

The Hundred of Bath in 1086 and Before

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This article examines the evidence that Great Domesday Book (hereafter GDB) provides for the estates which lay in Bath Hundred,¹ and then works backwards in an attempt to understand their earlier history. Because no document simply speaks for itself, it is necessary to begin with a brief look at GDB. It is divided into counties and, within them, all the lands of each landholder are grouped together in chapters which represent their fiefs. For each estate, GDB sets out to give:

- The name of the estate, sometimes stating whether it was a manor or not
- Its 1066 holder, its 1086 holder and his subtenant if any
- Its assessment for geld, measured in hides at both dates²
- An estimate of the number of ploughs that would be needed for full exploitation of its arable potential, sometimes called 'plough-lands'
- Its actual resources in terms of ploughs, people (divided into various categories), pasture, meadow, woodland, mills, with occasional mention of other things such as churches and fisheries
- A valuation at 1066 and 1086 and sometimes at some intermediate date
- Additional information concerning disputed tenure or the fusion or fission of manors

The When? of the Domesday Survey is certain (begun, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ASC), as a result of 'deep speech' in Gloucester at Christmas 1085); the Why? is never stated in any document that might have emanated from the king or his councillors; and the How? is the object of much research and speculation.

The repeated evidence of the entries in GDB is that they are a response to urgent questions about tenure and revenue. Who was the holder in 1066? From whom and in what way did he hold and had the estate, as constituted in 1086, passed wholly and legitimately to its then holder? As to revenue, the Book is obsessed with how much geld an estate should pay, what its exemptions were, whether it could pay more by exploiting its arable potential. The final value-clause seems to suggest an additional or alternative way of raising money. The indignant words of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,³ and the list of questions found in the *Inquisitio Eliensis*⁴ (which purport to be those that provided focus for the Enquiry) seem to

affirm that these were the king's principal interests. It is not difficult to see that King William, faced with a shortage of revenue (the Tax Returns of 1084 illustrate the difficulty), pressed by the need to raise and support an army to face a possible invasion of England, troubled by the behaviour of some of his closest relatives and of his appointed officials,⁵ uncertain of the loyalty of his magnates and perhaps unsure even as to who they were, and beset by petitions about the alienation and division of estates, concluded that increased knowledge was the way to assert power and proceeded with a survey unprecedented in detail and seemingly awesome in its authority. The English of a later age gave it the name 'Domesday' in reference to the Book of Judgement.⁶

As to the How?, it is clear that the process that produced GDB, though rapid, was not simple. I am inclined to think that GDB itself was not the intended outcome of the Enquiry, but was an abbreviation, ordered by the Conqueror when the size and unwieldy arrangement of the Survey became apparent. On this hypothesis, this preliminary stage would be represented by Little Domesday Book (LDB),⁷ and the Exeter Domesday Book (Exon),⁸ which correspond to two of the groups of counties (often called circuits which are generally reckoned as seven) into which England was divided for the purposes of the Survey.⁹ If the king saw all seven of these putative volumes, he would probably have been shown about 3,000 folios in a variety of hands, probably unrubricated, unindexed and with somewhat rambling formulae. It is possible that the information derived from some at least of these 'circuit volumes' was available to him on 1st August 1086 when 'he came to Salisbury by Lammas, where he was met by his council and all the landholders who were of any account throughout England, no matter whose vassals they might be. All did him homage, and became his men and swore him oaths of allegiance that they would be faithful to him against all other men'. The information might also have assisted William in this next act: 'he did as he was wont, he levied very heavy taxes on his subjects, upon any pretext whether justly or unjustly' (ASC).

The abbreviation of this mass of documentation could have begun thereafter and it is estimated that the editing, writing and revising would have taken up to two years, before work ceased abruptly, leaving unincorporated the information for Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk contained in LDB. A very probable cause of this was the disgrace and exile of William de Saint-Calais, Bishop of Durham, who may have been 'the man behind the Survey'.¹⁰

The editorial process can be seen from Arnulf d'Hesdin's holding at Weston (near Bath) as reported first by Exon DB (fol.448b) and then by GDB:

Exon DB fol.448b

LAND OF ARNULF D'HESDIN IN SOMERSET¹¹

Arnulfus [Arnulf] has one manor which is called *Westona* [WESTON near Bath] which *Eddricus* [Edric] held on the day when King Edward was alive and dead. And it paid geld for 5 hides; 7 ploughs can plough these. Of these [hides] Arnulf has 4 hides less ½ virgate and 3 acres in lordship and 2 ploughs and the villans have 1 hide and ½ virgate and 3 acres and 3 ploughs. Arnulf has there 6 villans and 1 bordar and 10 serfs and 6 cob-horses and 8 cattle and 16 pigs and 250 sheep and 1 mill which pays 20s and 30 acres of woodland and 13 acres of meadow and 60 acres of pasture and 3 houses in the borough of Bath which pay 2s and 3d each year and it is worth £8 a year and, when Arnulf received it, it was worth as much.

GDB ch.41,1

(LAND OF ARNULF D'HESDIN)

Ernulfus de Hesding [Arnulf d'Hesdin] holds *Westone* [WESTON near Bath] from the king. *Edric* [Edric] held it before 1066 and it paid geld for 5 hides. There is land for 7 ploughs. In lordship are 2 ploughs and 10 serfs and 6 villans and 1 bordar with 3 ploughs. There is a mill paying 20 shillings and 13 acres of meadow and 60 acres of pasture and 30 acres of woodland. In Bath 3 houses which pay 27d. The whole was worth £8 formerly and now.

The abbreviation into GDB has been achieved by the use of more compact formulae,¹² by the suppression of references to livestock, by not recording the hidages of the respective portions of lordship and villans' land on the estate,¹³ and, in other entries, by the removal of bynames from the subtenants.¹⁴ What is not so obvious in translation is that between Exon and GDB there has been considerable editorial intervention in changing the rules for the spelling of place-names, in altering the order in which information is entered and in substituting one Latin word for another.¹⁵ What appears in GDB is not simply what was supplied in answers to the original questions.

It seems probable that Exon (like other circuit volumes) was preceded by a document that was written up after the hearing in the shire-court at which evidence was given 'by oath of the sheriff of the shire and of all the barons and of their Frenchmen and of the whole hundred (court) and of the priest, the reeve and of six villans of each and every vill'.¹⁶ It is quite likely that such a document was drafted before the court-hearing and corrected at and after it and that it was itself the result of comparing and then merging

(in as standard a format as possible) material (pre-conquest in origin but updated) relating to hundreds, vills, estates, hidage, tax and tenure drawn from existing records held by the shire and the hundred, with the same information asked of the predominantly Norman holders of the 1086 estates. To be of use to the court, this document would have needed to be arranged not as in Exon and GDB by county and within it by fief-holder and within his chapter by estate,¹⁷ but by county, hundred, vill and constituent estates, as is the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* (ICC) which probably represents this stage of the enquiry. This would have allowed the members of each hundred and vill to succeed each other in court. For Weston (which was a vill divided between two landholders in 1086) such a document would have probably had this form:

IN SOMERSETSHIRE ...

