CONQUEST, ANARCHY AND LORDSHIP

Yorkshire, 1066–1154

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INTRODUCTION

The hundred years after 1066, which Stenton termed the 'first century of English feudalism', was full of remarkable developments which dramatically changed the nature of society. This book is a study of three of the most important of these developments: the Norman conquest, the anarchy of King Stephen's reign and the transformation in the nature of lordship and land tenure. Its aim is to contribute to our understanding of these developments by examining them within a county context. The county to be studied is Yorkshire, by far the largest in England.

The first three chapters reassess the nature and impact of the Norman conquest of Yorkshire. Employing a novel approach to the interpretation of the evidence of Domesday Book, Chapter 1 argues that the conquest was a more rapid and controlled process than has hitherto been supposed, and one in which the construction of castles formed a key element. In doing so, it suggests that the level of destruction in Yorkshire attributed to the famous harrying of the north has been overestimated, and makes a contribution to the recent debate concerning the effect of the conquest on patterns of land tenure. Chapter 2 reveals that under the Conqueror's successor, William Rufus, the size and number of the Norman lordships was deliberately increased, so that they covered the entire county and consolidated Norman tenurial domination there. It also reveals that under the next monarch, Henry I, this domination was reinforced by royal administration, as the king strengthened the links between central and local government. This was achieved through the grant of key local offices and institutions to a group of 'new men', who were dependent upon royal favour and in regular attendance at the royal court. Chapter 3 examines the scale and pattern of enfeoffment on the Norman lordships in 1135, and the terms on which the tenants of the Norman magnates held their lands. It reveals that the Norman settlement of lowland

Yorkshire was well advanced by 1135, whereas in the uplands it was still in its very early stages. It adds to the evidence suggesting that Norman military tenancies were held on terms which would have been very familiar to pre-conquest landholders, and that in large parts of the north military 'feudalism' was just a thin veneer laid over pre-existing forms of tenure. But it also argues that this veneer was deeper on the tenancies organised by the Normans for the garrisoning of castles, that Norman castle-guard obligations marked a significant innovation in the terms of landholding. Finally, the chapter turns from military to monastic enfeoffment, and argues that the establishment of monasteries in Yorkshire, like the establishment of honours, was coordinated by the crown and formed a crucial element in the programme of conquest.

The next section of the book deals with the anarchy of King Stephen's reign and its consequences. Chapter 4 reveals how the political troubles of the years 1135–54 led to a failure of royal control in Yorkshire, and a reversal of the centralising trend in Anglo-Norman administration. It examines the demise of royal administration which followed Stephen's appointment of William, count of Aumale, as earl of York in 1138. It reassesses the notion that Stephen's creation of earls was an attempt to impose an alternative conception of government, and offers a revision of accepted views concerning Earl William. He is revealed as a self-interested magnate, who was intent on building up a vast network of power in Yorkshire through the exploitation of royal rights entrusted to his charge, the acquisition of jurisdiction over a series of hundreds and the domination of the lesser aristocracy. But the chapter goes deeper than this. It illustrates that the lesser aristocracy had their own agenda in Stephen's reign, and throws light on their simmering ambition. They took advantage of the troubles to build their own castles, found their own monasteries and treat these foundations as private property; and in doing so, they undermined lordship and exacerbated social and political instability. But this instability was never total, and the chapter goes on to explore some of the forces within society which served to pacify Yorkshire and bring the anarchy to an end. Chapter 5 examines the most serious consequence of this anarchy: the significant and dangerous increase of Scottish power in Yorkshire and the north; and how this threatened to detach the region from the rest of England.

