

THE ORIGINS OF ANGLO-SAXON HEREFORDSHIRE:
A STUDY IN LAND-UNIT ANTIQUITY

by

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Abstract

The study researches the origins and evolution of Herefordshire's medieval landscape from the standpoint of its late Anglo-Saxon territorial organization, both secular and ecclesiastical. It contributes to the *genre* of topographical studies, adopting a methodology of regression mapping. It identifies and explores the chronology for the development of middle Anglo-Saxon land-units within the Mercian *provincia* of the Magonsaete, proposing a reassessment of the timescale by when the latter people became the dominant group within the *provincia*. It argues for the existence of fourteen early-to-mid Anglo-Saxon old minster territories, at least three of which reveal British Church origins, and proposes a model for the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon see at Hereford. It suggests a ninth-century chronology for the incorporation into Mercia of the northern and eastern districts of the kingdom of Ergyng and a tenth-century *terminus ante quem* for the shire's creation. It argues that aspects of the shire's infrastructure are British in origin. It concludes by positing the existence within Herefordshire of two relict British tribal districts which once belonged to a sixth-century kingdom of Powys of similar size to those found in Ergyng.

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Wer so viel Huld vergessen kann den seh' man mit Verachtung an.

Table of Contents

| | <i>page</i> | |
|---------------------|--|----|
| Introduction | | 1 |
| Chapter One | An evaluation source material for the study | 9 |
| 1.1 | Introduction | 9 |
| 1.2 | Primary sources: Anglo-Saxon and English | 9 |
| 1.2.1 | Anglo-Saxon charters and hagiographical material | 9 |
| 1.2.2 | The chronicles and histories | 13 |
| 1.2.3 | Domesday Book | 14 |
| 1.3 | Ecclesiastical sources: Anglo-Saxon and English | 16 |
| 1.3.1 | Episcopal charters for the Diocese of Hereford | 16 |
| 1.3.2 | Registers of the Bishops of Hereford | 18 |
| 1.3.3 | Later cartularies | 19 |
| 1.3.4 | The 1291 Taxation | 19 |
| 1.3.5 | <i>Valor Ecclesiasticus</i> | 22 |
| 1.3.6 | Charters of the Earls of Hereford | 23 |
| 1.4 | Primary sources: Welsh | 23 |
| 1.4.1 | Welsh charters, hagiographies and other material | 23 |
| 1.4.2 | Welsh hagiographies in the <i>Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium</i> | 25 |
| 1.4.3 | Other Welsh primary sources | 26 |
| 1.5 | Secondary Sources | 27 |
| 1.5.1 | Antiquarian ecclesiastical sources | 27 |
| 1.5.2 | County histories | 28 |
| 1.5.3 | Welsh antiquarian studies | 31 |
| 1.6 | Other sources | 32 |
| 1.6.1 | Herefordshire place-names | 32 |
| 1.6.2 | Archaeological finds | 35 |
| 1.6.3 | Physical/topographical features | 37 |
| 1.7 | Conclusion | 39 |
| Chapter Two | Land-unit studies: historiography and methodology | 40 |
| 2.1 | Introduction and context | 40 |
| 2.2 | The historiography of land-unit studies | 42 |
| 2.2.1 | Detecting the bounds of early secular land-units | 42 |
| 2.2.2 | A bridge too far? | 45 |
| 2.2.3 | Some resolution | 48 |
| 2.3 | The quest for a methodology to support land-unit studies | 49 |
| 2.3.1 | Early secular land-units and economic organisation | 49 |
| 2.3.2 | A second bridge too far? | 51 |
| 2.3.3 | The reality check: abandoning certain theoretical models | 53 |
| 2.3.4 | The limits of the method and a way forward | 55 |
| 2.4 | Secular land-units and their ecclesiastical counterparts | 56 |
| 2.4.1 | The ‘minster’ hypothesis | 57 |
| 2.4.2 | Its critique | 59 |
| 2.4.3 | Further support for the hypothesis: a revised approach | 63 |
| 2.4.4 | An indigenous British church | 64 |
| 2.4.5 | A way forward | 66 |
| 2.5 | The methodology: identifying pre-tenth-century land-units in Herefordshire | 67 |

| | | |
|----------------------|--|-----|
| Chapter Three | The late Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical geography of Herefordshire | 70 |
| 3.1 | Introduction | 70 |
| 3.2 | The historical context | 70 |
| 3.3 | The study's evidential basis, its methodology and its terms | 72 |
| 3.4 | The importance of twelfth- and thirteenth-century records | 77 |
| 3.5 | Hereford's ecclesiastical geography | 79 |
| 3.5.1 | The origins of the minster of St Mary and St Ethelbert | 87 |
| 3.5.2 | The origins of the minster of St Guthlac | 95 |
| 3.5.3 | Initial conclusions about Hereford's early ecclesiastical organisation | 98 |
| | | |
| Chapter Four | The late Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical geography of eastern and central Herefordshire | 101 |
| 4.1 | Introduction | 101 |
| 4.2 | Ledbury | 102 |
| 4.3 | Much Cowarne | 107 |
| 4.4 | Bromyard | 113 |
| 4.5 | Lugwardine | 122 |
| 4.6 | Ross-on-Wye | 139 |
| 4.7 | Bodenham and the <i>Maund</i> district | 146 |
| 4.8 | Burghill and the district of <i>Lydas</i> | 153 |
| 4.9 | Summary | 161 |
| | | |
| Chapter Five | The late Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical geography of northern and western Herefordshire and Archenfield | 163 |
| 5.1 | Introduction | 163 |
| 5.2 | Leominster | 164 |
| 5.3 | Kington and Pembridge | 188 |
| 5.4 | Leintwardine, Wigmore and Aymestrey | 191 |
| 5.5 | Madley and the district of Mawfield | 195 |
| 5.6 | <i>Malveselle</i> and Staunton-on-Wye | 203 |
| 5.7 | Clifford and the parishes in the Golden Valley | 208 |
| 5.8 | The district of Ewyas | 213 |
| 5.9 | Archenfield parishes | 215 |
| 5.10 | Herefordshire's late Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical geography: concluding remarks | 222 |
| | | |
| Chapter Six | The late Anglo-Saxon administrative geography of Herefordshire | 228 |
| 6.1 | Introduction | 228 |
| 6.2 | The origins of the Anglo-Saxon hundred | 229 |
| 6.2.1 | An assessment device | 230 |
| 6.2.2 | An administrative device | 234 |
| 6.3 | The eleventh-century framework | 236 |
| 6.4 | The hundreds of Herefordshire | 237 |
| 6.4.1 | Hazletree | 243 |
| 6.4.2 | Wolphy | 247 |

| | | |
|----------------------|--|-----|
| 6.4.3 | The composite manor of Leominster and the Lene Hundred | 251 |
| 6.4.4 | Elsdon | 261 |
| 6.4.5 | Lene | 264 |
| 6.4.6 | Stretford | 264 |
| 6.4.7 | Plegelgate | 271 |
| 6.4.8 | Staple | 275 |
| 6.4.9 | Cutsthorn | 280 |
| 6.4.10 | Thornlaw | 283 |
| 6.4.11 | Radlow | 286 |
| 6.4.12 | Winstree | 290 |
| 6.4.13 | The Golden Valley | 294 |
| 6.4.14 | Dinedor | 297 |
| 6.4.15 | Greytree | 300 |
| 6.4.16 | Wormelow | 303 |
| 6.4.17 | Sellack | 304 |
| 6.4.18 | Bromsash | 306 |
| 6.5 | Summary | 310 |
| Chapter Seven | The diocese and the shire of Hereford: origins, formation and extents | 314 |
| 7.1 | Introduction | 314 |
| 7.2 | The origins of Hereford Diocese | 314 |
| 7.3 | The territorial extent of Hereford Diocese | 325 |
| 7.4 | The formation of the territory which became Herefordshire | 343 |
| 7.4.1 | Formation of the <i>burh</i> and its hinterland | 346 |
| 7.4.2 | Mercian statecraft in evidence | 351 |
| 7.5 | The extent of an eighth-century Mercian province | 353 |
| 7.6 | An embryonic Herefordshire | 359 |
| 7.7 | A tenth-century shire | 365 |
| 7.7.1 | Tenth-century assessments and the County Hidage | 367 |
| 7.8 | A comparison of Herefordshire's secular and ecclesiastical land-units | 370 |
| 7.8.1 | The diocese of Hereford compared to its secular counterparts | 370 |
| 7.8.2 | The <i>parochiae</i> of Herefordshire compared to its hundreds | 374 |
| 7.9 | Summary | 383 |
| Chapter Eight | Herefordshire's Anglo-Saxon land-units: British tribal districts in disguise? | 385 |
| 8.1 | Introduction | 385 |
| 8.2 | The secular land-units of Herefordshire in the eleventh century: some observations about its hundreds | 386 |
| 8.2.1 | Two middle Anglo-Saxon hundred manors: Burghill and Much Cowarne | 388 |
| 8.3 | The ecclesiastical land-units of Herefordshire in the eleventh century: some observations about its old minster <i>parochiae</i> | 395 |
| 8.4 | Evidence for British districts and their extent | 405 |

| | | |
|--|---|-----|
| 8.4.1 | Three polities | 410 |
| 8.4.2 | Subsequent development of the province: British in all but name? | 414 |
| Conclusion | | 416 |
| Appendix One | Table of Herefordshire's old minsters, their lesser churches, their 1291 valuations and patrons | 423 |
| Appendix Two | A post-Conquest pattern of ecclesiastical provision for Herefordshire | 437 |
| Appendix Three | The hundreds of Herefordshire in tabular format | 442 |
| Appendix Four | Land-unit comparisons | 461 |
| Appendix Five | Chronology, tenurial information and hundred reorganisation | 464 |
| Appendix Six | Llan Dav charter differential place identification | 466 |
| Appendix Seven | Illustration of possible British land-unit configuration in sixth-century Herefordshire | 468 |
| Bibliography of works cited and consulted | | 469 |

List of Illustrations*page*

| | | |
|--------------|---|-----|
| Figure 1 | A location map of the study area | 8 |
| Figure 2 | Herefordshire in 1086 | 69 |
| Figure 3.1 | Hereford parishes in the twelfth century | 86 |
| Figure 3.2 | The peculiar jurisdiction of the dean and chapter of Hereford Cathedral | 95 |
| Figure 4.1 | Ledbury's <i>parochia</i> | 107 |
| Figure 4.2 | Much Cowarne's <i>parochia</i> | 113 |
| Figure 4.3 | Bromyard's <i>parochia</i> | 122 |
| Figure 4.4 | Lugwardine's ecclesiastical relationships | 129 |
| Figure 4.5 | A possible Lugwardine <i>parochia</i> south of the Wye | 137 |
| Figure 4.6 | A possible <i>parochia</i> for Lugwardine north and south of the Wye | 138 |
| Figure 4.7 | Ross-on-Wye: its likely <i>parochia</i> | 146 |
| Figure 4.8A | The district of Maund | 151 |
| Figure 4.8B | Bodenham and the <i>Maund</i> district—a possible <i>parochia</i> | 153 |
| Figure 4.9A | District of Lyde | 158 |
| Figure 4.9B | An early Hereford <i>parochia</i> north of the Wye: Burghill and the district of <i>Lydas</i> | 161 |
| Figure 5.1A | The district of Leen | 165 |
| Figure 5.1B | Kemp's twelfth-century Leominster <i>parochia</i> | 167 |
| Figure 5.1C | Leominster—1086 members and pre-1066 members | 168 |
| Figure 5.1D | Leominster's internal <i>parochia</i> and Eye parish | 176 |
| Figure 5.1E | Parishes in the district of <i>Lene</i> | 188 |
| Figure 5.2 | Pembridge: a possible <i>parochia</i> | 191 |
| Figure 5.3 | Leintwardine: a possible <i>parochia</i> | 195 |
| Figure 5.4A | <i>Mais Mail Lochou</i> /Mawfield | 201 |
| Figure 5.4B | Madley's <i>parochia</i> | 202 |
| Figure 5.5 | <i>Malveselle</i> | 208 |
| Figure 5.6 | Clifford and the Golden Valley | 212 |
| Figure 5.7 | Ewyas | 215 |
| Figure 5.8 | Archenfield parishes | 216 |
| Figure 5.9 | A suggested depiction of Herefordshire's ninth-century <i>parochia</i> | 223 |
| Figure 5.10 | Hereford's eighth-century <i>parochia</i> | 226 |
| Figure 6.1 | Map of Herefordshire from Domesday Book | 239 |
| Figure 6.2.1 | Hazletree portion a | 246 |
| Figure 6.2.2 | Hazletree portion b | 246 |
| Figure 6.2.3 | Hazletree portion c | 247 |
| Figure 6.3.1 | Wolphy portion a | 250 |
| Figure 6.3.2 | Wolphy portion b | 250 |
| Figure 6.3.3 | Wolphy portion c | 251 |
| Figure 6.4.1 | The composite manor of Leominster | 254 |
| Figure 6.4.2 | <i>Lene</i> | 257 |
| Figure 6.4.3 | The consequences of a <i>Lene</i> hundred-organisation | 260 |

| | | |
|---------------|--|-----|
| Figure 6.5 | Elsdon | 264 |
| Figure 6.6.1 | Stretford North | 270 |
| Figure 6.6.2 | Stretford South | 271 |
| Figure 6.7 | Plegelgate | 275 |
| Figure 6.8 | Staple | 280 |
| Figure 6.9 | Cutsthorpe | 282 |
| Figure 6.10 | Thornlaw | 286 |
| Figure 6.11 | Radlow | 290 |
| Figure 6.12.1 | Winstree | 293 |
| Figure 6.12.2 | The detached portion of Winstree: the manor of Much Marcle | 293 |
| Figure 6.13 | The Golden Valley | 297 |
| Figure 6.14 | Dinedor | 300 |
| Figure 6.15 | Greytree | 303 |
| Figure 6.16 | Wormelow | 304 |
| Figure 6.17 | Sellack | 305 |
| Figure 6.18.1 | Bromsash | 309 |
| Figure 6.18.2 | Alvington and Staunton—detached | 309 |
| Figure 7.1 | The Herefordshire ecclesiastical parishes where ‘Maund’ place-name survival occurs | 321 |
| Figure 7.2 | The kingdom of the Magonsaete and the diocese of Hereford, c. 850 | 326 |
| Figure 7.3 | The 1291 extent of Hereford diocese in Herefordshire | 328 |
| Figure 7.4 | The 1291 extent of southern Shropshire in the diocese of Hereford | 331 |
| Figure 7.5 | The 1291 extent of western Gloucestershire in the diocese of Hereford | 333 |
| Figure 7.6 | The 1291 extent of Worcestershire within the diocese of Hereford | 336 |
| Figure 7.7 | The 1291 extent of Montgomeryshire within the diocese of Hereford, excluding Welshpool | 339 |
| Figure 7.8 | The 1291 extent of Radnorshire within the diocese of Hereford | 340 |
| Figure 7.9 | A suggested depiction of Herefordshire’s ninth-century <i>parochiae</i> | 342 |
| Figure 7.10 | A depiction of the territory which subsequently formed Herefordshire according to Lewis | 346 |
| Figure 7.11 | Coplestone-Crow’s depiction of the extent of Eryng in the sixth and seventh centuries | 363 |
| Figure 7.12 | Herefordshire in 1086 | 371 |
| Figure 7.13 | The portion of the diocese of Hereford within Shropshire in 1086 | 372 |
| Figure 7.14 | The portion of the diocese of Hereford within Worcestershire in 1086 | 372 |
| Figure 7.15 | The portion of the diocese of Hereford in Gloucestershire in 1086 | 373 |
| Figure 7.16 | The hundreds of Herefordshire | 374 |
| Figure 7.17 | Leintwardine <i>parochia</i> overlaid upon Hazletree Hundred | 375 |
| Figure 7.18 | Eye <i>parochia</i> overlaid upon Wolphy Hundred | 376 |

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|-----|
| Figure 7.19 | Leominster <i>parochia</i> overlaid upon Leominster Hundred | 376 |
| Figure 7.20 | Pembridge <i>parochia</i> overlaid upon Eldsdon Hundred | 377 |
| Figure 7.21 | Madley <i>parochia</i> overlaid upon Stretford Hundred's southern portion | 377 |
| Figure 7.22 | Bromyard <i>parochia</i> overlaid upon Plegelgate Hundred | 378 |
| Figure 7.23.1 | Hereford <i>parochia</i> overlaid upon Staple and Cutsthorpe Hundreds | 378 |
| Figure 7.23.2 | Parishes comprising Dinedor Hundred—with outliers of Hereford parishes | 379 |
| Figure 7.24 | Bodenham <i>parochia</i> overlaid upon Thornlaw Hundred | 379 |
| Figure 7.25 | Much Cowarne <i>parochia</i> overlaid upon Radlow Hundred | 380 |
| Figure 7.26 | Ledbury <i>parochia</i> overlaid upon Winstree Hundred | 380 |
| Figure 7.27 | Clifford <i>parochia</i> overlaid upon the Golden Valley | 381 |
| Figure 7.28 | Lugwardine <i>parochia</i> overlaid upon Greytrees Hundred | 381 |
| Figure 7.29 | Ross-on-Wye <i>parochia</i> overlaid upon Bromsash Hundred | 382 |
| Figure 8.1 | A depiction of the area over which Burghill may have had central place functions | 391 |
| Figure 8.2 | A depiction of the area over which Much Cowarne may have had central place functions | 393 |
| Figure 8.3 | A plan of possible sixth-century British polities within later Herefordshire | 407 |
| Appendix Two Figure 1 | The organisation of ecclesiastical provision for Herefordshire following the Conquest | 438 |

| List of Tables | <i>page</i> | |
|-----------------------|---|-----|
| Table 3.1 | Manors of the canons within the dean's peculiar jurisdiction | 92 |
| Table 3.2 | Parishes within the dean's peculiar jurisdiction with no tenurial presence | 93 |
| Appendix One Table | Herefordshire's old minsters, lesser churches, 1291 valuations and patrons | 423 |
| Appendix Two Table | Eleventh- and twelfth-century holders of churches located on <i>villae regales</i> /royal manors | 439 |
| <i>Appendix</i> | | 442 |
| <i>Three Tables</i> | | |
| Table 1 | Hazletree Hundred | 443 |
| Table 2 | Wolphy Hundred | 444 |
| Table 3.1 | Leominster Hundred | 445 |
| Table 3.2 | A possible Lene Hundred (Leominster) and the consequential organisation for Hazletree, Wolphy, Elsdon and Stretford | 446 |
| Table 4 | Elsdon Hundred | 449 |
| Table 5 | Not used (Lene is considered within Leominster Hundred) | |
| Table 6 | Stretford Hundred | 450 |
| Table 7 | Plegelgate Hundred | 451 |
| Table 8 | Staple Hundred | 453 |
| Table 9 | Cutsthorn Hundred | 453 |
| Table 10 | Thornlaw Hundred | 454 |
| Table 11 | Radlow Hundred | 456 |
| Table 12 | Winstree Hundred | 457 |
| Table 13 | The Golden Valley | 457 |
| Table 14 | Dinedor Hundred | 458 |
| Table 15 | Greytree Hundred | 459 |
| Tables 16 and 17 | Not used (Wormelow and Sellack Hundreds are considered only in Chapter Six) | |
| Table 18 | Bromsash Hundred | 459 |
| <i>Appendix Four</i> | | 461 |
| <i>Tables</i> | | |
| Table 1 | The shire mapped to the diocese | 461 |
| Table 2 | The hundreds mapped to the <i>parochiae</i> | 462 |
| Appendix Five Table | Tenurial information and hundred reorganisation | 464 |
| Appendix Six Table | Llan Dav charter place identification | 466 |
| Appendix Seven Table | British land-unit configuration | 468 |

INTRODUCTION

Scholars of landscape studies have long asserted that the land-units of the early medieval period are discernible in the configuration of secular and ecclesiastical territories of the post-Conquest age.¹ Many who have conducted carefully-framed investigations into the configuration of early eleventh-century land-unit organisation have discovered that, notwithstanding the dearth of documentary evidence, valuable insights can be gleaned about an area's political, social, economic and ecclesiastical history from an analysis of its topography. Of these studies,² one aim—the identification of the territorial shape of early medieval Britain and its subsequent development—has been seen as a first step towards identifying the area's collateral socio-economic, political and cultural organisation.

Such studies, invariably the outcome of an interdisciplinary approach, have utilised historical, archaeological, topographical and place-name source material to demonstrate their findings, and this thesis contributes to that body of work. It focuses on the eleventh-century extent of

¹ 'The royal estates of the eleventh century do seem to reflect arrangements of great antiquity that survived centuries of alienation...as well as other changes...The network of royal villas and regalian rights revealed by Domesday Book was not a recent creation, it had deep roots that extended even beyond the English conquests.' P Sawyer, 'The royal *tun* in pre-Conquest England' in P Wormald, D Bullough and R Collins (eds), *Ideal and reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 273-99, at 285 and 289.

² The most significant for this study are the following: B Kemp, 'Some aspects of the *parochia* of Leominster in the 12th century' in J Blair (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950-1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), 83-95; P Hase, 'The mother churches of Hampshire' in *ibid.*, 45-66; D Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon Landscape: the kingdom of the Hwicce* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985); J Croom, 'The pre-medieval and medieval human landscape and settlement pattern of south-east Shropshire' (University of Birmingham, unpublished PhD thesis, 1989); J Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey: Landholding, Church and Settlement* (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1991); P Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), hereafter *Religion and Literature*; D Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: Its Social Structure* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000); S Bassett, 'The administrative landscape of the diocese of Worcester in the tenth century' in N Brooks and C Cubitt (eds), *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), 147-73, hereafter 'Administrative Landscape'; *idem*, 'Boundaries of knowledge: mapping the land-units of late Anglo-Saxon and Norman England' in W Davies, G Halsall and A Reynolds (eds), *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300-1300* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 115-42; J Pitt, 'Minster churches and minster territories in Wiltshire', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 12 (2003), 58-71; S Draper, *Landscape, Settlement and Society in Roman and Early Medieval Wiltshire*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 419 (2006).

the shire and researches the antiquity of the secular and ecclesiastical administrative landscape which delimited it. It is being conducted to explore three related issues. Firstly, we seek to determine whether there was a late Anglo-Saxon and/or Anglo-Norman reorganisation of the administration and the administrative landscape of the shire by 1086, or an essential continuity of Mercian and British/Welsh territorial structures—the very structures to which Sawyer and others have alluded. Secondly, can the land-units identified be considered to be fossilised remnants of very early British territories such as have allegedly been detected in other shires of the English west midlands, and are they similar to the Welsh commotes of Archenfield and Ewyas? Thirdly, in answering the first two questions, what insights can be offered about the relationships which existed between the various groups who occupied the study area, and their respective socio-economic, political and ecclesiastical organisation during the early Anglo-Saxon period?

As with other studies in this genre, the questions posed here go to the very heart of three long-debated theories: (1) a chronology for the origin of the shires and hundreds of the Midlands,³ (2) the operation of the Mercian hegemony during the middle Anglo-Saxon period,⁴ and (3) the early ecclesiastical organisation of its satellite kingdoms.⁵ As to the

³ H Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1905), 202-16; F Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (New York: Fontana, 1969), 524-8; C Taylor, 'The origin of the Mercian shires' in H P R Finberg (ed.), *Gloucestershire Studies* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1957), 17-51; H Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Edward Arnold, 1984), 141; F Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), hereafter *Anglo-Saxon England*, 293-8; G Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots* (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), 7-68; P Sawyer, *From Roman Britain to Norman England*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1998), 197-203; B Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), 39-43; S Bassett, 'Administrative Landscape', 147-73; R Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (London: Leicester University Press, 1997), 99-101.

⁴ N Brooks, 'The development of military obligations in eighth- and ninth-century England' in *idem*, *Communities and Warfare 700-1400* (London: Hambledon Press, 2000), 32-47; D Hill, 'Mercians: the dwellers on the boundary' in M Brown and C Farr (eds), *Mercia. An Anglo-Saxon kingdom in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2001), 173-82; B Yorke, 'The origins of Mercia' in *ibid.*, 13-22; S Keynes, 'Mercia and Wessex in the ninth century', in *ibid.*, 310-28; T Charles-Edwards, 'Wales and Mercia', in *ibid.*, 89-105; S Keynes, 'The kingdom of the Mercians in the eighth century', in D Hill and M Worthington (eds), *Aethelbald and Offa: Two Eighth-Century Kings of Mercia*, British Archaeological Reports, British series, 383 (2005), 1-26; M Worthington, 'Offa's Dyke' in *ibid.*, 91-5; S Bassett, 'Divide and rule? The military infrastructure of eighth- and ninth-century Mercia', *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (2007), 53-85; *idem*, 'The middle and late Anglo-Saxon

first—was the late Anglo-Saxon administrative structure, apparent from tenth- and eleventh-century records, created *de novo* and imposed on the Mercians, or was it already in existence under another guise? As to the second—did the Mercian royal family unite and reorganise the western provinces, installing place-men to subdue indigenous groups, or did native British peoples, recognising Mercia’s increasing political significance, align their strategic infrastructure so as to secure protection? As to the third—were the seventh-century western Anglo-Saxon dioceses creations of the Roman church, or merely a reorganisation of an existing British ecclesiastical structure? In considering aspects of this final question, it will be necessary to consider in detail the areas which were external to the eleventh-century shire but which remained within the diocese of Hereford.

This study will shed further light on each of these topics and, in addition, will challenge the accepted theory about the organisation and coalescence of small tribal structures of western Britain, particularly in the context of kingdom-formation of the Magonsaete, a people who, it has been argued, held sway over what was to become Herefordshire as early as the seventh century.⁶ A fresh look at this topic will enable us to propose a theory for the organisation of the study area during the fifth and sixth centuries, following the collapse of Roman rule.

These issues are significant ones since they permit an exploration of the political and socio-

defences of western Mercian towns’, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 15 (2008), 180-239; *idem*, ‘Anglo-Saxon Fortifications in Western Mercia’, *Midland History*, 36 (Spring 2011), 1-23.

⁵ Bassett, ‘Administrative Landscape’; *idem*, ‘Medieval ecclesiastical organisation in the vicinity of Wroxeter and its British antecedents’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 145 (1992), 1-28, hereafter, ‘Wroxeter’; *idem*, ‘Church and diocese in the West Midlands: the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control’ in J Blair and R Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 13-40; *idem*, ‘How the west was won: the Anglo-Saxon takeover of the west midlands’, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 11 (2000), 107-18; J Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 10-34.

⁶ The principal proponents being: Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*; H P R Finberg, ‘The Princes of the Magonsaete’ in *idem* (ed.), *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1961), 217-24; H P R Finberg, ‘Mercians and Welsh’ in *idem*, *Lucerna* (London: Macmillan, 1964), 66-82. Virtually all historians have followed this analysis with the exception of Gelling and Sims-Williams, although neither explicitly rejects it. M Gelling, *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 80-2; Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 47-53.

economic structure of sub-Roman Britain at a time when virtually no documentary sources exist.⁷ Moreover, the study area's unique 'border' position, never comprehensively investigated in this way, has long been regarded as fertile ground for exploring the vestiges of British kingdom structures within the context of Mercia's political development.⁸ Such an investigation will test the theory proposed by Higham and others concerning the continued British identity of indigenous peoples who, for reasons of status and politics, acquired an Anglo-Saxon world view by aping the trappings of their ruling but foreign elite.⁹

As with other studies typical of the genre, a multi-disciplinary approach has been adopted. This has the benefit of illuminating issues which conventional written historical source material often obscures or distorts; furthermore, the approach is essential for the study of an area, such as this one, where conventional sources are scarce. The material consulted, which is fully evaluated in Chapter One, has included available archaeological, landscape and military evidence, local topographic studies and toponymic data. In terms of the sources of written evidence, the majority of which post-date the tenth century, these include Domesday Book, the registers and other records of the see of Hereford, the cartularies of major twelfth-century ecclesiastical houses and the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV.¹⁰ None of these is problem-free and each has its own advantages and disadvantages.

⁷ And those that do are the subject of scrutiny and interpretation. See for example: J Evans and J Rhys (eds), *The Text of the Book of Llan Dav reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1893); M Winterbottom (ed.), *Gildas: The Ruin of Britain and Other Works* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1978).

⁸ W Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978); *eadem*, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982); *eadem*, 'The Celtic kingdoms' in P Fouracre (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History, volume I: c. 500- c. 700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 232-62; C Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 327-29.

⁹ N Higham (ed.), *Britains in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008). C Scull, 'Archaeology, early Anglo-Saxon society and the origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 6 (1993), 65-82.

¹⁰ These sources are cited in full in Chapter One.

The archaeological and landscape findings are often equivocal, because dating evidence frequently provides nothing more specific than confirmation of a period which may span several decades; however, what is available can at least point to seventh-century secular and ecclesiastical activity. And although the shire is fortunate in having a local history organisation dating from the early twentieth century, many of its topographic studies vary in their quality, frequently lacking robust historical methodologies. However, those published by the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club are often works of eminent scholars, many of whom were associated with the University of Birmingham's Field Archaeology Unit during its hey-day. The toponymic data, published in 1989 in a comprehensive academic volume,¹¹ has proved to be a rich source not only because its findings provide ways to de-code land-use but also because they assist in the identification of a chronology for settlement activity within the context of Anglo-Saxon acculturation of the area. Although not contained within a volume produced under the auspices of the English Place-Name Society, Coplestone-Crow's views have been adopted by prominent scholars of the field, notably Margaret Gelling.

The ecclesiastical sources have provided some of the best documentary records available, but these were completed during the Anglo-Norman period and hence often give a myopic view of what may have been the state of affairs before the eleventh century. The 1291 papal taxation has provided a sound basis for mapping the ecclesiastical topography of the late medieval period, but there is no guarantee that its records are complete. Finally, Domesday Book, arguably the most comprehensive secular source of any consulted, was compiled for limited fiscal purposes and frequently provides no record of the manorial geography often discernible from other sources. In consequence, by evaluating the evidence that is available

¹¹ B Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 214 (1989).

in a comparative fashion, only information which provides a consistent and robust view will be utilised.

The study will adopt a methodology, fully evaluated in Chapter Two, which has been honed by those prominent historians and landscape scholars who have produced the most significant studies. Its use remains controversial; and many, notably ecclesiastical scholars like Rollason and Tinti,¹² simply do not accept its legitimacy when applied to their areas of study. Its advantages lie in its use of a largely-preserved record—continuous landscape features which have survived into the modern period. Its disadvantages relate to its highly-interpretative nature, since the material is often analysed through a lens spanning some six to eight hundred years. So it is often difficult to discern which factors are present in identifying territorial extent—the factors original to it, those which have been imposed upon it at a later date, or those which are illusory and caused by the nature of the evidence. In this study there are examples of all three, and they have had to be carefully distinguished from one another.¹³ Furthermore, it is frequently difficult to identify, within settlement hierarchy, the nature of the land-unit in question. Does the area represent a large manor, a vill, a small multiple-vill or a tribal district or territory? And as with the identification of territorial extent, there is often ambiguity concerning the area's applicable category—and problems of categorisation have been identified throughout the study.

Nevertheless, by adopting a framework which is acknowledged to have produced robust research alongside a scrupulously integrated re-examination of what is available within the

¹² D Rollason, 'Monasteries and society in early medieval Northumbria' in B Thompson (ed.), *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain* (Harlaxton Medieval Studies, VI, 1999), 59-74; E Cambridge and D Rollason, 'Debate: the pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: a review of the "minster hypothesis"', *Early Medieval Europe*, 4 (1995), 87-104; F Tinti (ed.), *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 1-16; *eadem*, *Sustaining Belief: the Church of Worcester from c. 870 to c. 1100* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2010), Chapter 5.

¹³ This is particularly the case with regard to the secular land-units analysed in Chapter Six.

disparate source material, the study intends to offer fresh insights into Herefordshire's early medieval structures. From an initial investigation of sources (Chapter One) and methodology (Chapter Two) the study proceeds with an analysis of the ecclesiastical organisation of the area—its old minster *parochiae* (Chapters Three, Four and Five). This is followed by consideration of the secular administrative framework as revealed in Domesday Book—the hundreds (Chapter Six). The final section examines the organisation of the shire and the diocese of Hereford, and attempts to relate their diverse extents to that proposed as the Mercian province of the *Magonsaete* (Chapter Seven). Finally, all aspects of the study are brought together with the aim of proposing what may have constituted a sixth-century land-unit organisation for the area (Chapter Eight). This is followed by the study's conclusions. It is through rigorous regional studies of this sort that our understanding of the origins and development of the medieval English administrative landscape, and the institutions which used it, can be furthered.

CHAPTER ONE

AN EVALUATION OF SOURCE MATERIAL FOR THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

A key aspect of this study is an evaluation of the various sources which will be explored, from the point of view of their accuracy and content. We are hampered by the fact that few secular Anglo-Saxon written sources exist for Herefordshire which are contemporary with the middle and late period, and many of the ecclesiastical ones are suspect and date from the twelfth century. While this does not preclude their use, our aim must be to identify consistent themes which appear, while focussing on later reliable evidence which may indicate an earlier state of affairs.

The following sections identify material by reference to both nature and origins. Primary Anglo-Saxon sources have been considered as a group; they are followed by Welsh sources. Similarly, secondary sources have been considered from the English perspective and from the Welsh. Finally, three important categories of information are evaluated for the study area: place-name evidence, archaeological studies and finds, and the area's physical features. All of this information appears in later chapters, evaluated comparatively, highlighting the conclusions which can be advanced by means of the interdisciplinary methodology employed.

1.2 Primary sources: Anglo-Saxon and English

1.2.1 Anglo-Saxon charters and hagiographical material

Some twenty charters are relevant to pre-Conquest Herefordshire, and some nine others assist in our investigations. These twenty-nine have been dated to a period

spanning the seventh to the mid-eleventh centuries. The most significant are considered below, in chronological order, and by reference to their Sawyer catalogue number (where available),¹ their geographic location, their subject matter and their authenticity. Although limited in extent, their historical value is key to contextualising the early activity of the Mercian royal family and the support which it provided to the early Anglo-Saxon church. The purpose, here, is to highlight the usefulness of this material, not to provide a full critique of the available secondary material, which will be considered at a later stage.

The first two, argued to be of late seventh- and early eighth-century provenance, have been extracted from hagiographical material concerning the life of St Mildburg of Wenlock. Both, catalogued as S1798 and S1801, include grants of land in various places, located as Maund, Lyde and Upper Lye, ostensibly for the purposes of furthering the works of Wenlock minster.² Their authenticity is the subject of debate and is considered in Chapters Four and Seven. Two others, S83 and S85, dated to the early eighth century, S83 and S85, concern royal grants of land, one at *Actona* to the church at Evesham and the other at *Aactune* to one Buca; both appear to have been for ecclesiastical purposes and have been located at Acton Beauchamp, now lying within

¹ For this purpose we utilised the data at: <http://www.esawyer.org.uk> known as the Electronic Sawyer. (From 2012 the source which was consulted earlier at <http://www.anglo-saxons.net> was no longer available.) Finberg had organised many which appear, in chronological order, in H P R Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1961), 138-46, hereafter *Early Charters*. His overly-optimistic view of charter authenticity has suffered much criticism. The Electronic Sawyer provides a full bibliographical link to all critical writings relevant to the charters, and we have followed the view of the majority in identifying authenticity. For a rigorous application of the principles applied by the editors in judging forgeries see: P Wormald, 'Charters, laws and the settlement of disputes in Anglo-Saxon England' in W Davies and P Fouracre (eds), *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 149-68.

² Finberg, *Early Charters*, nos. 404 and 405, at 138-9. His was the first full translation of 'The Testament of St Mildburg' at *ibid.*, 197-216.

the shire but at the time of the Domesday survey within Worcestershire.³ The first is regarded as spurious, but the second genuine.

Of the four ninth-century charters, S1264 concerns, *inter alia*, an exchange of land at Yarkhill ‘*on Magonsetum*’, between the archbishop of Canterbury and Coenwulf, king of Mercia. Further evidence of the existence of the Magonsaete can be seen in S1782, dated by Finberg to 823 x 837.⁴ The gift by an ealdorman of the ‘Magansetum’ to St Peter’s, Gloucester of land in *Briencandafelda*, may relate to Archenfield.⁵ The third charter, S1270, dated to 840 x 852, details a lease of land in the Frome valley by Cuthwulf, bishop of Hereford, with reversion to Bromyard minster.⁶ Finally, S1838 concerns a grant of Avenbury, dated to 873 x 915, made by Waerfrith, bishop of Worcester. Judged to be authentic, it reveals possessions of the church of Worcester within Herefordshire.

Two tenth-century authentic charters issued by King Edgar, S677 and S786, concern the grant of the manor of Staunton-on-Arrow in 958 to Ealhstan, his *minister* (thegn), and the confirmation of lands at Acton Beauchamp to the newly-reformed community at Pershore in 972. The tenth-century will of Wulfgeat, S1534, dated to 975, concerns lands in Shropshire and Herefordshire with gifts to the churches of St Ethelbert’s, St Guthlac’s, Leominster, Bromyard and, possibly, Clifton-on-Teme.

³ It was transferred to the shire in 1897.

⁴ Finberg, *Early Charters*, no. 414, 140-1. The catalogue at www.esawyer.org.uk last accessed 31/01/2013, provides no date, however.

⁵ Archenfield was within British control at the time. The gift was included in a list of other lands given to St Peter’s by a number of donors, mainly situated in what later became Gloucestershire.

⁶ It includes extensive detail indicative of information that would have been available had the Anglo-Saxon cathedral’s charters survived. Keynes, agreeing with its authenticity, writes ‘...The wealth of detail is a reminder of what we have lost.’ S Keynes, ‘Diocese and cathedral before 1056’ in G Aylmer and J Tiller (eds), *Hereford Cathedral: a History* (London: Hambledon, 2000), 3-20, hereafter ‘Diocese’. Sims-Williams supports the evaluation. P Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), hereafter *Religion and Literature*, at 169 and n.120.

Eleventh-century royal grants include: Aethelred's 1014 grant of four hides at Mathon, S 932, and Edmund Ironside's alleged grant of Ross-on-Wye to Hereford cathedral;⁷ there are also writs of King Edward 'the Confessor' in favour of the cathedral chapter and the bishopric, S1101 and S1102, dated to 1057 and 1061 respectively. S1462 and S1469, dated to 1016 x 1043, both of which were recorded in a manuscript known as the 'Hereford Gospels', record lawsuits concerning property near Hereford at Aylestone Hill and Mansell.⁸ A final charter, dated to 1058, S1479, confirms a gift to Evesham Abbey.⁹

Two further documents concern the possible extent of the diocese of Hereford from its earliest times. Both authentic, the first, S1431, records an 803 settlement of a dispute at the synod of *Clofesho* concerning competing claims made by the bishops of Worcester and Hereford over minsters at Cheltenham and Beckford.¹⁰ Within the second, S1561, is found the perambulation of Hereford diocese's eastern boundary, recorded by Bishop Athelstan *circa* 1013.¹¹

Three hagiographies, Goscelin's Life of St Mildburg,¹² Osbert's story of St Ethelbert's martyrdom,¹³ and Felix's life of St Guthlac¹⁴ contain information of a

⁷ Finberg, *Early Charters*, no. 420, 141. The only source for the gift occurs in W Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. M R James, revised by C N L Brooke and R A Mynors, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 430-1. The translation which we consulted suggested that the gift 'had been granted' during Edmund Ironside's reign, sometime between April and November 1016, and obviously before his death. Finberg interprets the account as a death-bed bequest by Edmund.

⁸ For the 'Hereford Gospels' see Keynes, 'Diocese', 18.

⁹ This may represent confirmation of the previous gift at Acton Beauchamp recorded in S83.

¹⁰ As in S1838, we observe the existence of extra-diocesan property rights, the origins and significance of which are obscure. The Bishop of Hereford claimed to hold land on lease from a time before 770.

¹¹ This provides evidence of the eastern extent of the diocese, from north to south, as the Severn, the Malvern Hills, the Leadon and the Severn. See Chapter Seven, pages 328-38, for a fuller consideration.

¹² For which a critical study exists: D Rollason, *The Mildrith Legend: A Study in Medieval Hagiography* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982). There is also a translation: Finberg, *Early Charters*, 204-6.

quasi-historical nature. The first is a twelfth-century incorporation of alleged seventh- or eighth-century charter material concerning the foundation of Leominster, containing information about Merewalh, an alleged early ruler of territory within the Anglo-Saxon diocese. The second, likewise dated to the twelfth century, offers a version of the circumstances surrounding the foundation of Hereford's episcopal minster. The third, a near contemporary rendition, provides grounds for the view that an eighth-century Hereford minster may have succeeded a British church foundation. None can be safely taken at face value and require further analysis.¹⁵

1.2.2 The chronicles and histories

There are four early histories which contain relevant material: *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*,¹⁶ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,¹⁷ *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*,¹⁸ and William of Malmesbury's history of the kings of England.¹⁹

Since all are contained in recent critical editions it is unnecessary to give a full evaluation of their worth here. Their entries provide a partial contemporary record of significant political events, reliably dated to the middle and late Anglo-Saxon periods. Furthermore, William of Malmesbury's work records incidents which may represent eleventh-century oral tradition of the study area.

¹³ It was retold by Giraldus Cambrensis. An edited edition exists: M R James, 'Two lives of St Ethelbert, king and martyr', *English Historical Review*, 32 (1917), 214-44 at 222-36.

¹⁴ For this source see B Colgrave (ed.), *Felix's Life of St Guthlac* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956); and discussed by: A Meaney, 'Felix's Life of Guthlac: history or hagiography?' in D Hill and M Worthington (eds), *Aethelbald and Offa: Two Eighth-Century Kings of Mercia*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 383 (2005), 75-82; N Higham, 'Guthlac's Vita, Mercia and East Anglia in the first half of the eighth century' in *ibid.*, 85-90.

¹⁵ See Chapter Three, section 3.5.2, pages 95-98.

¹⁶ *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and translated by L Sherley-Price and D Farmer (London: Penguin, 1990).

¹⁷ G Garmonsway (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London: Dent, 1960).

¹⁸ R R Darlington and P McGurk (eds), *The Chronicles of John of Worcester. Volume II: the Annals from 450 to 1066* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); R R Darlington and P McGurk (eds), *The Chronicles of John of Worcester. Volume III: the Annals from 1067 to 1140* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

¹⁹ W Stubbs (ed.), *De Gestis Regum Anglorum. Volume I* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1887); R Mynors (ed.), *Gesta regnum Anglorum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

1.2.3 Domesday Book

The earliest comprehensively recorded landholding information about Herefordshire is contained in folios 179a to 184c of Great Domesday Book.²⁰ It is a significant source for us, but its use requires care since its primary purpose was not to create a record of land-units *per se*, still less to identify the area's ecclesiastical geography, but rather to list only those land-units which had tenurial and administrative significance.²¹ Moreover, it is important to appreciate that the administrative landscape captured in 1086 is considered to have been settled some seventy years before returns were made.²² This enables us to identify a late tenth- or early eleventh-century secular geography and, arguably, its subsequent development. However, despite this fiscal bias, there is often evidence of land-unit antiquity: those which may have existed as middle Anglo-Saxon central places. These can be discerned from clues which reveal, *inter alia*, the existence of tenurial links between manors or group of manors,²³ renders to support the royal demesne and entourage,²⁴ and cash payments identified in ora, in blanch pence, or by weight.²⁵ Furthermore, there may

²⁰ F Thorn and C Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book. Volume 17: Herefordshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), hereafter *DB Herefordshire*.

²¹ '...especially ...significant in fiscal and hundredal organisation not because ... (those land-units had) ... reached any particular size or economic importance.' S Harvey, 'Evidence for settlement study: Domesday Book' in P Sawyer (ed.), *Medieval Settlement* (London: Edward Arnold, 1976), 195-9. In particular she notes from her previous work that very many units will necessarily have been omitted as being captured by, but not separately identified in, manorial returns.

²² As such, scholars have suggested the preservation of ancient tenurial and administrative land-units. See: S Harvey, 'Domesday Book and its predecessors', *English Historical Review*, 86 (1971), 753-73; P Sawyer, 'Anglo-Saxon settlement: the documentary evidence' in T Rowley (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Landscape*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 6 (1974), 108-19; P Sawyer, *From Roman Britain to Norman England* (London: Methuen, 1978), 132-67.

²³ G Jones, 'The portrayal of land settlement in Domesday Book', in J C Holt (ed.), *Domesday Studies* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 183-200. For example, the dependent members or berewicks often identified either as contiguous villas or as outliers, were organised so as to supply a particular resource to the king's manor.

²⁴ P Stafford, 'The "farm of one night" and the organization of King Edward's estates in Domesday', *Economic History Review*, New Series, 33 (November 1980), 491-502. Stafford describes the rendering of the 'farm' as a means of organising and securing the economic potential of a particular manor. Many such were or became hundredal centres.

²⁵ S Harvey, 'Royal revenue and Domesday terminology', *Economic History Review*, New Series, 20 (August 1967), 221-8. Harvey writes: 'For renders at 20d. in the ora, blanch payments and payments by weight... occur only on royal estates', *ibid.*, 226.

be clues to the existence of parochial structures mirroring the secular ones. Blair²⁶ identified criteria which reveal the existence of minsters, including evidence of clerks, priests or canons, linked endowments, or fiscal exemptions. The evidence is sporadic, however.

The main issue which has to be recognised is one of location-accuracy of Domesday geography, and of attempts at its reliable interpretation. The returns for Herefordshire require certain assumptions, in particular ones about the location of manors and the configuration of hundreds, matters which have puzzled scholars since Domesday studies began. Many places cannot be identified and scholars have pointed to errors and omissions within the returns; hundred rubrics are omitted in places, often differing markedly from later sources, making interpretation of locations problematic.²⁷ The editions consulted contain heavily interpreted versions of what the settlement landscape might have been. For the purposes of this investigation, these cannot be taken at face value and will require further scrutiny.

²⁶ J Blair, 'Secular minster churches in Domesday Book' in P Sawyer (ed.), *Domesday Book: A Reassessment* (London: Edward Arnold, 1985), 104-42. He plotted his data based on such criteria at 108-9.

²⁷ In the case of Herefordshire '...the identification of ...places is less secure than in ...other counties. The evolution of the place-names has not yet been subjected to the exhaustive study of an EPNS volume and no further volumes of VCH have yet been published to trace the descent of the DB holdings.' Thorn and Thorn (eds), *DB Herefordshire*, at Note 6: Places. The volume identifies twenty-nine 'lost' manors. In addition, considerable latitude exists between the three editions currently in print. Thorn, for example, identifies errors which arise purely owing to the scribe having imposed a fixed ordering of hundreds throughout: F Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes' in A Williams and R Erskine (eds), *The Herefordshire Domesday* (London: Alecto Historical Edition, 1988), 24. Maitland describes the many problems of interpretation resulting from '...the notional movability of land...we can never be quite sure that when certain hides or acres are said to be in or lie in a certain place they are really and physically in that place... Manorial and fiscal geography interferes with physical and villar geography.' F W Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond: Three Essays in the Early History of England* (London: Fontana, 1969), 36. For later additions to the manuscript, see D Roffe, *Domesday: the Inquest and the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 74-6.

1.3 Ecclesiastical sources: Anglo-Saxon and English

A comprehensive record of the ecclesiastical affairs of Hereford diocese begins early in the twelfth century. As the sources indicate, episcopal records were compiled to document the actions of many groups—those managing the diocese, the religious houses within it, individuals who held significant and extensive landholdings, Canterbury as mediator for the papacy and arbiter of disputes, and the crown. What these records reveal is a continual state of flux characteristic of a period of change and development, as the secular forces became more dominant; they must be understood within this context.

1.3.1 Episcopal charters for the Diocese of Hereford

Reliable documentary sources for the diocese are limited for the Anglo-Saxon period. Few pre-Conquest records survive;²⁸ the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records the destruction of Hereford cathedral in 1055.²⁹ Therefore, with the exception of the six documents noted, we are left with those created after 1079. Notwithstanding this, when supplemented with the information gleaned from later eleventh- and twelfth-century sources, we can attempt a reconstruction of the parochial geography of the pre-Conquest period.

²⁸ Namely, a charter of Bishop Tyrhtil c.704-5, a charter of Bishop Cuthwulf dated between 840 and 852, and four professions of obedience made to the archbishop of Canterbury in the ninth century: J Barrow (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta VII, Hereford 1079-1234* (Oxford: British Academy, 1993), hereafter *Acta VII*, xxvi. These are catalogued as: S1785 (Tyrhtil, Bishop of Hereford, to Waldhere, Bishop of London, grant of land at Fulham) and S1270 (Cuthwulf, bishop and the congregation of the church of Hereford, to Aelfstan, *dux*, lease of four hides by the river Frome with reversion to Bromyard minster, Herefordshire). The professions are of Wulfheard (801), Eadwulf (probably bishop consecrated between 825 and 832), Deorlaf (consecrated 857 x 866), and an unnamed bishop of Hereford, perhaps Mucel (consecrated 857 x 866); they are recorded in M Richter (ed.), *Canterbury Professions* (Torquay: Devonshire Press, 1973), nos. 4, 16, 24 and 25, at 67.

²⁹ An alliance of the disaffected Earl Aelfgar and Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, coupled with Irish support, signalled the destruction of the cathedral and its muniments. Keynes, 'Diocese', 18-20, nn. 60-2.

Edited in two volumes,³⁰ the *Episcopal Acta* reveal complex relationships, often suggesting pastoral arrangements of some antiquity; sometimes these are spelled out in full. There is evidence of an historical mother-church hierarchy³¹ and of the possible extent of historic *parochiae*, including churches and tithes confirmed to religious houses.³² In addition there is evidence of the sorts of relationships later revealed by the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*.³³ These include confirmations of pensions and tithes, grants of cemetery rights and notification of grants appropriating churches to religious houses, including the creation of prebendal rights at the cathedral.³⁴ The arrangements are datable by reference to the relevant charter, but often from a perspective which might imply a *terminus ante quem*. This is because each of the bishops invariably confirmed and/or re-confirmed the actions of his predecessor, implying that the particular grant may not indicate the creation of a right *de novo*.

The impact of the Norman church on an existing Anglo-Saxon parochial geography came to be recorded over the ensuing two centuries. Barrow's edition provides the added luxury of cross-referring episcopal charters, where relevant, with cartularies of the major religious houses active within the diocese during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Further information concerning those houses which figure most prominently, i.e. the abbeys at Gloucester and Reading, and the priories of Brecon,

³⁰ Barrow, *Acta VII*, and J Barrow (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta 35, Hereford 1234-1275* (Oxford: British Academy, 2009), hereafter *Acta 35*.

³¹ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 50, 56 and 72, at 48, 51-2 and 58, for example.

³² *Ibid.* Of these the following are the most significant: nos. 11 (Leominster Priory and Reading Abbey), 22 (St Guthlac's Priory), 47 (Monmouth Priory), 61 (Brecon Priory), 73 (Gloucester Abbey), and 101 (Lire Abbey), at 12-13, 23, 45-7, 54-5, 58-9 and 70.

³³ *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P Nicholai IV circa AD 1291* (London: Record Commission, 1802), hereafter 1291 Taxation.

³⁴ *Ibid.* Of these the following give examples: nos. 33 (Leominster Priory: burial rights given to the church at Bodenham), 47 (status of Preston's cemetery being subject to an unnamed mother-church), 56 (confirmation of the church at Tenbury Wells as a mother-church), 137 (burial hierarchy of Brimfield parish subject to the church at Eye), 154 (grant of chapel of St Martin's at Hereford Castle to St Guthlac's Priory) and 205 (confirmation of a pension at Monnington-on-Wye to St Guthlac's Priory), at 32, 45-7, 51-2, 93-4, 106-7 and 151.

Leominster, St Guthlac at Hereford, Llantony Prima, and Monmouth, is contained within the *Monasticon Anglicanum*.³⁵ This source, evaluated below, reveals no earlier foundation dates for houses within Herefordshire than the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.³⁶

1.3.2 Registers of the Bishops of Hereford

Registers for the late medieval period have been edited and published in fourteen volumes, commencing with the earliest *c.* 1275.³⁷ Whilst they contain much trivial

³⁵ Sir William Dugdale et al, *Monasticon Anglicanum: a history of the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches with their Dependencies in England and Wales*. Six volumes (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1817-1830), hereafter *Monasticon*, consulted until the summer of 2012 at <http://monasticmatrix.usc.edu/bibliographia>: Gloucester (volume 1, 531-65); Reading (volume 2, 28-49); Brecon (volume 3, 259-68); Leominster (volume 4, 51-60); St Guthlac (volume 3, 620-7); Llantony Prima (volume 6, part 1, 127-38) and Monmouth (volume 4, 595-601). The charters made by the Earls of Hereford in favour of these houses are considered further below. (The electronic source is now to be found at: <http://monasticmatrix.org>.)

³⁶ See: J H Round (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Volume 1* (London: HMSO, Eyre and Spottiswood, 1899), 404-8 for further detail concerning the Abbey of St Florent, Saumur and its establishment of the Priory of St Mary at Monmouth, listing grants made to it. However, neighbouring Gloucester was converted to a Benedictine house in the tenth century and it held a number of properties in the shire, as well as in Archenfield. Notably, there is no record of a separate cartulary for the community of canons which served Hereford's cathedral of St Ethelbert. Having escaped conversion to monasticism which befell its neighbours at Worcester and Gloucester, the community nevertheless held substantial property in 1086, as Domesday Book reveals. S1101 records a writ by Edward the Confessor dated 1057 x 1060 confirming the canons' right to sake and soke '...over all their men and all their lands as fully as in the past.' J Barrow, 'Athelstan to Aigueblanche, 1056-1268' in Aylmer and Tiller (eds), *Hereford Cathedral*, 21-47, at 22-3 and n.11.

³⁷ R Griffiths (ed.), *Registrum Thorne de Cantilupo, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1275-82*, Canterbury and York Society, 2 (1907); A T Bannister (ed.), *Registrum Ade de Orleton, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1317-27*, Canterbury and York Society, 5 (1908); W Capes (ed.), *Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield, Episcopi herefordensis, 1283-1317*, Canterbury and York Society, 6 (1909); J Parry (ed.), *Registrum Johannes de Trillek, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1344-1361*, Canterbury and York Society, 8 (1911); W Capes (ed.), *Registrum Thorne de Charlton, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1327-1344*, Canterbury and York Society, 9 (1913); J Parry (ed.), *Registrum Ludowici de Charlton, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1361-1370*, Canterbury and York Society, 14 (1914); W Capes (ed.), *Registrum Willelmi de Courtenay, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1370-1375*, Canterbury and York Society, 15 (1913); J Parry (ed.), *Registrum Johannis Gilbert, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1375-1389*, Canterbury and York Society, 18; Cantilupe Society (1915); W Capes (ed.), *Registrum Johannis Trefnant, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1389-1404*, Canterbury and York Society, 20 (1916); J Parry (ed.), *Registrum Roberti Mascall, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1404-1416*, Canterbury and York Society, 21; Cantilupe Society (1917); J Parry and W Capes (eds), *Registrum Edmundi Lacy, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1417-1420; Registrum Thorne Poltone, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1420-1422; 1417-1420*, Canterbury and York Society, 22; Cantilupe Society (1918); A T Bannister (ed.), *Registrum Thorne Spufford, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1422-1448*, Canterbury and York Society, 23 (1919); A Bannister (ed.), *Registrum Ricardi Beauchamp, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1449-1450; Registrum Reginaldi Boulers, Episcopi Herefordensis 1441 (1450)-1453; Registrum Johannis Stanbury, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1453-1474*, Canterbury and York Society, 25;

information of the business of the diocese, it is often possible, as with the *Acta*, to discern the existence of relationships which pre-date the period of the entry. In addition, Capes's edited highlights³⁸ provide further information from documents external to the registers themselves, concerning, *inter alia*, the organisation and collection of tithes and the identification of places mentioned in earlier documents such as Domesday Book and 1291 Taxation.

1.3.3 Later cartularies

Five cartularies compiled from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards have particular relevance for this study and have been consulted in their published editions, in addition to their extracts within Dugdale's *Monasticon*. These include the cartularies of Reading Abbey and its daughter cell at Leominster,³⁹ the cartulary of St Peter's, Gloucester and its priory of St Guthlac's,⁴⁰ and the Worcester Cathedral cartulary.⁴¹ In each case additional relevant material to that available in *Monasticon* was discovered.

1.3.4 The 1291 Taxation

To find the earliest substantial documentary record of the ecclesiastical geography of the medieval diocese of Hereford, which included the great majority of the parochial

Cantilupe Society (1919); A T Bannister (ed.), *Registrum Thorne Myllyng, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1474-1492*, Canterbury and York Society, 26 (1920).

³⁸ W Capes (ed.), *The Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral* (Hereford: Cantilupe Society, 1908), hereafter *Charters and Records*.

³⁹ B Kemp (ed.), *Reading Abbey Cartularies*. Two volumes, Camden Miscellany, 31 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986); K Morgan (ed.), 'An Edition of the Cartulary of Leominster Priory up to the Mid-Thirteenth Century' (University of Wales, unpublished MA thesis, 1972).

⁴⁰ W Hart (ed.), *Historia et cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*. Three volumes (London: Pipe Roll Series, 1863-7); Barrow, *Acta VII*, for the contents of the thirteenth-century Balliol College manuscript 271, which contains the St Guthlac material.

⁴¹ Hemingus, *Chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis E Codice MS. penes Richardum Groves de Mickelton in Argo Gloucestriensi*, ed. T Hearnus. Two volumes (Oxford: Sheldonian, 1723).

land-units within Herefordshire, some within Gloucestershire and half of those within Shropshire, we need to consider the information recorded in the thirteenth century.⁴²

A 1291 return, ordered by Pope Nicholas IV to be compiled for each diocese in England and Wales, listed benefices together with their respective values in order that a levy could be imposed to support a planned crusade. Scholars have identified its historical value as being comparable in some respects with Domesday Book.⁴³

Its use lies in analysis of the information gathered to identify the income of individual churches including, within their total valuation, their dependent chapelries. The data have been used to assist in the configuration of late thirteenth-century parishes as well as to identify the vestiges of old minster *parochiae*.⁴⁴ Treated appropriately, it has considerable significance for our study of Herefordshire. This is because through the valuation information extracted (which in the case of spiritualities⁴⁵ represented income payable to the church accruing from its exercise of its pastoral duties), it is possible to discern an ecclesiastical hierarchy within the diocese—put simply, the more valuable the church, the more significant its role may have been.

⁴² As noted above, the extent of the diocese was settled some two hundred years previously. See: A Crosby, 'The historical geography of English and Welsh dioceses', *The Local Historian* (August 2007), 171-92, hereafter 'English and Welsh dioceses', and Barrow, *Acta VII*, xxv-xxx. In respect of its acquisition of the Welsh district of Ergyng see C N L Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), hereafter *Welsh Border*, 10.

⁴³ J H Denton, 'The valuation of the ecclesiastical benefices of England and Wales in 1291-2', *Historical Research*, 66 (1993), 231-50, hereafter 'Ecclesiastical Benefices', at 231-2. His article records the project hosted by the University of Manchester, collating all of the surviving manuscripts so as to provide a comprehensive electronic database of the ecclesiastical benefices or spiritualities. One aim of the project was to identify the modern place-names associated with the entries, a common problem which beset scholarly work. The data are now available as a part-completed project at <http://www.hironline/ac/uk> last accessed 31/1/2013.

⁴⁴ See its use, most recently, in the following studies: D Probert, 'Church and Landscape: a study in social transition in south-western Britain' (University of Birmingham, unpublished PhD thesis, 2002), hereafter 'Church and Landscape'; J Pitt, 'Minster churches and minster territories in Wiltshire,' *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 12 (2003), 58-71; R J Silvester and J W Evans, 'Identifying the mother churches of north-east Wales' in N Edwards (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Early Medieval Celtic Churches* (London: Manley Publishing, 2009), 21-60, hereafter *Celtic Churches*.

⁴⁵ Income also accrued from temporalities, or secular income derived from properties and possessions.

This is predicated upon the presumption that churches of greater value had sources of tithe, pension and other income derived from the payments or offerings received for their parochial duties which they continued to claim. This *may* indicate their historical status as a mother-church.⁴⁶ The accuracy of the information presented is, therefore, one key to its usefulness. Graham⁴⁷ considered the returns from the point of both context and completeness. Although she concluded that some returns for Hereford were particularly full,⁴⁸ the use of survey data is problematic. ‘...The evidence concerning ecclesiastical revenues... shows that these do not correspond even approximately to the assessment.’⁴⁹ This fact may point to the omission of key information, such as pension income. ‘Variations in the returns of spiritualities preclude an exact calculation of the number of parishes and vicarages in a county or diocese...(and) benefices not exceeding six marks were exempt from taxation if the rector had no other living unless... appropriated to a religious house.’⁵⁰

Franklin has considered the returns for Buckinghamshire.⁵¹ His aim was to compare the Record Commission printed version, derived from an Exchequer transcript of the fifteenth century, with contemporary manuscripts.⁵² Although his study revealed the same limitations already identified by Graham,⁵³ it highlighted the worth of the

⁴⁶ See Chapter Three, section 3.4, pages 77-8 for a discussion of this likelihood.

⁴⁷ R Graham, ‘The taxation of Pope Nicholas IV’, *English Historical Review*, 23 (1908), 434-54.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 448, in respect of its temporalities. A contemporary record of these is set out in: A T Bannister, ‘A transcript of “The Red Book”, a detailed account of the Hereford bishopric estates in the thirteenth century’, *Camden Miscellany*, 15 (London: The Royal Historical Society, 1929), 1-33, giving more detailed information concerning the possible geographic location of certain estates.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 449-51. She also notes that the appropriation of churches is specified in respect of the Shropshire deaneries of the diocese but not so for the Hereford deaneries.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 453; however, for Hereford deaneries there is a schedule of benefices *non valet*.

⁵¹ M J Franklin, ‘The assessment of benefices for taxation in 13th century Buckinghamshire’, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 29 (1985) 73-98.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 78. Franklin used a c. 1298 manuscript which provided data for the spiritualities in Buckinghamshire, indicating the existence of a further fifty benefices not included in the Exchequer account and the 1802 printed record.

⁵³ ‘The importance of the *Taxatio*, as a guide to the medieval parish structure, is underlined... (but)... it is necessary to start with a comprehensive picture of that... structure.’ *Ibid.*, 85.

survey as an ideal starting point for mapping parochial administration by diocese.

However, given its limitations, the evidence gleaned from it must be subject to corroboration from additional sources if it is to be relied upon securely.⁵⁴

1.3.5 *Valor Ecclesiasticus*⁵⁵

This survey of the finances of ecclesiastical bodies in 1535 was conducted on the orders of the crown as a precursor to a levy. As an additional source for late medieval parochial geography, it lists diocesan returns by deanery and parish church. The printed version available for consultation is one published in 1817 for which the editors collated information according to the diocesan geography existing at that time, and not the one contemporaneous with the date of the survey.⁵⁶ Its value is twofold: it captures a wider set of establishments since, unlike the 1291 Taxation, no benefices were exempt, and for many dioceses more parish information may have been

⁵⁴ For an excellent discussion of the inadequacies of the Record Commission's 1802 edition see Probert, 'Church and Landscape', 30-3. Because those who compiled Stationary Office editions used only three of the possible 180 known copies (two which were of later medieval vintage collated with an earlier papal version) his study of Exeter could not rely upon it as the core text. It had to be supplemented with an original manuscript located at the diocesan office which proved to be nearly contemporaneous with the returns. With this case in mind, care will have to be taken with our study, as well. However, Denton has confirmed that, for Hereford, there is a source within the Exchequer books, comprised in three separate rolls (E 179/68/66), and additionally, a *Rotulus Originalis* exists for the third roll. As noted by Graham, the information contains the values of minute benefices, *i.e.* those entered in the return as less than £4/0/0 and included in the total. A separate list had to be compiled to exclude these. 'We are thus provided with a full record of the minute benefices of the diocese, but not of their precise values.' Denton, 'Ecclesiastical Benefices', 245.

⁵⁵ *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henr.VIII auctoritate regia institutes*. Volume 3 (London: Record Commission, Eyre and Strahan, 1817), hereafter *Valor*: 'Diocese of Hereford', 1-48.

⁵⁶ It does not replicate the return for the diocese of Hereford, omitting as it does the Forest Deanery which became part of a newly-created Diocese of Gloucester in 1540 as a result of the dissolution of the Benedictine monastery of St Peter's, Gloucester. See: Crosby, 'English and Welsh Dioceses', 180-1.

recorded;⁵⁷ and secondly, it affords a clearer sense of the geography of the medieval deanery structure.⁵⁸

1.3.6 Charters of the Earls of Hereford

Those charters which have their origins with the earls of Hereford have been separately compiled and indexed in Walker's edition,⁵⁹ which lists 122 documents giving information of the activities of the earldom during the period 1095-1201. As well as identifying manorial descent from the Domesday returns, its detail will be useful in supplementing the *Acta* during that period and in providing evidence for the latest point at which certain houses assumed control of churches and tithes, as the parochial geography remained fluid and fragmented.

1.4 Primary sources: Welsh

1.4.1 Welsh charters, hagiographies and other material

A twelfth-century manuscript, the *Liber Landavensis*, emanating from south-east Wales contains 158 charters purporting to record ecclesiastical land grants by various persons, which, in respect of twenty-nine that concern twenty-two places located in the Welsh kingdom of Ergyng, span a period of three hundred years from 550 to 850.

⁵⁷ R Graham, Untitled review of H Salter (ed.), *A Subsidy Collected in the Diocese of Lincoln in 1526* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1909), in *English Historical Review*, 25 (1910), 168-70. Graham comments on the fact that Cardinal Wolsey abolished exemptions for benefices from as early as 1523. As noted above, however, for Hereford the 1291 Taxation lists those establishments rated *non valet*.

⁵⁸ This may provide some clues as to the earlier parochial geography. For example see Whitehead's comments concerning the possible extent of an early minster *parochia* centred on Hereford: D Whitehead, 'The historical background to the city defences' in R Shoesmith, *Hereford City Excavations. Volume 2: Excavations on and Close to the Defences* (London: The Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 46, 1982), 14, hereafter *Hereford Excavations. Volume 2*. It is to be noted that this implies no regular correlation between the extent of a late medieval deanery and an earlier Anglo-Saxon *parochia*.

⁵⁹ D Walker (ed.), 'Charters of the earldom of Hereford 1095-1201' *Camden Miscellany*, 22 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), 1-75, and *idem*, 'The honours of the earls of Hereford in the twelfth century', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 79 (1960), 174-211, for additional material.

The district itself was in the process of being incorporated into Herefordshire at the time of the Norman Conquest.⁶⁰ ‘For the historian, however, it is unfortunate that the texts which make up the Book of Landaf are highly problematic as pre-twelfth-century source material. The charters... in general (are) manifestly not what they claim to be. The once consistent position of these texts—that there had been a diocese of Llandaf since the fifth century—is demonstrably untrue.’⁶¹

However, most scholars now agree that there exists, at least within the charters, much earlier material, potentially providing one of the few sources contemporary to the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period. First considered by Brooke to be a forgery,⁶² Davies’s subsequent comprehensive study concluded that the content of the book represented a reworking of very early material. She based her conclusions on an evaluation of the authenticity of the witness-lists, thereby suggesting an approximate chronology.⁶³ Her views have been accepted to a great extent by other scholars of the material, notably Brooke, Sims-Williams, Wickham and, more recently, John Ruben

⁶⁰ J Evans and J Rhys (eds), *The Text of the Book of Llan Dav reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript* (Oxford, 1893; revised impression, Aberystwyth, 1979). Those which relate to Herefordshire are itemised in Finberg, *Early Charters*, 135-41; some seven were catalogued by him as duplications.

⁶¹ J R Davies, ‘The book of Llandaf: a twelfth-century perspective’, *Anglo-Norman Studies XXI* (1998), 31-46, at 32 and n. 6. The diocese was not confirmed to exist until 1121.

⁶² C N L Brooke, ‘The archbishops of Llandaff, St David’s and Caerleon-on-Usk’ in N Chadwick (ed.), *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 201-42; revised and republished in Brooke, *Welsh Border*, 16-49.

⁶³ W Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), hereafter *Welsh Microcosm*.

Davies.⁶⁴ Moreover, the authenticity of the charters has been relied upon by others in numerous recent studies.⁶⁵

1.4.2 Welsh hagiographies in the *Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium*⁶⁶

Three eleventh-century manuscripts contained within the same collection record the lives of three saints, and have particular relevance for this study. The first two, concerning St Cadoc and St Dubricius, reveal close eleventh-century relationships which appear to have existed between certain Welsh church foundations, with their parochial chapels, and the abbey of St Peter's, Gloucester, in the district of Archenfield. The third, concerning St David,⁶⁷ incorporates elaborate claims about the origins of prominent minsters of the area, including Leominster. Each of these has been critically assessed, and each provides some limited corroboration of the shape of the pre-eleventh-century ecclesiastical organisation in southern Herefordshire, and additional background information concerning British ecclesiastical matters, some of which include places within the 1086 shire. As examples of the *genre*, they augment a study of the Anglo-Saxon hagiographies of the same period.

⁶⁴ C N L Brooke, *Welsh Border*; P Sims-Williams, 'Review of Wendy Davies, *The Llandaff Charters*', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982), 124-9; J R Davies, *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 5: 'The evidence that there is early material at the heart of these texts is becoming increasingly difficult to dismiss.' C Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 328. J R Davies also cites those who remain sceptical, Kenneth Dark and Kari Maund, but dismisses their objections; however, at 4 and nn. 22-4, he takes issue with some of Davies's 'absolute chronology'.

⁶⁵ H Pryce, 'Pastoral care in early medieval Wales' in J Blair and R Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 42-62; *idem*, 'Ecclesiastical wealth in early medieval Wales' in N Edwards and A Lane (eds), *The Early Church in Wales and the West* (Oxford: Oxbow Books Monograph 16, 1992), 12-21, hereafter *Early Church*; D Brook, 'The early Christian Church east and west of Offa's Dyke', in *ibid.*, 77-89; C Hurley, 'Landscapes of Gwent and the Marches as seen through charters of the seventh to eleventh centuries' in N Edwards (ed.), *Landscape and Settlement in Medieval Wales* (Oxford: Oxbow Publishing Monograph 81, 1997), 31-40; N Ludlow, 'Identifying early medieval ecclesiastical sites in south-west Wales' in Edwards (ed.), *Celtic Churches*, 61-84.

⁶⁶ Discussed at: K Hughes, 'British Museum MS. Cotton Vespasian A. XIV ("*Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium*"): its purpose and provenance' in N Chadwick *et al* (eds), *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 183-200.

⁶⁷ J W James, *Rhigyfarch's Life of St David* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1967).

1.4.3 Other Welsh primary sources

A considerable number of sources have their origins in the British period and are of significance. Whilst the evidence of charters, place-names and archaeological material strongly suggests Anglo-Saxon acculturation, it is also clear that there is likely to have been co-existence with an indigenous British society from the early sixth century up to the seventh and beyond. For this reason the study of Herefordshire needs to include the available material which Welsh scholars have used in their analysis of Wales and Welsh kingdoms during the period under investigation.

Davies⁶⁸ describes these as few, fragmentary and difficult to use. However, written sources are in Latin, not primitive or middle Welsh, and are reasonably accessible on that count. The material includes the *Annales Cambriae*,⁶⁹ *Historia Brittonum*⁷⁰ and *De Excidio Britanniae*,⁷¹ as well as place-name evidence⁷² and it provides additional background information concerning the British polities which governed the border area from the sub-Roman period, many of which prefigured the province's later territorial organisation.

⁶⁸ W Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), hereafter *Wales*, especially the Appendix at 200-18.

⁶⁹ Comprising texts probably compiled at St David's Cathedral from the late eighth century. Davies, *Wales*, 201. See: J Morris (ed.), *British History and the Welsh Annals* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1980).

⁷⁰ This work is attributed to Nennius from an original work of c. 829. See: Davies, *Wales*, 205.

⁷¹ 'The Ruin and Conquest of Britain' compiled by Gildas, a sixth-century cleric. It is less a history of the period 534-549 and more a moral tract warning of impending doom. Davies, *Wales*, 206. See: D Dumville (ed.), *Gildas: New Approaches* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1984), and N Higham, *The English Conquest: Gildas and the Britain in the Fifth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), for a possible earlier dating of Gildas's writings.

⁷² Davies, *Wales*, 216, notes that there is no comprehensive dictionary of place-names available for Wales but cites K Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1953). For full bibliographical information see Davies, *Wales*, 208.

1.5 Secondary sources

1.5.1 Antiquarian ecclesiastical sources

Sir William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* is a six-volume compendium of the manuscripts and cartularies held by the religious houses of England and Wales.⁷³ Its first three volumes were the work of the antiquarian writer, Dugdale, and a collaborator, Roger Dodsworth; these were published between 1655 and 1673. Two further continuation volumes were published in 1723 by John Stevens. A final edited version, correcting some errors and adding a further volume, was published between 1817 and 1830 by Longman. It is a significant reference document for this study as it provides within one source, now available online and often in English,⁷⁴ the history and extracts of some of the more significant records of religious houses of the medieval period. The contents of some of the recorded manuscripts contain material which was subsequently lost or destroyed, thus making the collection important as the sole surviving transcription of lost documents.

However, scholars have found fault with the critical methods employed by Dugdale and he is criticised for departing, frequently, from his own rule about providing evidential references and for aberrations concerning the transcripts supplied to him by Dodsworth,⁷⁵ upon whom the work depended since it included documentation that the latter had assembled over several decades.⁷⁶ Furthermore, Dugdale appears to have

⁷³ Its full title is *Monasticon Anglicanum: a history of the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches with their Dependencies in England and Wales*.

⁷⁴ At <http://monasticmatrix.usc.edu/bibliographia>, accessed intensively during 2010, but since the summer of 2012 to be found at: <http://monasticmatrix.org>

⁷⁵ Who was regarded as the superior and more meticulous scholar: H Cronne, 'The study and use of charters' in L Fox (ed.), *English Historical Scholarship in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), 88-91, hereafter 'Use of Charters'.

⁷⁶ C Dyer, 'Introduction' in C Dyer and C Richardson (eds), *William Dugdale, historian, 1605-1686: his life, his writings and his county* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), 1-9, at 3-4: '...A persistent criticism...has been based on his dependence on the contributions of other scholars and his tendency to

been unable to detect the outright forgeries of some of the great monastic houses, often including spurious deeds without comment.⁷⁷ However, the *Monasticon*'s worth in bringing together an enormous mass of material paved the way both for recognition of the value of charter evidence as well as the later comparative studies undertaken during the nineteenth century. But, despite the sheer volume of information available within the histories which have been considered relevant to this study,⁷⁸ it has been necessary to explore individual cartularies, where available, in greater detail. In every case additional information has come to light which has been of crucial evidential weight for our analyses. The benefit of *Monasticon* to this study, therefore, has been one of overview and scene-setting, an invaluable precursor to the subsequent investigations of editions of the cartularies which could be located.

1.5.2 County histories

As Herefordshire has no manorial or parish histories contained within the single published volume of its *Victoria History*,⁷⁹ it has been necessary to consult the nineteenth- and twentieth-century antiquarians who compiled the *Collections toward the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford*.⁸⁰ This unwieldy set of tomes does not distinguish itself as a source for our purposes. The chief problem lies in its haphazard compilation. It is the product of four separate authors, was compiled over a century from 1804 to 1915, and is incomplete—eighty-six parishes and four

claim credit for the work of others... (appearing) as the main or sole author when the book(s) resulted from collective or collaborative efforts.'

⁷⁷ Cronne, 'Use of Charters', 91.

⁷⁸ For example, those consulted for the houses of Gloucester at *Monasticon* (volume 1, 531-65), Reading (volume 4, 28-49), Brecon (volume 3, 259-68), Leominster (volume 4, 51-60), St Guthlac (volume 3, 620-7), Llantony Prima (volume 6, part 1, 127-38) and Monmouth (volume 4, 595-601).

⁷⁹ W Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Hereford. Volume 1* (London: Constable, 1908).

⁸⁰ J Duncumb and continuators, *Collections toward the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford*. Six volumes (Hereford: E G Wright 1804-1915), hereafter Duncumb.

nineteenth-century hundreds are missing.⁸¹ In addition, since it is the product of separate authorship, the approaches and styles vary widely, which results in patchy coverage of those manorial and ecclesiastical histories which are included.

The first two volumes,⁸² compiled by John Duncumb, are by far the most thorough. These contain a general introduction together with a helpful identification of his interpretation of Domesday hundreds by reference to those of his own day.⁸³ Listing all of these, together with their respective parishes (*sic*) and townships, he proceeded in the second volume with an account of each, identifying a variety of sources including those cited by Silas Taylor, the seventeenth-century antiquarian, in his *History of the County of Hereford*⁸⁴ as well as later works, e.g. Domesday Book, the registers of the bishops of Hereford, 1291 Taxation and Dugdale's *Monasticon*. However, not infrequently he cites no sources at all.

Volumes III (published 1882) and IV (published 1892) are the work of William Cooke. Although closely observing the format set up for the previous volumes, his citing of sources is especially haphazard. The greater majority of the information given appears to be opinion or the result of his obsession with gentry manorial minutiae post-dating the fifteenth century. Volume V (in two parts) was produced by Morgan Watkins and dates from 1897 and 1902. John Mathews produced volume VI (in two parts), published in 1913 and 1915 respectively. These latter sections seem to

⁸¹ Those missing include: Stretford Hundred with its fifteen parishes, Webtree Hundred with twenty-seven, Wigmore Hundred with fourteen and Wolphy Hundred with twenty-four.

⁸² Duncumb, 1804 and 1812. The greater majority of Volume II (to page 358) is by Duncumb. Thereafter Cooke resumed (and finished) the entry for Greytree Hundred.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, I, at 60-5, listing the identification of Domesday hundreds and, at 105-8, listing those at the time of writing.

⁸⁴ MSS Harley 6726, photocopy in custody of Hereford County Archives. It is interesting to note that the incomplete parts of the shire in Duncumb appear to be the very same areas which Taylor omitted from his *History*, making it likely that Taylor's work was the template used by all of the contributors.

have benefitted hugely from the scholarship of others: the work of Capes, whose edited charters of Hereford Cathedral⁸⁵ appeared in 1908, as well as the early edition of *The Texts of the Book of Llan Dav*,⁸⁶ published in 1893. Neither is adequately referenced, however. Again, following their predecessors, there are many assertions and much speculation. In sum, as the majority of the sources cited in the work are available elsewhere, if not in translation then in edited texts produced by scholars, which in turn have been commented upon in secondary material, we consider that it would be unsafe to rely on Duncumb otherwise than as providing, potentially, some limited localised corroboration by reference to the identification of the geographic placement of manors by the various editors of Domesday Book.

One of the sources used consistently by Mathews in volume VI is Seaton's *A History of the Deanery of Archenfield*.⁸⁷ This work, a historical survey of the parishes of southern Herefordshire, provides further information about the incorporation of its parochial chapels into the diocese after the appointment of Bishop Herewald in the mid eleventh century. As such the work provides a corresponding link between eleventh-century places and those mentioned in the Llan Dav material which ultimately appear in 1291 Taxation and the Bishops Registers. Its information corroborates material gleaned from other sources and, on this basis, is judged to be of higher quality than Duncumb.

⁸⁵ See 1.3.2, pages 18-19, above.

⁸⁶ See 1.4.1, pages 23-4, above.

⁸⁷ D Seaton, *A History of the Deanery of Archenfield* (Hereford: Jakeman and Carver, 1903).

1.5.3 Welsh antiquarian studies

There are a number of nineteenth-century studies produced by Welsh antiquarians who were associated with the Gwyneddigion Society;⁸⁸ these include the works of D Williams,⁸⁹ T Jones⁹⁰ and H Owen.⁹¹ They have been consulted largely for completeness, since some material exists within them which appears, independently, to corroborate material found in other sources. The same difficulties encountered in Duncumb are apparent, however—there is a lack of rigorous referencing and therefore the material must be used with care. The one exception are the writings of Egerton Phillimore, an antiquarian-*cum*-scholar and one of the founders of the Welsh historical journal *Y Cymmrodor*; these appear as appendices within Owen's *Pembrokeshire*.⁹² The significance of his work is clear from the reliance placed upon it by others, in particular place-name scholars of Herefordshire, considered below.

A more contentious antiquarian source, but one which cannot be overlooked given the reliance placed upon it by local historians, is that known as the *Iolo Manuscripts*.⁹³ Utterly dismissed by scholars⁹⁴ as the work of an exposed forger, it contains material which is also found within Phillimore's writings. A recent project promoted by the Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies sought to put the activities of Edward Williams, whose pseudonym was Iolo Morganwg, into its romantic and historical context. The project produced a number of volumes, including a review of the

⁸⁸ An early antiquarian society founded by Welsh patriots living in London.

⁸⁹ D Williams, *The History of Monmouthshire* (London: Baldwin, 1796).

⁹⁰ T Jones, *A History of the County of Brecknock. Volume I* (Brecknock: Davies and Co., 1909).

⁹¹ H Owen (ed.), *The Description of Pembrokeshire by George Owen of Henllys, 1602*. Two volumes (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1892), hereafter *Owen's Pembrokeshire*.

⁹² Relevant to this study is E Phillimore, 'Note E to *A Treatise of Lordshipps Marchers in Wales*' in *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, II, 257-77, which contains toponymic analyses of places within the shire, including Llan Dav charter material, as well as the area around Hereford and the Forest of Dean.

⁹³ E Williams and T Williams, *Iolo Manuscripts. A Selection of Ancient Welsh Manuscripts* (Liverpool: Foulkes, 1888, produced in facsimile form by BiblioLife, LLC, 2010).

⁹⁴ Including Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 77.

criticism which had relegated the manuscripts to the historical dustbin.⁹⁵ The authoritative statement by Morgan sums up the position: as Iolo's historical views were 'vitiating by the great mass of forged documents he produced... (they) cannot... be relied upon as a source for ancient or medieval history.'⁹⁶

However, the position is by no means a simple one. In considering *Iolo*, for the purposes of identifying its accuracy, we have sought to rely on the information which appears corroborated in other sources. We cannot know how it came to be collected, but in at least two cases it agrees with other historical sources which have likewise been regarded as forgeries and which are now judged to have authentic material embedded within them.⁹⁷ For this reason we are prepared to give credence to some of the information contained within it.

1.6 Other sources

1.6.1 Herefordshire place-names

As the work of the English Place-Name Society has amply demonstrated, the study of place-names is an invaluable source for understanding settlement history and development, not least with regard to theories advanced concerning the survival of indigenous people in the face of inward migration.⁹⁸ A place-name analysis of

⁹⁵ G Jenkins, 'On the trail of a rattleskull genius' in G Jenkins (ed.), *A Rattleskull Genius: The Many Faces of Iolo Morganwg* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), hereafter *Iolo*, 1-26; P Morgan, 'Iolo Morganwg and the Welsh historical tradition' in *ibid.*, 251-68. The work which sounded the deathnell for Iolo was the scholarship of G J Williams, *Iolo Morganwg* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1963).

⁹⁶ Morgan in *Iolo*, 266-7.

⁹⁷ The work concerned is the *Liber Landavensis* considered above.

⁹⁸ The standard works include: E Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960); K Cameron, *English Place-Names*, 4th edn (London: Methuen, 1988); M Gelling, *Signposts to the Past: Place-Names and the History of England*, 3rd edn (Chichester: Phillimore, 1997); M Gelling and A Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names* (Stamford: Shaun Tyas,

Herefordshire may demonstrate the survival of a British population and indicate a chronology for the earliest Anglo-Saxon acculturation.

Cox produced a catalogue of the earliest Anglo-Saxon place-names which were gleaned from his analysis of terms used in charters and literature before 730, enabling place-name scholars to produce settlement chronologies for particular areas.⁹⁹

The use of this survey may be problematic for our study. None of the material which he isolated within his data-set is represented within the shire.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, Gelling's view is that: '...pre-English place-name survival occurs on a scale which renders a name by name analysis [of Romano-British words undertaken for the other Midland shires]... inappropriate.'¹⁰¹

However, whatever the chronology for Anglo-Saxon acculturation revealed by such a study, place-name evidence can indicate more prosaic matters. These include relationships between land-units based on the geographical clues contained within them, such as manors with similar names but a different qualifier, proximate to one another but tenurially discrete, or in respect of manors whose names include

2000); and the individual volumes of certain counties published by the EPNS (there is none for Herefordshire).

⁹⁹ B Cox, 'Place-names of the earliest English records', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 8 (1976), 12-66. He produced a list of nomenclature in use before 730: e.g., *ford*, *leah*, *dun*, *burna*, *hamm* (relating to topography), *ham*, *ceaster*, *burh*, *ham-stede*, *wic* (relating to habitat) and *ingas* and *inga* (relating to group settlement), the Anglo-Saxon settlements identified by the *ham* qualifier considered to be the earliest phase.

¹⁰⁰ With the exception of charters S83 and S85, referring to Acton Beauchamp, a place not in the shire in 1086 in any event.

¹⁰¹ M Gelling, *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), hereafter *West Midlands*, 69-70. She speculates about the extent to which some place-names can be dated from Romano-British times, concluding that Welsh may have continued as the vernacular well beyond the ninth century: *ibid.*, 70-1. Against this are cited the place-names identified in S1798 and S1801, both of which include Anglo-Saxon *tun* (1) and *leah* (2) names, at odds with the findings of Cox for charters of the late seventh century.

directional suffixes, indicating location by reference to a central place or *tun*.¹⁰² An analysis of these assists in building up a picture of the late Anglo-Saxon socio-economic and administrative geography of the shire.

This study is undoubtedly hampered by the lack of a definitive volume of place-names, produced under the auspices of the English Place-Name Society. However, a significant local study, which carries the imprimatur of Gelling herself, is available. Coplestone-Crow's *Herefordshire Place-Names* records the names associated with the area of the shire from earliest times, including every place-name within each modern civil parish and every name discernible within applicable charters, all of the relevant Welsh sources, public records, editions of Domesday Book and works of antiquarians.¹⁰³ His approach is to identify the earliest documentary name for the place, locating it within its ordnance survey parameters, as well as providing an etymology and a history of its transliteration and development over time. There is a full bibliography of primary source material.

In addition to providing the detailed manorial and parish histories, Coplestone-Crow identifies eight districts within the shire, some of which he considers to delimit regions of ancient origin.¹⁰⁴ Not infrequently he challenges the interpretation of Domesday scholars, from Round to Frank and Caroline Thorn¹⁰⁵ concerning, *inter alia*, identification of manors within medieval hundreds, the geographical locations of

¹⁰² Of which there are many, e.g. Little and Much Marcle, Little and Much Dewchurch and the five Frome manors being examples of the first; Weston-under-Penyard, Sutton Walls, and Norton Caines being examples of the second.

¹⁰³ B Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names, British Archaeological Reports, British Series*, 214 (1989) and its revised second edition *Herefordshire Place-Names* (Almeley: Logaston Press, 2009). The first edition of this work is preferable, being more detailed and geared to scholarly use, whereas the second is abbreviated and bears the hallmarks of 'popularisation'.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 1-19. Others agree with him, notably Gelling, *West Midlands*, 114-18.

¹⁰⁵ Thorn and Thorn (eds), *DB Herefordshire*.

land-units, and place-name meaning, together with subsequent manorial histories. His work is cited by medieval historians as securely as they would a volume of the English Place-Name Society's. More importantly, however, his conclusions have not been fully analysed within the context of a study of the early shire.

Coplestone-Crow takes no issue with the theoretical debates about settlement patterns and migration exemplified, more recently, by the Higham and Coates debate concerning the characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon invasion.¹⁰⁶ However, this failure to focus on theoretical issues which enable scholars to gainsay the characteristics of fifth- and sixth-century society does not undermine the worth of his volume as an authoritative study for the purposes of our investigation. It will likewise be important to consider Welsh place-names, particularly those associated with ecclesiastical sites, notwithstanding the problem identified about a lack of early documentation. There are recent studies which have considered a number of Latin loanwords, in particular, thus allowing the dating of the formation of a place-name to the early post-Roman British period.¹⁰⁷

1.6.2 Archaeological finds

A comprehensive electronic database exists for all the reported information, both published and unpublished, about archaeological sites and finds within the shire.¹⁰⁸

The data are catalogued by reference to civil parish, period and classification and

¹⁰⁶ As to the fact or otherwise of a total British extermination/emigration or enslavement coupled with a mass inward settlement, or a domination by a small/elite warrior class over indigenous local groups. N Higham, 'Language, place-names and ethnicity' in *idem, Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons* (London: Seaby, 1992), 189-208. R Coates, 'Invisible Britons: the view from linguistics' in N Higham (ed.), *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), 172-191, hereafter 'Britons'.

¹⁰⁷ See: T Roberts, 'Welsh ecclesiastical place-names and archaeology' in Edwards and Lane (eds), *Early Church*, 41-4.

¹⁰⁸ See: www.Herefordshire.gov.uk/SMRsearch

provide information about their existence, when and how they were found, their nature, and the whereabouts of published material about them. It is fair to say that the records are of varying quality, ranging from reports of the Council for British Archaeology to the works of local historical societies and amateur archaeologists. Whilst the Herefordshire Sites and Monuments Record does not provide any reliable information about the significance of a particular matter, it does offer a starting point for consideration of those investigations which have been undertaken.

It is well documented that there is no archaeological evidence of early Anglo-Saxon burials and few other finds of that period west of the Severn.¹⁰⁹ The extent to which archaeology can assist our enquiry about chronology for acculturation or settlement during the period before the seventh century is therefore limited. However, that is not to say that no excavations have relevance for this study. The research reports concerning excavations in Hereford yielded some important information concerning the antiquity of the site at Castle Green. Some have speculated on the possibility of the existence of a British church on the site, perhaps the precursor of St Guthlac's, which pre-dated the founding of the Anglo-Saxon diocese.¹¹⁰

In the absence of any firm archaeological evidence we look to recent Welsh studies, as these continue to shed light on the organisation and development of British territories and of the British Church, which in the fourth and fifth centuries would have included what became Herefordshire. Three recent studies may be highlighted

¹⁰⁹ Gelling, *West Midlands*, 29.

¹¹⁰ D A Whitehead, 'Historical introduction' in R Shoesmith, *Hereford City Excavations. Volume 1: Excavations at Castle Green* (London: The Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 36, 1980), 3-4, hereafter *Hereford Excavations. Volume 1*. Although he gives some circumstantial evidence for this view, the written source which he partially cites has been dismissed as a forgery but the archaeological evidence supports the existence of a religious settlement in the seventh century. See Chapter Three, page 110, n. 38.

as persuasive, albeit relying on circumstantial evidence. Diane Brook produced an analysis of early Christian sites extending from the eastern geographical limit of fifth- to seventh-century Christian finds to the western geographical limit of accompanied Anglo-Saxon burials. She also noted twelve largely circular churchyards in the area west of Offa's Dyke, concluding that there were good grounds for suggesting British churchyards at these sites.¹¹¹ In a later study Christopher Hurley looked at topographical and charter evidence for the existence of an early British church in the area of Ballingham, some ten miles from Hereford.¹¹² Julian Cotton has highlighted a number of new and rediscovered cemetery sites which have benefitted from further analysis and more accurate dating techniques to reveal some fifth-century burial sites at Marden, Moccas and Dewsall Court,¹¹³ two of which appear to be places which feature in the Llan Dav charters,¹¹⁴ and are highly significant for our investigation.

1.6.3 Physical/topographical features

A number of Iron Age hillforts have been located within the area surrounding Hereford and along the line of the Wye. In addition, Roman military routes have likewise been plotted in relation to the hillforts within the same areas. 'The Roman road system remained a significant feature of the landscape long after the end of Roman rule, and in places the alignments are still followed.'¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ D Brook, 'The early Christian Church east and west of Offa's Dyke' in Edwards and Lane (eds), *Early Church*, 77-89.

¹¹² C Hurley, 'Landscapes of Gwent and the Marches' in Edwards and Lane (eds), *Early Church*, 31-40.

¹¹³ The sites and some earlier finds, which include human remains, were re-evaluated during the period 2000 and 2003 by Herefordshire Archaeology. References: Dewsall, SMR 31920; Marden, SMR 6544; Moccas, SMR 34110.

¹¹⁴ J Cotton, *Herefordshire in the Post-Roman to Conquest Period* (conference paper, The West Midlands Regional Research Framework for Archaeology, 2003), at: www.arch-ant.bham.ac.uk/wmrrfa/seminar accessed June 2010.

¹¹⁵ For a list of these with a supporting image see: Shoemith, *Hereford Excavations. Volume 2*, 3-4.

The major earthwork known as Offa's Dyke is regarded as having been constructed late in the eighth century to police relations between the Welsh kingdoms and Mercia. Whilst both the area covered and the extent of the hostile relationships continue to be the subject of debate, the structure was, until recently, regarded as '...a unitary work demarcating a line of which the southern end is at Tidenham on the Severn estuary and the northern end is by the estuary of the River Dee... covering a frontier which is nearly 150 miles in length.'¹¹⁶ We have reserved a discussion of the varying interpretations of the purpose and extent of the earthwork to Chapters Seven and Eight; however, here we note that most scholars accept Asser's report regarding the construction of some or all of the dyke by Offa, but not a definitive date for it.¹¹⁷

However, given the connection which is often argued between the Dyke and a tenth-century law-code, this is perhaps the most appropriate point to introduce a documentary source known as the *Ordinance Concerning the Dunsæte*. It appears to define a long-standing relationship agreed between the Welsh and English concerning a people occupying both sides of the Wye in an area believed to be south of Hereford and/or within the Welsh kingdom of Ergyng.¹¹⁸ There exists much speculation about the earliest date for this treaty, the extent of the area it regulated and the identity of

¹¹⁶Gelling, *West Midlands*, 102-3. Others regard the construction as simply demarcating an agreed frontier. This view is based on an early survey which suggested that the fortifications were intermittent in the lowland area between Kington and Bridge Sollars. See: Shoesmith, *Hereford Excavations. Volume 2*, 13. This might suggest more peaceful relations existing between Offa and the Welsh sub-kingdom of Ergyng. Recent research, however, has suggested that the fortifications were not extensive and only existed from Mold as far as the bend of the Wye at Glasbury, the primary purpose being to secure the border area with Powys. There was, therefore, no need for a fortification further south. See: M Worthington, 'Offa's Dyke' in D Hill and M Worthington (eds), *Aethelbald and Offa: Two Eighth Century Kings of Mercia*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 383 (2005), 91-5.

¹¹⁷A Cook (ed.), *Asser's Life of King Alfred* (New York: Ginn and Company, 1906), 8. See also: T Malim, 'The origins and design of linear earthworks in the Welsh Marches', *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, 8 (2007), 13-32, who argues forcefully for a series of dykes and dates of construction, but offers no conclusive dating for the stretch attributed to Offa.

¹¹⁸*The Ordinance Concerning the Dunsæte* (MS 383, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge), reproduced in: M Gelling (ed.), 'Frank Noble, *Offa's Dyke Reviewed*', British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 114 (1983), 105-9. However, others dispute this and date the treaty to the tenth century. See Chapter Seven, pages 360-1.

those regulated by it.¹¹⁹ These matters figure significantly in our investigations; the import of the relationship, if any, between the earthwork and the law-code will be a matter for scrutiny in Chapter Seven.

1.7 Conclusion

This survey of material available for the purposes of our study has highlighted those upon which we intend to place appropriate and considered reliance. It is clear that the majority post-date the period investigated. However, it is in the nature of this interdisciplinary enquiry to follow the methodology of others who have conducted similar studies, in particular those which have been successful and have set the parameters to be explored. It is within those parameters that the source material must be contextualised; this is something which will be considered in Chapter Two.

¹¹⁹ Gelling, *West Midlands*, 113-18. She locates the *Dunsaete* as an English group residing within Eryng.

CHAPTER TWO LAND-UNIT STUDIES: HISTORIOGRAPHY AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction and context

Evidence suggests that the withdrawal of Roman authority from Britain around 410¹ prompted the eventual emergence of small localised polities. These were headed by tribal-based nobilities to whom tribute in the form of food and services was paid, possibly organised around existing recognised geographical units. Faith has argued that: ‘The post-Roman Britain that emerged in the fifth century thus preserved, or recreated in a new form, some very important elements of the Iron Age world.’² If Faith is right, provided we look beyond the limited documentary sources identified in Chapter One, we may, when investigating its earliest topography and land-unit organisation, observe similar elements in Herefordshire’s sixth-century landscape.

Bassett’s significant early study sought to identify sixth-century origins for Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, focussing initially on two possibilities. The first concerned the theory that notions of kingship and kingdom were imports to Britain by fifth-century Germanic migrants; the second concerned the possibility that kingship and kingdom were constructs invented in the early years after the Germanic influx, as a means of promoting social control. He discounted both as unlikely in favour of a third one:

¹ This event culminated in the final shift from a political and economic structure based around the *civitas* to one located within the countryside. For a summary of recent theories concerning Romano-British society and the impact of Germanic immigration from the mid fifth century onwards see: H Hamerow, ‘The earliest Anglo- Saxon kingdoms’ in P Fouracre (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History, volume I: c. 500-c. 700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 263-90, hereafter ‘Earliest Kingdoms’. She writes that in areas like the west midlands, which were less directly affected by the collapse of Roman rule, local groups of Britons were most likely to have maintained their position. We shall consider this below. For an overview of the period and an account of Britons in the fifth century see: A S Esmond-Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain* (London: Routledge, 2000), 162-87.

² R Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), 4-5 and nn. 10-12, where the author cites the many authorities which support the emergence of kingdom structures based on this theory.

that the earliest Anglo-Saxon kingdoms most probably replaced those of the indigenous fifth-century Britons as a result of the ‘... eventual creation of a hybrid society, Anglo-Saxon in name and language but in blood and culture a successful fusion of the two peoples.’³ Similar arguments have been made by Yorke in respect of Wessex.⁴ Moreover, the possibility that this state of affairs is the most likely scenario has particular relevance for our study of Herefordshire, given its proximity to Wales and the evidence which exists for the latter’s early British kingdoms, their structures and their socio-economic organisation.⁵ We proceed on the assumption that land-units of the British period are capable of being identified for the study area.

Following the publication of a number of studies in 1989,⁶ subsequent work demonstrated the development of an apparently sound methodology to test Bassett’s hypothesis. One of the most recent explores its limits. ‘Many Anglo-Saxon and even earlier boundaries, reflecting decisions dictated by a group’s...relations with the natural and human landscape, with neighbours and with their rulers, have survived into the age of accurate mapping...sometimes as relict features but frequently by continuing in use... Moreover, when the available evidence allows firm conclusions to be drawn, the rural land-units of medieval England characteristically show an intimate physical association with one another...(and) are found to have coincided

³ S Bassett, ‘In search of the origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms’ in *idem* (ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1989), 3-27, at 3-4. Supporting Bassett, Hamerow argues for territorial conquest as the key motivation which, coupled with a fluidity of social structures, promoted intense competition for control of large, regionally-organised, areas. Hamerow, ‘Earliest Kingdoms’, 282.

⁴ B Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Routledge, 1990); *eadem*, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), 84-93.

⁵ W Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), Chapter 4.

⁶ In Bassett (ed.), *Origins*.

either one-to-one or with one land-unit being co-terminous with several of another sort.⁷ This is the context for our enquiry into the land-units of Herefordshire.

2.2 The historiography of land-unit studies

2.2.1 Detecting the bounds of early secular land-units

In 1947 Charles Drew produced a short essay on the manors of the Iwerne valley, Dorset. With what now seems to have been a prophetic insight he wrote: ‘The face of the English countryside has often been compared with a palimpsest—a piece of parchment from which the original writing has almost been effaced, and which has been re-used so that...there can still be discerned the faint markings of an earlier date.’⁸ His interest was in identifying the bounds of the Domesday hundreds of Dorset, which he sought to confirm by plotting the extent of the manors recorded as contained within them. Out of this investigation he produced persuasive evidence enabling the identification of the relics of six ancient land-units.⁹ If these units comprised the extent of a particular landholding in late Anglo-Saxon times, when might they have come into existence? He speculated: ‘Even with our acknowledged ignorance of events in early Saxon times, it is hard to believe that the system was

⁷ S Bassett, ‘Boundaries of knowledge: mapping the land-units of late Anglo-Saxon and Norman England’ in W Davies, G Halsall and A Reynolds (eds), *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300-1300* (Brepols: Turnhout, Belgium, 2006), 115-42, hereafter ‘Boundaries of Knowledge’, at 116-117. This mirrors a view expressed by Taylor some time earlier: ‘...just as in medieval times the grouping of [land-units] for tenurial or administrative purposes produced parishes, estates, hundreds and even counties, the similar grouping of Roman “vills” could produce estates, territories or civitas’ (*sic*) ‘which also often have a relationship through time to the larger medieval units’, even though proving such a relationship may be impossible. C Taylor, ‘The nature of Romano-British settlement studies—what are the boundaries?’, *British Archaeological Reports*, British Series, 103 (1982), 1-15, at 9.

⁸ C Drew, ‘The manors of the Iwerne Valley, Dorset’, *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 69 (1947), 45-50, hereafter, ‘Iwerne Valley’.

⁹ His analysis of modern parish boundaries and their relationship with the extent of medieval manors, coupled with an investigation into the effect of the Enclosure Acts on the eighteenth-century settlement plan, led him to conclude that the original footprint of any particular manor remained discernible as a ring-fence around the sub-divided field system.

introduced at any other time than during the settlements which followed the gradual Saxon conquest of Britain.’¹⁰

In similar fashion Beresford linked an identified symmetry in parish boundaries, plotted on the basis of charter material and topographical analysis, to a demarcation of units based on rudimentary land-use economy: he identified allotments of arable, meadow and heathland tracts along river valleys—patterns which indicated established rights, potentially of ancient origin.¹¹ However, it was not until the studies of Christopher Taylor¹² and Desmond Bonney¹³ that archaeologists and historians began to consider the possibility that the land-units so mapped might pre-date Anglo-Saxon settlement, their boundaries continuing into the later development of a manorial economy and parochial organisation. The detection of these fossilised units, it was argued, enabled further study of the potential for continuity between Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon societies.

Taylor’s early work (1964 and 1967) identified a methodology for the identification of settlement development in an area of Dorset from the end of the Roman period up to 1086. Combining existing archaeological and charter evidence with topographical

¹⁰ Drew, ‘Iwerne Valley’, 50. As we shall see, however, subsequent studies suggested even earlier origins.

¹¹ M Beresford, ‘A journey along boundaries’ in his *History on the Ground: Six Studies in Maps and Landscapes* (London: The Lutterworth Press, 1957), 23-62, at 32-4.

¹² C C Taylor, ‘The Saxon bounds of Frustfield’, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 59 (1964), 110-15; *idem*, ‘Whiteparish: a study of the development of a forest-edge parish’, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 62 (1967), 79-102; *idem*, *The Making of the English Landscape: Dorset* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970), at 41-83; *idem*, ‘The Anglo-Saxon countryside’ in T Rowley (ed.), *Anglo Saxon Settlement and Landscape*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 6 (1974), 5-15, hereafter ‘Countryside’; C C Taylor, *Village and Farmstead* (London: George Philip, 1984).

¹³ D Bonney, ‘Pagan Saxon burials and boundaries in Wiltshire’, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 61 (1966), 25-30, hereafter ‘Saxon Burials’; *idem*, ‘Early boundaries in Wessex’ in P Fowler (ed.), *Archaeology and the Landscape* (London: John Baker, 1972), 168-86, hereafter ‘Early Boundaries’; D Bonney, ‘Early boundaries and estates in southern England’ in P Sawyer (ed.), *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change* (London: Edward Arnold, 1976), 72-83, hereafter *Settlement*.

knowledge and Domesday Book data,¹⁴ he suggested at least fourth-century origins for the village of Whiteparish. In a later study, using this methodology, he plotted the land-units comprised in the parishes and medieval manors of Dorset, suggesting that ‘... they must be older than mere ecclesiastical or tenurial groupings... The basic farming units or estates within which are carefully husbanded the necessary requirements for subsistence agriculture with, as far as is geographically possible, areas of meadow, arable and pasture or waste... [are] likely to be the oldest and most necessary of all land-units.’¹⁵ Given this highly developed settlement pattern and the evidence which he adduced for relatively small numbers of Anglo-Saxon invaders, the notion that the landscape was organised *de novo* as a result seemed improbable: ‘We are forced to the inescapable conclusion that the basic arrangement of settlements and their estates... is likely to be Romano-British or Celtic rather than Saxon in origin.’¹⁶

In subsequent studies concerning the development of nucleated settlement patterns written following the evaluation of a significant amount of archaeological evidence dated to the Roman period and earlier, he formulated his argument for continuity from the Romano-British period in respect of three factors: the pattern of settlement, of estates and of field systems. Invading Anglo-Saxons, he argued, found a landscape already heavily exploited, supporting a population of around four million. Their subsequent colonisation during the sixth and seventh centuries was of a British society undergoing some disintegration following the collapse of Roman rule together with an

¹⁴ Together with a developing theory concerning the small numbers of Anglo-Saxon invading parties coming to the area in the sixth century.

¹⁵ Taylor, *Dorset*, 71.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 72.

ongoing historical pattern of expansion, movement and contraction termed ‘settlement drift’, which they continued and further developed.¹⁷

2.2.2 A bridge too far?

Focussing on a potential for identifying a *terminus ante quem* in respect of the antiquity of land-unit boundaries, Bonney considered evidence gleaned from sixty-nine burial sites in Wiltshire, not precisely dated, but located to the early Anglo-Saxon period. He noted that, of his sample, twenty were situated at the boundary of a modern ecclesiastical parish and nine were within 500 feet; to these he drew reference to Anglo-Saxon land charters that identified estate boundaries in some detail, which enabled them to be compared with the bounds of existing parishes. This, he argued, suggested a clear correspondence—such boundaries might perpetuate the bounds of Anglo-Saxon manors. In supporting Taylor’s developing theory for the possibility that boundaries fossilised very early estate demarcation, he wrote: ‘In light of this the appearance of numerous pagan Saxon burial sites on or near parish boundaries becomes intelligible. They surely indicate that those boundaries, as boundaries, were in being as early as the pagan Saxon period and they imply the existence of a settled landscape clearly divided among the settlements at a time prior to any documentary evidence for such.’¹⁸

Subsequently Bonney surveyed the numerous Anglo-Saxon land charters recorded for Wessex,¹⁹ these being the earliest available documentary evidence for a particular land-unit, and identified, again, the marked coincidence between the estates then

¹⁷ Taylor, ‘Countryside’, 7-12; *Village and Farmstead*, 97-124.

¹⁸ Bonney, ‘Saxon Burials’, 27-8.

¹⁹ Bonney, ‘Early Boundaries’, 168-9. The numbers analysed comprise one hundred and eighty for Wiltshire, of which ninety have identifiable boundary clauses, one hundred and fifty for Hampshire and fifty-six for Dorset with eighty-four and thirty-two having boundary clauses, respectively.

granted and those which survived into the nineteenth century as manors, parishes or chapelries. When he mapped these he noted the regularity with which estates and subsequent parish units, for example, ignored certain topographical features, particularly earthworks including dykes, banks and ditches. Focussing on Wansdyke as an example, the construction of which he dated to the fifth or sixth century,²⁰ he concluded that where estate boundaries ignored it they must, as de-limiting a particular land-unit, pre-date its construction. We can see, then, that persuasive evidence for the antiquity of any boundary might lend support to a study which seeks to identify settlement continuity. As interesting as this is in the context of an argument for continuity, how much does it further our understanding of the origins or antiquity of identified secular boundaries beyond that contained in charter evidence? This is surely the more significant point for our study than is mere evidence, important though it may be, for settlement continuity.

Goodier's 1984 analysis of 754 boundary clauses in Anglo-Saxon land charters which use burial features as identifying landmarks analysed the possibility of a relationship existing between burial sites and twentieth-century ecclesiastical parish boundaries, to the extent that temporal continuity in their use could be demonstrated as well as shown to perpetuate early Anglo-Saxon ones. However, in contrast to Bonney, she used a very large statistically significant sample together with recognised statistical methodologies by which she sought to eliminate localised variations. She proposed a series of hypotheses which were tested against the dataset. Her conclusion was that a significant proportion of Anglo-Saxon dead were buried on boundaries of land-units, but these could be dated only to the period after the fifth century; some boundaries

²⁰ *Ibid.*

were later incorporated into estates which in turn influenced the extent of ecclesiastical and later civil parishes. Consequently, she could find no correlation between these and the boundaries of putative earlier land-units. She therefore discounted the notion that the latter could be identified, proposing an alternate theory.²¹

Each of these approaches is problematic. In Bonney's case it relates to his failure to deal with questions of rigorous dating coupled with certain assumptions concerning those dates which he had identified. For example, charter material might not be of uniform date – boundary clauses were often a later addition, and so an identified boundary might not have existed at the date of the charter.²² Indeed, the use of Wansdyke as a reliable fifth- or sixth-century *terminus post quem* has come under recent challenge as a result of the work of Reynolds and Langlands.²³ In the case of Goodier we are likewise dealing with assumptions. Although most of the boundaries considered would have existed at the time of the burials, she gave no further thought to their particular individual status as boundaries. Indeed, she argued that her results, being statistically significant at 17.9 per cent of finds, proved that all such would have had the same origin, i.e. they would have perpetuated the bounds of early 'Anglo-Saxon manors'. The model cannot demonstrate this. Moreover, the corollary is that

²¹ A Goodier, 'The formation of boundaries in Anglo-Saxon England: a statistical review', *Medieval Archaeology*, 28 (1984), 1-21. Her alternate theory was that the correlation represented settled Anglo-Saxon burial practices after their conversion to Christianity.

²² For the reasons identified by Sawyer: 'In the early days bounds did not need to be identified because they were well known... (the addition of)... more detailed boundaries of tenth-century charters are not an indication that the landscape was then more intensively occupied... they were needed because when old estates were broken up the old bounds no longer served.' P Sawyer, 'English medieval settlement: new interpretations' in *idem* (ed.), *English Medieval Settlement* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), 1-8, hereafter *English Settlement*, at 5-6.

²³ A Reynolds and A Langlands, 'Social identities on the macro scale: a maximum view of Wansdyke' in Davies *et al* (eds), *People and Space*, 13-44. The authors put an eighth-century date on its construction.

if all boundaries did not have the same status, being of later creation than the burials to which they are proximate, her percentage of finds is of little significance.

2.2.3 Some resolution

These studies represented differing approaches to an investigation of the antiquity of boundaries in the landscape. Bonney's, being primarily topographical, looked at the inter-relationships between such features as roads and dykes which could be dated reliably to particular periods. In the case of Wansdyke his chronology may have been suspect; however, in the case of his identification of roads dated to the early Roman period he observed how these intersected field boundaries. He identified in some cases the superimposition of a first-century landscape feature on the rectilinear pattern of '... an established layout of territorial and tenurial units', often discernible as the continuous line of a hedge or fence which itself overlapped existing parish boundaries, concluding that this fact indicated evidence of an estate layout of an earlier date than the feature's construction.²⁴ In Goodier's case, being heavily reliant on charter evidence and its correlation with excavated burials, she could never have found evidence of boundaries pre-dating the early Anglo-Saxon period. In fact, she may have found that the greater majority were considerably later than it.

We have discussed the possibility of continuity of Romano-British land-units into the period following the Anglo-Saxon invasions. Although archaeological evidence indicates a settled landscape with clearly identified and complex systems for agricultural exploitation, at least as early as the late seventh century, the possibility

²⁴ Bonney, 'Early Boundaries', 172 and 181. In the example given the feature was a Roman road—and the explanation given was that of evidence for continuity of Iron Age settlement patterns into the Roman period. See also: S Bassett, 'How the west was won: the Anglo-Saxon takeover of the west midlands', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 11 (2000), 107-18, hereafter 'How the west was won', at 109-10 for a very clear discussion of how this topographical method can be applied.

that we will be able to identify with any certainty the bounds of those land-units remains a remote one. Nevertheless such evidence as there is, gleaned from topography, archaeology and charter evidence, needs to be applied in the context of our understanding of the development of an estate-structured or manorial economy based on the granting of tenurial rights; to this we now turn.

2.3 The quest for a methodology to support land-unit studies

2.3.1 Early secular land-units and economic organisation

We saw earlier that Taylor argued for well organised rural settlement patterns from as early as Roman times, which linked defined estates, as economic units, to identified dispersed settlements. These, he argued, were organised, initially, for subsistence-based agricultural reasons, in such a way as to indicate a multiplicity of ‘ownership’. With the development of superior technologies for drainage and irrigation, the Romano-British agrarian economy flourished in the absence of certain geographical limitations. This exploitation produced the surpluses rendered to the *civitas* by way of tax. However, for such arrangements there is little evidence of tenurial groupings of these land-units, i.e. based on unification through common ownership. Moreover, none can be linked through time to medieval estates.²⁵

In this context Aston considered the origins and development of manorial estates evident from the Anglo-Saxon period. Critiquing earlier theories which located the development of a manorial economy to the period following the Norman Conquest, he considered early Anglo-Saxon land charters, seeking to identify their *ratio*: ‘... there

²⁵Taylor, *Village and Farmstead*, 83-4; 104-6. However, most scholars now agree that for medieval estates, as economic units, there must be some continuity with the Romano-British period.

will be charters which expressly do no more than alienate certain royal rights ...most seem to grant land as well as immunity, but sometimes with the revealing difference that the areas over which the two sorts of rights are granted do not coincide'. In addition, he argued that a grant was often confirmatory in that it documented already-existing rights over land-units.²⁶ As useful as such documentary evidence is, as an indicator of an estate's structure it lacks critical detail.²⁷

To support this need for detail, Aston considered Ine's seventh-century law-codes for Wessex. 'Their language assumes that dichotomy between demesne and peasant land which is central to manorial history; and it does so at an early date and in circumstances of rapid expansion of settlement...'. This is the distinction between *gesett land* and *inland*: the former being taxable and let out to peasant farmers and the latter the demesne estate. He suggested that a lord's interest in letting out his *gesett land* was mixed: in addition to a pledge of loyalty and payment of public burdens by way of tax, for example, there was also the obligation to pay rent and render services. 'The confusion of private and public obligations ... is thus fundamental to the structure of the estate from its beginning.'²⁸ Only by securing a labour force and delivering up food renders could estate-holders pay what was due to their overlord or the king; seventh-century law-codes reveal an elaborate social hierarchy within the peasantry, demonstrating the bare essentials of a manorial organisation, and provide evidence for the complexity of an agricultural economy focussed on territories and the greater exploitation of available resources within them.

²⁶ T Aston, 'The origins of the manor in England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series, 8 (1958), 59-83, hereafter 'Origins of the manor', at 64-5.

²⁷ Sawyer identifies the 1500 extant charters as the main documentary evidence for an estate-based Anglo-Saxon settlement pattern. There are problems of identifying extent: e.g. un-named subsidiary settlements, a lack of boundary clauses in early documents, and references to whole districts in later ones. Sawyer, *English Settlement*, 3-4.

²⁸ Aston, 'Origins of the manor', 67-9.

Moreover, this underscores the theory that, for Anglo-Saxon settlement to be successful, it would have required both the re-establishment and preservation of these sorts of primitive estate structures which secured both payment of tribute and rendering of services.²⁹ We can see, therefore, whatever the position taken on the Bonney-Goodier debate concerning the identification of boundary continuity, that as early as the late seventh century there was a highly-developed, organised agricultural economy.

2.3.2 A second bridge too far?

Jones looked at the potential for identifying such estates based on his analysis of the *Book of Iorwerth*, a thirteenth-century Welsh law-code alleged to have been derived from ancient exemplars.³⁰ The codes, he argued, revealed a territorial organisation of some antiquity centred on royal estates, with a *maenor* as central place and a highly-organised structure for the payments of services and rents, together with the existence of sophisticated models of agricultural exploitation exemplified by, for example, the use of communal upland pasture. Similar structures had been discussed by Barrow in the context of his studies of Northumberland, to which Jones aligned his findings.³¹

These provided a basis for the interpretation of continuity of settlement history by demonstrating an alleged ‘rock-bed of Celtic institutions’³² upon which Anglo-Saxon estate organisation rested. Although primarily cited as a study in the administrative

²⁹ Sawyer, *English Settlement*, 7.

³⁰ G J Jones, ‘Multiple estates and early settlement’ in Sawyer (ed.), *Settlement*, hereafter ‘Multiple Estates’, 15-40.

³¹ G Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots* (London: Edward Arnold, 1973).

³² Jones, ‘Multiple Estates’, 15, quoting Paul Vinogradoff.

aspects of such arrangements³³ with the consequential influence on arguments for the origins of the hundredal structure in English shires, Jones nevertheless purported to demonstrate, retrospectively, how permanent settlement continuity and territorial arrangements could be traced from remote times. As a model it had substantial impact on the work of scholars who argued for settlement continuity from the Romano-British to the middle Anglo-Saxon era.

For example, Phythian-Adams's work on the evolution of the parish boundaries of Claybrooke in Leicestershire, which he dated to as early as 653, purported to identify such a unit which he linked to *Venonae*, a Roman fort founded c. AD 45-47. Gelling subsequently demonstrated, however, that the argument was a spurious one, constructed as it was around a false assumption—one concerning place-name evidence contained within a charter dated to 962, and necessarily linking a specific feature by name – *clæg broc* – to the parish itself, a link which could not be supported on the evidence presented.³⁴

Sheppard likewise attempted to rediscover the original extent of an early land-unit which might lie behind the estate of Marden in Herefordshire as being one centred on an Iron Age hillfort at Sutton Walls. Using eighteenth-century estate maps as the sole evidence for the manor's extent, she supported her argument by means of circumstantial settlement analysis. This study lacked any rigorous discussion of

³³ For example: four holdings comprise a vill, four vills a multiple estate, twelve multiple estates plus two vills a commote and two commotes a hundred.

³⁴ C Phythian-Adams, *Continuity, Fields and Fission: The Making of a Midland Parish (Leicester University Occasional Papers in English and Local History, Third Series, 4, 1978)*, and M Gelling, 'Review', *Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society*, 90 (1980), 85-6. In addition, subsequent studies adopting the Jones methodology include: D Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon Landscapes* (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1986); W Ford, 'Some settlement patterns in the central region of the Warwickshire Avon' in Sawyer, *English Settlement*, 143-63; and the studies of Bonney cited above.

charter or archaeological evidence. Her final leap of faith was to identify, by means of a Thiessen polygon, an early Welsh commote made up of a number of hypothetical multiple estates which in turn she mapped onto the Domesday Hundred of Thornlaw, suggesting that it comprised part of an ancient land-unit dating back to sub-Roman times.³⁵ Once again these ideas, interesting and provocative as they were, represented no more than speculation supported by a thin veil of circumstantial evidence linked to current settlement theory under the guise of a methodology.

2.3.3 The reality-check: abandoning certain theoretical models

It is in its use as a research tool that the ‘multiple-estate model’ has come under some criticism.³⁶ Gregson, who identified its similarities to work of earlier scholars, criticised it on account of both the circularity of its argument and its imprecise terminology. Jones firstly identified law-code structures, which themselves represented an idealised land-based organisation supported by a Roman legal system of exclusive ownership; he then sought to find them in his case studies. Furthermore, the term ‘multiple estate’ lacked precision: it could mean any estate or group of estates, or, in fact, any settlement structure. ‘The essential features in this...are a network of service obligations, supervised by a ministerial group, which linked a spatially scattered hierarchy of functionally differentiated settlements, and supported a non-producing aristocracy.’³⁷ In common with the many studies which preceded his work, Jones not only provided a theoretical description of hypothetical early settlement organisation but also went much further. In his use of thirteenth-century

³⁵ J Shephard, *The origins and evolution of field and settlement patterns in the Herefordshire manor of Marden* (Occasional Papers, 15, Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, University of London, 1979).

³⁶ N Gregson, ‘The multiple estate model: some critical questions’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 11.4 (1985), 339-51, hereafter ‘Model’.

³⁷ Gregson, ‘Model’, 342.

law-codes as direct evidence for the existence of *tenurial* relationships located to a remote Celtic age, he overlooked the need for proof. Gregson identified the following which were fatal to his argument: a lack of early documentary record, of evidence for settlement antiquity supported by place-name data, and of archaeological finds indicating major activity located to the Romano-British or Iron Age periods. Without these in support the model failed as a methodological tool.³⁸

Certain studies have gone some way towards solving the problems of an overly-theoretical approach. The excavation of the deserted medieval village of Wharram Percy in Yorkshire argued for the existence of direct evidence of settlement continuity: medieval earthworks reflecting the pattern of Romano-British lynchets, enclosure boundaries, and road networks with some indications that there may have been proto-manorial sites dated to the same period, along with extensive traces of Iron Age settlement on the valley floor. Beresford's significant study considered the case for continuity, in terms of exploitation of resources, as well as that for tenurial or proprietary use and concluded that there appeared to be evidence of both. The sites excavated were shown to have supported farming communities focussed on two distinct hamlets from as early as AD 350, both associated with shifting settlement centres during that time. 'One sees a picture of long-continued exploitation of this part of the Wolds, but exploitation which varied in intensity and which was perhaps controlled from frequently changing centres.'³⁹ Significantly, although by no means

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 346-7. In rejoinder, Jones argued that his use of the model was to build up the extent of early territorial organisation by recording patterns and that the application of the check list supplied by Gregson created a methodological approach potentially too rigid. G Jones, 'Multiple estates perceived', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 11.4 (1985), 352-63 at 352.

³⁹ J Hurst, 'Wharram: Roman to medieval' in V Evison (ed.), *Angles, Saxons and Jutes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 241-55. The study noted that dating the antiquity of the land division and linear earthworks, in particular, to the late Bronze Age could not be conclusively established.

implying that an identified land-unit existed from the Iron Age, the footprint of part of the early settlement could be identified within the bounds of the existing parish.

Further evidence for the existence of early territories comprising land-units which were centred on royally-controlled places was analysed by Sawyer. He considered the issue from the standpoint of charter, place-name and function information which he derived from a variety of sources. Identifying nineteen places as *villae regales*, he suggested that the function of each, as, *inter alia*, a centre for royal power and authority, a place for collection of food-rents and a focal point for local administration, had its roots in the era which pre-dated the Anglo-Saxon conquests. Approached from this perspective, i.e. that of evidence derived by way of analysis of eleventh-century hundredal organisation in Domesday Book, charter material relating thereto including ecclesiastical land grants, and place-name evidence—a necessarily detailed picture, albeit sketchy, of the organisation of Romano-British territories was suggested. Significantly, he noted the prevalence of these sites as the locations of old minsters—arguably the original parish churches perhaps founded during the early conversion period. We shall return to this topic and discuss its importance shortly.⁴⁰

2.3.4 The limits of the method and a way forward

For all of this, the mapping of early secular land-units has proved an elusive task and the extent of the territories serving central places difficult to determine. There is, however, a consensus in respect of the following theory: settlement continuity from the Romano-British period could be identified in relation to certain defined territories. Where such continuity was evident it revealed an organised system of resource

⁴⁰ P Sawyer, 'The royal *tun* in pre-Conquest England' in P Wormald *et al* (eds), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 273-99.

allocation at the level of an estate framework together with hints of the fossilised bounds of these land-units. As the studies outlined above have demonstrated, this evidence, albeit shadowy in form, is identified through an inter-disciplinary analysis of boundary antiquity, archaeological data, charter material and place-name evidence. The studies of Bonney, Jones, Shepherd and others, with their identified problem areas, have developed a methodology for identifying early secular land-units to the extent possible. We need now to consider how evidence from ecclesiastical and parochial history can assist the case.

2.4 Secular land-units and their ecclesiastical counterparts

When we looked at the work of Drew, we saw that he had identified a correlation between the extent of the Domesday hundreds of Dorset, the manors which comprised them and the bounds of existing civil parishes. Beresford also noted this correlation and analysed it in terms of its significance for identifying early units of economic organisation. It is now accepted that these manorial land-units formed the framework not only for the early parochial organisation of a particular territory but also for its administrative organisation. Taking their points further, Bassett argued that the lack of documentary evidence in the form of Anglo-Saxon charters need not be a bar to identifying early settlement areas: ‘... they can often be rediscovered from much later evidence which relates to their eventual breakdown into smaller units. They were in fact typically the land-units on which minster churches were set up in the seventh and eighth centuries.’⁴¹

⁴¹ Bassett, *Origins*, 19. Consequently, it is arguable that what Drew initially identified in respect of the Iwerne manors was not the enclosure pattern but rather the eventual internal fragmentation of the six relict units as a result of the carving out of blocks which endowed the church and provided the basis for the render of services by officials.

His extensive local studies have suggested that the creation of these smaller units came about as a result of endowments of land by an overlord, some represented by grants to ecclesiastical institutions, others by grants to individuals, and finally through partible inheritance, the common practice of sub-dividing land within a family group. It was these three factors, and not the ‘multiple estate model’, which created the manorial landscape of Anglo-Saxon England.⁴² The larger territories centred on a *villa regalis* to which they originally related could, in fact, be detected by analysing the late medieval manorial and parochial geography and identifying by means of related information an original ecclesiastical unit, *the minster parish*, together with the corresponding eleventh-century secular land-unit which it served. However, where one seeks to argue for the existence of an identified secular land-unit prior to 1000 other evidence is required, as exemplified by Bassett’s 2007 study, to which we will return shortly.⁴³ As case studies, their importance lies in the significant development of the methodological approach applied to detect the bounds of early land-units.

2.4.1 The ‘minster’ hypothesis

The ‘minster’ hypothesis is a theoretical model concerning the origins and early development of a system for the administration of ecclesiastical matters in England from the seventh and eighth centuries onwards. It posits the creation of networks of superior churches responsible for the pastoral care for a particular territory regarded

⁴² *Ibid.*, 20. He argued further that there is no evidence for any particular form of agrarian organisation based on a manorial or estate model during the pre-Anglo-Saxon invasion period. It developed as a result of the ceding of land by kings, the church and other lords to others.

⁴³ His studies of parishes in Essex, Warwickshire and Worcestershire in particular indicate how the method has been developed and refined. For example see: S Bassett, ‘Continuity and fission in the Anglo-Saxon landscape: the origins of the Rodings (Essex)’, *Landscape History*, 19 (1997), 25-42; and in terms of a further development of his methodological approach identifying the extent of the minster parish of St. Peter’s, Wootton Wawen, Warks: Bassett, ‘Boundaries of Knowledge’, 119-39.

as co-terminous with a land-unit centred on a royal vill or important central place. According to its early proponents, following the mission of St. Augustine in 596 and the subsequent establishment in the seventh century of episcopal sees within defined territories to serve particular locations, very large land-units identified as minster parishes serving ten to twenty vills were organised to receive pastoral care from a designated *monasterium*.⁴⁴

Subsequently, scholars proposed that the creation of this network was promoted within each Anglo-Saxon kingdom within a generation of conversion to Christianity, as a result not only of a consciously developed strategy of the Church but also of the co-ordination of this activity within a royal context for the benefit of the rulers and their families. Furthermore, in circumstances where there was evidence of a co-location of the minster church with the *villa regalis*, such an event might suggest a conscious desire for ecclesiastical and secular institutions to mirror one another as far as possible. The successful implementation of this strategy both concentrated as well as unified secular and ecclesiastical authority within an existing economic unit.⁴⁵ If correct, the model provides a mechanism for studying not only the development of a framework for pastoral care at a very early period but also that of the administrative land-units which subsequently supported the provision of local government upon which a highly efficient Anglo-Saxon state was run.

⁴⁴ C N L Brooke, 'Rural ecclesiastical institutions in England: the search for their origins', *Settimane di studio centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, xxviii.2 (1982), 685-711. J Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1-7, hereafter *Church*.

⁴⁵ J Blair, 'Introduction: from minster to parish church' in Blair (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches. The Local Church in Transition, 950-1200*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, monograph 17 (Oxford, 1988), 1-19, hereafter *Minsters*.

A number of published local studies were then made which aimed to map the parochial geography of a particular region by utilising the hypothesis and identifying within its particular territory the original minster church. Blair considered Surrey; Hase looked at Hampshire, Kemp at the *parochia* organised around Leominster and Croom at the organisation of the minster parishes of south-east Shropshire.⁴⁶ Hase's study, in particular, argued that there was a policy within Wessex to align the secular and ecclesiastical geography as a result of the very close relationships which he claimed existed between kingly families and the Church. This was designed primarily to enhance royal power and consolidate conversion activity; the subsequent breakdown of the very large land-units, the original minster *parochiae*, was the result of an inability to provide pastoral care efficiently and effectively to a growing population of souls.⁴⁷ As a result of her study, Croom concluded that Anglo-Saxon *villae regales* had, in addition to their ecclesiastical and administrative functions, a tenurial nature as well.⁴⁸ This showed that the model was capable of supporting many related permutations, some perhaps wider than its application might allow.

2.4.2 Its critique

It is not surprising, therefore, that, as an hypothesis, it has come under sustained criticism, primarily focussing on its two limbs: (1) can it be demonstrated that *monasteria* were involved in the provision of pastoral care and (2) can it be shown that they were part of a network of minster *parochiae*?⁴⁹ These questions in turn

⁴⁶ J Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey: Landholding, Church and Settlement* (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1991); P Hase, 'The mother churches of Hampshire' in Blair (ed.), *Minsters*, 45-66, hereafter 'Hampshire'; B Kemp, 'Some aspects of the *parochia* of Leominster in the 12th century' in *ibid.*, 83-95; J Croom, 'The fragmentation of the minster *parochiae* of south-east Shropshire' in *ibid.*, 67-81, hereafter 'Shropshire'.

⁴⁷ Hase, 'Hampshire' in Blair (ed.), *Minsters*, 48.

⁴⁸ Croom, 'Shropshire' in Blair (ed.), *Minsters*, 68.

⁴⁹ E Cambridge and D Rollason, 'The pastoral organisation of the Anglo-Saxon church: a review of the "minster hypothesis"', *Early Medieval Europe*, 4.1 (1995), 87-104, hereafter 'Pastoral Organisation'.

focussed on issues of terminology, chronology, and the role of the episcopacy. Its significance as a theory to be tested in the context of this study concerns evidence for an identified overlap of the extent of land-units consciously organised for both secular and ecclesiastical functions. The key point, however, is: from what date?

Most scholars agree that from the late Anglo-Saxon period, at any rate, there is clear evidence and clear correlation. If it can be demonstrated that the correlation is of a much earlier vintage, defining Anglo-Saxon territories dated to the seventh century, then that may help resolve the debate about the functions of *monasteria* as well as their possible territorial remit in respect of alleged pastoral duties.⁵⁰ Given that these are highly significant points for the purposes of this study, they are considered in greater detail below.

The first issue concerns the use of the word ‘minster’ itself. The contemporary terminology, located to the eighth century, is *monastarium* and is found in, for example, the canons of the 742 Council of *Clofeso*.⁵¹ These contained no definition of what such an establishment was but, in the context of a reforming impetus, specified the conduct of its inmates. Were these institutions the providers of pastoral care? If so, what were their founding aims? Foot has considered this particular point in detail.⁵² She has investigated the nature of early Anglo-Saxon monastic houses to determine how they may have been perceived. As a result of this she has not ruled

⁵⁰ It may not be possible to overcome the problem associated with a clear episcopal role.

⁵¹ C Cubitt, ‘Pastoral care and conciliar canons: the provisions of the 747 council of *Clofesho*’ in J Blar and R Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 193-211; *eadem*, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650- c. 850* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995).

⁵² S Foot, ‘The role of the minster in earlier Anglo-Saxon society’ in B Thompson (ed.), *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain* (Harlaxton Medieval Studies, VI 1999), 35-58, hereafter *Monasteries and Society*; *eadem*, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

out the notion that they may have pursued apostolic activities in the secular world as one of their functions. Despite the fact that this interpretation may appear to be at odds with some of Bede's writings,⁵³ she is of the view that certain monastic houses conducted both an active and a cloistered mission and that there was no single uniform model of religious rule. Bede himself argued for the creation of more bishoprics based on monastic sites in any event.⁵⁴ As a result of this some houses might have seen their role, *de novo*, as one benefitting the surrounding laity through sacramental provision and associated pastoral activities. Therefore, her view is that the term *monasterium* might have applied equally to a variety of establishments: those cloistered in the sense of being closed to the outside world and those leading both an active and a contemplative mission. As such, the term *mynster* could have applied to such establishments.⁵⁵

Rollason disputed this.⁵⁶ Pastoral care was essentially an episcopal rather than a monastic activity; there is no documentary evidence contained within foundation charters for such provision, nor is there, in Bede, any ambiguity concerning the use of the term *monasterium*—his use of the term *ecclesia* identifies two separate functions delivered from diverse institutions, the latter within the context of an episcopal jurisdiction.⁵⁷ It was this sort of evidence—that of the controlling hand of bishops

⁵³ *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and translated by L. Sherley-Price and D. Farmer (London: Penguin, 1990). Although Bede described the monastic ideal of cloistered prayer in community life which shunned the outside world, he did advocate a pastoral role for members of *monasteria*, as evidenced by his comments on the activities at Lindisfarne and Melrose—*ibid.* iii, 26, 193-4.

⁵⁴ 'Bede's letter to Egbert' in *ibid.*, 343-4.

⁵⁵ And in this context see the comments of Huw Pryce in respect of the British Church cited below in n. 73.

⁵⁶ D. Rollason, 'Monasteries and societies in early medieval Northumberland' in Thompson (ed.), *Monasteries and Society*, 59-73.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 62-6.

discharging an organisational role coupled with the lack of any clear written statements that monasteries were centres of pastoral care—that generated criticism: ‘... the discrepancy between the [episcopal] office-centred view of the canons and the institution-based theory of the topographers is not a trivial one and should alert us to some of the problems of the topographical model.’⁵⁸

This critique resulted in a need to restate aspects of the second limb of the hypothesis: that a system for the delivery of pastoral care via minster churches existed in the pre-Viking era. In Blair’s latest study of the issue he acknowledges it as the most controversial aspect of the hypothesis: ‘The starting point is the undoubted fact that when, after 1100, local sources become abundant, they reveal two tiers of parish: the familiar local ones, but also an obsolete, often near-invisible layer of older and larger parishes preserved only in trace-elements of payments and other recurrent obligations owed by “daughter”- to “mother”-churches... [and] local historians set about unpicking tangled webs of relict rights and reconstituting “mother parishes” from their fragmented components.’⁵⁹ Blair argues that, following criticism which identified a lack of a chronological rigour of many of the earlier local studies,⁶⁰ current research has focussed on a middle view: that there was a fundamental re-organisation of the parochial system in the tenth century, but that it most probably made use of what he terms ‘earlier quasi-parochial structures...’⁶¹ Until more local studies have been completed and an attempt has been made to map the early parochial

⁵⁸ Blair, *Church*, 4, quoting Catherine Cubitt.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 153. The point at issue here is one of chronology of events, since a contrary case can be made about the fragmentation of large *parochiae* dated not to a period from the end of the eighth century onwards but rather to the tenth century when West Saxon kings, like Edgar, attempted to build order and promote ecclesiastical reform. See: Cambridge and Rollason, ‘Pastoral Organisation’, 87-104.

⁶⁰ For example, Croom’s study identified a fragmenting pastoral organisation of the late Anglo-Saxon period, not one which originated in the seventh to eighth centuries.

⁶¹ Blair, *Church*, 153.

geography of all of England ‘... and correlating with it a catalogue of minsters which will trace their individual fortunes through the centuries...’ continued debate can produce little by way of further progress.⁶²

Despite the criticism that, as a model, it is lacking in documentary evidence in support and appears to ignore the role of bishops, in particular, as having been primarily responsible for the delegation of pastoral duties, the strengths of the hypothesis lie in its synthetic approach to the development of Anglo-Saxon institutions. Given the evidence of a coherent seventh-century secular exploitation of resources linked to large, well defined territories coupled with the growth of a tenurial framework and evidence of monastic endowments, as well as the discovery of similar systems in Ireland and Brittany,⁶³ it suggests the continuous linked development of a geographical framework for secular administration and the delivery of pastoral care, during the Anglo-Saxon period, at a time when the functions of lordship, both secular and religious, were coalescing and evolving. However, this is, by its nature, speculative. Moreover, there will always be ‘true-believers’ who, perhaps like Blair, are persuaded by the possibility that such could have been the case. Surely, more is required in order to move the debate about chronology forward.

2.4.3 Further support for the hypothesis: a revised approach

Bassett’s most recent work has developed a methodology which is seen as an important step forward in this area. This involves a two-stage process. At the first stage it requires an identification of the probable topography which existed for a particular territory during the late Anglo-Saxon period, achieved through a study of

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 155.

the late Anglo-Saxon secular land-units—the shires and hundreds and the relationships which may have existed between these and the identified contemporaneous mother-church parishes.⁶⁴ The second, independent stage involves an investigation of *any* evidence which may exist and may indicate much earlier origins for the land-unit in question.

Bassett's study of the original parish of Wootton Wawen has demonstrated this approach. 'If the debate about the origins of the parochial system is to be moved on—... if we are to make significant progress in discovering if the mother-church parishes whose fission produced the parochial geography of late medieval England were ones newly created in or after the tenth century, or if they were of much greater antiquity—then clear signs must be sought of mother-daughter relationships which can have arisen only before the tenth century.'⁶⁵ He found persuasive signs that a mother-church /daughter-church relationship between the churches of Wootton and Oldberrow prior to the latter's acquisition by Evesham minster in 840,⁶⁶ a clear sign that the tenth-century parochial geography may have had much earlier origins.⁶⁷

2.4.4 An indigenous British church

In addition, the possibility that there existed an extensive British ecclesiastical framework serving a substantial British community prior to the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons cannot be ruled out. Evidence for the presence of a Celtic church in

⁶⁴ Bassett, 'Boundaries of Knowledge', particularly 137-42.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 139.

⁶⁷ Despite these advances, the methodology continues to be criticised on the grounds that, as there exists no direct evidence to support the model of pastoral care argued for, it cannot have existed. See F Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: the Church of Worcester from c. 870 to c. 1100* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2010), Chapter 5. In this context see S Bassett, 'Review of *Sustaining Belief: the Church of Worcester from c. 870 to c. 1100*', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 63 (2012), 374.

the British kingdoms of Dumnonia, Dyfed, Gwynedd and Powys comes directly from the writings of Gildas, an early sixth-century priest, and the Llan Dav charters.⁶⁸ The characteristics of its organisation are slight and sketchy, however. Furthermore, scholars have argued that in western Mercia, in particular, Christianity was well established by the fourth century, and the conversion of Anglo-Saxons was directly attributable to the activities of a local British Church.⁶⁹ Moreover, Sims-Williams saw the continued existence of an organised Christian church into the Anglo-Saxon era by the appearance of the Primitive Welsh *egles in place-names such as Eccleswall in Herefordshire.⁷⁰ He cites this as ‘...helping to dispel the misleading impression, given by the selection of charters in the Book of Llan Dav, that British churches were concentrated west of the Wye...but the *egles place-names at least show either that the English recognised the ecclesiastical nature of the sites and applied Old English *ecles* to them, as a meaningful loan-word from British, or else that sufficient Britons remained to pass on the appellation *egles to the newcomers.’⁷¹

Recent place-name scholarship has taken this debate further. Hough suggests an alternate theory. In her view, the *egles place-names do not signify the adoption of a British loan-word by the Anglo-Saxons as early as the sixth century but rather a Celtic coinage stemming from the Romano-British period. If this is true, the appearance of

⁶⁸ Bassett, ‘How the west was won’, 111.

⁶⁹ S Bassett, ‘Churches in Worcester before and after the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons’, *Antiquaries Journal*, 69 (1989), 225-56, at 231. The author argues that this may be one reason why the diocese of the Hwicce had its headquarters at Worcester. Although the city was not a Romano-British *civitas* capital it may have been the location for a British see. He developed this argument further in: Bassett, ‘How the west was won’, 113.

⁷⁰ P Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), hereafter *Religion and Literature*, 79-81.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 80.

place-names based on **egles* may indicate the existence of Christian churches prior to the early fifth century.⁷²

Pryce has considered the organisation of pastoral care within early medieval Wales and has concluded that very early references by writers to bishops, priests and deacons suggest a highly developed ecclesiastical organisation, one which was episcopally led from defined territories co-terminous with early British kingdoms established during the fifth and sixth centuries.⁷³

2.4.5 A way forward

It can be seen, therefore, that care needs to be taken when considering the use of the minster hypothesis, in particular by paying greater attention to Bassett's methodology. Provided we are able to identify the late tenth-century ecclesiastical geography of the shire by concentrating initially on locating the extents of the original parishes which may have existed within the diocese of Hereford, we can go on to consider additional evidence, if any, gleaned about the existence of these parishes as land-units dated to the seventh century. The added complication here, and one which will take our study outside the realms of an Anglo-Saxon influence on land-unit organisation, will be the necessary exercise undertaken in respect of the territory which was not part of the shire in the tenth century—the Welsh kingdom of Ergyng. In this latter context it will be critically important to isolate, as far as can be done, the vestiges of whatever may

⁷² C Hough, 'Eccles in English and Scottish place-names' in E Quinton (ed.), *The Church in English Place-Names*, English Place-Name Society Extra Series, vol 4 (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, School of English, 2009), 109-24.

