recently been suggested, however, that the wasted areas of 1086 were not entirely due to the harrying (T. A. M. Bishop: "The Norman Settlement of Yorkshire" in *Studies in Mediæval History presented to F. M. Powicke*, Oxford, 1948, pp. 1ff.). The devastated areas were examined by W. G. Collingwood in *Scandinavian Britain*, London, 1908, pp. 173-178.

[130] Florence, s.a. 1069.

approaching they hastily struck camp at night. William pursued them, through difficult country, "ad flumen Tesiam". He remained by Tees for a fortnight and there Waltheof submitted to him in person and Gospatric by proxy.[131] The site of Waltheof's camp has reasonably been identified with part of the coast at Tod Point, near Coatham, on the southern shore of the mouth of Tees.[132] It is certainly an "angulus" and there are still marshes near.

There are two difficulties about this identification. First, Orderic's account implies that the fugitives reached Tees *after* leaving their camp, thus suggesting that the camp itself was not on the river. However, I cannot think of any other place on the North Riding coast which answers to Orderic's description. Moreover Coatham[133] is situated on the shore of the estuary, and by "flumen Tesiam" Orderic may mean the river proper, farther west, which Waltheof and his party would have to cross if they wished to flee farther north and did not have boats. Moreover, Orderic's description of the difficult country through which William had to pass in order to overtake them may refer to the whole of his march from York to Tees and not merely to the stretch from the camp to the river. The other difficulty is that a little later Orderic writes: "Mense Januario rex Guillelmus Haugustaldam revertebatur a Tesia", thus returning William from Tees to York via Hexham and causing what Freeman calls "an impossible piece of geography". In the *Northumberland County History*[134] E. Bateson argues that since William cannot have turned back from Tees to Haugustalda (Hexham), which is on Tyne, "Tesia" must be an error for "Tueda", and he suggests Bamburgh as the site of Waltheof's camp. For in another passage Orderic refers to Bamburgh as being impregnable because of the surround-

[131] Orderic, II, 197.

[132] W. Edwards: *The Early History of the North Riding*, London, 1924, p. 68, where it is claimed that the fortifications at Coatham are still visible.

[133] GR 45/575250.

[134] Northumberland County History Committee: *A History of Northumberland*, Newcastle and London, 1893-1940, I, 23.

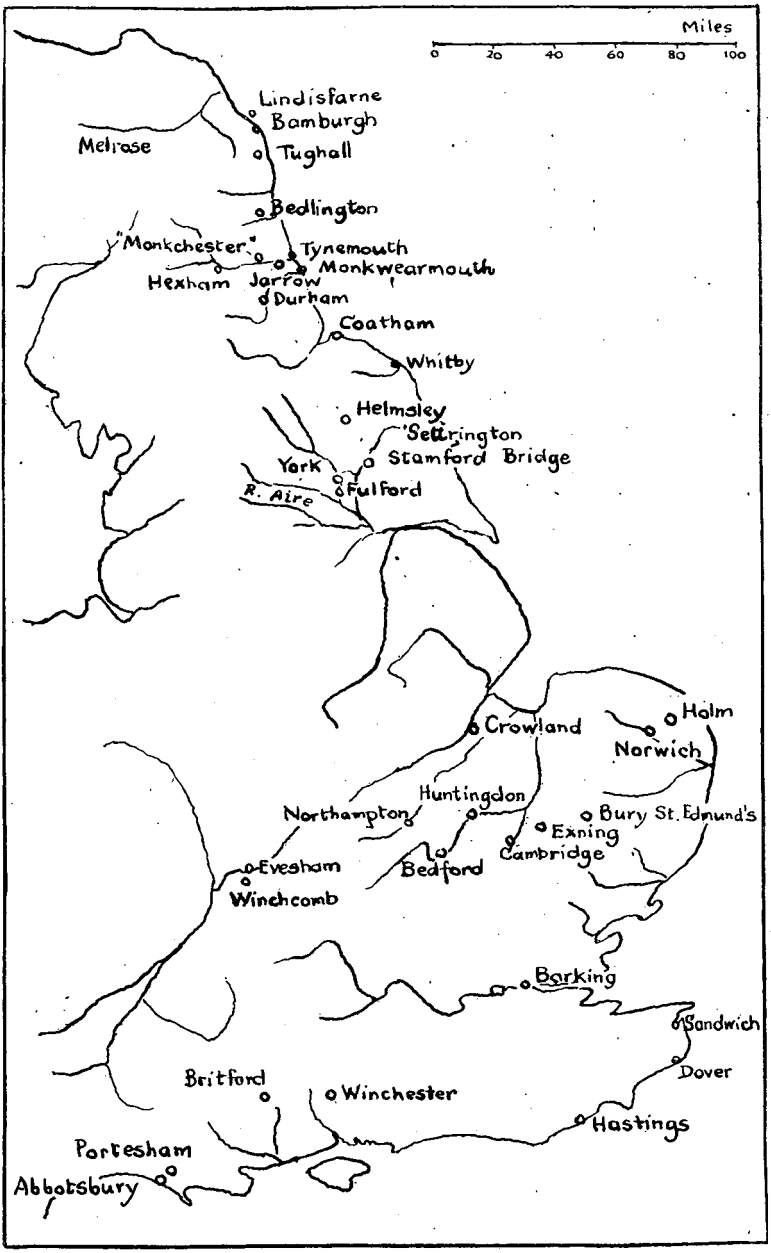

Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100
Lindisfarne
Bamburgh
Melrose
Tughall
Bedlington
"Monkchester"
Tynemouth
Monkwearmouth
Hexham
Jarrow
Durham
Coatham
Whitby
Helmsley
Sessrington
York
Stamford Bridge
R. Aire
Fulford
Crowland
Holm
Norwich
Huntingdon
Northampton
Bury St. Edmund's
Exning
Cambridge
Evesham
Bedford
Winchcomb
Barking
Sandwich
Dover
Britford
Winchester
Hastings
Portesham
Abbotsbury

FIG. 1

ing marshes. Yet if Orderic knew of Bamburgh by name he would probably have mentioned it by name if he had known it to be the site of the camp.

Hodgson Hinde[135] explained the matter by taking Haugustaldam as an error for some form of Helmsley[136] such as Helmeslac.[137] Helmesley would indeed lie on the line of William's march from Tees mouth to York, if he went by Chop Gate, Bilsdale and the Forest of Galtres, while the type of countryside described by Orderic accords well with this route which passes through the Hambledon Hills. (Curiously Hodgson Hinde places this march before instead of after Christmas and he makes Waltheof submit at York instead of Tees mouth.) His emendation of the place name was adopted by Freeman[138] and Edwards. While this is perhaps the most likely explanation, there is the further possibility that before returning to York William took part in the devastation of Durham. *Historia Regum* speaks at this time of the king's harrying army being spread over the whole countryside between Tees and Tyne. And if William did himself take part in a devastation of Durham at this time, then Hexham, marking its northerly and westerly limits, may indeed have been the place from which the king turned back to York.

Gospatric, although he did not come to surrender in person, seems to have been reinstated in his earldom, while Waltheof was given freedom and the king's peace. The *Chronicle* reports briefly: "Her se eorl Wælþeof gryðode wið þone cyngc."[139] William returned to York in severe weather and through still more difficult country and after settling affairs in the now submissive city turned his attention to Chester.[140]

[135] J. Hodgson and J. Hodgson Hinde: *A History of Northumberland*, Newcastle, 1858, I, 178.

[136] GR 44/613838.

[137] Cf. *Place-names of the North Riding of Yorkshire* (*English Place-name Society*, V), p. 71.

[138] *Norman Conquest*, IV (2nd edn.), 304, n. 5.

[139] 1071 D (*recte* 1070), and similarly in 1070 E.

[140] Orderic, II, 198.

V.

After Waltheof's submission he remained at peace with William for a few years. It was probably about this time that William showed his favour to him by granting him his niece Judith in marriage. Judith was the daughter of Adelaide, sister to the Conqueror, by Adelaide's second husband Lambert, count of Lens. None of the authorities give a date for the marriage, though it is several times suggested that William's aim in marrying his niece to Waltheof was to hold his allegiance.[141] The *Chronicle*, Florence of Worcester and the Durham sources do not mention Judith at all. William of Malmesbury writes: 'Later, having voluntarily surrendered in conquered territory and having been given Judith, the king's niece, for his wife . . .' thus associating the surrender with the marriage. The most likely date for the marriage is, therefore, shortly after Waltheof's submission by the Tees in 1070, though it is just possible that it was arranged in 1072, the year in which Waltheof was granted the Northumbrian earldom and was at his highest in William's favour.

Orderic connects the marriage with the grant of the earldom of Northampton. 'King William gave to earl Waltheof, son of Siward, the earldom of Northampton and joined with him in marriage his niece Judith so that a firm friendship might endure between them . . .'[142] Actually, as has been mentioned above, Waltheof was probably in possession of his midland earldom before William's arrival in England, but Orderic probably means that he was confirmed in the earldom at this time.

The author of *Vita Waldevi* in one of his rare original passages gives a little more detail, naming Judith's father,

[141] A continuation of the *Book of Hyde*, referring to Waltheof's later implication in the Bridal Conspiracy, says that not even his marriage to the king's kinswoman "nomine pacis dotae" prevented him from joining in rebellion (*Rolls Series 45*, p. 294).

