

Urban-rural connections in Domesday Book and the late Anglo-Saxon town

by Jeremy Haslam

Abstract

The issue concerning the origin of the attachment of urban tenements to rural properties shown in Domesday Book and in earlier sources, which has generated controversy for more than a century, is examined in a new way. The spatial attributes of these connections in sample areas of four shires in Wessex and the west Midlands are examined to develop a historical model which is explanatory of these connections in both temporal and functional terms. It is concluded that these were developed as an integral part of the process of the setting up of burghal and other royal sites by the king, in partnership with the tenants-in-chief of the time, in the mid and late Saxon period.

One of the most tenacious and long-running controversies regarding the origin and development of the late Anglo-Saxon town has been the nature and function of 'heterogeneous tenure', one of the defining characteristics of the Domesday borough. This refers to the basic dichotomy of the larger boroughs as described in Domesday Book into the customary burgesses or tenements which owed dues and obligations to the king alone, and the non-customary burgesses or tenements which were appurtenant to the various manors of tenants-in-chief of the shire (and sometimes neighbouring shires) to whom they paid rent and owed other dues and services.¹ These arrangements had virtually ceased to have any force by the later twelfth century,² but are evidenced in various charters from the late eighth century (the earliest in relation to Canterbury), and in other places from the early tenth century. It is generally recognised therefore that the situation as it emerges in the folios of Domesday Book represents a system which was already in the process of fragmentation and decay. It is the purpose of this paper to put forward evidence and arguments as to the ways in which these connections of urban tenements and non-customary burgesses with rural manors were important in the growth and development of Anglo-Saxon towns and burhs, possibly from the late eighth century onwards.

The establishment of a complete list of Domesday boroughs which possessed heterogeneous tenure and which show evidence of having tenements appurtenant to rural manors is however somewhat problematical. In many cases such connections can only be inferred, in ways usefully discussed by Ballard.³ Of the 62 places noted by Ballard with contributory lords or tenements / burgesses appurtenant to rural estates, all were probably burhs of late ninth or early tenth century origin (or earlier), with only 10 exceptions.⁴ These are

Wimborne (Dorset), Sandwich (Kent), Bruton (Som), Milborne Port (Som), Milverton (Som), Calne (Wilts), Droitwich (Worcs), Tewkesbury (Gloucs), Gt Yarmouth (Norfolk), Dunwich (Suffolk) and Hythe (Kent). These were all either early royal trading places or the centres of early royal multiple estates, or both. (The case of Hythe might well, however, be the exception which nevertheless proves the rule). In some cases the burghal status of some of the places with such connections is also a matter of inference, or has yet to be argued in detail - such as Bristol, Reading, Arundel, and possibly Dunwich - while the connections of tenements at Arundel with rural estates, for instance, are themselves a matter of inference rather than direct statement.⁵

In 1897 F W Maitland developed the so-called 'garrison theory' to explain these patterns of relationship of urban tenements appurtenant to the rural manors shown in Domesday Book. He argued that these connections were the vestiges of arrangements whereby the land-holders of the shire discharged their obligations for the defence of the borough for which the shire or burghal territory was responsible, a situation demonstrated in the attachment of territories to burhs in the Burghal Hidage.⁶ This hypothesis, however, was soon criticised by James Tait, who argued that these connections originated as favourable 'proprietary or jurisdictional grants of a profitable nature' which were made as a result of the growth and trading activity of the borough as a town.⁷ Tait caricatures Maitland's views on tenurial heterogeneity as 'the shell of a dead military system', and refers (somewhat anachronistically) to the burgesses attached to rural manors as 'no peaceful traders, but warriors whose wants were supplied by the manors to which they belonged'. Maitland would, however, never have agreed to either of these propositions, at least in the form expressed by Tait. Tait later wrote that these connections were 'rather a natural and very general, but not universal, result of burghal growth than the essential pre-requisite implied in the 'garrison theory' of Maitland and Ballard.'⁸ Tait indeed cited Calne (Wilts) - discussed below - as an instance whose contributory manors could not be explained by the 'garrison theory'.

In spite of Tait's contrary viewpoint, which does to some extent compromise the simple model put forward by Maitland, and notwithstanding Maitland's own admission that he had said 'too little of the borough as a *tun* and as the market and moot-stow of a shire',⁹ Adolphus Ballard subsequently elaborated on the subject of the urban properties contributed by rural estates.¹⁰ He came down decisively in support of Maitland's original hypothesis with a considerable (and valuable) range of detail - in particular using inferences about connections which derive from a comparison of the owners of properties in boroughs with those of rural estates, and in his tabulation of instances and numbers. He could well have elaborated on one of Maitland's reservations about Tait's own position by pointing out instances of the 'distribution among divers rural manors of the burgages and burgesses that belong to one and the same lord'.¹¹ He paid little attention, however, to some of the difficulties in Maitland's original hypothesis or to any alternative interpretations of the evidence adduced in its support. This is particularly evident in

his discussion of the twelfth-century evidence of the wall-work performed by the burgesses of Malmesbury.¹² This paper was criticised in considerable detail by Mary Bateson, who introduced another theme of the post-conquest origin of these connections. This is however only one of several possible interpretations, which cannot, as she points out herself, be applied to the 'mural mansions' of Oxford in Domesday. She, in her turn, introduced a red herring in considering that the burgesses attached to rural estates were living not in the boroughs but in the named estates.¹³

In spite of Ballard's work, Tait's explanation has constituted an enduring paradigm which has been repeated, with variations, by all who have concerned themselves with the development of the Domesday borough and the Anglo-Saxon town - historians and archaeologists alike. In several of his introductions to the county Domesday Book folios, J H Round came to share Tait's views.¹⁴ F M Stenton also argued at some length against Maitland's position in an early introduction to Domesday Book in the *VCH* for Leicestershire, and concluded that these connections had their origin 'rather in a desire for commercial advantage than in any rule of public law', a view he was never to modify. This view was echoed by Carl Stephenson, who asserted that they were 'not the product of government ordinance, but usages that had grown up to suit the needs of seignorial management'.¹⁵ By the early 1930s the subject seems to have been exhausted and its original impact forgotten. In 1930 J H Round, following an unpublished lecture given on the subject in 1912, observed that '...the [garrison] theory seemed . . . to have definitely lost favour',¹⁶ and Stephenson in the same year concluded that '... if we re-examine that mooted question, perhaps it will be found not to deserve the prominence that it has hitherto enjoyed'.¹⁷ The problem had been solved, and the tsunami generated by Maitland appeared to have subsided to mere ripples; the waters of the Domesday sea were now safe to navigate again. Subsequent comments by historians over the decades only served to heighten this sense of monolithic calm.¹⁸ In 1996, very nearly a century after the controversy was first aired, Nicholas Brooks felt able to say that Maitland's original hypothesis, 'exploded long ago by James Tait, should not be revived today'.¹⁹ This hypothesis has been well and truly consigned to the recycle bin of outmoded historical interpretations; Tait's paradigm still holds sway.

The divergence of viewpoint between Maitland and the followers of Tait has, however, brought out a dichotomy in respect of both the function and origin of these connections which has never really been addressed. The Maitland camp (one or two lost souls huddled in respectful silence round his grave) would view these connections as being formed at the beginning of the process by which burhs and towns were formed to facilitate the implementation of defensive and other social and organisational functions of the burh. The Tait camp (by contrast an army or self-assured protagonists) would see these same connections as originating by degrees over a long period before Domesday in response to what today would be loosely called 'market forces', to enable the holders of the rural manors to enjoy the economic and other benefits of a town house. The issues which this extended controversy have highlighted have

not, however, disappeared - Brooks' admonition is testimony to this - but go to the heart of any explanatory view about the origin of the late Saxon town or borough.

What has not been brought to bear on this issue in any systematic way, however, is any regard for the evidence of the spatial relationships of these connections either with each other, with the urban centre itself, or with shires and other historic land divisions and their boundaries in which they are set. As will be shown in this paper, it is possible to make both temporal and therefore functional inferences from these spatial relationships which have an important bearing on any view of the controversy characterised above. Spatial language, let alone analysis, is seldom used by historians in the first half of the twentieth century; and where it is, with some sort of implied functional connotation, it is generally quite off-beam. Carl Stephenson, for instance, remarks that 'the basis of the connection was geographical rather than political, for it disregarded county lines whenever the borough lay close to one of them'.²⁰ Not only is this observation incorrect as a general statement; it also serves to highlight the fact that - as will be demonstrated below - it is the spatial distributions of these connections and their relationships to the shire and other boundaries which form the evidential basis for coming to a diametrically opposite conclusion.

A number of studies have analysed and mapped these connections for individual towns or on a shire basis - for instance for Stamford, Leicester, Winchester and Hampshire, Wallingford and Berkshire, Oxford, Warwickshire.²¹ The evidence pertaining to Worcester, relatively plentiful from pre-Conquest charters, has been described in detail by several commentators.²² Richard Holt's novel take on this evidence is discussed below. All of these connections existing at the time of Domesday have been noted, and some mapped, in the various contributions on individual shires to H C Darby's regional *Domesday Geographies*, though none of these groups is shown in relation to any other, with the exception of Somerset.²³ A few have sought to describe these connections on a regional basis, for instance in the pioneering study of the Oxfordshire region by E M Jope in 1956 (followed by John Blair in 1994), the West Midlands by Terry Slater, and in the depiction of these relationships over most of England, albeit on a somewhat diminutive scale, by H C Darby.²⁴ All of these treatments, however, have in the main been descriptive of the evidence in map form, rather than attempts to interpret these spatial relationships as evidence of past processes and therefore functions. A notable development in the use of this evidence is, however, David Roffe's analysis of the patterns of these connections to help define the burghal territories of the late ninth century in the upper Thames region.²⁵

It is the purpose here, therefore, to outline a preliminary model for the development of these rural-urban connections, based primarily on a reassessment of the evidence in Domesday Book and the spatial relationships of the manors enumerated in it to their central boroughs, their neighbours, and to shire and other early boundaries, as well as to other features of the historic landscape. This will be developed and tested by the analysis of evidence from four adjoining areas in central England - 1) Wiltshire; 2) Warwickshire and south Staffordshire; 3)

Gloucestershire (including the former Winchcombeshire); and 4) Worcestershire. The overall model which derives from an analysis of these areas is that the urban-rural connections given in Domesday Book and shown in earlier charters are a function of the dominant position of the centres within political and administrative territorial units. These may be shires, burghal territories or early multiple estates. As such, they can be interpreted in one sense, as Maitland originally suggested, as vestiges of arrangements established in the formative stages of the development of the boroughs and important estate centres as fortified burhs or other central administrative foci, invariably royal *tuns* - of which a burh is after all a specialised instance. In other ways, however, these connections can also be seen as arising from a wider range of marketing, legal, administrative and political functions of these places within a territory, the inhabitants (or more particularly landholders) of whose territories owed services to the centre.

With this in mind, it is argued further that these connections were put in place in the ninth and tenth centuries by the king and earl working in partnership with the tenants-in-chief (or the thegns or other land-holders) of the shire as one of the primary mechanisms designed to create sustainable communities. One of the new functions of this arrangement (but by no means the only one) would have been to ensure the defence of the central burh and the protection of the burghal territory and /or the shire. As will be shown below, this arose from the obligations due to the king from booked land. This being so, it follows that the attachments of the non-customary tenements in the burh or centre to rural manors would have been established by the prerogative of the king, as originator and upholder of the burh or estate centre, to serve the king's military, social and economic agendas, rather than by the holder of the manor to serve his own. This process was not, however, confined to the initial stages of the formation of burhs, but can also be seen as developing through successive periods of the reorganisation of burghal territories and later shires - especially in the W Midlands - around their administrative centres. Some of the implications of this model are discussed further in the last section.

A precautionary note must be made, however, concerning some of the basic premises behind the methodology adopted in this study. It should be reasonably self-evident that the Domesday record of the urban-rural connections, even when supplemented by earlier charter evidence and later sources, is by no means a complete list of such connections as were originally formed. The operation of such factors as the incompleteness of the seignorial returns to the Domesday commissioners, the idiosyncratic practices of the commissioners themselves,²⁶ and the demonstrable loss of such original connections in the long period before Domesday through market and other forces, has meant that the surviving evidence is only a sample of an original tally. However, since such losses and gaps in the information will be, from a broad statistical point of view, unbiased in a spatial sense, it is therefore a valid procedure to draw inferences from, and to attempt to provide explanations for, the spatial distribution of these connections as they have survived. In other words, the surviving evidence from many shires (but by no means all of them) comprises a meaningful sample which can be taken as being representative of an initial more complete distribution. Whether it is representative in each and

every case and in every detail is ultimately a meaningless concept, because it is unknowable. But clearly, the more examples which have survived in any shire, the more meaningful will be the patterns of distribution. An important corollary of this is that it is possible to make valid inferences from the evidence as we have it, but not from perceived gaps in this evidence. It is also taken as being a valid procedure that conclusions which pertain to the patterns of distributions of these connections in one area or shire can be applied to other areas where the pattern is perceived to be somewhat less complete.

A second major premise is that the connections to a particular place, in particular in the majority of cases which were burghal foundations, were established at the same time as the foundation (or re-foundation or consolidation) of the burh in response to the new imperatives which related to its establishment as an administrative centre. In the case of the foundation of burhs, this would have required the focusing of a new set of obligations of the population within the whole of its burghal territory to its construction and ongoing maintenance as a sustainable institution. While the situation at the time of the formation of burghal institutions in the late 9th and early 10th centuries (and earlier) is largely unknowable, this premise is tested in every case examined below and - as will be shown - is explanatory of the evidence of the pattern of distribution of these contributory estates as it emerges in pre-Conquest charters and Domesday Book. Similar arguments are seen as being appropriate to explain the connections of rural estates with non-burghal centres named above, which are generally the centres of royal multiple estates of an earlier age (of which Calne and Droitwich are good examples). The few exceptions to this, insofar as they can be demonstrated in the documentary evidence, do not in general undermine this basic premise.²⁷

A third premise relates to the way in which the shires of Domesday were formed. Most historians have characterised this process, in particular in the West Midlands, as comprising the subdivision of the administrative units of the middle Saxon period (the *regiones*) to form the shires, each with a principal burh as its administrative centre, as an essentially linear development at some time between the early tenth century and the early eleventh.²⁸ It is argued here that this model is simplistic and misleading, in that it disregards the processes of the formation of burhs and the setting out of their dependent territories as constituting key developmental stages in this process. This is discussed further below. As will become apparent in the following analysis and synthesis of the evidence, the development of the administrative geography of especially the West Midlands, where this process is particularly apparent, cannot be understood without considering both how the burghal territories were formed by subdivision of the early *regiones*, how the initial burghal territories of the ninth century were carved up into smaller ones in the early tenth, and how the later shires were developed by their subsequent amalgamation and/or fission. A view will be taken in this paper that the 'landscape stratigraphy' of these relationships, analysed in a horizontal rather than a vertical mode, is a key part of the evidence for the development and function of these political units through time, and of the urban-rural connections which were, arguably, formed within them and constrained by them. It is only

when these developments are examined in detail that a view can be taken concerning the most appropriate historical contexts in which they took place.

WILTSHIRE

Contributing estates are recorded in Domesday Book from four places in the shire: at Malmesbury, Cricklade, Wilton and Calne. These are tabulated below.²⁹ The several layers of inferences which have determined the making of this and other tables below cannot be fully explored here, for reasons of space.

Malmesbury

<i>Malmesbury, Wiltshire - Customary and non-customary tenements</i>						
Estate / manor	No. of tenements	Holder in head section in DB	DB section	DB head section	No. of tenements in head section	Comments
		The king		M1	51 in total	Customary tenements
- [held 4 manors]	-	Bishop of Bayeux	[4]	M2	½	
Somerford [1] Garsdon [2] (contr. to Malm. not specified)	1 1	Abbot of Malmesbury	8,3 8,11	M3	4 ½	Plus 9 cottagers who pay tax with the burgesses
Kington Langley [3]	1	Abbot of Glastonbury		M4	2	
Somerford [1] N Wraxall [4]	1 2	Edward the Sheriff	24,20	M5	3	
Hullavington [5] Alderton [6]	1 1	Ralph of Mortimer	41,1 41,9	M6	1 ½	
- [held 7 manors]	-	Durand of Gloucester	[30]	M7	1 ½	(Sheriff of Gloucs - Notes)
- [held 17 manors]	-	William of Eu	[32]	M8	1	
Somerford [1] Smithcot [7] (contr. to Malm. not specified) Castle Combe [8]	1 1 2	Humphrey de l'Isle	27,10 27,11 27,23	M9	1	Castle Combe shares app tenements in Malmesbury & Wilton
- [held 12 manors]		Osbern Gifford	[48]	M10	1	
Chedglow [9]	½	Alfred of Marlborough	26,19	M11	½	
Draycot Cerne [10]	1	Geoffrey the Marshall	68,21	M12	½	(contr. to Malmesbury not specified)
[no manors]	-	Tovi	-	M13	1 ¼	
Seagry [11]	1	Drogo son of Poyntz	49,1	M14	½	(contr. to Malmesbury not specified)
[Calstone Wellington [12] [+ 1 burgess in Calne] [+ 2 burgesses in Calne]	None mentioned	Edric's wife	25,5 [25,5] [58,1]	M15	1	Manor shares app tenements in Calne & Malmesbury (the latter inferred)
Foxley [13]	1	Roger of	45,1	M16	1	"of the king's

		Berkeley				revenue" - ? received as forfeiture
- [held 28 manors]	-	Arnul of Hesdin	[25]	M16	1	"of the king's revenue" - ? received as forfeiture
		The king			1 (Azur's former holding)	? received as forfeiture
Wootton Bassett [14]	1	Miles Crispin	28,1		-	
Calne	45	The king	1,1			Probably non- customary tenements appurtenant to Malmesbury, and living there.
Calne	25	The church (held by the king)	1,1			Also probably non-customary tenements at Malmesbury

Cricklade

There is no account of Cricklade in Domesday, and references to appurtenant tenements come from the accounts of rural manors alone, together with one pre-Conquest charter.

Manor	Number of burgesses / tenements	Holder of manor	Section in DB	Comments
Aldbourn [1]	6	The king	1,10	
Ramsbury [2]	5	Bishop of Salisbury	3,3	
Badbury [3]	1	Church of Glastonbury	7,6	
Purton [4]	1	Church of Malmesbury	8,13	
Cricklade	Holds "many burgesses"	Church of Cricklade - (held by Westminster)	9,1	
Chiseldon [5]	6	St Peter's Abbey, Winchester	10,5	
Liddington [6]	1	Church of Shaftesbury	12,5	
Lidyard Tregose [7]	7	Alfred of Marlborough	26,7	
Clyffe Pypard [8]	3	Humphrey de l'Isle	27,9	
Earlsclourt [9]	1 garden	Stephen the Carpenter	66,6	
Calcutt [10]	3	Odo of Winchester	67,1	
Clyffe Pypard [8]	1	Wibert	68,24	
Moredon [11]	1	-	Charter of 1008 (S 918) [3 holdings in 26,9; 29,6; 43,1 in DB]	No ref to appurtenant tenements in DB
	TOTAL - 35 (+ 'many' others) + 1 garden			

Wilton

As with Cricklade, the lack in Domesday Book of any account of Wilton, the shire 'capital', means that its population of burgesses is known only from the mention of holdings appurtenant to several rural manors, both stated and inferred.

Manor	Number of burgesses / tenements	Holder of manor	Section in DB	Comments
Netheravon [1]	5	The king (formerly Earl Harold)	1,18	
Salisbury [2]	7	Bishop of Salisbury	3,4	
Dinton [3]	2	Church of Shaftesbury	12,6	Centre not specified; Suggested as contributory to Warminster (VCH Wilts II, 21). But Warminster was not a borough, and was itself contributory to Wilton.
Stratford Tony [4]	1	Earl Aubrey	23,9	
Fifield Bavant [5]	2	Alfred of Marlborough	26,14	
Castle Combe [6]	1	Humphrey de l'Isle	27,23	Manor shares appurtenant tenements in Wilton & Malmesbury
Durnford [7]	4	William of Eu	32,1	
Sutton Mandeville [8]	5	Robert son of Gilbert	40,1	Centre not specified
Sherrington [9]	1	Osbern Giffard	48,11	
Marden [10]	1	Hugh son of Baldric	51,1	
Odstock [11]	1	Brictric	67,9	
Wylve [12]	1	[Church of Wilton	13,11]	Holding given in charter of 940 (S 469), but not appearing in DB entry
Warminster [13]	30	The king	1,4	Manor contributing non-customary burgesses, arguably living at Wilton,
Tilshead [14]	66	The king	1,7	Manor contributing non-customary burgesses, arguably living at Wilton.
	TOTAL - 127			

Calne

Manor	Number of burgesses / tenements	Holder of manor	Section in DB	Comments
Calne	45	The king	1,1	Probably non-customary tenements appurtenant to Malmesbury, and living there.
Calne	25	The church (held by the king)	1,1	Akin to customary tenements, possibly app to the church's estate(s)
Bishops Cannings [1]	1	Bishop of Salisbury	3,2	
Calstone Wellington [2]	1	Arnulf of Hesdin	25,5	Manor shares app tenements in Calne & Malmesbury (the latter inferred - see above)
Calstone	2	Richard Poynant	58,1	

Wellington [2]				

All these are plotted in relation to the Domesday shire and other features, including neighbouring pre-Conquest boroughs and marketing centres, in Fig. 1.

