The evolution of territoriality and societal transitions

David Harvey

ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to explore how territorial structures address the continuing requirements and needs of the controlling elements of a society and how they mirror evolving principles of administration, taxation and exploitation. Early territories in Cornwall reflected relatively simple social structures of economic resource exploitation and personal spheres of power, very much based around kinship patterns. As transitions in society produced a more sophisticated hierarchical network of control and income generation through dues and tax, so the territorial strategy grew more complex. This resulted in the development of a territorialised state structure. Phenomena were now seen in relation to territorial units rather than in relation to social groups, and each portion of land was delineated and locked into a territorial hierarchy controlled from above.

Investigation is undertaken through analysis of early ecclesiastical and judicial organisation in west Cornwall, and the vestiges of very early forms of landscape arrangement are explored. The mechanisms of control and exploitation, developed before the Norman conquest, gave territorial expression to previous socially recognised institutions and it is within the context of these developments that later territories should be understood.

KEYWORDS

Cornwall, landscape organisation, territoriality

INTRODUCTION

With the current interest in the nature of the relationship between landscape and social change, studies of territoriality and territorial structures have become increasingly widespread. Although integral to the work of Jolliffe (1926, 1933), Vinogradoff (1905) and others of an earlier era, and more recently to that of Jones (1960-1, 1961, 1976), the analysis of territorial development and the notion of territoriality has become a central focus only in recent years (see Michelmores 1979; Hooke 1982, 1985, 1994b; Pearce 1985; Winchester 1987; Warner 1988; Hadley 1996). Indeed, the acknowledgement that spatial structure should no longer be seen simply as an arena in which

social life unfolds, but rather as a medium through which social relations are produced and reproduced, has pushed territorial studies to the fore.¹

Territoriality is a primary geographical expression of social power and can be defined as 'the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence or control people, phenomena and relationships by delimiting and asserting control over a geographical area' (Sack 1986, p. 19). Investigation may be made into socially constructed patterns of territories which are communicated through the use of boundaries and are controlled in a number of ways and at a number of levels. Certainly the value of territoriality is as a 'broad and flexible framework by which the diverse findings of a large corpus of multidisciplinary research can be synthesised and integrated' (Gold 1982, p. 59).

Investigating the processes of territorialisation and developing territoriality is particularly interesting in Celtic-speaking areas because they can provide clues to pre-English modes of territorial organisation in those parts of the country that came under Anglo-Saxon domination. As well as uncovering early forms of landscape arrangement, such analyses can focus upon the evolutionary processes of territoriality amid experiences of large-scale social, cultural and political transformations. Investigations of Celtic-speaking regions reveal a number of complex landscape organisational systems, many of which have been described in some detail. The Isle of Man for instance, possessed a complex and highly regulated landscape organisational system based around *quarters, treens, parishes* and *sheadings* (Davies 1956; Megaw 1978). In Scotland, are found a number of hierarchical systems involving such units as the *davoch*, the *ploughgate* (McKerrall 1944, 1950/1; Lamont 1957/8; Barrow 1973; Driscoll 1991), and in Brittany, an archaic system of landscape organisation reveals itself in the later structures of the *communes* or *plebs* (Flatres 1977; Davies 1981, 1988). Ireland has a highly developed and surprisingly under-studied early organisational system based around such units as the *catron*, the *gnive* and the *ballybetagh* (Hogan 1929; Graham 1970; McErlean 1983), and from Wales come law documents setting out strict guidelines for systematic landscape division based around the *tyddin*, *maenor*, *commote* and *cantref* (Lloyd 1911; Jones 1976; Davies 1982, 1990).

Such studies can act as a useful context within which to place a more specific investigation into the territorial development of Cornwall. Although Cornwall may not be regarded as a nation state, it is an individual and separately identifiable region with a distinct, Celtic-speaking history which has not received the same attention as other 'Celtic' regions. Many of the investigations in other Celtic regions cited above have been greatly aided by a rich assemblage of early documentary material,² which has enabled a thorough and uniformly systematic assessment of early landscape organisation. Cornwall however does not have any comparable corpus to aid such a general reconstruction, though many workers such as Preston-Jones and Rose (1986, pp. 137-8) stress the possibilities of comparable early systems of landscape organisation in Cornwall, and detailed recent works on specific areas of Cornish evidence tend to support such a contention.³ The very early (ninth- to early-tenth-century) domination of the area by an Anglo-Saxon hegemony goes some way to explain this lack of a pre-English systematic documentary source.

