

TINTINHULL

TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

EXON DOMESDAY 266b1 (main entry)

The Count [of Mortain] has 1 manor which is called Tintinhull which Alnoth the Abbot of Glastonbury held on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead. In it there are 7 hides and 1 virgate (1 thane held that virgate in parage on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead. Drogo holds this virgate from the Count and it is worth 1 silver mark) and it [the manor] pays tax for 5 hides. 10 ploughs can plough these [hides]. Of this the Count has 4 hides and 2 ploughs in lordship and the villagers [have] the rest of the land and 8 ploughs. The Count has 19 villagers there and 9 smallholders and 5 slaves and 2 cobs and 5 cows and 30 pigs and 100 pigs less 6 and 1 mill which pays 30d and 57 acres of woodland and 60 acres of meadow and 200 acres of pasture and it pays £16, and £10 when the Count acquired it.

EXON DOMESDAY 512b5 (*Terrae Occupatae*)

The Count of Mortain has 1 manor which is called Tintinhull which Abbot Alnoth of Glastonbury held on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead. In it there are 7 hides and 1 virgate. 1 thane held that virgate in parage on which King Edward was alive and dead. Drogo holds this [virgate] from the Count and it is worth 1 silver mark. These aforesaid 7 hides paid tax for 5 hides and are worth £17 a year; and it was worth £10 when the Count acquired it.

GREAT DOMESDAY: SOM 19,9

Land of the Count of Mortain

+ The Count holds |TINTINHULL himself. Glastonbury Church held it in the time of King Edward. There are 7 hides and 1 virgate of land, but it paid tax for 5 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. Of this [land] 4 hides are in lordship and [there are] 2 ploughs there and 5 slaves and 19 villagers and 9 smallholders with 8 ploughs. A mill there paying 30d and 60 acres of meadow and 200 acres of pasture and 57 acres of woodland. It is worth £16.

Drogo holds 1 virgate of this land from the Count and it is worth 1 silver mark.

GREAT DOMESDAY: SOM 8,31

Land of St_Mary's of Glastonbury

The Church itself holds |CAMERTON. Edmer [***] held it in the time of King Edward and it paid tax for 10 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. Of this [land] 7 hides are in lordship and [there are] 2 ploughs there and 8 slaves and 6 villagers and 6 smallholders with 2 ploughs. 2 mills there paying 5s and 80 acres of meadow and 20 acres of pasture and 40 acres of woodland. It is worth £7

Roger holds 1 hide of this manor's land from the Abbot and he has 1 plough there with 1 slave and 1 smallholder. 10 acres of meadow there and 6 acres of woodland. It is worth 10s.

The Count of Mortain gave this manor to the Abbot in exchange for Tintinhull.

NOTES

In the first Exon entry the material in curved brackets (1 thane ... silver mark) is written between the lines and in the outer margin of the manuscript and interrupts the run of the main sentence: 'In it there are ... and it pays tax for 5 hides'. The main scribe of Great Domesday moved it to the end of the entry, but omitted the detail of the thane.

The *Terrae Occupatae* in Exon provide brief details of holdings that have either been (sometimes illegally) removed or added to a manor, or which had been held by more than one person before 1066 and had been combined by the present holder, or which had customary dues payable by them which had not been paid. Sometimes, as in the case of the previous value of Tintinhull, there are differences between its account and that in the main Exon entry.

The numbering of the Great Domesday entries is from the Phillimore edition, the most convenient to consult and now available online both from the Arts and Humanities Data Service at Essex University as study number 5694 (<http://www.data.archive.ac.uk/findingdata/snDescription.asp?sn=5694>) and from the Hull University website (<http://edocs.hull.ac.uk>) or from the *Domesday Explorer* website (<http://www.domesdaybook.net/>). Domesday Somerset awaits revision.

For the interpretation of a Domesday entry, consult Thorn, 'Shapwick, Domesday Book and the 'Polden Estate'.

For villagers, smallholders and slaves other translations have villans/ villeins, bordars and serfs/ bond-men.

The Great Domesday entry for Tintinhull is a direct abbreviation of the Exon entry, the shortening being achieved by the use of more compact formulae, by jettisoning material that is regarded as of secondary importance or which can be deduced from what remains, and by the elimination of livestock. On the relation of the two texts, see Exon Introduction and Extra Information in the Phillimore volume for Devon (in the online version go to RELATED OR 'SATELLITE' TEXTS: The *Liber Exoniensis* (Exon): Relationship between Exon and Great Domesday). See also Thorn and Thorn, 'The Writing of Great Domesday Book'.

In the Camerton entry, a word of about 4 letters has been erased after Edmer in the manuscript, perhaps of his byname (Ator), which is given in the Exon version.

COMMENTARY ON SOM 19,9 (The Great Domesaday entry for Tintinhull).

