The Northumberland Landholdings of the House of Cospatric

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SUMMARY

The House of Cospatric was descended from both the earls of Northumbria and the kings of Scots. King Henry I of England appointed Cospatric II to a sergeanty centred at Beanley with responsibilities for cross-border matters. He gave a grant of lands in Northumberland which Cospatric II and his descendants held as tenants-in-chief for some 200 years until King Edward III confiscated them and gave them to Henry Percy in 1335. This paper traces the evolution of the geography and tenurial structures of the landholding during this period, with mapping at three stages of its development. It is argued that Henry I assembled this estate from lands once held within the earldom of Northumbria.

INTRODUCTION: THE HOUSE OF COSPATRIC IN NORTHUMBERLAND[1]

King Henry I of England (1100-1135) was tapping into deep roots when he appointed Cospatric II, son of Cospatric I, to a sergeanty centred at Beanley, with a grant of lands to support the office. The family was well connected on both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border (Fig 1), dating back to a time when this area was 'neither England nor Scotland'.[2] Cospatric I's father Maldred was the son of the Crínán who was lay abbot of Dunkeld, and if Crínán's wife Bethoc was the daughter of Malcolm II, then Maldred was brother of Duncan I King of Scots (1034-1040) and Cospatric I first cousin to Malcolm III (1058-1093), king during Cospatric's active career.[3] In his maternal line, Cospatric descended from the English king Æthelred II (978-1013; 1014–1016) through the king's daughter Ælfgigu and her daughter Ealdgyth, Cospatric's mother. His maternal grandfather was Uhtred, Earl of Northumbria

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[1] The pioneering study of the House of Cospatric is by Canon Greenwell in Volume 7 of the *History of Northumberland* (NCH 7, 14-106). Percy Hedley reviewed the family genealogy in *Northumbrian Families* Volume 1 (Hedley 1968, 235-248). William Kapelle (1979) placed Cospatric I within the context of the Norman conquest. More recent is Elsa Hamilton's *Mighty Subjects* (2010) written from a Scottish perspective. For genealogical information and for spellings of names I have used Hamilton rather than the earlier studies, except that I have preferred *Cospatric* over *Gospatric*; both spellings are used in modern scholarship, and both occur in medieval sources.

[2] 'Neither England nor Scotland' – the title of Neil McGuigan's 2015 thesis; see pp. 159–164.

[3] Greenwell and Hedley both show Crínán lay abbot of Dunkeld in their pedigrees; Hamilton (2010, 7–8) notes that the identification of this Crínán as Maldred's father has been questioned, but that opinion is moving back in this direction. Alex Wolf (2007, 249–52) allows that Crínán of Dunkeld and Crínán father of Maldred are one and the same; McGuigan concurs. (2015, 278–81). But Woolf suggests that if this is so, then Maldred's mother was someone other than Bethoc daughter of Malcolm II on the grounds that there is no suggestion that Maldred's descendants in the 12th century had any claim to the kingship. (2007, 250) McGuigan allows the possibility that Cospatric I belonged to a junior, non-royal branch of the line of Crínán and that he built up his territorial base via Crínán's activities. (2015, 164)

(1006-1016), and this placed Cospatric in the lineage of this earldom that had ruled from Bamburgh. He was not, however, in the main line of succession, for his grandmother was Uhtred's third wife; the earldom passed by Uhtred's first marriage to Ecgthryth, daughter of bishop Aldhun of Durham, to their son Ealdred II (1018-1038).

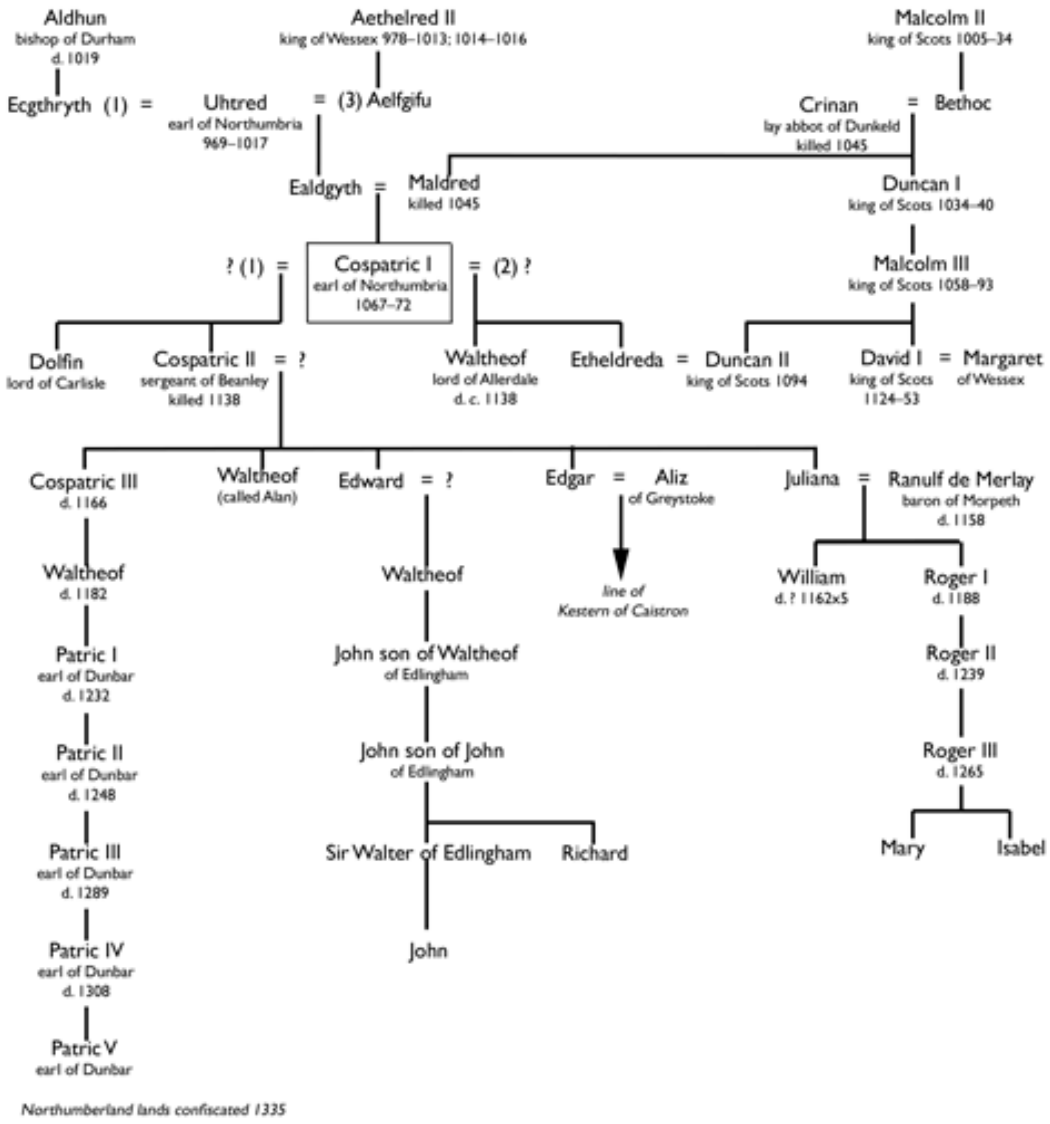

Figure 1 .The Cospatric lineage (simplified). Derived from Hedley 1968, 239 and 240 and Hamilton 2010 Tables 1 and 2.

Cospatric I had been appointed Earl of Northumbria by William the Conqueror in 1067,[4] and although he was involved in the rebellion of 1068 on behalf of Edgar the Ætheling and the incursion of 1069 by King Sweyn of Denmark, he remained in post and was active on

[4] The *Historia Regum Continuatio* (Hodgson Hinde (ed) *1868, 92*) records that Cospatric bought the earldom from the king for a large sum of money. See Hamilton 2010, 10–11 on this point.

William's behalf in Cumberland when Malcolm III invaded the north of England. Nevertheless, his position seems to have been on sufferance for William, on returning from taking Malcolm's submission at Abernethy in 1072, deprived Cospatric of the earldom. He withdrew to Scotland where Malcolm granted him a lordship at Dunbar.[5] It is not known for certain what lands Cospatric I held in Northumberland before 1072. But he was also lord of Allerdale, with large landholdings in the north of Cumberland, probably at the gift of his cousin King Malcolm. It could well be that he retained these lands and that when the English king Henry I granted the Allerdale lordship and lands to his son Waltheof this was simply confirming a present reality.[6]

The date of Cospatric I's death is uncertain. One tradition suggests 1074–75 at Norham, where he is said to be buried in the church porch; another possibility is that he retired at about this time to become a monk in Durham, living into the 1120s.[7] He is known to have had three sons, Dolfin, Cospatric II and Waltheof, and four daughters, Etheldreda who married her second cousin Duncan II King of Scots (1094), Octreda, Gunnilda and Matilla; the identity of his wife or wives is not known.[8] Dolfin, the eldest, held a lordship in Carlisle before William II deposed him in 1072.[9] The Allerdale lordship passed to Waltheof and three of his sisters received portions out of that lordship.

Cospatric II succeeded to the Scottish lands and title, and these he in turn passed on to his descendants. In England, King Henry I created a sergeanty for Cospatric II with a grant of lands in Northumberland. This is the beginning in recorded history of the House of Cospatric landholdings in Northumberland and the beginnings of a prominent cross-border lordship. Dunbar remained the principal seat of the earls and the Scottish lands their principal assets. The Northumberland estates were outliers, and this has a bearing on their tenurial history, for none were held in demesne of the main lord but were managed by subinfeudation for the service and rents they could command. Some supported a junior branch of the family; some served as a marriage dowry; others were held by outsiders.[10] The sergeanty and its lands passed through eight generations of the family until Patric, the fifth of that name, after some wavering, threw in his lot with David II of Scotland against Edward III of England. Thereupon, he was deprived of his Northumberland lands which were granted to Henry

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[5] Hamilton 2010, 32–3. When 'Earl of Dunbar' became a formal title is unclear; possibly not until the time of Patric I, with 'earl' used as a courtesy title in earlier generations. (Hamilton 2010, 35, 115.)

[6] See Greenwell 1904, 24-5; Hamilton 2010, 28.

[7] Hamilton 2010, 29–31.

[8] A 13th-century source suggests that the two eldest sons, Dolfin and Cospatric II, were illegitimate (Greenwell 1094, 26 note 2). See Hamilton 2010, 256–59 on Cospatric's mother, wife and daughters.

[9] Kapelle (1979, 151) expresses a doubt that Dolfin of Carlisle was the Dolfin son of Cospatric. Sharpe (2006, 34–5) is more confident of that identification.

