

All the King's Men? Land and Royal Service in Eleventh-Century Wessex¹

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The subjects of this article are the groups of landholders who feature at the end of most county sections in Domesday Book. Recorded en bloc as *taini regis* and as *servienti regis* (arguably royal sergeants),² an examination of the Domesday entries sheds some light on the manner in which pre-Conquest royal institutions survived and developed after the Norman Conquest.

Many lands were held by the same *taini regis* both in 1066 ('in the time of King Edward': *Tempore regis Edwardi*) and in 1086, at the time of the Domesday Survey (*Tempore regis Willelmi*),³ indicating service both before and after the Conquest. The survival of English agents amongst *taini regis* is acknowledged in the Hertfordshire Domesday's reference to 'Deorman and [the] other Englishmen of the king [*alii Anglici regis*]' in the list of landholders, while the relevant Domesday *breves* were entitled *Terra tainorum regis*.⁴ It is noteworthy that these references involved a retention of the vernacular through a Latinisation of the term *thegn*. As it may be compared to Domesday's use of *feorm* for *firma*,⁵ a similar transmission of *thegn* may reflect the survival of a pre-Conquest institution. By contrast, *seruiens* stems from French vernacular usage and has little to do with Old English. From the outset this highlights a possible distinction between the two groups.

Although the *taini* have been somewhat dismissively referred to by Susan Reynolds as 'miscellaneous little people'⁶ and by E G Kimball, sixty years earlier, as 'a means of separating the unimportant tenants in chief from the important',⁷ such royal agents remain worthy of investigation. Arguing for their proximity to the royal household and their wealth, Ann Williams reaffirmed the status of the *taini regis*, citing one Theodric goldsmith, a *tainus regis* in Surrey, who appears as a tenant-in-chief in neighbouring Berkshire.⁸ James Campbell, with an eye attuned to state institutions, argued for the development of some royal offices found in *taini regis* entries into post-Conquest sergeantries.⁹ This paper seeks to use

a regional study for the context of such observations and focuses on possible relationships between royal agents and royal lands in Wessex, as this region contains the heartlands of the Anglo-Saxon royal family, many with origins from the time of King Æthelwulf (839–58), if not before.¹⁰ As will be shown, using two ‘case study’ shires of Hampshire and Dorset, the holdings of many royal agents were close to estates recorded in Domesday as providing the render in kind known as the *firma unius noctis* (‘farm of one night’ or ‘night’s farm’). As many as a half in Hampshire and a third of agents’ holdings in Dorset were within the same hundreds as such estates,¹¹ although the assessment of agents’ lands contrasted with the non-hidation of the West Saxon manors supplying the night’s farms.¹² This may indicate that the royal agents’ lands were not integrally part of their manorial structures, even if, as the geographical analysis below seems to indicate, their holders were connected to them.

Furthermore, it is unlikely that such individuals were solely an eleventh-century phenomenon: King Eadred (946–55) made a bequest (perhaps thirty mancuses, but as the text is corrupt at this point, this figure may be overgenerous) ‘to each of those who are in my household [hirede], in whatever office he is employed, unless he be little connected with the cynestolum’ (ælcæn þæra þe is on minnum hirede, si swilcre note nyt swilc he sy, buton he sy lit inbyrde to þam cynestolum).¹³ Following Dorothy Whitelock’s translation, Cynestolum may be a term referring to the ‘royal dwellings’,¹⁴ and it is possible that the royal agents recorded in Domesday were a later manifestation of Eadred’s men.

As Campbell suggests, the concept of thegnage implied in the title *tainus regis* meant service in a broad sense.¹⁵ Although this paper is not primarily focused on military service, considering that capacity for war – or being seen to be ready for war – determined status in Anglo-Saxon England,¹⁶ it should be acknowledged at this stage that such matters were an important part of royal service. The record of the death of one of the Hampshire *taini regis* at Hastings may indicate that their predecessors were those involved in a number of tenth- and eleventh-century battles and skirmishes.¹⁷ If such service was on a ‘professional’ level, directed to the royal office, in contrast to those ‘personal’ household warriors who fell with Harold,¹⁸ it is a reasonable supposition that those Englishmen who accompanied King William to Exeter in 1067 were also in royal service.¹⁹

An issue to be addressed here is the extent to which the royal agents held lands specifically for, and dependent upon their service, and whether this differed between *taini regis* and royal sergeants: this paper examines a discrete group of Domesday entries in an area limited to the shires of Hampshire (excluding the Isle of Wight and the entries designated in Domesday Book as under the New Forest²⁰) and Dorset. After considering

the Domesday terminology – particularly the term *in alodium* – in relation to royal agents' holdings, the agents and landholdings themselves are examined: first, by comparing the sizes of the *taini regis* holdings with those of royal sergeants; and secondly, investigating the names of these people in order to ascertain the number of Normans (or at least those given West Frankish names after 1066) and their occupations. Finally, the paper includes a geographical analysis of the royal agents' holdings, addressing their relationships with royal estate centres. It is beyond the remit of this paper to consider the post eleventh-century estate histories and descent of royal sergeantries in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and it must suffice to echo at this point James Campbell's observations on the descent of such tenure into the high middle ages, as the entries dealt with here show remarkable similarities to sergeantries recorded in such works as the *Liber feodorum*.²¹ However, as will be shown, the eleventh-century disposition of officials' lands is well attested in the Domesday record, which provides a good basis for their study in their own right.

I.

Although Domesday Book does not explicitly state whether lands said to be held *in alodium* were held for service either before or after 1066, this issue lurks close to the surface. Pertinent comparison can be made with the preface to King Alfred's *Soliloques*, in which Alfred wrote that a man might build a *cotlyf* on his lord's land, 'until the time when he shall deserve bookland'.²² As a term for land units, Alfred's use of *cotlifa* here could be indicative of a man's close relationship with his lord. Distinctions were made between *læn* and *boc* in the ninth and early tenth centuries: the letter written to King Edward the Elder at the beginning of the tenth century concerning the estate at Fonthill (Wiltshire) referred to land held as *læn* which could not be forfeit by its leaser.²³ However, it is possible that such distinctions had become blurred by the eleventh century.²⁴ Most lands held by TRE royal agents were considered as booklands. In Dorset, all the TRE *taini regis* were said to be able 'to go to any lord they wished' (*ire ad que[m] d[omi]n[u]m uoleb[ant]*),²⁵ which suggests a bookland-like freedom of disposition and may give the impression that such *taini* were enjoying the fruits of rewards for long-term service.

Nonetheless, there is a degree of ambiguity in Domesday Book regarding the status of lands said to be held *in alodium*, which are limited to entries in the south-eastern circuit.²⁶ In common with the modern – albeit somewhat archaic – term 'allodium', defined by ultimate ownership of land, with no obligation owed by the landholder to any other parties,²⁷ the eleventh-century term could encompass lands held in freehold. However,

it may also have included lands held as *part* of land held in freehold. Such holdings may have retained *consuetudines*, customary obligations to central manors, as the equivalents of holdings of *sake and soke* elsewhere in England.²⁸ Conceivably, examples of such dues may have been to royal estates, being amongst the largest estates in the study area.

Clearly not all Domesday lands were self-contained estates and, while identified with difficulty, residual obligations to a mother estate occasionally manifest themselves, such as where a king granted lands to a church, along with its dependencies. A reference to *socne men* in a writ concerning Eversley in Hampshire, shows kings' men whose obligations to the estate evidently went with the land to Westminster.²⁹ Even though Domesday Book records these men as *TRE liberi ho[mi]nes* holding Eversley *de rege E[dwardi] in alodium*, their holdings were dependencies.³⁰ Distinctions between personal service to a lord (*hlaford*) and landed obligations to a landlord (*landhlaford*) are therefore raised by Domesday's use of *in alodium*, as the term does not always appear to indicate complete freedom from obligation, even if the landholder remained the ultimate owner of the land.³¹

Domesday references to holdings *in alodium* stemmed from Frankish usage. The term had been used, not least in Normandy, to describe a right of heritable tenure within a family,³² but it could also include the condition of some form of non-military service.³³ The 'freehold' aspect of such holdings is often emphasised, in contrast to the high medieval definition of lands held in fee.³⁴ However, for a period in which 'fiefs' were rarely referred to, the implications of service *in alodium* is noteworthy in relation to its patrilineal transmission.³⁵ After all, in references to pre-Conquest Wessex, *alodium* often depended upon a higher authority, generally the king, but occasionally earls or the queen.³⁶ The only diplomatic reference to *alodium* in – but, as we shall see, not *from* – pre-Conquest England appears in a writ of Edward the Confessor to St Augustine's, Canterbury. Only the vernacular version of this writ is reliable, from which a simple reference to thegns in service – specifically 'as many thegns as I granted them to have' (*feole þegna swa ic hiom habba to gelæten*) – was rendered differently in a Latin version, making a reference to *alodiarii* (*omnes allodiariorum quos eis habeo datos*).³⁷ The rendering of such commonplace vernacular terms elsewhere in this writ as *griðbrices* and *hamsocne* into convoluted Latin phrases, respectively *pacis fracturam* and *pugna in domo factam*, suggests that the Latin version of this writ was intended for a post-Conquest audience unfamiliar with English legal terms.³⁸

Therefore, despite the fact that Domesday almost uniquely uses *in alodium* to describe pre-Conquest tenure, the term may not have been used – or even understood – in pre-Conquest England, being instead

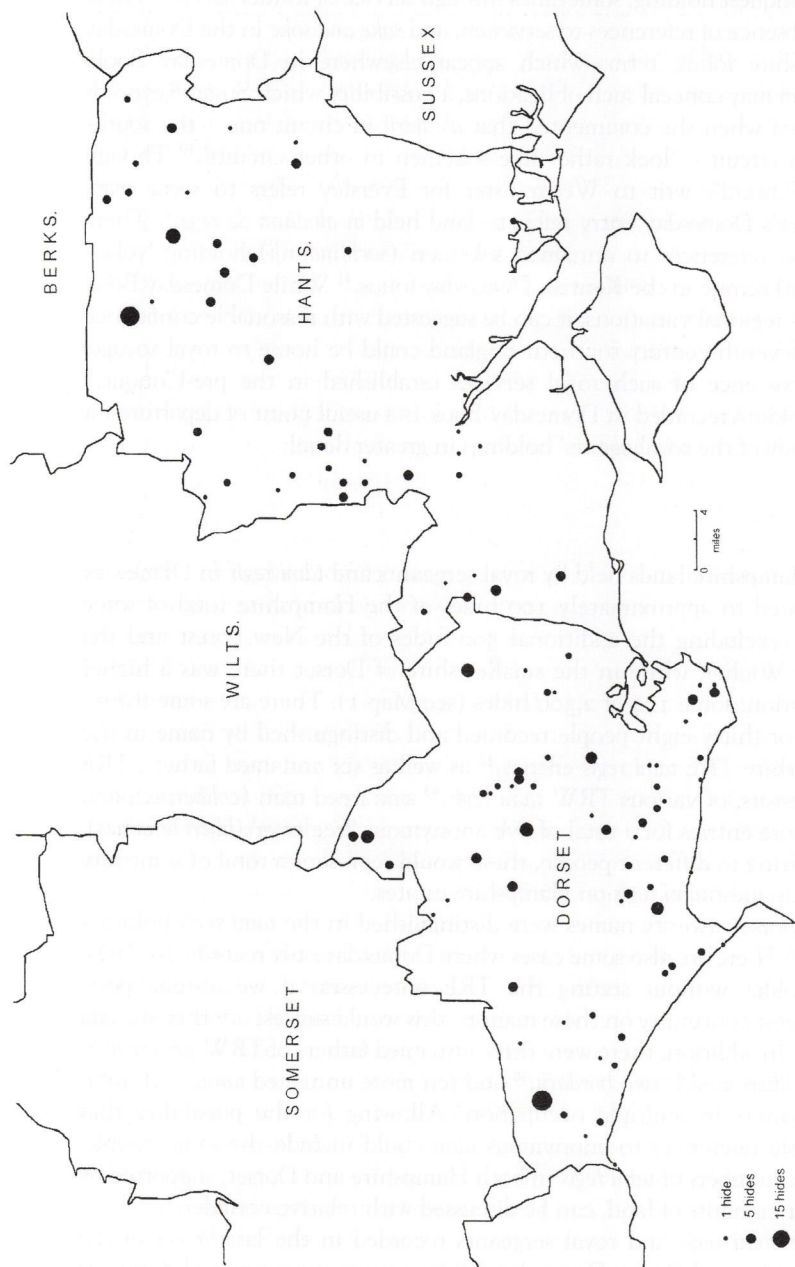
convenient shorthand used in the south-eastern circuit to describe types of pre-Conquest holding, sometimes through service or former service. There is an absence of references to *servicium*, and *sake and soke* in the Domesday Hampshire folios, terms which appear elsewhere in Domesday Book. *Alodium* may conceal such obligations, a possibility which Susan Reynolds observed when she commented that *alodiarii* in circuit one – the south-eastern circuit – ‘look rather like sokemen in other circuits’.³⁹ Though King Edward’s writ to Westminster for Eversley refers to *socne men*, Eversley’s Domesday entry refers to land held in *alodium de rege*.⁴⁰ There are also references to unnamed sokemen (*soch[mann]i*) holding ‘yokes’ (*iuglatji*) *de rege* in the Kentish Domesday folios.⁴¹ While Domesday Book reflects regional variations, it can be suggested with reasonable confidence that eleventh-century southern England could be home to royal socage. The existence of such royal services established in the pre-Conquest landholding recorded in Domesday Book is a useful point of departure for the study of the royal agents’ holdings in greater detail.