In the Hundred of Bath these men swore (*list of the hundred jurors*).

In this Hundred, Weston is assessed at 20 hides.

Of these 20 hides, the Abbot of Bath holds 15 hides. Abbot Saewold held these before 1066. They paid tax for 15 hides (*The entry would then proceed as Exon fol.185b, abbreviated as GDB Somerset 7,5*)

Of these 20 hides, Arnulf d'Hesdin holds 5 hides which Edric held before 1066. (*The entry would then proceed as Exon fol.448b, abbreviated as GDB Somerset 41,1 above*)

Exon would thus have been produced by rearranging material that was laid out by hundred, vill and estate into feudal chapters in which the estates, while generally remaining in hundredal groups,¹⁸ have been taken away from their vills and divided between chapters. This process would have been greatly helped by the compilation of simplified conversion tables listing the old and new orders of which some may survive among the so-called Domesday satellites.¹⁹

This complex process, briefly outlined, has implications for understanding every entry in GDB. Not only has the initial material come from various sources, but it has been through processes of copying, revision, editing and abbreviation. Early errors and false claims never spotted nor contradicted may have become embedded. There will have been mishearings, misunderstandings, miscopyings, and lapses of attention. Minims will have fallen out, material will have been omitted accidentally as well as deliberately.²⁰ In particular, several individuals or groups (fief-holders, hundred-jurors, commissioners, various scribes including the main scribe of GDB) will have chosen particular forms of expression (for example, the

assessment of woodland, the choice of population category) which may or may not have been unscrambled in the final product.²¹

If we recombine the villis that the Domesday process has splintered, the basic details of the estates in Bath Hundred can be tabulated as follows:²²

Fig.1 Domesday Book, Somerset: Estates in Bath Hundred

Modern name	Exon/GDB References	1066 > 1086 Holders	Exon/GDB Place-names	Hides
Bath	114b/1,31 185a/7,1	Queen Edith > King William Bath Church > Bath Church	<i>Bade/Bade</i> <i>Bade/In burgo ipso</i>	20h –
Bathampton	186a/7,11	Two thanes from Bath Church > Hugh <i>the Interpreter</i> and Colgrim <i>an Englishman</i> from Bath Church	<i>Hamtona/Hantone</i>	3h+2h
Batheaston	114a/1,30 186a/7,10	Queen Edith > King William Abbot Wulfward from Bath Church > Walter <i>Hussey</i> from Bath Church	<i>Estona/Estone</i> <i>Estona/Estone</i>	2h 1½h
Bathford	465a/45,10 185b/7,6	Ingulf > Hugolin the Interpreter Bath Church > Bath Church	<i>Estona/Estone</i> <i>Forda/Forde</i>	3h 10h
Bathwick	144a/5,37	Aelfric > The Bishop of Coutances	<i>Wica/Wiche</i>	4h
Charlcombe	186a/7,8	A thane from Bath Church > William <i>Hussey</i> from Bath Church	<i>Cerlacuma/Cerlecume</i>	4h
Claverton	465a/45,11	Swein > Hugolin the Interpreter	<i>Clafertona/Clafertone</i>	5h
(Monkton) Combe	185b/7,7	Bath Church > Bath Church	<i>Cuma/Cume</i>	9h
Freshford	144a/5,35	Tovi > Roger Whiting from the Bishop of Coutances	<i>Firforda/Firford</i>	2½h
Langridge	144a/5,36	Alfsi > Azelin from the Bishop of Coutances	<i>Lancheris/Lancheris</i>	2½h
Lyncombe	186a/7,9	Bath Church > Bath Church	<i>LinCuma/Lincume</i>	10h
Swainswick	144b/5,38	Alfred > Nigel <i>de Gournai</i> from the Bishop of Coutances	<i>Wica/Wiche</i>	2h
	492b/47,18	Alfred (<i>of Wick</i>) > Alfred (<i>of Wick</i>)	<i>Wica/Wiche</i>	2h
Tadwick	464b/45,7 465a/45,8	Three thanes > William Hussey Godric > Ralph <i>brother of Roger</i> of Berkeley	<i>Tateuica/Tatewiche</i> <i>Tata Wica/Tatewiche</i>	1½h ½h
Warleigh	465a/45,9	Azor > Hugolin the Interpreter	<i>Heorleia/Herlei</i>	1h
Weston	185b/7,5 448b/41,1	Bath Church > Bath Church Eric > Arnulf of Hesdin	<i>Westona/Westone</i> <i>Westona/Westone</i>	15h 5h
'Woodwick' [in Freshford]	186b/7,12	A monk from Bath Church > Ranulf Flambard from Bath Church	<i>Vudevuica/Vndewiche</i>	2½h
Woolley	144a/5,37	Aelfric > the Bishop of Coutances	<i>Wllega/Wilege</i>	1h

GDB references are to *GDB Somerset*, from which the identifications have been drawn. Personal names have been standardised. Italicised parts of personal names are derived from the fuller entries in Exon. Alfred of Wick is so identified by the Tax Return for Bath Hundred. Roger Whiting, tenant of the Bishop of Coutances at Freshford, appears to be the same man as Roger *de Courseulles*, a major tenant-in-chief in Somerset. The Tax Return identifies the tenant not as Roger, but as Robert Greno, either a subtenant of Roger or an immediate predecessor.

Somerset was dominated by about 40 landholders in 1086, Bath Hundred by the lands of its Benedictine Abbey (57 hides) and of three national figures, the king, the Bishop of Coutances²³ and Arnulf d'Hesdin.²⁴ It is likely that these three would have left reeves in charge of their estates and never visited them.²⁵ This was probably true of some of the 1086 subtenants such as Ranulf Flambard²⁶ and Hugo/Hugolin the interpreter,²⁷ but others, perhaps Nigel de Gournai²⁸ and the two Husseys, Walter and William, came and stayed. Very often the important tenurial pattern of Domesday is revealed by the way in which subtenants have acquired adjacent estates, where they settle and which pass down from generation to generation. Walter Hussey held Batheaston from Bath Abbey; William held Charlcombe from the abbey as well as Tadwick from the king.²⁹

The Latin forms of the place-names show manglings such as *Lancheris* for Langridge³⁰ that took place before Exon was compiled, or those such as *Vudevuica/Vndewiche* for 'Woodwick'³¹ that intervened between Exon and GDB.