The assemblage of varied material that does exist for Cornwall therefore needs to be synthesised through a wider study of territorial development in order to uncover aspects of the way past societies organised the landscapes which they not only occupied, but of which they were an integral part. This paper seeks to redress the gap in our understanding of Cornwall through an investigation that acknowledges that social and spatial structures were and are indivisible and to further argue that many studies of medieval and early modern society have failed to address the explicitly spatial strategies used to control people and resources.

The study of developing territorial organisation in Cornwall is interesting in its own right, but such an investigation gains particular significance with respect to Dodgshon's (1987) thesis of developing territoriality. Dodgshon's organisational perspective (1987, pp. 130-65) tells us that as societies become more organised, institutions develop a more sophisticated sense of territoriality, with both increasing hierarchisation and specialisation. The horizontal network of spatially defined sub-systems, together with a vertically structured organisation of stratified groups, allowed more complete control, and was better adapted to the administrative requirements of large and complex societies. In this way, older patterns of spatial order such as tribal divisions were preserved, albeit in a different form, to fulfil newer principles of territorial order.

The nature of territoriality as a stable and unobtrusive framework for the formation, conduct and development of society evolved at a number of rates and scales so as to reflect the transforming conditions of society. Institutions that were once based upon personal relations became defined according to territory and focused within a

developing hierarchy. Land left the sphere of personal relationships and came to be assessed within the public realm, and the notion of property and ownership emerged in a form that we would understand today. Contemporary systems, whether of settlement, communication, economic exploitation, administrative organisation, religious expression or social construction cannot be fully understood when they are set within the territorial vacuum of the purely physical environment. The notion of societal transformations being affected by and reflected in territorial organisational formations allows one, however, to uncover the nature of the indivisible constructs of landscape and society. In order to fully comprehend the pre-modern geography of Cornwall, it is essential to recognise the importance of ecclesiastical and administrative territorial units and to perceive their evolution within a developing concept of territoriality. Through an investigation of these sorts of units, an evolving framework of territories and an associated sense of territoriality can be established.

TERRITORIAL PATTERNS.

The reconstruction of early territories from an analysis of surviving documentary material has not been straightforward, for although the landscape of Cornwall can be viewed as a rich tapestry of historical evidence, many other forms of evidence are simply not available. For instance, it appears that the very important territorial framework of the early manorial system cannot easily be reconstructed (Picken 1986). There are some big gaps in the tenorial record and, unlike most other areas in Britain, there appear to be no manorial court rolls from before about the fifteenth century (Padel pers. comm.).

Historical studies are always partly guided by the availability of source material and in Cornwall it seems that the ecclesiastical and administrative territorial frameworks not only have relatively reliable and useful source material connected with them, but also have good claim to possibly ancient origins.⁴ As well as having a particularly rich assemblage of good archaeological material (see for instance Preston-Jones & Rose 1986; Thomas 1994), Cornwall also contains a large body of unique yet meaningful place-names (Padel 1985).⁵ Church dedications and hagiographical accounts⁶ are supported by some pre-Conquest documents (see Hooke 1994a; Olson 1989; Padel 1978; for instance), and for the later period, written evidence becomes more available. Ecclesiastical taxation documents,⁷ assize rolls and other court records⁸ constitute valuable lines of enquiry, while even some relatively late material, such as the Duchy Survey of 1650, provides some relevant evidence.⁹

Societal developments are reflected in the territorial evolution of the secular administrative

Fig. 1. Basic early ecclesiastical network in West Cornwall. 'From archaeological, morphological, place-name and hagiographical evidence (Preston-Jones 1992; Padel 1976/7)

system, but they are perhaps most clearly seen with respect to the development of ecclesiastical territories, and it is to these that we should first turn. The evolving organisation of the ecclesiastical system in Cornwall, which enabled authorities to instil control at a local level and, more importantly, collect tax in the form of tithe from every farmstead, was firmly based upon a territorial strategy.

Archaeological evidence tells us that some parts of west Cornwall were being Christianised before the end of the fifth century (see Thomas 1994, pp. 197-201), and over the following centuries a religious organisation based firmly on monastic strong-points seems to have evolved (Olson 1989). A hierarchy of monasteries and shrines developed within the context of socially recognised spheres of territory, but without closely delineated territorial boundaries in the landscape. A version of such a hierarchy is proposed in Fig. 1. This map of the basic early ecclesiastical network in west Cornwall is proposed on the basis of archaeological, morphological, place-name and hagiographical evidence, along with Olson's (1989) interpretation of early monasteries.

