

# SHAPWICK, DOMESDAY BOOK AND THE ‘POLDEN ESTATE’

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The village of Shapwick, centre of both an Ancient and a Civil Parish, lies on the Polden Hills in Somerset. The roughly rectangular parish ran and runs northwards into the marshland from the Roman road that followed the hill-ridge, the present village being situated at the midway point on the downward slope. The Poldens themselves stretch eastwards from Puriton to Butleigh and divide the moors and levels around the River Cary from those fed and drained by the River Brue. In terms of administrative topography, the Poldens and half the adjacent marshlands were in the hundred of Whitley, a 12th-century amalgamation of Loxley Hundred and Reynaldsway Hundred. In the 11th century, the principal constituents of Loxley Hundred were Puriton, Shapwick and ‘Sowy’<sup>1</sup> and those of Reynaldsway Hundred were Walton and Butleigh.

Since the 1980s Shapwick has been the focus of a major historical and archaeological study, with eight reports published between 1989 and 1998, followed by a large summative volume, with a smaller book expected shortly.<sup>2</sup> This article is a contribution to that study. It looks at what can be learnt or deduced about the history and composition of the Shapwick estate from early documentary sources, that is, from Domesday Book, from the roughly contemporary Tax Returns (or Geld Rolls) and from various Anglo-Saxon documents loosely called charters. The core of the article is a detailed commentary on the Domesday Book entry for Shapwick, but this is preceded by some general remarks on Domesday itself (necessitated by the changing focus of Domesday studies) and it is followed by a consideration of those ‘charters’ that may be related to Shapwick and a discussion of the larger land-unit to which it belonged. Stephen Morland, Nick Corcos,

and Lesley Abrams have been over some of this ground before me.<sup>3</sup>

## GREAT DOMESDAY BOOK

### Introduction

The first ‘survey’ of Shapwick is found in Domesday Book, although like many terms associated with Domesday studies, the word ‘survey’ can be misinterpreted: Domesday was not compiled to answer the questions of any of its modern users.<sup>4</sup>

Great or Exchequer Domesday Book<sup>5</sup> was a product of the great Inquisition (or *descriptio*, ‘writing down’, as Domesday Book itself describes it<sup>6</sup>), that was set in train by King William I after ‘deep speech’ at Gloucester during Christmas 1085. This book, which contains all the counties of what was then England, apart from Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk, is usually seen as the intended outcome of the Enquiry, and it has always been the focus of Domesday studies. Both Great Domesday Book and Little Domesday Book (containing the above three East Anglian counties) were set in type by Abraham Farley as volumes one and two of the Record Commission edition in 1783,<sup>7</sup> reproduced in the Phillimore edition,<sup>8</sup> photozincographed by the Ordnance Survey in the 1860s<sup>9</sup> and reproduced in facsimile for the Alecto edition.<sup>10</sup>

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records the Survey’s inception:

Then at Christmas, the king was at Gloucester with his council and held his court there for five days and then the archbishop and clerics had a synod for three days. There Maurice was elected bishop

of London, and William for Norfolk and Robert for Cheshire: they were all clerics of the king.

After this, the king had much thought and very deep discussion with his council about this country: how it was occupied and with what sort of people. Then he sent his men all over England into every shire and had them find out how many hundred hides there were in each shire, or what land and cattle the king himself had in the country, or what dues he ought to have in twelve months from the shire. Also he had a record made of how much land his archbishops had, and his bishops and his abbots and his earls, and (though I relate it at too great length) what or how much everybody had who was occupying land in England, in land or in cattle and how much money it was worth. So very narrowly did he have it investigated that there was no single hide nor virgate<sup>11</sup> of land, nor indeed (it is a shame to relate it, but it seemed no shame to him to do) one ox nor one cow nor one pig which was left out and not put down in his record: and all these records were brought to him afterwards.<sup>12</sup>

For King William to have seen the 'records' they must have been brought to him before he left England for the last time in the late summer of 1086, or on the continent, before his death on 9th September 1087.<sup>13</sup> It is possible that information derived from the Enquiry was available to him on 1 August 1086, for the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records:

Then he travelled about so as to come to Salisbury by Lamma, and there his councillors came to him and all the people occupying land who were of any account over all England no matter whose vassals they might be; and they all submitted to him and became his vassals and swore oaths of allegiance to him that they would be loyal to him against all other men. From there he went into the Isle of Wight because he meant to go to Normandy, and so he did later.<sup>14</sup>

A proto-Domesday Book would have helped to identify these individuals and the information might also have assisted William in this next act recorded in the Chronicle:

But all the same, he first acted according to his custom, that is to say, he obtained a very great amount of money from his men where he had any pretext for it, either just or otherwise.

As with the late 13th-century inquisition that produced the Hundred Rolls,<sup>15</sup> it is likely that a list of questions was sent to the sheriff of each shire. Such a list is found prefaced to the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, which is a compilation of the estates held by Ely Abbey, derived from a document related to the

Domesday Enquiry, but not from Great Domesday or Little Domesday themselves.<sup>16</sup> They are:

- 1 What is the manor called?
- 2 Who held it in King Edward's time?
- 3 Who holds it now?
- 4 How many hides?
- 5 How many ploughs in lordship;<sup>17</sup> how many belong to the men?
- 6 How many villagers, how many cottagers, how many slaves?
- 7 How many free men, how many sokemen?
- 8 How much woodland, how much meadow, how many grazing lands, how many mills, how many fisheries?
- 9 How much has been added or taken away?
- 10 How much was it worth altogether and how much now?
- 11 How much each free man or sokeman had or has there?
- 12 All this in triplicate; that is, in the time of King Edward, when William gave it and as it is now.
- 13 And if more can be assessed there than may [currently] be assessed.<sup>18</sup>

There is something of an East Anglian tinge to the questions that mention free men and sokemen and it may be that questions were adapted to local circumstances as they were for the Hundred Rolls. Questions manifestly absent concern livestock, which were certainly surveyed in the Enquiry, and churches and towns. Churches or priests are only mentioned sporadically and apparently randomly in Great Domesday as if they were sometimes thought to be so important that they had to be included, while the absence of a question about towns may explain the notable fact that details of London and Winchester are missing. The quantity of information required to answer question 11 was perhaps judged too large, because, if there were 30 such men on an estate, all their individual holdings would have had to be recorded. Although there were no free men or sokemen in Middlesex, Domesday for that county sometimes contains the extent of land held by individual men-at-arms, Frenchmen, villagers, smallholders, and cottagers. Surveys that answer this question are found among material relating to the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds,<sup>19</sup> but it was never fully pursued by those overseeing the Domesday Enquiry. Further, the value of an estate is sometimes recorded in Great Domesday Book at three dates, in partial answer to question 12; it is regularly given at two dates (as is the tax assessment, if there is a difference); so, very occasionally, are other details.

However, taken as a whole, Great Domesday appears to be an answer to these questions. A typical entry will usually contain:

- The name of the estate, sometimes stating whether it was a manor or not
- Its 1066 holder, its 1086 holder and his or her subtenant if any
- Its assessment for tax,<sup>20</sup> measured in hides at both dates
- An estimate of the number of ploughs that would be needed for full exploitation of its arable potential, sometimes called 'plough-lands'
- Its actual resources in terms of ploughs, people (divided into various categories), pasture, meadow, woodland, mills, with occasional mention of other things such as churches and fisheries
- A list of outliers or lands in the jurisdiction of the manor
- A record of any parts of the estate that are subinfeudated and have separate resources and valuation
- A valuation at 1066 and 1086 and sometimes at some intermediate date, often described as 'when acquired'
- Additional information concerning disputed tenure or the fusion or fission of the manor.

### Purpose

All this has a bearing on the 'Why?' of Domesday Book. The reason for the Enquiry is never stated in any document that might have emanated from the king, but the repeated evidence of the entries in Domesday is that they are a response to urgent questions about tenure and revenue. Who was the holder in 1066? From whom and in what way did he hold, and had the estate, as constituted in 1086, passed wholly and legitimately to its then tenant? As to revenue, the Book is obsessed with how much tax an estate should pay, what its exemptions were, whether it could pay more by exploiting its arable potential, and further, how far its valuation reflects its true worth in land, people and resources. William may have had in mind a different form of tax (for example, by valuation) or a different way of collecting it (from the landholders directly to the sheriff rather than via the hundreds or, in the ex-Danelaw shires, the wapentakes<sup>21</sup>). At all events he wanted more. It is not difficult to see that William, faced with a shortage of revenue (the Tax Returns, probably dating from 1084,<sup>22</sup> illustrate the difficulty), pressed by the need to raise and support an army to

face a possible invasion of England,<sup>23</sup> troubled by the behaviour of some of his closest relatives and of his appointed officials,<sup>24</sup> uncertain of the loyalty of his magnates (perhaps unsure even as to who they were) and beset by petitions about the alienation and division of estates, concluded that increased knowledge was the way to assert power and gain wealth and thus proceeded with a survey unprecedented in detail and seemingly awesome in its authority.<sup>25</sup> The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle makes clear that this Survey was unparalleled and the English of a later age gave it the name 'Domesday' in reference to the Book of Judgement.<sup>26</sup>

### The procedure and its implications

When we consider the 'How?' of Domesday, we are on unstable ground. A number of sources illuminate possible processes along the way and there are over 50 texts, rather misleadingly called 'satellites', related in some way to Domesday Book or to the Inquisition that preceded it.<sup>27</sup> These, if their nature and purposes could be understood, would clarify the sequence of events. It is unlikely that modern historians writing about the 11th century will concur with one narrative,<sup>28</sup> but what follows is an attempt which, though it may be persuasive, is not proven.

Two things are clear: there was no time for perambulation, nor would officials in their supposed procession from vill to vill<sup>29</sup> necessarily meet those who had the knowledge to answer all the Enquiry's questions. No one individual is likely to have had a grasp of the history, tenure and minutiae of the estate even at one date. Secondly, there was still in place in 1086 an Anglo-Saxon administration based on the hundred or wapentake and shire courts that was capable of adjudicating disputes and raising taxes. Some Domesday 'satellites' have been considered to be taxation lists and the so-called Yorkshire Summary,<sup>30</sup> rubricated and bound as part of Great Domesday, may be a copy of such a document. Moreover, there exist for the five south-western counties so-called Tax Returns (or Geld Rolls) that record the outcome of particular tax-gathering exercises, probably in 1084. These 'returns' presuppose the existence of lists of tax liability which stated, for each hundred, the names of the vills, their division into estates, the hidage (and so the tax liability of these) and who in each case was responsible for paying the tax. These returns show considerable underpayments, but they were more a result of Normans bearing down on consequently

evasive Anglo-Saxons than a failure of the Anglo-Saxon administration in itself.

It seems likely that central to the Domesday process was a meeting in the shire court. This would be summoned by the sheriff and attended by some of the king's most trusted barons.<sup>31</sup> For this purpose, the country was divided into 'circuits', apparently seven, with a different group of barons seemingly responsible for each.<sup>32</sup> Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, Devon and Cornwall formed one such circuit. Preparation for the county court hearing would probably have consisted of comparing the information available from the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman administration with material supplied by the tenants-in-chief or their principal subtenants (by then mostly Norman or Breton) or, in their absence, by their reeves or officials. It would be natural for this to be arranged in the Anglo-Saxon way, by the units of local administration, that is, by hundreds or wapentakes, and in some counties, by the larger units such as ridings, lathes and rapes that contained them. At the shire court, evidence was given 'by oath of the sheriff of the shire and of all the barons and of their Frenchmen and of the whole hundred (court) and of the priest, the reeve and of six villagers of each and every vill'.<sup>33</sup> This probably means that the representatives succeeded one another through the court.

It is likely that this mass of testimony, given hundred by hundred (or wapentake by wapentake) and vill by vill, was written up in the order it was presented, that order being conditioned by the initial questions and the sequence in which representatives of the hundred or wapentake appeared in court. It is conceivable that a preliminary draft, in the same format, had already been done and that the material was merely read and corrected in court. At all events, the product was likely to have been a series of quires that already contained the majority of the information that would later be re-formatted: a hierarchical division of county into hundreds or wapentakes, of these units into vills, of vills into estates and, for each estate, full details of tenure, liabilities, population, livestock, resources and value. This stage is probably represented by the document known as the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*.<sup>34</sup>

However, if it was William's intention to identify the 1086 landholders and make them liable for tax, personally and directly, rather than via the hundred or wapentake, the format of this document was at odds with his purpose. It was therefore necessary to transform a schedule that was arranged territorially into one that was arranged tenurially. In other words,

the fiefs of individual landholders would now be the structuring principle, while within each fief there would be a list of estates. Thus the hierarchy county, hundred (or wapentake), vill, estate (with holder) would be replaced by county, fief, and estate. As the conversion was done by trawling through the territorial schedule for the lands of particular holders, the arrangement of estates in hundredal or wapentakal blocks and the sequence of the hundreds or wapentakes would be transferred automatically, except that there are many cases where a scribe missed an estate belonging to a particular holder, and entered it only after re-reading the territorial schedule.<sup>35</sup> In the early stages of writing up Great Domesday Book, the main scribe<sup>36</sup> inserted headings consisting of the names of hundreds or wapentakes, but as the pressure increased for concision and completion, this practice was abandoned. It is anyway not clear what purpose these headings really served, except to distinguish places of the same name.<sup>37</sup> There are no hundred heads in the folios for Somerset or for the other south-western counties, which seem to have been the last to be written up.

The tenurial (or feudal) recensions for each circuit, converted from territorially-arranged documents similar to the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, survive as the Exeter Domesday, also known as Exon,<sup>38</sup> for the five south-western counties, and as Little Domesday Book for the East-Anglian circuit (Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk).<sup>39</sup> Others undoubtedly existed. To the present writer, it seems that the Conqueror's questions and his intentions were answered and fulfilled by these 'circuit' volumes. Although directly after the 'deep speech' at Gloucester, there may have been no clear idea of the written format that would emerge, these circuit volumes probably contained all the information collected by the Enquiry arranged under landholders. On the other hand, Exon, written by at least fifteen scribes and, even in its incomplete state, extending to over 500 folios, unrubricated, unindexed and with lengthy formulae that tend to overwhelm the detail, would have been difficult to use. But the real problem is that if all the circuit volumes had survived, there would have been about 4000 folios in hundreds of separate quires. Nonetheless, to this writer, these are the real Domesday Books, and Great Domesday Book is the first abbreviation, probably ordered by the Conqueror to improve accessibility and usefulness.<sup>40</sup> While some at least of the 'circuit volumes' may have been available by Lammas in 1086, the abbreviation of this mass of documentation almost certainly did not begin until after that and it

is estimated that the editing, writing and revising would have taken up to two years, before work ceased abruptly, leaving unincorporated the information for Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk that is contained in Little Domesday Book.<sup>41</sup> A possible cause of this was the disgrace and exile of William of Saint-Calais, Bishop of Durham, if he was 'the man behind the Survey' and was involved in the production of Great Domesday.<sup>42</sup>

This complex process has implications for understanding every entry in Great Domesday Book. Not only has the initial material come from various sources, but it has been through processes of copying, revision, editing and abbreviation. Early errors and false claims never spotted nor contradicted may have become embedded. There will have been mistranslations, mishearings, misunderstandings, miscopyings, and lapses of attention. Minims in figures will have fallen out or been added inadvertently, material will have been omitted accidentally as well as deliberately.<sup>43</sup> Clear ordering principles will have been disrupted by confusions and by material overlooked at various stages, then added later. In particular, several individuals or groups (fief-holders, hundred-jurors, commissioners, various scribes) will have chosen particular forms of expression (for example, the assessment of woodland, the choice of population category) which may have been only partially regularised by the main scribe of Great Domesday in the final product.