As to the estates themselves, GDB does not even show whether the holding was a manor,³² and no extant text produced by or for the Survey indicates the location or shape of any settlement nor the bounds of the estate. This was outside the Survey's concentrated and narrow remit. Yet while the shifting centres of estates are difficult to locate and put in sequence and the form of settlement may change over time between dispersal and nucleation, the extent of the estates can often be deduced from later evidence. Thus Batheaston stands for North End and St Catherine and included Bannerdown and Charmy Down. Weston, 20 hides in GDB, will have included Northstoke and part of Lansdown; Lyncombe spoke for Widcombe;³³ Monkton Combe for Combe Down (its chapelry) and possibly for South Stoke.³⁴ Walcot was probably included in the 20 hides of the borough of Bath (GDB Somerset 1,31).³⁵

There is great correspondence between Domesday estates and the so-called ancient parishes, largely because in origin most parochial churches arose to serve the needs of manors or vills, after the monastic reforms of the tenth century meant that secular priests were no longer available to minister to the needs of people living within the *parochia* of their minster. This minster was itself usually the church of some extensive ancient estate from which the later manors were derived.³⁶ Where ancient parish and 1086 estate do not coincide, it is sometimes because the Domesday estate was very large and contained more than one church (for example, St Catherine was a chapelry of Batheaston), or because an estate had further subdivided. Thus Tadwick and Swainswick contain separate Domesday estates, two in each, but were probably in origin a single 'Wick', of 5 hides.

Domesday accounts by name or by silent inclusion for all the later administrative divisions of Bath Hundred except Kelston. There is no reason to doubt that Shaftesbury Abbey held land here in 1086, as later, but it does not appear in GDB or Exon for Somerset.³⁷

The 1084 Tax Return for Bath Hundred allots it 95 hides; the total of estates that can plausibly be allocated to Bath Hundred from GDB is 108, but this includes the Borough of Bath notionally assessed as 20 hides, but which appears not to have paid tax via the hundred.³⁸ This reduces the GDB total to 88 hides, but 95 or so hides could be reached by assuming 7 or so hides at Kelston. Ninety-five hides itself is a tantalisingly close figure to 100 hides, and it is not implausible to assume that 5 hides were lost to the hundred when a triangle of land (its boundary starting from the Avon, then running between Freshford and Limpley Stoke as far as Midford and then back along the Midford Brook to the Avon) was granted to Shaftesbury Abbey as part of Bradford-on-Avon in 1001.³⁹

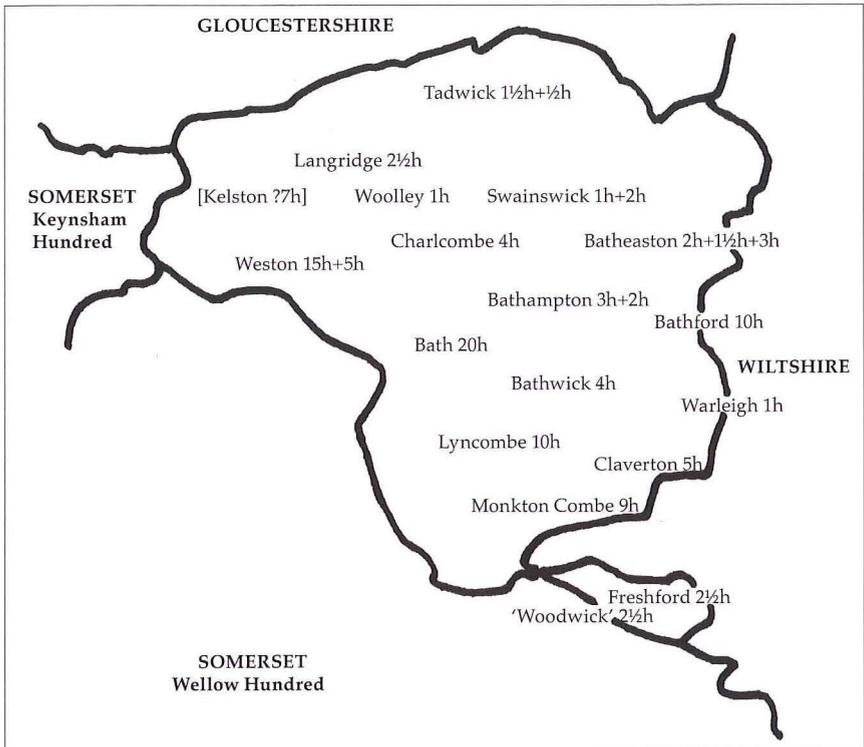


Fig.2 Estates in Bath Hundred in 1086 with Hidages (h=hide)

The estates of Bath Hundred in 1086 are of different sizes and often not assessed in round numbers, yet, with the restoration of Kelston and of the wedge of Wiltshire between Monkton Combe and Freshford, their total can plausibly be argued to have once been 100 hides. That many English hundreds once consisted of 100 hides is evident from Domesday Book, but they are mostly found in the areas which had been re-assessed or re-hidated after their recovery from the Danish invaders. In the shires of Wessex, the 1086 hundreds are often of very different sizes although the hidages of individual estates, as evidenced by charters from the ninth century onwards, have not been altered. Since the time of J.H. Round, it has been common to look for 5-hide units or multiples thereof,⁴⁰ and to assume that when hundreds were established as new units of taxation and law and order, they were either created by being drawn around estates which totalled 100 hides, or that an area was first rated as 100 hides and the burden then divided among its estates in multiples of 5 hides. Neither of these models works very well in Wessex where there are few 100-hide hundreds, and there is nothing universal about five and its multiples.

It is true that in Bath Hundred there are estates of 5 hides (e.g. Claverton), or of multiples of 5 (e.g. Weston). Other such units can be created: for example 'Woodwick' and Freshford (2½ hides each and sharing a mill), Tadwick and Swainswick, Charlcombe and Woolley, or Bathwick and Woolley, as suggested by DB itself, though the linkage may merely result from both having the same DB holder in 1066.⁴¹ However, there are a number of hidages that impugn this pattern, especially around the edge of the hundred: 2½ at Langridge, 6½ (or 4½) at Batheaston,⁴² 1 at Warleigh, 9 at Monkton Combe,⁴³ perhaps 7 at Kelston. Such odd hidages rather suggest that these estates have been granted out piecemeal from some large central core and that their size has been determined by the generosity of the giver or the merits of the recipient.