The hierarchical nature of these foundations is perhaps reflected in the nomenclature of the sites. When investigating the evidence provided by the place-names of ecclesiastical establishments, the two most important name elements appear to be that of *lann* and *eglos*.¹⁰ As Padel (1976/7) notes, the *lann* names refer to the oval enclosure often associated with early Christian

establishments, usually in conjunction with the patron's name, and are generally older than the *eglos* names which refer to the church structure. The two elements are never interchangeable and can be used to produce some sort of temporal pattern of church establishment. Together with other place-name elements such as *plu* (literally meaning 'parish') and the more common *merther* (meaning saint's grave'), the study of place-names can be used to show the evolving territorialisation of religious practice in west Cornwall, as indicated in Fig. 2. This map of the ecclesiastical place-name patterns in west Cornwall displays a developing spatial and temporal structure which supports the contention that ecclesiastical organisation, even in the pre-English period, was already evolving within a complex spatial pattern of relationships.

In the tenth century, the incoming Anglo-Saxon regime interpreted what they found so as to suit their new system of organisation. This period produced a list of saint's names which certainly seems to suggest that some notion of territories in the landscape existed at this time (Olson 1989, pp. 56-60). Although the territorial reconstruction deduced is from a tenth-century document, produced under the auspices of Anglo-Saxon rule, the pattern suggests a more ancient system. The names themselves are pre-English and are associated with sites that are part of a much older 'Celtic' ecclesiastical system (Olson 1989). This evidence tends to support the notion that an ancient and relatively stable territorial framework

Fig. 2. Ecclesiastical place-names (Padel 1976/7, Preston-Jones 1992)

was consolidated, and was incorporated into the administrative developments of the Anglo-Saxon state.

The need for close control of their expanding lands meant that the Anglo-Saxons introduced new mechanisms such as the charter. These distinctly territorial devices greatly affected ecclesiastical organisation in west Cornwall. 'The St Buryan charter of the early tenth century for instance,¹¹ represented a 're-endowment by the new political power of an existing foundation comprising a group of clerics serving the church and possessing the lands of their saint' (Olson 1989, p. 81). Importantly, the manner in which this charter grants land to the saint, rather than to the followers of the saint, is very unusual for an Anglo-Saxon charter in that it appears to suggest a kinship group of the saint and reveals a distinctly Cornish diplomatic tradition which paid high regard to pre-English practices of ecclesiastical organisation.¹² This charter territorialised the sphere of rule and established a local form of administration for St Buryan, with a territorial sanctuary and independence from the Bishop that survived into the last century. Such charters can be seen as overtly territorial mechanisms for the support of a central agency's influence in every portion of the land. Private and local recognition of territories or spheres of jurisdiction were thereby transformed into public acknowledgement of more clearly defined units.

Four establishments in west Cornwall were to have English sanction for a status equivalent to

that of a minster foundation (Blair 1985).¹³ These establishments came to be part of the Anglo-Saxon system of social organisation that was now firmly based around a territorial organisation of society. The attainment of 'minster' representation formally recognised the 'mother church' status already in existence, reflecting a picture of mother churches within the wider pattern of local sites and obscure shrines that was probably common across much of the British Isles.¹⁴ A territorial unit's attainment of legal competence sanctioned by the weight of central government allowed more complete control of zones that were physically distant from the seat of government. In addition to this need for central control came the need for income generation based not around personal allegiance, but around claims to certain dues from the land that were now supported by law. With ecclesiastical organisation, it was the exaction of tithe that produced the need for evermore closely defined territorial boundaries.

It was through this mechanism that wealth could be collected and passed through a highly developed hierarchy that eventually led to Rome. It was a system whereby even the smallest farms on the fringes of the Atlantic Ocean contributed an exact amount toward the Papal coffers so as to extend the glorification of God. A strictly enforced and accurately delineated territorial framework was integral to this system. Many establishments that had been in existence for centuries came to be incorporated into this system through the territorialisation of their spheres of social allegiance.

Fig. 3. Parochial framework according to the late-thirteenth-century *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*

Rather than a church having personal ties, each field was now reckoned to be within the territory of a certain establishment.