+. This marginal cross indicates alienated church land and probably casts doubt on the legality of the exchange that is mentioned in the entry for Camerton (SOM 8,31), although Tintinhull does not appear in the list of lands taken from Glastonbury Abbey in SOM 8,37-41. The entry in the Exon *Terrae Occupatae* (512b5) translated above indicates that the change of ownership is regarded with suspicion.

THE COUNT. Robert, Count of Mortain, was son of Herluin de Conteville and Herlève, mother of William the Conqueror. He was thus the half-brother of the Conqueror, also the full brother of Bishop Odo of Bayeux who granted him the comté of Mortain *c.* 1048. Robert fought at Hastings. He was put in charge of Pevensey Rape (Sussex) where he built a castle and his holdings in Cornwall dominated the county of which he was *de facto* earl. Altogether he held estates in 20 counties. He was twice married, first to Matilda daughter of Roger of Montgommery (Earl of Shrewsbury) and Mabel of Bellême, and secondly to Almodis. Robert's son William inherited his estates but rebelled in 1104 and the enormous fief was broken up. Some lands, however, retained the title of Mortain (or Morton) fees and the tenants of others became tenants-in-chief and their lands became separate honours or baronies. See Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, pp. 371-72.

Robert was rapacious in the Norman manner and Somerset Domesday contains paler reflections of his Cornish depredations.

TINTINHULL. Great Domesday *Tintehalle* here, *Tutenelle* at SOM 8,31. In the Exon manuscript the forms (the terminations here restored to the nominative case) are *Tintenella* (or perhaps *Tuttenella*: 170a5 = SOM 8,31), *Tintehella* (or perhaps *Tuttehella*: 266b1 = SOM 19,9) *Tuttehella* (512b5 = the *Terrae Occupatae*), *Tintehella* (63b = the first list of hundred names) and *Tintenella* (or perhaps *Tuttenella*: 64a = the second list of hundred names). The forms in the printed edition of Exon (Ellis, *Libri Censualis*) are *Tintenella*, *Tintehella*, *Tuttehella*, *Tintehella* and *Tintenella* respectively. However, in the manuscript they resemble *Tuttenella* (twice) and *Tuttehella* (twice); the *-in-* or *-ut-* are basically formed of minims, but the first two are joined at the bottom (as for a *u*), and the third is not joined to the second (as for an *n*) while the cross-bar on the low *t* before the first *e* extends over the top of this third 'minim' (suggesting it is also a *t*). The scribe is the same for the entries in the main Exon and for the second hundred-name list, but a different scribe wrote the entry in the *Terrae Occupatae* and yet another wrote the first hundred-name list; however, they may have misread the minims in their exemplars.

The second element in the name is Old English *hyll* ('hill'). The first element is regarded as obscure by Ekwall, *Dictionary of English Place-Names*, but is derived from hypothetical Old Celtic *din* ('fort'), with an extension of uncertain form and meaning by Mills, *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*. Thus the name has yet to be fully elucidated, but Collinson's attempt to identify this as a 'toot-hill', though of potentially great

significance, is pre-scientific; see Collinson, *History of the County of Somerset*, iii. p. 297. He describes the place as being named from 'an eminence anciently called *Tutenelle* ... where the courts were formerly held'. His form (*Tutenelle*) is presumably derived from Great Domesday (SOM 8,31) and he suggests it is connected with Anglo-Saxon *totan* (to which he assigns the meanings 'to examine or speculate'). He presumably means *totian* ('to peep out' or 'to protrude') whose etymological ancestor is *tōt* ('a projection') which is also the origin of hypothetical Old English *tōt(e)* meaning 'look-out (hill)'; see Bosworth and Toller, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Collinson's chosen form in *Tut-* although reproducing one certain form in Great Domesday and probably representative of several in Exon, is, nonetheless, aberrant, since both earlier and later forms of the name (*Tintanhulle* (939 x 946 and 959 x 975), *Tintenhille* (1168), *Tintehull* (1219), *Tintehille* and *Tyntehulle* (1275-76), *Tyntehull* and *Tyntehulle* (1284-85), *Tyntenhull* and *Tyntehull* (1316), *Tintenhull* (1428)) show that the Great Domesday and Exon forms in *Tint-* are the correct ones and rule out any connection with a 'toot'. Moreover, Collinson has assimilated a 'toot' to a moot by assuming that the hundred court met on the hilltop.

Tintinhull became an Ancient Parish; see Youngs, *Local Administrative Units*, i. pp. 439-40. In the Tax Returns (sometimes called Geld Rolls) bound up with Exon, Drogo's 1 virgate at Tintinhull can be identified (though it is not named) in the Yeovil group of hundreds: 'and from 1 virgate which Drogo holds the king does not have tax' (Exon 79a1; see Morland, 'Somerset Hundreds in the Geld Inquest', p. 129). However, the name of the particular hundred appears in both of the lists of hundred names also found in Exon (folios 63b-64b). Thus Tintinhull Hundred clearly existed by 1086 and although there are no hundred headings either in Great Domesday for the south-western counties or in Exon, places are entered largely in hundredal groups, even, in the case of the Yeovil hundreds, in separate sections within the larger grouping; see Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', *Somerset Domesday*.