[142] Orderic, I, 221. The holder of this midland earldom is, in Waltheof's day at any rate, referred to indiscriminately as earl of Huntingdon or Northampton.

Lambert of Lens, and her (half-) brother Stephen, count of Aumâle.[143] Like Orderic (who also obtained his information at Crowland) this writer associates the marriage with a grant by William 'all the liberties which belong to the honour of Huntingdon', that is, the lands which belonged personally to the earl of Huntingdon as distinct from his earldom; the expression "honor de Huntendune" is later than Waltheof's time. The writer then adds that Waltheof conferred on his wife as a marriage gift those of his lands which lay to the south of Trent.[144] Similarly another section of *Vita Waldevi*, called *De Comitissa*, states that she was given the honour of Huntingdon as a marriage portion.[145] These statements may be an invention or a rationalization by the Crowland writer but are to some extent borne out by Domesday Book, since in it Judith's possessions are grouped round the midland rather than the northern earldom. In the survey the only possession north of Trent recorded as being held by Judith was Hallam, with its berewicks, and the statement even here is ambiguous. In the body of the survey it is recorded under the land of the tenant in chief, Roger de Busli, but a note reads: 'Roger has this land of Judith the countess.' The two neighbouring holdings, Attercliffe and Sheffield, are said to be *inland* in Hallam and held by one Swen.[146] In the summary by wapentakes, however, Hallam, Attercliffe and Sheffield are all said without query to be Judith's.[147] It is unfortunately impossible, owing to the lack of information for the period between the days of Edward and those of the survey in 1086, to tell whether there were any of Waltheof's lands north of the Trent which did not come to Judith. For instance, Waltheof probably acquired his father's large holdings in Whitby, Loftus[148] and Acklam,[149] though this cannot be verified. If they were Waltheof's, however, they

[143] Michel, II, 112. [144] Michel, II, 112. [145] Michel, II, 123.
[146] DB, fo. 320a; VCH *Yorks.*, II, 256.
[147] DB, fo. 379c; VCH *Yorks.*, II, 300.
[148] GR 45/723182.
[149] GR 45/487170; DB, fo. 305a; VCH *Yorks.*, II, 218, 219.

did not pass to Judith. The complete absence from the survey of the counties north of Yorkshire adds to the difficulty of ascertaining Waltheof's personal holdings in his northern earldom.[150]

That William granted additional land to Waltheof is shown by two entries in the Huntingdonshire Domesday. The first reference is to land in the borough of Huntingdon which was held by a man and woman named Gos and Hunef (? WS Hungyfu). The statement concerning this land in the section called *Clamores* reads: '(The jurors of Huntingdon) bear witness that the land of Hunef and Gos was under the hand of king Edward on the day when he was alive and dead (5th January, 1066) and that they held of him, not of the earl. But (the jurors) say that they heard that king William was said to give it to Waltheof ("sed dicunt se audisse quod rex debuerit eam dare Wallevo").'[151] The other Huntingdonshire gift was that of Little Catworth.[152]

Moreover at some stage in his career Waltheof received the lands of a certain Thurkil of Harringworth, a Dane who had been given land by Cnut, and it is most likely that the donor of Thurkil's lands to Waltheof was William. The *Thorney Register* or *Red Book of Thorney*[153] quotes Domesday for the statement that of the nine hides in Conington[154] held by Thurkil in Edward's reign he had held six of Thorney abbey and had paid a voluntary rent for them,[155] and also quotes the *Clamores* section of the Huntingdonshire Domesday for the statement of the jurors that these lands were to be returned to the abbey on Thurkil's death.[156]

[150] The word *aula*, used of Waltheof's estate in Hallam, is now thought not to have a different meaning from the more usual *manerium*; the Domesday scribes were fond of variation. However, the use of the rarer term has had the result that Waltheof's name is now perhaps remembered better at Sheffield than anywhere else. S. O. Addy called his book on the early history of Hallamshire (most of which forms part of the modern Sheffield) *The Hall of Waltheof* (London, 1893).

[151] DB, fo. 208a; translation VCH *Hunts.*, I, 354.

[152] GR 52/099728; DB, fo. 208b; VCH *Hunts.*, I, 355.

[153] Cambridge University Library, MS. Addl. 3020 and 3021, fo. 375r.

[154] GR 52/176859.

[155] DB, fo. 206d; VCH *Hunts.*, I, 351.

[156] DB, fo. 208b; VCH *Hunts.*, I, 355.

After this the *Register* inserts a passage found "in veteribus scriptis huius ecclesiae", according to which "Turkil de Harincwrth" had held of the abbey six hides of land in Conington for which he had paid a rent; but he left his land and crossed the sea to rejoin his kinsmen the Danes. The king then gave the land to Waltheof, together with Thurkil's other estates. This king is most probably William, since there is a reference immediately afterwards to the post Conquest abbot Fulcard. When Waltheof received Thurkil's lands the monks explained the situation about the rent and he, 'because he was a saintly man and a lover of all justice', offered to return the six hides to the abbey. The monks, however, fearing that their provost Fulcard[157] might give the estate to one of his relatives, preferred that he should keep them on the same terms as Thurkil, that is, at a mark yearly. After his death Judith refused to pay the rent and the holding became attached to the honour of Huntingdon.[158]

Another reference to Thurkil occurs in the *Ramsey Chronicle*,[159] where his wife Thurgunt is said to have bequeathed land in Sawtry[160] to Ramsey abbey, with her husband's permission. The *Ramsey Chronicle* complains that this land passed into alien hands at the coming of the Normans, but the abbot was still in possession of seven and

[157] Fulcard was not given the title of abbot as his position did not have episcopal benediction (Orderic, IV, 281). This accounts for the wording in the *Thorney Register*: "Fulcardus qui ea tempestate illi preerat ecclesie."

[158] An extract from the *Thorney Register* is printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, London, 1817, reprinted 1846, II, 604. Later earls of Huntingdon, Malcolm IV and David, his brother, granted land in Conington to Sawtry abbey. See VCH *Hunts.*, III, 149.

Among some papers which deal with Huntingdonshire and which belonged to the Cotton family there is recorded "a descent of the lords of Conington from Waltheof Earl of Huntingdon to whom St. Edward the Confessor gave it after he had banished Turkill the Dane, Earl of the East Angles, whose seat it was" (British Museum, MS. Lansdowne 921, fo. 16v.). Here the king concerned is Edward, not William, but the statement is in any case not accurate, since Thurkil has been confused with his namesake, earl Thorkell the Tall.

[159] *Rolls Series 83*, p. 175.

[160] GR 52/167838.

a half hides and half a virgate in Sawtry in 1086.[161] That Thurkil and his wife had other land in Sawtry is shown by the document preserved in the *Ramsey Cartulary*[162] concerning the foundation, by the grandson of Waltheof and Judith, of the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary, Sawtry. Here Thurkil, who is named as the predecessor of Waltheof and Judith in Sawtry, is called "Turkillus Daneys" and his wife "Huregund". The boundaries of Thurkil's land were laid down by Cnut.[163]

It was probably the same "Turchil Dan'" who preceded Waltheof in Leighton Bromswold,[164] while in Northamptonshire in addition to Harringworth,[165] a Thurkil or Turchil held Fotheringhay,[166] East Farndon[167] and Lilford.[168] In Leicestershire a Turchil held Owston.[169] These manors all belonged to Judith in 1086.[170] It is possible that one of the *Turkils* in the *Liber Vitae* of Thorney abbey represents Thurkil of Harringworth.[171]

After his surrender in 1070 Waltheof is not heard of until 1072, when he was made earl of Northumbria, though he presumably remained on good terms with William in the interim. I narrate briefly the events which took place during these two years in the areas in which he had an interest.

Gospatric, after his submission by proxy, was allowed

[161] DB, fo. 204c; VCH *Hunts.*, I, 344.
[162] *Rolls Series 79*, I, 160-164.
[163] Cf. DB, fo. 206d; VCH *Hunts.*, I, 351.
[164] GR 52/115753; DB, fo. 203d; VCH *Hunts.*, I, 341.
[165] GR 42/917973; DB, fo. 228b; VCH, *Northants.*, I, 350.
[166] GR 52/060933; *ib.*
[167] GR 42/717847; DB, fo. 228c; VCH *Northants.*, I, 352.
[168] GR 52/033837; DB, fo. 229a; VCH *Northants.*, I, 354.
[169] GR 43/774080; DB, fo. 236c; VCH *Leics.*, I, 334.
[170] A curious story is told in the *Ramsey Chronicle* (*Rolls Series 83*, pp. 129-134) about a Turkillus and his wife. This Thurkil's son was murdered by his stepmother, with the help of a witch, and as part of the penance for the murder, and for the concealment of the crime by Thurkil, the couple were made to give the western part of Elsworth (GR 52/317636) to Ramsey abbey. This man need not be identified with Thurkil of Harringworth, however, as the name was a common one, especially in the Danelaw.
[171] See Dorothy Whitelock: "Scandinavian Personal Names in the *Liber Vitae* of Thorney Abbey" (*Saga-Book of the Viking Society* XII, p. 140).

to remain earl of Northumbria. During the summer of 1070 he was in conflict with king Malcolm[172] and William probably decided that Gospatric could well remain in his earldom until the Scottish king had been dealt with.