As Fig. 3 shows, by the end of the thirteenth century, the parochial framework had been all but completed. The very existence of the taxation documents of Pope Nicholas drawn up in 1291 (*Taxatio Ecclesiastica*), demonstrates the importance of resource exploitation and income generation through a territorial strategy, and it is no coincidence that this document was the first systematic and uniform description of the Cornish parochial framework that exists. This is the basic framework which, with a few minor and mainly nineteenth-century alterations due to demographic changes, that is still with us today. From this detailed investigation, we can discern certain processes of territorialisation. Crucially, we can see the significance of assessments in the form of tithe in the delineation of territorial units, and in the way that the emerging parochial framework mirrored the increasing complexity of ecclesiastical institutions.

Turning now to the secular administrative structure, we find that due to lack of evidence our analysis at an early date is less secure, but similar processes are most evidently at work. Such a detailed understanding of the developing ecclesiastical structure provides an investigative framework for the comprehension of an administrative system which is less clear. In the same way that the Anglo-Saxons introduced new modes of ecclesiastical organisation to Cornwall,

the government and judicial system also underwent new developments at this time.

Before the tenth century, there seems to have been no central authority in Cornwall.¹⁵ This weakness was exploited by the English during their invasion and they then showed the strength of a formal, centrally administered territorial strategy by providing Cornwall with an English type administrative system, operating through the territorial framework of the hundred. This hundredal pattern of Cornwall appears to represent the territorial expression of previous social organisation based around tribal type units (Thomas 1964, 1994; Padel 1985; Preston-Jones & Rose 1986). The new system locked this basically horizontally linked framework into a vertically integrated and centrally accountable construction of territorial control.

At a more local level was the tithing system. This was a system of compulsory collective responsibility, through which a sort of joint bail was fixed for individuals, not after their arrest for a crime, but rather as a safeguard in anticipation of it.¹⁶ This system constituted the backbone of Norman law-giving and can be seen as the mechanism through which central government held dominion over the population. Importantly, this system in Cornwall, unlike other parts of Britain, not only represented an income generating mechanism and form of judicial control, but became systematically territorialised.

Sources from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (see edited works by Hall 1978; Stenton

Fig. 5. Three-acre units in Cornwall Hundreds

Penwith's figures were artificially boosted, the significance was forgotten, implying possibly very ancient origins for the assessment structure.

Interestingly, the only other hundreds where the three-Cornish-acre unit seems to be less significant are the two easternmost hundreds, and even here the three-Cornish-acre unit is still relatively significant. These two hundreds received Anglo-Saxon influence much earlier than the west, perhaps by about A.D. 825. The six earliest charters that refer to land in Cornwall, including all the pre-tenth century examples, are associated with land either in Stratton hundred or the far south-east (Finberg 1953, items 16 and 72-7).²⁰ Although large-scale population displacement and complete landscape reorganisation seems very improbable, the very early English interest and involvement in this part of Cornwall provides an explanation for the apparent exception of this most eastern zone. This is certainly so in terms of place-name distribution in the area, and may provide a context within which to view the apparently anomalous assessments of later years (Preston-Jones & Rose 1986, p. 142; Wakelin 1975,

pp. 59-60). Because the three-Cornish-acre unit does not appear to be significant in these early Anglicised areas, it implies that the significance of the three-Cornish-acre unit should be sought in the pre-Saxon period.

Further analysis of the assessments together with investigation of manorial and other linkages reveal a sort of 'unity' amongst certain groups of tithings. Some of the proposed 'blocks' of tithings are shown in Fig. 6, which illustrates the disparate and often fragmented nature of these land units. Eleven of such blocks are shown (some with their assessments according to the *Extenta Acrarum* of 1345), and some suggestions of links with other tithings are also put forward. In this respect, the three-Cornish-acre unit seems to have been a basic unit within a hierarchical territorial framework, maintained for the purpose of exploitation and control at a possibly very early period. The system can perhaps be seen as a territorial scheme for the fun economic exploitation of the landscape through the integrated estate management of specialised elements.²¹ While acknowledging the probable local fluctuations,

Fig. 6. Blocks of tithing units

transitions and changes that would have occurred over the several centuries under investigation, essential elements of stability, persistence and cohesion can be seen to endure. Transhumance practices and other economic activities are reflected in place-name elements such as *bavos*, *hendre* and *laity*.²² It is combinations of such specialised units within a developing estate system that would have provided a surplus for an élite class.

