Earnwine the Priest and Earnwig the Sheriff

King’s Thegns in Nottinghamshire and Beyond in the Eleventh Century

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Abstract

Domesday Book is a valuable source for studying royal clergy in England between 1066 and 1086. This paper focuses on two of these clerics, both with landholdings in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, to explore what these can show us about the services they carried out for Edward the Confessor and William I. The first, Earnwine the priest, held strings of landholdings, mostly small and sited at intervals along major routeways across the dioceses of Lincoln and York, while the activities of the second, Earnwig the sheriff, were more closely focused on the north-east Midlands. Earnwine probably acted as a confidential royal messenger along major routes, while Earnwig, the post-Conquest sheriff of Nottingham and Derby, operated within a more narrowly defined area. Both assisted kings to communicate with peripheries.

Keywords

Domesday Book, clergy, road systems, royal administration, sheriffs, minster churches, prebends

At the end of many of the shire entries in Domesday Book, positioned after the descriptions of the holdings of the more substantial tenants-in-chief, comes a heading ‘The King’s Thegns’.[[1]](#footnote-1) Under this heading we find information about the holdings of very minor landholders, mostly with English or Scandinavian names. These individuals were quite diverse. Some were widows; a few were nuns; several of them were recipients of the king’s alms; many carried out ministerial duties for the kings, for example as foresters or huntsmen.[[2]](#footnote-2) Quite a few of them were clerics, a point that has been noted but insufficiently stressed in scholarship: it should remind us that kings relied on a range of clerics to help with administrative tasks. Scholars have noted that one factor uniting the king’s thegns in Domesday was their connection with the sheriff: some individuals would have been under his protection while others would have carried out tasks on his orders.[[3]](#footnote-3) The links with sheriffs apply to the clerics among the king’s thegns also. One of these figures was Earnwine the priest, who occurs among the king’s thegns in Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, and Lincolnshire, but who can also be observed in several other entries for these shires and in a few entries for other shires.[[4]](#footnote-4) Another of the king’s thegns in Nottinghamshire was Earnwig, perhaps identifiable with the man of that name who occurs as sheriff of Nottingham in the early 1070s and probably also the earliest prebendary of Normanton in the church of Southwell.[[5]](#footnote-5) He is also very likely to be the Earnwig who occurs among the king’s thegns in Derbyshire.[[6]](#footnote-6) Grouping together the information about these two figures sheds light on two royal clerics of some significance and thus also on royal administration in the reigns of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror. Gathering together the information is not straightforward. Scribe 1 of Great Domesday, though highly skilled, was not strictly consistent in his presentation of personal names, particularly Old English ones, so we need to reflect on how identities can be established.[[7]](#footnote-7) Once that has been done, it will be possible to look at Earnwine and Earnwig’s holdings in Domesday and use them as a means of exploring their activities and administrative responsibilities in the service of English kings.

Map 1. Selected Places Associated with Earnwine. Map by David Bower

As outlined by the Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England database, the name Earnwine occurs in Domesday Book twenty-six times in the time of King Edward and twenty-nine times in 1086, all in Great Domesday, in the forms Arnuin, Ernuin, Ernuinus and Eruuin.[[8]](#footnote-8) The most frequently occurring form is Ernuin, which appears thirty-two times. Most of the Earnwine references can be identified as a single individual, essentially PASE’s Earnwine 4. He is usually but not invariably defined as Earnwine the priest, and his properties chiefly lay in the dioceses of Dorchester (Lincoln) and of York. He was active both in 1066 and in 1086: in 1066 he held mostly from the king but partly from Queen Edith, but in 1086, although he continued to hold some of the land he had held in 1066, he held a number of different estates, often from the king, sometimes from Roger of Poitou and a few other landholders (Roger de Busli, Robert Malet, and the deceased Queen Matilda).[[9]](#footnote-9) Another Earnwine the priest who occurs holding land in Worcestershire from the church of Worcester in 1066 (Earnwine 9 in PASE) has no obvious links in terms of geography or patronage with Earnwine 4, while two landholders called Earnwine who occur in Cheshire (Earnwine 5) and Warwickshire in 1066 (Earnwine 8) are never referred to as priest in respect of their holdings in these shires and were probably laymen. In 1086 the lands of Earnwine 8 were held by William, son of Corbucion, and those of Earnwine 5 by Robert fitzHugh, William Malbank and Ilbert from Earl Hugh. Earnwine 9’s lands had been acquired by Urse d’Abitot, evidently to the annoyance of Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester. The Earnwine who occurs with no description holding one hide at Moccas in Herefordshire in 1066 may just possibly be identifiable with either Earnwine 9 or Earnwine 4, however, as this land was held from the royal minster of St Guthlac’s in Hereford the holder could well have been a member of the clerical community there.[[10]](#footnote-10) One individual named Earnwine occurring in Domesday has a byname — Earnwine Catenase (Catnose), who occurs in the Yorkshire clamores section — and this byname seems to have been applied to differentiate him from Earnwine 4.[[11]](#footnote-11)

Map 2. Places Associated with Earnwig. Map by David Bower

As in the case of the name Earnwine, Domesday occurrences of the name Earnwig are all in Great Domesday. The name occurs about seventy times, usually in the form Ernui, which occurs about fifty times, though the forms Erneuui, Ernu, Ernui, Ernuit and Ernuui occasionally appear and Arnui can be found on eight occasions.[[12]](#footnote-12) Many of the occurrences are in the West Midlands, especially Cheshire and Shropshire, but several lie in the north-east Midlands, in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Lincolnshire. Only once in Domesday is the word ‘priest’ attached to any of the individuals named Earnwig: this is in the entry for Normanton in Nottinghamshire.[[13]](#footnote-13)

Earnwine the priest can be identified chiefly by the term ‘priest’ attached to him, but a number of other features observable in several of the entries in which he appears are suggestive of a single individual. He usually occurs holding royal patronage, in one instance as tenant-in-chief, more often as king’s thegn, or occasionally a tenant or protégé of the queen (Edith in 1066, Matilda thereafter); however, at some point after the Norman Conquest he appears also to have entered the service of Roger of Poitou, from whom he held a number of properties.[[14]](#footnote-14) In some cases it is possible to see exchanges taking place, as Roger can sometimes be found as the 1086 successor for a few of the lands Earnwine had held in the time of King Edward lying close to ones that Earnwine held from him in 1086.[[15]](#footnote-15) Several of Earnwine’s properties were connected with minster churches, either explicitly, as in the cases of Grantham and Stamford, or with a high degree of likelihood, as in the cases of St Paul’s in Bedford, Everingham in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and Winghale in Lincolnshire. Indeed, the co-relation between Earnwine’s holdings and some very well-endowed parish churches recorded in the late thirteenth-century Taxatio Papae Nicholai is striking: we can guess that many of these churches would have been substantial pre-Conquest minsters.[[16]](#footnote-16) Although some of Earnwine’s properties were assessed at between three and eight carucates, and two of them were very large indeed (Kilham in the East Riding of Yorkshire with its associated vills was assessed at forty carucates, and Beetham in Westmorland with its associated vills at twenty-five carucates), most of his holdings were very small, often only a fraction of a carucate. Most of them lay near, though not usually actually on, a major road, sometimes also at a ferry crossing or near a coastline. A certain amount can be ascertained or conjectured about Earnwine’s background and career from Domesday, so we can start by assessing the details we have for these before examining his property ownership in more detail.