Another strand to the argument that the Domesday estates represent fragments of something larger comes from the place-names. Weston and (Bath)easton can only be the western and eastern *tunas* of Bath itself. North and South Stoke seem to be similarly linked by their relationship with Bath: the *stoc* element implies dependency. There are also a surprising number of 'Wicks', a name which, whatever its exact significance, also suggests dependency on other settlements. Charlcombe is 'combe of the *ceorls*, or free peasants', who no doubt occupied an outlying part of some greater estate, probably Bath itself. In a negative sense, within the whole of Bath Hundred, there seems to be no major settlement to rival the predominance of Bath itself. All were probably once subordinate to it.

In Somerset, as in many other counties, a significant proportion of the hundreds were named from major estates, mostly royal. Keynsham named a hundred as did Chewton (Mendip), while the royal manors of Frome, Bruton and Yeovil each stood at the head of three hundreds, probably representing their pre-hundredal territory.⁴⁴ In many cases, the antiquity of such estates is uncertain, but for Bath there is good evidence that the hundred of 1086 was the same size, if not necessarily with the same bounds, as an earlier royal estate from which it had evolved. By a charter ostensibly issued between 676 and 681 Osric, king or underking of the Hwicce and nephew of Wulfhere who had ruled Mercia between 657 and 674, is said to have granted to the Abbess Bertana *centum manentes* (one hundred homesteads, i.e. hides) which lay near the city called *Hat Bathu* for the building of a monastery of holy virgins.⁴⁵ The Hwicce, whose bishopric was established at Worcester, occupied lands that were later a part of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire. This people was ultimately incorporated into Greater Mercia whose royal centre was at Tamworth with a monastery at Repton and an episcopal seat at Lichfield (established in 664).⁴⁶

This charter is suspect because of its dating, its format and the lack of synchrony between some of its witnesses. It is late, probably elaborated, and possibly forged, but such doubtful documents can nonetheless contain a core of authentic information.⁴⁷ The size of the grant was large but not unusual. The lands thus granted would not have been put together suddenly for the nunnery, nor emptied of their cultivators, but would probably have been the wholesale gift of the lands that then depended on Bath. Thus, they were probably the grant *en bloc* of a pre-existing royal estate that belonged at that time to the Hwiccan royal house, an estate which may or may not have had some continuity with the hinterland of Roman Bath.⁴⁸

The nunnery itself did not survive for long, but that it existed seems guaranteed by two late seventh-century charters, the second of them sounder than the first. The first is a grant of 40 *manentes* at *Slaepi* [?Islip in Oxfordshire]⁴⁹ and the second of 20 *manentes* next to the River Cherwell, possibly adjacent to the land at Islip.⁵⁰ The first is addressed to *Bernguidi* called a 'venerable abbess', the second to *Bernguidi* and *Folcburgi*, perhaps her deputy.⁵¹ When next we hear of a religious house in Bath, in 757, it is occupied by monks, for in that year Cynewulf, King of the West Saxons (757-786), with the consent of Offa, King of the Mercians (757-796), granted to the brothers of St Peter's 'minster' in Bath, land at North Stoke which was in his jurisdiction.⁵² This grant of North Stoke is not a foundation grant, but an isolated gift or restoration: it is likely that the monastery already possessed other lands, but there is a great gap in our knowledge. Moreover,

it is not obvious why Cynewulf, a king of Wessex (757-786), held land at North Stoke unless he had purchased it or leased it from the Mercian king (who himself had pretensions to be *rex totius Anglorum patriae*: 'king of the whole fatherland of the English'), for Bath itself continued to be in Mercia.

In 781 at the Synod of Brentford, Bishop Heathured of Worcester (781-798 or 800), responding to a claim by King Offa of Mercia that he wrongly held the inheritance of his kinsman, King Ethelbald (716-757), restored to the same King Offa 90 hides at Bath and also returned to him the minster at Bath. Additionally, in exchange for land in Worcestershire and Warwickshire, he gave him 30 *cassati* of land south of the River Avon that he had bought from the same Cynewulf, King of the West Saxons.⁵³ It is perhaps significant that these 90 hides are close in number to the 100 hides⁵⁴ originally granted to the nunnery and that these evidently lay north of the Avon, in Offa's own territory of Mercia. That they were held by Heathured suggests perhaps that they had reverted to the see of Worcester when the nunnery ceased and that the bishop had either re-granted them to the monastery (of which he was perhaps patron) or kept them for his bishopric.

It is also significant that in 781 the Avon seems to have been the boundary between Mercia and Wessex and that the lands lying south of the Avon which were subsequently mentioned as being in the hands of the monastery (being recorded in later grants and/or in Domesday Book) totalled 29 hides. These were at Monkton Combe, Lyncombe (including Widcombe), Bathampton and 'Woodwick'-Freshford.⁵⁵

One way of making sense of this fragmentary information is to suggest that a Mercian royal manor of 100 hides, which perhaps, with the exception of Bathwick, lay north and west of the Avon, was granted in its totality to a nunnery in the late seventh century and, that when that house closed, part or all of it went to a newly founded monastery. By 781 ninety hides were in the hands of Bishop Heathured of Worcester (among them possibly some of the monastic lands of which he was perhaps the overlord or which he had diverted to his own use). The effect of the transfer of the 90 hides to King Offa at the Synod of Brentford was perhaps that he became patron of the monastery in Bath, and certainly that Bath itself again became a royal estate. It is not certain that Offa gave or restored any of the 90 hides to the monastery, though he is credited with reforming it. As a result of the gift of a further 30 hides, the centre of gravity of the royal estate at Bath moved southwards. These 120 hides may well have been the 115 recorded in GDB plus the putative 5 hides of the wedge of land between Freshford and Monkton Combe that by 1086 had been granted to Shaftesbury Abbey.⁵⁶

Thereafter, Bath itself and no doubt other dependent lands not yet granted out were in royal hands.⁵⁷ According to Domesday Book, 20 hides of Bath and land in Batheaston connected to it were still royal land in 1066 and in 1086.⁵⁸ By 1086, the major portion of the hundred was in the hands of the 'church' of Bath. The several charters which record grants of land in Bath Hundred are given below; all Domesday estates are listed, even if not the subject of a grant:

Estate	Charter and Date	Nature of Grant
Bath	S. 51 (676x681)	100 <i>manentes</i> granted by Osric, King of the Hwicce, to found a nunnery
	S. 1257 (781)	90 hides surrendered by Bishop Heathured to King Offa with the addition of 30 hides that Heathured had bought from Cynewulf, King of Wessex
Bathampton	S. 627 (955x959)	Granted by King Edwy to his faithful friend Hehelm who gave it to Bath Abbey
Batheaston	–	No pre-conquest history known, but associated with the royal revenue of Bath in 1066 and 1086
Bathford	S. 642 (957)	Granted by King Edwy to Bath Abbey
Bathwick	?S. 1484 (966x975)	Apart from the GDB entry, no pre-conquest history is known. Possibly the <i>Wickam</i> of the will of Ælfgifu
Charlcombe	–	Apart from the GDB entry, no pre-conquest history is known
Claverton	S. 1538 (984x1016)	Granted by the will of Wulfwaru to her son Wulfmær. It subsequently passed to Bath Abbey at an unknown date
(Monkton) Combe	–	Apart from the GDB entry, no pre-conquest history is known
Freshford	–	[See 'Woodwick' below]
[Kelston]	–	Given at an unknown date, pre- or post-conquest, to Shaftesbury Abbey who held it in and after 1084]
Langridge	–	Apart from the GDB entry, no pre-conquest history is known
Lyncombe	S. 777 (970)	Granted (as <i>Cliftune</i>) by King Edgar to the monastery at Bath in exchange for <i>Cumtune</i> . Said to have been granted previously by King Athelstan (924-939); <i>BC</i> , ii. no.808. Included Widcombe and Holloway
(North) Stoke	S. 265 (758)	Granted to the monastery by King Cynewulf of Wessex with the consent of King Offa of Mercia. Confirmed by King Ethelred (865-871); <i>BC</i> , ii. no.808. Included in Weston in GDB
(South) Stoke	S. 694 (961)	Granted by King Edgar to the monastery at Bath. According to <i>BC</i> , ii. no.808, this was a re-grant of land already given by King Ethelred (865-871). Not named in GDB, but perhaps included in Monkton Combe
Swainswick	–	Apart from the GDB entry, no pre-conquest history is known
Tadwick	–	Apart from the GDB entry, no pre-conquest history is known
Warleigh	–	Not held by Bath Abbey in 1066 or 1086, but apparently in the abbey's hands in 1001
Weston	(1) S. 508 (946)	(1) Five hides given by King Edmund to Æthelhere, who gave them to Bath Abbey
	(2) S. 661 (956x961)	(2) A further five hides restored to the abbey by King Edwy. Bath Church held 15 hides here in 1066 and 1086 (GDB Somerset 7,5) of which five were no doubt at North Stoke. Arnulf d'Hesdin's 5 hides were given to the abbey after 1086
'Woodwick' [in Freshford]	S. 1538 (984x1016)	Probably the estate at Freshford granted to the abbey by the will of Wulfwaru
Woolley	–	Apart from the GDB entry, no pre-conquest history is known

Fig.3 Bath Hundred: Anglo-Saxon Charters Recording Grants of Land

These charters should not necessarily be taken at face value. A charter may be a restoration of something granted earlier for which no charter has survived. In particular, a re-grant may sometimes be only of an alienated part of a larger estate, whose original gift is undocumented but which continued to be held without interruption. No charters exist for some estates (e.g., Monkton Combe, Charlcombe) known to have been held by Bath Church before 1066. Moreover, in the absence of many charters, it is possible that Bath Abbey had once held more estates in Bath Hundred than Domesday Book allows. Monasteries found that a convenient way to manage some of their estates was to sub-infeudate them, often by granting them out to an individual for three lives. The land was supposed to return to the abbey after the death of his grandson or second heir, but estates often became alienated. By its minimalist recording of 1066 tenure, GDB defeats one of its objects. In what sense did Azor hold Warleigh or Tovi hold Freshford in 1066? Were they 'free to go with their lands where they would', or were they in fact holding abbey lands, for the abbey appears to have held both in 1001?⁵⁹

Most of the material needed to produce a detailed and coherent account of the origins of Bath Hundred is missing, but there is perhaps enough to suggest some continuity from the '100 homesteads' granted at the end of the seventh century for the founding of a nunnery and the patchwork of apparently independent estates recorded by Domesday Book. These probably arose by grant, by alienation and by successive subdivision of portions of some greater whole which was an ancient royal estate, first of the Kings of Mercia, then of those of Wessex and England, and which may not have been entirely discontinuous with the land of Roman Bath.

Bibliography and abbreviations used in the notes

ASC: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Translations are from G.N. Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Dent, 1960)

BC: W. Hunt (ed.), *Two Cartularies of the Priory of St. Peter at Bath*, Somerset Record Society, vol.8 (Taunton, 1894). Within this volume, the two cartularies are paginated separately; they are referred to as i. and ii. in the notes below.

Book of Fees: Book of Fees (Testa de Nevill), 3 vols. (HMSO, 1920-1931)

DB: Domesday Book

GDB: Great Domesday Book. References to individual counties followed by chapter and entry numbers are to the Phillimore edition: John Morris (gen. ed.), *Domesday Book* (History from the Sources), 40 vols. (Phillimore, Chichester, 1975-1992)

DB1-4: Domesday Book, associated texts, introduction and indices published by the Record Commission (1783-1816)

- ECTV: M. Gelling (ed.), *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley* (Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1979)
- ECW: H.P.R. Finberg (ed.), *The Early Charters of Wessex* (Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1964)
- ECWM: H.P.R. Finberg (ed.), *The Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 2nd edn. (Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1972)
- EHD: D. Whitelock (ed.), *English Historical Documents, i: c.500-1042* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1955)
- EHR: *English Historical Review*
- Exon DB: *Liber Exoniensis in Libri Censualis Vocati Domesday Book, Additamenta ex Codic. Antiquiss.*, in DB3 (4 in some bindings). Folio references are to recto (a) and verso (b).
- Eyton: R.W. Eyton, *Domesday Studies: An Analysis and Digest of the Somerset Surveye (according to the Exon Codex), and of the Somerset Gheld Inquest of A.D.1084*, 2 vols. (Reeves and Turner, London and Bristol, 1880)
- FA: *Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids with other analogous Documents preserved in the Public Records Office AD 1284-1431*, 6 vols. (HMSO, 1899-1920)
- Grundy: G.B. Grundy, *The Saxon Charters and Field Names of Somerset* (Somerset Archaeological & Natural History Society, Taunton, 1935). Also in *PSANHS* 73-80 (1927-1934), *passim*.
- Hallam and Bates, *Domesday Book*: Elizabeth Hallam and David Bates (eds.), *Domesday Book* (Tempus Publishing, Stroud, 2001)
- Hemming: Thomas Hearne (ed.), *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1723)
- ICC: N.E.S.A. Hamilton (ed.), *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis ... subijcitur Inquisitio Eliensis* (1876)
- Keats-Rohan, DP: K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People, A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066-1166: I Domesday Book* (Boydell, Woodbridge, 1999)
- OE: Old English
- PBNHAF: *Proceedings of the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*
- PSANHS: *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*
- RH: *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 2 vols. (Record Commission, 1812-1818)
- S.: P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks no.8 (1968). The abbreviation S. is followed by the number of the charter in Sawyer's list.
- Shaftesbury Abbey Charters*: S.E. Kelly (ed.), *Charters of Shaftesbury Abbey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters v (Oxford University Press for the British Academy, Oxford, 1996)
- Somerset Domesday*: A. Williams and R.W.H. Erskine (eds.), *The Somerset Domesday* (1989). This is part of the Alecto County Edition. The translations of each county have now been gathered together (not entirely satisfactorily) in: A. Williams and G.H. Martin (eds.), *Domesday Book, a Complete Translation* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 2002)
- Tax Returns 1084: Also known as Geld Rolls or Geld Accounts; those for Somerset are in Exon DB fols. 75a-82b, 526b-527a.
- TBGAS: *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*
- VCH: *Victoria County History*