It is such a territorial system that evolved into the feudal manorial system that appears later in the record, and it is also such a territorial system that came into the realms of public, hundredal law as the Anglo-Saxons' concern for the tight organisation of their newly acquired lands utilised the organisational structures that they found.

In Cornwall is revealed an early territorial framework, with previously unrecognised three-Cornish-acre units and larger groups of acres, possibly with specialised functions, producing a hierarchy of landscape organisation. At one level, the agricultural economy operated through systems of transhumance organised through recognised territorial limits, while at another level, dues were collected and administrative control was maintained. It is into this flexible yet highly developed system that the Christian missionaries arrived and established an ecclesiastical network which paid close regard to the system of landscape organisation that they found. An English administrative agency utilised the landscape organisational scheme in order to suit their own needs of judicial control and income generation,

and it was this scheme of early economic exploitation through integrated estate management that formed the basis of the later emergent manorial system.²³ It is important however to heed the cautions that Hadley (1996, pp. 11-12) recognises, based around the underlying assumption that there was a point at which the landscape was uniformly divided into neatly segmented territories.²⁴ As Hadley notes, 'Property rights and territorial organisation were seldom simple in the early medieval period' (Hadley 1996, p. 12).

CONCLUSION

As expected, the early territorial pattern in Cornwall mirrors some important aspects of early societal systems and the evolution of these territories mirrors the evolution of the distinct Cornish society that defined them. As society in Cornwall became more complex and as the need to control increased, especially when power was being wielded from a distant central agency, organisational strategies had to become more sophisticated. Therefore spatial control mechanisms involving the use of systematic territorialisation were used. The development of territorial organisation must be seen within the context of a continuing purpose of the territorial strategy; namely that of the exploitation and control of resources and population.

As the complexity of these societal systems increased, so territorial units became more closely

defined and more specialised within a growing hierarchy. On the ground, the tithing system reflected the need for judicial control and administration. The requirements of income generation, whether through smoke silver or tithe collection, led to the more tightly defined and rigorously maintained territorial structures of local government and ecclesiastical parishes.

It is only through looking at the ways in which societies use territorial strategies that one can understand both the nature of those societies and the form of the landscape which later societies inherited. Other material in the landscape should be viewed within the context of this territorial organisation to enable us to understand their