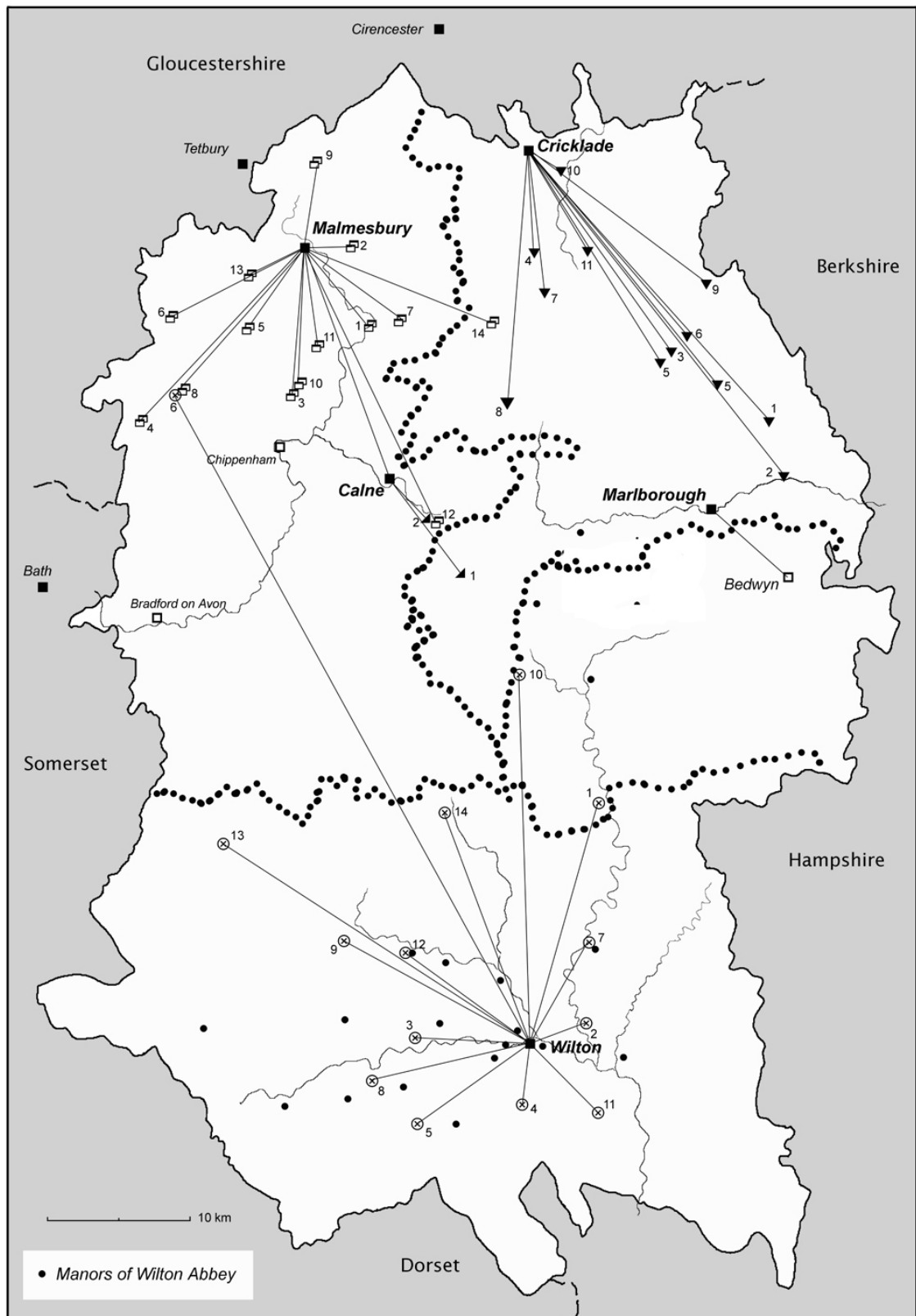


Fig. 1. Contributory manors in Wiltshire, shown in relation to the reconstructed burghal territories of Malmesbury, Cricklade, Chisbury and Wilton (based on the hundred boundaries of Domesday). (Low res image)

The overall model developed in this study is derived from a consideration of the relationship between the distribution of these contributory estates to each other, to the shire or other boundaries, and to other market or central-place settlements which functioned as such in the pre-Conquest and immediately post-Conquest period. Inferences from these spatial relationships can be set within a time frame from the way they relate to the known or inferred development and functions of these places through time. The patterns of relationship between the contributory manors and their centres shown in Wiltshire - even though demonstrably lacking in completeness - provide an important exemplar for a series of inferences which form the basis of this model. Inferences from similar spatial and temporal relationships in the other shires examined in this paper extend and reinforce this model.

Cricklade and Malmesbury are situated on or near the northern borders of the shire, but their contributing manors lie wholly within the shire to the south. Similarly, the contributing manors of Wilton, in the south of the shire, are located around it and to its north within the shire. It is clear that the distribution of these contributory manors bears no relationship to their proximity to a particular Domesday borough or pre-Conquest market. This is particularly emphasised by the proximity of Cricklade and Malmesbury to Tetbury and Cirencester, both just over the shire border within Gloucestershire and the ancient kingdom of the Hwicce (Fig. 3). Tetbury lies close to Malmesbury, and was an important minster market from the 8th century (*Blair 1992*), and arguably a burh (a fortified urban market) from the later 9th century.³⁰ Cirencester, sited on the Roman Ermin Street leading straight from Cricklade, was also an important royal and minster site, a late ninth century Viking stronghold and an incipient market centre in the later Saxon period.³¹ Any hypothesis which sees the relationship of manors to their centres based on the proximity to the nearest or most convenient market or administrative centre would appear to be confounded by the pattern of connections of manors in SE Gloucestershire to Gloucester, rather than to Cricklade or Malmesbury, and to the absence of any other connections to the north Wiltshire boroughs on the part of manors in South Gloucestershire (see Fig. 3) - and of course vice-versa.

The evidence from Wiltshire of the distribution of the contributing estates and their relationship to their centres and to others can only be explained by the hypothesis that this was a function of administrative determinants based on their position within the shire, and that the forces which led to the establishment of these connections had little to do with the attraction on the part of an estate-holder to the nearest 'local' market. Malmesbury, Cricklade and Wilton were urban burhs created in Alfred's scheme of the fortification of Wessex, the constituent places of which are listed in the Burghal Hidage.³² That these burhs were organised at a shire level carries the further implication that the connections between contributing manors and these

places have resulted from the function of these places as burhs.³³ As can be seen from Fig. 1, the distribution of the manors connected to particular burhs reflects, with only a few exceptions, their position within the burghal territories of these burhs, insofar as they can be reconstructed.³⁴ A logical inference of this - which is tested further below - is that these connections reflect arrangements put in place at the time of the formation of these burhs as new defended communities set up by the king. This conclusion is further supported by the evidence in particular of two charters of the late 8th century of Offa at Canterbury, and that of 904 in relation to Worcester, which demonstrate that the connection between rural estates and the urban tenements in each place was a feature of the organisational landscape of these places at an early stage in their development as burghal institutions.³⁵

This preliminary hypothesis can be refined by reference to the spatial relationship of these estates holding properties in Cricklade to other sites in north Wiltshire which are pre-Conquest fortified sites and/or markets or boroughs. The writer has suggested that the primary organisational focus in the Kennet valley area in the east-central part of the shire (which lay to the south of Cricklade) in the 9th century was the royal multiple estate centre at Bedwyn, adjacent to which was added a new temporary or non-urban burh within the neighbouring Iron-Age hillfort at Chisbury, which is listed in the Burghal Hidage (Fig. 2). This would have created a poly-focal centre at the period of formation of King Alfred's burghal system, which the writer has argued can be placed in the period 878-9. The writer has also adduced evidence that the defensive functions of the non-urban Burghal Hidage fort at Chisbury was replaced by the creation of a new defended burh and market at Marlborough, most probably at a date later in the 9th century. This is indicated by the fact that at Domesday the earl held the third penny of Marlborough (DB Wilts B4), a defining characteristic of burghal development, as well as by its topographical characteristics.³⁶

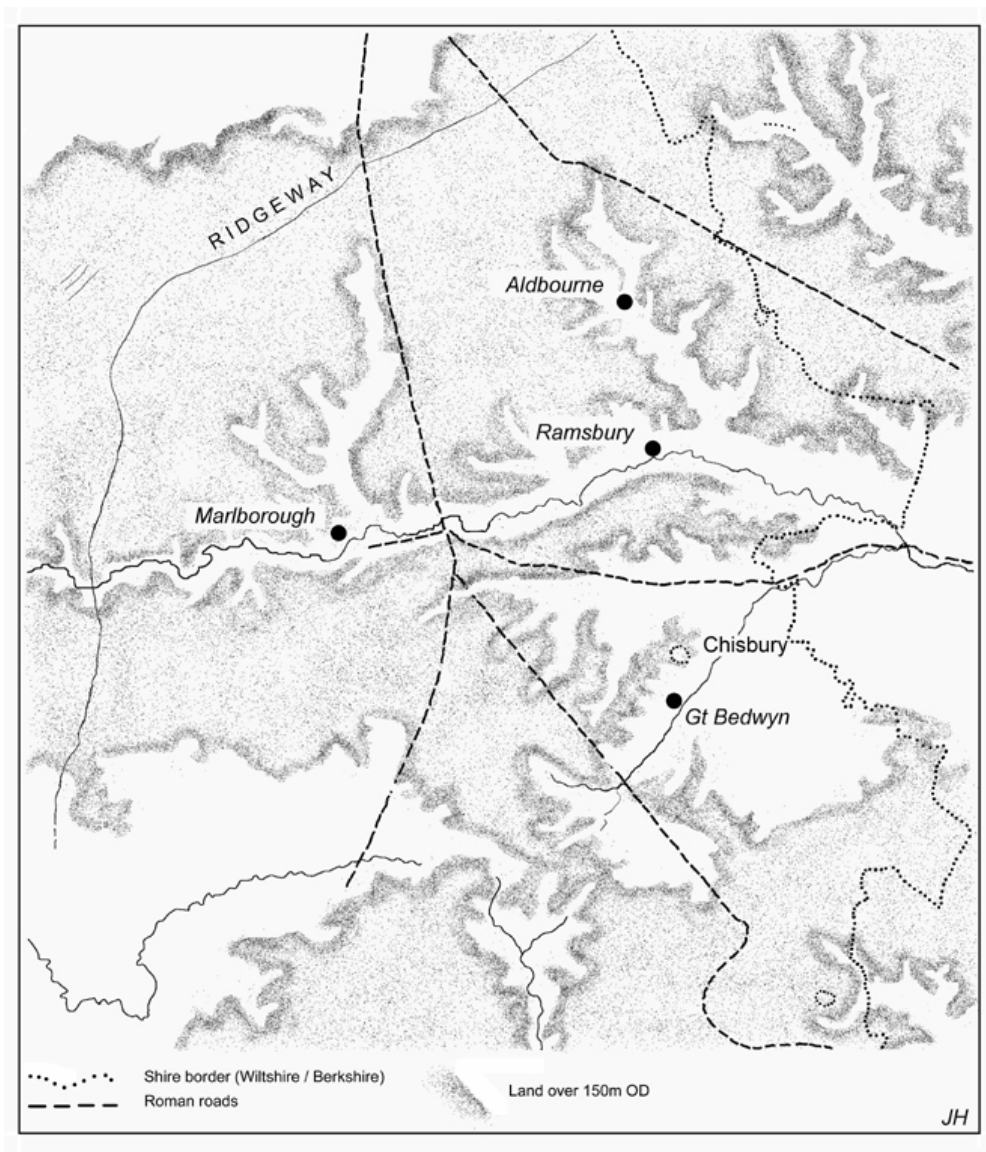


Fig. 2. Area of Kennet valley, E Wiltshire, showing the relationship of Bedwyn and Chisbury to Marlborough and the Kennet valley.

The southernmost estates contributing to Cricklade are however considerably nearer to Marlborough than to Cricklade. One of these, contributing 5 burgesses to Cricklade, was Ramsbury, which became the seat of a bishopric from 909, and which comprised a 90-hide manor (DB Wilts 3,3) which as part of the royal multiple estate of Bedwyn is likely to have been given by the king to the new bishop on the occasion of the foundation of the see.³⁷ Aldbourne was also a royal manor (DB Wilts 1,10), and also probably part of this complex of royal holdings in E Wiltshire. If the holders of these estates - in particular Aldbourne and Ramsbury - had had a choice, they are likely to have opted for having a tenement or tenements in the new fortified market of Marlborough. These relationships provide a crucial body of evidence for the hypothesis above, to the effect that the observed pattern has been determined not by proximity to a local market - even the new fortified one at Marlborough within the shire - but by administrative factors which were a function of the role of Cricklade as a fortified and garrisoned

burgh of the first stage of King Alfred's scheme for the defence of Wessex and eastern Mercia.³⁸ That estates very near Marlborough held tenements in Cricklade rather than within the former's defences also carries the implication that this pattern was formed before the secondary burh at Marlborough was set up, arguably in the 890s³⁹ when it replaced Chisbury, and therefore most probably at the time of the creation of the burh at Cricklade (in 878-9).

It is, furthermore, no coincidence that Aldbourne was a royal estate, and Ramsbury had been one before 909. As well as generating the inferences already made, the connection of Ramsbury with Cricklade in particular suggests that this was in place by the time the estate was given to the bishop in c.909, and that this date marks the time when this estate was converted from royal loanland to become booked to the bishop of Ramsbury. It also suggests that the connections of these two places with Cricklade have survived because the development of these estates had not been subject to the sort of market pressures which appear to have distorted the survival and therefore the distribution of these connections in other areas.

This is as close a demonstration as it is possible to get with the available evidence for the direct support for the model put forward here - that, as a general pattern, the relationship of the tenements in a burh or borough to the rural estates to which they were attached was established at or very near the time that the burh was set up. An important supporting element in this model is the premise that all or most of the connections between rural manors and their burghal centres were established as a group at the same time and as part of the same process. A primary element in the model advanced here is that these contributory estates were drawn exclusively from the area which was created as the burghal territory of Cricklade, and before they would have been included within the burghal territory of Marlborough which would, in all probability, have been carved out of it. This series of inferences, derived from the evidence of 'landscape stratigraphy', is a fundamental aspect of the overall model put forward in this paper, and is replicated and supported in other examples discussed in this study.

This set of inferences also provides an explanation of the suggested connection of the 25 burgesses 'at' the royal manor of Bedwyn to the new burh at Marlborough (see Fig. 2). The connection of Ramsbury, situated to the north of the valley of the river Kennet, with Cricklade to the north implies that the original burghal territory of Cricklade extended to the south of the river Kennet, and indeed comprised most if not all of the north-east corner of Wiltshire. The position of Marlborough, also on the north of the Kennet valley, suggests the likelihood that the new burghal territory of Marlborough would have comprised land which had initially formed the burghal territory of Chisbury (the primary non-urban fort adjacent to Bedwyn, which was replaced by Marlborough) to the south of the Kennet, together with an area around it to the north of the river (Fig. 2).⁴⁰ It seems possible that it would have been at the time of the creation of the new burh at Marlborough that the royal estate centre of Bedwyn would have been allocated one or several *hagae* within the new burh, of which the 35 burgesses recorded at Domesday were the occupants.

A parallel situation is apparent in the way that the 34 burgesses listed under the royal manor of Somerton, and the 32 burgesses listed under the royal manor of Cheddar (both in Somerset), are stated as living at Langport and Axbridge respectively, both of which were burhs listed in the Burghal Hidage (DB Som 1,1 and 1,2). These are, in effect, burgesses attached to the burhs which were appurtenant to the parent royal estate centre, and who could be seen as being contributed by the single royal estate to their respective burhs. In these instances the distinction between 'customary' and 'non-customary' burgesses breaks down, because they are indeed both - held by the king within the burh, yet owing their dues and services to the king at the rural centre. Similarly, a case can be made for the same relationships shown by the 30 burgesses listed under Warminster and the 66 burgesses listed under Tilshead, which can best be interpreted as being contributed by these royal estate centres to the burh at Wilton. This pattern would appear to be repeated at Calne, where 45 burgesses were held by the king, but probably living 'at' the burh at Malmesbury. The 25 burgesses held there by the church, and thence of the king, could possibly constitute a group distinguished by being contributed to the centre at Calne by the estate or estates which formed the landed endowment of the minster church at the centre. This relationship was also possibly true of the 'many burgesses' held by the church at Cricklade, at the time of DB held by Westminster, but formerly of the king. Again, a similar pattern is shown by the 24 burgesses 'at' Gloucester held by the royal manor of Kings Barton, and the considerable number of burgesses 'at' Bristol held by the royal manor of Barton Regis (below). In all these cases the distinction between customary and non-customary burgesses becomes blurred, and in the last resort somewhat meaningless.

Similar patterns are shown, for instance, in the case of Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, and Pershore (Worcs), discussed below, which contributed burgesses to Gloucester and Droitwich respectively, as well having as some of their own (as royal 'customary' burgesses held at the estate centre by the king); and by two instances (discussed below) where burgesses 'at' Droitwich and Tamworth owed reaping and other services to the nearby royal manors of Wychbold and Drayton Bassett respectively.⁴¹ It might only be an accident of non-survival that burgesses are not mentioned as being 'at' the former royal multiple estate of Deerhurst, which contributed burgesses to Gloucester and held a sizeable *haga* there (discussed below). The same situation is shown by Milborne Port, Somerset, outside the sample area, which arguably had 107 burgesses contributory to the neighbouring burh at Ilchester, and living there, and 56 of its own who lived in Milborne Port (DB Som 1,10). In all these instances the burgesses and their tenements clearly owed their existence to their roles in providing services for the king either at the royal centre or at the associated burh, by virtue of their ultimate obligation to the king as overlord.⁴²

The distribution of estates contributory to Malmesbury, Calne and Wilton provide further support for the inferences already adduced. It will be observed that one of these estates appurtenant to Wilton, at Castle Combe, is nearer to Malmesbury than to Wilton, and that its position indeed 'overlaps' both the southernmost manors contributing to Malmesbury as well as

those contributing to Calne (Fig. 1). Furthermore, this estate also shares the contribution of burgesses to Malmesbury, a characteristic also shown by a number of other manors in various shires. The pattern shown in this case seems therefore to contradict the hypothesis that the distribution falls within the primary burghal territory, which seems so clearly indicated in the cases of Malmesbury and Cricklade.

An explanation, which is an important aspect of the general hypothesis outlined in this paper, is provided by the estates contributory to Calne, and which is already hinted at in the discussion above. The record in Domesday Book of contributory burgesses at Calne was one of the main stumbling block in the way of Tait's acceptance of Maitland's 'garrison theory', discussed above. This was a large unhidated royal (and later hundredal) centre with a minster church, which arguably shows some topographical indications which can be interpreted as vestiges of its early functions as an organic middle Saxon royal *tun* and market site, the centre of a large multiple estate, perhaps originating as such at an early stage in the formation of the West Saxon kingdom.⁴³ It was however not a burh of the type of Alfredian Cricklade, Malmesbury or even Marlborough, and would have had no public defences and no burghal territory, though it might well have had a defensible enclosure around the royal hall and probably also the church. Given the evidence already adduced that the system of contributory estates in Wiltshire was created at least as early as the late 9th century, and that they originated as arrangements put in place to facilitate the performance by estate holders of military and other services at specified centres, it is possible to interpret the presence of the estates contributory to Calne as a survival of arrangements whereby these and other obligations of particular estate-holders in the hundred nominated by the king were to be discharged at the royal *tun* in the construction of the king's hall and its enclosure, the building of bridges (where necessary) and for performing army service and in various other services - all of which were in place in Wessex by at least the middle of the 9th century if not rather earlier.⁴⁴

This is further indicated by the dependent relationship of the estate and later hundred of Bishop's Cannings, which contributed to Calne.⁴⁵ Bishops Cannings was a 70-hide estate held by the bishop of Salisbury at the time of Domesday (DB Wilts 3,2). Its proximity to Ramsbury to its east suggests that this had been given to the new bishop of Ramsbury in c.909 as part of its original endowment, and that before this it had therefore been part of the royal multiple estate of which Calne was the centre.⁴⁶ The specific connection between the contributing manor and the appurtenant tenement is most likely, therefore, to have been the result of the process by which the manor of Bishops Canning would have been booked to the new bishop of Ramsbury in 909 (as with the manor of Ramsbury mentioned above), and that this connection therefore represents the fossilised remnants of services rendered to the centre by a constituent part of the royal estate at a rather earlier time. The hypothesis of the origin of the attachment of appurtenant tenements at Calne to both Calstone Wellington and Bishops Cannings at an early stage in the development of the multiple estate is therefore consistent with this arrangement.

For the same reasons the existence of the attachment of the manor at Castle Combe to Wilton is also consistent with the development of Wilton as the shire 'capital' and pre-eminent royal centre within the shire, when these duties are likely to have been owed to this centre by estates over a wide area (if not all) of the shire from the earliest period at which the system in which estate-holders became responsible for these and other services was established. The probability that the original 'shire' of Wiltshire was extended northwards from a boundary along Wansdyke to the Thames in the early ninth century does not alter the force of these arguments.⁴⁷

The pattern of contributing estates shown at Wilton - in particular the instance of Castle Combe - could be interpreted therefore as representing the vestiges of a situation in which the new burghal territory of Malmesbury of the late 9th century overlaid and subsumed survivals of connections which were established before this arrangement was put in place. It can also be argued that the sharing by Castle Combe of contributing burgesses to both Malmesbury and Wilton is a function of these successive roles of these two places - the territory of the late 9th century burh at Malmesbury overlying the larger and earlier *regio* of the early royal centre at Wilton, which at one stage would have comprised the whole shire. The same interpretation is also appropriate to the situation in which Calstone Wellington shared tenements with Malmesbury (which is inferred from the fact that its holder has a tenement in Malmesbury) and Calne - the burghal territory of the former overlapping and subsuming the area dependent on the royal *tun* at Calne. This interpretation is also appropriate to the historical and spatial contexts of the relatively frequent occurrence of manors in other shires which contribute tenements to two different places (as in the case of Gloucester and Winchcombe, and Worcester and Droitwich, discussed below).

