

# THE LAND OF BREEDON MINSTER

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## ABSTRACT

In recent decades it has gradually come to be understood that the hill at Breedon on the Hill, Leicestershire, was the site of an important Anglo-Saxon monastery, or minster, which itself made use of an Iron Age hillfort. The main visible manifestation of the minster is in the present-day church where, built in to the fabric of the structure, by far the largest surviving collection of Mercian sculpture is to be found. On stylistic grounds the sculptures are said to date from either side of AD 800. To provide further insight into the history of the minster there is also a small number of surviving relevant documents. One of these places the foundation of the minster in the last quarter of the seventh century. It also suggests the locations and areas of land which were granted to (or bought by) the first Abbot, for the minster. This article discusses the probable location and extent of the lands that belonged to the minster and, not without some conjecture, arrives at a map showing possible approximate boundaries.

## TERMINOLOGY

There were significant differences between the monasteries of the earlier Anglo-Saxon period and those which developed in the later tenth century and which continued through subsequent centuries. Many people have a mental picture of the latter. This article follows the fashion of the most recent decades, of using the word 'minster' (derived from the Old English word 'mynster') to refer to the earlier Anglo-Saxon religious communities, leaving 'monastery' (derived from the Latin 'monasterium') to refer to the later institutions with which we are a little more familiar. A Glossary of words shown in *italic* text is also included at Appendix 2 starting on page 21.

## INTRODUCTION

It may seem strange that the main source of information about the beginnings of the minster at Breedon is to be found amongst the 'charters' of Peterborough Abbey. That having been said, many minsters in *Mercia* did not survive the ninth century and the small number of records that have continued in existence to the present day have done so via other, often religious, collections.

Peterborough Abbey was created in the tenth century by Bishop *Æthelwold* on the basis of an early minster which had been known as Medeshamstede. The bishop appears to have been involved in an attempt to similarly revive the fortunes of the minster at Breedon (*Breodun*) – see page 13 below. This failed to happen and one possibility is that Breedon documents came to be at Peterborough via *Æthelwold*.

The scarcity of documents pertaining to minsters is emphasised by Kelly 2009<sup>1</sup>, on p. 31:

'The few surviving charters and memoranda from Medeshamstede and Breedon on the Hill are essentially the only surviving pre-Viking diplomatic records from any of the minsters of the Danelaw.'

Leaving aside the issue of whether Breedon might have been in the 'Danelaw', the beginnings of the minster at Breedon are to be inferred from one of the documents (numbered **4**) amongst the thirty-one listed by Kelly at Peterborough. The Peterborough archive includes a number of fabricated or 'enhanced' documents but, as Professor Nicholas Brooks said in the Foreword to Kelly 2009:

'Dr Kelly shows how these records were used in the twelfth century to construct an early history for Medeshamstede as the premier Mercian monastery, but how in reality they may tell us more of the monastic activities of Abbot Hædda of Breedon-on-the-Hill in the late seventh century and of that house's fortunes in subsequent periods.'

With respect to the document numbered **4**, Dr Kelly herself included (Kelly 2009 on p. 98):

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<sup>1</sup> S. E. Kelly (ed.), *Charters of Peterborough Abbey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 14, (Oxford: OUP, 2009), hereafter Kelly 2009.

'There can be little doubt that the document in its present form represents a composite of information from a collection of genuine seventh-century texts referring to Breedon, transformed into a narrative celebrating the foundation of the minster and the achievements of its first abbot. The author may have drawn some of the wording from his sources, but we should be wary about assuming that all the information can be trusted. These issues are discussed above, pp. 67-8, and in the commentary to 4, where it is suggested that the document may have reached its present form in the ninth century.'

The composite document comprises three sections in Latin which are reproduced in full in Appendix 1 starting on page 18. For the present purposes of identifying the lands which may have been held by *Hædda*, as abbot of the minster at Breedon, much of that text which is of questionable veracity (e.g. the connection of Breedon with Medeshamstede) is of little relevance. Summarising the parts of the text which may be relevant to this article:

- Sawyer<sup>2</sup> S 1803 and Kelly 4(a): Frithuric (Latin '*Friduricus*'), a 'most religious' *ealdorman* of King *Æthelred* of the Mercians, gave (with the king's consent) 20 hides<sup>3</sup> of land at *Bredun* for the foundation of a minster and 'oratorium'. The first abbot was to be *Hædda*.
- Sawyer S 1805 and Kelly 4(b): When Frithuric heard of *Hædda*'s diligence towards the populace he gave to the abbot (with King *Æthelred*'s consent) an additional 31 hides of land, at a place commonly called *Hrepingas*.
- Sawyer S 1804 and Kelly 4(c): After that, abbot *Hædda* obtained from King *Æthelred* another 15 hides relating to land of which the name is *Cedenan ac*, for which he paid [with rather interesting gifts].

The dating of these events (i.e. rather than the document which describes them) is considered to be in the period between AD 675, when *Æthelred* became king of Mercia, and AD 691, when *Seaxwulf* died and was succeeded by *Hædda* as bishop of Lichfield. The described events imply that the first developments at Breedon would have been nearer the earlier of these two dates.

## THREE LOCATIONS – BREDUN, HREPINGAS & CEDENAN AC

### Bredun

It is nowadays generally accepted that the *Bredun* of this composite document relates to land associated with Breedon on the Hill, in modern Leicestershire.

Breedon's modern parish boundary, on its western side, is also the boundary with Derbyshire. It follows a significant Roman or pre-Roman route and may well have been a land boundary in the seventh century even though the counties probably did not come into being as such until three centuries after the foundation of the minster. Nevertheless, one should not necessarily rule out the possibility that *Bredun*'s 20 hides straddled the modern county boundary. After all, the complexities of intermingled parts of South Derbyshire and West Leicestershire were not finally disentangled until the twentieth century!

### Hrepingas

The locations of *Hrepingas* and *Cedenan ac* have proved more difficult for scholars to identify with any certainty.

The 31 hides of land under the name *Hrepingas* has gradually come to be thought of as probably being associated with modern Repton. Kelly 2009, pp. 183 – 185, discusses some of the pros and cons of this view. To her the primary objection (or at least that which she discusses first) is associated with the etymology of the place-name *Hrepingas*.

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<sup>2</sup> Most Anglo-Saxon documents were given reference numbers, preceded by an 'S', by Professor Peter Sawyer.

<sup>3</sup> The 'hide' was a quantity of land which is not readily translated into modern measures of area such as acres, hectares, square miles, etc. More discussion later.

Dr Kelly points out that Hrepingas, if it is formed from the name of a tribal group Hreope together with -ingas, is tautological, meaning 'the people of the Hreope people'. However, a person from the parish of Breedon on the Hill, meaning 'Hillhill on the Hill'<sup>4</sup>, might not be deterred by such tautology!

The -ingas suffix has excited considerable discussion over the decades and continues to do so. Amongst this discussion is the suggestion that -ingas names, although they may have arisen as group appellations, may later have been transferred to district names, then later again to particular places<sup>5</sup>. An alternative is that the place-name derives from a personal name 'Hrepa', in which case Hrepingas would translate as 'the descendants of Hrepa'.

If either of these explanations were the case, then Hrepingas could have been seen as a non-controversial district name (i.e. not ruled out on grounds of tautology). In such circumstances, a district (or multiple estate) of 31 hides with the late seventh-century name Hrepingas could have comprised or included the district or place named *Hreopadun* (mentioned c. 900 in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ASC A), as well as including the modern parish of Repton (first appearing as a -ton in the fifteenth century).

A strong argument in favour of Hrepingas being a 31 hide district which included modern Repton is that it would most likely have had a common boundary with the 20 hide district associated with the name Bredun. Furthermore, it would probably have been in a larger region having the same '*princeps*' Frithuric, who is named as the donor of both land grants. It would also have been possible for abbot Hædda to administer this district together with Bredun. This would not be true of the alternative location suggested by some commentators – Rippingale on the edge of the fens in modern Lincolnshire, which is 51 miles from Breedon on the Hill by the shortest route!

Despite the split of views on this matter, the discussion below explores the implications of the assumption that Hrepingas was a district, or multiple estate, which included modern Repton.

### **Cedenan ac**

The location of Cedenan ac has also presented difficulties for historians. Cadney in Lincolnshire was an early suggestion which was still being proposed by Hart<sup>6</sup>, in 1966. Kelly 2009, p. 181, describes Cadney as 'ambitiously linked' with Cedenan ac and points out that the identification is generally regarded as dubious. Cadney is about 75 miles from Breedon on the Hill by the shortest route. She adds that Stubbs' 1861 association of Cedenan ac with Charnwood Forest also looks implausible; however she doesn't offer any suggested location.

The composite document says that abbot Hædda purchased Cedenan ac which had 15 hides of land. One might therefore ask the question – why would the abbot wish to buy land that was remote from his base at Bredun (and Hrepingas probably adjoining it)? The late seventh century was not an era in which religious institutions held widely separated estates even if they were large in extent.

The hypothesis that Cedenan ac included part of Charnwood Forest need not, however, be dismissed. Not only could such a 15 hide estate have had a common boundary with Bredun's 20 hides but the inclusion of 'ac', meaning 'oak', in the place-name would be highly consistent with Charnwood. The Forest, as it is known in the Breedon area, is abundant in oak because of its acid soils, and includes a number of other oak place-names (e.g. Abbot's Oak, Copt Oak, Oaks Farm, Oaks in Charnwood, The Oaks).

Hædda might have decided to purchase this area in order to access oak for the construction of minster buildings at Breedon, which is in limestone country (i.e. favouring ash more than oak). Another reason might have been to acquire land which included unenclosed areas of high ground for *transhumance* of animals from some of the minster's (and their tenants') estates for summer grazing. Yet another possibility is that Hædda sought a remote place for an 'oratorium', or oratory – not an unpopular custom amongst seventh century abbots and bishops.