II.

The Hampshire lands held by royal sergeants and *taini regis* in Domesday amounted to approximately 100 hides of the Hampshire total of some 2,100 (excluding the additional 500 hides of the New Forest and the Isle of Wight), while in the smaller shire of Dorset there was a higher proportion: some 174 of 2,300 hides (see Map 1). There are some thirty-seven or thirty-eight people recorded and distinguished by name in the Hampshire TRE *taini regis* entries,⁴² as well as six unnamed fathers, TRE antecessors, of various TRW *taini regis*,⁴³ one freed man (*colibertus*), and two more entries for a total of five anonymous ‘free men’ (*liberi homines*). If referring to different people, these would represent a total of some fifty pre-Conquest *taini regis* on Hampshire estates.

In Dorset, twenty names were distinguished in the *taini regis* holdings TRE.⁴⁴ There are also some cases where Domesday only records the TRW landholder without stating the TRE antecessor; if we assume post-Conquest continuity on these manors, this would suggest another six *taini regis*.⁴⁵ In addition, there were three unnamed fathers of TRW *taini regis*,⁴⁶ seven *liberi taini*,⁴⁷ two *bordarii*,⁴⁸ and ten more unnamed *taini*,⁴⁹ all holding manors in multiple occupation. Allowing for the possibility that multiple references to anonymous *taini* could include the same people, similar numbers of *taini regis* in both Hampshire and Dorset, supported by similar amounts of land, can be discussed with relative confidence.

The *taini regis* and royal sergeants recorded in the last *breves* of the Hampshire and Dorset Domesday folios were given an unusual degree of



mean average / standard deviation (S.D.), measured in hides:	Hampshire	Dorset
All royal agents' holdings	1.76 (S.D. = 1.55)	1.93 (S.D. = 2.58)
<i>Taini Regis</i>	1.76 (S.D. = 1.59)	1.87 (S.D. = 1.9)
Sergeants	1.75 (S.D. = 1.4)	2.11 (S.D. = 4.0) / 1.3 (S.D. = 1.3)

Table 1: mean averages and standard deviations calculated from royal agent holdings in Hampshire and Dorset

attention considering that so many English people, often with small holdings, were amongst them. A standard deviation calculated at just 1.55 hides for all the Hampshire royal agents, implies relatively little variation from the mean average size of 1.76 hides.⁵⁰ Therefore one standard deviation (68.2 per cent) of the holdings was under 3.3 hides, while few were even five-hide holdings. If such calculations are made separately for the *taini regis* and royal sergeants, it can be seen from Table 1 that there was not much difference between their holdings.

In Dorset, an overall mean average of 1.93 hides and standard deviation of 2.58 hides suggests a greater proportion of holdings of five hides or more than in Hampshire. In contrast with Hampshire, the comparative divergence of the distribution can be addressed by separate consideration of the *taini regis* and royal sergeants. The mean average of the holdings of the Dorset *taini regis*, as with Hampshire, indicates holdings of fewer than five hides. In the case of the royal sergeants, the standard deviation of 4.0 hides from a mean of 2.11 hides implies a greater variation in the size of holdings, but this figure is influenced by an exceptionally large holding of twenty hides at Broadwindsor.⁵¹ If these twenty hides are excluded from the calculation, the royal sergeants' holdings were conspicuously small, and fall within a far narrower distribution, with a standard deviation of 0.93 hides from a mean average of 1.3 hides.

Although the absence of some bynames and the evident popularity of some Anglo-Saxon names can make precise assessments difficult,⁵² it is nonetheless worth attempting to consider the total holdings of the royal agents. In Hampshire, royal agents often appear to have had comparatively small bodies of land in total, at least within the royal agent *breves*. The total TRE holdings of the individuals among the royal agent *breves* do not appear to have been much more than five hides – in this context the case of 6.5 hides held by a certain Aghmund is exceptional – although of course the individual agents' holdings could be augmented with lands which were recorded outside the royal agent *breves*. Even if there had been developments in the size of total estates between 1066 and 1086,

with the TRW *tainus regis* Alwig son of Thurbur holding nearly eight hides and Oda of Winchester some sixteen hides – justifying his naming in Domesday Book’s preliminary list of landholders as ‘Oda of Winchester and many other *taini regis*’⁵³ – the majority of royal agent holdings still do not appear to have been particularly sizeable.

III.

Personal names provide a means of distinguishing post-1066 Franco-Norman settlers – and of course those ‘natives’ who wished to identify with them – from those with pre-Conquest English and Scandinavian names amongst the Domesday entries of the royal agents. Of approximately fifty TRW Hampshire *taini regis* and royal sergeants, only five, with six holdings between them, had names which may identify them as ‘West Frankish’. These were mostly royal sergeants: Robert son of Murdoch, Miles *Portarius*, Aubrey *Camerarius*, and Hugh *Barbatus*, as well as Picot amongst the *taini regis*. Another Hugh was recorded amongst the royal sergeants but the names of his father, Osmund, and his brother, Ansketil, identify him as an English royal sergeant with a West Frankish name.⁵⁴ Similarly, ‘Odo of Winchester’, amongst the *taini regis*, may at first sight appear as a potential West Frankish royal agent⁵⁵ but, given the record of a certain Ealdræd *fratris Odonis* in the same *breves*,⁵⁶ it is probable that our ‘Odo’ was an English ‘Oda’ – although it may have helped Oda’s standing that a similar name was familiar to French speakers.⁵⁷ Doubts may also be raised regarding Robert, a TRW royal sergeant: while his name was hardly atypical for a West Frankish settler, Olof von Feilitzen suggested that the name of Robert’s father, Murdoch, indicates Irish or Scots influence.⁵⁸ In Dorset, the number of names of West Frankish origin against English names was similar to that of Hampshire. Six of some thirty-three named *taini regis* and royal sergeants – Hervey, Hugh Gosbert, John, Ralph, William Bellet, and William de Daumeray – had such names. With the exception of Ralph, a sub-tenant of a certain Swein, a *tainus regis* in possession of his father’s TRE holding, these were amongst the TRW sergeantries.

It is perhaps significant that these Frankish names were mostly associated with TRW sergeantries while *taini regis* holdings appear to have remained with native English agents. With only one father-to-son transmission, there appears to have been little continuity between the holders of the TRE and TRW sergeantries.⁵⁹ It is plausible to suggest that Franco-Normans and younger English with ‘new’ Norman names – those born and thus fashionably named after 1066 – were likely to have been in service at the royal court by the end of William’s reign, as despite the

apparent Norman influence at Edward the Confessor's court, such names do not appear in the TRE records under discussion. The fact that no-one stood in both sets of *breves* as both a *tainus regis* and royal sergeant suggests that although Domesday Book does not furnish us with details, there were distinctions between the duties of *taini regis* and royal sergeants. In such circumstances, the *taini regis* may have been actively involved in royal estate administration before the Conquest and remained in royal service under William because of their experience.⁶⁰

Thus illuminated, the level of continuity of tenure is remarkable, demonstrating that certain lands had been held by *taini regis* both before and after the Conquest. In Hampshire, eleven TRE *taini regis* were still holding the same lands in 1086⁶¹ and nine or ten fathers had been the antecessors of their sons' TRW lands.⁶² In Dorset, there were nine named *taini regis* who held the same lands in 1066 and 1086,⁶³ while two or three fathers had been the TRE antecessors of their sons' TRW lands in the *taini regis* entries, plus one more in the royal sergeant entries.⁶⁴ It is plausible that there was also pre- and post-Conquest continuity where Domesday Book does not record the TRE antecessors of TRW *taini regis*, recording only the names of the TRW holder.⁶⁵

The contrast between the continuity of tenure in *taini regis* lands with the lack of 'regular' succession to those of the royal sergeants is striking, raising the question of whether royal servants had even existed on the latter group of lands before 1066. It is tempting to suggest that the Conquest had seen a new class of royal servants imposed on existing services, given the French origins of the term *seruiens regis*. However, the fact that some Englishmen were amongst the TRW royal sergeants suggests that the term was not simply an ethnic marker and that royal sergeants of some sort had existed before 1066. If such servants had enjoyed close relationships with the king, or at least with courtly hangers-on, King William would have been wise to have had such people replaced, just as presumably Harold replaced those of Edward the Confessor.

As may be expected in a picture of continuity and change after the Norman Conquest, it is possible to see a radical shift of the lesser personnel in the ranks of the royal sergeants; as there was a somewhat disjointed transmission of lands to TRW holders, this was hardly a systematised man-for-man exchange, and many of the TRW royal sergeants could indeed have been given lands which previously had had not been associated with royal service. By contrast, if the complexion of the *taini regis* remained more or less the same, this would have allowed any royal estates for which they were responsible to continue to run efficiently. Given the evidence of discontinuity amongst the lands of the royal sergeants, the distinctions between them and the *taini regis* in the Domesday *breves* may even have

been a means of distinguishing between their respective novelty and continuity of tenure.⁶⁶

It is significant that some effort was made by the Domesday scribe to distinguish between people with the same names within the royal agent *breves*. Patrimonial,⁶⁷ topographical⁶⁸ and occupational identifiers and bynames were used in quantity. Occupational bynames may demonstrate the control of certain tasks upon the royal estates. Amongst the *taini regis* were a number of huntsmen (*uenatores*),⁶⁹ priests (*presbyteri*),⁷⁰ a chamberlain (*camerarius*),⁷¹ a falconer (*accipitrarius*),⁷² a valet (*?berchenistrius*)⁷³ and a reeve (*prepositus*).⁷⁴ The ranks of the TRW royal sergeants included another type of chamberlain (*cubicularius*),⁷⁵ another falconer (*accipitrarius*),⁷⁶ a carpenter (*carpentarius*),⁷⁷ a scullion (*scutularius*),⁷⁸ a baker, (*pistor*),⁷⁹ a porter (*portarius*),⁸⁰ and an usher (*hostarius*).⁸¹ Here, Domesday Book provides information on occupations involved in the efficient running of estates and the royal household, although it is not explicit in the manner of such Carolingian texts as the late eighth-century *Capitulary de villis*⁸² and Archbishop Hincmar's ninth-century *De ordine palatii*,⁸³ nor indeed in the manner of the finance of the Anglo-Norman household described in the twelfth-century *Constitutio domus regis*.⁸⁴ Nine of the twelve occupations in the Domesday records can be matched with occupations found in the Anglo-Norman *Constitutio*; the exceptions were the falconer, *berchenistrius* and reeve. As six of the nine 'matching' bynames are amongst the TRW royal sergeants, it may be posited that the royal sergeants were associated with the eleventh-century *domus regis*.⁸⁵

Although some agents may have accompanied the king on his travels in the region, the duties of others may have been to remain in or near a royal estate, keeping it maintained in readiness for the king's arrival, echoing the needs of good administration stated in late eighth-century and ninth-century Carolingian documents.⁸⁶ The presence of only one reeve among these bynames may be disquieting in view of the importance attached to the duties of reeves evident in such later Anglo-Saxon texts as *Gerefa* and *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*,⁸⁷ and in Bishop Æthelwold's remarks on the immunity from forfeiture of royal estates in the case of hypothetical crimes committed by a king's reeve.⁸⁸ However, if *taini regis* were involved in the administration of royal estates, many would have been reeves by definition. A certain Godwine *prepositus*, the Dorset reeve who is our sole example in the study area, is given his title in order to distinguish him from Godwine *uenator* in the following entry.⁸⁹

Of the occupations of the *taini regis*, the number of references to huntsmen suggests a recognition of the huntsman's importance in high status activities on royal estates. His position may have been akin to that of the modern gamekeeper, although, even if the king's participation in