Notes

- 1 Hundreds were administrative units dating from the mid-tenth century, responsible for taxation, policing and justice. On the Somerset Hundreds, see F.R. Thorn, 'The Hundreds of Somerset' in *The Somerset Domesday*, pp.32-41. On the immense bibliography of Domesday Book, see D. Bates, *Domesday Bibliography*, (Royal Historical Society, 1986), supplemented by the list in Hallam and Bates, *Domesday Book*, pp.191-98.
- 2 Geld was a tax paid to the Crown. The hide had once been a measure of area, sufficient to support a household or keep a plough occupied for a year. No doubt it had varied in extent according to the nature of the terrain and had probably once included woodland, meadow, pasture and rough grazing in addition to the arable to which it was later confined. Since each hide came to be liable for tax and various services, it also became a measure of liability.
- 3 'So very thoroughly did he have the enquiry carried out that there was not a single 'hide' not one virgate of land, not even – it is shameful to record it, but it did not seem shameful to him to do it – not even one ox, nor one cow nor one pig which escaped notice in the survey.' A virgate is a quarter of a hide. Animals are not recorded in GDB, but feature in predecessor documents.
- 4 In ICC, p.97.
- 5 For example, his half-brothers Robert of Mortain and Odo of Bayeux, his sheriffs Urso d'Abbetot (Worcs.) and Eustace (Hunts.).
- 6 Richard Fitz Nigel (ed. C. Johnson, revised by F.E.L. Carter and D.E. Greenway) *Dialogus de Scaccario* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1983), p.64.
- 7 See LDB in DB2. LDB contains a detailed survey of the counties of Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk.
- 8 See Exon in DB3. Exon is a large fragment of a survey of the five south-western counties (Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire) containing fuller detail, including livestock. These additional details are included in *GDB Somerset* (etc.), either in smaller type in the translation or in appendices. For a fuller description of Exon and of the production of GDB, see *GDB Devon*, 'Exon. Extra Information and Discrepancies with DB', and Frank and Caroline Thorn, 'The Writing of Great Domesday Book' in Hallam and Bates, *Domesday Book*, pp.37-72.
- 9 The primary evidence comes from Hemming (pp.288, 296). The identification of circuits depends among other things on differences in the arrangement and choice of material and the formulae employed between groups of counties.
- 10 See Pierre Chaplais, 'William of Saint-Calais and the Domesday Survey' in J.C. Holt (ed.), *Domesday Studies* (Boydell, Woodbridge, 1987), pp.65-77.
- 11 Translations are by the author. There is a translation of Somerset without the Latin text in *VCH Somerset*, i. pp.434-526. There is also a translation in *GDB Somerset* and in *The Somerset Domesday*. The main differences between these translations lie in marking off the several paragraphs in an entry and in the handling of personal names and population categories. 'Village' and 'villager' in *GDB Somerset* may conjure up associations that mislead, whereas 'villan' and 'vill' do not. A vill is an administrative unit, a division of a hundred, and it may consist of one or more estates.
- 12 Exon calls the estate a manor (*mansio*), GDB uses no designation. Exon has *in burgo Badae*, GDB simply *in Bade*. Exon has *die qua rex Edwardus fuit vivus et mortuus* 'on

- the day when King Edward was alive and dead', GDB simply has *T.R.E. (Tempore Regis Edwardi)* 'in the time of King Edward'. Exon has *reddidit geldum* 'rendered geld', while GDB has *geldabat* 'gelded'. Even the expression of money is tighter: GDB has '27d' for Exon's '2s and 3d'.
- 13 Lordship (or 'demesne') land was the portion of an estate worked directly for the lord, who received all the revenue and whose men were often serfs. The cultivators of the rest of the estate rendered various dues, tithes and services to the lord, but kept some profits for themselves.
 - 14 For example, Nigel *de Gournai* who held part of Swainswick from the Bishop of Coutances (Exon fol.144 b) has been shortened to plain Nigel in *GDB Somerset* 5,38.
 - 15 In the case of place-names, there was an attempt in Exon (subsequently reversed in GDB) to put many into the Latin first declension by giving them an *-a* termination, or spelling them in greater conformity with Latin norms. In terms of order, Exon has wood, meadow, pasture while GDB generally has meadow, pasture, wood. For the manorial population it has villans, bordars, serfs where GDB has serfs, villans, bordars. As to replacement words, for Exon's *ager, molendinum, nemus, pascua*, GDB substitutes *acra, molinum, silva, pastura*. More misleading is that Exon ties the first value of the estate to *quando Arnulfus* (etc.) *recepit* ('when Arnulf (etc.) received it'), for which GDB has the vague *olim* ('formerly') or simply the past tense.
 - 16 *Inquisitio Eliensis* in ICC, p.97.
 - 17 Exon, though feudal, shows a variation on this order, by making the county the first subdivision of material in theief.
 - 18 On the persistence of arrangement by hundred through subsequent re-orderings, the fundamental study is P.H. Sawyer 'The 'Original Returns' and Domesday Book', in *EHR* 70 (1955), pp.177-97, now revised by F.R. Thorn, 'The Hundreds of Somerset' in *The Somerset Domesday*, pp.32-41, and in other 'Hundreds and Wapentakes' articles in that series.
 - 19 For example the document known as Evesham K; see H.B. Clarke, 'The Domesday Satellites' in P.H. Sawyer (ed.), *Domesday Book: a Reassessment* (Arnold, 1985), pp.50-70.
 - 20 In GDB no pasture is listed for any Batheaston holding, despite the presence of plough-oxen; this may have been an error by the jury of the hundred or the vill. There were vineyards at Lyncombe and Bath Abbey had salterns on the edge of the New Forest (*BC*, i. no.74), neither mentioned in GDB. There is not a single fishery mentioned on the Avon.
 - 21 In Bath A, a document that probably dates from an early stage of the Domesday Enquiry, *coceti* are chosen to represent the middle group, but both Exon and GDB, which are derived from it or used its information, have *bordarii*; *BC*, i. pp.67-68; *GDB Somerset*, Appendix II.
 - 22 A pioneering attempt to reconstruct the contents of Bath Hundred is T.W. Whale, 'Notes on the Borough of Bath and the Hundred of Bath Forinsecum', *PBNHAF* 9 (1901), pp.128-49. S.C. Morland has published a reconstruction of the Tax Returns: 'The Somerset Hundreds in the Geld Inquest and their Domesday Manors', *PSANHS* 134 (1990), pp.95-140.
 - 23 Geoffrey *de Montbrai* (Mowbray), Bishop of Coutances (Manche) 1049-1093. He was also (pluralist) Bishop of Saint-Lô. Newton St. Loe preserves the connection.

