DEFINING 'WINTERSTOKE' HUNDRED, SOMERSET

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Summary

At its greatest extent the hundred of 'Winterstoke'[1] stretched from the Severn seaboard to the gruffy ground of Blackdown, from Kenn and Yatton to Blagdon and East Harptree and from Uphill via Bleadon and Cheddar to Rodney Stoke (Fig. 1). For a Somerset hundred it is unusual in not being named from a manor and in having an unlocated site as its meeting-place. The important work of Stephen Rippon on the North Somerset levels[2] and the continuing ground-breaking study of Winscombe and its environs by Mick Aston[3] have turned attention to this hundred, yet its evolving content and changing boundaries call for a study devoted to it alone.[4] This article focuses on the early history and contents of the hundred but broadens out to consider the administration of North Somerset before the hundreds.

THE CREATION OF THE HUNDREDS

Hundreds were administrative subdivisions of the shire. Each contained a number of vills or townships,[5] which would have consisted of one or more manors. Where each manor or vill in an area had a church, the ecclesiastical Ancient Parish will have shared its boundaries, but where a vill or manor lacked a church, it will have been in the parish of some other church, often on the basis of earlier links between the manors.[6] While vills were grouped into hundreds, Ancient Parishes were grouped into deaneries, which often corresponded to the hundred. Above the hundred stood the shire and above the deanery the archdeaconry.[7] Lifeless and tedious though these structures may now seem, they are probably the key to understanding the evolution of the secular and spiritual administrative landscape.

From their creation in the mid-10th century, hundreds would have entered the lives of everyone who lived in the countryside.[8] These entities took responsibility for policing and justice and by the end of the century the geld had begun to be collected via them.[9] As a court, which met once a month, they were the lowest of three, the others being the borough court meeting three times a year and the shire court which convened twice.[10] From the early 13th century, if not before, there were two more sessions each year when the sheriff attended as part of his *tourn*.[11] However, their judicial functions were gradually curtailed and impeded by the largely uncontrolled growth of manorial courts, whose lords became increasingly over-mighty and who would insist on judging their men themselves, even to the extent of failing or refusing to attend the hundred-court and withdrawing their manors from the hundred. This was often the prelude to declaring such manors a hundred in their own right, or to placing them in the lord's own franchise or in a hundred where he had more power and influence: many hundreds were or became attached to manors and the manorial lord was by that fact alone the head of the hundred-court. Nonetheless the hundreds survived into the 19th century. Some functions were lost or attenuated, but they acquired new responsibilities: thus the hundred was often the basis of the Poor-law Unions or Sanitary or Highway Districts.[12] The new

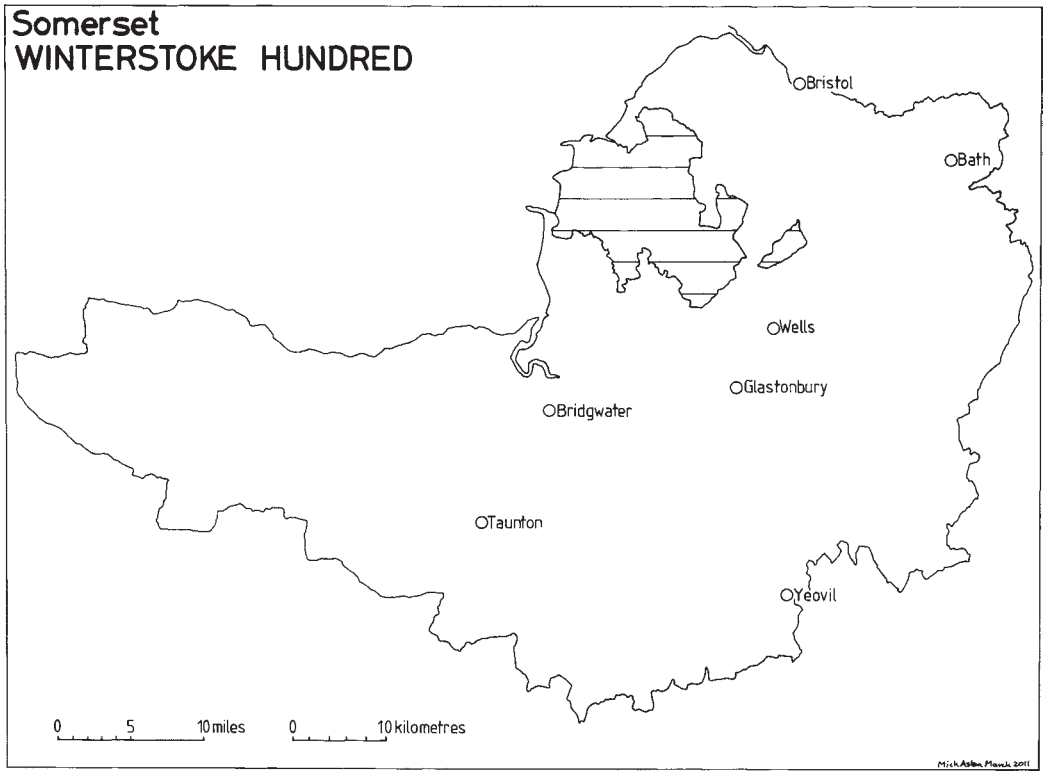

Fig. 1 'Winterstoke' Hundred in Somerset

parliamentary constituencies established by the Great Reform Act of 1832[13] were based on the hundreds, as was the 1841 census.[14] However, the establishment of permanent county courts in 1867,[15] the creation of Civil Parishes at roughly the same time,[16] and the transfer to the county police rate in 1886 of the responsibility to make good damage caused by riot,[17] plus the creation of Rural District Councils in 1894,[18] virtually rendered the hundreds obsolete, though they lingered on as the units on which quotas of jurors were imposed until the 1922 Juries Act.[19]

Once the hundreds were established, there is plenty of clear evidence to describe their evolution and their effect on local society; however their origins are obscurer and more controversial.[20] The name 'hundred' itself (Old English *hundret*, plural *hundrez*) had long been used (and continued to be) as an ellipsis for a hundred hides or men or shillings or pence depending on the context.[21] The difficulty, for the present purpose, is identifying the moment when a 'hundred' unequivocally referred to an area of territory, to which a name could be applied, such as 'Keynsham Hundred' or 'Loxley Hundred'. This moment had certainly been reached by the time of the promulgation of the 'Hundred Ordinance', which most probably dates from early in the reign of King Edgar (959–75),[22] but possibly from the last years of King Edmund (939–46).[23] Certainly the first recorded mentions of individual hundreds date from Edgar's time,[24] as do the first occurrences of the Latin terms for the unit.[25] They are, however, rare and almost all hundreds are first attested by name in the reign of William I (1066–86).[26] It is only at the time of Domesday Book that it is possible to identify the contents of each hundred and to map them.[27]

The Ordinance seems to imply that the hundreds as territorial entities existed in King Edmund's time and refers back to a law of his that has not survived, but Edmund's third code, by prescribing a fine both to the king and to the hundred, seems to imply the same.[28] The prologue to the Ordinance states: 'This is the ordinance on how the hundred shall be held' evidently referring to the function of the hundred as a court. It insists that there 'each man is to do justice

to another' and that 'in every suit the common law be enjoined, and a day appointed when it shall be carried out'. This is clearly to ensure that cases are heard fairly, that no-one is tried in his absence and that no laws are invented to frame an individual or benefit those who give judgment. The code then provides for a meeting every four weeks and for a rapid response at any time from the men of the hundred in pursuit of thieves. Arrangements are made for hot pursuit into another hundred, for recompensing stolen property, and for dealing with 'strange cattle'.[29] In addition penalties are established for opposition to the hundred's decision, for aiding someone to evade the law and flee and for failing to appear on the day appointed.

Because of the uncertain date of the Hundred Ordinance and the unclear relationship to the Laws of Edmund, it has so far not been possible to date the exact moment when the hundreds as units of administration were created; the evidence, such as it is, points to late Edmund or early Edgar. However, the emergence of the hundred as a long-lasting institution can best be viewed as the final and successful attempt to pacify and govern a kingdom which was in chaos following the expulsion of the Danes early in the 10th century. The successful campaigns supported by the construction of fortified *burhs* were begun by King Alfred of Wessex (871–99), and continued by his son Edward the Elder (899–924) whose sister Æthelflæd was married to Ethelred, ealdorman of the Mercians.[30] The war was completed by Edward's son Athelstan (924–39) who expelled Guthfrith, the Danish king of York, in 927 and in the same year acquired the kingdom of Northumbria and, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 'brought under his rule all the kings who were in this island'.

Local government had hitherto apparently been in the hands of the reeves of boroughs and the reeves of royal estates. Reeves who are mentioned in the earliest laws of Wessex, those of King Ine (688–726),[31] were officials who appear to have dispensed justice in assemblies held at uncertain intervals.[32] Judging by their laws, which, as usually, were responses to present problems, both King Edward the Elder and King Athelstan were faced with much lawlessness, corruption of justice and failures by reeves to do their duty.[33] The royal instinct in both cases was to make existing arrangements work. Thus both kings bore down on the reeves[34] to ensure that they held courts regularly on dates that had been announced, that the written and unwritten laws were fairly interpreted and consistently applied, that no man should withhold from another his rights and that no one should be denied justice through lack of witness or failings in procedure. Reeves were to be fined for various shortcomings including disobedience to the king. Edward the Elder addressed the matter twice in such terms, strengthening his first instructions with the second set framed at Exeter, whose final provision is that the reeve should hold a meeting every four weeks, the same interval later adopted by the hundred courts.[35] On the ground, the most pressing crime was theft, especially the stealing of cattle, and Edward in his second code expected that there should be men at the ready on every estate to pursue stolen cattle.[36] Nothing could more undermine the livelihood of a rural household than the theft of their source of meat and calves and the bread made from harvesting the crops that were the fruit of the oxen-drawn plough.[37]

Athelstan's policy was initially the same: to lean on the reeves and to bring them to heel.[38] The exact purview of his reeves is left unstated, although some clearly held their assemblies in boroughs[39] while in the countryside they had 'districts'.[40] It is generally assumed that these men were based in the royal manors which dotted the landscape. However, these were of different types: some, the manors of ancient lordship, had been with the Crown since before memory; others, possibly the offshoots of these first, were held by members of the royal household or by an ealdorman or earl, by virtue of his office; others were merely passing through royal hands by forfeit or escheat. Although these royal laws were addressed to royal reeves, we might imagine that law and order as well as justice in the countryside were maintained not only by the reeves of the enduring royal estates, by the reeves of major ecclesiastical holders and by the delegated officials (also comprehended in the term 'reeves') of major lay holders.[41]

Reading between the lines, it would seem that the reeves were incapable of being reformed or of shouldering the immense expectations placed on them in those troubled times. Athelstan's frustration is apparent from the prologue to V Athelstan: 'I, King Athelstan, declare that I have learned that the public peace has not been kept to the extent either of my wishes, or of the provisions laid down at Grateley. And my councillors say that I have suffered this too long'.[42] There follow, among other provisions, arrangements to expel permanently from their native district those who continue to break the peace; punishment for those who harbour them or even meet

with them; punishment for anyone who takes on a man whom another lord has dismissed for evildoing and punishment for a reeve who ignores these provisions or accepts bribes. In its turn, this reinforcement of justice appears to have failed, so Athelstan, a restless legislator, next created a new instrument to support his reeves, a 'peace guild'.[43] Initially this seems to have concerned only the area around London.[44] The essence was to create tithings (that is, groups of ten men) and to combine these tens into 100s (of men). Each tithing would have a tithing-man at its head and for each hundred there was to be a hundred-man;[45] the ten tithing men and the hundred-man were to meet once a month, and, if business permitted, were to dine together.[46] It has been said that this group has nothing to do with the territorial hundred,[47] but each tithing must have had its own area as would the sum of tithings that formed the 100 men. Even if boundaries were not exactly defined where they did not need to be, the lands of one set of ten men can scarcely have been intermingled with that of another set, nor would one group of 100 men have shared the same territory with another group. Had that been the case, there would have been endless arguments about jurisdiction (a banquet for those who feast on procedure but cannot get their teeth into crime), while the theft of cattle would continue and grow. In fact Athelstan's code provided for the right of one group of a 100 men to pursue thieves into the area of another, although it appears that the districts of the 100s of men and of the reeves, despite overlapping, are not identical.[48]

Athelstan's code probably represents the fundamental shift that created the hundreds as territorial units or soon led to their definition. It recruits 100 men for each locality so as to control and police the terrain, a sort of gendarmerie to know all crimes and pursue them with consistent and rapid justice. It provides the manpower to follow and catch thieves and stolen cattle (still the main concern) and the numbers to stand up to the over-mighty.[49] If peace-guilds were soon extended throughout the non-Danish part of the realm,[50] they probably became the so-called hundreds, named primarily from the number of men in them, but also, because of what and where these men held, they would have formed the compact territorial units. Such an extension may well have taken place in the last years of Athelstan or in the reign of his successor King Edmund (939-946). Apart from the solitary mention of a fine to the hundred mentioned above, there is no other mention of the hundred in the Laws of Edmund. However, in his second code he is able to make reference to 'the immunity from thefts which we now enjoy', a prime reason for establishing hundreds and tithings, although the royal concern has now shifted to 'the manifold illegal deeds of violence which are in our midst'.[51]

Much ink has been spent on trying to reconcile the name 'hundred' with the fact that many hundreds did not in 1086 contain 100 hides.[52] Certainly the existence of 'half-hundreds' and of 'double hundreds' and of 'one-hundred-and-a-half' suggests that 100 hides were or came to be regarded as the norm. Moreover, the hide had long been the basis for providing man-power for the *fyrd* or for constructing and maintaining a local fortified *burh*: one man from each hide of land would have been a universally fair demand, acceptable in terms of equity even to those who begrudged duty and service. It may be that the word 'hundred' which first applied to 100 men (on the basis of one man from each hide), soon came to designate their territory, especially as in a phrase such as 'the territory of the hundred' the meaning of 'hundred' is ambivalent. The word 'tithing' shows the same development.[53] On that basis, ten men would imply 10 hides and 100 men 100 hides.

It is possible, however, that varying numbers of hides could nonetheless be represented by 100 men. Martock Hundred in Somerset, co-extensive with the manor, was rated in 1086 at about 40 hides, and can never have been much larger or smaller, yet it had ten tithings in the Middle Ages.[54] Unless, perversely, the tithings contained fewer than ten men, there would have been 100 men from about 40 hides.[55] As to the perfect hundred of 100 hides, an extreme contrast is often made between the hundreds of Wessex (said to be of disparate sizes) and of Mercia (said to be regular), but this fails to take account of several matters: firstly the assertion can only be based on impression since the size of each hundred in terms of hides has never appeared in print for the whole of Wessex and Mercia and the sizes of individual hundreds that have been calculated crucially depend on the identification of places, whose trustworthiness varies.[56] Secondly, the hundreds of Wessex for which there is inadequate evidence of content before 1084–86, had, by this date (which is that of the above-mentioned analyses), manifestly evolved from a simpler state. This was because of the creation for or by powerful laymen of their own 'manorial' hundreds or small franchises which contained only

their lands and the similar agglomeration by bishops and abbots of their lands into scattered church hundreds. In all such cases, the lands concerned have been withdrawn from adjacent hundreds with a variety of tenants, thus reducing their size in terms of hides.[57]

Most importantly, the creation of territorial hundreds had to take account of existing estates; the 100 men must have come from these estates, which it would have been difficult to split between hundreds. In Wessex, in particular, many of these estates were very large (40 hides or more) and would with difficulty have been joined to others to make an exact 100 hides; conversely, it would have been difficult to extract an exact 100 hides from a group of adjacent large estates without dividing at least one of them between hundreds. Moreover, hundreds had to take account of topography, especially hills and rivers; thus they would need to be relatively compact with a central meeting place, and no arduous journeys to get there: it was one thing to climb a hill (for many moot-sites were on hill-tops), quite another to have to go over a hill and back to attend a regular meeting.

This might suggest that hundreds could be of all sizes, but, as we shall see later, the early territories from which the hundreds probably arose had natural boundaries (rivers, hill ridges, notional lines through marshland and wood) and were often assessed in large round numbers, frequently in multiples of 100 hides. Many of the earliest estates were created within these large territories as subdivisions with smaller but still round numbers and when these were combined to form the 10th-century hundreds, sometimes this combination in fact re-created the initial larger round-figure units. On the other hand, the simplicity of the Mercian hundreds can be exaggerated. There the hundreds were created as subdivisions of shires which themselves mostly originated from land assessed in multiples of 600 hides arranged around fortified *burhs* which in due course became shire towns. Thus, in theory, the creation of hundreds containing exactly 100 hides would have been easier. However, Staffordshire and Herefordshire do not fit neatly into such multiples, while in Mercia also there were scattered ecclesiastical hundreds, and other hundreds that did not contain 100 hides. Moreover, regularity could only be achieved in some cases by hidating the county town or by some other clever accounting as in the apparently perfect Worcestershire.[58] Nonetheless, the histories of Mercia and Wessex were different and the creation in Mercia of regular-sized counties was easier because later.[59]

This excursus on the origin of the hundred has been necessary because there is currently lacking a clear general treatment of the issue. It is here argued that in the mid-10th century there was a decisive break between the past and the future: the name hundred was new and the exact institution probably was likewise. This does not exclude that there is earlier evidence for a tradition of 'popular assemblies' or 'folk-moots' and that some of the places of assembly were not only pre-hundredal but also pre-Christian. However, 'hundred' was not simply a new name for an old institution. We will probably not be wrong in seeing the creation of the hundreds as a particular response to the lawlessness of the early 10th century and the waning centrality of royal estates.[60]

THE LATER 'WINTERSTOKE' HUNDRED (14TH TO 19TH CENTURIES)

The content of 'Winterstoke' Hundred varied little from the early 14th century until the 19th (Fig. 2), but a survey made at the end of the 13th reveals important differences. The composition at various dates, taken from the *Rotuli Hundredorum* of 1275–76,[61] the *Nomina Villarum* of 1316,[62] the Lay Subsidies of 1327[63] and 1334[64] and from the 1841 census returns,[65] is given in Table 1.