⁷³ 'In the more Romanized, lowland areas of western Britain which continued under British rule until the late sixth century, the centres of both episcopal and royal authority may have been towns—places such as Gloucester, Wroxeter, Weston-under-Penyard (*Ariconium*) and Caerwent.' H Pryce, 'Pastoral care in early medieval Wales' in J Blair and R Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 41-62, at 45-7. See Chapters Seven and Eight of this study concerning arguments about the bounds of Archenfield/Ergyng as a British sub-kingdom.

be detected of an early British ecclesiastical framework which may have been operating in the sub-Roman period.

2.5 The methodology: identifying pre-tenth-century land-units in Herefordshire

In summarising the development of topographical studies over the last forty years, we have highlighted how some historians have used investigations into the late Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical geography as a profitable starting point. Those who have successfully advanced the case for the existence of middle Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical land-units have, at the same time, argued for the existence of co-terminous secular counterparts. It is the amalgamation of these units which, arguably, formed the building-blocks of kingdom formation and development. Wickham's view is that the south-western borderland, on account of the existence of its unique source material to which we referred in Chapter One, provides the model for understanding how Britain may have been organised in the period following the collapse of Roman rule.⁷⁴

Importantly, part of that area was within Anglo-Saxon jurisdiction and administered from Hereford before the tenth century. On account of this fact alone, it is clear that the methodology developed by Bassett and others has particular significance within the context of this study.

In the following chapters we shall apply that methodology and develop the case for Herefordshire, beginning with an attempt to identify and map its late Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical geography, followed by a similar exercise in respect of its secular

⁷⁴ C Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), hereafter *Framing*, 329. 'The situation in Gwent can in fact be proposed as a rough model for what the eastern lowlands looked like before the Anglo-Saxons came in, with tribal leaders of the community operating as the direct successors of the local landowners of c. 400 and themselves owing allegiance and tribute to kings on the Ergyng scale.'

geography, the eleventh-century extent of which appears in Figure 2. Once the data collection is complete a comparison of the two will be made by overlapping the findings and identifying any anomalies. To be able to evaluate the outcome we will have to be mindful of the problems inherent in data categorisation and interpretation. Do the anomalies represent original topographical factors? Are they caused by changes which were made to the administrative geography at a later date, over an ensuing period of some four centuries? Are they simply illusory on account of the nature of the limited evidence available? As the period of this study spans some 450 years, particular problems of chronological interpretation may be difficult to untangle. Yet, it is our intention to propose a territorial framework for the study area—one constructed by virtue of circumstantial argument and analogy; and we begin with an investigation of its early eleventh-century ecclesiastical geography.

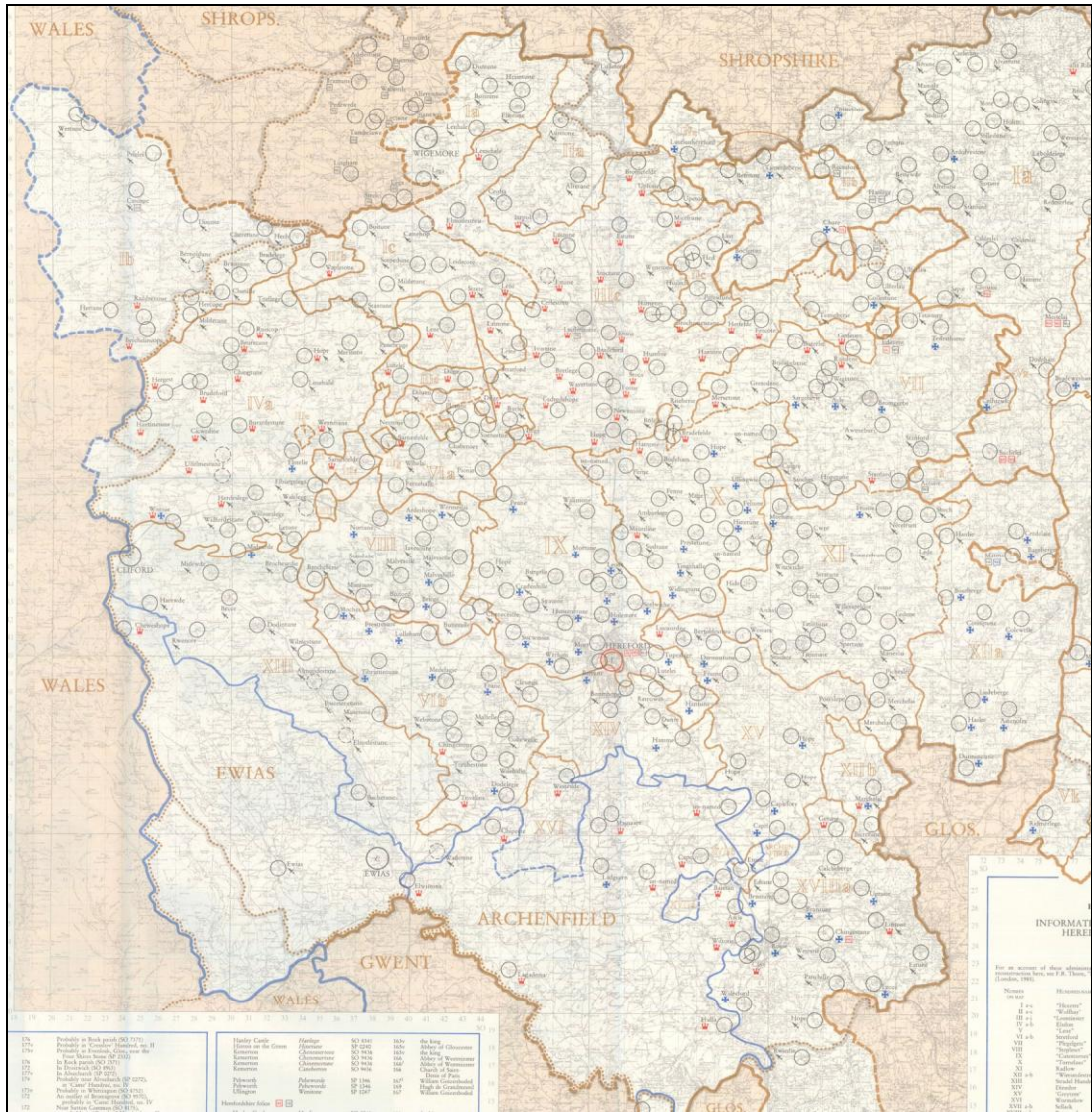


Figure 2 Herefordshire in 1086 Williams and Erskine (eds), *Domesday Map 1086: the counties of Herefordshire and Worcestershire* (The Alecto Edition)

CHAPTER THREE THE LATE ANGLO-SAXON ECCLESIASTICAL GEOGRAPHY OF HEREFORDSHIRE

3.1 Introduction

Our analysis of the shire's eleventh-century ecclesiastical geography is discussed here and in the next two chapters. Beginning with historical context-setting about the organisation of the Church of Hereford in the period following the Conquest, we move to discuss in greater detail attempts by scholars to develop the methodology which we shall be using to identify the pre-tenth-century shape of its organisation—one which uses a combination of data from Domesday returns, monastic cartularies, episcopal *Acta* and thirteenth-century parochial valuations. The chapter concludes with an examination of the parochial geography of the city of Hereford in the eleventh century and discusses the origins of its early Anglo-Saxon minsters of St Ethelbert and St Guthlac.

3.2 The historical context

Julia Barrow, in her study of the episcopal estates of the Bishop of Hereford, offers insights into the structure of the post-Conquest diocese and the period from 1079 to 1095, when Robert of Lotharingia was the incumbent.¹ She claims that Robert's early attempt to reorganise and exploit what she terms the community's 'landed wealth' was thwarted because their property assets were too poor to support the sort of monastic reform that might have

¹ 'Any hopes that (Robert Bishop of Hereford) might have had of establishing a network of episcopal proprietary churches to act as a framework for diocesan organisation died with him: after his death the old minsters were taken over by Augustinian canons or Benedictine monks, or else became hard to distinguish from the other parish churches around them.' J Barrow, 'A Lotharingian in Hereford: Bishop Robert's reorganisation of the Church of Hereford 1079-1095' in D Whitehead (ed.), *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford* (British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions XV, 1995) 29-49, hereafter *Medieval Art*, at 42.

guaranteed further investment and endowment.² And it may be on account of the canons' lack of speculative vision or drive that we can better detect the extent of the diocese's early eleventh-century organisation, prior to the wholesale ecclesiastical handout to alien monasteries and certain Anglo-Saxon houses promoted by the Normans. Understanding this organisation will be a first step towards identifying its pre-tenth-century shape.³

We begin with what Domesday data can tell us about the late Anglo-Saxon period. Page, in an early and important article on the value of the survey as a source,⁴ demonstrated the vestiges of an Anglo-Saxon parochial system, parts of which he dated to the seventh century. The existence of such was never doubted by historians of the period,⁵ but its characteristics, history and development have seemed utterly opaque.⁶ Subsequent studies have provided material for the development of an entire *genre*, moving forward our understanding of the history and organisation of Christianity within England from the conversion period. Scholars have relied not only on insular documentary evidence, plentiful for certain parts of the

² J Barrow, 'Athelstan to Aigueblanche, 1056-1268' in G Aylmer and J Tiller (eds), *Hereford Cathedral: a History* (London: Hambledon, 2000), 21-47, hereafter *Hereford Cathedral*, at 22. The earliest dean is recorded around 1080 and the development of the chapter 'as a force in its own right' occurred from the 1130s, *ibid.*, 26-7. It remained unincorporated and highly individual in character, and held on to what valuable estates there were up to the Reformation.

³ Something which Barrow has highlighted as 'a barely touched subject'. J Barrow (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta VII, Hereford 1079-1234* (Oxford: British Academy, 1993), xxvii, hereafter *Acta VII*.

⁴ W Page, 'Some remarks on the churches of the Domesday Survey', *Archaeologia*, 66 (1914), 61-102.

⁵ Some of its characteristics were apparent from the laws of tenth- and eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon kings. For example II Edgar, 2.2: 'All church-scot is to go to the old minster'; VIII Aethelred, 5: 'All churches are not entitled to the same status in the temporal sense, although they have the same consecration with regard to religion'; and similar provision in I Cnut, 3.2. D Whitelock, M Brett and C N L Brooke (eds), *Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church. 2 Volumes: AD 827-1204* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), i, 389-90.

⁶ What Page did was to provide a means of interpreting the limited Domesday data available, within the context of a comprehensive historical analysis. The detail of some of his conclusions was criticised by R V Lennard in *Rural England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), hereafter *Rural England*, Chapter 10 in particular. 'Some of Boehmer's conclusions seem disputable and I have found still more to disagree with in Page's article; but in spite of rather serious inaccuracies, both writers supply valuable references.' *Ibid.*, 288, n.1.

country,⁷ but also on archaeological finds, influences from the continent and Ireland, and early vernacular histories and hagiographies.

In the last twenty-five years a number of significant topographical studies have been published which have aimed to demonstrate the social and economic relationship between secular and ecclesiastical regimes by delimiting the *parochiae*, the land-units over which the earliest churches—the minsters of seventh and eighth-century foundation, the so-called ‘old minsters’—exercised pastoral jurisdiction. This research has enabled observations to be made about the subsequent breakdown of these large *parochiae*, and their reconfiguration, to form the late medieval parish system. It has also provided insights into the way that pastoral care may have been delivered during the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries.⁸ Although the topographical approach has been the subject of some fierce criticism, its attraction remains; there continues to be a need for carefully conducted local investigations into those parts of the country that have been unexplored.⁹ Herefordshire is one such area and our investigation into the configuration of its old minsters aims to make a contribution to the *genre*.

3.3 The study’s evidential basis, its methodology and its terms

Research into the ecclesiastical geography of Anglo-Saxon Herefordshire is fraught with difficulties. As noted in Chapter One, there are no substantive documentary records for a

⁷ For example, Surrey and parts of Wessex. See the following studies: J Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey: Landholding, Church and Settlement* (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1991) and P Hase, ‘The mother-churches of Hampshire’ in J Blair (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches: the Local Church in Transition, 950-1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), 45-66, hereafter *Minsters*.

⁸ As exemplified in the studies within Blair (ed.), *Minsters*.

⁹ Blair’s recent monograph, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), hereafter *Church*, 5, summarises the state of play on such local studies, advocating a stand-still until such time as there is a comprehensive (or as comprehensive as can be achieved) cartograph for the country as a whole.

diocese, believed by many to have been formed in the late seventh century,¹⁰ until the bishops of Hereford began recording and retaining their *Acta*¹¹ from the early twelfth, and there is no evidence of any Benedictine foundations/refoundations of Anglo-Saxon houses within the shire during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Furthermore, we see none until the incoming Normans began to promote, as at Leominster, regular monastic houses from the residue of secular colleges which had existed prior to the Conquest. Hence there are no surviving pre-Conquest monastic cartularies. Archaeological finds are also in short supply, with the exception of those reported upon in the BAA's detailed study of Hereford.¹² Furthermore, there is limited surviving architecture and sculpture dated to the pre-Conquest period.¹³ Most significantly, given the foregoing, there is no *Victoria County History* tracing manorial descent from the eleventh century and subsequent parochial organisation. What there is, apart from the invaluable Herefordshire folios of Domesday Book, consists of clues available within other medieval records. In addition to the *Acta*, these include the twelfth-century

¹⁰ For the main studies on this topic see: S Keynes, 'Diocese and cathedral before 1056' in Aylmer and Tiller (eds), *Hereford Cathedral*, 3-20; C N L Brooke, 'The diocese of Hereford, 670-1200', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 48 (1994), 23-36; P Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), hereafter *Religion and Literature*; J Croom, 'The pre-medieval and medieval human landscape and settlement pattern of south-east Shropshire' (University of Birmingham, unpublished PhD thesis, 1989), hereafter 'Shropshire', and the comments of Barrow, *Acta VII*, Introduction.

¹¹ Barrow, *Acta VII* and *eadem*, *English Episcopal Acta 35, Hereford 1234-1275* (Oxford: British Academy, 1998), hereafter *Acta 35*.

¹² R Shoesmith (ed.), *Hereford City Excavations. Volume 1, Excavations at Castle Green* (London: Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 36, 1980); *idem* (ed.), *Hereford City Excavations. Volume 2, Excavations On and Close to the Defences* (London: Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 46, 1982); *idem* (ed.), *Hereford City Excavations. Volume 3, The Finds* (London: Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 56, 1985), hereafter, respectively, *Hereford Excavations. Volume 1*, *Hereford Excavations. Volume 2*, and *Hereford Excavations. Volume 3*.

¹³ Taylor and Taylor note one building which could be dated to the Anglo-Saxon period: the church at Tedstone de la Mere. H Taylor and J Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture. Volume 1* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 607. There are other early churches at Bredwardine and Peterstow which may contain pre-Conquest fabric. Parsons produced a list of early churches within the shire which indicated that some fourteen may have been 'on the ground' by the early twelfth century. Three of these include the ones identified as minsters by Blair—at Bromyard, Ledbury and Avenbury. D Parsons, 'Early churches in Herefordshire: documentary and structural evidence' in Whitehead (ed.), *Medieval Art*, 60-74. For the additional evidence he cites a number of churches not identified in Domesday Book but which contain early fabric or sculpture, early masonry, the existence of stone (*tufa*) linked to the early Norman period evident in churches identified on other criteria as early minsters, and instances of counterpitched or 'herringbone' masonry which is considered to be specifically, but not exclusively, a characteristic of Anglo-Saxon building. These churches are: Much Cowarne, Cradley, Bishop's Frome, Pencombe, Wolferlowe, Tedstone de la Mere, Tedstone Wafer, Edwin Loach, Edwin Ralph, Munsley and Thornbury.

monastic records of newly established houses that were granted churches in the shire, many of which have been extracted in Dugdale's *Monasticon*,¹⁴ the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV¹⁵ and the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII.¹⁶

In one of his earliest expositions on the subject, Blair set out some criteria for identifying the vestiges of an early parochial organisation based on a theory concerning the provision of pastoral care from minsters which he defined as: '...a complex ecclesiastical settlement... headed by an abbess, abbot, or man in priest's orders; which contains nuns, monks, priests, or laity in a variety of possible combinations,... united to a greater or lesser extent by their liturgy and devotions; which may perform or supervise pastoral care to the laity, perhaps receiving dues and exerting parochial authority; and which may sometimes act as a bishop's seat, while not depending for its existence or importance on that function.'¹⁷ Blair argued the case for detecting the existence of such establishments on the basis of applying certain criteria to Domesday data.¹⁸ These include references within the relevant manorial entry to, *inter alia*, groups of clerics, endowments of at least one hide, separate tenure of the church from its manor, separate valuations, marks of status including rights over neighbouring churches or chapels, and evidence of royal or episcopal ownership. He notes: 'A law of 1014 ranks churches in four categories, of which all but the humblest, the "field churches", are called "minsters".'¹⁹ These he calls 'superior churches' and notes that the laws enacted were designed to preserve their parochial rights (and revenue entitlement).

¹⁴ Sir William Dugdale (ed.), *Monasticon Anglicanum: a history of the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches with their Dependencies in England and Wales*. Six volumes (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1817-1830), hereafter *Monasticon*.

¹⁵ *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P Nicholai IV circa AD 1291* (London: Record Commission, 1802), hereafter 1291 Taxation.

¹⁶ *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII auctoritate regia institutes. Volume 3* (London: Record Commission, Eyre and Strahan, 1817), hereafter *Valor*.

¹⁷ Blair, *Church*, 3.

¹⁸ J Blair, 'Secular minster churches in Domesday Book' in P Sawyer (ed.), *Domesday Book: A Reassessment* (London: Edward Arnold, 1985), 104-42 and map on 108.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 105.

These terms are not particularly helpful ones. Not only do they operate as blunt analytic tools that oversimplify a system which was already complex by the time the state stepped in to regulate it, but the term ‘minster’—which denotes an ecclesiastical organisation, not its parochial status—is ambiguous; it can signify all manner of establishment, as Blair’s definition indicates. Furthermore, not every ‘superior church’ to which Blair refers was necessarily an old minster—it might have been a lately founded manorial chapel, for example.²⁰ Yet, many other churches which do not appear to have been old minsters could well have had superior status as foundations of some antiquity—for example, the number in the shire which were of British origin.²¹ And while the law plainly described a hierarchy of establishments, as Barlow has noted, there is little by way of hard evidence which explains the status and rights of each.²² Understanding the hierarchy and role of these churches is achieved, more often than not, through an analysis of the circumstantial evidence to be found in later sources.

Therefore, for the purposes of this study and to designate a parochial hierarchy and de-limit the jurisdiction of the shire’s major secular colleges we shall use two basic terms. The term ‘old minster’ or ‘minster’ will identify an Anglo-Saxon foundation having jurisdiction over an extensive area, its *parochia*, and supervisory power over public churches within it.²³ The term ‘lesser church’ will be used to identify any public or private church established within the *parochia* of an old minster. These public churches, often called small minsters, lesser

²⁰ See, for example, the activity of the fitzOsbern and Lacy families, both of which had connections to the shire before the Conquest.

²¹ A discussion is within the case study material.

²² F Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066* (London: Longmans, 1963), hereafter *English Church*. Barlow categorised them as follows: ‘... chief minsters, smaller ones, even smaller ones where nevertheless there is a cemetery and field churches. These... (are) episcopal minsters, other old minsters, manorial churches with burial rights, and the rest. Most of the minsters then in existence can be identified from Domesday Book. However, a clear attempt to safeguard the rights of the old minsters, as a class, against encroachment by manorial churches is apparent.’ *Ibid.*, 187. This law was a more elaborate restatement of an earlier one of Edgar: an old minster to which obedience is due, a thegn’s church with a graveyard and a church without a graveyard: II Edgar, 1 and 2 as quoted by Lennard, *Rural England*, 299 and n. 2.

²³ Blair, *Church*, 74.

minsters, sub-minsters or parochial chapels, were founded as the out-reach provision of an old minster, acting in its role of mother-church.²⁴ (For the avoidance of doubt, the term ‘small minster’ as used in the case studies which follow in Chapters Four and Five,²⁵ defines this sort of provision, being an establishment having more than one priest, often holding chapelries and having ecclesiastical jurisdiction over an area smaller than that of its mother-church, but one nevertheless sited within the latter’s *parochia*.) The private churches, often called patronal or manorial chapels, were established for the convenience of the land-owner and his family.²⁶ We discuss both in greater detail, below.

It is frequently impossible, as we have discovered, for the historian to distinguish parochial from manorial chapels since, during the later medieval period (which is the period of our sources) pastoral care came to be delivered from both. And this is compounded by the lack of a *Victoria County History* for Herefordshire, recording post-Conquest manorial descent and parochial development. The position, therefore, is an obscure one. We argue, however, that by adopting the terms described here the problem of categorisation, whilst not being solved, will at least be side-stepped because determining the origins of these small minsters and manorial chapels is of little relevance to this thesis’s stated aims, which is not to identify every Anglo-Saxon minster within the shire. Our aim is to locate each church within the confines of an old minster’s *parochia*, so as to delimit the latter’s geographic extent. For the majority, as the case studies demonstrate, the outcome for the shire has been successful.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 212-20; 383-5

²⁵ Such as those of Pencombe, Fownhope and Dilwyn which are noted in Chapter Four, pages 118-19 and 124, and Chapter Five, page 185.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 385-95.

3.4 The importance of twelfth- and thirteenth-century records

In addition to issues of terminology, without some understanding of the history of the shire's parochial framework, it will be impossible to interpret the data which are set out in the case studies. We know that a diocesan structure of some description had existed in England from the seventh century, and the financial rights of the church, which included the right to receive various income streams,²⁷ had been sanctioned by royal law. A bishop, taking possession of his diocese, acquired both the rights of the office and also the often-blurred spiritual and temporal revenues which accrued to it.²⁸ From the tenth century onwards a drive to reform all ecclesiastical houses included not only the old minsters but also their monastic counterparts,²⁹ many of which were situated on royal estates. In dioceses like Hereford where unreformed houses remained in the hands of canons, the accruing spiritual and temporal property of the benefice was vested in the particular clerk or canon of the secular minster college, not in the college itself which was an unincorporated entity.³⁰ A prebend, the source of income which endowed a benefice, was a valuable commodity,³¹ and it was through this device that a collegiate chapter controlled the property of its members and retained spiritual and temporal rights—by regulating the membership and responsibilities of

²⁷ For example tithes, church-scot, plough alms, light dues and soul-scot.

²⁸ Barlow, *English Church*, 159-70. In many cases substantial property interests had been acquired by royal gift, and it was often impossible to draw a distinction between a particular church's temporalities (its moveable property, land and the revenue which it generated) from its spiritualities (income received from its performance of sacramental duties). For all intents and purposes such a distinction had no practical significance. *Ibid.*, 160. This is of particular importance in the context of the drive during the twelfth century to re-endow reformed monasteries which had been secular colleges or minsters.

²⁹ The reforms created monastic establishments where property was held by a corporation, as opposed to its individual clerics. As noted above, the cathedral at Hereford remained unincorporated—a secular college. Barrow speculates that the reasons for this lay in the poverty of the house as well as the personality of its eleventh-century Norman bishop, Robert. *Eadem* in Whitehead (ed.), *Medieval Art*, 49.

³⁰ The lease of a church, which could be inherited as the private property of the incumbent, endowed the benefice or prebend (a form which was particular to secular colleges). Barlow, *English Church*, 188. Appointments to such remained in the gift of the prebend-holder who could be a superior minster, a monastic house or a secular land-owner, as the 1291 Taxation returns demonstrate.

³¹ Barrow sees the early creation of prebends in the management of the estates of the Bishop of Hereford. *Eadem* in Whitehead (ed.), *Medieval Art*, table 2, 38-40. But it could also be argued that Domesday Book's entries merely reveal an organisation which had been developing from the tenth century, if not earlier, as a result of the pastoral activities of the cathedral.

its canons. Finally, it is the vestiges of these complex rights that are apparent within the twelfth-century *Acta* and thirteenth-century ecclesiastical records.³²

In addition, whilst a diocese may have consisted, during the middle to late Anglo-Saxon period, of a network of royally established and endowed old minsters and their daughter-churches, there is clear evidence of further competition in the form of the manorial churches; the royal laws sought to identify and regulate this competition. The latter have some of the characteristics of the *Eigenkirchen*, a continental tradition of privately owned establishments built for the benefit of a family and its estate; many were of antiquity and ranged widely in terms of their status and value.³³

Domesday evidence for Herefordshire reveals nineteen churches.³⁴ This figure does not represent the sum total of all that were standing at the time of the survey and it will not be a straightforward exercise to identify the rest or to determine the status and hierarchy of each. Nevertheless, sixteen case studies are presented which aim to shed light on aspects of the subject. The first of these concerns Hereford itself and the aim is to identify its earliest Anglo-Saxon minster and the *parochia* which it served.

³²The *Acta* contain numerous examples of attempts by various monastic houses to enforce the rights which they claimed to acquire when appropriating an existing church. Furthermore, 1291 Taxation recorded churches by parish and, where benefices existed, by the value of a prebend, its portions and portion-holders. It is to be noted that as part of the emergence of more secular control after the Conquest, prebends were often divided, with the Bishop's consent, between their ecclesiastical founders and those nobles who held the estate where the church was located. Each of these had a 'portion' valued at a particular sum. In certain circumstances a minor benefice, i.e. a vicarage, was created if the prebend-holder, being an individual, was unable to carry out his duties. It likewise had a value attached to it. Barlow, *English Church*, 204-8

³³ *Ibid.*, 179-86.

³⁴ We consider each within the case studies. The number is the one identified in the Hull dataset Table of Statistics: J Palmer *et al*, *Electronic Edition of Domesday Book: Translation, Databases and Scholarly Commentary* (Colchester: UK Data Archive, 2007), Study Number 5694. See also: F Thorn and C Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book. Volume 17: Herefordshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), hereafter *DB Herefordshire*.

3.5 Hereford's ecclesiastical geography

The extent of Hereford's early parishes, as distinct from its location as ultimate seat of the diocese, begins with its disappointing entry in Domesday Book. No churches are mentioned, which in itself is not surprising since the survey focussed on ecclesiastical bodies as landowners; and so no hint is given as to how their historical spiritual functions may have overlapped. The city's two largest foundations, the Anglo-Saxon cathedral of St Ethelbert and the minster of St Guthlac, were of considerable antiquity by 1066, but the demarcation between their respective parochial jurisdictions is unknown and for many, unknowable.³⁵ From the Conquest onwards Hereford's ecclesiastical structure appears to have become discernible as a tenurially-focussed one, within the drive to consolidate the type of Anglo-Norman diocese to which Barrow has alluded.

Many have speculated on Hereford's origins as an ecclesiastical centre, and there is much common ground, from Stenton's early comments to those expressed by Lobel and Thacker, which were followed by an analysis of the excavations that took place in 1980 and again in the early 1990s.³⁶ The general conclusion is that the Anglo-Saxon settlement certainly possessed an ecclesiastical site from the seventh century and, from the evidence of charter material,³⁷ an Anglo-Saxon episcopal minster is likely to have existed from no later than the middle of the eighth century and certainly by the ninth. What is still the subject of debate is

³⁵ Barrow, *Acta VII*, xxvii; I Forrest, 'The politics of burial in late medieval Hereford', *English Historical Review*, 125 (October, 2010), 1110-38, hereafter 'Politics of Burial', at n. 20. We can only conjecture on the chronology for the foundation of each.

³⁶ F Stenton and D Stenton, 'Pre-conquest Herefordshire' in D Stenton (ed.), *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 193-202; M Lobel, 'Hereford' in M Lobel and W H Johns (eds), *Historic Towns. Volume 1* (Oxford: Lovell John, 1969), hereafter *Historic Towns*; Shoesmith (ed.), *Hereford Excavations. Volumes 1-3*; A Thomas and A Boucher (eds), *Hereford City Excavations. Volume 4 1976-1990: Further Sites and Evolving Interpretations* (Little Logaston: Logaston Press 2002); J Barrow, 'Urban cemetery location in the high Middle Ages' in S Bassett (ed.), *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 78-100, hereafter *Death in Towns*.

³⁷ S99, for which see the discussion below at pages 80-1.

the chronology for the founding of that church and its relationship to the Anglo-Saxon minster of St Guthlac's.³⁸

Two detailed studies have been undertaken: one by Pearn in 1988 and the other by Hutton in 2008, both equivocal in part but with some similar conclusions which are of particular relevance for this study.³⁹ Evidence for the existence of an episcopal church at Hereford, dedicated to St Mary, has been adduced in both studies, largely as a result of charter material dated to *c.*737.⁴⁰ (A later interpolation does not appear to alter its reliability as to the existence of a major church from early in the eighth century.)⁴¹ The date for the foundation of that church is obscure. Moreover, the case for the existence of a second royally-endowed minster from around the same time has been discussed in detail, positively by Hutton and negatively by Pearn. These two establishments were subsequently dedicated, at an unknown date, to St Ethelbert, the martyred king, and St Guthlac, the confidante of the eighth-century

³⁸ Shoesmith's excavation reports have led to theories about the earliest church, possibly located within the castle site, with burials potentially dating from late in the sixth century. There is speculation that St Guthlac's, located within the castle area, may have been the earliest foundation as well as a British church. D Whitehead, 'The historical background to the city's defences' in Shoesmith (ed.), *Hereford Excavations. Volume 2*, 14. His source for this assertion is: E Williams and T Williams, *Iolo manuscripts. A Selection of Ancient Welsh Manuscripts* (Liverpool: Foulkes, 1888, produced in facsimile form by BiblioLife, LLC, 2010), hereafter *Iolo*, an overview of which is considered in Chapter One. At *ibid.*, 514 and n. 4, there is mention of a British monastic foundation *c.* 540 at or near Hereford, founded by Geraint, whose father, Erbin, when king of Gwent and Ergyng, appears in the Llan Dav charters as a prominent royal grantor of lands to its churches. According to Gerald of Wales, the district around Hereford had been known in the eighth century as *Fernley/Fernlega*. His 'Life of Ethelbert' appears to be the earliest record of that name, although it is quoted in Welsh antiquarian sources, as well as *Iolo*, 394. M James, 'Two lives of St Ethelbert, king and martyr', *English Historical Review*, 32 (1917), 214-44, hereafter 'Two Lives', at 230.

³⁹ A Pearn, 'Origin and Development of Urban Churches and Parishes: a Comparative Study of Hereford, Shrewsbury and Chester' (University of Cambridge, unpublished PhD thesis, 1988), hereafter 'Origin and Development'; L Hutton, 'A reassessment of the evidence for the development of Anglo-Saxon Hereford' (University of Birmingham, unpublished MPhil dissertation, 2008), hereafter 'Reassessment'.

⁴⁰ S99, which although regarded as a conflation of two documents, is deemed authentic for some of its content by Wormald, Hooke and Sims-Williams, and was relied upon by Pearn. [P Wormald, 'Bede and the conversion of England: the charter evidence', *The Jarrow Lecture 1984* (Jarrow: St Paul's Church, 1984), 25; D Hooke, *The Anglo-Saxon Landscape: the Kingdom of the Hwicce* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 99 and 128; Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 36, n.119, 148 and 169.] The gist of the evidence is that Cuthbert, a bishop of or at Hereford during a four year period of 736-40, was a witness to a grant, a later interpolation of which mentions Utel, 793-801, as 'bishop of St Mary's', Hereford. H P R Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1961), hereafter *Early Charters*, no. 23, 35-6

⁴¹ Hutton, 'Reassessment', appears confused on the point, discounting the charter's reliability at 36, yet asserting the existence of a 'prestigious cathedral' by late in the eighth century, at 80, with no source quoted for the latter statement.

Mercian king Aethelbald, and appear from later sources to have become secular colleges with extensive landholdings. In terms of their respective fortunes, St Ethelbert's, as the episcopal minster, became the dominant player.

Our contention, which is fully discussed below, is that their respective Anglo-Saxon origins, perhaps dated to the beginning of the eighth century, are likely to have been within the confines of Hereford's original ecclesiastical centre, already present by then, a centre which contained Hereford's first Anglo-Saxon minster complex.⁴² By 803 there is documentary evidence that a seat for the Anglo-Saxon diocese, which had been established in 680, had become located at Hereford.⁴³ During the intervening period the province comprising the 'peoples west of the Severn' would have been subject to some form of episcopal control, making it unlikely that an Anglo-Saxon bishop had been appointed to a see at a vacant but newly-selected site. What is more likely is that Anglo-Saxon prelates at Hereford reorganised an existing British episcopal church, something which had occurred by 737. (We have deferred a discussion of the origins of the diocese to Chapter Seven, and our consideration of the two minsters begins with an attempt to reconstruct Hereford's earliest *parochia*.)

As noted above, there appear to be few clues within Domesday Book, and a description of Hereford's five medieval parishes is not found until half a century after the Conquest, when a major reorganisation appears to have taken place.⁴⁴ By this time St Guthlac's had been

⁴² Bassett has argued for a similar case at Coventry. S Bassett, *Anglo-Saxon Coventry and its churches* (Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, no 41), 2001. In the case of Hereford, the precursor of this first foundation is likely to have been British. For the argument that an early British *parochia* can be detected at neighbouring Worcester see: S Bassett, 'Churches in Worcester Before and After the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 69 (1989), 225-56, hereafter 'Worcester'.

⁴³ We have seen the reference to an eighth-century Anglo-Saxon episcopal church in S99; S1431, which dates to 803, records Wulfheard as bishop of Hereford, the first extant record of that title.

⁴⁴ These being: St John the Baptist, St Martin, St Nicholas, St Owen and St Peter. Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 21, 22, 73 and 154, 21-3, 58-9 and 106-7. The founding by Walter of Lacy of St Peter's, a secular college, occurred

refounded as a Benedictine priory and, at the behest of the bishop, the dean and chapter of St Ethelbert's were well on their way to creating a prebendal-style organisation to support their unreformed collegiate status.⁴⁵ Apart from some brief comments made below, it is beyond the remit of this study to attempt a detailed analysis of the timescale or key drivers for that reorganisation.⁴⁶ The bald facts revealed in the *Acta* and 1291 Taxation can be summarised, however, as the few details assist our analysis.

St Guthlac's was relocated from within the grounds of Hereford Castle, reformed and then merged with St Peter's by 1143.⁴⁷ The thirteenth-century records reveal that it held the church of St Owen and had a portion of St Martin's with its chapel of All Saints'.⁴⁸ St Nicholas's was granted to Gloucester Abbey, St Guthlac's mother-house, in 1155. St John the Baptist remained an altar within the cathedral.⁴⁹ Only the parish of St Martin's, with its

in the decade after the Conquest. St Guthlac's 'merger' with it was finally recorded in 1143, although is most likely to have occurred a little earlier. The other city parishes were founded by the Lacys (St Owen's) and William fitzOsbern (St Martin's with All Saints'). St Nicholas's may have been created to replace the function of the parish of St John the Baptist, whose presence by the mid twelfth century consisted of a separate chapel with an altar within the cathedral. *Eadem* in Bassett (ed.), *Death in Towns*, 83.

⁴⁵ Although no date can be given, according to Capes the separation of the capitular estates to form distinct prebends which the canons held in addition to their share of the cathedral's common fund was likely to have been in train during the Anglo-Saxon period—well before the Domesday Book returns. W Capes (ed.), *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral* (Hereford: Cantilupe Society, 1908), hereafter *Charters and Records*, iii. Within the adjacent diocese of Worcester where, despite particular issues of accuracy, charter material is more prevalent, a similar state of affairs has been recorded. See F Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c. 870-1100* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010). She cites in particular the activity of Bishop Wilfrith (915 x 922—928 x 929) in granting land in 922 at Clifford Chambers, Warwickshire: 'The grant, written in English with a preamble in Latin, represents the first steps towards what is generally called the "division of the *mensa*" between the bishop and the community of Worcester—a process which began in the first half of the tenth century and which would only be complete by the twelfth century'. *Ibid.*, 14 and 15. The charter in question is at S1289.

⁴⁶ It may have been organised around an existing Anglo-Saxon parochial framework within the city. This has been considered briefly by Hutton, 'Reassessment', to no particular conclusion.

⁴⁷ This occurred as the result of an exchange of land between the bishop and Gloucester Abbey when Robert de Bethune provided an extramural site for the relocation of the two establishments. Pearn, 'Origin and Development', 140. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 19, 19-20. The reason for this appears to have been in part because of the desecration of the church within the castle during 1139, but it may also represent an attempt by the cathedral to acquire St Guthlac's landholding and extinguish its rights within the castle complex to augment the rights of the cathedral.

⁴⁸ There is some evidence to show that All Saints' may have been the church, with St Martin's the chapel. Pearn, 'Origin and Development', 143. She notes that *Valor* records the greater income from All Saints'.

⁴⁹ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 21, 21-2—unification of St Guthlac's with St Peter; no. 22, 23—St Owen's confirmed to St Guthlac's; no. 73, 58-9—St Nicholas's confirmed to Gloucester Abbey. The origins of these parishes may be as early as the tenth century as, with the exception of St John the Baptist's, they all fall within the area

chapel of All Saints', appears to have had some value in 1291, at £13 6s 8d with a vicarage valued at £5. Its portion-holders—indication that it or its predecessor may have been the lesser church of a old minster—were St Guthlac's and Wroxall Abbey.⁵⁰ The parishes of St John the Baptist, St Nicholas's and St Owen's were *non valet* but at St Owen's a £1 portion was held by St Guthlac's. St Peter's was valued at £4 13s 4d with a vicarage of the same value and *Valor* records a pension payable to St Guthlac's.⁵¹ These facts about St Peter's, St Owen's and St Martin's/All Saints' appear to indicate an earlier hierarchical connection: the portions and pensions payable to the reformed priory could be interpreted as evidence that the parishes which appear by the twelfth century had inherited what were, by that time, intramural parochial functions over an area previously within the spiritual jurisdiction of St Guthlac's and/or the Anglo-Saxon churches which it may have held within the city.⁵²

It is not possible to determine the chronology with any precision, but when St Guthlac's status changed from secular college to Benedictine priory it appears to have lost its pastoral role, possibly in favour of the cathedral, while retaining the historic pensions and other

circumscribed by the second phase of Hereford's Anglo-Saxon defences, dated by Bassett to the late ninth century. S Bassett, 'Anglo-Saxon fortifications in western Mercia', *Midland History*, 36 (Spring 2011), 1-23, hereafter 'Anglo-Saxon Fortifications', at 5-8, for a re-evaluation of Hereford's four defensive phases.

⁵⁰ Not to be confused with the chapel of St Martin in the castle, which was confirmed to St Guthlac's around 1179. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 154, 106-7. However, Lobel notes that St Martin's outside the walls may have been a twelfth-century replacement of the chapel within the castle: Lobel, *Historic Towns*, 5 and n. 68. This seems likely given that the castle's chapel was held by St Guthlac's which, by 1291, had acquired a portion of St Martin's with All Saints'. Pearn's view is that the parish was not founded before the early thirteenth century, possibly by the Lacy family, and it first appears as a bequest by Henry III to the hospital of St Anthony in 1249. Moreover, as noted above, the sources before 1291 Taxation have it as a chapel of All Saints'. This would seem more logical as All Saints' lay within the city walls and St Martin's was an extramural parish which included Bullingham to the south. Pearn, 'Origin and Development', 154-5.

⁵¹ 1291 Taxation, 158, column 1. *Valor*, 28.

⁵² According to Barrow, relying on Lobel's map of the Anglo-Saxon *burh*, St Guthlac's was located outside the settlement's middle Anglo-Saxon rudimentary defences, which may have been constructed during the reign of Aethelbald (715 x 757), or of Offa (757 x 796), or shortly after Offa's death. *Eadem* in Bassett (ed.), *Death in Towns*, 81. They enclosed an area that was held by the king, and their presumed eastern line, which has yet to be tested, bears a remarkable similarity to the boundaries of late medieval parish of St John the Baptist. For the analysis of the revised date for these defences see Bassett, 'Anglo-Saxon Fortifications', 6. Pearn, 'Origin and Development', 141-76, analyses the outline of the post-Conquest parishes, including St John's, but does not make Lobel's connections and omits any discussion of the information within 1291 Taxation.

payments, perhaps as compensation.⁵³ If that is the case then it could be argued that St Guthlac's was Hereford's earliest parish church and that its original *parochia* included the area of the settlement within and without the late Anglo-Saxon fortifications on land held by the king; this area subsequently comprised the parishes of St Peter's, All Saints', St Nicholas's, St Martin's and St Owen's. The cathedral held the parish of St John the Baptist, albeit with some outliers.⁵⁴ As Barrow has observed, St John's may well have been an early parish, located as it was within the middle Anglo-Saxon defences, or a remnant of what may have been the larger *parochia* of an old minster that had extended beyond those defences to the outlying rural areas, some of which were on the southern bank of the Wye.⁵⁵ However, this is not a simple explanation since the fortunes of the cathedral and St Guthlac's appear inextricably linked: the dean and chapter retained burial rights over all of Hereford's parishes well into the fourteenth century.⁵⁶

⁵³ It also asserted burial rights at St Peter's, Hereford, Sutton, 'Frome' in Mordiford and Dudales Hope in Bodenham: Pearn, 'Origin and Development', 128. (Pearn actually cites Hope-under-Dinsmore instead of Dudales Hope, but the latter location has been accepted by Barrow, *Acta VII*, on account of recent Domesday scholarship—something considered further, below). Its Anglo-Saxon identity may reveal a situation similar to that discussed by Bassett in respect of St Helen's, Warwick. Bassett, 'Warwick', 147. 'It may have been this church (i.e. St Helen's) which was granted to the Augustinians, who arguably took over its parochial rights and income but not its site, preferring to be situated on a much more suitable, and presumably vacant, site beyond the walled area and its suburbs.' Bassett argues that an early minster was the precursor of the three later churches of All Saints', St Helen's and St Nicholas's. Like St Helen's, Warwick, St Guthlac's had been granted to a monastic order, in this case the Benedictines, and had been moved to an extramural site with, it would appear, its parochial income intact as well as its burial rights. Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 19, 21, 22, 73 and 154, at 20-3, 58-9 and 106-7.

⁵⁴ St John's clearly had an extra-mural coverage, since its outliers—Blackmarston, Hinton, Newton, Hunderton, Widemarsh and Canon Moor—are revealed by Lobel's map of Hereford. Lobel, *Historic Towns*. See also: Hereford County Archives, D858 for a full description of St John's extent.

⁵⁵ These areas included Hinton and Newton. There was a similar, but not identical, situation at Shrewsbury, according to Bassett. S Bassett, 'Anglo-Saxon Shrewsbury and its churches', *Midland History*, 16 (1991), 1-23, hereafter 'Shrewsbury'. He considered the early foundation of St Mary's parish and a subsequent carve-out of St Alkmund's, perhaps by the tenth century. *Ibid.*, 7-11. An analogy with Hereford suggests that the cathedral's 'parish' was carved out of the settlement's earliest ecclesiastical centre.

⁵⁶ There was the famous case of Syde, vicar of St Peter's, against the dean and chapter. It is fully discussed by Forrest, 'Politics of Burial', 1128-32. It appears that the arguments about St Peter's burial rights were first raised shortly after its creation as a secular college with a parish. *Ibid.*, 1127-8. In 1108 the canons secured that an individual, who had died there and was buried at Gloucester Abbey, (the mother-house of St Guthlac's which had appropriated the church), was to be re-buried at the cathedral cemetery. These circumstances seem unusual and may imply that St Peter's extent fell within the parochial jurisdiction of St Ethelbert's. Subsequent appropriation to St Guthlac's and pension payments are at odds with this, indicating that the two Anglo-Saxon minsters were the successor bodies of a much earlier prototype. Further comments on city-wide control of burials are to be found in Capes, *Charters and Records*, xxx and Forrest, 'Politics of Burial', 1116.

These facts indicate that the two churches shared rights, and we have already seen that the Priory of St Guthlac's held pensions and portions of certain of the eleventh-century parishes.⁵⁷ This does suggest that the two churches succeeded a single earlier foundation, whose ecclesiastical functions and assets became sub-divided between them subsequently. (Something similar appears to have been the case at two churches in Coventry, both of which, like St Ethelbert's and St Guthlac's, shared a common graveyard—one, the episcopal church of St Mary's and the other, Coventry's parish church of Holy Trinity. We discuss this comparison and the possible parallels between Hereford and Coventry below.)⁵⁸

To see the effect of Hereford's post-Conquest organisation, a plan of the city's twelfth-century parochial geography is set out in Figure 3.1, below.

⁵⁷ That is to say, St Owen's, St Martin's/All Saints' and St Peter's.

⁵⁸ S Bassett, *Anglo-Saxon Coventry and its churches* (Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, no 41), 2001, hereafter *Coventry*.

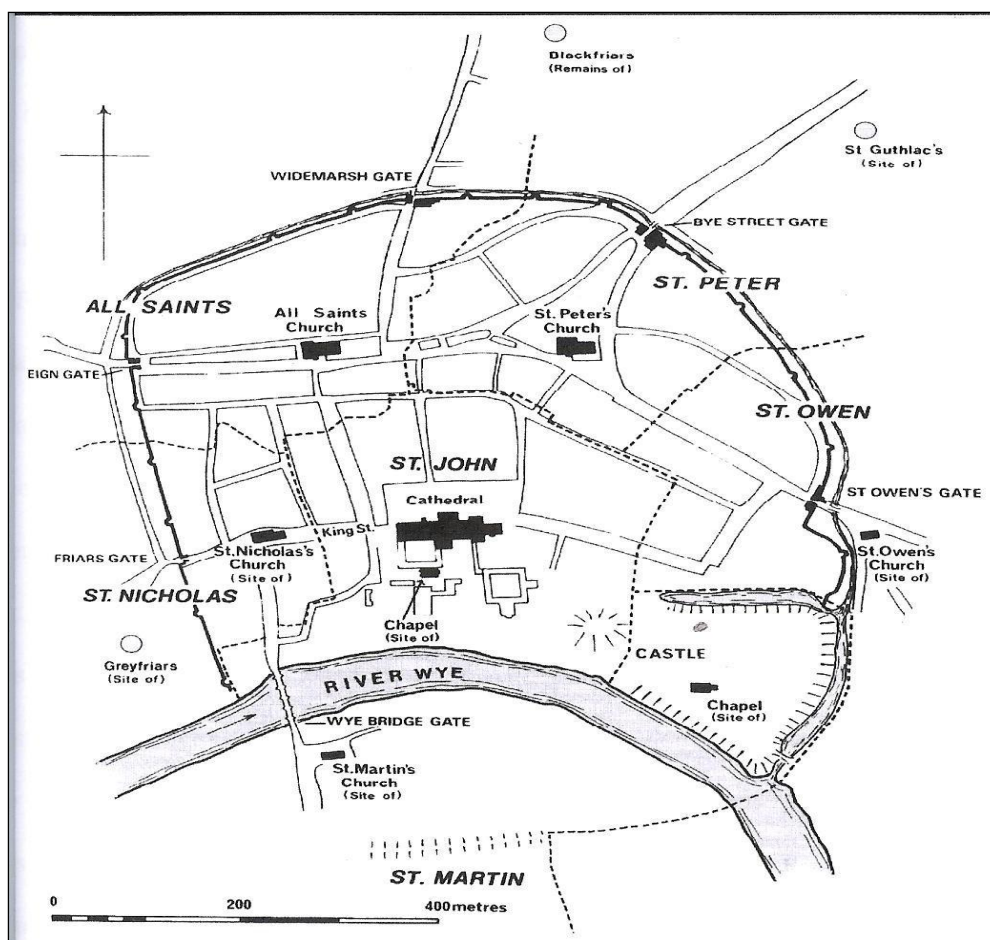


Figure 3.1 Hereford parishes in the twelfth century Thomas and Boucher (eds), *Hereford City Excavations. Volume 4: 1976-1990 Further Sites and Evolving Interpretations* (Little Logaston: Logaston Press, 2002), 187.

This organisation may reveal some of the characteristics of early urban parish development of the kind observed in the neighbouring settlements of Gloucester and Worcester. Like Hereford, both had an old minster by the seventh century, as well as a number of additional churches by the tenth.⁵⁹ Moreover, the nature of the contended burial rights across Hereford suggests that certain of the later churches, like St Peter's, may have been ninth- or tenth-

⁵⁹ N Baker and R Holt, 'The origins of urban parish boundaries' in T Slater and G Rosser (eds), *The Church in the Medieval Town* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 209-35, at 212. 'Central to any discussion of the origins of the parochial topography must be a consideration of the role played in each of these towns by the ancient mother church... (such churches) had important rights which were respected when their towns were extended or otherwise remodelled as *burhs* during the late ninth century. But as each of these towns contained additional churches even before that period of urban reorganization, it follows that the minsters had no local monopoly of pastoral care.'

century lesser churches of the minster of St Guthlac.⁶⁰ It may be that their role was to provide the general public with an alternative to the episcopal minster.⁶¹ In addition, there are examples elsewhere of early minsters which had contemporary churches in close proximity to one another⁶²—like St Ethelbert's and St Guthlac's in the pre-Conquest period. So it is possible that Hereford's lesser churches had been part of a joint provision organised between them, or one inherited by St Guthlac's when St Mary's/St Ethelbert's became the cathedral.

There are many possibilities to explain Hereford's pre-tenth-century ecclesiastical organisation. And since charter material is absent we must look at what else exists to chronicle events during the pre-Conquest period so as to see if some tentative conclusions can be offered about the foundation dates of St Ethelbert's and St Guthlac's. There is hagiographical material for each, and some theories have been advanced by scholars in respect of their early histories.

3.5.1 The origins of the minster of St Mary and St Ethelbert

The legend of St Ethelbert and the cult that became focussed on the cathedral minster at Hereford may have arisen as early as the ninth century.⁶³ Sharp has looked at the

⁶⁰ We have already observed that St Guthlac's earliest *parochia* is likely to have included the area of the settlement within and without the late ninth- or early tenth-century fortifications on land held by the king. This area subsequently comprised the parishes of St Peter's, All Saints', St Nicholas's, St Martin's and St Owen's. It is possible that the topography shown in Figure 3.1 is a later version of what had been a ninth- or tenth-century provision.

⁶¹ The effect of which may have been to balance ecclesiastical power in the town, by no means unusual during a period of coalescence of episcopal and secular influence: Blair, *Church*, 115-17, with particular reference to Worcester diocese. In addition, an analysis of the area surrounding the city which is comprised within the case studies that follow in Chapters Four and Five, reveals that much more extensive *parochiae* are likely to have existed for both St Ethelbert's and St Guthlac's. Each would have become a resource of the bishop for the provision of a network of churches delivering pastoral care.

⁶² In his study of Coventry Bassett cites examples from Shrewsbury, Evesham and Pershore. Bassett, *Coventry*, 5-6.

⁶³ Rollason has analysed the cult of murdered innocents and commented on the genre: D Rollason, 'Cults of murdered royal saints', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 11 (1982), 1-22. His conclusions about Ethelbert support the cult's early date, the reliability of the story, and the post-Conquest renditions contained in MS 308 Corpus

surrounding political events which promoted its later development and offered the view that its success grew out of a desire to secure income resulting from the site's significance as a place of pilgrimage, something achieved after the demise of Offa, to whom is attributed the murder of Ethelbert around 794.⁶⁴ The story, a one-line entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,⁶⁵ is identified as the likely event which prompted the founding of an Anglo-Saxon *monasterium* at Hereford, the subsequent conferring of lands upon that church, its institution as cathedral and the veneration and interment of Ethelbert's remains there.⁶⁶ The chronology for these events can only be guessed at, and some have argued that the most likely time-frame for the dedication of the cathedral to St Ethelbert was early in the ninth century and may have been at the behest of Offa's successor, Coenwulf.⁶⁷ Although lacking any of the evidential weight that contemporary charter material would provide, the legend may chronicle events from early in the ninth century, by when the see appears to have been located at Hereford.⁶⁸

As the dedication is unlikely to have been within Offa's lifetime, since he died late in the

Christi College, Cambridge (being the earliest full version), are that they contain authentic earlier local material. He further notes the pattern of venerating murdered royal saints, a consistent Anglo-Saxon tradition which included regularly recurring motifs, as originating in the seventh century, being transmitted to and fostered in Mercia in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. *Ibid.*, 9, 12-14.

⁶⁴ S Sharp, 'Aethelbert, king and martyr: the development of a legend' in D Hill and M Worthington (eds), *Aethelbald and Offa: Two Eighth-Century Kings of Mercia*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 383 (2005), 59-63.

⁶⁵ G Garmonsway (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London: Dent, 1960), A [792]/[794], 50.

⁶⁶ Two versions of the legend have been printed, with differing emphases. MS 308 is regarded as having been composed by a local Hereford man; it has a King Milfridus, the same person who allegedly endowed the cathedral with the Ledbury estates, as founding the monastery and instituting the see. Gerald of Wales included similar information but added that Offa's penitential act was to donate many estates around Hereford to the church. M James, 'Two Lives' prints both the thirteenth-century version by Gerald of Wales, a canon of Hereford Cathedral, and the twelfth-century one contained in MS 308 Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Each has been translated: E Brooks, *The Life of St Ethelbert, King and Martyr 779 AD-794AD: East Saxon King of East Anglia, Son of Ethelred*. (Bury St Edmunds: Bury Clerical Society, 1998). Brooks attributes MS 308 to Osbert of Clare.

⁶⁷ Pearn locates the development to a later period, however, after the demise of the Mercian royal family. Pearn, 'Origin and Development', 110. Bassett's similar case for Shrewsbury argues for Coenwulf's role in the promotion of the cult of the murdered royal, Ealhmund, by the creation of a church in his honour early in the ninth century. Bassett, 'Shrewsbury', 9-10. The case for Hereford might be dated to Coenwulf's reign and, as it concerns a cathedral foundation, it was perhaps an essential unifying point against the role of the British church, as it made an important statement about the sanctity of Anglo-Saxon kings.

⁶⁸ The see may have been peripatetic before then, and there may have been many bishops. A discussion of the origins of the diocese is at Chapter Seven. S1431, dated c. 800, quoted Bishop Wulfheard of 'the church of Hereford'. Two of the case studies in Chapter Four, those in respect of Bromyard and Ledbury, provide good grounds for arguing that those minsters had been founded and endowed by the eighth century at the latest. In respect of Bromyard there is charter material, and we have already noted reference within S99 to a 'bishop (Cuthbert) of St Mary's', Hereford, c. 737.

eighth century, the date of Ethelbert's murder in 794 provides further corroborative evidence that a centre incorporating some ecclesiastical functions was well-established by that time at Hereford.⁶⁹ This is the area, served by Hereford's earliest Anglo-Saxon old minster, which appears to have become divided between the two churches known to have existed by the tenth century: the royal *monasterium* of St Guthlac and the episcopal minster ultimately dedicated to St Ethelbert.⁷⁰

If we assume the existence of an eighth-century episcopal minster, dedicated to Ethelbert sometime in the ninth, can we identify the extent of its *parochia*? Forrest considered this in his analysis of the claimed burial monopoly that the dean and chapter defended. 'The Anglo-Saxon minster of St Ethelbert was at the centre of a large *parochia* whose outline persisted not only in the late medieval burial monopoly but also in the "deanery" of the cathedral: the area within which the dean exercised ordinary jurisdiction in place of the bishop.'⁷¹ Forrest's study did not attempt to outline this area with any precision, but his statement is a useful starting point.

⁶⁹ The existence of such, corroborated by the reference to Bishop Cuthbert and a church of 'St Mary' (S99), as well as the reassessment by Bassett, 'Anglo-Saxon Fortifications', 5-8, that Hereford's middle Anglo-Saxon defences may have been in place by the middle of the eighth century, could indicate that its parochial extent included, at the very least, the area within that defensive line.

⁷⁰ Hutton, 'Reassessment', 80, discusses the possibility that by the date of Ethelbert's death in 794 a 'prestigious cathedral suitable for the shrine of a royal saint was already in existence.' A Thacker, 'Kings, Saints, and Monasteries in Pre-Viking Mercia', *Midland History*, 10 (1985), 1-25, hereafter 'Pre-Viking Mercia', has argued that there were two large Anglo-Saxon minster churches in Hereford by early in the eighth century, one episcopal and the other royal, *ibid.*, 17, quoting S99 and S1431. These charters imply the existence of at least one major institution. Thacker also quotes from Shoesmith's excavation report, which provides some archaeological evidence for there being a church from the eighth century, together with a cemetery, located within the precinct subsequently occupied by the cathedral. A discussion of its location and extent of its enclosure is to be found in Shoesmith, *Hereford Excavations. Volume 1*, 2-14 and 52-5.

⁷¹ Forrest, 'The Politics of Burial', 1115.

The dean and chapter of the cathedral held authority within a peculiar jurisdiction, an area that, according to Humphrey-Smith, comprised twenty-six late medieval parishes.⁷² We must now consider the case that these parishes may represent the extent of the minster's *parochia*. We can answer the question of its extent only by understanding the nature of the peculiar's special jurisdiction and its origins.⁷³ Its creation did not '... make sense until the diocese had a fixed administration from which... (those claiming exemption)... wanted to be free.'⁷⁴ Accordingly, the one claimed at Hereford may have formed the ecclesiastical counterpart of a private hundred, if it '...represented the persistence of old parish rights despite episcopal centralisation.'⁷⁵ Whether it did or not depends on identifying the earliest date for its creation.

Swanson has studied the evidence for Hereford's peculiar, which lacks recorded history until the late medieval period.⁷⁶ Of the four categories observed in his study of the dioceses of the Midlands, he argues that Hereford's was archidiaconal in character, in that it constituted a unit of management immediately below the bishop, '... abstracted from the system of archidiaconal administration and jurisdiction but still subject to episcopal authority to (a) varying degree... although visitation was much contested.'⁷⁷ This indicates its emergence

⁷² C Humphrey-Smith, *The Phillimore Atlas and Index of Parish Registers* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1984), hereafter *Atlas*. However, the Hereford Cathedral archives wrongly list twenty-five and exclude Breinton: www.herefordcathedral.org/cathedralarchives.

⁷³ Barlow's summary remains the standard interpretation: a peculiar was an area exempt from the direct control of the bishop where the judicial role was exercised by another—the Crown, another diocesan bishop, a chapter of a cathedral or secular college, another corporate body such as a university, or the lord of a manor. It constituted a 'disturbance' in the normal diocesan structures and it was claimed or bestowed as a result of the importance asserted by former proprietors of individual churches. Barlow, *English Church*, 249-54. In the case of Hereford, according to Barrow, that did not emerge until after the influence of Norman bishops began to be felt. *Eadem* in Aylmer and Tiller (eds), *Hereford Cathedral*, 23.

⁷⁴ Barlow, *English Church*, 252.

⁷⁵ '... and since the parish of the old minsters (*sic*) was usually coterminous with a hundred or group of hundreds, ... (peculiarities)... may sometimes represent the persistence of old parish rights despite episcopal centralization...'. *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ R Swanson, 'Peculiar practices: the jurisdictional jigsaw of the pre-Reformation Church', *Midland History*, 26 (2001), 69-95, hereafter 'Peculiar Practices', at 71.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 76. In fact, in the papal return made by Bishop Westfaling in 1587 the parishes in the dean's peculiar were excluded. The bishop claimed no right to enter the parishes of the peculiar, or request any information

during a time when the role of the bishop was being strengthened, and the rights and resources of the cathedral clergy were being defended, rather than from the late eighth century when documentary evidence suggests the see's location at Hereford.

Although the term 'chapter' first appears early in the twelfth century, Barrow believes that the cathedral had a dean by the 1080s.⁷⁸ During the twelfth century successive bishops influenced its development, and from the 1130s the cathedral chapter emerged as a '... force in its own right and not an appendage of the bishops.'⁷⁹ In 1202 the chapter had confirmed to it the spiritual jurisdiction over its twenty-nine prebends, first promoted late in the eleventh century by Bishop Robert of Lotharingia.⁸⁰ Although the origin and subsequent devolution of these rights to the dean and chapter are nowhere explicitly recorded,⁸¹ it appears that they arose primarily as a result of tenurial dominance in the area, for which the first evidence is Domesday Book.⁸² It may very well be the case that the lands which were claimed to be a gift of Offa were those very holdings around Hereford which may have comprised the first gifts by Anglo-Saxon kings to the Anglo-Saxon episcopal minster of Hereford diocese.⁸³

Of the twenty-six parishes within the dean's peculiar, fourteen either were held by the canons in 1066 or lay within manors so held.⁸⁴ Tables 3.1 and 3.2 display the information and there

about them that had been included in the papal summons. F Morgan, (transcribed), *The Return of Bishop Westfaling to the Archbishop of Canterbury: Survey of the Diocese of Hereford in 1587* (typed-written transcription with notes and index held by Hereford Cathedral Archives), hereafter *Westfaling Survey*.

⁷⁸ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no.17, 18. The first dean of Hereford recorded by that title was Gerard. *Eadem* in Aylmer and Tiller (eds), *Hereford Cathedral*, 26.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 27. Barrow cites the activity of Bishops Gerald and Reinhelm in particular.

⁸⁰ Swanson, 'Peculiar Practices', 76; Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 255, 191-2. *Eadem* in Whitehead (ed.), *Medieval Art*, 38-40, where a table of its prebends appears.

⁸¹ Nor do the dean and chapter appear to assert the rights of sepulchre across the entire area, as was attempted by Reading Abbey in the case of Leominster. See the Leominster case study in Chapter Five, section 5.2.

⁸² Even though many of the parishes within the peculiar look to have had pre-eleventh-century connections elsewhere.

⁸³ Gerald of Wales, in his *Life of Aethelbert* claimed that the cathedral was royally endowed as an act of atonement by Offa during the late eighth century. James, 'Two Lives', 234-6.

⁸⁴ However, it is to be noted that a number of manors held by the canons were not within the peculiar jurisdiction.

is a discernible pattern revealed in their spread. With the exception of Marden and Putley,⁸⁵ the parishes to the north of the Wye are all co-terminous with manors held by the canons, possibly indicating the earliest parochial chapel foundations of the minster. The four to the south and west of the Wye, being Preston-on-Wye, Tyberton, Madley and Eaton Bishop, may represent the expansion of the bishop's authority in this area at the same time that secular forces were moving to colonise it, perhaps as early as the late eighth century.⁸⁶ Others due south of Hereford, with the exception of Allensmore, were Domesday manors held by the king, by Norman barons, or of the king by Norman barons. The churches here, where some can be detected,⁸⁷ had been granted to alien houses, perhaps indicating that they had never been held by the canons.

Table 3.1 Manors of the canons within the dean's peculiar jurisdiction⁸⁸

| <u>Parish</u> | <u>Manor</u> |
|----------------------------|---|
| Madley | Lulham and Madley, 2.4 and 2.9 |
| Preston-on-Wye (Blakemere) | Preston-on-Wye, 2.5 |
| Tyberton | Tyberton, 2.6 |
| Eaton Bishop | Eaton Bishop, 2.8 |
| Woolhope | Woolhope and Brockhampton, 2.13 and 2.15 |
| Withington | Preston Wynne and Withington, 2.16 and 2.17 |
| Moreton Jeffries | Moreton Jeffries, 2.20 |
| Hampton Bishop | Hampton Bishop, 2.33 |
| Breinton | Warham, 2.38 ⁸⁹ |
| Holmer | Shelwick and Holmer, 2.35 and 2.41 |

⁸⁵ Putley, according to the tithe map, was within the parish of Woolhope and an estate of the canons. Woolhope Tithe Map.

⁸⁶ This is considered in Chapters Four and Five within the case studies for Lugwardine and Madley.

⁸⁷ For example, those at Kingtone and Dewesall were held by St Mary's, Cormeilles, and Lyre Abbey respectively. Thorn and Thorn (eds), *DB Herefordshire*, 1.3 and 1.62. There were other peculiars as well: Little Hereford, with its chapel at Ashford, Upper Bullingham also known as Bullinghope, and Moreton-on-Lugg. See: J Harnden, *The Parish Registers of Herefordshire* (Hereford: Friends of the Hereford Record Office, 1988), hereafter *Registers*, 10-11.

⁸⁸ References are to entries in *DB Herefordshire*.

⁸⁹ However, the records of the cathedral archives and the Hereford County Archives exclude it, obviously in error.

| | |
|------------------|------------------------------|
| Canon Pyon | Canon Pyon, 2.39 |
| Huntingdon | Huntingdon, 2.40 |
| Pipe (with Lyde) | Pipe and Lyde, 2.43 and 2.44 |
| Norton Canon | Norton Canon, 2.45 |

Table 3.2 Parishes within the dean's peculiar jurisdiction with no tenurial presence

| |
|--|
| Marden |
| Kingstone |
| Clehonger |
| Allensmore |
| Dewsall |
| Thruyton |
| Dinedor |
| Putley (although according to tithe records, Putley was part of Woolhope) |
| Hereford: St Owen's, St Martin's/All Saints' (included Lower Bullingham), St Peter's, St Nicholas's, St John the Baptist's |

It does appear, therefore, that the origins of the peculiar may be found in its royal endowment and tenurial history, rather than in an alleged early *parochia*. However, Forrest's analysis appears to suggest that it was a conflation of all parishes where burial rights were asserted and the rights of a peculiar jurisdiction were enforced. His explanation is not particularly satisfactory. For a start, in the cases of Credenhill and Moreton-on-Lugg, both Domesday manors of the canons, burial rights were asserted outside the confines of the peculiar;⁹⁰ furthermore, within the peculiar's jurisdiction were parishes which appear to have claimed independent burial rights as late as 1291.⁹¹

⁹⁰ However, within the parish there was a manor held by the canons in 1066: *DB Herefordshire*, 2.53.

⁹¹ This seems to have been the case with Madley and there may have been others as well. See Chapter Four, section 4.8, pages 155-7 for Credenhill, and Chapter Five, section 5.5, pages 195-202, for Madley.

If we accept Barrow's and Swanson's arguments in respect of the peculiar's twelfth-century creation, what does it represent?⁹² Was it simply a disorganised attempt by the canons at some form of consolidation? If so, why were parishes such as Credenhill, where burial rights were defended, omitted? It is not possible on this evidence to form a clear view; certainly the burial monopoly cases indicate that the canons were not adept at documenting their historic rights.⁹³ In addition, Capes views the peculiar's creation, which he places as no earlier than late in the twelfth century, as an attempt by the dean and chapter to maintain influence over areas with which they had historic tenurial links, and to document their prebendal aspirations.⁹⁴

The most that can be said at this stage, therefore, is that, along with other Anglo-Saxon minsters, St Ethelbert's did have an extensive *parochia*, and the dean and chapter did attempt to exercise the rights of a mother-church when they sought to enforce their burial monopoly, but there is very little evidence that the extent of that *parochia* was co-terminous with the dean's peculiar, illustrated below in Figure 3.2.⁹⁵

⁹² It does not seem to have been the standard model described by Barlow, nor a model of very early royal creation described by Denton, designed to balance respective secular interests with episcopal and papal ones. J Denton, 'Royal supremacy in ancient demesne churches', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 22 (1971), 289-302, hereafter 'Ancient Demesne Churches'.

⁹³ Forrest demonstrates an incompetence born, in his view, of arrogance.

⁹⁴ Capes, *Charters and Records*, 93-101. If the chapter had been claiming burial rights in respect of each and every parish within the peculiar, there must have been other burials which did not attract the furore of those cases cited by Forrest, and there remains the issue of Madley's mortuary fees, considered below within its case study.

⁹⁵ Pearn, 'Origin and Development' briefly considered the dean's peculiar. Her map at Figure 3 wrongly places the parish of Hampton at Hampton Mappenore within Humber parish. In fact it is Hampton Bishop, north of Dinedor. Her identification of Blackmere is also incorrect, as it is Blakemere next to Preston-on-Wye parish.

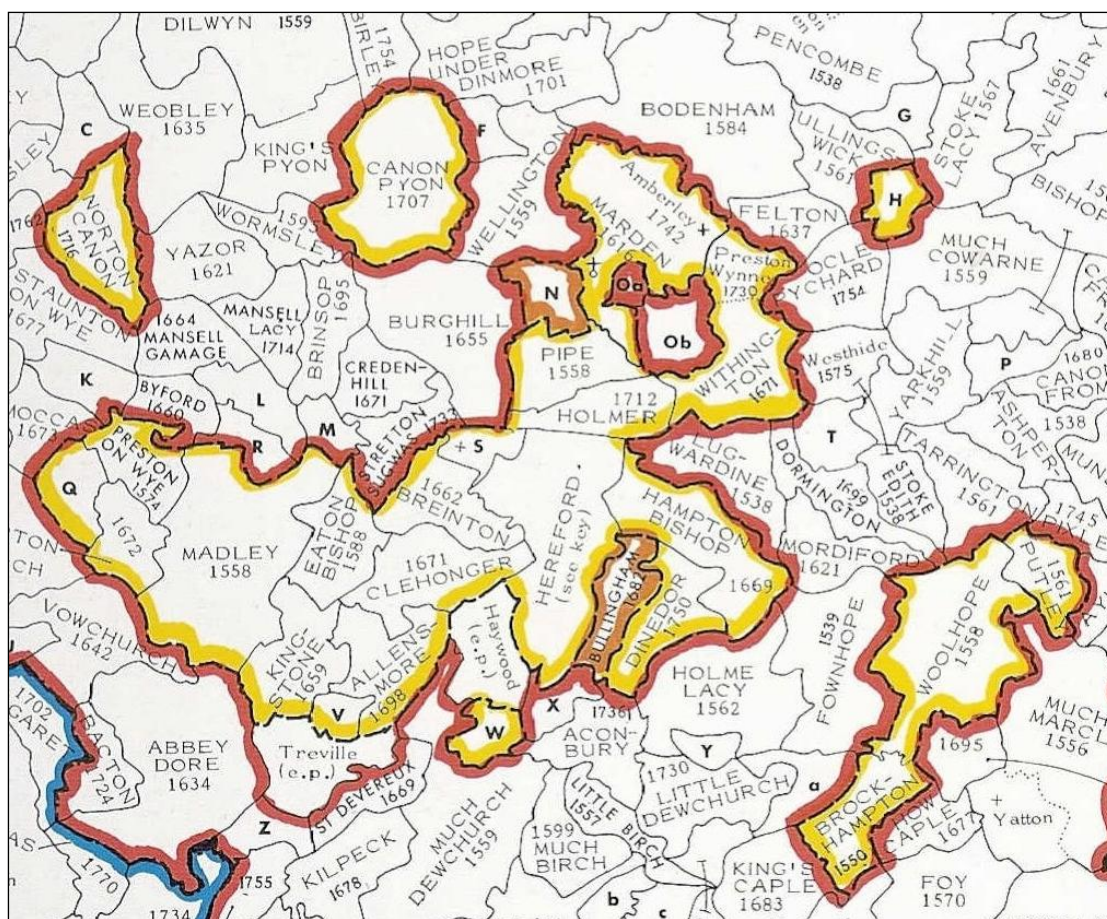


Figure 3.2 The Peculiar Jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral
From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15. The area is edged yellow within red outline.

3.5.2 The origins of the minster of St Guthlac

The evidence for the founding of the Anglo-Saxon minster of St Guthlac is likewise obscure and likewise linked to the cult of an Anglo-Saxon saint, this one from early in the eighth century with close connections to the Mercian royal line. However, the version of his life, composed within twenty-five years of Guthlac's death, may be more reliable than Ethelbert's martyr story in enabling the dating of its endowment.⁹⁶ The 'Life' depicted the saint as a close confidant of the Mercian king, Aethelbald, leading scholars to argue that he introduced Guthlac's cult to Hereford, founded the collegiate church dedicated to him on the site of the earliest known cemetery, and promoted its subsequent rise to be the 'mother of

⁹⁶ B Colgrave (ed.), *Felix's Life of St Guthlac* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956). Discussed at: A Meaney, 'Felix's Life of Guthlac: history or hagiography?' in Hill and Worthington (eds), *Aethelbald and Offa*, 75-82; N Higham, 'Guthlac's Vita, Mercia and East Anglia in the first half of the eighth century' in *ibid.*, 85-90.

other churches'.⁹⁷ Guthlac's warrior-like characteristics, his quasi-British antecedents, and his powers of protection of his royal protégé may have resonated strongly at a time when the Anglo-Saxon frontier with the British was both a secular and an ecclesiastical one.⁹⁸ Thus, assuming Thacker's view to be correct, we may be looking at a date of between 720 and 740.⁹⁹

Against this view we have Pearn's detailed study of Hereford that provides an altogether different, if somewhat extreme, analysis of the significance and development of St Guthlac's.¹⁰⁰ She discounts its founding by Aethelbald, largely on account of the lack of any documentary evidence for it, coupled with an allegedly unlikely dedication to a contemporary native saint.¹⁰¹ The views expressed by others as to the minster's probable antiquity and possible superiority over St Ethelbert's are dismissed by reference to a comment by Barrow concerning the authenticity of a confirmatory charter in favour of the priory, claimed to have been issued by Henry II 1179 x 1186.¹⁰² Its content asserts that St Guthlac's had possessed prebends, parishes, and deaneries and was a 'mother of other churches'. However, the document, which appears in the cartulary of St Guthlac's, may actually include a pre-existing list of areas over which the minster had matronal control, as has been argued for its mother-

⁹⁷ Thacker, 'Pre-Viking Mercia', 5. His view is that it may even be linked to an earlier British foundation. He is followed by Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 60 and n. 25, again using the evidence of Shoesmith's excavations. There is limited additional evidence in support; however, we have noted above that Hereford's middle Anglo-Saxon defences could have been in place by the mid eighth century, which could indicate that, by then, St Guthlac's had been established on land to the east of their presumed line.

⁹⁸ Higham in Hill and Worthington (eds), *Aethelbald and Offa*, 85-6.

⁹⁹ Hutton's study is equivocal on the point: Hutton, 'Reassessment', 84. However, the absence of a popular Guthlac cult before the eleventh century may still indicate an early dating for Hereford, if its use is interpreted as a way of inculcating a political and territorial identity within an area still largely populated by the British.

¹⁰⁰ Pearn, 'Origin and Development', 115-40.

¹⁰¹ She claims that the cult flourished only after the translation of the 'Life' into Old English in the ninth century. *Ibid.*, 122-3.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 123. She relies on Barrow's statement about its authenticity in an earlier unpublished work which, although an accurate depiction, does not appear to have captured fully Barrow's analysis, and may have been taken out of context.

house, Gloucester Abbey.¹⁰³ Pearn further discounts the evidence found in Shoesmith's excavation report that a cemetery, with burials dated to the period 500-800, was located on the site of the future college's first buildings.¹⁰⁴

With the exclusion of material from the confirmation grant of Henry II, and her narrow interpretation of the excavation report, Pearn is free to consider every other charter as confirming lands, churches and tithes to St Guthlac's *de novo*, finding little explicit evidence for the exercise of spiritual functions at any of the Domesday manors either held in 1086 or usurped earlier.¹⁰⁵ She identifies its ecclesiastical interests as grants either to the refounded priory after 1143 or to St Peter's at its founding late in the eleventh century. Her source is the priory's cartulary, and is *contra* the same source quoted by Barrow, albeit at a different folio reference, in which Barrow cites an 1143 *confirmatory* charter of the priory's ecclesiastical interests. One interpretation of this is that it represented a desire of the priory's mother-church¹⁰⁶ to have the possessions of St Guthlac's and St Peter's confirmed at the merger date. This would certainly be consistent with other confirmatory charters granted during the same period—for example, one in favour of Reading Abbey concerning Leominster.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Certainly Barrow, in her later work, does not appear to have agreed with Pearn's overall analysis. The charter in question, Barrow, *Acta VII*, no.155, 107-9 '... represents a clumsy attempt by the monks... to claim the extensive parochial rights of a head minster. It is clearly spurious... (but contains)... a separate list, presumably of a pre-existing schedule, of properties'. Although it may be a fabrication in a fifteenth-century hand, Barrow makes no comment as to the authenticity of the monks' claims. Moreover, she appears to side with Thacker on St Guthlac's antiquity, arguing that an original dedication of an eighth-century church may have been to another saint but with early devotion to Guthlac being as a result of Aethelbald's support. *Ibid.*, xxix, n. 22.

¹⁰⁴ She argues that one very early date is not sufficient evidence on which to base a chronology for the Anglo-Saxon minster's provision. Pearn, 'Origin and Development', 124. 'Even if the Hereford date is reliable, the burial, which appears from the plans to be on a different alignment to the others, and which was not fully excavated, need not be Christian, and neither need it be part of an extensive contemporary cemetery.' *Ibid.*, 125.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 128-9.

¹⁰⁶ The abbey of St Peter, Gloucester.

¹⁰⁷ An 1123 charter (discussed below within the case study for Leominster) sought to list the extent of Leominster's *parochia*. There is the additional evidence of Gloucester Abbey's need to secure confirmatory charters of its twelfth-century possessions, to which we will return.

This may indicate Pearn's misreading of some of her source material.¹⁰⁸ Her conclusion that '... The priory enjoyed too little in the way of ecclesiastical rights to suggest that it may have inherited a large *parochia*' and had 'never really enjoyed widespread ecclesiastical rights outside its own possessions' (which she attributes to gifts after 1143) seems ill-founded.¹⁰⁹ However, as these holdings are at some distance from the city and represent a more detached and intermittent pattern, we consider that an identification of St Guthlac's jurisdiction should be deferred until the case studies in Chapters Four and Five have been considered.

3.5.3 Initial conclusions about Hereford's early ecclesiastical organisation

We are now in a position to advance some conclusions about Hereford's earliest *parochia*. Archaeological evidence suggests the existence of a seventh-century ecclesiastical centre on the site of what was to become the eleventh-century castle. Extraneous charter material supports the view that there was an episcopal minster at Hereford early in the eighth century. It may have been located, initially, on this site and was probably dedicated to St Mary. Subsequently, it may have been moved to an area within the middle Anglo-Saxon defences at the date of their construction, which might indicate a re-building of this church before 750. As with other Mercian episcopal minsters it would have been the subject of continued royal endowment, the chronology and extent of which are conjecture. At some point, perhaps in the ninth century, this church became dedicated jointly to St Mary and St Ethelbert. Its endowment may be represented, in part, by the area that later comprised the dean's peculiar

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 126. Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 22 and 23, at 23-4, (quoting MS Balliol 271, folios 104-5) is undoubtedly the more authoritative reading. In addition Barrow identifies at no. 21 n. the charter of Roger de Port granting the church of St Guthlac and its *prebends* to Gloucester Abbey. This had been dated to 1143 by C N L Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), hereafter *Welsh Border*, at 55 and n.19. Although Pearn, 'Origin and Development', 139, notes this charter, she does not appear to have given the very words she cites much credence or significance. '*Ecclesiam Sancti Guthlaci de castelli Hereford cum omnibus prebendis libertatibus dignitatibus*'. We have found one or two other minor errors or misreadings in respect of some of her other statements. For example, on her location map of the estates of the canons she has wrongly placed Hampton Bishop and Blakemere, and at 129 her identification of Broadfield as a holding of St Guthlac's is wrong on the evidence of the 1291 Taxation; it is actually Bodenham. Moreover, the wrong page reference has been quoted.

¹⁰⁹ Pearn, 'Origin and Development', 130.

jurisdiction. The church of St Guthlac is likely to have been within the same foundation; it was likewise located within Hereford's earliest ecclesiastical centre—part of an Anglo-Saxon minster complex. With the exception of St John the Baptist's, it seemed to have been in control of the lesser churches in Hereford, and it remained on its original site until it was reformed in the post-Conquest period. It is likely to have been subject to further royal endowment, the motivation for which was to achieve a balance of power in the vicinity and, importantly, on royal demesne estates,¹¹⁰ something consistent with views expressed by Denton about the creation of royally endowed minsters.¹¹¹

Importantly, and perhaps a parallel to the case argued by Bassett for the churches of Coventry,¹¹² it is likely that the assets of the minster complex became divided when the see was established at Hereford—some being diverted to support the newly-established bishop and his community at the minster cathedral, and the remainder confirmed to the community of St Guthlac's, which continued to be the primary organiser of pastoral care in the city. This explanation accounts for the overlapping burial rights claimed by the two churches and the parochial geography of the outlying area, to which we will return.

Hereford's first Anglo-Saxon minster may have had an earlier British episcopal identity.¹¹³ There was an active British Church nearby, albeit in the area south of the Wye, as confirmed by the network of churches endowed by Welsh kings from the sixth century. Some are only

¹¹⁰ There were a number on the periphery around Hereford—Burghill, Lugwardine, Much Cowane and Marden, and all were middle Anglo-Saxon *villae regales*.

¹¹¹ Denton, 'Ancient Demesne Churches', 289-302.

¹¹² Bassett, *Coventry*, 9-10.

¹¹³ It is the contention of many including Thacker, Whitehead, Shoesmith and Sims-Williams.

seven miles distant to the south and south-west of Hereford and, as we note below, there is evidence of Anglo-Saxon incursions into that area by the middle of the eighth century.¹¹⁴

The outline of Hereford's later parishes, with outliers and detached portions south of the Wye like those of St John the Baptist's, suggests that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Church of Hereford extended into Archenfield in the seventh century, providing grounds for the view that Hereford's pre-seventh-century ecclesiastical provision was a British one. We will return to this subject at the conclusion of Chapter Five when, having presented evidence for the organisation of the surrounding area, we shall suggest a map of Hereford's earliest *parochia*.

The next two chapters contain fifteen further studies which explore the study area's ecclesiastical geography. These are grouped geographically as to the eastern and central parts of the shire (Chapter Four), and as to its northern, north-western and southern parts (Chapter Five). Consideration is given to all the available evidence which enables us to propose a map of the shire's old minster *parochiae*—shown at the conclusion of Chapter Five. In Chapter Four we look at the evidence for old minsters at Ledbury, Much Cowarne, Bromyard and Ross-on Wye, and consider arguments for Lugwardine, Bodenham and Burghill. In Chapter Five we explore the origins of Leominster, the organisation of the Lene district and the area north-west of it as far as the Welsh border. We conclude with the areas south of the Wye: the Golden Valley and Madley, and the districts which were beyond the bounds of the eleventh-century shire—Ewyas and Archenfield. The purpose in identifying the shire's late Anglo-Saxon parochial structure is to determine if there exists enough evidence to support the theory that the late tenth- and early eleventh-century diocese of Hereford contained within its bounds the vestiges of middle Anglo-Saxon or British *parochiae*.

¹¹⁴ Gelling, *West Midlands*, 115-16. She dates an 'acquisition' of the northern part of Archenfield to the period after 750 and during Aethelbald's reign, so it may have coincided with the building of the first defences at Hereford.

CHAPTER FOUR THE LATE ANGLO-SAXON ECCLESIASTICAL GEOGRAPHY OF EASTERN AND CENTRAL HEREFORDSHIRE

4.1 Introduction

Having looked at Hereford we now turn to the eastern and central districts of the shire to identify their eleventh-century ecclesiastical organisation. Of the seven districts considered below, the evidence suggests the existence of six old minsters: at Ledbury, Much Cowarne, Bromyard, Lugwardine, Ross-on Wye and Bodenham (Maund). The remaining district of Burghill (Lyde), which reveals evidence of a parochial hierarchy of some description, appears to lack an identifiable mother-church and, given its proximity to Hereford, may have been within a provision organised from it. The consequences of this possibility will be considered in chapter's final section.

The seven districts discussed in this chapter have been identified from a consideration and evaluation of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century ecclesiastical sources noted in Chapter One, alongside evidence from Domesday Book, archaeological reports and topography. Valuation information of churches in 1291¹ was taken as first pointer to an establishment's ecclesiastical prominence; this was collated alongside information about its chapelries, pensions, burial and tithe payments,² and the likelihood of its having existed in the late Anglo-Saxon period.³ In addition to these categories of information we also considered the somewhat weaker—yet nonetheless valuable—

¹Extracted from *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P Nicholai IV circa AD 1291* (London: Record Commission, 1802), hereafter 1291 Taxation.

² Identified from relevant entries in, *inter alia*, J Barrow (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta VII, Hereford 1079-1234* (Oxford: British Academy, 1993), xxvii, hereafter *Acta VII*, *eadem* (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta 35, Hereford 1234-1275* (Oxford: British Academy, 2009), hereafter *Acta 35*, the Registers of the Bishops of Hereford noted in Chapter One, page 19, and the Tithe Maps of Herefordshire.

³ As noted from evidence found in F Thorn and C Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book. Volume 17: Herefordshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), hereafter *DB Herefordshire*, applied to criteria in J Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), hereafter *Church*, 3, discussed in Chapter Three above, pages 74-5.

indicators of possible old minster status, such as the control of portions within lesser churches and rights of patronage over them. The church's location within the landscape and any archaeological finds were then evaluated. A judgment call was made, once all thirteenth-century high value churches had been identified, as to the one which most probably fitted the criteria of an old minster; its territory was then mapped by relation to its putative jurisdiction.

4.2 Ledbury

The manor of Ledbury had been under control of the canons of Hereford cathedral from a time earlier than 1066.⁴ The community at the cathedral continued to preserve the memory of an alleged grant of a large area west of the Malverns by Mildfrith, said to have been sub-king of the Magonsaete late in the eighth century. Reference is made to this grant in a twelfth-century bull of Pope Innocent II to Bishop Robert de Bethune. Barrow argues that it is likely to have included seven of the church's estates in the eastern part of the shire, along its middle boundary with Worcestershire.⁵ The date of the gift, if accurate, coincides with other events that are likely to have occurred then—the royal endowment of the minster that served as the first Anglo-

⁴ As with all putative minster churches north of the Wye, there are no surviving foundation charters and thus it is impossible to identify a date for Ledbury. However, S1431 details the proceedings of a synod held in 803 which was attended by Wulfheard, bishop of Hereford. He refers, in the context of his claim for two minsters in what is now Gloucestershire, to minsters which were given to the *ecclesia* of Hereford more than thirty years earlier, in the late eighth century. If there was a *monasterium* at Ledbury during the late Anglo-Saxon period, the vestiges of which are revealed in Domesday Book, then it may have been among those acquired by the church two hundred years earlier.

⁵ W Capes, *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral* (Hereford: Cantilupe Society, 1908), hereafter *Charters and Records*, at 6-7. The bull is dated by Holtzmann to 1135, according to Barrow. She includes an estate of *Bageberge*, an unidentified manor most probably in Worcestershire. In addition, the seven Herefordshire estates which comprised the grant were Cradley, Bosbury, Coddington, Colwall, Ledbury, Eastnor and Donnington. *Eadem*, 'A Lotharingian in Hereford: Bishop Robert's reorganisation of the Church of Hereford 1079-1095' in D Whitehead (ed.), *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford* (British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions XV, 1995), 29-49, hereafter *Medieval Art*, at 30 and nn. 11-12. This is a compact unit of land which was rated, in total, at forty hides in the survey.

Saxon cathedral of Hereford, including the endowment of lands that may have been within the ecclesiastical control of an earlier British Church.

The manor of Ledbury was rated at five hides in 1086, half of which were held by a priest and separately valued at 50s.⁶ No church is recorded,⁷ but it is possible to deduce the existence of a minster from an earlier period and, through an analysis of additional relevant data, the extent of its ancient parish. An antiquarian source notes that Ledbury was the mother-church of a chapel in Aylton. Likewise, Youngs identifies the medieval parishes of Little Marcle, Much Marcle, Aylton and the chapel at Pixley as having been dependent on Ledbury.⁸ Furthermore, a glebe terrier of 1607 records that Aylton, Donnington and Pixley paid Martinmas offerings to Ledbury; the parish register reveals the payment of mortuary fees until 1735 from the parishes of Donnington and Little Marcle; Coddington paid a pension to the portioners and Eastnor tithes likewise went to Ledbury.⁹ In addition, King has argued that Munsley was also within Ledbury's parish.¹⁰

⁶ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.26.

⁷ But some of Blair's criteria are evident since the manor itself was held by the canons of the cathedral.

⁸ J Duncumb (ed.) and continuators, *Collections Towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford*. Six volumes (Hereford: E G Wright 1804-1915), V, 14, hereafter Duncumb. No source is given for this information, or for the comment that Pixley paid its tithes to Evesham Abbey. F Youngs, *A Guide to the Local Administrative Units of England. Volume 2: Northern England* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1991), hereafter *Guide*. Aylton is noted as being separated from Ledbury in 1587, *ibid.*, 123. Of these, neither Aylton nor Pixley has a separate valuation in 1291, which may imply that their values were being reckoned with Ledbury.

⁹ Ledbury Glebe Terrier, 1607, Herefordshire County Archives. J Harnden, *The Parish Registers of Herefordshire* (Hereford: Friends of the Hereford Record Office, 1988), hereafter *Registers*, 53.

¹⁰ J King, 'Two Herefordshire minsters', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* (1995), 282-94, hereafter 'Two Herefordshire Minsters', at 285 and n. 26. He notes that the parish officials were required to visit Ledbury whenever the bishop attended, quoting Bannister's comments on the visitation returns of 1397.

With the exception of Aylton, the manors identified with these parishes are all recorded in Domesday Book.¹¹ Moreover the topography of the district reveals some interesting features.¹² It has already been noted that Ledbury, along with the surrounding manors at Eastnor, Colwall, Cradley, Donnington, Coddington and Bosbury, formed a compact land-unit of the canons of the cathedral.¹³ These, along with Much Marcle and Little Marcle, Aylton, Munsley and Pixley subsequently became ecclesiastical parishes, the boundaries of which are all eccentric and irregular. This almost certainly indicates their later division from one unit into a number of parishes, perhaps co-terminous with an evolving manorial geography.¹⁴

¹¹ Much Marcle was a significant manor of the king, rated at seventeen hides, having a priest and a church. Little Marcle was a five-hide manor of Roger of Lacy, Pixley was a one-hide unit held by Ansfred of Corneilles and Humphrey of Bouville, and at Munsley there were six hides two virgates, three held by Roger of Lacy, one held by each of William son of Norman and Humphrey of Bouville and one hide two virgates held by William son of Baderon. *DB Herefordshire*: Much Marcle, 1.7 (Winstree Hundred); Little Marcle, 10.32 (Radlow Hundred); Pixley, 28.1 (Radlow Hundred). These manors are likely to have comprised the Domesday manor of *Merchelai*. An earlier arrangement for Much Marcle is recorded 1086. It had been a manor of Leominster before 1066: *DB Herefordshire* 1.10c. Munsley (Radlow Hundred): 10.31, 16.1, 28.2 and 15.10.

¹² C Humphrey-Smith, *The Phillimore Atlas and Index of Parish Registers* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1984), hereafter *Atlas*, 150-3 and map 15. The map provides location for identification purposes only, and is not an accurate record of the extent of the land-unit in question.

¹³ In addition, at Bosbury a priest held one hide and had one plough. In the twelfth century the *Acta*, recorded a chapel at Upleadon, Herefordshire (in Bosbury parish), which had cemetery rights and was a refuge for the poor but remained subject to an unnamed mother-church. *DB Herefordshire*, 2.29; Barrow (ed.), *Acta VII*, no. 72, 58. The geographical extent of the manor of Bosbury in 1086 is uncertain and the chapel at Upleadon was in neighbouring Radlow Hundred. The editors of the Alecto edition have tentatively drawn the hundred boundary as virtually bisecting the later parish. A Williams and R Erskine (eds), *The Herefordshire Domesday* (London: Alecto Historical Edition, 1988), hereafter *The Alecto Edition*, map accompanying text.

¹⁴ With regard to Donnington, although its boundary with Ledbury appears to be slightly more regular, the tithe map shows an outlier of Ledbury's tithe district separated by part of Donnington parish. Donnington Tithe Map, 1840. This implies that the manor of Donnington may have been granted out of Ledbury, with the church retaining a small portion in the south-eastern corner. See: R Kain and R Oliver, *The Tithe Maps of England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 207-18 and Figure 26, and Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, map 15. As Barlow wrote: '...the old minsters of the tenth and eleventh centuries, churches with large endowments, sometimes still served by a community of priests or canons, and with parochial rights extending over a wide area... were being crowded by new churches, built by the bishops, abbots or lesser nobility... to service smaller private estates... The parishes of these old minsters often coincided with the hundred ... and those of the newer churches with the manors or vills.' J Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066* (London: Longmans, 1963), hereafter *English Church*, 184. In the case of the Ledbury district, these Domesday manors were all to be found in the Winstree Hundred. The only exceptions to this were Little Marcle, Pixley and Aylton, which lay in an arm of the Radlow Hundred dividing the bulk of Winstree from the very large royal manor at Much Marcle. The fact that these remained chapels of Ledbury throughout the period suggests a later re-organisation of hundred boundaries in this part of the shire which did not include ecclesiastical jurisdictional matters.

But there may be more evidence to support the argument that Ledbury had had an extensive parochial jurisdiction. A late twelfth-century source, a letter written by Gilbert Foliot, a former bishop of Hereford, to his successor, refers to *Lideberi* as an early episcopal see and a place 'where the bodies of holy bishops lie'. This may be a reference to Ledbury, and may reveal its early role, perhaps as an episcopal minster of a British *parochia* located in the eastern part of the later Anglo-Saxon diocese, as well as corroborating a chronology for the eighth-century location of the seat of that diocese at Hereford.¹⁵

Finally, Ledbury had an overall value of near £60 in 1291 Taxation; its portion-holders included the canons of Hereford cathedral and William de Montfort. There was a vicarage valued at £8 and its patron was the bishop.¹⁶ As noted earlier, this type of organisation invariably represented the structure of a collegiate church. In addition the churches at Bosbury, Cradley and Much Marcle had similar benefice structures,¹⁷ and each were likely to have been Ledbury's lesser churches. By the thirteenth century there were certainly more churches in the Ledbury area, now in the Frome Deanery. Ledbury remained the highest valued in terms of its recorded

¹⁵ Z Brooke, A Morey and C N L Brooke (eds), *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), hereafter *Letters and Charters*, no. 227, 300. But see comments of P Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), hereafter *Religion and Literature*, 90-1, who argues that it is a reference to Lydbury North in Shropshire, equally a possibility as it was likewise an important minster held by the bishops of Hereford. For a discussion of the characteristics of the early British church with its propensity for peripatetic bishops serving 'dioceses' the size of later Anglo-Saxon hundreds see H Pryce, 'Pastoral care in early medieval Wales' in J Blair and R Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester University Press: Leicester, 1992), 41-62, hereafter 'Medieval Wales'. Sources reveal a number of such locations, many at major British monastic centres, still possessing their own bishops in the eleventh century. They included Glasbury in Radnorshire (held by Gloucester Abbey from c. 1088) and Dewstow near Caldicot in Monmouthshire. For Glasbury see K Hughes, 'The Celtic Church: is this a valid concept?' *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 1 (Summer 1981), 1-20. For Dewstow see P Sims-Williams, 'Review: *The Text of the Book of Llan Dav reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript*, Evans and Rhys (eds); *The Llandaff Charters*, Davies (ed.), and *eadem*, *An Early Welsh Microcosm. Studies in the Llandaff Charters*' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982), 124-9, quoting Dorothy Whitelock's location of the place mentioned in S913, *ibid.*, 128.

¹⁶ 1291 Taxation, 160, column 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 160, columns 1 and 2.

spiritualities, a fact which indicates that the income received for its sacramental duties, which extended over a largely rural population, covered a wide geographic area.

Our conclusion is that Ledbury was an old minster, the *parochia* of which encompassed at least ten later medieval parishes. The manors for six of these may have been part of a forty-hide land-unit which, by tradition, had been given by the *sub-regulus* Mildfrith to the church in the eighth century around the time that the seat of the Anglo-Saxon diocese was located at Hereford. This *parochia*, an outline of which is illustrated in Figure 4.1, is likely to have included the areas which subsequently became four other later medieval parishes and which appear to have comprised the large Domesday manor of *Merchelai*.¹⁸ Ledbury's lesser churches of Much Marcle, Cradley and Bosbury may have been established in the late tenth or early eleventh century.¹⁹ The remaining eight churches revealed in 1291 Taxation are difficult to classify on the available information.²⁰

¹⁸ There is no evidence that it included areas within later Worcestershire—for example Mathon, located south of Cradley and north of Colwall, making the boundary of the *parochia* unusually irregular. Mathon was a large ecclesiastical holding of Pershore Abbey. F Thorn and C Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book. Volume 16: Worcestershire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1982), hereafter *DB Worcestershire*, 9.6 (a).

¹⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.7, (Much Marcle) with a priest and a church; 2.29, (Bosbury) a priest held one hide and has one plough; 2.30, (Cradley) a priest held one and one-half virgates.

²⁰ Our conclusions here are *contra* those of Hillaby, who excludes Much Marcle, although it was in the same Domesday hundred and was recorded by Youngs, *Guide*, 123, as dependent upon Ledbury: J Hillaby, *Ledbury, a Medieval Borough*, 3rd edition (Wootton: Logaston Press, 2005), 8, including figure.

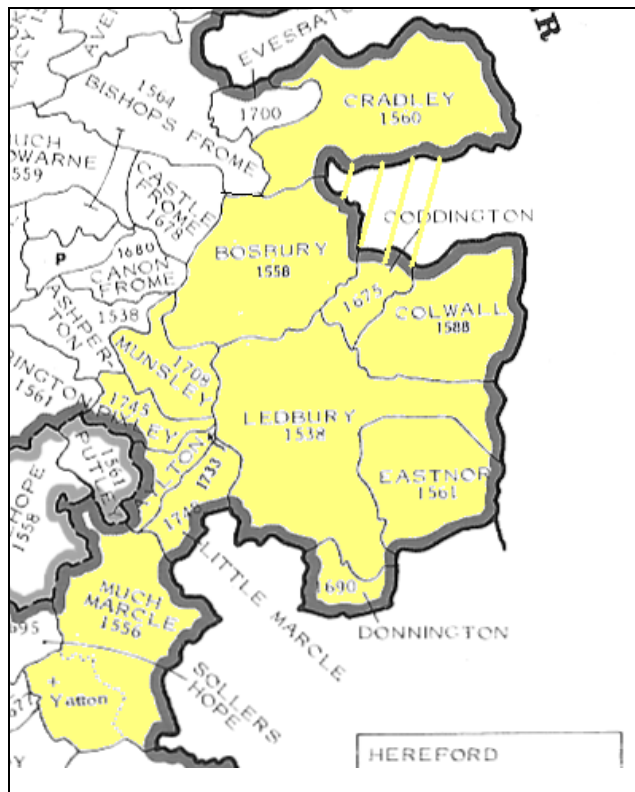


Figure 4.1 Ledbury's *parochia* The area in hatch is the approximate location of the Domesday manor of *Bageborge*. From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

4.3 Much Cowarne

The Domesday manor of Much Cowarne was rated at fifteen hides and lay west of Ledbury and the river Leddon. In 1066 it had the hallmarks of having been a *villa regalis*: it had belonged to Earl Harold and had the third penny of three hundreds reckoned to it.²¹ In 1086 Alfred of Marlborough held it, and a priest of the vill is recorded as holding ploughs with the villeins, but there is no record of a church.²² Two hundred years later, in 1291 Taxation, its church was valued at £23 6s 8d with a £1 portion being held by Malvern Priory.²³ It was one of many churches which St

²¹ The reckoning of the 'third penny' was a mark of an ancient royal manor. See: H Cam, '*Manerium cum hundredo*: the hundred and the hundred manor' in *eadem, Liberties and Communities in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1944), 64-90, hereafter 'Hundred Manor', at 77-8. She notes the significance of this for Cowarne, suggesting that the three hundreds of Radlow, Plegelgate and Thornlaw had been annexed to it.

²² *DB Herefordshire*, 19.10 and note. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no.77, 60, records the existence of a church being confirmed as a possession of Gloucester Abbey in 1158.

²³ 1291 Taxation, 160, column 1.

Peter's, Gloucester held in the diocese but, despite its high value, no dependent churches or chapels are recorded and its link with Little Cowarne, considered below, is doubtful.²⁴ However, it bore signs of having been an old minster with a large jurisdiction, for which there is some archaeological evidence.²⁵

Hart records a gift to Gloucester Abbey in 1088 by Bernard Neufmarche of a church at *Cuure*,²⁶ which included all the land and tithes pertaining, together with its parish. This certainly implies the existence of a minster in 1088 on two counts. The first is that Gloucester Abbey is noted as having been very successful in acquiring failing minster churches in the shire.²⁷ The second is the reference to its having served a parish in the late eleventh century. Much Cowarne was one of thirteen medieval parishes in the area, all of which, with the exception of Moreton Jefferys, were

²⁴ There is, however, a medieval parish of Little Cowarne: *DB Herefordshire*, 7.8 and note. This may have been an outlier in the Plegelgate Hundred. However, it seems unlikely, given the 1086 spellings of the two manors, one being *Cuure* (Much Cowarne) and the other *Colgre* (Little Cowarne). The two manors became linked in a twelfth-century exchequer manuscript, see: V Galbraith and J Tait (eds) *Herefordshire Domesday, c. 1160-1170* (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1950), hereafter *Herefordshire Domesday*. This may have been an error.

²⁵ Brook, considering the spread of curvilinear churchyards of likely British origin lying to the east of Offa's Dyke, has concluded that the shape of Much Cowarne's churchyard probably suggests both a British foundation and a failed minster. D Brook, 'The early Christian church east and west of Offa's Dyke' in N Edwards and A Lane (eds), *The Early Church in Wales and the West* (Oxford: Oxbow, Monograph 16, 1992), 77-89, hereafter *Early Church in Wales*, at 87.

²⁶ W Hart, *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*. Three volumes (London: Longman, 1863), hereafter *Historia*, I, at 80. '*Insuper ecclesiam de Covere majori, cum tota decima illius parochiae, et terram ad ipsam ecclesiam pertinentem...*' quoted by C N L Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), hereafter *Welsh Border*, 53 and n.13. It is to be noted that both sources which Hart used date from the fifteenth century, although Brooke comments that an earlier exemplar must have existed. This grant is also noted in Sir William Dugdale (ed.), *Monasticon Anglicanum: a history of the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches with their Dependencies in England and Wales*. Six volumes (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1817-1830), hereafter *Monasticon*, I, charter 13, 547, identified within the entry for Glasbury as *Covere Majori* and dated 1088.

²⁷ Barrow, *Acta VII*, xxx: 'Gloucester abbey was supremely efficient in taking over old minster churches...'. It is to be noted that the gift of *Covere Majori* was the second listed in the grant. The first was at Glasbury, a large British episcopal minster that had a bishop as late as 1055. The *Acta* record a number of its possessions in the shire, indicating the extent of the Abbey's influence by the middle of the twelfth century.

recorded in 1291 Taxation. It was the highest by value. Two churches show signs of having been its lesser churches: Evesbatch and Canon Frome.²⁸

The remainder have ecclesiastical and manorial connections with others in the area, viz.: Stoke Edith had a chapel in Westhide and two priests are recorded. It is one of the places marked out by Blair as certain to have had a minster, but in fact its status is unclear. Its value in 1291 was £16 13s 4d and *Valor* records portionary payments in its favour from Westhide and 'Frome'.²⁹ Stretton Grandison had a chapel in Ashperton and in 1291 was valued at £10 with a vicarage of the same value.³⁰ In the eleventh century a priest is recorded at Weston Beggard amongst the villeins holding ploughs. Yarkhill and Tarrington, both of roughly the same value in 1291, had portion-holders or a vicarage.³¹ There is a clearly discernible parochial organisation from the thirteenth century and evidence that at least three churches were standing in the eleventh. This provides evidence that an old minster served a number of churches within the surrounding area.

²⁸ 1291 Taxation, 160, column 1. There is either no value recorded, or a value with no benefice details apart from the church, and no patron or portion-holders: Evesbatch (no value), Canon Frome (no value but Llantony is a portion-holder).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 158, column 2. *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII auctoritate regia institutes. Volume 3* (London: Record Commission, Eyre and Strahan, 1817), hereafter *Valor*. At 35 there is record of an annual average of portion income payable to the vicar of Stoke Edith both from Westhide and also from 'Frome', the identity of which is ambiguous, as all the other Frome parishes are identified explicitly.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 160, column 1. K Ray, 'Archaeology and the three early churches of Herefordshire' in Malpas *et al* (eds), *The Early Church in Herefordshire* (Leominster: Orphans Press, 2001), 99-148, hereafter *Early Church*, at 103 and 115, has noted its importance as, perhaps, the major Romano-British settlement of *Epoessa* and has also argued that Egleton, immediately to the north of it, has an **egles* place-name, indicating early British Christian presence. However, Egleton does not appear to have been within the parish of Stretton Grandison until the nineteenth century: Harden, *Registers*, 30. See below concerning Bishop's Frome, pages 110-11.

³¹ 1291 Taxation, 160, column 1. *Acta* record the grants of these churches in the twelfth century: Stretton Grandison and Tarrington to St Mary's, Monmouth; Weston Beggard to the priory of St Guthlac (on confirmatory grounds), and Yarkhill ultimately to the newly-founded St Katherine's Hospital, Ledbury. Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 47, 204 and 348, 45-7, 149-151 and 278-80.

King has suggested that its identity may have been Stoke Edith, which he views as a minster established within the royal manor of Yarkhill.³² Charter evidence reveals that the estate of Yarkhill, which King argues included the medieval parishes of Stoke Edith, Tarrington, Ashperton, Weston Beggard and Westhide, had been the subject of an exchange c. 811 between the archbishop of Canterbury and Coenwulf, king of Mercia, restoring it to royal hands.³³ King's argument for its extent is largely based on evidence of topography and the nineteenth-century tithe maps. Both reveal complex and interrelated patterns for these parishes. There are many outliers of Stoke Edith and Yarkhill embedded within one another, as well as large detached segments.³⁴ It is clear that the area could have formed one unit at the date of the ninth-century land exchange, but King has not demonstrated the minster status of Stoke Edith.³⁵

However, the position of Much Cowarne is different, and a topographical case can be demonstrated for it. In manorial terms, there were five Domesday manors identified as 'Frome' within the three later medieval Frome parishes. The topography in relation to these manors and that of Much Cowarne is similar to that of Yarkhill and Stoke Edith, but on a much larger scale. Bishop's Frome, a ten-hide manor of the bishop of Hereford in 1086 with a *presbyter villae* and a chaplain, is divided from its large outlier by Much Cowarne, indicating that at some time a much larger land-unit

³² King, 'Two Herefordshire Minsters', 287-91.

³³ S1264; H P R Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1961), hereafter *Early Charters*, no. 413, 140.

³⁴ King, 'Two Herefordshire Minsters', map on 288.

³⁵ In fact by 1086 Yarkhill, far from being an important royal demesne estate, was in the hands of Roger of Lacy, and had been held by a thane of Harold before the Conquest. *DB Herefordshire*, 10.28

named *Frome*, possibly with its royal *tun* at *Cuure*, may have existed. In 1146 it was alienated to Llantony Prima.³⁶

At the church of Castle Frome, identified as a *capella* in the later *Valor*, there was a portion held by St Guthlac's and pension income was payable to the vicar of Bishop's Frome—all indications of ecclesiastical links within the 'Frome' manors.³⁷ Sadly, there are no *Acta* that concern it and no other information. The same is true of Canon Frome, whose patron was Llantony Prima.³⁸ Coplestone-Crow observes that both are likely to have been included in twelfth-century Lacy family grants.³⁹ Their extent is unknown, however, and in the absence of confirmatory *Acta* the most that can be detected here, as at Yarkhill, are examples of early manorial reorganisation and development.⁴⁰ However, unlike Yarkhill, Much Cowarne, clearly a *villa regalis*, remained in royal hands and, as we have seen, its church was with St Peter's, Gloucester from 1088. Other churches in the district, like the one at Stoke Edith,

³⁶ St Mary's at Bishop's Frome was granted by Robert de Bethune when bishop of Hereford '*...cum suis pertinentiis omnibus*'. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 36, 34-5. A further portion, the township of Egleton, was transferred to Stretton Grandison in 1883: Harnden, *Registers*, 30.

³⁷ 1291 Taxation, 160, column 1 and *Valor*, 45.

³⁸ 1291 Taxation, 160, column 1.

³⁹ B Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 214 (1989), hereafter *Herefordshire Place Names*, at 89. It is not possible to confirm this by reference to the 1100 grant of Hugh of Lacy to the abbey, as it refers only to the church of St Peter's, Hereford (which Walter of Lacy had endowed) '*...cum omnibus quae ad eam pertinent*'. Hart, *Historia*, I, no. 303, 326

⁴⁰ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.21; 10.33; 10.30; 10.29; 2.58, 13.1, 26.1 respectively. This tenorial information is set out below.

| Manor | 1086 Holder | 1066 Holder |
|----------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Bishops Fome | Hereford Cathedral | same |
| Canon Frome | Roger of Lacy | Thorkell |
| Castle Frome | Roger of Lacy | Brictmer (of Harold) |
| Halmonds Frome | Roger of Lacy | Tosti (of Edith) |
| Priors Frome | St Peter's, Gloucester | Edwy Young |
| | Henry of Ferrers | Alfgeat (of Bishop Aethelstan) |
| | Ilbert son of Thorold | Wulfward |

Priors Frome appears to lie in the medieval parish of Mordiford (or, perhaps, Dormington), both of which lay in the Greytree hundred. *Valor*, 35, reveals tithes due from an unnamed 'Frome', perhaps Halmonds Frome, to Stoke Edith.

were also parcelled out to various houses but Gloucester apparently captured the more significant ones.⁴¹

The only matter that is missing from this *schema* for Frome is the identification of an old minster and its surrounding *parochia*, including an understanding of its relationship with neighbouring Yarkhill.⁴² We argue that it may have been located at Much Cowarne and that the original land-unit, and hence the *parochia*, may have included the manors which then comprised the Radlow hundred. This would make sense in the context of its location at a royal *tun*.⁴³ But there may be something more significant about the church of Much Cowarne. Its location on a *villa regalis* provides persuasive evidence that it may have been one in a network of eighth- or ninth-century royally endowed minsters founded, as Denton has argued, to balance episcopal power with secular interests.⁴⁴ As we have seen, there is anecdotal evidence that Ledbury, endowed in the mid-eighth century, was held by the episcopal minster community from that time. It is altogether possible that Much Cowarne, whose extent is set out in Figure 4.2, was endowed at the same time—being Ledbury’s neighbouring *parochia*.⁴⁵ As we will see, a pattern of endowing old

⁴¹ Bassett has described a similar situation in Essex and suggested that: ‘... subdivisions of the original land units were of a suitable size and organisational coherence to be handed out to... (monks, priests and lay aristocrats) either singly or in groups. Grants of this sort triggered off the manorialisation of Anglo-Saxon England.’ S Bassett, ‘Continuity and fission in the Anglo-Saxon landscape: the origins of the Rodings (Essex)’, *Landscape History*, 19 (1997), 25-42, at 27.

⁴² In fact, on pure topographic grounds, the area divides into two discrete units, Yarkhill and ‘Frome’. Professor Yorke, pers. comm., favours Stoke Edith instead of Much Cowarne as the old minster for this district. I am grateful to her for this suggestion.

⁴³ It comprised, in total, sixty-three hides, two virgates.

⁴⁴ J Denton, ‘Royal supremacy in ancient demesne churches’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 22 (1971), 289-302, hereafter ‘Ancient Demesne Churches’.

⁴⁵ We saw, when considering Hereford’s parochial history, that in the eighth century, the same time of the likely designation of an Anglo-Saxon episcopal minster, a royal minster (subsequently dedicated to St Guthlac) was endowed. Such an establishment was more likely to have been the royal option on royal estates. Much Cowarne, some seven miles to the east of Hereford, may well have been a royally endowed foundation. Its post-Conquest grant to Gloucester Abbey bears further significance, when one considers that Gloucester’s relationship with St Guthlac’s was one of a mother-house for its refoundation as a priory.

minsters on royal estates was a common political scheme within the shire and, more often than not, St Guthlac's appears to have been in possession of them, indicating its significance as major provider during the middle Anglo-Saxon period.



Figure 4.2 Much Cowarne's *parochia* From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

4.4 Bromyard

Bromyard had an overall value of £44 13 4 in 1291 Taxation. Its portion-holders were exclusively laymen and its patron was the bishop of Hereford, whose canons had held the large and profitable manor since, at least, the late Anglo-Saxon period.⁴⁶

Noted in Domesday Book as having two priests holding one hide and a chaplain holding one hide three virgates, it can be regarded as having been a large minster. No church was identified in 1086;⁴⁷ however, there is important evidence for the presence of a minster and a very early role for Bromyard revealed in S1270, reliably dated to c. 840. Significantly, a *monasterium* is named as the reversioner of a mid-ninth-century gift by Cuthwulf, bishop of Hereford, to Aelfstan, *dux*. The gift concerned a lease of

⁴⁶ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.49.

⁴⁷ Although by implication there may have been a chapel, given the presence of a chaplain holding land.

four hides by the river Frome⁴⁸ that were almost certainly carved out of the existing manor, and for an unstated purpose.⁴⁹ It is likely that the control of the *monasterium* exercised by the bishop can be dated to the late eighth century.⁵⁰ In 1291 there is no record of its holding lesser churches. However, Youngs notes a number: Grendon Bishop and Grendon Warren, Stanford Bishop, Wacton, Brockhampton-in-Bromyard and Norton in Brockhampton and his views are supported by information set out in the Glebe Terrier of 1589. Wacton, Stanford Bishop and Grendon Bishop were chapels of ease belonging to Bromyard and the vicar was entitled to their burial fees.⁵¹

⁴⁸ The location of this place is not known; however, Capes, in his version of the charter, locates it at Bishop's Frome, but gives no reasons for this view. If correct, this would place it within the *parochia* of Much Cowarne, above. Capes, *Charters and Records*, 1.

⁴⁹ Bassett's recent article identifies similar transactions in respect of the minster at Hanbury. He writes: 'Many of the minsters founded and generously endowed in the first century and a half of Anglo-Saxon Christianity were evidently failing as efficient managers of their estates by the late eighth century, if we judge by the actions of the bishops in whose dioceses they sat... (often transferring the administration of such lands from the minster) and then seeking ratification from the Mercian kings whose direct ancestors or royal predecessors had often been involved in the original acts of foundation.' S Bassett, 'The landed endowment of the Anglo-Saxon minster at Hanbury (Worcs.)', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 38 (2009), 77-100, at 77. We are lacking any foundation charter for Bromyard but the evidence in S1270 suggests that, whilst the bishop and the canons already held the minster, they sought consent from the king for its lease: the grant is: '... *cum consensu et licentia Berhtwulfi Merciorun Regis.*'

⁵⁰ Which may be implied from the contents of S1431. This chronology certainly ties in with that discussed above concerning the location of an Anglo-Saxon episcopal minster at Hereford, the founding of a royal minster there and the gift of Ledbury to the cathedral canons. It might also indicate the circumstances for the original purchase by the archbishop of Canterbury of a ten-hide estate at Yarkhill from Offa's wife.

⁵¹ Youngs, *Guide*, 124, 128, 133-4, 136. Glebe Terrier, 10 July 1589, Bromyard, Hereford Record Office. Brockhampton in Bromyard and Norton in Brockhampton were nineteenth-century parishes, previously townships within Bromyard, and the vicar of Bromyard had the great tithes of these places according to Duncumb, II, 63 and the 1589 glebe terrier. Wacton, first mentioned as a place-name in 1189 according to Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 197, may be included within the three and one-half hide Domesday manor of Butterley (held by Roger of Lacy) and a one-hide manor (held by Urse d'Abetot—and possibly a further two hides held by Roger of Lacy). *DB Herefordshire*, 1.13 and 10.70, note. Wacton is mentioned as a chapel of Bromyard in the Westfaling Suvey, 14v: F Morgan (transcribed), *The Return of Bishop Westfaling to the Archbishop of Canterbury: Survey of the Diocese of Hereford in 1587*, hereafter Westfaling Survey. A further complicating factor is that Butterley was recorded as having been within the manor of Leominster before 1066: *DB Herefordshire*, 1.13. *Grenden* was a four-hide Domesday manor of Roger of Lacy, (*ibid.*, 10.72) but was held as two two-hide manors before 1066 and identified as Grendon Warren. Both Thorn and Coplestone-Crow place this manor in Pencombe parish, as does Humphrey-Smith. Thorn views the episcopal holding at Grendon Bishop as contained within the thirty hides of Bromyard. The former is recorded in 1291 as *non valet*: 1291 Taxation, 160, column 1. This is likely because of the evidence of the 1589 glebe terrier: the vicar of Bromyard had burial fees from the Grendon parishes. Stanford Bishop was a four-hide Plegelgate manor of the king, (*ibid.*, 1.9), and is recorded as having been a manor of Leominster before 1066, (*ibid.*, 1.10 c). It was subject to the curacy of Bromyard, according to Duncumb, II, 261, and burial fees were due to Bromyard. A further two ancient parishes, Upper Sapey and Whitbourne, were in the Domesday manor of Bromyard in 1086: Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 178 and 203.

In addition, the adjacent Domesday manors of Collington and Whitbourne appear within its jurisdiction. In 1066 a priest held Collington,⁵² and its church appears in 1291 Taxation. It had no value but its patron is Bromyard, recorded as a secular college.⁵³ Whitbourne was included within the manor of Bromyard in 1086, and by 1291 its church, valued at £6, was held by the dean and precentorship of the cathedral. On this basis both are likely to have been within the *parochia* of Bromyard. Stanford Bishop was a four-hide manor of the king, with clear signs of having been linked to a *villa regalis*, and, although no church is recorded either here or in 1291 Taxation, it is likely that there was one in 1066 as St Mary's, Cormeilles, held the tithes of the manor by the survey date.⁵⁴

It may be possible to determine the extent of Bromyard's *parochia* by considering, in addition to those parishes already identified as having had a connection, some fourteen parishes which are adjacent to it within the shire, together with three within Worcestershire.⁵⁵

Avenbury was a six-hide Domesday manor, which had been held by a priest in 1066. Although no church is recorded there are two priests who appear among the plough-

⁵² *DB Herefordshire* 10.64; in 1066 the canons of Hereford had held three hides. By 1086 Roger of Lacy held the two which had been with a priest before the Conquest.

⁵³ It clearly had control, as in 1318 the vicar of Bromyard was issued with a mandate to induct the vicar of Collington. A Bannister (ed.), *Registrum Ade de Orleton, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1317-27* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 5, 1908), 385, hereafter *Reg. Orleton*.

⁵⁴ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.9; 10.73. 'Queen Edith held it... St Mary's, Cormeilles has the tithe of this manor...and it pays 100s of white pence.' It was part of the manor of Leominster before 1066, along with another *villa regalis*, Much Marcle, considered under Ledbury above. A further one-hide unit was held by Roger of Lacy in 1086. This may represent a five-hide unit retained by the king when the area was sub-divided in the ninth or tenth century.

⁵⁵ These are: Clifton-on-Teme, Lower Sapey and Kyre.

holders, making it likely that a church was there.⁵⁶ It held the outliers of Noakes and Sawbury Hill, both Domesday manors located as islands within Bredenbury but separated from Avenbury by a finger of Bromyard.⁵⁷ Avenbury's relationship to Bromyard is a little obscure. It had a relatively high value of £12 in 1291 but no patron or portion-holders are identified. The *Acta* record it as a possession of the Priory of St Guthlac.⁵⁸ However, a lost charter, identified by Dugdale and dated to the late ninth century, records a grant by Waerfrith, bishop of Worcester, of land at Avenbury—possibly similar to that which, on reversion, benefitted St Peter's, Bromyard.⁵⁹ The two charters, S1270 and S1838, certainly provide evidence of a growing ecclesiastical presence by the middle of the ninth century, but there is no evidence of a relationship between the two.

The parish adjacent to Avenbury, Stoke Lacy, was a large Domesday manor held by Roger of Lacy.⁶⁰ The *Acta* record its church in the hands of the Priory of St Guthlac.⁶¹ By 1291 it was valued at £8 with a portion of £1 held by the Priory. Its

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.9. Barrow argues that it was a small minster: *Acta VII*, xxx. Sims-Williams notes that the suffix *-bury* often indicates the existence of a *monasterium*. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 92-3, n.24.

⁵⁷ The combined hidage, with Wicton, was 5.5, the canons holding two hides and the rest being with laymen. *DB Herefordshire*, 2.3, 33.17, 10.65 and 30.1. The tithe map place both Sawbury Hill (Tithe Awards 16-25) and Noakes (Tithe Awards 37-63) in Avenbury. Tithe Map of Avenbury, 1842. Both were amalgamated with Bredenbury in 1883: The Divided Parish and Poor Law Amendment Act 1882.

⁵⁸ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 204, 149-51, '...*et ecclesiam de Agneburia...* (with three others listed)... *cum omnibus pertinentiis suis*.' This seems likely to have conveyed or confirmed whatever spiritual functions were exercisable by the church of St Mary.

⁵⁹ The details appear in Hemingus, *Chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis E Codice MS. penes Richardum Groves de Mickelton in Argo Gloucestriensi*, ed. T Hearnus. Two volumes (Oxford: Sheldonian, 1723), hereafter *Heming's Cartulary*, II, at 583. Hillaby argues that Avenbury was held by the diocese of Worcester, along with nearby Acton Beauchamp, and may '...represent early attempts by Worcester to establish a minster on the banks of the Frome... (which) were soon eclipsed by Hereford's foundation, Bromyard, as mother-church.' J Hillaby, 'The early Church in Herefordshire: Columban and Roman' in Malpas *et al* (eds), *Early Church*, 68-9. Given the evidence of St Guthlac's involvement in Avenbury, as confirmed by *Acta VII*, no. 204, 149-51, it is difficult to guess how the Worcester diocese may have been involved earlier. Hillaby seems to suggest that landholding invariably implies ecclesiastical control, which was not always the case where the dioceses of Worcester and Hereford were concerned.

⁶⁰ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.63. It was a ten-hide unit.

⁶¹ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 22 and 204, 23 and 149-51.

patron was St Peter's, Gloucester. These facts only indicate a history of association with a secular college, not its identity. However, the portionists at Bromyard argued, late in the thirteenth century, that they alone held the right to approve the institution of a vicar at Stoke Lacy.⁶²

The position of Little Cowarne is a little unclear. It is identified as a chapel of St Guthlac's in Robert de Bethune's re-foundation of the house. The context seems to imply that it was a chapel of Avenbury.⁶³ By 1291 it was not separately valued which implies its value was included elsewhere or that it may have been too small to be recorded; its patron was Gloucester Abbey.⁶⁴

There is little information for Bredenbury, another medieval parish, whose one-hide manor was held by Roger of Lacy in 1086. There are no *Acta* and 1291 Taxation lists only its church, neither valued nor attached to any house. The 1587 Westfaling Survey notes that its rector was also the curate for Wacton, which was itself a chapel of Bromyard according to the same survey.⁶⁵ This information, together with the fact

⁶² R G Griffiths (ed.), *Registrum Thorne de Cantilupo, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1275-82* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 2, 1907), hereafter *Reg. Cantilupe*, at 208. The request had been made by St Peter's, Gloucester, the mother-house of St Guthlac's Priory. It was the chancellor of the cathedral and one Adam de Filby (guardians of the portionists of Bromyard) who argued that anyone presented to that office ought to come before them in the first instance. The 1589 glebe terrier records an Easter payment of 6d due from Stoke Lacy to the vicar of Bromyard 'of antient (*sic*) right and custom', as quoted by P Williams, *Bromyard: Minster Manor and Town* (Leominster: Orphans Press, 1987), 26.

⁶³ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 87, 64. Its being a chapelry of Avenbury might be consistent with an earlier association with Worcester diocese. *Heming's Cartulary*, I, 274, records it as being one of the temporal possessions of the Church of Worcester transferred to Herefordshire in the eleventh century. The others were Pencombe, Upleadon and Ocle. However, Westfaling Survey lists Little Cowarne as a chapel of Ullingswick, 13v, apparently as a result of its annexation in 1478. A Bannister (ed.), *Registrum Thorne Myllyng, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1474-1492* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 26, 1920), hereafter *Reg. Mylling*, at 39.

⁶⁴ As noted above, a link to Much Cowarne on toponymic grounds is doubtful. The 1086 spellings of the two manors, one being *Cuure* (Much Cowarne) and the other *Colgre* (Little Cowarne), it must be noted that each is derived from a different root. However, they became linked in a twelfth-century exchequer manuscript marginal note, see: Galbraith and Tait (eds) *Herefordshire Domesday*, 34, probably in error.

⁶⁵ Westfaling Survey, 13v and 14v.

that the parish is entirely surrounded by others that are linked to Bromyard, provides evidence that it was within the *parochia*.⁶⁶

It is safe to include the parishes of Grendon Bishop and Grendon Warren within Bromyard's *parochia*: both seem to have been townships within the manor of Bromyard and the 1589 glebe terrier reveals the payment of burial fees from both parishes to Bromyard's vicar. Youngs views Grendon as one entity in two parts until 1739,⁶⁷ and 1291 Taxation records an unvalued church at Grendon Warren, perhaps indicative that its value was included elsewhere.⁶⁸ Humphrey-Smith places it as a chapel of Pencombe parish,⁶⁹ which, if true, implies that the parish of Pencombe, or some part of it, was within the *parochia* of Bromyard.

Pencombe's manor was extensive and in 1086 it was rated at fifteen hides, having a priest and a church.⁷⁰ There is some evidence that it may have been the place *Pencovan* included in an eighth-century grant by Offa to the church of Worcester *c.*

⁶⁶ Coplestone-Crow has the name as 'boarded manor house', *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 41. It is also possible that the *-bury* suffix likewise indicates a small minster, as in Avenbury, above. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 92-3.

⁶⁷ Youngs, *Guide*, 128. However, placed within Grendon Bishop is the one-hide manor of Hampton Wafer, within the Leominster holdings of the king and held by Roger of Lacy. Although Kemp, in his study of Leominster, locates it within Grendon Bishop parish in 1200, its possession by Leominster may have been an example of manorial capture. B Kemp, 'Some aspects of the *parochia* of Leominster in the 12th century' in Blair (ed.), *Minsters*, 83-95, hereafter 'Leominster'. According to Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 95, 68. Robert de Hampton gave tithes and thirty acres of land to Leominster so that a cemetery of refuge might be consecrated there. This sort of control was one which Leominster sought to exercise to substantiate its claim of mother-church. 1291 Taxation records Hampton Wafer as *non valet* with portionists that include Malvern Priory, St Guthlac's and Leominster. Bromyard does not figure at all.

⁶⁸ 1291 Taxation, 160, column 1.

⁶⁹ The manor is likewise placed in Pencombe: *DB Herefordshire*, 10.72. Coplestone-Crow notes that the date when 'Grendon' was identified as two separate places may have been 1241, as Grendon Bishop remained in the manor of Bromyard. He has Grendon Warren in Pencombe as well. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 94.

⁷⁰ *DB Herefordshire*, 19.6. It has been tentatively identified as *Pencovan*, a place granted by Offa in 757 x 796 to the church of Worcester. The identification is not secure, however. For the charter, which is now lost, see Dugdale, *Monasticon*, I, 608. Heming records that, as a possession of the Church of Worcester; it was transferred to Hereford in the early eleventh century: *Heming's Cartulary*, I, 274.

757 x 796 and taken from that church in 1016. It appears to have been a small minster by the eleventh century.⁷¹ The *Acta* record a grant of the advowson of the church to Llantony Priory 1174 x 1186.⁷² There is no record of any other house holding the church before then, and according to Youngs it had a chapel in Marston Stannet. In 1291 it was valued at £12 with a portion held by Leominster.⁷³ These facts indicate fluidity in ecclesiastical terms: if it was *Pencovan* and had belonged to Worcester diocese, it is possible to conclude that an extensive area including the other former possessions of Worcester—Avenbury and Little Cowarne —had been within the original foundation of Bromyard minster.

Thus far we have a discrete unit comprising one hundred and two hides three virgates, and with the exception of Avenbury, Little Cowarne and parts of Pencombe, all can be linked in some fashion to Bromyard. We have also identified, at Stanford Bishop, a retained royal estate which may have been a *villa regalis* out of which grants of land were made. The parishes cannot be discounted here simply on the grounds that 1291 Taxation links them to St Guthlac's or Llantony, since the topography is decidedly in favour of Bromyard. And there are eight remaining parishes that lie in the area north of Bromyard which need to be considered.⁷⁴ Edvin Ralph and Edvin Loach both show signs of being outliers of other areas—Edvin Loach had ecclesiastical links to a mother-church at Clifton-on-Teme, Worcestershire, according to the *Acta*, but in 1587

⁷¹ D Parsons, 'Early churches in Herefordshire: documentary and structural evidence' in Whitehead (ed.), *Medieval Art*, 60-74. Parsons cites a number of churches not identified in Domesday Book but which contain early fabric, sculpture or other features characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon period. One which he highlights is Pencombe.

⁷² Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 165, 117.

⁷³ Youngs, *Guide*, 133. 1291 Taxation, 160, column 1.

⁷⁴ Wolverlowe, Tedstone de la Mere, Tedstone Wafer, Edvin Loach, Edvin Ralph and Thornbury are all classed by Parsons as early churches likely to have stood during the Anglo-Saxon period. Parsons in Whitehead (ed.), *Medieval Art*, 60-74.

it was recorded as a chapel annexed to Bromyard.⁷⁵ Edvin Ralph was a three-hide royal outlier of Leominster, confirmed as lying within its *parochia* and not Bromyard's in 1123. It is likely to have had a small church before 1066—it is recorded as sharing priests with a number of other places within the manor of Leominster. But there is some indication that its origins may have been elsewhere, since Bromyard's 1589 glebe terrier records historic payments of Easter dues to Bromyard's vicar, an indication that Leominster's ecclesiastical role may have been a later one.⁷⁶

So if we are considering Bromyard's *parochia* as a discrete unit, what can be the explanation for these 'islands' of external control exercised by Leominster in the case of Edvin Ralph, and by Worcester diocese in the cases of Pencombe and Avenbury? It is most likely, in the case of Leominster, that Edvin Ralph had been the subject of an earlier grant, takeover or capture by a powerful landowner in an adjacent area, producing parochial links such that Reading Abbey subsequently claimed ecclesiastical rights there. The situation for Worcester is less certain. The same thing may apply to the grant by Offa of Pencombe, but given an eighth-century date, this seems unlikely, as Bromyard was certain to have been founded by that time. However, Clifton-on-Teme, part of the royal manor of Westbury-on-Severn before 1066, had a priest among its ploughholders and appears to have been the mother-

⁷⁵ Westfaling Survey, 11r, recorded Edvin Loach as a chapel annexed to the church of Bromyard which may indicate Clifton's status as one of Bromyard's lesser churches, for which see page 121, below.

⁷⁶ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.10 (c) Barrow, *Acta VII*, no.11, 12-13. The charter is the earliest record of parishes alleged to have been within the extensive area of Leominster. St Michael at Edvin Ralph was valued at £5 in 1291, with no information as to its patron. For the payment of Easter dues to the vicar of Bromyard as its 'chapelry or inferior church', see Hillaby in Maplas *et al* (eds), *Early Church*, map, 63.

church of Edvin Loach.⁷⁷ Rather than being an example of manorial capture, its ecclesiastical position may be a disguised one—it may itself have been subject to Bromyard, which might be understandable if Bromyard had been the foundation of an old minster in Worcestershire. Both it and Lower Sapey are within a finger of land dividing Herefordshire from Worcestershire, and Bassett has shown that the early medieval mother-church parish of St Helen's, Worcester, extended only as far as Martley, leaving the parishes of Clifton-on-Teme and Lower Sapey without an obvious ecclesiastical connection. An inclusion within Bromyard seems obvious, but not without its problems.⁷⁸

The remaining parishes of Stoke Bliss,⁷⁹ Thornbury, Wolferlow, Upper Sapey, Tedstone Wafer and Tedstone Delamere appear to have been within Bromyard's control.⁸⁰ The glebe terrier of 1589 which recorded the relationship that Bromyard claimed to have had from ancient times—the revenue from spiritualities due each Easter from its 'inferior' churches—included all these parishes within its catchment.⁸¹

⁷⁷ F Thorn and C Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book. Volume 15: Gloucestershire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1982), hereafter *DB Gloucestershire*, 1.11, and *DB Worcestershire*, 9.13. Charter material, judged to be the work of a forger and perhaps concocted to support a demand for restitution from the king, granted Clifton to the church of Worcester. (S406; Finberg, *Early Charters*, no. 275, 108; *Heming's Cartulary*, II, 441). As a member of the royal manor of Westbury-on-Severn, Worcester's case for the restitution of Clifton is not an obvious one, particularly if the manor and its members had been held by Glastonbury in the tenth century, for which see below. Clifton was clearly a small minster, as its possession of chapels confirms, a status which it held in respect of Edvin Loach, Lower Sapey and Upper Lyde in Herefordshire, which was itself held by St Guthlac's. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 125, 83-4.

⁷⁸ Bassett, 'Worcester', 225-56, with particular reference to the map on 233. The connection with St Guthlac's and the settlement over Upper Lyde is a complete mystery.

⁷⁹ With its chapel at Little Kyre, which separates it into two parts. *DB Worcestershire*, 3.2; it was a two-hide manor held by the bishop of Hereford. Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 38. Harnden, *Registers*, 65.

⁸⁰ *DB Herefordshire*, Tedstone: 2.3, (bishop, 2.5 hides) and 10.68 (Roger of Lacy, 1 hide); Thornbury: 20.1, (Alfred of Spain, 6 hides); Wolferlow: 9.18, (Ralph Mortimer, 2 hides) and 10.66 (Roger of Lacy, six hides); and Stoke Bliss: 31.6, (Gryffydd, 1 hide). The position of Lower Sapey is not beyond doubt, but it seems to have been within the *parochia*. It was a three hide manor held by Osbern, son of Richard, and counted a priest among its ploughholders. *DB Worcestershire*, 19.9. The rector at Clifton-on-Teme held a portion of its church in 1291. 1291 Taxation, 165, column 2.

⁸¹ 'A terrier of July 1589 identifies some of these "inferior churches" in terms of ancient dues accustomed to be paid to the vicar of Bromyard yearly at Easter from the parsons of ... Tedstone Delemere, Upper Sapey... Edwin Ralph, Stoke Bliss (and) Wolferlow.' Hillaby in Malpas *et al* (eds), *Early Church*, 64.

The ninth-century *monasterium* at Bromyard was clearly an old minster which had an extensive ecclesiastical jurisdiction. On current evidence it appears that its *parochia*, shown in 4.3, was co-terminous with the parishes discussed (including three within the diocese of Worcester) whose early holdings at Pencombe, Avenbury and Little Cowarne suggest some involvement in Bromyard's history. The complexity of its jurisdiction and the numbers of subsequent arrangements with other houses such as those claimed by Leominster and St Guthlac's suggest that it may have been among the earliest Anglo-Saxon foundations in Herefordshire, perhaps dating to the first half of the eighth century.

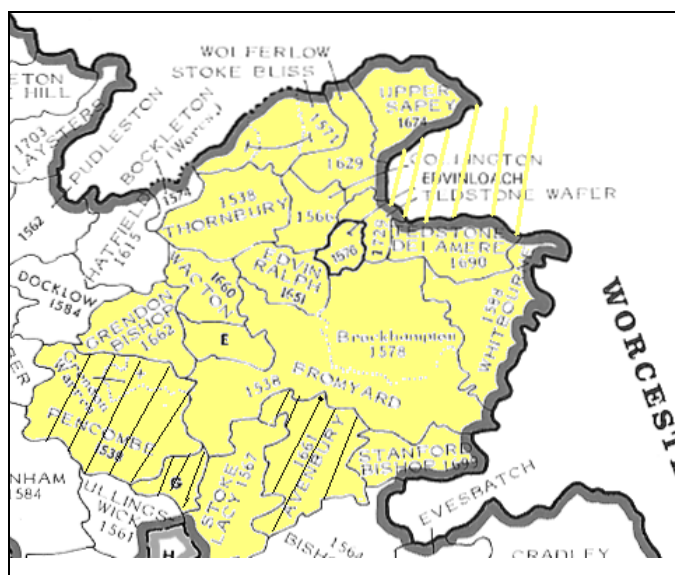


Figure 4.3 Bromyard's *parochia* The parishes in black hatch are those which were former possessions of the Church of Worcester. The area in yellow hatch immediately below Upper Sapey is the location of the parishes of Clifton-on-Teme and Lower Sapey. Kyre is between Stoke Bliss and its detached portion. From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

4.5 Lugwardine

Lugwardine was in *Terra Regis* in 1086 and had been held by King Edward. It was a four-hide manor that bore the signs of having been an ancient *villa regalis*.⁸²

⁸² *DB Herefordshire*, 1.2. The text notes that the manor pays £10 of blanch pence and an ounce of gold but that prior to 1066 it had not been placed in the revenue. For the significance of this sort of payment see: S Harvey, 'Royal revenue and Domesday terminology', *Economic History Review*, 20 (August

Although no church is mentioned one is certainly implied: St Mary's of Cormeilles is recorded as holding the tithe with one villager and one virgate of land.⁸³ The *Acta* record the confirmation of a portion of its tithes and the *capellae* to the Priory of St Peter and St Guthlac, which claimed burial rights;⁸⁴ in 1291 it was valued at £10, with St Guthlac's holding a portion,⁸⁵ and there is no record of the Abbey of Cormeilles having had any interest.⁸⁶ Both Youngs and the Bishop's registers record Lugwardine as having had chapels in Hentland, Llangarren, (Little) Dewchurch and St Weonards, and *Valor* has it holding Ballingham, as well.⁸⁷ The chronology for these relationships is far from clear, however, and since these parishes are at some remove from Lugwardine⁸⁸ we propose to discuss them once an investigation of the

1967), 221-8, hereafter 'Royal Revenue'. Harvey writes: 'For renders at 20d. in the ora, blanch payments and payments by weight... occur only on royal estates', *ibid.*, 226. Coplestone-Crow records its name as being formed on the Old English *-worthign* and meaning 'settlement by the river Lugg'. *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 137.

⁸³ This was an abbey founded in 1060 by William fitzOsbern, the palatinate earl of Hereford. The grant appears to have been made at some time after 1066: Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, 1075-6.

⁸⁴ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 22 and 23, 23-4, (1143 x 1148). The text refers to the chapels at Ocle Pychard, Lugwardine, Mordiford and Bartestree as always having been in the possession of the church of St Peter and St Guthlac, Hereford. A Pearn, 'Origin and Development of Urban Churches and Parishes: a Comparative Study of Hereford, Shrewsbury and Chester' (University of Cambridge, unpublished PhD thesis, 1988), hereafter 'Origin and Development', 127, quoting Balliol MS. 271, fol.16.

⁸⁵ 1291 Taxation, 158, column 2.

⁸⁶ As approximately one hundred and fifty years earlier St Guthlac's portion of the tithes was confirmed, there must have been another portion-holder. This may indicate that the grant to St Mary's by William fitzOsbern had preserved some rights which St Guthlac's, as a secular college, anciently held. The elusive nature of St Mary's, Cormeilles, and what became of its interests is not dealt with in any of the secondary sources. It is possible that the grant to St Mary's, Cormeilles was like that of Much Cowarne: of an old minster which had been one of many controlled by St Guthlac's handed over during the post-Conquest period to monasteries which had the support of Norman families.

⁸⁷ Youngs, *Guide*, 132. Little Dewchurch had been part of a much larger parish of Hentland until it was separated from it in 1863; St Weonards and Llangarron were joined in the middle of the nineteenth century before being separated in 1877. See: D Seaton, *History of the Deanery of Archenfield* (Hereford: Jakeman and Carver, 1903), hereafter *Archenfield Deanery*, at 6. He recorded the mother-church status of Lugwardine and its lesser churches (parochial chapels) of Hentland, Little Dewchurch, Llangarron and St Weonards but provided no information about the date when the status may have commenced. Some have speculated that the three churches in Archenfield held by the king (recorded in *DB Herefordshire*, A1), are these very churches belonging to Lugwardine: Hentland, Llangarron and St Weonards. See H Sherlock and P Pikes, *The First Millennium Cemetery at Dewsall Court, Herefordshire: An Interim Report* (Fownhope: Archenfield Archaeology, 2002), hereafter *Dewsall Court*, at 42. If these places are correctly identified, it would support a tenth-century date for their incorporation by an Anglo-Saxon church, unless the link had been a much earlier one. We consider this further, below, and in Chapters Seven and Eight.

⁸⁸ They are separated by a number of parishes whose ecclesiastical and manorial relationships lie with Holme Lacy.

parishes in Lugwardine's immediate vicinity has been completed. These include Fownhope, Mordiford, Dormington, Putley, Woolhope with Brockhampton, and Sollers Hope.