## SHAPWICK IN DOMESDAY

Shapwick was held both in 1066 and in 1086 by Glastonbury Abbey. For most counties, only the entry in Great Domesday Book has survived. For Somerset, Cornwall, most of Devon, less than half of Dorset and for one entry in Wiltshire, the fuller Exon version has also survived. For Shapwick this reads as follows:

[Exeter (Exon) Domesday, folio 161b<sup>344</sup>]

The Abbot [of Glastonbury] has 1 manor which is called *Sapaeswica* [Shapwick], which Abbot Alnoth [Æthelnoth] held on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead and it paid tax for 30 hides; 40 ploughs can plough these. Besides these 30 hides the abbot has land for 20 ploughs which has never paid tax. There the abbot has 4 ploughs in lordship and the villagers [have] 12 ploughs on that land which does not pay tax. There the abbot has 15 villagers and 16 smallholders and 5 freedmen and 6 slaves and 2 cob-horses and 23 cattle and 11 pigs

and 100 sheep and 57 acres of underwood and 60 acres of meadow and 60 acres of pasture. This manor is worth £12 a year and when Abbot Thurstan received it [it was worth] £7. And of the aforementioned land *Garmundus* [Warmund] holds ½ hide of thaneland from the abbot. There Warmund has 1 plough in lordship and 4 smallholders and it is worth 10s.

Of the abovementioned 30 hides *Alueredus de hispania* [Alfred of Épaignes] has one manor of 5 hides which is called *Hunlauintona* [Woolavington] which *Alwi bannesona* [Alwy son of Banna] held on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead and he has 3 hides and 2 ploughs in lordship and the villagers [have] 2 hides and 6 ploughs. There Alfred has 12 villagers and 8 smallholders and 5 slaves and 13 horses (cob-horses) and 11 cattle and 33 pigs and 151 sheep and it is worth £7 and, when he acquired it, [it was worth] as much.

And *Rogerus de Corcella* [Roger of Courseulles] [has] one manor of 5 hides which is called *Sutona* [Sutton (Mallet)] which 5 thanes held from the abbot on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead and they could not be separated from the church. Of this [manor] Roger has 4 hides and 1 virgate and 3 ploughs in lordship and the villagers [have] 3 virgates and 2 ploughs. There Roger has 4 villagers and 5 smallholders and 2 slaves and 5 cob-horses and 2 pigs and 34 acres of meadow and it is worth £3 and, when Roger acquired it, [it was worth] 100s.

Of these [30 hides] the same Roger has one manor of 5 hides which is called *Edwinetona* [Edington] which 3 thanes held on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead and they could not be separated from the church. Of this [manor] Roger has 4½ hides and 2 ploughs in lordship and the villagers [have] ½ hide and 1 plough. There Roger has 2 villagers and 4 smallholders and 1 slave and 8 cattle and 20 pigs and 70 sheep and 15 acres of underwood and 24 acres of meadow and it is worth 60 shillings, and when he acquired it, [it was worth] 100 shillings.

Of these [30 hides] the same Roger has one manor of 5 hides which is called *Ceptona* [Chilton (Polden)]<sup>45</sup> which 2 thanes held from the abbot on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead and they could not be separated from the church. Of this [manor] Roger has 4 hides and 2 ploughs in lordship and the villagers [have] 1 hide and 2½ ploughs. There Roger has 8 villagers and 7 smallholders and 3 slaves and 10 cattle and 56 pigs and 15 sheep and 8 acres of underwood and 30 acres of meadow and it is worth £4 and, when he acquired it, [it was worth] as much.

Of these [30 hides] the same Roger has one manor of 5 hides which is called *Cadicota* [Catcott] which 4 thanes held from the abbot on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead and they could not be separated from the church. Of this [manor] Roger has 3 ½ hides and ½ virgate and 2 ploughs in lordship and the villagers [have] the other land and 3 ploughs. There Roger has 5 villagers and 7 smallholders and 5 slaves and 22 pigs and 100 sheep and 8 acres of underwood and 31 acres of meadow and it is worth 100 shillings and, when he acquired it, [it was worth] as much.<sup>46</sup>

For this, the abbreviation, known as Great Domesday, has:

[Great Domesday Book, SOM 8,5<sup>47</sup>]

The Church holds *SAPESWICH* [SHAPWICK] itself. In the time of King Edward, it paid tax for 30 hides. There is land for 40 ploughs. Besides this, the abbot has land for 20 ploughs which has never paid tax. There are 12 villagers' ploughs there, and elsewhere 4 ploughs in lordship, and 6 slaves and 5 freedmen and 15 villagers and 16 smallholders. 60 acres of meadow there and 60 acres of pasture and 57 acres of underwood.

Of these 30 hides *Rogerius* [Roger] holds 5 hides in *Sutone* [Sutton (Mallet)] from the abbot and 5 hides in *Eduuinetone* [Edington] and 5 hides in *Ceptone* [Chilton (Polden)] and 5 hides in *Caldecote* [Catcott]. 14 thanes held these [15 hides] in the time of King Edward and they could not be separated from the church. There are in lordship there 9 ploughs and 11 slaves and 19 villagers and 23 smallholders with 8½ ploughs. 100 acres, less 1, of meadow there and 31 acres of underwood.

Of the same 30 hides, *Aluredus* [Alfred] holds 5 hides in *Hvnlauintone* [Woolavington] and he has 2 ploughs there. 5 slaves there and 12 villagers and 8 smallholders with 6 ploughs.

Of the same land *Warmund* [Warmund] holds ½ hide from the abbot; he has 1 plough there and 4 smallholders. It is worth 10s.

This manor is worth £12 to the abbot, to Roger £19, to Alfred £7.

One admires the Great Domesday scribe whose severe abbreviation produces clarity and concision.<sup>48</sup> He has shortened some formulae<sup>49</sup> and jettisoned some information or re-ordered it or combined it. On the other hand, in the process, his pruning-hook has gone deep into the fleshy parts. The account of the four subholdings of Roger (of Courseulles) on the estate has been merged into a single engrossment, but the division between the hides held by the villagers and by the lord has been omitted, as have the animals; similar omissions occur in the account

of the subholding of Alfred of Épaignes. Moreover, bynames, that could have been essential to the identification of individuals, have been ignored.<sup>50</sup> But copying and abbreviating have also caused misunderstanding and error: when the Great Domesday scribe saw *Cadicota* [Catcott] in Exon, he assimilated it to *Caldecote*, a name more familiar to him from elsewhere. His totalling of the acres of meadow on the subholdings of Roger is wildly inaccurate, at 99 rather than 119, and he gave the value of Roger's land as £19 which is actually the value when Roger acquired it, rather than £15. Such errors often occurred during the abbreviation of Exon, but also must have happened in abbreviating other circuit volumes. While abbreviating, the main scribe was also pre-occupied with trying to apply different conventions to place-names<sup>51</sup> and with substituting different words for the designation of some resources and population groups.<sup>52</sup>

One great advance brought by the scribe of Great Domesday Book, however, was to fix the order of fiefs in the counties and to provide an index to each county: Exon with its loose quires of anything from 1-10 folios will have had an order that was fluid until it was first bound up. Thus Great Domesday Book for Somerset begins with the land of the King (SOM 1), continues with the land held by several bishops (SOM 2-6), then with land held by a number of churches, mostly Benedictine abbeys, and clergy (SOM 7-16) before continuing with the lands of important secular holders (SOM 17-44 and part of SOM 45). The lands of minor Frenchmen, of the king's servants and of the surviving English 'thanes' occupy the last chapters (part of SOM 45 and SOM 46-47). The land of Glastonbury Church is fief number 8 and is flanked by the land of Bath 'Church' (SOM 7) and Muchelney 'Church' (SOM 9).

### Named individuals and their holdings

In the Exon entry for Shapwick itself, we find a number of individuals mentioned. The two abbots are Alnoth (Æthelnoth) 1053- c. 1077/8, who was a Glastonbury monk before gaining internal promotion.<sup>53</sup> He was succeeded by Thurstan c. 1077/8-1096, who came from the abbey of Saint-Étienne at Caen, which was founded by King William and where he was buried.<sup>54</sup> His tenure was unhappy. His management skills were questioned by the monks, at first gently, but Thurstan then called in armed men and in the ensuing conflict three monks died and eighteen were wounded.<sup>55</sup> Thurstan took flight to Caen, but was restored by William II, though he

perhaps did not reside in Glastonbury; he was succeeded by Herluin in 1100.

Thurstan's own failings and his prolonged absence made Glastonbury property vulnerable to invasion, *force majeure* and alienation, as is apparent from this and other entries. Domesday lists some of the thefts or alienations in SOM 8,38-41 where the offenders are the Bishop of Coutances, the Count of Mortain and Roger of Courseulles.<sup>56</sup> This last was not only holding a manor of 5 hides which his father had exchanged for Limington, but Limington itself. But the list of lands lost is more extensive; some estates which Glastonbury held before the Conquest are not recorded as in its possession either in 1066 or 1086.<sup>57</sup>

Of the men holding land in Shapwick in 1086, nothing is known for certain of Warmund, holding an unnamed ½ hide; despite the Normanized spelling in Exon, he may have been an Anglo-Saxon and possibly the hereditary successor to whoever was holding the thaneland before 1066.<sup>58</sup> A Warmund was a subtenant of Glastonbury Abbey at Buckland Newton in Dorset (DOR 8,3) and there are other occurrences in Somerset of a Warmund as a 1086 holder, though not from Glastonbury Abbey.<sup>59</sup> Thaneland here apparently means land held by a thane or set aside for one.<sup>60</sup> Some abbeys, notably Peterborough,<sup>61</sup> had military obligations to discharge, and this was most easily done by inviting a man who would serve as a soldier onto an estate and giving him land to sustain him. In return he would join the king's army when required. The successors to these men were the Normans who held by knight-service.<sup>62</sup> This later situation is described in 1212: 'the Prior of Glastonbury holds his land in alms and from it does service of 32 ½ knights to the king'.<sup>63</sup> Thaneland was inalienable, like the majority of church land. Another entry concerning alienated land in the abbot's fief in Great Domesday (SOM 8,38) says: 'These lands were thaneland before 1066; they could not be separated from the church'.<sup>64</sup> The latter part of this sentence applies, within the Exon entry for Shapwick, as it does in Great Domesday, to all the members held by Roger of Courseulles. It should probably apply to the land held by Warmund and Alfred of Épaignes as well. It stands in contrast to other clauses in Domesday ('he could go where he wanted with his land', 'he could turn to whichever lord he wished') used of those who were free to commend themselves with their land to another lord. If this had applied to church land it would have led to the break-up of estates which were already threatened by illegal occupation.

Alfred of Épaignes held Woolavington under the abbot, as part of Shapwick. He was a Norman from Épaignes, now in the French département of Eure (arrondissement Pont-Audemer, canton Corneilles). The Latin form of the name (*Hispania*) is the same as that for Spain itself, but this is a coincidence, rather than word-play. Nonetheless, Alfred is sometimes known as Alfred of 'Spain'. His father was Goscelin and both were benefactors of the Abbey of Préaux in Normandy. Two of his brothers were probably the Hugh and Walter (*de Hispania*) who were his tenants elsewhere in Domesday. His lands later formed the barony of Nether Stowey (Somerset), named from his holding there (SOM 35,11-12). His heiress appears to have been his daughter Isabel, married to Robert of Chandos. Their son Walter predeceased his father and the lands passed to their daughter Maud who, before 1156, married Philip de Columbars, the lands descending in the Columbars family until 1337 when they went to James Audley.<sup>65</sup>

Before Alfred these 5 hides at Woolavington had been held by Alwy son of Banna. He is named at Alfred's predecessor in several estates in Alfred's own fief (SOM 35,13;16;24) and he is probably the plain Alwy who held SOM 35,1-5;10;15;17-23. It is not certain that this estate, held from the Abbot of Glastonbury, should have passed to Alfred, who may simply have moved in. The identity of the *antecessor* ('predecessor') was important in determining whether tenure was legitimate, but here Alwy had not held in his own right. Theoretically, the abbot was free to choose his tenant. Elsewhere in Alfred's fief (SOM 35,12;14) it is stated that two holdings (part of Nether Stowey and a not certainly identified 'Leigh'), which had been held by other thanes in 1066, have been 'added to the lands of Alwy (or 'Alwy son of Banna') which Alfred holds'. This was a well-evidenced method of gaining land illegally, much practised by the Count of Mortain, King William's half-brother.<sup>66</sup> Clearly Alfred's hands were not clean either.

According to Exon and Great Domesday, Roger of Courseulles held Sutton (Mallet), Edington, Chilton (Polden) and Catcott under the abbot, as part of Shapwick. He was also a Norman, from Courseulles-sur-Mer in the French département of Calvados (arrondissement Caen, canton Creully). He received his lands from his father William and held in chief a large fief, almost a hundred entries, in Somerset (SOM 21) and a single manor each in Dorset and in Wiltshire. He also held under Earl Roger of Shrewsbury in Shropshire.

Many of Roger of Courseulles' holdings in Somerset were held by Robert Malet in 1166 and then by William Malet who died in about 1216. The lands passed through daughters of William to Hugh *de Vivonia* and Robert *de Musgrove*, and then to Hugh's heir William *de Forz* (*de Fortibus*). His heir was his daughter Cecilia who was the wife of John of Beauchamps (*de Bello Campo*). The lands thereafter descended in the Beauchamp family and formed the so-called barony of Dundon, named from Dundon in Somerset, held in 1086 by Roger of Courseulles from the Abbot of Glastonbury (SOM 8,13).<sup>67</sup> It was unusual for an honour or barony to have its *caput* on someone else's land.