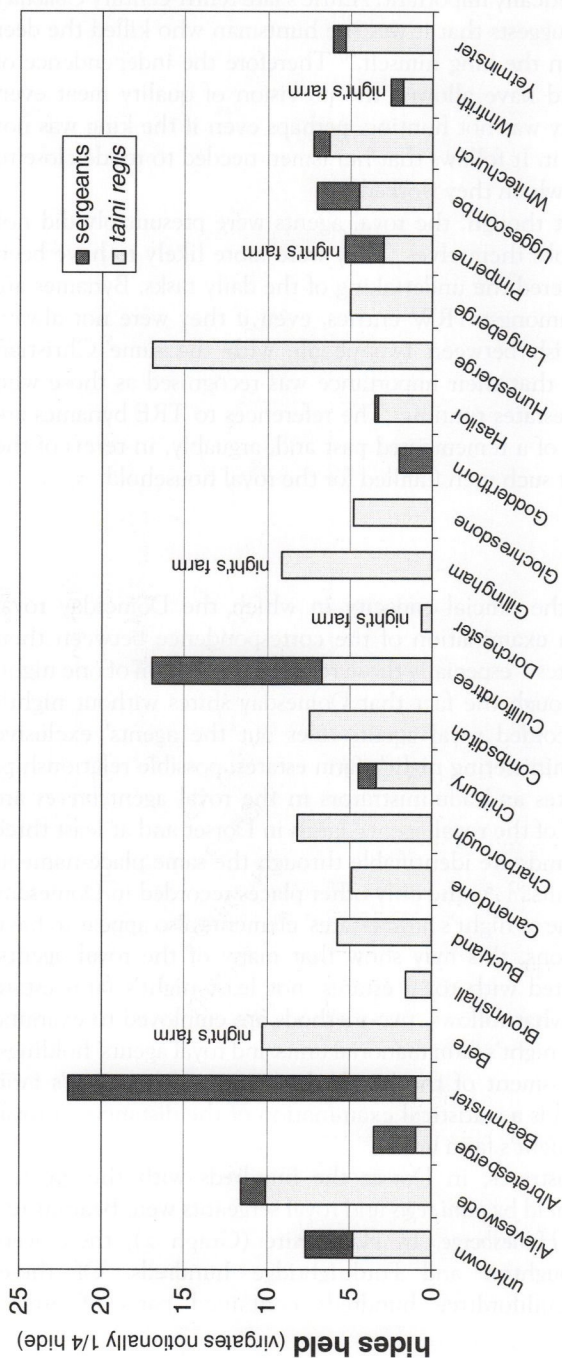
the chase was theoretically important, Ælfric's late tenth-century *Colloquy on the Occupations* suggests that it was the huntsman who killed the deer and boar rather than the king himself.⁹⁰ Therefore the independence of the huntsman would have allowed the provision of quality meat even when the royal party was not hunting, perhaps even if the king was not present to consume it. It follows that huntsmen needed to reside close to the royal manor for which they worked.

For the most part though, the royal agents were presumably did not undertake menial jobs themselves. They were more likely to have been those who administered the undertaking of the daily tasks. Bynames are especially evident amongst TRW entries, even if they were not always needed to distinguish between two people with the same Christian name. This implies that their importance was recognised as those who knew how to keep estates running. The references to TRE bynames are significant in terms of a remembered past and, arguably, in terms of the important tasks that such men fulfilled for the royal household.

IV.

Having addressed the official capacity in which the Domesday royal agents operated, an examination of the correspondence between their lands and royal estates – especially those rendering the 'farm of one night' – is needed.⁹¹ Although the fact that Domesday shires without night's farm lands also recorded royal agents rules out the agents' exclusive involvement in administering night's farm estates, possible relationships between these estates and administrators in the royal agent *breves* are worth pursuing. Six of the royal agents' lands in Dorset and at least three of the Hampshire lands are identifiable through the same place-name as night's farm land units.⁹² As the only other places recorded in Domesday under the same name as night's farm estates' elements also appear to have had royal connections, this may show that many of the royal agents' places were associated with royal estates, not least night's farm estate administration. In what follows, two methods are employed to examine correlation between night's farm manorial units and royal agents' holdings. The first is an assessment of the hundreds dominated by night's farm manors. The second is a statistical examination of the distances of royal agents' lands from night's farm units.

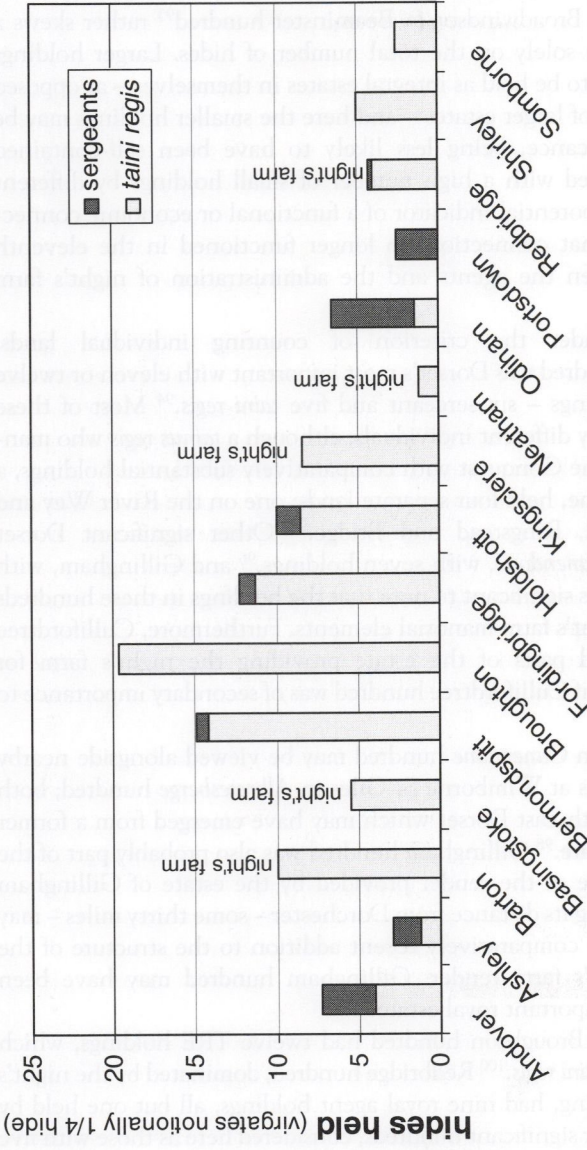
As Graph 1 illustrates, in Dorset the hundreds with the greatest proportion of land held by *taini regis* and royal sergeants were Beaminster, Cullifordtree, and Hunesberge. In Hampshire (Graph 2), these were Bermondspitt, Broughton and Fordingbridge hundreds. Of these, Beaminster and Cullifordtree hundreds contained parts of estates



Domesday Hundred

(excludes hundreds without *taini regis*
or royal sergeant holdings)

Graph 1: Hundredal organisation of lands held by *taini regis* and royal sergeants in Dorset



Graph 2: Hundredal organisation of lands held by taini regis and royal sergeants in Hampshire

recorded as rendering the night's farm, while Broughton hundred was dominated by the night's farm manor of Broughton.

However, the numbers of hides, as used in these calculations, should not be used alone to assess such places, as the twenty-hide holding of one royal sergeant at Broadwindsor in Beaminster hundred⁹³ rather skews a calculation made solely on the total number of hides. Larger holdings were more likely to be held as integral estates in themselves – as opposed to dependencies of larger estates – and here the smaller holdings may be of greater significance, being less likely to have been self-contained estates. A hundred with a high number of small holdings by different royal agents is a potential indicator of a functional or economic connection – even if that connection no longer functioned in the eleventh century – between the agents and the administration of night's farm renders.

Therefore, under the criterion of counting individual lands, Cullifordtree hundred was Dorset's most important with eleven or twelve royal agent holdings – six sergeant and five *taini regis*.⁹⁴ Most of these lands were held by different individuals, although a *tainus regis* who managed to survive the Conquest with comparatively substantial holdings, a certain Beorhtwine, held four separate lands: one on the River Wey and others at Lewell, Ringstead and Bridge.⁹⁵ Other significant Dorset hundreds were *Canendone*, with seven holdings,⁹⁶ and Gillingham, with six holdings.⁹⁷ It is significant to note that the holdings in these hundreds were close to night's farm manorial elements. Furthermore, Cullifordtree hundred included parts of the estate providing the night's farm for Dorchester, even if Cullifordtree hundred was of secondary importance to Dorchester.

The holdings in *Canendone* hundred may be viewed alongside nearby royal agents' lands at Wimborne St Giles in *Albretesberge* hundred; both were areas in north-east Dorset which may have emerged from a former large multiple estate.⁹⁸ Gillingham hundred was also probably part of the manorial structure of the render provided by the estate of Gillingham which, considering its distance from Dorchester – some thirty miles – may only have been a comparatively recent addition to the structure of the Dorchester night's farm render. Gillingham hundred may have been the relict of an important royal estate.⁹⁹

In Hampshire, Broughton hundred had twelve TRE holdings, which were all lands of *taini regis*.¹⁰⁰ Redbridge hundred, dominated by the night's farm manor of Eling, had nine royal agent holdings, all but one held by *taini regis*.¹⁰¹ Other significant hundreds, considered here as those with five or more royal agent holdings, were Fordingbridge,¹⁰² Bermondspitt,¹⁰³ Holdshott,¹⁰⁴ Kingsclere,¹⁰⁵ and Somborne.¹⁰⁶ These five hundreds were in

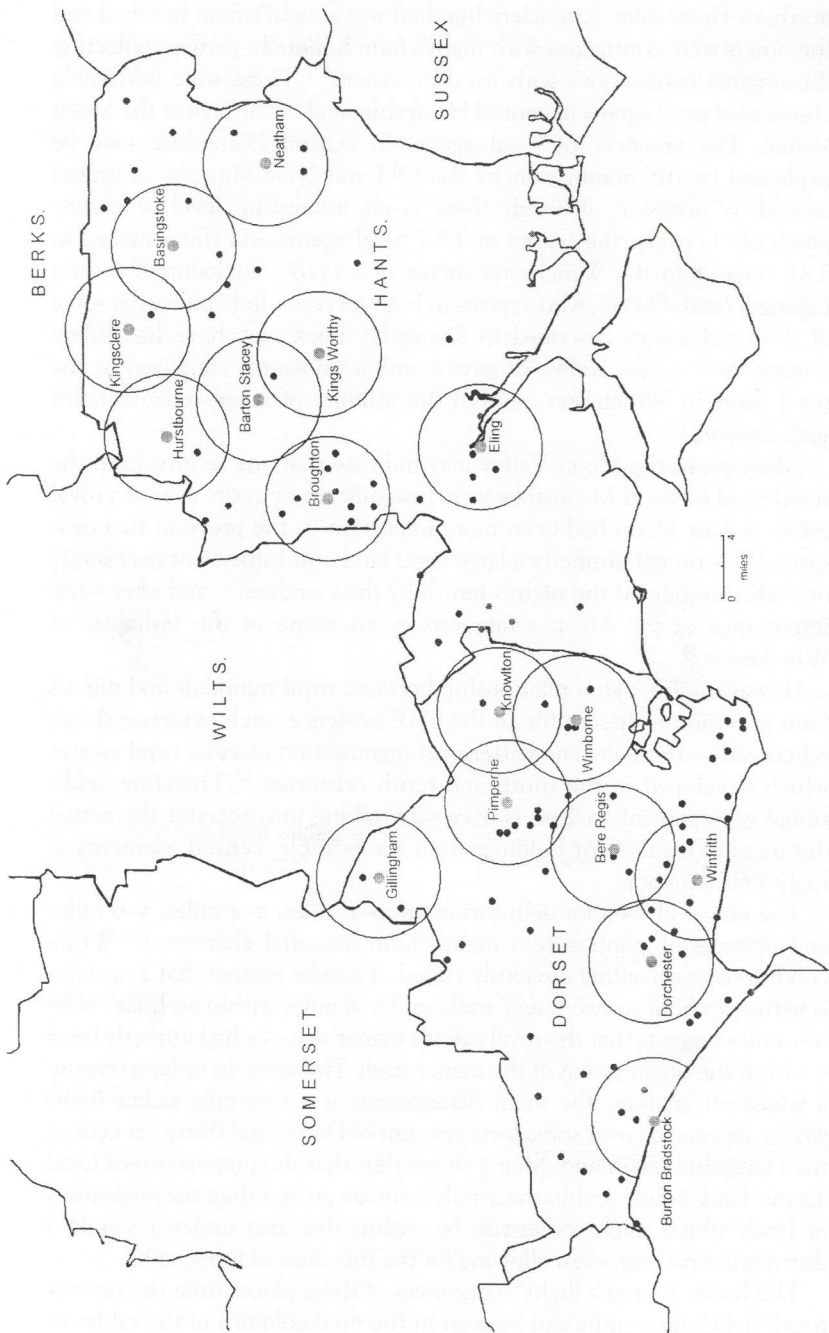
northern Hampshire. Kingsclere hundred was a night's farm hundred and the others were contiguous with night's farm hundreds, perhaps reflecting the original connections with royal provision.¹⁰⁷ There were noticeable absences of royal agents in central Hampshire and in the area of the Meon Valley. The absences of royal agents in central Hampshire may be explained by the domination by the Old and New Minsters of estates around Winchester, although there is an interesting level of correspondence between the names of TRE royal agents and those named as TRE tenants in the Winchester survey of c.1110 – including a certain Ealdræd, *fratris Odonis*, who appears in both surveys – indicating that some of the royal agents described in Domesday Book may have had urban tenements.¹⁰⁸ Conceivably, otherwise unknown agents employed in the royal court in Winchester enjoyed the usufruct of urban tenements for such services.¹⁰⁹

Absences in the Meon Valley may indicate that any returns from the small royal estate at Meonstoke were insignificant by 1066, even if a royal estate at East Meon had been more important in the previous two centuries.¹¹⁰ Although formerly a large royal land unit (albeit not necessarily one which rendered the night's farm), by the Conquest – and after – the importance of the Meon estate was as an estate of the bishopric of Winchester.¹¹¹

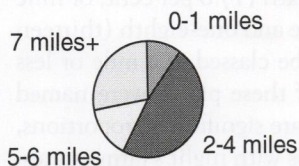
However, although a relationship between royal hundreds and night's farm provision is discernible in the TRE evidence, such evidence shows relicts rather than *ab initio* patterns of organisation of large royal estates which developed in the ninth and tenth centuries.¹¹² Therefore, additional geographical analysis is necessary, taking into account the actual distances of royal agent holdings from the possible 'central' elements of night's farm manors.