In the present case, it is evident that Tintinhull here begins a group of places that lay in its own hundred: Tintinhull, Kingstone, Stoke-sub-Hamdon (including East Stoke), and Draycott (SOM 19,9-14). The order is identical in Exon, the predecessor document (266b1-267b2). In 1284-85 Tintinhull Hundred consisted of Tintinhull, Stoke-sub-Hamdon, East Stoke, Kingstone, 'Hiscombe' and Draycott; see *Feudal Aids*, iv. p. 286. The same is true in 1334, with the addition of Bishopstone, representing Montacute, and, as an appendage, the borough of Ilchester with Sock Dennis; see *Lay Subsidy Roll (1334)*, p. 274. Comparing this with the arrangement of Exon, mostly mirrored in Great Domesday, it seems that Tintinhull Hundred in 1086 consisted of Tintinhull (19,9), Kingstone (19,10), Stoke-sub-Hamdon and East Stoke (19,11;13-14), Draycott (19,12), 'Hiscombe' (5,3) and Bishopstone-Montacute (19,86).

Of these 'Hiscombe' no longer exists on the ground. The Domesday forms *Hasecūbe* (SOM 5,3) and *Hetsecome* (8,38) and the corresponding Exon forms *Hascecōba* (137a1), *Hetsecoma* (172b6) together with *Hassecōba* in the *Terrae Occupatae* (510b7), refer to the same place as *Hetecombe* in *Feudal Aids*, iv. pp. 286, 327, and *Hestecombe* in *Lay Subsidy Roll (1334)*, p. 274. It was a detached tithing of Tintinhull in West Coker parish (see *VCH Somerset*, i. p. 446 note 1; Morland, 'Some Domesday Manors', p. 47), now

represented by the field-name 'Hiscombe Mead' (Tithe Award of 1844). This lay about a quarter of a mile east of Broad Leaze Farm, that is, at approximately ST532149. The detached position of 'Hiscombe' is emphasized by a note in the Tax Return for the Yeovil group of hundreds (Exon folio 79a1). It records tax on 2 hides and 3 virgates (the extent of 'Hiscombe'), held by Osbern from the Bishop of St Lô (the same man who was pluralist Bishop of Coutances), as paid in the Hundred of *Liet* (Coker), that is in a royal manor (SOM 1,23) treated as a hundred. Although the bishop's tenant in Domesday is William (Exon adds 'of Monceaux'), the bishop holds nothing else in the area other than 'Hiscombe'.

Tintinhull Hundred thus described is territorially odd. In totalling no more than 40 hides, it was not even a half-hundred; on the ground it was pinched between Martock Hundred and Stone Hundred (which contained Yeovil) and it had two other detachments other than 'Hiscombe'; they were at Draycott (in Ashington) and at Kingstone eight miles away near Ilminster. Hundreds were created in the mid-tenth century and drawn on a landscape in which there was already a network of relationships between places that became members of different hundreds. Sometimes these ties were so strong that one place became an outlying part of a hundred where a related place lay; especially so where one manor needed access to resources (woodland, upland grazing, salt-marsh) that it lacked at home. Sometimes, after the creation of a hundred, a powerful landholder, often ecclesiastical, would add or deduct manors to or from particular hundreds so as to group them into a single dispersed franchise: the church of Wells was already doing this in Somerset in 1086; see Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', *Somerset Domesday*, p. 36. Sometimes, as in Worcestershire, a hundred from the outset was scattered and had a single owner; see Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', *Worcestershire Domesday*, pp. 32-37.

It has not hitherto been noticed that Tintinhull Hundred is almost certainly of this last kind, that it was a small scattered hundred created for or by Glastonbury Abbey and from which, in addition to the revenues of its manors, it received the profits of the hundred itself. In this, it would be parallel to Buckland [Newton] and [Sturminster] Newton Hundreds in Dorset; see Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', *Dorset Domesday*, p. 38. Stoke-sub-Hamdon and East Stoke, Kingstone and Draycott had all been held by Glastonbury Abbey and their alienation to the Count of Mortain is specifically mentioned (SOM 8,39). 'Hiscombe' had also been held by Glastonbury Abbey (SOM 8,38) although the Bishop of Coutances had it in 1086 (SOM 5,3). Of Bishopstone-Montacute (SOM 19,86) Domesday tells a different story: that the Count of Mortain had acquired it from Athelney Abbey by exchange for Caundle in Dorset. Nonetheless, Glastonbury Abbey may have held it until the early eleventh century: the contents-list of Glastonbury's *Liber Terrarum* notes a grant to Glastonbury by Turnberht, Bishop of Winchester (871 x 879), of *Logderesdone id est Montagu*; see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, LT 33, p. 33; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 1703. What supporting evidence exists is equivocal, but it is possible that the holder in the time of King Cnut (1016-1035) was Tofig the sheriff (who found there the holy cross that gave Waltham Abbey its name), and that it passed in unknown circumstances to Athelney Abbey which held it in 1066, although there is no record of when it acquired it; see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, pp. 160-62.