The detailed temporal and spatial relationships between these places and their contributing manors forms an important evidential basis for the overall model given above, which is explanatory in functional terms. This is that the attachment of burgesses to rural estates recorded in Domesday Book and earlier charters are best seen as a relic of the way that a burh or borough was set up from the beginning as a newly-created fortified place which was set out by the king as a permanent settlement, in such a way as to ensure that general obligations for service, which was a concomitant of the holding of land, were directed to these ends. The obligations for defence - either in constructing defences or in garrison duty, or both - would have been only part of the manifold obligations which it would have been necessary to call upon to create and sustain what was a highly complex social institution. Furthermore, these institutional mechanisms appear to be similar to, and inherited from, those of an earlier age in which tenements at a king's *tun* were also appurtenant to estates within the jurisdiction or the administrative area of that *tun*. The houses within a fortified burh (which in essence was merely a special instance of a king's *tun*) which were attached or appurtenant to surrounding estates can be interpreted therefore as a facility which would have been added to the assets of each estate by the king as an act of state at the time of the formation of the burh and the creation of the burghal territory. This aspect is discussed in more detail below. This would have created a

situation which can be seen as being analogous to the ‘tenurial heterogeneity’ shown by some primary royal *tuns* or multiple estate centres (such as that at Deerhurst or at Berkeley in Gloucestershire), in which a number of tenants-in-chief or other tenants held small portions of the primary estate directly of the king, again as partners with the king in the maintenance and upholding of the administrative, economic and social structures and functions which were focussed on these central places.

WARWICKSHIRE

Warwick and Tamworth

A further demonstration of the early existence of the pattern of the attachment of urban properties to rural estates, and an example of the use of the stratigraphical techniques in landscape and administrative development, is shown by Warwick (Fig. 3), a new burh of the early tenth century. The case of Tamworth, a borough shared by both Warwickshire and Staffordshire to the north, is also relevant to the thesis discussed here.

<i>Warwick - customary and non-customary tenements</i>						
Named estate / manor	No. of tenements	Holder in head section in DB	DB section	DB head section	No. of tenements in head section	Comments
		The king		B1	113	
		The king's barons		B1	112	
Hampton Lucy [1] Alveston [2]	3 4	Bishop of Worcester	3,1 3,3	B2	9	
		Bishop of Chester	[2]	B2	7	
		Abbot of Coventry	[6]	B2	36	Manors shown in Fig **
				B2	4	4 waste because of the castle
[?Fillongley] [14]		Bishop of Coutances	5,1	B2	1	
		Count of Meulan	[16]	B2	12	
		Earl Aubrey	[14]	B2	4	
Butlers Marston [3] Pillerton Hersey [4] Billesley [5]	2 (+2 frenchmen) 1 1	Hugh of Grandmesnil	18,2 18,3 18,14	B2	4 1 held from HG by monks of Pillerton	Tenement in Pillerton unassigned
		Henry of Ferrers	[19]	B2	2	
		Harold son of Earl Ralph	[38]	B2	2 (+ 2)	Second listing a mistake - see Notes
Tysoe [6] Edstone [7]	3 1	Robert of Stafford	22,4 22,8	B2	6	
		Roger d'Ivry	[20]	B2	2	

		Richard the hunter	[44,7-8]	B2	1	
Budbrooke [8]	7	Ralph of Limesy	26,1		9	
[?Newbold Comyn] [9]		Abbot of Malmesbury	[9]		1	
		William Bonvallet	[29]	B2	1	
Wolverton [10]	1	William son of	28,17	B2	2	
Bearley[11]	1	Corbucion	28,18			
		Geoffrey de Mandeville	[30]	B2	1	
		Geoffrey de la Guerche	[31]	B2	1	
[? Willington] [12]		Gilbert of Ghent	[32]	B2	2	
		Gilbert of Bouille	-	B2	1	
		Nicholas the bowman	[40]	B2	1	
		Stephen the steersman		B2	1	
Coughton [13]	4	Thorki of Warwick		B2	4	
Bishopston [15]	1					Charter of 1016 (S 1388) - lay in manor of Stratford (Bassett 2009, 126 n.12)
Long Itchington [16]	1			42,3		Charter of 1001 (S 898): (Bassett 2009, 126 n.12)
		Osbern son of Richard		B2	1	
		Christina		B2	1	
		The nun Leofeva		B2	2	
		"These messuages belong to the lands which these barons hold outside the Borough and are there valued"				
		19 burgesses		B3	19	
	TOTAL - 28				TOTAL in section B2 - 114	

<i>Tamworth - non-customary tenements</i>					
Coleshill (WAR) [1]	10	The king	WAR 1.5		
Wiggington [2]	4	The king	STS 1,9		
Drayton Bassett [3]	8	The king	STS 1,30	Burgesses work at DB "like other villagers"	

As with the case of Malmesbury, given above, the information relating to contributing manors and appurtenant tenements for Warwick is given both in the main entry (DB War B1-3) as well as in the entries for the rural manors, though these lists do not match up, except incidentally. The tenements appurtenant to the two manors of Bishopstone and Itchingham in early eleventh-century charters, noted by Steven Bassett, are also included.⁴⁸

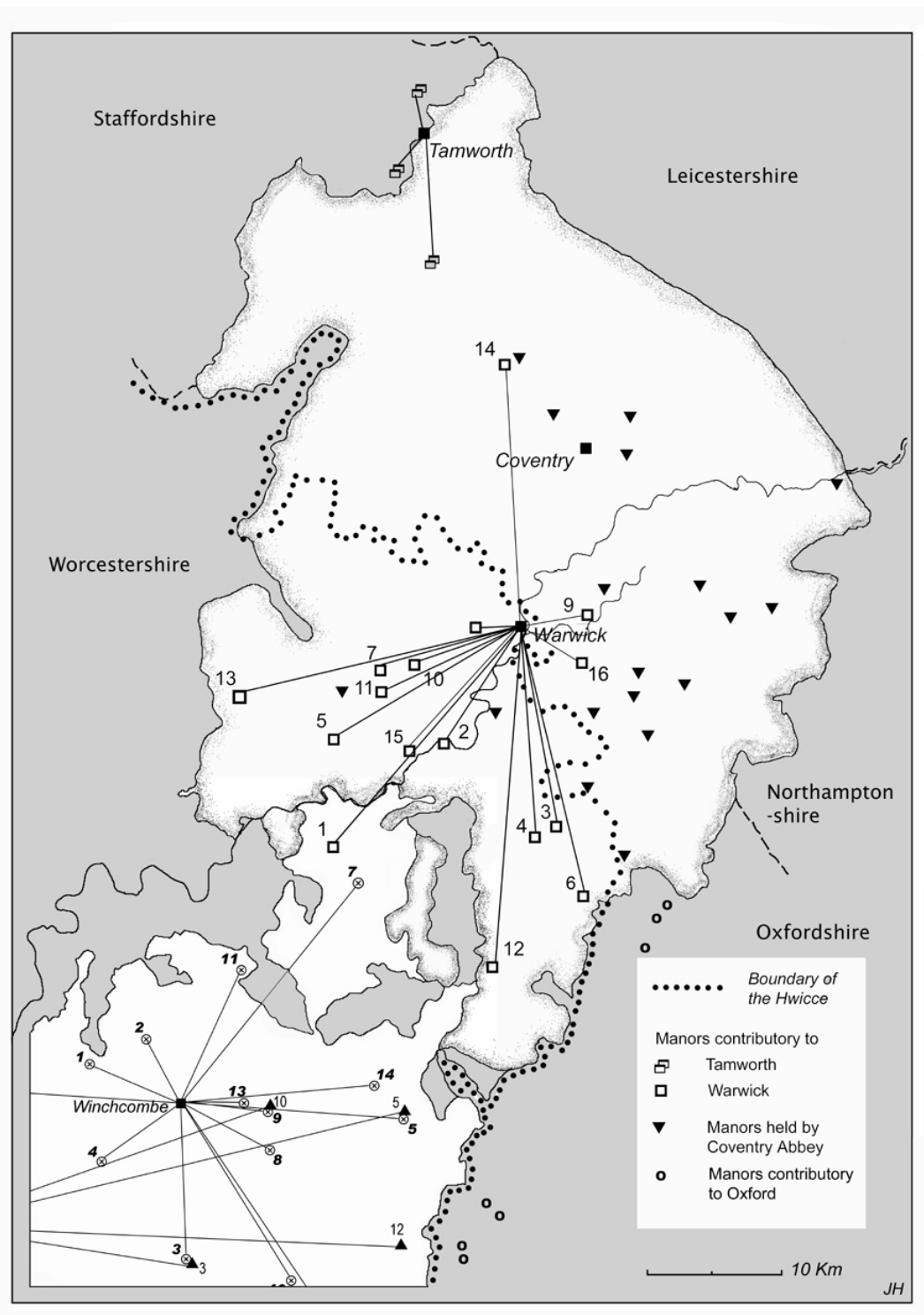


Fig. 3. Contributory manors in Warwickshire, shown in relation to some of the manors contributory to Winchcombe, as in Fig. 4.

The distribution of the manors which held appurtenant tenements in Warwick is particularly significant (Fig. 3). Warwick is placed approximately centrally in relation to the Domesday shire, but - as other commentators have noticed - its 13 named contributing estates recorded in DB are for the most part spread out to its south and west, and contained within the boundaries of the north-eastern part of the more ancient kingdom of the Hwicce which was

included in the later shire.⁴⁹ The burh of Warwick was founded in 914 as one element in Aethelflaed's defensive provisions for western Mercia, arguably at a royal and minster site of central place and strategic significance.⁵⁰ The shire of Warwickshire cannot have been created before Edward the Elder's supposed reorganisation of c.920.⁵¹ Working with the hypothesis already formulated in regard to Wiltshire - that the patterns of the relationship of the contributing estates of Cricklade and Malmesbury reflect the extent of the original burghal territories - the pattern of the contributing estates of Warwick can be seen as indicating the extent of its burghal territory of 914, before it became subsumed by the later shire. On this evidence, this was contained within the old kingdom of the Hwicce and defined by the latter's borders to its north and east. The burhs at Tamworth and Stafford had been built by Aethelflaed the year before, at which time the burghal territory of Tamworth would have been established to extend within the earlier province (and the see of Lichfield) to its southeast, in the area represented by the later extent of Warwickshire to its southeast. It would be logical to conclude therefore that the burghal territory of Warwick was fixed in 914, a year later, to include the area up to its boundary with that of Tamworth on its northern and eastern sides.⁵² The situation of Warwick on the border of its burghal territory is exactly analogous to the situation of Cricklade on the northern border of Wiltshire, with its contributing manors spread out to its south, discussed above. This situation at Warwick is further evidence which supports the model already put forward - that the connections of appurtenant tenements to contributing estates are a relic of arrangements put in place at the initial stages of the formation of the burh by the king - or in the case of Warwick and other burhs in Western Mercia, by Aethelflaed, the First Lady, King Edward's sister.

While there is every reason to hold that this was a primary pattern relating to the foundation of the burh in 914, the distribution of other manors held by the abbot of Malmesbury ([9] in Fig. 3), the bishop of Coutances ([14] in Fig.3), the manor of Long Itchington [15] which held a tenement in Warwick in 1001, and those of the abbot of Coventry (un-numbered in Fig. 3), all of whom held tenements in the borough, suggest that these had a different origin.⁵⁴ The connections between these urban tenements and manors are inferred from the fact that the abbot of Malmesbury and the bishop held only one manor each, and are stated in the description of the borough to have each held one tenement, while the abbot of Coventry held the unusually large number of 36 tenements in Warwick. These latter can only have been appurtenant to some or most of the abbey's 20 estates within the Domesday shire.⁵⁵ However, the fact that all of these (with the exception of only two of the abbot of Coventry to the south and south-west of Warwick) are outside the primary burghal territory in the area of the Hwicce postulated above, can be arguably best interpreted by suggesting that they were added to an original pattern represented by those within the area of the Hwicce to the south and west of Warwick. This is a further example of layering, though in a horizontal rather than a vertical plane, as noted above in the case of Wiltshire, and in the case of Gloucester and Winchcombe described in detail below.

Steve Bassett has, however, suggested an alternative explanation for this distribution, to the effect that the supposed connections to Warwick of manors originally lying within the diocese of Lichfield, outside the territory of the Hwicce, have not survived through the failure of the Domesday commissioners to record them.⁵⁶ Unless some reason can be found for the fact that they did not record those manors to the north and east of the earlier boundary of the Hwicce, but only recorded those to the west and south, this reasoning must be regarded as being somewhat tendentious. This is arguing from assumptions based on negative evidence, and appears to be contradicted by the evidence of those manors in this area which have survived to be recorded. Bassett's interpretation of this distribution, and in particular of the connections shown by the evidence of the two early eleventh-century charters, is that at this time Warwick was 'a thriving commercial centre in which rural landowners saw value in having a tenurial foothold.'⁵⁷ This may well have been so, but does not in itself provide an adequate explanation for the origins of these connections. This represents a restatement of the long-held paradigm originating from the views of Tait (above), which it is the purpose of this study to reassess.

The origin of these connections outside the original area of the Hwicce must be as early as the gift of these manors to the abbey of Coventry in 1043, but it could be argued that this pattern of distribution reflects connections between Warwick and the various manors acquired by Coventry Abbey which had a somewhat earlier origin. In support of this is the strong probability, argued by Stephen Bassett, that Coventry itself was the site of an early minster which had developed its own market well before the Conquest.⁵⁸ That the earl's, and latterly the abbey's, manors held appurtenant tenements at Warwick at the time of Domesday, rather than at its own market, emphasises that these connections cannot have been established as a result of the proximity of these manors to the nearest market, as would be suggested in the current explanatory paradigm, especially in view of the strong drawing power of the abbey of Coventry as an administrative and marketing centre for its area.

The logic of these arguments implies that their origin can most reasonably be placed within the context of the occasion when Warwick became the military and administrative centre of the enlarged shire, which process is argued below as having taken place in the mid or late tenth century. It must have been at this time that the estates in the enlarged shire would have been confirmed to their holders as bookland by the king, with the consequent responsibilities to perform obligations at the administrative centre of the new shire. If this is so, then the connections of these manors with Warwick had already been formed when they were acquired by the earl or his predecessor, and before he gave them to Coventry abbey. The implication is that any attachment of manors in this area to the earlier burh at Tamworth had been superseded by the powerful political reorganisation represented by the formation of the new shire centred on Warwick. In spite of this process, however, the connection between the royal manor of Coleshill within this enlarged shire with Tamworth still survived (Fig. 3). This process is discussed further below.

The case of neighbouring Tamworth can also be interpreted in the same way. The contributing estates are located to the north, now in Staffordshire, and to the south, now in Warwickshire, with the shire border famously bisecting the original burh.⁵⁹ Since the burh at Tamworth was founded or refounded in 913, before the creation of the two shires, the pattern of distribution of the contributing estates can be interpreted in the light of the hypothesis already stated - that they represent the surviving vestiges of tenurial connections within a burghal territory which existed before the formation of the shires. As argued above, this must have extended over north Warwickshire and south Staffordshire until it was subsumed by the later arrangements attendant on the formation in their final form of the shires of Warwickshire and Staffordshire, which led to the boundary between them being cut through the town (Bassett 1996). That these burgesses were all appurtenant to royal estates is consistent with the suggestion that they are vestiges of a much earlier arrangement in which connections were established between outlying royal manors and the central *tun*, possibly before Tamworth was first created as a burh, very much in the manner in which connections were formed between estates in Wiltshire between the central *tun* at Wilton and outlying royal manors, discussed above. As with the case with Warwick, the inference can be made that the attachment of estates to the burh of Tamworth of 912 within the later Staffordshire had been subsumed in the creation of the shire and transferred to Stafford as the new shire capital.

In the case of Warwick and Tamworth, this evidence is best explained, at least in the W Midlands, by the hypothesis that the burghal territories represented an intermediate state of territorial and administrative development and organisation between the provinces and the shires. The question of the origin of the shires is complex and contentious. One strand of ideas - a constantly-recurring paradigm in any discussion of this issue - is that the shiring did not take place until the early eleventh century.⁶⁰ This is, however, premised on the fact that this time marks the first documentary mention of shires. Another strand of ideas is that Edward the Elder reorganised the shires of the western Midlands soon after the death of his sister Aethelflaed in 919.⁶¹ David Hill's espousal of this idea is however predicated on the dating of the Burghal Hidage to c.919 and its creation in a Mercian context as a 'blue-print' for the underlying arrangements for the shiring of Mercia, both of which propositions have been shown to be untenable by the writer.⁶² Briefly, there are two main arguments against this particular model. Firstly, the division of Tamworth between Warwickshire and Staffordshire, which represented part of this programme of reorganisation of the west Midlands into shires, must have occurred after the last date that Tamworth was functioning as a burh. This, according to the Chronicle, was in c.940 when it was stormed by the Danish forces of Olaf, which implies that it was the military centre with a dependent burghal territory which were worth capturing and controlling.⁶³ Secondly, Edward the Elder was throughout the later part of his life engaged in, and apparently consumed by, the conquest of the Danish-held territories and the creation of burhs and burghal territories through which he exerted control of the reconquered kingdoms. This strategy of the creation of a system of burhs from 911 onwards was to enable him and his sister Aethelflaed to

enforce the submissions of the populations of the burghal territories to their overlordship, and thereby extend and consolidate royal control over newly-conquered territories. The creation of shires as larger units of administration, which subsumed the burghal territories, would have run entirely counter to these military tactics, which up to the end of his life had been the mainstay of his political and strategic agendas. The shiring of this part of Mercia would fit the peaceful conditions in perhaps the third quarter of the tenth century, which allowed a reorganisation of administrative arrangements which were to supersede the earlier arrangements based on burghal territories. It is at this time that burghal defences were generally abandoned, leading to their collapse or removal.⁶⁴

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

The cases of Gloucester and Winchcombe, the two centres in the shire (apart from Bristol in the south) with tenements appurtenant to rural estates, illustrate both the apparently haphazard way in which the orbit of contributory estates of the one overlaps that of the other, as well as the way in which some estates contribute tenements to both centres. The relationship of the respective contributing manors to the shire boundaries of Gloucestershire and Winchcombeshire (Fig. 4), and of Warwickshire to the north-east (discussed above - see Fig. 3), are also particularly complex. These patterns are, however, explicable by reference to the model already put forward in relation to the situation in Wiltshire.

Gloucester

<i>Gloucester - non-customary tenements</i>				
Manor	Number of burgesses / tenements	Holder of manor	DB Section	Comments
Tewkesbury [1]	8	The king	1,24	'served at the court'
Thornbury [2]	A fishery	The king	1,47	
Withington [3]	4	Ch of Worcester	3,5	
Pucklechurch [4]	1	Ch of Glastonbury	8,1	
	-	St Peter's Gloucester	10,14	Held 52 burgesses in Ev K1. Render of '6 salmon + 50s from the burgesses - for the monks' supplies
Broadwell [5]	4	St Mary's Evesham	12,4	1 also in Winchcombe
Deerhurst [6]	30	St Denis, Paris (part of larger royal multiple estate before 1059)	20,1	2 also in Winchcombe. Also noted in EvK1 as 36 burgesses
Horsley [7]	1	Church of Troam	24,1	Also noted in EvK1
Bisley [8]	11	Earl Hugh	28,1	
Oxenhall [10]	3	Roger de Lacy	39,2	Successor Hugh holds 28 tenements in Ev K1
Temple Guiting [9]	2	ditto	39,6	3 also in Winchcombe
Quenington [11]	1	ditto	39,12	Pays in ploughshares
Gt Rissington [12]	1	Robert of Tosny	46,1	
Brimpsfield [13]	5	Osbern Giffard	50,3	
Frampton on Severn [14]	1	Drogo son of Poynz	54,1	

Bully [15]	1	Walter the Bowman	58,1	
Lechlade [16]	1	Henry of Ferrers	59,1	2 also in Winchcombe
Kempsford [17]	7	Arnulf of Hesdin	60,1	
Woodchester [18]	1	The king - held by Brictric (also holds Leckhampton - 78,9	78,14	Pays in horseshoes [pieces of iron]
Kings Barton [19]	24	The king	1,2	From EvK 1 (below) (burgesses not mentioned in DB)
Dumbleton, (Glos) [20]	1 haga	King Aethelred	13,1. 34,13.	S 901 (1002) (? in Gloucestershire)

The information in the DB folios concerning Gloucester is considerably expanded in a list of tenements in Gloucester in one of the Evesham satellites (Evesham K1) of c.1100.⁶⁵ This information not only supplies the number of customary burgesses ('300 burgesses in lordship'), but also appears to enlarge the list of non-customary burgesses to a possible total of 301. Entries relevant to the present thesis are included in the following table.

<i>Tenements and manors from Gloucester in Evesham K1, additional to the above manorial entries</i>			
Holder of tenements	Number of tenements	Number of manors held in DB	section ref in DB
Archbishop of York	60	13	2
The abbot	52	14	10
Abbot of Pershore	1	2	14
Hugh of Lacy [brother of Roger - Hugh received Roger's fee in 1096]	28	21	39 [Roger]
William son of Baderon	17	13	32

Since those in the list in Evesham K1 who held most of the tenements also held the greatest number of manors in the shire, it is reasonable to infer some correspondence between the two. With this inference in mind, the manors held by these 5 tenants-in-chief the are given in Figs. 5a & b, in order to give some idea of the possible spread of other un-named manors contributing to Gloucester. The geographical spread of manors held by the abbot in the shire also appears to reflect the widespread distribution of the abbey's tenements which are intermingled amongst those paying landgable to the king within Gloucester itself, as shown in the survey of 1455,⁶⁶ giving some support to the hypothesis that these Gloucester tenements were appurtenant to some or all of these manors. The reference to the 52 tenements held by the abbot in EvK1 is apparently reflected in Domesday Book, to the effect that 'Before 1066 St Peter's had 19s 5d and 16 salmon from its burgesses in Gloucester; now it has as many salmon and 50s', as well as having four fisheries of its own. (DB Glouc 10,14).⁶⁷

Winchcombe

The estates contributing to Winchcombe are noted in the entries under the manors.