The ranges chosen for delineation are 0–1 miles, 2–4 miles, 5–6 miles and upwards of 7 miles from night's farm manorial elements.¹¹³ While conditions of travelling obviously varied, it can be posited that 2–4 miles is within an hour to two hours' walk, and 5–6 miles within an hour's ride; 0–1 miles suggests that the royal agent's manor was – or had formerly been – within the organisation of the manor itself. However, in order to ensure a statistical analysis, the main determinant is a four-mile radius limit, which appears to cover some forty per cent of Dorset and thirty per cent of the Hampshire mainland. Map 2 shows that that the proportions of royal agents' lands falling within the 4-mile limit are greater than the proportion of lands which might otherwise be within this area under a standard distribution pattern, even allowing for the influence of topography.

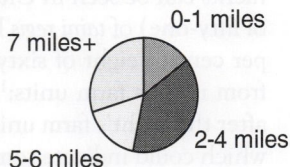
The linear – 'crow's flight' – distances of these places from the nearest royal night's farm units can be seen in the final columns of the tables in



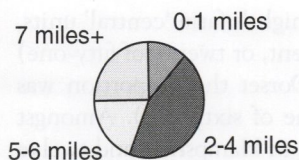
Distances from night's farm units of all royal agent lands (Dorset)



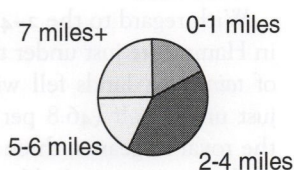
Distances from night's farm units of all royal agent lands (Hampshire)



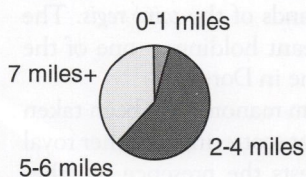
Dorset *taini regis*: Distances from night's farm units of *taini regis* lands



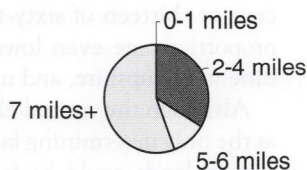
Hampshire *taini regis*: Distances from night's farm units of *taini regis* lands



Dorset royal sergeants: Distances from night's farm units of royal sergeants' lands



Hampshire royal sergeants: Distances from night's farm units of royal sergeants' lands



Graph 3: Distances of Domesday royal agent lands from royal night's farm units

the appendix. Domesday Book does not name all places in the royal agent *breves* and, in other cases, these places are named after a river, which makes it difficult to identify them from many villis thus named, but best estimates have been made where possible. The results of these measurements can be seen in Graph 3. Just over one-sixth (17.6 per cent, or nine of fifty-one) of *taini regis* holdings in Hampshire and one-eighth (thirteen per cent or eight of sixty-two) in Dorset can be classed as a mile or less from night's farm units;¹¹⁴ in Dorset, many of these places were named after the night's farm units themselves. These are significant proportions, which could indicate some service relationships with night's farm estates. Of course, while we may not expect royal agents to have commuted on a daily basis from their own lands to royal estates, the granting of nearby lands would certainly have been logical. This does not necessarily appear to be the case with the royal sergeants' lands, of which none of the nine in Hampshire and only one out of the twenty-one in Dorset,¹¹⁵ were within a mile of subsidiary units of the night's farm manors, let alone their 'central' units.

With regard to the 2-4 mile distance from night's farm 'central' units, in Hampshire just under two-fifths (39.2 per cent, or twenty of fifty-one) of *taini regis* lands fell within this area. In Dorset the proportion was just under half (46.8 per cent, or twenty-nine of sixty-two). Amongst the royal sergeants, three of the nine holdings in Hampshire and twelve of the twenty-one holdings in Dorset are to be found within this area, broadly equating with *taini regis* proportions.

The 0-1 and 2-4 mile radii of influence can be taken as the significant determinants: under conditions of even distribution the 5-6 mile radii would represent higher proportions than they do here. The lands between five and six miles represent just over one-sixth (17.6 per cent, or nine of fifty-one) of the Hampshire *taini regis* lands, and about one-fifth (21 per cent or thirteen of sixty-two) of the Dorset lands of the *taini regis*. The proportions are even lower for the royal sergeant holdings – one of the nine in Hampshire, and none of the twenty-one in Dorset.

Although the central elements of night's farm manors have been taken as the only determining factor here, the fact that scatterings of other royal agents' lands could be found elsewhere suggests the presence of other significant royal estates which were not night's farm estates. There were no obvious night's farm manors close to the holdings of any royal agents in north-eastern Hampshire and the New Forest. This may indicate that there were other royal estates of importance which provided pre-Conquest hunting, such as at Ringwood, or at least important administration undertaken on the western edge of the New Forest.¹¹⁶ The north-east Hampshire holdings were within an hour's ride of Odiham, a manor

which at seventy-eight and a half hides, beneficially hidated at thirty-eight hides, was a significant holding of Earl Godwine and so may have been one of those royal estates reorganised for providing land to King Cnut's 'new men', perhaps in the 1020s.¹¹⁷ In Dorset, eleven of the royal agents' lands were within an hour's journey of Corfe. The death of Edward the Martyr at Corfe during an unfortunate break from hunting provides some dramatic evidence of the pre-Conquest practice of royal hunting in the area.¹¹⁸ Although none of these royal agents were recorded as huntsmen, it is possible that some of them were involved with the logistics of royal hunts here.

Royal huntsmen – at least TRW huntsmen – tended to be recorded among the entries for the *taini regis*, but it is worth noting that a sizeable proportion of the royal agents recorded with holdings seven miles or more from night's farm estates were royal sergeants. Although the numbers of royal sergeants involved are insufficient for reliable statistical analysis, royal sergeants could have been associated with, and rewarded with land from the king's estates held in a private capacity, rather than those customary lands passed from king to king.¹¹⁹ Of course, this view has been formed from observations on the administration of the post-Conquest royal sergeants' lands which were not necessarily the same as those before the Conquest, but by elimination some form of relationship between the *taini regis* and the night's farms can be established. Although not all lands held by royal agents were associated with night's farm estates, they give some indication of the degree to which royal administration may have been concentrated upon providing the night's farm.

V.

The continuity of discernibly English holders and their families in lands which were broadly the same in 1086 as they had been in 1066 shows a degree of conservatism in the lands of TRW *taini regis*. If sons tended to succeed their fathers as *taini regis*, such continuity after 1066 may have been necessary. While royal sergeants reflected the personal dynamics of the royal court between 1066 and 1086, the king's position as the lord of *taini regis* seems to have been connected to their royal service. However, perhaps it was not always so close, as a brief return to King Eadred's will, as discussed above, may demonstrate. Eadred makes a provision for 'each of those who are in my household [*hirede*], in whatever office [*note*] he is employed', with a reservation *he sy lit inbynde to þam cynestolum*, for which Whitelock offered the translation 'unless he be little connected with the royal dwellings'.¹²⁰ This final clause may show a division of royal generosity, providing some realistic distinction between the tasks and even the

status of royal agents. If this division is to be made with the Domesday evidence, the *taini regis* may be associated with the management of estates and the servants connected with the household – perhaps the equivalent of the *cynestolum* – but a distinction was probably not clear cut.

The important aspects of royal service are the survival of a sizeable group of English landholders, the occurrence of administrative and household bynames, and the proximity of many of their lands to night's farm units, both in terms of hundredal administration and, to a greater extent, in terms of distance from the posited 'central' units. From a consideration of these aspects together, the royal agents can be shown to have been connected in some way with the pre-Conquest royal administration of at least a century's standing. The fact that many TRE royal agents were ostensibly 'free' to choose their landlords suggests that some lands were technically held as booklands. But as only a small proportion of these lands held by the *taini regis* had been passed on to TRW successors outside their kindred, these may have been lands held for services to royal estates, suggesting that Domesday's use of the term *de rege in alodium* may have encompassed both dependent and 'free' tenure.

An official bureaucracy who were able to hold their lands successfully in what must have been dangerous times after 1066, presumably due at least in part to their expertise in running royal estates, may contrast with those who relied on patronage for their position by being more directly involved with the royal household. It is reasonable to suggest that after 1066 many of these were the royal sergeants.

The royal agents were evidently a group whose rare appearance in narrative sources belies their importance. The mechanisms of smooth-running machinery, such as are demonstrated by the resources available to the late Anglo-Saxon kings, may not always be immediately visible. Where we are able to see this operation – or at least the agents of its operation – in Domesday Book, the royal agents give an indication of the sophistication of later Anglo-Saxon royal land administration at a modest level and its continuity well into the reign of William the Conqueror.

Notes

1. I am very grateful to Ann Williams and Janine Shepherdson, for reading and commenting on earlier versions of this paper, and to Nicholas Brooks and Barbara Yorke for their comments on the research which formed the basis of this paper. I also gratefully acknowledge the work of my anonymous referee, whose critical readings of my work have helped me to clarify a number of arguments.
2. The shires with distinctly identified royal agents, in the order given in the Great Domesday (the 'Exchequer') manuscript, are: Surrey, Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Hertfordshire, Bucking-

hamshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, and Lincolnshire; in Little Domesday, are: Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk. Shires with no lands distinguished as holdings of royal agents were Kent, Sussex, Cornwall, Middlesex, Worcestershire, Northamptonshire, Cheshire, and Rutland (although anomalous, as it was created a county after the Conquest). Although *tainī regis* could be translated as 'royal thegns', the Domesday term is retained here in Latin, in order to avoid confusion with other members of the pre-Conquest nobility. See A Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 1995), p.111 and note 65. There is no danger of similar confusion for the term 'royal sergeant' and the term is thus rendered in modern English. Hereafter, where appropriate, entries in Domesday Book [DB] are cited by the relevant Phillimore county edition references (J. Morris [general ed.], Chichester, 1975–86), followed by the manuscript folio. For translations, I have mostly followed the Aleto edition, available as A Williams (ed.), *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation* (2002). It should also be noted that such royal agents were not recorded in the shires which did not have royal lands. Williams, *English and the Norman Conquest*, p.111, identifies Cornwall, Shropshire and Cheshire as such shires.