[10] Hamilton 2010, 38–39.

Percy, lord of Alnwick in 1335. This was the end of the family as Northumberland officeholders and landholders. During the two centuries of their tenure, the overall trajectory of the estate was one of fragmentation.

Detailed information on the tenurial history of Northumberland vills can be found within the accounts of the county historians, but the structuring of these works, township by township within ecclesiastical parishes, means that information about any particular landholding is scattered; there is no one study that brings geographical focus to Cospatric's Beanley sergeanty as a single landholding unit over the two hundred-year period.[11] The present paper has two aims. The first is to give an account of the origins and the geographical and tenurial structure of the Cospatric landholding in Northumberland and to trace its evolution until its confiscation. The second is to question whether the landed estate that Henry I assembled for Cospatric II was a completely new unit or whether it was a restoration, in whole or in part, of lands previously held within the family.

Four documents summarise the state of the Cospatric landholdings in Northumberland, allowing for mapping at three points in time to capture the original structure of the estate, how it developed with divisions between heirs and subinfeudations to third parties, and the eventual loss of the lands. [12] These are:
i) A charter of confirmation issued by King Stephen (1135–1154).[13]
ii) A kingdom-wide enquiry of 1242 made by Henry III into the holdings of tenants-in-chief and their subinfeudations.[14]
iii) An enquiry of 1247 into the Beanley sergeanty and alienations made from it.[15]
(ii) and (iii) were issued close together in time, and so effectively form a single point of reference.
iv) King Edward III's grant in 1335 of the Cospatric lands to Henry Percy.[16]

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[11] Histories of vills in the Cospatric holdings are split between Part 2 Volumes 1 (1827) and 2 (1832) of John Hodgson's *History of Northumberland* and Volumes 7 (1904) and 14 (1935) of the Northumberland County History (NCH). John Crawford Hodgson drew on Duke of Northumberland's archives for a set of studies of vills formerly held by Cospatric (Hodgson J C 1922a, 1922b, 1923a, 1923b, 1924). The present author examined the Cospatric vills north of the River Coquet within the context of a pre-Conquest shire of Bamburgh (O'Brien 2002). Richard Carlton and Alan Rushworth, for The Archaeological Practice (2007), carried out a landscape history study for the Wingates Historic Village Atlas.

[12] I am aware of only two previous mappings of the Cospatric lands, both more limited than the set of three maps shown here as Figs 2-4: O'Brien (2002, Fig 4) shows the units north of the Coquet from which Henry I's grant was formed; Bridget Gubbins (2016, 53) maps the line of the Devil's Causeway in relation to these lands (discussed below).

[13] The date is not known; possibly 1136 or 1138 when he was in the north of England. A copy of this is printed in the Percy Charters, Percy Charts no. 811, p. 333.

[14] *Lib Feud* 2, 1122.

[15] *Cal Inquis Misc* No. 47, pp. 12-13.

[16] Percy Charts No. 777, p. 302-3.

Evidence of the subinfeudations vill by vill is derived from such sources as payments made to the exchequer and recorded in the pipe rolls, accounts drawn up on the deaths of tenants in chief, charters held by religious houses. These, though patchy, allow for a more fully developed picture of the evolution of the holdings; they are referenced here as appropriate.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL STRUCTURE AND EVOLUTION OF THE ESTATE

1: The Lands Granted by King Henry I (Fig 2)

Henry I's charter granting lands to Cospatric II has not survived. Evidence of the original grant comes from a confirmation charter issued by King Stephen at York, as transcribed into the Percy cartulary. It is a geographically fragmented estate of 23 vills in five blocks of land of various sizes scatted over 40 kilometres from the edge of the Cheviot hills in the north-west to the River Wansbeck's tributaries of Hartburn and Font in the south-east. It is also a composite estate in the sense that it is built up from a set of pre-existing land units.[17] These are as follows:

1: The lands of Cospatric's uncle Edmund.

Edmund is thought to have been a brother of Cospatric's mother, but this is not firmly established as her identity remains uncertain.[18] The names of the vills are not specified, but it can be deduced from other listings of the Cospatric holdings that these were Edlingham and Lemington, adjacent vills around one of the south-bank tributaries of the River Aln, and Shipley, three and a half kilometres further north-east, on the north side of the Aln.

2: The lands of Winnoc, known as 'the hunter.

These are Beanley, Brandon, Branton, Harehope, Hedgeley and Titlington. This is a block of six vills, around both sides of the River Breamish after it has emerged out of the Ingram valley and the east side of the Cheviot massif, and reaching south-east towards, but not as far as, the River Aln.

3: The Lands of Liulf son of Uhtred.

These are the three Midddletons and Roddam. This is just south of Wooler, taking in part of the eastern edge of the Cheviot hills and on to lower ground beyond. The three Middletons, now called Middleton Hall, Middleton North and Middleton South,[19] lie in a row north-west to south-east, with

[17] Medieval documents on land tenure refer to *villae* (vills). These are the base-level geographical and administrative units, broadly equivalent to the townships of the post-medieval era in Northumberland or the civil parishes of English counties further south. In Stephen's confirmation charter, the six items of Winnoc's land are called manors. Strictly speaking, a manor is a unit of estate governance and management, but in Northumberland the vill is the main unit for administrative record.

[18] Greenwell 1904, 31. The identity of Cospatric's mother is also unknown. See Hamilton 2010, 256–59.

[19] In the medieval period, the present-day Middleton Hall was known as North Middleton and the present-day North Middleton was Middle (or Middlemost) Middleton; the name of South Middleton is unchanged.

Roddam, a subsidiary unit of Middleton Hall,[20] two kilometres further south. This was a thanage holding.[21]

4: The 'Horsley Estate'

This comprises Horsley, Stanton, Ritton, Wingates, Witton and Wotton.[22] The charter lists these vills immediately after the Middletons and Roddam in a way that suggests that these were also holdings of Liulf son of Uhtred. But if so, they were, at the closest point, nearly 30 kilometres away from South Middleton and they were not part of his thanage, and so it makes sense to think of them as a separate land unit. They form a single block of land between the south bank of the River Coquet down to the north bank of the Hart Burn. It is known from other documents that Stanton had as a subsidiary the vill of Learchild, a small unit on the west edge of Edlingham and Lemington.[23]

[20] Earl Patric I was said in 1236 to hold North Middleton and Roddam 'as one vill' (*Lib Feud* 1, 598).

[21] A thanage is the tenure of a thane, who was an office-holder of a king. In post-Conquest England, this was an archaic status, surviving from before 1066. For a wide-ranging discussion of thanage and its survival post-Conquest, see Barrow 1973. In documents spanning 200 years and more, there is inconsistency in the use of terms, as survivals from pre-Norman times, unfamiliar to Anglo-Norman administrators, caused confusion. For example, in the inquisition into knight fees carried out between 1210 and 1212 Earl Patric is said to hold three knight fees in thanage (*Lib Rub* 2, 562). The fee was correctly called a thanage in 1212 (*Lib Feud* 1, 200), but a drengage in 1236 (*Lib Feud* 1, 598).

[22] The term 'Horsley Estate' does not occur in medieval documents; I am using it for convenience to refer to the group of six vills lying between the rivers Coquet and Hart. Horsley is now called Longhorsley; Netherwitton is the modern name for medieval Witton; Longwitton is the modern name for medieval Wotton.

[23] The earliest evidence for this comes in the marriage charters of Cospatric II's daughter Juliana (c. 1113). King Henry's licence for the marriage refers to 'a certain vill beyond the moors', and the confirmation charter of Juliana's brother Edgar names this as Learchild (Newminst Charts 268-9).

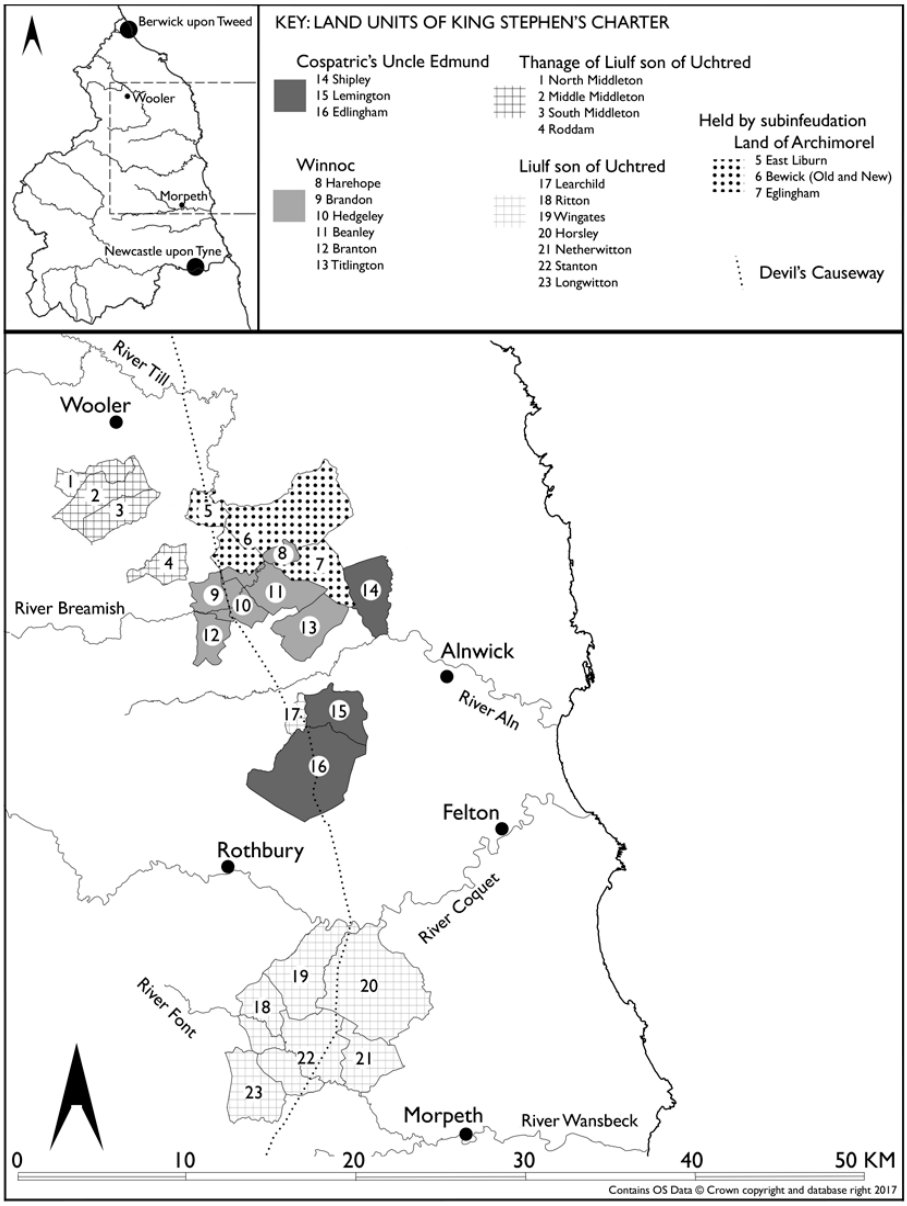

Fig 2. Lands granted by King Henry I, from the confirmation charter of King Stephen.

