

Beorhtric Meaw:

A Biographical Study Set in Anglo-Saxon England

by

J. Kent Gregory

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PREFACE:

An Introductory Note to the Examination of Beorhtric Meaw

The examination of Beorhtric Meaw has proven to be an interesting and lengthy study. Starting from a copious amount of passages from Domesday Book and a legend told by the Continuator of Wace, I began with a picture of an incredibly wealthy Anglo-Saxon lord who had somehow run afoul of William the Conqueror and his wife Matilda. These two sources, Domesday book and the legend, represent almost all of the primary information which deals with Beorhtric. As a result I was left with the task of fleshing out the information gleaned from these sources with a study of Beorhtric's and his family's place in terms of Anglo-Saxon history and in terms of Anglo-Saxon institutions. Although this fleshing out is conjecture, I have attempted to be as conservative as possible in my conclusions, describing only what most likely was the case - according to the evidence from primary and secondary sources.

In seeking to answer why this man had lost his lands and what his position was in late Anglo-Saxon England, I commenced my research with an analysis of his landholdings as mentioned in Domesday Book: what he held prior to 1066, how much he held, and what his holdings implied about his status in the thegnly aristocracy. I also considered what truth the legend may hold. Then I proceeded to study Anglo-Saxon charters, hoping to discover some clues as to Beorhtric's lineage and as to when his family may have received these lands. The study of the charters turned out to be very disappointing, since no clues could be found as to his

parentage and since his lands were mentioned only rarely. But the lack of reference to Beorhtric's lands in these charters, which all recorded land transactions, provided me with a valuable insight: these lands must have lain in the hands of Beorhtric's family for several centuries dating back almost to the birth of the Wessex kingdom. The most valuable source I found was a history of the county of Gloucestershire, which provided me with an extensive description and history of Beorhtric's lands in Gloucestershire, especially his estate at Tewkesbury.

Having completed my research, a portrait of Beorhtric finally emerged in which he appeared as a powerful and wealthy thegn descended from a family tracing its descent to the Wessex royal line. He and his family appear to have been something along the lines of border lords at the Celtic frontier, to whom several lesser thegns throughout the West Country attached themselves. His family lived through the final 130 years of the Anglo-Saxon state, a period in which land became central to a Saxon's status and in which thegns rose in power to challenge the rule of their king. Beorhtric and his family survived these turbulent years, keeping their lands and status intact - sometimes by allying themselves with enemies of the Wessex state. Beorhtric employed this tactic at the time of the Norman conquest by refusing to send aid to the English King Harold and by serving on the royal staff of William. This ploy to save his lands and status initially seemed to have worked, but Beorhtric lost everything by taking part in a doomed

revolt against William and his grasping and treacherous agents. William stripped Beorhtric of his lands and threw him into jail. William placed so much emphasis on the strategic value of Beorhtric's former lands that he redistributed them only to his trusted friends and relatives - hence the legend told by the Continuator to account for Beorhtric's loss.

In the following chapters I will present the information and evidence that led me to my conclusions. Chapter I primarily deals with an introduction to the legends and what truth may be gleaned from them. Chapter II focuses on Beorhtric's status and position in Anglo-Saxon society in terms of his land holdings, taking into account their size, wealth, history, and other significant factors. Chapter III describes Beorhtric and his family in terms of Anglo-Saxon institutions, namely the posse comitatus and witan. Chapter IV takes into consideration the discussions of the previous chapters and sets Beorhtric and his family in the context of Anglo-Saxon history. Finally, I sum up my analysis and conclusions about Beorhtric in Chapter V. I have included as Appendices all the passages from Domesday Book which deal with Beorhtric's lands; these citations are intended to provide a valuable reference for the reader when reading Chapter II.

I owe thanks to several people who helped me in various ways during my research and writing. I am grateful to Niall MacKenzie for pointing the way to several sources on the Celts and to Karin

Johnston for showing me her papers on Welsh history. I also offer my gratitude to David Berti, Professor Herman W. Taylor, Jr., and Professor Ronald L. Reese - all who agreed to read this work even though it touched upon their fields of expertise only in a cursory manner. But most of all, I would like to especially thank Professor I. Taylor Sanders, II, my advisor for my four years at W & L, who first suggested that I undertake the study of Beorhtric Meaw, who served as an invaluable thesis advisor, and who has been a demanding - yet very patient - editor for this work. Without Professor Sanders, this work would not and could not have been completed.

J. K. G.

Lexington, 1992





Postea, versa vice, scilicet anno Domini Mlxvi. Willielmus Dux Normanniae Angliam adquisivit, qui duxit secum nobilem virum atque juvenem, Robertum filium Haymonis, dominum de Amstremervilla in Normannia. Et quum Matildis Regina (uxor Conquestoris) haberet nobilem virum, scilicet dictum dominum Brictricum Meaw, et dominum honoris Glocestriae, exosum, eo quod nollet ei in matrimonium copulari, quum ipse esset in transmarinis partibus circa negotia regia imbassadoria, et illa erat sola, sed postea maritata domino Willielmo Conquestori, quae tempore opportuno reperto, licentiata a Rege, Regeque jubente, ipsum in manerio suo de Hanleya capi fecit et Wyntoniam adduci; qui ibidem mortuus et sepultus sine liberis discessit. Rex vero Willielmus dedit honorem Brictrici Matildi Reginae, quae totum honorem Brictrici, scilicet Gloucestriae, quoad vixit, occupavit; mortua vero ipsa Regina anno Domini Mlxxxiii. mense Aprili, Rex Willielmus ipsum honorem in manu sua coepit. Defuncto igitur Willielmo Conquestore anno Domini Mlxxxvii. successit sibi Willielmus Rufus ejus. Iste Willielmus processu temporis dedit honorem Brictrici Roberto filio Haymonis, cum omni libertate et integritate quibus pater suus vel etiam ipse Brictricus umquam tenuerunt, et hoc egit propter magnos labores quos praedictus Robertus sustinuit cum patre suo.

(The legend of Brictric Aelfgarson, as told by the Continuator of Wace.) (1)

Afterwards, on the other hand, truly in the year of the Lord 1066 William Duke of Normandy obtained England, who led with him a noble and young man, Robert Fitz-Haymon, lord of Amstremerville in Normandy. And Queen Matilda would have had (as husband) a certain noble man, indeed a lord named Brictric Meaw, lord of the Honor of Gloucestershire, who spurned her, because he did not wish to be joined with her in marriage, he was an ambassador for royal affairs in the lands across the sea, and she was alone, afterwards having been married to William the Conqueror, who when an opportune time had been devised, with permission from the King, and by order of the King, made him to be seized on his manor at Hanley and to be led to Winchester; who disappeared (passed away) at that place having died and having been buried without freedom. Indeed King William gave the Honor of Brictric to Queen Matilda, who as long as she lived had possession of the whole Honor of Brictric, the Honor of Gloucestershire; when the Queen died in the year of the Lord 1083 in the month of April, King William began the Honor itself in his own hand. Therefore when William the Conqueror died in the year of the lord 1087 his son William Rufus succeeded him. The same William in the course of time gave the Honor of Brictric to Robert Fitz-Haymon, with them his father held it with all freedom and completeness even as Brictric once held it, and Robert having been commanded governed this Honor by means of great labors which he withstood with his father.

(My translation of the Continuator's account.)

Almost twenty years before the Norman Conquest of England, Duke William "The Bastard" of Normandy fell in love with Matilda, the sister of the Count of Flanders. He courted her with the same determination that would mark his later career, but she met his advances coldly. Perhaps his illegitimate birth offered an affront to her untainted blue blood, but more likely the image of a handsome young Saxon still filled her heart and caused her reluctance. For a few years earlier, Beorhtric Meaw, a prominent West Saxon thegn, had arrived in Flanders to discuss diplomatic affairs with Count Baldwin. His family had a long and prominent history, tracing their descent six hundred years through the West Saxon royal line all the way to the historical King Arthur. At first sight, Matilda fell deeply in love with him and after spending many lovesick days in her chambers with her attendants, she boldly asked him to take her as his wife. Beorhtric refused, though no doubt flattered by the advances of a high-born continental beauty, explaining his betrothal to a young Saxon woman named Godgifu and his duties to his West Country followers and to his Saxon king. He returned home to Wessex immediately upon completing his mission, leaving a forlorn Matilda in Flanders to nurse her wounded heart and pride.

Eventually William's determination won out and in 1047 Matilda consented to marry him. They both grew closely attached to one another and their marriage prospered; apparently Matilda had forgotten the noble Beorhtric. Yet the story continues. Beorhtric

survived William's invasion, before which his family had amassed great holdings in Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Berkshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire - throughout the realm of England, Beorhtric was commonly known as the "Lord of Tewkesbury Manor", an estate which lay in Gloucestershire at the confluence of the Severn and Avon rivers (2). On the very day that Bishop Wulfstan arrived to hallow a newly built chapel at Beorhtric's manor at Hanley in Worcestershire, a squad of Normans rode up and arrested Beorhtric. They then threw him in a cold, dark cell of a new Norman castle at Winchester, where Beorhtric spent his last days with all his lands and titles stripped from him (3).

So goes the story of Beorhtric's fate, as told by the Continuator of Wace and embellished in such an elegant fashion by Thomas Costain with some further additions of my own. The story may be legend, pure and simple; but it does possess some elements of truth. Beorhtric held rank as a powerful West Country thegn, signing many pre-Conquest charters with the title "princeps". Very few men were honored with this title throughout Anglo-Saxon history, thus it suggests something more than the advisory title "minister" and the military title "dux" (4). From the evidence of the charters and from what we know about Beorhtric, the title "princeps" implies that he was royalty and that he enjoyed some autonomy on his lands free from the authority of the Wessex kings. He held many lands and manors in south-west England, most of which

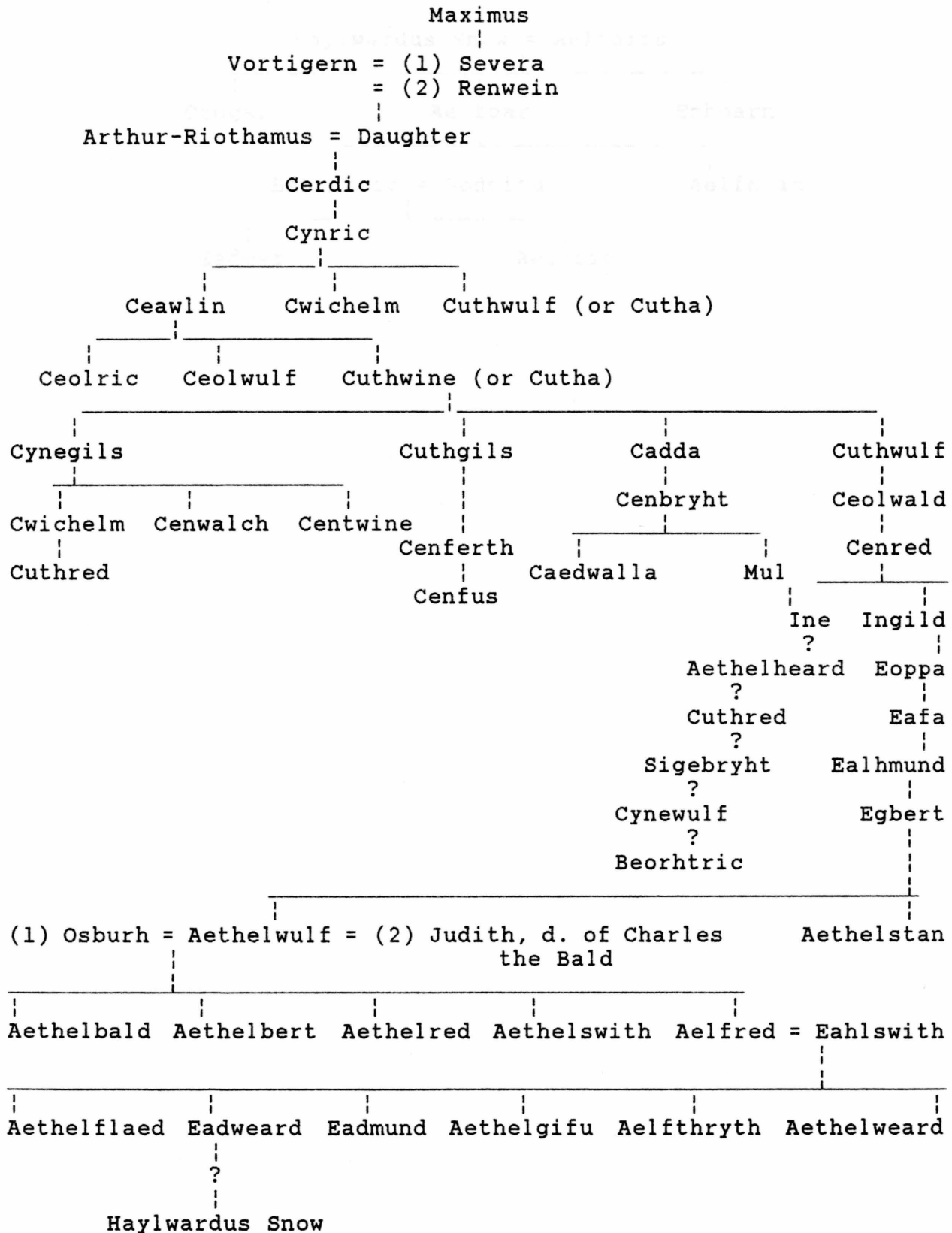
passed directly to Queen Matilda or her close associates in the years following the Conquest (5); and Hanley Castle was one of his manors (6). Interestingly, the name Beorhtric - the Old English spelling of the Normanized Brictric (the spelling which appears in Domesday Book and the Continuator's account) - meaning "The One with Sight" or "The Bright One", first appears far north in Northumbria in 684 as the name of an earl and then reappears one hundred years later in Wessex as the name of a king, also suggesting royal status for Beorhtric (7). His surname Meaw means "Seagull"; what this implies, I simply do not know (8). He also would have had several reasons to visit Flanders; not only did he have a profound interest in England's wool trade with Flanders, since his tenants grazed large herds of sheep (more than any other animal on his lands) (9), but ever since the days of Aelfred the Great and his son Eadweard the Elder, the House of Wessex had maintained close ties with the counts of Flanders (10).

This legend lives on today in an annual village festival at Avening in Gloucestershire, once one of Beorhtric's holdings. On the Sunday following the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September), the villagers celebrate Pig-Face Sunday. After vespers on that day, the parish hall and the local taverns serve pigs' cheek sandwiches; until recently, they exhibited pigs' heads on poles throughout the town, which they later ate with apple dumplings. According to one of the local legends, the pigs-cheeks were first served at a banquet attended by Queen Matilda, honoring

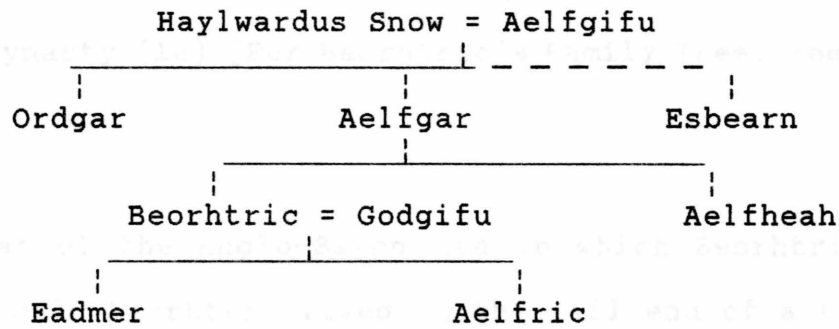
her establishment of the Avening parish church around the year 1080. She had built the church as a penance for her role in the deprivation and death of Beorhtric Meaw, the son of Aelfgar (11).

But exactly who was this Anglo-Saxon named Beorhtric and why did he really lose his lands? From Domesday Book, one can put together a four generation family tree for him. In Somerset, Gloucestershire, Cornwall, Herefordshire, and Devon, the Norman scribes identify a specific Beorhtric as the son of Aelfgar (12). In the Wiltshire note, one discovers an Aelfheah brother to Beorhtric Aelfgarson (13). From the text of the Devon entry, one finds that Beorhtric had a wife named Godgifu (14). The Somerset text identifies two brothers, Eadmer and Aelfric, as Beorhtric's sons (15). Yet this is as far as Domesday Book aids us. Several charters from Eadweard the Confessor's reign allow us to establish two brothers of Aelfgar, Ordgar and Esbearn (an interesting name of Danish derivation) (16). With the aid of several sources, I was able to trace Beorhtric's family tree directly back almost seven hundred years to a Romano-Celtic king with the title "Vortigern". The account in the Monasticon tells us that the father of Aelfgar was named Haylwardus Snow - on account of his pale complexion - and a county history of Gloucestershire states that this Haylwardus, the husband of a certain Aelfgifu, traced his descent directly to Eadweard the Elder, and thus the Wessex royal line (17). Finally, Geoffrey Ashe identifies in his speculative - but quite plausible -

THE FAMILY TREE OF BEORHTRIC MEAW



THE FAMILY TREE OF BEORHTRIC MEAW (cont.)



work, The Discovery of King Arthur, the true King Arthur, the son of Vortigern, and the father of Cerdic, the traditional founder of the Wessex dynasty (18) [For Beorhtric's Family Tree, see pp. 12-13 (19)].

And what of the Anglo-Saxon era in which Beorhtric and his forbears lived? Beorhtric lived at the tail end of a turbulent period following the collapse of the Western Roman empire, in which for close to seven hundred years various chieftains rose and fell throughout Europe in attempts to establish and extend their dominion over vast geographical areas. The whole spectrum of society in this era, government, economics, religion, and military, was rooted in the traditions of the warrior code of the Germanic *posse comitatus*. Under this strict and oftentimes brutal code, men owed complete loyalty to their chieftain, lord, or king, to the end that they would die in battle to defend him or his honor. The men, and sometimes women, of this time relished in the battle; even holy men like Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and half-brother to William the Conqueror, rode at the forefront wielding massive clubs and maces (20). In time, the *comitatus* war-band developed into the Anglo-Saxon *witan*, and landholding became more important in terms of wealth and status.

Yet in this violent age, in which men and kingdoms continuously fought for survival, the Wessex royal line managed to stay intact from Cerdic to the short reign of Harold Godwineson.



The common Anglo-Saxon had grown used to the constant warring for status among the great lords, to the kings' attempts to win the title "Rex Anglorum", and the several all-out wars for the Wessex crown. For example, the English had come to accept such events as the alliances of King Beorhtric of Wessex, the treacheries of Eadric Streona, and the struggles of Eadmund Ironside and Harold Godwineson to save their crowns (21). Thus, for the common person, who held or who won the crown did not matter much. But to the powerful thegns (the Anglo-Saxon nobles), who held the English crown became a matter not just of retaining their lands and status, but also of outright survival. So, the lords and their families had to fight on the side of the man who would eventually reign as king - in the decisions of these men, nationalism had little importance. Even Beorhtric's father, Aelfgar, forsook his ties to his Anglo-Saxon king and distant relative, Eadmund Ironside, and raised a West Saxon levy to fight for the Danish King Cnut at the battle of Sherstone. Beorhtric followed suit in 1066 by not responding to Harold's call for aid at Hastings, but then he played his cards wrong in 1067 when he revolted against William. In short, Beorhtric lost his lands and status because he fought on the losing side.

The immediate event that triggered Beorhtric's downfall took place the winter of 1065. During the more significant times of the year, such as the crown wearing at Christmas, many of the thegns and important clergy gathered from all over the realm to attend a

witan (22). Christmas of that year, with King Eadweard dying, brought a larger attendance than usual. In addition to Eadweard's household staff, his troop of professional soldiers, the queen and her attendants, and the Benedictine monks of Thorney island, the Witan had gathered. Among those who had made the journey, stood the two archbishops of Canterbury and York, eight of the twelve bishops of England, five of the six earls, eight abbots, and a host of the king's thegns and royal officials (23) - Beorhtric must have arrived as well. One can imagine the cold winds blowing snow through the streets and the Witan crowding in dark chambers with a churning feeling in their guts, for Eadweard lay dying without an heir.

The Witan had the great responsibility of choosing the successor, for a king held great powers that could accomplish good for the realm or wreak destruction (24). The Witan took three things into account, as Eadweard had named none to succeed him. First, the new king should possess a character strong enough to keep the realm safe and intact. Second, the king must be English - not a continental man, like Eadweard who had little understanding of, and no respect for, Anglo-Saxon traditions. Finally, the new king must possess close ties to the Wessex royal line - as no one with direct blood ties to Eadweard was available (24). Although his blood ties to the deceased king were tenuous at best - his sister had been Eadweard's wife - Harold Godwineson was the obvious choice. He was English, he was a skilled and successful warrior,

he was a scion of the most powerful family in England, and, most importantly, he himself had wielded the true power in the realm for the past thirteen years, using Eadweard as a mere figurehead for his decisions and policies (25).

Beorhtric also would have been an excellent candidate for the kingship. He too was English, he possessed vast and rich holdings, he and his family had served on the royal staff for decades, and he held sway over much of the West Country as a prince in his own right. He also unified in his person several diverse ethnic elements from England's history: his home estates lay in Gloucestershire, once the heart of the Romano-British villa society; he inherited the Celtic heritage of his ancestors, while also possessing many lands deep in the Celtic West Country on which lay many megalithic sites; he had blood ties with the Danes through his uncle Esbearn; and he was an Anglo-Saxon thegn from an ancient Anglo-Saxon family.

All these qualities made Beorhtric a candidate for king, but on Christmas of 1065 he did not step forward as a contender for three reasons. First, Harold and the other sons of Godwine exerted considerable influence over royal affairs, having insinuated themselves closely to the king. Second, Beorhtric already enjoyed a great deal of personal autonomy in his western lands as a prince free from dues and taxes to the Anglo-Saxon kings. And third, he was a border lord on the Celtic frontier and preferred to stay

there as no threat to his lands had yet appeared. Less than two years later Beorhtric, faced with the deprivations caused by William's lieutenants, reversed this decision and played a leading role in the Anglo-Saxon uprising of 1067. Although Beorhtric hoped to preserve his lands and his autonomy, William successfully countered Beorhtric's designs, deprived him of almost all his property, and threw him into prison, recognizing the threat that Beorhtric Meaw could pose (26).

... of the Department of the Army, Department of the Navy, Department of the Air Force, Department of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Geological Survey. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1947), 57-60.

... of the complete list of all of Eric's holdings in the western Midlands, consisting of:

- 1. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 4. Herefordshire* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 2. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 5. Devon and Cornwall* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 3. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 6. Devon and Cornwall* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 4. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 7. Devon and Cornwall* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 5. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 8. Somerset* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 6. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 9. Devon and Cornwall* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 7. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 10. Devon and Cornwall* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 8. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 11. Gloucestershire* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 9. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 12. Gloucestershire* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 10. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 13. Gloucestershire* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 11. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 14. Gloucestershire* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 12. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 15. Gloucestershire* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 13. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 16. Gloucestershire* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 14. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 17. Gloucestershire* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.

**ENDNOTES: Chapter I**

- 1. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 4. Herefordshire* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 2. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 5. Devon and Cornwall* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 3. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 6. Devon and Cornwall* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 4. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 7. Devon and Cornwall* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 5. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 8. Somerset* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 6. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 9. Devon and Cornwall* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 7. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 10. Devon and Cornwall* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 8. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 11. Gloucestershire* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 9. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 12. Gloucestershire* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 10. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 13. Gloucestershire* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 11. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 14. Gloucestershire* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 12. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 15. Gloucestershire* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 13. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 16. Gloucestershire* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 14. *John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 17. Gloucestershire* (London: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
- 15. Thomas P. Costain, *The Crusaders* (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1949), 15-16.

A lower ranking member of the royal staff would sign as "minister" while those who signed as "dux" possessed a high rank comparable to that of an earl and held some sort of military office. "Princeps" implies the same military status of an earl/dux, yet it also implies someone of the king's royal with some degree of authority from royal commands. (Frank Barrow, *Edward the Confessor* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 88).

Much of Eric's lands in the area south-western Midlands passed either directly to Queen Matilda or to her descendants, such as God of Bayeux, Thurstan son of Ralf, William of Warenne, the Bishop of Exeter, etc.

*Journal of English Studies*, 1980

In old English, "beor" meant "brighter" or "glistering" (bright, e. lat.). The suffix "ic" or "ed" indicates possession of the thing's meaning. (J. Campbell, *An Introduction to Old English* (London: Duckworth, 1939), 42-43).

ibid.: 217.

1. Edward A. Freeman, The History of the Norman Conquest of England, vol. 4, The Reign of William the Conqueror (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1873), 518-519.
2. For a complete list of all of Brictric's holdings in south-western England, consult:
  - John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 4, Hampshire (Chichester: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
  - John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 5, Berkshire (Chichester: Phillimore, 1979), Index of Personal Names.
  - John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 6, Wiltshire (Chichester: Phillimore, 1979), Index of Personal Names.
  - John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 7, Dorset (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), Index of Personal Names.
  - John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 8, Somerset (Chichester: Phillimore, 1980), Index of Personal Names.
  - John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 9, Devon: Part One (Chichester: Phillimore, 1985), Index of Personal Names.
  - John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 9, Devon: Part Two (Chichester: Phillimore, 1985), Index of Personal Names.
  - John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 10, Cornwall (Chichester: Phillimore, 1979), Index of Personal Names.
  - John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 15, Gloucestershire (Chichester: Phillimore, 1982), Index of Personal Names.
  - John Morris, ed., Domesday Book, vol. 17, Herefordshire (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), Index of Personal Names.
3. Thomas B. Costain, The Conquerors (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1949), 14-16.
4. A lower ranking member of the royal staff would sign as "minister", while those who signed as "dux" possessed a high rank equivalent to that of an earl and held some sort of military office. "Princeps" implies the same military status of an earl/dux, yet it also implies someone of the blood royal with some degree of autonomy from royal commands. Frank Barlow, Edward the Confessor (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), 88.
5. Much of Brictric's lands in the nine south-western counties passed either directly to Queen Matilda or to her associates, such as Odo of Bayeux, Thurstan son of Rolf, William of Eu, and the Bishop of Coutances.
6. Freeman, Conquest, 518.
7. In Old English, Beorht meant "brightness, a glistening, light, sight." The suffix "ic" or "ed" indicates possession of the root's meaning. J. Bosworth, A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language (London: Longman, 1838), 48, 87.
8. Ibid., 227.

9. In the catalogue I compiled, 6,833 sheep grazed on the lands that had formerly belonged to Brictric. Before 1066, Brictric would have owned more, not less.
10. Aelfred conducted political relations with the continental magnates and married many of his daughters off to them. His son Eadweard continued these ties by marrying his daughters and the rest of his sisters off to even more continental lords. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., The Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 1, Abbadie - Beadon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 155. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., The Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 6, Drant - Finan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 423.
11. Charles Knightly, The Customs and Ceremonies of Britain (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 188.
12. Morris, Somerset, Notes 45-1. Morris, Gloucestershire, Notes 1-46. Morris, Cornwall, Notes 1-13. Morris, Devon, Notes 52-52. Morris, Herefordshire, 1-42.
13. Morris, Wiltshire, 67-10.
14. Morris, Devon, Notes 52-52.
15. Morris, Somerset, 45-1.
16. Frank Barlow, Edward the Confessor (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 88. A. J. Robertson, ed., Anglo-Saxon Charters (Holmes Beach: William Gaunt and Sons, 1986), 200, 459.
17. Freeman, Conquest, 518. Samuel Rudder, A New History of Gloucestershire (Trowbridge: Redwood Burn Limited, 1986), 742.
18. Geoffrey Ashe, The Discovery of King Arthur (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1985), 199.
19. I compiled this family tree using the following sources: Rudder, New History, 91. R. H. Hodgkin, A New History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. 2 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1935), 721. Ashe, Arthur, 199. Question marks represent where the line of descent is unclear; the dotted line connecting Esbearn to the family of Beorhtric represents his status as blood brother to Aelfgar and Esbearn.
20. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., The Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 14, Myllar - Owen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 869.

21. King Beorhtric of Wessex entered a marriage with Eadburh, the daughter of King Offa of Mercia. This marriage gained for Beorhtric a powerful neighbor to the north, thus obviating a threat from Mercia and giving the support Beorhtric needed to force his rival - and successor - Egbert of Kent into exile on the continent at the court of Charles the Great, King of the Franks. F. M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1943), 208, 218. For a description of the treacheries of the arch-traitor Eadric Streona during the campaigns of Eadmund Ironside, please see: Sir Charles Oman, ed., A History of England, vol. 1, England Before the Norman Conquest (London: Methuen and Company Limited, 1949), 578-581.

22. David Howarth, 1066: The Year of the Conquest (New York: Penguin Books, 1977), 28.

23. Ibid., 28.

24. Ibid., 29.

25. C. Warren Hollister, The Making of England (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1988), 91.

26. I discuss all the claims set forth about Beorhtric in this paragraph and the preceding one with greater detail in the following chapters.



By the late Anglo-Saxon period, land had become the key to  
power and status, and the location, size, and value of a thegn's  
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[See the Map in Appendix I for a listing of Beorhtic's lands (2)].  
The aspect of the history and legends associated with the  
landings and settlements of ancient remains on the sites, added as  
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**CHAPTER II:**

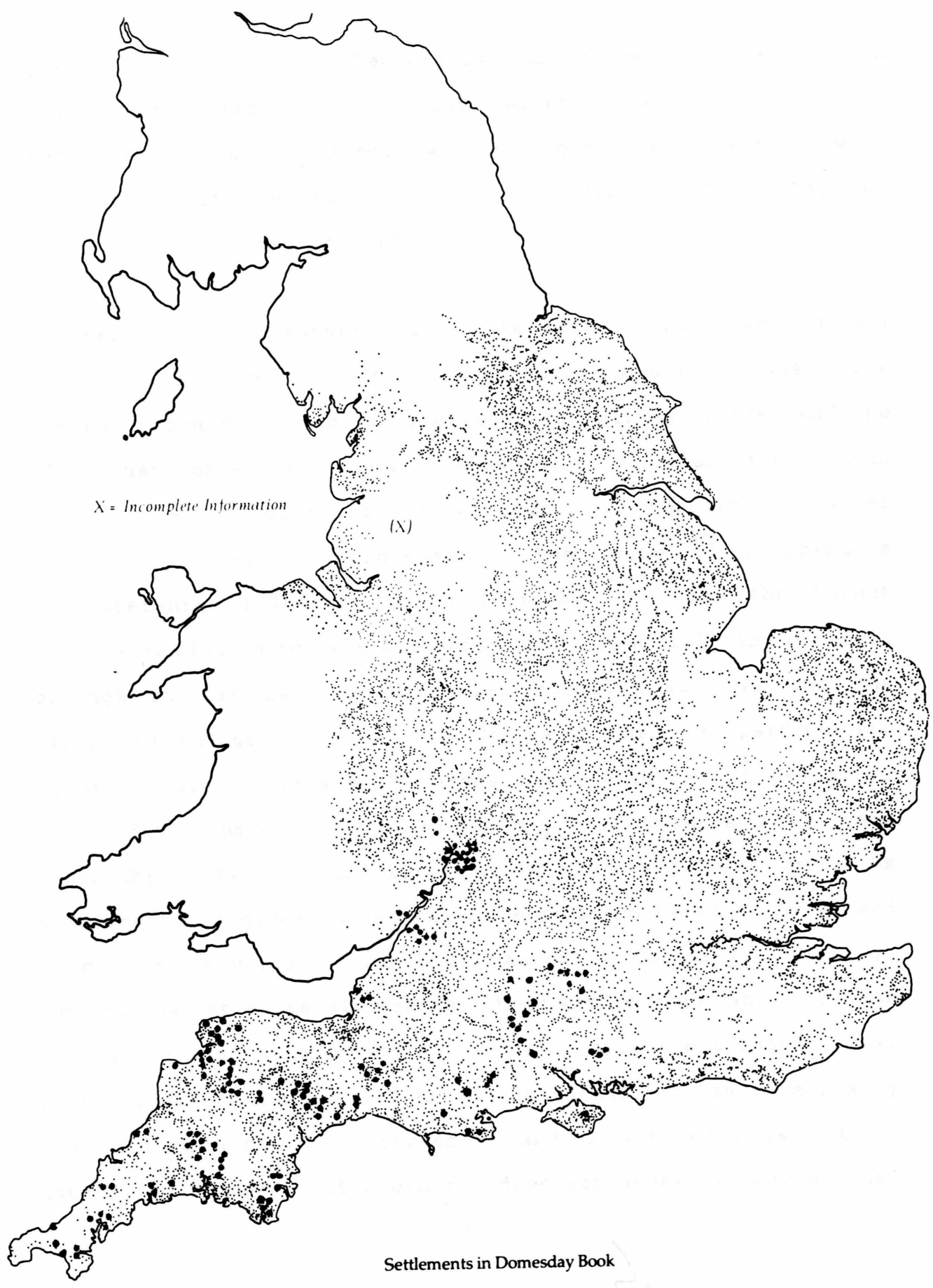
**An Analysis of Beorhtic's Land Holdings**

they are mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, where the patronymic  
names are listed. The names of any other lands mentioned  
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An analysis of Beorhtric's lands from Domesday Book provides us with the most valuable and most conclusive information about Beorhtric himself: who he was, his station in Anglo-Saxon England, as well as the station of his family throughout a long period in Anglo-Saxon history. Interestingly, these lands are rarely mentioned in the whole corpus of Anglo-Saxon charters, which record primarily land transactions, and when these lands are mentioned, they are mentioned mostly as the sites where the particular charters were signed, rarely as part of any transaction itself (1). Thus these lands must have belonged to the family of Beorhtric for several centuries, perhaps all the way back to the dawn of Wessex history in the Sixth Century A. D.

By the late Anglo-Saxon period, land had become the key to wealth and status, so the location, size, and value of a thegn's land holdings determined his rank among the thegnly aristocracy [Please see Map #1, p.25, for a plotting of Beorhtric's lands (2)]. Other aspects, such as the history and legends associated with the holdings and occurrence of ancient remains on the sites, added as well to the prestige of a thegn's lands (I have included as the Appendices all the references to Beorhtric's lands in Domesday Book along with the respective county maps - the Appendices are intended to be a useful reference companion to this chapter). Taking all these aspects into account, a picture of Beorhtric emerges as a man with deep ties to the West Country and to its peoples, but the most valuable clues come out of Beorhtric's Gloucestershire holdings,



Settlements in Domesday Book

especially his manor at Tewkesbury, his ancestral homeland. A detailed analyzation reveals that Beorhtric was a powerful and wealthy descendant of a family with a long and proud history, with ties not only to Wessex and Mercia, but also to the Celts, the Romano-British, and to the Danes.

Before 1066, Beorhtric paid tax in nine counties for 924 hides, 1 1/2 virgates, and 8 1/2 acres; valued over L534. The Domesday chroniclers did not figure in the values of the lands he held in Herefordshire and Devon, thus the total value of his lands prior to 1066, including these two counties, probably approaches L700 (3). These chroniclers set the value of Beorhtric's Gloucestershire holdings before 1066 at L206 5s, the Dorset holdings at L102 7s 6d, the Berkshire holdings at L57, the Somerset holdings at L36 1s, the Wiltshire holdings at L32, and the Hampshire holdings at L26 (4). In Gloucestershire, he paid tax for 122 hides less 1 virgate, 77 hides and 2 virgates in Devon, 72 hides and 5 virgates and 7 acres in Dorset, 50 hides and 1 virgate in Berkshire, 38 hides in Wiltshire, 35 hides and 3 1/2 virgates in Somerset, 10 hides in Hampshire, 9 hides in Herefordshire, and 8 hides and 3 virgates and 1 1/2 acres in Cornwall. Clearly, Beorhtric was an extremely wealthy thegn with enough land to create large amounts of revenue and to support a sizeable personal army. The sheer size and number of his landholdings put him on a nearly equal status with the Leofricsons and Godwinesons, yet it is interesting to note that Beorhtric does not appear in any of the

contemporary histories, having a small role or no role at all in the struggles and intrigues that shaped late Anglo-Saxon history. He seems to have preferred to stay aloof and remain on his West Country lands where his position and status were more secure.

Beorhtric held next to nothing by the time the survey was taken. According to the account of the Continuator of Wace, the once wealthy and powerful West Saxon lord lay at the bottom of a dark cell in a jail at Winchester. When William had the Domesday book compiled in 1086, Beorhtric held 5 hides with 2 1/2 ploughs in lordship, 5 acres of meadow, 11 acres of woodland, and 20 acres of pasture. 9 smallholders, 2 villagers, and 1 slave lived on his lands. His tenants owned 11 goats. The chroniclers valued his lands at L2 8s 6d, less than 1/2 percent of his lands' probable value before the Conquest! In fact, it is entirely possible that Beorhtric had already died and these figures represent errors in the compilation or property that belonged to his heirs. Most likely these figures represent errors in the compilation.