An exception to this descent of Roger of Courseulles' lands is Catcott, which was held in 1284–85 by Thomas [*de*] *Bause* and John Basset.<sup>68</sup> Members of these same families are, in the late 13th and early 14th centuries, found holding Rodney Stoke, Saltford, Freshford, and Winford under the Honour of Gloucester, which in part represents the 1086 holdings of the Bishop of Coutances.<sup>69</sup> In Domesday Book, these same estates (SOM 5,4;23;35;41) are held under the Bishop by one Roger *Witen* or *Witenc* or *Wyent*. According to the Tax Return, this same man held Glastonbury land in Loxley Hundred and it is probable that the estate concerned was at Catcott and that the Exon scribe failed to differentiate him.<sup>70</sup>

Ultimately Shapwick survived as a unit but in 1086 it appears to have been under severe strain. Of the 30 hides, Warmund held ½ hide, Alfred of Épaignes 5 hides, Roger *Witen* 5 hides, and Roger of Courseulles 15 hides, making 25 hides in the hands of powerful Normans. If Cossington (SOM 8,7) and Stawell (SOM 8,10) had already been deducted from the estate, there was none of the 30 hides still in the abbot's hands.<sup>71</sup> Church land was vulnerable to Norman depredations as is shown by the outrageous behaviour of the sheriff of Worcestershire, Urso of Abbetot.<sup>72</sup> Glastonbury Abbey was not far from losing these members of Shapwick. In the Tax Return for Loxley Hundred the fact that Alfred of Épaignes held from the Abbot of Glastonbury is added in the margin. It was perhaps initially believed that he held in chief. In Exon, as in Great Domesday, Alfred has lordship land in Woolavington, and Roger of Courseulles has lordship land in Sutton (Mallet), Edington, Chilton (Polden) and (ostensibly) in Catcott. Lordship land was not taxed and this division of land is usually found only on manors held personally by the tenant-in-chief; there is no allowance in the Tax Return for lordship on

subholdings. Even so, Roger of Courseulles, or his successors, managed to establish a *caput* for the barony at Dundon (SOM 8,13) on land held by the Abbot of Glastonbury. With the Shapwick estate divided up thus, the difference in values is well shown by the overall sums given in Great Domesday Book: £12 to the Abbot, £19 (rightly £15) to Roger and £7 to Alfred. In fact the abbot's revenue from Shapwick must have depended in large part on the renders from the land for 20 ploughs that had never paid tax.

### Manor

Shapwick is described in Exon as a manor (*mansio*), for which the scribe of Great Domesday Book normally substituted *manerium*. Both are ultimately derived from Latin *maneo* ('I remain, stay') and in a non-technical sense refer to 'a place where people stay', 'a dwelling'. By the time the Great Domesday scribe had reached the five south-western counties, he had decided to jettison *manerium* which he had previously inserted, often as a marginal *M*, together with a contrasting *B* (for *berewica*, 'outlier') and *S* (for *soca*, 'sokeland' or 'jurisdiction'). These distinctions, between the principal tax-paying unit with the lord's hall and its dependencies, were important. In Wessex, there were no sokelands, and the scribe's intention seems to have been that all estates listed were manors, unless otherwise stated, as, for example, Ashcott (SOM 8,14) is said to belong to Walton (SOM 8,11), and either to include the dependencies by name in the description of the manor (as for Shapwick and Walton), or to mention, but not to name, the existence of dependencies, or finally, to include them silently under the manor. Thus the mention of 'manor' itself became redundant. However, this 'default setting' (it is a manor unless otherwise stated) depended on the scribe's carefulness: there are many instances in Domesday where, in a sequence of what appear to be independent manors, some can be shown to be dependencies of others, the scribe having simply omitted 'It belongs to X' or 'to the above manor belongs Y'. This certainly applies to Walton and probably to Shapwick.<sup>73</sup>

### Hides

Shapwick as a whole was a 30-hide manor, with one unnamed and 5 named components. In Somerset as a whole there is no evidence of any wholesale changes to the hidation of estates and, in the case of



Glastonbury, while abbots may have come and gone, the overall hidage had probably not changed in hundreds of years. The word 'hide' is connected with the Old English word for 'family' and was probably in origin enough land to support a household, or to keep a plough occupied for one year.<sup>74</sup> By its nature, it will have varied according to the terrain, and even in Domesday there is no reason to think that it was a standard measure of land: where the acres in a hide are stated, they vary. Originally, it seems that when, for example, five hides were granted, they were a rough measure of the whole estate and not just of the arable land. In Wessex, hidation must have been early, but it is not certain how early. The first overall hidation that has survived is contained in the Tribal Hidage, which may date from the 7th or 8th century; it allocates 100,000 hides to Wessex, which does not seem to be reflected by the much smaller size of the combined hidage of the later shires that composed it.<sup>75</sup> Nonetheless, once there was settlement and organisation, the question of obligations to the community, the overlord and the king will have arisen. Some royal manors in Wessex, possibly the most ancient, provided a night's revenue, or a fraction of it, to support the king and his retinue for a night; they were not hidated. However, for the majority of estates, the hidage was the basis for various obligations, known in Latin as *consuetudo* ('custom' or 'customary dues') as it was later for the construction and maintenance of fortified *burhs* and the payment of danegeld. With time, the nature of the hide changed, with the sense of a measure of land being subordinated to the notion that it was an adjustable taxable unit.<sup>76</sup> However, it is likely that there was originally some overall and realistic hidation for what became the shires of Wessex. Examination of the structure of the hundreds in Somerset and their relation to each other and to royal and early ecclesiastical estates might suggest that Somerset was at some stage assessed in large blocks of several hundred hides each centred on one or more royal estates (with some of these estates having more than one royal vill within them), that these were subdivided into smaller units and that the estates when granted by charter were further subdivisions of these. If this is so, then the 30 hides of Shapwick will have been taken from a larger unit. Shapwick itself was perhaps once worked as a single estate from its centre, but was subsequently divided and subinfeudated, the 30 hides being roughly partitioned, mostly into units of five hides which formed rectangles bounded on the south by the ridge of the Poldens and in the north extending into the

moors and levels around the River Brue; these units (Woolavington, Cossington, Edington, Catcott) will have taken their names from their early holders.<sup>77</sup> In this way, Shapwick became a multiple estate. All this is, of course, highly speculative.

### Assessment

To satisfy the fiscal side of the Domesday Enquiry, it seems that three assessments of arable were needed: the hidage, an estimate of the number of ploughs that could be employed and the number of ploughs actually on the land. For Shapwick, the plough estimate is 40, the hidage 30 and the number of ploughs in use 42½. In addition there is unhidated land for 20 ploughs that has never paid tax.<sup>78</sup> Although King William died before new ways of rating could be introduced, it is clear that the plough estimate could be used as a means of raising more tax in the majority of cases where the estimate exceeds the hidage. Similarly, if the number of ploughs employed was lower than the hidage or the plough estimate, this would reduce the potential productivity of the estate and thus its value.<sup>79</sup>

That the abbot also had 'land for 20 ploughs which has never paid tax' is unusual. As it has never paid tax, either its hidage is unknown or it has not been hidated: of many royal estates in Somerset it is said 'it has never paid tax, nor is it known how many hides are there' (SOM 1,1-10). These, however, are 'ancient demesne', held in 1066 by King Edward and probably uninterrupted by the kings of Wessex from earliest times, but they have no mention of the king having land for so many ploughs. Elsewhere in Wessex there is another category of unhidated land, measured in carucates, which is represented by this land at Shapwick, Latin *terra ad xx car(r)ucas* or *terra xx car(r)ucis* ('[it/he has] land for 20 ploughs') being equivalent to *xx car(r)ucatae* ('20 carucates'); for example, SOM 9,1 has 'St Peter's Church, Muchelney, has 4 carucates of land which have never paid tax'. This is a measure of land, not an estimate of the number of ploughs that could be employed; in the case of Shapwick the latter is given by the 'land for 40 ploughs' formula. However, there is no reason to think that the carcate was a more exact measure than the hide, though it was probably more recent. But unless these 20 carucates had been granted separately to the community, their existence in a 30-hide manor shows how loose the 30-hide estimate was, or how generous: either the 30 hides were always beneficially assessed (the equivalent of 50 hides rated at 30 hides) or somehow within an

estate of 30 tax-paying hides, an abbot has found enough land, perhaps by changing the use of meadow or pasture, or by clearing woodland, potentially to keep 20 more ploughs busy, although this land is also understocked, with apparently only 12 or possibly 16 ploughs in use.<sup>80</sup> Unfortunately Domesday never says where the arable lay, whether there was a distinct 'home-farm' containing the lordship land nor what field-system was used to exploit it.

### Population

Apart from the abbot, Warmund and the named Normans, there were 124 people listed by Domesday on the estate in 1086; these divide into 46 villagers, 51 smallholders, 5 freedmen and 22 slaves. These categories are to some extent arbitrary, and the exact classification may have been made by the landholder or his reeve, subject to standardisation and conversion at later stages in the Inquest.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, there is no certain evidence that the categories of *villani* and *bordarii* were used in England before Domesday Book and so the strata of Anglo-Saxon society may have been forced into them.<sup>82</sup> *Villani* are strictly speaking the inhabitants of a *villa* (a 'vill' or 'estate') and are better translated as 'villans' than as 'villagers', because there is no reason to think that their particular habitat was a nucleated village. However, *bordarii* (from *borda*, 'plank', 'hut') also lived in the vill, as did *cotarii* (from *cota*, 'cottage') not mentioned here, and the *coliberti* and *servi*; *coliberti* were, etymologically if not actually, slaves freed in a group emancipation.<sup>83</sup> Some help in defining the categories of population can be had from the *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*,<sup>84</sup> but most of the evidence comes from Domesday itself, by looking at their degree of freedom and the extent of their holdings in land and ploughs. The highest category of people on a manor, not represented here, was the radman (or radknight), the free man or the sokeman. Next came the *villani*, and below them the *bordarii* who overlapped or were the same as the 'cottagers'. Below them, perhaps, were the freedmen, and at the bottom the servile population, that is, slaves and slave-women. People were included no doubt because they had a bearing on the productivity of the estate and on its value: Roger of Courseulles' estate at Edington was short of ploughs and people for a five-hide estate and was of less value than his estate of the same size at Chilton (Polden) where there were 4½ ploughs<sup>85</sup> and 18 people.

These people are the bulk of the working population, divided essentially into the categories mentioned in the questions prefaced to the *Inquisitio Eliensis*. There are, however, other occupations that are mentioned occasionally in Domesday and may represent classes that are largely unsurveyed and uncounted.<sup>86</sup> There will have been other people at Shapwick who are not mentioned. There is no notice of a supervisor (a reeve, clerk or beadle), of wives, of those who through extreme youth or age or infirmity could not work. Neither a church nor its priest is mentioned, though there is reason to think that the Shapwick estate had at least one of each. It is unlikely that either of the mighty Normans, Alfred of Épaignes and Roger of Courseulles, named as holders of parts of Shapwick, were ever resident or even visited. If some or all of the men called Warmund in Somerset are the same as the holder of part of Shapwick, then he was much more of a local man, but possibly held estates larger than his small share there. While the day-to-day management of the estate may have been in the hands of a reeve or other official, some of these subtenants may have installed relatives or vassals on an estate or group of estates; they may have brought non-productive Frenchmen with them; even, occasionally, the Anglo-Saxon holder (a thane in most cases) may still have been there, depressed in status. The difficulty is that Domesday may be a *descriptio*, but it is not a description. The numbers listed on an estate may need to be multiplied by three or four to calculate the actual population.<sup>87</sup> The working population added value to an estate, while one or other of the tenant-in-chief and his immediate subtenant would have been responsible for tax and dues: that is all the information that Domesday needed. Only occasionally do further layers of subtenancy appear in Domesday or associated documents.<sup>88</sup> Among these may be Normans who came and stayed locally and were the progenitors of the families that were the under-tenants for generations and whose names appear in feudal lists and Lay Subsidies. These are very different to the great barons who held the land but never came to stay, preferring rather to follow the king around or merely to swell their Norman revenue with English money.

### Animals

Animals are included with people in the same breath in Exon and for the same reason: their contribution to the estate's value. The cob-horses will have been used for transport or haulage, the pigs for their meat

and skin and the sheep for their wool and milk; their manure will have refreshed the fields. The *animalia*, translated as 'cattle' and sometimes described as *animalia otiosa* ('idle animals'), may have included some oxen that were rearing calves, or the calves themselves, but also dairy cows. These details were omitted from Great Domesday Book, perhaps because the numbers fluctuated (there was, for example, a cattle plague in 1086<sup>89</sup>) and because it could be assumed that if the population and ploughs and other resources remained roughly the same, a sufficient number of animals would be kept to maintain the productivity and value of the estate.

### Other manorial resources

The other resources, however, survived abbreviation into Great Domesday Book. The meadow was essential for the production of hay but it is only listed for the abbot's lordship and for Roger's subtenancies, although, as we have seen, its computation by the Great Domesday scribe was inaccurate. The only pasture (for grazing the plough oxen, probably at eight to a plough) is associated with the capital estate held by the abbot himself; it is probable that there was more, of a rougher kind, especially for the sheep. Woodland was essential for an estate, for firewood, building, fencing and for pig-grazing. However, there is no woodland as such (*silua*) on the Shapwick estate, only underwood (*nemusculus* in Exon, which is rendered *silua minuta* in Great Domesday), that is, areas of small trees (such as birch, hazel and willow), although no particular technique of woodland management, for example by coppicing, is implied by this. Meadow, pasture and underwood are all measured in acres. There is no reason to believe that any one of these resources was in a single place: a whole series of small areal measurements have been lumped together, just as the amounts of underwood and meadow that are specified separately on the subholdings of the two Rogers, are gathered together in Great Domesday Book. The Shapwick estate must have had access to a water-mill, but none is mentioned.

The main Great Domesday scribe gives only the current (1086) value of the manor to the abbot, to Roger and to Alfred, and of Warmund's ½ hide. In Exon however, although only a current value is given for Warmund's land, the value at two dates is recorded for the abbot's land and for the holdings of Roger (of Courseulles) and Alfred of Épaignes. These dates are currently (1086) and when it was acquired by the present holder. Abbot Thurstan received

Shapwick when he became Abbot of Glastonbury, that is c. 1077/8, but no documentation has survived that provides evidence of when Roger and Alfred acquired their subholdings. It is not clear how the 'when acquired' value could be used, unless to see how the holder had managed the estate and to tax him on the basis of improvement or impoverishment of it, perhaps inversely. The sums themselves, rather than being an addition of all the money that came to the lord, presumably indicate what sum could be asked annually if the estate were rented out 'at farm', and could have formed the basis for a new taxation or rating, based not on an antiquated hidage, but on a valuation. The figures seem to take account of all the land, people and resources previously mentioned and of the degree of exploitation.<sup>90</sup>

### LOXLEY HUNDRED

Domesday alone does not supply all the information about Shapwick that can be gleaned from 11th-century documents. A study of material relating to the hundred in which it lay can clarify its context and content (Fig. 1; Table 1).