Bishop Ægelwine, who had at first shown such earnest desire for peace, having acted as mediator between William and Malcolm in 1068, and having warned Robert of Comines (in vain) of the plot against him, ended his life in a stormy fashion. According to the account in *Historia Regum*, he and the wealthier inhabitants of Durham decided on flight, fearing that William's vengeance for the death of Robert and the slaying of the garrison at York might include the innocent with the guilty.[173] Taking with them the body of St. Cuthbert they left Durham on 11th December, 1069, and made for Lindisfarne, spending the first night at Jarrow, the second at Bedlington,[174] the third at Tughall[175] and the fourth on the island. There they remained some three months while William devastated the countryside and in March 1070 they returned to Durham. There they discovered that during their absence the church had become an asylum for the poor and sick; after performing cleansing rites they restored Cuthbert's body to its former position.[176] But Ægelwine could not rest at Durham, seeing England overcome by a race of which he knew neither language nor customs, and he decided on permanent flight.[177] He had a ship fitted out at Monkwearmouth and later the same year (1070) set sail for Cologne. Adverse winds arose, however, and drove his ship to Scotland where he spent the winter. Thus Northumbria lost another who might possibly have

[172] Symeon, II, 190f.
[173] *Ib.*, II, 189.
[174] GR 45/260820.
[175] GR 46/210264.
[176] According to the more circumstantial and miraculous version of this story told in SHDE (I, 102f) this flight was counselled by Gospatric, who took advantage of the moving to lay hands on some of the church possessions. However, on hearing the warning words of St. Cuthbert he is said to have gone barefoot to Lindisfarne to pray for forgiveness; in spite of this, adds Symeon, his fortunes never recovered, for he was soon afterwards expelled from the earldom. Actually Gospatric did not suffer much through his deprivation, as Malcolm soon afterwards gave him large estates in Scotland.
[177] Symeon, II, 190.

helped to unify it. Ægelwine departed apparently without showing any regard for his pastorate: Symeon, who voices the suspicion felt by the community of St. Cuthbert to outsiders, as he had done earlier in connection with Ægelwine's predecessor and brother, accuses him of what in a monk's eyes would be a more serious crime—taking with him some of the church treasures.[178]

The chief centre of resistance was now at Ely where Hereward was holding the island. In reliable sources two campaigns of his are mentioned. In 1070 his allies were the Danes under Asbjörn and bishop Christian who had wintered in the Humber area and who now availed themselves of William's permission to forage by joining Hereward in his attack on Peterborough. In June the Danes made peace and departed after a two nights' visit to the Thames, taking with them the booty from Peterborough.[179] According to the Peterborough account (1070 E) king Sweyn himself came to England in this year, landing in the Humber, but it is difficult to square this unsupported account with the other sources. According to Florence, Asbjörn sailed for Denmark on 24th June and on his arrival was outlawed by Sweyn because he had taken bribes from William.

In 1071 bishop Ægelwine left Scotland and in spite of his having fled from Durham through fear of being considered a rebel by William he now joined Hereward at Ely. From Scotland also came Siward Barn. Meanwhile Edwin and Morkar had escaped from the court and existed for a time in the country.[180] Edwin was killed by some of his own men while attempting to reach Scotland,[181] but Morkar went to Ely. William surrounded the insurgents and they surrendered except Hereward, who escaped. Bishop Ægelwine was sent into custody at Abingdon where he died soon afterwards.

[178] Symeon, I, 105.
[179] *Chron.*, 1070 E, 1071 D (*recte* 1070).
[180] *Chron.*, 1071 E, 1072 D (*recte* 1071).
[181] Florence, s.a. 1071; Orderic, II, 216.

Ægelwine's bishopric was left vacant by his flight and William appointed as his successor Walcher, a native of Lorraine, whom he had invited to England. Eilaf, the king's *huscarl*, was appointed to accompany the new bishop as far as York. The last recorded act of Gospatric as earl of Northumbria was to bring Walcher from York to Durham where he arrived at mid-lent, 1071.[182]

In 1072 William invaded Scotland by sea and land and met Malcolm at Abernethy. There Malcolm made peace with him and William left Scotland, although, adds the *Chronicle*, 'he did not meet with anything there by which he was any the better'.[183] He returned to England, passing through Durham.[184] Having made terms with Malcolm, William could now dispense with Gospatric's doubtful assistance; on his way south he dismissed him from his earldom on the grounds of his share in the resistance at York and his supposed support of those who killed Robert of Comines. In his place Waltheof, who seems to have kept out of the disturbances of these two years, was made earl, 'which was his right by descent on his father's and mother's sides'.[185]

Waltheof's first act as earl was to have a castle built at Durham where the bishop might live in safety from attacks by the rebellious Northumbrians. Soon afterwards bishop Walcher experienced the need of such protection, as appears from the account of his murder in 1080.[186] As long as he

[182] Symeon, II, 195.

[183] *Chron.*, 1072 E, 1073 D (*recte* 1072); Florence, s.a. 1072.

[184] According to Symeon, William on this occasion demanded to see whether the body of St. Cuthbert really rested there. The saint is said to have shown his resentment by inflicting the king with intense heat so that he rode away from Durham and did not draw bridle until he reached the Tees (Symeon, I, 106). Another northern saint, St. Oswine of Tynemouth, is also credited with a miracle during William's return journey from Scotland. His army was delayed at Monkchester (Newcastle) on the north bank of Tyne, and a detachment was sent to the church at Tynemouth for provisions. See *Vita Oswini* in *Surtees Society Publications 8*, p. 20f.

[185] Symeon, II, 199.

[186] Florence, s.a.

was in Durham he could shut himself up in his castle, but at the meeting at Gateshead his episcopal dignity did not prevent his being killed. His servants in Durham, however, who were attacked after his death defended themselves successfully.[187]

During his tenure of the earldom Waltheof took up again a family feud which had lain dormant for a generation and provided an example of how long a Northumbrian family feud could be carried on. It had entered the earl's family when earl Uhtred accepted as his second wife Sigen, daughter of Styr Ulf's son, and thus became the enemy of Styr's personal foe Thurbrand.[188] Uhtred's death was engineered by Thurbrand at Wiheal in 1016 when Uhtred came to make peace with Cnut, armed soldiers suddenly attacking him from behind a curtain; his death was avenged by his son Aldred who was in turn killed by Thurbrand's son Carl, despite the two having become sworn brothers. Apparently thirty years elapsed before this deed was avenged by Waltheof on Carl's sons. There is no indication of any fresh provocation having been given; Carl's sons had fought on the same side as Waltheof at York; but seemingly the slaying of Aldred was not forgotten by his grandson. An insertion in the annal for 1073 of *Historia Regum*, otherwise copied from Florence, records the slaughter,[189] but the more detailed account is that of *De Obsessione Dunelmi*.[190] A band of young men was sent to Settrington near York, where the sons of Carl were feasting at the home of the eldest brother. All were killed—except Cnut who was spared because of his good character. Sumerled, another brother, chanced not to be present. Elsewhere four sons are spoken of,[191] so presumably two were killed on this occasion. DOD speaks of grandchildren also being included

[187] Symeon, I, 118.
[188] *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, Symeon, I, 216ff.
[189] Symeon, II, 200.
[190] Symeon, I, 219.
[191] Orderic, II, 192: "quattuor filii Karoli". The author of DOD adds that Sumerled was still alive when he wrote.

in the slaughter. After the deed was accomplished the party returned, taking with them many kinds of spoils; presumably they reported the action to Waltheof, who does not seem to have been present.

Notwithstanding participation in this affair the rest of the information concerning Waltheof at this period presents him as an interested, generous and humble patron of the church. It was by no means exceptional for a person of partly pagan parentage or origin to be a benefactor of the church and there were several Scandinavians who must primarily have been tough fighting men who piously had their names associated with churches or monastic houses. The tradition was begun by Cnut who, in association with earl Thorkell the Tall, consecrated a church on the site of the battle of Assandun,[192] founded the monastery of St. Benet of Holm[193] and dedicated a new church at Bury St. Edmunds.[194] One of Cnut's men, Ork, Orcy or Urki, with his wife Tole founded at Abbotsbury a guild or fraternity which was later by one of them changed into a monastery.[195] Another thegn of Cnut, Tofi the Proud, is credited with the endowment of a church for two priests at Waltham, which was changed by Harold Godwine's son into a college of canons. (See the story printed and discussed by William

[192] *Chron.*, 1020 C, D, E, F.

[193] GR 63/383156; see VCH *Norfolk*, II, 330ff.

[194] *Rolls Series 96*, I, 342.