3. Following convention, the abbreviations TRE and TRW are used throughout.
4. DB Herts. 61 (fols. 132a and 142b).
5. For this observation, see C Stephenson, 'The *Firma Unius Noctis* and the Customs of the Hundred', *English Historical Review*, 39 (1924), p.162.
6. S Reynolds, 'Booklands, folklands, and fiefs', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 14 (1992), p.226.
7. E G Kimball, *Serjeantry Tenure in Medieval England* (New Haven, 1936), p.11, in response to J H Round, *The King's Serjeants and Officers of the State with their Coronation Services* (1911), pp.11–4.
8. Williams, *English and the Norman Conquest*, p.113. DB Surrey 36,6 (fol. 36d); DB Berks. 63,1–5 (fol. 63b).
9. J Campbell, 'Some agents and agencies of the late Anglo-Saxon state', in J C Holt (ed.), *Domesday Studies: Papers read at the Novocentenary Conference of the Royal Historical Society and the Institute of British Geographers*, Winchester, 1986 (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 210–2. R J Dennis, 'The Organisation of Wealth and Power in Domesday Hampshire' (Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1992), pp.262–319. See also P Stafford, 'Women and the Norman Conquest', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 4 (1994), pp. 245–6, for surviving English widows being allowed to hold official lands.
10. For the disposition of royal lands from the reign of Æthelwulf, see P Wormald, 'On *þa Wæpnedhealfe*: Kingship and royal property from Æthelwulf to Edward the Elder', in N J Higham and D H Hill (eds), *Edward the Elder, 899–924* (2001), pp.264–79. The organisation of royal estates in this region, with particular reference to the shires of Hampshire and Dorset, is addressed in my Ph.D thesis, 'Royal Estates in Anglo-Saxon Wessex' (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Southampton, 2001).
11. For the comparison of the hundred with the estates rendering the 'night's farm', see R Lavelle, 'The "Farm of One Night" and the organisation of royal estates in late Anglo-Saxon Wessex', *Haskins Society Journal*, 14 (2003), pp.53–82.

12. For comments on the non-hidation of estates, see P Stafford, 'The "Farm of One Night" and the organization of King Edward's estates in Domesday', *Economic History Review*, 2nd. series, 33 (1980), p.493.
13. Catalogued in P H Sawyer (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (1968); revised version edited by S E Kelly (forthcoming). S M Miller (ed.), for the British Academy-Royal Historical Society *Anglo-Saxon Charters* website <www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww> [hereafter cited as S], no.1515 (A.D.951x55); printed in *idem.* (ed.), *Charters of the New Minster, Winchester* (Oxford, 2001), no.17; translated in D Whitelock (ed.), *English Historical Documents*, vol. 1: c.500–1042 (2nd. edn. 1979) [hereafter cited as EHD 1], p.556.
14. EHD 1, p. 556, n.
15. See Campbell, *op.cit.*, p.212. See also the thegn's duties in *Gepýncðo* in the compilation on status, F Liebermann (ed.), *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 3 Vols. (Halle, 1903–16), 1, p.456; translated in EHD 1, p.468.
16. J E Cross, 'The ethic of war in Old English', in P Clemoes and K Hughes (eds.), *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock* (Cambridge, 1971), pp.269–82.
17. For an example of a *tainus regis* who died at Hastings, see DB Hants 69,16 (fol. 50a). For other records of the deaths of thegns and royal agents, see Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entries for 988 (CDE MSS) and 1001 (A MS): C Plummer (ed.), *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (Oxford, 1892–9), vol. 1, pp.125, 132. EHD 1, pp.233, 237 (trans.). See B Dickins, 'The day of the Battle of Æthelingadene (ASC 1001 A)', *Leeds Studies in English*, 6 (1937), pp.25–7.
18. See Campbell, *op.cit.*, p.203, although cf. N Hooper, 'The Housecarls in England in the eleventh century', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 7 (1985), pp. 170–1.
19. Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Vol. 2, ed. M Chibnall (Oxford, 1969), pp.210–1.
20. The exclusion of these areas from the case study area is undertaken because both have discrete sections in DB. In the case of the New Forest, this avoids complications stemming from its post-Conquest organisation.
21. *Book of Fees: Liber Feodorum. The Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Nevill, reformed from the earliest MSS, by the Deputy Keeper of the Records*, Vol. 1 (1920). Relevant early thirteenth-century entries for Hampshire and Dorset, referring specifically to lands held *per serianteriam* can be found at, respectively, pp. 73–8 and 87–95. For R R Darlington's observations on Wiltshire sergeantries and their eleventh-century predecessors, see R B Pugh and E Crittall (eds.), *Victoria County History: Wiltshire*, Vol. 8 (1953), pp.77–8.
22. T A Carnicelli (ed.), *King Alfred's Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), p.48. Translation from S D Keynes and M Lapidge (eds.), *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and other Contemporary Sources* (Harmondsworth, 1983), p.139. The use of the term *cotlifa* in a series of writs from King Edward the Confessor to Westminster (S 1120 / F E Harmer [ed.], *Anglo-Saxon Writs* [Manchester, 1952], no.77 [n.d.]; S 1128 / Harmer, *Writs*, no.84 [A.D.1052x53]; S 1129 / Harmer, *Writs*, no. 85 [A.D.1053x66]; S 1135 / Harmer, *Writs*, no.91 [?1057x66]; S 1142 / Harmer, *Writs*, no.98 [A.D.1053x66]; S 1146 / Harmer, *Writs*, no.102 [A.D.1062x66]; S 1148 / Harmer, *Writs*, no.104 [A.D.1065x66]) may suggest that eleventh-

century *cotlifa* were sokes or dependent estates associated with the render of supplies.

23. S 1445 (A.D.899x924); for this, see S D Keynes, 'The Fonthill letter', in M Korhammer, K Reicht and H Sauer (eds.), *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmet Gneuss on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Cambridge, 1992), pp.85–8.
24. For the blurring of distinctions, see the charter S 1347 (A.D.984); J Earle (ed.), *A Hand-book to the Land-Charters and Other Saxon Documents* (Oxford, 1888), pp.207–9; also the dorse of S 1417 / Miller, *Charters of the New Minster*, no.9 (A.D.924x33). Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, pp.333–4, has suggested that by the mid-tenth century, reference to *bocland* had shifted meaning to become a generic term for thegns' lands.
25. DB Dors. fol. 84d.
26. See A Williams, 'How land was held before and after the Norman Conquest', in *idem.* (ed.), *Domesday Book Studies* (1986), pp.37–8. The grammatically correct ablative in *alodio* is also used in DB, but unless making a direct citation, in *alodium* is used here for the sake of consistency.
27. J A Simpson and E S C. Weiner (eds.), *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 20 Vols. (Oxford, 2nd. edn., 1989), I, A-Bazouki, p.340.
28. Recently discussed by D M Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: Its Social Structure, c.800–1100* (2000), esp. pp.108–15. For the suggestion that *alodium* included the equivalents of sokes, see S Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Re-interpreted* (Oxford, 1994), p.348.
29. S 1129 / Harmer, *Writs*, no.852 (A.D.1053x66).
30. DB Hants 8,1 (fol.43c). See also S 1091 / Harmer, *Writs*, no.38 (A.D.1042x50), compared with DB Kent D 17 (fol.1b), a reference to the king's exclusion from the heriot from the *alodarii* in Dover on land belonging to Christ Church and St Augustine's, Canterbury, and St Martin's, Dover; also S 986 / Harmer, *Writs*, no.28 (A.D.1020) and S 1088 / Harmer, *Writs*, no. 33 (A.D.1052x66); S 1160 / Harmer, *Writs*, no.119 (A.D.1060x65) (I am grateful to Ann Williams for the latter reference and for her correspondence regarding these examples). By contrast, the charter S 217 (A.D.887), granting land from the royal estate at Benson, Oxfordshire, transfers people themselves, who were presumably a lower status than those at Eversley; W de G Birch (ed.), *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 3 Vols. (1885–99), no.912. See D A E Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England: From the Reign of Alfred until the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 1995), p.168.
31. For a reference to the rights of a *landhlaforð*, see II Edgar §3.1: A J Robertson (ed.), *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I* (Cambridge, 1925), pp.20–3. EHD I, p.431 (trans.).
32. D J A Matthew, *The Norman Conquest* (1966), pp.145–6; R Carabie, *La propriété foncière dans le très ancien droit normand* (Caen, 1943), pp.236–9.
33. D Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (1982), pp.122–5. See also L Musset, 'Reflexions sur alodium et sa signification dans les textes normands', *Revue historique de droits français et étranger*, 46 series, 47 (1969), p.606. Carabie, *op.cit.*, pp.230–45.
34. The Phillimore DB volumes consistently translate *alodium* into 'freehold', as has been pointed out by Karin Mew, in 'Thro' a Glass Darkly: the biography of a Domesday landscape – the *Nova Foresta*' (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Reading, 1997), p.271.

35. Bates, *op.cit.*, p.124, has suggested that the meaning was gradually shifting. For a statement that lands held in *alodium* in the New Forest were held for service, see Mew, *op.cit.*, pp.271–2.
36. These examples are from Hampshire, understandably mostly outside the royal agents' holdings: Osbern's holding of Preston Candover (DB Hants, 69,6 [fol. 49d]) and Wulfweard White's holding of Hayling (DB Hants 10,1 [fol. 43c]) from Queen Edith; Alfward's holding of Buckland in Portsdown hundred (DB Hants 23,32 [fol. 45c]) from Earl Godwine and Chipping's holding of Silchester from Harold (DB Hants 29,14 [fol. 47a]). For a reservation concerning the term *de rege*, see P A Clarke, *The English Nobility Under Edward the Confessor* (Cambridge, 1994), p.65, who considers that the term was used by the Normans simply to invoke the accepted social structure, in which it would readily be understood that the landholder owed no obligations.
37. S 1091 / Harmer, *Writs*, no. 38 (A.D.1042x50). Susan Kelly reckons that the vernacular version may well be authentic and perhaps based on rights granted by Cnut, although the existing diploma purporting to be from the reign of Cnut, S 989 / Harmer, *Writs*, no.36 (n.d.), is an obvious forgery based upon S 1091; S E Kelly, *Anglo-Saxon Charters of St Augustine's Abbey* (Oxford, 1995), pp.128–9. See also note 30, above.
38. For such educated 'new men', see R V Turner, 'Changing perceptions of the new administrative class in Anglo-Norman England: The *Curiales* and their conservative critics', *Journal of British Studies*, 29 (1990), esp. pp.110–3. The post-Conquest *Instituta Cnuti* similarly equates *alodio* and *alodium* with *bocland*; reference from A Healey and R Venezky (eds), *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (Toronto, 1980).
39. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, p.348.
40. S 1129 / Harmer, *Writs*, no. 85 (A.D.1053x66). See also note 30.
41. See especially the holdings of the TRE predecessors of Hugh de Montfort: DB Kent §9 (fols.13a–d).
42. Although some *taini regis* evidently share the same names, I have taken TRE bynames as a means of distinguishing these characters from another entry where the landholder has the same name but no byname. The names of the Hampshire *taini regis* were Almær, Ælfhelm, Æstan, Aghmund, 'another Aghmund', Alric, Alweard (holding of Earl Godwine), Alwig, Vigot and his sub-tenant, Alwine, Alwine Ret, Alwine White, Auti, Bolla, Cola the huntsman, Ealdræd brother of Oda, Ednoth and Eadwig, Edwin, Edwin Presbyter, Edwin the huntsman, Esbiorn, Folki, Godric, Godric Mal, Godwine the falconer, Leofwine, Osmund, Ravelin, Sæwine, Sæwulf, Sceva, Siward, Wulfgeat (who was probably 'Wulfgeat the huntsman' and whose sub-tenant was Cola the huntsman), Wulfgifu, Wulfric and Godgifu. For these and other entries, see the tables in the appendix to this article.
43. These were the fathers of 'four Englishmen', as well as the father(s) of Alric, Eadwulf, Edmund, Wulfric, and – if indeed these were different men – Wulfric the huntsman.
44. Alweard, Alwig, Alwine, Azur, Ælfric, Ælmær, Æthelweard, Beorhtwine, Bolle *presbyter*, Dodda, Ealdwine, Eskil. Godwine the huntsman, Godwine the reeve, Guthmund, Leofrun, Sæweard, Sæwine, Sæwulf, and Wulfgeat.
45. These were Ælfric, Æthelrun, Edwin, Godric, Wulfwine, and Beorhtwine.
46. The fathers of Wulfric and – if different – Wulfric the huntsman, as well as Swein.