There are no hundred heads in Exon, and, as a consequence, none in the south-western counties in Great Domesday Book. Even so, the hundredal focus of the preceding documents often survives; thus estates are frequently arranged within a fief in hundredal blocks, especially in Exon, although sometimes Great Domesday Book re-orders a chapter on different principles. In the present instance, in the abbot's fief in Exon (as in Great Domesday Book) Shapwick begins a group of places that essentially corresponds to the later hundred of Whitley: Shapwick (8,5), 'Sowy' (8,6),<sup>91</sup> Cossington (8,7), Durborough (8,8), Blackford (8,9), Stawell (8,10), Walton (8,11), a small estate at ?Butleigh (8,12), Dundon (8,13), Ashcott (8,14), Greinton (8,15), Leigh (8,16),<sup>92</sup> Ham (8,17), Butleigh (8,18) and Lattiford (8,19).<sup>93</sup> Of these, the identity and location of Blackford is equivocal,<sup>94</sup> but Durborough and Lattiford were certainly detached portions of Whitley Hundred in later times. These last two were drawn into the abbot's hundred from their original hundreds, most likely to be Cannington Hundred for Durborough and one of the Bruton hundreds (probably *Blachethorna* Hundred, later Catsash Hundred) for Lattiford,<sup>95</sup> rather in the way that the church of Wells was able to create for itself the scattered ecclesiastical hundreds of Wells Forum, Kingsbury East and Kingsbury West.<sup>96</sup>

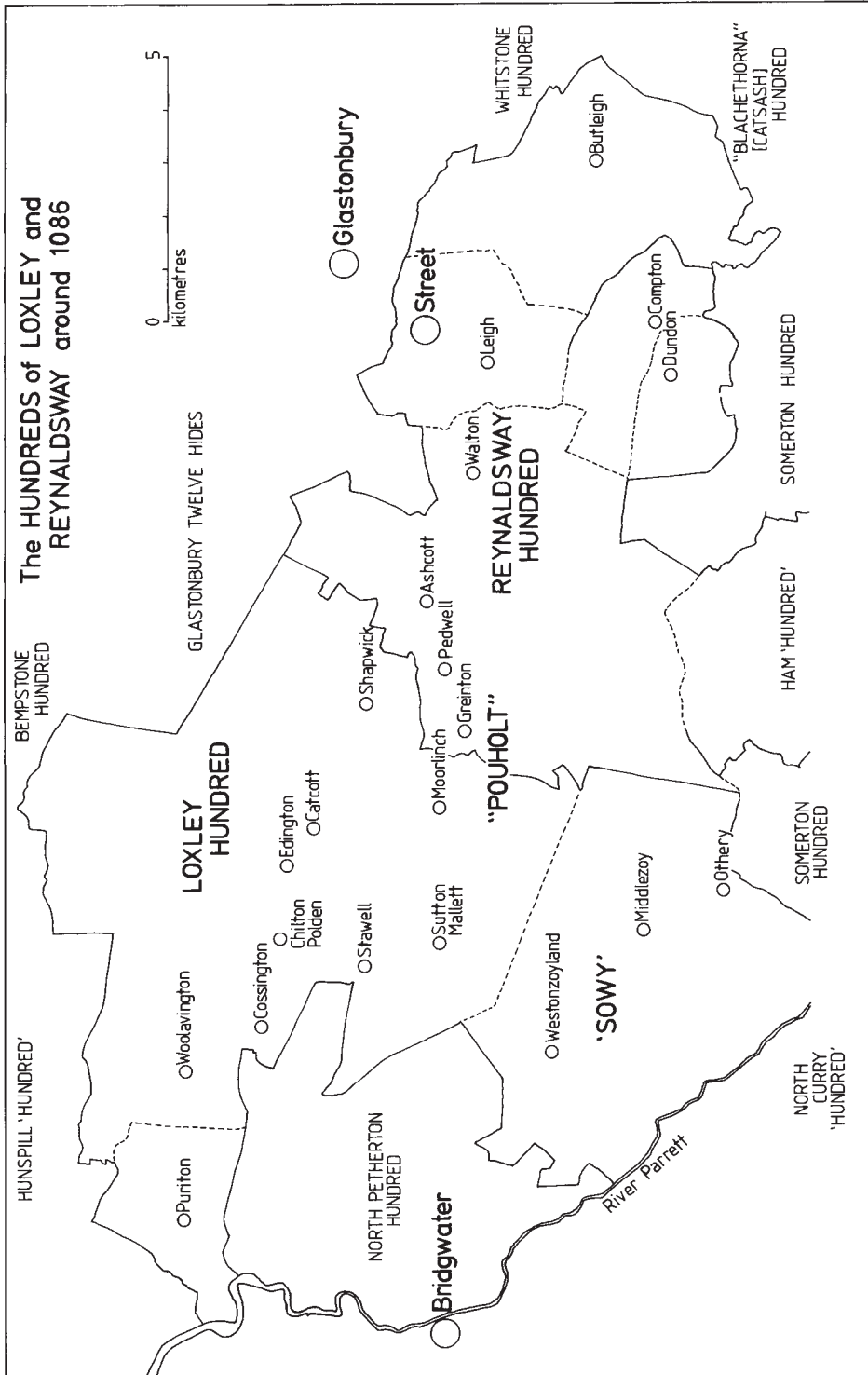


Fig. 1 The hundreds of Loxley and Reynaldsway c. 1086

TABLE 1: LOXLEY HUNDRED: EXEMPT LORDSHIP LAND AND LAND ON WHICH TAX IS OWED

<b>Tax Return</b>	<b>Domesday</b>
<i>Lordship Land (exempt)</i>	<i>Lordship Land</i>
St Peter's, Rome, 6 hides	SOM 11,1 Puriton, 3 hides
Abbot of Glastonbury, 5 hides	SOM 8,6 'Sowy', 5 hides
<i>Tax Owed</i>	<i>Taxable extent</i>
Alfred of Épaignes from the abbot, 3 hides	SOM 8,5 Woolavington, 2 hides*
Roger <i>Witenc</i> from the abbot, 3 hides, 3 virgates	SOM 8,5 Catcott, 1 hide, 1½ virgates **
Ansketil the park-keeper, 1 virgate	(uncertain)***

\* 3 hides are the extent of Alfred's lordship according to Exon Domesday on his 5-hide holding. The Great Domesday scribe, apparently as a matter of policy (which is applied to the other members of Shapwick), excludes it. The Tax Return appears not to accept that the 3 hides are exempt.

\*\* Exon gives 3 ½ hides and ½ virgate as the proportion of Roger's lordship in the 5 hides of Catcott. This is close enough to the 3 hides and 3 virgates on which he owes tax and suggests that the Tax Return does not regard this land as exempt.

\*\*\* Ansketil the park-keeper holds in his own right in SOM 46,17-19, and he may be the Ansketil who is the subtenant of Roger of Courseulles in his fief (SOM 21,7;9-10;20-27;35). He may thus be a tenant of Roger on one of the lands Roger holds from Glastonbury in this hundred: Sutton (Mallet), Edington and Chilton (Polden) which were all members of Shapwick.

However, the hundred of Whitley itself did not exist in 1086; it is first evidenced in 1188.<sup>97</sup> In 1086 its place was occupied by the hundreds of Loxley and Reynaldsway, half-hundreds in effect, though not in name. Their names come from two plain lists of hundreds associated with Exon Domesday<sup>98</sup> and their contents can be deduced from the so-called Tax Returns, also associated with Exon. These returns record the collection of tax at 6s to the hide, 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 lordship land and finishes with a schedule of those by whom tax has not been paid; sometimes other details are added. These Tax Returns include a few place-names, about twenty in all in Somerset. There are no place-names in the returns for Loxley Hundred or Reynaldsway Hundred. However, the principal contribution of the Tax Returns to a study of hundreds lies in the fact that a comparison of holders and hidage with Domesday entries often allows particular Domesday estates to be allotted to particular hundreds. The lordship land (exempt) and the land on which tax has not been paid do not account for the full content of the hundred, which is only suggested by the overall hidage. However, 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.

The Tax Return for Loxley Hundred (Exon folio 82a1) reads:

In the hundred of Loxley there are 47 hides. From these, the king has £7 16s in his tax for 26 hides and St Peter's of Rome and the Abbot of Glastonbury have in their lordship 11 hides. Of these, St Peter's has 6 hides and the abbot 5 [hides], and for 3 hides which Alfred of Épaignes holds (from the Abbot of Glastonbury\*), the king has not had his tax and for 3 hides and 3 virgates which Roger *Witenc* holds from the honour of the aforementioned abbot, the king has not had his tax and for 1 virgate which Ansketil the park-keeper holds, the king has not had tax. From this hundred 42 shillings are owed to the king.

\* This information is added in the margin of the manuscript.

The exempt lordship land and the land on which tax is owed can be more or less identified (Table 1).

There is a difficulty with the lordship allowance for Puriton. Both Great Domesday and Exon (folio 197b3) record that there 'are' 6 hides in Puriton but (or 'and') they only paid tax for 5 hides. The implication from the second half of the sentence is

that there were 6 hides there in 1066; this is probably an example of 'beneficial hidation' where tax on 1 hide was remitted. In 1086, 3 hides of the 6 hides were lordship land. If the Tax Return allowance for 6 hides of lordship is correct, it is perhaps easiest to see this as an exceptional privilege, that had been granted to the Pope after the Conquest in thanks for not opposing it and in belated gratitude for allowing William's marriage with Matilda within the forbidden zone of consanguinity. If so, the privilege had been halved by 1086. If the Tax Return has misdivided the lordship hides between the Pope and the abbot, then there would be some extra lordship land for the abbot.

However, other figures seem to allow the whole hundred to be reconstructed: the 26 hides on which tax has been paid together with the 11 hides of lordship and the 7 hides on which tax is owed (42s at 6s to the hide) make 44 hides, but the difference between that figure and the 47 hides of the Tax Return, is accounted for by 3 hides for which the tax was discharged in Huntspill Hundred (Exon folio 78a1):

In the hundred of Huntspill which Walscin of Douai holds there is only 1 hide from which the king has 6s of his tax and with this hundred have been received 18s for 3 hides which were in the hundred of Loxley.

These 3 hides must represent Cossington, held from the Abbot of Glastonbury by the same Walscin (Walter) of Douai (SOM 8,7). However, though they make up the tax of Loxley Hundred, they do not appear to be an addition to its hidage, although it would have been clearer if the Tax Return for Loxley Hundred had included something like 'the tax on 3 hides is paid in another hundred', as happens elsewhere. Thus, it seems likely that at the date of the Tax Return, the hundred of Loxley consisted of Shapwick (30 hides), 'Sowy' (12 hides) and Puriton (6 hides). This makes 48 hides, a discrepancy of one hide from the Tax Return. Shapwick itself will have included the members listed in Domesday, which are Sutton (Mallet) (5 hides), Edington (5 hides), Chilton (Polden) (5 hides), Catcott (5 hides), Woolavington (5 hides) plus the ½ hide held by Warmund. Together, these amount to 25½ hides. As the abbot apparently held none of the hides of Shapwick (though he has tax-free land for 20 ploughs there), there is a deficiency of 4½ hides. These probably lay at Cossington (SOM 8,7) and at Stawell (SOM 8,10), rated at 3 hides and 2½ hides respectively. This total produces the same excess of 1 hide, which might

suggest that one of the members of Shapwick was really a four-hide estate, but Warmund's ½ hide neatly complements the 2½ hides of Stawell. If the taxable components of the 30 hides of Shapwick have been correctly identified, this implies that Stawell and Cossington have achieved a degree of independence or a sufficient alienation to have become detached *de facto* if not *de iure* from Shapwick. By choosing to pay for the 3 hides in Huntspill Hundred (in which he was the sole holder), Walscin of Douai has removed the estate from both its manor and its hundred, and has made it appear to be an independent entity in Domesday.<sup>99</sup> What appears to be missing from the entries for Stawell and Cossington is some sentence like 'It belongs to the abbot's manor of Shapwick', in the way that Ashcott (SOM 8,14) is said to belong to Walton (SOM 8,11) though it is not entered directly after it either in Exon or in Great Domesday.<sup>100</sup>

The ideal size for Loxley Hundred would perhaps have been 50 hides, and it is possible that the 1 hide held by Walscin of Douai at Huntspill (SOM 24,28) had once been in this hundred. It too had formerly been held by Glastonbury.<sup>101</sup> However, in Domesday there are a further 3 virgates at Huntspill, held in 1066 by Alwin son of Goda and in 1086 by the same Walscin (Walter) of Douai (SOM 24,34). This estate seems to have lain in Bempstone Hundred in 1086 and it is more likely that it was from that hundred that Walscin had withdrawn his 1 hide to make his own hundred.

With half-hundreds, it is sometimes the case that they are unequal divisions of 100 hides. There seems to be no room for the two hides of Durborough (SOM 8,8) in this total of 47 hides for Loxley Hundred, and it is unlikely that they would have been included in any original 50 hides, since the earliest hundreds seem to have been territorially compact, whereas Durborough lay at ST1491 near Nether Stowey in the shadow of the Quantocks. Though Exon includes it in a Loxley-Reynaldsway Hundred sequence, and it was in the later combined hundred of Whitley, albeit detached, it was probably (though not demonstrably) in its territorial hundred, Cannington Hundred, in 1084. The Tax Returns, based on old lists, may have not included Durborough in Loxley Hundred, while the abbot probably did so in his return to the Domesday Enquiry.<sup>102</sup>

To complete the hundredal picture, Reynaldsway Hundred in the Tax Returns amounted to 59 hides (Exon folio 82b1). These appear to have consisted of Walton (SOM 8,11) at 30 hides (accounting for

Walton itself, Compton (Dundon), Pedwell, Greinton and two estates at Ashcott<sup>103</sup>, Dundon (SOM 8,13: 5 hides), Leigh (SOM 8,16: 4 hides) and Butleigh (SOM 8,18: 20 hides).<sup>104</sup> Butleigh had been granted to the community at Glastonbury at least by 801 and perhaps much earlier.<sup>105</sup> In 1086 it contained three subinfeudations: ½ hide held by Alstan, 8 hides held by Thurstan son of Rolf and 2 hides held by Roger of Courseulles. These three count as part of the 20 hides, as apparently do 2 hides at Lattiford (SOM 8,19). Thurstan's lands lay at Blackford and Holton, adjacent to Lattiford.<sup>106</sup> These will probably have originated from the land of one of the Bruton hundreds (probably *Blachethorna* Hundred, later Catsash Hundred). It is most unlikely that they were part of the original grant of Butleigh and Butleigh alone is later assessed at 20 hides, with Blackford, Holton and Lattiford being separately rated.<sup>107</sup> It looks as if a Glastonbury abbot had tried to conceal these hides in Butleigh, in order to lower his overall liability,<sup>108</sup> but equally it would have been administratively more convenient to attach remoter estates to the abbey's core lands. The relevant point here is that, whatever the exact composition of the Butleigh estate in 1086, it appears always to have counted for 20 hides in Reynaldsway Hundred. On the other hand, although Dundon (5 hides) appears to have been assessed separately in 1086, it may have been double counted, being perhaps formerly a part of Walton. This would reduce the size of Reynaldsway Hundred to 54 hides and the combined total for Loxley and Reynaldsway would then be a near ideal 101 hides. However, it is possible that Dundon had always been separate as had Compton (Dundon), although, if that was the case, the latter was concealed in Walton in 1086.<sup>109</sup>

At the time of the Tax Returns, these two hundreds together consisted entirely of Glastonbury land except for Puriton, held by St Peter's, Rome. The Glastonbury community had also once held part or all of Puriton,<sup>110</sup> and the Tax Return for Loxley Hundred curiously lumps together the lordship of the abbot and of St Peter's, Rome, as if there were still some residual link.