<sup>4</sup> Barrie Cox, *The Place-Names of Leicestershire 7*, (Nottingham, EPNS, 2016); p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Barrie Cox, The Significance of the Distribution of English Place-Names in -hām in the Midlands and East Anglia, *JEPNS*, 5 (1972-73)

<sup>6</sup> C. R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England*, (Leicester: University Press, 1966).

In this area there is the place now known as Cademan or Cadman, on the north-west side of the Forest. Here we have the rocky outcrop known as High Cademan, with a triangulation point at 197m, as well as Cademan Wood and Cademan Moor. Could Cademan be derived from Cedenan?

The first occurrence of the place-name<sup>7</sup> in the existing historic record is from the beginning of the seventeenth century (1609). But the fact that shortly afterwards (1622) it was well enough known to be named (“On ... Cadmans aged rocks”) in Song 26 of Michael Drayton’s topographical poem ‘Poly-Olbion’ suggests that it had an older history. Indeed, Professor Cox suggests that “Well-established pre-English place-names indicating Romano-British survival are those of ... High Cademan in Whitwick ... may belong with them.”<sup>8</sup>

In the following sections we examine the implications of hypothesising that Hrepingas and Cedenan ac were multiple estates including Repton and Cademan respectively.

## THE HIDAGES

At this point it is worth saying something about the reckoning of the extent of land in this part of Mercia. The document 4 uses the Latin ‘*manentes*’ or ‘*manientes*’ which is normally translated as ‘hides’. The underlying meaning is that 1 hide is the land capable of supporting 1 tenant (i.e. plus extended family, subordinates, slaves, etc.).

The whole period of interest here involved a pre-cartographic society, pre-dating the use of firstly maps and secondly precise area measurements, irrespective of land use (e.g. arable, meadow, woodland, etc.), which are the basis of modern reckoning of land in this country. The area occupied by 1 hide, capable of supporting a tenant plus extended family and subordinates, was inevitably very variable, depending on matters such as soil quality, extent of woodland, etc.

Hidages were given for the land associated with the three locations named in the composite document just discussed – Bredun (20), Hrepingas (31) and Cedenan Ac (15), amounting to a total of 66 hides. Kelly 2009 suggests, at page 180, that the 31 hides associated with Hrepingas may have been a scribal error for 30 hides – presumably because such territories were often measured in multiples of 5 at that period.

Questions about these hidages come to mind when one considers that the document may have been based on genuine seventh-century texts reaching the present form possibly in the ninth century. Furthermore, the versions that are in existence are copies or variants produced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

So, what about these hidage figures – were they assessments of the land in the seventh century, the ninth century, or even later? After all, although the document may have more or less reached its present form in the ninth century, isn’t it also possible that the twelfth-century manuscript updated the numbers, and only the numbers, to current values based on a knowledge of the land that was involved? But was there a difference, i.e. were seventh-century hidages ever updated at any point over that timescale or did they remain more or less unchanged?

Apart from a few pieces of this area of NW Leicestershire and South Derbyshire mentioned in a small number of surviving charters, there are no detailed land assessment figures for separate estates until Domesday Book (DB) in about 1086 plus, in the case of NW Leicestershire, the ‘Leicestershire Survey’ (LS) of probably 1129 or 1130. The two counties were in different DB circuits, with different commissioners. In common, though, the geld (or tax) assessments are expressed using the ‘*carucate*’ (anglicised Latin meaning a ‘ploughland’), rather than the ‘hide’, in both counties.

Both ways of reckoning, i.e. *geldable carucates* and hides, were probably used as measures for taxation purposes. DB expands on its figures of geldable carucates by often including an additional estimate of how many ploughs the estate actually supported. The purpose of this may have been to provide King William with the means to evaluate possibilities for improving his tax incomes<sup>9</sup>. If this was the case then it seems that, if we are attempting to compare DB carucates with earlier hides, it is the geld assessments that we need to look at.

<sup>7</sup> Barrie Cox, *The Place-Names of Leicestershire 7*, (Nottingham, EPNS, 2016); p. 73.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.; Introduction p. x.

<sup>9</sup> David Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2015), p. 208.

Over the years there has been much discussion of the relationship between carucates and hides. A carucate, which may imply land that can be ploughed by a single plough drawn by eight oxen, could be much the same as a hide. That is to say, the land of one extended family (a hide) may have been much the same as the land associated with a single plough.

Estates, or combinations of estates, in counties where the landholding was expressed in carucates in DB, rather than hides, are said to have often been reckoned in multiples of 3 carucates suggesting a preference for a duodecimal system of counting. (In hidated counties multiples of 5 are said to be more likely). The carucated counties in the East Midlands are often said to correspond, at least partially, to the 'Danelaw' or to the land of the 'Five Boroughs'. This view is then extended to suggest that carucation replaced earlier hidation as a result of a Scandinavian preference for the duodecimal system.

But there are other possibilities. For instance, the development of 3-field systems, because of agricultural benefits, with an associated need, in some cases, for nucleated settlement naturally produces estates whose extent is duodecimal – i.e. totals of multiples of 3. The change in the way that agriculture was organised may have been a reason for a re-organisation of geld valuations in terms of carucates rather than hides in parts of Mercia. The figures need not have changed (i.e. n hides remained n carucates) but the re-organisation might simply reflect a re-grouping or even just a change in terminology.

There is no consensus view about any of this and there is a variety of hypotheses amongst current researchers. However, in searching for Bredun, Hrepingas & Cedenan ac, it may be that we still have evidence of two (former?) decimal, rather than duodecimal, combinations remaining in the carucated figures (i.e. Bredun and Cedenan ac).

It would be helpful to know how a geographical area measured in hides might relate to the same area when measured in Domesday Book's geldable carucates. Unfortunately all that can be done at this stage is to compare summations of the carucates of the three possible multiple estates (Bredun, Hrepingas & Cedenan Ac) with the quoted hidages.

## RE-CONSTRUCTION

If we consider the possibility that, in the seventh century, there were 3 adjoining multiple estates

- including Breedon (20 hides)
- including Repton (31 hides) and
- including Cademan (15 hides)

then it may be possible to re-construct their geographical extent. To assist in such a process it is hypothesised that the early boundaries of these districts would have been based on significant natural features.

Regarding a multiple estate which included Repton, the River Trent provides a likely northern and western boundary. A potential eastern boundary (with Bredun) would be that which later became the Derbyshire / Leicestershire border. Let's consider an additional hypothesis – that the southern boundary of this multiple estate was the main east-west watershed ridge. In the seventh century when much of the territory, especially that on higher ground, was probably woodland or uncultivated heathland this may have been the simplest way of setting the bounds of a large multiple estate. That is to say, the boundary is 'as far as the eye can see'.

Applying this hypothesis to the region that includes modern Repton gives a block of land of of 31 geldable carucates in Domesday Book (see section beginning on page 9 below).

We have the intriguing possibility that the Domesday Book assessment adopted older hidage assessments which had remained unchanged for several centuries. (An alternative possibility is that the hidages in the twelfth century composite document, based on seventh and ninth century sources, had been updated for consistency with DB).

The first of these possibilities need not be particularly far-fetched. Others<sup>10</sup> have pointed out that 'hidage lists' that pre-existed 1086 were used by the compilers of DB. The local, native, administrators

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<sup>10</sup> Hull Domesday Project, <<http://www.domesdaybook.net/domesday-book/domesday-inquest/inquest-procedure>>, [accessed 27 November 2019].

would presumably have been using such lists for effecting fiscal and other public obligations for centuries – after all, hidages were included in Mercian charters of land grants from the early seventh century.

Only in the case of very obvious changes in the circumstances of a manor or district might there have been reason to revise hidage or carucage figures inherited from previous centuries. So, for instance<sup>11</sup>:

‘Despite variations in size, however, individual carucates could, like other peasant holdings, remain fixed in size over generations, even centuries, their integrity maintained by the power of the lord or the customs of the manor. They provided the stable base for both the manorial and the assessment systems.’

In relating the Breedon and Cademan hides to Domesday Book assessments it must firstly be remembered that they lie in Leicestershire in a different circuit from Repton, Derbyshire, under different commissioners – we may not therefore find the same correspondence between older hidages and geldable carucates. Indeed the Leicestershire folios seem to include several mentions of hides, sometimes called the Leicestershire hide, each of which anachronistically appears to be equivalent to 18 carucates! There is also the difficulty that Breedon was not mentioned by name in DB but was seemingly included under Tonge, a township of Breedon parish, with additional unnamed places, i.e. “Tunge cum omnibus appendicis”. Nevertheless, supposing the ‘manentes’ to be roughly equivalent to carucates, a supposition which might not be sensible in the more Danish parts of Leicestershire east of the River Soar, it is possible to suggest how two multiple estates of 20 and 15 carucates, respectively, may have been constituted. Figure 1 on page 8 shows how Abbot Hedda’s 66 hides may appear on the modern map.

## EXPLANATION OF MAP

Figure 1 has been produced from Google Earth mapping and requires some further explanation.

For Hrepingas, now part of Derbyshire, the names of settlements as they appeared in the Domesday Book (*Walecros wapentake*) are marked on the map. For Bredun and Cedenan ac, in Leicestershire, the number of named DB settlements is rather restricted because many of those that were probably in existence were incorporated, un-named, into a single entity – “Tunge cum omnibus appendicis”. For that reason the Leicestershire settlement names shown in Figure 1 are those from the Leicestershire Survey (*Goscote wapentake*) of about AD 1129 or 1130.

The network of darker red lines in Figure 1 are nineteenth-century parish boundaries, except for the parish of Breedon which is based on the eighteenth-century pre- and post- enclosure maps. These maps also indicated the township boundaries within Breedon – the lighter red lines.