This is a landholding on a scale comparable to some of the baronies of Northumberland, but it was not a barony held by military service. It was a sergeanty, with Beanley as its centre, that is an estate granted to one who carried out special duties for the king.[24] In this case, the duty was *inborhe et hutborhe*[25] between England and Scotland. This seems to be a remit to enforce a cross-border system of pledges.[26] The long-term processes by which the two countries crystallised and achieved geographical definition in the Anglo-Scottish border have

[24] Again, there is confusion in the records. In 1212 'Earl Patric holds the barony of Beanley' *(Lib Feud* 1, 200); this seems to be a straightforward mistake.

[25] Thus in 1212, but the spellings vary: in 1242, *inborwe et utborwe.*

[26] Scott 1993, 123–26 discusses the meaning.

been much debated,[27] but Henry I of England took steps to ensure that the border which had by then emerged was robust: the castle at Norham on Tweed in the lands of St Cuthbert in 1121; the establishment in 1133 of a new diocese in Carlisle as a bulwark against claims from the bishop of Glasgow; new baronies centred at Wark and Wooler. Cospatric's duties were part of these arrangements.[28] As a holder of lands and lordships in both countries, Cospatric was well placed to exercise this cross-border function. If this remit involved acting as surety for those travelling between the two countries,[29] then on the English side of the border Cospatric was well placed also in a more immediate sense. The Devil's Causeway, the old Roman road, ran through three of his land units, meaning that his people could keep travellers under direct observation, with three river crossings also under their watch: the Font, Coquet and Breamish.[30]

The Devil's Causeway (Fig 2) strikes out north and east from a point on Dere Street just two kilometres north of the Portway crossing through Hadrian's Wall to the coast at Tweedmouth, and thus providing access to the lands along the Tweed. It no longer survives as a through route but the name Harpeth Loaning attached to a now-disused length of the road immediately north of its River Hart crossing[31] hints at military use long after the Roman period. For the most part, and unlike Dere Street, it does not form a boundary between townships or the medieval baronies.[32] This suggests that it runs through core territories more than edge lands. Its course links the Whittington thanage, the Eglingham thanage in its East Lilburn part, the Beanley, Lemington, and possibly the Longwitton,[33] drengages of the Cospatric sergenty lands, and also Brinkburn, which was the focus of an 8th-century grant by King Ceolwulf to Lindisfarne[34] and Bolam, which became a baronial centre. Perhaps here fossilised, albeit imperfectly, are traces of early arrangements to support royal peregrination and the movements of kings' officials.[35] If so, the Devil's Causeway had not completely lost

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[27] McGuigan 2015, 141–58 for a review of debates.

[28] Hamilton 2010, 36–7.

[29] Greenwell 1904, 31; Hedley 1969, 236. J C Hodgson (1922a, 62) suggested that this office was the beginnings of what developed into the office of Warden of the Marches.

[30] Hamilton 2010, 37–38. Gubbins 2016, 52 demonstrated this point with a map.

[31] Sheet LXIII of the Ordnance Survey six-inch survey of 1866.

[32] There are just five short lengths, none more than 3 kilometres long, where the road does co-inside with a boundary: between Great Whittington and Bingfield townships, which is also a boundary between the Halton-Whittington- Clarewood thanage and Hexham lands; East Shaftoe and Bradford; Barton and Shawdon; Brandon and Hedgeley-Beanley; Doddington and Hetton townships.

[33] Following a suggestion of Bridget Gibbins (pers com) that the modern boundary line between Longwitton and West Thornton is a result of enclosure of moorland and that the road had formerly marked the edge of Longwitton.

[34] O'Brien, Adams and Whaley 2018, 94–7.

[35] I am indebted to Eric Cambridge for this incisive suggestion.

this function in the 12th century, for there is evidence of its use by the baron Ranulf de Merlay of Morpeth (Cospatric III's brother-in-law) and by Kings John and Edward I on progress.[36] It seems that the Devil's Causeway was a recognised and well-used route between England and Scotland, perhaps more so than the Great North Road which became the main east-coast route. This insight prompts a chicken-and-egg question: did King Henry appointed Cospatric to this office because he already held these lands, or did the lands follow on from the office?

5: The land of Archimorel[37] did not form part of King Henry's grant or Stephen's confirmation. This was a block of land immediately north of Winnoc's comprising the three vills of East Lilburn, Bewick (later divided into Old and New Bewick) and Eglingham, which Archimorel had held in thanage and then came to Winnoc. Here Cospatric held not as tenant-in-chief[38] but as a subsidiary tenant of St Albans Abbey and its daughter house Tynemouth Priory. Richard (abbot 1079–1119) granted a lifetime tenancy of this land to Gospatric II and his son Waltheof (also called Alan) on a payment of 10 shillings per year.[39]

Cospatric II was wounded while fighting for King David at the Battle of the Standards in 1138. Whether he died on the field or later is uncertain.[40] His surviving children were Cospatric III, Waltheof, Edward, Edgar and Juliana. The main inheritance, with both the Scottish and English titles, went to Cospatric III. Within his own lifetime, it had already become apparent that the Northumberland estates were to be used, in part, to support junior members of the family. Waltheof, who is thought to have entered the church, had shared in the St Albans tenancy.[41] Juliana, on her marriage to Ranulf de Merlay, had received a dowry of five vills: Horsley, Stanton (with its dependent vill of Learchild), Witton, Ritton and Wingates.[42] The

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[36] Merlay travelled from his baronial centre at Morpeth to Corbridge to witness a charter issued by Earl Henry in favour of Brinkburn Priory at some time between 1139 and 1152 (Gubbins 2018, 8); on 16 February 1201, King John travelled from Rothbury to Hexham (Patent Rolls 1835, 86–7); and on 16 August 1306, Edward I travelled from Hexham to Morpeth (Gough 1900, 264). See Haycock 2021, 12-15 for route descriptions and mappings.

[37] The name has an alternative spelling as Archil[l] Morel

[38] A tenant-in-chief held land *in capite*, that is from the king directly; he could devolve portions of this land to subsidiary landholders who became his tenants.

[39] *Gest Abb St Alban*, 1, 72

[40] Hamilton 2010, 46.

[41] *Hist Dunelm Script* Appendix lv-lvi; Greenwell 1904, 33-4.

[42] Brink Charts, 268-9. The date of the marriage is not given, but Bridget Gubbins (2016, 71) calculated this as 1113 or thereabouts. This dowry land comprises the whole of what I have here called the Horsley Estate, minus the vill of Longwitton which Cospatric retained within his holdings. I have elsewhere argued that Ritton refers to East Ritton (formerly called Ritton Coltpark) alone and that West Ritton (formerly Ritton White House) was not part of the Cospatric holdings (O'Brien 2020).

Merlay interests here were as subsidiary lords, with Cospatric retaining ultimate responsibility as tenant-in-chief.

After his father's death, Edgar gained the lands of Archimorel when Abbot Richard's successor Geoffrey, a shrewder businessman than his predecessor, renegotiated the tenancy on terms more favourable to the abbey than Cospatric and Waltheof had enjoyed, a one-off payment of 20 shillings, or equivalent value in cattle, and 60 shillings annually.[43] He seems also to have been given lordship of the thanage lands of the Middletons and Roddam. But Edgar took part in the rebellion of 1173 by the young Henry against his father Henry II and on its failure he fled to Scotland. Consequently, Henry II confiscated his lands and in 1174 he restored Archimorel's lands to St Albans. Repercussions from Edwin's actions emerged early in the 13th century, when Earl Patric I became involved in legal proceedings. Edgar married Aliz, daughter of Ivo, lord of Greystoke, who had extensive landholdings in Cumberland and Yorkshire and a small group of vills in Northumberland. Through this marriage he gained an estate which included the Coquetdale vills of Trewitt, Caistron, Great and Little Tosson and Flotterton. These lands were part of the Greystoke estate and are not considered further in this study.

Edward inherited an estate of nine vills in three blocks, created as a new entity from parts of three of the founding units: Beanley, Brandon, Branton, Harehope, Hedgeley and Shipley from Winnoc's lands; Edlingham and Lemington from Cospatric's uncle Edmund's lands; Longwitton, the one vill south of the Coquet not in Juliana's dowry. His branch of the family, who later took Edlingham as the family name,[44] represented the direct interests of the descendants of Cospatric II in Northumberland throughout the 13th century. But Edward's entry on to the land inherited from Edmund was not without difficulty, for his brother Edgar had tried to take it. Exchequer records of 1176 note that Edward son of Cospatric and his son Waltheof owe 80 marks to the crown for having sought a court ruling in respect of their right of inheritance in a claim against Edward's brother Edgar.[45] Perhaps the events of 1173 lie behind this.

2: The Estate in 1242/1247 (Fig 3)

King Henry III's nationwide enquiry of 1242 into landholdings itemises not only the lands held *in capite*, but also those held by sub-tenants. Taken along with the enquiry of 1247 into alienations from the Beanly sergeanty, they allow for a snapshot of the tenurial structure of the sergeanty and the thanage at the time when Cospatric II's great-great grandson, Patric II,

[43] *Gest Abb St Alban*, 1, 95. Hamilton 2010, 39.

[44] Hedley 1968, 246-248.

[45] Hamilton 2010, 95. They had discharged the debt by 1179. Pipe Roll 22 Henry II (Hodgson 3.3, 25) and 25 Henry II (Hodgson 3.3, 30). See below concerning Edgar's claims on the Middleton thanage.

was tenant-in-chief, a century after his ancestor's death.[46] At this time, there were three core holdings and the St Albans-Tynemouth lands of Archimorel, corresponding partly, but not entirely, to the sub-divisions of the original grant, with other vills by then let to tenants or granted elsewhere.