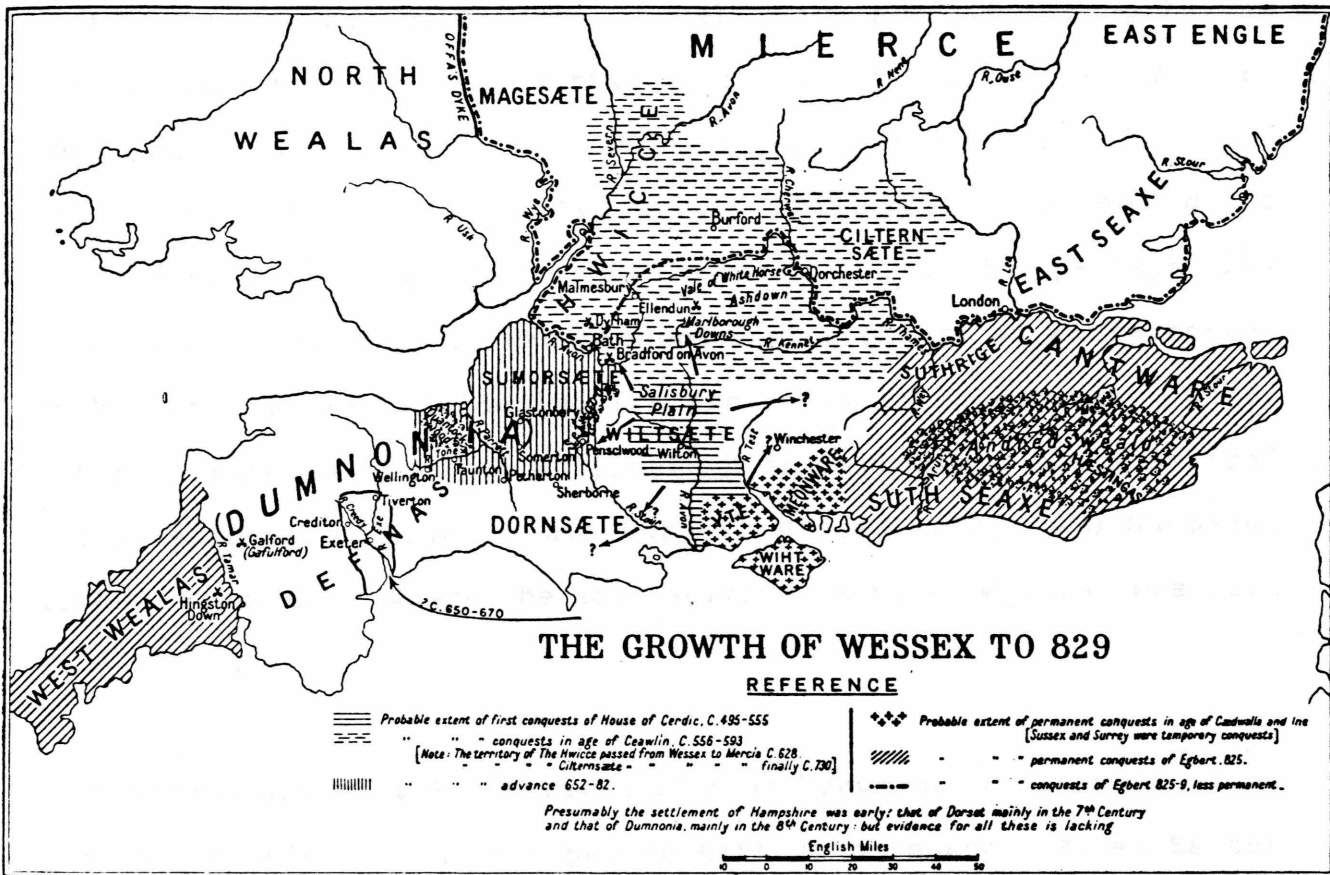
By examining the lands which Beorhtric held and their value in 1086, we can determine the approximate status of his lands before the Conquest. Yet one must keep in mind that the lands had declined in value after 1066 and that many people and animals had died from disease, starvation, or outright slaughter due to the ravaging and deprivations perpetrated by William and his followers. The chroniclers reckoned over 966 hides in Beorhtric's former

lands, of which the new lords held 325 hides less 4 acres in lordship. These lords possessed 1388 acres of meadow; 1492 acres, 39 5/8 square leagues, 160 1/4 square furlongs, and 7 furlongs of pasture; 59 acres and 8 square furlongs of underwood; 2024 acres, 67 1/4 square leagues, 209 3/4 square furlongs, and 6 furlongs of woodland; they also held 4 square leagues of heathland. 1258 villagers resided on his lands, along with 549 smallholders (plus a certain group of 60 villagers and smallholders in Tewkesbury, between whom the scribes did not differentiate), 34 cottagers, 22 Cottagers, 749 slaves, 5 reeves, 4 specified priests, 1 English man-at-arms, 46 riding men, 1 cowman, 1 dairymaid, 2 foresters, 1 beadle, 57 burgesses, 7 freedmen, and 69 pigmen. The tenants owned 31 cobs, 103 wild mares, 620 goats, 835 cattle, and 6,833 sheep. Of the industries paying taxes to the royal treasury, the new lords held 54 1/2 mills which paid L32 3s 11d, 16 fisheries which paid L5 10s 7d, 7 salthouses which paid L1 10s plus 40 sesters and 12 packloads of salt, and 2 markets which paid L1 11s and 8d. All of these tenants, animals, and industries generated a large amount of revenue, some of which was paid directly to Beorhtric as part of the tenant-lord relationship. We must assume that Beorhtric held all this and more prior to 1066 (5).

The size and wealth of all of Beorhtric's holdings mark him as a prominent thegn in late Anglo-Saxon England. Although he did not possess quite as much as the families of Leofric and Godwine (6), Beorhtric did hold enough that he could exercise considerable

influence over western England. For example, several thegns in Gloucestershire - and presumably elsewhere - joined themselves to Beorhtric as his dependent vassals (7). Beorhtric's lands are noteworthy for several reasons. First, they are located mostly in the deep West Country, in areas inhabited primarily by the Celtic West Welsh and North Welsh. As lord over these western Celtic lands, Beorhtric would have been influenced by the Celtic heritage and he would have had a strong interest in Celtic traditions. Second, his lands in Devon lay on a wide band which corresponds roughly to the extreme western frontier of the Wessex state in the mid 700s [See Map #2, p.30 (8)]. Third, Brictric's lands are rarely mentioned in the corpus of Wessex charters, almost all of which record land transactions between the Wessex kings, the Church, and the Saxon thegns. When his lands are mentioned, they are never part of any transaction, they are only sighted as the locations where the oath sealing a transaction was made. From a study of these lands, one must conclude that Brictric and his family were powerful frontier lords who inherited lands that had belonged to their family for several generations, who lived among the Celts and their traditions, and who in the last century of the Anglo-Saxon state operated with some autonomy from the Wessex kings and thegnly aristocracy - the discussion of Beorhtric's Tewkesbury estates will shed light on this autonomy.

Despite being wealthy and prosperous land owners in Anglo-Saxon England, Beorhtric and his family before him seemed to have





had an interest in old Celtic stone monuments or sites of historic and legendary importance [See Map #3 (9), p. 32, and #4 (10), p. 33]. On Beorhtric's land at Coleshill in Berkshire, there is an Iron age fort situated on Bradbury Hill (11). Beorhtric's brother Aelfheah held 1 hide at Winterbourne Stoke, Wiltshire, situated at a crossroads less than a quarter of a mile from Stonehenge itself there is a Bronze Age barrow, as well as a Neolithic long barrow and 22 round barrows - all within a relatively small area (12). By the time of the compilation of Domesday, Beorhtric's wife still held 1 1/2 hides there. Presumably this site possessed great importance to the early Celtic inhabitants of Britain; perhaps they thought some great magic was present in the ground at Winterbourne Stoke, especially considering its proximity to Stonehenge. Other sites of interest include Wallingford in Berkshire, which Aelfred established as a burgh in his Burghal Hideage (13), and Wantage, also in Berkshire, where the same Aelfred, King of Wessex, was born in 849 (14).

Within sight of Beorhtric's land at Trevalga in Cornwall, lies Tintagel Castle, a site steeped in Arthurian legend. At an Easter festival, Uther, the father of King Arthur, developed a burning desire for Ygern, the ravishing wife of Duke Gorlois of Cornwall. Because of Uther's unseemly advances, Gorlois left the court and returned to his impregnable castle at Tintagel. When Gorlois refused to return, Uther, inflamed by his lust, marched to Cornwall and ravaged the countryside. Unable to storm the castle, Uther

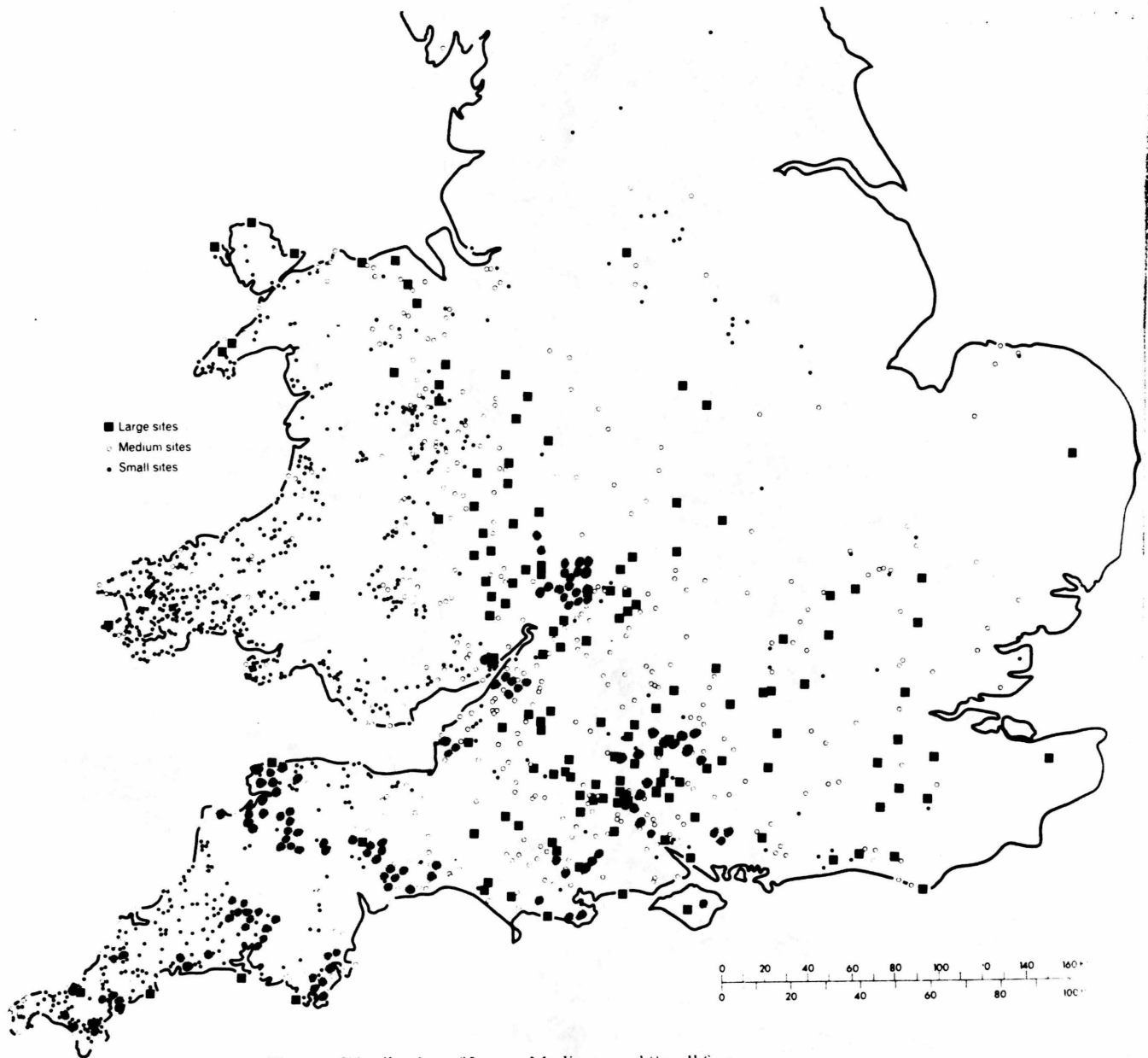


Fig.144. Distribution of Large, Medium, and Small forts.

Map #4



pleaded to Merlin for help. The magician provided the king with a potion that made him take on the appearance of Gorlois, and so when Gorlois left the castle to engage Uther's troops, Uther took the potion and entered the castle, where he satiated his desire for Ygerna. She conceived Arthur during this rendezvous and, fortunately for Uther, Gorlois died in battle (15). Arthur was born here at Tintagel nine months later (16).

Archaeologists have uncovered at Tintagel fragments of ornate Mediterranean pottery dating back to the Fifth and Sixth centuries. These fragments, contemporary with the historical King Arthur, reveal that a very wealthy and powerful family must have held this land (17). Perhaps this family was ancestral to Beorhtric, a conclusion made more plausible when one considers that no land transaction recorded in the charters mentions Trevalga (18). Beorhtric's family possessed this land for a long time, perhaps as far back as the time of King Arthur.

Two of Beorhtric's lands in Gloucestershire possess ancient ruins which particularly illustrate the historic and traditional importance of this county above all others in early English history. The Saxons or Danes set up two tumuli, or barrows, known as the Barrow Tumps, in Avening to commemorate a battle that happened thereabouts. Not far off from this site on the road to Hampton, lie two more tumuli called by the locals Long-stone and Tangle-stone, apparently erected as monuments to the two generals

who died battling in the vicinity. "Tangle-stone" is obviously a corruption of "Angle's-stone", being the memorial for the English leader, while "Long-stone" simply describes the shape of the other, the memorial for the Danish leader (19). One of Beorhtric's lands, Oakley, lay in Cirencester Hundred. Known as Corinium Dubunorum during the Roman period, Cirencester served the Romans as the center of government for most of the West Country. The second largest city in Roman Britain, it enclosed over 240 acres, but it was eventually destroyed by Danish raids (20).

Many other stone monuments, such as stone circles, lay on or near Beorhtric's lands. Near Beorhtric's lands in Wiltshire lie the great stone circles of Winterbourne Bassett, Avebury, and Stonehenge. In the same vicinity as some of Beorhtric's holdings in Cornwall are the circle of Ballynoe and some circles located on Land's End [See Map #5, p.36 (21)]. Also near Beorhtric's lands in Tewkesbury are a prehistoric camp called the King and Queen Rocks, and Tibble Stone, an ancient boundary marker (22). Besides the significance of these monuments to their original builders, these sites continued to be used for thousands of years up through the Romano-Celtic era to the Norman period. The barrows, mounds, standing stones, and stone circles served as the judicial and administrative centers of the surrounding area. The tribal assemblies, the witans, and the village moots often picked these ancient monuments as the sites for their meetings, where important issues concerning the tribe or kingdom would be decided. For

MAP #5

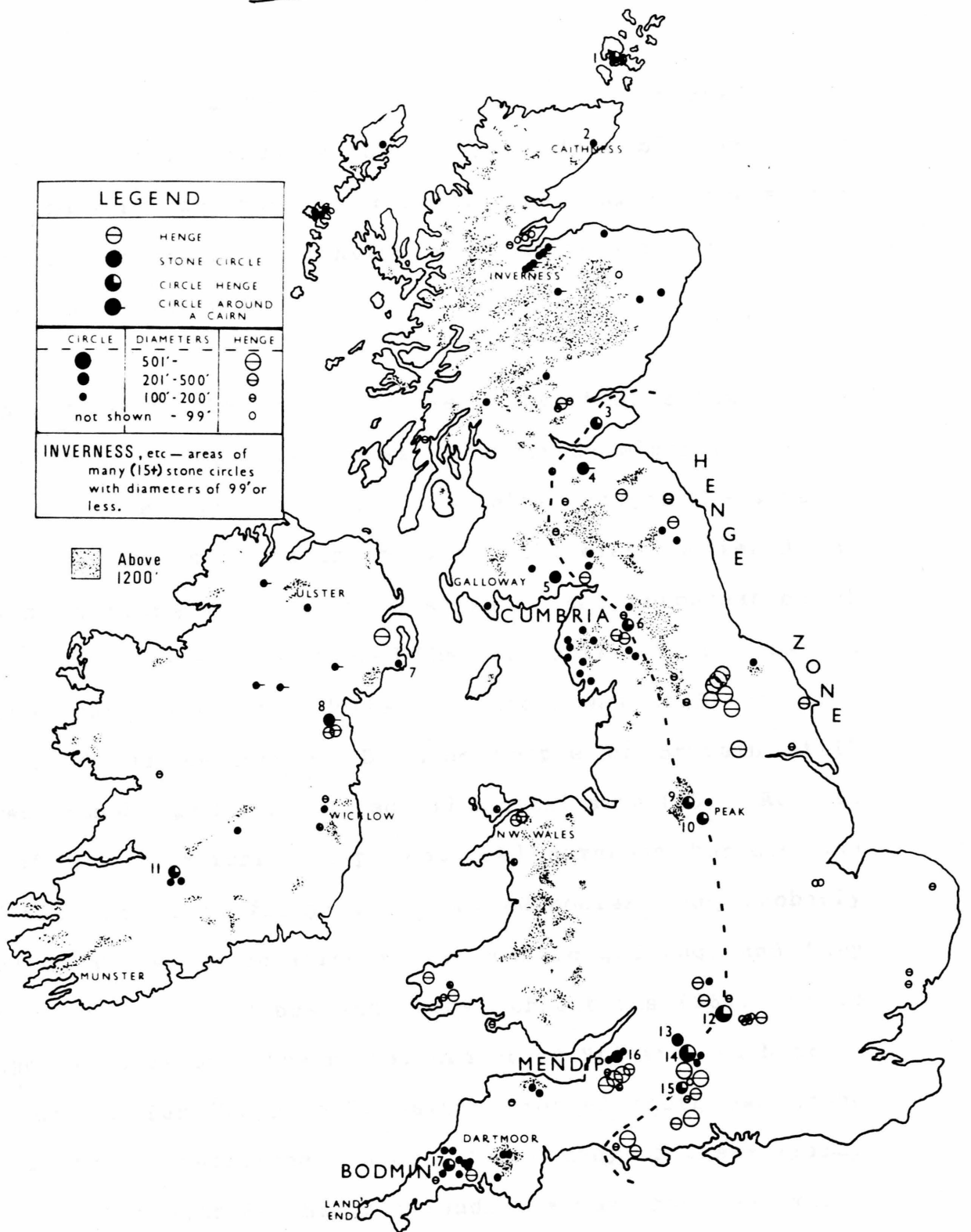


Fig. 2. Henges and Great Stone Circles in the British Isles. 1. Ring of Brodgar; 2. Guidebest; 3. Balfarg; 4. Cairnpapple; 5. Twelve Apostles; 6. Long Meg & Her Daughters; 7. Ballynoe; 8. New Grange; 9. Bull Ring; 10. Arbor Low; 11. Lios; 12. Devil's Quoits; 13. Winterbourne Bassett; 14. Avebury; 15. Stonehenge; 16. Stanton Drew; 17. Stripple Stones.

example, when the hundred of Stone met in Somerset, they inaugurated the proceedings by pouring a libation of wine on the megalith from which the hundred took its name, and as late as the 1300s, county officials still held courts at megalithic sites in Perthshire and Aberdeen (23).

These stone circles were extremely important sites to the ancient Celts. Just as the Greeks considered Delphi to be the omphalos, or center, of the world, the Celts thought the same of their stone monuments. The inhabitants of Ireland believed the center was at Uisnech in County Westmeath; the perpetuation of certain sacred rituals here insured the prosperity of their nation (24). The omphalos for the Celts of Britain was at Stonehenge; even by the Fifth century A. D., the people of Britain still considered Stonehenge a very sacred and magical site (25). At this holiest of all locations, they conducted numerous burials and interred the remains of fifty-five cremated bodies, they probably conducted an annual celebration to the Celtic god Lug, and they probably crowned their kings and tribal chieftains (26). While Stonehenge may have been the ritual center of Britain, each tribe had its own smaller "omphalos", having erected their own stone monument on their traditional lands. Since many of these tribal centers lay on or near Beorhtric's lands, he must have enjoyed a unifying influence over the Celtic peoples living in his domain.

But why did the inhabitants of Britain, all from different national backgrounds, continue to make use of these sites? Celtic tradition aside, great magic and power has always been attributed to these monuments. Yet one type of magic has continuously been attributed to these stones, that of fertility and healing. Generations of British (and later English) - and even some people today - believed that contact with these stones would cure barrenness and insure an easy birth; having spread a concoction of butter, honey, and sometimes oil, they would slide down the face of the stone. At Plouarzel, a husband and wife are to rub themselves against a certain protuberance in order to insure male children and docility on the part of the man (27).

By the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth, the people of England still believed strongly in the great powers associated with these sites. Geoffrey himself remarks on the attributed healing powers of these sites in his History of the Kings of Britain (1136) when he has Merlin reply to King Aurelius Ambrosius that "these stones are connected with certain secret religious rites and they have various properties which are medicinally important (28)." William the Conqueror even played upon these beliefs when he called all the nobles of England together at Salisbury Plain around Stonehenge, where at a time of great national crisis he made them swear an oath of loyalty to him - thus, in a sense, healing the problem of baronial disloyalty which plagued his kingdom following his Conquest. Another object possessing similar properties, also in



Geoffrey's work, is the Holy Grail. Only it could heal the wounded Fisher King, only it could restore fertility to the land, and it too is round. The similarities are striking, the Holy Grail in Geoffrey's story and other Celtic legends very likely represents a stone circle - perhaps even Stonehenge itself! Regardless of such theories, these monuments held great importance and many of them lay on Beorhtric's lands.

Beorhtric Meaw was known as the lord of Tewkesbury manor and the noble who held the Honor of Gloucestershire, a land steeped in all facets of English history (29). The administrative center of Roman Britain was at Cirencester; Gloucestershire was the heart of the Roman villa society, one of the largest Roman villas ever excavated, covering 26 acres, is at Woodchester (30). Offa's Dyke lies not more than a few miles west of Beorhtric's manor at Tewkesbury, marking this area once as steeped in Celtic culture. Gloucestershire lies right at the border of the former kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex; the county also straddles the Severn estuary, an ideal river for the Danes to sail up; Tewkesbury is situated at the confluence of the Severn and Avon, a strategic location commanding access to and exit from the interior. This location makes Tewkesbury a crucial spot for the defense of the interior. Considering that a favorite route for Danish raids was up the Severn estuary, it is likely that Beorhtric's family received Tewkesbury to defend against Danish attack. A theory supported by Beorhtric's ties to the Wessex royal line and his autonomy over his Tewkesbury estates,

since only members of the royal family would be given command of such a strategic and dangerous position. In return for the risks the family faced, they received complete autonomy on their Tewkesbury holdings.

No other earldom in all of England is as ancient as that of Gloucestershire (31). The first earl, a Briton called Eldol, held this land in 461, during the reign of Arthur Riothamus (32). He went with Vortigern to the peace assembly at Ambresbury in Wiltshire, to which they had been invited by Hengist the Saxon. Although both sides agreed that no one should go there armed, the Saxons concealed long knives under their cloaks and slew a multitude of Britons. During the confusion and slaughter, Eldol took up a huge stake which he found lying thereabouts and "laid about him with such courage and effect, that he slew no less than seventy of them; and having broke the heads, arms, and limbs of many more, got from them into Gloucester, his own city (33)." He took revenge on the Saxon treachery when during a battle in 489, he charged through the enemy army and took Hengist prisoner and cut off his head (34).

Two Dukes of Mercia, the brothers Odo and Dodo, who prospered under the reigns of the Mercian kings Aethelred, Cenred, and Aethelbald, founded a Benedictine monastery in the year 715. Devoted to the Virgin Mary, they located this monastery near the Severn, where a hermit by the name of Theocus lived. Tewkesbury

derives its name from this hermit. The two brothers gave the monks, only four or five, the manor of Stanway and all its members to provide revenue for the monastery and sustenance for those who lived there (35). For almost a hundred years until 800, the chronicles say nothing more about Tewkesbury. Then in that year we find that Hugh, another Mercian thegn, became patron of this priory and in 802 Beorhtric, King of the West Saxons, was buried here in the chapel (36). Considering that a Saxon king or thegn would only be buried in a chapel supported by his family, it is likely that this Beorhtric and our Beorhtric were related in some way. Then there is another gap in chronicles for over a century until 930, when Haylwardus, called Snow because of his fair complexion and hair, flourished as Lord of Tewkesbury Manor. The Gloucestershire Chronicle states that this Haylwardus, Latin for Aelfward or Aethelward, was patron of this monastery and was "royally descended" from king Eadward the Elder. He had a son Aelfgar by his wife Aelfgifu and this Aelfgar fathered our Beorhtric. As the county chronicle states, Beorhtric Meaw was "lord of the vast seignury of Gloucester [and] finished and much enlarged the church of Cranborne, which was founded by his ancestors (37)."

Tewkesbury, a vast and wealthy estate in Beorhtric's hands, contained several smaller estates in the surrounding area that had become attached to the manor, including Southwick, Tredington, Fiddington, Pamington, Natton, Walton Cardiff, Aston on Carrant,

Oxenton, Winchecombe, Stanway, Taddington, Lower Lemington, Great Washbourne, Stanley Pontlarge, Hanley Castle (located about six miles north in Worcestershire), Forthampton, Shennington, and Clifford Chambers. At his Tewkesbury holdings alone, Beorhtric held 45 of the 95 hides in lordship; he possessed 5 1/4 square leagues of woodland, 172 acres of meadow, 4 mills which paid L1 13s 4d in taxes, 1 market which paid 11s 8d, 1 salt house, and 1 fishery. After the Conquest, 20 riding men (knights) lived there along with 51 burgesses, 7 freedmen, 167 slaves, 32 smallholders, 90 villagers, and a group of 60 smallholders and villagers between which the chroniclers did not discriminate. In total, 427 people lived on his Tewkesbury lands plus an indeterminate amount of women and children - women were not consistently recorded by the Domesday chroniclers and children never were recorded at all (38).

Before 1066, this whole manor of Tewkesbury was worth L100, the whole of which was "exempt and free from all tax and royal service" as Domesday Book tells us (39). From this statement alone, we discover that Brictric must have been a very powerful thegn, having descended from an influential and wealthy family with some sort of royal connection. No mention of Tewkesbury appears in any of the Anglo-Saxon charters I surveyed, most of which were records of land transactions dating back to the earliest days of Anglo-Saxon England. Because Tewkesbury just does not appear in these charters, I conclude that the Gloucestershire and Tewkesbury holdings (as well as almost all the rest of Beorhtric's lands) must

have belonged to Beorhtric's family for centuries. Beorhtric appears to have descended from an ancient and noble clan with its roots in the West Country, thus it is no surprise to read in certain chronicles and legends that Beorhtric's family "descended from the noble family of King Eadweard the Elder."

When Ralph, a Norman, acquired the manor of Tewkesbury after Beorhtric lost it, it had declined in value to L12 because "it was destroyed and dismembered (40)." At the time of the compilation of Domesday Book, the manor had increased in value to L40, but Ralph paid L50 in taxes and royal dues. It seems that Tewkesbury because of its wealth and location could have been a rallying point for an Anglo-Saxon resurgence, plus William had gone to great lengths to make sure the estate remained divided and difficult to sustain. Matilda, the wife of the Conqueror, personally held the Honor of Gloucestershire until her death in 1083, when it passed to Robert Fitz-Haymon, lord of Corbroil and Thorigny in Normandy, kinsman and close associate to the Conqueror himself. Robert played a large role in the conquest of Glamorganshire in Wales (1091) and established himself in Cardiff, strengthening it with walls and fortifications, using this town as the administrative seat for the surrounding area and as a base for war. In the reconquest of Laleise in Normandy, he received a severe blow to his temples "which deprived him of his senses", but he continued to live in the care of his heirs and was buried in the monastery at Tewkesbury (41).

Robert's daughter Mabel married Robert Melhent, sometimes referred to as Robert Fitz-Roy or Rufus, the earl of Gloucester and son of Henry I. All the estates of Robert Fitz-Haymon passed to him. Robert Melhent died in 1147, succeeded by his son William, who received both Tewkesbury manor and the earldom of Gloucestershire. William's youngest daughter Isabel (or Avis) married John "Sans-Terre", the fourth son of Henry II, who also received the manor and all of Gloucestershire. When John later ascended the throne of England, being heirless by his wife, divorced her and sold her and all the lands that came with her to Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, for 20,000 marks (42). The new Norman royalty obviously considered this land important enough to keep it in their own hands or to pass it only to close and trusted associates.

To understand the character of Beorhtric and his position in late Anglo-Saxon England, one must understand the significance of his lands. Beorhtric, the man who signed charters as "princeps", lived in the deep West Country as a frontier lord, ruling his Gloucestershire domains with some degree of autonomy from the Wessex kings - he lorded over his Tewkesbury estates with absolute freedom from royal tax and service. His lands also illustrate several themes which constituted his identity: the Devonshire swath designates his family as guardians of the Wessex frontier; the western location of his holdings indicate the Celtic influences on Beorhtric and his family; and his Gloucestershire possessions

illustrate the Roman and Danish influences. Particularly indicative of Brictric's lofty position and the importance of his lands is that William the Conqueror considered Brictric enough of a threat to completely deprive him of his wealth and station and to destroy his autonomous Tewkesbury estate.

END OF CHAPTER II

2. I have compiled the following table of holdings which are described in the *Clarendon Chronicle* (London: Printed by Wm. Clarendon, 1817) and in the *Clarendon Chronicle* (London: Printed by Wm. Clarendon, 1817). The table is based on the original text of the *Clarendon Chronicle* (London: Printed by Wm. Clarendon, 1817) and on the *Clarendon Chronicle* (London: Printed by Wm. Clarendon, 1817).

3. The map is taken from *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London: Printed by Wm. Clarendon, 1817) and is based on the original text of the *Clarendon Chronicle* (London: Printed by Wm. Clarendon, 1817). The map is based on the original text of the *Clarendon Chronicle* (London: Printed by Wm. Clarendon, 1817) and on the *Clarendon Chronicle* (London: Printed by Wm. Clarendon, 1817).

#### ENDNOTES: Chapter II

1. In compiling the table of holdings in Devon and Herefordshire, I compared the amount of holdings in Devon and Herefordshire with the amount of holdings in the other 7 counties. I arrived at a very conservative total value of 12 million (12,000,000) shillings. I also counted 4 million (4,000,000) shillings as a hedge, and a hedge is equivalent to a pound.

4. To compare the amount of holdings in each of the counties, please see the county maps in the appendix. I copied these maps from their respective county volumes of the *Historical Atlas of England* (London: Printed by Wm. Clarendon, 1817).

5. About describing that Britain held prior to 1066, I have retained in value after 1066, thus as must have possessed more than what appears in the *Clarendon Chronicle*.

6. Robin Fleming, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 61-62.

7. Morris, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 149-150.

8. H. H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. 1 (London: The Clarendon Press, 1915), 11. The area shaded red represents the border lands that H. H. Hodgkin held. This map illustrates how Britain's holdings represent the opposite frontier of the Wessex kingdom.

9. J. Foster-Johnson, *Wiltshire of the Iron Age* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), 250. This map illustrates the large amount of Iron Age Celtic sites which dot the English landscape. The large black dots show the approximate locations of H. H. Hodgkin's holdings.

10. *Where Were Stonehenge, The Prehistoric Sites of England* (New York: Twayne and Fields, 1979), 19. The red dots show the approximate locations of H. H. Hodgkin's holdings, while the black dots show the locations of stone circles.



1. I consulted the following three sources when researching Anglo-Saxon charters: Farmer, F. E., ed. Anglo-Saxon Writs. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952. Robertson, A. J., ed. Anglo-Saxon Charters. Holmes Beach: William Gaunt and Sons, 1986. Stubbs, William, ed. Select Charters from the Beginning to 1307. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1966.
2. This map is taken from David Hill, An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1981), 18. The small black dots designate all the land sites mentioned in Domesday Book, the larger dots designate Brictric's holdings.
3. In coming up with this hypothetical total, I compared the amount of holdings in Devon and Herefordshire with the amount of holdings in the other 7 counties. I arrived at a very conservative total value. In arriving at the totals in this section, I counted 12 pence (d) to 1 shilling (s), and 20 shillings to 1 pound (L); I also counted 4 furlongs to 1 virgate, 4 virgates to a hide, and a hide as equivalent to a plough.
4. To compare the amount of holdings in each of the counties, please see the county maps in the Appendices. I copied these maps from their respective county volumes of the Morris edition of Domesday Book.
5. Almost everything that Brictric held prior to 1066 declined in value after 1066, thus he must have possessed more than what appears in the Domesday compilation.
6. Robin Fleming, Kings and Lords in Conquest England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 61-62.
7. Morris, Gloucestershire, 1,40-1,46.
8. R. H. Hodgkin, A History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. 1 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1935), 314. The area shaded red represents the border lands that Brictric held, this map illustrates how Brictric's holdings represent the one-time frontier of the Wessex kingdom.
9. J. Forde-Johnston, Hillforts of the Iron Age in England and Wales (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1976), 250. This map illustrates the large amount of Iron Age Celtic sites which dot the English countryside. The large black dots show the approximate locations of Beorhtric's holdings.
10. Aubrey Burl, Rings of Stone: The Prehistoric Stone Circles of Britain and Ireland (New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1979), 13. The red dots show the approximate locations of Beorhtric's holdings, while the black dots show the locations of stone circles.

11. Reader's Digest Association Limited, ed., The Treasures of Britain (London: Reader's Digest, 1990), 147.
12. Ibid., 489.
13. Robertson, Charters, 246, 496.
14. Reader's Digest, Treasures, 546.
15. Ashe, Arthur, 9.
16. Ibid., 17.
17. Ibid., 79.
18. Robertson, Charters, Index Locorum. This index makes no mention of Trevalga.
19. Rudder, New History, 92.
20. Reader's Digest, Treasures, 142.
21. Map #5 comes from Aubrey Burl, The Stone Circles of the British Isles (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 27.
22. Reader's Digest, Treasures, 456.
23. Evan Hadingham, Circles and Standing Stones (New York: Walker and Company, 1975), 183.
24. Nikolai Tolstoy, The Quest for Merlin (London: Little, Brown and Company, 1985), 108.
25. Ibid., 113.
26. Ibid., 125.
27. Hadingham, Circles, 178, 180.
28. Ibid., 181.
29. Rudder, New History, 91.
30. Peter Salway, Roman Britain (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1981), 597. Ashe, Arthur, 28.
31. Rudder, New History, 93.
32. Ibid., 93. This earl Eldol would have lived during the reign of the Romano-British High King, known by his title "Riothamus", who ruled from the death of Vortigern in 455 until 470, and whom Geoffrey Ashe identifies as the historical King Arthur. Ashe, Arthur, 59.

33. Rudder, New History, 93.
34. Ibid., 93.
35. Ibid., 742.
36. Ibid., 742.
37. Ibid., 743.
38. I arrived at this total from the Tewkesbury citation in Morris, Gloucestershire, 1-24 - 1-38.
39. Ibid., 1-38.
40. Ibid., 1-38.
41. Rudder, New History, 91 - 92.
42. Ibid., 739.



A discussion of the status of Beorhtric Meaw and of his family in late Anglo-Saxon England would not be complete without a description of the posse comitatus, the core institution of European tribal society, and its development in England into the thegnly aristocracy of the Witan - of which Beorhtric and his family were powerful members. The posse comitatus, the war band, remained the single most important institution in tribal Europe from the time of Tacitus to the time of Harold Godwineson, the last Anglo-Saxon king (1). Mostly known as the nucleus for the Germanic tribes which overran Europe with the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, the comitatus is more correctly defined as the central body of all Indo-European tribal societies. For example, the comitatus was indicative of the Celtic societies in Britain even throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, during which time it remained in an unchanged form among the highland Celts in Scotland, Wales, and Cornwall.

The posse comitatus was the base out of which all Germanic, and thus Anglo-Saxon, laws, customs, and mores grew. This institution developed from the primitive war band in which the warrior companions remained bound together because of their sworn loyalty to their chieftain. The tribe's success depended on the capabilities of this chieftain, for he led his warriors by example and rewarded their exploits with lavish gifts (2). As the chieftain was expected to fight to the death for his people, so the companions were expected to die for their chieftain, who

personified the interests of the tribe as a whole. Anyone who forsook such sacred duties would have shame heaped upon him and would inevitably become the object of a blood feud. The blood feud stemmed from the companion's duty to avenge any violation that damaged his kin, his tribe, or his chief. The gatherings within the mead hall represented the unification of the European war band. Only the mead hall with its nights filled with drinking, songs, and gift exchanges offered the warriors a refuge from the harshness of their world (3). The worst misfortune that could befall an Anglo-Saxon man was exile, known as wraecsíd, from this world of war, loyalty to the chieftain, and the comforts of the mead hall (4).

Although this system had developed into a different form in Anglo-Saxon England by the time of Beorhtric and his family, the institution remained very much in its primitive form, as described above, among the Celtic peoples over whom Beorhtric and his family lorded. Warriors still journeyed to attach their services to the chieftains in their strongholds in the highland countries of the Picts and Scots north of Solway Firth, the North Welsh in modern day Wales, and - to an extent - the West Welsh in Cornwall (5). In these areas the merriment of the mead hall still rang forth and the chieftains still held sway. Of particular importance to our study is that this primitive system remained alive in the Western lands held by Beorhtric and his family (6). The Celts and Saxons living on those lands in Cornwall, Devon, and especially around Beorhtric's Tewkesbury estates probably looked to Beorhtric as

their tribal chieftain to whom they owed loyalty, more so than to the monarch reigning from London. This attitude also had a reciprocal effect on Beorhtric and his family. In respect to their lands deep in the West Country, they began to see themselves as lords along the lines of the Celtic comitatus arrangement.

The comitatus, particularly characteristic of mobile raiding parties, underwent a gradual transformation in England as the Anglo-Saxon communities became more sedentary, more populous, and more permanent. With these changes in the Anglo-Saxon populations, the companions built permanent manors away from the hall of their lord, who now took on the broader duties of a king, and the usual gifts given by the chieftain in his mead hall, the precious heirlooms or plunder taken in battle, took the form of land allotments. The size, wealth, and location of these land holdings became the basis for status and position, rather than the older values of loyalty to one's chieftain and valor in battle. In this evolved state with its emphasis on land, Beorhtric would have ranked high in status among the other Anglo-Saxon thegns and would have done everything to preserve these lands and thus his status.

In late Anglo-Saxon society, the blood feud virtually disappeared with the development of legal means for a man to disassociate himself from unstable relations who could involve themselves and their clan in unwarranted and unwelcome feuds and with the emergence of Christianity, which taught "Vengeance is

mine, so sayeth the lord" and which took over the role of avenger through the instigation of arduous penances (7). The gathered comitatus became known as the Witan, a council which advised the king and whose decisions the king rarely dared to flout. Robin Fleming, in Kings and Lords in Conquest England, makes a very apt description of the Anglo-Saxon thegnly aristocracy as it existed in the time of Beorhtric and his family; he states:

The great lay lords of the late tenth and eleventh centuries were at once co-operative and predatory . . . [they were] fully capable of practicing an extravagant and self-interested hooliganism to improve their own standing in the world . . . They did serve the king, but when given the opportunity they grasped what they could for themselves (8).