[195] In a charter dated 1024 Ork was granted land at Portesham (GR 30/602859) by Cnut (Kemble: *Codex Diplomaticus* 741); in another charter (Kemble 942) Ork established a guild-hall at Abbotsbury and listed the covenants chosen for the brothers. Charters of *Inspeximus* of Edward II give copies of writs of Edward the Confessor which state that permission was given to "Tole min man Urces lafe" to bequeath her land to the *mynster* of St. Peter "æt Abbodesbyrig" (Kemble 841 and 871). It would appear that the original intention of Ork and Tole to found a guild was changed to the establishment of a monastery or at least a church. The register of the abbey of Abbotsbury was lost during the Civil War (VCH *Dorset*, II, 48), but John Leland who may have had access to it or to other lost sources, writes: "Orcus œconomicus Canuti regis, expulsis canonicis secularibus, introduxit monachos. Sepultus est ibidem cum Thola conjuge" (*Collectanea*, ed. T. Herne, London, 1774, III, 149). Tole gave her name to Tolpuddle, which she possessed (Dugdale, III, 52). See Sir Frank Stenton: "The Place of Woman in Anglo-Saxon History" (*Royal Historical Society Transactions*[4] XXV (1943), p. 4).

Stubbs in "The Foundation of Waltham Abbey".[196]) Others of Cnut's Danish followers appear in a list of men and women in confraternity with Thorney abbey, written on some of the leaves of a copy of the Gospels which once belonged to Thorney.[197] Among them are such warriors as Thorkell the Tall, Eglaf and Ulf, both sons of Thorgils Sprakalegg and possibly kinsmen of Siward, Eric, earl of Northumbria, and his son Hakon, Osgod Clapa and Tofi.[198] The entries, "Waldef comes et uxor ejus" and "Siwardus comes" have been made afterwards above the column which contains the other names.

Waltheof appears to have been in confraternity also with the abbey of Ely; the *obit* of "*frater noster* Waltheuus comes" is given under 31st July in the twelfth century Ely Kalendar of Trinity College, Cambridge.[199] Cnut's own ecclesiastical policy ensured that there seemed nothing particularly strange in this association between monks and former pagans. And in his gifts to the church Waltheof was following in the steps of his father Siward, whose fiercely pagan spirit had not prevented his endowment of a church at York.[200] All the same, Waltheof seems to have been generous to a larger number of churches than most of his contemporaries.

In particular the earl is said to have been on very friendly terms with bishop Walcher. *Historia Regum* records: 'Bishop Walcher and earl Waltheov(us) were very friendly and accommodating to each other; so that he, sitting together with the bishop in the synod of priests, humbly and

[196] *Miscellaneous Tracts*, Oxford and London, 1861. Tofi witnesses in 1019, 1026 and frequently from 1031 to 1054, once (Kemble 749) as "Tovi Pruda". It was at the wedding of Tofi and Gytha, daughter of Osgod Clapa, that Hardacnut had the stroke from which he died (Florence, s.a. 1042).

[197] Now British Museum, MS. Addl., 40,000. See Dorothy Whitelock, "Scandinavian Personal Names in the *Liber Vitae* of Thorney Abbey" (*Saga-Book* XII, pp. 127-153.

[198] Fo. 10r, column 3.

[199] MS. O.2.1, for which see Bruce Dickins, *Leeds Studies in English* VI, pp. 14ff. Actually the day of Waltheof's death was 31st May.

[200] See above, p. 155.

obediently carried out whatever the bishop decreed for the reformation of Christianity in his earldom.'[201]

At this time there took place the first stirrings of a renewed interest in learning in the north though the instigators came from outside Northumbria. The story is an attractive one, told as it is amid the accounts of the wars and harryings which followed the Conquest, and Waltheof has a share in it, even though it is only a small one.

About the year 1074[202] Aldwine, the prior of Winchcombe, having read in his copy of Bede about the many monks and learned men who were once to be found in Northumbria, decided to give up his comparatively comfortable post and go north in order to refound monasticism there. He first visited the neighbouring monastery of Evesham and persuaded two monks to accompany him; they were allowed to do so by their English abbot Æthelwig after some natural hesitation at permitting novices to go on such a venture, for one of them, Elfwi, was a deacon and not yet a priest, while the other, Reinfrid, a former Norman knight, as yet could not read. They set off on foot and packed their books and vestments on the back of a donkey. In their zeal they seem to have come without any very clear idea of what they were going to do, and they applied first to Hugh the sheriff of York for guides to Monkchester (Newcastle) which they possibly chose more because of its name than anything else. After a short stay there they moved to the site of Bede's old monastery at Jarrow. The interpolator of Florence in HR states that they moved merely because they could not find at Monkchester any traces of former religious settlement, but Symeon in SHDE says that they changed their habitation at the inducement of Walcher. He wished them to come south of Tyne because Monkchester, though within the diocese of the bishop of Durham, was under the direct

[201] Symeon, II, 200; translation from J. Stevenson: *The Church Historians of England, Pre-Reformation Series*, London, 1853-56, III, 558.

[202] The account is entered in HR under the annal for 1074 and in SHDE the event is said to have taken place in the third year of Walcher's episcopate (1073-74) (Symeon, II, 200f.; I, 113).

jurisdiction not of the bishop but of the earl.[203] Throughout the period of the re-establishment of monasticism Walcher seems to have combined enthusiasm over the desire of Aldwine and his colleagues to settle in the bishopric with great care lest they should pass out of his authority. He welcomed them at Jarrow and gave them lands to provide means for rebuilding the church.[204]

Waltheof's part in this monastic revival was the gift of the church of Tynemouth to the monks of Jarrow. The former monastery of Tynemouth had been destroyed by the Danes, *c.* 800,[205] and the buildings and appurtenant lands probably passed into the hands of the Northumbrian earls.[206] The Tynemouth tradition preserved in *Vita* Oswini records visits of Tostig with his retinue,[207] on which occasions the parish church seems still to have been intact. But it was badly damaged during one of the campaigns which took place *c.* 1070. The same Tynemouth tradition states that it was sacked by Norman soldiers when William was returning from Scotland and was delayed at the crossing of Tyne.[208]

Waltheof's gift is attested by two charters, copies of which are preserved in *Cartularium Primum*, Cathedral Library, Durham. In the first, Waltheof, in Walcher's presence, granted Tynemouth and its appurtenances to Aldwine

[203] Symeon, I, 109.

[204] *Ib.* From Jarrow Reinfrid went to Whitby and refounded the monastery there. Later a migration from Whitby is said to have led to the founding of St. Mary's abbey at York close to the church Siward had built. Aldwine, taking with him the clerk Turgot, went to Melrose, but, being threatened with the bishop's excommunication if they did not return to the neighbourhood of Durham, they came south again and were directed to yet another former monastic site, Monkwearmouth. During the episcopate of Walcher's successor, William of St. Calais, the houses of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth were combined in a single greater establishment at Durham, the secular married canons who had previously served the church there being expelled. Walcher himself is credited with having similar intentions but he died before carrying them out. Perhaps his hesitation in executing his plans arose through his not being himself a monk. On Reinfrid see D. Knowles: *The Monastic Order in England*, Cambridge, 1940, pp. 166-168.

[205] Matthew Paris, *Rolls Series 57*, I, 367.

[206] As is suggested in *Northumberland County History*, VIII, 41.

[207] *Surtees Society Publications* 8, pp. 18ff.

[208] See above, n. 184.

and the monks at Jarrow, but, because the bishop intended ultimately to transfer the monks to Durham, the church of Tynemouth was granted also to St. Cuthbert (i.e. the church of Durham). At the same time Waltheof gave into the care of the monks his young cousin Morkar, son of his mother's sister and of the bishop's English friend Ligulf, with the intention that he might be educated and brought up in accordance with monastic discipline.

In the second charter bishop William of St. Calais confirmed the presentation of Tynemouth church to Aldwine and the monks, who had now been transferred from Jarrow and Monkwearmouth to Durham. This charter states that the grant had also been confirmed by Aubrey (Albrius), who was earl of Northumbria for a brief period in 1080.[209]

Robert of Mowbray, the next earl, gave Tynemouth church to the abbey of St. Albans, and its possession became a subject of contention between the prior of Durham and the abbot of St. Albans. These two charters formed the principal defence for the Durham case. It is uncertain whether the charters from which the existing manuscripts were copied were the originals; more probably they were reconstructions made for the purpose of prosecuting the suit. There seems little reason to doubt, however, that the grant they describe was actually made by Waltheof. In particular the details about the boy Morkar are convincing. The only

[209] J. Raine, who edited these charters in *Surtees Society Publications 9*, Appendices IX and X, there gives the impression that originals of these charters exist in addition to the copies in the Cartulary, but this is not so. Stevenson, *Church Historians*, III, 777f., repeats the statement more definitely. In the list of Pontifical Charters, I, I, preserved in the *Magnum Repertorium* of the library is an entry which shows that a charter purporting to be the original of Waltheof's was in existence when the *Magnum Repertorium* was compiled *c.* 1400-20. But written in the margin against it in bishop Cosin's handwriting is the word "deest", which shows that the charter could not be produced when Cosin was librarian, *c.* 1630-40. There is also a series of ticks made against the charters in this list, but there is no tick against the Waltheof charter entry. These ticks were probably made after Cosin's time, because the entry which precedes the Waltheof one, a donation of king Ecgfrid, also marked "deest" by Cosin, has been ticked and the "deest" struck out; so this charter, unlike the Waltheof one, had been recovered. There is no mention in *Magnum Repertorium* of an original of bishop William's confirmation of Waltheof's grant. The Cartulary dates from *c.* 1390.

suspicious features about Waltheof's charter are the way in which the church is given both to Aldwine and to the church of St. Cuthbert, and the fact that it is witnessed by "signum Alchredi comitis", which presumably refers to Waltheof's grandfather Aldred who had been killed about thirty-five years before.[210] It seems most unlikely that a forger setting out to base the claims of the monks of Durham to Tynemouth on a gift by Waltheof in his capacity of earl of Northumbria should think it advisable to throw in the weight of another earl so long since dead. In any case the copyist had before him a long list of names and ranks, and it would not be at all difficult for him to repeat the word "comitis" by mistake.[211] Or the signature may originally have belonged to the priest of that name who signs in the second charter about Tynemouth and in another charter of bishop William[212]: a copyist coming to the name Aldred, held by famous earls, may have promoted the priest to an earldom and exalted his position in the list of witnesses. Or again there may have been an Alchred to whom Waltheof had entrusted the northern part of Northumbria. These are mere surmises; the main point is that the phrase "signum Alchredi comitis" does not suggest a deliberate falsification. The second charter has an error in the date, 27th April, 1085, being referred to as a Monday, whereas in that year it fell on a Sunday.