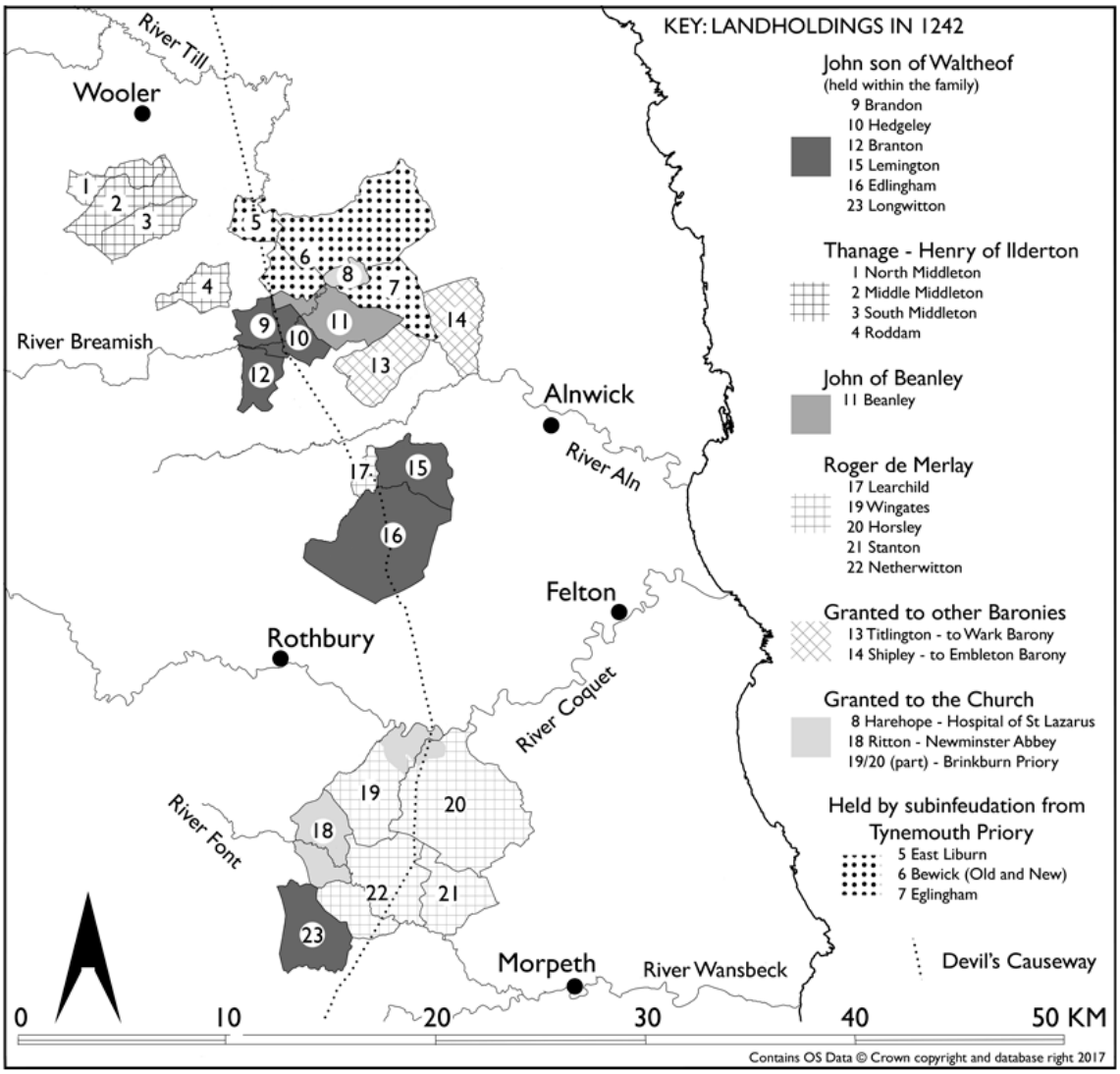

Fig 3. Cospatric landholdings in 1242/47.

1: Lands of John son of Waltheof

The grandson of the Edward, who had inherited from Cospatric II, now represented the family's interests in an estate centred at Edlingham. At this time, it consisted of six vills, formed from three sub-units of the original grant, in three separate blocks of land:

i) **Edlingham** and **Lemington** from among those that had belonged to Cospatric II's uncle Edmund at the time of the original foundation grant. Lemington was originally a drengage, but John son of

[46] As notes 14 and 15, above.

Waltheof had converted it into a standard feudal holding.[47] In 1247 it was held in subinfeudation by Adam of Lemington.[48] **Shipley,** Edmund's third vill, was by 1242 held separately from John's estate, after Cospatric III had granted it to John le Viscount who held the lordship of Embleton, one of whose descendants, also called John, held half the vill and Richard Frebern the other half in 1247.[49]

ii) **Brandon**, **Branton** and **Hedgeley** from the lands that had belonged to Winnoc the Hunter. John of Branton held Branton in 1247 and his tenants Ralf de Feritate and Henry de la Val held Brandon. This John is thought to be John son of Waltheof of Edlingham, grandson of Edward in the Edlingham branch of the Cospatric family.[50] It seems that his direct descendants continued to hold the lands here, for another John of Branton is known from later in the century.

iii) **Longwitton**, from the block of six that constituted the Horsley Estate, was the only one of these not in Juliana's dowry. This also had been a drengage holding until John son of Waltheof of Edlingham changed it.[51] In 1247 John of Wutton and several others held the vill as John's tenants.

The rationale for this particular grouping of six vills is nowhere explained, but the way the holding was built up for Edward, cutting across the original structure of King Henry's grant, suggests that Cospatric II, or his heir Cospatric III, had given the matter some thought. Of the six vills in John's estate, he appears to have retained Edlingham and Hedgeley as his demesne, for the inquest of 1247, held soon after John's death, records that Earl Patric II was holding these in hand himself; the other four were occupied by tenants.[52] In the light of the suggestion made above, namely that the line of Devil's Causeway and the duties of the sergeanty are to be taken together, then it is worth noting that the road runs through John's demesne lands of Edlingham and that it forms the boundary between Hedgeley and Brandon from the point at which it crosses the river Breamish; it also runs along the edge of Longwitton. Edlingham is a classic case of a core terrain, roughly rectangular in outline, 7 kilometres long by 4 kilometres wide. It has as its central feature Edlingham Burn formed from headwaters draining the north side of Rimside Moor and flowing on a more-or-less straight course northwards towards its confluence with the River Aln. Lemington is a two-kilometre-long northward extension of this terrain. Thus, the territory is the river basin, extending laterally towards the watershed on the east side and across the watershed and on to a parallel burn, Coe Burn, on the west. It is likely that it had long been a centre of lordship. If terrain and access to natural resources were key considerations, this grouping offered a good spread. The Edlingham-Lemington basin has both moorland and valley floor and access to exposures of sandstone for building or other purposes. The three vills around the river Breamish crossing offer a wide valley floor with readily cultivable soils on river-terrace deposits. Longwitton, the outlier to the south, is within a zone of extensive

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[47] *Cal Inquis Misc* No. 47, pp. 12-13. Drengage was a pre-Conquest tenure, of lesser status than a thanage.

[48] NCH 7, 164.

[49] NCH 14, 441.

[50] NCH 14, 402–4.

[51] *Cal Inquis Misc* No. 47, pp. 12-13.

[52] *Cal Inquis Misc* No. 47, pp. 12-13.

woodland and it might well be the case that this vill was excluded from Juliana's dowry deliberately to retain some woodland within the family's main estate. William the forester, named in the record of the lay subsidy of 1296,[53] lends support to this suggestion.

2: Alienated lands

Three vills of Winnoc's lands had not been retained in the family estate which John son of Waltheof inherited, but had been split off by 1242.

i) **Beanley**, though it was the title holding for the sergeanty, was no longer held by the family directly. It was originally a drengage but Earl Patric I changed it to a standard feudal service, held by an annual payment of 12 marks by John son of Alexander, named as John of Beanley in 1242.[54] This is a large vill taking in a stretch of the river Breamish and rising east on to the high ground (up to 200 metres OD) of the extensive moor of Beanley.

ii) **Titlington** was by now considered to be a holding of the barony of Wark on Tweed and it was not listed in 1242 as being among those that Patric II of Dunbar held in chief. At a very early stage it had been transferred to Walter Espec, holder of that barony; he had included it in 1121 in his founder's endowment to Kirkham Priory.[55] Its topography is similar, though on a smaller scale, to Edlingham, that is a basin around the north-east flowing Titlington Burn. The high moorland with exposed crags on the north-west side adjoins Beanley Moor.

iii) **Harehope** had been a part of the inheritance of Edward son of Cospatric II but had not come through to the estate held by his grandson, John son of Waltheof of Edlingham in 1242, for his father had granted it to the brethren of the Hospital of Burton Lazars in Leicestershire.[56] This is a small, oval-shaped area of land stretching from the east bank of the river Breamish. From its outline, it looks as though it was a settlement carved out of Eglingham and Old Bewick.

3: The Merlay Lands

The set of vills centred on Horsley is a topographically coherent unit occupying the land between the rivers Coquet and Font and, in Netherwitton, a small area of the south-side catchment of the Font. Its west side is strongly defined by the Maglin Burn, a south-bank tributary of the Coquet, with the higher ground of Rothbury Forest beyond; eastwards it comes towards the lower-lying ground of the Northumberland coastal plain.

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[53] Lay Subsidy, No. 204, p. 86.

[54] *Cal Inquis Misc* No. 47, pp. 12-13. A mark had the value of 13 shillings and 4 pence (two thirds of one pound).

[55] NCH 14, 447-452; Hodgson J C 1924; Cal Chart Rolls 1327-41, 361-2.

[56] NCH 14, 419.

i) Ritton, originally one of Juliana's dowry vills, along with part of Netherwitton's woodland, had, by a grant of Juliana and Ranulf de Merlay in 1138, been given to Newminster Abbey at its foundation, and it remained in the abbey's possession.[57]

ii) Horsley, Netherwitton, Wingates and Stanton with Learchild from the vills of Juliana's dowry were in the hands of her great-grandson Roger III de Merlay in 1242**.** In 1247 there were several tenancies in Netherwitton and Wingates; Stanton with Learchild and Longhorsley were also tenanted. Roger III issued a series of charters to Brinkburn Priory granting them rights on land 'on the south side of the Coquet'.[58] This can be equated with Brinkburn South Ward, that part of the Brinkburn Chapelry lands which lay south of the river after the dissolution of the priory. Lying either side of the Coquet's Todd Burn tributary, this is carved out from the vills of Wingates and Longhorsley. Around this time Todburn and Witton Shields began to emerge as land units in their own right, distinct from Longhorsley and Netherwitton[59]

4: The Three Middletons and Roddam

The thanage that had belonged to Liulf son of Uhtred remained intact as a single unit in the tenancy of Henry of Ilderton. This terrain takes in moorlands on the east side of the Cheviot massif, up to 400 metres OD and down into the drainage basin of the north-flowing Wooler Water as far east as the line of the Powburn-Wooler road and the now-abandoned railway line of later years, a natural routeway. The Cospatrics did not hold this land as part of the sergeanty and it did not feature in the enquiry of 1247; they held it by the service of waiting.[60]

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[57] Newminst Charts 1. In the maps Figs 2–4 I have included the area of the township of Healey and Combhill within Netherwitton and within the land held by Newminster Abbey. The argument for this derives from two items of information from John Hodgson's work, as follows: In 1530, Nicholas Thornton, the lord of Witton, appointed Ralph Atkinson as forester for his West Wood from Kayme Ford to Mere Burn (Hodgson 2.1, 318). This indicates that Netherwitton Oldpark Wood (as presently named) had extended westwards beyond the present-day township boundary into and across what is now Healey and Combhill. This allows the suggestion that this extension was the part of the woods of Witton granted to Newminster in its foundation charter. If so, it would explain why Healey and Combhill is not traceable as a vill in the holdings of any of the baronies during the medieval period: it attained its own administrative identity only after the dissolution of the abbey. Confirmation of Newminster interest here comes from a document of 1568 listing seven places in the king's hands after the dissolution (Hodgson 2.1, 322). Of these, six are north of the Font, within Ritton; the seventh is 'half of Heley', south of the river.