The meeting place for Loxley Hundred lay in Shapwick and is represented by Loxley Wood.<sup>111</sup> This is not central to the hundred, but Shapwick was by far the largest estate in it. Reynaldsway was the name of a road in Butleigh, the second largest estate in that hundred.<sup>112</sup> Whitley Farm and Whitley Wood, representing the moot of the combined hundred of Whitley, lay in Walton, the largest estate in the hundred of Reynaldsway.<sup>113</sup>

## THE 'POLDEN ESTATE'

Thus, in 1086, the principal estates on the Poldens, each of 30 hides, were Shapwick and Walton, each with several members and the centre of a hundred. If we add Leigh (including Street) rated at 4 hides, Butleigh (20 hides) and Compton (Dundon) and Dundon (5 hides each), we have occupied the whole surface of the hills with manors.

For many Domesday estates, there is no 'before' and only a scanty 'after'. Shapwick, however, like many ecclesiastical estates, has some documented continuity, even though, in interpreting the earliest history of the estate, speculation needs to be applied to the few facts available. The charters concerning the community at Glastonbury listed in Table 2 relate to Polden estates, but such a tabulation can impart a spurious authority and consistency to a mixed bag of documents: none is a genuine original, some are suspect or manifestly forged, others do not actually exist but are reconstructed from references. Over all of them is the question of whether, however spurious they are, they contain genuine information. Authorities differ widely in their assessment.<sup>114</sup>

Of these grants, apparently the earliest will have been at Leigh (including Street), if *Lantocai* is correctly identified.<sup>115</sup> This will have given the community at Glastonbury its first and nearest toehold on the Poldens. However, because of the sizes of the estates involved (as many as 60 *manencia*, or hides<sup>116</sup>) the crucial charters are those referring to *Pouelt*, *Poelt*, *Pouholt* and *Poholt*. Although these name-forms may share the same first element with Polden, they are not identical, but they appear essentially to describe the same stretch of land. *Pouholt* is also found as a marker in the bounds of 'Sowy', apparently on the course of the River Cary.<sup>117</sup> Whatever the exact meaning of *Pouholt* (etc.),<sup>118</sup> it is not a settlement name, and it belongs to that category of area names that are common in early charters; in Ine's (probably spurious) grant of 705/6 it is coupled with 20 *cassati* by the River Tone, 20 *casati* on both sides of the stream called *Duluting* [Doulting] and 5 on the west of the valley called *Corregescumb* [Croscombe]. Even if the particular charter is not authentic, such topographical names are common in early charters.<sup>119</sup> However, four grants of land at *Pouholt* need explaining. The supposed charter of King Ine dating from 725 can be ruled out immediately as the forger did not realize that King Æthelheard (726–?740) was later in date than King Ine (688–726). This document belongs to that category of charters that attempt to secure title

TABLE 2 CHARTERS REFERRING TO ESTATES ON THE POLDENS

Date	Reference*	Contents
677 x 681	S.1249. F.357	Bishop Hæddi [of Winchester] to Abbot Hæmgisl: grant of land at Leigh (and Meare)
705/6	S.248. F.371	King Ine to Abbot Beorhtwald: grant of land including 20 <i>manentes</i> ** at <i>Pouelt</i>
725	S.250. F.378	King Ine to Glastonbury: confirmation of land-grants including <i>Lantocai</i> given by Bishop Hæddi and 60 hides at <i>Poelt</i> given by King Æthelheard; exemption from episcopal authority for the church of Glastonbury and its subject churches at 'Sowy', 'Brent', Moorlinch, Shapwick, Street, Butleigh and Pilton
729	S.253. F.381	King Æthelheard to Abbot Coengisl: 60 <i>manencia</i> ** at <i>Pouholt</i>
754 x 756	S.1680. F.387	King Sigebeorht to Abbot Tyccea [Tica]: sale of 22 hides in <i>Poholt</i> and 6 hides in <i>occidentali parte illius</i>
762	S.1685. F.393	King Cynewulf to Abbot Wealdhun: 5 hides at <i>Cumtun</i> [? Compton (Dundon)]
801	S.270a. F.401	King Egbert [ <i>Edbirtus</i> ] to his thane Eadgils: 20 <i>mansiones</i> ** at Butleigh. It was subsequently given to Glastonbury by one <i>Eadburth</i>
854	S. 303. F.408	King Æthelwulf to Glastonbury: 3 hides at Puriton
922	S.1705. F.428	King Edward the Elder to Abbot Ealdhun: restoration of <i>Cumtone</i> [?Compton (Dundon)]
946 x 955	S. 1740. F.464	King Edred to Ælfred or to Glastonbury: grant of land at Tarnock and <i>Stapelwille</i> [?Stawell]
959 x 975	F.505	King Edgar to Glastonbury: grant of 5 hides at <i>Dundene</i> [Dundon in Compton (Dundon)]
971	S.783. F.513	King Edgar to Glastonbury: grant of exemptions and privileges. The exemptions include the freeing of the churches of Street, Butleigh, Moorlinch and Shapwick from the authority of the Bishop of Wells.

\* S. stands for Sawyer 1968; F. indicates Finberg 1964  
 \*\* *manentes*, *manencia*, *mansiones* and hides are regarded as equivalents

to land by the choice of a significant king and very early date. Its real focus is elsewhere, in its list of exemptions.<sup>120</sup>

Assuming no change in hidage, the charters that appear to refer to land on the Poldens amount to 145 hides (excluding King Ine's confirmation but allowing 4 hides for Leigh). Even deducting the charters for Leigh, Compton (Dundon) and Dundon, leaves a great excess over anything that Domesday lists, so there are evidently some duplications among these documents. Thus the 20 hides at *Pouelt* and the 22 hides at *Poholt* may represent the same land; if so, it is likely that the charter of Ine is forged, as Sigebeorht's purchase is more probably the genuine transaction. But where were these hides? It is possible that one or other of these 'grants' (or both if they are not duplicates) became the 20 exempt

'carucates' that Domesday mentions in its entry for Shapwick. However, if they were granted by King Ine, the subsequent grant of 60 *manencia* at *Pouholt* (which must have included Shapwick and which has an uncomplicated boundary clause) will have been silently drawn around them; if they were acquired by Sigebeorht, it is hard to see why he needed them if he already had Shapwick. It is perhaps more likely that these 20 or 22 hides represent the early acquisition of Butleigh; if so, the subsequent gift by one *Eadburth* will have been a restoration, as is not infrequently the case with apparently fresh grants of land.<sup>121</sup> It has already been suggested that Sigebeorht's other purchase (6 hides at the western end of *Pouholt*) represents the acquisition of Puriton.

Although King Æthelheard's grant of 60 *manencia* in 729 has been suspected, its boundary clause has



the simplicity of early land-grants, though the place-name forms appear to have been updated. Nonetheless it is usually thought to be genuine in date and content.<sup>122</sup> It is difficult to resist the deduction that these 60 *manencia* are almost certainly represented in Domesday by the 30 hides of Walton and the 30 hides of Shapwick, that is, by much of the Poldens.<sup>123</sup> However, there is a more complicated alternative: that 50 of these *manencia* came to be regarded as belonging to Shapwick and 10 as belonging to Walton. This would account for the 30 hides and 20 'carucates' of Shapwick in Domesday Book. Certainly, on the ground Shapwick with its members covered a greater area than Walton, even with its evidenced or supposed 1086 members. Were 20 of Shapwick's hides subsequently declared tax-free while Walton was expanded by the addition of further lands, so that the joint hidage of Shapwick and Walton continued to match the 60 *manencia* of the grant, though their contents were different? Faced with this rather complex hypothesis, it may be best to regard the 20 'carucates' at Shapwick as new arable and the 60 *manencia* of *Pouholt* as divided equally between Shapwick and Walton.

The bounds attached to Æthelheard's charter might resolve this, but they are too scanty for certainty. They read: *habet ab oriente Chalkbrok, ab austro dirimit Carswelle in Cari et Cari [sequitur] usque ad locum que dicitur Chedeseie et habet ab occidente territoria que pertinent ad Cosington [et habet] ab aquilone partem dimidiam paludis* ('It has in the east *Chalkbrok*, in the south it cuts through *Carswelle* to the [River] Cary, then [it follows] the Cary to the place which is called *Chedeseie* [*Chedzoy*] and it has in the west the lands which belong to *Cosington* [*Cossington*] [and it has] in the north half of the marsh').

It appears that *Chalkbrok* lay in Street, if the relation to the field name 'Chalwell' is correct.<sup>124</sup> *Carswelle* is unidentified and this makes it unclear what the Walton estate will have included. However, the southern boundary is the (old course of) the River Cary as far as *Chedzoy*, then runs northwards to *Cossington*, before turning eastwards towards Street through the 'marsh'.<sup>125</sup> If the *Chalkbrok* was the stream that divided (and still divides) Walton from Street, then Street would be excluded from these bounds, as it should be, if it had already been granted with Leigh under the name *Lantocai*. The question then is whether the boundary, having followed this brook to the Polden ridge, descended directly to join the River Cary somewhere near High Ham, or whether it first turned south-eastwards along the

ridge before cutting down to the River Cary near, say, Etsome Farm (ST4830). In favour of the former is the basic simplicity of the bounds: they appear to describe a rectangle and could easily have been more explicit if the situation on the ground was more complicated. Moreover, in the bounds of 'Sowy' occurs the phrase 'from Greylake east up the [River] Cary to *Hamelondesmere* to *Pouholt*'. The boundary then turns south. The settlement named from the 'grey lake' is at ST3833 and *Hamelondesmere* was presumably near High Ham. As the boundary of 'Sowy' has been running along the River Cary, and thus along the southern edge of *Pouholt* for some miles, the mention of *Pouholt* might refer to the point at which the boundaries diverge, those of *Pouholt* turning northeastwards and those of 'Sowy' turning southwards. As the boundary of 'Sowy' as it turns to the south essentially runs between Othery and High Ham it is difficult to imagine the boundaries separating further east than somewhere in the Sedge Moor near the modern Cradle Bridge (ST4233) or Henley Corner (ST4332).<sup>126</sup> If, however, the boundary of *Pouholt*, after running up the *Chalkbrok*, did run south-eastwards along the Polden ridge before cutting down, it could have included Compton (Dundon) and Dundon. It could have incorporated Dundon alone, but if it encompassed Compton (Dundon), it must also have included Dundon. Morland excludes Compton from the bounds<sup>127</sup> but the situation is complicated by Domesday's inclusion of Compton (Dundon) in Walton and its apparently treating Dundon as a separate estate.<sup>128</sup>

Morland also thought that the bounds excluded *Cossington* and *Woolavington*, but the Latin could be regarded as ambiguous, depending on the force of *habet* ('has' or 'possesses'). It could thus mean either that the lands which belong to *Cossington* mark the western boundary of this estate (but are not within it) or that they form the western part of this estate. That the latter interpretation is correct is shown by the next bound: 'on the northern side, it has half the marsh', meaning that half the marsh is included in the *Pouholt* estate. This further implies that *Cossington* was a pre-existing estate, perhaps the only one within the bounds of *Pouholt*. The 'lands' of *Cossington* might have included what was or became *Woolavington*, which was certainly part of Shapwick in 1086. The western boundary, running north from *Chedzoy*, could also have included *Bawdrip*, which lies where the Poldens rise from the marsh, although there is no pre-Conquest record of a *Glastonbury* interest and it was in other hands in 1086.<sup>129</sup>

If these bounds are read in conjunction with the presumed extent of adjacent estates which, on a number of grounds, are unlikely to have been a part of Shapwick or Walton, it seems, on balance, probable that the 60 *manencia* comprehended what became the multiple estates of Walton and Shapwick. Walton included what was or became Ashcott (in two parts), Pedwell and Greinton, while Shapwick incorporated Cossington, Chilton (Polden), Edington, Catcott, Moorlinch, Sutton (Mallet), Stawell and probably Woolavington.

In the case of Shapwick, there are difficulties with Cossington because of the interpretation of the charter, and with both Cossington and Stawell, because of their separate listing in Domesday. However, Cossington, by being separate, would have severed Woolavington from Chilton (Polden), which were both attested as parts of Shapwick in 1086. Similarly, Stawell would have been a wedge-shaped intrusion between Sutton (Mallet) and Cossington and Chilton (Polden). The only other possibility, a doubtful one, was that Cossington and Stawell had been the subject of even earlier grants, and were then incorporated in the 60-hide estate.<sup>130</sup> It is also scarcely conceivable that the Shapwick estate could have been granted without including Moorlinch. Although it is not mentioned in Domesday, later evidence suggests that it was a lordship estate of the Abbey.<sup>131</sup> It is possible that some of the 16 ploughs held by the abbot and his villagers were there.

The simplicity of these bounds may have a further implication for the early history of *Pouholt*. The absence of any settlement name does not necessarily imply the absence of settlement, but there is a strong presumption in that direction. Although the Poldens were traversed by a Roman road and there is evidence of Roman occupation at Shapwick, continuity of occupation has not been proved.<sup>132</sup> There are plenty of habitative names in early Wessex charters, so the fact that the 60 *manencia* were given the name of an area rather than being granted as '60 *manencia* at Shapwick and Walton' might be significant. Unfortunately there are no documentary sources that tell whether the community at Glastonbury was being given an existing estate or estates (apart from Cossington), or a large, possibly wooded, peninsula without major settlement but with potential for development.<sup>133</sup> In Shapwick, the -wick element presumably has its sense of dependent or minor settlement, rather than having any grander Roman significance, and the first element ('sheep') denotes its speciality within a larger context (as in Cowick, Hardwick, Butterwick, Berwick).<sup>134</sup> If so,

to what other settlement did it relate? Places called 'Wick' tend to be close to their parent settlements. Was it the 'sheep wick' of Puriton, providing upland grazing, or did Glastonbury itself name and exploit it only when it acquired the Polden estate? If the latter is true, Glastonbury then went on to develop Shapwick in a way that effaced its simple origin.