Domesday informs us about two of Earnwine’s relatives. One of these was his father, not named by Domesday, who held a hide at Harrowden about three miles south-east of Bedford in 1066 and who was a man of Edward the Confessor. Harrowden is nowadays situated on a main road running through Bedford from south-east to north-west (A600) and another main road running east to west (A421). The local jurors noted that Earnwine, who held this hide at Harrowden as tenant-in-chief in 1086 (this was the only manor that he is recorded as holding as tenant-in-chief), had taken possession of it without a livery officer or a writ; presumably Earnwine had felt that he could inherit the property without being contested.[[17]](#footnote-17) Earnwine’s entry as tenant-in-chief in the Bedfordshire folios comes last in the sequence of ecclesiastical tenants-in-chief in the shire and immediately after the entry for the canons of St Paul’s in Bedford, several of whom are mentioned by name. It seems likely that he had a position within St Paul’s; one hide was a normal size for a clerical holding within a substantial minster church, and perhaps the hide at Harrowden had originally been part of the endowments of St Paul’s Bedford.[[18]](#footnote-18) It is probably safe to guess that his father had also been a cleric of St Paul’s, perhaps placed there by royal appointment. By 1086 Earnwine’s position in the borough of Bedford was further strengthened by his acquisition of a virgate at Biddenham, two miles to the north-west of the middle of the town and conveniently situated on the road from Bedford to Northampton (the modern A4280). Earnwine owed this holding to the bishop of Lincoln, probably Remigius, from whom he held it.[[19]](#footnote-19) His two properties just outside Bedford would have given him useful resting-places on journeys within the southern half of the very large diocese of Lincoln.

The other relative of Earnwine mentioned specifically by Domesday is Godric son of Garwine, who had become a monk at Peterborough by 1086 but who had begun his career as a cleric in Lincoln. Godric had possessed the church of All Saints with twelve house-plots, four crofts and a carucate in the fields outside the city and had transferred them to Peterborough when he became a monk there on the assumption that they were his by inheritance. The citizens of Lincoln said that neither Godric nor Garwine (this implies that Garwine had held them before Godric) had the right to bestow the property to people outside Lincoln or outside his kin without a grant by the king. Earnwine the priest, as Godric’s kinsman (consanguineus), claimed the church and its appurtenances.[[20]](#footnote-20)

Another of Earnwine’s relatives may possibly be identifiable as Earnwine Catenase, who had held lands assessed at six and a half carucates in Yorkshire in 1066, three of these at Scagglethorpe three miles east of Malton on the road from York to Scarborough,[[21]](#footnote-21) and the other three and a half at Upper Poppleton about four miles north-west of the middle of York just to the north of the road from York to Knaresborough.[[22]](#footnote-22) The main entries for these manors state that Earnwine held them in 1066, without defining him by his byname or by any statement about his status or occupation, but in the Yorkshire clamores we find the men of Ainsty wapentake stating that the lands had belonged to Earnwine Catenase and should be held by Earnwine the priest from Robert Malet rather than by their actual holder, Ermenfrid, tenant of Osbern de Arches.[[23]](#footnote-23) It is likely that the two Earnwines were related, and that Earnwine the priest had hoped to inherit from Earnwine Catenase, who might just possibly have been his father.

Domesday also informs us about challenges that Earnwine the priest had to face in the years between 1066 and 1086, though the fact that he was able to make property claims in 1086 suggests that he had overcome the worst difficulties by then. One challenge was that at some point after 1066 he had been ‘captured’ (captus). Domesday does not explain whether this was an official arrest or a kidnapping, and we do not know how the situation was resolved, but the event itself had been so striking that it was used by Domesday jurors to explain when William Blunt had held Beesby, a manor that had been held by four thegns in 1066 but which was held by Count Alan in demesne in 1086. William Blunt was stated to have held Beesby ‘on the day on which Earnwine the priest had been taken, and before’.[[24]](#footnote-24) It is just possible that this event was connected with the other challenge faced by Earnwine the priest, which appears to have been a falling-out with Bishop Walcher of Durham. Earnwine had owned property including a house in York which William I had ordered Earl Hugh, as sheriff, to deliver to Walcher.[[25]](#footnote-25) This doubtless happened very soon after Walcher was made bishop in 1072, and cannot have been later than his death on 14 May 1080.[[26]](#footnote-26) Earnwine lost the house in York (perhaps he had owed his tenure of it to Walcher’s predecessor Bishop Æthelwine), but he could well have been luckier in Grantham, where Walcher’s successor, William de Saint-Calais, claimed seven out of the eight house-plots belonging to the church of Grantham, which were held by Earnwine the priest.[[27]](#footnote-27)

Most of Earnwine’s holdings in Domesday lie close to major routes. A settlement lying about one or two miles away from a main road was less likely to be pestered with requests for hospitality by strangers than one actually situated on the road, but was near enough for its owner to reach the main road quickly when setting off on a journey. Two of the routes best-known to Earnwine were Roman roads: Ermine Street in Lincolnshire, and the road from York to Bridlington.[[28]](#footnote-28) Some represent post-Roman developments, especially the Great North Road in those sections that diverge from Ermine Street and routes across southern Yorkshire towards York.[[29]](#footnote-29) The main Roman route from London to York had run through Lincoln and then to a ferry crossing at Winteringham on the Humber estuary across to Brough and then north-west to York;[[30]](#footnote-30) as an alternative the Romans built a road diverging from Ermine Street at a point just to the north of Lincoln and heading west to Bawtry and then northwest to Doncaster and Castleford, finally heading eastwards to York via Tadcaster.[[31]](#footnote-31) The Great North Road made use of the alternative version of Ermine Street from Bawtry to just south of Tadcaster. We can start with Earnwine’s Great North Road properties, some of which were also on Ermine Street.