The postulated areas of Bredun, Hrepingas and Cedenan Ac are shown as blocks of three different colours. The odd bumps extending Bredun westwards into Derbyshire are shown because it is known that, certainly in the later medieval period, the Breedon estate included ‘The Tatshall Fee’ and Castle Donington included Derby Hills. The latter may well have been part of ‘*Aetheredes dun*’ – more on this place-name later – which was later absorbed into Castle Donington parish. These two locations were high lands which seem to have been used for *transhumance*, possibly woodland or waste at an earlier date, and which would not have registered in the hidage figure. The precise detail of the boundary in those localities is not therefore of great significance for our purposes. It should also be remembered that a good deal of the land in the areas shown would have been woodland, as detailed by Domesday Book, lying away from the core of each settlement and sometimes shared with adjacent settlements. Where this was the case any boundary line between them may have been imprecise.

The boundary between Hrepingas and Bredun has been based on the Roman or pre-Roman route from the Trent that later became the county boundary shown in red.

Details of how the hidage reconstruction was arrived at are given in the next Section. A further hypothesis that was applied and helped in this re-construction was that most of the seventh-century

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Harvey, S P J, *Domesday Book and its predecessors*. English Historical Review 86, (1971), pp. 753-773.

<sup>11</sup> Hull Domesday Project, <<http://www.domesdaybook.net/domesday-book/data-terminology/weights-measures/carucate>>, [accessed 27 November 2019].

boundaries inland from the River Trent, at least in part, would have been the watershed ridges, mostly visible from Breedon Hill. So:

- It is surmised that the northern boundary of Bredun was approximately the ridge (the pink line) forming the main east-west spine of the land that may have been '*Ætheredes dun*'.
- It is demonstrated in the next Section that, if the southern boundary of Hrepingas was the main east-west ridge (pink lines again) separating Bretby / Repton / Milton from Swadlincote / Hartshorne, a block of 31 carucates results.
- It is also demonstrated in the next Section that the seventh-century boundary between Bredun (20 manentes) and Cedenan ac (15 manentes) was probably the main north – south ridge marked by the heavy pink line in Figure 1. This is a significant natural boundary separating two water catchments – all precipitation on the land to the west of it drains to the River Trent while that to east of it drains to the River Soar.



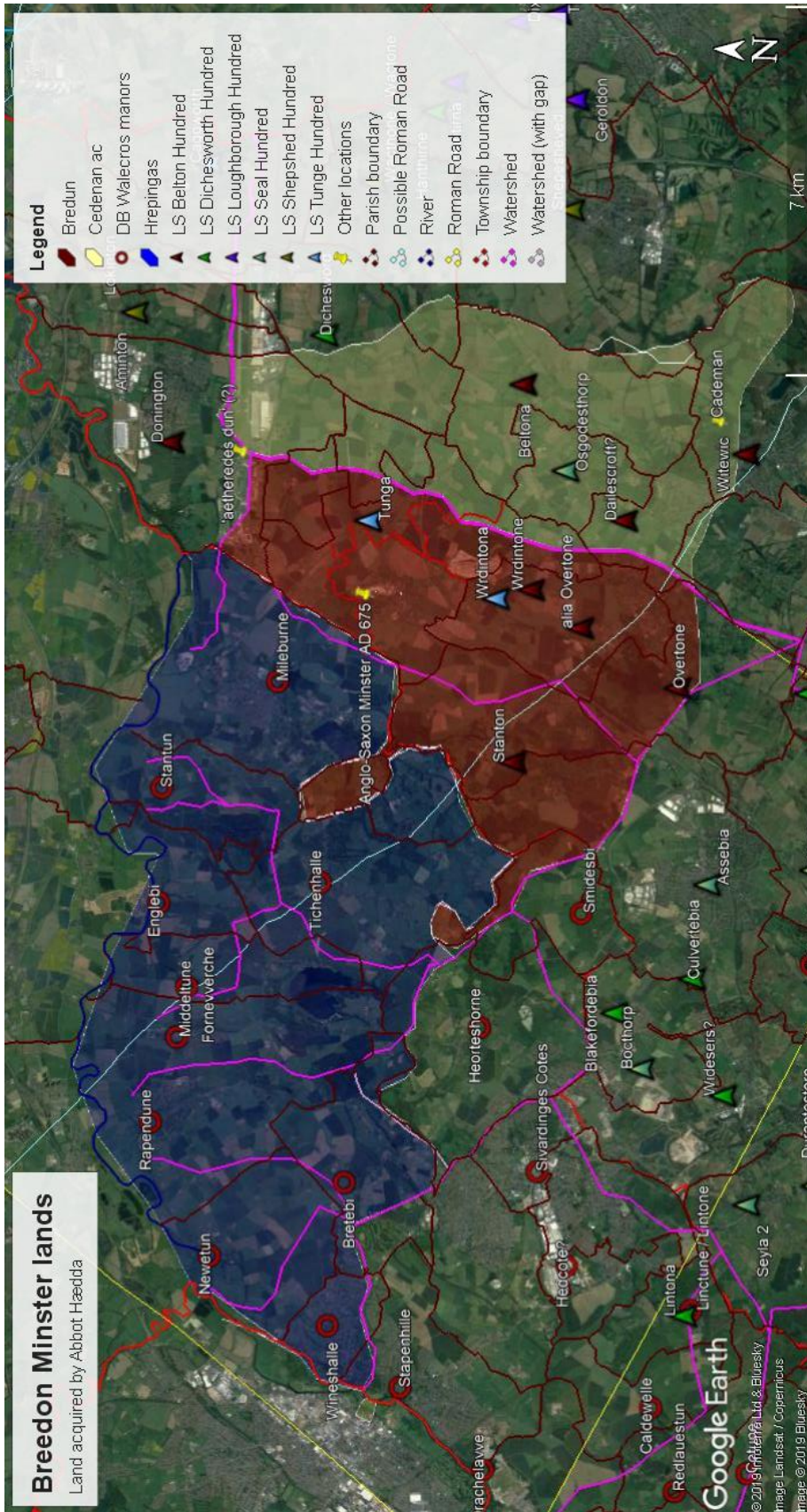


FIGURE 1. LAND ACQUIRED BY ABBOT HÆDDA OF BREDUN



# THE CONSTITUENT PARTS OF BREDUN, HREPINGAS & CEDENAN AC

## Hrepingas (includes Repton)

Hrepingas (Derbyshire) of 31 hides obviously doesn't appear in the Leicestershire Survey (LS). But at Domesday Book (DB) we find that the area covered by the parishes and townships of Repton, Milton, Foremark, Ingleby, Ticknall, Winshill, Southwood, Calke, Stanton-by-Bridge, Melbourne, Kings Newton, Newton Solney and Bretby adds up to 31 carucates.

Location	DB geld units	
	Carucates	Bovates
Repton & Milton	6	0
Foremark	2	0
Ingleby	1	1.33
Ingleby (Repton)	0	3
Ingleby (Foremark)	0	3
Ingleby (Stanton)	0	0.67
Stanton by Bridge	1	4
Kings Newton (Stantun)	0	4
Newton Solney & Bretby	7	0
Ticknall	2	2.67
Ticknall (Repton)	1	0
Ticknall (Burton Abbey)	0	5.33
Melbourne (excluding soke)	6	0
Winshill	2	0
	31	0

The DB geldable carucates are shown in Table 1.

In this, the location of Henry de Ferrers' Stantun of ½ carucate is taken to be at Kings Newton which two tenth century charters, one of which describes the bounds, suggest may have been seen as one of two adjoining estates, with the place-name of 'Stantun', in the locality of Stanton by Bridge<sup>12</sup>.

Melbourne seems to naturally fall within the area which made up Hrepingas. At the time of DB it also had jurisdiction (or 'soke') over a number of parishes north of the Trent. One may only speculate over the reasons for this. A possible explanation is that, at some point following Æthelflæd, 'Lady of the Mercians', taking back full control of the Danish borough at Derby in 917, these manors lying between Derby and the Trent (Barrow on Trent, Swarkestone, Chellaston, Osmaston, Cottons, Normanton) were placed more securely under royal control via Melbourne.

Whatever the reason, these manors to the north of the Trent are unlikely to have been part of the seventh-century Hrepingas and are excluded from the tabulation.

Looking at Figure 1, an explanation of why Hartshorne (Heorteshorne) has not been included may be helpful. Hartshorne is the parish lying to the north-east of Swadlincote. It lies in a hollow which is almost completely surrounded by higher ground. There is, however, a narrow gap through which it drains, eventually to Repton. Despite this, the ridge to the north of the parish is higher than the ridgeway to the south, and is visible from Breedon Hill. The natural hollow of Hartshorne therefore falls outside the most likely area of a multiple estate which included Repton, known by the name Hrepingas.

<sup>12</sup> Sawyer nos. S 224 and S 768. To be discussed in another paper.

## **Bredun and Cedenan ac (includes Breedon and Cademan)**

At this stage it is easier to consider Bredun (20 hides) and Cedenan ac (15 hides) together as a block of 35 hides.

One of the problems encountered when looking at the geld valuations in Domesday Book (DB) is that there is no entry under the place name Breedon, in any of its historic spelling variants. However, a large block of land (21½ carucates) is associated with Tonge, a township of the modern parish of Breedon on the Hill. Tonge itself is not a large place, there being 3 open fields at the Enclosure Act of 1758. But DB uses the Latin phrase 'tunge cum omnibus appendiciis' – 'Tonge with all appendages'. The place-names of these appendages are not given.

Compared with the more common 'cum appendiciis', 'cum omnibus appendiciis' is a very rare phrase in Domesday Book; for instance, it doesn't occur anywhere else in the Leicestershire folios. Yet "cum omnibus appendiciis" is a more regular feature in earlier (and later) charters gifting land to abbots and other ecclesiastics. This phrasing may then be a hint of the former connection with the minster at Breedon.

If a large block of land was controlled under a single administration then, when that administration came to an end, its subsequent deconstruction would presumably have occurred by the gradual process of royal grants of individual estates to new owners. This process would appear to have been incomplete by the time of DB when Henry of Ferrers had become the king's tenant-in-chief of 'Tunge cum omnibus appendiciis'. It would appear to have included all those places that had not by then been separated out of the former Bredun and Cedenan ac. This would provide an explanation of why certain places, known to have been of significant size a few years later, are unnamed as separate entities in DB.