This tabulation is selective, as it seems unnecessary to list all the places that appear in 'Winterstoke' Hundred in documents published and unpublished. Of course none of the documents cited was compiled for the same purpose as the present article is written. In particular, the *Rotuli Hundredorum* are essentially an enquiry into the functioning of local government and especially into the infringement of royal rights. None of these surveys intended to list all the places in the hundred, and only the 1841 census lists parishes; the other documents list townships or vills or parts of them. Places that were certainly in 'Winterstoke' Hundred are sometimes passed over or are included under another name. Thus of the places listed in 1841 Christon appears in this hundred in 1303 and 1346;[66] Kewstoke does so in 1303, as does Uphill.[67] The real test is whether any of the places missing from any of the hundred-lists was at that time in another hundred. The only examples of this are in 1275–76. Firstly Bleadon was listed as a separate manor[68] but it was listed in 'Bempstone' Hundred in 1316.[69]

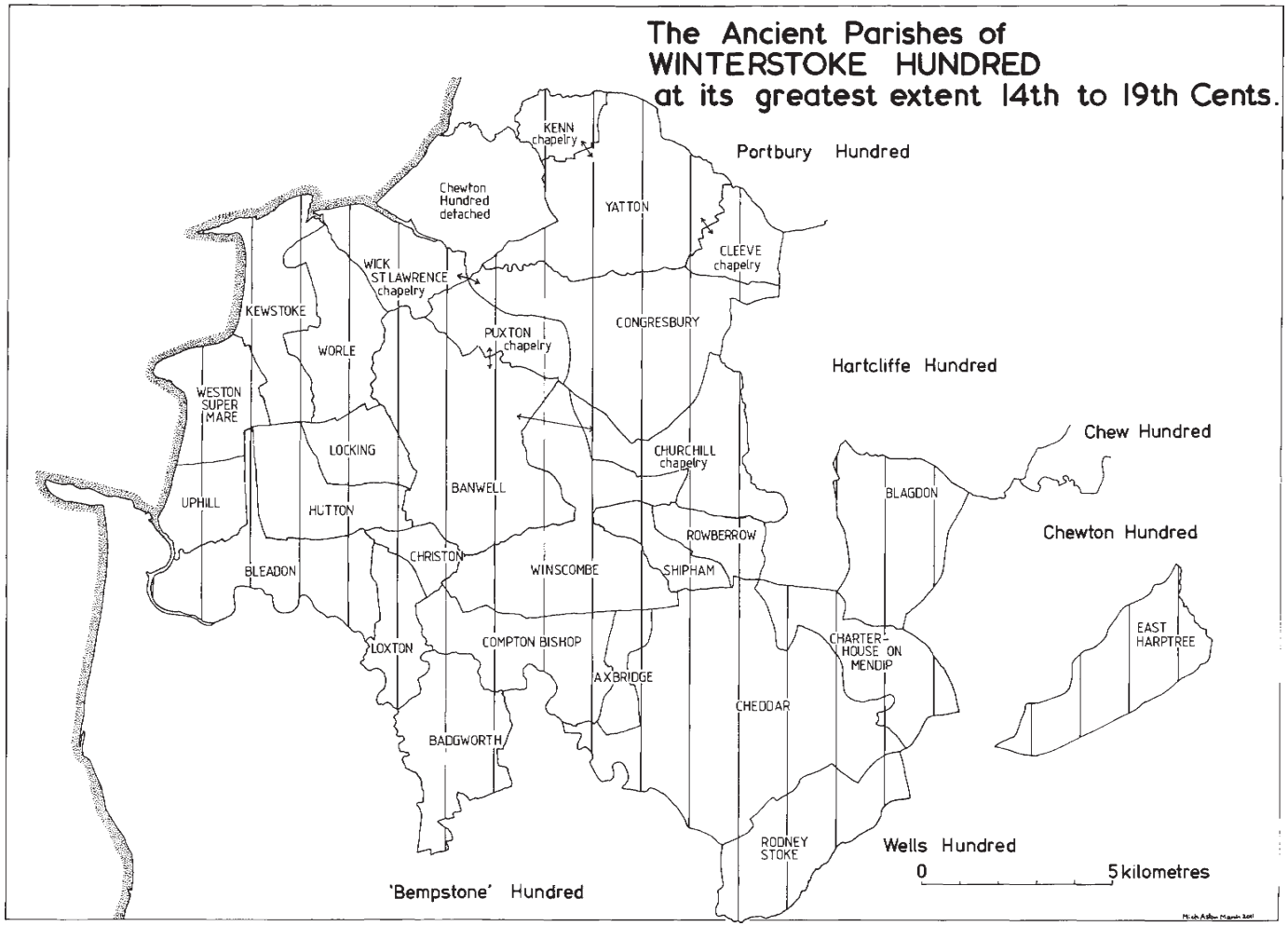

Fig. 2 The Ancient Parishes of 'Winterstoke' Hundred at its greatest extent (14th to 19th centuries)

TABLE 1: COMPOSITION OF WINTERSTOKE HUNDRED AT VARIOUS DATES

Rotuli Hundredorum (1275–76)	*Nomina Villarum* (1316)	Lay Subsidy Roll (1327)	Lay Subsidy Roll (1334)	1841 Census
[separate] [a]	Axbridge[a]	[separate] [a]	[separate] [a]	Axbridge (P)
[*alias*]	Badgworth[b]	[separate] [b]	[separate] [b]	Badgworth (P)
————	Banwell	Banwell	Banwell	Banwell (P)
Blagdon	Blagdon	Blagdon	Blagdon	Blagdon (P)
[separate]	[*alias*]	[separate]	[separate]	Bleadon(P)[c]
————	————	————	————	Charterhouse-on-Mendip[d]
Cheddar	Cheddar	Cheddar	Cheddar[e]	Cheddar(P)[f]
————	————	————	————	Christon(P)
————	————	Churchill	Churchill	Churchill
[*alias*]	————	Claverham	————	Claverham (H)
————	————	Cleeve	Cleeve	Cleeve (H)
————	————	Compton	Compton	Compton-Bishop(P)
[*alias*]	Congresbury	Congresbury	Congresbury[g]	Congresbury (P)
————	————	————	————	Draycott (H)
East Harptree	East Harptree	Harptree	Harptree	Harptree, East (P)
————	Hewish	————	————	Hewish (H)
Hutton	Hutton	Hutton	Hutton	Hutton (P)
————	————	Kenn	Kenn	Kenn (P)
————	————	————	————	Kewstoke(P)
————	————	Locking	Locking	Locking (P)
————	Loxton	Loxton	Loxton	Loxton(P)
————	————	————	————	Oldmixton (H)
————	————	————	————	Puxton (P)
————	————	Rowberrow	Rowberrow	Rowberrow (P)
————	————	Shipham	Shipham	Shipham (P)
————	————	————	————	Shiplet or Shipslade (H)
Stoke	Stoke *Gyffard*	Stoke	Stoke	Stoke, Rodney[h]
————	————	————	————	Uphill (P)
Weston	Weston	Weston	Weston	Weston-super-Mare (P)[i]
————	————	————	Wick	Week, St Lawrence (P)
————	Winscombe	Winscombe	Winscombe	Winscombe (P)[j]
————	————	————	Woolvershill	————
————	————	————	————	Woodborough (H)
Worle	Worle	Worle	Worle	Worle (P)
[*alias*]	Yatton	Yatton	Yatton	Yatton (P)[k]
————	————	————	Yatton parsonage	————

(P) stands for Parish; (H) for Hamlet; [————] indicates that the place does not appear in 'Winterstoke' Hundred or another hundred in the document cited; [*alias*] indicates that a place was in another hundred in 1275–76; [separate] indicates that the place is not listed in 'Winterstoke' Hundred, but as a separate manor or borough.

a. Axbridge was described as a borough.
b. In 1316, Badgworth was partly in 'Winterstoke' Hundred and partly in 'Bempstone' Hundred. In 1327, the former part was a free manor, the latter part remained in 'Bempstone' Hundred. In 1334 only the former part is mentioned, as a separate manor and qualified as Ancient Demesne.
c. Bleadon (misprinted as Beadon) included the hamlets of Oldmixton and Shiplate or Shipslade, now known as Oldmixon and Shiplate.
d. Charterhouse-on-Mendip was then extra parochial. It became a Civil Parish in 1858: Youngs 1979, 420.
e. Cheddar was described as Ancient Demesne.
f. Cheddar included part of Draycott hamlet.
g. Congresbury was described as Ancient Demesne.
h. Rodney Stoke included the other part of Draycott hamlet.
i. A footnote records that Weston-super-Mare included the hamlets of Ashcombe and Milton.
j. Winscombe included the hamlet of Woodborough.
k. Yatton included the hamlets of Claverham, Cleeve and Hewish.

Lying north of the River Axe (which long formed the boundary between 'Winterstoke' and 'Bempstone' Hundreds), Bleadon was naturally in the area of 'Winterstoke' Hundred, and had been part of that hundred in 1084–86. However, it was the only possession of St Swithun's of Winchester in that hundred, of which the lord, since the time of King John, was the Bishop of Bath and Wells.[70] That an anciently archiepiscopal manor should be subject to a mere bishop's say would be hard to stomach, and these are precisely the circumstances in which a manor would be withdrawn from one hundred, declared a 'free manor' and sometimes later, as in this case, put into a neutral hundred.[71] Secondly, in 1275–76, Axbridge was treated as a borough and not assigned to any hundred.[72] Thirdly, at the same time, a separate hundred of Yatton contained Claverham and Yatton.[73] Fourthly, in those years, part at least of Badgworth (lying naturally in the area of 'Bempstone' Hundred) was counted in the separate hundred of Congresbury.[74]

It is evident that from the early 14th century 'Winterstoke' Hundred comprised the Ancient Parishes of Axbridge, Banwell (with its chapelries Churchill and Puxton), Badgworth, Bleadon, Blagdon, Cheddar, Christon, Compton Bishop, Congresbury (with its chapelry Wick St Lawrence), East Harptree, Hutton, Kewstoke, Locking, Loxton, Rowberrow, Shipham, Uphill, Weston-super-Mare, Worle, Yatton (with its chapelries Cleeve and Kenn) and the extra-parochial area of Charterhouse-on-Mendip. It was bounded in the west by the sea and in the east by a notional line through the woodland between Yatton and Congresbury on the one hand and Wrington on the other; that line continued across the Mendips which thus included their western end in the hundred. In the north the boundary would have been the River Kenn and in the south, the River Axe. However, on the northern side of the Mendips the hundred had one outlying part at East Harptree,[75] while Blagdon was almost severed from the rest of the hundred by Burrington, a chapelry of Wrington.[76] In the south, Badgworth lay south of the River Axe and so projected into 'Bempstone' Hundred.

'WINTERSTOKE' HUNDRED IN THE EARLY 13TH CENTURY

To get closer to the original 'Winterstoke' Hundred, we need to track backwards. In the early 13th century there was a separate hundred of Congresbury, which no doubt had contained Congresbury itself and Wick St Lawrence which was in its Ancient Parish,[77] although only the nearby Puxton is mentioned, together with Badgworth and Cranmore.[78] Badgworth was evidently a serjeanty, held by William *de Hamton'* for [supplying] a sore hawk; it was still remembered as a member of Congresbury in 1275–76.[79] Cranmore was held by Hugh *Witeng'* and described as a member of Congresbury, held by an unknown service. This was [East] Cranmore near Shepton Mallet. Puxton was held by Lady (*Domina*) Constance of Puxton (the wife and widow of Robert Puckerell, whose family name formed the first element of Puxton) by the service of finding a man, a horse, a sack and a (battle)axe to serve in the king's army in Wales when summoned. Whether Puxton was originally part of Congresbury manor and hundred is explored below. However, the other two places were temporary accretions.

The natural home of Badgworth was 'Bempstone' Hundred, while both [East] Cranmore and [West] Cranmore must originally have been in Frome Hundred. The connection with Congresbury was probably tenurial. In 1086 [West] Cranmore was held by Glastonbury Abbey[80] while [East] Cranmore was part of the royal manor of Frome.[81] It was probably when [West] Cranmore had passed to the Bishop of Bath and Wells and had become (with Evercreech) a detached part of Wells Hundred, that [East] Cranmore became a free manor. At some point before 1212 it was notionally attached to Congresbury while the latter was still a royal manor-hundred: the hundred had been held by King John (1199–1216) and was given during his reign to Bishop Jocelyn of Bath and Wells (1206–42), apparently in 1209.[82] If this date is correct, the 1212 list of serjeanties was a little in arrears, or (because it does not actually mention Congresbury itself), the schedule is in fact recording the members, still royal, that have been cast loose from it. The link with Badgworth is obscure, but it is probably significant that in 1334 this portion (by then an extra-hundredal manor) was described as Ancient Demesne [of the Crown], implying that it had been long held by the king, although in Domesday it was not royal land.[83] Thus East Cranmore and Badgworth could have been royal manors added to Congresbury for convenience. The link was strong enough for the churches of Congresbury and Badgworth to have the same dedication (St. Congar).[84]

By 1316, [East] Cranmore (then held by John *de Yreis*) was counted as part of 'Bempstone' Hundred,

while a part of Badgworth was still in that hundred, as a hamlet of *Upwere* [Weare], and held by Philip *Ireys*, presumably a member of the same family.[85] By then Congresbury was part of 'Winterstoke' Hundred and the other part of Badgworth had followed Congresbury into it. That part was then held by John *de Hampton*, presumably a descendant of William *de Hamton'*.[86] The fact that one of the holders of Congresbury in 1316 was John *le Ireys* provides a family link between Congresbury, Cranmore and Badgworth. Although that part of Badgworth was then in 'Bempstone' Hundred, the whole of Badgworth was subsequently in 'Winterstoke' Hundred.

'WINTERSTOKE' HUNDRED IN THE LATE 11TH CENTURY

As we move back in time, we find that the contents of 'Winterstoke' Hundred, as they can be deduced for the late-11th century, were different again. As explained in an earlier article,[87] the evidence for recovering the content of the hundreds of Somerset at that period consists firstly of a couple of plain lists of those hundreds which are included in Exon Domesday,[88] secondly of an interpretation of the Tax Returns or Geld Rolls also included in Exon and thirdly of the order in which places appear in that part of Exon which was abbreviated to make Great Domesday Book, for the predominant order is there hundredal. The key documents are the so-called Tax Returns or Geld Rolls. These returns record the collection of tax at 6s to the hide,[89] and a typical hundredal return begins with the total hidage of that hundred and (in Cornwall, Devon and Somerset) the amount of tax paid. A normal return then names the holders of any lordship land which was exempt[90] and finishes with a schedule of those by whom tax has not been paid; sometimes other details are added. It was not the intention of those who compiled the Tax Returns to include the names of the estates, although there are some casual mentions of place-names; nonetheless, by comparing the holders and hidages mentioned in the Returns with Domesday entries, particular Domesday estates can be allotted to particular hundreds. Although the lordship land and that on which tax has not been paid do not account for the full content of the hundred, a study of those estates that might, on topographical grounds, have lain in the hundred, or which can be shown by later documents to have been in it or its successor hundred, will often allow the composition of the whole hundred to be deduced so as to accord with the size of the hundred as expressed in hides at the head of the return.

The Tax Return for 'Winterstoke' Hundred is only partly legible:[91]

> 'In the hundred of 'Winterstoke' are 120 hides and [... 2.5cms gap] 1 virgate.[92] Of these, the king has £23 3s. and 60½d. as his tax for 77[93] and 1 virgate and 2 (or 3?) ferlings. And of these, the king's barons have in their lordship 40 hides [... 4.5cms gap]. Bishop [W]alkelin[94] 10 hides in lordship, and Bishop Giso[95] 6 h[ides], and [… 3.8cms gap: the Abbot of Glaston]bury[96] 4 hides and 3 virgates, and Count Eustace 3 hides and 1 ferling,[97] and Serlo of Burcy 5 hides and 1½ virgates, and William of Falaise 7½ hides and 3 ferlings, and Walscin of Douai[98] 3 hides and 1½ virgates. And for 4 hides which Ralph Crooked Hands holds from Bishop Giso, the king does not have tax; and from the manor which is called Harpt[ree] which Robert son of Walter holds as 5 hides, the king has not had tax; and for [... 0.7cms gap, very dark] hide which Osbern holds from Gilbert son of Turold, the king does not have tax; and for ½ hide which Alward holds from Ansketil the (game)park-keeper, the king does not have his tax; and for ½ hide which Ascelin holds from the Bishop of Saint-Lô, the king does not have tax; and for 1 virgate and 3 ferlings which William of Falaise holds, the king does not have tax; and for 1 ferling of the land of Serlo of Burcy, the king does not have his tax; and for ½ hide and 3 ferlings about which the tax-collectors have not been able to give an account, the king does not have tax. From this hundred for the king's tax 70s. 1½d. are still in arrears which the king ought to have had and these [the tax-collectors] have put themselves in pledge at the king's mercy'.[99]

The exempt lordship land and the land on which tax is owed can be more or less identified and is entered in Table 2.

It is further possible to add the following estates which topographically are likely to have lain in 'Winterstoke' Hundred and which, anyway, are not required in adjacent hundreds whose contents can also be fully reconstructed (Fig. 3): Hutton (SOM 5,10), Elborough (SOM 5,11) and Winterhead (SOM 5,12) held by the Bishop of Coutances, Winscombe

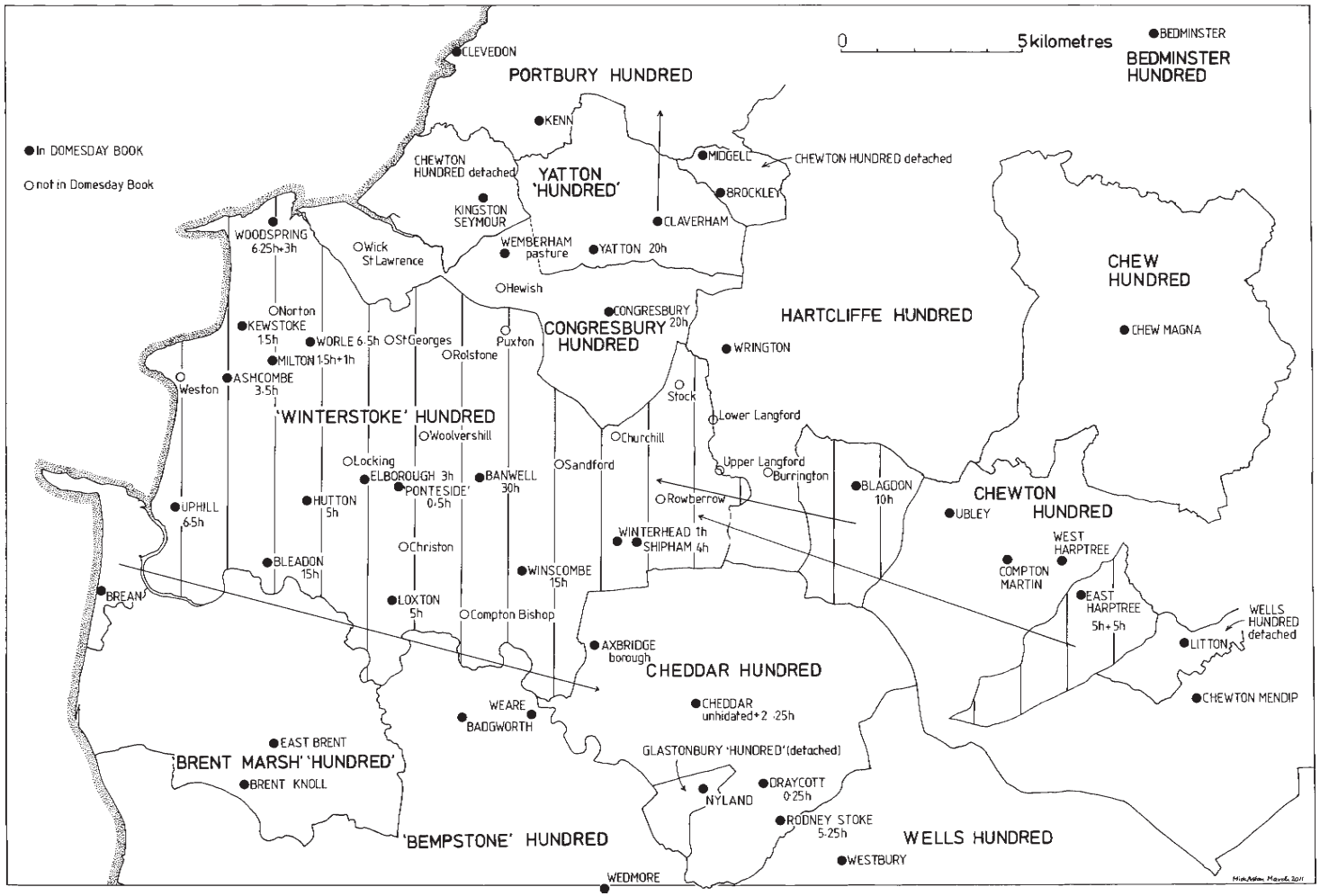

Fig. 3 Yatton, Congresbury, 'Winterstoke' and Cheddar Hundreds in 1084–86 with individual Hidages

TABLE 2: EXEMPT AND TAXED HOLDINGS IN WINTERSTOKE HUNDRED *c.* 1084

Tax Return	**Domesday**
Lordship Land (exempt)	**Lordship Land**
Bishop Walkelin, 10 hides	SOM 2,11 Bleadon: 10 hides lordship
Bishop Giso, 6 h[ides][100]	SOM 6,9 Banwell: 6 hides lordship
[Abbot of Glastonbury] 4 hides, 3 virgates[101]	SOM 8,2 Winscombe: 4 hides, 3 virgates lordship
Count Eustace, 3 hides, 1 ferling	SOM 17,4 Loxton: 4 hides lordship
Serlo of Burcy, 5 hides, 1½ virgates	SOM 37,1 Blagdon: 7½ hides lordship
William of Falaise, 7½ hides, 3 ferlings	SOM 27,3 Woodspring: 7 hides, 1 virgate lordship
Walscin of Douai, 3 hides, 1½ virgates	SOM 24,1 Worle: 3 hides, 1 ½ virgates lordship
Tax Owed	**Full extent of the holding**
Ralph Crooked Hands from Bishop Giso, 4 hides	SOM 6,9 Banwell; 5 ½ hides[102]
Harptree, Robert son of Walter, 5 hides	SOM 19,37 [East] Harptree; 5 hides[103]
Osbern from Gilbert son of Turold, [½ ?] hide[104]	SOM 42,1 Kewstoke; 1 ½ hides
Alward from Ansketil the [game]park-keeper, ½ hide	SOM 46,19 Milton: 1 hide[105]
Ascelin from the Bishop of Saint-Lô, ½ hide	SOM 5,9 [East] Harptree (5 hides) or 5,10 Hutton (5 hides), or 5,11 Elborough (3 hides) [106]
William of Falaise, 1 virgate, 3 ferlings	SOM 27,3 Woodspring; 6 hides, 1 virgate + 3 hides[107]
Serlo of Burcy, 1 ferling	SOM 37,1 Blagdon (10 hides) or 37,2 Uphill (6 ½ hides) [108]

(SOM 8,2) held by the Church of Glastonbury, and Uphill (SOM 37,2) held by Serlo of Burcy, if these are not already implied in the exemptions or debts listed in the Tax Returns, plus Shipham and 'Ponteside' (SOM 21,79-80) held by Roger of Courseulles.[109]