As a powerful thegn of the English realm, Beorhtric possessed some important responsibilities to his king. Every thegn had the duty to serve at least two months every year in the fyrd, the king's army, which consisted of every holder of five hides or more (known as a thegn), henchmen, and landless soldiers maintained on a permanent basis by the king (9). One group of these landless soldiers instituted by Cnut and retained by his successors, known as the "Housecarls", served with distinction as the backbone of Harold's army at Hastings. Beorhtric had to provide his own sword, helmet, chainmail, and horse as well as supplying his men with their armaments - a thegn of Beorhtric's wealth could have easily fielded a substantial force under this arrangement (10). In battle, Beorhtric would have commanded this large force, playing a prominent role as one of the king's generals. The king could also call on a powerful thegn like Beorhtric to carry on a campaign



alone, but under royal direction (11). Yet the thegns did not always honor this arrangement, especially when they had their property and status to consider. As we shall see in the next chapter, Beorhtric's father Aelfgar fought against his king on the side of the invader Cnut in 1016 in a successful bid to preserve his family lands and Beorhtric followed suit in 1066 by not sending aid to the embattled Harold at Hastings.

Beorhtric and his family, as prominent thegns, played crucial roles as members of the royal staff, the Witena Gemot. This body, having evolved from the old tribal comitatus, served as an advisory council to the king. It had no official members, but included those royal officials and noblemen present in a particular place at a particular time (12). Still, the Witan played an important role in English affairs before 1066. Although none of its decisions legally bound the king, he did not regard its decisions lightly. As C. Warren Hollister describes,

. . . the deeply ingrained custom that the king was to govern in consultation with his Witan . . . is sufficient to make the Witenagemot one of Anglo-Saxon England's fundamental political institutions (13).

The charters which Beorhtric and his family witnessed prove their importance as part of the royal staff. The thegns who commonly witnessed the charters of King Eadweard between 1042 and 1046 include Karl, Osgot, Ordgar, Odda, Aelfweard, Thored, Aelfstan, Beorhtric, and Ordwulf (Ordgar may have been one of Beorhtric's uncles) (14).

As members of the royal staff, they would have had many important duties. Beorhtric along with his father and uncles would have attended the king in his journeys throughout the realm, they would have acted as the king's advisors, attending him at court, and the king also would call on these men to conduct embassages to the courts of his brother monarchs. Beorhtric himself was sent as such an ambassador to the Count of Flanders, where he first met Matilda, the future wife of William the Conqueror, probably on a trade mission. These advisors, and thus Beorhtric and his family, because of their important positions and their proximity to the ear of the king, exerted considerable influence over the governance of the realm and ranked higher than most of the other English thegns (15).

Beorhtric, besides being an influential member of the royal staff, was a powerful border lord on the Celtic frontier. On his lands deep in the West Country, he possessed duties and responsibilities more complex than those expected of him on the royal staff. Here he had to deal with the two diverse populations of Celts and Saxons; from his relations with these groups, we can determine the dual nature of Beorhtric's character and outlook. Although he was an Anglo-Saxon thegn and was related to the Wessex royal line, all his and his family's lands lay in the West Country with its heavy Celtic populations and its deeply ingrained Celtic heritage. And did not Beorhtric and his family express interest in this heritage, especially in regards to the ancient Celtic

monuments which were located on many of their lands? Beorhtric also possessed the title of princeps, which denoted his royal status - similar to that of an earl (16) - among the peoples of the West Country, a status reflected in his autonomy on his Tewkesbury holdings. Because of these qualities, Beorhtric and his family had been given lands in the West by the Anglo-Saxon kings, where it was their job to pacify the frontier and implant - and keep implanted - Wessex rule, a job particularly suited to this family with its Celtic ties (17).

Apart from his duties as an Anglo-Saxon thegn and a Celtic border lord, Beorhtric possessed several reciprocal responsibilities to the members of his family, extended and immediate. The kin relationship encompassed a man's natural friends and allies; none of the few Anglo-Saxon laws even consider the possibility of dispute between kinsmen. If a man might consider such a possibility, intra-familial disputes remained a private affair and outside the general concern of the community (18). Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, counsellor to the kings Aethelred and Cnut, the same bishop who was hallowing Beorhtric's manor chapel at Hanley when a squad of Normans arrested Beorhtric, believed that the private arrangement among kin and allies insured not only royal authority but also domestic peace and order. In his Sermo Lupi ad Anglos, Archbishop Wulfstan claimed that God was causing the chaos of the late Anglo-Saxon state as retribution for the disintegration of ancient alliances and customs (19).

Most important to an Anglo-Saxon in the kinship arrangement were his close relatives. For example, the healfsang, the first payment of the wergeld (20), was paid to the children, brothers, and paternal uncles of the victim (21), and the property of a man who died without leaving a will passed directly to his wife, children, and close kinsmen, known as the neahmaeg (22). Beorhtric's neahmaeg included his sons Eadmer and Aelfric, his wife Godgifu, his brother Aelfheah, his father Aelfgar, and his uncles Ordgar and Esbearn. Men and women often made donations to religious communities to insure that the souls of their nearest relatives made it to heaven, yet rarely did they provide for the souls of more distant kinsmen such as cousins and nephews (23). Beorhtric's family, especially the patriarch Haywardus, established several churches on their lands. The most famous of all their ecclesiastical lands was at Cranborne in Dorset, to which they made the Tewkesbury abbey a cell.

A man could also lose honor because of the infidelity of his closest kinswomen, thus he was allowed, without incurring a blood feud, to kill any man who sinfully slept with his mother, wife, sister, or daughter (24). Property most often passed to paternal kinsmen; an unborn child's wergeld was set according to the status of his or her paternal kin, the faederencnosl. Paternal relatives also played a greater part in the collection and payment of the wergeld and often served as a kinsman's oath witnesses (25).

Beyond this set of the closest relatives lay a larger group of kin who were bound by the same ties of kinship, a group of relatives which is very difficult to pinpoint for Beorhtric, but may have included the members of the Wessex royal line. Nefa could mean any number of male kin, either nephew, grandson, stepson, or cousin of any degree; nefene could mean either niece or granddaughter (26). Although they were distant relations, they still witnessed a man's legal transactions and offered support in difficult times. They collected and paid the wergeld, they gave food to imprisoned relatives, they defended them when attacked, they took care of them in sickness, and they took part in the blood feud to avenge a relative's murder. Indeed, relatives were buried alongside one another in family plots in the churches, built and supported by their family or clan, in order to await Christ's Second Coming (27). Beorhtric and his family most likely were buried at the chapel of Tewkesbury or at the larger church of Cranborne.

Often to supplement their circle of kin, close friends and allies went so far as to become "blood brothers". The following description of a blood brother ceremony comes from the Gisla Saga:

[They] cut and raise up a long sod in the turf, leaving the two ends fast, and they set a spear with a patterned blade under it, so long shafted that a man could reach the rivets of the head with outstretched hand. All four should now pass under . . . and now they draw blood and let their blood run together in the earth which was scratched up under the sod, and mix it all together, earth and blood; and then they kneel and swear an oath, that each shall avenge the other as his brother, and they call all the gods to witness (28).

The major parts of this ceremony symbolized a rebirth through which the four men would cement their previous bond and become brothers in the fullest sense of the word. Should anyone slay or injure another, all close relations declared a blood feud against the wrongdoer and his kin (29). This institution may help us to resolve the question of Beorhtric's "uncle" with the Danish name, Esbearn. Haylwardus and his wife Aelfgifu were both Saxon and they gave two of their sons, Aelfgar and Ordgar, Anglo-Saxon names, so why would they give a third son a Danish name? I conclude that Esbearn, mentioned in the charters as the brother of Aelfgar and Ordgar, was no biological relation, but became part of the family through a blood brother ceremony, probably to cement an alliance between the Anglo-Saxon sons of Haylwardus and Esbearn, a Danish nobleman - an alliance reflected in Aelfgar's siding with Cnut against Eadmund at Sherstone (30).

The situation changed after the Conquest when Beorhtric lost his lands and status and the commoners found that a new lord had arrived and had installed himself in Beorhtric's old manor house. Beorhtric and his family, although powerful border lords and members of the royal council, were probably very sympathetic to the cultures and needs of the diverse peoples on their lands, since Beorhtric and his family possessed ties with the Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, and Danish elements of English society, as well as possessing a heritage dating back to the Roman occupation. Beorhtric spoke the same language as his villagers, he presided at

the village moot, he worshiped with them, he listened to his people's troubles, and he joined in their feasts. Beorhtric understood the complex and varied traditions of England, but the new lord not only did not understand these traditions, he did not care (31). Most of the new lords dealt harshly with the people on the lands they acquired; many commoners starved or found themselves thrown into prison (32). As a result, many English turned to rebellion against their Norman overlords, but these rebellions ended in failure and only hastened the full implantation of the Norman lords and the Norman feudal arrangement on the English lands.





1. Tacitus, writing in the First Century A. D., was the first to describe the Germanic tribes, which were just making their appearance in Europe, and their institutions. Tacitus, On Britain and Germany, trans. H. Mattingly (Bungay: Penguin Books Limited, 1948), 106-119. The core institution of these tribes, the posse comitatus, remained in place in England - although in a slightly evolved form - up until the time of Harold, who led the foot soldiers of the Anglo-Saxon fyrd against the mounted Norman knights led by Duke William. This battle at Hastings marked a monumental conflict between two completely different styles of fighting - the fyrd, fighting according to tactics a thousand years old, made an excellent account of itself. Hollister, England, 99.

2. Hollister, England, 22. Tacitus, On Britain and Germany, trans. H. Mattingly (Bungay: Richard Clay and Company Limited, 1948), 106.

3. J. D. A. Ogilvy and Donald C. Baker, Reading Beowulf (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), 100.

4. Ibid., 100. The Wanderer provides an excellent description of the misery an exiled warrior would experience. One may find this poem in Old English Poetry, trans. by J. Duncan Spæth (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1922) p. 123-128.

5. Nikolai Tolstoy, The Quest for Merlin (London: Little, Brown and Company, 1985), 36.

6. Ibid., 41.

7. Fleming, Lords, 8-9.

8. Ibid., xiii.

9. Howarth, 1066, 20.

10. Ibid., 20.

11. Ibid., 20.

12. Hollister, England, 76.

13. Ibid., 76.

14. Barlow, Edward, 75.

15. Although these conclusions are speculative, they are rooted in fact, since we do have charters that were signed by Beorhtric and his family, and thus it is reasonable to suggest that the members of the royal staff enjoyed a certain amount of status above other thegns and were able to use their proximity to the king to their own advantage.

16. Barlow, Edward, 164.
17. I have made these conclusions only after a careful and conservative analysis of my research. The significance of the Devon swath and the western location of Beorhtric's lands can not be ignored. It is not blind speculation to conclude that the family of Beorhtric had received these lands as part of a special arrangement with the Wessex kings.
18. Peter G. Foote and David M. Wilson, The Viking Achievement (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), 422.
19. Fleming, Lords, xv. The text of the Sermo may be found in the original Anglo-Saxon with an analysis in: Wulfstan. Sermo Lupi ad Anglos. Edited by Dorothy Whitelock. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966.
20. "Wergeld" literally meant "man money" and represented the amount a killer had to pay to a victim's family as compensation for his crime, thus avoiding a blood feud. The wergelds varied in amounts depending on the victim's sex and social status; the adult nobles (the thegns) possessed the highest wergeld at 1,200 shillings. Hollister, England, 22.
21. Fleming, Lords, 4.
22. Ibid., 5.
23. Ibid., 5.
24. Ibid., 5.
25. Ibid., 8.
26. Ibid., 6.
27. Ibid., 7.
28. Foote and Wilson, Achievement, 423.
29. Hollister, England, 22. Tacitus, Germany, 118. Ogilvy and Baker, Beowulf, 107.
30. Sir Charles Oman, ed., A History of England (London: Methuen and Company Limited, 1949), vol. 1, England Before the Norman Conquest, 578-581.
31. Howarth, 1066, 201.
32. Ibid., 200.

The first part of the work is a general survey of the  
 Anglo-Saxon period in England, from the invasion of the  
 Anglo-Saxons in 449 to the death of King Alfred in 899.  
 The second part is a detailed account of the reign of  
 King Alfred, from 871 to 899. The third part is a  
 detailed account of the reign of King Edward the Great,  
 from 900 to 925. The fourth part is a detailed account  
 of the reign of King Athelstan, from 925 to 939.  
 The fifth part is a detailed account of the reign of  
 King Canute, from 1016 to 1042. The sixth part is a  
 detailed account of the reign of King Harold Godwinson,  
 from 1035 to 1066. The seventh part is a detailed  
 account of the reign of King William the Conqueror,  
 from 1066 to 1087. The eighth part is a detailed  
 account of the reign of King Henry I, from 1100 to 1135.  
 The ninth part is a detailed account of the reign of  
 King Stephen, from 1135 to 1154. The tenth part is a  
 detailed account of the reign of King Matilda, from 1141  
 to 1141. The eleventh part is a detailed account of  
 the reign of King Henry II, from 1154 to 1189. The  
 twelfth part is a detailed account of the reign of  
 King Richard I, from 1189 to 1199. The thirteenth  
 part is a detailed account of the reign of King John,  
 from 1199 to 1216. The fourteenth part is a detailed  
 account of the reign of King Henry III, from 1216 to 1272.  
 The fifteenth part is a detailed account of the reign  
 of King Edward I, from 1272 to 1307. The sixteenth  
 part is a detailed account of the reign of King Edward  
 II, from 1307 to 1327. The seventeenth part is a  
 detailed account of the reign of King Richard II, from  
 1377 to 1399. The eighteenth part is a detailed  
 account of the reign of King Henry IV, from 1399 to 1413.  
 The nineteenth part is a detailed account of the reign  
 of King Henry V, from 1413 to 1422. The twentieth  
 part is a detailed account of the reign of King Henry  
 VI, from 1422 to 1461. The twenty-first part is a  
 detailed account of the reign of King Edward IV, from  
 1461 to 1483. The twenty-second part is a detailed  
 account of the reign of King Richard III, from 1483 to  
 1485. The twenty-third part is a detailed account of  
 the reign of King Henry VII, from 1485 to 1509. The  
 twenty-fourth part is a detailed account of the reign  
 of King Henry VIII, from 1509 to 1547. The twenty-fifth  
 part is a detailed account of the reign of King Edward  
 VI, from 1547 to 1553. The twenty-sixth part is a  
 detailed account of the reign of King Mary II, from 1553  
 to 1558. The twenty-seventh part is a detailed  
 account of the reign of King Elizabeth I, from 1558 to  
 1603. The twenty-eighth part is a detailed account of  
 the reign of King James VI and I, from 1603 to 1625. The  
 twenty-ninth part is a detailed account of the reign  
 of King Charles I, from 1625 to 1649. The thirtieth  
 part is a detailed account of the reign of King Charles  
 II, from 1649 to 1685. The thirty-first part is a  
 detailed account of the reign of King James II and VII,  
 from 1685 to 1688. The thirty-second part is a  
 detailed account of the reign of King George I, from 1714  
 to 1727. The thirty-third part is a detailed account  
 of the reign of King George II, from 1727 to 1760. The  
 thirty-fourth part is a detailed account of the reign  
 of King George III, from 1760 to 1820. The thirty-fifth  
 part is a detailed account of the reign of King George  
 IV, from 1820 to 1830. The thirty-sixth part is a  
 detailed account of the reign of King William IV, from  
 1830 to 1837. The thirty-seventh part is a detailed  
 account of the reign of King Victoria, from 1837 to 1901.  
 The thirty-eighth part is a detailed account of the  
 reign of King Edward VII, from 1901 to 1910. The  
 thirty-ninth part is a detailed account of the reign  
 of King George V, from 1910 to 1936. The fortieth  
 part is a detailed account of the reign of King Edward  
 VIII, from 1936 to 1936. The forty-first part is a  
 detailed account of the reign of King George VI, from  
 1936 to 1952. The forty-second part is a detailed  
 account of the reign of Queen Elizabeth II, from 1952 to  
 2022.

**CHAPTER IV:**

**Beorhtric and His Family through the Course of Anglo-Saxon History**

The course of the Anglo-Saxon history of the Anglo-Saxon  
 states. A brief discussion of Anglo-Saxon history up to 930 with  
 detail the events of the period of the reign of King Beorhtric.  
 The first four centuries of the growth and development of the Wessex  
 kingdom. The early years under repeated waves of Danish attacks, and  
 the evolution of the Germanic dialect into the Anglo-Saxon dialect.  
 These trends and events created the time in which Beorhtric and  
 his family lived.

England grew from the early Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Wessex whose  
 dynasty was founded by Alfred, whose Geoffrey Ashe speculated is the  
 son of the mythical Roman-British King Arthur (1). At the  
 beginning of his reign he dominated only a few settlements near the  
 English coast but by the end of his reign he had extended his  
 dominion north to the Avon (2). He achieved this remarkable  
 expansion not through military ability or determination,  
 but also through his political skills and diplomatic talents.

Beorhtric Meaw and his family lived at the tail end of the Anglo-Saxon period in England, a period marked by the rising power and wealth of the thegnly aristocracy. Following the successful reigns of Aelfred, Eadweard, and Aethelstan, England experienced an era of peace and prosperity unmatched since the Roman occupation. The Danish invaders were repelled and by 954 the Wessex dynasty had extended its dominion over the whole island south of the Pictish highlands (1). But this period of prosperity which saw the rise of the nobles planted the seeds for the downfall of the Anglo-Saxon state. A brief discussion of Anglo-Saxon history up to 930 will describe the events that led up to this era in which Haywardus Snow and his descendants flourished. These first four turbulent centuries brought about the growth and development of the Wessex kingdom, its hardening under repeated waves of Danish attacks, and the evolution of the Germanic comitatus into the Anglo-Saxon witan. These trends and events created the times in which Beorhtric and his family lived.

England grew from the early Saxon kingdom of Wessex, whose dynasty was founded by Cerdic, whom Geoffrey Ashe speculates is the son of the historical Romano-British King Arthur (2). At the beginning of his rule, he dominated only a few settlements near the Hampshire coast, but by the end of his reign he had extended his dominion north to the Avon (3). He achieved this remarkable expansion not only through his military skill and determination, but also through his creation of an allied band of Celts and

Saxons, the Gewissei (4). The descendants of Cerdic and the Gewissei united with the Saxons of the lower Thames valley to create a kingdom that eventually stretched from Cornwall to the eastern shore of Kent.

The period between the death of Cerdic in 530 and the accession of Beorhtric to the Wessex throne saw 256 years of turbulence marked by constant warfare as the Saxons expanded their influence and their kingdoms rose to dominate almost the whole island. By the seventh century, England became divided into what is known as the Heptarchy, consisting of the kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, Wessex, Sussex, Kent, Essex, and East Anglia. But these kingdoms fluctuated in wealth and power, with other kingdoms rising up to challenge their status, such as Bernicia, Deira, and Lindsay, plus the various Celtic kingdoms of Cornwall, Gwent, Dyfed, Gwynedd, Cumberland, Galloway, and the Pictish kingdoms in the northern highlands (5). During these centuries, the primitive tribal posse comitatus with its emphasis on loyalty to the chieftain, valor in battle, and the comforts of the mead hall remained the core institution of all the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic kingdoms.

The reign of Beorhtric first witnessed the formative influence which brought Anglo-Saxon England out of this tribal state and into the state of the thegnly aristocracy of the Anglo-Saxon Witan with the arrival of a Danish raiding party on the Dorsetshire coast in

793 (6). Over the next century as the Danish incursions increased from plundering raids into campaigns for conquest, the Anglo-Saxon kings were faced with a situation which threatened the very survival of their kingdoms (7). They attempted to solve this through an increased militarization in which they placed more power into the hands of their thegns. As compensation for their valor and victories, the kings presented their thegns with landholdings - no longer did they hand out precious heirlooms and valuable objects worked in silver and gold. These rewards served a dual purpose, not only did they satiate the nobles' desire for recognition and wealth, but they also served to set up bases from which to repel the Danes. Each thegn was given a limited autonomy over their holdings so long as they provided successfully for their defense and so long as they the thegns paid a percentage of the yearly revenue from their lands to the king (8).

The Danish attacks thus had a hardening influence on the Anglo-Saxon world, in essence creating the strong leaders, the skilled and ferocious warriors, the central powers of the monarch (as opposed to the chieftain subject to the more democratic comitatus), and the growing dependence of the kings on the great thegns to protect their kingdom (9). This hardening of the Anglo-Saxon state initially paid off to the advantage of the Anglo-Saxons under their king, Aelfred the Great (871 - 899), and his heirs, Eadweard the Elder (899 - 924) and Aethelstan (924 - 939). The successes of Aelfred the Great and his descendants brought all of

England south of Pictish highlands under Wessex rule and initiated a short time of peace and prosperity in which the Danes posed no serious threat to the security of the English kingdom (10). Yet the prosperity of this era was to cause problems that would come to the surface during the reign of Aethelred and would eventually cause the downfall of Anglo-Saxon England.

Beorhtric's grandfather Haylwardus, called Snow on account of his fair complexion, is described by the Gloucestershire Chronicle in the Monasticon as flourishing in 930 (11). It is particularly interesting that he is described as being prosperous at this time as it marks a highpoint in Wessex supremacy and as his situation mirrors that of many other thegns throughout England. The thegns and their ancestors had survived the Danish attacks and had preserved their family lands, as well as the Anglo-Saxon realm. They now had a rest from aggression in which they could use their personal armies, hardened from generations of continuous warfare, to exert their power over rivals and lesser thegns. They also began generating huge revenues from their lands, now freed from the ravages of war, with which they could finance their armies and could acquire even more lands. Personal status and position in England now became dependent on the size, location, and wealth of a thegn's holdings. Haylwardus, the lord of Tewkesbury manor, enjoyed a status above most other thegns because he owned vast and important holdings all across the West Country.

Haylwardus possessed a certain amount of prestige beyond the other thegns because he was "born from the noble family of King Eadweard the Elder" (12). It is difficult to trace his exact descent from Eadweard, but two possibilities stand out as likely. The first: he could have been the son of one of Eadweard's younger sons. The second: he could have been the child of a marriage between a certain nobleman and one of Eadweard's daughters. Perhaps this nobleman, the lord of the Tewkesbury estates and the son of a Celtic-Saxon family tracing its descent to one of the original Gewissei serving under Cerdic, sought a marriage, sometime around 918, with one of the daughters of the Wessex royal line to validate his position as lord over his estates, to bring about an alliance between his family and that of the royal family, and to insure a high status and a position among the royalty for his descendants. Such an alliance would have been very timely for this thegn since his Tewkesbury manor lay in lands formerly within Mercian territory and since the Wessex and Mercian kingdoms were unified in 918 under the Wessex banner. Tewkesbury had once lain on the very northern boundary of Cerdic's kingdom, but had since been absorbed into Mercian territory as Wessex subsided to the south - thus this marriage represented an important reunification between a descendant of the Gewissei and his hereditary rulers. I favor the second possibility since the Tewkesbury lands are never part of any Wessex land transaction and since both Vortigern and Arthur-Riothamus had also married daughters of royal blood in similar moves to validate their claims to kingship (13) - but I admit that this hypothesis is conjecture.



This thegn's plans seemed to have worked as his son Haylwardus Snow received the Tewkesbury estates along with the title "princeps" with its concomitant rights. Thus Haylwardus lorded over his Tewkesbury holdings with a great deal of autonomy, free from royal service and taxes, and was allowed to pass the land and the title down to a chosen heir (14). Haylwardus also inherited from his mother's side a large swath of holdings in Devon stretching from the Celtic Sea in the north to the English Channel in the south. These lands had once lain on the boundary between Wessex and the kingdom of the West Welsh in Cornwall. They had lain in the hands of trusted members of the royal family since the mid 700s, serving as a barrier against West Welsh attacks and as forward bases for the Wessex conquest of Cornwall. Haylwardus received the trusted status as a border lord on the Celtic frontier both in Devon and at Tewkesbury, the kings having entrusted him with the defense of the extreme western lands against Danish attacks and Welsh resistance. He also received the responsibility of pacification of the Celtic peoples on his lands, a job he proved well suited for because of his Celtic blood, which he inherited through both his father and mother, and his appreciation for the Celtic heritage in which his father had reared him (15).

The last we hear of Haylwardus is in 980, when he and his wife Aelfgifu establish a monastery at Cranborne, to which they made their Tewkesbury monastery a cell (16). Haylwardus was probably well into his seventies by 980 and wished to do something

outstanding for the Church to provide for the salvation of his soul (and the souls of his family and descendants). By establishing such a large religious house, he assured himself of a group of monks that would pray daily for the salvation and blessing not only of his soul, but also the souls of his family and descendants; plus he provided himself and his clan with a cemetery where they could lay in rest, awaiting the Second Coming. Soon afterwards Haylwardus died. Now just a few years into Aethelred's reign, the period of relative peace and prosperity had come to an end; many thegns who had risen great in power and wealth now began to sever their ties of loyalty to their hereditary king - an especially inauspicious trend since the Danish attacks now began again in earnest.

Upon Haylwardus' death, his vast holdings passed to his sons Aelfgar and Ordgar, with Aelfgar, his eldest son, receiving the ancient familial estate at Tewkesbury. These men, both wealthy thegns playing prominent roles in the witan, greatly opposed the monastic reforms begun by Archbishop Dunstan in the reign of Eadgar the Peaceable and which the bishop attempted to continue during the reign of Aethelred (17). As a result of these reforms, many powerful thegns had lost a great deal of wealth and power because of Edgar's copious land grants to the monasteries - a further result of these land grants was the transfer of power over the monastic lands from the thegns to the king (18). This trend enraged many powerful nobles, who saw land as the key to wealth and

status and who had been enjoying a period of great prosperity in which they had greatly increased their power and influence. The sons of Haylwardus did not oppose land grants to the monasteries - their family had provided well for the houses at Tewkesbury and Cranborne - so long as these lands still lay in the power of the thegns, but these new reforms of Archbishop Dunstan seemed to encroach on their autonomy over their ancient familial lands (19). And so the realm was split into two camps violently opposed to one another: the powerful thegns on one side and Dunstan and much of the clergy on the other, with King Aethelred attempting to preserve his own interests by threading a path between the two.

Aethelred inherited the kingship with many events and circumstances stacked against him. He ascended the throne in 978 upon the murder of his older half-brother, King Eadweard; a crime which some tried to blame on Aethelred even though he was only a child at the time (20). He stood opposed by the thegny aristocracy, enjoying its hard won wealth and status, and by Archbishop Dunstan himself, who never dealt on a friendly level with Aethelred. According to a legend told by William of Malmesbury, as the Archbishop Dunstan was baptizing the baby Aethelred, the infant "defiled the sacrament with an abundant bowel movement" at which point the bishop, greatly angered and embarrassed, exclaimed, "By God and His mother, this will be a sorry fellow" (21). Regardless of such legends, Aethelred had to face a kingdom divided not only between the thegns and the clergy,

but also between the Anglo-Danish nobility to the North of Watling Street the Anglo-Saxon nobility to the south. These divisions only served to heighten the greatest threat to his kingdom, the renewed Danish attacks which came in unprecedented force and number (22).

During this new wave of invasions, Aelfgar and Ordgar focused their attentions on the defense of their West Country holdings and rarely sent aid to the king, who had proven to be untrustworthy and mercurial in his dealings with the thegns (23). They held out, preserving their West Country lands and their familial autonomy, but the king fared worse. Faced with the defeat of the East Anglian fyrd in 991, Aethelred was forced to purchase a respite by reviving the Danegeld once instituted by Aelfred (24). The subsequent payment of these immense Danegelds only served to underline for the Danes England's weaknesses and vast resources (25). King Swein of Denmark then launched a massive campaign of conquest in 1013. The Danelaw immediately capitulated and many Anglo-Saxon thegns accepted Swein as their new king. Aethelred fled to the continent but returned in 1014 when Swein died. Aethelred died in 1016, having lost almost all his kingdom outside the walls of London to the conquest of Swein's son, Cnut (26).

Faced with the inevitable conquest of England by Swein, Aelfgar and Ordgar went over to his side in 1013. Seeing this as the only way to survive with their holdings intact, they cemented this alliance by becoming blood brothers with one of Swein's

nobles, a man named Esbearn. They still remained loyal to the Danes even when Eadmund, the son of Aethelred, fought to restore the Wessex monarchy. It seemed inevitable to them that Cnut would win, so Aelfgar, at the head of an army of West Saxons, joined with the Danes under Jarl Thorkil and Mercians under Eadric Streona in early May to fight Eadmund at Sherstone. The battle proved indecisive, but the combined forces retreated towards Cnut's army surrounding London, leaving Eadmund the advantage (27).

Aelfgar's bid to preserve his standing on his western lands seemed to have failed as Eadmund pushed Cnut back into the Danelaw and entered into a peace treaty. Yet Aelfgar succeeded in his bid when Eadmund died a few days later and the Anglo-Saxon Witan unanimously accepted Cnut as their king (28). Aelfgar had preserved his lands and his status, while gaining at the same time an important position on the royal staff along with his brothers Ordgar and Esbearn. Beorhtric joined his father and his uncles on the royal staff of Eadweard sometime during the 1040s, enjoying the high status and influence over royal decisions the position brought (29). During their time on the royal staff, the descendants of Haywardus Snow not only strengthened their hold over their ancient family lands, but also acquired even more lands with which they enriched themselves. Upon the death of his father, Beorhtric received the manor at Tewkesbury and its freedom from royal service and taxes. He became

something of a prince over the West Country and began to sign the charters as "Beorhtric princeps". As a royal minister, he led an embassy to Flanders to discuss the wool trade, an enterprise he was especially interested in because of the large flocks of sheep that his tenants grazed. While in the court of the Count of Flanders, he did meet the Count's daughter Matilda, but nothing came of the encounter - as opposed to the embellishments by the Continuator of Wace (30). He flourished like his grandfather Haylwardus, but the reign of Eadweard brought more troubles upon the realm.

Following the short and ineffectual reigns of Cnut's squabbling sons, Harold Harefoot and Harthacnut (31), the Anglo-Saxon Witan restored the House of Wessex in 1042 when they invited Eadweard, a younger son of Aethelred, to return from his exile on the continent. He had spent most of his exile in Normandy, becoming thoroughly "Normanicized" and completely loosing touch with his Anglo-Saxon roots. Rather than follow the lead of Cnut who, although a Dane, found it propitious to rule as a Saxon king, Eadweard attempted to rule as a Norman duke, speaking Norman French by choice and populating his court and witan with imported Norman lords (32). This policy roused the anger of the powerful Anglo-Saxon lords, especially Earl Godwine, who held sway over Wessex, Cornwall, Sussex, and Kent, and who broke with the king in open rebellion in 1051 (33). The trend in which the Anglo-Saxon thegns had increased the power and influence had now come to a head.

Fearing a war that would ravage the land and not wishing that one of their rivals should gain the throne, the other Anglo-Saxon magnates supported Eadweard (34). Godwine backed down and peace was restored, but Eadweard sent his Norman followers back to the continent, essentially becoming a figurehead ruler for Earl Godwine and his sons (35).

During this crisis, Beorhtric and his family had become opponents of Godwine and his clan. Beorhtric, along with his father and uncles, had played an integral part of the royal staff and council even during the reign of Eadweard. They had not lost any status because of Eadweard's Norman policy, nor did they stand to lose any. Naturally Beorhtric and his family were violently opposed to the aggressiveness of Godwine. After Godwine's death, they greatly resented Harold who had become the real power behind the throne. So, faced with Duke William's invasion upon the accession of Harold in 1066, Beorhtric gladly returned to his Tewkesbury estates, refusing to send any aid from the Wessex fyrd to the embattled Harold and awaiting the outcome. His move initially paid off with William's victory and immediately following Hastings, Beorhtric played an important role on William's royal staff (36).

But when early in 1067 William returned to the continent, the regents he had set in place, Bishop Odo of Bayeux and William Fitz-Osbern, took advantage of their positions to ravage the English

countryside for their own benefit (37). Faced with the deprivation of his ancient familial lands, Beorhtric rebelled along with many other English thegns, hoping to catch the Normans in a weakened position with their king absent (38). Beorhtric played a major role in this short-lived rebellion. The West Country people saw Beorhtric as their natural leader: he was descended from royalty and he enjoyed the rank of princeps. Most importantly, Beorhtric in his person represented the unification of all the diverse elements of the English nation. He represented the Celtic element as the border magnate with Celtic blood, who owned and respected some very ancient Celtic sites. He was a throwback to the Roman era as the Lord of Gloucestershire, the center of the Roman villa society - where many Roman ruins could still be seen. He represented the Saxon element as a descendant of the Wessex royal line and as a member of the English royal council, the Witan. He even stood for the Danes, possessing lands near the Severn estuary, a landing place in the past for Danish raiding parties; also his father and uncle had allied themselves with the Danes, becoming blood brothers with a prominent Danish lord.

Having embodied these elements, Beorhtric would have been king if he had succeeded in his plan. But he failed in his gamble and lost everything. William returned and crushed the rebellion, executing many who had taken part in it and depriving them of all their lands (39). Recognizing Beorhtric as a formidable opponent, yet fearing the reaction of the people from the West Country if he



were to execute Beorhtric, he deprived him and his family of all their lands and titles and threw Beorhtric himself into a dungeon at Winchester, where he left him to die (40). William destroyed Beorhtric's lands and redistributed them only to trusted allies or members of his own family. No more is heard of Beorhtric or any of his family - with them passed the remnants of the proud and ancient Wessex kingdom.

... a discussion of the ...  
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**ENDNOTES: Chapter IV**

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5. For an excellent study of these ... please see  
Hollister, England, 49-53. This volume contains an excellent  
narrative of the competition of the various chieftains for the  
title "Bretwalda", an honorific which designated the bearer as a  
king who had somehow brought the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms under his  
rule. By the time of King Egbert of Wessex, the two main powers  
were Mercia and Wessex; following the reign of Egbert and the  
death of King Offa of Mercia, Wessex claimed the ascendancy, and to  
unite all of England under its banner.

6. ...  
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8. ... with the introduction of lands to the thegn ...  
... one can clearly note the beginning ... the  
... transition from the traditional ...  
... lord. As the ...  
... they became separated  
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1. Hollister, England, 65.
2. Ashe, Arthur, 199.
3. For a good discussion of the life of Cerdic, please see: Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., The Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 3, Brown - Chaloner (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1967), 1336-1337. Ashe, Arthur, 197-199.
4. According to Ashe's theory, after uniting the survivors of his father's (Arthur-Riothamus) continental campaign against the Saxons under Odovacar (also known as Odoacer), Cerdic marched to the Breton settlement in Armorica (present day Brittany) to attract British followers, also using his fractional blood (himself being part Saxon) to gain Saxon allies. When he had gained a force he deemed strong and large enough, he crossed the Channel in 495 with his son Cynric, landing on the Hampshire shore to make a claim to his father's title. The Chronicle speaks of Cerdic as the leader of the Gewisse, a term meaning "allies" or "confederates", proving that he had united differing peoples under his banner. Interestingly, the West Saxons, throughout their history, were known as the Gewissei, a name recognizing their diverse heritage - a heritage which gave birth to the Wessex royalty and to Beorhtric. Ashe, Arthur, 197-198.
5. For an excellent summary of these years, please see: Hollister, England, 49-53. This source contains an excellent narration of the competition of the various chieftains for the title "Bretwalda", an honorific which designated the bearer as a king who had somehow brought the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms under his rule. By the time of King Beorhtric of Wessex, the two main powers were Mercia and Wessex; following the reign of Beorhtric and the death of King Offa of Mercia, Wessex gained the ascendancy, soon to unite all of England under its banner.
6. Hodgkin, A History, 472.
7. Hollister, England, 56.
8. With the presentation of lands to the thegns instead of precious objects, one can clearly note the beginning of the transformation from the traditional posse comitatus to the later Anglo-Saxon institutions of the Witan and the fyrd. As the nobles moved to the outlying areas of the kingdom, they became separated from the bonding effect of the chieftain's meadhall, and their loyalty to this chief thus began to decline. With this break in the traditional power structure, the nobles came to consider themselves as princes in their own right, independent from the orders of their chieftain/king.

9. Hollister notes this hardening influence: Hollister, England, 54. As the Danish raids increased, the Anglo-Saxon kings became more and more dependent on their thegns to lead the local fyrds against the invaders, a dependency which led to the growing power of the nobles over their family lands, and the weakening of central control over the outlying areas.

10. During this age of peace and prosperity, Wessex was led by a series of able kings, who extended the rule of Wessex over all the Anglo-Saxon lands and who successfully defended against the diminished Danish threat. With so much domestic tranquility, the nobles were able to draw revenue from their lands, further enriching themselves. With the decreased Danish threat, the nobles developed their own personal armies, based on the local fyrds, and were able to devote these armies to the goal of personal aggrandizement - often in open aggression against other Anglo-Saxon thegns.

11. Freeman, Conquest, 518.

12. Ibid., 518.

13. According to Ashe, Vortigern took as his wife one of the daughters of the Emperor Maximus. These daughters had become wards of the Empire with the downfall of Maximus, thus marrying them to a British noble would have been in keeping with Roman Imperial policy in regards to the handing down of power. Vortigern apparently used this marriage to confirm his right to the title of High King. Ashe, Arthur, 39. The High King known as Riothamus had come to the throne in the late 450s, after having married the daughter of Vortigern and his second wife, the Saxon Renwein, in an arrangement similar to the one Vortigern had made when he married one of the daughters of Maximus. Ibid., 54.

14. I conclude that there must be some hereditary right associated with the title and the lands since Beorhtric was said to have been given the Tewkesbury estate by his grandfather Haylwardus. It seems reasonable to suggest that the title "princeps" went along with these lands, especially considering the special status of the Tewkesbury holdings.

15. The borders of the Celtic-Saxon frontier remained a constant concern for the Wessex kings. Having only incorporated the western Celtic lands - namely those of Cornwall - in the mid 700s, with the Celts very reluctantly accepting the Anglo-Saxon yoke, the Wessex kings had to make sure that this region, where the Danes often staged their invasions, remained firmly in their control. Who better to send out to this frontier with this task than someone of Celtic-Saxon blood, who was reared in both heritages, and who possessed blood ties to the Wessex royal line?