Fownhope was a fifteen-hide manor that, in 1086, was held by Hugh Donkey. There were two priests and a church that held land rated at one-half hide. It is unclear whether the priests are included among twenty-five ploughholders, but it is likely that they were.⁸⁹ In any case, Barrow regards the Domesday manor as the location of a small minster church that, by 1147, was in the custody of Lyre Abbey, becoming one of its prebends in 1267.⁹⁰ By 1291 Fownhope was valued at £13 6s 8d with a vicarage *non valet* and chapels at Fawley, at Strangford and at Snodhill castle, whose rector held a pension of £2 13s 4d.⁹¹ Its tithe maps reveal the large outlier of Fawley, southeast of Ballingham, as a southern portion of Woolhope at Brockhampton. This may indicate that Fownhope's earlier extent included the manor of Woolhope, prior to its eleventh-century grant to the church of Hereford.⁹²

⁸⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 29.2; the editors note that the Latin is ambiguous with regard to the ploughholders.

⁹⁰ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 34 and n. 33, nos. 101, 162, 218, 305, at 32-3, 70, 115-16, 161-3, 236-7 and *Acta 35*, no.102, 97. It may have been another example of a failing minster being transferred to an alien priory. Within the *Acta*, the first entry concerns the adjudication of the church at Fownhope to Lyre by Robert de Bethune against the claim of the abbess of Elstow, who alleged to have held it from ancient times. Lyre's claim was that it was given the church at Fownhope by Hugh Donkey. Round traced a confirmatory charter of Robert de Chandos from evidence in Dundale's *Monasticon*. J H Round, 'Introduction to the Herefordshire Domesday Book' in W Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Herefordshire. Volume 1* (London: Constable, 1908), 263-307, hereafter 'Introduction', at 276 n.80; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, part 2, 1093. The grant confirmed: '*...ecclesiam de Hopa cum appendiciis suis...*'.

⁹¹ 1291 Taxation, 161, column 1; *Valor*, 24. *DB Herefordshire*, 29.20, places Strangford in Sellack, and it paid no tax—an indication that it may have been church land—but the editors query its location, about which there is some speculation. It could be Eaton in Foy. Either place would locate it near Fawley, south of Brockhampton in Woolhope.

⁹² R Kain and R Oliver (eds), *Historic Parishes of England and Wales* (Colchester: History Data Service Data Archive 2001), hereafter *Historic Parishes*, at sheet 142 and parishes 174A and 174B. Harnden, *Registers*, 49. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 213-14, regards this as the British land-unit *Caplefore*. A discussion of Woolhope and its gift to the canons of St Ethelbert's is considered below.

Mordiford is recorded by Youngs as a medieval parish but it is not mentioned in Domesday Book.⁹³ It appears to have had a church by 1148 and, according to the *Acta*, a chapel at Bartestree.⁹⁴ There is conflicting evidence as to the location of this chapel, however, since Youngs locates it within Dormington parish.⁹⁵ In addition, Bartestree is recorded in Domesday Book as a two-hide manor of Nigel the Doctor, with a two-hide outlier that may have been in Dormington, held from land of St Guthlac's.⁹⁶ St Guthlac's itself held the Domesday manor of Dormington.⁹⁷ Both are recorded as chapels of the Priory of St Guthlac's in the *Acta*⁹⁸ and in 1291 the churches of Mordiford and Dormington (with a chapel in Bartestree) are valued at £8 and £5 respectively.⁹⁹ On the basis that Dormington was not itself a parish until 1729 and that Bartestree was recorded as a chapel both of it and of Mordiford, the medieval parish that comprised these churches appears to have been Mordiford.

There are further indications that the pre-Conquest St Guthlac's may have had a significant presence in the area. Coplestone-Crow links the Dormington hamlet of Hen Hope on the river Frome, the 'secluded valley of the monastic community', with the adjacent Domesday manor of Prior's Frome,¹⁰⁰ itself in the hands of St Peter's,

⁹³ Youngs, *Guide*, 134.

⁹⁴ Barrow, *Acta*, VII, nos. 22, 87 and 204, at 23, 64 and 149-51.

⁹⁵ Youngs, *Guide*, 126. This appears to be on account of its 1729 parochial formation at which point it included Bartestree.

⁹⁶ *DB Herefordshire*, 7.1 and note. Thorn notes that the outlier is *Dormintona*, now located as Dormington. Nigel the Doctor acquired the greater majority of estates which had been held by St Guthlac's earlier.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.2. It is noted that a canon had held the manor in 1066. This may indicate the presence of a small church on the manor given as part of the canon's landholding, but the position is unclear.

⁹⁸ Barrow, *Acta* VII, nos. 22, 87 and 204, at 23, 64 and 149-51.

⁹⁹ 1291 Taxation, 161, column 1 (Mordiford) and 158, column 2 (Dormington). The church at Bartestree also had a vicar *non valet*. Mordiford paid a pension to St Guthlac's, according to *Valor*, 24.

¹⁰⁰ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 73. Dormington may have been at the centre of St Guthlac's landholding, since Prior's Frome was not held by it in 1066 but by Edwy Young. *DB Herefordshire*, 2.58. Henry of Ferrers held another two-hide manor there, which had been held of Bishop Aethelstan, *ibid.*, 13.1. Another manor, one hide two virgates, was held by Ilbert son of Thorold: 26.1. By 1086 Edwy's one hide manor was in the hands of St Peter's, Hereford, the collegiate church founded by the Lacy family. We know that St Peter's and St Guthlac's were merged

Hereford by 1086 with tenurial links to Bishop Athelstan.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, Larport (or Frome Henry according to Coplestone-Crow), likewise within Mordiford parish, is recorded in the *Acta* as having had a chapel held by St Guthlac's.¹⁰² St Guthlac's, therefore, seems to have been the major ecclesiastical provider within the area of Lugwardine, Modiford and Dormington. It may well have held what appears to have been the minster at Fownhope before its transfer to Lyre Abbey after the Conquest.

However, there appears to have been no eleventh-century ecclesiastical connection with adjacent Woolhope, the large Domesday manor held by the canons of Hereford.¹⁰³ The cathedral chapter claimed this land as part of an endowment, dated to the mid-eleventh century, by the benefactors Wulviva and Godiva.¹⁰⁴ As noted in Chapter Three, Woolhope lay within the dean's peculiar jurisdiction, but the date from which this was claimed is unclear.¹⁰⁵ It is also unclear whether a church was included in the grant and whether the estate was, along with others in the vicinity, part of a larger unit centred on the Iron Age settlement, Capler Camp.¹⁰⁶ The *Acta* mention Woolhope only by reference to the confirmatory grant of the church of

and refounded as a Benedictine priory of St Peter's, Gloucester, and it is possible that Edwy Young had usurped the manor earlier, a not uncommon feature of the pre-Conquest estates of St Guthlac's.

¹⁰¹ We considered earlier that Prior's Frome may have been the 'Frome' identified in *Valor*, 35, as having a relationship with Stoke Edith and in turn with Much Cowarne. An annual portionary payment was due from it.

¹⁰² Barrow, *Acta VII*, no.87, 64, and Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 149. There is no record of Larport in 1291.

¹⁰³ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.13. Two clerks held one hide one virgate, suggesting the existence of a church. The clerks of the college held land in their personal capacity which may have included a benefice as well, but there is no additional evidence.

¹⁰⁴ The reference for the information is in part based on a Hereford Cathedral calendar of obits and the Book of Fees. See: Capes, *Charters and Records*, iii and *DB Herefordshire*, 2.13 note. The gift included Canon Pyon and Norton Canon.

¹⁰⁵ See the discussion in Chapter Three, pages 89-94, about the origins and purpose of the dean's peculiar. Our view is that it was primarily based on the tenurial rights which the canons enjoyed over lands that may have been given to the church late in the eighth or early in the ninth century, at the time that the seat of the diocese became located at Hereford. We have argued earlier that it began to be asserted from the late eleventh century.

¹⁰⁶ As argued by Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 213-14.

Madley, noting it as being held freely by the canons.¹⁰⁷ By 1291 its value was £10 and its patron was the cathedral. Youngs records a chapel of All Saints, Brockhampton, as subject to it.¹⁰⁸ *Valor* reveals an additional chapel of St Dyfrig, which dedication is indicative of an earlier British ecclesiastical presence within the area.¹⁰⁹

The information on Putley is scant. It was a one-hide manor of Roger of Lacy in 1086.¹¹⁰ The *Acta* record a licence to appropriate its chapel to the cathedral chapter, as against a claim to it by Cecily of Evreux.¹¹¹ In 1291 it was listed as *non valet* and its patron was Hereford cathedral.¹¹² However, nineteenth-century tithe maps show two parcels of tithes as outliers of the parish of Woolhope within Putley, suggesting that Putley was previously within it.¹¹³ The final parish to consider is Sollars Hope, a five-hide manor held by Ansfrid of Cormeilles. There is no evidence of a church and the *Acta* are silent.¹¹⁴ By 1291 there was a church *non valet* with a pension of 13s 4d payable to its rector.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁷ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 201, 146-7, dated 1195 x 1198.

¹⁰⁸ Youngs, *Guide*, 137. Also: Duncumb, III, 241. Brockhampton is termed *Caplefore* in Domesday Book; held by the canons it was rated at five English hides and three 'Welsh' hides. The editors note that part of this manor may have been an intrusion into Archenfield: *DB Herefordshire*, 2.15 and note. Coplestone-Crow has argued that an early land-unit based on the Iron Age fort of Capler Camp included Woolhope, Brockhampton and the other Caple manors: How Caple and Kings Caple. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 214. Caplefore was a fifty-hide unit.

¹⁰⁹ *Valor*, 27. This is located at Buckenhill, according to Ray in Malpas *et al* (eds), *Early Church*, 117. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 213, comments: '... at Lower Buckenhill in 1535 stood a *capella S'c'I Dubricii*. This chapel of St Dyfrig is referred to as the *priour*' in 1526. As far as is known the chapel was not, at any time since the coming of the English in the seventh century, the site of a religious community'.

¹¹⁰ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.4.

¹¹¹ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 259, 196-7, dated to 1205.

¹¹² 1291 Taxation, 158, column 2.

¹¹³ Kain and Oliver, *Historic Parishes*, Sheet 143, parishes 175 and 273. The Hereford Cathedral archive copy of the tithe apportionment for 1840 lists the tithes payable by Putley, then a civil parish, to Woolhope. HCA 6437/51 1-6.

¹¹⁴ *DB Herefordshire*, 21.4.

¹¹⁵ 1291 Taxation, 161, column 1.

From this information we can argue that there were at least six churches in the eleventh century in a relatively confined and convoluted area of the Frome and Lugg valleys: Lugwardine, Fownhope, Mordiford, Bartestree, Larport and Dormington. With the exception of Fownhope, which was held by Lyre Abbey, they were all claimed by St Guthlac's in the twelfth century as having been within its predecessor's eleventh-century *parochia*. We have established that the churches were probably in existence before the Conquest. Coplestone-Crow has argued that within Mordiford lay Priors Frome and Larport, or Frome Henry, both of which may have previously been within the vill *Frome*.¹¹⁶

The foregoing, shown in Figure 4.4, comprises some forty-six hides. With the exception of the evidence of manors held by St Guthlac's, the grant of the church of Fownhope to Lyre Abbey and the pre-Conquest manors of the canons of Hereford, there is no evidence of a discernible parochial structure. What there is, however, is ample evidence of ecclesiastical activity, both tenurial and pastoral. Although on its face it does not allow for any firm conclusions to be advanced about a presumed *parochia* of an old minster at Lugwardine, seen in the context of the evidence that follows, we will be arguing for a significant role for Lugwardine in ecclesiastical terms.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 148. This was discussed in detail within the Much Cowarne study at 4.3.

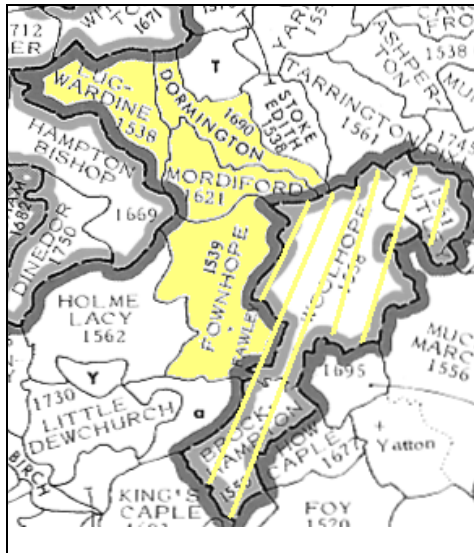


Figure 4.4 Lugwardine's ecclesiastical relationships. The hatched area is that confirmed to the canons of St Ethelbert's in the eleventh century. From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

A fourteenth-century entry within the bishop's registers refers to a number of distant dependent chapelries of Lugwardine being gifted to the dean and chapter by Johanna de Bohun of the family of the earls of Hereford.¹¹⁷ On this information it appears that Lugwardine had a wide parochial jurisdiction over several churches located in an area within Archenfield before the Conquest. In addition, many of them were early possessions of the British church, founded by Welsh princes as early as the seventh century. Since Lugwardine was an Anglo-Saxon *villa regalis*, one interpretation is that these parochial relationships arose in consequence of the political drive to annex Archenfield, first by Aethelbald and later by Offa, possibly from as early as the middle of the eighth century.¹¹⁸ Davies has dated a charter within *Liber Llandavensis*

¹¹⁷ W Capes (ed.), *Registrum Thorne de Charlton, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1327-1344* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 9, 1913), hereafter *Reg. Thomas de Charlton*, at vii and 16. 'In the year 1330... the revenues of Lugwardine which, with its dependent chapelries of Llangarron, St Weonards and Hentland had lately passed ... (to) the Dean and Chapter by gift of Johanna de Bohun... (to) be used for a large increase of cathedral staff with a portion reserved to endow the vicar.' The *Acta* give no indication of this relationship: the first mention of Lugwardine is as a *capella* held by St Guthlac's Priory. Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 22 and 23, 23-4, 1143 x 1148.

¹¹⁸ M Gelling, *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), hereafter *West Midlands*, 115-16. 'The date at which Archenfield came under English control is a matter for conjecture. A sparse framework ... is provided by the few events which are mentioned in

to c. 745; it records the return of eleven British churches from Anglo-Saxon capture to bishop Berthwyn.¹¹⁹ This implies that the attempted incorporation of that part of the territory west of the Wye was occurring at a time contemporaneous with the location of an Anglo-Saxon diocese at Hereford.¹²⁰ It is interesting to note that one of these eleven churches, the British church at Llangarron, was subsequently stated to be a chapel of Lugwardine. It must be a likely scenario, therefore, that Lugwardine had close connections with the British church. Furthermore, identifying its *parochia* will be an important step in understanding what may have been a sixth- or seventh-century British ecclesiastical structure.

The first of its chapels to consider is Hentland, identified with a sixth-century British monastic site of *Henllan*. There is no documentary evidence, such as that contained within the Llan Dav charters, to support this early dating;¹²¹ however, a number of local historians have asserted that it was part of an early monastic complex.¹²² Its first record is in 1291 Taxation and it is valued at £10.¹²³ As noted above, the earliest reference for its being within Lugwardine's *parochia* is a fourteenth-century one, post-dating the former by some forty years. There are no portion-holders or patrons

surviving records... Davies says the loss (of it) to the English happened in the later ninth century... It may have happened much earlier... but later than 750.'

¹¹⁹ W Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), hereafter *Welsh Microcosm*, at 176, LL192 F.

¹²⁰ For which see comments in Chapter Three, section 3.5 generally, under the case study for Hereford.

¹²¹ Literally, 'old church'. However, Coplestone-Crow cites a charter c. 1045-1104: *Hennlann dibric et lann teliau in uno cimiterio* ('Old church of St Dyfrig and church of St Teilo in a cemetery') from the Llan Dav collection. His argument is that the monastic site at Llanfrother some two miles away was the original foundation. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 98-100. Although neither of these is commented upon or located by Davies in her 1978 study, Seaton, *Archenfield Deanery*, 40, agrees. 'In AD 500 Dubritius came from Moccas and established a college at Llanfrother... the remains of which were seen by Silas Taylor... (it) is one of the earliest stone churches in the Deanery dating to 1056'.

¹²² In addition to Coplestone-Crow, the Herefordshire SMR 6436 records the remains of an early medieval religious house at SO 54 28: www.Herefordshire.gov.uk/SMRsearch. See also: Duncumb, VI, part 2, 128. The antiquarian Silas Taylor is quoted there as having viewed the remains of the monastery.

¹²³ 1291 Taxation, 160, column 2.

identified, and its value is equivalent to that of Lugwardine. Except for toponymic evidence there is nothing to link a sixth-century foundation with a thirteenth-century church, and no indication as to the nature of its historical connection with Lugwardine. It is to be noted, however, that Hentland is a parish in two parts, divided from an outlier by Little Birch, Harewood and King's Caple parishes, clearly suggesting that at one time all were within a much larger land-unit.¹²⁴ For the parish of (Little) Dewchurch, apart from a reference to it in *Liber Landavensis*,¹²⁵ there is no further information.

However, Llangarron appears to be a different matter. We noted earlier its first mention in the eighth-century confirmatory grant which restored to bishop Berthwyn lands and churches captured by Aethelbald.¹²⁶ A much later documentary source, dated to 1163, recorded a longstanding dispute between Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine and the prior of Monmouth regarding its possession. The prior argued that it had always been within the *parochia* of St Mary's, Monmouth.¹²⁷ The queen's case was that no royal authority had sanctioned Monmouth's jurisdiction. Although the point does not seem to have been addressed, it may be implied that Llangarron was being claimed as an appurtenance to the manor at Lugwardine, still in royal hands at the time according to the twelfth-century *Herefordshire Domesday*.¹²⁸ On Youngs's¹²⁹

¹²⁴ For which see below within the discussion of Holme Lacy, pages 134-5.

¹²⁵ There is no record of this church in 1291 Taxation. Youngs, *Guide*, 126, reports that it had been part of the medieval parish of Hentland. Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 175, however, tentatively identifies it with the 850 grant of *Cwm Mouric*, LL170 (51) E, which may imply that it had been a chapel of Hentland at an earlier date.

¹²⁶ Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 176, LL192 F.

¹²⁷ Morey *et al* (eds), *Letters and Charters*, no. 149, 195. The case was not decided but adjourned; there are no extant charters which confirm Llangarron to St Mary's, Monmouth: it is not among those listed in the Bull of Pope Urban III as quoted by J H Round, *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France. Volume I* (London: HMSO, 1899), hereafter *Calendar*, at 403, in favour of its mother-house, St Florent de Saumur, and contrary to what is stated in Duncumb, VI, part 2, 17, there is no charter in favour of Monmouth Priory revealed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, IV, 595-601.

¹²⁸ Galbraith and Tait (eds), *Herefordshire Domesday*, 5.

information and its 1291 value of £13 6s 8d,¹³⁰ it would seem to have had a wide jurisdiction.

The church of St Weonard, like its neighbour Llangarron, served a large rural area. Its value in 1291 Taxation was £13 6s 8d and no patrons or portion-holders are recorded.¹³¹ Thorn identifies it, tentatively, with the Domesday manor of *Penebecdoc*.¹³² Coplestone-Crow believes that the first record of the church of ‘St Gwennarth’ is in the book of Llan Dav as *Lann Santguainerth* in a ninth-century charter which allegedly granted land along the river Gamber to the church.¹³³ Once again, apart from the evidence of a church recorded in 1291 and its fourteenth-century link to Lugwardine there is no indication as of any historical ecclesiastical relationship.

As previously noted Lugwardine appears to have had pre-Conquest links with the minster of St Guthlac’s, suggesting that it may have been a minster which had an earlier association with that secular college.¹³⁴ If the churches of Hentland (with Little Dewchurch), Llangarron and St Weonards were chapels of Lugwardine in the eleventh century, this suggests not only an organised system for the delivery of pastoral care from a royal *tun* located by then within the bounds of the shire, but also the existence of a long-standing ecclesiastical relationship which spanned Anglo-Saxon and British diocesan structures. Since the Anglo-Saxon diocese was likely to

¹²⁹ Youngs, *Guide*, 131.

¹³⁰ 1291 Taxation, 160, column 2.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *DB Herefordshire*, 1.59, an unhidated manor in Archenfield held by Roger and having four ploughs.

¹³³ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 176. None of the scholars of the Llan Dav charters has identified the place. It may possibly be that recorded in LL174 (a).

¹³⁴ Its successor, the priory of St Guthlac, requested confirmation of its control over Lugwardine and its tithes in 1143 x 1148, and claimed burial rights.

have been organised in the seventh century,¹³⁵ evidence for relationships involving British churches acknowledged to have been founded before the eighth century would seem to imply the structure's existence as well as its geographic extent.

There appear to be two possibilities for Lugwardine. The first is the straightforward manorial capture scenario—the manors and churches were seized, the churches were returned and then at some later date they became incorporated and subject to Lugwardine's jurisdiction. Manorial capture might be a plausible explanation had there existed evidence of a tenurial relationship between the Archenfield churches and Lugwardine—but there is no evidence of that. In 1086 no Archenfield manors, although accounted for in *Terra Regis*, showed signs of any dependency on Lugwardine, as was evident for Holme Lacy (within Dinedor hundred) and Llanwarne (within Archenfield), discussed below. The second possibility is that the relationship between Lugwardine and the Archenfield churches was a purely ecclesiastical one, possibly existing from the dates of their foundations. In this scenario, to have had lesser churches accountable to it, Lugwardine would itself have been an old minster—once which had succeeded a British foundation which had jurisdiction over them. We will explore this possibility and its consequences below, and in Chapters Seven and Eight.

To complete the picture we now need to consider those medieval parishes which lay between Lugwardine and its detached Archenfield churches, since it would be unusual if these parishes had no connection with the adjacent area to the north and south, particularly if Lugwardine had been the old minster of the district.

¹³⁵ For which see Chapters Seven and Eight.

The first of these is Holme Lacy, a large manor of the canons of Hereford, rated at six hides in 1086. A priest is recorded as one of the plough-holders, which may imply the existence of a church. It is located immediately to the west of Fownhope, east of Dinedor and north of Little Dewchurch.¹³⁶ The entry also reveals that its manorial outlier, Llanwarne, was held by Roger of Lacy and was exempt of tax with a priest holding separate tenure;¹³⁷ it is one of the places acknowledged by Blair to have had superior ecclesiastical status.¹³⁸ By 1148 Robert de Bethune had confirmed Holme Lacy to the refounded Priory of St Peter and St Guthlac ‘... *cum terris et decimis et omnibus ad eam pertinentibus...*’,¹³⁹ suggesting the possibility that the Anglo-Saxon minster of St Guthlac’s had held its church.¹⁴⁰ In 1291 it was valued at £10 13s 4d with separate vicarage of £8.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ It has not been possible to confirm that Dinedor, a six-hide unit held by Ralph of Tosney in 1086, (*DB Herefordshire*, 8.7) was included in Lugwardine’s remit. Its topography marks it out as likely to have been linked to Holme Lacy since they form an interconnected unit on the south bank of the Wye, but there are no ecclesiastical connections. By the end of the twelfth century it had been confirmed to Conches Abbey, which held half of the village and its tithes: Barrow, *Acta VII*, no.187, 134-6. We have not allocated it but consider it likely to have been within Lugwardine’s jurisdiction. Together with Holme Lacy and the manor of Rotherwas, within the bounds of the medieval parish, it comprised a fifteen-hide unit. (Rotherwas, three hides: *DB Herefordshire*, 25.1.)

¹³⁷ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.12. He paid 2s for his own lands. The *Acta* record the grant of Holme Lacy in 1085 by Bishop Robert of Lotharingia to Roger of Lacy: Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 2, 1-3. For the significance of this in secular terms see: V H Galbraith, ‘An episcopal land-grant of 1085’, *English Historical Review*, 44 (1929), 353-72.

¹³⁸ J Blair, ‘Secular minster churches in Domesday Book’ in P Sawyer (ed.), *Domesday Book: a Reassessment* (London: Edward Arnold, 1985), 104-42 and map on 108: the mark of status here being the exemption from geld and the separate payment by the priest.

¹³⁹ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 22, 23; the Lacy family were benefactors of the abbey of St Peter’s, Gloucester. The re-founded priory of St Guthlac was its daughter-house. During the mid-twelfth century there was a concerted drive to restore churches and tithes to many of these re-founded houses, as the only way to secure their financial stability.

¹⁴⁰ A Thacker, ‘Kings, saints, and monasteries in pre-Viking Mercia’, *Midland History*, 10 (1985), 1-25, hereafter ‘Pre-Viking Mercia’, 5. It is also worth noting that the eighth-century life of St Guthlac is believed by many to be based entirely upon Bede’s life of St Cuthbert, with Guthlac his clone: N Higham, ‘Guthlac’s *Vita*, Mercia and East Anglia in the first half of the eighth century’ in D Hill and M Worthington (eds), *Aethelbald and Offa: Two Eighth-Century Kings of Mercia*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 383 (2005), 85-90 at 85, quoting Catherine Cubitt. The church at Holme Lacy was dedicated to St Cuthbert.

¹⁴¹ 1291 Taxation, 160, column 2.

With Llanwarne the position becomes more complex. It was valued in the 1291 Taxation at £13 6s 8d,¹⁴² by which time it was in the hands of Llantony *Prima*, an Augustinian house founded by the Lacy family and endowed in the early twelfth century.¹⁴³ Coplestone-Crow, like Davies, links its church with an eighth-century grant of *Lann Guern*, and asserts that the canons at Llantony received Llanwarne from Hugh of Lacy.¹⁴⁴ Whatever the position regarding the estates of the canons at Llantony, their interest in a portion of the church shows no sign of including spiritualities, and it is possible that Llanwarne, as a manorial outlier, was a lesser church of St Cuthbert's, Holme Lacy.¹⁴⁵ This would place it within the pastoral control of St Guthlac's, who also held Lugwardine. Two further medieval parishes are connected with Holme Lacy, both as lesser churches: Ballingham and Bolstone. Although neither is mentioned in 1291 Taxation or the *Acta*, both are recorded in the bishop's registers.¹⁴⁶ In topographical terms both of these are contiguous with Holme Lacy.

Since Llanwarne is some distance away and separated by the parishes that, scholars argue, formed the large Domesday manor of *Mainaure*, we must briefly consider how

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, part 1, 127. There is no cartulary. The *Acta* do not reveal a grant of the church by one of the bishops, but the register of Cantilupe indicates that a mandate to induct to the custody of one portion of the church was confirmed to the rector, Hugh de Redcliff, in 1275 upon the presentation of Llantony. It appears to have been a small minster. Griffiths (ed.), *Reg. Cantilupe*, 27, 141-2, 185. Seaton, *Archenfield Deanery*, 65, likewise confirms its status: the incumbent described by Cantilupe was subdeacon at, and held a portion of, the church at Llanwarne, together with the 'chapels belonging'. We have found no record of Llanwarne's chapels.

¹⁴⁴ Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 177, LL200, dated to 758. The Lacy grants are recorded in papal deeds by W Holtzmann in his *Papsturkunden in England* (Berlin: Weidman, 1936): Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 136-7. They were lands that his brother, Roger, had held in 1086. The Domesday manor of *Penebedoc* may be located here, as may Westwood, held by Gloucester Abbey.

¹⁴⁵ Barrow argues that it was an early minster, but she does not attach any importance to its link with Holme Lacy. It may have been as a result of manorial capture. Barrow, *Acta VII*, xxx.

¹⁴⁶ And were in being by the thirteenth century, making it difficult to understand why their existence was omitted in 1291; and the later record, *Valor*, 5, records Ballingham as a chapel of Lugwardine. It is possible that their origins were much earlier since Davies identifies the seventh-century *Podum Sancti Budgualan* as lying within Ballingham. Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 171, LL164, c. 620.

these parishes interrelate so as to assess the potential ecclesiastical implications. *Mainaure* is identified by both Thorn and Coplestone-Crow as ‘Birch’, forming the modern day parishes of Much and Little Birch,¹⁴⁷ which Coplestone-Crow and Jones¹⁴⁸ argue was the eleventh-century remnant of a land-unit which had included Aconbury, Ballingham, Bolstone, Little Dewchurch, the eastern portion of Much Dewchurch, Dewsall, Callow and Hoarwithy. If this is correct,¹⁴⁹ in topographical terms it provides the missing parts of the jigsaw—an entire land-unit which separated Holme Lacy from Llanwarne.¹⁵⁰

Within this unit, Youngs notes a connection between Much Birch and Much Dewchurch, stating that the former was probably a lesser church of the latter.¹⁵¹ There is no other information in the *Acta* or the bishop’s registers. However, at Much Dewchurch we have evidence of a foundation, *Lann Deui*, dated to the seventh century,¹⁵² which, by 1291, was valued at £9 6s 8d with a vicarage of £4.¹⁵³ The *Acta* reveal an earlier connection with St Guthlac’s—its inclusion in a claim concerning the

¹⁴⁷ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.58. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 33-4.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*: ‘Later information makes it almost certain that the DB estate is a remnant of a much larger land-unit... (which formed)... a *maenor wrthir*, or upland *maenor*, of Ergyng and that it was centred on the hill fort at Aconbury. A corresponding *maenor fro*, or lowland *maenor*, was probably centred on Hentland’. See: G R Jones, ‘Post-Roman Wales’ in H P R Finberg (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales. Volume 1* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 281-382, at 307.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 305-7. Since Jones’s theories have been the subject of much criticism and the assumption is based on his analysis of the twelfth-century *Book of Iowerth*, it is possible that the theory lacks any evidential basis. However, his view is not based on multiple-estate formation and fission, the most problematic of his arguments, and a recently published archaeological study suggests that the area is certainly one of antiquity, with a cemetery at Dewsall located within a large curvilinear enclosure where burials have been dated to a period between the second and ninth centuries. Sherlock and Pikes, *Dewsall Court*, 47.

¹⁵⁰ Seaton, *Archenfield Deanery*, 11, records that a parliamentary survey of 1643 has Little Birch as a chapelry of Aconbury.

¹⁵¹ Youngs, *Guide*, 126.

¹⁵² Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 171, LL165, c. 625. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 65.

¹⁵³ 1291 Taxation, 160, column 2. Although its 1291 patron was Kilpeck Priory, a daughter-house of Gloucester Abbey, it is recorded as having been conveyed to it in exchange for other lands in Dewchurch and Murcot by Bishop Gilbert Foliot in 1155: Morey *et al* (eds), *Letters and Charters*, no. 302, 366-8.

extent of the *parochia* of its predecessor body.¹⁵⁴ If Youngs is correct in identifying a link between Much Birch and Much Dewchurch, this supports an argument that there existed a link between St Guthlac's and Much Birch as well. Finally there are two smaller parishes entirely surrounded by those considered already: Harewood and Llandinabo.¹⁵⁵ The former was appropriated to the priory of St John of Jerusalem, not included in the *Acta* or 1291 Taxation. The latter may be that referred to in the Llan Dav charters as *Lann Hunapui*.¹⁵⁶ Given their geographic positions, they are almost certain to have been within the group with ecclesiastical links to Lugwardine, the extent of which is shown in 4.5.

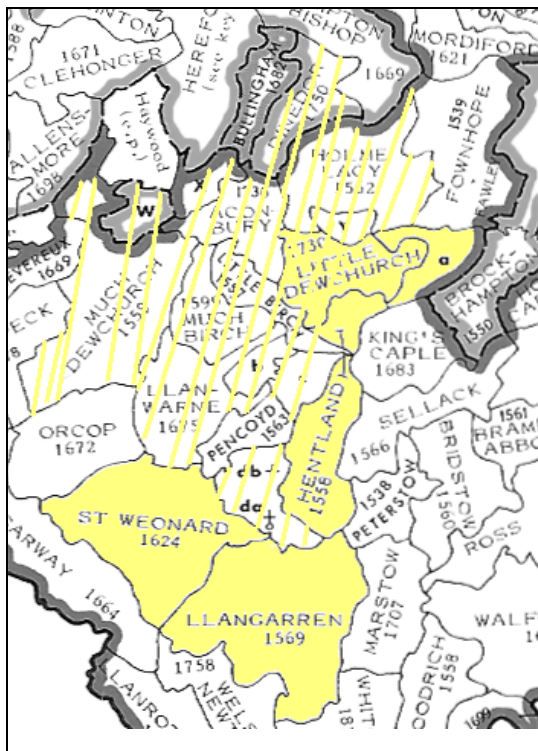


Figure 4.5 A possible Lugwardine *parochia* south of the Wye The hatched parishes are those with possible manorial connections to Holme Lacy or within the Domesday manor of *Mainure*. From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

¹⁵⁴ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no.155, 107-9. Barrow regards this as spurious since it is in a fifteenth-century hand, but she does not comment on the fact that it may have included within it a genuine list of pre-Conquest holdings. See Chapter Three, section 3.5 generally. Dewchurch was one of the churches allegedly captured in the mid-eighth century as a result of Anglo-Saxon raids. Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 176, LL192 F.

¹⁵⁵ Not to be confused with *DB Herefordshire*, 25.6, which lay in the Golden Valley. Youngs, *Guide*, 128.

¹⁵⁶ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 129 and 191. Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, identifies Llandinabo, 165, LL73a, as founded in 585.

We have already noted the interest of St Guthlac's in Holme Lacy and its link with Llanwarne, Ballingham and Bolstone. A further connection with Much Dewchurch and Much and Little Birch (with the possibility that it included the entire land-unit identified as comprising *Mainaure*) indicates the possible extent of a large *parochia* south of the Wye where the spiritual needs of the population were served by the canons. With the inclusion of the parishes of Mordiford, Fownhope and Dormington on the north bank of the Wye the area becomes a very large one, of a similar size to the *parochiae* of Ledbury and Bromyard, both of which were old minsters. Its extent is shown in 4.6.

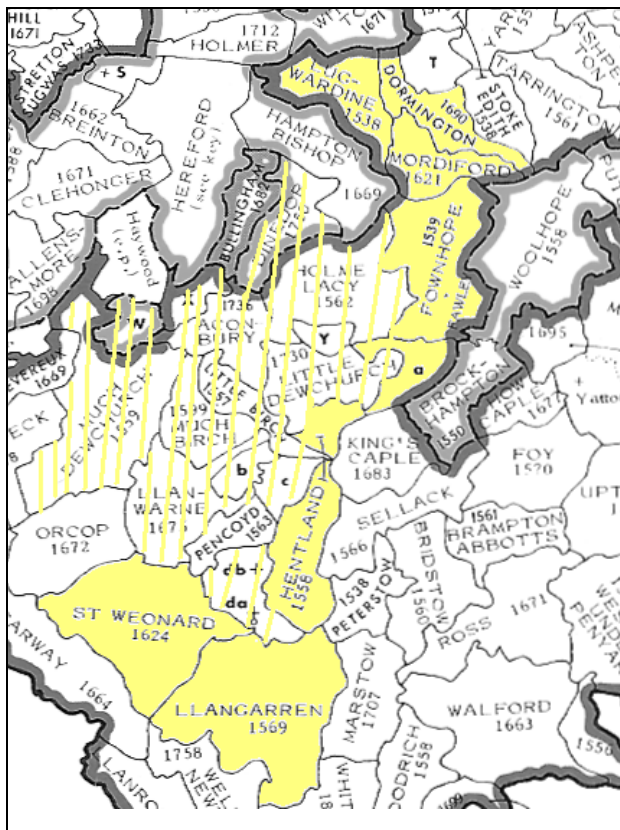


Figure 4.6 A possible *parochia* for Lugwardine, north and south of the Wye From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

To conclude, the position revealed for Lugwardine is very complex. Not only was it within a group of eleventh-century churches held by St Guthlac's situated on a *villa regalis* and within an Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical provision in the tenth century, but it

appears to have held a number of British churches, four of which may have been founded in the seventh century. As observed above, it seems to have been an old minster, the successor to a British foundation whose jurisdiction spanned the Wye. It may have included two significant British monastic establishments.¹⁵⁷ This makes it likely that British ecclesiastical districts existed within the hinterland of Hereford in the seventh century. We will discuss the implications for this below, and in Chapters Seven and Eight.

4.6 Ross-on-Wye

The Domesday entry for Ross-on-Wye reveals a seven-hide manor, which counted a priest among its plough-holders.¹⁵⁸ Some chroniclers record that Aethelstan, when bishop of Hereford, received it as a gift from Edmund Ironside. Scholars have argued¹⁵⁹ that the gift included the adjacent seven-hide manors of Walford and Upton Bishop.¹⁶⁰ Four adjacent manors were in the king's hands before 1066: Linton, Aston Ingham, Cleeve with Wilton (now Bridstow), and Eaton in Foy.¹⁶¹ The most significant of these was Linton, an ancient *villa regalis* which, according to its 1086

¹⁵⁷ Hentland and Llanwarne were, along with others, regarded as centres of British monastic and pastoral activity. See above and Seaton, *Archenfield Deanery*, 40.

¹⁵⁸ Lennard, *Rural England*, 311, notes that it is not clear whether the priest held ploughs with the villeins or independently of them.

¹⁵⁹ The grant is regarded as a lost one by Finberg and Coplestone-Crow. Barrow is less positive about its efficacy, but does not altogether dismiss it, as she includes it with other grants which 'almost certainly reflect royal endowment' from an early period. Barrow in D Whitehead (ed.), *Medieval Art*, at 30 and n. 13. Finberg, *Early Charters*, no. 420, 145. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 193. All cite Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, in the edition of M R James, revised by C N L Brooke and R A Mynors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 430-1. The translation which we consulted suggested that the gift 'had been granted' during Edmund Ironside's reign, sometime between April and November 1016 and obviously before his death. Finberg interprets the account as a death-bed bequest by Edmund which seems dubious. For the evidence that the grant included Walford and Upton Bishop see Duncumb, III, 178-9, but no source is given there.

¹⁶⁰ See *DB Herefordshire*, 2.23, 2.24 and 2.25. The priest at Ross does not appear to hold land separately. There is a priest recorded at Upton Bishop who holds ploughs (and by implication, land) with the villagers. There is no priest mentioned at Walford.

¹⁶¹ Coplestone-Crow refers to this as *Lann Timoi*, the site of an ecclesiastical place identified in the Llan Dav charters. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 86.

information, was much reduced in size and rated at three hides.¹⁶² It had belonged to Edward before 1066, and it paid £10 in blanch pence and the fourth part of one night's revenue.¹⁶³ The manor had a church and a priest with separate unspecified landholding.¹⁶⁴ An adjacent one-hide estate at Lea was tenanted to St Peter's, Gloucester.¹⁶⁵

Adjacent to it was Aston Ingham, a two-hide manor which had likewise been a royal estate before 1066. A little distance away was the large royal estate of Cleeve, with its outlier Wilton, and the manors of Eaton in Foy and Brampton Abbots. The first two had been in royal hands, and there was a church and a priest on the manor of Cleeve, possibly identified as the one at Bridstow which lay within Wilton, but this is not certain.¹⁶⁶ Brampton Abbots was a three-hide manor, one hide of which was held by St Guthlac's and the other two by St Peter's, Gloucester, one of which was exempt.¹⁶⁷ There were two additional manors east of the Wye adjacent to Linton

¹⁶² Although it is true to say that Linton was a significant estate in the area, having been held by King Edward, Cleeve with Wilton was at least as valuable and was certainly larger in terms of what had been retained. It had been held by Harold.

¹⁶³ The reckoning in blanch pence and the payment of the farm of one night were marks of ancient royal manors. See: Stafford, 'Farm', 491-502. Stafford describes the rendering of the 'farm' as a means of organising and securing the economic potential of a particular manor. Many such were or became hundredal centres. For blanch pence see: Harvey, 'Royal Revenue', 221-8.

¹⁶⁴ It was held under the auspices of St Mary's Abbey, Cormeilles, an abbey founded by William fitzOsbern, the palatinate earl of Hereford. The grant appears to have been made at some time after 1066, along with the adjacent manor of Kingstone which had been part of the royal manor of Westbury-on-Severn. Dugdale, *Monasticon* VI, 1075-6. Here we see an example of the post-Conquest trend of disposing of churches on royal demesne estates to houses endowed by important Norman noblemen. It is perhaps too speculative to argue that St Guthlac's may have held the church here before 1066. It had a chapel in the area, as we shall see below.

¹⁶⁵ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.1 and 5.2

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.8 and 19.7. The church recorded here was likewise held by St Mary's, Cormeilles. Identifying the church which Domesday Book records at Cleeve with Bridstow in Wilton is not entirely secure. Cleeve is identified by the editors of *DB Herefordshire* as a 'lost place in Ross-on-Wye.' *Ibid.*, 1.8 note. There may, therefore, have been two churches or the scribe wrongly stated that the church was at Cleeve when it was actually at Wilton on the opposite bank of the Wye. (Moreover, *Acta VII*, no.127, 85-6, identify only two churches agreeing arrangements about corpses from Cleeve.) Like Linton, Cleeve rendered blanch pence, an indication both of its antiquity and of its relationship to the royal *tun*. Both Cleeve (with Wilton) and Eaton in Foy were held by Harold in 1066.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.1, although there is some debate as to whether the one hide of St Guthlac's was here or at Brampton in Madley, which was a manor of that church. Concerning St Peter's holding, the exempt

which seem, from the topographical evidence, to have been carved out of the royal estate: Weston-under-Penyard and Hope Mansall. Both had been with thegns before 1066 and were tenanted to Normans.¹⁶⁸

The relationship between these manors and those alleged to have been granted to the bishop in 1016 is striking. The church estates separated the royal estates of Linton and Cleeve from one another, and it is not difficult to imagine a sequence of events in which Linton, the royal *tun* located along high ground but in something of a backwater,¹⁶⁹ grew less and less significant as major land-units with strategic importance were alienated—those in the more fertile valley area to lay tenants and those along the Wye to the church. Ross itself possessed an imposing cliff-top position, and at Walford there was a key river-crossing along the road leading to Monmouth and Newport.¹⁷⁰

Domesday evidence, therefore, gives some support to the view that during the late Anglo-Saxon period, or in any case at sometime before 1016, a fifty-four-hide land unit,¹⁷¹ comprising an estate which had formed a *villa regalis*, had been carved up.¹⁷²

hide 'free from tax and every customary due' indicates an ecclesiastical presence, possibly a church. It is to be noted that St Peter's acquired the holdings of St Guthlac's in the twelfth century.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.3 and 15.1. Weston with Pontshill had a combined hidage of four. The land-unit comprising these manors was rated at thirty-three hides. The later tithe records show that Hope Mansell had an outlier in Walford, which is evidence of a link between the two adjacent medieval parishes. Kain and Oliver (eds), *Historic Parishes*, sheet 143, parishes 255 (Walford) and 219 (Hope Mansell).

¹⁶⁹ It has been argued that the Roman administrative centre at *Ariconium* may have been located within either the Domesday manor of Linton or its adjacent west-*tun*, Weston-under-Penyard. The Roman town was a centre for iron smelting. See also Ray in Malpas *et al* (eds), *Early Church*, map, 103.

¹⁷⁰ Scholars argue that a road between *Glevum* (Gloucester), via the administrative centre at *Ariconium*, to *Blestium* (Monmouth) forded the Wye at Walford. D Dudley, 'Map: the Herefordshire area in the Roman period' in J Thomas (ed.), *Herefordshire: Its Natural History, Archaeology and History* (Gloucester: British Publishing, 1954), 121. The combined hidage of the church estates was twenty-one.

¹⁷¹ Or thereabouts: fifty-four to be more precise if the two hides at Kingstone are excluded, following Coplestone-Crow's observation that this manor lay within the royal estate at Westbury-on-Severn.

There were at least three and possibly four churches within this land-unit by the mid-eleventh century: one each at Linton, Cleeve with Wilton,¹⁷³ Ross-on-Wye and Upton Bishop.¹⁷⁴ To identify any possible hierarchy here we must look to the later sources.

Youngs provides evidence that St Mary's, Ross-on-Wye, held lesser churches in Brampton Abbots and Weston-under-Penyard.¹⁷⁵ The *Acta* show a connection with Wilton and Cleeve. The church had entered into an arrangement with Lyre Abbey, dated to 1163 x 1167, which at that time held St Brigid's at Wilton,¹⁷⁶ for the burial of bodies from Cleeve. This is the sort of permission required of an old minster in connection with burials within its *parochia*.¹⁷⁷ Further evidence of St Mary's status is found in its 1291 valuation and the structure of the benefice and prebend. It was valued at £40 with a vicarage at £13 6s, the highest-valued of the churches within the district.¹⁷⁸ There is no further evidence concerning its relationship with the cathedral either before or after the alleged 1016 grant.

¹⁷² The entry for Linton states: '*modo est valde imminutu.*' *DB Herefordshire*, 1.1. On its earlier position as a regional centre see: Gelling, *West Midlands*, 114-15 within her discussion of Archenfield and Ergyng generally.

¹⁷³ Which was possibly at Bridstow.

¹⁷⁴ In toponymic terms it is possible to argue that *Uptune* was the higher settlement contained in the church's grant, in relation to Ross-on-Wye (a British place-name meaning 'cliff' or 'promontory') rather than in relation to Linton, which is at a higher elevation from both. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 174 and 193. An interesting stone artefact which has been dated to the fifth century, possibly a funeral frieze, has been located at Upton Bishop, which gives further grounds for its having had a church from the British period. Scholars have argued for an early organised Christian presence in the area. Ray in Malpas *et al* (eds), *Early Church*, 107-9 and Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 79-81. Upton Bishop is some two miles from Eccleswall near Weston-under-Penyard.

¹⁷⁵ Youngs, *Guide*, 134.

¹⁷⁶ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 127, 85-6. It held the church and tithes from 1066. *DB Herefordshire*, 1.8.

¹⁷⁷ This indicates that the grant to St Mary's, Cormeilles, by William fitz Osbern did not alter the continued exercise of sacramental duties by the mother-church at Ross.

¹⁷⁸ 1291 Taxation, 161, column 1

Wilton (Bridstow) likewise appears to have been linked to Ross, which held a portion, and according to its 1291 record it had a church with a separately valued vicarage. The *Acta* record Bridstow's confirmatory grant to Lyre Abbey.¹⁷⁹ This is consistent with the need for the 1163 composition that was made subsequently. The evidence for the surrounding parishes is less compelling, however. Linton is another of our Domesday churches. By the twelfth century it, too, had been confirmed as a possession of Lyre Abbey.¹⁸⁰ There is no evidence in the *Acta* that the bishop's confirmatory grant included a prebend; the text, when referring to the other grants made concurrently, states: '*cum rebus ad illas pertinentibus*'.¹⁸¹

At Upton Bishop the church was formally granted to the cathedral chapter in the late twelfth century.¹⁸² Capes explains this as the earliest example of an appropriation within the diocese, meaning that the entire income of the church, including its spiritualities, was transferred to the common fund of the cathedral, less one-third retained for the upkeep of the vicar.¹⁸³ We noted earlier that the Domesday entry included a priest holding land with the villeins and we have concluded that a church was probably located here. If the twelfth-century appropriation included spiritualities, the question of Upton's status in the eleventh century is unclear, although the

¹⁷⁹ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 34, 32-3; it is included within the grant of Linton. There is no reference as to what became of the rights which St Mary's, Cormeilles, had in it. This is common of all the estates held by St Mary's, Cormeilles. Barrow speculates that the Domesday scribe may have confused the two abbeys, but this seems unlikely. Lyre, however, likewise a Benedictine monastery and an earlier foundation of the fitzOsberns, however, seemed to eclipse it. Dugdale includes these possessions under each of the entries: Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, 1075-6 and 1092-4.

¹⁸⁰ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 34, 32-3. The Linton reference is: '*Alias vero ecclesias quas in mea parrochia ecclesia de Lira habet... ecclesiam de Lintun*'; this is among other churches confirmed to the abbey, including Wilton.

¹⁸¹ A licence to appropriate as a prebend was not granted until 1216, and so it is likely that Linton's spiritualities were accounted elsewhere: *ibid.*, no. 304, 235-6. In 1291 there was a church (£8) with a separate office of vicar (£4 6s 8d), a chapel at the unidentified place of 'Stratford' (£2), a portion held by Lyre Abbey, and a portion by St Peter's, Gloucester. 1291 Taxation, 161, column 1.

¹⁸² Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 150, 102-3. '*...concessimus et dedimus eis ecclesiam manerii nostri de Hupton, in augmentum communitie sue, libere et quiete et honorifice in perpetuum habendam, cum terris, decimis et obventionibus, et omnibus rebus et libertatibus ad eandem ecclesiam pertinentibus...*'.

¹⁸³ Capes, *Charters and Records*, v-vi.

evidence in *Valor* appears to reveal that it was subject to Ross-on-Wye.¹⁸⁴ The twelfth-century grant may have been to augment *existing* rights which the cathedral chapter already had in circumstances where there was some local pressure to retain all revenue or grant higher status to Upton's church.¹⁸⁵

There are similar sets of circumstances for the churches of Hope Mansell, Foy and How Caple, all of relatively low value by 1291. Hope Mansell was valued at less than £4 and Monmouth Priory was a portion-holder. Foy had the church of St Foi, a vicarage and portion held by St Peter's, Gloucester. How Caple, valued at £6 13s 4d, had a portion held by the rector at Ross.¹⁸⁶ The *Acta* record confirmatory grants of Foy and Hope Mansell, but How Caple remained with the canons.¹⁸⁷ We are forced to conclude that such grants may have included rights over spiritual income. If this is so, which body or bodies were responsible before their confirmation?

¹⁸⁴ *Valor*, 24. A pension was payable to the vicar of Ross-on-Wye; this is the same sum (two shillings) as that which was received by it from Brampton Abbots. The tithe map shows a detached portion of Upton Bishop in Brampton Abbots, which church was held by Ross-on-Wye. Upton Bishop Tithe Map, 1842. The income to Upton Bishop and expenditure by Brampton Abbots of the same sum appear to represent what accrued from parcels identified as tithe awards 745-53. This may indicate that, in ecclesiastical terms, the combined area of Ross-on-Wye, Upton Bishop and Brampton Abbots had formerly been one land-unit.

¹⁸⁵ Apart from Capes' interpretation that it was merely designed to swell the common fund, there is no other evidence. Local pressure was often a factor in the creation of twelfth- and thirteenth-century parishes. For a similar situation see S Bassett, 'Boundaries of knowledge: mapping the land units of late Anglo-Saxon and Norman England' in W Davies, G Halsall and A Reynolds (eds), *People and Space in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006) 115-42, at 118 and 126-7.

¹⁸⁶ 1291 Taxation, 161, column 1.

¹⁸⁷ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 20 and 47, 20-1 and 45-7. The first in 1139 concerned Foy to Gloucester Abbey: '*cum terris et decimis et omnibus pertinentiis*', and the second in 1144 concerned Hope Mansell, with a rather odd turn of phrase that 'neither tithes nor privileges nor anything pertaining to it are withheld.' Hope Mansell was among thirteen others: '*nichil omnino in eadem ecclesia neque in decimis neque in ceteris beneficiis ad ipsam pertinentibus sibi retinens.*' Both grants were confirmatory of earlier grants by lay individuals: Harald of Ewyas (Foy) and Guienoc and William fitz Baderon (Hope Mansell). Monmouth Priory was a daughter house of the abbey of St Florent, Saumur.

There are two final churches to consider: Aston Ingham and Walford.¹⁸⁸ Walford appears to have been a chapel of Ross-on-Wye until 1671, with its own dependent church in Ruardean.¹⁸⁹ Its entry in 1291 Taxation is that of a very valuable church, at £26 13s 4d which included a separate vicarage and a portion held by the church of Westbury-on-Severn, in neighbouring Gloucestershire by 1066. It became annexed to the precentorship of Hereford cathedral as a prebend.¹⁹⁰

There are grounds to suggest that all of the churches under consideration had been subject to an old minster at Ross-on-Wye. Many of the medieval parishes were Domesday manors which can be shown to have had some relationship with a *villa regalis* that probably had its centre at Linton, or somewhere nearby. Most were connected with royal grants that can be dated to the early to mid-eleventh century, at the latest. The post-Conquest grants to the religious houses of St Mary's, Cormeilles, and St Peter's, Gloucester, must have occurred shortly after 1066 as both of these abbeys were heavily endowed during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries by Norman overlords. These grants may have included small failing minsters, much in need of resource input, and the concurrent transfer of their spiritual income.¹⁹¹ If the situation at Wilton is at all typical—and whilst we have no evidence to suggest that it

¹⁸⁸ In toponymic terms, it is the 'east *tun*' within the land-unit which may have been centred from ancient times on *Ariconium*, identified with either Linton or Weston-under-Penyard. It is east of Weston and south-east of Linton.

¹⁸⁹ Harnden, *Registers*, 80; Youngs, *Guide*, 136.

¹⁹⁰ 1291 Taxation, 161, column 1. Denton's entry for Walford, with regard to Westbury-on-Severn, states that Westbury held £1 unregistered in the parochial chapel at Ruardean: '*precipit 1LB. Incensi in capella Ruardin P "C"*', which rather ambiguously seems to imply that Westbury had either a portion in Walford or a portion of another chapel which came within its jurisdiction. Denton's interpretation is the latter: consulted at <http://www.hironline/ac/uk>. There is no record in the *Acta* of a date when Walford became annexed to the precentorship of the cathedral. The bishop's registers record nothing until the fourteenth century. There are two relevant entries, one in 1304 which includes Walford in the list of military fees held by the bishop and the other in 1313 in respect of a chantry to be created at St Mary's, Ross-on-Wye. Bannister and Capes (eds), *Reg. Swinfield*, 405 and 478. Walford is referred to in the 1313 *inspeximus* as a *parochia*.

¹⁹¹ For the transfer of failing minsters to newly endowed or alien priories and monasteries, see the comments of Barrow, *Acta VII*, xxx.

was, likewise we have no reason to argue that it was not—then the grants made to those monasteries may, in the first instance, have included temporalities only, such that another local superior church could still claim the spiritual income.¹⁹²

The evidence for Ross-on-Wye’s status as an old minster turns on its geographic location, as well as that of the many local churches in the vicinity which were subject to it, in an area formerly part of the Welsh kingdom of Eryng. Figure 4.7 displays its likely extent.

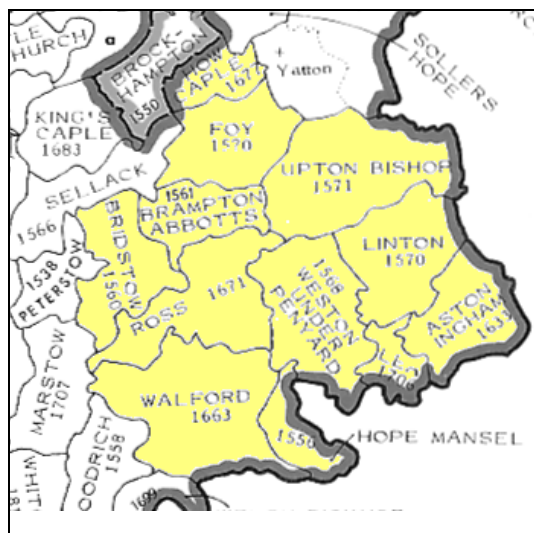


Figure 4.7 Ross-on-Wye: its likely *parochia* From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

4.7 Bodenham and the *Maund* district

At Bodenham, a very large medieval parish, there were two manors in 1086,¹⁹³ one held by Roger of Lacy and one by Osbern son of Richard. At Osbern’s manor there was a priest recorded among the ploughholders, a strong indication of the presence of a church. This appears to be the same church recorded as a possession of St Guthlac’s

¹⁹² But there was a subsequent attempt to secure that income as the twelfth-century confirmatory grants of the *Acta* reveal.

¹⁹³ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.9, (one hide two virgates), and 24.9, (one hide two virgates).

in 1148 and in 1161, and is identified as the mother-church for the townships of Maund, Rowberry and the Vern, all places within the parish, and Risbury, possibly in Pencombe or Humber.¹⁹⁴ Within the sources for Herefordshire, there are few other places where a mother-church is so clearly identified by reference to burial rights being granted. However, Leominster seems to have exercised some rights over it, at least by claim: Bodenham had been granted burial rights in 1137 by the bishop with the consent of the monks of Leominster, implying that Leominster had some historical relationship to it. These facts indicate a situation of some antiquity as well as a complex state of affairs.¹⁹⁵ Its 1291 value of £13 6s 8d and the number of portion-holders identified—no less than five—indicate that it was an old minster.¹⁹⁶ Given the complexity of the arrangements, Bodenham appears to have had very early origins. In addition, the Domesday manors of Maund, located within the parish, were

¹⁹⁴ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 22 and 61, at 23 and 54-5. Morey *et al* (eds), *Letters and Charters*, no. 290 at 353-4, places Risbury in Bodenham parish.

¹⁹⁵ As an example, the Vern, a small Domesday manor held by William son of Norman, *DB Herefordshire*, 16.4, had a chapel by 1154, as did Rowberry. Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 30 and 61, 29-30 and 54-5. Risbury was one of the places claimed for Leominster in 1123, and yet two 1148 grants gave its tithes to St Guthlac's and referred to Bodenham as Risbury's mother-church. (Kain and Oliver, *Historic Parishes*, have it placed in both Humber, OS Sheet 129—parish 99, and Pencombe, OS Sheet 142—parish 146.) It appears to have been a divided vill. The lord of Risbury later claimed a chapel in return for tithes being given to Leominster, possibly to put the matter beyond doubt or because the bishop was concerned with maintaining Leominster's security, Kemp, 'Leominster', 83-95 at 87 and nn. 38-41. In 1186 St Guthlac's continued to hold tithes: Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 11, 22, 61 and 204, at 12-13, 23, 54-5 and 149-51. According to Dugdale, *Monasticon*, III, 261, the church at Bodenham was gifted to Brecon Priory *c.* 1092. Furthermore the cartulary of Reading Abbey (the mother-house of Leominster) records a 1217 settlement with Brecon over disputed tithes; and Humber parish claimed that Risbury lay within it and not in Bodenham. Kemp, 'Leominster', 93, n. 9.

¹⁹⁶ 1291 Taxation, 158, column 2. Each of the following held portions: Kilpeck Priory, St Guthlac's, Leominster, the rector of Pudleston and the rector of Felton. St Guthlac's and Brecon continued to dispute tithes at Dudales Hope, as well as burial rights, which may account for St Guthlac's portion. It had held the manor, which was tax exempt, in 1086: *DB Herefordshire*, 6.5. The significance is that part of the holding was likely to have been used for ecclesiastical purposes to earn its exemption from tax, i.e. there is likely to have been a church. On the location of and the claimed burial rights see: Pearn, 'Origin and Development', 128 (quoting Balliol MS 271, f. 59). She locates the place as Hope-under-Dinsmore. However, Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 153, 106, quoting the same reference, locates it as Dudales Hope in Bodenham. *DB Herefordshire* is of little assistance here as the editors place the manor either at Hope-under-Dinsmore or at Lower Hope in Ullingswick. It was noted above that the editors of The Alecto Edition regard Miles Hope, held by Leominster, as within Hope-under-Dinsmore along with Hampton Mappenore and Hampton Court (Ricardi). According to Kemp, Leominster's portion represented the value of what was agreed in 1137 concerning a settlement of their rights of *scifcorn*. This was a form of tithe which Leominster claimed as an ancient right; in the agreement Brecon appeared to commute the right to a cash payment.

in an area believed by many to be the remnants of an ancient region whose name may be derived from Primitive Welsh.¹⁹⁷ The principal post-Conquest estate holders were Nigel the Doctor, whose two hides had been held by St Guthlac's before 1066, Roger of Lacy, whose three hides were held in two manors, and William Ecouis, whose one-hide manor had been claimed by St Guthlac's.¹⁹⁸ The *Acta* record claims of the tithes and the grant of the church of *Maghena* by and to St Guthlac's, as well as the grant of a cemetery there by Bodenham, as its mother-church.¹⁹⁹ There is no record of this church in 1291.

There are two adjacent manors of St Guthlac's in this same area: Felton and Hinton. At Felton the canons held a three-hide estate and at Hinton a one-hide manor.²⁰⁰

There is no mention of a church at either, but in 1148 the church at Felton was confirmed to St Guthlac's and in 1291 it was valued at £2 13s 4d.²⁰¹ It may be that both were within the *parochia* of Bodenham, given their respective geographic locations and the common estate-ownership: Felton lies due south of it and Hinton is within Felton parish. To the southeast of Felton is the medieval manor and parish of Ocle Pychard. Roger of Lacy held it in 1086. Rated at seven hides, it had been held across six manors in 1066 and two carucates belonged to St Peter's of Hereford by

¹⁹⁷In 1086 these were variously recorded as: 'Mage', 'Magne', 'Magge' and 'Magga'. For a full discussion of the etymology of the area, which appears to have given its name to the early Anglo-Saxon province, see Chapter Seven. The inhabitants of this district are *magonsaete* in 1016 according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* '... and the area *Magonsetum* and *Magesaetna* in Saxon charters.' *DB Herefordshire*, 7.5 note. S1798 is the source for a claim that five 'tributarii' of land at *Magana* were given to the nun Mildburg 675 x 690. Finberg, *Early Charters*, no. 404, 138. This grant is connected with a much larger one within the district of *Lydas*, believed to be Lyde within the medieval parish of Pipe, immediately to the south of Marden. For a discussion see the next case study.

¹⁹⁸*DB Herefordshire*, 7.5, 10.6, 10.8 and 14.2. Coplestone-Crow believes that the district comprised the modern parishes of Bodenham, Marden, Sutton, Felton, Preston Wynne and Withington. *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 13.

¹⁹⁹Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 22, 61 and 87, at 23, 54-5 and 64. It is not possible to identify the location of *Maghena* mentioned in these charters.

²⁰⁰*DB Herefordshire*, 6.6 and 6.3.

²⁰¹Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 87 and 155, at 64 and 107-9. St Guthlac's claimed a prebend at Felton according to 1291 Taxation, 160, column 1. Coplestone-Crow notes that 'Hinton' is 'a settlement of a monastic establishment', *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 85, i.e. presumably St Guthlac's.

gift of his father, Walter.²⁰² It is likely that there was a church here at the time of the Conquest. In 1148 one was confirmed to St Guthlac's²⁰³ and in 1291 it was valued at £5 with a vicarage of £4 13s 4d; its patron remained St Guthlac's.²⁰⁴ To its north is the manor of Ullingswick, about which there is little information. In 1086 it was held by the canons of Hereford and rated at six hides.²⁰⁵ There are no relevant ecclesiastical grants found within the *Acta*, but in 1291 it was valued at £5 6s 8d and a portion was held by Llantony.

South of Bodenham is the parish of Marden. The Domesday manor of the same name, another important *villa regalis*, lay in *Terra Regis* and had 'many hides... divided among many people'.²⁰⁶ The *Acta* record a church here in 1132²⁰⁷ as one of the possessions of St Guthlac's. The church appears to have been within Sutton, possibly the south *tun* within *Maghena*, the district which incorporated both Marden and Bodenham. Sutton is said to have been the location of Offa's royal residence and the murder of St Ethelbert.²⁰⁸ It was an island within Marden, and certainly part of it

²⁰² *DB Herefordshire*, 10.5. It may have been a former temporal possession of the Church of Worcester. The editors note: 'Hemming, in his list of former possessions of Worcester Church, records how Edmund Ironside, after dividing England with Cnut (in 1016), awarded Herefordshire to Earl Ranig. He and his soldiers seized from the Church... *Alcea*... It is not possible to decide what parts of the divided villages it had held.' *Ibid.*, note.

²⁰³ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 22 and 23, at 23-4. This grant included tithes and everything pertaining, noting that St Peter's and St Guthlac's had always been in possession of Ocle.

²⁰⁴ 1291 Taxation, 160, column 1.

²⁰⁵ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.18.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.4. It paid £9 of blanch pence before 1066. For blanch pence, which occur only on royal estates see: Harvey, 'Royal Revenue', 221-8.

²⁰⁷ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 55 and 87, at 50-1 and 64. St Guthlac's held the chapel at Wisteton, *ibid.*, no. 156.

²⁰⁸ *Contra* Blair, *Church*, 288, n. 194, who argued that it was the south *tun* in relation to Leominster. It is now contained in two parishes: Sutton St Michael and Sutton St Nicholas. We considered above, under the study of Hereford's churches, the relevant hagiographical sources for the Offa-Ethelbert saga. The one identified as the work of Osbert of Clare contains many references to the area, its topography and its early place names: M James, 'Two lives of St Ethelbert, king and martyr', *English Historical Review*, 32 (1917), 214-44, hereafter 'Two Lives', 218-19. Both Sutton parishes had been confirmed to St Guthlac's in the mid-twelfth century: Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 22, 87 and 204, at 23, 64 and 149-51. By 1185 Sutton St Michael was in the hands of the Knights Hospitallers of Dinmore but St Guthlac's still claimed a pension. *Ibid.*, no. 126, 85, n. The tithe map reveals the complexity of the area. In the Marden Tithe Map 1842, tithe award numbers 224, 445, 446 and 447 are within

at an earlier date. In 1291 Marden was valued at £10 with a vicarage that was *non valet* and it held churches in Amberley and Wisteton.²⁰⁹ Its patron by that date was Hereford Cathedral and it lay within the dean's peculiar jurisdiction.

The final parish in this part of the district is Withington with its lesser church of Preston Wynne. In 1086 the manor of Withington was a possession of the canons of Hereford and rated at eight hides.²¹⁰ Three of the clerks were ploughholders and their lands are separately rated, as are the lands held by the nuns of Hereford. It is most likely that, given the presence of the clerks, there was a church here before 1066.²¹¹ In 1291, by then annexed to the deanship of the cathedral, it was within the dean's peculiar jurisdiction and valued at £6 13s 4d.²¹² Within Withington lay the Domesday manor of Thinghill²¹³ held by St Guthlac's and Nigel the Doctor—more evidence of St Guthlac's pre-Conquest presence within the district.²¹⁴ These parishes have been considered as a group because there is considerable toponymic evidence, adduced by

Bodenham, with two strips adjacent to tithe award 460 at Venns Green, likewise in Bodenham. The area of the map around the outliers of Sutton St Michael parish is in a very poor state and difficult to decipher, but it appears that a large parcel lies to the north of tithe award 1098 and adjacent to tithe award 376. For Sutton St Nicholas there are no less than eight outliers within Marden: adjacent to tithe awards 932 (2), 947, 949, 950, 958, 880, 836 and a strip of land running along the line of the road leading to Felton. These arrangements reveal complicated earlier relationships. Shepherd has considered that the district may be contained in the later Thornlaw Hundred and that its *caput* was at Sutton Walls, an Iron Age fort. J Sheppard, *The origins and evolution of field and settlement patterns in the Herefordshire manor of Marden* (Occasional Papers, 15, Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, University of London, 1979).

²⁰⁹ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 156, 109-10. Youngs, *Guide*, 132.

²¹⁰ Youngs, *Guide*, 136. *DB Herefordshire*, 2.17.

²¹¹ In fact on place-name evidence the chapel at Preston Wynne may reveal the presence of a church as early as the eighth century, as Pickles has demonstrated. T Pickles, 'Biscopes-tun, muneca-tun and preosta-tun: dating, significance and distribution' in E Quinton (ed.), *The Church in English Place-Names*, English Place-Name Society Extra Series, 4 (Nottingham: University of Nottingham School of English, 2009), 39-107, hereafter '*Preosta-tun*', at 43 and 94, (Table 3) in particular.

²¹² 1291 Taxation, possibly as a duplicated entry: 158, column 1 (as *Wymgeton*) and column 2 (as *Wythinton*). The values are the same, and *Wymgeton* has not been identified by Denton at <http://www.hironline.ac.uk/taxatio>. However, later diocesan records reveal the existence of two places: Little Withington and Church Withington, with the former being a prebend.

²¹³ The 'assembly hill', which on toponymic grounds is likely to have been the middle Anglo-Saxon meeting place of the Maund/Bodenham land-unit.

²¹⁴ *DB Herefordshire*, 6.4 and 7.6. Nigel's *antecessor* was Spirites the priest. Pearn, 'Origin and Development', 117-18, has considered the significance of Spirites as a possible canon of St Guthlac's.

Gelling and others and illustrated in 4.8A, that their area was the discrete land-unit variously described in Domesday Book as *Mage*, *Magne*, *Magge* and *Magga* and later known as Maund, which name is believed to be the origin for peoples known as the *Magonsaete*.²¹⁵

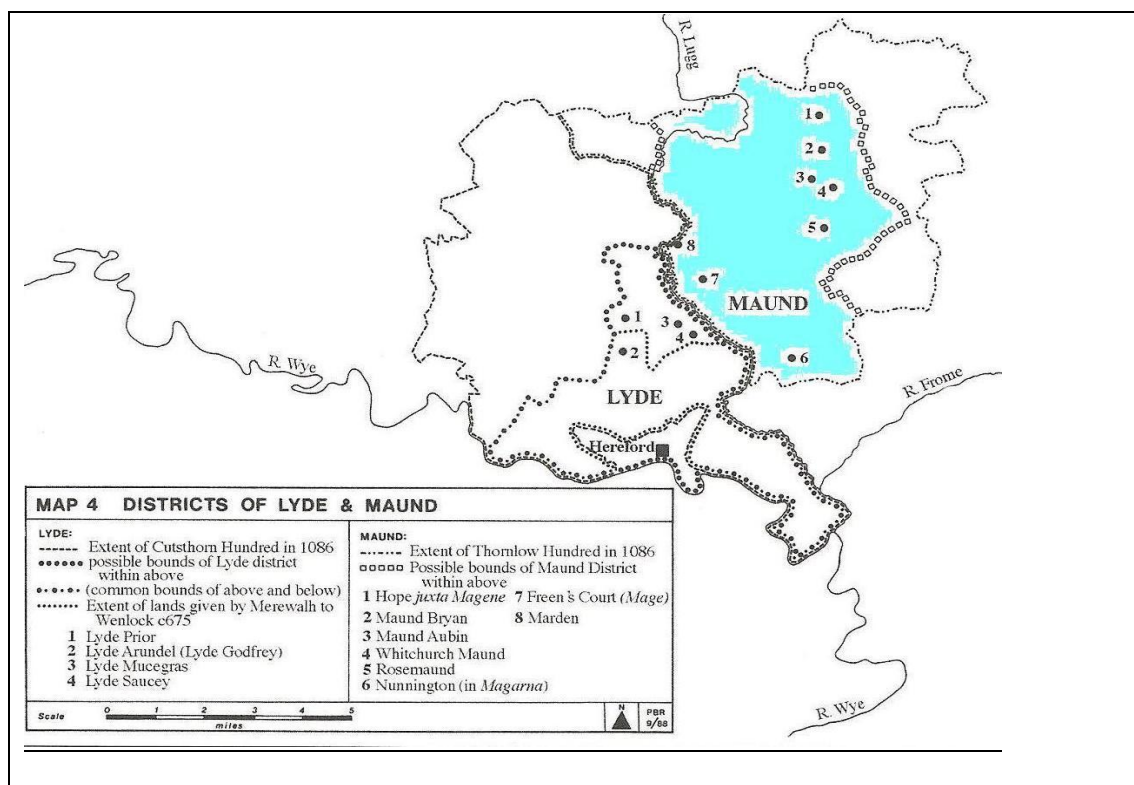


Figure 4.8A The District of Maund coloured blue, from Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, Map 4, with additions.

By whatever means this name became linked with the diocese of Hereford,²¹⁶ it is clear that the district that bore it included parishes grouped around Bodenham, identified in later records as a mother-church. It claimed ancient burial rights over

²¹⁵ Gelling was among the first to discuss the difficulty of identifying the etymology for the term. M Gelling, *Signposts to the Past: Place-Names and the History of England*, 3rd edition (Chichester: Phillimore, 1997), 101-5. Recently, Freeman has looked at the topic again and, in a comprehensive analysis of the historiography to date, put forward the possibility that the name may be based on a formation of British **magos* or 'plain' with a suffix *-on-*. Several historians had suggested that the meaning was derived from 'plain dwellers', including Ekwall who, Freeman claims, constructed a (false) etymology based on Welsh *maen*, and it was Jackson who argued that the name was not derived from the Romano-British settlement of Magnis (Kenchester), as Ifor Williams had argued: J Freeman, 'The name of the Magonsaete', in O Padel and D Parsons (eds), *A Commodity of Good Names: Essays in Honour of Margaret Gelling* (Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2008), 101-16.

²¹⁶ The first reference occurs in the ninth century. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 40 and notes 125 and 126.

areas within Leominster's *parochia*,²¹⁷ and many of the parishes within the district were subsequently claimed by the priory of St Guthlac's as having been within the control of its predecessor, the Anglo-Saxon minster. Although the canons of Hereford were the patrons of Marden by 1291 and had held Withington since before the Conquest, St Guthlac's appears to have had the greater influence in lands, churches and tithes.

The significance of this is that *Maghena* may well have been a large land-unit co-terminous with the *parochia* of an old minster, possibly Bodenham, which was held by St Guthlac's.²¹⁸ We have already discussed a similar position for Much Cowarne and Lugwardine, both of which seem to have been old minsters located on *villae regales* likely to have been the subject of substantial endowments from the Mercian royal family. It is again worth stressing that once Hereford's episcopal minster was designated and endowed, the political drive would have been to support a rival under royal control.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ It was at Broadfield; the full details of the arrangement, concluded around 1131, included the right of Leominster to continue to receive its *scificorn* and Peter's Pence with the men of Broadfield being buried in Bodenham. B Kemp, *Reading Abbey Cartularies*. Two volumes, Camden Miscellany, 31 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986), I, no. 326, 262-3, hereafter *Reading Cartularies*. See also: Kemp, 'Leominster' 86 and n. 26. He concluded that the arrangement gave Leominster its portion of 3s 4d in Bodenham which was recorded in 1291 Taxation. It was wrongly categorised there as 'tithes'. Kemp argues that Leominster may have been deprived of its interest in Bodenham at some earlier time, and this would imply that it may have been within the *parochia* in the distant past. One wonders if we are seeing a later arrangement which was set up at the time that the Anglo-Saxon episcopal minster was established at Hereford. This might explain how Leominster came to lose rights over parishes on its fringes, and why there appeared to be so much confusion about what had been lost.

²¹⁸ It is by no means clear when the parishes of Marden and Withington came within the dean's peculiar jurisdiction, but our view is that it was very much later than the period which we are considering here. It is also noteworthy that the two Sutton manors were never within that jurisdiction, notwithstanding their geographic location as one entirely surrounded by parishes which were.

²¹⁹ Discussed by Denton, 'Ancient Demesne Churches', 289-302. The policy of endowing churches on royal manors in order to diminish episcopal power appears to have been a common practice in Herefordshire. It is an additional indication of the antiquity of many of its early churches, particularly those within *villae regales*.

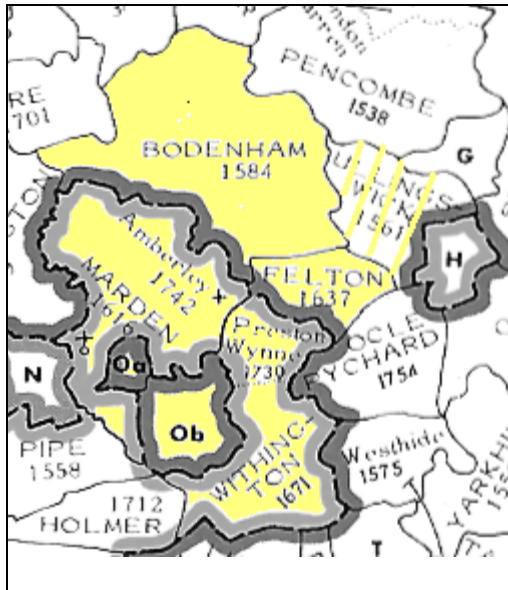


Figure 4.8B Bodenham and the *Maund* district—a possible *parochia* Ullingswick, in yellow hatch, has less secure toponymic connections to the district. From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

4.8 Burghill and the district of *Lydas*

Burghill was an eight-hide manor held in 1086 by Alfred of Marlborough, another former *villa regalis* within Hereford's hinterland. It had been held by Harold in 1066 and had the third penny of two hundreds, Stretford and Cutsthorpe, reckoned to it.²²⁰

There was a priest recorded among the ploughholders, and so it is likely that a church was on the manor before 1066.²²¹ The *Acta* record no grants, but the cartulary of

Brecon Priory contains an *inspeximus* which appears to confirm that Bernard

Neufmarche, at the time of his prominence as earl of Brecknock, granted Burghill to

it.²²² This would explain why a claim came to be settled *c.* 1148 between that house

²²⁰ *DB Herefordshire*, 19.2. The reckoning of the 'third penny' was a mark of an ancient royal manor. See: Cam, 'Hundred Manor', 77-8

²²¹ One among the network of royally endowed minsters on the royal *tun* estates in the vicinity of Hereford. See the discussion above regarding Much Cowarne, Lugwardine, Bodenham and Marden.

²²² It appears to have been similar to the grant made of Bodenham to that house, considered above, which may mean that it had been held previously by St Guthlac's.

and Llantony, which had also claimed the church.²²³ By 1291 its value was £13 6s 8d with a vicarage valued at £10.

North of Burghill was the medieval parish of Wellington. A five-hide manor in 1086 held by Hugh Donkey, it named a priest among the ploughholders and was likely to have had a church before 1066.²²⁴ The *Acta* confirmed the demesne tithes of Burghope within Wellington to St Guthlac's, and in 1291 Wellington is shown to have been the most valuable church in the area, at £16 13s 4d, with a vicarage of £4 6s 8d. Portions were held by St Guthlac's.²²⁵ On these facts Wellington appears to have been one within a network of churches serving manors arguably centred on the royal *tun*, Burghill.²²⁶

To the north of Burghill are the parishes of Canon Pyon and Moreton-on-Lugg; both were Domesday manors of the canons of Hereford. At Canon Pyon,²²⁷ three of the bishop's clerks were landholders and in 1291 it had a value of £10; Moreton-on-Lugg was not valued, possibly because its value was reckoned elsewhere as it was a peculiar jurisdiction of its own—the prebendary of Moreton-on-Lugg. The canons asserted rights of burial over both places, which indicates that both had been within St

²²³ For the extract of the Brecon cartulary see Dugdale, *Monasticon*, III, 264, *carta II*. There is some dispute about this date, but we know that Neufmarche was granting other churches at the time, notably Much Cowarne. According to Barrow, the dispute was on account of the church having been given twice over—once to Brecon in the eleventh century and again to Llantony in the twelfth. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 62, 55, and note.

²²⁴ *DB Herefordshire*, 29.11.

²²⁵ 1291 Taxation, 158, column 2.

²²⁶ However, there is no clue as to the identity of the district's old minster, if there was one, and no trace of a connection with Brecon, which held the church on the royal manor, can be detected.

²²⁷ This was part of a grant made by Wulviva and Godiva in the eleventh century and included Woolhope, Preston-on-Wye, Canon Pyon and Norton Canon. Canon Pyon was rated at twelve hides, of which four hides, two virgates were held by three clerks. See: Capes, *Charters and Records*, iii and *DB Herefordshire*, 2.13 note and 2.39.

Ethelbert's *parochia*.²²⁸ The adjacent five-hide manor of King's Pyon, in *Terra Regis* in 1066, was held by Roger of Lacy in 1086.²²⁹ St Mary's, Cormeilles, held one virgate and the tithes, and a priest was among the plough-holders. These facts imply the presence of a church then. By 1291 its value was £13 6s 8d with a pension of £2 payable to Newent Priory, a cell of St Mary's, Cormeilles.²³⁰ It is possible that its pre-Conquest ecclesiastical link had been with the cathedral, given the presence of the clerks as landholders on the adjacent estate at Canon Pyon, but in our view it is more likely that St Guthlac's had held the church.²³¹

To the west and south of Burghill lay Brinsop, Credenhill and Stretton Sugwas. Brinsop had been held by Harold before the Conquest, rated at five hides; in 1086 it was in the hands of Alfred of Marlborough, the tenant-in-chief of Burghill, and a priest was among the ploughholders.²³² This suggests that it had a church before 1066. It is not mentioned in the *Acta*, although the cartulary of Brecon Priory appears to suggest that at some point that house's benefactors made, or confirmed, a grant to it of portions of tithes at Brinsop.²³³ By 1291 its church was valued at £6 13s 4d, and

²²⁸ Capes, *Charters and Records*, 258-9.

²²⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.50. The Domesday vill was *Peune* and included an adjacent twelve-hide manor of Canon Pyon, given to the canons of the cathedral in the eleventh century. *Ibid.*, 2.39. Capes, *Charters and Records*, iii.

²³⁰ 1291 Taxation, 158, column 2. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, 1075-6 records a bull of Pope Alexander III confirming '... *In Pyonia totam decimam de domino et unam virgatam terrae...*' but no church is recorded. This is an extract from the record of a number of places, including many churches in the shire, usually failing minsters, which were gifted to the Abbey around the time of its earliest endowment by William fitzOsbern, in 1060. Given the Domesday record, it is most odd that no church is recorded in this gift.

²³¹ As noted above, the land-unit is likely to have been a combined one, and in the gift of Canon Pyon to the cathedral we may see another example of a royal demesne estate divided, as to its ecclesiastical provision, between the episcopal minster and one promoted and endowed to compete with it. St Mary's, Cormeilles, acquired many churches on manors that had been in *Terra Regis*, and may have inherited those which were within a network associated with the Anglo-Saxon minster of St Guthlac's.

²³² *DB Herefordshire*, 19.3.

²³³ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, III, 262. It is mentioned as *Bruneshope*. The benefactor was the descendant of Bernard de Neufmarche, Roger, earl of Hereford. It is to be noted that Brecon was also granted Burghill, as was Llantony. Walker lists one hundred and six charters in his extract but none appears to concern Brinsop, although many are confirmatory and the texts are printed in full. The editors of *Monasticon* provide further information from Theophilus Jones, *History of Brecknockshire. Volume 1*

portions were held by Llantony and Brecon, as well as the vicar of Burghill, clear evidence that it was Burghill's lesser church, as well as a possession of Brecon after 1086. This seems to suggest that Brinsop had been a member within the *villa regalis*.²³⁴

In 1086 Credenhill was held as two two-hide manors by the canons of Hereford and Hugh Donkey.²³⁵ There is no record of transactions in the *Acta* but in 1291 its church was valued at £6 13s 4d. Fourteenth-century records reveal the dean and chapter's assertion of burial rights in favour of St Ethelbert's.²³⁶ Stretton Sugwas, a five-hide unit, comprised three manors in 1086: Stretton, two hides two virgates, held by Roger of Lacy; Stretton, two virgates held by Hugh Donkey; and Sugwas held by the canons of Hereford and rated at two hides, which Harold had appropriated. The *Acta* are silent. In 1291 a church valued at £6 13s 4d was held by Llantony.²³⁷ It is difficult to explain how Llantony acquired Stretton Sugwas, but given the canons' involvement at Sugwas, it is possible that, like Credenhill, it originally lay within Hereford's original *parochia*.

To the east of Burghill is the medieval parish of Pipe which fell within the dean's peculiar jurisdiction. Within Pipe was the manor of Lyde, a place of some

(Brecknock: Davies, 1909), 63, noting that the churches, lands and tithes of Bodenham, Brinsop and the manor of Berrington were granted to Brecon Priory. No source for this information is quoted.

²³⁴ By the thirteenth century the Bishop of Hereford was patron: 1291 Taxation, 158, column 2. It is recorded as a chapel in this entry.

²³⁵ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.53 and 29.12.

²³⁶ However, it was not within the dean's peculiar jurisdiction: 1291 Taxation, 159, column 2. Capes records that, in 1385, a suit was taken by the dean and chapter against the rector of Credenhill for monies owing on account of their grant of a licence to inter in its cemetery. Capes, *Charters and Records*, 246.

²³⁷ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.24 and 29.13. 1291 Taxation, 159, column two. The patronage by Llantony was perhaps the result of a grant by the Lacy family. *Valor*, 31, likewise records Llantony's pension.

complexity.²³⁸ There is no record of a church at either place, but scholars believe that charter S1798 records a gift of a thirty-hide land-unit to the nun Mildburg.²³⁹ Given the doubts about its authenticity, there can be only speculation about Lyde's location; but if the district of *Lydas*, shown in Figure 4.9A, can be identified with it, it would give some grounds for arguing that an episcopal land-unit existed here from the seventh century whose members comprised the later medieval parishes surrounding Hereford itself.²⁴⁰ We will consider what little ecclesiastical information exists for each of the members below.

²³⁸Youngs, *Guide*, 133. *DB Herefordshire*, 2.43 and 2.44. The canons held one hide at Pipe and two at Lyde. Lyde appears to have been a five-hide unit. Roger of Lacy held two manors, rated at three hides in total, and Osbern son of Richard held a manor rated at two hides. *Ibid.*, 10.25, 10.26 and 24.11, although the editors query whether this holding of Osbern has been duplicated at 10.25 since Roger of Lacy holds this two-hide manor.

²³⁹This is the view of Finberg, *Early Charters*, 205, and is followed by Coplestone-Crow. It is not beyond doubt, however. Contained within S1798, the 'Testament of St Mildburg', and discussed in Chapter One, it included a grant of thirty '*manentes*' in the region known as *Lydas*. It is within the same grant of five *tributarii* of land at *Magana*, for which see the discussion of Bodenham and Marden section 4.7, pages 146-53, above. The other areas within the grant include ninety-seven hides located at Wenlock and twelve hides by the river Monnow. However, Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 91 and n.18, argues for an association with Ledbury or Lydbury North in Shropshire, on the grounds that it would give some evidence for the original location of the see. His argument assists in the context of identifying the extent of the early British divisions of the later shire, for which see Chapters Seven and Eight, but unnecessary in respect of an early location of the see. As discussed in Chapter Seven, we think that there are likely to have been many British bishoprics within the area, prior to the creation of the Anglo-Saxon diocese in the seventh century, as the predominant ecclesiastical structure would have been a British one. For a discussion of the characteristics of the early British church with its propensity for peripatetic bishops serving 'dioceses' the size of later Anglo-Saxon hundreds see Pryce, 'Medieval Wales', 41-62. Sources reveal a number of such locations, many at major British monastic centres, still possessing their own bishops in the eleventh century.

²⁴⁰Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 11, notes that the region of Lyde formed part of a large episcopal estate which included Hampton Bishop and Tupsley, Holmer and Shelwick, Pipe, Huntington and Warham (within the medieval parish of Breinton), all of which are mentioned in the Domesday survey, with a combined hidage of thirty hides and two virgates. This, he states, is sufficiently close in number to the amount of land given to Mildburg to indicate that it is the same location, and it may have been given to the canons of the cathedral community at the point when the diocese became located at Hereford. The adjacent unit centred on Burghill is of twenty-seven hides.

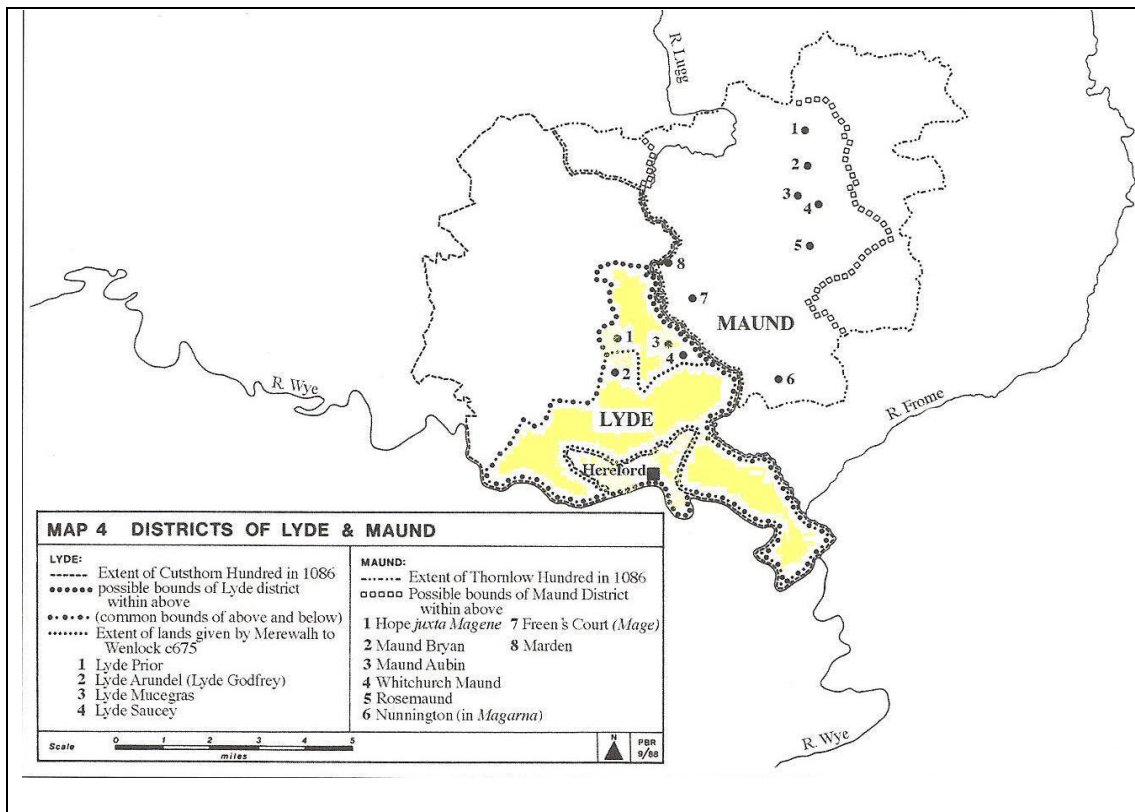


Figure 4.9A District of Lyde coloured yellow, from Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, Map 4, with additions.

The existence of a chapel at Lyde is recorded in the *Acta*,²⁴¹ as well as mention of a rector at Pipe in 1234 consenting to a later grant of its tithes by St Guthlac's.²⁴² By 1291 the only record is one for Pipe, valued at £6 13s 4d and held by the cathedral, with no mention of a chapel at Lyde.²⁴³ This is yet another indication of opacity in the relationships which appear to have existed between the cathedral minster and the minster of St Guthlac's.²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 125, 83-4. This is the record of a settled dispute between St Guthlac's and a priest, Osbern, about, *inter alia*, the chapel and tithes of Lyde. Osbern retained it on condition that St Guthlac's would hold the tithes of Upper Lyde, and that he would pay 3s to the 'mother-church' at Clifton-on-Teme. The relationship with Clifton is obscure; we have noted above that Clifton's position was ambiguous: it may have been one church within a royally endowed network of minsters managed by St Guthlac's, or it may have been within the *parochia* of Bromyard minster.

²⁴² Barrow, *Acta 35*, no. 16, 12. This is the first record of any connection between Lyde and Pipe, and consent would be needed only if Pipe had some proprietary interest in the tithes. By 1272 the cathedral at Hereford was granted possession of the church at Pipe. *Ibid.*, no. 141, 138-9.

²⁴³ 1291 Taxation, 158, column 1.

²⁴⁴ For example, Bromyard in connection with Avenbury and Clifton-on-Teme, and Bodenham in connection with Marden.

The churches of Breinton, Hampton Bishop and Holmer, with its chapel in Huntingdon, were all relatively small, at least by the standards of 1291 Taxation; within their respective medieval parishes lay Domesday manors of the canons of Hereford that were subsequently in the dean's peculiar jurisdiction.²⁴⁵ The manor of Warham, located in Breinton parish, was held as a prebend by the cathedral, with a £4 vicarage.²⁴⁶ Hampton Bishop had been a four-hide manor of the canons within which lay two townships: Litley, held by Durand of Gloucester, and Tupsley, held by the canons themselves.²⁴⁷ The *Acta* are silent, and the 1291 valuation of Hampton Bishop was £6 13s 4d.²⁴⁸ The church at Holmer and its chapelry in Huntingdon were held by the canons, along with a manor at Shelwick.²⁴⁹ Huntingdon was a ten-hide manor and one of the bishop's clerks had a large landholding there. There is no later record of a church either in the *Acta* or 1291 Taxation. However, Holmer appears to have had one, recorded as *non valet* and held by the canons.²⁵⁰ These two churches, of low value in terms of income from spiritualities, were within the burial monopoly claimed by the canons.²⁵¹ On these grounds they appear to have been within St Ethelbert's *parochia*.

In summary, we can speculate that the land-units centred on Burghill and granted at *Lydas* were mirror images of each other—one the royal *tun* with its twenty-seven hides, its five-hide manorial units at Wellington, Brinsop and Stretton Sugwas, and

²⁴⁵ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 11, considers that these manors were within one large episcopal estate within the district of Lyde, for which see below, 156-7.

²⁴⁶ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.38. 1291 Taxation, 158, column 2.

²⁴⁷ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.33: four hides; 2.34: one hide; and 22.8: one hide.

²⁴⁸ 1291 Taxation, 158, column 1. There seems, as usual, little evidence available for the estates which had been and continued to be held by the canons.

²⁴⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.35: five hides in all; 2.40: ten hides; and 2.41: one hide.

²⁵⁰ The cathedral was granted possession of it in 1271. 1291 Taxation, 158, column 2. Barrow, *Acta* 35, no. 141.

²⁵¹ A Bannister and W Capes (eds), *Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield, episcopi Herefordensis MCCLXXXIII-MCCCXVII* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 6, 1909), hereafter *Reg. Swinfield*, at 16-17, (Holmer) and 213-14 (Hampton Bishop).

some evidence of a network of churches located on its manors. The other comprised a royal endowment to the church, itself sufficient land to provide an Anglo-Saxon double monastery near the heartland district of *Maghena*, alleged to have given its name to the *Magonsaete*, the folk-group of the area. Much has been written about this.²⁵² Furthermore, Coplestone-Crow has offered the view that the lands in question were originally formed out of a Welsh multiple estate, suggesting that the peoples of the area were of British lineage.²⁵³ The theory that at the heart of the combined district of Burghill and *Lydas* lay a very early royal territory is tantalising, and we shall return to it in Chapters Five and Eight.

At this point we can argue with confidence that Burghill and its members were within St Guthlac's jurisdiction, and that the district of *Lydas* was in the hands of St Ethelbert's by early in the ninth century.²⁵⁴ In Chapter Three we discussed the likelihood that a seventh-century Anglo-Saxon minster foundation at Hereford was the predecessor of these two establishments, whose assets became divided between them when the see was fixed. It may be that an outline of part of its *parochia* can be discerned from their combined area, which is shown in Figure 4.9B.

²⁵² For example, Finberg, 'The Princes of the Magonsaete' in *idem*, *Early Charters*, 217-27; K Pretty, 'Defining the Magonsaete' in S Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1989), 171-83.

²⁵³ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 11.

²⁵⁴ The position of Credenhill is an unexplained anomaly, and there are the ecclesiastical tithes held by St Guthlac's at Lower Lyde, together with its connection to Clifton-on-Teme. This may simply be an example of manorial capture.

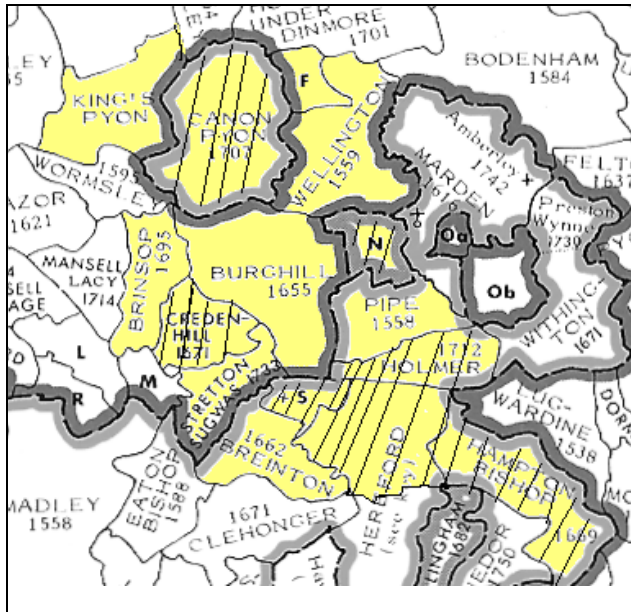


Figure 4.9B An early Hereford *parochia* north of the Wye: Burghill and the district of *Lydas*. The parishes in black hatch are those where St Ethelbert's claimed burial rights. From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

4.9 Summary

In this chapter we have considered the ecclesiastical geography of eastern and central Herefordshire so as to identify its old minsters and determine the extent of their *parochiae*. We found evidence to suggest that Ledbury, Much Cowarne, Bromyard, Ross-on-Wye, Lugwardine and Bodenham had been seventh- or eighth-century minster foundations with extensive jurisdictions. Each seemed to have held lesser churches and exercised authority over an area which later comprised a number of late medieval parishes. Those for whom the evidence was the most conclusive were Ledbury, Bromyard and Ross-on-Wye, where there were later ecclesiastical records that demonstrated a much earlier parochial hierarchy. The arguments for Much Cowarne and Bodenham were founded on toponymic and tenorial evidence with some circumstantial evidence from later sources. Lugwardine's case was the most contentious, and it remains unclear how it came to have had such an extensive parochial jurisdiction—one that included British churches which were unlikely to

have been confirmed to Hereford diocese before the twelfth century. We have put forward a view as to its origins.

We have found no evidence of an old minster within the information presented in the Burghill/*Lydas* case study; what was discovered, however, indicated that the area had been within the jurisdiction of Hereford's original Anglo-Saxon minster foundation. Its *parochia* appeared to be a land-unit which became divided, in terms of ecclesiastical responsibility, between the Anglo-Saxon minsters of St Ethelbert's and St Guthlac's. We had already concluded in Chapter Three that these two churches had inherited the assets of that church when its responsibilities were divided at the point that the see was established at Hereford. In addition, we had argued that Hereford's original minster foundation was the successor of a British church. We shall consider this further in Chapter Five and, at its conclusion, look at its implications for the organisation of Herefordshire's secular land-units to be analysed in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE LATE ANGLO-SAXON ECCLESIASTICAL GEOGRAPHY OF
NORTHERN AND WESTERN HEREFORDSHIRE AND ARCHENFIELD

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we finish our analysis of the shire's ecclesiastical geography, using the same methodology for the selection of geographic districts as noted in Chapter Four.¹ Beginning with the foundation which is believed to be its oldest, Leominster, we analyse the entire district over which, scholars argue, it had an extensive parochial jurisdiction—the district of *Lene*. We critique Kemp's 1988 study of Leominster's organisation and argue the case for its having had a much smaller *parochia*—one comparable in size to those considered in Chapter Four. Consideration is given to those churches which appear to have been old minsters within or adjacent to the *Lene* district: Eye, Pembridge and Leintwardine. We then turn to the area of the upper Wye Valley and look at the district of Mawfield/Madley followed by the Domesday vill of *Malveselle*, due west of Hereford—a vill which included the medieval parishes of Mansall Lacy, Mansall Gamage and Bishopstone. We conclude with the area south of the Wye: Clifford, Ewyas, Sellack and the western Archenfield parishes, an area which reveals vestiges of a sixth- and seventh-century British Church organisation. We summarise our conclusions with a depiction of Hereford's early ecclesiastical organisation, and a map of what we consider to have been the province's middle Anglo-Saxon parochial geography.

¹ Pages 101-2

5.2 Leominster

‘While the Domesday account of Leominster contains none but the faintest clues on the status of its church, the 12th-century evidence preserved in the Reading and Leominster cartularies *proves conclusively* (my italics) that it lay at the heart of an ancient and extensive *parochia*.’² Here, quoting his 1988 study of Leominster which considered the available

documentary evidence, Kemp alleges that we see a large *parochia* in its late medieval extent; he offers further suggestions as to areas which may have been within it at an earlier date.³ These conclusions have never been questioned or explored in the context of a comprehensive study of the shire. This fact makes a re-evaluation of Kemp’s analysis worthwhile, particularly in light of material which has already been presented in the preceding case studies.

Leominster is regarded by most scholars as the earliest Anglo-Saxon minster foundation in the shire, dated to the seventh century and earlier than the alleged foundation dates considered in Chapter Three for Hereford. There is no contemporary charter material and, as with other foundations in the shire, its history is embedded within hagiographical material regarded as having had a very early exemplar.⁴ Kemp provides this explanation:

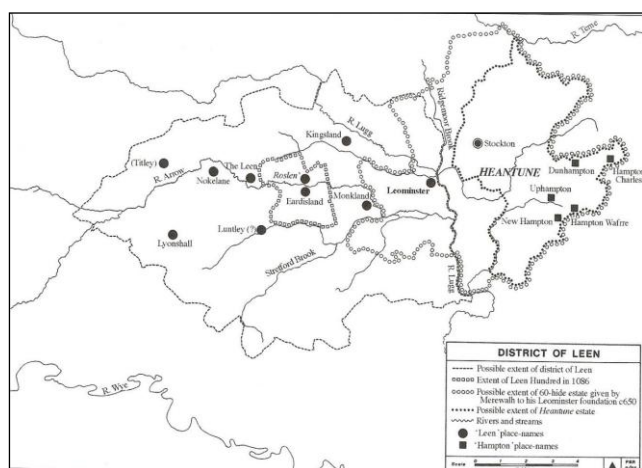
² B Kemp, ‘Some aspects of the *parochia* of Leominster in the 12th century’ in J Blair (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches: the Local Church in Transition, 950-1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), 83-95, hereafter ‘Leominster’, at 83. J Barrow (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta VII, Hereford 1079-1234* (Oxford: British Academy, 1993), xxvii, hereafter *Acta VII*, at no. 11, 12-13 and n. She refers to Leominster as ‘... a small ancient shire which had formed the church’s *parochia*.’

³ B Kemp, *Reading Abbey Cartularies*. Two volumes, Camden Miscellany, 31 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986), hereafter *Reading Cartularies*, I, no. 326, 287-8.

⁴ ‘Vita Sancti Mildburgae’ in BL Lansdowne MS 436. [Printed in C Horstmann (ed.), *Nova Legenda Anglie, as collected by John of Tynemouth, John Capgrave and others*. Two volumes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), II, 188-92, and supplemented by extracts, provided by Leland, which are printed in Sir William Dugdale (ed.), *Monasticon Anglicanum: a history of the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches with their Dependencies in England and Wales*. Six volumes (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1817-1830), hereafter *Monasticon*, IV, 55. This manuscript has been translated and commented upon by H P R Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1961), hereafter *Early Charters*, 197-216 and D Rollason, *The Mildrith Legend: A Study in Early Medieval Hagiography in England* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982).

‘... a monastery was founded at Leominster by a certain Merewald, whom (Leland) described as king of the Mercians and was regarded by Florence of Worcester as a brother of King Wulfhere of Mercia (657-674) and ruler of the western regions of the kingdom... The foundation may have been a nunnery, as Leland thought, but the appointment of a man, Eadfrid, as its first head makes this a little difficult. It was more likely a double house, with nuns living some sort of regular life and a college of secular or quasi-monastic clergy to minister to the nuns and to evangelize and serve the area... The first house was probably both a house of nuns and a missionary centre for the ancient district of *Leon*, whose spiritual needs were served by the priests who lived in the minster.’⁵

The significance of the district of *Leon/Lene* has been considered by Coplestone-Crow.⁶ Again relying on Leland,⁷ and based on his analysis of the distribution of ‘*leon/lene*’ place-names in the vicinity, he identified the area as delimited by the Lugg and Arrow rivers and the Pinsley Brook.⁸ Figure 5.1A indicates what he believed to be its extent.



5.1A The district of Leen Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, Map 3. Within this area, Domesday Book identifies an eighty-hide manor that had reverted to royal control by the mid-eleventh century.⁹

⁵ B Kemp, ‘The monastic dean of Leominster’ *English Historical Review*, 83 (July 1968), 505-15, hereafter ‘Monastic Dean’, at 506.

⁶ B Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 214 (1989), hereafter *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 6-9.

⁷ As quoted in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 55 ‘... was caullid in Welch Llanlienny’, or ‘district of the streams’.

⁸ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place Names*, 7. ‘In modern day terms the district would have embraced the (civil) parishes of Shobdon, Lucton, Kingsland, Eyton, Leominster, Newton, Hope-under-Dinsmore, Birley, King’s Pyon, Weobley, Sarnesfield, Dilwyn, Stretford, Monkland, Eardisland, Pembridge, Staunton-on-Arrow, Titley and Lyonshall.’ He further writes that a large section of the eastern portion of this district formed part of Merewalh’s endowment of the monastery. Leland noted that all that remained of Merewalh’s royal estate, out of which this endowment was carved, was the Domesday manor of Kingsland. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 55.

⁹ F Thorn and C Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book. Volume 17: Herefordshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), hereafter *DB Herefordshire*, 1.10 a-c; in addition further lands were recorded as having been within the control of the manor of Leominster before 1066: *ibid.*, 1.11-1.37, recorded as comprising an

The area that Kemp considered to have comprised Leominster's ancient *parochia* is greater than that within the alleged foundation charter but less than that of the district of *Lene*. Kemp argued that its early jurisdiction had diminished as a result of tenth-century manorialisation; nevertheless he felt able to map it from the evidence of an 1123 charter which granted Leominster to Reading Abbey. No one has disputed his findings, despite the fact that the charter's evidence was anecdotal and may have been elicited from those keen to ingratiate themselves with the new regime. He comments:

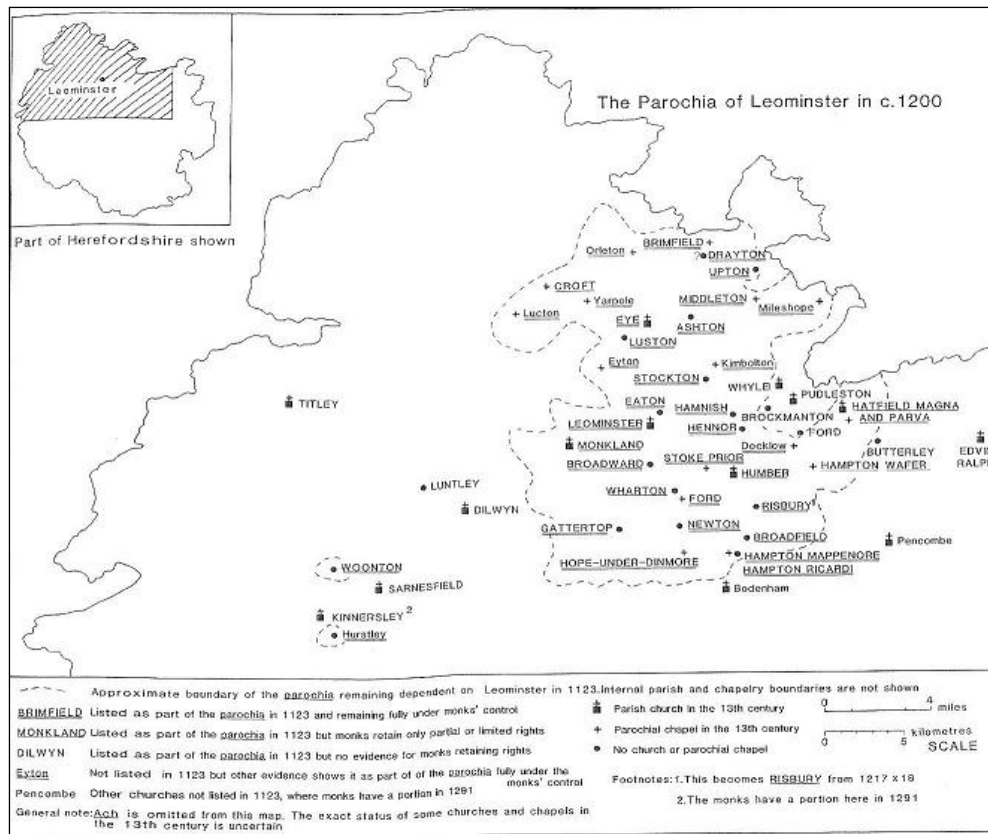
'This is clear from an important charter of 1123 by Richard de Capella, bishop of Hereford, conceding and confirming the church of Leominster to Reading Abbey and listing thirty-nine places which, according to old and reliable men, lay within its *parochia*... (These) form a broad... sweep of territory on all sides of Leominster, *but with a lesser concentration to the west than on the other three sides* (my italics). The most distant is Kinnersley, nearly 12 miles to the south-west... Some development had clearly taken place in the old *parochia*... (and) had been more extensive at an earlier date... and covered the whole of the complex manorial lordship of Leominster described in Domesday which itself probably represented the bulk of the Anglo-Saxon nunnery's possessions.'¹⁰

Kemp's figure 20 is at Figure 5.1B.¹¹

additional thirty-two hides. The manor had been confiscated by the crown following the abduction of its prioress by Earl Swein.

¹⁰ Kemp, 'Leominster', 83. This is speculation.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 85.



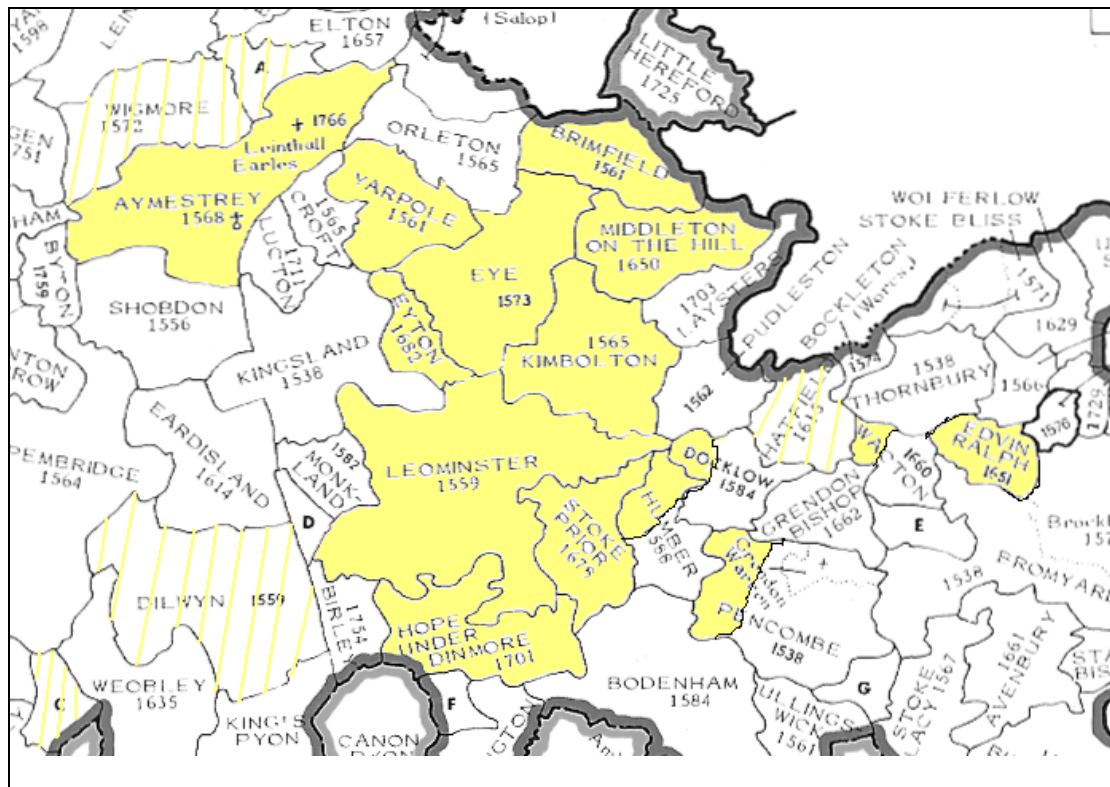
5. 1B Kemp's twelfth-century Leominster parochia Kemp, 'Leominster', 83.

It is difficult to compare these two maps as a starting point for this exercise. It is clear, however, that the district of *Lene* was more extensive and that the alleged *parochia* was itself larger than the Domesday estate. It has also been said that the area may represent the remnants of a small ancient shire.¹² In his recent study of Berkeley, another Reading Abbey possession, Michael Hare observes that '... the pattern revealed (in 1086) is of a late-eleventh-century date and it would be unwise to project its detail further back...'¹³ This may be true of Leominster as well; in this context the views of Lennard bear repeating: '... if the episcopal charter *can be trusted* (my italics)... it would appear that by 1123 the bounds of the old *parochia* were fading...and... some of (Leominster's) dependent villas could be regarded

¹² Barrow, *Acta VII*, xxvii-iii and no. 7, 7-8; M Gelling, *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), hereafter *West Midlands*, 200: 'Most modern historians would probably consider it likely to have been a pre-English entity, taken over by the Mercian-backed rulers of the Magonsaete in the mid-seventh century...'

¹³ M Hare, 'Anglo-Saxon Berkeley: history and topography', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 18 (2012), 119-56, at 129. An earlier study by Kemp was also made of the Berkeley *parochia*, another ancient minster acquired by Reading Abbey.

as separate parishes. How things stood in 1086 must remain doubtful... and it would be rash to take this as evidence of the survival of a collegiate foundation still fulfilling ancient functions.’¹⁴ Consequently, for the purposes of this study, we intend to work from the 1086 account, illustrated in Figure 5.1C, and build up a picture from the later evidence within the *Acta* and 1291 Taxation. This is the methodology adopted in the previous case studies, and we have already identified anomalies within some of them concerning Leominster’s claims.¹⁵ Others are likely to emerge.



5.1C Leominster —1086 members and pre-1066 members

The 1086 members are in solid yellow; the pre-1066 members are in yellow hatch. From C Humphrey-Smith, *The Phillimore Atlas and Index of Parish Registers* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1984), hereafter *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

Our first task is to locate the medieval parishes within the manor of Leominster so as to identify any relationships that might shed light on an earlier ecclesiastical

¹⁴ R V Lennard, *Rural England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), hereafter *Rural England*, 400-1.

¹⁵ For example, those of Bodenham and Bromyard.

organisation. Of these parishes the most striking in terms of value and appurtenances is Eye. Although originally referred to as a *capella* in the *Acta*, it was clearly a large minster in its own right. It had its own chapels in Brimfield, Eyton, Kimbolton, Lucton, Middleton-on-the-Hill and Orleton, and retained the power to grant consent for burials at Brimfield.¹⁶ Its value in 1291 was £45 6s, with a separate vicarage valued at £4 6s 8d. Wigmore Abbey held one portion.¹⁷ The rector of Eye held a portion of a chapel in Street, a township in Kingsland parish.

Surprisingly, there was no separate Domesday manor of Eye, although two members of Leominster, Luston and Ashton, have been located within the medieval parish.¹⁸ Of the Eye chapelries, Brimfield was in the manor of Leominster, three virgates being held by Ralph of Mortimer. Eyton was a one-hide berewick. Middleton was tenanted to Durand of Gloucester. Hammish, which lay in the medieval parish of Kimbolton, was held by Drogo as sub-tenant and was the subject of an agreement concerning a chapel of ease, c. 1150. Stockton likewise lay within Kimbolton and Miles Hope lay in Middleton-on-the-Hill. The manor of Upton in Brimfield was held by Roger of Mussegros. A four-hide manor at Orleton was held by Ralph Mortimer, and Queen Edith had held it before 1066. Added together with the small manor of Street, where there is a record of tithes held by St Guthlac's, the combined hidage is approximately

¹⁶ F Youngs, *A Guide to the Local Administrative Units of England. Volume 2: Northern England* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1991), hereafter *Guide*, 127. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P Nicholai IV circa AD 1291* (London: Record Commission, 1802), hereafter 1291 Taxation, 159, column 1. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 11, 12-13. In 1174 the Abbot of Reading, with the consent of the vicar of Eye and the monks of Leominster, confirmed that parishioners of Brimfield could be buried at that church so long as the wealthier ones continued to be buried at Eye, not at Leominster. *Ibid.*, nos. 137 and 138, 93-4. Such consent would have been required of a mother-church even if the latter was held by an abbey, such as Reading. Interestingly, none of Eyton, Kimbolton, Lucton and Orelton is listed in the 1123 charter, nor was any of them, with the exception of two manors in Kimbolton, within Leominster in 1086.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.10a

eleven.¹⁹ It seems clear, therefore, that Leominster's 1086 interests are purely tenurial and there is no evidence that it exercised ecclesiastical functions within any of them.

In addition, it is probable that the Domesday manors of Yarpole and Croft were within the *parochia* of Eye.²⁰ Both are medieval parishes, and Croft is among those manors mentioned in the *Acta* as being confirmed to Reading Abbey.²¹ In topographical terms they lie between Orleton and Lucton, places where Eye had chapels. To the southeast, Yarpole abuts Eye, and Croft abuts Kingsland where, as noted, Eye held a portion of the chapel at Street. It would seem, whether or not these manors had possessed chapels in the eleventh century, their ecclesiastical jurisdiction was probably with Eye.²²

However, despite its absence in the 1086 returns, not an unusual occurrence for churches held within royal demesne manors,²³ for the church of Eye to have acquired

¹⁹ It is not possible to assess the hidage for members such as Middleton, Hamnish, Stockton and Miles Hope as they are not separately rated. *Ibid.*, 1.10a, 1.20, 1.10c, 1.30, 1.31, 11.1, 9.19, 10.41. Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 22 and 204, at 23 and 149-51.

²⁰ B Kemp, 'Hereditary benefices in the medieval English Church: a Herefordshire example', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 43 (May 1970), 1-15, hereafter 'Hereditary Benefices', at 3 and n. 4. Yarpole was held from Reading Abbey by the lord of the manor of Eye in 1285, but nothing indicated the ecclesiastical dependence of either on Leominster, suggesting that there was little record of Leominster's exercise of spiritualities which it claimed to have at Eye.

²¹ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 11, 12-13. But it was not within Leominster manor, nor held by it in 1066. In respect of Orleton, Kemp, 'Leominster', 95, nn.91 and 94, notes that the vicar of Eye received 'the heriots of all corpses of Orleton that are buried in the cemetery of Eye'. This is surely indicative of the relationship of a mother-church.

²² Kemp seems to regard this organisation as a twelfth-century one, (Kemp, 'Hereditary Benefices', 4), but elsewhere suggests that Eye's parochial jurisdiction was extant 'at an early date', and probably long-established by the late twelfth century.' (Kemp, 'Leominster', 90-1). It was not until 1216 that Eye and its chapels had been appropriated to Reading. Kemp, *Reading Cartularies*, I, no. 333. There are conflicting diocesan visitation records for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: one includes Middleton, Orleton and Miles Hope and the other excludes Miles Hope but, in addition to the others, includes Lucton, Eyton, Brimfield, Kimbolton and Yarpole. *Ibid.*, 95, n.97. A Bannister (ed.), 'Visitation returns of the diocese of Hereford in 1397, part III', *English Historical Review*, 45 (January 1930), 92-101, at 100.

²³ It does occur at other places in the West Midlands, notably the large portion of the vill of Coventry which was held by Coventry Abbey: S Bassett, *Anglo-Saxon Coventry and Its Churches* (Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, no 41), 2001, 32. Eye may have been included within the entries for the manor's other members of Luston and Ashton, which have been located within Eye's later medieval

such size and value by 1291 suggests an earlier designation as a significant ecclesiastical centre. Although it is possible that a large influx of resources was made to Eye by its patron, Reading Abbey, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries this seems unlikely. There appeared no appetite for the further development of parochial chapels elsewhere within the diocese, and the area was hardly one of high population and consequent high demand for local investment. As we have seen, the focus by that time was on licensing manorial chapels, (re)developing Norman-style cathedrals and consolidating monastic resource endowment.²⁴ The evidence for Eye, far from confirming its position within Leominster's alleged ancient parochial jurisdiction, seems to indicate that it was a minster in its own right.²⁵ This presents us with a significant problem, given its proximity to Leominster, and it is one to which we shall return. We can only speculate about its history: Eye may have been founded during the tenth century at the same time as royal grants within the vicinity, or it may have links to the middle Anglo-Saxon period.²⁶ What this does indicate, however, is that there are good grounds for viewing the earlier work of Kemp, groundbreaking in many ways, as an incomplete view.

There are more anomalies to be considered here. To the south and east of Eye are the ecclesiastical parishes which, by 1291, had been formed out of Leominster's claimed

parish. It is also possible that it was not distinguished or distinguishable from the much larger area of which it formed a part: the composite manor of Leominster. Primarily, however, we are seeking an explanation for Eye's ecclesiastical prominence in the thirteenth century, and it will not be found in the Domesday folios.

²⁴ A task of Henry I appears to have been to recover the fortunes of houses which had been destroyed '... on account of their sins': '*Sciatis quia tres abbacie in regno Anglie peccatis exigentibus olim destructe sunt, Radingia scilicet atque Chealseia et Leoministria, quas manus laica diu possedit earumque terras et possessiones alienando distraxit.*' Kemp, *Reading Cartularies*, I, no. 1, 33-6.

²⁵ And its hereditary benefice, investigated by Kemp, provides more circumstantial evidence for that fact. On the other hand, it may have been a minster foundation of some other establishment, but its value seems to be far too great.

²⁶ For example, Staunton-on-Arrow was claimed by Kemp to have been within Leominster's *parochia* but was not in the manor either before or after 1066. It was the subject of a grant by King Edgar c. 958, S677.

parochia: Hope-under-Dinsmore, Stoke Prior, Humber, Docklow, Hatfield and Pudleston, all of which except Pudleston are recorded as chapels of Leominster by Youngs.²⁷ As a sub-set of the parishes claimed by Reading Abbey in 1123, this group reveals some interesting characteristics of what seem to have been a complex history. At Hope-under-Dinsmore²⁸ there were a number of manors formerly held by Leominster.²⁹ Gattertop, a one-hide manor of Roger of Lacy held of the king, was confirmed to Leominster and Reading Abbey in 1123, but in 1148 its demesne tithes were confirmed to St Guthlac's, possibly as a gift of the Lacy family.³⁰ Hampton (Mappenore) and Hampton Court were held by Drogo fitz Poynz and Roger of Lacy, respectively. Both are named within the 1123 charter, and at Hampton (Mappenore) the *Acta* record a cemetery consecrated at the request of the estate-owner by the abbot of Reading in 1148, with tithes confirmed to 'the mother-church of Leominster.'³¹

The final township, Newton, a one-hide manor in two portions, was held of the king

²⁷ Youngs, *Guide*, 131. They had been appropriated to Reading Abbey in 1216. Their separate parishes were created in the mid-eighteenth century. Hope-under-Dinsmore and Pudleston were not part of the manor of Leominster, nor had they been held by it in 1066, but some small estates and members of Leominster lay within them; for example, Brockmanton lay in Pudleston and the Hampton manors, with the exception of Hampton Wafer, lay in Hope-under-Dinsmore. Kemp, 'Leominster', 93, n. 5. Docklow was not in the charter, nor in the manor, but Kemp claims, *ibid.*, 83, that it fell within the *parochia*, perhaps because the manor of Hampton Wafer lay within it, providing more evidence that Kemp viewed tenurial and ecclesiastical interests as invariably unified in Leominster's case.

²⁸ Now identified in the 1086 Leominster record as 'Hope', a place which is no longer regarded as Miles Hope in Middleton-on-the-Hill. *DB Herefordshire*, 1.10a and The Alecto Edition. See Chapter Six, page 254, n. 100.

²⁹ The manors formerly held by Leominster had been subinfeudated by the survey date—possibly before the Conquest. (With regard to an alleged St Guthlac's holding, recent scholarship has located this manor at Dudales Hope in Bodenham. See Chapter Four, page 147, n. 196 and Six, page 283, n. 233.) The Reading Abbey cartulary's charter 359, dated to 1186, provided that *Hope* would be served by a chaplain of the vicar who held it along with his living in Leominster, the latter being identified as 'Leominster ad crucem and Hope'. This provides evidence that Hope-under-Dinsmore had been within Leominster's ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Kemp, *Reading Cartularies*, I, no. 359, 290-1.

³⁰ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.18; Barrow, *Acta VII*, no.11, 12-13 and, for St Guthlac's, no. 22, 23. A later *inspeximus*, dated to 1200, confirmed the content of no. 11 in favour of Leominster and Reading. *Ibid.*, no. 268, 205-6. At Hampton Court (Hampton Ricardi in the thirteenth century) a dispute over tithes between the lord of the manor and the abbot of Reading resulted in a settlement in favour of Leominster being enforced by the bishop. *Ibid.*, no. 269, 207. According to D Walker, 'The honours of the Earls of Hereford in the twelfth century', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 79 (1960), 174-211, hereafter 'Honours', at 184-5, St Guthlac's was given the demesne tithes of Gattertop by the Lacy family.

³¹ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.16 (two hides) and 1.29 (one hide). Barrow, *Acta VII* no. 11, 12- 13, and, regarding the cemetery, no. 97, 68-9. This may have been an addition to create some 'clarity'; both Hamptons lay in Hope-under-Dinsmore parish.

by William Ecouis and is mentioned in the 1123 charter.³² For all of these holdings the 1123 claim by Reading Abbey seems to have been effective in asserting ecclesiastical control. The same is true of the medieval parish of Stoke Prior. It lay within the manor of Leominster and was confirmed to Reading Abbey in 1123. Its chapel is noted in 1291 Taxation.³³

However, the neighbouring parish of Humber has a confused ecclesiastical history. It was held of the king by Roger of Lacy³⁴ and confirmed to Reading Abbey, and yet St Guthlac's appears to have had some interest in its tithes.³⁵ In 1148 the earl of Hereford granted its church to Brecon Priory, and two cemeteries had been consecrated by the bishop within Humber, one at Risbury and the other at Priddleton. Subsequent entries in the *Acta* reveal that St Guthlac's retained tithes.³⁶ In 1291 Humber's value was £5, and three portions were divided among St Guthlac's, Brecon

³² *DB Herefordshire*, 1.25. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no.11. Coplestone-Crow has described a district of *Heantune*, an estate 'at the high settlement' between Leominster and Bromyard, as being an area from which these manors were derived. Hampton Wafer, in the medieval parish of Docklow, may also be considered as part of this district. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 9.

³³ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.10 a; Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 11, 12-13; 1291 Taxation, 159, column 1. It was also appropriated by Reading in 1186 and chaplains were assigned it. Its tithe portions supported a curate here and at Docklow, for which see below. The Romano-British settlement of Blackwardine is located here. K Ray, 'Archaeology and the three early churches of Herefordshire' in Malpas *et al* (eds), *The Early Church in Herefordshire* (Leominster: Orphans Press, 2001), 99-148, hereafter *Early Church*, at 103 and map, indicative of early ecclesiastical significance for the area.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.10 c.

³⁵ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 11 and 22, 12-13 and 23. These may have been its desmesne tithes, according to Walker, 'Honours', 184-5, and a gift of the Lacy family similar to that at Gattertop.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, nos. 63, 96, 100 and 204, at 55, 68, 69-70 and 149-51. As with other places in the vicinity, St Guthlac's retention of tithes may be a good indicator that it had provided the 'cure of souls' in the area. Its grant by the Lacy family may have been designed to assist its provision. See also: D Walker (ed.), 'Charters of the earldom of Hereford 1095-1201', *Camden Miscellany*, 22 (London: Royal Historical Society), 1-75, hereafter 'Earldom', at 9 and 23. Gilbert Foliot's 1150 grant of cemetery rights at Priddleton in Humber in favour of Walter del Mans, who held the lordship, was on condition that only one body was buried there, with the remainder being buried at Leominster. Kemp reckons that this grant entailed a loss of tithes for Leominster since the settlement made to Leominster by del Mans included gifts of lands and rent; but it may not have done so and he does not consider the position of St Guthlac's. Kemp, 'Leominster', 86 and nn. 28-9. del Mans subsequently endowed Brecon with the church at Humber around 1155, which would seem unusual if it had been within the Leominster parochial nexus, but more understandable if it had been within St Guthlac's, a house which continued to suffer the vagaries of more powerful secular forces. At Risbury the cemetery may have been allowed subsequent to the permission granted to Nicholas of Maund to build a private chapel. Kemp, *Reading Cartularies*, I, no. 368, 298-9.

Priory and Leominster.³⁷ The cemetery consecrations may have been used by Leominster as a trade-off, possibly to reinforce claimed rights over spiritual income where the land in question was regarded as ‘in the land of the monks of Leominster’. In each case, however, they acquired further confirmatory support of their ‘ancient rights’.

Both Docklow³⁸ and Hatfield reveal complex arrangements, too. Within the former St Guthlac’s claimed tithes, and at the latter Great Malvern Priory, likewise a tithe-holder, secured a cemetery consecration. Within the latter a cemetery was consecrated in 1131 x 1148, on condition that Leominster continued to receive the majority of the burial income as mother-church.³⁹ Finally, Pudleston with its townships of Whyle and Brockmanton was also noted in the 1123 charter. In 1291 Whyle was *non valet* and Pudleston was valued at £5 6s 8d. But there appear to have been earlier ecclesiastical connections here, as well: the rector of Pudleston held a

³⁷ 1291 Taxation, 159, column 1. The portions were: £1 to Brecon, 10s to St Guthlac’s and a relatively paltry 3s to Leominster.

³⁸ Docklow is simply recorded as a chapel of Leominster in 1291, *ibid.* However, the manor of Hampton Wafer was located here and St Guthlac’s had a share of its tithes. *Ibid.* The area is considered to have been a district known as *Heantun*: Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place Names*, 9. The bishop granted cemetery rights *ad refugium*, similar to those granted for Risbury, above. Kemp, *Reading Cartularies*, I, no.346, 281-2. Docklow was appropriated in 1186 to Reading, its chaplain being annexed to Leominster. Kemp, ‘Leominster’, 90 and n. 72. The tithe map for Docklow reveals this complexity: there are detached parcels in Thornbury (Bromyard *parochia*) and Hatfield parishes; a reference is made to tithe provision at the Buckland Estate within it. They were divided into ‘great tithes’, ‘Leominster petty tithes’ and ‘Leominster “Oar” (or “Ear”?) small tithes’. Docklow Tithe Map, 1842. (These were used to support the unified curacy of Docklow and Stoke Prior, of which the vicar of Leominster was patron.)

³⁹ Hatfield was a five-hide member of Leominster held by Hugh Donkey and was subsequently confirmed to Reading Abbey. *DB Herefordshire*, 1.10c. There was a chapel at Hatfield by the late eleventh-century and part of its nave dates from that time: Kemp, ‘Leominster’, 85 and n. 18. According to its cartulary, Great Malvern had held the manor before 1127 and acquired the church then. The township of Fencote, held by the disgraced former abbess of Leominster, appears to be located here and is one of the places within the manor that was not claimed by Reading Abbey in 1123 as being within its parish. In 1291 its value was £3 15s 7d and its portions were held by Great Malvern Priory and Leominster: 1291 Taxation, 159, column 1. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 31, 30. Although Great Malvern held a portion which appeared to represent two-thirds of the value of the benefice, being its manorial interest, it did not appropriate Hatfield’s tithes. Leominster, however, continued to receive one-third until 1202 when a settlement was reached between Great Malvern and Leominster that diverted the tithe income to the rector in exchange for annual payment of one pound of wax. Kemp, ‘Leominster’, 85 and nn. 20-1.

portion of Bodenham and paid an annual pension to Humber.⁴⁰ In summary, then, we have noted certain oddities within the parishes of Hope-under-Dinsmore, Stoke Prior, Humber, Docklow, Hatfield and Pudleston. All lie in an area believed to have formed the district *Heantun*—a contiguous and interlocking block stretching from Bodenham to Hatfield⁴¹—which separated Leominster from Bromyard. With provision by a number of houses from Brecon to Leominster, and St Guthlac's to Great Malvern, *Heantun* may have been something of an ecclesiastical buffer zone, one which separated the *parochiae* of Leominster and Bromyard and which had been carved out of one or the other of them. It was certainly an area over which Leominster's control was more than a little haphazard and impermanent.⁴²

The remaining hamlets within Leominster manor that did not subsequently become parishes include Alac, Broadward, Brockmanton, Eaton, Ford, and Wharton. There is further information in the *Acta* concerning Broadward, which by the twelfth century appears to have been a bone of contention between Gloucester and Reading Abbeys, and Ford, which was finally appropriated to Leominster's church in 1234.⁴³ We have already noted the burial dispute at Broadfield where rights were claimed by

⁴⁰ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.14, 10.15 and 24.10. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 11, 12-13; 1291 Taxation, 158, column 2 and 159, column 1 and *Valor*, 39. Each of the following held portions: Kilpeck Priory, St Guthlac's, Leominster and the rector of Pudleston. As we have already seen, Stoke Prior and Docklow had a unified curacy.

⁴¹ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 9, records a district of thirty hides.

⁴² Pickles has observed something similar in Ryedale, North Yorkshire: T Pickles, *Power, Religious Patronage and Pastoral Care: Religious Communities, Mother Parishes and Local Churches in Ryedale, c. 650-c. 1250*, The Kirkdale Lecture, 2009 (York: Trustees of the Friends of St Gregory's Minster, Kirkdale, 2009), hereafter *Ryedale*, at 25-6. He has noted the overlapping jurisdiction of the parishes of Lastingham, Kirbymoorside, Kirby Misperton and Kirkdale, suggesting that the much larger territory of the *Laestingas*, and the original parish of Lastingham, had been divided subsequently into several.

⁴³ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.10c and 1.28. Barrow, *Acta VII* no. 11, 12-13; no. 73, 58-9, included the grant to Gloucester Abbey as an appurtenance of Kilpeck exchanged for Kingstone; no. 350, 281, included the licence to appropriate Ford. Kemp, 'Leominster', 90, n. 78, recounts that in 1130 the bishop tried to install his clerks at Ford, an action resisted by Reading. The involvement of the pope secured the position for Reading. Kemp, *Reading Cartularies*, I, no. 340, 277-8.

Leominster over an area in Bodenham parish.⁴⁴ Wharton was the subject of a tithe dispute in favour of a Cluniac priory in Thetford, which body had received the demesne tithes from its Domesday holder, despite the fact that Wharton had no chapel at the date of the gift's confirmation and is certain to have been within Leominster's parish.⁴⁵ Leominster's parochial jurisdiction and its relationship to Eye parish are shown in Figure 5.1D.

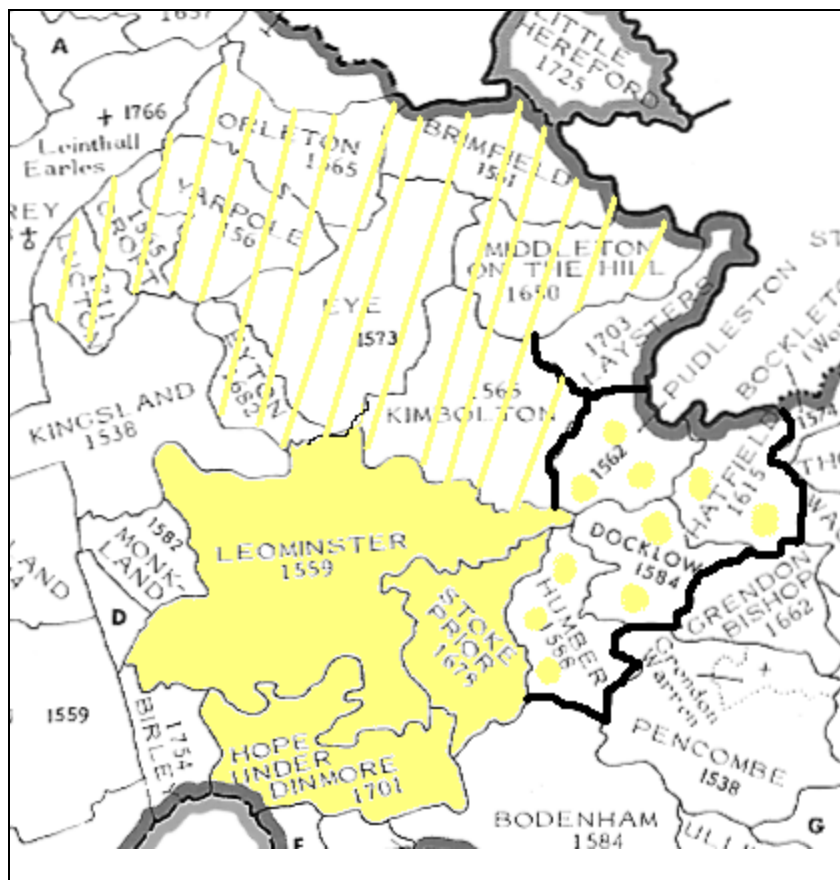


Figure 5.1D Leominster's internal *parochia* and Eye parish The parishes coloured yellow are within Leominster, those in yellow hatch are within Eye. Over parts of the parishes of Pudleston, Humber, Docklow and Hatfield, edged black and dotted yellow, Leominster exercised manorial control, and had some ecclesiastical jurisdiction along with other providers.⁴⁶ From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 326, 262-3, considered within the Bodenham case study.

⁴⁵ Kemp, 'Leominster', 85 and n. 24. (It is impossible to see from the primary source quoted that the tithe of 13s 4d concerning Letton [1291 Taxation, 159] actually accrued to the rector of Letton.)

⁴⁶ In particular, St Guthlac's, which held tithes in Humber and a portion at Hampton Wafer in Docklow. Laysters was a chapel of Tenbury Wells in Worcestershire.

We may conclude therefore that, for the area claimed by Reading Abbey in 1123, Leominster's subsequent history reveals anomalies, and issues of disputed control over revenue as well as spiritual rights. We saw, in the case of Eye, that there seemed to be some evidence that it may have been an early minster in its own right. (In fact, Kemp does allow for this interpretation but discounts it as too messy.)⁴⁷ In addition, the members and manors along Leominster's boundary in the areas to the south and east of the priory appear to have lain within some later medieval parishes where the Anglo-Saxon minster of St Guthlac's claimed tithes—places such as Gattertop and Humber, which had links to Pudleston. There was a dispute over burial rights at Bodenham. Therefore, an assertion that, in addition to its manorial expanse for which there is ample evidence in Domesday Book, there was a collateral parochial territory as vast as that claimed by Reading and argued for by Kemp seems, to us, to be too extreme. That is not to say that there may not have been 'a pre-English entity, taken over by the Mercian-backed rulers of the Magonsaete in the mid-seventh century', as Gelling has suggested.⁴⁸ However, in ecclesiastical terms it appears to us that this entity either had begun breaking down well before the tenth century, or, more probably, had been a different sort of beast altogether, one that had had a jurisdiction within its district akin to a small diocese. These are issues that will be explored subsequently.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ 'An alternative explanation might be that the land which became the manor of Eye was originally the landed endowment of the chapelry of Eye and that by the thirteenth century it had been separated from the spirituality of Eye and turned into the land of a lay fee... The possibility that the manor had been originally a dependency of the chapel of Eye clearly occurred to those who conducted the inquest of 1285... (as one of the jurors replied) that he did not know.' Kemp, 'Hereditary Benefices', 5-6 and n. 4.

⁴⁸ Gelling, *West Midlands*, 200.

⁴⁹ See Chapters Seven and Eight.

The next step is to consider the area that may have comprised a *Leon/Liene* district, as mapped by Coplestone-Crow,⁵⁰ together with the more distant places which fell outside of it, but were nevertheless held by Leominster.⁵¹ For this exercise we have excluded Aymestrey, Wigmore, Leinthall Earles and Leinthall Starkes. Although, with the exception of Wigmore, they had been counted within the 1086 manorial returns, surprisingly none was claimed in 1123. We intend to consider them when looking at the case for Leintwardine, below, and the other manors within the honour of Wigmore.⁵²

In consequence, fifteen parishes will be considered. Two, Almeley with its hamlet of Woonton, and Kinnersley, lay outside the district of *Lene* but were claimed in 1123. It is not entirely clear whether the Woonton claimed by Reading is located here or in the medieval parish of Laysters. However, both it and Kinnersley have been considered by Kemp as being within the *parochia*, having become detached from Leominster earlier. The remaining places include some claimed in 1123,⁵³ and others within the *Lene* district according to Coplestone-Crow.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ This map is set out above. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no.11, 12-13, believes the existence of this ‘small shire’ to have been likely.

⁵¹ These include Kinnersley, Titley and Woonton. Kemp did not consider in detail a case for manorial capture by Leominster for although he noted that Kinnersley had not been in the manor of Leominster nor held by it in 1066. Kemp, ‘Leominster’, 93, n.5. Of these, only Titley lay within the district of *Lene*.

⁵² *DB Herefordshire*, 9; F Thorn and C Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book. Volume 25: Shropshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1986), hereafter *DB Shropshire*, 6. Ralph of Mortimer held extensive lands in Shropshire and Herefordshire which became the barony of Wigmore. Many of his estates had been held by Queen Edith, who had also held Leominster.

⁵³ Dilwyn, Monkland and Sarnesfield.

⁵⁴ Birley, Eardisland, Lyonshall, Kingsland, Pembridge, Shobdon, Staunton-on-Arrow, Titley and Weobley.

Group 1 Almeley, Kinnersley, Letton and Sarnesfield

Almeley was a four-hide manor of St Guthlac's held by Roger of Lacy in 1086;⁵⁵ within it was Woonton with its two manors, one in *Terra Regis* and the other a Lacy holding. The entry indicates that the former had been included within Leominster's revenue in error.⁵⁶ The *Acta* record 'Woonton' within the extent of the claimed *parochia*; however, it is by no means certain that the reference is to this 'Woonton' but, for the sake of argument, we are assuming that it is.⁵⁷ Kemp has recorded no more than the information from the 1123 charter, not evidence that, even if correctly located, Leominster's *parochia* included it. Later evidence for Almeley reveals a well-developed thirteenth-century ecclesiastical provision which, in 1291, was valued at £16 13s 4d with a pension due to Great Malvern Priory.⁵⁸ Adjacent to Almeley are the medieval parishes of Kinnersley and Sarnesfield, both mentioned in the 1123 charter.⁵⁹ The church of Kinnersley was another high-value one, at £13 6s 8d, and, in addition to a portion held by Leominster, the rector at Almeley had a small pension.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ *DB Herefordshire*, 6.8 and note. There is an additional hamlet associated with this entry, rated at one hide, identified by Thorn and Coplestone-Crow as 'Upcott', which, if correct, would make this manor a five-hide unit. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 26.