47. DB Dors. 56,6 (fol. 84a).
48. DB Dors. 56,56 (fol. 84d).
49. DB Dors. 56,61 (fol. 84d).
50. For the purposes of these calculations I have taken a virgate, where recorded in DB entries, to equal precisely a quarter of a hide. For the theory and practice of calculating standard deviation – albeit now somewhat easier with the use of spreadsheet software such as Microsoft Excel – see R Floud, *An Introduction to Quantitative Methods for Historians* (2nd edition, 1979), pp.72–7.
51. DB Dors. 57,15 (fol. 85a).
52. Dennis, *op.cit.*, pp.12–9.
53. DB Hants fol. 37d. For Oda of Winchester, who also held land in Calne, Wiltshire (the site of a night's farm manor), amongst other lands, see Williams, *op.cit.*, pp.115–6.
54. DB Hants 68,2–6 (fol. 49c).
55. O von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937), p.334.
56. DB Hants 69,45 (fol. 50d).
57. For Oda's TRW position, see Williams, *loc.cit.*
58. Murdoch, as it appears in the Yorkshire folios, is probably an Old Irish name: von Feilitzen, *op.cit.*, p.331. It can be suggested that this Hampshire Robert had originally come from elsewhere as there are no Murdochs in the Hampshire folios, although there was a minor TRW holder by that name in the Sussex folios (DB Sussex 3,3 [fols. 16d]).
59. DB Dors. 57,22 (fol. 85a).
60. Although W L Warren, 'The myth of Norman administrative efficiency', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 34 (1984), pp.113–32, does not directly address the issue of the administration of the royal estates, his argument usefully advances the case for the survival of Englishmen in post-Conquest administration.
61. Aghmund (DB Hants 69,22 [fol. 50a]; 69,26 [fol. 50b]; 69,37 [fol. 50c]), 'another Aghmund' (DB Hants 69,23 [fol. 50a]), Ealdraed brother of Oda (DB Hants 69,45 [fol. 50d]), Alwig (DB Hants 69,24 [fol. 50b]), Alwine White (DB Hants 69,40 [fol. 50c]), Edwin the huntsman (DB Hants 69,41 [fol. 50c]), Edwin the priest (DB Hants 69,8 [fol. 49d]), Godwine the falconer (DB Hants 69,49 [fol. 50d]), Leofwine (DB Hants 69,43 [fol. 50c]), Osmund (DB Hants 69,15 [fol. 50a]), Ravelin (DB Hants 69,42 [fol. 50c]), Sæwine (DB Hants 69,33 [fol. 50b]), and Wulfgeat the huntsman (DB Hants 69,36 [fol. 50c]).
62. The father of 'four Englishmen' (DB Hants 69,19 [fol. 50c]), Sæwulf, father of Alwig (DB Hants 69,17 [fol. 50a]), the father of Alric (DB Hants 69,38 [fol. 50c]), Wulfgeat, father of Alwine (DB Hants 69,50 [fol. 50d]), the father of Edmund (DB Hants 69,20 [fol. 50a]), the father of Eadwulf (DB Hants 69,25 [fol. 50b]), Godric Mal and his sons (DB Hants 69,39 [fol. 50c]), father of Wulfric (DB Hants 69,18 [fol. 50a]), the father of Wulfric huntsman (DB Hants 69,47 [fol. 50d]). As the lands here were near to each other, at Lockerley in Broughton hundred and an unnamed estate in Somborne hundred respectively, it is probable that these were the same men.
63. Alweard (DB Dors. 56,62 [fol. 84d]), Ælfric (DB Dors. 56,57;59–60 [fol. 84d]), Æthelweard (DB Dors. 56,15 [fol. 84b]), Beorhtwine (DB Dors. 56,9–11 [fol. 84a-b]; 56,35 [fol. 84c]; 56,37–39 [fol. 84c]), Bolle the Priest

- (DB Dors. 56,7 [fol. 84a]), Godmund (DB Dors. 56,1 [fol. 84a]), Godwine Reeve (DB Dors. 56,26 [fol. 84b]), Sæward (DB Dors. 56,55 [fol. 84c]), Wulfgeat (DB Dors. 56,16 [fol. 84b]). Additionally, two *bordarii* were referred to as continuous tenants of an unnamed land in another case (DB Dors. 56,56 [fol. 84d]), and ten unnamed *taini* were recorded as all being in possession of one hide and one virgate at Kingcombe TRW as well as TRE (DB Dors. 56,61 [fol. 84d]). Unless we are to suppose that royal lands in Dorset give us one of the earliest examples of communist living, presumably the latter *taini* also benefited from the usufruct of other lands.
64. From the royal sergeants, the father of Godfrey *Scutularius* (DB Dors. 57,22 [fol. 85a]); amongst the *taini regis* the father of Swein (DB Dors. 56,28–29 [fol. 84b]; 56,53 [fol. 84c]); father of Wulfric the huntsman (DB Dors. 56,30 [fol. 84b]), and the father of Wulfric (DB Dors. 56,13;18 [fol. 84b]), who appears to have divided the land between two sons on his death, as a ‘wife of the brother of Wulfric’ is recorded (DB Dors. 56,13 [fol. 84b]), leaving us to assume her widowhood.
 65. These were *taini regis*: Alweard (DB Dors. 56,22 [fol. 84b]), Ælfric (DB Dors. 56,6 [fol. 84a], 56,51 [fol. 84c]), Æthelrun (DB Dors. 56,23 [fol. 84b]), Æthelweard (DB Dors. 56,25 [fol. 84b]), Beorhtric (DB Dors. 56,51 [fol. 84c]), Beorhtwine (DB Dors. 56,17 [fol. 84b]), Edwin (DB Dors. 56,3 [fol. 84a]), Godric (DB Dors. 56,4 [fol. 84a]), and Wulfwine (DB Dors. 56,5 [fol. 84a]). The unnamed TRE holders of Dodda’s lands in *Canendone* hundred (DB Dors. 56,20–1 [fol. 84b]) were probably not Dodda himself as he is recorded as having received one of them in alms from the queen – probably Matilda; in the case of Eadric’s holdings (DB Dors. 56,42–7 [fol. 84c]), although most of the lands do not name his TRE antecessor, a certain Sæwine was recorded as the TRE holder of the first of these lands and it may be reckoned that this was also the case with Eadric’s other TRW lands.
 66. I gratefully acknowledge Ann Williams for her correspondence on this issue.
 67. In addition to the patrilineal descents of tenure in the previous note, a Hunger fitz Odin is identified (DB Dors. 57,15–16 [fol. 85a]), Ansketil fitz Osmund (DB Hants. 68,2–6 [fol. 49c]), Robert fitz Murdoch (68,10 [fol. 69c]), Alsige fitz Beorhtsige (69,9–10 [fol. 49d]), the son of Cola of Basing (69,13 [fol. 50a]), Alwig fitz Thurbert (69,16 [fol. 50a]; 69,29–31 [fol. 50b]), Edmund fitz Pain (69,51 [fol. 50d]).
 68. This is the case for some TRW agents, especially for those from West Francia.
 69. DB Hants 69,32 (fol. 50b); 69,36 (fol. 50c); 69,41 (fol. 50c); 69,47 (fol. 50d); 69,52 (fol. 50d). DB Dors. 56,24 (fol. 84b); 56,27 (fol. 84b); 56,30 (fol. 84b); 56,66 (fol. 84d).
 70. DB Hants 69,8 (fol. 49d); DB Dors. 56,7–8 (fol. 84a).
 71. DB Hants 69,9 (fol. 49d); 69,14 (fol. 50a).
 72. DB Hants 69,49 (fol. 50d).
 73. DB Hants 69,28 (fol. 50b); 69,48 (fol. 50d). In his note to these entries in the Phillimore edition of DB, Julian Munby suggests a possible representation of the Old English term, *bur-cniht*, perhaps meaning “‘lad who attends in the private quarters”, a “Chamberer” or “Valet”, although Ann Williams, personal communication, has suggested that the *burcniht* is a variant of *burþegn*, another term for ‘chamberlain’. I am grateful to Dr Williams for the suggestion that Ælfsige *berchenistrius* (DB Hants 69,28 [fol. 50b]; 69,48 [fol. 50d]) is Ælfsige at *Haeccam* (Hatch, which was land leased to Oda of

- Winchester) addressed in a Winchester writ of William I of c.1070 to the sheriffs of Hampshire and Wiltshire and various thegns: D Bates (ed.), *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acts of William I, 1066–1087* (Oxford, 1999), no.339. See B Golding, 'An Introduction to the Hampshire Domesday', in A Williams and R W H Erskine (eds.), *Domesday Book: Hampshire* (1991), p. 24.
74. DB Dors. 56,26 (fol. 84b).
 75. DB Dors. 57,9 (fol. 85a).
 76. DB Hants 68,11 (fol. 49d).
 77. DB Dors. 57,20–21 (fol. 85a).
 78. DB Dors. 57,22 (fol. 85a).
 79. DB Dors. 57,17–18 (fol. 85a).
 80. DB Hants 68,7–8 (fol. 49c).
 81. His occupational by-name is recorded only in the hundredal returns for the Exon. MS: H Ellis (ed.), *Libri Censualis vocati Domesday Book . . . Exon' Domesday, Inquisitio Eliensis, Liber Winton'*, Boldon Book (1816), p.22.
 82. *Capitulary de villis*, in A Boretius (ed.), *Capitularia Regum Francorum, Monumenta Germanica Historica, Legum*, (Hanover, 1883), Vol.2, pp. 83–9. H R Loyn and J Percival (eds.), *The Reign of Charlemagne: Documents on Carolingian Government and Administration* (1975), pp.64–79 (trans.).
 83. T Gross and R Schieffer (eds.), *De Ordine Palatii*, Monumenta Germanica Historica, Fontes, 3 Vols. (Hanover, 1980). P E Dutton (ed.), *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader*, (trans., Ontario, 1993), pp.485–99.
 84. *Constitutio domus regis*, in C Johnson, F E L Carter and D Greenway (eds.), *Dialogus de Scaccario* (Oxford, 1983), pp.129–35. A new version of the *Dialogus*, including the *Constitutio domus regis*, is in press, as E Amt and S Church (eds), *Dialogus de Scaccario* (Oxford, forthcoming).
 85. For the post-Conquest period, albeit mainly the twelfth century, see G H White, 'The household of the Norman Kings', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 4th series, 30 (1948), pp.127–55. See also J A Green, *The Government of England under Henry I* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 134–93, esp. 134, for a broad view of 'all those employed in royal administration'.
 86. *Capitulary de Villis*, §§ 10, 16, 20, 24, 45, 46, 47, and 62. *Brevium Exempla*, in Boretius (ed.), *Capitularia*, pp.254–5. Loyn and Percival (eds), *op.cit.*, pp.102–5 (trans.). For discussion, see A Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy* (Cambridge, 2002), pp.126–7.
 87. See P D A Harvey, 'Rectitudines singularum personarum and Gerefa', *English Historical Review*, 108 (1993), pp.1–22; *Rectitudines singularum personarum* and *Bege sceadwisan gerefan* (generally known as Gerefa: 'On the Sagacious Reeve') in Liebermann, *Gesetze*, Vol. 1, pp. 444–55; D C Douglas (ed.), *English Historical Documents*, Vol. 2: 1042–1189 (2nd. edition, 1981), pp.875–9, for a translation of *Rectitudines singularum personarum*. For Gerefa see P V Addyman, 'Archaeology and Anglo-Saxon society', in G de G Sieveking, I H Longworth and K E Wilson (eds.), *Problems in Economic and Social Archaeology* (London, 1976), pp.318–9.
 88. *King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries*, in O Cockayne (ed.), *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England: Being a Collection of Documents Illustrating the Science of this Country before the Norman Conquest*, Rolls Series 35, 3 Vols. (1866), 3, pp.442–4; EHD 1, p.923 (trans.), and S 782 / Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, no.1270 (A.D.971). For discussion, see D Whitelock,