- Geoffrey fought at Hastings and was an important administrative and judicial supporter of King William, but he also rebuilt the cathedral of Coutances and reformed its see; Keats-Rohan, *DP*, p.228. In DB his fief is a personal holding, not a holding of his Norman bishopric.
- 24 Arnulf held land in ten counties in 1086. He was from Hesdin in the Pas-de-Calais. His heirs were his daughters Matilda whose second husband was Patrick *de Caorces* (Chaworth) and Avelina, wife of Alan fitzFlood and then of Robert fitzWalter. Arnulf was accused of involvement in a conspiracy led by Robert of Mowbray in 1093, but cleared himself by judicial combat. He died at Antioch on the first crusade. See *VCH Middlesex*, i. p.114; Keats-Rohan, *DP*, p.192. His holding at Weston was given to Bath Abbey by Patrick de Chaworth in 1100 (*BC*, i. no.41).
- 25 Saewine, steward of Arnulf of Hesdin, is mentioned in the Tax Return for Bath Hundred.
- 26 He was in the service of Maurice, the king's chancellor who was (from 1086) Bishop of London. Ranulf later became an important servant of William II. He controlled Chertsey Abbey from 1092-1100 and was Bishop of Durham 1099-1128. See *VCH Surrey* i. p.284; *VCH Middlesex*, i. p.105; Keats-Rohan, *DP*, p.354.
- 27 Hugh and Hugolin *Interpres* (the interpreter) appear to be the same person, Hugolin being a diminutive or pet form. He is identified as Hugolin *Legatus* (ambassador, envoy) by the Tax Return for Bath Hundred and Hugolin *cum barba* (with a beard) by *BC*, i. p.53. Hugh *Barbatus* (bearded) and Hugh *Latinarius* (Latinist) are also the same man. He held land at Dogmersfield in Hampshire and at *Ernemude* [Keyhaven] in the New Forest (*GDB Hampshire*, 68,1. NF 10,3). His occupation suggests that he travelled widely in the service of the king and that the revenues from these estates, where he probably did not reside, were a reward for this.
- 28 As well as Swainswick, Nigel held Barrow (Gurney), Englishcombe and Twerton (*GDB Somerset* 5,32; 38; 44-45). His family appears to have later acquired Langridge (5,36) and Farrington Gurney (5,58), held by Azelin in 1086, unless Azelin was also *de Gournai*. All these lands were held from the Bishop of Coutances. For the several Gurney holdings in Somerset in the 13th and 14th centuries, see *Book of Fees* and *FA*, iv. *passim*.
- 29 In 1316 John Hussey had holdings in Tadwick and Swainswick (*FA*, iv. p.329). Members of the family held land from Bath Abbey throughout the Middle Ages and were involved in its affairs; see *BC*, *passim*.
- 30 The name is from OE *lang* and *hrycg* (long ridge); the GDB forms are erratic.
- 31 From OE *wudu* and *wic* (wooded *wic*). The Exon spelling is closer, the GDB form distorted.
- 32 Somerset and the other south-western counties appear to have been the last to be abbreviated into GDB, by which time the importance of the designation 'manor' seemed to have lessened, or the scribe intended only to indicate those pieces of land that were not manors. 'Manor' appears to have had a technical significance: it was a place with a hall or court where dues could be collected.
- 33 Included with Lyncombe in the bounds of *Cliftune* granted to Bath Abbey in 970 by King Edgar (*S*. 777).
- 34 It is possible that the 5 hides of South Stoke are omitted entirely from GDB. Whale (*op.cit.*, p.147) suggested that its 5 hides were included in the 20 hides allotted to

- the Borough of Bath (*GDB Somerset* 1,31). But that was held by the king in 1086 and South Stoke was in the continuous possession of Bath Abbey. Eyton (i. p.103; ii. pp.13-14) argued that Freshford in GDB was too large to stand for Freshford alone and suggested that it included South Stoke. But this was based on the mistaken identification of GDB *Fescheforde* as Freshford. It is in fact Vexford (*GDB Somerset* 21,44-45). Freshford was not held by Bath Church in 1086; though 'Woodwick' was. G.S. Taylor, 'Bath, Mercian and West Saxon', *TBGAS* 23 (1900), p.155, perhaps influenced by Eyton, opted for 'Woodwick' as representing South Stoke, but the estate is too small at 2½ hides and the site has now been identified as lying in Freshford (note 59). I am inclined to think that it is included with the 9 hides of Monkton Combe with which it is associated in later records; for example *Suthstok cum Cumba* in *BC*, ii. no.327.
- 35 Walcot lay within the king's Barton, though there was an outlying portion on Lansdown where Woolley, Langridge, Charlcombe and Weston parishes met. This portion was probably original and gave Walcot woodland and upland pasture to balance its resources. The GDB entry for Bath contains no mention of land or agrarian resources, and the hidage could have been purely notional, as for certain other boroughs. However, it is very probable that some agricultural land was attached, but omitted. In GDB, Bath pays £60 per annum; at the end of the thirteenth century the Borough paid £20 and the Barton £30. The Borough was granted by William II to Bishop John of Wells on the transfer of his seat to Bath in 1088, confirmed by Henry I. Walcot was granted to it under King John; see *BC*, i. nos.39-40, ii. no.709; *RH*, ii. pp.132, 133, 135; A.J. Keevil, 'The Barton of Bath', *Bath History VI* (Millstream Books, Bath, 1996), pp.25-53.
 - 36 On the association of minsters with large primitive estates, their decline and replacement by a network of manorial parish churches, see J. Blair (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches: the Local Church in Transition 950-1200* (Oxford Committee for Archaeology, Monograph no. 17, Oxford, 1988).
 - 37 The 1084 Tax Return for Bath Hundred (Exon fol.76a) shows a remission of payment to the Abbess of St. Edmund's [Shaftesbury Abbey] on 3 hides of lordship land. I intend to argue elsewhere that Kelston does appear in GDB, as *Alvestone* a hitherto unidentified appurtenance of Bradford-on-Avon (*GDB Wiltshire* 12,4).
 - 38 'Before 1066 it paid geld for 20 hides when the Shire paid geld'. There is no room for these hides in the 1084 Tax Return. Conversely, the 2 hides of Batheaston which are given no value in GDB because 'they were and are (part) of the lordship revenue of the Borough of Bath' can be identified in the Tax Return.
 - 39 By King Ethelred (S. 899 = *Shaftesbury Abbey Charters*, no.29). This tongue of land has remained a part of Wiltshire, though west of the Avon, until the present.
 - 40 J.H. Round, *Feudal England* (Swan Sonnenschein, 1895), pp.36-44.
 - 41 Woolley has been added to Bathwick according to *GDB Somerset* 5,37. The details suggest that they were really separate estates and apart from the meagre woodland at Woolley, both appear to have had a full range of resources, so the linkage may have been quite recent. It lasted however, as in 1316 Bathwick and its hamlet Woolley were held by the Abbess of Wherwell Abbey (Hants.): *FA*, iv. p.329).
 - 42 The fiscal size of Batheaston depends on how recently two of its hides (*GDB Somerset* 1,30) were joined to Bath for tax purposes. It may be a significant surviving linkage; see text below and note 38.