Waltheof's grant of Tynemouth church is referred to also in the annals for 1080 and 1121 of *Historia Regum* and in Symeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae.* The annal for 1080 deals with the murder of bishop Walcher, an act of popular vengeance for the death of the thegn Ligulf. In an interpolation in Florence's account, the writer explains that this Ligulf was the father of Morkar whom Waltheof

[210] Raine reads "Aldredi" for "Alchredi", but the *ch* is quite clear and cannot be a *d*. In a previous copy, however, it might possibly have read "Althredi", as it would be easy to mistake a *t* for a *c*, and this would be a possible form of Aldred.

[211] So at any rate it seemed to me from my own experience in copying the charter.

[212] *Surtees Society Publications 9*, Appx. XIII.

had given to the monks of Jarrow along with Tynemouth church. He was one of the signatories of Waltheof's charter. This account states that the earl himself was at Tynemouth at that time. Some information about later history of Tynemouth is given in the 1121 annal, which may be by Symeon. The monks bringing an action in the chapter of St. Peter's, York, alleged that Tynemouth was given to them at the same time as the boy Morkar was entrusted to them in the church itself. From Tynemouth he was taken to Jarrow by ship. The monks recollected that Tynemouth had been served by one of their number from Jarrow together with one of the canons from Durham. At a later period, one of the monks called Thurkil was sent to restore the roof and live there. Later still, as a result of a quarrel between Robert of Mowbray, Aubrey's successor as earl of Northumbria, and bishop William, Thurkil was driven out and Tynemouth given by earl Robert to St. Albans, of which it became a cell. The case was still being argued fifty years later. The abbots of Peterborough and York explain in a letter[213] that they have heard the testimony of the prior of Durham, but that the abbot of St. Albans was absent owing to illness. They remitted the suit to pope Alexander III who appointed fresh judges. These, Roger, bishop of Worcester, and John, treasurer of Exeter, in a letter dated 12th November, 1174, at Warwick,[214] declare the result of the case: the bishop and prior of Durham agreed to drop for ever their claim to Tynemouth church, while the abbot of St. Albans, in acknowledgment of this, gave to the church of Durham the churches of Bywell[215] and Edlingham.[216]

SHDE, when referring to the grant of Tynemouth, does not mention Waltheof at all, but reads[217]: "Ecclesiam sane Sancti Oswini in Tinemuthe jamdudum donantibus northymbrie comitibus monaci cum adhuc essent in Gyrvum possederat." But in the earliest manuscript (*c.* 1100), pre-

[213] *Ib.*, Appx. XXXVII.
[214] *Ib.*, Appx., XXXVIII.
[215] GR 45/048616.
[216] GR 46/114092.
[217] In the *Rolls Series* edition the passage appears at I, 124.

served in bishop Cosin's Library, University of Durham, fo. 81r., part of this phrase is clearly written over an erasure. From the *i* of "donantibus" to the *s* of "comitibus" the writing is in a different, now darker, ink, and there is a space equal to the width of seven or eight letters after "comitibus". The phrase is also in a different hand; the *u* and *s* of "comitibus" are noticeably different from those of the original writer and are spaced out as if in a belated attempt to fill up the gap which follows. Moreover, when forming the last letter of "northymbrie" the second writer has tried, though not quite successfully, to copy the *e* which ended the line above. Under the *i* of "donantibus" an *e* is clearly visible in lighter ink. MS. Cotton Faustina A v, an early copy of this Durham manuscript, reads (fo. 89v), "donante Walchero ep*iscopo* cu*m* comitatu*m* regeret monaci" etc., while another copy, University Library, Cambridge, MS. Ff. 1.27 (fo. 122), has the Durham reading; evidently the alteration in the Durham MS. was made between the dates of these two copies. Arnold[218] suggested that the Durham MS. originally read "donante Waltheofo comite Northymbrie", and that the alteration was made because a grant from an earl who was executed for treason might be thought a poor support for the Durham claim. This would be a reasonable hypothesis were it not for the Faustina reading; it is far more probable that this was the original reading of the Durham MS. also; Arnold's objection to that possibility was that there is not room, but there would be room enough if one or two additional abbreviations were employed. Arnold instanced this alteration as an example of Symeon's shrewdness, but there is no proof that the alteration was authorized by Symeon. Even if the original entry was written by Symeon himself, which is unlikely, the alteration is certainly in another hand.

It was not only from his Northumbrian lands but also from those of his Huntingdon earldom that Waltheof made gifts to the church at this time. To bishop Remi(gius) of

[218] Symeon, I, xiii.

Dorchester and later Lincoln Waltheof gave Leighton Bromswold in Huntingdonshire.[219] This is shown by an original charter of William I now displayed in the Longland chapel of Lincoln Cathedral.[220] In association with Judith Waltheof also granted three hides and three virgates in "Chenemondewiche" in Bedfordshire to the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds.[221] The site of this holding is not now known, but it was in Buckley half hundred and it may have been near Blunham,[222] which was held of Judith by the abbot of St. Edmunds.[223]

It was between 1071 and 1075 that Waltheof was appointed a member of the royal commission set up to inquire into the losses suffered by the abbey of Ely since the days of king Edward.[224]

Waltheof, then, was held in respect by the church and was highly favoured and trusted by the king all this time. There is no indication that he felt in the least dissatisfied with his position until his sudden and fatal implication with earls Ralph and Roger in the Bridal Conspiracy.

VI.

It was probably as earl of Huntingdon that Waltheof was drawn into the conspiracy which cost him his life. The leaders of it were Roger, earl of Hereford, the unworthy son of William Fitz Osbern, William's trusted general and close friend, and Ralph de Wader, earl of East Anglia, who was of Breton descent and sympathies, though he was born in England. Discontent with their position drew them into alliance and a marriage was arranged between Ralph and

[219] GR 52/115753; DB, fo. 203d; VCH *Hunts.*, I, 341.

[220] The charter has been edited, with a photographic facsimile, in *Registrum Antiquissimum*, I, p. 2, no. 2 (*Lincoln Record Society 27*, 1931).

[221] DB, fo. 210c; VCH *Beds.*, I, 227f. For this lost place-name see PN *Beds. and Hunts.*, p. 109, under *Kinwick*.

[222] GR 52/154512.

[223] BD, fo. 217d; VCH *Beds.*, I, 260.

[224] See above, p. 162.

Roger's sister. According to the *Chronicle* account, the marriage took place with the king's approval, and the marriage feast was held at Norwich, where a plot was formed to drive William out of his kingdom.[225] Florence's account is substantially the same as that of the *Chronicle*, except in two particulars. He places the bridal at Exning in Cambridgeshire,[226] now in Suffolk, and he says that the marriage had been forbidden by the king.[227] The latter statement may be Florence's explanation of the dissatisfaction of the earls; the *Chronicle* seems here to be made up from contemporary material and there is little reason to distrust it.[228] On the other hand Exning is a less well known place than Norwich and is perhaps therefore correct.[229]

Some bishops and abbots were present at the feast as well as Waltheof, and good food and wine were used to tempt the guests into joining the conspiracy. Later writers differ in their estimate of Waltheof's guilt. An addition to the *Book of Hyde*, for instance, roundly calls him a second Absalom and says that he was incapable of any except pretended loyalty to his king, despite having received many gifts from William, not least the king's own niece in marriage.[230] Orderic, who had been hospitably entertained at Crowland, where Waltheof was venerated as a saint, takes a lenient view.[231] He makes Roger and Ralph deliver long

[225] 1075 E, 1076 D (*recte* 1075). The rhyming couplet inserted here:

þær wæs þæt bryd ealo
þæt wæs manegra manna bealo;

together with the lines which conclude the *Chronicle* account of the conspiracy, suggest that the story quickly became famous in song.

[226] GR 52/622655. The marked devaluation which the manor of Exning underwent when it was received by its DB holder may indicate that it was ravaged after the conspiracy (VCH *Cambs.*, I, 350). As Exning was in Cambridgeshire it was presumably within Waltheof's earldom.

[227] Florence, s.a. 1074.

[228] Cf. Stenton: *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 602.

[229] I think, however, that Florence's dating is here a year too early and that the dating of the E MS. of the *Chronicle* is right in referring the conspiracy to 1075 and Waltheof's execution to 1076. Florence has a blank for 1076.

[230] *Rolls Series 45*, p. 294.