Winchcombe - non-customary tenements					
Manor	Number of burgesses / tenements	Holder of manor	DB Section ref.	Comments	Tenements also in Gloucester
Oxenton [1]	3	king	1,25		
Alderton / Dixon / Hentage [2]	1	king	1,43		
Withington [3]	1	Ch of Worcester	3,5		4
Prestbury [4]	1	Ch of Hereford	4,1		
Broadwell [5]	1	St Mary's of Evesham	12,4		4
Deerhurst [6]	2	St Denis, Paris	20,1		36
Clopton [7]	1	Willian Goizenboded	34,3		
Guiting Power [8]	2	Willian Goizenboded	34,8		
Temple Guiting [9]	2	Roger de Lacy	36,9		3
Hampnett [10]	10	Roger d'Ivry	41,1		
Childswickham [11]	1	Robert the Bursar	47,1		
Lechlade [12]	2	Henry of Ferrers	59,1		1
Pinnock [13]	1	The king	78,10		
	TOTAL - 29				
From Ev K116 -					
Longborough [14]	3	Count of Mortain	29,1		
	40	The abbot of Winchcombe	11	Distribution of manors shown in Fig. **	

As with Gloucester, the meagre information concerning Winchcombe is supplemented by further information in the Domesday satellite Evesham K116, which gives details (*inter alia*) of a named holding in Longborough, and of the 40 tenements held by the abbot of Winchcombe.⁶⁸ The abbot's tenements can be inferred to have been appurtenant to many or most of his 14 manors in the shire, which are therefore included in Fig. 5a.

Bristol

Bristol lies on the southern border of Gloucestershire (Fig.4), but has burgesses appurtenant to manors in Gloucestershire and Somerset.

Manor	Number of tenements / burgesses	Holder of manor	DB section	Comments
Barton Regis [1]	Not stated - but	Roger of Berkeley /	1,21	Probably customary

	a considerable number	the king		burgesses in Bristol appurtenant to the royal manor.
Westbury on Trym [2]	2	Ch of Worcester	3,1	Large multiple estate
Bishopsworth [3]	10	Bishop of Coutances	SOM 5,20	Manor also has 2 houses in Bath

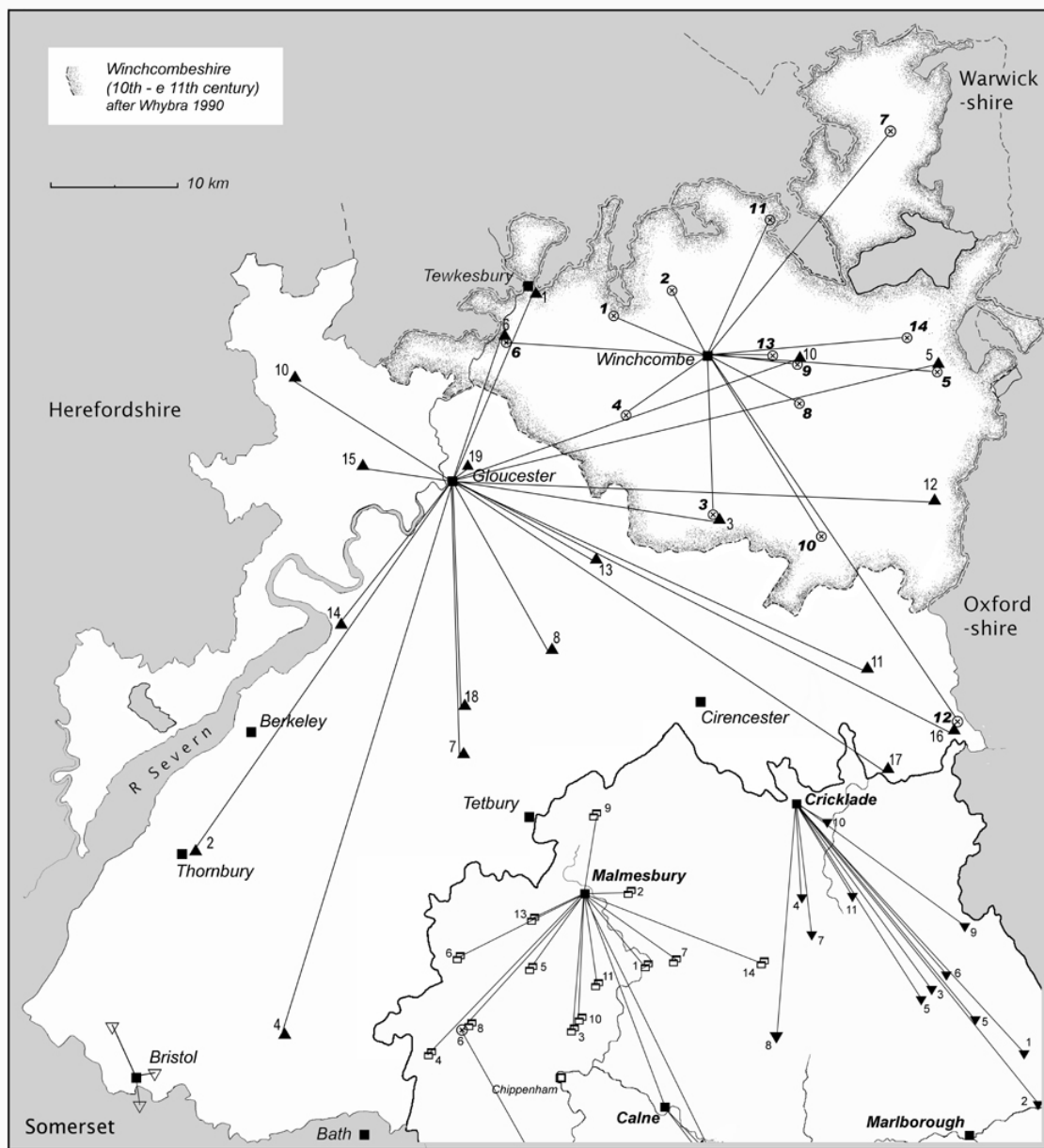


Fig. 4 Gloucestershire (including Winchcombeshire) showing manors contributory to Gloucester, Winchcombe and Bristol, and shown in relationship to those contributory to Cricklade and Malmesbury in N Wiltshire (from Fig.1).

The pattern in Gloucestershire

There are a number of significant aspects of the distribution of the manors with appurtenant tenements in Gloucester, Winchcombe and Bristol. These can best be interpreted

in the light of the model formulated above. The first is that the distribution of these manors in relation to their centres is not consistent with what may be called the 'market-proximity' hypothesis - that the holders of the manors involved will have sought to acquire tenements in the nearest or the most conveniently-situated borough, for economic or other reasons. This is demonstrated, in the first place, by the way that many of the manors contributing to Gloucester are overlapped by those contributing to Winchcombe. Those with connections with Gloucester are spread more-or-less evenly around the shire, whereas those with connections to Winchcombe are distributed around all sides of the borough but limited to the area of the 10th and 11th century shire of Winchcombeshire which occupied the north-eastern part of Gloucestershire. Only Lechlade to the south-east [12] falls outside the latter.⁶⁹

This lack of any correlation between the distance and the connection of manors to their centres is also emphasised by the fact that almost all the manors contributing to Gloucester which lie to its south are nearer to other boroughs than to Gloucester. Three in the south-east - Quenington [11], Kempsford [17] and Lechlade [16] - are considerably closer to both Cirencester and Cricklade; and Woodchester [18] and Horsley [7] are nearer to both Malmesbury and Tetbury, as well as the two Domesday boroughs at Thornbury and Berkeley. Similarly, Pucklechurch [4] to the south is far closer to Bristol, Bath and to the Domesday borough of Thornbury, as well as to Malmesbury and Tetbury. Thornbury itself is nearer to Berkeley, Bristol, Bath, Tetbury and Malmesbury than to Gloucester. A different kind of anomaly is represented by Thornbury [2], itself a market in Domesday yet with an appurtenant holding (albeit a fishery) in Gloucester, and also by Tewkesbury [1] to the north of the shire, a Domesday borough with 13 of its own burgesses yet with 8 burgesses in Gloucester. And not least, the two manors of Oxenhall [10] and Broadwell [5] are on the eastern side of the shire on the other side of Winchcombe itself. Any explanation for the origin of these connections as resulting from the attraction of estate holders to 'neighbouring' markets or burghal centres is, quite simply, untenable.

The explanation of these spatial patterns relating to the manors contributing to Gloucester, Winchcombe and Bristol, as well as Warwick to the north-east, discussed in detail above, must lie in the overlapping and superposition of the orbits of connection. These can most easily be envisaged as separate layers which represent the different stages in which the attachment of estates to these four centres occurred in the development of the urban, administrative and strategic foci in this area of western Mercia. The basic pattern of distribution immediately suggests that the orbit of manors contributing to Gloucester, which covers the greater part of the shire, has been overlaid by a less extensive and therefore secondary orbit of those contributing to Winchcombe. This at once supplies the explanation for the fact that, in this instance, five manors - Broadwell [Gl 5 / W 5], Deerhurst [Gl 6 / W 6], Withington [Gl 3 / W 3], Temple Guiting [Gl 10 / W 9] and Lechlade [Gl 16 / W 12] - share appurtenant tenements in both places, which can in each case be interpreted as the development of connections first to one centre and then to another.

This conclusion is lent some support by the distribution of the manors of Gloucester Abbey, two of which lie within Winchcombeshire to the north of Winchcombe, which are overlapped by those held by Winchcombe Abbey which are limited to the area of Winchcombeshire (see Fig. 5a). This overlapping is also seen in the case of Tewkesbury, which had 13 burgesses of its own, yet also had 8 others contributing to Gloucester (DB Glouc 1,24). In spite of the statement that it had a new market, it would be appropriate to see this as a close parallel to Calne (Wilts) discussed above, in which the Domesday pattern had developed in two stages. This evidence is consistent with a sequence in which the burgesses 'at' Tewkesbury were the tangible sign of earlier connections which reflect its early functions as the centre of a large multiple estate, which functions had been overlain by those newly created on the occasion of the foundation of the burh at Gloucester in c.880. The patterns at Calne and Tewkesbury also seem very similar in this regard to that shown by Milborne Port in Somerset. It is clear from the wording of the Domesday entry (DB Som 1,10) that the royal manor at Milborne Port had a flourishing market of its own with its own contributing manors, but also had 107 burgesses who were 'at', or were contributed to (i.e. living at) the neighbouring burh of Ilchester, with the remaining 56 burgesses living 'at' Milborne Port itself.⁷⁰

Also of some interest is the holding of 30 burgesses recorded in Domesday Book (which had grown to 36 in EvK1) in Gloucester which were appurtenant to Deerhurst. This was an extensive multiple estate which had been granted by the king in c.1059 to two monastic institutions - St Peter's Westminster and the St Denis in Paris, in approximately equal proportions.⁷¹ The part given to Westminster contained the capital manor, but was less valuable than that given to St Denis (59 hides and 64 hides respectively). It is significant therefore that the tenements in Gloucester, which would have been appurtenant to the manor as a whole before its subdivision, were included not in the portion given to Westminster which had the capital manor, as would be expected, but with the portion given to St Denis. This not only implies a definite decision to divide the estate in this way, but also demonstrates that the 30 tenements recorded in Domesday were not appurtenant to individual dependencies within the original multiple estate of Deerhurst, but had originally been appurtenant as a single group to the capital manor itself, from which they were divided. In the ninth century, however, this group would have occupied a single *haga*, subsequently subdivided. This has implications for the interpretation of other similar or analogous situations in other shires. It is also shown by later evidence that the group of 30 burgesses occupied the north-east corner of the walled area of Gloucester, which area later became the parish of St Aldate, whose church belonged to Deerhurst Priory which was itself in the hands of St Denis.⁷² That this area had no plots paying landgable in the 1455 rental, (apart from four on the Northgate Street frontage) shows that it originally comprised a single urban *haga* held by Deerhurst rather than the king, notwithstanding the fact that Deerhurst itself had been a multiple estate in royal hands.⁷³ It is suggested that this can best be explained by the general hypothesis argued in this paper that this area, as

probably a single *haga*, was given over to Deerhurst as an appurtenant tenement as part of the primary organisation of the new burh.⁷⁴

Less clear-cut, however, are the 24 burgesses mentioned in EvK1 (but not mentioned in Domesday) who are appurtenant to the 9-hide royal manor of Kings Barton. King's Barton manor or later liberty had its origin as an estate which probably originally included the royal palace of Kingsholme, immediately to the north of the borough, in the late Saxon period.⁷⁵ The manor, together with Kingsholme itself, was divided between St Mary de Lode and the original St Oswald's parish, which area 'may represent the survival of the original territory with which the Old Minster was endowed in 679'.⁷⁶ It might reasonably appear at first sight that the 24 burgesses appurtenant to this manor could represent the occupants of an early *haga* or soke within the walls which was in royal hands, in a similar relationship to the *haga* which was appurtenant to the former royal centre at Deerhurst, and which may therefore have been created at an early stage - or indeed the primary stage - in the formation of the burh at Gloucester. This arrangement would mean that these burgesses were non-customary, but this would imply that they paid their dues to the same royal centre as the customary burgesses. These burgesses must therefore be seen as customary burgesses, even though appurtenant to the royal centre outside the burh itself, in a way which has direct analogies to the relationship, already discussed, of the burgesses of Cheddar and Somerton, Somerset, who lived at the burhs of Axbridge and Langport respectively.

The underlying premise which can be deduced from these relationships is that these connections were put in place at the time of, and as a result of, the establishment of Gloucester and Winchcombe as significant administrative centres and / or as fortified burhs (the latter implying the former) at different times; and that the connections shown in the Domesday record are the survivals of a pattern of distribution of manors whose connections with the centres related to the functions of these places within territories which looked to these centres for defence and other administrative and marketing functions - i.e. their burghal territories. If it is accepted that the new burghal development of Winchcombe can be placed in the early tenth century (replacing earlier burghal functions which had been put in place in the late eighth or early ninth century), as is indicated by the archaeological evidence, then it follows that the pattern of connections with Gloucester, which are overlapped by the system of connections to Winchcombe in space and (arguably) overlain by them in time, must have been established by that time.⁷⁷

It might at first sight seem reasonable to suggest that the connections with Gloucester were formed at a stage after those with Winchcombe, on the occasion of the supposed re-formation of the shire in the earlier eleventh century. This would, however, ignore the undoubted role of Gloucester as a burghal centre from the late ninth century onwards, at which time, it is argued, many if not most of its connections with contributing estates would have been formed.⁷⁸ This methodology of landscape stratification has been shown to be explanatory on a number of

different levels for similar overlaps in the orbits of distribution of these connections in Wiltshire and Warwickshire, discussed above, and in Worcestershire (between Worcester and Droitwich) examined below. Similar evidence has been used by David Roffe to indicate the burghal territories of Wallingford and Sashes at the time of the King Alfred's provision of the system of fortified burhs in Wessex of the late ninth century.⁷⁹

It is also consistent with this overall model that several manors contributory to Oxford, which are approximately equidistant from Oxford and Winchcombe, lie in Oxfordshire just to the east of the Gloucestershire / Winchcombeshire border, and therefore to the east of the border of the kingdom of the Hwicce (see Fig. 3). The importance of the shire boundary in determining the overall distribution of these manors is emphasised by the fact that the easternmost manors contributory to Gloucester are in fact somewhat nearer to Oxford. Following the timeline given below, it can be inferred that this border must therefore mark the common boundary of the original burghal territories of Oxford and Gloucester.⁸⁰

A similar and perhaps more informative set of relationships is shown by Bath (Fig. 4), lying to the north of the river Avon but with contributory manors on both the north and the south of the river, as well as manors to the north of the river held by Bath Abbey.⁸¹ The area to the north of the river had been in Hwiccian territory probably until King Alfred requisitioned Bath as a burh in his defensive system for Wessex of 878-9,⁸² which is described in the arguably contemporary Burghal Hidage.⁸³ These relationships can be interpreted according to the timeline given below, to the effect that the burghal territory of Gloucester, formed soon after in c.880, did not include the area which already formed the burghal territory of Bath. However, the burghal territory of the secondary burh at Bristol, carved out of that of Gloucester to its north and that of Bath to its east at a later date (arguably in the secondary phase of burghal formation in the 890s),⁸⁴ and similarly comprising an area on both sides of the Avon (of which its contributory manors give some indication), appears likely to have been swallowed up in the extension of the shire from the original burghal territory of Gloucester possibly in the early eleventh century.

A significant implication of this general inference that the distribution of the contributory manors represents the original burghal territory of the centre is also shown by the presence of two named manors contributory to Gloucester which lie to the west of the Severn - Oxenhall [10] and Bully [15] (Fig. 4). Their presence in this area is consistent with the inference that some or all of the territory of the later shire to the west of the Severn, which has been suggested as being transferred from Herefordshire in c.1007,⁸⁵ possibly belonged to the original (late ninth-century) territory belonging to Gloucester. This is perhaps supported by the distribution of the manors of both Roger de Lacy and William son of Baderon, as well as those of Gloucester Abbey and the Archbishop of York (representing the earlier holdings of St Oswald's Priory), who between them held 15 manors west of the Severn (Figs. 5a & 5b), some or all of which are likely to have contributed some of their respective holdings of 28, 17, 52 and 60 appurtenant tenements in Gloucester. Although consistent with this inference, the distribution of these is however of

limited evidential value. All of these tenants-in-chief, apart from the archbishop of York, held manors in Herefordshire (Roger de Lacy 75 manors (DB Her 10,1-75); Wm son of Baderon 10 manors (DB Her 15,1-10); Gloucester abbey 2 manors (DB Her 5,1-2), of which one, Lea, had been a gift after 1066. However, the fact that the archbishop of York held no manors in either Worcestershire or Herefordshire at the time of Domesday does suggest that his one manor to the west of the Severn would have contributed at least one of his appurtenant tenements in Gloucester.

Rather than seeing this pattern as the development of one period, however, it is perhaps more likely that these manors to the west of the Severn acquired their appurtenant tenements in Gloucester on the occasion of the probable extension of the shire in the early eleventh century, to include the eastern part of the former burghal territory and shire of Hereford, which lay in the area of the former *Magonsaetan* and diocese of Hereford.⁸⁶ This would be analogous to the formation of connections with Warwick of those manors to its north and east in possibly the mid tenth century, discussed above. If this is so, it is perhaps some support for this hypothesis that the process of the reorganisation of the shires in the early eleventh century is likely to have been associated with the military reorganisation, including the re-formation of earlier burghal territories, in Aethelred's reign, in perhaps the first decade of the eleventh century.⁸⁷

It is reasonable to suggest that as a result of this process estates to the west of the Severn became attached to Gloucester rather than Hereford, for the same reasons which gave rise to the attachment of others to Gloucester in the late ninth century.

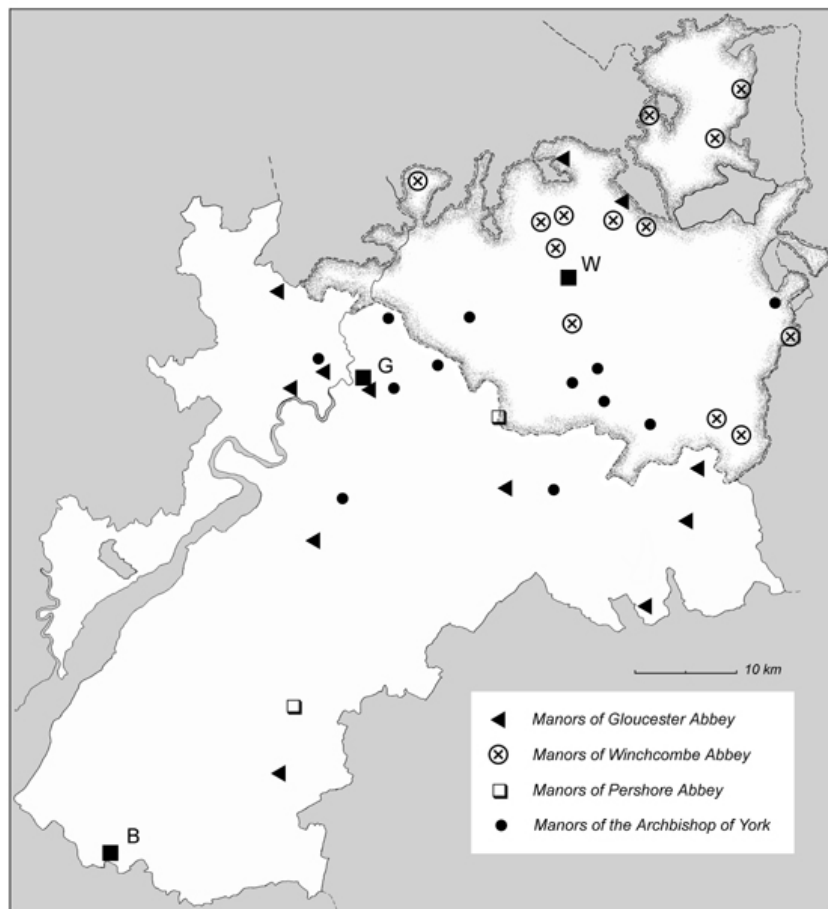


Fig. 5a Gloucestershire (including Winchcombeshire) showing manors of major ecclesiastical tenants-in-chief, which were possibly connected with their large holdings of tenements in Gloucester and Winchcombe.