The third and final section of the book deals with lordship, one of the most significant aspects of medieval society. Chapter 6

examines lordship within the context of the honour, the 'community' of tenants and collection of tenancies over which the lord exercised certain rights. It does so by studying the *cartae baronum* of 1166. It argues that the magnates objected to providing the information required of them, and explores their motives. These motives help to explain the questions Henry II asked his magnates in 1166, and suggest that the politics of Stephen's reign served to undermine the coherence of the honorial community. By analysing some of the pre-1135 information contained within the *cartae baronum* in conjunction with other evidence, the chapter also illustrates other forces already undermining this coherence before Stephen's accession to the crown. It reveals that the strength of honorial ties, and the lordship essential to them, has been overestimated; a revelation with very serious implications for the history of the 'first century of English feudalism' and the origins of the English Common Law. These implications are explored in the final chapter of the book, which seeks to contribute to the debate concerning the nature of seignorial lordship before 1154, and the impact on this lordship of the legal reforms of Henry II. It does so by arguing that seignorial courts were not always autonomous jurisdictional entities free from outside interference, which had the power to settle the disciplinary and proprietary disputes of tenants; and that lords did not always have the right and power to control the alienation of land by tenants, and the succession of these tenants to their tenements. The chapter reveals that on some honours lordship was already crucially limited before the inception of the Angevin legal reforms, and that inheritance and property rights were already a reality.

The term 'Yorkshire' requires definition. Before 1066 Yorkshire was the only one of the six modern counties of northern England to have been shired. It is first explicitly described as a shire in 1065.[1] Its western boundaries at, before and shortly after that date are uncertain. The area described under the heading *Eurvicscire* in Domesday Book, included a number of districts outside the three ridings: Amounderness, Cartmel, Furness, Kendale, parts of Copeland, Lonsdale and Cravenshire (that is, modern Lancashire north of the Ribble and parts of Cumberland and Westmorland). Whether these districts were included in 'Yorkshire' in 1086 is unclear. It is possible that they were only attached to the county

[1] F. R. Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes', in *Yorkshire Domesday*, 40.

for administrative convenience.[2] What is reasonably certain is that the 'shiring' of Lancashire, Cumberland and Westmorland only took place after 1086, and that when this 'shiring' occurred these regions were no longer regarded as part of Yorkshire, the boundaries of which remained relatively stable thereafter until 1974.[3] It is this 'historic' county to which the term Yorkshire refers in this book. It is a county bounded in the north by the River Tees, in the south by the Rivers Sheaf and Humber and by Meersbrook and in the west by the Pennines. It includes the three ridings of Domesday Book, with the addition of Cravenshire and parts of eastern Lonsdale.[4]

The region here defined has a varied topography.[5] It contains three extensive areas of upland: the Pennines, which rise to 2,415 feet above sea level; the North Yorkshire Moors, which are mainly over 1,000 feet; and the Wolds of the East Riding, which rarely exceed 800 feet. Nearly all of the many rivers which traverse the county rise in these uplands, most of them extending from the Pennines eastwards across the lowland Vale of York to join the Rivers Ouse or Humber. The rivers flowing out of the North Yorkshire Moors include the Esk, which runs west-east along Eskdale to enter the sea at Whitby, and the Derwent, which flows south to join the Humber near Howden. The land through which these rivers cut their paths is covered by a variety of soils. The Pennines and North Yorkshire Moors are characterised by poor quality acid moorland soils, whereas the limestone and chalk Wolds have high quality freely drained calcareous loams. Good agricultural land is also to be found in several of the lowland districts of Yorkshire, the most notable being the Vale of York, with its light to medium loams, and Holderness and Cleveland, with their medium to heavy loams. The exceptions include the Vale of Pickering and the region immediately to the south-west of

[2] For a discussion of this problem, see D. M. Palliser, 'An introduction to the Yorkshire Domesday', in *Yorkshire Domesday*, 4–5; Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes', 41, 55–60; Hey, *Yorkshire*, 4; D. R. Roffe, 'The Yorkshire Summary: a Domesday satellite', *Northern History*, 27 (1991), 257.

[3] Cumberland may have been shired in 1092. There was a sheriff of Westmorland by 1129, and a sheriff of Lancashire by 1164.

[4] In this definition I follow that given in Palliser, 'Yorkshire Domesday', 5.