It is also informative that Henry of Ferrers was tenant-in-chief of not only 'Tunge cum omnibus appendiciis' but also of Worthington (both of which were managed for his own profit without sub-tenants) plus Osgathorpe and Coleorton (both of which had sub-tenants).

While there are some difficulties in interpreting the DB information for the area that might be involved, help comes from the document often called the 'Leicestershire Survey' (LS) probably dating from 1129 or 1130, just 43 or 44 years after DB. The surviving part of the latter is complete for the region of Goscote wapentake in which we are interested.

### **Worthington**

So let's begin with Worthington (and Newbold), which was a chapelry of Breedon on the Hill Ancient Parish – Breedon remains the mother church to this day. Although it had the status of a separate secular manor at the time of DB, it had the same tenant-in-chief as 'Tunge cum omnibus appendiciis' and was likewise administered without sub-tenants. It seems reasonable to assume that Worthington had been part of the 35 hides of Bredun and Cedenan ac.

### **Staunton (Harold)**

Staunton (Harold) consists of 2 estates, 2 and 3 carucates respectively, at the LS. Only 2 carucates appear in DB, so the other 3 carucate estate was probably part of Tonge's 'appendiciis'. Bear in mind that Staunton Harold remains a chapelry under Breedon to this day. For the present purpose of producing a map, it seems likely that the 3 carucate estate would have been based on the present day Staunton Harold.

It is additionally suggested that the seventh century Bredun's southern boundary would have been the main watershed ridge – the visible limit from Breedon hill. This significant ridge is a boundary between two water catchments – precipitation falling to the north of it drains to the River Trent while, to the south of it, precipitation drains to the River Mease (and subsequently to the Trent near Croxall). It is possible, then, that the 2 carucate estate (Stantone) was in the block of land between the modern parish of Staunton Harold and this ridge. This is now part of Ashby parish but a reason for the change at some date may be easily envisaged.

### **Belton**

Belton is 6 carucates in the LS but was not included in DB. Its southern boundary immediately adjoins Cademan. It was probably therefore part of Tonge's 'appendiciis'.

## Osgathorpe and Dailescroft

Summing the LS assessments for Tonge 'cum appendiciis' (12), plus Staunton Harold (3), Belton (6), Dailescroft (1) and Osgathorpe ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) gives a total of  $22\frac{1}{2}$  carucates. At DB 'Tunge cum omnibus appendiciis' ( $21\frac{1}{2}$ , presumably including unnamed Staunton Harold, Belton and Dailescroft) plus Osgathorpe (1) also totalled  $22\frac{1}{2}$  carucates.

So let's assume that, at DB, Dailescroft was included in the  $22\frac{1}{2}$  carucates of 'Tunge cum omnibus appendiciis' and Osgathorpe, as just discussed. The place-name hasn't survived and its location is not known but, since Osgathorpe has reduced by  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate between DB and LS, Dailescroft may have adjoined it.

One possibility is that Dailescroft may have been an earlier name for Thringstone, which is unmentioned in either DB or LS. Some commentators have suggested that Thringstone may have been Trangesbi / Trangesby, listed as part of Walecros wapentake in Derbyshire, but this seems unlikely as there is no historic evidence supporting any later transference to Leicestershire or the change from '-by' to '-ton'<sup>13</sup>. The parish boundaries suggest that the two places may have been a single block of land (known as Osgodtorp at DB), which contained the township of Dailescroft, and that this was later divided into two. Since the combined geld assessments for Bredun and Cedenan ac don't seem to have changed between DB and LS,  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate of the total  $1\frac{1}{2}$  carucates of Osgodtorp was still part of 'tunge cum omnibus appendiciis' at the time of DB. If this small  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate estate was granted out of 'tunge cum omnibus appendiciis' between DB and LS, it is suggested that it was the northern part of the combined parish, which became Osgodesthorp, while the more southerly 1 carucate estate took the township name of Dailescroft.

Others<sup>14</sup> have suggested the possibility that Thringstone was an unnamed part of Osgathorpe in the DB, although without proposing any connection with Dailescroft of the LS.

## Cademan, Whitwick

The hypothesis that Cedenan ac gave the modern place-name Cademan, in Whitwick ancient parish, means that Cademan should be included.

Since Cademan was not separately named in DB, it is suggested that, to make up the 35 carucates of Bredun and Cedenan ac, Whitwick ('witwic') should be included. This was just  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate in DB.

By the time of the LS, Whitwick had expanded, becoming 2 estates totalling 3 carucates. Neighbouring Charley had also increased, from 4 (DB waste) to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  (LS). Taking Whitwick and Charley together they had increased by 5 carucates. At the same time Dunintone (in Goscote wapentake), which was 5 carucates at DB (part of Barrow upon Soar held, of the King, by Earl Hugh of Chester, like Charley), has disappeared. Donington le Heath is, of course, a neighbour of Whitwick and Charley parishes, both of which were geographically large into comparatively recent times. Indeed, Whitwick ancient parish included Swannington, otherwise unnamed in either DB or LS, which may have also had some common boundary with Donington le Heath along the watershed ridge. It is suggested, therefore, that Dunintone was not at Castle Donington as is often assumed, which was already reckoned as  $22\frac{1}{2}$  carucates under Countess Aelfeva, but was a Goscote part of Donington le Heath at DB. Here we have a possible explanation for the 5 carucate DB estate not putting in an appearance in the LS. There was a distinct estate of 3 carucates at Donington le Heath, probably on the southern side of the watershed ridge (see pink line on map) since it was in Guthlaxton wapentake, under Nigel of Aubigny.

All that having been said it is now possible to surmise that the  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate of Whitwick that occurs in DB was in that part of the parish which was away from Donington le Heath and included Cademan, near the edge of Belton parish.

It may or may not be significant that Whitwick was rendered as 'witwic' in DB and one of the many meanings of '-wic' in OE was 'a particular dwelling, as for holy men, hence a monastery, convent'<sup>15</sup>. It is also the case that there are multiple references at later dates which spell this place-

<sup>13</sup> Philip Morgan, Caroline Thorn, Frank Thorn, *Derbyshire notes*, Domesday dataset : Phillimore county notes (University of Hull, 2011). <<https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/assets/hull:534/content>> [accessed 5 November 2019]. See under headings 1,23 and 14,11.

<sup>14</sup> As footnote 13 above.

<sup>15</sup> See, for instance, J. Bosworth & T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898).

name element '-wyg'. The OE meaning of 'wig' or 'wyg', when used as a masculine noun, is 'what is sacred, an idol, a temple'.

It is therefore possible, although not necessary for the purposes of this article, that the place-name 'witewic' or Whitwick derived, in part, from its connections with the minster at Breedon; there might even have been a chapel or oratory there, perhaps near Cademan.

**Table 2. Suggested DB estates in 'Bredun' & 'Cedenan ac'**

Location	DB geld units	
	Carucates	Bovates
'Tunge cum omnibus appendiciis'	21	4
Worthington	4	0
Osgathorpe	1	0
Staunton (Harold) 1	2	0
Whitwick	0	4
Coleorton 1	4	0
Coleorton 2	1	0
Coleorton 3	1	0
	35	0

### Coleorton

DB listed three estates (at Overtone, Ovretone, and Ovretone, totalling 6 carucates) which are normally associated with the modern place-name Coleorton. Two main townships are identifiable from the thirteenth century and their place-names continued in use until the first OS map – Orton Saucey and Orton Quatremars. The largest of the three DB estates is normally identified with Orton Quatremars and the other two with Orton Saucey. Both of these village centres lie to the north of the main east-west watershed ridge (pink line in Figure 1) visible from Breedon Hill, as does Coleorton

Hall, the Church of St Mary the Virgin and Church Town.

Only a mile from Orton Quatremars is Swannington, a place-name probably deriving from the eighth century. It was unnamed in either DB or LS and it, or part of it, might therefore have been part of the 4 carucate estate at Ovretone (DB) / Overton (LS).

Falling on the Breedon (northern) side of the main watershed ridge it seems reasonable to suppose that these 3 DB estates associated with modern Coleorton were originally also minster land.

Taking all of the preceding discussion together we find a total of 35 carucates as shown in Table 2 above.

Like Hrepingas, we have the intriguing possibility that the Domesday Book assessment of the estates that may have constituted Bredun and Cedenan ac adopted older hidage assessments which had remained unchanged for several centuries. An alternative possibility is that the hidages in the twelfth century composite document (based on seventh and ninth century sources) had been updated to be consistent with DB.

### Other appendiciis of Tunge

The precise extent of the 21½ carucates making up 'Tunge cum omnibus appendiciis' may now be discussed. With the help of the LS it has already been suggested that it included 6 carucates of Belton, 3 carucates of the larger estate at Staunton Harold, and ½ carucate at Osgathorpe / Dailecroft.

The remaining 12 carucates presumably included the townships making up the modern parish of Breedon on the Hill (i.e. Wilson, Breedon and Tonge). It may coincide with the 12 carucates which remained of 'Tunge cum omnibus appendiciis' at the LS.

We may find some help from a tenth century charter of King Edgar (S 749), held amongst the documents in the Burton Abbey archive<sup>16</sup>, which deals with a block of land amounting to 13 hides or carucates (Latin 'cassat' in this case). The probable charter date of around AD 972 places it in the

<sup>16</sup> P. H. Sawyer (ed), *Charters of Burton Abbey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 2, (London, British Academy, OUP, 1979).

period sometimes called the Benedictine revolution, or monastic reform movement, when attempts were being made by Bishop *Æthelwold* (died 984) and others to revive or re-create minsters.