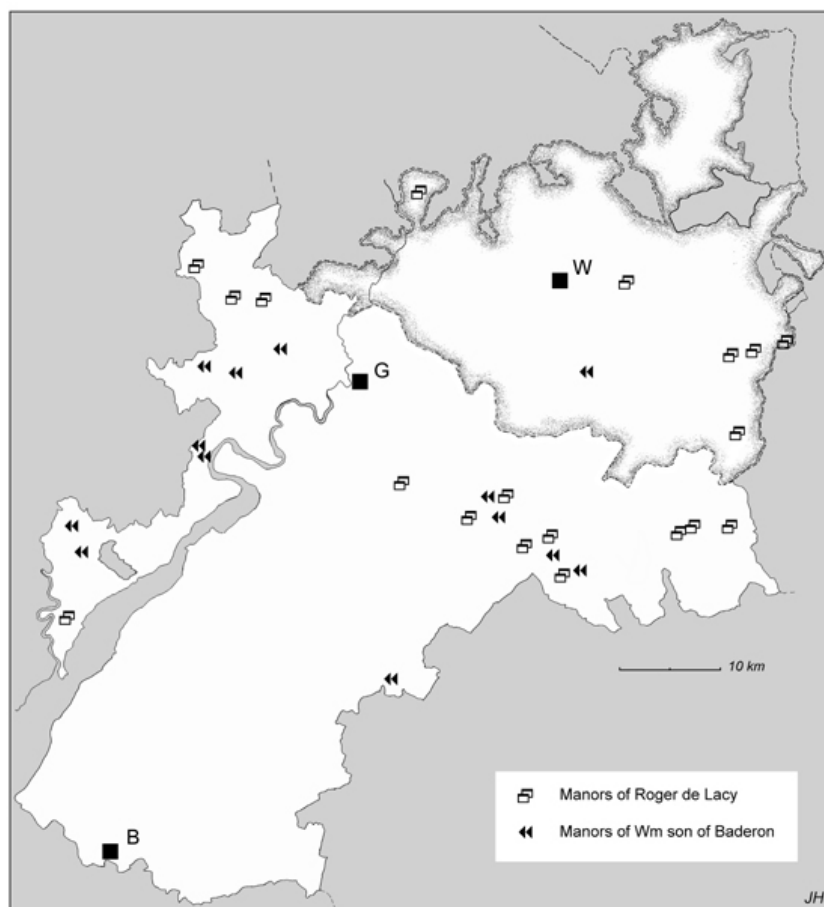


Fig. 5b: Gloucestershire (including Winchcombeshire) showing manors of lay tenants-in-chief, which were possibly connected with their large holdings of tenements in Gloucester.

WORCESTERSHIRE

Worcester and Droitwich

As with those of Gloucester and Winchcombe, the orbits of the distribution of the estates contributing to Worcester and Droitwich overlap (Fig. 6).

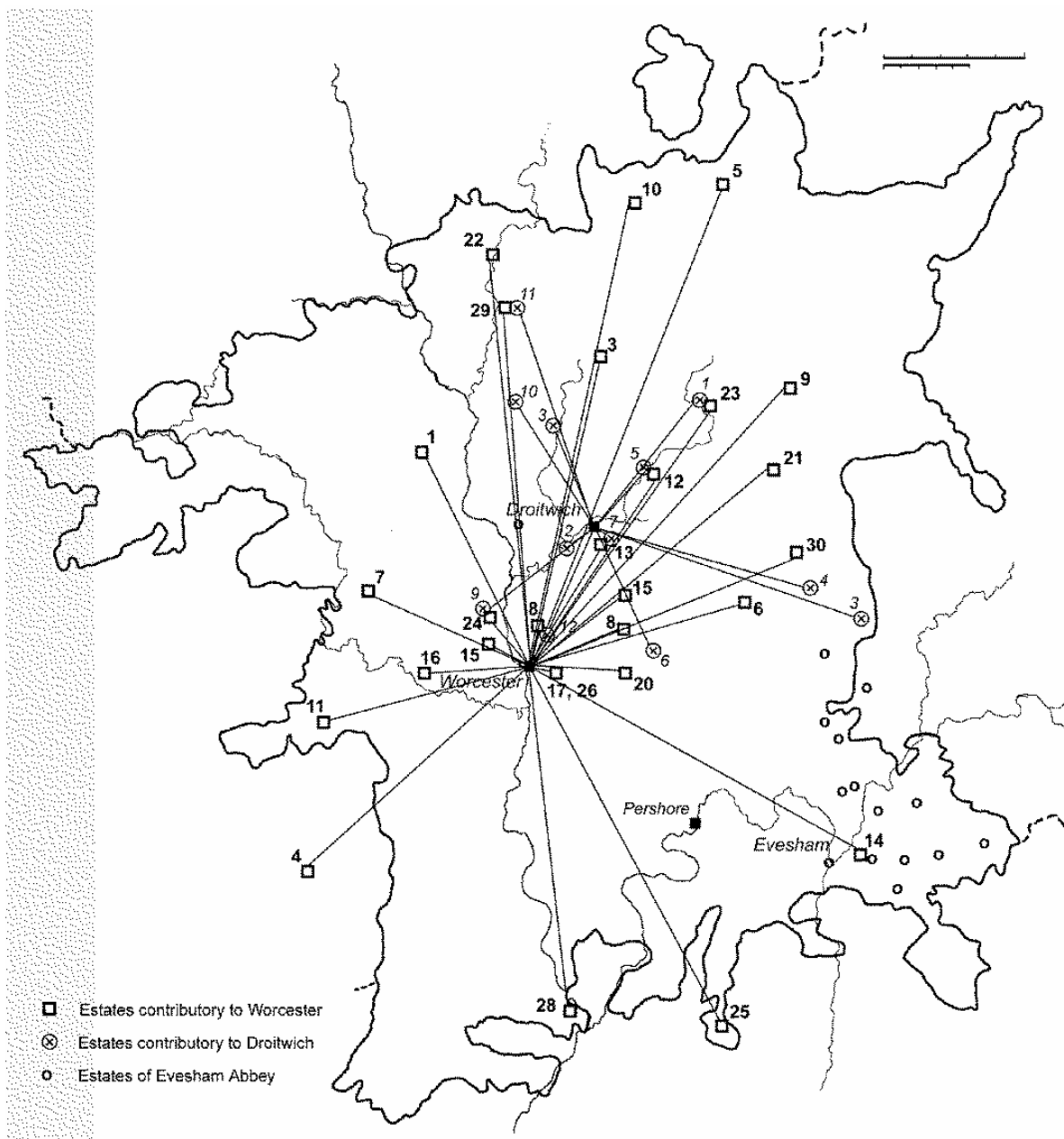


Fig 6. Worcestershire, showing manors attached to both Worcester and Droitwich in the 10th and 11th centuries. (Low res image).

As is apparent from Fig. 6, those contributing to Droitwich occupy a more restricted distribution in the northern part of the shire of Worcestershire, while those of Worcester are spread over its entire extent, completely overlapping the orbit of the estates which are contributory to Droitwich.

<i>Droitwich - non-customary tenements</i>					
Manor	Number of burgesses / tenements	Holder of manor	DB Section ref.	Comments	Tenements also in Worcester

Bromsgrove [1]	3	The King	1,1a	3 salinarii (+ 13 salt-houses) (see below)	
Droitwich	18 (with 1 hide in D)	St Denis	4,1	burgesses	
Droitwich - included in the lands of Pershore	31	St Peter's Westminster	8,13	burgesses	
Droitwich	9 (with 1 hide in D)	St Guthlac	12,1	burgesses	
Droitwich	11 (with ½ hide in D)	Roger de Lacy	18,6	burgesses	
Droitwich	20 (1 hide held from the king)	Harold son of Earl Ralph	22,1	burgesses	
Droitwich	11	The king	1,3a	Houses - probably the equivalent of customary burgesses	
Salwarpe [2]	4 (with 1 hide in D)	St Mary's Coventry	5,1	burgesses	
Elmley [3]	5 houses	Ralph Tosney	15,13	houses (separate entry from salthouses)	
Morton Underhill [4]	1	Robert of Stafford	17,1	burgess (centre not specified, but also holds 1 salt-house)	
Wychbold [5]	13	Osbern son of Richard	19,12	burgesses "who reap (?mow) for 2 days in August and March and who serve the court."	
Crowle [6]	1	Osbern son of Richard	19.14	burgess (centre not specified, but also holds 2 salt-houses)	
Witton [7]	7	Urso d'Abetot	26,16	burgesses	
Cookhill [8]	1	Urso d'Abetot	26,1	burgess	
Hallow [9]	10	Church of Worcester	2,68(-71)	houses	28 in 1090s
Hartlebury [10]	5	Church of Worcester	2,82	houses	
Kidderminster [11]	1	The king	1,2	house	1
Northwick & Tibberton [12]	3	Church of Worcester	2,50	houses	90
Dunclent [**]	9	St Guthlac's ch	12,1	burgesses	

The holdings in Droitwich are somewhat different in form (but arguably not in kind) to other places. Except for those mentioned in sections 1,3 and possibly 11, the customary burgesses of the king, so evident in other places, appear to have been acquired by various tenants-in-chief - presumably as grants from the king - together with parcels of land 'in' Droitwich (half a hide or 1 hide each), as well as various salt-works. Even the former royal manor of Wychbold had by the time of Domesday Book been privatised (or mediatised) in this way. These burgesses appurtenant to Wychbold, who reap and mow for the lord and serve in the court, are similar to

those other burgesses in Hereford, Steyning (Sussex), and Drayton Bassett near Tamworth (above) who also perform the same services. They must also be very similar to the free men and others who perform services of one kind or another, including reaping and mowing, at the court of the multiple estate of Pershore (eg. DB Wor 8,9b; 8,11; 8,17; 8,23). The three *salinarii* from the large multiple estate of Bromsgrove have been identified as including 1 *salinarius* from the king's manor at Princes Risborough - though on no good reason except an identity of title.⁸⁸ More probably, however, these were acting as agents of the king in handling the distribution of his salt. There is no reason, therefore, to look for any other explanation than that they were specialised burgesses in the service of the king at the manor of Bromsgrove who were no different in kind to burgesses who lived in Droitwich performing services (doubtless variously as agents, procurers or middle men of one kind or another, or possibly even as salt producers) on behalf of the tenants-in-chief of other manors - i.e. as non-customary burgesses. The 31 burgesses included in the lands of Pershore in Droitwich, held by the abbey of St Peter's at Westminster (DB Wor 8,13), would have performed a very similar function, though these would have been probably more specialised than the 28 burgesses attached to the market at Pershore itself (DB Wor 8,1). This pattern at Pershore is very similar to the examples of Tewkesbury (Glos) and Calne (Wilts) noted above.

Three of the contributing estates of Worcester and Droitwich, like some of those of Winchcombe and Gloucester, are shared between these two places. There is, however, no evidence which would indicate that Droitwich was developed as a burh of the late Saxon model at any time. The estates which contribute burgesses to Droitwich in Domesday Book appear to have been of a kind which have already been discussed as contributing to other early royal estate centres. These can be distinguished from the far more numerous connections which represent holdings of rights in, or shares of, salt-works by various estates in the west and central Midlands. Many of the latter were purely commercial arrangements which were usually set up as mechanisms whereby salt was exchanged for a supply of wood, and were evidently regarded as assets which were granted by the king to various interests, including the bishop of Worcester, from the late 7th century onwards.⁸⁹ However, in the case of Droitwich, as contrasted with other instances, it is difficult to separate the holdings of rural manors, who at an early stage in their development would have performed services at the centre, from those which appear to have acquired a purely commercial function.

Droitwich was an early royal centre, which developed in relation to a royal *vill* at nearby Wychbold,⁹⁰ which seems likely to have been established to consolidate royal control over the salt workings from the 7th century.⁹¹ A large share of the rights to salt-working was still in royal hands by the time of Domesday, in spite of several royal grants.⁹² The connection is further evidenced in the mention under Wychbold of 13 burgesses contributed to Droitwich, who had to do service at the lord's court at Wychbold. The distribution of the contributing estates around Droitwich would be consistent with the hypothesis set out above which sees the connections of

these contributing estates to the centre being established at an early date in its development. A possible indicator of this is the charter of Aethelbald of 716x717 (S 97) granting part of a building in Droitwich to Evesham abbey,⁹³ though it seems more probable that this referred to a share of the output of a saltworks, rather than to a tenement appurtenant to the estate centre. Another indicator of this early connection of tenements in Droitwich to outlying estates is the record which claims that 10 houses with *salinae* (shares in a salt-works) were granted to the church at Worcester, together with 5 different estates, by King Cenwulf (798-822).⁹⁴ That one of these estates, at Hallow, is amongst those contributing to Droitwich in Domesday Book (with the comparatively large number of 10 burgesses, exceed only by the 13 burgesses contributing to the royal *vill* at Wychbold) suggests that this reference does indeed record connections between these contributory estates and the centre which were already established in the early ninth century.⁹⁵

This evidence also raises the question as to the status of the burgesses who were 'at' Droitwich, but were nevertheless contributed by or appurtenant to the royal villa or *tun* at Wychbold, where they had to perform mowing service and other unspecified services at the lord's court. These represented about a quarter of the total number of burgesses or houses contributed from 11 estates. It would be consistent with this evidence to suggest that the connection between the two places shows that Droitwich was a specialised appendage of the royal *tun*, acting as an industrial and marketing centre, many of whose inhabitants (who were all presumably connected with the salt-producing industry) were drawn from estates comprised within the administrative area or *regio* of the *tun*, to perform services required by the king at the secondary centre rather than the primary one. It is quite clear from the early documentary evidence, discussed in detail by John Maddicot, that the development of the industrial resources of Droitwich was facilitated by the king from the time of the origins of the Mercian kingdom in the 7th century as a royal prerogative.⁹⁶ Notwithstanding this conclusion, it would also be true that the occupants of the tenements at Droitwich appurtenant to the various centres would have owed services and dues to the lord of the particular centre. This may merely have come down to the situation in which the services owed by the holders of the estates within the *regio* to the centre at Wychbold (a typical example of the heterogeneous tenure shown by other royal centres) were discharged, at least in part, by providing workers for the king's saltworks at Droitwich. The particular case of the houses in Droitwich attached to Wychbold which owed service to the king at the royal *tun* itself is merely another instance of similar arrangements of obligations and service at other royal estates, discussed above. The fact that they performed these services at the king's hall, even though 'attached to' (and probably living at) Droitwich rather than Wychbold, entitled them to privileges and protection which gave them an enhanced status, dignified by the term 'burgess' in Domesday Book. In this case it is not difficult to surmise that a proportion of the services required would have been to make salt for the king at the king's saltworks at Droitwich, while those contributed from Hallow and other places owned by the

bishop would have had to have spent an additional chunk of their time making salt for the bishop as well. Further implications of these arrangements are discussed below.

Worcester

A burh at Worcester (the ancient cathedral site founded in the later 7th century, the diocese of whose bishopric became the kingdom of the Hwicce),⁹⁷ is recognised as having been created by Aethelred and Aethelflaed in probably the early 890s, as described in the much-discussed but undated contemporary charter.⁹⁸ I have, however, presented arguments to the effect that a burh was originally created at Worcester in c.880, at the same time as a burh at Gloucester, as part of a new polity extended to include W Mercia by King Alfred at the time.⁹⁹ Tenements attached to rural manors are given both in the folios of Domesday Book as well as in numerous pre-Conquest charters. These have been described and discussed by a number of commentators.¹⁰⁰

<i>Worcester - non-customary tenements</i>					
Contributory manor	Number of burgesses / tenements	Holder of manor	DB Section ref.	Comments	Tenements also in Droitwich
Astley [1]	2	Ralph of Tosny	15.9		
Bushley [2]	1	Church of Worcester	2,30; E4		
Chaddesley [Corbett] [3]	2	Edeva	28,1		
Coddington [4]	3	Church of Hereford	HEF 2,32	In DB Herefordshire	
Halesowen [5]	1	Earl Roger	14,1		
Hollow Court [6]	1		HEF 1,41 X2.E3		
Martley [7]	3		HEF 1,39 WOR 18,5; 21,4; X3; E1		
Northwick [8] (Tibberton is an appendage)	90	Bishop (25 others in the market place held by Urso the sheriff)	2,49(-61)	Same as Barbourne, N Clines in charter of 904 (S 1280)	3 (sect 2,50)
Osmerley [9]	1	Urso d'Abetot	26,2		
Pedmore [10]	2	William son of Ansculf	23,12		
Suckley [11]	1	The king	HEF 1,47	Earl William transferred to Hereford. (Part of Bromsgrove)	
Upton Warren [12]	1	Urso d'Abetot (formerly Evesham Abbey)	26,15		
Witton [13]	1	William s. of Corbucion	24,1; 26,16		

		(24,1) Urso d'Abetot (26,16)			7 held by Urso
Bengeworth [14]	4	Abbot of Evesham	2,75; 10,12	S 1590 1077 - 'Worcester H'	
Oddingley & Laughern [15]	1 haga in S of burh, 12 perches long, 7 broad	Bishop	2,56	S 1297 (943 for 963)	
Cotheridge [16]	8 in 1086	Bishop, held by Osbern	2,4	S 1303 (by 963) - with the advowson of All Saints (B&H 205, 264)	
Battenhall, Perry [17]	1 haga, (by the S wall)	Bishop	Not given	S 1327 (969)	
Clopton [19]	1 haga	Bishop	2,10	S 1352 (985)	
Bredicot [20]	1 haga 'by the gate'	Bishop	2,60	S 1369 (983x5)	
Bentley in Holt [21]	1 haga 'within the port'	Bishop	26,4	S 1384 (1042); S 1394; S 1395 (1042)	
Wolverley, (Worcs) [and Blackwell, (Warwicks) [22]	1 haga 'in the port'	Bishop (Earl Leofric in DB)	2,83; 2,46	S1232 (1052-7) (inferred as Worcester)	
Bromsgrove [23]	3	The king	1,1a	3 saltworkers	
Hallow [24]	28 (in 1090s)	The Priory	2,68(-71)	In 1090s (B&H 264)	10
Teddington [25]	1 <i>curtem</i>	The Priory	2,23	S 1408 (since 969) (B&H 264)	
Perry (Wood) [26]	1 haga	Bishop	2,61	S 1385 (1003x1023)	
Tapanhall (in N Claines) [27]	2 hagas (within the gate)	Bishop	Not given	S 1393; Hooke 1980, 48	
Bushley [28]	1	Bishop	HEF 1,44		
Kidderminster [29]	1	The king	1,2		1
Cookhill [30]	1	Urso d'Abetot	26,1	Burgess	
[Evesham church]	28	Evesham church		Includes 4 app. to Bengeworth. Distribution of manors shown in Fig. **	
Feckenham [31]	2	The king	HEF 1,40- 41		
Himbleton	1	Bishop		S 1593 (nd)	
	25 'in the market place'	Urso d'Abetot		Urso's manors shown in Fig **	

Notes

a) the charter relating to land at Oddingley and Laughern [15] (S 1297) does not specify to which manor the haga mentioned in it is appurtenant; attachment lines are drawn to both.

b) In the case of Wolverley and Blackwell (the latter in Warks) [22], the haga is inferred as being appurtenant to Wolverley, the largest manor;

c) Osmerley [9] is not mapped in the Phillimore ed., but is here placed centrally within the hundred.

d) Battanhall [17] in the charter S 1327 is not given in DB, but is associated with Perry [26] (Finberg 1961, 115).

e) Cookhill [30], held by Urso, gives only 1 burgess without specifying the centre to which it is contributory; this could equally be Droitwich.

The phrases in the charters describing the types of urban tenements and their locations within the burh are given in Hooke 1980, 48. B&H = Baker & Holt 2004.

The estates contributory to Worcester are spread over the whole shire, forming an area which completely overlaps the orbit of those contributory to Droitwich. As with the case of Winchcombe and Gloucester, discussed above, many of the more distant estates are somewhat nearer to other late Saxon market centres over the various shire borders, reinforcing conclusions drawn in relation to other centres that the proximity to local markets would have played no part in the genesis of this particular pattern of distribution. Some of those in the south of the shire, such as Bushley [28], and Teddington [15] are nearer to Pershore, a large multiple estate market with 28 burgesses, and itself with burgesses 'in' Droitwich. Bushley is only 2.3 km (1 mile) from Tewkesbury, another multiple estate market in Gloucestershire to its south-east (on the east bank of the Severn and Avon), yet is contributory to Worcester 18 km to the north. It is also nearer to both Gloucester and Winchcombe. The only apparent anomaly is Coddington [4]. The most natural explanation for this is that this estate, like Mathon immediately to its north, was at an early period within the diocese of Worcester and therefore within the primary burghal territory of Worcester.¹⁰¹ Just as many of the estates in the putative early burghal territory of Gloucester which were held by the church of Worcester were included within the Domesday shire of Worcestershire, so Coddington, held by the church of Hereford, appears to have been included within the later (rearranged) shire of Herefordshire.

It would consistent the model already advanced to interpret this evidence of the spatial patterning of these contributing estates - as other examples discussed above - as indicating the extent of the primary burghal territory of the burh of Worcester. I have argued elsewhere, on quite independent grounds, that Worcester was a new burh formed by King Alfred in c.880.¹⁰² The documented episode of burh-building at Worcester in the 890s would, on this interpretation, merely have developed and consolidated an arrangement which had been created at an earlier stage. I have also argued elsewhere (above) that the new burh at Gloucester, together with its burghal territory (the later shire of Gloucestershire) and its connections with rural estates, was also set up at or soon after King Alfred's takeover of Mercia in probably late 879 or early 880. This original burghal territory of Gloucester would have been defined in relation to that of Worcester to its north-west, which together formed the two divisions of the former kingdom of the Hwicce. It would therefore follow that the burghal territory of Worcester would have also have been defined at the same time.¹⁰³ This process was arguably also extended to include Hereford, for which there is archaeological evidence which is consistent with the construction (or reconstruction) of a burh there at this time (c.880).¹⁰⁴ The most natural conclusion would be

that the pattern of distribution of the estates contributory to Worcester was established on the creation of this new burh of c.880, in part subsuming but more probably extending and adding to the connections already established at Droitwich. Entirely consistent with this interpretation is the distribution of the contributing estates to the west, north-west and north of Worcester, which lie on the outer fringes of the old boundary of the Hwicce and the diocese, but are not found within the north-west area of the later shire which was part of the earlier diocese of Hereford and the area of the *Magonsaetan*. It would appear quite likely that this area would have been added to Worcestershire as part of the same process of reorganisation in which the area to the west of the Severn (and also within the diocese of Hereford) had been added to Gloucestershire, in probably the early eleventh century,

This overall developmental model is somewhat at variance with that put forward to explain the context of the connections of rural manors with Worcester by Nigel Baker and Richard Holt, and later by Holt.¹⁰⁵ Holt's model is an elaboration of Tait's original thesis (above), and is in line with those put forward to account for these connections in most other places by almost every historian since Tait's time, although given a new twist. The underlying premise of this interpretation is that the tenements of the church within the area of the burh 'came to be attached' to estates also owned by the bishop by a process of addition and accretion. They are interpreted as being 'established for the convenience of the bishop's administration . . . to provide [his] retainers both with a means of support and a base within the shire town',¹⁰⁶ an interpretation also extended to those manors held by the king. This is seen as a more general process in which members of the 'emerging landholding aristocracy' - in effect the pre-Conquest thegns - who owed service to either the bishop or the king had become an essentially urban class, the members of which required the support of an urban manor. In explanation for the fact of these connections they suggest that 'It was not the town house or burghage that was initially appurtenant to a manor, but rather the manor that had been assigned to support an urban household.'¹⁰⁷ However, as in Tait's initial reaction to Maitland's 'garrison theory', this model has lost sight of the obligations of the thegn to the king, and of the king's role in determining these connections, which is argued above and further below, as being the fundamental dynamic in the creation of these urban-rural connections at a rather earlier stage than the first evidence for these connections in tenth-century charters. The partiality and particularity of this explanation for a ubiquitous phenomenon also overlooks the fact that already by 904 the *haga* and its associated water meadow which were given to be held by Aethelred by the bishop was appurtenant to the manor of Barbourne, a situation which takes the connection between manor and urban tenement to very near the beginning of the life of the burh. Holt's interpretation is also not consistent with the fact that in every single charter which mentions this connection it is the urban tenement which is given as being an appurtenance of the estate, rather than the other way round. The bishop may well have been minded to make provision for his more important tenants by granting these estates to them, as Baker and Holt suggest,¹⁰⁸ but this does not necessarily imply that these connections were first made at the time of these

particular grants. Holt's conclusion from other instances of these urban-rural connections that thegns owing service to the king as well as the bishop had been generally based within the burh during the tenth century is undoubtedly correct. However, on the alternative interpretation offered here, this pattern would have originated in arrangements set up at a rather earlier time than Baker and Holt would allow - i.e. in the later ninth century on the foundation of the burh as an institution.