16. Freeman, Conquest, 518.

17. Hollister, England, 85-86.
18. Ibid., 86.
19. The stance of Aelfgar and Ordgar in relation to the monastic reforms is conjectural, but it does represent the stance taken by almost all the thegns at this time. These powerful lords would have jealously guarded their autonomy over their ancient familial lands.
20. Hollister, England, 84.
21. Ibid., 86.
22. Ibid., 86.
23. Ibid., 87.
24. Ibid., 87.
25. Ibid., 87.
26. Ibid., 87.
27. Oman, A History, 578-581.
28. Ibid., 581.
29. Robertson, Charters, 208.
30. Freeman remarks on the likelihood of the Continuator's embellishment: ". . . nor do I know of anything in the character of Matilda which should make us think her capable of so base a revenge." Freeman, Conquest, 519.
31. Hollister, England, 90.
32. Ibid., 90.
33. Ibid., 90-91.
34. Although the thegns of this period had grown powerful enough to consider the king a rival to their designs, they saw an upstart from their own ranks, Earl Godwine, as an even more dangerous threat; thus they whole-heartedly supported King Eadweard and forced Godwine to back down, rather than see a full blown civil war with the possibility that a man as self-serving as themselves gain the throne.
35. For a description of Eadweard's reign, please see: Hollister, England, 90-91.

36. In painting a picture of Beorhtric's and his family's role in Anglo-Saxon history, I have followed the few facts about the family we know for sure and have filled up the intermediate "spaces" with what I consider the most logical and most probable course that Beorhtric and his family chose - taking into account all that I have been able to deduce about them.

37. Round, Feudal England, 324.

38. Most of this discussion of Beorhtric is conjectural, but again, I have attempted to be as conservative as possible with my conclusions and have fleshed out Beorhtric's life with the most likely stance Beorhtric took. Such conjecture is necessary to flesh out the story of his life, considering the dearth in primary sources which actually mention Beorhtric.

39. Round, Feudal England, 324.

40. William had to find a way to deal with the threat Beorhtric could pose; depriving him of his lands and throwing him into jail to leave him there to die seemed like the safest course of action, since William did not want to risk any further revolts.

...the ... Meaw, and thus we  
know very little of the ... and their lives.  
We do know that ... Meaw ...  
... was ... at Yorkbury  
with his wife ... and that ... he founded a monastery at  
Crosberry ... his chapel at Yorkbury a ...  
We also know that ...

CHAPTER V:

Concluding Remarks on the Study of Beorhtric Meaw

... on the side of ... of ... We know  
that Beorhtric inherited the ... estate, that he was a  
wealthy landowner in the last decades of Anglo-Saxon England, that  
he signed charters as "Beorhtric" and that he lost all his lands  
following the Norman conquest. These facts constitute almost  
everything that we know for certain about Beorhtric. Most  
historians have noted these few details and have mentioned the  
legend told by the ... only to discount it; no  
historian has attempted an in-depth analysis of this obviously  
powerful and influential Anglo-Saxon magnate. Most of my conclusions  
that I have reached, particularly in Chapters III and IV, represent  
conjectures drawn from my analysis. Before drawing these  
conclusions, I have attempted to analyze in detail all of what we  
know about Beorhtric, his family, Anglo-Saxon institutions, and  
Anglo-Saxon society. Thus, my conclusions represent a careful and  
conservative flashing out of the story of Beorhtric. I am  
confident that I have painted a picture as close as one is likely  
to get to the truth.

Only a few primary sources mention Beorhtric Meaw, and thus we know very little for sure about him, his family, and their lives. We do know that his grandfather Haylwardus, Latin for Aelfweard or Aethelweard, was "flourishing" in 930 on his estate at Tewkesbury with his wife Godgifu, and that in 980 he founded a monastery at Cranborne to which he made his chapel at Tewkesbury a cell. We also know that Haylwardus was descended in some fashion from King Eadweard the Elder, son of Aelfred the Great. We know that Aelfgar fought on the side of Cnut at the battle of Sherstone. We know that Beorhtric inherited the Tewkesbury estate, that he was a wealthy landlord in the last decades of Anglo-Saxon England, that he signed charters as "princeps", and that he lost all his lands following the Norman Conquest. These facts constitute almost everything that we know for certain about Beorhtric. Most historians have noted these few details and have mentioned the legend told by the Continuator of Wace, only to discount it; no historian has attempted an in-depth analysis of this obviously powerful and influential Anglo-Saxon thegn. Most of my conclusions that I have reached, particularly in Chapters III and IV, represent conjecture drawn from my analysis. Before drawing these conclusions, I have attempted to analyze in detail all of what we know about Beorhtric, his family, Anglo-Saxon institutions, and Anglo-Saxon history. Thus, my conclusions represent a careful and conservative fleshing out of the story of Beorhtric - I am confident that I have painted a picture as close as one is likely to get to the truth.



In late Anglo-Saxon history with the development from the posse comitatus to the witan, status became completely dependent on land wealth. In this period, the Anglo-Saxon thegns did all they could to amass huge amounts of lands and secure the lands they already held. Beorhtric and his family did quite well in this respect. Having descended from the Wessex royal line, many holdings in the West Country passed to them, plus they inherited the unique title of "principes" over their familial lands. No one else in the kingdom possessed a status similar to this, with its freedom from royal dues and services. They used their position to rise as lords of the West to whom the native peoples swore their allegiance. They participated actively on the royal staffs of several Anglo-Saxon kings, using their proximity to the monarch to influence royal policy in their favor, especially when it dealt with their familial lands.

As is expected, considering the importance of land to the Anglo-Saxon thegns and considering that Beorhtric and his family were princes in their own right over their Western lands, they did whatever they could to hold onto their ancestral estates - even if it meant breaking with the Wessex kings and siding with invaders. Nationality meant nothing to these men when their lands and their autonomy was at risk, least of all to Beorhtric and his father. Aelfgar sided with Cnut and succeeded in retaining his lands and status; Beorhtric sided with William and initially appeared to succeed. But what drove him to rebel in William's absence? Was it

fear for the safety of his lands or was it ambition for greater status? Most likely a little of both. If Beorhtric would have succeeded in his revolt, he would have expelled the Norman invaders, he would have restored the Wessex dynasty with himself as ruler, he would have saved his family lands, and he would have succeeded in greatly increasing his and his family's status and position in England - outcomes which beckoned enticingly to a man suffering the ravages of Bishop Odo of Bayeux and William Fitz-Osbern.

Beorhtric's situation in post-Conquest England reflects that of many other thegns. Almost all the other Anglo-Saxon thegns lost their lands, followed by death or imprisonment at the hands of the Norman invaders. With the last of the failed revolts, the complete implantation of the Norman feudal arrangement was under way, to be capped in a few years by the crowning achievement of Norman feudal administration, Domesday Book. Thus Beorhtric passed and much of the Anglo-Saxon way of life passed away with him.

### A Note on the Appendices

I have included as the Appendices all the passages from Domesday Book which refer to Beorhtric Meaw, the son of Aelfgar, along with the corresponding county maps. The Appendices are intended to serve as a guide for the reading of Chapter II as well as to illustrate the base from which my research began. Beorhtric was consistently referred to by the scribes as "Brictric" - the Normanized spelling for the Anglo-Saxon name. The notations in brackets immediately following the name of the holding are the coordinates for the county map. On the county maps, all the sites circled in red are those that Beorhtric had held prior to 1066, but had since lost; those circled with blue are the sites Beorhtric still held - according to the scribes - during the compilation of the survey. All of these citations are direct quotes from the Morris edition of the Domesday Book.

14. A certain ... (faint text)

15. ... (faint text)

16. ... (faint text)

APPENDIX A:

Gloucestershire

17. ... (faint text)

18. ... (faint text)

19. ... (faint text)

20. ... (faint text)

21. ... (faint text)

22. ... (faint text)

This citation is taken from: Morris, John, ed. Domesday Book. Vol. 15, Gloucestershire. Chichester: Phillimore, 1982.

Gloucestershire: 1, 24 - 52  
[In Tewkesbury Hundred]

24 In TEWKESBURY [5f-6] before 1066 there were 95 hides. 45 of them are in lordship; they were exempt from all royal service, apart from the service of the lord himself whose manor it was. In the head of the manor there were in lordship 12 ploughs; 50 slaves, male and female. 16 smallholders live around the hall. 2 mills at 20s; a fishery; a salthouse at Droitwich which belongs to this manor. At SOUTHWICK [5f-9] 3 hides; in TREDINGTON [5f-14] 6 hides; in FIDDINGTON [5f-10] 6 hides; in PAMINGTON [5f-3] 8 hides; in NATTON [5f-8] 3 1/2 hides; in WALTON (Cardiff) [5f-7] 3 hides; in Aston (on Carrant) [5f-1] 6 hides. There were 21 villagers and 9 riding men who had 26 ploughs; 5 freedmen and 1 smallholder with 5 ploughs. These riding men ploughed and harrowed at the lord's court. In Gloucester there were 8 burgesses who paid 5s 4d and served at the court. In the whole of Tewkesbury, meadow, 120 acres; woodland 1 1/2 leagues long and as wide. At Tewkesbury there are now 13 burgesses who pay 20s a year; a market which the Queen set up there which pays 11s 8d. 1 more plough; 22 slaves, male and female. A fishery; a salth-house at Droitwich. 3 riding men belonged there before 1066; one of them held 6 hides in ASTON (on Carrant); Gerard now holds them; another held 3 hides in WALTON (Cardiff); Ralph now holds them; the third held 2 hides in FIDDINGTON; Bernard now holds them. In these 11 hides are 10 ploughs in lordship; 4 villagers, 1 smallholder and 9 slaves with 1 plough. Meadow, 18 acres. The value of the whole before 1066 L10; now as much.

25 At OXENTON [5f-11] there was a hall before 1066 and 5 hides which belonged to Tewkesbury. 5 ploughs in lordship; 5 villagers and 2 riding men who have 7 ploughs; 12 slaves, male and female. Meadow, 24 acres. At Winchcombe [6b-w] 3 burgesses who pay 40d. The value of the whole is and was L8.

26 THE LAND MENTIONED BELOW BELONGS TO TEWKESBURY CHURCH.

27 In STANWAY [5h-1] 7 hides which belong to the Church. 2 ploughs in lordship; 8 villagers and 2 smallholders with 8 ploughs. A monastery; 5 slaves, male and female. A salt-house at Droitwich; meadow, 8 acres; woodland, 3 furlongs long and 1 wide. Value before 1066 L8; now L7.

28 In TADDINGTON [5h-2] 4 hides. 2 ploughs there. 11 villagers and 1 riding man with 2 ploughs; 3 smallholders and 9 slaves. The value was L6; now 100s.

29 In (Lower) LEMINGTON [5i-1] 3 hides. 2 ploughs there. 8 vilagers with 4 ploughs; 6 slaves and 1 smallholder. The value was 60s; now 40s.

30 In (Great) WASBOURNE [5g-1] 3 hides. 2 ploughs there. 6 villagers with 3 ploughs; 1 smallholder and 9 male slaves with a female slave. The value was and is 60s.

31 In FIDDINGTON 2 hides. 1 villager and 2 freedman with 2 ploughs. The value is and was 10s One of these hides was exempt land.

32 In NATTON 1 hide of exempt land. 1 plough there. Value 10s.

33 In STANLEY (Pontlarge) [5f-13] 4 1/2 hides. 1 plough there. 4 villagers with 2 ploughs; 3 smallholders and 5 slaves. This land was exempt. The value was L4; now 40s.

The whole of the land which belongs to the Church paid tax for 20 hides before 1066.

34 Also in the manor of TEWKESBURY there belonged 4 hides not in lordship; they are in Hanley (Castle) [5b-1]. Before 1066 2 ploughs in lordship; 40 villagers and smallholders; 8 slaves, male and female. A mill at 16d; woodland in which there is a hedged enclosure. This land was Earl William's; now it is in the King's revenue in Hereford. Value before 1066 L15; now L10.

35 In FORTHAMPTON [5f-5] 9 hides belonged to this manor. 2 ploughs in lordship; 20 villagers and smallholders; 6 slaves, male and female. Woodland. Value before 1066 L10; now L8. Earl William held these two lands; they paid tax with Tewkesbury.

36 In SHENNINGTON [5e-1] 10 hides belonged to this manor. 4 ploughs there. 8 villagers, 4 smallholders and 5 riding men with 8 ploughs. 12 slaves; a mill at 3s. This land paid tax for 7 hides. Value before 1066 L20; now L8. It is in the King's hands. Robert d'Oilly holds it at a revenue.

37 In CLIFFORD (Chambers) [5a-1] 7 hides belonged to this manor. 3 ploughs in lordship; 14 villagers with 5 ploughs. A mill at 12s; meadow, 2 acres. There were 13 slaves, male and female; a church and a priest with 1 plough. The value was L8; now L6. The Queen gave this land to Roger of Bully; it paid tax for 4 hides in Tewkesbury.

38 The above mentioned 50 (exempt) hides caused (all) the 95 hides which belonged to Tewkesbury to be exempt and free from all tax and royal service. The value of this manor of TEWKESBURY before 1066, when it was complete, was L100; when Ralph acquired it, L12, because it was destroyed and dismembered; now it is assessed at L40; however Ralph pays L50.

39 Brictric son of Algar held this manor before 1066. He had the lands written below of other thanes completely in his power at that time.

40 In Ashton (under Hill) [3b-1, 5d-1] a thane held 4 hides; it was a manor. Now Gerard holds it; he has 1 plough and 2 villagers with 1 plough. the value is and was 40s.

41 In Kemerton [5c-1,8c-1] Let held 8 hides; it was a manor. Now Gerard holds it; he has 3 ploughs; 14 villagers with 6 ploughs. 8 slaves; 3 mills at 15s. The value was L8; now L6. 3 hides in Boddington are attached to this manor; Gerard also holds them; he has 2 ploughs; 4 villagers with 3 ploughs. 3 slaves; a mill at 8s; meadow 8 acres. the value is and was 40s.

42 In Wincot [4a-2,5a-2] a thane held 3 hides. the Queen gave this land to Reginald the Chaplain. 3 villagers with 1/2 plough. the value was 40s.

43 In Alderton [5f-4] Dunning held 6 1/2 hides, and in Dixton 1/2 hides. In "Hentage" a thane held 1 hide. Humphrey holds these lands from the King; he has 4 ploughs in lordship; 5 villagers and 8 smallholders with 3 ploughs; a riding man with 1 plough; a burgess in Winchcombe. Meadow, 12 acres recorded there. the value of the whole before 1066 L11; now L6.

44 In Twynning [6a-1] 4 villagers held 2 hides and 1 thane held 1/2 hide. 4 ploughs there. Meadow, 3 acres. The Queen gave this land to John the Chamberlain. The value is and was 35s.

45 In Stoke (Orchard) [3c-2] Hermer and Alwin held 3 hides, less 1 virgate. Now Bernard holds it from the King; he has 1 plough in lordship and meadow, 4 acres. The value was 60s; now 40s.

46 The holders of these lands before 1066 put themselves and their lands in Brictric's power.

#### In Langley Hundred

47 Brictric son of Algar held Thornbury [32-2]. Before 1066 there were 11 hides. 4 ploughs in lordship; 42 villagers and 18 riding men with 21 ploughs; 24 smallholders, 15 slaves and 4 freedmen. 2 mills at 6s 4d; woodland at 1 league long and 1 wide. A market at 20s. Now the reeve has added a mill at 8d. This manor was Queen Matilda's. Humphrey pays L50 from it at face value. In this manor a meadow at 40s and at Droitwich 40 sesters of salt or 20d; a fishery in Gloucester at 58d.

#### In Edderstone Hundred

48 Brictric also held (Old) Sodbury [37-1]. Before 1066 there were 10 hides. 4 ploughs in lordship; 12 villagers with 5 ploughs; 4 smallholders and 18 slaves. A park; a mill at 5s. Now the reeve has added 1 mill at 40d. Woodland at 1 league long and 1 wide. Humphrey pays L16 10s from this manor. 1 virgate in Droitwich belongs to this manor; it paid 25 sesters of salt. Urso the Sherriff so oppressed the men that now they cannot pay the salt.

#### In Longtree Hundred

49 Brictric also held Avening [28-4]. Before 1066 there were 10 hides. In lordship 8 ploughs; 24 villagers, 5 smallholders and 30 slaves with 16 ploughs. 4 mills at 19s 2d. Now the reeve has added a mill at 40d. Woodland 2 leagues long and 1/2 wide. A hawk's eyrie. Value L27.

In Brightwells Barrow Hundred

50 Brictric also held Fairford [31-8]. before 1066 there were 21 hides. 56 villagers and 9 smallholders with 30 ploughs. A priest who held 1 virgate of land of the lordship. 3 mills at 32s 6d. In lordship nothing but 13 hides and 1 virgate. Queen Matilda held this manor. Humphrey pays L38 10s at face value. The Queen gave 4 hides of this manor's land to John the Chamberlain. 2 ploughs there. 9 villagers and 4 smallholders with 4 ploughs. 14 slaves. It pays L9 in revenue.

51 the Queen herself gave 3 hides and 3 virgates of this land to Baldwin. He has 2 ploughs and 5 slaves and 1 free man who has 1 plough; 2 smallholders. Value L4.

52 the holders of these two lands before 1066 could not withdraw from the head of the manor.

Land of William of Eu: 31,5  
in Twyford Hundred

5 Woolaston [26-2]. Brictric son of Algar held it. 2 hides. Nothing in lordship, but 5 villagers with 5 ploughs. A fishery in the Severn at 5s; a mill at 40d. The value is and was 20s. This land pays tax.

Land of Humphrey the Chamberlain: 69,7  
in Bagstone Hundred

7 Wickwar [33-4]. 4 hides. Three men of Brictric son of Algar's held as three manors before 1066 and could go where they would. In lordship there were three ploughs; 9 villagers and 14 smallholders with 9 ploughs. 5 slaves; meadow 20 acres; woodland, 6 furlongs. There value was and is L12. The Queen gave these two villages of (Iron) Acton and Wickwar to Humphrey.

Gloucester Holdings Entered Elsewhere In The Survey  
In Herefordshire, Land of the King: E,1 and E,4

In Gloucestershire

1 The King holds Forthampton [5f-5]. Brictric held it. 9 hides which paid tax for 4 hides. In lordship 3 ploughs; 7 villagers with 5 ploughs. 4 pigmen with 1 plough pay 35 pigs. The woodland has 3 leagues in both length and width; it is in the enclosure of the King's woodland; a hawk's eyrie and 2 1/2 hides there. Ansgot holds 3 virgates of land. St. Mary's holds this manor's tithes, with 1 villager and 1 virgate of land.

In Brooms Ash Hundred

4 There also Brictric held a manor [Ha-3] of one hide and Earl Godwin held Staunton, a manor of 1 hide. They were waste and are still in the King's wood.



In Herefordshire, Land of Thurstan son of Rolf: E,8

In Brooms Ash Hundred

8 Thurstan son of Rolf holds Alvington [Hb-1]. Brictric held it before 1066. 6 hides. . . In lordship 2 ploughs; 12 villagers with 9 ploughs; they pay 20 blooms of iron and 8 sesters of honey. 5 slaves, a mill at 40d. Value before 1066, 20s; now L4.

Gloucestershire: 1,64

In Twyford Hundred

64 Brictric held 3 hides in Madgett [26-1]; they paid tax. In lordship the king has two Fisheries. Roger of Lacy has 1 fishery with 1/2 hide. The Abbot of Malmesbury has 1 fishery with 1/2 hide; this is by the King's gift or so they state. William of Eu has 2 hides and claims these 4 fisheries. These fisheries are in the Wye. They paid L4.

Land of St. Peter's of Westminster: 19,2 (excerpts that pertain to Brictric)

2 These outliers belong to this manor: . . . At Elmstone Brictric (held) 1 hide; Reinbald holds it. . . At Hasfield [8h-7] Brictric (held) 1 1/2 hides; Thurstan son of Rolf holds them. . .

Before 1066 the whole manor gave in revenue L41 and 8 sesters of honey by the King's measure; value now L40, of which L26 belongs to the lord's manor and L14 to the men.

Land of William Breakwolf: 36,2

In Witley hundred

2 William also holds in Condicote [4g-6] 1/2 hide which pays tax. There was 1 plough. 4 slaves. The value was 20s; now 3s. Brictric held it before 1066.

Land of Roger of Lacy: 39, 6 and 39,10

In Holford Hundred

6 (Temple) Guiting [9b-4]. 10 hides which pay tax, besides the lordship (land) which does not pay tax. Brictric, a thane of King Edward's, held it. In lordship 5 ploughs; 25 villagers, a priest and 7 riding men with 18 ploughs. 18 slaves, male and female; 3 mills at 24s; a salt-house at 20s and 12 packloads of salt; in Winchcombe 3 burgesses at 32d; in Gloucester 2 burgesses at 10d; from the woodland and pasture 40 hens. The value is and was L10.

[In Twyford Hundred]

10 1/2 hide with 1 fishery in the Wye. 1 villager with 1 plough. This land is called Madgett [26-1]. The value is and was 20s. Brictric held it. \*\* (see note 1,64 above; this entry is just a repetition)

Land of Thurstan son of Rolf: 67, 3

In Cirencester Hundred

3 In Oakley [29-10] 1 hide. Brictric held it from King Edward as a manor. In lordship 1 plough; 3 villagers with 3 ploughs. 6 slaves; meadow, 4 acres. The value is and was 50s. Gerwy holds it from Thurstan.

Land of the King's Thanes: 78, 9 and 78, 14 -15

In Cheltenham Hundred

9 Brictric holds 4 hides in Leckhampton [13,5] from the King and pays tax. He (held) 2 hides himself before 1066 and Ordric held the other 2. King William when he went into Normandy assigned both (holdings) to this Brictric. He has in lordship 1 plough and 9 smallholders with 3 ploughs; 2 male slaves, 1 female. Woodland 2 furlongs long and 2 wide. Value 30s.

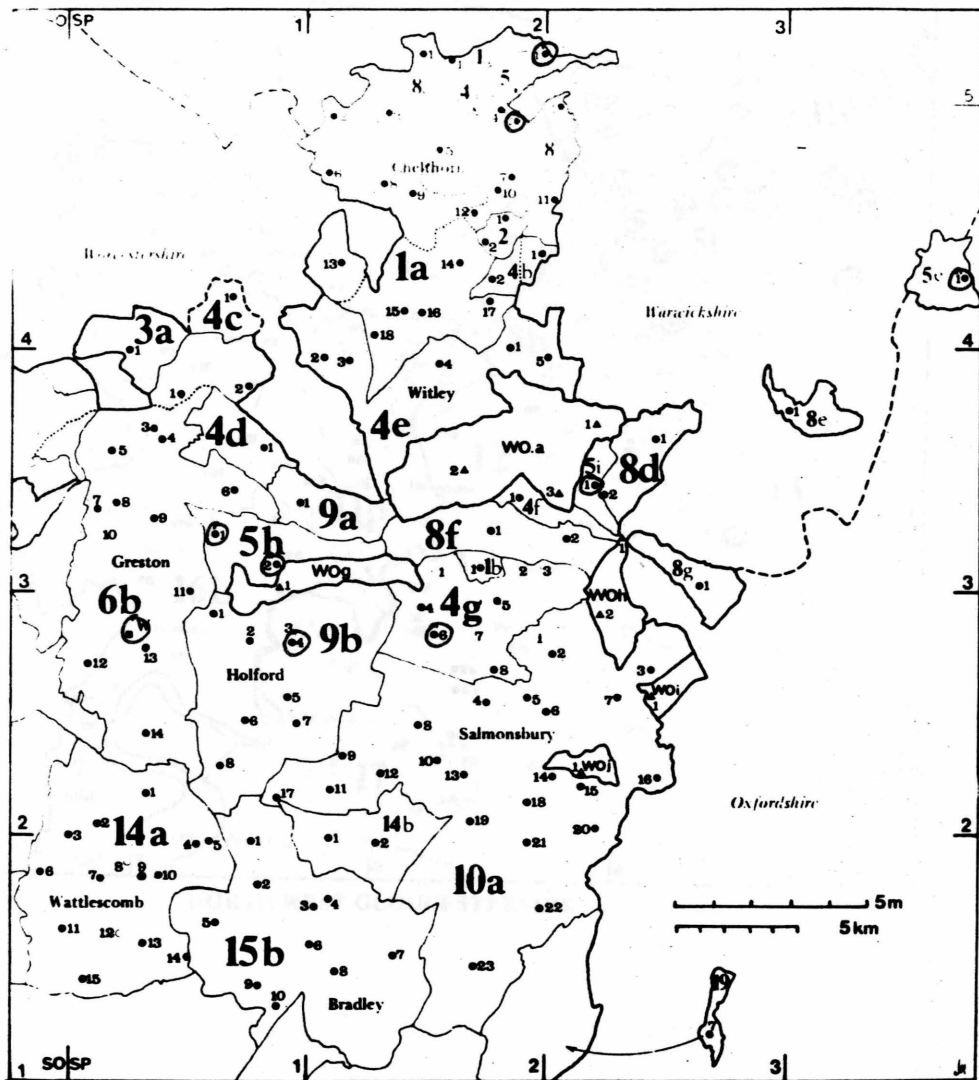
In Blacklow Hundred

14 Brictric also holds Woodchester [21-9] from the King. He held it himself before 1066. 1 hide which pays tax. 16 villagers and 12 smallholders with 16 ploughs. Nothing in lordship. In Gloucester [28-1] 1 burgess which pays 20 horseshoes. A mill at 10s. The value is and was 100s.

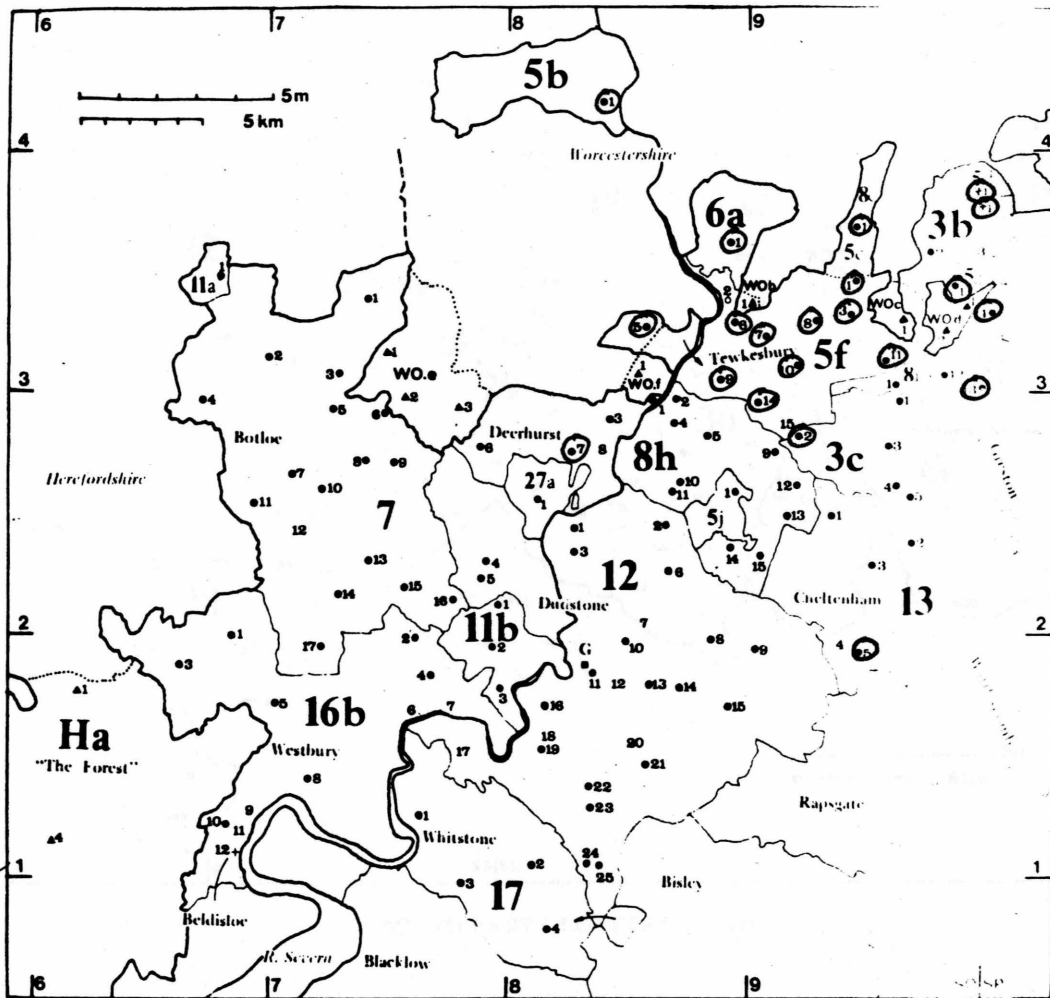
15 Harding holds Wheatenhurst [21-2] in pledge from Brictric. Brictric held it himself before 1066. 5 hides which pay tax. In lordship 1 plough; a priest, 2 villagers and 6 smallholders with 5 ploughs. 3 slaves; a mill at 10s; meadow, 10 acres. The value was 100s; now 30s.



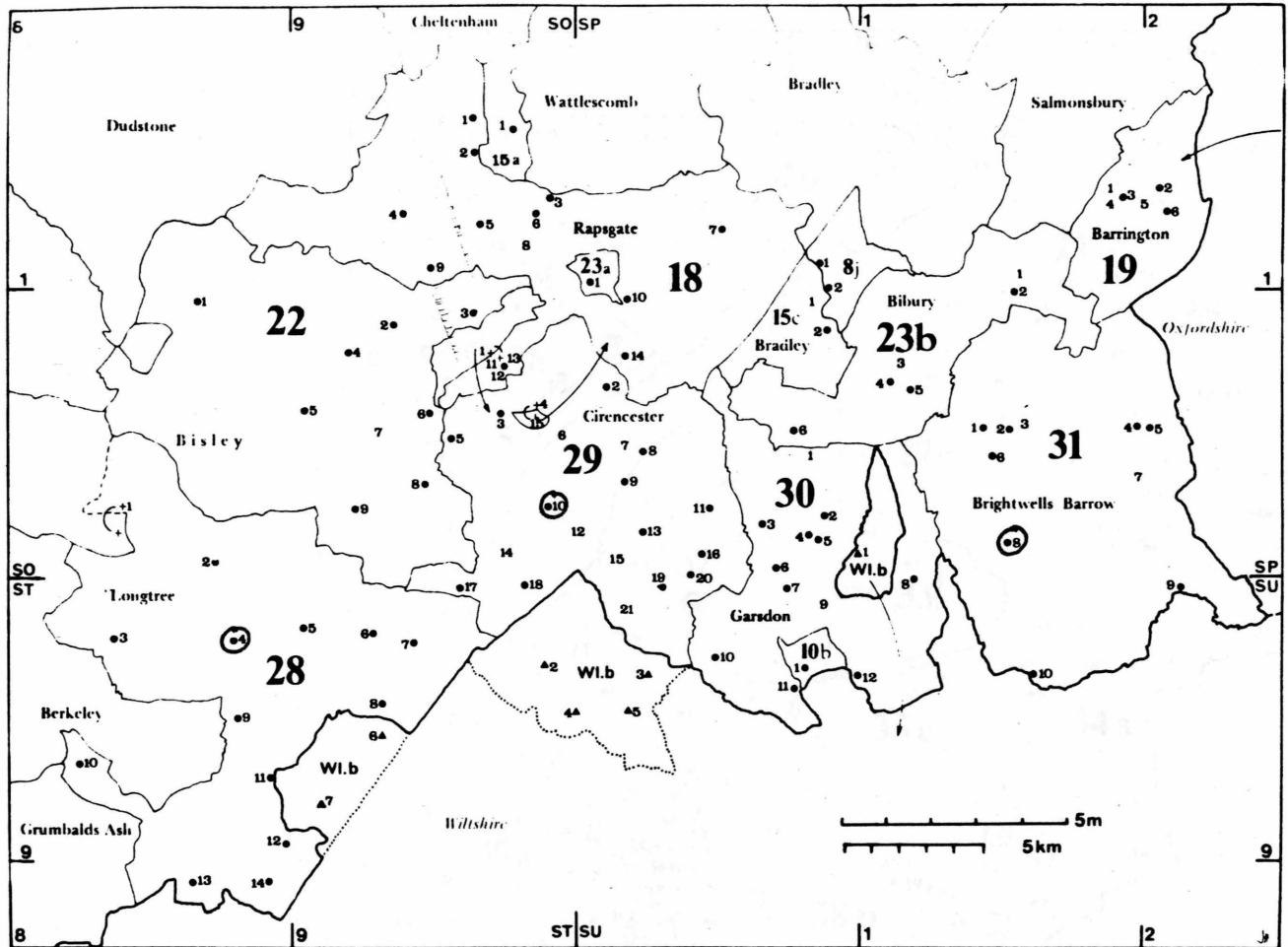
NORTH EAST COUNTY INTERSECT



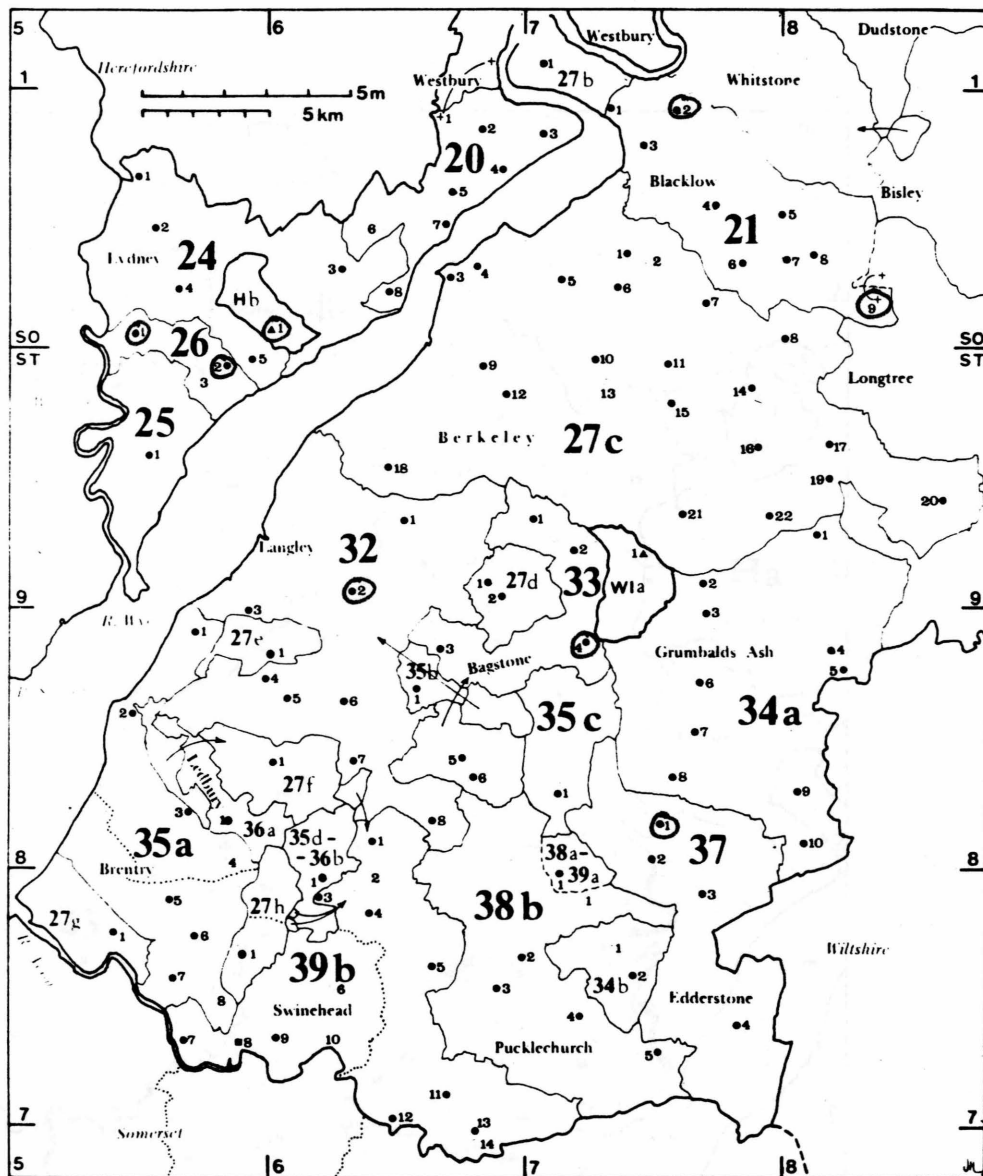
**NORTH-EAST GLOUCESTERSHIRE**



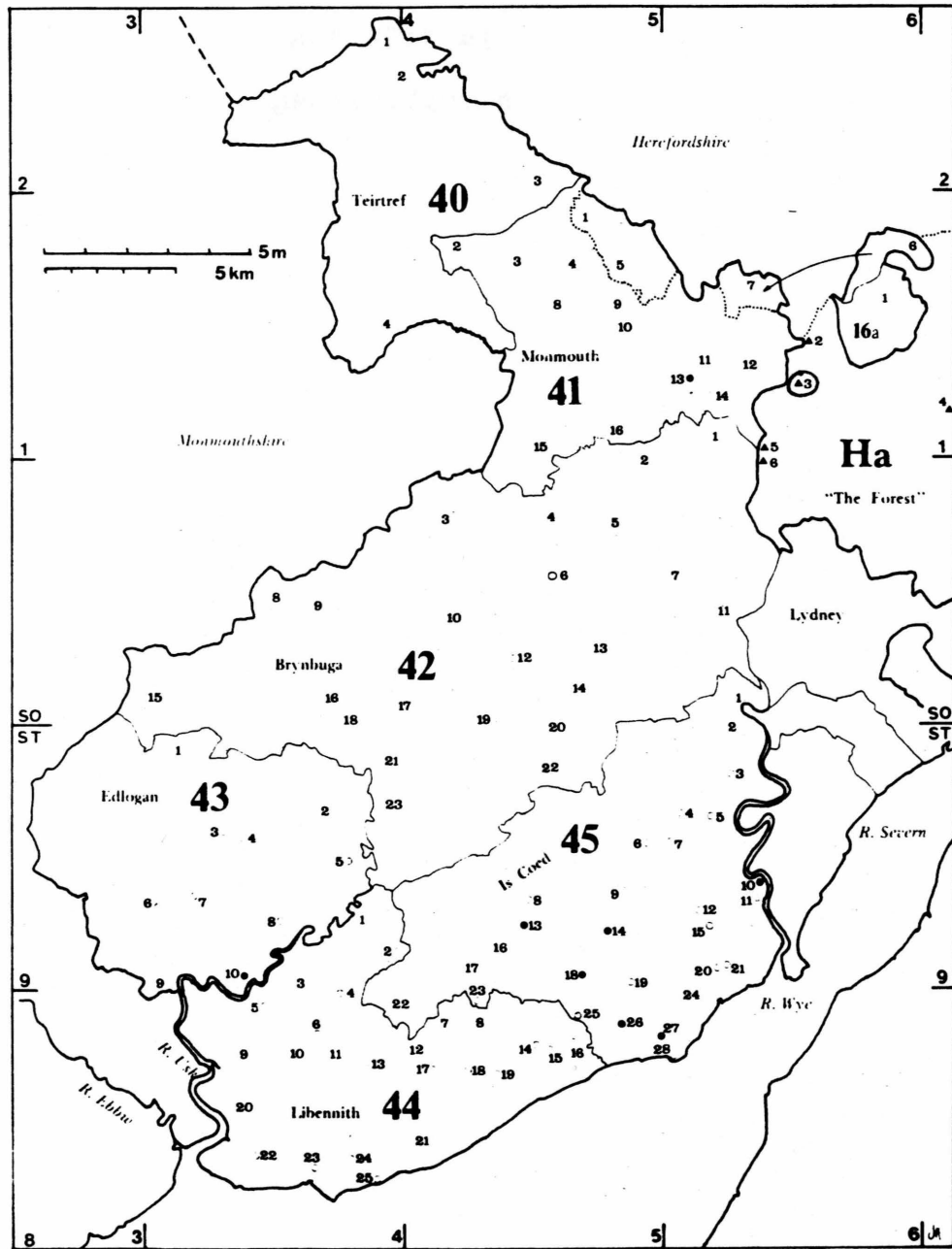
NORTH-WEST GLOUCESTERSHIRE



SOUTH-EAST GLOUCESTERSHIRE



SOUTH GLOUCESTERSHIRE



WALES AND WEST GLOUCESTERSHIRE

John of Salisbury, *De Vita et Moribus Henrici Secundi*, Book  
Vol. 12, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 1983.