I have attempted a translation of a relevant section of this charter from the Latin:

“And therefore I Edgar, king of all Britons, am giving freely a certain piece of land, namely 13 cassati, in the honoured place called by the name Breodune to a certain bishop named *Æpelwaldo*, my most faithful – this gift he may possess for life, having got his wish, and after the end of his life he shall pass it on in reward to whatsoever body of men in holy orders he wishes. None of my successors will ever take away this portion of land from the church of God which is located in Breodune. And it is moreover the aforesaid land that consists of these places, 3 cassati at *Æbredone*, and 3 at WifelesÐorpe, (3?) at *Æperedes dune*, 4 of course at *Digbeswyrpe*.”

[The number of ‘cassati’ associated with *Ætheredes dun* was not clear in the manuscript but the overall total of 13 suggests that this would be 3].

Note that the ‘e’ ending on the place-names is the OE dative form referring to *Breodun*, *Æbredon*, *Wifelesthorp*, *Ætheredes dun*, and *Digtheswyrth*, where the Ð, ð (eth) and Þ, þ (thorn) characters have also been anglicised.

### **Breedon village**

There is a deliberate distinction in the charter between *Breodun* and *Æbredon*. In Old English (OE), the addition, as a prefix, of *Æ* or *A* to another word often denotes a negative, deteriorating or opposite signification, such as ‘from’, ‘away’, ‘out’, ‘without’, etc.<sup>17</sup> (This continues to some degree into modern English, e.g. ‘moral’, ‘amoral’). Moreover, the place-name *Æbredon*, in which the *Æ* prefix is added to one of the spellings of Breedon, has 3 cassati, while all 13 cassati are said to be in *Breodun*! Thus the charter seems to make a naming distinction between a district or multiple estate known as *Breodun* and the village *Æbredon* within it. This *Æbredon* might perhaps have been the land that became Andreschurch (see A. E. Brown<sup>18</sup>) – the present-day village core of Breedon (i.e. below the hill) and an area of township land around it. It is also possible that the 3 cassati of *Æbredon* included the township of Tonge which was a relatively small area and not separately named in this charter.

### **Wilson**

Wifelesthorp is quite generally assumed to be the earliest reference to the township of Wilson which is in the modern civil parish of Breedon. By the mid twelfth century Wilson had a ‘-ton’ or ‘-tun’ ending, the ‘-thorp’ having disappeared from the record. The first part of the place-name, *Wifel*, *Wivel*, etc. remained until the 14th century and the v/f consonant finally disappeared in the early fifteenth century. The ‘es’ after ‘Wifel’ was the genitive, i.e. *Wifel’s*. *Wifel* is said to be an OE (rather than Scandinavian) personal name.

It may be worth suggesting, at this point, that *Waleton* (Islywalton by the early fourteenth century, now Isley Walton) may have been reckoned in with the 3 cassati of Wifelesthorp. It seems not to have ever been a very large place, amounting to 1 carucate in 1208. It had previously been gifted to the Knights Templars by Lettice de Ferrers whose family, in the person of Henry de Ferrers, became tenants in chief of the remnant land of *Bredun* and *Cedenan ac* after the Conquest. *Waleton*, meaning the village of the Welsh – a term used to denote the indigenous British (i.e. rather than Anglo-Saxons) – is clearly an early name but gets no documentary mention until 1185. It almost certainly would have been part of *Tunge cum omnibus appendicitis* at DB (1086). The geography suggests that it was probably included as part of the 3 cassati of *Wilson* in the charter of AD 972.

### ***Ætheredes dun***

The place-name *Ætheredes dun* has presented problems for scholars. Both Hart and Sawyer in the 1970s, for instance, suggested that it was *Atterton*, near *Atherstone*. This seems highly unlikely since *Atterton* is 15 miles from the other places mentioned. Furthermore the words of the charter suggest that the 13 cassati are a single block of land all within a district called *Breodun*.

<sup>17</sup> J. Bosworth & T. N. Toller. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1898); p. 8.

<sup>18</sup> A. E. Brown, ‘The Lost Village of Andreschurch’, *Trans. Leicestershire Archaeol. and Hist. Soc.*, 76 (2003).

A. E. Brown, in discussing this charter, suggests that there is a clockwise sequence of 4 townships involved and that *Ætheredes dun* was 'greater Isley Walton'. It may well also have included Wavertoft (Wartoft).

In the seventh century it is suggested that the northern boundary of Bredun would have been the main east west ridge shown in pink in Figure 1, in the region of Wilson and the possible *Ætheredes dun*. It also appears that the boundary between Bredun and Cedenan ac may have been the north south ridge, also pink in Figure 1, between two water catchments draining to the Trent and the Soar respectively. If this was the case then *Ætheredes dun* would probably not have included Isley Walton, since one was in Cedenan ac and the other in Bredun, but was the land that became Wavertoft plus part of the modern East Midlands Airport and runway.

Some support for *Ætheredes dun* being in this location comes from a charter dating from 1247 in which Isolda Pantulf confirms her ancestor William Pantulf's earlier gift of land to the nuns of Langley<sup>19</sup> in the mid-twelfth century. Various places are named in this Latin document amongst which is mention of the boundary between Digsworth (Diseworth) & Edredeland. 'Edred' and 'Eadred' were sometimes Latinised versions of the name *Æthered* or *Æthelred*.

### Diseworth

The first part of the *Digtheswyrth* place-name is said to be an OE personal name 'Digoð'; the '-es-' element being the genitive, ie. 'Digoð's or Digoth's. It has descended, via a whole variety of spellings, to the present-day Diseworth. Care needs to be taken over the geographical extent of Diseworth in comparison with the modern civil parish (abolished in 1936). At DB a single manor of 3 carucates (geld value) was associated with the place-name. By the LS there were 4 manors totalling 17 carucates! Despite this, it seems likely that the part of Diseworth (4 cassati) mentioned in S 749 was not amongst them. The town of Diseworth, according to William Lilly's autobiography<sup>20</sup> written c. 1668, was part of 3 different parishes:

'This town of Diseworth is divided into three parishes; one part belongs under Locington, in which part standeth my father's house, over-against the west end of the steeple, in which I was born: some other farms are in the parish of Bredon, the rest in the parish of Diseworth.'

The house that he mentions still exists and lies within 100 metres of the west end of Diseworth church. Lilly said that this was in Lockington parish, yet it was clearly well within the more recent civil parish of Diseworth. At the present time, I have no information as to the boundaries within the town of Diseworth which were said to be part of Breedon parish. However, it seems likely that the anachronistic boundaries that were said to exist in the seventeenth century are, in the case of Breedon, a reflection of the much earlier association of land that is now seen as part of Diseworth. At the time of S 749, 4 cassati in Diseworth were seen by King Edgar as an indissoluble part of the "the church of God which is located in Breodune". While it seems likely that the 4 hides in this charter were on the Breedon side of Diseworth, i.e. the western rather than the eastern side, it is not at all clear as to where the eastern boundary of the minster lands may have fallen within modern Diseworth.

### Tonge and Wavertoft

One interesting point to note about the land granted to Bishop *Æthelwold* in AD 972 is that it didn't include the Tonge township by name. But about 30 years later Wulfric Spot (S 1536), in his will, gave just two places – *Wibbetoft* and Twonge – to a relative, for one lifetime, with instructions that they should then be passed on to Burton Abbey for which Wulfric provided the founding endowment. These may well have been Wavertoft (Wartoft Grange, near Diseworth) and the adjoining Tonge (about 14 miles from Burton).

Other suggestions have been made including that *Wibbetoft* was the modern *Wibtoft* in Warwickshire and that *Twonge* was Tong in Shropshire; but there is much to recommend the identification of two neighbouring estates as the locations concerned.

<sup>19</sup> John Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, Volume III Part II containing West Goscote Hundred, (London, 1804); p. 866.

<sup>20</sup> William Lilly, *The lives of those eminent antiquaries Elias Ashmole, esquire, and Mr William Lilly, written by themselves ...*, printed for T. Davies, in Russel-Street, Covent Garden, (London, 1774); p. 4.

It has been suggested<sup>21</sup> that Wulfric Spot's Wibbetoft and Twonge, or at least the latter, were, in about AD 1002, the same land as the 13 cassati of Bishop *Æthelwold* about 30 years earlier. Unfortunately, Wulfric Spot's will doesn't give any hidage figures. However, we see the possibility that Wulfric may have received this same land, possibly from *Æthelwold* who died in AD 984, as a means of furthering the latter's wish that this historic ecclesiastical land should belong again to a religious foundation, i.e. the bulk of the land in Wulfric's will was gifted to, or at least intended for, Burton Abbey.

So why would two township names that are different from the four township names of S 749 be referring to the same 13 cassati of arable?

Brown 2003, p. 8, suggests that a new estate centre at Tonge was created (perhaps by *Æthelwold* or Wulfric) after AD 972. This would seemingly still have been the focus at the time of DB (1086), hence 'Tunge cum omnibus appendiciis'. So Wulfric's Twonge could have been referring to an estate of 6 cassati that included *Æbredon* and Wifelesthorp within the district that had been Bredun.

Wibbetoft, if this was the area that became Wavertoft, would have been in the district formerly known as Cedenan ac if the identifications in this paper are correct. If the watershed boundary between Bredun and Cedenan ac was still respected in Wulfric's time then an estate centre at Wibbetoft could have been deemed sufficient to describe the block of 7 cassati, that included *Ætheredes dun* and *Digtheswyrth*, within the district formerly called Cedenan ac.

### Discrepancy?

In the preceding subsections it has been assumed that the 'cassati' of S 749 and the carucates of DB were equivalent. On this basis we were looking to locate 12 carucates of 'Tunge cum omnibus appendiciis', which had not been accounted for, by comparison with 13 cassati of land described in *Æthelwold's* charter. One possible explanation of this seeming discrepancy might be that 1 of the 4 cassati associated with Diseworth in AD 972, i.e. the southernmost, had become 1 of the 6 carucates of neighbouring Belton by AD 1130.