⁵⁶ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.70. Roger of Lacy had a further hide here: *ibid.*, 10.45. We query whether this place has been correctly identified in later records. There is another Woonton in Laysters, also held by Roger of Lacy.

⁵⁷ Kemp, Coplestone-Crow and Barrow have located it in Almeley. It has not been possible to trace further their sources for it. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no.11, 12-13. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 26. Kemp, 'Leominster', map, 85. The Domesday spelling, for Almeley, is *Wennetune*, (1.70 and 10.45) and that for Laysters, is *Wenetone*, (10.12). The later twelfth-century spellings for Woonton in Almeley are: *Wenetun*, *Wenetona* and *Wennet (una)*, and for Woonton in Laysters: *Wennetone* and *Winestona*. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 26 and 118, indicates that both may be derived from 'pasture settlement' or 'Wynna's settlement', showing a potential for some ambiguity.

⁵⁸ 1291 Taxation, 159, column 2.

⁵⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.17, 1.21 and 9.15. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no.11, 12-13. Sarnesfield had been within the manor in 1086, and two manors were held of the king by Ralph of Mortimer and Roger of Lacy; Kinnersley was also held by Ralph but had been held by thegns before the Conquest. Both look to have been outliers, perhaps by virtue of earlier manorial capture.

⁶⁰ Kinnersley was a one-hide manor of Ralph Mortimer: *DB Herefordshire*, 9.15; there was a further settlement, valued at two hides, at Ailey which was held by Gilbert son of Thorold, *ibid.*, 25.9. Kemp noted that at Kinnersley the monks continued to hold a portion of 6s which he believed to represent a sum payable in respect of the settlement reached for the chapel and tithes at *Ewda*, a lost place, when it was renounced by its priest and '... returned to the church of whose territory it is known to be'. (...*de cuius territorio dinoscitur esse*...). This may be evidence that Leominster's link had been manorial rather than ecclesiastical, with the term 'territory', according to W Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm*:

This appears to indicate much earlier connections between Almeley and Kinnersley. In 1148 the abbot of Reading sought proof of Leominster's hold over Sarnesfield, but to little avail.⁶¹ The final manor is Letton, south of Kinnersley. It was held by Roger of Lacy in 1086, valued at three hides, and a priest is recorded with the 'settlers' having a plough among them, which may indicate the presence of a church or some missionary activity as an outpost of Kinnersley.⁶² It had a value of £6 13s 4d in 1291.⁶³

The area above comprises fifteen hides. There is evidence within Domesday Book of Leominster's pre-1066 manorial links at Sarnesfield, and the Kinnersley connection could have been as a result of an historic tenure. There remains the question of Woonton's correct location. However, at Almeley the collegiate church of St Guthlac's had held a large manor. Pearn's view is that, although there is clear evidence of a church at Almeley,⁶⁴ no positive statement can be made about St Guthlac's role within the area. It appears to have lost the manor in the eleventh century to Roger of Lacy, in any case.⁶⁵ While we agree that proof is unavailable, its absence cannot be taken to imply that Leominster had been providing pastoral care in the area simply on account of the evidence contained in Kemp's account of the 1123

Studies in the Llandaff Charters (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), hereafter *Welsh Microcosm*, 42, describing extensive estate-land appurtenant to a church, which Leominster had lost by the twelfth century. Z Brooke, A Morey and C N L Brooke (eds), *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), hereafter, *Letters and Charters*, no. 341, 391, and Kemp, 'Leominster', 93, n. 6 and figure 20. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 99, 69.

⁶¹ Morey *et al* (eds), *Letters and Charters*, no. 119, 159. The abbot required the estate owner to swear that neither he nor any of his predecessors had ever paid pensions to Leominster, which implies that no ecclesiastical link could be demonstrated following Sarnesfield's manorial alienation.

⁶² *DB Herefordshire*, 10.47.

⁶³ 1291 Taxation, 159, column 2.

⁶⁴ And we have noted its link to Kinnersley, above.

⁶⁵ A Pearn, 'Origin and Development of Urban Churches and Parishes: a Comparative Study of Hereford, Shrewsbury and Chester' (University of Cambridge, unpublished PhD thesis, 1988), hereafter 'Origin and Development', 128.

charter. We shall discuss these implications further at the conclusion of the case study.

Group 2 Lyonshall, Pembridge, Staunton-on-Arrow and Titley

The church of Lyonshall was valued at £8 with a separate vicarage that was *non valet* together with a small portion held by Malvern Priory, which clearly indicates that Malvern had held a stake in it, as it had in the adjacent parish of Almeley.⁶⁶ The *Acta* record a grant of this church around 1228 to St Leonard's Priory, Pyon, but the extent of that grant is unclear.⁶⁷ Due north of Lyonshall is Titley. A six-hide manor in 1086,⁶⁸ it was claimed as being within the *parochia* in 1123, although Kemp notes its having become detached prior to that date. In 1291 it was valued at £5 and the patron was Titley Priory.⁶⁹ However, Coplestone-Crow speculates as to its earlier connections on the basis of the bounds of S677, a charter which mentions '*lionhina gaemeres*', and Staunton-on-Arrow's boundary with Titley as one bordering 'the community of Leen.'⁷⁰ A religious community had existed at Titley and, according to Finberg, had been attached to Leominster from its early days.⁷¹ It may have had

⁶⁶ 1291 Taxation, 159, column 2. It is not clear what the portion represented.

⁶⁷ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 361, 290-1. An inspeximus of a charter of Stephen of Evreux, taken from Wormsley cartulary: '*...totam ecclesiam de Leonhals, totum scilicet quantum ad me pertinet...*'. The Domesday manor of Lyonshall was held by Roger of Lacy and was rated at five hides. *DB Herefordshire*, 10.44; Thorkell had held it of Harold.

⁶⁸ *DB Herefordshire*, 24.3 and 24.6, held by Osbern son of Richard.

⁶⁹ 1291 Taxation, 159, column 2. Titley had not been in the manor of Leominster nor held by it before 1066. Kemp, 'Leominster', 93, n. 5. However, Reading claimed an annual payment due to it from its chapel but nothing appeared due to Leominster at the time of 1291 Taxation. A chapel was in existence by 1147 and held by Tiron Abbey. *Ibid.*, 93, n. 6.

⁷⁰ Finberg, *Early Charters*, no. 418, 141-2. Finberg believed that at the date of issue of S677, (AD 953), Titley and Lyonshall already formed large independent estates. If so, this was a fifteen-hide unit: Titley, 6; Lyonshall, 5 and (hamlets within it) Hopley's Green, 2 and *Wluetone*, 2. *DB Herefordshire*, 10.44, 29.7.

⁷¹ Finberg, *Early Charters*, no. 418, 141-2.

Welsh origins, which would indicate a much earlier foundation for it, given Titley's location east of Offa's Dyke.⁷²

Harold had confiscated the valuable eleven-hide manor of Pembridge from St Guthlac's. There is very little information about its ecclesiastical organisation: in 1291 the church was valued at a hefty £26 13s 4d, with no indication of its benefice structure, although an early association with St Guthlac's would tend to favour its having been an old minster controlled by the canons.⁷³ There appears to have been a link between it and the church at Staunton-on-Arrow, whose patron was Wigmore Abbey in 1291, because a small pension was payable to the rector of Pembridge, indicating its role as lesser church,⁷⁴ and within it the manor of Wapley had been held by Leominster.⁷⁵ Although within the district of *Lene*, there is no particular evidence of an ecclesiastical role for Leominster at any of the manors within this group, a thirty-hide unit.

⁷² It became the property of the Order of Tiron, France, in 1120. Coplestone-Crow writes: 'There is some evidence that a Welsh community existed at Titley... according to documents belonging to... the former priory church... (which indicates)... that the church had a separate chapel dedicated to the "Blessed Tylliard". This name would seem to be a very corrupt version of Tysilio, the chief saint of the kingdom of Powys...'. An early church here may have been within Powys from its foundation date and later absorbed by the more powerful house at Leominster. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 190.

⁷³ *DB Herefordshire*, 19.8. The manors of Marston (3 hides) and Milton (2 hides) have been mapped within it.

⁷⁴ Staunton-on-Arrow with Wapley, a manor in Leominster before 1066. *Ibid.*, 24.8 and 1.12; it had a combined hidage of eight. There is no church recorded at Wapley.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.12. Osbern son of Richard had held it before 1066, but it is within the manors identified as having been held by Leominster.

Group 3 Kingsland, Eardisland, Monkland, Stretford, Shobdon, Dilwyn and Weobley

The first three manors are each referred to as '*Lene/Liene*' in their respective Domesday Book entries. Two, Kingsland and Eardisland, were large manors in *Terra Regis* in 1066; Eardisland appears to have been a hundredal manor, which had at least two churches.⁷⁶ St Mary's, Cormeilles, held these, together with the tithes and priests, arguably another gift by William fitz Osbern.⁷⁷ However, the *Acta* record Eardisland in the possession of Lyre Abbey by 1147, and Cormeilles was still in possession of Kingsland with a grant to appropriate it.⁷⁸ A small chapel at Street, within Kingsland parish (and Leominster manor before 1066), was held by St Guthlac's, and in 1291 the rector of Eye held a portion.⁷⁹ Kingsland itself was valued at £20, with two portions, one held by Newent Priory and the other by St Guthlac's.⁸⁰ Eardisland was valued at £16 13s 4d with a £5 vicarage.

As with previous examples of large royal demesne manors in the shire, it is not surprising to find traces of St Guthlac's at *Lene*. However, it is unclear which Anglo-Saxon foundation lost out to St Mary's, Cormeilles, at Eardisland. It may have been Leominster, given its local dominance.⁸¹ The adjacent manor of Monkland, rated at

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.5 and 1.6. Both were rated at fifteen hides. Coplestone-Crow identifies each, in toponymic terms, as a separate estate designated within the district of *Lene* and formed around the mid-tenth century at the time of the break up into manorial units, one King's '*Lene*' and the other Earl's '*Lene*.' Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 76 and 113. Kemp argued for Kingsland's being the manor retained in royal hands at that time. Kemp, 'Monastic Dean', 506-7. At Kingsland it is possible that a subsequent endowment was made in favour of St Guthlac's, which house more often than not appeared on royal demesne manors. If this is the case then it would imply a tenth-century loss by Leominster of its ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

⁷⁷ Although it is not listed as such in the bull of Pope Alexander: Dugdale, *Monasticon* VI, 1075-6.

⁷⁸ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 34, 32-3, and 188, 136-8.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 204, 149-51. *DB Herefordshire*, 10.41. 1291 Taxation, 159, column 1. The portion was valued at 2s.

⁸⁰ 1291 Taxation, 159, column 1. The entry: '*Porcio Monachorum Hereford apud Strete*' (at Street) is a mystery. The value of the portion is 4s 4d and it is not listed within the entry for the chapel of Street.

⁸¹ But this may have occurred at an intervening stage, in the late Anglo-Saxon period, and as the result of a transfer of provision to a house with royal patronage, like St Guthlac's.

five hides,⁸² had not been held within Leominster but was claimed in 1123. By 1137 a tithe settlement provided for payment of one-third of the demesne tithes to it as ‘the superior parish church’.⁸³ This seems evidence that Leominster had been providing pastoral care at Monkland, and may have held its church prior to the grant by Tosny to Conches Abbey.

Shobdon and Stretford were Domesday manors,⁸⁴ but there is no indication of a church at either before 1140.⁸⁵ Their respective 1291 values were £8 with a separate vicarage and £4 6s 8d.⁸⁶ For Shobdon, its later relationship with Wigmore seems to imply that it belonged within the Mortimer marcher lordship.⁸⁷ The fact that Stretford is entirely surrounded by parishes with links to Leominster may indicate that it was within its ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but, if so, it had long since lost any rights over it.⁸⁸

In 1291 the church at Dilwyn was valued at £20 with a separate £6 13s 4d vicarage.

Its patron was Wormsley Priory, but it had been confirmed in 1123 as a possession of

⁸² *DB Herefordshire*, 8.2. It was the ‘part of *Lene* belonging to the monks.’ It was held by Ralph of Tosny and Conches Abbey held it from him.

⁸³ The settlement at Monkland was stated to have been made in recognition of ancient rights: Kemp, ‘Leominster’, 84 n. 14. J H Round, *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France. Volume I* (London: HMSO, 1899), hereafter *Calendar*, 138-9.

⁸⁴ *DB Herefordshire*, 9.10 (Shobdon, four hides and a one-hamlet of Ledicot), 19.9, (Stretford). By 1291 Shobdon’s church of St John the Evangelist was held by Wigmore Abbey, for which see the next section.

⁸⁵ According to Denton, Shobdon had one by 1140: <http://www.hironline/ac/uk> accessed September 2011.

⁸⁶ 1291 Taxation, 159, column 1.

⁸⁷ Barrow, *Acta VII* no. 36, 34-5, observes that the canons of Shobdon had been driven out by Hugh de Mortimer and had sought refuge at Llantonny *Prima*.

⁸⁸ A thirteenth-century record of disputed burial rights was settled by representatives of Canterbury. See: K Morgan, ‘An Edition of the Cartulary of Leominster Priory up to the Mid-Thirteenth Century’ (University of Wales, unpublished MA thesis, 1972), 73, n. 103. The adjudicators were the Prior of Hereford (St Guthlac’s) and a layman. The dispute concerned the burial of a Monkland parishioner in Stretford’s cemetery, but the record provides no evidence as to Stretford’s ecclesiastical origins.

Reading Abbey within the *parochia* of Leominster.⁸⁹ A church of this value is likely to have been a small minster and the *Acta* record three other churches at manors within the modern parish—Chadnor, Luntley and Newton, but none are found in 1291 Taxation. The first is confirmed as a possession of Conches Abbey,⁹⁰ and the other two are within the Leominster record of 1123. Domesday Book records seven manors within the medieval parish—in addition to the three above there are Alton, Swanstone and two at Dilwyn.⁹¹ As a small minster, Dilwyn is likely to have had lesser churches at Chadnor, Luntley and Newton within its jurisdiction. Finally, the parish of Weobley appears to have had a church before 1066. Domesday Book records a priest among the plough-holders and the church of St Peter's in Hereford had a villager.⁹² In 1148 the *Acta* record that the priory of St Guthlac's held its tithes, a not uncommon situation on Lacy manors and probably a hangover of the pre-1066 arrangements. In 1291 Weobley was valued at £12 with a £5 vicarage, and its patron was Llantony Prima, another foundation of the Lacy family.⁹³

The ecclesiastical relationships within this fifteen-hide unit are varied.⁹⁴ The churches belonged to many houses: Wormsley, Conches Abbey and St Peter's, Hereford. Leominster had a tenurial link to Dilwyn, and it may have founded its small minster before the vill was subject of manorialisation. Leominster may also

⁸⁹ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 11, 12-13.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 142, 96-7.

⁹¹ *DB Herefordshire*, 8.5, (Chadnor, three hides); 1.33, (Luntley, two hides and formerly within the manor of Leominster); 24.7, (Newton, three virgates); 10.52, (Alton, 'two parts of one hide'); 10.53, (Swanstone, 1 hide); 1.26, 14.8 and possibly 14.9, (Dilwyn, three or possibly four hides). Kemp excluded Dilwyn from the *parochia* on account of not finding references to any churches or chapels at Chadnor, Luntley or Newton, a further indication that the 1123 record had its inaccuracies.

⁹² By gift of Walter of Lacy who founded it: *DB Herefordshire*, 10.48 and 10.49. This manor, the seat of the Lacy family, was rated at three hides two virgates with an additional two-hide estate at Fernhill. Walter of Lacy founded and endowed St Peter's, Hereford and later granted it to St Peter's, Gloucester.

⁹³ 1291 Taxation, 159, column 2. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 22, 23. For grants to Llantony Prima by the Lacy family see Chapter Four, page 135 and n. 144. A unified St Peter's, Hereford with a refounded St Guthlac's is recorded from 1143.

⁹⁴ Within Dilwyn ten hides and within Weobley five hides.

have had a role in the establishment of the other higher-valued churches at Kingsland and Eardisland before they were handed to others as part of a royal ecclesiastical strategy.

These fifteen parishes have been considered together so as to identify any evidence in support of Kemp's theory that Leominster had been the mother-church of a large *parochia* in the late Anglo-Saxon period, elements of which might have been the remnant of a district known much earlier as *Lene/Liene*. Apart from the ambiguous evidence for Kinnersley, explicable in terms of manorial capture, in positive terms there are the cases of Monkland and adjacent Stretford, some evidence for Dilwyn, and speculation about Eardisland and Kingsland (primarily on account of place-name evidence), even though there is evidence that the churches on these same two manors had been within the province of other houses, certainly by 1086 and probably long before.

For the rest there are many anomalies. St Guthlac's turns up, sometimes directly holding tithes but often in shadowy form, on royal demesne estates like Kingsland,⁹⁵ and at Weobley under the guise of St Peter's, Hereford. Its two large manors in the area, Almeley and Pembridge, which were both held by others at the time of the Conquest, reveal ecclesiastical relationships with neighbouring places: Almeley's with Kinnersley, Letton and Pembridge, and Pembridge's with Weobley and Staunton-on-Arrow, which in turn had links to Titley. The value of Pembridge in 1291 is evidence of its significance and provides good grounds for arguing that it was an old minster, operating over a large rural area.

⁹⁵ But, as noted above, this could have been a succession appointment for the canons following tenth-century (or earlier?) manorialisation of the *Lene/Liene* district.

Kemp's study of Berkeley is worth highlighting in the context of Leominster. 'There can be little doubt...that the spirituality of the entire lordship was originally a single large, but scattered, *parochia* centred on the mother church of Berkeley and the later medieval parish churches which appeared in the component estates of the lordship began life as chapels within... (it).'⁹⁶ This is, of course, the very same argument that he has made for Leominster. Like Hare we have found few indications that, apart from the anecdotal evidence of the 1123 charter and the continuous and somewhat self-serving references in later documents that it was a 'mother-church', Leominster's *parochia* had been as large as Kemp alleged. The basis of its claim to Eye is obscure,⁹⁷ as the monks themselves acknowledged in the thirteenth century. However, the size of the medieval parish of Leominster, among the largest in the shire, could have accounted for the high value which it had in 1291 even without the inclusion of those lesser churches which it counted then: Hatfield, Hope-under-Dinsmore, Stoke Prior and Docklow. At three of these we noted the interests of St Guthlac's and relationships with other parishes such as Humber, Bodenham and Pudleston. For the area further west and north-west there is evidence of an ecclesiastical network, but one centred on Pembridge and Wigmore, not on Leominster.⁹⁸ Figure 5.1E displays the findings.

⁹⁶ B Kemp, 'The churches of Berkeley Herness', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 87 (1968), 96-110, at 98.

⁹⁷ Eye's foundation date is unknown. There was a similar case, within the Berkeley study, of Wotton-under-Edge, for which there is charter evidence of its endowment by 940; it likewise had a high value in 1291, one similar to that of Eye at £41 13s 4d.

⁹⁸ Aymestrey, Leinthall Earles, Leinthall Starkses and Wigmore are considered below with Leintwardine.

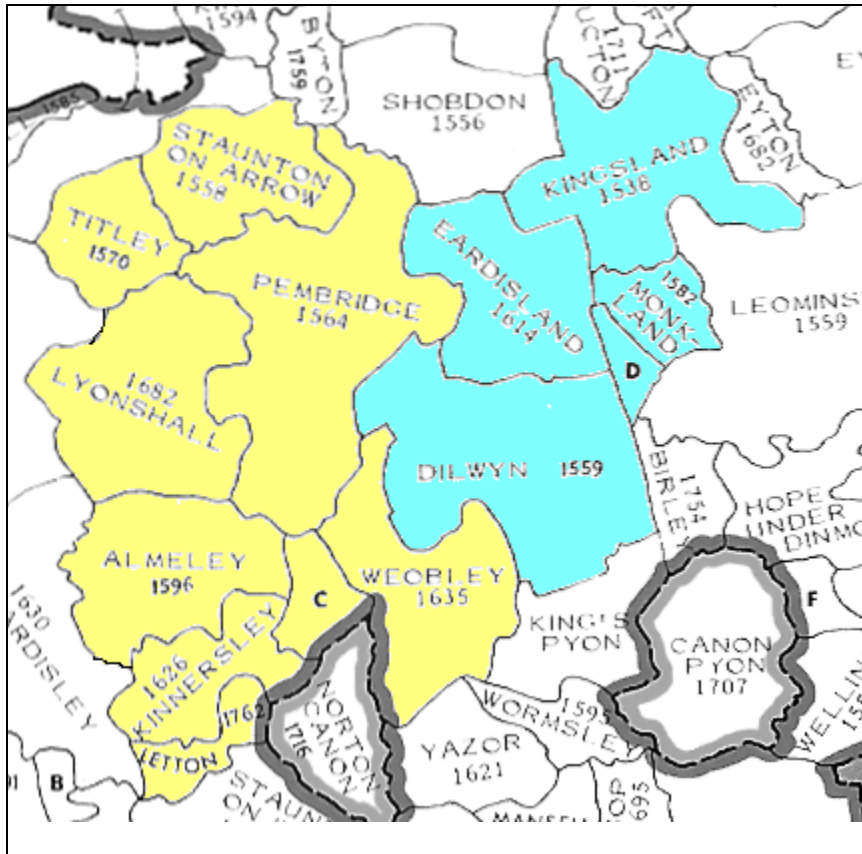


Figure 5.1E Parishes in the district of Lene The parishes coloured blue are those we consider to have been within Leominster before the eleventh century. Those in yellow were within an ecclesiastical district centred on Pembridge. From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

5.3 Kington and Pembridge

Kington was a manor in *Terra Regis* that had been held by Harold in 1086. The editors of *DB Herefordshire* include other manors held by the king located within the medieval parish. These are Breadward, Chickward, Hergest, Rushock, Huntington, Barton, *Ulfelmestune* and Bollingham.⁹⁹ With the exception of Rushock, none is mentioned in later ecclesiastical sources. Land at Rushock, within Kington, appears to have come into the hands of St Guthlac's in 1148, but it is not clear if it was a case

⁹⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.69. All these are included within one reference; moreover there is disagreement as to some of the locations. The total number of hides is twenty-five, three virgates. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 115, believes that Welton (*DB Ulfelmestune*) is Empton in Kington parish and not Welton in Eardisley.

of restitution.¹⁰⁰ In 1291 Kington was valued at £20 with a £2 portion held by Titley Priory; Youngs records its lesser churches in Huntington and Brilley.¹⁰¹ We have already observed Titley's connection with Staunton-on-Arrow and through that with Pembridge. *Valor* reveals that Michaelchurch-on-Arrow, in Powys, was a chapel annexed to Kington's vicarage.¹⁰² These facts indicate Kington's status as a lesser church and, on account of the Titley connection, we may see a relationship to Pembridge.

Adjacent to Kington is another large medieval parish, Eardisley, bounded by those of Winforton, Willersley and Whitney. All were manors in Domesday Book. Whitney was in *Terra Regis* and Harold had held Eardisley, Willersley and Winforton.¹⁰³ In addition St Guthlac's held land as tenant-in-chief, but had sub-tenanted both its holdings at Whitney and at the manor of Middlewood, which is placed by some in Winforton.¹⁰⁴ The only entry within the *Acta* concerns Eardisley whose church was

¹⁰⁰ The charter granting it required the consent of the abbot and convent of Vaucelles, a twelfth-century French Cistercian foundation, which would have been unlikely unless a church or tithes were involved. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 90, 65. Morey *et al*, *Letters and Charters*, no. 324, 380. Adam de Port held the honour of Kington, within which there were many estates formerly in the hands of St Guthlac's in the eleventh century. Pearn notes that the family were sheriffs of Hereford, and that the association with St Guthlac's may have been as a result of its holding of the chapel within the castle. Pearn, 'Origin and Development', 120. The editors of *Herefordshire Domesday* describe the de Port family's estates as including St Guthlac's manors of Thinghill, Moccas, both Suttons and Whitney together with those of Nigel the Doctor, whose manors were also counted among St Guthlac's former holdings, including Little Cowarne and Avenbury. V Galbraith and J Tait (eds) *Herefordshire Domesday, c. 1160-1170* (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1950), hereafter *Herefordshire Domesday*, 91-3 and 128.

¹⁰¹ 1291 Taxation, 159, column 2. Youngs, *Guide*, 124 and 130. *Valor*, 32, records Titley's pension and the chapels.

¹⁰² *Valor*, 32. Although J Harnden, *The Parish Registers of Herefordshire* (Hereford: Friends of the Hereford Record Office, 1988), hereafter *Registers*, 35, records a thirteenth-century reference that it was a chapelry of Brilley.

¹⁰³ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.66, 1.68 and 8.3. In total this area comprised a fifteen-hide unit of the land hidated. (There were three hides in the part of Eardisley held by the king and Hugh Donkey; a further part held by Roger of Lacy in 1086 was treated as a castlry and was not hidated: *ibid.*, 10.46.)

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.10, (Harold held its four-hide manor); 6.9, (Drogo held its one-hide manor). There is speculation as to the location of Middlewood (*DB Mideurde*). Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 208-9, thinks that it may have been in Brilley (although Round and others place it in Winforton Wood). He also suggests that it was the site of the hermitage of St Cynidr, the alleged founder of Glasbury, a monastery which remained a diocesan seat of the British Church until the 1050s. J R

granted to Llantony *Prima* in 1247, possibly at the behest of the Lacy family who endowed Llantony.¹⁰⁵ The 1291 valuations were low: Eardisley at £9 6s 8d, Winforton the same, Whitney £5 and Willersley *non valet*. Apart from the patronage of Llantony and of Elstow Abbey (Bedfordshire) at Eardisley, there are no other benefice details.

Taking these medieval parishes as a group, together with those shown to have had links to Pembridge,¹⁰⁶ we find evidence of a well-developed ecclesiastical network by the eleventh century. The most prominent religious house, despite the erosion of its landholdings before the Conquest, was St Guthlac's. Although there is no proof that its large estate here was the centre of the provision of pastoral care within the area considered, given St Guthlac's earlier presence before 1066, Pembridge's geographic extent and its 1291 value, there is much to suggest that its jurisdiction extended east towards Leominster and west to the borders. One could argue on these grounds that St Guthlac's held an old minster at Pembridge whose *parochia* is displayed in Figure 5.2.

Davies, *The Book of Llandaff and the Norman Church in Wales* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 12-13 and 26-7. It may be possible to link this chapel with St Guthlac's *Mideurde* holding.

¹⁰⁵ Barrow, *Acta* 35, no.105, 98-9.

¹⁰⁶ We have already observed the common link of Titley between Kington and Pembridge, which was the highest church by value in 1291.

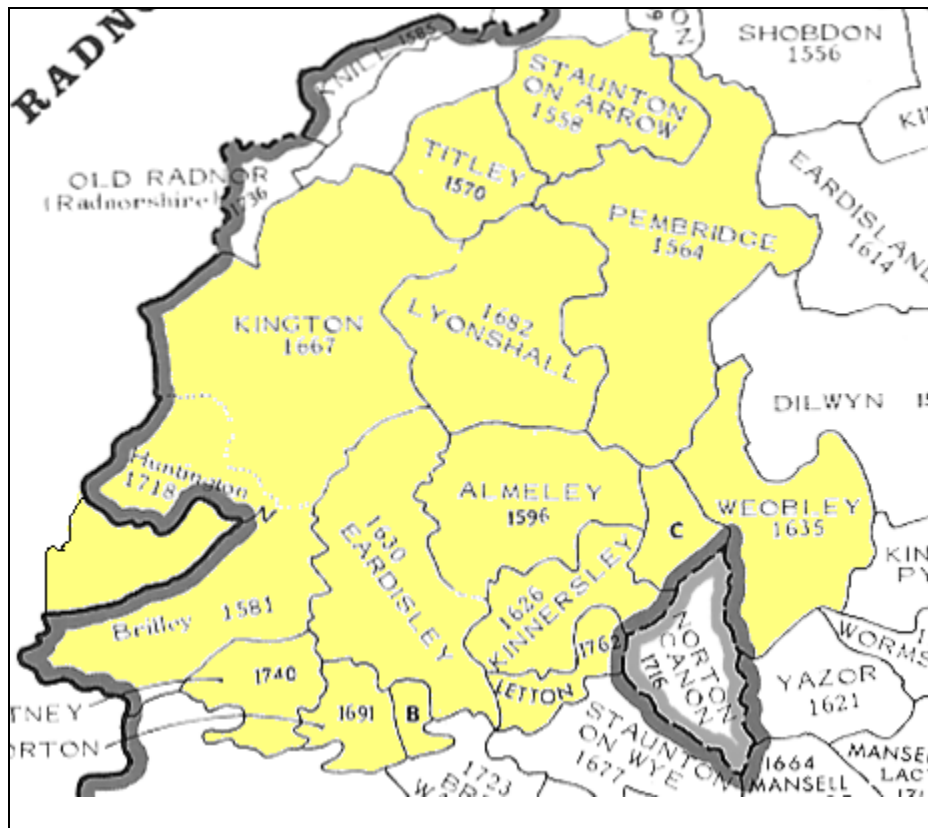


Figure 5.2 Pembridge: a possible *parochia* From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

5.4 Leintwardine, Wigmore and Aymestrey

The Domesday manor of Leintwardine lay in Shropshire and was the royal *caput* of a large dispersed hundred of the same name, which had been held by Edward in 1066.

As a royal demesne manor it possessed both a church and a priest. Subsequently placed in the hands of the Mortimers, along with other manors in the vill, it fell within the marcher lordship of Wigmore and was held by Wigmore Abbey, an Augustinian foundation which, by the twelfth century, held all the churches on the Mortimer estates.¹⁰⁷ By 1291 Leintwardine had lesser churches in Burrington and Downton,¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ *DB Shropshire*, 6.11. The editors note that the manors of the Leintwardine Hundred had been drawn into the Wigmore lordship. It is also clear that Leintwardine had been the location of the major Romano-British settlement of *Branogenium*: Ray in Malpas *et al* (eds), *Early Church*, notes that '... The church stands within the walls of the former Roman settlement', 143, n.66. 1291 Taxation, 167, column 1. The abbey of St James, Wigmore was a foundation of the Mortimers. Originally located at Shobdon, according to D Knowles and R Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1953), 179, [reciting Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, part I, 343-4], there was a

was valued at £20 and had a vicarage of £4 13s 4d, so it was certain to have had a prominent ecclesiastical role but, save for the links to Wigmore, there is no clearly identifiable old minster.¹⁰⁹ It is possible that the adjacent church at Bucknell, a possession of Wigmore Abbey valued at £5 6s 8d, had been within its original parish along with Brampton Bryan, an extra-parochial holding of the Knights Hospitaller of Dinmore, also linked to Wigmore.¹¹⁰ We consider the implications of the unifying presence of Wigmore Abbey below.

Aymestrey and Leinthall were estates in *Terra Regis*, within the manor of Leominster. Both shared priests with a number of other estates held by the church of Leominster, and Aymestrey rendered 15s to ‘St Peter’s’. It is unclear from the text whether this is a reference to tenurial renders, and to whom the payment was made. The editors of Domesday Book suggest that, as the dedication of Leominster at the time of the survey is unknown, the church in question might have been St Peter’s, Hereford.¹¹¹

prebendal chapel of three canons for which the family procured that a priest and a further two canons come from the Augustinian abbey of St Victor, Paris. Removing to Eye, then to *Beodune* (which Knowles believes to be Byton) and back to Shobdon, they were finally settled at Wigmore by 1179. The foundation was intended for an abbot, prior and seventeen canons and, according to Dugdale, was so well endowed as to become an abbey in 1179. Leintwardine is noted in the records extracted within *Monasticon, ibid.*, as there was no preserved cartulary.

¹⁰⁸ Both were manors recorded in 1086, and both were held by Roger of Mortimer, rated at three hides one virgate and four hides respectively. There is no evidence of a church. *DB Herefordshire*, 9.2 and 9.3.

¹⁰⁹ Leintwardine fell within the Clun Deanery of the archdeanery of Shropshire. Its mother-church may have been at Clun, which recorded a high value in 1291, at £36. Clun had a geographic extent which comprised much of the 1086 Rinlow Hundred, and was a manor rated at fifteen hides in 1066, held by Picot under Earl Roger: *DB Shropshire*, 4.20.8. Importantly, within the same hundred lay Lydbury North, a fifty-three hide manor of the bishop of Hereford and a major ecclesiastical centre with a manorial church and priests, *ibid.*, 2.1. Significantly, however, the manorial geography of this area appears to suggest the possibility that Leintwardine was the retained royal estate and centre of an area whose hinterland subsequently became contained in the Rinlow and Leintwardine hundreds.

¹¹⁰ *DB Shropshire*, 6.19. *Valor*, 38, records that it paid a pension to Wigmore.

¹¹¹ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.10c. Aymestrey was rated at one hide and Leinthall at eight, with two additional manors held by Ralph Mortimer at two and four hides respectively. An additional one-hide manor at Lye, within Aymestrey, was held by Ralph Mortimer and a further three hides were with Gryffydd, nineteen hides in all. Coplestone-Crow notes that Lye together with the manor of Lingen comprised the eight-hide land-unit given by King Coenred of Mercia to Feleburg 704 x 709. She was a nun who founded a convent here, according to the Mildburg story. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 30. The charter, dated to the early eighth century, is recorded in S1801 and Finberg,

Whatever the case, Reading Abbey did not claim parochial rights in 1123, which might indicate payment to a church other than Leominster more likely. In 1291 Aymestrey was valued at £10 13s 4d with a £5 vicarage and held a chapel in Leinthall Earles. However, by this time its patron was Wigmore Abbey,¹¹² and Dugdale notes the acquisition by the canons of Wigmore of the many churches on manors of Roger of Mortimer which had been granted to him by the king after 1066. In addition to Aymestrey and Leinthall, Wigmore held those at Birley, Wigmore, Elton and Byton.¹¹³ Birley¹¹⁴ was valued at £5 6s 8d with a vicarage which was *non valet*; Elton, was valued at £8 13s 4d with a £4 vicarage.¹¹⁵ Finally, Byton, valued at £5, was a curacy of Presteigne.¹¹⁶ There is no information for the medieval parish of Kinsham.

It is clear that this group of churches reveals a well-developed pastoral organisation by the eleventh century, and it is possible that the churches which Wigmore Abbey held comprised the *parochia* of an old minster. The Mortimer lordship existed over a large area with a cohesive geography, an area comprising a discrete land-unit whose central place may have been Leintwardine. We observe the ecclesiastical relationships between it and Wigmore and between Wigmore, Aymestrey and

Early Charters, 139, no. 405. For its authenticity see Chapter One, pages 10-11. Notwithstanding Aymestrey's location near to the hundred of Leintwardine in Shropshire, the payment is unlikely to represent one made to St Peter's, Shrewsbury. *DB Shropshire*, 3b, n. records eight churches contributing income to St Peter's, Shrewsbury, including nearby Burrington, but Aymestrey is not among them.

¹¹² Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI part I, 343. Wigmore's lands included the areas within the parishes of Aymestrey, Wigmore and Shobdon

¹¹³ *DB Herefordshire*, 9.16, 9.17, 9.1, 9.5 and 24.2. *Valor*, 38, records pension income from Aston, the medieval parish adjacent to Burrington, and Brompton in Shropshire.

¹¹⁴ Birley is an odd possession of Wigmore's, since its location south of Leominster, east of Dilwyn and west of Hope-under-Dinsmore places it squarely within Leominster's territory, which suggests that it had been subject to manorial capture.

¹¹⁵ It was a castlry by 1086, built by William fitzOsbern. *DB Shropshire*, 6.19, notes that 'St Mary's, Wigmore' held the Shropshire manor of Walford, indicating a church at Wigmore although none is mentioned at *DB Herefordshire*, 9.1. (Walford lay in the medieval parish of Leintwardine.)

¹¹⁶ 1291 Taxation, 159, column 1. *Valor*, 38. The combined hidage of these manors was 30.

Shobden. One could argue for an ecclesiastical unit organised around it—one whose jurisdiction had become the province of Wigmore Abbey by the twelfth century.

We conclude this study by looking at two medieval parishes within Wales from the sixteenth century,¹¹⁷ both of which contained manors in the shire's Domesday returns: Old Radnor and Presteigne. Although neither appears to have had connections with Leintwardine, we include them because they fell within the diocese and shire, and reveal some thirteenth-century connections with Wigmore Abbey. A fifteen-hide manor in *Terra Regis*,¹¹⁸ Old Radnor was a large medieval parish valued at £26 3s 4d in 1291; it had a lesser church at Kinnerton.¹¹⁹ The medieval parish of Presteigne was contiguous, and Old Radnor separated it from its detached portion, which suggests that the two had been within one land-unit.¹²⁰ Three manors were located in Presteigne in 1086: Bradley, Little Brampton and Nash, each of which was a one-hide unit held by Osbern son of Richard.¹²¹ There is no record of a church at any. However, there may have been one since in 1145 the Acta confirmed the grant by Thomas de Freine of Presteigne's church to St Guthlac's Priory. As this appears not long after the re-foundation of that house, dated to 1143, it may be that the former secular college had held it and that, together with Old Radnor, the eighteen hide land-unit was the *parochia* of an old minster.¹²² However, by 1291 Wigmore Abbey had

¹¹⁷ [The Laws in Wales Acts 1535-1542](#).

¹¹⁸ Located in *Terra Regis* (along with the two-hide manor of Burlingjobb located there), it was a large manor rated at fifteen hides. By 1086 it was claimed by Hugh Donkey. *DB Herefordshire*, 1.64 and 1.65.

¹¹⁹ Youngs, *Guide*, 134.

¹²⁰ It was valued in 1291 at £17 6s 8d, with an £8 vicarage with an unnamed chapel, which may have been Byton, since *Valor*, 38, shows a curacy there.

¹²¹ *DB Herefordshire*, 24.3. The other manors named in that entry are within Titley, Knill, Old Radnor and Discoed.

¹²² As this appears not long after the re-foundation of that house, dated to 1143, it may be that the former secular college had held it. Certainly the context does not imply that the church was a new establishment: '... reddidit ecclesiam de Presthamede... cum capellis, terris, et decimis et omnibus

appropriated it,¹²³ something perhaps motivated by political factors. Whatever the case, there are no perceived connections with Leintwardine, displayed in Figure 5.3.

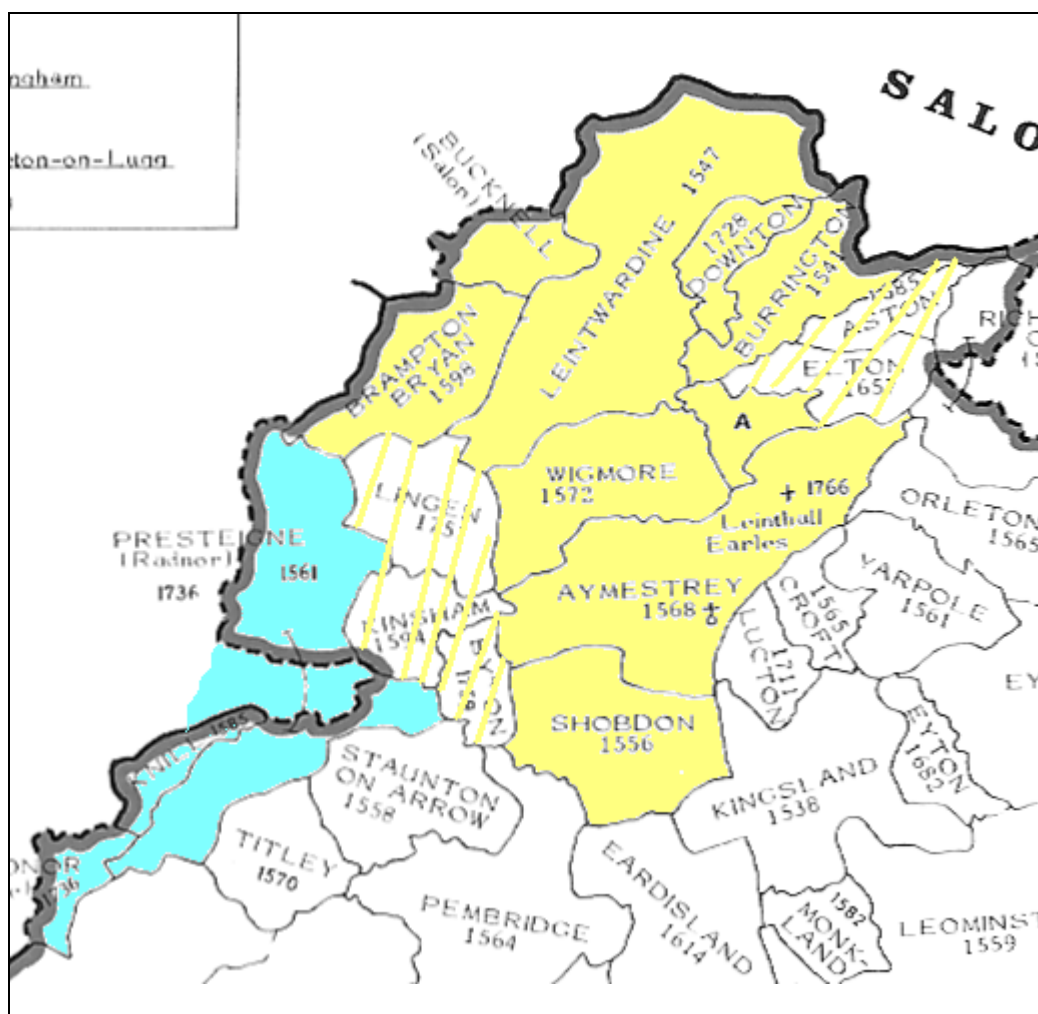


Figure 5.3 Leintwardine: a possible *parochia* The parishes in yellow and yellow hatch are likely to have been within an ecclesiastical district centred on Leintwardine. Those in blue lay outside of that district. The finger projecting into the shire just south of Presteigne and Kinsham is Old Radnor. From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions

5.5 Madley and the district of Mawfield

In 1086 the canons of St Ethelbert's held the manors of Madley and Lulham, both within the medieval parish of Madley.¹²⁴ It is possible that here was the site of *Lann*

pertinentiis suis...' Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 27, 26-7. Its twelfth-century name, *Prestehamede*, means: 'border meadow of the priests.' Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 118.

¹²³ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 343, 272-4. The annual payment of four marks from the church at Presteigne was due to the dean and chapter and passed on to the chaplains of St Catherine's, Hereford. It accrued from rents which were owed by Wigmore Abbey. 1291 Taxation, 159, column 1.

Efrdil, a royally-endowed British church which may be dated to the seventh century.¹²⁵ From evidence within the *Acta*, Madley's church appears to have been held prior to 1195 by one of the canons in his own right. Clearly the dean and chapter were anxious to acquire it as a resource, since a grant was made in that same year to augment the commons, on condition that the portion held by the canon in question passed to the chapter on his death, together with everything pertaining to it. Three years later the church was appropriated to the cathedral.¹²⁶

Although it is difficult to speculate on the precise details of its early history, Madley had had a significant role within the area.¹²⁷ Its value in 1291 was £26 13s 4d, and it had a vicarage of £6 13s 4d and £10 of oblations which included mortuary fees.¹²⁸ It held chapels in Tyberton and Webton.¹²⁹ Its manorial connection to the canons is clear, but it seems odd that burial rights continued to be retained by Madley as against St Ethelbert's, unless Madley's foundation had pre-dated the endowment of St Ethelbert's. This is a possibility if Madley can be identified with *Lann Efrdil* of the Llan Dav charters, something discussed further below.

¹²⁴ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.9 and 2.4. At Lulham, an eight-hide manor, there were two clerks holding ploughs and land rated at two hides. Madley was rated at three hides.

¹²⁵ This has been suggested by Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 14, 15 and 139 and *contra* Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 170, LL159a, who suggests Llanerthill in Monmouthshire. (See Appendix Six for differential place identification for the Llan Dav charters.) Coplestone-Crow follows the Welsh antiquarians in suggesting that *Lann Efrdil* is the original Welsh name for Madley, with comments on the charter's grouping within a list of others located in the vicinity of the district of Mawfield, the earliest Welsh version of which is *Mais Mail Lochou*. If it was Madley, the grant of a *territorium* (which according to Davies represents an extensive estate appurtenant to a church) may account for the size of the medieval parish, by far the largest in the area, *ibid.*, 42.

¹²⁶ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 201 and 254, at 146-7 and 190-1.

¹²⁷ Pearn, 'Origin and Development', 115, notes that the compact group of what became seven medieval parishes to the south and west of the Wye was held by the canons in 1086. She believes that this may represent earlier territorial gains from the Welsh. Given the place-name evidence, it *might* imply a late eighth-century incorporation by the Anglo-Saxon church but there are other possibilities. See the discussion of Lugwardine in Chapter Four, section 4.5, pages 122-39, generally.

¹²⁸ This was an indication of its responsibility for burials over an extensive area. Oblations and mortuary fees are separately reckoned in the 1291 entry, and Madley's is the largest sum separately noted, next only to that recorded for the cathedral. *Valor*, 26, records no separate entries for these payments.

¹²⁹ 1291 Taxation, 158, column 1. *DB Herefordshire*, 2.6—six hides, 10.22—two virgates, and 10.23—two hides, two virgates.

To the east of Madley are the parishes of Kingstone and Eaton Bishop. The ‘king’s *tun*’ was a four-hide manor in 1086 that had outliers at Cusop in the west and the extra-parochial forest at Treville. It shows signs of having been in ancient royal demesne; St Mary’s, Cormeilles, held its tithes and one virgate of land.¹³⁰ It may have had a church, given the presence of the abbey’s landholding.¹³¹ In 1179 St Guthlac’s claimed the tithes at Arkestone (DB *Cobewelle*) in Kingstone along with other churches and tithes in the diocese.¹³² In 1291 Kingstone was valued at £6 3s 4d, and its portion-holders were Newent Priory and St Guthlac’s. *Valor* lists its chapel at *Preston*, arguably Preston-on-Wye, discussed below, which was annexed to the deanship of the cathedral.¹³³ It is likely that it had a pre-eleventh-century association with Madley, given that church’s superior status within the district.¹³⁴

The manor of Eaton Bishop was held by the canons of the cathedral. Apart from an entry in 1291 Taxation there is little information for its medieval parish. Its church was valued at £6 13s 4d and was held by the bishop and designated his ‘river estate’; it may have been the site of another seventh-century British church: *Llanguorboe in Campo Malochu*.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ This is a familiar pattern for lands in *Terra Regis* in Herefordshire. *Ibid.*, 1.3. Blanch pence were payable to the king and villeins sent produce of the hunt from the royal forest of Treville to Hereford. The reckoning in blanch pence was a sign of an ancient royal manor. See: S Harvey, ‘Royal revenue and Domesday terminology’, *Economic History Review*, 20 (August 1967), 221-8, hereafter ‘Royal Revenue’.

¹³¹ Again we note another grant by the incoming Normans to houses patronised by them and query from whom were the churches transferred.

¹³² Barrow, *Acta VII*, no.155, 107-9. Although this charter is a fifteenth-century document which Barrow has identified as spurious, its appendix, which is a list of churches and tithes, may have contained authentic information. The fact that the priory claimed tithes at Kingstone and held a portion of its church implies that St Guthlac’s had held the church at Kingstone prior to its having been granted to St Mary’s, Cormeilles. We have noted this previously in connection with other Anglo-Saxon royal manors in the shire.

¹³³ *Valor*, 4.

¹³⁴ Coplestone-Crow includes Madley, Easton Bishop, Kingstone, Preston-on-Wye, Blakemere, Tyberton and Moccas within *Mais Mai lLochou* or Mawfield.

¹³⁵ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.8. 1291 Taxation, 158, column 1. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 80, places it here and not in Garway, *contra* Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 170, LL162a, dated to

Preston-on-Wye was rated at six hides and two clerks held a large two-hide estate.¹³⁶ This indicates a significant *preosta-tun*, or ‘farm estate of the priests’. Pickles has observed that where this identifier occurs in the context of other ecclesiastical holdings, as it does here alongside Madley, it points to the possibility of the name being coined as early as the eighth century. Coplestone-Crow has suggested that it is the location of *Tir Conloc*, a sixth-century church estate mentioned in the Llan Dav charters, with an additional church at Bellimore/*Bolgros*.¹³⁷ In this case we know that the individuals concerned were clerks, or secular clergy, likely members of a British church foundation.¹³⁸ In 1291 its value was £10 with a vicarage that was *non valet*. It had a chapel at Blakemere, likewise *non valet*, and its patron was the cathedral.¹³⁹

East of these lay the medieval parishes of Allensmore, Clehonger and Thruyton. All were manors in 1086, provided Allensmore can be safely identified with ‘The Moor’, a one-hide manor of the bishop. Anfrid of Cormeilles and Ilbert son of Thorold held Clehonger. This vill was divided, part being in the hundred of Dinedor to the east and

c. 610. This grant is of an *ager*, an agricultural unit or estate, which according to Davies subsequently became appurtenant to its *llan* place-name, and was named after the priest who served at it, one Guoruo. *Ibid.*, 40 and 42.

¹³⁶ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.5. It employed seven villagers with three ploughs.

¹³⁷ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 40 and 169. This is not beyond doubt. He writes that the original editors of the *Liber Llandavensis* suggested that the place was Eaton Bishop, above, and Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 166, LL76a, suggests Madley. Coplestone-Crow follows the Welsh antiquarian, Phillimore in H Owen (ed.), *The Description of Pembrokeshire by George Owen of Henllys, 1602*. Two volumes (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1892), hereafter *Pembrokeshire*, II, Note E, 273. The grant is of four *unciae* of land, a coherent estate which was probably the equivalent of twenty Anglo-Saxon hides. This would be consistent with the usage ‘*preosta-tun*’ for an Anglo-Saxon settlement. At Bellimoor an *ager* had been granted: *ibid.*, 170, LL161D.

¹³⁸ T Pickles, ‘*Biscopos-tun, muneca-tun and preosta-tun: dating, significance and distribution*’ in E Quinton (ed.), *The Church in English Place-Names*, English Place-Name Society Extra Series, 4 (Nottingham: University of Nottingham School of English, 2009), 39-107, hereafter ‘*Preosta-tun*’, at 43 and 94, (Table 3) in particular. The area may have been attached to the Anglo-Saxon episcopal minster from early in the eighth century, perhaps after the British bishops conceded ground over the Roman calendar. Such an early date would imply the incorporation of other British churches at around the same time that the Anglo-Saxon minster cathedral was founded. See the Lugwardine case study, Chapter Four, pages 129-39, for a suggestion about a chronology for incorporation of parishes south and west of the Wye into the Anglo-Saxon church.

¹³⁹ However, as noted earlier, *Valor* records Preston as a chapel of Kingstone: *Valor*, 4.

part in southern Stretford.¹⁴⁰ Thruyton was held by Durand of Gloucester.¹⁴¹ There is no indication of a church at any of the manors and the *Acta* are silent.¹⁴² However, by 1291 Allensmore had a church valued at £16 6s 8d with a chapel at Clehonger, and Thruyton had a church valued at £6;¹⁴³ Allensmore appears to have been a lesser church of St Ethelbert's.¹⁴⁴ The church at Thruyton, given its geography, is likely to have been within its jurisdiction, as well.

The final parish to be considered is Moccas, a two-hide manor of St Guthlac's where Nigel the Doctor also held an estate.¹⁴⁵ According to the *Lectiones Dubrici*, a tract within the Llan Dav charters, Moccas was a sixth- or seventh-century monastic foundation of Dyfrig, the British bishop active within northern Ergyng when it was an extensive kingdom in its own right. Moccas had been a centre for monastic training for nearly two hundred years by the time of its sacking in the eighth century.¹⁴⁶ The

¹⁴⁰ Stretford's southern portion included the area under discussion. But see Chapters Six and Seven for a comprehensive discussion of the area's secular organisation.

¹⁴¹ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.54, 21.7, 26.2 and 22.7. It is not clear whether the identification of the bishop's entry with the place later described as the manor of Allensmore is safe. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 24, is confident that the entry at 2.54 is not 'The Moor' in Clifford, which is the place identified by the editors of Domesday Book, nor is it Canon Moor, a place north of Hereford where the canons had a large tithing barn. However, its correct location must address the problem of its hundred identification—Stradell. The scribe may have got it wrong, as the other manors in this area are in Stretford or Dinedor.

¹⁴² However, there is some speculation that the charters to Llantonny Priory at nos. 36 and 121 include the grant of land here made to assist in the support of the canons of Shobdon who had taken refuge at Llantonny: Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 36, n., 34-5. In any case the grant in question had nothing to do with ecclesiastical matters.

¹⁴³ 1291 Taxation, 158, columns 1 and 2.

¹⁴⁴ This is on account of the retention of burial rights by the dean and chapter. A Bannister (ed.), *Registrum Ade de Orleton, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1317-27* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 5, 1908), hereafter *Reg. Orleton*, at 66-7; J H Parry (ed.), *Registrum Johannes de Trillek, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1344-1361* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 8 1911), hereafter *Reg. Trillek*, at 105-6 and 120-1. For comment see I Forrest, 'The politics of burial in late medieval Hereford', *English Historical Review*, 125 (October, 2010), 1110-38.

¹⁴⁵ *DB Herefordshire*, 6.7 and 7.7. It was a one-hide manor, possibly acquired by Nigel from an under-tenant of St Guthlac's, which probably means that the college had held all three hides here.

¹⁴⁶ Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 176, LL192.

Acta record its being claimed by St Guthlac's as one of its possessions, and in 1291 its value was £6 and a 3s portion was likewise held by the priory.¹⁴⁷

The area under consideration may have been the location of no less than five royally-endowed British churches, all of which would have been high status foundations within a compact area.¹⁴⁸ Although no absolute chronology can be suggested, current opinion places them in the period 550 x 700.¹⁴⁹ The earliest was the sixth-century foundation of *Tir Conloc*; the others, *Lann Efrdil*, *Lann Guorboe* and *Bolgro*s, are from the early seventh-century,¹⁵⁰ suggesting a network organised to provide pastoral care across a discrete area. That area has been identified by Coplestone-Crow as *Insulam Efrdil*, a district of high ground between the Wye and Golden valleys,¹⁵¹ allegedly the birthplace of Efrdil, the mother of St Dyfrig. It was, according to the

¹⁴⁷ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 204, 149-51, '... cum omnibus pertinentiis suis...'; Moccas was among a list of eleven churches which were confirmed as always having been held by the priory, 'together with prebends, lands, tithes and everything that pertained.' Although this might imply possession from 1143 only, i.e. from the date of the founding of the priory of St Peter, St Paul and St Guthlac, it is clear from the context that possession was claimed from a much earlier date, i.e. from a time when the secular college of St Guthlac was in being. In the case of Moccas, the manorial ownership evidenced at *DB Herefordshire*, 6.7 is also significant. 1291 Taxation, 159, column 2.

¹⁴⁸ In terms of their respective locations, we have surveyed the opinion of four of the scholars of the charters: Wendy Davies, John Ruben Davies, H P R Finberg and Bruce Coplestone-Crow. The results are set out in Appendix Six. All regard *Bolgro*s as Bellimoor. Ruben Davies always follows Wendy Davies. Finberg and Coplestone-Crow generally agree with one another and we have also noted that Evans, one of the editors of the *Liber Llandavensis*, and the Welsh antiquarian, Phillimore, generally agree with one another, and Coplestone-Crow invariably follows them. Of the other places, *Tir Conloc* is located at Preston-on-Wye by Finberg, Coplestone-Crow and Phillimore; *Lann Efrdil* is located at Madley by Coplestone-Crow and Phillimore but is not mentioned at all by Finberg; *Lann Guorboe* is located at Eaton Bishop by Coplestone-Crow, and Finberg is uncertain but queries Garway. We prefer in all cases to follow Coplestone-Crow, whose findings appear to take more account of the opinion of reputable antiquarian evidence. Although certainly rigorous in her approach, Davies appears to have placed more reliance on the field work of one of her students. See: L Rollason, 'The Boundaries of the Herefordshire Charters of the Book of Llandaff' (University of Birmingham, unpublished BA thesis, 1975).

¹⁴⁹ As an example, Davies dates Preston-on-Wye to 575 and Finberg to 540 x 570; Bellimoor is securely dated by all to 610; *Lann Guorboe* is dated by Davies to 615 and by Finberg to 630 x 660.

¹⁵⁰ Their respective grantors were: King Peibio, King Ithel and King Gwrfoddw.

¹⁵¹ Comprising, primarily, the parishes of Blakemere, Tyberton, Preston-on-Wye, Madley, Kingstone and Eaton Bishop.

Welsh historian and archaeologist Rhys, co-terminous with the district *Mais Mail*

Lochou, the English district of Mawfield.¹⁵² It is shown in Figure 5.4A.

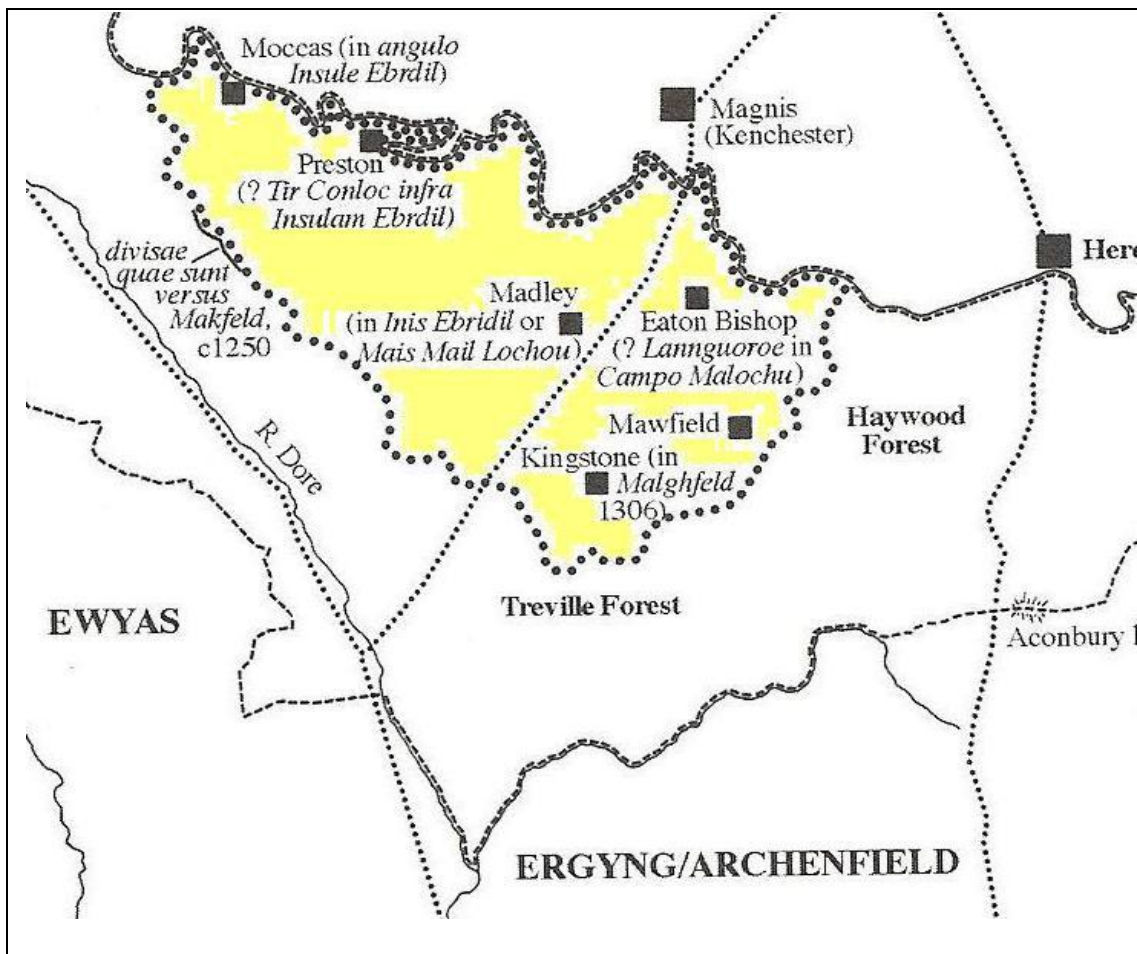


Figure 5.4A Mais Mail Lochou/Mawfield From Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, Map 5.

In our view it is right to identify this area as a coherent district; and we have mapped its extent at Figure 5.4B. Its early ecclesiastical links are apparent from an analysis of the terms within British charter-material and consistent with its later Anglo-Saxon tenurial history. With the exception of Kingstone and the small manors at Clehonger and Thrupton, each of the estates was held exclusively by the Church from the sixth and seventh centuries through to the eleventh. The date at which these estates fell within the control of an Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical structure is impossible to

¹⁵² Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 14-15.

pinpoint; yet we may be able to speculate a ninth-century *terminus post quem*, a timeframe postdating the period of known incursions into the area by Aethelbald of Mercia, the acceptance by the British bishops of Roman rule, and the endowment of the cathedral church at Hereford.¹⁵³ Although there were clear tenorial links with the canons at Hereford, probably from the eighth century, we have found evidence that suggests that the area fell within early British foundations of the sixth and seventh centuries. Rather like the situation observed concerning Lugwardine, we may be glimpsing ecclesiastical relationships pre-dating the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon diocese. Moreover, the presence of canons at Madley, Preston-on-Wye and Bellimoor may provide further evidence that there was a British foundation at Hereford with links to churches north and south of the Wye by the late sixth century.¹⁵⁴

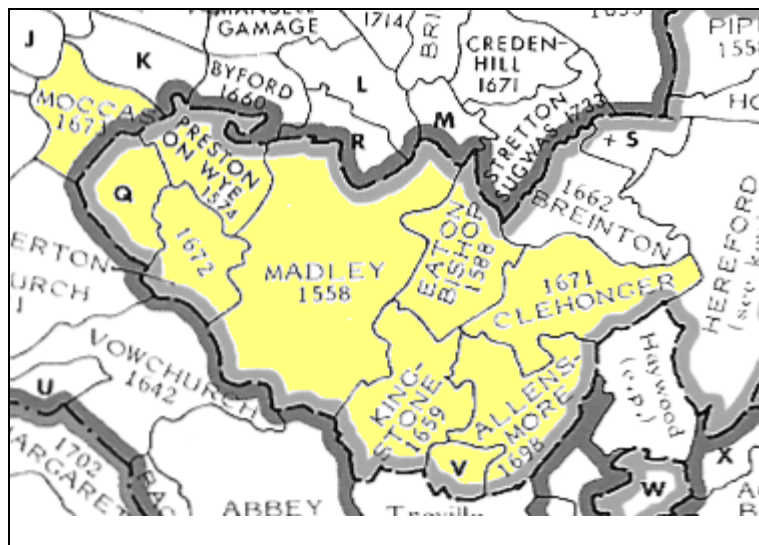


Figure 5.4B Madley's *parochia* From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

¹⁵³ Three of the churches were returned to the British bishop Berthwyn *c.* 745 by Ithel following their confiscation by Anglo-Saxons: *Lann Guoruoe*, *Lann Efrdil*, and *Bolgros*. Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 176, LL192 F.

¹⁵⁴ Kingstone may well have been the royal manor acquired at the point of incorporation into the Anglo-Saxon diocese, and there may well have been a collateral ecclesiastical resource, in the form of St Guthlac's, brought in to serve the new masters; but these arrangements are unlikely to have disturbed those already existing at the predominant church in the area, Madley, even if it had been within a British *parochia* which spanned the Wye and which was centred on Hereford.

5.6 *Malveselle* and Staunton-on-Wye

The eleventh-century vill of *Malveselle* comprised three manors—Bishopstone, Mansell Lacy and Mansell Gamage—all medieval parishes.¹⁵⁵ The identifier ‘bishop’s *tun*’ appears to have been applied to the five-hide estate of the canons of Hereford from the twelfth century;¹⁵⁶ the adjacent manors of Roger of Lacy and Gryffydd were equally large at eight and five hides respectively. In an area of this size one would expect to find a church of some value and, although the *Acta* are silent with regard to Bishopstone and Mansell Lacy, for Mansell Gamage there is a charter of St Guthlac’s purporting to claim its church as being within its ancient *parochia*.¹⁵⁷ St Guthlac’s held the church in the twelfth century, and in 1291 it was valued at £4 with a vicarage which was *non valet*.¹⁵⁸ Both Bishopstone and Mansell Lacy had moderately high-valued churches by 1291, at £13 6s 8d and £14 respectively,¹⁵⁹ however neither held lesser churches, nor is there any indication of portion-holders. Mansell Lacy had a large detached portion to the west of Kenchester which lay between it and Bishopstone, which suggests that earlier the vill had once included both Kenchester and Bishopstone.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.46, 31.4, 31.5 and 10.56. The vill comprised eighteen hides in total.

¹⁵⁶ Although technically belonging to the canons, as noted in the Domesday entry, it appears to have been styled ‘*bicopes-tun*’ in the twelfth century. How this came about is unclear as there is no record in the *Acta* of any appropriation. It is first identified as such in the *Herefordshire Domesday*. See: Galbraith and Tait (eds), *Herefordshire Domesday*, 28.

¹⁵⁷ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 155, 107-9. This charter, although of fifteenth-century date, may well contain information about the pre-Conquest holdings of St Guthlac’s. The grant of a manor held by the Lacy family would be consistent with the priory’s claims, as the Lacys were benefactors of St Peter’s Abbey, Gloucester, the mother-house of St Guthlac’s.

¹⁵⁸ *Valor*, 31, shows a pension payable to St Guthlac’s.

¹⁵⁹ 1291 Taxation, 159, column 2.

¹⁶⁰ R Kain and R Oliver, *Historic Parishes of England and Wales* (Colchester: History Data Service Data Archive 2001), hereafter *Historic Parishes*, sheet 142, parish 117.

Norton Canon, ‘the north settlement of the canons’, was a large manor in 1086 and was rated at six hides.¹⁶¹ Coplestone-Crow notes that within it lay Eccles Green, an *eccles* place-name often indicative of an early British christian presence.¹⁶² As with most manors held by the canons, there is no reference to it in the *Acta*, but in 1291 a church, whose patron was the cathedral, was valued at £6 13s 4d with a vicarage of £4 13s 4d.¹⁶³ In topographic terms, Norton Canon is an island surrounded entirely by parishes where the provision of pastoral care was by others. This suggests that, although by the thirteenth century it was counted within the dean’s peculiar jurisdiction, it probably fell within the land-unit named *Malveselle*, part of which was claimed by St Guthlac’s.¹⁶⁴

The parishes of Brobury and Monnington-on-Wye were manors in 1086. Brobury was held by Roger of Lacy and Monnington by Ralph of Tosney.¹⁶⁵ Only Monnington-on-Wye is mentioned in the *Acta*: St Guthlac’s claimed it as a possession and held a pension.¹⁶⁶ Both are recorded in 1291; Brobury was *non valet* but Monnington had a value of £6 13s 4d. Neither is recorded as being under the control of any house, nor is there a record of the pension claimed at Monnington by St

¹⁶¹ It was claimed to have been a gift of Godiva and Wulviva in the eleventh century, along with Woolhope and Canon Pyon, discussed above: *.DB Herefordshire*, 2.45. Capes, *Charters and Records*, iii.

¹⁶² Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 152. For a discussion of the significance of this identifier see: C Hough, ‘Eccles in English and Scottish place-names’ in E Quinton (ed.), *The Church in English Place-Names*, English Place-Name Society Extra Series, 4 (Nottingham: University of Nottingham School of English, 2009), 109-24, hereafter ‘Eccles Place-Names’. Hough does not mention this place, and in the context of Herefordshire, confines herself to Gelling’s findings and comments. However, Ray in Malpas *et al* (eds), *Early Church*, 115, notes the place and its location in the vicinity of some Roman sites, in particular the find of Roman stonework at Norton Canon.

¹⁶³ 1291 Taxation, 157, column 1.

¹⁶⁴ As noted above, St Guthlac’s claimed Mansell Gamage. Many places in the area under consideration were claimed in the same charter of 1143, alleged to have been confirmatory. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 155, 107-9.

¹⁶⁵ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.54 (two hides) and 8.6 (five hides). Earl Harold held Monnington in 1066.

¹⁶⁶ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 204 and 205, 149-51. It held it on the same terms: ‘with everything that pertained’.

Guthlac's in 1190.¹⁶⁷ However, it seems clear that the reference to a pension indicates that St Guthlac's was a portion-holder at Monnington.

North of these is the large medieval parish of Staunton-on-Wye. Roger of Lacy held two manors here,¹⁶⁸ and the *Acta* record St Guthlac's as having claimed its tithes.¹⁶⁹ There is nothing further until 1291, at which point it appears to have been a valuable church at £14 13s 4d, with a £1 portion held by Clifford Priory.¹⁷⁰ To the south and east of Staunton-on-Wye and Bishopstone lie the small medieval parishes of Byford, Kenchester and Bridge Sollers. All are recorded as manors in 1086. Byford was held by Roger of Lacy, Bridge Sollers by the canons of Hereford cathedral and Kenchester by Hugh Donkey, and we have already noted the detached portion of Mansell Lacy on its western boundary.¹⁷¹ The *Acta* show that Kenchester and Byford had monastic patrons: Llantony appears to have been in control of Kenchester by the early twelfth century, perhaps from its foundation. Brecon was given Byford in 1217 x 1223 by Walter de Traveley.¹⁷² It is not possible to determine which body or bodies had

¹⁶⁷ 1291 Taxation, 159, column 2. Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 205, 151. St Guthlac's claimed a pension of half a mark at Monnington-on-Wye. However, Brobury may have been a chapel of Bredwardine, according to Harnden, *Registers*, 33.

¹⁶⁸ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.55, (two hides) and 10.57, (four hides). These manors were adjacent to the Lacy manors of Mansall Gamage and Byford.

¹⁶⁹ Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 22 and 204, 23 and 149-51. There is no mention of the church, which seems likely to have existed given the entry in 1291 Taxation.

¹⁷⁰ 1291 Taxation, 159, column 2. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, V, 41-3, gives details of the founding of Clifford Priory by Simon fitz Richard fitz Ponce in the reign of Henry I. Any endowments made to the priory would have been given during the period 1100-1135. The portion granted is not precisely recorded until 1291, but as none is mentioned in the *Acta* as part of the endowment claimed by St Guthlac's it seems safe to assume that Clifford Priory had a portion which had been held previously by St Guthlac's. It is unfortunate that the gift to Clifford Priory cannot be traced in other sources. There is nothing in the charters of the earls of Hereford, and the bishop's registers only mention Staunton-on-Wye late in the fourteenth century. W Capes (ed.), *Registrum Johannis Trefnant, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1389-1404* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 20, 1916), hereafter *Reg Trefnant*, at 182.

¹⁷¹ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.60 (five hides), 2.48 (five hides) and 29.1 (four hides). Kenchester was the site of the Romano-British settlement of *Magnis*, and artefacts bearing Christian insignia dated around the fourth century have been excavated. Ray in Malpas *et al* (eds), *Early Church*, map 103, 106, 117 and n. 35.

¹⁷² Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 38 and 293, 36-7 and 226-7. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, III, 259-61 gives further detail of Byford, given to Brecon subsequently when de Traveley joined its fraternity. Kenchester may

parochial jurisdiction over these manors before the Conquest. In 1291 Byford was valued at £8 and Kenchester at £1, with a vicarage that was *non valet*.¹⁷³ For Bridge Sollers there is very little information. There is nothing in the *Acta* and in 1291 it was valued at £8 6s. Its patron by then was Aconbury Priory, a nunnery founded in the early thirteenth century by Margery, wife of William of Lacy.¹⁷⁴

Two other medieval parishes are to the east of Norton Canon: Wormsley and Yazor. Both are recorded in Domesday Book, being manors of Roger of Lacy, although within each the canons of Hereford had small landholdings. On the Lacy manor of Wormsley a priest is recorded among the ploughholders, which probably indicates the presence of a church.¹⁷⁵ At Yazor, Lacy held a five-hide unit and the adjacent manor of Yarsop was divided among the bishop, Roger of Lacy, William Ecouis and Ralph the chaplain's wife.¹⁷⁶ The *Acta* reveal a little more. The prior of Wormsley was rector of the church there, and in 1262 the priory was granted licence to appropriate it.¹⁷⁷ Once again, St Guthlac's attempted to claim Yazor as within its ancient *parochia*.¹⁷⁸

In summary, with the exception of Norton Canon, Wormsley and Bridge Sollers, the parishes considered here appear to have had early connections with St Guthlac's.

Three were of relatively high value, the highest being Staunton-on-Wye at £14 13s 4d

have been among the Lacy grants to Llantony at its foundation, c. 1103. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI part I, 569. There is some additional information at *ibid.*, 127.

¹⁷³ 1291 Taxation, 159, column 2.

¹⁷⁴ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI part I, 489.

¹⁷⁵ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.47, 10.61 and 10.62. The canons held land here as well.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.58, 2.3, 10.59 14.10 and 34.1. The latter was held of the king and the presence of a chaplain may indicate the presence of a chapel here.

¹⁷⁷ Barrow, *Acta* 35, nos.118 and 121, 110-112.

¹⁷⁸ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no.155, 107-9. The value of Wormsley in 1291 was £1 6s 8d, and Yazor's was £2 13s 4 with a £1 6s 8d portion held by St Guthlac's, a vicarage *non valet* and a patron of Llantony Priory. 1291 Taxation, 159, column 2. As noted previously, the 1143 charter is regarded as spurious by Barrow, but may contain authentic pre-Conquest information.

followed closely by Mansell Lacy at £14 and Bishopstone at £13 6s 8d. The portion at Staunton-on-Wye held by Clifford Priory is a mystery. And although Norton Canon had been given to St Ethelbert's in the mid-eleventh century, it is by no means clear that it was within its jurisdiction, given its island position. Yazor likewise had manorial links with the canons, and yet it was claimed by St Guthlac's. The problem with the 1143 charter has already been noted; nevertheless somehow St Guthlac's acquired a portion of that church whose patron was Llantony, not St Ethelbert's.¹⁷⁹

It is difficult to identify an old minster within this area, which is mapped in Figure 5.5. Although a discrete land-unit in secular terms, for which see Chapter Six, there seems to be no discernible *parochia* which mirrored it. We have seen the claims which St Guthlac's made to many of the churches considered here, and that its claim was one of an historic provision within its alleged *parochia*, arguably the one organised from Hereford. As observed in the case of Canon Pyon, above, the presence of St Guthlac's might be an indication of its subsequent royal endowment as preferred provider of pastoral care on those large estates, like *Malveselle*, which had royal connections.¹⁸⁰ With no one of the churches dominant in terms of value within the district, each of them may have been lesser churches founded and endowed from its mother-church at Hereford.

¹⁷⁹ It was Llantony *Prima*, 1291 Taxation, 159 column 2.

¹⁸⁰ It was a pre-Conquest holding of Harold. *DB Herefordshire*, 10.56.

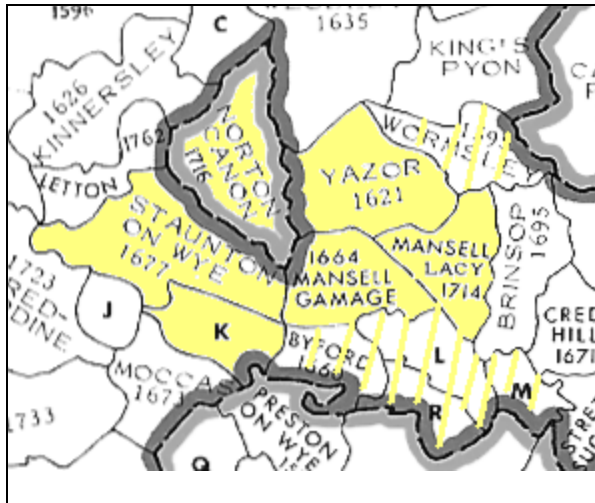


Figure 5.5 Malveselle The parishes in yellow and hatched yellow were within the secular land-unit,¹⁸¹ and those in yellow hatch have ecclesiastical associations given their links with St Guthlac's. From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

5.7 Clifford and the parishes in the Golden Valley

Clifford, a castlery built by William fitz Osbern before 1086 and held by Ralph of Tosny, shows no indication of having had a church in the eleventh century.¹⁸² There are no *Acta* and its first ecclesiastical reference is in 1291, when, held by Clifford Priory, its value was £30.¹⁸³ Adjacent to Clifford is the large parish of Dorstone, which scholars of the Llan Dav charters have identified as *Cum Barruc*, the subject of a sixth-century ecclesiastical grant to the British Church, and one of the churches sacked by Aethelbald in 743.¹⁸⁴ In 1291 it had a value of £20 with its £2 3s 4d portion held by Clifford Priory, indicating that Clifford may have eclipsed its

¹⁸¹ The land-unit concerned is the Staple Hundred. See Chapter Six, section 6.4.8, pages 275-80.

¹⁸² *DB Herefordshire*, 8.1 and 10.3. The building of Clifford Castle created the *burh* to which the Domesday entry refers. There may have been a local church within its area, which was of considerable size at thirty-six carucates, prior to the castle's construction, but none can be identified solely on the entry.

¹⁸³ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, V, 41-2, records the foundation of this priory as a cell of Lewes Priory in 1100. There is no cartulary, but it is possible to conjecture that its founder, Simon fitzRichard fitzPonce, who held the lordship of Clifford, endowed it with what must then have been a substantial church.

¹⁸⁴ 'Evans (LL) identifies *Cum Barruc* as Dorstone, and he is followed by every other authority. In one of the references to it in LL *Cum Barruc* is located *yn istratdour*, which is Ystrad Dour or the Golden Valley.' Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 74. The return of the eleven British churches captured by the Anglo-Saxon king is recorded in the Llan Dav charters: Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 176, LL192.

importance by then.¹⁸⁵ As a seven-hide manor in 1086, it had been held by Drogo fitz Poyntz, but was Harold's before the Conquest along with two others: *Burcstanestune* and *Mynyddbrydd*.¹⁸⁶

Bredwardine lies east of Clifford and Dorstone. In 1086 the manor was rated at five hides and held by Alfred of Marlborough, but again, as with others in the area, it had been Harold's. In 1291 it was valued at £8 and its patron was Wigmore Abbey.¹⁸⁷

Scholars believe it to have been the site of *Lann Iunabui*, a sixth-century foundation mentioned in the Llan Dav charters, and, like Dorstone, among the churches captured in 743 by Aethelbald.¹⁸⁸ South of Dorstone is the medieval parish of Peterchurch. It is not identified in the survey, but a number of other manors held by Hugh Donkey have been tentatively located within it: *Almundestune*, *Alcamestune*, *Belrou* and

Wilmastone.¹⁸⁹ At *Almundestune*, a three-hide manor, a priest is recorded with a church, holding half a plough.¹⁹⁰ Both Coplestone-Crow and the editors of Domesday Book identify *Almundestune* as Peterchurch. There is also a suggestion that this may be *Mafurn*, a seventh-century foundation mentioned in three of the Llan Dav charters, and like Dorstone and Bredwardine, among the eleven churches captured in 743.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁵ 1291 Taxation, 159, column 2.

¹⁸⁶ *DB Herefordshire*, 23.2, 23.3, 23.4 and 25.4. The Bage, likewise in Dorstone, was held by Gilbert son of Thorold. The combined hidage for these manors is fourteen. Although there is speculation as to the identification of *DB Ruuenore* with *Mynyddbrydd*, Coplestone-Crow follows the editors of *DB Herefordshire*, in which it is identified as *Fagemeneda*, meaning 'variegated mountain', the equivalent of the Welsh place-name *Mynyddbrydd*. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 73-5.

¹⁸⁷ 1291 Taxation, 159, column 2. There is no evidence in Dugdale, *Monasticon* concerning the grant of this church to Wigmore but Brobury may have been its chapel: Harnden, *Registers*, 33.

¹⁸⁸ Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 176, LL192. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 42. Phillimore in *Pembrokeshire*, Note E, 273, places *Llan Iunabui* here as well. Apparently the bounds of the c. 585 charter fit a site at Bredwardine castle. Finberg, *Early Charters*, no. 391, 136, was equivocal and located it at either Bredwardine or Llandinabo. However, Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 165, places it in Llandinabo, following Bannister.

¹⁸⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 29.9, 29.10, 29.6 and 29.8. Together these form a nine-hide two-virgate unit, all held by Hugh Donkey.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.9.

¹⁹¹ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 162-3. Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 170 places this in the Dore Valley and dates its foundation to c. 605. There are two other charters which mention it.

The *Acta* give no further information; however, in 1291 it was valued at £20 and held by Great Malvern Priory.

Vowchurch, Turnastone and Bacton, all medieval parishes of the Golden Valley, reveal a convoluted topography suggesting that they may have formed one land-unit. The earliest identification as 'Vowchurch' is in 1291,¹⁹² but a number of Domesday manors were located here: *Elnostune*, *Manetune*, *Poscetenetune*, and *Edwardestune*, with none showing signs of having had a church in the eleventh century.¹⁹³ However, the tithes of Poston (*Poscetenetune*) were granted to Gloucester Abbey by the Bishop of Hereford in 1100.¹⁹⁴ The Domesday manor of *Wluetone*, held by Hugh Donkey, may have been Turnastone,¹⁹⁵ and Bacton and *Wadetune*, an unidentified place, were both manors of Roger of Lacy in 1086, and had been held together.¹⁹⁶ There is no indication of a church at either place; however, the *Acta* contain a thirteenth-century grant of land and the church at Bacton to Dore Abbey.¹⁹⁷ The irregular boundary between Bacton and Abbey Dore is the River Dore. However, Bacton's earlier extent

However, Phillimore in *Pembrokeshire*, Note E, 273, suggests that *Mafrun* is Vowchurch. Finberg, *Early Charters*, no. 393, 137, thinks that it may be the site of Dore Abbey or somewhere in its vicinity. For the return of the captured churches to the British, see: Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 176, LL192.

¹⁹² Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 194. 1291 Taxation, 159, column 2.

¹⁹³ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.17, (*Elnodestune*, three hides, held by Roger of Lacy); 19.4, (*Manetune* [Monnington in the Golden Valley?], five hides, held by Alfred of Marlborough); 14.6, (*Poscetenetune* [Poston], two hides, held by William Ecouis); 10.18, (*Edwardestune*, one hide, held by Roger of Lacy).

¹⁹⁴ Hart, *Historia*, I, 250-1. This is a 1231 record of an alleged earlier grant made at the dedication of the new abbey c. 1100. It contained a number of churches and their possessions, mostly in the area which later became the Forest Deanery of the diocese. Hart believed that the gift of *Postone* was of Prestone (*sic*) but *Acta VII*, no. 330, 257-9, record the confirmation of tithes of Poston in the Golden Valley. The context of the grant, as recorded by Hart, may indicate a connection with Kentchurch:

'*Concessimus etiam eisdem omnes decimas de omnibus dominicis terris domini de Ewyas sitis in parochia de Sancta Keyna, et decimam cujusdam culturae in Postone.*' Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 4, 4-6, regards the earliest copy of this grant, which is dated to 1100, as forgery, but Brooke does not. C N L Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), 53 and n. 13. Brooke comments that an earlier exemplar must have existed

¹⁹⁵ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 192. *DB Herefordshire*, 29.7; however, the editors do not believe that the manor is identified.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.16.

¹⁹⁷ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 325, 254 and 35, no.129, 129. Barrow notes that there is no evidence of the grantor. *Ibid.*, n. at 254. 1291 Taxation, 159, column 2. The patron of the church at Bacton was Dore Abbey, and it was valued at £3.

may have included land on the opposite bank since the reference to Kentchurch, in the grant of tithes at Poston, may indicate that at some time earlier than the late eleventh century the entire area¹⁹⁸ was within the *parochia* of Kentchurch, to be discussed below.¹⁹⁹

The medieval parish of Abbey Dore dates from the fifteenth-century monastic dissolution of the abbey—its lands were part of its twelfth-century foundation.²⁰⁰ Dore is absent from Domesday Book, the *Acta* and the 1291 Taxation. However, Coplestone-Crow believes that the land-unit that it comprised is within *Lann Cerniu*, of which we first hear in sixth-, seventh- and early eighth-century charters.²⁰¹ The small parish of Wormbridge lies southeast of it and was appropriated to the Knights Templar, becoming a parish only after the dissolution.²⁰² Coplestone-Crow links this area to the episcopal manor of Didley (DB *Dodelegie*),²⁰³ which may mean that its connections lie with the parishes of Kenderchurch, Kentchurch and St Devereux, considered in section 5.9.

¹⁹⁸ That is to say, Vowchurch, Turnastone, Bacton and Abbey Dore

¹⁹⁹ See section 5.8.

²⁰⁰ Youngs, *Guide*, 123. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, V, 552. A Cistercian abbey, it was founded c. 1147 by Robert of Ewyas and endowed in the early thirteenth century with all lands between the Dore and the Trikelbrook.

²⁰¹ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 20. ‘*Cenubia Cornubium id est Lann Cerniu super ripam Dour*’. This is the subject of speculation. He quotes Phillimore’s view in *Pembrokeshire*, Note E, 273, that the charter refers to Dorstone and can be equated with *Cum Barruc* (which Coplestone-Crow has identified as Dorstone). This has been followed by both Finberg, *Early Charters*, no. 390, 136, and Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 165. It is only Evans who suggests that it might be the site of Dore Abbey. There are two places named, not one. On this basis it seems more logical to view Evans’s interpretation as the correct one. Davies locates *Cum Barruc* as somewhere in the Dore Valley, not at Dorstone (*ibid.*, 165-6), and Finberg is silent on the point: *ibid.*, no. 394, 137.

²⁰² Youngs, *Guide*, 137.

²⁰³ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 109. His view is that the large five-hide unit of Didley in the adjacent parish of St Devereux, which is considered below, had encompassed Wormbridge, which by 1086 was in either the castlry at Ewyas Harold or the royal forest of Treville. It was given to the Knights Templar by Richard I. Much of this is speculation, however.

This group of parishes, shown in Figure 5.6, is unusual. There are no less than four early Llan Dav charters which concern it: *Lann Iunabui*, *Mafrun*, *Cum Barruc* and *Lann Cerniu*.²⁰⁴ At the very least we can conclude that there were four significant British ecclesiastical centres in this area from the seventh century, and it may be no coincidence that there are four large medieval parishes which survive, albeit one having been formed from the land granted to an abbey in 1147, land which may have been given to the British Church as early as the seventh century. Moreover, there appears to be no evidence that an Anglo-Saxon old minster was founded anywhere within them.

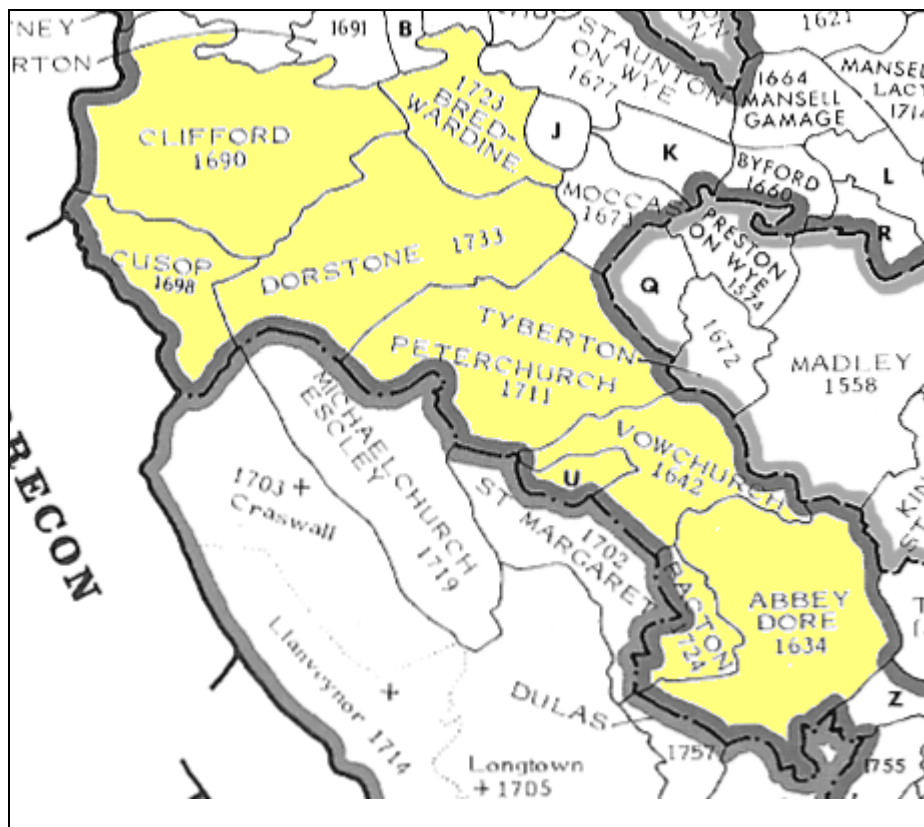


Figure 5.6 Clifford and the Golden Valley From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

²⁰⁴ We noted five, above, in the adjacent district which included Madley.

5.8 The district of Ewyas

The large medieval parish of Clodock, with its lesser churches in Craswall, Longtown, Llanveynor and Newton, was in the diocese of St David's in 1291. Its value was £20 and its patron was Llantony Prima.²⁰⁵ The manor of Longtown, formerly Ewyas Lacy, was held by Roger of Lacy in 1086, separate from the castle at Ewyas Harold and the district itself.²⁰⁶ In ecclesiastical terms it was linked with Clodock, which is referred to as its mother-church.²⁰⁷ Both Coplestone-Crow and Davies locate the eighth-century Llan Dav charter concerning '*territorium Merthirclitau*' at Clodock,²⁰⁸ a fact which indicates the presence of a church here by 740.

Adjacent to this large area are two other medieval parishes: St Margaret's and Michaelchurch Escley. Only Michaelchurch Escley is mentioned in the 1291 Taxation, valued at £8 with no other information.²⁰⁹ Both were in St David's diocese then, but it is impossible to determine if either came within the putative *parochia* of Clodock. South and south-east of Clodock are five parishes that appear to be interrelated: Ewyas Harold, Dulas, Rowstone, Walterstone and Llancillo. Ewyas Harold, the only one of them mentioned in Domesday Book, was a four-carucate holding of Roger of Lacy within the castlry.²¹⁰ In addition, Roger held, from Henry

²⁰⁵ 1291 Taxation, 273, column 2. None of its lesser churches was counted as a parish until the nineteenth century. Youngs, *Guide*, 125-6.

²⁰⁶ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.1 and 10.2.

²⁰⁷ Youngs, *Guide*, 125.

²⁰⁸ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 56-67. The bounds are 'easy to follow' according to him. Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 176, LL191/81F, dated to 740.

²⁰⁹ 1291 Taxation, 274, column 1.

²¹⁰ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.1.

of Ferrers, thirty-two acres with three churches and a priest. These may have been at Walterstone, Rowstone and Lancillo.²¹¹

Youngs records a chapel at Dulas within Ewyas Harold.²¹² Of the churches, only Llancillo and Rowstone are mentioned in 1291 Taxation. Both were in St David's diocese, both valued around £2 with Rowstone's patron being Llantony *Prima* and Lancillo's the bishop of St David's.²¹³ In addition Lancillo is identified as *Lann Sulbiu*, the subject of a seventh-century ecclesiastical grant in the Llan Dav charters.²¹⁴ There was an early church at Lancillo as well as two more in the area by the eleventh century. None can be aligned with the large putative *parochia* of Clodock, mapped at Figure 5.7, and it is possible that the area comprised two ecclesiastical units: Clodock, its churches and the parishes of Michaelchurch Escley and St Margaret's, and Lancillo with its churches at Walterstone, Rowstone and Ewyas Harold with Dulas. The clear unifying feature is the diocese of St David's. Again, as with Clifford, there is no evidence for the foundation of an Anglo-Saxon old minster within either land-unit.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 13.2 and note. The editors note that these places were among the possessions of Llantony Priory, part of its endowment from the Lacy family. However, by 1291 St David's diocese held Lancillo.

²¹² Youngs, *Guide*, 127.

²¹³ 1291 Taxation, 274, column 1 and 273, column 2.

²¹⁴ Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 170, (160). Coplestone-Crow and Wade-Evans likewise identify the charter as referring to this place. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 130; A Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1944), at 41. The bounds are '... fairly easy to work out' according to Coplestone-Crow. 'Within the bounds of the seventh century estate...stood the Iron Age hill-fort at Walterstone Camp, the site of a Roman vill (*sic*)... and on the northern rim of the hill-fort, the site of a chapel of the late fifth century saint Eiliwell, daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog. This is an important cluster of pre-Roman, Roman and early British sites to which the charter in the Book of Llan Dav gives added significance.' (He quotes 'Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts', by Bartrum, 1966). *Ibid.*, 130-1.

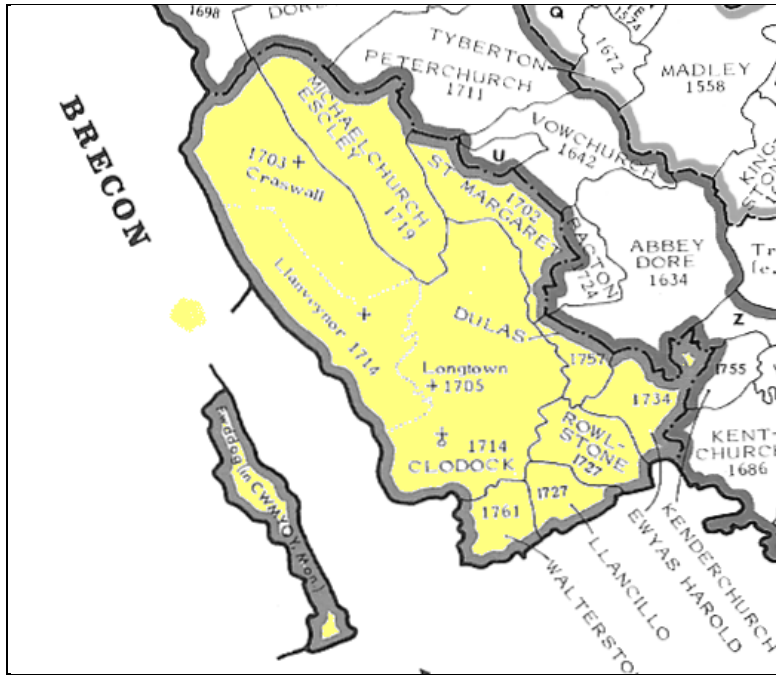


Figure 5.7 Ewyas The sub-circular area added to the map marks the approximate location of the British episcopal minster of Glasbury. From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

5.9 Archenfield parishes

The remaining parishes to be considered, shown in Figure 5.8, are in the district of Archenfield, an area which, before the Conquest, was not within the bounds of the shire. These parishes formed a group, some with relationships to one another—many as entries in the Llan Dav charters; with the exception of Pencoyd, they are located in a ring surrounding the parishes considered within the Lugwardine case study in Chapter Four.

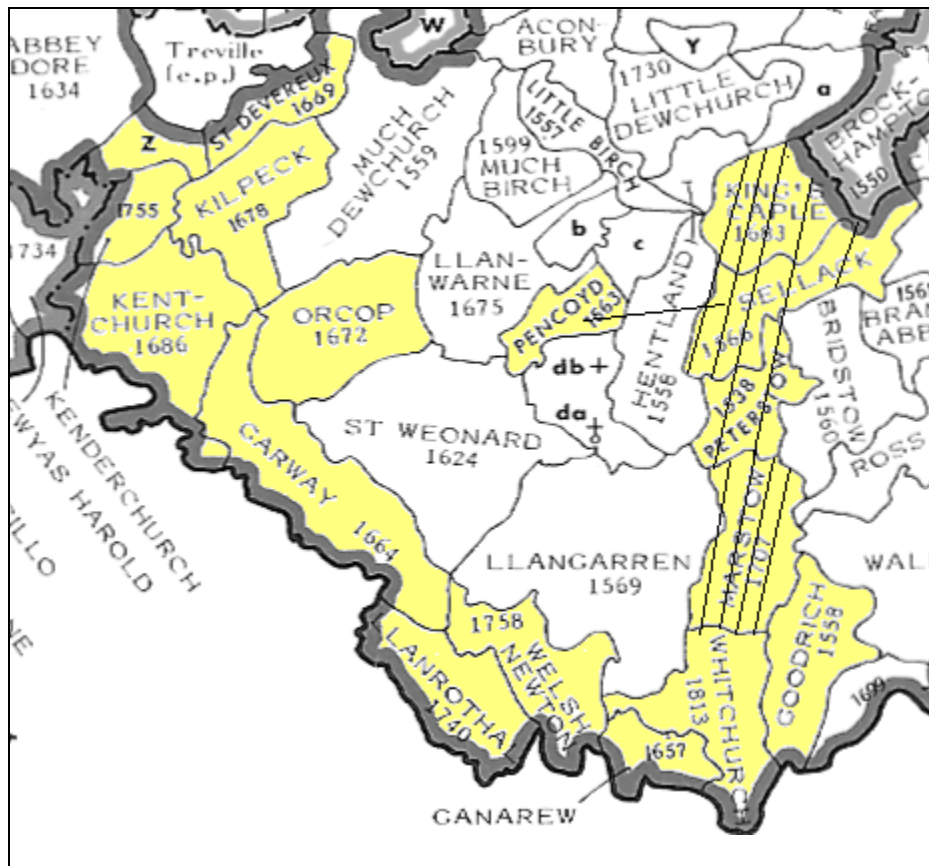


Figure 5.8 Archenfield parishes The parishes in yellow and black hatch were within the *parochia* of Sellack. From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15 with additions.

The first to consider is Sellack. From the information contained within Youngs,²¹⁵ Sellack had jurisdiction over chapels at Marstow, Pencoys and King's Caple, forming a compact unit to the west of Ross-on-Wye. Pencoys was separated from Sellack by Hentland,²¹⁶ indicating that Sellack may have held Pencoys as a manorial outlier at the date of Sellack's foundation. Sellack is identified as *Lann Suluc*, mentioned in one of the late ninth-century charters making its foundation arguably later than Hentland's.²¹⁷ It was a hundredal manor in 1066.²¹⁸ Within its parish is the

²¹⁵ Youngs, *Guide*, 134.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 133.

²¹⁷ *DB Herefordshire*, 29.20 note and Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 179. Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, LL230b and LL182c. Although such a date might account for its position relative to Hentland, by 866 the abbot of *Lann Suluc* was already witnessing charters which implies a foundation date of late in the eighth century. The land in question was near the Gamber and the witnesses included the abbot (*concum*) of *Lann Suluc*.

²¹⁸ *DB Herefordshire*, 29.20. Its rubric appears above the entry for 'Strangford'. The editors give a number of explanations for identifying 'Strangford' with 'Eaton in Foy', suggesting that the hundred

Domesday manor of Baysham.²¹⁹ The *Acta* identify Sellack and Baysham as one and the same; a pension is recorded as being confirmed to St Peter's, Gloucester in 1155 because it was regarded as an appurtenance of Kilpeck, and took the benefit of its revenue.²²⁰ However, there remained a dispute between the bishop and the dean and chapter concerning the ownership of Sellack, which was finally settled in the canons' favour in 1251.²²¹ By 1291 it was valued at £20 13s 4d with a vicarage of £5,²²² which, with its lesser churches and a likely eighth-century foundation date, provides evidence that it may have been an old minster, although its likely origins are British.²²³

Little is known of the parish of Marstow since nothing is mentioned in the *Acta* or in the 1291 Taxation, but the sixteenth-century Westfaling Survey lists it among the chapels annexed to Sellack.²²⁴ Peterstow, recorded in the 1291 Taxation, was valued at £8, and a portion of 13s was held by canons at Hereford—an indication that it may have been one of the Sellack lesser churches that ultimately came within the jurisdiction of the canons, but no other source provides any detail. We considered Lugwardine's jurisdiction over Hentland in Chapter Four. However, despite

comprised these together with Baysham—manors with lands both east and west of the River Wye. It appears to have been an early English manorial intrusion into Archenfield, as was Wormelow.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.54.

²²⁰ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 73, 58-9. Morey *et al* (eds), *Letters and Charters*, no. 302, 366-8. Kilpeck Priory was a daughter-house of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester

²²¹ Barrow, *Acta 35*, no. 96, 93-4.

²²² *Valor*, 20-1, lists a portionary payment due to it from the rectory of Tretire (Michaelchurch), a parish due south of Pencoyd and due west of Hentland.

²²³ 1291 Taxation, 160, column 2. It may have originated as a British foundation, the members of which had an hereditary interest in its possessions. There is evidence for the existence of all of these churches at an early date within the Llan Dav charters: Pencoyd as *Cil Hal*, Marstow as *Gurmach* and Peterstow as *Llanpetyr*. Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 166, LL76 (Pencoyd), 174, LL184 (Peterstow) and 174, LL185 (Marstow). Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 145 (Marstow) and 166 (Peterstow).

²²⁴ F Morgan, (transcribed), *The Return of Bishop Westfaling to the Archbishop of Canterbury: Survey of the Diocese of Hereford in 1587* (typed-written transcription with notes and index held by Hereford Cathedral Archives), hereafter *Westfaling Survey*, 21r.

Hentland's location relative to Pencoyd and Sellack, we have been unable to trace any early relationship between Sellack and Lugwardine.

If we are dealing with eighth-century churches at Selleck and Pencoyd, and a similarly early ecclesiastical organisation for the surrounding parishes, we may be able to discern attempts by the Anglo-Saxon episcopal minster to take control of Sellack, together with its *parochia*, perhaps by the late ninth century.²²⁵ It seemed to have been successful in acquiring ecclesiastical control over the adjacent old minster of Ross-on-Wye, and it is possible that Sellack's ecclesiastical district had been within Ross's *parochia* before the tenth century.²²⁶ This would certainly fit the chronology discussed for Lugwardine chapel's, within the control of St Guthlac's by that time.

The medieval parish of Kentchurch, a place mentioned in the Llan Dav charters as *Lann Cein*, is first recorded in the eleventh century. Together with its lesser church in Kenderchurch or *Lann Cruc*, likewise dated, Kentchurch's founding may represent further parochial development and a possible reorganisation of an earlier land-unit within the Golden Valley.²²⁷ The Domesday manor of *Elwistone*, modern-day Pontrilas, is placed here. The entry records a priest among the ploughholders, which might confirm a church at the manor.²²⁸ Both Kentchurch and Kenderchurch were recorded in 1291 Taxation, the former held by Gloucester Abbey and valued at £10

²²⁵ But, as with Lugwardine, if there had been such incorporation, it did not extend to the area's secular organisation. We discuss this aspect in Chapters Seven and Eight.

²²⁶ This is discussed further in Chapters Seven and Eight, particularly by reference to the organisation of Bromsash hundred, the secular unit which included the *parochia* of Ross-on-Wye. What divided the Sellack land-unit from Ross-on-Wye in the eleventh century was the Wye, which had become the agreed boundary between the Anglo-Saxon and Welsh kingdoms in the tenth century.

²²⁷ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 109-10.

²²⁸ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.56. It had been held by Harold. The editors note that it would have been adjacent to Ewyas Harold but on the southern bank of the Dore. The priest may have been located at Kentchurch.

and the latter held by Llantony Priory and valued at £3 13s 4d.²²⁹ The charter granting Kentchurch to Gloucester and its daughter-house at Ewyas Priory provides evidence that the identification of Elwistone with Pontrilas is more likely.²³⁰

The Domesday manor of Didley has been identified as having been within the parish of St Devereux.²³¹ The large manor, rated at ten hides, was held along with *Stane* by the bishop. There is no record of any church until 1291 when its value was £8. South of St Devereux is the medieval parish of Kilpeck. Davies locates *Ecclesia Cilpedec* here, a place referred to in a Llan Dav charter dated to 850.²³² There is little information about it in Domesday Book as its record is within the entry for Archenfield; certainly no church is mentioned.²³³ The *Acta* confirm Kilpeck Priory and its endowments, including the church, to Gloucester Abbey around 1155. There is no record of it in 1291, although an ambiguous reference in *Valor* indicates that it may have been a chapel of St Devereux (St Dubricius).²³⁴

To the south lie the large parishes of Orcop and Garway. There is very little ecclesiastical information about either. Garway, DB *Lagademar*, was held by Herman de Dreux. It has been identified by Davies and others as *Lannguorboe*, but

²²⁹ 1291 Taxation, 160, column 2.

²³⁰ Ewyas is described as ‘... *in parochia de Sancta Keyna*,’ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 330, 257-9. We looked at this charter earlier when considering the possible extent of Kentchurch as including the parishes of Vowchurch, Thruyton, Bacton, Abbey Dore and Wormbridge. Coplestone-Crow has argued that its chapel Kenderchurch is the DB manor of ‘*Stane*’, which was held by the bishop with the manor of Didley: *DB Herefordshire*, 2.2. *Valor*, 19, records a pension of 17s 6d due to Gloucester Abbey. Others have placed it at Elvastone near King’s Caple or at Peterstow. *DB Herefordshire*, 1.56 note.

²³¹ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.2. Both Round and Coplestone-Crow agree on its location.

²³² Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 172, LL169b. Oddly, Coplestone-Crow omits this reference.

²³³ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.53.

²³⁴ Barrow, *Acta VII*, no. 73, 58-9, and Morey *et al* (eds) *Letters and Charters*, no. 302, 366-8, confirm further grants to the priory established by Gloucester Abbey, including Kilpeck and a number of places in Bodenham and Leominster parishes, in exchange for lands in Dewchurch and Murcot. *Valor*, 19.

Coplestone-Crow disputes this, and he seems to be on good grounds.²³⁵ However, there was a chapel at Garway which was given to the Knights Templars in 1189 by Richard I.²³⁶ Orcop is mentioned only in 1291, valued at £4 and held by Llantony Priory, but later evidence links it to Harewood and Welsh Newton.²³⁷ There is too little information to conclude anything about these places.

Sadly, the same is true of the remaining parishes in this part of Archenfield. The Llan Dav charters offer some early identifications,²³⁸ and references within the *Acta* of grants made to Monmouth Priory, a cell of the abbey of St Florent of Saumur,²³⁹ show that many Archenfield churches had links to one another, yet there is no discernible hierarchy. Llanrothal,²⁴⁰ with its chapel at Welsh Newton, was valued in 1291 at £3 6s 8d and may have been one land-unit until the twelfth-century grant of lands at Welsh Newton to the Knights Hospitaller.²⁴¹ Ganerew and Welsh Bicknor, likewise Llan Dav charter grants, were portionary churches of Monmouth Priory and, by 1291, valued at less than £4 each.²⁴² The medieval parishes of Goodrich and Whitchurch

²³⁵ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.50. Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 170, LL162a and 171, LL165. The grant dates to 615 x 625 and refers to a place in the district of Mawfield, not in Archenfield. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 91.

²³⁶ B Lees (ed.), *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century* (London: British Academy, 1935), 103.

²³⁷ *Valor*, 21. Orcop is shown as a chapel annexed to Harewood in Archenfield, a parish to the west of Hentland. (It is not to be confused with *DB Herefordshire*, 25.6: *Harewde*, a place in the Golden Valley held by Gilbert son of Thorold.) According to Youngs, *Guide*, 128, Harewood was a chapel appropriated by the Knights Hospitaller. Orcop's association with it does not appear in any earlier records, although nearby Welsh Newton was recorded as having been granted to the Knights in the twelfth century.

²³⁸ Which, although highly significant in themselves, offer little insight into the way in which this area was organised when it came within Hereford diocese.

²³⁹ It held the majority of the churches in this area. Barrow, *Acta VII*, nos. 45 and 47, at 43-4 and 45-7: Llanrothal, Goodrich, Ganerew and Welsh Bicknor. Guienoc founded the Abbey of St Florent de Saumur in the eleventh-century and endowed it and its priory of St Mary, Monmouth.

²⁴⁰ Lann Ridol (c. 1045), according to Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 134.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 151.

²⁴² 1291 Taxation, 160, column 2. Welsh Bicknor appears to be one of the earliest of the Welsh charters, dated to 575: Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 165, LL72a [1] A. There is some debate as to the location of its church at this early date, since Coplestone-Crow believes it to be at Hentland in Goodrich parish. *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 91-2. Ganerew may perhaps be the church of *Lann*

had churches by the late eleventh century, as is evidenced by Guienoc's grants to Monmouth; and Whitchurch may also have been endowed as *Lann Tiwinauc*.²⁴³

It is possible, given the claims that the prior of Monmouth had made concerning parochial rights over other churches in the area, particularly that of the large parish of Llangarron,²⁴⁴ that the churches in western Archenfield were within an extended *parochia* which incorporated these eight parishes.²⁴⁵ That would be logical, since the remaining parishes within Archenfield, with a few exceptions, have been linked to Sellack, Hentland and Llanwarne, all subject to Llan Dav charter grants. There is only circumstantial evidence for this, and the unity is one of control by a newly-founded house at Monmouth. Moreover, as Pryce has argued, the evidence in this area is of a breaking-down of larger units of ecclesiastical control into ever smaller ones, some of which began to fragment long before the middle Anglo-Saxon period.²⁴⁶ However, since Monmouth was a large parish with an early church, according to 1291 Taxation, Domesday Book and the Llan Dav charters, it may have had an extensive *parochia* prior to its status as an alien priory.²⁴⁷ The possibility that it had ecclesiastical authority over the parishes in the west cannot be ruled out.

Celinni or that of *Lann Tisauuc*, both of which are unidentified early eleventh-century churches in Archenfield. *Ibid.*, 90.

²⁴³ Round, *Calendar*, 403; Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 206. Seaton, *Archenfield Deanery*, 34, asserts that Goodrich may have formed part of an endowment dated 811 to the abbey of Winchcombe. He traces the abbey's holding of two knight's fees there to the Earl of Pembroke, who then held it of the abbey.

²⁴⁴ Morey *et al* (eds), *Letters and Charters*, no.149, 195. The case was not decided but adjourned; there are no extant charters which confirm Llangarron to St Mary's, Monmouth: it is not among the grants listed in the bull of Pope Urban III as quoted by Round, *Calendar*, 403, in favour of its mother-house at Saumur. Contrary to what is stated in Duncumb, VI, part 2, 17, there is no charter in favour of Mommouth Priory revealed in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 595-601.

²⁴⁵ Orcop, Garway, Llanrothal and Welsh Newton, Ganerew, Whitchurch, Goodrich and Welsh Bicknor. Coplestone-Crow believes that the combined parishes of Goodrich and Welsh Bicknor were one land-unit—the one delineated in Llan Dav charter LL72a (1) A. *Herefordshire Place Names*, 91-2.

²⁴⁶ H Pryce, 'Pastoral care in early medieval Wales' in J Blair and R Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester University Press: Leicester, 1992), 41-62, hereafter 'Medieval Wales', at 45-7.

²⁴⁷ 1291 Taxation, 160, column 2. It was valued at £16 13s 4d. In 1086 there was a church within the castle, the one already held by St Florent of Saumur. *DB Herefordshire*, 1.48. LL 180a refers to *Aper*

5.10 Herefordshire's late Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical geography: concluding remarks

Sixteen case studies have been presented in Chapters Three, Four and Five. These have demonstrated without question the complexity of Herefordshire's Anglo-Saxon parochial organisation. As an exercise it has been only partly successful and difficulties have arisen on account of the lack of any documentary evidence for the foundation and endowment of Anglo-Saxon minster churches in a province which had come within the purview of the Mercian royal household before the eighth century. This lack of evidence has forced us to rely heavily on twelfth- and thirteenth-century sources, including the 1086 Domesday return, episcopal *Acta*, 1291 Taxation and the cartularies of monastic houses which were prominent in the area. A précis of this evidence is set out in schematic format in Appendix One.

As a result we have argued for the existence of a number of old minsters dating from the middle Anglo-Saxon period. We have speculated about the shape of their *parochiae*, acknowledging that this aspect of the study is likely to be the subject of further debate and research. These land-units are mapped in Figure 5.9.

Menei as a gift to Bishop Berthwyn *c.* 720, and Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, 174, locates this at Monmouth, indicating that a church was there from the middle of the eighth century. It is likely that it would have been in addition to the one recorded in the Domesday entry, as Dugdale refers to this as the church of St Cadog, *Monasticon*, IV, 596. The late medieval parish of Monmouth was large, of similar size to Llangarron's.

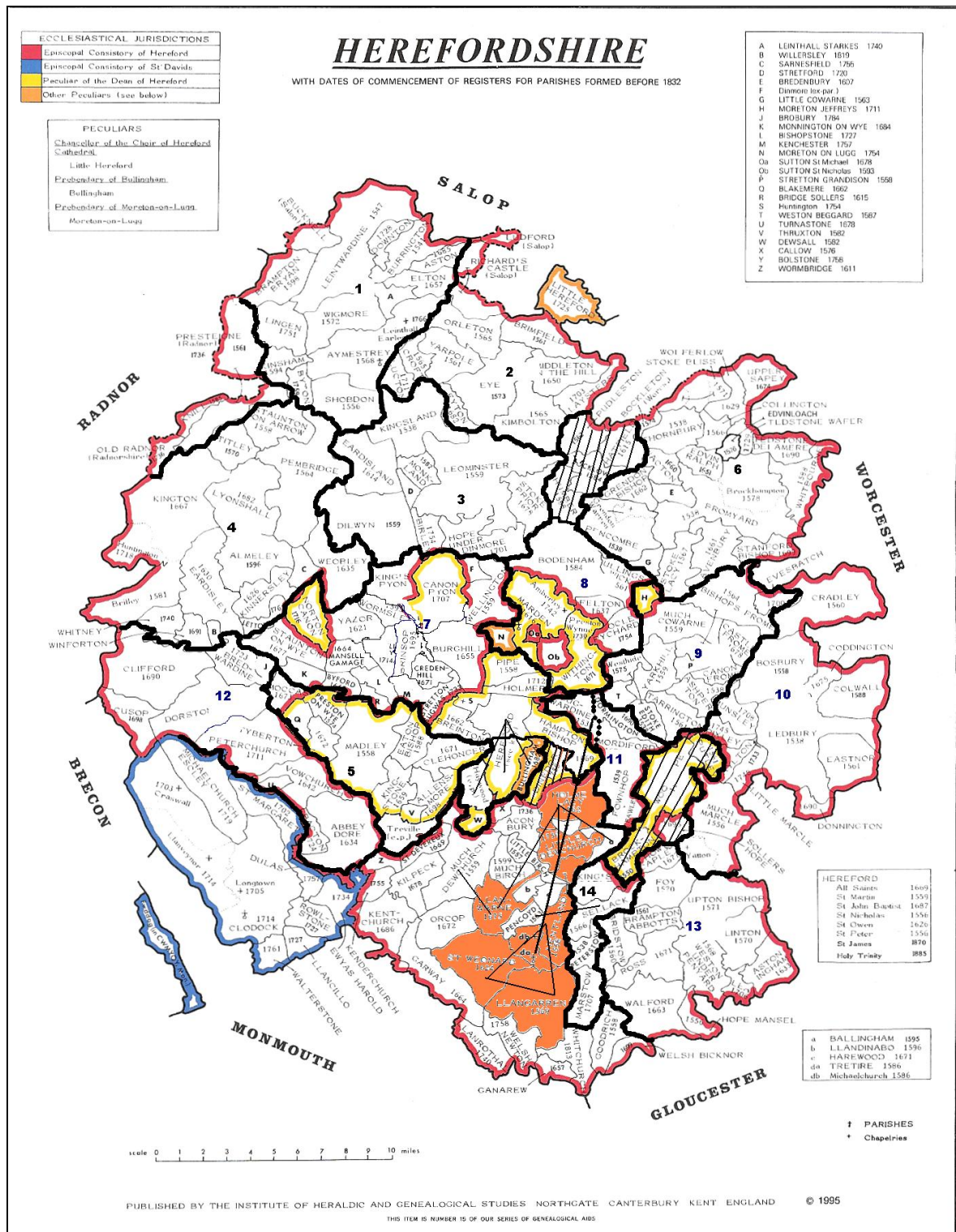


Figure 5.9 A suggested depiction of Herefordshire's ninth-century *parochiae*. Those marked * in the key, below, were founded within a British provision. Solid orange indicates parishes linked to Lugwardine; hatched areas²⁴⁸ have not been determined. From Humphrey-Smith, Atlas, 15 with additions.

²⁴⁸ The hatched black area, between Bromyard and Leominster, has not been allocated. It may have been within Bodenham or within Leominster. The hatched black area between Holme Lacy and Bullingham (Dinedor medieval parish) has not been allocated. It may have been within the parishes dependent upon Lugwardine, as it abuts Holme Lacy, or within those attached to Hereford cathedral. The hatched black area comprising the medieval parishes of Woolhope, Putley and Brockhampton has

| Key: | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Leintwardine | 7. Hereford | 13. Ross-on-Wye |
| 2. Eye | 8. Bodenham | 14. Sellack* |
| 3. Leominster | 9. Much Cowarne | |
| 4. Pembridge | 10. Ledbury | |
| 5. Madley* | 11. Lugwardine | |
| 6. Bromyard | 12. Clifford* | |

In terms of the chronology for their establishment, for those Anglo-Saxon foundations at Hereford, Ledbury, Bromyard, Bodenham, Leominster, Eye, Leintwardine and Ross-on-Wye we propose a *terminus ante quem* of the late eighth or early ninth century. In addition, the other valuable churches at Pembridge and Much Cowarne, where there appeared to be corroborative evidence that both served an extensive area, were within a provision likely to have been in place by the early ninth century. Some churches, such those within Madley, Clifford and in the district of Archenfield, were of much earlier British foundation, and their incorporation into the Anglo-Saxon framework could have occurred by the late eighth or early ninth century. We have excluded the district of Ewyas since, although it was later within the shire, it remained in the diocese of St David's. (We have deferred a discussion of the diocesan aspect of this organisation to Chapter Seven.)

The issue that has been the most difficult to research is that concerning the foundation of the two minster churches at Hereford, as the organisation of the shire's ecclesiastical provision is most likely to have been directly linked to the delivery of pastoral care from Hereford. Although much speculation exists about a possible connection between the establishment of the cathedral of St Ethelbert and the minster of St Guthlac's, no firm theories have yet been advanced concerning it. To assist us we have looked at studies made of other West Midland towns, in particular that of

not been allocated. There are no links with Lugwardine, and it lay within the dean's peculiar jurisdiction of the canons of the Hereford cathedral.

Coventry,²⁴⁹ to identify if a pattern may have existed for royal patronage and endowment. Our conclusions are twofold. Firstly, an ecclesiastical centre existed at Hereford or within its outskirts from the sixth or seventh century. This centre was the site of an Anglo-Saxon minster complex which probably succeeded an earlier British provision. In the early eighth century the Anglo-Saxon see became located at Hereford, and its cathedral church benefitted from royal endowment, in both lands and resources; to counter-balance the power which the episcopal minster would necessarily command a second rival church was likewise endowed. These two churches—ultimately known as St Ethelbert's and St Guthlac's divided between them the assets of Hereford's original *parochia*.

Each appears subsequently to have had acquired a network of minster foundations; for example, there were episcopal ones at Ledbury and Bromyard and royally promoted ones at Much Cowarne and Lugwardine. It can be no accident that St Guthlac's was invariably the provider of pastoral care at *villae regales* within the shire, but this pattern appears to have been altered in the years after the Conquest. (At Appendix Two we provide a fuller discussion of the shire's eleventh- and twelfth-century ecclesiastical provision.) On the assumption that the minsters of St Guthlac's and St Ethelbert's had had a common predecessor with its own *parochia*, we can now propose a shape for that district in Figure 5.10.

²⁴⁹ We also considered Warwick, Shrewsbury and Worcester, for which some material seemed analogous concerning, *inter alia*, the presence of more than one contemporary church within a confined minster complex. In addition, Worcester's first church seems to have been a British one. See Chapter Three.

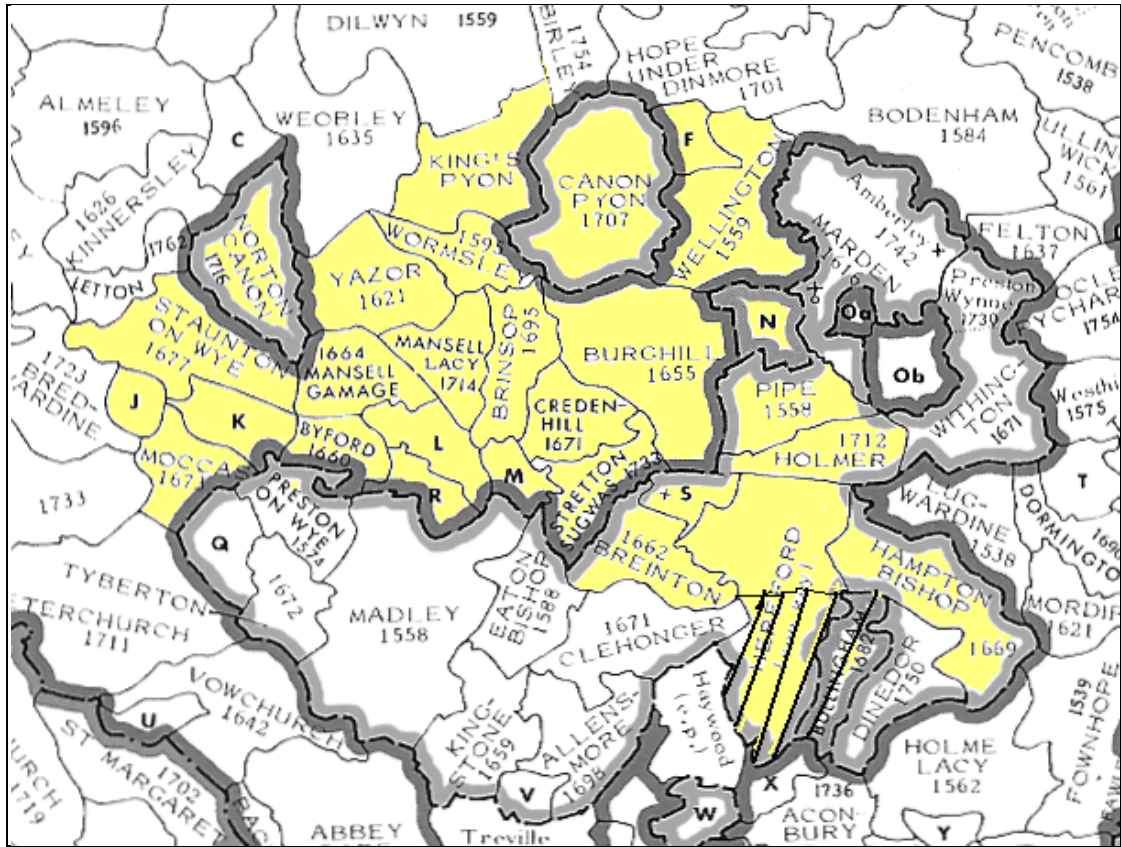


Figure 5.10 Hereford's eighth-century *parochia*. The outliers south of the Wye are hatched. From Humphrey-Smith, Atlas 15, with additions.

We have already discounted an argument that the dean's peculiar jurisdiction constituted the early *parochia* of Hereford, but we could support a view that some of the manors and churches of each of the two minsters comprised the latter. The following seem likely to have been included: the districts of Pipe and Lyde, (including the area of the episcopal estate surrounding Hereford), the royal *tun* of Burghill (outside the dean's peculiar but likely to have been within the area of influence of the Anglo-Saxons by the late sixth century, as was *Malveselle*, north of the Wye and due west of Hereford).²⁵⁰ The district of Madley/Mawfield and its adjacent parishes have been excluded despite the evidence that the canons at Hereford asserted burial rights at Allensmore. Madley bore all the hallmarks of a British church which had its own parochial jurisdiction; although it may have had some links

²⁵⁰ Although we could not identify a minster, the churches were close in proximity to Hereford, and bore all the hallmarks of parochial portionary chapels, with medium to low 1291 values.

to an early seventh-century provision at Hereford, it was unlikely to have been administered from it. Within this model *parochia* ten parishes have been identified as St Ethelbert's²⁵¹ and twelve as most likely to have been St Guthlac's.²⁵² In size it includes the eleventh-century hundreds of Cutsthorn, Staple and part of Dinedor,²⁵³ and is approximately the extent of a small British polity.²⁵⁴

Our next task is to consider the origins and extents of the shire's collateral secular land-units, the hundreds, so as to identify what relationship those territories had to the ones identified in Chapters Three, Four and Five. We proceed with this, again by case-study analysis, in Chapter Six.

²⁵¹ That is, Pipe, Holmer, Moreton-on-Lugg, Hampton Bishop, Huntington, Credenhill, Stretton Sugwas, Breinton, Bullingham and Withington (parts held by both) and part of Hereford.

²⁵² That is, Wellington, Burghill (including Dinmore as part), Mansall Lacy, Mansall Gamage, Yazor, Byford, Brinsop, Kenchester, Bishopstone, Bridge Sollers, Wormlsey and parts of Withington and Hereford.

²⁵³ The position for the territory that became the hundred of Dinedor is unclear. Although likely to have been within the same land-unit as Stretford South, it had no ecclesiastical links to the Madley/Mawfield district. Its most eastern portion may have been part of Holme Lacy/Lugwardine. See the Lugwardine case study in Chapter Four, page 134 and n. 136.

²⁵⁴ See Chapter Eight for a fuller discussion; and we have already noted, above, the antiquarian view that a pre-eighth-century territory known as *Fernlege* existed in the vicinity of what later became Hereford. See E Williams and T Williams, *Iolo manuscripts. A Selection of Ancient Welsh Manuscripts* (Liverpool: Foulkes, 1888, produced in facsimile form by BiblioLife, LLC, 2010), hereafter *Iolo*, 394.

CHAPTER SIX THE LATE ANGLO-SAXON ADMINISTRATIVE GEOGRAPHY OF HEREFORDSHIRE

6.1 Introduction

‘By the middle of the tenth century (the hundred) had come to mean at least two separate and yet closely connected things. It was a territorial division... and as such in constant use to describe a basic administrative unit in the community... (it) was also a court, presided over... by a hundred-man... and it appears in the records independently of the territorial neighbourhood it served.’¹

Loyn, writing on the origins of the English hundreds, was here articulating their double function as territorial units for government as well as for the administration of justice. First *clearly* mentioned in the sources *c.* 939, they were enshrined in a regulatory framework known as the Hundred Ordinance,² whose promotion appears to have been the first available evidence of a system of uniformity for taxation and governance across the kingdoms of Wessex and English Mercia. By 1086 we see a fully developed and operational regime within the folios of Domesday Book. However, the argument that this system was both a tenth-century innovation and one imposed on the basis of West Saxon supremacy can no longer be accepted without question.³

¹ H Loyn, ‘The hundred in England in the tenth and eleventh centuries’ in H Hearder and H Loyn (eds), *British Government and Administration* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1974), 1-14, hereafter ‘Hundred’, at 1.

² D Whitelock (ed.), ‘The Hundred Ordinance’ in *English Historical Documents. Volume I* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1955), 393-4. Whitelock notes that arguments for its being a re-issue of a similar law-code of Edmund’s reign are unconvincing but she concludes that Edgar’s authorship is not definite.

³ Although Loyn’s preferred explanation (origins arising out of the public-meeting obligations within II Edward, 8) has some merit in that it aligns territory with the administration of justice, his argument about the necessity for the regulation of community cohesion is less convincing. Loyn, ‘Hundred’, 3-4. For tribal theories concerning the organisation of territory see R Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1997), hereafter *English Peasantry*, 5-10.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, scholars attempted to identify the origins of hundreds as units comprising the lower layer of Anglo-Saxon regional administration. Theories were proposed, primarily aimed at demonstrating that a single origin had universal application across the divergent kingdoms, perhaps at the point of unification of Wessex and Mercia. It is worth considering these various theories briefly, if only to identify and evaluate their underlying approach.

6.2 The origins of the Anglo-Saxon hundred

Two strands of rationale can be detected: the first is identified with lordship and individual obligation, and the second with their impact on the growth of territorial unity and extent. These two strands became linked largely as the result of the development of more complex political and economic units, over an ensuing two to three hundred year period. Stenton, first writing in 1943, explained the function of the seventh-century hide as the basis of an individual's public obligation and the primary unit of social organisation. His analysis of the Laws of Ine demonstrated how the obligations of the *ceorl* household, which included both service in the *fyrd* and payment of the *feorm*, was based on an assessment in hides, often of varying sizes. In the first instance the hide was aligned with individual tenements and not linked to territory or region; however, by the eighth and ninth centuries these obligations had become communal ones.⁴

⁴ F M Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), hereafter *Anglo-Saxon England*, 279. By then typical settlements were communal.

Chadwick had earlier attempted to locate the point at which the hide had become a factor in territorial organisation and administration,⁵ and Cam had observed the development of the royal manor as the proto-territory around which later hundredal obligations came to be defined.⁶ Similarly, Sawyer considered that the royal *tun* was the likely focal point for the sorts of functions which were subsequently the responsibility of the hundred-man; he linked the development of that role to the growth of the importance of the reeve.⁷ We can see how payment of tribute was a localised device in exchange for which households gained security of supply as well as political protection.

6.2.1 An assessment device

That this system was an evolving one is clear from the Tribal Hidage, a document which, although contained in a tenth-century manuscript, may date from the seventh, eighth or ninth century.⁸ Stenton reckoned that the list, which comprised evidence of thirty-five polities, identified those tribal groups which, at the date of writing, owed ‘... tribute... (to) Mercian kings... (It was) probably dated to the eighth century...’

⁵ H Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1905), 204-16. He pointed out that hide assessments of the late Anglo-Saxon period, while referring to people and territories, do not identify *hundreds* as the primary unit of assessment.

⁶ H Cam, ‘*Manerium cum hundredo*: the hundred and the hundredal manor’ in *eadem*, *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1944), 64-90, hereafter ‘Hundred Manor’, and *eadem*, ‘Early groups of hundreds’, *ibid.*, 91-106. In ‘Hundred Manor’ at 77-8 she looked at the royal manor of Much Cowarne in Herefordshire, describing it as, arguably, the *villa regalis* to which was annexed the area that in Domesday Book appears divided into the hundreds of Thornlaw, Radlow and Plegelgate. (We think this is likely to have been Greytree hundred, however, and not Thornlaw, for the reasons set out below within the Greytree case study and Chapter Eight.)

⁷ P Sawyer, *From Roman Britain to Norman England*, 2nd edition (London: Routledge, 1998), hereafter *Roman Britain*, 200.

⁸ Studies of the seven manuscripts and their provenance include: W Davies and H Vierck, ‘The contexts of the Tribal Hidage: social aggregates and settlement patterns’, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 8 (1974), 223-93, hereafter ‘Contexts’. D Dumville, ‘The Tribal Hidage’ in S Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1989), 225-30, hereafter ‘Tribal Hidage’. P Featherstone, ‘The Tribal Hidage and the ealdormen of Mercia’, in M Brown and C Farr (eds), *Mercia. An Anglo-Saxon kingdom in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2001), 23-34, hereafter ‘Ealdormen of Mercia’.

intended to serve some practical purpose...'⁹ The document, which is the first recorded evidence that the hide as assessment was in the process of being transformed from one aligned to individual tenement to an artificial unit which identified tribute obligations for whole peoples, begins with an assessment for '... the area first called Mercia', recording what most scholars believe to be an historical position. Thereafter, as an indication of Mercia's increasing prominence, assessments are listed in respect of obligations owed by satellite peoples who had come within Mercian overlordship, providing evidence of the system's development from an individual to a communal one.

Davies, who argued for a late seventh-century dating, wrote that the 'Tribal Hidage classifies people by social unit, *not by territory* (my italics); it counts them by household. It looks like a census list, a *per capita* assessment for the purposes of taxation.'¹⁰ However, Featherstone, who has recently argued for a late ninth-century compilation and the incorporation of information from the seventh, has suggested that its purpose may have been to identify and allocate assessment based on the superiority of the group in question.¹¹ If this is the case, then the assessments revealed within the document do not represent a *per capita* census; in addition, they may, as an indicator of a people's superiority, be wholly arbitrary in nature. 'Of course, if this theory is correct, then we must assume that the Tribal Hidage was preserved for a reason. The most probable reason is that the divisions... continued to have some form of political

⁹ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 297.

¹⁰ Davies, 'Contexts', 225. Although dating its contents to the seventh century, in an argument about its purpose she sides with Loyn and Stenton, both of whom regarded it as an eighth-century tribute list.

¹¹ Featherstone, 'Ealdormen of Mercia', 31. In arguing for the later date he agrees with Sawyer. A later date also indicates preparation after a time when territories were becoming politically more cohesive and their boundaries less fluid.

significance from the seventh century to the ninth.¹² It is possible that, in addition to this political significance, its preservation enabled assessments to be transformed more easily from a sum owed by a people to a sum imposed upon their territorial extent, once ‘territory’ had become defined for the tribal group in occupation.¹³

The Tribal Hidage has particular relevance for this study, as one of its entries identifies a high-value assessment of 7000 hides for the *Westerna*, believed by many to be an alternative name for one people thought to have occupied central and northern Herefordshire and southern Shropshire by the ninth century: the *Magonsaete*.¹⁴ But it is by no means certain that the designation ‘*Westerna*’/‘the western ones’, which is at best an ambiguous term, necessarily refers to one group because, by the eighth century, the sources reveal a multiplicity of Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-British tribes in the west, each of whom may have comprised peoples whose ancestors were grouped within the collective term ‘*Westerna*’. Subsequently, their progeny may have included the *Magonsaete*, the *Stepelsaete*, *Dunsaete*, *Postsaete*, and the *Wentsaete*, as well as the *Gaini* and the *Hecani*.¹⁵ And if Tribal Hidage is of

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ This point is an important one, as it may provide further evidence of the background for what Faith calls the ‘process of shiring’—the defining of territories expressed in numbers of hides to provide for the upkeep of the burhs which was an important factor in the definition and fixing of specific burdens on specific land.’ Faith, *English Peasantry*, 101. However, no assessment within the list, whether artificial or not, can be discerned as figuring in the subsequent ratings of the hundreds within the kingdom of Mercia, something discussed further in Chapter Seven.

¹⁴ We will consider this group, whose name first appears early in the ninth century, further when discussing the origins of the diocese of Hereford in Chapter Seven.

¹⁵ Three of these groups are mentioned in charters or documents: the *Magonsaete* first appear in S1264 (811), the *Dunsaete* and the *Wentsaete* in the Ordinance of the *Dunsaete*, which may date from the eighth century. See: *Ordinance of the Dunsaete* reprinted in M Gelling (ed.), *Offa’s Dyke Reviewed by Frank Noble*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 114 (1983), 105-9. The next two have been arrived at from place-name studies. The penultimate, whose ealdorman according to Asser was one Mucel (possibly the son of the Mucel of the authentic Hanbury charter dated to 836, S190), remains an unidentified Mercian tribe. See: S Keynes and M Lapidge (eds), *Alfred the Great* (London: Penguin, 1983), 77 and 240, n. 57. Finberg suggested that it may have been identical with the final group, the *Hecani*, mentioned in the early ecclesiastical sources which likewise refer to ‘Westerners’: the *Uestor. E* and *Uestor Elih*’ of the early episcopal lists, and the *Hecani*, with *Westan Hecanorum rex* and *rex Westehanorum* also mentioned. See: H P R Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1961), hereafter *Early Charters*, 217 and P Sims-

seventh-century origin, references to non-amorphous small-scale polities would provide greater clarity if those upon whom the tribute fell were grouped together by geographical area, and assessed as a unit.¹⁶ Moreover, the territory which the ‘*Westerna*’ occupied must have been an extensive one, since its assessment was identical to that of its neighbours the ‘*Hwinca*’/Hwicce who occupied Worcestershire, Gloucestershire east of the Severn, and the south-western portion of Warwickshire.¹⁷

Although the point may be an obvious one, Keynes has noted that: ‘The significance of the Tribal Hidage depends on our judgement of its origin, date and intended purpose.’¹⁸ It seems clear to us that, by the late seventh century, tribal assessment and territorial extent factored hugely in its content; these were evolving concepts throughout the middle Anglo-Saxon period. Moreover, if Featherstone is correct and the assessments were artificial or derived from a particular group’s significance and the extent of their territorial dominance, then, at the very least, it can be argued that an element of artificiality was always present within the hidage assessment system, and artificiality may not have been the by-product of West Saxon imposition.¹⁹

Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), hereafter *Religion and Literature*, 40-2.

¹⁶ Many of these small scale polities may have been short-lived and in the process of assimilation within larger tribal groupings. Steven Bassett, pers. comm., has referred to this as a ‘balling process’, which ‘... began in earnest when the settlement areas of these communities started to coalesce. Once adjacent ones were contiguous and resources became the object of determined competition, or once inter-community rivalry became socially entrenched for other reasons, then the process of amalgamation would begin.’ S Bassett, ‘In search of the origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms’ in *idem* (ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1989), 3-27, hereafter *Origins*, at 23-4.

¹⁷ It was likewise one of 7000 hides. Featherstone, ‘Ealdormen of Mercia’, 24. As an aside, perhaps the Hwicce, whose extent was co-terminous with the Anglo-Saxon diocese of Worcester, had already completed a stage of amalgamation the effect of which meant that, by the seventh century, the group had acquired a collective identity which encompassed the small polities still present early in the eighth century, according to the charters. They included the *Stoppingas* of Wootton Wawen, not a large enough group to have been mentioned in the Tribal Hidage, but still capable of having an identity: they appear in a charter of 716 x 737, S94.

¹⁸ S Keynes, ‘England, 700-900’ in R McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume 2, c. 700-c. 900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 18-42, at 23.

¹⁹ Featherstone’s comments are, of course, in direct contrast to Davies’s, and in partial support to Keynes’s. A later date for the document, within the context of state-formation, would provide a

6.2.2 An administrative device

A number of scholars have consistently argued against tenth-century West Saxon imposition of the hundred-scheme revealed in Edgar's ordinance. It is important to give their arguments full treatment here because, seen particularly in the context of our discussion above, they have force. We have already noted the work of Cam, among the first to argue that the hundred-manor revealed in Domesday Book was invariably the centre-point of an estate framework which had its origins in the earlier Anglo-Saxon period. In 1983 Sawyer listed no less than 152 places associated with royal estates or royal residences which, he argued, constituted part of a network spread throughout England.²⁰ He had written in 1978: 'The fact that many hundreds were assessed at close to a hundred hides suggests assessments were new and... had been imposed on earlier units';²¹ yet later he argued that those earlier units were the very districts dependent on the royal *tun*, administered by the royal reeve and having roots '... that extended even beyond the English conquests.'²² This observation appeared to herald a step-change in his thinking, as well as the beginnings of an appreciation of the disparate regional ways in which the land-units which became hundreds might have evolved.

rationale for its preservation. Another, much later assessment, known as the County Hidage—the provenance and dating for which are the subject of differing views—was considered in detail by Maitland. F Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond: Three Essays in the Early History of England* (London: Fontana Library, 1969), hereafter *Domesday Book*, 524-8. 'On the whole, we believe that this County Hidage, though it has come to us in transcripts some or all of which are careless, is an old and trustworthy document, that it is right in attributing to the counties neat sums of hides, such as 1200 and 2400, and that it is right in representing the current of change that was flowing in the eleventh century as setting towards a rapid reduction in the number of hides.' *Ibid.*, 528. We consider its context further in Chapter Seven.

²⁰ P Sawyer, 'The royal *tun* in pre-Conquest England' in P Wormald *et al* (eds), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 273-99, hereafter 'Royal *Tun*'. His evidence came from a variety of sources including charters, place-names and archaeological finds. Rather surprisingly, he claimed to have found none in Herefordshire.

²¹ Sawyer, *Roman Britain*, 197.

²² Sawyer, 'Royal *Tun*', 289.

In her study Yorke observed that, even within the kingdom of the West Saxons, ‘... It is likely that there was *no one point* (my italics) at which hundreds were created... rather they were a natural evolution from earlier administrative arrangements whereby estates were grouped together for fiscal and other royal demands and supervised from a king’s *tun* or royal vill.’²³ Furthermore, she viewed the artificial division of shires into regular units of one hundred hides as being unlikely, arguing that the name ‘hundred’ may have been a translation of the name for a similar administrative vehicle within Carolingian Francia: the *centena*.²⁴ And she noted further both the subdivision of large districts during the middle Anglo-Saxon period, as well as their bulking-up for defensive purposes later on.²⁵

Within the West Midlands, Bassett has considered similar phenomena in the context of an added dimension that has long been associated with the royal *tun*: its significance as a place around which ecclesiastical provision was organised.²⁶ He demonstrated, in his study of the diocese of Worcester, that secular and ecclesiastical territorial organisation were often mirror images of one another, giving rise to a clear inference about the dual function which such territories exhibited.²⁷ He argued that, where the geographic extent of the *parochia* of an old minster can be identified, it is

²³ B Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), hereafter *Wessex*, 124-5. She notes the substantial number centred on or named after royal vill or ‘... meeting-places... being prominent natural or man-made features such as trees, stones, fords, crossroads, barrows... and could imply that royal vill districts were themselves based on older units for the regulation of local affairs.’ *Ibid.*, 125.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ She was writing about the creation of *shipsokes*. These hundred-based grouping of 300 hides were organised to defray the cost of a single ship for the king’s fleet and were probably in existence by 1008, according to scholars. It is noteworthy that the church of Hereford, whose estates were described in Domesday Book as comprising 300 hides, has been termed a ‘triple hundred’ and may have been a *shipsoke*, although, as will be apparent from the case studies below, none of the shire’s hundreds was grouped together in this way and the lands of the church were scattered over a wide area.