- 'The Authorship of the Account of King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries', in J L Rosier (ed.), *Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt* (The Hague, 1970), reprinted in *History, Law and Literature in Tenth- to Eleventh-Century England* (1981), 7, p.133.
89. DB Dors. 56,26–27 (fol. 84b).
 90. *Ælfric, Colloquy*, ed. G N Garmonsway (1939), pp.23–5.
 91. The night's farm organisation for Dorset was thus: one night's farm rendered collectively by Burton Bradstock, Bere Regis (the first two probably the 'central' units in the organisation), Colber, Shipton Gorge, Bradpole and Chideock (DB Dors. 1,2 [fol. 75b]); Wimborne Minster ('central' unit), with Shapwick, Moor Crichel and Wimborne St. Giles (DB Dors. 1,3 [fol. 75b]); Dorchester ('central' unit), Fordington, Sutton Poyntz, Gillingham (probably another 'central' unit) and 'Frome' (DB Dors. 1,4 [fol. 75b]); Pimperne ('central' unit) and Charlton Marshall together rendering half a night's farm (DB Dors. 1,5 [fol. 75b]); Winfrith Newburgh ('central' unit), East Lulworth, 'Winterborne' and Knowlton (probably a 'central' unit) also rendering half a night's farm (DB Dors. 1,6 [fol. 75b]). In Hampshire, the 'farms of one day' (almost certainly the night's farm render) are: Barton Stacey, with Kings Worthy attached, rendering half a farm of one day (DB Hants 1,17 [fol. 38c]); Eling another half a day's farm (DB Hants 1,27 [fol. 38d]); one day's farm owed collectively by Basingstoke, Kingsclere and Hurstbourne Tarrant (DB Hants 1,42–44 [fol. 39b]). For the suggestion that Hampshire's commuted money render from the half day's farms at Eling and Barton Stacey of £38 8s 4d each can be used to identify holdings at Neatham (DB Hants 1,2 [fol. 38a]) and Broughton (DB Hants 1,21 [fol. 38b]), see Stafford, 'Farm of One Night', p.493. For the identification of 'central' units in Dorset night's farm organisation, see Lavelle, 'Farm of One Night', pp.63–7.
 92. These were Gillingham (DB Dors. 56,3–5 [fol. 84a]; 66 [fol. 84d]) and Wimborne St Giles (DB Dors. 56,16 [fol. 84b]; 57,09 [fol. 85a]) in Dorset, and in Hampshire, Kingsclere (DB Hants 69,40–42 [fol. 50c]) as a 'central' night's farm unit; Rockbourne (DB Hants 69,30; 33 [fol. 50c]) may also be associated with the night's farm of Broughton (DB Hants 1,37 [fol. 39b]).
 93. DB Dors. 57,15 (fol. 85a).
 94. DB Dors. 56,8–9 (fol. 84a); 56,11 (fol. 84b); 56,39 (fol. 84c); 56,41 (fol. 84c); 57,1 (fol. 84d), two manors combined into one manor after the Conquest, 57, 2–5 (fol. 84d). As a manor by the name of 'Winterborne' is included amongst Cullifordtree hundred holdings (DB Dors. 56,10 [fol. 84b]), this may also be included here.
 95. DB Dors. 56,09 (fol. 84a); 56,11 (fol. 84b); 56,39 (fol. 84c); 56,41 (fol. 84c). Although the estate on the River Wey cannot be identified, lands with the 'Wey' place-name element are only found in Cullifordtree hundred, and the manor named 'Winterborne' may be included for similar reasons – see note 94.
 96. DB Dors. 56,18–24 (fol. 84b).
 97. DB Dors. 56,1–5 (fol. 84a); 56,66 (fol. 84d).
 98. Estates in this area, alienated in the mid tenth century, were Pentridge (S 513 / Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, no. 817 [A.D.944x46]) and Woodyates (S 1753 [A.D.955x59]; T Hearne [ed.], *Johannis . . . Glastoniensis Chronica sive Historia de rebus Glastoniensibus*, 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1726), 1, p.371. Both manors were held by Glastonbury by 1066 (DB Dors. 8,4–5 [fol. 75c]). See Lavelle, *op.cit.*, pp.65–6.

99. *Ibid.*, p.67. For a discussion of 'recent' organisation of the Dorset estates, see Stafford, *op.cit.*, pp.498-9.
100. DB Hants 69,15-25 (fols. 50a-b); of these, Tytherley (DB Hants 69,16 [fol. 50a]) had been held as three manors by three different tenants TRE.
101. DB Hants 68,4 (fol. 49c); 69,37-9 (fol. 50c); 69,50-4 (fol. 50d).
102. DB Hants 68,11 (fol. 49c); 69,29-35 (fols. 50b-c)
103. DB Hants 68,8 (fol. 49c); 69,6-8 (fol. 49d); 69,13-14 (fol. 50a).
104. DB Hants 68,9 (fol. 49c); 69,9-12 (fols. 49d-50a).
105. DB Hants 69,40-44 (fol. 50c).
106. DB Hants 68,2-3 (fol. 49c); 69,45-47 (fol. 50d)
107. The significance of Andover is usefully summarized in S D Keynes, 'Andover 994', *Lookback at Andover: The Journal of the Andover History and Archaeology Society*, 1, 4 (September 1993), pp.58-61.
108. These are detailed in M Biddle (ed.), *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday* (Oxford, 1976), pp.32-68, with name index at 147-78. Domesday royal agents may be tentatively identified with the following TRE Winchester tenement holders: Almær, Alric, Alwig, Alwine, Bolla, Beorhtmær, Ealdræd brother of Oda, Edwin, Godric, Godwine, Leofwine, Sæwine, Siward, Wulfgifu, and Wulfric.
109. Winchester tenements which may be associated with those providing TRE royal services (although not necessarily the holdings of royal agents of the type discussed here) in the c.1110 survey are §§ 10, 19, 23, 24, 32, 34, 38, 74, 123, 184, 185, 267. For possible post-Conquest royal services, up to c.1110, these are §§ 4, 35, 44, 48, 78, 79, 83, 102, 107, 116, 117, 118, 129, 189, 194, 204, 221, 246, 270, 272, 283, 291, 292. A discussion of the royal officials c.1110, alongside those in the 1148 survey, can be found at pp. 386-92 of the volume. See generally R Fleming, 'Rural elites and urban communities in late-Saxon England', *Past and Present*, 141 (November, 1993), pp.3-37.
110. This is shown by the charter of Edgar to his grandmother, Eadgifu: S 811 / Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, no. 1319 (A.D.959x63). See P Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford, 1997), pp.130-1. This area is addressed in my doctoral thesis, *loc.cit.*
111. Although most of the land at East Meon is recorded in DB as held only for the lifetime of Archbishop Stigand (DB Hants, 1,16 [fol. 38b]), and was recorded in the *Terra Regis* entries, the bishopric was beginning to consolidate its hold on this area, with the bishop holding estates in West Meon, Meonstoke, and East Meon (DB Hants 2,11-13 [fol. 40c]). I am grateful to Richard Brown of University College Winchester, for discussion on the bishopric's later interests in the Meon valley.
112. Lavelle, 'Farm of One Night', pp. 80-1.
113. For the most part, with one exception, where the land at Wimborne St Giles suggests a close relationship with a 'satellite' element of the night's farm provision for Wimborne Minster, I have taken the distances from the putative 'central' units of the night's farm organisation detailed in note 91.
114. It should be noted that these calculations do not include those royal agents' lands which cannot be located with reasonable certainty.
115. Land at Wimborne St Giles, part of the night's farm organisation for Wimborne Minster: DB Dors. 57,9 (fol. 85a).

116. Mew, *op.cit.*, p.240, suggests that the Hampshire-Dorset boundary did not follow the River Avon – as it more naturally could – because of the influence of an existing pre-Conquest estate. Ringwood was held by Bishop Ælfsige of Winchester in the tenth century (S 1491 / Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, no. 652 [A.D.955x58]); see Mew, pp.68, 89 note, respectively for a discussion of pre-Conquest hunting, and for the suggestion that the bishop's lands reverted to the king. See R Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England* (Cambridge, 1991), p.88, suggesting that it became part of the Godwine family's powerbase.
117. DB Hants 1,1 (fol. 38a).
118. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* DE MSS s.a. 979 (*recte* 978): Plummer (ed.), *Two Chronicles Parallel*, vol. 1, p. 123; EHD 1, p. 230 (trans.); [Byrhtferth], *Vita Oswaldi Auctore B*, in J Raine (ed.), *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops* Rolls Series, (1879), Vol.1, pp.449–51. EHD 1, pp.914–5 (trans.).
119. For this distinction, see Wormald, 'On *þa Wæpnedhealfe*'.
120. EHD 1, p.556.

(*Taini Regis*)

Milton on Stour	Gillingham	56.01	Guthmund	4.5	Guthmund	Gillingham	1
Kington ?Magna	Gillingham	56.02	Dodda	3	Ketil	Gillingham	4
Gillingham	Gillingham	56.03	Edwin?	1	Edwin	Gillingham	0
Gillingham	Gillingham	56.04	Godric?	1	Godric	Gillingham	0
Gillingham	Gillingham	56.05	Wulfwine?	1	Wulfwine	Gillingham	0
Winterborne	?	56.06	Ælfric?	1	Ælfric	?	?
Mappowder	Buckland	56.07	Bolle Presbyter & 7 liberis				
Chickerell	Cullifordtree	56.08	<i>tainis</i>	5	Bolla Presbyter	Dorchester	10
Wey	Cullifordtree?	56.09	Sæwulf	3	Bolla (Presbyter?)	Dorchester	7
Winterborne	?	56.10	Beorhtwine	2	Beorhtwine	?	?
Lewell	Cullifordtree	56.11	Beorhtwine	1.5	Beorhtwine	?	?
Great Crawford	Charborough	56.12	Beorhtwine	1	Beorhtwine	Dorchester	2
Morden	Charborough	56.13	Ælfric	2	Edward from Ælfric	Pimperne	5
Morden	Charborough	56.13	Wulfric's father	2.5	Wulfric	Bere Regis	5
Morden	Charborough	56.13	Wulfric's father	2.5	Wulfric	Bere Regis	5
			Wulfric's father	1	Wulfric's	Bere Regis	5
Blandford St Mary	Combsditch	56.14	Alwine	5	sister-in-law		
Thorncombe	Combsditch	56.15	Æthelweard	1.5	Edwin	Pimperne	2
Wimborne St Giles	Albretesberge	56.16	Wulfgeat	2	Æthelweard	Pimperne	4
Melbury	Yetminster	56.17	Beorhtwine?	1	Wulfgeat	Wimborne St Giles	0
Thorn Hill	Canedone	56.18	Wulfric's father	5	Beorhtwine	Burton Bradstock	10
				0.5	Wulfric	Wimborne Minster	3
					Thorkil (1/2 plough:		
					Schelin from Queen;		
Hampreston	Canedone	56.19	Thorkil?	3	TRW King in demesne)	Wimborne Minster	3
Hampreston?	Canedone	56.20	?	0.5	Dodda in alms	Wimborne Minster	3
					from Queen		

Land	Hundred	DB ref	TRE holder	TRE hides	TRE virgates	TRW holder	nearest night's farm manor	distance (miles)
Wilksworth	<i>Canendone</i>	56.21	?	1		Dodda	Wimborne Minster	2
Wilksworth?	<i>Canendone</i>	56.22	Alweard?		0.3	Alweard	Wimborne Minster	2
Wilksworth	<i>Canendone</i>	56.23	<i>Æthelrun?</i>	1		<i>Æthelrun</i>	Wimborne Minster	2
Walford	<i>Canendone</i>	56.24	<i>Ælmaer</i>	1		Godwine the huntsman	Wimborne Minster	1
Rushton	Bere	56.25	<i>Æthelweard?</i>		1	<i>Æthelweard</i>	Bere Regis	5
Winterborne	?	56.26	Godwine the reeve	1		Godwine the reeve	?	?
Winterborne	?	56.27	Godwin the huntsman		1	Godwin the huntsman	?	?
Winterborne	<i>Hunesberge</i>	56.28	Swein's father	10		Swein	Pimperne	6
Houghton								
Plumber	<i>Hunesberge</i>	56.29	Swein's father	5		Ralph from Swein	Pimperne	9
Plumber	<i>Hunesberge</i>	56.30	Father of Wulfric the huntsman	1		Wulfric the huntsman <i>de rege</i>	Pimperne	9
Langton Long	<i>Langeberge</i>	56.31	Alwig	5		Edwin	Pimperne	2
Blandford								
Lazerton	Pimperne	56.32	Alweard	3		Edwin	Pimperne	4
Shilvinghampton	<i>Uggescombe</i>	56.33	Alwig	2.5		Edwin	Dorchester	6
Bryanston	<i>Hunesberge</i>	56.34	Wulfgeat	1		Wulfgeat	Pimperne	3
Chilcombe	<i>Gloctresdone</i>	56.35	Beorhtwine	3		Beorhtwine	Burton Bradstock	3
Waddon	<i>Uggescombe</i>	56.36	Alweard	2		Beorhtwine (exchanged from Hugh fitz Grip)	Dorchester	4
Moreton	Chilbury	56.37	Beorhtwine	1		Beorhtwine	Winfrith Newburgh	3
Galton	Chilbury	56.38	Beorhtwine	2	1.5	Beorhtwine	Winfrith Newburgh	2
Ringstead	Cullifordtree	56.39	Beorhtwine	1		Beorhtwine	Dorchester	6
Stinsford	Dorchester	56.40	Beorhtwine		2.5	Aiulf from Beorhtwine	Dorchester	1
Bridge	Cullifordtree	56.41	Beorhtwine		1	Beorhtwine	Dorchester	8
Rushton	Bere	56.42	Sawine	1		<i>Eadric</i>	Bere Regis	1