The presence or absence of significant settlement has some bearing on the origin of the land. At 60 hides, it is unlikely to be the entirety of an early royal estate and would anyway have been expected to have a habitative name. However, *Pouholt* could have been a portion of such an estate. If the later hundred of Whitley, composed of the half-hundreds of Loxley and Reynaldsway, was an ancient land-unit of 100 hides, then it is possible that its *caput* was Puriton. But there are reasons for thinking that earlier royal estates were even larger than this, and thus that those 100 hides may have been a component of some other unit.<sup>135</sup> It is perhaps insufficiently emphasized that most early royal grants were not of entire estates but of portions of enormous royal domains whose cores still survived to be listed in Domesday Book as royal lordship land among the lands that had been held by King Edward in 1066. The nearest ancient royal villas that are evidenced in Domesday are Somerton and North Petherton (SOM 1,1;3); in Domesday their antiquity is shown by the fact that neither paid tax or was hidated. The present writer is inclined to think that, on the basis of computation, topography and proximity, the land dependent on Somerton may once have been at least 400 hides and will also have included the later hundreds of Loxley and Reynaldsway and that it was from the land of Somerton that the *Pouholt* estate was granted out.<sup>136</sup>

#### AFTER DOMESDAY

By a succession of grants, Glastonbury Abbey had obtained the whole of what became the hundreds of Loxley and Reynaldsway. Puriton has been mentioned as a former possession, although that was held by King Edward the Confessor's queen, Edith, before 1066 and by the Pope in 1086. By the time the contents of Whitley Hundred are evidenced, Puriton had been cast adrift from the hundred and become a free manor, like the 1 hide of Huntspill (SOM 24,28), another former possession.<sup>137</sup> Otherwise the Abbey consolidated its estates into the hundred of Whitley, which in 1316 consisted of (1) 'Sowy' with its hamlets Othery and Weston

Zoyland;<sup>138</sup> (2) Shapwick with its hamlets Ashcott, Greinton, Moorlinch, Stawell, Sutton (Mallet), Edington, Catcott and Chilton (Polden); (3) Butleigh with its hamlets Walton, Street and Milton Podimore; (4) Blackford; (5) Compton (Dundon) and Dundon; (6) Cossington; and (7) Woolavington.<sup>139</sup>

This list reveals changes in estate structure. The dominant estate in what had been Reynaldsway Hundred was not then Walton but Butleigh, with Walton as one of its hamlets. Street has replaced Leigh as the estate name. Blackford, Compton (Dundon) and Dundon had become separate estates and Milton Podimore has been added to the hundred; it was earlier in Somerton Hundred. In Shapwick's case, Cossington and Woolavington, though still held from the Abbey, had become separate estates, while the Shapwick estate was divided: the abbot held Ashcott, Greinton and Moorlinch directly while Stawell, Sutton (Mallet), Edington, Catcott and Chilton (Polden) were subinfeudated. Probably Greinton, like Ashcott, had been part of the Walton estate in 1086.

Ecclesiastically too, there was some reorganisation of these estates. Before the Conquest there appear to have been two churches for the Shapwick estate, at Shapwick itself and at Moorlinch.<sup>140</sup> Similarly there were two for what became Reynaldsway Hundred, at Street and Butleigh. Whether Puriton then had a church is unknown. Assuming that these were churches rather than chapels, each would have had its own parish and it is conceivable that the churches of Moorlinch and Shapwick between them served the spiritual needs of the whole Shapwick estate with its members. In view of its later importance, it is possible that the church at Moorlinch was the senior church and that the church at Shapwick arose to serve the estate that came to be centred on it. By the time that Ancient Parishes are fully evidenced, there were churches at Cossington and Woolavington on the Shapwick estate; the church of Moorlinch had chapelries at Catcott, Edington, Chilton (Polden), Stawell and Sutton (Mallet), while the church of Shapwick had a chapelry at Ashcott, which in 1086, in secular terms, was part of Walton.<sup>141</sup> For the estates that had been in Reynaldsway Hundred, there were Ancient Parishes based on Greinton, Compton (Dundon) (which had a chapelry at Dundon), Butleigh and Street (with a chapelry at Walton). Again, the secular arrangements in 1086 were different: Greinton and Compton (Dundon) were dependencies of Walton, while Dundon, Butleigh, Walton and Leigh (that is, Street) were separate estates.

The Abbey did not lose Shapwick, though parts continued to be subinfeudated, and as time went on, the mentions of the Abbey's overlordship may have been purely a formality. Thus Woolavington was held from the Abbey by Philip *de Columbariis* (descent from Alfred of Épaignes) in 1279, 1284–85 and 1303, and Stawell by Geoffrey *de Stawell* at the same dates.<sup>142</sup> Chilton (Polden) was held by Cecilia *de Bello Campo* in 1284–85 (descent from Roger of Courseulles) and Sutton (Mallet) was also held by her then with John Malet as her tenant.<sup>143</sup> Edington was likewise held by Cecilia *de Bello Campo* in 1284–85, and under her by John Malet and under him by John son of Geoffrey;<sup>144</sup> John *de Bello Campo* held it in 1303.<sup>145</sup> In 1284–85 Catcott was held from John Basset by Laurence *de Caticote* and Thomas [*de*] *Bause*, as it was in 1303.<sup>146</sup> The abbot continued to hold Shapwick itself and Moorlinch in lordship.<sup>147</sup>

At the Dissolution of the monasteries, the Abbot of Glastonbury was recorded as having spiritual or temporal benefits from Shapwick, Sutton (Mallet), Edington, Catcott, Chilton (Polden), Woolavington and Moorlinch.<sup>148</sup>

This article began by considering the extent and resources of the Shapwick estate as shown in Domesday Book and the near-contemporary Tax Returns. It has also tried to define the extent of the estate of *Pouholt* and relate it to Shapwick and to Walton. It has suggested that, when Glastonbury Abbey acquired *Pouholt* in the middle of the 8th century, it may have been no more than a partially wooded hill, perhaps granted out from the fringe of a great royal estate based on Somerton. It may be that all the named estates on the hill were the product of the Glastonbury community's development of *Pouholt*. First it will have established Shapwick as a dependent settlement for sheep-grazing, and Walton as a farmstead in a wood, then divided the land between them and then each of them into a series of named subholdings. Domesday Book catches a moment in time after which there were further changes in the relationship of the Shapwick estate to the one centred on Walton and in the relative importance of Walton and Butleigh. Although the pre-Conquest ecclesiastical arrangements can only be glimpsed, they too appear to have evolved with the creation of new parishes and chapelries.

### Acknowledgements

I was honoured to be asked by Mick Aston to read and comment on two chapters of his forthcoming

smaller book on Shapwick. The idea for this article arose from our subsequent discussions and I am grateful for his encouragement and for drawing the map.

I thank Peter Ellis for his advice and for agreeing to publish this article at a late stage in the yearly cycle of the Proceedings.

This article has benefited at every stage from discussions with my wife Caroline. She has made significant additions and corrections and read the evolving text several times.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> 'Sowy' contained Middlezoy, Weston Zoyland and Othery; see note 91.

<sup>2</sup> See Aston and others 1989–1998; Gerrard and Aston 2007.

<sup>3</sup> See Morland 1970; Corcos 1983; Abrams 1996.

<sup>4</sup> On the immense bibliography of Domesday Book, see Bates 1986 supplemented by the list in Hallam and Bates 2001, 191–8.

<sup>5</sup> The Great Domesday manuscript resides in the National Archives at Kew along with that of Little Domesday Book. 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).

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, the colophon at the end of the manuscript of Little Domesday and CHS FT2,19. GLS 1,63. KEN 2,2. SHR C12. References to Domesday are to the chapter and entry numbers of the Phillimore edition, prefaced by a three-letter county reference.

<sup>7</sup> See Domesday Book (Record Commission). Vol. 1 contains Great Domesday. Vol. 2 contains Little Domesday (a bulkier 'survey' of the East Anglian counties). Vol. 3 is entitled *Libri Censualis Vocati Domesday Book, Additamenta ex Codic. Antiquiss.* and comprises the *Liber Exoniensis* (Exon Domesday), the *Inquisito Eliensis* (the 'Ely Enquiry'), the *Liber Wintoniensis* (the 'Winton' or 'Winchester' Domesday) and the Boldon Book. (This is vol. 4 in some bindings.) Vol. 4 contains the General Introduction and Indices; it was also published separately as H. Ellis, *General Introduction to Domesday Book*, 2 vols (London, 1833; reprinted 1971). Vols 1–2 were transcribed by Abraham Farley and his work is referred to as 'Farley'. Vol. 3 was edited by H. Ellis and the transcription of the *Liber Exoniensis* (Exon) was carried out by Ralph

Barnes, chapter clerk of Exeter Cathedral. Vol. 3 is referred to as Ellis, *Domesday Book*, iii. (*Libri Censualis*).

<sup>8</sup> See Domesday Book (Phillimore). This edition contains the Boldon Book (vol. 35), and Indices of Places, Persons and Subjects (vols 36–8). The edition of Great Domesday and Little Domesday, with the exception of Yorkshire (vols 1–29; 31–4), is now available in electronic form and is being thoroughly revised; the latest state is available both from the Arts and Humanities Data Service at Essex University as study number 5694 (<http://www.data-archive.ac.uk/findingdata/snDescription.asp?sn=5694>) and from the Hull University website (<http://edocs.hull.ac.uk>) or from the Domesday Explorer website (<http://www.domesdaybook.net/>). Domesday Somerset awaits revision.

<sup>9</sup> See Domesday Book (Ordnance Survey). Parts were published for all the Domesday counties.

<sup>10</sup> See Domesday Book (Alecto).

<sup>11</sup> A virgate is a quarter of a hide.

<sup>12</sup> All quotations from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are taken from Whitelock and others 1965. They have been slightly repunctuated. Other translations are by the author of this article.

<sup>13</sup> See the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under 1087.

<sup>14</sup> The connection between this entry in the Chronicle and the Domesday Survey is not always made, but see Holt 1987.

<sup>15</sup> For the *Rotuli Hundredorum*, see Illingworth and Caley 1812, and also Cam 1930, 248–57.

<sup>16</sup> See Hamilton 1876, 97–167.

<sup>17</sup> Lordship (or 'demesne') land was the portion of an estate worked directly for the lord, who received all the revenue and whose men were often slaves. The cultivators of the rest of the estate rendered various dues, tithes and services to the lord, but kept some profits for themselves.

<sup>18</sup> This last question (*si potest plus haberi quam habeatur*) is often translated as 'and if more can be had than is had', but this misunderstands the Latin: the verb *habeo* ('to have') in its passive forms can mean 'to be considered, estimated, judged'.

<sup>19</sup> Douglas 1932, 3–44.

<sup>20</sup> Often called 'geld'.

<sup>21</sup> Hundreds were administrative units dating from the mid-10th century, responsible for taxation, policing and justice. Wapentakes performed the same functions in the counties that were shired out of the Danelaw: Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire (part), Nottinghamshire,

- Rutland and Yorkshire. See Anderson 1939, 209–17; and Loyn 1974. In Wessex the hundreds probably arose as divisions of older land-units. On the Somerset hundreds, see Thorn 1989.
- <sup>22</sup> 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 6s per hide geld raised in 1084 (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under that year). 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.
- <sup>23</sup> Henry of Huntingdon connects the Survey with William's difficulties in provisioning a large army; see Arnold 1879, 207.
- <sup>24</sup> For example, his half-brothers Robert of Mortain and Odo of Bayeux, his sheriffs Urso of Abbetot (in Worcestershire; see note 72) and Eustace (in Huntingdonshire).
- <sup>25</sup> For a judicious discussion of the reasons for the Survey, see Bates 2004, 259–62.
- <sup>26</sup> See Johnson and others 1983, 64.
- <sup>27</sup> For an excellent discussion of these 'satellites', see Clarke 1985, 50–70. There will be a full listing and discussion in the appendix to Thorn *et al.* forthcoming.
- <sup>28</sup> For recent discussion coupled with some idiosyncratic views, see Roffe 2000 and Flight 2006.
- <sup>29</sup> A vill is a convenient term to describe a named subdivision of the hundred or wapentake. The vill is a unit of taxation and administration and may contain one or more estates, often with a village or hamlet at the centre.
- <sup>30</sup> Great Domesday, folios 379a–382b, translated in the Phillimore printed edition of Yorkshire as sections SW, SN, SE.
- <sup>31</sup> According to the *Inquisitio Eliensis* (Hamilton 1876, 97). This description of the proceedings precedes the questions translated above.
- <sup>32</sup> They are referred to in Domesday as *barones regis* ('the king's barons') in DEV 2,1, KEN C8, LIN CK66 and SUF 16,34, or as *legati regis* ('the king's envoys') often translated as 'commissioners' as in HEF 1,75 and GLS 1,63. The names of the 'barons' of the Midlands circuit are known from Hemming; see Hearne 1723, 288, 296, and the Phillimore edition of Domesday Worcestershire, Appendix V. The identification of circuits depends among other things on differences in the arrangement and choice of material and the formulae employed between groups of counties. For a recent discussion of the circuits, see Thorn and Thorn 2001, 37–72, 200–3.
- <sup>33</sup> According to the *Inquisitio Eliensis* (Hamilton 1876, 97). The names of the jurors of the various hundreds in Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire are recorded in the *Inquisitio Eliensis* (Hamilton 1876, 97–101). In the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* (see note 34) the names of the jurors precede the account of each hundred. See the appendices to the Phillimore editions of Domesday Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire.
- <sup>34</sup> Hamilton 1876, 1–96. The king's lordship lands are not included and the only surviving manuscript is incomplete. There would have been subsequent checks, corrections and additions, and there are a few estates that are in Cambridgeshire in Great Domesday but not in the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, as well as two holdings in the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* that are not in Cambridgeshire Domesday. However, comparison of the contents of the two texts shows that many of the discrepancies were the result of editing and abbreviation, while others, especially in figures, may be due to miscopying either of the original text of the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* by the main scribe of Great Domesday, or of that text by the copyist of the surviving twelfth-century manuscript.
- <sup>35</sup> On the persistence of arrangement by hundred through subsequent re-orderings, the fundamental study is Sawyer 1955, 177–97, now reviewed in Thorn 1989, 32–41, and in other 'Hundreds and Wapentakes' articles in that series.
- <sup>36</sup> Great Domesday was essentially the work of one scribe (scribe A), though there were important contributions by a second scribe (B) and minor additions by a few others; see Thorn and Thorn 2001.
- <sup>37</sup> The main scribe of Great Domesday omitted a very large number of heads most notably in Oxfordshire and Derbyshire.
- <sup>38</sup> The manuscript of the original, though now incomplete, is preserved in Exeter Cathedral