The creation of the burghal territory of Worcester at this time can most reasonably be considered the explanation (which also holds for other estates in other shires already discussed) for the fact that four estates, at Kidderminster, Northwick /Tibberton, Witton and Hallow, held burgesses or houses at both Droitwich and Worcester. In this case, the connections which had been established at Droitwich possibly from at least as early as the beginning of the 9th century, and which possibly represented the area of an early *regio* with its centre at the royal site of Wychbold, would have been overlain by those established with the new burh at Worcester in c.880.

The hypothesis that the connections between these contributory estates and the burh at Worcester were established at the time of its foundation receives some support from the charter of 904 (S 1280), granted by the bishop for three lives (ie Aethelred, Aethelflaed and their daughter Aelfwyn) quoted above. Both the *haga* in the town and an area of meadow on the west side of the river were appurtenant to the manor of Barbourne, which was a part of the large manor of Northwick which was in the hands of the bishop, and part of the parish of Claines, a chapelry of the early church of St Helen's Worcester.¹⁰⁹ As already suggested, it is clear that already by 904 both the urban *haga* and the associated water meadow were considered as an appurtenance of the rural manor, and were not created as such on the occasion of the grant. The *haga* appurtenant to Northwick in Worcester held 90 houses in Domesday (DB Wor 2,48-9) - more than three times the size of the holdings of Evesham (23 houses), and many more times the size of the other 12 estates (8 with one tenement or burgess, 2 with two, and 2 with three). This *haga* in Worcester was situated along the waterfront to the south of the bridge, and inside the defences of c.890, where activity before the foundation of the burh is indicated by archaeological evidence of middle Saxon occupation.¹¹⁰ The particular layout of this *haga* in relation to other primary elements of the topography of the late ninth-century burh, in particular the line of the northern defences,¹¹¹ and its ownership by the bishop in 904, shows that it is likely to have been set out and defined during the very beginning of the formation of the burh. There is every reason to infer, therefore, that this *haga* was from the beginning attached or appurtenant to the bishop's manor of Northwick. The evidential importance of this is of a similar order to the inference which can be made in relation to the existence of the connection of the manor of Ramsbury to the burh of Cricklade (Wilts) before 909, when it was given to the bishop of Ramsbury, which is discussed above. This being so, this evidence establishes the

circumstances in which other connections between urban tenements and rural manors are likely to have been formed.

In the process of the development of the burh in the 890s the assets of the burh, doubtless with the burghal space itself, were divided - as the charter S 1280 indicates - between the bishop and Ealdorman Aethelred. This is, quite remarkably, evidenced directly in the fact that at the time of Domesday 45 out of the 90 houses in this *haga* belonged to the bishop in lordship. Its tenants, who are named, paid nothing 'except work in the bishop's court' (DB Worc 2,49). The arrangement in which the ealdorman took the manor of Northwick, to which this *haga* was appurtenant, therefore did not affect the tenurial arrangements of the holding of the *haga* itself, which would anyway have been held by both Aethelred and the bishop from the time of the formation of the new burh in the 890s. Such a division of assets is also shown in the somewhat atypical arrangement in which the bishop had the third penny of the borough before 1066 which he shared with the king and the earl (presumably at one third share each) thereafter (DB Worc 2,49). This is also a particularly striking example of how one large tenement which is known to have been appurtenant to a rural estate at a particularly early stage in the development of the burh became subdivided into many smaller ones by the time of Domesday.¹¹² A similar process must have occurred in the history of the development of the probably single *haga* in Gloucester appurtenant to Deerhurst, which became subdivided into 30 tenements by the time of Domesday, described above.

It would be consistent with the evidence as a whole to suggest that long before the foundation of the burh this *haga* was a discrete area adjacent to the cathedral precinct (but outside the primary defended *enceinte* within the former Iron-Age and Roman hillfort), which was controlled by the bishop and which had been given over to river-borne trade, and that this was the primary *locus* for the redistribution of salt from the bishop's commercial interests in Droitwich from the late 7th or early 8th century. It is of interest that this *haga* in Worcester is very similar in its type, dimensions, siting and date to the *haga* at London given to the same bishop in 889 by Alfred and Aethelred, which was situated at Queenhithe on the Thames in Alfred's new burh (Dyson 1978; Dyson 1990). This *haga* was the latest in a series of holdings and privileges in London given to the bishop by various Mercian kings from the 8th century onwards.¹¹³ The development of this *haga* has suggested - taking forward ideas put forward by John Maddicot¹¹⁴ - that this was given to be held by the bishop by King Alfred and Aethelred to facilitate the promotion of the bishops' commercial interests in the trade in salt from Droitwich within the developing burh at London and probably further afield, through a transhipment point at Lechlade on the Thames (discussed above).¹¹⁵ It is possible therefore that the gift in 904 by the bishop to Aethelred was some sort of *quid pro quo* for the favours given to him in London.¹¹⁶

The evidence of the connections of contributory estates to Worcester is extended by the case of the church of Evesham, which held a total of 28 tenements in Worcester (DB Worc 10,17). This entry is the last in the list of 16 estates it held in the shire, including part of

Evesham itself, but in none of these entries in Domesday Book is any mention made of holdings of appurtenant burgesses or tenements. However, in a dispute between the abbot of Evesham and the bishop over rights relating to two of these estates in 1077 mention is made of 4 tenements in Worcester appurtenant to Bengeworth.¹¹⁷ It is probable, therefore, that the 28 tenements contributed by Evesham in Worcester represents the sum of separate tenements which were appurtenant to some if not most of the 16 estates held by Evesham in the shire. These have therefore been included in the distribution in Fig. 6. The same is possibly true of the holdings of the lands belonging to St Peter's Westminster (formerly the king) at Pershore. These included 31 burgesses at Droitwich (DB Worcs 8, 13), who may have been appurtenant to some or many of its associated manors. This would imply, however, that the multiple estate centred on Pershore was in some way dependent on that at Droitwich - a situation which it is difficult to envisage. In this case, these connections are best seen perhaps as the evidence of a purely commercial interest of Pershore Abbey in commanding a supply of salt.¹¹⁸

An analogous situation to that of Evesham is that at Bath, where the abbey church of St Peter held 24 burgesses within the borough. These may reasonably be inferred to have comprised the sum of individual tenements appurtenant to its holdings of 14 manors around Bath. The fact that the abbey had acquired many if not most of these estates by gift during the tenth and early eleventh centuries,¹¹⁹ does not affect this conclusion. Other comparable examples already discussed include the former holdings of the earl of Warwickshire, given to Coventry Abbey before the Conquest, which held 36 tenements in Warwick at the time of Domesday (Fig. 3); the abbot of Gloucester, with 14 manors in the shire and 52 tenements in Gloucester (Fig 5a); and the archbishop of York, as successor of the lands of St Oswald's Priory, who held 13 manors in Gloucestershire and 60 tenements in Gloucester itself (Fig. 5a).

A parallel situation is also perhaps represented by the 25 houses held 'in Worcester market place' by Urso the sheriff (DB Worc 2,51). Urso also held 24 houses which represented subdivisions of the original *haga* appurtenant to Northwick, held by Aethelred in the charter of 904 (above). Although Urso's 25 houses in the market place in section 2,51 are described as belonging to Northwick, it would seem more likely that these are different from his 24 within the area of the *haga* of 904, and perhaps represent the sum of those appurtenant to his other 17 manors in the shire. If this is so, the distribution of these is of interest in covering much of the north-eastern quarter of the shire. This distribution does not, however, give any further evidence for determining the earliest territory of the burh beyond the pattern of distribution of the named estates which are documented as being contributory to tenements in Worcester. Both these estates held by Urso and the estates held by Evesham and Pershore merely increase by a factor of two or more the documented incidence of these estates over the whole shire which may be reasonably held to have had appurtenant tenements in the central burh of Worcester and the royal multiple estate of Droitwich.

Discussion

A developmental model has been put forward, based initially on the evidence from Wiltshire, to the effect that the distribution of manors or estates with appurtenant tenements in Malmesbury, Cricklade and Wilton is a function of their position within the respective burghal territories of these burhs, or of the even earlier administrative estates of Calne and Wilton. It is argued that the best explanation in functional terms for the spatial distribution of the pattern of the contributing estates to these and other centres is that these connections were for the most part formed at the same time as these centres and their dependent territories. This can be applied to the evidence from the other three shires in West Mercia considered here. Since the orbits or patterns of interrelationship of the estates contributing tenements to the centres in Gloucestershire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire show similar patterns of juxtaposition and overlapping (layering in a temporal sense), as well as broad distributions which can be seen as reflecting the boundaries of early burghal territories, this model also serves to provide the basis for the interpretation of their inter-relationship. This overall model is also consistent with recent research into the development of burhs, burghal territories and shires. These orbits can be explained, in terms of both known historical processes as well as functions, by the overlapping of phases of burghal and territorial formation which can be characterised by the following timeline. This is put forward as a preliminary model which attempts to accommodate the processes of formation of the spatial patterns discussed above to the considerable amount of accumulated work on the origins of kingdoms, territories and burhs, as well as of archaeological work on the investigation of burghal defensive systems. This timeline incorporates the basic premise, discussed above, that the middle Saxon *regiones* were carved up, sometimes successively, into burghal territories at particular periods of burghal formation in the ninth and tenth centuries, and that these territories were themselves subsequently modified by both splitting and amalgamation to form the later shires.¹²⁰

1. **Late 7th - late 8th centuries.** The royal administrative centre at Winchcombe can be seen as a complement to the ecclesiastical site at Worcester; and the whole of the territory of the Hwicce could be seen as the former's administrative area (province) as well as the latter's diocese.¹²¹ The original connection of Lechlade to Winchcombe (as well as the fact of its survival) can be seen as the result of the probable administrative role of Winchcombe in the distribution and trade of salt from Droitwich along the Thames through a distribution point at Lechlade at this and later periods.¹²²
2. **Late 8th / early 9th century.** The burhs at Winchcombe and Tamworth are formed at this time.¹²² The 'burghal territory' of the former possibly comprises much or all of the area of the province of the Hwicce. The burghal territory of Tamworth comprises at least the southern part of the province of the Mercians.¹²³ Some of the connections of estates with Winchcombe possibly belong to this phase. A burh at Hereford is also built, its burghal territory coextensive with the *regio* of the *Magonsaetan*.¹²⁴

3. **878-9** - King Alfred's first phase of the redefence of Wessex, which involves the creation of burhs at Malmesbury and Cricklade, with Bath just over the borders of the shire. The Viking army is in control of W Mercia, occupying Gloucester and Cirencester. The creation of a burh at Oxford at this time defines its burghal territory to the west as coextensive with the eastern boundary of the Hwicce. A portion of the southern part of the Hwicce is subsumed as part of the burghal Territory of Bath.¹²⁵
4. **a) c.880** - the phase of Alfred's absorption of western Mercia under a new polity, which contemporaries termed the 'Kingdon of the Anglo-Saxons, made possible by the retreat of the Vikings under Guthrum to East Anglia. This leads to the formation of a new burh at Gloucester, and arguably others at Worcester and Hereford.¹²⁶ The administrative geography of the earlier *regio* of the Hwicce is redefined in terms of the formation of burghal territories of Worcester and Gloucester; the latter includes the later Winchcombeshire and southern part of the area of the later Warwickshire up to the northern boundary of the Hwicce. This is arguably the most appropriate and likely occasion for the formation of a new set of connections of estates within these territories to the central burhs of Worcester and Gloucester (see discussion below). These burghal territories become the forerunners of the Domesday Worcestershire and Gloucestershire.

b) Early-mid 890s. The phase of Alfred's secondary consolidation of the defences of both Wessex and western Mercia, involving the creation of a burh at Bristol, and, arguably, the formation of a burh at Tetbury and the development of a minster market at Cirencester; the formation of the enlarged burh at Worcester as part of this process.¹²⁷ A dependent territory is formed around the new burh at Bristol, which is carved out of the burghal territory of Bath to the south of the Avon as well as that of Gloucester to the north of the Avon, with contributory burgesses from estates on both sides of the river.
5. **Early 10th century.** The phased expansion of the burghal system and the creation of dependent territories throughout western and eastern Mercia by Aethelred and Aethelflaed, and from c.910 by Edward the Elder and Aethelflaed, represented by 2 sub-periods: **a)** the reconstitution of the burh at Tamworth and the creation of a new burh Stafford in 913. The early 9th century burghal territory of Tamworth is redefined to include all of later Warwickshire in the diocese of Lichfield up to its border with Leicestershire, as well as the south-eastern part of later Staffordshire;¹²⁸ and **b)** the creation of a burh at Warwick in 914, at a royal and early minster site with established central place and strategic significance.¹²⁹ The putative primary burghal territory of Gloucester becomes divided into the burghal territories of Winchcombe (the forerunner of the 11th century Winchcombeshire),¹³⁰ and the first phase 'Warwickshire' to the north-east (the latter in 914) up to the north-east boundary of the Hwicce (which is the south-western boundary of the burghal territory of Tamworth re-formed in 913). A similar process is shown by the creation of the burh at Bridgenorth, its burghal territory formed

from the northern part of that of Hereford (within the diocese of Hereford). The majority of the connections of rural manors to Winchcombe are probably formed at this time, overlying the pattern already established for Gloucester, though the connection with Lechlade possibly survives from an earlier period. The primary connections of manors with Warwick are also created at the same time in 914; and those relating to Tamworth are formed in 913 or earlier.

6. **Mid-late 10th century** - The W Midland shires are arguably reorganised at this time, a process which involves the re-formation of new administrative units from the former burghal territories around some of the already-existing burhs. This process involves the expansion of the area dependent on Warwick to form the Domesday Warwickshire, with the formation of new connections of manors in the area of the expanded shire with tenements in Warwick (many preserved by being granted by the earl to Coventry Abbey in 1043). The burghal territories of Tamworth, Bridgenorth and Stafford are divided between Staffordshire and Warwickshire, and the southern part of the new shire which based around Shrewsbury (Shropshire) carved out of the former area dependent on Hereford.
7. **Early 11th century**. The absorption of Winchcombeshire, as well as the burghal territory of Bristol north of the Avon, into a new shire of Gloucestershire, thereby restoring it approximately to its original (late 9th century) extent (less the area of the original burghal territory of Warwick which was earlier included in Warwickshire). Probable readjustment of the boundary between the burghal territories and late 10th century shires pertaining to Hereford and Gloucester.

Summary and conclusions

It has been the purpose here to show that the analysis of the spatial relationships of contributory manors to their centres, which are a ubiquitous feature of the Domesday account of boroughs, can help elucidate issues about their origin and function. One of the important implications of this model is that these connections, as they have survived to be recorded in Domesday Book, earlier charters and later historical sources, came into being as a result of the position of the centre as the head place of a territorial unit - a burghal territory, a large royal multiple estate, an early *regio* or province, or a later shire. An essential corollary of this is that these connections were formed at the same time and by the same acts of state by which these places were constituted as central administrative places of these territorial units. This arguably supplies the best explanation for a number of aspects of their spatial relationships, detailed above. The alternative view that these connections of manors to their centres developed by a process of accretion, through the acquisition by thegns with rural estates wanting to acquire a town house at their nearest centre for whatever reason, or by a king or bishop who wished to

reward a thegn or retainer with land, is not consistent with the relationships shown by this spatial patterning.

If, as suggested, this process is seen as inadequate as an explanation of the historical and spatial attributes of groups of these connections examined using the same methods of enquiry over a number of shires, the issue as to why these connections were formed in the first place still remains. Any explanatory model must cover issues of functionality as well as spatial patterning and the constraints of the documentary evidence. As is argued above, a new way of seeing the origin of these connections is to suggest that they were brought about through the agency of the king and the earl of the shire working in partnership to create the burhs as sustainable communities, in ways which underpinned the king's intentions to establish institutions which were designed to further his military, strategic, economic, social and religious agendas. Similar processes can be inferred in those instances in which royal multiple estate centres, such as Calne, held tenements or burgesses appurtenant to nearby manors. However, one problem with this interpretation is that the number of tenants-in-chief in any shire who are recorded in DB as holding properties in boroughs (even adding those given in earlier charters) is only a fraction of those holding manors in the shire, as Ballard has so clearly demonstrated.¹³¹ In some areas, such as the shires of Devon, Dorset and Somerset, too few of these connections have survived to enable meaningful conclusions to be drawn from the distributions of these connections on their own.

At the same time, the number of tenements in any borough recorded as being appurtenant to rural manors is probably only a fraction of their original tally, based on the admittedly somewhat uncertain premise that a burh or borough would have had approximately equal numbers of customary and non-customary tenements. Instances in the shires in the study areas given above are Gloucester, with 300 customary burgesses, and 301 non-customary (from Evesham K1); and Warwick, with 113 customary, and 112 non-customary. The original proportions are, however, debateable, and because of the inconsistencies and deficiencies in the Domesday record, are probably unrecoverable. David Roffe, for instance, notes that the number of urban liberties or sokes is probably under-represented in the Domesday record.¹³² There is anyway unlikely to be any relationship of equivalence between the numbers of non-customary tenements in Domesday Book and the original non-customary tenements, since in many cases it is probable that one *haga* or tenement in a late 9th century burh, for instance, will have become subdivided into many through population expansion and consequent subdivision of the tenement in the intervening two centuries. Such was certainly the case with the single large *haga* at Worcester of 904, discussed above, which came to be subdivided into 90 burgess tenements at the time of Domesday. A similar development appears to have taken place with the *haga* in Gloucester appurtenant to Deerhurst, which by the time of Domesday had been divided into 30 tenements. Many of the connections included in charters in the tenth and early eleventh centuries have also been lost by 1068, or are simply not mentioned in Domesday Book.¹³³

There are therefore a number of reasons for inferring that, at the time of the creation of a burh and the formation of its burghal territory, *every* landholder above a certain standing in the burghal territory would have been assigned a tenement in the burh, either as a large *haga* or soke or as a smaller burgage plot, according to wealth and status. On this interpretation, the pattern of these connections as shown in Domesday represents, therefore, an attenuated survival of a once complete tally. As emphasised above, this is the only way in which the distribution of the contributing estates in relation to the shire and other boundaries can be explained. These appurtenant tenements would have formed a significant proportion of the population of the new burghal institution in which the tenements held by the king (the customary tenements of Domesday) would have been roughly balanced by those held by the thegns and/or the tenants-in-chief of the burghal territory.

This process would have created a situation in which these landholding thegns would have been bound to the king not only by their normal obligations of service, but also by the fact that the king had made available to them an asset (a tenement) within the centre of administration of the shire, burghal territory or multiple estate, thereby creating a situation of mutual and beneficial dependence. This act of state on the part of the king in giving tenements to be held by the thegns and tenants-in-chief of these territories can thus be interpreted as one aspect of the long-established principle of reciprocity, in which the gift of land by the king constrained the thegn who received it to respond with a counter gift of loyal service.¹³⁴ Richard Abels suggests that 'In this way [a gift of] land cemented a man to his lord, compelling him to render whatever aid the lord might require.'¹³⁵ It would not be distorting the evidence of this practice at a rather earlier period to suppose that this principle of reciprocity would have underlain the practice whereby the thegns of the burghal territory received their grants of land to be held by book on the creation of the burh, with which was associated a new appurtenance of a tenement within the burh which became part of their estate. In this way the king was able to create new or reinforced bonds of loyal service. Similar considerations must have underlain the origins of tenurial heterogeneity at royal multiple estate centres, and of the attachment of contributing estates to them. In terms of defence, Asser himself is witness to the difficulties experienced by King Alfred in encouraging or coercing the cooperation of the thegns of the shire to fulfill their military obligations.¹³⁶ By physically involving the thegns and lords in the setting out, functioning and upkeep of the burhs in this direct way by creating new tenurial connections between the landholders of the shire or burghal territory and the central burh, King Alfred (and Aethelred and King Edward after him) would have ensured the maximum degree of both control and loyalty in a situation where he would have needed all the support he could get.