Earnwine had no properties on the Great North Road south of Lincolnshire, though it is worth noting that his holdings near Bedford were not far to the west of Sandy on the Great North Road.[[32]](#footnote-32) In 1066 he had held two churches and twenty-two houses in Stamford, a borough largely under the control of Queen Edith and the main economic hub in southern Lincolnshire; while the houses are said to have passed to the control of Eudo Dapifer by 1086 there is no mention of what had happened to the churches by that date, and it is not impossible that Earnwine had continued to have some position in one or both of them.[[33]](#footnote-33) At South Witham, about twelve miles north of Stamford and just a mile to the west of the Great North Road, Earnwine the priest, as king’s thegn, had six bovates in alms from the king in 1086; the 1066 holder is not mentioned and might well also have been Earnwine.[[34]](#footnote-34) Eleven miles to the north of South Witham lies Grantham, where as we have already seen Earnwine held seven of the eight house-plots belonging to the church of Grantham that were disputed by Bishop William of Saint-Calais in 1086. Very probably Earnwine held the eighth house-plot and the church as well, though this is not stated. The church was a valuable one, assessed at £8 in the time of King Edward and £10 in 1086, though apparently only bringing in £5. Its holder in 1066 is not named but might have been Earnwine; the main landholder in Grantham in 1066 was Queen Edith.[[35]](#footnote-35) This string of properties meant that Earnwine could manage journeys from Stamford to Grantham very gently as a two-day trip, or more quickly in a single day but with a mid-day break in his own vill at South Witham. From Grantham it was merely twelve miles to Newark, where Earnwine could make use of the facilities offered by one of his lords, the bishop of Lincoln, or he could leave the Great North Road to travel just over twenty miles to Lincoln itself.[[36]](#footnote-36)

Further north on the Great North Road lay Gamston, about three or four miles south of Retford: just a mile and a half to the west of Gamston Earnwine the priest held four bovates at Elkesley in 1086, as a king’s thegn.[[37]](#footnote-37) Elkesley lay on the edge of Sherwood Forest; so did Morton, about two to three miles west of Retford, where Earnwine held three bovates in 1086 as king’s thegn. In both cases he succeeded a thegn called Aschil or Askell.[[38]](#footnote-38) Both places were conveniently situated for access to the Great North Road at Retford, and just three miles to the north-east of Retford Earnwine the priest also held two bovates at Clarborough in 1086.[[39]](#footnote-39) Earnwine the priest’s most northerly property in Nottinghamshire was at Misson, where he held one and a half bovates in 1086 as king’s thegn, in succession to a thegn called Cnut.[[40]](#footnote-40) Misson lies about three miles east of Bawtry, in the southernmost part of Yorkshire and on the Great North Road, about eight or nine miles north of Retford and nine miles south of Doncaster. Earnwine the priest held five carucates at Armthorpe just four miles to the east of Doncaster as king’s thegn in 1086: this manor would have been a useful resting-place on journeys to his properties in the rest of Yorkshire and in northern Lincolnshire, as we will see.[[41]](#footnote-41) Earnwine clearly owed his properties in northern Nottinghamshire and at Armthorpe to William I, who probably employed him as a confidential messenger for business of importance, and perhaps also as a royal official in charge of the northern edge of Sherwood Forest.

Ermine Street was another route on and near which Earnwine had interests. We have already noted his possessions at Stamford and South Witham, which lie on the course of Ermine Street.[[42]](#footnote-42) On the southern edge of Lincoln, Earnwine held three carucates as subtenant of Roger of Poitou. These carucates formed small shares of two vills, Canwick and Bracebridge; Bracebridge, three miles south from the centre of Lincoln, is where the Foss Way coming in from Newark crosses the River Witham not far to the south of its junction with Ermine Street,[[43]](#footnote-43) while Canwick was on the route from Lincoln to Sleaford.[[44]](#footnote-44) Canwick and Bracebridge each lay about a mile from Ermine Street. In Lincoln, Earnwine the priest held a house from the king in 1086 (in 1066 he had held it from Earl Morcar);[[45]](#footnote-45) as we have seen, he had family connections in Lincoln, where he tried to claim substantial property that had belonged to his kinsmen Godric and Garwine. Eight miles to the north of Lincoln and just a mile and a half west of Ermine Street Earnwine held two bovates as king’s thegn in 1086, ‘from the king and queen’ at Ingham.[[46]](#footnote-46) He presumably received this in exchange for Fillingham, about a mile to the north of Ingham and also about a mile and a half west of Ermine Street, which he had been given by the queen (perhaps Matilda?) at a point between 1066 and 1086. The holder of Fillingham in 1066 had been Godric the deacon, who may be identifiable with Earnwine’s kinsman Godric who became a monk at Peterborough after the Conquest; by 1086 it was held by Asketill as king’s thegn, although Roger of Poitou had tried to take it over.[[47]](#footnote-47)

To the north-east of Lincoln, Earnwine the priest held half a carucate at either North or South Owersby, about two miles to the west of the road from Lincoln to Caistor, in 1066;[[48]](#footnote-48) by 1086 it was held by Siward the priest, a namesake of one of Earnwine’s Lincoln colleagues in 1066;[[49]](#footnote-49) another part of Owersby, in the lands of Winghale church, evidently an old minster, was held by Ernui in 1066. Although Ernui here is more likely to be Earnwig the sheriff (of whom more later), it is not impossible that this might be an error for Earnwine, and it is worth noting that by 1086 this land had passed to Roger of Poitou, who occurs elsewhere as Earnwine the priest’s successor or lord on several occasions.[[50]](#footnote-50) In 1066 Earnwine the priest also held a small share of Killingholme about three miles from Barton Street and three miles from the Humber estuary. Together, he and five other thegns held two and a half carucates worth £4: perhaps they helped to organize defences and obtained income from fisheries or tolls.[[51]](#footnote-51) It is possible that the Earnwine who shared a carucate at Swallow in 1066 and the Earnwine holding twelve bovates at Riby from Roger of Poitou might also be identifiable with Earnwine the priest: Riby is on Barton Street, about ten miles from Grimsby, and Swallow is about three miles from Riby.[[52]](#footnote-52) The Earnwine who shared two carucates with Siward at Barton on Humber in 1066, is perhaps to be identified also with the Earnwine who held just over five carucates at Great Newsome in Holderness in the East Riding of Yorkshire in 1066: both properties, important for organizing coastal defences, passed to Drogo de la Beuvrière.[[53]](#footnote-53) In these two cases a connection with our Earnwine the priest seems more tenuous, though not completely out of the question.