[58] Brink Carts Nos. 118-121. The dates of these charters are not known.

[59] Roger de Horsley was witness to a charter by which he gave land in Horsley, 'Sheles' and Todburn to Adam de Plessy and his heirs (Hodgson 2.2, 106). Witton Shields first comes to light as 'sheles' in a document of Roger III de Merlay in which he set up reciprocal rights of common of pasture in Witton for the men of Stanton and in Stanton for 'my men of Witton and Scheles'. The document is undated, but Hodgson assigns it to 'the latter end of the reign of Henry III'; that would be about 1270. (Hodgson 2.2, 118). Both became townships of the post-medieval period.

[60] 'Waiting' means providing food and hospitality for the lord and his retainers. This is a survival from early times when the king and his court travelled around their estates on an annual circuit. In an exchequer record of 1201, the obligation is four waitings and a payment in money of 30 shillings. (Pipe Roll 3 John; Hodgson, 3.3, 7; Greenwell 1904, 41) See NCH 14, 292-3 for an expression of this idea, and in a wider discussion, Barrow 1973, 7-18.

5: Lands given by Archimorel to St Albans Abbey and Tynemouth Priory

Patric II continued to hold **Eglingham, Bewick and East Lilburn** as tenant of St Albans Abbey and Tynemouth Priory. This large area folds around the north side of Winnoc's lands. Its largest element is the extensive moorland of Old Bewick. New Bewick (defined as a vill in its own right after the 13th century) takes this land west across the Breamish. East Lilburn is a small vill at the north-west edge. Eglingham is a core territory and parish centre. This too is a basin around the east-flowing Eglingham Burn, hemmed in by Beanley Moor on the south side and Bewick Moor on the north.

When Cospatric II's great-grandson, Patric I, succeeded his father Waltheof in 1182, the Dunbar earldom reached new heights of grandeur in Scotland, with Patric, during his 50-year tenure, attaining positions of highest importance in the Scottish court and in the upper echelons of royal administration.[61] But he did not neglect his lands in Northumberland and his wider family connections. Juliana's grandson, Roger II de Merlay, a second cousin of Patric I, served as his steward and witness to charters granted to religious houses; he also witnessed charters of other family members. Such was his concern for the integrity of his position in Northumberland that Patric embarked on long-running legal proceedings over the Middletons thanage and the lands leased from St Albans which Edgar's actions had compromised.[62]

In 1201 Patric I sought legal recognition that Edgar had held Bewick and Eglingham before his involvement in the rebellion of 1173 and that he had received the service of Liulf, son of Liulf for the three Middletons and Roddam.[63] Again in 1204 he sought an enquiry over the Middletons and Roddam,[64] and again in 1210 he made a plea of trespass against the Abbot of St Albans and the Prior of Tynemouth and a plea for service from Thomas son of Liulf.[65] Liulf and his son Thomas, holders of the thanage, seem to have been persistent over ten years at least in using Edgar's forfeiture as leverage to try and gain for themselves the status of tenant-in-chief, against the interests of the Cospatric house. But if so, they failed. Dispute with the Abbot and Prior rumbled on into the time of Patric's son and successor, Patric II, when in 1237 he made yet another claim against them.[66] Eventually, Patric II decided that he

[61] Hamilton 2010, 99.

[62] Roger de Merlay: Hamilton 2010, 134; litigation: Greenwell 1904, 40–42; Hamilton 2010, 139–41.

[63] Pipe Roll 3 John, Hodgson 3.3, 78.

[64] Pipe Roll 6 John, Hodgson 3.3, 88

[65] Northumberland Pleas Nos. 134, 137.

[66] Close Rolls 21 Henry III, 542. Greenwell 1904, 57.

had been in the wrong. In 1248 he joined the crusade in order that he should be reconciled to God and St. Oswin whose house of Tynemouth he had unjustly harassed and injured.[67]

3: The Confiscation of the Estate in 1335 (Fig 4)

In 1333, Patric V, seventh in the line after Cospatric II, was commanding a garrison from Berwick-on-Tweed on behalf of the English king Edward III. He was active in the events surrounding the battle of Homildon HillI and the taking of Berwick, for which he received favours from the king in that year and in the year following. But after King Edward's 1334 harrying of the Lothians, where Patric held lands of the king of Scots, he, Patric, renounced his fealty to Edward and threw in his lot with the Scottish king. King Edward promptly confiscated the Beanley estate and re-granted it with the homage and service of all those holding land under Patric to Henry Percy, who by then had possession of the former Vesci barony of Alnwick. Thus, some 200 years after King Henry I's grant, the House of Cospatric's status as tenants-in-chief in Northumberland came to an end.[68]

By this time, and despite the fact that the Dunbar earldom in Scotland had seen a slowdown under Patric III of alienations of land through benefactions and grants within the family,[69] the Northumberland estate was very much fragmented and devolved by subinfeudation to others. The family's direct interests had further fragmented and were reduced from the position in 1242 and 1247, with no demesne holdings remaining by the time of the death of Patric III in 1289.[70]

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[67] Greenwell 1904. 61. But see Hamilton 2010, 208 for another view on Patric's motivations from this expressed by Matthew Paris. He never did reach the Holy Land but died en route later that year.

[68] Greenwell 1904, 82-86. Percy Charts No. 777, pp. 302-3. The act of homage is a tenant's formal recognition of the authority of the overlord to whom he owes service; by the 12th and 13th centuries many services had been commuted to a payment in cash.

[69] Hamilton 2010, 224.

[70] *Cal Inquis P M*, No. 741, p. 455.

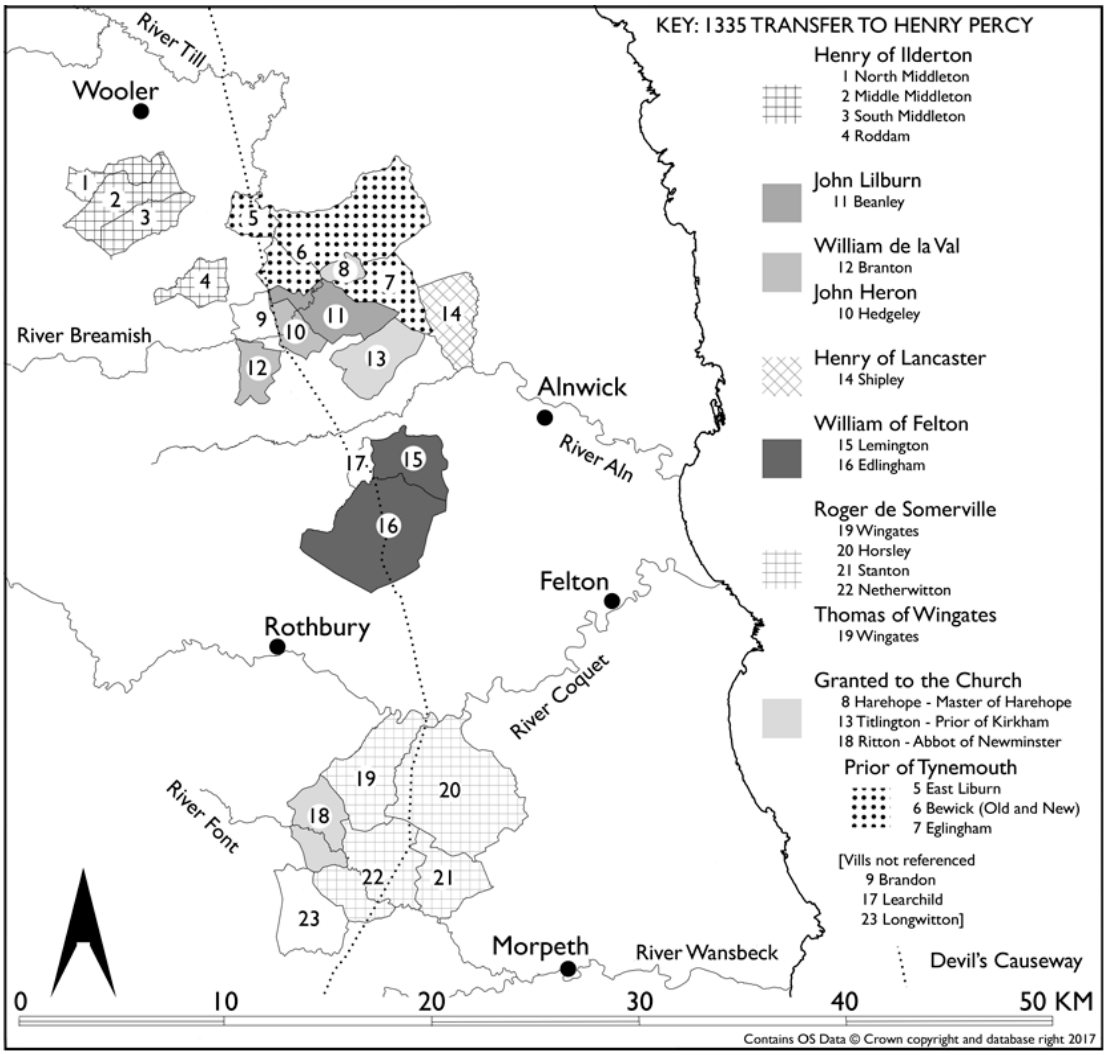

Fig 4. Cospatric landholdings at the time of the sequestration in 1335.

1: The Edlingham-centred estate

(i) This estate, held originally by Cospatric II's son Edward and which had come through five generations of the family, was finally broken up in 1296 with the subinfeudating of the demesne holdings.