- 43 The part of Bathford ancient parish that contains Warleigh touches the corner of Monkton Combe parish. Together Warleigh and Monkton Combe make 10 hides, but Warleigh is across the Avon on the Wiltshire bank, and is continuous with Bathford, though that was a neat 10 hides in 1086.
- 44 See *GDB Somerset*, Appendix I, and F.R. Thorn 'The Hundreds of Somerset' in *The Somerset Domesday*, pp.32-41.
- 45 *BC*, i. no.7 (= *S.* 51). *Hat Bathu* means 'Hot Baths'. The wording of the charter is expressly against establishing joint houses for monks and nuns in the same place: *cenobialia etiam loca sparsim virorum sparsimque virginum deo famulantium erigenda statuimus* ('also we have decided that religious houses should be constructed separately for men and separately for virgins who are serving God').
- 46 See Bassett, 'In Search of the Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms' in S. Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1989), pp.8-17, and N. Brooks, 'On the formation of the Mercian Kingdom', *ibidem*, pp.159-70.
- 47 The charter exists only in a later copy, see *S.* 51; Taylor (*op.cit.*), pp.136-37; *ECW*, no. 355, p.109; *ECWM*, pp.172-75. For a contrary view, see H. Edwards, *The Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom*, (BAR British Series 198, Oxford, 1988), pp.210-27.
- 48 The 100 hides of Bath and their relation, both to religious houses in Bath and to the Roman town, have been touched on many times. For recent examples, see M. Aston, 'The Bath Region from Late Prehistory to the Middle Ages', *Bath History I* (Alan Sutton, Gloucester, 1986), pp.61-89; Peter Davenport, 'Bath Abbey', *Bath History II* (Alan Sutton, Gloucester, 1988), pp.1-26; Jean Manco, 'Saxon Bath: the Legacy of Rome and the Saxon Rebirth', *Bath History VII* (Millstream Books, Bath, 1998), pp.27-54. The subject can only be mentioned here.
- 49 *BC*, i. no.6 (= *S.* 1168 = *ECTV*, no.258, p.123). This is a suspect grant by Wigheard with the consent of King Wulfhere of Mercia, dated 670-671, but possibly 681.
- 50 *BC*, i. no.8, (= *S.* 1167 = *ECTV*, no.259 p.123), a grant by Æthelhard with the consent of King Ethelred of Mercia, dated 681.
- 51 These names are OE *Beorngyth*; OE *Folcburh*.
- 52 *S.* 265. The monks of later times erroneously thought that the donor was the Mercian King Coenwulf (796-821), father of St Kenelm; *BC*, ii. no.808.
- 53 *VCH Somerset*, ii. p.69; Hemming, pp.224-27; Taylor, *op.cit.*, p.135. See *S.* 1257 = *ECWM*, no.228, p.95 = *EHD*, i. no.77, pp.466-67. Cynewulf's other grants in his own right were predominantly south of the Mendips (see *ECW*, nos.389-97, pp.117-18) but there is a tantalising grant (*S.* 262 = *ECW*, no.394, p.117) of 11 *manentes* by the River *Weluue* to the minster at Wells. Unfortunately the bounds have not been reconciled with any around Wellow (Grundy, pp.197-98). See *EHD*, i. no.70.
- 54 It is possible that 10 hides had already been granted or lost irretrievably. The monastery would already have possessed some lands, among them the 5 hides at North Stoke, but it is not certain if they were counted in the 90 hides. Bath Abbey also held Cold Ashton (*S.* 414, *S.* 664) which may have lain within the original 100 *manentes*, but was not in the later Bath Hundred.
- 55 The addition of 1 hide at Warleigh would make up the 30 hides.
- 56 This figure includes the 20 hides at which Bath itself was rated (*GDB Somerset* 1,30). For the grant to Shaftesbury Abbey, see note 39.
- 57 The death of Alfred, the reeve of Bath (the king's agent), is recorded in the *ASC* for 906.

- 58 The connection between the two recorded in *GDB Somerset* 1,30-31 may be the last surviving linkage of Bath with its former estates.
- 59 The boundary of the estate at Bradford-on-Avon, given to Shaftesbury Abbey by King Ethelred in 1001 (*S.* 899 = *Shaftesbury Abbey Charters*, no. 29), in part ran from the Avon at Freshford 'along the abbot's boundary to Midford' and later, after leaving the Avon, along 'the abbot's boundary to Warleigh'. Between Freshford and Midford the boundary would have run along the northern edge of Freshford, then of 'Woodwick', which lay in the western part of Freshford parish, centred on Peipards Farm (ST 7760). 'Woodwick' was held by Bath Abbey in 1086 and was probably the same estate that had been granted (as Freshford) to the abbey in the will of Wulfwaru (*S.* 1538 = *BC*, i. no.27 = *ECW*, no.524, p.148). But the bounds of the Bradford-on-Avon grant imply that Freshford was also then held by the abbey.

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