Thus 'Winterstoke' Hundred in 1086 contained Ashcombe, Banwell, Blagdon, Bleadon, Elborough, [East] Harptree, Hutton, Kewstoke, Loxton, Milton, 'Ponteside', Shipham, Uphill, Winscombe, Winterhead, Woodspring and Worle. These, of course, are not 'villages', but settlements of various forms with dependent land which are singled out by the Domesday record as the units that pay tax and which can be given an independent valuation. Those that were large enough will have contained several distinct estates, some with independent names. Thus some places can be shown to stand for others: Ashcombe will have included Weston-super-Mare.[110] In 1086 Banwell (SOM 6,9) was assessed at 30 hides, but silently included 10 hides at Compton Bishop: charter evidence suggests that Banwell itself was rated at 20 hides. These 20 core hides of Banwell may have included Puxton and the 3 hides of Christon, neither named in Domesday Book.[111] Rolstone, Churchill and Stock (in Churchill) would also have been part of Banwell, as will St Georges (earlier 'Puttingthrop') and Woolvershill.[112] Kewstoke, or possibly Worle, will have accounted for Norton.[113] Rowberrow was perhaps part of Shipham or of Cheddar.[114] Winscombe will have included Sandford,[115] while the unnamed 3 hides that Domesday records as added to Woodspring, were probably at Locking.[116]

If Domesday Book had contented itself with listing integral estates, it would not have included a number of names, which are there only because they represent alienated parts. Thus Winterhead had been held in 1066 by Glastonbury Abbey; but for its alienation by the Bishop of Coutances (along with Hutton and Elborough), it would probably have been passed over in silence, perhaps as a member of Winscombe, although it is adjacent to Shipham. The Bishop of Coutances was one of Glastonbury Abbey's great depredators. Roger of Courseulles was another, and it may well be that his holdings at Shipham and 'Ponteside' had also been extracted from Banwell. The ½ hide at 'Ponteside' might be supernumerary (because counted twice) while Winterhead and Shipham would together make the common unit of 5 hides.[117]

However, a significant number of estates which lay in 'Winterstoke' Hundred in later times were not there in 1086, not because they are unmentioned, but because they lay in other administrative entities. On the northern edge, Kenn then lay in Portbury Hundred,[118] while the manor of Yatton was counted as a 'hundred' in one of the Exon lists, but appears in the scattered hundred of Bishop Giso in the Tax Returns.[119] Claverham which was later a part of

Yatton Ancient Parish was likewise in Portbury Hundred in 1086.[120] Even when the later and greater 'Winterstoke' Hundred stretched to the outskirts of Clevedon, Kingston Seymour, sandwiched between Yatton and the sea, was never in that hundred but was an outlying part of Chewton Hundred, as it was in 1086.[121] Also then the 20-hide manor of Congresbury (no doubt including Wick St Lawrence) was a separate hundred, as it continued to be into the 13th century.[122] On the southern edge of 'Winterstoke' Hundred, Badgworth was in 'Bempstone' Hundred in 1086,[123] with the River Axe as the boundary at this point, while there was a separate small hundred of Cheddar, amounting to 7 hides and 3 virgates, which included the borough of Axbridge, as well as the rural estates of Draycott and Rodney Stoke.[124] There is no sign that the manor of Wrington (in Hartcliffe Hundred in 1086 and later), despite containing Burrington which intruded into 'Winterstoke' Hundred, had ever been part of 'Winterstoke' Hundred.[125] In fact, the contents of the surrounding hundreds of Portbury, Yatton, Hartcliffe, Chewton, Wells, Cheddar, 'Bempstone' and 'South Brent' can be established for 1086, so there is every reason to believe that in 1086 'Winterstoke' was as it has been deduced to be above.

THE CONSTITUENT ESTATES

At roughly 130 hides 'Winterstoke' Hundred was too large to be a true hundred and too small to be a hundred-and-a-half. Nonetheless, it was probably based on two or three round-figure blocks of hides. At first glance, this may not seem to be so, especially in the area around Weston-super-Mare. Here there are some odd fractions (for example, Ashcombe at 3 hides and 2 virgates, Woodspring at 6 hides and 1 virgate (albeit with a round 3 hides added), but surprisingly the total for this group (Woodspring which silently included Locking, Kewstoke, Ashcombe, Milton, Worle and Uphill) is 29 hides 3 virgates. Allowing for the sort of small-figure errors that are common in Domesday, this looks like a block of 30 hides. Topographically it makes good sense as a unit, with most of the settlements clustered around Worlebury Hill, or having easy access to it,[126] while this group would have been separated from those lying to the east and those at the western end of the Mendips by some level and marshy ground. Through this the Banwell River and its western arm will have separated these places from Wick St Lawrence (probably in Congresbury Hundred in 1086) and from St Georges and Woolvershill (parts of Banwell). The stream that runs across Hutton moor will have marked Hutton and Elborough off from this group and kept Uphill just within it.[127] There are no surviving charters relating to any of these estates, but one might conjecture that there was once a multiple estate[128] centred on Worle (the successor to Worlebury hillfort), with Milton, Norton and Weston as its farms and Kewstoke as its 'stoke' and possibly containing its church.[129]

Around Bleadon Hill, the estates at Bleadon, Loxton, Hutton, Elborough and 'Ponteside' amount to 28 hides 2 virgates and perhaps represent another primitive assessment at 30 hides.[130] The eastern boundary of this estate could have been the gap marked by Hillend[131] between Hutton Hill and Banwell Hill and the centre of this area might have been Bleadon which was still assessed at 15 hides in 1086. To the east, there had perhaps been a large estate centred on Banwell which at the very least consisted of Banwell, Winscombe, Winterhead and Shipham, amounting to a neat 50 hides.[132] The difference between the 110-hide total for these three estates (30 + 30 + 50) and the figure of 130 hides which 'Winterstoke' Hundred probably contained in 1086 is accounted for by Blagdon (10 hides) and East Harptree (5 + 5 hides), so, for the moment, it is an open question as to whether these two places were always separately assessed estates, were part of something else or had been added at the moment of the creation of 'Winterstoke' Hundred as part of the adjustment of figures between it and neighbouring hundreds. We are already thinking about estates that were laid out long before the hundreds were created, but whose existence the hundreds could not ignore, the hundreds being formed from these estates by a process both of fusion and of fission.

Doubts creep in, however, about this division between a Bleadon group and a Banwell group because Hutton and Elborough are on the other side of Bleadon Hill from Bleadon and much closer to Banwell. They had been held by Glastonbury Abbey in 1066, though they were in the hands of the Bishop of Coutances in 1086; before the Conquest, they had been granted out to tenants and subsequently did not return to the abbey.[133] It is possible that they had originally been carved out of some 'greater Banwell' when it was still a royal manor and before it went to the church of Wells.[134] Moreover, 'Ponteside' lay within Banwell Ancient Parish and, conversely, Christon, which would seem naturally to fall into a Bleadon group, was, later at least, a part of Banwell.[135] If Hutton, Elborough and probably

'Ponteside' had originally been part of Banwell, then Bleadon and Loxton, somewhat isolated on the southern slopes of Bleadon Hill above the River Axe, could have been a separate early 20-hide estate.

With these primitive estates one probably needs to think of bigger numbers than has been common hitherto, and it might well be that the whole of the western end of the Mendips was once assessed at 100 hides: that is indeed more or less the total of Bleadon, Loxton, Hutton, Elborough and 'Ponteside', Banwell, Winscombe, Winterhead, Shipham, Blagdon and East Harptree,[136] although for a convincing case to be made, each estate needs to be looked at in more detail, to avoid bedazzlement by figures alone. Banwell was central to this area and might well have been the most important place.[137] It was rated at 30 hides in Domesday, of which 10 hides represent Compton Bishop,[138] but it had probably once been considerably larger. Winscombe had been granted (959 x 975) by King Edgar to Ælfswith and subsequently by her to Glastonbury Abbey.[139] It was clearly carved out of Banwell: the grant isolated Churchill from Banwell, and cut off Shipham which will probably have been the 'sheep-ham' of the greater Banwell estate.[140] Compton Bishop was also part of Banwell in 1086 but again Winscombe stood in the way. However, in view of its location (similar to that of Bleadon), it is not quite certain that Compton Bishop was an original member of the greater Banwell, or a later addition.[141]

So far, in addition to the approximately 30 hides of the Worle group, we have accounted for nearly another 80 hides: at Bleadon, Loxton, Hutton, Elborough and 'Ponteside', Banwell (including Compton Bishop), Winscombe, Winterhead and Shipham. These perhaps formed a single 'greater Banwell' estate, or possibly two estates, a Bleadon estate (either one of 20 hides or of nearly 30 hides) and a Banwell estate.[142] To make 100 hides we need to expand eastwards to include Blagdon and East Harptree. It would be expected that any larger Banwell estate would have had a sizeable share of Blackdown, extending beyond Shipham and it may well be that the land of Banwell had once stretched along the southern bank of the River Wring (now the River Yeo) as far as Blagdon, with a corresponding slice of the upland. The northern boundary of Blagdon Ancient Parish was this same River Yeo and the southern was the ridge of Blackdown. However, at least from the time when Wrington was granted as a discrete estate,[143] Blagdon was separated from Banwell by Burrington (given as part of Wrington) which, in parallel with Blagdon extended from the River Yeo to the top of the Mendips.[144] East Harptree was so far from Banwell that it can never have been continuous with it, yet it was a member of 'Winterstoke' Hundred in the 11th century, though detached. There is an answer to this anomaly but it is purely conjectural: so long as Wrington was a dependency of some other and larger estate or was itself once larger, it will have had access to the top of the Mendips by other routes without needing the Burrington corridor, which at that time might have been part of Banwell. When Wrington was defined or confined and granted out, it needed resources of its own, so Burrington would have been added to it and, in compensation, Banwell was given an estate of equivalent size and with the same balance of resources at East Harptree.[145] While this would explain why East Harptree was so intimately linked to something in what became 'Winterstoke' Hundred that it became an isolated parcel of that hundred, it is only a supposition. The only straw in support is that both the land-units of Langford and Harptree ended up being divided between parishes and hundreds which is unusual and might suggest some late surgical intervention.[146]

So the core of what became the 1086 hundred of 'Winterstoke' might have been made up of two or three primitive estates. Their large round figures, multiples of ten, are significant in four ways. Firstly, they appear to represent the primitive hidation of the area: 30 hides for Worle, possibly 20 hides for Bleadon and 50 or 80 hides for Banwell, or perhaps 100 hides for Banwell-Bleadon. Secondly, they explain why the hide is an elastic measure, because the figures are essentially gesticulatory: it would not be difficult to walk along the ridge of Worlebury and with the sweep of a hand to assess the area at 30 hides. Thirdly, the plurality of later estates are fragments of these larger numbers: the big numbers have not been created as the sum of these small estates, rather the small estates have been sheared off from the core at different times and in different sizes according to the generosity of the giver and the status of the receiver. Finally, the varying size of the components casts further doubt on the universality of the 5-hide unit. It is true that many estates granted by charter and listed in Domesday are of that size: it seems to be the appropriate holding for a thane. But these are not the building blocks of a bottom-up hidation, but a common top-down division of a larger whole.[147] Of course hidation will not have taken place before settlement, hence the possibility that existing units of moderate size (such as Bleadon) were individually hidated. Nonetheless,

since the hide is a vague measure and large round figures seem to be part of the first phase of hidation, it is likely that a figure such as 100 hides or multiples of it was first applied to an area, where it was large enough to bear it, and then divided between the few large estates that then existed.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF BANWELL

It is difficult to describe the original extent and subsequent break-up of Banwell in any detail. Banwell (extent unknown) was held by King Alfred and might have been in royal hands for long before that. He gave it (together with Congresbury, the pair being described as *monasteria*) to his priest and biographer Asser who became Bishop of Sherborne (892 x 901-910).[148] The actual date of the gift is uncertain, though Asser in his Life of Alfred goes on to say that 'in the course of time he [Alfred] unexpectedly gave me Exeter with the whole 'parish' which belonged to it, in [Anglo-]Saxon territory and in Cornwall', and the next date appearing in the *Life* is 886.[149] The circumstances of the grant suggest a personal gift to sustain Asser, and it is not clear whether he was expected to do other than enjoy the revenues: future ages would probably have regarded it as a scandalous pluralism. He certainly visited the places at once, and it is hard to believe that he did not return without some portable wealth.[150] It is not clear what type of religious houses these were and how far Asser developed or exploited them. Congresbury was clearly in origin Celtic, perhaps a true *monasterium*, a cell for a solitary, and became in the course of time the centre of an important estate. The name means the *burh* of St Congar, a 6th-century Celtic monk who probably came from Llanwngar near St David's. He was one of a group of Welsh missionaries who founded Christian communities in Somerset and Devon and is said to have been buried at Congresbury.[151] Banwell might have been established nearby, perhaps as a college of secular priests to proclaim the Augustinian brand of Christianity in the surrounding countryside. However, by 1086, Banwell had no church according to Domesday Book, while Congresbury had what looks like a minster.[152] It seems improbable that secular priests would have been established at two churches that were so close together, as their *parochiae* would have overlapped; nonetheless, the proximity of these two estates and their relative ecclesiastical status must now bring Congresbury into the discussion of Banwell.[153]

This was presumably not a grant in perpetuity as by 904 Banwell (then rated at 20 hides) was held by the Bishop of Winchester and was acquired (together with Crowcombe and a Compton, probably Compton Bishop), by King Edward the Elder in exchange for a grant of liberties to the bishop's manor of Taunton.[154] King Edward did not hold Banwell for long, but gave it and the land at Compton (?Compton Bishop) to the monastic community at Cheddar, in exchange for Carhampton.[155] One version of this latter grant allots 20 hides to Banwell and 10 hides to Compton Bishop, which is likely to be correct. Banwell was granted (with Congresbury) before 1033 by an unknown king to Duduc who became Bishop of Wells in that year and granted it to that church.[156] Cheddar being a royal manor, this king probably felt that he could dispose of Banwell as he thought fit, especially if the community was by then defunct.[157] Duduc died in 1060 and was succeeded by Bishop Giso. Congresbury and Banwell were confirmed on Wells Church in 1065 by a suspicious charter of Edward the Confessor.[158] However, by then or soon afterwards Harold Godwinson, Earl of Wessex (the future brief King Harold), appears to have seized both Banwell and Congresbury. After King Edward's death in 1066, Harold, by then king, presumably continued to hold them; both estates passed to his successor, William the Conqueror, who restored Banwell to the Church of Wells by an early writ,[159] while he retained Congresbury. Wells Church held Banwell in 1086.[160]

Assuming that Banwell had once been larger, then the Banwell of the above transactions (at 20 hides) was probably the core of the estate. Other presumed members of Banwell will have remained in King Alfred's or King Edward the Elder's hands, or had already been granted away: a common pattern was first to grant the outlying parts of the estate piecemeal, then finally the core, if the king was prepared to give up the estate entirely. In some cases in 1086 the king or his family seem still to have been clinging to the remnant of a once larger estate.[161] In this present case, it seems that the core was given away before the members. We have seen above that Winscombe was granted away by King Edgar, at a time when Banwell itself was held by the community at Cheddar. One might assume that when the core of Banwell (20 hides) was in the hands of others, starting with Asser, kings retained other parts of the estate. If the *Cympanhamme* granted to an unknown recipient by King Edmund (939 x 946), was Shipham, as Finberg thought, this would be a further grant away.[162] The adjacent

Rowberrow was given by the same king to his thane Alfred.[163]

On the western side of Banwell, Elborough was the subject of a lost early grant (760 x 762) by King Cynewulf to Æthelheard, who subsequently gave it to Glastonbury Abbey;[164] it is possible, though unprovable, that Hutton also came to Glastonbury Abbey at a similarly early date.[165] As shown above, it is not certain whether it came from the land of Bleadon or of Banwell. Bleadon itself had presumably been a small royal estate (or an enduringly royal part of Banwell); it was granted in 956 by King Edwy to his thane Athelwold.[166] It seems to have reverted to royal hands as it was granted in 975 by King Edgar to the Old Minster at Winchester. The charter, if not spurious, is heavily interpolated with the sort of manorial resources (plough-teams, population, pasture, meadow) that is found in Domesday, and expressed in its language.[167] Nonetheless, Winchester church held Bleadon at Domesday,[168] although it may be that the real grant of it was that by Countess Gytha (with Crowcombe) in 1053.[169]

THREE SMALL 'HUNDREDS' ADJACENT TO 'WINTERSTOKE' IN 1086

So far we have contented ourselves with making sense of the several estates that lay in the 1086 hundred of 'Winterstoke'. However that hundred was then flanked on the north side by Yatton Hundred and Congresbury Hundred and on the south by Cheddar Hundred, all destined to be amalgamated with it by the 14th century. The points at issue here are firstly whether Yatton Hundred, Congresbury Hundred and Cheddar Hundred were 'originals', that is, created at the same time as 'Winterstoke' Hundred in the mid-10th century; secondly, if they were not original hundreds, from what unit or units did they emerge, and thirdly, if it is possible by examining these adjacent small units, to deduce any other changes in the composition of 'Winterstoke' Hundred before 1086.

(a) Yatton Hundred

The only evidence that Yatton was considered a hundred in 1086 is its appearance in the second Exon list of hundreds.[170] However, that list is padded out with a series of manors which are only hundreds in the sense that they made separate returns to the Domesday Enquiry.[171] The Tax Returns, on the other hand, contain an exceptional grouping called the *Terra Gisonis episcopi* ('the land of Bishop Giso') which embraces virtually all his manors, including Yatton, irrespective of the hundreds in which they lay.[172] Ultimately most of his lands became grouped into the hundred of Wells and, in south Somerset, in the scattered hundreds of Kingsbury East and Kingsbury West, but Yatton did not continue as part of this franchise. As shown above, it is still recorded as a hundred in 1275–76 (in the *Rotuli Hundredorum*), when it consisted of Yatton and Claverham.[173] By 1316, it was in 'Winterstoke' Hundred, although still held by the Bishop of Bath and Wells.[174] It was presumably attracted into 'Winterstoke' Hundred by the fact that the adjacent Congresbury had been given to the bishopric by King John and was also then in 'Winterstoke' Hundred.[175] The choice of territorial hundred was probably due to the fact that the bishop had nothing in Portbury Hundred (the hundred lying to the north of Yatton), but several estates in the hundred of 'Winterstoke'. By that date the bishop was still holding Banwell and had acquired Cheddar as well as the borough of Axbridge, while the Dean and Chapter of Wells Cathedral held Winscombe and Hewish.[176]

When the hundreds were defined, Yatton will have been in a territorial hundred and that was probably the hundred of Portbury, not of 'Winterstoke'. The argument for this is partly topographical, the natural boundary here being the River Wring, now the Yeo. It is also partly parochial, since Claverham, which was in Portbury Hundred in 1086, was in Yatton Ancient Parish, while Kenn, also in Portbury Hundred in 1086, was a chapelry of Yatton.[177] In Domesday, Kenn was held by the Bishop of Coutances,[178] but the entry lacks the normal detail and it is possible that he had extracted it from Yatton for his own use; he was very powerful in Portbury Hundred, holding 67 hides and 1 virgate of its 86½ hides.[179] Further, although Yatton itself was in later times treated as an ecclesiastical peculiar of the Bishop of Wells, earlier, in 1291 according to the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, it was in the archdeaconry of Bath and the deanery of Redcliffe, as were other members of Portbury Hundred, whereas places south of the River Yeo and in 'Winterstoke' Hundred were in the deanery of Axbridge and the archdeaconry of Wells.[180]

(b) Congresbury Hundred

Congresbury was also a separate hundred in the Tax Returns, there assessed at 19 hides.[181] This is too

small for it to have been an original hundred, but the explanation for its becoming one probably lies in the identity of the manor's last pre-Conquest holder, Harold Godwinson, the future brief king. He held a number of other manors in Somerset which appear as hundreds and he seems either to have seized them and consolidated his gain by calling them hundreds, or he had made a hundred from a manor which he legitimately possessed. Among these other manors were Dulverton, [Old] Cleeve, and North Curry.[182] By being lord of a hundred which he had created, Harold would benefit from various privileges including overseeing (in)justice, and gaining the profits from the hundred court. In the case of [Old] Cleeve, he had even managed to attach to it the third penny of the borough-right from four ancient royal manors: Carhampton, Williton, Cannington and North Petherton.