The estate or estates (see Glastonbury note below) at Tintinhull granted to Glastonbury Abbey in the tenth century probably originated from a large royal estate (perhaps of 200 hides) grouped around the River Yeo (formerly the *Giffl*) and centred on Yeovil; similar but larger units were based on Bruton and Frome. The putative Yeovil estate had been divided into the hundreds of Tintinhull, Stone, Houndsborough and Martock and the manor-hundred of *Liet* (Coker) by 1086. It is possible that Tintinhull had actually been granted out of Martock (1,27), which contained a curious 38 hides in 1086 and had been held by Edward the Confessor's queen, Edith. This is the view of *VCH Somerset*, iii. p. 255, where it is pointed out that the natural boundaries for Martock form a triangle marked by the Foss Way, the River Parrett and the River Yeo and that the north-western part of Tintinhull (bounded by the Bearley Book, the River Yeo and an unnamed stream and encompassing Bearley Farm (ST4922), Sockshams Farm (ST4921), Broadleaze Farm and Northleaze Farm (both ST4920)) is west of the Foss Way and intrudes on this area. However, there is no charter for Martock, Domesday Book being the earliest source for its history, so its original shape and possible later division cannot be known. Martock itself probably originated as a grant out of the land of Yeovil by a king to his queen, and some or all of Tintinhull may have come directly from the land of Yeovil rather than via the land of Martock.

Once Robert of Mortain held it, he or his son gave the 'manor, church, hundred, mill and fair' of Tintinhull to the priory that one of them founded at Montacute. Henceforth, for a time the hundred was also referred to as that of Montacute or of Bishopstone; see *VCH Somerset*, iii. p.176. If the Abbot of Glastonbury had held the 'lordship of the hundred', then Robert of Mortain will have acquired it as part of the exchange and this, in turn, may have given him the pretext to annex most of the rest of the hundred. The founder of the priory is consistently referred to as William of Mortain in the dubious run of 'foundation charters'; see Montacute Cartulary (Maxwell Lyte and others, pp. 119-29 nos. 1-14); see also *Monasticon Anglicanum*, v. p. 166; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ii. p. 50, no. 735 [1102-1105]; *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, ii. pp. 139-40 [1270]. William of Mortain's grant is dated 1102 and this may have been when the priory gained its first proper endowment. However, there is reason to believe that Robert of Mortain himself had built a church in or near the castle before 1078, when the death of the first prior is recorded; see Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 97, 101. Moreover, there is a confirmation by Henry I dating from c. 1123 (*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ii. p. 187, no. 1399) confirming the gift of Tintinhull to Montacute Priory 'as Ranulf the chancellor gave it' with the provision that the church of Cluny is to have 100s annually. This may have been the point at which the priory became Cluniac, but the early history of Montacute Priory needs further investigation. The priory held on to the manor until the Dissolution; see, for example, *Feudal Aids*, iv. pp. 286, 327; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i. pp. 195-96.

GLASTONBURY CHURCH HELD IT. The entry for Camerton (SOM 8,31) held by the church of Glastonbury in 1086 records that 'The Count of Mortain gave this manor to the Abbot [of Glastonbury] in exchange for Tintinhull'. The marginal cross beside the present

entry and the note in the *Terrae Occupatae* (see + note above) cast doubt on the legality of this transaction, partly because church land was, in theory, inalienable. It no doubt made strategic sense for Robert of Mortain to consolidate estates around Montacute castle and at least in this case, an exchange of land was involved, whereas in the case of Stoke-sub-Hamdon and East Stoke, Kingstone and Draycott, he seems simply to have taken them into his fief. However, Camerton was taxed at 10 hides and its two components had a total value of £7. 10s. In 'obtaining' Tintinhull, Robert got a bargain in terms of fiscal liability (5 hides) and value (£16), as was often the case when powerful Normans arranged an 'exchange'.