[5] For the details in this paragraph I rely mainly on the following: Hey, *Yorkshire*, Introduction; J. A. Sheppard, 'Pre-conquest Yorkshire: fiscal carucates as an index of land exploitation', *Inst. of Brit. Geographers Trans.*, 65 (1975), 67–78; *Domesday Geography*, 7–18, 78–82, 92–101, 159–62, 170–9, 228–32; Palliser, 'Yorkshire Domesday', 18–21; *VCH, Yorkshire*, II, 455–75.

the Humber, which are covered by ill-drained alluvial silt soils, clays and thin peat; and the broad area immediately to the east of the Pennines, with its mixture of light soils on Coal Measure sandstones and poorly drained clay loams on shales. This pattern of relief and soils had an obvious impact on the pattern of settlement. As we might expect, in Domesday Book the greatest concentration of vills occurred in the lowlands and those upland areas covered by better soils, while the Pennines, North Yorkshire Moors and marshy Humberhead levels appear to have been relatively sparsely populated. It is a pattern of settlement which has endured until modern times.

By far the largest and most important settlement in Yorkshire was York, from which the county took its name, and which was independent of the three ridings.[6] Until its capture by the Danes in 867, York was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Deira which covered the region between the Humber and the Tees. From 735 it was also the seat of an archbishopric which encompassed what is now Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, and which had subcathedrals at Ripon, Beverley and Southwell. On the eve of the Norman conquest York was clearly a major city. Domesday Book records that it then contained 1,607 inhabited houses, and was divided into seven 'shires'. Other details reveal the existence of a market, archbishop's hall, mint and pool, and the presence of a council of judges (*iudices*). A good proportion of the large number of churches recorded in York in 1086 had probably been founded before the arrival of the Normans. The importance of the city is also reflected by the fact that eighty-four carucates distributed in thirteen neighbouring villages were said to be in the tax of York, suggesting that they were in some way subject to its authority.[7]

Just as York was the focus of the administration of Yorkshire, it was also the focus of its communications system.[8] It was situated on the River Ouse, which formed one of the main branches of an

[6] For a more comprehensive discussion of the pre-conquest history of Yorkshire, see Palliser, 'Yorkshire Domesday', 1–2; Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, 3–105; Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes', 41–3.

[7] *DB*, I, 298a-b; *Domesday Geography*, 157. For the best analysis of the Domesday Book account of the city, see Palliser, *York*.

[8] The following details are derived from F. M. Stenton, 'The road system of medieval England', *EcHR*, 7 (1936), 1–21, reprinted in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Stenton (Oxford, 1970), 234–52. As Stenton noted, the reconstruction of the medieval road system is an extremely difficult task, and the highways discussed here may represent only a fraction of those in use in the Anglo-Norman period.

extensive network of water courses in Yorkshire stemming from the Humber estuary. This network provided access to the sea and, via the Trent, to the rivers of Lincolnshire and the midlands (Maps 12, 21).[9] York was also at the centre of the road system of Yorkshire. On the mid-fourteenth-century Gough map, depicting an English road system which was probably already ancient, a number of highways can be seen to radiate outwards from York. These highways connect the city with Leeming via Helperby; with Malton; with Market Weighton via Pocklington; with Market Weighton direct; and with Howden. The road from York to Leeming intersected the Great North Road at Leeming; and the road from York to Market Weighton continued on to Beverley, where it joined another highway connecting Beverley with Bridlington, Scarborough, Whitby and Guisborough (Maps 3–22).[10] There are indications in the Gough map that a road may also have extended northwards from York to Thirsk, Northallerton, Croft, Darlington, Durham, Chester le Street and Newcastle. Another important focus of communications in Yorkshire was Doncaster. This settlement was situated at the point where the Great North Road crossed the River Don at its highest navigable point for coastal traffic. From Doncaster the Great North Road extended northwards to Pontefract, Wetherby, Boroughbridge, Leeming, Catterick and Gilling, before branching north-westwards across the Pennines via Bowes and Stainmore to Brough, Appleby, Penrith and Carlisle. Doncaster was also the starting-point of an important road running through Wakefield, Bradford, Skipton, Settle and Kirkby Lonsdale, where it was joined by a road which extended over the Pennines from Richmond. In addition to these main highways, it is almost certain that Yorkshire was criss-crossed by a series of ancient drovers' roads, along which livestock were driven between estates and markets.[11]

[9] Palliser, *York*, 17.

[10] Some of the roads referred to here do not appear in the maps cited. This is because the precise course of these roads has not been determined with any degree of certainty. The roads which are depicted in the maps connect settlements which the Gough map informs us were connected by major highways in the middle ages, and they follow the line of modern A roads and/or ancient Roman roads. Although the correlation between the course of these A/Roman roads and medieval roads may not be exact, it is more than likely to be very close.