Land of the King: 149-49 and 1.04

In Herefordshire

42. The King holds Mynydd (Castle) (See the map). Brictic  
and 1000 acres. In lordship 2 ploughs, 20 villagers, 17  
small holders and a rectory between them they have 1 1/2 virgates,  
4 slaves, male and female, 5 pigmen pay 60 pigs, they have 4  
woodlands, a mill and 20 woodlands 5 leagues in both length and  
width; it has been put out **APPENDIX B:** A hawk's eyrie there,  
A forester holds 1/2 virgate of land, A villager of "Saldenhall"  
gives 2 oxen of peace to the

Herefordshire

43. The King holds Fortnampton. Brictic held it; he  
held it; he paid tax for 4 hides, in lordship 3 ploughs; 7  
villagers with 5 ploughs, 4 pigmen with 3 ploughs pay 35 pigs. The  
woodland has 7 leagues in both length and width; it is in the  
possession of the king's woodlands; a hawk's eyrie and 2 1/2 hides  
of land. A forester holds 1/2 virgate of land, St. Mary's holds the  
church of this manor with 1 villager and 1 virgate of land.

In Worcester

44. The King holds Lushley. Brictic held it; he bought it from  
Leofing the Bishop of Worcester for 3 gold marks, also a house in  
the city of Worcester which pays a silver mark a year, also a wood  
1 league long and as wide. He bought the whole of this and held it  
exempt, so that he did not serve any man for it. In this manor 1  
hide, in lordship 2 ploughs, 4 villagers, 3 smallholders, a rectory  
and a bead w; between them they have 4 slaves, 8 slaves, male and  
female; a cowman and a dairymaid. A forester who holds 1/2 virgate  
of land.

In Brocchash

74. There also Brictic held a manor (?) at 1 hide and Earl Godwin  
held Staunton, a manor at 1 hide. They were waste and are still in  
the King's wood.

\*\* He also held two other lands, but the pages for them are  
missing from my book. They are 17.1 (Stington (Gloe) [HB-1] and  
the other is 17.2 (Little) (Hatch) [HB-2]).



This citation is taken from: Morris, John, ed. Domesday Book. Vol. 17, Herefordshire. Chichester: Phillimore, 1983.

Land of the King: 1,42-44 and 1,74

In Gloucestershire

42. The King holds Hanley (Castle) [See Glo. map]. Brictric held it. 4 hides. In lordship 2 ploughs; 20 villagers, 17 smallholders and a reeve; between them they have 17 1/2 ploughs. 9 slaves, male and female; 6 pigmen pay 60 pigs; they have 4 ploughs. a milla t 2s; woodland 5 leagues in both length and width: it has been put outside the manor. A hawk's eyrie there. A forester holds 1/2 virgate of land. A villager of "Baldenhall" pays 2 ora of pence to this manor.

43. The King holds Forthampton [5f-5]. Britric held it. 9 hides which paid tax for 4 hides. In lordship 3 ploughs; 7 villagers with 5 ploughs. 4 pigmen with 1 plough pay 35 pigs. The woodland has 3 leagues in both length and width: it is in the Enclosure of the King's woodland; a hawk's eyrie and 2 1/2 hides there. Ansgot holds 3 virgates of land. St. Mary's holds the tithe of this manor, with 1 villager and 1 virgate of land.

In Worcestershire

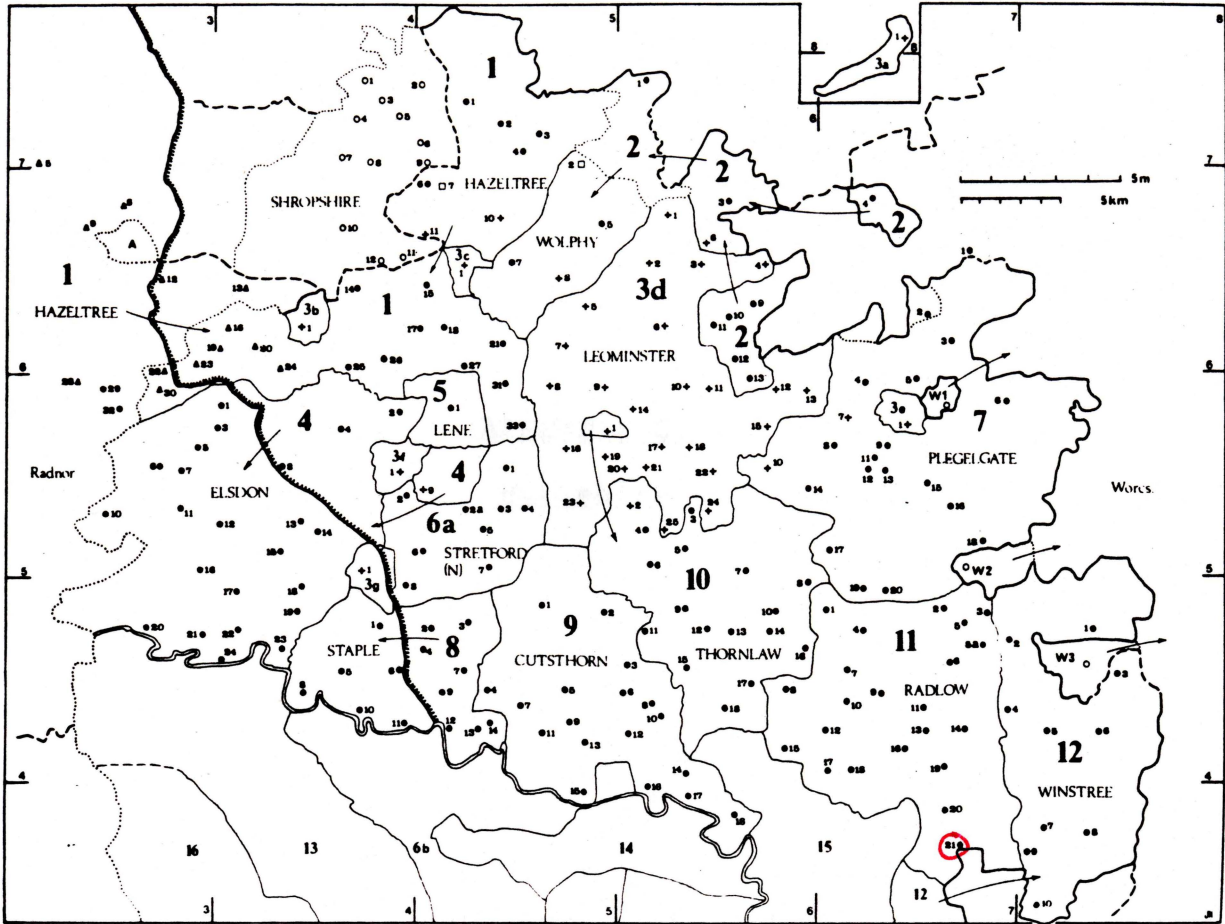
44. The King holds Bushley. Brictric held it; he bought it from Leofing the Bishop of Worcester for 3 gold marks; also a house in the city of Worcester which pays a silver mark a year; also a wood 1 league long and as wide. he bought the whole of this and held it exempt, so that he did not serve any man for it. In this manor 1 hide. In lordship 2 ploughs; 4 villagers, 8 smallholders, a reeve and a beadle; between them they have 4 ploughs. 8 slaves, male and female; a cowman and a dairymaid. A forester who holds 1/2 virgate of land.

In Broomsash Hundred

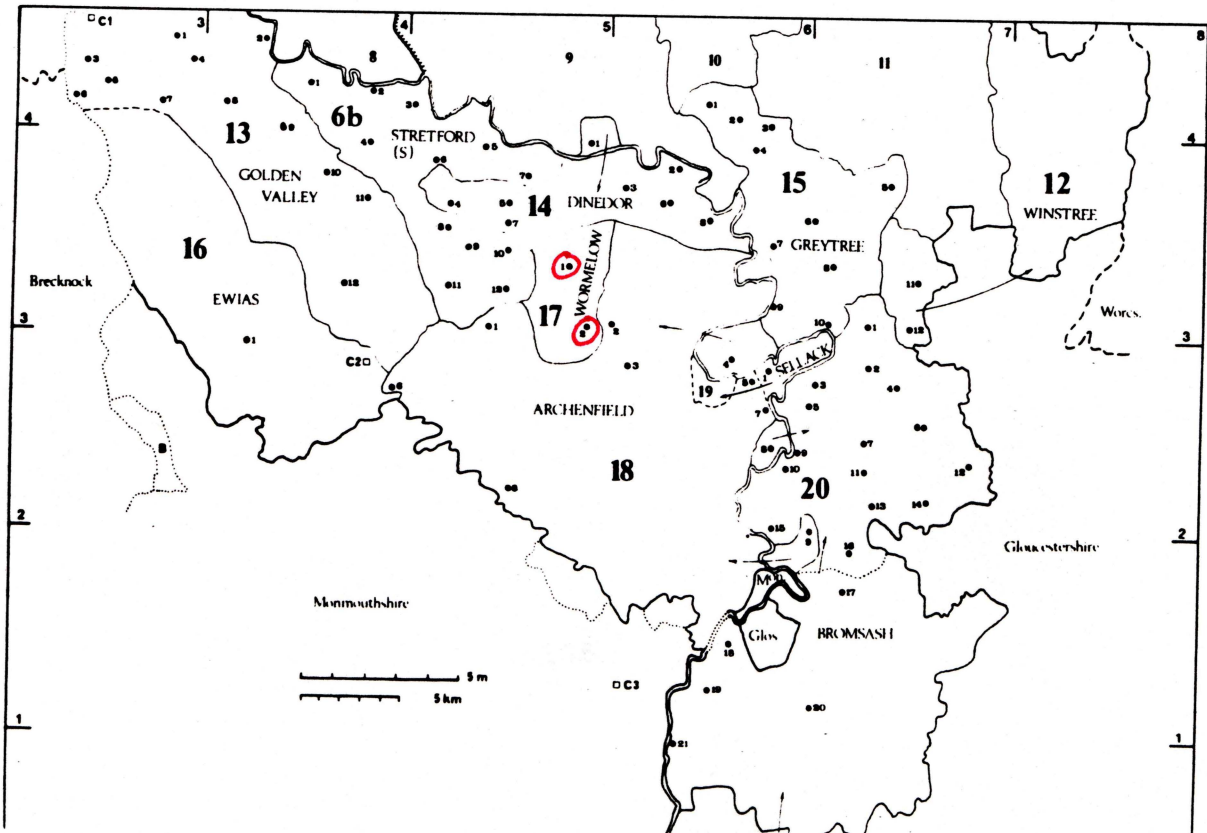
74. There also Brictric held a manor [?] at 1 hide and Earl Godwin held Staunton, a manor at 1 hide. They were waste and are still in the King's wood.

\*\*\* He also held two other lands, but the pages for them are missing from my book. They are: 17,1 Alvington (Glos.) [Hb-1] and the other is 17,2 (Little) Marcle [11-21].

HEREFORDSHIRE: NORTHERN HUNDREDS



HEREFORDSHIRE: SOUTHERN HUNDREDS



This citation is taken from: *Annales de la Ville de Winchester*, vol. 5, Berkshire, Winchester, Phillimore, 1972.

in the borough of Wallingford.  
25. The King, 1 site at 4d. Bishop Osmund, 2 sites at 28d.  
Robert d'Oilly, 2 sites at 10d. Roger of Lavy, 3 sites at 21d.  
Ralph Piercebridge, 7 sites at 50d. Reinbold the priest, 1 site at  
4d. St. Alban, 1 site contested (?); it is in dispute.  
Walter, 1 site (?) at 1d. Leofeva, 1 site at 1d. Godwin, 1 site  
at 1d. Wain, 1 site at 1d.

Land of Rascoit (husard): **APPENDIX C:**

In Wantage Hundred

5. Rascoit also holds Spar **Berkshire** [?]. Erietric, a free man,  
held it before 1065. Then and now for 2 hides. Land for 4  
ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 4 villagers and 5 cottagers with 2  
ploughs. 2 slaves. The value is and was 18s.

Land of Robert son of Gerald: 40, 1

In Watlington Hundred

1. Robert son of Gerald holds Brimston [? 11]. Erietric held it  
in freehold from King Edward. Then for 4 1/2 hides; now for 3 1/2  
hides. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 1 1/2 ploughs; 8  
villagers, 3 smallholders and an English man-at-arms with 3  
ploughs, 1 slave; a church; 2 mills at 16s 3d; meadow, 35 acres.  
The value is and was 14 10s.

Land of Thurstan son of Rolf: 55, 1-6. \*This is all of Thurstan's  
lands in Berkshire, all of which had previously been held by  
Erietric)

In Wyfold Hundred

1. Thurstan son of Rolf holds Colwell [Wy. 4] from the King.  
Erietric held it in freehold from King Edward. Then it answered  
for 8 hides; now for 5 hides. Land for 1 plough. In lordship 2  
ploughs; 7 smallholders and 5 slaves with 1 1/2 plough. The third  
part of a mill at 10s; meadow, 69 acres. The value was 17; later  
40s; now 100s.

In Slough Hundred

2. Thurstan also holds Upton [Sl. 9]. Erietric, a free man,  
held it. Then for 10 hides; now for 8 hides. Land for 9 ploughs.  
In lordship 2; 16 villagers and 2 cottagers with 6 ploughs. 7  
slaves; meadow, 30 acres. The value is and was 113.

In Snettishford [Wantage] Hundred

3. Thurstan also holds Childrey [W. 7] and Roger from him.  
Erietric, a free man, held it before 1066. Then for 10 hides; now  
for 8 hides. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 1; 5 villagers and  
6 cottagers with 1 plough. 3 slaves; a mill at 12s; a church.  
Another Roger holds 6 hides and 1 village of this manor. 1 plough  
in lordship; 6 villagers and 2 cottagers with 1 plough, 2 slaves.  
Value before 1066 110; later 18; now 58 5s.

This citation is taken from : Morris, John, ed. Domesday Book. Vol. 5, Berkshire. Chichester: Phillimore, 1979.

In the borough of Wallingford. . .  
B6. The King, 1 site at 6d. Bishop Osmund, 7 sites at 28d. Robert d'Oilly, 2 sites at 10d. Roger of Lacy, 5 sites at 21d. Ralph Piercehedge, 7 sites at 50d. Reinbald the priest, 1 site at 4d. St. Albans, 1 site, contested (?); it is in dispute. Brictric, 1 site [?] at 2d. Leofeva, 1 site at 2d. Godwin, 1 site at 2d. Alwin, 1 site at 2d.

Land of Hascoit (Musard): 35, 5

In Wantage Hundred

5. Hascoit also holds Sparsholt [Wa,8]. Brictric, a free man, held it before 1066. Then and now for 2 hides. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 8 villagers and 5 cottagers with 2 ploughs. 2 slaves. The value is and was L8.

Land of Robert Son of Gerald: 40, 1

In Thatcham Hundred

1. Robert son of Gerald holds Brimpton [T,11]. Brictric held it in freehold from King Edward. Then for 4 1/2 hides; now for 3 1/2 hides. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 1 1/2 ploughs; 8 villagers, 3 smallholders and an English man-at-arms with 3 ploughs. 1 slave; a church; 2 mills at 16s 3d; meadow, 35 acres. The value is and was L4 10s.

Land of Thurstan Son of Rolf: 55, 1-5 (\*This is all of Thurstan's lands in Berkshire, all of which had previously been held by Brictric)

In Wyfold Hundred

1. Thurstan son of Rolf holds Coleshill [Wy,4] from the King. Brictric held it in freehold from King Edward. Then it answered for 8 hides; now for 5 hides. Land for 3 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 7 smallholders and 5 slaves with 1/2 plough. The third part of a mill at 10s; meadow, 69 acres. The value was L7; later 40s; now 100s.

In Blewbury Hundred

2. Thurstan also holds Upton [Bw,8]. Brictric, a free man, held it. Then for 10 hides, now for 5 hides. Land for 9 ploughs. In lordship 2; 16 villagers and 7 cottagers with 6 ploughs. 7 slaves; meadow, 30 acres. The value is and was L13.

In Slotisford [Wantage] Hundred

3. Thurstan also holds Childrey [Wa,9], and Roger from him. Brictric, a free man, held it before 1066. Then for 10 hides; now for 8 hides. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 1; 5 villagers and 6 cottagers with 1 plough. 3 slaves; a mill at 2s; a church. Another Roger holds 6 hides and 1 virgate of this manor. 1 plough in lordship; 6 villagers and 2 cottagers with 1 plough; 2 slaves. Value before 1066 L10; later L8; now L9 5s.

4. Thurstan also holds Sparsholt [Wa,8], and Roger from him. Brictric, a free man, held it before 1066. Then and now for 2 1/2 hides and a virgate. Land for 1 plough. It is there in lordship; 2 slaves. Meadow, 16 acres. The value was 30s; later 20s; now 30s.

Land of Aiulf the Sheriif: 57,1

In Eagle Hundred

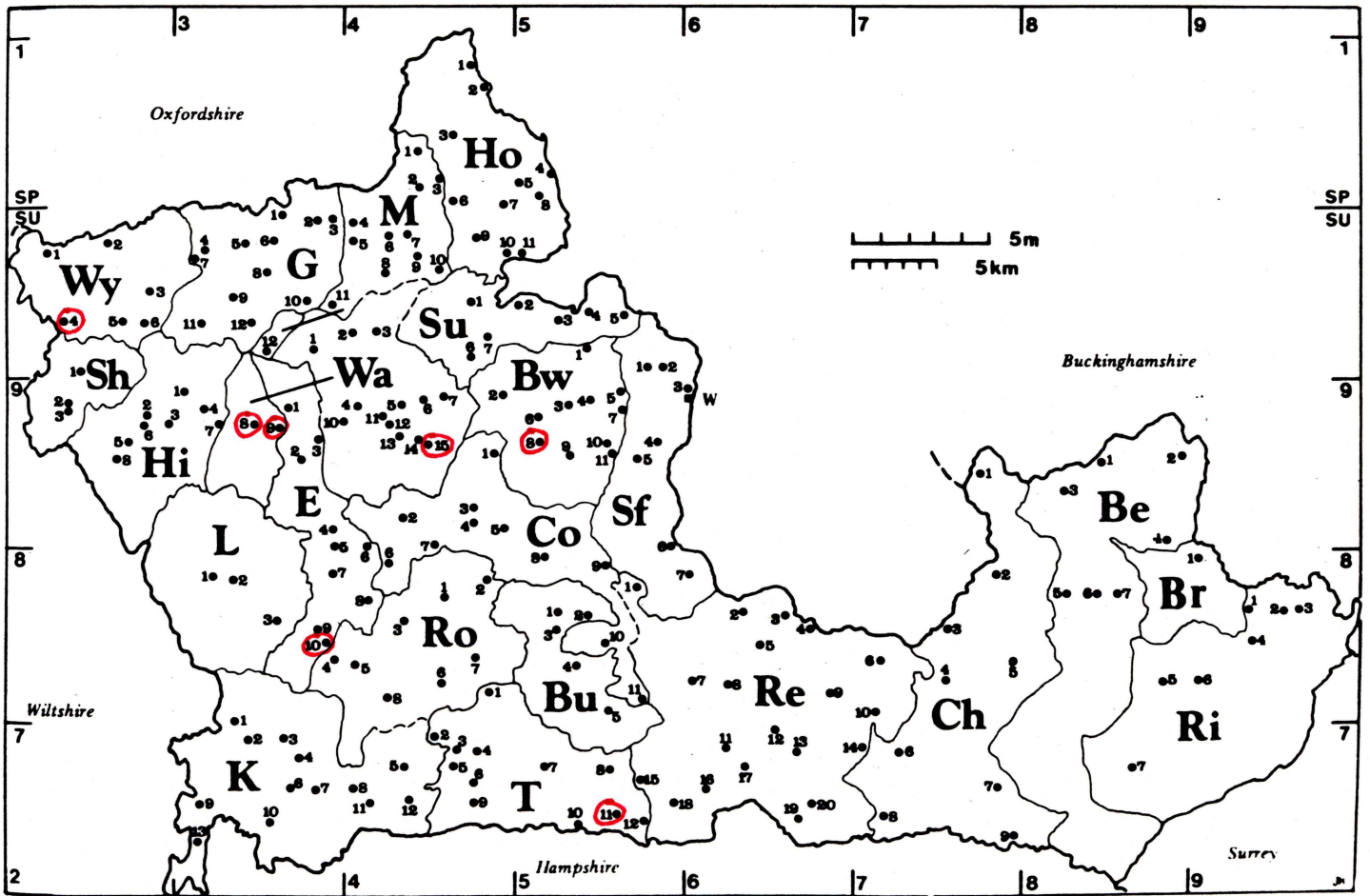
1. Aiulf holds (East) Shefford [E,10] from the King. Brictric held it in freehold from King Edward. Then it answered for 10 hides; now for 5 hides. Land for 5 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 8 villagers and 5 smallholders with 3 ploughs. 5 slaves; 2 mills at 22s 6d; meadow, 8 acres; woodland at 10 pigs. The value was L10; later L9; now L10.

Land of Odo and Other Thanes: 65,10

In Thatcham [Wantage] Hundred

10. Cola holds (East) Ginge [Wa,15] from the King. Brictric held it in freehold from King Edward. Then for 3 hides; now for 2 hides. In lordship 1 plough; 5 villagers and 3 smallholders with 5 ploughs. 4 slaves; a mill at 15s; meadow, 25 acres; woodland at 3 pigs. The value is and was L3.

# Berkshire Hundreds



This edition is based on the edition of the Domesday Book, ed. by the Victoria History of the County of Hampshire, Vol. 4, 1932.

Land of the King: 1, 1

These lands listed below are in The Isle Of Wight

The King holds in lordship  
W1. [unclear] and [unclear] (X-22). Eight free men held it for King Edward in freehold. [unclear] it paid tax for 2 hides; now for nothing. One with 2 [unclear] had 1/2 hide and a fourth part of 1 virgate; Alfwold 1 virgate; Harold 1 virgate; Godwin 1 virgate; [unclear] 1 virgate; [unclear] 1/2 hide. Each one of these [had] part of a mill; each part 1/20. **APPENDIX D:** holds the lands of these 8 thanes in his revenue. He has 2 ploughs in lordship. It is assessed at 100s; however, **Hampshire** of revenue. What God held, 11s; Alfwold 5s; Harold 5s.

Land of the Bishop of Winchester: 2, 5

5. The Bishop himself holds Easton [21-2] in lordship. It was always in the Bishopric. Geoffrey holds 3 hides of this manor's land. Brictric held it jointly from the Bishop, but he could not go elsewhere.

Land of Thurstan Son of Rolf: 19, 1

In Neatham Hundred

1. Thurstan son of Rolf holds Easton (Valence) [24-17] from the King. Brictric held it from King Edward in freehold. Then (it answered) for 18 hides; now for 5 hides. Land for 12 ploughs. In lordship 3 ploughs; 9 villagers and 2 smallholders with 9 ploughs. A church; 6 acres; 2 mills at 100d; meadow, 6 acres; woodland at 100 pigs. Value before 1066 and later 61s; now 61s.

Land of H(erbert the Chamberlain): 15, 1

In Neatham Hundred

1. Herbert the Chamberlain holds Easton [24-15] from the King. Brictric held it from King Edward. 1 hide and 1 virgate of land; it did not pay tax. Land for 1 plough. In lordship 1 plough, with 3 smallholders. Meadow, 1 acre; woodland for fencing. Value before 1066 and now 20s; when acquired 15s.

This citation is taken from: Morris, John, ed. Domesday Book. Vol. 4, Hampshire. Chichester: Phillimore, 1982.

Land of the King: 1, W1

These Lands Listed Below Lie In The Isle Of Wight

The King Holds In Lordship

W1. Knighton and The Down [E-22]. Eight free men held it from King Edward in freehold. Then it paid tax for 2 hides; now for nothing. Odo with 2 free men had 1/2 hide and a fourth part of 1 virgate; Alfwold 1 virgate; Harold 1 virgate; Godwin 1 virgate; alric 1 virgate; Brictric 1/2 hide. Each one of these [had] part of a mill, each part 22d. The king holds the lands of these 5 thanes in his revenue. He has 2 ploughs in lordship. It is assessed at 100s; however, it pays L8 of revenue. What Odo held, 11s; Alfwold 5s; Harold 5s.

Land of the Bishop of Winchester: 2, 5

5. The Bishop himself holds Easton [21-2] in lordship. It was always in the Bishopric. . . Geoffrey holds 3 hides of this manor's land; Brictric held it jointly from the Bishop, but he could not go elsewhere. . .

Land of Thurstan Son of Rolf: 38, 1

In Neatham Hundred

1. Thurston son of Rolf holds Newton (Valence) [24-17] from the King. Brictric held it from King Edward in freehold. Then (it answered) for 10 hides; now for 5 hides. Land for 12 ploughs. In lordship 3 ploughs; 9 villagers and 5 smallholders with 9 ploughs. A church; 6 slaves; 2 mills at 100d; meadow, 6 acres; woodland at 100 pigs. Value before 1066 and later L15; now L12.

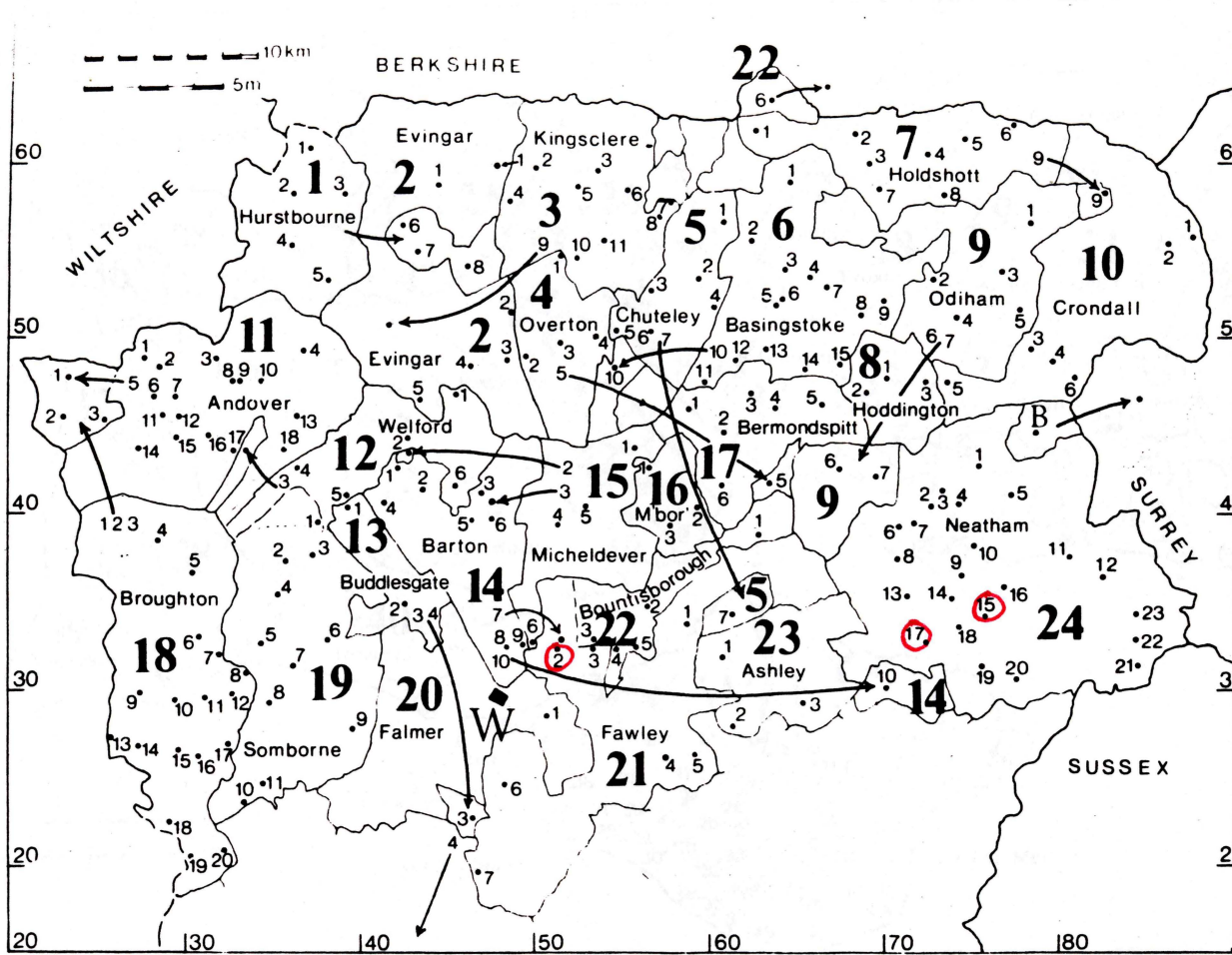
Land of H[erbert the Chamberlain]: 55, 1

In Neatham Hundred

1. Hebert the Chamberlain holds Rhode [24-15] from the King. Brictric held it from King Edward. 1 hide and 1 virgate of land; it did not pay tax. Land for 1 plough. In lordship 1 plough, with 3 smallholders. Meadow, 1 acre; woodland for fencing. Value before 1066 and now 20s; when acquired 15s.

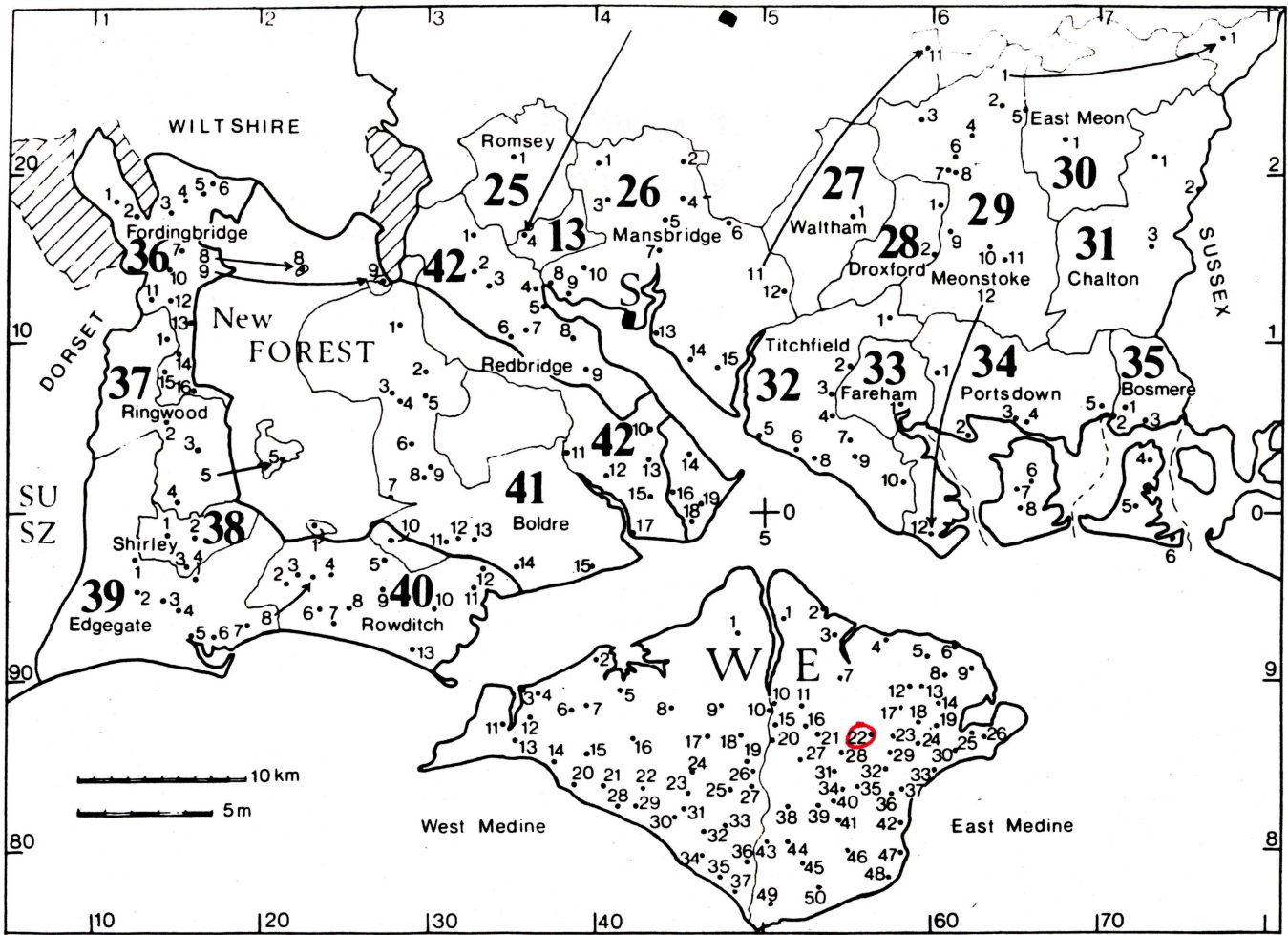


# Hampshire Northern Hundreds



10711

# Hampshire Southern Hundreds



This citation is taken from Morris, John, ed. *Templeton Book*. Vol. 5, Wiltshire. Chichester: Phillimore, 1979.

Land of the Church of Glastonbury: 7, 0  
5 In Stanton (St. Quinter) [11,1] the Abbot of Glastonbury leased 6 acres of meadow to Brictric before 1066. Osbern Giffard holds them now.

Land of St. Mary of Exe: 15, 1  
1 The Church of St. Mary of Exe holds (Strinton) Deverill [27,15] from the King. Brictric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 10 hides. Land for 7 ploughs. **APPENDIX E:** and 6 1/2 hides in lordship; 3 ploughs there; 8 slaves, 8 villagers, 7 cottagers and 2 smallholders with 4 ploughs. **Wiltshire** 1 at 50d; meadow 4 acres; pasture 1 league long and 5 furlongs wide; woodlands 3 furlongs long and 2 furlongs wide. The church of this manor has 1 hide of this land. Value of the whole manor, £12; value during the lifetime of Queen Matilda, £15; she gave it to this church.

Land of the same Edward of Salisbury: 14, 3  
5 6 hides in the Hundred of Highworth (St) Lus Hill [8,2]. It paid tax for 6 hides before 1066. Land for 3 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 4 villagers and 2 cottagers with 1 plough. A mill which pays 18d; meadow, 24 acres; pasture 1 furlong. The value was 100s; now £6. Brictri held it. Edward holds from Edward.

Land of Arnulf of Heading: 25, 7 and 23, 12  
7 Benzelin holds Standen from Arnulf [14,23]. Brictric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 2 hides. Land for 2 ploughs. In lordship 1. A mill which pays 2s; meadow, 4 acres; pasture 3 furlongs long and 3 wide; woodland 3 furlongs long and 1 furlong wide. Value 40s.  
13 Robert holds Witcomb [24,2] from Arnulf. Brictric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 2 hides. Land for 2 ploughs. 7 cottagers with 1 plough. Meadow, 12 acres; pasture, 6 acres; woodland, 12 acres. The value was 20s; now 50s.

Land of Osbern Giffard: 4, 4  
4 Osbern holds Stanton (St. Quinter) [11,1] himself. Brictric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 2 hides. He has 2 ploughs in lordship on 9 hides; 7 slaves there; 2 villagers and 3 cottagers with 6 ploughs. Meadow, 4 acres; pasture 1 league long and 2 wide; woodland 1 league long and 3 furlongs wide. The value was £9; now £3.

Land of Odo and other Thanes of the King: 67, 2 - 10  
2 Brictric holds Coulston [19,7] from the King. Before 1066 it paid tax for 5 hides. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs, 6 slaves; 5 villagers and 3 smallholders with 2 ploughs. A mill which pays 10s; meadow, 30 acres; pasture, 5 furlongs. Value 100s.

This citation is taken from: Morris, John, ed. Domesday Book. Vol. 6, Wiltshire. Chichester: Phillimore, 1979.

Land of the Church of Glastonbury: 7,5

5 In Stanton (St. Quinton) [11,1] the Abbot of Glastonbury leased 6 acres of meadow to Brictric before 1066. Osbern Giffard holds them now. . . .