²⁶ Sawyer, ‘Royal *Tun*’, 277, describes middle Anglo-Saxon royal vill as the location for old minsters.

²⁷ S Bassett, ‘The administrative landscape of the diocese of Worcester in the tenth century’ in N Brooks and C Cubitt (eds), *St Oswald of Worcester: His Life and Influence* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), 147-73, hereafter ‘Administrative Landscape’.

possible to identify its area within an eleventh-century hundred.²⁸ From this perspective the clear pattern of royal *tunas*, as the units of both economic and ecclesiastical organisation, can be seen replicated in the local political arena from the tenth century.²⁹ Furthermore, he argued for the probability that Edgar's ordinance was designed to regulate the *existing disparate structures* which served local requirements; by doing so its purpose may have been to promote a kind of national hundred-model upon which were conferred all the trappings demanded of a more sophisticated state once the two kingdoms of Wessex and Mercia were unified.³⁰

6.3 The eleventh-century framework

An understanding of all of these issues is absolutely key to contextualising our study of the hundred-landscape of Herefordshire in 1086; and identifying its shape is a necessary first step in discovering what may have been a middle Anglo-Saxon organisation underlying it. In this process we are looking for two things: evidence of antiquity and security of location. Within the folios of Domesday Book we have identified hundred-manors which may have been middle Anglo-Saxon central-places; in addition, a handful of them bear all the hallmarks of *villae regales* around which royal power and authority were organised in the middle Anglo-Saxon period. We noted in Bassett's study of the diocese of Worcester that the administrative function

²⁸He refers to '...a close correspondence between the extent of a particular late Anglo-Saxon hundred and the extent of one or more of the parishes served by the minster churches ('old minsters') which had been set up in the same area in the first century and a half of Anglo-Saxon Christianity.' Bassett, 'Administrative Landscape', 158-60, at 158.

²⁹Indeed, for those *parochiae* which can be shown to pre-date the tenth century there is a greater presumption that the land-units in question may have been in existence, as Sawyer argued, from a time 'before the English conquests'. Sawyer, 'Royal Tun', 289.

³⁰Although identified by most historians as having been fully realised after 918, it is worth noting that Keynes offers a view that the so-called 'kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons' may have been in being from a period fifty years earlier. S Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians' in M Blackburn and D Dumville (eds), *Kings, Currency and Alliances* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), 1-46, at 36.

of such places ‘... persisted despite the onset of the break-up of early territories which produced the pattern of generally much smaller estates... familiar to us from the tenth century onwards. If the West Midlands hundreds recorded in Domesday Book replaced anything, it was a pattern of administrative units of this sort’.³¹

To be able to map these land-units as precisely as possible we need to have identified the manors and vills recorded in the Domesday return; it may be that in most cases their boundaries will be co-terminous with those of later medieval parishes. To the extent that these can be mapped accurately, the result ought to permit comparison with the shape of the *parochiae* already identified in Chapter Five of this study.

6.4 The Hundreds of Herefordshire

‘One of the greatest difficulties presented by Herefordshire in Domesday is that its hundreds were subsequently thrown, as it were, into the melting-pot, and that the division of the county which emerges in the thirteenth century was altogether different... one of the existing eleven hundreds, that of Wigmore, includes the Herefordshire portion of that hundred of Leintwardine which Domesday surveys under Shropshire. Eleven therefore represent more than the sixteen that seem to be recognized in the Survey of the county as it then was. (Although) Five of these existing hundreds retain Domesday names... this must not blind us to the alterations in their boundaries. The Domesday names of hundreds that have not been retained are eleven... The transformation of the Domesday hundreds is one, though only one, of the causes that make the identification of the manors named in the Survey peculiarly and notoriously difficult.’³²

Round was writing early in the twentieth century, long before the publication of a twelfth-century Exchequer manuscript which provided the key to locating twenty-four

³¹ Bassett, ‘Administrative Landscape’, 160.

³² J H Round, ‘Introduction to the Herefordshire Domesday Book’ in W Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Herefordshire. Volume I* (London: Constable, 1908), 263-307, hereafter ‘Introduction’, at 303-4; *idem* (ed.), ‘The Domesday Survey of Herefordshire’ in W Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Herefordshire. Volume I* (London: Constable, 1908), 308-45, hereafter *VCH*.

of the unidentified manors to which he referred,³³ and scholars since then have gone some way towards clearing up some of the confusion concerning place identification and location. However, there remains debate, not only about the number of hundreds which the shire had in 1086³⁴ but also about the identification of at least twenty-three of its manors and the location of at least seven. Of the seventeen administrative districts recorded in 1086, thirteen appear to have been compact land-units of varying size and shape, similar to those surveyed in other shires of the West Midlands;³⁵ there is a private ecclesiastical hundred, or at least the remains of one;³⁶ there are three places regarded as hundred-manors;³⁷ there is one district which was hidated but not described as a hundred,³⁸ and two districts in the process of incorporation from what remained of Welsh kingdoms.³⁹ All these areas are surveyed within Herefordshire's return in Domesday Book, mapped in Figure 6.1. For the purposes of this exercise we exclude the two Welsh districts of Ewyas and Archenfield, as these are considered within Chapters Seven and Eight.

³³ V H Galbraith and J Tait (eds), *Herefordshire Domesday, c. 1160-1170* (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1950), hereafter *Herefordshire Domesday*.

³⁴ Maitland identified nineteen but did not provide a list of those which he regarded as such. Maitland, *Domesday Book*, 529. Until the publication of more recent studies this figure had been taken as read.

³⁵ These are the following: Hazletree, Wolphy, Elsdon, Stretford, Plegelgate, Staple, Cutsthorn, Thornlaw, Radlow, Winstree, Dinedor, Greytrees and Bromsash.

³⁶ Leominster

³⁷ Lene, Sellack and Wormelow

³⁸ Straddel or Golden Valley

³⁹ Ewyas and Archenfield

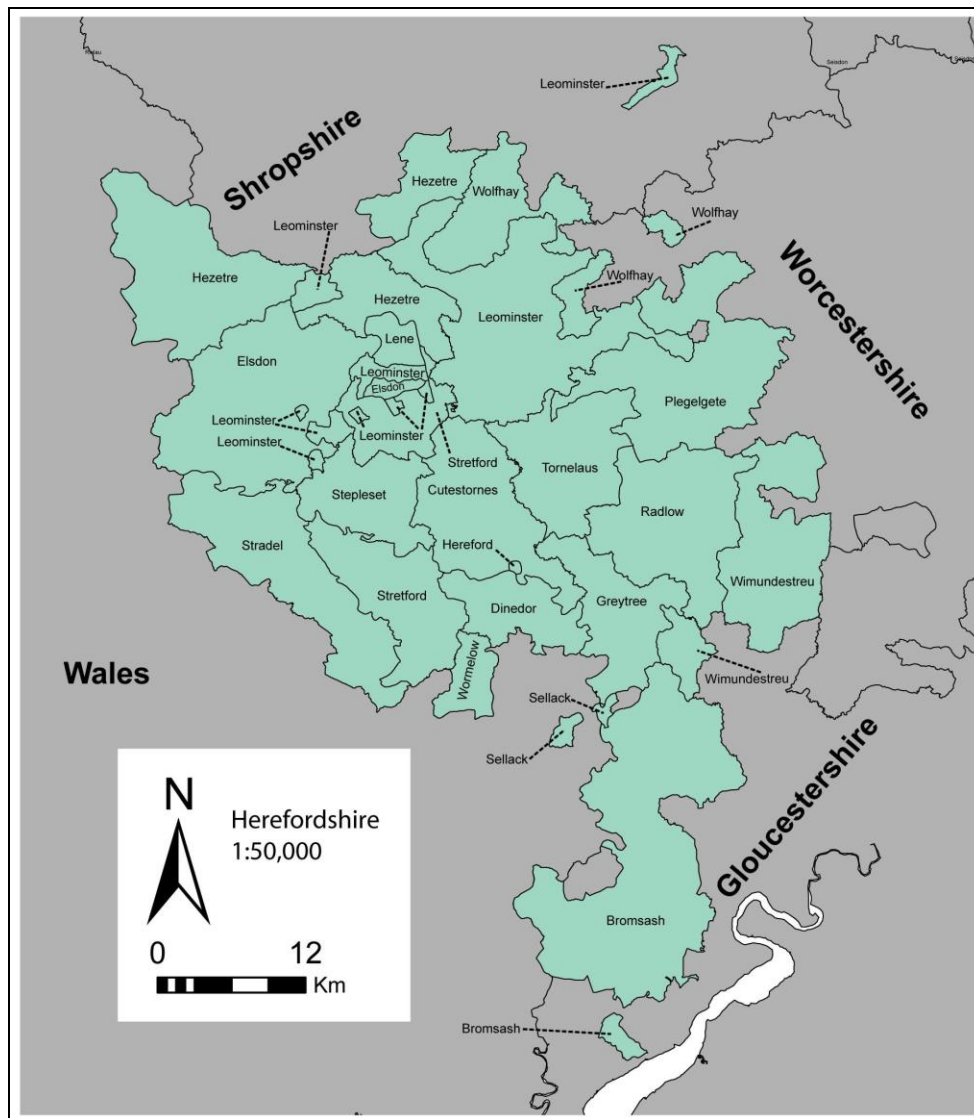


Figure 6.1 Map of Herefordshire from Domesday Book.
<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/research/projects/assembly/ElectronicAnderson>

We have noted above that the geography of Herefordshire's hundreds was not dissimilar to that of other West Midland shires, notably its neighbours Worcestershire and Gloucestershire. These shires likewise had hundreds with detached portions, like Wolphy and Hazletree, small hundred-manors, like those of Lene, Wormelow and Sellack, and ecclesiastical hundreds such as Leominster appears to have been in origin.⁴⁰ So there is nothing unusual about this pattern and it certainly is not one

⁴⁰ In Worcestershire: Doddingtree, Tardebigge (possibly a royal hundred manor within Came hundred, according to the Alecto map) and Oswaldslow; in Gloucestershire: Westbury-on-Severn, Wapley and Berkeley.

which speaks of an obvious uniformity, as some scholars would ask us to believe. Each of Herefordshire's hundreds, like those of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, was rated at a different number of hides, and none had a round sum of one hundred. The smallest was Sellack rated at half a hide and the largest, excluding Leominster, was Hazletree rated at 109 hides.⁴¹ We have calculated the total for the shire as 1198 hides 45 acres.⁴²

Research into Herefordshire's administrative geography was undertaken by C P Lewis in 1985,⁴³ and as far as we are aware, his is the only study yet made of the shire's hundredal organisation. He argued for an original tenth-century configuration of twelve hundreds, all located north and east of the Wye, suggesting that the later incorporation of areas south and west of it probably occurred late in the tenth or early in the eleventh century.⁴⁴ This is an interesting argument which we will be considering in detail below. However, it is worth noting that as his is primarily a study of the Welsh border, including Shropshire and Cheshire, the coverage of Herefordshire is limited to his discussion of those afore-mentioned areas south of the

⁴¹ Which sum includes Staunton-on-Arrow, wrongly counted within Staple hundred. See the tables in Appendix Three.

⁴² This figure is discussed in detail below; it is one worked up from our own calculations and based on the assumptions identified there. It compares with previous calculations as follows: Maitland, *Domesday Book*, 1324 hides; H Darby and G Versey, *Domesday Gazetteer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 174-86, hereafter *DG*, 1199 hides; Palmer, *et al.*, *Electronic Edition of Domesday Book: Translation, Databases and Scholarly Commentary*, 1086 [computer file].

Colchester, Essex: UK Data Archive [distributor], September 2007. Study Number 5694, hereafter Palmer, *Electronic Edition*, in the Table of Statistics: 1242 hides. However, we could not reconcile this to Palmer's data of 1203 hides, constructed from exporting the MS Access data to an MS excel format.

⁴³ C P Lewis, 'English and Norman Government and Lordship in the Welsh Borders 1039-1087' (Oxford University, unpublished DPhil thesis, 1985), hereafter 'English and Norman Government'.

⁴⁴ According to his theory, in the tenth century the shire excluded all the territorial land-units south and west of the Wye: Stretford (South), Stradel/Golden Valley, Dinedor, Wormelow and Sellack. Lewis appears to have been working from Maitland's total of 1324 hides. And it is not clear, without a full explication of his calculations, how he came to identify the sum of 1200 hides for the shire, because, by deducting the 150 hides recorded for the areas of Stretford (South), Stradel/Golden Valley, Dinedor, Wormelow and Sellack, one is left with a total of 1050, which sum includes Leominster—not one of Lewis's tenth-century hundreds. We are left a little confused and will discuss this further in the case study material.

Wye and is not a full analysis of the hundreds as land-units.⁴⁵ We aim to provide that here and, with the exception of Lene which is included within the Leominster analysis, our discussion follows the order of hundreds set out in The Alecto Historical Edition of Domesday Book.⁴⁶ Seventeen case studies follow which include analyses together with maps of the relevant land-units, and at Appendix Three there are tables listing the respective hundred membership by manor, by modern place location, by 1086 name with an etymology where available,⁴⁷ and with an indication as to whether the manor can be reliably allocated to that hundred or district. In the recent editions of Domesday Book—the 1983 *DB Herefordshire*, the 1988 Alecto Edition and Palmer’s 2007 version⁴⁸—only a handful of places remain where there is dispute as to both identification and location.⁴⁹ However, a number of places remain either lost or unidentified.⁵⁰

A further word is needed about the information supplied from Palmer, upon which we intended to rely as opposed to our totals. Although regarded by many as the definitive version of statistical information concerning the 1086 shire since its publication, we felt it necessary to conduct a complete reconciliation of our data against his. This has

⁴⁵ Lewis, ‘English and Norman Government’, 36-50, where there is an extensive discussion of the County Hidage and its implications for the shire. We consider this in Chapter Seven, section 7.7.1, pages 367-70.

⁴⁶ A Williams and R Erskine (eds), *The Herefordshire Domesday* (London: Alecto Historical Edition, 1988), hereafter The Alecto Edition.

⁴⁷ All place-name meanings are taken from either O Anderson, *The English Hundred-Names* (Lund: Ohlsson, 1934) at <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/research/projects/assembly/ElectronicAnderson> hereafter *Hundred-Names*; B Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 214 (1989), hereafter *Herefordshire Place-Names*, F Thorn and C Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book. Volume 17: Herefordshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), hereafter *DB Herefordshire*, and A Smith, *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire*, English Place-Name Society, volume 40, part 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964).

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), unless otherwise stated.

⁴⁸ *DB Herefordshire*, The Alecto Edition and Palmer, *Electronic Edition*.

⁴⁹ These include DB manors of *Ettone*, *Lege*, *Bageberge*, The Moor near Hereford, *Westuode* and possibly Marston Stannett and Burghope.

⁵⁰ These include: *Alac*, *Querentune*, *Bernaldeston*, *Winetune*, *Westelet*, *Curdeslege*, *Mateurdin*, *Lege*, *Westuode*, Barton near Hereford, *Chipelai*, *Chetestor*, *Hanlei*, Whippington, *Alcamestune*, *Wadetune*, *Elnoestune*, *Edwardestune*, *Burcstanestune*, *Mynnddbrydd*, *Beltrou*, *Wluetone* and *Almundestune*.

proved to be a worthwhile exercise as it has made explicit many of that study's assumptions which were unclear from the accompanying notes, and which have distorted the data. For example, Palmer's study lists possible duplicated entries which may have the effect of including twelve additional hides. In some cases these duplications appear to have been omitted but in others they have not, and no explanation has been given as to the reason.⁵¹ We have also found an error in the dataset which is apparent in the information for Stretford and Bromsash Hundreds. Two entries have been transposed: both concern two manors latterly known as Kingstone.⁵² The entry located within Stretford has been confused with the entry located within Bromsash, the result being incorrect hidage totals for the two hundreds in Palmer.⁵³ On account of these differences we propose to use our data throughout and, within the tables in Appendix Three, we indicate how our data compare to Palmer's. Importantly, our total for the shire is 1198 hides 45 acres which takes no account of alleged duplications but excludes the thirty-three extra hides for which 'the bishop's men could give no account.'⁵⁴ (We have omitted carucates but have included Welsh hides within the hidage totals.) This is the sum we shall be using for the reasons stated above, and not the one within Palmer's table of shire statistics.⁵⁵

⁵¹ For example, at the entry for Linton, *DB Herefordshire*, 1.1, the virgate held by William son of Baderon is regarded as a duplication for *ibid.*, 15.3 and mentioned by Palmer, *Electronic Edition*, Notes 1A, as being so, and yet it is not excluded from the tabulation for the manor. However, there is an entirely unexplained omission of two hides for the royal manor of Cleeve, *DB Herefordshire*, 1.8 with a note within the statistics that there is probably a duplication of one hide three virgates at *ibid.*, 1.57. Our view is that the text accompanying Cleeve makes it perfectly clear that the two hides are within the manor; moreover the entry at 1.57 is one concerning Ashe Ingen in Archenfield, and no hides are included, as the area had not been hidated.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 1.3 (*Chingestone*) and 3.1 (*Chingestune*).

⁵³ It seems likely that the two entries have been confused although this is hard to reconcile as the DB names are spelled differently and it is clear from the text where each of the places is located—some fifteen miles apart!

⁵⁴ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.57.

⁵⁵ Palmer, *Electronic Edition*, Notes 1A, 'Statistics Notes for Herefordshire' and table. To state again, his totals are 1242 hides and thirty-four carucates, but this sum cannot be worked up from the totals within the Access database which accompanies the study, despite numerous attempts, but it appears that the bishop's additional thirty-three hides have been excluded. However, included are twelve hides within an entry for 'Castlry' notwithstanding that fact that none of these entries, which include

6.4.1 Hazletree⁵⁶

A hundred divided into three discrete parts, Hazletree comprised thirty-nine manors rated at just over 109 hides in 1086.⁵⁷ Its extent seems to have been reduced. It was not a compact unit, and its three divisions appear to be the result of the creation of the ecclesiastical hundred of Leominster, discussed further below. There is no obvious central place or *villa regalis* around which it was organised. Portions of it which lay in the shire in 1086 were subsequently transferred to Radnorshire, and the hundred did not survive the twelfth-century reorganisation which created the Marcher lordship of Wigmore.⁵⁸ The editors of *DB Herefordshire* and The Alecto Edition regard the hundred's earlier extent as having included villas which were divided with Leominster: the unidentified *Alac*, *Merestun* which became the site of Wigmore Castle (both of which were members of Kingsland), and Leinthall.⁵⁹ Aymestrey, part of which was held by Leominster and part by Roger of Mortimer, appears to have removed Hazletree's core. Table 1 in Appendix Three and Figures 6.2.1 to 6.2.3 (which divide the hundred into sections a, b and c) display its jurisdiction in 1086.

At that time Hazletree's manors were held by the king,⁶⁰ five Normans⁶¹ and one Welshman.⁶² The designation of Kingsland as *DB Lene/Liene*, which has been

Monmouth, Clifford and Ewyas, is reckoned in hides. Furthermore, as noted above, we have no idea which duplicated entries have been omitted and which have been retained.

⁵⁶ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 162, OE *haeseltreo*, hazle-tree.

⁵⁷ This sum includes the manor of Staunton-on-Arrow which all editors regard as having been mistakenly allotted to Staple hundred. See the tables in Appendix Three.

⁵⁸ *DB Herefordshire* notes 4 and 7. The part that was within the Marcher lordship of Wigmore, including some manors surveyed within Shropshire in 1086, came within the newly-established Wigmore Hundred in 1535 upon the abolition of the Marcher Lordships, whilst some of Hazletree's southern extent was within the hundred of Stretford by the thirteenth century.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.5, 9.1, 9.6 and 9.7. F Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes' in *The Alecto Edition*, 23-30, hereafter 'Hundreds and wapentakes', at 28.

⁶⁰ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.5 (fifteen hides at Kingsland), 1.64 (two hides at Burlingjobb) and 1.65 (fifteen hides at Old Radnor). However, the insertion of a hundred rubric above Kingsland indicates the possibility that this manor may not have been within the hundred but rather had been a hundred manor. But we consider another possibility within the Leominster case study.

allocated to the hundred by the editors of *DB Herefordshire* and which name forms the root for the names of many manors within this part of the shire,⁶³ has led scholars to argue for the existence of a district predating its Anglo-Saxon assimilation.⁶⁴

Of the manors allocated to Hazletree, with the exception of Kingsland, *Alac*, Middleton, and Weston,⁶⁵ the majority are certain to have been included within the hundred. Ten occur immediately below the rubric or within one place of it, or are within the substantial returns for Ralph of Mortimer and Osbern son of Richard.⁶⁶

There is one scribal error, according to the editors of *DB Herefordshire* and the Alecto Edition, relating to *Stantune*.⁶⁷ Apparently the wrong rubric was copied, as the scribe confused the place with Staunton-on-Wye.⁶⁸

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 8.2, (five hides held by Ralph of Tosny at Monkland); 9.1 to 9.14, (two hides held at *Merestun*, the site of Wigmore Castle, four hides at Downton-on-the-Rock, three hides one virgate at Burrington, three hides at Aston, two hides at Elton, two hides at Leinthall [Earles or Starkes], four hides at Leinthall [Earles or Starkes], two virgates at Lye, one hide at Covenhope, four hides at Shobdon, two hides at Staunton-on-Arrow, one hide at Ledicot, two hides at Pilleth, two hides at Harpton, three hides at Middleton, two hides at Weston and fifty-seven acres of woodland at Lye, all held by Ralph of Mortimer); 10.40-10.42, (one hide at each of Lawton, Street and Ledicot, all held by Roger of Lacy); 24.1-24.4, (two hides at Milton, two hides at Byton, one hide at Bradley, three hides at Titley, one hide at Little Brampton, two hides at Knill, two virgates at Lower Harpton, three hides at Harpton, one hide at Nash, two hides at Clatterbrune, one hide at *Querentune*, three hides at Discoed and two virgates at Cascob and at Lye, all held by Osbern son of Richard); 29.16, (two hides at *Bernaldeston* held by Hugh Donkey).

⁶² *Ibid.*, 31.7, (three hides at Lye held by Gryffydd).

⁶³ Such as Monkland/*Liene* within Hazletree, Leominster, the Lene Hundred and some manors in Elsdon Hundred, all discussed within the relevant case study.

⁶⁴ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 6-9, observes that the British district of Lene was subsequently divided into four hundreds: Hazletree, Elsdon, Stretford north and Lene itself, possibly in the tenth century. Any attempt to reconstruct the hundreds at that time would have to determine how and when Leominster (Lene's minster) was enlarged and acquired the extensive area which DB reveals. It is worth noting the preponderance of *tun* place-names in this part of the shire, twelve of which occur in Hazletree. Gelling has argued that this sort of distribution is indicative of the settlement of a large economic unit, revealing consequential administrative changes. She dates this activity to the middle of the eighth century. M Gelling, *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), hereafter *West Midlands*, 122. Cox noted that *tun* did not occur often as an identifier before 730. B Cox, 'Place-names of the earliest English records', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 8 (1976), 12-66, hereafter Cox, 'Place-names', at 65.

⁶⁵ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.69 note. The Alecto Edition maps Middleton south of Lower Harpton, on the existing county boundary, in Presteigne parish, and Weston, the most remote manor of the hundred, to the west of Pilleth. Neither is in Pembridge. For the implication see the Elsdon case study.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.64 and 1.65; 8.2; 9.1-9.14; 10.1-10.2; 24.1-24.3 (which includes eleven manors in a composite entry) and 24.4; 29.16 and 31.7.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.8 and note.

⁶⁸ It was wrongly included within Staple. Its correction has increased the hidage total to 109.375, a large number for the shire.

Kingsland presents more of a problem. A Hazletree rubric has been inserted by the editors of *DB Herefordshire* largely on the grounds that Kingsland's members of Lawton, Street and *Mereston* (Wigmore) all appear allotted to that hundred within their respective entries.⁶⁹ It is possible that a hundred head was never intended, as two other royal manors within the survey are without hundred allocation.⁷⁰ However, the fact that its name is identical to that of the adjacent manor, also *Lene*, identified as Eardisland⁷¹ gives cause for reconsideration. Both the geography and the place-name evidence, discussed above, suggest that the two had been within one land-unit originally. Eardisland bears all the hallmarks of a *villa regalis*⁷² and may itself represent the rump of a much larger, royally-controlled and administered economic unit, itself a large hundred.⁷³ If Kingsland had been within the same hundred as Eardisland in 1086 the subsequent reduction in hides for Hazletree would leave it, with the inclusion of the four hides at Staunton-on-Arrow,⁷⁴ at around ninety-five.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.1, 10.40 and 10.41.

⁷⁰ For example, Kingstone and Marden. *Ibid.*, 1.3 and 1.4.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1.6, discussed within the Leominster case study.

⁷² *Ibid.* It rendered blanch pence, a sign of an ancient royal demesne manor: S Harvey, 'Royal revenue and Domesday terminology', *Economic History Review*, 20 (August 1967), 221-8, hereafter 'Royal Revenue', at 226.

⁷³ This is discussed further within the Leominster case study.

⁷⁴ *DB Herefordshire*, 24.8 and discussed above.

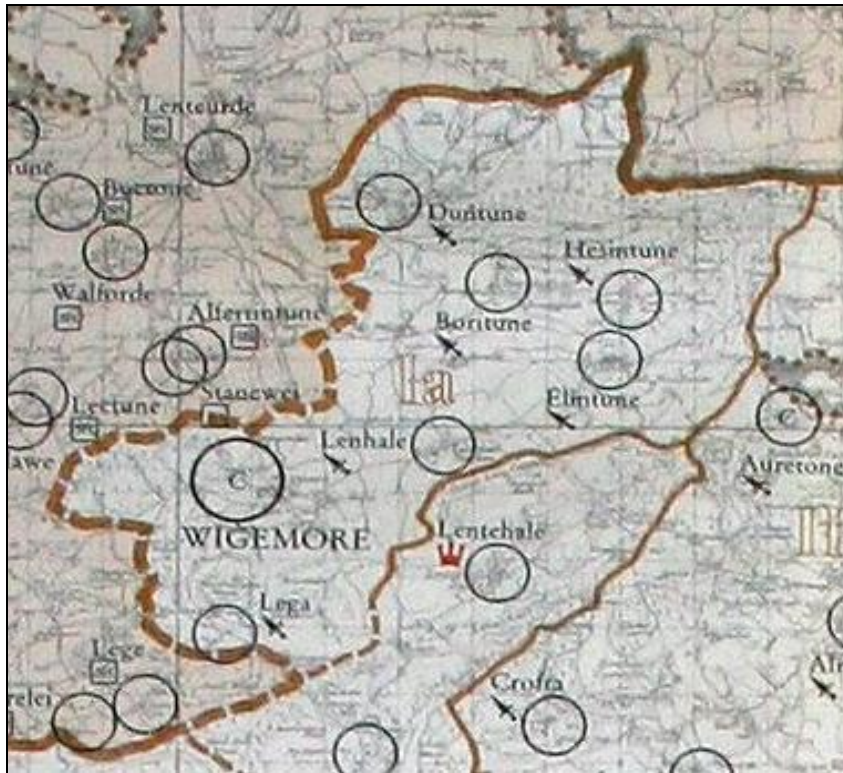


Figure 6.2.1 Hazletree portion a (The Alecto Edition).

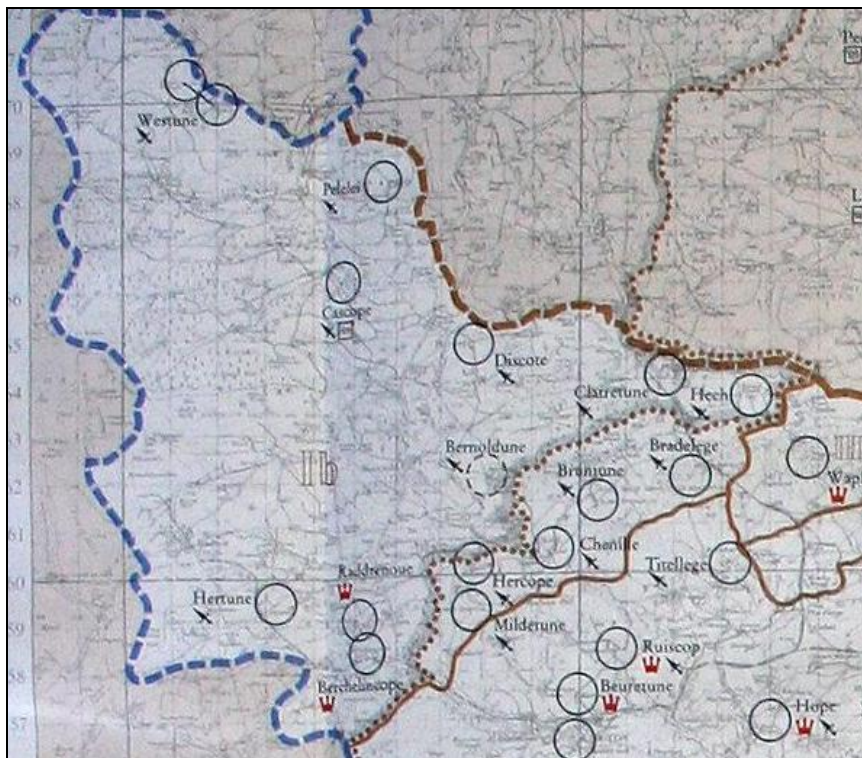


Figure 6.2.2 Hazletree portion b (The Alecto Edition).

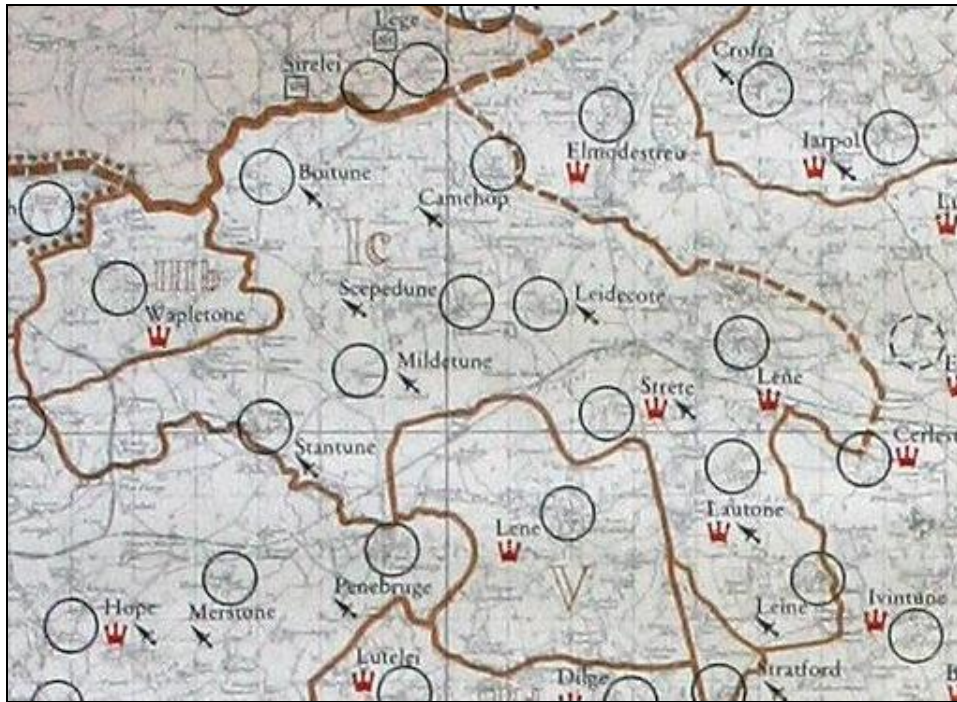


Figure 6.2.3 Hazletree portion c (The Alecto Edition).

6.4.2 Wolphy⁷⁵

Another oddly-shaped land-unit with three distinct portions, Wolphy comprised twenty manors in 1086 rated at just over thirty-four hides.⁷⁶ Many scholars believe that the hundred had been tri-sected by the later creation of the private ecclesiastical hundred of Leominster when, like Hazletree, it lost much of its earlier jurisdiction.

‘... This (creation of Leominster) split Wolphy into three parts and intruded with projections or detachments into several others, sometimes sharing an individual vill with another hundred.’⁷⁷ Table 2 in Appendix Three and Figures 6.3.1 to 6.3.3 demonstrate Wolphy’s extent, divided as it was into three portions a-c.

⁷⁵ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 163, *OE wulf-(ge)haeg*, enclosure in which wolves are caught.

⁷⁶ It is to be noted that Anderson’s description of its 1086 extent, which he aligns with its later medieval jurisdiction, is inaccurate: *Ibid.*: ‘The extent of the DB hundred of this name was approximately the same.’ He then includes manors which were clearly in the private hundred of Leominster: Hope-under-Dinsmore, Stoke Prior, Humber, Docklow and Hatfield, among others. We consider these places in the Leominster case study.

⁷⁷ Thorn, ‘Hundreds and wapentakes’, 26. Two of Wolphy’s are shared with Leominster: Upton and Yarpole. No chronology is offered for this occurrence, but it is noted that other ecclesiastical hundreds, such as Oswaldslow in Worcestershire, were created in the late tenth century.

Like Hazletree, a theory that Wolphy had been a more compact unit earlier in its history has some force. As with Hazletree, there is no obvious focal point or centre.⁷⁸ With the exception of Little Hereford, its manors are all of low value, rated at less than five hides, indicating the possibility that each had been hived off a larger manorial unit.⁷⁹ One has the sense that a more substantial centre had been removed, a centre which may have included the manors of Upton and Yarpole, both divided between it and Leominster, and the manor of Brimfield on its border. There is certainly the strong possibility that these divided manors may have been within Wolphy originally.⁸⁰

Of the manors which remained in the hundred after Leominster's creation, none is in *Terra Regis*, although Edith had held Orleton.⁸¹ The canons of the cathedral held Little Hereford and the lost manor of *Winetune*,⁸² and St Guthlac's held *Westelet*, another unidentified place.⁸³ Ten Normans held its remaining estates.⁸⁴ Three

⁷⁸ However, Anderson notes that there is a place called 'The Hundred' and a 'Hundred Lane' at the junction of Eye, Middleton-on-the-Hill and Kimbolton parishes, all of which lay in Leominster in 1086. Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 163.

⁷⁹ As a consequence of Anglo-Saxon manorialisation and the practice of partible inheritance, one which '... led steadily to the fragmentation of the original, large land-units into the far more numerous but much smaller manors recorded... in Domesday Book.' S Bassett, 'Continuity and fission in the Anglo-Saxon landscape: the origins of the Rodings (Essex)', *Landscape History*, 19 (1997), 25-42, at 27.

⁸⁰ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.10a, 11.1, 1.20 and 12.1. Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes', 28.

⁸¹ *DB Herefordshire*, 9.19.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 2.51 and 2.52 and note. Although the editors of *DB Herefordshire* and The Alecto Edition regard the place as unidentified, it is noted that '... it is tempting to take Winetune..., as standing for Woonton in the same hundred'. *Ibid.*, 2.52, and Palmer, *Electronic Edition*, Notes 1A. (This has been located in Laysters, see *ibid.*, 10.12.) The argument is that a similar place-name *Winnetone* has been identified as Woonton in Almeley, and the root of the place is the same, an OE personal name 'Wine'. It seems too co-incidental that a 'Woonton' has been located in the same hundred for the places not to be linked.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 6.11.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.19, (four hides at Orleton, held by Ralph of Mortimer); 10.12-10.15, (three virgates at Woonton in Laysters, three virgates at Heath, three hides at Pudleston, and one hide two virgates at 'a manor', probably in Whyle according to the editors, all held by Roger of Lacy); 11.1 and 11.2, (two hides at Upton in Brimfield, now identified as Nun Upton in The Alecto Edition, and one at Laysters, both held by Roger of Mussergro); 12.1, (three hides at Yarpole held by Robert Gernon); 14.5, (one hide at Croft held by William Ecouis); 22.5 and 22.6, (one hide two virgates at Rochford, Worcestershire, and two hides at Laysters held by Durand of Gloucester); 23.1, (one hide one virgate at Rochford held by Drogo son of Poyntz); 24.10 and 24.12, (one hide at Whyle and one hide at Ludford,

manors, two in Rochford and one in Ludford, lay in the shire in 1086 but were subsequently transferred to Worcestershire and Shropshire respectively.⁸⁵ The editors of *DB Herefordshire* have inserted a Wolphy hundred rubric above Ludford's entry on the grounds that the area was held within Richards Castle, although this reasoning is not entirely clear as Richards Castle was within Cutsthorpe Hundred, according to its later entry.⁸⁶ In terms of the security of hundredal identification, all of the manors are beneath the rubric or within one place of it, the only exceptions being two within Roger of Lacy's return, both of which have been identified as within the medieval parish of Pudleston.⁸⁷ We have already noted the third where a Wolphy rubric has been inserted by the editors of *DB Herefordshire* at Ludford, the reasoning for which is unclear.

Shropshire, held by Osbern son of Richard); 36.2, (one hide two virgates at Laysters held by Eadric); 36.3, (two virgates 'in this hundred' held by Aelmer).

⁸⁵ Rochford lay in Worcestershire after 1837, but until that time it was a detached part of Herefordshire surrounded by the Worcestershire hundred of Doddingtree. It had been held by the church of Worcester until 1016 when Cnut awarded the shire to Earl Ranig and a number of manors, including Ocle Pychard, Little Cowarne, *Pencovan*, Upleadon and Rochford, were taken from it. *Ibid.*, 10.5, note, and Hemingus, *Chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis E Codice MS. penes Richardum Groves de Mickelton in argo Gloucestriensi*, ed. T Hearnus. Two volumes (Oxford: Sheldonian, 1723), hereafter *Heming's Cartulary*, I, 274. In the case of Ludford, 'Soon after Domesday Ludford and an area lying to the south including part of Richards Castle was transferred to Shropshire and this was enlarged late in the nineteenth century. This whole area had belonged to Osbern son of Richard Scrope in 1086, lord of Richards Castle.' *DB Herefordshire*, 24.12, and Palmer, *Electronic Edition*, Notes 1A.

⁸⁶ *DB Herefordshire*, 12.1.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.14 and 10.15.

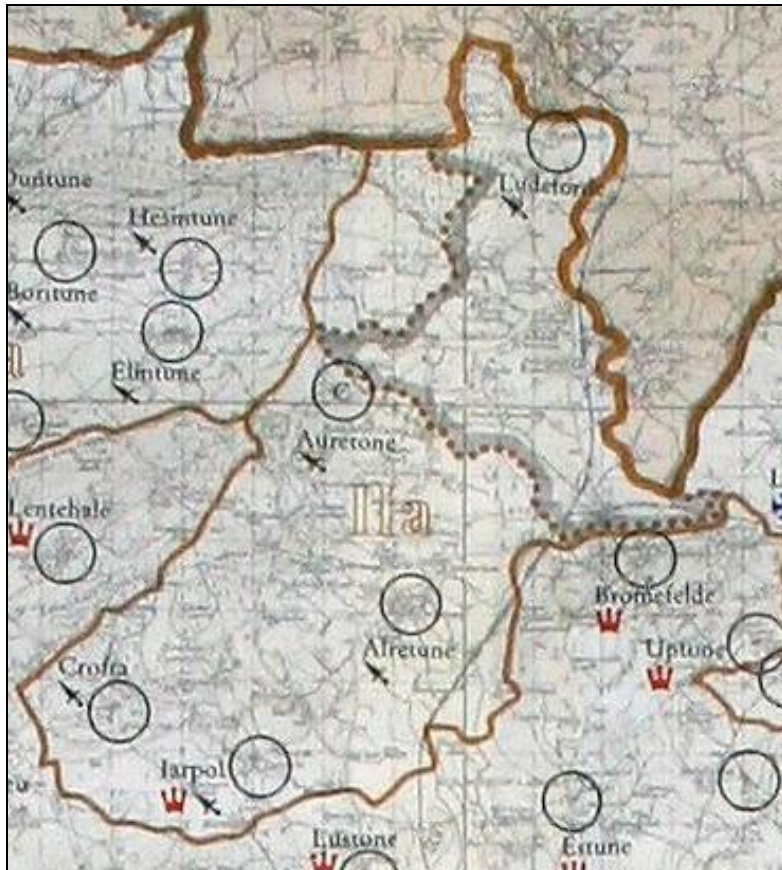


Figure 6.3.1 Wolphy portion a (The Alecto Edition).

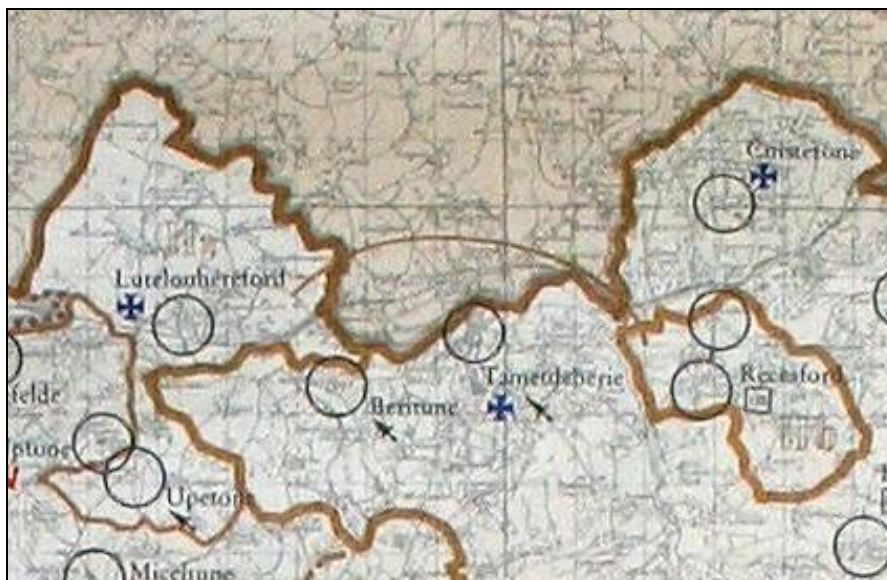


Figure 6.3.2 Wolphy portion b (The Alecto Edition).



Figure 6.3.3 Wolphy portion c (The Alecto Edition).

6.4.3 The Composite Manor of Leominster and the Lene Hundred⁸⁸

Although included within this discussion of the shire's hundreds, Leominster was not described as a hundred in Domesday Book.⁸⁹ It was a large dispersed manor formerly held by an ecclesiastical house which had been founded and endowed at various points in its history⁹⁰ until its dissolution in 1046, at which point it came within royal

⁸⁸ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 161, the minster in the Lene district.

⁸⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.10 a-c.

⁹⁰ Discussed fully by Round in 'Introduction', 284-5, it occupied a 'commanding position' in the shire. Allegedly founded around 660, it had suffered at the hands of the Danes around 870 and had been restored in 980: R Darlington and P McGurk (eds), *The Chronicles of John of Worcester. Volume II: the Annals from 450 to 1066* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 582-3. '... (it) stands first on the list of gigantic manors discussed by Professor Maitland. Berkeley and Tewkesbury, to the south, were similar aggregations... but Leominster had this peculiarity: it was not only farmed and assessed as a whole, it was also assessed at the even sum of 80 hides and these round sums are usually characteristic of ancient crown or church estates': Round, 'Introduction', 284. J Blair, 'A saint for every minster? Local cults in Anglo-Saxon England' in R Sharpe and A Thacker (eds), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 455-94, at 464, has noted Leominster's importance as an early ecclesiastical centre. It was certainly one heavily endowed, being the sort of organisation which enabled it to wield enough power to secure exemption for its manors from the secular administrative system.

control.⁹¹ Although stated to have had sixteen members in 1086, information within the return suggests that it had many more before the Conquest.⁹² At Table 3.1 in Appendix Three its 1086 members are set out together with those additional manors which had been in the process of re-allocation.⁹³ Notwithstanding Thorn's comments about their relationship to Leominster,⁹⁴ these manors appeared to be in a state of limbo, being neither within Leominster nor within a hundred's jurisdiction. Later on in the twelfth century Leominster gained hundredal status: according to Anderson, the first reference to a hundred of Leominster appears by 1123 x 1126, and it survived, inclusive of its detached portions, until the fifteenth century.⁹⁵

There are a number of issues which concern Leominster's extent. The most important are those which relate to the identification and location of its members, including those which had been within its control before 1066. There are also issues concerning the villis which are located partly within Leominster's jurisdiction and partly within that of an adjacent hundred. Finally, although it is difficult to suggest a chronology, its private designation and apparent subsequent removal from the tenth-century secular hundredal structure greatly distorted the shire's administrative geography.

Thorn writes:

⁹¹ D Whitelock (ed.), 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles D' in *English Historical Documents. Volume I* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1955), hereafter *ASC*, 164.

⁹² *DB Herefordshire*, 1.10c, 1.11-1.38. A further twenty-two hides could be allotted to it from Much Marcle and Stanford Regis, both recorded within *Terra Regis* in 1086; a further thirty-two are evident at *ibid.*, 1.32, making a composite total of 134 hides and giving it the highest rating for the shire.

⁹³ The chronology is uncertain, although it is clear from the information that some places had been held by Anglo-Saxons, indicating a reorganisation which may have begun early in the eleventh century. It is also possible that its reorganisation was the work of Earl Harold, evident from the information about Much Marcle, a manor formerly part of Leominster but held by Harold in 1066.

⁹⁴ He concludes that they were still within manorial control and that the only places permanently alienated were Much Marcle and Stanford Regis. Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes', 26.

⁹⁵ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 162. He is quoting research by Doris Stenton, 'Roger of Salisbury, *Regni Angliae Procurator*', *English Historical Review*, 39 (January 1924), 79-80. Stenton discovered a writ issued 1123 x 1126 confirming the hundred liberty of Leominster to the abbot of Reading. This early reference to a twelfth-century *hundreda de Redingia et de Leoministria*, suggests that Leominster had been a private ecclesiastical hundred in the eleventh century despite the fact that Domesday Book does not refer to it as such.

‘The territorial complexity that this involves strongly suggests that Leominster... had been created for the abbey out of an earlier pattern of ‘normal’ hundreds. Leominster is nowhere called a hundred in Domesday Book, but its structure appears similar to ecclesiastical hundreds in other counties such as Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, “Fishborough”, Pershore and “Oswaldslow” in Worcestershire... the text seems to imply that all the places enumerated were the (*sic*) members of the manor in 1086 and were probably all in Leominster... the only ones permanently alienated in 1086 and said to be in other hundreds were Much Marcle and Stanford Regis. The majority of places listed were granted to Reading Abbey at its foundation... and continued in its possession within (a) Leominster Hundred until the Dissolution.’⁹⁶

The view that its divided members were originally allocated to other hundreds has already been discussed briefly within the Wolphy study and is considered in detail below.⁹⁷ In addition, there are a number of detached manors, being ‘islands’ within other hundreds, which clearly fit Thorn’s point.⁹⁸ However, the significance of a re-organised Leominster is that it suggests an earlier hundredal geography for the shire as well as a later reorganisation. As noted above, although we can speculate about a chronology, identifying one has proved impossible.⁹⁹

At Figure 6.4.1 we see the extent of Leominster’s control over the northern third of the shire in 1086. Furthermore, as the bounds of Leominster’s holdings in the divided villis are uncertain, it has not been possible for the editors of *DB Herefordshire* and The Alecto Edition to identify with any precision what the consequence was for the geography of the surrounding hundreds.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Thorn, ‘Hundreds and wapentakes’, 26.

⁹⁷ The manors include: *Alac*, Broadward, Butterley, Dilwyn, Leinthall, Marston Stannett, Newton (in Hope-under-Dinsmore), Upton, Wigmore and Yarpole.

⁹⁸ These include: Sarnesfield, Wapley and Edvin Ralph, all probably objects of earlier manorial capture.

⁹⁹ Apart from information within *ASC* concerning a possible re-founding and endowment by Earl Leofric around 980, there is no information for the designation of its private status. However, a similar case occurred in neighbouring Worcestershire: around 964, within fifteen years of Leominster’s alleged refoundation, Bishop Oswald successfully secured private hundred status for the many manors held by the bishopric. Bassett, ‘Administrative Landscape’, 147-73; at *ibid.*, 169 he considers the effect which this had on the existing hundred-scheme in that shire.

¹⁰⁰ Thorn, ‘Hundreds and wapentakes’, 26, n.8, identifies three more places which may have been detached portions of Leominster: The Homme, part of Luntley in Dilwyn, Hurstley in Letton and Hopley’s Green in Almeley. It is unclear precisely why these areas are regarded as such. The only one

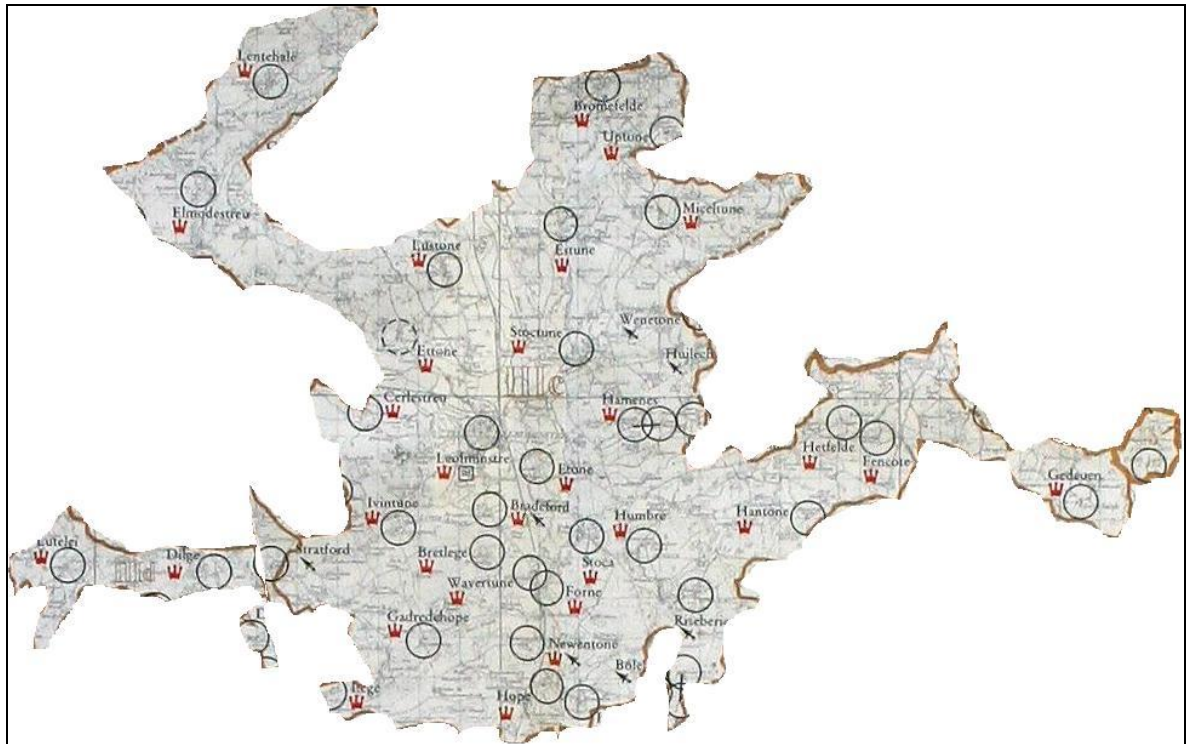


Figure 6.4.1 The composite manor of Leominster (The Alecto Edition).

We now need to consider the divided manors in more detail. Ten were shared by the hundreds of Hazletree, Wolphy, Elsdon, Thornlaw and Plegelgate. For Hazletree, *Alac's* one hide two virgates may have been taken from a larger manor within Kingsland, which retained half a virgate;¹⁰¹ Leinthall's eight hides look to have been carved out of a larger holding of at least fourteen;¹⁰² and Wigmore had also been divided, with two hides in Hazletree and two virgates within Leominster; both were

which seems to make sense is Hurstley in Letton, since later ecclesiastical records indicate that it had been held by Leominster. B Kemp (ed.), *Reading Abbey Cartularies*. Two volumes, Camden Miscellany, 31 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986), hereafter *Reading Cartularies*, I, 283. It is also worth noting that *DB Herefordshire* and The Alecto Edition are largely in agreement about location and identification of Leominster's members and allocated manors, with the exception of Lye, noted below. Since the publication of *DB Herefordshire* in 1983 there has been further agreement on the identification of the Leominster member of *Hope*, which is now placed at Hope-under-Dinsmore. A second *Hope*, mapped as Hopley's Green in 1983, is now believed to be Hope in Lyonshall, a member of Kingsland. Both re-sittings rely on Coplestone-Crow's work. There is still dispute over the identification of both *Ettone* and *Etone*, however.

¹⁰¹ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.5. This may have divided it from Hazletree, provided that Kingsland had been within that hundred, which is far from clear. We discuss the position below within the section on Lene.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 9.6 and 9.7. Ralph of Mortimer had two manors, one of two hides and one of four. He held Leominster's eight hides in Leinthall, *ibid.*, 1.10c.

held by Ralph of Mortimer.¹⁰³ Finally there is Lye, whose nine hides were divided among three Normans and a Welshman.¹⁰⁴ For Wolphy there are two affected manors; at Yarpole one virgate was Leominster's, held by Leofwin Latimer, and two hides were held of the king by Robert Gernon,¹⁰⁵ and, at Upton, Roger of Mussegros held two hides of the king and it was also counted within Leominster's composite eighty hides.¹⁰⁶ Elsdon's vill at Dilwyn was divided between William Ecouis and Ilbert son of Thorold.¹⁰⁷ For Thornlaw there are the manors of Broadward¹⁰⁸ and Newton; at Broadward Leominster's half-hide was held by William son of Norman, and William Ecouis held two hides in the hundred; at Newton Leominster had a half-hide manor and there was a second half-hide held by William Ecouis in Thornlaw.¹⁰⁹ Plegelgate's extent is difficult to identify, as the manors of Butterley¹¹⁰ and Marston Stannett¹¹¹ were divided. At Butterley, Urse D'abitot held Leominster's one hide and Roger of Lacy had Plegelgate's three hides two virgates. Marston Stannett was partly in the hands of Roger of Lacy, who held two virgates, and partly in Leominster's composite total.

In addition to those places divided between Leominster and an adjacent hundred, there are a number of other manors which distort what would otherwise have been a

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 1.19, half a hide at Wigmore Castle and 9.1, two hides at *Merestun*.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.10c, 9.8 and 9.14, 24.4 and 31.7, (half a hide, half a hide, fifty-seven acres, five hides and three hides respectively). This is identified as Lye in Aymestrey in *ibid.* and in Palmer, *Electronic Edition*. However, in providing a list of divided vills within Hazletree, The Alecto Edition omits it because in that edition the manor is mapped in Birley, west of Dilwyn and no explanation is given. Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes', 28. It is worth noting that Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 30, identifies it as Upper and Lower Lye in Aymestrey.

¹⁰⁵ *DB Herefordshire*, 12.1 and 1.36.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.1 and 1.10a.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.26, (one hide); 14.8 and 14.9, (four hides); 1.32, (two hides). The complexity of the mapping for this ecclesiastical parish makes it very difficult to make sense of its geography, leaving the clear view that Dilwyn had been a unified vill earlier in its history. The two manors in *Terra Regis* are mapped as Little Dilwyn and Sollers Dilwyn respectively.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.28 and 14.3.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.25 and 14.4.

¹¹⁰ In Wacton parish. *Ibid.*, 1.13 and 10.70.

¹¹¹ In Pencombe parish. *Ibid.*, 1.10a and 10.71.

more compact geography. These include Aymestrey, Brimfield, Middleton, Lutley and Laysters. At Aymestrey Leominster's holding provided a corridor of land linking through to Leinthall, which we have already noted was divided between Leominster and Hazletree.¹¹² It is possible that it had originally been within Hazletree, although the geography also suggests Wolphy or perhaps even Lene.¹¹³ The topography of Brimfield and Middleton suggests an earlier association with Wolphy, which may have included, in addition, what later became the ecclesiastical parishes of Kimbolton, Eye and Luston.¹¹⁴ We have already considered Yarpole and noted its division between Wolphy and Leominster, and it is worth highlighting that the immediately adjacent areas to the south, which later became the ecclesiastical parishes of Croft and Lucton, were in Wolphy in 1086. Finally, Laysters forms a finger of land separating the vill of Dilwyn into three parts. We have already noted that this was another division of a land-unit.¹¹⁵

Finally we turn to the position of Lene.

'The DB Hundred of Lene is mentioned only once and is made to include apparently only part of the modern Kingsland parish. The name of *Lene* must originally have been applied to a considerable district on the Arrow and the Lugg and may have been used as a hundred name, but it is difficult to see the arrangement shown in DB.'¹¹⁶

Anderson is not the only scholar to have been puzzled by the entry of Lene, as both a hundred and a manor. Many have thought the inclusion either a scribal confusion or historical anachronism or anomaly.¹¹⁷ Its extent is mapped in Figure 6.4.2.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 1.10a and c.

¹¹³ See below, pages 257-61, for further discussion.

¹¹⁴ Neither Kimbolton nor Eye is mentioned in the 1086 survey. Included at Kimbolton were Stockton and Hamnish, and Aston was within Eye. Luston, like Aston, was within the composite entry for Leominster. *Ibid.*, 1.10a and 1.30.

¹¹⁵ However, the geography is convoluted.

¹¹⁶ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 162. Anderson followed Round, 'Introduction', 304, in placing Lene at Kingsland. Subsequent scholarship has shown it to be at Eardisland. *DB Herefordshire*, 1.6, note.

¹¹⁷ 'Lene should not be regarded as part of the main scheme of hundredal arrangements in the shire', Lewis, 'English and Norman Government', 47; Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes', 26, n. 13. Thorn's

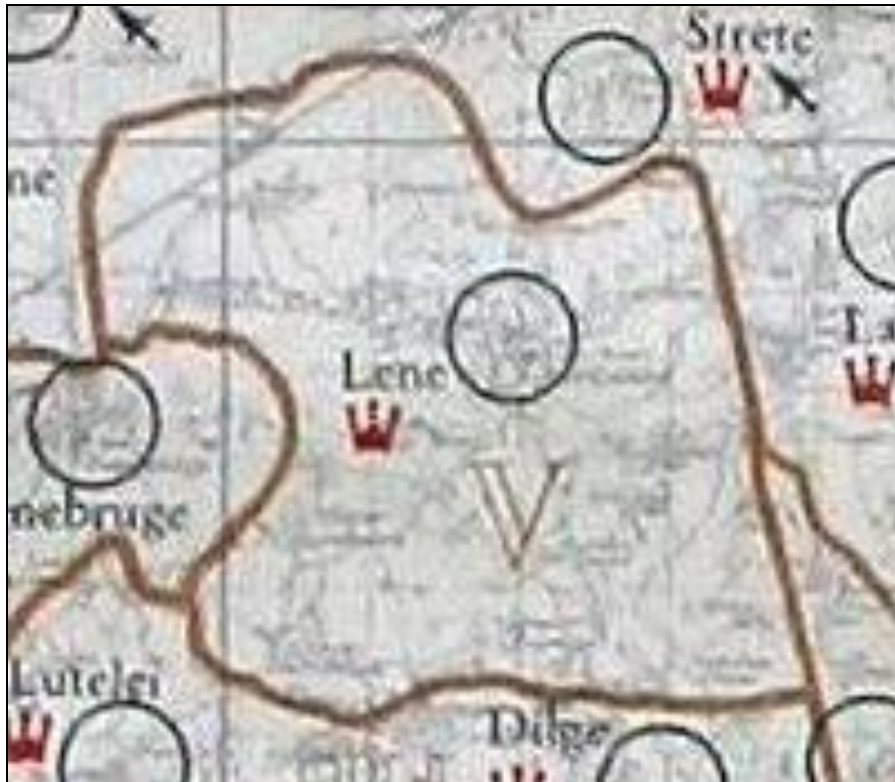


Figure 6.4.2 Lene (The Alecto Edition).

Our view, for which there is only circumstantial evidence, is that the possibility that Lene had been a much larger hundred, progressively eroded by Leominster's success in gaining private status, cannot be dismissed.¹¹⁸ An earlier extent might explain both the shapes of Hazletree and Wolphy Hundreds and the tortuous geography of Dilwyn. We noted that Lene's entry in the survey includes many of the hallmarks of a middle Anglo-Saxon royal *tun*.¹¹⁹ Its return was reckoned in blanch pence¹²⁰ and it possessed at least two churches.¹²¹ Many such places subsequently became hundred heads in the

view suggests that an inclusion of Lene plays havoc with the number of hundreds north of the Wye.

Both Thorn and Lewis argue that there were, or ought to have been, twelve. We consider this below.

¹¹⁸ In fact, Thorn does entertain the prospect: 'In view of the absence of hundred rubrics (e.g. at Kingsland and Pembridge), it is possible that "Lene" Hundred was once more extensive, being the rump of a former hundred most of whose members had been granted to Leominster. Kingsland and Pembridge have no hundred head above them in the text of Herefordshire and might have been in this hundred.' *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.6.

¹²⁰ For the significance of manors for which returns were reckoned in blanch pence. Harvey, 'Royal Revenue', at 226. These occur only on ancient royal demesne estates.

¹²¹ Sawyer, 'Royal *Tun*', 273-99. In addition to its functions as a centre for royal power and authority, a place for collection of food-rents and a focal point for local administration, Sawyer noted the

tenth century. The added dimension for Lene is the toponymic evidence: both Eardisland and Kingsland are designated *Lene* and the two entries appear consecutively in the survey; they are contiguous and it is noteworthy that Kingsland is without a hundred rubric.¹²² Furthermore, within the Eardisland entry, information is given about churches, both there and within Kingsland: ‘... of these two manors St Mary’s of Cormeilles holds in alms from the King the churches, priests and tithes and two villagers.’¹²³ This may imply an earlier ecclesiastical link with Eardisland—since we have already noted its place-name and geographic connections. Kingsland was itself a large dispersed manor, having outliers at *Merestone*, Hope in Lyonshall, Street, Lawton and *Alac*,¹²⁴ and is likely to have had significant central-place functions despite the fact that it does not appear to have retained any of the trappings of a royal *tun*.¹²⁵

Place-name scholars have studied the extent of Lene as a pre-Anglo-Saxon district with name-survival in places like Lyonshall, Titley, Monkland and Leominster.¹²⁶ There is no suggestion that a district of such extent could have formed a tenth-century hundred; however, it is clear that the Domesday record reveals a highly idiosyncratic territory. It is certainly possible that Leominster’s creation as a hundred-manor had a profound impact on the existing land-units of secular administration—the

prevalence of these sites as the locations of old minsters. It comes as no surprise that we find at least two churches recorded here, not necessarily old minsters.

¹²² *DB Herefordshire*, 1.5. One has been inserted by the editors: Hazletree. It is by no means clear that this is correct.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 1.6.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* See the Hazletree case study for details.

¹²⁵ In fact, these appear to have been left with Eardisland.

¹²⁶ Primarily the work of Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 6-9; he cites the following: Lyonshall, ‘nook in the district called Lene’, *ibid.*, 138; Titley, which may have been in an area held by the ‘community of Lene’, *ibid.*, 190, S677. Monkland, ‘that part of Lene belonging to the monks’, *ibid.*, 148; and Leominster, ‘minster of Lene’, *ibid.*, 123. Other places include Luntley in Dilwyn, and Nokelane Head in Pembridge. The area comprised the plain of the rivers Lugg and Arrow.

neighbouring hundreds of Hazletree, Elsdon, Stretford North and Lene.¹²⁷ Let us now suggest what may have been a more compact, but perhaps earlier, organisation of the area, ignoring Leominster's later incursions into adjacent territories. This earlier configuration may have included the later ecclesiastical parishes of Kingsland, Monkland, Eardisland, Leominster, Hope-under-Dinsmore and Stoke Prior.

This suggestion is that a more extensive hundredal jurisdiction for Lene might reveal an underlying territory which had been divided into the sort of compact land-units that we see in the rest of the shire. To achieve this scheme the following changes are hypothetically suggested. Stretford North Hundred may have been created or organised so as to acquire all of Dilwyn including Luntley,¹²⁸ Weobley, King's Pyon, Birley and Stretford; this scheme provides a more compact and cohesive land-unit. Elsdon's projection into Dilwyn would be removed, but Pembridge would be confined to it, notwithstanding the absence of the rubric. Elsdon would gain Sarnesfield and Staunton-on-Arrow. In this scenario Hazletree would lose Staunton-on-Arrow and Kingsland, which was only speculatively allocated to it by the editors of *DB Herefordshire*, but gain all of Alac and Lye, Wapley, Aymestrey and Leinthall. Wolphy would be a compact unit which included Brimfield, Middleton, Stockton and Hamnish (within the medieval parish of Kimbolton), all of Yarpole, Luston, Eyton and the area currently within the ecclesiastical parish of Eye.¹²⁹ This area might have looked as set out in Figure 6.4.3, and Table 3.2 at Appendix Three displays the consequential reordered hundred totals.

¹²⁷ We consider this in Chapter Five, where evidence is presented that the land-units, as displayed here, were organised around minster *parochiae*.

¹²⁸ Ignoring Elsdon's Dilwyn entry, which seems to be an anomaly. See the Elsdon case study.

¹²⁹ The remainder of Leominster's manors located in the villas divided between the hundreds of Plegelgate and Thornlaw would be allocated to those hundreds. These places are: Butterley and Marston Stannett in Plegelgate and Broadward in Thornlaw. There is also the case of Hampton Wafer—its two virgates held by Leominster are located within Grendon Bishop.

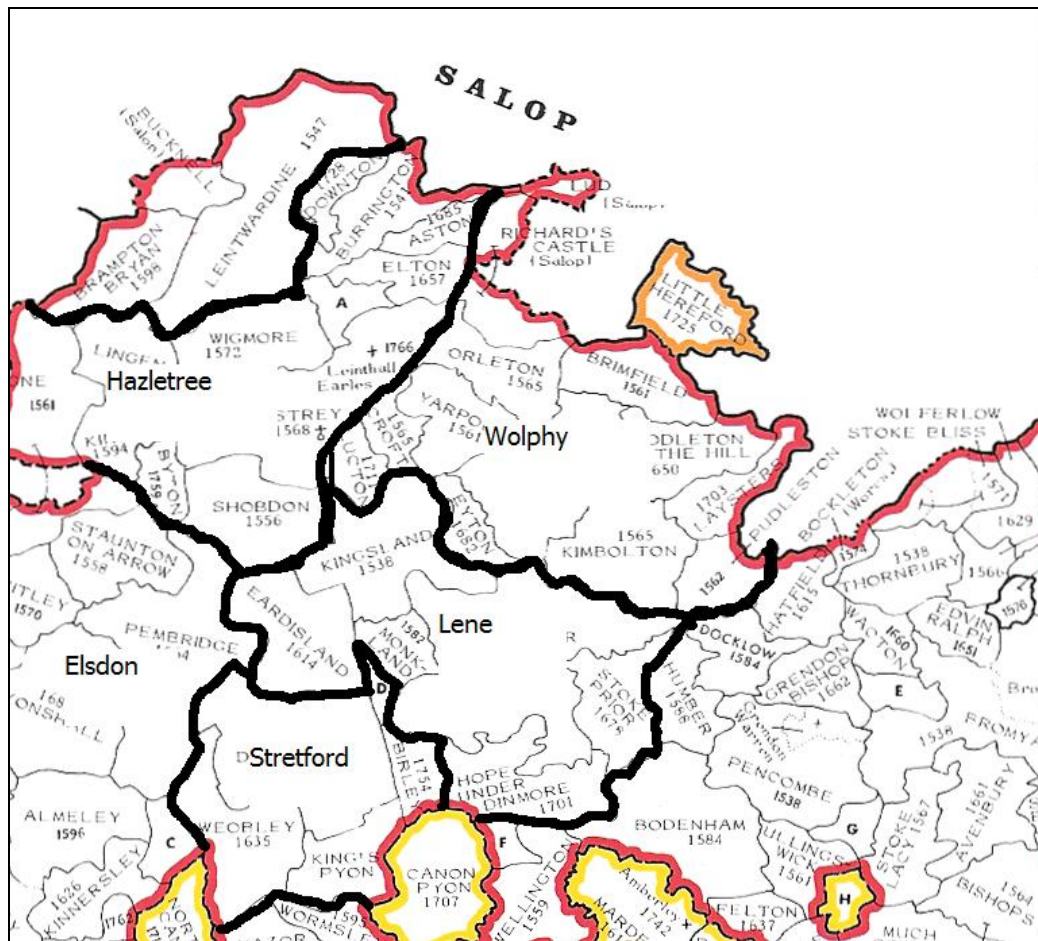


Figure 6.4.3 The consequences of a possible Lene hundred-organisation. C Humphrey-Smith, *The Phillimore Atlas and Index of Parish Registers* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1984) with additions.

We have noted, within Wolphy’s assessment, that it has not been possible to identify the rating for three of Leominster’s members: Aston, Luston and Stockton. This is because their assessment is within the composite total for the manor, rather than identified separately. The fact that Leominster had a composite total suggests that its rating remained a static one regardless of the extent of its holdings.¹³⁰ But there is something else here, too. An additional thirty-three hides lay in Leominster before 1066, all of which are separately assessed. There is at least the possibility that this fact indicates that the manors concerned had been acquired by later endowment, and

¹³⁰ We noted Round’s comments above: ‘It was also assessed at the even sum of 80 hides and these round sums are usually characteristic of ancient crown or church estates.’ Round, ‘Introduction’, 284-5.

removed from their original hundreds, where they had been assessed in the normal course, possibly long before transfer to Leominster's control. This may be added circumstantial evidence, in addition to the geographic scheme, that these had been included within an earlier administrative regime. As Leominster gained ground and acquired more extensive endowments these places were removed and reassigned, with their ratings intact.

6.4.4 Elsdon¹³¹

In 1086 the Elsdon Hundred, a large and compact land-unit in the far west of the shire, comprised thirty-seven manors rated at just over eighty-six hides. Its extent was considerably larger than the later medieval hundred of Huntington which subsumed some of its area in the sixteenth century.¹³² Its manors and their respective assessments are set out in Appendix Three, Table 4 and it is mapped in Figure 6.5.

Among the lands surveyed some were in *Terra Regis*,¹³³ some were held by St Guthlac's¹³⁴ and some by a group of nine Normans¹³⁵ and one Welshman.¹³⁶ There

¹³¹ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 164, ?OE *El(e)sa-dun*, *Elesa*' hill.

¹³² *DB Herefordshire*, n. 7. However, parts of Elsdon formed the reorganised Stretford Hundred by the thirteenth century, and Huntington Hundred was not created until the abolition of the Marcher Lordships in 1535.

¹³³ These had been held by Harold. *Ibid.*, 1.66-1.70, (two virgates at Whitney, two hides at *Mateurdin*, two hides two virgates at Eardisley, one hide three virgates at Chickward [*Cicurdine*], two hides at Welson, three hides at Huntington, one hide at Bollingham, one hide at Hergest [*Hergesth*], two hides at Breadward, four hides at Kington, at Rushock two holdings—one of four hides and one of one, two hides at Barton, and at Woonton one hide two virgates).

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.8-6.10, (four hides at Almeley held by Roger of Lacy, one hide at Middlewood held by Drogo son of Poyntz, and four hides at Whitney held by one Harold).

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.3, (five hides at Willersley and Winforton held by Ralph of Tosny); 9.15, (one hide at Kinnersley held by Ralph of Mortimer); 10.43-10.45 and 10.47, (two hides at Hope in Lyonshall, five hides at Lyonshall, one hide at Woonton and three hides at Letton held by Roger of Lacy); 14.7-14.9, (one hide at Rushock and two manors in Dilwyn, one at three hides and the other at one hide, all held by William Ecouis); possibly 19.8, (ten hides three virgates at Pembridge held by Alfred of Marlborough); 24.6, (three hides at Titley held by Osbern son of Richard); 25.9, (two hides at Ailey held by Gilbert son of Thorold); possibly 27.1, (three hides at Marston in Pembridge held by Herman of Dreux); 29.17-29.19, (two virgates at Eardisley, one hide one virgate at Chickward [*Stiuingeurdin*], and two virgates at *Lege*, all held by Hugh Donkey).

are three manors which deserve some discussion: Hope, held by Roger of Lacy, Pembridge, held by Alfred of Marlborough, and Marston, held by Herman of Dreux.¹³⁷ Previous editions of *DB Herefordshire* have tentatively identified Hope as Hopley's Green in Almeley. However, since the publication of The Alecto Edition the view has altered and, following Coplestone-Crow, the manor is now located in Lyonshall.¹³⁸ The case for Pembridge is less straightforward. The manor appears in Alfred's return as the second entry under a Bromsash rubric. The editors of *DB Herefordshire* inserted an Elsdon rubric on account of a twelfth-century record of its location,¹³⁹ but remained equivocal about its hundred, maintaining that it may have been in Hazletree. Similar arguments apply for Marston where a rubric has been inserted; the place is located in Pembridge.¹⁴⁰ There is the possibility, admittedly speculative, that Pembridge lay in an expanded Lene Hundred.¹⁴¹ 'Kingsland and Pembridge have no hundred head above them in the text...and might have been in (Lene) hundred...' before its extent was reduced,¹⁴² but we have discounted this in the Leominster case study as the issue turns on the location of Staunton-on-Arrow. Our view is that this manor may have been in Elsdon originally.¹⁴³

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 31.1 and 31.2, (the third part of two hides at *Mateurdin* and one hide at *Curdeslege*), both held by Gryffydd.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.43, 19.8 and 27.1.

¹³⁸ Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes', 30. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 138. There is a Hopley's Green in Almeley, but it is not this DB manor. The change in location does not, however, alter the mapped extent of the hundred.

¹³⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 19.8 note, citing Galbraith and Tait (eds), *Herefordshire Domesday*, 59, and a marginal note which locates it as Pembridge, latterly in Stretford Hundred. Its link with Staunton-on-Arrow is also cited as a reason why there remains some uncertainty about the hundred location of this manor. This is discussed more fully in Chapter Five.

¹⁴⁰ *DB Herefordshire*, 27.1 note. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 156, agrees its location as being in Pembridge.

¹⁴¹ However, within the discussion above we have excluded it from an expanded Lene. We agree that, if it was not in Elsdon, Pembridge is more likely to have been in Hazletree. But the ecclesiastical evidence seems to suggest otherwise. See Chapter Five, pages 181-2 and 186-7.

¹⁴² Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes', 26.

¹⁴³ See Chapter Five, section 5.3, 188-91, on the area's ecclesiastical geography.

There are three lost places in the hundred: *Curdeslege*, *Mateurdin* and *Lege*. The first two, according to Coplestone-Crow, lie in the ecclesiastical parish of Brilley just south of Kington.¹⁴⁴ The third has been identified as Hurstley in Letton parish, likewise by Coplestone-Crow.¹⁴⁵ However, given their respective sizes, the failure to agree a location for each does not impact adversely on identifying the hundred's geographic extent.¹⁴⁶ Another manor requires some discussion—that of Dilwyn. It was held by William Ecouis and part lay in Leominster.¹⁴⁷ The geography here is tortuous, as Figure 6.1 in the Stretford case study reveals, and it is difficult to identify how this manor can have been within the compact hundred of Elsdon,¹⁴⁸ unless the latter's extent had been greater or Dilwyn had been subject to manorial capture earlier in its history. Its location, due south of Lene and surrounded on its eastern flank by Stretford North, might indicate an earlier association with Lene or Stretford North.¹⁴⁹ Titley was also a divided manor, part of which lay in Hazletree and part in Elsdon. It is mapped straddling their border.

Of the manors which remain, their locations within the hundred appear secure. Many are listed directly beneath the rubric or within one place of it,¹⁵⁰ and others lie within composite entries.¹⁵¹ We have noted the position of Pembridge, Marston, Middleton,

¹⁴⁴ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 45-6, although it is to be noted that neither The Alecto Edition nor *DB Herefordshire* accepts his view nor cites any of his reasons. In consequence the places are not mapped.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 126, but this view has not been accepted and the place has not been mapped.

¹⁴⁶ *Mateurdin* was also a manor held by the king. Gryffydd held the third part of two hides and one hide at *Curdeslege*. Hugh's holding at *Lege* was two virgates. *DB Herefordshire*, 1.67, 31.1, 31.2 and 29.19.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.8 and 14.9. There appear to have been two manors: the first had been held by Edwin *TRE* and the second, which is stated to be '*...in ipsa villa*', had been held by Ernwy then.

¹⁴⁸ The editors of *DB Herefordshire* and The Alecto Edition maintain that the totality of Dilwyn probably lay in Elsdon, but that appears illogical given the geography. See the discussion within the Leominster case study, pages 255-66.

¹⁴⁹ This is considered in the Leominster case study.

¹⁵⁰ *DB Herefordshire*, 6.8, 6.9, 8.3, 9.15, 10.43, 10.44, 14.7, 24.6, 25.9 and 29.18.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 1.67-1.70.

Weston and *Lege*.¹⁵² Roger's Letton, lying fifth beneath the rubric, has been identified within Kinnersley parish and mapped there.

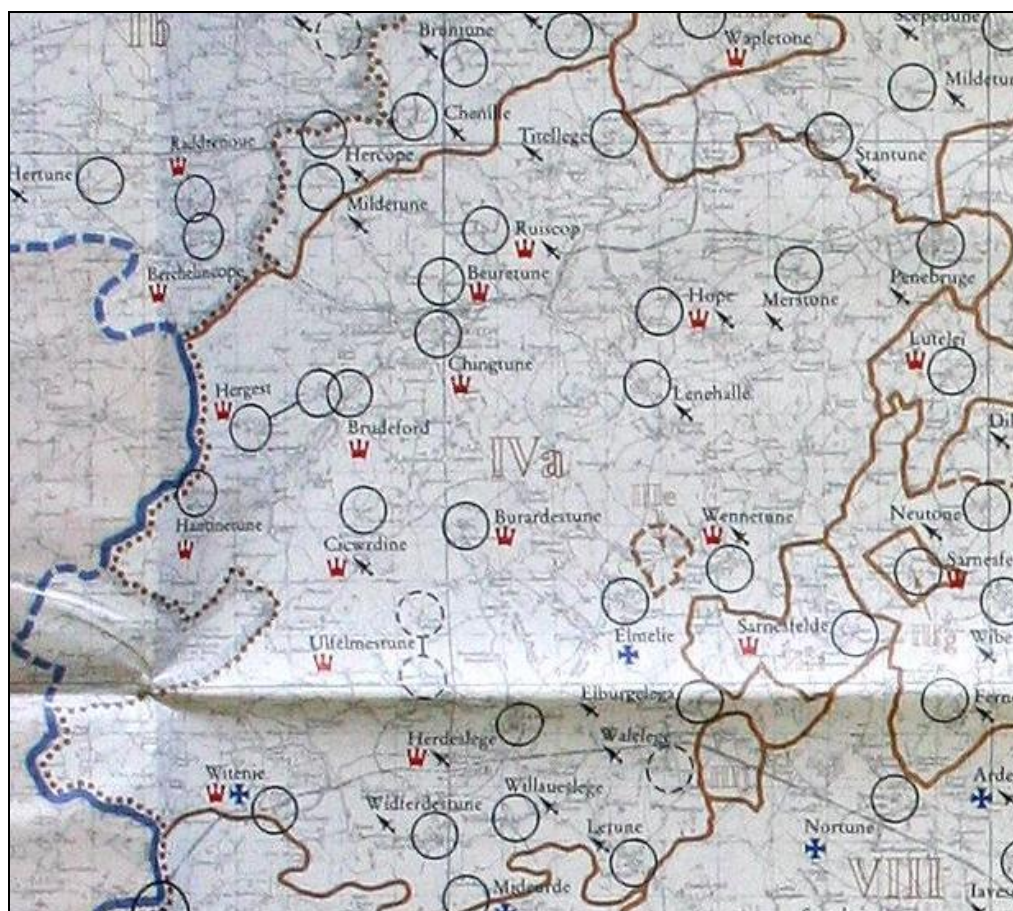


Figure 6.5 Elsdon (The Alecto Edition).

6.4.5 Lene

See the Leominster case study for a discussion of this land-unit.

6.4.6 Stretford¹⁵³

Another puzzling hundred, Stretford is in two distinct parts. One is north of the Wye and is separated from its detached portion south of the Wye by Staple Hundred. This southern portion abuts Dinedor on the east, with which it shares some anomalous

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 29.16. The other 'lost places' are at points one and two beneath the hundred rubric: *Ibid.*, 31.1 and 31.2.

¹⁵³ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 164, OE *stret-ford*, ford on the Roman road (Watling Street).

1086 entries. The editors of *DB Herefordshire* and The Alecto Edition offer the view, but without specifying a date or rationale, that Stretford may in fact have been two separate hundreds which became amalgamated.¹⁵⁴

On the face of it, there are twenty-six holdings: twelve in the north and fourteen in the south, if Kingstone is included among them. Appendix Three, Table 6 sets these manors out together with their respective hidages. And, with the addition of certain Dinedor manors which may have been wrongly allocated to that hundred,¹⁵⁵ a further five holdings may have been within Stretford South, bringing the total number of manors to thirty-one and raising the hidage total from seventy-two to seventy-nine.

There is a clear tenurial pattern within each of the two portions. Of the twelve manors in the northern section six, including the former royal manor of King's Pyon, were held by Roger of Lacy.¹⁵⁶ The remaining six were held by four other Normans.¹⁵⁷ In the southern portion the tenurial pattern is even starker, as the greater majority were held by the canons of Hereford cathedral,¹⁵⁸ with the remainder held by the king, four Normans and St Guthlac's.¹⁵⁹ However, there is no discernible pattern here which

¹⁵⁴ On the basis that its entries occur at two different points in the survey—the first occurring are those in the southern portion and much later on are those in the north. For this view see further below, page 299.

¹⁵⁵ This is discussed further in the Dinedor case study.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.48, (Weobley, three hides two virgates); 10.49, (Fernhill in Weobley, two hides); 10.50, (King's Pyon, five hides); 10.51, (Birley, two virgates); 10.52, (Alton in Dilwyn, 'two parts of one hide'); 10.53, (Swanstone, in Dilwyn, one hide).

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.5, (Chadnor in Dilwyn, three hides as three manors and one third of one hide, held by Ralph of Tosney); 9.16 and 9.17, (Birley, two hides three virgates and two virgates, held by Roger of Mortimer); 19.9, (Stretford, two hides, held by Roger of Marlborough); 24.7, (Newton in Dilwyn, two virgates plus one virgate, held by Osbern son of Richard).

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.4-2.10, (Lulham, Preston-on-Wye, Tyberton, Eaton Bishop and Madley, respectively.)

There is also a note of 'four hides in the bishop's barton within the same hundred'.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.3, (Kingstone, Treville and Wapleford, although it is by no means certain whether this land-unit was counted within the hundred as the rubric has been inserted by the editors of *DB Herefordshire*); possibly 7.7, (Moccas, one hide held by Nigel the Doctor, which may have been wrongly placed in Dinedor); 21.7, (Clelonger, five hides held by Ansfrid of Cormeilles, but the vill was divided and one hide, held by Ilbert son of Thorold, lay in Dinedor); 22.7, (Thrupton, three hides held by Durand of Gloucester); 25.3, (Winnall, in Allensmore, three hides held by Gilbert son of Thorold). St Guthlac's held Moccas, two hides, *ibid.*, 6.7.

might connect the two; moreover, there is no necessary economic or tenorial link.¹⁶⁰

As historians have observed, the conjoining of the two land-units appears artificial.¹⁶¹

Figures 6.6.1 and 6.6.2 demonstrate its discrete parts.

We wonder if the link may have been one of administrative convenience. The geography of the northern portion is convoluted and distorted by some adjacent manors which, in 1086, lay in the private hundred of Leominster. In fact, some of the Domesday manors were located in what became the ecclesiastical parish of Dilwyn, which was a vill divided in three parts—two parts were in Leominster and one was in Elsdon.¹⁶² There are three possibilities for Stretford North: its entire extent had been within the Lene district, or it was lately-organised into its northern portion following the Lene carve-up referred to above, or its northern portion represented a much-reduced version of a larger hundred which had lost some of its jurisdiction to Leominster.¹⁶³ Its low hidage of twenty-two and its distorted shape seem to suggest one of these scenarios.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore Stretford appears to have had an earlier administrative relationship with the Cutsthorpe manor of Burghill, arguably the royal *tun* from which it was administered.¹⁶⁵ This may have included certain manors of its

¹⁶⁰ In other words, there is no unity in terms of estate-ownership such that an argument could be made for aligning detached areas within the same hundred. (And this is so notwithstanding the presence of Roger of Lacy as tenant of the king at Kingstone; he held Weobley in Stretford North.) Nor is there any evidence that the manors on the northern side required the resources of those on the southern side so as to secure their prosperity.

¹⁶¹ C P Lewis, 'Introduction to the Herefordshire Domesday' in *The Alecto Edition*, 1-22, hereafter, 'Alecto Introduction', at 7; Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes', 24.

¹⁶² These aspects are discussed within the relevant case studies for Leominster and Elsdon. We have already considered the possibility that Stretford North may have taken in all of Dilwyn.

¹⁶³ Our preferred interpretation, derived from an analysis of the ecclesiastical land-units of the district which are shown in Chapter Five, is that part of Stretford North had been within the Lene hundred (the vill of Dilwyn and the manors of Stretford and Birley), part had been within Cutsthorpe (the manor of King's Pyon), and part (the vill of Weobley) within the ecclesiastical land-unit which overlapped Elsdon hundred.

¹⁶⁴ For which see the Leominster case study, pages 251-61.

¹⁶⁵ *DB Herefordshire*, 19.2. Alfred of Marlborough held both Burghill and Stretford in 1086 and both had been held by Harold. The third penny of Stretford belonged to Burghill, a fact which indicates its earlier annexation to that *villa regalis*. See: Cam, 'Hundred Manor', 77-8. If the manors from

northern section only, until such time as the hundred scheme for the shire was devised.¹⁶⁶

It is possible to interpret the addition of a coherent unit south of the Wye as an administrative convenience as well as something of a balancing act, designed to make up the missing numbers for the northern section, particularly as Cutsthorpe appears to have been the hundred from which newly-built defences for the shire were being overseen.¹⁶⁷ In terms of chronology, Lewis views the incorporation of Stretford South, along with Dinedor, as having occurred later in the process of the shire's organisation, possibly the early eleventh century. If so, there could be a rationale for the activity, particularly if the re-organisation occurred around the same time that Stretford North, on the assumption that it had an earlier hundred identity, was being eroded as a result of the creation of the private hundred of Leominster.¹⁶⁸

However, we cannot agree with Lewis that the driver for the addition of these land-units was the incorporation of a thirteenth hundred for the shire. There is clear evidence within our analysis of the ecclesiastical organisation of the area that Stretford's southern portion had been within Hereford diocese at least by the tenth century, making an eleventh-century administrative capture very unlikely.¹⁶⁹ In

Cutsthorpe and Stretford had been annexed to Burghill throughout the middle Anglo-Saxon period, then clearly it had been a significant administrative place.

¹⁶⁶ See above, pages 252-3, for discussion of a possible chronology. It is possible that at that time Stretford South was not administered in the same way.

¹⁶⁷ See the Cutsthorpe case study. Richards Castle and Ewyas Castle, both eleventh-century fortifications, were within Cutsthorpe's jurisdiction, and so it is possible that the Stretford South land-unit had likewise been part of an earlier annexation which was undertaken to improve the defences of Hereford.

¹⁶⁸ It may also explain why the geography of Dinedor, itself of twenty-two hides, appears enmeshed with Stretford South, as both had been part of one land-unit previously. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 17-18, suggests that both were within the Straddle district. See the Golden Valley case study.

¹⁶⁹ See ecclesiastical evidence in Chapter Five, section 5.5, pages 195-202.

addition, Lewis's argument seems to turn on accepting Maitland's statistics of the numbers of hides for the shire in 1086; these have been disputed by Darby and Palmer, and we could not reconcile Maitland's figures to our own.¹⁷⁰ With a total number of hides at around 1200, including those allocated to Stretford South and Dinedor, the argument that the additional hides were later added to make a number nearer to Maitland's 1324 has no basis. But that is not to say that some re-organisation of hundred affiliation was not occurring, and on this basis we fully agree with Lewis. We have already observed the effect of Leominster's powerful presence in the shire, and the way in which it may have distorted an existing hundredal geography; where we disagree is on Lewis's proposed chronology.

Putting aside the odd shape of the hundred, can the manors identified be regarded as securely allocated to it? There are three which have been the subject of some dispute: Kingstone, including *Wapleford* and *Treville*, the bishop's barton in Stretford, and *Newton*.¹⁷¹ For the first, the editors of *DB Herefordshire* have queried whether a rubric ought to be inserted. The location of the manor is not an issue, but its hundredal allocation is. Its entry appears in second place below the rubric for *Greytree*, and yet it seems unlikely that it could have been within that hundred. In 1086 Kingstone was held by Roger of Lacy of the king, and his manor of *Weobley* lay within Stretford North. However, the editors explain the need for such an insertion on the grounds that Kingstone lay within the later medieval hundred of *Webtree*, into which Stretford and parts of *Dinedor* were subsumed.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ As noted above, our figures compare favourably with Darby's and may be around five hides different from Palmer's; however, we have already noted the problems in interpreting the latter's data. Whatever the case, we are confident of a hidage of around 1200 for the shire in 1086.

¹⁷¹ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.3, 2.10 and 24.7.

¹⁷² *Ibid*, 1.3, note.

The bishop's barton estates have been the subject of some speculation. Their respective locations have not been identified, and Lewis's view is that those in Stretford may have been detached parts of the larger manor of 'Barton', included within Dinedor.¹⁷³ One further point to make about Stretford's southern portion is the probable inclusion of the bishop's manor of Didley. Both The Alecto Edition and *DB Herefordshire* map it there, and the editors of the latter comment: 'Didley has been mapped in this edition in the southern part of Stretford Hundred, probably its original hundred. Having been alienated from the church, the lands now lay partly in the Cutsthorpe Hundred in the castlery of Ewyas Harold... and partly in the royal Forest, probably an extension of Treville Wood.'¹⁷⁴ There is no explanation for this observation but, if true, it seems to be another example of a relatively fluid hundred-organisation for the shire.¹⁷⁵

Finally, in addition to the seventy-nine hides calculated here, there is speculation within The Alecto Edition that a further number may have been included. These are the thirty-three hides for 'which the bishop's men gave no account'¹⁷⁶ and the nineteen of the king's nine waste manors.¹⁷⁷ It is possible that some of these lay wholly or partly in Stretford's southern portion,¹⁷⁸ but because they are not named they cannot be identified or located.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 2.9, 2.10 and 2.11, the first two, apparently within Madley, and the last being allocated to Dinedor within the survey. Lewis, 'Alecto Introduction', 19. However, Thorn's view is that these identified places are simply descriptive of function, a 'barton' being a 'corn farm'. Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes', 25. And it is noted that the Barton in Dinedor may have been in Cutsthorpe, for which see the Dinedor case study. We prefer Thorn's interpretation on account of our conclusions of the origins of Madley. See Chapter Five, section 5.5, pages 195-202.

¹⁷⁴ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.3 note.

¹⁷⁵ We have already considered the changes to Leominster which are recorded in the survey as well as those likely to have occurred on account of Leominster's private status.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.57.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.63. Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes', 24, n. 2.

¹⁷⁸ Although there is no evidence for this and there is speculation that the king's nine manors lay in the Forest of Dean. *DB Herefordshire*, 1.63, note.

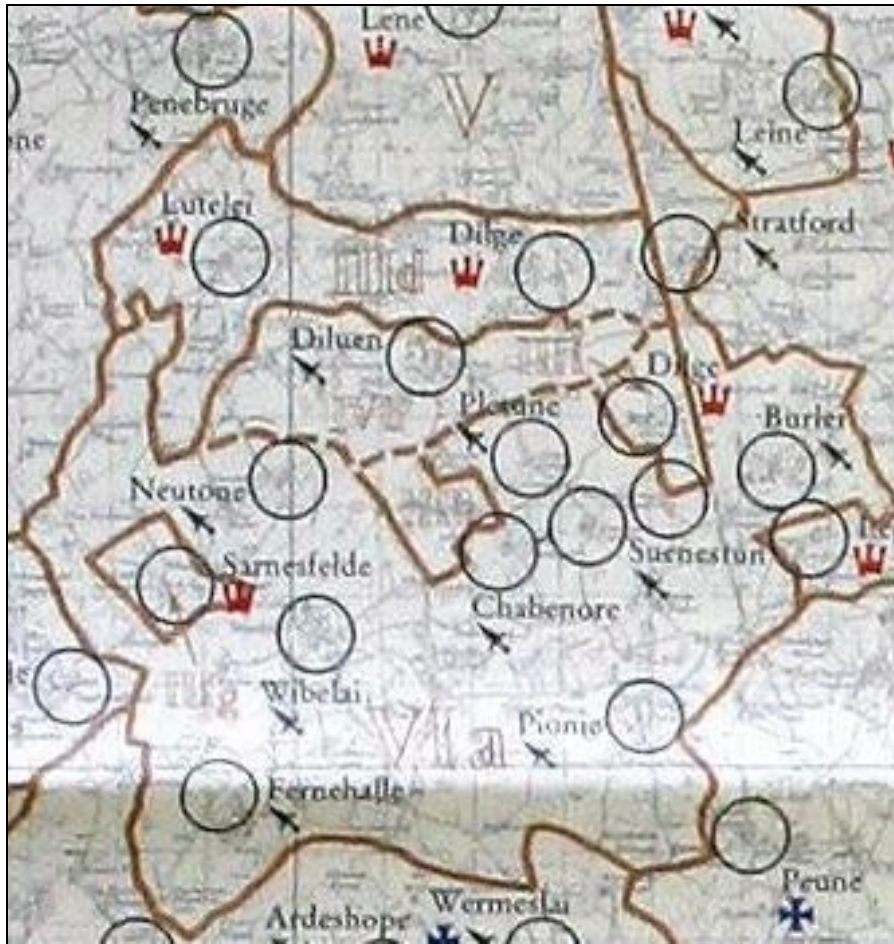


Figure 6.6.1 Stretford North (The Alecto Edition)

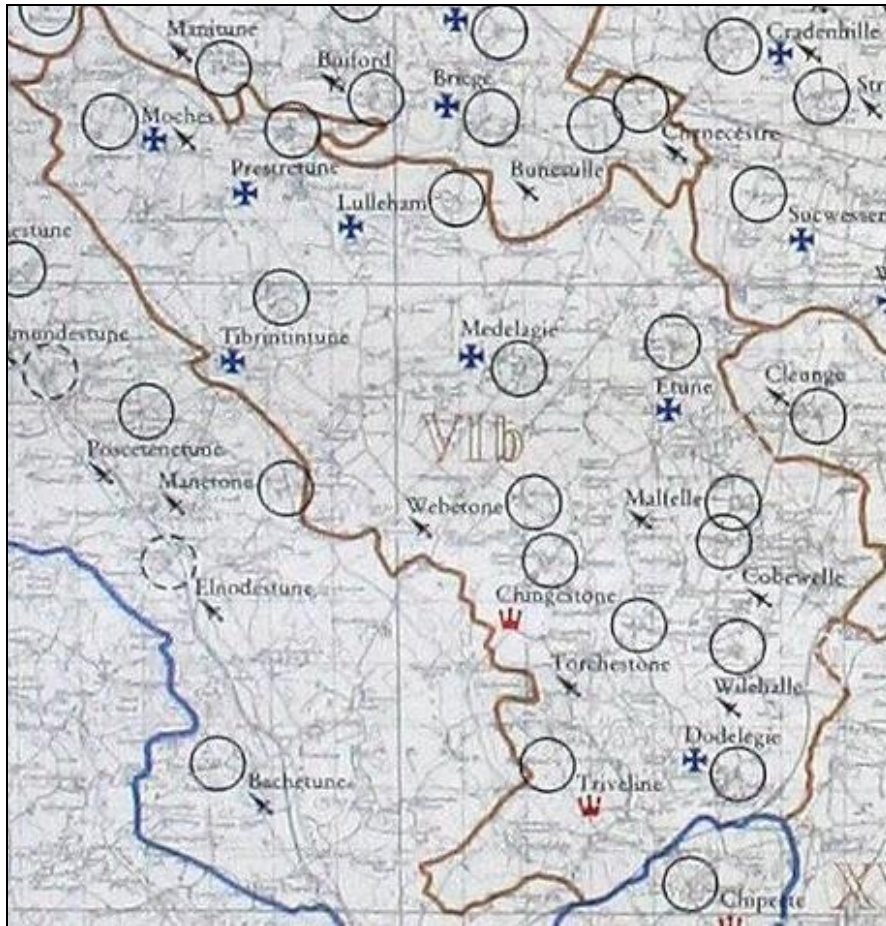


Figure 6.6.2 Stretford South (The Alecto Edition)

6.4.7 Plegelgate¹⁷⁹

In 1086 the hundred of Plegelgate may have comprised thirty-four manors rated at just over 104 hides. It is possible that this figure may be less, as there are some issues about identifying the location of some of the 1086 holdings. Its location was to the north and north-east of Radlow and Thornlaw, respectively. By 1169 it was reorganised, along with Thornlaw, into the Broxash hundred. Table 7 at Appendix Three sets out its possible jurisdiction along with the respective hidages of the manors identified; its extent is mapped at Figure 6.7.

¹⁷⁹ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 166. According to Anderson, its place-name is likely to have been derived from a personal name, OE *Pleghelm* and *geat*, 'gate, narrow passage'. However, there is some dispute about this as Coplestone-Crow, when writing about the current place within the existing civil parish of Winslow, notes that, for the second element, there is no obvious topographical correlation. His view is that the first element is more likely to be derived from OE *plega-leah*, or 'sport clearing'. There are some local variants of the same root in Shropshire (Plealey) and Worcestershire (Playley). Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 210.

In 1086 the manors of Plegelgate were held by the king,¹⁸⁰ the bishop and the canons of Hereford cathedral,¹⁸¹ and eleven Normans.¹⁸² The largest of these were in the hands of the church at Bromyard and Roger of Lacy. There is speculation about the identity and location of a handful. The place-name ‘Little Cowarne’, DB *Colgre*, appears to bear no relation to that of ‘Much Cowarne’, DB *Cuure*/Cowarne, discussed within the Radlow case study. Scholars have observed that the two ‘Cowarne’ manors are unlikely to be connected, as the names DB *Colgre* and DB *Cuure* do not have the same root.¹⁸³ Whatever the explanation for the later association with Much Cowarne in Radlow, the manor of *Colgre* can be assigned to Plegelgate, appearing as it does immediately below the hundred rubric. With regard to the holding of William Ecouis, identified as Marston Stannett, the editors of *DB Herefordshire* have inserted a Plegelgate rubric above it but with some qualification.¹⁸⁴ We noted above that it was also a divided manor with Leominster.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ The king held Stanford Regis and one hide of Rowden in Bromyard: *DB Herefordshire*, 1.9 and 1.71. *DB Herefordshire* and *VCH* have located Stanford Regis as Stanford Bishop; The Alecto Edition views the manor as a lost place in the ecclesiastical parish of Bishop’s Frome or Stanford Bishop. Before 1066 Stanford Regis had been a member of Leominster: *DB Herefordshire*, 1.10c.

¹⁸¹ The church held the large manor of Bromyard, three hides at Collington, three hides at Tedstone Wafer, two virgates at Sawbury Hill and one hide one virgate at Noakes: *Ibid.*, 2.49, 2.50, and 2.3 respectively, the latter of which included the bishop’s holdings at Tedstone Wafer, Sawbury Hill and Noakes.

¹⁸² Nigel the Doctor held Little Cowarne and Avenbury, (*ibid.*, 7.8 and 7.9). Ralph of Mortimer held two hides in Wolferlow, (*ibid.*, 9.18). Roger of Lacy held Stoke Lacy, (*ibid.*, 10.63) two hides at Sawbury Hill, (*ibid.*, 10.65) six hides at Wolferlow, (*ibid.*, 10.66) one hide at Tedstone Wafer, (*ibid.*, 10.68) one hide at Bredenbury, (*ibid.*, 10.69) three hides and two virgates at Butterley, (*ibid.*, 10.70—a place which was still within Leominster as to the hide held by Urse D’Abitot) two virgates at Marston Stannett, (*ibid.*, 10.71) four hides at Grendon Warren, (*ibid.*, 10.72) one hide at Stanford, (*ibid.*, 10.73) two virgates at Cuple, (*ibid.*, 10.74), and two virgates at Hanley in Worcestershire, (*ibid.*, 10.75). William Ecouis held two virgates at Marston Stannett, (*ibid.*, 14.2). William son of Norman held Hopton Sollers, (*ibid.*, 16.2). Gilbert son of Thorold held *Chetestor*, an unidentified place but possibly Tedstone Delamere, (*ibid.*, 25.8). Urse D’Abetot held Wicton, (*ibid.*, 30.1.) Gryffydd held Stoke Bliss, (*ibid.*, 31.6). Rayner held two virgates in Marston Stannett, (*ibid.*, 32.1). Carbonnel held one hide in Noakes, (*ibid.*, 33.1). Ralph the chaplain’s wife held two virgates in Rowden, (*ibid.*, 34.2).

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 7.8 note and 19.10 note: ‘DB *Colgre* cannot represent the place-name “Cowarne” ... (since) it is a different name.’ The link was made in the twelfth century by the scribe of *Herefordshire Domesday*, and the editors of that manuscript are of the view that the entry for Much Cowarne covers both places. Galbraith and Tait (eds), *Herefordshire Domesday*, 34, 93 note, and 114, but, given the dissimilar place-name root for each, this seems unlikely.

¹⁸⁴ The entry within the return appears to place this holding in Staple hundred, which *VCH* has identified as a ‘Marston’ in Pembridge. However, the later fifteenth-century evidence seems to show a holding from the Lacy family, who had another part of Marston Stannett in Plegelgate. It is possible

There are three manors which are unidentified: *Chipelai*, *Chetestor* and *Hanlei*. The twelfth-century *Herefordshire Domesday* identified the first as *Cupleai*, an alternative spelling which seemed to be favoured, as there is evidence that it was later granted under that name; however, it is noteworthy that a place ‘Cuple’ has never been found.¹⁸⁶ There may be more luck with the second place, *Chetestor*, since DB Herefordshire and Coplestone-Crow believe this to be a corruption of the DB *Testistorp*, a name which appears under the entry identified as Tedstone Wafer. However, the place remains an unidentified one, although it appears to have been within Plegelgate since Gilbert’s entry is directly below the rubric.¹⁸⁷ The final place, *Hanlei*,¹⁸⁸ may have been within Plegelgate, but it is not the same as the place which Round represented as ‘Hanley’s End’. *DB Herefordshire* and The Alecto Edition locate this as Hanley Child/Hanley William, a five-hide manor which spanned the border with Worcestershire.¹⁸⁹ Finally, the insertion of a hundred rubric above Carbonnel’s entry at Noakes¹⁹⁰ appears to have been made in reliance upon the evidence of the bishop’s return recorded at *DB Herefordshire* 2.3, the *Herefordshire Domesday* and a later thirteenth-century manuscript.¹⁹¹

that the Lacys held a superior interest, to which William’s interest was subject. *DB Herefordshire*, 14.12, note. The position must remain open as Coplestone-Crow puts the holding in Pencombe in Thornlaw hundred. *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 159-60, and it is mapped with an uncertain boundary in Figure 7 below.

¹⁸⁵ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.10a.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.74, note, records this manor’s transmission to St Guthlac’s by Roger, earl of Hereford, but that it was certainly never in Plegelgate hundred. See also: Galbraith and Tait (eds), *Herefordshire Domesday*, 52, and D Walker (ed.), ‘Charters of the earldom of Hereford 1095-1201’, *Camden Miscellany*, 22 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), 1-75, at 39 and n. 2.

¹⁸⁷ *DB Herefordshire*, 25.8 and note. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 188-9. The *Tetistorp* holding was of the bishop, (*DB Herefordshire*, 2.3) and Roger of Lacy, (*ibid.*, 10.68).

¹⁸⁸ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.75. *Contra* *VCH*, 334.

¹⁸⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.75, note, where the editors have relied upon Wightman’s study of the Lacy fiefs. The division is similar to that observed at Mathon, (*ibid.*, 10.39). Locating it as part of the Hanley manor would place it securely within Plegelgate.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 33.1.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 2.3, note. It was later in Broxash, a hundred created around 1169 which incorporated Plegelgate and Thornlaw, as noted above. The later entry identifies the place as *Hakes*, held by Carbonnel.

Of these thirty-four manors, eighteen, including the unidentified *Chetestor*, appear immediately below the hundred rubric or within one place of it,¹⁹² seven are embedded within Roger of Lacy's substantial return,¹⁹³ and one can be linked to the hundred by virtue of another holding.¹⁹⁴ There are eight remaining. *Chipelai* and William Ecouis's holding (*DB Herefordshire*, 14.12) remain unidentified, but there appears to be agreement about the location of Hanley in the recent editions.¹⁹⁵ We noted the insertion of the hundred rubric at Carbonnel's holding at Noakes and the reasons for it, but there is none at the bishop's entry for the same place and no mention of a hundred for the other places held by the bishop at Tedstone and Sawbury Hill.¹⁹⁶ It is probable that all these places, with the exception of *Chipelai*, were within the hundred. The Alecto Edition has mapped them on the basis that they were.

The problematic issue for an accurate mapping of Plegelgate's 1086 extent is the overlap of certain manors. One is divided between Plegelgate and Radlow, in the case of Bishop's Frome, and some between Plegelgate and Leominster, in the cases of Butterley and Marston Stannett, both of which were in Leominster before 1066. In addition, Marston Stannett and Grendon appear to be located within the medieval parish of Pencombe, which was in Thornlaw Hundred.¹⁹⁷ Although Plegelgate's thirty-four manors can be confidently identified, its western boundary is mapped

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 1.9, (Stanford Regis) and 1.71, (Rowden); 2.21, (Bishop's Frome); 2.49, (Bromyard); 2.50, (Collington); 7.8, (Little Cowarne); 7.9, (Avenbury); 9.18, (Wolferlow); 10.63, (Stoke Lacy); 10.64, (Collington); 10.65, (Sawbury Hill); 16.2, (Hopton Sollers); 20.1, (Thornbury); 25.8, (*Chetestor*); 30.1, (Wicton); 31.6, (Stoke Bliss); 32.1, (Marston Stannett); 34.2, (Rowden).

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 10.66, (Wolferlow); 10.67, (Bishop's Frome); 10.69, (Bredenbury); 10.70, (Butterley); 10.71, (Marston Stannett); 10.72, (Grendon Warren); 10.73, (Stanford).

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.3, the bishop's manor at Tedstone Wafer and Lacy's manor recorded *ibid.*, at 10.68.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.75.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.1, 2.3.

¹⁹⁷ Galbraith and Tait (eds), *Herefordshire Domesday*, 59. This fifteen-hide manor was not identified by name in 1086.

imprecisely on account of the issues with the vills which were divided between it and Leominster.

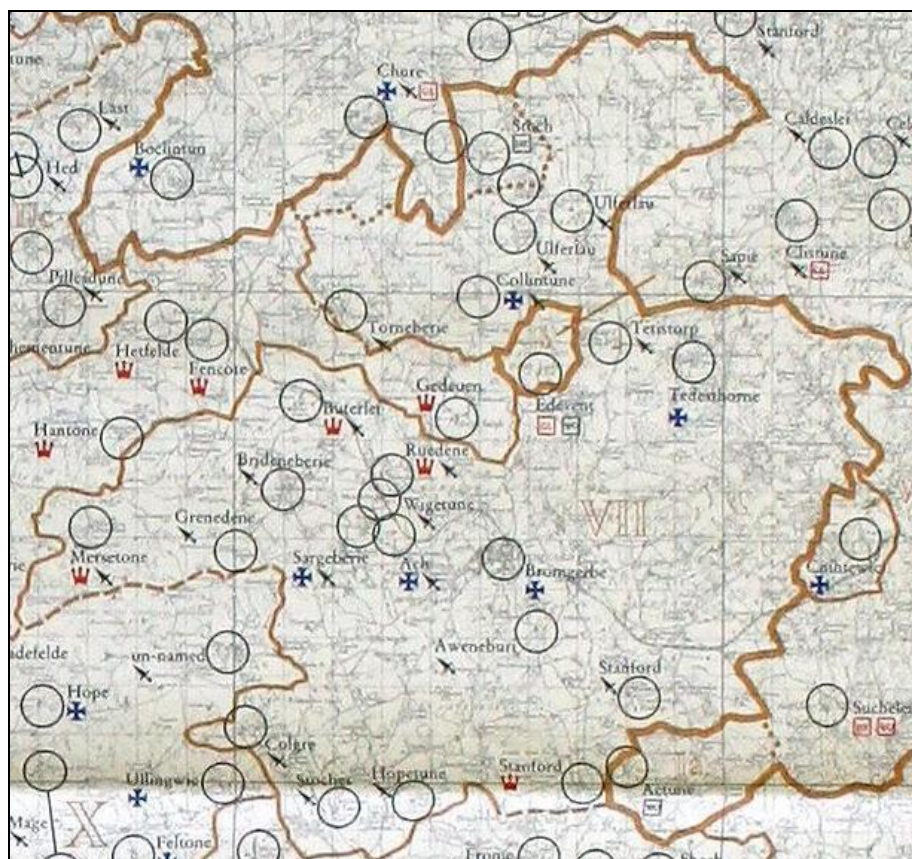


Figure 6.7 Plegelgate (The Alecto Edition).

6.4.8 Staple Hundred¹⁹⁸

Staple Hundred was a medium-sized compact land-unit which, in 1086, comprised twenty-two manors rated at just over sixty-three hides.¹⁹⁹ It lay south-east of Elsdon and due west of Cutsthorn, and it separated Stretford from its southern portion south of the Wye. Its later identity was as a component part of Grimsworth Hundred, which was formed around 1169 taking in neighbouring Cutsthorn.²⁰⁰ Its name is likely to be

¹⁹⁸ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 165, OE *stepel-setan*, the settlers near the steep place.

¹⁹⁹ Although *Standune* at *DB Herefordshire*, 24.8, is allocated to the hundred this allocation is likely to have been a scribal error and confusion for Staunton-on-Wye. *Ibid.*, 24.8, note. This would reduce the hundred's assessment to just over sixty-three hides. See the Elsdon case study.

²⁰⁰ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 165.

derived from OE **stepel-setan*, identifying the territory of the settlers of the ‘steep place.’ Table 8 in Appendix Three and Figure 6.8 indicate its jurisdiction.

Lewis has argued for its consolidation as a tribal territory during the late Anglo-Saxon period around the same time that the hundreds in western Mercia were fixed. He explains: ‘The Welsh borders had a particular concentration of *saete* names of a further, perhaps distinct, type referring to medium-sized territories... three (of which) were hundreds’—one in Herefordshire and two in Shropshire.²⁰¹ This seems rather late to us, and we prefer Gelling’s view of a middle Anglo-Saxon timescale, possibly the late eighth century around the time of the construction of Offa’s Dyke.²⁰²

Offa’s Dyke was a linear earthwork believed by some to span some 150 miles along the border with the Welsh kingdoms; according to recent scholarship its primary purpose was to secure the area which bordered the kingdom of Powys. Further south, around the area that later became Staple Hundred, the Dyke probably marked an agreed frontier as relations in this area look to have been relatively settled. The *Stepelsaeten* whose territory was bisected by the Dyke could well have commenced peaceful ingress and relations with the indigenous British from the middle of the eighth century.

Of the manors within Staple there is none in *Terra Regis* and no evidence of a royal *tun* around which the area was organised, although the record states that Harold

²⁰¹ Lewis suggests, *contra* Gelling, that the territory became identified during the late Anglo-Saxon period around the time at which he believes the hundreds in western Mercia to have been demarcated. C P Lewis, ‘Welsh territories and Welsh identities in late Anglo-Saxon England’, in N Higham (ed.), *Britains in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 130-43, hereafter ‘Welsh Territories’, at 141. Gelling, *West Midlands*, 114-15, maintained that the timescale for such names was the middle of the Anglo-Saxon period, possibly the time of the construction of Offa’s Dyke. Furthermore, he maintains that it is impossible to identify which ‘steep place’ is meant, the hundred being full of such places. We think this is overly pessimistic and would argue for more weight to be given to a case for *Malveselle*, discussed below.

²⁰² Gelling, *West Midlands*, 114-15.

Godwinson had held Mansall Gamage (DB *Malveselle*).²⁰³ There were two other manors within that vill: Mansall Lacy and Bishopstone. All three were called *Malveselle* in Domesday Book. The vill was itself an eighteen-hide unit, and so was a district of significant size which represented nearly one-third of the total assessment for the hundred;²⁰⁴ it may have spanned the line of the Dyke, and the Dyke may have run along the crest of Garnon's Hill. The present-day ecclesiastical parishes of Mansall Gamage and Mansall Lacy are divided by some form of linear earthwork, perhaps part of the Dyke.²⁰⁵ We wonder whether Garnon's Hill was the 'steep place' of the *Stepelsaete*—perhaps the central place around which their territory was organised. The size and extent of the vill, at eighteen hides, could support an argument for its significance, as could Harold Godwinson's prior ownership of Mansall Gamage. The remaining manors were held by the bishop and canons of the cathedral,²⁰⁶ five Normans²⁰⁷ and one Welshman.²⁰⁸ The greater majority were in the hands of Roger of Lacy, although three manors were holdings of the canons.²⁰⁹

²⁰³ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 141. The name means 'hill of gravel' from an OE root 'sandy soil'. He suggests that this land-unit extended to both sides of the dyke. For further comments see Chapter Five, section 5.6, pages 202-8.

²⁰⁴ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.56, 2.46, 31.4 and 31.5. It would have represented an eighteen-hide unit. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 141, notes that the area comprised within these manors may well be that referred to in S1469, an eleventh-century memorandum of a land purchase.

²⁰⁵ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 141.

²⁰⁶ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.3, (three virgates at Yarsop); 2.45-2.48, (six hides at Norton Canon, five hides at Bishopstone, half a hide at Wormsley and five hides at Bridge Sollers).

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.6, (five hides at Monnington-on-Wye held by Ralph of Tosny); 10.54-10.62, (two hides at Brobury, two hides at Staunton-on-Wye, eight hides at Mansall Gamage, a further four hides at Staunton-on-Wye, five hides at Yazor, one hide two virgates at Yarsop, five hides at Byford and one hide one virgate and a further virgate at Wormsley all held by Roger of Lacy); 14.10, (one hide and one virgate at Yarsop held by William Ecouis); 29.1, (four hides at Kenchester held by Hugh Donkey); 34.1, (three virgates at Yarsop held by Ralph the Chaplain's Wife).

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 31.3-31.5, (one hide at Bunshill, four hides at Mansall Lacy and a further hide there, all held by Gryffydd).

²⁰⁹ At Wormsley and Yarsop, but also DB *Malveselle*. The manor identified in *ibid.*, 2.46, as Bishopstone appears not to have been known by that name in 1086. And according to T Pickles, 'Biscopes-tun, muneca-tun and preosta-tun: dating, significance and distribution' in E Quinton (ed.), *The Church in English Place-Names*, English Place-Name Society Extra Series, 4 (Nottingham: University of Nottingham School of English, 2009), 39-107, hereafter '*Preosta-tun*', at 87, the earliest known use of the name is 1135 x 1154.

While this study cannot resolve the Lewis-Gelling argument about the dating of *saete* names simply on the basis of the information presented here, there is some further place-name evidence which suggests that the area had been a unified economic territory by the ninth century. Two of the *tun* places in the Domesday entries are worth mentioning: Norton (Canon) and Monnington-(on-Wye). Norton/‘the north settlement’ was the subject of an eleventh-century gift²¹⁰ to the canons of Hereford cathedral, and its designation may date from then and may identify the place by reference to the canon’s three other holdings within the hundred. However, the directional descriptor may in fact relate to *Malveselle*, since Norton is one of its most northerly settlements in the hundred and certainly so in relation to that vill. The settlement at Monnington, a term meaning ‘communal estate’,²¹¹ has an even more specific description in relation to a defined territory, as its name denotes ‘the place of common grazing land’. If the *Stepelsaete* had marked out areas of common grazing on the north bank of Wye, this would provide some evidence of their territory as an economic unit.

‘A common characteristic of these minor folk regions seems to have been the presence of a heartland area which was relatively well developed at an early period, and a complementary region which... was valued as the area of pastoral activity for the group.’²¹² Ford argued that by the ninth century early folk groups had fixed their boundaries, many of which became political divisions considered by some to have

²¹⁰ W Capes (ed.), *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral* (Hereford: Cantilupe Society, 1908), hereafter *Charters and Records*, iii, and *DB Herefordshire*, 2.13 note.

²¹¹ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 148.

²¹² D Hooke, ‘Pre-Conquest estates in the West Midlands: preliminary thoughts’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 8 (1982), 227-44, and *eadem*, ‘Early units of government in Herefordshire and Shropshire’, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 5 (1992), 47-64. Hooke has considered further the organisation of communal grazing within defined territories as indicative of a folk-group organisation which gave rise to the creation of fixed political divisions early on.

included organised communal grazing as an indicator. We observe this in the heartland of *Malveselle* and its communal grazing further north, along the Wye. And again, we are reminded of Gelling's arguments, considered in the Hazletree case study, that the distribution of *tun* names implied the settlement of a cohesive economic unit, often consequent upon administrative changes. She dated this sort of activity to the middle of the eighth century, noting, from Cox, that *tun* place-names rarely occurred before 730.²¹³ The cohesiveness of the territory was a significant factor of its remaining a unified area, and we think that there are good grounds for an argument that the territory of the *Stepelsate* survived as a discrete land-unit into the tenth century, remaining intact while Stretford Hundred was organised around it.

In terms of security of placement within the hundred, with the exception of Staunton-on-Arrow discussed within the Elsdon case study, all can be reliably assigned to Staple. Eight are recorded within two places of the hundred rubric, and the others are embedded within the returns of those who held the greatest number, the canons of the

²¹³Gelling, *West Midlands*, 122. Cox noted that *tun* rarely occurred before 730. Cox, 'Place-names', 65.

cathedral and Roger of Lacy.

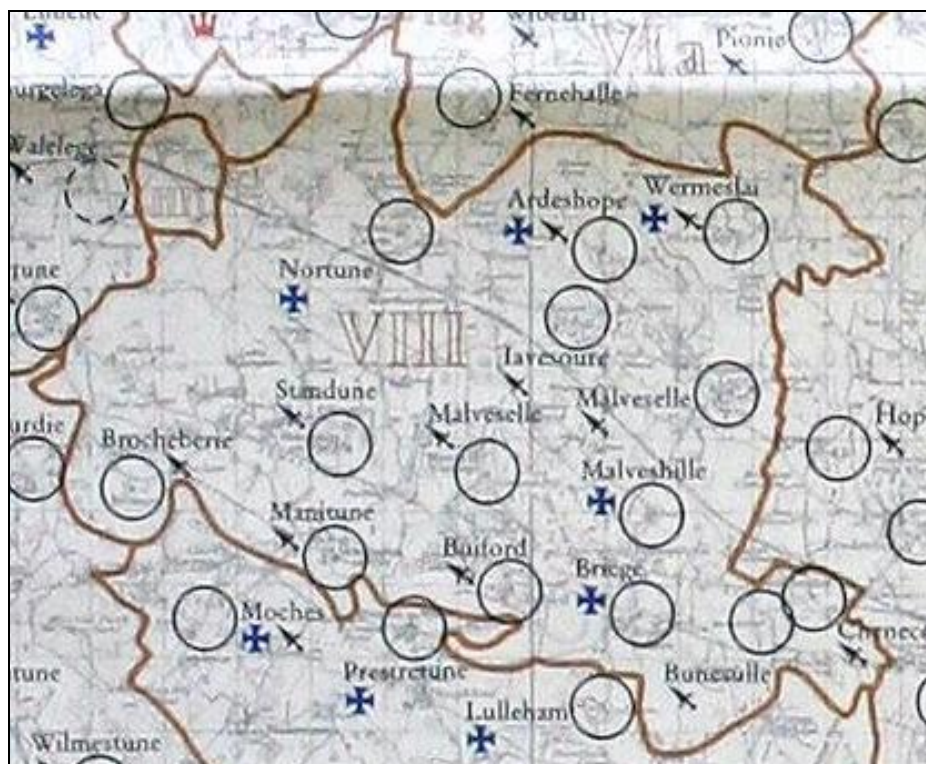


Figure 6.8 Staple (The Alecto Edition).

6.4.9 Cutsthorn²¹⁴

In 1086 Cutsthorn included twenty-four manors and had a composite rating of ninety-two hides two virgates. It is uncertain whether this comprised its full extent, as the unidentified ‘Barton’ may have been within it; however, there is some evidence to suggest that it was, which would add an additional ten hides.²¹⁵ Whatever the case, it is clear that the hundred had a particularly significant role: Hereford, the shire capital, lay within it,²¹⁶ and the two castleries of Richards Castle and Ewyas Harold were

²¹⁴ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 165, OE *cute-thorn*, pollarded thorn tree.

²¹⁵ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.3 and 2.11. Both this edition and The Alecto Edition map Didley and Stane within Stretford, but in 1086 the two manors were within the jurisdiction of Ewyas Harold, a place administered by Cutsthorn; we have included them within Cutsthorn’s totals. Concerning ‘Barton’, The Alecto Edition offers the view that a Dinedor hundred head had been inserted above it, but perhaps too soon. Thorn, ‘Hundreds and wapentakes’, 24-5. Palmer, *Electronic Edition*, Notes 1A, is also equivocal. We consider this in the Dinedor case study.

²¹⁶ Certain Welsh antiquarian sources refer to the territory around Hereford as ‘*Ferlex*’ or ‘*Ferlege*’; it was alleged to have been a large district located between the Wye and the Severn. ‘This imaginary

administered from it.²¹⁷ It formed a compact land-unit, being bounded on the south by the Wye, and incorporating the manors surrounding Hereford, including its suburban districts; these are set out in Appendix Three Table 9. As an administrative district it was subsumed within Grimsworth Hundred in 1169.²¹⁸

As Table 9 shows, there were no manors in *Terra Regis* within Cutsthorn; however, Burghill, held by Harold before 1066, had been a middle Anglo-Saxon *villa regalis* with ‘the third penny’ of Cutsthorn and Stretford belonging to it.²¹⁹ It is therefore likely that Burghill had been an important central place for the land-units of Cutsthorn and Stretford from as early as the eighth century. The majority of its manors were held by the canons of the cathedral,²²⁰ but five Normans were also represented,²²¹ and there is general agreement in the editions about the location of its manors. With the

Welsh principality is variously known in a certain class of MSS (chiefly genealogical or else of a Glamorgan origin) as *Fferlex*, *Fferlis*, *Fferlegs*, *Fferllyg*, *Fferyllwg*, etc., names which occur in no Welsh document of antiquity, and which seem in their origin to be mere corruptions or deliberate “Welshifications” of some form of *Fernlega*, which is given by *Gerald of Wales*... as an old English name for Hereford town. (This name would now be *Fernley*, and mean ‘Fern-meadow’...): H Owen (ed.), *The Description of Pembrokeshire by George Owen of Henllys, 1602*. Two volumes (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1892), II, 188, n. Apart from the mention in the Ethelbert hagiography there is reference in the genealogy of one Iestyn set out in E Williams and T Williams, *Iolo manuscripts. A Selection of Ancient Welsh Manuscripts* (Liverpool: Foulkes, 1888, produced in facsimile form by BiblioLife, LLC, 2010), 395 and n. 2; ‘(Iestyn’s second wife Angharad was)... daughter of Elysdan Glodrydd, Earl of Ferlex or Hereford’.

²¹⁷ Apparently out of convenience as both are at some distance. *DB Herefordshire*, 12.2, (five hides two virgates at Richards Castle held by Robert Gernon); 10.1, (four carucates at Ewyas Harold held by Roger of Lacy).

²¹⁸ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 165.

²¹⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 19.2. The reckoning of the ‘third penny’ was a mark of an ancient royal manor. See: Cam, ‘Hundred Manor’, 77-8.

²²⁰ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.33-2.44 and 2.53, (four hides at Hampton Bishop, one hide at Tupsley, two hides at Shelwick, three hides at Shelwick, two hides at Sugwas, two hides two virgates at Warham, twelve hides at Canon Pyon, ten hides at Huntington, one hide at Holmer, four hides at Moreton on Lugg, one hide at Pipe, two hides at Lyde and two hides at Credenhill).

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 10.1, 10.24-10.26, (four carucates at Ewyas Harold, two hides two virgates at Stretton, two hides at Lyde [a possible duplicate entry for the two-hide holding at 24.11], and a further hide at Lyde, all held by Roger of Lacy); 19.2 and 19.3, (eight hides at Burghill and five hides at Brinsop held by Alfred of Marlborough); 24.11, (two hides at Lyde held by Osbern son of Richard); 22.4, (one hide at Litley held by Durand of Gloucester); 29.11-29.13, (five hides at Wellington, two hides at Credenhill and two virgates at Stretton, all held by Hugh Donkey). The detached manor at Richards Castle held by Robert Gernon comprised five hides two virgates. *Ibid.*, 12.2. It is worth noting that Alfred of Marlborough’s holdings included what appear to have been the central places of three hundreds: Stretford (Stretford), Cutsthorn (Burghill) and Radlow (Much Cowarne).

exception of Barton,²²² and Didley and Stane,²²³ the places within Table 9 can be assigned to the hundred with confidence. Eleven appear within two places of the rubric,²²⁴ and the remainder, all holdings of the canons of the cathedral, appear consecutively within their return.²²⁵ The exception is Credenhill which, although not within the block of entries for the canons, nevertheless appears directly beneath the rubric, but later, as if it had been overlooked previously.²²⁶

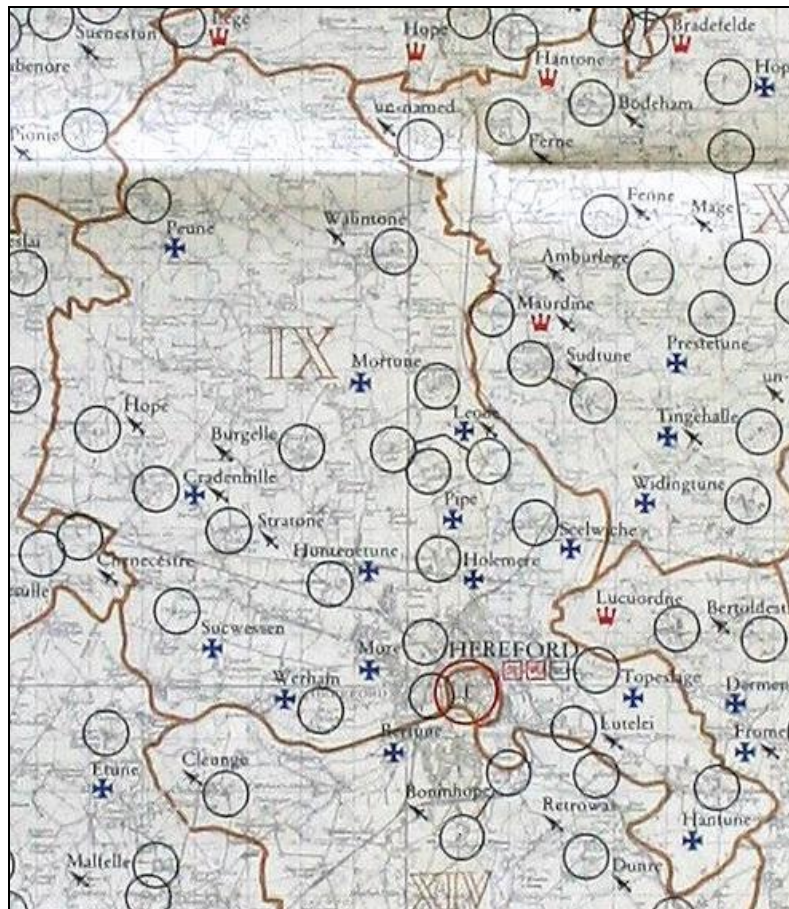


Figure 6.9 Cutsthorpe (The Alecto Edition).

²²² See the Dinedor case study.

²²³ See the Stretford case study.

²²⁴ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.33, 2.34, 10.1, 10.24, 10.25, 10.26, 19.2, 19.3, 22.4, 29.11 and 29.12 (with a possible additional reference to the same place at 29.14).

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.35-2.44.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.53.

6.4.10 Thornlaw²²⁷

In 1086 the hundred of Thornlaw comprised thirty-four holdings which appear, subject to the following comments, to total approximately seventy-eight hides. Its geographic location was to the north-west of Hereford, and by 1169 it had been subsumed, along with Plegelgate (its neighbour to the north-east), into the hundred of Broxash.²²⁸ Appendix Three Table 10 lists its manors and their respective hidages. Of these, with the exception of the large royal manor of Marden, a former *villa regalis* with little known of its ‘many hides’,²²⁹ the majority were held by a group of Normans and there is no particular discernible pattern.²³⁰ The church was also represented by the holdings of the canons of Hereford cathedral,²³¹ St Peter’s, Hereford,²³² and St Guthlac’s, Hereford, which had the largest local ecclesiastical presence.²³³

There is general consensus within the various editions concerning the identification and location of twenty-nine of Thornlaw’s manors. In terms of securely locating them

²²⁷ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 166, OE (*thorn-hlaw*, thorn-tree hill).

²²⁸ *Ibid.* He notes that the 1086 boundaries are uncertain, which remains the current view. He includes all of Pencombe, notwithstanding Leominster’s member of Marston Stannett, *DB Herefordshire*, 1.10a. The Alecto Edition does not map the entirety of Pencombe within Thornlaw. See Figure 6.10, page 286.

²²⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.4.

²³⁰ Nigel the Doctor at Bowley, Sutton, Maund and Thinghill, (*ibid.*, 7.2, 7.3, 7.5 and 7.6); Roger of Lacy at Bodenham, Ocle Pychard and Maund, (*ibid.*, 10.9, 10.5, 10.6 and 10.8); William Ecouis at Maund, (*ibid.*, 14.2); William son of Norman at the Vern and Venns Green, (*ibid.*, 16.3 and 16.4); Alfred of Marlborough at the unnamed fifteen-hide manor identified by *DB Herefordshire* as Pencombe, (*ibid.*, 19.6, which may be the same landholding as *Pencovan*, a place given by Offa to the church of Worcester in 757 x 796); Ansfrid of Cormeilles at Amberley, (*ibid.*, 21.5); Osbern son of Richard at Bodenham, (*ibid.*, 24.9); and Hugh Donkey at ‘one manor’ identified by *DB Herefordshire* as Livers Ocle, ‘one manor’ being identified by *DB Herefordshire* as part of Westhide in adjacent Radlow, and an unidentified two-hide holding possibly in Sutton, (*ibid.*, 29.3, 29.4 and 29.5).

²³¹ At Preston Wynne, Withington and Ullingswick, (*ibid.*, 2.16, 2.17 and 2.18).

²³² At Ocle Pychard, St Peter’s held two carucates within the manor of Roger of Lacy, (*ibid.*, 10.5).

²³³ At Hinton, Thinghill, Dudales Hope and Felton, and previously having held Nigel’s manor and claiming William Ecouis’s manor. (*Ibid.*, 6.3, 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6 together with 7.5 and 14.2, the first of which has been identified within The Alecto Edition as Maund Bryan or Rosemaund and the second by *DB Herefordshire* and The Alecto Edition as Maund Bryan). The re-location of the DB manor *Hope* with Dudales Hope in Bodenham parish, as opposed to Hope-under-Dinsmore, gives greater geographic integrity to St Guthlac’s presence within the area, considered in Chapter Four.

within the hundred, with the exception of five only,²³⁴ every manor is listed either immediately below the hundred rubric or within two or three places of it. This gives good grounds for the view that, subject to this minority, it is possible to map the 1086 extent of the hundred with some confidence, as indicated at Figure 6.10.

Of the minority, Bodenham is the easiest to treat as being securely within Thornlaw. Although Roger of Lacy's holding appears as the fifth entry within the hundred grouping,²³⁵ Osbern son of Richard's is in the same geographic location and immediately below the rubric.²³⁶ There are similar considerations for the Maund manors: Nigel the Doctor's entry is the fourth one beneath the rubric, while Roger of Lacy's two manors appear in second and fourth place respectively, although the entry for the first holding has been transposed by the Domesday scribe to its place immediately below Ocle Pychard. William Ecouis's entry is immediately below the rubric.²³⁷ In the cases of Hinton and Marden the editors of *DB Herefordshire* have inserted a Thornlaw rubric before each. For Hinton, the editors argue that its omission was a scribal error, as the rubric appears immediately above the next entry, Thinghill, a manor just to the north of Hinton which was also held by St Guthlac's. The fact that there is general agreement about the identification of Hinton suggests that this theory is a reasonable one.²³⁸ With regard to Marden the position is less clear, but not wholly uncertain. As one of the early entries within the king's estate, together with the manors recorded immediately before and after it, it lacks hundredal

²³⁴ These being Hinton, Maund, Bodenham, Marden and part of Pencombe.

²³⁵ *DB Herefordshire*, 10.9.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.9.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.5, 10.6, 10.8 and 14.2. *Magge* at *ibid.*, 10.6 is the holding which is the subject of transposition notes.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.3. Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes', 24. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 85, likewise places this Hinton in Felton parish as an 'estate belonging to a monastic establishment'; St Guthlac's held three hides at Felton and one hide at Hinton.

allocation.²³⁹ The editors have supplied one on the basis that one of the manors, Stephen's holding of one virgate, was located within Marden,²⁴⁰ and is recorded immediately below the hundred rubric. As a conclusion which would place Marden within Thornlaw, it is not an unreasonable one, and it seems certain that some of the king's 'many hides' had been exempt, the manor being rated beneficially. Despite its size it accounted for a mere two hides.²⁴¹

There are two landholdings within Marden which may not have been within Thornlaw, that of Norman the Pigman, who held two virgates, and that of Roger of Lacy, who held one hide.²⁴² Both *DB Herefordshire* and The Alecto Edition have mapped these two within Burghope, which lay in Wellington parish, placing them both on the boundary with Cutsthorpe hundred.²⁴³ In one other case a vill is divided: that of Newton held by William Ecouis and rated at two virgates, in Thornlaw, and half a hide within Leominster.²⁴⁴

²³⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.4; the other two are Kingstone (1.3) and Kingsland (1.5), both of which have a hundred rubric inserted by the editors.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 35.1.

²⁴¹ But it paid £16 blanch pence: *ibid.*, 1.4. Plainly a middle Anglo-Saxon royal *tun*, Marden was the subject of a provocative, and largely unconvincing, study which attempted to identify its extent as an early land-unit which lay behind Thornlaw. The author argued that the manor had originally centred on the Iron Age hillfort at Sutton Walls, comprising an early Welsh commote. See: J Sheppard, *The origins and evolution of field and settlement patterns in the Herefordshire manor of Marden* (Occasional Papers, 15, Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, University of London, 1979).

²⁴² *DB Herefordshire*, 1.4 and 10.11.

²⁴³ The basis for the identification is *Herefordshire Domesday*, 41 and 96, note.

²⁴⁴ *DB Herefordshire*, 14.4 and 1.25.

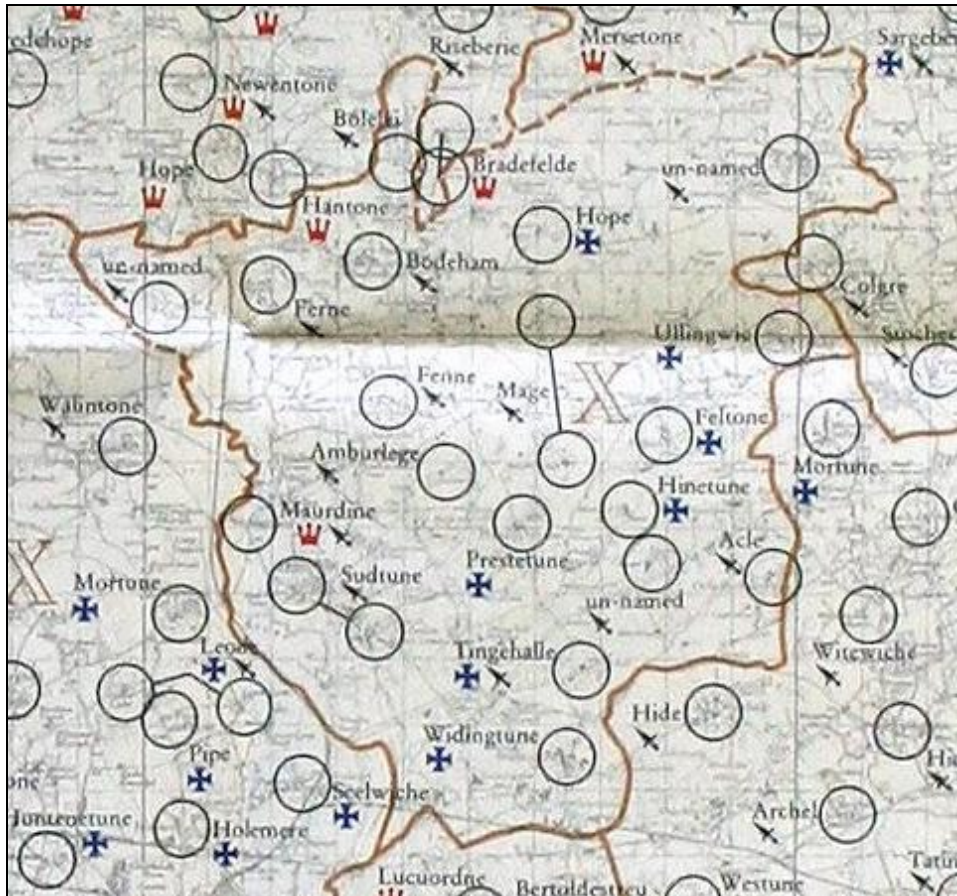


Figure 6.10 Thornlaw (The Alecto Edition)

6.4.11 Radlow²⁴⁵

In 1086 Radlow consisted of thirty-five manors which appear to have been rated at a total of ninety-eight hides.²⁴⁶ It lay south-west of Thornlaw and north-west of Greytree and divided Winstree from its outlying manor, Much Marcle. Appendix Three Table 11 provides further information.

With the exception of two manors held by the canons of Hereford cathedral, Bishop's Frome and Moreton Jeffries,²⁴⁷ lay estate-holders dominated the hundred. In addition,

²⁴⁵ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 167: OE read *hlaw*, red hill. Coplestone-Crow prefers 'red tumulus': Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 188.

²⁴⁶ Its Domesday extent included Much Marcle according to Anderson, but this is clearly at odds with the 1086 record which placed Much Marcle in Winstree hundred. As Winstree was subsumed into Radlow during the later medieval period it is possible that Anderson was identifying Little Marcle, which is in the hundred.

²⁴⁷ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.20 and 2.21.

it is clear that there had been a middle Anglo-Saxon *villa regalis* at Much Cowarne, as its record indicates.²⁴⁸ Of the Normans, Roger of Lacy's estates were the most numerous—he held thirteen manors spread across the hundred.²⁴⁹ Four were designated *Frome* in their respective entries, and one additional hide was held within that portion of Bishop's Frome which lay in Plegelgate, leading to a reasonable conclusion, supported by charter evidence, that a land-unit of that name was in existence by the middle Anglo-Saxon period.²⁵⁰ The remaining nineteen manors were allocated to thirteen others.²⁵¹ A map of the hundred is at Figure 6.11.

Of the published editions, with the exception of *VCH*, there is general agreement as to the locations of these manors.²⁵² Seventeen of the thirty-five manors allocated to the

²⁴⁸ The manor was held by Alfred of Marlborough and formerly held by Harold. *Ibid.*, 19.10. It had the third penny of three hundreds—possibly Thornlaw, Plegelgate and Radlow—reckoned to it, indicating its significance. We consider the possibility that one of the hundreds may have been Greytree and not Thornlaw: see the Greytree case study. The reckoning of the 'third penny' was a mark of an ancient royal manor. See Cam, 'Hundred Manor', 77-8. Alfred of Marlborough held many of Harold's large estates, including a former *villa regalis* at Burghill and another fifteen-hide manor in nearby Thornlaw hundred, now identified as Pencombe. *DB Herefordshire*, 19.2 and 19.6.