[11] Stenton noted that one of these roads connected Long Sutton (Lincs.) with Tadcaster (Yorks.) via Doncaster and Ferrybridge: 'Road system', 249–50. I am grateful to Professor Holt for drawing my attention to a drovers' road connecting the important

The name York is derived from the Anglo-Scandinavian name *Jorvic*, and reflects the powerful influence exercised by the Danes and Norsemen over Yorkshire in the centuries before the arrival of the Normans. After its capture by the Danes in 867, York was ruled until 954 by a series of Danish and Norse kings. They and their followers were responsible for changing the language spoken in Yorkshire and many of its place-names, and (probably) for establishing the three ridings and twenty-five wapentakes into which the county was divided for administrative purposes (Map 24).[12] Scandinavian domination ended when the West Saxon king, Eadred, killed the Viking leader, Eric Bloodaxe, on Stainmore in 954, and annexed Yorkshire. Thereafter, the county and the entire region to the north of the Humber was governed by a succession of earls, appointed by the West Saxon kings from the local nobility. Sometimes one earl governed the whole of Northumbria, sometimes the region was divided between two earls; one controlling Yorkshire from York, and another, usually drawn from the descendants of the old Northumbrian kings, governing the region between Tees and Tweed. To some extent, however, the Tees remained a cultural and political frontier between the Anglo-Scandinavians and Northumbrian English. As Professor Palliser points out, when Cnut reestablished Scandinavian power in England in 1016 after removing Uhtred, earl of Northumbria, and defeating King Edmund in battle, he was careful to choose his earls from the local Scandinavian population of Yorkshire.[13] His first earl, Eric, was succeeded by Siward, who was earl of Yorkshire by 1033 and of the whole of Northumbria from 1041 until his death in 1055. Edward the Confessor's choice of Tosti Godwinson as earl, in place of Siward's son, Waltheof, marked a new departure in the government of the north. Tosti was the first West Saxon earl of Northumbria, and his attempt to impose his authority ended with his deposition at the hands of the northern nobility, who chose Morcar, the younger brother of Edwin, earl of Mercia, to replace him in 1065. Edward the Confessor was forced to accept the *fait accompli*, and although his

Lacy demesne manors of Pontefract (Yorks.) and Clitheroe (Lancs.), which passed through Kirkstall, Eccleshill, Manningham, Haworth and Colne.

[12] The number of wapentakes includes five in the East Riding and two in the lands of Count Alan of Richmond, which, although not specifically mentioned until the twelfth century, were probably already in existence at the time of the Domesday survey. See Roffe, 'Yorkshire Summary', 246, 248.

[13] Palliser, 'Yorkshire Domesday', 2.

successor, Harold, replaced Morcar with Maerlesveinn, an important thane in the northern Danelaw, he did so only after Morcar's defeat in 1066 by a Norwegian invasion force at Fulford, and his own victory over the Norwegians at Stamford Bridge.

The reluctance of Edward and Harold to challenge the independent actions of the northern nobility is hardly surprising when we consider the limitations of their territorial power base north of the Rivers Sheaf and Humber. Although they held the governmental seat of York, outside it their control of the local centres of administration and power was limited. The most important of these centres were the complex soke manors, which were the most extensive and wealthy estates in Yorkshire, and which often served as the administrative focus of the county's wapentakes and hundreds. Domesday Book reveals that of the fifty or so complex manors in Yorkshire, Edward the Confessor held just five, with a combined value of £137; whereas the earls of Northumbria, Mercia, the north midlands and Wessex held thirty, which were worth a total of approximately £1,237.[14] Eight of the remaining fifteen complex manors were held by Archbishop Aldred of York, whose total landed estate in Yorkshire was valued at £270.[15]