> After the death of John son of Waltheof, at some time before 1247, his son, John son of John, succeeded to the estate. He made provision for his son Richard from the lands of **Edlingham** and Newtown (which had by now emerged as a sub-division of Edlingham), while confirming his son Sir Walter as his heir in the chief fee.[71]
>
> In 1286, Sir Walter leased **Hedgeley** to Thomas of Dilston and his wife Lucia.[72]
>
> In 1295 or thereabouts he transferred a messuage and some lands in **Edlingham** to Sir William of Felton and his wife Eustancia. He followed this in 1296 by granting the whole of Edlingham with its

[71] Greenwell 1904, 97–8.

[72] Greenwell 1094, 101.

appurtenances and other rights to William and Eustancia. Sir Walter's son John confirmed this in the same year.[73]

In 1335 Edlingham, along with **Lemington**, was in the hands of Sir William of Felton, and John Heron held Hedgeley.

(ii) Four vills had not been in demesne in 1247.

Branton in 1335 was held by William de la Val.

Beanley, held by John son of Alexander in 1242, remained within that family until 1320 when William of Beanley granted land on the moor to Sir John Lilburn[74] who was the holder in 1335.

Shipley, which Cospatric II had passed to the Embleton barony, was held in 1247 by John Viscount's heiress Rametta who in 1255 granted the Embleton barony to Simon de Montfort.[75]

Brandon and **Longwitton** are not named in the 1335 document. [76]

2: Lands gifted to religious houses

These lands remained within church holdings.

Titlington, which Walter Espec had granted to Kirkham priory, and **Harehope** held by St Lazarus hospital, both from the lands of Winnoc.

Ritton gifted from the dowry land of Juliana daughter of Cospatric II to Newminster Abbey.

The lands of Archimorel, East Lilburn, Bewick and Eglingham, in the holdings of Tynemouth Priory.

Land on the south side of the Coquet which Ranulf de Merlay had given to Brinkburn Priory out of Juliana's dowry land remained in their holdings, though it was not itemised in the 1335 document.

Two blocks of land traceable back into the time of Cospatric II retained some integrity.

3: The dowry lands of Juliana

Except for Ritton and the small area on the south side of the Coquet, granted to Newminster Abbey and Brinkburn Priory respectively, these came through unbroken to her great-grandson Roger III de Merlay.

When he died in 1265, they were divided between his two daughters, with Longhorsley and Stanton in Mary's portion and Wingates and Netherwitton in Isabel's. Isabel's successor Roger de Somerville answered for both portions to Henry de Percy in 1335. Thomas of Wingates held part of that vill.[77]

4: The thanage estate of the three Middletons and Roddam

This was the most stable unit of all. Liulf son of Uhtred's original holding was still intact and, under Henry of Ilderton, still in the hands of Liulf's descendants. There also appears to have been continuity of tenure among the families of the estate's subinfeudated tenants.

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[73] Greenwell 1904, 103-5. The charter by which this transfer was effected does not survive, but it is evidenced by John's confirmation charter, which Canon Greenwell quotes.

[74] NCH 14, 400.

[75] NCH 14, 440-1.

[76] Brandon was held by the Deleval family until 1471, and so it seems likely that William answered for both Brandon and Branton in 1335 (Hodgson J C 1924, 30-1; NCH 14, 402). Longwitton was described in 1360 as a manor belonging to the Ogles of Ogle and held by them in 1372 along with Middleton-Morell (Hodgson 2.1, 308).

[77] Hodgson 2.2 94–5.

In Middleton Hall (medieval North Middleton) a family descending from Constantine, a son of Waltheof son of Cospatric III, can be traced into the early years of the 14th century.[78]
In North Middleton (medieval Middlemost Middleton) another family, who also took Middelton as a name, can be traced from 1171 holding Middleton along with Wooperton until the inheritance was divided between two sisters, Idonea, who received Middleton, and Isabel whose portion was Wooperton.[79]
South Middleton was held by a John of South Middleton between 1223 and 1234 and by Nicholas between 1241 and 1257. In 1266 Nicholas's widow Maud sued John Middleton for dower.[80]

WAS HENRY I's GRANT A RESTORATION OF LANDS PREVIOUSLY HELD IN THE FAMILY?

Canon Greenwell observed that there is no evidence that Cospatric II held any lands in Northumberland before Henry I established the Beanley sergeanty, though he allowed the possibility that Cospatric had hereditary rights in his uncle Edmund's lands, while expressing uncertainty on Edmund's identity.[81] This seems still to be the default view on the matter, that Cospatric's lands go back to Henry I and no further. The problem with this position is that there is no primary written evidence on landholdings in Northumberland before the reign of Henry I, except for those of St Cuthbert's Church,[82] and so the absence of evidence is not a reliable guide to the position before 1100. Cospatric II's descent from the earls of Northumbria of the pre-Conquest period must at least invite these questions: was Henry I in fact restoring to him ancestral lands which his father had held and had lost when deprived of the earldom in 1072? How come his father gained the lordship of Dunbar? Was there any rationale to that particular dispersed set of lands granted in Northumberland?

In 1091, William Rufus restored to Malcolm III, king of Scots, twelve vills in England which William I had granted to him but which he had by now lost. The most likely occasion for William's grant was when he took Malcolm's submission at Abernethy in 1072. Cospatric I's expulsion from the earldom immediately afterwards and his removal to Scotland looks like a direct consequence of the kings' agreement. That is to say that Cospatric had been holding these vills, but they were now placed in Malcolm's hands as part of an arrangement to stabilise conditions around the edge of William's kingdom.[83] If this line of argument is

[78] NCH 14, 293.

[79] NCH 14, 299-300.

[80] NCH 14, 300.

[81] 1904, 29.

[82] These texts are not without their own problems of interpretation. See, eg. O'Brien, Adams, Whaley 2018.

[83] As suggested by William Scott (1993, 126–28) in an argument he recognises as 'admittedly speculative'. Elsa Hamilton (2010, 38) extends the argument to suggest that Henry I restored these lands to Cospatric II to avoid having a Scottish king with authority within England.

sound, this would place the twelve vills in Northumberland, and the arithmetic would point to the six vills of Winnoc along with the three of Edmund and the three of Archimorel, all within the holdings of Cospatric II and his successors. Deprived of his earldom and removed from his Northumberland vills, Cospatric I received from his cousin Malcolm III a lordship in Dunbar and lands adjacent in Lothian. If Lothian had been on the agenda at Abernethy,[84] then placing Cospatric in Dunbar was part of the negotiated arrangements.

It may be that only in the reign of Malcolm III (1058–1093) did a clearly defined national border begin to emerge.[85] Such state structures as existed in the 9th and 10th centuries were basically the political resources of powerful families; Scotland was indistinguishable from the territories ruled by two Alpin lineages. In the 10th and 11th centuries the writ of the kings of Scots did not extend south beyond the south side of the Forth; lands beyond were a predatory zone for these kings for raiding and slaving. [86] The border between Scots' and Northumbrian interests was at or around the River Esk, the future boundary between Midlothian and East Lothian and the line of Dere Street. Edinburgh and its hinterland were in Scots' hands, while Tyninghame and lands east of the Esk and south to the Tweed were within the Northumbrian sphere, where both church and secular groups maintained interests.[87] The Church of St Cuthbert, on the evidence of relic collecting, was active as late as the 1020s as far north of the Tweed as Tyninghame, and the Lindisfarne diocese had a set of *mansiones* to support episcopal progress through Lothian, along the coast and along the Tweed.[88] The Wessex kings in the time of Edgar (959–979) had created a viceregal earldom for Northumbria but this did not occasion any fundamental changes in the patterns of territorial control or status, especially north of the Tees where a realm focused on a Bamburgh-centred earldom and family lineage continued to act under or alongside the new arrangements.[89]

The picture, then, is of a Northumbrian polity with a set of core territories between Tyne and Forth, perhaps from Eldbottle or Dunbar down to Warkworth and the River Coquet. During the 10th century, its Bamburgh earls may have exercised a wider, though contested,

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[84] As Hamilton suggests; she also speculates that Cospatric had been party to the discussions. (2000, 19-23). On the evidence of Orderic Vitalis in the 12th century, Malcolm's claim to the Lothians derives from his marriage to Margaret of Wessex as her dowry land (Duncan 2002, 43; Hamilton 2010, 20-21).

[85] 'The truth is that we cannot be confident of Scottish control anywhere south of the Forth until the reign of Máel-Coluim mac Donnchada.' (McGuigan 2015, 155). For what follows, I largely follow this thesis, see chapters 4 and 5.

[86] McGuigan 1015, 157–78 for the idea of core, tributary and predatory zones.

[87] McGuigan 2015, 153: This is 'the most likely way to reconcile the surviving evidence'.

[88] Woolf 2007, 235–6; 2018.

[89] McGuigan 2015, 102-3.

authority further west.[90] Dunbar had been an administrative centre of the kingdom of Northumbria in the 7th century where Bishop Wilfrid had been held in prison by Tydlin, a *praefetus* of the king.[91] It is a key point on an east-coast communication route (which was to become the Great North Road); it is a defensible headland with nearby harbour and a hinterland taking in the north side of the Lammermuir Hills and the cultivable terrain of the West Lothian coastal zone. As the focus of a shire territory, it may have been paired with the ecclesiastical centre of Tyninghame, in a similar way to the Bamburgh-Lindisfarne linkage.[92] Thus, in Dunbar Cospatric I entered into an estate with links deep into the past of the kingdom of Northumbria. Perhaps Malcolm III was restoring to him lands formerly in the holdings of his family but lost in troubled time, as Elsa Hamilton has suggested.[93] If this is so, his claim on the lands would be by his descent through his mother Ealdgyth from Uhtred earl of Northumbria (969–1017). But why the inheritance should have reverted to Cospatric, a grandson from Uhtred's third marriage, and not through the first or second marriage, may be down to his kindred with Malcolm III.

To turn now to the lands in Northumberland (Fig 5). By the time King Henry I created the sergeanty of Beanley, Cospatric II was firmly settled in Dunbar, and England and Scotland were defined states with a border along the lower Tweed and the Cheviot edge. While this was the political context of Henry's actions, it is evident that in his allocation of lands Henry was attuned to local circumstances. Though his barons were mostly Normans, he did not ignore the hierarchy of Northumbrian society: English names occur among the landholders.[94] He allowed thanages to continue: a three-vill unit of Halton, Clarewood and Great Whittington at the south end of the Devil's Causeway, held by a certain Waltheof in the mid-12th century, and at Hepple where the same name occurred in the thanage family. He established single-vill baronies at Dilston as a pension for Alaric of Corbridge who had served as king's reeve between Tyne and Coquet and at Bradford for Aldred, reeve between Coquet and Tweed. [95] Odard of Bamburgh, who succeeded his father Ligulf in the role of sheriff in Northumberland, held an estate centred at Embleton. Ligulf's father Eadulf is thought to be the Eadulf Rus, a great-grandson of earl Uhtred, who led the attack on Bishop Walcher in 1080. If this is correct, then the Cospatrics were not the only branch of Uhtred's descendants to be afforded status and lands in King Henry's Northumberland.[96] The

[90] McGuigan 2018, 120.