Having seized Congresbury and Banwell from the Church of Wells, Harold, Earl of Wessex, held them both during King Edward's reign and presumably continued to hold them as king until his own death later in 1066. His successor, William the Conqueror soon restored Banwell to the Church of Wells, but in 1086 he was still holding Congresbury, apart from two hides which had been taken away, one of which Bishop Giso held in 1086.[183] Having created a hundred of Congresbury, it would have been natural for Harold to have put Banwell into it. However, if he ever did so, it will have reverted to 'Winterstoke' Hundred, where it naturally lies, when it was restored to the Church of Wells. Between Congresbury and Banwell lies Puxton. When first recorded as a chapelry it was part of Banwell Ancient Parish. Moreover, in the Domesday entry for Banwell[184] a Ralph, described by the fuller Exon version as Ralph Crooked Hands held 5½ hides of the manor. Ralph's holdings continued for two centuries in his family, the Tortesmains, and were later held by the FitzPayne family. In 1303 Roger FitzPayne held *Cherchhull et Rauleston et Stoke*, that is at Churchill, Stock (in Churchill) and Rolstone, all in Banwell Ancient Parish.[185] Rolstone was adjacent to Puxton, which was also apparently a Tortesmains holding, for between 1174 and 1191, Henry *Tortamanus* addressed Reginald, Bishop of Bath, telling of his intention to give his chapel at *Wringmareis* to the church of Bruton.[186] It is unlikely that *Wringmareis* is Wrington itself since that place (SOM 8,27) was held, as *Weritone*, in 1086 by Glastonbury Abbey, not by the Church of Wells.[187] It is more likely that the chapel was located on marshy ground near the River Wring (later the Yeo) and, since it was held from the Bishop of Bath (who did not then hold Congresbury), and there was not a plurality of churches thereabouts, it is more likely to be part of Banwell, probably Puxton. Bruton Priory certainly held the church of Puxton and successfully saw off a claim by the parson of Congresbury.[188] In contrast, no Ralph is recorded as holding land in Congresbury in 1086. Moreover, if Puxton were part of Congresbury, it is odd that it was not a chapelry of Congresbury Church.

On the other hand, a case has been made by Stephen Rippon that Puxton was indeed part of Congresbury.[189] Not all of his five arguments have great force, and the later references to the hundred of Congresbury in some deeds seem anachronistic. The argument from boundaries looks convincing in that a straightforward line separates Puxton from Banwell, whereas Puxton and Congresbury interpenetrate. Overall there is a case that at least part of Puxton lay in Congresbury. Moreover, one reading of the 1212 entry for Congresbury Hundred in the *Book of Fees* would place Puxton in it,[190] and in 1316, one of the holders of Congresbury was John FitzPayne, who acquired (among others) the Tortesmains lands.[191] However, it is difficult to achieve clarity here, because that landscape, including the courses of rivers, has been changed by drainage and as land becomes drier and workable settlements can expand in an interlocking way by a series of intakes from the marsh, as in the Fenland.[192] Puxton itself is an unusual name in that it has as its first element the name of a post-Conquest French family (*Pukerel*) and as its second the Old English *tun*.[193] Such hybrids are rare, but there is no need to assume that Pukerel displaced an Old English first element.[194] The name is first recorded in 1212 (as *Pukereleston*),[195] but this must be the unnamed place held in 1166 by Robert *Pukerel* from the Bishop of Bath (lord of Banwell, but not then of Congresbury), according to the Red Book of the Exchequer.[196] One might imagine that this area of Banwell, which then lacked a particular name, became a satellite settlement post-Conquest, exploited by the Pukerels and the Tortesmains, the former family naming the settlement. As a new and previously undefined area extending into the marsh, it might well have grown through drainage and cultivation by crossing an ill-defined boundary running through the wetland and beginning to intrude on the land of Congresbury. From early in the 13th century, once Congresbury and Banwell were both held by

the Bishops of Bath and Wells, the expansion of Puxton would need to take less notice of boundaries and it would have ended up lying in both manors.[197]

Congresbury, as defined by its Ancient Parish, did not lie entirely south of the River Wring (Yeo), nor did the adjacent Wrington lie entirely north of it. Here two early criteria for the creation of an estate are in conflict: an estate should have natural boundaries, but also access to all the resources it needs to subsist. Congresbury is mostly low-lying, with plenty of meadow, pasture and moor, but the northern part of the estate gave access to the ridge on which Kings Wood lies.[198] Wrington, also mostly low-lying, had part of the same wood, but by having Burrington as a member, it could reach the top of the Mendips at Blackdown. The early grant of Priddy[199] will have given Congresbury a portion of the top of the Mendips, but if it retained it or had anything on the hill in 1086, it is not apparent. It would, of course, have had such access if it had once been part of a larger unit. The need for a range of resources no doubt explains why in 1086 and later the Hundred of Chewton had a detachment at Kingston Seymour on these northern levels and at Brockley in the same extensive woodland that contained Kings Wood.[200]

Congresbury would have been an appropriate manor to head a hundred; it clearly had rank; it was 'beneficially hidated' (land for 50 ploughs on 20 hides),[201] paid its dues in white silver and its church, with ½ hide of land and a separate valuation, held by Bishop Maurice of London, was evidently of high status. It has a claim to be one of the second or third rank of major estates in Somerset. On the other hand it seems always to have lain on the boundary of one ancient block of territory (which became partly or wholly Portbury Hundred) and of another, which became 'Winterstoke' Hundred, and it is not necessarily a site that the Saxons would have chosen for a major centre. If we assume that Congresbury was not an original mid-10th century hundred but was created for his own purposes by Harold when he was Earl of Wessex, and if we bear in mind that Congresbury, like Banwell, was in Axbridge deanery and Wells archdeaconry in 1291 according to the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*,[202] its ancient connections were probably with the places that lay to its west and south and it must have been incorporated in 'Winterstoke' Hundred. It is tempting to add it as a discrete estate to the 29 hides and 3 virgates (say 30) of Worle, the 98½ hides (say 100) of Bleadon-Banwell (tentatively including Blagdon and [East] Harptree, although these might have been separate units) to produce an original 'Winterstoke' Hundred of 150 hides. This 'hundred' would have been bounded on the west by the Bristol Channel, on the north largely by the River Wring (Yeo), apart from a northern salient to give Congresbury woodland, and on the south by the River Axe, with a notional line running across the Mendips from river to river.

(c) Cheddar Hundred

The other major difference between the later 'Winterstoke' Hundred and that of 1086, is that Cheddar (together with the manors of Draycott and Rodney Stoke and the borough of Axbridge) was a separate hundred in 1086.[203] At only 7 hides and 3 virgates, it was far too small to have been an original, independent hundred.[204] Yet, compared to Congresbury, Cheddar was a primary royal manor. According to Domesday, 'it has never paid tax, nor is it known how many hides are there'.[205] Like most ancient royal manors, it made its payments at 20 [pence] to the *ora*; moreover, together with Somerton[206] it paid 'one night's revenue' before 1066, that is, enough to keep the itinerant king and his household fed and well-watered during their visits to Somerset. Other groups of manors made a similar contribution. In other counties, such manors are said 'never to have been hidated', which most obviously means that they were already the principal royal centres when the lands around them were estimated in hides:[207] because they contributed to the king in a different (and immensely valuable) way, there was no need to hidate them. Moreover, losing them would deprive him of guaranteed banquets, which would be more difficult to arrange by a money tax on hides. There is every reason to believe that these manors were very ancient and that the king would not willingly part with them, whereas lesser royal estates were moved around between queens and ealdormen, or passed in and out of royal hands. There were ten such ancient manors in Somerset recorded in 1086, and all of them named hundreds.[208] These are probably the most ancient central places with parallels all over Wessex.[209]

However, if Cheddar, too small to be viable as a hundred, had originally been in 'Winterstoke' Hundred, that would make the total for the hundred an improbable 156 hides,[210] and Cheddar could scarcely have been its 'central place': like

Congresbury, it lay on the boundary of hundreds. However, Domesday records that Wedmore, rated at 10 hides, had been part of Cheddar in 1066 (and therefore, presumably part of its hundred), a relationship which seems to have dated from at least the time of King Alfred.[211] The Wedmore estate will have included Mudgley, *Churdeslond*, Theale, Sand and Mark.[212] If Wedmore was not only part of Cheddar, but of Cheddar Hundred, this would increase the size of Cheddar Hundred to roughly 30 hides, but it will have extended the hundred down on to the levels intruding into the area of 'Bempstone' Hundred,[213] which was otherwise only interrupted by the estate of *Brentemerse*, that is Brent, a 20-hide manor-hundred of the Church of Glastonbury, co-extensive with the hundred of 'South Brent'.[214] If Cheddar Hundred had originally been part of 'Winterstoke' Hundred, then the latter is beginning to develop an unexpected, alarming and massive southerly intrusive extension into the levels beyond the River Axe.

Of course, if 'Winterstoke' itself had been identified and located, it would provide a focus for discussion of the hundred. One can immediately dismiss Winterstoke Road in Weston-super-Mare (on the trackbed of the Bristol and Exeter branch railway to the seaside) as an 'antiquarian' revival. On the face of it this is a habitative name, the second element (Old English *stoc*) referring to some outlying settlement or one subordinate to another. However, a 'wintry *stoc*' or a '*stoc* occupied (only) in winter' would be unusual. It would be natural to look for the moot-site near Banwell, at the geographical centre of the hundred, and the name has been connected both with Winthill in Banwell and with Winterhead in Shipham. However, Winthill is probably just 'wind(y) hill',[215] whereas Winterhead appears first (in Domesday Book) as *Wintreth* and is thought to be a word of Celtic origin, describing the hillside there.[216] If so, the form Winterhead represents an anglicization, perhaps influenced by 'Winterstoke' itself. However, it is not certain that the first element in 'Winterstoke' is in fact 'Winter'. Early forms of the hundred-name in *Wine-* might imply a more direct connection with Winscombe, 'the *cumb* of [a man called] Wine'.[217] If the Wine who was invited on to the Banwell estate had a *stoc* as well as a *cumb*, then Stock (in Churchill), which was part of the Banwell estate, is a simplified possibility. Early forms suggest that, despite the modern spelling, this is a 'stoke' (*stoc*), rather than a 'stock' (*stocc*).[218] Stock is, however, on the edge of the hundred, although nonetheless originally part of Banwell. An alternative (later) name for the hundred, was 'Frowardeshill', also unidentified.[219]

THE LARGER PICTURE

Nonetheless, Cheddar may be the key to understanding the administration of this region of Somerset. The comparably small hundred of Bedminster based on a minster church was in fact an in-hundred, that is in the lordship of the royal manor, whose secular centre was at Hartcliffe which was itself the head of a larger hundred.[220] It is possible that Cheddar was just such an in-hundred, and that its out-hundreds were 'Winterstoke' and 'Bempstone', that is to say that Cheddar was not in 'Winterstoke' Hundred but the *caput* of the three hundreds of Cheddar, 'Winterstoke' and 'Bempstone' (Fig. 4).[221]

Several strands become wound together at this point. The nearest indisputably ancient royal manors to Cheddar were Bedminster, Frome, Bruton, Somerton and North Petherton. These are in the list of only ten royal estates that we can be certain represent the oldest centres and must have been where dues and services were rendered and justice done in a pre-hundredal society. At the same time, to take the examples of Frome and Bruton, we have royal manors which give their names to one hundred, but also have dependent on them hundreds with other names.[222] We should also not be surprised at how large the dependent territories were. Before the Conquest there were eight hundreds depending on Oundle in Northamptonshire[223] and Domesday itself shows how the Oxfordshire hundreds (many of which are not individually named) and many of the Shropshire hundreds were attached to a series of royal manors of ancient demesne.[224] Groups of hundreds attached to royal manors are evidenced in other counties in 1086 and later.[225] While some of these may be temporary groupings for particular reasons, and some groups of three may be shipsokes,[226] many of the early examples look as if they represent the division into hundreds of large royal estates.

Since the hidages of most Anglo-Saxon grants of land in Wessex can be reconciled with those in Domesday Book, it appears that Somerset (unlike Northamptonshire) was never re-hidated.[227] Thus hidation must have preceded the earliest charter grants; that is, in the case of Wessex before the reign

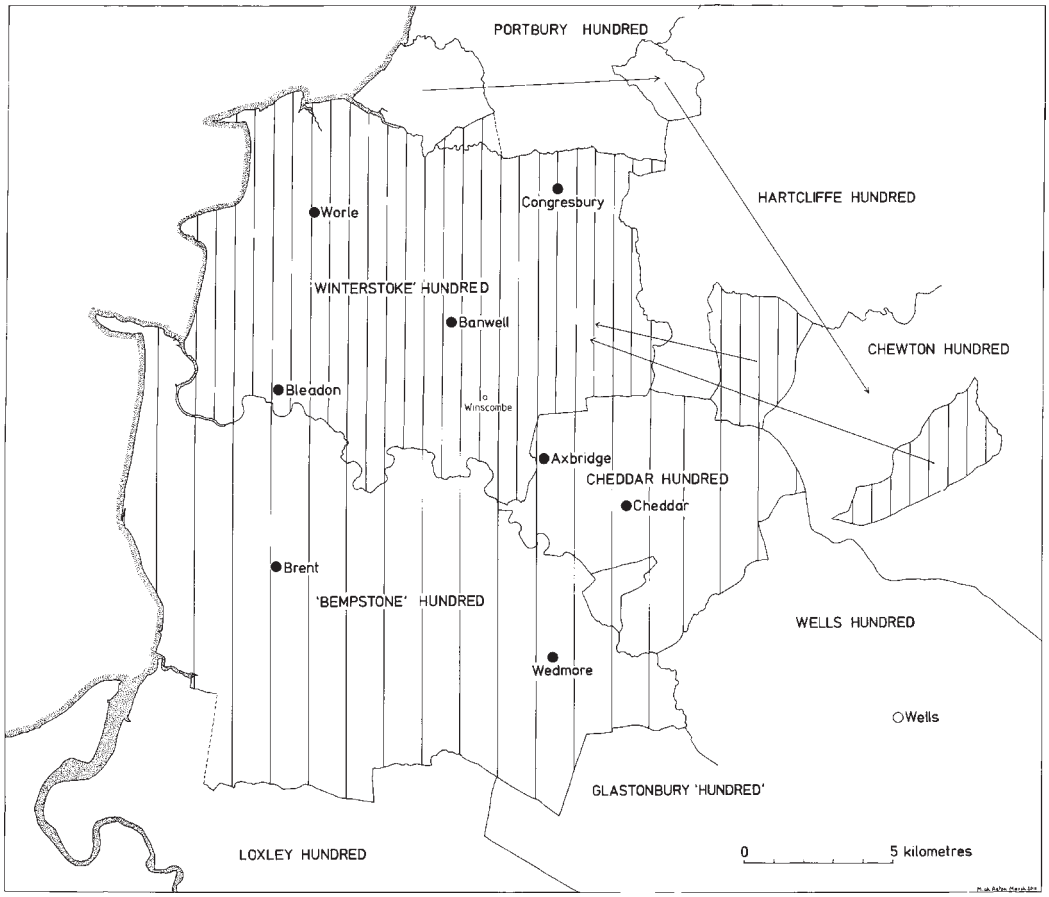

Fig. 4 The putative Three Hundreds of Cheddar c. *970 with their principal centres*

of Cenwalh (643–74), assuming that his charters, none of which is genuine, contain authentic hidages.[228] Many of the early charters grant large areas, vaguely defined, and it is inconceivable that a grant could have been made of a certain number of hides, if the larger unit out of which the estate was granted had not itself been hidated at least notionally. While estates such as Frome and Bruton will have had a non-hidated core, they and their hidated dependencies probably corresponded to a clear topographical area and will have been assessed in a round number of hides, Frome at 300 hides, Bruton perhaps at 400.[229] Even in 1086, in that part of the country that was to become Lancashire, one area was still in a pre-hundredal state while in another the large manor and the hundred were the same.[230]

The process that produced these round figures must have involved knowledge of the terrain, clear views from hillsides, an overall notion of so many hundred hides for an area, followed by a parcelling out to take account of the then few and large existing estates, and a series of adjustments and trade-offs. These territories, sometimes called *regiones* ('regions'), if they were anything like areas dependent on Bedminster or Frome will have acquired a minster church, sometimes at the royal centre, sometimes at a related site. In due course, these centres will have developed satellite royal vills within their territory, sometimes perhaps to administer that territory better, sometimes set aside for the queen or other members of the king's family or for the ealdormen.[231] Large parts including some of the satellite manors would be granted to churches and smaller portions would be awarded to thanes.

Rarely, before the Conquest, was the chief place itself given away.[232] Ultimately the hundreds were created by fusion or fission of the resulting small or large units.

The general process described above has received much attention from scholars, but has been infrequently worked out in detail.[233] For this part of Somerset it has here been suggested that Cheddar (7 hides 3 virgates) was the royal *caput* and in-hundred on which the hundreds of 'Winterstoke' (roughly 150 hides, with Congresbury) and 'Bempstone' (43 or 51 hides)[234] depended. The exact total for the content of 'Winterstoke' Hundred based on the Domesday evidence is 148 hides 1 virgate perhaps representing an original assessment of 150 hides, a good round figure, probably the best that could be done if places already linked in various ways were to be included and estates were not to be cleft by hundredal boundaries. Taking the Tax Return figures, then 'Winterstoke'-Congresbury Hundred (148 hides, 1 virgate) plus 'Bempstone' Hundred (if 43 hides 3 ferlings) plus Cheddar Hundred (7¾ hides) would make 199 hides, 3 ferlings, and would give Cheddar a satisfactory territory or region of about 200 hides. If 'Bempstone' Hundred were actually 51 hides, 2 virgates (which is more probable), then 207 hides, 2 virgates does not look so convincing as a unit of land. Moreover, the manor of Brent (20 hides) held by Glastonbury Abbey intruded into 'Bempstone' Hundred severing Brean from its core. Although under the name of 'South Brent' it is counted as a hundred in the second Exon list, it does not have a Tax Return of its own, yet it cannot be found in any other Return, in particular not in that for 'Bempstone' Hundred.[235] Brent can hardly have been an original hundred, thus its 20 hides should be added to the total for 'Bempstone' Hundred. We now have 219 hides and 3 ferlings or 227 hides and 2 virgates, depending on the size of 'Bempstone' Hundred, still not a convincing 'region'.

The solution is both obvious and surprising. Cheddar Hundred at 7¾ hides included Draycott and Rodney Stoke which took it to the gates of what became Wells Hundred. 'Bempstone' Hundred stretched across the marshes to touch the land of Glastonbury Abbey. If the figure for Wells Hundred (56 hides)[236] is included together with the core 12 + 2 hides belonging to Glastonbury Abbey,[237] which although they 'had never paid tax' had nonetheless been assessed as if they were intended to do so, we arrive at totals of 289 hides,and 3 ferlings or 297 hides and 2 virgates depending on the size of 'Bempstone' Hundred.[238] This already looks like a 300-hide territory for Cheddar, and it could be improved by rounding the 128 hides and 1 virgate for 'Winterstoke' Hundred up to 130 hides and by including the 2 hides added to Wells, thus reaching 300 hides and 1 virgate by using the larger figure for 'Bempstone' Hundred, although because of the numerous small-figure errors that can be detected in Domesday Book in general, definite totals can never be attained or trusted.

One should beware of scholars with calculators, for figures alone are both imperious and deceptive; they can convince and yet amount to nothing. However, the above arguments are not based simply on numbers: Elborough was granted by the West Saxon king Cynewulf to his thane Æthelheard, but both William of Malmesbury and John of Glastonbury describe the 3 hides as at '*Ceddren* or *Cedern, id est Elenbeorge'*, in other words, 'Cheddar, that is Elborough'.[239] This looks very much as if first the name of the manor is given, then the name of the actual portion being granted. Thus, before Elborough came to be counted as part of a second tier estate such as Bleadon or Banwell, if it ever was, it belonged to the land of Cheddar. Further, when King John gave Cheddar to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, he gave it with 'Winterstoke' Hundred. These could of course have been separate gifts though the 'with' counts against that interpretation; probably King John was giving away Cheddar with one of its dependent hundreds (Fig. 5).[240]

North of the River Wring (Yeo), the estates lay in the deanery of Redcliffe according to the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*[241] and it can be demonstrated that there too a block of territory can be identified amounting to 398 (that is, 400) hides and later divided into the differently sized 'hundreds' of Portbury, Bedminster, Hartcliffe, Keynsham, Chewton and Chew, and which probably represents the land of Bedminster.[242] South of the River Wring (Yeo), the places which lay in 'Winterstoke' Hundred and 'Bempstone' Hundred were in Axbridge deanery and Wells archdeaconry again according to the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*.[243] This partition of the countryside between royal manors will have taken place before the churches at Glastonbury and Wells with their initially modest estates attained any prominence. Glastonbury began in a very small way[244] and Wells might have remained a minor settlement but for the decision to place there in 909 one of the cathedrals of the divided see of Sherborne.[245] This will have upset any earlier and simpler archidiaconal

Fig. 5 The possible pre-hundredal territory of Cheddar with significant places

arrangements, and further changes will have been introduced by the promotion of Bath Abbey to a cathedral at the end of the 11th century and its linking with Wells. These forces also led to the creation of peculiar jurisdictions which cut across existing patterns as can be seen in the 1291 *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*.[246] Nonetheless, it is conceivable that Axbridge deanery had once had the same boundaries as this putative 'region' of Cheddar; in the north the River Wring (Yeo), in the south some mid-point in the marshes that lie between the Poldens and the Mendips, and in the east the land where Wells and Glastonbury were later to attain prominence.