In total, over 300 thanes are named as landholders in Yorkshire in 1066, and (because of the possibility that some of them shared the same name) the number may have been considerably greater. Farrer calculated that they held a total of some 1,583 manors, and Palliser notes that no landholder had an overwhelming dominance.[16] Besides the king and the earl, the most privileged thanes were those listed in Domesday Book as holding rights of 'sake and soke and toll and team'. The list includes the names of Earl Harold, Maerlesveinn, Ulf Fenisc, Lagr, Thorgautr, Toki, Edwin, Morcar, Gamall Fitz Osbert, Copsi and Cnut.[17] If Dr Roffe is correct in equating sake and soke with rights of full ownership, it could be that these nobles enjoyed overlordship of all the other thanes in Yorkshire. The existence of such overlordship in certain parts of the county is implied by a number of features in the Domesday text, including multiple manor entries, the interlocking of manors with larger estates and the existence of extensive territorial liberties

[14] See *ibid.*, 30. For the importance of the complex manors, see G. R. J. Jones, 'Multiple estates and early settlement', in *English Medieval Settlement*, ed. P. H. Sawyer (London, 1979), 9–34.

[15] *DB*, I, 302a–4a.

[16] *VCH, Yorkshire*, II, 145; Palliser, 'Yorkshire Domesday', 30.

[17] *DB*, I, 298b.

or franchises incorporating large numbers of holdings.[18] It is possible, therefore, that the vast majority of Anglo-Scandinavian thanes in Yorkshire in 1066 were subtenants. But even if this was the case, the power of some of these thanes was immense. Ormr son of Gamall was the predecessor of the Norman lord Hugh Fitz Baldric in twelve of his forty-four Yorkshire manors, and Gamalbarn held twenty-seven manors and shares in two more.[19] Another Yorkshire noble, Arnketill, is described by Orderic Vitalis as 'the most powerful of the Northumbrian nobles': a power reflected in his tenure with Gospatric (his son) of some 285 carucates of land in the county, in his family relationship with the House of Bamburgh, and in his joint-leadership of the northern rebellions of 1068 and 1069.[20] Gospatric was the only native lord to be named in the Yorkshire Domesday as a tenant-in-chief in 1086, and is recorded as holding 148 carucates of land valued at over £9.[21] The leaders of the northern rebellions also included the four sons of the powerful Yorkshire thane Karle, whose family was engaged in a blood-feud with the House of Bamburgh, which continued from 1016 down to the early 1070s. One of these sons, Thorbrand, held approximately seventy carucates in Yorkshire, which may have been administered from his hall at Settrington in the North Riding. Thorbrand's father and his brothers, Cnut and Sumarlithr, are recorded as holding another sixty-three carucates in Yorkshire.[22] Those of Cnut lay in Holderness, a region which Dr Williams suggests may once have been administered in its entirety by Cnut's grandfather, Thorbrand the Hold.[23]

The story of the resistance offered by these and other northern nobles to Norman power has been told many times, and need only be related in outline here.[24] Although the Conqueror secured the allegiance of some of these nobles at Barking shortly after the battle of Hastings, and was crowned in London by Archbishop Aldred of York, the majority of the powerful Northumbrian thanes remained aloof. William's determination to impose his authority in the north is reflected in his choice of a new earl of Northumbria before his departure to Normandy in March 1067.

[18] D. R. Roffe, 'From thegnage to barony: sake and soke, title, and tenants-in-chief', *ANS*, 12 (1990), 157–76.
[19] Palliser, 'Yorkshire Domesday', 30.
[20] Orderic, II, 218; Williams, *Anglo-Saxons*.
[21] *DB*, I, 330a.
[22] For Karle's family, see Williams, *Anglo-Saxons*.
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] J. Le Patourel, 'The Norman conquest of Yorkshire', *Northern History*, 6 (1971), 1–21; Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, 105–57. For the most recent account, see Williams, *Anglo-Saxons*.