- library (MS 3500). The only printed version is volume 3 (4 in some bindings) of the Record Commission edition of Domesday Book. There is no Ordnance Survey facsimile.
- <sup>39</sup> Little Domesday Book is in volume 2 of the Record Commission edition of Domesday Book. These counties were never abbreviated and so are not contained in Great Domesday Book.
- <sup>40</sup> Despite the persistence of the 'fair copy' theory, there is little doubt that the five south-western counties in Great Domesday were abbreviated directly from Exon, and not from an intermediate text. The small quantity of material that is in Great Domesday Book, but not in Exon, can be explained by the fact that Great Domesday Book is itself a working document and checks were made during its compilation. See the Exon Introduction in the Phillimore printed edition of Domesday for Devon ('Introduction: Related and Satellite Texts' in the electronic version). See also Thorn and Thorn 2001, 67–9, 202–3.
- <sup>41</sup> See Thorn and Thorn 2001, 71–2, 203. Little Domesday Book was rubricated later, probably after work had ceased on the production of Great Domesday Book. This aids consultation but the text remains as long as it ever was.
- <sup>42</sup> See Chaplais 1987, 65–77.
- <sup>43</sup> Perusal of the tables in Darby 1977, 336–71, is sobering. They show that many counties lack at least one element of the Domesday assessment, and some resources.
- <sup>44</sup> The final figure in the Exon folio reference is to the entry on that page as indicated by the 'gallows' paragraphing sign. The account of Shapwick occupies almost two pages, 37 lines of abbreviated Latin with several interlineations.
- <sup>45</sup> The Domesday form is erratic; among later forms are *Cahalton* (1284–85), *Chauton* (1303) and *Chelton* (1327). Even so, this is not a true 'Chilton' (Old English *Cilda-tun*, 'the children's tun' or 'the tun of young men of noble birth'), but from Old English *cealc* and *tun*, 'tun on limestone'; see Ekwall 1960, under Chilton.
- <sup>46</sup> The standard terms have been rendered as in the Phillimore translation, thus, for example, lordship for demesne and smallholder for bordar.
- <sup>47</sup> This is translated directly from Great Domesday Book. The Phillimore translation is a hybrid, with significant additions from Exon inserted in small type, or included in the notes.
- <sup>48</sup> The essence of Exon is reduced to a mere 13 lines of text in Great Domesday.
- <sup>49</sup> Such as the abbreviated *die q[ua] rex E[dwardus]* *f[uit] v[ivus] et m[ortuus]* 'on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead' (that is, on 5th January 1066), which becomes *T.R.E. (tempore regis Eduuardi)*, meaning 'in the time of King Edward', rendered in the Phillimore edition as 'before 1066'. The Exon scribe was here trying to be concise, but the main scribe of Great Domesday outdid him.
- <sup>50</sup> Where the subtenant on an estate was an important lord in his own right, it is possible that he, rather than his overlord, was responsible for rendering tax and service. These individuals would be difficult to identify, if Exon differentiates two or more Roberts or Alfreds as holding from a single overlord, but the Great Domesday scribe has removed the bynames.
- <sup>51</sup> On the place-name forms of Exon, see Sawyer 1955–56.
- <sup>52</sup> For example, for Exon's *ager, molendinum, nemus, pascua*, Great Domesday substitutes *acra, molinum, silva, pastura*. There are no essential differences; this is more a question of house-style, though the odd survival of *nemus* and *pascua* into Great Domesday has misled commentators into thinking that they are a different resource.
- <sup>53</sup> See Knowles and others 1972, 51.
- <sup>54</sup> See Keats-Rohan 1999, 511.
- <sup>55</sup> See the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under 1083.
- <sup>56</sup> These lands are also listed in Exon folios 508b–525a, in the Somerset section of the schedule of *Terrae Occupatae* ('seized lands').
- <sup>57</sup> See Abrams 1996, 280–4.
- <sup>58</sup> He is possibly Old English *Wærmund*; see Reaney 1976, under Warman. The Exon spelling *Gar-* represents *Gu-*, the Norman pronunciation of *W-*, as in Guillaume for William and in the doublets *guard/ warden* and *guerre/ war*. The spellings *Guarmundus* and *Garmund[us]* both occur in Exon folio 116a3, which corresponds to SOM 1,35. Elsewhere in Exon it is *Garmund(us)* except for folio 364b2 (corresponding to SOM 25,56) where it is *Warmundus*.
- <sup>59</sup> SOM 1,35. 19,71. 21,98. 25,4;56, and in Exon entries corresponding to SOM 10,2 and SOM 22,19. For this latter entry Exon mentions a day when King William restored Warmund to possession of the land. This might strengthen the case for his being a dispossessed and then restored Anglo-Saxon. The only other occurrence of a Warmund in Domesday Book is in Cheshire where a Warmund the huntsman (*venator*) is recorded as holding an outlier of Bistre from Earl Hugh (CHS FT3,3).

- <sup>60</sup> The scribe of Great Domesday omitted the important detail that the land was thaneland.
- <sup>61</sup> See Round 1895, 157–68; King 1969 and King 1973.
- <sup>62</sup> See Round 1895, 225–316.
- <sup>63</sup> *Book of Fees* 82. There is a fuller statement dating from 1284–85 in which the abbot's lordship manors are responsible for 3 knights and 6 soldiers for 40 days. These lordship manors are listed as Weston Zoyland, Middlezoy, Othery, Shapwick, Ashcott, Walton, Street, Butleigh, Milton Podimore, Moorlinch and Greinton: *Feudal Aids*, iv. 290.
- <sup>64</sup> See also SOM 8,39.
- <sup>65</sup> See Loyd 1951, 51–2; Sanders 1960, 67; and Keats-Rohan 1999, 141.
- <sup>66</sup> One major category of information given in the *Terrae Occupatae* section of Exon concerns the adding by a Norman of the lands of one 1066 holder to those of another, of whose lands he was the legitimate successor. The integrity of estates as they were in 1066 greatly concerned the compilers of the *Terrae Occupatae*.
- <sup>67</sup> See Sanders 1960, 94; Loyd 1951, 33; Keats-Rohan 1999, 403.
- <sup>68</sup> *Feudal Aids*, iv. 290, see also 350.
- <sup>69</sup> *Feudal Aids*, iv. 291, 304, 311–12, 326, 328–9, 357–8.
- <sup>70</sup> This error was pointed out by Stacy 2001, 243. Significantly, both Roger *Witen* and Roger of Courseulles appear separately in the Tax Return for Cheddar Hundred (Exon folio 76a2). The byname is Old English *Hwiting*, derived from Old English *hwita* ('white') presumably used by Englishmen as a nickname for a Norman with exceptionally fair skin or white hair; see Tengvik 1938, 11, 146.
- <sup>71</sup> Like Shapwick, Walton (SOM 8,11) has magnates holding members of the estate, but there the abbot retained some genuine lordship land. For Cossington and Stawell, see the section on 'Loxley Hundred' below.
- <sup>72</sup> See Round 1901, 262–5; Freeman, 1867–79, v. Appendix, 759–66; and Phillimore Domesday Worcestershire, WOR 26 note on Urso. Abetot or Abitôt is the traditional spelling of the name, but the place is represented by Saint-Jeand'Abbetot in the département of Seine-Maritime, France.
- <sup>73</sup> See the section on 'Loxley Hundred' below.
- <sup>74</sup> Old English *hyd* is related to *hiw* ('family') and *hiwan* or *hiwen* ('members of a family'). On the hide, the fundamental discussions are in Round 1895, 35–6, and in Maitland 1897, 357–520. Bede regards the hide as 'land for one family'; see Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 162, 292.
- <sup>75</sup> See Birch 1885–99, 414–16, no. 297; Maitland 1897, 506–7; Stenton 1971, 295–6; Hart 1971; Davies and Vierck 1974; Hill 1981, 77.
- <sup>76</sup> In so far as hides are units of taxation and service, land can be 'beneficially hidated' (it is assessed at fewer hides than it contains) at the outset, or wholesale reductions can be made in an attempt to reduce the burden of the obligations imposed on them; thus Northamptonshire appears to have benefited from two successive reductions in its tax burden and so in its hidage; see Hart 1970. On the other hand, in most Domesday counties, there is a reasonably close relation between the hidage, which was by 1086 an ancient and largely fixed measure that had apparently forgotten its agricultural origins, and the assessment of how many ploughs the hides could keep occupied.
- <sup>77</sup> See Corcos 1983, 51–2; Costen 1991; Abrams 1996, 98. On the Walton estate, only Greinton is derived from a personal name.
- <sup>78</sup> This figure includes the 4 ploughs in the abbot's lordship and the 12 ploughs held by his villagers. The 12 ploughs are clearly on the land that is not hidated, but the location of the abbot's ploughs is ambiguous; see note 80.
- <sup>79</sup> The origin and purpose of the 'plough estimate' or of the 'ploughland' or 'teamland' is controversial. Of many discussions, see Moore 1964, and Harvey 1985. The Phillimore Domesday Index of Subjects, edited by J.D. Foy, has an excellent comparison of ploughlands to hides and carucates or sulungs (183b–189b) and of ploughlands to ploughs actually on the land (173b–183a).
- <sup>80</sup> Exon has: 'There the abbot has 4 ploughs in lordship and the villagers 12 ploughs on that land which does not pay tax'. Though clumsy, the 'there' probably refers not to the hidated land of Shapwick (for the abbot does not appear to have held any; see note 100) but to the land for 20 ploughs where the abbot has 4 ploughs while his villagers have 12 ploughs on this same land; the 'on that land which does not pay tax' was thus intended as an explanation of 'there'. The scribe of Great Domesday seems to have interpreted the 'there' as referring to the 30 hides of Shapwick, which would be its normal signification. He thus put 'There are 12 villagers' ploughs there and elsewhere 4 ploughs in lordship'. The term 'elsewhere' is not new information and does not

in itself imply that the 4 ploughs in lordship are in a different place.

<sup>81</sup> In Bath A, a document that probably dates from an early stage of the Domesday Enquiry, *coceti* (for *cosceti*, ‘cottagers’) are chosen to represent the second group, but both Exon and Great Domesday, which are derived from it or used its information, have *bordarii*; see Hunt 1893, i. 67–8; and the Phillimore Domesday edition of Somerset, Appendix II. Baring 1909, 11–12, 40, has shown that in Surrey and in Berkshire the decision to classify men as cottagers rather than as smallholders depended on the hundred. For Shropshire, Chris Lewis has pointed out (Lewis 1990, 10) that the method of measuring woodland also depended on the hundred. It is noteworthy that the questions prefaced to the *Inquisitio Eliensis* mention *cotarii*, not *bordarii*. However, in Domesday Book for Wiltshire *coceti* are distinguished from both *bordarii* and *cotarii*.

<sup>82</sup> The pre-Conquest examples of *bordarii* cited in Latham, Howlett and others 1975–97 are from charters that only survive in later copies. Latham 1965, under *villa*, gives 1086 as the earliest date for *villani*.

<sup>83</sup> Domesday equates *coliberti* with *buri* (‘boors’, from Old English (*ge*)*bur*) on three occasions (HAM 1,10;23. WOR 8,10a) where *vel coliberti* is interlined; see Maitland 1897, 36–8. *Coliberti* appear in 14 shires. The drift of Maitland’s argument is that they were less free than the smallholder and cottager, but often the possessors of two plough beasts.

<sup>84</sup> In Liebermann 1903, translated in part in Douglas 1968, no. 172.

<sup>85</sup> The half-plough would have been a whole plough, shared between estates. Roger of Courseulles had 1½ ploughs at ?Butleigh (SOM 8,12) and 1 plough and 2 oxen at Ashcott (SOM 8,14).

<sup>86</sup> For example, there are only 759 ploughmen (Latin *bouarii*, literally ‘oxmen’) listed in Domesday, 556 pigmen (of whom 370 are in Devon), 40 brewers (all at Hayle in Cornwall), 16 bee-keepers, 10 shepherds, 6 millers, 5 potters, 1 carpenter and 1 female jester; see Darby 1977, 337–45. Some of these may be subsumed into a general population category. The ploughmen, for example, with one exception, only occur in the counties of one circuit (Cheshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire). They may have been freedmen or slaves; in Herefordshire on four occasions and once in Shropshire, they are called ‘free’, perhaps to distinguish them from

ploughmen who were unfree or from the slaves who immediately preceded them in all but one of these accounts.

<sup>87</sup> See Moore 1996.

<sup>88</sup> See, for example, the document known as Evesham A, discussed in the Phillimore Domesday edition of Worcestershire (Appendix IV). These further layers of subtenancy also appear from time to time in Exon Domesday, but were almost always abbreviated out by the main Great Domesday scribe, although in a few entries he failed to do so, as, for example, in LEC 15,11.

<sup>89</sup> See the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for that year.

<sup>90</sup> See McDonald and Snooks 1986.

<sup>91</sup> The ‘Sowy’ estate, an island between the River Cary and the River Parrett, had supposedly been given to the community at Glastonbury in 725 by King Ine: Finberg 1964, 114, no. 379; Sawyer 1968, no. 251. It is more likely that it was, in fact, given by King Æthelwulf in 854 (Finberg 1964, 122, no. 408; Sawyer 1968, no. 303). ‘Sowy’ contained Middlezoy, Weston Zoyland and Othery; see Morland 1982; Abrams 1996, 218–20; *VCH Somerset*, viii. 113, 116. The Phillimore printed edition chose Middlezoy to represent ‘Sowy’.

<sup>92</sup> Leigh lay in Street Ancient Parish and is represented by Overleigh, Middle Leigh and Lower Leigh. It probably stood for Street as well. The Phillimore printed edition has Overleigh, but there is no reason to particularize.

<sup>93</sup> In Exon the entry for Lattiford is added in the margin next to the entry for Butleigh and starts ‘Of this manor ...’. The scribe of Great Domesday incorporated it in the text after his account of Butleigh, but as a separate entry.

<sup>94</sup> Blackford near Wincanton was later in Whitley Hundred: Glasscock 1975, 274. However, Glastonbury Abbey apparently held two separate places called Blackford (the other one being near Wedmore), awarded by successive kings, the first by King Edwy (955–59), the second by King Edgar (959–75); see Sawyer 1968, nos. 1757, 1768; Finberg 1964, 139, 143, nos. 477, 495. Morland (Morland 1954–5, 45, Morland 1986, 69; Morland 1990, 122) may be right in identifying the present Blackford as the one near Wedmore and the Blackford near Wincanton as an unnamed portion of the 8 hides of Butleigh (SOM 8,18) held by Thurstan son of Rolf, whose successors certainly held it; see *Feudal Aids*, iv. 290, 306, 318, 350; Weaver 1910, 58–9. That being so, this Blackford lay in Bempstone



Hundred in 1086 and its presence here disrupts the hundredal sequence, as perhaps does Ham (SOM 8,17). Ham was later counted a part of Whitley Hundred, but had a separate Tax Return in 1084 as a 'manor-hundred'. It may be that the arrangement is topographical rather than strictly hundredal. For the Blackford near Wedmore, see Stacy 2001, 171–5, and 171 note 6. On both Blackfords, and her doubts about Morland's views, see Abrams 1996, 59–62, 76–7, 139–40, 162.

<sup>95</sup> See Phillimore Domesday Somerset, Appendix I, 376–7.

<sup>96</sup> See Thorn 1989, 36. The land of the church of Wells was listed in the Tax Returns as the *Terra Gisonis* (Giso being the bishop). Some estates that were later in the hundreds that belonged entirely to Wells were in their territorial hundreds in 1086.

<sup>97</sup> See Anderson 1939, 151–2.

<sup>98</sup> Exon folios 63b–64a (List I); Exon folios 64a–64b (List II).

<sup>99</sup> Walscin or Walter of Douai, who gave his name to Bridgwater, had three small seigneurial hundreds: Huntspill in Somerset and Berrynarbor and Uffculme in Devon. Uffculme had also once belonged to Glastonbury; see Abrams 1996, 235–41.