East Holme	Hasilor	56.43	Sæwine?	1	Eadric	Winfrith Newburgh	6
Stoke Wallis	Whitechurch	56.44	Sæwine?	1	Eadric	Burton Bradstock	7
Studley	Whitechurch	56.45	Sæwine?	2	Eadric	Burton Bradstock	6
Pilsdon	Whitechurch	56.46	Sæwine?	3	Eadric	Burton Bradstock	8
Studley	Whitechurch	56.47	Sæwine?	1	Eadric	Burton Bradstock	6
Briantspuddle	Bere	56.48	Azur	5	Godric	Bere Regis	2
Tyneham	Hasilor	56.49	?	1	Eadric	Winfrith Newburgh	6
Woolcombe	Yetminster	56.50	?	1	Dodda	Burton Bradstock	10
Loders	Glochesdone	56.51	Ælfric? & Beorhtric?	0.5	Ælfric & Beorhtric	Burton Bradstock	3
Blackmanston	Hasilor	56.52	Ælfric	1	Ælfric	Winfrith Newburgh	8
Milborne Stileham	Bere?	56.53	Swein's father	-	Osmund from Swein	Bere Regis	3
Stourton Caundle	Brownshall	56.54	Leofrun	1	Godric	Gillingham	10
Purse Caundle	Brownshall	56.55	Sæweard	2.5	Sæward	Gillingham	10
Rollington?	Aileveswode	56.56	2 <i>bordarii</i>	0.25	2 <i>bordarii</i>	Winfrith Newburgh	11
Coombe	Aileveswode	56.57	Ælfric	5	Ælfric	Winfrith Newburgh	3
Ailwood	Aileveswode	56.58	Azur	4	Wife of Hugh firz	Winfrith Newburgh	12
					Grip from Swein		
Bovington	Bere	56.59	Ælfric	4	Ælfric	Winfrith Newburgh	4
Winterborne	?	56.60	Ælfric	1	Ælfric	?	?
Kingcombe	Glochesdone	56.61	10 <i>taini</i> as one manor	1	10 <i>taini</i> as one manor	Burton Bradstock	7
Wool	Winfrith	56.62	Alweard	1.5	Alweard	Winfrith Newburgh	3
Wool	Winfrith	56.63	Alward	1	Ælmar	Winfrith Newburgh	3
Corscombe	Beaminster	56.64	Ealdwine	1	Godwine	Burton Bradstock	8
Blackmanston	Hasilor	56.65	Ælfric	1	Ælfric	Winfrith Newburgh	8
Gillingham	Gillingham	56.66	Eskil	0.5	Edward the huntsman	Gillingham	0

Land	Hundred	DB ref	TRE holder	TRE hides	TRE virgates	TRW holder	nearest night's farm manor	distance (miles)
(Royal servants)								
Frome Billet	Cullifordtree	57.01	Beorhtfrith	1.5?		William Bellet de rege	Dorchester	2
Frome Billet	Cullifordtree	57.01	Wulfweard	1.5?		William Bellet <i>de rege</i>	Dorchester	2
Lewell	Cullifordtree	57.02	Alweard		3	Hugh (Gosbert?)	Dorchester	2
Winterborne Belet	Cullifordtree	57.03	2 <i>taini</i> in parage	2.5		William Bellet	Dorchester	2
Winterborne Belet	Cullifordtree	57.04	3 <i>taini</i>	3	2.5	William de Daumeray	Dorchester	2
Winterborne Belet	Cullifordtree	57.05	Sæwulf		1	Hugh (Gosbert?)	Dorchester	2
Winterborne	?	57.06	2 <i>taini</i>	0.5		Hugh (Gosbert?)	?	?
Worget	Hasilor	57.07	Ælmær		1	Hugh (Gosbert?)	Winfrith Newburgh	7
Woolcombe	Yetminster	57.08	Dodda the monk		3	Hugh (Gosbert?)	Burton Bradstock	10
Winborne St Giles	<i>Albretesberge</i>	57.09	Beorhttric	2.5		Hervey <i>Cubicularius</i>	Wimborne St Giles	0
Winterborne	?	57.10	Ælwald	2	1.5	John	?	?
Walditch	Godderthorn	57.11	Alwig	2		William de Daumeray	Burton Bradstock	2
Nutford	Pimperne	57.12	Alnoth	1	2.5	William Bellet	Pimperne	3
Woodford	<i>Uggescombe</i>	57.13	Leofgar	2.5		William Bellet	Dorchester	4
Lyme Regis	Whitechurch	57.14	Ælfifu	1		William Bellet	Burton Bradstock	10
Broadwindsor	Beaminster	57.15	Bondi	20		Hunger fitz Odin	Burton Bradstock	9
Broadwindsor	Beaminster	57.16	free man	1		Hunger fitz Odin	Burton Bradstock	9
Galton	Chilbury	57.17	4 <i>liberi homini</i>	1	0.5	Osmund <i>Pistor</i>	Winfrith Newburgh	2
Woodstreet	Winfrith	57.18	3 <i>liberi homini</i>		3	Osmund <i>Pistor</i>	Winfrith Newburgh	4
Stourpaine	Pimperne	57.19	Alnoth from Edward Lipe		2.5	William Bellet <i>de rege</i>	Pimperne	3
Afflington	<i>Aileveswode</i>	57.20	Leofwine		1	Durand the carpenter	Winfrith Newburgh	11
Moulham	<i>Aileveswode</i>	57.21	3 <i>taini</i>	1		Durand the carpenter	Winfrith Newburgh	15
Herston	<i>Aileveswode</i>	57.22	Father of Godfrey <i>Scutularius</i>		1	Godfrey <i>Scutularius</i>	Winfrith Newburgh	14

Table 2: Dorset lands of *taini* regis and royal sergeants recorded in Domesday Book

ret	nides	virgates	IRW noiter	lanit manot	(unes)		
(Royal servants)							
Dogmersfield	Odiham	68.01	Swein	5	Hugh <i>Barbatus</i>	Basingstoke	10
Stoke	Somborne	68.02	Edward	1	Hugh fitz Osmund	Broughton	4
Houghton	Somborne	68.03	Godwine	2.5	Ansketil fitz Osmund	Broughton	2
Northam	Redbridge	68.04	Eadsige	1	Ansketil fitz Osmund	Eling	4
Cosham	Portsmouth	68.05	Beorhtmaer	2	Ansketil fitz Osmund	Kingsworthy	20
	Portsmouth?	68.06	Northmann	0.5	Ansketil fitz Osmund	?	?
Bramdean	Ashley	68.07	2 free men	1	Miles <i>portarius</i>	Kingsworthy	9
	Bermondspitt	68.08	2 free men	2.5	Miles <i>portarius</i>	?	?
Hartley Wespall	Holdshott	68.09	Ælfric	1.5	Aubrey <i>camerarius</i>	Basingstoke	5
East Cholderton	Andover	68.10	2 free men	3	Robert fitz Murdoch	Broughton	9
Gorley	Fordingbridge	68.11	Wihtric	1	Osbern the falconer	Eling	13
(Taini Regis)							
Sutton Scotney	Barton	69.01	Alweard (of Earl Godwine)	5	Oda	Barton Stacey	2.5
Norton	Barton	69.02	Folki	5	Oda	Barton Stacey	2
Bramdean	Ashley	69.03	Leofwine	1	Oda	Kingsworthy	8
Oakhanger	Neatham	69.04	Alwig	1	Richard (held of Edwin)	Neatham	3.5
Bartley	Odiham	69.05	Edwin	1.5	Godwine	Basingstoke	6
Preston Candover	Bermondspitt	69.06	Esbiorn from Edith	2.5	Cypping	Basingstoke	6
Dummer	Bermondspitt	69.07	Auti	5	Hunger from Oda of Winchester	Basingstoke	5
Preston Candover	Bermondspitt	69.08	Edwin <i>Presbyter</i>	1	Edwin <i>Presbyter</i>	Basingstoke	6
Mattingley	Holdshott	69.09	Alric	1.5	Alsige son of Beorhtsige	Basingstoke	7
Minley	Holdshott	69.10	Alwig	2	Alsige son of Beorhtsige	Basingstoke	11
Strafield Saye	Holdshott	69.11	Godric	2	Ælfric	Basingstoke?	6
Strafield Saye	Holdshott	69.11	Siward	2	Ælfric	Basingstoke?	6
Hartley Wespall	Holdshott	69.12	Alric	1	Ælfric	Basingstoke	5

Land	Hundred	DB ref	TRE holder	TRE hides	TRE virgates	TRW holder	nearest night's farm manor	distance (miles)
<i>Sudberie</i>	Bermondspitt	69.13	Ednoth & Eadwig	2.5		Walter from the son of Cola of Basing	Basingstoke?	?
Farleigh Wallop	Bermondspitt	69.14	Wulfifu	4		Sigeric <i>Camerarius</i>	Basingstoke	3
Bentley	Broughton	69.15	Osmund	0.5		Osmund	Broughton	2
Tytherley – 3 manors	Broughton	69.16	3 free men inc Alwine Ret?	4	1	Alwig fitz Thurbert	Broughton	3
Tytherley	Broughton	69.17	Sæwulf	3		Alwig fitz Sæwulf	Broughton	3
Lockerley	Broughton	69.18	Father of Wulfric		0.5	Wulfric	Broughton	4
Over Wallop	Broughton	69.19	Father of 4 Englishmen	1		4 Englishmen	Broughton	4
Michelson	Broughton	69.20	Father of Edmund		1	Edmund	Broughton	1
Michelson	Broughton	69.20	Sceva		1	Edmund	Broughton	1
Nether Wallop	Broughton	69.21	Alric	2		Alsige fitz Beorhtsige	Broughton	2
East Wellow	Broughton	69.22	Aghmund	5		Aghmund	Eling?	6
<i>Hotlop</i>	Broughton	69.23	Another Aghmund	3		another Aghmund	Broughton	?
Lockerley	Broughton	69.24	Alwig		1	Alwig	Broughton	3
Mottisfont	Broughton	69.25	Father of Eadwulf			Eadwulf	Broughton	4
Shoddiesdon	Andover	69.26	Aghmund	1		Aghmund	Hurstbourne	7
Enham	Andover	69.27	Alwine	1.5		Særic	Tarrant	
Enham	Andover	69.28	Wulfifu	1.5		Alsige <i>berchenistrius</i>	Hurstbourne	3
Charford	Fordingbridge	69.29	Wulfgeat	1		Alwig fitz Thurber	Broughton	12
Rockbourne	Fordingbridge	69.30	Wulfgeat	1		Alwig fitz Thurber	Broughton	15
Midgham	Fordingbridge	69.31	Wulfgeat	1.5		Alwig fitz Thurber	Broughton	15
Ellingham	Fordingbridge	69.32	Bolla	5.5		Cola the huntsman	Eling	14
Rockbourne	Fordingbridge	69.33	Sæwine	0.5		Sæwine	Broughton	15
Midgham	Fordingbridge	69.34	2 free men	1.5		Eadwulf	Broughton	15

	Fordingbridge	69.35	Wulfric & Godgifu	1	Picot	14	
Burgate							
Ripley	Shirley	69.36	Wulfgeat the huntsman	5		Wulfgeat the huntsman	Eling 15
Torton	Redbridge	69.37	Aghmund	0.5		Aghmund	Eling 1
...	Redbridge	69.38	Father of Alric	0.5		Alric	Eling ?
Hanger	Redbridge	69.39	Godric Mal	1		Sons of Godric Mal	Eling 2
Kingsclere?	Kingsclere	69.40	Alwine White <i>sub</i> <i>Vigot pro tuitione</i>	2		Alwine White <i>sub</i> Miles	Kingsclere? 0
Kingsclere farm?	Kingsclere	69.41	Edwin the huntsman	2		Edwin the huntsman	Kingsclere 0
Kingsclere?	Kingsclere	69.42	Ravelin	3	0.5	Ravelin	Kingsclere 0
Kingsclere	Kingsclere	69.43	Leofwine		1	Leofwin	Kingsclere 0
Hannington	Kingsclere	69.44	Æstan	1		Leofwine	Kingsclere 2
Somborne?	Somborne	69.45	Ealdræd brother of Oda	0.5		Ealdræd brother of Oda	Broughton 4
Somborne?	Somborne	69.46	Alwig	0.5		Almaer	Broughton 4
Somborne?	Somborne	69.47	Father of Wulfric the huntsman	1.5		Wulfric the huntsman	Broughton 4
Steventon	Basingstoke	69.48	Ælfhelm	5		Alsige <i>berchenistrius</i>	Basingstoke? 6
Basingstoke?	Basingstoke	69.49	Godwine the falconer	0.5		Godwine the falconer	Basingstoke? ?
Marchwood	Redbridge	69.50	Wulfgeat	0.5		Alwine fitz Wulfgeat	Eling 2
Durley	Redbridge	69.51	Sæwulf		1	Hugh from Edmund fitz Pain	Eling 1
Langley	Redbridge	69.52	Cola the huntsman from Wulfgeat	0.5		Cola the huntsman from Wulfgeat	Eling 1
in Forest	Redbridge	69.53	A colibert		1	Ælfric <i>petit</i> claimed from Bishop of Saintes	Eling? ?
Stone	Redbridge	69.54	Sæwine & Almaer in parage	0.5		Edmund	Eling? 10

Table 3: Hampshire lands of *taini regis* and royal sergeants recorded in Domesday Book