[231] II, 258ff. Orderic does not mention the fact that the feast was in celebration of a wedding.

speeches protesting at the state into which England has fallen and propose that the three earls shall unite against William and one of them, presumably Waltheof, be made king in his place. Waltheof is then made to denounce their project. He reminds them of the disgrace in which a traitor is held and instances Achitophel and Judas. In particular he reminds them that by English law a traitor is condemned to lose his life. The earls, confounded at his speech, make him swear a terrible oath not to reveal their plans, and the swearing of this oath is, in Orderic, the extent of his guilt. William of Malmesbury admits that there are two sides to the question, about which, apparently, men still disagreed in Henry I's day when he wrote. According to William's *Gesta Regum*, Waltheof, despite his marriage to the king's niece, 'did not keep faith, being unable to restrain himself from the treachery of Ralph'; he is further said definitely to have conspired with the others, under the influence of drink, to take the king's life.[232] Even here, however, William of Malmesbury explains that this is the Norman view and that the English excuse Waltheof, saying that it was not voluntarily but under compulsion that he took the oath of treachery. And in *Gesta Pontificum* William of Malmesbury, after referring to the adverse Norman opinion of Waltheof which he gave in *Gesta Regum*, comes over to the English view that Waltheof was trapped into agreement with the rebellion. William seems to have been influenced by a conversation he had had with the prior of Crowland, who had told him that he had seen Waltheof's head miraculously rejoined to his body and therefore did not hesitate to call him a saint.[233] This favourable view of Waltheof's actions is naturally adhered to in the versions of his life written by monks of Crowland, who selected from Florence, Orderic and William of Malmesbury the most favourable pasages. But in spite of the fact that writers connected with

[232] *Rolls Series 90*, II, 312. It may be that the conspiring took the form of a *beot* or boasting vow, similar to the Norse 'bragi-cup' vow.
[233] *Rolls Series 52*, pp. 321f.

Crowland would be biased in Waltheof's favour, they are probably quite right in asserting that he had little to do with the conspiracy. A fatal weakness in his character probably made him accept the specious arguments of the earls on the day of the marriage feast and repent the day following.[234]

On leaving Exning Waltheof went to confess his share of guilt to archbishop Lanfranc, who absolved him from his oath of silence and advised him to go to the king in Normandy and throw himself on his mercy.[235] He did so and offered presents to William, who made light of the matter for the time being.[236]

The earls Roger and Ralph, however, continued with their rebellion, which is described in the *Chronicle*, Florence, and Orderic and in Lanfranc's letters. They obtained help from Ralph's kinsmen the Bretons, and applied for assistance also to Denmark.[237] William was in Normandy while the rebellion was being put down, and Lanfranc wrote to ask him not to trouble to return to England on account of such brigands, as the situation was under control.[238] It was the chief aim of the king's representatives to prevent Ralph and Roger from joining forces; bishop Wulfstan of Worcester and abbot Æthelwig of Evesham (both Englishmen), with the help of Urso, sheriff of Worcester, and Roger of Lacy, kept Roger beyond the Severn, while Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, with a large force of both English and Normans, including William of Warenne, Richard of Bienfaite and Robert Malet (whom Waltheof had spared at York), defeated Ralph near Cambridge before his preparations were completed.[239] Ralph fled to Norwich and was pursued; leaving the defence of

[234] The D MS. of the *Chronicle* and Florence, early sources, both follow up his presence at the feast with his confession to William and there is no evidence that he took any further part in the conspiracy.

[235] Florence, s.a. 1074.

[236] "Ac se kyngc let lihtlice of oth þæt he com to Englalande. And hine let sythan tacan." (*Chron.*, 1076 D (*recte* 1075).)

[237] *Ib.*

[238] Lanfranc: *Opera*, ed. J. A. Giles, Oxford, 1844, I, 56, letter 37.

[239] Orderic (II, 262) calls the site of the battle "Fagadune". I have not been able to identify it.

his castle to his bride he escaped by sea to Brittany.[240] The countess energetically defended the castle for three months; at the end of this time it was still uncaptured, and a truce was made by the terms of which she was allowed to leave England in safety. The situation at Norwich was explained to William by Lanfranc in another letter.[241]

William now returned to England; Roger was captured and Waltheof, in spite of his confession, was put in prison. Soon afterwards, belated support for the rebellion arrived from Denmark. Two hundred ships sailed under the command of Cnut, second son of Sweyn, and brother of Harald, then king of Denmark. That the proposed invasion had been taken seriously appears from a letter which Lanfranc wrote to bishop Walcher, bidding him guard well his castle at Durham against the Danes.[242] But they did not dare to fight with William and contented themselves with a hasty raid on York.[243]

At Christmas, William held his court at Westminster and sentenced the conspirators. Roger and Waltheof were placed in closer confinement, while others who had risen against William, in particular those of Ralph's Bretons who had been captured, were mutilated. Others again were outlawed or driven out of the country.[244]

[240] According to Orderic he went first to Denmark.
[241] *Opera*, I, 56, letter 38. [242] *Ib.*, 49, letter 28.
[243] *Chron.*, 1076 D (*recte* 1075).
[244] *Chron.*, 1076 D:

Sume hi wurdon geblende
and sume wrecen of lande
and sume getawod to scande
þus wurdon þæs kyninges
swican genytherade.

1075 E:

sume hy wurdon ablænde
and sume of land adrifene
swa wurdon Willelmes
swican genytherade.

Florence's words are a translation of similar lines: "Ex eis qui contra illum cervicem erexerant, de Anglia quosdam exlegavit, quosdam erutis oculis vel manibus truncatis deturpavit" (s.a. 1074).

Orderic also refers to the mutilation of Ralph's followers, though he places it before the siege of Norwich castle: "Omnibus captis, cujuscumque conditionis sint, dextrum pedem ut notificentur amputant" (II, 263).

Waltheof was kept in prison for several months before he was finally sentenced. As his execution took place at the end of May William probably had sentence pronounced on him at the Whitsuntide council; Whit Sunday was on May 15th. The delay suggests that the king took some time to decide whether the step, an unusual one for him, was wise.

From this point the information about Waltheof is hagiographical rather than historical and I do not propose to follow him beyond death to the miracles worked beside his tomb at Crowland. It would not, however, be fitting to record Waltheof's death without referring to the traditional account of his execution preserved by Orderic, miraculous though it is.

The execution took place on 31st May[245] on St. Giles' Hill outside Winchester. Waltheof, it is said, was led to the spot early in the morning, before the citizens awoke, for fear that they would try to prevent his death. There the earl distributed his clothes to the poor and the clergy,[246] and lying on the ground began to weep and pray. The executioners, growing impatient and fearing the people, begged him to rise and let them finish the king's work. 'Wait a little while,' he said, 'so that I may say the Lord's Prayer for myself and for you.' This was granted but so great was his emotion that his tears prevented his proceeding beyond 'Lead us not into temptation', and the executioner, growing impatient, drew his sword and cut off his head. And then, goes the story, in the hearing of all, the head, in a clear voice, finished the prayer, 'But deliver us from evil. Amen.' The men and women of Winchester, when they heard the news, set up a great lamentation for the fallen earl. The body was buried in unconsecrated ground on the site and

[245] Orderic here (II, 267) has "secundo kal. maii", 30th April, but this is clearly a slip, as elsewhere (II, 285 and 289) he has "pridie kal. junii" and "luce sub extrema maii", which agrees with the "on sce. Petronella mæssedæg" of *Chron.*, 1077 D (*recte* 1076).

[246] There is a curious echo of this episode in the *Fagrskinna* account of Waltheof's death; see above, p. 167.

lay there for a fortnight. Then abbot Ulfketal of Crowland, realizing, perhaps, how useful to the abbey the body of its patron might be, obtained William's permission to have it reburied at Crowland.

The account of Waltheof's death in Florence, though it contains nothing miraculous, is decidedly sympathetic to the earl.[247] He uses the words "indigne et crudeliter" when treating of his execution, and stresses the repentance Waltheof made for his sins during his last days by means of 'vigils, prayers, fasts and alms-giving'. Incidentally, according to Florence the instrument of execution was an axe. Florence also mentions Lanfranc's declaration that Waltheof was guiltless of the crime laid to his charge, and adds that Lanfranc himself had said that 'he would consider himself happy if he were able after his death to share in the same happy rest'.

In one respect Waltheof did not share the usual fate of a conspirator executed for treason; his possessions were not forfeit to the crown.

Most of his lands were held by his widow Judith at the time of the Domesday survey and there she is always referred to by the title of "comitissa"; she was clearly regarded as her husband's successor in his midland earldom. She held extensive possessions and appears in the survey as a tenant in chief in Bedfordshire, Buckingham, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Huntingdonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Middlesex, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Rutland and Yorkshire. Even though DB does not always provide complete information, so that one cannot always be sure whether or not Waltheof himself ever possessed any particular manor held by Judith in 1086, it is almost certain that after his death her property received additions from the king, her uncle.

Waltheof and Judith had two daughters. The elder was given the fashionable name Maud (Matilda), while the younger was called Alice (Alicea). Maud married twice, first Simon of Senlis,[248] a Norman knight, and afterwards

[247] s.a. 1075. [248] Senlis, St. Liz, or Silvanectes, in the departement of Oise.