Land of St. Mary of Bec: 17,1

1 The Church of St. Mary of Bec holds (Brixton) Deverill [27,15] from the King. Brictric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 10 hides. Land for 7 ploughs. Of this land 6 1/2 hides in lordship; 3 ploughs there; 8 slaves. 8 villagers, 7 cottagers and 2 smallholders with 4 ploughs. A mill at 50d; meadow 4 acres; pasture 1 league long and 5 furlongs wide; woodlands 3 furlongs long and 2 furlongs wide. The church of this manor has 1 hide of this land. Value of the whole manor, L12; value during the lifetime of Queen Matilda, L15; she gave it to this church.

Land of the same Edward of Salisbury: 24,5

5 6 hides in the Hundred of Highworth (at) Lus Hill [5,2]. It paid tax for 6 hides before 1066. Land for 3 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 4 villagers and 2 Cottagers with 1 plough. A mill which pays 18d; meadow, 24 acres; pasture 1 furlong. The value was 100s; now L6. Brictri held it. Howard holds from Edward.

Land of Arnulf of Hesdin: 25,7 and 25,13

7 Benzelin holds Standen from Arnulf [24,23]. Brictric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 2 hides. Land for 2 ploughs. In lordship 1. A mill which pays 6s; meadow, 4 acres; pasture 3 furlongs long and 3 wide; woodland 3 furlongs long and 1 furlong wide. Value 40s.

13 Robert holds Witcomb [24,23] from Arnulf. Brictric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 2 hides. Land for 2 ploughs. 7 Cottagers with 1 plough. Meadow, 12 acres; pasture, 6 acres; woodland, 12 acres. The value was 20s; now 30s.

Land of Osbern Giffard: 48,4

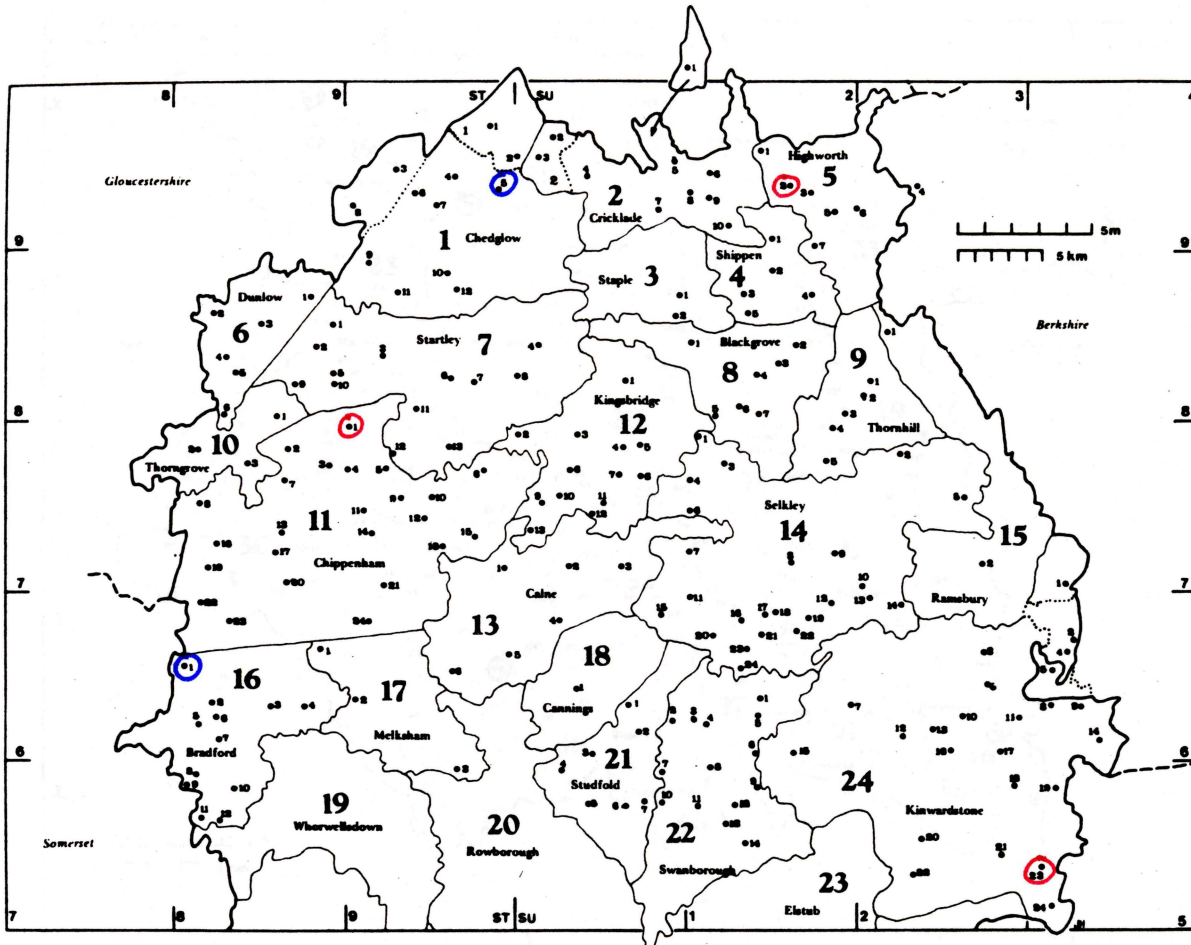
4 Osbern holds Stanton (St. Quinton) [11,1] himself. Brictric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 18 hides. He has 2 ploughs in lordship on 9 hides; 7 slaves there; 9 villagers and 3 Cottagers with 6 ploughs. Meadow, 6 acres; pasture 1 league long and 1 wide; woodland 1 league long and 3 furlongs wide. The value was L9; now L8.

Land of Odo and other Thanes of the King: 67, 2 - 10

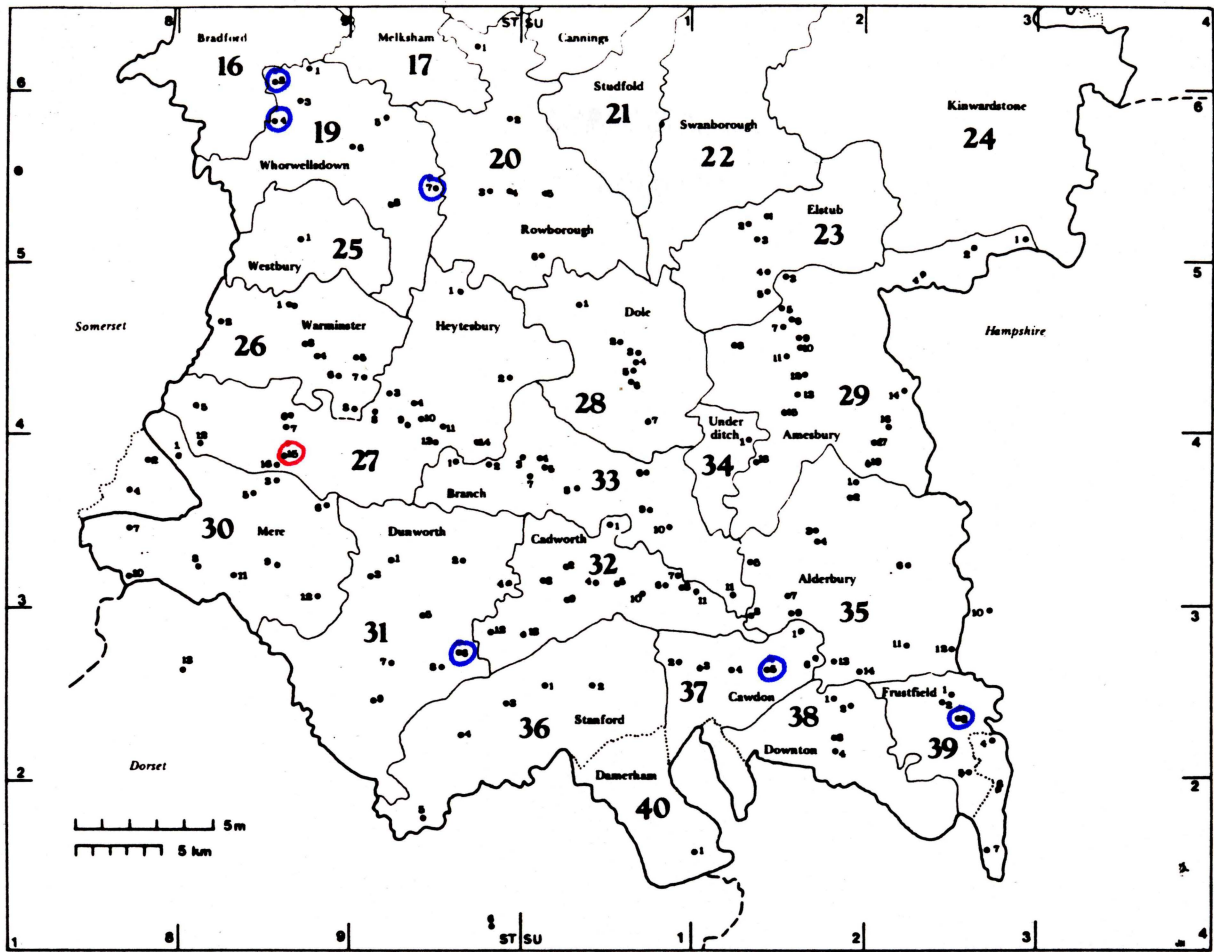
2 Brictric holds Coulston [19,7] from the King. Before 1066 it paid tax for 5 hides. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 6 slaves; 5 villagers and 3 smallholders with 2 ploughs. A mill which pays 10s; meadow, 30 acres; pasture, 5 furlongs. Value 100s.

Brictric holds

- 3 in Swallowcliffe [31,6] 1 hide and 1 1/2 virgates of land. Land for 1 plough, which is there, with 2 villagers. Value 15s.
- 4 in Trowle 1 hide. Land for 1 plough, which is there, with 1 villager. Value 10s.
- 5 (Monkton) Farleigh [16,1]. His brother holds from him. Before 1066 it paid tax for 5 hides. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 4 slaves; 5 villagers and 3 smallholders with 3 ploughs. Pasture, 20 acres; woodland, 3 acres. Value 70s.
- 6 Oaksey [1,5]. His father held it before 1066; it paid tax for 10 hides. Land for 6 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 10 slaves; 6 villagers and 12 Cottagers with 4 ploughs. A mill which pays 5s; meadow 40 acres; pasture, 30 acres; woodland 1 league long and 1/2 wide. The value was L8; now L6.
- 7 Trowbridge [19,4]. His father held it before 1066; it paid tax for 10 hides. Land for 9 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 7 slaves; 11 villagers and 6 Cottagers with 7 ploughs. A mill which pays 10s; meadow, 10 acres; pasture, 12 acres; woodland 5 furlongs long and 3 furlongs wide. The value was L4; now L8.
- 8 Staverton [19,2]. His father held it before 1066; it paid tax for 5 hides. Land for 3 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 7 slaves; 3 villagers and 2 Cottagers with 1 plough. A mill which pays 20s; meadow, 20 acres; pasture, 20 acres. Value 70s.
- 9 Odstock [37,5]. His father held it before 1066; it paid tax for 12 hides. Land for 6 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 3 slaves; 9 villagers and 16 Cottagers with 2 1/2 ploughs. A mill which pays 7s 6d; meadow, 40 acres; pasture 1 league long and 3 furlongs wide; elsewhere pasture, 5 acres; woodland 3 furlongs long and 3 furlongs wide. In Wilton 1 burgess who pays 12d. Value L10.
- 10 Brictric and his brother Alfwy hold Cowesfield [39,3]. Before 0166 it paid tax for 1 1/2 hides. Land for 1 plough, which is there, with 3 Cottagers. Underwood, 2 furlongs. Value 10s.



WILTSHIRE NORTHERN HUNDREDS



WILTSHIRE SOUTHERN HUNDREDS

This citation is taken from *Records of John, etc. Domesday Book*, Vol. 7, Dorset. Chichester: Phillimore, 1983.

Land of the King: 1.15-17

Queen Matilda Held The Lands Written Below

15. Frome (St. Martin) [13-6]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 13 hides. Land for 8 ploughs, of which 10 1/2 hides are in lordship; 3 ploughs there; 4 slaves; 10 villagers and 3 smallholders with 3 ploughs and 2 1/2 hides. A mill which pays 4s; meadow, 10 acres; pasture 20 furlongs long and 2 furlongs wide; woodland 8 furlongs long and 6 furlongs wide. 2 cohs; 19 cattle; 400 sheep; 50 goats. The value was £17; now £18.

16. Cranborne [6a-2]. **APPENDIX F:** Land tax for 10 hides. Land for 10 ploughs, of which 3 1/2 hides are in lordship; 2 ploughs there; 10 slaves; 8 villagers, **Dorset** holders and 7 cottagers with 8 ploughs and 3 1/2 hides. 4 mills which pay 18s; meadow, 20 acres; pasture 2 leagues long and 1 furlong and 1 league wide; woodland 2 leagues long and 2 wide. 4 cohs; 10 cows; 31 pigs; 1,037 sheep; 40 goats. The value was £24; now it pays £30. Three thanes hold 3 hides of this land; they pay £3 apart from service.

17. Ashmore [6a-1]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 8 hides. Land for 7 ploughs, of which 4 hides are in lordship; 3 ploughs there; 8 slaves; 10 villagers and 6 smallholders with 4 ploughs and 4 hides. Meadow, 10 acres; pasture 10 furlongs long and 1 furlong wide; woodland 2 leagues long and 1 league wide. 3 cohs; 10 cattle; 27 pigs; 820 sheep; 50 goats. The value was and is £15.

Brictric held these three manors before 1066.

Land of St. Mary's, Cranborne: 10, 2

The Church itself holds

2. Sov. ridge [6b-1]. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 5 hides. Land for 7 ploughs, of which 2 1/2 hides are in lordship; 2 ploughs there; 10 slaves; 5 villagers and 9 smallholders with 3 ploughs. A mill which pays 6s; pasture 9 1/2 furlongs in length and width; heathland 2 leagues long and wide; woodland 1 league long and 1/2 league wide. The value was and is 100s. Of this land John holds 2 1/2 virgates of land.

Land of Holy Trinity of Casn: 21, 1

1. Holy Trinity Church, Casn, holds Tarrant (Launceston) [9-16]. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 10 hides. Land for 8 ploughs, of which 4 hides, less 4 acres, are in lordship; 2 ploughs there; 14 slaves; 9 villagers and 1 smallholder with 4 ploughs. Meadow, 36 acres; pasture 33 furlongs in both length and width; woodland 15 furlongs in both length and width. The value was £11; now £14.



This citation is taken from: Morris, John, ed. Domesday Book. Vol. 7, Dorset. Chichester: Phillimore, 1983.

Land of the King: 1,15-17

Queen Matilda Held The Lands Written Below

15. Frome (St. Quintin) [13-6]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 13 hides. Land for 8 ploughs, of which 10 1/2 bhides are in lordship; 3 ploughsthere; 6 slaves; 10 villagers and 3 smallholders with 3 ploughs and 2 1/2 hides. A mill which pays 4s; meadow, 10 acres; pasture 20 furlongs long and 2 furlongs wide; woodland 8 furlongs long and 6 furlongs wide. 2 cobs; 19 cattle; 400 sheep; 50 goats. The value was L12; now L18.

16. Cranborne [6b-2]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 10 hides. Land for 10 ploughs, of which 3 1/2 hides are in lordship; 2 plouhgs there; 10 slaves; 8 villagers, 12 smallholders and 7 cottagers with 8 ploughs and 3 1/2 hides. 4 mills which pay 18s; meadow, 20 acres; pasture 2 leagues long and 1 furlong and 1 league wide; woodland 2 leagues long and 2 wide. 4 cobs; 10 cows; 51 pigs; 1,037 sheep; 40 goats. The value was L24; now it pays L30. Three thanes hold 3 hides of this land; they pay L3 apart from service.

17. Ashmore [6a-1]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 8 hides. Land for 7 ploughs, of which 4 hides are in lordship; 3 ploughs there; 8 slaves; 10 villagers and 6 smallholders with 4 ploughs and 4 hides. Meadow, 10 acres; pasture 10 furlongs long and 1 furlong wide; woodland 2 leagues long and 1 league wide. 3 cobs; 10 cattle; 27 pigs; 826 sheep; 50 goats. The value was and is L15.

Brictric held these three manors before 1066.

Land of St. Mary's, Cranborne: 10, 2

The Church itself holds

2. Boveridge [6b-1]. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 5 hides. Land for 7 ploughs, of which 2 1/2 hides are in lordship; 2 ploughs there; 10 slaves; 5 villagers and 9 smallholders with 3 ploughs. A mill which pays 6s; pasture 9 1/2 furlongs in length and width; heathland 2 leagues long and wide; woodland 1 league long and 1/2 league wide. The value was and is 100s. Of this land John holds 2 1/2 virgates of land.

Land of Holy Trinity of Caen: 21, 1

1. Holy Trinity Church, Caen, holds Tarrant (Launceston) [9-16]. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 10 hides. Land for 8 ploughs, of which 4 hides, less 4 acres, are in lordship; 2 ploughs there; 14 slaves; 9 villagers and 1 smallholder with 4 ploughs. Meadow, 38 acres; pasture 33 furlongs in both length and width; woodland 15 furlongs in both length and width. The value was L11; now L14.

Land of Count Alan: 25, 1

1. Count Alan holds Dewlish [21-6] from the King. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 15 hides. Land for 15 ploughs, of which 5 hides are in lordship; 3 ploughs there; 13 slaves; 19 villagers and 6 smallholders with 6 ploughs. Meadow, 15 acres; pasture 23 furlongs in both length and width; woodland 6 furlongs in length and width. The value was and is L23.

Land of the Count of Mortain: 26, 23 and 26, 58

23. The Count holds Mappowder [8-2] himself. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 3 1/2 virgates and 7 acres of land. Land for 1 plough. 1 slave. Meadow, 12 acres; woodland 2 furlongs long and 1 furlong wide. The value was 20s; now 12s.

58. The Count holds Lodors [18-6] himself. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 1/2 hides. Land for 2 ploughs, which are there, with 1 Cottager and 3 slaves. Meadow, 15 acres; pasture, 6 furlongs in length and 1 furlong wide. The value was and is 47s 6d.

Land of Walter of Claville: 41, 1

1. Walter of Glanville or Claville holds Afflington [29-2] from the King. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 2 hides and 1 1/2 virgates of land. Land for 2 1/2 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs, with 1 slave; 1 smallholder. Meadow, 3 acres; underwood, 4 acres; pasture, 4 furlongs in length and width. 2 cobs; 10 cattle; 8 pigs; 50 sheep. The value was and is 50s.

[Land Of Hugh Of Ivry And Other Frenchmen] : 54, 8 and 54, 9

8. Ansketel son of Amelina holds Tyneham [28-13]. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 3 hides. Land for 43 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 9 slaves; 4 villagers with 1 plough. Meadow, 4 acres; pasture, 8 furlongs in length and 4 furlongs in width. The value was L3; now L4. Ansketel held this land from the Queen, as he states, but after her death he did not petition the King (for it).

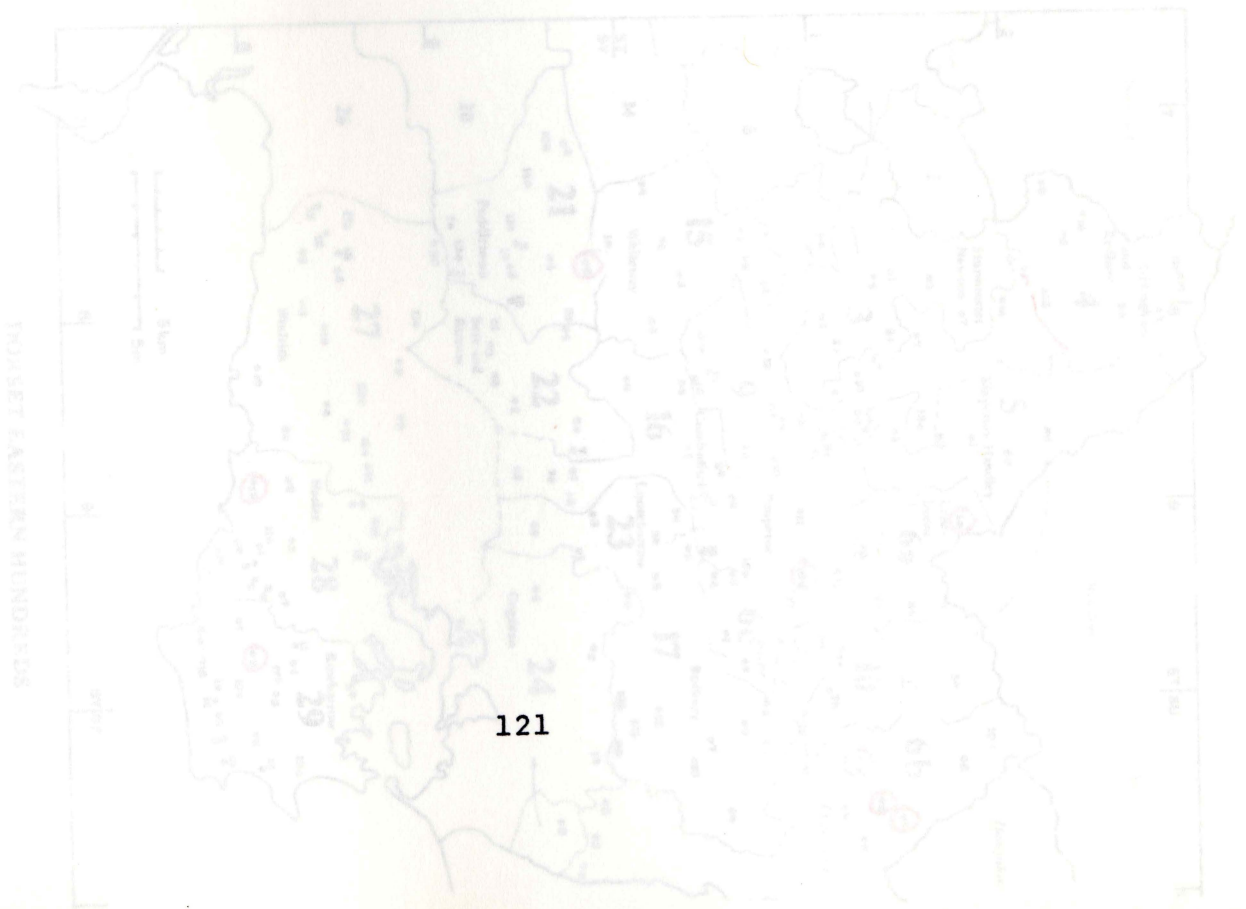
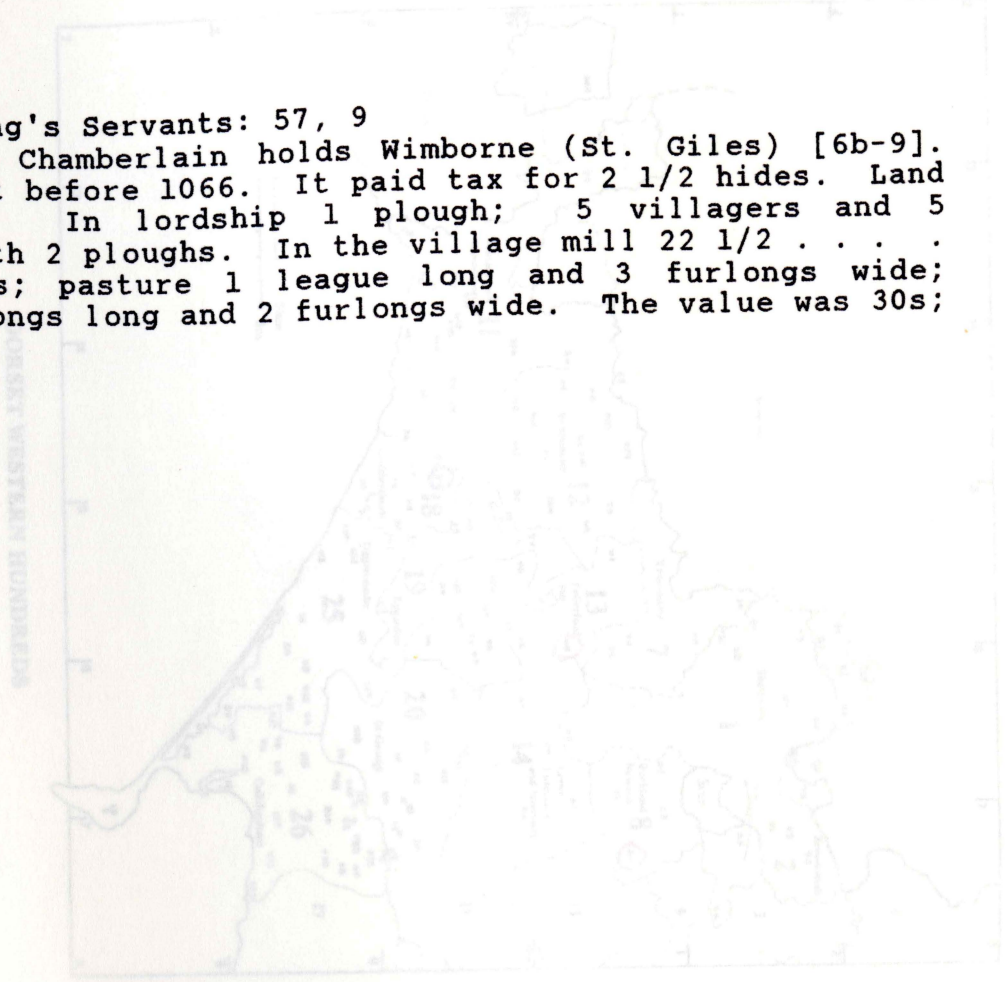
9. Ralph holds "Tarrant" [?]. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 2 hides. Land for 1 1/2 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 2 slaves; 2 villagers and 2 Cottagers with 1/2 plough. Meadow, 3 acres; pasture, 7 furlongs in length and 1 1/2 furlongs in width.; woodland 1 furlong long and 4 acres wide. The value was and is 40s.

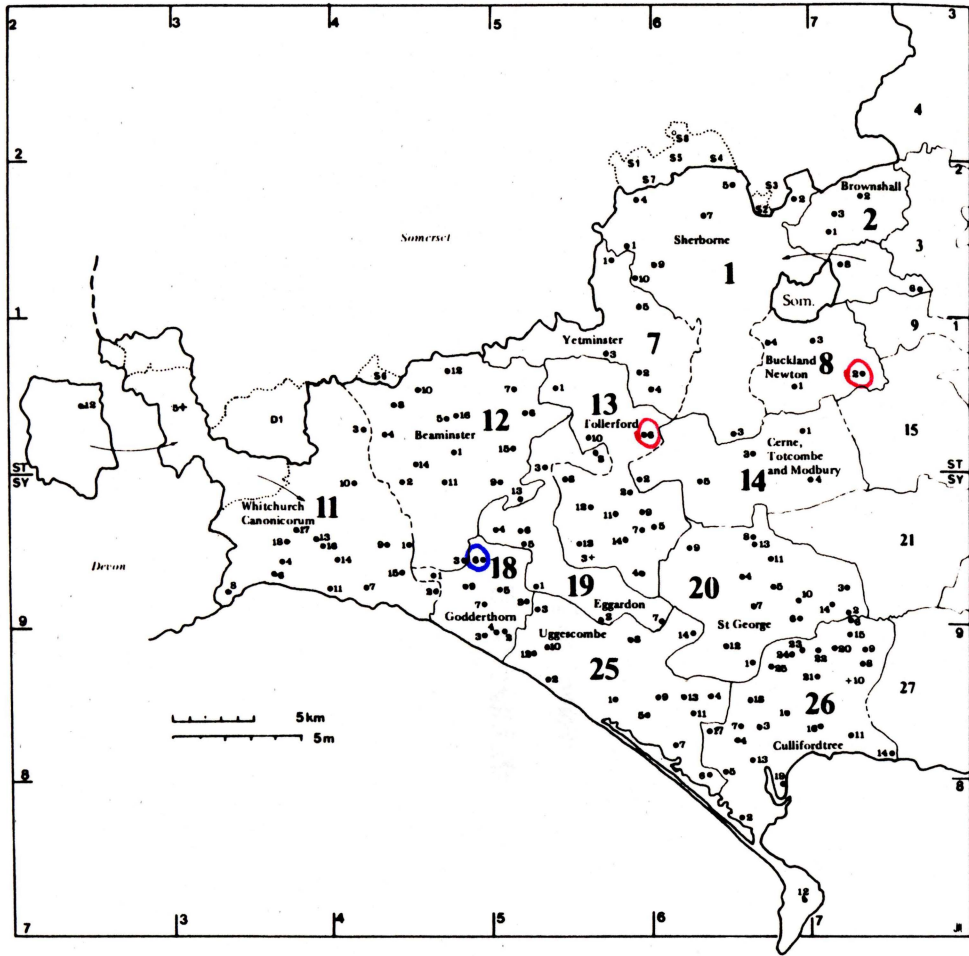
Lands of the King's Thaners: 56, 51

51. Aelfric and Brictric hold 1/2 hide in Lodors [18-6]. Land for 1 plough. Meadow, 5 acres; pasture, 20 acres. The value was and is 10s.

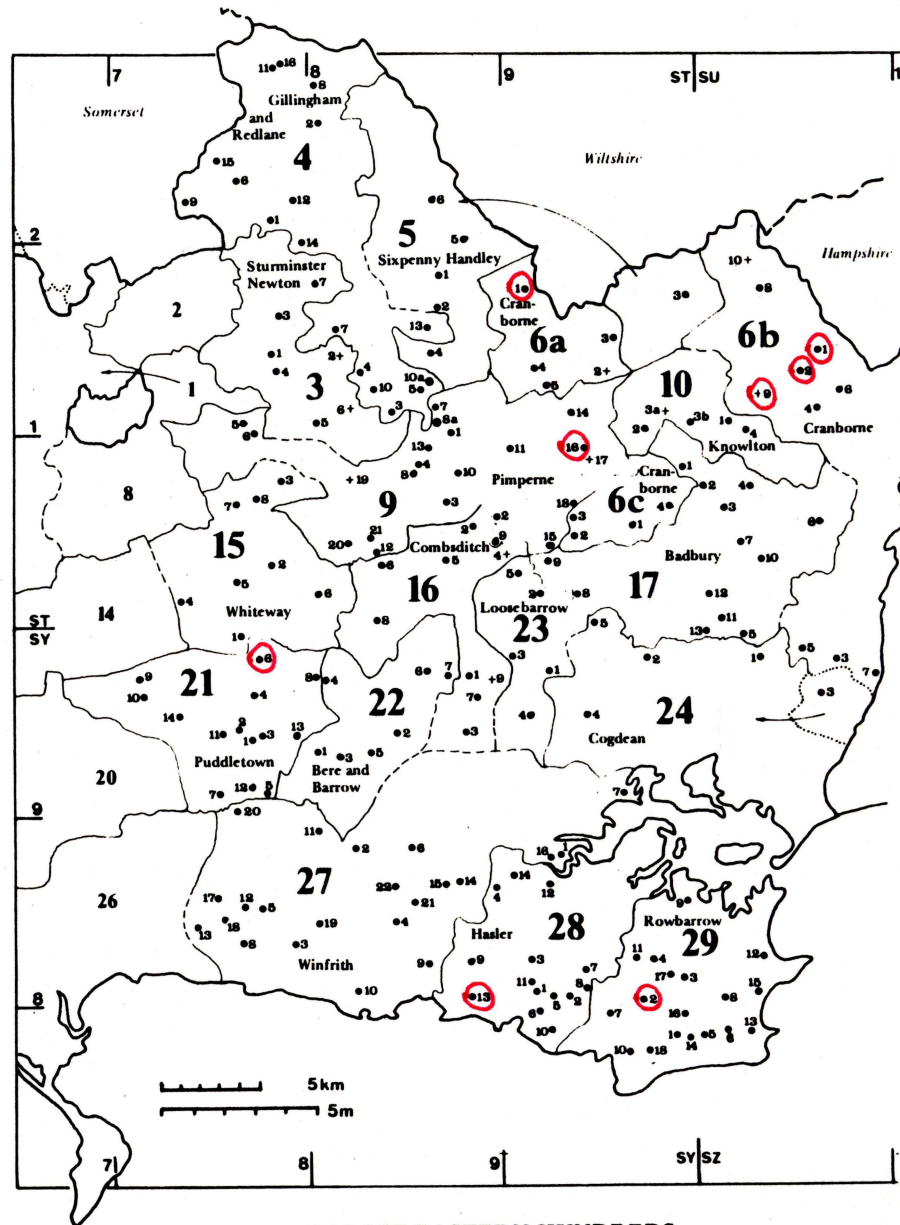
Lands of the King's Servants: 57, 9

9. Hervey the Chamberlain holds Wimborne (St. Giles) [6b-9]. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 2 1/2 hides. Land for 3 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 5 villagers and 5 smallholders with 2 ploughs. In the village mill 22 1/2 . . . . Meadow, 2 acres; pasture 1 league long and 3 furlongs wide; woodland 6 furlongs long and 2 furlongs wide. The value was 30s; now 50s.





DORSET WESTERN HUNDREDS



DORSET EASTERN HUNDREDS

This citation is taken from: Morris, John, ed. *Anglo-Saxon England*, Vol. 8, Somerset. Chichester: Phillimore, 1980.

Land of the Bishop of Coutances: 5,12 and 5,13

12. Herlwin holds Winterhead [6-25] from the Bishop. Etric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 1 hide. Land for 2 ploughs. They are there, with 2 villagers, 2 smallholders and 2 slaves. Meadow, 6 acres; a small wood, 3 acres. 8 cows; 40 sheep. The value was and is 20s. These three manors (\* Hutton, Eiborough, Winterhead) were the Church of Glastonbury's before 1066. The holders could not be separated from the church.

**APPENDIX G:**

13. Herlwin holds Ashcombe [8-1] from the Bishop. Etric held it before 1066; it paid tax Somerset hides. Land for 5 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 7 slaves; 2 hides and 1 virgate. 8 villagers and 5 smallholders with 3 ploughs and 1 hide and 1 virgate. Meadow, 40 acres; underwood, 3 acres; pasture, 100 acres. 30 cattle; 18 pigs; 136 sheep; 60 goats. The value was and is 100s.

Land of St. Mary's of Glastonbury: 8,1 and 8,37

2. The Church holds Winccombe [6-24] itself. Before 1066 it paid tax for 15 hides. Land for 30 ploughs, of which 5 hides, less 1 virgate, are in lordship; 2 ploughs there; 3 slaves; 28 villagers and 6 smallholders with 9 ploughs and 5 hides, less 1 virgate. A mill which pays 5s; meadow, 60 acres; pasture, 1 league in length and width; woodland 2 leagues long and 1 league wide. 8 cows; 13 pigs; 30 sheep; 31 goats. Of this manor's land Roger of Courseulles holds 2 1/2 hides from the Abbot, Ralph Crooked Hands 1 hide and 1 virgate. Pipe 1/2 hide. 5 ploughs there. Value of this manor to the Abbot 18; to his men, 55s. The Bishop of Coutances holds 1 hide of this manor's land from the King; value 20s. Etric held it freely before 1066, but he could not be separated from the church.

37. Bishop Maurice holds St. Andrew's Church of Ilchester [31-5] with 3 hides of land from the King. Etric held it before 1066 from Glastonbury Church; he could not be separated from it. Value of this church, 100s; when Maurice acquired it, as much.

What Bishop Maurice Holds: 15,1

1. Bishop Maurice holds St. Andrew's Church (Ilchester) [31-1] from the King. Etric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 3 hides. Land for 3 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 3 slaves; 1 hide and 3 virgates. 1 villager and 6 smallholders with 1 plough and 1 hide and 1 virgate. Mill which pays 20s; meadows, 30 acres. 2 cows; 9 cattle; 50 sheep. The value was and is 100s.

This citation is taken from: Morris, John, ed. Domesday Book. Vol. 8, Somerset. Chichester: Phillimore, 1980.

Land of the Bishop of Coutances: 5,12 and 5,13

12. Herlwin holds Winterhead [6-25] from the Bishop. Brictric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 1 hide. Land for 2 ploughs. They are there, with 2 villagers, 2 smallholders and 2 slaves. Meadow, 8 acres; a small wood, 3 acres. 8 cows; 40 sheep. The value was and is 20s. These three manors (\* Hutton, Elborough, Winterhead) were the Church of Glastonbury's before 1066. The holders could not be separated from the church.

13. Herlwin holds Ashcombe [6-1] from the Bishop. Brictric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 3 1/2 hides. Land for 5 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 7 slaves; 2 hides and 1 virgate. 6 villagers and 5 smallholders with 3 ploughs and 1 hide and 1 virgate. Meadow, 40 acres; underwood, 3 acres; pasture, 100 acres. 30 cattle; 18 pigs; 136 sheep; 60 goats. The value was and is 100s.

Land of St. Mary's of Glastonbury: 8,2 and 8,37

2. The Church holds Winscombe [6-24] itself. Before 1066 it paid tax for 15 hides. Land for 30 ploughs, of which 5 hides, less 1 virgate, are in lordship; 2 ploughs there; 3 slaves; 28 villagers and 6 smallholders with 9 ploughs and 5 hides, less 1 virgate. A mill which pays 5s; meadow, 60 acres; pasture, 1 league in length and width; woodland 2 leagues long and 1 league wide. 8 cows; 16 pigs; 30 sheep; 31 goats. Of this manor's land Roger of Courseulles holds 2 1/2 hides from the Abbot, Ralph Crooked Hands 1 hide and 1 virgate. Pipe 1/2 hide. 5 ploughs there. Value of this manor to the Abbot L8; to his men, 55s. The Bishop of Coutances holds 1 hide of this manor's land from the King; value 20s. Brictric held it freely before 1066, but he could not be separated from the church.

37. Bishop Maurice holds St. Andrew's Church of Ilchester [31-5] with 3 hides of land from the King. Brictric held it before 1066 from Glastonbury Church; he could not be separated from it. Value of this church, 100s; when Maurice acquired it, as much.

What Bishop Maurice Holds: 15,1

1. Bishop Maurice holds St. Andrew's Church (Ilchester) [31-5] from the King. Brictric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 3 hides. Land for 3 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 3 slaves; 1 hide and 3 virgates. 1 villager and 6 smallholders with 1 plough and 1 hide and 1 virgate. A mill which pays 20s; meadow, 30 acres. 2 cobs; 9 cattle; 50 sheep. The value was and is 100s.