There are other equally fundamental reasons for arguing that these connections were formed as part of the original process of the formation of the burh or other centre. The account in the Chronicle of the formation of burhs by Edward the Elder in eastern and northern Mercia during the period from 911 to his death in 924 goes out of its way to state that this process was

accompanied by a formal submission of the landholders of each new burghal territory to himself, which involved the recognition of the king as their personal lord.¹³⁷ Through this process, they were given continued tenure of their estates as bookland, which in essence was 'a dependent tenure held directly of the king'.¹³⁸ While the specific documentary evidence for this relates to the formation of the burh at Cambridge in the early tenth century,¹³⁹ there is every reason to suppose that the process of the creation of burhs in Alfredian Wessex of the late 9th century, or even in Mercia in the eighth or early ninth century, would have involved a very similar mechanism.¹⁴⁰ The involvement of all landholders in this process implies that every landholder would have been given a physical stake in the process by which the burh was created, in the form of one or more tenements within the burh. It is arguable that this process was the single most important factor which facilitated the organisation of the burhs by the king as sustainable communities in the late 9th and early 10th centuries. At one stroke it created a new set of conditions by which not only the new inhabitants of these new burhs (occupying the customary tenements), but also the landholders of the burghal territory, were obliged by their terms of service to participate in and uphold the king's overall military, economic and social agendas. A king who had - and frequently exercised - the power to take these assets from individuals if these terms were not met was in a very powerful position indeed.

This can also be seen as one aspect of the practice of the king in creating partnerships, as with the earl of the shire (through which he acquired his 'third penny'), to facilitate and ensure the ongoing maintenance of the new burh as a sustainability community,¹⁴¹ and to bind the obligations of the king's subjects to himself the more strongly. This aspect of partnership can be recognised in for instance the process of the creation of the new enlarged burh at Worcester in probably the early 890s, in which Ealdorman Aethelred and his wife Aethelflaed granted the bishop half of most of the assets of the new burh.¹⁴² In this case, the charter makes it clear that Aethelred (acting as King Alfred's regent, and at the request of the bishop) is the 'senior' partner, ensuring that the bishop was not able to short circuit the process of the creation of these mechanisms of ensuring obligations of service to the king.

The same motives also appear to have been at work in the creation by King Alfred of the substantial soke in London in 889 for the use of the same bishop, arguably to facilitate the trade in salt from Droitwich within the king's new burh, on the proceeds of which the king and the bishop had a virtual monopoly.¹⁴³ The division of assets between the king and earl was a process described by F M Stenton as 'a normal feature of Old English borough finance', and by Nicholas Brooks as 'a financial carve-up between the king . . . and the interested great lords'.¹⁴⁴ It would be entirely reasonable to infer that this same process was extended to include *all* landholders of the burghal territory above a certain status at the time of the formation of the burh, and for the same reasons. The process in which the thegns and tenants-in-chief of the burghal territories would have been allocated tenements which comprised significant proportions of the occupied areas of the new burhs is also, from a purely logistical point of view, probably the best

way in which the king could have populated the new burhs to the extent of ensuring their strategic and economic viability as sustainable institutions. This was also arguably the most effective means by which he ensured that the bonds of lordship of the thegns to himself could be enforced, to the end of consolidating his political and economic control over territories and their landed resources in the most advantageous way.¹⁴⁵

That this process - the results of which survived, albeit in attenuated form, to become manifested as the tenurial heterogeneity of the Domesday borough - was accomplished not by gradual accretion but by royal fiat as a single act of state is also shown by the way in which non-customary and customary tenements were intermingled in no apparent order within the burghal space in places such as Winchester, Wallingford, Oxford and Gloucester.¹⁴⁶ In Winchester this pattern has been ascribed by Martin Biddle to the processes involved in the 'apportionment of land in the city at the time of the reorganisation under Alfred.'¹⁴⁷ A similar intermingling of tenements in Gloucester paying landgable to the king (which appear to be the equivalent of the successors of the customary tenements), with those held by the abbey (amongst others), is shown clearly in the survey of 1455.¹⁴⁸ Since it is virtually axiomatic that the customary tenements of the king were those formed at the initial stages of the foundation of the burh, it follows that this is likely to have been also true of the origins of the non-customary tenements attached to rural manors. This is indeed a model which is applicable to the way in which every burh of the middle and late Saxon period would have been set out from the start. It is also indicated by the arguments I have recently put forward to the effect that the wall tenements of Oxford (the so-called 'mural mansions' of Domesday Book) were not only distributed around the whole of the burh, but were also all appurtenant to rural manors. Burgesses in these tenements were distinguished as a group from the king's customary burgesses by the fact that they alone were obliged to do wall work. I have made a case that it was on this group, and not on the customary burgesses, that these new obligations were imposed on the occasion of the extension of the Alfredian burh in c.911.¹⁴⁹

Although one aspect of these obligations would have been to ensure the defence and garrisoning of the burh (the essence of Maitland's garrison theory), another powerful engine which would have sustained the king's objectives would have been the creation of new markets in which transactions could be concentrated, to the king's ultimate profit, through the increased control which this gave him in the levying of tolls on buying and selling and the movement of goods. As historians have consistently pointed out, from Tait onwards, this is an aspect of burghal formation which is demonstrated so clearly in the details of the way that the burh at Worcester was set up.¹⁵⁰ It would for this reason have decidedly been in the king's interests to have brought into being the new burghal market and its associated institutional and social structures, which would have had the effect of channelling the sale or exchange of the goods or agricultural surpluses from the thegns' estates through this new market. In this way the king would have gained a new degree of control over access to particular markets, and the increased

revenues from taxes and tolls which this would bring him. As Nicholas Brooks has argued, 'the detailed economic provisions that accompanied the building of borough defences . . . involved the direction of trading activities into the boroughs so that market tolls, burgage rents and the fines imposed by a court would all be profitable to those lords [the king most of all]. Both the market and the borough court are essential components of the plans from the start.'¹⁵¹ The laws of the early tenth century confining trading transactions to burhs can therefore be seen as the development and reinforcement of a set of conditions which was built into the way a burh was set up from the beginning. Another aspect of the value to the king of these partnerships between himself and the thegns would have been to provide them with ready accommodation for attendance at the shire or borough courts, and to ensure the involvement of the thegns in the religious observances and ceremonies of the great churches of the burh.¹⁵²

The importance of the trading and marketing functions of the burh is put in perspective by the case of non-burghal site of Droitwich (Worcs), discussed above. Like any burh this showed tenurial heterogeneity in having assets in the form of both salt works and tenements appurtenant to a number of rural estates, as well as to the nearby royal manorial centre at Wychbold. This Droitwich - Wychbold axis may be considered to be a special case of an early multiple estate, some of which in other places developed significant markets of their own. Some of these connections at Droitwich may well have arisen as early as the beginnings of the involvement of the Mercian kings and of the bishop of Worcester in its development from the seventh century, a process which has been examined in detail by John Maddicot.¹⁵³

Above all, however, the Saxon burh was an instrument of political, economic, social and military consolidation, whether in late eighth- or early ninth-century Mercia or in Canterbury, in late ninth -century Wessex, or in early tenth-century Mercia or the Danelaw, which enabled to the king to exert a new level of 'institutional coercive power' to achieve his aims.¹⁵⁴ The role of these burhs as markets and jurisdictional centres can be seen as essential aspects of the ways in which this political control in all its ramifications was exercised in practice. As Richard Abels has put it, the burhs were 'islands of royal power through which the king and his agents, earldormen, bishops, and reeves, were able to dominate the countryside', and the means by which they 'reinforced the traditional connection between landholding and military obligation to the crown'.¹⁵⁵ Abels goes on to make the point that 'the burghal system's most lasting consequence may have been the enhancement of the institutional power of the West Saxon monarchy over its subjects'.¹⁵⁶ This coercion was arguably made possible through the lordship bond, consolidated through the gift of a tenement within the burh, which enabled the king to set up the burh as a functioning institution with either the willing or the enforced support of the thegns and lords of the burghal territory in all of its various functional aspects discussed above. The logic of these arguments implies that these connections between urban tenements and rural manors, as they have survived to be recorded in much later sources, are but a pale vestige of

patterns of connection and obligation which originally involved all landholders of the territory of the burh to which they would have owed allegiance.

The model outlined above, therefore, embraces the essence of Maitland's 'garrison theory', in the sense that one of the objectives of these arrangements would have been to bring into play the obligations for the defence and the ongoing garrisoning of the burhs, which the creation of the connections between these manors and their urban holdings would have ensured. This also applies to the patterns of obligation of landholders to pre-burh royal estate centres such as Calne, which is demonstrated, for instance, in the complex of services owed to the early royal centre of Taunton (Somerset) by its dependencies which is shown in Domesday Book (DB Som 2,2-3,9).¹⁵⁷ It also embraces Tait's viewpoint that wider marketing and other interests of the thegns and tenants-in-chief would have played a significant part in the development of the patterns of the connections which have survived to be recorded in Domesday Book, insofar as these were also part of the king's overall agenda to exert control of populations. The main difference between the model proposed here and that of Tait and his legion of followers is that these multi-faceted partnerships would have been built in to the processes by which the burh was set up from the beginning to reflect and facilitate the intentions and the agendas of the king. This model provides a new view of the way in which new burghal institutions were created as effective military and political instruments, as successful new markets, as centres of justice often with their own courts, and, in many cases, as new religious centres. It also focuses attention once again (a view lost in Tait's critique of Maitland's position) on one of Maitland's insights into the nature of the Anglo-Saxon burh:

"In the ancient boroughs there is from the first an element that we must call both artificial and national. The borough does not grow up spontaneously; it is made; it is 'wrought'; it is 'timbered' [defended]. It has a national purpose; it is maintained 'at the cost of the nation' by the duty that the shire owes to it. This trait may soon have disappeared, may soon have been forgotten, but a great work has been done. In these nationally supported and heterogeneously peopled towns a new kind of community might wax and thrive."¹⁵⁸

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to both David Roffe and Steven Bassett for reading an earlier draft of this paper, and for not only suggesting a number of corrections and improvements but also asking pertinent questions about key issues.

Endnotes

1. Maitland 1897, 178-82; Roffe 2007, 110-1, 120. As Carl Stephenson has pointed out, however, heterogeneous tenure is also characteristic of many of the larger pre-Conquest manors or multiple estate centres (Stephenson 1930, 184 & n.6). Rural manors with tenements within the borough are 'contributory' or 'contributing' (they "give or furnish ... along with others ... to a common purpose" - OED). These tenements at the centre are described as 'appurtenant' to the manors ("belonging to a property as of right" - OED). A property within a borough, whether attached to a manor or not, is referred to here by the neutral term 'tenement', rather than as any one of a number of possible contemporary Latin names such as *haga* or *domus*. I have avoided the use of the term 'messuage', used in the Phillimore edition of Domesday, which is not a word in everyday use.
2. Turner 1990.
3. Ballard 1904, 24-31.
4. Ballard 1904, 39-40; Roffe 2007, 114-5 table 4.1 includes rather fewer.
5. Ballard 1904, 22 & map.
6. Maitland 1897, 186-92.
7. Tait 1897. Tait devoted half of his review article to Maitland's hypothesis, which only comprised a small part of Maitland's book.
8. Tait 1936, 64.
9. Maitland 1898, 210.
10. Ballard 1904; 1906.
11. Maitland 1898, 210.
12. Ballard 1906b. Ballard analyses this material as a creationist would look at order and design in nature to find evidence of the special creation of species - in other words, selecting material to illustrate and demonstrate an unquestioned and indeed self-evident hypothesis and ignoring evidence which contradicts it.
13. Bateson 1906.
14. E.g. Round 1902; Round 1907.
15. Stenton 1907, 303; cf Stenton 1971, 531. Stephenson 1930, 184.
16. Round 1930, 252.
17. Stephenson 1930, 181.
18. E.g. Stenton 1938, 388; Biddle 1976, 382-3; Darby 1977, 309-13; Martin 1987, 60; Roffe 2007, 120-7.

19. Brooks 1996, 142.
20. Stephenson 1930, 183.
21. Stamford - Roffe 1977; Leicester - Phythian-Adams 1986, 11; Winchester & Hampshire - Biddle & Keene 1976, 382-5; Oxford - Blair 1994, 117-9; Warwickshire - Slater 1981, 30.
22. Hooke 1980, 39-40, 44, 48-9; Baker & Holt 1996, 136-40; Baker & Holt 2004, 261-7, 368-9; Holt 2009, 67-9.
23. The connections in Somerset are shown on one map - Finn & Wheatley 1967, Fig 47, 198.
24. For the Oxford region - Jope 1956, 245; Blair 1994, 117-9 fig. 69. The West Midlands - Slater 1982, 176 Fig. 8.1. For these connections mapped in most areas, see Darby 1977, 309-13.
25. Roffe 2009, 42-5.
26. Roffe 2007, 116-9.
27. Tait raises the possibility that the process of commendation could have brought into being the connection of an urban tenement to a lord's rural estate (Tait 1936, 89-92). David Roffe's view is that many of the non-customary burgesses appear to have originated and developed in different ways and with different functions, of which an example is that from Guildford (DB Sur 1,1c and 1,1d) (Roffe 2007, 116, 120-7), which stance of course means that no unifying explanatory model is possible. But these hypothesised processes, which Roffe does not examine in detail, do not provide any explanation for the very particular patterns of distribution of these connections when examined on a shire to shire basis.
28. Stenton 1971, 292-3, 336-8, 502-6; Whybra 1990; Gelling 1992, 140-2; Bassett 1996, 153; Hill 1996, 94; Keynes 2001, 59; Hill 2000, 174. David Hill, for instance, states bluntly that at some point in time 'Mercia was completely reorganised administratively, shifting from regions to shires' - Hill 2001, 144; and Margaret Gelling (*ibid.*) does not appear to recognise burghal territories as distinct administrative units.
29. Numbers in square brackets in all the following tables refer to the data in the figures.
30. Haslam forthcoming b.
31. Slater 1976; Reece 1976; Gerrard 1994.
32. Aspects of the nature and transmission of the text, as well as administrative and place-name evidence, are fully discussed in Hill & Rumble 1996; a new view of the dating and context of the Burghal Hidage is proposed by the writer - Haslam 2005 & Haslam 2009. For the by now well-established model of the formation of many of these places as new fortified urban centres, see Biddle & Hill 1971, and Brooks 2003. Other landscape and

- settlement aspects of these places are discussed in Haslam 1984, and Draper 2006. For a discussion of the meaning of 'burh' in a late Saxon context, see Draper 2008.
33. Hinton 1996; Brooks 1996.
 34. This reconstruction is based on a 'best fit' estimate of how the hidages of the Burghal Hidage can be made to fit the hundreds of Domesday, as worked out by J & C Thorne (Thorne & Thorne 1975; Thorne 1989), combined with an assessment of the local geography and topography. The rationale behind this reconstruction will be published elsewhere.
 35. For Canterbury, see Tait 1936, 9-10. These relationships are evident in the charter of 811 showing the possession of a tenement in Canterbury by the nuns of Lyming - *ibid.*, 15. The Worcester charter is discussed below - refs in note **.
 36. For a discussion of the date, see Haslam 2005 & 2009; for the topography and historical context of Marlborough, see Haslam 1984, 94-102. The earl's third penny was also derived from the profits of the pleas of the shire, but Marlborough is included in a list of other boroughs in DB Wilts B4.
 37. Darlington 1955.
 38. For the two stages of this programme of defence, the first in 878-9, the second in the early 890s, see Haslam 2009, 103-4.
 39. Haslam 2009, 103-4.
 40. Haslam 2009, 103-4.
 41. The same is true of the inhabitants of the 118 tenements 'at' the borough of Steyning, Sussex, who 'worked at the court like villeins' (DB Sus 5,2) before the Conquest.
 42. These and other instances, and wider issues of service of burgesses, are discussed in Tait 1936, 83-4, and generally at 78-112.
 43. Haslam 1984, 102-6; Draper 2006, **.
 44. Brooks.1971; Abels 1988, 75-96.
 45. Haslam 1984, 103.
 46. Draper 2006.
 47. Reynolds & Langlands 2006.
 48. Bassett 2009, 125-6 & n. 12.
 49. Slater 1982, 176 Fig 8.1; Slater 1983; Gelling 1992, 156-8. See also Bassett 2009, 153-5.
 50. This is argued by Terry Slater (Slater 1983), and more recently by Steven Bassett (Bassett 2009).

51. Stenton 1971, 336-8; Gelling 1992, 126-31. In the writer's view this happened somewhat later - see discussion below.
52. This interpretation is somewhat at variance with that of Steven Bassett, who allocates a rather smaller area to the original burghal territory of Warwick - Bassett 1996, 153 fig. 12). Bassett's interpretation, however, overlooks the evidence of the distribution of the contributory manors to the south of Warwick lying to the east of the Avon (see Fig. 3). A space also has to be found for the burghal territory of Bridgenorth, built in 912, and situated on the Severn to the north of Worcester on the borders of the later shires of Staffordshire and Shropshire, but within the diocese (and arguably the earlier burghal territory) of Hereford. This is, however, another story.
- 53.
54. For Long Itchington, see S 898.
55. The manor of Clifton-upon-Dunsmore, only given to the abbey in the mid-eleventh century (DB War 6,9) should be excluded from this total.
56. Bassett 2009, 126.
57. Ibid.
58. Gelling 1992, 158-9; Bassett 2001, 31-3.
59. Ibid. 151-2.
60. Taylor 1957.
61. Stenton 1971, 336-8; Gelling 1992, 137-45; Whybra 1990; Hill 1996, 94; Hill 2000, 174; Hill 2001. The various views on the question of the shiring of the W Midlands are discussed fully by Whybra 1990, and by Bassett - Bassett 1996.
62. Haslam 2005, 135-41.
63. Whitelock 1979, 221.
64. Haslam forthcoming 2012; see further discussion on this point below.
65. Moore 1982, Appendix.
66. Baker & Holt 2004, 279-81.
67. The *haga on port* appurtenant to the manor of Dumbleton, which is mentioned without reference to which port in the bounds of a charter of 1002 (S 901), has been assigned to Gloucester rather than Worcester on the basis of its proximity to the former, as well as its inclusion within the Domesday shire. Its connection with Worcester is suggested in Baker & Holt 2004, 264.
68. Moore 1982, Appendix.

69. For the shire boundaries, see Wybra 1990. Wybra's solution is somewhat different from that shown in Hill 1981, 99 which is based on the work of H P R Finberg.
70. The existence of a late Saxon burh at Ilchester within the Roman fortifications will be argued in detail by the writer at a later date.
71. Taylor 1902, 230-6.
72. Heighway 1988, 11; Baker & Holt 2004, 115-7.
73. Heighway 1984, 364, & Fig. 118; Baker & Holt 2004, 116. The position of this haga is compared to that of *Staeningahaga* and *Basingahaga* in London in Baker & Holt's discussion - 2004, 232.
74. Baker & Holt suggest that the church was a private chapel attached to a 'prominent house', which may be inferred to have been the abbey's capital messuage. For pertinent comments on Heighway's unlikely proposition that this haga had even earlier origins, see Baker & Holt 2004, 116-7.
75. Heighway 1988, 9.
76. Heighway 1988, 9-11. For further comments on the royal palace at Kingsholm see Baker & Holt 2004, 19-21.
77. The archaeological evidence relating to Winchcombe has been recently reassessed in Bassett 2008, 213-26. See also further discussion in Bassett 1996; and Bassett 2007.
78. I have given reasons elsewhere for placing the foundation of the burh of Gloucester in c.880, as part of the extension of King Alfred's new political order over western Mercia at the time - Haslam 2011.
79. Roffe 2009, 42-4.
80. For the relationship of the distribution of the Oxfordshire manors to those contributory to adjacent centres, see Blair 1994, 118 fig. 69.
81. Finn & Wheatley 1967, 198 Fig 47.
82. Manco 1998; Haslam 2005, 130 & n. 52. The area is shown in Aston 1986, 54 Fig. 7.3.
83. Haslam 2005, 135-48; Haslam 2009, 96-7.
84. Haslam 2009, 98-100, 103-4; Manco 2008.
85. Finberg 1972b; Moore 1982; Whybra 1990, 87 map XVI.
86. Hill 1981, map 143.
87. Aspects of this are discussed in Haslam forthcoming 2012.
88. Hopkinson 1994, 32.

89. These arrangements have been discussed, listed and mapped in Hooke 1981, 137-42, 154-9, and in Hopkinson 1994, 30-7. They are discussed further in relation to the development of salt-making in its wider context in Maddicot 2005, 28-31.
90. Hooke 1981, 129; Cambell 2003; Maddicot 2005, **.
91. Maddicot 2005, ***.
92. Hooke 1981, 137.
93. Ibid., 125.
94. S 179, S 180; Hooke 1981, 137-8, 153.
95. The manor of Hallow is further discussed in Baker & Holt 1996, 138, and Baker & Holt 2004, 264.
96. Maddicot 2005.
97. Bassett 1989a.
98. S 223 - Tait 1936, 19-21; Whitelock 1979, 540-1; Brooks 1996, 143-4; Baker & Holt 1996, 130-2; Baker & Holt 2004, 176-7; Holt 2009, 59-60, 65-6. The date is discussed in Haslam 2011.
99. Haslam forthcoming c.
100. Dyer & Clarke 1968-9, 30-3; Hooke 1980, 39-40, 44, 48 (tabulated); Baker & Holt 1996, 136-40; Baker and Holt 2004, 133-4; Holt 2009, 67-9.
101. For Mathon, and the position and extent of Coddington, see Humphrey-Smith 1984, map 38.
102. Haslam forthcoming c.
103. The extent of the Hwicce is shown in Hill 1981, 81; Gelling 1985, 7; See also Bassett 1989a; Bassett 1989b; Bassett 2007; Bassett 2008.
104. Bassett 2008, **.
105. Baker & Holt 2004, 261-7, 368-9; Holt 2009, 67-9.
106. Baker & Holt 2004, 263.
107. Baker & Holt 2004, 263, 265.
108. Baker & Holt 2004, 263-4.
109. Baker 1980; Bassett 1989; Bailey 2001, 117-8; Baker & Holt 2004, 197-8.
110. Baker & Slater 1992; Baker et al 1992, 73; Baker and Holt 2004, 174-7.
111. Baker & Slater 1992, 60-1; Baker & Holt 1996, 134-5; Baker & Holt 2004, 174-7, 262-3.