Earnwine the priest had only a little property in southern and central Nottinghamshire, but what he had was of strategic value. On the Foss Way not far to the south of Newark he held one and a half bovates at Flintham from Roger de Busli in 1086, with soke in Kneeton.[[54]](#footnote-54) The latter, on the Trent, may have allowed him control over a ferry crossing, and it is noticeable that in 1066 he had also held, as king’s thegn, five bovates at Gonalston on the other side of the Trent, not quite opposite Kneeton but nearly so. The 1086 holder of Gonalston is not named and may well still have been Earnwine.[[55]](#footnote-55) In the list of holdings of Nottinghamshire kings’ thegns the next two entries but one also concern land held by Earnwine, on both occasions in 1086 only and both in the area just to the west of Nottingham: Earnwine held one and a half carucates at Trowell and five bovates at East Chilwell, the latter conveniently placed a mile to the south of the main road from Nottingham to Derby and about half way between the two.[[56]](#footnote-56) In 1086 Earnwine (here not identified as priest) also claimed Risley in Derbyshire, likewise lying very near the main road from Nottingham to Derby.[[57]](#footnote-57) Elsewhere in the Derbyshire folios Earnwine, again not identified as priest, had six bovates at Oakthorpe in 1066: this vill (in fact in Leicestershire) lay about six miles south-west of Ashby de la Zouch and was very near the route marked out by John Ogilby in the seventeenth century as the best means of getting from Oxford to Derby.[[58]](#footnote-58) It is possible that the entries for Risley and Oakthorpe might refer to Earnwine the priest, but this is by no means a secure identification.

We have already seen that Earnwine the priest’s Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire properties were mostly sited to support journeys to the Humber estuary and the land routes running northwards past the western end of the estuary. Beyond Armthorpe on the edge of Doncaster,[[59]](#footnote-59) Earnwine the priest could proceed by way of Camblesforth to York. Camblesforth, where he held one carucate as king’s thegn in 1086,[[60]](#footnote-60) lies three miles north of Snaith, at a crossing-point over the River Aire, and six miles south of Selby, itself about twelve miles south of York. In York itself, Earnwine had, as noted above, lost property to Bishop Walcher of Durham,[[61]](#footnote-61) but he might have retained a house in the city, since he may be identifiable with one of the two individuals called Ernui who are recorded as holding houses in 1086 from Robert Malet.[[62]](#footnote-62) The identity of the Earnwine who held land at Old Snydale near Pontefract in 1066 is unclear, and there is nothing about the entry that allows a clear link to be made with Earnwine the priest.[[63]](#footnote-63) Southwards from York on one of the routes to Howden (the modern B1228), Earnwine the priest in 1086 claimed two carucates at Grimston, six miles south of York, and six carucates at Aughton, about nine miles north of Howden, though in both cases unsuccessfully.[[64]](#footnote-64) To the north-east of York, Earnwine held sizeable, though waste, properties near and on the main route from York to Bridlington by 1086. At Huggate, nearly three miles south of the main route from York to Bridlington (an old Roman road), and three miles north of Warter on the B1246 from Pocklington to Driffield, Earnwine the priest held eight carucates as king’s thegn in 1086.[[65]](#footnote-65) The land is described as waste, but it is worth noting that Huggate church was recorded as being worth £40 in the 1291–1292 Taxatio Papae Nicholai, by which point it was in the possession of St Mary’s Abbey in York.[[66]](#footnote-66)

Further east lay Earnwine’s largest Yorkshire holdings, the estates of Kilham, Harpham, and Gransmoor, together assessed at forty carucates and straddling the main York–Bridlington road about eight miles west of Bridlington. Earnwine held these in 1066, when they were worth £15, and in 1086, by which time they were waste.[[67]](#footnote-67) This wastage may have resulted from William I’s decision in 1085 to damage coastal lands in order to deprive raiding enemies of sustenance, a policy which appears to have had significant effect chiefly in Yorkshire.[[68]](#footnote-68) By early in Henry I’s reign Kilham had come into direct royal control and we find Henry I granting its church, together with the churches of several other royal manors, to York Minster and Archbishop Gerard of York probably late in 1107.[[69]](#footnote-69) Gerard used the churches to endow the deanery.[[70]](#footnote-70) Henry II granted the manor of Kilham to Archbishop Hugh of Rouen in exchange for revenue at Gisors between December 1154 and 1155, refining the terms of the grant two years later between April 1157 and August 1158 to give half the manor to Archbishop Hugh and half to the canons of Rouen cathedral.[[71]](#footnote-71) The group of estates held by Earnwine at Kilham had a notable strategic value, situated on the main road to the harbour at Bridlington and the headland at Flamborough. Even when waste, they were of importance, and especially so if church income is considered. In addition, they are adjacent to the northernmost estates of Beverley Minster, encouraging us to reflect on relations between Earnwine and the canons of Beverley. In an earlier work I raised the possibility that Earnwine might have been the leading cleric in that church:[[72]](#footnote-72) it seems unlikely, however, that he could have been given a position in Beverley Minster by one of the archbishops of York, as he never occurs in connection with any of them, though it is just possible that he could have been given the position of provost of Beverley (as the role became titled by the turn of the twelfth century) by William I in the archiepiscopal vacancy following Ealdred’s death.[[73]](#footnote-73)

The Yorkshire folios show us Earnwine the priest holding yet another large complex of estates near the coast, but in this case on the Irish Sea in southern Westmorland, at Beetham and its associated vills of Yealand, Farleton, Preston, Borwick, Hincaster, Heversham, and Levens. Here, in 1086, Earnwine held from Roger of Poitou land that in 1066 had belonged to Earl Tostig.[[74]](#footnote-74) Beetham is about ten miles south of Kendal and, together with two of its dependencies, Heversham and Levens, it controlled access to the eastern side of the estuary of the River Kent at the northern end of Morecambe Bay. Again, we see Earnwine managing property with considerable strategic value; in this case he would have been responsible for organizing defences against attacks from the Isle of Man. He would also have enjoyed valuable fishing rights and tolls, while the church of Beetham probably also brought him substantial revenues.[[75]](#footnote-75)

Earnwine’s final years are obscure. Since Bishop Osmund of Salisbury was able to grant the churches at Grantham to Salisbury Cathedral in 1091, this suggests that Earnwine had either died or had resigned his rights to the church there by that date. Possibly he resigned Grantham and survived into the twelfth century; if so, Henry I’s grant of the church of Kilham to Archbishop Gerard and York Minster might point to him dying between 1100 and 1108. Since he was already an adult and actively involved in ecclesiastical and political life in 1066, it may be reasonable to guess that he was born in the 1030s, probably no later than c. 1040.