Land of Roger of Courseulles: 21,1 21,47 21,53 and 21,69

1. Roger of Courseulles holds Curry (Mallet) [28-10] from the King. Brictric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 3 1/2 hides. Land for 4 ploughs, of which 1 hide is in lordship; 2 ploughs there; 2 slaves; 11 villagers and 7 smallholders with 3 1/2 ploughs and 2 1/2 hides. Meadow, 12 acres; pasture, 5 acres; woodland, 1/2 league in both length and width. 1 cob; 9 pigs; 23 sheep. The value was L4; now 100s.

47. Roger holds Kilve [15-30] himself. Brictric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 2 1/2 hides. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs and 2 hides and 3 furlongs, with 1 slave; 5 villagers and 5 smallholders with 2 ploughs and 1 virgate and 1 furlong. A mill which pays 6s; meadow, 13 acres; woodland, 12 acres; pasture 1 1/2 leagues long and 1/2 league wide. 2 cobs; 9 cattle; 7 pigs; 40 sheep; 50 goats. The value was and is L4. . .

53. Roger holds Pixton [15-39] himself. Brictric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 2 ploughs. Pasture, 20 acres; woodland, 3 acres. The value was and is 30d.

69. Roger holds Stone [14-37] himself. Brictric held it before 1066; 1/2 virgate of land. Land for 2 ploughs, but it is waste.

Land of William of Mohun: 25,7 and 25,42

7. Thorgils holds Brompton (Ralph) [15-5] from the William. Brictric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 3 1/2 hides. Land for 12 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 7 slaves; 1 virgate. 16 villagers and 2 smallholders with 8 ploughs and 3 hides and 1 virgate. A mill which pays 30d; meadow, 6 acres; woodland, 20 acres; pasture, 1 league. 1 cob; 8 cattle; 5 pigs; 107 sheep; 12 goats. Value when he acquired it, 40s; now L4. This land was (part of the lands) of Glastonbury Church; it could not be separated from it before 1066.

42. Brictric holds "Shortmansford" [?] from William. Brictric also held it before 1066; it paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 1/2 plough. 1 smallholder has it there, and woodland, 7 acres. 11 goats. The value was and is 6s.

Land of Humphrey [The Chamberlain]: 45,1 45,2 45,3 and 45,5

1. Humphrey the Chamberlain holds (Lytes) Cary [29-3] from the King. Ordric and Leofing held it before 1066; it paid tax for 1 hide and 1 furlong. Land for 1 plough, which is there, in lordship, with 1 smallholder and 2 cottagers; they have 7 acres of land. Meadow, 20 acres. 12 cattle; 100 sheep. Formerly 20s; value now 40s. This land has been added to Brictric's lands, but the holders before 1066 could go where they would.

2. Humphrey also holds (Lytes) Cary [29-3]. Leofing held it before 1066; it paid tax for 2 hides. Land for 3 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 1 hide and 1 virgate. 3 villagers and 3 smallholders with 1 plough and the rest of the land. Meadow, 24 acres. Formerly 30s; value now 40s. This (land) has been joined to Brictric's lands, but the holder before 1066 could go where he would.

3. Humphrey the Chamberlain holds Babcary [22-3]. Brown held it freely before 1066; it paid tax for 2 1/2 hides. Land for 3 ploughs. In lordship, however, 2 ploughs; 2 slaves; 1 hide. 6 villagers and 3 smallholders with 3 ploughs and 1 1/2 hides. Meadow, 14 acres; pasture, 8 acres. 2 cobs. Formerly 40s; value now 50s. This (land) has been added to Brictric's lands.

5. Humphrey the Chamberlain holds Sandford (Orcas) [33-13]. Three thanes held it freely before 1066; it paid tax for 6 hides. Land for 6 ploughs; as many there. 4 villagers, 15 smallholders and 4 slaves. Meadow, 8 acres; pasture 2 furlongs long and 1 furlong wide; woodland 4 furlongs long and 1 furlong wide. 2 cobs; 2 cows; 13 pigs; 150 sheep. Formerly L8; value now L9. The whole of this land has been added to Brictric's lands, to which it did not belong.

[Land of Robert of Auberville and Others of the King's Servants]:  
46,6

6. John the Usher holds "Pignes" [18-27] from the King. Brictric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 1 hide and 1 virgate of land. Land for 2 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 2 villagers with 1 smallholder. A priest with 1 plough; 2 smallholders. Meadow, 5 acres. Formerly 40s; value now 30s.

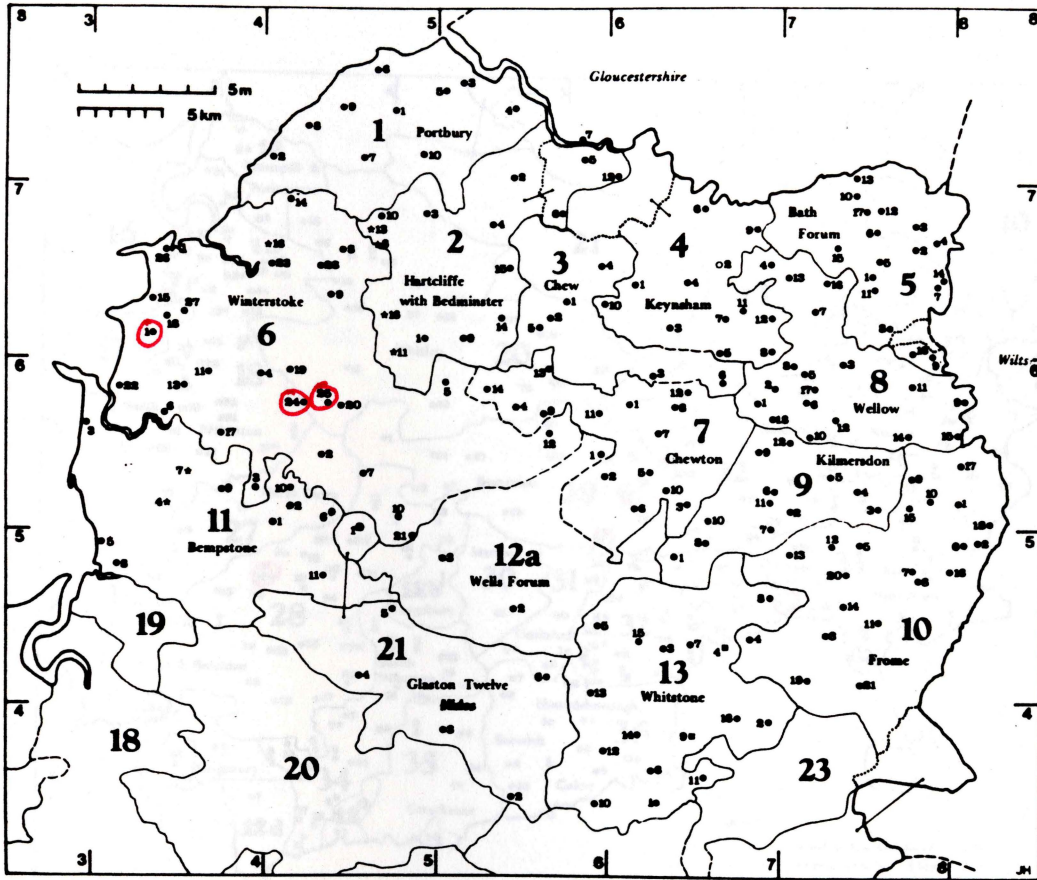
Land of the King's Thanes: 47,1 47,9 and 47,22

1. Brictric and Wulfward hold Buckland (St. Mary) [28-6] from the King. They also held it themselves before 1066; it paid tax for 1 1/2 hides. Land for 3 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 2 villagers and 4 smallholders. Value 20s. They held this land from Bishop Peter while he lived; they paid him 10s from it in revenue. Now they hold it from the King, but since the Bishop's death the King has had nothing from it. Bolle's wife held 3 virgates of this land before 1066.

9. Brictric holds Tuxwell [16-32]. Godwin held it before 1066. 1/2 virgate of land; it did not pay tax before 1066. Land for 1 plough. In lordship 1/2 plough. 4 smallholders with 1 slave. Woodland, 4 acres; pasture, 7 acres. Value formerly and now 12s 6d.

22. Aelfric holds Scepeworde [?]. Brictric held it before 1066; it paid tax for 1/2 hide. Land for 1/2 plough. Rahere holds it from Aelfric; he has 10 sheep. Value 5s.

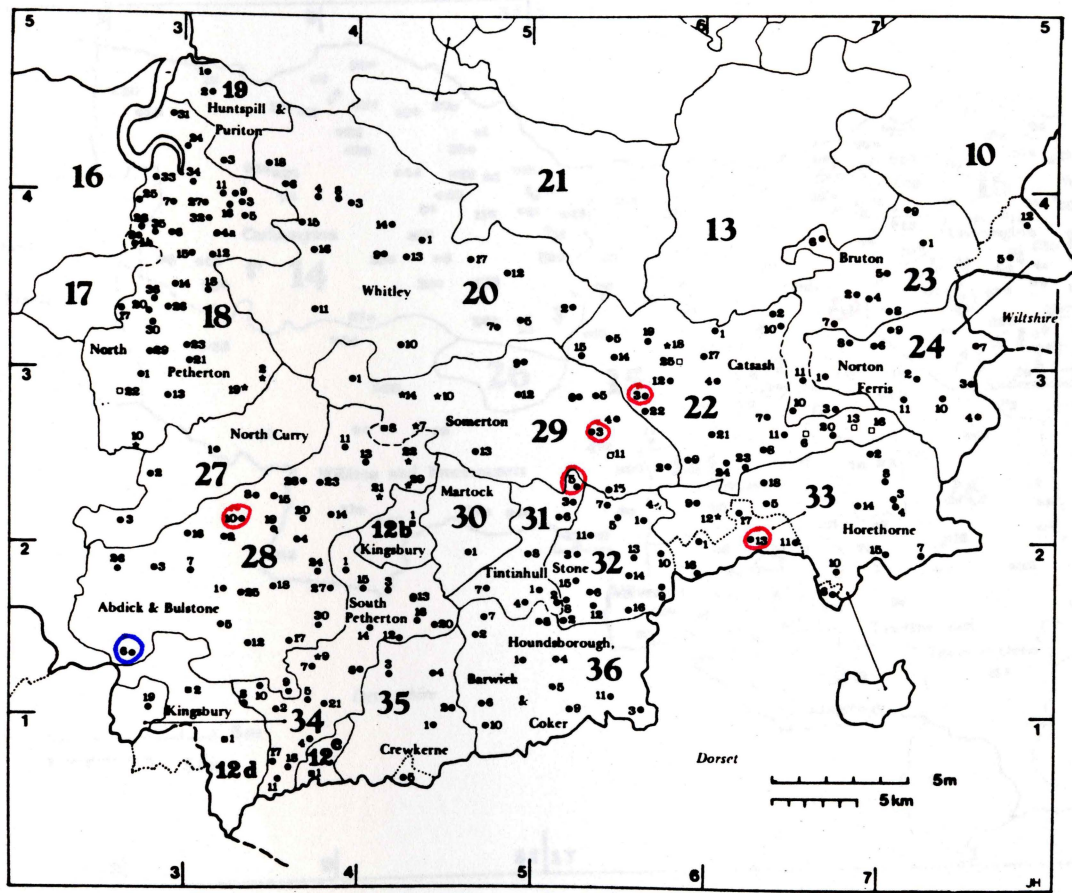




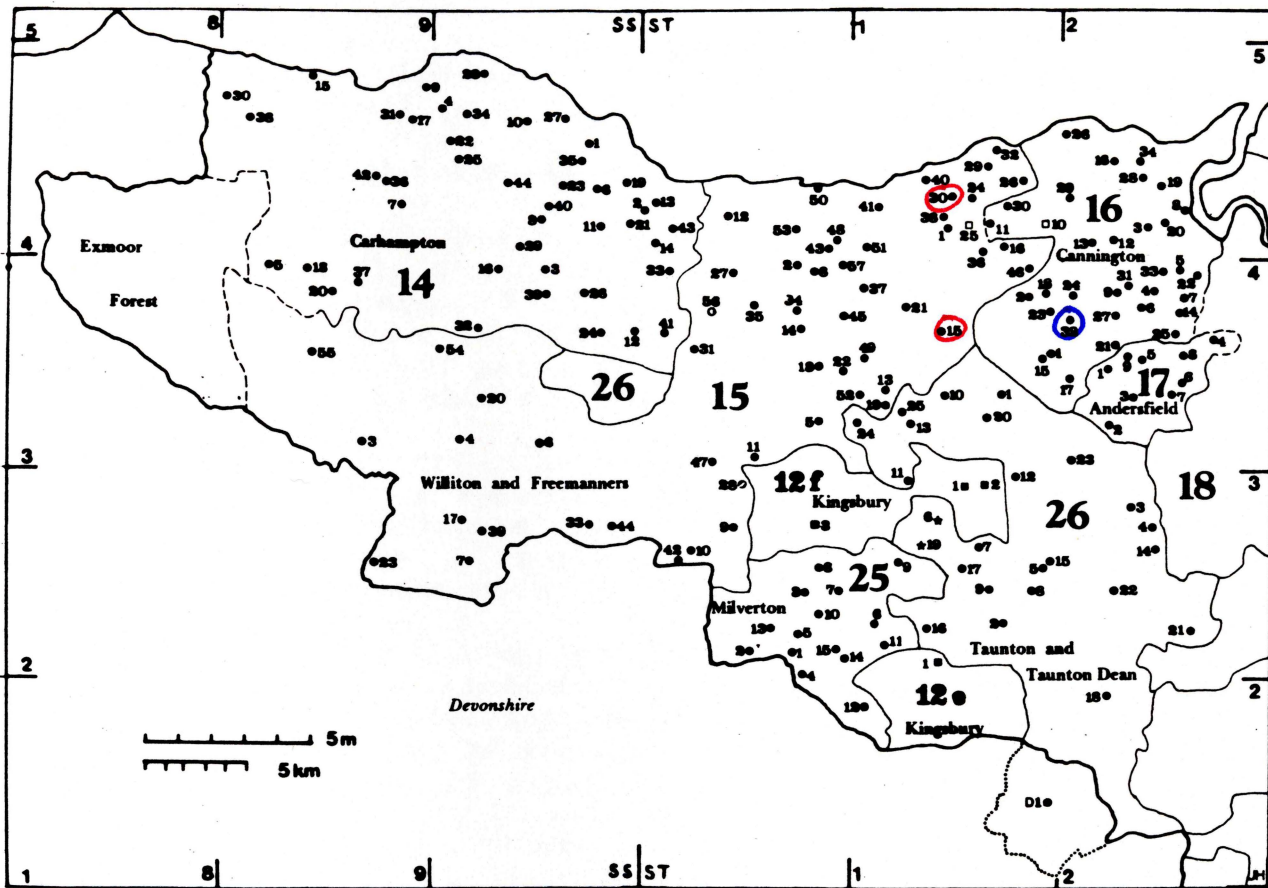
SOMERSET NORTHERN HUNDREDS

SOMERSET SOUTH EASTERN

127 128



SOMERSET SOUTH EASTERN HUNDREDS



SOMERSET SOUTH WESTERN HUNDREDS

This citation is taken from Morris, John, ed. Domesday Book. Vol. 9. Devon: East Cox. Chester: Phillimore, 1985.

Land of the King:

Earl Harold held the following 14 lands: 1,40  
40 Tawstock [5-7]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 5 hides. Land for 20 ploughs. In lordship 10 ploughs; 18 slaves; 2 virgates. 20 villagers who have 21 ploughs and 1 1/2 hides. 7 pigmen who pay 24 pigs. Meadow, 12 acres; woodland, 20 acres; pasture 1 league long and another wide; in Exeter 5 hides. 67 cattle; 28 pigs; 5000 sheep. It pays L24 by weight; when B(aldwin) the sheriff acquired it, it paid as much. From **APPENDIX H:** angley has been taken away which was attached to it before 1066. It paid tax for 2 1/2 virgates of land. Land for 10 ploughs. 12 villagers. Meadow, 20 acres; pasture, 100 acres. It pays L3. This land wrongfully lies in (the lands of) (High) Bickington.

Devon

Brianic held the undermentioned lands, and later Queen Matilda: 1,57 - 72

57 The King holds Northlew [11-30]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 1 hide, 1 virgate of land and 1 furlong. Land for 12 ploughs. In lordship 4 ploughs; 7 slaves; 1 virgate. 20 villagers and 2 smallholders with 10 ploughs and 1 hide. Meadow, 30 acres; woodland, 20 acres; pasture, 8 furlongs long and 4 furlongs wide. 10 wild mares; 50 cattle; 10 pigs; 100 sheep; 25 goats. It pays 10 at face value.

58 Halwill [11-49]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 5 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 6 slaves; 1 furlong. 10 villagers and 1 smallholder with 5 ploughs and 3 furlongs. Meadow, 40 acres; woodland, 2 acres; pasture 1 league long and 2 furlongs wide. 33 cattle; 20 pigs; 50 sheep. It pays 70s at face value.

59 Cleavelly [3a-3]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 3 hides. Land for 12 ploughs. In lordship 5 ploughs; 10 slaves; 1 hide. 10 villagers and 11 smallholders with 7 ploughs and 2 hides. Meadow, 30 acres; woodland, 40 acres; pasture 1 league long and 1/2 league wide. 40 cattle; 15 pigs; 100 sheep; 10 goats. It pays L12 at face value; formerly it paid 66.

60 Bideford [4-7]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 3 hides. Land for 26 ploughs. In lordship 4 ploughs; 14 slaves; 1/2 hide. 30 villagers and 8 smallholders with 20 ploughs and 2 1/2 hides. Meadow, 10 acres; pasture, 20 acres; woodland, 150 acres. 18 cattle; 300 sheep. It pays L15. A fishery was attached to this manor before 1066; it pays 25s.

61 Littleham [4-6]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 1 hide. Land for 8 ploughs. In lordship 1 ploughs; 7 slaves; 1 virgate. 12 villagers and 3 smallholders with 4 ploughs and 3 virgates. Meadow, 10 acres; pasture, 20 acres; woodland, 60 acres. 7 cattle; 100 sheep. It pays L3. Gotshelm holds these two manors at a revenue from the King.

This citation is taken from: Morris, John, ed. Domesday Book. Vol. 9, Devon: Part One. Chichester: Phillimore, 1985.

Land of the King:

Earl Harold held the following 14 lands: 1,40  
40 Tawstock [5-7]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 5 hides. Land for 80 ploughs. In lordship 10 ploughs; 18 slaves; 2 virgates. 10 villagers who have 21 ploughs and 4 1/2 hides. 7 pigmen who pay 35 pigs. Meadow, 12 acres; woodland, 20 acres; pasture 1 league long and another wide; in Exeter 5 houses. 67 cattle; 28 pigs; 5000 sheep. It pays L24 by weight; when B(alwin) the sherrif acquired it, it paid as much. From this manor Langley has been taken away, which was attached to it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 1/2 virgates of land. Land for 10 ploughs. 12 villagers. Meadow, 20 acres; pasture, 100 acres. It pays L4. This land wrongfully lies in (the lands of) (High) Bickington.

Brictric held the undermentioned lands, and later Queen Matilda:  
1,57 - 72

57 The King holds Northlew [11-50]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 1 hide, 1 virgate of land and 1 furlong. Land for 12 ploughs. In lordship 4 ploughs; 7 slaves; 1 virgate. 20 villagers and 7 smallholders with 10 ploughs and 1 hide. Meadow, 30 acres; woodland, 20 acres; pasture, 8 furlongs long and 4 furlongs wide. 10 wild mares; 50 cattle; 10 pigs; 100 sheep; 25 goats. It pays L9 at face value.

58 Halwill [11-48]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 5 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 6 slaves; 1 furlong. 10 villagers and 1 smallholder with 5 ploughs and 3 furlongs. Meadow, 40 acres; woodland, 2 acres; pasture 1 league long and 2 furlongs wide. 33 cattle; 20 pigs; 50 sheep. It pays 70s at face value.

59 Clovelly [3a-3]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 3 hides. Land for 12 ploughs. In lordship 5 ploughs; 10 slaves; 1 hide. 16 villagers and 11 smallholders with 7 ploughs and 2 hides. Meadow, 30 acres; woodland, 40 acres; pasture 1 league long and 1/2 league wide. 45 cattle; 15 pigs; 100 sheep; 18 goats. It pays L12 at face value; formerly it paid L6.

60 Bideford [4-3]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 3 hides. Land for 26 ploughs. In lordship 4 ploughs; 14 slaves; 1/2 hide. 30 villagers and 8 smallholders with 20 ploughs and 2 1/2 hides. Meadow, 10 acres; pasture, 20 acres; woodland, 150 acres. 18 cattle; 300 sheep. It pays L16. A fishery was attached to this manor before 1066; it pays 25s.

61 Littleham [4-6]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 1 hide. Land for 8 ploughs. In lordship 1 ploughs; 7 slaves; 1 virgate. 12 villagers and 3 smallholders with 4 ploughs and 3 virgates. Meadow, 10 acres; pasture, 20 acres; woodland, 60 acres. 7 cattle; 100 sheep. It pays L3. Gotshelm holds these two manors at a revenue from the King.

62 Langtree [4-25]. Before 1066 ot paid tax for 2 hides, less 1/2 virgate. Land for 20 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 8 slaves; 1/2 hide. 24 villagers and 2 smallholders with 16 ploughs and 1 hide and 1 1/2 virgates. 2 pigmen. Meadow, 15 acres; woodland 1 league long and as wide. 6 cattle; 60 sheep. It pays L7 5s.

63 Iddesleigh [4-52]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 3 hides. Land for 22 ploughs. In lordship 4 ploughs; 15 slaves; 1 hide. 24 villagers with 16 ploughs and 2 hides, less 1 virgate. Meadow, 15 acres; woodland 2 leagues long and 1 league wide. 15 cattle; 60 sheep. It pays L14. Of this land Walter holds 1 virgate from the King. Land for 3 ploughs. Alware Pet held it from Brictric before 1066; she could not be separated from him. Value 20s. 2 1/2 virgates of land in (North) Tawton Hundred belong to this manor.

64 Winkleigh [12-16]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 5 1/2 hides. Land for 40 ploughs. In lordship 8 ploughs; 16 slaves; 2 hides. 60 villagers with 40 ploughs, 3 1/2 hides and 10 pigmen. Meadow, 80 acres; woodland, 500 acres; pasture 1 league long and another wide; a park for beasts. 38 cattle; 15 pigs; 160 sheep. It pays L30 at face value. Of this land Norman Parker holds 1 1/2 virgates of land; value 12s 6d. Gotshelm has it at a revenue.

65 Ashreigny [12-6]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 2 hides, less 1/2 virgate. Land for 15 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 10 slaves; 1/2 hide. 14 villagers and 6 smallholders with 10 ploughs and 1 hide and 1 virgate. 2 pigmen who pay 10 pigs. Meadow, 20 acres; woodland, 200 acres; pasture 1/2 league long and as wide. 17 cattle; 14 pigs; 80 sheep; 35 goats. It pays L7 at face value. Gotshelm has it at a revenue.

66 Lapford [12-18]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 2 1/2 hides. Land for 11 ploughs. In lordship 3 ploughs; 6 slaves; 1/2 hide. 7 pigmen, 18 villagers and 12 smallholders with 8 ploughs and 2 hides. Meadow, 20 acres; pasture, 10 acres; woodland, 130. 1 cob; 30 cattle; 18 pigs; 180 sheep. Value L12 12s. Irishcombe is attached to this manor; 1/2 virgate of land there.

67 (High) Bickington [12-2]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 1 hide and 2 1/2 virgates of land. Land for 16 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 3 slaves; 1 virgate. 14 villagers and 2 smallholders with 7 ploughs and 5 1/2 virgates. 2 pigmen; they 16 pigs a year. Meadow, 8 acres; pasture, 100 acres; woodland, 100 acres. 12 cattle; 50 sheep. It pays L12. To this manor has been added Langley, which belonged in Tawstock before 1066. It pays L4 to (High) Bickington.

68 Morchard (Bishop) [13-1]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 1/2 hide. Land for 8 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 2 slaves; 1 virgate. 8 villagers with 3 ploughs and 1 virgate. Meadow, 2 acres; woodland, 40 acres. 5 cattle; 40 sheep. It pays L4 at face value.

69 Holcombe (Burnell) [19a-38]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 1 hide. Land for 7 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 4 slaves; 1/2 virgate. 10 villagers and 8 smallholders with 5 ploughs and 3 1/2 virgates. Woodland, 110 acres. 5 cattle; 50 sheep; 50 goats. It pays L8 15s.

70 Halberton [10-10]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 5 hides. Land for 28 ploughs. In lordship 4 ploughs; 8 slaves; 1 1/2 hides. 43 villagers and 10 smallholders with 22 ploughs and 3 1/2 hides. 5 pigmen who pay 30 pigs. 2 mills which pay 10s; meadow, 36 acres; pasture 5 furlongs long and 3 furlongs wide; Woodland 16 furlongs long and 13 furlongs wide. 2 cobs; 11 cattle; 11 pigs; 150 sheep. It pays L27. Of this manor's land Gotshelm holds 1 virgate of land, that is of the villagers' land. He has 1 plough, with 1 slave and 1 smallholder. It pays 10s to Halberton.

71 Ashprington [30-5]. Before 1066 it paid tax for 3 hides. Land for 10 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 4 slaves; 1 hide. 7 villagers and 8 smallholders with 3 ploughs and 2 hides. 2 fisheries; 1 salt-house; meadow 3 acres; pasture, 40 acres; woodland 1 league long and 1/2 league wide. 1 cob; 2 cattle; 100 sheep. It pays L4. Iudhael held it from the Queen.

72 The King holds (?)Down (St. Mary) [12-26]. Boia held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 1/2 virgates of alnd. Land for 2 ploughs, which are there, with 3 villagers and 2 slaves. Meadow, 3 acres; pasture, 2 furlongs; woodland 2 furlongs long 1 furlong wide. 5 cattle; 2 pigs; 10 sheep. It pays 10s a year to the King. Adolf holds from the King.

Land of the Bishop of Coutances: 3,28-29 3,31 3,34 3,51

Drogo holds the undermentioned lands from the Bishop

28 Raleigh [1a-55]. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1/2 hide. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 4 slaves; 1 virgate. 4 villagers and 4 smallholders with 1 plough and 1 virgate. Meadow, 2 acres; pasture, 5 acres; woodland, 30 acres. 2 cattle; 30 sheep; 16 goats. Value formerly and now 30s.

29 Metcombe [1a-34]. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1/2 virgate of land. Land for 1 plough. 2 villagers have it there, with 1 slave. Meadow, 4 acres; pasture, 20 acres. Value formerly and now 10s.

31 Beara (Charter) [1a-38]. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1/2 hide. Land for 5 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough and 1/2 virgate, with 1 slave; 4 villagers and 1 smallholder with 2 ploughs and 1 1/2 virgates. Meadow, 2 acres; woodland, 6 acres. 2 cattle; 6 sheep; 10 goats. Value formerly and now 20s.

34 Whitefield [2-16]. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1/2 virgate of land. Land for 2 ploughs. 1 villager has 1/2 plough. Meadow, 7 acres; pasture, 40 acres. Value 2s; when the Bishop acquired it, it was waste.

51 Warcombe [1a-10]. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 2 ploughs, which are there, with 1 slave. 4 villagers and 1 smallholder. Meadow, 4 acres; pasture, 50 acres. 40 sheep. Formerly 5s; value now 10s.

Before 1066, it paid tax for 1 hide and 1 virgate of land. Land for 8 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 4 slaves; 2 virgates. 4 villagers and 6 smallholders with 4 ploughs and 3 virgates. Meadow 3 acres; pasture, 15 acres. 1 cob; 6 cattle; 100 sheep. Formerly 20s; value now 30s.

Land of St. Stephen's of Caen: 12,1  
1 St. Stephen's Church, Caen, holds Northam [4-1] from the King. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 2 hides and 1/2 virgate of land. Land for 20 ploughs. In lordship 3 ploughs; 8 slaves; 1 virgate. 23 villagers and 5 smallholders with 14 ploughs and 1 1/2 hides and 1/2 virgate. 1 pigman. 2 salt-houses which pay 10s; a fishery which pays 30d; meadow, 15 acres; woodland, 24 acres; underwood, 30 acres; pasture, 15 acres. 23 cattle; 345 (?) sheep. Value formerly and now L12.

Land of Holy Trinity of Caen: 13,1  
1 Holy Trinity Church, Caen, holds UMBERLEIGH [12-1] from the King. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 hide and 1 virgate of land. Land for 12 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 1 virgate. 12 villagers and 2 smallholders with 8 ploughs and 1 hide. 6 slaves; 3 pigmen who pay 30 pigs. Pasture, 100 acres; woodland 6 furlongs long and 2 furlongs wide. 16 cattle; 80 sheep. Formerly L10; value now L11.

Land of Baldwin the Sheriff: 16,5 16,6 16,9 16,13 16,112  
16,128 16,162

5 Baldwin holds Bratton (Cloveley) [18-11] himself. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 15 ploughs. In lordship 3 ploughs; 12 slaves; the third part of the virgate. 12 villagers with 6 ploughs and the other 2 parts (of the virgate). Meadow, 20 acres; pasture, 200 acres; woodland, 5 acres. 8 wild mares; 18 cattle; 60 sheep. Formerly L9; value now L7. There were 2 thanes in this manor before 1066, who held 1/2 virgate of land freely; they could go to whichever lord they would. Formerly 60s; value now 30s.

6 Ralph holds Boasley [18-10] from Baldwin. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 8 ploughs. In lordship 1 1/2 ploughs and 1 furlong; 7 slaves, with 1 plough. Meadow, 60 acres; pasture, 60 acres; underwood, 2 acres. 12 cattle; 40 sheep; 12 goats. Formerly 30s; value now 40s.

9 Roger of Meulles holds Lewtrenchard [18-23] from Baldwin. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1/2 hide. Land for 7 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 6 slaves; 12 villagers and 8 smallholders with 6 ploughs. Meadow, 20 acres; pasture, 60 acres; woodland, 30 acres. 18 cattle; 50 sheep. Formerly L3; value now L4.

13 Colwin holds "Guscott" [?] from Baldwin. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 3 slaves; 6 villagers and 4 smallholders with 2 ploughs. Woodland 3 furlongs long and 1 furlong wide. 30 sheep. Formerly 20s; value now 25s.

112 Stephen holds Ringmore [19c-4] from Baldwin. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 hide and 1 virgate of land. Land for 8 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 4 slaves; 2 virgates. 8 villagers and 6 smallholders with 4 ploughs and 3 virgates. Meadow, 3 acres; pasture, 15 acres. 1 cob; 6 cattle; 100 sheep. Formerly 20s; value now 30s.



128 Baldwin's wife Emma holds Bridford [19a-56] from him. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 2 hides. Land for 14 ploughs. In lordship 3 ploughs; 6 slaves; 1/2 hide. 13 villagers and 8 smallholders with 7 ploughs and 1 1/2 hides. Meadow, 12 acres; pasture, 30 acres; woodland, 24 acres. 14 cattle; 100 sheep; 18 goats. Formerly 30s; value now 40s.

162 Richard holds Sparkwell [29b-11] from Baldwin. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1/2 hide. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 2 slaves; 1 virgate. 4 villagers and 2 smallholders (have) 1 virgate and 1 plough. Meadow, 4 acres; pasture, 20 acres; woodland, 8 acres. 30 sheep. Formerly 10s; value now 15s.

Land of Iudhael of Totnes: 17,6 17,8 17,55

6 William holds Norton [18-9] from Iudhael. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 6 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 3 slaves; 1 furlong. 7 villagers and 4 smallholders with 5 ploughs and 3 furlongs. Meadow, 70 acres; pasture 1/2 league long and 3 furlongs wide; woodland 3 furlongs long and 1 furlong wide. 17 cattle; 40 sheep. Value formerly and now L3.

8 William holds Sydenham [18-32] from Iudhael. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid atx for 1 virgate of land. Land for 5 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 5 slaves; the third part of a virgate. 5 villagers and 7 Cottagers with 4 ploughs and 2 parts of a virgate. Meadow, 10 acres; woodland 3 furlongs long and 1 furlong wide. 2 cattle; 11 pigs; 40 sheep. Formerly 30s; value now 40s.

55 Ralph holds Malston [30-16] from Iudhael. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 hide. Land for 4 ploughs, which are there, with 1 slave. 6 villagers and 4 smallholders. Meadow, 2 acres; underwood, 5 acres. 2 pigs; 40 sheep. Value formerly and now 40s.

Land of William Cheever: 19,27 19,34

27 Warin holds Weston [16-15] from William. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1/2 hide, 1 virgate of land and 1 1/2 furlongs. Land for 2 ploughs. 1 1/2 ploughs there; 2 slaves. 1 villager and 3 smallholders. Meadow, 5 acres; pasture, 2 furlongs. 10 cattle; 20 pigs; 80 sheep. Value 12s; value when W(illiam) acquired it, as much.

34 Warin holds 1/2 hide of land Rapshays [14c-2] from William. Brictric held it before 1066. 3 villagers have 3 oxen in a plough. Meadow, 5 acres; woodland, 1 acre; pasture 1 furlong long and 1/2 furlong wide. Value formerly and now 30d.

Land of William of Falaise: 20,1

1 William of Falaise holds Combe (Martin) [1a-6] from the King. Brictric and Edwy held it freely (and) jointly before 1066. It paid tax for 2 hides and 1 virgate of land. Land for 20 ploughs. In lordship 3 ploughs; 9 slaves; 3 virgates. 18 villagers and 10 smallholders with 14 ploughs and 1 1/2 hides. Pasture 1 league long and as wide; woodland 5 acres. 21 cattle; 9 pigs; 140 sheep; 19 goats. Value formerly and now 100s.

Land of Walter of Douai: 23,20

20 Greenway [17a-8] . . . To this manor Shapcombe which before 1066 lay in Broadhembury, Brictric's land. It paid tax for 1 hide. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough and 1 virgate and 1 furlong, with 1 slave; 3 villagers with 1 smallholder and 1 plough and 3 virgates, less 1 furlong. Meadow, 12 acres; pasture, 15 acres; woodland, 20 acres. Value formerly and now 20s.

Land of Walter of Claville: 24,18-19 24,24 24,29

18 Buckland (Tout Saints) [30-15]. Woodman held it before 1066. It paid for 1/2 virgate of land. Land for 1 1/2 ploughs. W(alter) has 1 1/2 ploughs. 5 smallholders. Meadow, 2 acres. It pays 10s. This land has been added to Brictric's lands; it was free before 1066.

19 Ansfrid holds Pool [30-26] from Walter. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 hide. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough, and 1/2 hide, with 1 slave; 4 villagers and 4 smallholders with 1 1/2 ploughs and 1/2 hide. Meadow, 4 acres; pasture, 10 acres; underwood, 5 acres. 12 pigs; 15 sheep. Formerly, 10s; value now 25s.

24 Walter holds Loosedon [12-15]. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1/2 hide. Land for 3 ploughs. 5 villagers and 2 smallholders have 2 1/2 ploughs. Meadow, 6 acres; pasture, 2 furlongs; woodland 5 furlongs long and 1/2 furlong wide. Formerly 20s; value now 15s.

29 Shobrooke [13-2]. Brictric, a free man, held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 2 ploughs. W(alter) has in lordship 1 furlong. 4 villagers and 5 smallholders have these (ploughs) there and 3 furlongs. Meadow, 1 acre; pasture, 6 acres. Value formerly and now 10s.

Land of Gotshelm: 25,20 25,25 25,27

20 Godfrey holds Ash (Thomas) [10-13] from Gotshelm. Aelfeva, a free woman, held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1/2 hide. Land for 1 1/2 ploughs. G(odfrey) has in lordship 1 virgate and 1 furlong and 1 plough. 2 vilagers, 2 smallholders and 2 slaves (have) 3 furlongs and 1/2 plough. Meadow, 4 acres; woodland, 8 acres; pasture, 25 acres. 9 cattle; 62 sheep. Value formerly and now 10s. This land has been added to Brictric's lands.

25 Baldwin holds Buckland (Tout Saints) [30-15] from Gotshelm. Aelfric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1/2 virgate of land. Land for 1 1/2 ploughs. 2 ploughs there, however. 4 villagers and 2 smallholders. Meadow, 2 acres; underwood, 1/2 acre. 6 cattle; 12 pigs; 56 sheep; 26 goats. Value 10s; value when G(otshelm) acquired it, as much. This land has been added to Brictric's lands. The holder before 1066 was a free man.

27 Gotshelm holds Vlestancote [?] himself. Wulfstan held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 1 plough. 1 smallholder with 1 slave. Meadow, 3 acres. Value formerly and now 10s. The holder before 1066 held it freely from Brictric.

Land of Roger of Bully: 27,1

1 Roger of Bully holds Sampford (Peverell) [10-9] from the King. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 3 1/2 hides. Land for 12 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 6 slaves; 1 1/2 hides and 1/2 furlong. 20 villagers and 8 smallholders with 9 ploughs and 2 hides, less 1/2 furlong. Meadow, 30 acres; pasture, 150 acres; woodland, 80 acres. 8 pigs; 84 sheep; 50 goats. Formerly 100s; value now L10. Queen Matilda gave it to Roger with his wife.

Land of Robert of Aulmale: 28,14

14 Robert holds "Halstow" [?] himself. Brictric and Alward held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1/2 virgate of land. 1 villager who pays 30d. Value formerly 5s. Land for 1 plough.

Land of Roald Dubbed: 35,23

23 Solomon holds Sigford [23-27] from Roald. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 1 1/2 ploughs. 1/2 plough there. Pasture, 8 acres; woodland, 6 acres. 5 sheep; 10 goats; 1 cow. Formerly 3s; value now 5s.

Land of Theobald Son of Berner: 36,16

16 Oliver holds Marwood [1a-44] from Theobald. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 2 ploughs, which are there, with 1 slave and 1 villager and 2 smallholders. Meadow, 6 acres; pasture, 60 acres; woodland, 20 acres. 4 cattle; 4 pigs; 20 sheep. Value formerly and now 15s.