There had apparently been two Anglo-Saxon charters in existence concerning Tintinhull. The first was a grant by King Edmund (939 x 946) to Wulfric of 5 hides at *Tintanhulle*. It is recorded in the contents-list of the Glastonbury Liber Terrarum (Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, p. 32, LT34) and is mentioned in William of Malmesbury, *De Antiquitate* (Scott, pp. 114-15, 142-43, sections 55, 69), in John of Glastonbury, *Chronicle* (Carley, pp. 40-41, 122-23, sections 16, 64) and in Adam de Domerham, *Historia* (Hearne, p. 73). William of Malmesbury says (Scott pp. 114-15, section 55): *item prefatus rex Edmundus dederat eidem Wilfrico Tintanhulla v hidas, quas idem Wilfricus postea cum corpore suo Glastonie commendavit* ('Also, the aforementioned King Edmund had given Tintinhull, 5 hides, to the same Wulfric; these [hides] the same Wulfric subsequently entrusted to Glastonbury with his body'). This 'charter' is calendared in *Early Charters of Wessex*, p. 134 no. 451, and in Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 1728. These 5 hides were subsequently left to Glastonbury Abbey by Wulfric for his soulscot. It should be noted that the translation in John of Glastonbury, *Chronicle* (Carley, p. 41) has '15 hides', but the Latin (p. 40) reads *quinque* ('five'). Wulfric (sometimes represented as if his name were Wilfric or Wilfrid) was probably the brother of Abbot Dunstan; see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, p. 229, note 7.

The other lost charter is not listed in the Liber Terrarum and is only mentioned in William of Malmesbury, *De Antiquitate* (Scott, pp. 130-31, section 62) and by Adam de Domerham, *Historia* (Hearne, p. 86). By it, a woman called Ælswith gave 5 hides at *Tintanhulle* and other lands and gifts to Glastonbury Church (959 x 975). William of Malmesbury says: *Aelsuith regina [dedit] Winescumbe xv hidas, Feimeston' x, Strettun' vi, Tintanhulle v, Aetheredesie dimidiam hidam et ornamenta, stolam cum manipulo, casulam inconparabilem* ('Queen Ælswith [gave] Winscombe, 15 hides; Idmiston, 10 [hides]; Stratton[-on-the-Fosse], 6 [hides]; Tintinhull, 5 [hides]; 'Andersey' [now Nyland], half a hide and ornaments: a stole with maniple [and] a chasuble beyond compare'. Above *Feimeston'* has been interlined *uel Ide* indicating that the place is *Feimeston* or *Idemeston*, that is Idmiston. This lost document is listed in *Early Charters of Wessex*, p. 143 no. 503, but not in Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*. Ælswith was perhaps the wife of Ælfheah the Ealdorman; see Williams, 'Princeps Merciorum Gentis', pp. 147-54. She subsequently became a widow and a nun. Both in William of Malmesbury's narrative and sometimes elsewhere, she is wrongly described as 'queen'.

In such circumstances (two lost charters for the same size of holding at the same place and only one of them granting land directly to Glastonbury Abbey), the question arises as

to whether these are separate grants amounting to 10 hides or successive grants of the same land. In answer to this the Domesday hidage (7 hides and 1 virgate, taxed as 5 hides) does not provide a simple solution, but offers some enlightenment from a necessary but tedious examination of the several charters concerning Ælfheah, Ælfswith and Wulfric who were all benefactors of Glastonbury Abbey.

Wulfric received Turnworth in Dorset from King Edmund (939-946). He then gave it to Glastonbury, although the gift may have not take effect, or Glastonbury subsequently lost it, as it was held by Alfred of Épaignes in 1086 (DOR 45,1); see the Glastonbury Liber Terrarum contents-list (Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, LT 48 p. 32); Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 1729 = *Early Charters of Wessex*, p. 169 no. 589; for discussion, see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, p. 234. Similarly Yarlinton in Somerset (SOM 19,54) was given by King Edmund to Wulfric and by him to Glastonbury and was either never received or later lost, being held by the Count of Mortain in 1086; see the Glastonbury Liber Terrarum contents-list (Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, LT 66 p. 33); Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 1731 = *Early Charters of Wessex*, p. 134 no. 453; for discussion, see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, pp. 256-57.

King Edmund also gave Grittleton in Wiltshire (WIL 7,10) to Wulfric (called his *minister*) in 940 and this same Wulfric, then described as a thane of King Edred, gave it to Glastonbury Abbey after his wife's death. The bequest was carried out by Ælfwine, described as his *successor*; see the Glastonbury Liber Terrarum contents-list (Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, LT 43 p. 32); Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 472 = *Early Charters of Wessex*, p. 85 no. 249; for discussion, see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, pp. 98-99. In 944 Nettleton in Wiltshire (WIL 7,9) and at an unknown date an unidentified *Hortone* followed the same route: from King Edmund to Wulfric, to Ælfwine and to Glastonbury. For Nettleton, see the Glastonbury Liber Terrarum contents-list (Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, LT 44 p. 32); Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 504 = *Early Charters of Wessex*, p. 88 no. 264; for discussion, see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, pp. 179-81. For *Hortone*, see the Glastonbury Liber Terrarum contents-list (Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, LT 46 p. 32); Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 1743 = *Early Charters of Wessex*, p. 182 no. 647; for discussion, see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, p. 141.