²⁴⁹ Weston Beggard, Yarkhill, (Halmonds) Frome, (Castle) Frome, Munsley, (Little) Marcle, (Canon) Frome, Evesbatch, Monkhide, Tarrington, two at Leadon and another at Mathon (which, like Drogo's half-hide holding, divided that land-unit across the shire boundary with Worcestershire); and there was another *Frome* manor, not in Radlow, at Bishop's Frome: *DB Herefordshire*, 10.27-10.39 and 10.67.

²⁵⁰ S1270 records a c. 840 grant of four hides at *Froma*. Although the location is unknown, Capes, *Charters and Records*, 1, placed it within the ten-hide manor of Bishop's Frome, four hides of which were allocated to Plegelgate hundred, giving no reasons for his view. We think it likely that Capes concluded that the grant was of that part of Bishop's Frome which lay in Plegelgate. Roger of Lacy's manor, recorded at *DB Herefordshire*, 10.67, was within Plegelgate, not Radlow, and may well have comprised part of the ninth-century estate. See Chapter Eight, pages 392-3, for a discussion of the land-unit known as *Frome*.

²⁵¹ Ralph of Tosny at Westhide and Stoke Edith, (*DB Herefordshire* 8.8 and 8.10); William son of Baderon at Stretton Grandison, Whitwick, Ashperton, Walsopthorne and Munsley, (*ibid.*, 15.6-15.10); William son of Norman at Munsley, (*ibid.*, 16.1); Thurston son of Rolf at Little Marcle, (*ibid.*, 17.2); Albert of Lorraine at Upleadon, (*ibid.*, 18.1); Ansfrid of Cormeilles at Tarrington and Pixley, (*ibid.*, 21.1 and 21.2); Durand of Gloucester at Ashperton, (*ibid.*, 22.1); Drogo son of Poyntz at Mathon, (*ibid.*, 23.6), which, like Roger of Lacy's half hide, divided that land-unit across the shire boundary with Worcestershire); Humphrey of Bouville at Pixley and Munsley, (*ibid.*, 28.1 and 28.2); Hugh Donkey at Lincumbe which may have been within Westhide, forming part of his unnamed manor in Thornlaw hundred, (*ibid.*, 29.15—Radlow, and 29.4—Thornlaw); Madog, Edric and Aelmer at Ashperton, (*ibid.*, 36.1).

²⁵² Although some are placed at or near the boundaries of ecclesiastical parishes which themselves are located within the hundred. Round's queries, noted in *VCH* at 330-1 and 337, concern Castle Frome, Halmonds Frome, Little Marcle and Upleadon. The first two are transposed with each other; Little Marcle is said to be Much Marcle and Upleadon is transposed with Leadon.

hundred appear either immediately below the hundred rubric or within two places of it, save for the case of Roger of Lacy's manors of Little Marcle, Mathon, Munsley and Tarrington. These appear some little way below the hundred heading; however, there seems no room for doubt as the places appear within the entries for other holders, immediately below the rubric. The Lacy anomaly may be explicable in terms of the large number of holdings within the district, some thirteen.

Of the remainder, Halmonds Frome, Castle Frome and Canon Frome were all Lacy manors placed at points three, four and seven beneath the hundred rubric. The manors appear to have been the consequence of tenth-century fragmentation of the *Frome* land-unit, and it is likely that their allocation is secure—a composite *Frome* estate lay within Radlow. This leaves Evesbatch, Monkhide, Leadon (of which there are two manors) and Walsopthorne. The first three are Lacy's, appearing at points eight, nine, eleven and twelve of his return. We will not overstate the point here, but there seems little doubt, given that they are clearly embedded ahead of later entries (such as Tarrington and Mathon, which have been allocated to Radlow on account of their rank within the returns of others). Finally, Walsopthorne appears fourth beneath the rubric. It is located within Ashperton ecclesiastical parish and, as it has been mapped by The Alecto Edition at a point due south of Canon Frome, its allocation seems secure.

Something more may be said about the hundred, however, in the context of its tenurial organisation. We have already noted that at Much Cowarne there is likely to have been a royal *tun*. Its geographic location separates the *Frome* manors from one another: Bishop's Frome has a detached outlier, and Halmond's, Castle Frome and Canon Frome are contiguous with one another, and lie immediately to the south and

east of both.²⁵³ These factors make it likely that the land-unit originally comprised all of the eleventh-century manors, including Much Cowarne which was the retained royal estate.²⁵⁴ *Frome* comprised thirty-nine hides but five lay in Plegelgate,²⁵⁵ and we will shortly consider an additional five at Priors Frome in Greytree within that case study.²⁵⁶

There is another charter, an early ninth-century one, which concerns the manor of Yarkhill.²⁵⁷ Compelling evidence suggests that it may have included its neighbours Ashperton, Weston Beggard, Westhide, Tarrington and Stoke Edith, making it a unit of twenty-three hides two virgates.²⁵⁸ With arguably eighth-century royal links, it is possible that an expanded Yarkhill²⁵⁹ may have been attached to the royal *tun* at Much Cowarne, along with the *Frome* manors, making the unit one of sixty-two hides two virgates. This appears to have formed the core of the later hundred of Radlow.

²⁵³ In fact, the church of Bishop's Frome is less than 500 metres from Halmonds Frome and clearly visible from the centre of the village.

²⁵⁴ Although the place-name evidence gives no clue of this, being based on the OE *cuuren*, meaning cow-house. *DB Herefordshire*, 19.10 note; Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 60, prefers 'building of a specialised nature', indicating an area of dairy produce.

²⁵⁵ Four at Bishop's Frome and one held by Roger of Lacy within that unit. *DB Herefordshire*, 2.21 and 10.67.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.58, 13.1 and 26.1. The editors have placed this in Mordiford parish. If this is an outlier of the other *Frome* manors it may indicate that the territory lying in between was also within the middle Anglo-Saxon land-unit.

²⁵⁷ S1264; Finberg, *Early Charters*, no. 414, 140. Dated to 805 x 811 this concerns the re-acquisition of land by Coenwulf, king of Mercia, from the archbishop of Canterbury in exchange for lands in Kent. It was a ten-hide unit. Its original purchase from Coenwulf's wife, Cynethryth, indicates that the estate had been in royal hands during the eighth century.

²⁵⁸ The evidence is based on tithe maps and has been adduced by J King, 'Two Herefordshire minsters', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* (1995), 282-94. It is convincing as to the tenurial arguments advanced, but less so as to the ecclesiastical ones.

²⁵⁹ Which name is derived from the OE *geardcyln* 'yard or enclosure with kiln': *DB Herefordshire*, 10.28, note and Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 215.

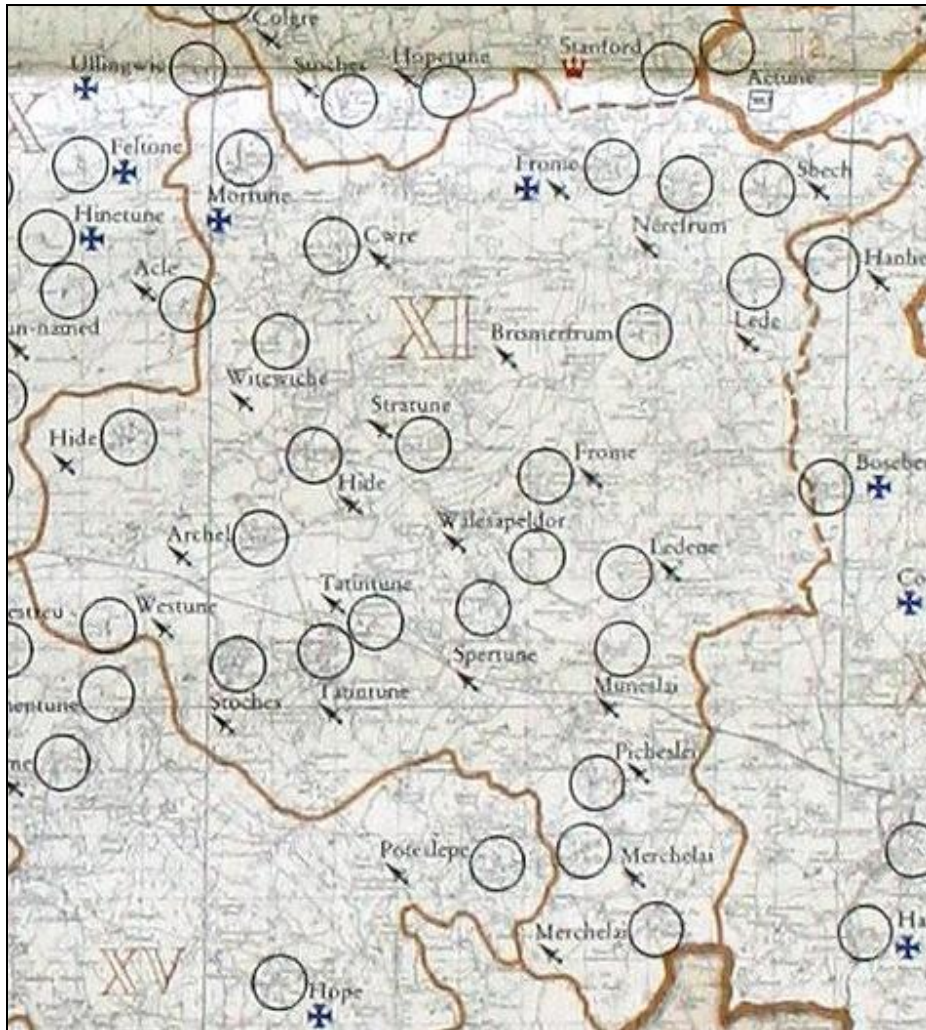


Figure 6.11 Radlow (The Alecto Edition).

6.4.12 Winstree Hundred²⁶⁰

The Domesday hundred of Winstree, one of the shire's smallest, comprised thirteen manorial holdings which together were rated at just under sixty hides. These are set out at Appendix Three Table 12. It is interesting that before 1066, according to the survey, it had been an even smaller unit. The entry for the royal manor of Much Marcle records that it and its members had been a part of the manor of Leominster before 1066.²⁶¹ At some time before the Conquest, therefore, Winstree's extent included only eleven manors, rated at just over forty-one hides. The Domesday

²⁶⁰ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 167, OE, *Wigmundes-treo*, Wigmund's tree.

²⁶¹ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.7 and 1.10(c); it was rated at seventeen hides. One further hide was divided between St Mary's of Lyre and William son of Baderon, (*ibid.*, 4.1 and 15.4).

record records Leominster's loss and Winstree's reorganisation to include Much Marcle as a detached portion. (Furthermore, place-name evidence suggests that the manor which separated Winstree from Much Marcle, Little Marcle, had been within the 'Marcle' land-unit earlier.)²⁶² Figure 6.12.1 shows the extent of the hundred, and its detached portion is at Figure 6.12.2.

We have already considered cases where there is evidence of some hundredal reallocation within the shire; some of these cases concerned Leominster's creation as a private hundred, which caused a number of neighbouring hundreds, like Hazletree, Wolphy and perhaps Stretford, to lose territorial jurisdiction; some cases may have been as a result of the loss of tenurial control, as was argued concerning Didley and Stane in Stretford. In the case just considered, that of Winstree and Much Marcle, why would Leominster's pre-Conquest jurisdiction have been reduced? We have yet to identify the causes in each of these examples, but a number of reasons suggest themselves.

For Much Marcle, the reason may have been to prevent Winstree from being claimed as a private hundred by the canons of Hereford cathedral, since with the exception of three small manors, one at Bickerton and two at Hanley's End, the remainder were all held by the canons.²⁶³ Another may have been to provide a royal presence within each hundred, something which was lacking for Winstree. Its case was similar to that

²⁶² Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 141, regards the 'Marcle' land-unit as named for a 'boundary wood' (OE *mearc* and *leah*). Both manors of Much and Little Marcle lay on the shire's boundary with Gloucestershire, and together they comprised twenty-six hides. *DB Herefordshire*, 1.7, 4.1 and 15.4, (Much Marcle, eighteen hides); 10.32 and 17.2, (Little Marcle, eight hides). Both had been held by Harold before 1066. It is possible that the boundary in question was not a shire boundary but one separating the Mercian provinces of the Magonsaete and the Hwicce.

²⁶³ These being Donnington, Ledbury, Eastnor, *Bageberge*, Bosbury, Cradley, Colwall and Coddington, (*ibid.*, 2.19, and 2.26-2.32).

of Plegelgate and another royal manor which the latter subsequently acquired—Stanford Regis. This manor was also within Leominster before 1066 and was re-allocated to Plegelgate.²⁶⁴ Another reason may have been simply to realign the geography, creating a more localised and compact unit.²⁶⁵ However, this does not explain why the land-unit of Marcle/*Merchelai* became divided in the first place, as it plainly did. An earlier division may explain why it ended up divided between two hundreds;²⁶⁶ we saw something similar in the division of *Frome* between the hundreds of Plegelgate and Radlow.²⁶⁷

There is little doubt about Winstree's geographic extent but some disagreement about the location of the DB manor of *Bageberge*.²⁶⁸ Both *DB Herefordshire* and The Alecto Edition map it near Ham Green in Worcestershire, south of Mathon.²⁶⁹ The remaining manors, with the exception of the insertion of a hundred rubric for Lyre Abbey's holding at Much Marcle,²⁷⁰ are either within the bloc of manors belonging to the canons of Hereford cathedral or at the first and second positions beneath the rubric, as in the case of Drogo's holding at Hanley's End and William's at Bickerton.²⁷¹

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.10 (c); it appears that neither of these hundreds contained a royal manor before their reallocation. See the Plegelgate case study.

²⁶⁵ We have discussed elsewhere that Much Marcle was likely to have been within the *parochia* of Ledbury. See Chapter Four, pages 103-5.

²⁶⁶ We have also discussed that Little Marcle was likely to have been within the same *parochia* of Ledbury. See Chapter Four, pages 103-5.

²⁶⁷ And we will consider a Frome manor within the Greytree case study, where there is also the division of the pre-Anglo-Saxon district of *Caplefore* within Archenfield.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.28.

²⁶⁹ *Contra VCH*, 322, which places it at Blackbury in Mordiford, an ecclesiastical parish which lay in what was Greytree hundred in 1086. If this later version is correct, then Mathon, which lay partly in Worcestershire, would have had an outlier which was separated from it by part of Winstree hundred. One hide of Mathon was divided between Roger of Lacy and Drogo son of Poyntz: *DB Herefordshire*, 10.39, note and 23.6. This looks like an artificial division.

²⁷⁰ *DB Herefordshire*, 4.1 and note. The editors seem equivocal about whether this manor was in Much or Little Marcle; if it was the latter, then the hundred rubric would be inserted as Radlow. However, The Alecto Edition confidently places it in Much Marcle.

²⁷¹ *DB Herefordshire*, 23.5 and 15.5.

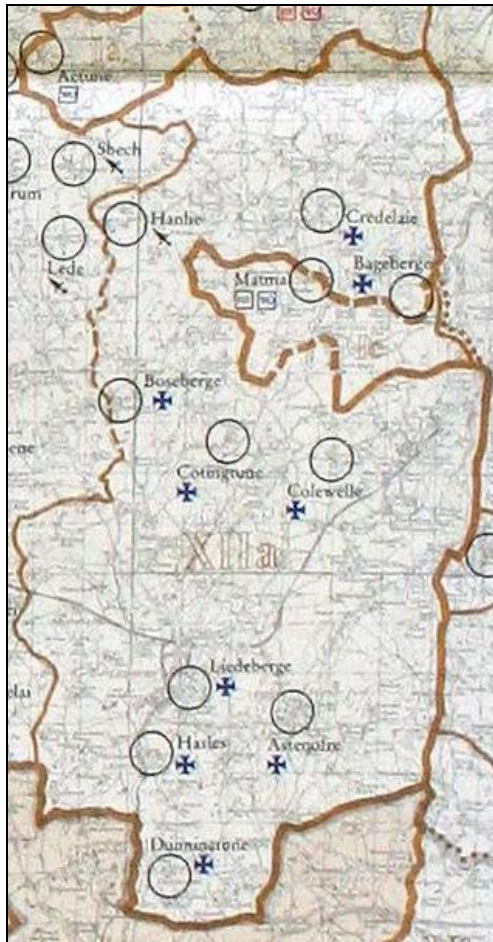


Figure 6.12.1 Winstree (The Alecto Edition).

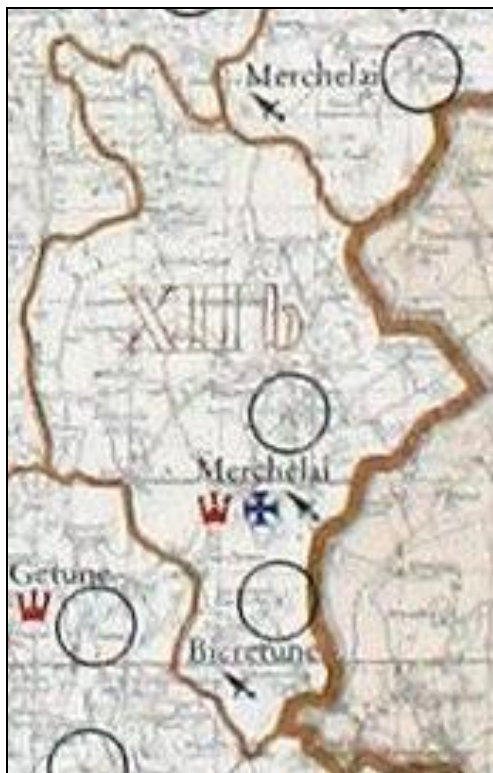


Figure 6.12.2 The detached portion of Winstree: the manor of Much Marcle (The Alecto Edition).

6.4.13 The Golden Valley²⁷²

The district described as the Straddel Valley (*Valle Stratelie*) was not a hundred,²⁷³ but it was hidated and treated as one. Subject to what is said below, it appeared to comprise around twenty estates, rated at a composite total of fifty-nine hides two virgates. However, this total is not without doubt, and it may be that the figure ought to be increased by an additional fifty-six hides.²⁷⁴

Twelve of its twenty manors have a *tun* descriptor. We have already considered what this may reveal in the context of the chronology for Anglo-Saxon acculturation of areas within Hazletree, Staple and Elsdon Hundreds, all of which lie north of the Wye.²⁷⁵ A mid-eighth century date for such activity cannot be ruled out for the Golden Valley, as well, as this date coincides with the place-name evidence previously discussed for nearby Preston-on-Wye in Stretford South.²⁷⁶

²⁷² Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 17, suggests that the name is a combination of OE *straet* (Roman road) and OE *leah* (in its early sense meaning ‘woodland’). He argues this on account of the existence of the three Roman roads which traverse a district south of the Wye and the fact that the area had included the forests of Treville and Haywood. He considers that the district included all of the area south and west of the Wye between Clifford in the west and Dinedor in the east. If this is so it was subsequently divided into three segments: The Golden Valley, Stretford South and Dinedor. We saw that Treville lay within Stretford South in 1086; Haywood was within Archenfield. *DB Herefordshire*, 2.54, note, argues that the name is a conflation of *Stratdour* from Welsh *ystrad* (valley) and OE *dael*, also valley. Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 167, agrees.

²⁷³ However, it occurs at one place, before the entry at *DB Herefordshire*, 2.54. The designation of ‘hundred’ may be attributed to uncertainty or error on the part of the scribe or to its having been inserted at the wrong place in the canons’ return. Thorn, ‘Hundreds and wapentakes’, 27, note 2.

²⁷⁴ *DB Herefordshire*, 25.7. The entry here states: ‘In the Golden Valley 112 ploughs could plough. 56 hides; they paid tax.’ The editors note that this figure of fifty-six is not in addition to the hides allocated to the district but a sum which takes into account that four hides were exempt, *ibid.*, 2.54. However, it is certainly ambiguous, and nowhere else in the middle of an entry for an individual estateholder, in this case Gilbert son of Thorold, is there a sum of hides for a particular district.

²⁷⁵ Gelling has argued that this sort of distribution is indicative of the settlement of a large economic unit which indicates a process of consequential administrative change. She dates this sort of activity to the middle of the eighth century. Gelling, *West Midlands*, 122. Cox noted that *tun* did not often occur as an identifier before 730. Cox, ‘Place-names’, 65.

²⁷⁶ It seems likely to have occurred around the same time as the settlement of Stretford South and Dinedor. Pickles, ‘*Preosta-tun*’, 43, considered the evidence for Preston-on-Wye and argued that its Anglo-Saxon assimilation may have been as early as the mid-eighth century. Thorn, ‘Hundreds and wapentakes’, 27, regards the settlement and assimilation as later than Stretford South and argues that it had been settled only within a recent period, perhaps during the tenth century. He is not specific.

In terms of its tenurial organisation, the canons of the cathedral and six Normans held the manors, although there is some doubt about the location of many of the places.²⁷⁷

On account of this the Golden Valley is an area where mapping is difficult, but not impossible, as Table 13 in Appendix Three indicates. And the allocation of manors to the district has been relatively straightforward, with three exceptions: The Moor and Middlewood, considered next, and what was ‘around the town of Hereford’, considered below. The Moor has perplexed the editors of all editions as it cannot be found in the district itself, and Round believed that an area to the west of Hereford was its location. Coplestone-Crow has suggested Allensmore.²⁷⁸ More recently The Alecto Edition has sided with Round and has argued for a place in Cutsthor Hundred, where it is mapped.²⁷⁹ Middlewood may be connected with a place of the same name in Elsdon.²⁸⁰

However, with the exception of what lay in Hereford, the remaining manors can be securely placed within the district since nine are immediately below the rubric or within one place of it,²⁸¹ three are at the third point²⁸² and two are at places four and

²⁷⁷ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.54-2.56, (one hide at ‘The Moor’ which remains unidentified and five hides, one of which was Welsh, not located); 10.16-10.18, (five hides at Bacton, one at *Wadetune*, three at *Elnoestune*, and one at *Edwardestune*, all held by Roger of Lacy); 14.6, (two hides at Poston held by William Ecouis); 19.4 and 19.5, (five hides at Monnington and five at Bredwardine, both held by Alfred of Marlborough); 23-2-23.4, (seven hides at Dorstone, three hides at *Burcstanestune* and one hide at *Mynyddbrydd*, all held by Drogo son of Poynz); 25.4-25.7, (three hides at The Bage, two hides at Middlewood, four hides at Harewood, all held by Gilbert son of Thorold, whose entry appears to include a total sum of fifty-six hides for the Golden Valley); 29.6-29.10, (half a hide at *Beltrou*, two hides at *Wluetone*, five hides at Wilmastone, three hides at *Almundestune* and one hide at *Alcamestune*, all held by Hugh Donkey).

²⁷⁸ It is not located in Clifford, as the *DG* suggests—the canons held no land in Clifford. Round, *VCH*, 324. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 24, suggests that the place is Allensmore; he maintains that the area called ‘Straddel Hundred’ at *DB Herefordshire*, 2.54 (which was not a scribal confusion but an additional district *contra* Thorn), was south of Hereford and included Blackmarstone, part of Clehonger and possibly Allensmore. This is a possibility.

²⁷⁹ Thorn, ‘Hundreds and wapentakes’, 27, n. 3.

²⁸⁰ *DB Herefordshire*, 6.9 and 25.5. The places are on opposite sides of the Wye, one in Clifford parish and one in Winforton. The editors suggest that there may have been an earlier connection.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 10.16, 10.7, 19.4, 19.5, 29.6 and 29.7.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 10.18, 25.6 and 29.8.

five within a substantial holding.²⁸³ In four cases the editors of *DB Herefordshire* have inserted a rubric. The first is Poston, which appears under a Wolphy heading, but the phrase ‘in the Golden Valley’ appears within its entry, suggesting that the scribe ran out of room.²⁸⁴ The others are all within Drogo’s return, and they also appear beneath a Wolphy hundred head.²⁸⁵ The editors argue that something in the manuscript appears to have been erased but not replaced. This may have been a missing rubric, and Drogo’s manor at *DB Herefordshire*, 23.2, has been located and mapped there. The other two are unidentified but both have been placed tentatively in Dorstone parish.²⁸⁶ Finally we have excluded from Table 12 in Appendix Three both The Moor and what was ‘around the town of Hereford’,²⁸⁷ because it seems certain that neither lay within the Valley itself and were more likely to have been in the district surrounding Hereford, and hence within Cutsthor.

²⁸³ That of Hugh Donkey’s: *ibid.*, 29.9 and 29.10.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.6.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.2-23.4.

²⁸⁶ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 74-5.

²⁸⁷ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.57. ‘Around the town of Hereford Bishop Walter had lands... which did not pay tax. Bishop Robert has 4 ploughs in lordship and 2 villagers and 5 boors with 5 ½ ploughs... Two chaplains... hold some part of this land...’ It is unclear where these holdings were since, if on the northern bank of the Wye, they would have been in Cutsthor, but if on the southern bank they could have been in Stretford South or Dinedor, both of which may have been within a British district which extended from Clifford in the west to Dinedor in the east.

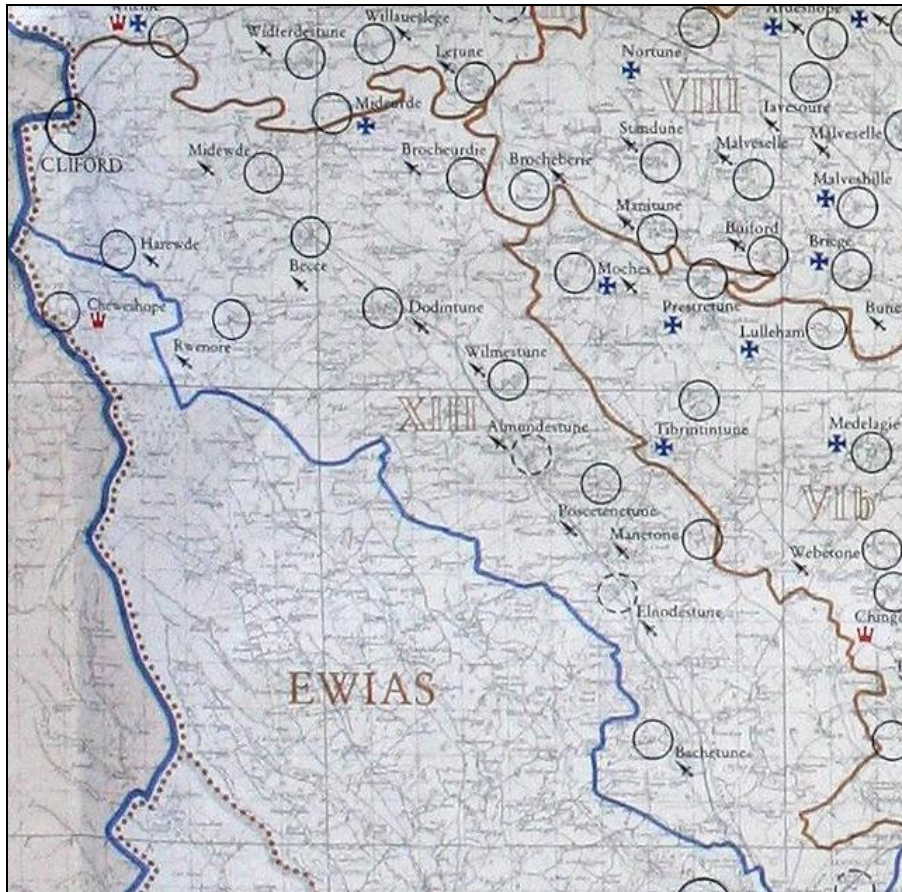


Figure 6.13 The Golden Valley (The Alecto Edition).

6.4.14 Dinedor²⁸⁸

Here is another example of a problematic hundred. A small area, rated at fewer than forty hides, Dinedor was subsumed into Webtree during the twelfth century. Its 1086 location was in the area opposite Hereford on the southern bank of the Wye, adjacent to Greytrees in the east, Cutsthorpe in the north and Stretford in the west, with which it seems to have shared some manors. According to Anderson, ‘The Domesday arrangement... is not easy to account for; part of it, including at least Holme Lacy, Dinedor, Lower Bullingham, Allensmore and Webton, perhaps Clehonger (at least partly), (*sic*) was in the... hundred of *Dunre* and part was apparently in Stretford.’²⁸⁹

²⁸⁸ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 168, ?Welsh, *din-bre*, hill-fort.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.* The 1086 manor of Bullinghope was later termed Upper and Lower Bullingham and Upper Bullingham reverted to ‘Bullinghope’ in the nineteenth century. *DB Herefordshire*, 10.19, note. Allensmore was not a manor in 1086. Palmer, *Electronic Edition*, Notes 1A, does not regard

Of the thirteen manors which appear to be reckoned within it, four are regarded by the editors of *DB Herefordshire* and The Alecto Edition as scribal errors and two have been mapped in neighbouring Stretford.²⁹⁰ Its connection with Stretford is, therefore, somewhat of a puzzle. Appendix Three Table 14 lists the manors allocated to it and it is also mapped at Figure 6.14.

Lewis thinks the explanation for Dinedor's 1086 configuration is on account of its Welsh antecedents. It was, he argues, the latest hundred to be formed, part of the '...absorption of territory beyond the Wye into the main administrative system... (as) the thirteenth hundred.'²⁹¹ This accounts for its regular hidation: its manors are all rated in multiples of three, most probably derived from the Welsh carucate system. 'Such regularity suggests recent assessment. The regular blocks were not the five-hide units beloved of an earlier generation of Domesday scholars, but of three hides and six hides (*sic*)... (this) pattern extended to every manor apart from those belonging to the Bishop of Hereford.'²⁹² We have considered his arguments within the Stretford case study and do not intend to repeat here why we are not entirely in agreement with his suggested chronology.

Allensmore as including *DB Mora, contra* Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 24. It is considered to have been located within Hereford, possibly north and west of city on the site of the racecourse.

²⁹⁰ The manors concerned are: Barton, Moccas, Cobhall and Mawfield and two manors of Webton. *DB Herefordshire*, 2.11, 7.7, 10.20, 10.21, 10.22 and 10.23. Barton should be in Cutsthorpe according to *DB Herefordshire*, and The Alecto Edition maps it on the boundary of Dinedor and Cutsthorpe. The Webton manors and Moccas are in Stretford, as are Mawfield and Cobwell. Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes', 24; this is argued from information derived from later sources. The effect is to reduce the hidage of the hundred by seventeen, to twenty-two.

²⁹¹ Lewis, 'English and Norman Government', 48-50, at 50. There is evidence that Dinedor's links with Archenfield may have been of more than a purely administrative nature. The manor of Holme Lacy held a church at Llanwarne, which had been an important ecclesiastical centre for the British Church. *DB Herefordshire*, 2.12. See Chapter Four, pages 133-6; however, despite this no ecclesiastical association between Holme Lacy and Dinedor has been detected.

²⁹² Lewis, 'Alecto Introduction', 7. This comment would not apply if Barton were in Cutsthorpe. Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes', 24-5 believes that the rubric was inserted too early and ought to apply to Holme Lacy.

In addition there is the division of Moccas and Clehonger, parts of which lie in Stretford, a hundred which itself contained three-hide units.²⁹³ Lewis's view about a reorganisation may be correct, since we have already observed something of a revision of manorial allocation and consequent hidage assessment, possibly late in the tenth or early in the eleventh century, suggesting a possible reorganisation.²⁹⁴ However, this may not be the only explanation. It is possible that Dinedor and southern Stretford had earlier formed an integrated land-unit which became annexed as a detached portion south of the Wye, and then separated into two units later on.²⁹⁵ This could account for the co-location of estates, as well as the incidence of some which lie along the western boundary, such as the divided Clehonger, Cobhall and Mawfield.²⁹⁶

Of those six manors which lie in the east of Dinedor,²⁹⁷ their locations are secure and they can be placed with confidence in the hundred—each is immediately below the rubric or within one place of it. (Having said that, however, we observed that both Barton and Nigel's holding at Moccas were both listed below the Dinedor rubric, but later evidence has suggested a possible error.) A further anomaly is the absence of a royal *tun*, the nearest being Kingstone, located in neighbouring Stretford.²⁹⁸ We do

²⁹³ Lewis suggests that both areas were hidated and annexed at around the same time, which may have been late in the tenth century. *Ibid.* Reckoning in three-hide multiples was common in areas recently incorporated from Welsh areas which used the carucate (or ploughlands) system. *DB Herefordshire*, Introductory Note 1.

²⁹⁴ It is possible that the chronology coincided with Leominster's ecclesiastical-hundred status, which we have dated to around 980, or with the negotiation of the shire's boundary with Gloucestershire after 1016. We have already observed some reallocation of manors within Radlow and Plegelgate, and there are more to come within the Bromsash case study.

²⁹⁵ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 17-18, suggests that both were within the Straddle District. See the Golden Valley case study.

²⁹⁶ See the Stretford case study.

²⁹⁷ They being *DB Herefordshire*, 2.12, (HolmeLacy) 8.7, (Dinedor) 10.19, 21.6 and 25.2, (three in Bullinghope) and 25.1 (Rotherwas).

²⁹⁸ However, a hundred rubric has been inserted within *DB Herefordshire*, 1.3. Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes', 27, n. 5, suggests that Kingstone may have been a hundred-manor. 'It is entered too early in the king's schedule for a place in either hundred. The order may be defective or the place was a

not consider that the manor of Dinedor fitted this bill, notwithstanding its origins as a hill-fort dating back to the pre-Roman period and possibly incorporating the territory of an early folk-group, the *Dunsaete*, although it may have been an important central place.²⁹⁹ However, its eastern manors, i.e. those assigned to the hundred with certainty, may comprise the district which was occupied by that group early in the Anglo-Saxon assimilation period.³⁰⁰

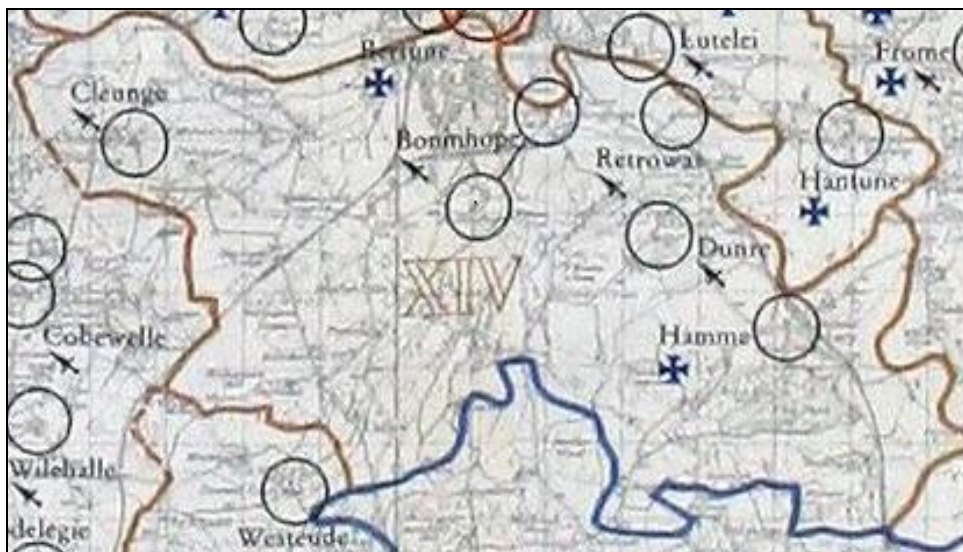


Figure 6.14 Dinedor (The Alecto Edition)

6.4.15 Greytree³⁰¹

In 1086 the Greytree hundred comprised fifteen manors with a total rating of sixty-four hides.³⁰² In comparison with its neighbours at Thornlaw and Radlow it seems to have represented a small hundred, having less than half the total number of manors of

manor-hundred in 1086.’ It is noted, however, that in the fourteenth century Kingstone was in Webtree Hundred, the later amalgamation of Dinedor and Stretford. *Ibid.*, 1.3, note.

²⁹⁹ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 71, records its Welsh-derived name meaning ‘hill with a fort’. The connection with the *Dunsaete* is explored in Chapter Seven.

³⁰⁰ But see the discussion of the *Dunsaete* in Chapter Seven, pages 359-64; our view is that the group was associated with the area bordering the Wye south of Hereford, currently within the Forest of Dean.

³⁰¹ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 161, 168, OE *Graeg-treo*

³⁰² Anderson, *ibid*, notes the single scribal error of *Tragetrev* at the entries immediately before Woolhope, Brockhampton and How Caple, (*DB Herefordshire*, 2.13-2.15); his view is that the rubric may actually be: *tra Gretreu* ‘the land of/called Gretreu’. All editions have mapped the manor within Greytree, agreeing with Anderson’s explanation.

the other two, which comprised thirty-four and thirty-five manors respectively. Its extent is illustrated at Appendix Three Table 15 and Figure 6.15. Like Dinedor, it may have been among the shire's later-organised hundreds because there is evidence that one of its larger manors, Brockhampton, had only recently come within the shire's taxation system. It had a dual rating of five English hides and three 'Welsh'.³⁰³ Furthermore, there are three estates within Priors Frome, arguably part of the *Frome* land-unit considered in the Radlow case study, whose composite five hides may have been originally in Radlow.³⁰⁴ For this reason it is worth considering the possibility that the Greytree land-unit had been one of the three unnamed hundreds whose 'third penny' belonged to Much Cowarne.³⁰⁵ There is no other evidence for this and the matter is speculative. However, Greytree must have been an important royal district: there was a middle Anglo-Saxon *villa regalis* at Lugwardine,³⁰⁶ and it was bounded by the Wye and the district of Archenfield along its west and south-west

³⁰³ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.19. These were presumably carucates. The editors note that the DB name for the manor was *Caplefore* and that it may have extended into Archenfield, the Welsh district which had not yet been organised into hundreds. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 213-14, argues that the Welsh 'hides' were at Lower Buckenhill in Brockhampton. Part of the *Caplefore* land-unit extended to King's Caple within Archenfield, (*DB Herefordshire*, 1.55).

³⁰⁴ We saw in the Radlow case study that a *Frome* estate appeared to have been divided from other *Frome* members by Much Cowarne. Priors Frome was further separated from the others by Yarkhill, Stoke Edith and Westhide. Its five-hide unit was divided among St Peter's, Hereford, (*ibid.*, 2.58) Henry of Ferrers, (*ibid.*, 13.1), and Ilbert son of Thorold, (*ibid.*, 26.1).

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.10, records the payment being due from three hundreds which the editors have speculated as being Thornlaw, Radlow and Plegelgate on the grounds that the caput of the manor was located at the junction of these hundreds. However, one cannot ignore the fact that the *Frome* vill is likely to have included the Greytree manors noted above, as well as land within Plegelgate. These seem better grounds for an argument that Greytree may have been annexed to Much Cowarne in the middle Anglo-Saxon period. Cam, 'Hundred Manor' 64-90; *eadem*, 'Early Groups of Hundreds', 91-106. At 'Hundred Manor', 77-8 she looked at Much Cowarne on Hereford's eastern flank, describing it as the *villa regalis* for the later hundreds of Radlow, Plegelgate and Thornlaw. We have already noted that Burghill had a similar function west of Hereford for the two hundreds of Cutsthorpe and Stretford, and it is possible that these two places, which were both held by Alfred of Marlborough in 1086, had been key Anglo-Saxon settlements at the time of Hereford's fortification in the eighth century.

³⁰⁶ A manor clearly within the hundred, whose return reveals that it had not been 'in the revenue' before 1066. The editors of *DB Herefordshire*, (1.2, note) have interpreted this statement as 'not been put to farm' or 'not within the farm'.

borders. It may have been a mustering-point from which incorporation and settlement of Archenfield had been undertaken.³⁰⁷

Within Greytree three manors were held by the canons of Hereford at Woolhope, How Caple and Brockhampton,³⁰⁸ and a manor was held by St Guthlac's at Dormington.³⁰⁹ Nigel the Doctor appears to have usurped Bartestree with its two hides from St Guthlac's.³¹⁰ Roger of Lacy had Putley,³¹¹ Ansfrid of Cormeilles held Sollers Hope,³¹² and the large manor of Fownhope belonged to Hugh Donkey.³¹³ All of these can be located within the 1086 hundred as, with the exception of Woolhope, Brockhampton and How Caple, they appear immediately below the Greytree hundred rubric. Three others appear in succession below *Tragetrev*, agreed to have been an erroneous scribal transcription for Greytree.³¹⁴ As a hundred name, Greytree survived beyond the medieval period and was expanded by the inclusion of most of the 1086 Bromsash hundred, after losing Lugwardine and Bartestree to the re-organised Radlow.³¹⁵

³⁰⁷ This is discussed in Chapter Four, as there is evidence of the exercise of ecclesiastical control from Lugwardine over central and southern Archenfield.

³⁰⁸ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.13-2.15, making this a compact twenty-six hide land-unit, part of which was not hidated and, on place-name evidence, was an earlier geographic unity. Coplestone-Crow argues that it was centred on Capler Camp, an Iron Age hillfort located in Woolhope, with the OE word *cape*, a look-out place, as its root. He notes that King's Caple, (*ibid.*, 1.55, in Archenfield) was also part of this unit, possibly the retained royal land-holding being held by Edward before 1066 and still reckoned in Welsh ploughs. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 53 and 214. This is further corroborative evidence that Greytree may have been a hundred in the process of further organisation and evolution.

³⁰⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 6.2.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.1. This may have been at Dormington.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 10.4.

³¹² *Ibid.*, 21.4.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 29.2.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.13 and Note 7. It occurs only there.

³¹⁵ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 167.

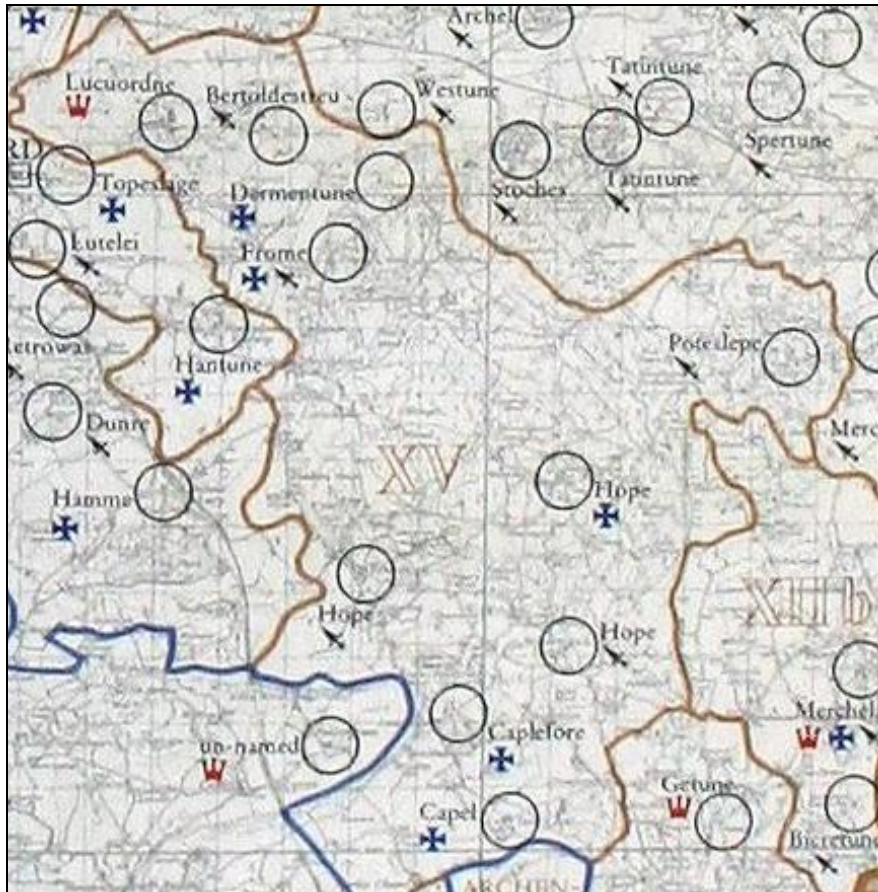


Figure 6.15 Greytone (Alecto Historical Edition).

6.4.16 Wormelow³¹⁶

Shown in Figure 6.16, Wormelow was in *Terra Regis* in 1086 and included two manors, ‘Westwood’/*Westuode* and Dewsall/*Westeude*. St Peter’s, Gloucester held the first, which was rated at six hides; Ralph of Tosny held the second, which was rated at one.³¹⁷ The Alecto Edition and Palmer have concluded that ‘Westwood’ was located somewhere in Llanwarne parish;³¹⁸ and it seems likely, although the spellings are similar, that each represented a different name, the former meaning ‘west wood’

³¹⁶ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 169, OE ‘Worm Brook’-*hlaw*, hill by the Worm Brook, the Wormelow Tump.

³¹⁷ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.61 and 1.62.

³¹⁸ Palmer, *Electronic Edition*, Notes 1A, cites the grant to Gloucester Abbey as *Westuode in Jerchenffeld in Lawaran*: W Hart (ed.), *Historia et cartularium monasterii Sancti Petre Gloucestriae*. Three volumes (London: Pipe Roll Series, 1863-1867), I, 123; Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 67, thinks it was in Much Dewchurch. He describes the manor as a composite one covering the ecclesiastical parishes of eastern Much Dewchurch and Dewsall *contra* the information in *Herefordshire Domesday* and Hart, which he does not cite.

and the latter meaning ‘waste wood’.³¹⁹ As a hundred it seems to have been a fairly recent incursion into Archenfield.



Figure 6.16 Wormelow (The Alecto Edition)

6.4.17 Sellack³²⁰

From the information within the survey, Sellack/*DB Sulcet* appears to have been a hundred-manor, although the position is not without doubt. Its sole possession, *Etone*³²¹/*Strangford* was held by Hugh Donkey and rated at two virgates.³²² The Alecto Edition mapped its extent rather imprecisely, as being represented by two land-units divided by the manor of Baysham/*DB Baissan*. It is set out in Figure 6.17 below.

³¹⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.61, note.

³²⁰ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 163, does not give an etymology, regarding it as an error.

³²¹ The place-name means ‘settlement at or near a river’.

³²² *DB Herefordshire*, 29.20. *Herefordshire Domesday*, 122, identifies *Etone* with *Strangford*, a place in Sellack parish, on account of the annotation to the text of ‘Strangef’.



Figure 6.17 Sellack (The Alecto Edition)

There is little that can be said about Sellack with certainty. All editions speculate on its origins and the accuracy of the record, and some regard its name as a possible Welsh equivalent for another of the hundreds. This may be the case. However, Anderson's view that it was a corruption of Wolphy seems improbable, given Wolphy's geographic location.³²³ *DB Herefordshire* and Palmer have considered the twelfth-century ecclesiastical organisation for the area and concluded that *DB Sulcet* is likely to have been within the medieval parish of Sellack. It may have represented an area in the process further incorporation into the shire.³²⁴ That would suggest a place equivalent to Wormelow, itself a hundred-manor likewise expanding into Archenfield.

³²³ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 163.

³²⁴ *DB Herefordshire*, 29.20, note. We consider Sellack's *parochia* in Chapter Five, Figure 5.8.

6.4.18 Bromsash³²⁵

In 1086 Bromsash accounted for twenty-four manorial holdings which, subject to what is said below, may have comprised around eighty hides. It lay due south of Greytrees hundred and the detached portion of Winstree, along the boundary with Archenfield, the area which was still observing Welsh customs and renders.

Appendix Three Table 18 sets out its manors and their respective hidages, and at Figures 6.18.1 and 6.18.2 we see its extent and its detached portions. These were held by the king,³²⁶ four ecclesiastical bodies³²⁷ and five Normans.³²⁸

From an examination of the text of Domesday Book, considered further below, it appears that Bromsash's extent may have been of fairly recent creation. There is evidence that one of its manors had been transferred only recently into the shire,³²⁹ whilst others remained within the hundred but as outliers within Gloucestershire.³³⁰ Furthermore the manor of English Bicknor, an outlier within the Gloucestershire hundred of Westbury-on-Severn, was an island within Bromsash.³³¹ According to

³²⁵ Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 168, OE *Breme-aesc*, Breme's ash-tree.

³²⁶ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.1, (Linton) 1.8, (Cleeve) 1.72, (Newarne) 1.73, (Redbrook) 1.74, (Staunton) and 1.75, (Yatton).

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.22, (Whippington) 2.23, (Walford) 2.24, (Ross on Wye) and 2.25, (Upton Bishop) all held by the canons of Hereford Cathedral; 3.1, (Kingstone) held by St Mary's, Cormeilles; 5.1 and 5.2, (Brampton Abbots and Lea) held by St Peter's, Gloucester and 6.1, (Brampton Abbots/Gatsford) held by St Guthlac's.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.1 and 15.2, (Hope Mansell and Ruardean), held by William son of Baderon; 17.1, (Alvington), held by Thurston son of Rolf; 19.7, (Hill of Eaton), held by Alfred of Marlborough; 21.3, (Aston Ingham), held by Ansfrid of Cormeilles; 22.2-22.4, (Pontshill, Weston-under-Penyard and Coldborough), held by Durand of Gloucester.

³²⁹ Kingstone at *ibid.*, 3.1. of which it is stated that the monks of St Mary's of Cormeilles '...pay tax and do service in Gloucestershire, but the men who live there come to pleas in this Hundred to give and receive right.' The manor had formerly been part of the composite royal manor of Westbury-on-Severn: *DB Gloucestershire*, 1.11, becoming detached from it before 1066.

³³⁰ Those in Gloucestershire included Newarne, Redbrook, Staunton, Whippington, Ruardean and Alvington. *DB Herefordshire*, 1.72, 1.73, 1.74, 2.22, 15.2 and 17.1.

³³¹ These facts reveal a recently fixed shire boundary, for which see Chapter Seven, section 7.7, pages 365-6.

Anderson, Bromsash ceased to exist as a hundred in the twelfth century, becoming part of an expanded Greytree.³³²

Of the lands in *Terra Regis* two holdings appear to have been middle Anglo-Saxon *villae regales*: Linton and Cleeve.³³³ Furthermore, there appears some confusion in the record concerning Linton. It is noted that ‘There were five hides... now it is extremely reduced...’,³³⁴ and from those listed it appears that in 1086 it was rated at three.³³⁵ Moreover, the virgate of William son of Baderon may have been counted twice: once within the king’s return and once within his own.³³⁶ It is also possible that Ansfrid of Cormeilles’s two hides at Aston Ingham had been part of Linton—it had been held previously by King Edward, and its two-hide rating would account for Linton’s former reckoning as a five-hide unit.³³⁷

There is general consensus about the locations of all the manors allocated to the hundred with the exception of four: Newarne, Alvington, Gatsford in Brampton Abbots and Hill of Eaton.³³⁸ However, since the publication of The Alecto Edition

³³² Anderson, *Hundred-Names*, 167-8. Bromsash survives as a place, however, at the junction of the boundary of Upton Bishop, Linton and Weston-under-Penyard parishes, all of which are manors within the 1086 hundred.

³³³ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.1 and 1.8. Linton rendered the fourth part of one night’s revenue and paid blanchéd pence; Cleeve was reckoned in blanchéd pence. The significance of these points has been discussed above within the case studies for Radlow, Cutsthorn and Lene (Eardisland).

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.1.

³³⁵ *Ibid.* These being: two hides of Ansfrid of Cormeilles, half a hide held by a Frenchman, and two virgates, one held by a villager of St Mary’s of Cormeilles and one by William son of Baderon.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.1 and 15.2. This is certainly the view of the editors, and if so it would reduce the hides to an even number of eighty.

³³⁷ The editors of *DB Herefordshire* note that the entry at 21.3 may be a duplicate of Ansfrid’s land recorded at *ibid.*, 1.1, but this seems unlikely as the information for each differs. Moreover the place-name evidence suggests that its designation as the manor to the ‘east’ of the royal *tun* may indicate its former holding within it. There is, in addition, another directional holding at Weston-under-Penyard, held by Durand of Gloucester and rated at two hides. These are grounds for the view that the royal *tun* had had a far greater extent

³³⁸ The dispute was largely on account of the entries in *VCH*, however. Round placed Newarne in Huntsham near Goodrich, Alvington at Alton Court near Ross-on-Wye, Gatsford in Brampton Abbots as Brampton in Madley, and Hill of Eaton in Sellack. Round, *VCH*, 319, 325 and 336-7.

there appears to be general agreement about the identity and location of these. Only *Wiboldingtune* remains a lost place, reckoned by the editors of *DB Herefordshire* and The Alecto Edition to have been located in Staunton.³³⁹

Of these twenty-four holdings, eighteen occur immediately below the hundred rubric or within one place of it.³⁴⁰ The remaining six are grouped within one or, at most, two places of manors located nearby. Ross-on-Wye and Upton Bishop are the two consecutive entries after the entry for Walford, itself within one place of rubric; the two manors at Staunton and the one at Yatton are the third and fourth entries listed within a group of four at the end of the king's return. Finally, Coldborough occurs in third place after Durand's other Bromsash holdings at Pontshill and Weston-under-Penyard. It is safe to regard these as within the hundred in 1086 or, in the cases of Newarne and Kingstone, as having a defined relationship to it.

³³⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 2.22 note: '... the name surviving in Whippington Brook which separates the parishes of English Bicknor and Staunton'.

³⁴⁰ These being: Linton (2), Cleeve, Newarne (but note its dual relationship), Redbrook, Whippington, Walford, Kingstone (but note its dual relationship), Brampton Abbots, Gatsford, Lea, Hope Mansall, Ruardean, Alvington, Hill of Eaton, Aston Ingham, Pontshill and Weston-under-Penyard.

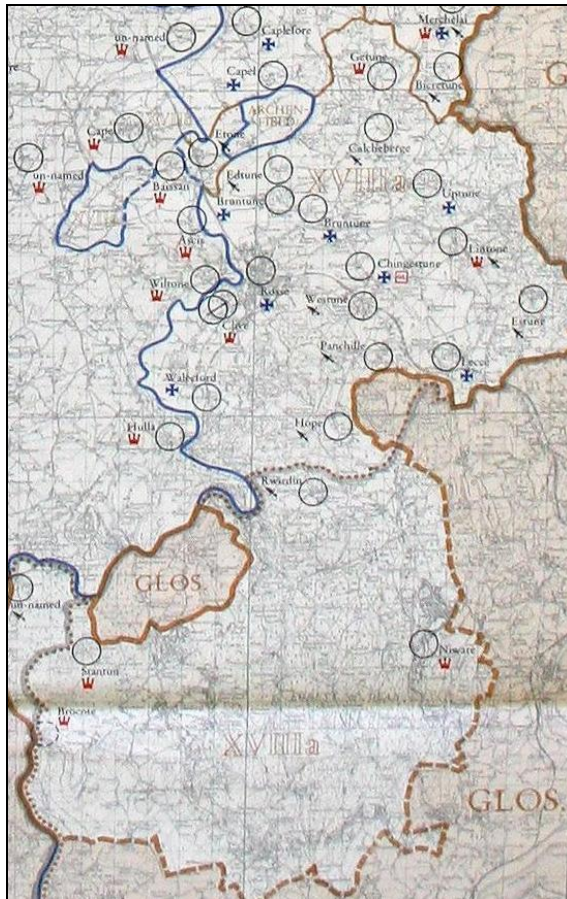


Figure 6.18.1 Bromsash (The Alecto Edition).

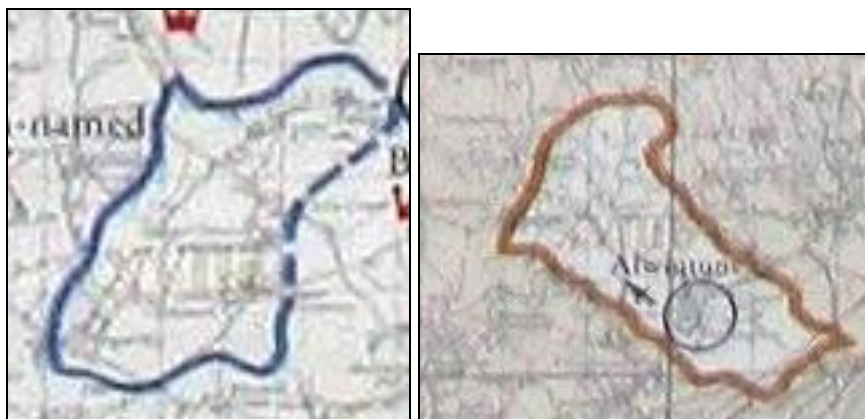


Figure 6.18.2 Alvinton and Staunton—detached (The Alecto Edition).

6.5 Summary

One could argue that the exercise of reliably mapping the late eleventh-century hundreds of Herefordshire, depicted in Figure 6.1 above, is an impossible task. It is one thing to identify modern locations of places mentioned in Domesday Book and quite another to map them accurately, particularly where later medieval parish boundaries are an issue. However, although at times difficult and often revealing a contorted picture of the shire's administrative geography, the exercise has not proved as problematic as had been anticipated. This may be because the Herefordshire folios are largely error-free, according to the editions consulted here;³⁴¹ furthermore, accurate hundred-rubrication is extensive. One hundred and forty location-based rubrics are included, even for places which are unnamed. In consequence the editors of *DB Herefordshire* have supplied only twelve,³⁴² and this has been a great boon since very few places have needed to be re-checked and verified.

As expected, the issues for Leominster were the most contentious ones, and we remain concerned about our inability to identify a chronology for its private hundred status. It ought to be possible to place a long-stop date for Leominster's reorganisation, say around the time of its further endowment in the late tenth century, by reference to events in neighbouring Worcestershire, since we could argue for copy-cat behaviour by those at Leominster's helm. However, the absence of charter material or an early cartulary has prevented any firm conclusions and resulted in much speculation. But this point is an important one, because one of our tasks is to identify as accurately as possible the timescale for the organisation of Herefordshire's

³⁴¹ Within the analysis we have highlighted four errors: the wrong hundredal head has been inserted above Thinghill, The Moor and Moccas, and, lastly, Staunton-on-Arrow has been mistaken for Staunton-on-Wye.

³⁴² Thorn, 'Hundreds and wapentakes', 24, n. 6.

hundreds *per se*—*i.e.* not as tribal districts or early economic land-units—and identifying a timescale for this organisation can be achieved more reliably by determining when Leominster’s private status transformed the shire’s hundredal geography.

We have put forward a model concerning how the shire’s secular regime may have been configured before Leominster acquired its 1066 shape; comparing this configuration with our investigation of the shire’s ecclesiastical geography is the next step. It is likely to reveal further insights about Leominster’s significance and its sphere of influence. Additionally, place-name evidence has proved to be an important source, particularly in the context of identifying land-units which had been unified districts. These have included *Lene*—the district from which Leominster originated, *Frome*—the royal and ecclesiastical estate from which sprang Radlow, Plegelgate and possibly Greytree Hundreds, and *Malveselle*, through which ran a linear earthwork associated with Offa’s Dyke, and which is most likely to have been the central place of the early tribal group, the *Stepelsaete*. Of the three hundred and twenty place-names that have featured in the hundred tables included at Appendix Three, only sixty are derived from or connected with personal names; the majority are topographic descriptors, and this has helped in interpreting location ambiguities. A number of places with the *tun* identifier appear in the west, and we noted their distribution in Hazletree, Elsdon, Staple and the Golden Valley. Again the significance for this is in the context of more accurate dating for the establishment of Anglo-Saxon governance, which, south of the Wye, may have been as early as the middle of the eighth century

when those districts were still Welsh. This suggests that Anglo-Saxon settlement progressed gradually, on the basis of peaceful intermingling rather than conquest.³⁴³

Finally there is the issue of hundredal hide-totals which is linked to a question about a possible reorganisation or re-alignment of manors within them early in the eleventh century, a marker that we have put down in certain of the case studies. There is no standard ‘one hundred hides to a hundred’ model for the shire; in fact all of the hundreds, with the exception of Hazletree, Plegelgate and Radlow,³⁴⁴ weigh in at significantly less than the model number, and only one, Bromsash, is a round number.³⁴⁵ But there is the question of the manors lost to Leominster before 1066, Didley and Stane, which were arguably in Stretford at an earlier date, and the Bromsash boundary with Gloucestershire where two of its manors, Newarne and Kingstone appeared to have administrative links on both sides of the shire boundary. This is before any consideration is given to Leominster’s case as an ecclesiastical hundred.

We think it likely, therefore, that Herefordshire’s hundreds were always fluid, some perhaps more than others, but arguably crying out for the twelfth-century reorganisation which occurred under Henry I. But even then, a hundred years after the Conquest, the shire’s identity itself seemed a little fluid, perhaps even amorphous.

³⁴³ This point has been considered by Pickles in his unpublished paper ‘The *Adventus Saxonum vel Anglorum* in Yorkshire and beyond: the evidence of place-names’, 29 October, 2011, York University Centre for Medieval Studies. We see no reason why the arguments which we heard him present should not be applied to the Herefordshire border area.

³⁴⁴ Respectively 105.25, 104.375 and 97.75.

³⁴⁵ In this case, eighty.

The Exchequer referred to it as '*Herefordscira in Walliis*',³⁴⁶ and Welsh must have been something of a *lingua franca* within certain circles.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁶ Galbraith and Tait (eds), *Herefordshire Domesday*, 77.

³⁴⁷ Gelling, *West Midlands*, 70, writes: 'Large areas of the country must have been wholly or partly Welsh-speaking up to and beyond the Norman Conquest'.

CHAPTER SEVEN THE DIOCESE AND THE SHIRE OF HEREFORD: ORIGINS, FORMATION AND EXTENTS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter concerns, firstly, the ecclesiastical and secular extent of the Mercian *provincia* of the Magonsaete, its development from the seventh century and its extent by the eleventh.¹ Two distinct territories emerged during this period—the diocese of Hereford and Herefordshire. Neither was ever co-terminous with the other, as is demonstrated below, and yet both trace their origins from the middle Anglo-Saxon period. Furthermore, there are grounds for the view that their territories incorporate one or more relict British territories which may have developed during the sub-Roman period, following the breakdown of Roman rule in the fifth century. The diocese and the shire are considered separately here in the context of the development of the province which was, by the late eighth century, a satellite sub-kingdom within Mercia.²

7.2 The origins of Hereford Diocese

Much has been written about the origins of the Anglo-Saxon see which, by the ninth century at least, had become fixed at Hereford; but, despite the pronouncements of

¹ Although this phrase is used here (largely out of deference to every study of the area to date), as will become apparent from what follows, our view is that no such province existed as a sub-kingdom within Mercia *under the control of one people called the Magonsaete* until late in the eighth century at the very earliest. The position of the kingdom of the Hwicce is, therefore, distinguished from that of its neighbours beyond the Severn, who were merely known as the amorphous ‘Westerners’ in the seventh century.

² B Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Routledge, 1990), hereafter *Kings and Kingdoms*, 107-8.

eminent scholars, the position remains shrouded in obscurity.³ A distillation of views concerning its earliest period follows below.⁴ The first account of the organisation and development of Anglo-Saxon dioceses is found in Bede's writings. A synod convened in 673 by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, which was attended by those five bishops⁵ who presided over the existing dioceses, debated Theodore's motion to create more dioceses '... as the number of the faithful increases'.⁶ However, with no agreement, the matter was left unresolved; subsequently the archbishop used the opportunities available to him, following the deaths of incumbents, to carve out further divisions, and by 681 five more dioceses had been created.⁷ These he arranged territorially and with regard to political or tribal divisions.⁸ Although there is no evidence here that the territories of the Hwicce and the 'people west of the Severn'⁹ were included within this activity, some scholars believe that they were, although there are notable exceptions.¹⁰

³ For example see: F Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), hereafter *Anglo-Saxon England*, 46-8 who argued for Merewalh as first king of the Magonsaete, and the creation of a diocese to serve that particular group of people.

⁴ For which see the following works: P Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), hereafter *Religion and Literature*, 39-53; S Bassett, 'Church and diocese in the West Midlands: the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control' in J Blair and R Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 13-40, hereafter 'Church and diocese'; H Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edition (Avon: Bath Press, 1991), hereafter *Christianity*, 130-9; J Barrow, *English Episcopal Acta VII, Hereford 1079-1234* (Oxford: British Academy, 1993), hereafter *Acta VII*; C N L Brooke, 'The diocese of Hereford, 670-1200', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 48 (1994), 23-36, hereafter 'Hereford'; J Hillaby, 'The origins of the diocese of Hereford', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 42 (1976-78), 16-52, hereafter 'Origins'; S Keynes, 'Diocese and cathedral before 1056' in G Aylmer and J Tiller (eds), *Hereford Cathedral: a history* (London: Hambledon, 2000), 3-20, hereafter 'Diocese'; L Hutton, 'A reassessment of the evidence for the development of Anglo-Saxon Hereford' (University of Birmingham, unpublished MPhil thesis, 2008), hereafter 'Reassessment', 34-62.

⁵ One sent a proxy.

⁶ They existed for the peoples of East Anglia, Northumbria, Kent, Wessex and Mercia. Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, edited and translated by L Sherley-Price and D Farmer, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (London: Penguin, 1990), hereafter *HE*, 214 (IV.5).

⁷ Mayr-Harting, *Christianity*, 131.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 131-2. 'East Anglia was divided into Norfolk and Suffolk; in Mercia where Theodore must have been responsible for the division of the diocese, although Bede says nothing of it, Lichfield remained while the Magonsaete, the Hwicce and the Middle Angles got their own bishoprics...'

⁹ Who came to be identified with the Magonsaete; see previous note.

¹⁰ However, neither Sims-Williams, nor Bassett nor Barrow are entirely convinced. Sims-Williams suggests that '... the statement in many modern works that the West Midland sees were founded as a

In any case it has been accepted, generally, that an Anglo-Saxon diocese for each of these two discrete territories was in existence by 680.¹¹ Sims-Williams cites a charter attestation in the same year by two bishops who, although not appearing by reference to their respective sees, are both listed subsequently in a ninth-century document as the first bishops of the dioceses of Worcester and Hereford.¹² In the absence of any reference made by Bede to the establishment of either diocese, the Anglo-Saxon episcopal lists which survive in eight versions have become key to understanding the position, particularly as they apply to the see ultimately located at Hereford.¹³

The earliest of these has been dated to 805 x 814 and was composed in Mercia.¹⁴

The heading for the list relating to Hereford is difficult to decipher, as the manuscript shows signs of wear and damage. In 1884 the heading was read as: *nomina episcoporum uesterehorum post saexwulfum*; a later reading produced: *nomina epis' uestor ehonu post saexulf(um)*; a still later one produced: *N ()Uestor E [.] p[.]Saex[.]*.¹⁵ Consideration has been given to the theory that the 'horum' element of the first reading (and its subsequent variants in the later readings) may refer to a

result of the Synod of Hatfield stems from a spurious document', *Religion and Literature*, 87-8, n.2; Bassett doubts whether the Mercian bishops ever had responsibility for the peoples to their west and south-west, for the simple reason that the indigenous British already had a well-established ecclesiastical organisation, Bassett, 'Church and diocese', 14; consequently it cannot be assumed that the dioceses of the Hwicce and the 'Westerners' had ever been part of Mercia, Barrow, *Acta VII*, xxvi.

¹¹ In the case of the territory west of the Severn, although not necessarily occupied by a unified tribal group, the extent must have had a degree of certainty about it for the creation of a diocese to have had any meaning.

¹² Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 88 and n. 4. The charter in question, S1167, which is judged to be genuine, concerns the grant of land for the foundation of a minster by the Cherwell. They attest as: '*Putta gratia dei episcopus, subscripsi. Bosel gratia dei episcopus, subscripsi*'. The position for Bosel is a little clearer since Bede does mention him as the bishop of the Hwicce in an entry for 680: *HE*, 245 (IV. 23). But it is interesting that the two occur attesting together, in the right part of the country (more or less) and alongside King Aethelred of Mercia.

¹³ The existing manuscripts are analysed by R Page: 'Anglo-Saxon episcopal lists parts I-II', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 9 (1965), 71-95, hereafter 'Lists I-II'; *idem*, 'Anglo-Saxon episcopal lists part III', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 10 (1966), 2-24, hereafter 'Lists III'.

¹⁴ In MS BL Cotton Vespasian B. vi, 108v. For comments on the manuscript see: Page, 'Lists I-II', 73, n. 7 and 'Lists III', 6, n. 14, and Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 41.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Sims-Williams comments that *Uest'* is 'presumably the name for the people of the diocese', *i.e.* 'the western (...)'.

particular group whose name was an earlier version of ‘*Hecani*’; we consider this below.

However, the list does reveal the existence of Bishop Putta, most probably the same individual who in 680, with Bishop Bosel of the Hwicce, attested a grant of land near the Cherwell.¹⁶ But Bede does not record the name of any bishop for the territory before Walchstod, fourth in the Anglo-Saxon list; he is described as: ‘Bishop of the folk who live in the west, beyond the River Severn’.¹⁷ By this date, 731, it is possible to infer two things. The first is that Walchstod’s jurisdiction was geographically fixed and confined to an area west of the Severn which, by that date, came within the political control of Mercian kings, and owed ecclesiastical allegiance to Canterbury. The second is that, as his name ‘interpreter’ implies, the area was occupied by groups of peoples who were likely to have been of mixed Anglo-Saxon and British origin and who, collectively, were called ‘westerners’.¹⁸ What we cannot determine from Bede is the location of the see, if indeed it had been fixed by that time.¹⁹

An analysis of the lists has been undertaken by Hutton for the period *c.* 705–805 x 814; she has concluded that, by comparison to the numbers of bishops within other

¹⁶ The charter concerned is at S1167. We do not agree with Hillaby that Putta can be identified with a bishop formerly of Rochester, or that his name was a later insertion into the ninth-century list by a Mercian scribe. Hillaby, ‘Origins’, 19-21 and 40-3.

¹⁷ *HE*, 324 (V.23). Bede’s spelling of the name is *sic* but Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 40, has ‘Walstod’. We are following Bede.

¹⁸ The area would have been bi-lingual and, according to Sims-Williams, Walchstod’s name means ‘interpreter’; it is possible that the Magonsaete were not at that time its prominent group, though they would later become so. Thus the territory may not yet have become identified with them. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 40-3.

¹⁹ Keynes, ‘Diocese’, 8, is of the view that the see may not have been fixed at that time. Mayr-Harting, *Christianity*, 242, notes that, in the newer of the Anglo-Saxon dioceses, Theodore’s aim had been to promote the kind of work which had been accomplished by the more peripatetic episcopal style favoured by the Irish bishops in Northumbria. According to Davies, such is likely to have been the style favoured in the British church of the west. J R Davies, *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), hereafter *Llandaf*, 16. Walchstod must have been familiar with these sorts of arrangements and worked alongside them.

dioceses over the century, those for Hereford seem disproportionately high.²⁰ She draws the not unreasonable conclusion that a more decentralised episcopal system may have existed within the territory,²¹ with the earliest Anglo-Saxon bishops working alongside their British counterparts, making it less likely that the see would have had a fixed location until later.²² We first hear, within the context of the charter indexed as S1431, that a ‘Church of Hereford’ had been in existence from at least 770 and possibly much earlier,²³ and that Bishop Wulfheard was located at Hereford in 801.²⁴ It is therefore likely that during the course of the eighth century the Anglo-Saxon church was attempting the same sort of consolidation of territory that was being driven forward within the area by Mercian kings.²⁵

Stenton first suggested that an episcopal see for the ‘Westerners’ had been established to serve the needs of a group known as the *Hecani* who ‘... also appear in pre-

²⁰ Hutton, ‘Reassessment’, 39-40. The average per diocese for the century is eight or nine and Hereford appears to have had thirteen.

²¹ Similar to that observed by historians over the area of Archenfield, at that time within the British church. Davies, *Llandaf*, 16; J Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), hereafter *Church*, 21-2. Blair comments that this type of organisation may have continued in the west until the eighth century. Tyler has offered a convincing analysis which suggests that the western area of Mercia was predominately British throughout the seventh century: D Tyler, ‘Early Mercia and the Britons’ in N Higham (ed.), *Britains in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 91-101. For an opposing view see M Gelling, *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1991), hereafter *West Midlands*, 81.

²² It must not be overlooked that the British Church did not accept the outcome of the Synod of Whitby until 768, some thirty years after Bede’s death: J Morris (ed.), *Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1980), hereafter *Nennius*, 47. In areas of Herefordshire north and east of the Wye and as far as the western bank of the Severn there is likely to have been a strong and active British Church throughout the seventh century and into the eighth—at least on some level. There may have been prelates operating from rival camps. This could account for the fact that Tidenham in the Forest of Dean was subject to a confirmatory grant to a British bishop c. 700.

²³ Would this have been the first rival Anglo-Saxon church? Would that church have organised minster provision at Cheltenham and Beckford in the eighth century, as implied from S1431 (which records the outcome of an episcopal dispute over two ministers located there), or, would it have inherited a British foundation?

²⁴ Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 90 and n. 16. His profession of obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury is found in W Birch (ed.), *Cartularium Saxonicum: a Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*. Three volumes (London: Whiting, 1885-93), hereafter *CS*, I, no. 298, at 416.

²⁵ From c. 700 relationships with the British kingdoms to the west had become more hostile, making it necessary to adopt defensive tactics. Recent research has demonstrated that Hereford may have been fortified as early as the first half of the eighth century, earlier than had been previously thought. S Bassett, ‘Anglo-Saxon fortifications in western Mercia’, *Midland History*, 36 (Spring 2011), 1-23, hereafter ‘Fortifications’.

Conquest sources under the name of *Magestenses* or *Magesaetan*, and this description remained in current use until the eleventh century.²⁶ Finberg followed this lead, but considerably expanded the case, describing the origins and development of the Magonsaete who by the ninth century, he alleged, appeared as the premier people of central and northern Herefordshire and southern Shropshire.²⁷ He argued for an apparent ruling family, headed by one Merewalh—a somewhat shadowy figure, about whom we know little. What there is is preserved in a late eleventh-century hagiography which concerns the founding of the seventh-century minster of Wenlock.²⁸ Gelling's²⁹ summation of the material, as it appears in the sources, is particularly helpful and highlights the issue of there being no necessary connection between the folk who occupied 'Magana', the original territory of the Magonsaete,³⁰

²⁶F Stenton, 'Pre-conquest Herefordshire' in D Stenton (ed.), *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) 193-202, hereafter 'Herefordshire', at 194. He was writing in 1934. He cites an edition of Asser's *Life of King Alfred* as his source. We have looked at Asser in the edition of Keynes and Lapidge and can only find reference to the *Gaini*, who are merely referred to as a tribe (*sic*) of Mercia: S Keynes and M Lapidge (eds), *Alfred the Great* (London: Penguin, 1983), 77. Stenton again cited Merewalh as one of the rulers of the Magonsaete: Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 47.

²⁷ H P R Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1961), hereafter, *Early Charters*, 217-24. H P R Finberg, 'Mercians and Welsh' in *idem*, *Lucerna* (London: Macmillan, 1964), 66-82.

²⁸ The material appears as, possibly, the work of the hagiographer Goscelin in 'The Testament of St Mildburg': Finberg, *Early Charters*, 197-216. D Rollason, *The Mildrith Legend: a study in medieval hagiography* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), hereafter *Mildrith*, 149-50, doubts the identity of the author but accepts that the material was compiled around 1080 by someone with intimate knowledge of the monastery's history prior to its foundation as a Cluniac priory. Croom dealt comprehensively with the source and the published critiques of it, including Rollason's, accepting as genuine the charter which is now incorporated as S1798 and includes grants of land at Much Wenlock, along the River Monnow, at 'Magana' and 'Lydas'. J Croom, 'The pre-medieval and medieval human landscape and settlement pattern of South-east Shropshire' (University of Birmingham, unpublished PhD thesis, 1989), hereafter 'Shropshire', 250-9. We have accepted her conclusions and note that Merewalh is never mentioned explicitly and that the only thing which links him, indirectly, to the area is the purchase of a five-hide land-unit at *Magana* for Mildburg, alleged to have been his daughter.

²⁹ Gelling, *West Midlands*, 80-5. For an earlier and less incisive discussion of the people and the group's alleged royal house see: K Pretty, 'Defining the Magonsaete' in S Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1989), 171-83, hereafter 'Magonsaete'. Pretty merely restates Finberg's position without taking the debate further. Yorke has also accepted Finberg's analysis: Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, 106-8.

³⁰ Gelling's place-name analysis of the area is discussed below. See also: B Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 214 (1989), hereafter *Herefordshire Place-Names*. Interestingly, the place is called 'Marund', not 'Maund', both in www.esawyer.org.uk and in www.pase.ac.uk, although the Latin text, as published by Finberg, *Early Charters*, 202, has 'Magana'. There is no explanation for the on-line spellings, which must certainly

and Merewalh. Acknowledging the likelihood that the biographer worked from lost late seventh-century material, Gelling lists those sources which did survive: a text of Hyde Abbey, which probably originated before 974 and which has the king as 'Merwale'; and an insertion into the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the year 656, which is dated to 1121, and has the king as 'Merwala'. Both of these identify the individual as son of Mercia's King Penda, but this point is doubted.³¹ Furthermore, as she observes, '...there is no proof that the district-name Magonsaete ever referred to Merewalh's kingdom... and the biographer of St Mildburg does not use the name. He calls 'Merewald' *rex Westehanorum*, (and) no one has yet suggested a convincing explanation for this alternative name, and its true form is highly uncertain.'³² The most that can be accepted, therefore, is the existence of an individual who, late in the seventh century, presided over an unidentified territory which probably extended south of Much Wenlock and into northern Herefordshire.³³

As a separate exercise, therefore, we need to examine the case for the Magonsaete, by reference both to their territory and to their organisation. Charter material³⁴ and place-name survival identify it as encompassing an area about six miles north-east of Hereford and along the lower Lugg valley. Figure 7.1 shows it plotted by reference to

be errors as they appear to emanate from one source, the sites being linked. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 143 does not cite this spelling under any which he records for the district.

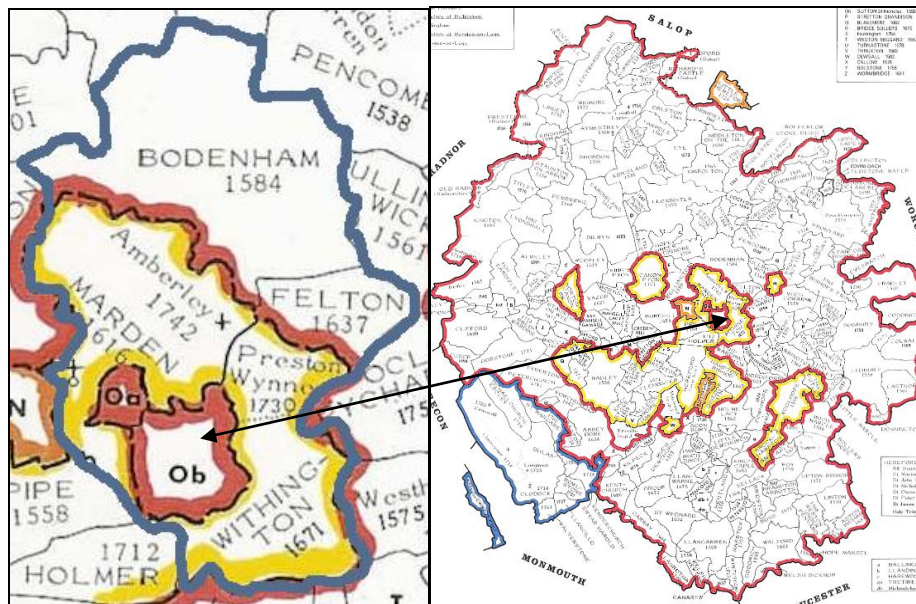
³¹ The first text was dated by Rollason, *Mildrith*, 28 and the second by Clark in her edition of the *Peterborough Chronicle*, 115, as cited by Gelling, *West Midlands*, 81. However, Gelling rejects Pretty's suggestion that Merewalh may have been British.

³² Gelling, *West Midlands*, 83. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 41-3, had earlier argued that a link between the two, as alternate names for the same peoples, was doubtful.

³³ Finberg, *Early Charters*, 219-20, credits Merewalh with a seventh-century endowment of the double Anglo-Saxon religious house at Leominster, but there is no evidence for this save that referred to in the hagiography.

³⁴ Dated to 811, concerning Yarkhill in the Frome valley east of Hereford, S1264.

the late medieval parishes which it encompassed, their location within the shire, and the location of the eight Maund place-names which survive.³⁵



'Maund' parishes shown edged in blue and their location within Herefordshire

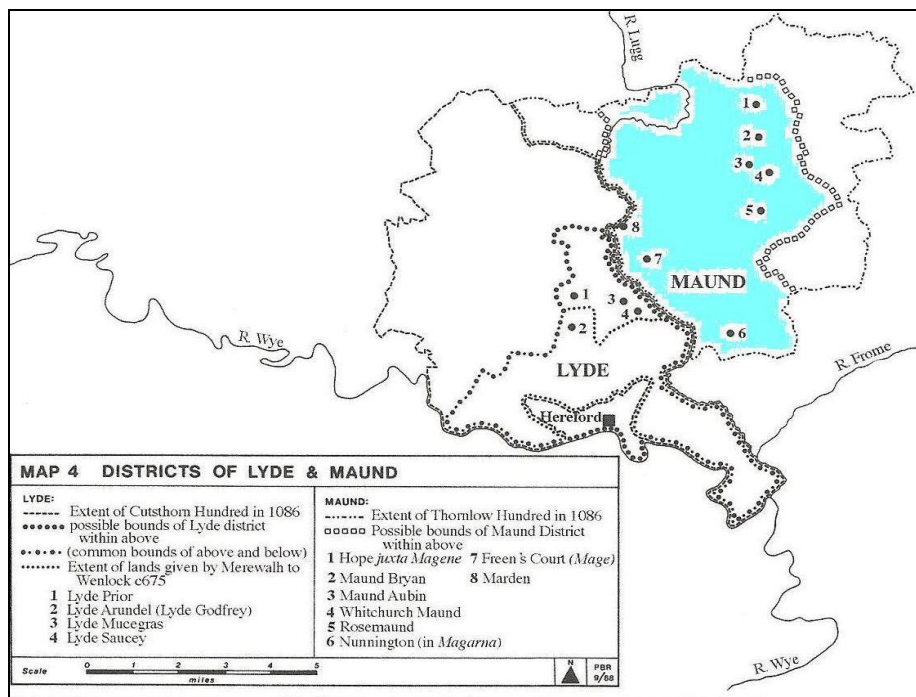


Figure 7.1 The Herefordshire ecclesiastical parishes where 'Maund' place-name survival occurs (edged in blue in the first image): Marden, Bodenham, Preston Wynne, Felton, Withington and the Suttons. C Humphrey-Smith, *The Phillimore Atlas and Index of Parish Registers* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1984), hereafter *Atlas*, 15, with additions. The second image is the district of Maund according to

³⁵ In addition to the eight places which survive there is also the name of the medieval parish and the Domesday royal manor of Marden, which means 'enclosed place in the district of Maund'. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 143.

Coplestone-Crow, shown coloured blue, and its location along the lower Lugg valley, with place-name survival at Dudales Hope (Hope *juxta Magene*), Maund Bryan, Rowberry (Maund Aubin), Whitchurch Maund, in Bodenham parish; Rosemaund in Felton parish; Nunnington (in *Magarna*) in Withington parish; Freen's Court (*Mage*) in Sutton, and Marden. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 12, with additions.

It is impossible to demonstrate the subsequent political development by which disparate peoples of the west began to cohere in a comprehensive way;³⁶ however, if we can ignore a conflation of the Magonsaete and the peoples ruled by Merewalh—a conflation which scholars have asserted on little or no evidence—it may be possible to identify more precisely the area from which the Anglo-Saxon Church expanded early in the eighth century, at the same time that the Mercian kings were concentrating on Hereford's strategic position. It is certainly arguable that the Maund district was the first, both chronologically and in terms of its importance, of the Anglo-Saxon settlement areas;³⁷ we learn from later sources that it possessed a royal residence which had been a middle Anglo-Saxon *villa regalis*, itself located at or near an Iron Age fortified place.³⁸ If Freeman's place-name analysis is correct³⁹ then the

³⁶ A discussion of the theories of kingdom formation is considered in Chapter Two.

³⁷ C P Lewis, 'Introduction' in A Williams and R Erskine (eds), *The Herefordshire Domesday* (London: Alecto Historical Edition, 1988), 1-22, hereafter 'Alecto Introduction', at 6-7, argues that it was, although he supports the alternative version of the name as one derived from the Roman settlement of Magnis, now Kenchester.

³⁸ Offa's residence is described in M James, 'Two lives of St Ethelbert, king and martyr', *English Historical Review*, 32 (1917), 214-44; Sheppard has considered the implications for the area of its proximity to the Iron Age fort at Sutton Walls: J Sheppard, *The origins and evolution of field and settlement patterns in the Herefordshire manor of Marden* (Occasional Papers, 15, Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, University of London, 1979). *DB Herefordshire*, 1.4 describes in detail the large royal *tun* at Marden.

³⁹ Briefly considered in Chapter Four, Freeman's comprehensive place-name analysis of the historiography to date has promoted the theory that the name's origins may be found in a formation of British **magos* or 'plain' coupled with a suffix *-on-*. Several historians had suggested that the meaning was derived from 'plain dwellers', including Ekwall who, Freeman argued, constructed a (false) etymology based on Welsh *maen*, and it was Jackson who argued that the name was not derived from the Romano-British settlement of Magnis (Kenchester), as Ifor Williams had argued. For this debate see: J Freeman, 'The Name of the Magonsaete' in O Padel and D Parsons (eds), *A Commodity of Good Names: Essays in Honour of Margaret Gelling* (Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2008), 101-16.

district appears to have been one with a mixed British and Anglo-Saxon population from as early as the sixth century.⁴⁰

The area's significance in ecclesiastical terms is apparent from later sources: we find numbers of estates in the vicinity which Domesday Book records as belonging to Hereford's Anglo-Saxon minsters of St Ethelbert's and St Guthlac's, both of which were flourishing in the ninth and tenth centuries.⁴¹ However, the district's antiquity as an ecclesiastical heartland of British origins can only be guessed at because there is no surviving charter material and nothing which, unlike the stories for Much Wenlock and Leominster, indicates a foundation point. The possible exception to this is contained within the corpus of documents known as the *Iolo Manuscripts*.⁴² This compendium of work, regarded by scholars as a forgery,⁴³ includes two references of interest—the first is to a British monastic foundation of c. 540 at or near Hereford, founded by Geraint,⁴⁴ whose father, Erbin, when king of Gwent and Ergyng, appears in the Llan Dav charters as a prominent royal grantor of lands to its churches.⁴⁵ The second is to a British bishop of Hereford, named as one of those who conducted the infamous disputation with Augustine c. 602.⁴⁶ While these references cannot be taken at face value by any means, their close following of the text of the *Liber Landavensis*

⁴⁰ Bassett has observed something similar for the Hwicce, which he described as a hybrid Anglo-British society in the seventh century. S Bassett, 'How the west was won: the Anglo-Saxon takeover of the West Midlands', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 11 (2000), 107-18, at 111-12.

⁴¹ We consider both of these minsters in our discussion of the late Anglo-Saxon *parochia* of the city of Hereford in Chapter Three.

⁴² E Williams and T Williams, *Iolo Manuscripts. A Selection of Ancient Welsh Manuscripts* (Liverpool: Foulkes, 1888, produced in facsimile form by BiblioLife, LLC, 2010), hereafter *Iolo*. An overview of the work and its provenance is considered in Chapter One.

⁴³ With the sole exception of D Whitehead, 'Historical introduction' in R Shoesmith, *Hereford City Excavations. Volume 1: Excavations at Castle Green* (London: The Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 36, 1980), hereafter *Hereford Excavations. Volume 1*, 1-8 at 3-4.

⁴⁴ *Iolo*, 514 and n. 4.

⁴⁵ W Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), hereafter *Welsh Microcosm*, LL75 c. 510.

⁴⁶ *Iolo*, 548 and n. 1, stated to have come from the 'book of Llanganna', a place in the Vale of Glamorgan.

and their references to genuine historical persons, who also appear in the latter source, may suggest a germ of historical fact buried in the hyperbole.

There can be no doubt that an established British Church had been operating in the area in the sixth century, similar to that which is revealed for Ergyng in the Llan Dav charters, and that its succession may be evidenced by a rapid assimilation by Anglo-Saxon settlers of its practices.⁴⁷ The fact that this early Church had become opaque, unlike that in neighbouring Ergyng, may simply indicate the speed of the area's assimilation within Mercia following Penda's seventh-century successes.⁴⁸ If a peripatetic British bishop had been operating in the Maund region, having a number of smaller churches spread across the area with his base at Hereford, his flock may very probably have included those who, by the eighth century, called themselves 'Magonsaete'.

There is clear strategic importance in Maund's location in political terms; a later cohesion around a fortified Hereford from, arguably, the first half of the eighth century would have given the impetus for further expansion and development. For this reason we have not considered views expressed by local historians that the see may have been located originally at Leominster.⁴⁹ There may very well have been an important British foundation at Leominster with its own peripatetic bishop operating in the Lene district, but in our view such a provision would have been in addition to,

⁴⁷ The point has been argued consistently by Bassett, and it is accepted as highly likely by Sims-Williams, Blair, Barrow and Tyler, to name a few.

⁴⁸ Whatever the British name of the territory, unless it survived as *Magon*, it appears to have been obliterated by the eighth century. There is no reference to it as an Anglo-Saxon stronghold from which Aethelbald attempted his seizure of churches in northern Ergyng c. 743. Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, LL192; Gelling, *West Midlands*, 116.

⁴⁹ For example, Hillaby, 'Origins'. We dismiss this scenario as highly unlikely for the reason that there was no comparable secular development in the district of Leominster. For a discussion of Leominster see Chapter Five, section 5.2 generally.

not instead of, what was occurring in the Maund district while it remained within a British ecclesiastical system. However, as Figure 7.1 demonstrates, although the area may have been the heartland of early Anglo-Saxon settlement, it was small by comparison to the territory which the diocese later came to comprise. We now need to explore this later extent to determine if any further observations about its organisation can be made.

7.3 The territorial extent of Hereford Diocese

It is first possible to map the extent of the diocese of Hereford from the records of the 1291 *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*.⁵⁰ At that point one can clearly identify the medieval parishes within the shire itself, as well as those over which the see had jurisdiction within the adjacent shires of Shropshire, Gloucestershire, Monmouthshire, Radnorshire, Montgomeryshire and Worcestershire. The fact that the diocese extended beyond Herefordshire suggests that the ecclesiastical territorial organisation for the area was more ancient than the secular organisation revealed in the first records of the area's political organisation—the 1086 Domesday returns.

Furthermore, although the theory remains impossible to prove,⁵¹ historians are of the view that this ecclesiastical organisation had remained largely unchanged since late in the seventh century.⁵² The grounds for this theory rest on the conjecture that the area in question, depicted by Hill (Figure 7.2), formed the kingdom of the Magonsaete.

⁵⁰ *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P Nicholai IV circa AD 1291* (London: Record Commission, 1802), hereafter 1291 Taxation.

⁵¹ 'There is no evidence to show where the... (see) was fixed... (but) since ecclesiastical and secular boundaries usually coincided there is a strong presumption the diocese included just the extent of the territory at that time that was ruled by the princes of the Magonsaetan'. Finberg, *Early Charters*, 225-7, at 226. But his view is that these princes included Merewalh, and there is no evidence that this was the case.

⁵² With the exception of the western border and the Welsh district of Ergyng. Barrow, *Acta*, VII, xxviii-xxix. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 5: '... the diocesan boundaries seem to have remained remarkably stable down to the creation of the diocese of Gloucester in the sixteenth century.'

Yet we have already considered the possibility that this kingdom may, initially, have been significantly smaller, and we will return to this point shortly.

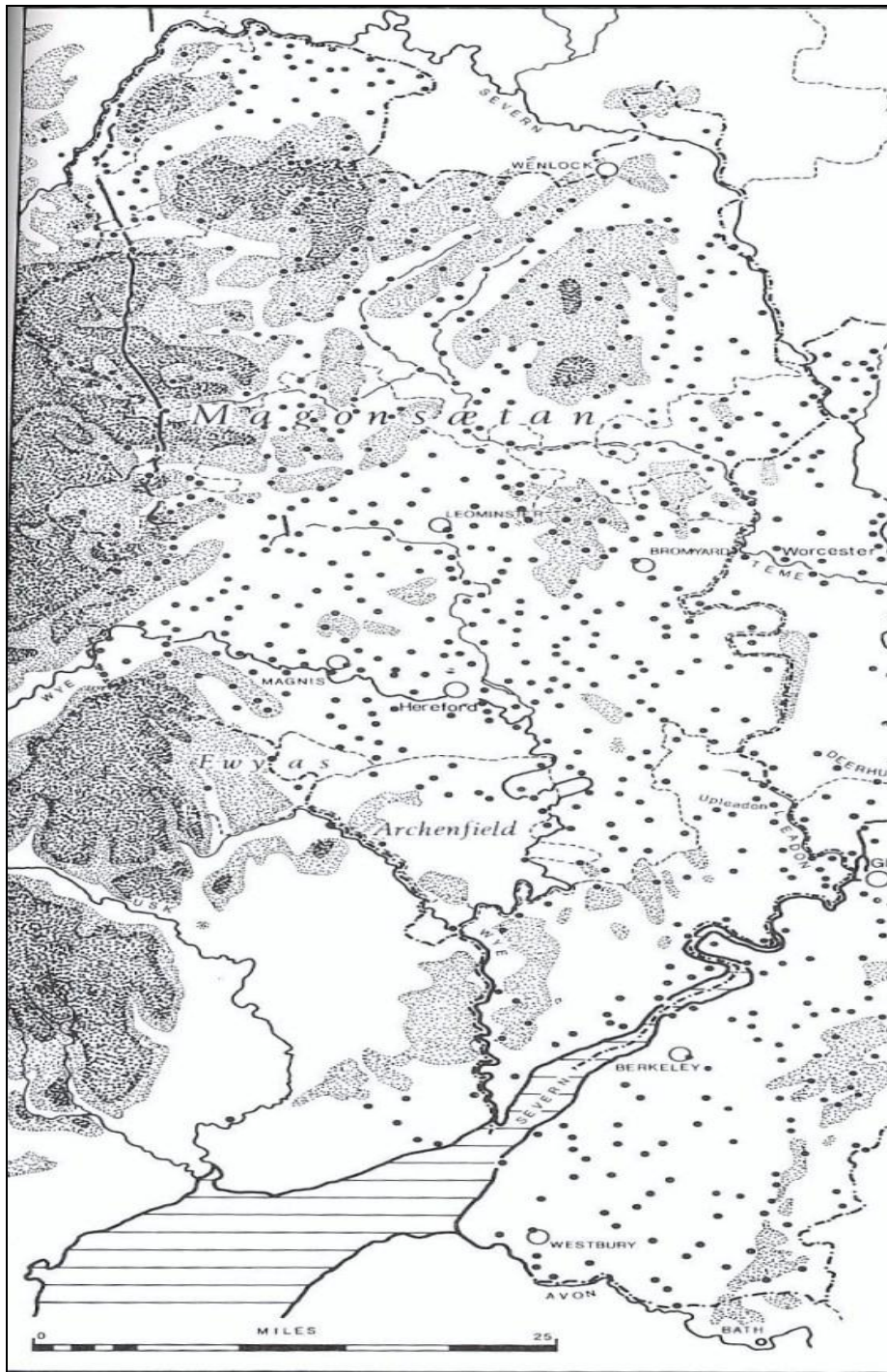


Figure 7.2 The kingdom of the Magonsaeta and the diocese of Hereford, c. 850, depicted by Hill.⁵³

⁵³ D Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984) hereafter, *Anglo-Saxon Atlas*, 81 and map 143. Hill provided some further maps of the diocese at various stages to 1035, *ibid.*, 148, maps 238-41. However, he gave no reason why he considered the Welsh district of Archenfield to have been within its bounds, save for noting that the Welsh kings appeared to abrogate authority over Archenfield after 900, citing Wendy Davies's work. Nevertheless, the relevant point is that he

No one can prove that the extent of the diocese remained static, particularly in the context of some of its disputed borderland areas, but it may be possible to take the information from 1291 Taxation and work backwards to identify how the Anglo-Saxon diocese may have developed from its inception over the ensuing period. Given the time-span involved, some six hundred years, the exercise will not be a precise one, but should provide us with some insights. The images which follow (Figures 7.3-7.12), provide more detailed information of its extent, drawn from mapping the areas concerned by reference to the late medieval parishes over which the bishop of Hereford had jurisdiction in 1291.⁵⁴

We can see its somewhat contentious development from the numerous sources which reveal the sorts of disputes described by Keynes as ‘... not likely to represent... isolated instances of the conflicts... that arose between neighbouring dioceses.’⁵⁵ Therefore, although the view predominates that the territory of the Westerners/Magosaete was and remained of the same extent as the diocese from its inception until the eleventh century, the position is by no means certain.⁵⁶

regarded the map as accurate for the period after 850, and not from the date agreed to have been that of the inception of the diocese, c. 680. It may very well have been impossible to attempt an earlier version because of the lack of political cohesion for the territory.

⁵⁴ The diocese was large and included all of Herefordshire, except the parish of Longtown, together with parts of Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, Monmouthshire, Radnorshire and Montgomeryshire. Although included in the 1086 record for the shire, in 1291 Longtown was within the parish of Clodock in the diocese of St David. 1291 Taxation, 273, column 2.

⁵⁵ Keynes, ‘Diocese’, 12.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 43: ‘The diocesan bounds give some indication of the area of the kingdom... (but) Bede’s generalised description... as ‘beyond the Severn to the west’ need not be taken literally as evidence that the Severn was the boundary.’ (It clearly was not in all cases, as we see below.) Sims-Williams notes that the later medieval diocese of Worcester encroached in obtaining jurisdiction over Acton Beauchamp in Hereford diocese at the date of its grant c. 718, S 85, *ibid.*, 150, n. 38. This was also likely to have been true of Mathon. Likewise from W Hart’s *Historia et cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*. Three volumes (London: Pipe Roll Series, 1863-1867), I, 80, there is evidence that the Bishop of Worcester had held manors within Hereford diocese at Avenbury, Little Cowarne and Pencombe before the tenth century. Taken together with Acton Beauchamp and Mathon, it indicates a sort of fluidity which seemed to be characteristic of the ecclesiastical organisation of the Anglo-Saxon west.

And although there seemed to be a need for certainty, it was only in the eleventh century, and possibly in connection with a dispute between Hereford's Bishop Aethelstan and his opposite number in Worcester, that a formal record of the eastern boundary of the diocese was confirmed.⁵⁷ No concurrent written records of its northern, western and southern boundaries have survived, if any were completed.

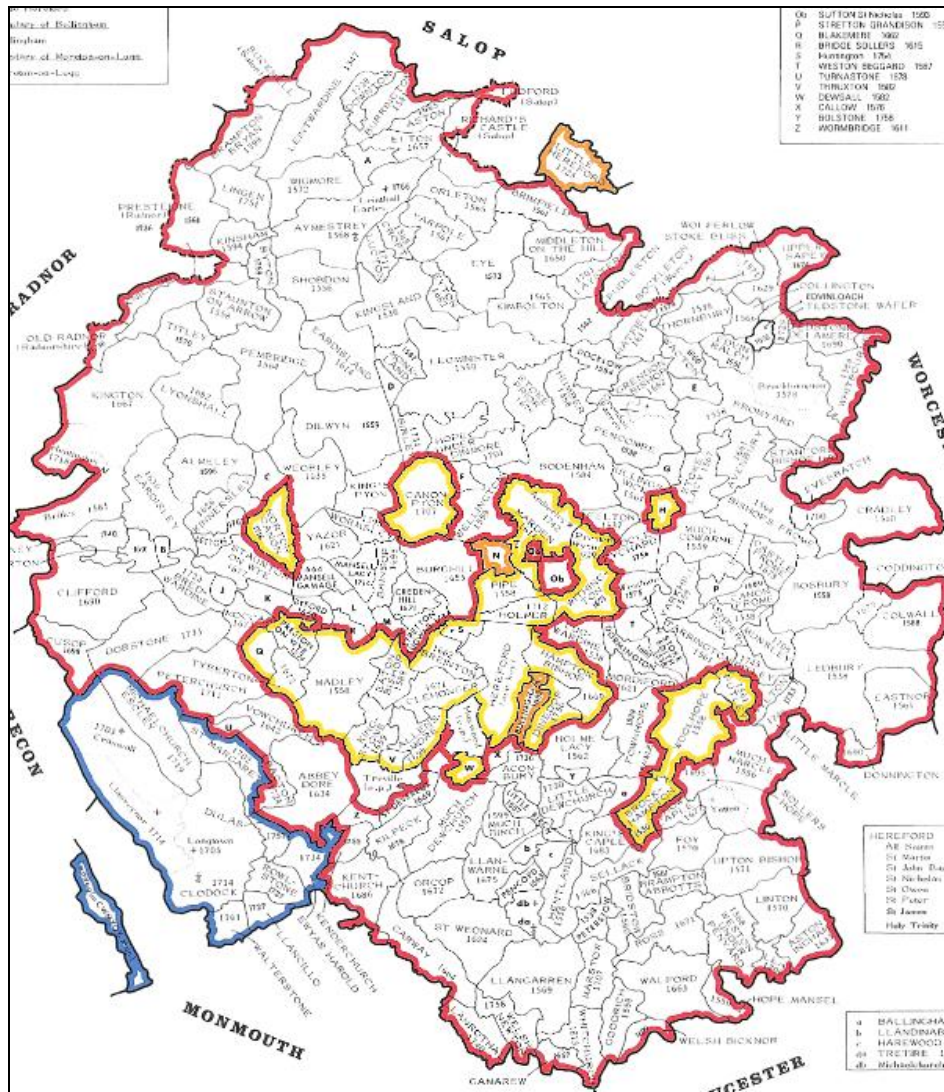


Figure 7.3 The 1291 extent of the diocese of Hereford in Herefordshire, edged in red, showing the post eleventh-century inclusion of Archenfield (Ergyng), and Leintwardine, previously in Shropshire. From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15.

⁵⁷‘Bishop Athelstan’s Boundary’, S1561 (1012 x 1056), records its eastern limit thus demonstrating that at its date the diocese included the Forest of Dean in Gloucestershire and part of the Doddingtree Hundred of Worcestershire. It is discussed further, below. Finberg has argued that this was as a consequence of the transfer of certain hundreds from Herefordshire into Gloucestershire when the shire boundary was finally fixed. Finberg, *Early Charters*, 227. See the discussion of the formation of the shire below, at sections 7.4 and 7.5, pages 343-59.

We can see from Figure 7.3 the extent of the diocese within Herefordshire by the late medieval period. However, notwithstanding Hill's depiction (Figure 7.2), there is evidence to suggest that between 850 and the middle of the eleventh century the bishop's remit south and west of the Wye was confused and ill-defined. Brooke has argued that Archenfield and Straddle did not come within Hereford's episcopal jurisdiction until c. 1063.⁵⁸ And even after that point matters remained in flux as '... the case on the boundaries was fought out in the papal court.' Hereford 'won Archenfield very rapidly,'⁵⁹ finally settling the issue early in the twelfth century when the diocese of Llandaf was created.⁶⁰ We can, therefore, take issue with Hill's map of the diocese as regards the inclusion of Archenfield.

Turning to those parts of the see which lay within adjacent shires, the most obvious case to consider is that of southern Shropshire (Figure 7.4). Here there are compelling grounds for the view that its bounds must have been ancient, certainly more so than those to the east and south of Hereford. Bassett investigated their extent in the context of his study of the parochial geography of the region surrounding Wroxeter.⁶¹

⁵⁸ C N L Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), hereafter *Welsh Border*, 10-11, 35-6, 92-4. With the struggle over Archenfield replicated in secular as well as ecclesiastical contexts, the area, although not hidated, was within the jurisdiction of the Anglo-Saxon fiscal system by 1086. The activity of Bishop Herewald seems to suggest that he may have been consecrated as bishop of Archenfield, as a means of creating a buffer-see between England and Wales, *ibid.*, 11. It is possible that, at the death of Gryffydd in 1063, the English agreed to provide a bishop to perform episcopal functions there. Moreover, despite Anglo-Saxon incursions into its area from the eighth century, it appears that there remained a British bishop operating in Archenfield in the tenth century, although the area may not have been a specific diocese at the time. Bishop Cyfeiliog, abducted in 914 according the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, appears as the recipient of nine grants within the Llandaf charters. J R Davies's view is that the reference to *Cameleac biscop on Ircingafelda* is not a reference to the capture of a British bishop who may have been travelling in Archenfield at the time, as some have suggested, but to an individual exercising episcopal functions there who was active until his death in 927. This provides good reasons to suggest that the southern boundary of the diocese remained at the Wye until well into the eleventh century. Davies, *Llandaf*, 12.

⁵⁹ Brooke, *Welsh Border*, 36. His view is that a delineation of diocesan boundaries did not occur with much precision until there was an equivalent drive to secure the mapping of an accurate shire boundary. *Ibid.*, 94.

⁶⁰ Davies, *Llandaf*, 1. The date given is 1134.

⁶¹ S Bassett, 'Medieval ecclesiastical organisation in the vicinity of Wroxeter and its British antecedents', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 145 (1992), 1-28.

It is clear from his work that, whilst following the southern bank of the Severn for some of its course, the diocesan boundary made a significant detour and excluded two parishes which lay south of the river, when it ought to have included them (if the Severn was the boundary marker). In addition, the two parishes concerned, Condober and Cound, were both likely to have comprised one Anglo-Saxon *parochia* which lay in Lichfield diocese. The fact that they were so excluded is an indication that both had been within the territory of a different kingdom altogether.

Bassett explains: ‘There is nothing whatsoever in the recorded history of the two places which offers any possible context for their removal *en bloc* from Hereford’s control... We can take it, then, that at this one point along its course the Severn may not ever have formed the boundary between the two dioceses... (and) Condober and Cound must have been so strongly linked to the area north of the river in the seventh century that they came under the diocesan control of Lichfield, not Hereford.’⁶² The significance of this is that it provides some topographical corroborative evidence for two things: firstly, that the extent of the diocese served peoples whose tribal boundaries spanned an area *mostly* on the southern and western banks of the Severn⁶³ and extending into northern Herefordshire, and, secondly, that the boundary in question, at this particular juncture, also appeared to follow that of a middle Anglo-Saxon *parochia*.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 14. He writes further that the diocesan boundary would have almost certainly followed an existing boundary, which is likely to have been that which separated the kingdoms of the Magonsaete and the Wreocensaete. He also notes the inclusion in Hereford diocese, north of the Severn, of Wenlock, shown by Croom to have been a middle Anglo-Saxon minster *parochia* within the jurisdiction of Hereford. Croom, ‘Shropshire’, 250.

⁶³ As noted above, at the diocese’s creation the various groups were referred to only as Westerners.

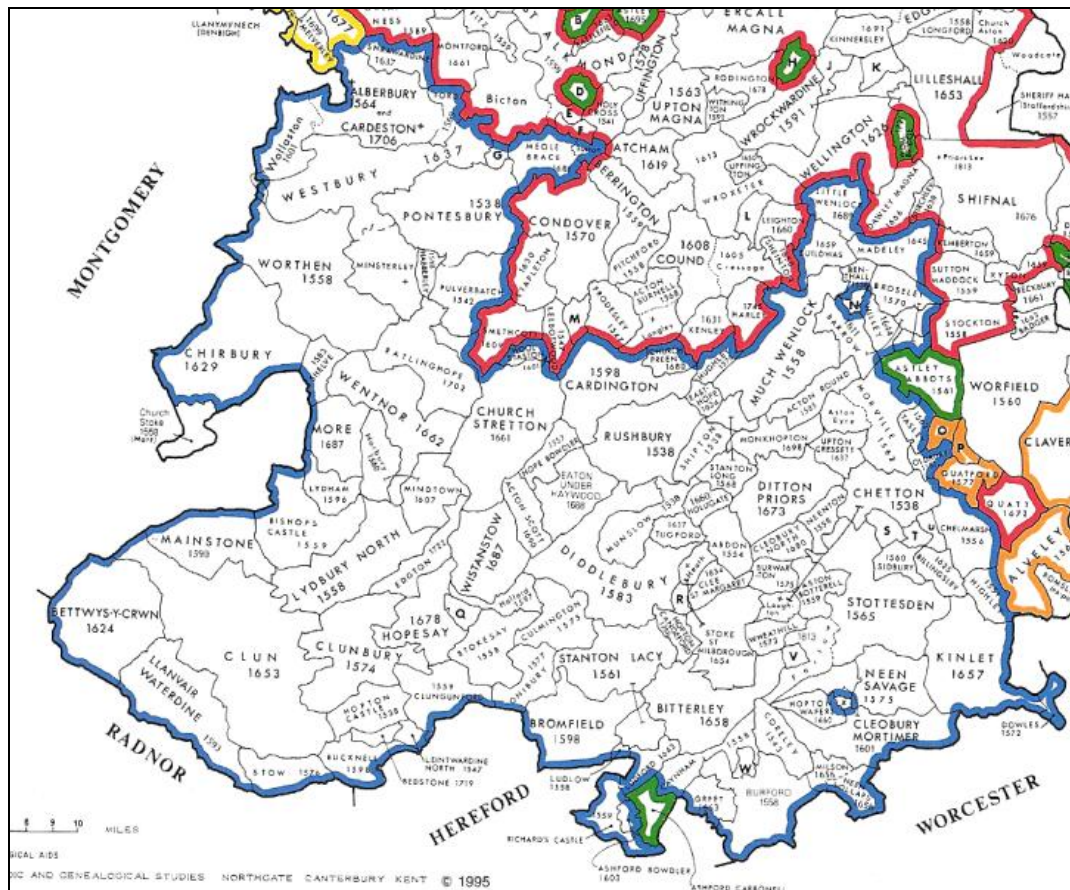


Figure 7.4 The 1291 extent of southern Shropshire in the diocese of Hereford, edged in blue. Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 29.

Turning to the case for the parishes within Gloucestershire (Figure 7.5), a date for their inclusion within the diocese is less clear;⁶⁴ it may not have occurred until late in the eighth century, because there is evidence to suggest that the area had still been within British ecclesiastical control.⁶⁵ By the ninth century the position is still unclear as some ecclesiastical grants were being made by Welsh kings and some by Mercian

⁶⁴ Bassett, 'Church and diocese', 16, believes that the Anglo-Saxons had reached the area beyond the Severn by the early part of the seventh century, by which he means the area due west of Wroxeter. It is possible that, following the battle of Gloucester in 577, the area to the west of the lower Severn valley was colonised by West Saxons, but this would not have generated any significant change to the existing British ecclesiastical structure, although it may have been one of the reasons for Augustine's meeting with the British 'hierarchy'.

⁶⁵ Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, LL 174B; Finberg, *Early Charters*, no. 7, 32-3 (c. 700), concerning a grant of Tidenham to a British bishop by the Welsh king Morgan. The British church did not accept the Roman church's reckoning of the dating of Easter until 768, according to Nennius: Morris (ed.), *Nennius*, 47.

kings.⁶⁶ Furthermore, there is nothing to suggest that, at any time, the area had been within the kingdom of the Magonsaete.⁶⁷ Pretty has observed that ‘... when and how Anglo-Saxon settlers crossed the Severn is still problematic.’⁶⁸ But here we may be helped by Gelling’s analysis of the political situation, and of the alliances generated between the Mercians and the British to defend against Northumbrian onslaught. She argued that the area west of the Severn may have been absorbed into Mercia *in stages* and by agreement.⁶⁹ This may make it much more likely, both by analogy and given the limited historical information, that the area on the west bank of the lower Severn remained ecclesiastically British throughout the seventh century and late into the eighth, particularly given the position which the British bishops had taken in the

⁶⁶ Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, LL 182; Finberg, *Early Charters*, no. 81, 49 (c. 878), likewise concerns Tidenham and a later confirmatory grant to the British church. A lost Anglo-Saxon charter, dated to 853, apparently concerned a royal grant of Lydney by the Mercian king Burgred to one Ethelred of Wessex, S1702.

⁶⁷ Rather enigmatically, C Taylor, ‘The origin of the Mercian shires’ in H P R Finberg (ed.), *Gloucestershire Studies* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1957), 17-51, at 26, hereafter ‘Mercian Shires’, describes the area between the Wye and the Severn as ‘within the territory of the Hecanas’, but without quoting a source. It is described in *Iolo*, 514, by the name ‘Red Gwent in *Denau*’. In fact, Thomas believed the area to have been within a kingdom formerly held by the sixth-century Briton, Aurelius Caninus: C Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (London: Batsford, 1981), 269. Gelling, *West Midlands*, 116 and Figure 47, has argued that the area may, by the eighth century, have been within that of the *Dunsaete*. In support of continued British control, C Lewis, ‘Welsh territories and Welsh identities in late Anglo-Saxon England’ in N Higham (ed.), *Britains in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 130-43, hereafter ‘Welsh Territories’, at 130, has demonstrated that, even in the area of northern Herefordshire and southern Shropshire attributed to the Magonsaete, a considerable number of the inhabitants remained Welsh-speaking, suggesting that the degree of their assimilation into an Anglo-Saxon state was more limited than has been previously argued. It is not difficult to attribute similar characteristics to the Forest of Dean given the place-name evidence which exists for western migration of the British from Gloucester (*Gleuensis*), possibly after its conquest in 577, to be found in the name of the Welsh kingdom of Glywysing, Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 24.

⁶⁸ Pretty, ‘Magonsaete’, 175. In her discussion of a push westwards into the area of the middle Severn valley, some sixty-five years later at the battle of *Maserfelth*, she seems to regard both the territory that lay west of the Severn in Shropshire and the territory west of the Severn in Gloucestershire as being equally within the control of the Magonsaete, something for which there is no evidence.

⁶⁹ Gelling, ‘The early history of western Mercia’ in Bassett (ed.), *Origins*, 184-201. There is no record of any conquest of the area in the English sources. We see the defeat of an army led by the son of the king of Powys at Chester early in the seventh century, but that was a victory of Aethelfrith of Northumbria over the British; furthermore the battle of *Maserfelth* in 642 was one between Penda of Mercia and Oswald of Northumbria. The consequences for the British, following the defeat of Cadwallon of Gwynedd in 634, may have been to join the alliance and consider themselves Penda’s loyal allies. This would certainly explain the position *vis-à-vis* the northern and middle territory of the diocese but not its southern extent west of Gloucestershire.

context of an ‘heretical’ Roman stance on Easter.⁷⁰ Furthermore, we find no evidence that Anglo-Saxon charters, either secular or ecclesiastical, were being granted within the area before the ninth century, the nearest equivalent being those granted in respect of territory on the eastern bank of the Severn in the seventh century.⁷¹ Although this fact may be due to the destruction of Hereford’s charter material in 1055, Sims-Williams notes that ‘... No place south of Yarkhill... happens to be described as “on Magonsetum”... (but) it is reasonable to suppose that the kingdom included the territory between the Wye, Severn and Leadon,

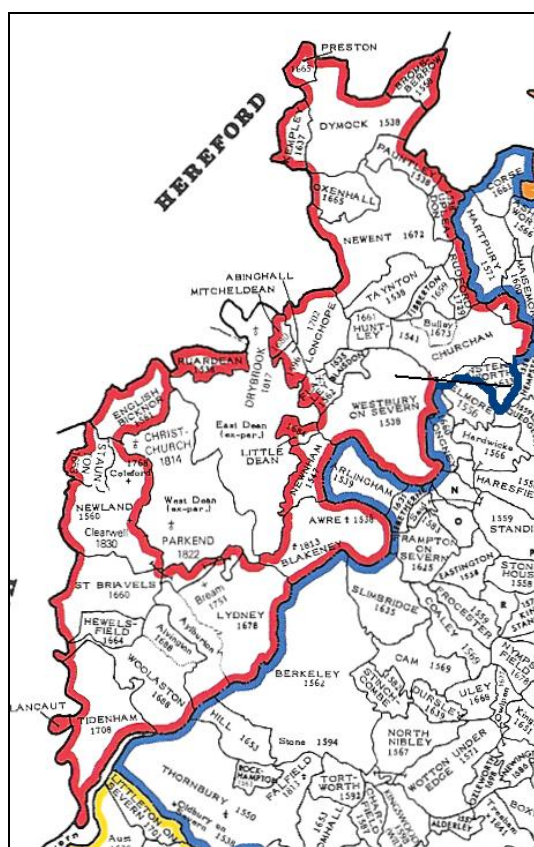


Figure 7.5 The 1291 extent of western Gloucestershire in the diocese of Hereford, edged red, and amended to include Minsterworth, southeast of Churcham. Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 13, with additions.

⁷⁰ And vice-versa: ‘In the period 670-768 Christianity came to divide Britons from English, ... as two churches that refused communion with one another on the grounds of heresy... Churches that in the middle of the seventh century are likely to have had close and cooperative relations with their British neighbours now cut off those relations.’ T Charles-Edwards, ‘Wales and Mercia, 613-918’ in M Brown and C Farr (eds), *Mercia. An Anglo-Saxon kingdom in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2001), 89-105, hereafter ‘Wales and Mercia’, at 96-7.

⁷¹ For example that to St Peter’s, Gloucester (674 x 679), S70. A later one concerning Lydney, although lost, is dated to the middle of the ninth century: S1702.

including the part annexed to Gloucestershire in the eleventh century. This is supported by the inclusion of this territory in the diocese of Hereford and, in a negative way, by the scarcity of references to it in the Worcester and Llan Dav charter collections.⁷² This argument is both circular and simplistic, and it ignores some of the problems considered above. Indeed, while Aethelstan's eleventh-century boundary memorandum placed the area between the Wye and the Severn within Hereford diocese, his record of it was compiled some three hundred years after its creation;⁷³ the ensuing period had been a time of considerable political development and there can be no certainty as to the ecclesiastical loyalties operating in the lower Severn valley before the late eighth century. We noted above, in connection with the two charters cited for Lydney and Tidenham, that both are dated to the mid-ninth century; therefore, the position may have been one of ambiguity as well as of a jockeying for control between the respective Churches.⁷⁴

Sims-Williams comments further: '... the early Celtic element of place-names of Gloucestershire west of the Severn has been found to be unexpectedly low. Was the English settlement of these areas, *though late*, (my italics) comparatively swift and

⁷² Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 47.

⁷³ Moreover, between Aethelstan's record and 1291 Taxation at least one large medieval parish had been transferred to Worcester diocese: that of Lassington. Its position on the south-west bank of the Leadon marks it out for Hereford, according to Aethelstan's record, but by 1291 it was within the Gloucester Rural Deanery of Worcester Diocese. <http://www.hironline/ac/uk>.

⁷⁴ The first concerns a grant to Glastonbury and the second a re-confirmation of an eighth-century grant by the king of the Glywysing to a British bishop, both of which indicate that the position may have remained unsettled in the later eighth century and into the ninth. As noted above, the British Church had not accepted the pronouncements of the Synod of Whitby until a generation after Bede's death; their rival practices would surely have been in evidence until late in the eighth century at least, making it necessary for their peripatetic bishops to continue to operate from churches within their control, both ecclesiastically and tenurially. For a full discussion see N Chadwick, 'The battle of Chester: a study of sources' in *eadem et al.* (eds), *Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 167-85. And according to Charles-Edwards, 'Wales and Mercia', 100-1, the significance of this ninth-century charter activity in favour of Glastonbury at Lydney, Tidenham and Westbury may have been a response to West Saxon prominence in the area as Mercia's fortunes declined.

thorough?’⁷⁵ His comment is a little ambiguous. If by ‘late’ he means late in the eighth century (a date by which, it could be argued, there were royal *tunas* within the district at Westbury and Awre and an Anglo-Saxon church of some description at Hereford), then it is certainly possible to see the area’s inclusion within the diocese by that date. During the same time, the adjacent district of northern Ergyng had been under attack.⁷⁶ Clearly, if secular and ecclesiastical resources were being concentrated at Hereford during this period, it was emerging as an obvious centralised location from which to administer the western part of the lower Severn valley.⁷⁷

We move now to consider the position of the Worcestershire parishes within the diocese. Here we find that Hereford’s thirteenth-century extent, as recorded in 1291, differs from Bishop Aethelstan’s record on two of the readings consulted.⁷⁸ As Figure 7.6 shows, in 1291 the diocese included all the medieval parishes along a line which included Abberley and those further east as far as the Severn. These were all within the Burford Rural Deanery of the Shropshire Archdeaconry, and hence in Hereford Diocese. There is some difference of opinion in respect of these parishes. On Finberg’s reading the parishes of Astley (*sic*), Ribbesford and Rock were excluded;

⁷⁵ Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 24. However, this comment is surely out of context because the names of two large late medieval parishes in the Forest Deanery are British in origin—Newent and Dymock. A Smith, *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire*, English Place-Name Society, Volume 40, part 3 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1964), hereafter *Gloucester Place-Names*, 168 and 173.

⁷⁶ The attacks in question are recorded c. 743 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as well as in the Llan Dav charters. Gelling, *West Midlands*, 115-17. Their motivation is unclear; it may have been to seize the assets of an heretical Church.

⁷⁷ We have also considered the possibility that, if Ergyng had been assimilated by the eighth century, the area under consideration may have come within the diocese at the same time. There is some evidence that parts of Ergyng were controlled by Anglo-Saxon kings in the ninth century. Alongside incursions moving south from Hereford, one could see an effective pincer movement being mounted westwards from the *villae regales* at Linton and Westbury.

⁷⁸ Finberg, *Early Charters*, 225-7; D Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon Landscape: the kingdom of the Hwicce* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), hereafter *Hwicce*, 12-13; P King, ‘The minster “*Aet Stur*” in Husmere and the northern boundary of the Hwicce’, *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 15 (1996), 73-91, hereafter ‘*Aet Stur*’, at 80-1. It appears that both Mathon and Acton Beauchamp were within Hereford Diocese for part of the eleventh century as the boundary line, after following the Leadon north of Minsterworth on the Severn, then ran along the ridge of the Malverns: Hooke, *Hwicce*, 12.

on King's reading the parishes of Stockton, Abberley, Pensax, Rock and Ribbesford were excluded; yet on Hooke's reading the 1291 record appears to be the same as that of the eleventh century.⁷⁹

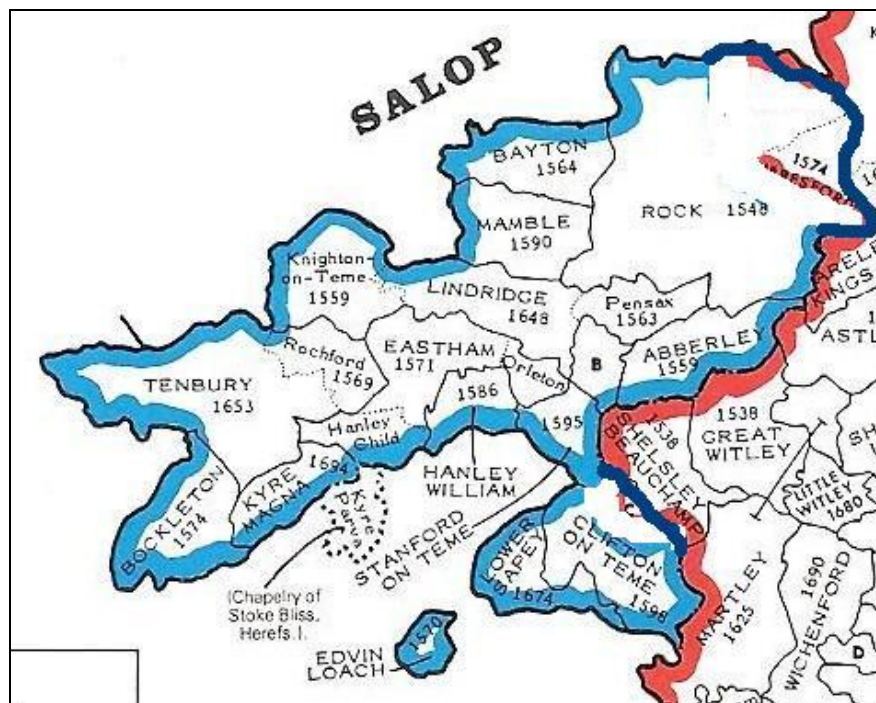


Figure 7.6 The 1291 extent of Worcestershire within the diocese of Hereford, edged in blue. From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 38, with additions and amended to include Shelsley Walsh and Ribbesford.

We can find no explanation for these differences in interpretation as none are explained in detail. And it is to be noted that Hooke aligns the diocesan extent with that of the kingdom of the Hwicce: along the eastern boundaries of the parishes of Abberley and Rock.⁸⁰ Thankfully, we are helped by Bassett's study of the extent of the middle Anglo-Saxon parochial geography of Worcestershire, at least as far as the

⁷⁹ Finberg, *Early Charters*, 226, comments on the exclusion of the parish of Astley in the eleventh-century record, but we can find no evidence that Astley was at any time in the diocese of Hereford. King's interpretation, 'Aet Stur', 80-1, follows a line due north of Stanford; Hooke, *Hwicce*, 12-13, follows the Burford Deanery boundary right to the Severn, interpreting *Maertleages-ecge* as '... the ridge of resistant rocks which forms the Abberley Hills near Great Witley... the boundary then ran along the edge to *Carcdune*, which Forster identifies as Carton in the parish of Bayton... (which) lies some miles beyond the later diocesan boundary and one wonders whether another hill on the more direct line could not have originally borne this *dun* name.'

⁸⁰ Hooke, *Hwicce*, 12-13.

northern boundary of the parish of Martley.⁸¹ He has argued that the small parish church of St Helen's, Worcester, had had an extensive *parochia* as a British institution, and had been '...the one serving Worcester and its hinterland before the Anglo-Saxon cathedral was founded'. Its parochial extent stretched westwards from Worcester to include the parishes of Martley and Little Whitley.⁸² If this is the case, given the antiquity of the ecclesiastical arrangements, it suggests that the diocesan limit for Hereford in the seventh century was likely to have remained more or less stable up to 1291.⁸³

What are we to make of Aethelstan's eleventh-century record in light of this? Are the bounds so difficult to discern, some ten centuries later, that the contents of S1561 cannot be interpreted properly? Or were the parishes excluded by Finberg and King actually within the diocese before the eleventh century, and then excluded from it at the time of Aethelstan, only to be reinstated before 1291? Of these possibilities the first seems to be the most likely. But despite these issues we do seem to be on much firmer ground, both chronologically and topographically, in the attempt to identify the diocese's earliest extent at its eastern limit.⁸⁴ The position might be helped by a more detailed investigation of this area, since in our discussion of the ecclesiastical land-

⁸¹ Bassett, 'Churches in Worcester before and after the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 69 (1989), 225-56, hereafter 'Churches in Worcester', at 233-4.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 238, 240-1 and Figure 5 at 239.

⁸³ Bassett's land-unit, however, excludes Shelsley Beauchamp and Great Whitley, neither of which was in Hereford diocese in 1291. For the Shelsleys see the following note.

⁸⁴ Our mapping at Figure 7.6 excludes the late medieval parish of Shelsley Beauchamp, which in 1291 was in Worcester diocese. However, according to the editors of Domesday Book, the two Shelsleys had been part of the ten-hide manor of Clifton-on-Teme, an outlier of Westbury-on-Severn until the eleventh century, along with the adjacent parishes of Stanford-on-Teme and Lower Sapey, both in the diocese. F Thorn and C Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book. Volume 16: Worcestershire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1982), hereafter *DB Worcestershire*, E35 and note. Westbury lay in Gloucestershire by 1066, in the area west of the Severn, but it was likewise in Hereford diocese at the same time. The Shelsley land-unit requires further investigation, but the limit of the *parochia* of the land-unit mapped by Bassett provides some support for our view, discussed in Chapter Four, that the bounds of the *parochia* of Bromyard in Herefordshire may have extended as far as Martley and included the entirety of the manor of Clifton, encompassing the late medieval parishes of Lower Sapey, Stanford, Shelsley Walsh and Shelsley Beauchamp.

units of Herefordshire we have done no analysis of the organisation of the Worcestershire parishes mapped in Figure 7.6. However, by analogy with Bassett's arguments for Condover and Cound, and for Worcester St Helen's, and with ours for Bromyard, it may be the case that these parishes had together formed the *parochia* of a middle Anglo-Saxon minster, which lay within Hereford diocese in the eighth century.

Turning now to the parishes to the far west, the position appears to have been uncertain in places: from the charters of the bishops of Hereford we find evidence of long-standing unresolved disputes with the bishop of St Asaph, some of which were finally referred to Canterbury and Rome for settlement.⁸⁵ However, by the time of 1291 Taxation the western boundaries of the dioceses appeared to be the same as those of the shires of Hereford and Shrewsbury as they were first recorded in 1086. In the north, with the border running along the edge of what later become Montgomeryshire, the diocese included the territorial extent of all those late medieval parishes mapped in Figure 7.7, with the exception of Welshpool which then lay in the diocese of St Asaph.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ It concerned parts of the Shropshire parishes of Chirbury, Alberbury and Worthen, was commenced in 1278 and was finally settled in 1288. A Bannister (ed.), *Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield, episcopi Herefordensis MCCLXXXIII-MCCCXVII* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 6, 1909), hereafter *Reg. Swinfield*, 204-8.

⁸⁶ Only certain of the parishes in Figure 7.7 are mentioned in 1291 Taxation: Hyssington, Montgomery and Alberbury, all of which lay in the Pontesbury Rural Deanery. Of the others (with the exception of Welshpool) three appear to have been within the large 1086 manor of Montgomery: the later parishes of Forden, Snead and Mainstone; Buttington appears as *Trewern* and Church Stoke was a five-hide manor which, rather unusually, had not become a parish by 1291. F Thorn and C Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book. Volume 25: Shropshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1986), hereafter *DB Shropshire*, 4.1. 35, (Forden, Mainstone and Snead); 4.1. 8, (Buttington) and 4.27. 25, (Church Stoke).



Figure 7.7 The 1291 extent of Montgomeryshire within the diocese of Hereford, excluding Welshpool. Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 42.

Figure 7.8 identifies the parishes in the diocese further south, along the border with Herefordshire and southern Shropshire. These were all listed in the 1291 record, with the exception of Discoed.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Of these, Brampton Bryan, Knighton, Norton and Old Radnor are the only places directly mentioned in 1086: *DB Shropshire*, 6.23, 8.1, 8.2 and *DB Herefordshire*, 1.65. It is possible that Presteigne and Discoed are represented as Clatterbrune and *Humet* in 1086. *DB Shropshire*, 5.4. Michaelchurch-on-Arrow may have been within the 1086 Eldson Hundred of Herefordshire as it is recorded as a chapel of the church at Kington within that hundred. *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII auctoritate regia institutes*. Volume 3 (London: Record Commission, Eyre and Strahan, 1817), hereafter *Valor*, 32.



Figure 7.8 The 1291 extent of Radnorshire within the diocese of Hereford. From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 42.

Although the diocesan jurisdiction appears to have been equivalent to that of its secular counterpart in the eleventh century, is it possible to project this position further back? We consider below that the line of the eighth-century linear earthwork known as Offa's Dyke may represent the western limit of the province's territory, at least up to the tenth century. However, recent scholarship has demonstrated that the earthwork extends in a continuous line only as far as Staunton-on-Arrow and is considerably further east of the eleventh-century border; its course takes no account of the boundaries of medieval parishes or their constituent manors, and in most cases bisects these land-units. This implies that an eighth-century construction of the Dyke post-dated the determination of these boundaries, and that it was not used for any

administrative function.⁸⁸ In these circumstances it is felt best to ignore its effect within this analysis.⁸⁹

We have now explored both the origins and the extent of the diocese of Hereford from inception to the date of Bishop Aethelstan's boundary confirmation so as to complete the picture needed for consideration of its internal parochial structure. We have already analysed and identified what we consider to have been the organisation of its late Anglo-Saxon *parochiae* within Chapter Five. We do not intend to repeat any of the evidence which supports our conclusions, but merely to display once again, below in Figure 7.9, the fourteen which we have identified. (It is to be noted that Figure 7.9 excludes the parishes within adjacent shires.)

⁸⁸ For the full development of this argument see: D Hill, 'Mercians: the dwellers on the boundary' in M Brown and C Farr (eds), *Mercia. An Anglo-Saxon kingdom in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2001), 174-82, hereafter 'Mercians', at 178-81.

⁸⁹ However, we consider this in full below.

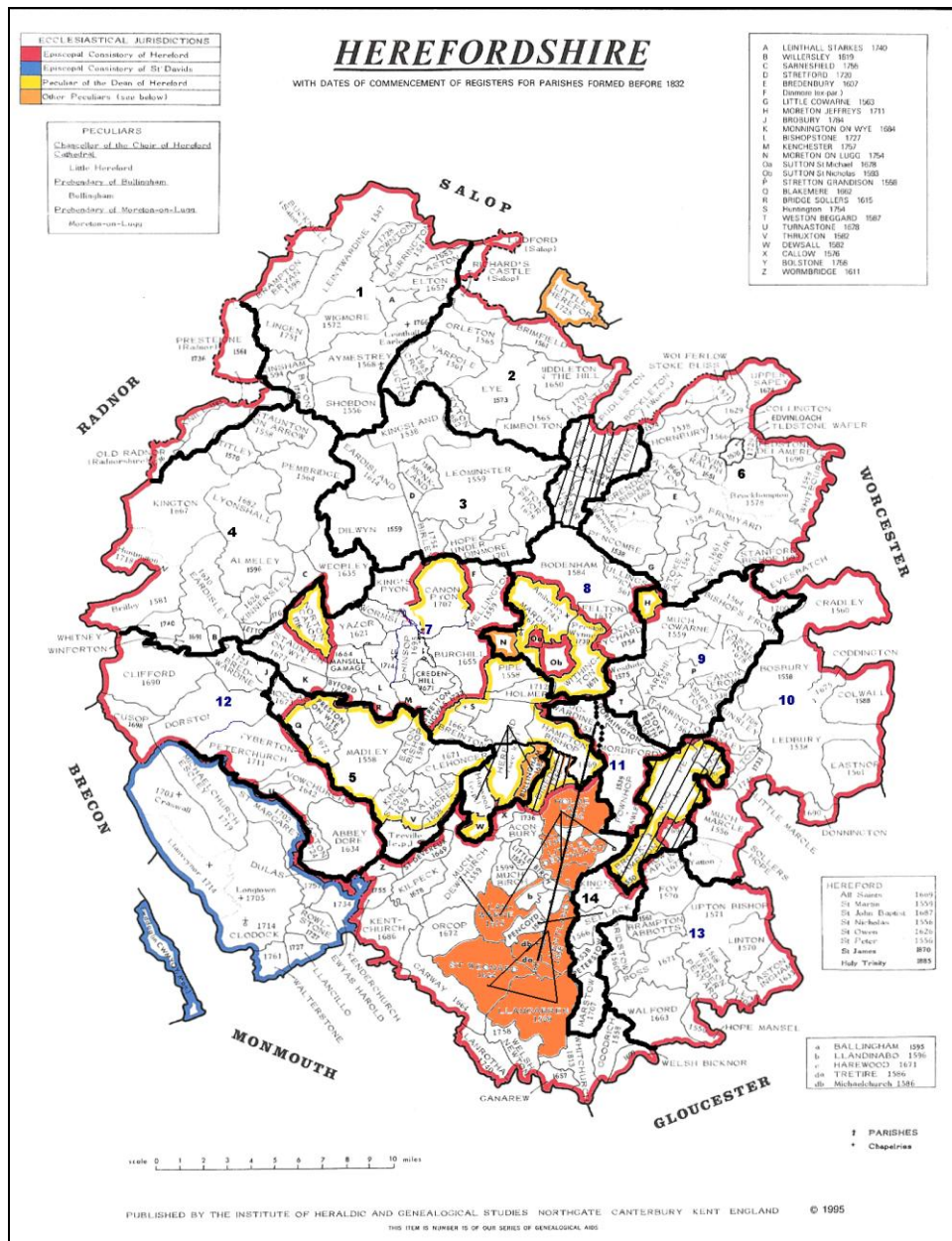


Figure 7.9 A suggested depiction of Herefordshire's ninth-century *parochiae*. Those marked * in the Key were founded within a British provision. Solid orange indicates parishes linked to Lugwardine; hatched areas⁹⁰ have not been determined. From Humphrey-Smith, Atlas, 15 with additions. **Key**

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Leintwardine | 7. Hereford | 13. Ross-on-Wye |
| 2. Eye | 8. Bodenham | 14. Sellack* |
| 3. Leominster | 9. Much Cowarne | |
| 4. Pembridge | 10. Ledbury | |
| 5. Madley* | 11. Lugwardine | |
| 6. Bromyard | 12. Clifford* | |

⁹⁰ The hatched black area, between Bromyard and Leominster, has not been allocated. It may have been within Bodenham or within Leominster. The hatched black area between Holme Lacy and Bullingham (Dinedor medieval parish) has not been allocated. It may have been within the parishes dependent upon Lugwardine, as it abuts Holme Lacy, or within those attached to Hereford cathedral. The hatched black area comprising the medieval parishes of Woolhope, Putley and Brockhampton has not been allocated. There are no links with Lugwardine, and it lay within the dean's peculiar jurisdiction of the canons of the Hereford cathedral.

7.4 The formation of the territory which became Herefordshire

Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon administration of Hereford and its hinterland, as opposed to its defence, first appears in the sources as activity within the ‘shiring’ of Mercia, the process by which constituent parts of the kingdom were ‘shorn away’, divided from the whole and assessed for tax liability.⁹¹ Historians have speculated on both the causes and the timescale for this activity, failing to agree, with two camps running alternative and opposing theories. Maitland, Taylor and Loyn⁹² argued the case from source material, or rather the dearth of it, there being no references to the existence of shires in Mercia before the eleventh century; Stenton considered that tenth-century references to Mercian burhs, the fortified settlements of which some subsequently became headquarters of Mercian shires, indicated the possibility of an earlier organisation.⁹³ However, in both cases historians argued for the same thing—the imposition of a Wessex-type shire system on Mercia which accomplished three things. It incorporated an existing burghal structure, allocated a *burh* to each ‘shire’, and assessed the ‘new’ shire’s liability to defray the necessary public burdens in numbers of hides.⁹⁴ This imposition was regarded as a West Saxon ‘innovation’ completed in the tenth or early eleventh century.

⁹¹ Taylor lists seventeen settlements according to their earliest reference as *burh*, mostly ninth- and tenth-century references, and by shire, all eleventh-century references. In each case there is at least a one-hundred year interval, and in some as much as one hundred and forty years. Taylor, ‘Mercian Shires’, at 23-4.

⁹² F Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (New York: Fontana, 1969), hereafter *Domesday Book*, 229; Taylor, ‘Mercian Shires’, 29; H Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Edward Arnold, 1984), 135, viewed a late reference to the Magonsaete (1016) as indicative that Herefordshire was not then in existence; it is first mentioned in 1048.

⁹³ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 292-3, 298; the possibility that the organisation may have been in its early stages by the late ninth century was considered at Stenton, ‘Herefordshire’, 198: ‘A shire may have been organized around the town (of Hereford) at any time during the tenth century, if not during the last years of the ninth.’

⁹⁴ ‘But a policy, a plan, there has been, and the outcome of it is that the shire maintains the borough.’ Maitland, *Domesday Book*, 229.

As an activity, it was alleged to have been both late and artificial—late in the sense that it occurred long after a comparable system had been devised in Wessex,⁹⁵ and artificial because, rather than being built up from whatever may have been the administration of existing Mercian provinces,⁹⁶ ‘... (it) consisted of mapping out the region between Thames and Humber into districts containing about 1,200 or twice 1,200 hides,’⁹⁷ ignoring the historical boundaries of those pre-existing provinces.

However, some scholars⁹⁸ had considered a different scenario—one that argued for the organisation and development of defensive infrastructures for early kingdoms, which had a collateral territorial dimension. Although the position is uncertain, and based on a series of hypotheses, it is founded on the argument that, for the upkeep of a defensive infrastructure to have been a likely prospect from the eighth century,⁹⁹ a rural hinterland would have been defined in relation to it to identify the manpower responsible for its repair and maintenance. That defined territory was likely to have been identified by reference to pre-existing secular and ecclesiastical land-units; by the ninth century these units had coalesced into organised groupings which were administered and defended from premier fortified settlements. These hypotheses

⁹⁵ H Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1905), hereafter *Studies*, at 192, lists the counties of Wessex by reference to date and ealdorman. All were in existence by the late ninth century.

⁹⁶ Of which there were five by the ninth century, each of which was co-terminous with a diocese. S Bassett, ‘The administrative landscape of the diocese of Worcester in the tenth century’ in N Brooks and C Cubitt (eds), *St Oswald of Worcester: His Life and Influence* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), 147-73, hereafter ‘Administrative Landscape’, at 151. Mercia’s early *schema* is represented in the Tribal Hidage, discussed in Chapter Six. See: W Davies and H Vierck, ‘The contexts of the Tribal Hidage: social aggregates and settlement patterns’, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 8 (1974), 223-93.

⁹⁷ Chadwick, *Studies*, 192. The calculation of hides in this chapter is in numerals rather than words, for ease of reconciliation.