But this choice was a disastrous one. The new earl was Copsi, an old associate of the deposed Earl Tosti who had assisted the Norwegian invasion of England in 1066. Within a short time of arriving in the north Copsi was confronted by a major rebellion, which ended with his murder at Newburn in March 1067. The man chosen by William to succeed him, Gospatric son of Maldred, a cousin of King Malcolm III of Scotland, and a leading member of the House of Bamburgh, was hardly an improvement. When the earls Edwin and Morcar revolted shortly after May 1068, Gospatric was among the group of northern nobles who joined them, which also included Maerlesveinn, Arnketill and the four sons of Karle, all of whom held important estates in Yorkshire. The Conqueror's response was dramatic. He immediately marched north, building castles as he went at Warwick and Nottingham; actions which frightened some of the leading rebels into submission, and others into seeking refuge in Scotland. After taking hostages, establishing a castle at York under the command of Robert Fitz Richard and appointing William Malet as sheriff of Yorkshire, the king returned south via Lincoln, Huntingdon and Cambridge, where additional fortresses were constructed. Before departing for Normandy towards the end of the year William replaced Gospatric as earl of Northumbria beyond the Tees with Robert de Commines, a Frenchman, who established his base at Durham. This was a new departure in northern government, and it ended in disaster. The Conqueror's attempt to undermine the traditional political independence (or semi-independence) of the region beyond the Humber, and to impose direct rule from the south, provoked bitter opposition. Within a month of the arrival of Commines in the north, the Northumbrians launched an armed attack on Durham, in which the new Norman earl and his men were butchered.

The murder of Commines signalled the start of a major northern rebellion, which brought the Northumbrian and Anglo-Scandinavian exiles back from Scotland, and which soon spilled over from the land of St Cuthbert's, Durham, into Yorkshire. During the spring of 1069 a major force led by Edgar the Aetheling, Earl Gospatric, Maerlesveinn, Arnketill and the four sons of Karle marched into Yorkshire, slaughtered Robert Fitz Richard and his men after catching them out in the open and laid siege to the Norman castle of York. The Conqueror was once again quick to respond. In another lightning campaign he returned

from Normandy, marched north, dispersed the rebels and built a second castle at York. After leaving the city and castles in the charge of William Fitz Osbern, William Malet and Gilbert of Gant, the Conqueror returned to the south and held his Easter court at Winchester. Most of the rebel leaders remained at large, and on 8 September were reinforced by the arrival of a Danish fleet in the Humber sent by King Swein Estrithson, who probably had his own ambitions towards the English crown. On 21 September 1069 the Danes joined the English in an assault on the castles at York, which ended with the slaughter of the Norman garrison and the capture of its commanders, William Malet and Gilbert of Gant. The Conqueror responded by going to Yorkshire, and the Danes fled to the banks of the Humber.

To deal with the situation the Conqueror despatched Robert, count of Mortain, and William, count of Eu, to contain the Danes in Lincolnshire, while he marched to put down a subsidiary rebellion which had broken out in the region of Stafford. After successfully quelling the rising at Stafford, William marched north, but was held up for three weeks at Pontefract, where the Anglo-Scandinavians had destroyed the bridge over the River Aire. When William eventually reached York the rebels had withdrawn, and the king commanded the castles to be repaired. He dealt with the Danes by offering them tribute and rights of plunder, in return for an agreement to depart from England in the following spring. The Anglo-Scandinavian rebels received sterner treatment. William was determined to hunt them down, and embarked upon a campaign, known as 'the harrying of the north', designed to wipe out resistance to his rule beyond the Humber. William's determination to impose his authority in the north was reflected not only in his use of force, but also in his decision to wear his crown at York during the Christmas festival of 1069. When the festivities were over the harrying continued; and William is said to have laid waste to the entire region between the Humber and the Tyne. Whatever the cruelties involved, it was a campaign which achieved results. Before the start of February 1070 the earls Waltheof and Gospatric had submitted to William in Teesdale, Edgar the Aetheling had withdrawn to Wearmouth and Bishop Aethelwine of Durham and his community had fled to Lindisfarne. The native-led Northumbrian rebellion was at an end. In 1071 William replaced Bishop Aethelwine with a Lotharingian, Walcher, and in the following year installed Waltheof son of Siward

in place of Earl Gospatric. Waltheof remained in favour for a time, but after his involvement in the rebellion of the earls of East Anglia and Hereford in 1075, and his subsequent execution, power in Northumbria passed to Bishop Walcher; and with this, native governance of Yorkshire had passed away forever.