There is much obscurity also in the career of Earnwig the sheriff, though in his case we can spot his activity in a somewhat wider range of sources. In the early 1070s, between 1070 and, probably, April 1072, he occurs as sheriff of Nottinghamshire as one of the addressees of a writ of William I granting lands to the church of Stow in Lincolnshire.[[76]](#footnote-76) As Judith Green has suggested, he may well also be identifiable with the E. who occurs as sheriff in a writ of William II addressed to the shire courts of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire and datable to 1093.[[77]](#footnote-77) The shrievalty of Nottingham was held together with that of Derby from the eleventh century down to the sixteenth, and this arrangement was already well established by 1086:[[78]](#footnote-78) the details of Earnwig’s tenures in Domesday Book help to shed light on his work as sheriff of both shires.

In Nottinghamshire Earnwig occurs twice in the list of royal thegns. On the first occasion he occurs as Earnwig the priest, holding five bovates at Normanton in 1066; by 1086 the bovates were waste and the 1086 holder is not named, though it might still have been Earnwig.[[79]](#footnote-79) Normanton, just outside Southwell, was one of the earliest prebends in Southwell Minster and this mention provides us with our earliest evidence for a Normanton prebendary.[[80]](#footnote-80) The fact that the entry occurs in the list of king’s thegns rather than in the entry for the archbishop of York is worth reflection: it suggests that Earnwig had been given Normanton by Edward the Confessor in an archiepiscopal vacancy, presumably the one before Ealdred’s translation to York from Worcester. If Edward had acted in this way this would explain how the property got listed in the entries for king’s thegns, rather than in the entry for the archbishop of York. A similar phenomenon is noticeable in the Domesday entries for Middlesex where Durand (clearly Durand, canon and scholasticus or master of the schools of St Paul’s London) is described as holding Twyford (his prebend) from the king, whereas the other St Paul’s canons hold the small estates that evidently formed their prebends from the bishop of London: perhaps Durand was given Twyford during the London diocesan vacancy of 1085–1086.[[81]](#footnote-81) It is just possible that the reference to Earnwig in the Normanton entry is in error for Earnwine, but the other Earnwig and Earnwine entries in the Domesday account of Nottinghamshire appear to be carefully differentiated. The second mention of Earnwig in the list of Nottinghamshire king’s thegns comes right at the end, and thus forms the final Nottinghamshire entry: it shows him in 1086 holding one bovate at Ordsall, just outside Retford (about a mile and a half from the historical centre of the settlement). Ordsall lay just a mile to the west of the Great North Road and was conveniently placed to assist royal messengers on journeys.[[82]](#footnote-82)

It may also be possible to identify Earnwig the king’s thegn with the Ernui who occurs partly as an antecessor and partly as the man of Roger of Poitou in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, in all cases in small properties, often near major routes. In Nottinghamshire the Earnwig who was one of Roger’s antecessores shared a small property of just over seven bovates at Willoughby on the Wolds with a thegn called Godric in 1066: it lay on the Foss Way about fifteen miles north of Leicester and was also conveniently placed for journeys from Nottingham to Melton Mowbray.[[83]](#footnote-83) It lay very close to the Nottinghamshire-Leicestershire border, which, from a sheriff’s point of view, would have made it ideal for organizing the hue and cry across shire borders. At another Willoughby, probably Willoughby in Walesby about seven and a half miles south of Retford, Earnwig held five bovates as a manor in 1066: this property lay on the edge of Sherwood Forest and would have been useful for managing royal resources.[[84]](#footnote-84) These holdings look similar in size to the ones that Roger of Poitou took over from (or in one case granted out to) Earnwig in Lincolnshire. At Elsham, near the road from Brigg to Barton on Humber and about seven miles south of the latter, Earnwig, specified as Roger’s man, held nine bovates from the latter in 1086.[[85]](#footnote-85) Roger’s lands in Lincolnshire included three small properties in and near Owersby which he took over from Earnwig: at Holton le Moor, six miles north of Market Rasen on the road to Caistor, Earnwig had held half a carucate in 1066;[[86]](#footnote-86) at Owersby, about four miles south-west from Holton le Moor, Ernui (probably Earnwig, though as we have seen possibly Earnwine) had held one and a half carucates in 1066, described as land lying in the church of Winghale,[[87]](#footnote-87) while at South Kelsey, about three miles north of Owersby and three miles west of Holton le Moor, Earnwig had held three carucates in 1066.[[88]](#footnote-88) It is not possible to identify the Earnwig who was connected with Roger of Poitou conclusively with the Earnwig who was sheriff of Nottinghamshire, but this set of holdings is worth highlighting here because it offers interesting parallels to the interests of Earnwine the priest, both through his connections to Roger of Poitou and because of the connection with Owersby, which together with South Kelsey and Holton le Moor presumably represented the remnants of the endowments of an ancient minster at Winghale.[[89]](#footnote-89)

As we have seen, Earnwig was sheriff of Derbyshire as well as of Nottinghamshire and thus he is likely to be identifiable with the Earnwig who occurs among the king’s thegns in Derbyshire. Here, as in Nottinghamshire, he holds the property in the final entry for the shire, at Ingleby in Stanton-by-Bridge.[[90]](#footnote-90) Stanton-by-Bridge was evidently Earnwig’s most important holding in Derbyshire; although he only had one and a half carucates there, with a further two-thirds of a bovate in Ingleby, both of which he held as king’s thegn in 1086, the site controlled an important crossing-point over the Trent eight miles south of Derby that would have been used by travellers from the royal manor of Melbourne wishing to go to Derby.[[91]](#footnote-91) It was close to the route marked out by Ogilby in the seventeenth century from Oxford to Derby.[[92]](#footnote-92) In 1066 Stanton had been held by an otherwise unknown Edward, so Earnwig evidently acquired it after the Conquest, presumably to support royal administrative duties. As king’s thegn, Earnwig also held six bovates at Clowne, both in 1066 and in 1086: this settlement is in the extreme north-east of Derbyshire, not very far from the shire borders with Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, about four miles north of Bolsover and ten miles west of Worksop.[[93]](#footnote-93) As holder of Clowne, Earnwig would have been well placed to help protect hunting preserves in northern Derbyshire. The Ernui who shared twelve bovates at Osleston ten miles west of Derby with Leofwin in 1066 is not likely to be identifiable with Earnwig the sheriff, as this settlement was not on or near a major route, and by 1086 it had passed into the hands of Henry de Ferrers, otherwise unconnected with Earnwig.[[94]](#footnote-94) Similarly, the Ernui who together with Hundulf and Wulfric held two carucates in Hucklow in the Peaks in 1066 cannot be clearly linked with Earnwig the sheriff, though it is worth noting that this land, which by 1086 was held by William Peverel, would have been a useful base for an official in charge of hunting.[[95]](#footnote-95)