In the case of Kington Langley in Wiltshire (WIL 7,11), King Edmund gave land to Wulfric and he subsequently gave it to Glastonbury, although a later grant by King Ethelred the Unready to Glastonbury (in 987) records that the land was purchased by Ælfswith from King Edgar; see the Glastonbury Liber Terrarum contents-list (Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, LT 85 p. 33); Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 866 = *Early Charters of Wessex*, p. 101 no. 322; see also *Early Charters of Wessex*, p.87 no. 526, and for discussion, see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, pp. 149-52. Wulfric received 5 hides in Idmiston in Wiltshire (WIL 7,14) from King Edred in 947 and a further 5 hides there from the same king in the next year. What then happened it not known, but in 970 the 'widow and nun' Ælfswith gave 10 hides there to Glastonbury Abbey; see the Glastonbury Liber Terrarum contents-list (Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, LT 104-105, 103 p. 34); Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, nos. 530, 541, 775 = *Early Charters of Wessex*, pp. 89,

97 nos. 266-67, 307; for discussion, see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, pp. 143-45. All these lands in Wiltshire were still held by Glastonbury Abbey in 1086.

Concerning Ælfheah, King Edwy (955-959) gave Cranmore in Somerset (SOM 8,32) to this man, called 'his *minister*', and the latter gave it to Glastonbury; see the Glastonbury Liber Terrarum contents-list (Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, LT 69 p. 33); Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 1746 = *Early Charters of Wessex*, p. 139 no. 479; for discussion, see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, pp. 98-99. King Edred gave Compton Beauchamp in Berkshire (BRK 22,11) to the same Ælfheah described as 'his kinsman' in 955 although Glastonbury may never have received it or retained it as it was held by William son of Ansculf in 1086; see the Glastonbury Liber Terrarum contents-list (Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, LT 109 p. 34); Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 564 = *Early Charters of the Thames Valley*, p. 43 no. 65; for discussion, see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, pp. 93-94. Batcombe (SOM 8,24) was given by King Edmund in 940 to a man apparently called Ælfsige, described as his kinsman and faithful *minister*, though it may actually have been given to Ælfheah or to Ælfheah and Ælfswith jointly. If Ælfsige is the genuine recipient, the estate must subsequently have passed to Ælfheah, perhaps via the king. In his will (c. 968 x 971) Ælfheah, described as Ealdorman of Hampshire, left Batcombe to Ælfswith with reversion to Glastonbury Abbey. It was subsequently given to Glastonbury by Ælfhere, apparently the brother of Ælfheah; see the Glastonbury Liber Terrarum contents-list (Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, LT 106 p. 34); Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, nos. 462, 1485 = *Early Charters of Wessex*, pp. 133, 147, 147 nos. 441, 120, 518; for discussion, see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, p. 55.

Dulwich and Merton in Surrey were granted by King Edred to Wulfric in 949, then presumably returned to royal hands before being granted in 967 by King Edgar to his *comes* Ælfheah and to Ælfswith, by whom it was presumably given to Glastonbury Abbey, although in 1066 and 1086 Merton was in royal hands (SUR 1,5) and Dulwich (not named in Domesday Book) may have been or become part of Bermondsey (SUR 1,4). On Merton and Dulwich, see the Glastonbury Liber Terrarum contents-list (Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, LT 112-113 p. 34); Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, nos. 551, 747 = *Early Charters of the Thames Valley*, pp. 158-59, nos. 328, 331; for discussion, see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, pp. 115-16.

King Edmund (939-946) gave Upavon in Wiltshire to Ælfswith who presumably intended it for Glastonbury Abbey, although the church may never have received it, or gained it and lost it, for its church and 2 ½ hides were held in 1086 by the church of Saint-Wandrille (WIL 1,23g); see the Glastonbury Liber Terrarum contents-list (Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, LT 127 p. 34); Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 1720 = *Early Charters of Wessex*, p. 87 no. 258; for discussion, see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, pp. 241-42. King Edwy (955-059) gave an unidentified place called *Pendesclive* to Ælfheah who appears to have passed it to Glastonbury; see the Glastonbury Liber Terrarum contents-list (Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, LT 110 p. 34); Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 1748 = *Early Charters of Wessex*, p. 182 no. 650; for discussion, see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, pp. 194-95.

From King Edgar (959-975), Ælfswith received 'Andersey' [now Nyland] (SOM 8,1) together with Stratton-on-the-Fosse, the latter held by the Bishop of Coutances in 1086, but claimed by Glastonbury (SOM 5,43. 8,38), both of which she subsequently gave to Glastonbury; see the Glastonbury Liber Terrarum contents-list (Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, LT 111 p. 34); Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 1761 = *Early Charters of Wessex*, p. 143 no. 4501; for discussion, see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, pp. 46, 225. She also received Winscombe (SOM) from the same king and gave it to Glastonbury; see the Glastonbury Liber Terrarum contents-list (Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, LT 114 p. 34); Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 1762 = *Early Charters of Wessex*, p. 143 no. 502; for discussion, see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, pp. 248-49.