⁹⁸ For example, Chadwick, *Studies*, 201-18, suggested that the Mercian shires were derived from earlier sub-kingdoms organised over *regiones* and attached to *burhs*. The areas concerned had been demarcated long before full West Saxon control took hold, c. 918.

⁹⁹ This was the case for the Mercian settlements of Hereford, Tamworth, Winchcombe, and Worcester, according to the reports of archaeological excavations.

continued to be supported and enhanced,¹⁰⁰ gaining ground more recently thanks to focussed interdisciplinary research linked to archaeological excavations, the significance of which has been the adoption of a more holistic model to explain ninth- and tenth-century activities which had the effect of promoting the development of unified secular, ecclesiastical and political administrations.¹⁰¹ These appeared to operate both from within individual Mercian provinces in respect of their organisation, and also at supra-kingdom level over the extent of the Mercian hegemony.

Our next step, therefore, is to consider this theory in the context of the origins of Herefordshire. In this light we need to keep in mind the two significant matters which formed the shire's pre-eleventh-century organisation: its ecclesiastical structure (as one of the dioceses of English Mercia), and the extent of the territory managed defensively from its *burh*—its hinterland. We have already considered the first and it is now time to consider the second—the province's military infrastructure and the political regime which governed it during the ninth and tenth centuries. A map of the area showing its boundaries *c.* 930 is displayed in Figure 7.10, superimposed on its later shire extent. It is to be noted that the area depicted within the dotted boundary line is virtually that of the diocese of Hereford.

¹⁰⁰ G Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots* (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), 7-68, argued that the 'scir' system was an ancient one, imposed over part of an area for the purposes of royal administration. Its antiquity was to be found in its use of natural features as boundary-markers. P Sawyer, *From Roman Britain to Norman England*, 2nd edition (London: Routledge, 1998), 179-203, linked the demarcation to regional divisions assessed on the basis of manpower to support public defences.

¹⁰¹ See the following: Bassett, 'Administrative Landscape', 147-73; Gelling, *West Midlands*, 140-2; B Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), 84-93, 123-32; R Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1997), 2-13 and 89-125. We have already observed, within Chapter Six, similar arguments in the context of the development and organisation of the Anglo-Saxon hundred-based administration.

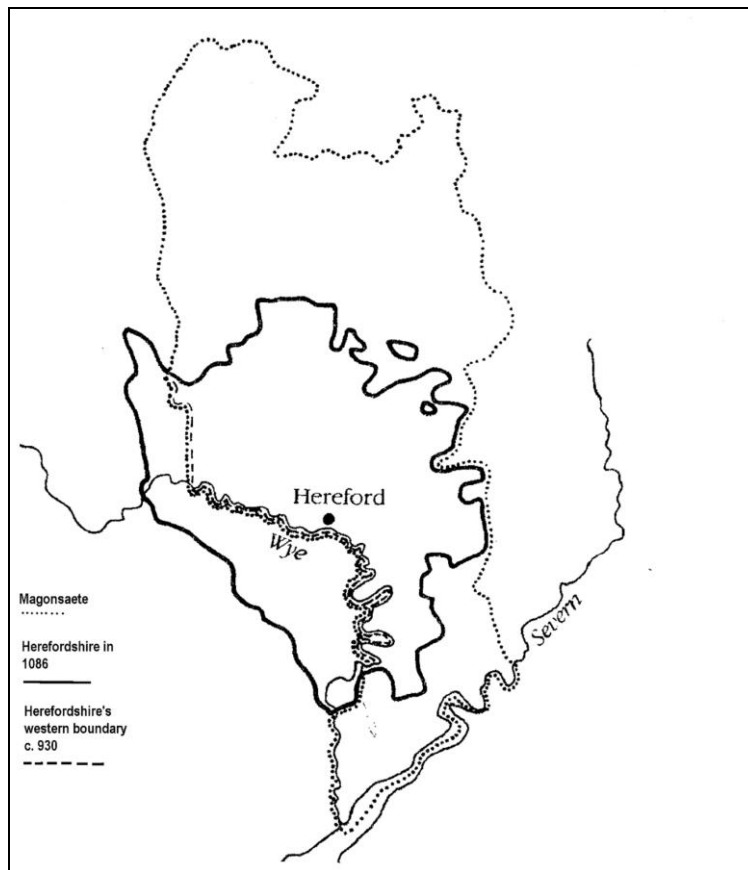


Figure 7.10 A depiction of the territory which subsequently formed Herefordshire, the southern part of Shropshire, and the western portion of Gloucestershire, according to C Lewis, ‘Alecto Introduction’, 6, in A Williams and R Erskine (eds), *The Herefordshire Domesday* (London: Alecto Historical Edition, 1988), hereafter The Alecto Edition.

7.4.1 Formation of the *burh* and its hinterland

Although we have expressed doubts at 7.1 that a *kingdom* of the Magonsaete could have been in existence from the date of the creation of the diocese in the seventh century, nevertheless it is without doubt that the territory west of the Severn and north of the Wye, whether or not it was unified under the rule of a single people, was a large region which extended as far as the Welsh kingdoms of Gwent, Glywysing and Powys and had come within the purview of Mercia from the time of its alliances with Gwynedd.¹⁰² Our view is that it must have been subsumed gradually within the

¹⁰² Part of the territory north of Leominster and into southern Shropshire may have been within the Welsh kingdom of Powys before the battle of Chester, according to Charles-Edwards, ‘Wales and

control of one dominant Anglo-British people by the ninth century, because this is the first time that we find charter evidence that the grip of the Magonsaete had extended to the Frome valley, as well as into Archenfield, and reference is made to their ealdorman.¹⁰³ And it is clear that by the beginning of the ninth century Hereford was both the seat of the diocese and a fortified place.¹⁰⁴ Can we say something about the motivation for its selection as a *burh*?¹⁰⁵

Bassett has re-examined the case for Hereford, along with other fortified places of Mercia, with a view to suggesting a conscious strategy which aimed at ‘... getting full control of what they had already acquired... (so as to devise)... the apparatus of a

Mercia’, 91-3. We have already noted the ways in which that area may have become to Mercia as client-territory during the reign of Penda.

¹⁰³ The activity by which smaller groups became subsumed within the overlordship of larger, more powerful, ones has been considered by many scholars as part of the process of state-formation. We have discussed the recent theories, in the context of kingdom formation, in Chapter Two. However, it is worth stating again, here, that historians now argue for an economic driver, as scarcity of resources in the form of land available for division within extended family groups prompted stronger peoples to operate expansionist policies. See: H Hamerow, ‘The earliest Anglo-Saxon kingdoms’ in P Fouracre (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume I: c. 500-c. 700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 263-90; C Scull, ‘Archaeology, early Anglo-Saxon society and the origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms’, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 6 (1993), 65-82; *idem*, ‘Social archaeology and Anglo-Saxon kingdom origins’, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 10 (1999), 17-24; C Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 303-79, and in particular 313-14 and 325. Kingdom formation, in this context, may be couched in terms of gradual incorporation as a result of providential inter-marriages, as well as conquest. No one model can explain every situation. In the context of the Magonsaete there is no particular evidence for either, although there is considerable agreement that the group was an Anglo-British people, and will have benefitted from inter-marriage as a means of expanding control. The charter evidence is at S1264 (811) and at S1782, which is undated.

¹⁰⁴ For a discussion of the diocese see sections 7.2-7.3, pages 314-41. An excavation of Hereford’s Anglo-Saxon defensive structure was carried out during the 1980s and is analysed at R Shoemith, *Hereford City Excavations. Volume 2: Excavations On and Close to the Defences* (London: Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 46, 1982), hereafter *Hereford Excavations. Volume 2*. With regard to the stages and dating of its defences, Shoemith found there to have been three and dated the earliest to the middle part of the ninth century but acknowledged that their construction might date to the reign of Offa, the latter part of the eighth century. *Ibid.*, 77. But for a potential earlier dating, see below, page 348.

¹⁰⁵ There are three recent studies on this topic, all of which concern Hereford and Herefordshire, among other Mercian fortifications: S Bassett, ‘Divide and rule? The military infrastructure of eighth- and ninth-century Mercia’, *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (2007), hereafter ‘Military Infrastructure’, 53-85; *idem*, ‘The middle and late Anglo-Saxon defences of western Mercian towns’, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 15 (2008), 180-239, hereafter ‘Anglo-Saxon Defences’; *idem*, ‘Fortifications’, 1-23.

state and to make sure that it was put firmly in place.¹⁰⁶ Not only would this strategy have demonstrated force against a potential attack on the province, but it would also have secured the consolidation of control over the areas occupied by discrete peoples within it.¹⁰⁷ In the case of Hereford, we have no explicit evidence that it was a well-established settlement ‘... which had a suite of supra-local roles;’¹⁰⁸ but it may have been a site that was in process of acquiring strategic importance, such that, by the time of its creation as a seat for the diocese of the people west of the Severn, it was the obvious choice. Its fortification ‘...might have been prompted more by the need to subdue and govern the whole area concerned than by a specific wish to defend each settlement’s population from attack, whether by an external enemy or by the region’s own inhabitants.’¹⁰⁹

Moreover, Bassett’s recent re-evaluation of the Hereford excavation data has prompted him to suggest, *inter alia*, a slightly earlier chronology for what Shoemith called ‘the first-stage defences’, which included a rampart overlaid on a boundary bank and ditch.¹¹⁰ Rather than placing their earliest date during the reign of Offa (757- 796) he has argued that their construction may have occurred during the later years of Aethelbald’s reign (716-757). Such a time-scale is consistent with reliable Mercian charter evidence from around 740 onwards, which imposed on landowners

¹⁰⁶ Bassett, ‘Military Infrastructure’, 57.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Bassett, ‘Fortifications’, 3.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹¹⁰ Bassett, ‘Anglo-Saxon Defences’, 182. ‘It is known that Hereford had three main stages of medieval defences. The first comprised a gravel rampart enclosing an apparently rectangular area, the west and north sides of which have been proved archaeologically. The second... made use of the same line to the west and north, but ignored the east side of the first-stage defences so as to enclose a larger area. At both stages the river Wye formed the south side, along which there is no evidence of man-made defences. By and large the third stage followed its immediate predecessor’s west and east sides but ran on beyond them both so as to enclose a substantial northern suburb.’ It is also worth noting here that excavations on the Castle Green in 1960 found evidence of a timber structure dated to the seventh century, possibly earlier on account of cemetery remains which may date from the late in the sixth: Shoemith, *Hereford Excavations. Volume 1*, 56. This site is likely to have been one which became the location of the first Anglo-Saxon minster. See Chapter Three, pages 95-7.

what became known as the ‘threefold obligation’: *burh* work, bridge work and army service—a kind of defence of the realm activity.¹¹¹ In Hereford’s case this infrastructure could have been both internally and externally focussed, particularly if the province still comprised a number of small polities each of which had responsibility for defending its own territory and cooperating with an overall Mercian strategy.¹¹² And it is possible to see how such a strategy designed to muster enough manpower to defend both the strategic site and the extensive hinterland.¹¹³ might also have had the effect of unifying diverse peoples, particularly if a dominant group, like the Magonsaete, were seeking to achieve prominence within the province. Their lands lay closest to the *burh* being in the district of Maund—a fact which may have enabled them to consolidate and expand their territory more easily, as by the ninth century we find the group mentioned in charters further afield.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹For which see: N Brooks, ‘The development of military obligations in eighth- and ninth-century England’ in *idem, Communities and Warfare 700-1400* (London: Hambledon Press, 2000), 32-47.

¹¹²Bassett, ‘Military Infrastructure’, 58, 81-4, describes the process by which internal control could have been exercised. In addition there was renewed Welsh aggression: the Welsh annals record aggressive action from Powys and the recovery of territory *c.* 722, six years into Aethelbald’s reign: Morris (ed.), *Nennius*, 86.

¹¹³ Its location overlooked a fordable point of the Wye, just south of the Roman road which led from the fort at Stretton Grandison to the Roman town of Magnis at Kenchester, and lay at the junction of the road which led north to Bravonium (Leintwardine). It would have been an attractive position from the point of view of communication, trade and defence: an ideal place for a strategic and enclosed fortification. We have also noted the existence of two Iron Age forts within four miles to the north and west: Sutton Walls and Credenhill. D Dudley, ‘Map: The Herefordshire area in the Roman period’ in J Thomas (ed.), *Herefordshire: Its Natural History, Archaeology and History* (Gloucester: British Publishing, 1954), 121.

¹¹⁴ For the location of the Maund district vis-à-vis Hereford see Figure 7.1, above. The *caput* of the royal estate of Marden, alleged to have been Offa’s residence, was located at Sutton, the south ‘*tun*’ of the Maund district and the location of the Iron Age hill fort, Sutton Walls. Gent and Dean have observed that the size of many such hill forts was a direct consequence of the fort’s ability to draw resources from satellite settlements over a wider catchment area and ‘... partially explained by the volume of resources passed up from the surrounding area.’ H Gent and C Dean, ‘Catchment analysis and settlement hierarchy: a case study from pre-Roman Britain’ in E Grant (ed.), *Central Places, Archaeology and History* (Sheffield: University of Sheffield Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, 1986), 27-36, at 35. The study reported on a number of forts of the Welsh border area dated to 600-200 BC; one of these is Credenhill Camp, located some three miles west of Marden. Although not part of their study, by implication other hill forts in the area, such as the one at Sutton Walls, are likely to have had similar characteristics, and satellite settlements may have extended across the Maund district.

Recent place-name studies have shed further light on what may have been another factor in favour of Hereford's designation as a *burh*. Draper's consideration of the multiple meanings of the word¹¹⁵ reveals that, at its most basic, a *burh* was simply a significant enclosure;¹¹⁶ it may have had multiple uses, not solely limited to military fortification, such as designating an important early or middle Anglo-Saxon royal or monastic settlement.¹¹⁷ While it is true that there is no element of *burh* in the name 'Hereford',¹¹⁸ we have already noted the existence of buildings at the Castle Green site dating from early in the seventh century which had, arguably, developed into a major minster complex before the first-stage defences were built. The fortifications were adjacent to the former, albeit outside their perimeter.¹¹⁹ It is possible, therefore, that by the middle decades of the seventh century the Castle Green site was already one of ecclesiastical prominence in the area—certainly one suitable for further inward investment. This may have been the point when its strategic significance in terms of policing Mercian overlordship became more pronounced—the timescale coincided with the period following Penda's alliance with Gwynedd and the possible formation of a Mercian client kingdom within territory which may have comprised sub-kingdoms or polities within Powys, together with the need to consolidate that position.

It is likely that Hereford's strategic significance became recognised as early as the seventh century on the basis of its location, the likely presence of a prominent

¹¹⁵ J Draper, 'The significance of Old English *burh* in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 15 (2008), 240-53.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 249. It may have been ditched, hedged, fenced or even walled and was not necessarily located on higher ground.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 242. Here he is citing the work of John Blair.

¹¹⁸ The meaning of which is agreed as 'army ford': Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 101.

¹¹⁹ The probable use was ecclesiastical, given the cemetery finds.

ecclesiastical site and its proximity to a royal, perhaps Anglo-British, estate. The first intensive development phase—‘the first stage defences’—followed in the eighth century with a double motive of controlling Hereford’s immediate hinterland as well as policing its riverine approaches.

7.4.2 Mercian statecraft in evidence

We have seen that the seventh-century association between the Mercians and Welsh was short-lived, at least as regards Powys. The decline and deterioration of relations began during the reign of Aethelbald and continued with a vengeance under Offa.

The Welsh annals and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* both record a number of incidents: the recovery of lands which had formerly been within the kingdom of Powys in 722, a battle at Hereford in 760, two invasions of Dyfed in 778 and 796/7, an expedition in 784 to an un-named Welsh kingdom, and the defeat of Caradog of Gwynedd in 798.¹²⁰ There had been incursions into Archenfield, the densely-settled Anglo-British district south of the Wye, in 743; it was certainly within easy reach but beyond Hereford’s immediate control.¹²¹

The breakdown was bound to occur and, without a common enemy to unify Mercian and Welsh interests, it seems to have culminated in a cold-war phase with the

¹²⁰ Morris (ed.), *Nennius*, 86-8. Gelling, *West Midlands*, 101-2. G Garmonsway (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London: Dent, 1960), hereafter *ASC*: (A) (C) 722; (E) 743; (A) (C) 760; (A) (C) 778; (A) (C) 784; (A) (C) 796/7 and 798.

¹²¹ *ASC* (E) 743. The campaign was spear-headed by King Aethelbald and it involved the capture of eleven churches. Their return is mentioned in Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*, LL192. Four lay in the area which was subsequently incorporated into the hundred of Stretford (South). These were: Moccas, Eaton Bishop, Bellimoor in Preston-on-Wye, and Madley. Four others were in the Golden Valley: Dorstone, Abbey Dore, Peterchurch or Vowchurch, and Bredwardine. Three were in Archenfield: Llancloudy, Llangarron and Much or Little Dewchurch. One senses, perhaps, something of the activities of a zealot in this king who had been the confidante of St Guthlac, and who was possibly on a mission to rescue the British churches from their errant prelates and place them within the Anglo-Saxon (and Roman) fold.

construction of the linear earthwork known as Offa's Dyke.¹²² Recent studies have reconsidered the available dating evidence as well as the motivation for its construction; it has been demonstrated to have been completed during Offa's reign (757-796) with the purpose of providing a defence along the territorial line with Powys.¹²³ The historical backdrop, far from providing evidence of Offa's skill as a negotiator, appears to indicate what Keynes has called his '... studied contempt for the Welsh: no point in expanding further west, but necessary to prevent them from mounting smash-and-grab raids into English territory and then escaping back across the border with their cattle and crops.'¹²⁴

It is likely, therefore, that by the start of the ninth century, some four years after Offa's death, the north-western boundary of the province was a fortified one as far as the Arrow, stopping just short of the Herefordshire plain and the Anglo-British district known as Lene, considered below.¹²⁵ Fortification was '... an essential feature of the state... (because)... Mercia's organisation... depended on its military response to its borders, particularly its Celtic border, while to the Welsh the extinction of their state was always a threat.'¹²⁶ There are other short stretches of fortifications—of bank and

¹²² Surveyed fully in M Gelling (ed.), *Offa's Dyke Reviewed by Frank Noble*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series (114), 1983, it has recently been described as a sixty-four mile long continuous earthwork which extended from Treuddyn near Mold to Rushock Hill just north of the River Arrow. M Worthington, 'Offa's Dyke' in D Hill and M Worthington (eds), *Aethelbald and Offa: Two Eighth-Century Kings of Mercia*, British Archaeological Reports, British series, 383 (2005), 91-5, hereafter 'Offa's Dyke', at 93

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 93 and 94. 'It was built against the Welsh... Its siting... argues for a military purpose, at least in part.'

¹²⁴ S Keynes, 'The kingdom of the Mercians in the eighth century' in D Hill and M Worthington (eds), *Aethelbald and Offa: Two Eighth-Century Kings of Mercia*, British Archaeological Reports, British series, 383 (2005), 1-26, hereafter 'Kingdom', at 10.

¹²⁵ T Malim, 'The origins and design of linear earthworks in the Welsh Marches', *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, 8 (2007), 13-32, hereafter 'Linear Earthworks', at 16. The area was found to have consisted of a number of short lengths between Rushock Hill and Chepstow, a distance of 95 km.

¹²⁶ Hill, 'Mercians', 173-82, at 178. As with most political solutions, the situation for the locals is often ignored; the demarcation with Powys appears to have left Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-British settlement areas, which were west of the imposed limit, beyond protection; we have provided within Chapters Five and Six analyses of the number of places with a *tun* suffix, indicating both their likely

ditch—long associated with Offa’s Dyke, each of which has been discounted as within its construction by Hill and Worthington.¹²⁷ In Herefordshire they include: a ‘... 2.5 km long “Offa’s” Dyke in Lyonsall...; a 2.5km stretch of “Offa’s” Dyke between Ladylift Clump, Yazor and Garnon’s Hill, Bishopstone; (and) Rowe Ditch which runs for 2 miles as it straddles the River Arrow north-south through the parishes of Pembridge, Staunton and Shobdon.’¹²⁸ Each of these stretches bisects parts of land-units which later became the hundreds of Hazletree, Elsdon and Staple. Malim has suggested that they may have operated as control-points, perhaps for trade or tax collection, to oversee Welsh ingress into the territory; but as the recent study by Hill and Worthington discounts their inclusion within the Dyke *per se*, we can only speculate as to their purpose.¹²⁹ It is possible that the stretches were designed to cater for local issues, and that each stretch was part of the initiative to confirm the extent of a Mercian province in an area where relations with the adjacent Welsh kingdoms of Gwent, Brycheiniog and Eryngy were, at least in the eighth century, relatively peaceful.¹³⁰

7.5 The extent of an eighth-century Mercian province

settlement dates after 730 in the area west of the Dyke, and also their eleventh-century location within the hundreds of Hazletree and Elsdon.

¹²⁷ Malim, ‘Linear Earthworks’, 13-14, 24, citing the theory of Cyril Fox that the dyke was not a continuous line but a series of boundary ditches which may have had sections constructed in a piecemeal fashion by local groups.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 31. This may have been the case for Rowe Ditch, located across the Roman road which runs from Kenchester, but it is difficult to see how it might apply to the stretch running along Garnon’s Hill, for example, a heavily-wooded elevated hillock overlooking the Wye.

¹³⁰ Worthington, ‘Offa’s Dyke’, 93. Gelling, *West Midlands*, 111-12. One has, however, to take account of the raid on Eryngy/Archenfield c. 743 conducted by Aethelbald, as well as Worthington’s comments that the Wye, being easily fordable at many points, may have been regarded as an agreed border but could never have been considered secure. Moreover, Davies queries whether relations with the kingdom of Glywysing were ever cordial. She attributes the Battle of Hereford to its king and not to the king of Powys. W Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), hereafter *Wales*, 113.

We have good grounds to argue, then, that in the eighth century, in respect of its southern and western extent at any rate, the province was delimited and defended, albeit on an intermittent basis—delimited by the Wye and the line of the Dyke and defended from these limits by earthwork and burghal fortification. This action could be construed, as Bassett has suggested, as promoting internal security and strategic administration in a territory which was then comprised disparate peoples, as well as providing defence of a contested boundary.

We have as yet made no mention of the Anglo-British district of Lene, an area whose extent and significance have been determined largely by recourse to an eleventh-century hagiographical record and place-name evidence.¹³¹ Much has been made of this account, one reorganised into quasi-*saga* form: a seventh-century ruler of an unnamed Mercian sub-kingdom, one Merewalh, who founded his own royal line.¹³² By dint of his daughter's activities and her minster at Wenlock, as well as his alleged conversion, he is credited with helping to found the Anglo-Saxon Christian church in the northern extent of the province;¹³³ he appeared to hold sway throughout the Lene district and into southern Shropshire.¹³⁴ However, the account may have no more than the bare bones of historical fact,¹³⁵ and, apart from an endowment of land at

¹³¹The material is credited to the hagiographer Goscelin in 'The Testament of St Mildburg': Finberg, *Early Charters*, 197-216. Rollason, *Mildrith*, 149-50, doubts the identity of the author but accepts that the material was compiled around 1080 by someone with intimate knowledge of the monastery's history prior to its foundation as a Cluniac priory. The place-name evidence is considered in Chapter Five.

¹³² Merewalh allegedly founded Leominster, and his alleged endowments were as far afield as Much Wenlock, *Magana* in the Maund district, *Lydas* (possibly Lyde near Hereford or Upper Lye near Lydbury North) and along the Monnow.

¹³³ Notably the date for this event is shortly after the Synod of Whitby, whose canons the British Church resisted, hence perhaps the need for a rival establishment in an area where a British Church would have been thriving.

¹³⁴ For example: H P R Finberg, 'The Princes of the Magonsaete' in *idem*, *Early Charters*, 217-24.

¹³⁵ There are only two references to be found for Merewalh, one in the 'The Testament of St Mildburg' (*ibid.*, 202) which refers to Mildburg's endowment recorded as having been purchased '*...pecunia emitur a rege qui cognominatur Merwaldus.*' and the other in R R Darlington and P McGurk (eds), *The Chronicles of John of Worcester. Volume II: the Annals from 450 to 1066* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

Magana,¹³⁶ there is nothing to associate Merewalh with the Maund district or the Magonsaete.¹³⁷

What we are left with, then, is the possibility that in the early seventh century another small group of people, perhaps the *Hecani*,¹³⁸ occupied a discrete district north of Hereford which extended west into the Herefordshire plain and east as far as a ridge of high ground, known as the *Heantun* land-unit, between Leominster and Bromyard.¹³⁹ Scholars have speculated that this area may have been a ‘small ancient shire’;¹⁴⁰ it was associated subsequently with Merewalh, who may have been its ruler either as the continuing presence of, or in succession to, the leaders of a British people which had aligned itself with Penda early in the seventh century. Alternately he may have been a Mercian-backed Anglo-British placeman with an eye for glory.

1995), 126, as the brother of King Wulfhere, son of Penda: ‘*Mereuuald, qui in occidentali plaga Mercorium regnum tenuit...*’. The thrust of the story seems to be more akin to the St Guthlac and St Ethelbert histories, discussed in Chapters One and Three, with a purpose, perhaps, of securing a foundation story for the Anglo-Saxon Church, possibly after its diocese was created but before it became located at Hereford.

¹³⁶ As noted above, the grant was recorded within ‘The Testament of St Mildburg’, extracts of which are at S1798.

¹³⁷ In fact, he is styled: ‘Westan-Hecanorum rex’ and ‘rex West-Anglorum’ in twelfth-century sources. Gelling, *West Midlands*, 82-3; Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 41-3.

¹³⁸ Speculation in Finberg, *Early Charters*, 217 n. 1, is that the ‘Gaini’ to whom Asser refers [S Keynes and M Lapidge (eds), *Alfred the Great* (London: Penguin, 1983), 77] may be the same people as the *Hecani*. An Ealdorman Mucel, *dux* of the *Gaini*, appears as recipient of land at Crowle, Worcestershire in S190, dated to 836. If the *Gaini* and the *Hecani* were identical to one another, then the existence of Mucel as ealdorman could provide additional evidence of the existence of a discrete group in the province early in the ninth century—the same time that an ealdorman of the Magonsaete is recorded, *c.* 823. S1782 uses the term *praefectus*, however, and the two designations, signify separate antecedents within Mercia—*dux*, being a tribal leader and *praefectus*, being a royal appointee. S Keynes, ‘Mercia and Wessex in the ninth century’ in M Brown and C Farr (eds), *Mercia An Anglo-Saxon kingdom in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2001), 310-28, hereafter ‘Mercia and Wessex’, at 326.

¹³⁹ This land-unit may have been an area controlled by the Magonsaete: the ecclesiastical evidence indicates a link with Bodenham minster, but the position is equivocal. See Chapter Four, section 4.7, pages 146-53.

¹⁴⁰ Barrow, *Acta VII*, xxvii-iii, and no. 7, 7-8; Gelling, *West Midlands*, 200: ‘Most modern historians would probably consider it likely to have been a pre-English entity...’. Gelling speculates further that the area may have been ‘... taken over by the Mercian-backed rulers of the Magonsaete in the mid-seventh century...’ (*ibid.*) but this is further than we would be prepared to go, if, as some suggest, the kingdom of Merewalh was the *Gaini/Hecani* to which Asser ascribed an ‘Ealdorman Mucel’ in the ninth century.

Of the two remaining districts within the province, one comprises the territory to the east of the Maund district as far as the Malvern ridge and the Severn, and the other the territory between the Wye and Severn. The former was certainly within the province's seventh-century extent since we have seen that the Malvern ridge line was the boundary which separated the two most westerly Mercian provinces and divided the dioceses of Worcester and Hereford;¹⁴¹ but the latter may not have come within the province until the eighth or ninth century, a point which is considered below.¹⁴²

We have spent some time building up the various component parts of an organised province which, by its eighth-century-controlled and ninth-century-defended extent,¹⁴³ was arguably the footprint of an embryonic shire.¹⁴⁴ And there may have been two ealdorman,¹⁴⁵ one an indigenous leader and the other a royal appointee, administering two of its discrete districts.¹⁴⁶ The region remained largely intact over

¹⁴¹ Hooke, *Hwicce*, 12. It is also possible that part of the Doddingtree Hundred of Worcestershire lay in Herefordshire before the eleventh century: the manors of Berrington, Bockleton, Kyre and Tenbury, according to Thorn and Thorn (eds), *DB Worcestershire*, Appendix 1. However, the rationale, apart from one based on geography and diocesan extent, is on the hidage count of twenty for these manors, which is alleged to be the amount of Doddingtree's 'excess' number of hides over 100, and it lacks any further land-unit analysis, for example on the basis of an underlying Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical district.

¹⁴² We discussed the reasons why it may have remained within British control at 7.1-7.3, and we intend to consider it further in our discussion of the British kingdom of Archenfield/Ergyng below and in Chapter Eight.

¹⁴³ The territory which lay behind the province may have been part of an un-named sub-kingdom of Powys, which Hill's image seems to imply. Hill, 'Mercians', 179, Map 8. However, scholars like Davies and Charles-Edwards are silent on the point, at least in respect of the area south of Leominster. As a region, it was sandwiched between the sub-Roman district centred on Wroxeter—possibly the sub-kingdom of Pengwern—and the kingdom of Ergyng, and so it is likely to have had a secular British organisation.

¹⁴⁴ 'The significant question is whether ... (Mercia)... was divided, in the ninth century, into territorial divisions approximating to shires, each placed by the king under an ealdorman, and whether there is any sign of formally constituted sub-divisions set up for administrative, judicial, financial, military and social purposes.' Keynes, 'Mercia and Wessex', 323.

¹⁴⁵ As noted above, S1782: Nothheard of the Magonsaete; S190: Mucel of the *Gaini* (?*Hecani*). Keynes's view is that these men were '...more likely to have been rulers of their own peoples, who acknowledged the authority of the Mercian king, than persons appointed by the king to hold a particular office in a particular part of his kingdom.' *Ibid.*, 322. However, we may see in Nothheard's designation as *praefectus* that the Magonsaete were, by the ninth century, in the ascendancy, with perhaps a closer connection to the Mercian royal household.

¹⁴⁶ There are two others found in charter material: one an ealdorman (*dux*), Aelfstan, who received a royal grant of land c. 840, part of the *Frome* land-unit. His territory is unknown and his role cannot be

the ensuing three hundred years, subject to its later expansion south and west of the Wye, and some partial boundary reorganisations carried out either at the point of Mercia's shiring or early in the eleventh century. The upheaval of the ninth century which saw both the internal collapse of the Mercian polity after the death of Offa's ultimate successor, Coenwulf,¹⁴⁷ and also Viking onslaught and continued skirmishes with the Welsh,¹⁴⁸ clearly concentrated energies on defensive initiatives.¹⁴⁹

As a result of the Mercian kingdom's subjection to and subsequent alliance with the West Saxons, a number of western Mercian settlements came within a kind of defensive development-plan closely mirroring that promoted by Alfred.¹⁵⁰ Hereford was one of those *burhs* selected for re-fortification, and the revised dating evidence suggests that its renewal may have been before c. 893¹⁵¹—earlier than that for many other western Mercian settlements. By this stage the area which Hereford was responsible for defending may have been reduced considerably by the renewal or establishment of other Mercian *burhs*, in particular that at Shrewsbury. In the absence of evidence there can only be speculation that, as a major royal and ecclesiastical centre, Shrewsbury had been defended from the middle Anglo-Saxon period; this

identified from the charter material S1270. Another ealdorman (*dux*) has been identified by Croom, 'Shropshire', 187. The charter, S209 c. 862 x 870, is attested by Bishop Deorlaf of Hereford and, if the signatures of the ealdormen are in the same order, one Eadred who may have been Nothheard's successor, or *dux* of another people. He is cited by www.pase.ac.uk as a Mercian *dux*.

¹⁴⁷ '...as successive kings proved incapable of controlling the faction which broke out in high places, leading... to Ecgberht's conquest... in 829.' Keynes, 'Kingdom', 18.

¹⁴⁸ For which see Davies, *Wales*, 112-14.

¹⁴⁹ By the end of the ninth century a second stage defensive structure, a turf and clay rampart, may have been in place at Hereford. Bassett, 'Anglo-Saxon Defences', 186-7. Historians have argued that these defences were contemporaneous with those of Alfred in Wessex.

¹⁵⁰ The defended settlements in the kingdom of Wessex are known from the Burghal Hidage.

¹⁵¹ Hereford's work appears to have been in place by 893 as chronicle entries record a summons of the king's thegns from, *inter alia*, every fortified place west of the Severn. Bassett, 'Fortifications', 11 and n. 30, concludes that '... if there was already at least one *burh* west of the Severn in 893, it was at Hereford.' Within that clutch of early (re)fortified places he includes Gloucester, Winchcombe, for which there is archaeological evidence, Worcester, for which there is charter and archaeological evidence, and Shrewsbury, for which evidence is only circumstantial. *Ibid.*, 11-12.

occurrence would have changed how the territory of the province was understood and would have made Hereford's hinterland more manageable in its extent.¹⁵² It is probable that by the beginning of the tenth century, when the impetus for military infrastructure was at its peak, the provincial territorial footprint was being reshaped out of political necessity, thus creating a northern secular boundary less extensive than that of the diocese and one that was to become the demarcation line between the two shires of Hereford and Shrewsbury.¹⁵³ As regards the Welsh, a twelfth-century source records an agreement which King Athelstan concluded, one which allegedly fixed the English boundary at the River Wye.¹⁵⁴

The ninth-century province may not have been a unified secular whole in the sense that one dominant group had the status of local overlord at the point of West Saxon supremacy; and it may have remained an area of disparate tribal groups until the tenth.¹⁵⁵ Except by analogy with the neighbouring province of the Hwicce, for which there exists copious source material, it is difficult to pinpoint a time when the ascendancy of the Magonsaete was finally accomplished. From the three extant

¹⁵² *Ibid.* See also: S Bassett, 'Anglo-Saxon Shrewsbury and its churches', *Midland History*, 16 (1991), 1-23, at 16-19, suggesting a middle Anglo-Saxon defensive period similar to Hereford's and, at Figure 2, a hinterland for Shrewsbury extending south of the Severn into the diocese of Hereford. Stenton, 'Herefordshire', 198-9, saw this in the context of the tenth-century burghal fortification and the shiring of Mercia.

¹⁵³ There is no evidence to suggest a date when the two boundaries—secular and ecclesiastical—became disjunctive, but it is most likely to have been something organised around the burghal fortifications of the late ninth and early tenth centuries as the organisation of manpower to sustain them was drawn from the nearby countryside.

¹⁵⁴ Davies, *Wales*, 114. W Stubbs (ed.), *De Gestis Regum Anglorum. Volume I* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1887), 148. The early tenth century saw submission of the Welsh kingdoms of Brycheiniog, Gwynedd and Gwent. The alleged agreement, quoted by William of Malmesbury, included an annual payment of tribute, perhaps partially reflected in the Archenfield renders of 1066 and 1086. Scholars generally agree that Athelstan's meeting occurred during his fifteen year reign, which commenced in 924; however, it is hard to square the fixing of this boundary with later Domesday Book references, which reveal an area south of the Wye within the hundred scheme for the shire, whose ecclesiastical and place-name evidence suggests incorporation earlier than the tenth century.

¹⁵⁵ Rather as Keynes has described Mercia at the same time as '... an agglomeration of different peoples, each with its own leader, or "ealdorman"'. S Keynes, 'England, 700-900' in R McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume 2, c. 700-c. 900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 18-42, at 38.

charters, the last, dated to 956,¹⁵⁶ may complete the picture, since it appears that by the tenth century the group with its heartland closest to the *burh* was plainly dominant, with territory extending into the Lene district.¹⁵⁷ The explanation for the subsequent transformation from a Mercian province into a shire seems to have been rooted, firstly, in the eighth-century Mercian drive for a military solution to defend and control its diverse peoples; secondly, in Hereford's location as both episcopal see and late ninth-century re-fortified *burh*; and, thirdly, after it had come within the orbit of Wessex, a kingdom with '... a more structured form of political order with a stronger base, a different agenda, and what the prescient might see as a brighter future.'¹⁵⁸

7.6 An embryonic Herefordshire

As is a characteristic feature of an emergent late ninth-century political order, we find the emphasis changing from petty border squabbles to strategic alliances, first in the context of the protection which Alfred afforded to the southern kingdoms of Wales,¹⁵⁹ followed by the desire to promote a regime where the reality of concordat could be shown to deliver benefits all round. We see this in two dimensions. The first is

Aethelstan's sustained courting of important Welshmen, men who were continually

¹⁵⁶ S677. The grant is by the king to his *minister* or thegn, a title which may suggest that, under West Saxon influence, an administrative class was being developed which included '... a hierarchy of lesser officials, some of whom may have held office in the royal household.' Keynes, 'Mercia and Wessex', 326. Staunton-on-Arrow was plainly an important place, as a landholding in Hereford is recorded as being annexed to it. Stenton, 'Herefordshire', 198, n. 3.

¹⁵⁷ It had spread into the Arrow valley, the grant being of land at Staunton-on-Arrow. However, there were certainly other tenth-century peoples whose identities had not been obliterated: the *Stepelset* and *Dunsaete*. See Lewis, 'Welsh Territories', 130. For a discussion of the *Dunsaete*, see below, pages 360-4.

¹⁵⁸ S Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians' in M Blackburn and D Dumville (eds), *Kings, Currency and Alliances* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), 1-46, at 6. Coins were struck at Hereford during Aethelstan's reign, a sign that it may have been a place to which '... new settlers were being encouraged to move.' E James, *Britain in the First Millennium* (London: Hodder, 2001), hereafter *Britain*, 242-3.

¹⁵⁹ Charles-Edwards, 'Wales and Mercia', 89-105.

involved in matters of the English state as royal attaches as well as *subreguli* of their own peoples.¹⁶⁰ Secondly, there is evidence of a clear intention to regulate and preserve legitimate boundaries, seen in the content of an eleventh-century manuscript believed to be of tenth-century origin, *The Ordinance Concerning the Dunsæte*.¹⁶¹ Both are particularly relevant to the developing shire's tenth-century government and administration. They may, in fact, have a contextual or causal link to one another.

Fordham's recent study of the *Dunsæte* treaty¹⁶² places that document within the context of other Wessex-inspired initiatives and, possibly, within the auspices of Athelstan's statecraft.¹⁶³ He notes the similarity between the treaty and other law codes devised during the reigns of Edward the Elder and Athelstan,¹⁶⁴ and considers it akin to Athelstan's work on boundary agreements, both with the Welsh at the Wye and with the Cornish at the Tamar.¹⁶⁵ There is further support by reference to the law code VI Aethelstan, one which, like the *Dunsæte* treaty, makes provision for a kind of out-of-district posse to pursue wrongdoers and secure cooperative justice.¹⁶⁶ The agreement seems designed to apply to an area where the river, which everyone acknowledges to have been the Wye, was the boundary over which the crossings and

¹⁶⁰ See H Loyn, 'Wales and England in the tenth century: the context of the Athelstan charters', *Welsh History Review*, 10 (1980-81), 283-301.

¹⁶¹ A translation appears in Gelling (ed.), *Offa's Dyke*, 105-9.

¹⁶² M Fordman, 'Peacekeeping and order on the Anglo-Welsh frontier in the early tenth century', *Midland History*, 32 (2007), 1-18, hereafter 'Peacekeeping'. Molyneux's recent article argues for an even later date of the late tenth to early eleventh century, but our assessment, within the context of this study, favours Fordman's interpretation. See: G Molyneux, 'The *Ordinance concerning the Dunsæte* and the Anglo-Welsh frontier in the late tenth and eleventh centuries', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 40 (December 2011), 249-72.

¹⁶³ His aim is to return the text to 'a tenth-century setting' and argue against the conclusions of Frank Noble and Margaret Gelling that the document was of eighth-century origin and associated with the construction of Offa's Dyke. See Gelling, *West Midlands*, 114-18. Her support of Noble's case came largely as a result of her views about the place-name evidence: if the *Dunsæte* were a people whose name originated in the eighth century, then their regulation must have dated from the same period.

¹⁶⁴ Fordman, 'Peacekeeping', 5.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, here quoting William of Malmesbury.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 8, here quoting VI Aethelstan 8.1, 8.3 and 8.4. Fordman describes Athelstan as 'obsessed with theft, particularly cattle-rustling...'. *Ibid.*, 9.

pursuits were organised. That the *Dunsaete* occupied a territory on either side of its banks seems clear, and they may very well have been predominantly of British extraction.¹⁶⁷ From the point of view of the English, the preservation of the rights of those who lived on the English side of the river would seem necessary, particularly at a time when an organised state was developing a centralised administration of local affairs. In this light, the boundaries may be seen as separating districts which had separate governance arrangements, as opposed to marking out personal territory or tribal ownership, where ‘... priority is given to territorial jurisdiction, establishing boundaries between peoples... and (specifying) conditions under which trade and/or contact could have taken place.’¹⁶⁸ In particular, the *Dunsaete* arrangement may have been possible as a direct result of an existing relationship between the English king and Welsh princes, one which benefitted both sides.¹⁶⁹

Finally, the question of locating this tenth-century people may be significant for our study. A number of suggestions have been made: within the area of the hundred of Dinedor,¹⁷⁰ within the area south of the Golden Valley, adjacent to Monmouth,¹⁷¹ and in the area of southern Archenfield extending into the Forest of Dean.¹⁷²

Notwithstanding Gelling’s arguments about an eighth-century date for the treaty, identifying the location of the *Dunsaete* is not contingent upon linking the group with the construction of Offa’s Dyke; moreover, the views of other historians, notably

¹⁶⁷ Lewis, ‘Welsh Territories’, 142.

¹⁶⁸ R Lavelle, *Alfred’s Wars: Sources and Interpretations of Anglo-Saxon Warfare in the Viking Age* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 326. Lavelle places the treaty within the context of another of around the same time, the Alfred-Guthrum Treaty, which provided an agreement on territorial jurisdiction between the Danes of East Anglia and the Anglo-Saxons in Mercia.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 15-16.

¹⁷⁰ Lewis, ‘Alecto Introduction’, 7. Lewis, ‘Welsh Territories’, 140. The problem with this argument is that there is no evidence that Gwent ever extended as far north and east as the area immediately to the south of Hereford, and so it is unlikely that the *Wentsaete* would have been settled in this part of Eryng.

¹⁷¹ Gelling (ed.), *Offa’s Dyke*, 400. This was the view of Frank Noble.

¹⁷² Gelling, *West Midlands*, 116-17.

Noble and Lewis, remain speculative and based primarily on identifying the probable location of the *Wentsaete*, described variously as the ‘people of Gwent’ or ‘the people whose territory adjoins Gwent’.¹⁷³

The physical characteristics of the lower Wye valley certainly fit the geography implied by the treaty, particularly if the evidence of the Gloucestershire folios of Domesday Book is considered.¹⁷⁴ Gelling wrote: ‘It makes sense to locate the Dunsæte on either side of the Wye, and to regard them as the people of an earlier kingdom of Ergyng which extended to the Leadon and Severn and which had received dense English settlement in its eastern part... and to consider how and when this kingdom passed from Welsh to English rule and why the name Dunsæte was applied to its inhabitants.’¹⁷⁵

We have already argued that the area, shown in Figure 7.11, had never been within the territory of the Magonsæte. As a discrete sub-kingdom within Ergyng, it may have occupied a district south of the former Roman settlement at Ariconium, historically an area of iron and limestone mining and rich in mineral resources. The district’s western extent, excluding that of the later Royal Forest, could be described as a down-land with rolling hills and high pastures along the banks of the Wye where the river is both narrow and relatively shallow after its confluence with the Monnow at Monmouth, facts which may have made it ideal territory for smuggling and cattle

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 118.

¹⁷⁴ The territory of the lower Wye valley on the eastern bank was within Herefordshire before 1016, but the western bank fell within Welsh territory controlled by Anglo-Saxons and was included within the returns for Gloucestershire in 1086. The hundred known as *Gwent Is Coed*/Caldicot was a Welsh administrative district and its Anglo-Saxon links may be dated from the alliances with Alfred of Wessex in the late ninth century. Thorn and Thorn (eds), *DB Gloucestershire*, W2 and note.

¹⁷⁵ Gelling, *West Midlands*, 114. She argued that the root was based on the OE ‘*dun*’ meaning ‘down’, or rolling hilly countryside. The people would have been described as the ‘dwellers of the downland’.

rustling. In Welsh sources it was known variously as ‘The Red Cantref’ or ‘Red Gwent’, a probable reference to the preponderance of Old Red Sandstone outcrops and red marl, and an indication that it may have been considered to have had connections with Gwent from British times, possibly within an enlarged Lower Gwent under one ruler before Ergyng became more powerful in sixth century.¹⁷⁶

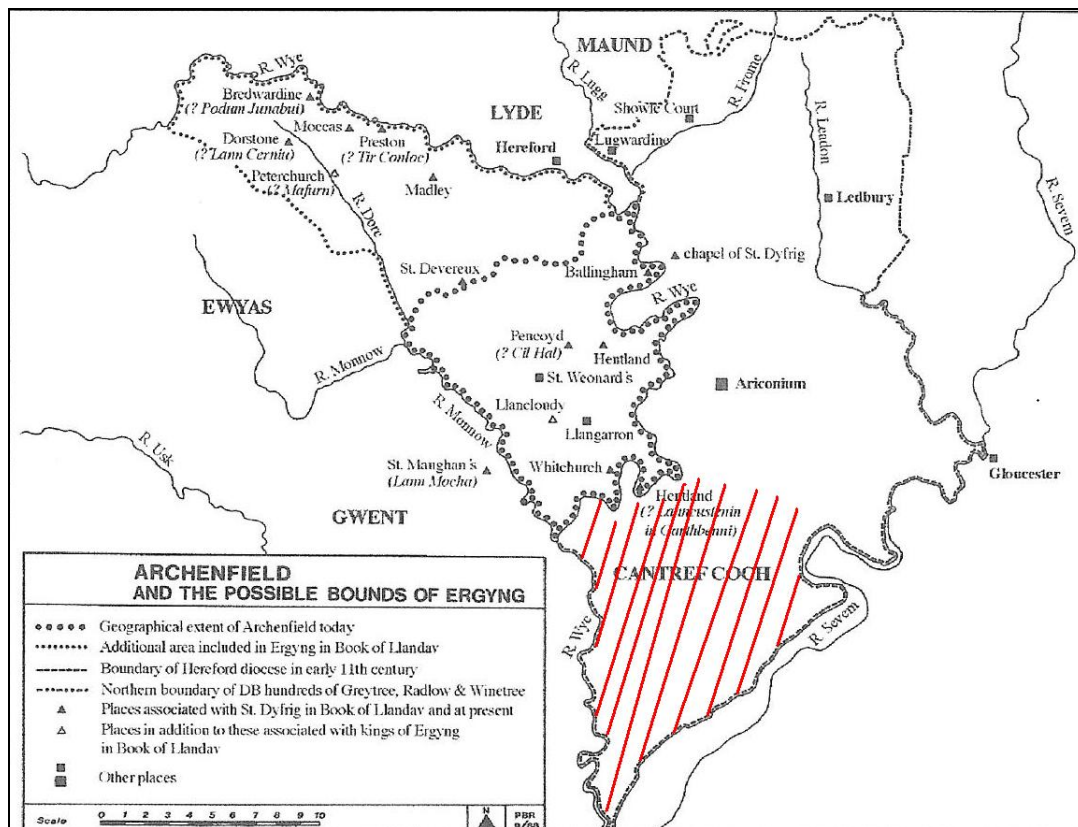


Figure 7.11 Coplestone-Crow’s depiction of the extent of Ergyng in the sixth and seventh centuries, extending from the eastern banks of the Wye, Monnow and Dore across to the western bank of the Severn. The territory of *Dunsaete* may have been within the district ‘Cantref Coch’, shown hatched red. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 3, with additions.

If the group is correctly located, can we now identify when the territory of the ‘down-land folk’ passed from Welsh to English rule? It is certainly possible that a seventh-

¹⁷⁶ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 4; *Iolo*, 514: ‘Red Gwent in *Denau*’ (little valley). Smith, *Gloucestershire Place-Names*, 209-10. An addendum at xiii provides the following Welsh forms for the area: *Llwyn Danet*, *Fforest y Ddena*, and *Cantref Coch yn y Ddena hyd Gaer Loyw* (‘the Red Hundred in the Forest of Dean as far as Gloucester’). The area of northern Gwent which bordered Ergyng was Gwent Uwch Coed (Higher Gwent), and the area of the southern Wye valley which included the Forest of Dean was known as Gwent Is Coed (Lower Gwent). Davies, *Wales*, 93. Ergyng extended from its borders with Higher Gwent across what is now south Herefordshire and as far as the Severn.

century Anglo-Saxon expansion westwards from Gloucester may have occurred more easily within this discrete area, stopping at the eastern bank of the Wye at its boundary with Gwent. By the ninth century, when ecclesiastical grants were being made, it had come within Mercian administration possibly, having a population predominantly British or of the usual Anglo-British mix found in the western provinces, where the *saete* suffix denoted occupants of a medium-sized territory over which there were particular administrative arrangements.¹⁷⁷ Seen in this light, we have a context for the incorporation of eastern Eryng, which some believe occurred as early as the late eighth century while others argue that it was the tenth.¹⁷⁸

If the area shown hatched in Figure 7.11 had been part of Eryng in the sixth century, which seems highly likely, its gradual acculturation from the late seventh or early eighth century may have been sufficient to give the Mercians control over the most valuable of Eryng's physical features—its mineral resources and access to two of its waterways, with total control over one of them. Both would have been key to guaranteeing a position of logistical superiority. And once this 'beachhead' had been secured there would have been no need to take a further step west of the Wye or into Gwent, unless of course it was to defend the Holy Roman Church from the heretical British.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ Lewis, 'Welsh Territories', 141; Gelling, *West Midlands*, 118-19. The renders may have been the reason why the payments at Linton, *DB Herefordshire*, 1.1, were of the Welsh variety.

¹⁷⁸ Those who consider it to be eighth-century are Gelling and Davies; those who think it tenth-century include Sims-Williams. The evidence relies less on secular acts of asserting political control and more on ecclesiastical dominance.

¹⁷⁹ As considered above.

7.7 A tenth-century shire

It seems that the evidence for Herefordshire points to a *de facto* tenth-century shiring, or at the very least to the creation of a new name in the eleventh century for an existing institution which had been operating as an integrated Mercian province since late in the ninth.¹⁸⁰ Its *burh* was a diocesan see; and the existence of eighth-century fortifications demonstrates a conscious attempt to incorporate a hinterland whose inhabitants had common responsibility for its security.¹⁸¹ The final of the ‘shire’ functions to be added included its designation as a royal mint as well as the provision of arrangements for the administration of justice. Both were in place during the first half of the tenth century.¹⁸² That this sort of administrative activity was in the ascendancy during then rather than during the century’s last decades, can also be seen from the conscious desire to promote borderland security observed in the *Dunsaete* treaty.¹⁸³

Our final task, then, is to consider the shire’s organisation in the eleventh century, when it first appears ‘on the record’.¹⁸⁴ We have noted that, as with the diocese, the

¹⁸⁰ The first time it is used in respect of Mercian shires is during the period 996-1016 and in connection with headings for groups of charters within the Worcester Cartulary, where the term ‘belonging to’ certain towns has been glossed over, in the cases of Winchcombe, Oxford and Gloucester, with the suffix ‘-shire’. J Wybra, *A Lost English County: Winchcombeshire in the tenth and eleventh centuries* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1990), hereafter *Winchcombeshire*, 16, quoting Hemingus, *Chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis E Codice MS. penes Richardum Groves de Mickelton in Argo Gloucestriensi*, ed. T Hearnus. Two volumes (Oxford: Sheldonian, 1723), I, hereafter *Heming’s Cartulary*.

¹⁸¹ Although it is first mentioned as a *burh* in 914: ASC (D).

¹⁸² Stenton, ‘Herefordshire’, 198. Hereford had a mint during the reign of Aethelstan (927- 939), and the provisions of the Hundred Ordinance are dated to 939 x 961: D Whitelock (ed.), ‘The Hundred Ordinance’ in *English Historical Documents. Volume I* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1955), 393-4. However, Although as noted in Chapter Six these functions were already being discharged at local level in different parts of England.

¹⁸³ Ann Williams has observed that the province of the Hwicce had similar shire characteristics from the early tenth century, and there is the additional evidence of the Burghal Hidage which allotted 1200 hides to Worcester c. 915. A Williams, ‘An introduction to the Worcestershire Domesday’ in A Williams and R Erskine (eds), *The Worcestershire Domesday* (London: Alecto Historical Edition, 1988), 1-31, at 10-11.

¹⁸⁴ 1016 x 1035. Stenton, ‘Herefordshire’, 198 n. 4; S1462. It is the record of a decision taken at a shire moot held in Aylstone Hill near Hereford concerning land at Wellington and Brillley.

tenth-century shire extended beyond the Wye as far as the Severn. The context for the loss of some seven hundreds in the lower Severn valley appears to have been the need for the creation of an enlarged Gloucestershire, perhaps as a suitably-sized powerbase for Cnut's place-man, Ealdorman Eilaf,¹⁸⁵ or perhaps to allow the reviled Eadric Streona full rein to join '... townships to townships and shires to shires at his will; he even amalgamated the hitherto independent county of Winchcombe with the county of Gloucester.'¹⁸⁶ This activity had implications still being felt in Herefordshire some seventy years later, as the record for the manor of Kingstone reveals.¹⁸⁷ Eadric's reorganisation may likewise have extended to manors of the church in Worcester. A number, including Mathon and Acton Beauchamp (both of which may have been within Herefordshire in the tenth century), were gerrymandered into Worcestershire, indicating a *raison d'être* of including all manors held by the cathedral and the houses of Pershore and Evesham within the shire.¹⁸⁸

At this stage in shire development Eadric's actions may testify to no more than an increasing respect for tenurial relationships, rather than any disregard for tribal or provincial integrity.¹⁸⁹ The consequence of this early eleventh-century activity left the shire with the extent recorded in 1086, the limit of our investigation.

¹⁸⁵ Wybra, *Winchcombeshire*, 123. For a blow-by-blow account of the rise and fall of Eadric Streona see *ibid.*, 114-25.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 6. *Heming's Cartulary*, I, 280.

¹⁸⁷ Kingstone at *DB Herefordshire*, 3.1, lay in the Bromsash Hundred and the entry states that the monks of St Mary's, Cormeilles, '... pay tax and do service in Gloucestershire, but the men who live there come to pleas in this Hundred to give and receive right.' The manor had formerly been part of the composite royal manor of Westbury-on-Severn: *DB Gloucestershire*, 1.11, becoming detached from it before 1066.

¹⁸⁸ In addition there were some transfers of manors from the church of Worcester to the church of Hereford c. 1016 by Earl Ranig of Herefordshire, perhaps to compensate Hereford for losses. The manors concerned were those of Avenbury, Pencombe, Little Cowarne, Ocle Pychard, Upleadon (Gloucs.) and Rochford. *Heming's Cartulary*, II, 583. *DB Herefordshire*, 10.5 note.

¹⁸⁹ E James, *Britain*, 243. 'In western Mercia the shire division seems to cut across earlier divisions: this may have been deliberate policy, in a West Saxon bid to replace any earlier Mercian institutions around which Mercian opposition to West Saxon rule might coalesce.' We cannot see this in the context of Herefordshire, as the largest territory removed, probably during the tenth century, was the

7.7.1 Tenth-century assessments and the County Hidage

However, before leaving this topic we need to consider the enigmatic document known as the County Hidage so as to determine if our investigations can shed any light on its chronology. Many have argued that its figures represent early tenth-century assessments, and the evidence presented here provides additional support to that case and to the probable tenth-century organisation of the province from the standpoint of its taxation assessment.¹⁹⁰ Although its provenance has been debated, scholars argue that it could only represent a record of the state of play following Eadric Streona's compact with Cnut and the abolition of Winchcombeshire, because that shire is not listed within it. However, Austin regarded the documents as being of much later vintage, with an original dated to the reign of Henry I; he argued that the assessments could only have been twelfth-century ones.¹⁹¹ Following from this, Lewis¹⁹² developed the argument that Herefordshire's tax liability had been, at its

southern portion of Shropshire which could not have been organised around a defensive infrastructure located at Hereford and more naturally fell within Shrewsbury's hinterland. And, as noted above, apart from the transfer of the seven hundreds to Gloucestershire by Eadric, the smaller boundary changes were clearly made on the basis of tenurial links.

¹⁹⁰ Maitland, *Domesday Book*, 525, who invented the term for a medieval document which survives in four undated manuscripts ascribed to the mid-twelfth, early thirteenth and late thirteenth centuries, which he lists as: Cotton, Claudius, B vii f. 204b CH 'C'; Cotton, Vespasian, A viii f. 112b CH 'B'; 'a Croyland MS' CH 'D' and 'MS. Jes. Coll. Ox.' CH 'A'. David Austin, in an unpublished thesis submitted to Durham University in 1971 and later expounded upon at a conference in 1989, listed the documents in the following chronological order: Jesus E f. 149r-f. 195r CH 'A', Cotton Vespasian A XVIII f. 112v-f. 113r CH 'B', Cotton Claudius B VII f. 207r-207v CH 'C' and Thomas Gale, *Historiae Britannicae, Saxonicae, Anglo-Danicae, Scriptores*, XV, 748 CH 'D'. We have not been able to acquire a copy of Austin's thesis, but we have seen notes of the Manchester University conference held in October 1989 as well as the diagrams which were distributed by Austin during his session. (Steven Bassett, pers. comm., and conference handout.) We are following Austin's referencing system for the manuscripts. Austin suggested that the earliest manuscript, CH 'A', could be dated to the middle of the twelfth century, and that a lost original for the whole dated from the reign of Henry I (1100-1135). He did acknowledge, however, that there could have been a tenth-century exemplar which contained the information, but the lists which appeared subsequently could have been formulated only after 1017 and Winchcombeshire's abolition.

¹⁹¹ For which see the previous note.

¹⁹² Lewis, 'Alecto Introduction', 7; C Lewis, 'English and Norman Government and Lordship in the Welsh Borders 1039-1087' (Oxford University, unpublished DPhil thesis, 1985), hereafter 'English and Norman Government', 41-3.

earliest assessment, one of 1200 hides,¹⁹³ and that the assessment of 1500 hides found in three manuscripts of the County Hidage was a later one. This, he argued, was as a result of the incorporation of additional areas in the eleventh century—the hundreds of Stretford South and Dinedor and the area known as the Golden Valley.

We have already noted in Chapter Six that our tabulation of hides for the shire, based on the 1086 return, gave a total of 1198.375; this total included the hides allocated to all the hundreds and districts which were hidated, i.e. including those which Lewis excluded beyond the Wye as being a later addition. It is some 125.625 hides shorter than Maitland's total of 1324, which was used by Lewis as his benchmark. This use, no doubt, was the reason why he believed that a later addition of the two hundreds of Dinedor and Stretford South and the area of the Golden Valley (which he argued had occurred early in the eleventh century) would have brought the shire's total to 1500 in the post-Conquest period.¹⁹⁴

However, what is striking, and appears not to have been considered by Lewis, is the effect that the removal of the seven hundreds of Westbury, Lydney, Tidenham, Twyford, Bledisloe, Langridge and Botloe would have had on Herefordshire's assessment.¹⁹⁵ According to our calculations, when these hundreds were transferred to Gloucestershire in around 1017, it reduced Herefordshire's liability, calculated on

¹⁹³ Of the four versions of the County Hidage, two allocate 1500 hides to the shire, one allocates 1200 and one allocates 1005, although according to Wybra this latter total was a scribal error and should have been 1500. Wybra, *Winchcombeshire*, 7.

¹⁹⁴ Despite the fact that these areas only accounted for c. 150 hides. See Chapter Six, page 240, nn.43 and 44.

¹⁹⁵ Although Lewis, 'English and Norman Government', 46, does consider the effect which the abolition of Winchcombeshire may have had on the totals for Gloucestershire: the totals for CH 'A' being some 1000 hides greater than the others, which he believed reflected the eleventh-century arrangements 'more accurately'.

the basis of what lay in Gloucestershire in 1086, by just over two hundred hides.¹⁹⁶ (Of course this figure could have been higher, since the majority of the estates in the seven hundreds were held by the church and crown and might in some cases have been beneficially assessed, but it is unlikely to have been lower.) This means that before 1017 the shire may have been rated at 1400 hides which were unevenly spread across twenty-three hundreds; 1400 is by no means the same as the total of 1500 hides recorded in three of the manuscripts—CH ‘B’, CH ‘C’ and CH ‘D’—but it is some way closer to that sum than 1200. The removal of two hundred hides in 1017 appears to have resulted in the 1086 total of 1200 which may be that recorded in the remaining manuscript, CH ‘A’. It may be possible, then, to argue that three of the manuscripts represented the position before 1017, and that a tenth-century exemplar, acknowledged by Austin to have been in existence, was actually the basis for CH ‘B’, CH ‘C’ and CH ‘D’, and not the basis for the one that he considered to have been the earliest version, CH ‘A’.¹⁹⁷

In Herefordshire’s case there is another reason why the higher assessment of 1500 hides could not have been a post-Conquest one. The document known as the *Herefordshire Domesday*,¹⁹⁸ apparently compiled at the Exchequer around 1160, tabulates the assessment for the shire from two standpoints: from the list of hides attributed to the church and the lay estate holders¹⁹⁹ and from the assessments applied

¹⁹⁶ The totals, expressed here in numerals for ease of reconciliation, are as follows: Westbury (28.125), Lydney (32.5), Tidenham (30), Twyford (9.375), Bledisloe (27.675), Langridge (12) and Botloe (61.75). Total: 201.425. Our totals compare favourably with those of Wybra, *Winchcombe*, 84-5, but we disagree with him on the number of hides at Twyford, which he sets at 5.875.

¹⁹⁷ Lewis, ‘English and Norman Government’, 44, quoting Austin. It is worth noting here that Hill, *Anglo-Saxon Atlas*, 99, wrote: ‘On balance it may represent a tradition of early assessments’.

¹⁹⁸ V Galbraith and J Tait (eds), *Herefordshire Domesday, c. 1160-1170* (London: Pipe Roll Society, J W Ruddock, 1950) hereafter *Herefordshire Domesday*, 5-23 and 77.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 77.

to the land in *Terra Regis*.²⁰⁰ Of the former there was a total of 912.25 hides and of the latter a total of 285.875 hides. The grand total for the shire in 1160 was 1198.125 hides—once again a figure almost exactly that of the 1086 assessment—only one virgate’s difference between the two. We think it highly unlikely, therefore, that a document drawn up by the Exchequer for its use in the middle of the twelfth century, clearly relying on the 1086 return, could have produced figures so much at variance with an actual position.²⁰¹ We conclude, therefore, that the County Hidage figures for Herefordshire, in the three manuscripts which record 1500 hides, are more likely to reveal an earlier position, one arguably of tenth-century assessment prior to the creation of an enlarged Gloucestershire.²⁰² Contrary to Lewis’s argument, no more hides were added to the shire’s total between 1086 and 1160, and so its assessment in hides remained the same well into the post-Conquest period. Our final task, now, is to compare the secular and ecclesiastical organisation of Herefordshire in 1086.

7.8 A comparison of Herefordshire’s secular and ecclesiastical land-units

7.8.1 The diocese of Hereford compared to its secular counterparts

The shiring of Mercia profoundly differed from the extent of the province first identified as a diocese of the ‘Westerners’. The following four figures, Figures 7.12-7.15, display the diocese by reference to its subsequent secular organisation following the demarcation of tenth-century burghal hinterlands and the fixing of tenth- and

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 5-23.

²⁰¹ As stated above, Austin suggested that the exemplar for CH ‘A’ was likely to have been compiled first and that a lost original for the whole dated from the reign of Henry I (1100-1135). The *Herefordshire Domesday* manuscript post-dated that period by some twenty years.

²⁰² Wybra, *Winchcombeshire*, 111-12, has come to a similar conclusion about the possibility of determining tenth-century assessments on account of his reconstruction of what may have been Gloucestershire before 1017. He has concluded that it comprised twelve hundreds and, with the inclusion of Bath north of the Avon, was rated at 1223 hides.

eleventh-century shire boundaries. (Appendix Four Table 1 provides the position in schematic format.)

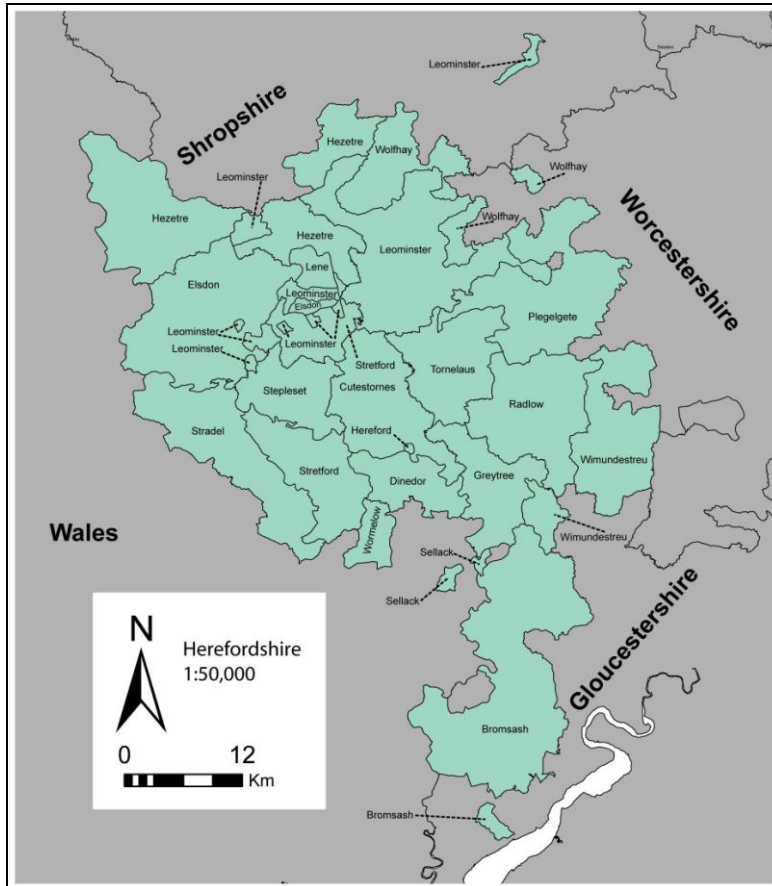


Figure 7.12 Herefordshire in 1086:

<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/research/projects/assembly/ElectronicAnderson>,
(accessed February 2012).

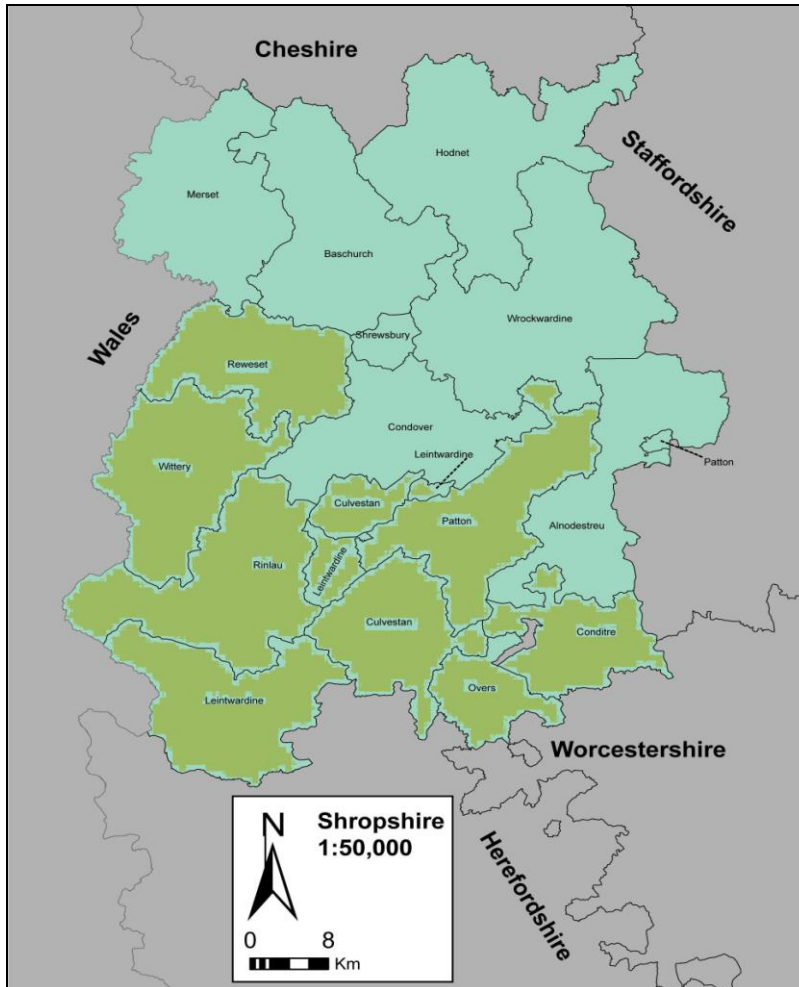


Figure 7.13 The portion of the diocese of Hereford within Shropshire in 1086, coloured green: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/research/projects/assembly/ElectronicAnderson> with additions, (accessed February 2012).

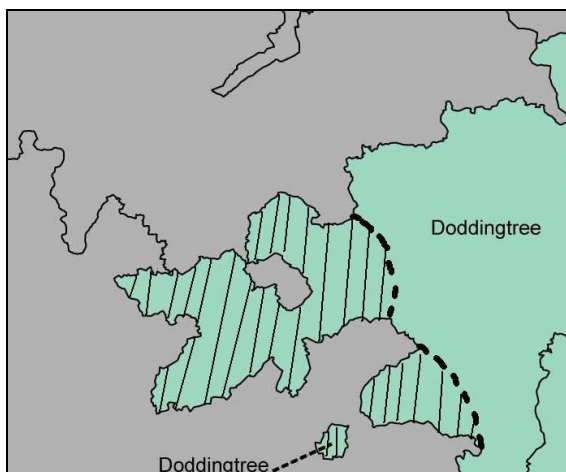


Figure 7.14 The portion of the diocese of Hereford within Worcestershire (approximate extent²⁰³) in 1086, black-hatched: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/research/projects/assembly/ElectronicAnderson>.

²⁰³ In the Doddingtree Hundred: the manors which formed the parishes of Rock, Bayton, Mamble, Lindridge with Pensax and Knighton, Abberley, Stockton, Hanley William and Hanley Child, Kyre,

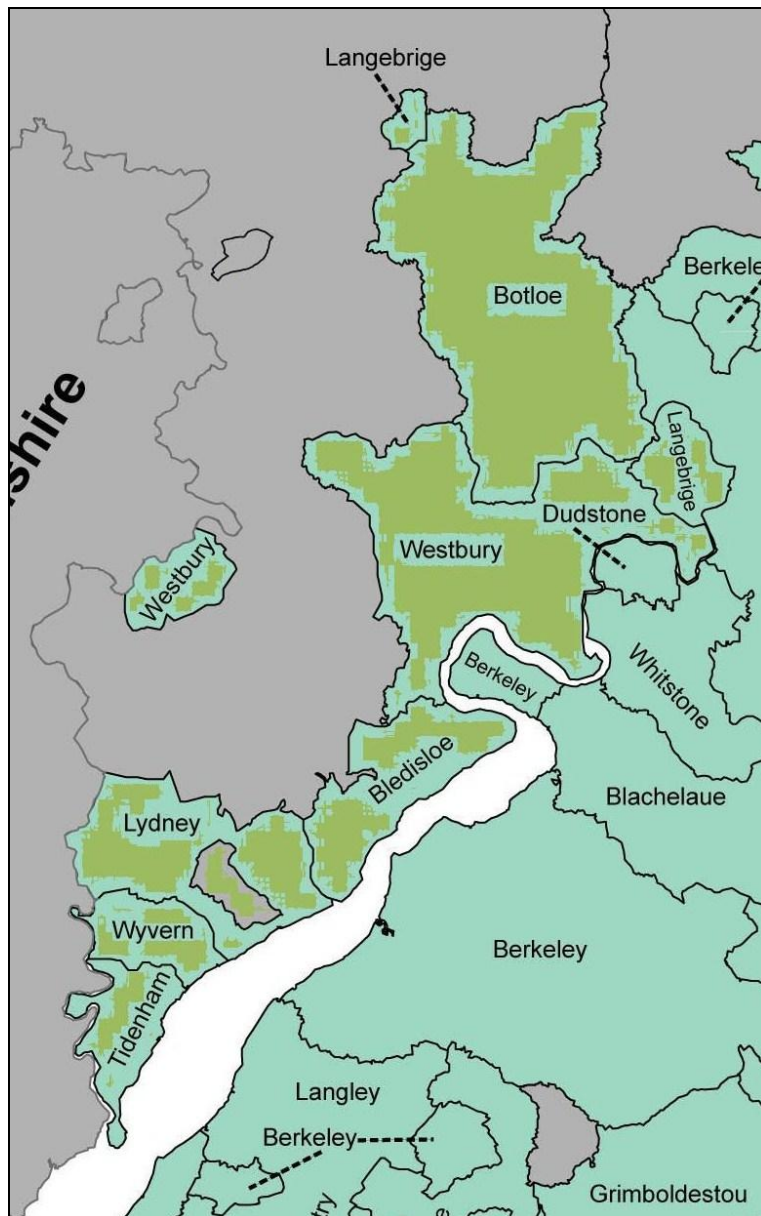


Figure 7.15 The portion of the diocese of Hereford in Gloucestershire in 1086, coloured green (total number of hides 201): <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/research/projects/assembly/ElectronicAnderson>, with additions (accessed February 2012).

These figures provide a graphic demonstration of the process by which the territory alleged to have been the province of the Magonsaete came to be eroded, progressively from the ninth to the eleventh century, an outcome which reveals the evolving statecraft necessarily developed for defensive and administrative purposes. The effect of this was to leave the diocese with its extensive original jurisdiction, at least until

Orleton, Tenbury Wells with Rochford, Eastham, Bockleton, Clifton-on-Teme, Shelsley Walsh and Lower Sapey.

the sixteenth century, along with the added problem of dealing with different secular jurisdictions when attempting to achieve its ends.

7.8.2 The *parochiae* of Herefordshire compared to its hundreds

We can complete the picture by comparing the extent of the Anglo-Saxon old minster *parochiae*, analysed in Chapters Three, Four and Five and shown at Figure 7.9 above, with the boundaries of the hundreds of the shire, shown in Figure 7.16 and as analysed in Chapter Six. Sellack is excluded from this comparison as its eleventh-century hundredal extent remains unclear.

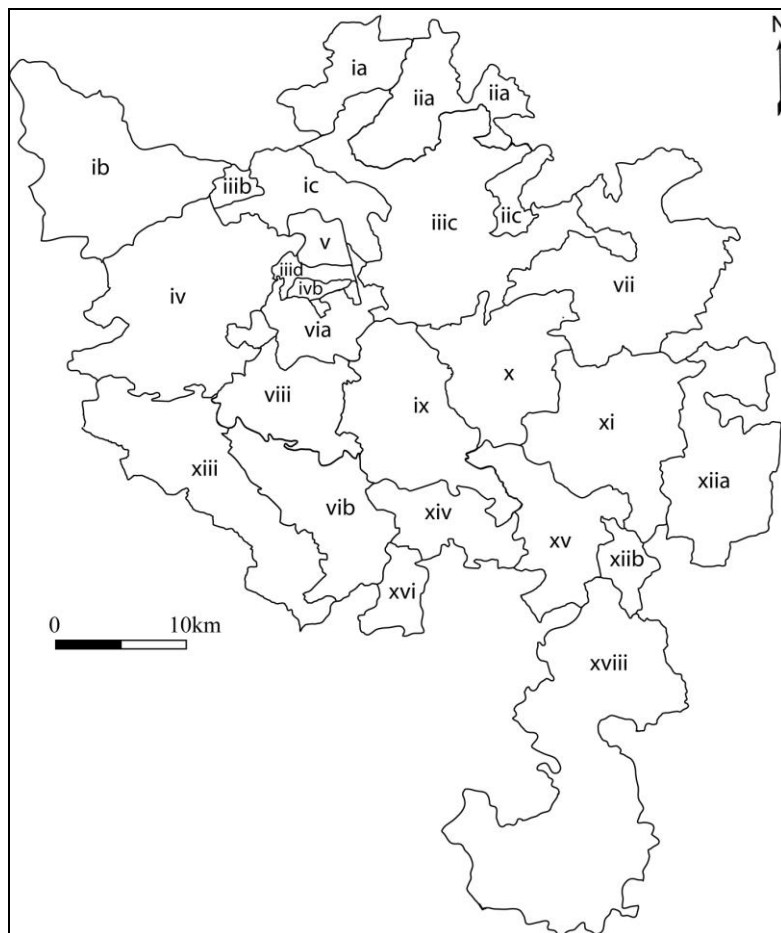


Figure 7.16 The hundreds of Herefordshire.

Figures 7.17-7.29 depict these *parochia*, but by reference to the shire's eleventh-century hundredal organisation.²⁰⁴ In each individual figure, the hundred's extent is shaded light green, and the *parochia*'s extent is overlaid upon it and indicated in red lines. These are shown in bold red lines where the two land-units differ in their respective territory. Each figure caption makes reference to the original hundreds cited in Figure 7.16, and the reader should refer to this image for location. (Appendix Four Table 2 provides the position in schematic format.)

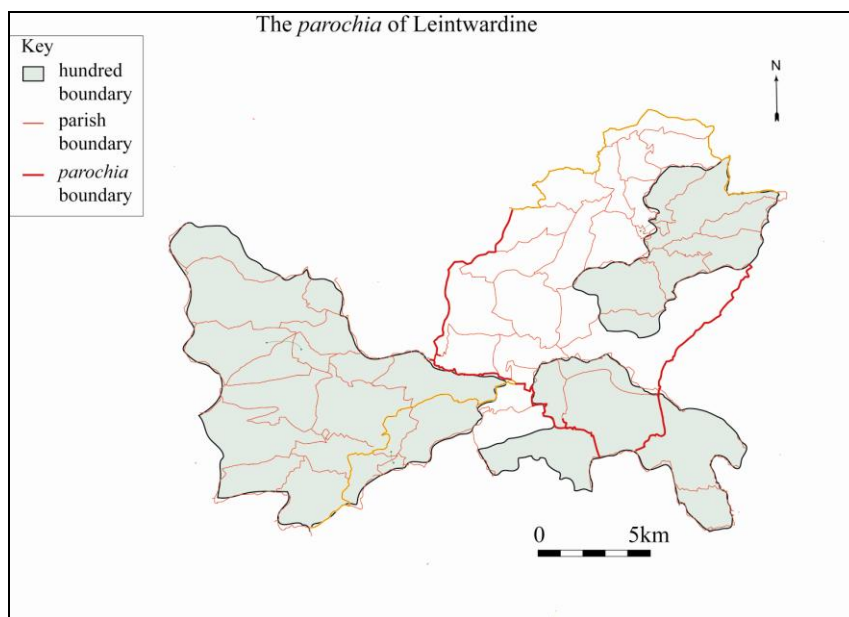


Figure 7.17 Leintwardine *parochia* overlaid upon Hazletree Hundred (i a-c).

²⁰⁴ The images have been produced by comparing a digitised form of the map of Herefordshire which accompanies The Alecto Edition, and the five digitised Ordnance Survey maps which accompany R Kain and R Oliver, *Historic Parishes of England and Wales: an Electronic Map of Boundaries before 1850 with a Gazetteer and Metadata* [computer file]. Colchester, Essex: UK Data Archive [distributor], May 2001. SN: 4348. The comparison has been hampered by difficulty in achieving an accurate scale owing to the problem of having to compare digitised versions of the seven OS sheets (128, 129, 130, 141, 142, 143 and 155) which cover the study area, something which proved to be less than an exact exercise owing to the technology that was available.

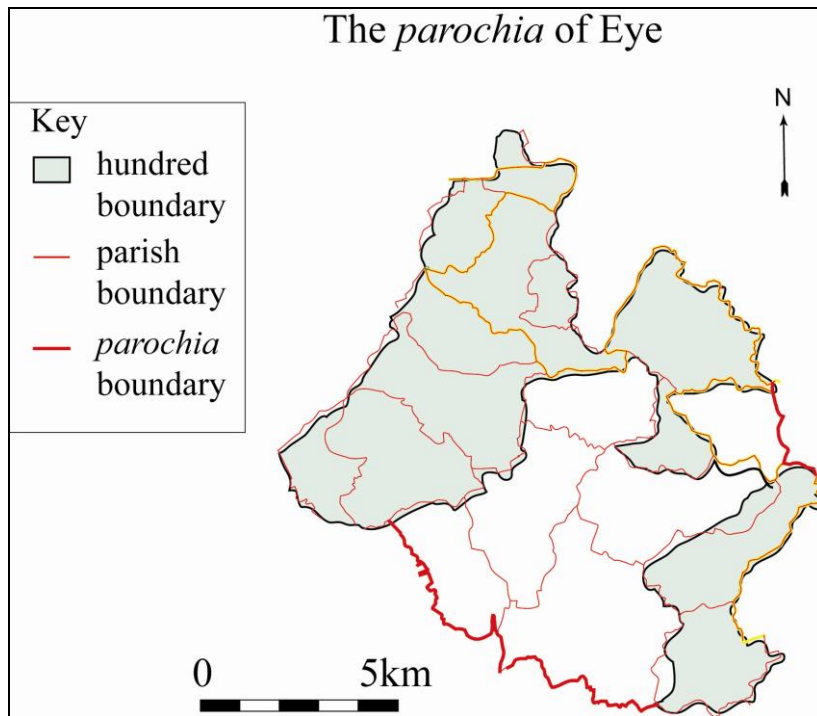


Figure 7.18 Eye *parochia* overlaid upon Wolphy Hundred (ii a-c).

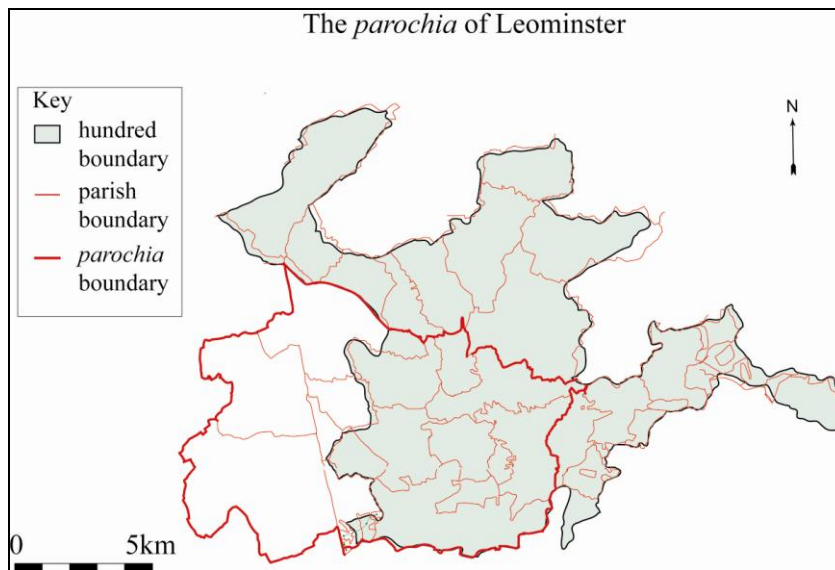


Figure 7.19 Leominster *parochia* overlaid upon Leominster Hundred (iii c).

Note: small outliers shown as iii a, b and d are not included.

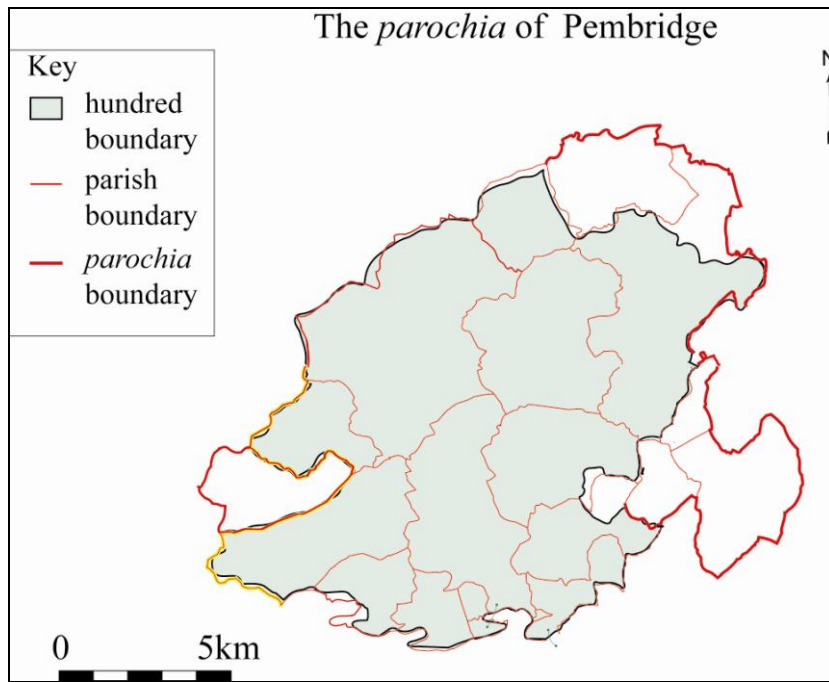


Figure 7.20 Pembridge *parochia* overlaid upon Elsdon Hundred (iv).

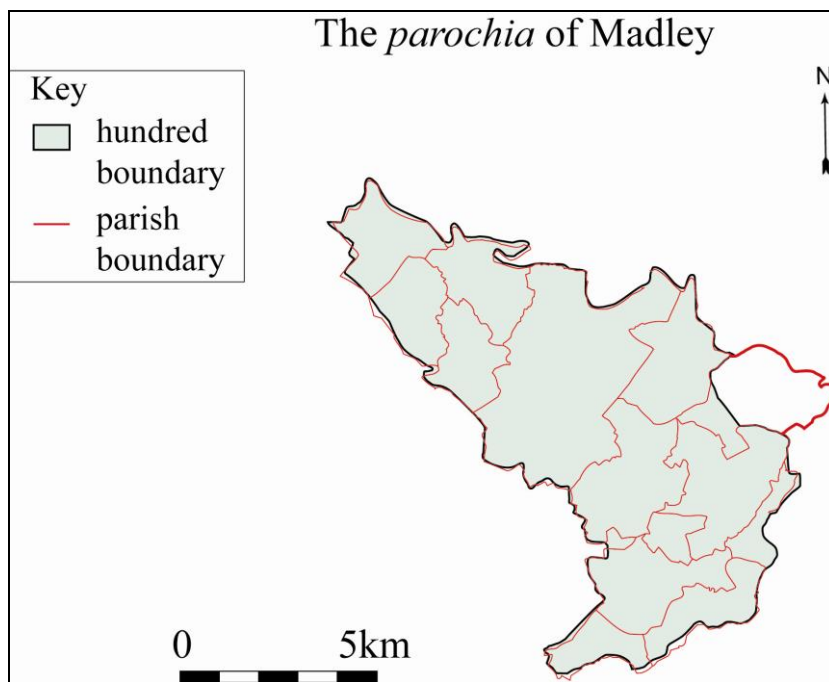


Figure 7.21 Madley *parochia* overlaid upon Stretford Hundred's southern portion (vi b),

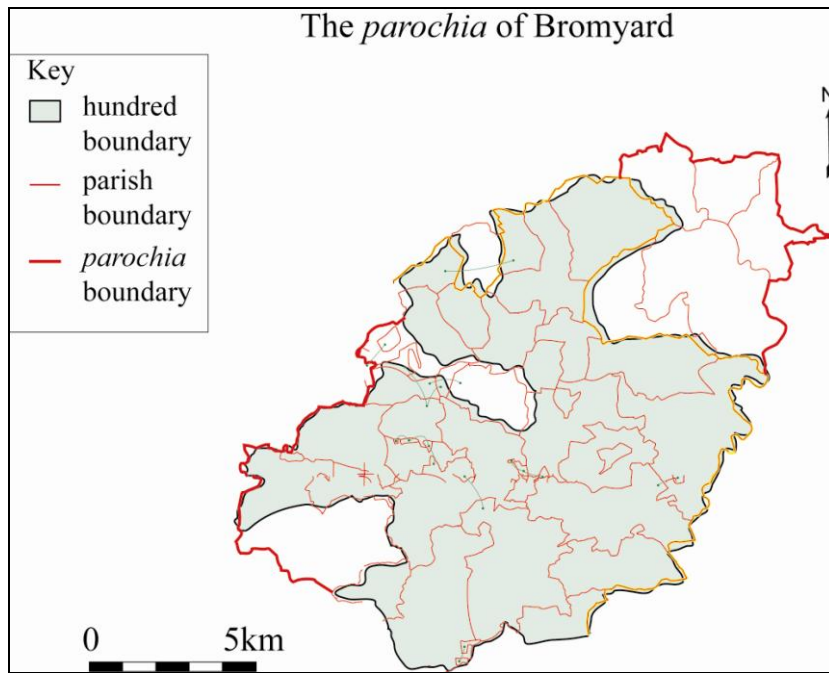


Figure 7.22 Bromyard *parochia* overlaid upon Plegelgate Hundred (vii).

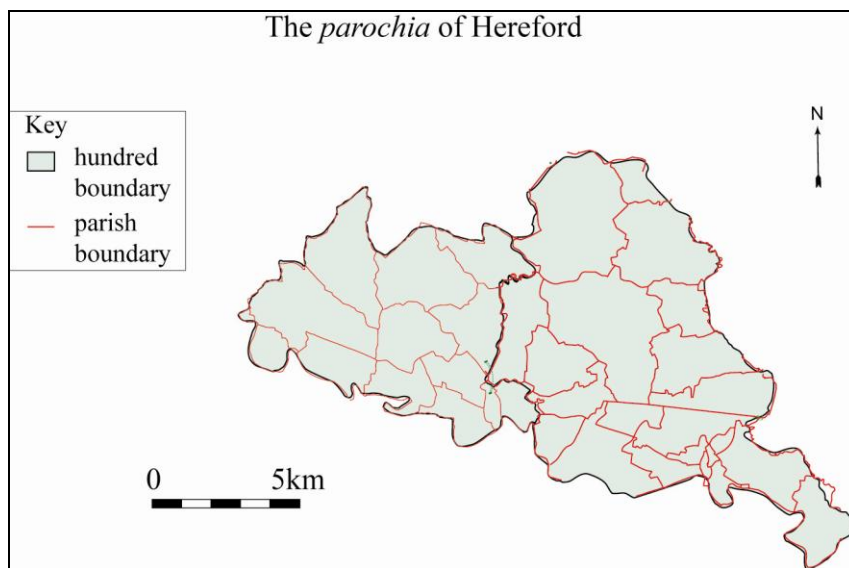


Figure 7.23.1 Hereford *parochia* overlaid upon Staple and Cutsthorn Hundreds (viii and ix).

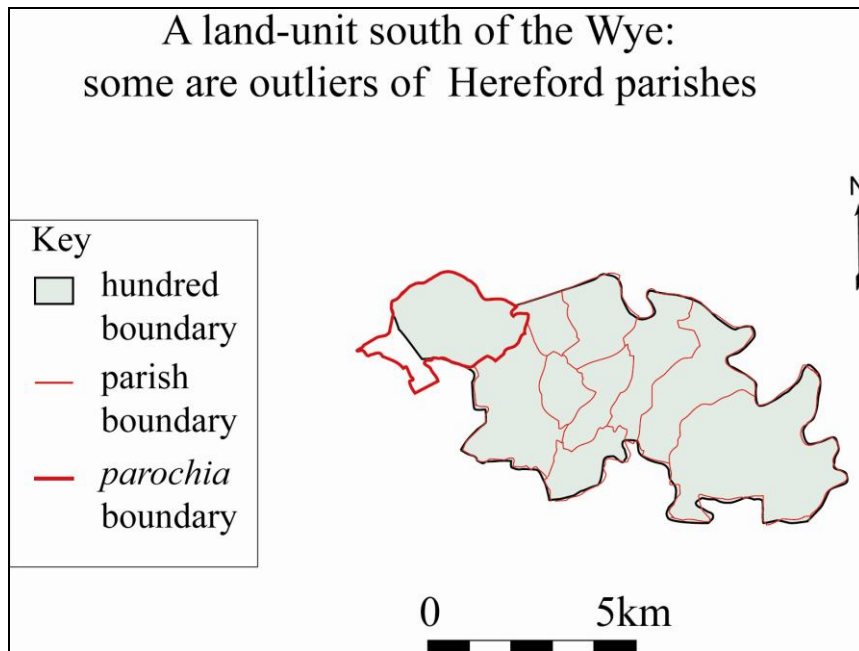


Figure 7.23.2 Parishes comprising Dinedor Hundred (xiv)—with outliers of Hereford parishes.²⁰⁵

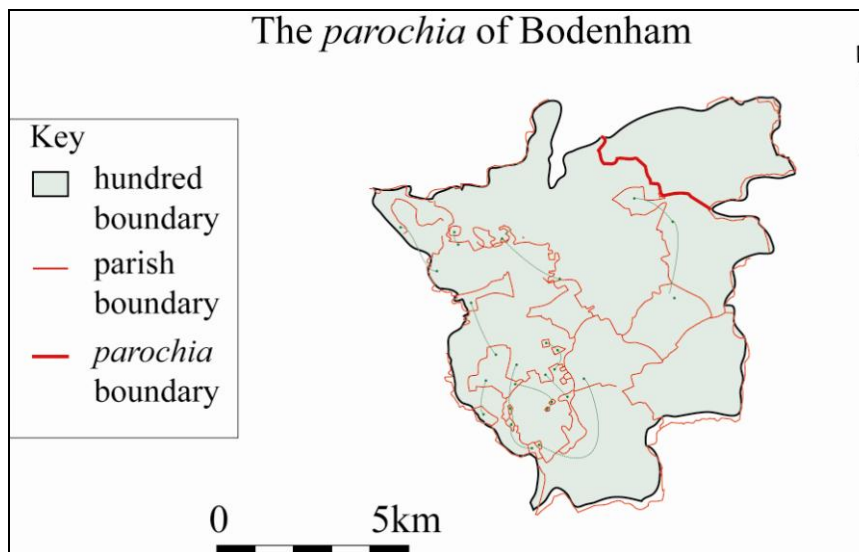


Figure 7.24 Bodenham *parochia* overlaid upon Thornlaw Hundred (x).

²⁰⁵ The parishes concerned are, east to west: Holme Lacy (arguably in Lugwardine), Dinedor (not allocated), Lower Bullingham (a later prebend attached to the Precentorship of the cathedral); in a line north to south: Bullingham (an outlier of Hereford St Martin) and Callow (not allocated); in a group of three clock-wise from the northwest: an outlier of Hereford St John the Baptist and two of Hereford St Martin; east to north west: Haywood (ex parochial) and part of Clehonger (within adjacent Madley).

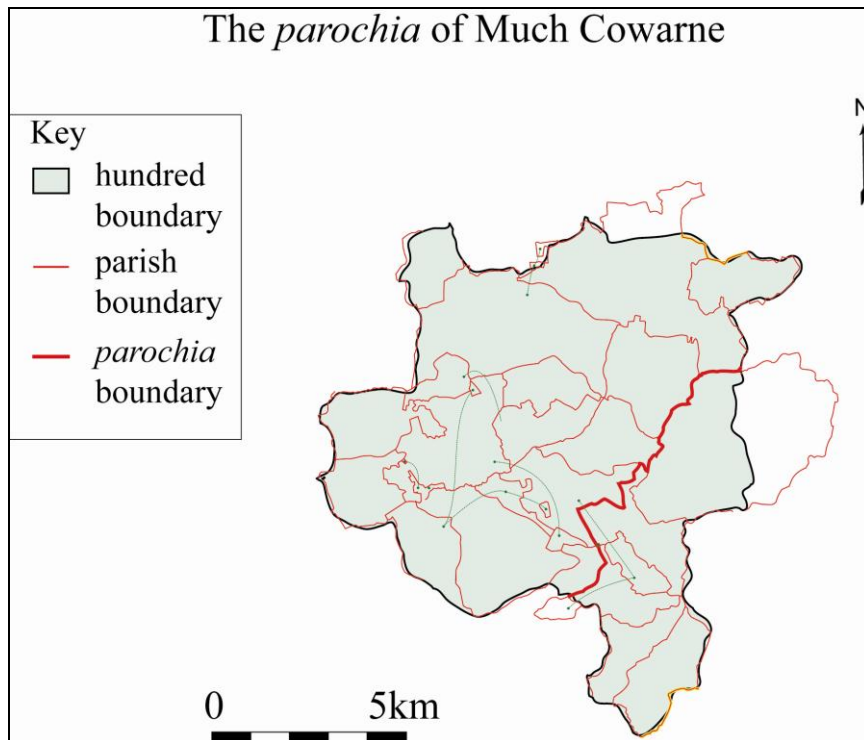


Figure 7.25 Much Cowarne *parochia* overlaid upon Radlow Hundred (xi).

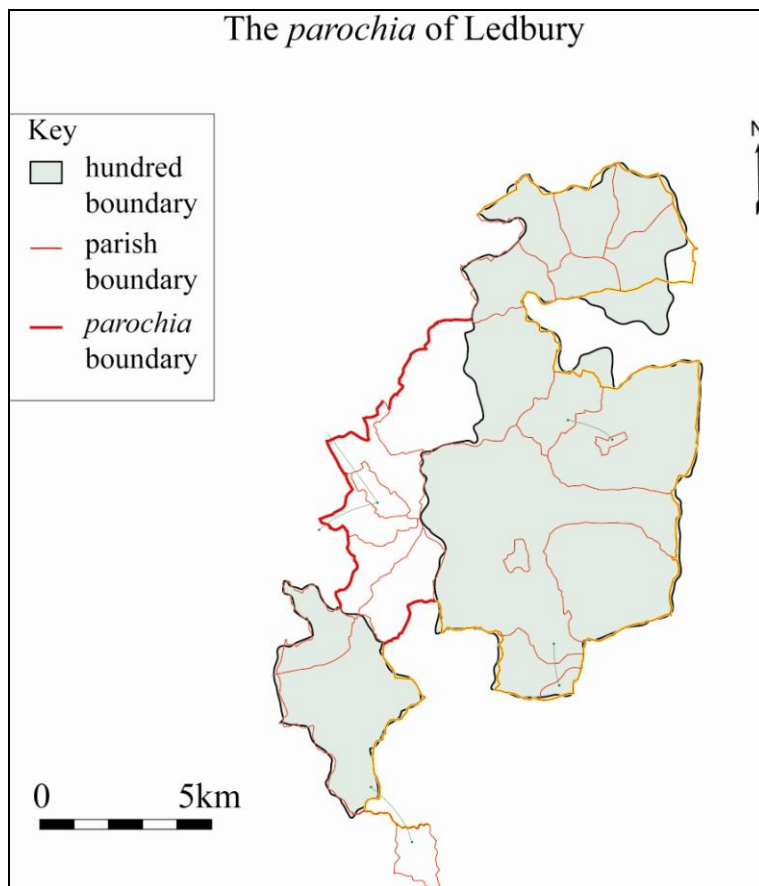


Figure 7.26 Ledbury *parochia* overlaid upon Winstree Hundred (xii a-b).

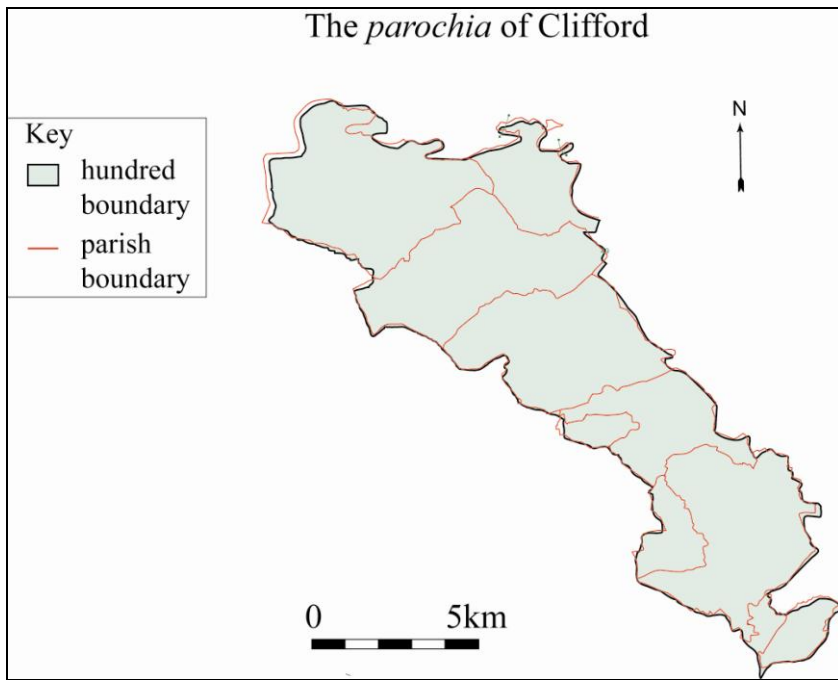


Figure 7.27 Clifford *parochia* overlaid upon the Golden Valley (xiii).

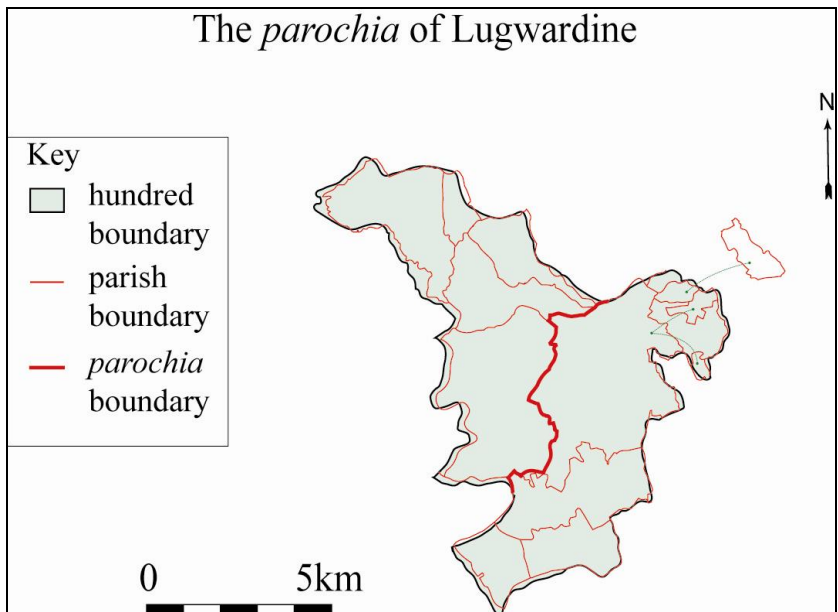


Figure 7.28 Lugwardine overlaid upon Greytree hundred (xv).²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ As noted in Chapter Four; however, Lugwardine's jurisdiction was greater, and it held chapels south of the Wye in the district of Archenfield. See Chapter Four, Figures 4.5 and 4.6, pages 137-8.

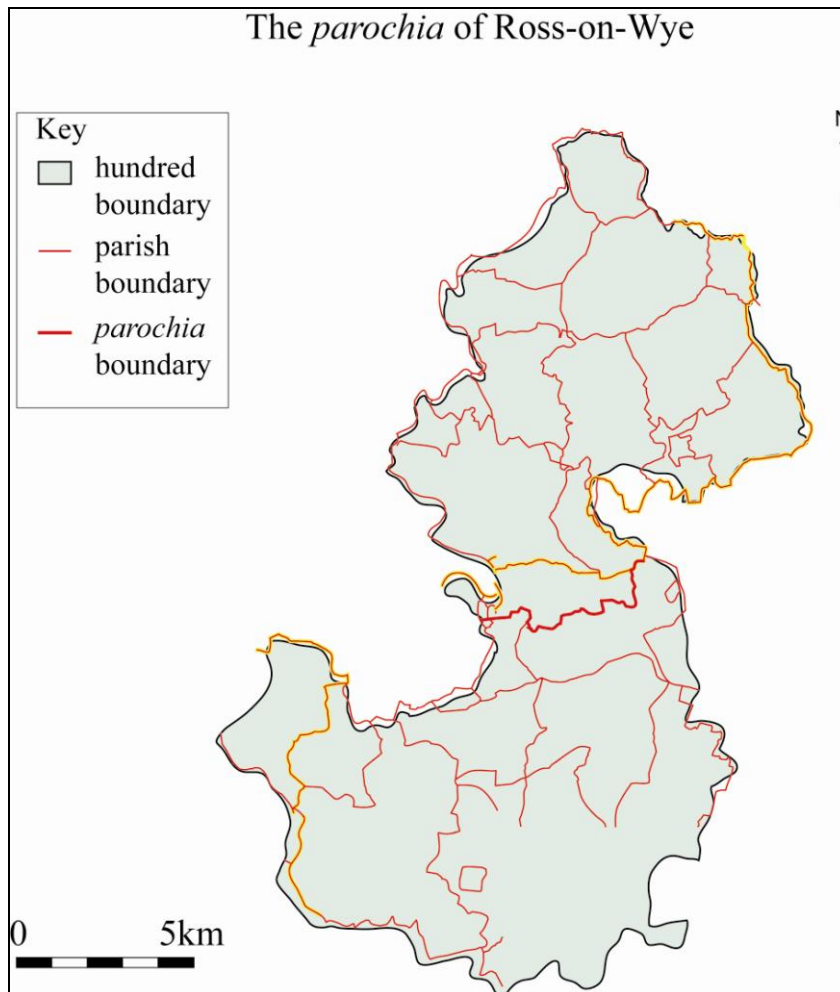


Figure 7.29 Ross-on-Wye *parochia* overlaid upon Bromsash Hundred (xviii).

These figures demonstrate the discrepancy which existed between the ecclesiastical and secular land-units within Herefordshire. In cases where the hundred boundary bisected an ecclesiastical one, as with Hazletree, Wolphy, Leominster, Elsdon, Plegelgate, Winstree and Dinedor, there are good grounds for the view that the ecclesiastical boundary represents an earlier state of affairs, pre-dating the tenth-century, and demonstrating that it may reveal an earlier secular land-unit organisation, perhaps of no later than eighth-century vintage. The same applies to hundreds like Radlow, Thornlaw and Leominster, which appear to have ‘acquired’ territory from their adjacent land-units. Mapping this earlier configuration has been a first step

towards understanding the organisation of the study area during the middle Anglo-Saxon period, something to which we shall turn in Chapter Eight.

7.9 Summary

This discussion of the origins of the diocese and formation the territory that became the shire of Hereford has concentrated on an attempt to map the earliest extent of each and consider their subsequent development up to the post-Conquest period. In light of this we have considered the theories which historians have advanced, firstly in connection with the creation of the early dioceses of Mercia, and secondly in connection with the demarcation of the kingdom into shires. We have included an analysis of the extent and development of the provincial land-unit which, arguably, stands at the back of each: the territory which became known from around the ninth century as that of the Magonsaete.

Our conclusions challenge the accepted version of events; we consider that this territory, albeit defined in the geographic sense of the word from the eighth century at least as regards its ecclesiastical extents, did not cohere as the province of one particular Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-British group of people much before the late ninth century. Notwithstanding the theories of Stenton, Finberg and Sims-Williams, we have found no evidence, either from charters or ecclesiastical, that the district of Lene had been within the Magonsaete's jurisdiction until the tenth century. The same applies to the area between the Wye, Leadon and the Severn which, Gelling had argued, had been a sub-kingdom of Ergyng. We support that view.

The prominence of the Magonsaete may have grown as a result of the group's proximity to Hereford and the development of burghal defences there, as well as what appears to have been the direct rule exercised over the province during the eighth century by the Mercian kings. Its further 'state-formation' phase is to be seen as part of a wider Mercian policy designed to unify the disparate tribal groups which continued to exist. But the cohesion of the province under one group may have been a side issue, since the further development of the territory continued to be driven from the centre throughout the ninth century and, under West Saxon influence, with the building of the second-stage fortifications at Hereford in the later ninth century the province may have acquired its final shire footprint.

On the evidence of this study, therefore, a *de facto* 'shiring' of Hereford had already occurred by the middle of the tenth century, and an institution which performed its functions was already in place—it merely took on a West Saxon name. Its assessment to geld was likewise unlikely to have been an eleventh-century imposition, although the evidence suggests that, whatever its burden was before 1000, it is likely to have been revised after 1016 as a result of the re-organisation of Gloucestershire and the final fixing of the shire boundary with Worcestershire. This revised sum looks to be the one revealed in the Herefordshire folios of Domesday Book.

CHAPTER EIGHT

HEREFORDSHIRE'S ANGLO-SAXON LAND-UNITS: BRITISH TRIBAL DISTRICTS IN DISGUISE?

8.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study has been to identify and analyse the earliest land-unit organisation of Herefordshire as a step towards understanding the shire's history and development during the early medieval period. We have considered the data from two angles—the ecclesiastical and the secular—and to that end have used the methodology of previous studies¹ to seek comparisons between those land-units by mapping the ecclesiastical organisation, first identifiable from evidence collected in 1291, against the secular organisation, first identifiable from evidence revealed in 1086. This evidence has been scrutinised to determine its reliability, and although relatively late by the standards of conventional studies which seek to use contemporaneous material, it has allowed us to advance some conclusions about the organisation of the area during the middle Anglo-Saxon period. In this chapter we shall further explore those conclusions in the context of the development of the area, primarily as a province within the kingdom of Mercia, but also as a territory which may have comprised what had been three or possibly four discrete polities within the British kingdom of Powys during the sixth and seventh centuries. This analysis will be drawn from the conclusions advanced in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

The discussion will be presented in reverse order to that previously set out. We shall begin with the secular administrative units of the eleventh century and progress backwards to a discussion of the ecclesiastical units which, we argue, were present in

¹ See Chapter 2 and the studies named therein.

the eighth and ninth centuries; from there we shall offer some views about the secular land-unit configuration of the same period, and finally we shall discuss possible British territorial arrangements which may have existed during the sixth and seventh centuries.

8.2 The secular land-units of Herefordshire in the eleventh century: some observations about its hundreds

In Chapter Six we analysed the data collected from the 1086 Domesday return, the first task having been to identify and locate the places named, and the second to map the extent of the hundred boundaries. We considered the views of scholars who had edited the various editions of Domesday Book, as well as those of local historians and place-name experts. We found the 1086 return to be remarkably accurate, in terms of hundredal rubrication, and were able to locate all but a handful of places, once the differing opinions had been analysed. Those which could not be identified remain lost, a fact which did not prevent accurate hundredal mapping for the shire.

In terms of that exercise we located seventeen land-units; sixteen were identified with the hundredal rubric and one was identified as a district. Two of the hundreds could be discounted as not representing a conventional hundredal organisation: Sellack comprised a small manor rated at two virgates, and Wormelow was likewise a small hundred-manor rated at seven hides. Both are likely to have been lately organised within the shire in the late tenth or early eleventh century.² Of the remaining fourteen, we noted some which bore the traditional characteristics of tenth-century

² However, ecclesiastical evidence for Sellack suggested that it may have comprised a small British *parochia* due west of Bromsash Hundred. See Chapter Five, Figure 5.8.

hundreds.³ There were others which appeared to have been affected by an earlier reorganisation.⁴ In particular, the *villa regalis* of *Lene* (Eardisland) was recorded as a hundred-manor, but on topographic and place-name analysis it looked to represent the rump of a larger hundred, some of whose manors had been swallowed up by the church of Leominster.⁵ The small hundred of Dinedor, which shared some villas with the southern portion of Stretford, was another obvious candidate for late creation. The division of Clehonger and Moccas⁶ suggested that one land-unit had existed which incorporated Dinedor and Stretford's southern portion.⁷ There were three smaller hundreds: Staple, Winstree and Greytrees. Each had the hundredal characteristic of a royal *tun* or royal manor, and had a prominent minster, but all had lower assessments than their neighbours.⁸

³ The 1086 information is found in: F Thorn and C Thorn, *Domesday Book. Volume 17: Herefordshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), hereafter *DB Herefordshire*, and A Williams and R Erskine (eds), *The Herefordshire Domesday* (London: Alecto Historical Edition, 1988), hereafter The Alecto Edition. See Appendix Three, which sets out the data in tabular format, and for ease of reconciliation with that data, the reader should note that all hidage assessments in this chapter are recorded in numerals, not in words. The hundreds with an identifiable *villa regalis* or late Anglo-Saxon royal manor, an old minster and a relatively high hidage assessment include the following: Thornlaw, with royal *tun* at Marden and old minster at Bodenham, rated at 78.125 hides; Plegelgate, with royal *tun* at Stanford Regis and old minster at Bromyard, rated at 104.375 hides; Cutsthorpe with royal *tun* at Burghill and old minster at Hereford, rated at 92.5 hides; Bromsash, with royal *tunas* at Linton and Cleeve and old minster at Ross-on-Wye, rated at 80.25 hides; Eldson, with royal manor at Kington and old minster at Pembridge, rated at 86.25 hides; Radlow, with royal *tun* and old minster at Much Cowarne, rated at 98 hides.

⁴ This included Hazletree, whose compact geography appears to have been split into three portions by the creation of an ecclesiastical hundred of Leominster. In addition, its royal *tun* may have been at Eardisland, which was itself a hundred manor (*Lene*) in 1086, or it may have been at Leintwardine, which lay in Shropshire in 1086 and appeared to be the location of an old minster. It was rated at 109.25 hides. The same is true of Wolphy, another compact land-unit which appeared to have been split into three by Leominster's manorial expanse. No identifiable royal *tun* could be found, although Queen Edith had held Orleton, but an old minster was located at Eye. Wolphy was rated at 34.25 hides. Stretford's northern portion seems also to have been affected: no royal *tun* or minster could be located and, at 22 hides, its assessment was the smallest of any multi-manor hundred north of the Wye.

⁵ It was rated at 15 hides.

⁶ See Table 14 in Appendix Three.

⁷ Within Dinedor no royal *tun* could be found, nor was there an old minster. The hidage assessment was 39, but errors may have been the reason for this total, as it appears that 6 of its hides were probably within manors located in Stretford. Coplestone-Crow is of the view that the area was within the Welsh district of Straddle, which comprised the Golden Valley, Stretford south of the Wye and Dinedor.

⁸ Staple was assessed at 63.25 hides and the royal manor was at Mansall Lacy, with there were sub-minsters at Mansall Gamage and Bishopstone, but our view is that it came within the old minster *parochia* of Hereford. Greytrees's assessment was 64 hides and the *tun* and old minster were at Lugwardine. Winstree's assessment was 59, the *tun* was at Much Marcle and the old minster was at Ledbury.

The final land-unit considered here, the Golden Valley, was hidated but did not bear a hundredal rubric. It appears to have been in the process of a re-organisation at the time of the Conquest, although its pre-eleventh-century links to areas north of the Wye had been clear.⁹ It may have represented a buffer zone between Stretford's southern portion and the Welsh district of Ewyas.¹⁰

8.2.1 Two middle Anglo-Saxon hundred manors: Burghill and Much Cowarne

Significantly, two of the shire's manors, Much Cowarne in Thornlaw and Burghill in Cutsthorpe, appear to have had much larger territorial extents during the middle Anglo-Saxon period, with manors of more than one subsequent hundred annexed *en bloc* to each.¹¹ Burghill appeared as the fortified central place for the manors of Cutsthorpe and Stretford Hundreds, and Much Cowarne had the same function for three unidentified hundreds: arguably, Radlow, Plegelgate and Thornlaw (or possibly Greytree). This suggests that the province's land-unit organisation during the middle Anglo-Saxon period was on a larger scale than its eleventh-century one. It is worth looking at these in greater detail, as neither is a straightforward case.

If Burghill had the hundreds of Cutsthorpe and Stretford annexed to it, as its 1086 entry indicates, then at its original extent during the middle Anglo-Saxon period it is likely to have included the entirety of the manors within both hundreds, up to and beyond

⁹ We discussed the capture by Aethelbald of a number of churches from British bishops *c.*743. Four of these, all mentioned in the Llan Dav charters, lay in the Golden Valley.

¹⁰ As noted above, Coplestone-Crow believes that the area was part of a much larger Welsh district of Straddle, which comprised the Golden Valley, the southern portion of Stretford Hundred, and Dinedor Hundred, and lay in Ergyng in the sixth and seventh centuries. B Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 214 (1989); *idem*, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 2nd edition (Almeley: Logaston Press, 2009), hereafter *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 23-36.

¹¹ We considered the significance of this in Chapter Six, 280-1 and 286-9.

the Wye.¹² (Of Stretford's northern vills, we need to put to one side the position for Dilwyn, whose manors were organised across three hundreds—Leominster, Elsdon and Stretford—which suggests a tenth-century restructuring. In any case, we have already considered that Dilwyn's eleventh-century organisation may have been the consequence of the creation of Leominster's private hundred during the tenth century.)¹³ For the rest, there are both place-name and tenurial clues which indicate the possibility that some vills within Stretford's northern portion may have been within Cutsthorpe originally. The eleventh-century manors of Canon Pyon, in Cutsthorpe, and King's Pyon, in Stretford, were likely to have been one unit originally because both bear the same place-name, 'island of the gnats', albeit that the spellings in Domesday Book are at variance with one another.¹⁴ On the tenurial front, of the twelve manors in Stretford's northern segment, six were held by Roger of Lacy and one of these was King's Pyon, which may suggest that his adjacent manors of Weobley and Fernhill had been within the *Pionie* land-unit, since the Weobley manors had been held by the same person in 1066; however, the ecclesiastical evidence points to Weobley's having been within a *parochia* centred on Pembridge in Elsdon.¹⁵

As noted in Chapter Six, we could not explain why the fourteen manors of Stretford's southern extent were included within the hundred. We suggested the possibility that the area had been incorporated once it became reorganised, perhaps in the tenth

¹² Stretford's southern portion will be considered in detail within the ecclesiastical land-unit analysis as it is nearly co-terminous with a *parochia* centred on Madley, and was itself the seventh-century British district of *Mais Mail Lochou* according to the Llan Dav charters.

¹³ See the Leominster, Elsdon and Stretford case studies in Chapter Six.

¹⁴ See Appendix Three. King's Pyon: *Pionie*, Canon Pyon: *Peune*.

¹⁵ Lacy's holdings in Stretford North were Weobley, Fernhill in Weobley, King's Pyon, Birley, and Alton and Swanstone in Dilwyn. The manors in the vill of Weobley had been held by one Anglo-Saxon before 1066, Edwy Young, who appears to have been one of Lacy's *antecessors*. *DB Herefordshire*, 10.48-10.53. This would indicate the unity of Weobley as a vill.

century, so as to raise the hidage count to a sum consistent with that of nearby hundreds.¹⁶ A further possibility, however, is that the area south of the Wye had always been attached to Burghill: it contained manors some of whose *tun* place-names might indicate eighth-century Anglo-Saxon toponymic changes, which, according to scholars like Gelling, would imply an eighth-century reorganisation of the area for administrative purposes.¹⁷ In addition, many of the manors were held by the church of Hereford; we observed in Chapter Seven that the see's location at Hereford, which was itself within Cutsthorpe, probably occurred during the late eighth century. It is possible that the annexation of these estates to Burghill, as central place, came as a direct result. It is also possible that their seventh-century British counterparts, particularly those territories which are mentioned in the Llan Dav charters,¹⁸ were already held by the British Church and administered from the foundation which is likely to have been located at Hereford in the late sixth or early seventh century, so that the Anglo-Saxon Church merely inherited, from a tenurial standpoint, what was already in place.¹⁹

There are a number of possibilities to explain the shire's pre-eleventh-century land-unit organisation, some of which indicate a reorganisation in the tenth century, but others hint at a much earlier scheme dating from the eighth or ninth century. A diagram of the extent of the Burghill land-unit is set out in Figure 8.1. With the exclusion of Dilwyn and Weobley, the topography is an artificial one, perhaps demonstrating how the northern portion of Stretford could have been a later

¹⁶ See Appendix Three. The total appears as 72, or possibly 79, hides with the inclusion of some Dinedor manors.

¹⁷ For example, those with a *tun* suffix: Eaton, Kingstone, Barton, Preston, Thruxton and Tyberton.

¹⁸ These being: Madley, Eaton Bishop, Preston-on-Wye, Moccas and Bellimoor in Preston-on-Wye.

¹⁹ See Chapters Three and Five, pages 98-100 and 222-7, for a full discussion of the parochial organisation of Hereford and the likelihood that the predecessor establishment of the first Anglo-Saxon minster complex of Hereford was a British one.

addition.²⁰ However, the southern portion of Stretford reveals a more compact topography; moreover, it is directly opposite the boundary of Cutsthor, separated from it by the Wye. This suggests that Cutsthor and Stretford may earlier have comprised a land-unit which spanned the north and south banks of the river. We shall return to this again when discussing possible British land-units.

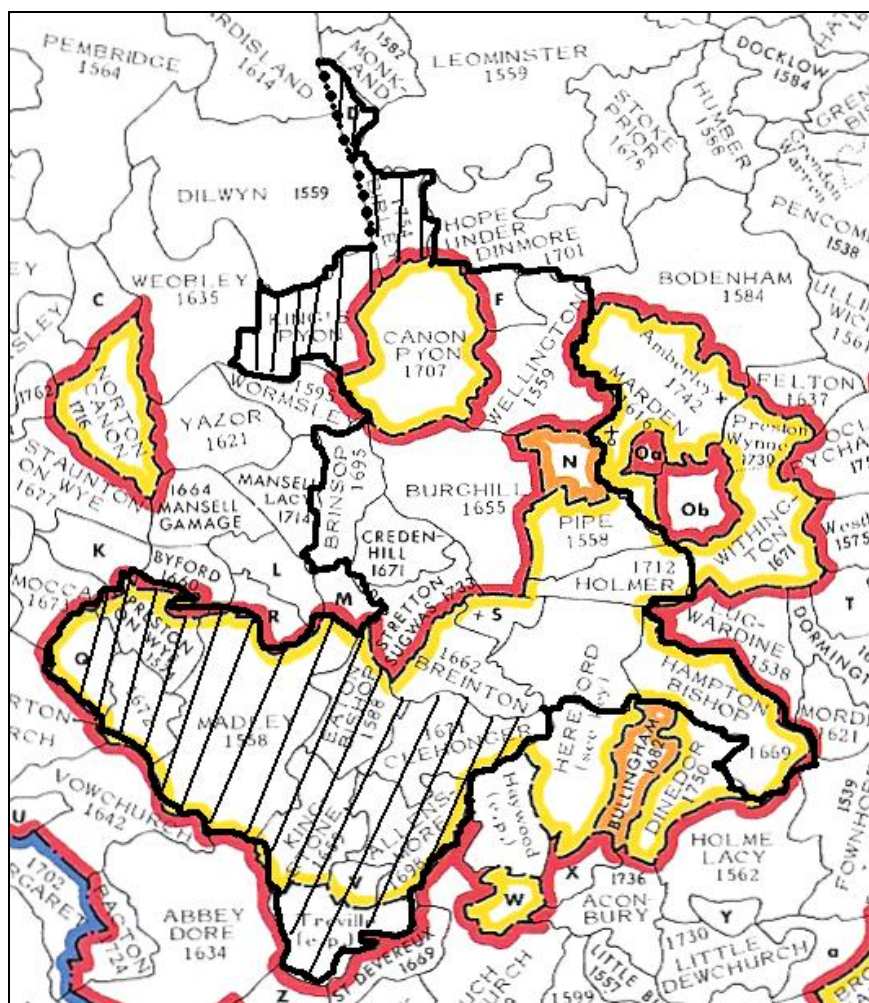


Figure 8.1 For illustrative purposes only, a depiction of the area for which the *villa regalis*, Burghill, may have had central place functions, edged and hatched in black. The areas hatched are those within the 1086 Stretford Hundred; the unhatched comprise those within the 1086 Cutsthor Hundred. The dotted line separating Stretford and Birley from Dilwyn indicates that the boundary was ill-defined, only including Newton within Stretford Hundred. C Humphrey-Smith, *The Phillimore Atlas and Index of Parish Registers* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1984), hereafter *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

²⁰ Coplestone-Crow has placed it in the *Leue* district. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 11-15.

Turning to the position for Much Cowarne, similar issues can be discerned. Like Burghill, its 1086 record reveals that it had been the central place for a number of hundreds, in this case three, but these are unspecified. One would have been the hundred in which it was located, Radlow, and the other two could have been those which adjoined Radlow.²¹ Cam considered that these were Plegelgate and Thornlaw.²² In Chapter Six we considered the possibility that one could have been Greytree;²³ once again we turn to place-name evidence to support this theory.

Evidence from 1086 reveals the existence of a large land-unit, *Frome*, of which Much Cowarne was certainly a part, most probably its retained royal vill. This unit extended to Plegelgate, as the manor of Bishop's Frome was divided between it and Radlow. Priors Frome was located in Greytree and the other manors, Castle Frome, Canon Frome and Halmond's Frome, were in Radlow.²⁴ Furthermore, evidence for the existence of a lease of four hides within *Frome* is to be found in a charter dated to c. 840. As noted in Chapter Seven, this implies that *Frome's* extent in the ninth century was likely to have included lands which were controlled by the *monasterium* at Bromyard, located in central Plegelgate.²⁵ We must therefore consider the possibility that the *Frome* land-unit originally comprised parts of Radlow,²⁶ as well as

²¹ Which would indicate two of the following: Thornlaw, Plegelgate, Winstree and Greytree.

²² H Cam, 'Manerium cum hundredo: the hundred and the hundred manor' in *eadem, Liberties and Communities in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1944), 64-90, at 77-8. Her reasoning was that the vill was situated at the point where the boundaries of the three hundreds of Radlow, Plegelgate and Thornlaw met.

²³ See Chapter Six, section 6.4.15, pages 300-2.

²⁴ The manorial and parochial geography of this area is tortuous, as the tithe maps for the parishes of the area reveal. We have discussed these issues fully in Chapter Four. To the 44 hides comprised in the *Frome* manors and Much Cowarne, one would need to add an additional 22.75 hides from the Radlow manors of Ashperton, Tarrington, Yarkhill, Stoke Edith, Weston Beggard and West Hide, and the Greytree manor of Dormington. This is because these manors separate the *Frome* land-unit from its southern extent in Mordiford parish, the location of Priors Frome.

²⁵ S1270. The location of the estate is not known; some have identified it with the portion of Bishop's Frome recorded in Plegelgate in 1086. *DB Herefordshire*, 2.21.

²⁶ Excluding Munsley, Pixley (with Aylton) and Little Marcle, for which see below.

the manors within Plegelgate and parts of Greytree.²⁷ Its possible extent is depicted in Figure 8.2. It is revealed as having a much more compact geography than Burghill.

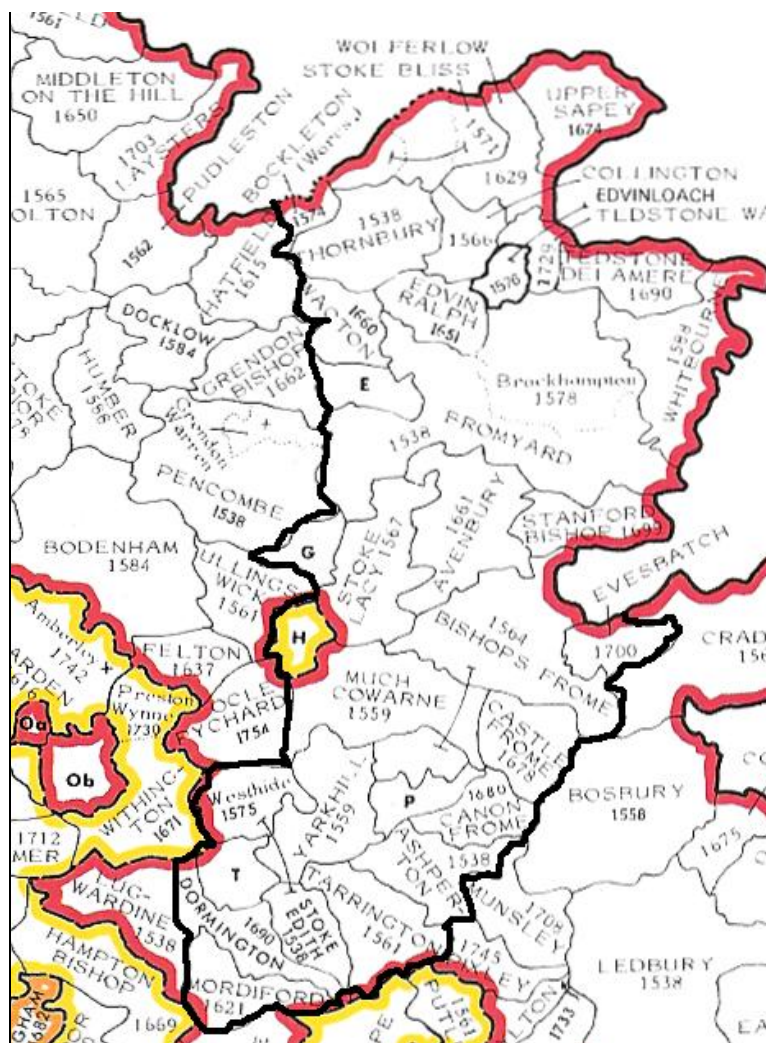


Figure 8.2 For illustrative purposes only, a depiction of the area for which the *villa regalis*, Much Cowarne, may have had central place functions, edged in black. It may have existed as a land-unit known as *Frome*. (The portion which was likely to have been in Worcestershire has not been included.) Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

If we can allow for this arrangement, it provides some interesting insights into a further Greytree anomaly, the *villa regalis* of Lugwardine, which, as with Burghill

²⁷ Including Dormington and Mordiford, for which see below. There is also archaeological evidence to suggest that the church at Much Cowarne was of British origin. Its curvilinear churchyard has been examined in D Brook, 'The early Christian Church east and west of Offa's Dyke' in N Edwards and A Lane (eds), *The Early Church in Wales and the West* (Oxford: Oxbow, Monograph 16, 1992), 77-89.

and its annexation of Stretford manors south of the Wye, appears to have had connections with some places in the Ergyng/Archenfield district, south of the Wye. We saw in Chapter Four that Lugwardine's ecclesiastical jurisdiction had extended to Hentland, Llangarren, (Little) Dewchurch, St Weonards, and possibly Ballingham, a fact which arguably reveals traces of the seventh-century organisation of the British church within the area.²⁸ We also noted that Lugwardine had no hierarchical link to its neighbouring medieval parishes; it is true that all had been parochial chapels of St Guthlac's, but we found no evidence that the churches at Dormington, Bartestree, Larport and Fowhope had ever been chapelries of Lugwardine. However, Lugwardine did possess chapelries in Archenfield. This appears to indicate that, notwithstanding its position as *villa regalis* within Greytrees, Lugwardine may well have been, originally, within the British land-unit which comprised a *parochia* that extended to the southern bank of the Wye, within the district of Ergyng/Archenfield. It could have become annexed to Greytrees c. 930, at the time at which Aethelstan's boundary for the province was agreed with the Welsh princes as being delimited by the Wye.

If such a land-unit existed before the tenth-century organisation of the sixty-four hide Greytrees Hundred, then it seems likely that Greytrees comprised an amalgamation of manors carved out of other land-units. It included Lugwardine, whose links were in Archenfield, and some manors from within the *Frome* land-unit. In addition, the hundred included at its compact 'core' the fifty-hide district of *Caplefore*, a British land-unit organised around an Iron Age fort at Capler Camp.²⁹ We have already

²⁸ See Chapter Four and Appendix Six. Dewchurch and Ballingham are places mentioned in the Llan Dav charters.

²⁹ See Appendix Three for the data. Apart from certain of the *Frome* manors, Greytrees hundred included all the manors which appear to have represented the British district of *Caplefore* / DB

observed instances of secular land-unit reorganisation within the shire, in the cases of Leominster and Lene, Wolphy, Hazletree and Stretford, and so finding further evidence here is not surprising; furthermore, it may pinpoint a date for this kind of activity to the early tenth century. We have argued in Chapter Seven that this was the time during which Mercian provinces were organised in a fashion similar to those of Wessex.³⁰

So far, in our discussion of the eleventh-century hundredal organisation of the shire, we have been able to detect the vestiges of an earlier land-unit scheme simply by considering the information contained within entries in the folios of Domesday Book, alongside some place-name evidence. It is now appropriate to focus on the ecclesiastical landscape of the shire, dealt with in Chapters Three, Four and Five, so as to develop further our contention that a middle Anglo-Saxon geography for the shire can be identified.

8.3 The ecclesiastical land-units of Herefordshire in the eleventh century: some observations about its old minster *parochiae*

In Chapter Seven we mapped fourteen units, which we considered to have been the *parochiae* of the old minsters of the shire (Figures 7.9 and 7.16-7.28); and we compared their extents alongside those of the eleventh-century hundreds at Appendix Four, Table 2. As might have been expected, many of these eleventh-century ecclesiastical units were co-terminous or nearly co-terminous with their eleventh-

Brockhampton, (8 hides) including Woolhope, (16 hides) Putley, (1 hide) Sollers Hope, (5 hides) How Caple, (5 hides) and Fownhope, (15 hides). *DB Herefordshire*, 2.13-2.15, 10.4, 21.4 and 29.2. The addition of certain of the *Frome* manors and Lugwardine brings its total to 64. For *Caplefore* see Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 58 and 233.

³⁰ See Chapter Seven, pages 365-6.

century secular counterparts. Those for which the most exact fit was found were Bromsash, Cutsthorn and Staple (grouped together), and the Golden Valley; and two others which had a nearly exact match were Stretford's southern portion and a portion of Greytrees northern 'core', discussed above. There were a number of *parochiae* which showed vestiges of an earlier organisation: Pembridge/Elsdon, Bromyard/Plegelgate and Bodenham/Thornlaw, and two, Much Cowarne/Radlow and Ledbury/Winstree, which appeared to have had transfers of manors from one to the other.³¹ Finally there were those which appeared to represent some fragmented sections, possibly the remainder of some pre-tenth-century land-units. The activity of carving out manors from Eye/Wolphy, Leintwardine/Hazletree and Stretford's northern portion³² and allocating them to an ecclesiastical hundred of Leominster was one which had a profound effect on the province's hundredal geography. It is worth recalling that we postulated that this reorganisation occurred in the tenth century.³³

Some further observations can be made, demonstrating that the majority of these ecclesiastical units may have represented an earlier picture. The extent of Bromsash revealed a clear parochial structure organised around Ross-on-Wye with evidence of two middle Anglo-Saxon manors and an old minster provision.³⁴ Cutsthorn's organisation has already been discussed in the context of the possibility of its having had a larger antecedent secular extent; and it is equally important to appreciate that the sub-minsters which were identified at Burghill and Wellington are likely to have been founded by an old minster at Hereford. This indicates that the hundred was

³¹ The parishes of Munsley, Pixley and Little Marcle with Aylton were all chapelries of Ledbury in Winstree. Their combined hidage was 15.75, which, added to Winstree's existing count of 59.375, brings the total to just over 75. The corresponding diminution of Radlow's count by 15.75 hides results in a total of 82.25 hides.

³² Which may have been in the land-unit which became Cutsthorn.

³³ See Chapter Six, section 6.4.3 generally.

³⁴ See Chapter Four, section 4.6 generally.

included within the original *parochia* organised from Hereford.³⁵ The same appears to have been the case for Staple Hundred, with its sub-minsters controlled by St Guthlac's, and we have mapped it within Hereford's *parochia* as well.³⁶

For the Golden Valley, the secular and ecclesiastical overlay was exact and, with charter evidence,³⁷ a *terminus ante quem* for its existence as *parochia* may be dated with confidence to the eighth century. For Madley's and Stretford's southern extent, we see a compact fifty-hide territory known by the English as Mawfield and by the Welsh as *Mais Mail Lochou*, which was likely to have had an ecclesiastical organisation from as early as the seventh century.³⁸ The position for Greytrees' 'core', centred on the fifty-hide district of *Caplefore*, has been discussed in the previous section, but it is worth restating our view that the *villa regalis* of Lugwardine was likely to have been a tenth-century inclusion within it.

The next group of five *parochia* had their ecclesiastical extents diminished in consequence of what appears to have been a secular re-ordering of the province's land-units. The minster parish of Pembridge had included all the manors within Elsdon Hundred with the exception of Dilwyn; this complex vill became divided among Elsdon, Leominster and Stretford but its ecclesiastical link remained with Leominster.³⁹ In addition, the vill of Weobley, within Stretford in 1086, appears to have been within the *parochia* of Pembridge, as was Staunton-on-Arrow, part of

³⁵ The common Anglo-Saxon old minster antecedent of St Guthlac's and St Ethelbert's. We have argued for pre-seventh-century British minster provision for Hereford. See Chapter Five, Figure 5.10.

³⁶ An eighth-century territory of the *Stepelsaete* is likely to have been identified, in terms of Anglo-Saxon administration, by Offa's reign, although its earlier British existence is likely.

³⁷ See Appendix Six and Chapter Six. Llan Dav charters in the Golden Valley record seventh-century foundations.

³⁸ See Chapter Five.

³⁹ See Chapters Five and Six. Our view is that Dilwyn fell within the *parochia* of Leominster, not within Pembridge's.

which was in Hazletree Hundred in 1086.⁴⁰ Turning to Bromyard in Plegelgate, its ecclesiastical jurisdiction extended into neighbouring Worcestershire, taking in the chapels which were located within manors dependent on the royal manor of Clifton-on-Teme, as well as Pencombe which lay in Thornlaw in 1086. Furthermore, the minster's jurisdiction over churches along the Plegelgate boundary with Leominster appears to be certain, even if it was a little indistinct in places.⁴¹ Not so for Bodenham, the minster within Thornlaw; its position vis-à-vis Leominster can never have been clear, as a number of parishes linked to it were the subject of repeated argument between the two minsters. In particular the chapels within the *Heantun* land-unit⁴²—an area which extended from Bodenham across Pencombe, Humber, Docklow, Hatfield and Pudleston medieval parishes—revealed as many ecclesiastical links with St Guthlac's, the secular college which controlled Bodenham's minster, as with Leominster.⁴³ It is a confused picture which indicates complex relationships, ones which are probably obscured by Leominster's powerful landowning position within the area.⁴⁴ For this reason, as mapped in Chapter Seven, Figure 7.9, the *Heantun* land-unit has the appearance of a buffer zone between Bromyard and Leominster, and it has not been possible to ascertain which body had ecclesiastical control.

⁴⁰ See Chapter Six, pages 343-4. The allocation of part of Staunton-on-Arrow to Staple was a scribal error. The vill was a divided one between Elsdon and Hazletree.

⁴¹ For example, the parish of Wacton was within Plegelgate but the vill of Butterley, within it, was claimed by Leominster.

⁴² Literally 'at the high settlement', an area along high ground to the east of Leominster.

⁴³ See Chapters Four and Five, sections 4.7 and 5.2, generally.

⁴⁴ See Chapter Four, section 4.7. The telling information is that concerning the value of the tithes of certain manors. Often two-thirds were claimed by Leominster (the demesne share) with one-third being claimed by St Guthlac's (the ecclesiastical share) as at Humber, but that position was also reversed. At Gattertop in Hope-under-Dinsmore, St Guthlac's held the demesne tithes and Leominster the ecclesiastical. It is worth noting again that we speculated on the possibility that Leominster's twelfth-century claims concerning its parochial jurisdiction were aggrandised by Reading Abbey, once it took control in 1123.

Next we can consider the position for Much Cowarne in Radlow and Ledbury in Winstree. The geographical distinction between Ledbury's *parochia* and Winstree Hundred appears stark unless one considers the points we made earlier about the extent of the *Frome* land-unit and its relationship with Much Cowarne's *parochia* within Radlow Hundred. In fact, the medieval parishes which fell within Ledbury's jurisdiction⁴⁵ comprise those which, although in Radlow in 1086, lay beyond the limits of *Frome* and, consequently, were outside the jurisdiction of Much Cowarne.⁴⁶

All these relationships speak of an earlier land-unit organisation prior to the tenth century. Can we suggest a chronology for this aspect of the province's topography as a step towards understanding its early Anglo-Saxon structure? We saw in Chapters Six and Seven how the creation of boundaries across areas which had previously been within one unit, as in the case of Offa's Dyke for example, indicated that the area concerned had an earlier unified existence. It seems to be the case that, in these examples, we have evidence of the same thing—a later drawing of secular boundaries across ecclesiastical ones. These included the boundaries through which the province was administered in the late Anglo-Saxon period—those of its hundreds—as well as those through which middle Anglo-Saxon districts were organised—those of the two *villae regales* considered. It provides evidence that land-unit reorganisation was occurring throughout the ninth and tenth centuries in such a way so to ignore the *pre-existing* ecclesiastical land-unit structure.

⁴⁵ *I.e.* Munsley, Pixley, Aylton and Little Marcle. See Appendix Four Table 2.