Such 'regions' would have become difficult to manage from a single centre as more and more land was granted out and the number of financial and other obligations, summarised by the word 'customs', increased. An interim solution will have been the creation of a second tier of royal manors. In the case of the land of Bedminster, these will probably have been Keynsham, Chewton-Chew and Portbury. In the case of Cheddar, that vill could itself have supervised the levels as far as Wells and Glastonbury, but Wells, as a unit of 50 hides ready to be given to a new diocese, may have been a second-tier royal manor. North of the Mendips there

might once have been such subsidiary royal estates at Congresbury, Banwell, Worle and possibly Bleadon. For minster churches, one might consider Cheddar itself, where there was certainly some sort of religious house, Wells, where an existing establishment might have been promoted, and Congresbury, with or without Banwell.[247] For centuries, these arrangements must have worked well enough with royal reeves managing business in their districts and at public meetings. Ultimately the Danish incursions, settlement and the aftermath of their expulsion created a chaos in which the old structures were inadequate. So the manors were divided or grouped or regrouped into hundreds.

CONCLUSION

This article has moved backwards in time from the known, to the uncertain to the hypothetical. Chronologically it is suggested that Wessex was early divided into a number of territories each controlled by a royal manor of a characteristic type, often with food-rents as its tribute. There were ten of these in what became Somerset and they were established as centres of taxation, administration, policing and justice. Each probably had a church of the secular minster type, either on-site or at a related place. The cores of these royal manors were not hidated, but their surrounding and dependent lands were assessed in multiples of 100 hides. These hidages were not measures but informed estimates of what agriculture and tax and service each territory could bear. Although essentially top-down, the figures will have taken account of the hidation of smaller areas and of existing estates, which numbers would then have been adjusted or 'traded-off' until a larger round total was reached. But once they were fixed, by the 7th century, they formed the basis of all future divisions and combinations. Satellite royal estates will have been established to help in managing, taxing and policing these 'regions', and smaller and smaller units will have arisen by the partition of these larger estates, often by being formally granted from them. The names by which these smaller estates were known had probably long existed, because a territory cannot be tilled from a single central place, but these names only appear in the record when they become semi or fully independent. When hundreds were established in the mid-10th century as a new way of managing the territory of Wessex, the starting point was probably the lands of these 'territorial capitals', so that, in each case, one hundred bore the name of the chief place, while others in this decentralised localism were named from a subordinate manor or a meeting-place. Because of the way the 'regions' had been divided, there will have been cases where a unit of 100 hides was ready to become a 'hundred'. In some cases that figure could only be achieved by a combination of units and sometimes it was unattainable because it would have involved the splitting of entities. Nonetheless the hundreds surrounding these ancient chief places will have added up to their former round assessment in hundreds of hides. Thus 'Winterstoke' Hundred will have been put together as 150 hides from the estates of Congresbury, 'greater Worle' and 'greater Banwell', with the separate addition of a Bleadon estate and of Blagdon and East Harptree if these were not all formerly part of Banwell. But all these had originated, before the hundreds, from the land of Cheddar which also went into the formation of the hundreds of 'Bempstone' and Wells, of Glaston 12 hides and the manor-hundred of 'South Brent', a territory perhaps originally totalling 300 hides which occupied the basins of the Wring and the Axe and the western end of the Mendips.

Acknowledgements

This article germinated during discussions with Mick Aston begun in 2006. We discovered that we were both fascinated by the quest for the earliest estates, central places and territories in Somerset. We were coming from different perspectives, he an eminent landscape archaeologist, with a deep knowledge and love of the Somerset landscape, I Somerset born, a Latinist and Domesday Book editor. The 'evidence' is sparse and ambiguous and it would have been easy to abandon the enterprise as unscholarly or impossible. His encouragement has been constant and without it, I, who prefer writing footnotes, would probably never have expressed any general ideas. A number of my comments on his Winscombe drafts have been published (Aston and Costen 2008; Aston *et al*. 2010) and re-reading them made me realise that pertinent though they may have been, they were based on some assumptions that I had not articulated. Winscombe lay in 'Winterstoke' Hundred and this led me to see that hundred as a pilot for an analysis of other hundreds with complicated histories and for at least two general articles, one on the original (pre-Domesday) hundreds of Somerset and the other on

the early Anglo-Saxon territories in this part of Wessex and their chief places. There is much speculation in the last part of this article and while it may 'fit the facts', the facts are so few and often so equivocal that they may not be facts at all. It will be interesting to see if this kite crashes at once to earth, a wreck without a name, or takes wings.

In addition to his over-arching encouragement, Mick Aston has read and commented on the first draft of this article and Teresa Hall has again helped in discussions of 'monasteries' and 'minsters' and in particular on the early history of Congresbury. My wife Caroline has not only commented in detail on several drafts but helped with reading the very unclear manuscript entry for 'Winterstoke' Hundred in Exon Domesday. In these days when books are more and more difficult to consult in public and academic libraries, Jim Foy has, without hesitation, let me forage in his volumes. Finally, I am grateful to that fine editor, Peter Ellis, for welcoming this article and seeing it through the press.

ENDNOTES

1 Single inverted commas enclose a place-name that is no longer current.

2 Rippon 2006.

3 Aston and Costen 2008, Aston *et al*. 2010, Aston *et al*. 2011 (continuing).

4 This is particularly so because the studies mentioned above have been influenced by the extent of the 14th-century and later hundred, without paying close attention to its antecedents. Thus there has been a tendency to treat the basin of the River Wring (Yeo) as a natural unit of territory, whereas the present study makes it more probable that the river was largely a boundary between two units whose centres lay elsewhere.

5 Old English *tunscipe*, Latin *villa*, Anglicised as 'vill'. Used technically, these terms describe units defined for various administrative purposes, such as tax and customary dues and services. A vill will normally have a single name, such as Banwell, but will usually contain a number of dependent settlements. These may well be as old as the place that names the vill, but their names may often not appear in records until the 12th or 13th century, when the ties that bound them to the central place that named the vill begin to slacken.

6 On these units, see Winchester 2000, 11–20, and Youngs 1979, xvi.

7 The earliest good evidence for deaneries and archdeaconries is in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291 (Ayscough and Caley 1802).

8 Good overviews of the development of the hundreds are provided by Helen Cam's various articles, collected as Cam 1930 and Cam 1944. Although the three outstanding volumes of Anderson (Anderson 1934; 1939a; 1939b) are strictly philological, much can be discovered in passing about the development of the hundreds.

9 In the reign of Ethelred the Unready large sums of money (the Danegeld) were raised to pay off the Danes, while the ordinary geld was also levied on the hide. The Northamptonshire Geld-Roll of *c*. 1075 (Robertson 1956, 231–7, 481–4 (no. 3)) shows geld being collected by hundreds, as do the 'Tax Returns' or Geld Accounts bound up with the Exon Domesday; see Domesday Book (Record Commission), Vol. 3 and discussion below. A chance mention in Domesday Book (HUN D14) suggests that the hundreds also had military functions: 'The men of the County testify that King Edward gave Swineshead to Earl Siward [and] full jurisdiction, and so Earl Harold had it in the same way except that [its men] paid tax in the Hundred, and went with them against the enemy'. It seems likely that the ancient obligation of the holders of land to provide man-power for the *fyrd* ('army') were channeled through the hundreds, from the outset or soon after.

References to Domesday Book are to the chapter and section numbers of the Phillimore edition, preceded by a county abbreviation. For a brief description of Domesday Book and a commentary on an entry, see Thorn 2008, 1–11. On the immense bibliography, see Bates 1986 supplemented by the list in Hallam and Bates 2001, 191–8. For more recent publications, see the (selective) bibliography in Roffe 2007, 322–47. The manuscript of Great Domesday, which contains the majority of the counties (Somerset and Wiltshire among them), resides in the National Archives at Kew along with that of Little Domesday Book (which contains the counties of Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk). The former has been rebound into two volumes (PRO, E31/2-1 and E31/2-2) and the latter into three volumes (PRO, E31/1-1, E31/1-2, E31/1-3). The manuscripts were set in type and

published in 1783 by the Record Commission; see Domesday Book (Record Commission) in References, below. Every county was published in facsimile by the Ordnance Survey in the 1860s. A translation of almost all counties has been published in the Victoria County History series (usually in volume i). There have been two significant modern editions; see Domesday Book (Phillimore) and Domesday Book (Alecto) below.

10 This threefold division is explicit in the laws of King Edgar (III Edgar 5 = Robertson 1925, 26–7). Old English Laws are cited by the name of the king responsible for their issue, preceded by a Roman figure referring to the particular code if the king issued more than one. The succeeding figures are those of the chapter and section numbers common to all editions. The laws were first systematically collected and studied by Liebermann 1903–16. There are serviceable editions in English by Attenborough 1922 and Robertson 1925 and the whole field has recently been surveyed by Wormald 1999.

11 That is, his tour or circuit of the hundreds, which included the administration of justice, the view of frankpledge and the taking of various customary payments; see Cam 1930, 118–28.

12 The relation is shown in detail for each parish in Youngs (1979).

13 Formally known as the Representation of the People Act 1832 (2 & 3 William IV). In the citation of modern laws, the preceding Arabic figures refer to the regnal year(s) and the succeeding Roman one to the king or queen's 'number'.

14 For the Somerset hundreds and villages extracted from the census returns, see Dickinson 1889, 310–37.

15 By the County Courts Act 1867 (30 & 31 Victoria c.142) s. 28.

16 The dates at which individual Civil Parishes were created are shown in Youngs (1979).

17 By the Riot (Damages) Act 1886 (49 & 50 Victoria c.38) s. 2.

18 56 & 57 Victoria c.73

19 12 & 13 George V c.11.

20 There is a good overview in Loyn 1974. The older view that the hundreds were derived from continental institutions, has been abandoned; see Anderson 1934, xvi. In England, their creation must have been preceded by assemblies of the people from a given area presided over by a royal official or notable person, but at issue here is when hundreds under that name and their tightly defined territories first appeared.

21 For example, it signifies 100 hides in the Laws of Ine 54 (where a man accused of homicide took an oath on 100 hides), 100 shillings in Ine 54, §1 (both Attenborough 1922, 55) and 100 men in VI Athelstan 3 (Attenborough 1922, 159). The hide had once been a measure of area, sufficient to support a household or keep a plough occupied for a year. The word is Old English *hid*, connected with the words *hiwian* ('to marry'), *hiwung* ('marriage'), *hiwa* or *higa* ('a family member'), *hiwen* ('a family' or 'household') and *hiwisc* (a 'family' or 'household' or 'hide of land'). This last yields the place-name Hewish or Huish. Latin alternatives (*mansus*, *mansa*, *mansum*, *manens*, *mansio*, *mansiunculus*, all from *maneo*: 'to remain', 'to stay', 'to settle') and *cas*(*s*)*atus* (from *casa*: 'house', 'hut'), all contain the notion of dwelling, but the hide is also sometimes glossed as *tributaria* ('tax-land') or *terra unius tributarii* ('land of one tax-payer' or 'tribute payer', in cash or kind) and sometimes simply as *familia* ('family' or 'household'). The hide is treated by Bede as 'land for one household'; see Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 72 and note 3. No doubt it had varied in extent according to the nature of the terrain and had probably once included woodland, meadow, pasture and rough grazing in addition to the arable to which it was later confined. Since each hide came to be liable for tax and various services, it also became a measure of fiscal liability. Hides were divided into four virgates (sometimes called yardlands) and virgates into an uncertain number of 'fiscal' acres. In the south-west, there was a unit called the ferding, which was a quarter of a virgate. However, none of these is an exact measure, merely a subdivision of the variable and uncertain hide. The fundamental studies of the hide were made by Round 1895 and Maitland 1897, 357–520. There is an important article by Tait 1902 and a study by Higham 1995. There are useful brief discussions in Stenton 1971, Loyn 1962, Loyn 1984 and Finn 1963. The whole topic is complex, obscure and controversial.

22 All regnal dates are taken from the *Handbook of British Chronology*.

23 For text and commentary, see Liebermann (1903–16), i. 192–5, and Robertson 1925, 16–

19. Robertson calls the Ordinance I Edgar. There is a translation in Whitelock 1979, 429–30.

[24] For example, the 'two hundreds of Ely' (Cambridgeshire), in Edgar's charter of 970 (Sawyer 1968, no. 779). The two hundreds of Normancross (Huntingdonshire) are mentioned 963 x 984 (Sawyer 1968, no. 1448); the eight hundreds of Oundle (Northamptonshire) in 963 (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (E Version)) and the creation of the triple Hundred of Oswaldslow (Worcestershire) in 964 (Sawyer 1968, no. 731). The authenticity of some of these charters is in doubt. It should be noted that Normancross does not contain the name Norman (which would seem to make it post-Conquest), but Northmann, a common name of Scandinavian origin. Of course the Normans were also originally 'Northmen'. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is cited from the edition of Whitelock *et al*. 1965.

[25] Several Latin terms are used (*centuria, centuriata, centuriatus, centenarium*), a sign that a single original English word is being Latinized. The English word is also used with different Latin terminations (*hundredum, hundredus, hundreda*).

[26] Those for Northamptonshire appear in the Northamptonshire Geld Roll (*c*. 1075), those for the five south-western counties in the so-called Tax Returns or Geld Rolls of *c*. 1084; the rest, with a few omissions in Domesday Book (1086).

[27] For the five south-western counties (Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire) there exist 'Geld Rolls' or 'Tax Returns' arranged by hundreds. These are bound up with Exon Domesday and probably date from 1084. For other counties, the material collected in the course of the enquiry (1086) which produced Domesday Book, is the first full source. The late 11th-century hundreds have been mapped in the Phillimore edition of Domesday Book and in the County volumes of the Alecto edition; see Domersday Book (Phillimore) and Domesday Book (Alecto) in References below.

[28] III Edmund 2 (= Robertson 1925, 12–13): 'Further, it is his will that, where a man is proved to be a thief, nobles and commoners shall unite and seize him, alive or dead, whichever they can. And he who institutes a vendetta against any of those who have been concerned in that pursuit shall incur the hostility of the king and of all his friends; and if anyone shall refuse to come forward and lend his assistance, he shall pay 120 shillings to the king – or deny knowledge of the affair by an oath of equivalent value – and 30 shillings to the hundred'. This may not be quite what it seems, as, if the hundred then existed, it might have been expected to take part in the pursuit as an organised body, rather than disorganised 'nobles and commoners'. Moreover, among the inevitable references to stolen or stray cattle, is nothing about the hundred: thus for 'if the track [of the cattle] cannot be followed beyond the bounds of that estate …', one might expect a reference to the hundred if it then existed, and the only officials involved in sanctioning the purchase or receipt of 'strange cattle' are the 'high-reeve, the priest, the treasurer or the town reeve' (*testimonium summi praepositi, vel sacerdotis, vel hordarii vel portirevae*); see III Edmund 5; 6 § 1 (= Robertson 1925 14–15). Further, the position of the 'and 30 shillings to the hundred', both in the Latin and in English translation, might suggest that the phrase was added later when the hundred was in existence to bring it in line with later legislation such as the Hundred Ordinance (I Edgar 3) and II Cnut 15a § 2 (= Robertson 1925, 16–17, 182–83). The thirty shillings do not appear elsewhere in this code where the king is given 120 shillings.

[29] The Latin *extraneus* is the origin of the word 'strange' but an exacter translation here would be 'from elsewhere', 'from outside'.

[30] On these fortified *burhs* known principally from the Burghal Hidage, see Hill 1969; Hill and Rumble 1996.

[31] The name is Old English *gerefa*, rendered in Latin as *praepositus* or *praefectus*. The Latin means 'man placed in front of/above others', or 'man in charge', and in neither language is the job specifically described. The peace-keeping, judicial and other functions of reeves are already apparent in the Laws of Ine 73 and Alfred 1 § 3; 22;34 (Attenborough 1922, 61, 63, 75, 79). More important officials are called ealdormen; they first occur in the Laws of Ine, for example in the Prologue (Attenborough 1922, 37), but there is no indication that they have regular judicial functions. Both reeves and ealdormen have a *scir*, that is a unit of territory for which they are responsible; see Ine 36 § 1; V Athelstan1 § 5; VI Athelstan 10 (Attenborough 1922, 49, 155, 167). The word *scir* is connected with the Old English for 'cutting', or 'shearing' and refers to

a division of territory. It is possible that the *scirman* ('shire-man') who makes a solitary appearance in the Laws of Ine (Ine 8 = Attenborough 1922, 39) was the same as a reeve: certainly his judicial functions are there obvious: 'If anyone demands justice in the presence of a 'shireman' or of another judge ...'. It is not known how large these 'shire' units were, or whether they corresponded to later divisions, although the *scir* of an ealdorman is likely to have been larger than that of a reeve. Ealdormen are the predecessors of the earls and ultimately gained responsibility for a county or a group of them, while the *scir-gerefa* (the shire-reeve or sheriff, first mentioned in the 10th century) became the mainstay of the administration of individual counties. However, in the time of Ine (*pace* Attenborough 1922, 183, 184), it is not certain that the shires of Wessex were in existence. The king had scarcely set foot in Cornwall whereas Somerset and Wiltshire, for example, are not mentioned until the time of King Alfred. It is safest to render *scir* in these early contexts as some 'territory' or 'district' under the authority of an individual.

[32] The obligation of attending such assemblies was evidently onerous and a charter (764 for 767 with an endorsement of 801) of King Offa of Mercia granting land in the future Middlesex releases the grantee (Abbot Stithberht) of all burdens including 'popular assemblies' (*popularia concilia*); see Sawyer 1968, no. 202 (= Gelling 1979, 98 (no. 202)).

[33] See the rueful prologue to II Edward (at Exeter), where he appears to reflect on the failure of the provisions of I Edward: 'King Edward exhorted all his councillors, when they were at Exeter, to consider how the public peace for which they were responsible could be kept better than it had been, because it seemed to him that his previous orders had not been carried out so well as they ought to have been'.

[34] See I Edward Prologue, I Athelstan Prologue and Athelstan's Ordinance Relating to Charities (Attenborough 1922, 115, 123, 127).

[35] See I Edward and II Edward, especially II Edward 8 (Attenborough 1922, 114–17, 120–1) on the regular holding of meetings.

[36] See II Edward 4 (Attenborough 1922, 121). This duty was later transferred to the hundred.

[37] Assuming that 'cattle' included cows and plough-oxen.

[38] See generally II Athelstan, promulgated at Grateley, and specifically II Athelstan 3 § 2 (Attenborough 1922, 130–1) provides that a royal reeve or treasurer should forfeit all he had for being the accessory of a thief. Moreover, a reeve who failed to carry out a royal ordinance would pay a fine to the king for insubordination (II Athelstan 25 = Attenborough 1922, 141).

[39] See II Athelstan 12; 20 (Attenborough 1922, 135, 137–8).

[40] See V Athelstan 1 § 5, issued at Exeter (Attenborough 1922, 155).

[41] The Laws of Ine 63 (Attenborough 1922, 57) refers to the right of a nobleman 'when he moves residence' to take with him 'his reeve, his smith and his children's nurse'.

[42] V Athelstan Prologue (Attenborough 1922, 153).

[43] Known as VI Athelstan. For text and commentary, see Liebermann (1903–16), ii. 173–83, and Attenborough 1922, 156–69. There is a translation in Whitelock 1979, 423–9.

[44] The Latin heading applied to the version in the *Textus Roffensis* is *Iudicia Civitatis Lundoniae* ('Legal matters concerning the city of London'), but the provisions clearly applied to the surrounding countryside. The prologue is: 'This is the ordinance which the bishops and reeves who belong to London have agreed and confirmed with pledges in our peace-guild, both earls and churls, in addition to the statutes which were established at Grateley and at Exeter and at Thunderfield'. The plurality of bishops might be those with residences in London, but possibly those in whose dioceses the land around London lay: it is possible that what became the counties of Middlesex, Buckinghamshire, Kent and Surrey are meant. The statutes of Grateley (in Hampshire), Exeter (in Devon) and Thunderfield (in Surrey) are respectively II Athelstan, V Athelstan and IV Athelstan. 'Earls and churls' rhymes in Old English as in modern and refers to nobles and the common people, that is, to the whole population.

[45] On this, see VI Athelstan 3 (Attenborough 1922, 159).