meaning. Further work is needed, however, if the full significance of the territorialisation of early west Cornwall is to be appreciated. What was the nature of the ancient forms of landscape organisation and how were they recognised territorially? How well does the rest of Cornwall fit the proposed scheme and what sort of comparisons can be made with other regions? How were the territorial devices actually perceived by English power-brokers and what form did their exploitation of the landscape take? These questions have, to date, only been partially addressed and this investigation can be seen as a useful 'starting block' for a whole range of further explorations.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 For example, see the very shrewd and thoughtful paper by Anderson (1996), which uses (new) medieval analogies to explore (postmodern) transformations of territoriality in global and local politics on a European-wide basis.
- 2 In particular I am thinking of the large collection of ninth-century charters referring to cases in a small region of eastern Brittany (Davies 1988), or the law codes of Ireland such as the *Criab Gablach* (Binchy 1941; McLeod 1986). For a particularly good law code contextualisation of a largely morphological investigation of early Irish settlement forms, see Stout (1991). Useful law tracts also pertain to early Wales (see Jones 1976) and Scotland; (the *Senchus Fern'Alban* for instance is utilised by Lamont (1957/8)). Even later works that aggregate the surviving material of earlier times have been very useful for producing a systematic territorial analysis of a region. McErlean (1983) used the seventeenth-century Calendar of Patent Rolls of James I for his investigation of townlands while the interpretation of early land organisation on the Isle of Man has greatly utilised the nineteenth-century Atlas of quarterlands by James Woods (see Davies 1956).
- 3 Thomas (1994), for instance, charts the development of early Christian activity within a structured a Cornish society of the middle of the first millennium, while Hooke (1994a) clarifies and interprets the pre-Conquest charter material for Cornwall.
- 4 The possible ancient origins of the administrative territorial framework is suggested strongly in Thomas (1964). Early patterns of clear ecclesiastical organisation are discussed in Thomas (1994) and related to wider expressions of early territorial order by workers such as Davies (1992, p. 19).
- 5 By far the most definitive and accurate published guide to place-names in Cornwall is Padel (1985). This work has resulted from many years of detailed research, during which time Oliver Padel established a greater unpublished *Index of Cornish Place-Names*, housed at the Institute of Cornish Studies in Truro.
- 6 Some such information can be obtained from locally-based works such as Doble (1939) or Henderson (1931), or more recent works such as Burr (1994). Much of this type of material was collected together in Henderson (1924). A more general reference for the investigation of dedications is Farmer (1978). A short academic work on parish dedications and site names is found in Padel (1976/7), while a deeper attempt at analysis, based largely on hagiographical accounts, is found in Clark (1975). The most thorough work on hagiographical evidence in west Cornwall however is that of Doble (1960-62).
- 7 Such ecclesiastical taxation documents include the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, the *Nonarum Inquisitiones* and the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.
- 8 Some published excerpts of Assize records referring to west Cornwall appear in Pool (1981). This work also contains a basic transcript of assessment material relating to the *Extenta Acrarum* documents of 1284 and 1345. Useful medieval court records have been published by Stenton (1952), Midgley (1945) and Hall (1978). Other related published material that is useful includes Pounds (1970), which discusses and transcribes data from the Lay Subsidy of 1327, and other collections of documents such as Hull (1962, 1987).
- 9 An edited transcript has been published by Pounds (1982). Another very useful later document relating specifically to Penwith is the Penheleg document of 1580, which was transcribed and analysed by Pool (1959) with some corrections appearing in the same journal in the following year; (*J R Inst Cornwall*, 1960, new ser 3, pt 4, p. 284.)
- 10 An extensive discussion of the meaning and interpretation of these characteristic place-name elements is found in Padel (1976/7).
- 11 For a transcription, explanation and some interpretation, see Hooke (1994a, pp. 22-7).
- 12 An interesting, though more general discussion of the development of diplomatic traditions within charter production can be found in S. Keynes (1994).
- 13 Blair (1985) used a strict set of criteria based on readings of the Domesday survey. For a more general discussion of the notion of 'minster' establishments, see Blair 1988.
- 14 These ideas reflect the findings of a number of authors whose work has been collected in Blair & Sharpe's (1992) edited volume, *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*.
- 15 Despite the lack of evidence for a centralised bureaucracy in Cornwall at this time, however, it is perhaps simplistic and misleading to support Thomas's earlier assertions that 'Cornwall was too remote and too unimportant to experience the self-organisation that affected Wales in the tenth century' (Thomas 1964, p. 71).
- 16 For a more legally-based definition of the tithing see Critchley (1967, pp. 2-3), or Pollock & Maitland (1968, Vol. 1, pp. 568-71). The tithing system of Cornwall is often overlooked in studies, but has been analysed quite thoroughly by Pool (1959, 1981), whose latter paper should be considered as the basic reference text on the subject.
- 17 This work was carried out as part of a doctoral thesis. For more specific and detailed information, see Harvey (forthcoming). In many respects, the lines represent recognition of territorial significance rather than strictly defined and accurate 'boundaries'.
- 18 Neither of the two versions exist in their original state. Although the original purpose of the records and the context of their production is not completely understood, some kind of survey is apparent, with both versions providing lists of tithing names and assessments in Cornish acres. Their basic record is transcribed by Pool (1981). The most complete published discussion of the meaning of the Cornish acre is to be found in Hull (1971, pp. liv-lxii).

- 19 The hundred of Penwith was granted by William II outside of royal authority in about 1090. The private hundredal jurisdiction was comprehensively confined by a charter to the Arundell family of Connerton of the period 1227 x 43. See Hall (1978, p. 171), and Pool (1959, pp. 165-71).
- 20 Indeed, a charter of King Ine (A.D. 705 x 712) records the granting of 20 hides at *linig*, which has been interpreted as the land between the Lynher and Tamar rivers (see Finberg 1953, item 73).
- 21 The topic of reconstructing integrated estate units from early periods is a much discussed and debated area of work. See for example Jones (1976, pp. 15-40), or Blair (1991, ch. 1). For a more up to date view on such supposed early schemes, see Hadley (1996).
- 22 An early work on such significance of place-name elements in Cornwall was conducted by Pounds (1942). More recent comments have been made by Padel (1985) and Preston-Jones & Rose (1986, pp. 141-5).
- 23 In Wales, Melville Richards (1969) attempted to place the various terms and units he found into some sort of coherent administrative whole, though he is still tentative when interpreting the administrative relationships of some forms. This work may be seen as a step in that direction. Work on the semantics of such names as the *tref* settlements for instance needs to be extended.
- 24 Our understanding of the word 'estate', for instance, should be qualified.

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