[91] *Vit Wilf*, 38.

[92] Perry 2000. See 321–21 for Dunbar-Tyninghame linkage. Elsa Hamilton (2010, 32) offers a tentative reconstruction of the shire as comprising Pinkerton, Spott, Biel or Belton and Pitcox and probably also Whittingehame, Penshiel, Papple and Hedderwick.

[93] Hamilton 2010, 23.

[94] Lomas 1992, 25.

[95] Hedley 1968, 258 (Halton), 260–61 (Hepple), 143–6 (Dilston), 317–8 (Bradford).

[96] Sharpe 2006, 18–20.

rationale behind the small, geographically fragmented barony of Ellingham defies easy explanation. It comprises Jesmond and Heaton on the edge of Newcastle along with Cramlington and Hartley in south-east Northumberland. Nearly fifty kilometres separates Cramlington from the block of three vills, Ellingham, Doxford and Osberwick. One wonders whether this baronial core had formerly been a Bamburgh thanage.[97] Drengages with services owed to Bamburgh survived nearby at Mousen and Beadnell.[98] Taken together, the Embleton and Bradford baronies, the two drengages and the possible Ellingham thanage reveal fragments from the territorial structures associated with Bamburgh still functioning in the 12th century and, where we know the names, still in the hands of pre-Norman English families. This gives a context for examining Henry I's land allocation to Cospatric II.

None of the Northumberland baronies held all its lands in a single block; all were to greater or lesser extents scattered holdings, and in many cases it is difficult to see what, if anything, was the rationale behind this. If we map the two largest of the baronies with lands north of the River Coquet (Fig 5, inset), the Vesci barony of Alnwick and the Muschamp barony of Wooler, we see them arranged in a horseshoe shape, with a hole in the middle. The south edge of the hole is closed by the lands of Rothbury and the Felton section of the Mitford barony.[99] In this case, the hole does have a rationale: it precisely delineates the four ecclesiastical parishes of Ilderton, Edlingham, Eglingham and Whittingham; the two large baronies are excluded from these parishes. This is such a marked feature of the geography that there must surely be some explanation. It is to be found in the 8th century, four hundred years before the creation of the baronies.

Edlingham, Eglingham and Whittingham are elements of one of two extensive land grants which Ceolwulf, king of Northumbria 729–737, gave to the monastery of Lindisfarne before he resigned the kingship and entered the monastery as a monk.[100] These lands and their churches did not come through into the Durham holdings in the post-Conquest era,[101] but when, how and why the Lindisfarne people or their successors lost touch is not known. Warkworth and its dependencies, Ceolwulf's other grant to Lindisfarne, are said to have been taken from them by King Osberht, who died in 867. This places their loss in the context

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[97] Richard Lomas (1996, 22–5) speculated that some three-vill blocks within then baronies might be former thanage holdings.

[98] O'Brien 2002, 56.

[99] Rothbury and Felton lands are not shown on the map Fig 5.

[100] See O'Brien 2002 and Part 1 of O'Brien, Adams and Whaley 2018 on these land grants and Johnson South 2002 for the text (with English translation and commentary) of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto (HSC* 11*)*, the principal source of information. A fragment of an 8th-century cross-shaft survives from Edlingham (Cramp 1984, 170–1)

[101] Islandshire and Norhamshire, Lindisfarne holdings in Northumberland from the 7th and 8th centuries respectively, did survive, as did Bedlingtonshire, purchased by bishop Cutheard early in the 10th century (*HSC* 21).

of the disruption caused by the arrival of the Danish army, the subsequent collapse of the old kingdom of Northumbria and the move away from the island monastery.[102] It is likely that Edlingham, Eglingham and Whittingham were lost at around the same time and in similar circumstances. The writers of the history of the Lindisfarne monastery and its successors have nothing to say on what happened thereafter for the pastoral care of the people or for the administration of the lands. It is probable that the lordship devolved back to its original holders, to those exercising the authority once held by the Northumbrian kings, that is to the people who emerged from the confusion of the time as the Bamburgh-based earls of Northumbria.

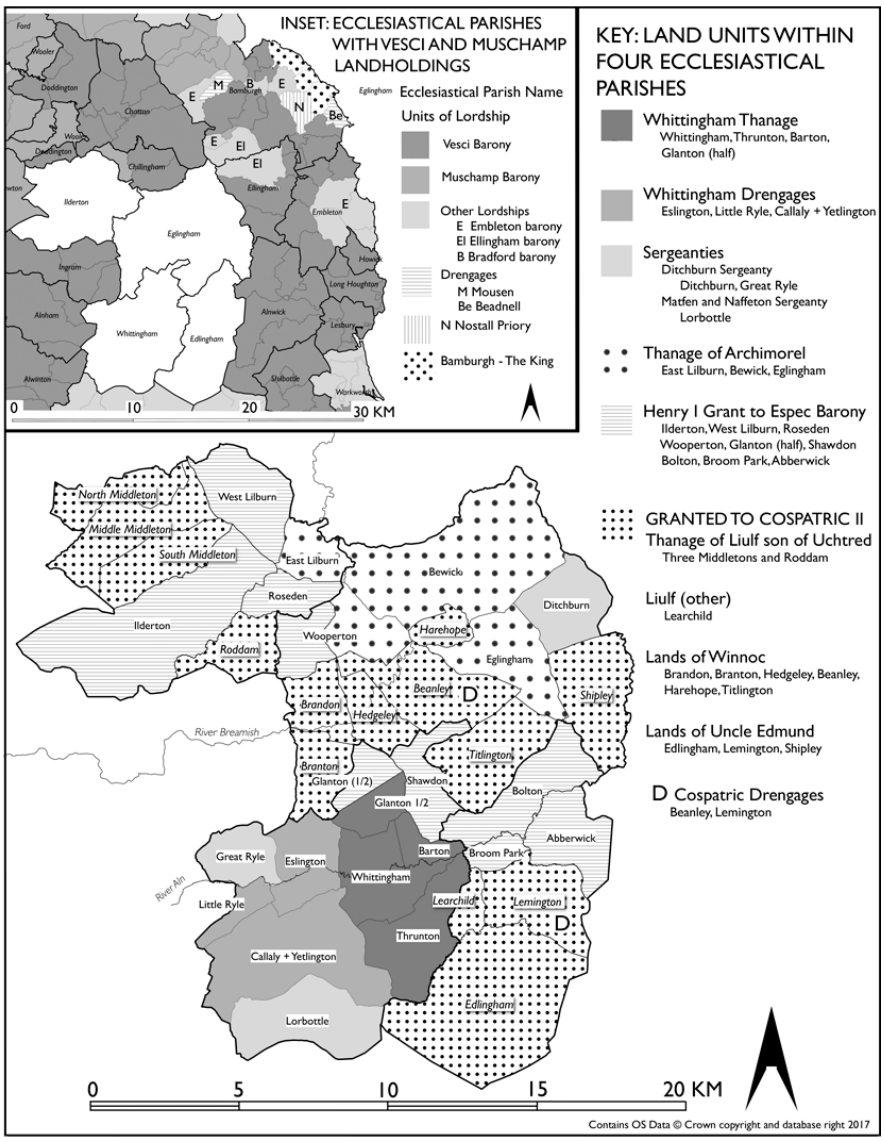

Fig 5. A geographical and tenurial context for the Cospatric holdings: baronies, sergeanties, thanages and drengages within the orbit of Bamburgh.

These places fell out of the historical record until the 12th century, by which time there was a complex and fragmented pattern of tenure and landholdings within the four ecclesiastical

[102] See Adams in Part 2 of O'Brien, Adams and Whaley 2018 for these circumstances.

parishes, with no fewer than 15 units in place (Fig 5). Where the larger baronies of the 12th century have their imprint, it is difficult to see down into the next layer in the social hierarchy; here, in this gap, this stratum is visible and it speaks of a degree of stability and conservatism that contrasts with the volatility at the highest levels.[103]

First, there were two thanages:

1: one in Whittingham parish comprising the vills of Whittingham, Thrunton, Barton and half of Glanton.

2: the second in Ilderton, comprising the three Middletons, and with Roddam as a dependent vill of North Middleton. This was granted to Cospatric II, though outwith the Beanley sergeanty.

Then, there were four drengages:

3: In Whittingham parish, Callaly and Yetlington, together formed a single holding;

4: Eslington, also in Whittingham parish;

5: Beanley in Eglingham parish;

6: Lemington in Edlingham parish.

Beanley and Lemington came within the lands of the Beanley sergeanty.

There were two sergeanties stablished here:

7: The sergeanty of Ditchburn which comprised the vills of Ditchburn in Eglingham parish and Great Ryle in Whitingham (and also three-quarters of Togston, south of Warkworth). This was the holding of the King's Forester for Northumberland.

8: Lorbottle, which was an outlier of the sergeanty of Matfen and Nafferton in the south of the county.[104]

A large area of land, also a thanage, had belonged to Archimorel.

9: East Lilburn, Old and New Bewick and Eglingham, in Eglingham parish. This passed by grant of Queen Matilda to St Albans Abbey and its daughter house of Tynemouth Priory.

Then, two parts of the Beanley sergeanty, along with a small element of a third.

10: The six vills in Eglingham parish which had belonged to Winnock the Hunter: the Beanley drengage, Brandon, Branton, Hedgeley, Harehope and Titlington.

11: The lands of Cospatric's uncle Edmund comprising Edlingham and the Lemington drengage in Edlingham parish and Shipley in Eglingham.

12: Learchild in Edlingham parish was held as a dependency of Stanton in Longhorsley parish.

Finally, two baronies were allocated lands in these parishes:

13: The barony held by Walter Espec at Wark on Tweed held the inter-connected vills of Ilderton and Roseden in Ilderton parish and West Lilburn and Wooperton in Eglingham.[105]

14: Separated from these was a group of five, Shawdon and half of Glanton in Whittingham parish, linking with Bolton, Broom Park and Abberwick in Edlingham, also in the Wark barony.

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[103] A theme which emerges from Geoffrey Barrow's wide-ranging survey (1994). I am grateful to Eric Cambridge for this lead.

[104] Lorbottle was a late addition to the sergeanty, from about 1178; its status before this is unknown. The roles of this sergeanty were distraint of the king's debtors and carrying the king's messages between Tyne and Tweed.