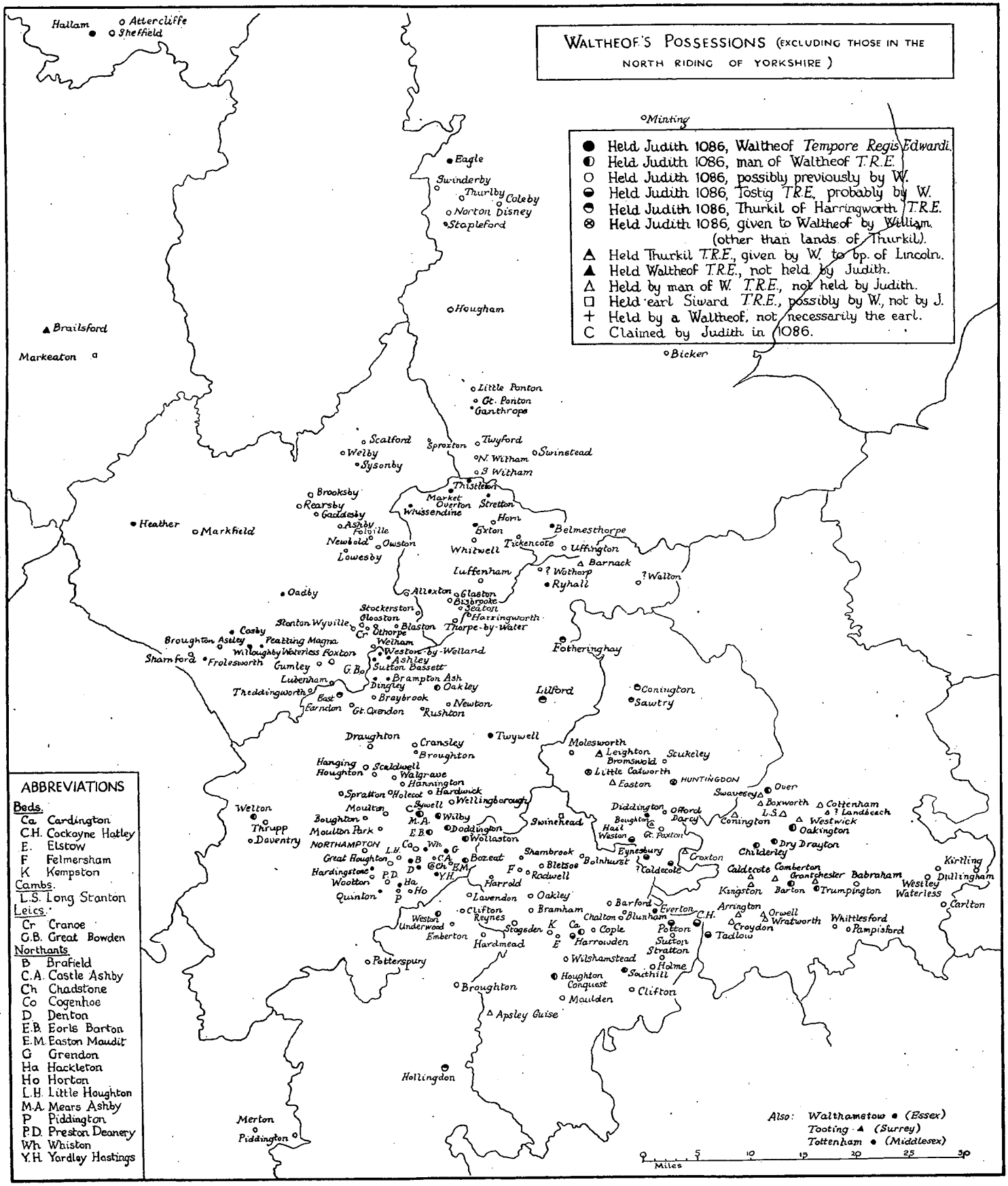

WALTHEOF'S POSSESSIONS (EXCLUDING THOSE IN THE NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE)
● Held Judith 1086, Waltheof Tempore Regis Edwardi.
◐ Held Judith 1086, man of Waltheof T.R.E.
○ Held Judith 1086, possibly previously by W.
◒ Held Judith 1086, Tostig T.R.E., probably by W.
◓ Held Judith 1086, Thurkil of Harringworth T.R.E.
⊗ Held Judith 1086, given to Waltheof by William. (other than lands of Thurkil).
△ Held Thurkil T.R.E., given by W. to bp. of Lincoln.
▲ Held Waltheof T.R.E., not held by Judith.
◬ Held by man of W. T.R.E., not held by Judith.
□ Held earl Siward T.R.E., possibly by W., not by J.
+ Held by a Waltheof, not necessarily the earl.
C Claimed by Judith in 1086.
ABBREVIATIONS
Beds.
Ca Cardington
C.H. Cockayne Hatley
E. Elstow
F Felmersham
K Kempston
Cambs.
L.S. Long Stanton
Leics.
Cr Cranoe
G.B. Great Bowden
Northants
B Brafield
C.A. Castle Ashby
Ch Chadstone
Co Cogenhoe
D Denton
E.B. Earls Barton
E.M. Easton Maudit
G Grendon
Ha Hackleton
Ho Horton
L.H. Little Houghton
M.A. Mears Ashby
P Piddington
P.D. Preston Deanery
Wh Whiston
Y.H. Yardley Hastings
Also: Walthamstow ● (Essex)
Tooting ▲ (Surrey)
Tottenham ● (Middlesex)
Miles
0 5 10 15 20 25 30

FIG. 3

David I of Scotland. As a result the earldom of Huntingdon and Northampton, and occasionally even that of Northumberland, became for a century and a half a subject of contention between her two families.

William might be willing to bestow the appurtenances of an earldom on a favourite niece, but he could not afford to take risks with Waltheof's most important earldom in the north which guarded the Border. On Waltheof's death he tried the experiment of allowing Walcher to rule both bishopric and earldom.[249] This came to an end when Walcher was murdered at Gateshead in 1080.[250] Aubrey then tried to rule the turbulent Northumbrians, but very quickly resigned the earldom.[251] He was replaced by Robert of Mowbray who rebelled against William II; after he had been dealt with the king took the earldom into his own hands.[252] It was not revived again until the reign of Stephen, when it was held for a short time by Waltheof's grandson, the second Simon[253] and afterwards by his half-brother Henry of Scotland, son of Maud and David, and by William the Lion. It was surrendered to the crown again in 1157.

VII.

In many ways Waltheof is more interesting for what he might have become than for what he was. With Harold's death the hopes of Wessex had died. After William's coronation the south of England was in his hands, but he was still far from having subdued the north and west, and the subsequent risings in Exeter, York and Durham show that the spirit at least of resistance was present. William's strength in England was not so great that it was inevitable

[249] Symeon, II, 384 (DNC).
[250] Florence, s.a. 1080.
[251] DNC, *loc. cit.* For Aubrey de Couci see VCH *Leics.*, I, 290. An anecdote is told about him by William of Newburgh (*Rolls Series 82*, II, 427).
[252] Symeon, II, 384 (DNC).
[253] See C. H. Hunter Blair, AA[4], XXII (1944), p. 167.

that he should triumph, and vigorous action after the victory at York might have caused his downfall. But the lack of co-operation between his enemies and the lack of a leader capable of taking charge of the opposition are only too obvious.

It was just possible that Waltheof might have been this leader. His birth was noble and his father had been respected and feared. It is true that Edgar Ætheling, Edwin and Morkar could also claim respect through their parentage, but they do not seem likely to have deserved it for any other reason. It was Waltheof's part in the victory over the Normans at York which was best remembered and his name was well enough known to attract to his service an Icelander like Thorkell Skallason.

However, Waltheof did not produce the qualities necessary for leadership and shows no sign of having tried to. It seems that he was a man who could fight vigorously and efficiently for a time, but that he was not capable of making decisions for himself.

It is true that Waltheof's position was not easy. His father died when he was a child, and even if he was of military age in 1066 and present at some of the battles, he must have been quite young. Shortly afterwards he fell into William's hands and was apparently kept as a well treated hostage of the king in circumstances that would have dulled the enthusiasm for resistance of all but the strongest character—which Waltheof's was not. Until about 1070 he had not had an opportunity to make a name for himself and thus circumstances had robbed him of most of the advantage of being a famous man's son. His Danish allies, on whom he could reasonably have counted for help, proved disappointing and must have been very difficult to get on with. King Sweyn neither risked coming to England himself nor saw that someone capable was sent in his place. As for Sweyn's brother Asbjörn, his ideas seem to have been limited to plunder; he had wasted the strength of the expedition in a series of futile raids on the east coast, and, after

success was at last achieved and the prize of York won, he allowed his forces to disintegrate as if their ends had been obtained. These facts may partly excuse the ineffectiveness of Waltheof's opposition to William. But there is little in what is known about his life to suggest that even in more favourable circumstances he might have become the saviour of England or the refounder of the Scandinavian kingdom of York. For throughout his life he seems to have succumbed to the influence of his associates. There are gaps in his biography which we should like to have filled in —in particular how he managed to escape from William's keeping in 1068—but for almost all his known deeds some cause outside himself was needed to push him into action. He suddenly appeared among the northern leaders at York as if he had not thought of organizing resistance himself but was willing to take an important share once the affair had started. After he surrendered to William he appears docile enough; he accepted the Conqueror's niece in marriage, saw to the building of Durham castle for William and was on very friendly terms with the Norman bishop, Walcher. In fact he would probably have given William no more trouble had it not been for earls Ralph and Roger. These two schemers must have known how Waltheof could be persuaded and their bridal hospitality was just sufficient to implicate him in their conspiracy, if only for one night. This time his compliance with his neighbours' wishes, though he did penance for it, was fatal; William did not forgive him twice.