These multiple and interrelated transactions have a bearing on the two Tintinhull charters. Wulfric received Tintinhull from King Edmund, but he either gave it directly to Glastonbury if he and Ælfswith made separate grants of 5 hides there, or it went via Ælfswith if only one 5-hide estate is involved. Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, p. 231 (unlike *VCH Somerset*, iii. pp. 257, 259), is inclined to see the two charters as referring to the same land and states that 'the history of Idmiston, Kington Langley and Merton probably argues against such a separation [into grants of separate estates]'. She continues: 'Like Tintinhull, those estates were first granted to Wulfric and were later acquired by Ælfswith before (in at least two of the three cases) passing to Glastonbury, probably by her gift'. However, as shown above (and by Abrams herself in the detail of her volume), there is no single route by which Wulfric's lands reached Glastonbury and there is evidence both for direct gifts and for lands passing via Ælfswith. Idmiston is in fact an interesting partial parallel to the estate or estates at Tintinhull. Its two charters dating from successive years in which King Edred grants Wulfric 5 hides there could easily be mistaken as referring to the same grant, but in fact Ælfswith granted 10 hides at Idmiston to Glastonbury, and this is the size given in Domesday Book. In the case of Tintinhull, it is possible that Wulfric gave 5 hides directly and Ælfswith another 5 hides which did not come from Wulfric, making the size of Glastonbury's holding at Tintinhull 10 hides. For the Domesday 'evidence' bearing on this, see hides note below.

Since neither the two charters nor any boundary clause attached to them survives, it is impossible to know where each grant (if they were separate) lay in relation to the settlement of Tintinhull. *VCH Somerset*, iii. p. 257, suggests that the portion of the Ancient Parish lying west of the Foss Way (which it regards as formerly part of Martock) was the land given by King Edmund to Wulfric, but there seems to be no evidence to back this assertion; see Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury*, p. 231 note 16.

7 HIDES AND 1 VIRGATE OF LAND, BUT IT PAID TAX FOR 5 HIDES. These figures do not, at first sight, help to decide whether Tintinhull was a 5-hide or a 10-hide manor; see Glastonbury note above. In the general run of estates in Somerset held by Glastonbury Abbey, the new measure of capacity (the ploughland) is slightly more than the hidage and the number of ploughs employed, sometimes slightly less. There are a few striking discrepancies; thus the 'Sowy' estate (Middlezoy, Weston Zoyland and Othery,

SOM 8,6) is rated at 12 hides, with an estimated plough capacity of 20, and with 16 ploughs actually employed. It is possible that this is 'beneficial hidation' (20 hides taxed as 12) although the charter by which 'Sowy' was granted (Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 251 = *Early Charters of Wessex*, p. 114 no. 379) records the same hidage with no mention of a kindly reduction. It is more likely that the new measure ('land for 20 ploughs') takes account of new land brought under cultivation, perhaps by draining the marshland of the Levels. A more exact parallel to Tintinhull is Pennard (SOM 8,21): 'Before 1066 it paid tax for 10 hides. However there are 20 hides there'. This suggests that at some point the church of Glastonbury was accorded a 50% reduction in the tax and other obligations of this estate: 20 original hides, related in some degree to agrarian capacity, have become 10 fiscal hides. However, the rating is only 12 ploughlands, with 13 ploughs there. Even so, it may be that Tintinhull was once a 10-hide estate (the combination of two separate grants) and that it too had benefitted from a halving of its tax and other obligations. It will be noted that the adjacent estate of Martock (SOM 1,27) had 38 hides in 1086 but before 1066 had paid tax for only 13 hides. In 1086 there were 31 ploughs there and this clearly was and had been a large estate, the reduction in liability no doubt being a gift to a queen from her king

If the Tintinhull estate was formerly of 5 hides, then 2 hides and 1 virgate have been added from elsewhere; if 10 hides, then 2 hides and 3 virgates need to be sought elsewhere. The infallible *VCH Somerset*, iii. p. 259, errs in suggesting that the gap between 7 hides, 1 virgate and 10 hides can be bridged by counting in Tintinhull's extensive meadow, pasture and woodland. But these three resources are an assessment by area and the hide was by 1066 a measure of tax and service; they cannot be added together, so the excess or deficiency of Tintinhull's hidage needs to be explained in another way. Martock had gained 3 hides by 1086, but lost two estates totalling 3 hides and 3 virgates. However the subtractions (a Compton held by Ansgar the cook and 1 ½ hides held by Aelfric Small of Hampshire) have nothing to do with Tintinhull, though it is conceivable that there had been an unrecorded addition to it of land from the reginal estate. The estates adjacent to Tintinhull do not show obvious signs of addition or subtraction, nor do they have the three virgates (let alone the hides) necessary for an exact fit: Sock Dennis (SOM 19,85) whose 1086 hundred is uncertain, (it was probably in Stone Hundred) was 3 ½ hides, Montacute was assessed at 9 hides (SOM 19,86) and the odd hidages of Stoke-sub-Hamdon and East Stoke (SOM 19,11;13-14) add up to a round 10 hides.