<sup>100</sup> There is another possible way of interpreting the figures of the Tax Return: if it has misdivided the lordship hides between the Pope and the abbot, then there would be some extra lordship land (say 3 hides) to be found for the abbot. This must have been at Shapwick, though it is not reported by Domesday. The knock-on effect of this would be that the 3 hides of Cossington could no longer be part of Shapwick, but they would now be additional to the total of 47 hides given to the hundred (although Loxley Hundred would once have contained 50 hides). Furthermore, the fact that Loxley Hundred is said to contain 47 hides would accept the removal of Cossington to Huntspill Hundred. That there was hidated land other than the subinfeudations at Shapwick itself might be borne out by an entry in the 13th-century Glastonbury Feodary (Weaver 1910, 72): *Manerium de Schapewyk' per se ipso geldat in servicio domini regis pro v hidis ab antiquo* ('the manor of Shapwick pays on its own behalf in the service of the king for 5 hides from ancient times'). On the other hand, 'ancient times' may well have been after 1086 and represent a levy on the formerly tax-free land for 20 ploughs, or

it could be a loose way of accounting for the 4 ½ hides of Shapwick apparently missing from Domesday (that is, 30 hides less the subinfeudations, but not taking account of Cossington or Stawell). On balance, the reasons for including Cossington in Shapwick are stronger. For arguments from charters and topography for the composition of Shapwick, see 'The Polden Estate' below.

<sup>101</sup> According to William of Malmesbury's *De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie*, sections 48, 69 (Scott 1981, 106, 142), 1 hide in *Hunespulle* was given to Glastonbury by Ethelmund, with the consent of King Offa (of Mercia): *Ethelmund assensu regis Offae dedit*; see Finberg 1964, 118, no. 397; Sawyer 1968, no. 1692; Abrams 1996, 142–3. This gift dates from 794 and given at the same time, apparently by King Offa himself, were 10 hides at *Eswirht* or *Inesuuyrth juxta Hunespulle*. These have not been certainly identified. Finberg 1972, 42, no. 47, identified them with Innsworth near Gloucester and argued that two gifts, both related to King Offa, had been partially conflated; see Abrams 1996, 147–8.

<sup>102</sup> For an analysis of the Tax Returns for Somerset, see Morland 1990, 95–140.

<sup>103</sup> The entry for Walton itself (SOM 8,11) includes Compton (Dundon), Pedwell and 3 hides in Ashcott. A further 2 hides at Ashcott (SOM 8,14) are said to belong 'to the abbot's manor of Walton'. The scribe of the corresponding entry (Exon folio 164b1) initially wrote *De mansione quae uocatur Aissecota quam tenuit Almerus ... & reddidit gildum pro .ii. hidis* ('Of the manor which is called Ashcott which Almer held ...and it paid tax for 2 hides') which is not only ungrammatical but would imply that the 'manor' was Dundon, the entry for which precedes this one. He then, perhaps immediately, interlined *abbatis quae uocatur Waltona tenet Rogerus .i. mansionem* and indicated that it should go after *De mansione*, so the sentence read 'Of the abbot's manor which is called Walton Roger holds 1 manor which is called Ashcott which Almer held and ...'. He began the next entry (Exon folio 164b2) with *De eadem mansione tenet Grainton* ('Of the same manor he holds Greinton'), the 'same manor' again implying Dundon, but then he interlined *Girardus .i. mansionem quae uocatur* to produce 'Of the same manor Gerard holds 1 manor which is called Greinton'. However, he did not also specify that the 'same manor' was Walton, which would have been

clearer, especially if he had not yet corrected the Ashcott entry. The Great Domesday scribe made no connection between Greinton and Walton (SOM 8,15). In Morland's reconstruction (Morland 1990, 122) Greinton and both portions of Ashcott have to be parts of Walton, for the total of the hundred to be correct.

<sup>104</sup> The 3-virgate estate at *Bodeslege* (SOM 8,12), if it was part of Butleigh, was probably double-counted in Domesday. It may have originated as a grant out of the 20 hides of Butleigh (8,18) to a priest of Glastonbury, and not reverted to the church, perhaps being seized by Roger of Courseulles. Morland 1954–55, 39, and Morland 1984, 39, identified *Bodeslege* with Bagley (near Wedmore), but there are philological and other difficulties with this.

<sup>105</sup> Finberg 1964, 121, no. 401; Sawyer 1968, no. 270a; see Abrams 1996, 76. For this and possible earlier grants, see Table 2.

<sup>106</sup> On Blackford, see note 94. Morland 1954–55, 45, assumes that the 2 hides at Lattiford (SOM 8,19) held by Humphrey the chamberlain from the Abbot of Glastonbury were a duplicate of the 2 hides at the adjacent Holton which he held in his own fief (SOM 45,4). This may well be so, as the entry at 8,19 is not full, but appears rather to be a cross-reference to the other one.

<sup>107</sup> See Weaver 1910, 58–9, 62–4.

<sup>108</sup> See Morland 1970, 77.

<sup>109</sup> For the grants by charter, see Table 2, and, for discussion, see 'The Polden Estate' below.

<sup>110</sup> Glastonbury had once held 3 hides at Puriton, granted by King Æthelwulf in 854: Finberg 1964, 122, no. 408; Sawyer 1968, no. 303. It is not certain whether it ever held the whole estate rated at 6 hides in 1066, but paying tax on five, although it is possible that these 3 hides were the regranting of an alienated portion, because, associated with the 22 hides at *Poholt* acquired by Abbot Tica in 754 x 756 (see Table 2), are 6 hides *in occidentali parte illius* ('in the western part of it', that is, 'of *Poholt*'). The western part of *Poholt* is its western end and these 6 hides could well be Puriton, which is situated there; see Abrams 1996, 204, 210, 214.

<sup>111</sup> The wood lies between Shapwick and Moorlinch at ST409375 on the top of Polden beside the A39 road; see Anderson 1939, 52.

<sup>112</sup> The road is marked on the Ordnance Survey six-inch map (sheet 63NE, surveyed 1885, published 1890) on the western edge of Butleigh wood where the minor road from Kingsweston to

Ashcott emerges from the wood, at ST497338; see Anderson 1939, 51.

<sup>113</sup> See Anderson 1939, 52.

<sup>114</sup> Both Sawyer and Finberg attempt to rate the charters for authenticity. The best discussion, together with a critical study of the sources is in Abrams 1996, 10–41, and under the name of each estate.

<sup>115</sup> See the note to Finberg 1964, 110, no. 357.

<sup>116</sup> The word *manencia* (strictly *manentia*) is derived from the present participle of Latin verb *maneo* (that is, from *manens*). It is connected with *manerium* and *mansio*, the latter being derived from this verb's past participle (*mansus*), which also supplies another noun (*mansus*) with the same meaning. These nouns presumably contain the notion of 'tenement' or 'household'. Another equivalent is *cas(s)ati*, derived from the Latin *casa* ('hut', 'cottage', 'house').

<sup>117</sup> For the 'Sow' charter, see Finberg 1964, 114, no. 379; Sawyer 1968, no. 251; and note 91. The marginal note *id est Grenton* ('that is, Greinton') against *Pouelt* in King Ine's charter of 705/6, is unlikely to be correct, as Greinton was only an estate of 2½ hides in Domesday (SOM 8,15). On the other hand, it probably lay within the estate of *Pouelt*; see Abrams 1996, 205. More convincing is the appearance of *Poldune* as a subheading for King Æthelheard's grant, of *Poolt*, *id est Poldone* ('*Poolt*, that is, Polden') in the list of contents of Glastonbury's *Liber Terrarum*, and of *Shapwik* above Æthelheard's charter in the Glastonbury *Secretum Domini*; see Abrams 1996, 206.

<sup>118</sup> According to Ekwall 1960, under Polden Hill, the first element is uncertain, but perhaps Old Welsh, the second is Old English *holt* ('wood') and, to the whole, Old English *-dun* has been attached. According to Michael Costen (reported in Corcos 1983, 48), it is probably Celtic *bo gwelt* ('cattle pasture'). Oliver Padel (reported in Abrams 1996, 210 note 117) suggests derivation from Celtic *pow* meaning 'region' and hypothetical *elt* meaning 'cliff' or 'hill-slope'.

<sup>119</sup> Further examples of area names in early charters are '10 hides in the valley of the River Torridge' (Sawyer 1968, no. 1676); '23 *mansiones* by Quantock Wood' (Sawyer 1968, no. 237); '140 *manentes* on both sides of the wood called Kemble' (Sawyer 1968, no. 234).

<sup>120</sup> See note 140.

<sup>121</sup> The charter is difficult to interpret, because the identity of both *Edbirtus* and *Eadburth* is

uncertain. If the former (who appears as *Ecgbirhtus* in the contents list of the Glastonbury *Liber Terrarum*) is King Egbert of Wessex (802–39), and the date (801) is correct, then Egbert appears to have been acting as King of Wessex before his predecessor, King Beorhtric, was dead. *Eadburth* features in a note following the charter in the cartularies: *hanc cartulam reddidit Eadburth ad ecclesiam Glastingensem* ('Eadburth gave back this (small) charter to the church of Glastonbury). If *Eadburth* was Beorhtric's queen, she perhaps undid a grant that should not have been made. Certainly the Latin *reddidit* suggests a restoration rather than a new gift (which would be *dedit*). Abrams 1996, 76 note 163, suggests that *Eadburth* is a mistake for Eadgils, or the name of some later female owner or even a corruption of the name Egbert. According to William of Malmesbury's *De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie*, sections 52, 69 (Scott 1981, 110, 142), Eadgils himself gave the land to Glastonbury, but this may be an oversimplification.

<sup>122</sup> For a balanced discussion, see Abrams 1996, 204–11.

<sup>123</sup> See Morland 1970, 78–9; Morland 1985–86, 78–9.

<sup>124</sup> See Morland 1982, 234.

<sup>125</sup> That is, the great marshland traversed by the River Brue that lay between Glastonbury and the sea.

<sup>126</sup> The original course of the River Cary has been obscured by centuries of drainage works; see Morland 1982, 235. For the present purpose, the exact location of this proposed junction of boundaries is not important.

<sup>127</sup> See Morland 1970, 78.

<sup>128</sup> Topographically, if Compton (Dundon) lay in the 60 *manencia*, Dundon must also have done so. On balance, it seems likely that neither was in the original grant and that the inclusion of Compton (Dundon) in Walton in Domesday was a tax dodge to reduce the abbot's liability, as in the case of Blackford's inclusion in Butleigh. Both Compton (Dundon) and Dundon were the subject of separate grants. Although Compton is a common name in Somerset, there seems to be no evidence that Glastonbury had ever held any other place of that name. Moreover, although the present names are confusing (Compton being distinguished from other places of the same name by the addition of Dundon), Compton (Dundon) and Dundon are separate places; there is no reason to think that Compton (Dundon) ever stands for

Dundon or vice versa in the charter grants. Modern commentators do not help by failing to include the bracket in Compton (Dundon). See Abrams 1996, 94–5.

<sup>129</sup> Bawdrip (SOM 24,23) was held by Merleswein in 1066 and by Walter of Douai in 1086. See Abrams 1996, 208, 210.

<sup>130</sup> There is a grant dating from 946 x 955, alternatively evidenced as by King Eadred to an Ælfred or by the same king to Glastonbury, of land at Tarnock and *Stapelwille*: Finberg 1964, 136, no. 464; Sawyer 1968, no. 1740. If the grant was to Ælfred, he subsequently gave the land to Glastonbury. It is not certain that *Stapelwille* is Stawell; if it is, this may be a lease of property that was already Glastonbury's; see Abrams, 1996, 228–9. There is no separate record of a grant of Cossington.

<sup>131</sup> *Feudal Aids*, iv. 290. The name means 'pleasant hill', the first element being OE *myrge*, 'merry' (Ekwall 1960), and does not imply settlement.

<sup>132</sup> Corcos 1983, 51, has drawn attention to the furlong names Abchester, Chestells and Bassecastell which probably refer to Roman, or what were thought to be Roman, sites. However, the last two name-forms look to be Norman-French, and are therefore late.

<sup>133</sup> Ashcott, Leigh and Butleigh point to the existence of woods as does (Butleigh) Wootton (this last is not named in Domesday). The Domesday spelling of Walton (*Waltone*) suggests that it is a *W(e)ald-tun* ('a *tun* in a wood or a weald') rather than a *W(e)ala-tun* ('*tun* of the Britons or Welsh'); see Ekwall 1960, under Walton. In Shapwick a number of English furlong names in -croft, -worth and -hay refer to enclosures and may indicate the existence of early isolated holdings that were reorganised into a centralised estate; see Corcos 1983, 51.

<sup>134</sup> See Ekwall 1960, under *wic*; Gelling 1978, 67.

<sup>135</sup> For the present author, this is work in progress. It involves working back from the hundreds that are attested in Domesday and associated documents. There is evidence in Domesday and elsewhere that hundreds were grouped, often around royal villis; for Domesday, see SHR 4,1,1–6;9–11 and OXF 1,1–7; for elsewhere, see Cam 1944, 91–105. If it is assumed, in Wessex and Mercia at least, that hundreds were not imposed *de novo* on the landscape but were divisions or combinations of existing units, it should be possible to reconstitute some of them.

<sup>136</sup> Compton (Dundon), Dundon and Butleigh

abuted Somerton Hundred. By chance, there is no Tax Return for Somerton Hundred, but it appears to have contained only about 60 hides in 1086. It was clearly an ancient and important royal manor (SOM 1,1), but much of its assumed former land lay in other hundreds in 1086.

<sup>137</sup> See, for example, *Feudal Aids*, iv. 322.

<sup>138</sup> Middlezoy is apparently omitted; see *Book of Fees*, 82.

<sup>139</sup> *Feudal Aids*, iv. 317–18.

<sup>140</sup> The ‘evidence’ for their existence comes from a list of exemptions in a purported charter of King Ine dating from 725; see Table 2. It contains grants to Glastonbury and a confirmation of its privileges. It is a forgery, and contains estates such as *Pouelt* and ‘Sowy’ that were only acquired after 725; however, it is possible that the list of churches (‘Sowy’, ‘Brent’, Moorlinch, Shapwick, Street, Butleigh, Pilton) is genuine, although it relates to a later time. This charter might have been ‘produced’ by the community at Glastonbury to assert its prerogatives against the new see of Wells founded in 909. The ‘charter’ of King Edgar, dated 971 (see Table 2) serves the same purpose.

<sup>141</sup> Information on the Ancient Parishes is taken from Youngs 1979.

<sup>142</sup> *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii. 130; *Feudal Aids*, iv. 289, 306.

<sup>143</sup> *Feudal Aids*, iv. 289–90.

<sup>144</sup> *Feudal Aids*, iv. 290.

<sup>145</sup> *Feudal Aids*, iv. 306.

<sup>146</sup> *Feudal Aids*, iv. 290, 306.

<sup>147</sup> The later history of Shapwick, its constituent estates and those adjacent to it can be found in *VCH Somerset*, viii.

<sup>148</sup> See *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i. 142, 146–8.

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