## THE EASTERN BOUNDARY

To account for Breedon's part of Diseworth, on the west side of the town, and for the extension of Lockington into the centre of the village (see page 14 above), this boundary has been shown in Figure 1 as coinciding with a probable historic long-distance route which nowadays is largely marked by earthworks, parish boundaries, lanes and public footpaths.

Since Belton would appear to have been part of 'Tunge cum omnibus appendiciis', the eastern boundary shown in Figure 1 is its modern parish boundary and an approximate line, following a footpath, joining this to the Breedon portion of Diseworth is used as a proxy for the early boundary. This is somewhat disjointed, requiring some conjecture about the reason why. It is suggested that the modern boundaries of the south-west of Long Whatton parish and the north-east of Belton parish may have come about as the result of clearance into former woodland – there is an arc of higher ground swinging round to and including Piper and Oakley woods. The jagged steps in the north east corner of Belton's modern boundary possibly result from arable strip encroachment into the former woodland. Further local history work may provide better answers as to the line of this eastern boundary.

The south-eastern boundary of the ½ carucate that was Whitwick (witewic) in DB also needs to be considered.

By the time of the LS, Whitwick seems to have been expanded to 3 carucates by the addition of land that was previously considered part of Donington le Heath. This expanded area possibly included Swannington which was part of what became Whitwick ancient parish.

For the purposes of finalising the approximate map of the minster's lands, Figure 1 above, it has been assumed that the south-eastern boundary of Cedenan ac followed high points visible from Breedon Hill. It may be relevant to note that this area, within Whitwick ancient parish, appears to be

<sup>21</sup> P. H. Sawyer (ed), *Charters of Burton Abbey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 2, (London, British Academy, OUP, 1979); p. 36. Also, see A.E. Brown (2003); p. 8.



outside the Whitwick township boundary implied on Wylde's 1754 map of Charnwood Forest<sup>22</sup>, i.e. possibly signifying that it was seen as a separate element of the parish.

## BREDUN / CEDENAN AC BOUNDARY

In Figure 1 the areas coloured reddish brown and pale yellow are the 35 carucates of Bredun (20) and Cedenan ac (15). So where was the boundary between them? Bearing in mind that Osgathorpe and Dailescroft (probably later Thringstone) amounted to 1½ carucates in the LS, part of which was probably in 'Tunge cum omnibus appendiciis' in DB, it is possible to put together a block of 15 carucates as in Table 3 below.

Boundaries in the seventh century are unlikely to precisely match those of the later parishes shown in Figure 1. For instance, the boundary between Langley and Tonge has its origins in the middle of the twelfth century when Langley was granted (probably out of Tonge, and Breedon's part of Diseworth), by William Pantulf and his wife Burgia, to found the nunnery of St Mary (known as Langley Priory)<sup>23</sup>.

**Table 3. Suggested DB estates in 'Cedenan ac'**

Location	DB / LS geld units	
	Carucates	Bovates
Whitwick	0	4
Dailescroft	1	0
Osgathorpe	0	4
Belton	6	0
Diseworth (Breedon)	4	0
Ætheredes dun	3	0
	15	0

The land in this endowment was, at the time, described as being mostly woodland and other non-arable. It straddled a significant ridge shown as a heavy pink line in the Figure. It is possible that this ridge was also mainly woodland, or certainly non-arable, throughout its entire length in the seventh century. So, for instance, the block of land extending southwards for nearly 2½ miles within the Breedon lordship (see Figure 1) included the twelfth century Breedon Park and Cloud Wood and remained outside the open field system even at the time of the Enclosure Act in the mid-eighteenth century!

This significant ridge is a boundary between two water catchments – precipitation falling to the east of it drains to the River Soar while, to the west of it, precipitation drains to the River

Trent. It is notable that all of the villages listed in Table 3 lie to the east of the main ridge, and all of the remaining 20 carucates are associated with villages to the west of it. A possible conclusion, therefore, is that the early (seventh-century) boundary between Bredun and Cedenan ac was defined topographically by this main ridge bounding the two catchment areas (shown as a broad pink line in Figure 1).

The blocks of land making up Bredun and Cedenan ac are shown in Figure 1 in reddish brown and pale yellow respectively, while Hrepingas is in blue.

It is not claimed that the above is a foolproof reckoning of the minster lands and others will make their criticisms. But, once again as with Hrepingas, it looks like the DB carucates are probably equivalent to the seventh-century hides.

There is a possible contrast to the east and north of Bredun and Cedenan ac where it appears that there might have been, by the time of DB, a different system of assessment involving Leicestershire hides and larger numbers of geldable carucates per square mile. For instance, Castle Donington (22½), Dishley / Garendon / Thorpe (18), Kegworth (15), Loughborough (19), and Shepshed (49), despite the large figures, are not geographically large areas. By the time of the Leicestershire Survey, Castle Donington, Kegworth, and Shepshed have remained unchanged but there are unexplained changes to Loughborough and Dishley etc. as well as a large change in the non-Breedon parts of

<sup>22</sup> Record Office of Leicester, Leicestershire and Rutland, DG9/Ma/66/1, S. Wylde, Perambulation and Plan of Charnwood Forest, 1754.

<sup>23</sup> 'House of Benedictine nuns: The priory of Langley', in *A History of the County of Leicestershire: Volume 2*, ed. W. G. Hoskins and R. A. McKinley (London, 1954), pp. 3-5. *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/leics/vol2/pp3-5>> [accessed 29 October 2019].

Diseworth (3 becomes 17). Furthermore, Goscote as a whole has increased by nearly 15 carucates! These issues are beyond the scope of this paper and are not discussed here.

## SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESIS & CONCLUSIONS

1. There is a fair measure of agreement amongst scholars that a minster (i.e. an Anglo-Saxon monastery) was founded at Breedon on the Hill, Leicestershire, in the late seventh century. Evidence for this includes:-
  - a. By far the largest known collection of Mercian sculpture, dating stylistically from either side of AD 800<sup>24</sup>, was incorporated into the post-Conquest church and exists to this day.
  - b. Three separate cemeteries, probably dating respectively from before, during, and after the minster, existed at Breedon<sup>25</sup>. (One of these has been quarried away since the Second World War).
  - c. Various early documents exist which have been found, by specialist historians, to support the dating of the foundation and later events associated with the minster.
2. A twelfth-century document, probably copied from a text that was put together in the ninth century which was itself based on seventh-century documentation, deals with three phases of the foundation of Breedon minster in the period of AD 675 to 691. Three blocks of land were apparently acquired by Hædda, who became the first abbot.
3. The three blocks of land were named in the Latin text as Bredun, Hrepingas and Cedenan ac. Each of these blocks was assigned a hidage figure (i.e. a measure of the taxable value of the land, giving an indication, at least, of their size and economic quality). These figures were 20, 31 and 15 hides (Latin 'manentes') respectively; their size suggests that Bredun, Hrepingas and Cedenan ac were three districts, or multiple estates. For example, 20 hides at Bredun would have been bigger than just the modern parish of Breedon on the Hill.
4. For the present purposes it has been hypothesised that:-
  - a. Bredun, Hrepingas and Cedenan ac were blocks of land adjoining each other;
  - b. Bredun was a district which included the present-day Breedon on the Hill;
  - c. Hrepingas was a district which included the modern town of Repton;
  - d. Cedenan ac was a district which included Cademan, near Whitwick;
  - e. The seventh-century boundaries of these districts were based on natural features (e.g. ridges, rivers, streams, significant roads and tracks of that era).
5. By the time of Domesday Book such blocks of land were divided up into smaller units which were reckoned in carucates (rather than 'manentes', or hides). The relationship between manentes and carucates is not known. However, intriguingly, by summing the geldable (i.e. taxable) carucates of these smaller Domesday estates, aided also by the 'Leicestershire Survey' of some 43 or 44 years later, three blocks of land bounded by natural features and amounting to 20, 31 and 15 Domesday carucates can be identified. There is therefore support for the possibility that, in the case of these lands acquired by Abbot Hædda, the 'manentes' of the foundation document amounted to the same as the carucates (Latin 'carrucatae') of the Domesday Book.
6. Figure 1 on page 8 above, showing the possible extent of the land acquired by Abbot Hædda in the late seventh century, has been produced, with thanks to Google Earth.
7. Using Google Earth's area measurement facility the reddish-brown area (suggested Bredun) amounts to 15 square miles, the pale yellow area (suggested Cedenan Ac) amounts to 13 square miles and the blue area (suggested Hrepingas) to nearly 29 square miles – a total approaching 57 square miles!

<sup>24</sup> Bergius, Gwendoline, Clare, Courtena (2012) *The Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture of Mercia as evidence for continental influence and cultural exchange*, PhD thesis, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/3543/>

<sup>25</sup> See Garry Fawcett, *Woeful Bridge and Breedon's Extra-Mural Cemetery*,

8. A knowledge of the extent of the land acquired by Abbot Hædda, if the hypotheses that have been followed in this paper are correct, has implications for further research. Some potential areas of interest which come to mind are:
  - a. Can the detail of the eastern and southern boundaries of Cedenan ac be improved?
  - b. How were the estates operated? Which 15 hides of land did Abbot Eanmund give back to King Berhtuulf in about AD 848?
  - c. The twin minsters of Breedon and Repton – what were their different roles and how did they inter-relate? How did they each fare?
  - d. Whereabouts were the Danes' winter quarters in the district of Hreopedun (AD 874/5), and what impact did they and subsequent events have on the twin minsters?
  - e. Can a better understanding of the land acquired on behalf of the minster at Bredun shed further light on:
    - i. Wulfric Spot's will and the land of Burton Abbey in the eleventh century?
    - ii. Domesday Book anomalies in NW Leicestershire and S Derbyshire?

## APPENDIX 1

### LATIN TEXT OF FOUNDATION DOCUMENT

The document from the Peterborough Abbey archive which provides information about the foundation of the minster at Breedon, Leicestershire, is in three sections. These were given three separate Sawyer numbers as follows.