The most obvious match is 'Hiscombe' (SOM 5,3) at 2 hides and 3 virgates, held by the Bishop of Coutances, but claimed by Glastonbury Abbey (SOM 8,38); see Morland, 'Hidation on the Glastonbury Estates', p.76. Exon (137a1) also gives its assessment at 2 hides and 3 virgates, held (in parage) by 4 thanes, but breaks these down into 1 ½ hides held by Saeric, ½ hide by Alwin, ½ hide held by (another) Alwin and 1 virgate held by Godric. The *Terrae Occupatae* entry (510b7) appears to complicate matters: 'The Bishop of Coutances has 1 manor which is called 'Hiscombe'. To this has been added 1 hide and 1 virgate which three thanes held jointly on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead and it was worth 22s. a year and when the Bishop received it, it was worth 15s.' Evidently the three thanes were the two men called Alwin and Godric and their joint ten-

ure has been added to Saeric's 1 ½ hides to produce the Exon and GDB figure of 2 hides and 3 virgates. The problem is that if 'Hiscombe' was originally a 1 ½-hide estate and land from elsewhere has been added to it, then this would destroy the neat arithmetic of Tintinhull (7 hides and 1 virgate) plus 'Hiscombe' (2 hides and 3 virgates). On the other hand, both Domesday and Exon locate all this land at 'Hiscombe' and it could be that what the *Terrae Occupatae* report was only a temporary division. On balance it seems likely that there were two separate grants by charter of 'Tintinhull', each of 5 hides but that one of them contained dependent land in 'Hiscombe'. By 1086 the 10 hides were divided between 7 hides and 1 virgate at Tintinhull and 2 hides and 3 virgates at 'Hiscombe'; the latter, as thaneland, had been subject to divisions and re-combinations, but had not changed its original size. The 5-hide rating for tax would thus be beneficial, the result of a remission in liability granted by some later king.

'Hiscombe' lacks a charter, a rare omission among Glastonbury estates which probably implies that when granted it was part of something else. Moreover, if it was part of Tintinhull originally, this would explain why it remained a detached part of Tintinhull Hundred. When grants of five hides or more were made, especially in the late Anglo-Saxon period, even when the charter gives them a single name, they were not always discrete blocks, sometimes because an outlying portion would provide a resource that the core estate lacked or because the previous grant of nearby estates meant that the five hides (a standard size) could not be in one place.

If 'Hiscombe' was part of Tintinhull originally, then, by 1066 it formed a separate estate; this would make sense in terms of managing the land which was not contiguous to Tintinhull and it would be a typical example of the letting-out of an outlying part of an estate while the Abbey held the core in demesne: the four thanes who held in 1066 were presumably Glastonbury tenants. It is possible that the Bishop of Coutances simply seized the land from the Abbey, but equally possible that the thanes had begun to deprive the Abbey of it. Equally possible is that, because among them one of the Alwins and Saeric have the same names and are possibly the same men who held respectively in Radstock and Kingston Seymour from the Bishop of Coutances (SOM 5,47;64), that he claimed their land disregarding from whom they had held it. The bishop's undertenant at Kingston Seymour was the same William of Monceaux who held 'Hiscombe'. To be noted in passing is that an Alwin had also been a 1066 tenant of Glastonbury at Camerton (SOM 8,31).

Had the Tintinhull estate remained a unit in 1086, then the hidage (10 hides), the number of ploughs (14, that is, 10 at Tintinhull and 4 at 'Hiscombe') and the 1086 value (£18 10s) would not be out of line *mutatis mutandis* with the figures for other Glastonbury estates which had a simpler history.

VALUE £16. So in the corresponding entry in Exon, but 'Value £17' in the *Terrae Occupatae* entry.

DROGO HOLDS Drogo of the Tintinhull entry, a tenant of the Count of Mortain, is probably the man who appears elsewhere as Drogo of Montacute (SOM 45,12).

1 SILVER MARK. That is, 13s 4d.

Summary.

Tintinhull may have been granted from the royal estate of Yeovil and the hundred of which it was the *caput* was probably created for or by Glastonbury Abbey. The estate probably once amounted to 10 hides granted in two 5-hide portions, one of them having an outlying portion at 'Hiscombe'. By 1066, 'Hiscombe' and Tintinhull were managed as separate estates and, after the Conquest, 'Hiscombe' was acquired by the Bishop of Coutances while Tintinhull and the rest of the hundred were taken by Robert of Mortain, Tintinhull itself being nominally an exchange for Camerton. This acquisition gave the Count lands adjacent to the castle that he erected at 'Bishopstone', formerly known as *Lodegaresberghe* or *Logderesdone* and henceforth as Montacute. Count Robert's son gave Tintinhull manor and the hundredal dues to Montacute Priory which held them until the Dissolution of the monasteries.

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