Some of the other occurrences of Earnwig in Domesday Book may refer to Earnwig the sheriff, though it is not possible to be certain. He is unlikely to be identifiable with one of the substantial thegns bearing this name in pre-Conquest Herefordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire; one of them is presumably also identifiable with the Earnwig who is named as moneyer on coins from Hereford and Shrewsbury under Harold I, Harthacnut, and Edward the Confessor.[[96]](#footnote-96) Some of the properties held by the Earnwigs in pre-Conquest Cheshire show the same characteristics of being near routes and coasts that we have observed with Earnwine the priest.[[97]](#footnote-97) Very small properties near routeways, ferry-crossings, coastlines or on the edge of hunting preserves would have been suitable as rewards for thegns performing royal administrative duties. Properties of roughly this size, often in suitable places, had often been created by minsters for individual clerics in their communities and it is unsurprising that kings employed clerics funded with what were, effectively, prebends, to support them in administrative tasks. Judith Green has noted clerical sheriffs under William II,[[98]](#footnote-98) and Earnwig the sheriff of Nottingham could well have been a canon of Southwell in addition to his other duties. Earnwine the priest, similarly, was valuable to William I, Bishop Remigius of Lincoln and Roger of Poitou because his inherited property made him mobile and his family connections and social standing in Lincolnshire gave him respectability, while his literacy as a cleric would also have been valuable.

In conclusion, looking at Earnwig and Earnwine together brings some features of royal administration in the north-east Midlands and northern England in the later eleventh century into sharper focus. The first is the strategic importance of the north-east Midlands for control of communications between London and the North of England. North–south and east–west communications across Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire were both vital, but more markedly so in the case of Nottinghamshire, thanks to the growing importance of the Great North Road. Royal clerics made ideal messengers for important royal business, and to support key clerics in this role kings ensured that they had strings of strategically placed small properties, which might often be portions of ancient royal minsters. These properties, although unimpressive when recorded as tiny manors in Domesday, might well have been financially rewarding to clerics, who would be able to benefit from church revenues; the tiny amounts of land would have sufficed to accommodate a comfortable dwelling with a stable. Kings could reward clerical ministerials more cheaply than laymen, but we should also remember that Domesday’s limited interest in church revenues can blind us to the full extent of resources that might be attached to minor holdings. Kings could also benefit their clerks with prebends in episcopal churches when they could control patronage of these in episcopal vacancies. This probably explains Earnwig’s possession of Normanton and may possibly also explain how Earnwine had acquired property associated with the bishopric of Durham. However, the pattern of patronage that made Earnwig and Earnwine’s careers possible was about to dissolve in the early twelfth century, as increasing numbers of ancient minster churches were repurposed to endow Augustinian or small Benedictine priories and also prebends for the growing numbers of canons at the cathedrals of York, Lincoln, and Salisbury.[[99]](#footnote-99)