[105] The Wark barony also held Carham which Lindisfarne had claimed as grant from King Ecgfrith in the 7th century. (*HSC* 7)

15: The barony of Gilbert of Umfraville held the small vill of Little Ryle.[106]

In the case of Edlingham, Canon Greenwell acknowledged the possibility that the House of Cospatric might have had an earlier connection than that given by Henry I. His argument was to place Eadwulf, after whom Edlingham was named, within the family holding the earldom in Bamburgh, who claimed royal descent and who retained the name of Eadwulf in the family down the generations. The House of Cospatric, he suggested, was related to the family descended from Eadwulf.[107] If so, the connecting link to Cospatric II must surely be his uncle Edmund, whose lands of Edlingham, Lemington and Shipley formed one part of the composite estate set up through King Henry's grant.

The Three Middletons and Roddam was undoubtedly a land unit and a tenure already in place, under the lordship of Liulf son of Uhtred, when Henry I assigned this thanage and its lands to Cospatric II. If the suggestion made in the County History is correct,[108] namely that Liulf's father Uhtred was the same Uhtred son of Maldred who was nephew of Cospatric I, this would put Liulf the thane in the same line of kinship as his new overlord, Cospatric II; they were first cousins at a generation removed. The Middelton thanage, though an integral part of Cospatric II's estate, was excluded from the Beanley sergeanty which suggests that the king acknowledged a special status for that thanage.

Also archaic was the service of four waitings per year owed to the overlord on Liulf's thanage land.[109] The thane's tenants also had the obligation of truncage, that is carting of wood, to Bamburgh Castle each year.[110] This is a straight-line distance of 20 kilometres from the eastern boundary of the Middletons. They shared this obligation with the king's drengs

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[106] There is, however, some uncertainty over tenures here. In 1236 Gilbert of Ryle was recorded as holding Little Ryle as tenant-in-chief of the king, but an enquiry in 1294, referring back to Gilbert, found that he had also rendered service to the Umfraville lord (*Lib Feud* 1, 598; NCH 14, 548). At a guess, we might suggest that Little Ryle emerged as a division of a larger vill of Ryle and that its status was not clear at the time that the greater part of Ryle, Great Ryle, came to form an element in the Ditchburn sergeanty.

[107] Greenwell 1904, 15. The name Eadwulf occurs a number of times in the line of earls of Northumbria, from an Eadwulf whose *floruit* was between 899 and 924. The earliest recorded form of the name Edlingham, in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, (*HSC* 11) is *Eadwulfincham*. Diana Whaley observes (O'Brien, Adams, Whaley 2018, 106–07) that the name form *–ingahām* falls within earliest strata of naming, with *Eadwulfincham* carrying the sense of 'the homestead of the people of Eadwulf'. This would imply some organised division and naming of territory at an early stage. It is not clear which Eadwulf Greenwell had in mind and how far back in time he proposed to trace the Cospatric ancestry. The claim in *HSC 11* that King Ceolwulf (729–737) granted *Eadwulfincham* to St Cuthbert is evidence that it achieved a territorial identity during his time, if not before. The same argument would apply to Eglingham and Whittingham – *Ecgwulfincham* and *Hwitingham*.

[108] NCH 14, 267.

[109] See note 60. Earl Patric I sought recognition in 1201 that Edgar, uncle of his father Waltheof, received the service of Liulf son of Liulf, namely four waitings (Pipe Roll 3 John (Hodgson 3.3, 77); Greenwell 1904, 41). Elsewhere, in Latin, the word for this service is a *convivium* (*Lib Feud* 2, 1122).

[110] *Lib Feud* 1, 598.

in Callaly and Yetlington, Eslington, Mousen and Beadnall, and the service of waiting survived also in Beadnell and Mousen. The thanages and drengages and the archaic services incumbent upon them are fragments surviving into the post-Conquest era of shire networks focused on Bamburgh, the seat of the earls and, before them, the kings of Northumbria.[111] This connection to the line of earls draws in the figure of Archimorel, known as Morel of Bamburgh, holder of that large block of land, Bewick, Eglingham and East Lilburn.

The three *–ing(a)ham* names that became parish names mark them as being places in an early strand of settlement, picking out areas of more favourable land amidst the generally poorer soils of the mid-valley of the River Aln; *–lēah* names indicate that, at least from the 8th century, the landscape was dominated by woodland.[112] *Ecgwulf, Eadwulf* and *Hwita*, the individuals whose names are locked into the place-names Eglingham, Edlingham and Whittingham, are likely to be associated with the emergence of an inland ring of mediatised shire territories beyond the Bamburgh core.[113] In the 8th century, King Ceolwulf sought to stimulate the economic development of these territories by entrusting them to the monastery of Lindisfarne.[114]

The six vills south of the Coquet (the Horsley Estate, as I have called it) appear as something of an outlier and do not fit into this analysis: there is no evidence of any Lindisfarne connection here. In ecclesiastical terms, they comprise the parish of Longhorsley and the chapelry of Netherwitton within Hartburn parish. And yet, there are connections to the rest of Cospatric's estate. First is that these too were within Liulf's holdings, although not part of the thanage. Second is the status of Learchild as a vill dependent on Stanton. Learchild was the location of a Roman fort at the point where the road from High Rochester meets the Devil's Causeway, and this might be why this small vill of only 195 hectares should have been established here. But to describe how these connections worked within any estate structure is probably beyond reach.

A geographical approach is more fruitful. Brian Roberts understands this area between the Rivers Coquet and Lyne as a border marchland. The Coquet was a boundary of royal administration in the medieval period and before that, it is suggested, a tribal boundary of the late prehistoric era, with the zone between the rivers falling within an area, relatively thinly settled, in which woodland-type names are evident. This contrasts with long-settled lands with Old English habitative and topographic names.[115] The six vills of Liulf son of

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[111] O'Brien 2002, 56-9.

[112] Wood 2011, 64.

[113] Roberts 2015, 58–9.

[114] O'Brien and Adams 2016, 23.

[115] Roberts 2015, 40 and fig. 4. The *–tun/–leah* line divides the two zones; he uses the name *Cocwud* for this area. In a previous study (2010), Roberts referred to the long-settled lands as 'cultural cores'.

Uhtred's estate here form a geographically coherent block whose outer boundaries, and some of the internal boundaries, are to a great extent defined by prominent rivers within that terrain: Coquet; Maglin Burn; Todd Burn; Font; Hart Burn; Fence Burn; Mere Burn. The northern half occupies a south-bank draining basin of the Coquet, extending to the Coquet-Font watershed. This sense of embeddedness in the landscape invites the thought that these are old and long-enduring land units, long grouped together. John Hodgson, the historian of Northumberland, made a great insight into this matter. After the 1265 division of the Merlay estate between the two daughter heiresses of Roger III, the vills of Stanton, Witton and Wingates made an annual payment at Horsley. Hodgson realised that this had nothing to do with the division of the Merlay inheritance but was a survival from the Cospatric lordship before these vills came to Ranulf de Merlay as Juliana's marriage portion.[116] With the understanding of shire organisation developed since Hodgson's day, we can see this as a relic of service obligations to the estate centre incumbent on tenants in the outlying vills. That is to say, that Henry I passed over to Cospatric II an estate of pre-Conquest origins which, in some respects at least, was still a functioning entity with Horsley as the administrative, and also the ecclesiastical,[117] centre. Vill place-names referring to horse pasture, woodland and stone hint at the resource base available for exploitation of this border marchland.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

An explanatory model for the transmission of these lands and lordships from the 8th century to the 12th is now possible, along the following lines: In the 8th century, St Cuthbert's monastery of Lindisfarne received an endowment of lands from King Ceolwulf in the outer edges of the royal demesne centred on Bamburgh. Here the monks set up churches. They provided pastoral care within an area that, in time, gained formal geographical definition as three parishes; and they exercised shire lordship within these territories, receiving the services of thanes, drengs and other tenants and their renders of produce, that is the wealth of the land. In the mid-9th century, in circumstances we see only in blurred outline, Cuthbert's people lost this lordship and withdrew from pastoral duties. Thereafter, this territory is lost to historical record until the 12th century. It is likely that the Lindisfarne lordship reverted to their overlords, the earls of Bamburgh, the successors of the Northumbrian kings after the mid-9th century collapse of the old kingdom. By 1070, these former Lindisfarne lands were in the hands of Cospatric I, a descendent of Earl Uhtred, until in 1072 they were transferred for political reasons to his cousin Malcolm III, king of Scots. After Mowbray's rebellion in 1095, the earldom and its lands were forfeit to the English king and placed under the administration of his sheriff. Thus, the land of these three parishes came to Henry I, along with Bamburgh, Rothbury, Corbridge and Newburn. Henry was

[116] Hodgson 2.2, 94-5.

[117] I am grateful for Eric Cambridge's observation that the 9th-century cross-shaft find at Nunnykirk (Cramp 1984, 214–5) (a small township carved out of Ritton) suggests this was the original ecclesiastical centre. If so, Longhorsley is likely to have become the parish centre when Ritton was gifted to Newminster Abbey at its foundation.

circumspect in his treatment of the former Lindisfarne lands, where a thanage and drengages were still operating within a Bamburgh-centred service nexus, as was the Middleton thanage. He allowed these thanages and drengages to continue, imposing no intermediate lordship upon them, and via a grant from his queen, Matilda, he placed the lands of Archimorel in church hands. He drew on these lands to support sergeanties whose holders exercised functions on his behalf. And when he needed a grand sergeanty (as it is sometimes called) to manage cross-border matters, he turned to Cospatric II, a man whose ancestry linked him both to the earldom of Northumbria and to the Scottish kings and who already held a lordship and lands centred on Dunbar. He provided for Cospatric II an estate formed as a composite from land previously or still held by members of the family: from the Lindisfarne-earldom lands once held by his father, and where his uncle Edmund held an Edlingham-centred estate which, on the evidence of family names, had enjoyed a long unbroken succession; from a thanage held by his cousin Liulf, where he became Liulf's overlord; and from a still-functioning estate in the former border march, also in Liulf's holdings.

Geoffrey Barrow once commented that 'it is probable that most of the baronies in Northumberland were created out of land formerly held in thanage; but it is only rarely that evidence for the change survives'.[118] Our clearest window on to landholdings in Northumberland before the imprint of Henry I's barons has been the lands of St Cuthbert, as recorded by his followers in the 11th and 12th centuries. But when Henry I needed safe hands near the Scottish border, he was sensitive to local circumstance and to family pedigree, and so he turned to a descendant of earl Uhtred, who was also a cousin of the King of Scots; and he trod lightly in the disposition of lands, keeping his barons at a distance and respecting the tenurial structures already in place. He has kept open for us a small window onto the lands of the earls of Northumbria.

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