112. This process is described in detail in Baker & Holt 2004, 174-7.
113. Kelly 1992.
114. Maddicot 2005.
115. Haslam 2010b, 128-30; Haslam 2011.
116. Nigel Baker and Richard Holt suggest that 'the context of the grant would surely have been the need to ensure he [the bishop] retained the favour of his overlords' - Baker & Holt 2004, 263.
117. DB Worcestershire Appendix - 'Worcester H'.
118. This connection is not therefore included in Fig. 6.
119. Cunliffe 1984, 352-3 & n. 10.
120. For the development of the kingdom of the Hwicce, see Bassett 1985; Brooks 1989; Slater 1982 & 1983. Whybra 1990 has further comments on the development of the West Midlands shires, which themes are discussed further in Bassett 1989b & 1996. The development of burghal systems, and archaeological work in particular at Winchcombe and other West Midlands burhs, is reassessed in Bassett 2007 and 2008, though for a critique of some of Bassett's conclusions see Haslam forthcoming 2012.
121. Bassett 1996.
122. Maddicot 2005, 44-5; Kelly 1992, 12; Blair 1996; Haslam 2011.
123. Bassett 1996, 152 Fig. 11.
124. The area of the *Magonsaetan* is shown in Hill 1981, map 143 and Hooke 1985, 7
125. For the dating, and description of some of the strategic factors, see Haslam 2005, 141-4; Haslam 2009; and Haslam 2011.
126. For the creation of the 'kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons', which included W Mercia under a unified polity, by Alfred in c.880, see Keynes 1998, 24-6, 34-9, 43-4 and Keynes 1999, 460-6. The ascription of the formation of a burh at Gloucester to this date is argued in Haslam 2005, 143-4, and more fully in Haslam 2011. Stephen Bassett however consistently attributes this phase of burh-formation to Aethelred in the late 9th to early 10th century - Bassett 1996, 155-7; Bassett 2008.
127. For Worcester, see Tait 1936, 19-21; Brooks 1996, 143-4, Bassett 2008, **; Baker & Holt 2004, 147-95, 347-50; Holt 2009, 61-6. For Tetbury, see Haslam forthcoming b. The extension of the phase of burghal formation at this time, (which also probably included the consolidation of the defences of both Hereford and Worcester with a stone wall, and the extension of the original burh of Worcester), is argued further in Haslam 2009, and Haslam forthcoming 2012. Cirencester is discussed in Williams 1989, 9 and Gerrard 1994. The case for the formation of a burh at Bristol at this time has yet to be

- argued, but is suggested as having been formed as a burh in the late 9th century - see Manco 2008. For the boundary of the Hwicce, see Hill 1981, 81, & Whybra 1990; and for its extent in relation to surrounding provinces, see Bassett 1996, 152 Fig. 12.
128. See map in Bassett 1996, 152-4, figs. 11-13.
 129. Slater 1982, 178-9; Slater 1983; Bassett 2009.
 130. For the boundaries, see Hill 1981, 99. Whybra 1990 redefines the boundary on more detailed evidence.
 131. Ballard 1904, 31.
 132. Roffe 2007, 122.
 133. See for instance - in the four shires studied here - S918 of 1008 relating to Cricklade; S469 of 940 relating to Wilton; S 898 of 1001 relating to Warwick; and many others in Worcester (see Table **). Also significant are the many discrepancies between the tallies for Gloucester and Winchcombe in DB and in Evesham K1 and Evesham K116 of c.1100, noted above.
 134. Abels 1988, 30-4.
 135. Ibid., 31.
 136. Asser, chap. 91. Abels 1988, 76-7.
 137. Abels 1988, 80-90. This is seen as the basis for the organisation of the layout of the Chronicle entries in this period - Haslam 1997.
 138. Abels 1988, 120. On bookland see Abels 1984; Roffe 2007, 170.
 139. Abels 1988, 88-90.
 140. The creation of these Mercian burhs is discussed by Steven Bassett in terms which, quite rightly, emphasise their role as key elements in the process of royal state formation, rather than any role as a systematic defence against Viking depredation, as originally argued by the writer - Bassett 2007; see Haslam 1987. Although Bassett recognises the importance of burhs as instruments of control (2007, 82-3), he has not, however, considered the formal process of submission of the population of the burghal territory to the king, or the consequent formation of bookland, as essential parts of this process.
 141. Tait 1936, 30, 61-5, 141-8; Stenton 1971, 534-5.
 142. Whitelock 1979, 540-1; and discussed in for instance Tait 1936, 19-21; Brooks 1996, 143-4; Baker and Holt 2004, 175-7; Holt 2009, 59-60; Haslam forthcoming c.
 143. This is discussed above - see also Dyson 1978; Haslam 2010b, 128-30; Haslam 2011. The trade in salt is discussed in Maddicot 2005.

144. Stenton 1971, 534-5; Brooks 1996, 143.
145. That all the thegns of the burghal territories held tenements in the burh is entirely consistent with the record in the Chronicle under 914 of “men from Hereford and Gloucester and the nearest boroughs” providing a sufficient force to fight off Viking attackers (Whitelock 1979, 212).
146. For Winchester, the evidence for this is derived from the two twelfth-century surveys as well as from Domesday, and is described in considerable detail in Biddle & Keene 1976, 349-69, and in diagrammatic and plan form in Tables 11-19, 21, 22, & Figs. 14-16, 19. For similar evidence relating to Wallingford, derived from Domesday Book as well as earlier and later sources, see Roffe 2009, 35-6. That the tenurial arrangements at Oxford conforms to this pattern is argued in Haslam 2010a.
147. Biddle & Keene 1976, 349.
148. Baker & Holt 2004, 279-81 and esp Figs. 10.1& 10.2. This pattern is seen as reflecting the situation in the thirteenth century, ‘and perhaps considerably earlier than that’.
149. Haslam forthcoming d.
150. Tait 1936, 19-21. See note ** above, and Holt 2009. Holt’s alternative model, which holds that the new burhs were not set up as new markets but merely as fortified refuges, can be questioned on a number of grounds - see Haslam forthcoming c.
151. Brooks 1996, 143-4.
152. These processes are examined at length by Robin Fleming - Fleming 1993. However, Fleming follows the accepted paradigm in seeing the acquisition of urban tenements by the ‘rural elites’ as arising from steps which they themselves took to meet these needs and to avail themselves of these opportunities. See also a critique of Fleming’s treatment from a different perspective in Holt 2009, 69.
153. Maddicot 2005.
154. Abels 1988, 80.
155. Ibid.
156. Ibid., 208.
157. Roffe 2007, 274-5.
158. Maitland 1897, 219.

References

- Abels R (1984), 'Bookland and fyrd service', *Anglo-Norman studies* 7, 1-25.
- Abels R (1988), *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England* (London).
- Asser: Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, trans. & ed. S Keynes & M Lapidge, (Penguin Books, 1983).
- Aston M (1986), 'Post-Roman central places in Somerset', in E Grant (ed.) *Central Places, Archaeology and History*, (Sheffield: Dept. of Archaeology, Sheffield University), 49-78.
- Bailey M (2001), 'Aelfwynn, second lady of the Mercians', in N J Higham & D H Hill (eds.), *Edward the Elder* (London: Routledge), 112-27.
- Baker N J (1980), 'Churches, parishes and early medieval topography', in Carver M O H (ed.), *Medieval Worcester: an Archaeological Framework*, *Trans Worcs Arch Soc* 3rd series, 7, 31-7.
- Baker N J & Slater T R (1992), 'Morphological regions in English medieval towns', in J W R Whitehand, and P J Larkham, (eds.) *Urban Landscapes: International Perspectives* (London: Routledge).
- Baker N and Holt R (1996), 'The city of Worcester in the tenth century' in Brooks N, Cubitt C (eds.), *St. Oswald of Worcester: life and influence* (Leicester: University Press), 129-46.
- Baker N & Holt R (2004), *Urban growth and the medieval church: Gloucester and Worcester* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Ballard A (1904), *The Domesday Boroughs* (Oxford).
- Ballard A (1906): 'The burgesses of Domesday', *The English Historical Review* 21, no. 84, 699-709.
- Bassett S (1985), 'A probable Mercian royal mausoleum at Winchcombe, Gloucestershire', *Antiquaries Journal* 65, 82-100.
- Bassett S (1989a), 'Churches in Worcester before and after the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons', *Antiquaries Journal* 69, 225-56.
- Bassett S (1989b), 'In search of the origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms', in S Bassett (ed.), *Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, (Leicester: University Press), 3-27.
- Bassett S (1996), 'The administrative landscape of the diocese of Worcester in the tenth century', p. 147-73 in N Brooks & C Cubitt (eds.) *St Oswald of Worcester; Life and Influence* (Leicester).
- Bassett S (2001), 'Anglo-Saxon Coventry and its churches', *Dugdale Society Occasional Paper* 41, 1-33.
- Bassett S (2007), 'Divide and rule? The military infrastructure of eighth- and ninth-century Mercia', *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (1), 53-85.

- Bassett S (2008): 'The Middle and late Anglo-Saxon defences of western Mercian towns', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 15, 180-239.
- Bassett S (2009), 'Anglo-Saxon Warwick', *Midland History* 34 No. 2, 123-155.
- Bateson M (1906), 'The burgesses of Domesday and the Malmesbury wall', *The English Historical Review* 21, no. 84, 709-723.
- Biddle M and Hill D (1971), 'Late Saxon Planned Towns', *Antiquaries Journal* 51, 70-85.
- Biddle M & Keene D (1976), 'General survey and conclusions' in M Biddle (ed.) *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, (Winchester Studies 1, Oxford), 449-508.
- Blair J (1992), 'Anglo-Saxon minsters: a topographical review', in J Blair & R Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, (Leicester: University Press), 226-266.
- Blair J (1994), *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (Stroud: Alan Sutton).
- Blair J (1996), 'The minsters of the Thames', in J. Blair & B. Golding (eds.), *The Cloister and the World. Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey* (Oxford,), 5-28.
- Brooks N P (1971), 'The development of military obligations in eighth- and ninth-century England', in P.Clemons & K.Hughes (eds.) *England Before the Conquest* (Cambridge), pp. 69-84.
- Brooks N P (1989), 'The formation of the Mercian kingdom', in S Bassett (ed.) *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester), 159-70.
- Brooks N P (1996), 'The administrative background of the Burghal Hidage' pp.128-50 in D Hill & A R Rumble (eds.), *The Defence of Wessex - the Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications* (Manchester: University Press).
- Campbell J (2003), 'Production and distribution in early and middle Anglo-Saxon England' in Pestell, T and Ulmschneider, K (eds.), *Markets in early medieval Europe : trading and productive sites, 650-850* (Macclesfield: Windgather), 12-19.
- Clarke H B and Dyer C C, 1968-9, 'Anglo-Saxon and early Norman Worcester: the documentary evidence', 27-33 in P Barker (ed.) *The Origins of Worcester, Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 3rd Series, 2.
- Cunliffe B (1984), 'Saxon Bath', in J Haslam (ed.) *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England* (Chichester: Phillimore), 345-358.
- Darby H C (1977), *Domesday England* (Cambridge).
- Darlington R R (1955), 'Anglo-Saxon Wiltshire', in *VCH Wiltshire* ii, 1-34.
- Draper S (2006), *Landscape, settlement and society in Roman and early medieval Wiltshire*, BAR, British ser., 419, (Oxford: Archaeopress).

- Draper S (2008), 'The significance of Old English *Burh* in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 15, 240-253.
- Dyer C C and Clarke H (1968-9), 'Anglo-Saxon and early Norman Worcester - the documentary evidence' in P Barker (ed.) *The Origins of Worcester, Trans Worcs Arch Soc* 3rd Ser, 2, 27-34.
- Dyson T 1978, 'Two Saxon land grants for Queenhythe', in J Bird, H Chapman, and J Clark (eds.), pp. 200-215 in *Collectanea Londonensia: Studies in London Archaeology and History Presented to Ralph Merrifield* (LMAS Special paper 8).
- Dyson T (1990), 'King Alfred and the Restoration of London', *London Journal*, 15.2 (1990), 99-110.
- Finberg H P R (1972a), 'Bishop Athelstan's boundary' p.235-7 in H P R Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (2nd ed), (Leicester).
- Finberg H P R (1972b), 'The ancient shire of Winchombeshire', in H P R Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (2nd ed) (Leicester), 228-36
- Finn H W & Wheatley P (1967), 'Somerset' in H C Darby & H W Finn (eds.), *The Domesday Geography of South-West England* (Cambridge), 132-222.
- Fleming R (1993), 'Rural elites and urban communities in late-Saxon England', *Past and Present* 141, 3-37.
- Gelling M (1992), *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester).
- Gerrard C (1994), 'Cyrnceastre: a royal/ecclesiastical centre in the early medieval period', in T Darvill and C Gerrard (eds.), *Cirencester: town and landscape. An urban archaeological assessment* (Cirencester: Cotswold Archaeological Trust), 87-97.
- Haslam J (1984), 'The towns of Wiltshire' in J Haslam (ed.) *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England*, (Phillimore, Chichester), 87-148.
- Haslam J (1987), 'Market and fortress in the reign of Offa', *World Archaeology* 19 no.1, 76-93.
- Haslam J (2005), 'King Alfred and the Vikings: strategies and tactics, 876-886AD', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 13, 122-154.
- Haslam J (2009), 'The development of late Saxon Christchurch, Dorset, and the Burghal Hidage', *Medieval Archaeology* 53, 95-108.
- Haslam J (2010a), 'The two Anglo-Saxon burhs of Oxford', *Oxoniensia* 75, 15-34.
- Haslam J (2010b), 'The development of London by King Alfred: a reassessment', *Trans London & Middlesex Arch Soc.* 61, 109-43.
- Haslam J (2011), 'King Alfred and London, 874-886: a reassessment', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*.

- Haslam (forthcoming 2012), 'Daws Castle, Somerset, and civil defence measures in the 9th to 11th centuries', *Archaeological Journal*, 168
- Haslam J (forthcoming b), 'The origins and early development of Tetbury, Gloucestershire'.
- Haslam J (forthcoming c), 'Planning in Late Saxon Worcester'.
- Haslam J (forthcoming d), 'The wall tenements of Oxford in Domesday Book, and the process of burghal formation'.
- Heighway C (1984), 'Saxon Gloucester' in J Haslam (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England* (Chichester: Phillimore), 359-84.
- Heighway C (1988), 'Anglo-Saxon Gloucester: c.680-1066' in *VCH Gloucestershire 4: The City of Gloucester*, 5-12.
- Hill D (1981) *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Blackwell, Oxford),
- Hill D (1996), 'The Calculation and the purpose of the Burghal Hidage', in Hill & Rumble (eds.), 92-7.
- Hill D (2000), 'Athelstan's urban reforms', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 11, 173-185.
- Hill D (2001), 'The shiring of Mercia - again', in N J Higham & D Hill (eds.), *Edward the Elder* (London: Routledge), 144-159.
- Hill & Rumble (eds.) (1996): D Hill & A R Rumble, (eds), *The Defence of Wessex - the Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications* (Manchester UP).
- Hinton D (1996), 'The fortifications and their shires' in D Hill & A R Rumble (eds.), *The Defence of Wessex - the Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications* (Manchester: University Press), 151-9.
- Holt R (2005), 'The city of Worcester in the time of Wulfstan' in J Barrow & N Brooks (eds.), *St. Wulfstan and his world* (Studies in Early Medieval Britain, 4) (Aldershot: Ashgate), 123-36.
- Holt R (2009), 'The urban transformation in England, 900-1100', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 32, 57-78.
- Hooke D (1980), 'The hinterland and routeways of late Saxon Worcester: the charter evidence', in M O H Carver (ed.) 'Medieval Worcester', *Trans Worcs Arch Soc* 3rd Ser., 7, 39-49.
- Hooke D (1981), 'The Droitwich Salt Industry: an Examination of the West Midland Charter Evidence', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, D. Brown, J. Campbell and S.C. Hawkes, (eds.), B.A.R. (British ser.), 92, pp. 123-69.
- Hopkinson B. (1994), *Salt and the Domesday Salinae at Droitwich AD 674 to 1690* (Droitwich: Droitwich and Brine Springs Archaeological Trust).

- Humphrey-Smith C R (1984), *The Phillimore Atlas and Index of Parish Registers*, (Chichester: Phillimore).
- Jope E M (1956), 'Saxon Oxford and its region' in D B Harden (ed.) *Dark Age Britain* (London), 234-58.
- Kelly S (1992), 'Trading privileges from eighth-century England', *Early Medieval Europe*, 1, 3-28.
- Keynes S (1998), 'King Alfred and the Mercians', in M Blackburn & D Dumville (eds) , *Kings, Currency and Alliances: History and Coinage in Southern England in the Ninth Century*, 1-45.
- Keynes S (1999), 'England, 900-1016, in T Reuter (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History III* (Cambridge: University Press), 456-84.
- Keynes S (2001), 'Edward, king of the Anglo-Saxons', in N J Higham and D H Hill (eds.) *Edward the Elder*, (London: Routledge), 40-66.
- Maddicott J R (2005), 'London and Droitwich, c. 650-750: trade, industry and the rise of Mercia', *Anglo-Saxon England* 34, 7-58.
- Maitland F W (1897), *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Cambridge).
- Maitland F W (1898), *Township and Borough* (Cambridge: University Press).
- Manco J (1998), 'Saxon Bath, the legacy of Rome and the Saxon rebirth', *Bath History*, VII (1998), 27-54.
- Manco J (2008), 'The Saxon origins of Bristol,' online at <http://www.buildinghistory.org/bristol/index.shtml>
- Martin G H (1985), 'Domesday Book and the boroughs' in Sawyer P H (ed.) *Domesday Book: a Reassessment* (), 143-63.
- Martin G H (1987), 'The Domesday boroughs' in Williams A and Erskine R W H (eds.) *Domesday Book Studies* (Cambridge), 56-60.
- Moore J S (ed.) (1982), *Domesday Book: Gloucestershire* (Chichester: Phillimore).
- Phythian-Adams C (1986), 'Leicester and the emergence of its county', in C Phythian-Adams (ed.), *The Norman Conquest of Leicestershire and Rutland* (Leicester: Leicestershire Museums), 9-11.
- Reece R (1976), 'From Corinion to Cirencester - models and misconceptions' in A McWhirr (ed.), *Archaeology and History of Cirencester*, (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports 30), 61-79.
- Reynolds A J & Langlands A (2006), 'Social identities on the macro scale: a maximum view of Wansdyke', in W Davies, G Halsall, A J Reynolds, (eds.), *People and space in the Middle Ages, 300-1300* (Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 15) (Turnhout: Brepols).
- Roffe D (1977), 'Rural Manors and Stamford', *South Lincolnshire Archaeology* 1, 12-13.
- Roffe D (2007), *Decoding Domesday* (Woodbridge).

- Roffe D (2009), 'Wallingford in Domesday Book and beyond', p. 27-51 in *The origins of the Borough of Wallingford* K S B Keats-Rohan & D Roffe (eds.) (BAR British Series 494, Oxford).
- Round J H (1902), 'Introduction to Domesday Book', VCH Hertfordshire, i 263-299.
- Round J H (1904), 'Introduction to Domesday Book', VCH Bedfordshire, i 191-218.
- Round J H (1930), '*Burh-bot* and *Brig-bot*', p.252-26* in W Page (ed.), *Family Origins and other Studies*, London.
- Slater T (1976), 'The town and its regions in the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods', in A McWhirr (ed.), *Archaeology and History of Cirencester*, (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports 30), 80-108.
- Slater T R (1981), *A History of Warwickshire* (Chichester: Phillimore).
- Slater T R (1982), 'Urban genesis and medieval town plans in Warwickshire and Worcestershire', in T R Slater & P J Jarvis (eds.), *Field and Forest: the Historical Geography of Warwickshire and Worcestershire* (Norwich), 173-202.
- Slater T R (1983), 'The origins of Warwick', *Midlands History* 8, 1-12.
- Stephenson C (1930), 'The Anglo-Saxon Borough', *Eng Hist Rev* 45, 177-207.
- Stephenson C (1933), *Borough and Town: a Study of Urban Origins in England* (Cambridge, Mass.)
- Stenton F M (1907), 'Introduction to Domesday Book', VCH Leicestershire i, 227-305.
- Stenton F M (1939), 'Introduction to Domesday Book', VCH Oxfordshire i, 373-95.
- Stenton F M (1971) *Anglo-Saxon England* (3rd ed.) (Oxford).
- Stephenson C (1930), 'The Anglo-Saxon Borough', *Eng Hist Rev* 45, 177-207.
- Stephenson C (1933), *Borough and town : a study of urban origins in England* (Mediaeval Academy of America, Monograph, 7 (Cambridge, MA)
- Tait J (1897), 'Review of Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond*', *Eng. Hist. Rev* 12, 772-7.
- Tait J (1936), *The English Medieval Borough* (Manchester: University Press).
- Taylor C S (1898), 'The origin of the Mercian shires', *Trans Bristol and Gloucester Arch Soc* 21, 32-57, reprinted in H P R Finberg (ed.), *Gloucestershire Studies* (1957), 17-45.
- Taylor C S (1902), 'Deerhurst, Pershore and Westminster', *Trans Bristol and Gloucester Arch Soc* 25, 230-50.
- Thorne F & Thorne C, (eds.) (1975), *Wiltshire Domesday* (Chichester: Phillimore).
- F.R.Thorn (1989), 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', in A Williams and R W H Erskine (eds.), *The Wiltshire Domesday* (London, 1989), 31-45.

Turner H L (1990), 'The mural mansions of Oxford, attempted identifications', *Oxoniensia* 55, 73-9.

Whybra J (1990), *A Lost English County: Winchcombeshire in the 10th and 11th centuries*, (Woodbridge).

Williams A (1989), 'An introduction to the Gloucestershire Domesday', in A Williams (ed.) *The Gloucestershire Domesday* (Alecto).