[46] See VI Athelstan 8 (Attenborough 1922, 163). It is expected that twelve men should meet, but only one hundred-man and ten tithing men are mentioned. Rather than emend the unanimous text, one might envisage that the twelfth person was a reeve.

[47] Thus Attenborough 1922, 213; Loyn 1974, 5.

[48] See VI Athelstan 8 § 4: 'And if anyone traces a trail from one district to another', hot pursuit is allowed, but the reeves must be informed. There is a clear territorial basis here. On the overlap of hundred-districts and reeves' districts, see note 49.

[49] Powerful men and families as subverters of justice are mentioned in III Athelstan 6 (Attenborough 1922, 145). Here in VI Athelstan 8 § 2 (Attenborough 1922, 163) the officials of these groups of 100 men say that 'if it happens that any group of kinsmen –whether nobles or commoners within or beyond the borders of our district – become so strong and powerful as to prevent us from exercising our legal rights, and stand up in defence of a thief, we shall ride out against them in full force with the reeve in whose district the offence takes place'.

[50] The comparable unit in the Danelaw was the wapentake, probably a slightly later creation.

[51] II Edmund 5 and Prologue (= Robertson 1925, 8–11).

[52] Anderson 1934, xvii–xviii; Loyn 1974, 2.

[53] Ten men > the land represented by ten men > a division of a territorial hundred.

[54] See *Feudal Aids*, iv. 282, 327; Dickinson 1889,129–31; Glasscock 1975, 259; Healey 1897, 57, 291; Hamilton 1868, under Martock; Robin Bush in *VCH Somerset*, iv. 76.

[55] In fact half-tithings are evidenced in the 13th century, but the implication is that a tithing is ten men (or hides).

[56] For the five south-westernmost counties of Wessex, the *c.* 1084 Tax Returns give totals for each hundred. There are analyses of the Dorset and Somerset Hundreds by Eyton (1878; 1880) and of those for Devon in the many articles by Reichel (see the bibliography in Thorn and Thorn 1985). Baring's tables (Baring 1909) cover the counties of Surrey, Berkshire, Middlesex, Hertford, Buckingham and Bedford. For Staffordshire there are investigations by Eyton (1881) and by Bridgeman and Mander (1919). The hundreds as they appear in Domesday Book are studied in a series of articles ('Hundreds and Wapentakes') and maps by Thorn in each of the 32 County volumes (apart from Lincolnshire) of the Alecto edition of Domesday Book (1987–92), but these do not show the hidage totals for each hundred.

[57] For Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset and Wiltshire there are attempts to describe the simpler patterns in Thorn and Thorn 1979b; 1985; 1980; 1983; 1979a, also in Thorn 1988b; 1991a; 1989a; 1991b; 1989b respectively. Apart from the present study, I intend to revisit the early hundreds of Somerset in a subsequent article.

[58] In 1086 Worcestershire contained twelve hundreds and 1200 hides. But see Domesday Book WOR 10,2: 'In 'Fishborough' Hundred the Church of Evesham has 65 hides. Of these, 12 hides are free. 20 hides of 'Doddingtree' [Hundred] lie in that Hundred, and the 15 hides of Worcester make up the Hundred'.

[59] See Taylor 1898; Finberg 1957, 17–51.

[60] Anderson 1939b, 213–14, is particularly strong on the folk-moots and the location and significance of moot-sites; there are brief but clear treatments in Stenton 1971, 298–9, Sawyer 1978, 197–200; Loyn 1984,146–7; Williams 1999, 88–9 among many others.

[61] Illingworth and Caley 1818, ii. 130.

[62] *Feudal Aids*, iv. 325–6.

[63] Dickinson 1889, 264–70.

[64] Glasscock 1975, 259.

[65] Dickinson 1889, 337.

[66] *Feudal Aids*, iv. 307, 352.

[67] *Feudal Aids*, iv. 312. Uphill there appears with East Harptree and Blagdon in a sub-section headed *Libertas Episcopi Bathoniensis* ('the Liberty of the Bishop of Bath'). It is also listed in 'Winterstoke' Hundred in 1346 (*Feudal Aids*, iv. 358).

[68] Illingworth and Caley 1818, ii. 131.

[69] *Feudal Aids*, iv. 323.

[70] According to the *Rotuli Hundredorum*, King John (1199–1216) gave 'Winterstoke' Hundred together with Cheddar to Hugh archdeacon of Wells, who, in turn, gave it to the Bishop of Bath: Illingworth and Caley 1818, ii. 127, 130. The Bishop of Bath was Jocelyn of Wells (1206–42) and he was the brother of this Hugh (of Wells) who became the Bishop of Lincoln (1209–35). The *Book of Fees* (for 1219, three years after the death of King John), provides additional detail in that the manors of Axbridge and Cheddar were then held by the Bishop of Lincoln by King John's charter, although the bishop had given the advowson of Axbridge Church to his brother, the Bishop of Bath, and also Draycott and Rowberrow which were then members of Cheddar Hundred. Presumably the gift of the manors of Axbridge and Cheddar to Jocelyn followed soon afterwards.

[71] St Swithun's held nothing else in 'Bempstone' Hundred, whereas the Bishop of Bath did; however, the latter did not have the lordship of the hundred. A similar case is the removal of Puriton from Loxley (later Whitley) Hundred which otherwise belonged to Glastonbury Abbey. Puriton was a 'free manor' in 1316 (*Feudal Aids*, iv. 322); see Thorn 2008, 18.

[72] Illingworth and Caley 1818, ii. 126.

[73] Illingworth and Caley 1818, ii. 126.

[74] Illingworth and Caley 1818, ii. 129–30.

[75] West Harptree has always been in Chewton Hundred; see, for example, *Feudal Aids*, iv. 329 and Morland 1990, 110–11.

[76] Youngs 1979, 419. Blagdon shared a boundary with Cheddar, so it was, unlike [East] Harptree, continuous with 'Winterstoke' Hundred, so long as Cheddar lay within it.

[77] Youngs 1979, 442.

[78] *Book of Fees*, 82. The schedule dates from 1212.

[79] In the *Rotuli Hundredorum*: Illingworth and Caley 1818, ii. 130.

[80] Domesday Book SOM 8,32.

[81] Domesday Book SOM 1,8.

[82] See Illingworth and Caley 1818, ii. 129. The inquisition that became known as the *Rotuli Hundredorum* was made in 1275–76 and records that at Congresbury the Bishop (of Bath and Wells) enjoyed various privileges that the king had 67 years before.

[83] See Glascock 1975, 273. In Domesday (SOM 24,10), Bagdworth is held from Walter (also known as Walscin) of Douai. No royal connection appears.

[84] See *VCH Somerset*, ii. 1–2. The date of the establishment of a church at Badgworth is unknown. It is assumed that the dedication to St Congar was not independent, but influenced by the link with Congresbury.

[85] See *Feudal Aids*, iv, 323.

[86] *Feudal Aids*, iv. 326.

[87] Thorn 2008, 11–15.

[88] Exon Domesday folios 63b–64a (List I); folios 64a–64b (List II). For Exon Domesday, see Domesday Book (Record Commission) in the references.

[89] For the Tax Returns for Cornwall, see Exon folios 72–73a; for Devon, see Exon folios 65a–71a; for Dorset, see Exon folios 17a–24a; for Somerset, see Exon folios 75a–82b; 526b–527a; for Wiltshire (three different accounts), see Exon folios 1–3, 7–9, 13–16a. The date is disputed, but it seems likely that these returns relate to the exceptionally heavy geld at 6s per hide raised in 1084 (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under that year) and whose collection will have spread over some months. There are too many discrepancies for these returns to have been part of the Domesday process. The problem of dating and of the relation of the material to Domesday is admirably reviewed in Williams 1968, 117–23, and in Darlington 1955, 169–74. For Galbraith's emphatic view that they date from 1086, see Galbraith 1950, and Galbraith 1961, 223–30.

[90] Lordship or demesne land was that worked directly by and for the manorial lord and from which he received all the profits and on which customary service was due from tenants. Having land in lordship was a considerable advantage, despite the fact that lordship hides appear normally to have been taxed like other hides. In the Tax Returns some of the lordship land that is recorded either in Domesday or in Exon) was exempt of tax, perhaps because the 6 shillings per hide geld was exceptionally heavy. However, these exemptions only applied to those named in the Returns, generally tenants-in-chief; there were others, usually subtenants, who had lordship land (according to the nearly contemporary Exon) but appear to have paid tax on it.

[91] Exon folio 77a1. A large patch of gall covers the area from the middle to the end of the first two lines of the entry and from the middle to near the end of the next three lines and, to a lesser extent, the middle part of line six, as well as certain other words and figures elsewhere in this return. Some words are darker than others, probably as more gall was applied to them. Only parts of the text under this gall can now be read with the naked eye. Caroline Thorn has rechecked the manuscript for this article and her readings and observations are included in the translation and in the present note and in notes 93, 96, 99–101. Oak gall is a colourless liquid which when applied to a manuscript enhances the reading of faint patches of writing; it was not initially realized that over the years it darkened due to oxidization, often obscuring completely the text beneath it. See Thorn 1987, 135; Hallam 1987, 149. Words were interlined above some of the gall-affected areas, which, judging by the handwriting, were done by Ralph Barnes, chapter clerk of Exeter Cathedral, who

was responsible for the transcription of the manuscript that was published in 1816 by Sir Henry Ellis as Vol. 3 of the Record Commission edition of Domesday Book. Ralph Barnes' handwritten booklet on Exon survives. Some of his interlined words have, alas, been proved to be incorrect during a close study of the MS. Barnes may have been responsible for the application of the gall.

The manuscript of Exon is about to be photographed, digitised and re-bound, hopefully with enhancement of passages that have had gall applied to them, as well as where material has been erased. This will undoubtedly reveal more than can currently be read, as was the case when the manuscripts of Great Domesday and Little Domesday were photographed and digitised.

The return is translated and analysed in *VCH Somerset*, i. 529–30, and analysed in Morland 1990, 128. Since there is no reference in either of these to manuscript readings, it seems that the work in both is based on the printed transcription, although *VCH* suggests '(the Abbot of Glastonbury)' correctly where Ralph Barnes interlined the 'Bishop of Coutances'; see note 96.

92 A virgate is a quarter of a hide and a ferling is a quarter of a virgate; as divisions of the hide, these are not exact measures of area, but units of tax and service.

93 There is no sign of 'hides' in the MS, although Ralph Barnes interlined it above the gall-affected area and it is obviously a simple omission by the Exon scribe.

94 Bishop of Winchester.

95 Bishop of Wells.

96 Barnes interlined *Ep's Constantiens'* above the space of 3.8cms where the scribe's writing is mostly illegible under the gall; this is incorrect, as an *r* is visible in the MS immediately before the visible *iensis*, whereas this letter would be *t* if it were *Constantiensis*; a faint *Gl* can also been seen in an appropriate place. It is impossible to tell how and how much the mostly illegible words under the gall here were abbreviated: this Exon scribe wrote *abbas* in full as well as its common abbreviation *abb'*. That the holder was the Abbot of Glastonbury is reinforced to some extent by the fact that the Bishop of Coutances who was a pluralist appears as the Bishop of Saint-Lô later in this same return. The translation in *VCH Somerset*, i. 529, has '(abbot of Glastonbury)' with no explanatory footnote. The Bishop of Coutances did not himself have land in lordship in this hundred, but Ascelin who held Hutton and Elborough (SOM 5,10–11) under him, and Herlwin, who likewise held Ashcombe (SOM 5,13) did, although no exemption appears to have been allowed; see note 106.

97 For the ferling (a quarter of a virgate), see note 92.

98 Also known as Walter of Douai. The 'Walter' survives as the second element of Bridgwater, which he held in 1086 (SOM 24,21).

99 There are considerable difficulties with these figures, which fortunately are not fatal to the current study. The MS reading of *vi. xx* for part of the hidage of the hundred is presumably to be interpreted as 6 x 20 (= 120); although *cxx* is the normal Roman equivalent of '120', it is paralleled by the usual *iv. xx* for '80'. The space (2.5cms obscured by the gall) after the *vi. xx hide* is rather large for *7 dim'* (120½ hides) before the *.i. uirg*[*a*]. The incomplete figure for the hidage on which the tax was received by the king (77 hides and 1 virgate and [2 or 3] ferlings) does not quite square with the tax figure of £23 3s. 60 ½d (that is, £23 8s. ½d), which actually suggests a hidage of 78 hides (£23 8s) at 6s to the hide, if one ignores the ½d. The analysis in *VCH Somerset*, i. 530, deduces the reading as 77 hides 1 virgate and 1 ferling, but that produces a figure of £23 3s. 10½d. To the 78 hides can be added at least 40 hides and 1 virgate which are exempt of tax and whose individual figures are all readable (apart from that for Bishop Giso which appears to be 6 h[ides], and the overall figure for the exempt lordship land) and at least 11 hides and 3 ferlings for tax not received, making a total of not less than 129 hides 1 virgate and 3 ferlings. The only uncertain figure among those for tax due concerns what Osbern holds from Gilbert son of Turold. The space of 0.7cm between *de* and *hid'* is unreadable as the gall is very dark here, but Barnes interlined *de dim* which is very likely to be correct. The total size of Osbern's holding (SOM 42,1: Kewstoke) is only 1½ hides, with no lordship land recorded in Exon, but the omission can be deduced, since the difference between the total amount owing (70s. 1½d) and the total hidage on which tax has not been paid (11 hides and 3 ferlings) is 3s. which is the tax on ½ hide. Thus it would seem that Osbern had paid two-thirds of what he owed.

It would be unusual for Osbern, as a subtenant, to have had any exemption for lordship (see note 90), although the Exon entry on f. 446a1 (of which the Domesday entry is an abbreviation) is imperfect: the scribe initially omitted the plough estimate and the unbroken mares, but he then interlined them.

Thus the probable maximum size of the hundred is 130 hides and 1 virgate. The places that belong to this hundred according to *VCH Somerset*, i. 530 note 1, amount to 130 hides and 3 virgates. Eyton 1880, ii. 37–38, has a total of 129 hides and 2 ferlings, but, despite that, he has the wrong figures for Winterhead, Woodspring, Kewstoke and Milton, and he included in this hundred Kenn (actually in Portbury Hundred) and he took *Hascecomba/ Hetsecoma* as Ashcombe, when it is in fact 'Hiscombe' in Tintinhull Hundred (Morland 1954–5, 47). Morland 1990, 128, counts 129 hides and 1 virgate, but he has 14 hides rather than 15 for Winscombe (SOM 8,2) and conversely includes the 2 hides of Aldwick (SOM 37,5) which must have lain in Hartcliffe Hundred. The present analysis gives the hundred 128 hides and 1 virgate.

100 6 hides is Bishop Giso's full lordship: the visible *7* ('and') after the *h...* does not leave space for either *7 dim'* ('and a half') or any virgates or ferlings and must be the introduction to another holder whose name ended *riensis*, on which see note 96. A reading of 6 hides also agrees with his holding in Domesday.

101 On this probable reading, see note 96.

102 This is the total that Ralph held; it is also probably the taxable extent, since, as a subholder, he probably did not have any land in lordship. None is recorded in Exon (157a2) where fuller details of his holding and those of others are given

103 Robert son of Walter held this land from Count Robert of Mortain, and, although Exon (272b2) credits him with 3½ hides of lordship land, it was not exempt, as he owed tax on the full size of the holding. For this distinction between taxed and untaxed lordship land, see note 90.

104 On this figure, see note 99.

105 In Exon (479a4) the lordship land is given as 3½ virgates and the 'villagers" land as ½ virgate. It is likely that Alward's lordship land was not exempt of tax (see note 90) and that he had only paid tax on half of his hide.

106 Ascelin held land in lordship at all three places, but his name does not appear among those recorded in the first part of the Tax Return as holding exempt lordship land. It is thus impossible to tell for which of these estates he had paid tax but still owed some.

107 This was the only manor that William held in 'Winterstoke' Hundred.

108 Serlo, a tenant-in-chief and therefore probably exempt of tax for some or all of his lordship land had 7½ hides in lordship at Blagdon according to Exon (452a1) and 5 hides and 3 virgates at Uphill (Exon 452a2). His total holding in those two places was 16½ hides. The Tax Return allows him only 5 hides and 1½ virgates of exemption of the 13 hides and 1 virgate of land in lordship that Exon records (see note 90). He had clearly paid a considerable sum, but the 1 ferling owed could be from either or both his holdings.

109 The Domesday form of 'Ponteside' (SOM 21,80) is *Panteshede*. It was identified as 'Ponteside' (lost in Banwell) by *VCH Somerset*, i. p. 492. The vill is found in the *Feet of Fines* (Green 1892, 28) as *Ponteside juxta Bannewelle*; see *VCH Somerset*, i. p. 492 note 1. It is *Pantesida* in the Bruton Cartulary (Lyte *et al.* 1894, 31 (no. 132)). An Alice *Pontyessde* holds land in Banwell in the 1327 *Lay Subsidy Roll* (Dickinson 1889, 267). A *Pantes hyd ford* appears in the 1068 charter bounds of Banwell; as it lies between two identifiable points, it must have lain somewhere near Manor Farm at Hillend (ST3758); see Rippon 2006, 132–3; Aston and Costen 2008, 144, 154 (note 13). For the writ (cited in note 159) which restores Banwell to the Bishop of Wells and which contains these bounds, see Bates 1998, 863–5 (no. 286).

110 They are listed together in 1303 (*Feudal Aids*, iv. 312), held of the Honour of Gloucester to which the estates of the Bishop of Coutances (who held in a personal capacity) descended. In the 1275–76 *Rotuli Hundredorum* (Illingworth and Caley 1818, ii. 130). Weston appears to stand for Ashcombe.

111 The Conqueror's writ restoring 30 hides at Banwell to the Bishop of Wells (Bates 1998, 863–65 (no. 286), cited in note 159) includes separate bounds for both Banwell and Compton Bishop, but the latter must have formed part of the 30 hides. See Aston and Costen 2008, 145–6, 153 (note 8). Christon was held in 1303 and 1346 (*Feudal Aids*, iv. 307, 352) by a William

Martin to whom the 1086 lands of Serlo of Burcy descended. Serlo holds 3 hides of Banwell in Domesday (SOM 6,9).

112 For Rolstone, Churchill and Stock (in Churchill) see *Feudal Aids*, iv. 307, Morland 1963–4, 97, Phillimore Domesday, note to SOM 6,9 (Banwell), and Aston and Costen 2008, 143 (fig. 3). St Georges and Woolvershill were included in the bounds of the 1068 charter restoring Banwell to the Bishop of Wells (cited in notes 109, 111 and 159) and were subsequently included in Banwell Ancient Parish; see Aston and Costen 2008, 142, 144. Their interpretation of the bounds would exclude Christon and Puxton from the grant, although the boundary points in both instances are widely spaced and mostly indefinite. It is difficult to see why Puxton and Christon cannot be included. But if the bounds do exclude them, it is important to note that they seem to have been transferred from an earlier charter which may not have granted the whole of Banwell; see Aston and Costen 2008, 146.

113 In 1303 (*Feudal Aids*, iv. 312), Norton, Worle, Kewstoke and Milton have the same holders; Norton was in Kewstoke Ancient Parish, but directionally, like Milton (the 'middle *tun*') and Weston, it probably originated as part of Worle.

114 A connection with Shipham may seem probable topographically. In 1346 (*Feudal Aids*, iv. 351), Rowberrow was held with part of Sandford by St Augustine's Abbey in Bristol, formerly by Robert Warr; see also *Feudal Aids*, iv. 307. Sandford lay in 'Winterstoke' Hundred, but if Rowberrow is the *Rugeberg* of *Book of Fees*, 263, it was in Cheddar Hundred, before that hundred's merger with 'Winterstoke' Hundred, so its early history needs exploring; see notes 163 and 203.

115 See Phillimore Domesday, note to SOM 8,2 (Winscombe), and Aston and Costen 2008, 146–9.

116 The descent of Locking to the Courtenay family suggests that in 1086 it was held by William of Falaise. Morland 1990, 128, is probably right in suggesting that it is the 3 hides added to Woodspring held in Domesday by this man (SOM 27,3). These in turn may have been taken from elsewhere, perhaps from Worle, since Woodspring and Locking do not share a boundary.

117 The status of these figures can only be determined by considering the overall hidation of these areas, discussed below.

118 Morland 1990, 121.

119 Exon 78b1; see Morland 1990, 124–5.

120 Morland 1990, 121.

121 See, for example, *Feudal Aids*, iv. 329; for an analysis of the Tax Return for Chewton Hundred, see Morland 1990, 110–11.