Land of Ansgar: 40, 5-7

5 Muxbere [10-12]. Five thanes held it freely (and) jointly from Brictric before 1066. It paid tax for 1 hide. Land for 5 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 1/2 hide. 9 villagers with 1 smallholder and 1/2 plough and 1/2 hide. A mill which pays 60d; meadow, 26 acres; woodland, 6 acres; pasture 4 furlongs long and 2 furlongs wide. 7 cattle; 24 sheep; 18 goats. Formerly 40s; value now 30s. Ansgar holds it as one manor.

6 Sutton [10-16]. Godric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1/2 hide. Land for 1 1/2 ploughs. 2 ploughs there, however, with 1 slave. 3 villagers with 1 smallholder. Meadow, 8 acres; pasture, 10 acres; underwood, as many. 1 cob; 17 cattle; 2 pigs. Valu formerly and now 10s. This land has been wrongfully added to Brictric's lands.

7 Dolton [12-10]. Edric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 2 virgates of land. Land for 6 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough and 1/2 virgate, with 1 slave; 4 villagers and 4 smallholders with 2 ploughs and 1 1/2 virgates. Meadow, 4 acres; pasture, 10 acres; underwood, 5 acres. 4 cattle; 24 sheep; 11 goats. Value 50s. This land has been wrongfully added to Brictric's lands. The holder before 1066 could go where he would.

Land of Odo Son of Gamelin: 42,1 42,5-6 42,16-17 42,20

1 Odo son of Gamelin holds Delley [3b-1] from the King. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough and 1/2 virgate, with 1 slave; 4 villagers with 1 plough and 1/2 virgate. Meadow, 2 acres; pasture, 10 acres; woodland, 4 acres. 1 cob; 5 cattle; 50 sheep. Formerly 10s; value now 20s.

5 Odo holds Little Weare [4-8] himself; it is attached to his manor of (Great) Torrington. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 4 ploughs. Odo has in lordship 1/2 virgate. 4 villagers and 3 smallholders have 1 plough and 1/2 virgate. Pasture, 4 acres. Value formerly and now 10s.

6 Odo holds (Great) Torrington [5-18] himself. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 3 1/2 hides. Land for 40 ploughs. In lordship 4 ploughs; 7 slaves; 3 virgates. 45 villagers and 10 smallholders with 26 ploughs and 2 hides. Meadow, 20 acres; woodland, 30 acres; pasture 2 leagues long and 1 league wide. 12 cattle; 10 pigs; 146 sheep. 25 pigmen who pay 110 pigs. Formerly L24; value now L20. Three Frenchmen hold 3 virgates also of this land. Value 45s.

16 Odo holds Broadhembury [15-22] himself. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 4 hides. Land for 14 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 1 hide. 11 smallholders and 29 villagers with 10 ploughs and 3 hides; 2 pigmen who pay 10 pigs. 6 slaves. A mill which pays 10s; meadow, 10 acres; pasture, 50 acres; woodland, 80 acres. 1 cob; 7 cattle; 5 pigs; 100 sheep. Formerly L11; value now L8. 1 hide in Shapcombe was attached to this manor before 1066. Land for 3 ploughs. Ludo holds it wrongfully with Walter's land; he has 2 ploughs there and 6 villagers. Value 30s.

17 Odo holds Plymtree [15-28] himself. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 2 hides and 1 virgate of land. Land for 5 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 4 slaves; 1 hide. 15 villagers and 4 smallholders with 3 ploughs and 1 hide and 1 virgate. Meadow, 20 acres; woodland, 20 acres. 1 cob; 13 cattle; 20 sheep. Value formerly and now 100s.

20 Odo holds "Dart" [?] himself. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 1/2 virgates of land. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 3 slaves; 1/2 virgate. 4 villagers and 3 smallholders with 1 plough and 1 virgate. Meadow, 5 acres; pasture 40 acres. 5 cattle. Formerly 20s; value now 30s.

Land of Haimeric: 50,1

1 Haimeric holds Poltimore [19a-7] from the King. Brictric and Sheerwold held it jointly before 1066. It paid tax for 3 hides, 1 virgate and 3 furlongs. Land for 9 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 4 slaves; 1 hide, 2 virgates and 2 1/2 furlongs. 22 villagers and 3 smallholders with 4 ploughs and 1 hide, 2 virgates and 1 furlong. Meadow, 47 acres; woodland, 100 acres; pasture, 53 acres. 1 cob; 20 cattle; 8 pigs; 30 sheep. Formerly 20s; value now 50s.

Lands of the King's Servants: 51,8

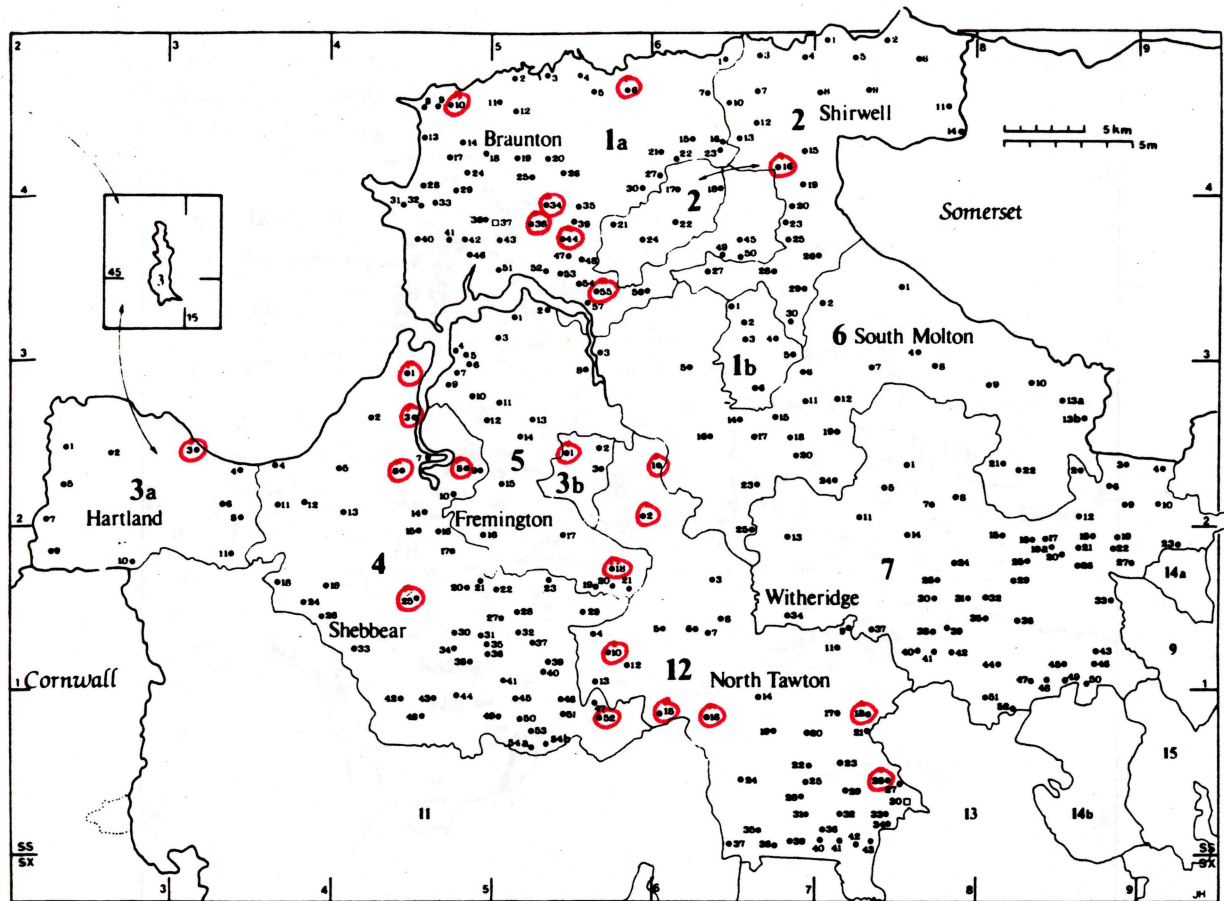
8 William the Usher holds Bolham [9-10] himself. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 3 virgates of land. Land for 5 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 3 slaves; 1 virgate. 11 villagers and 6 smallholders with 4 ploughs and 2 virgates. A mill which pays 7s; meadow, 6 acres; pasture, 20 acres; woodland, 4 acres. 1 cob; 1 animal; 7 pigs. Formerly 50s; value now 40s.

Lands of the King's Thanes: 52,24 52,52 52,53

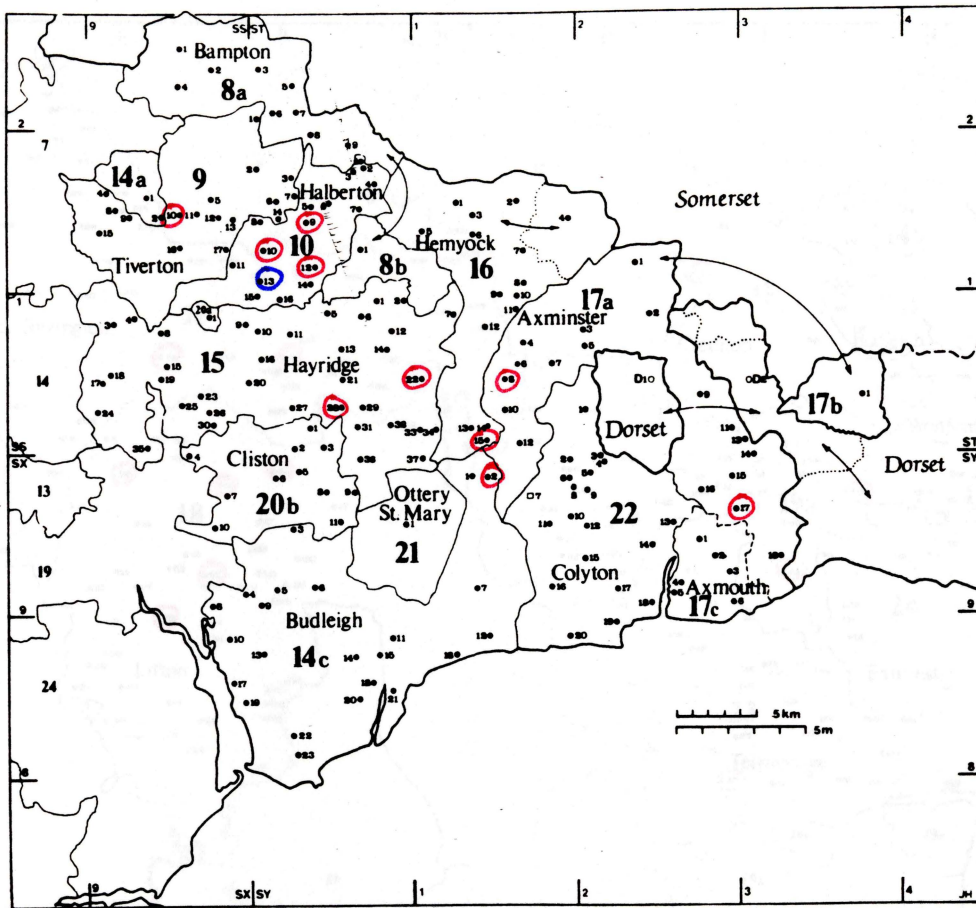
24 Odo holds Wyke (Green) [17a-17]. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 1 plough, which is there, with 1 villager, 3 smallholders and 2 slaves. Meadow, 6 acres; pasture, 5 acres; woodland, 6 acres. 4 cattle; 3 pigs; 20 sheep. 5 goats. Formerly 10s; value now 8s.

52 Godiva holds Torbryan [29b-8]. Brictric, her man, held it before 1066. It paid tax for 3 hides. Land for 12 ploughs. In lordship 4 ploughs; 4 slaves; 1 hide. 16 villagers and 12 smallholders with 8 ploughs and 2 hides. Woodland, 100 acres; meadow, 6 acres; pasture, 20 acres. 120 sheep. Value 100s.

53 Godiva holds Dodbrooke [30-18]. Brictric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 2 hides. Land for 12 ploughs. In lordship 4 ploughs; 8 slaves; 1 hide. 16 villagers and 18 smallholders with 12 ploughs and 1 hide. Meadow, 4 acres; underwood 8 furlongs long and 1 furlong wide. 1 cob; 16 cattle; 9 pigs; 108 sheep; 27 goats. Value 100s.

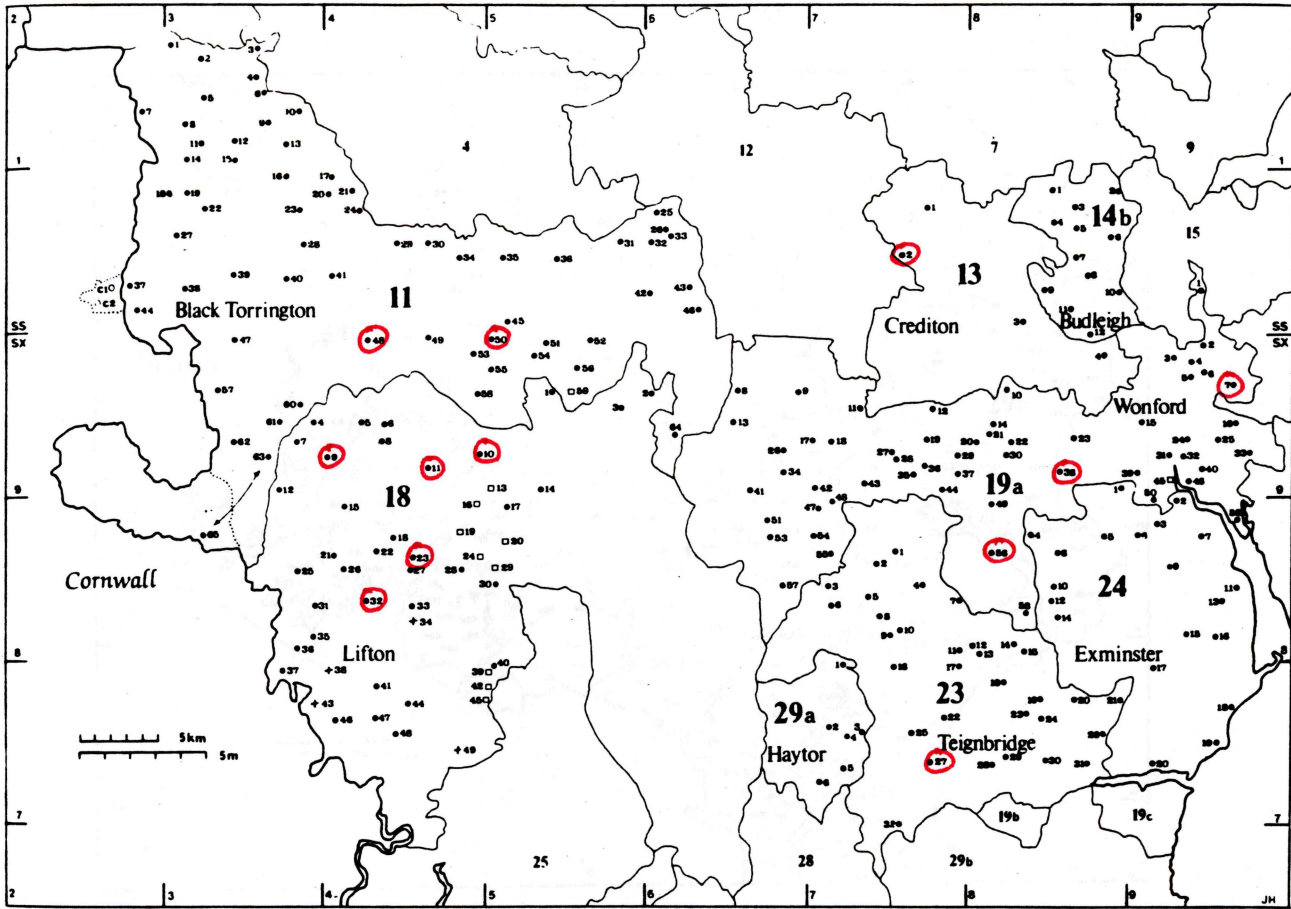


DEVON NORTHERN HUNDREDS



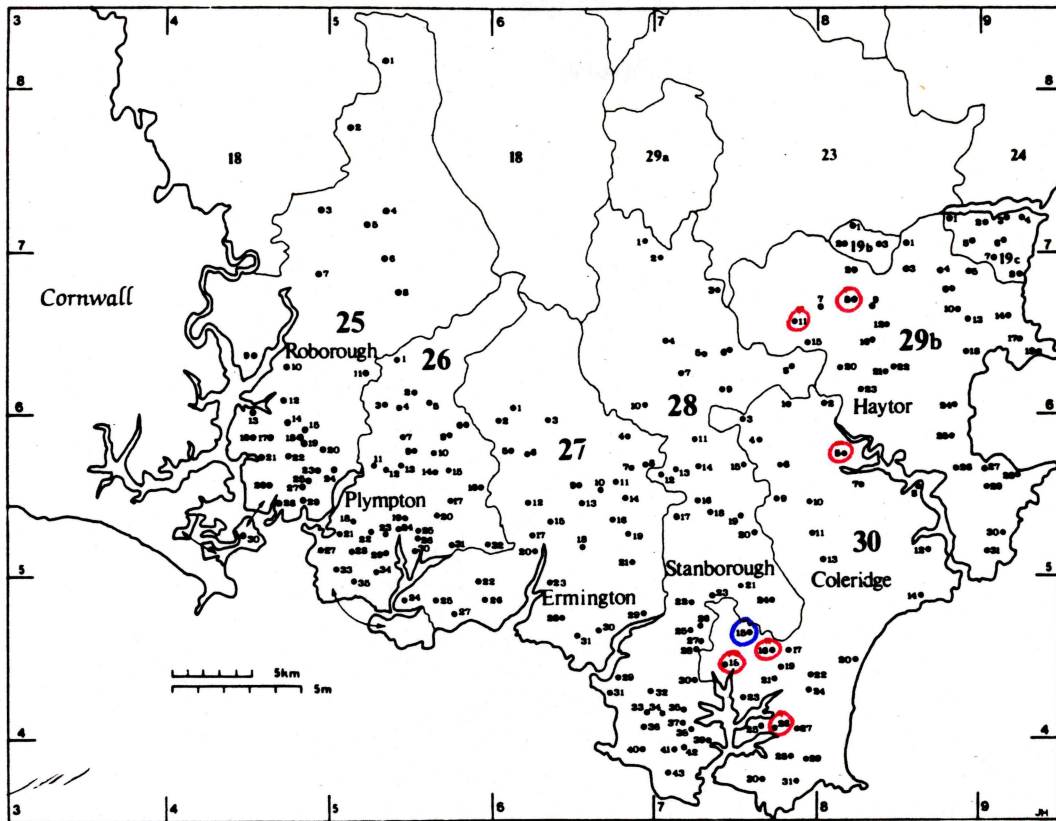
DEVON EASTERN HUNDREDS

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DEVON WEST CENTRAL HUNDREDS





DEVON SOUTHERN HUNDREDS

This citation was taken from Morris, John, ed., Domesday Book, Vol. 10, Cornwall. Chichester: Phillimore, 1979.

Land of the Count of Mortain: 5,2,31. 5,5,10. 5,5,14-15. 5,5,18. 5,23.

(Reginald) holds from the Count

5,2,31 Langunnett [P,18]. Brictric held it before 1066, and paid tax for 1 f; 1 v. of land there, however. Land for 2 ploughs. 8 smallholders and 3 slaves. Woodland, 10 acres; pasture, 5 acres. Formerly 10s; value now 5s.

(Hamelin) also holds APPENDIX I:

5,5,10 Trewolland [P,51]. Brictric held it before 1066, and paid tax for 1 acre. Land for 2 Cornwall plough there; 2 slaves, with 1 villager and 2 smallholders. Pasture, 10 acres. Formerly 5s; value now 3s. 2 cattle; 2 pigs; 37 sheep.

5,5,14 Danna [P,11]. Brictric held it before 1066, and paid tax for 1 f. 1 v. of land there, however. Land for 1 plough; 1/2 plough there, with 1 slave. 2 smallholders. Woodland, 4 acres; pasture, 40 acres. Formerly 10s; value now 5s.

5,5,15 Hamelin holds Penpell [P,22] from the Count. Brictric held it before 1066, and paid tax for 1 v. of land: 1/2 h. there, however. Land for 3 ploughs; 1 plough there; 2 slaves. 4 smallholders. Woodland, 2 acres; pasture, 60 acres. Formerly 10s; value now 5s. 20 sheep.

5,5,18 Hamelin holds Tregavethan [P,10] from the Count. Brictric held it before 1066, and paid tax for 1 f; 1/2 h. there, however. Land for 2 ploughs; 1 plough there, with 1 slave. 4 smallholders. Pasture 1 league long and 1/2 league wide. Formerly 10s; value now 7s 6d. 20 sheep; 4 goats.

5,23,1 Brictric holds Lesnewth [P,38] from the Count. He held it himself before 1066, and paid tax for 1/2 acre; 1 v. of land there, however. Land for 2 ploughs; 1 plough there, with 1 slave. 3 smallholders. Meadow, 2 acres; pasture, 15 acres. Formerly 20s; value 10s. 3 unbroken mares; 3 cattle; 20 sheep.

5,23,2 He also holds Tregal [P]. Brictric held it before 1066, and paid tax for 1 acre of land. Land for 2 ploughs; 1/2 plough there. 2 smallholders. Woodland, 1 acre; meadow, 2 acres; pasture, 10 acres. Formerly 20s; value now 5s. 4 cattle; 30 sheep.

5,23,3 Brictric holds Tregagle (?) [P,31]. He held it himself before 1066, and paid tax for 1 f; 1/2 h. there, however. Land for 3 ploughs. 1 villager and 1 smallholder, with 1 slave. Woodland, 8 acres; pasture, 20 acres. Formerly 10s; value now 5s. 1 cattle; 15 sheep; 5 goats.

5,23,4 Brictric holds Trewyter [P,41]. Brictric held it before 1066, and paid tax for 1 f; 1 v. of land there, however. Land for 2 ploughs. 1 smallholder, with 1 slave. Woodland, 4 acres; pasture, 40 acres. Formerly 10s; value now 5s.

This citation was taken from: Morris, John, ed., Domesday Book. Vol. 10, Cornwall. Chichester: Phillimore, 1979.

Land of the Count of Mortain: 5,2,31. 5,5,10. 5,5,14-15. 5,5,18. 5,23.

(Reginald) holds from the Count

5,2,31 Langunnett [F,18]. Brictric held it before 1066; and paid tax for 1 f; 1 v. of land there, however. Land for 2 ploughs. 8 smallholders and 3 slaves. Woddlan, 10 acres; pasture, 5 acres. formerly 10s; value now 5s.

(Hamelin) also holds from the Count

5,5,10 Trewollan [R,51]. Brictric held it before 1066, and paid tax for 1 acre. Land for 2 ploughs; 1 plough there; 2 slaves, with 1 villager and 2 smallholders. Pasture, 10 acres. Formerly 5s; value now 3s. 2 cattle; 2 pigs; 37 sheep.

5,5,14 Dawna [F,11]. Brictric held it before 1066, and paid tax for 1 f. 1 v. of land there, however. Land for 1 plough; 1/2 plough there, with 1 slave. 2 smallholders. Woodland, 5 acres; pasture, 40 acres. Formerly 10s; value now 5s.

5,5,15 Hamelin holds Penpell [T,22] from the Count. Brictric held it before 1066, and paid tax for 1 v. of land; 1/2 h. there, however. Land for 3 ploughs; 1 plough there; 2 slaves. 4 smallholders. Woddlan, 2 acres; pasture, 60 acres. Formerly 10s; value now 5s. 20 sheep.

5,5,18 Hamelin holds Tregavethan [T,30] from the Count. Brictric held it before 1066, and paid tax for 1 f; 1/2 h. there, however. Land for 2 ploughs; 1 plough there, with 1 slave. 4 smallholders. Pasture 1 league long and 1/2 league wide. Formerly 10s; value now 7s 6d. 20 sheep; 4 goats.

5,23,1 Brictric holds Lesnewth [S,38] from the Count. He held it himself before 1066, and paid tax for 1/2 acre; 1 v. of land there, however. Land for 2 ploughs; 1 plough there, with 1 slave. 3 smallholders. Meadow, 2 acres; pasture, 15 acres. Formerly 25s; value 10s. 3 unbroken mares; 3 cattle; 20 sheep.

5,23,2 He also holds Tregal [?]. Burgred held it before 1066, and paid tax for 1 acre of land. Land for 2 ploughs; 1/2 plough there. 2 smallholders. Woodland, 1 acre; meadow, 2 acres; pasture, 10 acres. Formerly 20s; value now 8s. 4 cattle; 30 sheep.

5,23,3 Brictric holds Tregeagle (?) [T,31]. He held it himself before 1066, and paid tax for 1 f; 1/2 h. there, however. Land for 3 ploughs. 1 villager and 1 smallholder with 1 slave. Woodland, 8 acres; pasture, 20 acres. Formerly 15s; value now 5s. 1 cattle; 15 sheep; 5 goats.

5,23,4 Brictric holds Treverras [T,42]. Leofric held it before 1066, and paid tax for 1 f; 1 v. of land there, however. Land for 2 ploughs. 1 smallholder, with 1 slave. Woodland, 4 acres; pasture, 40 acres. Formerly 20s; value now 5s.

5,23,5 Brictric holds Perranuthnoe [C,10]. Haemar held it before 1066, and paid tax for 1 v. of land; 1 h. there, however. Land for 4 ploughs; 1 1/2 ploughs there; 3 slaves. 7 villagers and 8 smallholders. Pasture, 30 acres. Formerly 30s; value now 10s. 3 cattle; 6 pigs; 30 sheep.

Land of the King: 1,1 1,13 1,18-19

The King holds

1 Winnianton. Before 1066, 15 h. . . Of these 15h. the Count of Mortmain holds 11 h. 17 thanes who could not be separated from the manor held them before 1066. . . Brictric holds Mawgan(-in-Meneage) [W,11]. 1 h. . . . Brictric holds Bojorrow [W,2]. 1 v. of land. 1 cow; 15 sheep. . .

13 Before 1066 Earl Harold held the twelve lands listed above. Brictric, and afterwards Queen Matilda, held those listed below.

The King holds

14 "Connerton" [C,4]. 7 h, but it paid tax for 3h. Land for 40 ploughs; in lordship 1 h; 6 ploughs; 30 slaves. 30 villagers and 20 smallholders with 25 ploughs and 6 hides. A mill which pays 30d; meadow, 1 acre; pasture, 2 leagues long and 1 league wide. It pays L12 at face value. 3 cobs; 40 wild mares; 13 cattle; 300 sheep; 5 goats.

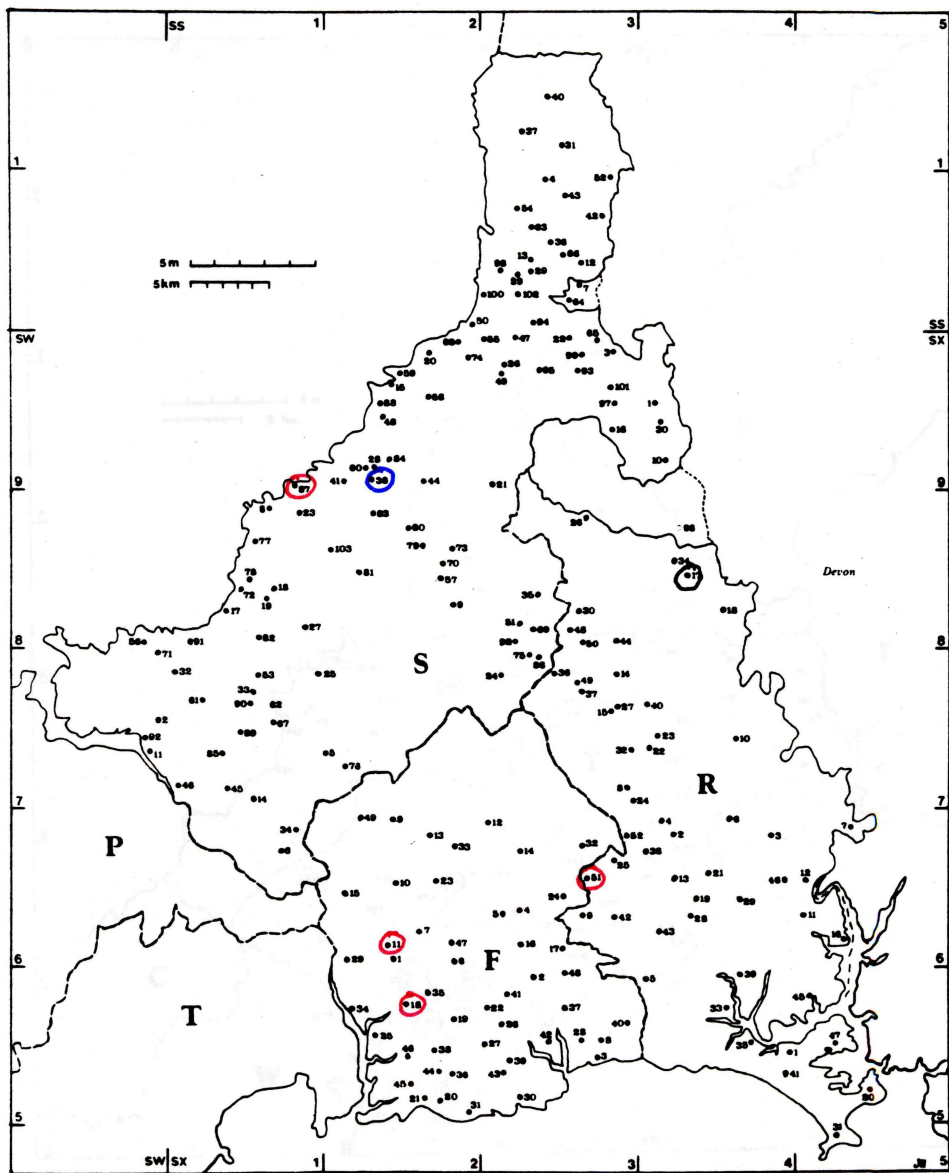
15 Coswarth [P,6]. 1 h. 3 v. of land; before 1066 it paid tax for 1 v. Land for 16 ploughs; in lordship 1 v. of land; 1 plough, with 1 slave. 7 villagers and 6 smallholders with 9 ploughs and 1h. 2 v. It pays L3. 4 cattle; 45 sheep. Before 1066 St. Petroc's had 30d or 1 ox by custom from this manor

16 Binnerton [C,2]. 8 h, but before 1066 it paid tax for 4 h. Land for 60 ploughs; in lordship 1/2 h; 3 ploughs; 10 slaves. 32 villagers and 25 smallholders with 15 ploughs and 7 1/2 h. Meadow, 2 acres; pasture, 2 leagues long and as wide; woodland, 1 league long and 1/2 league wide. It pays L10. 45 unbroken mares; 13 cattle; 5 pigs; 60 sheep.

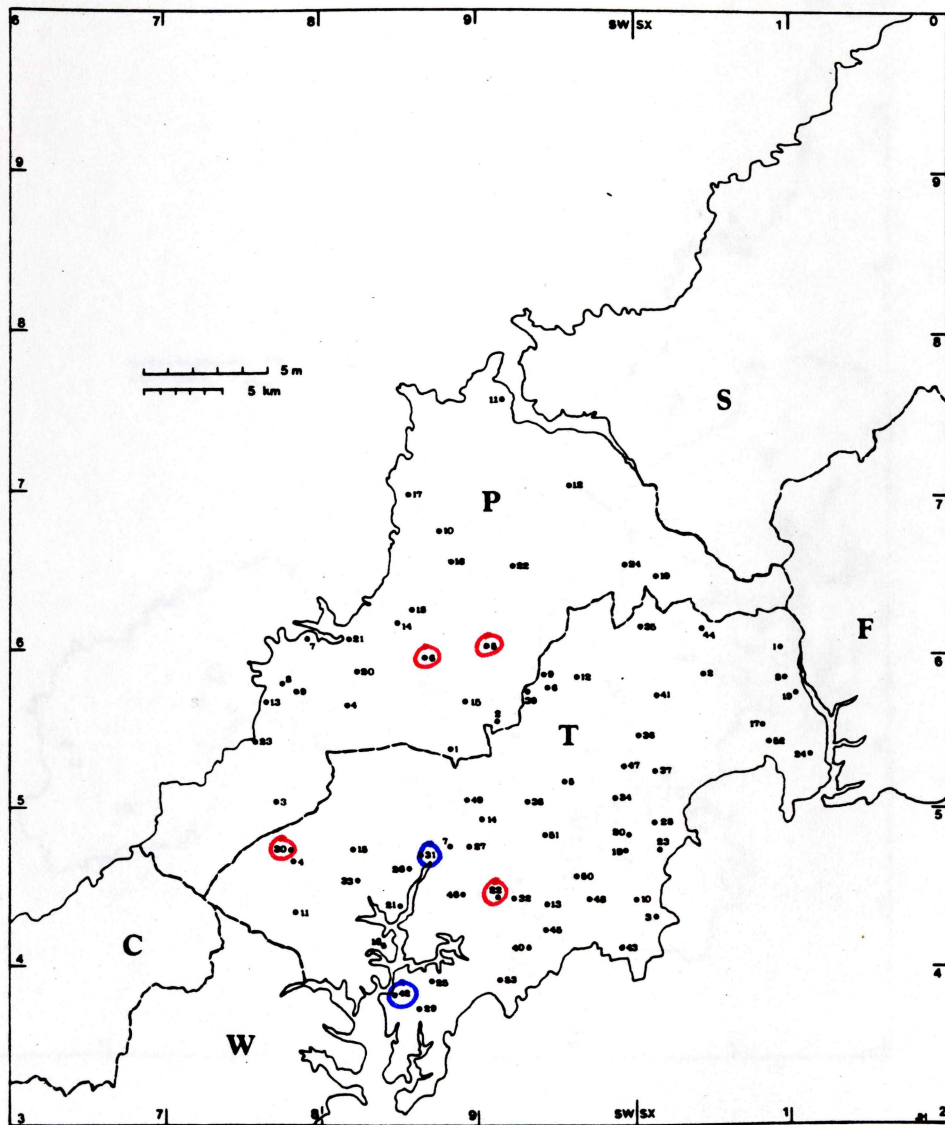
17 Trevalga [P,5]. 1 h; it paid tax for 1/2 h. Land for 8 ploughs; in lordship 1/2 h; 2 ploughs; 3 slaves. 4 villagers and 7 smallholders with 3 ploughs and 1/2 h. Pasture, 1 league long and 1/2 league wide. It pays L4. 5 cattle; 100 sheep; 5 goats.

18 Of Brictric's lands, Aiulf holds a manor, Carworgie. Before 1066 it paid tax for 1 v. of land. Land for 2 ploughs; 1 plough there, with 3 smallholders. Value formerly and now 7s 6d. It pays 8d to St. Petroc's by custom.

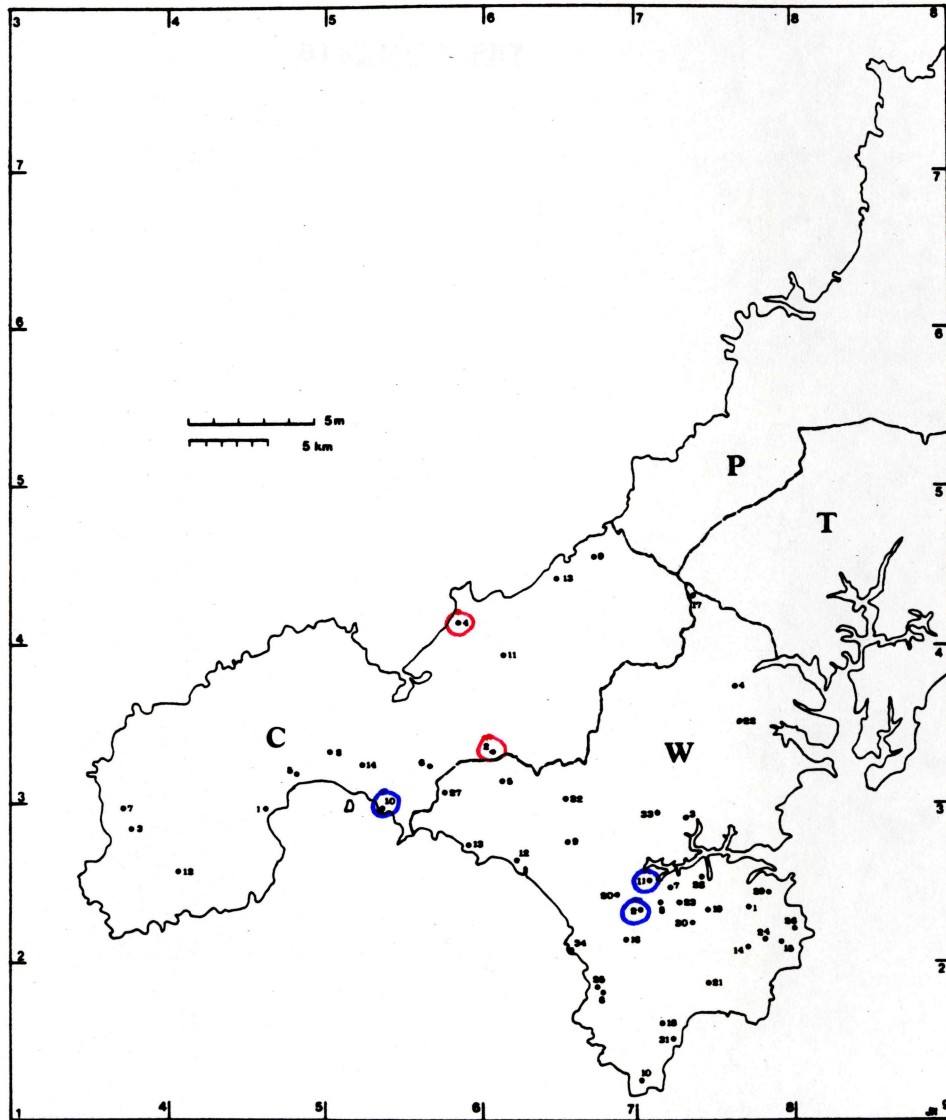
19 Of Brictric's lands, Walter of Claville holds 1 v. of land [?]. Land for 2 ploughs. Formerly 10s; value now is 5s.



NORTH AND EAST CORNWALL



CENTRAL CORNWALL



WEST CORNWALL

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