#### **Sawyer No. S 1803**

In nomine domini Iesu Christi nostri saluatoris. Friduricus religiosissimus principum Ædilredi regis Merciae gentis, crescente ac multiplicante per spatia insule Britanniae numero Christianorum, familiae sancti Petri principis apostolorum Christi, in monasterio Medeshamstede commoranti, terram cui uocabulum est Bredun .xx. manientium, cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus iuris, presentibus atque consentientibus uenerando Saxulfo eiusdem gentis episcopo et prefato regi Ædilredo, perpetuali largitate pro remedio animae suae fidelissima deuotione dedit, quatinus monasterium et Deo deseruentium monachorum oratorium in eadem praefata terra fundare deberent, necnon etiam et propter reddenda baptismatis gratia et ratione euangelice doctrinae populo sibi credito aliquem probabilis uitae et boni testimonii presbiterum constituerent. Cumque de hoc aliquandiu inter fratres prenominati monasterii questio haberi uisa est, uidentes se nequaquam posse declinare petitionem Christiani principis, unum ex semetipsis nomine Hedda presbiterum, mirabili sapientia in omni uirtutum genere peditum, summa libramine elegerunt eumque in loco prefato abbatem constituerunt, ea tamen condicione interposita, ut se unum de eorum fraternitatis membris esse nouerit. Hanc quoque presentem cartulam, propriis descriptam manibus atque subscriptionibus roboratam firmatamque, coram multis testibus quorum infra nomina inserta reperiuntur ob testimonium et confirmationem huius donationis dederunt.

#### **Sawyer No. S 1805**

Item quoque isdem religiosus princeps Friduricus, cum cognouisset uenerabilem abbatem Hæddam in omnibus populo sibi commisso pabulum diuinae predicationis summa diligentia distribuentem in tantum gratus existere, dignatus est ut bonum factum benefaciendo in melius augere conaretur, ita ut eidem abbati predicto Hedda .xxxi. manientium terram quae uulgo uocatur Hrepingas, pro amore uitae aeternae, perpetualiter dare dignatus est. Cuius etiam donationis ita testimonium firmavit, ut regem Mercie gentis Ædilredum una cum Saxulfo episcopo eiusdem gentis inuitauerat ut suas manibus illius iungentes cespitunculamque communiter predictae terrae sacrosancto euangeliorum codice simul omnes coram multitudine populi imposuerunt, propriis quoque manibus hanc testimonii scedulam subscribendo firmauerunt. Hi sunt testes huius donationis.

#### **Sawyer No. S 1804**

Post haec uero honorabilis abbas Hedda atque pater monasterii Bredun aliam .xv. manientes habentem terram, cui nomen est Cedenan ac, huiusmodi ratione optinuit a rege Ædilredo, ut ei quingentos solidos, id est .xii. lectorum stramenta utpote culcita plumacia ornata, capitalia simul cum sindonibus et lenis quemadmodum in Britannia habere mos est, necnon seruum cum ancilla, fibulam auream cum .iiii. ex auro massiunculis arte aurificis compositis, et duos caballos cum canis duabus, pro prefata terra pretium dedit.

His ita peractis, rex ipse Ædilredus in cubiculo proprii uici qui nominatur Tomtun, suis manibus prefate terrae acceptam glebunculam suae simul reginae necnon etiam et uenerandi Saxulfi episcopi manibus coniunctis, propter roborandi confirmationem testimonii coram multis testibus sancto uolumine euangeliorum superimposuit, ut nullus inperpetuo huic donationi contraire ausu temerario presumeret, qui sibi donum diuinae retributionis ad futurum optaret.

#### **Payment for Cedenan ac**

In this last text Hædda purchased Cedenan ac with gifts totalling 500 solidi (500 shillings or £25) in value. The interesting gifts are described as follows (my translation):-

'That is 12 bed coverings, being decorated feather-filled mattresses, together with fine cotton [or muslin] at the head [i.e. pillows] and blankets such as is the custom in Britain, also a slave and a female slave, a golden brooch with 4 gold bosses put together by the art of a goldsmith, and 2 pack-horses with 2 canes [i.e. sticks, whips or goads].'

Others have suggested that the last phrase, 'cum cannis duabus', should be differently translated. Naismith<sup>26</sup> suggested 'with two wagons'. Kelly 2009, p. 180, suggested that the text could have been an error for 'cum canis duabus', having a translation 'with two female dogs'. However, this would have had to be 'cum canibus duabus'. The preposition 'cum' is followed by the ablative. The word 'cannis' is the ablative plural of 'canna, cannae', a feminine first declension noun meaning 'a cane, reed' (or a small vessel). In this context, it seems likely to have meant canes or sticks for controlling the pack-horses – they could well have been quite ornate as with other equestrian tack.

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<sup>26</sup> Rory Naismith, *Anglo-Saxon Money and Mints*, p. 16. Accessed (24 October 2019) at <<https://studylib.net/doc/5280543/0915-rory-naismith---anglo-saxon-money-and-mints>>

## APPENDIX 2

### GLOSSARY

It is hoped that this paper will be read by persons who are interested in the general subject of the history of Breedon and surrounding areas. Such persons, like the author, may not have been immersed in the general academic background of history, archaeology, or place-name philology. The following glossary has been appended in order to provide additional explanation.

<b>Land of Breedon Minster – Glossary of some terms used in the text</b>	
Æ or æ	In most instances in Old English (OE) this letter, named ‘ash’, was pronounced like the letter ‘a’ in modern words such as ‘man’, ‘cat’, etc. Not to be confused with the double letter ‘æ’ in Latin, pronounced like ‘y’ in ‘try’.
Æbredon	<p>This place-name appears in the charter (Sawyer no. S 749) of AD 972 and has a different meaning from Breodun / Breodon / Bredun. The context suggests that Æbredon was the village and fields of Breedon, although it may have included Tonge at that time. In contrast, Breodun etc. was the name of a larger district.</p> <p>Nowadays we use the single place-name Breedon in more than one way – there is the village of Breedon itself, the civil parish of Breedon (which includes Tonge and Wilson), and the ecclesiastical parish of Breedon (which includes Tonge, Wilson, Isley Walton, Staunton Harold and Worthington).</p> <p>See ‘-dun’ below.</p>
æþel or æthel	<p>For the letter ‘æ’ (‘ash’) see ‘æ’ above. For the letter ‘þ’ (‘thorn’) see ‘eth’ and ‘thorn’ below.</p> <p>There being no distinct equivalent letter to represent ‘thorn’ in Latin or modern English, the word ‘æþel’ is generally Latinised or Anglicised as ‘æthel’ – it means ‘noble’ or ‘princely’. The ‘þ’ in ‘princely’ is not to be confused with the letter ‘thorn’, ‘þ’.</p>
Æthelred, king of Mercia	<p>Æthelred (with the early-dated Latin spelling Ædilredus) was the king of Mercia, from AD 675 to AD 704, when land was acquired by Abbot Hædda for the minster at Breedon. His agreement would have been required for any such acquisition. He was known as a pious and devout Christian. He abdicated from kingship to become a monk.</p> <p>Æthelred’s brother Wulfhere preceded him as king, from 658 to 675, and is credited as being the first Christian king of all Mercia. Prior to Wulfhere another brother, Peada, was briefly (for six months) king of Southern Mercia, which included Breedon, and was also Christian. The father of these three brothers, King Penda, had remained pagan until his death.</p>
Æthelwold	Æthelwold (Bishop of Winchester at the time) was the beneficiary of King Edgar’s charter of AD 972 in which he seems to have acquired part of the land that had belonged to the minster at Breedon. He was much involved in the monastic reform movement, reviving former minsters. He died in AD 984.

**Land of Breedon Minster – Glossary of some terms used in the text**

<p>Ætheredes dun</p>	<p>Spelt using the OE letter ‘thorn’ in the Latin charter of AD 972, i.e. Æþeredes dun. The –es ending is the genitive; we would therefore equate the meaning to Æþered’s dun. See ‘-dun’ below.</p> <p>Because ‘l’ in ‘lr’ assimilates to the ‘r’, the form Æthered is not an uncommon spelling of Æthelred.</p> <p>It is not known which Æthelred or Æthered the ‘dun’ is named after. The place-name may derive from the seventh-century King Æthelred (see above). Another important Æthelred pre-dating AD 972 was king of Mercia from 883 to 911, albeit recognising the overlordship of Alfred the Great of Wessex from about AD 886. Alfred was his father-in-law.</p> <p>In Asser’s “Life of King Alfred”, written AD 893, the Stevenson edition of the Latin text shows the spelling ‘Eadred’ to refer to this latter Æthelred – see page 13 of main paper.</p>
<p>Breodun, Breodon, Bredun</p>	<p>Bredun was the spelling used in the main document describing the foundation of the minster in the late-seventh century. This document was a late-twelfth century copy of a composite document, probably finalised in the ninth century, derived from seventh-century texts.</p> <p>The two spellings containing ‘eo’ come from the charter in which King Edgar granted land to Bishop Æthelwold in (probably) AD 972. This charter exists as a copy produced in the mid-thirteenth century. In the version of OE spoken in Mercia, the ‘e’ in all three spellings would probably have been pronounced like the ‘a’ in ‘late’.</p> <p>Note the similarity of pronunciations with the modern local dialect where Breedon sounds something like Braydun.</p>
<p>carucate</p>	<p>A ‘carucate’ (Medieval Latin: carrucata or carucata) was a medieval unit of land area approximating the land a plough team of eight oxen could till in a single annual agricultural year. It derives from the Latin ‘caruca’ meaning ‘a plough’. For both Leicestershire and Derbyshire, the carucate was used as the Domesday Book’s unit of assessment for taxation etc. The term seems not to have been employed before DB. Prior to that, various other Latin words were used to describe land units which are normally translated as ‘hides’. How carucates and hides compare with each other is generally unclear.</p> <p>The word ‘carucate’ was also used in DB to enumerate actual and potential ploughlands as distinct from those on which fiscal and other public obligations might be levied. The latter are referred to as ‘geldable carucates’ in the main text above.</p>
<p>cassati</p>	<p>Plural of ‘cassatus’ – one of the Latin words, used as a unit of land assessment, translated as ‘a hide’.</p>
<p>Cedenan ac</p>	<p>A ‘multiple estate’, a block of land of 15 hides, at ‘Cedenan ac’ (‘ac’ meaning ‘oak’) was named in the composite document describing Abbot Hædda’s territorial acquisitions for the minster at Breedon.</p> <p>It has been hypothesised in this paper that Cedenan ac was a district which included Cademan on the northern edge of Charnwood Forest.</p>