Waltheof was a generous patron of the church and made grants to Lincoln, Durham and St. Edmunds as well as Crowland; and although among other motives he may have been impelled by the common one of wanting to improve his position in the next world, there seems no reason to doubt that his interest in assisting monastic life was genuine. Beneficiaries are, it is true, inclined to speak well of their benefactors and the praises of the Crowland historians must be read with much reserve, but the more modest

opinion of the Thorney tradition, that he was 'a saintly man and a lover of all justice', can be more readily accepted.

E. A. Freeman in discussing Waltheof's character was favourable to him, but found it impossible to excuse his slaying of Carl's sons at Settrington. But this deed must be thought of as part of its age, and, if assistance is required for the imagination, as belonging to a society somewhat like the Iceland of the sagas. The vendetta between Thurbrand's family and that of the earls, called by Sir Frank Stenton "the most remarkable private feud in English history", is reminiscent of many series of slayings between members of Icelandic families. If the full story had been recorded in saga rather than by a monk of Durham, the motives which led Waltheof to organize the slaying, difficult of appreciation as they must be to us now, would probably appear more intelligible. Even as it is, *De Obsessione Dunelmi* clearly shows what sort of things might happen in eleventh century Northumbria: frequent divorce, a bishop using church lands for his daughter's dowry, the survival of curious customs concerned with the disposal of dead enemies, and family feuds accepted as a matter of course. Against this background Waltheof's slaying of Carl's sons should hardly, in the absence of much more evidence than is before us, be classed as murder.

Taking the nature of the times into consideration in a similar way, William can hardly be blamed for Waltheof's trial and execution. He was simply too dangerous a person to leave alive. Imprisonment was a sufficient punishment for the other great men who had offended William, such as earls Roger and Morkar and bishops Ægelwine and Odo. Edwin, it is true, was killed by his own men in an attempt to gain William's favour, but it seems clear that William was not responsible, while Edgar Ætheling, though he joined William's enemies more than once, was not even worth the trouble of keeping in prison. But after lengthy consideration the efficient and prudent king decided that it was neces-

sary that Waltheof should lose his life. It was a compliment which points to Waltheof's importance more than do any of his own recorded actions. His easy-going disposition and desire not to displease may have made him rather likeable personally but were out of place in a man who, however reluctantly, came up against William the Conqueror.

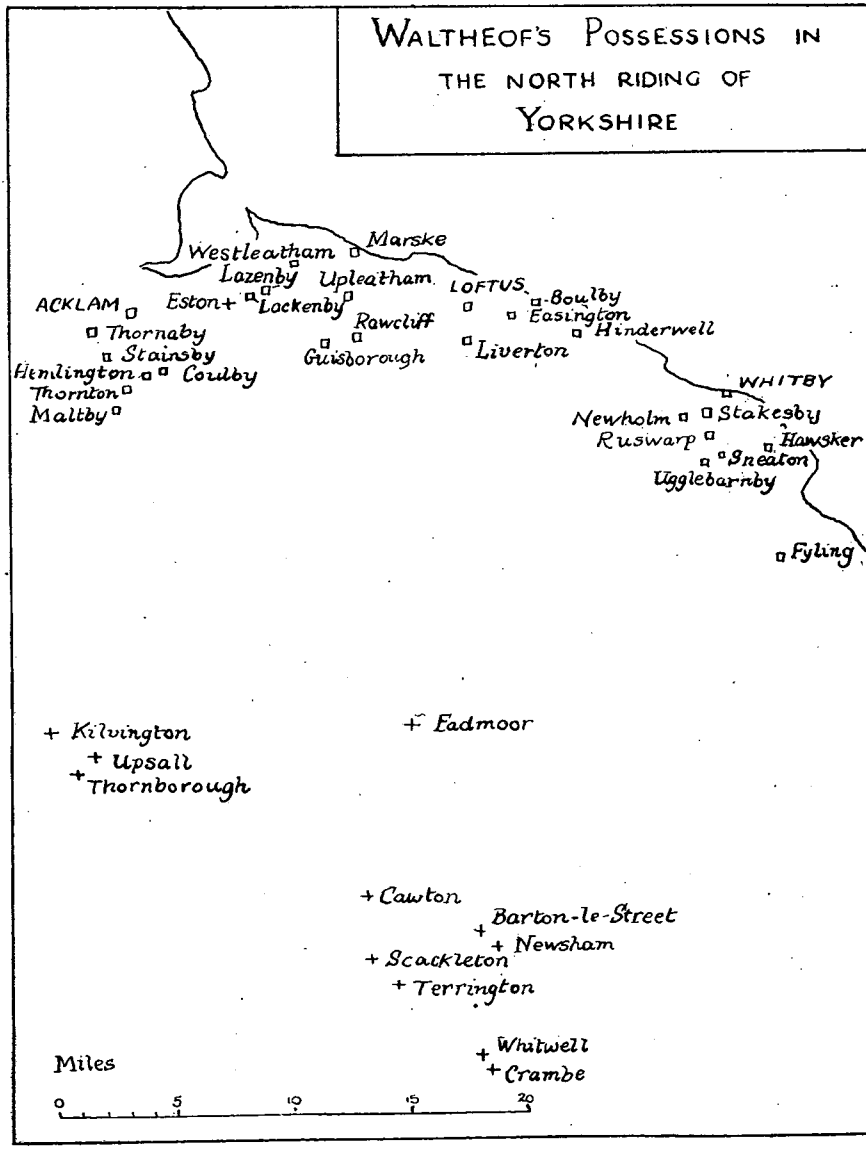

WALTHEOF'S POSSESSIONS IN THE NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE
Marske
Westleatham
Lazenby
Upleatham
LOFTUS
Boulby
ACKLAM
Eston
Lackenby
Easington
Thornaby
Rawcliff
Hinderwell
Stainsby
Guisborough
Liverton
Hemlington
Coulby
WHITBY
Thornton
Maltby
Newholm
Stakesby
Ruswarp
Hawsker
Sneaton
Ugglebarnby
Fyling
Kilvington
Eadmoor
Upsall
Thornborough
Cawton
Barton-le-Street
Newsham
Scackleton
Terrington
Whitwell
Crambe
Miles
0
5
10
15
20

FIG. 2

THE POSSESSIONS OF EARL WALTHEOF AND COUNTESS JUDITH

As the chief purpose of the maps is to show the geographical distribution of Waltheof's lands no attempt is made to differentiate between manors and their berewicks. This is of little significance in the East Midlands, but in the North Riding all holdings marked as Siward's were subordinate to Whitby, Loftus or Acklam.

Most of the estates were held *in* a certain place and did not constitute the whole of it; sometimes Judith herself held more than one estate in a village, e.g. seven holdings are recorded for Sutton in Bedfordshire. In the case of Horton and Wollaston (Northants.) the holding recorded on the map is the larger of two; in each place a Waltheof did, T.R.E., personally possess a smaller holding.

No indication is given of the size of the holdings, which varies greatly, e.g. Kingston, 10 acres; Great Paxton, 25 hides.

No Domesday survey exists for the counties north of Yorkshire.

The lost or unidentified place-names *Chenemundewiche* in Bedfordshire and *Ricoltorp* and *Elvelege* in Leicestershire are not shown on the map. The identifications of Walton and Wothorpe in Northamptonshire, Landbeach in Cambridgeshire and Caldecote in Huntingdonshire are uncertain.

The following are not shown, as Domesday Book gives only the name of the hundred and not of the place: Longstow (Judith's in 1086), Northstow (Judith's in 1086, a man of earl Waltheof's in the days of King Edward) and Papworth (Judith's in 1086, for men of earl Waltheof's in the days of Edward); all three are in Cambridgeshire.

The following should be included: Saxby (Leics.) five miles east of Sysonby, held by Judith in 1086, and Cundall (Yorks., N.R.), fourteen miles due west of Scackleton, held by a Waltheof, T.R.E., with its berewicks Norton-le-Clay, Leckby, Brampton Hall, Fawdington, North Stanley, East Tanfield and "Caldewell" in Marton-on-the-Moor. Ryhall should appear in Rutland, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NW of Belmesthorpe, not in Northants. *Swinehead* should read *Swineshead* and *Holecot, Holcot.* Cardington and Houghton Conquest (Beds.) should appear as being held T.R.E. by a man of earl Tostig, Sharnford (Leics.) by earl Waltheof and Harringworth (Northants.) by Thurkil of Harringworth; these four were all Judith's in 1086. The Thurkil who held Hollingdon (Beds.) T.R.E. and in 1086 was almost certainly not Thurkil of Harringworth, who may, however, have been the Thurkil who held Owston (Leics.) Thistleton (Rutland) was held T.R.E. by a certain Eric, not by Waltheof.

The coastline and county boundaries are modern.