By 1075 the Normans had overcome Anglo-Scandinavian opposition to their authority in Yorkshire, and they had also taken steps to protect this authority from external threats. The most immediate of these threats was posed by the king of Scotland, Malcolm III. When the Conqueror succeeded to the crown, Scottish power to the west of the Pennines extended as far south as the Rere Cross on Stainmore at the north-western tip of Yorkshire, and King Malcolm was determined to extend it further.[25] In 1070 he ravaged Teesdale and Cleveland. The Conqueror responded by launching a major invasion of Scotland, which ended with Malcolm's acknowledgment of William's overlordship at the treaty of Abernethy in 1072. Thereafter, the Scots were unable or unwilling to penetrate as far south as Yorkshire until after William's death. The Danes, who posed the other major external threat to Norman power in Yorkshire, were only marginally more successful than the Scots. Between 1070 and 1087 they launched only one invasion of Yorkshire, which achieved little more than the sack of York, and which was over within a few weeks. Yorkshire was effectively at peace in the decade before the Domesday survey, and in that period the development of Norman authority within the county went largely unchallenged.

The original sources available for the study of Anglo-Norman Yorkshire are abundant. The main source for the history of land tenure in the eleventh century is Domesday Book. The Domesday text employed in this book is that published by Farley in 1783.[26] Domesday Book provides a mass of detailed information on the lands held by the Norman magnates in 1086, including the names of their Anglo-Scandinavian predecessors, geld assessments, annual seignorial income and the agricultural resources generating that income. In the case of Yorkshire, it also includes a section dealing with tenurial disputes (*clamores*), and a Domesday 'satellite' text

[25] G. W. S. Barrow, 'The Anglo-Scottish Border', *Northern History*, 1 (1966), 24–30; Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes', 43–4.

[26] *DB*. Shortly before this book went to press Farley's text was superseded by a new facsimile edition. See *Yorkshire Domesday*.

commonly known as the Summary.[27] Although the Yorkshire Domesday is deficient in many respects, because Yorkshire was probably the first county in Circuit VI to be enrolled, it is still an important source for determining the pattern and extent of Norman power in 1086, and the process by which this power had been established.[28] When used in conjunction with later sources, the Yorkshire Domesday can also help to reveal the descent of estates, and to study the transformation of the structure of lordship, in Yorkshire between 1066 and 1154. The later sources include the returns of knights' fees in 1166, commonly known as the *cartae baronum*, and thirteenth-century feodaries and surveys, which mainly deal with land held by military service. Additional details on the descent of land held by military and other forms of service are provided by the *Inquisitions Post Mortem*.[29]

Charters provide another major category of source material, and here the historian of Yorkshire is particularly fortunate. Between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries thousands of charters issued in the Anglo-Norman period were copied into the cartularies of Yorkshire's thirty or so major monasteries; the survival rate of which compares favourably with those produced in the religious houses of southern England. A good number of these cartularies have been published, with varying degrees of accuracy, by the Yorkshire Archaeological, Surtees and Thoresby Societies.[30] English translations of abstracts of the cartulary of Bridlington Priory, and one of the Fountains Abbey cartularies dating from the fifteenth century, were published privately by Lancaster.[31] Many monastic charters, both originals and cartulary copies, have also been printed in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*.[32] Other documents relating to the history of the northern bishoprics were published by Raine.[33] For the charters of most of the major secular lords of Yorkshire, reference must be made to the monumental work entitled *Early Yorkshire Charters*. The first three volumes of this work were published between 1914 and 1916 by

[27] For a detailed discussion of the Yorkshire Domesday, see Palliser, 'Yorkshire Domesday', 12–14; Roffe, 'Yorkshire Summary', 242–60.

[28] For the deficiencies of the text, see D. R. Roffe, 'Domesday Book and northern society: a reassessment', *EHR*, 105 (1990), 310–36.

[29] *Red Book*; *Book of Fees*; *Yorkshire Inquisitions of the Reigns of Henry III and Edward I*, ed. W. Brown, 3 vols. (Yorks. Arch. Soc. rec. ser., 1892–1902); *Cal. Inq. P. M.*

[30] See Bibliography.

[31] *Abstracts of the Charters and Other Documents Contained in the Chartulary of the Priory of Bridlington in the East Riding of the County of York*, ed. W. T. Lancaster (Leeds, 1912); *Chartulary of Fountains*. [32] *Monasticon*. [33] *Historians of York*, III.