122 Exon 78a3; see Morland 1990, 111–12.

123 See Morland 1990, 104.

124 Exon 76a2; see Morland 1990, 103.

125 See Morland 1990, 115. As a possession of Glastonbury Abbey, Wrington was subsequently drawn out of Hartcliffe Hundred and joined administratively with Brent, which was a separate hundred ('South Brent') at the time of Domesday, although surrounded by 'Bempstone' Hundred.

126 The sand bars between Worlebury Hill and Middlehope and between Weston and Uphill are natural and would allow Woodspring and Uphill to be reached comfortably from Worle; see Rippon 2006, 8–11.

127 This stream debouches into the River Axe just by Uphill, which is named from its tidal stretch: the name appears to be Old English *uppan pylle*, meaning '(place) above a (tidal) pill or creek'; see Ekwall 1960, under Uphill.

128 On multiple estates, see Jones 1971, 1976. The criticisms of Gregson 1985 have led to helpful clarification (Jones 1985).

129 In 1086 Worle was held by Walter (Walscin) of Douai and is placed at the head of his Somerset fief (SOM 24,1). Presumably he or a successor built the castle there on the site known as Castle Batch. No church is recorded at Kewstoke in Domesday Book, but the name itself means the *stoc* ('dependent settlement') of (St) Kew; see Ekwall 1960, under Kewstoke; although he omits the reference to Domesday. Kew was a female Celtic saint, possibly 5th century and patroness of the church of St Kew in Cornwall; see Farmer 1978, under Kew. In the Middle Ages, Kewstoke Ancient Parish and manor had a number of detached portions lying to the west and east of Puxton, but the origin of these is obscure; see Rippon 2006, 91, 128, 135–6.

130 The 2 virgates (= ½ hide) at 'Ponteside' seem anomalous, but they cannot simply be an error for 2 hides, as the population, resources and value are those of a smaller estate. It is possible that an estate of 1½ hides is missing from

Domesday. Alternatively, 'Ponteside' might have been alienated from the 30 hides of Banwell, and in effect 'double-counted'. This, of course, makes the discrepancy larger at 2 hides, but they might be an overlooked estate which added to Hutton (5 hides) and Elborough (3 hides) would make 10 hides.

131 ST3758.

132 This is the same as the original assessment of Wells; see Domesday SOM 6,1.

133 In 1066, Hutton had been held by two thanes, Elborough by a man called Alward; see Domesday SOM 5,10–11. The Bishop of Coutances held other lands which an Alward had held in 1066 (SOM 5,1;31 and in the Exon entry (151a2) corresponding to 5,65); in the process of transfer from Anglo-Saxons to Normans, the latter acquired many estates of which the Anglo-Saxon was not the holder but the tenant of a church. Of course this assumes that the Alward in these four entries was the same person, whereas there could have been more than one person with this name, as it represented either Old English *Ælfweard* or Old English *Æthelweard*, or even Old Danish *Halwarth*. Nonetheless, Glastonbury's claim seems genuine; it is mentioned in SOM 5,12 and 8,38, although Domesday is the earliest authority for Glastonbury's holding of it; it is, for example, not listed in the Glastonbury *Liber Terrarum*, nor in William of Malmesbury's *De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie* (Scott 1981). Abrams 1996, 143, suggests that this might indicate a very early acquisition, possibly under another name. However, it cannot have been given as part of Elborough, since that was assessed at 3 hides when given in the middle of the 8th century (see note 134) and in Domesday. Abrams (citing Morland 1986, 74) draws attention to a grant by King Ine of *terra ad pedem de Munedup*, that is, 'land at the foot of the Mendips' (Sawyer 1968, no. 1681 = Finberg 1964a, 113 (no. 374)), but there is no indication of its size or location; the Mendips have a more imposing 'foot' on their south side, viewed from Glastonbury.

134 Elborough at least had been granted to Glastonbury in the middle of the 8th century, by King Cynewulf to his thane Æthelheard, who later gave it to Glastonbury. The grant is lost but recorded in the Glastonbury *Liber Terrarum*: *Cyneulfus de Elenbearo dat Æthelardo*; see Sawyer 1968, no. 1681 (= Finberg 1964a, 117 (no. 391)); Abrams 1996, 119. See note 239.

135 See note 111.

136 The exact figures are Bleadon (15 hides), Loxton (5 hides), Hutton (5 hides), Elborough (3 hides), 'Ponteside' (½ hide), Banwell (30 hides), Winscombe (15 hides), Winterhead (1 hide), Shipham (4 hides), Blagdon (10 hides) and East Harptree (two estates of 5 hides each). This makes a grand total of 98½ hides. It has been suggested above (note 130) that there may be land near 'Ponteside' or Hutton-Elborough omitted from Domesday Book which would account for the discrepancy. These figures also assume that Winterhead (a possible alienation from Shipham or Winscombe) has not been double-counted and that nothing should be allowed for Rowberrow; see note 163. Shipham (4 hides) and Winterhead (1 hide) form a convenient 5-hide unit.

137 On the importance of Banwell, see Aston and Costen 2008, 149–50.

138 Domesday SOM 6,9. For Compton Bishop, see note 111.

139 Sawyer 1968, no. 1762 (= Finberg 1964a, 143 (no. 502)); see Abrams 1996, 248–9.

140 By 1086 Shipham was held by Roger of Courseulles, but there are grounds for thinking that it had been held by Glastonbury, presumably by a grant out of Banwell, separate to that of Winscombe; see Aston and Costen 2008, 149–50, and note 162. However, Shipham never returned to that church; see *Feudal Aids*, iv. 312.

141 Compton Bishop stands in a combe below Wavering Down and Crook Peak. It looks southwards and the easiest communication would be with Axbridge-Cheddar. To reach Banwell would require going over the down, through the Shute Shelve saddle or round the end of the hill via Barton. Compton Bishop had had ties with the religious community at Cheddar since the time of King Edward the Elder (see note 155), but it is not certain how ancient these were; whether Compton Bishop had once been an integral part of the Cheddar estate or had come to the community as a grant of land which though conveniently close had belonged to some other large estate. For the writ (cited in note 159) which restores Banwell to the Bishop of Wells and which contains the bounds of Banwell and Compton Bishop, see Bates 1998, 863–5 (no. 286). An appendage to the bounds of Compton Bishop says: 'the [bishop's] household has 5

hides and 100 acres of meadow at the southern *hywisc* and at Cheddar minster nine herds and the common land above Milkway [in Cheddar] and all the separate farm and its woodland'; see Aston and Costen 2008, 146.

142 If Bleadon had been a primary 'central place', one might expect it to have had an important church, yet it does not seem to have had any special status; see Aston and Costen 2008, 150. If it was originally subordinate to another church, possibly Banwell or Cheddar, this would suggest that it had originally been assessed as part of their lands and not as an early discrete estate. No church at Bleadon is mentioned in Domesday Book.

143 There is a charter of confirmation to one Æthelfrith, described as *dux* ('leading man', perhaps a rendering of Ealdorman) by King Edward the Elder in 904, replacing an earlier one destroyed by fire: Sawyer 1968, no. 371 (= Finberg 1964a, 128 (no. 423)). It was subsequently given to Glastonbury Abbey by Æthelfrith's son the ealdorman Athelstan when he became a monk there, later apparently alienated and then restored by a lost charter (939 x 946) of King Edmund; see Finberg 1964a, 133 (no. 447).

144 The adjacent parishes of Ubley, Compton Martin and West Harptree have this same alignment from the river to the hill-top.

145 Wrington was a 20-hide estate. Blagdon (10 hides) and Burrington (part of Wrington, but not named separately in DB) contained roughly the same amount of land and it is possible that it was also assessed at 10 hides, leaving 10 at Wrington itself. In the absence of any evidence that the two estates at East Harptree had been attached to 'Winterstoke' Hundred by a powerful individual (such as an earl, bishop or abbot) who might have wished to subjoin them to important land he held in the core of the hundred, the alternative explanation is that East Harptree provided (additional) resources to the hundred or to an estate within it.

146 Langford was partly in Churchill ('Winterstoke' Hundred), partly in Burrington (Hartcliffe Hundred). East Harptree became an Ancient Parish in 'Winterstoke' Hundred, West Harptree also became an Ancient Parish, but in Chewton Hundred; see note 75.

147 It is true that the 3½ hides at Ashcombe (SOM 5,13) plus the 1½ at Milton (SOM 24,2) make a five-hide unit, possibly granted as such and subsequently divided but that does not explain other figures, and there was even a further hide at Milton (SOM 46,19). For a similarly unequal division of a large whole, see the study of Bath Hundred in Thorn 2005.

148 Asser's account records: *diluculo vigiliae Natalis Domini advocatus ad eum, tradidit mihi duas epistolas in quibus erat multiplex supputatio omnium rerum quae erant in duobus monasteriis, quae Saxonice cognominantur Cungresbyri et Banuwille, et mihi eodem die tradidit illa duo monasteria cum omnibus quae in eis erant, et sericum pallium valde pretiosum et onus viri fortis de incenso, adiciens his verbis non ideo dedisse parva illa quod sequenti tempore nollet dare maiora* ('I was called to him at first light on Christmas Eve and he handed me two letters in which there was an exhaustive list of everything which was in these two religious establishments which are called Congresbury and Banwell in [Anglo-]Saxon, and on the same day he handed to me those two establishments with everything that was in them and an extremely valuable silk cloak and incense the weight of a robust man, adding in the following words that he had not given those little things because he was unwilling to give bigger ones in the future'). The Latin text is repunctuated from Stevenson 1904, § 81 (see also p. 320). All translations from Latin are by the author of this article.

Latin really only has the words *monasterium* and *coenobium* to cover a range of establishments for which modern writers have evolved individual terms. The word *monasterium* ('monastery') is Latinized from the Greek. It shares the same first element as *monachus* ('monk') and *monacha* ('nun') both from the Greek *monos* meaning 'single', 'solitary', or 'alone'; thus *monachus* is originally a 'hermit' and *monasterium* is his cell, although over time the words lose the notion of solitary isolation. The word *c*(*o*)*enobium* is also Latinized from Greek and originally means no more than a place where men or women live in a community. In Christian use it refers to a religious community or religious house, but not specifically to one type. These two words, like English *mynster*, can cover hermitages, monasteries, nunneries, double houses of monks and nuns (usually ruled by an abbess), colleges and secular minsters. The

people within them may have been 'ministering to a flock' outside in the church's *parochia* ('parish') or been trying to look away from the world in contemplation of God, in some cases eremitically or ascetically. An early religious house might have been a community of people, of both sexes, who individually had different occupations and preoccupations, such as monks, nuns and priests. The safest term to use, when the exact nature of the establishment is unclear is 'religious house'; see Blair 2005, *passim*; Foot 1992; Foot 2000, i. xiii–xiv, 26–30, 96–110; Yorke 2003, 3–4, 11; Foot 2006, 5–6; Aston 2009, 97, note 2; Thorn 2010, 37–38 (notes 41–42, 44).

149 *Nam sequentis temporis successu ex improviso dedit mihi Exanceastre cum omni parochia quae ad se pertinebat in Saxonia et in Cornubia*. There is no other evidence of a diocese of Exeter at this date, as Dorset, Devon and part of Cornwall were then part of the diocese of Sherborne (established in 705), of which Asser himself became bishop 892 x 901, ruling until 910. However, he could earlier have been a *chorepiscopus* (that is, a bishop's assistant or suffragan) ruling over part of the diocese here described as a *parochia* in the sense of 'a jurisdiction', the extent of *Saxonia* probably being limited to Devonshire by the mention of Exeter; see Stevenson 1904, 321; Finberg 1964b, 109–10.

150 *Tunc confestim dedit mihi licentiam equitandi ad illa duo monasteria omnibus bonis referta et inde ad propria revertendi* ('Then immediately he gave me permission to ride to those two establishments which were crammed with all kinds of wealth and then to return home'): Stevenson 1904, § 81. On this, see Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 52; O'Donovan 1988, xlvi–xlvii; Blair 2006, 303, 324–25, 363–64.

151 It is not certain where this *monasterium* was. It might have been in the (deserted?) hillfort of Cadbury Congresbury, or elsewhere; see Rahtz *et al*. 1992, 199, 250. If *burh* means 'fortification', then the reference might be to the hillfort of Cadbury Congresbury. On the name, see Ekwall 1960; for the saint, see Farmer 1978, under Congar. The present church-site is in the village of Congresbury, below the hillfort in a rectilinearly planned area south of the River Wring (Yeo). According to Sherborne tradition, Congresbury (and land near Priddy) had been given to that house by King Ine (688–726), perhaps when it became the new forward-base of the divided see of Winchester in 705: *Ine rex dedit iuxta prediau uii hidas. Et Conbusburie de xx hidis* ('King Ine gave 7 hides near Priddy, and Congresbury [consisting] of 20 hides'); see O'Donovan 1988, 80; the grants are listed in Finberg 1964a, 113 (no. 372), but are not calendared in Sawyer 1968. If these grants are genuine, they will have given the church an estate with balanced resources. Congresbury was still rated at 20 hides in Domesday (SOM 1,21), while Priddy does not appear by name. It is not clear why Alfred took it into his hands, although this Somerset estate might have been intended as a possession of the new see of Somerset based at Wells and founded in 909, yet there is no record that it ever had Congresbury, or Banwell among its original possessions. There was a later tradition (in the *Historiola de Primordiis Episcopatus Somersetensis*; Hunter 1840, 10–14) that Congresbury, then Wells, were the seats of the bishopric of Somerset during Ine's reign. This seems to create a see of Somerset 200 years too early, but it might just contain a memory of Congresbury's former importance, possibly as the seat of a British bishop; see Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 264 (note 192); O'Donovan 1988, xlvi; Rodwell 2001, 2; Hall, 2009, 160. However, the name given to this bishop (Daniel) is that of the bishop whom King Ine appointed to the see of Winchester in 705 and we may have here a myth woven around few facts; see *VCH Somerset*, ii. 3–4.

Priddy appears to have been acquired by the see of Wells at an unknown date and was later in Wells Hundred; see Glasscock 1975, 271.

152 For the church of Congresbury, see SOM 1,21: 'Bishop Maurice holds this manor's church, with ½ hide. Value 20s.' This has three of the characteristic signs of a secular minster: (1) the high status of the holder, Bishop Maurice of London who had been a royal chaplain; (2) the holding of land; (3) a valuation separate from that of the manor; see Blair 1985. Bishop Maurice also held the churches of North Curry (SOM 1,19) and of Ilchester (SOM 15,1). For Banwell, see SOM 6,9. The Domesday record of churches, known from other sources to have existed in 1086, is far from complete; see Darby 1977, 52–6. However, if Banwell had had a secular minster church one would have expected

at least one of the above signs of this. The estate of Yatton, north of the River Wring (Yeo) also had a superior church according to Domesday SOM 6,14, although that probably looked towards Portbury and Bedminster rather than to Banwell and Congresbury.

153 A common pattern in the south-west was that a British (Celtic) monastery would be taken over by a bishopric, 'losing its status to a nearby Saxon replacement' (Hall 2009, 161). This might explain the origin of the Congresbury-Banwell duo, but not their subsequent histories: on the continuing importance of Congresbury, see Oakes and Costen 2003.

154 Sawyer 1968, no. 373 (= Finberg 1964a, 128 (no. 424)). Asser would not have needed its revenues after he became bishop and it may be that Alfred's grant was in fact, only a short lease.

155 Finberg 1964a, 129 (no. 427). It cannot be exactly dated, but was later than the previous transaction and before his death, so between 904 and 925. The charter does not exist but is deduced from King Edgar's confirmation of these two transactions; see Sawyer 1968, no. 806 (= Finberg 1964a, 144, (no. 509)). Sawyer dates the confirmation 978 for ?968; Finberg has ?964 x 975.

The nearest Compton to Cheddar is Compton Bishop. As Cheddar was an anciently royal manor, the 'religious community' there may well have been established at an early date, although the first (and obscure) allusion to it is in King Alfred's will concerning a grant of Wedmore: 'I grant to Edward my elder son [the future King Edward the Elder] ... the land at Carhampton and at Kilton and at Burnham and at Wedmore – and I beseech the community at Cheddar to choose him on the terms which we have already agreed on – along with the land at Chewton and what belongs to it'; see Sawyer 1968, no. 1507 (= Finberg 1964a, 126–27 (no. 25)); the will is translated in Whitelock 1979, 535 (no. 96). The nature and implications of this agreement are unclear; see Blair, 2006, 303. The excavations at Cheddar by Philip Rahtz (Rahtz 1979) revealed the site of a palace or hunting-lodge and a minster. John Blair's reassessment (Blair 1996, 108–20) and his current reading of the situation (Blair 2006, 303, 326–7) appear to be that the hunting-lodge ('the cuckoo in the nest') expanded to the detriment of the minster. This may be a false opposition. A royal estate at Axbridge-Cheddar may well have existed before a king erected a minster-church there. As a royal minster it was the king's to manage. The demise of the minster (whose date of closure is unknown) could have been simply part of the general decay of minsters in an age where they were being replaced by a plurality of local churches. On this minster, see *VCH Somerset*, ii. 6; Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 470. No church at Cheddar is mentioned in Domesday Book (SOM 1,2).

156 Finberg 1964a, 149 (no. 528).

157 Nothing is known of Congresbury between the time that Asser acquired its church, and this grant to Duduc. If, like Banwell, it went to the bishopric of Winchester, it may, unlike Banwell, have continued among its lands, but at some point it will have returned to royal hands. It might even have returned to the king when Asser surrendered his two churches.

158 Sawyer 1968, no. 1042 (= Finberg 1964a, 152–53 (no. 542)).

159 For the writ dated May 1068, see Bates 1998, 863–5 (no. 286). It records how Bishop Duduc had given 30 hides at Banwell to Wells Church but that 'King' Harold had taken them away. The attached bounds (in Old English) are those of two separate estates, Banwell and Compton Bishop. They appear to have been recycled from earlier grants and do not take account of certain pre-Conquest changes to the Banwell estate; see Aston and Costen 2008.

160 Domesday SOM 6,9.

161 For instance Milverton and Chewton Mendip (SOM 1,26;29) held in 1066 by Edward the Confessor's queen, Edith.

162 Sawyer 1968, no. 1733 (= Finberg 1964a, 134 (no. 450)). The form *Cympanhamme* appears in the Glastonbury *Index Chartarum* as a place lost to the church (Abrams 1996, 103–104), and is probably the same place as the *Scippamhamme* of William of Malmesbury's *De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie* (Scott 1981, § 70) where it is said to have been given to Glastonbury. In Domesday (SOM 21,79) it was held by Roger of Courseulles, with no indication of a Glastonbury interest, although Roger was a serial alienator of Glastonbury land. It was adjacent to Winterhead held by the Abbey in 1066, but alienated by the Bishop of Coutances, and to Rowberrow, not named in Domesday Book, but once held by Glastonbury. Rowberrow was just

possibly held in 1086 by Roger of Courseulles as part of Cheddar; see note 163.

163 Rowberrow is mentioned in the Glastonbury *Liber Terrarum* as being granted by King Edmund to a layman called Alfred; see Abrams 1996, 215. Also according to the *Liber Terrarum* (Abrams 1996, 215) an Alfred received Camerton and Tarnock of which the first was held by Glastonbury in 1066 but subsequently exchanged for Tintinhull (SOM 8,31. 19,9). Rowberrow is also mentioned in William of Malmesbury's *De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie* (Scott 1981, § 70) as given to Glastonbury. The entries in Sawyer 1968, no. 1722, and Finberg 1964a, 134 (no. 454), derive from this sparse information. No extent is given and Rowberrow does not appear by name in Domesday Book. However, Roger of Courseulles holds 2 hides and 1 virgate as part of Cheddar (SOM 21,78) and one wonders whether this was in fact at Rowberrow, which was adjacent to the land he held, perhaps illegally, at Shipham; see note 162. Certainly Rowberrow seems to have lain in Cheddar Hundred, not in 'Winterstoke' Hundred, although the hundreds had merged by 1275–76 (see Table 1). *Rugeberge* was held with Draycott in Cheddar Hundred in 1219 (*Book of Fees*, 263). Draycott was a member of Cheddar Hundred in 1086; see Morland, 1990, 103.

164 On this grant, see notes 134 and note 239.

165 See note 133.

166 Sawyer 1968, no. 606 (= Finberg 1964a, 138 (no. 472)).

167 Sawyer 1968, no. 804 (= Finberg 1964a, 147 (no. 519)).

168 Domesday SOM 2,11.

169 This is according to the *Annals of Winchester*, 26, cited in Finberg 1964a, 150 (no. 532).

170 Exon 64b.

171 Thorn 1989a, 33.

172 Exon 78b1. After a marginal gallows sign the entry begins 'From 1 part of the land of Bishop Giso which belongs to the Honour of his bishopric there are 200 hides and 10 and 8 hides'. For Yatton, see Domesday SOM 6,14.

173 Illingworth and Caley 1818, ii. 126.

174 *Feudal Aids*, iv. 326.