⁴⁶ See Appendix Three, for the hidage values. Munsley, Pixley and Little Marcle comprise 15.75 hides, a sum which if within Winstree would have raised its count from 59.25 to 75 hides. Was this an attempt to redraw Radlow's boundary so as to bring its assessment nearer to 100 hides?

From this it appears that many of the *parochiae* concerned were in existence by the middle Anglo-Saxon period and possibly before. Our examples showed that Pembridge became divided from its chapel in Staunton-on-Arrow; Bromyard was detached from Pencombe and its chapel in Clifton-on-Teme;⁴⁷ Ledbury's parishes of Munsley, Pixley and Little Marcle were placed in Radlow. For Pembridge and Bromyard the division appears to have occurred long before the hundredal geography was an issue—during a period when provincial organisation was driven by a system of central place dependence and affiliation and, although lacking conventional evidence, the case is not an entirely fanciful one. There are good grounds for asserting that the ecclesiastical and secular geography of the province reveals vestiges of an earlier organisation—one which was likely to have had a secular counterpart which mirrored it.

Nowhere is this clearer than in the case of Leominster, which we considered fully in Chapter Six. We shall not repeat the arguments which were advanced there, but merely restate the view, derived from an analysis of the ecclesiastical geography, that the minster *parochia* of Eye represented an earlier configuration of Wolphy Hundred. Once that is clear, the secular geography for the *Lene* district can be redrawn, with the help of ecclesiastical as well as toponymic evidence.⁴⁸ This has consequences for two other adjacent hundreds, Hazletree and Stretford's northern portion. It is worth looking at both in a more detail.

The ecclesiastical evidence for Hazletree suggests that its hundredal boundary, along its north-western side, bisected a *parochia* which appears to have been centred on

⁴⁷ In the case of Clifton-on-Teme the boundary was that of the Doddingtree hundred, which, by the early eleventh century, lay in Worcestershire. See Chapter Seven, pages 335-8.

⁴⁸ See Chapter Six, pages 257-61.

Leintwardine. In Chapter Five we saw an ecclesiastical hierarchical relationship between the churches of Shobdon, Aymestrey and Wigmore and, in turn, between the churches of Wigmore and Leintwardine.⁴⁹ These links suggest the existence of a unified ecclesiastical district which pre-dated hundredal organisation and the establishment of a shire boundary. It is likely that this district had a secular counterpart; and there is some circumstantial evidence to suggest that this counterpart may have been of a much earlier vintage than the ninth century. This is because Leintwardine's church has been found to have been located within the walls of the Romano-British settlement of *Branogenium*,⁵⁰ a fact which hints at a sixth-century land-unit organisation, some one hundred years earlier than that ascribed to the adjacent district of *Lene* by the hagiographical source *St Mildburg's Testament*.⁵¹

Turning to the organisation of Stretford Hundred, it is of some significance that no parochial district can be found within its northern portion, which suggests that the hundred did not incorporate a tenth-century ecclesiastical land-unit.⁵² On the contrary, it appears that Stretford's northern extent was created out of villas which were unallocated, once the extent of Leominster's ecclesiastical hundred had been determined. Furthermore, we mapped the area which we argued to have been organised around a middle Anglo-Saxon land-unit whose central place was the *villa regalis* of Burghill.⁵³ The district extended to the southern bank of the Wye, and into

⁴⁹ Leintwardine was a royal manor within the 1086 Shropshire hundred of the same name.

⁵⁰ See Chapter Five, section 5.4 generally.

⁵¹ Based on that single source, historians, such as Stenton and Finberg, have suggested a chronology for creation of the kingdom of the Magonsaete as an Anglo-Saxon buffer state along the Welsh border. We have already expressed doubts about this theory and will return to it again when discussing evidence for the existence of the territory's relict British land-units.

⁵² However, as discussed, the same was not true of its southern segment.

⁵³ See above.

a district known to have been within the British kingdom of Eryng, with an ecclesiastical organisation evident from sixth-century charter material.⁵⁴

For all of the reorganisations considered above, there is one outstanding point yet to be determined; this relates to the issue of state formation, which was discussed in Chapter Seven: a motivation for the restructuring of long-established land-units. We have already considered that the activity could be couched in terms of the creation of an early tenth-century hundredal scheme.⁵⁵ This scheme could have had as its purpose a re-allocation of resources and manpower across the province which was driven for political purposes, at a time when West Saxon influence was in the ascendancy and the *burh* at Hereford had completed its second-stage fortification.⁵⁶ One motive may, therefore, have been a maximisation of efficiency in husbanding the scarce human resources which were available. There might also have been an attempt by each of the most powerful ecclesiastical landowners to co-locate their manors within the same hundred, as it might benefit their organisation of the public obligations imposed on them. We saw a similar kind of activity in Chapter Seven when we discussed the eleventh-century demarcation of the shire's boundary with Worcestershire, in respect of the manors held by Pershore and Evesham Abbeys.⁵⁷ In

⁵⁴ That of *Mais Mail Lochou* or Mawfield, which, along with Dinedor, was part of the Straddle district of Eryng. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 23-6.

⁵⁵ In this discussion we have omitted the area of the diocese known as the Forest Deanery which lay in the shire before 1016. We considered its inclusion within Herefordshire in Chapter Seven, but have not analysed its hundredal make-up or organisation, save in the context of our discussion of the County Hidage. Its inclusion now would be partial and incomplete, and a discussion of it is omitted for that reason.

⁵⁶ See Chapter Seven, pages 357-8. However, it could also be couched in economic terms, if it had occurred before the tenth century. See R Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1997), hereafter *English Peasantry*, 144-5, where she discusses eighth- and ninth-century reorganisations driven by population pressure coupled with the scarcity of meadow and pastureland.

⁵⁷ See Chapter Seven, pages 365-6.

those instances, manors were apparently transferred into the adjacent Worcestershire hundred.

It would not be an altogether unusual occurrence for tenurial considerations to promote change, particularly where they were designed to improve output of those upon whom the burden of public defences fell. But it is impossible to say what factors were taken into account in achieving a revised structure, so as to pinpoint its timescale or to fully discern its motives. Apart from the reorganisation of Leominster into a private ecclesiastical hundred, there is little evidence to suggest that the restructuring had a tenurial bias. This is revealed by the 1086 evidence displayed in Appendix Five, which demonstrates the tenurial position in the eleventh century and confirms few, if any, common landowning links which could have been the reason for the hundredal reorganisations considered. Admittedly it might have done had there been some evidence from records dating to the tenth century or earlier.⁵⁸ All that can be asserted is that some practical reason must have existed for such a reorganisation, be it economic or socio-political, since it would have altered the burden of taxation which fell on each affected pre-hundredal or hundredal unit, and the consequent administrative changes would not have been easy ones to implement quickly if required for defensive purposes.⁵⁹

We noted in Chapter Seven that by *c.* 930 a boundary with the Welsh had been agreed. Some further observations can be made on this score, particularly as a rigid interpretation of this would have prevented the incorporation of districts like southern Stretford and Dinedor, areas which plainly had been under Anglo-Saxon influence by

⁵⁸ This is absent as few charters have survived.

⁵⁹ However, Faith reckons that the taxation burden was equally aimed at social control and administration of justice. Faith, *English Peasantry*, 116-18.

the ninth century, according to place-name evidence. In reaching agreement with the Welsh princes, it is possible that Aethelstan was able to negotiate the inclusion of districts already within an Anglo-Saxon administration, while excluding those which were not. This may be the reason why the Golden Valley was left outside the province's tenth-century hundred scheme,⁶⁰ why the area of Archenfield south of Holme Lacy and west of the Wye remained within Welsh jurisdiction, even though its rulers acknowledged the overlordship of the English, and why it was necessary to agree the Ordinance for the *Dunsaete* so as to police the lower Wye Valley.⁶¹ It was an arrangement which appears to have subsisted until the eleventh century, falling away only when the threat of Gruffudd ap Llewellyn had come to an end.

To summarise, in this section we have considered evidence for the province's ecclesiastical geography prior to an organisation of the land-units which ultimately were to comprise its Domesday hundreds. By identifying them in Chapters Three, Four and Five and comparing them to their eleventh-century secular counterparts in Chapter Seven, we have been able to argue that the changes noted were the result of a tenth-century political reorganisation, although other pre-tenth-century drivers cannot be ruled out. We also observed, in the cases of Burghill and Much Cowarne, that an earlier, pre-hundred, structure could be detected, which was most probably in place during the middle Anglo-Saxon period. Importantly, in each case it appeared that the ecclesiastical land-units had already been in existence. If the evidence for Eye, Pembridge and Bromyard is typical, and there is no reason to suggest that it is not, then their respective *parochiae* most certainly defined ninth- and possibly eighth-

⁶⁰ Even though it fell within the same British land-unit as that of Stretford south and Dinedor—the district of Straddle. See below.

⁶¹ Chapter Seven, pages 360-4. We believe that the area concerned was the one due south and west of the boundary of Bromsash hundred, where the Forest of Dean bordered Gwent.

century districts. This suggests that the evidence for the middle Anglo-Saxon landscape of the future shire can provide support to the theory, promoted by a number of scholars, that large parochial districts were already in existence before their claimed creation in the tenth century.⁶²

In the final section we shall address the possibility that the districts considered above were likely to have been the remnants of a British-organised landscape.

8.4 Evidence for British districts and their extent

Historians have long agreed that the territories west of the Severn, within what became Shropshire, northern Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, were within British kingdoms until well into the seventh century. Although districts further west were incorporated over the ensuing two hundred years into an eighth- and ninth-century Mercian hegemony, the kingdoms of Gwynedd, Powys and Glywysing (which included the sub-kingdoms of Gwent and Ergyng) remained powerful polities with organisations that mirrored other tribal districts of northern Europe.⁶³

⁶² The support which this study gives to the ‘minster model’ should be noted as corroborating what others have found. See Chapter Two and the following: C N L Brooke, ‘Rural ecclesiastical institutions in England: the search for their origins’, *Settimane di studio centro Italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo*, xxviii.2 (1982), 685-711; J Blair, ‘Introduction: from minster to parish church’ in J Blair (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches. The Local Church in Transition, 950-1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), 1-19; S Bassett, ‘Continuity and fission in the Anglo-Saxon landscape: the origins of the Rodings (Essex)’, *Landscape History*, 19 (1997), 25-42; *idem*, ‘Boundaries of knowledge: mapping the land-units of late Anglo-Saxon and Norman England’ in W Davies, G Halsall and A Reynolds (eds), *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300-1300* (Brepols: Turnhout, Belgium, 2006), 115-42; J Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁶³ For their early histories see W Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), hereafter, *Wales*, 90-101. On the subject of the shape of northern European kingdoms see: C Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), hereafter *Framing*, 303-79.

However, unlike Shropshire's and Gloucestershire's, eleventh-century Herefordshire's British antecedents were readily apparent—there had been disputes in the period immediately before the Conquest, mounted by the powerful Gruffudd ap Llywelyn when ruler of an all-Wales hegemony, with attempts to retake districts which had been incorporated into Mercia in the eighth and ninth centuries.⁶⁴ A revitalised Glywysing under Gruffudd and the proximity of its sub-kingdom of Ergyng/Archenfield to the shire centre at Hereford also mean that memories of the shire's Welsh past must have been vivid.⁶⁵

In what follows, our aim is to identify how the Anglo-Saxon administrative secular and ecclesiastical geography of the province which we have analysed provides a key to possible British antecedent polities of the area. As an aid to understanding the arguments which follow, an idealised depiction of the territory is shown in Figure 8.3.

⁶⁴ Davies, *Wales*, 102-12.

⁶⁵ Gelling's view was that Welsh continued to be spoken until well after the Conquest. Gelling, *West Midlands*, 70.

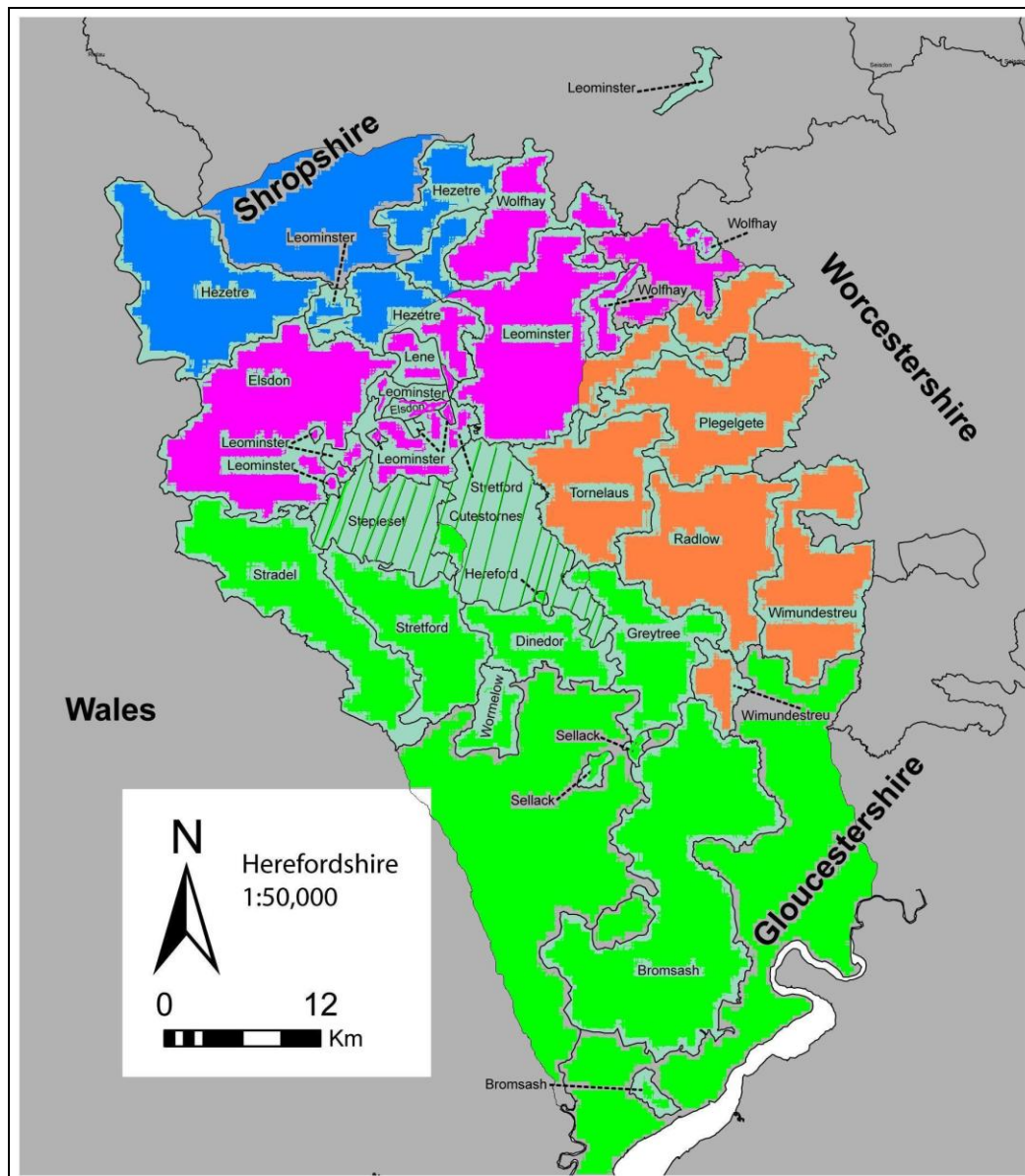


Figure 8.3 A plan of possible sixth-century British polities within later Herefordshire. Key=blue: part of a tribal district of Powys centred on Leintwardine; pink: a tribal district of Powys, possibly that of the *Hecani*, which included the district of *Lene*; orange: a tribal district (of Powys?) in the central and eastern parts of the province; light green and green hatch: Ergyng's extent as far as the Severn, including Hereford, Lugwardine and Burghill. The area with light green hatch on mid-green represents a suggested early *parochia* for Hereford, possibly within Ergyng; it may have been the district known as *Fernlege*.

The bounds of the sixth-century sub-kingdom of Ergyng have been as difficult to determine as has a chronology for the incorporation by the English of its northern and eastern districts, considered in Chapter Seven.⁶⁶ However, most historians accept that

⁶⁶ See a discussion of this topic in Chapter Seven, section 7.5 generally.

Ergyng extended as far as the Severn, and Davies's work on the Llan Dav charters has revealed the sixth-century activity of the kings of Gwent and Ergyng throughout the Golden Valley and the southern portion of Stretford Hundred.⁶⁷ Coplestone-Crow argued that Ergyng had included areas north of the Wye, primarily on the evidence of place-name and documentary material.⁶⁸ Our analysis supports his views, but in part only; we doubted the inclusion of the *parochiae* of Ledbury and Much Cowarne, but accepted Lugwardine's and Fownhope's, and possibly that of Burghill.

However, Ergyng cannot have been the only British sub-kingdom west of the Severn and east of the Welsh mountains in the sixth and seventh centuries. Clearly, the territory north of the Wye would have been organised into districts which possessed tribal and political structures, and yet no historian has yet offered a view as to the identities of the polities which were within this area. (However, Davies does suggest that they may have been included within Powys, as its middle borderland extended into what later became Herefordshire.)⁶⁹ Powys certainly governed the area as far as the Tern in Shropshire, according to the 'Canu Heledd', a ninth-century Welsh poem extolling the virtues of one Cynddylan, the local ruler of a district within it centred on Pengwern, an unidentified place often associated with Shrewsbury.⁷⁰ But, as this is an area within Shropshire, it may demonstrate the likelihood that northern and central

⁶⁷ W Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978).

⁶⁸ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 12-15. See his map of the area displayed in Chapter Seven, Figure 7.11, page 363. He argued that the existence of a place in Brockhampton associated with St Dyfrig, the British saint commonly found as dedicatee of churches in the area, implied that part of Greytree hundred had been within the sub-kingdom. He also argued, *contra* Sims-Williams, that the reference found within the letters of Gilbert Foliot to bishops of 'Lideberi' was to Ledbury, and that Winstree hundred had been within the sub-kingdom. We accepted the first argument, as our investigation into Lugwardine suggested a similar land-unit arrangement, but doubt the second.

⁶⁹ Davies, *Wales*, 102-3.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 99. The poet mourns his death and the loss of homeland. The region described here may have been within a sub-kingdom of Powys which extended south of the Severn. There is only this ninth-century literary reference, however, to record its existence.

Herefordshire possessed similar districts, because we have the corroborative evidence that, from the seventh century, the diocese of Hereford governed southern Shropshire as far as the Severn. This tends to support the view that central and northern Herefordshire had been within one or two districts of Powys, or perhaps within another small unnamed British kingdom whose sixth-century extent was comparable to that of an expanded Eryng.

Wickham has provided an insight into the ways in which such an area might have been organised during the sixth century, arguing that districts centred on known hill-forts may have represented the scale of polities which were

‘... very roughly a third of a modern county. This was... the apparent scale of the earliest known kings in Gwent and Eryng, around 600. It is larger than the 300-hide units found in parts of eastern Britain, but is in the same order of magnitude in terms of landed resources.’⁷¹

He considers that the charter documentation in the Book of Llan Dav and the *Vita S. Cadoci* of Llancarfan provides support to his theory.⁷² Characteristic of the activity recorded in these sources are royal gifts to the Church of substantial properties, including whole estates which comprised one or more *unciae*⁷³ whose rents were expressed in terms of food renders. In this scenario he argues that we begin to see land-units as building blocks of small ‘tribal’ kingdoms.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Wickham, *Framing*, 327-8.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 328. Wickham notes that, with the exception of Sims-Williams’s minor critique on Davies’s chronology for the earliest of these charters (ninety percent of which pre-date 800), no historian has provided any analysis which undermines her argument for their authenticity.

⁷³ *Ibid.* Davies describes an *uncia* as comprising 500 acres or 2km square, which according to Wickham is the same as the five-hide unit of Anglo-Saxon terminology.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 329. ‘This, in my view is what the Welsh land-units have to be... it would explain the absence of fragmented landowning and peasant proprietors, and the low rents in the Llancarfan texts, which would ... be best seen as tribal tributes... The situation in Gwent can in fact be proposed as a rough model for what the eastern lowlands looked like before the Anglo-Saxons came in, with tribal leaders of the community operating as the direct successors of the local landowners of c. 400 and themselves owing allegiance and tribute to kings on the Eryng scale.’ His view is echoed by Hamerow: H

8.4.1 Three polities⁷⁵

We may be able to discern the remnants of this kind of structure in the Herefordshire land-units north and south of the Wye, which were considered above. Appendix Seven provides the information, which we have already analysed, in schematic format and by reference to ecclesiastical and secular land-units. To complete Wickham's hill-fort theory, those identified within the vicinity are also included.⁷⁶ Dealing with each of these land-units in the order set out, it is clear that the extent of the *Lene* district which, on toponymic evidence, comprised the eleventh-century hundreds of Elsdon, Lene, Leominster and Wolphy, is the largest. Its hidage total, at just under three hundred, suggests that its size was comparable to that of the smallest of the Anglo-Saxon polities identified in the Tribal Hidage.⁷⁷ Its sub-division into the three *parochiae* of Pembridge, Leominster (Lene) and Eye suggests that its organisation in the sixth and seventh centuries may have included three substantial secular land-units, and that, in ecclesiastical terms, the district may have had the quasi-diocesan structure of the kind we observed in Chapter Five.⁷⁸

The *Frome* land-unit, at one hundred and eighty hides, cannot readily be identified with a British district and is opaque by comparison with *Lene*. Its cohesion exists in

Hamerow, 'The earliest Anglo-Saxon kingdoms' in P Fouracre (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Volume I: c. 500-c. 700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 263-90, hereafter 'Kingdoms', who argued that in areas like the west midlands, which were less directly affected by the collapse of Roman rule, and local groups of Britons were most likely to have maintained their positions from the fifth century onwards.

⁷⁵ For the purposes of this analysis we are ignoring the area shaded blue in Figure 8.3, as the greater part of it fell within neighbouring Shropshire; consequently it falls outside of the study area.

⁷⁶ Identified from listings at: www.Herefordshire.gov.uk/SMRsearch

⁷⁷ For example, that of the Faerpinga of Charbury in Oxfordshire. See: P Featherstone, 'The Tribal Hidage and the ealdormen of Mercia' in M Brown and C Farr (eds), *Mercia An Anglo-Saxon kingdom in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2001), 23-34, hereafter 'Ealdormen of Mercia', at 24.

⁷⁸ See Chapter Five, section 5.2 generally. This would explain the relationship which was observed between Leominster and Eye, and the possible link with Kinnersley. Sims-Williams has written about the existence of federations of minsters founded in connexion with one another, in the context of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and such a phenomenon is likely to have occurred within the British Church, as well. P Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western English, 600-800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 87-143.

the toponymic evidence and central-place function of Much Cowarne.⁷⁹ There is little to suggest a political structure and no observed hierarchical connection between its two minsters.⁸⁰ However, the adjacent district of Maund and the *Heantun* land-unit may, together with *Frome*, have comprised a small tribal district. We have already observed the ecclesiastical links between Maund/*Magon*⁸¹ and *Heantun*, suggesting that the latter may have been within the former's *parochia*. In addition, the names of all three areas can be interpreted as geographic descriptors within a much larger region: *Frome* and *Magon* describe the district's two river valleys. (We know that there was a common British practice of naming settlement areas from nearby rivers.)⁸² *Heantun* describes an elevated area bordering the adjacent district of *Lene* which may have been a buffer zone separating two polities.⁸³ It is noteworthy that the combined assessments in hides in 1086 was c. two hundred and seventy-five, just under the three hundred mark of the Tribal Hidage.⁸⁴

The districts south of the Wye, *Straddle* and *Caplefore*, are both relatively straightforward. They are included to illustrate what Wickham termed '... a rough

⁷⁹ However, Ifor Williams believed that a district of *Ffraw* was identified as the territory where Pyll, son of the sixth-century Powys chief Gwen ap Llywarch, was killed. 'This is the Welsh form of the river which survives as *Frome* in England. So I am tempted to identify this... with the Herefordshire *Frome*'. I Williams, *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1972), 150.

⁸⁰ Bromyard and Much Cowarne do not appear to be linked to one another in the exercise of their ecclesiastical jurisdictions, unlike the connection of parochial chapel/British diocesan hierarchy observed between Leominster and Eye, for example.

⁸¹ For the identification of *Magon*, a possible British term for the lower Lugg valley, see Chapter Seven, page 322-3.

⁸² B Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), 69.

⁸³ Yorke has argued that such zones had a variety of origins, some British and some Anglo-Saxon, whose purposes were primarily that of protection for the heartland of the district. B Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Routledge, 1997), hereafter *Kings and Kingdoms*, 111.

⁸⁴ See above concerning the *Lene* district. Featherstone, 'Ealdormen of Mercia', 24. Davies observes that the Welsh sources indicate the real possibility that there were a number of small polities within greater Powys and Gwynedd in the sixth century. Davies, *Wales*, 98-9. In addition the hidage count for the area may be a reduced one, and explicable because the hundreds of Radlow and Plegelgate had lost manors to Worcestershire around 1017. Thus, territory may well have been of the same order as *Lene*.

model (of) what the... lowlands looked like before the Anglo-Saxons came in.⁸⁵ Both had been within the sub-kingdom of Ergyng in the sixth century.⁸⁶ The one hundred and fifty hide-unit of *Straddle*, discernible from Llan Dav charter material, may have comprised three fifty-hide British estates,⁸⁷ because the organisation of *Caplefore* suggests that the fifty-hide unit may have been the standard estate size in Ergyng.⁸⁸ Unfortunately, although there is evidence of other British land-units within Archenfield in 1086, for example *Hulla* and *Mainaure*,⁸⁹ they must be ignored for these purposes because they are not hidated.

Finally, we have been unable to deal with three areas of the shire within this scheme: the hundreds of Winstree, Cutsthorpe and Staple. The first appears as a large ecclesiastical estate, of roughly sixty hides, unconnected with the British polity of the eastern Herefordshire area that we have depicted here except on the basis of geography. We are minded to include it for this reason alone.⁹⁰ The second and third may be explicable in terms of the extent of an early British *parochia* of Hereford, which we discussed in Chapter Seven. The area was plainly beyond the limits of *Lene*, *Magon*, *Heantun* and *Frome*, although it may have formed a unit within Ergyng.⁹¹ We observed a number of ninth-century ecclesiastical links south of the Wye, within the parish of Madley; and the evidence of Burghill, discussed above,

⁸⁵ Wickham, *Framing*, 329.

⁸⁶ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, 12.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 21-3. Furthermore the ecclesiastical evidence, set out in Chapter Five, suggests that Clifford and Madley had been British *parochiae*.

⁸⁸ We observed the hidage total for the district of *Caplefore* above. It was fifty.

⁸⁹ *DB Herefordshire*, 1.58 and 1.60. The Alecto Edition identifies these places as the medieval parishes of Much Birch, Little Birch and Goodrich.

⁹⁰ The twenty-six hide manor of *Merchelai*, or 'boundary wood', lies within Winstree, suggesting that an outer limit of some district or sub-kingdom had been delineated there.

⁹¹ In Chapter Six, we noted that the hundred of Staple may have been a discrete territory of the people known as the *Stepelsaete*, whose area, in the eighth century, would surely have been one of mixed British and Anglo-Saxon settlement, as it is bisected by a linear earthwork associated with Offa's Dyke.

suggests a secular connection as well. As it is, and following Wickham's model, the shire breaks down into three sub-kingdoms: Ergyng, Powys (*Lene*), and Powys (unnamed), a plan of which is set out in Figure 8.3. (The putative tribal district centred on Leintwardine has not been further analysed in this context as too much of its geographic extent remains outside the study area.)

On the basis of the limited available evidence, coupled with an analysis of its ecclesiastical and secular land-units, we have put forward a proposal as to how the study area may have been organised in the seventh century. Interestingly, this organisation does suggest reasons why a province of the *Magonsaete* could have been on a much smaller scale than that suggested by historians. The unnamed district which comprised the later hundreds of Thornlaw, Plegelgate, Radlow, and perhaps Winstree, may have been composed of relatively self-contained British tribal units, until pressure for land and resources dictated that the population of one of them would prevail. Apart from the place-name evidence, we first hear of the *Magonsaete* in the early ninth century in neighbouring *Frome*, at Yarkhill, not far from the *Magon* district. This may have heralded the time of their gradual expansion east into *Frome* and west towards Hereford. By the ninth century that entire eastern district may well have been one controlled by their 'princes',⁹² generating the rather far-fetched saga/genealogy account so beloved of Stenton and others.

Related to this proposal is an additional important aspect—that of kingdom formation within the province. Nothing that we have discovered supports the theory that, when Bede was referring to 'people beyond the Severn', he was making reference to one

⁹² H P R Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1961), 197-216.

predominant group; rather, like his description of the ‘Middle Angles’ which is argued to have been a reference to a number of small groups whose names are found in the Tribal Hidage,⁹³ the indigenous peoples would surely have been among those collectively known as ‘Westerners’, when we first hear of them in the late seventh century.⁹⁴

8.4.2 Subsequent development of the province: British in all but name?

If our proposal for pre-seventh-century Herefordshire provides, to quote Wickham, ‘... a rough model (of) what the... lowlands looked like before the Anglo-Saxons came in,’⁹⁵ how may its subsequent development and acculturation within Mercia have been accomplished? In Chapter Seven we considered the views of scholars like Gelling who had argued that Mercian overlordship had been achieved as a result of Penda’s seventh-century alliances with the kings of Powys, whose eastern regions opted to become satellite districts dependent on Anglo-Saxon protection;⁹⁶ in geographic terms both *Lene* and the un-named polity of *Frome/Magon* could have been among them. Yorke’s depiction of how Mercia exploited what she has termed its ‘buffer provinces’ seems particularly apt in this context.⁹⁷ There was no requirement for a Mercian takeover, still less a wholesale suppression of British

⁹³ For example, those described by Bede in the eighth century as the ‘Middle Angles’ who arguably appear as the South Gyrwa, North Gyrwa, East Wixna, Sweordora, Gifla, and Hicca in the Tribal Hidage. Featherstone, ‘Ealdormen of Mercia’, 24. C Scull, ‘Archaeology, early Anglo-Saxon society and the origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms’, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 6 (1993), 65-82, at 69, suggests that the existence of these small groups of peoples in the seventh century represents the process of kingdom development some one hundred years later than that which had occurred within East Anglia. One might expect it, therefore, to be further retarded in development in the most westerly parts of Mercia west of the Severn.

⁹⁴ The term continued to be applied, according to the episcopal lists, until c.805. See Chapter Seven, pages 316-18. The subsequent ‘bulking up’ process occurred over the ensuing period until one dominant player had emerged. Hamerow, ‘Kingdoms’, 263-90.

⁹⁵ Wickham, *Framing*, 329.

⁹⁶ See Chapter Seven, page 350.

⁹⁷ ‘The thoroughness of Mercian statecraft... can be seen as extending these policies to small provinces beyond its immediate borders before the end of the seventh century.’ Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, 111.

culture and institutions. All that was needed was sufficient control over indigenous leaders, over the organisation of its Church, tales of a few saintly family members or hangers-on, coupled with some generous endowments and identifiable royal ‘palaces’ to keep up the appearances of power, and the scheme was complete.

This seems a comprehensive description of Mercian activity in seventh-century Herefordshire. We have only to consider the tale of Merewalh, his alleged endowments of Leominster and Wenlock, and his saintly family, as well as the signs of royal estate ownership in *Frome/Magon* at Much Cowarne and Sutton, and the endowments to the Hereford minsters of St Ethelbert and St Guthlac, with their attendant, somewhat anti-British, eighth-century hagiographies.⁹⁸ Furthermore there is nothing to suggest that the strategy required any kind of Anglo-Saxon political takeover, if there was sufficient motivation for the rulers of the indigenous groups to offer tribute in exchange for protection. In all probability the territory remained a British one, with a gradual influx of Anglo-Saxons, providential inter-marriages and royal patronage, all of which gave the appearance of its existence as a buffer-state and a province of Mercia’s creation.

⁹⁸ As Higham has observed Merewalh ‘... was more likely to have been a Welsh king who was a political client of the Mercian royal house, than a son of Penda who had been given an outlandish name, as Goscelin would have us believe’. N Higham, *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons* (London: Seaby, 1992), 193.

CONCLUSION

This investigation into the origins and antiquity of Herefordshire's medieval landscape was conducted to explore three related issues. The first issue was to determine whether there was a late Anglo-Saxon and/or Anglo-Norman reorganisation of the administration and the administrative landscape of the shire by 1086, or an essential continuity of Mercian and British/Welsh territorial structures. The second was to identify whether, fossilised beneath parts of the Domesday shire, there were remnants of very early British territories such as have been detected in other shires of the English midlands. The third was to suggest insights concerning the various folk-groups which occupied the study area during the early and middle Anglo-Saxon period, and to identify characteristics of their polities' socio-economic, political and ecclesiastical organisations. (Their territories may constitute small tribal districts which developed and subsisted following the collapse of Roman rule.) We observed in the study's Introduction that an exploration of these particular matters would assist in furthering debate of three long-disputed theories: (1) a chronology for the origins of the shires and hundreds of the midlands; (2) the operation of the Mercian hegemony during the middle Anglo-Saxon period; and (3) the early ecclesiastical organisation of Mercia's satellite kingdoms.

As to the first issue concerning the study area's organisation, we have found that both limbs of the proposal have been satisfied. That is to say, there is evidence that during the late Anglo-Saxon period, and as a consequence of the development of its tenth-century hundredal organisation, adjustments had been made to the province's earlier secular and ecclesiastical geography. In many cases the changes were minimal, but in the case of Leominster there is

evidence of a significant re-ordering, such that the surrounding administrative geography was substantially altered from one which may be argued to have been in place before the tenth century. In particular, the hundreds of Hazletree and Wolphy were markedly affected. There is also evidence that, with the alteration of the shire boundary early in the eleventh century, some seven hundreds (or the earlier land-unit structures which may have subsisted in that area) were lost to an expanded Gloucestershire; furthermore, a handful of manors seem to have been transferred into Worcestershire, and there were a number of insular adjustments made to hundreds such as Winstree, Elsdon, Thornlaw and Plegelgate. None of these produced a hundredal organisation of regular size and shape. Although we concluded that the number of hides within the Domesday shire was roughly 1200 (1198.375), thus supporting Taylor's view that there may have been a consistency of assessment to geld within Mercia, the component secular land-units at local hundred level differed markedly in their individual assessments. This activity seems to have been an ongoing one, possibly designed for the tenurial and political convenience of those in power, possibly as a result of the loss by the shire of the seven hundreds east of the Wye and west of the Severn, whose total hidage in 1086 comprised 201.425.

However, although by no means insignificant in its scope, the consequential reorganisation did not obscure evidence which had permitted a detection of the Mercian territorial structures which existed during the middle Anglo-Saxon period. These structures have been revealed both by an analysis of the shire's *villae regales* and by a reconstruction of their ecclesiastical counterparts, the old minster *parochiae*. Adopting the methodology used by leading Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical scholars, we have adduced evidence to demonstrate that the organisation of the province's parochial administration pre-dated the shire's tenth-century hundredal

ordering—the first stages of the latter being likely to have been completed by 939, the date of the Hundred Ordinance. (However, it was probably in place earlier, subsisting under another guise.) This gives support to the theory that the area of the future shire had an organised and well-developed parochial land-unit structure by the ninth century.

We have argued that the area of the future shire comprised fourteen old minsters, whose *parochiae* in some cases extended into neighbouring Welsh-controlled Archenfield, Shropshire and Worcestershire—all facts which further confirm the antiquity of its organisation. Although it was not possible in every case to identify conclusively a *monasterium* for each ecclesiastical district, we have usually been able to find a superior church within the area which, according to the combined records of the *Acta*, the Bishop's Registers and 1291 Taxation, served as its centre of pastoral care. As the study progressed, it became obvious that a sophisticated parochial hierarchy had existed in the area of the future shire during the middle Anglo-Saxon period, earlier than ecclesiastical scholars like Rollason and Tinti have suggested. These old minsters, which were often located on the royal demesne estates which they served, had *parochiae* which bore marked similarity in terms of jurisdiction to the outline of the surrounding secular land-unit organisation. This fact suggests, as Sawyer and others have consistently argued, that their counterpart secular land-units are likely to have been in existence in the seventh and eighth centuries.

Consequent upon our findings here, a regression mapping of the ecclesiastical and secular administration of the shire was completed in Chapter Seven, one which compared the boundaries of ecclesiastical land-units, which we have been able to date to the eighth and

ninth centuries, with their tenth-century secular counterparts. It is this mapping that has enabled us to advance a theory concerning the second limb of our proposal: that beneath parts of the shire exist fossilised remnants of British land-units at vill, multi-vill and sub-kingdom level—these being, for example, the vill, *Magon*, the multi-vill, *Frome* and the sub-kingdom, *Lene*. Many of the land-units appear to us to be comparable with the small polities listed in the Tribal Hidage.

It is possible that they all existed within the kingdom of Powys as it was configured in the late sixth and early seventh centuries. Although each varied in size, as demonstrated by their respective hidage totals revealed in Appendix Seven, each appears to have been a discrete district which incorporated the flood plains of major rivers and had extensive woodland, elevated pastures and hill-forts. Moreover, they appear to have been organised around an identifiable central place. These are the characteristics, observed by historians such as Yorke, Wickham, Sawyer, Bonney and others, indicative of the settlement structures of the Romano-British period. (Indeed, Faith has argued that they may demonstrate Iron Age settlement configuration.)

We are not suggesting that the mapped extents of these districts remained continuous, in boundary terms, from the sixth century. However, there is clear evidence within the toponymic data that some fixing of territorial remit was beginning by the eighth century. This is demonstrated most clearly in the case of the Staple Hundred, as well as in that of the *tunas* land-units located in Hazletree and Elsdon hundreds and along the line of Offa's Dyke. For the land-units to have subsisted in an organised economic form right up to eighth century

points to the comprehensive survival of the indigenous folk groups who occupied them. As such, this challenges Coates's view that linguistic evidence suggests the wholesale enslavement, obliteration or mass exodus of the peoples of lowland Britain. We have noted the possibility, most recently reinforced by Hough's work on *egles, that there is likely to have been a borrowing of Latin loan-words into Primitive Welsh during the fifth and sixth centuries. British loan-words, like British names, were taken into Anglo-Saxon from the indigenous British speakers whom the incoming settlers encountered.¹

How Mercian overlordship was accomplished west of the Severn remains a mystery, and this study has not attempted to solve it. There is much to suggest that a short-lived seventh-century alliance with Powys against Northumbria was its driving factor. If, as the Welsh sources suggest, a number of tribal groups occupied eastern Powys (an area within later Herefordshire as far as the Wye), then their chieftains seem to have been the individuals most likely to have allied themselves with Penda's superior forces. Merewalh may have been one of this number, but in our view, and given the socio-economic and political organisation of the area in the sixth and seventh centuries, there are likely to have been many others. This brings us to the most controversial aspect of the study: our contention that a province of the Magonsaete did not exist in the form currently understood—that is to say, one which was co-terminous with the diocese of Hereford at its establishment late in the seventh century.

Our evidence for this is partly toponymic and partly ecclesiastical. The district of the *Magon* people, believed to be the lower Lugg valley, is a discrete one, and there is no perceived

¹ The standard interpretation remains that of Jackson: K Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1953), 246-61 on Latin loan-words, and 260-1 in particular.

interface between it and Merewalh's alleged sub-kingdom of *Lene*—perhaps known as that of the *Hecani*. Furthermore, the two districts shared no common ecclesiastical organisation, of the kind that existed in neighbouring seventh-century Worcestershire under the Hwicce. This suggests that seventh- and eighth-century British polities remained in being until competition for resources dictated that they must cohere to survive and prosper. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that one aspect of the need for early burghal fortification was the unification of disparate groups under the common goal of defending the Mercian realm. This mid- to late-eighth-century activity would not have required Mercian manpower, but merely the selection and promotion of powerful loyal followers who could deliver tribute in exchange for advancement, as well as for the protection of their peoples.

As for the organisation of the diocese of Hereford, nothing that we have discovered indicates that this activity was a *de novo* administrative feat. Place-name, archaeological, Welsh charter and land-unit evidence suggests that the British Church had a well-organised system which delivered pastoral care from a network of establishments, with a defined hierarchy of bishops operating in cooperation with one another across their discrete *parochiae*. The transformation of this activity around a Romanised *provincia* governed from Anglo-Saxon-dominated Canterbury merely indicates a drive to return to the kind of centralised hierarchy beloved of Roman institutions and government structures, such as the Catholic Church. The location of its see at Hereford coincided with the latter's development as provincial *burh* and location of a royal estate within its walls.

The evidence for Herefordshire, therefore, suggests continued occupation and governance by British/Welsh peoples from the seventh century, their gradual acculturation by the Anglo-Saxons during the eighth and ninth, along with the survival of British ecclesiastical institutions which were incorporated into those of Anglo-Saxon establishment. Its 'shiring' within Mercia occurred early in the tenth century. The ultimate dominance of Old English was not achieved even by the eleventh century, since the population remained Welsh-speaking to a large degree well into the twelfth and thirteenth. For its British/Welsh identity to have survived throughout the upheaval of the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods would have required the underlying maintenance of an indigenous British/Welsh culture at grass roots level. Obscuring this state of affairs by successive regimes of 'foreign' administration may have changed its outward appearance, but it did not eradicate it.

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Appendix One

Table of Herefordshire's old minsters, their lesser churches, their 1291 valuations and patrons

This table records what we consider to have been Herefordshire's seventh- and eighth-century old minsters. These appear in bold in the first column, and any significant lesser churches, often high-value establishments in their own right, appear immediately beneath. Not every church recorded in 1291 is listed here; rather, only those which reveal the organisation as having had a secular college structure. This evidence is revealed by the existence of chapelries, portion-holders, pensions and the like. We consider whether the churches were standing in the eleventh-century by reference to the evidence of Domesday Book, and we build up a picture of the shire's ecclesiastical provision by recording any information about patronage in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Finally we list any other information which is relevant to the individual church and its provision of pastoral care.

| Old minster shown in bold; significant lesser churches in <i>parochia</i> appear directly beneath (LL= place mentioned in Llan Dav charters) | Value £/s/d in 1291 | Secular college structure: evidence of portions and/or chapels | Evidence in Domesday Book? | 12th-century holder | 1291 patron | Other relevant information |
|--|----------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--|
| Ledbury | £60 | yes; 2 x portion | yes | Canons of Hereford | Canons of Hereford | |
| Much Marcle | £26/13s/4d | | yes | Lyre Abbey | Lyre Abbey | <i>villa regalis</i> ; held by Leominster before 1066; portion held by Monmouth Priory |
| Cradley | £23 | portion | no | Canons of Hereford | Bishop | |
| Bosbury | £20 | no | yes | Canons of Hereford | Bishop | |
| | | | | | | |
| Ross-on-Wye | £40 | chapels x 2 | no | Canons of Hereford | Bishop | |

| Old minster shown in bold; significant lesser churches in <i>parochia</i> appear directly beneath (LL= place mentioned in Llan Dav charters) | Value £/s/d in 1291 | Secular college structure: evidence of portions and/or chapels | Evidence in Domesday Book? | 12th-century holder | 1291 patron | Other relevant information |
|---|----------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| Bridstow | £10 | portion | no | Lyre Abbey | Lyre Abbey | portion held by Ross-on-Wye |
| Linton | £8 | chapel and portions | yes | Cormeilles Abbey | Lyre Abbey | <i>villa regalis</i> ; portion held by Gloucester Abbey |
| Upton Bishop | £10 | | yes | Canons of Hereford | Canons of Hereford | |
| Hope Mansell | £4 | portion | no | Monmouth Priory | Monmouth Priory | Gloucester Abbey held third part of manor before 1066 |
| Foy (LL) | | portion x 2 | no | Gloucester Abbey | Gloucester Abbey | 1203: portion granted to church at Ewyas |
| Walford | £26/13s/4d | chapel and portions | no | Canons of Hereford | prebend: Bishop is patron | Westbury-on-Severn holds portion |
| How Caple | | portion | no | Canons of Hereford | Canons of Hereford | rector of Ross-on-Wye holds portion |
| | | | | | | |
| Much Cowarne | £23/6s/8d | portion | yes | Gloucester Abbey | Gloucester Abbey | <i>villa regalis</i> ; held by Gloucester Abbey by 1088, portion to Malvern |

| Old minster shown in bold; significant lesser churches in <i>parochia</i> appear directly beneath (LL= place mentioned in Llan Dav charters) | Value £/s/d in 1291 | Secular college structure: evidence of portions and/or chapels | Evidence in Domesday Book? | 12th-century holder | 1291 patron | Other relevant information |
|---|----------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| | | | | | | Priory |
| Stoke Edith | £16/13s/4d | chapel | yes | Conches Abbey | Conches Abbey | |
| Stretton Grandison | £10 | chapel | no | Monmouth Priory | Monmouth Priory | |
| Weston Beggard | £4 | portions | yes | St Guthlac's | St Katherine's Hospital | portions held by St Guthlac's and Great Malvern Priory |
| Canon Frome | | portion | no | ? early grant by Lacy to Llantony | Llantony Prima | |
| Castle Frome | £6/3s/14 | portion | no | | St Guthlac's holds portion | |
| Bishop's Frome | £13/6s/8d | | yes | Llantony Prima | Llantony Prima | canons of Hereford held in 1086; high 1291 value of vicarage at £8 |
| Yarkhill | £5/6s/8d | portion | no | Conches Abbey | St Katherine's Hospital | claimed by St Guthlac's and Gloucester Abbey |
| Tarrington | £5/6s/8d | | no | Monmouth Priory | Monmouth Priory | |
| | | | | | | |

| Old minster shown in bold; significant lesser churches in <i>parochia</i> appear directly beneath (LL= place mentioned in Llan Dav charters) | Value £/s/d in 1291 | Secular college structure: evidence of portions and/or chapels | Evidence in Domesday Book? | 12th-century holder | 1291 patron | Other relevant information |
|--|----------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--|
| Lugwardine-- Archenfield parishes | £10 | portion/chapels x 4 | yes | St Guthlac's | St Guthlac's | <i>villa regalis</i> ; St Mary's, Cormeilles held tithes and virgate in 1086 |
| Hentland (LL) | £10 | | no | | | called 'mother-church of Archenfield' |
| Llangarron (LL) | £13/6s/8d | | no | | | disputed—Monmouth Priory claims it |
| St Weonards (LL) | £13/6s/8d | | no | | | |
| Llanwarne (LL) | £13/6s/8d | | yes | | Llantony Prima | outlier of Holme Lacy |
| Holme Lacy | £10/13s/4d | chapel | yes | St Guthlac's | St Guthlac's | |
| Much Dwch (LL) | £9/6s/8d | chapel | no | ? St Guthlac's | Kilpeck Priory | disputed—bishop claimed against Gloucester Abbey (held as outlier of Kilpeck) |
| | | | | | | |
| Lugwardine— parishes in 1086 Greytree Hundred | | | | | | |

| Old minster shown in bold; significant lesser churches in <i>parochia</i> appear directly beneath (LL= place mentioned in Llan Dav charters) | Value £/s/d in 1291 | Secular college structure: evidence of portions and/or chapels | Evidence in Domesday Book? | 12th-century holder | 1291 patron | Other relevant information |
|---|----------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|---|
| Fownhope | £13 | chapel | yes | Lyre Abbey | Lyre Abbey | |
| Mordiford | £8 | chapel | no | St Guthlac's | Gloucester Abbey | may be DB 'Priors Frome' |
| Dormington | £5 | ? chapels | no | St Guthlac's | St Guthlac's | |
| | | | | | | |
| Bromyard | £44/13s | chapels/portions | yes | Canons of Hereford | Bishop | mentioned in charter of 840 |
| Collington | | | yes | Canons of Hereford | Bromyard canons | |
| Stanford Bishop | | | yes | | | <i>villa regalis</i> ; part of Leominster before 1066 |
| Avenbury | £12 | ?chapel is Lt Cowarne | yes | St Guthlac's | ? | eighth-century royal charter in favour of Worcester (?Offa) |
| Stoke Lacy | £8 | ?chapel is Lt Cowarne | no | St Guthlac's | Gloucester Abbey | portion to St Guthlac's |
| Lt Cowarne | | | no | St Guthlac's | Gloucester Abbey | |

| Old minster shown in bold; significant lesser churches in <i>parochia</i> appear directly beneath (LL= place mentioned in Llan Dav charters) | Value £/s/d in 1291 | Secular college structure: evidence of portions and/or chapels | Evidence in Domesday Book? | 12th-century holder | 1291 patron | Other relevant information |
|---|----------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|---|
| Pencombe | £12 | chapel/portion | no | Llantony Prima | Llantony Prima | portion to Leominster; early royal charter in favour of Worcester |
| | | | | | | |
| Leominster (A) | £70 | portions/chapels | yes | Reading Abbey | Reading Abbey | |
| Eye | £45/6s | chapels x 6/portions | no | Reading Abbey | Reading Abbey | |
| Humber | £5 | portions x 3 | no | Reading Abbey | ? St Guthlac's | portions held by Leominster, St Guthlac's and Brecon Priory |
| Hatfield | £3/15s/7d | portions x 2 | no | Reading Abbey | Leominster Priory/Great Malvern Priory | |
| | | | | | | |
| Leominster (B)—in <i>Lene</i> district | | | | | | |
| Dilwyn | £16/13s/4d | | no | Reading Abbey | Wormsley Priory | |
| Eardisland | £16/13s/4d | | yes | St Mary's, Cormeilles | Lyre Abbey | more than one church in |

| Old minster shown in bold; significant lesser churches in <i>parochia</i> appear directly beneath (LL= place mentioned in Llan Dav charters) | Value £/s/d in 1291 | Secular college structure: evidence of portions and/or chapels | Evidence in Domesday Book? | 12th-century holder | 1291 patron | Other relevant information |
|---|----------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------|--|
| | | | | | | 1066 |
| Lyonsall | £8 | portion | no | Wormsley Priory | | portion held by Great Malvern |
| Kingsland | £20 | portions | no | St Mary's, Cormeilles | | portions to Newent Priory and St Guthlac's |
| Leominster (C)—in Elsdon Hundred Pembridge | £26/13s/4d | pensions | no | ? St Guthlac's claimed manor | | |
| Almeley | £16/13s/4d | portion | no | ? St Guthlac's held manor | Great Malvern Priory | portion held by Great Malvern Priory |
| Kington | £20 | chapels/portion | no | | | links to Titley Priory |
| Kinnersley | £13/6s/8d | portion | no | Reading Abbey | | portion held by rector of Almeley |
| Staunton-on-Arrow | £6/3s/4d | pension | no | Wigmore Abbey | | portion held by rector of Pembridge |
| Weobley | £12 | | yes | St Guthlac's | Llantony Prima | |
| | | | | | | |

| Old minster shown in bold; significant lesser churches in <i>parochia</i> appear directly beneath (LL= place mentioned in Llan Dav charters) | Value £/s/d in 1291 | Secular college structure: evidence of portions and/or chapels | Evidence in Domesday Book? | 12th-century holder | 1291 patron | Other relevant information |
|--|----------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--|
| Leominster (D)—in Hazletree and Stretford Hundreds | | | | | | |
| Aymestrey | £10/13s/4d | chapel | yes | in Leominster? | Wigmore Abbey | |
| King's Pyon | £13/6s/8d | portion | yes | St Mary's, Cormeilles | | portion held by Newent Priory |
| | | | | | | |
| Bodenham | | | | | | |
| Bodenham and Maund | £13/6s/8d | portions x 5 | yes | St Guthlac's | Brecon Priory | portions held by Leominster, Kilpeck and St Guthlac's priories, rectors of Felton and Pudleston; Bodenham got burial rights re Broadfield in 1137 (settlement with Leominster accounted for its portion) |
| Ocle Pychard | £5 | | yes | St Guthlac's | St Guthlac's | connection with Worcester |

| Old minster shown in bold; significant lesser churches in <i>parochia</i> appear directly beneath (LL= place mentioned in Llan Dav charters) | Value £/s/d in 1291 | Secular college structure: evidence of portions and/or chapels | Evidence in Domesday Book? | 12th-century holder | 1291 patron | Other relevant information |
|---|----------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--|
| Ullingswick | £5/6s/8d | portions x 5 | no | Canons of Hereford | Bishop | portion to Llantony, possible link with Worcester |
| Marden | £10 | chapels x 2 | no | St Guthlac's | Canons of Hereford | St Guthlac's held chapel at Wistanton |
| Withington | £6/13s/4d | chapel | yes | Canons of Hereford | Canons of Hereford | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| Hereford (A)—in 1086 Cutsthorpe Hundred | | | | | | |
| Burghill | £13/6s/8d | | yes | ?Llantony Prima | Llantony Prima | <i>villa regalis</i> , and Brecon Priory disputes rights |
| Wellington | £16/13s/4d | portions | yes | ? St Guthlac's | Bishop | portions held by lord of Wellington and St Guthlac's |
| Brinsop | £6/13s/4d | portions | yes | | Bishop | portions held by Llantony Prima, Brecon Priory and |

| Old minster shown in bold; significant lesser churches in <i>parochia</i> appear directly beneath (LL= place mentioned in Llan Dav charters) | Value £/s/d in 1291 | Secular college structure: evidence of portions and/or chapels | Evidence in Domesday Book? | 12th-century holder | 1291 patron | Other relevant information |
|--|----------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|---|
| | | | | | | vicar of Burghill |
| Holmer | none | chapel at Huntingdon | no | Canons held DB manor | Canons of Hereford | disputed burial rights; small churches at Credenhill and Hampton Bishop |
| Dinedor | £6 | portions | no | Conches Abbey | ?Lyre Abbey | portions held by Lyre Abbey and Great Malvern Priory |
| Canon Pyon | £10 | | yes | Canons held DB manor | Canons of Hereford | |
| Lyde | | | no | St Guthlac's | ?Canons of Hereford | mother-church is Clifton-on-Teme; rector of Pipe has say over grant of tithes to St Guthlac's; Canons of Hereford are patrons of Pipe |
| Hereford (B)—in 1086 Staple Hundred | | | | | | |
| Bishopstone | £13/6s/8d | | no | Canons hold manor | | within <i>Malveselle</i> |
| Mansell Lacy | £14 | | no | | | within <i>Malveselle</i> |

| Old minster shown in bold; significant lesser churches in <i>parochia</i> appear directly beneath (LL= place mentioned in Llan Dav charters) | Value £/s/d in 1291 | Secular college structure: evidence of portions and/or chapels | Evidence in Domesday Book? | 12th-century holder | 1291 patron | Other relevant information |
|---|----------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--|
| Wormsley | £1/6d/8p | | yes | Canons hold .5 hides | Wormsley Priory | priory does not hold until 1242 |
| Yazor | £2/13s/4d | portion | no | St Guthlac's | Llantony Prima | St Guthlac's holds portion |
| Monnington-on-Wye | £16/13s/4d | pension claim | no | St Guthlac's | | St Guthlac's holds pension |
| Staunton-on-Wye | £14/13s/4d | portion | no | St Guthlac's | | Clifford Priory holds portion |
| | | | | | | |
| Madley (LL) | £26/13s/4d | chapels x2 potion | yes | Canons of Hereford | Canons of Hereford | mortuary fees and wax oblations separately valued in 1291 |
| Kingstone | £6/3s/4d | portions | yes | St Guthlac's | Bishop | St Mary's, Cormeilles, held in 1086; portions held by Newent and St Guthlac's priories; annexed to deanship of cathedral |
| Allensmore | £16/6s/8d | chapel | no | DB Manor of Bishop | Bishop | disputed burial rights |

| Old minster shown in bold; significant lesser churches in <i>parochia</i> appear directly beneath (LL= place mentioned in Llan Dav charters) | Value £/s/d in 1291 | Secular college structure: evidence of portions and/or chapels | Evidence in Domesday Book? | 12th-century holder | 1291 patron | Other relevant information |
|---|----------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| Preston-on-Wye (LL) | £10 | chapel | yes | DB Manor of Canons | Canons of Hereford | Bellamore/Bolgros also here (LL) |
| Moccas (LL) | £6 | portion | no | St Guthlac's | | portion held by St Guthlac's |
| | | | | | | |
| Clifford | £30 | | ?yes | | Clifford Priory | an eleventh-century borough |
| Dorstone (LL) | £20 | portion | no | | Clifford Priory | Clifford Priory holds portion |
| Bredwardine (LL) | £8 | | no | | Wigmore Abbey | |
| Peterchurch (LL) | £20 | | yes | | Great Malvern Priory | priest at <i>Almundestune</i> |
| Abbey Dore (LL) | | | no | | | not a parish until fifteenth century |
| Vowchurch | | | no | | | not in 1291 record but possibly within Kentchurch |
| | | | | | | |

| Old minster shown in bold; significant lesser churches in <i>parochia</i> appear directly beneath (LL= place mentioned in Llan Dav charters) | Value £/s/d in 1291 | Secular college structure: evidence of portions and/or chapels | Evidence in Domesday Book? | 12th-century holder | 1291 patron | Other relevant information |
|--|----------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--|
| Ewyas | | | | | | |
| Clodock (LL) | £20 | chapels | no | | Llantony Prima | in St David's diocese and includes Longtown |
| Ewyas Harold | | Llancillo in LL | yes--three churches | Gloucester Abbey | Gloucester Abbey | ? link with Kentchurch |
| | | | | | | |
| Archenfield and Monmouth | | | | | | |
| Welsh Bicknor (LL) | £4 | portions | no | Monmouth Priory | Monmouth Priory | earliest of LL foundations--?sixth century; episcopal status |
| Llanrothal (LL) | £3/6s/8d | chapel | no | Monmouth Priory | Monmouth Priory | |
| Llandinabo (?LL) | | | no | | | no entry 1291 |
| Kentchurch (LL) | £10 | chapel | no | Ewyas Priory | Gloucester Abbey | |
| Kenderchurch (LL) | £3/13s/4d | | | St Guthlac's-spurious | Llantony Prima | |
| Monmouth (LL) | £16/s/4d | hold portions | yes | | | |

| Old minster shown in bold; significant lesser churches in <i>parochia</i> appear directly beneath (LL= place mentioned in Llan Dav charters) | Value £/s/d in 1291 | Secular college structure: evidence of portions and/or chapels | Evidence in Domesday Book? | 12th-century holder | 1291 patron | Other relevant information |
|--|----------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|---|
| | | | | | | |
| Sellack (LL) | £20/13s/4d | chapel x 2, pension | no | ? but pension to Gloucester | Canons of Hereford | disputes with bishop and Gloucester Abbey: claimed to be held by it as outlier of Kilpeck |
| Peterstow (LL) | £8/13s | portion | no | | Canons of Hereford | |
| Marstow (LL) | | | no | | | no entry 1291 |
| Pencoyd (LL) | | | no | | | no entry 1291 |
| Michaelchurch (LL) | | | no | | | no entry 1291 |
| | | | | | | |
| Leintwardine | £20 | chapels/portions | no | Wigmore Abbey | Wigmore Abbey | |
| | | | | | | |

Appendix Two

A post-Conquest pattern of ecclesiastical provision for Herefordshire

The discussion in Chapter Three, which identifies the main post-Conquest ecclesiastical providers for the shire, has revealed a pattern of provision from a number of religious houses. These included the minsters of St Ethelbert's and St Guthlac's, the alien monasteries of St Mary's, Cormeilles, and Lyre Abbey, and the Abbey of St Peter's, Gloucester.¹ In addition, many of the churches on *villae regales* and royal manors in the eleventh century appear to have been the subject of fairly recent post-Conquest gifts to Norman houses, a fact which implies that their pre-Conquest ownership rested elsewhere. It is our contention that these churches were probably held, during the Anglo-Saxon period, by the minster of St Guthlac's. This view rests on the observation that St Guthlac's invariably retained some relationship with the manor concerned, either through the retention of tithes or lesser chapels, or by virtue of its position as daughter-house of St Peter's, Gloucester, which was, arguably, the largest ecclesiastical player in the shire next to the episcopal minster of St Ethelbert's.

A map of the ecclesiastical organisation from the late eleventh century is set out in Figure 1.

¹ For this purposes of the discussion Leominster has been excluded. Its role has been considered in full within Chapter Five. Earlier we suggested that, as an extensive composite ecclesiastical manor, it might have been at the centre of a British kingdom and diocese. Scholars have raised the likelihood of British origins for the Domesday manor repeatedly, some, like Kemp, on account of the twelfth-century claims of Reading Abbey, others, like Stenton, Round and Lennard on the grounds of its secular organisation. See: Lennard, R V, *Rural England 1086-1135* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 331. F and D Stenton, 'Pre-conquest Herefordshire', in D Stenton (ed.), *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 193-202. J H Round, 'Introduction to the Herefordshire Domesday Book' in W Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Herefordshire. Volume 1* (London: Constable, 1908), 263-307. F Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond: Three Essays in the Early History of England* (London: Fontana Library, 1969), 85 and 145.

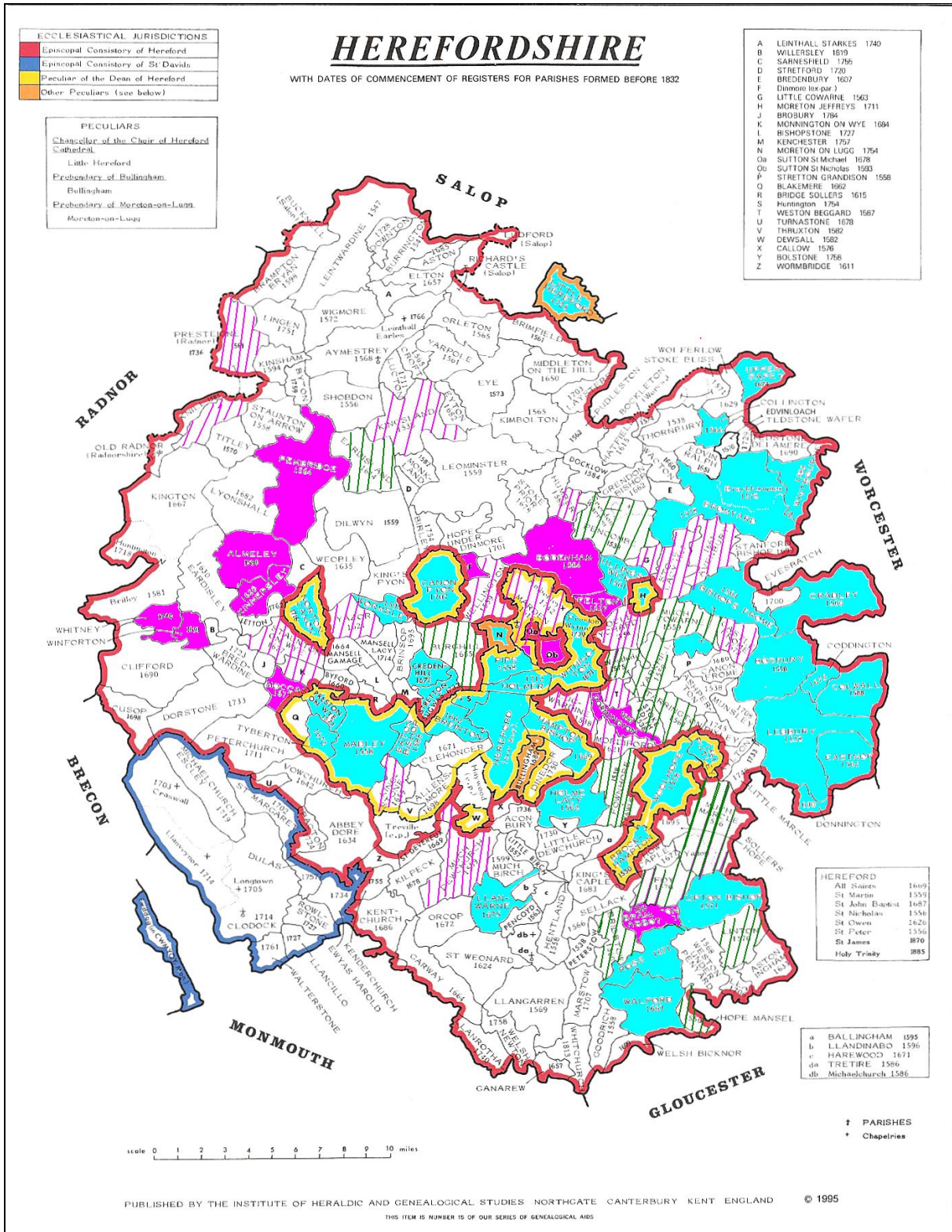


Figure 1 The organisation of ecclesiastical provision in Herefordshire following the Conquest. **Key** = pink: St Guthlac's possessions and provision; pink hatch: St Guthlac's provision; blue: St Ethelbert's possessions and provision; green hatch: provision by alien houses or St Peter's, Gloucester. (Note: excludes Leominster). From Humphrey-Smith, *Atlas*, 15, with additions.

Confining the information to that for the shire for 1086 (because there is none in the survey for 1066), and the twelfth-century *Acta*, which reveals the fate of the Norman houses, the table below identifies the position.

| <i>Villa Regalis</i>/royal manor | 1086 holder | Twelfth-century holder |
|---|-----------------------|--|
| Linton | St Mary's, Cormeilles | Lyre Abbey but a portion was held by Gloucester Abbey |
| Cleeve/Wilton | St Mary's, Cormeilles | Lyre Abbey |
| Lugwardine | St Mary's, Cormeilles | St Guthlac's, which claimed burial rights in the twelfth century |
| Marden | No information | St Guthlac's |
| Burghill | Llantony <i>Prima</i> | Llantony <i>Prima</i> but St Guthlac's held church and tithes at adjacent Wellington |
| Much Cowarne | Gloucester Abbey | Gloucester Abbey |
| Kingstone | St Mary's, Cormeilles | St Guthlac's held portion |
| Eardisland | St Mary's, Cormeilles | Lyre Abbey |
| Kingsland | St Mary's, Cormeilles | St Mary's, Cormeilles but St Guthlac's held portion |
| Much Marcle | St Mary's, Cormeilles | Lyre Abbey |
| Stanford Bishop | St Mary's, Cormeilles | No information |

With few exceptions, St Mary's, Cormeilles, took over the ecclesiastical provision on royal manors within the shire. Where there is information for the twelfth century, three of these

churches had been acquired by Lyre Abbey and one by Llantony *Prima*, but at the others the reformed priory of St Guthlac's, or its mother-house Gloucester Abbey, managed to hold on to portions or tithes, or both. It is on this basis that we argue that the pre-Conquest provider at these royal manors was St Guthlac's, and that its provision rested on the continued patronage of those in power—some like Harold, who had a history of usurping its estates to augment his own wealth. In these circumstances, with Harold's demise, it is not surprising that there were a number of failing minsters, not only on these estates but also among the lesser churches that had been founded and endowed as royal demesne establishments. The revenues of these foundations had been usurped or, at the very least, had been diverted to others as a consequence of the Conquest's upheaval.

A further point can be made at this stage concerning the significance of St Peter's, Gloucester, and its likely role in the post-Conquest ecclesiastical organisation. We saw that its acquisition of the British *clas* at Glasbury occurred within the same 1088 charter which granted Much Cowarne to it.² Furthermore, by 1100 many of the churches in the Forest Deanery were confirmed to it by the bishop of Hereford.³ Brooke and other scholars have made much of the connections that Gloucester had with the British Church, both at Glasbury and at Llancarfan.⁴ Moreover, Gloucester's success in acquiring St Guthlac's, refounding it and attempting reclamation of its pre-Conquest historic rights and possessions, indicates an understanding of the latter's structural significance within the diocese of Hereford—a role

² Where, according to Hughes who is followed by Sims-Williams and Davies, a bishop was in residence until 1055. K Hughes, 'The Celtic church: is this a valid concept?' *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 1 (Summer 1981), 1-20; J R Davies, *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 12. P Sims-Williams, 'Review: *The Text of the Book of Llan Dav*' etc. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982), 124-129 at 128.

³ W Hart, W (ed.), *Historia et cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*. Three volumes (London: Pipe Roll Series, 1863-1867), hereafter *Historia*, I, 250-1.

⁴ C N L Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), 53 and n. 13; Hart, *Historia*, I, 80; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, I, 547, dated 1088. Brooke's view is that some of the Gloucester monks had been in residence at Llancarfan and that much of the hagiography that originated there bears the mark of Gloucester. We have already put forward the view that Much Cowarne was likely to have been an old minster controlled by St Guthlac's.

which may have been one of creating necessary links between the Anglo-Saxon and British churches in Archenfield, alongside the secular acculturation which was occurring under Mercian overlordship.

Its post-Conquest leader, Abbot Serlo, took great steps to improve the abbey's fortunes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; this was likely to have arisen from the desire to provide a firm economic base for the abbey, but also to reinstate its regional prominence, thereby releasing it from the constraints of Worcester's episcopal authority.⁵ We see examples of this in its post-Conquest possession of large minsters at Glasbury and St Guthlac's, the latter of which held valuable old minsters at Much Cowarne and Pembridge, and the abbey's founding of daughter-houses within southern Herefordshire at Kilpeck and Ewyas.

But something more seems to be at issue here, something to which both Brooke and Bassett have alluded, but which has been ignored in Cownie's study of the abbey's fortunes. Was this issue a conscious drive for the reunification of a British diocese, one which had spanned the Severn but had long since been sundered by Anglo-Saxon secular and ecclesiastical reorganisation, perhaps still alive in folk memory?

⁵ Something which may be understandable if Gloucester's position had formerly been that of British diocesan centre, as Bassett has argued. See S Bassett, 'Church and diocese in the West Midlands: the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control', in J Blair and R Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 13-40 at 26-9. Was this one of the motivating factors promoting its efficiency in 'taking over old minsters'? J Barrow, *English Episcopal Acta VII, Hereford 1079-1234* (Oxford: British Academy, 1993), xxx. Was it seeking to reacquire its former possessions? For a brief history of Gloucester's role see W Page and J Willis Bund (eds), *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester, II* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1901), 53-61, and E Cownie, 'Gloucester Abbey 1066-1135: an illustration of religious patronage in Anglo-Norman England' in D Bates and A Curry (eds), *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages* (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), 143-58. The author, whilst quoting extensively from Brooke's works, makes no comment about the abbey's acquisition of properties formerly held of the British Church, particularly the important institutions of Glasbury and Llancarfan, which could be seen as a recovery of authority in the region west of the Severn. She seems to regard the increase in Gloucester's fortunes as a *de novo* gift of Norman overlords, rather than a possible restitution of an earlier regime. This is quite similar to the position taken by Pearn concerning St Guthlac's, which became its daughter-house; and, as already observed, the view lacks imagination.

Appendix Three The hundreds of Herefordshire in tabular format

The tables below provide detailed information concerning each of the hundreds by reference to place-name analysis, hidage and certainty of location. There are notes accompanying the entries within each table. These are designed to draw attention to key issues or differences between scholars concerning textual, location or place-name interpretation. A key to these is set out here:

| symbol | meaning |
|--------|--------------------------|
| β | divided manor |
| ¥ | rubric inserted |
| Б | dispute over location |
| ⌋ | lost place |
| ∞ | possible duplicate entry |

These notes give a comparison across all editions so as to indicate the most recent views of scholars.¹ In particular, Thorn, who provided commentary for *DB Herefordshire*, The Alecto Edition and Palmer, stated as recently as 2007² that *DB Herefordshire* required a substantial revision on account of work recently undertaken to confirm the identity and location of some of the seventy-seven places included within *DB Herefordshire* about which there were or had been various interpretations.³ We have incorporated all of his recent comments.

¹ These include: F Thorn and C Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book. Volume 17: Herefordshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), hereafter *DB Herefordshire*; A Williams and R Erskine (eds), *The Herefordshire Domesday* (London: Alecto Historical Edition, 1988), hereafter The Alecto Edition; Palmer, *et al.*, *Electronic Edition of Domesday Book: Translation, Databases and Scholarly Commentary, 1086* [computer file]. Colchester, Essex: UK Data Archive [distributor], September 2007. Study Number 5694, hereafter Palmer; H Darby and G Versey, *Domesday Gazetteer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), hereafter *DG*.

² Palmer, Notes 1A

³ *DB Herefordshire* notes to paragraph 6 with accompanying table. The various differences were highlighted in the works of Round and of Darby and Versey: J Round, 'Introduction to the Herefordshire Domesday Book' in W Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Herefordshire. Volume 1* (London: Constable, 1908), 263-307, hereafter *VCH*; Darby and Versey, *DG*, 174-186. These differences have been whittled down, progressively, to a relatively small number, so that about one third are still at issue.

Table 1 Hazletree Hundred

| Manor/DB | PN | Hides | Location |
|---|---|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Alac</i> *β ₁ | oak trees | (in Kingsland) | possible |
| <i>Aston/Hesintune</i> | ash-tree settlement | 3 | certain |
| Bernaldeston Ι/ <i>Bernoldune</i> | Beornwald's settlement | 2 | certain |
| <i>Burlingjobb/Berchelincope</i> | Primitive Welsh | 2 | certain |
| <i>Burrington/Boritune</i> | settlement at a fort | 3.25 | certain |
| <i>Covenhope/Camehop</i> | ? | 1 | certain |
| <i>Byton/Boitune</i> | bend settlement | 2 | certain |
| <i>Downton on the Rock/Duntune</i> | hill settlement | 4 | certain |
| <i>Elton/Elintune</i> | settlement with an eel fishery | 2 | certain |
| <i>Harpton/Ortune</i> | filth/foul settlement | 2 | certain |
| <i>Lawton*/Lautune</i> | settlement by a tumulus | 1 | certain |
| <i>Ledicot/Leidecote</i> | ? | 1 | certain |
| <i>Lidecote</i> | | 1 | certain |
| <i>Leintallβ₁/Lenhale</i> | corner of land on the Lent river | 2 | certain |
| <i>Lintehale</i> | | 4 | certain |
| <i>Lyeβ₂/Lecwe</i> | clearing | 0.5 | certain |
| <i>Lege</i> | | 0.5 | certain |
| <i>Lege</i> | | 3 | probable |
| <i>Kingsland¥₁/Lene</i> | royal Lene settlement | 15 | possible |
| Middleton (Lower Harpton)/ <i>Mildetune</i> | middle settlement (between Pembridge and Staunton on Arrow) | 3 | probable |
| <i>Milton/Mildetune</i> | middle settlement | 2 | certain |
| <i>Monkland/Leine</i> | Lene settlement of the monks | 5 | certain |
| <i>Old Radnor/Raddrenove</i> | ? | 15 | certain |
| <i>Pilleth/Pelelei</i> | ? | 2 | certain |
| <i>Street*/Lestret</i> | Roman road | 1 | certain |
| <i>Shobdon/Scepedune</i> | Sceobba's hill | 4 | certain |
| <i>Staunton-on-Arrow/Stantune</i> | settlement on stony ground | 2 | certain |
| <i>Stantune β₃</i> | | 4 | probable |
| <i>Westonβ₁/Westune</i> | west settlement (from Pembridge) | 2 | possible |
| <i>Wigmoreβ₄/Wigmore/Merestun*</i> | beetle marsh | 2 | certain |
| composite entries: eleven places∞ | | 18 | |
| | Total | 109. 250 | |
| Palmer adds: Manors divided with Leominster | Palmer | 116.1 | |
| β ₁ part in Leominster. | | | |
| Ι lost place but The Alecto Edition places it in Barland in Wales. | | | |
| β ₂ part in Leominster and in Leintwardine, Salop. But Alecto disagrees, saying that the DB manor was in Birley, not Aymestrey, which would rule out Leintwardine. There are also 57 acres recorded at <i>DB Herefordshire</i> 9.14 and again at 31.7. | | | |

| |
|---|
| β3 4 hides allotted to Staple but in error, scribe confused with Staunton on Wye, <i>DB Herefordshire</i> , 24.8. |
| β4 part in Leominster. |
| ∞ being: <i>Bradelege</i> , (Bradley), <i>Titelege</i> , (Tittley, 'teat' clearing), <i>Bruntune</i> , (Little Brampton, broom settlement), <i>Chenille</i> (Knill, small hill), <i>Hercope</i> (Lower Harpton-? valley by Herrock Hill), <i>Hertune</i> (Harpton, filth settlement), <i>Hech</i> (Nash, ash-tree), <i>Clatretune</i> (Clatterbrune), <i>Querentune</i> (?corn-mill settlement), <i>Discote</i> (Discoed), <i>Cascope</i> (Cascob). |
| ¥1 Rubric inserted in <i>DB Herefordshire</i> . <i>Merestone</i> in Wigmore (Castle) is a member of the manor along with 'Hope' in Lyonshall, Street and Lawton. |
| β1 Weston possibly linked with Pembridge; Palmer, Notes 1A, suggests that a number of 'Westons' appear over the border in Wales. This one may lie west of Pilleth and not in Pembridge. |
| * all part of Kingsland before 1066. |

Table 2 Wolphy Hundred

| Manor/DB | PN | Hides | Location |
|--|-----------------------|--------------|----------|
| Croft/ <i>Crofta</i> | enclosure | 1 | certain |
| Heath/ <i>Hed</i> | heath | 0.75 | certain |
| Laysters/ <i>Last</i> | ? | 1 | certain |
| | | 1.5 | certain |
| | | 2 | certain |
| Little Hereford/ <i>Lutelonhereford</i> | army ford | 7 | certain |
| Ludford (Shrops.)/¥/ <i>Ludeforde</i> | ? | 1 | possible |
| Orleton/ <i>Alretune</i> | alder-tree settlement | 4 | certain |
| X manor 'Whyle?' | ?—wood clearing | 1.5 | certain |
| Pudleston/ <i>Pilledune</i> | mouse-hawk's hill | 3 | certain |
| Rochford (Worces.)/ <i>Recesford</i> | ? | 1.5 | certain |
| <i>Recesford</i> | | 1 | certain |
| <i>Recesford</i> | | 0.25 | certain |
| Lower Uptonβ1/ <i>Upetone</i> | higher settlement | 2 | certain |
| Westelet Ι1/ <i>Westelet</i> | ? waste clearing | 1 | certain |
| WinetuneΙ2/ <i>Winetune</i> | ?Wynna's settlement | 0.5 | certain |
| Whyle/ <i>Huilech</i> | ?—wood clearing | 1 | certain |
| Wooton/ <i>Wenetone</i> | Wynna's settlement | 0.75 | certain |
| Yarpoleβ2/ <i>Larpol</i> | pool with fish trap | 3 | certain |
| unnamed (36.3) | | 0.5 | certain |
| | Total | 34.25 | |
| Palmer adds: Richards Castle and manor divided with Leominster and omits unnamed manor at 10.15 | Palmer | 38.5 | |
| Ι1 lost place. | ¥ rubric inserted. | | |
| β1 also in Leominster as Nun Upton. | | | |
| Ι2 lost place. | | | |
| β2 also in Leominster. | | | |

Table 3.1 Leominster Hundred

| Manor/DB | PN | Hides | Identified |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| <i>Ashton/Estune</i> | ash-tree settlement | TR | yes |
| <i>Aymestrey/Elmodestreu</i> | Aethelmod's tree | TR | yes but not extent |
| <i>Elmodestreu</i> | | 1 | |
| <i>Brimfield/Brumefelde</i> | open land of broom | TR | yes, but not extent |
| <i>Brierley/Bredege</i> | ?broad wood or glade | TR | yes |
| <i>Brockmanton/Brochemt</i> | settlement of men by the brook | 1.5 | yes |
| <i>Cholstrey/Cerlestreu</i> | Ceorl's tree | TR | yes |
| <i>Edwyn/Gedeuen</i> | Gedda's fen | TR | yes |
| <i>Gedeuen</i> | | 3 | yes |
| <i>Eytonᵇ₁/Ettone</i> | ?river settlement/island settlement | 1 | debated |
| <i>Farlow/Fernelau</i> | | TR | yes |
| <i>Hope under Dinsmore/Hope</i> | remote valley | TR | yes |
| <i>Humber/Hubre</i> | settlement on Humber brook (W) | 3.5 | yes but not extent |
| <i>Ivington/Iuintune</i> | Ifa's settlement | TR | yes |
| <i>Leinthall/Lentehale</i> | ?place on river (Lent) | TR | yes |
| <i>Leinthall/Letehale</i> | | 8 | yes |
| <i>?Lyeᵇ₃/Lege</i> | clearing | 0.5 | debated |
| <i>Luston/Lustone</i> | Lussa's settlement | TR | yes |
| <i>Marston (Stannett)/Merestone</i> | marsh settlement | TR | yes but not extent |
| <i>Stockton/Stoctune</i> | settlement built of logs | TR | yes |
| <i>Stoke/Stoca</i> | dependant settlement | TR | yes |
| <i>Nun Upton/Uptone</i> | higher settlement | TR | yes |
| <i>Yarpoleᵇ₈/Larpol</i> | pool with fish trap | TR | yes |
| | | | |
| Leominster Total: | | 80 | |
| <i>Alacᵇ₁ᵇ₆/Alac</i> | ?oak tree | 1 | yes |
| <i>?Alac</i> | | 0.5 | ?yes |
| <i>Broadwardᵇ₄/Bradeford</i> | broad ford | 0.5 | yes |
| <i>Butterleyᵇ₁/Buterlei</i> | butter pasture | 1 | yes but not extent |
| <i>Brimfield/Bromefelde</i> | open land of broom | 0.75 | yes |
| <i>Broadfield/Bradefelde</i> | broad open land | 1 | yes |
| <i>Dilwynᵇ₅/Dilge</i> | ? secret place | 2 | yes but ? extent |
| | | 1 | same |
| <i>Eatonᵇ₁/Etone</i> | river settlement | 1.5 | debated |
| <i>Fencote</i> | marsh cottage | 1 | yes |
| <i>Ford/Forne</i> | ford over the Lugg | 1.25 | yes |
| <i>Gattertop/Gadredehope</i> | secluded goat-valley | 1 | yes |
| <i>Hampton/Hantone</i> | high settlement | 2 | yes |
| <i>Hampton/Hantone</i> | high settlement | 1 | yes |
| <i>Hampton Warfe/Hantone</i> | high settlement | 0.5 | yes |

| | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| <i>Hammish/Hamenes</i> | Hama's ash-tree | 1 | yes |
| <i>Hatfield/Hetfelde</i> | heathland | 5 | yes |
| <i>Hetfelde</i> | | 0.5 | yes |
| <i>Luntley/Lutelei</i> | ? Lunta's clearing | 2 | yes |
| <i>Middleton/Mideltune</i> | large settlement | 1.5 | yes |
| <i>Newtonβ2/Newentone</i> | new settlement | 0.5 | yes but not extent |
| <i>Risbury/Riseberie</i> | brushwood fort | 2 | yes |
| <i>Sarnesfield/Sarnesfelde</i> | open land by a road | 0.5 | yes but not extent |
| <i>Sarnesfield/Sarnesfelde</i> | | 1.5 | yes but not extent |
| <i>Wapley/Wapletone</i> | marsh/spring settlement | 2 | yes |
| <i>Wigmoreβ7/Wighemore</i> | beetle marsh | 0.5 | yes |
| <i>Wharton/Wavertune</i> | ? settlement by something wavering | 1 | yes |
| <i>Yarpole/Larpole</i> | pool with fish trap | 0.25 | yes |
| italics: in Leominster before 1066 | | Total | 116.75 |
| Palmer omits: divided vill in other hundreds | | Palmer | 100.125 |
| β1 3.5 hides in Plegelgate, may include Wacton as well. | | | |
| β2 .5 hides in Thornlaw. | | | |
| β1 <i>DB Herefordshire</i> and The Alecto Edition both query this place. It could be 'Eaton', at <i>DB Herefordshire</i> , 1.22. It could be Eyton. Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 84, says it is the same place as Eaton as the Eyton spelling does not appear until 1186. | | | |
| β3 If this is Lye in Aymestrey then it is a divided vill in Hazletree: <i>DB Herefordshire</i> 9.8, 9.14, 24.4 and 31.7 (half a hide, 57 acres, half a hide and 3 hides respectively). <i>DB Herefordshire</i> , 1.10c note and Palmer (note 1A) map this place in Aymestrey, but The Alecto Edition maps it in Birley, but gives no reason, which is all the more confusing as all editions have Thorn as location editor. | | | |
| β4 Also holdings in Thornlaw: 2 hides (Bodenham parish and the subject of a burial dispute). | | | |
| β5 Also holdings in Elsdon--3 or possibly 4 hides . | | | |
| ¶1 β6 Alac placed by Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 125, at 'Knoakes Court'; possibly half a virgate in Kingsland but this may be another place altogether. | | | |
| β7 Two hides in Hazletree and two virgates in Leominster, both held by Ralph of Mortimer. | | | |
| B8 one virgate in Leominster and three hides in Wolphy. | | | |

Table 3.2 A possible Lene Hundred (Leominster) and the consequential organisation for Hazletree, Wolphy, Elsdon and Stretford North

| Hundred | Manor | Hides | |
|---------|---|-------------------|-------------------|
| Lene | Kingsland | 15 | |
| | members ⁴ | 6 | |
| | Eardisland | 15 | |
| | Stoke Prior | within Leominster | |
| | Hope-under-Dinsmore | within Leominster | |
| | Hampton Mappenore | 1 | |
| | Hampton Court | 2 | |
| | Gattertop | 1 | |
| | Monkland | 5 | |
| | Leominster | 65 | |
| | Reduction of the composite 80 hides by 15 at 1.10b as a result of reallocation | | Total: 110 |

⁴ Being: Hope in Lyonsall, *Mereston* (Wigmore), Street and Lawton in Kingsland.

| | | |
|-----------|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| | | |
| Hazletree | <i>Alac</i> | .125 |
| | Aston | 3 |
| | Aymestrey | 1 |
| | Bernaldeston | 2 |
| | Burlingjobb | 2 |
| | Burrington | 3.25 |
| | Covenhope | 1 |
| | Byton | 2 |
| | Downton on the Rock | 4 |
| | Elton | 2 |
| | Harpton | 2 |
| | Ledicot | 1 |
| | Leintall | 2 |
| | Leinthall | 4 |
| | Leinthall | 8 |
| | Lye | 0.5 |
| | Lye | 0.5 |
| | Lye | 3 |
| | Lye | 0.5 |
| | Middleton (Lower Harpton) | 3 |
| | Milton | 2 |
| | Old Radnor | 15 |
| | Pilleth | 2 |
| | Shobdon | 4 |
| | Wapley | 2 |
| | Weston | 2 |
| | composite entries: eleven places | 18 |
| | | Total: 89.875 |
| | | |
| Elsdon | Ailey | 2 |
| | Almeley | 4 |
| | Barton | 2 |
| | Bollingham | 1 |
| | Breadward | 2 |
| | Chickward | 1.75 |
| | <i>Stiuingeurdin</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Cicuurdine</i> | 1.25 |
| | <i>Curdeslege</i> | 1 |
| | Eardisley | 2.5 |
| | | 0.5 |
| | Hergest | 1 |
| | <i>Hergest</i> | 3 |
| | | 2 |
| | Huntington | 3 |
| | <i>Lege</i> | 0.5 |
| | Letton | 3 |
| | Lyonshall | 5 |

| | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| | Kington | 4 |
| | Kinnersley | 1 |
| | Marston | 3 |
| | <i>Mateurdin</i> | 2 |
| | Middlewood | 1 |
| | Pembridge | 10.75 |
| | Rushock | 4 |
| | | 1 |
| | | 1 |
| | Sarnesfield | 2 |
| | Staunton-on-Arrow | 2 |
| | Titley | 3 |
| | another manor (?Upcott) | 1 |
| | Welson | 2 |
| | Whitney | 0.5 |
| | | 4 |
| | Willersley and Winforton | 5 |
| | Woonton | 1.5 |
| | | 1 |
| | | Total: 86.25 |
| | | |
| Stretford North | Alton | 0.66 |
| | ?Birley | 2.75 |
| | | 0.5 |
| | | 0.5 |
| | Chadnor | 3 |
| | | 0.34 |
| | Dilwyn | 4 |
| | Fernhill | 2 |
| | Kings Pyon | 5 |
| | Luntley | 2 |
| | Newton (in Dilwyn) | 0.5 |
| | | 0.25 |
| | Stretford | 2 |
| | Swanstone | 1 |
| | Weobley | 3.5 |
| | | Total: 28/25 |
| | | |
| Wolphy | Aston | ? (no breakdown) |
| | Brimfield | .75 |
| | Brockmanton | 1.5 |
| | Croft | 1 |
| | Eyton | 1 |
| | Hamnish | 1 |
| | Heath | 0.75 |
| | Laysters | 1 |
| | | 1.5 |
| | | 2 |

| | | |
|--|--------------------|---------------------|
| | Little Hereford | 7 |
| | Ludford (Shrops.) | 1 |
| | Luston | ? (no breakdown) |
| | Middleton | 1.5 |
| | Orleton | 4 |
| | X manor 'Whyle?' | 1.5 |
| | Pudleston | 3 |
| | Rochford (Worces.) | 1.5 |
| | | 1 |
| | | 0.25 |
| | Stockton | ? (no breakdown) |
| | Lower Upton | 2 |
| | Westelet | 1 |
| | Winetune | 0.5 |
| | Whyle | 1 |
| | Woonton | 0.75 |
| | Yarpole | 3 |
| | | .25 |
| | unnamed (36.3) | 0.5 |
| | | Total: 40.25 |

Table 4 Elsdon Hundred

| Manor/DB | PN | Hides | Location |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>Ailey/Walelege</i> | Aethelgifu's wood | 2 | certain |
| <i>Almeley/Elmelie</i> | elm wood | 4 | certain |
| <i>Barton /Beuretune</i> | beaver farm | 2 | probable |
| <i>Bollingham/Burardestune</i> | hill of pollarded tree | 1 | certain |
| <i>Breadward/Brudeford</i> | bride's ford | 2 | certain |
| <i>Chickward/Cicuurdine</i> | chicken farm | 1.75 | certain |
| <i>Stiuingeurdin</i> | | 1 | certain |
| <i>Cicuurdine</i> | | 1.25 | certain |
| <i>Curdeslege</i> ¶1 | | 1 | certain |
| <i>Dilwynβ/Dilven</i> | secret place | 3 | possible |
| <i>Dilven</i> | | 1 | possible |
| <i>Eardisley/Herdeslege</i> | Aegheard's clearing | 2.5 | certain |
| <i>Herdeslege</i> | | 0.5 | certain |
| <i>Hergest/Hergesth</i> | (Primitive Welsh) | 1 | certain |
| <i>Hergest</i> | | 3 | certain |
| <i>Hope B2/Hope</i> | secluded valley | 2 | certain |
| <i>Huntington/Hantinetune</i> | hunter's settlement | 3 | certain |
| <i>? HurstleyLege</i> ¶3 | stag's wood | 0.5 | certain |
| <i>Letton/Letune</i> | herb garden | 3 | certain |
| <i>Lyonshall/Lenehalle</i> | nook in the Lene district | 5 | certain |
| <i>Kington/Chingtune</i> | royal settlement | 4 | certain |
| <i>Kinnersley/Elburgelega</i> | ?(DB personal name of place near | 1 | certain |

| | | | |
|--|---|--------------|----------|
| | Kinnersley) | | |
| Marston¥2/ <i>Merstone</i> | marsh settlement | 3 | probable |
| <i>Mateurdin</i> 112 | (Primitive Welsh) | 2 | probable |
| Middlewood/ <i>Mideurde</i> | middle enclosed settlement | 1 | certain |
| Pembridge¥1/ <i>Penebruge</i> | Pena's bridge | 10.75 | possible |
| Rushock/ <i>Ruiscop</i> | rushy brook | 4 | certain |
| <i>Ruiscop</i> | | 1 | certain |
| <i>Ruiscop</i> | | 1 | certain |
| Titley/ <i>Titellege</i> | 'teat' settlement | 3 | certain |
| another manor (?Upcott) | | 1 | |
| Empton or Welson B1/ <i>Ulfelmestune</i> | Wulhelm's settlement | 2 | debated |
| Whitney/ <i>Witenie</i> | white island | 0.5 | certain |
| <i>Witenie</i> | | 4 | certain |
| Willersley and Winforton/ <i>Willaeslege and Widferdestune</i> | ?Willard's clearing/ Winfrith's settlement | 5 | certain |
| Wooton/ <i>Wenentune</i> | pasture settlement | 1.5 | probable |
| <i>Wenentune</i> | | 1 | certain |
| | Total | 86.25 | |
| Palmer adds: divided vill with Leominster; members of Kingsland, Hope and <i>Mateurdin</i> . Palmer omits: 'another manor? Upcott' | Palmer | 90.91 | |
| 111 lost place but Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 45, places it in Brilley parish. | | | |
| 112 lost place but, as above, possibly in Brilley parish. | | | |
| B1 Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 115, says this is in Kington and now known as Empton. | | | |
| 113 lost place but CC locates as 'Hurstley' in Letton parish. | | | |
| B2 Now 'Hope' in Lyonshall not Hopley's Green in Almeley. | | | |
| ¥1 Elsdon rubric inserted under Bromsash, but according to Palmer 1(A) note it could be in Hazletree because of links to Staunton on Arrow and 'Weston'. | | | |
| β also in Leominster--three hides. | | | |
| ¥2 rubric inserted, under Dinedor; Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 156, agrees it as Marston in Pembridge. | | | |

Table 5—not used. Lene is considered within the Leominster study above.

Table 6 Stretford Hundred

| Manor/DB | PN | Hides | Location |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|-------|----------|
| Alton/ <i>Pletune</i> | Aella's settlement | 0.66 | certain |
| Birley/ <i>Burlei</i> | wood clearing by a fort | 2.75 | certain |
| <i>Burlei</i> | | 0.5 | certain |
| <i>Burlei</i> | | 0.5 | certain |
| Chadnor+/ <i>Chabenore</i> | Ceabba's ridge | 3 | certain |
| | | 0.34 | certain |
| Clehongerβ1*/ <i>Cleunge</i> | sloping wood on clay soil | 5 | certain |
| Eaton*/ <i>Etune</i> | river settlement | 5 | certain |
| Fernhill/ <i>Fernehalle</i> | fern nook | 2 | certain |

| | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|--------------|----------|
| Lulham*/Lulleham | ? | 8 | certain |
| Kingstone¥1*/Chingestone | royal settlement | 4 | probable |
| Kings Pyon/Pionie | island of the gnats | 5 | certain |
| Madley*/Medelagie | Madda's wood | 3 | certain |
| (Bishop's Barton)*/Bertune | corn farm | 4 | probable |
| Moccas*β2/Moches | pig marsh | 2 | certain |
| Newton (in Dilwyn)/Neutone | new settlement | 0.5 | probable |
| Neutone | | 0.25 | probable |
| Preston-on-Wye*/Prestretune | priests' farm settlement | 6 | certain |
| Stretford/Stratford | ford-crossing of a Roman road | 2 | certain |
| Swanstone/Suenestun | Sveinn's settlement | 1 | certain |
| Thruxtun*/Torchestone | Thorkell's settlement | 3 | certain |
| Tyberton*/Tibrintintune | Tidbeorht's settlement | 6 | certain |
| x manor* in Canon's barton/Bertune | corn farm | 1 | certain |
| Wapleford (Kingstone)*/Wapleford | frothy ford | in Kingstone | probable |
| Weobley/Wibelai | Wibba's clearing | 3.5 | certain |
| Winnal*/Wilehalle | willow nook | 3 | certain |
| 12 holdings north. 14 holdings south but with Moccas, Webton x 2, Mawfield and Cobhall there are 19. * Denotes locations on the south bank of the Wye (57 hides if Moccas, Cobhall, etc. are added), leaving 22 in Stretford north. | | | |
| | Total | 72 | |
| Palmer adds: Clehonger, Moccas and Didley and Stane. Palmer omits: bishop's and canon bartons, and Kingstone is an error, transposed from a Bromsash entry. | Palmer | 78.5 | |
| The manors of Cobhall, Mawfield and Webton should be here and not in Dinedor, say Alecto (adds six hides). | | | |
| β1 one additional hide in Dinedor. | | | |
| ¥1 rubric inserted as Stretford because it was located latterly in Webtree Hd, the amalgam of Dinedor and Stretford. Scribe had it as the second manor under Greytree. | | | |
| β2 This should be augmented by the other portion, one hide, recorded in Dinedor, in error. Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', The Alecto Edition, 24, (adds one hide). Total hides added: seven. | | | |

Table 7 Plegelgate Hundred

| Manor/DB | PN | Hides | Location |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-------|-----------|
| Avenbury/Aweneburi | ?Agena's manor house | 6 | certain |
| Bishops Fromeβ1/Frome | manor on the Frome | 4 | probable |
| Frome | | 1 | certain |
| Bredenbury/Brideneberie | boarded manor house | 1 | certain |
| Bromyard/Bromgerbe | broom enclosure | 30 | certain |
| Butterleyβ2/Butrelei | butter pasture | 3.5 | probable |
| Chetestor Ⅱ1 | Teod's thorn-tree | 2 | certain |
| Collington/Collintune | settlement associated with Cola | 3 | certain |
| Colintune | | 2 | certain |
| Chipelai Ⅱ2 | ?—open woodland | 1 | uncertain |
| Grendonβ2/Gredene | green valley | 4 | certain |

| | | | |
|--|----------------------------|----------------|----------|
| Hanley Б7/ <i>Hanlei</i> | high wood | 0.5 | possible |
| Hopton Sollers Б5/ <i>Hopetune</i> | secluded valley settlement | 1.25 | certain |
| Little Cowarne Б3/ <i>Colgre</i> | ? pasture hollow | 3 | certain |
| Marston Stannet ¥1 / <i>Merstune</i> | marsh settlement | 0.5 | probable |
| (14.12) Б4 | | 0.5 | probable |
| | | 0.5 | probable |
| Noakes ¥2/ <i>Lacre</i> | ?oak trees | 1 | probable |
| (2.3)/ <i>Ach</i> | | 1.25 | probable |
| Rowden/ <i>Ruedene</i> | rough valley | 0.5 | certain |
| | | 1 | certain |
| Sawbury Hill/ <i>Salberga</i> | sallow-willow hill | 0.5 | certain |
| <i>Sargeberie</i> | | 0.625 | certain |
| Stanford Regis Б8/ <i>Stanford</i> | stone ford | 4 | certain |
| Stanford/ <i>Stanford</i> | stone ford | 1 | certain |
| Stoke Bliss/ <i>Stoch</i> | dependent settlement | 1 | certain |
| Stoke Lacy/ <i>Stoches</i> | dependent settlement | 10 | certain |
| Tedstone Wafer/ <i>Tetistorp</i> | Teod's thorn-tree | 1 | certain |
| (Wafer 2.3) | | 2.5 | probable |
| Thornbury/ <i>Thorneberie</i> | thorn-tree fort | 6 | certain |
| | | 1 | certain |
| Wicton Б1/ <i>Wigetune</i> | Wicga's settlement | 1.25 | certain |
| Wolferlow (Underley)/ <i>Ulferlau</i> | Wulfhere's burial mound | 2 | certain |
| Б6 | | 6 | certain |
| | Total | 104.375 | |
| Palmer adds: divided vill Butterley. Palmer omits: Bishops Frome | Palmer | 100.375 | |
| β1 remaining six hides in Radlow <i>DB Herefordshire</i> , 2.21. | | | |
| Б1 location agreed by <i>DB Herefordshire</i> and Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 42; not in Stoke Prior as DG. | | | |
| Б2 includes Grendon Bishop, both in Pemcombe parish. Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 58. | | | |
| Б3 opinions differ on place identification. | | | |
| ¥1 rubric inserted and identification not certain; Б4 no agreement on place between VCH and DG; and <i>DB Herefordshire</i> follows Galbraith and Tait and speculates on Pemcombe. | | | |
| Б5 Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 61, has this as Upper Hopton in Avenbury. | | | |
| ¶1 lost place. Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 188, suggests it is Tedstone Delamere. | | | |
| Б6 Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 212-213, locates the other Frome manor of Roger of Lacy (<i>DB Herefordshire</i> , 10.67) in Wolferlow and not at Bishop's Frome but <i>DB Herefordshire</i> and The Alecto Edition are confident of its location. | | | |
| ¥2 no hundred at <i>DB Herefordshire</i> , 2.3. | | | |
| Б7 <i>DB Herefordshire</i> queries hundred identity, possibly in Worcestershire; <i>contra</i> VCH which locates it near Bishop's Frome in Radlow | | | |
| ¶2 lost place. <i>DB Herefordshire</i> , 10.74, note speculates that it may not have been in Plegelgate. | | | |
| β2 In Leominster before 1066 and 1 hide there still. <i>DB Herefordshire</i> , 1.13. | | | |
| Б8 The Alecto Edition and Palmer identify this DB manor as 'Regis' not 'Bishop'; it may have been in Bishop's Frome parish or a lost part of Stanford Bishop. | | | |

Table 8 Staple Hundred

| Manor/DB | PN | Hides | Location |
|---|---------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Bishopstone/ <i>Malveselle</i> | hill of gravel | 5 | certain |
| Bridge Sollers/ <i>Brigge</i> | | 5 | certain |
| Brobury/ <i>Brocheberie</i> | manor by a brook | 2 | certain |
| Bunshill B1/ <i>Bunesulle</i> | Bun's hill | 1 | certain |
| Kenchester/ <i>Chenecestre</i> | Cena's Roman town | 4 | certain |
| Mansall Gamage/ <i>Malveselle</i> | hill of gravel | 8 | certain |
| Mansall Lacy/ <i>Malveselle</i> | | 1 | certain |
| <i>Malveselle</i> | | 4 | certain |
| Monington-on-Wye/ <i>Manitune</i> | communal settlement on the Wye | 5 | certain |
| Norton Canon/ <i>Nortune</i> | north settlement/ of the canons | 6 | certain |
| Staunton-on-Wye/ <i>Standune</i> | stone hill | 2 | certain |
| <i>Standune</i> | | 4 | certain |
| (Staunton-on-Arrowβ1/ <i>Stantune</i> | settlement on stony ground | 4 | unlikely) |
| Wormsley/ <i>Wrmsleu</i> | snake clearing | 0.5 | certain |
| <i>Wermeslai</i> | | 1.25 | certain |
| <i>Wermeslai</i> | | 0.25 | certain |
| Yarsop/ <i>Edreshope</i> | Eadred's remote valley | 1.5 | certain |
| <i>Erdeshop</i> | | 1.25 | certain |
| <i>Erdesope</i> | | 0.75 | certain |
| <i>Ardeshop</i> | | 0.75 | certain |
| Yazor/ <i>Lavesoure</i> | Iago's ridge | 5 | certain |
| Byford/ <i>Buiford</i> | ford at river bend | 5 | certain |
| | Total | 63.25 | |
| Agree Palmer | | | |
| B1 Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 35, places this in Bishopstone parish, not in Kenchester. | | | |
| β1 Unlikely. <i>DB Herefordshire</i> , 24.8, note. Probably scribal error and should be Hazletree and sum omitted from total. | | | |

Table 9 Cutsthorpe Hundred

| Manor/DB | PN | Hides | Location |
|---|----------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Brinsop/ <i>Hope</i> | secluded valley | 5 | certain |
| Burghill/ <i>Burgelle</i> | fort hill | 8 | certain |
| Canon Pyon/ <i>Peune</i> | island of gnats | 12 | certain |
| Credenhill/ <i>Cradenhille</i> | Creoda's hill ⁵ | 2 | certain |
| <i>Credenelle</i> | | 2 | certain |
| Didley and Stane B1/ <i>Dodelegie and Stane</i> | (Stane) stone | 10 | possible |
| Ewyas Castle/ <i>Ewias</i> | | carucates | possible |

⁵ Notably, Creoda was the alleged founder of the Mercian kingdom c. 585: W Davies, 'Annals and the origins of Mercia' in Dornier (ed.), *Mercian Studies* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1977), 17-29 at 22-23.

| | | | |
|--|--|-------------|----------|
| 'around the town of Hereford' B2 | | 1 | possible |
| Hampton Bishop/ <i>Hantune</i> | settlement in river bend | 4 | certain |
| Holmer/ <i>Holemere</i> | pond in a hollow | 1 | probable |
| Huntington/ <i>Huntenetune</i> | huntmen's settlement | 10 | certain |
| Litley/ <i>Lutelei</i> | Lutta's clearing area of the loud stream | 1 | certain |
| Lyde/ <i>Leode</i> | | 2 | certain |
| <i>Lude</i> | | 2 | certain |
| <i>Lude</i> | | 1 | certain |
| <i>Lude</i> ^{∞1} | | 2 | certain |
| Moreton on Lugg/ <i>Mortune</i> | marsh settlement | 4 | certain |
| Pipe/ <i>Pipe</i> | ? canalised brook | 1 | certain |
| Richards Castle | | 5.5 | possible |
| Shelwick/ <i>Scelwiche</i> | dairy farm | 2 | certain |
| <i>Scelwiche</i> | | 3 | certain |
| Stretton/ <i>Stratone</i> | settlement on Roman road | 0.5 | certain |
| <i>Stratone</i> | | 2.5 | certain |
| Sugwas/ <i>Sucwessen</i> | flooded area by river | 2 | certain |
| Tupsley/ <i>Topeslage</i> | pasture for rams | 1 | certain |
| Warham/ <i>Weerham</i> | river-meadow by weir | 2.5 | certain |
| Wellington/ <i>Walintone</i> | ? Weola's settlement | 5 | certain |
| <i>Walintone</i> | | 0.5 | certain |
| | Total | 92.5 | |
| Palmer omits: Didley and Stane, Richards Castle | | 76 | |
| ∞1 possible duplicate entry for 10.25; possible inclusion of The Moor (2.54) suggested by Thorn, The Alecto Edition, 27, which may increase the total of hides one. | | | |
| B1 <i>DB Herefordshire</i> , 2.2, note; speculation that the correct hundred is Stretford; there is no rubric before the entry and none has been inserted; B2 <i>DB Herefordshire</i> , 2.57 includes one hide with no hundred rubric but clearly not in the Golden Valley, although it follows within some entries for that district. | | | |

Table 10 Thornlaw Hundred

| Manor/ <i>DB</i> | PN | Hides | Location |
|--|--|-------|----------|
| Amberley/ <i>Amburlege</i> | wood of the yellow-hammer | 1 | certain |
| Bodenham/ <i>Bodeha'</i> | Boda's land in a river-bend | 1.5 | certain |
| | | 1.5 | certain |
| x manor | | 0.25 | certain |
| Bowley/ <i>Bolelei</i> | tree-stump clearing | 1 | certain |
| Broadward/ <i>Bradeforde</i> | broad ford | 2 | certain |
| Felton/ <i>Felton</i> | settlement in open country | 3 | certain |
| Hinton Y ₁ / <i>Hinetune</i> | settlement belonging to a monastic house | 1 | probable |
| Dudales Hope B ₁ / <i>Hope</i> | enclosed valley | 2 | certain |

| | | | |
|--|---|---------------|-----------|
| Marden ^{¥2} / <i>Maurdine</i> | enclosed settlement in the Maund district | 3.50 | probable |
| ∞ (10.11) | | 1 | probable |
| ?Burghope Б3/ <i>Burhop</i> | secluded valley with hill-fort | 1 | uncertain |
| Maund (Bryan or Rosemaund)/ <i>Mage</i> | a district—the plain | 2 | certain |
| Rosemaund/ <i>Magge</i> | | 2 | certain |
| Rosemaund/ <i>Magene</i> | | 1 | certain |
| Maund Bryan/ <i>Magga</i> | | 1.5 | certain |
| Newton ^{β1} / | new settlement | 0.5 | certain |
| Ocle Pychard/ <i>Acle</i> | oak wood | 7 | certain |
| Livers Ocle/ <i>Acla</i> | | 1 | certain |
| Preston Wynne/ <i>Prestetune</i> | settlement of the priests | 4 | certain |
| | | .375 | certain |
| One manor | | 1 | certain |
| one manor ^{β2} | | 0.75 | certain |
| one manor' (Pencombe)Б2 | | 15 | probable |
| Sutton/ <i>Sutune</i> | south settlement | 2 | certain |
| | | 1 | certain |
| | | 2 | certain |
| Thinghill/ <i>Tingehele</i> | assembly hill | 1 | certain |
| <i>Tingehalle</i> | | 1 | certain |
| | | 0.25 | certain |
| Withington/ <i>Widingtune</i> | willow-copse settlement | 8 | certain |
| Venns Green/ <i>Fenne</i> | fen | 1.5 | certain |
| Ullingswick/ <i>Ullingwic</i> | dairy farm associated with Ulla | 6 | certain |
| The Vern/ <i>Ferne</i> | ferny place | 0.5 | certain |
| | Total | 78.125 | |
| Palmer omits: Burghope and two unidentified manors | Palmer | 76.083 | |
| ^{¥1} rubric inserted; in as under Greytree; both <i>DB Herefordshire</i> , 6.3 note and Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 85, place it in Felton. | | | |
| ^{Б1} No longer 'Hope-under-Dinsmore'; there were differing opinions on identification and parish placement, although for this manor the hundred is certain; <i>DB Herefordshire</i> was tentative, could be in Ullingswick; The Alecto Edition and Palmer now place it at 'Dudales Hope' in Bodenham. | | | |
| ^{β1} half a hide in Leominster (1.25). | | | |
| ^{Б2} unnamed in the Survey but <i>Herefordshire Domesday</i> identifies it as Pencombe. | | | |
| ^{Б3} A Lacy manor, possibly Burghope in Wellington parish, which would place it in Cutsthor. Hundred. | | | |
| ^{¥2} rubric inserted (1.4) in under Greytree, as is the previous entry which also has a rubric inserted. | | | |
| [∞] possible duplicated amount of .75. The entry for William son of Norman (2.75 hides) at may include some duplicate sums: Norman the Pigman (.5 hide) and Stephen (.25). <i>DB Herefordshire</i> , 1.4, note. | | | |
| ^{β2} <i>DB Herefordshire</i> suggests Hugh Donkey's 'one manor' at 29.4 was part of Westhide. | | | |

Table 11 Radlow Hundred

| Manor/DB | PN | Hides | Location |
|--|--|--------------|-----------------|
| Ashperton/ <i>Sptune</i> | ?pear orchard with ash trees | 5.5 | certain |
| <i>Spertune</i> | | 1 | certain |
| <i>Spertune</i> | | 0.25 | certain |
| <i>Spertune</i> | | 0.75 | certain |
| Bishops Fromeβ ₁ / <i>Frome</i> | settlement on the Frome | 6 | certain |
| Canon Frome/ <i>Frome</i> | | 4 | probable |
| Castle Frome/ <i>Brismerfrum</i> | Bricmer's Frome settlement | 5 | certain |
| Evesbatch/ <i>Sbech</i> | | 1 | probable |
| Halmonds Frome/ <i>Nerefrum</i> | lower Frome settlement | 4 | probable |
| Leadon/ <i>Lede</i> | Leadon river? | 0.5 | probable |
| | | 0.5 | probable |
| Lincumbeϩ ₁ / <i>Lincube</i> | flax comb | 0.75 | certain |
| Little Marcle/ <i>Merchelai</i> | boundary wood | 5 | certain |
| | | 3 | certain |
| Mathon∞ ₁ / <i>Matma</i> | gift/treasure | 0.5 | certain |
| | | 0.5 | certain |
| Monkhide/ <i>Hide</i> | hide of the monks | 1 | probable |
| Moreton Jeffries/ <i>Mortune</i> | marsh settlement | 4 | certain |
| Much Cowarne/ <i>Cuure</i> | cow-house | 15 | certain |
| Munsley/ <i>Muneslai</i> | Mul's clearing | 3.25 | certain |
| | | 1.5 | certain |
| | | 1 | certain |
| | | 1 | certain |
| Pixley/ <i>Picheslei</i> | Pict's clearing | 0.5 | certain |
| | | 0.5 | certain |
| Stoke Edith/ <i>Stoches</i> | dependent settlement | 2.5 | certain |
| Stretton Grandison/ <i>Stratune</i> | settlement on a Roman road | 3.5 | certain |
| Tarrington/ <i>Tatintune</i> | settlement associated with Tata | 0.5 | certain |
| | | 3 | certain |
| Upleadonβ ₁ / <i>Ledene</i> | higher Leadon settlement | 9 | certain |
| Walsopthorne/ <i>Walesapeldor</i> | Welshman's apple tree | 1.25 | probable |
| Westhide/ <i>Hide Stoches</i> | settlement assessed at one hide/dependent hide | 2.25 | certain |
| Weston Beggard/ <i>Westune</i> | west settlement | 6 | certain |
| Whitwick/ <i>Witewiche</i> | Hwita's dairy farm | 2 | certain |
| Yarkhill/ <i>Archel</i> | kiln with an enclosure | 2 | certain |
| | Total | 98 | |

| | | | |
|---|---------------|---------------|--|
| Palmer adds: Bishops Frome and part of Westhide | Palmer | 103.75 | |
| ¶1 unidentified place, could be part of Westhide. | | | |
| Б1 Round has this as 'Leadon' but <i>DB Herefordshire</i> , <i>DG</i> and Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 40, have it as Upleadon in Bosbury. | | | |
| ∞1 4 other hides are in Worcestershire; it could have been a detached portion of that shire. | | | |
| β1 Plegelgate was allocated four hides of the bishop's total of 10. | | | |

Table 12 Winstree Hundred

| Manor/DB | PN | Hides | Location |
|--|----------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <i>Bageberge</i> ¶1 | ?bag-shaped hill | 5 | certain |
| Bickerton/ <i>Bicretune</i> | bee-keeper's settlement | 1 | certain |
| Bosbury/ <i>Boseberge</i> | Bosa's manor house | 6 | certain |
| Coddington/ <i>Cotingtune</i> | settlement associated with Cota | 3 | certain |
| Colwall/ <i>Colewelle</i> | cool spring | 3 | certain |
| Cradley/ <i>Credelaie</i> | Creoda's clearing | 12 | certain |
| Donnington/ <i>Dunninctune</i> | settlement associated with Dunna | 1 | certain |
| Eastnor/ <i>Astenofre</i> | place east of the ridge | 4 | certain |
| Hanleys End/ <i>Hanlie</i> | high wood | 1.375 | certain |
| Ledbury/ <i>Liedeberge</i> | settlement on the Leadon | 5 | certain |
| Hazle/ <i>Hasles</i> | hazle wood | | certain |
| Much Marcle∞1/ <i>Merchelai</i> | boundary wood | 17 | certain |
| ¥1 | | 0.5 | probable |
| | | 0.5 | certain |
| | Total | 59.375 | |
| Agree Palmer | | | |
| ¶1 Lost place. Could be Bagbarrow Wood near Ham Green. | | | |
| ∞1 before 1066 part of Leominster | | | |
| ¥1 rubric inserted before 4.1 | | | |

Table 13 Golden Valley

| Manor/DB | PN | Hides | Location |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>Almundestune</i> ¶3 | Ealhmund's settlement | 3 | certain |
| <i>Alcamestune</i> ¶4 | Alhhelm's settlement | 1 | certain |
| The Bage/ <i>Becce</i> | small stream-valley | 3 | certain |
| Bacton/ <i>Bachetune</i> | Bacca's settlement | 5 | certain |
| <i>Beltrou</i> ¶5 | well-found | 0.5 | certain |
| Bredwardine/ <i>Brocheurdie</i> | plank-settlement | 5 | certain |
| <i>Burcstanestune</i> ¥2 | Burgstan's settlement | 3 | probable |
| Dorstone¥1/ <i>Dodintune</i> | settlement associated with Doda | 7 | probable |
| <i>Edwardestune</i> ¶6 | ?Huard's settlement | 1 | certain |
| <i>Elnodestune</i> Б1 | Aegelnoth's | 3 | certain |

| | | | |
|--|---|-------------|-------------------|
| | settlement | | |
| Harewood/ <i>Harewde</i> | hare wood | 4 | certain |
| Middlewood/ <i>Midewde</i> | middle wood | 2 | possible |
| Monington/ <i>Manetune</i> | communal settlement | 5 | certain |
| Mynyddbrydd ^{¥4} / <i>Ruuenore</i> | at the rough ridge | 1 | certain |
| Poston ^{¥3} / <i>Poscetenetune</i> | ? a saete name with 'pusa' OE/bag as root | 2 | certain |
| The Moor ^{Б2} / <i>More</i> | moor | 1 | disputed/unlikely |
| Canon's hides/ <i>More</i> | | 4 | possible |
| plus one Welsh | | 1 | possible |
| 'around the town of Hereford' | | (1) | unlikely |
| <i>Wadetune</i> ^{И7} | ? | 1 | certain |
| <i>Wluetone</i> ^{И2} | ? | 2 | certain |
| Wilmastone/ <i>Wilmestune</i> | Wighelm's settlement | 5 | certain |
| generally 56/112 ploughs but probably represents the sum of all that pay tax (25.7) | | | |
| | Total | 59.5 | |
| Agree Palmer | | | |
| Б1 Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 194, locates it at Chanstone. | | | |
| ¥1 Rubric inserted. <i>DB Herefordshire</i> , 23.2. | | | |
| ¥2 Rubric inserted. <i>DB Herefordshire</i> , 23.3. | | | |
| И2 Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 165, places it at Turnastone. | | | |
| И3 Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 162, locates it at Peterchurch. | | | |
| И4 Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 165, locates it at Urishay Castle. | | | |
| И5 Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 165, locates it at Godway. | | | |
| И6 Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 196, locates it at Walterstone. И7 is lost. | | | |
| ¥3 Rubric inserted, <i>DB Herefordshire</i> , 14.6. | | | |
| ¥4 Rubric inserted. <i>DB Herefordshire</i> , 23.4. Unidentified place. | | | |
| Б2 Coplestone-Crow, <i>Herefordshire Place-Names</i> , 24, locates this place in Allensmore. Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', 27 note 3, believe it to be in Cutsthorn hundred, near Hereford, siding with Round, <i>VCH</i> , 324. | | | |

Table 14 Dinedor Hundred

| Manor/ <i>DB</i> | PN | Hides | Location |
|--|-----------------------------------|-------|-----------|
| Barton ^{Б2} / <i>Bertune</i> | grange | 10 | uncertain |
| Bullinghope/ <i>Boniniope</i> * | Bulla's marsh enclosure | 2 | certain |
| <i>Boninhope</i> | | 2 | certain |
| <i>Boninhope</i> | | 2 | certain |
| Clehonger ^{β1} / <i>Cleunge</i> | sloping wood on clay soil | 1 | certain |
| Cobhall ^{β2} / <i>Cobewelle</i> | | 1 | uncertain |
| Dinedor/ <i>Dunre</i> | hill with fort | 6 | certain |
| Holme Lacy/ <i>Hamme</i> | land in a river-bend | 6 | certain |
| Mawfield ^{β2} / <i>Malfelle</i> | open country at <i>Malochu</i> | 2 | uncertain |

| | | | |
|---|---------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Moccas ^{Б1} / <i>Moches</i> | pig marsh (W) | 1 | unlikely |
| Rotherwas/ <i>Retrowas</i> | cattle/flooded area | 3 | certain |
| Webton ^{β2} / <i>Webetone</i> | Webba's settlement | 0.5 | uncertain |
| <i>Webetone</i> | | 2.5 | uncertain |
| *DB term is 'Bonin' | Total | 39 | |
| Palmer adds: bishop's and canon's Barton. Palmer omits: Clehonger and the one hide of Moccas | Palmer | 42 | |
| ^{Б1} <i>DB Herefordshire</i> regards this is an error, as remaining part of manor in Stretford. Could be an outlier but editors think it unlikely and the topography is awkward. | | | |
| ^{β1} A divided manor, one hide here and five in Stretford; this may be 'Hungerstone', <i>DB Herefordshire</i> , 26.2. | | | |
| ^{Б2} An unidentified place, and lots of opinions. <i>VCH</i> places in Holme Lacy but Palmer, Note 1A, says it should be in Cutsthorpe and 'Dinedor' is an error. | | | |
| ^{β2} These three were probably in Stretford. Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', 24, The Alecto Edition. | | | |

Table 15 Greytrees Hundred

| Manor/DB | PN | Hides | Location |
|--|-------------------------|-----------|----------|
| Bartestree/ <i>Bertoldestreu</i> | Beorhtweald's tree | 2 | certain |
| (outlier) | | 2 | certain |
| Brockhampton ^{∞1} / <i>Caplefore</i> | brook settlement | 5 | certain |
| plus three Welsh | | 3 | |
| Dormington/ <i>Dermentune</i> | Deormod's settlement | 1 | certain |
| Fownhope/ <i>Hope</i> | secluded valley | 15 | certain |
| How Caple/ <i>Capel</i> | look-out place | 5 | certain |
| Lugwardine/ <i>Lucuordne</i> | settlement by the Lugg | 4 | certain |
| Putley/ <i>Poteslepe</i> | hawk clearing | 1 | certain |
| Priors Frome ^{Б1} / <i>Frome</i> | settlement on the Frome | 1.25 | certain |
| <i>Frome</i> | | 2.25 | certain |
| <i>Frome</i> | | 1.5 | certain |
| Sollers Hope/ <i>Hope</i> | secluded valley | 5 | certain |
| Woolhope/ <i>Hope</i> | secluded valley | 16 | certain |
| | Total | 64 | |
| Agree Palmer | | | |
| ^{∞1} In text as 'Tragetreu'. | | | |
| ^{Б1} in Mordiford parish although part of 'Frome' vill. | | | |

Tables 16 and 17—not used. The small hundreds of Wormelow and Sellack are considered in full in Chapter Six.

Table 18 Bromsash Hundred

| Manor/DB | PN | Hides | Location |
|--|------------------------------------|-------|----------|
| Aston Ingham/ <i>Estune</i> | east settlement | 2 | certain |
| | settlement connected with Aelfwine | 6 | certain |
| Alvington/ <i>Alwintune</i> | | | |
| Brampton Abbots/ <i>Bruntune</i> | broom settlement | 2 | certain |
| ^{Б2} /Gatsford/ <i>Bruntune</i> | Gaeddel's ford | 1 | certain |

| | | | |
|---|--|--------------|----------|
| Coldborough/ <i>Calcheberge</i> | ?chalky barrow | 1 | certain |
| Cleeve-plus Wilton <i>Clive/Wiltone</i> | cliff | 14.5 | certain |
| Hill of Eaton/ <i>Edtune</i> | | 2.5 | certain |
| Hope Mansell/ <i>Hope</i> | secluded valley | 4 | certain |
| Lea/ <i>Lecce</i> | clearing | 1 | certain |
| Linton/ <i>Lintune</i> | flax settlement | 5 | certain |
| | | 0.25 | certain |
| Kingstone/ <i>Chingestune</i> | royal settlement | 2 | certain |
| Newarne ^{B1} / <i>Niware</i> | new house | 2.5 | certain |
| Pontshill/ <i>Panchille</i> | Pant's hill | 1 | certain |
| Redbrook/ <i>Brocote</i> | cottage at the brook | 2.5 | certain |
| another manor (with Staunton) | farmstead near stone | 1 | certain |
| Ross-on-Wye/ <i>Rosse</i> | promontory | 7 | certain |
| | rye enclosure (OE) or hill enclosure (Primitive Welsh) | | |
| Ruardean/ <i>Ruuiridin</i> | | 4 | certain |
| Staunton/ <i>Stantun</i> | stony settlement | 1 | certain |
| Upton Bishop/ <i>Uptune</i> | higher settlement | 7 | certain |
| Walford/ <i>Walecford</i> | Welshman's ford | 7 | certain |
| Weston/ <i>Westune</i> | west settlement | 2 | certain |
| <i>Wiboldingtune</i> ^{II} | ? | 3 | certain |
| Yatton/ <i>Getune</i> | settlement at hill-pass | 1 | probable |
| | Total | 80.25 | |
| Palmer omits: two hides from Cleeve and Wilton and has transposed the wrong Kingstone entry | Palmer | 79.5 | |
| ^{B1} The Alecto Edition locates this place in East Dean parish. | | | |
| ^{B2} The Alecto Edition and Palmer place this manor at Gatsford in Brampton Abbots parish. | | | |
| ^{II} lost place. | | | |

Appendix Four Land-unit comparisons

The following tables present a more detailed analysis of the regression mapping which was undertaken in Chapter Seven at Figures 7.12 to 7.29. Table 1 presents information concerning the shire and its boundary variance with that of the eleventh-century diocese. Table 2 presents the same information in the context of the eleventh-century hundreds and the old minster *parochiae*. The consequences of the differences are highlighted by reference to the affected land-units—that of the villas, hundreds or *parochiae*—and a comment is made as to the likely chronology for the activity.

Table 1 The shire mapped to the diocese

| Boundary of shire | Divided/united secular land-units: villas | Divided/united secular land units: hundreds | Divided/united ecclesiastical land units | Comments |
|---|--|--|--|---|
| Shropshire (River Lugg, with a tributary, River Clun or Roman Road, and River Teme) | Little Hereford (retained in Herefordshire and held by Bishop of Hereford but on the north bank of the Teme) | | Boundary bisected Leintwardine <i>parochia</i> | Probable tenth-century |
| Worcestershire (Rivers Teme, Frome, Leadon; Malvern Ridge) | Upper Sapey and Lower Sapey Kyre and Little Kyre Edvin Loach Rochford Mathon (held by Pershore Abbey; transferred to Worcestershire) Acton Beauchamp (held by Evesham Abbey; transferred to Worcestershire) | Doddingtree and Plegelgate Island within Plegelgate Island of Wolphy Hundred within Worcestershire Pershore but part in Winstree Hundred Doddingtree Hundred | Boundary bisected Bromyard <i>parochia</i> Chapel of Clifton-on-Teme | Probable tenth-century, with early eleventh-century additions as a result of the transfer of Westbury-on-Severn to Gloucestershire (Clifton-on-Teme and Kyre affected.) In Worcestershire Moved to Herefordshire (?by Earl Ranig) Moved to Worcestershire (? date) Moved to Worcestershire (? date) |

| | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|---|
| | | | | |
| Gloucestershire (Rivers Leadon and Wye) | Manor of Westbury loses four outliers (Clifton-on-Teme, Kyre, Edvin Loach and Kingstone, transferred to Doddingtree Hundred in Worcestershire and Bromsash Hundred in Herefordshire Alvington | Westbury Hundred retains island of English Bicknor in Herefordshire Island of Bromsash Hundred in Lydney | | Early eleventh-century transfer of seven hundreds and 201 hides |

Table 2 The hundreds mapped to the *parochiae*

| Name of hundred | Name of old minster | Footprint of <i>parochia</i> | Footprint of hundred |
|-------------------------|--|--|--|
| Hazletree | St Peter and St Paul, Leintwardine | Crosses shire boundary; mother-church in Shropshire in 1086 | Distorted by Leominster—in three sections; includes manors in Radnor |
| Wolphy | St Peter and St Paul, Eye | All parishes of Richards Castle, Orleton, Lucton, Croft, Yarpole, Brimfield, Eye, Eyton, Kimbolton, Middleton on-the-Hill | Distorted by Leominster; also includes Pudleston and Laysters, as well as outliers in Shropshire (Ludford) and Worcestershire (Rochford) |
| Leominster/ <i>Lene</i> | St Peter and St Paul, Leominster | All the parishes of Kingsland, Eardisland, Monkland, Stretford, Birley, Hope-under-Dinsmore, Stoke Prior, Leominster | Ecclesiastical manor and members comprise composite hundred with many outliers |
| Elsdon | St Peter or St Mary Pembridge | Includes Staunton-on-Arrow; Weobley in Stretford North and excludes Dilwyn. Likely to include Kington and may include Michaelchurch-on-Arrow in Powys. | Includes part of Dilwyn and excludes Staunton-on Arrow, in Hazletree and Sarnesfield which was an outlier of Leominster. |
| <i>Lene</i> | As for Leominster | | |
| Stretford (N) | None found | | Small with detached portions |
| Stretford (S) | St Mary, Madley | Includes Moccas and Clehonger | One hide of Moccas in Dinedor, one hide of Clehonger in Dinedor, otherwise exact |
| Plegelgate | St Peter, Bromyard | Includes Pencombe, Clifton-on-Teme, Lower Sapey, Stanford-on-Teme and probably Shelsley Walsh | Excludes Pencombe; boundary with Leominster Hundred uncertain; Edwin Loach in Worcestershire |
| Staple | None found; likely to have been part of Hereford <i>parochia</i> | See Cutsthorn | |
| Cutsthorn | The common antecedent of St | Same footprint as Staple and Cutsthorn Hundreds, | Same footprint as <i>parochia</i> with qualifications about Hereford's |

| | | | |
|---------------|---|--|--|
| | Guthlac's and St Ethelbert's. | with outliers on the south bank of the Wye in Dinedor. | borough status and the inclusions of Richards Castle and Ewyas as outlying districts of the late Anglo-Saxon period. |
| Thornlaw | St Peter, Bodenham | Excludes Pencombe but may include a number of manors/parishes along the 'heantun' ridge line—?Docklow, ?Hatfield, Humber and Pudleston which have some connections with Bodenham and Felton parishes | Includes Pencombe but the other manors part of the 'heantun' land-unit are in Leominster and Wolphy (Pudleston) |
| Radlow | St Mary, Much Cowarne | Excludes Munsley, Pixley, Aylton and Little Marcle | Includes Munsley, Pixley and Little Marcle and Aylton in Little Marcle |
| Winstree | St Michael, Ledbury | Includes Munsley, Pixley, Aylton, Little Marcle, Much Marcle | Includes Much Marcle as detached portion |
| Golden Valley | St Mary, Clifford | Same footprint as administrative district | Same footprint as <i>parochia</i> |
| Dinedor | None found; some parishes are outliers of Hereford's intra-mural parishes | Small district south of the Wye/? Part of Stretford South/Greytree | DB entries are confused/shares some manors with Stretford South |
| Greytree | St Peter, Lugwardine | Footprint same has small 'core' north of the Wye but evidence of Archenfield connections Excludes Woolhope | Footprint same as 'core' of <i>parochia</i> but with the inclusion of Woolhope |
| Wormelow | None found | | Manor only |
| Sellack | St Tesiliah, Sellack | Includes King's Caple and string of Archenfield parishes to the south along boundary with Ross-on-Wye | Manor only |
| Bromsash | St Mary, Ross on Wye | Footprint same as hundred but includes Ruardean | Footprint same as <i>parochia</i> but includes detached portions in Gloucestershire |

Appendix Five Chronology, tenurial information and hundred reorganisation¹

In attempting to demonstrate a chronology for hundred reorganisation in the shire, we have included the following table which demonstrates that there was no obvious late eleventh-century tenurial link which provided a rationale for reorganisation of manors from one *parochia* to the adjacent secular land-unit of another during the late eleventh century. For there to have been, we ought to have observed the case that the 1066 tenant had been in possession of many manors in the adjacent hundred, so many as to warrant their removal to the same secular land-unit so that his taxation returns might be more efficiently handled within one hundred court. This occurred in only one case, that of Edwy Young, who held in Weobley as well as King's Pyon. For the 1086 information the obvious case was that of Roger of Lacy, who held three Frome manors in Radlow hundred. However, there was no unity of 1066 holder for these manors, and Roger's presence at Munsley appears to have been on the grounds that he held adjacent manors already in Radlow, and that Munsley was in Radlow before 1066.

| Manor | DB Owner 1066 | DB Owner 1086 | <i>Parochia</i> | Moved to | Comment |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|---|
| Weobley ² | Edwy Young | Roger of Lacy | Pembridge | Stretford | Appears to join block of manors held by <i>antecessor</i> |
| 'One Manor' Pencombe ³ | Alfred of Marlborough | The same | Bromyard | Thornlaw | No obvious connection |
| Staunton-on- | Eadric | Ralph of | Pembridge | Hazletree | Two manors |

¹ References in the table are to F Thorn and C Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book. Volume 17: Herefordshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), hereafter *DB Herefordshire*; F Thorn and C Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book. Volume 25: Shropshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1986), hereafter *DB Shropshire*; F and C Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book. Volume 16: Worcestershire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1982), hereafter *DB Worcestershire*.

² *DB Herefordshire*, 10.48.

³ *Ibid.*, 19.6.

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|--|----------------------------------|--|---|
| Arrow ⁴ | Seisyll | Mortimer Osbern son of Richard | | | divided between Hazletree and Elsdon |
| Munsley ⁵ | Brictmer Aelfric Wada Saemer | Roger of Lacy William son of Baderon William son of Norman Humphrey of Bouville | Ledbury | Radlow | Lacy holds adjacent Frome manors in Radlow. No obvious connection No obvious connection Bouville holds in adjacent Pixley |
| Pixley ⁶ | Thorgar Askell | Ansfred of Cormeilles Humphrey of Bouville | Ledbury | Radlow | Ansfred holds adjacent Tarrington |
| Little Marcle ⁷ | Harold Harold | Roger of Lacy Thurston son of Rolf | Ledbury | Radlow | No obvious connection |
| Clifton-on- Teme ⁸ | King Edward | Osbern son of Richard | Bromyard | Doddingtree in Worcester | No obvious connection |
| Leintwardine ⁹ | None given King Edward | Picot Ralph Mortimer | Leintwardine Leintwardine | In Shropshire In Shropshire | Divided from Wigmore Divided form other manors held by Mortimer |

⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.11 and 24.8. (Scribal error has placed this in Staple hundred but the editors have placed it in Eldson.)

⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.31, 15.10, 16.1 and 28.2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.2 and 28.1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.32 and 17.2.

⁸ *DB Worcestershire*, 19.3.

⁹ *DB Shropshire*, 4.20, 20 and 6.11.

Appendix Six
Llan Dav charter differential place identification¹

| Number, place and size, if known² | Date³ | W Davies | Coplestone-Crow⁴ | Finberg⁵ | J R Davies⁶ | other⁷ |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------|---|----------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| LL 71 Mocrosi | 550 | Moccas | Moccas | Moccas | Moccas | |
| LL 72a Garthbenni | 575 | Welsh Bicknor | Hentland in Goodrich | Welsh Bicknor | Welsh Bicknor | |
| LL 72b Cerniu (1 <i>uncia</i>) | 580 | Dorstone | Abbey Dore | near Dorstone | 'on the Dore' | |
| LL 73a Iunabui (1 <i>uncia</i>) | 585 | Llandinabo | Bredwardine | either | Llandinabo | |
| LL 73b Cum Barruc (3 <i>unciae</i>) | 595 | Valley Dore | Dorstone | ? | Valley Dore | Evans and Rhys Dorstone |
| LL 75 Cil Hal | 555 | Pencoed | Pencoyd | Pencoyd | Pencoed? | |
| LL 76a Tir Conloc (4 <i>unciae</i>) | 575 | Madley | Preston-on - Wye | on the Wye near Dorstone | Madley | Egerton Phillimore (<i>Owen's Pembrokeshire</i>) Preston-on - Wye |
| LL159a Erfdil | 685 | Llanerthill | Madley | x | Llanerthill | Egerton Phillimore (<i>Owen's Pembrokeshire</i>) Madley |
| LL160 Sulbiu | 620 | Lancillo | Lancillo | Lancillo | Lancillo | |
| LL 161 Bolgros (3 <i>unciae</i>) | 610 | Bellimoor | Bellamore | Bellymoor | Bellymoor | |
| LL 162a Guoruoe (1 <i>uncia</i>) | 615 | Garway | No, a place in Mawfield (?Eaton Bishop) | ? Garway | Not certain Garway | |
| LL 162b Mafrun | 605 | Valley Dore | Peterchurch | 'on the Dore' | Valley Dore | Egerton Phillimore (<i>Owen's Pembrokeshire</i>) Vowchurch, |
| LL 163b Podum Loudeu (3 <i>unciae</i>) | 620 | Llancloudy | Llancloudy | Llancloudy | Llancloudy | |
| LL 164 Budgualan (1/2 <i>uncia</i>) | 620 | Ballingham | Carey | Ballingham | Ballingham | |
| LL 165 Lann Dewi | 625 | Dewchurch | Mch Dewchurch | Dewchurch | Lt or Mch Dewchurch | |
| LL 169b Cilpedec | 850 | Kilpeck | Kilpeck | Kilpeck | Kilpeck | |
| LL 170 Cum Mouric | 850 | Lt Dewchurch | Morraston | Morraston | Lt Dewchurch | |
| LL174a Gamber (2 <i>modii</i>) | 855 | River Gamber | | | | |
| 174b Istrat | 703 | Tidenham | | Tidenham | Tidenham | Also S610 (946) |

| | | | | | |
|--|-----|---------------|-----------|-----------|-------------------------|
| Hafren (1 <i>uncia</i>) | | | | | Grant to Bath Abbey |
| LL175 and 180a Monmouth | 733 | Monmouth | | | Monmouth |
| Aper Menei (2 <i>modii</i>) | 720 | Monmouth Land | | | |
| LL 182a Henlann super ripan guy (4 <i>modii</i>) | 735 | Dixton | | | Dixton Monmouthshire |
| LL 184 Iuduiu | 738 | Peterstow | no | ? | Peterstow |
| LL 192 f return of churches | 745 | | | | |
| LL 195 Clodock | 740 | Clodock | Clodock | Clodock | Clodock |
| LL 200 Hennlennic (3 <i>modii</i>) | 758 | Llanwarne | Llanwarne | Llanwarne | Llanwarne |
| LL229a Penncreic | 874 | Pencreic | Pencreic | | Pencreic |

¹ The location of these places, all within the sub-kingdom of Ergyng, has been the subject of debate. The following are the main studies: W Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), hereafter *Welsh Microcosm*; B Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 214 (1989), hereafter *Herefordshire Place-Names*; H P R Finberg, (ed.), *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1961), hereafter *Early Charters*; J R Davies, *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), hereafter *Llandaf*.

² Charter references are taken from the standard diplomatic edition: J Evans and J Rhys (eds), *The Text of the Book of Llan Dav reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1893), hereafter Evans and Rhys. The size of estates, where given, is recorded in *unciae* and *modii*. An *uncia* represented 500 acres, roughly the size of the Anglo-Saxon five-hide unit. A *modius* comprised forty acres and there were twelve *modii* in an *uncia*.

³ The dates are those quoted by Davies, *Welsh Microcosm*. Wickham notes that, with the exception of Sims-Williams's comments which argue that they should be post-dated by half a century, no scholar has suggested that her chronology or analysis is incorrect: C Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 328 and n. 64.

⁴ Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*.

⁵ Finberg, *Early Charters*.

⁶ Davies, *Llandaf*.

⁷ Evans and Rhys; H Owen (ed.), *The Description of Pembrokeshire by George Owen of Henllys, 1602*. Two volumes (London: 1892), hereafter *Owen's Pembrokeshire*.

Appendix Seven
Illustration of possible British land-unit configuration in sixth-century
Herefordshire

| British district/land-unit¹ | Hides in 1086 | Suggested 9th C <i>Parochia</i>(e) | 11th C DB Hundred(s) | Suggested 6th C polity | Iron Age Hillfort with SMR number² |
|---|----------------------|--|--|--|--|
| North of the Wye | | | | | |
| <i>Lene</i> | c. 265 ³ | Pembridge Eye Leominster | Eldson Leominster (<i>Lene</i>) Wolphy Stretford North | ? <i>Hecani</i> | Curnish Hill (8917) Croft Ambrey (177) |
| <i>Frome</i> | c. 180 ⁴ | Much Cowarne Bromyard | Radlow Plegelgate Greytree (part) | Unidentified | Castle Frome Hillfort (930) |
| Maund | c. 65 ⁵ | Bodenham | Part Thornlaw | ? <i>Magon</i> (Lower Lugg Valley) | Sutton Walls (912) |
| <i>Heantun</i> | 30 | Bodenham | Thornlaw, eastern Plegelgate | Unidentified | Uphampton Camp (1238) Risbury Camp (2221) |
| South of the Wye | | | | | |
| Straddle | c. 150 ⁶ | Clifford Madley | Golden Valley Stretford South Dinedor | Ergyng | Brampton Hill (6271) Dinedor (1278) |
| <i>Caplefore</i> | 50 | Fownhope | Greytree/Archenfield | Ergyng | Capler Camp (33822) |

¹ Such is the nature of the available evidence and it is to be noted that these land-units vary in size from a single *parochia*, as in Madley, to areas comprising two or more hundreds, and whole districts like that of *Lene*. The exercise is a very crude one in consequence, because of the nature of what has been detected, rather than what may have been present in the early Anglo-Saxon period. All the available evidence, however, suggests that early land-units varied considerably in size, and we may not be dealing with areas which had the same or similar functions.

² Indicates the Sites and Monuments Record number available at:
www.Herefordshire.gov.uk/SMRsearch

³ This figure is an inaccurate one; an additional 33 hides were included within Leominster's pre 1066 totals which included manors in *Terra Regis* elsewhere in the shire. These additional units bring the assessment to 298, the size of many of the small polities mentioned in the Tribal Hidage. Was this the tribal district of the *Hecani*?

⁴ Includes Radlow without Pixley, Munsley and Little Marcle but with Priors Frome; Plegelgate.

⁵ Includes all of Thornlaw but without Ullingswick, Ocle Pychard and Livers Ocle.

⁶ Stretford South (50) Golden Valley (59.5) Dinedor (39).