Land of Breedon Minster – Glossary of some terms used in the text	
Digbeswyrþe (Digtheswyrth)	<p>Giving the modern place-name Diseworth. In a charter of AD 972, four hides (cassati) of Diseworth was said to be part of “the church of God which is located in Breodune”.</p> <p>N.B. The letter ‘g’ in the OE spellings would have been more like a ‘y’ in modern English at the date of the charter; i.e. the ‘dig’ would be pronounced more like the modern word ‘die’.</p>
‘-dun’	<p>As in ‘Bredun’, ‘Hreopadun’ and ‘Ætheredes dun’.</p> <p>Simply speaking OE ‘dun’ means ‘hill’ in modern English. However, a broader definition is ‘a large hill, a tract of hill country, an upland expanse’.</p> <p>[For more discussion of ‘dun’: Margaret Gelling and Ann Cole, <i>The Landscape of Place-names</i>, (Donington, Lincs., Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 164-173.]</p>
ealdorman	<p>The Latin word ‘princeps’ is normally translated into the OE word ‘ealdorman’, or possibly ‘aldorman’ in the Mercian OE.</p> <p>A princeps or (e)aldorman in the seventh century was of the highest rank of noblemen and probably had control, under his king, of a significant region within the kingdom. It is known from a later charter that Breedon lay within a region named after the people who inhabited it – the Tomsæte or ‘Tame dwellers’ (after the river name).</p>
‘eth’ and ‘thorn’	<p>In modern English ‘th’ can represent two slightly different sounds as in ‘thin’ and ‘this’. In earlier Old English these two sounds were represented by different letters called ‘eth’ and ‘thorn’ in modern pronunciation. These were written respectively as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Eth – Ð (upper case), ð (lower case)</li> <li>• Thorn – Þ (upper case), þ (lower case).</li> </ul> <p>The OE letter ‘ð’, called ‘eth’, was pronounced as ‘th’ in modern English ‘<b>this</b>’.</p> <p>The OE letter ‘þ’, called ‘thorn’, was pronounced as ‘th’ in modern English ‘<b>thin</b>’.</p> <p>Later in OE the distinction between the uses of these letters was not so clear and they came to be used more interchangeably.</p>
Friduricus	<p>The parts of the composite document with which this paper is concerned refer to the ‘princeps’ Friduricus, in the Latin text. This would probably have been Friðuric in OE (see the character ‘eth’ below). In modern English we might write it as Frithuric.</p> <p>One of the four Saints said to have been buried at Breedon was Frethericus – perhaps this was the same person as Friduricus, described in the composite document as ‘the most religious of the ealdormen of King Æthelred’. His two gifts, of 51 hides of land, for the foundation of the minster could have been a very good justification for his canonisation!</p>

**Land of Breedon Minster – Glossary of some terms used in the text**

geldable carucates	<p>The term 'geldable carucates' ('geld' meaning 'tax') has been used in the text above to refer to the main assessment figure, given for each DB manor, on which fiscal and other public obligations had been levied, and might presumably be levied post-DB.</p> <p>[This assessment figure had parallels with the Rateable Value of properties in the system of Domestic Rates that went out of use in the 1990s. Each property was given a Rateable Value. Tax could then be raised, and varied year by year, by specifying a Rate (pence to be paid per £ of rateable value). There was then no need to reassess Rateable Values, other than for significant changes to a property, which could remain unchanged for years.].</p> <p>The word 'carucate' was also used separately in DB to enumerate actual and potential ploughlands.</p>
Hædda	<p>The name of the man who was to be the first Abbot of the minster at Breedon. Probably pronounced 'Hædda' – see 'Æ or æ' above. It is generally thought that the same Hædda became Bishop of Lichfield in AD 691, with the addition of the see of Leicester in 709.</p>
hides	<p>A hide was a unit of land assessment, probably approximating to that which was capable of supporting 1 tenant (i.e. plus extended family, subordinates, slaves, etc.). It normally included ploughable land suitable for arable – 120 acres is often the suggested extent. In addition there would typically be land for (8) oxen and other livestock plus some woodland.</p>
Hreopadun	<p>See '-dun' above.</p> <p>The combination 'hr' is a common first element of OE words, including place-names. Invariably the 'h' was dropped from later spellings.</p> <p>'Hreopadun' occurs in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in reference to the burial of King Æthelbald after his murder at Seckington (NE of Tamworth) in AD 757. At that date Hreopadun was probably the name of a 'multiple estate' (like Bredun) which included the modern village of Repton, in which the burial is likely to have taken place.</p> <p>It is surmised that the earlier name 'Hrepingas' had been replaced by 'Hreopadun'.</p> <p>While all subsequent variants of Hreopadun had either a '-dun', '-don', '-tun' or '-ton' ending, an intermediate '-in-', '-yn-', '-ing-' and '-yng-' appears in a number of spellings in the twelfth to sixteenth centuries – e.g. Repingdon. This suggests a link with the seventh-century 'Hrepingas'.</p> <p>At the time of DB, the manor of 'Rapendun', from which the village name 'Repton' derived, still retained vestiges of a 'multiple estate' having jurisdiction over Milton, Ingleby, Ticknall and other places.</p> <p>[Source for place-name variants: Kenneth Cameron, <i>The Place-Names of Derbyshire</i> 3, (Nottingham, EPNS, 1959); p. 653.]</p>

<b>Land of Breedon Minster – Glossary of some terms used in the text</b>	
Hrepingas	<p>The combination 'hr' is a common first element of OE words, including place-names. Invariably the 'h' was dropped from later spellings.</p> <p>A large 'multiple estate', a block of land of 31 hides, at Hrepingas was named in the composite document describing Abbot Hædda's territorial acquisitions for the minster at Breedon.</p> <p>It is surmised that the earlier name 'Hrepingas' was replaced by 'Hreopadun', etc., and that it contained the modern village of Repton.</p>
hundred	A large administrative division of some counties in Domesday Book, not including Derbyshire and Leicestershire which were divided into wapentakes. However, the term 'hundred' was probably in use in those counties at that date but it represented smaller divisions of the wapentakes.
manentes	One of the Latin words normally translated as 'hides' – units of land assessment.
Mercia	In the seventh century, England, as we know it today, was divided into several kingdoms of which Mercia was the most powerful. By the end of the ninth century it had become geographically smaller and a sub-kingdom under the overlordship, which seems to have been amicably arranged, of Wessex.
princeps	The 'princeps', Friduricus, is mentioned in the first two parts (of three) of the composite document describing Abbot Hædda's acquisition of land for the minster at Breedon. See 'ealdorman' above.
Seaxwulf	Bishop of Mercia (based at Lichfield) from some date before AD 676. Mentioned in the composite document dealing with the foundation of the minster at Bredun.
transhumance	The movement of livestock, normally to higher ground, for summer grazing. This had several benefits in relation to open-field agriculture.
wapentake	The main administrative division of some counties in Domesday Book, including Derbyshire and Leicestershire.

**Land of Breedon Minster – Glossary of some terms used in the text**

<p>Wibbetoft</p>	<p>This place-name, associated with Twonge in Wulfric Spot's will of AD 1002, may have been the later Wavertoft, now Wartoft (Grange) to the west of Diseworth.</p> <p>Note that there was no letter 'v' in Old English but that 'b' had two pronunciations – either as it is in Modern English, or as an 'f / v'. For example, the word spelt "scēabas" in an early text, later (and more commonly) became written as "scēafas", developing, via Middle English, into the modern English "sheaves". Wibbetoft (Wulfric's spelling) was possibly pronounced as if 'wibfetoft', the 'bf' combination would probably then assimilate to the 'f' which would develop into a 'v'.</p> <p>This process of place-name development from 'bb' through 'f' to 'v' was exemplified by Margaret Gelling, <i>Signposts to the Past – Place-names and the History of England</i>, (Chichester, Phillimore, 2010). On page 30 she described the early development of the place-name that became 'Shrewsbury'; from Scrobbesbyrig (1016), Shrobesbury (1327), Shrofbury (1339), Shrouesbury (1346). She explained that "The letter -u- was employed in Middle English as a vowel and as a consonant (-v-) ..." and "Normal also, though not inevitable, is the development of -b- to -v- ...".</p> <p>The association of Wibbetoft with Twonge in 1002 suggests that they are Wavertoft / Wartoft and Tonge, which would have been adjacent estates at that time.</p> <p>At some point between the Leicestershire Survey (1130) and 1190, ½ carucate at Wavertoft was given to Norton Priory near Runcorn, Cheshire.</p>
<p>Wifelesthorp</p>	<p>Wifelesthorp is quite generally assumed to be the earliest reference to the township of Wilson which is in the modern civil parish of Breedon. By the mid twelfth century Wilson had a '-ton' or '-tun' ending, the -thorp having disappeared from the record. The first part of the place-name, Wifel, Wivel, etc. remained until the 14th century and the f/v consonant finally disappeared in the early fifteenth century. The 'es' after 'Wifel' was the genitive, i.e. Wifel's. Wifel is said to be an OE (rather than Scandinavian) personal name.</p>

[Author's note – as a retired applied scientist and engineer, rather than a historian, archaeologist, or place-name philologist, I apologise for any failings in the above. Communications on the content sent to [garry@thelittlehouseatorthez.com](mailto:garry@thelittlehouseatorthez.com) will be considered for a future revision – Dr Garry Fawcett MBE].