175 *Feudal Aids*, iv. 326.

176 *Feudal Aids*, iv. 325–26. This is the Hewish near Congresbury now consisting of West Hewish (ST3864) and East Hewish (ST4064).

177 For the contents of Portbury Hundred in 1086, see Morland 1990, 121.

178 SOM 5,29.

179 See Morland 1990, 121.

180 Ayscough and Caley 1802, 197, 199, 203.

181 Exon Tax Return 78a3. In Domesday (SOM 1,21), Congresbury is rated at 20 hides, the same as the total when it was given by charter (note 151), although 2 hides of those 20 had been alienated by 1086.

182 SOM 1,12;13;19. The estates held by Harold before the death of King Edward the Confessor were of at least three kinds: (a) those inherited from his family (which may of course have originated as grants from King Edward or his predecessors to the house of Godwin); (b) those that he held by virtue of his being Earl of Wessex; (c) those that he had seized. Banwell and Congresbury belonged to this last group.

183 The Exon *Terrae Occupatae* (518a1) record 1 hide as added to the manor of Yatton. Attached to this hide, which had been held in 1066 by a woman called Ælrun, was pasture called Wemberham which had then belonged to Congresbury; the hide and the pasture were jointly worth 25s. The Domesday entry for Yatton in Bishop Giso's fief (6,14) records the alienation of the pasture in Wemberham from Congresbury, but does not mention the hide. Meanwhile, the corresponding entry in Exon (159b1), from which the Domesday entry was abbreviated, states that, of the 4 hides held in 1086 by Hildebert as a subholding from the bishop, a woman Ælrun had 1 hide jointly (*pariter*) in 1066, and that to this hide is attached a pasture called Wemberham which lay in the king's manor of Congresbury in 1066; there is no mention of the hide having been added to Yatton. The two entries in Exon are in conflict, because either this hide is extra to the 4 hides, or is one of them, but it seems more likely that the *Terrae Occupatae* entry is correct and that 1 hide plus the pasture at Wemberham has been added to Hildebert's subholding rather than being an original part of it. It might be thought, nonetheless, that this hide is the same as that removed from Congresbury by the bishop; however, the value of that hide is given in the Congresbury entry (1,21) as £4 whereas the hide and the pasture added to Yatton are jointly valued at 25s. Wemberham now lies on the Yatton side of the Yeo, but the course of the river may have changed; see Rippon 2006, 87.

Even if the hide added to Yatton according to the *Terrae Occupatae* was not the bishop's hide mentioned in Domesday as alienated from Congresbury, it had probably been abstracted from Congresbury, as the associated pasture at Wemberham certainly had, and it may well have lain in Hewish, south of the River Wring (Yeo), adjacent to Wemberham. The argument is as follows: in Domesday, a man called Hildebert holds Clevedon (SOM 44,1) from Matthew of Mortagne and also 4 hides in Yatton from the Bishop of Wells (SOM 6,14). In *Feudal Aids*, iv. 307, 352, the heirs of Raymond of Clevedon hold Kenn, Wemberham, Langford and Hewish and lands elsewhere in Somerset. This part of Kenn (another part was held by the Bishop of Coutances: SOM 5,29) was presumably an unnamed part of Clevedon in 1086. The long-term effect of this withdrawal of Hewish from Congresbury is that it became a tongue of Yatton Ancient Parish extending south of the River Wring.

184 SOM 6,9.

185 *Feudal Aids*, iv. 307, 351; see Morland, 1963–64, 97, where he fails to notice Rolstone. On the Tortesmains family, see Aston *et al*. 2010, 62–3.

186 Lyte *et al.* 1894, 31 (no.134).

187 *Pace* Robinson 1921, 157.

188 Lyte *et al*. 1894, 31–32 (no.135) and 241.

189 Rippon 2006, 140–45.

190 See *Book of Fees*, 82, cited in note 78.

191 *Feudal Aids*, iv. 326.

192 See Darby 1940a, 1940b.

193 Rippon 2006, 140. The etymology of this rare name is uncertain. The final element *-el* indicates a diminutive. If the original name is related to the Old French *pucher*, then that is a Norman and Picardian form of *puiser* meaning 'to draw water (from a well)'. *Puiser* itself is derived from *puits* ('well'). See Dauzat *et al*. 1971 under *puche*. In the case of Robert *Pukerel*, this was no doubt a true surname, and not an occupational name.

194 See Ekwall 1960, under *Tun*. The early forms are helpfully tabulated in Rippon 2006, 141.

195 *Book of Fees*, 82.

196 Hall 1896, 221.

197 The extensions of Puxton within Congresbury are well shown on the maps in Rippon 2006, 144.

198 *Kyngeswode* is mentioned as part of the manor of Congresbury in 1275–76; see Illingworth and Caley 1818, ii. 129.

199 See note 151.

200 For Kingston Seymour, see SOM 5,63–64; for Brockley, see SOM 45,16. The latter detachment also contained Midgell (SOM 5,68). The reason for many detached parts of hundreds is to do with lordship; however, in the present cases, it is assumed that the reason is access to resources and that these places never lay in the Hundreds of Portbury and Hartcliffe which surround them.

201 Such discrepancies may not be the result of generosity, but of the initial, impressionistic hidation, which measured nothing with exactitude, and possibly, in the case of a manor as low-lying as Congresbury they were the result of sequential intakes from the marsh.

202 Ayscough and Caley 1802, 197.

203 Morland 1990, 103. Cheddar Hundred had been absorbed by 'Winterstoke' Hundred before 1275–76 (see Table 1), but was still a separate hundred in 1219 (*Book of Fees*, 263. On the possibility that Rowberrow had been granted from it, see note 163. In 1212 (*Book of Fees*, 82) under the heading 'Cheddar', it was reported that 'King Henry, father of King John' (that is, Henry II, 1154–89) had given *Cedderford'* [unidentified] to the Carthusian monks, who had land at Charterhouse-on-Mendip, which would have been within Cheddar royal manor. It seems that these Carthusians were based at Witham, near Bruton and that they only had a grange at Charterhouse-on-Mendip (thus Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 133, 135), rather than a cell (as stated by Tanner 1744, 478), although there was a secular chaplain based there from 1376. On the priory at Witham, see *VCH Somerset*, ii. 123–28.

204 The smallness of Cheddar Hundred is only paralleled by that of Bedminster rated at 6½ hides.

205 SOM 1,2.

206 SOM 1,1.

207 The clause 'nor is it known how many hides are there' is to be interpreted in the context of Domesday. Hides mean revenue and the question implies that there should be hides there. However, the enquirers were mistaken: these manors had never been hidated.

208 The ten manors (SOM 1,1–10) were Somerton (with the borough of Langport), Cheddar (with Axbridge borough and the manor of Wedmore), North Petherton, South Petherton, Curry [Rivel],

Williton (with Cannington and Carhampton), Bedminster, Frome, Bruton and Milborne [Port], with the borough of Ilchester. These ten manors were the only ones described in Exon (88b1–91b) under the heading *Dominicatus Regis in Sumerseta* ('the king's demesne (or lordship) in Somerset'); other Exon headings ('The king's lands which Earl Godwin and his sons held in Somerset' (103a), 'The land of Queen Edith in Somerset' (113a) and 'Land which was Wulfward White's in Somerset' (116a) contain the other lands in SOM Chapter 1. In Devon 'the 19 manors' which 'were in the lordship of King Edward and belong to the king' are recorded in Exon (83a–88a) under the more specific heading *Dominicatus Regis ad Regnum pertinens* ('the king's lordship belonging to the throne') and again other Exon headings ('The king's lordship land in Devon' (93a) and 'Queen Matilda's land in Devonshire' (108a)) contain the other lands in DEV Chapter 1. For further examples, see Domesday SUF 1,1 and 31,44. These estates had all been held by King Edward in 1066. They usually have a (minster) church with more than one priest and/or dependent land.

209 See, for example DEV 1,7 (Silverton) and DEV 1,11 (Axminster); DOR 1,2–6; HAM 1,2 (Neatham) and HAM 1,27 (Eling); WIL 1,1–5;7. Of Basingstoke (HAM 1,42) Domesday says: 'It has always been a royal manor. It never gave tax nor has the hide been apportioned there'. In these counties there are also a number of large manors held by King Edward in 1066 which are assessed at a single hide or virgate; these are very similar to the unhidated manors.

210 This sum consists of 128 hides and 1 virgate for the 1086 hundred of 'Winterstoke', plus 20 hides for Congresbury and 7¾ hides for Cheddar. However, if the 128 hides and 1 virgate, for reasons suggested above should be rounded up to 130 hides, this produces 157 hides and 3 virgates.

211 SOM 1,2. 6,15. On King Alfred's gift of Wedmore, see note 155.

212 See *Feudal Aids*, iv. 322.

213 The moot-site of 'Bempstone' Hundred was at the hundred stone on the boundary between Chapel Allerton, Stone Allerton and Weare; see Anderson 1939a, 49–50. 'Hundred-Stone Field' and the site of the hundred stone itself are marked at ST414505 on the Ordnance Survey six-inch map (sheet 26SE, surveyed in 1884, published in 1889).

214 For the manor, see SOM 8,33; for the hundred, see the second Exon list (64b).

215 See Anderson 1939a, 48.

216 Domesday SOM 5,12. On the etymology, see Aston and Costen 2008, 150.

217 Ekwall 1960. On 'Winterstoke', Anderson 1939a, 48, who scarcely ever makes a demonstrable error, suggests that these early forms are mistranscriptions of forms in *Wintre-*.

218 On these elements, see Ekwall 1960. The early forms point to *stoc*, for example *Stoke* (1303), *Stok* (1346) and *Stoke* (1428) in *Feudal Aids*, iv. 307, 351, 368.

219 Cited by Rippon 2006, 142, from deeds dating from 1472–78.

220 They were often treated together in later documents, and sometimes combined with Portbury Hundred; see, for example, *Feudal Aids*, iv. 304, 324.

221 The division between an in-hundred and an out-hundred (*hundredum intrinsecum, hundredum extrinsecum*) is common later. The out-hundreds are also called 'foreign hundreds' (Latin *forinsecus*, from *foris*, meaning 'outside the doors [of the house]', 'outdoors', 'outside', 'abroad'). 'Foreign' is also corrupted to 'forum' as in Wells Forum Hundred and Bath Forum Hundred. For example, in the *Rotuli Hundredorum* (Illingworth and Caley 1818, ii. 119, 121–22, 133–35, 138, 140–41) out-hundreds of Wells, Bath, Milverton, Taunton and Somerton appear, together with an in-hundred of Somerton. Sometimes as *in manerium de Frome cum hundredo* ('the manor of Frome with the hundred'), the word 'manor' seems to represent the in-hundred; see Illingworth and Caley 1818, ii. 124. On these distinctions, see Cam 1944, 70–5.

222 The Hundred of Frome which appears in the Exon Tax Returns (527a1) assessed at 298 hides is represented by the hundreds of Frome, Kilmersdon and Wellow in the second Exon hundred list (64b). Likewise the Tax Return Hundred of Bruton (81b2) assessed at 232 hides represents the hundreds of Bruton, Wincanton (later Norton Ferris) and 'Blachthorne' (later Catsash), while the Tax Return for Yeovil Hundred (79a1), with an assessment of 157½ hides, stands for the hundreds of Stone, Houndsborough, Tintinhull and Lyatts (or Coker). Detailed discussion of these groupings

must wait for another time and place, but it will be argued that by 1086 each had lost important elements and that the original hundreds were larger with rounder totals; see provisionally note 229.

223 For the charter dated 972, see Sawyer 1968 no. 787 (= Hart 1975, 58 (no. 8)). See also Cam 1944, 101.

224 In 1086 in Oxfordshire, the Jurisdiction of 4½ hundreds belonged to Benson, 2 hundreds to Headington, 2½ hundreds to Kirtlington, 3 hundreds apiece to Wootton, and Shipton[-under-Wychwood], 2 hundreds to Bampton, and two to Bloxham and Alderbury (OXF 1,1–7). For the arrangements in Shropshire in 1086, see SHR 4,1,1–6;9–11. There the manors that had been held in 1066 by King Edward were held in 1086 by or from Roger of Montgommery as Earl of Shrewsbury

225 Cam 1944, 91–106.

226 Shipsokes were groupings of hundreds to provide manpower for a ship of the fleet. There is insufficient evidence for the system to be fully understood and described. The first mention is in a much debated charter of 964 which purports to establish the triple hundred of 'Oswaldslow' in Worcestershire; see Sawyer 1968, no 731 (= Finberg 1972, 112 (no. 109)). This has led some to assume that the system was established by King Edgar (the possible originator of the hundredal system itself), but as the charter is spurious, or at least inflated and rewritten, the systematic grouping of hundreds may, for this purpose, have been the work of a later king. One needs to distinguish triple hundreds that have arisen as the division of a royal estate and groups of three hundreds that had diverse origins, but have been allied for a specific purpose. An entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 1008 seems to imply the existence of this system, as do the Laws of Henry I (*Leges Henrici Primi*, §6,1a: Downer 1972, 96–97) which say: *Ipsi uero comitatus in centurias et sipesssocna distinguntur* … ('Now the counties themselves are divided into hundreds and ship-sokes …'). A ship-soke is literally 'an area of jurisdiction involving a ship', while the English and Latin terms used in the versions of the 'Oswaldslow' charter are *Scipfylleð* and *naucupletio* both meaning 'a shipful', suggesting the provision of a crew, but not necessarily of a ship. There are excellent discussions of the fragmentary evidence in John 1964, 90–136 and Whybra 1990, 103–6. It is notable that some of the 'Mercian' shires based around a county town, and assessed at multiples of 600 hides, lend themselves to a neat division into threes. For Buckinghamshire (1200 hides, 12 hundreds grouped into four groups of three), see Thorn 1988a, 38.

227 Many of the early grants retain their original hidage in 1086; for example, Elborough which was assessed at 3 hides in the 8th century as in the 11th. Other apparent discrepancies are often due to the addition of land to, or the subtraction from, the original grant. For the Northamptonshire exception, see Hart 1970.

228 See Sawyer 1968, *passim*; Finberg 1964a; Edwards 1988. This hidation, the work of an early Anglo-Saxon king or kings, must have been done area by area and with close attention to the nature of the terrain. The surviving charters represent pieces of a grander scheme. This hidation should be distinguished from that contained in the Tribal Hidage which is often used as a starting point for these discussions. That document contains some exceptionally large figures for areas or tribes and is essentially a tribute-list, with the men of Wessex assessed at a crippling 100,000 hides; it is most probably the product of the brief hegemony of Edwin, King of Northumbria, that is of Bernicia and Deira (616–32); see Stenton 1971, 296–7; Davies and Vierck 1974; Higham 1995, 77–99.

229 The triple Hundred of Frome contained 298 hides in the Tax Return, and Bruton 232 hides. However, a number of estates belonging to Glastonbury and to Wells had manifestly been deducted from this latter hundred. Moreover, to the west of Bruton Hundred lay Whitstone Hundred which contained 115 hides in the Tax Return (Exon 75a3). As the lands in that hundred belonged entirely to Glastonbury Abbey, it is possible that they had once been in Bruton Hundred, or, pre-hundredally, in the territory of Bruton.

230 The second of these areas lay between the Rivers Mersey and Ribble, which was attached to Cheshire for the purposes of the Domesday survey (CHS R1–7). In the first area north of the River Ribble, including Amounderness, Lonsdale, Kentdale and Furness and extending into the later counties of Cumberland and Westmorland (all surveyed in Domesday as part

of Yorkshire), administration was still based on a series of royal manors; see YKS 1L1–8.

231 For a recent study of such an estate (Bampton in Oxfordshire), see Baxter and Blair 2005.

232 After the Conquest, the kings, increasingly impoverished by wars, and also having more efficient geld-collection and new forms of income (knight's fees, scutage), which rendered the 'one-night's farm' obsolete, progressively gave away these crown jewels, the estates of Ancient Demesne.

233 On the various studies of interrelated topics of the origins of the hundreds, these 'regions', their central places and their possible minster churches, see Anderson 1934, xvi–xxi; Anderson 1939b, 209–17; Bailey 1989; Barrow, 1975; Bassett 1989; Bassett 1997; Blair 1988a; Blair 1988b, 1–19; Blair 1991; Blair 2005, 303–304; Brooks 1989a; Brooks 1989b; Cam 1944, 64–106; Chadwick 1905, 239–62; Corbett 1900; Corbett 1924, 366; Dyer 2002; Faith 1994; Fleming 1994; Fleming 1998, 18–32; Hase 1994; Hooke 1998; Joliffe 1933; Joliffe 1926; Lewis *et al*. 1997; Rippon 2006, 126–27; Sawyer 1978, 199–200; Sawyer 1983; Stenton 1971, 293–301; Yorke 1995, 184–85, 227. The *regiones* and minster *parochiae* and their division into hundreds have been most fully worked out for Hampshire; see Hase 1975; Hase 1988. On the possible continuity between these 'regions' and the postulated territories of hillforts, see Burrow 1981. On the relation of these 'regions' to multiple estates, see the work of Jones cited in note 128.

234 The Tax Return hidage (Exon 77b2) is 43 hides and 3 ferlings, although Morland 1990, 104, suggests, with good reason, 51 hides 2 virgates.

235 See Morland 1990, 98, 104, 132.

236 Almost all the Wells land was included in the Exon Tax Return in the composite 'Land of Bishop Giso' (78b1). Wells itself was rated at 52 hides (SOM 6,1), evidently an original estate of 50 hides to which two had been added. These may have been at Wellow (in Wellow Hundred, part of the Frome group, and making the total for that group an exact 300 hides), according to Kelly 2007, 195, 198 (no. 27), so their inclusion in the present calculation is debateable. A further 6 hides in Wells Hundred were at Westbury-sub-Mendip (SOM 6,11), which was adjacent to Wells and shared a boundary with Rodney Stoke (itself in Cheddar Hundred). Westbury is presumably the western *burh* of Wells.

237 As well as the 12 hides, Glastonbury Abbey held the island of 'Andersey' (Nyland), rated at 2 hides, the islands of Meare (60 acres) and Panborough (6 acres). It is not certain if these are geld-acres or measures of area, and as they are small extents, they have not been included in this calculation.

238 To recap: the constituents of this sum of 297 hides and 2 virgates (with rejected alternatives in brackets) are 'Winterstoke' Hundred, 128 hides 1 virgate (130 hides) + Congresbury Hundred, 20 hides + Cheddar Hundred, 7 hides, 3 virgates + Bempstone Hundred, 51 hides, 2 virgates (43 hides, 3 ferlings) + 'South Brent' Hundred, 20 hides + Wells Hundred, 56 hides (58 hides) + Glastonbury, 14 hides.

239 For William of Malmesbury, see Scott 1981, §§ 48,69, and for John of Glastonbury see Carley 1985, §§ 16, 54; see also Adam de Domerham (Hearne 1727, 98). On this, see Abrams 1996, 119–20; and note 134 above. Carley 1985, 288 (note 188), reports a suggestion by Hazel Hudson and Frances Neale that *Elenbeorge* is in fact Oldbury near Cheddar. This is doubtful on philological grounds.

240 Illingworth and Caley 1818, ii. 127, 130; see note 70.

241 Ayscough and Caley 1802, 199. Redcliffe will have lain in the ancient royal estate of Bedminster.

242 This argument will be developed in a later article. Bath was also in this deanery and the deanery was part of the archdeaconry of Bath, but Bath was originally in Mercia and was only taken into Wessex in the late 9th century; see Thorn 2010, 22–6. That such a block existed may explain the odd outlying parts of Chewton Hundred (Kingston Seymour and Brockley-Midgell) that are evidenced in 1086 and later. If within this putative block dependent on Bedminster all major manors had access to all resources, then with the creation of the hundreds some manors will have lost such access. Chewton was important enough to have retained its links, which in the case of Kingston Seymour were perhaps transhumant access to the salt marshes, and in the case of Brockley-Midgell to a supply of timber.

243 Ayscough and Caley 1802, 197. Axbridge was an adjunct of Cheddar in Domesday (SOM 1,2) and its parish had clearly been carved out of that

of Cheddar; see Aston and Costen 2008, 152.

[244] See Aston 2007, 64–5 and notes 4–5.

[245] According to tradition, King Ine (688–726) was founder of a church at Wells; see *VCH Somerset*, ii. 3–4. It would be exceptional if there were no ecclesiastical establishment at Wells on which to graft a cathedral; and it is conceivable that there was a secular minster and a royal estate; certainly this was not *terra rasa*; see Rodwell 2001, 78, 571. I am grateful to Mick Aston for these references.

[246] Ayscough and Caley 1802, 199, 202, 205.

[247] On possible minsters, see Blair 1985, 108, 110; Costen 1992, 153–7; Hall 2009, 163.

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