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1. Williams, The English and the Norman Conquest, pp. 109–19. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. To take a few Hampshire examples: Cola the huntsman: (Domesday Book, 4: Hampshire, ed. by Munby and others, 69:32), Wulfgeat the huntsman (Domesday Book, 4: Hampshire, ed. by Munby and others, 69:52), Alsige the chamberlain (Domesday Book, 4: Hampshire, ed. by Munby and others, 69:28; 48). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Williams, The English and the Norman Conquest, pp. 109–19, on ministerials and sheriffs; Stafford, ‘Women in Domesday’, pp. 76, 78–81 on women and sheriffs in Domesday. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Earnwine the priest as discussed in this paper is essentially Earnwine 4 in Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England at <https://domesday.pase.ac.uk/domesday?op=5&personkey=47532> (Earnwine 4 (pase.ac.uk) with map) [accessed 13 January 2022]. See Map 1. Selected Places Associated with Earnwine. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. This paper will argue that Earnwig 30, Earnwig 31 (the priest) and Earnwig 32 in Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England <https://domesday.pase.ac.uk/Domesday?op=6&filterString=Earnwig> [consulted 13 January 2022] are likely to be a single individual, perhaps also identifiable with Earnwig 17 in respect of Willoughby on the Wolds. For Earnwig the sheriff, see discussion at n. 76 below; for Earnwig at Normanton see Domesday Book, 28: Nottinghamshire, ed. by Parker and Wood, 30:11 and discussion below at nn. 79–80. See Map 2. Places Associated with Earnwig. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Earnwig 30 in Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England (Earnwig 30 (pase.ac.uk)) [accessed 20 September 2022]. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. As noted by Williams, The English and the Norman Conquest, p. 89, the names Earnwig and Earnwine are sometimes confused. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England (Earnwine (pase.ac.uk)) [accessed 16 February 2022]. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. As tenant of Roger of Poitou: Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 16:1–2 (and cf. 16:8), 16:47–48, 68:31; Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, 30W:40; as tenant of Queen Edith: Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, S6, 1:9; as tenant of Queen Matilda: Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 68:30–31; as tenant of Roger de Busli: Domesday Book, 28: Nottinghamshire, ed. by Parker and Wood, 9:109 (and cf. also Domesday Book, 27: Derbyshire, ed. by Morgan, with Wood, 16:2); as tenant of Robert Malet: Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, CW32 and perhaps also C12. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Domesday Book, 17: Herefordshire, ed. by Thorn and Thorn, 7:7. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, CW32. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England (Domesday - Summaries for Names (pase.ac.uk)) [accessed 16 February 2022]. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Domesday Book, 28: Nottinghamshire, ed. by Parker and Wood, 30:11. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 16:1, 47; Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, 30W:40. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 16:2 (Swallow) and 8; Roger tried unsuccessfully to take over Fillingham (Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 68:31). [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Blair, ‘Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book’; see also Blair, The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society, pp. 295–329. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Domesday Book, 20: Bedfordshire, ed. by Sankaran and Sherlock, 14:1. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. For the canons of St Paul’s Bedford see Domesday Book, 20: Bedfordshire, ed. by Sankaran and Sherlock, 13:1–2. For clerical holdings in minster churches (the forerunners of prebends) see Barrow, Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?, pp. 18–19 and 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Domesday Book, 20: Bedfordshire, ed. by Sankaran and Sherlock, 4:4. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, C16. The church of All Saints in the Bail, with appurtenant houses and a carucate in the fields of Lincoln, formed part of the endowment of the chancellorship of Lincoln Cathedral by the 1160s: Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300, III: Lincoln, compiled by Greenway, p. 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, 25W:16; CW32; Skaife, ‘Domesday Book for Yorkshire’, p. 280 n. 85 and p. 289 n. 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, 25W:13; CW32. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, CW32. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, 12:29; the four thegns holding Beesby in 1066 had been brothers: Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, 12:31). [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, C2. Earl Hugh was sheriff of Yorkshire from 1069 to c. 1080: Green, English Sheriffs to 1154, p. 89. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Symeon of Durham, Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius hoc est Dunhelmensis ecclesie, ed. by Rollason, p. 218. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 1:9, and see also p. 00 below. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Margary, Roman Roads in Britain, pp. 189–206, 224–30, 236–42 (Ermine Street), 421–22; Ordnance Survey, Roman Britain: Historical Map and Guide. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Margary, Roman Roads in Britain, pp. 191–94 explains the points where the Great North Road diverges from Ermine Street. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Margary Roman Roads in Britain, pp. 418–19. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Margary, Roman Roads in Britain, pp. 410–17. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. On Sandy, which also lay on a Roman road from Braughing via Baldock to Godmanchester (near Huntingdon), see Margary, Roman Roads in Britain, p. 203. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, S6. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 68:25. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 1:9. The churches of Grantham were given to the canons of Salisbury by Osmund, their bishop, in 1091: Carta of Bishop Osmund, edited by Greenway in her ‘The False Institutio of St Osmund’, pp. 97–100; also edited in English Episcopal Acta, 18: Salisbury 1078–1217, ed. by Kemp, pp. 2–5, no. 3. They later formed endowments for two prebends at Salisbury, Grantham Australis and Grantham Borealis. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Domesday Book, 28: Nottinghamshire, ed. by Parker and Wood, 6:1 for Bishop Remigius’s borough at Newark; DB Lincs, C6 for Earnwine’s house in Lincoln; and see discussion below at n. 45. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Domesday Book, 28: Nottinghamshire, ed. by Parker and Wood, 30:41. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Domesday Book, 28: Nottinghamshire, ed. by Parker and Wood, 30:42; Earnwine in this entry is highly likely to be Earnwine the priest, since Morton is the entry immediately following that for Elkesley. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Domesday Book, 28: Nottinghamshire, ed. by Parker and Wood, 30:54; here too Earnwine occurs as king’s thegn, in this case succeeding a 1066 holder called Archil (might this be the same person as Aschil?). [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Domesday Book, 28: Nottinghamshire, ed. by Parker and Wood, 30:43. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, 29W:9, held by Ulfketill in 1066. Armthorpe’s church was valued at £5 in Taxatio Papae Nicholai of 1291–1292 (Taxatio (dhi.ac.uk) <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.YK.DN.10> [accessed 13 January 2022]). [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Margary, Roman Roads in Britain, pp. 189–90, 192, 227; Grantham lies close to but not on the route of Ermine Street: Margary, Roman Roads in Britain, p. 227. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Margary, Roman Roads in Britain, pp. 221, 229. Earnwine held another property on the Foss Way (at Kneeton in the manor of Flintham): see below at n. 54. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 16:47–48. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, C6; Strui had held the land in 1066. John Ogilby in his Britannia notes Bracebridge as a point on his route from Nottingham to Grimsby: Britannia Depicta or Ogilby Improv’d, 4th edn, by Emanuel Bowen (London, 1730), p. 207. The church in Bracebridge was worth £13 in Taxatio Papae Nicholai of 1291–1292 <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LI.LK.LB.14>, while that in Canwick paid pensions to Lincoln cathedral chapter and to the prebendary of All Saints in Hungate and had a total value of £12 13s. 4d. <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LI.LK.LB.13>. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 68:30; held by Sveinn in 1066. The church of Ingham was valued at £10 13s 4d in Taxatio Papae Nicholai of 1291–1292 <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LI.SW.AS.02>. On the course of Ermine Street to the north of Lincoln see Margary, Roman Roads in Britain, p. 237. Another small manor at Ingham (six bovates) had been acquired by Bishop Remigius of Lincoln for his see after the Conquest; Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 7:14. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 68:31. Fillingham (2 bovates) was valued at 4s. while Ingham was valued at 10s. However, it had a very valuable church, worth £24 2s. 8d. in Taxatio Papae Nicholai <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LI.SW.AS.04>. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. South Owersby also lies a little to the north of what was a Roman road leaving Ermine Street nine miles north of Lincoln and heading east to Usselby; Margary, Roman Roads in Britain, p. 242, no. 274. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 68:42 and CN16. For Siward the priest and lawman in Lincoln in 1066 (he had died well before 1086), see Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, C2–3, C7, C14. The church of North Owersby was a valuable one, worth £20 in Taxatio Papae Nicholai of 1291–1292: <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LI.LK.WA.18>. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 16:8. See nn. 13–14 above. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 12:7, held in 1086 by Landric from Count Alan. The church of Killingholme was worth £16 13s. 4d. in Taxatio Papae Nicholai of 1291–1292: <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LI.LK.YA.20>. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 16:1 (Riby) and 2 (Swallow, held in 1086 by Wigmund from Roger of Poitou). The church of Riby was worth £18 in Taxatio Papae Nicholai of 1291–1292: <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LI.LK.YA.15>, while that of Swallow was worth £16: <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=LI.LK.GR.02>. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Barton on Humber: Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 30:5, held in 1086 by Theodbald, man of Drogo of La Beuvrière. For Great Newsome, see Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, 14E:15. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Domesday Book, 28: Nottinghamshire, ed. by Parker and Wood, 9:109. The church of Flintham was worth £30 in Taxatio Papae Nicholai of 1291–1292: <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.NT.BG.06>. On Kneeton, see Margary, Roman Roads in Britain, p. 220. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Domesday Book, 28: Nottinghamshire, ed. by Parker and Wood, 30:49. The church of Gonalston was worth £8 in Taxatio Papae Nicholai of 1291–1292: <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.NT.NT.27>. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Domesday Book, 28: Nottinghamshire, ed. by Parker and Wood, 30:51–52. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Domesday Book, 27: Derbyshire, ed. by Morgan, with Wood, 16:2; this was held in 1086 by Fulk from Roger de Busli. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Domesday Book, 27: Derbyshire, ed. by Morgan, with Wood, 14:10, held in 1086 by Nigel de Stafford; it is now in Leicestershire. Ogilby’s Britannia notes Measham, not far from Oakthorpe, as one of the points on his Oxford-Derby route: Britannia Depicta or Ogilby Improv’d, p. 220. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. See above at n. 41. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Earnwine’s predecessor at Camblesforth was Grucan, who is not otherwise identifiable; the property was waste in 1086: Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, 29W:2. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, C2. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, C12. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, 9W:97, 6 carucates at Old Snydale in Normanton 4 miles to the west of Pontefract, held in 1086 by Humphrey from Ilbert de Lacy. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, CE27 and CE18; both properties were however held by Nigel from Count Robert of Mortain. The church of Aughton was valued at £40 in Taxatio Papae Nicholai of 1291–1292: <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.ER.HR.15>. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, 29E:7, held by Ingirithr (Ingrede) in 1066 with no mention of the value of the tenure. (Ingirithr, a woman, also occurs in 1066 in Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, 1E:10 and may be identifiable with the Ingifrithr who occurs in 1066 in Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, 1E:42). For the Roman road from York to Bridlington, now the A166, see Margary, Roman Roads in Britain, pp. 421–22, no. 810. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Taxatio Papae Nicholai: <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.ER.HR.08>. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, 29E:12; the estates are noted as two manors and a berewick (perhaps in error for one manor and two berewicks?). Other land at Harpham and Gransmoor was held by William I in 1086 and soon afterwards passed to Robert de Brus (Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, 1Y:14, where Gransmoor and Harpham appear as berewicks of Burton Agnes, and 31E1). On Kilham see also Margary, Roman Roads in Britain, p. 422. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Taylor, ‘Domesday Books? Little Domesday Reconsidered’, p. 147. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Early Yorkshire Charters, ed. by Farrer and Clay, i, 333–35, nos 426–27, and see further charters of Henry I about the churches, i, 335–36, nos 428–29. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Early Yorkshire Charters, ed. by Farrer and Clay, i, 336–37, no. 431; Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300, vi: York, compiled by Greenway, p. 7, says the funding of the deanery in the Middle Ages is ‘difficult to trace’, but it was substantial, being valued at £373 6s. 8d. in 1291–1292. By this point the church of Great Driffield, one of those granted by Henry I, had been hived off to help fund the prebend of Great Driffield, valued at £100 in Taxatio Papae Nicholai: <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.YK.YK.06>. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. The Letters and Charters of Henry II, King of England, 1154–1189, ed. by Vincent, iv, 350–52 (nos 2263–64), 355–56 (no. 2268). [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Barrow, Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?, p. 38. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. On the revenues of the Beverley provostry, see Beverley Minster Fasti, ed. by McDermid, pp. 1–3. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Domesday Book, 30: Yorkshire, ed. by Faull and Stinson, 30W:40: Beetham was assessed at six carucates and its associated vills add up to a further nineteen. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. The church of Beetham was worth £30 in Taxatio Papae Nicholai of 1291–1292: <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/benkey?benkey=YK.RC.LK.15>. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066–1087), ed. by Bates, pp. 831–32 at 832, no. 276; Bates notes that the writ is in Old English and must therefore have been issued early in William’s reign; the first addressee is Archbishop Thomas of York, so it cannot be earlier than 1070. The other two named addressees of the writ are Turold and Earnwig, sheriffs, with the shire courts named as the thegns of Nottinghamshire and of Lincolnshire. However, Green, English Sheriffs, p. 54, shows that Turold must have been the sheriff of Lincolnshire; in addition see Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 11:9. A writ in Latin issued by King William concerning Stow, which if genuine must have been issued by William II between 1091 and 1092, lists the same addressees in the same order: The Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham, ed. by Salter, i, p. 48. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Green, English Sheriffs, p. 34, citing Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, i: Regesta Willelmi Conquestoris et Willelmi Rufi, 1066–1100, ed. by Davis, pp. 87–88, no. 337; for the text, see The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, ed. by Foster and Major, i, pp. 17–18, no. 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. Domesday Book, 27: Derbyshire, ed. by Morgan, with Wood, B15 and Domesday Book, 28: Nottinghamshire, ed. by Parker and Wood, B3 (note). [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Domesday Book, 28: Nottinghamshire, ed. by Parker and Wood, 30:11. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. The White Book (Liber Albus) of Southwell, ed. by Jones, Barrow, Crook, and Foulds, i, p. lxxix. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Domesday Book, 11: Middlesex, ed. by Morris and Wood, 3:15; for comment, see Barrow, ‘Domesday in the Close: English Cathedral Clergy in the Late Eleventh Century’, pp. 108–09. For Durand, see Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300, i: St Paul’s London, compiled by Greenway, pp. 25 (as master of the school), 80 (as prebendary of Twiford). [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Domesday Book, 28: Nottinghamshire, ed. by Parker and Wood, 30:56. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. Domesday Book, 28: Nottinghamshire, ed. by Parker and Wood, 16:5: Godric and Ernui shared six and a half bovates and two-thirds of a bovate in 1066; Roger of Poitou held in demesne in 1086. See also Margary, Roman Roads in Britain, p. 219 (road no. 5f). [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. Domesday Book, 28: Nottinghamshire, ed. by Parker and Wood, 16:12, with note on identification of the place. Domesday Book, trans. by Williams and Martin, p. 777, followed by Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England, identifies this as another entry for Willoughby in the Wolds, but it comes immediately after ones for Haughton and Walesby in northern Nottinghamshire, and is evidently therefore the deserted village of Willoughby, which was the main settlement in Walesby in the Middle Ages. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 16:33; in 1066 it was held by William. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 16:7. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 16:8, and see discussion above at nn. 49–50. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. Domesday Book, 31: Lincolnshire, ed. by Morgan and Thorn, 16:4. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. Winghale’s pre-Conquest history is unknown, but archaeological excavations show that it was significant: Everson, Taylor, and Dunn, Change and Continuity. Rural Settlement in North-west Lincolnshire, pp. 170–73. Winghale later became a dependent priory of the abbey of Sées: presumably its founder was Roger of Poitou, who also founded a dependent priory of Sées at Lancaster, and whose parents, Roger de Montgomery and Mabel de Bellême, had founded Sées Abbey: Mason, ‘Roger de Montgomery’, in ODNB. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. Domesday Book, 27: Derbyshire, ed. by Morgan, with Wood, 17:23. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. Domesday Book, 27: Derbyshire, ed. by Morgan, with Wood, 17:22–23. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. Ogilby, Britannia Depicta, p. 220. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. Domesday Book, 27: Derbyshire, ed. by Morgan, with Wood, 17:10. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. Domesday Book, 27: Derbyshire, ed. by Morgan, with Wood, 6:63. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. Domesday Book, 27: Derbyshire, ed. by Morgan, with Wood, 7:10. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England’s Earnwig 14, 15, 23, 24, 25, 26 and (identifiable as moneyers) Earnwig 8–11. On thegns holding office as moneyers note Piercy, The Moneyers of England, 973–1086: Labour Organisation in the Late Anglo-Saxon and Early Anglo-Norman English Mints, pp. 3–4. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. Domesday Book, 26: Cheshire, ed. by Morgan, with Rumble, 1:7 and 15; 9:10; 26:7. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. Green, ‘The Sheriffs of William the Conqueror’. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. Barrow, ‘St Guthlac’s Minster in Hereford: Domesday and Beyond’, pp. 349–51; Barrow, Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?, pp. 28–30. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)